

Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Spaces:
the case of Skopje (Macedonia)

Katerina Mojanchevska

The research was partially funded by The Open Society Foundation and the Foundation for Urban and Regional Studies

Language editing

Nycole Prowse (in English language)

Aneta Vasilevska-Ljubeckij (in Macedonian language)

Manoilj Bogdanovski (in Albanian language)

Cover design

Nikola Petrovski

Photographs

Nikola Petrovski

Dorijan Milovanovikj

Layout

³P s.iz., Skopje



© Katerina Mojanchevska 2018

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission by the author.

ISBN 978-90-6490-085-3

**Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Spaces:
the case of Skopje (Macedonia)**

Rekening houden met culturele diversiteit in de openbare ruimte:

Het geval van Skopje (Macedonië)

Thesis

**to obtain the Degree of Doctor from the
Erasmus University Rotterdam
by command of the rector magnificus**

Prof. dr. H.A.P. Pols

and in accordance with the decision of the Doctorate Board

The public defence shall be held on
Tuesday 22 May 2018 at 16:00 hrs

by

Katerina Mojanchevska
born in Bitola, Republic of Macedonia



Doctoral Committee

Doctoral dissertation supervisors

Prof. dr. M.P. van Dijk
Prof. dr. H.B. Entzinger

Other members

Prof. dr. M. Lubbers, Radboud University Nijmegen
Prof. dr. J. Edelenbos
Dr. K. Biekart

“Diversity has become the new orthodoxy of city planning”

Susan S. Fainstein (2005)

“More and more the spaces of the modern city are being produced *for* us
rather *by* us”

Don Mitchell (2003)

*To my partner Nikola and our son Emil, for their curiosity and joy
in diversity that challenged me every day*

Contents

<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	<i>v-vi</i>
<i>Aknowledgments</i>	<i>vii-viii</i>
<i>Summary</i>	<i>ix-xvi</i>
<i>Samenvatting</i>	<i>xvii-xxiv</i>
<i>Pezume</i>	<i>xxv-xxxiv</i>
<i>Përmbledhje e shkurtër</i>	<i>xxxv-xli</i>
1. Knowing Myself through Public Space	1-14
1.1 Introduction to Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Space	1
1.2 Research Aim and Questions	4
1.3 Theoretical Positioning	6
1.4 Starting Point: Accommodation between Disciplines and between Personal, Social and Collective Accounts	10
1.5 Outlining the Argument	13
2. Understanding the Context: "Experimentum Macedonicum"	15-38
2.1 Unravelling the Story of Accommodation of Diversity in Macedonia	15

2.2 The City of Skopje and Its Challenges in Accommodation of Diversity in Public Space	23
2.3 Accommodation of the “Public(s)” in the Urban Planning Framework	30
2.4 Profile of the Selected Neighbourhoods	34
2.4.1 Profile of the municipality of Butel	35
2.4.2 Profile of the municipality of Chair	36
2.4.3 Profile of the municipality of Kisela Voda	37
2.4.4 Profile of the municipality of Saraj	38
 3. Theoretical Perspective	 39-72
3.1 Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Space: between the liberal paradigm of equality and special group’s rights to self-preservation	39
3.2 The Political, Social and Symbolic Life of Public Spaces	46
3.3 Identity and the Politics of Recognition	50
3.4 Politics of Need Interpretation and Recognition	54
3.5 Politics of Recognition and Entitlement to Belong on City Level	56
3.6 Accommodation Practices of Diversity in the Urban Space: from the research perspective	59
 4. The City as a Research Laboratory: explaining the context	 73-80
4.1 Quantitative Measuring and Qualitative Questioning	73
4.1.1 Description of variables	76
4.2 Qualitative Questioning	78
4.3 Methodology, Sampling and Field Work	79
 5. Data Analysis and Reporting	 81-88
5.1 Survey Sample and Data Analysis	81
5.2 Interview Sample and Data Analysis	85

6. Political Value of Public Spaces: deliberation and citizens' engagement	89-100
6.1 Education and Deliberative Local Participation	89
6.2 Employment Status and Deliberative Local Participation	92
6.3 Ethnic Belonging and Deliberative Participation	93
6.4 Type of Neighbourhood and Deliberative Citizens' Participation	96
6.5 Conclusion	99
7. The Social Value of Public Spaces: social dynamics and socio-spatial integration	101-136
7.1 Socialisation between Ethnic Groups in Public Spaces	101
7.2 Proximity between Ethnic Groups in Public Spaces	108
7.3 Antagonism between Ethnic Groups and the Public Spaces	116
7.4 Common-sense Approaches to Public Accommodation of Diversity	120
7.5 Citizens' Consultation and Changes in Public Spaces	126
7.6 Conclusion	133
8. Citizenship and Belonging in a Multicultural Context of New Urban Planning	137-150
8.1 Public Space's Narratives of Citizenship in a Multicultural Context	137
8.2 Transformative Deliberation Practices and Common Places of Recognised Diversity	140
8.3 Urban Planning and Accommodation of Diversity in Public Spaces	144
8.4 Conclusion	148
9. Discussion: The Diversity Paradox	151-174
9.1 The Political Value of Public Space: deliberation, atomised citizenry and clientelism	152
9.2 The Social Value of Public Spaces: proximity, acceptance and self-segregation of ethnic groups	160

9.3 Citizenship and Belonging in a Multicultural Context	165
9.4 The Ideal of Diversity and the Difficulty of Planning It	170
10. Conclusion: What Kind of Public Spaces in Multicultural Cities? 175-196	
10.1 Socio-Spatial Integration on Local Level: some thoughts for policy solutions	178
10.2 New Urban Planning Practices in Skopje: policy guidelines and moving towards a cosmopolis	180
10.3 Contribution of this Research to Theory	187
10.4 Criticism and Limitation of the Current Research	190
10.5 The Research Results in Light of the Institutional Political Crisis in 2015 and 2016 in the Country	191
10.6 Looking Back and Forward	193
10.7 A Concluding Remark	195
Bibliography	197-214
Appendixes	215-360
Appendix 1: Data Gathering Process Description	215
Appendix 2: Research Instruments	227
Appendix 3: Data Preview	241
Appendix 4: Factor Analysis of Survey Data	243
Appendix 5: Operationalisation and Level of Measurement of Variables in Hypothesis One	255
Appendix 6: Operationalisation and Level of Measurement of Variables in Hypothesis Two	275
Appendix 7: Curriculum Vitae	361

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 2.1 Demographic data on municipalities in the city of Skopje, 2002

Table 2.2 Social profile of the selected neighbourhoods, 2002

Table 5.1 Comparison of average data distribution between population and research sample

Table 5.2 Coding table of qualitative data

Table 7.3 Frequency of responses of individuals segregated by ethnic group and types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component “Intergroup antagonism”

Table 7.5 Frequency of responses of individuals segregated by ethnic group and types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component “Change and consultation”

Figures

Figure 2.1 Map of the city of Skopje (adapted by the author)

Figure 6.1a Frequency of responses to items of the component “Individual participation”

Figure 6.1b Frequency of responses of different education groups that have always been part of deliberative activities on local level

Figure 6.2 Frequency of responses of individuals with different employment status who have always been part of deliberative activities on local level

Figure 6.3 Frequency of responses of individuals with different ethnic background who have always been part of deliberative activities on local level

Figure 6.4 Frequency of responses of individuals from different types of neighbourhoods who have always been part of deliberative activities on local level

Figure 7.1a Frequency of responses to items of the component “Co-ethnic socialisation”

Figure 7.1b Frequency of responses of individuals living in different types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component “Co-ethnic socialisation”

Figure 7.1c Frequency of responses of individuals with different ethnic background who strongly agree on items in the component “Co-ethnic socialisation”

Figure 7.2a Frequency of responses on items in the component “Ethnic proximity”

Figure 7.2b Frequency of responses of individuals living in different types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component “Ethnic proximity”

Figure 7.3a Frequency of responses on items in the component “Intergroup antagonism”

Figure 7.3b Frequency of responses of individuals living in different types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component “Intergroup antagonism”

Figure 7.4 Frequency of responses on items in the component “Diversity accommodation approach”

Figure 7.5 Frequency of responses on items in the component “Change and consultation”

Acknowledgments

I see PhD thesis acknowledgements as a therapeutical closure at the end of a challenging journey. At the end of my own long and onerous doctoral path, I feel a deep urge to acknowledge those who stood by me all along and to accentuate that while the manuscript has an individual ownership, in its essence it is a collaborative piece of work. Without the contribution, ideas, debates, logistical support and love from these people, my journey may have never ended, and I doubt that I would have kept my sanity.

My utmost gratitude goes to my mentors, Professor Meine Pieter van Dijk and Professor Han Entzinger. Professor Pieter van Dijk had been with me since the beginning and has remained devoted to the challenge to work with a student from a country where he had never gone (and he travels a lot) and in a subject that is not his personal favourite. His academic support, intuitive questions that contradicted my arguments, care and timely feedback provided me with stability and assurance that the goal is reachable. The involvement of Professor Entzinger after the design stage of the research had an enormous impact on how the manuscript is formatted today. His involvement was the right decision at the right time, taken by Professor Pieter van Dijk. The constructive feedback from Professor Entzinger stroked the heart of my work and balanced the different theoretical, methodological, analytical approaches that in times I struggled with. Both were patient, understandable and supportive mentors. Without the slightest modesty, the assuredness, endurance, academic input and mode of guidance from my mentors had a formative influence on my professional career. They are role models in being an ethical researcher in the social sciences. I was honoured and lucky to work and learn from mentors

who cared about my personal well-being in addition to their role as academic supervisors.

Ana Misoska-Tomovska, Eli and Ena from the TIM Institute in Skopje, Malisha and Radmila Zivanovikj were kind in sharing their knowledge, books, networking and valuable time to contribute to my work. Without their engagement, my fieldwork while gradually progressing in the gestation period would have been frustrating, incomplete and long delayed. I owe a lot to the numerous respondents who took part in my research and shared their views, fears and hopes. Without them, I would not have had the material to support my thesis.

I will always be grateful to my friend Joca Amsterdam who has unselfishly hosted me during my visits to The Netherlands.

I owe deep gratitude to my family Mojanchevski and my families in law Petrovski and Serafimovski. They were unconditionally supportive and sensitive to my student needs, cared for me and my family when I needed time to “shut down” in the world of science.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to my partner Nikola Petrovski and our son Emil. Nikola is my lifetime companion and closest friend. He is the backbone and the main source of encouragement in my personal life, my constant supporter and criticizer. The birth of Emil pushed me to organise my fieldwork almost to perfection, to sustain with sleep deprivation and to swiftly shift between roles and tasks. Living and moving from one country to another with them challenged my worldviews and our family hardships taught me to persist and continue along this path. Without all these people and many friends, this journey would not have had my favourite taste: “sweet and sour”.

Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Spaces: the case of Skopje (Macedonia)

Diversity, accommodation, interethnic conflict, public space, urban citizenship, urban planning, Skopje

Summary

Access to publicly shared space and accommodation of cultural diversity in public spaces pose challenges for urban planning and management in multicultural cities with an experience of violent inter-ethnic conflict. Responses to these challenges require an understanding of the mechanisms that facilitate integration at a city level and improve social interaction between ethnic groups. Ethnic diversity and cultural heterogeneity are a reality for the city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. The changing ethnic demography and redressed power-balance between majority and non-majority groups on a local level have spurred a turbulent conflict – that of governance of diversity in public space. Therefore, it is imperative to investigate under which conditions cultural diversity in multicultural cities and neighbourhoods can affect the lives of the residents, and with what impact (Low, Taplin, and Scheld, 2005).

In the Macedonian context of recognising diversity, the popular belief of politicians, academics or ordinary people is that accommodation of diversity in public space implies the right of the dominant group and that the ethnic identity of its members be visually represented in the territory they occupy. Symbols of a group's ethnic history and cultural memory facilitate recognition and identification with space, which recreates it as an ethnic space. The new cultural nationalism capitalised in the project *Skopje 2014* installed mono-ethnic narratives in public spaces and removed the “dangerous” memories of the Other, reducing the role of citizens as mere spectators of how spaces, communities and the city are created.

Hence, this research aims to understand how citizens of the city of Skopje perceive the practices of accommodation of cultural diversity in public spaces. In

particular, it aims to understand citizens' views on how language, ethnicity, religion and collective cultural symbols are legitimised through the physical form and the political, social and symbolic (cultural) value of public spaces in their neighbourhoods. The overarching goal of the research is to develop a framework for the planning of public spaces of diversity in multicultural cities.

Despite the significant groundwork in the field of political science, sociology, cultural studies and social psychology on the philosophical and pragmatic aspects of multiculturalism, in Macedonia there is relatively little knowledge of how the general public understands multiculturalism and how it understands fair and *just* accommodation of diversity, including citizens' participation in decision-making of the city's urban space (Research question 1). Furthermore, a comparative analysis of citizens' perceptions of practices of accommodation of diversity in ethnically more homogenous and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods can reveal where potential transformative power lies. It can also ascertain if citizens in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods nurture more inclusive practices of recognising diversity in public spaces and if such neighbourhoods represent a way toward the production of more shared public spaces in a multicultural city (Research question 2). Exploring what citizens perceive as appropriate in regards to the representation of diversity in public space may inform how the concept of "the citizen" is constructed (Research question 3). Finally, this work lays the ground for an elaboration of specific principles that provide a framework for governance of diversity within a multicultural city (Research question 4).

Theoretically, the overarching goal to develop a concept for the planning of public spaces of diversity in multicultural cities has three pillars, namely: public space, identity and diversity. The transversal themes are politics of recognition, multiculturalism, ideology, power and deliberation. This research adopts a social constructivist paradigm and interprets the constructed relationship between public spaces and their users starting from three main theoretical frameworks, namely, the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1979), the theory of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991) and the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974). According to the contact hypothesis, contacts between groups are facilitated and structured under conditions of equal status. In addition, working on activities that share common goals, promoting cooperation instead of competition, and being supported by authorities and institutions all are effective ways to reduce intergroup anxiety, hostility and prejudice, and hence, may moderate intergroup bias. An inevitable aspect of the contact situation is its locatedness. This research focuses on the physical setting of the contact –urban public spaces. Lefebvre (2009), however, does not recognise space as a pure material

reality but as produced and fundamentally bonded to the social reality – social space. He argues that any analysis of social space should begin with physical space and its users and the experience of space as directly lived in everyday life. Finally, experiences, perceptions and feelings raised in/of public spaces become symbolised in the urban landscape and they may reinforce individual identification and, in particular, facilitate the building of a local identity. Social identities, as part of the self-concept, derive from the knowledge of what it means to be a member of a certain group or groups, including the value and emotional significance of the membership that is often related to belonging to a certain space.

The research is focused on the city of Skopje. It uses quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative methodology involves a two-stage probability sampling approach in two ethnically more homogenous (the municipality of Kisela Voda and the municipality of Saraj) and two ethnically mixed neighbourhoods (the municipality of Chair and the municipality of Butel). 403 randomly selected household members are interviewed using a structured questionnaire. In order to further understand citizens' responses, 30 interviews based on an open-end questionnaire with residents of the selected neighbourhoods are conducted. The selection of interviewees is based on convenience sampling.

The results indicate that the political value of public spaces to stimulate contact, deliberation and debate among citizens on issues of their concern is undermined. Public spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje are not planned and managed through a wide forum of citizen engagement nor is meaningful discussion stimulated among residents on needs, attitudes, perspective and worldviews. Less than a quarter of the citizens have been to a council meeting to deliberate on public representation of diversity while less than a third have participated in any deliberation activity on the topic at a local level. Citizens argue that they have been neither invited nor informed of any deliberation activity. This suggests that citizens in Skopje neither discuss, talk or debate on policy issues of common interest with their co-citizens, nor debate such issues with their elected representatives in the municipal bodies. Citizens even doubt if deliberation in any form is happening in their neighbourhood and also lack civic consciousness of participation as both a right and a duty. Decision-making in the accommodation of diversity in politically and socially fragmented contexts is a process solely within the hands of the politicians. The ethno-based model of accommodation facilitated through the political elites does not allow equal participation of all concerned individuals. As a result, citizens do not feel ownership over decisions taken on how to accommodate

diversity in public spaces.

Employed and economically inactive persons are more likely than unemployed persons to participate in deliberation activities on the accommodation of diversity in public spaces at a local level, while those with higher educational qualifications are less motivated to participate in such deliberative discussions. Furthermore, ethnic groups in a numerical minority show a greater level of participation than ethnic groups in a numerical majority.

The results indicate that participation in local decision-making processes on how to accommodate diversity in public spaces is not affected by the homogeneity of the neighbourhood. Levels of participation between ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in deliberation on public representation of diversity do not differ. However, the level of participation is very low. In homogeneous areas, it may be easier for residents to come to common solutions but a rising problem lies in motivating citizens' participation in policy-making *per se*.

Exclusion from discussions does not only occur in mixed neighbourhoods and with less numerous or less powerful groups, it seems to be part of a broader political culture and demonstrates how democracy *works* in post-transitional societies. Powerlessness, distrust in politicians, political passivity, atomised citizenry and clientelism are some of the results of an elite-based model of governance of diversity practised in Macedonia. Although highly politicised, public spaces in Skopje are excluded from any discussion on change and transformation of the dominant ethno-cultural content of belonging and the homogenising ideology of the citizenship, thus leaving no opportunities for citizens to openly discuss their fears, common concerns and possible joint actions. In regards to the social function of public spaces, the results indicate that the potential of public spaces to catalyse "everyday multiculturalism" is not fully utilised. The colliding ethnonationalism and symbolic power struggle between the major ethnic groups in Skopje result in co-ethnic preferences in socialisation and selection of public spaces. In particular, members of different ethnic groups living in mixed neighbourhoods tend to avoid intercultural contact and prefer events and traditions celebrating their own ethnic culture. More diversity could result in more inclination for interethnic contact and solidarity, as suggested by contact theory. Instead, in the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in Skopje, self-segregation of ethnic groups is prevalent. In particular, in ethnically mixed areas, segregation and particularisation of activities of ethnic groups in public spaces hinder meaningful multicultural encounters that although may be superficial are nevertheless direct.

Co-ethnic socialisation is not a preference for specific ethnic groups. Macedonians, Albanians and Others share a similar pro-social attitude towards their own ethnic group. There are decisions that are ethnic-neutral, such as the selection of public spaces for rest and recreation and, in general, people in ethnic neighbourhoods show greater curiosity and preparedness for intercultural ventures in events and spaces with diverse ethnic groups than those in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.

In Skopje, people accept diversity as a fact but still choose to remain within their own ethnic boundaries and comfort zones of ethnically marked spaces. The tendencies for out-group homogeneity and in-group favouritism practised by the citizens in Skopje shape their personal behaviour and attitude towards Others and, in that respect, where and with whom to socialise. This is not to say that public spaces are not important in the daily lived experiences. Rather, public spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje are not planned to support multicultural exchange and the conditions that lead and sustain intergroup contact are not systematically conceived as part of a wider policy on socio-spatial integration.

The concept of “the appropriate citizen” constructed through the symbolic meaning of the objects accommodated in public spaces perpetuates ethnonational rhetoric and produces an effect of “staged multiculturalism”. In the case of Skopje, the practices of accommodation of diversity in public space support expressions of citizenship that are limited to the nation-state and ethnic identification. Public spaces in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods provide comfort and positive experiences with diversity but do not generate acceptance and visual recognition of symbols of other ethnic histories and cultures. Conformity of language(s) used in public space generates disagreements between residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods. Macedonians more often than Albanians and Others support majority language normativity. The use of languages of other ethnic groups is considered as a matter for the private sphere. Albanians are more divided on this issue, with an almost equal proportion of people supporting and rejecting majority language normativity, both in ethnic neighbourhoods where they represent a majority and in mixed neighbourhoods. This division parallels an aversion to seeing signs in public spaces written in the languages of ethnic minorities. Ethnic groups in majority are particularly sensitive to the disrespect shown by ethnic minorities for national symbols, such as the official language or national flag. This is interpreted as a threat to national unity. The need for more co-ethnic symbols in public space triggers a fear of over-domination but also reflects a deeper fear of redistribution of power and resources between groups, discomfort in challenging

the dominant worldview and of the homogeneity of the political community. These fears fortify ethnic belonging as the guardian of a group's survival.

The form, shape and objects accommodated in public spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje narrate a "story of citizenship" that becomes "more about the norms and values of a homogeneous culturally defined community" (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 148) than about the differences in the political community or "the constantly reconfigured collective identities" (Parekh, 2008: 41). Public spaces and the symbolic representation of cultures and ethnic histories have become part of the emotionalisation of citizenship (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 152). Developing feelings of home, identification and acceptance of the established order represented in the form and the symbolic meaning of objects accommodated in public spaces purport loyalty to the nation-state and undermine other forms of collective identification, particularly with the immediate locality, the neighbourhood and the urban city identity.

So, where does the transformation towards the production of more shared public spaces in a multicultural city lie? Which specific principles provide a framework for governance of diversity within a multicultural city?

Transformative experiences of diversity in inclusive public spaces lie in the social planning that stimulates convivial instead of cohabitated living. In the current context, such examples are multicultural education environments and open public spaces used for rest and recreation. While there is formal equality and unrestricted access to spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje, self-segregation between ethnic groups persists and effectuates in ethnic spaces. And this is more than just an effect of poorly planned physical spaces. It is a reflection of the lack of social planning of spaces, differences in social status and a reflection of the divided society on many levels: linguistically, in education and cultural consumption. Social planning of public spaces can compensate some of the deficiencies in technical urban planning. It can shift urban planning from the vision of abstract place makers towards the lived experiences of people and, in particular, to the recognition of diversity accommodated in public spaces. A major challenge of urban planning in a multicultural context is the accommodation of a politics of recognition that accepts cultural independence within an individualistic framework of equality, equity and respect for difference. The basic principles of the planning of public spaces that recognise diversity should include: *Interpretation and recognition of difference through deliberation and active urban citizenship*; *Habitual engagement and interdependence of goals and actions*; and *Social planning of public spaces as places of conflict and negotiation, in contrast to technocratic, "staged" multiculturalism*.

More so, “constructed” spaces of deliberation that allow multiple associations should be available in both an informal setting of self-organisation of citizens and formal citizen engagement. In socially and ethnically diverse contexts, the institutionalisation of accommodation mechanisms and promotion of deliberative political culture need to avoid essentialist consequences.

There are challenges in making these principles a “lived” practice. Among them is dealing with the internalised political powerlessness among citizens and the top-down elite-based planning practices. Citizens of Skopje lack knowledge of the technical side of urban planning, lack the motivation to get engaged in decision-making on issues that affect their lives and lack knowledge on the available mechanism for citizen participation within the institutional framework. They also lack social solidarity and civic consciousness to react when those different from them are affected because diversity is not perceived as a potential to redress social injustice and discrimination.

This research contributes to an understanding that the context where contacts between different and often opposing groups happen can be more important than previously accentuated in the literature and practice. In opposition to contact theory, this research indicates that self-segregation of ethnic groups can be prevalent in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. This should make us think of the context where the contact is established and not only in situations where the content of the interaction is based on activities with common and interdependent goals that can only be achieved through cooperation among groups. The changed ethnic demography of the neighbourhoods in Skopje has included other socio-cultural and visual transformations of the public spaces that may have intensified the mistrust between groups and reflected a deeper fear of redistribution of power and resources and challenged cultural values and worldviews. Such a context is not a favourable condition for developing positive intergroup contacts.

This research also confirms the important role of citizens and their mobilisation in the production of public space. The process of production of space (actors, roles, power hierarchies) should not be reduced to the activities of the abstract space makers/urban planners but be installed as a process of the public production of space.

In the end, the citizens of multicultural neighbourhoods and the city of Skopje need to rethink their urban identity and impose urban citizenship as an important dimension of identification within space/place. As Van Bochove, Rušinović and Engbersen (2009: 117) observe, the local level “offers the pri-

mary site for active citizenship and for processes of social identification". The political implementation of the planning principles that recognise diversity based on deliberation mechanisms necessitates a new planning culture and an enabling environment, as well as urbanists who "look beyond power relations" (Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000: 923), and citizens who are prepared to push personal and collective boundaries, to ask, debate and critically observe the multicultural reality of our city.

Rekening houden met culturele diversiteit in de openbare ruimte: Het geval van Skopje (Macedonië)

Diversiteit, rekening houden met diversiteit, interetnisch conflict, openbare ruimte, burgerschap, stedenbouw, Skopje

Samenvatting

Toegang tot de openbare ruimte en rekening houden met culturele diversiteit in openbare ruimtes stelt hoge eisen aan stedenbouw en stedelijk management in multiculturele steden met een geschiedenis van gewelddadig interetnisch conflict. Om aan deze eisen te voldoen is begrip vereist van de mechanismen die integratie op stadsniveau vergemakkelijken en de sociale interactie tussen etnische groepen verbeteren. Etnische diversiteit en culturele heterogeniteit vormen een dagelijkse realiteit in de stad Skopje, de hoofdstad van Macedonië. De veranderende etnische samenstelling en de aangepaste machtsverhoudingen tussen meerderheids- en minderheidsgroepen op lokaal niveau hebben geleid tot een turbulent conflict over het omgaan met diversiteit in de openbare ruimte. Dit vraagt om onderzoek naar de omstandigheden waaronder en de mate waarin culturele diversiteit in multiculturele steden en wijken het leven van de inwoners kan beïnvloeden (Low, Taplin, en Scheld, 2005).

In de Macedonische context zijn politici, academici en gewone burgers geneigd te geloven dat rekening houden met diversiteit in de openbare ruimte het recht van de dominante groep impliceert en dat de etnische identiteit van de leden van die groep zichtbaar moet zijn in het gebied waar zij wonen. Symbolen van de etnische geschiedenis en het culturele geheugen van een groep vergemakkelijken herkenbaarheid en de identificatie met de ruimte, waardoor deze tot een etnische ruimte wordt. Onder invloed van het nieuwe cultureel nationalisme dat ten grondslag lag aan het project *Skopje 2014* zijn mono-etnische narratieven geïnstalleerd in de openbare ruimte en zijn de 'gevaarlijke' herinneringen aan de Ander eruit verwijderd. Dit reduceerde de rol van burgers tot slechts toeschouwers in het ontstaansproces van ruimtes, gemeenschappen en de stad.

Tegen deze achtergrond is het doel van dit onderzoek om te begrijpen hoe de inwoners van Skopje denken over de manier waarop rekening houden met culturele diversiteit in de openbare ruimte gestalte krijgt. Daarbij gaat het in het bijzonder om hoe burgers denken over de wijze waarop taal, etniciteit, religie en collectieve culturele symbolen worden gelegitimeerd door de fysieke vorm en de politieke, sociale en symbolische (culturele) waarde van openbare ruimtes in hun wijken.

Hoewel er in de politicologie, sociologie, culturele studies en sociale psychologie veel onderzoek is gedaan naar de filosofische en pragmatische aspecten van multiculturalisme, is er in Macedonië relatief weinig bekend over hoe het grote publiek denkt over multiculturalisme en wat het verstaat onder eerlijk en *rechtvaardig* rekening houden met diversiteit, inclusief participatie van burgers in besluitvorming over de openbare ruimte in de stad (onderzoeksvraag 1). Verder kan een vergelijkende analyse van hoe inwoners aankijken tegen de wijze waarop in etnisch homogenere en etnisch gemengdere wijken rekening wordt gehouden met diversiteit aan het licht brengen waar potentieel de transformationele kracht ligt. Hiermee kan ook worden vastgesteld of inwoners van etnisch gemengde wijken een voorkeur hebben voor een meer inclusieve manier van het erkennen van diversiteit in de openbare ruimte en of dergelijke wijken de weg effenen naar meer gedeelde openbare ruimtes in een multiculturele stad (onderzoeksvraag 2). Het verkennen van wat burgers als passend ervaren met betrekking tot de aanwezigheid van diversiteit in de openbare ruimte kan licht werpen op hoe het begrip 'burger' wordt geconstrueerd (onderzoeksvraag 3). Ten slotte legt dit onderzoek de basis voor een uitwerking van specifieke principes die een kader bieden voor de governance van diversiteit binnen een multiculturele stad (onderzoeksvraag 4).

De overkoepelende doelstelling om een concept te ontwikkelen voor het ontwerpen van openbare ruimtes met ruimte voor diversiteit in multiculturele steden rust op drie theoretische pijlers, namelijk: openbare ruimte, identiteit en diversiteit. De transversale thema's zijn: een politiek van erkenning, multiculturalisme, ideologie, macht en afweging. In dit onderzoek wordt uitgegaan van een sociaal-constructivistisch paradigma en de geconstrueerde relatie tussen openbare ruimtes en de gebruikers ervan wordt geïnterpreteerd vanuit drie theoretische kaders: de contacthypothese (Allport, 1979), de theorie van de productie van ruimte (Lefebvre, 1991) en de sociale-identiteitstheorie (Tajfel, 1974).

Volgens de contacthypothese worden contacten tussen groepen vergemakkelijkt en gestructureerd wanneer er sprake is van gelijke status. Daarnaast kun-

nen spanningen, vijandigheid en vooroordeel tussen groepen effectief vermindert worden door samenwerken aan activiteiten met een gemeenschappelijk doel, het bevorderen van samenwerking in plaats van competitie, en de steun van autoriteiten en instituties. Deze factoren kunnen daarmee de intergroeps-bias verminderen. Een onvermijdelijk aspect van de contactsituatie is de ligging ervan. Dit onderzoek gaat over de fysieke omgeving waarin het contact plaatsvindt: stedelijke openbare ruimtes. Lefebvre (2009) erkent ruimte echter niet als een zuiver materiële werkelijkheid, maar als product en fundamenteel verbonden met de sociale realiteit: sociale ruimte. Volgens hem moet iedere analyse van de sociale ruimte beginnen met de fysieke ruimte en haar gebruikers en de beleving van ruimte in het dagelijks leven. Ten slotte worden ervaringen, percepties en gevoelens met betrekking tot openbare ruimtes gesymboliseerd in het stedelijk landschap en kunnen ze de individuele identificatie versterken en in het bijzonder het vormen van een lokale identiteit vergemakkelijken. De sociale identiteit maakt deel uit van het zelfbeeld en komt voort uit kennis van wat het betekent om lid te zijn van een bepaalde groep of groepen, en omvat ook de waarde en emotionele betekenis van het lidmaatschap dat vaak samenhangt met het behoren tot een bepaalde ruimte.

Het onderzoek is gericht op de stad Skopje en maakt gebruik van kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve methoden. De kwantitatieve methodologie behelst aselechte steekproeven die in twee stadia zijn uitgevoerd in twee etnisch homogene (de gemeente Kisela Voda en de gemeente Saraj) en twee etnisch gemengde delen van de stad (de gemeente Chair en de gemeente Butel). Bij 403 willekeurig gekozen leden van huishoudens is een gestructureerde vragenlijst afgenomen. Voor een nader inzicht in de antwoorden van de respondenten zijn 30 ongestructureerde interviews gehouden met inwoners van de geselecteerde wijken. Dit betrof een selecte steekproef op basis van bereikbaarheid.

De resultaten wijzen op een ondermijning van de politieke betekenis van openbare ruimtes voor het bevorderen van contact, overleg en debat tussen burgers over kwesties die hen aangaan. Openbare ruimtes in de woonwijken van Skopje worden niet ontworpen en beheerd via een breed forum van burgerbetrokkenheid en ook worden inwoners niet aangemoedigd om een zinvolle discussie te voeren over behoeften, attitudes, perspectief en wereldbeelden. Minder dan een kwart van de inwoners heeft een raadsvergadering bezocht om van gedachten te wisselen over de openbare representatie van diversiteit, terwijl minder dan een derde heeft deelgenomen aan discussies over het onderwerp op lokaal niveau. De inwoners voeren aan dat zij voor geen enkele discussiebijeenkomst zijn uitgenodigd en er ook geen informatie over hebben ontvangen. Dit wijst erop dat inwoners van Skopje niet met hun medebur-

gers over beleidskwesties van gemeenschappelijk belang discussiëren, praten of debatteren, noch met hun gekozen vertegenwoordigers in de gemeentelijke organen. Inwoners twijfelen er zelfs aan of er wel enige vorm van overleg plaatsvindt in hun wijk en hebben ook niet het besef dat deelname zowel een burgerrecht als -plicht is. Besluitvorming over ruimte voor diversiteit in politiek en maatschappelijk gefragmenteerde contexten is uitsluitend in handen van politici. Het op etniciteit gebaseerde model van ruimte voor diversiteit dat door de politieke elite wordt gefaciliteerd, laat geen gelijke deelname van alle betrokkenen toe. Het gevolg is dat burgers zich geen eigenaar voelen van beslissingen over hoe in de openbare ruimte rekening gehouden moet worden met diversiteit.

Werkenden en economisch inactieve personen nemen vaker dan werklozen deel aan discussiebijeenkomsten over rekening houden met diversiteit in openbare ruimtes op lokaal niveau, terwijl hoger opgeleiden minder gemotiveerd zijn om deel te nemen aan dergelijke discussies. Verder participeren etnische groepen in een numerieke minderheid meer dan etnische groepen in een numerieke meerderheid.

De resultaten wijzen erop dat deelname aan de lokale besluitvorming over rekening houden met diversiteit in de openbare ruimte niet wordt beïnvloed door de homogeniteit van de wijk. Etnisch homogene en gemengde wijken nemen in gelijke mate deel aan het overleg over de publieke representatie van diversiteit. De participatiegraad is echter zeer laag. In homogene gebieden vinden inwoners misschien gemakkelijker gemeenschappelijke oplossingen, maar een groeiend probleem is de motivatie van inwoners om deel te nemen aan de beleidsvorming *op zich*.

Afzien van deelname aan discussies komt niet alleen voor in gemengde wijken en onder kleinere of minder machtige groepen; het lijkt onderdeel uit te maken van een bredere politieke cultuur en laat zien hoe democratie *werkt* in maatschappijen die een overgangperiode hebben doorgemaakt. Machteloosheid, wantrouwen tegenover politici, politieke passiviteit, verdeeldheid onder de burgers en cliëntelisme zijn enkele van de gevolgen van een op een elite gebaseerd governance-model van diversiteit dat in Macedonië wordt toegepast. Hoewel de openbare ruimte in Skopje een sterk gepolitiseerd onderwerp is, valt dit buiten iedere discussie over verandering en transformatie van het dominante etnoculturele idee van thuishoren en de homogeniserende ideologie van het burgerschap. Hierdoor ontbreekt het de burgers aan mogelijkheden om openlijk te praten over hun angsten, gemeenschappelijke punten van zorg en mogelijke gezamenlijke acties.

Wat de sociale functie van de openbare ruimte betreft, wijzen de resultaten erop dat het potentieel van de openbare ruimte om als katalysator voor 'alledaags multiculturalisme' te fungeren niet ten volle wordt benut. Het botsende etnonationalisme en de symbolische machtsstrijd tussen de belangrijkste etnische groepen in Skopje leiden tot voorkeuren voor de eigen etnische groep in socialisatie en keuze van openbare ruimtes. Met name leden van verschillende etnische groepen die in gemengde wijken wonen, vermijden vaak intercultureel contact en geven de voorkeur aan evenementen en tradities uit hun eigen etnische cultuur. Meer diversiteit zou kunnen leiden tot meer animo voor interetnisch contact en grotere solidariteit, zoals de contacttheorie voorspelt. In de multi-etnische wijken van Skopje is daarentegen sprake van zelfsegregatie van etnische groepen. Met name in etnisch gemengde gebieden vormen segregatie en particularisatie van activiteiten van etnische groepen in de openbare ruimte een belemmering voor zinvolle multiculturele ontmoetingen, die weliswaar oppervlakkig, maar toch direct zijn.

De voorkeur voor socialisatie binnen de eigen etnische groep is niet voorbehouden aan specifieke etnische groepen. Macedoniërs, Albanezen en Anderen hebben een vergelijkbare pro-sociale houding ten opzichte van hun eigen etnische groep. Er worden ook etnisch neutrale beslissingen genomen, zoals de keuze van openbare ruimtes voor rust en recreatie, en in het algemeen hebben mensen in etnisch homogene wijken meer belangstelling voor interculturele projecten in evenementen en ruimtes met verschillende etnische groepen en staan ze hier meer voor open dan mensen in etnisch gemengde wijken.

Inwoners van Skopje accepteren diversiteit als een gegeven, maar blijven desondanks liever binnen hun eigen etnische grenzen en de comfortzone van etnisch gemarkeerde ruimtes. De perceptie van outgroup-homogeniteit en voorkeur voor de ingroup van de inwoners van Skopje bepalen hun persoonlijk gedrag en hun houding tegenover Anderen en bepalen met wie ze omgaan en waar ze dat doen. Dat wil niet zeggen dat de openbare ruimte onbelangrijk is in de dagelijkse beleving. De openbare ruimtes in de wijken van Skopje zijn echter niet ontworpen om multiculturele uitwisselingen te ondersteunen en de factoren die intergroepscontact bevorderen en in stand houden zijn niet systematisch opgenomen in een breder beleid inzake sociaal-ruimtelijke integratie.

Het begrip 'de juiste burger', dat vorm krijgt via de symbolische betekenis van de objecten in openbare ruimtes bestendigt de etnonationale retoriek en heeft het effect van 'georganiseerd multiculturalisme'. De manier waarop diversiteit in de openbare ruimte in Skopje gestalte krijgt, bekrachtigt uitingen van burgerschap die beperkt zijn tot de natiestaat en etnische identificatie. In openbare

ruimtes in zowel gemengde als etnisch homogene wijken is het goed toeven en hier ontstaan positieve ervaringen met diversiteit, maar ze leiden niet tot acceptatie en visuele herkenning van historische en culturele symbolen van andere etnische groepen. Conformiteit op het gebied van de voertaal of -talen in de openbare ruimte leidt tot onenigheid tussen inwoners in etnisch homogene en gemengde wijken. Macedoniërs zijn vaker voorstander van de meerderheidstaal als norm dan Albanezen en Anderen. Het gebruik van talen van andere etnische groepen wordt beschouwd als iets voor in de privésfeer. Albanezen denken verschillend over dit onderwerp: onder hen zijn er bijna evenveel voorstanders als tegenstanders van de meerderheidstaal als norm, zowel in etnische wijken waar zij een meerderheid vormen als in gemengde wijken. Deze verdeeldheid correspondeert met een afkeer van het zien van teksten in de taal van etnische minderheden in de openbare ruimte. Etnische meerderheidsgroepen zijn extra gevoelig voor het gebrek aan respect van etnische minderheden voor nationale symbolen, zoals de officiële taal of de nationale vlag. Dit wordt geïnterpreteerd als een bedreiging van de nationale eenheid. De behoefte aan meer etnische symbolen van de eigen groep in de openbare ruimte leidt tot angst voor overheersing, maar weerspiegelt ook een diepere angst voor herverdeling van macht en middelen tussen groepen en een terughoudendheid om het dominante wereldbeeld en de homogeniteit van de politieke gemeenschap aan te vechten. Deze angsten bekrachtigen de wens om te behoren tot een etnische groep als middel om het voortbestaan van de groep te bewaken.

De vormgeving van de openbare ruimte in de wijken van Skopje en de objecten die erin zijn opgenomen vertellen een 'verhaal van burgerschap' dat 'meer over de normen en waarden van een homogene cultureel gedefinieerde gemeenschap' gaat (Slootman en Duyvendak, 2015: 148) dan over de verschillen in de politieke gemeenschap of 'de steeds opnieuw geconfigureerde collectieve identiteiten' (Parekh, 2008: 41). Openbare ruimtes en de symbolische representatie van culturen en etnische geschiedenissen zijn onderdeel geworden van de emotionalisering van burgerschap (Slootman en Duyvendak, 2015: 152). Zich ontwikkelende gevoelens van thuis, identificatie en acceptatie van de gevestigde orde zoals weergegeven in de vorm en de symbolische betekenis van objecten in de openbare ruimte, geven de schijn van loyaliteit aan de natiestaat. Ze ondermijnen andere vormen van collectieve identificatie; in het bijzonder met de directe omgeving, de wijk en de stad.

Waarin kan de transformatie naar meer gedeelde openbare ruimtes in een multiculturele stad dus zitten? Welke specifieke principes bieden een kader voor governance van diversiteit binnen een multiculturele stad?

Transformationele ervaringen van diversiteit in inclusieve openbare ruimtes worden mogelijk gemaakt door sociale planning die gezelligheid bevordert in plaats van puur en alleen samenleven. Voorbeelden hiervan in de huidige context zijn: multiculturele onderwijsomgevingen en open openbare ruimtes voor rust en recreatie. Hoewel er formele gelijkheid heerst en de openbare ruimte voor iedereen toegankelijk is in de wijken van Skopje, houdt zelfsegregatie tussen etnische groepen stand, waardoor etnische ruimtes ontstaan. En dit is niet slechts een effect van slecht ontworpen fysieke ruimtes. Het is een weerspiegeling van het gebrek aan sociale planning van ruimtes, verschillen in sociale status en een weerspiegeling van de verdeelde samenleving op vele niveaus: taalkundig, in onderwijs en culturele consumptie. Sociale planning van de openbare ruimte kan een deel van de tekortkomingen in de technische stedenbouwkundige planning compenseren. Het kan in de stedenbouw een verschuiving teweegbrengen van de abstracte visie van ontwerpers naar de directe beleving van mensen en, in het bijzonder, naar de erkenning van diversiteit in de openbare ruimte. Een van de grote uitdagingen van stedenbouw in een multiculturele context is om rekening te houden met een politiek van erkenning waarin culturele onafhankelijkheid wordt geaccepteerd binnen een individualistisch kader van gelijkheid, rechtvaardigheid en respect voor verschillen. De volgende factoren zouden tot de basisprincipes van het ontwerp van openbare ruimtes met ruimte voor diversiteit moeten behoren: (1) *interpretatie en erkenning van verschillen door overleg en actief stedelijk burgerschap*; (2) *voortdurende betrokkenheid en onderlinge afhankelijkheid in doelen en handelen*; en (3) *sociale planning van openbare ruimtes als plaatsen van conflict en onderhandeling, in tegenstelling tot technocratisch, 'geënceneerd' multiculturalisme*. Bovendien moeten 'geconstrueerde' ruimtes voor overleg die verschillende associaties toestaan beschikbaar zijn voor zowel informele, door burgers zelf georganiseerde initiatieven als voor formele vormen van betrokkenheid van burgers. In een sociaal en etnisch gemengde context moeten essentialistische gevolgen worden vermeden bij de institutionalisering van mechanismen die ruimte bieden voor diversiteit en de bevordering van een politieke cultuur van overleg.

Het is niet eenvoudig om deze principes in de praktijk te brengen. Een van de vraagstukken is hoe om te gaan met de geïnternaliseerde politieke onmacht van de inwoners en de van bovenaf opgelegde en op de elite afgestemde planingspraktijken. Inwoners van Skopje hebben onvoldoende kennis van de technische kant van stedenbouw, onvoldoende motivatie om te participeren in de besluitvorming over kwesties die hun leven beïnvloeden, en onvoldoende kennis over hoe burgerparticipatie werkt binnen het institutionele kader. Ze

hebben ook onvoldoende sociale solidariteit en burgerbewustzijn om te reageren wanneer mensen die anders zijn dan zij hulp nodig hebben. Dit ligt aan het feit dat diversiteit niet wordt gezien als een mogelijkheid om sociaal onrecht en discriminatie op te heffen.

Dit onderzoek draagt bij aan het inzicht dat de context waarin contacten tussen verschillende, vaak ook met elkaar in conflict verwikkelde, groepen plaatsvinden wellicht belangrijker is dan eerder naar voren is gebracht in de literatuur en de praktijk. In tegenstelling tot wat de contacttheorie voorspelt, wijst dit onderzoek erop dat zelfsegregatie van etnische groepen vaak kan optreden in multi-etnische wijken. Dit zou de aandacht moeten vestigen op de context waarin het contact tot stand komt, en niet uitsluitend op situaties waarin er bij de interactie sprake is van onderlinge afhankelijkheid en gemeenschappelijke doelen die alleen kunnen worden bereikt wanneer groepen samenwerken. De veranderde etnische samenstelling van de wijken in Skopje is gepaard gegaan met andere sociaal-culturele en visuele transformaties van de openbare ruimte waardoor het wantrouwen tussen groepen mogelijk is versterkt en een diepere angst voor herverdeling van macht en middelen en voor het ter discussie stellen van culturele waarden en wereldbeelden zichtbaar is geworden. Een dergelijke context is geen gunstige voorwaarde voor de ontwikkeling van positieve contacten tussen groepen.

Dit onderzoek bevestigt ook het belang van de rol van burgers en van hun mobilisatie bij de productie van de openbare ruimte. Het proces van de productie van de ruimte (actoren, rollen, machtsverhoudingen) moet niet worden gereduceerd tot de activiteiten van abstracte ruimtevormgevers/stedenbouwkundigen, maar moet een openbaar proces zijn.

Uiteindelijk moeten de inwoners van multiculturele wijken en de stad Skopje hun stedelijke identiteit heroverwegen en stedelijk burgerschap opleggen als een belangrijke dimensie van identificatie binnen de ruimte/plaats. Zoals Van Bochove, Rušinović en Engbersen (2009: 117) opmerken, is het lokale niveau 'de primaire plaats voor actief burgerschap en voor processen van sociale identificatie'. De politieke implementatie van stedenbouwkundige principes die ruimte bieden voor diversiteit op basis van overlegmechanismen, vereist een nieuwe stedenbouwcultuur en een stimulerende omgeving, evenals stedenbouwkundigen die 'verder kijken dan naar de machtsverhoudingen' (Yiftachel en Huxley, 2000: 923). En voor het welslagen van dit proces moeten inwoners bereid zijn om persoonlijke en collectieve grenzen te verleggen en om de multiculturele realiteit van onze stad te onderzoeken, kritisch te observeren en erover te debatteren.

Сместување (акомодација) на културната разновидност во јавните простори: случајот со градот Скопје

Разновидност, сместување/акомодација, интернетички конфликт, јавен простор, урбано граѓанство, урбано планирање, Скопје

Резиме

Пристапот до јавно споделен простор и (акомодација) сместување на културната разновидност во јавните простори претставува предизвик за урбанистичко планирање и управување во мултикултурни градови со искуство од насилан меѓуетнички конфликт. Одговорите на овие предизвици бараат разбирање на механизмите што ја олеснуваат интеграцијата на ниво на град и ја подобруваат социјалната интеракција меѓу етничките групи (заедници). Етничката разновидност и културната хетерогеност се реалност за градот Скопје, главниот град на Македонија. Промената на етничката демографија и нарушената рамнотежа на моќта меѓу мнозинските и мнозинските групи (заедници) на локално ниво предизвикаа турбулентен конфликт – како тој со управување на различностите во јавниот простор. Затоа, императив е да се истражи под кои услови културната разновидност во мултикултурните градови и населби може да влијае на животот на жителите и какво влијание има (Low, Taplin, and Scheld, 2005).

Во контекст на препознавање на различноста во Македонија, популарното убедување на политичарите, научниците или граѓаните е дека сместувањето (акомодацијата) на различностите во јавниот простор се подразбира како право на доминантна група и дека етничкиот идентитет на нејзините членови треба да биде визуелно застапен на територијата што ја заземаат. Символите на етничката историја и културната меморија на групата го олеснуваат препознавањето и идентификацијата со просторот што се претвора во етнички простор. Новиот културен национализам, капитализиран во проектот „Скопје 2014“ ги актуализираше

моноетничките наративи на јавните простори и ги отстрани „опасните“ секавања на другиот / другите (и не само во етничка смисла), редуцирајќи ја улогата на граѓаните на обични „набљудувачи“ во процесот како се создаваат простори, заедници и град.

Оттука, ова истражување има намера да разбере како граѓаните на градот Скопје ја гледаат практиката на сместување (акомодација) на културната разновидност во јавните простори. Особено има намера да ги разбере ставовите на граѓаните за тоа како јазикот, етничката припадност, религијата и колективните културни симболи се легитимираат преку физичката форма и политичката, социјалната и симболичната (културна) вредност на јавните простори во нивните соседства. Сеофатната цел на истражувањето е да развие рамка за планирање на разновидноста во јавните простори во мултикултурни градови.

И покрај значајниот придонес на политичките науки, социологијата, културните студии и социјалната психологија за филозофските и прагматичните аспекти на мултикултурализмот, во Македонија има релативно малку познавање за тоа како општата јавност го разбира мултикултурализмот и што разбира под фер и правичен пристап кон разновидноста, вклучително и учеството на граѓаните во донесувањето одлуки за урбаниот простор на градот (истражувачко прашање 1). Понатаму, компаративна анализа на перцепциите на граѓаните за практиката на сместување (акомодација) на различностите во етнички похомогени и во етнички мешовити соседства може да открие каде лежи потенцијалната трансформативна моќ. Исто така, може да утврди дали граѓаните во етнички мешовитите соседства негуваат поинклузивна практика за препознавање на различноста на јавните простори и дали таквите соседства претставуваат начин за креирање повеќе заеднички јавни простори во еден мултикултурен град (истражувачко прашање 2). Истражување на тоа што граѓаните го сметаат за соодветно во однос на застапеноста на различностите во јавниот простор може да укаже како се гради концептот на „соодветен граѓанин“ (истражувачко прашање 3). Конечно, ова истражување е основа за елаборација на специфични принципи, кои обезбедуваат рамка за управување на различностите во мултикултурен град (истражувачко прашање 4).

Теоретски, сеопфатната цел да се развие концепт за планирање на разновидноста во јавните простори во мултикултурни градови има три столба: јавен простор, идентитет и разновидност. Трансверзални теми се политика на признавање, мултикултурализам, идеологија, моќ и дебати-

рање. Ова истражување се базира на социјалната конструктивистичка парадигма и ја интерпретира конструираната врска меѓу јавните простори и нивните корисници, почнувајќи од трите главни теоретски рамки, хипотеза за контакт (Allport, 1979), теоријата на создавање на просторот (Lefebvre, 1991) и теорија на социјален идентитет (Tajfel, 1974). Според хипотезата за контакт, контактите меѓу групите се подобруваат под услови на еднаков статус. Освен тоа, работењето на активности што имаат заеднички цели, кои промовираат соработка место конкуренција и се со поддршка од властите и од институциите, се ефикасен начин за намалување на непријателството и на предрасудите меѓу групите. Неизбежен аспект на контакт е неговата локација. Ова истражување се фокусира на физичкиот контекст на контактот - тој во јавните простори. Според Лефевр (Lefebvre, 2009) просторот не е чиста материјална реалност, туку е создаден и фундаментално поврзан со општествената реалност - општествениот простор. Тој тврди дека секоја анализа на општествениот простор треба да почне со физичкиот простор и неговите корисници, како и со директното искуство во просторот од секојдневниот живот. Искуствата, перцепциите и чувствата поттикнати во јавните простори и од нив стануваат симбол во урбаниот пејзаж и можат да ја поттикнат индивидуалната идентификација и, особено, да помогнат при градењето локален идентитет. Социјалниот идентитет, како дел од сопствениот концепт, произлегува од знаењето за тоа што значи да се биде член на одредена група или групи, вклучувајќи ја и вредноста и емоционалното значење на членството, кое често е поврзано со припаѓањето на одреден простор.

Ова истражување е фокусирано на градот Скопје и користи квантитативни и квалитативни методи. Квантитативната методологија вклучува двостепен пристап на анализа на два етнички похомогени простора (општина Кисела Вода и општина Сарај) и на два етнички мешовити простора (општина Чаир и општина Бутел). Со 403 случајно избрани членови на домаќинства од овие општини се направени интервјуа користејќи структуриран прашалник. Со цел натамошно разбирање на одговорите на граѓаните, спроведени се и 30 интервјуа базирани на отворен прашалник со жителите на избраните општини. Изборот на лицата со кои се правени интервјуа е пригоден.

Резултатите укажуваат на тоа дека политичката вредност на јавните простори во стимулирање контакт, дискусија и дебата меѓу граѓаните за прашања од нивни интерес е нарушена. Јавните простори во соседствата во Скопје не се планираат и управуваат преку широк форум за анга-

жирање граѓани, ниту, пак, постои дискусија меѓу жителите за потребите, ставовите, перспективите и за погледите кон светот. Помалку од една четвртина од граѓаните биле на седница на општинскиот совет за да дискутираат за јавното претставување на различностите, додека помалку од една третина учествувале во каква било дискусија на оваа тема на локално ниво. Граѓаните тврдат дека не биле поканети ниту информирани за каква било дебатна активност на оваа тема. Ова укажува на тоа дека граѓаните во Скопје не дискутираат, не зборуваат и не дебатираат за политички прашања од заеднички интерес со своите сограѓани, ниту, пак, дебатираат за тие прашања со своите избрани претставници во општинските тела. Граѓаните дури се сомневаат дали дебати во која било форма се случуваат во нивното соседство и, исто така, нема граѓанска свест за учество како право и должност. Во политички и социјално фрагментиран контекст донесувањето одлуки за претставувањето на различностите е процес што е само во рацете на политичарите. Етнички базираниот модел на сместување (акомодација), олеснет преку политичките елити, не дава можност за еднакво учество на сите засегнати поединци. Како резултат на тоа, граѓаните не чувствуваат дека се дел од одлуките донесени за тоа како да се претстави разновидноста во јавните простори.

Вработените и економски неактивни лица почесто од невработените лица учествуваат во дебатни активности за сместување (акомодација) на различностите во јавните простори на локално ниво, додека тие со повисоко образовно ниво се помалку мотивирани да учествуваат во вакви советодавни дискусии. Понатаму, етничките групи во многубројно малцинство покажуваат поголемо учество од етничките групи во многубројно мнозинство.

Резултатите покажуваат дека учеството во локалните процеси на донесување одлуки за тоа како да се претстават разновидностите во јавните простори не зависи од хомогеноста на соседството. Нема разлика меѓу нивоата на учество на граѓаните што живеат во етнички похомогените и во мешовитите соседства во однос на дебатирање на јавното претставување на различностите. Вкупно, нивото на учество на граѓаните е многу мало. Во етнички похомогените соседства жителите можат полесно да дојдат до заеднички решенија, но сè поголем проблем претставува мотивирањето на граѓаните за учеството во процесите на креирање на политиката.

Исклучувањето од дебатите не се случува само во етнички мешовити соседства и со помалобројни или помалку моќни групи, туку се чини

дека е дел од една поширока политичка култура и покажува како демократијата (не)функционира во посттранзициските општества. Немоќта, недовербата кон политичарите, политичката пасивност, атомизираното граѓанство и клиентелизмот се дел од продуктите на овој модел на управување на различностите базиран на елити, кој се практикува во Македонија. Иако силно политизирани, јавните простори во Скопје се исклучени од каква било дискусија за промена и за трансформација на доминантната етнокултурна содржина на припадноста и на хомогенизирачката идеологија на државјанството, не оставајќи можност на граѓаните отворено да разговараат за своите стравови, заедничка загриженост и можни заеднички акции.

Што се однесува до општествената функција на јавните простори, резултатите покажуваат дека потенцијалот на јавните простори за канализирање на „секојдневниот мултикултурализам“ не е целосно искористен. Етнонационализмот и симболичната борба за моќ меѓу главните етнички групи (заедници) во Скопје резултираат со коетнички преференции во социјализацијата и во изборот на јавните простори. Особено, припадниците на различните етнички групи што живеат во етнички мешовити соседства имаат тенденција да избегнуваат меѓукултурен контакт и преферираат настани и традиции што ја слават сопствената етничка култура. Поголема разновидност би можела да резултира со поголема склоност кон меѓуетнички контакт и солидарност, како што е предложено од теоријата на контакт. Место тоа, во мултиетничките соседства во Скопје преовладува самосегрегацијата на етничките групи (заедници). Особено во етнички мешовитите соседства, сегрегацијата и партикуларизацијата на активностите на етничките групи (заедници) во јавните простори спречуваат значајни (вредни) мултикултурни средби, кои иако можат да бидат површни, сепак се директни.

Коетничката социјализација не е преференција за одредени етнички групи (заедници). Македонците, Албанците и другите имаат сличен просоцијален став кон сопствената етничка група (заедница). Постојат етнички неутрални одлуки, како што се изборот на јавни простори за одмор и рекреација и, генерално, граѓаните во етнички похомогените соседства покажуваат поголема љубопитност и подготвеност за меѓукултурни доживувања во настани и простори со различни етнички групи, отколку граѓаните во етнички мешовитите соседства.

Во Скопје, луѓето ја прифаќаат различноста како факт, но, сепак, избираат да останат во рамките на сопствените етнички граници и комфор-

ни зони на етнички обележани простори. Тенденциите за хомогеност на „другата“ група и фаворизирање во сопствената група што ги практикуваат граѓаните во Скопје го обликуваат нивното лично однесување и став кон другите и во тој поглед, каде и со кого да се дружат. Ова не значи дека јавните простори не се важни во секојдневните искуства. Јавните простори во соседствата во Скопје не се планирани да поддржуваат мултикултурна размена и условите во кои се водат и одржуваат меѓугрупни контакти не се систематски вклучени како дел од пошироката политика за социо-просторна интеграција.

Концептот на „соодветен граѓанин“ изграден преку симболичното значење на објектите сместени (акомодирани) во јавните простори ја овековечува етнонационалната реторика и произведува ефект на „режиран мултикултурализам“. Во случајот на Скопје, практиката на сместување (акомодација) на разновидност во јавниот простор поддржува форми на изрази на припадност што се ограничени на националната држава и етничката идентификација. Јавните простори и во етнички мешовитите и во етнички похомогените соседства обезбедуваат удобност и позитивни искуства со разновидност, но не генерираат прифаќање и визуелно признавање на симболите на другите етнички истории и култури. Соодветноста на јазикот (јазиците) што се користи во јавните простори генерира несогласувања меѓу граѓаните во етнички похомогените и во етнички мешовитите соседства. Македонците почесто од Албанците и помалите етнички заедници ја поддржуваат нормативноста на јазикот на мнозинството. Употребата на јазиците на другите етнички групи (заедници) се смета за прашање од приватната сфера. Албанците се поделени за ова прашање, со речиси еднаков дел од нив што ја поддржуваат и отфрлаат нормативноста на мнозинскиот јазик, и во етничките соседства каде што претставуваат мнозинство, како и во етнички мешовитите соседства. Оваа поделба ја следи и аверзија кон гледање знаци на јавни места напишани на јазиците на помалите етничките групи (заедници). Етничките групи (заедници) во мнозинство се особено чувствителни на непочитувањето од страна на помалите етнички групи (заедници) кон националните симболи, како што се службениот јазик или националното знаме. Ова се толкува како закана за националното единство. Потребата за повеќе коетнички симболи во јавниот простор предизвикува страв од доминација, но, исто така, го одразува и длабокиот страв од прераспределба на моќта и на ресурсите меѓу групите, непријатност во предизвикувањето на доминантниот поглед на светот и на хомогеноста на политичката заедница. Овие стравувања ја зацврстуваат етничката припадност како чувар на опстанокот на групата.

Формата, обликот и објектите сместени (акомодирани) во јавните простори во соседствата во Скопје раскажуваат „приказна за припадност“, која е „повеќе за нормите и за вредностите на една хомогена културно дефинирана заедница“ (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 148), отколку за разликите во политичката заедница или за „постојано реконфигурираните колективни идентитети“ (Parekh, 2008: 41). Јавните простори и симболичната застапеност на културите и на етничките истории станаа дел од емоционализацијата на припадноста (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 152). Развивањето на чувствата за „дома“, идентификацијата и прифаќањето на воспоставениот редослед претставен во обликот и симболичното значење на објектите сместени (акомодирани) во јавните простори, инсистираат кон лојалност кон националната држава и ја намалуваат вредноста на други форми на колективна идентификација, особено на тие со непосредната урбана средина, соседството и со урбаниот градски идентитет.

Значи, каде лежи трансформацијата кон создавање повеќе заеднички јавни простори во еден мултикултурен град? Кои специфични принципи обезбедуваат рамка за управување на различностите во еден мултикултурен град?

Трансформативни искуства на различноста во инклузивни јавни простори се поттикнати преку социјално планирање што стимулира дружељубиво живеење. Во сегашниот контекст, такви примери се простори во кои се остварува мултикултурно образование и отворените јавни простори за одмор и за рекреација. Иако постои формална еднаквост и неограничен пристап во јавните простори во соседствата во Скопје, самосегрегацијата меѓу етничките групи (заедници) опстојува и се ефектуира во етнички простори. И ова е повеќе од само ефект на лошо планирани физички простори. Тоа е одраз на недостигот од социјално планирање на просторот, на разлики во социјалниот статус и е одраз на поделено општество на повеќе нивоа: лингвистички, во образованието и во културната потрошувачка. Социјалното планирање на јавните простори може да надомести за некои од маните од технички воденото урбанистичко планирање. Тоа може да го префрли урбанистичкото планирање од визијата на апстрактните планери кон искуствата на луѓето, а особено на препознавањето на различностите сместени (акомодирани) во јавните простори. Главен предизвик за урбанистичко планирање во мултикултурен контекст е примената (акомодирањето) на политика на признавање, која прифаќа културна независност во рамките на индивидуалистичката рамка на еднаквост, праведност и на почитување на

разликите. Основните принципи на планирање на јавните простори што ја препознаваат разликноста треба да вклучуваат толкување и препознавање на разликите преку размислување и активна урбана припадност; секојдневен ангажман и меѓузависност на целите и на активностите; и социјалното планирање на јавните простори како места на конфликт и на разговори, за разлика од технократски, „режиран“ мултикултурализам. Уште повеќе, „конструирани“ простори за дебатирање што овозможуваат поголема идентификација треба да бидат достапни и во неформалниот амбиент на самоорганизирање на граѓаните, како и во формалното ангажирање на граѓаните. Во социјално и етнички разновидни контексти, институционализацијата на механизмите за сместување (акомодација) и промовирањето политичка култура на дебата може да ги избегне есенцијалистичките последици на припадноста.

Постојат предизвици во тоа овие принципи да станат „жива“ практика. Меѓу нив се работа со интернализираната политичка немоќ меѓу граѓаните и елитистичката практика за планирање од горе, па надолу. На граѓаните во Скопје им недостига познавања на техничката страна на урбанистичкото планирање, тие немаат мотивација да се ангажираат во донесувањето одлуки за прашања што влијаат на нивниот живот и немаат познавање за достапните механизми за граѓанско учество во постојната институционална рамка. Тие, исто така, не покажуваат социјална солидарност и граѓанска свест за да реагираат кога другите различни од нив се засегнати од одредени одлуки бидејќи разликноста не се перцепира како потенцијал за надоместување на социјалната неправда и дискриминација.

Ова истражување придонесува кон знаењето и разбирањето дека контекстот каде што се случуваат контактите меѓу различни и, често, спротивни групи, може да биде поважно од важноста што му е придадена во досегашната литература и практика. Во прилог на теоријата на контакт, ова истражување покажува дека самосегрегирањето на етничките групи може да преовладува во мултиетничките соседства. Ова треба да нè поттикне да размислиме за контекстот во кој се воспоставува контактот, а не само кон содржината на интеракцијата што се заснова на активности со заеднички и меѓузависни цели што може да се постигнат само преку соработка меѓу групите. Променетата етничка демографија на соседствата во Скопје опфаќа и други социо-културни и визуелни трансформации на јавните простори, што може да ја интензивира недовербата меѓу групите и одразува длабок страв од прераспределба на моќ и на ресурси и предизвикани културни вредности и погледи на светот.

Таквиот контекст не е поволен услов за развивање позитивни меѓугрупни контакти.

Ова истражување, исто така, ја потврдува важната улога на граѓаните и нивната мобилизација во креирањето на јавниот простор. Процесот на креирање на просторот (актери, улоги, хиерархија на моќ) не треба да се сведува на активности на урбаните планери, туку да биде инсталиран како процес на јавното производство на просторот.

На крај, граѓаните во мултикултурните соседства и градот Скопје треба да го преиспитаат урбаниот идентитет и да наметнат припадност кон локалниот простор како важна димензија на идентификација со просторот / местото. Како што забележуваат Ван Бошове, Рушиновиќ и Енгберсен (Van Bochove, Rušinović and, Engbersen, 2009: 117), локалното ниво „нуди примарно место за активно граѓанство и за процесите на социјална идентификација“. Политичкото спроведување на принципите на планирање што ја препознаваат разликоста врз основа на механизмите за дебатирање, налагаат нова култура на планирање, како и урбанисти што „ги надминуваат односите на моќ“ (Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000: 923) и граѓани што се подготвени да ги прошируваат личните и колективни граници, да поставуваат прашања, да дебатираат и критички да ја набљудуваат мултикултурната реалност на нашиот град.

Akomodimi i diversitetit kulturor në hapësirat publike: rasti i qytetit të Shkupit (Maqedoni)

Diversitet, akomodim, konflikt ndëretnik, hapësirë publike, qytetari urbane, planifikim urban, Shkup.

Përmbledhje e shkurtër

Qasja në hapësirën e përbashkët publike dhe akomodimi i diversitetit kulturor në hapësirat publike paraqet sfidë për planifikimin urbanistik dhe menaxhimin në qytetet multikulturore me përvojën e konfliktit të dhunshëm ndëretnik. Përgjigjet e këtyre sfidave kërkojnë mirëkuptim të mekanizmave që e lehtësojnë integrimin në nivel qyteti dhe të përmirësojnë ndërveprimin shoqëror midis grupeve etnike (komuniteteve). Diversiteti etnik dhe heterogjeniteti kulturor janë reale në qytetin e Shkupit, kryeqytet i Republikës së Maqedonisë. Ndryshimi i demografisë etnike dhe prishja e ekuilibrit të pushtetit midis shumicës dhe grupeve të pakicës (komuniteteve) në nivele lokale shkaktojnë një konflikt turbulent – si ai i menaxhimit të diversiteteve në hapësirën publike. Prandaj, është e domosdoshme të eksplorohet se në cilat kushte diversiteti kulturor në qytetet dhe lagjet multikulturore mund të ndikojë në jetën e banorëve dhe çfarë ndikimi ka (Low, Taplin, dhe Scheld, 2005).

Në kontekst të njohjes së diversitetit në Maqedoni, besimi popullor i politikanëve, akademikëve apo njerëzve të zakonshëm është se akomodimi i diversiteteve në hapësirën publike nënkuptohet si e drejtë e grupit dominues që identiteti etnik i anëtarëve të tij të përfaqësohet në mënyrë vizuale në territorin që ata zënë. Simbolet e historisë etnike dhe memoria kulturore e grupit e lehtësojnë njohjen dhe identifikimin me hapësirën, e cila e shndërron atë në një hapësirë etnike. Nacionalizmi i ri kulturor i kapitalizuar në projektin “Shkupi 2014” i aktualizoi narrativet mono-etnike në hapësirat publike dhe i hoqi kujtimet e “rrezikshme” të tjetrit/të tjerëve, duke e reduktuar rolin e qytetarëve në “vëzhgues” të zakonshëm të procesit se si krijohen hapësirat, komunitetet dhe qyteti.

Prandaj, ky hulumtim synon të kuptojë se si qytetarët e qytetit të Shkupit e shikojnë praktikën e akomodimit të diversitetit kulturor në hapësirat publike. Në veçanti, ai ka për qëllim t'i kuptojë qëndrimet e qytetarëve rreth asaj se si gjuha, etnia, feja dhe simbolet kulturore kolektive janë legjitimuar përmes formës fizike dhe vlerave politike, sociale dhe simbolike (kulturore) të hapësirave publike në lagjet e tyre. Qëllimi kryesor në ky hulumtim është të zhvillojë një kornizë për planifikimin e hapësirave publike të diversitetit në qytetet multi-kulturore.

Pavarësisht kontributit të rëndësishëm të shkencave politike, sociologjisë, studimeve kulturore dhe psikologjisë sociale mbi aspektet filozofike dhe pragmatike të multi-kulturalizmit, në Maqedoni ka njohuri relativisht të pakta se si publiku i gjerë e kupton multi-kulturalizmin dhe çfarë kupton me qasjen e drejtë dhe të barabartë ndaj diversitetit, përfshirë dhe pjesëmarrjen e qytetarëve në marrjen e vendimeve për hapësirën urbane të qytetit (pyetja 1 e hulumtimit). Për më tepër, një analizë krahasuese e perceptimeve të qytetarëve për praktikën e akomodimit të diversiteteve në lagjet etnikisht më homogjene dhe etnikisht të përziera mund të zbulojë se ku qëndron fuqia potenciale transformuese. Ajo gjithashtu mund të konstatojë nëse qytetarët në lagjet etnikisht të përziera ushqejnë praktika më përfshirëse të njohjes së diversitetit në hapësirat publike dhe nëse lagjet të tilla përfaqësojnë një mënyrë për të krijuar më shumë hapësira të përbashkëta publike në një qytet multi-kulturor (pyetja 2 e hulumtimit). Eksplorimi i asaj që qytetarët e konsiderojnë si të përshtatshme në lidhje me përfaqësimin e diversitetit në hapësirën publike mund të tregojë se si ndërtohet koncepti i "qytetarit të duhur" (pyetja 3 e hulumtimit). Përfundimisht, ky hulumtim është bazë për përpunimin e parimeve specifike që ofrojnë një kornizë për menaxhimin e diversitetit brenda një qyteti multi-kulturor (pyetja 4 e hulumtimit).

Teorikisht, qëllimi kryesor për të zhvilluar një koncept për planifikimin e hapësirave publike të diversitetit në qytetet multi-kulturore ka tre shtylla: hapësirë publike, identitet dhe diversitet. Temat transversale janë politika e njohjes, multi-kulturalizmi, ideologjia, pushteti dhe debati. Ky hulumtim bazohet në paradigmen shoqërore konstruktive dhe interpreton lidhjen e ndërtuar midis hapësirave publike dhe përdoruesve të tyre duke filluar nga tri korniza kryesore teorike, domethënë, hipoteza e kontaktit (Allport, 1979), teoria e krijimit të hapësirës (Lefebvre, 1991) dhe teoria e identitetit social (Tajfel, 1974). Sipas hipotezës së kontaktit, kontaktet midis grupeve përmirësohen në kushte të statusit të barabartë. Përveç kësaj, duke punuar në aktivitete që ndajnë qëllime të përbashkëta, duke nxitur bashkëpunimin në vend të konkurrencës dhe duke u mbështetur nga autoritetet dhe institucionet, të gjitha këto janë mënyra efek-

tive për të zvogëluar armiqësinë dhe paragjykimet midis grupeve. Një aspekt i pashmangshëm i situatës së kontaktit është vendndodhja e tij. Ky hulumtim fokusohet në kontekstin fizik të kontaktit - atij në hapësirat publike. Megjithatë, Lefebvre (2009) nuk e njeh hapësirën si një realitet të pastër material, por të krijuar dhe lidhur ngushtë me realitetin social - hapësirën shoqërore. Ai argumenton se çdo analizë e hapësirës shoqërore duhet të fillojë me hapësirën fizike dhe përdoruesit e saj, si dhe me përvojën e drejtpërdrejtë në hapësirën e jetës së përditshme. Përfundimisht, përvojat, perceptimet dhe ndjenjat e ngjizura në hapësirat publike simbolizohen në peizazhin urban dhe ato mund ta përforcojnë identifikimin individual dhe, në veçanti, të lehtësojnë ndërtimin e një identiteti vendor.

Identiteti shoqëror, si pjesë e vetë konceptit, rrjedh nga njohuria se çfarë do të thotë të jesh anëtar i një grupi ose grupeve të caktuara, duke përfshirë vlerën dhe rëndësinë emocionale të anëtarësimit që shpesh lidhet me përkatësinë në një hapësirë të caktuar.

Ky hulumtim është përqendruar në qytetin e Shkupit. Ai përdor metoda sasiore dhe cilësore. Metodologjia kuantitative përfshin një qasje të dyanshme për analiza në dy hapësira etnikisht më homogjene (komuna e Kisela Vodës dhe komuna e Sarajit) dhe dy hapësirave etnikisht të përziera (komuna e Çairit dhe komuna e Butelit). Në këto komuna janë intervistuar 403 anëtarë të familjeve të përzgjedhura rastësisht duke përdorur një pyetësor të strukturuar. Për të kuptuar më mirë përgjigjet e qytetarëve, janë realizuar edhe 30 intervista bazuar në një pyetësor të hapur me banorët e lagjeve të përzgjedhura. Zgjedhja e personave të intervistuar është bërë në mënyrë të përshtatshme.

Rezultatet tregojnë se vlera politike e hapësirave publike në stimulimin e kontaktit, diskutimit dhe debatit ndërmjet qytetarëve për çështjet e interesit të tyre është shkelur. Hapësirat publike në lagjet e Shkupit nuk planifikohen dhe menaxhohen nëpërmjet një forumi të gjerë për angazhim të qytetarëve, por as nuk ekziston diskutim ndërmjet banorëve për nevojat, qëndrimet, perspektivat dhe pikëpamjet për botën. Më pak se një e katërta e qytetarëve kanë qenë në një mbledhje të këshillit të komunës për të diskutuar mbi përfaqësimin publik të diversitetit, ndërsa më pak se një e treta kanë marrë pjesë në çdo aktivitet të diskutimit në këtë temë në nivel lokal. Qytetarët konfirmojnë se ata nuk janë ftuar as janë informuar për ndonjë aktivitet të diskutimit në këtë temë. Kjo tregon që qytetarët e Shkupit nuk diskutojnë, flasin apo debatojnë për çështje të politikës së interesit të përbashkët me bashkëqytetarët e tyre, as nuk diskutojnë për çështje të tilla me përfaqësuesit e tyre të zgjedhur në organet komunale. Qytetarët madje dyshojnë nëse debatet të çfarëdo forme po ndodhin në lagjen

e tyre dhe gjithashtu u mungon vetëdija qytetare e pjesëmarrjes si një e drejtë dhe detyrë. Në një kontekst të fragmentuar politikisht dhe shoqërisht, marrja e vendimeve për përfaqësimin e diversitetit është një proces i cili është vetëm në duart e politikanëve. Modeli etnik i akomodimit, i lehtësuar përmes elitave politike, nuk jep mundësi për pjesëmarrje të barabartë të të gjithë individëve në fjalë. Si rezultat, qytetarët nuk e ndjejnë se janë pjesë e vendimeve të marra për mënyrën e paraqitjes së larmisë në hapësirat publike.

Personat e punësuar dhe ekonomikisht joaktiv më shpesh se personat e papunë marrin pjesë në aktivitetet e diskutimit për akomodimin e diversitetit në hapësira publike në nivel vendor, ndërsa ata me kualifikime të larta arsimore janë më pak të motivuara të marrin pjesë në diskutime të tilla këshilluese. Për më tepër, grupet etnike të pakicës më të madhe në numër, tregojnë një nivel më të lartë të pjesëmarrjes sesa grupet etnike të shumicës më të madhe në numër.

Rezultatet tregojnë se pjesëmarrja në proceset lokale të vendimmarrjes mbi mënyrën e akomodimit të diversitetit në hapësira publike nuk ndikohet nga homogjeniteti i lagjes. Nivelet e pjesëmarrjes në mes të lagjeve etnike homogjene dhe atyre të përziera në shqyrtimin e përfaqësimit publik të diversitetit nuk ndryshojnë. Megjithatë, niveli i pjesëmarrjes është shumë i ulët. Në zonat homogjene, mund të jetë më e lehtë për banorët të vijnë në zgjidhje të përbashkëta, por një problem gjithnjë e më i madh qëndron në motivimin e pjesëmarrjes së qytetarëve në procesin e krijimit të politikës. Përfundimi nga debati nuk ndodh vetëm në lagjet e përziera dhe me grupe më të pakta në numër ose më pak të fuqishme, por duket se është pjesë e një kulture më të gjerë politike që demonstroi se si (nuk) funksionon demokracia në shoqëritë pas tranzicionit. Pafuqia, mosbesimi ndaj politikanëve, pasiviteti politik, qytetaria e atomizuar dhe klientelizmi janë disa nga rezultatet e një modeli të qeverisjes së diversitetit të bazuar në elita, që po praktikohet në Maqedoni.

Edhe pse shumë të politizuara, hapësirat publike në Shkup përjashtohen nga çdo diskutim mbi ndryshimin dhe transformimin e përmbajtjes dominuese etno-kulturore të përkatësisë dhe ideologjisë homogjenizuese të qytetarisë, duke mos lënë kështu mundësi për qytetarët që të diskutojnë hapur për frikën e tyre, shqetësimet dhe veprimet e mundshme të përbashkëta.

Sa i përket funksionit shoqëror të hapësirave publike, rezultatet tregojnë se potenciali i hapësirave publike për ta katalizuar “multi-kulturalizmin e përditshëm” nuk është shfrytëzuar plotësisht. Etno-nacionalizmi dhe lufta simbolike për pushtet midis grupeve më të mëdha etnike (komuniteteve) në Shkup rezultojnë në preferencat bashkë-etnike në socializimin dhe përzgjedhjen e hapësirave publike.

Në veçanti, anëtarët e grupeve të ndryshme etnike që jetojnë në lagje të përziera kanë tendencë të shmangin kontaktin ndërkulturor dhe preferojnë ngjarje dhe tradita që festojnë kulturën e tyre etnike. Diversiteti më i madh mund të rezultojë me një prirje më të madhe për kontakt dhe solidaritet ndëretnik, siç sugjerohet nga teoria e kontaktit. Përkundrazi, në lagjet multi-etnike në Shkup, mbizotëron vetë-ndarja e grupeve etnike.

Veçanërisht në zonat etnikisht të përziera, ndarja dhe veçimi i veprimtarive të grupeve etnike (komuniteteve) në hapësira publike pengojnë takime të rëndësishme multi-kulturore që edhe pse mund të jenë sipërfaqësore, prapëseprapë janë të drejtpërdrejta.

Socializimi bashkë-etnik nuk është një preferencë për grupe etnike (komunitete) të veçanta. Maqedonasit, shqiptarët dhe të tjerët kanë një qëndrim të ngjashëm pro-social ndaj grupit (komunitetit) të tyre etnik. Ekzistojnë vendime etnike neutrale, siç janë zgjedhja e hapësirave publike për pushim dhe rekreacion, dhe në përgjithësi, njerëzit në lagjet më homogjene nga ana etnike tregojnë kureshtje dhe gatishmëri më të madhe për përvoja ndërkulturore në ngjarje dhe hapësira me grupe të ndryshme etnike sesa në lagjet etnikisht të përziera.

Në Shkup, njerëzit e pranojnë diversitetin si një fakt, por ende zgjedhin të qëndrojnë brenda kufijve të tyre etnikë dhe zonave të rehatisë me hapësira të shënuara etnikisht. Tendencat për homogjenitet të “grupit” tjetër dhe favorizimi brenda grupit të cilin e praktikojnë qytetarët e Shkupit e modelojnë sjelljen e tyre personale dhe qëndrimin e tyre ndaj të tjerëve dhe, në këtë drejtim, ku dhe me kë të shoqërohen.

Kjo nuk do të thotë se hapësirat publike nuk janë të rëndësishme në përvojat e përditshme. Hapësirat publike në lagjet e Shkupit nuk janë planifikuar të mbështesin shkëmbimin multi-kulturor dhe kushtet në të cilat realizohen dhe mbahen kontaktet midis grupeve nuk janë përfshirë në mënyrë sistematike si pjesë e një politike më të gjerë për integrimin socio-hapësinor. Koncepti i “qytetarit të përshtatshëm” të ndërtuar nëpërmjet kuptimit simbolik të objekteve të akomoduara në hapësirat publike, e përjetëson retorikën etnike dhe prodhon efektin e “multi-kulturalizmit të organizuar”. Në rastin e Shkupit, praktikatat e akomodimit të diversitetit në hapësirat publike mbështesin formën të shprehjes së përkatësisë që kufizohet në shtetin kombëtar dhe identitetin etnik.

Hapësirat publike në lagjet e përziera dhe ato homogjene nga pikëpamja etnike ofrojnë komoditet dhe përvoja pozitive me diversitetin, por nuk krijo-

jnë pranim dhe njohje vizuale të simboleve të historive dhe kulturave të tjera etnike. Përputhshmëria e gjuhës (gjuhëve) që përdoren në hapësirat publike gjeneron mosmarrëveshje ndërmjet banorëve në lagjet më homogjene nga ana etnike dhe ato të përziera. Maqedonasit më shpesh se shqiptarët dhe etnitetet e tjera më të vogla, e mbështesin normativën e gjuhës së shumicës.

Përdorimi i gjuhëve të grupeve (komuniteteve) të tjera etnike konsiderohet si një çështje për sferën private. Shqiptarët janë më të ndarë në këtë çështje, me një përqindje pothuajse të barabartë të njerëzve që mbështesin dhe refuzojnë normativën e gjuhës së shumicës, si në lagjet etnike ku ato përfaqësojnë shumicën dhe në lagjet e përziera. Kjo ndarje përputhet me një neveri për të parë shenja në hapësira publike të shkruara në gjuhët e pakicave (komuniteteve) etnike.

Grupet etnike (komunitetet) në shumicë janë veçanërisht të ndjeshme ndaj mosrespektimit nga ana e pakicave etnike të simboleve kombëtare, siç janë gjuha zyrtare ose flamuri kombëtar. Kjo është interpretuar si një kërcënim për unitetin kombëtar. Nevoja për më shumë simbole bashkë-etnike në hapësirën publike shkakton frikë nga dominimi, por gjithashtu pasqyron dhe një frikë më të thellë të rishpërndarjes së fuqisë dhe resurseve midis grupeve, parehati në sfidën e botëkuptimit dominues dhe homogjenitetit të bashkësisë politike. Kjo frikë e forcon përkatësinë etnike si kujdestare të mbijetesës së grupit.

Forma, trajta dhe objektet e akomoduar në hapësirat publike në lagjet e Shkupit tregojnë një "histori të përkatësisë" që bëhet "më shumë rreth normave dhe vlerave të një komuniteti homogjen të definuar në mënyrë kulturore" (Slootman dhe Duyvendak, 2015: 148) sesa për dallimet në bashkësinë politike ose për të "rikonfiguruar vazhdimisht identitetet kolektive" (Parekh, 2008: 41). Hapësirat publike dhe përfaqësimi simbolik i kulturave dhe historive etnike janë bërë pjesë e emocionalizimit të përkatësisë (Slootman dhe Duyvendak, 2015: 152).

Zhvillimi i ndjenjave për "*shtëpinë*", identifikimi dhe pranimi i rendit të vendosur në formë dhe kuptimi simbolik i objekteve të vendosura në hapësira publike këmbëngulin për besnikëri ndaj shtetit kombëtar dhe e zvogëlojnë vlerën e formave të tjera të identifikimit kolektiv, sidomos ato me mjedisin e drejtpërdrejtë urban, lagjen dhe identitetin e qytetit urban.

Pra, ku qëndron transformimi drejt krijimit të hapësirave më të përbashkëta publike në një qytet multi-kulturor? Cilat parime specifike sigurojnë një kornizë për menaxhimin e diversitetit brenda një qyteti multi-kulturor?

Përvojat transformuese të diversitetit në hapësira publike përfshirëse nxiten nëpërmjet planifikimit shoqëror që stimulon jetesë shoqërore. Në kontekstin e tanishëm shembuj të tillë janë mjediset ku realizohet edukimi multi-kulturor dhe hapësira të hapura publike që përdoren për pushim dhe rekreacion. Edhe pse ka barazi formale dhe qasje të pakufizuar në hapësirat publike në lagjet e Shkupit, vetë-ndarja mes grupeve etnike (komuniteteve) vazhdon dhe zbatohet në hapësirat etnike. Dhe kjo është më shumë se thjesht një efekt i planifikimit të keq të hapësirës fizike. Kjo është një pasqyrim i mungesës së planifikimit social të hapësirave, i ndryshimeve në statusin social dhe është reflektim i shoqërisë së ndarë në shumë nivele: gjuhësore, në arsim dhe në konsum kulturor. Planifikimi social i hapësirave publike mund të kompensojë disa nga mangësitë në planifikimin teknik urban.

Ai mund ta zhvendosë planifikimin urban nga vizioni i planifikuesve abstraktë drejt përvojave të njerëzve dhe, në veçanti, në njohjen e diversitetit të akomoduar në hapësirat publike. Një sfidë kryesore për planifikimin urban në një kontekst multi-kulturor është zbatimi i politikës së njohjes, e cila pranon pavarësi kulturore brenda një kuadri individualist të barazisë, drejtësisë dhe të respektimit të dallimit.

Parimet themelore të planifikimit të hapësirave publike që e njohin diversitetin duhet të përfshijnë: *interpretimin dhe njohjen e dallimeve përmes të menduarit dhe përkatësisë aktive urbane; angazhimin e zakonshëm dhe ndërvlerësues të qëllimeve dhe veprimeve; dhe planifikimin social të hapësirave publike si vende të konfliktit dhe negocimit, në dallim nga multi-kulturalizmi teknokratik, "i organizuar".*

Për më tepër, hapësirat e "ndërtuara" për debat që mundësojnë identifikim më të madh duhet të jenë të disponueshme edhe në mjedisin joformal të vetorganizimit të qytetarëve si dhe në angazhimin formal të qytetarëve. Në kontekste të ndryshme shoqërore dhe etnike, institucionalizimi i mekanizmave të akomodimit dhe promovimi i kulturës politike të debatit mund t'i shmang pasojat esenciale të përkatësisë.

Ekzistojnë sfida për t'i bërë këto parime një praktikë "të gjallë". Midis tyre janë puna me paaftësinë e brendshme politike midis qytetarëve dhe praktika e planifikimit nga ana e elitës, nga sipër, poshtë. Qytetarëve të Shkupit u mungojnë njohuri për anën teknike të planifikimit urban, ata nuk kanë motivim për t'u angazhuar në vendimmarrje për çështjet që ndikojnë në jetën e tyre dhe nuk kanë njohuri për mekanizmin e disponueshëm për pjesëmarrje të qytetarëve brenda kornizës institucionale ekzistuese.

Ata gjithashtu nuk tregojnë solidaritetit shoqëror dhe vetëdije qytetare për të reaguar kur të tjerët, të ndryshëm nga ata janë të prekur nga vendime të caktuara, sepse diversiteti nuk perceptohet si një potencial për të kompensuar padrejtësitë shoqërore dhe të diskriminimit.

Ky hulumtim kontribuon në njohjen dhe kuptimin se konteksti ku ndodhin kontaktet ndërmjet grupeve të ndryshme dhe shpesh kundërshtare mund të jetë më i rëndësishëm sesa rëndësia që i është dhënë në literaturën dhe praktikën aktuale. Në kundërshtim me teorinë e kontaktit, ky hulumtim tregon se vetë-ndarja e grupeve etnike mund të mbizotërojë në lagjet multi-etnike. Kjo duhet të na nxitë që të mendojmë për kontekstin ku vendoset kontakti dhe jo vetëm për përmbajtjen e ndërveprimit që bazohet në aktivitete me qëllime të përbashkëta dhe të ndërvarura që mund të arrihen vetëm përmes bashkëpunimit midis grupeve.

Demografia e ndryshuar etnike e lagjeve të Shkupit përfshin edhe transformime të tjera socio-kulturore dhe vizuale të hapësirave publike që mund ta intensifikojnë mosbesimin mes grupeve dhe pasqyrojnë një frikë më të thellë të rishpërndarjes së pushtetit, resurseve dhe të vlerave të shkaktuara kulturore dhe të pikëpamjeve për botën. Një kontekst i tillë nuk është një kusht i favorshëm për zhvillimin e kontakteve pozitive midis grupeve.

Ky hulumtim gjithashtu konfirmon rolin e rëndësishëm të qytetarëve dhe mobilizimin e tyre në krijimin e hapësirës publike. Procesi i krijimit të hapësirës (aktorët, rolet, hierarkitë e pushtetit) nuk duhet të reduktohet në aktivitetet e planifikuesve urban, por të instalohet si një proces i prodhimit publik të hapësirës.

Në fund, qytetarët e lagjeve multi-kulturore dhe qyteti i Shkupit duhet të rishikojnë identitetin e tyre urban dhe të imponojnë përkatësi kundrejt hapësirës lokale si një dimension i rëndësishëm i identifikimit të hapësirës/vendit. Siç vëzhgojnë Van Bochove, Rušinović dhe Engbersen (2009: 117), niveli lokal “ofron vendin primar për qytetari aktive dhe për proceset e identifikimit social”.

Zbatimi politik i parimeve të planifikimit që e njohin diversitetin bazuar në mekanizmat e diskutimit, kërkon një kulturë të re planifikimi si dhe urbanistë që “shohin përtej marrëdhënieve të pushtetit” (Yiftachel dhe Huxley, 2000: 923), dhe qytetarët të cilët janë të përgatitur për t’i zgjeruar kufijtë personale dhe kolektivë, të shtrojnë pyetje, të debatojnë dhe ta vëzhgojnë në mënyrë kritike realitetin multi-kulturor të qytetit tonë.

1. Knowing Myself through Public Space

“The Cross is not an agitation neither a provocation, but a cultural affirmation. The Cross is not anti-Islamic but part of the Macedonian culture. In Macedonia, the Cross has a right to space as the country is the core of Christianity in Europe. Macedonians, Christians, recognise their ethnic space and should mark it with a symbol that they trust. The Cross is a legitimisation of the Macedonians and they have the right to mark their ethnic space with it”¹ (Todor Petrov, 2014, translation by the author).

1.1 Introduction to Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Space

The above quotation is exempt from the speech given by Todor Petrov, leader of the political party “Svetski Makedonski Kongres” (World Macedonian Congress) at the Opening ceremony of a 51-meter, steel-framed Christian cross placed in public space in the neighbourhood of Aerodrom in Skopje, the capital city of Macedonia. In order to celebrate 2000 years of Christianity, this political party submitted an initiative to the Municipal Council to allow a 33-meter high cross to be accommodated in a public space in this neighbour-

¹ Quote is available in the text “*Makedonija raspnata megju krstot i polumesechinata*” (Macedonia divided between the Cross and the Crescent Moon).

hood. The height should have symbolised the age of Christ at the time of his death. Located just across from skyscrapers built by a Turkish company with a rumour to attract buyers from Islamic confession, the location of the cross is said to be a mere coincidence by the initiator. Why the height has changed is unknown, it seems that the demonstration of power overrules symbolism.

Petrov's quote is an illustration of the recognition of diversity within the Macedonian context. It epitomises the popular belief of politicians, academics, and ordinary people of why and how cultural and ethnic identity should be acknowledged in the public spaces of Macedonian neighbourhoods. Religion is only one aspect of diversity that, in the case of Macedonia, tends to overlap with ethnicity, culture, and national identity. To be more precise, popular discourse supports ideological conflation between ethnic groups and particular faiths. Therefore, the accommodation of diversity in public spaces is perceived as a right of the dominant group to have the ethnic identity of its members visually represented in the territory they occupy. The symbols of a group's ethnic history and cultural memory facilitate recognition and identification with space, turning it into an ethnic space. Ethnic spatial identification is perceived as a legitimate need, something that bonds people together and ingrains trust in the group's dominion of that space. It essentialises the relationship between identity and public space as natural and stable, resistant to internal change and external influences. Symbolic ownership of the territory assures a group's survival and cultural preservation. The ethnic symbolism within public spaces conflates ethnic history with national culture, legitimising sameness between ethnic and national space. This conflation propagates ethnic belonging as representative of the political community. Ethnic symbolism informs outsiders of the rightful owners of a space, those who are entitled to migrate and occupy the territory, but also those who are excluded. It requires newcomers and visitors to accept and respect the represented worldview of those that dominate the space. Finally, it suggests that the right to decide on the ethnic identity of a space is entitled to a single group, the numerically dominant ethnic group in a neighbourhood.

This political stance is contested from several perspectives. Firstly, it speaks of ethnicity as a driving and decisive factor in "doing politics". It essentialises diversity to an ethnic and cultural specificity and to a mode of politics that focuses on the cultural sustenance of ethnic boundaries in a constitutionally framed multicultural country. Secondly, it perpetuates a politics of recognition that accentuates the right of the dominant ethnic group to interpret and decide on the political act of production and representation of diversity in the public sphere. This is particularly pertinent in a historical moment when power-shar-

ing mechanisms work to de-nationalise the state and policy discourse. Thirdly, it upholds a politics of belonging where the power to control the social order and political act of production of space and place infers the ability to control and manipulate what is constituted as appropriate behaviour and who is the “good citizen”.

Naturalising the way these processes construct and reproduce the moral and valuable worldviews in the public space impacts more than just the physical spaces in neighbourhoods. Such processes involve a reproduction of normality: of who and what belongs where, and who and what is excluded. Finally, it reduces the role of citizens to mere spectators of how spaces, communities, and cities are created. It locates planning and decision-making power within the political elite, epitomising how democracy works in a post-socialistic context.

Ethnic diversity and cultural heterogeneity are intrinsic to the social make-up of city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, and the majority of its neighbourhoods. The changed ethnic demographic and redressed power-balance between majority and non-majority groups on a local level spur some of the most turbulent conflicts around the governance of diversity in public space. Questions repeatedly asked of multicultural cities and neighbourhoods is whether and under which conditions cultural diversity can improve the lives of the residents (Low, Taplin, and Scheld, 2005). This thesis argues that work that “makes a difference” and benefits particular neighbourhoods and the wider community can only be done if accommodation of diversity in public space is facilitated in a process that: (a) brings citizens together to openly deliberate on their history, culture, ethical practice, moral code and worldview; (b) facilitates communal processes of recognition within both institutionally regulated mechanisms and informal spaces that incorporate deliberation and non-majority groups’ participation in interpretation of the needs and claims for acknowledgement; (c) understands the constructedness of the relationship between identity, space, citizenship and belonging; and (d) encourages transgression of static boundaries between groups, associations, belongings.

When planning of diversity in public space is left unregulated and *blind* for the various users, their needs and views, envisioning of diverse public spaces is confined by the hands of politicians and local urban planners. The technical side of urban planning in many cases is used to legitimise the imaginaries of the political elites, as part of a wider ethno-nationalist concept of acknowledging identity in public spaces. Rishbeth (2001: 351) reminds us that “in order to treat people equally it is important to respond to their diversity”. In her

view, symbols accommodated in public space provide a continual timeline, a reference to the past and expression of today's aspiration. "They represent a need to be acknowledged, and invite a response to a distinctive identity", concludes Rishbeth (2001: 358). As a result, symbols are accommodated to inform the distinctiveness of particular ethnic groups occupying a space as well as to inform outsiders, and the dominant ethnic group of the presence of other ethnicities in the neighbourhood and the state.

1.2 Research Aim and Questions

The aim of the thesis is to understand how citizens of the city of Skopje perceive the practices of accommodation of cultural diversity in public space; their understanding of the relation between ethnicity and public space; and the effect of socio-spatial integration among different ethnic groups. In particular, the aim of this thesis is to understand what citizens think of the way language, ethnicity, religion and collective cultural symbols are legitimised through the physical form and the political, social and symbolic (cultural) value of public spaces in our neighbourhoods. Theoretically, the overarching goal of the research is to develop a framework for the planning of public spaces of diversity in multicultural cities. Despite the significant groundwork in the field of political science, sociology, cultural studies and social psychology on the philosophical and pragmatic aspects of multiculturalism, there is relatively little knowledge of the public's understanding of multiculturalism and of the public's views on fair and *just* accommodation of diversity. Citizens' views in policy making tend to be minimised and belittled. Since citizens are those who directly experiencing diversity, this remains an important question because, as Verkuyten (2004: 54) observes: "multicultural societies consist of people that face the actual task of living with cultural diversity. There is a clear need for a better understanding of the everyday meanings and ways of thinking about multiculturalism. For one thing, this may provide clues on how to influence and redress existing views, and to implement policies that improve group relations". Such a shift towards citizen's perceptions would aid in understanding the praxis through which diversity is accommodated in public space, the meaning and value of public space in the neighbourhoods, its boundaries, legitimate creators, principles of inclusion/exclusion and intercultural encounters, as well as of the appropriate signifiers of the public space. Furthermore, by comparing the citizens' perceptions of practices of accommodation of diversi-

ty in more mono-ethnic and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods it is possible to explore where the transformative accommodation power lies. Citizens in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods are expected to nurture more inclusive practices of recognising diversity in public space and such neighbourhoods could represent a way toward the production of shared and more civic public spaces in a multicultural city. Finally, exploring what citizens perceive as appropriate in regards to representation of diversity in public space may inform how the concept of the “citizen” is constructed, whether citizenship is conceived as an ethnic belonging or as an inclusive civic concept, and may also help us create principles of urban planning in multicultural contexts that recognise diversity.

Practices of accommodation of diversity refer to the acts by which language, ethnicity, religion, culture and collective symbols are installed and recognised in public space. These practices vary from a representation of more than one official language on road signalisation, board signs of streets, schools, public institutions and private entities, toward an official use of ethnic minority language in communication with local and national authorities, in education, cultural activities and public addresses by politicians and governmental officials. Furthermore, practices of accommodation of diversity can include the building of religious objects in public spaces, enactment of monuments of specific ethnic importance, and use of ethnocultural symbols (flags, ethnic shops, etc.) in common public spaces and during public celebrations and state holidays. The technical framing and utilisation of the acts by which diversity is accommodated in public spaces is within the hands of the authorities. The public(s) (Fraser, 1992) should be consulted and in light of more participatory governance approaches and decentralisation of power from national to local level, citizens ought to have more obligations and responsibilities in making local democracy work.

Based on this, the central research question is formulated as: What do citizens of a multicultural city think of the practices through which diversity has been accommodated in the urban public space, in particular what are their perceptions of the political, social and symbolic value of public spaces in multicultural neighbourhoods?

The research sub-questions are formulated as:

- How are issues of diversity accommodated through the form, composition and enclosure of public spaces in multicultural cities?
- Are there differences between mono-ethnic and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods?

- Which policies and practices help to mitigate and mediate conflicts in accommodation of diversity in the public space?
- Are there transformative accommodation practices of diversity that promote “new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging” (Sandercock, 2004: 7)?
- How do accommodation practices of diversity within the form, composition and enclosure of public space inform/shape the concept of citizenship in a multicultural context?
- Can specific principles be elaborated, which provide a framework for governance of diversity within a multicultural city?
- Which are the new roles and responsibilities of multicultural cities in relation to the appropriate accommodation practices of diversity in public space?

1.3 Theoretical Positioning

In order to understand the role of public spaces in facilitating socio-spatial integration, as intended by this work, it is not enough to reference to the architectural tradition and the normative approach of public spaces as simply a built environment. The growing importance of space as a “combination of people, objects, and events” (Madanipour, 1996: 3) urges for an inter-disciplinary approach in grasping the complexity and potential of urban public spaces. Such study should inevitably combine theory and practice coming from disciplines engaged in understanding both the physical and the social dimensions of space. This work departs from several disciplines, namely: urban planning and urban sociology, environmental and social psychology, ethnic and political studies. Theoretically, the overarching goal, to create a concept of planning public spaces of diversity in multicultural cities, has three pillars, namely: public space, identity and diversity. The transversal themes are politics of recognition, multiculturalism, ideology, power and deliberation.

To understand the political, social and cultural value of public spaces as constructed through the experiences, identifications and feelings of the users (i.e. the citizens) means to adopt an interpretive position. This research views public spaces as multidimensional and constructed in the social process of production and exchange between actors which are distinct in every society.

The research seeks to understand the way people relate or fail to relate to each other in public space in a quantitative manner, yet, using their own constructions of the world around them. Therefore, this research of how citizens deal with the diversity accommodated in public spaces, how they make sense of places and construct multicultural encounters in public spaces, adopts a social constructivist paradigm.

Urban planning, as a primary discipline of studying public spaces, mainly deals with the technical side of creating functional public space and rarely includes insight of how people felt about the space, what brings comfort, fear or avoidance. On the other side, studies of place-attachment, confined within environmental and community psychology, rarely discuss their implications for community development, such as the intrinsic motivation for civic participation among residents with higher place-attachment. These studies and discussions have developed in parallel, in isolation from each other (Manzo and Perkins, 2006), and with a lack of reference to the wider social, political and cultural context of neighbourhoods and cities (Manzo, 2003; Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Smith and Low (2006: 6) also argue of the difficulties of practical translation of political and economic accounts of public space into the materiality of public spaces, and the difficulty in linking ideologies, power and modes of production of space with the living experiences of the users/the citizens. The lack of an interdisciplinary approach is evident, as is the evident need to contextualise the research in multiple domains, such as the political, economic and cultural climate of intergroup relations. Political, economic, cultural and social discourses are acknowledged in shaping the physical form and value of public spaces. However, in turn, these locations confirm or contradict the accepted political and social relations between the users (Smith and Low, 2006: 5). As Manzo and Perkins (2006: 336) note, “a combination of these perspectives can provide a richer understanding—not only of how planning impacts our experience of place, but also how community-focused emotions, cognitions, and behaviours can impact community planning and development”. A more comprehensive thinking of the changing neighbourhoods and public spaces is possible only by the development of a holistic understanding of the “nature of people’s relationships to place and how such relationships influence our experiences of place and the planning practices” (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 336). This is critical for successful urban planning and neighbourhood/city development since the community phenomena happens at all of these levels simultaneously.

The research tries to interpret the constructed relationship between public spaces and the users using three main theoretical frameworks, namely, the

contact hypothesis (Allport, 1979), the theory of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991) and the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974). The contact hypothesis addresses the conditions under which ethnic stereotypes and prejudices can be challenged and reduced. Considering that outer groups are seen as homogeneous and people tend to be biased toward their own group, contact between groups under certain conditions is an effective way to reduce anxiety, hostility, and prejudice, and hence, may moderate intergroup bias. Allport (1979) argues that the complex relationship between contact and its outcomes depends on the conditions under which contact is facilitated and structured. Four optimal contact conditions are noted to be crucial for reduction of prejudices, namely: equal status among the groups in contact situations, working in activities which share common goals, promotion of cooperation instead of competition among groups, and support by authorities and institutions. Hewstone (2003: 352) terms these conditions as the “independent variable” side of the contact situation. Later, a fifth optimal contact condition is added, that of an opportunity for personal contacts (particularly involving non-stereotypic elements), operationalized as cross-group friendships (Pettigrew, 2008; Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone, 2011). Personal contacts happen in diverse social contexts accompanied by feelings of safe self-disclosure and access to cross-group friendship networks (Pettigrew, 2008: 188). These optimal conditions of the contact situation have important inputs for encounters happening in public spaces in a multicultural environment and in understanding the social value of bringing people together in bridging and bonding activities in such locations (Putnam and Goss, 2002).

An inevitable aspect of the contact situation is the locatedness of the encounter. This research focuses on the physical setting of the contact – the urban public spaces. Lefebvre (2009), however, does not recognise space as a pure material reality but as produced and fundamentally bonded to the social reality – social space. “The understanding of social space is the theoretical aspect of a social process that has, as its practical aspect, the ‘users’ movement”, writes Lefebvre (2009: 228). His writings are important in understanding the constructed nature of public spaces, as well as the politics of production of spaces. Lefebvre (2009) uses a twofold approach to space. He identifies a triad of social space, *perceived* (mental), *conceived* (social) and *lived* space (physical), also referred to as a triad of *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *spaces of representation*, dialectically related. Lefebvre (2009) argues that any analysis of the social space should begin with the physical space and the users and the experience of the space as directly lived in everyday life. Madanipour (1996: 16-17) calls this the space of the inhabitants and users, a space understood by non-verbal means.

Finally, experiences, perceptions and feeling raised in/of public spaces become symbolised in the urban landscape and they may reinforce individual identification and in particular, facilitate the building of a place identity. Current identity theories conceive identity as disentangled from the physical environment and undermine the sense of “fitting in” the environment as an important determinant of mobility behaviour. Social identities, as part of the self-concept, derive from the knowledge of what it means to be a member of a certain group or groups, including the value and emotional significance of the membership. The knowledge refers to the system of values, attitudes and actions that derives from the membership, are used to categorise individuals in distinct groups and helps orient individuals in relation to others and the society (Tajfel, 1974: 69). Social groups are relational as they are defined through the existence and relation with other groups. Individuals are perceived to have a common characteristic and belonging to a group because of the existence of other individuals, with different beliefs, values and attitudes and categorised to belong to different groups (Tajfel, 1974: 72-78). Individuals, at the same time, are members of different social groups (cultural ethnic, gender, interest based) and have multiple memberships, which makes social categorisation a dynamic concept. More importantly, social categorization in a context of salient group identity influences how people think, evaluate the behaviour of those outside their own group, and the related feelings and readiness to engage in intergroup contact (Dovidio, Gaerner, and Saguy, 2009: 4). The criteria of social categorisation that will prevail within the individual's self-perception depends on the context and social relations with other groups or the social reality and especially identity categorisations that are perceived to be under threat. If a single man is in a company of a group of women, it is expected that gender identity and not some other group affiliation prevails in his self-perception as this is his distinctive characteristic in the given social situation. The salience of the ethnic identity among minority groups will work in a similar fashion. Claims from ethnic minorities for re-balancing of the power positions in the community may instigate a majority's hostility which in turn may be replied with equally hostile defence by the minority (Doise and Sinclair, 1973). In such situations, the challenged differentiation among individuals based on their ethnic membership is “under threat” and the hostile reactions of both groups may only fix the incomprehensible ethnic/cultural differences (Tajfel, 1974: 72-78).

This research contends that strengthening the attention to the everyday practices of (re)production of spaces of diversity in mixed neighbourhoods is vital in conceiving sustainable practices of joint living in multicultural cities. The supporters of the approaches to constructing the city as a political space

(Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1989) argue that sustainability of a city should be less focused on the urban form and more on creating sustainable practices of city-building, living, producing and consuming (Valance et al., 2011). The significance of this research is the added value of public space in understanding the social dynamics of multicultural neighbourhoods. It investigates a new dimension of intercultural communication in public space which in an ethnically fragmented public life, education and cultural consumption and declining political participation, may be the only supportive mechanism of developing positive contact among diverse ethnic groups. The research adds to the body of literature that focuses on the civic function of public spaces as something that is a *natural* part of the routine of everyday life and, as such, both shapes and influences the power struggles among diverse social groups (Banerjee, 2001). The research also contributes to the critical reflection of the place-making processes undertaken in multicultural cities confronted with ethnic segregation where cultural heterogeneity, multiplicity, fragmentation and internal contradictions are discredited and banned from public visibility. The production of public space based on an ethnicised social memory of the groups reaffirms how in multicultural societies in the Balkan the territorial dimension of space is more than ever important to understanding the social and cultural relations and the everyday life experiences of multiculturalism.

1.4 Starting Point: Accommodation between Disciplines and between Personal, Social and Collective Accounts

Accommodation is a theoretical framework of mitigating conflicts in multicultural societies. It is a tool that allows recognition of the plurality of needs, values, and worldviews of social (ethnic) groups that are in conflict in constructing the social and political infrastructure.

Accommodation is also a term used in social psychology. It describes a process that on an individual level is involved in structuring personal identity. In this function, accommodation operates in conjuncture with assimilation and evaluation. These processes are triggered in each individual when it is necessary to mitigate internal conflicts arising with social change in the realm of our existence. According to Breakwell (1986: 27), assimilation is responsible for the “absorption of new components into the identity structure” while the process of accommodation is responsible for the “adjustment which occurs in the existing structure so as to find a place into which to fit the new elements”.

The process of evaluation then gives meaning and value to the new and old content of identity. More importantly, Breakwell (1986: 27) argues that while assimilation involves analysis of the new knowledge against the memory, and evaluation considers the importance of the new to be included in the identity information, “accommodation entails the rearrangement of salience and centrality hierarchies in the structure of identity”. The function of accommodation to reorganise the existing elements is important for both the personal and political level of structuring identifications.

So, how do accommodation, identity and public space relate to each other? Raising this question is an attempt to clarify the starting position and perspectives of this research. Accommodation can be seen as a process involved in structuring “the identity of public space” (the spatialised meaning), working both in conjuncture and opposition to assimilation to produce spaces of difference (multicultural or plural spaces).

The research relies on three arguments. Firstly, “who we are is often related to where we are” (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000: 27). That is, our personal identity among other components is also triggered by places and environment with meaning to us, used for recreational, leisure or other purposes and by the social relations we develop in these spaces. Thus, the neighbourhood and public spaces with personal meaning to us, constructed in the interaction with meaningful others, are a representation of our self-concept. And in this world of multiple identities, groups’ allegiance and membership or location have become an important agency of subjectivity and personal identity (Duyvendak, 2004: 30). Second, public space is more than a simple manifestation of personal identity. It spatialises symbols and metaphors referencing the collective memories of a group in such way that it becomes a representation of the self-concept of the group. Third, changes in the wider political and social context raised by minority claims and resistance against homogenised national identification necessitate a rearrangement of salience and hierarchies in the self-concept, both as an individual and as a group, and a call for a transformation of the relation between culture, identity and society. Madanipour (1999: 880) notes that “control of public space is essential in the power balance in a particular society” and, in this sense, it is essential to analyse the real or symbolic power of citizens to participate and decide on the functions and value of public spaces, including accommodation of diversity.

Accommodation of cultural diversity in the public spaces in multicultural cities is the necessary adjustment to the “political act of production” (Hayden, 1997) of public space that tries to find the appropriate fit for new cultural and

ethnic elements of non-dominant groups in the self-concept of the political community or rearranged multicultural nation. In order for such process to take place, a politics of recognition and interpretation of needs should prelude. Differing needs and values in a multicultural society demand the right to be politically acknowledged, appropriately interpreted and accommodated in public space via deliberation on recognition. This research is an attempt to link politics of difference with the politics of production of space. In time, the interplay between absorption of new content and accommodation between the new and old content of identity spatialised in public space will produce re-evaluated identity of both, public spaces and national identification. Breakwell (1986) notes, that though time, absorption and accommodation do not change, their outcomes may so. Ethnic co-use of public space, distance and antagonism between ethnic groups, preference for co-ethnic socialisation, and ethno-majoritarian planning of public space are possible outcomes of ethno-national practices of accommodation of diversity in public spaces in a multicultural city.

Let's also clarify the terms used in this research. In this research, public space is defined as "social location" (Smith and Low, 2006: 3) offered by streets, parks, squares, small green pockets and gathering spots in the neighbourhood where mundane encounters among citizens happen. Diversity in this research is used to refer to cultural diversity encompassing the modes of identification that frame our collective belonging and as such influence the "structures of interaction and information flow in the social realms" (Kraus, 2011: 6). Ethnicity, language and religion are vivid forms of such collective identifications. The terms *ethnocultural minority* or *ethnic minority* are simultaneously used to denote an understanding coinciding with the definition of national groups, as defined by Kymlicka (1995: 19). Thus, national groups or ethnic minorities are distinct groups living in a multinational society, with a right to self-governance, right to use their own language in official communication, education, media and culture. The terms *majority* and *minority* are used to indicate the numerical proportion of a group in a given geographical area. Such reference does not always coincide with a single ethnic group because one ethnic group may dominate in one area but be in a minority status in another area. Furthermore, an ethnic group that is a majority on a national level may at the same time represent a minority on a local level in certain territorial unit/municipality. In Macedonia, Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Roma, Serbs and Vlachs are considered constitutive ethnic groups and enjoy the full spectra of political, economic, social and cultural rights, at both national and local level. The political discourse is sensitive towards the use of majority-minority labelling and refrains from recognising groups in terms of either majority or minority

status. However, the colloquial “talk of politics” tends to term Macedonians as a majority group and all other ethnic groups as minorities.

This work also delineates between two types of neighbourhoods in regards to their ethnic demography. The first is termed as an *ethnic neighbourhood* defined as a neighbourhood/territorial unit where one ethnic group represents a numerical majority and that is cohabitated by only a small proportion of other ethnic groups, resulting in a more or less mono-ethnic communal life. The second type is termed as a *mixed neighbourhood* defined as a neighbourhood/territorial unit where one ethnic group is in a majority position but that also has a significant proportion of minority ethnic groups, set at a threshold of 20 percent. As a result, the local communal life is organised in a more multi-ethnic way, including minority language official use and the creation of special commissions entitled to discuss minority claims for representation/inclusion of ethnic symbols in the public sphere.

Across this text, the terms *co-ethnic* and *Others* are frequently used to address the inter-ethnic relations between groups. Given the different definitions that these terms have in the social sciences, for example in psychology and sociology, it is important to be clear about their specific use in this work. The term *co-ethnic* is used to refer to establishing relations with persons from the own ethnic group as the group in the consideration or to refer to spaces used by people from the same ethnic belonging. The term *Others* is used to describe members outside the two dominant ethnic groups in the country, namely Macedonians and Albanians. In this research, *Others* is used to denote small non-majority ethnic groups living in Skopje.

1.5 Outlining the Argument

This work is organised into ten chapters.

Chapter one introduces the research aims, locates the object of the study within the broader literature and the practices on accommodation of diversity in public spaces, and states the starting points of studying the relation between identity, public space and belonging in multicultural cities.

Chapter two debriefs on the main developmental milestones in the country since independence, the introduction of practices of accommodation of diversity in all spheres of political, social, economic and cultural life and

their importance in how multicultural policies and discourse are structured within the current socio-political context. It also introduces the research context – the four neighbourhoods in the city of Skopje where the research was executed.

Chapter three presents the theoretical background of the research, in particular, the political, social and symbolic life of public spaces. It also discusses the politics of recognition and the main arguments in accommodating identity and representation of diversity needs in public space, with a particular focus on localising the needs for recognition of diversity on the city level. This chapter also reflects on the prior research knowledge in the studied field.

Chapter four describes the methodology, introducing the hypothesis and the research methods.

Chapter five presents the data and findings inquired by the household survey and the interviews, as well as the methods of analysis.

Chapter six presents the findings related to the political value of public spaces and in particular the (un)participatory process of urban planning taking place in multicultural neighbourhoods.

Chapter seven presents the findings related to the social value of public spaces and the possibility for socio-spatial integration between different ethnic groups happening in the shared places in the neighbourhoods.

Chapter eight presents the findings related to the symbolic value of public space, and on places where transformative multicultural experience and good practices of shared everyday multiculturalism happen.

Chapter nine discusses the results in light of the theoretical framework and prior knowledge.

Chapter ten reflects on the main conclusions from the research that argues that the kind of accommodation processes, citizenship practices, and urban planning approaches do justice to the diverse needs of representation of ethnic groups in multicultural cities.

2. Understanding the Context: "Experimentum Macedonicum"²

2.1 Unravelling the Story of Accommodation of Diversity in Macedonia

Macedonia is one of successor countries of ex-Yugoslavia. In 1991, the country proclaimed independence and initiated a process of building a nation-state with a majoritarian political design in a general liberal democratic framework (Maleska, 2013). Parallel to the nation-state building, the transition in Macedonia was coupled with political, economic and social transformations. A multi-party political system and liberal market values were introduced as well as a social transformation of the organisation of the state and the system of values (Koložova, Panov and Milcevski, 2010: 1). On a social level, these transformations did not only result in a change of the dominant ideological paradigm but also in a process of new self-definition of the state and the nation, outside of the socialistic, brotherhood concept. Legally and practically, since 1991, almost no one contested that the Macedonians constituting 64.2 percent of the population were the majority and the legitimate political community. The Albanians, Turks, Roma, Vlachs, Serbs, and Bosnians, which represented 25.2 percent of the population enjoyed equal rights and obligations as the majority group, yet in practice, the self-perception and experiences of minorities were stranded by difficulties in equal access to political life, the labour market, education, social and cultural life (Maleska, 2013; Pajaziti, 2005: 45). The transitional social changes and value-break (ideologically and politically)

² Term coined by Dodovski (2005).

within the individual and the collective matrices of identity through which people and social groups had been functioning for generations had inflicted misbalance and distortion of the democratic institutions into a new practice of collective identifications (Frckoski, 2000: 1). The value-break, the confused identities, and fear for the future induced collective paranoia that was a target to populist manipulations and nationalist communitarianism (Frckoski, 2000: 1). Pearson (2001: 12) notes that the changing relations, composition, and distribution between ethnic groups may alter how nationalist discourses accommodate minority claims for public representation of ethnocultural symbols.

Accommodation discourse has proved to be a difficult and painful process in Macedonia. Accommodation is both constitutive and ingrained in the new political agreement among ethnic groups in the country and reflective of the ideological and policy orientation of ethnic elites, and the governmental minority policy. "They (the political elites) have the most influence over the struggles between dominant and subordinate groups to shape and reshape events and identities" (Pearson, 2001: 12). In its internal affairs, the country struggled with continuous disputes among the two dominant ethnic groups, Macedonians, and Albanians, and in the end, crystallised into separate and colliding ethno-nationalisms. The first defined the country as owned by the Macedonians based on the principle of *jus soli*, the principle of blood and kinship. The second urged a revision of mono-ethnic state ownership in order to include the Albanians who consider themselves as a *sub-nation*. A clear social polarisation and an ethnicised public sphere are the outcomes of such divergent processes pushing the country to function more as a bi-national than as a multicultural state. Those ethnicities belonging to neither of the groups are pressured to take a side in order to achieve political goals of representation (Trajkovski, 2005: 9).

In 2001, these competing nationalistic visions escalated into a several months' violent clash between the Albanians and the Macedonian army and police, with a relatively low proportion of victims on both sides. The violence ended by signing a Framework Agreement in the city of Ohrid (OFA) that amends the State Constitution in affirming improved rights and status of the ethnic groups living in the country (OFA as a document uses the term *ethnic communities* instead of *ethnic groups*) and accepting multicultural values of the society. The Agreement is based on five pillars. The first is the inclusion of non-Macedonians into in all spheres of the public administration (and state-owned companies) as a mechanism to redress the imbalance of representation of ethnic groups in public offices. The second pillar introduces minority consent on key legal projects which sought to redress the balance of decision-making and im-

prove the cooperation between political representatives of the two dominant ethnic groups in the country, the Macedonian, and the Albanian ethnic group. Through Article 69 of the 10th Amendment, the principle of "double majority" became obligatory in the adoption of the regulatory framework in the sphere of culture, education, use of languages, personal documents, and use of ethnocultural symbols, all identified as fundamental dimensions of groups' identity. The third pillar concerns the process of decentralisation as a city level governance that allows greater participation in the communal life of non-Macedonian ethnic groups in areas where they dominate. The decentralisation is not defined as an ethnic federalisation although the changed territorial borders between the administrative units (municipalities) created local ethnic geographies. The fourth component expands the use of minority languages in official public communication and education and in particular expanded the rights of the Albanians, as the second largest ethnic group. The 8th Amendment acknowledges the right of ethnic groups to freely express, nurture and develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistics and religious identity and regulate the use of ethnocultural symbols in the public sphere for the purpose of visible representation. The fifth and final component of OFA intended to transform the state from a nation-state owned by the Macedonian majority to a state that is giving nearly equal space to other ethnic groups, that is, to be installed as a multiethnic society (Bieber, 2011: 17-20). The Agreement succeeded in restoring peace and confidence to the level of gaining public support for practising policies of multiculturalism and accommodation. While it kept the unitary character of the country, the focus on ethnocultural expressions strongly tied to the process of identity formation and representation produced "politicisation of ethnicity" (Glazer, 1983: 227). In time, the salience of ethnic identity in the public sphere enhanced the mistrust, competition and antagonism among groups, visible in conflicts over public accommodation of diversity.

Since 2001, the introduction of multiculturalism as an official public policy is happening in a context of serious economic challenges for the country and over a quarter of the population live below the poverty line. For decades the country has been and continues to be faced with a persistently high level of unemployment. A record high level is registered in 2005, 37.3 percent with a tendency to slowly decrease in the recent years, such as 28 percent in 2014 and 26.1 percent in 2015³ (Labour Force Survey, State Statistical Office of Macedo-

³ The significant decrease in the unemployment rate is mainly due to the amendments to the Law on Employment and Insurance in Case of Unemployment in July 2012 which introduced a new criteria for registering as an unemployed person, which is a difference between active and passive job seekers. Because it is often diffi-

nia). Unemployment in the country is characterised by persistent long-term unemployment. In 2015, the majority of unemployed persons were looking for a job for more than four years (61.2 percent) (Labour Force Survey, State Statistical Office of Macedonia). In regards to the economic approach of social benefits to work, researchers argue that in Macedonia there is an obvious misbalance in terms of budget allocation for active and passive employment measures. In 2015, according to Petreski, Petreska, and Kostadinov (2014), 0.18 percent of the total budget expenditures were allocated for active measures for poverty reduction, with an upward trend in payment of social transfers. In 2010, 40.34 percent of the total budget was allocated for this purpose, in 2011 it increased to 42.12 percent and in 2015 to a level of 45.46 percent of the total budget. Within the growing social and economic inequalities, the sustainable future of the country also depends on the success and results of the so-called *experimentum macedonicum* (Dodovski, 2005: ix) and the political and everyday life responses to the evident crises in the policies of social integration. Yet, this is not an exclusive problem for Macedonia and the countries that have transitioned from socialism toward capitalism but also for countries of the Western liberal democracies.

Multiculturalism in Macedonia seems to be accepted as an inevitable outcome in an attempt to preserve the territorial coherence and sovereignty of the country, in a historical moment in 2001. The conflict interrupted the process of building a nation-state from within, as the non-majority ethnic groups contested the single national identity, while from the outside, the neighbouring countries contested the existence of the state and the linguistic and religious references to belonging.

There is a general consensus among the theoreticians and the academy in the country that while multicultural orientation is a constitutionally supported value for the new social reality since 2001, multiculturalism in Macedonia seems neither normatively described, nor a clear and consistent policy (Dodovski,

cult to verify the job description (not all employers offer interviews), the government has reserved the discretion to decide who to delete from the unemployed register of the State Agency for Employment. The Agency also introduced mandatory acceptance of an offered job in two hours distance from the place of residence to an unemployed person registered for more than two years, regardless of his/her education, qualifications and skills. If the person refuses the offered job, he/she is deleted from the unemployed registry and must wait for one year to re-sign. These new regulations are in direct conflict with human dignity and the right to freely choose the workplace and the constitutional principle of social security (Saveski, Sadiku and Vasilev, 2013: 15-16).

2005; Sarkanjac, 2005, Janev, 2005). Sarkanjac (2005: 15) argues that without a normative debate on the kind of multiculturalism in Macedonia, a liberal, communitarian or post-colonial view on the society and what it means to build a multicultural state, it is impossible to structure any appropriate political action affirming multiculturalism. Moreover, in his view, it is impossible to talk about multiculturalism and policies that accommodate cultural diversity without clear identification of agents, conditions, barriers and accountability mechanisms in the implementation of such framework. He further criticises that the lack of theoretical discussion in the sphere of politics on the essence of multiculturalism and lack of argumentation of why multiculturalism is the only viable solution to accommodate cultural differences in a plural society impede meaningful deliberation on the kind of policy actions that do justice to diversity. So, is multiculturalism the only constructive answer to the disparities between ethnic groups with a constitutional right to self-determination and cultural sustenance?

In such political and policy contexts, the import of foreign models and policies is more harmful than beneficial. The outside discourse is much more dynamic, productive and always *newer* than the deliberation in Macedonia. Thus keeping track and making an appropriate accommodation within the theory seems impossible (Sarkanjac, 2005; Muhic, 2004). The practices of Western models of multiculturalism are not without critics. Muhic (2004: 40) argues that minorities' rights framework in Western European countries is applied on an administrative level instigating formal rather than substantial equality. Post-socialist countries, among them Macedonia, rest on practices where political interests are channelized through the existence of national and, even more so, ethnic identities. Political parties are considered as sole legitimate representatives of the ethnic groups. In order to accommodate the participation of non-majority groups in the public spheres, the political representation is advanced by an unwritten practice of creating a post-election coalition between the political parties winning the majority of their ethnic electorate. This practice is self-promoted as a mechanism for political stability. Muhic (2004) contends that while such governmental structure is not practised in the Western liberal democracies, the international community is supportive for this political power-sharing mechanism as beneficial for ethnically pluralised societies. She asks: "Why then are we (the post-socialist countries) asked to practice multiculturalism to a level at which the Western countries stop?" and "Can this political organisation inevitably lead to fragmentation and disintegration?" (2004: 41). Muhic (2004) is particularly concerned with the bilingualism in the educational sphere. Her fears of the detrimental effects of the

language shifts over interethnic integration have proven real.⁴ Muhic (2004: 39) concludes that imposing adoption of multicultural models that undermine the local dynamic can “either be an incentive for conflict among groups or can lead to utter cultural depersonalisation”.

The absence of theoretical and political debates on institutional multiculturalism does not mean that ethnic groups have been blind to each other's existence and that co-habitation has been recognised as a reality only after the events in 2001. Many agree that everyday multicultural living has been a fact in Macedonia long before it was accommodated in constitutional and legal discourse (Sarkanjac, 2005; Janev, 2005, Muhic, 2004, Dodovski, 2005). Janev (2005: 98-103) labelled it an *autochthon* model of multiculturalism based on mutual respect of differences. In his view, in 2001, the previous positive experience in cohabitation and the high distrust in the political elites in both dominant ethnic blocks have prevented a larger ethnic conflict. In a momentum of zealous calls for ethnic mobilisation, Macedonians and Albanians kept believing in the possibility of a non-violent resolution of ethnic claims. Muhic (2004) goes a step further in accentuating the history of positive inter-ethnic climate in the country, claiming that in Macedonia an advanced minority rights' framework had been accommodated even in the Yugoslav times. The recognition of the right to autonomy and secession, and the official language rights as guaranteed by the Constitution from 1974 are accommodationist practices endorsed at a higher level than those of current Western liberal democracies (Muhic, 2004: 41). However, the ideal of brotherhood and unity masked some of the systemic deficiencies that certain ethnic groups, in particular, the Albanians, experienced in everyday life. The existence of an official list of forbidden personal names for new-borns, such as names that symbolise freedom (Jashari, 2005), is a reminder that it is too simplistic to ignore the strong ethnic stereotypes and the power-misbalance in the Yugoslav public sphere, which were readily inherited in the post-socialist public sphere of the newly independent states.

⁴ “People-Centred Analysis” in 2009 showed that only 5 percent of respondents are prepared to send their children to a school where another ethnic group than their own is a majority. UNICEF study on “Language separation in primary schools” from 2009 reported that schools are divided along ethnic and language lines and do not provide an opportunity for interethnic contact. Albanian students are the most isolated. Moreover, young Albanian and Macedonian children feel more scared of Others than of members inside their own ethnic groups. Older Macedonian students feel more threatened by Others than their Albanian peers. The attitude “Us and Them” prevails in both the ways in which physical space is shared by students and to the organization of joint activities.

The lack of normative deliberation on the kind and structure of the multicultural policies employed in the country and the existing gap between theory and practice of cohabitation in everyday living, especially in the years after the interethnic conflict, puts into question the sustainability of the practical implications of the multicultural policy as conceived so far. As Kymlicka (2001: 4-5) emphasises, the adoption of multicultural policies is more often done under threat of security rather than justice. This was also the case with Macedonia. In this context, multicultural policies are conceived as discretionary rather than as a charter on fundamental obligations or rights. This pragmatic approach, on one side, allows timely and efficient responses to minority claims while, on the other, facilitates a compromise that would be difficult to achieve with long theoretical discussions on normative principles. The existence of a theory is not a sole predictor of a successful practice. Kymlicka (2001) reminds us that the fertile development of the liberal theory of distributive justice has not been able to improve the level of distributive justice in our societies, or wider, in the world. "Quite the contrary", he says. "One could argue that injustice in the distribution of economic resources has substantially increased over precisely the same period that our theories of distributive justice have been improved" (Kymlicka, 2001: 5). Multiculturalism in Macedonia had been able to successfully absorb identity claims of ethnic groups, safeguarding the unitary character of the country. Although it has been blamed for the revival of ethnocracy⁵, multiculturalism in Macedonia should not be understood as simple symbolic recognition of ethnic cultures. It is also a recognition of political participation and decision-making powers, increased autonomy on a local level, and an economic redistribution of resources, access and power among non-majority ethnic groups. Therefore, multicultural policies in the country are not symbolic but deal with a wide spectrum of political, economic, social and cultural rights of the individuals.

In Macedonia, the development of a minority rights framework has moved from discretion of particular groups to adoption of fundamental principles of justice and equality in recognition of difference. As a result, there is an obvious need to accommodate these principles into the everyday discourse on identity and citizenship. There is no doubt that the 2001 events changed the way Macedonians and Albanians felt about each other and about each other's place. In 2001, Macedonia was not only a weak state in political and economic terms but rather a weak nation-state (Sarkanjac, 2005: 27). And it seems that this was the

⁵ Yiftachel (1997: 507) describes ethnocracy as a regime where ethnicity overrules citizenship in allocation of state resources and one dominant ethnic group is the driver of the political community and the policy discourse.

departure point for the currently governing Macedonian conservative political party to revise the role of the state in the negotiations between multiculturalism and national identity. There should be reservations related to the thesis that a strong nation-state can be re-installed in an ethnically heterogeneous setting where members do not share the same language, religion, history and/or cultural practices. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the state can re-install its authority over single national space that will blend obvious cultural differences within the groups. Therefore, projects of re-nationalising the public sphere, exemplified in: projects of state-supported translation of thousands of international authors into (only) Macedonian language; reinstatement of the religious curricula in education; the separation between students from different ethnic backgrounds based on the language of instruction in so-called “language-shifts” at all educational levels; and spatialisation of mono-ethnic collective memory in the public space, cannot reconcile the *frustrated majority* and cannot reduce diversity to a *narcism of small differences*. Minorities’ discontentment with the nation-state backlash result in demands for protection of cultural distinctiveness and proportional measures in promoting minorities’ rights and culture. The accommodation practice intending to balance the ethno-nationalistic appetites in the public sphere, lead us to an approach that can be termed as: “staged multiculturalism”, to borrow the term “staged authenticity” from MacCannell (2005). The question of accommodation of cultural diversity became a practical political compromise of a plural society. The “stage” with monuments and historical figures celebrating the Macedonian ethnic history was pluralized by a proportional number of monuments from Albanian ethnic history and a small number of symbols celebrating the history of smaller minority groups. Thus, multiculturalism was “staged up” and designed, simulated to exist in public life rather than to follow up on the autochthon model of cohabitation explained by Janev (2005). The effects of such ethnocratic politics are obvious. Ethnic distance is greater than most other countries of the Balkan region, including the post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bieber, 2011: 22). Trends of ethnic stratification with a high level of ethnic distance in particular among Macedonians and Albanians is evident in personal networking, socialisation and the working environment (Pechijarev, 2011: 149-152). Ten years after the conflict and systemic investment in multicultural policies, almost half of the population still perceive interethnic relations as neither good nor bad⁶.

⁶ According to Gallup Balkan Monitor Insights and Perceptions: Voices of the Balkan, 49.1 percent in 2010 and 44.4 percent in 2011 perceived interethnic relation as neither good nor bad, compared to 26.3 percent in 2010 and 37.4 percent in 2011 that perceive them as good, and 14.5 percent in 2010 and 9.1 percent in 2011 as bad.

OFA has been criticised for its impotence to address the systemic problems, such as the relation between multiculturalism and social justice instead of correcting some of the obvious inequalities of the system (Bieber, 2011: 23). As a result, today, Macedonia is no less a nation-state than it was before 2001, even if its formal references have become less national (Bieber, 2011: 21).

2.2 The City of Skopje and Its Challenges in Accommodation of Diversity in Public Space

In order to understand how multiculturalism *works* in public spaces of immediate intergroup contacts in the urban neighbourhoods, it is important to see how public spaces are planned and if citizens exercise real or symbolic control over the urban planning framework.

The city of Skopje is situated along the river Vardar in a territory of 1.818 square kilometres and a population of 506.926 inhabitants. According to the last official Census from 2002, 66.75 percent of the residents are Macedonians, 20.49 percent are Albanians, 4.63 percent are Roma, 2.82 percent are Serbs, 1.7 percent is Turks and the rest is represented by smaller groups of Vlachs, Bosnians, and others. The territorial organisation is composed of ten administrative units (municipalities) and a separate administrative entity of the city of Skopje. The Macedonian ethnic group dominates in seven municipalities, the Albanian ethnic group dominates in two municipalities and the Roma in one municipality. Only two of the municipalities are fully urban (Centar and Chair) while the rest also include rural areas (distant outskirts of the city or adjacent villages) as part of the administrative unit. The city surface is around 571 km² out of which 334 km² are rural parts.

The map in Figure 2.1 presents the territorial organisation of the city of Skopje while Table 2.1 presents the demographic facts of the municipalities that are part of the city of Skopje.

Figure 2.1: Map of the city of Skopje (adapted by the author)

The city of Skopje

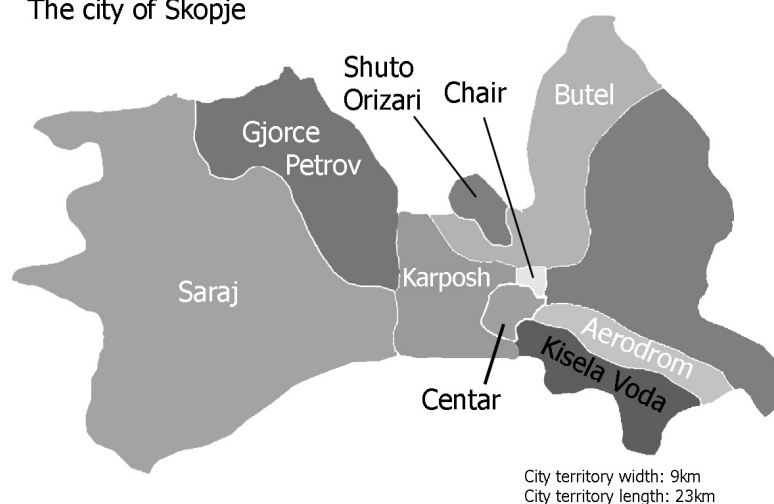


Table 2.1: Demographic data on municipalities in the city of Skopje, 2002

Municipality Demographic Data	Aerodrom	Butel	Centar	Chair	Gazi Baba	Gjorce Petrov	Karposh	Kisela Voda	Saraj	Shuto Orizari	SKOPIE
Total Population	72.009	36.154	45.412	64.773	72.617	41.634	59.666	57.236	35.408	22.017	506.926
Ethnic affiliation											
<i>Macedonians</i>	64.391	22.506	38.778	15.628	53.497	35.455	52.810	52.478	1.377	1.428	338.358
<i>Albanians</i>	1.104	9.107	1.465	36.921	12.502	1.597	1.952	250	32.408	6.675	103.891
<i>Turks</i>	430	1.304	492	4.500	606	368	334	460	45	56	8.595
<i>Roma</i>	580	561	974	3.083	2.082	1.249	615	716	273	13.342	23.475
<i>Vlachs</i>	501	120	459	78	236	109	407	647	/	/	2.557
<i>Serbs</i>	3.085	1.033	2.037	621	2.097	1.730	2.184	1.426	18	67	14.298
<i>Bosniaks</i>	538	970	108	2.950	710	489	98	425	1.120	2.950	7.585
<i>Others</i>	1.470	553	1.099	992	887	637	1.266	834	167	992	8.167
Gender (<i>male</i>)	35.291	18.071	21.295	32.374	36.376	20.677	28.460	28.054	18.015	11.076	249.689
Gender (<i>female</i>)	36.718	18.083	24.117	32.399	36.241	20.957	31.206	29.182	17.393	10.941	257.237
Households	21.495	10.956	15.355	17.107	20.336	11.886	19.680	17.577	7.972	5.102	146.566

Surface in Km ²	20	57	7.52	3.52	92	63	35	46.86	241	7.48	571.46
Inhabitants per Km ²	3.600	634	6.039	18.401	789	661	1.705	1.221	147	2.943	887

Source: Census 2002: Population, Households, and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, according to the administrative-territorial organisation from 2004.

In 2004, as a response to the decentralisation process enacted with OFA, a rural neighbouring municipality was administratively annexed to the city of Skopje and changed its physical and demographic structure. Two ethnically mixed municipalities gravitating around the urban core (the municipalities of Chair and Centar) were reorganised into more of less ethnically homogenised geographies. With the rise of the percentage of ethnic Albanians beyond the 20 percent threshold, the Albanian language was authorised as a second official language in the capital.

Being a political and cultural capital, the city of Skopje during the last decade became the battlefield where state actors, urban professionals and artists engaged in the production of the Macedonian identity. The search and the construction of such an identity became a major target for politicians and urban professionals. This process was led by two strategic elements, the first was the legitimisation of existence by reaffirming the relation with the distant and glorious past and, the second was a clear strategy to differentiate from Others (Mijalković and Urbanek, 2011: 9). The imaginative rivalry among two narratives, the first about the ancient history of Alexander the Great and the second, of the oriental cultural heritage concentrated in the old part, played a crucial role in constructing the imaginary of the new urban spaces. New Orthodox churches and crosses on mountain peaks, new mosques and monuments of historical and cultural persons created boundaries and marked ethnic territories making cultural presence felt.

The urban revitalisation project titled *Skopje 2014*, announced in December 2008, intended to produce a new urban imaginary of the city. After almost two decades of transitional decay and urban planning compliant to commercial forces, the Government backed by the city authority created a visual design of the *new* Skopje. The urban core that was largely destroyed in the catastrophic earthquake in 1963 remained a buffer zone after an unsuccessful and incomplete implementation of Kenzo Tange's master plan, a Japanese architect who was commissioned by UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation). Tange's master plan, to provide a plan to rebuild the destroyed city, was an urban, social, political and cultural experiment that

itself became a new battle ground. The failure to transform the historical omnipotence of the river Vardar as an ethnic border into a shared space with diverse functions and use, as well as the silent rejection of the strategy for homogenisation of residential types by the different ethnic groups which refused to move away from their places of worship, divided the urban core among the two dominant ethnic groups in the society, the Macedonians and the Albanians. The process of acculturation and change of habits through education and employment seemed to not have acted as an integrating force bringing the different cultures closer to each other (Mijalković and Urbanek, 2011: 16-32). In the years to follow, the division was growing wider in all aspects of social life: politics, economy, education, social and cultural affairs. Despite the intentions of OFA to rationalise accommodation of ethnic and cultural differences on a local and personal level, the urban processes in Skopje and its neighbourhoods did not produce the expected effects of conviviality.

This research is not about the project *Skopje 2014*. Still, the project epitomises the idea of accommodation of one's cultural memory, ethnic history and worldview in public space. *Skopje 2014* is inevitably a cross-cutting issue in any debate on how identity is symbolically linked to public spaces and how the process of urban planning can be used as an instrument of nationalistic rhetoric. The *Skopje 2014* project revived the idea of the value of personal attachment to public space and how public spaces resonate in everyday discussion between the citizens. As part of the project, in just a few years, 135 objects in neo-classicist style and *alike* baroque were accommodated in the contentious urban core, including buildings of new public institutions, statues and monuments. The project was financed by three sources: the Ministry of Culture, the municipality of Centar through funds allocated by the state budget, and the Government itself. The objects produced a narrative of national identity based on mono-cultural and mono-ethnic attributes of the legacy of Alexander the Great, the revolutionary times in the beginning of the twentieth century in Macedonia⁷ and traditional conservative values. *Skopje 2014* accommodated selective pieces of the Macedonian history and culture into the public space which lacked official recognition within the socialist public discourse. Thus, the project was promoted as a political attempt to fill in an important gap in the process of producing the national identity narrative, especially the glorious past of the Macedonian nation, its uniqueness and perseverance.

⁷ These ideas are engendered around VMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) that fought for independence at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century and is the referential identity platform of the political party in power in 2009 that started the project.

The project timing was not a coincidence. In April 2008 in Bucharest, Macedonia's accession to the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was vetoed by Greece because of the unresolved name dispute. Membership in the European Union and NATO have been the strategic objectives in the programs of all political parties in the country in the last twenty years. NATO accession was perceived as a reassurance of the political and economic stability of the country and as an impediment to security concerns over the fragile inter-ethnic relations. After the vetoed application, frustration, injustice and degradation plumed the public discourse. The reform capacity of the country and the participation of the Macedonian army in NATO missions in Iraq and Afghanistan were undermined by the political criteria – the pressure to resolve the name dispute with neighbouring Greece that hangs as the "sword of Damocles" over the political leaders in the country. Thus, the "unjustified degraded present" by external political powers but in fact, "the defeated Macedonian diplomacy" (Vangeli, 2011: 22) were congested by the glorious past of the country and the direct relation between Alexander the Great and today's Macedonians. The initial spontaneous "antiquisation" initiatives snowballed in a broader set of policies including the renaming of streets, football stadiums, squares, schools, monuments and statues, and finally, with the project *Skopje 2014*. This project fitted within the rhetoric for political mobilisation of the masses in "a society experiencing trauma" (Vangeli, 2011: 22).

As a reaction to cultural persistence and protest against a mono-cultural national space, the Albanians revived the myth of Skender-beu, the martyrs of the 2001 ethnic clash and their cultural distinctiveness. In a radius of one kilometre, two exclusionary nationalistic visions collided, that of the "timeless" Macedonians and the glorious Albanians.

The highlight of the conflict was when a claim for building a new Orthodox church on the main public square was counteracted, on one side, with a citizen's protest against any religious object being built in the urban core, and on the other, with a claim for the building of a new Mosque facing the planned church. Before this claim, the exclusionary visions coexisted but were not confronted. This was a moment of collision. The reasoning behind the call for a new mosque was based on the rationale that if there is to be a new church, there should also be a new mosque on the main city square. More so, there had been a mosque at the square in Ottoman times, so its reconstruction at the exact location is a mere and "logical" reflection of the history of the city. These claims were made on the basis of cultural and group rights and from the perspective of a "politics of recognition" of cultural distinctiveness, that of the Macedonian and that of the Albanian ethnonational groups. Religious affilia-

tion popularly overlaps with ethnonational belonging. In the Macedonian political and popular discourse, religious affiliation is used as a distinctive ethnic identity marker. The majority of Macedonians happens to identify themselves as Orthodox Christians. Similarly, a vast majority of Albanians happens to see themselves as Muslims.⁸ In the current socio-historical context this seems “natural” and as ethnic boundaries between groups become fortified and impermeable, ethnicity and faith conflate. Religious symbols in public spaces and in the political discourse of the country had in many cases been used as a tool to trigger ethnic solidarity. While recognition of religious symbols in public space is emblematic of how claims for accommodation of diversity are perceived in multicultural societies, it is evident that both ethnic groups, using their numerical superiority in the two neighbourhoods where these urban projects take place (municipalities of Centar and Chair), legitimised their conceptual role to produce a homogeneous ethnic view of the space that excludes Others’ opinion and their “right to the city”.

The clashes over religious objects in the city square epitomised ethnic and religious intolerance, although the protests were against majoritarian control over public space in an ethnic and civic sense. The two largest ethnic groups legitimised their behaviour through the actions of the other. Any diversity claim by a smaller ethnic minority group or any other interest group living in the conflicted neighbourhoods and in Skopje were never voiced or such requests were hindered by the power struggle between the two dominant ethnic groups. The “politics of recognition” gave the ethnic groups their exclusive right to deal with the content (form, composition, symbols) as a matter of internal importance excluding other, ethnic or civic perceptions of public space. The execution of this right to produce space in congruence with the dominant paradigm hinders any alternative use of public space other than that of the *conceived* ethnocratic use of space. In conditions of high levels of social distance among ethnic groups, and sentiments of risk and discomfort because of the ethnical composition of the urban areas, the need for fitting in can heighten ethnic competition and make people and groups less susceptible to negotiation and compromise in accommodating diversity.

⁸ According to the last Census from 2002, 1.297.981 inhabitants declared as Macedonians, 509.083 as Albanians, 77.959 as Turks, 53.879 as Roma, 35.939 as Serbs, 17.018 as Bosniaks, 9.695 as Vlachs and 20.993 as other ethnic groups. More so, 1.310.184 inhabitants declared as Orthodox Christians, 674.015 as Muslims, 7.008 as Catholics, 520 as Protestants and 30.820 as other that the above-mentioned religious denominations (State Statistical Office, 2004).

Accommodation claims in the Macedonian context were fore-fronted through religious recognition in the public space. As Maussen (2009: 14), who researched the public responses on building mosques in a comparative perspective of France and The Netherlands, compellingly observes: “...newly built mosques were essentially a renegotiation of the symbolic order...and the increasingly visible presence of ethnic communities would oblige French and Dutch societies to conceptualise their symbolic universes anew”. It is precisely when minorities’ claims for an accommodation of diversity became visible enough in the public space through essentialised ethnic place-making strategies, the public was mobilised in a debate over appropriate accommodation practices of diversity. Competing paradigms of appropriate accommodation practices of diversity among those *in power* and those powerless seems to endure, fuelling the social conflict between the dominant ethnic groups in the urban neighbourhoods. There is a crisis in deriving a shared notion of appropriate accommodation practices of diversity in public space. Furthermore, there is a gap between the variety of everyday accommodation practices of diversity that facilitate ethnic cohabitation and the public discourse on ethnic cohabitation, its political use, and influence over identity discourse. Finally, in the context of Skopje, there is a discomfort in rethinking the new symbolic order in a multicultural city and a multiethnic country.

Aside from the theorisation on the aesthetic and symbolic value of the project *Skopje 2014*, around 60 percent of the citizens in the country do not support it.⁹ They feel indifferent towards the antique period as a defining factor of the national identity, arguing that the events in the revolutionary period at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century and, the period after the Second World War are far more historically important in establishing the Macedonian state and defining the Macedonian identity. The policy study “*Skopje 2014 Project and its Effects on the Perception of Macedonian Identity Among the Citizens of Skopje*” ends with a final conclusion that the project “does not correspond with the predominant sense of national or ethnic identity and the perception of historical periods and aesthetics as formative of the Macedonian identity” (Koložova, Lecevska, Borovska and Blazeva, 2013: 12). The project was estimated to end in 2014 but was continuously upgraded and due to public protests and extensive financial allocations it was extended to 2018. The public is still unfamiliar with the total project spending, but tracking

⁹ Brima Gallup Agency research on representative sample reported that 42.7 percent and 15.1 percent share very negative and somewhat negative evaluations of the project, opposed to 15.5 percent and 10.9 percent that share somewhat positive or very positive evaluations.

the separate contract journals, it is estimated to cost more than 670 million euros.¹⁰ The new Government taking the stage in June 2017 terminated the project and announced urban, cultural and symbolic reconceptualisation of this project.

Despite the need for the theoretical shaping of multiculturalism, as an ideology and practice in Macedonia, this research is not a normative or philosophical discussion on the models of sustainable multiculturalism in the country. Its contribution to the so-called “model in progress” (Dodovski, 2005: x) is by understanding how multiculturalism *works* in public spaces of immediate intergroup contacts in the urban neighbourhoods and in that sense, of the deficiencies of the system of measures and policies of social integration and residential mixing.

2.3 Accommodation of the “Public(s)” in the Urban Planning Framework

Municipalities as separate territorial units with respective administration and self-governance have jurisdiction over urban and rural planning. Municipalities have an obligation to secure citizens’ participation in decision-making on issues of local importance in a direct way (using mechanisms for initiating a public debate, local referendum, public gathering, public presentation, survey, etc.) and in a representative way, through elected councillors in the local Council. Municipalities also have jurisdiction over the process of planning and maintenance of parks, green areas, places for recreation and other public spaces as well as decision-making on the names of streets, squares, bridges and other capital objects located in their area. Decision-making in the urban field is within the Local council of each municipality (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, No. 5/02).

Direct citizens’ participation is an individual or collective engagement of citizens in the different levels of decision-making on issues of local importance. While the Law on local self-governance envisages citizen participation at different governance levels, in practice, the public is consulted only at the stage of

¹⁰ “Skopje 2014 Uncovered” is a database developed by the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network with a detailed description of the financial allocations of this project.

conceived urban proposal. This indicates that rather than the immediate users, urban professionals are legitimate decision-makers on the purpose and design of public spaces. As a result, citizens’ engagement is declarative and their control over the urban planning in symbolic rather than real.

Accommodation, although set as a principle that needs to redress the power imbalance between ethnic groups, is not envisaged as a formal mechanism in the process of urban planning of public spaces. The aesthetic of public spaces and the symbolic value of the proposed urban plan are not determined by Law or any by-law or urban guideline nor are they subject to a public presentation or public survey. The likes or dislikes of citizens are undermined by functionality and the usage/purpose of public spaces, both considered to be best understood by urban professionals.

The technical side of planning is described in the Law on spatial and urban planning, including: jurisdiction in the creation of urban plans; who can build, how they can be built and under which conditions; jurisdiction in adopting urban plans and the description of the procedure, including transparency and public engagement (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, 199/2014). According to the Law, spatial and urban planning is considered as a continuous process involving design, adoption and implementation of urban plans, that is focused on ensuring regulation and humanisation of the urban space and environmental protection (Article 2). The process of design, adoption and implementation of urban plans are considered a matter of public interest. Therefore, the participation of the public is necessary for ensuring a proper design, regulation and coherence between plans, and between plans and public needs.

Of interest to the city and the neighbourhoods are the General Urban Plan (GUP) and the Detailed Urban Plan (DUP). GUP provides general and specific directions of urban planning of the city, such as: land use and the general conditions of construction and usage, the primary road network, boundaries between urban areas, boundaries of cultural heritage and other protected goods as well as measures for environmental protection, parameters of the plan, density and scope of the planned construction (Article 10). DUP encompasses a neighbourhood, urban block, small city quarter and regulates the division of urban land, secondary road network, the size of streets and infrastructure, the size and usage of urban divisions, measures for environmental protection and protection of cultural heritage (Article 11). In addition, there are two Guide-rules, the first on the standards and norms of urban planning and the second on the form, content and ways of creating urban plans.

The Council of the City of Skopje adopts GUP while the Municipal council of each of the ten territorial units has jurisdiction over the adoption of DUP. The standard legal procedure necessitates a Local Commission for urban planning established by the mayor (composed of a representative of the drafter of the plan, an employee in the urban municipal administration and a professional in urban planning) that should review the submitted initiatives during an open call, decide to accept or reject the proposed initiative, provide an expert opinion on the draft plans and an organisation of a public presentation and public consultation (Article 23). However, there is no expert discussion concerning the drafting of the plan (aesthetics, form, social and symbolic value of the public space, functionality, building materials, alternative solutions, etc.) prior to any planning steps taken by the Local Commission of urban planning. According to Article 35, public presentation and a public opinion poll are conducted after obtaining an expert opinion from the Local Commission. The public presentation and public survey are announced via the electronic system of the municipality and published in two newspapers at least three working days prior to the commencement of the public opinion poll and the public presentation. Within a period of 10 days, citizens and legal entities can submit their comments in written or in electronic form while the public presentation lasts for one working day. An expert report provides an explanation on the accepted and rejected comments and the expert committee is obliged to inform all legal entities or individuals who participated and submitted a comment on its rationale for acceptance or rejection of the participants' remarks.

Some authors (Dragshikj and Grcheva, 2016: 20) note that the expert community rarely engages in the process of adopting any DUP unless it is particularly called on. The lack of practising deliberation in adopting the urban plans limits the possibilities for public discussion on the advantages, disadvantages and opportunities in any given urban solution.

So, how can citizens meaningfully participate in urban planning? Citizens can submit initiatives during the two Open calls for urban planning that are obligatory for the municipality or engage in the public presentations. This is a direct and valuable experience of citizen participation in planning or public spaces, but Dragshikj and Grcheva (2016: 20) argue that in the context of Skopje it is not fully utilised. In addition, the Law on local self-governance envisages direct citizen participation in local decision-making through a civil initiative, citizens' gatherings and local referendums and the costs of these activities are covered by the municipal budget (Article 25). The Mayor and the municipal administration should create a positive environment in which feedback, complaints and suggestions are responded to within the set timeframe and citizens'

proposals should be taken into consideration in reaching decisions. The decision in the naming of a street, bridge, square or other infrastructural facility is made by the Municipal Council, with a double majority for those present at the session and the majority of votes by representatives of ethnic groups that are in non-majority status (Article 4, Law on naming streets, squares, bridges and other infrastructural facilities) (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, 2013). The name can bear geographic, ethnographic, historical and other symbolic meaning, the name of respected persons from history, culture, and science, as well as important dates and events, based on a List of names. The list of names is compiled by the Municipal Council and is confirmed by the Government. Based on Article 6, names which upset the feelings of the citizens of the country as well as citizens of other countries, discredit the reputation of the country and destabilise the relations between ethnic groups, customs and public moral are banned. The use of Macedonian language on all sign boards is mandatory. In a municipality where other languages of ethnic groups are in official use, the sign board includes writing in the non-Macedonian language(s). Names in official use can be changed in a procedure approved by the Municipal Council. Existing names cannot be changed six months prior to local and national elections, presidential elections or a year before a Census.

The obligation to consult the public (in a wider sense, including the academia, professional organisations and citizens) in the urban planning framework had been invested in with an intention to increase transparency in the process, rather than to increase citizen participation. As observed by Boonstra and Boelens (2011), in other cases, public presentations and public surveys favour the position of formal urban planners, a practice also prevailing in the case of Skopje. There are technical obstacles towards meaningful engagement of citizens that go beyond the necessary time and resources that few people can spare. Local governments and local planning departments prefer the central position in negotiating urban plans and the citizens, as immediate users of the space. The current system is not designed with a distribution of authority and responsibility (Pløger, 2001: 233) from the institutions to the citizens, limiting citizen engagement to the minimum and at a stage when significant changes in the urban plans are unlikely to be supported. As a result, Doucet (2007) concludes that actions stemming from the civic arena are not always welcomed by governments and institutions. And this is also the case in Skopje. Citizens' involvement and shared responsibility are considered prerequisites for good governance, but achieving these goals is usually controlled by the institutions.

The fact that accommodation of cultural diversity in a multicultural city such as Skopje is not legally prescribed and there are not official procedures to be

followed, means that the practices through which diversity is represented in public spaces are political tools in the hands of politicians, legitimised through the work of urban professionals. The rising tensions around how diversity is accommodated in the public spaces of our neighbourhoods clearly necessitates deliberation between the different actors engaged in urban planning and mitigation of the conflicts and contested paradigms of symbolic production of urban space through direct citizens' participation.

2.4 Profile of the Selected Neighbourhoods

This research was conducted in two ethnic and two mixed neighbourhoods in Skopje. The municipalities of Chair and Butel were studied as mixed neighbourhoods, inhabited by the two major ethnic groups, Macedonians and Albanians, in an opposite proportion in these local settings. The municipalities of Saraj and Kisela Voda were studied as ethnic neighbourhoods, where one ethnic group dominates as a major proportion of other ethnic groups. In the former, the majority of residents are Albanians and in the latter, Macedonians.¹¹

Table 2.2: Social profile of the selected neighbourhoods, 2002

Municipality Demographic data	Butel	Chair	Kisela Voda	Saraj
Education level of persons at 15 years of age and over (in %)				
<i>Without education</i>	2.55	5.22	1.51	5.03
<i>Incomplete primary education</i>	6.84	10	6.61	9.31
<i>Primary education</i>	27.98	41.64	19.95	68.83
<i>Secondary education</i>	50.85	35.07	57.26	14.31
<i>High school</i>	3.45	2.44	3.72	0.76
<i>University level</i>	7.81	5.16	10.42	1.45
<i>Master level</i>	0.23	0.12	0.25	0.02
<i>Doctorate level</i>	0.18	0.09	0.24	0.02
<i>Still in process of primary education</i>	0.10	0.25	0.04	0.27

¹¹ Table 2.1 contains more information on the demographics of the territorial units in the city of Skopje

Literacy rate at 10 years of age and over (in %)				
<i>Literate</i>	97.81	95.63	98.72	95.66
<i>illiterate</i>	2.19	4.37	1.28	4.34
Age groups (in %)				
<i>0-14</i>	20.56	23.88	17.47	29.67
<i>15-29</i>	23.82	24.12	20.66	27.68
<i>30-44</i>	22.17	23.26	22.71	22.50
<i>45-64</i>	24.13	20.39	26.29	14.47
<i>65 years and over</i>	9.31	8.35	12.87	5.67
Employed persons at 15 years of age and over (in %)	34.31	21.25	39.45	11.81
Unemployed persons at 15 years of age and over (in %)	13.96	17.81	13.77	19.48
Economically inactive persons (in %)	51.73	60.94	46.78	68.71

Source: Census 2002: Population, Households, and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, according to the administrative-territorial organisation of the country from 2004.

2.4.1 Profile of the municipality of Butel

The municipality of Butel is formed under the new territorial organisation of the country from 2004 following the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Previously, this area was part of the municipality of Chair. The municipality has 36.154 inhabitants, with the majority of them being Macedonians and Albanians while the rest are smaller proportions of Turks, Serbs, Bosnians, Roma, Vlachs and others (Table 2.1). The municipality covers a territory of 57 km² with 634 inhabitants living per km² which make the municipality less densely populated than the city average of 887 inhabitants living per km². Butel is a neighbouring municipality to Chair and has both urban and rural parts. Macedonian and Albanian are languages in official use in the municipality. The majority of the residents at 15 years of age and more have finished secondary or primary education while a small proportion has a university degree or higher academic qualifications (Table 2.2). There is high economic inactivity and an unemployment rate that is a third of the employment rate of residents at 15 years of age and more (Table 2.2).

The municipality has a mayor and a local Council composed of 19 members. The majority of the councillors are delegates of the two biggest political parties representing the Macedonians and five delegates from political parties representing the non-majority ethnic groups.

In the last ten years, the ethnic demography of Butel is changing with a tendency of attracting new immigrants from Albanian ethnic backgrounds, either from the rural areas around Skopje or from other parts of the city mainly inhabited by Macedonians. In contrast, Macedonians show the opposite tendency, moving out of Butel and relocating to areas in the city predominantly inhabited by their own ethnic group. The net migration flow on an annual level is not consistent, encompassing both positive and negative tendencies (Mojanchevska, 2015). Turks also prefer the mixed Butel because of the closeness of their religious objects of worship. Serbs follow the same pattern of migration as Macedonians tending to move to Macedonian-dominated areas and out of areas with a large proportion of Albanian ethnic groups (Mojanchevska, 2015). As a result, there is an ongoing residential segregation process following both ethnic and religious lines.

2.4.2 Profile of the municipality of Chair

The municipality of Chair has 64.773 inhabitants, the majority of them being Albanians and Macedonians while the rest are a small percentage of Turks, Roma, Bosnians, Serbs, Vlachs and others (Table 2.1). Chair is the largest settlement of Turks in the city of Skopje. Chair is the smallest territorial unit in Skopje, located centrally and has no rural parts. It covers a surface of 3.52 km² and is the most densely populated area in the country with 18.401 inhabitants living per km². Macedonian and Albanian languages are in official use in the municipality. In regards to its social profile, the largest proportion of residents over 15 years of age in Chair have finished primary or secondary school and a small proportion of the residents has a university or post-graduate degree (Table 2.2). Compared to the other selected neighbourhoods, Chair has the highest proportion of illiterate persons at age of 10 years and more (Table 2.2). The municipality is characterised by a high inactivity rate, a figure almost triple that of the national employment and unemployment rate (Table 2.2).

The municipality has a mayor and a local Council composed of 27 members. The majority of the councillors are delegates of the two biggest political parties representing the Albanians and nine delegates from political parties representing the non-majority ethnic groups.

Similar to Butel, the ethnic demography of Chair is changing with a tendency of attracting new immigrants from Albanian ethnic backgrounds, either from the rural areas around Skopje or from other parts of the city mainly inhabited by Macedonians. In contrast, Macedonians show the opposite tendency. They

tend to move out of Chair and relocate to areas in the city predominantly inhabited by their own ethnic groups. These tendencies with certain exception have been growing since 2005 resulting in a negative migration flow mainly because of the “White flight” among Macedonians (Mojanchevska, 2015). Similar to Butel, there is an ongoing residential segregation process following both ethnic and religious lines happening in Chair.

2.4.3 Profile of the municipality of Kisela Voda

The municipality of Kisela Voda is among the oldest administrative units of the city of Skopje, established in 1955. With the new territorial organisation of the country, the size of the municipality was decreased to allow a creation of a new administrative unit - the neighbouring Aerodrom. The municipality has 57.236 inhabitants, predominantly of Macedonian ethnic background (Table 2.1). The municipality covers a territory of 46.86 km² with 1221 inhabitants living per km², which is above the city-level average of 887 inhabitants per km². Macedonian is the only language in official use in the municipality. In regards to the social profile of the municipality, the majority of the residents have finished secondary school followed by those with primary education (Table 2.2). Compared to the other selected neighbourhoods, Kisela Voda has the highest proportion of persons with a university degree or higher academic qualifications (Table 2.2). Also, this neighbourhood has the lowest illiteracy rate, compared to the other selected neighbourhoods in this research (Table 2.2). Compared to the other selected neighbourhoods, Kisela Voda has the lowest, yet still high economic inactivity rate, and the highest employment and the lowest unemployment rate (Table 2.2).

The municipality has a mayor and a local Council composed of 23 members. All councillors are delegates of the two biggest political parties representing the Macedonian ethnic group. The municipality of Kisela Voda is among the few areas in Skopje with a continuous positive migration flow, in majority attracting Macedonians and Serbs (Mojanchevska, 2015). The outflows of non-majority ethnic groups are minor but given the fact that they hold a small proportion of the neighbourhood demography, the outflow of these groups could result in an even stronger mono-ethnic area. An important characteristic of this municipality is the ability to attract highly educated immigrants (Mojanchevska, 2015).

2.4.4 Profile of the municipality of Saraj

In 2005, under the new territorial organisation of the country, the municipality of Saraj became part of the administrative unit of the city of Skopje. Prior to this, Saraj existed as a separate administrative unit, neighbouring the city of Skopje. The municipality has 35.408 inhabitants, predominantly of Albanian ethnic background and a small proportion of Macedonians and Bosnians (Table 2.1). The municipality covers a surface of 241 km², making it the largest in the territory and has 147 inhabitants living per km², making it the least densely inhabited area in Skopje. Macedonian and Albanian are languages in official use in the municipality. In regards to the social profile of the municipality, the majority of the residents have finished primary school, a rate almost double that of the selected Macedonian-dominated neighbourhoods in this research, followed by those with primary education (Table 2.2). Saraj also has the smallest proportion of residents with a university degree or higher academic qualifications, considerably lower than the other selected neighbourhoods (Table 2.2). Compared to the other selected neighbourhoods, Saraj has the highest economic inactivity rate and the lowest employment rate among persons at 15 years of age and over (Table 2.2).¹²

The municipality has a mayor and a local Council composed of 19 members. All councillors are delegates of the two biggest political parties representing the Albanian ethnic group.

The ethnic demography of Saraj, as in the cases of Chair and Butel is changing predominantly because of the migration dynamics between the Macedonian and the Albanian ethnic group. However, Saraj is characterised by a negative migration flow, with both Macedonians and Albanians moving out of this area (Mojanchevska, 2015). Saraj also has a considerably lower proportion of persons at 45 years of age and more in the general population, compared to the other selected neighbourhoods in this research.¹³

¹² This figure should not be a surprise given the fact that it was a rural area with major agricultural activity among its residents at the time of the Census in 2002. Back then, farmers were not registered as self-employed persons. Also, in Skopje, Saraj has the largest proportion of persons under 14 years of age in the general population.

¹³ This could also explain the lower economic activity rate in Saraj, compared to the other selected neighbourhoods in Skopje.

3. Theoretical Perspective

3.1 Accommodation of Cultural Diversity in Public Space: between the liberal paradigm of equality and special group's rights to self-preservation

To accommodate is defined as:

- 1: to make fit, suitable, or congruous
- 2: to bring into agreement or concord, reconcile
- 3: to provide with something desired, needed or suited
- 4: to make room for; to hold without crowding or inconvenience
- 5: to give consideration to; to allow for
- 6: to adapt oneself

(*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, no date)

It originates in the Latin language and its primary use is within the legal and political sciences, with an understanding to make a change or provision for, such as accommodate a disability (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, no date).

Accommodation is essential to the political processes that recognise a plurality of needs, values and worldviews. In the popular discourse, accommodation is usually termed as a compromise, an alteration of what has been reached by a “rational” process, acting with irrationality to reach new less proper alternatives (Wengert, 1971: 437). Giving consideration to other's views and values,

as Wengert (1971: 437) notes, can be understood as distortion to professional principles and integrity. As a result, accommodation being a mechanism of a political negotiation, especially in fragmented societies, is still “trapped between terminology and rhetoric” (Wengert, 1971: 437). Wengert (1971: 437) accentuates the need to challenge stereotypical understandings of accommodation and, instead, approach this social process with a dynamics of politics that prioritise identification of needs, their interpretation and translation in policy alternatives. “We should suggest a more reasonable approach to ‘rationality’”, comments Wengert (1971: 437). Questioning rationality in his view is a search for a new paradigmatic, the more contextual relationship between means and ends. In the context of this research, it means a new relationship between planning mechanisms and social dynamics of public spaces, acknowledgement of the biases in processes of interpretation of needs and selection of planning tools.

Accommodation is a mechanism that institutionalises minority group’s involvement, not necessarily the ethnic groups, in the decision-making process on various public issues. According to Lijphart (1968: 103), accommodation means “settlement of divisive issues and conflicts, where only a minimal consensus exists”. There should be a necessary common-ground among the groups and actors such as the shared value of sustaining the existing society and country (Lijphart, 1968: 103). In countries such as Belgium, Switzerland and Canada, politics of minority inclusion have been pursued with a goal to reduce minorities’ dissatisfaction with political marginalisation and therefore weakens the potency of ethnic difference to produce ethnic conflict (Glass, 1977: 35). Glass (1977: 35) points out that religious or language differences are not direct drivers of a conflict, but rather “preconditions which prompt a conflict”. Intergroup conflict is triggered when ethnic difference coincides with a difference in socio-economic status and political dissatisfaction because of the hindered access to resources and distribution of power in the management of those resources. In such cases, frustration arising from the marginalisation of the ethnic group, rather than the ethnic difference, drives a conflict. Dissatisfaction with the politics and policies that disadvantage one ethnic group could spill over to all members of the ethnic group whose elite is governing the access and management of resources. Ethnicity or religious affiliation as particular dimensions of social categorisation become salient even if there is no substantive statutory difference between groups and results in tendencies toward intergroup differentiation (“Us and Them” discourse), intra-group homogenisation and internalisation of a disadvantaged status.

Accommodation is designed to improve access of diverse voices to both institutions and resources and allow redistribution of power and governing management. Accommodation is also about governments getting closer to the citizens, of inclusion and reaching a compromise, as opposed to majoritarian domination and competition between groups. Accommodation is not about preference, of sustaining a hierarchical order between groups. Accommodation can be achieved by different means. It can be institutionalised as a relative share of representation of certain groups so that certain policies and practices can be executed. For example, in Macedonia, an ethnic group with a share of at least 20 percent of the total population in a neighbourhood can make a claim to the municipal administration for the use of their mother language in the official communication. Moreover, the municipal administration is obliged to create a positive environment so that members of ethnic groups with at least 20 percent share in the total population in a local area are able to exercise this right.

Another form of institutionalising accommodation of ethnic claims is through the principle of proportionality or even overrepresentation, which can aid minority groups in being actively engaged in public affairs. In Macedonia, proportionality is used as a principle of political representation in the electoral system and employment in civil service and public administration. According to Lijphart (2008: 74), the effects of proportionality and overrepresentation should not be overestimated. While proportionality secures minority participation, it can discriminate against smaller minorities. In his views, guaranteed representation, autonomy and use of minority veto are stronger mechanisms for minorities' engagement in power-sharing processes. In Macedonia, minority consent has been introduced for all policies that regulate expression of cultural and ethnic identity, such as the use of minority language and ethnic symbols in the public sphere. Nationally, autonomy defined as a city level governance and not as an ethnic federalisation, accommodates greater participation in all aspects of communal life, including political participation, employment, culture and education.

Other accommodation mechanisms such as consultative bodies or local commissions for inter-ethnic relations are institutionalised in the local self-governing *architecture* to allow a more direct experience of democracy, decrease dissatisfaction of political marginalisation and minimise the salience of ethnic difference across social groups. According to Lijphart (2008: 34), "decision-making that entails accommodation among subcultures is a difficult process" but it is necessary for a system that entails deep political and social cleavages.

Making accommodation *work* requires the participation of legitimately elected representatives of ethnic groups in the political processes of deliberation, negotiation and reaching compromise. Elite accommodation is a preferred model by Lijphart (2008). According to him, elites of political sub-cultures are recognised as legitimate representatives of the interests and needs of their constituencies. The political behaviour of an ethnic elite is a contributing factor toward (in)stability of a consociational system (Lijphart, 2008: 28). The representative elites of rival ethnic groups may engage in deliberation and cooperation, thus, minimise instability resulting from cultural fragmentation and heterogeneity. Yet, they may also engage in competitive conduct and ethno-nationalistic rhetoric, thus, aggravate the effects of inter-group mistrust. Elites should not only be equipped with a “good will” to cooperate but also with a capacity to recognise the diverse voices and demands within their own group and a commitment to accommodate differences between the elites in order to reach compromise for the political stability of the system. Lastly, Lijphart (2008: 32) notes that “elites should understand the perils of political fragmentation”, such as the threat towards stability and democracy, so that they are committed to cooperation in solving problems arising from diversity. Lijphart (2008: 32) accentuates the need for distribution of power among a plurality of political subcultures. In his view, in situations of power distribution among two subcultures with a more or less similar share in the population, or in a demonstrated hegemony by one subculture, political elites may be prone to dominate than to cooperate with a rival minority. Therefore, “the quality of leadership” as accentuated by Lijphart (1968: 211) and a shared value of national solidarity are necessary common-ground for successful deliberation. However, it is precisely these characteristics that are lacking within the elite accommodation in ethnically fragmented societies.

Are elites trusted actors or in a position to facilitate cohabitation and mutual exchange between citizens along ethnic, cultural and linguistic cleavages and decrease the salience of such differences? Political scientists point out two aspects of political leadership that are the main reasons why people retreat from politics, namely a lack of prudence, and service to public interest. Rosenberg (2007: 1) notes that trust and interest in politics are declining because citizens “increasingly see politics as a remote arena populated by powers beyond their control, pursuing interests that do not reflect the needs of the public at large”. Declining voting turnout rates, especially among youth and poorly educated people, have been used as a mere illustration of people’s lack of interest in political participation, politicians and policies (Rosenberg, 2007; Gallego, 2008). Some authors discount the trends of rising political disengagement

(McDonald and Popkin, 2001) as an illusion based on the inclusion of ineligible groups, such as felons and non-citizens in the U.S in calculating voting turnout rate. Yet, there are also those that advocate for a distinction between political and other forms of civic engagement, such as, participation in civil society, associations, self-organized citizens' groups, online communities, with the latter being a growing trend (Cook, Delli Carpini, and Jacobs, 2007). This is especially the case with young people, whose engagement is nearly equal to that of their parents. Or youth that have never voted but participate in various civic activities that "speak in a different voice" (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, and Delli Carpini, 2006: 7). Putnam (2007) provides the opposite claim, arguing that the decay of the community results from increased heterogeneity, migration and change in the socio-economic demography of the population, which have a negative effects on quality and quantity of community networks and bonding and bridging associational civic engagements. Gallego (2008) stresses that the expanding participation gap between different socio-economic and demographic groups, and the concentration of abstinence among the youth and poorly educated people, could cause a problem in securing social equality in the future.

The differences between developed countries and countries in development are even more striking. Citizens in post-transitional countries of Eastern and Central Europe, when compared to Western democracies, show even less interest to discuss politics, are less frequently engaged in political activities, show less interest in their neighbourhood and are unable to link communal needs to wider political discourse (Mondak and Gearing, 1998:631). Mondak and Gearing (1998:631) argue that a lack of community attachment, a lack of quality and diversified channels of information, an absence of a culture of civic engagement as well as strong social cleavages that coincide with ethnic belonging can hamper civic engagement. While the lack of a culture of civic engagement on a city level is easier to target, others, such as ethnic tensions that arise from social differentiation require complex and systematic policy interventions.

Citizens in Macedonia are no different than other "post-transitional fellows" in regards to political participation. They also see politics as a power beyond their control. Political parties are the least trusted bodies in the society¹⁴ and

¹⁴ In 2008, 29.8 percent of the citizens trusted the political parties, among which 26.2 percent are Macedonians and 42.3 percent are Albanians. In comparison, in 2013, 27.9 percent of the citizens trusted the political parties, out of which 29.1 percent are Macedonians and 28.9 percent are Albanians (Nuredinoska, Krzhalovski and Stojanova, 2013).

only a small minority of the working-age population in the country believes it has the capacity to influence the process of decision-making on a local and national level.¹⁵ As both a result and a reason for such political marginalisation, the majority of citizens are not interested in participating in public meetings, communal citizens' groups or meetings with councillors (Maleska, 2010). The apparent disjuncture between politics and citizens could put into question the political legitimacy of ethnic political parties and institutions, in general. Who should govern if the people do not trust the political elites? Which mechanisms redefine the role of citizens from being governed to being active participants in the process of governance? On the other side, when people are in disagreement and express divergent preferences, how can diverse interests be recognised and conflicts mediated?

Kukathas (1993: 26) rightly asks about the kind of appropriate institutions to govern a society fragmented along salient ethnic, linguistic and cultural identifications. He envisions two scenarios. The first is to set an institutional infrastructure that explicitly recognises the rights and obligations for equal representation and participation in governance processes by legitimate groups of constituents of the society. He calls it a "group-participation approach" of governance in a pluralistic society (Kukathas, 1993: 27). This setting, in his view, illicitly implies an organisation that inevitably leads to social integration. It emphasises inclusiveness of all legitimate groups in the governance process, regards participation as a high value for the society, and discloses rights to identification and self-determination of less numerous groups as a public matter needing of a public support in order to survive and reproduce. But this is not Kukathas's preferred option. He opts for the second scenario which does not give explicit political recognition of fragmented elements of a pluralistic society but rather recognises individuals equipped with rights and obligations as the only legitimate political actors in the society, even in a multicultural society. "Political institutions should, as far as possible, serve to allow these different elements to flourish but should not be in the business of enabling these elements or interests to shape society" (Kukathas, 1993: 27). Such institutions would not recognise interests of particular groups but rather individuals' rights and obligations, despite their group affiliation. Kukathas (1993: 28) argues that political participation is a right not acclaimed as a result of a group

¹⁵ According to the research conducted by REACTOR on citizen engagement, in 2014, 3.5 percent of the citizens believed to be able to strongly influence the process of decision-making on national level, in addition to 4.7 percent on local level. In contrast, 69.9 percent believed to be unable to strongly influence the process of decision-making on national level compared to 56.6 percent on local level.

affiliation but as an individual right to get engaged in public affairs. In this setting, institutions are neutral in regards to how groups' interest and needs are expressed in the public sphere. This institutional framework advances the rights of individuals, alone or together with others, to defend their political positions, and does not acclaim explicit recognition to the political positions of particular groups. As a result, there is no need for a specific multicultural policy as the rules of the social game are those of equal respect and dignity. Such a difference-blind approach, while claiming not to suppress the particular needs of groups, implicitly utilises a mode of governance in which priority and recognition are given to the interest and needs of individuals forming a majority, albeit, based on different identification, such as ethnicity, culture and socio-economic status. Lijphart (2008: 112) lacks trust in majority rule as an inclusive and prudent mode of governance. In his view, the majority can easily set limits but also remove the restraints of their governance power, succinctly pointed it out by Spitz (1984): "Nothing clarifies the total sway of majorities more than their ability to alter and adjust the standard of legitimacy" (cf. Lijphart, 2008: 113). Lijphart (2008: 114) points out that majority rule should not be considered as the only legitimate form of democracy, even more so, in his view, that it is dangerous and wrong. In contrast to Kukathas (1993), Lijphart (2008: 112) advocates for a power-sharing model of governance, a consensual democracy that utilises accommodation as one of the tools used by governments to reach an agreement between competing groups.

Despite how mixed and refuted the conclusion of citizen participation in political and social life is, what is certain is the need to re-question the ways in which citizens engage in debating politics and public issues to resolve issues of their immediate concern. This is what Cook, Delli Carpini and Jacobs (2007) term as "discursive participation" or engagement in debating. In a bipolar elite ruling, as in Macedonia, political elites encapsulate the ethnic group and are more or less consistent, thus partisan's leadership is more prone to use confrontation and contestation than cooperation with different-minded people or groups. If elites are not trusted actors to facilitate cohabitation and mutual exchange between citizens along ethnic, cultural and linguistic cleavages, can citizens themselves opt for that role? If affirmative, what kind of accommodation process, as part of the institutional and informal network of citizens as "multiple publics" (Fraser, 1992), should be facilitated? Can such processes counter-fight the social cleavages that exist in divided societies? Can accommodation processes facilitate the creation of new cultural content and ease transgression of ethnic boundaries in a multicultural society? These are some of the contemplative theoretical concerns of this research.

3.2 The Political, Social and Symbolic Life of Public Spaces

Citizen engagement and sociability are best observed at a local, neighbourhood level. Neighbourhoods are considered as places of spontaneous social interaction and “natural sites of integration” (Duyvendak, 2004: 28). The open and accessible-for-all public spaces permeate between the private spaces of individual control and allow a variety of functional and symbolic uses. “Public spaces of cities, almost anywhere and at any time, can be described as places outside the boundaries of an individual or small group’s control, mediating between private spaces and used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes” (Madanipour, 2003: 204). In normative terms, these are spaces that are provided and managed by public authorities, ideally accessible and available to all citizens and should be of concern to the citizenry as a whole (Madanipour, 2003: 204). But public spaces in the neighbourhoods are also highly contested and exclusionary spaces, in a historical perspective and in multicultural societies. Overt and violent intergroup conflict and conspicuous spatial segregation in ethnic enclaves (Yiftachel and Hedgcock, 1993: 140) reminds us that facilitation of intercultural contact in public spaces is not an easy task, neither can social integration always happen spontaneously. As Duyvendak (2004: 28) asks, are public spaces and neighbourhoods among the few places left for intercultural interaction and integration in a context when traditional family ties are losing grip and civic engagement is declining? Furthermore, Duyvendak (2004: 28) asks if public spaces are “the only sites for integration of those outside of the labour market”.

Why have public spaces been so widely debated? What is their importance? Many authors (Habermas, 1989; Fraser, 1992; Fainstein, 2005; Jacobs, 2009; Calhoun, 1992) believe that just as with the economy and the state, the public sphere/public space has potential to act as a tool for social integration, to coordinate and control human life. More so, Cresswell (1996: 11) notes that understanding the role that public space has in structuring social and cultural processes can help us “demystify the forces that affect and manipulate our everyday behaviour”.

Public spaces are more than just streets, parks, buildings, pedestrians, squares, small urban pockets, stone, concrete and other building materials. The logic, the order of things spatialised in public space provides us with meaning and value of “normality” in our social world and accepted sociocultural hierarchies (Cresswell, 1996: 9). However, as Cresswell (1996) argues, “value

and meaning are not inherent in any space”, thus, the logic of ordering and interpretation needs to be produced (Cresswell, 1996: 9). The reading of the social order represented in public space provides us with the accepted and preferred understanding of the good, just and appropriate in society, of action and groups that are accepted and fitted. In such a way, “places are produced by practice that adheres to (ideological) beliefs about what is an appropriate thing to do” (Cresswell, 1996: 16). Place reproduces the values and meaning of good and appropriate that initially produce it (the place) in a way that this worldview seems natural and recognised by the users as common-sense. This line of thought connects the meaning of public space/place with power relations and ideology, what Keith and Pile (1993: 2) call “identity politics”, but also to a framework of governance/management of a society that is internally fragmented into “ethnocultural communities integrated around their own conceptions of good” (Habermas, 1994: 137). Recognition of the chance for those other than the dominant place-makers to question the common-sense is how multinational societies maintain cohesiveness. As Taylor (1994: 66) notes: “Recognition forges identity”.

The reading of the good, just and fitted also informs us of the opposite – on the subjects and content that are excluded. Personal experience of the space gives public space a fundamental role in ascribing certain values and meaning to actions while the physical setting of actions plays a fundamental role in defining our judgment whether actions are good or bad. “Society produces space and space reproduces the society”, notes Cresswell (1996: 12). Places do not only reflect ideology or express dominant values and meanings, they are at the same time produced by ideology and are involved in (re)producing ideology. Cresswell (1996: 25) makes two important introspections on the relation between power and places. Places, first of all, play an important role in the production of norms of appropriate behaviour while power is the ability to make rules for others. Thus, power to control the political act of the production of space and places infers control and ability to manipulate the order of what constitutes appropriate behaviour. This is usually under the authority of the dominant social groups and done in a way to seem natural and normal, thus, places get involved in reproducing normality of who and what belongs where and who and what is excluded. In such a way, the form of public space can be seen as a product of a given culture and the public space interprets meanings in congruence with the worldview of that culture (Cresswell, 1996: 59).

Interpretation of meanings is not independent of the social position and worldviews (personal values and meanings). The socially constructed meaning of space is influenced by our personal beliefs of good, just and appropriate, thus,

the meaning we give to space affects whether the actions and behaviours expressed in public space are appropriate or congruent. Cresswell (1996: 150) notes “the result of these processes is a cycle of meanings, actions and places influencing, constituting and structuring each other”.

Interpretation of the production of public space is not fixed and unquestionable. Public spaces bear meanings that individuals, groups and society project. Spaces and people/groups are in a dialectic relation of continuous interpretation. Public space used to produce “normality” can challenge that same logic. The accommodation of difference in public space questions the “normality” of established cultural hegemonies and social hierarchies. It contradicts the order of values and meanings that are deemed normal for space and by the dominant social group. This means that other social groups are making their way through “in the place” (Cresswell, 1996) and produce a spatial order of a different social reality – reality that acknowledges diversity and recognises the right to be represented in public space. As Cresswell (1996: 47) acknowledges, “Once meaning finds spatial expression it is no longer personal; it is there – visible, material, solid and shared”. It is political, it is the stage upon which political realities may be enacted and be given a visual form (Lofland, 1998: 235).

The reason why public spaces are an important context for social interaction is because of their potential to stimulate citizen engagement in deliberating local public affairs. Public space is seen as a democratic space where policies are created through the participation of the “critical publicity” of all inflicted by regulation (Benhabib, 1992: 86-87). Debating and deliberating “normality” are mechanisms that trigger citizen participation (Fraser, 1992: 110-111). The number of publics or critical publics that are triggered is infinite or equal to the number of debates that deliberate the norms in the society. Thus, the process of democratisation in contemporary societies can be seen through the growth of the social and political character of public space (Benhabib, 1992: 87). Participation in deliberation is not without challenges. First of all, the transformation of the society under capitalism transformed the (bourgeois) public sphere from a “culture of debating the public” to a “culture of consuming the public” (Goode, 2005: 18). The autonomous citizen and his/her reasoning judgment, which were essential to the political character of public space (Benhabib 1992: 93), was turned into an obedient consumer responsive only to a general attitude of demand. Moreover, Fraser (1992: 111) contends that the capacity for participation is not equally distributed in stratified societies. In such a context, domination and subordination between social groups are generated through the institutional framework, and the public space is not immune to such social reproduction, resulting in a deliberation that is directed and supervised

by the dominant group. The subordinate group can react by either confining to the situation or counter-fighting with oppositional interpretations of common-sense. The emergence of “counterpublic” (Fraser, 1992: 111) in response to exclusion from the public space could expand the potential of public space to lead informative discussions and stimulate citizen participation.

Public spaces have usually been discussed in terms of their ability to serve as a context for potential social contact. “Space structures human interaction by affecting: how interaction occurs, who interacts with whom, and the content of the interaction”, notes Lofland (1998: 181). Public spaces do not determine the condition and outcomes of the contact situation but can encourage or discourage the direction of development and transformation of the social interaction. The built environment and its characteristics can facilitate fleeting contact between people and help transform it into friendly and personal ties or can hinder people in engaging in any social contact. The built environment can encourage contact between different social groups and different types of users or can limit possibilities for mutual exchange (Lofland, 1998). In multicultural cities, the practices of accommodation of cultural and ethnic diversity in public space shape the setting in which an interethnic contact occurs. As such, they become hauled in the dynamics between groups and setting. The way public space is produced, by urban planners and place makers, and the way it is managed (with or without public consultation) shapes intergroup encounters and the perceptions of the space. Moreover, it shapes how public spaces are lived and imagined in personal and communal identifications. This process is dialectic and often “spatial contradictions express conflicts between socio-political interests and forces” (Lefebvre, 1991: 365), as those between citizens, ethnic groups, politicians and other interest groups.

Spatial contradictions and conflicts challenge the established order of public space. They can either be accommodated to fit the old knowledge or out-casted and left in parallel to the dominant common-sense in a contested landscape (Cresswell, 1996). Thus, accommodation is not always the choice made by agents controlling the established social order. Assimilation is also a mechanism employed by a dominant group to absorb new and contested meanings. In either case, accommodation or assimilation, strategies of domination and resistance to common-sense epitomise a symbolic violence and struggle in public spaces.

Along the social and political *life* of public spaces, as exemplified by the Macedonian politician who initiated the Cross in a neighbourhood in Skopje to emphasise the right of a space for symbols, public spaces are praised for their

potential to represent common-sense, act as a symbol. Symbols establish an associational link with ideas such as home, belonging, ours. “Symbols reflect and abstract the structure and ideals of a society and culture”, notes Rapoport (1974: 59). Discussing the symbolic significance of places, Cresswell (1996: 163) makes an important point on strategies of maintaining power division reflected in public space that can have an unintended effect – that of heightening the importance of space to be a “site of meaningful resistance”. The project *Skopje 2014* had that effect of enhancing the importance of public space in self-presentation and affirmation of the self-concept of a group. The project revisited the association between collective memory and its symbolic representation in the public sphere. The project revived the potential of public space to act as a symbol which reflects the ideals and vision of an imagined homogeneous society. But this project mainstreamed an unintended effect in questioning the dominant mode of accommodation of culture, history and identity in public space. It revived public space as a site of resistance, a place where insurgency and transformation can catalyse deliberation and engagement in negotiating the form, function and representation of diversity in public spaces in a multicultural city. A step forward in understanding the role of public spaces in producing and reproducing sociocultural relation and power division is not through the abolishment of the identity of the places and creating neutral locations but rather through the transformation of the types of public spaces that are open, inviting and conflicting the established order. Studying these aspects of public space individually, or in isolation from each other, strips us of the opportunity to see the effects that public spaces have over the organisation and reproduction of social life. The lack of their integration at both theoretical and practical level in the social sciences means that the people would “miss much that is crucial for an understanding of the role that the building environment has played and continues to play in shaping public realm social life” (Lofland, 1998: 188).

3.3 Identity and the Politics of Recognition

The role of language, religion, culture and ethnic belonging occupy a key place in minority rights framework and accommodate the relation to the liberal-democratic consensus in a nation-state. The multiculturalist discourse is facing a backlash of ethnic identity importance in social life. Ethnic, national minorities challenge the institutions and the principles of legitimisation of

authority within a nation- state. When ethnic groups are considered disloyal, further relations become securitised and spaces, where their demands are negotiated, erode (Kymlicka, 2010: 106). As a consequence, the accommodation of ethnic and cultural diversity becomes an issue of threat and polarisation. "Ethnicity, nationality, language and religion are the cornerstones of the primordial identities in Macedonia, sometimes they are overlapping and fostering a single identity and, in other cases, they are providing incentives for having multiple identities or a choice of identity", notes Taleski (2008: 127-128). Envisioning a way forward means de-categorising and re-categorising belonging and identity and as Bužar (2006: 4) succinctly observes: "to link the production of difference with the production of space". Such pursuit "opens the path for an alternative, interpretations of ethnopolitical projects and conflicts in the post-socialist space more generally".

Identity is dialogical, formed in the interchange, says the renowned multiculturalist Charles Taylor (1994). We understand and define ourselves only in a relation with others who are important to us, in a dialogue between us and the people, institutions, territories, and so on. Hence, society is the reference base for any socially derived identity. The story of identity is always of who is included, who has been left out and the boundaries between Us and Them. Today's obsession with boundaries and identity is not because both have been re-discovered in recent years, but as Taylor notes (1994: 35), is a result of the changing conditions in which recognition fails to fulfil its role. The power struggle between ethnic groups in multicultural states while under pressure for cultural homogenisation in a single national identification is changing the context of implementing politics of recognition.

Equal recognition is more than just an appropriate mode of establishing relations within a democratic society. The recognition acknowledges authenticity. "Everyone should be recognised for his or her unique identity", says Taylor (1994: 38). In a democratic society, every individual should be allowed the conditions to express and affirm his/her identity. On a group level, in a democratic society, groups should be allowed to be authentic in recognising their difference with others. In aligning with the principal of universal dignity, individuals are to be treated with dignity - respecting their differential authentic identity and groups should be treated with dignity recognising the differences that exist between them. "Denying recognition can be considered as a form of oppression", notes Taylor (1994: 36-39).

The request for dignified/equal treatment should not be understood in a collision with the politics of difference. Although, the practical implication of a

dignified treatment is conceived as an equal approach to diverse groups and/or citizens, the implementation of politics of recognition is to treat groups and/or citizens with dignity with respect for their unique identity and existing differences. As Taylor notes (1994: 39), the politics of difference is a product of the politics of equal dignity. The politics of difference is a new understanding of the universal principle of dignity, where blindness of differences between people is acknowledged and distinctions are the basis of creating a mechanism of recognition of differential treatment. Politics of difference and public recognition do not opt for extended rights and preferential treatment of certain groups, albeit ethnic or other interest-based groups. Simply, politics of difference and public recognition imply that within a framework of equal rights, the exercise of those rights for some groups is impeded by diverse socio-economic factors, which in turn, can strengthen marginalisation and vulnerability. For example, all citizens, individually or as part of a group are entitled to the right to participate in public affairs, such as presence at Local council meetings. More so, citizens should be consulted on matters of their communal life and environment. There is a legal obligation that public presentations and public surveys on urban plans are organised in a way that allows citizen engagement. But in reality, not everyone is equally prepared to participate. Citizens lack resources, time, information and knowledge on how to make meaningful participation in urban planning, and this may be more socio-economically influenced than motivational. If a group is ignored or forgotten, then, urban planning is not led by taking into consideration different needs and concerns. The matter is not to institute the right to be consulted to those ready to exercise it but to make sure that almost all are informed and enabled to practice the right. The core of the politics of difference is an approach that mitigates the obstacles in exercising equal treatment and dignity. Liberalism is criticised for being “blind” of the differential roles that citizens and groups have in their everyday life. A liberal society cannot be neutral and indifferent toward the inequalities experienced by citizens and groups. In a society where a large portion or group does not share the common goal, policies should manage solutions for groups and citizens to express a collective goal, then be included in defining common goals and finally, be part of redefining the common goal on a constant basis. As Taylor notes (1994: 59), “a society with strong collective goals can be liberal, provided it is also capable of respecting diversity, especially when dealing with those who do not share its common goals”. An important characteristic of such a society is hospitality of the difference. As society is freed from viewing collective goals as suspicious to the common goal but rather as a legitimate goal of cultural perseverance and survival when it is open to accommodate cultural survival within a framework of uniform equal treatment. This is not an easy

task. But the mitigation of the conflict of these objectives is not impossible, or greater than any other challenge to liberal society balancing between liberty and equality, prosperity and justice, says Taylor (1994). This model is preferred by accommodationists. More and more societies are multicultural, not as a result of a demographic heterogeneity but because of awareness of other groups' need for survival.

The unprecedented migration to European cities happening in the last few years intensifies the heterogeneity of societies, introducing also new values and perceptions of the good and moral. From within the society, there are groups whose members are citizens, and whose world views challenge the understanding of the common goals, the good and moral. To those groups, the state should accredit an equal recognition of the attitude to question common values, norms and principles. Cohesiveness in multicultural societies is maintained through the perceived recognition of equal worth by others.

Rockefeller (1994: 88) notes that ethnic identity is just one of the many particular identities that persons have which should not be elevated to the level of primary universal identity as human beings. Thus, politics of recognition should not be reduced to a recognition of ethnic identity but rather persons are entitled to claim recognition based on their universal human identity. Similarly, for Kukathas (1993: 28), in the public sphere, individuals should be encouraged to see themselves as citizens with certain rights and obligations, and not as group affiliates. Individuals may see themselves as belonging to certain groups, but, according to Kukathas (1993), this is a matter of private choice and not a public issue. Recognition of cultural and ethnic issues outside of the private sphere, as Kukathas (1993) observes, is doing damage to groups, as they may be pressured to change their own practices, rather than expect a change in the wider society. Thus, in his view, groups become unstable and under constant pressure to adapt and readapt to the context. Furthermore, any action intended for a certain structure of power and interest to survive only limits the groups to think of interest as bound to the groups' existence and members of the groups as incompatible with cross-group membership. This works only in favour of the dominant elites and the vocal majority of the groups. Walzer (1994: 102) notes that "state neutrality is often hypocritical". For Habermas (1994: 135), "The neutrality of the law vis-a-vis internal ethical differentiations stems from the fact that in complex societies the citizenry as a whole can no longer be held together by a substantive consensus on values but only by a consensus on the procedures for the legitimate enactment of laws and the legitimate exercise of power".

Amy Gutmann (1994: 8) points out that full public recognition as equal citizens may require two forms of respect: (1) respect for the unique identities of each individual, regardless of gender, race or ethnicity, and (2) respect for those activities, practices and ways of viewing the world that are particularly valued by, or associated with, members of disadvantaged groups, including women, ethnic minorities, etc. Also, there are those that argue that difference-blind institutions are wrongly perceived as an outcome of the universalistic application of policies of equal treatment and respect. Habermas (1994: 110-113) asks whether the second mode of recognition follows from the universal equal respect and are they in some cases in conflict? In his view, a “system of rights is blind neither to unequal social conditions nor to cultural differences. The colour-blindness of the selective reading vanishes once we assume that we ascribe to the bearers of individual rights an identity that is conceived intersubjectively”. He continues, “A correctly understood theory of rights requires a politics of recognition that protects the integrity of the individual in the life contexts in which his or her identity is formed. This does not require an alternative model that would correct the individualistic design of the system of rights through other normative perspectives. All that is required is the consistent actualisation of the system of rights” (1994: 113). Yet, Habermas (1994) is aware of the differences in prescribed and experienced equality, hence, he comments that “policies of equality are to be considered as a dialectic of *de jure* and *de facto* equality”. He contends that normative equality does not result in “actual equality in life circumstances or positions of power”. In both cases, of factual and actual equality, Habermas (1994: 113) reminds us that the normative framework of equal rights and dignified treatment “cannot be appropriately formulated unless those affected articulate and justify in public discussion what is relevant to equal or unequal treatment in typical cases”.

3.4 Politics of Need Interpretation and Recognition

Debate and deliberation between individuals and groups are necessary for the identification of needs and their appropriate interpretation and translation in policies and normative practices. Nancy Fraser (1989: 145-58) talks of politics of need interpretation. In her view, needs are not “self-evident and beyond dispute” (Fraser, 1989: 145), although the system tries to frame them based on their understanding of demand and create interpreted identities and needs. “Interpretation of people’s needs is itself a political stake, sometimes *the* politi-

cal stake” (Fraser, 1989: 145). Fraser (1989) argues that the perceived stability and “normality” of the context, the normative equality accentuated by Habermas (1994), is rarely open to contestation and change as a result of the different life circumstances or actual equality among individuals. Therefore, there is a necessary shift in doing politics, which is the “shift of the policy discourse from monological towards politics of interpretation of needs which is dialogical and participatory” (Fraser, 1989: 145).

If transferred to politics of recognition, an appropriate interpretation of needs necessitates, first, a dialogue within the groups of the need of the diverse constituents, then a deliberation between the groups/political communities in the society on the legitimate modes of their recognition (the modes of accommodation) and finally, an understanding that neither groups nor their interaction is stable and immutable but rather fluid and changeable. The dialogical and participatory process of interpretation of needs shifts the power between the actors whose needs are interpreted and the interpreter. The process of legitimate interpretation of needs is neither fair nor without conflicts. To the contrary, it raises awareness whether the interpretation is biased to the perceptions of the dominant social groups and if so, on the possibility to contest them (Fraser, 1989: 164). Participatory politics of ethnic and cultural groups’ need interpretation can break the myth that some/all ethnic groups have a secret agenda; it can be emancipatory in a way that it challenges traditional interpretation of the content of needs and secures their political status. It also allows ownership because members participate in the process of interpreting needs and finally, it can instigate loyalty that is difficult to trigger by solely legal instruments.

Politics of recognition is not akin to ethnic identity and cultural survival. Special regulations that accommodate for the role that both men and women play in certain circumstances, such as pregnancy, maternity leave, self-parenthood, have the objective to balance or correct potential unequal positions in exercising universal rights and equal treatment (Habermas, 1994: 114). A proper actualisation of the equal right paradigm also means to safeguard the equal right to coexistence (Habermas, 1994: 128). According to Habermas (1994: 128):

“The integrity of the individual legal person cannot be guaranteed without protecting the intersubjectively shared experiences and life contexts in which the person has been socialised and has formed his or her identity. The identity of the individual is interwoven with collective identities and can be stabilised only in a cultural network. Hence, the individual remains the bearer of “rights to cultural membership”.

Yet, Habermas (1994) does not deny the self-criticism and transformation of the groups. In his view, the possibility of the individual to confront or leave the community and the traditions in which identity is formed is innate to the group's existence. Collectives, albeit ethnic or cultural groups, are not special and endangered species that need to be preserved in their original form. Insistence on special protection status that guarantees their preservation, takes away the freedom of members of that particular group to decide and continuously question the practices that are worth protecting. Habermas (1994: 130-132) notes that: "Cultures survive only if they draw the strength to transform themselves from criticism and secession" and "when culture becomes reflexive", that is when they open to the "critical examination of current practices and allow space for learning from other traditions".

3.5 Politics of Recognition and Entitlement to Belong on City Level

And, back to the issue of sustaining a political community that is internally fragmented, Habermas (1994: 137) talks of "neutral ethical substance that unites all the citizens of the nation with respect to the differences among the ethical-cultural communities within the nation, which are integrated around their own conceptions of the good. A nation of citizens can sustain the institutions of freedom only by developing a certain measure of loyalty to their own state, a loyalty that cannot be legally enforced".

In similar fashion, Hindess (1993) talks of an associational pluralism, a political community allowing a plurality of associations and networking between citizens and individuals, not primarily based on ethnic origin, and recognising the autonomy and right to development within a general legal framework. Associational belonging is not exclusivist, so people can have cross-membership and work to fulfil the goals of the platforms, at the same time, freeing people from accentuating their ethnic differences. As Hindess (1993: 43) puts it, it is not a matter of the existence of differential interest and values of groups, it is a matter of their management. Different ideas and needs are quintessential in a pluralist society, and their suppression is limited within a liberal political framework. Rather than allowing discontent to be channelised in uncontrollable modes, Hindess (1993: 43) advocates for a governance that "recognises such interests and attempts to promote their mutual accommodation". Accommodation can sustain some differential elements between the groups, but inevitably involves negotiation with the prospect of all sides being informed of

their needs and motives of certain actions.

Production of public space is not culturally blind. Rather, the political act of production filters and alters expressions. Some are supported and others are marginalised. Supported expressions may exercise privilege over marginalised, hence, privilege control norms over others and insist that discursive assimilation is a condition for participation in the public sphere. This may demise multiculturalism and democracy. Therefore, the existence of multiple publics which acknowledge the complexity of identities, overlapping of public membership, have fluid character and allow open intercultural communication on internal differences and antagonism, should be implicit in multicultural societies (Fraser, 1992: 121-125).

An important contribution to this debate comes from the writing of Bhikhu Parekh (2008). According to Parekh (2008: 31), accommodation claims for diversity are not simply part of the demands for equal political, economic and civic rights but are claims that are focused on the demand for public legitimacy or recognition for marginalised identities. "Marginalised and inferior groups cannot challenge the relevant social norms without challenging the wider vision of good life from which these derive their legitimacy" (Parekh, 2008: 32-35). This means that minorities cannot challenge their position without questioning the social norms of belonging, the good citizen, loyalty and access. Therefore, advocating public legitimacy or "recognition" suggests radical changes in the dominant culture, its politics and practice. Certain traps need to be avoided, such as essentialising collective self-consciousness to a unity of views, experiences and concerns, disregard of internal differentiation, elitisation of minority issues, creating exclusivist groups without a possibility to reconcile the difference, internalising historically inherited identity and opposing an internal change in an ever-changing environment.

Accommodation practices of diversity in public space are more than just a symbolic recognition of one's ethnicity, language, religion and symbols within the wider community. On the contrary, they may directly affect the self-respect of members of a minority group as well as their willingness to participate in the political life of the state (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000: 29). Denied recognition or trivialisation of requests may instigate people to feel harmed even when other political and economic rights are respected or to dominate the minority right discourse in a situation when other opportunities are also constrained (Taylor, 1994; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000). Furthermore, Kymlicka and Norman (2000: 30) reminds us that a minorities' claims for symbolic recognition are not a matter of a majority's acknowledgement of their special status. It is

also a claim for re-questioning a majority's identity and relation to the state.

Accommodation practices focused on the public legitimisation of diversity add something new in the movement on recognition. As Parekh (2008: 42) notes, it articulates demands utilising the language of rights and justice but diverts the attention towards governance and the distribution of power in a society. Space challenges the traditional distribution of power. It uses the potential of culture and performativity to generate new imaginaries of more immediate practices of democracy and governance and forefronts new forms of citizenship. This research is about space that rethinks the concept of "the political" and "the community". Here, Gaventa (2006: 27) rightfully alerts on the relation among institutional and informal participatory spaces, as in absence of the latter as a counter-balance, new institutional designs can easily be hijacked by the established power elite.

In Macedonia, an accommodation approach to the public representation of diversity under requests for a cultural specificity of ethnocultural groups cannot be organised to satisfy the idealistic, liberal citizenship model. Instead, recognition of the cultural autonomy of ethnic groups and deliberation on needs in common, shared space which represents a civic value of citizenship, and the practices of accommodation of diversity into public space should be created.

Language barriers, lack of knowledge of other cultures, incompatible cultural practices, territorial claims and religious visibility in a secular state, all question the capacity of cities to deal with the diversity present on-site and promote an integration of different social groups into social and political processes. Cities are regarded as a multicultural laboratory where "mechanisms and practices leading toward a multicultural society in the context of liberal democracy can be developed" (Tatjer, 2004: 248). Thus, it is possible to shift the perspective of ethnocultural diversity as a solely national issue to an issue of local importance. This shift instigates approaches of deliberation of everyday multiculturalism that stream from below, from the social dynamics in the neighbourhoods and the city. This practice can result in the envisioning of citizenship not as a national belonging but as local acts of citizenship practice, including deliberation, community activism, etc. Tatjer (2004: 249) praises cities for their capacity to accommodate diversity and to facilitate coexistence among different groups, situating diversity as a driving force of social and economic development of the cities. In her views, cities are able to create alternatives for the difficulties in intergroup relations not foreseen by the state, as is the case of public recognition of diversity. Cities allow the existence of a sense of belonging that does not clash with different cultural identities, while the

state can provide civil political norms unrelated to cultural identity. However, she argues and reminds us not to idealise the capacity or to propose a panacea for the conflicts that the presence of ethnical diversity can create in the society (Tatjer, 2004: 249). Demystifying the implicit assumption about ethnicity as a fixed and exclusive identity and deconstructing power-sharing disputes as being more than just an ethnic conflict over control of public resources, can facilitate social cohesion and improve the intercultural sociability in the public space. This is essential learning for the cities of diversity in which we live today and is not only about the product of the process but also about the process itself, the mechanisms, the existing institutional architecture, informal practices and climate which are determining communal life and encapsulate inclusion or exclusion. It is about participation being more than taking an active role in the labour market. It is about the right to claim *just* public resource distribution and adequate representation and being entitled to a right to a city, a space “where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests” (Gaventa, 2006: 26).

The attempt to downsize the debate of accommodation of diversity to a local, urban level is both with praise and critique. Localising this debate motivates reforms in the self-governance structure of the cities and institutionalisation of participative mechanisms along with a support for informal deliberation spaces. However, its limited view on the city is criticised especially in terms of the possibilities of the city to secure justice, a field where the city has little jurisdiction. It is also accused of essentialising the community as uniform and homogenous instead of recognising the contradictory and opposing character of the groups in the local polity (Back at al., 2002: 448).

3.6 Accommodation Practices of Diversity in the Urban Space: from the research perspective

The omnipresence of the neighbourhood in the everyday life is uncontested. According to Jane Jacobs (1961), the majority of residents of larger cities in their everyday life are dependent on the neighbourhoods, such as walking the dog, taking kids to kindergarten or the local park, using local markets and shops and socialisation with locals. In particular, this observation is valid for ethnic minorities who are more tied to the neighbourhood for support (Van Kempen, 2001) or the elderly residents who are much more oriented towards

activities taking place in the neighbourhood (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003). Yet, the so-called “neighbourhood effect” (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2005: 171) of a socio-economic and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood is not uncontested. Musterd and Ostendorf (2005: 181) confirm the influence of the social characteristic of the neighbourhood over social mobility (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2005: 184). An interplay of both neighbourhood and individual characteristics may increase or hamper the social dynamics and personal experience and feelings of places within the neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood as a whole. The physical attributes of public space, the social dynamics of public space and feelings and motivation raised from being part of these places are an under-researched component of the neighbourhood effect.

Public space has been the object of study in a variety of disciplines from architecture, social anthropology, urban studies, political geography, urban sociology, environmental and community psychology and so on. The process of planning and designing public spaces, with a focus on participatory approaches in planning (Innes and Booher, 2003), the political economy of spaces (Harvey, 1989), the social production and social reproduction of social space (Smith and Low, 2006), attachment to place and place-related behaviour, feelings and attitudes of residents (Low and Altman, 1992) have been fertile in developing richer understanding of the role that place has in spatialising ourselves and the relations with others in the social reality. Various aspects of public spaces have been analysed. Features, such as access and uses of public spaces and participation, have been correlated with socio-demographic characteristics in an aim to more thoroughly understand the function of public space in creating vibrant, multicultural neighbourhoods. However, urban planning has mainly dealt with the technical side of creating functional public space and rarely included insight of how people felt about the space, what brings comfort, fear or avoidance. Also, studies of place-attachment rarely discuss implications for community development, such as the intrinsic motivation for civic participation among residents with higher place-attachment or the ethnic use of public parks. These studies and discussions have developed in parallel, in isolation from each other (Manzo and Perkins, 2005) and with a lack of reference to the wider social, political and cultural context of the neighbourhoods and cities (Manzo, 2003). Smith and Low (2006: 6) note the difficulties of practical translation of political and economic accounts of public space into the materiality of public spaces and linking ideologies, power and modes of production of space with the living experiences of the publics.

The lack of an interdisciplinary approach is evident, as is the need to contextualise the research in multiple domains, such as the political, economic

and cultural climate of intergroup relations. On one hand, political, economic, cultural and social discourses shape public spaces, while on the other, these locations confirm or contradict political and social relations between users (Smith and Low, 2006: 5). As, Manzo and Perkins (2006: 336) note, “a combination of these perspectives can provide a richer understanding—not only of how planning impacts our experience of place, but also how community-focused emotions, cognitions, and behaviours can impact community planning and development”. A more comprehensive thinking of the changing neighbourhoods and public spaces is possible only by the development of a holistic understanding of the “nature of people’s relationships to place and how such relationships influence our experiences of place and the planning practices” (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 336). This is critical for successful planning and community development efforts since community phenomena happen at all of these levels simultaneously.

Studies on social dynamics of mono-ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods are inconclusive as to the effect that diversity has on social contact, sense of belonging and civic participation. On one side, public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods provide more opportunities for social interaction among residents that goes beyond ethnic ties. Diversity in the mixed neighbourhood helps to enrich social networks (Musterd and Andersen, 2006) with a higher probability of maintaining contacts among members of non-majority ethnic groups and a majority “white” group (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). The sense of belonging is not lost in the mixed neighbourhood because of its heterogeneous identification. To the contrary, public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods forge forms of belonging but in a substantially different manner to that of mono-ethnic environments (Blokland and Nast, 2014: 1143). Public familiarity with diversity or recognising and being recognised in public spaces stimulates comfort in initiating social contacts with unknown others, trusting the unknown and sense of belonging to the place. Good neighbouring relations and social networks inside the neighbourhood make people bond to the area and decrease the likelihood of moving to another place (Andersen, 2008). Yet, this does not mean that people intrinsically dwell in multicultural encounters. Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003) argue that “people like to live together with those who are like them” (in ethnicity or lifestyle) (see also Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010). So, if people prefer interaction with co-ethnic fellows, then, mixed neighbourhoods are doomed to be ethnically fragmented. Moreover, if the feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood is generated when living among one’s own, or draws from a homogeneous identification, then, the mixed neighbourhood could struggle with lost meaning to its residents. Thus, the

social dynamics of public spaces in mono-ethnic neighbourhoods ought to be different from those in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.

Preference for co-ethnic socialisation is not uncommon behaviour in public spaces. De Vos (2005) confirms this notion through his analysis of social interactions taking place in three parks in Ghent, Belgium, observing limited intergroup contacts and mostly interaction between co-group members. While this may not be grounded on prejudices and conscious avoidance, it has its own effects on the social dynamics of a multicultural setting, such as resorting to public spaces for leisure and relaxation where members of one's own ethnic group goes. Peters and de Haan (2011) also observe that this selective behaviour prevails in highly multi-ethnic settings. They argue that behaviour in public space is instructed by a socially acceptable code of conduct, so when the demonstrated behaviour is aligned with what is "normal", people feel safety and a belonging to space. Lofland (1998: 26) refers to this "normality" of public conduct as a kind of "legal" system of public space, patterning of public human activity based on shared norms and expectations for interactions. Yet, the implicit "normality" of space, and this is more so the case in multicultural neighbourhoods, can be confronted with "unexpected intrusion" and a different code of conduct, transforming previous feelings of safety into fear and avoidance. While we seem inclined to assume the decent response to encountered difference, express "civility towards diversity" (Lofland, 1998: 32), stretching between indifference and friendliness towards diversity, this is not always the case. Public spaces in multicultural neighbourhoods serve the function of allowing mundane encounters between individuals of different ethnic origin (Peters and de Haan, 2011), with contact being dependent on the opportunities in the neighbourhood to support interethnic interaction (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Yet, public spaces lack support for lasting social relations between ethnic groups, beyond brief friendly encounters (Peters and de Haan, 2011). "Although all the respondents talked positively about the multicultural character of the neighbourhood, this positive attitude is not translated into more durable interethnic contacts" conclude Peters and de Haan (2011: 182). In their study, the value of living in a highly mixed neighbourhood had not been utilised in opportunities for structural contact between ethnic groups, moreover, the level of intergroup contact remained low. Furthermore, as Peters and de Haan (2011: 184) observed, positive social interactions in public space did not stretch to the private sphere into lasting friendships. Long-term residents differ from newcomers in that the prior have formed friendships that transgress ethnic boundaries, which is not the case with the latter whose close relations remain with residents from their own ethnic group. "In short, the

positive experience and appreciation of public space do not generate the creation of a more ethnically diverse personal network. Public and private lives are separate domains”, conclude Peters and de Haan (2011: 184). Positive inter-ethnic interaction in public space had also limited impact towards greater acceptance of multiculturalism. While many residents value diversity and enjoy multiculturalism, at the same time, they are critical of the existing barriers, with a particular focus on the language gap.

Other studies (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010; Butler, 2003) also argue of the limited potential of encountering diversity in public spaces in the neighbourhood to be extended to private places and lasting friendships. People appreciating the diversity of their living areas, so-called “diversity-seekers” (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010) are more inclined to use public spaces and other spaces of socialisation, such as restaurants, bars located in culturally mixed areas more often than residents who are indifferent of the diversity of the area. However, the civic or political engagement in local affairs of the former group is not greater or any different in scope compared to diversity-indifferent residents. Thus, ethnic proximity or co-ethnic cohabitation rarely transform public contact into close social ties across ethnic boundaries (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010; Butler, 2003). The diversity of the public spaces is valued but had mostly been consumed, or only observed, nonetheless. At the same time, diversity had rarely instigated behaviours of approaching and interacting with Others. As Butler (2003: 2484) concludes, diversity “was much valued as a kind of social wallpaper, but no more”. In a similar manner, Loukaitou-Sideris (1995: 99) argues that public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods that attract diverse users and uses are “neither melting pots nor battlegrounds for neighbourhoods”. In her analysis of four local parks in socially and ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Los Angeles, she deliberates that social and ethnic groups cohabit in public places, usually in separate spatial boundaries of the parks, but are not inclined to mix and interchange. Social and ethnic cohabitation is usually peaceful. Yet, poor planning or management practices, such as fees for use of specific places, the unclear delineation between sport and children playgrounds, domination of fields for American soccer tend to instigate intergroup conflicts (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995: 99). The quality of public space, both the physical characteristics and the social dynamics, remain crucial elements in creating viable multicultural encounters. These are important notes for the potential of mixed neighbourhoods to serve as natural sites of positive intercultural contact.

The tendency for co-ethnic socialisation, tells us that contact beyond ethnic boundaries is difficult to generate and even more, to sustain (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003), but it is certainly not impossible. Encountering

diversity in everyday life in the neighbourhood, even when personal social ties are not generated or sustained, creates a feeling of “public familiarity” or both, “recognising and being recognised in local spaces” (Blokland and Nast, 2014: 1142). This facilitates what Lofland (1998) terms “civility towards diversity”, a belief that living among diversity can sensitise people of the needs, perspectives and problems of different groups and enhance solidarity. Thus, it is logical to postulate that residents in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods with a statistically greater chance to encounter diversity in everyday public spaces based on public familiarity with difference would have greater “civility towards diversity” and thus, willingness to socialise, share and collaborate with those different from themselves.

Studies also claim different uses of public spaces by ethnic groups, debating possible ethnic uses of particular spaces. Analysis of demographics of users of national and local parks in the US reports that wild lands are mainly visited by white, middle-class Americans (Washburne and Wall, 1980) while local parks in the immediate neighbourhoods have been mainly used by African Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995). The explanations behind the ethnic use of open public space had been related to the type of activity offered in the space, arguing that non-majority ethnic groups preferred playing sports, such as basketball, attending sports events, and community and neighbourhood activities, such as going to church or stationary activities (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995) compared to white Americans who preferred walking, hiking, climbing (Washburne and Wall, 1980). Madge (1997: 240) also indicate that fear of racial attack contributes to an ethnic minority’s lesser usage of the urban park. Fear acted as a restrictor in park usage among both men and women, although in greater percentage among women compared to men and among women from ethnic minorities. This may result from a higher level of victimisation among ethnic minorities and women, reflecting also the structural inequalities experienced in reality. While researchers argue that such explanations are narrow and undermine the value of resource distribution, such as transportation modes (Washburne and Wall, 1980), distance from place of residence, socio-economic position (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995) and experience of marginalisation (Low, Taplin and Scheld, 2005), they agree that physical characteristics and social dynamics of public spaces can influence their practical use and feelings of being welcomed in a shared space.

One of the most important relationships between an individual and a place is the place attachment or sense of belonging to the environment. Bratina Jurkovič (2014: 108) notes that use of public space in providing local services and socialisation helps to develop a sense of belonging and safety. Studies of

ethnic enclaves, as well as of ethnic precincts (cultural recreation of a migrant home in a host public space), such as *Little Italy*, *Chinatown*, point out that a sense of belonging is facilitated by utilisation of ethnic elements and symbols that transform the strange new setting into a familiar place (Mazumdar et al., 2000: 329; Brown and Perkins, 1992) and in such way ease cultural survival and adaptation of immigrant and ethnic minority groups. While both ethnic enclaves and precincts are complex and open to diverse interpretations, ethnic groups find them important because, as Rishbeth (2001: 358) argues, they are “a form of self-expression” putting ethnic groups in a position to act as “creators of their own landscape”. Ibraimovic and Masiero (2013: 694) confirm that preference for co-ethnic neighbours is an important driver for involuntary relocation in multiethnic cities. The presence of co-ethnic neighbours positively influences the decision of selecting a co-ethnic place, which is less heterogeneous with other ethnic groups. (Ibraimovic and Masiero, 2013: 708). Living among co-ethnic groups, either in ethnic enclaves or segregated areas had an important effect in terms of “sustenance and psychological satisfaction” (Jonassen, 1949: 39). The intensity of self-segregation preferences varies among ethnic groups as well as within the group. Smaller and less powerful ethnic groups show less intensive self-segregation tendencies compared to dominant “native” groups or advantaged foreigners (Ibraimovic and Masiero, 2013: 706). “The White flight” and the preferences for co-ethnic neighbours is stronger among the dominant “white” population as well as among Western immigrants, resulting from fear of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods and ending in a higher ethnic distance (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Zorlu, 2009; Zorlu and Mulder, 2008). Also, increase in educational attainment is negatively associated with self-segregation tendencies both among dominant and smaller ethnic and less-powerful groups (Ibraimovic and Masiero, 2013: 706). Highly educated and economically well-off members of ethnic groups are less likely to be spatially concentrated in segregated areas and less likely to base their networking on ethnic ties (Bolt and van Kempen, 2003; Zorlu, 2009). Living in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods is a stimulus for social mobility as it provides members of ethnic groups with more opportunities for casual and friendship relationships with an upward native group (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). However, in ethnically polarised contexts, co-ethnic preferences could be more influential on selecting a residential and recreational location (Ibraimovic and Masiero, 2013: 706). As a counter-effect they could induce ethnic concentrations from stronger interethnic contact for the economically better off ethnic groups (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007: 1014).

Aslund (2005) also confirms that neighbourhood composition is a valuable

contributor to location preference with a presence of co-ethnic neighbours being an important determinant in making a residential choice among immigrant groups. Living among one's own facilitates ethnic networking and eases integration in the labour market, preserves culture and language, and provides access to ethnic food (Aslund, 2005), but also limits the possibilities of experiencing discrimination on daily basis. Fear of racial attacks and discrimination experienced in public space are more prevalent among non-majority ethnic groups, and particularly among women (Madge, 1997).

People that feel a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood are more likely to participate in diverse community activities. Manzo and Perkins (2006: 336) argue that the way we think, feel and value a place impacts community involvement. "Our thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about our local community influence whether and how we might participate in local planning efforts", note Manzo and Perkins (2006: 336). Participation in improving the community has also been related to the quality of established social ties between residents and the capital that can be mobilised through social networking (Butler and Robson, 2001). Having a more intimate interest in an issue for most people is sufficient incentive for mobilisation (Neblo, Esterling, Kennedy, Lazer, and Sokhey, 2010: 8) and is done through the greater capacity of the residents to act collectively (Butler and Robson, 2001: 2159). Butler and Robson (2001: 2159) confirm that "higher levels of voluntary co-operation and sense of geographically focused unity" are an important contributor to the "atmosphere" in the community and in supporting the sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. Moreover, broad scholarship in urban planning interested in new models of governance between authorities and citizens bases its argument in expanding social ownership and civic accountability in the process of envisioning the immediate neighbourhood space (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Acknowledging the existence of "multiple publics" (Fraser, 1992) with different and at times opposing needs and views on public spaces sets the stage for deliberation being a process of debating and negotiating visions. According to Steiner (2012: 26), decisions made through a deliberation process are more legitimate and more acceptable to the general public. When designed to allow equal participation of all concerned individuals, the diversity of opinions can result in common shared outcomes. However, civic participation is not to be taken for granted. Steiner (2012: 41) notes that, in a context of eroding social capital, we should not expect too much interest for deliberation. Cook, Delli Carpini, and Jacobs (2007: 33) report that a large majority of people who have never engaged in communal activities "had never been invited to do so". Civic participation differs between ethnic groups, with people in minority status showing great-

er participation in deliberation activities (Neblo et al., 2010: 574). For them, deliberation participation is a way for their voice to be heard, initiate public debate and further drive contextual changes. Research also indicates a positive correlation between education and participation. Upward educational levels mean more civic skills, resources, access to information and ability to process politically relevant information (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman, 1995). Educated people usually get the information more easily, feel more confident in their communication with governmental organisations and are more motivated to engage in civic activity (Brady, et al., 1995). Therefore, as educational levels increase, so does the level of civic participation (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt, 1998: 567-568; Cook, et al., 2007). Minority groups, younger people, as well as people on lower-incomes, show a higher preference for participation. Men and women do not differ in their participation level (Neblo et al., 2010: 574).

Forging positive relations between neighbourhoods' spaces and residents as well as cooperative spirit among residents participating in the local community are "building the conditions for the cultural reproduction of the group, working and living together in a self-contained and distinctive urban niche" (Butler and Robson, 2001: 2160) "where the psychological and the social overlap in a cognitive map of the locality" (Butler and Robson, 2001: 2149). Sullivan, Kuo and DePooter (2004) argue that the physical features of open public space influence a neighbourhoods' social dynamics. Spatial elements, such as vegetation, seating arrangement and playgrounds, stimulate active and passive engagement, comfort and safety. Development of close neighbourhood ties is dependent on the use of comfortable public spaces that initiate informal socialisation (Kuo, Sullivan, Coley, and Branson, 1998). A stimulative physical environment supports greater use of public or "common" spaces, a term used by Kuo et al. (1998: 823), while familiarity with the people and the immediate area generate a greater sense of community. In contrast, a fragmented social demographic within a neighbourhood and demise of social connection may weaken the sense of belonging to the community and as a result, suppress civic engagement (Musick and Wilson, 2008). The neighbourhood in which groups do not trust each other often lacks intergroup interaction (Flora and Flora, 1996: 220), which in turn also hampers opportunities for building trust and creating social capital. Whether social capital encompasses participation in neighbourhood development or informal neighbourhood ties, an absence of social capital (understood as trust, public familiarity and sense of community) underpins isolated neighbours and intergroup distance.

Finally, studies on the personal attachment to neighbourhoods and social dynamics with a preference for co-ethnic public spaces underline the "political

nature of people's connections to their community" (Manzo and Perkins, 2006: 339). Places are not the only mediator of individual presentation but also a communal presentation, working as a self-presentation mechanism that conveys information about cultural and ethnic traits of users, social status and lifestyle. The process of creating a link between symbols and metaphors spatialised in public spaces and the social significance of those same places is what Hayden (1997) explains as a political act of production of space. Symbols represented in public space are rarely neutral. They inform political recognition, of acknowledged presence. Accommodation of diversity in public space embodies such a political process of acknowledging difference. At the same time, the disruption of the logic system of public space, by dissonance between intended and actual use, dynamics of social interactions between groups occupying the space or spatialised reference to different norms and values, influences the interpretation of the political act of production of public space. Researching the perception of white elderly folks on a local garden in Birmingham that accommodated symbols referencing to the Pakistani culture, Rishbeth (2001: 359) reports on dominant feelings of exclusion and unwelcome, as the "design was sending out a message that this project was for Pakistanis only". As such, the identity of the place implied potential users and excluded others. Therefore, when symbols and cultural practices are spatialised in public space, they are used because of their ability to serve as territorial markers, to claim recognition of the existence and cultural perseverance, rather than as a tool that enhances the functionality of the place (Rishbeth, 2001: 359). Symbols are used to construct a place beyond the subjective sense of belonging, more so, they legitimise an order of social practices and relations of power (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). As Dixon and Durrheim (2000: 33) argue "with putting ourselves in place", people are often claiming territorial entitlements or affirming socio-spatial ideals". Therefore, a rising question is how "place and spatial metaphors" are interpreted (Keith and Pile, 1993: 96). Keith and Pile (1993) argue that identification based on the place/location can be a legitimate source for social categorisation. "The emphasis on where—on position, on location—is allowing questions of identity to be thought in different ways" argue Keith and Pile (1993: 96). Places embedding symbols and spatial metaphors shape the cultural and social identification of the users. By sharing a spatial category, people living in a certain neighbourhood may perceive themselves as a social group; hence, the spatial category of living and being at a place becomes a social (spatial) category and plays a role in determining the content of the social identity. For this reason, based on salient spatial categories, citizens residing in one urban area may differentiate themselves or be differentiated from other residents and distinctive neighbourhoods (Valera and Guàrdia, 2002: 55).

However, cultural and social identifications also shape the interpretation of place, of who belongs to and who is excluded from the space. This is what embodies the relationship between the personal experience of public spaces and the politics of constructing an identity of a place, succinctly argued by Manzo (2003) as a dilemma in urgent need of address. According to Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (2000: 217-219), the place of residence and the wider neighbourhood are an important designator of identity processes. A sense of belonging to the neighbourhood distinguishes one area from others and the perceived local identity of the place differentiates those who belong and those who do not, such as short-term residents or those without attachment to the neighbourhood. An important mediator in creating the local identity of a place is the ability and use of the place to create and symbolise new identities. In their study, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell observed a tendency among residents to speak of a place-referent continuity in their life-course because neighbourhood represented a memory in the individual life-history. Even those dissatisfied with the neighbourhood did not ignore the importance of the neighbourhood identity in self-identification. Specifically, the dissonance between the image of the area and personal values and aspirations was the reason why some residents could not identify with a place. The study of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (2000) is a significant contribution to the current identity theories which conceive identity as disentangled from the physical environment. Places are an important contributor to both personal and social identity.

However, places are not a mere derivative of an individual's personal and social identity but also symbolise group self-concept. The spatialisation of collective memory is an important source of self-concept for the group. Lofland (1998: 235) argues that public spaces have "long been used by elites to parade extant social arrangements", thus referring to the potential of spaces to symbolise collective memories, shared by a group (Devine-Wright and Lyons, 1997: 36). Memories of past events are not mere factography, a simple record of happenings and agents involved. Rather, the reconstruction of the past dwells into how people remember the events, the context, the relations among the agents and the outcome, the social arrangements accentuated by Lofland (1998). Furthermore, the memories of past events are not solely individualistic, personal or disconnected from the collective belonging, rather, they are reconstructed and reinterpreted in a group atmosphere as a collective reproduction of facts (Zerubavel, 2003: 2) in the public discourse in a number of ways. Different groups thus may attach a different meaning to the same events and places, and act differently to the symbols spatialising distinct social memory (Devine-Wright and Lyons, 1997). Devine-Wright and Lyons (1997) confirmed that

two different social groups associated different meaning to the same historic places in Ireland, with potential to construct national identity in a differing way. Also, they confirm that interpretation is not stable and shared between those involved in the act, rather it depends on who is involved as much as from the physical characteristics of the place. Such “mnemonic battles” prove that memories are not only personal but also collective.

According to Rishbeth (2001: 359), “the use of symbols provokes emotional responses, and this can be a weakness as well as a strength. In a place of multicultural tension, they may aggravate rather than help a situation, especially when there has been a history of conflict between different groups, or if one culture or nation is seen to be given special treatment”. Public space is a salient category in creating place attachment, establishing social contacts and comprehending the wider political and social construct of belonging and citizenship. Loukaitou-Sideris (1995: 101) reminds us that socially vibrant and prosperous public spaces are those that are user-specific, engaged to link the diverse meanings and feelings of the users and potential functionality with appropriate setting and activities.

The multicultural cities and neighbourhoods within the cultural turn of nationalism face growing differences among groups with distinct spatial outcomes, which are not fully comprehensible from the current theory and practice. Neighbourhood change is not only a result of a demographic change in the neighbourhood composition, changing residential preferences or structural change in the economy but also an effect of the criticised concepts of national borders, homogenised national culture and pressure for new modes of power-sharing among groups. As a result of the changed power structures at both neighbourhood and city level grounded in altered balance among the abstract space makers and practical space users, the relations and the social dynamic in the local setting is transformed. This brings us to the forefront of not only the influence of place-specific factors and the local institutional architecture but also of cultural differences and ethnic identification in understanding the outcomes of space production. The production of space as a political process may play a more important role in understanding integration and multiculturalism than the literature has acknowledged. Furthermore, the “battles” of practical and symbolic accommodation of ethnocultural diversity in the public sphere may be a proxy of the neighbourhood and indication of an urban change more valid than recognised in the literature so far.

Ethnic distance, social control, the design of the physical environment and social climate have been widely debated as spatial mechanisms involved in the

creation of socially segregated neighbourhoods and urban areas. However, it is evident that the same groups inhabit different patterns of community participation as a result of the different institutional and local power architecture, therefore, in similar ethnic composition, the different institutional setting will produce different outcomes in the neighbourhoods. This would mean that: (a) the same ethnic groups behave differently in a different institutional setting in the neighbourhood; (b) the levels of integration in the neighbourhoods can be strengthened or deteriorated by changes in the institutional setting, among them, the process of deliberating accommodation of diversity. The conclusions in regards the potential for establishing intercultural contact in the public space from Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands or the US as countries with official multicultural policies or at least local multicultural practices at work cannot be transferred to the context of Macedonia, yet the consistency in data across countries provides an opportunity for such argumentation to be researched in Skopje. The lack of visibility of the public space accommodationist practices in the academic and research practice in the Balkan countries, and in Macedonia in particular, is the reason why assumptions are drawn from Western European and US sources with more academic and practical experience in handling multiculturalism in a peaceful manner.

4. The City as a Research Laboratory: explaining the context

4.1 Quantitative Measuring and Qualitative Questioning

In this research, hypotheses are formulated to encompass key areas of how accommodation practices of diversity shape the political, social and symbolic (cultural) value of public space. The political value of public space is that of a forum that stimulates civic participation and deliberation. The social value of public space is its meaning as a context where neighbourhood ties develop. The symbolic value of public space can be estimated through its reproduction of the ideals of the good and appropriate behaviour and belonging, including the sense of political belonging and practices that allow transgression of fixed boundaries in the urban, social and cultural milieu. These aspects are investigated through citizens' observations and attitudes.

The **Research Question One** aims to understand the relation between the political, social and symbolic (cultural) function of public spaces in multicultural cities and demographic variables of citizens, and the type of neighbourhoods in a multicultural city. Hence, it is formulated as:

“How are issues of diversity accommodated through the form, composition, and enclosure of public spaces in multicultural cities? Are there differences between mono-ethnic and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods?”

As noted earlier in the theoretical framework, civic participation is a proxy for people's sense of belonging to the place (Bauböck, 2003: 151) and ethnic

groups in a majority and minority status shows differing degrees of political participation (Fennema and Tillie, 1999; Fennema and Tillie, 2001). According to Fennema and Tillie (1999: 703; Fennema & Tillie, 2001: 37) ethnic groups in a minority position participate more in different forms of community co-operation than those in majority status. Ethnic minority groups believe that civic participation may better facilitate minority claims to the wider political constituencies. The literature also indicates the positive correlation between education and political participation. Highly educated people are expected to be skill-full, resourceful and politically aware of the moral duty to participate. Moreover, they can easily access information from different sources and poses the ability to critically process politically relevant information (Brady, et al., 1995). It is believed that educated people usually get the information more easily, feel more confident in their communication with the governmental organisations and are more motivated to engage in such activity (Brady, et al., 1995). Therefore, as educational levels increase, so does the level and deliberative participation (La Due Lake and Huckfeld, 1998: 567-568; Cook, et al., 2008: 13). Unemployment is a proxy for decreased civic participation (Lim and Sander, 2013). The workplace is a setting where social networks are built and sustained; it provides access to resources and information that stimulate civic participation, making employed people more active (Musick and Wilson, 2008). By contrast, unemployment is related to limited and weakening social networks that could suppress civic engagement. Based on the literature and previous research, the following was hypothesised on potential differences between residents with different socio-economic status and place of residence and civic engagement in accommodation practices on a local level.

Hypothesis 1: The level of participation of citizens is expected to grow with the rising level of education and the employment status and is differing between ethnic groups in a numerical majority and minority status, and between the types of neighbourhoods.

- Sub-hypothesis 1.1: Levels of participation differ between education groups with those of higher education exercising higher participation scores than those of lower education.
- Sub-hypothesis 1.2: Levels of participation differ between groups of different employment status.
- Sub-hypothesis 1.3: Levels of participation differ between ethnic groups with ethnic groups in minority showing a higher level of participation.

– Sub-hypothesis 1.4: Levels of participation differ between residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods with those in mixed neighbourhoods showing a higher level of participation.

The impact of diversity over neighbourhood cohesion has received a lot of attention. The results, however, are inconclusive of unanimous positive or negative effect on urban life. Allport (1979) argues that contact among groups under certain conditions is an effective way to reduce anxiety, hostility, and prejudice. Contact established in a context that allows equal status between the groups is likely to disconfirm stereotypes and intergroup bias. Working in activities which share common goals, promote cooperation instead of competition and have the support of authorities and institutions enhance the likelihood of a positive outcome of the intergroup contact (Hewstone, 2003: 352; Hewstone and Greenland, 2000; Pettigrew, 1998). Contact produces a “sense of knowledge or familiarity between strangers”, it moderates uncertainty and anxiety, creates a sense of familiarity and control over the events (Valentine, 2008: 324). On the other side, studies report on the deteriorating effect of diversity and heterogeneity over social cohesion. It is argued that too much diversity along ethnic, cultural, social lines is detrimental for social integration (Putnam, 2007). Diversity affects interpersonal/intergroup relations as people tend to rely on those that are perceived as similar to themselves and with whom they share frequent contact, thus their behaviour is familiar and predictable. When encountered with diversity, people act with distrust and their capacity for intergroup cooperation and support for joint activities declines (Messick and Kramer, 2001: 100). In fragmented societies, the effect of demographic heterogeneity of the neighbourhood can trigger residents to compartmentalise among their own and evaluate the social capacity of public spaces through the perspective of co-ethnic socialisation and identification. Hence, the following was hypothesised on potential differences between residents on their perception of the social value of public spaces.

Hypothesis 2: Citizens perceive public space as an essentialised ethnic space that serves the function of co-ethnic exchange and this is more so the case in ethnic than in mixed neighbourhoods.

– Sub-hypothesis 2.1: Citizens use public space for co-ethnic socialisation and this is more the case with residents living in ethnic than in mixed neighbourhoods.

– Sub-hypothesis 2.2: Citizens perceive public space as a source of

proximity between members of co-ethnic groups and this is more the case with residents living in ethnic than in mixed neighbourhoods.

– Sub-hypothesis 2.3: Citizens living in ethnic neighbourhoods more often perceive public space as a source of antagonism between ethnic groups than those residing in mixed neighbourhoods.

– Sub-hypothesis 2.4: Citizens of ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods share different perceptions of the appropriate approach to accommodate diversity in public spaces, with those living in ethnic neighbourhoods supporting a more ethno-based approach, as opposed to those in mixed neighbourhoods who support a more civic concept of planning of public spaces.

– Sub-hypothesis 2.5: Ethnic groups share different perceptions of the public space change and consultation, with the ethnic group in majority reporting a greater level of perceived change with their consultation and in line with their ethnicity than minorities. In addition, residents of mixed neighbourhoods differ from those in ethnic neighbourhoods by reporting a greater level of perceived change with their consultation.

4.1.1 Description of variables

The following variables will be measured through a household survey of residents in the selected neighbourhoods in Skopje:

Independent variables at personal level. Nominal measures of ethnicity (specified by three dummy variables: Macedonian, Albanian, Turks, Roma, Bosniak, Vlach and Others), gender (specified by two dummy variables: male, female), employment status (specified by four dummy variables: employed (full/part time), unemployed/retrenched, retired person, student); ordinal measures of education (specified by five dummy variables: primary or less, secondary, faculty, magistrate, doctorate), age (in years) measured as a continuous variable, and type of neighbourhoods (specified by two dummy variables: ethnic and mixed).

Dependent variables:

(i) *Perception of participation in local decision-making on how to accommodate diversity in public spaces.* The level of perception of neighbourhood power is measured by means of item scale measuring an individual's perception of influence in relation to how diversity is accommodated in public spaces, ranging

from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Higher scores would indicate higher level of participation.

(ii) *Perception of co-ethnic socialisation in public spaces.* The level of perception of co-ethnic socialisation in public space is measured by means of item scale measuring an individual's perception of participation and exchange with members of co-ethnic group, ranging from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Higher scores would indicate higher level of co-ethnic socialisation.

(iii) *Perception of ethnic proximity in public spaces.* The level of perception of ethnic proximity is measured by means of item scale measuring an individual's perception of sharing of a common identity, sharing joint public spaces and cultural encounters with members of co-ethnic group and other ethnicities, ranging from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). The scale is adapted version of instruments used in other researches (e.g. Felbermayr and Toubal, 2010) adapted for the case of public space. Higher scores would indicate higher level of ethnic proximity.

(iv) *Perception of ethnic antagonism in public space.* The level of perception of ethnic antagonism is measured by means of item scale measuring an individual's perception of avoidance and lack of comfort in engaging with other ethnic groups in public spaces, ranging from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Higher scores would indicate higher level of intergroup antagonism.

(v) *Perception of appropriate approach to accommodate diversity in public spaces.* The perception of appropriate practices to accommodate diversity in public space is measured by means of item scale measuring an individual's perception of who (individuals or ethnic groups) should decide on the ways to accommodate diversity in public spaces, the represented ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space, the neighbourhood change within the years, ranging from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Higher scores would indicate higher levels of individual power to neighbourhood change.

(vi) *Perception of power to influence changes and be consulted in regards to planning of public spaces in the neighbourhood.* The level of perception of neighbourhood change power is measured by means of item scale measuring an individual's perception of power to influence decisions how diversity is accommodated in the neighbourhood and influence the course of the neighbourhood change, ranging from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Higher scores would indicate higher level of individual power to neighbourhood change.

4.2 Qualitative Questioning

As noted earlier in the theoretical framework, the way public spaces are produced, the logic and order of things spatialised in public space provides us with meaning and value of “normality” in our social world and accepted sociocultural hierarchies (Cresswell, 1996: 9). The reading of the social order represented in public space provides us with an accepted and preferred understanding of what is considered good, just and appropriate in the society, of action and groups that are accepted and fitted. In such way, “places are produced by practice that adheres to (ideological) beliefs about what is the appropriate thing to do” (Cresswell, 1996: 16). Place reproduces the values and meaning of the good and appropriate that initially produces it (the place) in a way that this worldview seems natural and recognised by the users as common-sense. The reading of the good, just and appropriate also informs us of the opposite – on subjects and contents that are excluded. Given the importance of public space to reproduce socio-cultural relation and political belonging, it is important to include this dimension of public space in this research. Understanding the dynamics between actors, meaning-makers and the dominant paradigm can inform us on how belonging and identification to/with a territory and state are reconstructed through public space and who is the appropriate citizen entitled to space, territory and state. Thus, the narratives accommodated in public space can help us in understanding citizens’ perceptions in:

“How do accommodation practices of diversity in public space reflect the concept of citizenship in a multicultural context?” (**Research Question Two**)

Encountering diversity is both a source of contact and conflict. Constructive contact with those different than oneself means that certain ground rules on the nature of engagement in these places are produced with space itself. Thus, more structured views on the practices that guide diversity encounters in multicultural neighbourhoods can help us in understanding citizens’ perceptions in:

“Which policies and practices help to mitigate and mediate conflicts in the accommodation of diversity in public space? Are there transformative accommodation practices of diversity that promote “new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging” (Sandercock, 2004: 154)?” (**Research Question Three**)

Finally, the decades of transformation from a government to governance has increasingly been about redistributing political power and citizens' participation in decision-making processes, both on the national and local level. The rationale behind this institutional redesign is the benefit of participation of those affected in the decision-making process. Such an approach would allow urban planning and solutions to local problems which are flexible to the increased diversity of social needs of divergent communities, "more broadly discursive and more personally and publicly satisfying" (Innes and Booher, 2003: 34). Thus, citizens' involvement and the perceived gap between how urban planning is legally conceived and implemented in practice, raises the questions:

"Can specific principles be elaborated that provide a framework for governance of diversity within an intercultural city? Which are the new roles and responsibilities of multicultural cities in relation to the appropriate accommodation practices of diversity in public space?" **(Research Question Four)**

4.3 Methodology, Sampling and Field Work

The research methodology is based on mixed methods intended to gather primary data on citizens' perceptions of accommodation practices of diversity in public space. A quantitative method was used to collect statistical data on responses citizens gave to a structured questionnaire. In addition, interviews were used to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the citizens' responses using an unstructured questionnaire. This approach helps to triangulate data gathered by a quantitative method with a qualitative one and enhances further generalisation of the research findings.

The quantitative methodology used a two-stage probability sampling approach. In the first stage, sampling units were selected. For practical reasons, the proportion among the two largest ethnic groups in the country (Macedonians and Albanians) was taken into consideration and two ethnic and two mixed neighbourhoods were selected. Selecting two mixed neighbourhoods offered an opportunity to analyse differences between localities with opposite proportion between the major ethnic groups in the country and the city, e.g. one neighbourhood where Macedonians compared to Albanians represents a numerical majority and the second neighbourhood where this ratio is the opposite. The second sampling stage involved identifying the eligible households

and household members using Simple random sampling without replacement (SRSWOR) method. Stratification was done according to the type of settlement – urban and rural as well as according to the proportion of ethnic groups so that the sample reflected the ratio between these two variables in the given neighbourhood. The field work took place between October and December 2014. Sampling design strategy of the household survey and qualitative data gathering process are described in Appendix 1.

The household survey achieved a net sample size of 403 respondents and a balanced representation between neighbourhoods. It was based on a questionnaire with close-end items on a 5 points Likert-type answering scale (ranging from 1-completely disagree to 5-completely agree) structured into five dimensions as (1) Perception of participation in local decision-making on accommodation practices; (2) Perception of power to influence changes in accommodation practices in the neighbourhood's public space; (3) Perception of ethnic proximity (intergroup contact) in public space; (4) Identification/sense of belonging to the place/space; (5) Intergroup antagonism. Six independent variables at a personal level were included as opening items. Four items were a non-Likert type, close-end questions with multiple choices where only one answer was allowed. The household survey questionnaire is presented in Appendix 2.

In order to further understand individuals' responses, 30 interviews with residents of the selected neighbourhoods were conducted using an open-end questionnaire. The questionnaire was structured in four blocks: (1) demographic variables of the respondents; (2) questions related to the public representation/accommodation of cultural diversity in the neighbourhood; (3) questions related to the communication between the citizens and the local authorities and citizen's participation in decision-making on issues of public accommodation of cultural diversity; and (4) questions related to intercultural contacts established in public space and a sense of belonging to the place. The interviews were administered face-to-face and were digitally recorded and transcribed. The selection of interviewees was convenient. It is based on recruiting persons that were interested in taking part in the research. Interviewees needed to live in the targeted neighbourhoods, either in the urban or rural parts. In addition, gender and age were used as stratifying variables in order to ensure a diverse sample population. None of the interviewees participated in both the interview and the survey. The interviews were concluded by 25 December 2014. The interview questionnaire is presented in Appendix 2.

5. Data Analysis and Reporting

5.1 Survey Sample and Data Analysis

A total of 403 respondents were included in the survey administered in four neighbourhoods in Skopje. In the sample, 52.6 percent (212) were female and 47.4 percent (191) were male. Also, 15.9 percent were between 15-24 years, 38 percent between 25-44 years, 31 percent were between 45-64 years and 15.1 percent are above 65 years. In relation to the ethnic background, 49.9 percent of the respondents were Macedonians, 42.9 percent were Albanians, and the rest are other ethnicities, such as Serbs (1 percent), Turks (1.5 percent), Roma (0.7 percent), Vlachs (0.7 percent), Bosniak (3 percent) and Bulgarian (0.2 percent). Further, in the analysis, the “Others” category will be used to represent a composite measure of ethnicities other than Macedonians and Albanians, in total, 7.2 percent of the sample population. Concerning education, 3.5 percent of the respondents had finished less than primary school, 34.7 percent had primary education, 50.1 percent had finished secondary school and 11.7 percent had higher education, magistrate or doctorate. Further in the analysis, the categories “less than primary school” and “primary education” will be merged in better presentation of research results. Concerning the employment status, 28.5 percent were employed (including also self-employed persons)¹⁶ and 16.4

¹⁶ The smaller than national average of employed persons in the sample may be influenced by the decision not to return to the potential interviewees but to continue to the next household following the random route sampling. Having in mind this bias, the interviewers were instructed to visit households also in the after-

percent were unemployed persons, 23.3 percent were housewives, 10.2 percent were students and 18.1 percent were retired persons. Fourteen persons (3.5 percent) did not state their employment status.¹⁷ Further in the analysis, the categories “housewives”, “students” and “retired persons” will be merged into “economically inactive” in order to better present the research results.

Table 5.1 Comparison of average data distribution between population and research sample

	Average in population sample	Average in survey sample
Ethnic affiliation (in %)		
<i>Macedonians</i>	45.49	49.9
<i>Albanians</i>	43.54	42.9
<i>Turks</i>	2.87	1.5
<i>Roma</i>	2.08	0.7
<i>Vlachs</i>	0.4	0.7
<i>Serbs</i>	1.59	1
<i>Bosniaks</i>	2.79	3
<i>Others</i>	1.25	0.2
Gender (<i>male</i>)	49.96	47.4
Gender (<i>female</i>)	50.04	52.6

noons and on weekends. In the same time, all employed persons do not only work first shift and have other working arrangements, such as freelance work, part-time work, in-house work. Consistent use of the random sampling should assure adequate representation of the characteristics of the population in the selected sample. Also, Macedonia has high rate of inactive population. In 2015, 57 percent of population over 15 years are active while 43 percent are inactive (State Statistical Office, 2016: 21). In 2015, 50.5 percent of the male and 33.7 percent of the female population were employed; 18.4 percent men and 11.3 percent women were unemployed, and 31.1 percent men and 55.1 percent women were inactive (State Statistical Office, 2015: 21). The unemployment rates are higher in the capital Skopje and higher among Albanians compared to Macedonians. The sample has fairly equal proportion of Macedonians and Albanians, and as a result the rate of employment could have been lower than the national average.

¹⁷ In the country, pensioner status does not come only by age but also by other social characteristics, such as disability, beneficiary work, etc.

Education level (in % of persons at 15 years of age and over)		
<i>Without education</i>	3.58	/
<i>Incomplete primary education</i>	8.19	3.5
<i>Primary education</i>	39.60	34.7
<i>Secondary education including high school</i>	41.96	50.1
<i>University level and higher</i>	6.5	11.7
Age groups		
<i>15-29</i>	24.07	15.9
<i>30-44</i>	22.66	38
<i>45-64</i>	21.32	31
<i>65 years and over</i>	9.05	15.1
Employed persons at 15 years of age and over (in %)	26.70	28.5
Unemployed persons at 15 years of age and over (in %)	16.26	16.4
Economically inactive persons (in %)	57.04	51.6

In general, there is consistency between the average distribution of data in the population and the survey sample. Inconsistencies in age group distribution and education levels may be due to the fact that population data originates in 2002. It is expected that with the declining birth rates the demography of the population is changed and the population is getting older. The increased educational opportunities (decreased tuition, new faculties in smaller urban areas, etc.) and the mandatory secondary education introduced in 2007 may have contributed to the better educational performance of the respondents in the research sample.

The majority of the respondents are religious (48.4 percent are Muslim and 50.1 percent are Orthodox Christian) and only 1.5 percent are atheist or agnostic. The majority of respondents live in the urban parts of the neighbourhoods (63 percent in contrast to 37 percent in the rural areas). Within the sample, 50.6 percent live in mixed and 49.4 percent in an ethnic neighbourhood and the balance among the type of residence was a requirement in the research design. The majority of respondents have been living in the neighbourhood, for more than 30 years (52.9 percent), and some between 16-30 years (32.8 percent). Only 9.4 percent have lived in the respected area for less than 15 years, and 5 percent up to 5 years. Comparing their financial capacity with the average of most residents of the country, 11.9 percent considered to be in a very bad

financial condition, 31.5 percent said to have low financial power, 52.9 percent believe to be as most residents in the country and only 3.7 percent said to have high financial power. Comparing the place of residence and the type of neighbourhood with ethnic groups it can be noted that 39.3 percent of the Macedonians live in an urban and 11.4 percent in a rural part of ethnic neighbourhoods, while 32.3 percent in an urban and 16.9 percent in a rural part of mixed neighbourhoods. Within the Albanian group, 6.9 percent live in an urban and 46.2 percent in a rural part of ethnic neighbourhoods compared with 39.9 percent who live in an urban and 6.9 percent in a rural part of mixed neighbourhoods. The majority of other ethnicities live in urban parts of mixed neighbourhoods (82.8 percent) and 17.2 percent live in relative homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods. Data view is presented in Appendix 3.

Survey data processing encompassed quantitative analysis based on descriptive statistics (frequencies, crosstabs, central tendency summarised by median and variability using range and interquartile range¹⁸), Categorical principal components analysis (CATPCA) and Principal component analysis (PCA), Kruskal-Wallis H Test and Mann-Whitney U Test. The research used non-linear principal component analysis also known as categorical PCA (CATPCA) in order to check the dimensionality of the quantitative instrument. The procedure is described in Appendix 4. Statistical analysis was performed by SPSS Version 20.0. The obtained quantitative data was analysed with a margin of error of +/- 5 percent. Descriptive statistics are presented in tables and number of data while the statistical difference is presented using p-value, for the level of .001 and .05. Description of the operationalisation and level of measurement of variables and frequencies of responses to the individual items as part of Hypothesis One are presented in Appendix 5 while the description of the operationalisation and level of measurement of variables and frequencies of responses to the individual items as part of Hypothesis Two are presented in Appendix 6.

¹⁸ Higher Mean Rank means higher level of preference for the variable. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicate the “likeliest: response or what the “average” respondent might think. Higher IQR means that data is more spread through the data points.

5.2 Interview Sample and Data Analysis

The qualitative sample of this research was convenient and recruited persons who were interested in having an interview on the given study subject. Potential respondents were selected based on the type of neighbourhood they lived in and segregated in gender and age groups. The sample consisted of 50 percent of Macedonians, 44 percent of Albanians, one Serbian (3 percent) and one Turkish (3 percent) respondent. Out of them, 53 percent were female and 47 percent were male respondents. The majority of the interviewees were between 45-64 years old (50 percent), 33 percent were between 30-44 years, 13 percent were up to 29 years old and 3 percent were above 65 years old. In regards to their employment status, 57 percent were full/part time employed or self-employed, 10 percent were unemployed and 33 percent were economically inactive (students, housewives, retired persons). The majority of the respondents had finished secondary education (50 percent), 47 percent had higher education (university or magistrate) and 3 percent had finished primary education. In regards to the religious affiliation, 47 percent declared as Muslims, 30 percent as Orthodox Christian and 23 percent as an atheist. The majority of interviewees have lived in their neighbourhood for more than 21 years (70 percent), 27 percent have lived between 11-20 years and 3 percent less than five years.

The analysis of the qualitative data involved two coding cycles. The first coding cycle utilised *Structural* coding, employing concepts determined in the theoretical framework of the study, the research questions and the factor analysis. The components extracted through the factor analysis were used to frame the interview questionnaire. This concept-driven coding process allowed harmonisation between the conceptual framework of the study and data processing. The provisional coding matrix included six categories: (1) Changes in the community; (2) Identification and sense of belonging; (3) Diversity accommodation approach (roles and participation of diverse actors in decision-making process); (4) Socialisation in public spaces, creation of spaces for discussion and deliberation; (5) Individual engagement and political function of public spaces; and (6) Proximity and exchange between ethnic groups in public spaces. Structural coding allows organisation of the data based on the guiding research questions (Saldaña, 2009: 51). This method helps in both coding and categorising initial data and it is suitable for interview transcripts (Saldaña, 2009: 67). Each interview was analysed using the categories. The coding did not focus only on detecting appropriate attitudes and behaviours but also on detecting the emotions and values that represented participants' experienc-

es and perspectives on diversity and the public space in the neighbourhood. Such insight allows triangulation and cross-checks of the quantitative data on the direction and intensity of certain attitudes, documented by the Likert-type items. Data on respondents is included in Appendix 3.

Further, in the second coding cycle, the patterns of responses to the categories were deducted to themes using the *Pattern* coding method. A theme can be considered those ideas that describe and organise or interpret certain aspects of the subject under study (Boyatzis, 1998; Saldaña, 2009: 139). These ideas can be directly expressed by the participants (semantic level) or interpretatively, underlying the phenomenon (latent level). The second coding cycle, as noted by Saldaña (2009: 149), is not always necessary but in this research it is used in order to develop more coherent “categorical, thematic, conceptual and theoretical” synthesis of the first coding cycle outputs. The Pattern coding resulted in a Meta code of three (3) distinctive themes that describe the citizens’ perceptions on diversity accommodation in public space, and at the same time allows finding plausible answers to the qualitative research questions, described earlier. The first themes was identified as “Narratives of citizenship” and informs on the citizens’ views of the neighbourhood change and the role that diversity might have played in changing the physical and social image of the area, its influence over outsiders’ perception of the neighbourhood and trend of co-ethnic moving behaviour, as well as the related feelings and conflicts in space and a sense of belonging to the space. The second theme identified as “Social dynamics of public space” related to the political, social and cultural views of public spaces in the neighbourhoods, the principles of selection of spaces and prospects for intergroup exchange in public spaces. The third theme titled “Actors, roles, power hierarchies” dealt with role and responsibilities of the diverse actors in the process of accommodating diversity in public space and the individual influence of citizens, power hierarchies between ethnic groups, and between political leaders and citizens, so as to understand the technical process of decision-making in regards to diversity accommodation, and the planning practices that promote *just* accommodation of diversity in a multicultural context. Table 5.2 shows the coding themes resulting from the qualitative data.

Table 5.2 Coding table of qualitative data

Narratives of citizenship	Social dynamics of public space	Actors, roles, power hierarchies
Community transformation	Political views on space	Roles and participation of diverse actors in decision-making process
The sense of belonging to space based on use of symbols, language, etc.	Principles of selection and exchange in public spaces, proximity and socialisation between groups	Appropriate strategies of accommodation
Understanding the citizenship practices in multicultural context	Mapping potential transformative practices and places of accommodation of diversity	Understanding of the process of planning and accommodating diversity in public space

6. Political Value of Public Spaces: deliberation and citizens' engagement

Hypothesis One sets to understand the relationship between the participation of the citizens in deliberative practices of accommodating diversity in the public space of the neighbourhood and, their personal characteristic and the context in which they live (as suggested in Research question One). Examples of such deliberative practices are working groups in the neighbourhoods and City Council meetings where citizens are invited and voluntarily participate in deliberation and negotiation on how to accommodate diversity in public spaces. Participation in local deliberating processes facilitates the sharing and the exchange of information about the diverse cultural needs of the citizens. When this happens, accommodation of diversity in public space is done by consensual and informed decisions between the local governments and the citizenry. Hypothesis One was set as following:

The level of participation of citizens is expected to grow with the rising level of education and the employment status and is differing between ethnic groups in a numerical majority and minority status, and between the types of neighbourhoods.

6.1 Education and Deliberative Local Participation

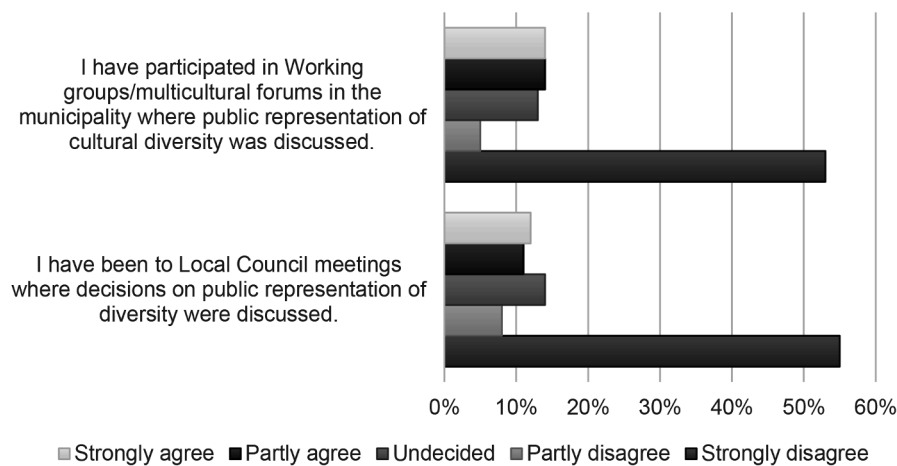
The first sub-hypothesis set out to understand the relationship between the level of education of the citizen and the prospect of deliberative participation in local activities where accommodation of diversity in public spaces in the

neighbourhoods was discussed. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 1.1: Levels of participation differ between education groups with those of higher education exercising a higher participation score than those of lower education.

The results indicate that most respondents have not participated in a local deliberative process where accommodation of diversity in the public space of the neighbourhood had been discussed ($Mdn=1.5$, $IQR=2.5$) (Table 5.1a in Appendix 5). Majority respondents have not participated in local working groups ($Mdn=1$, $IQR=3$) nor have been at Local Council meetings where accommodation of diversity in the public space of the neighbourhood had been discussed ($Mdn=1$, $IQR=2$) (Table 5.1b). That is, 55 percent of the respondents reported to had never been to a Local Council meeting and 53 percent reported to have never been part of a working group in the neighbourhood discussing accommodation of diversity in public space. Around a quarter of the residents had participated in such activities (23 percent had been at a local Council meeting and 28 percent had participated in working groups) (Table 5.1c in Appendix 5).

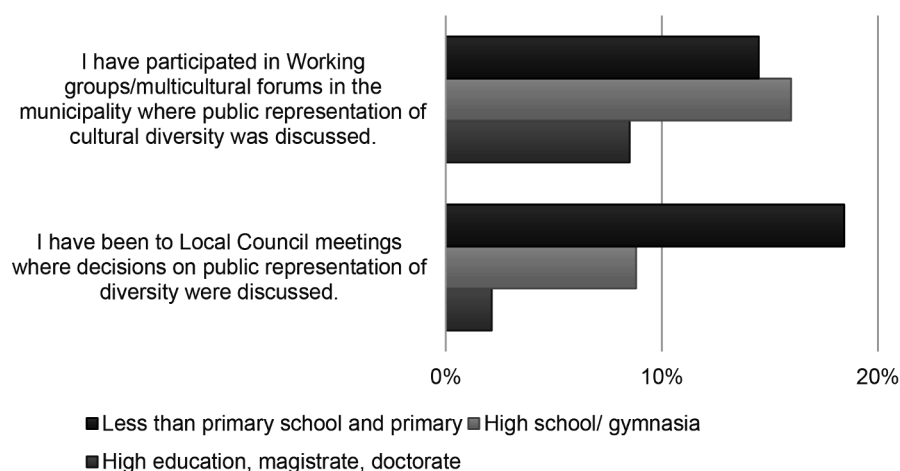
Figure 6.1a Frequency of responses to items of the component "Individual participation"



The analysis of the potential difference between education groups showed that there was statistically significant difference in the participation level among education groups ($\chi^2(2)=13.829$, $p=.001$) with a Mean Rank of 220.71 for residents

with primary education or less, 182.92 for those with high school and 169.91 for those with higher education (Table 5.1d and Table 5.1e in Appendix 5).

Figure 6.1b Frequency of responses of different education groups that have always been part of deliberative activities on local level



In order to test in-between group differences, a post hoc test was conducted, using a Mann-Whitney U test for each pair of education groups and the alpha level for each group comparison was further adjusted by the Bonferroni correction (.05/ the number of comparisons to be made). When the difference between those with secondary school education and those with primary education or less was tested, the results showed that the level of participation of the latter was statistically significantly higher than the former ($U=11668$, $p=.001$). Thus, people with a lesser level of education (*Mean Rank*=190.58) were more likely to participate in activities on a local level than people with secondary school education (*Mean Rank*=158.23). In addition, the test for difference between those with primary education or less and those with a higher level of education is also statistically significant ($U=2464$, $p=.002$) with a *Mean Rank* of the former of 103.62 and a *Mean Rank* of 76.43 of the latter. Thus, people with a lower level of education are more likely to participate in deliberative activities on a local level than people with a higher level of education. Finally, there was no statistically significant difference in the participation level between those with secondary school and the more highly educated group ($U=4394$, $p=0.554$).

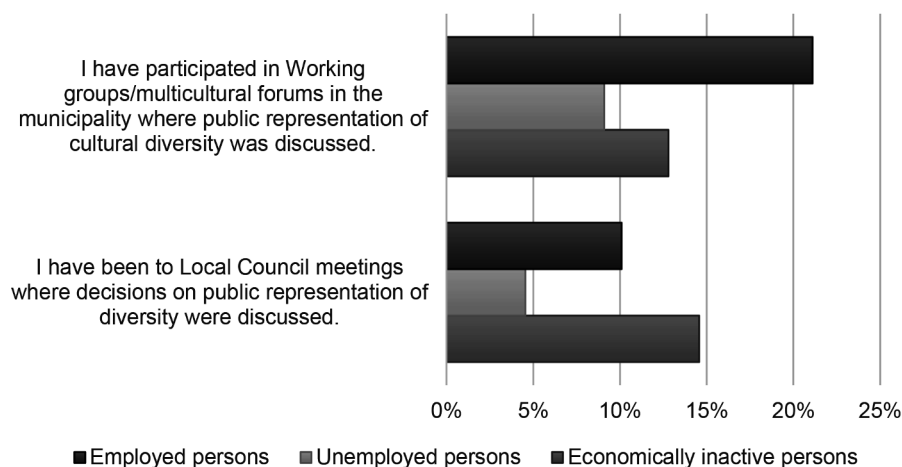
6.2 Employment Status and Deliberative Local Participation

The second sub-hypothesis set out to understand the relationship among the different employment status of the citizen and the prospect of deliberative participation in local activities where accommodation of diversity in public spaces in the neighbourhoods was discussed. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 1.2: Levels of participation differ between groups of different employment status.

The Mean Rank for each employment group can be used to compare the levels of participation. A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there was a statistically significant difference in the level of participation among groups of different employment status ($\chi^2(4)=7.261, p=.027$) with a Mean Rank of 206.00 for employed persons, 199.79 for economically inactive and 164.08 for unemployed persons. Testing for potential differences between the level of participation of employed and unemployed persons, it can be concluded that there was a significant difference between the level of participation between employed and unemployed persons ($U=2824.500, p=.009$) with a Mean Rank of 95.82 for employed people and 76.30 for unemployed people. Hence, employed people were more likely than unemployed people to participate in deliberative activities on a local level. A difference between unemployed and economically inactive persons was also confirmed. The level of participation of economically inactive was statistically significantly higher than unemployed persons ($U=5794, p=.018$) with a Mean Rank of 146.43 for economically inactive and 121.29 for unemployed persons. Thus, economically inactive are more likely than unemployed persons to participate in deliberation activities on a local level. Potential differences in the level of participation between employed and economically inactive persons were not confirmed ($U=11420.500, p=.644$) with a Mean Rank of 165.68 for employed and 160.87 for economically inactive persons. Thus, employed were not more likely than economically inactive persons to participate at deliberation activities on a local level (Table 5.1f and Table 5.1g in Appendix 5).

Figure 6.2 Frequency of responses of individuals with different employment status who have always been part of deliberative activities on local level



In Macedonia, given the deprived economic situation and clientelist political culture (Dehnert, 2010: 4), it is important to look at the potential correlation between participation and the financial self-evaluation. The results showed a statistically different level of participation between groups with difference financial capacity (Kruskal-Wallis H test ($\chi^2(3)=16.552$, $p<.001$). Respondents who self-evaluated in a lower financial capacity than most residents in the country had the highest Mean Rank of participation (*Mean Rank*=227.66) followed by those who see themselves as most of the residents in the country (*Mean Rank*=182.52) and those who were in a bad financial situation (*Mean Rank*=181.22). Residents with a financial capacity above the average of the country had the lowest participation score (*Mean Rank*=161.43).

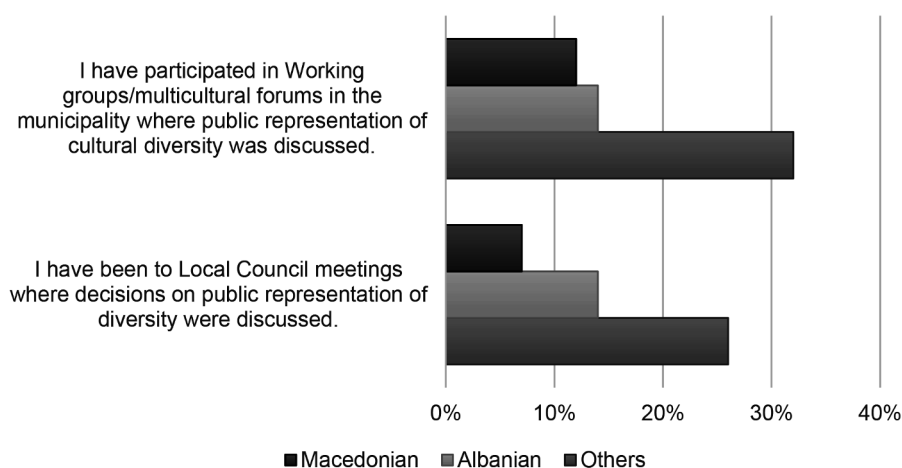
6.3 Ethnic Belonging and Deliberative Participation

The third sub-hypothesis set out to understand the relationship among the ethnicity of citizens and the prospect of deliberative participation in local activities where accommodation of diversity in public spaces in the neighbourhoods was discussed. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 1.3: Levels of participation differ between ethnic groups with ethnic groups in minority showing a higher level of participation.

The results showed a statistically significant difference in the level of participation among ethnic groups ($\chi^2(2)=68.584, p<.001$) with a Mean Rank of 245.99 of the Albanians, 193.00 of Others and 153.57 of the Macedonians. Macedonians and Albanians showed a statistically significant difference level of participation ($U=8443, p<.001$) with a Mean Rank of 228.83 of the latter compared to 141.86 of the former. Thus, Albanians are more likely to participate in deliberation activities on a local level than Macedonians.

Figure 6.3 Frequency of responses of individuals with different ethnic background who have always been part of deliberative activities on local level



Looked through the level of vertical deliberation, 78 percent of Macedonians and 70 percent of Others compared to 26 percent of Albanians had never attended a meeting of the Local council where issues of accommodation of diversity had been discussed. In contrast, 26 percent of Others compared to 14 percent of Albanians and 7 percent of Macedonians had attended such meeting. More so, 72 percent of the Macedonians compared to 30 percent of Albanians and 57 percent of Others had never participated in horizontal deliberation, such as local engagement in citizen working groups and forums where issues of accommodation of diversity had been discussed. In contrast, 32 percent of

Others compared to 14 percent of Albanians and 12 percent of Macedonians had been part of such activities (Table 5.1d in Appendix 5).

The expected difference in the level of participation between Macedonians and Others was not confirmed ($U=2307$, $p=.093$) showing a Mean Rank of 110.71 of the former compared to 129.11 of the latter. Thus, Macedonians had similar participation scores as the smaller non-majority ethnic groups in deliberative activities on a local level. The comparison between Albanians and Others did not confirm the potential difference in their participation score ($U=1789$, $p=.053$) with a Mean Rank of 100.16 of the former compared to 78.39 of the latter.

Looked through the potential group differences in the level of horizontal deliberation participation, Albanians showed the highest level of participation in debating diversity issues with their co-citizens (*Mean Rank*=232.24) compared to Others (*Mean Rank*=202.80) or Macedonians (*Mean Rank*=159.78). Ethnic groups also differentiated in the level of participation in vertical deliberation with Albanians showing the highest level in attending council meeting (*Mean Rank*=245.35) compared to Others (*Mean Rank*=177.78) or Macedonians (*Mean Rank*=148.01).

Looked through the inter-ethnic dynamics between types of neighbourhood, Macedonians in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods mainly disagreed to have attended a local council meeting (80.6 percent in ethnic and 75 percent in mixed neighbourhood had never been part of vertical deliberation, in contrast to 5.1 percent in ethnic and 9.4 percent in mixed neighbourhood that had attended a local council meeting) (Table 5.1e). In contrast, Albanians to a greater proportion in mixed than in ethnic neighbourhoods had never attended a local council meeting (16.3 percent in ethnic and 36.5 percent in mixed neighbourhood, in contrast to 22.1 percent in ethnic and 21.6 percent in mixed neighbourhood that had sometimes and 15.1 percent in ethnic and 13.5 percent in mixed neighbourhood that had always attended a local council meeting) (Table 5.1e). The smaller ethnic groups in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods tended not to be part of vertical deliberation (75 percent in ethnic and 69.6 percent in mixed strongly had never attended a local council meeting). Yet, 30.4 percent of these groups living in mixed neighbourhoods had always attended a local council meeting (Table 5.1e in Appendix 5).

The level of participation in horizontal deliberation showed similar tendencies between ethnic groups and types of neighbourhoods. Macedonians in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods mainly had not participated in work-

ing groups or citizen forums on a local level (79.6 percent in ethnic and 63.9 percent in the mixed neighbourhood had never been part of horizontal deliberation, in contrast to 7.1 percent in ethnic and 17.5 percent in the mixed neighbourhood) (Table 5.1f). In contrast, Albanians to a greater proportion in mixed than in ethnic neighbourhoods restrained from deliberation with co-residents on public issues (23.9 percent in ethnic and 37.3 percent in mixed neighbourhood had never been part of horizontal deliberation) but also to somewhat greater proportion report to had been part of such activities (27.3 percent in ethnic and 25.3 percent in mixed neighbourhood sometimes and 5.7 percent in ethnic and 24 percent in mixed neighbourhood always discussed local issues with co-neighbours) (Table 5.1f). The smaller ethnic groups living in ethnic neighbourhoods showed higher disagreement with being part of horizontal deliberation activities that those in mixed neighbourhoods (75 percent in ethnic and 54.2 percent in mixed never participated in discussions with co-neighbours on local public issues) but also 37.5 percent of these groups living in mixed neighbourhoods always participated in horizontal deliberation activities (Table 5.1f in Appendix 5).

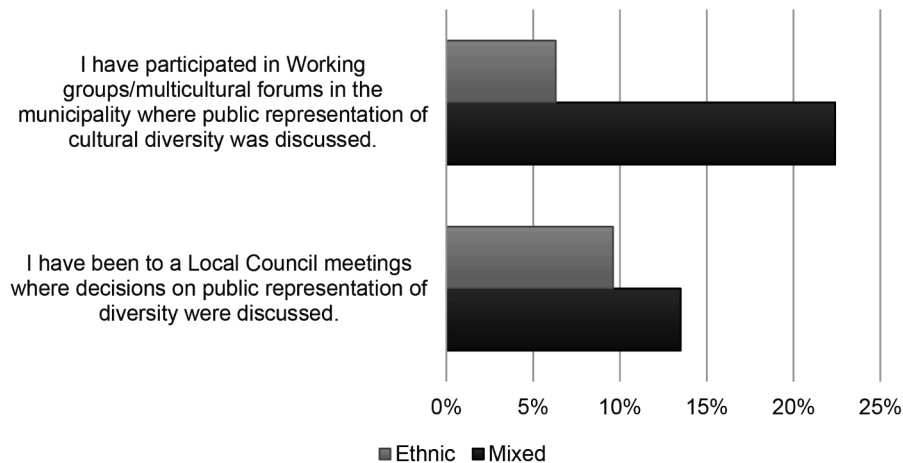
6.4 Type of Neighbourhood and Deliberative Citizens' Participation

The fourth sub-hypothesis set out to understand the relationship between the different type of neighbourhoods, ethnic and mixed, and the prospect of deliberative participation in local activities where accommodation of diversity in public spaces in the neighbourhoods was discussed. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 1.4: Levels of participation differ between residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods with those in mixed neighbourhoods showing a higher level of participation.

Since the independent variable, that is, type of neighbourhood had only two categories, ethnic and mixed, a Mann-Whitney U test was used to test for difference between the levels of participation of their residents. The Mean Rank for each type of neighbourhood was used in order to compare the level of participation. The results showed that residents in the mixed and ethnic neighbourhood did not differ significantly in their level of participation ($U=18142$, $p=.407$), with a Mean Rank of 199.87 for those in mixed neighbourhoods and 190.99 for those in ethnic neighbourhoods.

Figure 6.4 Frequency of responses of individuals from different types of neighbourhoods who have always been part of deliberative activities on local level



However, interesting ethnic dynamics were observed when neighbourhoods were analysed for potential within inter-group differences, or when they were considered as separate entities, not as a type of neighbourhood. The analysed neighbourhoods showed a statistically different levels of participation of their residents ($\chi^2(3)=49.569, p<.001$). The residents in Saraj (an ethnic neighbourhood) had the highest Mean Rank (241.66) followed by the mixed neighbourhood of Chair (215.12), then the mixed neighbourhood of Butel (185.52) and lastly, the ethnic neighbourhood of Kisela Voda (139.25). There was a statistically significant difference in the participation level between residents of Kisela Voda and Chair ($U=2939500, p<.001$), with residents in the ethnic neighbourhood having lower Mean Rank (*Mean Rank*=78.94) than those in the mixed neighbourhood (*Mean Rank*=112.88). The difference between residents in Kisela Voda and Saraj was also statistically significant ($U=2069500, p<.001$), with residents in the former having lower Mean Rank (*Mean Rank*=69.78) than those in the latter neighbourhood (*Mean Rank*=112.66). The difference between Kisela Voda and Butel ($U= 3659500, p=.001$) was also significant, with residents in the ethnic neighbourhood having lower Mean Rank (*Mean Rank*=76.52) than those in the mixed neighbourhood (*Mean Rank*=110.62). There was a statistically significant difference in the participation level of the residents in Saraj and Butel ($U= 3452000, p<.001$), with residents in the ethnic

neighbourhood having a higher score (*Mean Rank*=115.41) than those in the mixed neighbourhood (*Mean Rank*=85.34). In contrast, the difference between Saraj and Chair was not statistically significant ($U=4211,000$, $p=.240$), as was the case with the difference between Chair and Butel ($U=4188,000$, $p=.061$).

The majority of Macedonians refrained from horizontal deliberation on accommodation of diversity. The majority of Macedonians living in Saraj (87.5 percent) had never been part of such activities, followed by those in Chair (85.2 percent), then Kisela Voda (78.9 percent) and lastly, Butel (55.7 percent). In contrast, Macedonians who lived in Butel reported higher participation in horizontal deliberation in comparison to those in other neighbourhoods (20 percent in Butel compared to 12.5 percent in Saraj, 11.1 percent in Chair and 6.7 percent in Kisela Voda) (Table 5.1g). On the other hand, the majority of Albanians who refrained from horizontal deliberation on issues of diversity accommodation lived in Butel (53.8 percent), followed by those in Chair (28.6 percent) and lastly, Saraj (23.9 percent). Yet, those who strongly agreed with being part of horizontal deliberation lived also in Butel (26.9 percent) followed by Chair (22.4 percent) and Saraj (5.7 percent) (Table 5.1g). The majority of respondents from smaller non-majority ethnic groups who had never participated in horizontal deliberation lived in Butel (80 percent), followed by those in Kisela Voda (75 percent) and Chair (47.4 percent) (Table 5.1g in Appendix 5).

The majority of Macedonians also reported disengagement in vertical deliberation on issues of diversity accommodation. Most of them lived in Chair (88.9 percent), followed by those in Saraj (87.5 percent), then Kisela Voda (80 percent) and lastly, Butel (69.6 percent). Macedonians who reported participation in vertical deliberation lived in Saraj (12.5 percent), then Butel (10.1 percent), Chair (7.4 percent) and Kisela Voda (4.4 percent) (Table 5.1f). The majority of Albanians who refrained from participation in vertical deliberation on issues of diversity accommodation lived in Butel (50 percent), followed by those in Chair (29.2 percent) and lastly, Saraj (16.3 percent). The majority of those that participated in vertical deliberation lived in Saraj (15.1 percent) followed by Chair (14.6 percent) and Butel (11.5 percent) (Table 5.1f). All respondents from the smaller non-majority ethnic groups living in Butel reported disengagement in vertical deliberation, followed by the majority of these groups in Kisela Voda (75 percent) and Chair (63.2 percent) (Table 5.1f).

Furthermore, the research looked at a potential difference in deliberation participation among people living in the rural areas of the neighbourhoods compared to those in the urban parts. The difference was statistically significant ($U=13315$, $p<.001$) with residents in rural neighbourhoods reporting a higher

participation score (*Mean Rank*=226.30) compared to those in urban neighbourhoods (*Mean Rank*=177.07). However, the current result should be taken with caution because it may be skewed by the fact that one of the analysed neighbourhoods, Saraj, is predominantly a rural area where Albanians showing a higher participation score lived.

The research also looked at the potential difference in participation between age groups. The results indicated that the difference between age groups was significant ($\chi^2(3)=8.196$, $p=.042$). People between 25-44 years had highest score (*Mean Rank*=210.94), followed by those between 45-64 years (*Mean Rank*=197.97), the youth between 15-24 years (*Mean Rank*=177.44), and the lowest score had those above 65 years (*Mean Rank*=170.91).

The research did not support a potential difference in the participation score between old settlers and newcomers in the neighbourhoods ($\chi^2(3)=3.304$, $p=.347$) with all individuals regardless of the longitude of the residence in a certain neighbourhood showing low level of deliberative participation (Table 5.1i). The difference in the participation score between men (*Mean Rank*=202.16) and women (*Mean Rank*=189.36) was statistically not significant ($U=17735$, $p=.233$) with less than 20 percent of men and around 10 percent of women stating continuous participation in deliberative activities on local level (Table 5.1j in Appendix 5).

6.5 Conclusion

The evidence gathered in this research has not fully supported the hypothesised relation between deliberative participation and, the personal characteristic of the residents and the type of neighbourhood in which they live. The results confirmed the relation between employment status and participation (Sub-hypothesis Two), as well as the relation between a minority status and the deliberative participation (Sub-hypothesis Three). Employed and economically inactive persons are more likely than unemployed persons to participate in deliberation activities on a local level, with potential motivation for participation in local politics as an exit strategy from poverty or as part of a wider clientelist culture in the country and conflation between party loyalty and employment. Ethnic groups in a numerical minority show a greater level of participation than the ethnic group in a majority. However, larger and smaller non-majority in the different ethno-demographic context inhabit slightly different styles of

participation in both horizontal and vertical deliberation. Macedonians tend to avoid deliberation in cases when the group is in the strong majority or lives with another ethnic group in more or less balanced proportions. In contrast, Albanians in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods tend to participate more and had been less excluded from deliberation activities, with a mixed context supporting more deliberative participation. The smaller ethnic groups tend to be motivated for civic participation only in the local context where they were more numerous so that their contribution to the local dynamics could have been visible.

Differences between age groups were statistically significant with citizens between 25-44 years inhabiting highest participation score, followed by those between 45-64 years. The youth up to 24 years and seniors above 65 years have lower participation scores. The results did not confirm the positive relation between education and participation (Sub-hypothesis One) because citizens with a lower level of education show a higher participation score in local deliberative activities while those with higher educational qualification are less motivated to participate in deliberative discussions on how to accommodate diversity in the public spaces of their neighbourhoods. Also, potential gender differences noted in the literature are not supported by this research. Finally, residents living in mixed neighbourhoods do not differ in their level of participation in deliberation activities from those in ethnic neighbourhoods (Sub-hypothesis Four). The intra-neighbourhood differences indicate that the Macedonians show the lowest level of participation, both when in a majority and a minority status. In comparison, the Albanians, while still reporting considerably low level of participation, show higher preparedness for participation in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods and, in particular, in neighbourhoods where the group is in majority status. The smaller non-majority ethnic groups, in general, report disengagement in deliberation activities, in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods.

7. The Social Value of Public Spaces: social dynamics and socio-spatial integration

Hypothesis Two set out to understand the relationship between the different aspects of how citizens perceive accommodation of diversity in public spaces and the types of neighbourhood. Public spaces were analysed in regards to their social function and through five distinctive components. These are socialisation in public spaces, ethnic identification with public spaces, ethnic proximity, inter-group antagonism, perceptions of ethnic power and appropriate approach of accommodating diversity in public spaces. Hypothesis Two was set as the following:

Citizens perceive public space as an essentialised ethnic space that serves the function of co-ethnic exchange and this is more so in the case of ethnic rather than in mixed neighbourhoods.

7.1 Socialisation between Ethnic Groups in Public Spaces

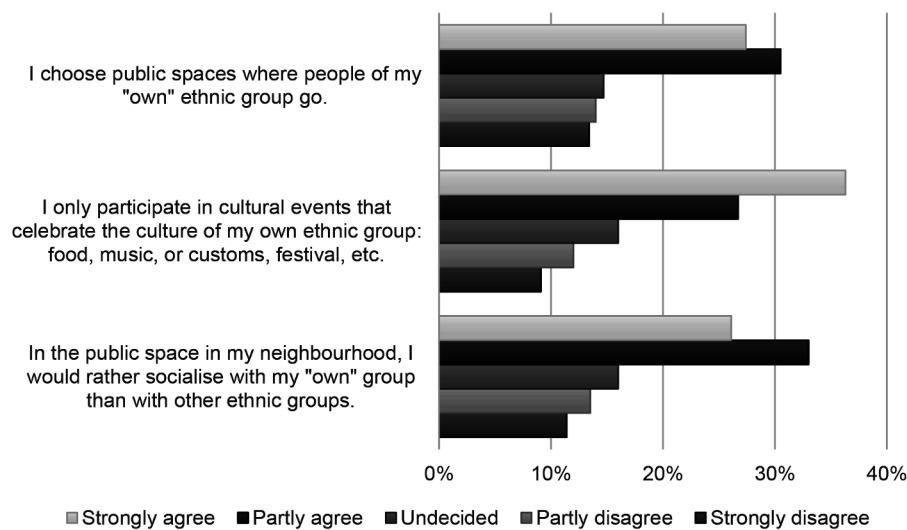
The first sub-hypothesis set out to understand the relationship between the social characteristics of the public spaces in the neighbourhoods and the prospect of facilitating communication and exchange between ethnic groups using the spaces. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 2.1: Citizens use public space for co-ethnic socialisation and this is more so the case with residents living in ethnic rather than in mixed neighbourhoods.¹⁹

¹⁹ Operationalisation and level of measurement of this variable is presented

According to the result, most respondents preferred co-ethnic socialisation in the public spaces of their neighbourhoods ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.1a in Appendix 6).

Figure 7.1a Frequency of responses to items of the component "Co-ethnic socialisation"

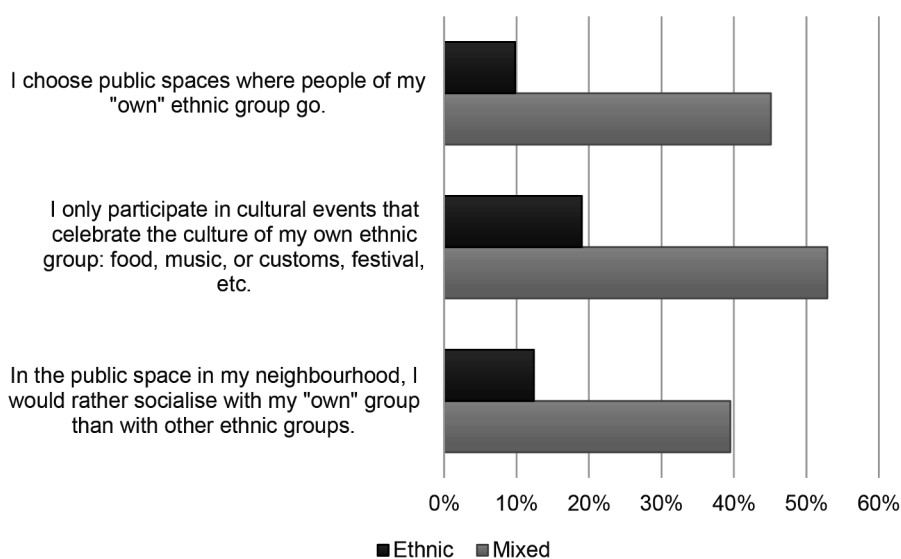


A Mann-Whitney U test analysed the potential difference between ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in regards to the preference for the co-ethnic socialisation of their residents. The results ($U=14138$, $p<.001$) showed statistically significant difference in the level of co-ethnic socialisation among residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods with a Mean Rank of 228.66 of residents in mixed neighbourhoods compared to 170.9 of residents in ethnic neighbourhoods. A higher Mean Rank indicates a higher preference for co-ethnic socialisation in public spaces. Despite expectations, residents in mixed neighbourhoods, more so than those in ethnic neighbourhoods, prefer co-ethnic socialisation in public spaces. Analysis of the difference between the type of neighbourhood and "meeting people of their own ethnic group" shows that residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods value co-ethnic socialisation in public space differently ($U=15202$, $p<.001$). In contrast to the expected outcome, residents of mixed neighbourhoods show a greater preference for

in Appendix 6 including the corresponding Tables 6.1a – 6.1f.

co-ethnic socialisation (*Mean Rank*=218.49) compared to residents of ethnic neighbourhoods (*Mean Rank*=175.86).

Figure 7.1b Frequency of responses of individuals living in different types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component "Co-ethnic socialisation"



Citizens prefer co-ethnic socialisation in public spaces (*Mdn*=4, *IQR*=3) (Table 6.1b). The majority of respondents preferred to socialise with people from their own ethnic group in the public spaces in their neighbourhood (26.1 percent strongly agree and 33 percent agree). A small proportion opted for the opposite behaviour (13.5 percent disagree and 11.4 percent strongly disagreed that co-ethnic socialisation was a prevailing behaviour in public space) (Table 6.1c). Sizeable proportions of residents in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods expressed preference for "meeting people of their own ethnic group" although this preference was more strongly supported by those in mixed areas (in mixed neighbourhoods, 26 percent partly agreed and 39.5 percent strongly agreed while in ethnic neighbourhoods 40.2 percent partly agreed and 12.4 percent strongly agreed with the preference for co-ethnic socialisation). A roughly similar, yet smaller proportion of residents from both types of neighbourhoods reject co-ethnic socialisation (9 percent in mixed and 18 percent in an ethnic neighbourhood disagree and 14.5 percent in mixed and 8.2 percent in an ethnic neighbourhood strongly disagree) (Table 6.1d in Appendix 6).

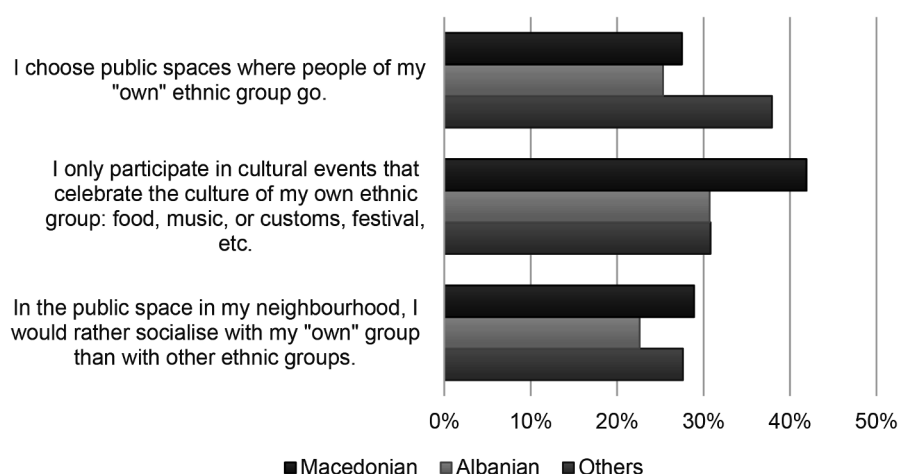
Similar outcomes can be found in regards to the selection of places for socialisation ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.1b). The majority of respondents argued that while choosing public spaces to socialise and recreate, they opted for places where people from their own ethnic group go (57.9 percent) and a sizeable proportion disagreed with such a mode of selection of places (27.4 percent disagreed and 13.4 percent strongly disagree) (Table 6.1c). When the difference between the type of neighbourhood and choice of public spaces is analysed, the result shows that there is a significant difference in how residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods select public spaces. Residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods had different patterns of choosing public spaces ($U=16066.5$, $p=.004$). Despite expectations, residents in mixed neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=212.44$) more often than those in ethnic neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=180.39$) opted for public spaces where people of their own ethnic group go. The majority of residents of mixed neighbourhoods strongly agreed with such preference (45.1 percent) compared to the ethnic municipality (9.8 percent). Also, the majority of residents of ethnic neighbourhoods partly agreed with the co-ethnic selection of public spaces (42.3 percent) compared to mixed neighbourhoods (18.7 percent). To a similar extent, residents in both types of neighbourhoods disagreed or partly disagreed with practising co-ethnic selection (11.3 percent in ethnic compared to 15.5 percent in mixed neighbourhoods strongly disagreed; and, 16.5 percent in ethnic and 11.4 percent in mixed neighbourhoods partly disagreed) (Table 6.1e in Appendix 6).

Citizens' opinions are less polarised in relation to cross-cultural participation in events happening in the public space ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.1b). The majority of respondents only participated in cultural events and festivities that celebrated their own ethnic culture (36.3 percent expressed strong agreement and 26.7 percent partial agreement to avail to such behaviour) (Table 6.1c in Appendix 6). Residents from the different types of neighbourhoods showed a statistically significant difference in the preference for participation in co-ethnic events of residents in these neighbourhoods ($U=11803$, $p<.001$). Residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods approached cultural events happening in public space differently. In contrast to expectations, residents in mixed neighbourhoods had a higher Mean Rank (218.20) compared to ethnic neighbourhoods (156.56) in the preference for co-ethnic events in public space. The majority of residents in mixed neighbourhoods only participated in events that celebrated their own ethnic culture (52.9 percent strongly and 18.8 percent partly agreed with such preference) compared to the ethnic neighbourhoods (19 percent strongly and 34.8 percent partly agreed, respectively). Compared to those in mixed neighbourhoods, residents of ethnic neighbourhoods more

often expressed preparedness for co-ethnic cultural events happening in public space (20.7 percent partly and 8.2 percent strongly rejected co-ethnic participation in cultural events compared to 3.7 percent and 9.9 percent of residents, respectively in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.1f in Appendix 6).

In the analysis of the potential ethnic differences in the preference for co-ethnic socialisation, the findings indicate that Macedonians, Albanians, and Others share a similar pro-social attitude towards one's own group ($\chi^2(2)=3.123$, $p=.210$). Thus, ethnic co-socialisation is not practised by a specific ethnic group only (Macedonians had a *Mean Rank*=208.71, followed Albanians with a *Mean Rank*=193.86 and Others with a *Mean Rank*=175.45).

Figure 7.1c Frequency of responses of individuals with different ethnic background who strongly agree on items in the component "Co-ethnic socialisation"



The majority of Macedonians tend to choose public spaces where their own ethnic group go (27.5 percent strongly and 37 percent partly agreed to exercise such behaviour), similar to the majority of Albanians (46.5 percent strongly and 15.5 percent partly agreed) and members of small non-majority groups (27.4 percent strongly and 30.5 percent partly agreed for this to be case) (Table 6.1g in Appendix 6). Also, the majority of Macedonians choose to socialise with their own ethnic group in public space (28.9 percent strongly and 37.3 percent partly agreed to such practice) as do the majority of Albanians (22.6 percent strongly and 28 percent partly agreed to this behaviour). Small non-majority-

ty ethnic groups, while a great proportion supported co-ethnic socialisation in public space, also tend to be more open to cross-cultural communication (48.2 percent supported and 44.8 percent rejected co-ethnic socialisation) (Table 6.1h in Appendix 6). Cross-cultural participation is also less common for ethnic groups. The majority of Macedonians only participated in co-ethnic cultural events (41.9 percent strongly and 26.3 percent partly agreed) as so do the majority of Albanians (30.7 percent strongly and 27 percent partly agreed) and non-majority ethnic groups (30.8 percent strongly and 26.9 percent partly agreed) (Table 6.1i in Appendix 6). Also, women more often than men prefer co-ethnic socialisation ($U=17477.500$, $p=.033$) and women had a higher score ($Mean Rank=211.38$) compared to men ($Mean Rank=187.49$).

In order to understand the dynamics of socialisation between ethnic groups in public spaces, it is important to look at how residents of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods construct relations between individuals and different ethnic groups, and selected spaces for recreation or cultural consumption. Ethnic identification is an internalised mechanism of selection of public space to recreate, enjoy and meet with friends. In general, residents of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhood do not prefer co-ethnic places for rest and socialisation. They prioritise places where they felt comfortable and with good company or an event that fitted their personal interests despite the ethnic groups that might be there. Only a few residents living in mixed neighbourhoods prefer co-ethnic places because they feel more comfortable and feel that they belong there. In contrast, residents of ethnic neighbourhoods are more reluctant to confine to such argument. *"I have never thought of using a space as an ethnic dimension. I go to places that I like but maybe instinctively choose places where people from my ethnic group go"*, observed a 39-year old Macedonian male from Kisela Voda. *"I had never thought of that in such way. It is absolutely unimportant to me, I go to places without prejudice or fear"*, commented a 33-year old Macedonian man from Kisela Voda.

When asked about sharing space with Others for events, festivities and celebrations, residents of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods agree that spaces should be used by everybody and they do not mind sharing public spaces, as long as their presence, the public peace and order were respected. *"I find it disturbing that the mosque is so loud at five o'clock in the morning. But if done in a way that nobody is distressed, I would accept it"*, uttered a 38-years old Serbian man from Kisela Voda. Few do not feel motivated to visit a cultural or other event or festivity that celebrated the cultural and ethnic traditions of the ethnic groups living in the neighbourhood. *"There is no need, I am not motivated"*, argued a 62-years old Macedonian man from Chair. Those that find the

courage to cross the ethnic boundaries report pleasant experiences and feel motivated or rather a curiosity to explore what makes others happy or laugh, *"I like the event around Christmas Eve and I go in my neighbourhood to socialise with the Macedonians"*, said a 22-years old Albanian male from Chair. *"Roma community uses the local church for a festive celebration lasting for two days. I am fine with that. As a kid I even went to see them"*, responded a 38-year old Macedonian male from Kisela Voda.

A critical question for intercultural contact is whether ethnic groups have the motivation to meet and exchange with Others. Places of specific multicultural potential are the green markets in the neighbourhoods, the children playground, the Old Turkish Bazaar located in Chair and the recreational spots around the lake Matka located in Saraj, the main city park, and the mountain Vodno. The Old Turkish Bazaar is particularly praised for the ability to offer authentic multicultural experience. Filled with exotic cultural heritage from the Ottoman period, traditional artisanship tea and coffee bars, restaurants and shops this places allows transgression of stable boundaries and creation of new cultural content. But the Old bazaar is also a conflictual place with potential to incite negative experiences and feelings. The respondents observed it as the border which ethnic groups are challenged to cross and encounter diversity. Macedonians were more often challenged to accept the symbolic transformation of the bazaar. They remember it as a place where the Macedonian language was widely spoken, sign boards in the Macedonian language were visible, and they freely walked both during the day or the night. Today the remembrance of the space is confronted with a new reality where the Albanian language dominates the discourse, signs are either bi-lingual or mostly in the Albanian language. Seeing women wearing hijab, and male groupings were perceived not only as a transformation of the visual outlook of the space but also of the worldview of accepted behaviour. Such strong stereotypical images of the bazaar could shape a potential trespassing experience as negative and unpleasant. *"It is difficult for the bazaar to be revitalised and I feel sad for the transformation that took place there"*, said a 62-year old Macedonian woman from Chair. *"In all these years for the first time, I felt afraid of being in a place where a certain ethnic group goes. And it was the Old bazaar. In my youth, I was there every day and every night. Now I had some negative experience with Albanians and I wonder if I will ever go again. Watch out, we are here to dominate, was a message that resonated in my head during the visit. There I felt like an unwelcome guest. But I know to differentiate between good and bad in each ethnic group"*, reflected a 54-year old Macedonian woman from Kisela Voda.

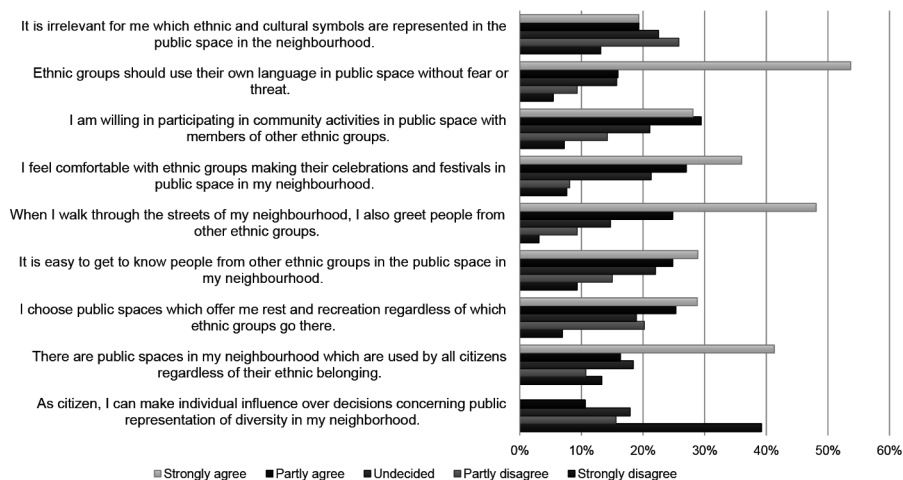
7.2 Proximity between Ethnic Groups in Public Spaces

The second sub-hypothesis set out to understand the potential of public spaces in the neighbourhoods in facilitating closeness between ethnic groups using the spaces. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 2.2: Citizens perceive public space as a source of proximity between members of co-ethnic groups and this is more the case with residents living in ethnic than in mixed neighbourhoods.

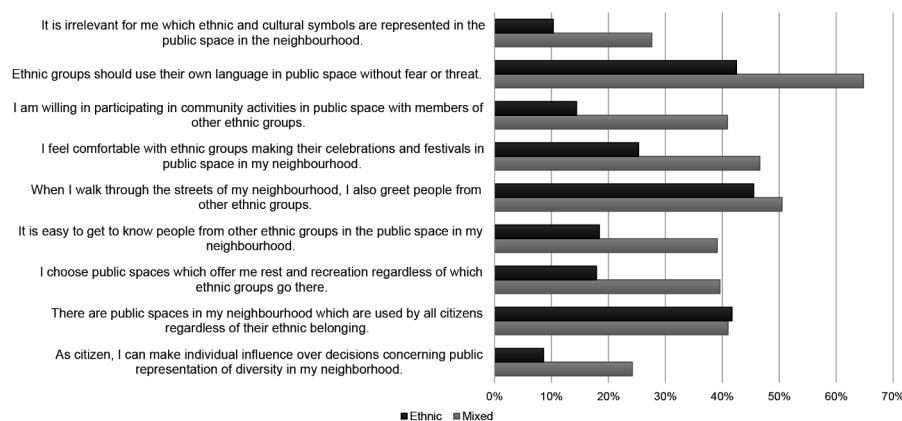
Most respondents indicated agreement with the argument that the public spaces in their neighbourhoods offered proximity between different ethnic groups ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.2a in Appendix 6).

Figure 7.2a Frequency of responses on items in the component "Ethnic proximity"



The U test ($U=17732.5$, $p=.028$) showed that there was a statistically significant difference of the level of ethnic proximity among residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods. Residents of mixed neighbourhoods had a higher Mean Rank (213.65) compared to ethnic neighbourhoods (189.11), and in line with expectations, residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often value public space as a source of proximity between different ethnic groups than those in ethnic neighbourhoods.

Figure 7.2b Frequency of responses of individuals living in different types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component "Ethnic proximity"



Civic opinions differ with regards to the perception of public spaces in the neighbourhood as inclusive ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.2b in Appendix 6). The majority of residents argued that public spaces in their neighbourhoods are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging (57.6 percent), in contrast to a third of the residents (33 percent) that argued of divided spaces in their neighbourhood (Table 6.2c). In contrast to the expected difference between types of neighbourhood, residents of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods do not differ in their perception of public spaces in the neighbourhood as being inclusive ($U=18472$, $p=.497$) with a Mean Rank of 200.14 among residents in the mixed neighbourhood and 192.71 of those in the ethnic neighbourhoods. The majority of residents in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods think of their immediate public spaces as inclusive to all ethnic groups that use them (62 percent in mixed and 53.2 percent in ethnic neighbourhoods). (Table 6.2e in Appendix 6).

Opinions are also polarised in how residents selected places for rest and recreation ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.2b in Appendix 6). A sizeable proportion of residents (28.8 percent strongly and 25.3 percent agreed) argued that they selected places based on their characteristics and provided amenities, rather of the ethnic groups that use them. In contrast, a quarter (20.2 percent partially and 6.9 percent strongly) argued that which ethnic group used the space was an important contribution to their preferred places for rest and recreation (Table 6.2c in Appendix 6). When analysing the findings of the poten-

tial differences in attitudes among residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods, there was a significant difference in the way they selected recreational public spaces ($U=16066.5$, $p=.004$). In line with the expectation, residents of mixed neighbourhoods report greater preparedness to select recreational public spaces without a specific interest in the ethnic groups that used them (*Mean Rank*=212.44) compared to residents in ethnic neighbourhoods (*Mean Rank*=180.93). Residents of mixed neighbourhoods are more often prepared to share recreational public spaces with other ethnic groups (39.6 percent strongly agreed and 19.3 percent agreed compared to 17.9 percent and 31.3 percent, respectively from ethnic neighbourhoods). Roughly equal proportions argued of the importance of co-ethnic places, namely, 19.3 percent of the residents in mixed neighbourhoods strongly and 7.1 percent partially disagreed to be prepared to share spaces compared to 21 percent and 6.7 percent, respectively from ethnic neighbourhoods) (Table 6.2f in Appendix 6).

Similarly, people differentiate somewhat less in whether public spaces in the neighbourhood offered opportunities for cross-cultural acquaintances ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.2b in Appendix 6). The majority of residents consider that intercultural acquaintances are easily established in the public space in their neighbourhoods (28.9 strongly agreed and 24.8 percent partially agreed to be easy to meet people from other ethnicities in public space, while 15 percent disagreed and 9.3 percent strongly disagreed with the argument) (Table 6.2c). Yet, getting to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space is an opportunity that is differently experienced among residents of ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods. In line with expectations, residents of mixed neighbourhoods found it easier to meet people from other ethnic groups in public space (*Mean Rank*=208.01) than those in ethnic neighbourhoods (*Mean Rank*=179.48) ($U=15956$, $p=.010$). Out of the residents in mixed neighbourhoods, 39.1 percent strongly agree and 17.3 percent agree it is easy to familiarise with other ethnic groups in public space compared to 18.4 percent of the residents of ethnic neighbourhoods that strongly agree and 32.6 percent that agree with the idea. (Table 6.2g in Appendix 6).

Residents differ less in their perception of good neighbourly relations ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.2b). The majority of the residents argued of a positive mundane intercultural communication between co-neighbours from different ethnic backgrounds, such as greetings and superficial contacts on the streets in their neighbourhood (48.1 percent strongly and 24.8 percent partially agreed). Only a small proportion disagreed that positive mundane interethnic relations happened in everyday life, public spaces in their neighbourhoods (9.3 percent partially disagreed and 3.1 percent strongly disagreed) (Table 6.2c in Appendix

6). In contrast to expectations, residents in mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods did not differ in the practice of greeting people from other ethnic groups in public space ($U=18374.5$, $p=.738$) with a Mean Rank of 195.75 of residents in the mixed neighbourhood and 192.20 of those in the ethnic neighbourhoods. The majority of residents in both types of neighbourhoods strongly agreed with such practice (50.5 percent in mixed and 45.5 percent in ethnic neighbourhoods, respectively) (Table 6.2h in Appendix 6).

Although residents showed less interest in visiting a cultural event celebrating the culture of Others, they agreed that public space should be used by every group to mark and celebrate their culture ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.2b in Appendix 6). The majority of them feel comfortable (27 percent partially and 36 percent strongly agreed in contrast to 8.1 percent who partially agreed and 7.6 percent who strongly felt discomfort) that ethnic groups organise cultural celebrations and festivals in the public space of their neighbourhood (Table 6.2c in Appendix 6). Examination of the potential difference between the types of neighbourhood, residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods differ in the acceptance of Others' cultural celebrations in public space ($U=15797$, $p=.023$), with those in mixed neighbourhoods showing greater levels of comfort with such practice ($Mean Rank=203.29$) compared to residents of ethnic neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=178.64$). Residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often expressed comfort with Others' cultural celebrations in public space (46.6 percent) compared to those in ethnic neighbourhoods (25.3 percent) who more often only partly agreed with this practice (35.3 percent in ethnic compared to 18.8 percent of those in mixed neighbourhoods). (Table 6.2i in Appendix 6).

Residents show some support to joint cross-cultural activities ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.2b). Many showed willingness to participate in community activities in public space with members of other ethnic groups (28.1 percent strongly and 29.4 percent partially agreed in contrast to 14.2 percent and 7.2 percent that disagree or strongly disagree to acquire such behaviour) (Table 6.2c in Appendix 6). There are differences among the residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods in the expressed readiness for participation in cross-ethnic activities in the community ($U=14446$, $p=.003$). Those in mixed neighbourhoods expressed greater willingness to participate in joint, cross-cultural activities in public space with members of other ethnic groups ($Mean Rank=203.15$) compared to those residing in ethnic neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=170.81$). As expected, residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often strongly supported this argument (40.9 percent) compared to those in ethnic neighbourhoods (14.4 percent) who mainly partly agreed with this practice (38.7 percent in ethnic compared to 20.7 percent of those in mixed neighbourhoods)

(Table 6.2j in Appendix 6).

Opinions also differ in the importance of representing ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space in the neighbourhood ($Mdn=3$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.2b in Appendix 6). Apparent disparities exist in the importance of the representation of ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space. An almost equal proportion of people agreed and disagreed that public space should be a symbol of the ethnocultural identity of its users. 13.1 percent strongly and 25.8 percent partially agreed on the significance of ethnocultural coherence between public space and its users, in contrast to 19.3 percent (both strongly and partially) that found this to be irrelevant (Table 6.2c in Appendix 6). There was no significant difference between residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in their perception on the importance of the representation of ethnic and cultural symbols in public space ($U=17684$, $p=.555$). Despite expectations, both groups equally value the relevance of ethnocultural coherence between public space and its users (those residing in ethnic neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 188.61 while those in mixed had a Mean Rank of 195.14). A somewhat equal proportion of residents in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods supported the coherence between space and ethno-symbolism (37 percent in ethnic and 40.7 percent in mixed neighbourhoods supported) or found such practice to be irrelevant for them as individuals (36.4 percent in ethnic and 40.7 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.2k in Appendix 6).

Lastly, residents of mixed neighbourhoods differ from those of ethnic neighbourhoods in the level of acceptance of Others' languages being spoken in public space without threat or fear ($U=15455.5$, $p=.001$). As expected, residents of mixed neighbourhoods showed greater admiration for Others' languages ($Mean Rank=212.65$) compared with residents of ethnic neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=177.08$). The former more often strongly supported language diversity in public space (64.8 percent) compared to those in ethnic neighbourhoods (42.5 percent) who partly agreed with this practice (22.3 percent of those in ethnic compared to 9.7 percent of those in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.2l in Appendix 6).

Presence and indirect contact between ethnic groups is possible in public spaces in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods. Residents of mixed neighbourhoods perceive public spaces in their immediate environment as free and accessible to everybody. Segregated ethnic spaces in the neighbourhood with a restricted use by some ethnic groups were not identified. Parks, football stadium, school yards, streets, shopping malls, markets, stores, recreational areas and children's playgrounds were considered as public spaces where ethnic

groups could easily meet. For some interviewees, such spaces were characterised by tolerance for difference and conviviality, gratification and comfort. In general, the mundane life in both the ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods is based on a general respect for the presence of those different from one's self in public spaces. Yet, some observe a tendency toward spatial segregation, between ethnic groups and age cohorts, especially of public space in mixed neighbourhoods. *"Public spaces are used by all ethnic groups but one group dominates and only the more courageous of Other or some old settlers use them. But there isn't active exchange between ethnic groups in this moment"*, commented a 31-year old Macedonian man from Butel. In a similar way, a 59-year old Albanian man from Chair observed interethnic dynamics in public spaces: *"I don't use joint public spaces in my neighbourhood. To be honest, I think it is even dangerous to have two different ethnic groups at the same place without strong police presence"*. He argued that other relatively open public spaces were also divided, such as the mosques used by Albanians, Bosnians and Turks. The young respondents living in mixed neighbourhoods are more critical of an existence of segregated spaces in their immediate environment. They do not report an existence of "pure" ethnic spaces but spaces that inhabit separation and co-ethnic compartmentalisation. Interestingly enough, these places are places for socialisation such as coffee bars, parks squares where youth from different ethnic backgrounds communicated within confined ethnic boundaries.

If ethnic compartmentalisation is evident in public spaces, what is the role of the collective ethnic and cultural symbols acknowledged in these spaces? How do they trigger feelings of belonging or discomfort? The residents in the mixed neighbourhoods find themselves confused and relentless toward the dominant ethno-symbolism in public space regardless of whether they are part of the numerical majority or not. A 58-year old Albanian male from Butel noted: *"I feel like a stranger, not even as a citizen of Macedonia, neither Albanian"*. His co-resident, a 32-year old Macedonian male stressed: *"Uncomfortably confused, I even don't know how to answer this, I dislike that certain religious symbols dominate and are overstressed in the public space"*. As argued earlier, the marginalisation of state symbols during officials and ethnocultural celebrations in mixed neighbourhoods is particularly distressing for the Macedonians. This practice was perceived as a threat to the symbolic definition of the nation, moreover, as an attack to the possibility of conviviality among ethnic groups in a shared space. *"During state holidays the Macedonian flag is not represented in Chair. I am troubled by this because regardless of who we are as an ethnic group, we are part of the same state"*, argued a 62-year Macedonian woman who is an old settler in Chair. In a similar way, the Albanians expressed

their frustration of the message sent by the urban city centre: *“This is a message that Albanians should not feel comfortable in their own city, that they should not cross the river Vardar and socialise in the Orthodox part of the city”*, argued a 59-year old Albanian woman from Chair. Other citizens of mixed neighbourhoods were critical of the accommodation practices inhabited by their own ethnic group and felt them as a provocation. A young Albanian man from Chair noted: *“While walking in my neighbourhood it is not important for me to see Albanian symbols. It is even distasteful with all these flags, it is a provocation and it should not be. The division based on ethnic symbols on both sides of the river Vardar is a clear sign of a segregation”*. The smaller ethnic groups, such as Turks in mixed neighbourhoods, felt invisible and marginalised in the symbolic struggle between the Macedonians and the Albanians. *“In the city centre and Chair, the cultures of the Macedonians and Albanians are accommodated in the public space. The Turkish culture that had dominated this city for centuries is invisible. I am troubled by that fact and find it important that part of that history (my history) is also represented in the public space”*, noted a 33-year old Turkish woman from Chair.

The use of diverse languages in public space is acceptable to a certain degree without causing distress and discomfort. Respondents generally agree that people should be able to use their mother language in public space without fear or threat. Albanians, Turks and other non-Macedonian ethnic groups have a comparative advantage by being able to speak the Macedonian language while rarely does any Macedonian learn the language of the Others. While some Macedonian residents of mixed neighbourhoods regretted the missed opportunity to learn from the Others throughout their daily socialisation as children or young adults, and a colloquial understanding of Others’ languages, the majority of Macedonians rationalised it as a distinct public and private use of languages. In their view, the state language should be spoken in public spaces as opposed to the private use of the non-Macedonian languages, at the same time, forgetting that in areas with at least 20 percent of non-Macedonians other languages are also in official use. *“Ethnic groups should know the official language. Privately it is up to them. In public spaces, bars, institutions, they must use the language that the majority of people understand”*, noted a 62-year old Macedonian woman from Chair. The use of the languages of Others triggers discomfort in destabilising the boundaries between ethnic groups, and in particular, this was the case with the use of the Albanian language as the second official language. Macedonians place the burden of communication on Others and their willingness to learn and communicate in the Macedonian language. The lack of understanding of the languages of Others inflicted fear

and discomfort, in particular among Macedonians. *"I don't like signs in Albanian language or bi-lingual boards. They give me discomfort!"*, argued a 65-year old Macedonia male from Butel. Albanian residents opted for bi-lingual public spaces, yet, they were not discomforted with the idea of using the Macedonian language when needed. *"I don't feel fear in using the Albanian language in a Macedonian area. It depends on the occasion and the need to be understood. It is how I was raised. Those of us that have lived with other ethnic groups do not internalise such fear, I use Albanian when I can and if the people understand it"*, said a 35-year old Albanian woman from Chair. Albanians also felt richer and even proud to know the Macedonian language. *"I am proud that my kids know Macedonian, I know the Macedonian language, I studied in the Macedonian language"*, reflected a 58-year old Albanian man from Butel. The younger Albanians faced more difficulties in communicating in the Macedonian language. *"I learned Macedonian in the last 4 years. While living in Kichevo, my earlier hometown, I did not know Macedonian. I didn't have contacts with Macedonians and didn't learn the language at school. Everything I know so far is picked up from my everyday life in Chair. I use it and I am not ashamed to make mistakes"*, said a 21-year old Albanian female from Chair.

The residents of mixed neighbourhoods share an opinion that the symbolic domination of a single culture and ethnic history would only reinforce the ethnic segregation happening in public spaces. *"There is a strong division among the park users. Macedonians, old and retired person using the right side, while Albanians use the left side of the park only"*, noted a 58-year old Albanian male from Butel. A young Albanian male from Chair also confirmed co-ethnic socialisation among youth people in public spaces. *"Now we are grouping, Albanians gather on one side of the park, while the Macedonians on the other. All the time I hear people discussing patriotism, and I wonder how this became our reality. 'Stick to your own group' mentality is largely created and supported by social media"*, he reiterated. Intensification of the symbolic struggle is perceived as a factor that could instigate intra-city migration raised by ethnic concerns. *"If public space is designed to accommodate the needs of the dominant group, it would mean that this neighbourhood should be Muslims only and even more, Macedonians would be encouraged to leave"*, argued a 31-year old Macedonian woman from Chair. Similar can be argued of the Albanians who are dissatisfied with how ethnocultural symbolism is practised on a city level, which could result in Albanians leaving the areas where the ethnocultural symbolism is predominantly Orthodox.

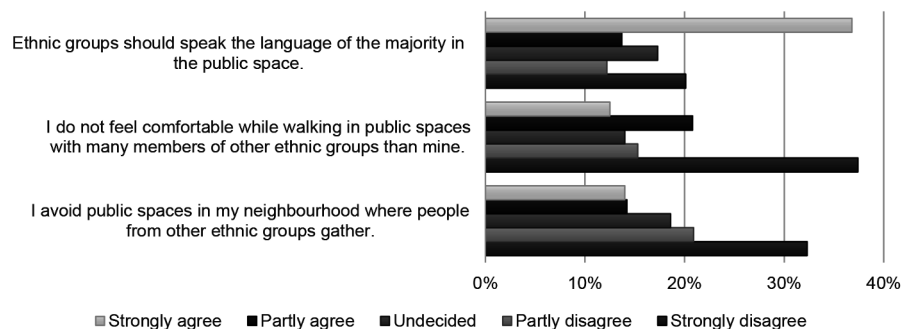
7.3 Antagonism between Ethnic Groups and the Public Spaces

The third sub-hypothesis set out to understand the potential of public spaces in the neighbourhoods to generate antagonism between ethnic groups using the spaces. This sub-hypothesis was set as the following:

Sub-hypothesis 2.3: Citizens living in ethnic neighbourhoods more often perceive public space as a source of antagonism between ethnic groups than those residing in mixed neighbourhoods.²⁰

Opinions differed in relation to the idea that public space generated antagonism between ethnic groups ($Mdn=3$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.3a).

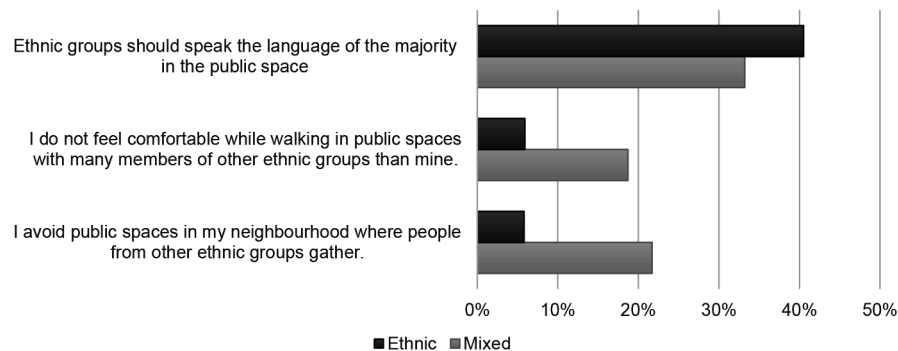
Figure 7.3a Frequency of responses on items in the component "Intergroup antagonism"



The U test ($U=19449.5$, $p=.755$) did not show a statistically significant difference between residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods in their perception of public space as a generator of antagonism between ethnic groups (residents in ethnic neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 197.73 compared to those in mixed neighbourhoods which had a Mean Rank of 201.24).

²⁰ Operationalisation and level of measurement of this variable is presented in Appendix 6 including the corresponding Tables 6.3a – 6.3i.

Figure 7.3b Frequency of responses of individuals living in different types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component "Intergroup antagonism"



Opinions are divided with regards to whether respondents avoid public spaces where people from other ethnic groups gather ($Mdn=2$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.3b in Appendix 6). Many respondents opposed such behaviour (32.3 percent strongly and 20.9 percent partially). Yet, around a quarter (14.2 percent partially and 14 percent strongly) confirmed to avoid public space occupied by other ethnic groups (Table 6.3c in Appendix 6). The majority of residents disagreed that public spaces with many ethnic groups invoked feelings of discomfort (37.4 percent strongly disagree and 15.3 percent partially disagree in contrast to 20.8 percent that agreed and 12.5 percent that strongly agreed with the argument) ($Mdn=2$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.3b in Appendix 6). Differences between residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in regards to avoidance of public space occupied by other ethnic groups as well as of discomfort for co-sharing space with other ethnic groups were not supported. The U test ($U=17969.5$, $p=.488$) did not show a statistically significant difference between residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods in avoiding multicultural public spaces, with residents in the mixed neighbourhood having a Mean Rank of 197.74 and those residing in ethnic neighbourhoods having a Mean Rank of 190.08. Only a quarter of the residents in ethnic and a third in mixed neighbourhoods avoided public spaces occupied by other ethnic groups (23.8 percent in ethnic and 32.3 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.3d in Appendix 6). The U test ($U=16527.5$, $p=.059$) confirmed that residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods did not differ in their perception of discomfort in co-sharing the public spaces in their neighbourhoods with members of other ethnic groups (a *Mean Rank*=203.03 for those in mixed neighbourhoods and a *Mean Rank*=182.38

for those in ethnic neighbourhoods). Most of the residents in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods felt comfortable in walking in public space with members of other ethnic groups (55.6 percent in ethnic and 50 percent in mixed) in contrast to almost a third in both neighbourhoods that felt discomfort in visiting such public spaces (29.4 percent in ethnic and 36.9 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.3e in Appendix 6).

Viewed from the ethnic perspective, Macedonians living in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those living in ethnic neighbourhoods avoid public spaces occupied by other ethnic groups (43.3 percent and 18.5 percent, respectively), and more so than small non-majority ethnic groups (20.8 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) and Albanians (22.1 percent in mixed and 31 percent in ethnic neighbourhoods) who feel more insecure in public spaces in ethnic than in mixed neighbourhoods (Table 6.3f in Appendix 6). In addition, Macedonians living in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those living in ethnic neighbourhoods feel discomfort while walking in public spaces occupied by other ethnic groups (49 percent and 17.5 percent, respectively), and more so than small non-majority ethnic groups (20.8 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) and Albanians (26.4 percent in mixed and 44.2 percent in ethnic neighbourhoods) who felt more discomfort in ethnic neighbourhoods (Table 6.3g in Appendix 6).

Table 7.3 Frequency of responses of individuals segregated by ethnic group and types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component "Intergroup antagonism"

Item	Macedonian		Albanian		Others	
	Ethnic	Mixed	Ethnic	Mixed	Ethnic	Mixed
I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.	4%	28%	8%	18%	0%	8%
I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of other ethnic groups other than mine.	3%	26%	9%	13%	0%	8%
Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space.	63%	42%	17%	25%	0%	22%

Respondents indicate agreement in regards to the perception of appropriate language to be used in public space ($Mdn=43$, $IQR=3$) (Table 6.3b). The ma-

majority agreed that individuals while being in public space should speak the language of the numerically dominant ethnic group (36.8 percent strongly and 13.7 percent agreed with the argument compared to 12.2 percent that disagreed and 20.1 percent that strongly disagreed) (Table 6.3c in Appendix 6). The difference between residents of ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in regards to language normativity was confirmed ($U=16053$, $p=.002$) with those in ethnic neighbourhoods having a higher a Mean Rank of 214.68 than those in mixed neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=180.67$). Most of the residents of ethnic neighbourhoods agreed that while being in public space all individuals should speak the language of the numerically dominant group (40.5 percent of the residents strongly and 14.4 percent expressed partial agreement) while a small proportion disagreed with such language normativity (9.7 percent partially and 12.3 percent strongly disagreed). In contrast, in mixed neighbourhoods, 33.2 percent of the residents strongly agreed and 13.1 percent express partial agreement with the argument while 14.6 percent disagreed and 27.6 percent strongly opposed it (Table 6.3h in Appendix 6). Looking at the ethnicity of the residents in an ethnic neighbourhood, Macedonians more often than Albanians and Others supported majority language normativity ($\chi^2(2)=46.091$, $p<.001$) (Macedonians had a Mean Rank of 123.07, followed Albanians with a Mean Rank of 72.01 and Others with a Mean Rank of 54.20). Even in mixed neighbourhoods, Macedonians more often than Albanians and Others supported majority language normativity ($\chi^2(2)=9.803$, $p=.007$) (Macedonians had a Mean Rank of 112.04, followed Albanians with a Mean Rank of 88.90 and Others with a Mean Rank of 85.35). The majority of Macedonians in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods supported dominant language normativity (80.2 percent in ethnic and 58.6 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) in contrast to around a third of Albanians (27 percent in ethnic and 32.5 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) or other small ethnic groups (40 percent in ethnic and 39.1 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.3i in Appendix 6).

It is important understand whether accommodation of symbols of those different from our culture in shared public spaces triggers a sense of threat and discomfort. Residents of both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods agree that disrespect of differences, creating discomfort, fear and anxiety, and public representation of nationalistic characteristics intensify the conflict between ethnic groups in their interpretation of public space. Language normativity remain a potent source of antagonism between ethnic groups. For Macedonians living in mixed neighbourhoods, the omission of state symbols during official events and other celebrations of the Albanian culture is particularly distressing. Although the Law on the use of flags of ethnic communities stipulates an obli-

gation that at any public event the state flag should always accompany the use of flags of ethnic groups, this is not fully respected in non-Macedonian neighbourhoods. The marginalisation of the state symbols is perceived as a threat to the symbolic definition of a nation, moreover, an attack on the possibility of conviviality among ethnic groups in a shared space. The Albanians rightfully criticise the transformation of the urban city centre from a space of postulated universal access to a construction of public space as a symbolic expression of a mono-ethnic nation, at the same time, removing the “dangerous” memories of Others in the public space. Yet, ethnic groups when in a dominant position in the neighbourhood seem reluctant to recognise the difference and engage in accommodation practices that localise the diversity of ethnic histories and cultures in the public landscape. Thus, it seems that ethnic groups are observant and acknowledge injustice and marginalisation only when in a minority position. In the opposite scenario, when in a dominant position, they practice the same criticised mono-ethnic accommodation approach in the local symbolic landscape and remain blind to the less-powerful and less-vocal ethnic groups.

7.4 Common-sense Approaches to Public Accommodation of Diversity

The fourth sub-hypothesis set out to understand what kind of approach of accommodation of diversity in public space is deemed appropriate among residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

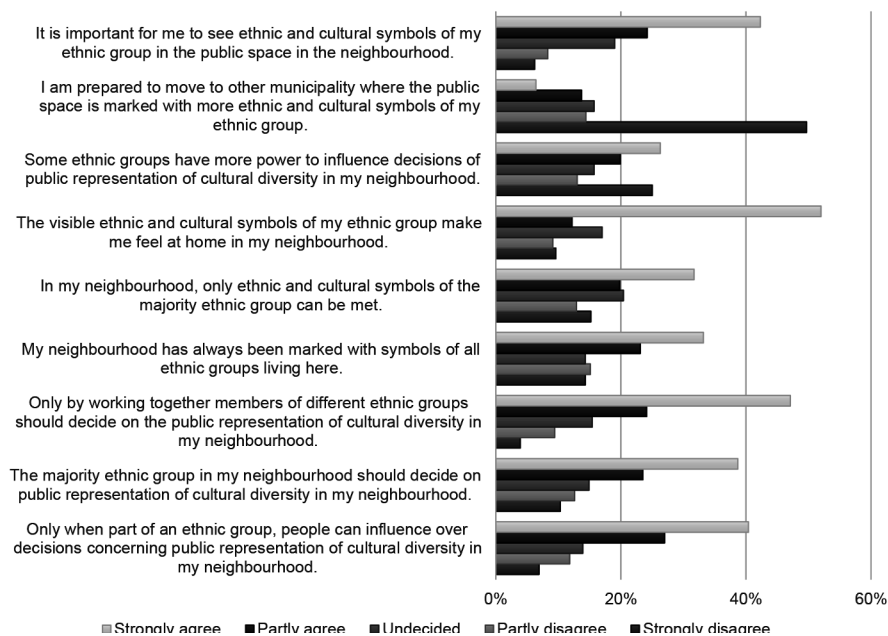
Sub-hypothesis 2.4: Citizens of ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods share different perceptions of the diversity accommodation approach in public space.²¹

Most respondents argue that accommodation of diversity in public space should be based on participation of the ethnic groups ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.4a in Appendix 6). A higher Mean Rank meant a higher level of support for ethno-based diversity accommodation approaches to public spaces. A U test ($U=18854$, $p=.230$) did not show a statistically significant difference between residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods in their preference for eth-

²¹ Operationalisation and level of measurement of this variable is presented in Appendix 6 including the corresponding Tables 6.4a – 6.4q.

no-based accommodation approaches to diversity in public space. Residents in mixed neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 208.08 while those in ethnic neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 194.72.

Figure 7.4 Frequency of responses on items in the component "Diversity accommodation approach"



The majority of residents indicate agreement with the idea that only when part of an ethnic group, people could influence decisions on public representation of diversity ($Mdn=2$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.4b in Appendix 6). They generally agreed with such an argument (27 percent partially and 40.4 percent strongly agreed) while a small proportion tended to disagree with the practice (11.8 percent partially and 6.9 percent strongly disagreed) (Table 6.4c in Appendix 6). Respondents similarly argued in regards to the idea that the majority ethnic group should decide on the public representation of diversity in the neighbourhood ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.4b in Appendix 6). The majority of residents agreed that decision-making in regards to the representation of diversity in public space should be done by the dominant ethnic group (62.2 percent as opposed to 22.9 percent who rejected such decision-making process) (Table 6.4c in Appendix 6). A U test ($U=15484$, $p=.002$) confirmed that residents of

mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods differed in their perception of whether the majority ethnic group in the neighbourhood should decide on the public representation of diversity (a *Mean Rank*=177.81 for those in mixed neighbourhoods and a *Mean Rank*=212.07 for those in ethnic neighbourhoods). Thus, those in ethnic neighbourhoods are more in favour of investing decision-making power within the majority ethnic group, 72.9 percent in contrast to 52.8 percent of residents in mixed neighbourhoods (Table 6.4d in Appendix 6). Macedonians in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods more often than Albanians support majoritarian decision-making processes (82 percent of Macedonians in ethnic and 54.1 percent of Macedonians in mixed neighbourhood supported this approach opposed to 60.7 percent of Albanians in ethnic and 48.1 percent of Albanians in mixed neighbourhoods). In addition, 60 percent of Others in ethnic and 62.5 percent of mixed neighbourhoods supported such deciding-making arrangement (Table 6.4e in Appendix 6).

Yet, the majority of residents, in general, also recognise that only by working together, should the members of different ethnic groups decide on the public representation of diversity in the neighbourhood (*Mdn*=4, *IQR*=2) (Table 6.4b in Appendix 6). This idea was supported by 71.2 percent of the residents (Table 6.4c in Appendix 6). A *U* test ($U=17336$, $p=.375$) showed no statistically significant difference between residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods in supporting cooperation between ethnic groups in decisions over diversity accommodation (residents in mixed neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 196.1 and those in ethnic neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 186.71).

The majority of respondents agree (52 percent strongly and 12.2 percent partially agreed, respectively) that seeing visible ethnic and cultural symbols of their ethnic group make them feel at home in the neighbourhood (Table 6.4c and Table 6.4b in Appendix 6) (*Mdn*=5, *IQR*=2). The residents in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods did not differ in the perceptions as to whether the visible co-ethnic, cultural symbols in the neighbourhood triggered feelings of home ($U=17855$, $p=.138$) (residents in ethnic neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 189.56 while residents in mixed neighbourhoods had a Mean Rank of 205.28). For the majority of residents in both type of neighbourhoods (59.5 percent in ethnic and 68.9 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) the visible co-ethnic and cultural symbols made them feel at home in the neighbourhood (Table 6.4j in Appendix 6). Macedonians more often than Albanians or other small non-majority groups support alignment between feelings of home and visible ethnic and cultural symbols in public space. Among the Macedonians, 96 percent living in ethnic and 81.8 percent in mixed neighbourhoods feel at home in their area because of the co-ethnic symbols accommodated in public

space, as opposed to 19.1 percent of Albanians in ethnic and 47.4 percent of Albanians in mixed neighbourhoods, or 40 percent of Others in ethnic and 86.3 percent of Others in mixed neighbourhoods (Table 6.4k in Appendix 6).

Less than a quarter of the residents in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods are prepared to move to a more co-ethnic area (19.6 percent in ethnic and 20.7 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) ($U=17574$, $p=.231$) ($Mdn=2$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.4b and Table 6.4c in Appendix 6). Yet, the majority of residents expressed an agreement with the importance of visual representation of ethnic and cultural symbols of their own ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood ($Mdn=4$, $IQR=2$) (66.5 percent agreed while 14.5 percent disagreed with an importance of co-ethnic symbolism in public space in their neighbourhood) (Table 6.4b and Table 6.4c in Appendix 6). The difference between the types of neighbourhoods in valuing co-ethnic symbolism in public space was confirmed ($U=13646$, $p<.001$). Residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often stressed the importance of co-ethnic and co-cultural symbolism in the public space in their neighbourhood ($Mean Rank=217.88$) compared to those in an ethnic neighbourhood ($Mean Rank=167.20$). The majority of residents in mixed neighbourhoods (75 percent) argued of the need for co-ethnic symbolism in public space opposed to those in ethnic neighbourhoods (55.6 percent) (Table 6.4p in Appendix 6). Examination of ethnic affiliation, Macedonians in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods more often support alignment between space and ethno-symbolism. The majority of Macedonians (73.3 percent in ethnic and 89.8 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) support ethno-symbolism in public space in contrast to the Albanians (37.3 percent in ethnic and 55.3 percent in mixed neighbourhoods) (Table 6.4q in Appendix 6).

Lastly, civic opinions differ in the power-sharing balance between ethnic groups in accommodation of diversity in the public space of the neighbourhoods. In general, they perceive that some ethnic groups other than the one of the respondent have more power to influence decisions in regards to the public representation of diversity ($Mdn=3$, $IQR=4$) (Table 6.4b and Table 6.4c in Appendix 6). A U test ($U=10647.5$, $p<.001$) indicated that residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods differed in their perception of ethnic groups' power to influence decision-making in regards to diversity accommodation, with those in mixed neighbourhoods more often supporting the argument of marginalisation of their own ethnic group in the power-sharing on accommodation practices ($Mean Rank=22.25$) compared to those of ethnic neighbourhoods ($Mean Rank=150.55$). The majority of residents in mixed neighbourhoods argued that their own ethnic group is marginalised in the decision-making process of diversity accommodation (61.7 percent) opposed to a third of the

residents in ethnic neighbourhoods (31.3 percent) (Table 6.4l in Appendix 6). Residents, regardless of the ethnic belonging, argued that mixed neighbourhoods were less favourable in adopting balanced power-sharing mechanism in diversity accommodation (54.7 percent of the Macedonians, 61.6 percent of the Albanians and 91.3 percent of Others, living in mixed neighbourhood as opposed to 18.1 percent of the Macedonians, 39.5 percent of the Albanians and 100 percent of Others living in ethnic neighbourhoods) (Table 6.4m in Appendix 6).

Interview data reveals what citizens consider as an appropriate approach to accommodating diversity in the local landscape. It was a “normal” practice that symbols of the dominant ethnic group prevailed in the public space, such as new mosques in Albanian-dominated neighbourhoods or churches in Macedonian-dominated areas. Looking from the perspective of normality, the symbols of the dominant ethnic group are accustomed and innate to space. Localisation of ethnic culture and history is expected to inform outsiders and strangers of those who occupy the territory. Accommodation of their own symbols in the public space gives ethnic groups legitimacy and ownership over the space. *“I like seeing symbols of my ethnic group in the public space, it is good to have an Orthodox church. We can have ethnic monuments but not so much as in the centre of the city”*, said a 53-year old Macedonian woman from Kisela Voda. A similar idea resonated from a 57-years old Albanian woman from Saraj: *“I don’t mind that there is a church, neither Macedonians argue about the mosques in the neighbourhood. Ethnic groups respect each other in here and it is important to have groups’ symbols represented in the public space. We must have mosques, 90 percent of the residents are Muslim Albanians, and so mosques should be here in the public space”*. Without a doubt, people find it important that the public space they inhabit and use was clearly referenced to their ethnic group. A 61-years old Albanian woman from Butel argued that *“the symbol is an association of the group, the people”*. *“Here I feel at home. But I have not feared of other symbols”*, said a 53-year Albanian woman from Saraj. *“The public space in my neighbourhood reflects my ethnic group and I don’t feel safe in other parts of Skopje”*, says a 50-year old Albanian woman from Chair. The normality of ethnosymbolism of public spaces is coupled by a need for reciprocity or proportionality in the politics of recognition of difference. *“The project “Skopje 2014” is faulty, but if the Macedonians accept it, I will not mind it. But if there is such project on one side of the city, there should be one on the other as well”*, argued a 57-years old Albanian woman from Saraj. A 65 years-old male resident of Butel supported the use of ethnic symbols in public space but in his view, accommodation needed to be rationalised to a minimal point

so that public spaces inform of the culture of the groups inhabiting the space, without stimulating symbolic struggles on good and fitted. *“Having so many churches is beyond any rationale. I feel the same about the new mosques”*, argued a 65 years-old male resident of Butel. A similar idea was expressed by a 32-year Macedonian from Butel who thinks that space should accommodate the ethnographic characteristics of the culture and the ethos, such as habits, customs, food, dialects typical for the ethnic groups instead of fixation to religious symbols as sole signifiers of the social identity of groups.

Some residents feel disoriented and confused in the symbolic landscape of the public space in their neighbourhoods. A 59-year old Albanian male from Chair noted: *“As a Muslim, I feel very good when I see the old symbols representing the Ottoman Empire. But I feel upset when I see these new symbols nor cultural, neither architectural portraying the Muslim culture. I don’t consider them as part of our history but as imported elements from other Muslim countries, like kitsch elements. I find it hard to orient in this religious turmoil, culturally even less so”*. The political re-appropriation of history and collective memory of ethnic groups in public space with an intention to associate belongingness and nationhood with the symbolism in public space is criticised for the ability to incite further dissatisfaction and political marginalisation. A 33-year old Macedonian man from Kisela Voda argued:

“I feel comfortable in my neighbourhood as it is a pleasant place to live. But I don’t agree that the public space should represent the ethnic groups living here. All spaces should be equally important to each group, to support multiculturalism and interethnic tolerance. I don’t feel comfortable with seeing crosses and similar symbols on every corner in my neighbourhood. All these symbols and national markings in public spaces create resentment and irredentism towards other ethnic groups. Everything that is done in public space incites nationalism, differentiating between those that are part of the “true” nation and those who are excluded.”

In a similar way, a 31-year old Macedonian woman from Butel reiterated: *“The dominance of some symbols makes me feel confused, uncomfortable, suppressed. The iconography at political events makes me scared and discomforted because there are symbols that declare that you don’t belong there if you are different.”* A 54-year old resident of Kisela Voda noted: *“Marking territory is a number one problem in the planning of public space. I would greatly appreciate bench in the park rather than a monument of some fighter on a horse. Having a monument is not important for me. And this is what makes people nervous”*.

Most residents identified with three dimensions of place-subjectivities. Only two respondents identified with the local identity, namely the neighbourhood

and both are old settlers in an ethnic neighbourhood. *“This space is important for me, I am born and grew up here. By living here, I also inform others that there are Macedonians living in Saraj. I would like to inform them that I am not threatened by living in a dominantly Albanian neighbourhood”*, noted 45-year old Macedonian man from Saraj.

For the others, belonging to the ethnic group and the state is an important cultural identifier. For the majority of respondents the accommodated ethno-cultural symbols in public space should function as a leitmotif in the quality of life, as long as the practice of representation is not antagonising or aggravating negative feelings. For others, it is a habit of accepting the life circumstances as they are or “a civility towards diversity” of being raised in a multicultural spirit that bonds them to the current place of residence. *“After so many years residing in a mixed area I guess would not function in an ethnic neighbourhood”*, said a 39-year old Macedonian woman from Butel. One interviewee expressed intention of moving out of a mixed neighbourhood, although he is a member of the majority ethnic group in that area. He accentuated that the symbolic struggle happening in public space terrorised his perception of reality and everyday multicultural living. Some respondents also stated a preference for co-ethnic habitation but did not feel prepared to move out. However, concerns about the future of the interethnic relations in the country are shared among all respondents and in their understanding, the way symbols are accommodated visible in the public sphere may destabilise heterogeneous communities, and inflict a sense of discomfort in losing their own local and ethnic identity and belonging.

7.5 Citizens' Consultation and Changes in Public Spaces

The fifth sub-hypothesis set out to understand how citizens perceive the changes happening in the public space as a result of accommodation of diversity and if such change is done with their consultation. This sub-hypothesis was set as following:

Sub-hypothesis 2.5: Ethnic groups share different perceptions of the public space change and consultation, with the ethnic group in majority reporting a greater level of perceived change with their consultation and in line with their ethnicity than minorities do. In addition, residents of mixed neighbourhoods differ from those in ethnic neighbourhoods by reporting a

*greater level of perceived change done with their consultation.*²²

Opinions differ in regards to the perception of how changes were done in the public spaces of the neighbourhoods, with or without consultation of the citizenry ($Mdn=3$, $IQR=2$) (Table 6.5a). The Kruskal-Wallis H test ($\chi^2(2)=19.948$, $p<.001$) showed statistically significant difference between ethnic groups in their perceived level of change done without their consultation, with Others having the highest Mean Rank of 291.55, followed by Albanians with a Mean Rank of 195.70 and lastly by Macedonians with a Mean Rank of 192.45.

Table 7.5 Frequency of responses of individuals segregated by ethnic group and types of neighbourhoods who strongly agree on items in the component "Change and consultation"

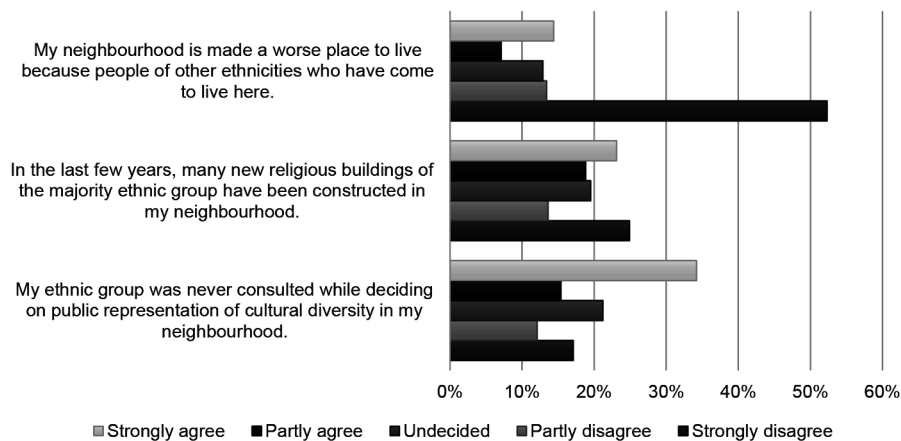
Item	Macedonian		Albanian		Others	
	Ethnic	Mixed	Ethnic	Mixed	Ethnic	Mixed
My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	25%	55%	15%	29%	20%	71%
In the last few years, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in my neighbourhood.	5%	41%	7%	9%	0%	75%
My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities who have come to live here.	9%	34%	1%	5%	0%	31%

The difference between Macedonians and Albanians was not statistically significant ($U=16783$, $p=.691$) (Albanians had a Mean Rank of 188.85 and Macedonians of a Mean Rank of 184.5). The difference in levels of perceived change done without consultation between Macedonians and Others was statistically significant. A U test ($U=1597.5$, $p<.001$) showed that Others had a higher Mean Rank of 160.91 and Macedonians had a Mean Rank of 108.95. The difference in the level of perceived change done without consultation between Albanians and Other ethnic groups was also confirmed. A U test ($U=1170.5$, $p<.001$)

²² Operationalisation and level of measurement of this variable is presented in Appendix 6 including the corresponding Tables 6.5a – 6.5i.

showed that these two groups did differ, with Others having a higher Mean Rank of 145.64 and the Albanians having a Mean Rank of 92.85. In line with the expectation, ethnic groups in the majority reported lower scores on perceived change of the public space of the neighbourhoods done without their consultation. Greater perceived change of public space without consultation is reported by ethnic groups in minority, especially by smaller non-majority ethnic groups. Differences between ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods were also confirmed. A *U* test ($U=13358.5$, $p<.001$) confirmed that residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often perceived changes in the public space of the neighbourhoods being done without consultation and in response to the majority group (*Mean Rank*=234.02) compared to those of ethnic neighbourhoods (*Mean Rank*=166.81).

Figure 7.5 Frequency of responses on items in the component "Change and consultation"



A Kruskal-Wallis H test indicate ($\chi^2(2)=19.569$, $p<.001$) a statistically significant difference between ethnic groups in regards to the perceptions of visual changes happening in the public space that correspond with the dominant religious affiliation of the majority ethnic group in the neighbourhoods (Table 6.5c). Smaller non-majority ethnic groups more often support this argument compared to the Macedonians and the Albanians (Others had a highest Mean Rank of 282.21 followed by Albanians with a Mean Rank of 192.97 and Macedonians with a Mean Rank of 184.2). Looking at the in-between group's difference, a *U* test did not indicate ($U=15387$, $p=.409$) a difference between

Macedonians (*Mean Rank*=176.91) and Albanians (*Mean Rank*=185.81). The difference between Macedonians and Others ($U=1422.5$, $p<.001$) was statistically significant, with the former having a Mean Rank of 105.29 and the latter of 158.7. Statistical significance was confirmed in the in-group difference between Albanians and Others ($U=1189.5$, $p<.001$) with the latter having a Mean Rank of 138.02 and the former of 90.67. Also, a U test ($U=13094$, $p<.001$) confirmed that residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often considered that the visual change of the public spaces reinforced the dominant religious affiliation of the majority ethnic group (*Mean Rank*=224.03) compared to those of ethnic neighbourhoods (*Mean Rank*=164.28). The practice of accommodating religious diversity in public space is perceived as more common for mixed neighbourhoods. Half of the residents (52.5 percent) argue that many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group had been constructed in the neighbourhood. Macedonians living in mixed neighbourhoods are more perceptive of such change of the public space, compared to those in ethnic neighbourhoods or other ethnic groups. More than half of the Macedonians living in mixed neighbourhoods (58.1 percent) argued for intensified use of public space for the promotion of their religious affiliation as opposed to 23.8 percent of the Macedonians from ethnic neighbourhoods. Furthermore, 37.1 percent of the Albanians in mixed neighbourhoods and 38.6 percent in ethnic neighbourhoods, as well as 79.2 percent of Others in mixed and 25 percent in ethnic neighbourhoods argued for intensified use of public space for the promotion of their religious affiliation (Table 6.5g in Appendix 6).

For many residents in mixed neighbourhoods, the ethnic demographic change is the most important community transformation. Every interviewee spoke of an evident population shift happening between the neighbourhoods on both sides of the river Vardar, gradually profiling the right side as an Orthodox and the left as a Muslim Skopje. “We were only three Albanian families living in my building among thirty Macedonian, now is the opposite”, said a 35-year old Albanian woman from Chair. “In Chair, in earlier years either Macedonian or Turkish language was spoken on the streets while now the Albanian language dominates”, noted a 62-year old Macedonian from Chair. The new, mostly Albanian residents of the mixed neighbourhoods migrate from the surrounding villages or other parts in Skopje that are predominantly Macedonian-inhabited. A 59-year old Albanian male resident of Chair testified how he migrated from an ethnic Macedonian neighbourhood after the interethnic conflict in 2001. This conflict brought back the memories of the ethnic wars in the Balkans that destroyed mixed cities and it raised deep concerns of the family safety, especially for his adolescent children. As a result, he decided to migrate

toward a place in the city where more of his own ethnic group lived. Few Albanians appreciated the location of the mixed neighbourhood with predominantly Muslim inhabitants. Being able to live among members of their own ethnic and religious group, and at the same time, be close to the city centre were important comparative advantages of the neighbourhood of Chair. Chair continually attracts newcomers, predominantly of Muslim religious confession. Four years ago a young Albanian female emigrated from a city in Western Macedonia (the city of Kichevo). She noted how her family insisted on living in a co-ethnic neighbourhood and as a result, they ended up buying a house in Chair. Personally, she did not prefer the co-ethnic residence, although during her entire life she had mostly socialised with Albanians. She was critical to note that in her previous place of residence she did not feel any obstacles in selecting her home, while in Skopje she lacked free choice and felt confined within co-ethnic boundaries. After years living in the new co-ethnic environment, some interviewees from Chair were critical of the lack of development and proper access to amenities and infrastructure. Despite being near the city centre, these areas remain under-developed with poor infrastructure, in urban chaos and lack of green space with only small improvements starting in the recent years.

The majority of residents in mixed neighbourhoods did not justify the “White flight” among the Macedonians to the “other, Orthodox side of Skopje”. Citizens of different ethnicities living in mixed areas refuted mundane, intra-neighbourhood conflicts as an obvious migration reason. They emphasised that it was more common to have violent clashes with ethnic groups living in other neighbourhoods than among those within Chair or Butel. Despite the ethnic demographic change those Macedonians that remain in the mixed neighbourhoods, such as a 62-year old female Macedonian from Chair, argue that: *“Moving out is unnecessary and useless”*. A 22-year old Albanian co-resident accentuated the outsiders’ stereotypical perception of mixed neighbourhoods. *“These areas are not a conflict zone, we greet each other and play together”*, she noted. Even more so, some residents in mixed neighbourhoods stressed that living in a multicultural environment had made them more open to ethnic differences and cultural transgression, that is “diversity seekers”. Confronted with the ethnic stereotypes of members of their own ethnic group who lived in more homogeneous environments and rarely had contacts with Others, these “diversity seekers” felt frustrated and sad about the mental boundaries that people inhabit as a result of a lack of personal experience. *“It frustrates me that my colleagues asked me how we live in Chair or whether it is safe to go to the Turkish bazaar to buy golden ring for a wedding!”*, said a 62-year old female

Macedonian from Chair. But they are perceptive of the growing segregation trends. *“It really worries me. I used to play with Macedonians, even today my best friends are Macedonians, and I never changed my feelings and opinion about them although they moved out after 2001. I don’t really know why they moved, I never dared to ask, and we never dared to talk about this issue. But I can imagine since it happened after 2001 and not before, the interethnic conflict could be one of the reasons”*, said a 33-year Turkish woman living in Chair.

Residents in the ethnic neighbourhoods of Kisela Voda and Saraj also confirmed that population growth and new residential areas were significant communal changes which were intensified in the last five years. The Macedonian-dominated neighbourhood of Kisela Voda attracts young couples, almost all from a Macedonian ethnic background who emigrated from other cities to the capital. The Albanian-dominated neighbourhood of Saraj is attractive for Albanians from the surrounding villages who traded the homogeneous rural life with a more urban area. The population growth influenced urban reorganisation of the space. Small residential barracks were upgraded to houses or small buildings for more than one family, shopping malls, supermarkets and sport facilities were opened, parks and streets were renovated, new religious objects were accommodated in the public spaces of the neighbourhoods. Although, as noted by a 39-year Macedonian male from Kisela Voda, these changes are still insufficient compared to the number of the population. Macedonians are very slowly migrating from Saraj, but the interviewees argued this to be an economic rather than an ethnically motivated decision.

There are common urban problems of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods, such as urban transformation under commercial forces and trade-off of public spaces in exchange for residential buildings, public hygiene, lack of support for social and recreational facilities, decayed traffic infrastructure, infrequent and low quality public transportation, and a lack of cultural content happening locally in the public spaces of the neighbourhood. Yet, social problems such as prostitution, drug dealing and street violence were more commonly accentuated by residents of mixed neighbourhoods. Some of them framed this profile of ethnically mixed neighbourhoods and especially Chair within a wider culture of intolerance for difference and ethnic profiling of mixed areas as dangerous and “filthy”. Such agenda setting was not a coincidence, said few respondents. In their view, institutional indifference and lack of developmental activities in mixed neighbourhoods are part of a systemic ethno-nationalistic politics of “hygiene and purification” of places from an unwanted population in enclosed segregated areas. Albanians feel unwanted and as strangers in the propagated national identity, through projects such as *Skopje 2014* that has large gentrify-

ing effects. The feelings of injustice could be exemplified by the reaction of a 59-year old Albanian woman from Chair “*I feel stupid, in Chair we don’t have sewage infrastructure while over there (meaning the Orthodox side of Skopje) somebody is intensively investing and building*”. But they remain uncritical of the role of the Albanian political elite in driving revitalisation processes in mixed areas, especially since this elite is part of the governing structures on both national and local level. In mixed neighbourhoods, the change in the ethnic demography was followed by other socio-cultural and visual transformations. The residents of Macedonian or Turkish ethnic background more often accentuated the gradual symbolic transformation of the public space, from a predominantly Macedonian toward more Albanian or Muslim-dominated place. Some changes were more durable signifiers of the change, such as the renaming of schools, streets to represent the new dominant ethnic worldview, the building of new religious objects, new monuments and statues and bi-lingual sign boards accommodated in public space. Other alterations were more event-based, such as, the use of ethnic flags during celebrations, weddings, political rallies, cultural events, official celebrations and different festivities. A 31-year old female Macedonian from Chair was specifically perceptive of this symbolic transformation: “*My kinder-garden is renamed in “Fidani” and my primary school from Cvetan Dimov²³ to Hasan Prishtina²⁴*”. “*Even the caller to prayer (muezzin) is louder in the last few years*”, added the 31-year old female Macedonian from Chair. Only a few local shops in Chair sell alcohol, *halal* food can be tasted along with the presence of ethnic garment shops. Such ethno-symbolic change is not evident in Butel, a mixed neighbouring area experiencing an ethnic shift with Albanian newcomers concentrated in the rural part of the municipality while the Macedonian ethnic group remains concentrated in the urban part.

²³ Macedonian syndicate leader, Communist, active participant in the National Liberation Fight and a declared national hero. Born in Skopje in 1910 and died in Skopje in 1942.

²⁴ Albanian politician who played an important role in the Albanian movement for independence before World War I. In 1921 for a short period he was Prime-minister of Albania. He was born in Kosovo in 1873 and died in Thessaloniki in 1933.

7.6 Conclusion

The Hypothesis Two was not fully confirmed. Despite expectations, residents in mixed neighbourhoods compared to those in ethnic neighbourhoods more often perceive public spaces as a source of proximity among members of their own ethnic groups and show a higher preference for co-ethnic socialisation. Residents in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods do not differ in their perception of public space as a generator of antagonism between ethnic groups that would motivate citizens to avoid or feel discomfort in being in public spaces occupied by other ethnic groups.

Residents in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods do not differentiate in their support for the exercise of the decision-making process of diversity accommodation that favours the ethnic groups. Residents in mixed neighbourhoods show a greater preference for co-ethnic socialisation in public space than those residing in ethnic neighbourhoods. Residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those in ethnic neighbourhoods opt for co-ethnic cultural events in co-ethnic public spaces in the neighbourhood where people from their ethnic group go. Hence, compared to the residents in an ethnic neighbourhood, the expectation that residents of mixed neighbourhoods, given their familiarity and greater opportunity for “civility for diversity”, would prefer intercultural socialisation and intercultural exchange at public events is not supported. On the contrary, residents of mixed neighbourhoods opt for co-ethnic socialisation and participation in co-ethnic cultural events more than the residents of ethnic neighbourhoods.

Residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often evaluate public space as a source for proximity between ethnic groups than those residing in ethnic neighbourhoods. Residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those in ethnic neighbourhoods select places for rest and recreation without a special interest in the ethnic use of spaces and more often perceive public space as an opportunity for cross-cultural acquaintances. Also, residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those in ethnic neighbourhoods express comfort with Others’ celebrations in public space and a greater willingness to participate in events of Others. Finally, residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those in ethnic neighbourhoods support the use of Others’ languages in public space. In contrast to expectations, residents in mixed neighbourhoods and ethnic neighbourhoods do not differ in their perception of power as individuals to influence public decisions regarding representation

of diversity. Both groups hold a low level of potential to influence policy decisions. Also, both groups of residents perceive public spaces as inclusive and supportive in positive cross-cultural neighbouring relations, and both groups of residents similarly assess the importance of ethnocultural coherence of public space. An almost equal proportion of people agree and disagree that public space should be a symbol of the ethnocultural identity of its users. In general, the hypothetical expectation that public spaces provide the opportunity for ethnic proximity is supported and in general, the difference between the different types of neighbourhoods.

Residents from mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods do not differ in their perception of intergroup antagonism associated with ethnic groups' presence in the public space of the neighbourhoods. Residents in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods do not avoid neither feel discomfort in being in public spaces occupied by other ethnic groups. However, residents of ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods do differ in their perception of the appropriate language used in public space with ethnic neighbourhoods strongly supporting the use of the majority language, with Macedonians more often than Albanians and Others supporting majority language normativity. In sum, the hypothetical expectation was not supported. Residents from both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods do not differentiate in their support for the exercise of an ethno-based influence over decisions of diversity accommodation. They also do not differ in the support for the decision-making process of diversity based on the participation of all ethnic groups as well as of the importance of co-ethnic symbolism in the public space in their neighbourhood that trigger feelings of home. Residents in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods are not ready to migrate to a more co-ethnic neighbourhoods. Yet, residents of ethnic neighbourhoods more often support the idea that the majority ethnic group in the neighbourhood should decide on form and mode of public representation of diversity. Ethnic neighbourhoods are evaluated as less inclusive of symbols of other ethnic groups living there, within the dominant "normality" presented by the majority ethnic group. In contrast, residents of mixed neighbourhoods show support of the perception that the power sharing between ethnic groups in the neighbourhood is not balanced, inducing groups with the greater power to influence diversity accommodation and, more often than residents in ethnic neighbourhoods stress the importance of co-ethnic symbolism in the public space of their neighbourhood. However, the hypothetical expectation for the direction of opinion was not supported, although group differences in some aspects were confirmed.

The ethnic groups in minority experience a lower level of involvement in consultation over public space change, and this is, in particular, the case with smaller non-majority ethnic groups. While the results are consistent in proving that citizens perceive public spaces in their neighbourhoods as an essentialised ethnic space, this has not been the more frequent perception in ethnic than in mixed neighbourhoods. The smaller ethnic groups, in addition, perceive that public space change responds to the ethnic and religious identification of the majority ethnic group. Also, minorities and especially the larger minority group consider immigration of other ethnic groups as detrimental for the neighbourhood. Furthermore, in line with expectations, residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often perceive changes in the public space of the neighbourhoods being done without their consultation and in response to the majority group, resulting in negative views over emigration of newcomers from another ethnic background.

8. Citizenship and Belonging in a Multicultural Context of New Urban Planning

8.1 Public Space's Narratives of Citizenship in a Multicultural Context

An implicit but strikingly important aspect of the public space production process is the way it represents the “normality” of the social realm. Norms, values and principles of what is good, just and morally accepted paradigms are reconstructed through the symbols and myths accommodated in public space. Languages, religions, ethnic histories and cultures have been implanted into public space in various forms and objects. Bi-lingual traffic sign boards, names of streets, schools and squares which pay respect to figures of specific ethnic and/or cultural history, monuments celebrating persons, struggles and achievements of ethnic histories, flags, religious objects and practices accommodated in the public spaces of our neighbourhoods correlate or conflate with the collective memory of groups inhabiting the spaces. The understanding of the dynamics between actors, meaning-makers (authorities and urban planners) and dominant paradigms can inform us on how belonging and identification to/with a place, territory or state are reconstructed through public spaces and who is the appropriate citizen entitled to them.

Thus, the narratives told by public space can help us in understanding citizens' perceptions in the following question:

“How do accommodation practices of diversity in public space inform the concept of citizenship in a multicultural context?” (Research Question Two).

Based on citizens' views, this research identifies that the daily negotiation of ethnic difference and the production of public space in our neighbourhoods are influenced by an ethno-nationalistic accommodation of diversity. Cultural and ethnic histories, languages, flags and monuments accommodated in the public space represent the "ethos" of the dominant group living there. At the same time, public space has a function of informing outsiders of those who occupy the space. In ethnic neighbourhoods where one group dominates along with a smaller proportion of other ethnicities, the public space is mono-cultural and inhabits symbolic significance reflective of the dominant ethnocultural narrative. Any insurgency in the symbolic representation is unwelcome and is perceived as a threat. The argument of a resident in an ethnic Macedonian neighbourhood epitomised this fear: "*If Albanians come to make some celebrations in my neighbourhood, it is like they came into my house!*". The division of "Us" and "Them" is implicit in how people perceive the space. And boundaries between ethnic groups were perceived as stable and not altered by adventurous trespassing. "*It would be the same if we decide to go to Bit Pazar (a green market located in Chair), and we would not go there*", continued the resident of an ethnic Macedonian neighbourhood. Ethnocultural symbolic expressions shape multicultural interactions in public spaces inflicting a sense of discomfort in the everyday practice of ethnic division, there is even a sense of risk in crossing into the Others' territory. Ethnic background framed the use of public space, so in that respect, the group members feel comfortable in freely moving in spaces which accommodate their ethnic symbols, even more so, where the "normality" of space is constructed through their worldview. Some citizens find it appealing that symbols representing their ethnicity, culture and religion are visibly accommodated in the public space but others feel disoriented and frustrated within the struggle of symbolic representation. And the latter feeling is not only supported by groups in minority status but also among members of groups in the majority in mixed neighbourhoods, those who fail to identify with the restricted view on identity and imagined "sameness" within the ethnic groups. These differing attitudes demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between identity and public space.

Macedonians more often raise concerns with changes in the ethnic boundaries that derive from different spatial dynamics between ethnic groups. The lack of knowledge of Albanian language among the Macedonians enhances feelings of threat and takes away potential to exoticise the content of Other's culture as an object of curiosity and exploration. The intention of keeping firm borders between ethnic groups, as with the insistence on the public use of the Macedonian language and private use of other local languages sustains the mental and

physical division of “Us” and “Them”. In such contexts, it could only be expected that ethnic groups would continue with compartmentalisation within their own ethnic spaces and live a parallel life.

The different ethnic groups hold a different perception of the power hierarchy within the multicultural society. Macedonians speak more often of identity, belonging and citizenship based on national expressions of public culture, heritage, language and national symbols. For them, the agency of citizenship derive from the state language and national flag, the history of the struggle for independence, and as they are all associated with the Macedonian ethnic group, the source of citizenship is inevitably rooted within the Macedonian political community. Macedonians more often perceive Others as “add-on” cultures to the national (Macedonian) culture. In contrast, Albanians and other smaller ethnic group more often speak of the “citizen” as a cultural mosaic, having a specific ethnic belonging, language, history and heritage, but who is a part of the political community and, as such, is entitled to fair distribution of public goods. For both, Macedonians and Albanians, the symbolic representation in public space derives from the right of the group for self-preservation. Yet, the Macedonians prefer accommodation of Otherness as assimilated and blended into a single public culture. In their private space, ethnic groups could exercise their specific ethnocultural practices, but in the public space congruence with the established, common public culture is argued as an obligation of the loyal citizens. The smaller ethnic groups feel in-between the symbolic wars between Macedonians and Albanians. The minority rights framework in the country is mainly used as a mechanism to advance the rights of the Albanians, a practice that could easily move the political organisation of this society from a multicultural to a bi-national state. Macedonians believe in the convergence of political power and the dominant national (ethnic) group. Albanians contest this conception of national citizenship, yet, fail at recognising that in the territory where they represent the majority, minority claims should also be acknowledged. Thus, the two numerically dominant ethnic groups collide in their exclusive ethnonational narrative of belonging. Both ethnicise the space, the former by a nation-building process, and the latter by ethno-preservation practices.

The different ethnic groups share some common civic values and frustrations related to the ethnosymbolism accommodated in public space. Their shared common vision for the future of the urban public spaces is based on a creation of neutral and inclusive spaces as opposed to the spaces that divide in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods. The differing vision is that of the use of language and balance of ethnic and religious symbols accommodation in

public space that question the legitimacy of the state and the politics of equal recognition of difference. Thus, the patterns of constituting “the citizen” in the public space on the urban level are shaped by the ethnocultural symbols of the dominant ethnic groups. While in some case they reinforce national citizenship as understood by the dominant ethnic group, in only a few cases they are challenged by a new “multicultural” citizen. These are situations where culture, and in particular ethnic belonging is separated from national belonging and accommodated in public space through the local symbolic landscape using ethnographic elements of the ethnic groups, such as habits, customs, food and folklore. These images can reinforce a dialogue between local/urban and national identifications, allow differential and bottom-up approaches in dealing with the incoherencies between identity and belonging, are rigid in a fragmented pluralistic contexts and stimulate active urban citizenship.

Diversity is recognised as a reality, but cultural differentiation dominates over social disparities and inequalities. Ethnic identity is the prevailing group identification and ethnic groups are conceived as fixed and unchangeable entities in the political context. The multicultural citizen as a concept is a change in the content of rootedness of identity, exemplified in the practice among youth from different ethnic background to use the English language to understand each other, or celebrating common pop-stars and songs. This does not result in a change of their ethnicity or culture but in a change of their mode of association to others.

8.2 Transformative Deliberation Practices and Common Places of Recognised Diversity

Amin (2002: 959) thinks of created spaces for everyday interaction and exchange among citizens as a necessary aspect of “local liveability”, the idea to live a quality life in a neighbourhood. Encountering diversity is both a source of contact and conflict. Constructive contact with those different than oneself means that certain ground rules on the nature of engagement in these places are produced with space, itself. As argued by the Contact hypothesis, contact produces a “sense of knowledge or familiarity between strangers”, it moderates uncertainty and anxiety and creates a sense of control over the events (Valentine, 2008: 324). Balanced sharing of power and equal access between the groups in contact situations may contest stereotypes. Working in cooperative

activities with common goals and support from the authorities and institutions are necessary for a positive intergroup outcome (Hewstone, 2003: 352) and could facilitate an experience that transforms the nature and content of the contact. Open, constructive, cooperative and face-to-face communication among participants of rivalries group can lead to improved relations and understanding between groups (Ellis and Maoz, 2003: 261). Policies and practices ingrained in spaces for everyday contact that allow transgression of fixed identity boundaries and challenge the content and nature of the interaction can be transformative to both the individual association with culture and the relationship between space, identity and diversity. Thus, more a structured view on the practices that guide diversity encounters in multicultural neighbourhoods can help us in understanding citizens' perceptions in the following questions:

“Which policies and practices help to mitigate and mediate conflicts in the accommodation of diversity in public space? Are there transformative accommodation practices of diversity that promote “new ways of living together, new forms of spatial and social belonging” (Sandercock, 2004: 154)?” (Research Question Three).

A critical question for intercultural contact is whether ethnic groups have the motive to meet and exchange with Others. Places of specific multicultural potential are the green markets in the neighbourhoods, children's playgrounds, the Old Turkish Bazaar located in Chair and the recreational area around the lake Matka located in Saraj, the main city park and the mountain Vodno. Places where ethnic groups rarely meet are where there are religious objects, schools with the introduction of so-called “language-shifts”, as well as the cultural institutions. Language and cultural differences are argued as real barriers between intercultural communication. These barriers are utilised to legitimise the lack of curiosity in Others' cultural traditions and contemporary artistic expression. Macedonians more often than Others tend to bind themselves to co-ethnic cultural production and consumption. And as a result, the displayed authentic heterogeneity of the bazaar is not a characteristic that Macedonians value. A 62-year old Macedonian old settler in Chair argued that she never visited the Albanian theatre although she was born and lived in a close distance from this institution all of her life. And she did visit cultural events that were not communicated in her mother tongue. So, it is not a question of cultural taste but an ethnic preference.

Residents of both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods agree that disrespect of difference, fear and anxiety resulting from the public representation of eth-

nonationalism intensifies the conflict between ethnic groups in public spaces. Some are intrapersonal conflicts with people feeling discomfort with certain expression of diversity, as Friday's prayer, graffiti with violence and nationalistic messages. Others are intergroup, such as the bus clashes between high-school students and violence at sports games. Albanians, in particular, are distressed by the fact that during matches of the national football team a verse of the national anthem is transformed into "The evil Albanians", although a number of players are from an Albanian ethnic origin. *"The war on symbols has a potential for conflicts because we as groups live like in a ghetto. We don't get together, the majority of us don't go the Macedonian side, they don't come on the Albanian side. Thus, the intensity of ethnic separation is growing"*, argued 21-year old Albanian women from Chair.

Residents of mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods agree that public space has some importance in bringing people together. Parks, streets, markets and bazaars are places of human mundane interaction. This role has not been fully utilised as these spaces. *"Do not facilitate tolerance and understanding but aggravate further segregation and isolation between different social groups, albeit punk/rock, Macedonians/Albanians, etc."*, commented a 31-year Macedonian woman from Butel. Public spaces lacked event-based programs that attract people to come and mingle with Others. *"Public spaces are unused, empty, without any program"*, argued a 33-year old Macedonian from Kisela Voda. As a result, some contest the potential and role of public spaces in bridging between rivalry groups in the city. *"There is no potential for conviviality in public spaces. There are so many barriers, segregated education, homegrown education that supports ethnic stereotypes. It is not a communicational problem but rather a lack of interest in establishing communication"*, commented a 62-year old Macedonian woman from Chair. *"In four years living in Chair, I have not met a single Macedonian from Chair. Honestly, I don't know where they gather"*, commented a 21-year Albanian woman from Chair. A 59-year Albanian from Chair sarcastically commented that: *"The best places for intercultural encounter are the betting offices, everybody is free to go there and they understand each other. There is no other place alike"*.

Ethnic identification is an internalised subconscious mechanism of the selection of public space for rest and recuperation. In general, residents from both mixed and ethnic neighbourhood do not prefer co-ethnic places and instead select places where they feel comfortable regardless of the ethnic groups that might be there. Only a few residents living in mixed neighbourhoods prefer co-ethnic places because they feel they belong there. In contrast, residents of ethnic neighbourhoods are more reluctant to be confined to such arguments.

The decision-making behind the selection of public space does not seem to always be a rational process. Understanding the logic behind it can reveal some rooted stereotypes and fears that should be acknowledged by space planners as an intervening variable in the discrepancies between the intended and accomplished use of public spaces.

An important understanding of the quality of public spaces is their potential to challenge established barriers and to allow transformative experiences. All respondents agree that the segregated education, media, ethnic political parties and ethnic cultural consumption contribute to fortifying the walls between groups in Skopje. People reported visiting “natural” multicultural spaces, such as the Bazar. And during these ventures, they felt comfortable and invited. Yet, these tendencies are more often spontaneous and tactic transgressions of borders, rather than intentionally prompted by authorities, institutions or another agent of socialisation. *“People visit the Old bazaar but remain within segregated places. Language is not the only barrier. They are educated in segregated spaces and growing up with the idea that mixing is bad. Living among others teaches us on the similarities and how not to exaggerate the difference”*, commented a 21-year Albanian student from Chair. This is an interesting thought, a call for surpassing the narcissism of small differences and for finding the ordinary and common among groups as compositions of individuals. Invited spaces with transformative potential are not necessarily bounded to the open public areas maintained by the local authorities but also happen in a planned institutional setting. An example was an educational process in the English language of instruction in a multicultural academic setting. A 33-year old Turkish woman from Chair argued that ethnically mixed educational institutions provided more opportunities for intercultural encounters and rethinking of the personal and group affiliations. *“In such environment, we see the positive side of mixing. Education will be the key in gaining more intercultural perspective of the society. The youth there can gain other perspectives, face different opinions and change things”*, argued this young woman. Such educational experience opposes cultural homogenisation as a nation-building process controlled by the state.

“I used to be afraid of speaking Albanian among Macedonians. But no longer now. Now I feel accepted by Macedonians. I overgrew this fear by studying at international university among people from other ethnic groups, not necessarily from Macedonia. Here I realised that ethnicity is not so important, rather the kind of person you are. My mother used to tell me to avoid the city centre, not to speak Albanian there. It was served as a truth but I understood it is not. Now I freely speak Albanian, even if they provoke me, I try to explain that it is not a big deal that I speak Albanian”,

reflected a 21-year old Albanian student from Chair.

This is an important change in the content of self-identification among the youth with Albanian ethnic background. They develop an intercultural sensitivity that speaking Others' language does not mean losing personal identity. This does not mean that language is not a silent feature of their ethnic identity but it is perceived as a communication challenge that can bring comfort in the contact with Others and be surpassed if there is a motivation to learn and share with Others.

8.3 Urban Planning and Accommodation of Diversity in Public Spaces

The decades of transformation from government to governance has increasingly been about redistributing political power and citizens' participation in decision-making processes, both on the national and local level. The rationale behind this institutional redesign is the benefit of participation of those affected in the decision-making process. Such approaches allow urban planning and solutions to local problems which are flexible to the increased diversity of social needs of divergent communities, "more broadly discursive and more personally and publicly satisfying" (Innes and Booher, 2003: 34). It stimulates consent, legitimises decisions and mobilises citizens in public actions. In the more immediate relationship with the citizens and the more fragmented sources of power, cities are able to democratise the public sphere from below and include diverse publics (and not only those skilled and vocal in their claims) into deliberation over needs of representation and recognition of diversity. Coping with the forms of inequality and division vivid in cities today requires both competition and cooperation in a process of authentic dialogue that allows learning of each other's interests, establishes reciprocity and new relationships and stimulates creativity in achieving mutual-gain solutions (Innes and Booher, 2003).

Thus, citizens' involvement and the perceived gap between how urban planning is legally conceived and implemented in practice, raises the question:

"Can specific principles be elaborated that provide a framework for governance of diversity within an intercultural city? Which are the new roles and responsibilities of multicultural cities in relation to the appropriate

accommodation practices of diversity in public space?” (Research Question Four).

Residents of both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods agree that the local authorities, citizens, ethnic groups and civic groups should all decide on accommodation of diversity in public space. They envision the process as open to all stakeholders and with a quality that ensures that they are equally participating and their voices are heard. The process should be structured through meetings, discussions and surveys. Deliberation is perceived as a guiding principle in civic engagement and decision-making.

Citizens contemplate that the expert side of urban planning should be coupled with an understanding of immediate citizens' needs and interpretation that takes them into consideration as legitimate actors of framing and accommodating needs. Yet, most doubt the capacity and the inclination of the local authorities to transparently lead such consultation process within the neighbourhood. Citizens argue that local authorities lack transparency and motivation to get involved in such resource and the time-consuming process of planning. Respondents view the local authorities as declaratively open but in practice closed for civic suggestions and even manipulative in using citizens' opinions as a token to legitimate conceived plans and actions. *“Formally the local authorities are open to hearing the needs of the citizens, in reality, they never practice such behaviour”* commented a 32-year old Macedonian man from Butel. *“I would say that the local authorities are open to hearing the needs of the citizens only if we are hanging around their necks and controlling”* assessed a 38-year old Macedonian man from Kisela Voda. The reality of effective engagement is challenged by motives and interests of citizens to invest time and resources in exercising real control in decision-making processes. Respondents assigned an important role for citizens, as both an individual and as part of social and interest groups. Yet, nobody exercised individual influence over the process of decision-making and accommodation of diversity in the public spaces of their neighbourhoods nor have invested efforts in participating. *“I have never tried to exercise an individual control over any decision-making process on a local level. I guess this is so because I don't think that somebody in the administration would take my opinion in the consideration or that I can change things”*, argued a 32 years-old Macedonian female from Butel. There is *“I don't really know what is going on at a local level, I don't know of any initiative, or similar activity”* commented a 33 years-old Albanian female from Chair. This apparent gap between theory and practice of citizen engagement is a serious impediment in the more immediate practice of real instead of symbolic engagement and control of the citizens over local deliberation processes.

Elite accommodation facilitated through the ethnic political parties is recognised as a dominant mode of negotiation on public representation of diversity. Political elites are perceived as designers of both the space and the communal life and are doing it without citizens' consent or with a limited approval of political party's members. This is the case even in mixed neighbourhoods where a power-sharing mechanism between political parties is applied and a minority group's consent is essential in supporting Council's decision in aspects of social and cultural life that is entrenched with identity issues, such as language use, education, use of ethnic symbols. Residents in mixed neighbourhoods believe that the dominant ethno-political elites through negotiations tend to find political consensus on communal issues that work in favour of their political ideology and agenda. *"I question the capacities of the current political parties to reach a multicultural decision, I doubt that any of them is truly a multiculturalist"*, argued a 59 years-old Albanian male from Chair.

The critical issue of participative city-making processes is that of the citizens' motivation to engage in local civic processes. None of the interviewees confirmed involvement in any activities of discussion and deliberation on a local level where aspects of accommodation of diversity in public space were deliberated, negotiated, agreed. Citizens had never heard of such activities taking place. They neither were invited nor believed that if they did participate, the local authorities would value their concerns. *"I don't know if debates are organised, if they are open, I have not heard of anything alike"*, argued a 31 years-old Macedonian from Butel. Even as part of an ethnic group respondents doubted whether citizens were consulted and exercised real control in the decision-making processes. *"Citizens are voiceless"*, added a 21 years-old Albanian from Chair. However, some are self-critical in observing that they had not tried to initiate communication with the local authorities nor have self-organised to advocate for some changes. In their view, the mayor has a key role in creating the overall atmosphere in the neighbourhood, a role-model of good intercultural relations

Participants argued that deliberation and cross-cultural participation were the basis in accommodating diversity in public spaces in the neighbourhoods. *"Larger interaction between authorities and citizens and greater transparency. Also, citizens need to be more interested in communal life, and people should get more involved in the way governance works"*, argued 38-year old Serbian man from Kisela Voda. *"Empowering citizenship from an early age on, to loosen up from ethnocentrism and to learn the language of the Others, to feel the practical need of knowing the language of the Others"*, commented 59-year old Albanian man from Chair. The political parties should decrease their influence over the

process of city making, so that: *“People can act in line with their needs. Nationalism ruins everything!”*, commented 31-year old Macedonian woman from Chair. *“Provide dialogue between groups and space where citizens can gather and discuss how to live in the mahala, neighbourhood, state, without the involvement of politicians”*, commented 55-year old Albanian woman from Butel. However, deliberation anticipates developed civic consciousness and requires devoted participation by citizens, hence sometimes poses unrealistic demands toward the citizenry (Mutz, 2006).

Public spaces should also include common cultural spaces where particular needs of the citizenry can be met. *“Cultural spaces should be created on the lower level of urban organisation (such as the Urban Councils), one which is localised and widely accessible offering programs that stimulate a niche of conviviality”*, commented 31-year old Macedonian woman from Butel. *“Events which celebrate universal things, such as love, freedom, tolerance, human rights should be organised. Those are higher goals than the ethnic and religious traits that divide people”*, argued 32-year old Macedonian woman from Butel. Participants commented on the important role of the civil society and the local authorities in promoting a positive model of interethnic cooperation. *“Local multi-ethnic, joint projects organised and supported by the local authorities is a necessity in a multicultural context”*, argued 39-year old Macedonian woman from Butel. A 53-year old Macedonian woman from Kisela Voda commented: *“We should focus on education and creation of “neutral” spaces: parks, green areas, revitalise the banks of the river Vardar as recreational zones. It takes the time to recover from stereotypes but cooperation as part of the educational curricula and in leisure activities is the only way to bring ethnic groups together in positive spirit”*.

In regards to the governance methods of diversity, based on the citizens' views, this research identified four dominant strategies to accommodate ethnic and cultural symbols in public space. The first one can be termed “neutrality” and is based on avoidance of explicit accommodation of ethnocultural symbolism in public space and a creation of neutral spaces. The second strategy can be described as “abstract association with the traditional content of our multicultural reality” forging implicit reference to the ethnographic or ethnological characteristics of the ethnic groups in public spaces. The third can be described as a “balanced approach or proportionality” involving negotiation of how much “symbolism” of each ethnic group should be accommodated in the public space. Lastly, a “contractual strategy of gratification” where citizens would negotiate and balance between irritation and pleasure in accommodating ethnocultural symbols in public spaces, keeping in mind that over-stipulation/overstressing of symbols can have a counter-effect.

Specific independent bodies composed of people of different lifestyles and not only ethnic groups are proposed as an institutional innovation in securing citizens' participation in the decision-making process. Cooperation, negotiation, consultation, research, openness, professionalism, neutrality, inclusiveness, equality and monitoring are key terms used by citizens in describing the ideal process of city-making.

8.4 Conclusion

Based on the citizens' views, this research identified that the social dynamics of public spaces in a multicultural contexts was influenced by local governments' decisions on whom to involve as the relevant stakeholders in the process of urban planning. Citizens argued that urban planning and recognition of cultural diversity in public space was done by political parties, as part of a process of an elite accommodation. This was evident in mixed neighbourhoods. Political parties that promoted themselves as sole legitimate representatives of the ethnic groups in the political discourse had installed an accommodationist process that reserved their central role in the decision-making. More so, this process was seen as managed by the dominant ethno-political parties in a specific neighbourhood.

Citizens, regardless of the ethnic background, felt excluded from participation, so the planning of diversity in public space happened in a closed process whose outcomes, in the citizens' views, were aligned with the nationalistic rhetoric of the ethnopolitical parties. Citizens note that they had never been invited to participate in any event that discussed the issue of accommodation of diversity in their neighbourhood. They had neither heard that such events were organised. However, even if citizens ought to be informed of such process or even invited to take an active part, they did not believe they had the power to influence politics and decisions regarding accommodation of diversity.

Citizens feel voiceless and powerless to engage in local political processes. Political apathy is increasing the gap between governance and citizens and sets the process of planning public space as bureaucratic, centralised and in the hands of the political elites and urban planners. More importantly, not only is elite accommodation of diversity in public space a closed process, but it is done without consideration of the social aspects of making the city. The role of public spaces to serve as a territory for contact between people from diverse

social and ethnic background has been undermined by the symbolic function of space to represent power and authority. Such practice of urban planning focuses on the city as a built environment, conceiving the city as a mere visual image, rather than on the social relation between groups and individuals. This could be challenged if public spaces in the neighbourhoods of Skopje serve the function of a public realm, space where citizens deliberate on issues of local importance. It seems that public spaces are spaces for deliberation between politicians and urban planners, or predominantly *conceived space* if we are to use Lefebvre's terminology. The experiences of how space is lived through the everyday actions and experiences of its inhabitants and users, the *lived space* understood by non-verbal means (Madanipour, 1996: 16-17) is secondary to the role of public space to spatialise the symbolic struggle between ethnic groups.

The way public spaces in the neighbourhoods of Skopje are planned only re-affirms the critics of the current legal framework of citizen participation in urban planning. Citizens, if engaged are merely informed in a government-led process of participation. And when engaged, citizen participation is used to legitimise conceived ideas and urban solutions that are rarely modified to reflect the needs and interests of the immediate users of the places.

9. Discussion: The Diversity Paradox

This research aimed to understand citizens' perceptions of the appropriate practices of accommodation of cultural diversity in public spaces in mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods in the city of Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. It looked at the political and social function of public spaces and how the symbolic representation of ethnocultural diversity constructed the concept of citizen. Finally, it aimed at considering policies and practices that mitigate conflicts over accommodation of diversity in public spaces and envisioned a way forward in the planning of a cohesive social life in the neighbourhoods of a multicultural city.

The question of "who we are" is often intimately related to the question of "where we are" (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000: 27). And in this world of multiple identities, groups' allegiance and membership, the location has become an important agency of the subjectivity and personal identity (Duyvendak, 2004: 30). In multicultural cities, public spaces provide the opportunity for inter-ethnic and intercultural contact. The outcomes of a contact situation depend on the conditions upon which relations between groups are established. The way public space is produced, by planners and place makers, and the way it is managed (with or without public consultation) shape intergroup encounters and the way public space is perceived by its users. Moreover, it shapes how public spaces are lived and imagined in the personal and the collective identifications. This process is dialectic and often "spatial contradictions express conflicts between socio-political interests and forces" (Lefebvre, 1991: 365), as those between citizens, ethnic groups, politicians and other interest groups.

The results of the research are discussed in relation to four main pillars: (1) the political value of public spaces; (2) the social value of public spaces; (3) the concept of citizenship and belonging in a multicultural context; and (4) the transformative experiences in encountering and recognising diversity and the planning practices of multicultural cities.

9.1 The Political Value of Public Space: deliberation, atomised citizenry and clientelism

In multicultural societies, the plurality of values and needs of different interest groups, ethnonational, cultural and other, makes it more difficult the prospect of coming to the consent of public good. This research identified that arriving at a common-sense on accommodation of diversity in public space is a difficult process. Those elected through a representative democratic process are not an assurance that communal needs will be translated into policy decisions that advocate the rights and needs of the group(s). Citizen participants argued that in a context of ethno-national political parties, the needs and concerns of the individuals were not been always voiced through the elite accommodation process. Citizens also critically examined the failures of the ethno-based model of accommodation facilitated through the political elites of the traditional ethnic parties in the country. It brought decisions that were not acceptable to the general public, it did not allow equal participation of all concerned individuals, fortified identification with fixed and stable ethnic identities and did not effectuate in diversity of opinions and commonly shared outcomes. As a result, citizens did not feel ownership over decisions taken on how to accommodate diversity in public space.

The lack of trust in the traditional political actors in post-transitional societies is not a surprise. Steiner (2012: 26) points that: "Many citizens tend not to trust politicians to make decisions for the public good. There is widespread suspicion that many politicians just look after their career interests or are even corrupt. Amid such cynicism, there are claims of a democratic deficit". Deliberation anticipates developed civic consciousness and requires devoted participation by citizens, both qualities have been deteriorating in years in Macedonia. Having a narrow political interest on an issue is, for most people, sufficient incentive for mobilisation (Neblo, et al., 2010: 8). However, in a context of eroding social capital, we should be careful of the expected demand and preparedness for citizen engagement.

The present findings fit within the framework of political apathy among the citizen of the country, and is also noted by other authors (Pejkovski, 2009; Maleska, 2010). A low level of civic participation in local deliberation activities was confirmed among citizen participants in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods. Less than a quarter of the citizens had been to a council meeting to deliberate on public representation of diversity while less than a third had participated in any deliberation activity on the topic. Citizens argued that they had been neither invited nor informed of any deliberation activity. This suggests that citizens in Skopje are neither interested in horizontal deliberation and discuss, talk and debate on policy issues of common interest with their co-citizens, nor are they interested in vertical deliberation to attend council meetings and debate issues with their elected representatives in the municipal bodies. They even doubted if deliberation in any form was happening in their neighbourhood but also lacked civic consciousness of participation, as both a right and a duty. Citizens argued that decision-making in accommodation of diversity in a politically and socially fragmented context was a process solely within the hands of the politicians. Citizens' passivity indicates a general lack of interest to participate in deliberative democracy, sustained by a lack of trust in political parties and lack of belief in civic capacities to influence politics. In addition to the low social capital, and particularly networking capital between ethnic groups, it means that citizens lack the motivation to engage in possibilities or contact situations with citizens of different ethnic groups to meet and deliberate on issues of common concern. The apparent lack of participation also sheds light on the willingness of the municipal administration to engage in more immediate democratic exercises.

Deliberation is, without a doubt, time and resource-costly. On one side, governments are usually oriented toward their own problems and internal time-consuming coordination (Boelens, 2010: 35). On the other, deliberation is a procedure that only a few people have time for (Doucet, 2007: 7). But this is true when deliberation is designed with structural deficiencies, such as lack of feedback and effect over policy as a result of citizen engagement in an expert-based planning process, as is the case of the city of Skopje.

Neblo et al. (2010: 574) argues that groups and people in minority status show greater participation in deliberation activities. For them, deliberation participation is a way to have their voice heard, initiate public debate and drive contextual changes. The present findings confirm that ethnic groups inhabit different patterns of deliberation participation. The Macedonians and small non-majority group participants were less likely to attend a local council meeting or to participate in working deliberation groups at a local level compared

to the Albanians who were more interested in participating in local deliberation activities, both with co-residents and with counsellors and local officials. The findings are consistent with prior data on the positive relation between participation and minority status.

In the literature, education and political participation are positively correlated. Upward educational levels are associated with more civic skills, resources, access to information and ability to process politically relevant information (Brady, et al., 1995). Thus, as educational levels increase, so does the level of deliberative participation (La Due Lake and Huckfeld, 1998: 567-568; Cook, et al., 2008: 13). It is believed that the more educated the people are the more they feel confident in their communication with governmental organisations and are more motivated to engage in such activity (Brady, et al., 1995). This research shows that, contrary to the positive relationship between education and participation, people with lower educational levels inhabit a higher participation score. In Macedonia, an upward educational level is not utilised in a higher interest in deliberation participation. The capacity to gain more information from diverse resources and an ability to analyse them critically were not used by the participants in any deliberation with co-citizens and local authorities. It seems that in this context, educated people choose to self-isolate and to “mind their own business” instead of engaging in any debate and discussion on issues of public concern. This does not mean that educated people are less politically knowledgeable but in the current polarised political context they choose to remain silent to the institutional democratic deficiencies, refrain in becoming a political target or have neither time, resources or motivation to get meaningfully engaged in changing the systemic errors. Or, the traditional forms of deliberation prove to be unattractive to this group of people, diverting to new forms of engagement, such as online activism, political writing, etc.

Lim and Sander (2013: 14) argue that higher unemployment is positively related to political participation, especially among political partisans. In the current research, when the level of participation and financial self-evaluation are compared, findings indicate that poorer citizens are more often engaged in deliberation activities. In Macedonia, participation in local politics could be seen as an exit strategy from poverty. Given the deprived economic situation characterised by high and persistent unemployment rates, utilisation of political clientelism is not a surprise. Furthermore, Dehnert (2010: 4) describes the political culture in Macedonia as clientelist with often opportunistic ties between a political party and its membership. High participation score among those with a lower level of education could be justified by political clientelism. Being an active party member on the local level could have been utilised in

an obligation for participation in local deliberation activities. In a context of a highly politicised processes of employment, those with lower education and poorer people are more easily drawn into daily politics and often conflate partisan engagement with civic participation. Therefore, the political passivity among those with higher education levels is not a surprise. The lack of trust in politicians and the way democracy is practised demobilises highly educated citizens. They are politically passive, self-isolated and despair that deliberative participation can lead to better policy-making.

In the literature, being employed is also related to higher civic participation (Lim and Sander, 2013). The workplace is perceived as a setting where social networks are built and sustained, and it provides access to resources and information. Through interpersonal recruitment or shaping organisational culture, the workplace can affect participation (Musick and Wilson, 2008). In contrast, unemployment is related to limited and weakening social networks that could suppress civic engagement. The present findings support the positive relation between employment and participation. Employed persons²⁵ had higher participation scores when compared to unemployed persons. However, economically inactive persons in the current research were not the most passive citizens, as argued by Musick and Wilson (2008). The current findings instead indicate that unemployed persons are at greatest risk of civic isolation while the economically inactive group, that encompassed students, retired persons, and housewives, show greater interest in civic participation. In the general context of politicised employment and clientelism, unemployment could hinder access to contacts and resources necessary to being informed and engaged in deliberation activities. Unemployment also may indicate despair and low self-esteem, which in turn could weaken the sense of belonging to the community, thus impede civic mobilisation. On the other hand, in the last few years in the country, students and retired persons have been continually targeted by political parties and engaged in partisan activities, and as a result, they may have developed a civic conciseness for engagement in local public affairs.

The anticipated relation between neighbourhood homogeneity and participation was not confirmed. Prior research indicates that civic engagement is lower in more heterogeneous communities (Costa and Kahn, 2003: 108). The present findings do not confirm participation differences between residents in ethnic

²⁵ According to the “Labour Force Survey 2015”, 45.7 percent of the employed persons had finished three or four years of secondary education and only 13.6 percent had finished faculty or higher level of education (State Statistical Office, 2016: 24).

and mixed neighbourhoods. Macedonian participants tended to avoid deliberation in cases when the group was the strong majority or lived with another ethnic group in more or less balanced proportions, but also expressed a tendency to participate more in cases when they were in minority or lived “under threat” of ethnic overthrow. In contrast, Albanian participants in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods tended to participate more and had been less excluded from deliberation activities, with a mixed context supporting more deliberative participation. The smaller ethnic groups tended to be motivated for civic participation only in the local context where they were more numerous so that their contribution to the local dynamics could have been visible.

Deliberation on accommodation of diversity stimulated more participation in the public discourse in mixed neighbourhoods. The potential for population redistribution could have triggered participation among the Macedonians in a mixed context. Yet, this was only in a context where perceptions of power to influence decision-making seemed feasible. This, in turn, could also trigger participation by other ethnic groups, in particular, the Albanians who more often felt excluded in a mixed neighbourhood where they were in a minority status. For both Macedonians and Albanians, Chair was a finished battle in the neighbourhood change (lost or won, depending on the ethnic perception) and Butel was a current battleground for a change in the local symbolic landscape. The mixed context for smaller ethnic groups was seen as the only way to voice their needs in the local deliberation discourse. It seems that the neighbourhood population changes instigated political mobilisation among ethnic groups, and this relation should be further researched.

Within the literature, younger people show a higher preference for deliberation (Neblo et al., 2010: 574). While there is concern about the political participation of youth measured through considerably declining voting turnout rates over the past thirty years (Cook, et al., 2008: 1) and engagement in other political activities (Keeter, Zukin, Andolina, and Jenkins, 2002: 2), it seems that the modes of participation of youth had changed. As a result, they decline in traditional political participation scores, as with the turnout rate at political elections, their engagement in the Internet talking and Internet deliberation (Cook, et al., 2008: 14) as well as their civic engagement increase (Keeter et al., 2002: 2). However, in Central and South-eastern Europe, the youth have consistently shown a declining interest in representative democracy and participation in youth organisations, mainly resulting from the harsh social transformation happening in the region in the last twenty years (Kovacheva, 2000). The present findings indicated that citizens between 25-44 years had the highest participation score, followed by those between 45-64 years. The youth up to

24 years and seniors above 65 years had the lowest participation scores. While the higher interest in deliberation among the middle-aged generation holds hopes for the possibility to increase social capital of groups and neighbourhoods, the deflating level of disengagement of the youth under 25 in politics and activism should motivate us in analysing if the formal education curricula and settings indeed promote civic participation, and especially to consider the effects of the different educational experiences over active citizenship.

Men and women did not show statistically significant difference in their deliberation preference and this relation is supported in the literature and prior research (Neblo et al., 2010: 574). The present findings did not support a potential difference between old settlers and newcomers in the neighbourhoods and their participation score.

Participation has a high negative correlation with feelings of political powerlessness (Finifter, 1970: 400). The feeling of having an individual influence over decision-making processes can be an indicator of civic engagement in deliberation activities. The data from the current research indicated that citizens, in general, agreed that as an individual they felt powerless to exercise influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in their neighbourhood. Regardless of their ethnic background, citizens in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods shared powerlessness to individually influence policy decisions of public representation of diversity. It is evident that the process of planning public representation of diversity is exclusionary and citizens have insufficient capacity or opportunities to influence the elite accommodation. At the same time, it could also shape citizens' opinion of how democracy should be exercised, including in co-sociational governance models, that is as a top-down and narrow-interest majority-rule.

According to Neblo et al (2010: 7), lack of trust in politics and decision-making is considered a motive for greater interest in more direct and participative democracy. To the contrary, in the case of Skopje, the distrust in politicians has resulted in a pandemic passivity and distorted civic conciseness rather than in a greater civic self-organising movement and a demand for more participatory planning and management of public resources.

Accommodation of diversity in the urban public space in the city of Skopje is a hidden public issue. In recent years, the way diversity had been represented physically and symbolically, instigated discussions, protests, academic conferences, civic activism that resisted the ethnocratic accommodation of diversity. Yet, it seems that mobilisation of the wider citizenry on deliberating this issue remains low. While it is argued that people are mobilised around an idea when

they share particular interests and care about the outcomes, in the case of Skopje, deliberation on accommodation of diversity in public space remains in the intrapersonal and interpersonal realm of the citizens focused on security, threat, privacy and belonging. The intensity of urban interventions and the financial consequences did not mobilise the citizenry in a structural deliberation on how diversity should be represented in the public space of the neighbourhoods. Even more so, no debate is taking place on how a multicultural city should be governed with recognition of the diversity. When narrow partisan and interest group politics enfolded an issue in an elite accommodation, they had a demobilising effect on the citizens precisely because of the nationalistic and ethnocratic outcomes of the process and the accent on partisan instead of civic engagement. This is an important subject in shifting the relations between citizens, political parties and governments and institutional innovations towards more direct democratic practices.

The study indicated that participation was not affected by the homogeneity of the neighbourhood. Levels of participation between ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in horizontal and vertical deliberation on public representation of diversity did not differ. On the contrary, the level of participation was very low. Being more ethnically homogeneous was not an assurance of high participation of residents. In homogeneous areas, it may be easier for residents to come to common solutions, but a rising problem lies in motivating citizens' participation in policy-making, *per se*. Feelings of powerlessness to exercise influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity dominated the engagement discourse. Regardless of their ethnic background or being a man or woman, citizens in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods shared the same feeling of powerlessness to individually influence policy decisions of public representation of diversity. Mondak and Gearing (1998) argue that an atomised citizenry that lacks face-to-face talk about politics is a stark characteristic of the post-socialist society. In their view, people in post-socialist states "discuss politics less, engage in interactive forms of political participation at lower rates, know less about their neighbours, and fail to link the interests of people in the community to broader political judgments, all which for observers who value civic engagement are highly disconcerting" (Mondak and Gearing, 1998: 631).

The findings on the relation between deliberation participation and different socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents were in parts inconsistent with other studies in the country. This research's findings are consistent with studies arguing on the deteriorating social capital and civic engagement understood as vertical and horizontal deliberation (Maleska, 2010; Pejkovski,

2009). Other research (Leshoska, Maleska, Korunovska-Srbijanko, Korunovska, Zdravev, Dimchevski and Maleski, 2016) while confirming that almost 70 percent of the citizens do not believe in holding power to influence policy decision-making, still argues of a growing level of participation defined as contact activism, which means that citizens have established at least one contact with governmental officials in regards to different issues. According to Leshoska et al. (2016: 77), in the period 2012-2016 the level of engagement grew with more participation in public debates (from 16 percent in 2012 to 17.5 percent in 2016) and public demonstrations (from 8.3 percent in 2012 to 17.7 percent in 2016) but decreased in participation in local working/discussion groups (from 8.8 percent in 2014 to 6.6 percent in 2016).

While the current findings on the relationship between participation and employment, and majority-minority status complement the prior research knowledge, some of the other “traditional” effects of socio-economic status on participation were not confirmed. Lower educational levels and deprived financial status were motivational factors for deliberation engagement in the studied neighbourhoods in Skopje. The political culture of clientelism seems to trigger citizen engagement or that these marginalised social groups have been more easily mobilised on deliberation of accommodation of diversity in a context of ethnic neighbourhood change. Therefore, it is important to further research the intrinsic motives for deliberation and factors that propel engagement.

According to Mondak and Gearing (1998: 631), pervasive ethnic tensions and lack of deliberation practice in the civic culture are some of the impediments for social interaction. In a context of competitive ethnic politics and high ethnic distance, as in Macedonia, coupled with the clientelist political culture and cultural impediments for wider mobilisation, it is highly likely to expect further civic fragmentation and “political autism”, resulting in what Mondak and Gearing (1998: 616) describe as “citizens’ detachment both from their political system and from one another”. This is detrimental in general for the interethnic difference discourse but also towards a shift in perceiving diversity as an issue of social justice, equal participation and redistribution of public resources.

9.2 The Social Value of Public Spaces: proximity, acceptance and self-segregation of ethnic groups

Establishing and sustaining multicultural contacts in a city of diversity is not a spontaneous or natural aspect of intergroup encounters. The present findings showed that residents of mixed neighbourhoods have a higher preference for co-ethnic socialisation compared to those living in ethnic neighbourhoods. Residents in mixed neighbourhoods more often than those in ethnic neighbourhoods opted for co-ethnic cultural events in co-ethnic public spaces where people from their ethnic group go. While based on the contact hypothesis, it would be expected that people in mixed neighbourhoods because of the opportunity to establish more mundane contacts with people from diverse ethnicities, had developed personal communication and cross-cultural friendships, and therefore, held greater acceptance of Others (Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, and Wolf, 2006: 383; Semyonov and Glikman, 2009: 695), the present research demonstrated the opposite. This research indicated that members of different ethnic groups living in mixed neighbourhoods tended to avoid intercultural contact demonstrating a tendency for in-group favouritism and a preference for events and traditions celebrating their own ethnic culture. More diversity could have resulted in more inclination for interethnic contact and solidarity, as suggested by the contact theory. Instead in the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in Skopje, self-segregation of ethnic groups is prevalent and it could be detrimental to a functional multi-ethnic society and a convivial multicultural city.

The analysis of co-ethnic socialisation attitudes between residents in the mixed neighbourhoods could reveal if a preference for intercultural encounters was also accompanied by a preference for intercultural public spaces and participation in cross-cultural events. While the dominant tendency among the residents of mixed neighbourhoods was that of contact and exchange with members of their own ethnic group, there was some support for interethnic socialisation and participation in events that celebrate cultures other than one's own. Despite the fact that those Others were the immediate neighbours, people hardly ever transgressed fixed ethnic borders and those that prefer co-ethnic socialisation rarely explored other cultures. Similarly, residents in their mixed neighbourhoods that preferred co-ethnic socialisation also tended to select public spaces with people from their own ethnic group. However, compared to their preference for participation in co-ethnic events, the selection of public

spaces for rest and recreation was more often a decision that is ethnic-neutral. In contrast, people in ethnic neighbourhoods showed greater curiosity and preparedness for intercultural ventures in events and spaces with diverse ethnic groups.

Why do public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods fail to support intercultural contact? Moreover, despite greater citizen engagement among minority groups in the mixed neighbourhoods, why is deliberation not utilised in a wider network of social contacts with Others? In order to understand co-ethnic favouritism in mixed neighbourhoods, it is important to look at the context and conditions under which contact may take place. There is a notable ethnocentric²⁶ transformation of the public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods in Skopje, accommodating symbols and references to a single ethnic group. The numerical share had been used as a source of legitimacy for the ethnocratic practices of accommodation of the cultural specificity in public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods. In line with the dominant ethnocultural ideology, streets, schools and institutions in these areas had been renamed and bilingualism inhabited the public space. These obvious symbolic transformations sensitised Macedonians and the smaller minority groups to the presence of Otherness in public spaces of the mixed areas. The tendency for domination of ethnocultural symbolism in local public spaces was perceived as a threat towards the existence of those not conforming to the common-sense and a message of who was entitled to use the space. The colliding ethnocratic accommodation of diversity in public space, especially in mixed neighbourhoods, generated a sense of symbolic threat and forged people to compartmentalise within their own ethnic group, stimulating in-group favouritism and out-group homogenisation attitudes. In a situation of distrust and distance, living in a mixed neighbourhood does not necessarily lead to intercultural encounter, more so, public spaces in this area did not catalyse such contact. Despite the fact that the contact happened in a multicultural environment, the colliding ethnonationalism and symbolic power struggle between dominant ethnic groups drove them away from each other. Thus, it was more viable to expect that the opportunity for contact did not effectuate in out-group acquaintances but rather in pro-social orientation towards in-group members. Previous research confirms that when a source of social categorisation is a salient ethnic identity, groups are less interested in altering the nature of the division and crossing ethnic boundaries (Linville, Fischer, Salovey, 1989; Dovidio, Gaertner, Saguy, and Halabi, 2008: 77). Hence,

²⁶ Yiftachel (1997: 507) describes ethnocracy as a regime where ethnicity overrules citizenship in allocation of state resources and one dominant ethnic group is the driver of the political community and the policy discourse.

the tendencies for out-group homogeneity and in-group favouritism practised by the citizens in Skopje shaped their personal behaviour and attitude towards Others, and in that respect, where and with whom to socialise. And as the data showed, these tendencies did not result in interethnic acquaintances, friendships, and collaboration.

Co-ethnic socialisation was not a preference of a specific ethnic group. Macedonians, Albanians and Others shared a similar pro-social attitude towards one's own group. The present findings indicated that under changes in the experienced diversity in the locality, either real or perceived, groups tended to socialise more with members of their in-group. In ethnically mixed neighbourhoods, group identities became salient and the distinction between in-group and out-group, as demonstrated in other studies (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000; Dovidio, et al., 2004: 76) influenced perceptions, emotions, attitudes and behaviour. Magnification of differences between groups, feelings of threat and cultural distance regardless of whether they are real or based on misperceptions shaped interaction and socialisation in public space in a direction of ethnic compartmentalisation and avoidance. Also lack of motivation for intercultural socialisation may suggest that feelings of cultural distance and cultural nationalism, and not just perceived threats, shape inter-ethnic relations.

In general, the present findings were consistent with the body of research on co-ethnic preference in socialisation and negative effects of diversity on social cohesion. This calls for the important role that governance authorities and institutions can play in promoting multiculturalism and intercultural encounters as well as for reconceptualisation of "mixing" strategies. Public space could be used as a contact context beyond ethnic boundaries, but with necessary changes in how contact is facilitated and sustained. Groups with different socio-economic status, access to resources and worldviews should be encouraged to meet and share in activities that promote cooperation, common goals and friendly ventures happening in public space. Public space should be used as a context where norms on supporting equality and diversity can be institutionally supported and acknowledged as public good. A strategy on residential mixing should be carefully designed not only to overcome ethnic and cultural barriers and self-isolation of ethnic groups but also provide commonalities between people across ethnic identity, new cultural content, local associations of belonging and active citizenship.

Proximity to other ethnic and racial groups is the initial step in counter-fighting the social segregation between ethnic groups. When ethnic groups tend to self-isolate, such intergroup dynamics has a potential to erode the stable

neighbourhood and trigger relatively homogenous ethnic spatial segregation. As an effect, the produced spatial segregation in distinct ethnic neighbourhoods is likely to decrease the odds for establishing contact and becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy on the disadvantages of diversity. The present findings indicated higher interethnic proximity among residents of mixed compared to ethnic neighbourhoods. Higher interethnic proximity is contrasted with the preference for co-ethnic socialisation among residents of mixed neighbourhoods. It is, therefore, necessary to see how residents understood interethnic proximity in public spaces.

Residents of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods saw public spaces in their neighbourhoods as inclusive for the diverse ethnic groups that lived there. There were no existing formal limitations or restrictions in access and use of public spaces for the diverse ethnic groups. Also, residents of both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods nurtured positive mundane contact with people from other ethnic groups in public space. However, this positive attitude does not mean that people were prepared to step forward in cooperation and developing friendly relations with other ethnic groups. Social segregation of ethnic groups had also effected spatial segregation, apparent in the neighbourhood's reality. Yet, public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods provided social closeness. Residents of mixed neighbourhoods found it easier to get to know people from other ethnic groups in public spaces in their community than residents of ethnic neighbourhoods. They may have only developed mundane positive communication and restricted more structural socialisation but still have developed a "civility towards diversity". Residents of mixed neighbourhoods compared to those in ethnic neighbourhoods, also showed greater comfortability with public events of other ethnic groups happening in the shared spaces of the neighbourhood and expressed greater willingness to participate in cross-cultural activities in public spaces. Residents of mixed neighbourhoods showed greater acceptance of Others' languages being spoken in public space. For them, this did not pose a threat or fear. However, this candid inclusiveness and acceptance of diversity are contrasted with the apparently lived division of public space in mixed neighbourhoods, resulting in a behaviour of people accepting diversity but still choosing to be among their own ethnic group. Living among Others results in "public familiarity" with diversity. Encountering diversity even when these contacts do not transform into durable social ties, impacts an attitude of "civility towards diversity". Liking diversity is different from practising diversity, as is argued by Blokland and Van Eijk (2010). People inclined to a certain place because of its multicultural character, may be more sensitive to the diversity presented on ground, yet, be bounded in a homoge-

neous social network within or outside the neighbourhood. This is not to say that multicultural neighbourhoods and cities are doomed to ethnic fragmentation or that the proximity between ethnic groups is the most that social cohesion can achieve in a context of competitive ethnic paradigms. Public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods accommodate mono-cultural and cross-cultural events, facilitate use of minorities' languages and provide a setting where ethnic boundaries can be porous and safely crossed. This confirms the important role of public spaces in providing the opportunity for intercultural contact.

While the current and other studies (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen, 2003; Blokland and Van Eijk, 2010; Ibraimovic and Masiero, 2013) confirm that intergroup contact does not spontaneously transform into close social ties, what seems important is to think of the conditions that lead and sustain the contact. Amin's (2002: 970) "sites of banal transgressions—based on multi-ethnic common ventures" in the context of everyday life emphasise the open, constructive, cooperative and face-to-face communication among participants of rival groups as a way that can lead to improved relations (Ellis and Maoz, 2003: 261). This is essential in the context of stable and impermeable ethnic borders. Looking at the intergroup contact that evolved in conflict, this research concludes that bringing people together in contact is not enough, rather, positive interdependence and controlled interaction are necessary preconditions which need to be achieved so as to ameliorate group conflict (Ellis, 2010: 294). Interdependence and controlled interaction do not mean that contact should only take place in the formal setting. But rather contact should be oriented towards goals that can be achieved by cooperation between groups and supported by governmental institutions and civic actors in a wider framework of social equality and inclusion. While the degree of homogeneity and the scope of contact can be positively correlated with political stability (Lijphart, 2008: 35), keeping contact between opposing groups to a minimum may only increase the gap between them, even if they occupy common public space.

What is more important is the potential of public spaces to stimulate convivial instead of cohabitated living and provide transformative experiences of diversity. Contrasting interethnic proximity with a tendency for co-ethnic socialisation in mixed neighbourhoods is not incompatible. Both should be understood in a dialectical relationship between diversity and space. It is here that both the beneficial and erosive effects of diversity over the neighbourhood emerge. The formal equality and unrestricted access in spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje are effectuated in self-segregation between ethnic groups. And this is more than just an effect of poorly planned physical spaces. It is a reflection of the lack of social planning of spaces, differences in social status

and a reflection of the divided society on many levels: linguistically, in education and cultural consumption. Furthermore, the powerlessness felt among the residents, in particular among those living in mixed areas with lack of power to influence the changed symbolic order in public spaces, can amplify the mistrust between ethnic groups. As ethnic groups in these areas are in a “symbolic war” on claiming and re-claiming public space, Others could be perceived as people who are unworthy to be trusted and with suspicions that may restrain contact and exchange. “Individuals who feel powerless to shape important outcomes in their lives may feel particularly vulnerable and are thus unlikely to trust other people under conditions of threat”, notes Ross, Mirowsky and Pribesh (2001: 584).

9.3 Citizenship and Belonging in a Multicultural Context

Accommodation practices and collective political claims of minority groups are central to how people understand citizenship. On the one hand, they have caused the transformation from a unitary, national citizenship toward multicultural and post-national citizenship forms. While on the other, they are a consequence of this same shift within the understanding of the “good citizen” (Koopmans and Statham, 1999: 670). As Koopmans and Statham (1999: 670) observe, accommodation practices do not only re-think the concept of citizenship but also the character of the claims put forward in the public sphere. As argued earlier, claims for the cultural specificity of ethnic groups cannot be organised to satisfy the idealistic, liberal citizenship model in a multicultural state. The public acknowledgement of visible minorities, the pluralisation of societies and internal cultural differentiation endanger the idea of a homogenised nation and a single national identity formed around a common past, language and culture. The “socially integrating substrate for the political identity” in multicultural societies is no longer mono-cultural (Habermas, 1994: 130). Claims for an accommodation of diversity through the level of political participation of minority groups affect the practice of democracy on a local level. Denied recognition or simply a trivialisation of minorities’ requests may instigate a feeling of harm among people even when other political and economic rights are respected (Taylor, 1994; Kymlicka and Norman, 2000).

In the case of Skopje, the practices of accommodation of diversity in public space support expressions of citizenship that are limited to the nation-state and the ethnic identification. By looking at the dominant views of the ethnic

groups, it is possible to extract the most important and conflictual elements of citizenship, such as the protection of the ethnic culture, state language, dominant religion, history and symbols.

Public spaces in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods provided comfort and positive experiences with diversity but did not generate acceptance and visual recognition of symbols of other ethnic histories and cultures. To the contrary, questioning a common sense order of things and their alignment with national unity and belonging was not at ease. Conformity over language(s) used in public space generated disagreements between residents in ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods. Macedonians more often than Albanians and Others supported majority language normativity. Residents of ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods where the Macedonian ethnic group was in numerical majority insisted on uniformity in the public use of the language spoken by the majority group in the locality. The use of languages of other ethnic groups was as a matter of the private sphere. Albanians were more divided on this issue, with an almost equal proportion of people supporting and rejecting majority language normativity, both in ethnic neighbourhoods where they represented a majority and in mixed neighbourhoods. This clashing division parallels an aversion in seeing signs in public spaces written in the languages of ethnic minorities. Language normativity has an important role in creating and maintaining the boundaries between ethnic groups. Language is perceived as an effective ethnic identification marker as well as a cornerstone of the national identity, a common characteristic that binds the imagined community. Ethnic groups in majority were particularly sensitive of the disrespect shown by ethnic minorities for the national symbols, such as the official language or national flag. This was interpreted as a threat to the national unity, argued also by Coopmans, Lubbers and Meuleman (2015). The preference for majority language normativity among the citizens of Skopje increased with the relative size of the ethnic minority groups in the neighbourhood. In turn, this increased negative feelings, antagonism and conflicts between the ethnic groups. For Macedonians, rejection of language normativity questioned the authority of the state (held by the national group) and the symbols that bonded people together. In contrast, Albanians were more supportive for language diversity, with the comfort of basic understanding of the language of the Others. So are the Albanians more multiculturalist than the Macedonians?

Language diversity is normatively regulated in Macedonia. Insistence on language diversity and public use of the mother tongue among non-majority ethnic groups is an expression of a wider minority rights framework. While this is legally clearly framed, in “everyday multiculturalism” the visibility of

minorities' languages in public space, in coherence with the "threat" theory, may be perceived as a challenge and contesting of the majority group's authority, territory, resources and value systems. This attitude prevails among the Macedonians. Besides a group threat, Macedonians may also feel an individual threat, as it is uncommon for a Macedonian to know the Albanian language. Many of the fears that Macedonians associate with Albanians resulted from a lack of understanding of the Albanian language and a fear of Albanians covertly plotting. Stratton and Ang (1998: 135) note that language diversity, as with multiculturalism, is considered controversial because it is perceived as incompatible with national unity.

Perceptions of likes and dislikes, conformity and fear related to everyday accommodation of cultural diversity in the public space may inform us on how ethnic groups construct identity, belonging and citizenship. In the public spaces in Skopje, ethnocentricity dominated the discourse on accommodation of diversity, perceived as an arena for national expressions of public culture, heritage, language and symbolic representation. For Macedonians, the state language, the national flag, Orthodoxy and the history of the struggle for independence were the source of the agency of citizenship, and as this was placed within their ethnic history, the legitimate and loyal citizens were those confining themselves to these requirements. They perceive Others as "add-on" to the national culture. Albanians and other smaller ethnic group conceived the "citizen" as a cultural mosaic, with a specific ethnic belonging, language, history and heritage, but one who was also a legitimate owner of the public goods and resources. S/he may or may not speak the Macedonian language and pledge allegiance to another flag, but was entitled to fair distribution of public goods. For both, Macedonians and Albanians, the symbolic representation in public space derived from the right of the group for self-preservation. Yet, the Macedonians spoke of public expressions of ethnic groups as aligned, assimilated and blended into a single public culture, while the Albanians more often spoke of balance, co-existence of differences and cultural integrity. The less numerous ethnicities felt entrapped in the competition and symbolic struggle between Macedonians and Albanians. Regardless of the minority rights framework in the country that is used as a mechanism to advance the rights of the minorities to use their language, it seems that the majority accepts the minorities as long as they are not visible and manifested in the public sphere or behave in a way that is congruent with the accepted public culture. The language diversity has mainly advanced the rights of the Albanians, leading to a bi-national instead of a multicultural state.

Language normativity is one example of the power struggle between ethnic

groups in multicultural states where pressure for cultural homogenisation in a single national identification is changing the context of implementing politics of recognition and the appropriate governance model of the state. Kukathas (1993: 26) argues that a society fragmented along salient ethnic, linguistic, cultural identifications can either be governed by a “group-participation approach” that explicitly recognises the rights and obligations for equal representation and participation by all legitimate groups of the constituents of society, or governance that does not give explicit political recognition to groups’ rights but rather groups are seen as individuals equipped with rights and obligations to the political community. The ethnic groups in Macedonia share these differing attitudes on governance of a multicultural society and this understanding impacts the way they constitute the citizenship and belonging discourse. The divergence between essentialist and constructionist accounts of citizenship divided by ethnic lines informs us about the lack of public dialogue and the understanding of multiculturalism and public views on fair and *just* accommodation of cultural diversity.

The question of diversity and plurality in multicultural societies is not only of ethnic and cultural identities that are confined to the private sphere of the individuals. The essentialist framework on citizenship, belonging, legitimacy and loyalty ignores the “deep material differences in social position, division of labour, socialised capacities, normalised standards and ways of living that continue to disadvantage members of historically excluded groups” (Benhabib, 2007: 80). Moreover, the difference-blind ideal and the universalistic values of the liberal paradigm also undermine the structural inequalities of race, gender and sexuality. How then to reconcile recognition of the cultural autonomy of ethnic groups with civic values of citizenship? The starting position is to reshape ethnic identity and break the “natural” aspect of a group’s existence. There is nothing biological in an existence and affiliation to a group. Groups are socially constructed, influenced by the wider socio-political, cultural and economic forces in the environment. As the context changes, so does the group structure and dynamic but in turn, our personal perceptions of the group also change. Belonging to a group shapes its members’ perceptions of the outside world, interpretation of events and out-members. At times groups grow bigger, at another moment they disappear. Therefore, as Donald Horowitz (1985) argues, groups to whom people claim allegiance are not constant, but in a constant process of creation, change and disappearance in a dialectic relation between the context and the group. Thus, belonging and group identity are not stable but rather confirmed or questioned by the changing environment. The co-affect between groups and the context is in continual dialectic and this,

nonetheless, applies to ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is relational, as argued by Taylor (1994), it is constructed through the social interaction of individuals, groups and institutions. According to Horowitz (1985: 69), cultural practices, symbols, flags and traditions are “important in the making of ethnic groups, but they are more important for providing post-facto content to group identity than for providing some ineluctable prerequisite for an identity to come into being”. Shifting the essentialist understanding of the role of cultural and ethnic markers/identifications in a group’s existence and sustenance to a more “interactive” quality of identity, including: discussion on boundaries, transgression and acts that bind people together, are the most important implications from both Horowitz’s work and the politics of recognition that emancipate from “differentialist” and constructivist accounts of culture and ethnicity. And this is an important lesson for the multicultural discourse in Macedonia.

Habermas notes (1994: 132) that “Cultures survive only if they draw the strength to transform themselves from criticism and secession” and “when culture becomes reflexive”. That is, “when they open their current practices to critical examination and allow space for learning from other traditions” (Habermas, 1994: 130-31). The content of group identity is under constant pressure to adapt to the changing sources of verification of the “truth” of the group. The processes of assimilation and accommodation are used in adapting to the political circumstances and result in a re-evaluation of the content of identity, on a group level but also on an interpersonal level. The right of the group to be different and allow internal diversity is what politics of recognition accentuates. And this is the second important lesson for the multicultural discourse in the country. In this context, Barry Hindess (1993) writes of associational pluralism allowing a plurality of associations and networking between citizens. These associations are not primarily based on ethnic origin, and recognise the autonomy of the association/network and, the right to develop and flourish within an established legal framework promoting equality and equity. Associational belonging is not exclusivist, so people can have cross-membership and work to fulfil the goals of the platforms, that is to say, work to create and sustain the content of each of the association/network. This seems to free people from accentuating their ethnic differences, as people find themselves in positions with multiple associational belongings with more commonalities between individuals and platforms.

Multicultural policies have been widely criticised of essentialising cultural difference in stable ethnic boundaries (Hindess, 1992; Kukathas, 1993; Grillo, 1998; Vertovec, 2001). Among the most contentious question of multiculturalism has been the public support for politics of recognition so that ethnic

groups can “pursue their version of good life” (Hindess, 1992: 23; Kukathas, 1993). The change of direction in discussions on multiculturalism in Macedonia should not be understood as retreating from ethnic cultures but about changing the concept of citizenship. It is one that could be inclusive of the diverse layers of associations and belonging to the neighbourhood, city, state and changing the course of politics of belonging from “practices of deciding whether people stand inside or outside the imaginary boundary line of the nation” (Yuval Davis, 2006: 204) to an active promotion of “development of associations— open-ended association of belonging with other individuals and a plurality of purposes that individuals might reasonably wish to pursue, as their version of the good life” (Hidness, 1992: 23). The role of the state is not to normalise the general framework of pursuing the moral good and the behaviour of associations, “but it would also recognise their autonomy and right to develop in accordance with their own internal decision-making procedures” (Hidness, 1992: 23). In such constellation, cities and urban identity may gain importance and struggle to develop active citizenship as a dimension of identification with the space/place.

9.4 The Ideal of Diversity and the Difficulty of Planning It

Diversity is a reality in Skopje and its neighbourhoods. Citizens consider group-based accommodation processes as an appropriate planning approach for the public representation of cultural diversity in the neighbourhood. Residents in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods agree that ethnic groups should be the most powerful political actors involved in interpreting individual and collective needs. Citizens are aware of diversity around them, but cultural differentiation and the discourse of “Us” and “Them” dominate over social disparities and inequalities that in time may also coincide with ethnic belonging. The decision-making in the planning process was seen as a collaboration between the different ethnic groups and not individuals, and groups were relegated as legitimate agents of public representation of cultural diversity. For residents of ethnic neighbourhoods, the majority ethnic group in the neighbourhood should decide how to accommodate diversity in public spaces. As a result, public spaces in ethnic neighbourhoods were more monocultural and in concordance with the ethnocultural identity of the dominant ethnic group. Ethnic groups in minority perceived to have no political power to influence the decisions on how diversity should be accommodated in public spaces.

Smaller minority groups are in particular affected by the majoritarian process of decision-making. In their view, changes in the use of public space were done without their consultation, responding to the ideology of the majority ethnic group. Residents of mixed neighbourhoods more often perceived that changes in the public space of the neighbourhoods were being done without their consultation and in response to the majority group. A vivid example was Chair, where minority groups of Macedonians and Others strongly agreed to have been excluded from deliberation on accommodation of diversity in public spaces in the neighbourhood.

Visibility of co-ethnic and cultural symbols in public space was more important for residents in mixed than for those in ethnic neighbourhoods and for groups with minority status. As a result, the planning process in mixed neighbourhoods should have been sensitive to allow accommodation of cultural specificity in public spaces. When under a threat of an ethnic dominance, identification with the public space seemed more relevant for the Macedonians, which is in contrary to their behaviour when in majority status. Macedonians seemed indifferent to ethnic identification with public space only in a neighbourhood where their dominance cannot be disputed, as in the neighbourhood of Kisela Voda labelled as “Macedonian”. In neighbourhoods where the population balance between Macedonians and Albanians in particular had shifted, as in Saraj or in Butel, where the difference in ethnic proportion is decreasing, Macedonians accounted greater importance to the idea of symbolic representation of the ethnic culture and history in public spaces. By contrast, when the Albanians were in a majority status, as, in Saraj and Chair, they gave less preference for co-ethnic identification with public space. The present findings supports the argument that groups with higher status or in a majority position more often align perceived threats (real or symbolic) with negative inter-ethnic attitudes (Stephan, Renfro, and Davis: 2008: 59). Under threat to change, majority groups may be less inclined to reflect on their status (Leach, Snider and Iyer, 2002) unless there are legislative demands from the context to do so, as it happened in Macedonia with the new framework of minority rights under the OFA.

The visible representation of co-ethnic and co-cultural symbols in both mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods streamed comfortability and related feelings of home. As a result, residents of ethnic neighbourhoods were less prone to consider moving out to a new area. In contrast, those in mixed neighbourhoods more often considered moving out of the area. When in minority status, ethnic groups were more prepared to relocate to a co-ethnic neighbourhood than when they were in majority status. Changing ethnic demographics was seen

as detrimental for the neighbourhood, and this was more the case in mixed than in ethnic neighbourhoods. Macedonians compared to Albanians more often considered immigration of other ethnic groups in their neighbourhood to have detrimental effects, regardless of being in majority or minority status. Most apparent differences appeared in Chair. Moving behaviour had rarely been seen from a perspective of place identity. The preparedness to move out from mixed neighbourhoods could be affected by more than just the ethnic composition of the area. Other neighbourhood characteristics seemed to influence such decisions. Seen from the outsiders' evaluations of mixed neighbourhoods, Chair and Butel were perceived as ghettos, dangerous places with a high threat of inter-ethnic clashes. And it is not uncommon for neighbourhoods with a larger proportion of minorities to be perceived as less safe compared to more homogenous areas, even mixed neighbourhoods are perceived as the least safe places (Semyonov, Gorodzeisky, and Glikman, 2012: 124-125).

Consultation and participation in the planning processes in the neighbourhoods in Skopje were reserved for the majority ethnic group. The perceived high exclusion from consultation in local planning processes is complementary with the low deliberative participation and the prevalent feeling of powerlessness to individually influence policy and decision-making at local level. In an ethno-based accommodation process governed by the political elites, citizens viewed politicians as planners of both the space and the communal life. They shaped not only the physical environment but also the social dynamics between groups and individuals. Political elites operated either without citizens' consent or by simulated participation of party affiliates (political clientelism), and in such way legitimised the decisions reached by an elite accommodation. The tendency for the co-ethnic socialisation of ethnic groups, the hierarchical distribution of power along ethnic lines and the marginalisation of minority groups in local deliberative planning processes only heighten the xenophobic atmosphere in the neighbourhoods towards new residents with different ethnic backgrounds.

The support of the idea of visible accommodation of ethnic and cultural symbols in public spaces indicates that people feel threatened by overpopulation and that their authority is jeopardised. The rapid change of ethnic demography in their neighbourhoods intensified the competition between groups and in turn, it was reflected in a symbolic struggle of dominance in the public space. The need for more co-ethnic symbols in public space triggered fear of over-domination, but also, reflected a deeper fear of redistribution of power, resources, of challenged cultural values, beliefs and worldviews of the homogeneity of the political community. These fears fortified ethnic belonging as the

guardian of the group's survival. The real threat is that of challenged dominant status, and not of the character of the state. The symbolic threat perceived with accommodation of diversity in public space is only a compensation for the lack of interest to invest in deliberation over the concept of nation, citizenship and belonging that fit a multicultural society. But this seems a long road ahead of a state struggling to mediate between the lack of normative debate on multiculturalism and the "everyday multiculturalism" as lived and practiced by its citizens. A necessary deliberation with the publics in the country is that of the struggle to reconcile national identification and the "local city identification as a mediating identity" (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 158) for those that feel at home in their neighbourhood and the city of Skopje but lack identification with the state as Macedonians. This is particularly relevant to the ethnic groups who have never identified as Macedonia-Albanians or Macedonia-Turks but as Albanians or Turks, and feel loyalty and belonging to the country. The push forward of such concepts could be possible if the local city identification is constructed as open, flexible and inclusive of ethnic, cultural and socio-political diversity as opposed to the closed, exclusive national belonging referenced in the Macedonian history and culture. This sets a path for neighbourhoods and the city of Skopje to rethink their urban identity and impose urban citizenship as an important dimension of identification with the space/place. As Van Bochove, Rušinović and Engbersen (2009: 117) observe, the local level "offers the primary site for active citizenship and processes of social identification" that an ethnically divided city needs to employ to its best capacity.

10. Conclusion: What Kind of Public Spaces in Multicultural Cities?

This research concludes that the current politics of recognition of diversity in public space in both ethnic and mixed neighbourhoods in Skopje operates on essentialist accounts of culture and identity that produces an effect of “staged multiculturalism” visible in public spaces.

The political value of public spaces to stimulate deliberation among the citizens on issues of their concern is undermined. Public spaces are not planned and managed through a wide forum of citizens’ engagement nor stimulate meaningful discussion among residents on needs, attitudes, perspectives and worldviews. Exclusion from deliberation is not only practiced in mixed neighbourhoods and towards less numerous or less powerful groups, but it seems to be part of a political culture and how democracy *works* in post-transitional societies. Powerlessness, distrust in politicians, political passivity, atomised citizenry and clientelism are some of the results of an elite-based model of governance of diversity. Change of the ethnic demography of the neighbourhood can be seen as a political trigger of mobilisation and deliberation of the citizens of appropriate practices to accommodate diversity in public spaces. The political function of public space in a multicultural city remains confined to the dominant common-sense and struggles to keep the status-quo between ethnic groups. Although highly politicised, public spaces are isolated from any discussion on change and transformation of the dominant ethno-cultural content of the belonging and the homogenising ideology of the citizenship, leaving no opportunities for people to openly discuss their fears, common concerns and possible joint actions.

The social function of public spaces to catalyse “everyday multiculturalism” is not fully utilised. The colliding ethnonationalism and symbolic power struggle between the dominant ethnic groups result in co-ethnic preferences in socialisation and selection of public spaces. In particular in ethnically mixed areas, segregation and particularisation of activities and ethnic groups in public spaces hinder meaningful superficial but direct multicultural encounters. People accept diversity as a fact but still choose to remain within their own ethnic boundaries and comfort zones of ethnically marked spaces. This is not to say that public spaces are not important in the daily lived experience, rather, public spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje are not planned to support multicultural exchange and the conditions that lead and sustain contact are not systematically conceived as part of a wider policy on socio-spatial integration.

Finally, the symbolic (cultural) value of public space perpetuates ethnonational rhetoric. The need for symbolic representation of the ethnic culture and history in public space is legitimised by the right of the group for self-preservation. The need for more co-ethnic symbols in public space triggers fear of over-domination, but also, reflects a deeper fear of redistribution of power and resources between the groups, discomfort in challenging the dominant cultural values and worldviews, and of the homogeneity of the political community. These fears fortify ethnic belonging as the guardian of a group’s survival. The form, shape and enclosure of public spaces in the neighbourhoods in Skopje narrate a citizenship which becomes “more about the norms and values of a homogenous culturally defined community” (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 148) than about the differences in the political community or “the constantly reconfigured collective identities” (Parekh, 2008: 41). Public spaces and the symbolic representation of cultures and ethnic histories have become part of the emotionalisation of citizenship (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 152). Developing feelings of home, identification and acceptance of the established order represented in the form, composition and enclosure of public space purports loyalty to the nation-state and undermines other collective identification, in particular to the immediate locality, the neighbourhood and the urban city identity.

Diversity, among the citizens of Skopje, is perceived as posing a real threat to national unity because of the focused attention on ethnic difference. The ability to standardise the common-sense and the good citizen is set within the Macedonian culture. Expectations for conformity and incorporation within a single common public culture are greater for some ethnic groups than others. Residents in mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods have different everyday experience with multiculturalism, resulting in different perceptions on the power

hierarchies within a multicultural society. Those in ethnic neighbourhoods and the groups in the majority more often spoke of a cultural assimilation, alignment between ethnic norms and the national public culture, while those in mixed neighbourhoods more often articulated ideas of cultural autonomy, recognition and redistribution of resources. These contradictions are also reflected in the legislative changes since 2001 that transformed the way Macedonians and Albanians felt about each other and about their place. The transformation of the state from a nation state owned by the Macedonian majority to a civic state where citizens are still defined through their ethnic identity meant that the installation of a multi-ethnic society happened on a superficial and administrative level, an aspect also argued by other authors (Bieber, 2011: 20; Muhic, 2004: 40). This transformation instigated formal rather than substantial equality between ethnic groups and did not reconcile the “frustrated majority”, reducing diversity to a narcissism of ethnic differences, a “symptom” clearly confirmed in the current research. In the years after the conflict in 2001, the tolerant ethno-pluralism at the local level transformed into intolerant multiculturalism and a backlash to monoculturalism. In such a context, the local authorities never focused on developing a specific urban identity that could mitigate between differences, similarities, conflicts and commonness, neither did they systematically supported programmes that engage citizens in learning about the Others. The contradictions in the everyday understanding and living with diversity confirmed in the current research are the outcome of the lack of consistency and visionary of how to govern a diverse society. There is an academic consensus (Dodovski, 2005; Sarkanjac, 2005, Janev, 2005) that while multicultural orientation is constitutionally supported, value for the new social reality of multiculturalism in Macedonia is neither normatively described, nor a clear and consistent policy, neither on national nor at a local level. In absence of such critical and policy-oriented debate, the everyday expressions of diversity add more confusion than clarity of what it means to live in a multicultural city, to plan multicultural encounters in public spaces and recognise the Others’ need for public symbolic representation just as it is recognised for one’s own.

Public spaces in Skopje have been devalued because:

- (i) Citizens feel excluded from the planning process and powerless as individuals and not as members of ethnic groups or political elites to influence policy making oriented towards their urban and cultural needs;
- (ii) The cultural and symbolic references represented in public spaces narrate exclusivist and conflictual dominant worldviews that make citi-

zens frustrated, confused and ideologically disoriented;

(iii) The planning and programming of public spaces do not stimulate curiosity and interest in learning about Others, acceptance and practices of convivial living and fail to instigate civic consciousness and mobilisation;

(iv) The narrative of public spaces tells a story of a nation being built that undermines the *autochthon* multicultural reality of our neighbourhoods and the urban needs of its residents;

(v) Public spaces are a reflection of a society that is deeply ethnically and socially divided, infused with fears of Others and a sense of collective threat and with lack of imaginaries of commonness such as social justice, equality and rule of law.

But where do we search for or *construct* transformative experiences of diversity? How do we use the planning process to mitigate conflicts over symbolic representation in public spaces?

10.1 Socio-Spatial Integration on Local Level: some thoughts for policy solutions

By understanding how multiculturalism *works* in public spaces of immediate intergroup contacts in the urban neighbourhoods it is also possible to think of the deficiencies of the current system of measures and policies of social integration and residential mixing. Inter-ethnic mixing and multicultural encounters are not always spontaneous acts. The *autochthon* model of multiculturalism that prevented bloodshed in 2001 seemed incapable of further supporting the contacts between ethnic groups in a context of a challenged nation-state, and in particular between the Macedonians and the Albanians. There are no systematic measures taken by municipal authorities in addressing the multicultural challenges of the neighbourhoods. The effects of the planning processes instigated by *Skopje 2014* were never discussed with the citizens in light of how they shape inter-ethnic encounters. It is obvious that in the city of Skopje and its ethnically more homogenous and mixed neighbourhoods, the quality of direct contact between ethnic groups is decreasing. Policy makers should be aware of the unintended negative effects of the decreased quality of direct intergroup contact over motives for social integration. The deteriorating social

capital, low deliberative participation and active citizenship infused by threats of change in the ethnic demography of neighbourhoods encourages atomisation of the ethnic groups. In a context of self-segregation of ethnic groups and compartmentalisation within their ethnic spaces, pursuing social integration based on porousness of ethnic boundaries may be futile or adverse. Hence, a different approach in addressing socio-spatial integration between diverse ethnic groups should be conceived. The recognition of diversity beyond fixed and stable ethnic identities is one step in deriving a *commonness* in the differences. For this to happen, multiculturalism should be understood as a public interest and be supported in formal and informal spaces of contact. As such, it should be promoted by authorities (the institutional support as part of the contact hypothesis) and provide not only formally equal status between groups but also equal access and opportunities to individuals to live up to their full potential. Shifting towards solidarity, social justice, rule of law and equal treatment can help us in finding the commonness in the diversity. Gilroy (2004: 132) notes: "Growing inequality makes recognition of common interests more difficult because people are actually becoming less alike in economic terms".

The emotionalisation of the citizenship can be integrative, if the source of legitimisation of citizenship is transformed into more diverse and more inclusive to Others' contributions, one that is more open to local urban identification and active citizenship. A process of acculturation and a closing of the gaps between ethnic groups can also happen in public spaces and the everyday dynamics of multicultural living when exaggerated ethnic differences are "reduced to a liberating ordinariness" (Gilroy, 2004: 131) of individuals and social groups, and citizens are forged to shift in their multiple identifications and acknowledge their urban "mediating" identity (Slootman and Duyvendak, 2015: 160). This does not mean that conflict and disagreement are avoided, purged or *kept under the carpet*, but rather canalised in a deliberation about the form (design and social contact) and content of public spaces (representations of associative belonging and active citizenship).

A constructionist view on the issues of politics of recognition and accommodation of diversity could contribute to this debate by focusing on the processes and mechanisms of production and sustenance of multicultural reality in public spaces. While ethnosymbolism is important for the majority of citizens, accommodation based on elite and an ethnic-based processes of deliberation have not resulted in physically and socially integrative places of intergroup contact. Therefore a transformative, deliberation politics of recognition is needed, one that recognises the ethnic and cultural differences between groups as socially, culturally and historically constructed and reproduced in public space' ex-

pressions. Moreover, this process acknowledges the rights of difference within groups, and the possibility for internal change and transformation of groups and their source of belonging. So, how do we govern such transformation? As Hidness (1993: 43) puts it, it is not a matter of the existence of differential interests and values of groups, it is a matter of their management. Different ideas and needs are quintessential in a pluralist society, and their suppression is limited within a liberal political framework. Rather than allowing discontent to be channelised in uncontrollable modes, Hidness (1993) advocates for a governance that “recognises such interests and attempts to promote their mutual accommodation”. Accommodation can sustain some differential elements between the groups, but inevitably involves negotiation with the prospect of all sides being informed of their needs and motives of certain actions.

When thinking of a mixing strategy of residents in their immediate neighbourhood in Skopje, it is more beneficial to consider mixing based on economic diversity rather than ethnic diversity. Such mixing has shown to be successful in contexts struggling ethnic fragmentation (for example, the Netherlands) (Lancee and Dronkers, 2011). Public spaces themselves, cannot bear the burden of socio-spatial integration, but when invested in a wider policy on residential mixing and multicultural exchange, they catalyse the potential to bring diverse people in contact and amplify the positive outcomes of the exchange and deliberation.

10.2 New Urban Planning Practices in Skopje: policy guidelines and moving towards a cosmopolis

In a socio-political context where the quality of interethnic relations is shaped by the symbolic “war” happening in public spaces, the discussion on socio-spatial integration cannot be separated from a debate on how to plan the public spaces that promote socio-spatial integration in everyday multiculturalism. A major challenge of urban planning in a multicultural context is the accommodation of politics of recognition that accepts cultural independence within an individualistic framework of equality, equity and respect for difference. The political implementation of this challenge in urban policy necessitates new planning principles and an enabling environment.

Urban planning is not only about the vision of abstract place makers. It is not only whether the street is wide enough to satisfy daily transport needs, about

the sewage infrastructure or access to services. Urban planning is also about the reasons people stop at some places to wander around, of why people keep returning to some parks or squares or avoid others. Urban planning should also be of the lived experiences of people within public spaces. It is time to shift from the technical to the social planning of our cities of diversity. Therefore, the practical implication of diversity in the city development is a new planning “orthodoxy” (Fainstein, 2005). Bureaucratic and elite-led processes of accommodation have invested major powers to the governmental authorities and urban planners in the planning paradigm. Citizen participation is normalised as consultative input voiced in the last stage of the formal acceptance of urban plans, and discouraged by an unquestioned argumentation on why citizens’ proposals are rejected. Citizens’ needs are subordinated to experts’ perception of what is a suited and appropriate plan for a certain public space. In turn, this policy framework has deteriorated the social capital of citizens to debate and deliberate, show social solidarity and mobilise against a governmental decision regarding their immediate environment and living. People have been confined to their ethnic groups and uncritical clientelism to the political party, and the idea of being an active citizen in the civic and political arena based on a democratic distribution of authority and responsibility to local people, as argued by Pløger (2001: 233) is a myth. Citizens feel powerless to influence and change the policy agenda set by political parties. Rather than active citizenship, participation is a token for the legitimisation of decisions between the political elites reached in closed spaces that differ from the needs of the larger citizenry. Diversity and its symbolic representation are powerful tools for political mobilisation, they electrify the publics but the elites are not willing to bestow their ethno-political power-sharing mechanism in urban planning.

Gaventa (2006: 24) sees power as an important factor in citizen engagement in governance. A major governance challenge is how to empower citizens to shift “access and presence into influence” (Goetz and Gaventa, 2001: 9). Producing spaces for citizen engagement and influence over governance is a necessary aspect of making that shift happen. Public spaces can be those spaces, physically and metaphorically, providing “opportunities for people to act and influence policies, discourses and decisions that affect their lives and interests” (Gaventa, 2006: 26). For this to happen, “closed” spaces (Gaventa, 2006: 26) in urban planning where elites deliberate and compromise, should be replaced by democratically operating “invited” and autonomously “claimed/created” spaces. Currently, legally prescribed spaces where citizens are invited for consultation in the planning of immediate public spaces are easily manipulated or used to legitimate elites’ negotiations and decisions. These spaces are not created to

allow meaningful influence over decision making. Gaventa (2006: 29) terms this as “what the power holders who shaped those places want to hear”. Hence, invited spaces should facilitate meaningful local democracy and autonomous spaces of active citizenship should be created, both in formal and informal settings.

So, how do we shift from closed and declarative inviting space to more autonomous and claimed spaces of citizens’ engagement? There are challenges, among them is dealing with the internalised political powerlessness among citizens and the top-down elite based planning practices. Citizens of Skopje lack knowledge of the technical side of urban planning, lack motivation to get engaged in decision-making on issues that affect their lives, and lack knowledge on the available mechanism for citizen participation within the institutional framework. They also lack social solidarity and civic consciousness to react when those different from them are affected because diversity is not perceived as a potential to redress social injustice and discrimination. Gaventa (2006: 30) notes that: “Without prior awareness building so that citizens possess a sense of their own right to claim rights or express voice, and without strong capacities for exercising countervailing power against the “rules of the game” that favour entrenched interests, new mechanisms for participation may be captured by prevailing interests”.

Therefore, citizens, elites and authorities should agree on the basic principles of planning of public spaces that recognise diversity, which should be sensitive to include:

1. *Interpretation and recognition of difference through deliberation and active urban citizenship* – deliberation of diversity does not necessary focus on ethnic differences. The politics of recognition that is based on deliberation takes into account the constructedness of identity, rejecting the essentialised nature of the relationship between culture, ethnicity and territory. Identity is relational, it changes with the context and is both influenced and influences the environment and the political infrastructure. Identity is not static, exclusive and internally homogeneous. Immanent to identity are the concepts of boundaries and internal change. Allowing transgression of boundaries and internal differentiation are necessary for designing deliberation approaches that appreciate change, instability and multiplicity of associations and identifications with groups, places, symbols, events, etc. Deliberation means that people are motivated and capable of discussing and debating on issues of importance of their immediate physical neighbourhood and community, and are equipped

to transfer their opinions to the formal governmental authorities. This would also re-balance the norms and values embedded in the planning paradigm, usually structured around the dominant culture and world-views, and operationalised through forms that catalyse cultural homogenisation. Moreover, it challenges the concept of a “unitary sense of place” (Amin, 2002: 972) and “exploit[s] the potential for overlap and cross-fertilisation within spaces that in reality support multiple publics” (Amin, 2002: 972; Fraser, 1992).

2. *Habitual engagement and interdependence of goals and actions in a context of multiculturalism as a public good and equal access to resources and opportunities* – the organisation of neighbourhood life should allow interaction between citizens that is freed from fixed ethnic boundedness and belonging and also happens in a context where diversity is valued as public good and difference is not a barrier in accessing resources. “Local liveability” means that public spaces are designed with the intention to be used and facilitate commutation and provide content and not merely form and physical structure of interaction between strangers, neighbours and citizens. According to Young (1990: 239): “What makes urban spaces interesting, draws people out in public to them, gives people pleasure and excitement, is the diversity of activities they support”. Within the neighbourhood, public spaces that offer cultural content and transgression of fixed boundaries while people engage in doing something together under equality and equity have the capacity to trigger new modes of intercultural communication. The Contact Hypothesis accentuates that working with common interests is a precondition of a contact situation that questions categorisation and labelling, and facilitates learning about diversity (Allport, 1968; Hewstone, 2003). Parks, markets, streets and playgrounds can be those spaces that recognise the “rights of presence, bridging the difference, getting along” (Amin, 2002: 972) without an intention to shift the cultural identities and practices of local residents. Public spaces are “openings for contact and dialogue with others as equals so that mutual fear and misunderstanding may be overcome and so that new attitudes and identities can arise from engagement. If common values, trust, or a shared sense of place emerge, they do so as accidents of engagement, not from an ethos of community” (Amin, 2002: 972). In Amin’s view (2002: 973), a decisive factor “is the nature of the local public sphere, more specifically the micropolitics that make up a place and determine the terms of social engagement... with open and critical debate, mutual awareness, and habitual engage-

ment that continually alter subjectivity through engagement” (Amin, 2002: 973).

3. *Social planning of public spaces as places of conflict and negotiation, in contrast to the technocratic, “staged” multiculturalism* – the objective of urban planning in ethnically fragmented and heightened contexts is not to “purify” public spaces from potential conflicts and contestations between different users, individuals and groups. The question of the planning of public spaces in neighbourhoods is not whether this process is led by the local authorities but rather if it is exclusively expert-based (Sandercock, 1998: 28) and how much and when the publics are included. “Planning by and through the state is only one story among many, rather than *the* story”, notes Sandercock (1998: 28). Holston (1998: 46) criticises today’s urban planning as “a plan without contradiction, without conflict”. In his view, it is focused on the future and dissolves any conflict between the imagined and the existing society. This assumption is both arrogant and false. It fails to include conflict, ambiguity and indeterminacy as constituent elements of the planning process and actual social life. Moreover, it fails to consider the unintended and the unexpected as part of the model. Therefore, the form, composition and function of public spaces should acknowledge the inconsistencies in our histories and imaginaries and allow possibilities for change, because permeability and internal contradiction are an inevitable part of our identities and associations.

It is important to consider if these constructed spaces of deliberation that allow multiple associations are better organised in an informal setting and self-organisation of citizens or as part of formal citizen engagement. Institutionalisation of accommodation mechanisms that acknowledges only ethnic diversity can easily have essentialist consequences. Reducing diversity to ethnicity would enhance ethnic-based identification among people and weaken other possible interpretations of differences. In an ethnically fragmented context with a high level of social distance between groups, insistence on the ethnic identity as a basic component of categorisation can enhance the gap and fortify the boundaries of belonging. Greater knowledge of the other group is important in reducing inter-ethnic bias, but as more recent research has emphasised, the knowledge about group differences is even more influential (Wolsko, Park, Judd and Wittenbrink, 2000: 649). Mutual knowledge of the differences between groups is not only based on ethnic differentiation but also other social categories, including gender, socio-economic status, purchasing power, place of residence, etc. Knowledge plays a significant role in the de-cat-

egorisation process, important in challenging intergroup bias. Contrary to the social categorisation which assigns people to specific groups with a uniform behaviour, de-categorisation tests the established perceptions of people based on their membership in certain groups and their perceptions on the relationship between these categories. This could lead to the creation of a “common in-group identity” among participants of initially distinct groups or a more inclusive identification of different groups (Dovidio et al., 2011: 150), such as urban identity or other associative belongings. The role of deliberation spaces for diversity is to allow de-categorisation, challenging biases and envisioning possible new ways of identifications of people in groups. Therefore, informal spaces where mechanisms of accommodation of diversity are discussed could better facilitate transformative experiences of diversity that are both pleasurable and without a threat. Informal and autonomous spaces for deliberation emphasise everyday contacts between citizens and “give the existing rights and opportunities their meaning” (Ayirtman, 2007: 15). Ayirtman (2007) suggests that policies that institutionalise recognition of diversity fail to grasp the informality of mundane communication between citizens where needs and interests are initially shared. It also fails to acknowledge the potential of citizens to self-organise and translate civic needs into the characteristics of existing places, institutions and communal activities (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). While policies for recognition of diversity embody the “vertical relationship between individuals and the state”, in contrast, informal deliberation recognition embodies “the horizontal relationship among individuals” and could better facilitate active citizenship and construction of inclusive urban citizenship. In the last few years, the urban scene in Macedonia has evidenced an emergence of self-organised groups of citizens evolving around a common concern of the future development of the immediate urban environment. Urban planning, pollution and safeguarding the open green public spaces are some of the issues that provoke citizens’ mobilisation. Throughout the activities and the years, these groups have sustained or dissolved under different social, economic and political pressures but remain a legacy in the increasing demand for re-shaping the relation between authorities and citizens in how the urban future of the cities is planned and governed. Their ability to bridge ethnic difference can be contested, as with the success rate of the initiatives, but along their primary goals they are able to fulfill an important social impact – increasing responsibility and ownership by the citizenry of the changes affecting their neighbourhood. Regardless of the preferred setting for managing deliberative activities on recognition and accommodation of diversity, the role of the authorities and in particular of the local self-government is to promote, enable and collaborate with other formal and informal actors involved in the planning process. Goetz

and Gaventa (2001: 11) emphasise the political environment as an intervening factor between institutional responsiveness and citizens' engagement. In their view, even in formal and established rules for citizens' engagement, when the political environment enables clientelism and accountability to state patrons, and a political discourse that accentuates ethnonational identity politics, the formal space for citizens' engagement may persist to be closed for a small group, especially less accessible for those less vocal in addressing their needs. Therefore, the institutional redesign must be foreseen beyond changes in the closed spaces of ethnopolitical accommodation. It must encompass the nature of space where citizens are invited to consult and spaces where citizens themselves claim the right to engage in governance and "redress the mechanisms that empower some citizens over others" (Goetz and Gaventa, 2001: 13) as well as of the roles and powers of the different actors. In their view, the formal spaces where citizens are invited to consultation as prescribed by the legal framework depend on the empowered and knowledgeable individuals who are able to meaningfully participate. The participation of the less-vocal citizens, those with lower social capital and lack of interest is a challenge to the formal deliberation structures (Goetz and Gaventa, 2001: 13).

A checklist guideline that rethinks the planning practices of public spaces under diversity includes:

- ◆ DELIBERATION FORMS OF POLITICS OF RECOGNITION that focus on a dialogue between ethnically-based expressions of culture and civic, (more) universalistic understandings of place, belonging and community;
- ◆ ARGUMENTATION BEYOND THE POWERFUL, VOCAL CITIZENS in the neighbourhood but intentions to include, as diverse as possible, voices in testing feasible solutions and political legitimacy beyond elected representatives in closed spaces;
- ◆ FLEXIBILITY, CONTESTATION, TRANSGRESSION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PERIPHERY AND THE SOCIAL INSURGENTS in the city-making process as opposed to the structured, fixed notions and centralised approach;
- ◆ URBAN AND SOCIAL PLANNING OF CITIES to support each other, rather than professional urban planning to dominate over citizens' involvement in city making;
- ◆ FOCUS ON THE PROCESS OF "CITY-MAKING" AND NOT THE

PRODUCT OF “CITY BEING MADE” by co-ordinating different agencies and bodies at the local level in tackling the interdependence of diversity and space/place;

- ♦ OPEN-BASED PLANNING OF PUBLIC SPACES that combine function and content of objectives to bring comfort and recreation;
- ♦ CONSTRUCTION OF URBAN CITIZENSHIP that is open, flexible and inclusive for the diversity of residents, their needs and identifications, and mediates between national loyalty and local belonging.

10.3 Contribution of this Research to Theory

This research aimed at understanding how the citizens of the city of Skopje perceived the practices of accommodation of cultural diversity in public space and the relation between ethnicity and public space and the effect of socio-spatial integration between different ethnic groups. In order to understand the political, social and symbolic (cultural) value of public spaces as constructed through the experiences, identifications and feelings of the users/the citizens, the research adopted an interpretative position in an interdisciplinary theoretical framework. The research interpreted the constructed relationship between public spaces and the users using three main theoretical frameworks, namely, the contact theory (Allport, 1979), the theory of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991) and the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) within a background of governing ethnically fragmented societies and multicultural states (Lijphart, 1968). The interdisciplinary approach represents a fairly unusual mix of theories from urban sociology and social psychology applied in a study of public spaces. The research provided findings on the capacity of residents in ethnically mixed and homogenous neighbourhoods to participate in deliberation activities on accommodation of diversity in public space, the potential of public space to facilitate and sustain multicultural encounters between members of different ethnic groups and the symbolic meaning of public spaces, especially in regards to how citizenship and belonging are constructed through the form, composition and enclosure of public spaces. Finally, the research postulated a checklist of principles to guide the planning process of public spaces with recognition of diversity.

The contribution of the research to the theoretical framing of planning public spaces of diversity in multicultural cities is discussed in regards to, firstly, the

role of public spaces in establishing and sustaining intergroup contacts, secondly, the role of citizens and their mobilisation in the production of public space, and finally, the implications of the elite accommodation in the governance of fragmented societies.

The contact theory suggested that more diversity would result in more inclination for interethnic contact and solidarity, and that people living in ethnically mixed areas are more acceptant towards Others than is the case with those living in more homogeneous environments. The findings of this research identified the opposite. In multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, self-segregation of ethnic groups was prevalent. Members of different ethnic groups tended to avoid intercultural contact and preferred events and traditions celebrating their own ethnic culture. Why is this the case with multicultural neighbourhoods in Skopje?

Ethnic groups in the country hold formal equal status (rights and obligations) and diversity is promoted albeit at a superficial level by the public institutions and the authorities. Yet, the mundane contact between ethnic groups in public spaces is not effectuated in improved interethnic relations. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the context where the contact is established, and not only if the content of the interaction is based on activities with common and interdependent goals that could only be achieved with cooperation among groups. Hewstone (2003: 352) terms these conditions as the “independent variable” side of the contact situation. But the contact theory undermines the influence of the context of the contact. The changed ethnic demography of the neighbourhoods in Skopje was followed by other socio-cultural and visual transformations of the public spaces that may have intensified the mistrust between groups and reflected a deeper fear of redistribution of power, resources, of challenged cultural values, beliefs and worldviews. Such context is not a favourable condition for the development of positive intergroup contact. Moreover, the formal equal status between ethnic groups could be challenged by social and economic inequality that at times collide with ethnic belonging. As a result, in an equal society people may still face a lack of equal access to resources and opportunities that could affect the outcomes of the intergroup contact. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the context where contact between groups is established and sustained in addition to the potential of the space to shape positive or negative outcomes of the contact situation.

Secondly, the role of citizens and their mobilisation in the production of public space open up a critical reflection on the involved actors in the process of production of space, and how to mobilise citizens. The lived space, as constructed by Lefebvre (2009), can be understood as a passive element in a planning

process that produces our social reality that is mainly government-led. The process of production of space (actors, roles, power hierarchies) should not be reduced to the activities of the abstract space makers/urban planners, but be installed as a process of public production of space. Citizens and other civic networks should not be invisible but, as argued by Yiftachel and Huxley (2000), become part of the power hierarchy in the planning paradigm. Its public character adds to its transparency and accountability of all involved actors in the planning process. The declarative citizen participation and political clientelism are hindering active citizenship and genuine civic mobilisation. Therefore, the process of public production of space should be inclusive and equally value the position and engagement of the different actors in the planning architecture.

The last contribution of the finding of this research is seen from the perspective of the elite accommodation model of governance of fragmented societies. Elite accommodation is a preferred model by Lijphart (2008). According to him, elites of political sub-cultures are recognised as legitimate representatives of the interests and needs of their constituencies. While the degree of homogeneity and the scope of contact can be positively correlated with political stability (Lijphart, 2008: 35), keeping contact between opposing groups to a minimum as a tool of stability may only increase the gap between them, even if they occupy common public spaces. This situates the groups in a setting of “frozen conflict”. Homogeneity should not be rationalised as a tool for political stability. Sustaining the status-quo between ethnic groups should not be used as a source of legitimacy of the political elites. There is an evident struggle between elite accommodation (ethno-corporational accommodation for political purposes) and pluralistic democratic tendencies, in particular to decentralise political hierarchies and meaningful citizen engagement. The failures of the ethno-based model of accommodation facilitated through the political elites brought decisions which were not acceptable to the general public, it did not allow equal participation of all concerned individuals, fortified identification with fixed and stable ethnic identities and did not effectuate in building a successful power-sharing model of governance in a consensual democracy. Powerlessness, distrust in politicians, political passivity, atomised citizenry and clientelism are some of the results of the elite-based model of governance of diversity. It has been ineffective in fulfilling its primary function – to build a cohesive society based on consensus and acceptance. Understanding of the context where the style of urban planning has evolved is necessary for proposing appropriate changes in the institutional framework.

10.4 Criticism and Limitation of the Current Research

At the end of this work, it is necessary to reflect on the limitation and potential field of improvement of the research design. Important limitations arise from the usage of secondary data originating in the last official census in the country in 2002, right after the interethnic conflict. In 2004, the census data was reorganised to respond to the new territorial organisation of the country and the boundaries between territorial units- municipalities. The use of data collected 13 years ago has several disadvantages. Namely, the number of the population and the ratio of ethnic groups in each sampling unit may differ, and as a result, different sampling units with different proportions of ethnic groups and urban/rural areas could be potential units of analysis. In 2011 a new Census was initiated but suspended shortly after a few weeks because of methodological inconsistencies, irregularities in the process of data collection and the boycott of the ethnic Albanian political parties in the country. At the time when the field work of the research was planned, updated demography of the neighbourhoods in Skopje was not available and there wasn't any news when the Census would be organised. Therefore, it was decided that the selection of sampling units is done based on the official data of population and households in the country originating in 2002. For a future confirmation or refutation of the research results, field work could be organised in other neighbourhoods and checked for developmental differences. Still, this research may serve as a ground-base for future comparative analysis on this topic.

Also, the term "neighbourhood" used in the research was equated with the administrative term municipality. It is difficult to distinguish separate municipal and neighbourhood identities of the territorial units which are part of the city of Skopje, hence, the general place-identity concept, the level of the neighbourhood could be equated with that of the municipality. Equating among neighbourhood and municipality is made for mainly practical reasons; however, the research acknowledges that such limitation may prevent respondents from using the concept of neighbourhood that is most relevant to them. This also applies to the term "public space" which for some respondents may correspond to the local while for others with the representational public space in the city centre.

Finally, for future research, the current quantitative instrument could be standardised, so that its psychometrics could be verified to serve different contexts, deal with usability issues and in particular with the content validity and the

content of an instrument and allow further generalisation from a sample to the population.

10.5 The Research Results in Light of the Institutional Political Crisis in 2015 and 2016 in the Country

In December 2016, a premature parliamentary election was held in Macedonia. The elections were perceived as an attempt to end the two-year on-going political crisis in the country. Some authors (Stojkovski, Marichikj and Lazarov, 2016) argue that the country has been in crisis since the “Black Monday” on 24 December 2014 when the oppositional parliamentarians and journalists were violently expelled from the Parliament to stop any discussion on the state budget for the coming year. This fieldwork was done in that sensitive period and finished prior to the outbreak of the crisis in February 2015. The scandal with the massive, in both time-length and scale, intercepted communications released by the largest Macedonian opposition party with a serious indication of direct involvement of state officers and members of the ruling Macedonian political party, pitched the country in a deep crisis of practice of democracy and liberty. “Breaches of fundamental rights, interference with judicial independence, media freedom, and elections, as well as politicisation and corruption” were noted in a 2015 Progress report (European Commission, 2015: 4). The oppositional party leader was accused of attempting a coup d’état, while citizens and civil society organisations flowed into the streets continuously during 60 days of protests against the mode of governance of the ruling coalition of the Macedonian and Albanian political parties. “No justice, no peace!” was the mantra of a citizens’ self-organised movement, later to be known as the “Colourful Revolution”. The motto epitomised the fundamental needs of the society, united in its internal diversity to seek justice for the citizens, punishment for the criminals in impartial legal proceedings, the liberation of the institutions and democratisation of the society. Deliberation and citizens’ participation were deemed necessary in resolving the political crisis and the democratic deficit of the society. Many political events happened during the course of the crisis, the majority of which were political chess games between the ruling and oppositional political parties, and the international players, the U.S. Embassy in Skopje and the EU Representative office in Skopje including involvement of members of the European Parliament. The tensions were particularly furious in the pre-election period. The ruling Macedonian party de-

focused the campaign from the criminal charges against the top party official by attacking the multicultural character of the country and the self-autonomy of the municipalities propagating fear of federalisation and bilingualism. The major Macedonian oppositional party proposed extended language rights for ethnic groups and a building of a civic model of a country focused on the individual and his/her needs, including cultural and ethnic rights. At the same time, this party that was highly monoethnic, especially in the executive branch of the party which included prominent Albanian journalists and citizens in the higher level of party management, rejecting ethnocentrism with a long history in the party. Multiculturalism, extended language rights of the ethnic group in minority, and self-autonomy of the territorial units have been products of the 2001 ethnic conflict, and these characteristics have been able to absorb the identity claims posed by the second largest ethnic group, without jeopardising the unitary character of the country. Fear of self-existence and self-preservation, especially in light of the *brokerage deal* between the major Macedonian party and the Albanians was deemed as the end of Macedonia-as we know it.

On Election Day, 11th of December 2016, the fear of political retaliation and federalisation of the country won over the platform for “civic and diversity” of the country. But something unforeseen and, at the same time, encouraging happened. The major Macedonian oppositional party won votes in many mono-ethnic Albanian neighbourhoods as well as many votes in the major of multi-ethnic cities in the Western part of the country. It also won the votes of the Macedonians living in the major multicultural cities, as in the city of Skopje where it motivated 34,156 new voters compared to the last premature elections in 2014.²⁷ Earlier, anything other than ethnic voting was considered political heresy. This moves us to a very different narrative of that propagated by the fearful Macedonian Demo-Christian party. The civic concept of the country, organised around what Amy Gutmann (1994: 8) calls: (1) respect for the unique identities of each individual, regardless of gender, race or ethnicity, and (2) respect for those activities, practices and ways of viewing the world that are particularly valued by, or associated with, members of disadvantaged groups, including women, ethnic minorities, etc. was accepted as a new paradigm beyond compartmentalisation in fixed ethnic boundaries. At this very moment, the recognition of diversity shifted from “essentialist” accounts of

²⁷ On national level, compared with the pre-mature parliamentary elections in 2014, the Macedonian Demo-Christian party (VMRO-DPMNE) lost 27,096 voters while the Macedonian social-democratic party (SDSM) gained 152,868 new voters. In addition, the major Democratic party of the Albanians (DUI) lost 65,798 voters.

culture and ethnicity to “deliberative differentialist” views, and from “staged multiculturalism” to associational, lived “multipublics”.

10.6 Looking Back and Forward

This research was initiated in the midst of intensive urban transformations of our neighbourhoods and the project *Skopje 2014*. The intrinsic motivation for commencing the research was a needed answer on how a city facing increased heterogeneity should accommodate cultural diversity in the public spaces of neighbourhoods. And this research goes beyond the analysis of the project *Skopje 2014*. The effects of this government-led imaginary are not engendered to the city of Skopje exclusively. On the contrary, it legitimises an urban planning practice that was utilised in other cities in the country. The urban processes happening in the city of Skopje were deep and large in scope, yet intentionally failed to facilitate deliberation, argumentation or a conflict between diverse opinion and possibilities to find an agreeable answer to the need of public representation of diversity in the public sphere. And this was the venture of the research, to look at the perceptions, attitudes, feelings and ideas of recognition of differences and their accommodation in public space, of the outcomes of current accommodation processes for mixed and ethnic neighbourhoods. Now at the end of this research, some questions remain unanswered and some have emerged requiring further exploration of the study's subject.

For those interested in deliberation and new arrangements between citizens and authorities, future research must focus on the reasons for such distressingly low level of citizens' engagement. The functioning of democracy is impeded by such civil passivity, isolation and despair. Envisioning a way forward in designing actions that empower citizens to vocalise their needs and opinions rests on a clear identification of the reasons for the self-isolation of the highly educated people as well as to see what draws less educated and poorer people into politics. It is interesting to discuss if a deliberation engagement of the employed persons is part of the clientelistic culture in the country. It is interesting to look at the motives for political engagement and if vertical and horizontal deliberation are driven by different motivators. For future research, it is valuable to deal with the inconsistency in deliberation between findings in the context of post-socialistic countries and literature. As part of the future work in deliberation practices in the country, it would be interesting to map and

analyse processes, contexts and institutional or informal infrastructures that support “the right to debate” in urban planning. Some of the possible focuses could be citizens’ self-organisation on urban issues in Skopje that has been flourishing in the last few years. Baseline analysis has analysed the opportunities for self-organisation and civic perceptions of these grass-root initiatives (Mojanchevska, 2017). Yet, many questions related to their effectiveness and especially in their potential to transform the system of urban planning need further exploration.

A second possible field of research could be focused on the social making of the cities and understanding of the types of public spaces in Skopje that facilitate intercultural communication and transgression of stable group boundaries. At first glance, it may be devastating that within the current political, social and cultural context public spaces in mixed neighbourhoods do not serve as the natural and spontaneous site of intercultural contact with positive outcomes. Conceiving policies of social cohesion in a multicultural city faced with ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and social cleavages, underpins deeper understanding of the context within the neighbourhoods that can transform the experiences of its users/beneficiaries from being only bonding social capital towards bridging social capital, that is, to provide positive contact, exchange and cross-membership in different interest-based groups.

Among the citizens of Skopje, discussions on diversity rarely dealt with concerns of social inequality or issues of solidarity. Instead, they mainly focused on issues of (ethnic) unity and order. Mixed neighbourhoods and public spaces occupied by groups of different ethnic background inflict feelings of fear for personal well-being and public order. Crime, social disorder and physical decay are rarely seen in connection to the socio-economic status of the residents in a mixed setting and often tagged to the ethnic background of the people residing in the area. Thus, social inequality persisting between and within ethnic groups is never questioned to intervene in the relationship between the ethnic demography and the perceived decay of neighbourhoods. Therefore, a third potential research focus could be the link between diversity and social justice. Finally, residential mixing strategies based on ethnic belonging may be a contentious idea to promote in a multicultural city where inter-ethnic relations are framed through a perception of realistic and symbolic in-group threats. Instead, a mixing strategy based on the social status should be promoted. At the neighbourhood level, it is expected that mixing people of different social status can have a motivational impact and upward social mobility. The more affluent groups can introduce values and norms, among them civic responsibility, participation and communal sharing, and help to improve the liveability of the

neighbourhood (Smets, 2004: 12). Such differentiation of housing moves towards improved social cohesion and liveability. Thus, conceiving potential residential strategies of social cohesion including the role of public spaces within structuring intergroup contact could be a potentially challenging experience for the future.

10.7 A Concluding Remark

Local and spontaneous practices of accommodation of diversity in public spaces are not only a challenge for cities fragmented in the experiences and feelings among competing and colliding ethnonational groups but also for cities with a large migrant population that are yet to be integrated into the society. The refugee crisis in 2015 when millions of people travelled through the Balkan route and Western Africa to the doors of the European Union poses a new challenge in the urban planning practices of cities that think of themselves as largely ethnically homogeneous or pluralistic within a framework of a domination of one ethnocultural group (the natives). Discussing the capacities of states and cities to facilitate social integration of asylum seekers and refugees, Habermas (2016) contends that “attempts to legally conserve a national core culture are not only unconstitutional but also unrealistic”. Therefore, states and cities have no other option than to open the stage for those different from the “norm”, facilitate the deliberative process of interpretation and recognition of needs and forge active urban citizenship.

Leonie Sandercock (1998: 30) critically observes that:

“The multicultural city cannot be imagined without a belief in inclusive democracy and the diversity of social justice claims of the disempowered communities in existing cities. If we want to work toward a policy of inclusion, then we had better have a good understanding of the exclusionary effects of planning’s past practices and ideologies. And if we want to plan in the future for heterogeneous publics (rather than a unitary public interest), acknowledging and nurturing the full diversity of all of the different social groups in the multicultural city, then we need to develop a new kind of multicultural literacy. An essential part of that literacy is familiarity with the multiple histories of urban communities, especially as those histories intersect with struggles over space and place claiming, with planning policies and resistances to them, with traditions of indigenous planning, and

with questions of belonging and identity and acceptance of difference.”

And going back to the starting phrases in this work, Fainstein (2005: 3) argues that “Diversity has become the new orthodoxy in urban planning”. She does not comply with privileging of diversity over other urban issues, such as equality, sustainability and growth. She argues that the dynamics between these concepts is as important as diversity. However, allowing recognition of the dynamic relationship between diversity and these issues, is in fact, a deliberative opportunity for genuine diversity to flourish. Public space designed by us, rather than for us implies a shift in the power division within the planning paradigm and more thorough focus on the interpretation, recognition and engagement of the citizens in the political act of producing the city life.

Bibliography

- Allport, G.W. (1979) *The nature of prejudice*. 25th edn. Reading: Addison Wesley Publishing Company.
- Amin, A. (2002) 'Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity', *Environment and Planning A*, 34(6), pp. 959–980. doi: 10.1068/a3537.
- Andersen, H.S. (2008) 'Why do residents want to leave deprived neighbourhoods? The importance of residents' subjective evaluations of their neighbourhood and its reputation', *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 23(2), pp. 79–101. doi: 10.1007/s10901-008-9109-x.
- Aslund, O. (2005) 'Now and forever? Initial and subsequent location choices of immigrants', *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 35(2), pp. 141–165. doi: 10.2139/j.regsciurbeco.2004.02.001.
- Ayirtman, S. (2007) *Recognition through Deliberation: Towards Deliberative Accommodation of Cultural Diversity*, Australasian Political Studies Association Annual Conference, 24–26 September. Melbourne: Monash University.
- Back, L., Keith, M.J., Khan, A., Shukra, K. and Solomos, J. (2002) 'The return of Assimilationism: Race, Multiculturalism and new labour', *Sociological Research Online*, 7(2), pp. 445–454. doi: 10.5153/sro.719.
- Banerjee, T. (2001) 'The future of public space: Beyond invented streets and reinvented places', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 67(1), pp. 9–24. doi: 10.1080/01944360108976352.
- Bauböck, R. (2003) 'Reinventing urban citizenship', *Citizenship Studies*, 7(2), pp. 139–160. doi: 10.1080/1362102032000065946.

- van Beckhoven, E. and van Kempen, R. (2003) 'Social effects of urban restructuring: A case study in Amsterdam and Utrecht, the Netherlands', *Housing Studies*, 18(6), pp. 853–875. doi: 10.1080/0267303032000135474.
- Benhabib, S. (1993) 'Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas', in Calhoun, C. (ed.) *Habermas and the public sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 73–98.
- Benhabib, S. (2007) 'Crises of the Republic: Transformations of State Sovereignty and the Prospects of Democratic Citizenship', in Habekost, E. (ed.) *Justice, Governance, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Difference: Reconfigurations in a Transnational World; Distinguished W.E.B. Du Bois Lectures 2004/2005*. Berlin: Humboldt University, pp. 45–78.
- Bieber, F. (2011) 'Introduction: Assessing the Ohrid Framework Agreement', in Risteska, M. and Daskaloski, Z. (eds.) *One Decade after the Ohrid Framework Agreement: Lessons (to be) Learned from the Macedonian Experience*. Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Center for Research and Policy Making, pp. 12–24.
- Blokland, T. and van Eijk, G. (2009) 'Do people who like diversity practice diversity in neighbourhood life? Neighbourhood use and the social networks of "diversity-seekers" in a mixed neighbourhood in the Netherlands', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), pp. 313–332. doi: 10.1080/13691830903387436.
- Blokland, T. and Nast, J. (2014) 'From public familiarity to comfort zone: The relevance of absent ties for belonging in Berlin's mixed Neighbourhoods', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(4), pp. 1142–1159. doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12126.
- Boelens, L. (2010) 'Theorizing practice and practising theory: Outlines for an actor-relational-approach in planning', *Planning Theory*, 9(1), pp. 28–62. doi: 10.1177/1473095209346499.
- Bolt, G. and van Kempen, R. (2009) 'Ethnic segregation and residential mobility: Relocations of minority ethnic groups in the Netherlands', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(2), pp. 333–354. doi: 10.1080/13691830903387451.
- Boonstra, B. and Boelens, L. (2011) 'Self-organisation in urban development: Towards a new perspective on spatial planning', *Urban Research & Practice*, 4(2), pp. 99–122. doi: 10.1080/17535069.2011.579767.
- Boyatzis, R.E. (1998) *Thematic analysis: Coding as a process for transforming qualitative information*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Brady, H.E., Verba, S. and Schlozman, K.L. (1995) 'Beyond Ses: A resource model of political participation', *The American Political Science Review*, 89(2), pp. 271–294. doi: 10.2307/2082425.

- Bratina Jurkovič, N. (2014) 'Perception, experience and the use of public urban spaces by residents of urban neighbourhoods', *Urbani izziv*, 25(1), pp. 107–125. doi: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2014-25-01-003.
- Breakwell, G.M. (1986) *Coping with threatened identities*. London: Law Book Co of Australasia.
- Brown, B.B. and Perkins, D.D. (1992) 'Disruptions in Place Attachment', in Altmann, I. and Low, S.M. (eds.) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 279–304.
- Butler, T. (2003) 'Living in the bubble: Gentrification and its "others" in north London', *Urban Studies*, 40(12), pp. 2469–2486. doi: 10.1080/0042098032000136165.
- Butler, T. and Robson, G. (2001) 'Social capital, Gentrification and neighbourhood change in London: A comparison of Three south London Neighbourhoods', *Urban Studies*, 38(12), pp. 2145–2162. doi: 10.1080/00420980120087090.
- Bužar, S. (2006) *Geographies of Ethnopolitics: Unravelling the Spatial and Political Economies of 'Ethnic Conflict'*, Occasional Paper No. 7/06. Oxford: European Studies Centre, St Antony's College.
- Calhoun, C. (2014) 'Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere', in Calhoun, C. (ed.) *Habermas and the public sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 1–48.
- Cook, F.L., Delli Carpini, M.X. and Jacobs, L.R. (2007) 'Who Deliberates? Discursive Participation in America: Deliberation, Participation and Democracy', in Rosenberg, S.W. (ed.) *Deliberation, Participation and Democracy: Can the People Govern?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 25–40.
- Coopmans, M., Lubbers, M. and Meuleman, R. (2015) 'To whom do national days matter? A comparison of national belonging across generations and ethnic groups in the Netherlands', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(12), pp. 2037–2054. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1023822.
- Costa, D.L. and Kahn, M.E. (2003) 'Civic engagement and community heterogeneity: An economist's perspective', *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(1), pp. 103–111.
- Cresswell, T. (1996) *In place - out of place: Geography, ideology, and transgression*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- De Vos, E. (2005) 'Public parks in Ghent's city life: From expression to emancipation?', *European Planning Studies*, 13(7), pp. 1035–1061. doi: 10.1080/09654310500242097.
- Dehnert, S. (2010) *Elections and Conflict in Macedonia: Country Analysis*. Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

- Devine-Wright, P. and Lyons, E. (1997) 'Remembering Past and Representing Places: the Construction of National Identities in Ireland', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 17(1), pp. 33–45. doi: 10.1006/jevp.1996.0037.
- Dixon, J. and Durrheim, K. (2000) 'Displacing place-identity: A discursive approach to locating self and other', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(1), pp. 27–44. doi: 10.1348/014466600164318.
- Dodovski, I. (2005) 'Experimentum macedonicum – tragajki po idninata na multiculturalizmot (Experimentum macedonicum – searching for the future of multiculturalism)', in Dodovski, I. (ed.) *Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija: model vo nastanuvanje (The multiculturalism in Macedonia: model-in-progress)*. Skopje: Fondacija Institut Otvoreno Opshtestvo, pp. ix–xv.
- Doise, W. and Sinclair, A. (1973) 'The categorisation process in intergroup relations', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 3(2), pp. 145–157. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420030204.
- Doucet, I. (2007) 'Negotiating Brussels: collectives in search for a common world?', in *host publication. Urban Ontologies: Importing ANT into the Urban Studies Seminar*. Berlin: Centre for Metropolitan Studies.
- Dovidio, J.F., Gaerner, S.L., and Saguy, T. (2009) 'Commonality and the Complexity of "We": Social Attitudes and Social Change', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 13(1), pp. 3–20. doi: 10.1177/1088868308326751
- Dovidio, J.F., Eller, A. and Hewstone, M. (2011) 'Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact', *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(2), pp. 147–160. doi: 10.1177/1368430210390555.
- Dovidio, J.F., Gaertner, S.L., Saguy, T. and Halabi, S. (2008) 'From when to why: Understanding how contact reduces bias', in Wagner, U., Tropp, L.R., and Finchilescu, G. (eds.) *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 75–90.
- Dovidio, J.F., Gaertner, S.L., Stewart, T.L., Esses, V.M., ten Vergert, M. and Hodson, G. (2004) 'From Intervention to Outcome: Processes in the Reduction of Bias', in Stephan, W.G. and Vogt, P.W. (eds.) *Education Programs for improving intergroup Relations: Theory, Research, and Practice*. New York: Teachers' College Press, pp. 243–265.
- Dragshikj, I. and Grcheva, L. (2016) *Prirachnik za chitanje Dupovi (Guidebook on how to read DUP)*. Skopje: Ploshtad Sloboda.
- Duyvendak, J.W. (2004) 'Neighbourhoods, cohesion and social safety', in van der Vijver, K. and Terpstra, J. (eds.) *Urban safety: Problems, governance, and strategies*. Enschede: IPIT, University of Twente, pp. 27–35.

- Ellis, D.G. (2010) 'Intergroup Conflict', in Berger, C.R., Roloff, M.E., and Roskos-Ewoldsen, D.R. (eds.) *The Handbook of Communication Science*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, pp. 291–308.
- Ellis, D.G. and Maoz, I. (2003) 'A Communication and Cultural Codes Approach to Ethnonational Conflict', *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 14(3/4), pp. 255–272. doi: 10.1108/eb022901.
- European Commission (2015) *The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Report 2015*. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/pdf/key_documents/2015/20151110_report_the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia.pdf (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Fainstein, S.S. (2005) 'Cities and diversity: Should we want it? Can we plan for it?', *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(1), pp. 3–19. doi: 10.1177/1078087405278968.
- Felbermayr, G.J., Toubal, F. (2010) Cultural proximity and trade, *European Economic Review*, 54(2), pp. 279–293.
- Fennema, M. and Tillie, J. (1999) 'Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: Civic communities and ethnic networks', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25(4), pp. 703–726. doi: 10.1080/1369183x.1999.9976711.
- Fennema, M. and Tillie, J. (2001) 'Civic Community, Political Participation and Political Trust of Ethnic Groups', *CONNECTIONS*, 24(1), pp. 26–41.
- Finifter, A.W. (1970) 'Dimensions of political alienation', *American Political Science Review*, 64(02), pp. 389–410. doi: 10.2307/1953840.
- Flora, C.B. and Flora, J.L. (1997) 'Creating Social Capital', in Vitek, W. and Jackson, W. (eds.) *Rooted in the land: Essays on community and place*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 217–225.
- Fossett, M.A. and Kiecolt, J.K. (1989) 'The Relative Size of Minority Populations and White Racial Attitudes', *Social Science Quarterly*, 70(4), pp. 820–835.
- Fraser, N. (1989) *Unruly practices: Power, discourse, and gender in contemporary social theory*. 4th edn. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fraser, N. (1992) 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', in Calhoun, C. (ed.) *Habermas and the public sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 109–142.
- Frckoski, L.D. (2000) 'Certain Aspects of Democracy in Multiethnic Societies', *PERCEPTIONS JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS*, IV(4).
- Gaertner, S.L. and Dovidio, J.F. (2000) *Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model*. Philadelphia: The Psychology Press.

- Gallego, A. (2007) 'Unequal political participation in Europe', *International Journal of Sociology*, 37(4), pp. 10–25. doi: 10.2753/ijss0020-7659370401.
- Gaventa, J. (2006) 'Finding the spaces for change: A power analysis', *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), pp. 23–33. doi: 10.1111/j.1759-5436.2006.tb00320.x.
- George, D., and Mallery, P. (2003) *SPSS for Windows step by step: A simple guide and reference*. 11.0 update (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Gilroy, P. (2004) *After empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?*. London: Routledge.
- Glass, H.E. (1977) 'Ethnic diversity, elite accommodation and federalism in Switzerland', *Publius*, 7(4), pp. 31–48.
- Glazer, N. (1983) *Ethnic Dilemmas, 1964-1982*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gliem, A. J., and Gliem, R.R. (2003) 'Calculating, Interpreting, and Reporting Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient for Likert-Type Scales', *Midwest Research to Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education*, pp. 82-88.
- Goetz, A.M. and Gaventa, J. (2001) 'From Consultation to Influence: Bringing Citizen Voice and Client Focus into Service Delivery', *IDS Working Paper*, 138.
- Goode, L. (2005) *Jürgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere*. London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.
- Grillo, R.D. (1998) *Pluralism and the politics of difference*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gutmann, A. (1994) 'Introduction', in Gutmann, A. (ed.) *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 3–24.
- Habermas, J. (1989) *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence. 9th edn. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. (1994) 'Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State', in Gutmann, A. (ed.) *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 107–148.
- Habermas, J. (2016) 'For a democratic polarization'. Interview with *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 22 November.
- Harvey, D.D. (1989) *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hayden, D. (1997) *The power of place: Urban landscapes as public history*. 4th edn. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Hendriks, C.M., Dryzek, J.S. and Hunold, C. (2007) 'Turning up the heat:

- Partisanship in deliberative innovation', *Political Studies*, 55(2), pp. 362–383. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00667.x.
- Hewstone, M. (2003) 'Intergroup contact Panacea for prejudice?', *The Psychologist*, 16(7), pp. 352–355.
- Hewstone, M. and Greenland, K. (2000) 'Intergroup conflict', *International Journal of Psychology*, 35(2), pp. 136–144. doi: 10.1080/002075900399439.
- Hindess, B. (1992) 'Citizens and PEOPLES', *Australian Left Review*, June, pp. 20–23.
- Hindess, B. (1993) 'Multiculturalism and Citizenship', in Kukathas, C. (ed.) *Multicultural citizens: The philosophy and politics of identity*. Australia: Multicultural Research Program, Centre for Independent Studies, pp. 31–46.
- Holston, J. (1998) 'Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship', in Sandercock, L. (ed.) *Making the invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 37–56.
- Horowitz, D.L. (1985) *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Huddy, L., Feldman, S., Taber, C. and Lahav, G. (2005) 'Threat, anxiety, and support of Antiterrorism policies', *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), pp. 593–608. doi: 10.2307/3647734.
- Ibraimovic, T. and Masiero, L. (2014) 'Do birds of a feather flock together? The impact of ethnic segregation preferences on neighbourhood choice', *Urban Studies*, 51(4), pp. 693–711. doi: 10.1177/0042098013493026.
- Innes, J.E. and Booher, D.E. (2003) 'Collaborative policymaking: governance through dialogue', in Hajer, M.A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds.) *Deliberative policy analysis: Understanding governance in the network society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 33–59.
- Jacobs, J.M. (1969) *Death and life of great American cities*. New York: Random House.
- Janev, G. (2005) 'Avtohtoniot makedonski multikulturen model (Autochthon Macedonian multicultural model)', in Dodovski, I. (ed.) *Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija: model vo nastanuvanje (Multiculturalism in Macedonia: model in-progress)*. Skopje: Fondacija Institut Otvoreno Opshtestvo, pp. 97–110.
- Jashari, H. (2005) 'Kulturnata raznovidnost i masovnite mediumi (Cultural Diversity and Mass Media)', in Dodovski, I. (ed.) *Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija: model vo nastanuvanje (Multiculturalism in Macedonia: model in-progress)*. Skopje: Fondacija Institut Otvoreno Opshtestvo, pp. 139–150.
- Jonassen, C.T. (1949) 'Cultural variables in the ecology of an ethnic group', *American Sociological Review*, 14(1), pp. 32–41. doi: 10.2307/2086443.

- Keeter, S., Zukin, C., Andolina, M. and Jenkins, K. (2002) *The Civic and Political Health of the Nation: A Generational Portrait*. Medford: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning & Engagement.
- Keith, M. and Pile, S. (1993) 'INTRODUCTION PART 1: THE POLITICS OF PLACE', in Keith, M. and Pile, S. (eds.) *Place and the politics of identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 1–21.
- Kolozova, K., Lecevska, K., Borovska, V. and Blazeva, A. (2013) *Skopje 2014 Project and its Effects on the Perception of Macedonian Identity Among the Citizens of Skopje*. Available at: <http://www.isshsvisualizations.com/uploads/4/2/0/5/42051665/1.-sk2014-eng.pdf> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Kolozova, K., Panov, M.B. and Milcevski, I. (2010) *The Nation-State and the Institutions of Academic Knowledge: Production and Legitimizing of Dominant Discourse of/on Knowledge about Society*. Available at: http://www.rppp-westernbalkans.net/en/research/Completed-Projects/2011/Nation-state-and-the-Institutions-of-Academic-Knowledge--/mainColumnParagraphs/0/text_files/file0/2_Euro%20Balkan%20paper.pdf (Accessed: December 2016).
- Koopmans, R. and Statham, P. (1999) 'Challenging the liberal Nation-State? Postnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the collective claims making of migrants and ethnic minorities in Britain and Germany 1', *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), pp. 652–696. doi: 10.1086/210357.
- Kovacheva, S. (2000) *Keys to youth participation in eastern Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Kraus, P.A. (2011) 'The politics of complex diversity: A European perspective', *Ethnicities*, 12(1), pp. 3–25. doi: 10.1177/1468796811426952.
- Kukathas, C. (1993) 'The Idea of a Multicultural Society', in Kukathas, C. (ed.) *Multicultural citizens: The philosophy and politics of identity*. Australia: Centre for Independent Studies, pp. 17–30.
- Kuo, F.E., Sullivan, W.C., Coley, R.L. and Brunson, L. (1998) 'Fertile Ground for Community: Inner-City Neighborhood Common Spaces', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 26(6), pp. 823–851. doi: 10.1023/a:1022294028903.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995) *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2001) *Politics in the vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2010) 'The rise and fall of multiculturalism? New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies', *International Social Science Journal*, 61(199), pp. 97–112. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2451.2010.01750.x.

- Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (2000) 'Citizenship in Culturally Diverse Societies: Issues, Contexts, Concepts', in Kymlicka, W. and Norman, W. (eds.) *Citizenship in diverse societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–41.
- La Due Lake, R. and Huckfeldt, R. (1998) 'Social capital, social networks, and political participation', *Political Psychology*, 19(3), pp. 567–584. doi: 10.1111/0162-895x.00118.
- Lancee, B. and Dronkers, J. (2011) 'Ethnic, Religious and Economic Diversity in Dutch Neighbourhoods: Explaining Quality of Contact with Neighbours, Trust in the Neighbourhood and Inter-Ethnic Trust', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(4), pp. 597–618.
- Leach, C.W., Snider, N. and Iyer, A. (2002) "Poisoning the Consciences of the Fortunate": The Experience of Relative Advantage and Support for Social Equality', in Walker, I. and Smith, H.J. (eds.) *Relative deprivation: Specification, development, and integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 136–163.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lefebvre, H. (2009) *State, space, world: Selected essays*. Edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden. Translated by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner, and Stuart Elden. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Leshoska, V., Maleska, T., Korunovska-Srbijanko, J., Korunovska, N., Zdravev, D., Dimchevski F. and Maleski, B. (2016) *Citizen and their communities: citizen participation, activism and volunteering in Republic of Macedonia [Gragjanite i nivnite zaednici: gragjanskoto uchestvo, aktivizmot i volonterstvoto vo Republika Makedonija]*. Available at: http://civicengagement.mk/pdf/Gragjansko_uchestvo_12_16_MK.pdf (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Lijphart, A. (1968) *The politics of accommodation: Pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands*. 2nd edn. Berkeley: University of California Press. Lijphart, A. (2008) *Thinking about democracy: Power sharing and majority rule in theory and practice*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Lim, C. and Sander, T. (2013) 'Does misery love company? Civic engagement in economic hard times', *Social Science Research*, 42(1), pp. 14–30. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2012.07.004.
- Linting, M., Meulman, J. J., Groenen, P. J. F., & Van der Kooij, A. J. (2007) 'Nonlinear Principal Components Analysis: Introduction and Application', *Psychological Methods*, 12, pp. 336–358.
- Linville, P.W., Fischer, G.W. and Salovey, P. (1989) 'Perceived distributions of the characteristics of ingroup and outgroup members', *Journal of Personality and*

Social Psychology, 57(2), pp. 165–188.

- Lofland, L.H. (1998) *The public realm: Exploring the city's quintessential social territory*. Hawthorne: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (1995) 'Urban form and social context: Cultural differentiation in the uses of urban parks', *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 14(2), pp. 89–102. doi: 10.1177/0739456x9501400202.
- Low, S.M. and Altman, I. (1992) 'Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry', in Altman, I. and Low, S.M. (eds.) *Place attachment*. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 1–12.
- Low, S.M. and Smith, N. (eds.) (2005) *The politics of public space*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Low, S.M., Taplin, D. and Scheld, S. (2005) *Rethinking urban parks: Public space and cultural diversity*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.
- MacCannell, D. (1973) 'Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(3), p. 589. doi: 10.1086/225585.
- Madanipour, A. (1996) *Design of urban space: An inquiry into a socio-spatial process*. New York: John Wiley & Son.
- Madanipour, A. (1999) 'Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities?', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 26(6), pp. 879–891. doi: 10.1068/b260879.
- Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and private spaces of the city*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Madge, C. (1997) 'Public Parks and the Geography of Fear', *Journal of Economic and Social Geography*, 88(3), pp. 237–250. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9663.1997.tb01601.x.
- Maleska, M. (2010) 'Interethnic Relations', in Bartlett, W. (ed.) *People-Centered Analysis: Quality of Social Services*. Skopje: UNDP and SEEU, pp. 57–86.
- Maleska, M. (2013) 'Multiethnic democracy in Macedonia: political analysis and emerging scenarios', *New Balkan Politics*, 13, pp. 1–27.
- Manzo, L.C. (2003) 'Beyond house and haven: Toward a revisioning of emotional relationships with places', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23(1), pp. 47–61. doi: 10.1016/s0272-4944(02)00074-9.
- Manzo, L.C. and Perkins, D.D. (2006) 'Finding common ground: The importance of place attachment to community participation and planning', *Journal of Planning Literature*, 20(4), pp. 335–350. doi: 10.1177/0885412205286160.
- Maussen, M.J.M. (2009) *Constructing mosques : the governance of Islam in France and the Netherlands*. PHD thesis. Amsterdam: Amsterdam School for Social Science

- Research (ASSR). Available at: https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1108183/61290_thesis.pdf (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Mazumdar, S., Mazumdar, S., Docuyanan, F. and McLaughlin, C.M. (2000) 'Creating a Sense of Place: the Vietnamese-Americans and Little Saigon', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20(4), pp. 319–333. doi: 10.1006/jevp.2000.0170.
- McDonald, M.P. and Popkin, S.L. (2001) 'The Myth of the Vanishing Voter', *The American Political Science Review*, 95(4), pp. 963–974.
- Messick, D.M. and Kramer, R.M. (2001) 'Trust as a Form of Shallow Morality', in Cook, K.S. (ed.) *Trust in Society*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 89–118.
- Meulman J.J., van der Kooij A.J., and Heiser W.J. (2004) 'Principal Components Analysis with Nonlinear Optimal Scaling Transformations for Ordinal and Nominal Data', in Kaplan, D. (ed.) *Handbook of Quantitative Methodology for the Social Sciences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 49–70.
- Michels, A. (2012) 'Citizen participation in local policy making: Design and democracy', *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(4), pp. 285–292. doi: 10.1080/01900692.2012.661301.
- Mijalkovič, M. and Urbanek, K. (2011) *Skopje-Svetskoto kopile: arhitektura na podelen grad (Skopje – The World's Bastard, Architecture of a Divided City)*. Skopje: Goten.
- Mitchell, D. (2003) *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford Publications.
- Mojanchevska, K. (2015) 'Swapping houses: Mobility behaviour and migration tendencies in a changing multicultural city', *The International Journal of Community Diversity*, 15(3), pp. 13–34. doi: 10.18848/2327-0004/cgp/v15i03/39967.
- Mojanchevska, K. (2017) 'Urban planning and self-organized citizens' networks in post-transitional societies in south-eastern Europe: a case study of the city of Skopje', in Van Dijk, M.P., Edelenbos, J. and Van Rooijen, K. (eds.) *Urban Governance in the Realm of Complexity*. Warwickshire: Practical Action Publishing.
- Mondak, J.J. and Gearing, A.F. (1998) 'Civic engagement in a post-communist state', *Political Psychology*, 19(3), pp. 615–637. doi: 10.1111/0162-895x.00121.
- Morrison, R.K., Fast, J.N. and Ybarra, O. (2009) 'Group status, perceptions of threat, and support for social inequality', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, pp. 204–210.
- Muhic, M. (2004) 'Multiculturalism in Central and Eastern Europe: Challenge or Thread?', *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 22(2), pp. 1–8.

- Musick, M.A. and Wilson, J. (2008) *Volunteers: A social profile*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Musterd, S. and Andersson, R. (2006) 'Employment, social mobility and neighbourhood effects: The case of Sweden', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(1), pp. 120–140. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00640.x.
- Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. (2005) 'On physical determinism and displacement 149 effects', in van Kempen, R., Dekker, K., Hall, S., and Tosics, I. (eds.) *Restructuring large housing estates in Europe: Restructuring and resistance inside the welfare industry*. Bristol: The Policy Press, pp. 149–168.
- Mutz, D.C.C. (2006) *Hearing the other side: Deliberative versus participatory democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neblo, M.A., Esterling, K.M., Kennedy, R., Lazer, D. and Sokhey, A.E. (2010) 'Who wants to deliberate - and why?', *American Political Science Review*, 104(3), pp. 566–583. doi: 10.1017/S0003055410000298.
- Nuredinoska, E., Krzhalovski, A. and Stojanova, D. (2013) *Doverbata vo gragjanskoto opstestvo (Trust in civil society)*. Available at: <http://mcms.org.mk/images/docs/2013/doverbata-vo-gragjanskoto-opstestvo-2013.pdf> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Pajaziti, A. (2005) 'Multikulturalizmot: nova vizija za idninata na Makedinija (Multiculturalism: new vision for the future of Macedonia)', in Dodovski, I. (ed.) *Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija: model vo nastanuvanje (Multiculturalism in Macedonia: model in-progress)*. Skopje: Fondacija Institut Otvoreno Opshtestvo, pp. 41–54.
- Parekh, B. (2008) *A new politics of identity: Political principles for an interdependent world*. 4th edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Parker, A. E., Lichtenstein, L.R., Schulz, J.A., Israel, A.B., Schork, M.A., Steinman, J.K. and James, A.S. (2001) 'Disentangling Measures of Individual Perceptions of Community Social Dynamics: Results of a Community Survey', *Health Education Behaviour*, 28(4), pp. 462–486.
- Pearson, D. (2001) *The politics of ethnicity in settler societies: States of unease*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pechijarev, M. (2011) 'The Role of inter-ethnic conflicts on the integration of the Macedonian society', in Risteska, M. and Daskaloski, Z. (eds.) *One Decade after the Ohrid Framework Agreement: Lessons (to be) Learned from the Macedonian Experience*. Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Center for Research and Policy Making, pp. 139–169.
- Pejkovski, J. (2009) 'Local Governance', in Bartlett, W. (ed.) *People -Centred Analyses:*

- Regional Development, Local Governance and the Quality of Life*. Skopje: UNDP and SEEU, pp. 67–89.
- Peters, K. and de Haan, H. (2011) 'Everyday spaces of inter-ethnic interaction: The meaning of urban public spaces in the Netherlands', *Leisure/Loisir*, 35(2), pp. 169–190. doi: 10.1080/14927713.2011.567065.
- Petreski, B., Petreska, D. and Kostadinov, A. (2014) *Vnimavajte na jazot megu budzetskite stavki i programite od Nacionalnata strategija za namaluvanje na siromashtijata (Be careful of the gap between the budget allocations and the programs in the National strategy for poverty reduction)*. Skopje: Finance Think.
- Pettigrew, T.F. (1998) 'Intergroup Contact Theory', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49(1), pp. 65–85. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65.
- Pettigrew, T.F. (2008) 'Future directions for intergroup contact theory and research', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32(3), pp. 187–199. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.12.002.
- Pløger, J. (2001) 'Public participation and the art of governance', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 28(2), pp. 219–241. doi: 10.1068/b2669.
- Putnam, R.D. (2007) 'E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the Twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte prize lecture', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), pp. 137–174. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x.
- Putnam, R.D. and Goss, A.K. (2002) "Introduction", in: Putnam, R.D. (ed.) *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rapoport, A. (1974) 'Symbolism and environmental design', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 27(4), pp. 58–63. doi: 10.1080/10464883.1974.10757997.
- Reactor Research in Action (2015b) *Citizen Participation in Macedonia (2012-2014) [Gragjansko uchestvo vo Makedonija (2012-2014)]*. Available at: <http://civicengagement.mk> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Rishbeth, C. (2001) 'Ethnic minority groups and the design of public open space: An inclusive landscape?', *Landscape Research*, 26(4), pp. 351–366. doi: 10.1080/01426390120090148.
- Rockefeller, S.C. (1994) 'Comment', in Gutmann, A. (ed.) *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 87–98.
- Rosenberg, S.W. (2007) 'An Introduction: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Research on Deliberative Democracy', in Rosenberg, S.W. (ed.) *Deliberation, participation and democracy: Can the people govern?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–24.

- Ross, C.E., Mirowsky, J. and Pribesh, S. (2001) 'Powerlessness and the amplification of threat: neighborhood disadvantage, disorder and mistrust', *American Sociological Review*, 66(4), pp. 568-591.
- Saldana, J. and Saldana, J. (2009) *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Sandercock, L. (1998) 'Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning', in Sandercock, L. (ed.) *Making the invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-33.
- Sandercock, L. (2004) 'Sustaining Canada's multicultural cities', in Andrew, C. (ed.) *Our diverse cities, 1*. Ottawa: Metropolis, pp. 153-157.
- Sarkanjac, B. (2005) 'Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija (Multiculturalism in Macedonia)', in Dodovski, I. (ed.) *Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija: model vo nastanuvanje (Multiculturalism in Macedonia: model in-progress)*. Skopje: Fondacija Institut Otvoreno Opshtestvo, pp. 14-27.
- Saveski, Z., Sadiku, A. and Vasilev, K. (2013) *Wealth and Poverty in Macedonia, 2008-2012 (Bogatstvoto i siromshtijata vo Makedonija, 2008-2012)*. Skopje: Solidarnost.
- Semyonov, M. and Glikman, A. (2009) 'Ethnic residential segregation, social contacts, and anti-minority attitudes in European societies', *European Sociological Review*, 25(6), pp. 693-708. doi: 10.1093/esr/jcn075.
- Semyonov, M., Gorodzeisky, A. and Glikman, A. (2012) 'Neighborhood ethnic composition and resident perceptions of safety in European countries', *Social Problems*, 59(1), pp. 117-135. doi: 10.1525/sp.2012.59.1.117.
- Slootman, M. and Duyvendak, J.W. (2015) 'Feeling Dutch: The Culturalization and Emotionalization of Citizenship and Second-Generation Belonging in the Netherlands' in: Foner, N. and Simon, P. (eds) *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 147-168.
- Smets, P. (2004) 'Affordable housing for different income groups in working class neighbourhoods in Amsterdam: Social mix or segregation?', International Conference: Adequate and Affordable Housing for All: Research, Policy, Practices. Toronto, 24-27 June, Center for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto.
- Smith, N. (2005) 'Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space', in Low, S.M. and Smith, N. (eds.) *The politics of public space*. New York: Taylor & Francis, pp. 1-16.
- State Statistical Office of The Republic of Macedonia (2004) *Popis na naselenieto, domakjinstvata i stanovite vo Republika Makedonija, 2002 - Kniga IX (Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002 - Book*

- IX). Available at: <http://www.stat.gov.mk/PrikaziPublikacija.aspx?id=54&rbr=221> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- State Statistical Office of The Republic of Macedonia (2005) *Popis na naselenieto, domakjinstvata i stanovite vo Republika Makedonija, 2002 - Kniga XIII (Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002 - Book XVIII)*. Available at: <http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/knigaXIII.pdf> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia (2016) *Labour Force Survey 2015*. Available at: <http://www.stat.gov.mk/Publikacii/2.4.16.02.pdf> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Steiner, J. (2012) *The foundations of deliberative democracy: Empirical research and normative implications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stephan, W.G., Renfro, C.L. and Davis, M.D. (2008) 'The Role of Threat in Intergroup Relations', in Wagner, U., Tropp, L.R., Finchilescu, G., and Tredoux, C. (eds.) *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 55–72.
- Stojkovski, A., Marichikj, B. and Lazarov, G. (2016) *New Approach for Macedonia, Policy brief*. Available at: <http://mcet.org.mk/documents/RNa7scXWHFMqGWRpA> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Stratton, J. and Ang, I. (1998) 'Multicultural imagined communities: Cultural difference and national identity in the USA and Australia', in Bennett, D. (ed.) *Multicultural states: Rethinking difference and identity*. New York: Taylor & Francis, pp. 135–162.
- Sullivan, W.C., Kuo, F.E. and DePooter, S.F. (2004) 'The fruit of urban nature: Vital neighborhood spaces', *Environment and Behavior*, 36(5), pp. 678–700. doi: 10.1177/0193841x04264945.
- Tajfel, H. (1974) 'Social identity and intergroup behaviour', *Social Science Information*, 13(2), pp. 65–93. doi: 10.1177/053901847401300204.
- Taleski, D. (2008) 'Minorities and Political Parties in Macedonia', in *Political Parties and Minority Participation*. Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - Office Macedonia, pp. 127–152.
- Tatjer, L.C. (2004) in Phil, W. (ed.) *The Intercultural city: A reader*. Stroud: Comedia, pp. 248–257.
- Taylor, C. (1994) 'The Politics of Recognition', in Gutmann, A. (ed.) *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 25–74.

- The Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2002) *Zakon za lokalna samouprava (Law on local self-governance)* No. 5/02). Skopje: Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia.
- The Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2013) *Zakon za imenuvanje na ulici, ploshtadi, mostovi i drugi infrastrukturni objekti (Law on naming streets, squares, bridges and other infrastructural facilities)* No. 66/2004; 55/2007; 145/2010; 136/2011 and 163/2013). Skopje: Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia.
- The Government of the Republic of Macedonia (2016) *Zakon za prostorno i urbano planiranje (Law on spatial and urban planning)* No. 199/14, 44/15, 193/15, 31/16 and 163/16). Skopje: Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia.
- Trajkovski, I. (2005) 'Nacionalizmite i multiculturalizmot vo Makedonija: sostojbi i perspektivi (Nationalisms and multiculturalism in Macedonia: conditions and perspectives)', in Dodovski, I. (ed.) *Multikulturalizmot vo Makedonija: model vo nastanuvanje (The multiculturalism in Macedonia: model-in-progress)*. Skopje: Fondacija Institut Otvoreno Opshtestvo, pp. 5–13.
- Twigger-Ross, C.L. and Uzzell, D.L. (1996) 'Place and Identity Processes', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16(3), pp. 205–220. doi: 10.1006/jevp.1996.0017.
- Valentine, G. (2008) 'Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3), pp. 323–337. doi: 10.1177/0309133308089372.
- Valera, S. and Guardia, J. (2002) 'Urban social identity and sustainability: Barcelona's Olympic village', *Environment and Behavior*, 34(1), pp. 54–66. doi: 10.1177/0013916502034001004.
- Vallance, S., Perkins, H.C., Bowring, J. and Dixon, J.E. (2011) 'Almost invisible: Glimpsing the city and its residents in the urban sustainability discourse', *Urban Studies*, 49(8), pp. 1695–1710. doi: 10.1177/0042098011417903.
- Van Bochove, M., Rušinović, K., and Engbersen, G. (2009) 'Local and Transnational Aspects of Citizenship Political Practices and Identifications of Middle-Class Migrants in Rotterdam' in Duyvendak, J.W., Hendriks, F. and Van Niekerk, M. (eds.) *City in Sight: Dutch Dealings with Urban Change*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 103–119.
- Van Der Laan Bouma-Doff, W. (2007) 'Confined contact: Residential segregation and ethnic bridges in the Netherlands', *Urban Studies*, 44(5), pp. 997–1017. doi: 10.1080/00420980701255965.
- Van Kempen, R. (2001) 'Social exclusion: the importance of context', in Andersen, H.T. and van Kempen, R. (eds.) *Governing European cities: Social fragmentation, social exclusion and urban governance*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 41–70.

- Vangeli, A. (2011) 'Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: The origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia', *Nationalities Papers*, 39(1), pp. 13–32. doi: 10.1080/00905992.2010.532775.
- Verkuyten, M. (2004) 'Everyday ways of thinking about Multiculturalism', *Ethnicities*, 4(1), pp. 53–74. doi: 10.1177/1468796804040328.
- Vertovec, S. (2001) 'Transnational Challenges to the "New" Multiculturalism', *Paper presented at ASA Conference, 30 March–2 April*. University of Sussex, Available at: <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/WPTC-2K-06%20Vertovec.pdf> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Wagner, U., Christ, O., Pettigrew, T.F., Stellmacher, J. and Wolf, C. (2006) 'Prejudice and minority proportion: Contact instead of threat effects', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 69(4), pp. 380–390. doi: 10.1177/019027250606900406.
- Walzer, M. (1994) 'Comment', in Gutmann, A. (ed.) *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 99–104.
- Washburne, R. and Wall, P. (1980) *Black-White Ethnic Differences in Outdoor Recreation. Research Paper INT-249*. Available at: <http://winapps.umt.edu/winapps/media2/leopold/pubs/73.pdf> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Wengert, N. (1971) 'Political and Social Accommodation: The Political Process and Environmental Preservation', *Natural Resources Journal*, 11, pp. 437–506.
- Wise, A. and Velayutham, S. (2009) 'Introduction: Multiculturalism and Everyday Life', in Wise, A., Velayutham, S., and Wise, A. (eds.) *Everyday multiculturalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–17.
- Wolsko, C., Park, B., Judd, C.M. and Wittenbrink, B. (2000) 'Framing interethnic ideology: Effects of multicultural and color-blind perspectives on judgments of groups and individuals', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(4), pp. 635–654. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.78.4.635.
- Yiftachel, O. (1997) Israeli Society and Jewish-Palestinian Reconciliation: 'Ethnocracy' and Its Territorial Contradictions, *Middle East Journal*, 51(4), pp. 505–519.
- Yiftachel, O. and Hedgcock, D. (1993) 'Urban social sustainability', *Cities*, 10(2), pp. 139–157. doi: 10.1016/0264-2751(93)90045-k.
- Yiftachel, O. and Huxley, M. (2000) 'Debating Dominance and Relevance: Notes on the 'Communicative Turn' in Planning Theory', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24, pp. 907–913. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.00286.
- Young, I.M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) 'Belonging and the politics of belonging', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(3), pp. 197–214. doi: 10.1080/00313220600769331.
- Zerubavel, E. (2003) *Time maps: Collective memory and the social shape of the past*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Zorlu, A. (2009) 'Ethnic differences in spatial mobility: The impact of family ties', *Population, Space and Place*, 15(4), pp. 323–342. doi: 10.1002/psp.560.
- Zorlu, A. and Mulder, C.H. (2008) 'Initial and subsequent location choices of immigrants to the Netherlands', *Regional Studies*, 42(2), pp. 245–264. doi: 10.1080/00343400601145210.
- Zukin, C., Keeter, S., Andolina, M., Carpini, M.D.X. and Delli, C.M. (2006) *A new engagement? Political participation, civic life, and the changing American citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Web sites

- Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (2015a) *Skopje 2014 Uncovered*. Available at: <http://skopje2014.prizma.birn.eu.com/en> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (no date) Available at: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/accommodate#legalDictionary> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Okno (2012) *Povekjetto gragjani protiv Skopje 2014* (Majority of the citizens against Skopje 2014). Available at: <https://okno.mk/node/22788> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Prizma (2014) *Makedonija raspnata meju krstot i polumesechinata (Macedonia divided between the Cross and the Crescent Moon)*. Available at: <http://prizma.birn.eu.com> (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Wikipedia (no date) *Cvetan Dimov*. Available at: https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cvetan_Dimov (Accessed: 31 December 2016).
- Wikipedia (no date) *Hasan Pristina*. Available at: https://sq.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_Prishtina (Accessed: 31 December 2016).

Appendix 1

Data Gathering Process Description

1.1 Sampling design strategy and representativeness of the household survey

The quantitative methodology used a two-stage probability sampling approach. In the first stage, sampling units were selected. The main source of information was the Census data originating in 2002 and re-segregated according to the territorial organisation of the country introduced in 2004.

Table 1.1: Demographic data on municipalities/neighbourhoods in Skopje

	Aerodrom	Butel	Centar	Chair	Gazi Baba	Gjorche Petrov	Karposh	Kisela Voda	Saraj	Shuto Orizari	SKOPJE
Total Population	72.009	36.154	45.412	64.773	72.617	41.634	59.666	57.236	35.408	22.017	506.926
Ethnic affiliation											
<i>Macedonians</i>	64.391	22.506	38.778	15.628	53.497	35.455	52.810	52.478	1.377	1.438	338.358
<i>Albanians</i>	1.014	9.107	1.465	36.921	12.502	1.597	1.952	250	32.408	6.675	103.891
<i>Turks</i>	430	1.304	492	4.500	606	368	334	460	45	56	8.595
<i>Roma</i>	580	561	974	3.083	2.082	1.249	615	716	273	13.342	23.475

<i>Vlachs</i>	501	120	459	78	236	109	407	647	/	/	2.557
<i>Serbs</i>	3.085	1.033	2.037	621	2.097	1.730	2.184	1.426	18	67	14.298
<i>Bosniaks</i>	538	970	108	2.950	710	489	98	425	1.120	177	7.585
<i>Other</i>	1.470	553	1.099	992	887	637	1.266	834	167	262	8.167

Source: Census 2002: Population, Households, and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, according to the administrative-territorial organisation from 2004

Based on the census data, in the first sampling stage, Kisela Voda and Saraj were selected as ethnic neighbourhoods while Butel and Chair as mixed neighbourhoods. Table 1.2 shows the ratio between ethnic groups in the selected neighbourhoods.

Table 1.2: Ethnic demographic data on the selected neighbourhoods in Skopje

	Butel (%)	Chair (%)	Kisela Voda (%)	Saraj (%)
Macedonians	62.25	24.13	91.69	3.89
Albanians	25.19	57.00	0.44	91.53
Turks	3.61	6.95	0.80	0.13
Roma	1.55	4.76	1.25	0.77
Vlachs	0.33	0.12	1.13	0.00
Serbs	2.86	0.96	2.49	0.05
Bosniaks	2.68	4.55	0.74	3.16
Other	1.53	1.53	1.46	0.47

Source: Census 2002: Population, Households, and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, according to the administrative-territorial organisation from 2004

After the primary sampling stage was finished and the neighbourhoods selected, the next stage of the sampling process involved identifying the eligible households and household members to be surveyed. In order to randomly select households in the primary sampling units – neighbourhoods – secondary source information was used containing a list of addresses in the territorial units in Skopje. The document was acquired by the Central registry office in Skopje and is considered a comprehensive list of streets in the capital. The list of addresses of each neighbourhood of interest to the research was enumerated and using the Simple Random Sampling Without

Replacement (SRSWOR) method and a table of random numbers, the starting positions for sample selections were chosen. Stratification was done according to the type of settlement – urban and rural – as well as according to the proportion of ethnic groups so that the sample reflects the ratio between these two variables in the given neighbourhood. For practical reasons in the sample selection, “Other” ethnic groups contribution is added to the Macedonian ethnic group. They were interviewed by a Macedonian-speaking interviewer using a Macedonian-based questionnaire. Table 1.3 shows the ratio of urban and rural areas in the selected neighbourhoods and Table 1.4 shows the ratio between ethnic groups in the selected neighbourhoods.

Table 1.3: Urban and rural ratio data on selected neighbourhoods in Skopje

	Total urban (%)	Total rural (%)
Butel	58	42
Kisela Voda	85	15
Saraj	15	85
Chair	100	0

Source: Census 2002: Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, according to the administrative-territorial organisation from 2004

Table 1.4: Ethnic groups' ratio in selected neighbourhoods in Skopje

		Ethnic Macedonians and others (%)		Total Macedonians and others (%)	Ethnic Albanians (%)		Total Albanians (%)
		Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Butel	36.154	45.16	29.65	74.81	12.76	12.42	25.19
Kisela Voda	57.236	84.50	15.06	99.56	0.40	0.04	0.44
Saraj	35.408	2.65	5.82	8.47	12.13	79.40	91.53
Chair	64.773	43.00	0.00	43.00	57.00	0.00	57.00

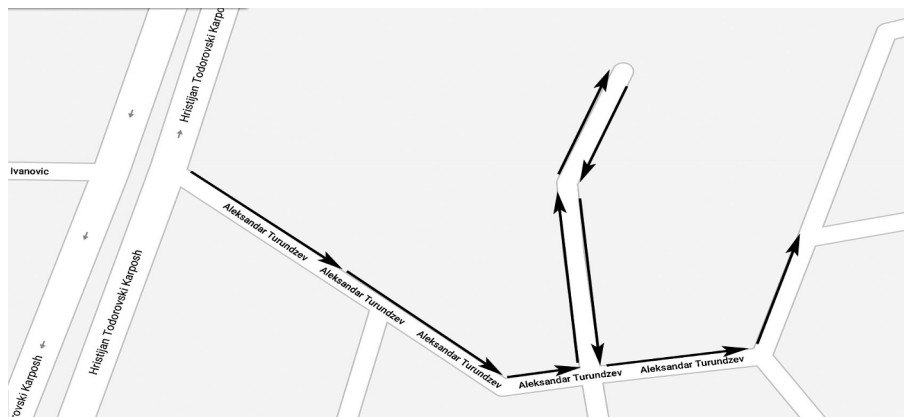
Source: Census 2002: Population, Households, and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002, according to the administrative-territorial organisation from 2004

Each starting position – a street address in the given neighbourhood – represented a sampling point (cluster). Substitutions were allowed in specific circumstances when the starting position was not identifiable, for example, when the exact street could not be located in the neighbourhood. Using SRSWOR, households starting with the given addresses were selected as follows. If a block of residential houses was encountered, ev-

every third house on the left was targeted. If an apartment block was encountered, every fifth apartment in the residential building on the left side of the street was targeted. It was assumed that one door or gate leads to one dwelling and usually one household. If more households lived in the same dwelling they were treated as one. If a cross-road was encountered or the street ended the interviewer continued by turning left. Only one member per household aged 16 and more was targeted and selected based on the criteria of age in the coming birthday. In the case that the household member selected for the survey was not present, the interviewer continued to the next location following the random sampling method. In the case of an 'ethnically mixed' household, the instruction was to follow the random sampling method from the list of eligible household members. However, such a case was not encountered. The questionnaires were administered face-to-face and each lasted between 20 and 35 minutes. No telephone numbers of the selected households were taken and no consecutive appointments were scheduled. A recorded list of each contact with exact street address and number was kept along with the outcome of the contact. The rules of the random sampling route were explained during an induction meeting with the selected interviewers.

The Figure 1.1 shows the line of movement in selecting households in the neighbourhoods.

Figure 1.1: Selection of households based on random sampling technique



Source: Created by the author

The survey was administered by a team of four interviewers: two with knowledge of Albanian language and two with Macedonian language, including the researcher. An interviewer-based survey provided an opportunity for the interviewer to give thorough introduction of the key terms, to explain some items to respondent as well as the possibility to use negative statements as control questions. When a Macedonian interviewer encountered an Albanian speaking person s/he did not administer the survey

and, using the sampling step, continued to the next dwelling. The same instruction was valid for the Albanian speaking interviewers. Given the limited time and financial resources for the research, these persons were not visited by the corresponding interviewer and did not count in the sample.

Prior background information of ethnic concentration in the selected neighbourhoods, generated by five inquiring individuals that lived in these areas, made it possible to establish clusters with the target ethnic groups and to locate the ethnic groups and their dwellings with greater assurance. However, in cases where this was not possible focused enumeration was used. This allowed interviewers to ask selected and surveyed respondents for information on the eligibility of surrounding households. This method was used for four starting positions in Saraj, Chair and Butel and in primary sampling units where the concentration of the target ethnic group was relatively low. The focused enumeration increased the chances of identifying eligible households of a hard-to-reach population. In this case, it allowed the mapping of a small percentage of a minority group in a selected area of a neighbourhood and delivered a probability sample. Using a simple random route as instructed in the case of obtaining responses of a hard-to-reach population would generally produce poorer results.

If rules for random sampling have been consistently used by the interviewers, a selection process based on streets, numbers and directions of pathway allows subsequent monitoring and verification of the results. To control the consistent use of the given guidance, six monitoring sessions were conducted in the selected neighbourhoods with both Macedonian and Albanian speaking interviewers. Due to time and financial constraints, in-person quality control was not performed. A telephone quality control back-check was also not performed as the survey was anonymous. The use of the quality control mechanisms gave some assurance that the random route rules were consistently used and the sample selected has the characteristics of a probability sample.

In Tables 1.5-1.8, the list of addresses and starting positions in each of the selected neighbourhoods is presented.

Table 1.5: List of addresses and starting positions in Butel

BUTEL			Total urban (U)	Total rural (R)
Number of respondents			58	42
Starting positions				
No.	Type	Address		
1	U	Street 18A, Radishani		
2	U	Kiro Dimushkov 54b		

3	U	Butelska 17
4	U	Aleksandar Turundzov
5	U	Bosna i Hercegovina
6	U	Skoevska 1550
7	U	Petko Janchevski
8	U	Radishanska 23
9	R	village Vizbegovo
10	R	village Ljubanci
11	R	village Ljubanci
12	R	village Ljubanci
13	R	village Ljuboten
14	R	village Ljuboten

Table 1.6: List of addresses and starting positions in Kisela Voda

KISELA VODA		Total urban (U)	Total rural (R)
Number of respondents		85	15
Starting positions			
No.	Type	Address	
1	U	Prvomajska	
2	U	Emil Zola	
3	U	Zhil Vern	
4	U	Sasa	
5	U	Kavalska	
6	U	Boris Trajkovski 4	
7	U	Milan Mijalkovik 3Ai	
8	U	Hristo Tatarchev	
9	U	Sasa 9	
10	U	Radoslav Petkovski	
11	U	Karadzica	
12	R	village Drachevo	
13	R	village Drachevo	

Table 1.7: List of addresses and starting positions in Saraj

SARAJ			Total urban (U)	Total rural (R)
Number of respondents			15	85
Starting positions				
No.	Type	Address		
1	U	Saraj 8		
2	U	Saraj 9		
3	R	village Glumovo		
4	R	village Grchec		
5	R	village Krushopek		
6	R	village Kondovo		
7	R	village Laskarci		
8	R	village Ljubin		
9	R	village Ljubin		
10	R	village Rashche		
11	R	village Rashche		
12	R	village Semenishtha		
13	R	village Shishevo		

Table 1.8: List of addresses and starting positions in Chair

CHAIR			Total urban (U)	Total rural (R)
Number of respondents			100	0
Starting positions				
No.	Type	Address		
1	U	Vukovarska		
2	U	Brakja Redzepagik		
3	U	Street 373		
4	U	Dizonska 5		
5	U	Jajce		

6	U	Klinska Lesa
7	U	Lazar Trpovski
8	U	Terzinska
9	U	Kjema! Ataturk
10	U	Kjema! Selfula
11	U	Hristijan Todorovski Karposh 2
12	U	Street 163
13	U	Zef Ljush Marku

The research set the target to achieve a net sample size of 400 respondents or 100 per neighbourhood. In order to meet the intended net sample size, a bigger gross sample size was executed, including rejected contact and non-contact. This assured that at the end there was enough available data for analysis. One sampling point (cluster) was composed of eight respondents. In order to reach 100 respondents stratified according to ethnic groups and urban/rural dimension in each neighbourhood, between 13-14 starting positions were selected. The number of questionnaires per cluster did not increase in proportion to the size of the ethnic group or the size of the neighbourhood as the goal was to achieve an equal number of respondents in the targeted neighbourhoods. However, the sample stratification based on ethnic group and urban/rural dimension are expected to contribute towards appropriate reflection of the internal differences within and across neighbourhoods in the sample population. Table 1.9 shows the target net sample size in the selected neighbourhoods.

Table 1.9: Target net sample size in the selected neighbourhoods

Municipality	Ethnic group	Target net sample size	Urban sample size	Rural sample size
Butel	Macedonian and Others	75	45	30
	Albanian	25	13	12
Chair	Macedonian and Others	43	43	0
	Albanian	57	57	0
Kisela Voda	Macedonian and Others	100	85	15
	Albanian	0	0	0
Saraj	Macedonian and Others	8	2	6
	Albanian	92	12	80

The household survey was based on a questionnaire with close-end items on a five point Likert-type answering scale. It was developed exclusively for the research and is partly based on other instruments such as: the identity subscale by Morrison, Fast and Ybarra (2009), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) or the research conducted by Parker, et al. (2001). Part of it is conceptually new and based on literature review and adapted to the specific context of diversity in public space. It is structured into five dimensions as: (1) Perception of participation in local decision-making on accommodation practices; (2) Perception of power to influence changes in accommodation practices in the neighbourhood's public space; (3) Perception of ethnic proximity (intergroup contact) in public space; (4) Identification/sense of belonging to the place/space; (5) Intergroup antagonism. The answering scale ranged from: 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Independent variables at a personal level were included as opening items, such as: nominal measures of ethnicity (specified by seven dummy variables: Macedonian, Albanian, Roma, Serb, Turk, Vlach, other), gender (specified by two dummy variables: male, female), employment status (specified by six variables: employed (full/part time), unemployed/retrrenched, housewife, retired, student, other), religious affiliation (specified by six variables: Muslim, Christian, Jewish, atheist, none, other); ordinal measures of education (less than primary, primary, secondary, higher and more); age (years) and period of residency in the municipality (months/years), measured as a continuous variable. Four items are non-Likert type, which are close-ended questions with multiple choices where only one answer is allowed. The final item of the survey leaves space for individual feedback and comments.

The draft version was then pilot tested with six respondents of different age, gender and educational background. Based on their comments and reflections, the questionnaire was adapted and improved. Some items were simplified and difficult items were omitted. Items were also re-positioned in the general structure to better address other dimensions. The beginning of the questionnaire included information on the purpose of the survey and explained the key terms used in the survey. Each dimension included a topic and a transitional text which explained the purpose of the following items that were preceded in each topic. The final version of the questionnaire was proofread in Macedonian language and afterwards translated and adapted to Albanian language by a professional translator. In the translation process, items and wording were adapted to make it more comprehensive and understandable for a wider audience. In the edited and translated version, the questionnaire avoided academic language and instead used colloquial wording. The Macedonian version was used in surveying respondents from Macedonian and other ethnicities (e.g. Serbs, Roma, Turks, Bosniaks) while the Albanian version was used exclusively for the Albanian ethnic group. Prior to administering the questionnaire, the selected interviewers went through an induction training where key concepts, terms and sampling strategy was agreed upon and familiarised, guidance of starting positions were distributed and the general approach toward respondents was discussed.

In order to reach 400 respondents or 100 respondents per neighbourhood, 571 persons in total were contacted. Out of those, 403 accepted to take part in the research while 168 refused. Table 1.10 shows the planned and implemented outcome in the selected neighbourhoods.

Table 1.10: Planned and implemented outcome in the selected neighbourhoods

	Planned outcome	Implemented outcome	Accepted	Refused
Butel	100	180	103	77
Kisela Voda	100	139	99	40
Saraj	100	108	100	8
Chair	100	144	101	43
Total	400	571	403	168

The majority of respondents who did not take part in the research were not at home at the time of the visit or refused for reasons not disclosed to the interviewers. In 11 cases the building/house was uninhabited; in 10 cases the interviewer could not enter the building or the house; in eight cases the respondent did not fit in the category; and two respondents were not physically and mentally able to take part in the research. In all cases, the interviewers were instructed to continue to the next potential respondent following the random route strategy. Table 1.11 shows the reasons for taking part in the survey.

Table 1.11: Reasons for not taking part in the survey

	The respondent is not in the home	Respondent refuses	Administrative building	Abandoned building	Limited access to the building	Respondent does not fit in the category (Macedonian in Albanian sector or vice versa)	Respondent not in position to take part in the research	Total refused to take part
Butel	46	22	2	5	2	0	0	77
Kisela Voda	19	9	3	4	3	1	1	40
Saraj	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	8

Chair	12	15	0	2	5	8	1	43
Total	77	52	5	11	10	11	2	168

Prior to initiating an analysis of the survey based on Likert-type items, reliability and validity measures need to be checked. The reliability check addresses whether the instrument measures something consistently and that if it is the intended construct(s). This operation is usually done by Cronbach's alpha. The validity check informs whether the instrument measures the construct(s) intended to measure and is usually performed by factor analysis.

A series of at least two Likert-type individual items could be combined into a single summative rank or a variable and in such way represent a quantitative measure of a certain trait, character, habit, opinion, attitude, etc. Doing so presumes an existence of a latent, numeric variable whose values are an expression of the respondents' opinions, attitudes, habits, etc. Cronbach's alpha justifies the operation of combining individual items into summative rank. In absence of reliability there is no validity associated with the instrument or the summative rank. The acceptable level of reliability has not been resolved thoroughly. According to George and Mallery (2003: 231) Cronbach's alpha of less than .5 is considered unacceptable, between .5 and .6 poor, between .6 and .7 questionable, between .7 and .8 acceptable, between .8 and .9 is considered good and above .9 an excellent level of internal consistency. Individual items measuring the same construct are positively correlated. Negative correlations inform that the items are not really measuring the same phenomena. Gliem and Gliem (2003: 87) note that a high Cronbach's alpha does not necessary indicate that the instrument is measuring a single construct. Performing a factor analysis can help in checking the dimensionality of the instrument.

1.2 Qualitative data sampling procedure

In order to further understand the individuals' responses, the research also included interviews with residents from the selected neighbourhoods. For this purpose, an open-ended-style questionnaire was developed using the topics of the survey and omitting items as a result of the pilot testing of the instrument. It gave an opportunity to gain more insight into the context of the subject, better understanding of why and how these attitudes and behaviours have been shaped by the wider socio-political and cultural context and to triangulate the research data.

The questionnaire was structured in four blocks: (1) demographic variables of the respondents; (2) questions related to the public representation/accommodation of cultural diversity in the neighbourhood; (3) questions related to the communication

between the citizens and the local authorities and citizen's participation in decision-making on issues of public accommodation of cultural diversity; and (4) questions related to intercultural contacts established in public space and sense of belonging to the place. At the end of the questionnaire, each respondent had the opportunity to give recommendations for improvement of the processes of public planning and accommodation of cultural diversity in the public space as well as providing comments and suggestions for the research. The interviews were administered face-to-face and were digitally recorded and transcribed. The selection of interviewees was convenient. It is based on recruiting persons that were interested to take part in the research. Interviewees needed to live in the targeted neighbourhoods, either in the urban or rural parts. In addition, gender and age were used as stratifying variables in order to ensure diverse sample population. None of the interviewees participated in both the interview and the survey.

The research set the target to interview 24 residents or six per neighbourhood. In total, 33 persons were contacted and three refused to take part in the research. Thirty interviews in Macedonian language, lasting from 20 to 70 minutes, were conducted by the researcher in respondent's home or work place. The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. Only one respondent insisted on not being recorded and field notes were taken. Table 1.12 shows the target and the achieved sample size of interviewees.

Table 1.12: Target and achieved sample size of interviewees in the selected neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood	Ethnic group	Gender	Target net sample size	Achieved net sample size
Butel	Macedonian and other	Male - 2Female - 2	4	6
	Albanian	Male - 1Female - 1	2	3
Chair	Macedonian and other	Male - 1Female - 1	2	4
	Albanian	Male - 2Female - 2	4	5
Kisela Voda	Macedonian and other	Male - 3Female - 3	6	6
	Albanian	Male - 0Female - 0	0	0
Saraj	Macedonian and other	Male - 0Female - 0	0	1
	Albanian	Male - 3Female - 3	6	5

The development of research instruments took place between March and August 2014. The pilot-testing of the household survey questionnaire was organised in September 2014 while the field work took place between October and December 2014. The induction meeting was organised in October 2014 and the survey was concluded by 15 December 2014. The interviews were concluded by 25 December 2014.

Appendix 2

Research Instruments

2.1 Household survey questionnaire

M1. Number of respondent: _____

M2. Date: _____

M3. Street: _____

M4. Municipality: _____

Dear citizen,

The questionnaire that follows is part of the doctoral research of a student from Skopje. The collected information is intended to assist in the investigation of the use of public space in Skopje and how cultural diversity is represented in the public space. The research is expected to make proposals for improvements in the direction of greater citizen participation in planning of urban public spaces. The questionnaire is anonymous and the information will be used only for the purposes of the research. So please be honest as much as possible in answering these questions. It will take you around 30 minutes.

Thank you for participating in this research.

The study defines its major concepts as the following:

– ‘Public spaces in cities are usually described as those places that are out of our personal, individual space and used for a number of functional and symbolic pur-

poses, such as recreation, companionship, education, celebrations and maintained by local authorities. They apply to all citizens and are accessible to all citizens. Examples of such spaces: squares, parks, streets, places for rest, recreation and entertainment in the neighbourhood and others’.

– ‘Cultural diversity refers to the ethnic and cultural features used by ethnic groups such as: language, food, clothing, religious symbols and objects’.

– ‘Public presentation of cultural diversity in the community refers to how ethnic and cultural features are represented in the public space used by all citizens and accessible to all citizens and those which are located in the municipality, neighbourhood and close proximity’.

– ‘Majority group in the municipality shall be an ethnic group represented in a larger number compared to other ethnic groups living in the same municipality. The majority group at municipal level may differ from that which is majority at state level’.

D1. Ethnic affiliation: _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Macedonian
2. Albanian
3. Serbian
4. Turkish
5. Roma
6. Vlach
7. Other: _____

D2. Gender: _____

(Mark without asking the respondent)

1. Female
2. Male

D3. Age (in years): ____

D4. Level of highest finished education: _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Less than primary school
2. Primary school
3. High school/ gymnasia
4. High education, magistrate, doctorate

D5. Employment status: _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Employed (full-time/part-time)
2. Unemployed
3. House-wife
4. Student, pupil
5. Retired
97. Other: _____

D6. Religious affiliation _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Muslim
2. Christian
3. Jewish
4. Atheist
5. None
97. Other: _____
98. Does not know
99. Refuses to answer

D7. How long do you live in the municipality? (months/years): ____ ____ ____ ____

Q1. How would you rate your financial status?

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Very bad
2. Lower than most residents of Macedonia
3. Similar to most residents of Macedonia
4. Above the average of most residents of Macedonia

Q2. Thinking about your municipality, what proportion of your neighbours is from same ethnic background as you?(

ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. All my neighbours are of my ethnic background.
2. Most of the neighbours are of my ethnic background.
3. Some of the neighbours are of my ethnic background.
4. Most of the neighbours are of different ethnic background than mine.
5. None of my neighbours are of my ethnic background.

Q3. The first set of statements relates to your perception of the possibility to influence the way cultural diversity is represented in your municipality. The answering scale is: from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Please use the scale in front of you to give the answer. Please give one answer per statement.

ONLY ONE ANSWER PER LINE

Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree	No answer/refuses to give answer
As citizen, I can have individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
Only when part of an ethnic group, can people influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I was never consulted on opinion related to the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
Only by working together, should members of different ethnic groups decide on the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I have participated in working groups/multicultural forums in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed.					
1	2	3	4	5	9

Q4. The second set of statements refers to your perception of the changes happening in relation to the public representation of cultural diversity that you have witnessed in the neighbourhood / municipality. The answering scale is: from 1

(completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Please use the scale in front of you to give the answer. Please give one answer per statement.

ONLY ONE ANSWER PER LINE

Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree	No answer/refuses to give answer
My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living here.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
In my neighbourhood, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in the last few years.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I am prepared to move to another municipality where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I support the use of ethnic and cultural symbols/references in the public space in my neighbourhood (religious objects, signs in other languages, etc.).					
1	2	3	4	5	9
In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen.					
1	2	3	4	5	9

Q5. The third set refers to the contacts with members of other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood/municipality. The answering scale is: from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Please use the scale in front of you to give the answer. Please give one answer per statement.

ONLY ONE ANSWER PER LINE

Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree	No answer/refuses to give answer
There are public spaces in my neighbourhood which are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I choose public spaces which offer me rest and recreation regardless of which ethnic groups go there.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
It is easy to get to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space in my neighbourhood.					

1	2	3	4	5	9
When I walk through the streets of my neighbourhood, I also greet people from other ethnic groups.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my 'own' group than with other ethnic groups.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group: food, music, or customs, festival, etc.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I feel comfortable with ethnic groups making their celebrations and festivals in the public space in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I am willing to participate in community activities in public spaces with members of other ethnic groups.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I choose public spaces where people of my 'own' ethnic group go.					
1	2	3	4	5	9

Q6. The fourth set of statements refers to your perception and belonging to the space in which you recreate, walk and socialise. The answering scale is: from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Please use the scale in front of you to give the answer. Please give one answer per statement.

ONLY ONE ANSWER PER LINE

Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree	No answer/refuses to give answer
The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in my neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
The ethnic and cultural symbols in my neighbourhood make feel like I do not belong there.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
It is irrelevant for me which ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhood.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
Ethnic and cultural symbols of other groups in my neighbourhood causes me stress.					
1	2	3	4	5	9

Q7. The fifth set of statements refers to the relations with other ethnic groups in the public space in your neighbourhood and municipality. The answering scale is: from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Please use the scale in front of you to give the answer. Please give one answer per statement.

ONLY ONE ANSWER PER LINE

Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree	No answer/refuses to give answer
Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own.					
1	2	3	4	5	9
Ethnic groups should use their own language in public spaces without fear or threat.					
1	2	3	4	5	9

Q8. Thinking about your sense of belonging to place, please rate the importance of the following dimensions to you. The answering scale is: from 1 (not important at all) to 4 (very important). Please use the scale in front of you to give the answer. Please give one answer per statement.

ONLY ONE ANSWER PER LINE

Not important at all	Has little importance	Has some importance	Very important	No answer/refuses to give answer
Sense of belonging to the close environment, the neighbourhood (mahalla) and the municipality				
1	2	3	4	9
Sense of belonging to the city of Skopje				
1	2	3	4	9
Sense of belonging to the state (national identity)				
1	2	3	4	9
Sense of belonging to the ethnic group				
1	2	3	4	9
Other: _____				
1	2	3	4	9

Q9. Thinking about the public spaces in your neighbourhood, rate their importance in creating conviviality and support in multicultural living among the citizens.

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Not important at all.
2. Have little importance.
3. Have some importance.
4. Very important.

Q10. Comments and feedback:

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH

2.2 Interview questionnaire

M1. Number of respondent: _____

M2. Date: _____

M3. Neighbourhood: _____

Dear respondent,

The interview that follows is part of the doctoral research of a student from Skopje. The collected information is intended to assist in the investigation of the use of public space in Skopje and how cultural diversity is represented in the public space. The research is expected to make proposals for improvements in the direction of greater citizen participation in the planning of urban public spaces. The interview is not anonymous and, for practical reasons, it will be digitally recorded. However, I assure you that the information will be used only for the purpose of the research. So please be honest as much as possible in answering these questions. It will take you around 30 minutes.

Thank you for participating in this research.

The study defines its major concepts as the following:

- Public spaces in cities are usually described as those places that are out of our personal, individual space and used for a number of functional and symbolic purposes, such as recreation, companionship, education, celebrations and maintained by local authorities. They apply to all citizens and are accessible to all citizens. Examples of such spaces: squares, parks, streets, places for rest, recreation and entertainment in the neighbourhood and others.

- Cultural diversity refers to the ethnic and cultural features used by ethnic groups such as language, food, clothing, religious symbols and objects.

- Public representation of cultural diversity in the community refers to how ethnic and cultural features are represented in the public space used by all citizens and accessible to all citizens and those which are located in the neighbourhood and close proximity.

- Majority group in the neighbourhood shall be an ethnic group represented in a larger numbers compared to other ethnic groups living in the same neighbourhood. The majority group at municipal level may differ from that which is the majority at state level.

D1. Ethnic affiliation: _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Macedonian
2. Albanian
3. Serbian
4. Turkish
5. Roma
6. Vlach
- 7.

Other: _____

D2. Gender: _____

Mark without asking the respondent

1. Female
2. Male

D3. Age (in years): ____

D4. Level of highest finished education: _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Less than primary school
2. Primary school
3. High school/ gymnasia
4. High education, magistrate, doctorate

D5. Employment status: _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Employed (full-time/part-time)
2. Unemployed
3. House-wife
4. Student, pupil
5. Retired
97. Other: _____

D6. Religious affiliation _____

(ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Muslim
2. Christian
3. Jewish
4. Atheist
5. None
97. Other: _____
98. Does not know
99. Refuses to answer

D7. How long do you live in the neighbourhood? (months/years): ____ ____ ____ ____

The first set of questions refers to the public representation of cultural diversity in your neighbourhood.

- Have you always lived here? If no, where have you moved from? What were the reasons? Which are the most important changes happening in the neighbourhood in the last five years (demographic changes, economic movement, social changes, urban organisation, changes in the visual outlook of the area, such as new religious objects, signs with languages other than Macedonian, etc.)?
- How do you perceive your neighbourhood in a visual sense? What is your opinion on the level of visibility of cultural and ethnic symbols of the ethnic communities in the public space in the community? How does the visual image of your neighbourhood make you feel (uncomfortable, at home, etc.)? Do you think that the visual image of public space in the neighbourhood should represent the ethnic communities living there using cultural and ethnic symbols? If yes, how? If not, why? Are some ethnic and cultural symbols dominating the public space? How do you feel about it?
- In your opinion, who should be responsible for planning the public representation of cultural diversity in the community (municipal government, the ethnic communities that live there, the citizens regardless of their ethnic background)?
- How should the process of negotiating the public representation of cultural diversity in the community be organised (who should participate, how should the process be lead, should it be open to all citizens or only to the immediate beneficiaries of the space)?
- How should the process of negotiating the public representation of cultural diversity in Skopje, where different ethnic and cultural communities live, be organised?

- In your opinion, what is the role of citizens and different local (cultural, ethnic, informal) groups in this process?
- Does the visual image of your neighbourhood affect the way people living in the neighbourhood and beyond (eg. from other parts of Skopje) perceive the neighbourhood? In what manner, positive or negative?
- In your opinion, is it important that ethnic communities, through their symbols, are represented in the public space? If so, why?
- How important is it for you that the public space in your neighbourhood has more symbols of your ethnic community? Would you move to an environment where the public space has more symbols from your ethnic community?
- What aspects of the public representation of cultural diversity in the public space in your neighbourhood make you feel comfortable?
- Which are the most common misunderstandings/conflicts associated with representations of cultural diversity in the public space in your neighbourhood? Are there aspects of representation of cultural diversity in the public space in your community that causes you anxiety/fear? Why?

The second set of questions refers to the relationship between the local government and citizens' participation in making decisions related to the representation of cultural diversity in the public space.

- As an individual, do you think that you have an impact on the decision-making process related to the public representation of cultural diversity in your neighbourhood? Have you attended any meeting of the Municipal Council where the public representation of cultural diversity in the community was discussed? Have you participated in community meetings and forums where discussion on the public representation of cultural diversity in the neighbourhood was held? If yes, what was discussed? If not, why?
- In your opinion, is the local government open to respond to the needs of all citizens on aspects of representation of cultural diversity in the public space in the neighbourhood?
- Are there groups with more power to influence how cultural diversity is represented in the public space in the neighbourhood? Which are these groups? Are these ethnic groups?
- What is the role of local leaders/political parties in determining how cultural diversity is represented in the public space in your neighbourhood?

The third set of questions refers to the multicultural interactions that might or do occur in the public space in your neighbourhood.

- Which are commonly used public spaces in your neighbourhood? Why?
- Does your neighbourhood have public spaces used by all people regardless of their ethnicity? What is particularly interesting about these places?
- Does your neighbourhood have public spaces used by people depending on their ethnicity? What are they? Why is this so?
- Thinking about public spaces in your neighbourhood (parks, schools, cultural events, streets, markets, squares) name three areas where you believe positive intercultural contact can and is made? Why is this so?
- Name three public places in the neighbourhood where you believe ethnic communities rarely make contact. Why is this so?
- Do you think that the presence of other ethnic groups is respected in public places in your neighbourhood? What about in the city of Skopje?
- When you choose the places that you go for walks, socialise, relax and attend cultural events, do you prefer the ones where people from your ethnic community go to? Why?
- What language should ethnic communities speak in the public space (their own or the language of the majority ethnic community, or both)?
- Do you feel comfortable with people from other ethnic communities having their own celebrations and festivals in the public space in the neighbourhood? If yes, how would you organise it so that everyone is comfortable?
- Thinking about your sense of belonging to the place, which dimension is most important to you:
 1. Sense of belonging to the close environment, the neighbourhood (mahalla);
 2. Sense of belonging to the city of Skopje;
 3. Sense of belonging to the state (national identity);
 4. Sense of belonging to the ethnic group;
 5. Other: _____
- According to you, what is the importance of public space(s) in your neighbourhood in supporting multicultural living among citizens? Why?

Proposal for improvement

- In general, what are your proposals for the improvement of the process of planning and public representation of cultural diversity in public space?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH

Appendix 3

Data Preview

3.1 Data view on respondents

No. of respondent	Date of interview	Neighbourhood	Demography of respondent	Interview time
1	14.10.2014	Kisela Voda	Female, 54 years, Macedonian	48 min. 17 sec.
2	20.10.2014	Kisela Voda	Female, 54 years, Macedonian	53 min. 26 sec.
3	23.10.2014	Butel	Female, 55 years, Albanian	55 min. 18 sec.
4	25.10.2014	Kisela Voda	Male, 38 years, Serbian	21 min. 47 sec.
5	27.10.2014	Chair	Female, 33 years, Turkish	1 h. 06 min. 24 sec.
6	28.10.2014	Butel	Male, 32 years, Macedonian	13 min. 19 sec.
7	30.10.2014	Butel	Female, 31 years, Macedonian	19 min. 03 sec.
8	31.10.2014	Chair	Female, 31 years, Macedonian	21 min. 25 sec.
9	01.11.2014	Kisela Voda	Female, 38 years, Macedonian	27 min. 38 sec.
10	02.11.2014	Butel	Male, 58 years, Albanian	32 min. 10 sec.

11	03.11.2014	Chair	Female, 50 years, Albanian	1h. 05 min. 32 sec.
12	05.11.2014	Butel	Female, 32 years, Macedonian	27 min. 53 sec.
13	06.11.2014	Kisela Voda	Male, 58 years, Macedonian	41 min. 39 sec.
14	07.11.2014	Chair	Female, 62 years, Macedonian	1h. 10 min. 22 sec.
15	10.11.2014	Chair	Male, 62 years, Macedonian	46 min.
16	12.11.2014	Butel	Female, 39 years Macedonian	33 min.44 sec.
17	13.11.2014	Butel	Male, 62 years, Macedonian	21 min. 08 sec.
18	16.11.2014	Chair	Male, 59 years, Albanian	55 min. 43 sec.
19	17.11.2014	Butel	Female, 61 years, Albanian	30 min. 47 sec.
20	25.11.2014	Kisela Voda	Male, 33 years, Macedonian	25 min. 48 sec.
21	25.11.2014	Chair	Female, 35 years, Albanian	30 min. 33 sec.
22	27.11.2014	Saraj	Male, 53 years, Albanian	23 min. 25 sec.
23	28.11.2014	Saraj	Male, 57 years, Albanian	38 min. 08 sec.
24	30.11.2014	Saraj	Female, 54 years, Albanian	46 min. 45 sec.
25	01.12.2014	Butel	Male, 65 years, Macedonian	33 min. 47 sec.
26	13.12.2014	Chair	Female, 21 years, Albanian	29 min. 07 sec.
27	14.12.2014	Saraj	Male, 45 years, Macedonian	34 min. 41 sec.
28	18.12.2014	Chair	Male, 22 years, Albanian	38 min. 01 sec.
29	19.12.2014	Saraj	Male, 22 years, Albanian	27 min. 33 sec.
30	25.12.2014	Saraj	Female, 21 years, Albanian	21 min. 08 sec.

Appendix 4

Factor Analysis of Survey Data

4.1 Introduction to extracting components

The individual items in the questionnaire were designed in a way that measures a background variable and several items that measure the same background dimension. The purpose of factor analysis was to investigate such collinearity among variables and reduce the number of variables to a smaller set of dimensions or components that are measured by the set of variables. The dimensions or the component are unobservable and hypothetical but measured through multiple variables and items. Factor analysis as a method of data reduction allows the distinguishing of a cluster or a group of variables which are inter-correlated and allows ways to find a pattern of how these variables work together. When data is obtained at ordinal level, it is suggested that non-linear factor analysis methods are used. In line with that argument, the research used non-linear principal component analysis also known as categorical PCA (CATPCA). The CATPCA was performed using SPSS 20.0 and the Optimal scaling procedure. It extracted three dimensions with a high number of diverse items which were hard to interpret and identify the common, latent variable. A step forward in the better use of CATPCA is to transform ordinal data and use the transformed variables with metric characteristics to perform a standard Principal Component Analysis (PCA). Such an operation was considered appropriate and extracted components which were much more comprehensive and easier to interpret (Meulman, Van der Kooij, and Heiser, 2004; Linting, Meulman, Groenen, and Van der Kooij, 2007).

4.2 Seven component model solution

The designed inventory consisted of 33 items which were found to be highly reliable ($\alpha=.831$). The internal consistency of the questionnaire indicated a high internal consistency of the items. The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) of 33 Likert-type items from the survey questionnaire, administered on 403 cases, extracted a seven dimensions model. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity of .781, $p < .001$ indicated that the given sample is factorable. The PCA model summary is shown in Table 4.2.1. It excludes loadings which are less than .3.

Table 4.2.1: PCA matrix of 33 survey items

Item		Component						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	As a citizen, I can make individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	.553		.389				
2	Only when part of an ethnic group, can people influence decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.		.776					
3	My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					.572	0.459	
4	The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity.		.578					
5	I was never consulted on opinion related to the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	.359				.586		

6	I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed.		-.327			-.749		
7	Only by working together, should members of different ethnic groups decide on the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	.43	.614					
8	Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.		-.375				.378	-.407
9	I have participated in working groups/ multicultural forums in the neighbourhood where the public representation of cultural diversity was discussed.					-.761		
10	My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here.				.328		.703	
11	My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living there.		.62				.393	
12	In my neighbourhood, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in the last few years.						.787	
13	I am prepared to move to another neighbourhood where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group.		-.611				.301	

14	I support the use of ethnic and cultural symbols/references in the public space in my neighbourhood (religious objects, signs in other languages, etc.).				-.512		.424	
15	In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen.		.646					.313
16	There are public spaces in my neighbourhood which are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging.	.568						.489
17	I choose public spaces which offer me rest and recreation regardless of which ethnic groups go there.	.735						
18	It is easy to get to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space in my neighbourhood.	.8						
19	When I walk through the streets of my neighbourhood, I also greet people from other ethnic groups.	.631						.538
20	In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my 'own' group than with other ethnic groups.			.787				
21	I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group: food, music, or customs, festival, etc.			.814				
22	I feel comfortable with ethnic groups having their celebrations and festivals in public space in my neighbourhood.	.655			-.38			

23	I am willing to participate in community activities in public spaces with members of other ethnic groups.	.648						
24	I choose public spaces where people of my 'own' ethnic group go.			.798				
25	The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in the neighbourhood.		.553			.303		.488
26	The ethnic and cultural symbols in my neighbourhood make feel like I do not belong there.		-.349		.401			-.459
27	It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood.		.373					.466
28	It is irrelevant for me which ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhood.	.523			-.337			
29	Ethnic and cultural symbols of other groups in my neighbourhood cause me stress.				.680			
30	Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space.							.696
31	I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.				.668			
32	I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own.				.746			

33	Ethnic groups should use their own language in public spaces without fear or threat.	.447		.36		.396		
	Cronbach's alpha	.87	.555	.784	.661	.751	.636	.417
	% of Variance	25.675	10.715	9.096	6.364	4.507	3.809	3.192
	Eigenvalue	8.473	3.536	3.002	2.100	1.487	1.257	1.053
	Number of items	9	7	3	4	4	2	4

It was necessary for at least two or three variables to load/be part of a component so a "latent" variable could be extracted. Nine items were part of Component 1 and related to the proximity of ethnic groups in the public spaces of the neighbourhood. The component reported the perception of public spaces in the neighbourhoods as inclusive, facilitating cross-cultural acquaintances and friendly neighbouring relations; as a place for cross-cultural events and activities; and reports on the level of individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of diversity in the neighbourhood. This component was labelled: "Ethnic proximity". Cronbach's alpha for Component 1 was .87. The Item statistics showed that if any item is deleted from the component the α value would not increase. Seven items were part of Component 2 which related to the diversity accommodation approach in the neighbourhoods which includes how ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhoods affecting the personal perception of the space. This component was labelled: "Diversity accommodation approach". Cronbach's alpha for Component 2 was .555. The Item statistics showed that if the item: "I am prepared to move to another municipality where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group" is deleted from the component the α value would increase to .77. Three items were part of Component 3 which related to the preference for co-ethnic socialisation. This component is labelled: "Co-ethnic socialisation". Cronbach's alpha for Component 3 was .784. The Item statistics showed that if any item is deleted from the component the α value would not increase. Four items were part of Component 4 and these items relate to inter-group antagonism resulting from the representation of ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space in the neighbourhood. The component reported on negative attitude, stressful emotions and discomfort because of the representation of ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space in the neighbourhood and reported avoidance of certain public spaces and support for Others' symbols in public space. This component was labelled: "Intergroup antagonism". Cronbach's alpha for Component 4 was .661. The Item statistics showed that if the item: "I support the use of ethnic and cultural symbols/references in the public space in my neighbourhood (religious objects, road/information signs in other languages, etc.)" is deleted from the component the value would increase to .746.

Four items were part of Component 5 which related to the reported level of participation and consultation in local decision-making processes for accommodating diversity in the public space of the neighbourhoods, as an individual and as an ethnic group. This component was labelled: "Individual participation". Cronbach's alpha for Component 4 was .751. The Item statistics shows that if any item was deleted from the component the α value would not increase. Two items were part of Component 6, which reported on the perception of public space and neighbourhood change. This component was labelled: "Public space change". Cronbach's alpha for Component 6 was .636. Four items were part of Component 7 which related to identification with ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space in the neighbourhoods and the ethnic power relations in public spaces. This component was labelled: "Ethnic identification". Cronbach's alpha for Component 7 was .417. The Item statistics showed that if the item: "It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood" is deleted from the component the α value would increase to .464. In total, these seven components with Eigenvalue over 1 explained 63.358% of the total variance. In order to gain components with higher inter-item correlation and acceptable internal reliability, the number of components can be decreased. Parallel Analysis was used as a more appropriate method for determining the number of components in correlation matrices and it suggested extraction of six components with Eigenvalue over 1. Therefore, the proposed model solution for a dimensionality check of the survey instrument was based on six extracted components whose reliability is further presented.

4.3. Six component model solution

Table 4.3.1: PCA output matrix with 6 components

Item		Component					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	As a citizen, I can make individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	.552					
2	Only when part of an ethnic group, can people influence decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.		.71				

3	My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in the neighbourhood.				.631	.437	
4	The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity.		.577				
5	I was never consulted on opinion related to the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.					.528	
6	I have been to a Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed.					-.808	
7	Only by working together, should members of different ethnic groups decide on the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	.401	.537				
8	Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.		-.457		.439		
9	I have participated in working groups/multicultural forums in the municipality where the public representation of cultural diversity was discussed.					-.819	
10	My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here.				.782		
11	My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living here.		.693				
12	In the last few years, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in my neighbourhood.				.755		
13	I am prepared to move to another neighbourhood where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group.		-.57				

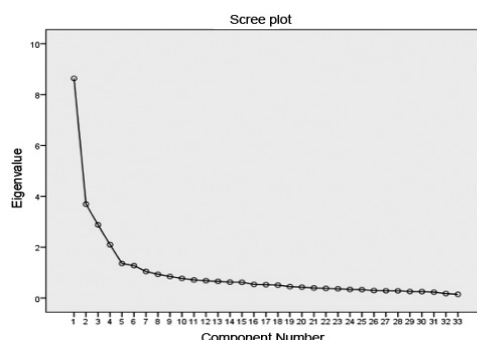
14	In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen.		.745				
15	There are public spaces in my neighbourhood which are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging.	.692					
16	I choose public spaces which offer me rest and recreation regardless of which ethnic groups go there.	.729					
17	It is easy to get to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space in my neighbourhood.	.757					
18	When I walk through the streets of my neighbourhood, I also greet people from other ethnic groups.	.749					
19	In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my 'own' group than with other ethnic groups.			.791			
20	I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group: food, music, or customs, festival, etc.			.817			
21	I feel comfortable with ethnic groups having their celebrations and festivals in public space in my neighbourhood.	.729					
22	I am willing to participate in community activities in public space with members of other ethnic groups.	.646					
23	I choose public spaces where people of my 'own' ethnic group go.			.786			
24	The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in my neighbourhood.		.623				
25	The ethnic and cultural symbols in my neighbourhood make feel like I do not belong there.		-.427				

26	It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood.		.487				
27	It is irrelevant for me which ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhood.	.547					
28	Ethnic and cultural symbols of other groups in my neighbourhood cause me stress.			.466			
29	Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space.						.565
30	I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.						.617
31	I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own..						.584
32	Ethnic groups should use their own language in public space without fear or threat.	.488					
33	I support the use of ethnic and cultural symbols/references in the public space in my neighbourhood (religious objects, signs in other languages, etc.).						-.418
	Cronbach's alpha	.871	.777	.778	.716	.757	.47
	% of Variance	26.170	11.186	8.724	6.361	4.114	3.858
	Eigenvalue	8.636	3.692	2.879	2.099	1.358	1.273
	Number of items	9	10	4	3	3	4

The six component matrix explained 53.01% of the total variance. The internal consistency of items in the components was also checked and, based on inter-item statistics, a final decision on their inclusion in the component was granted. The results of the PCA with the instructed six components are shown in Table 4.3.1. It excludes loadings which are less than .3.

Figure 4.3.1 shows an SPSS Scree Plot Output for 6 component model.

Figure 4.3.1: SPSS Scree Plot Output for 6 component model



The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity in the six-component model increased to .866, $df=528$, $p < .001$. Nine items are part of Component 1 and all these items relate to proximity of ethnic groups in the public spaces of the neighbourhood, such as: using inclusive public spaces, facilitating cross-cultural acquaintances, friendly neighbouring relations, cross-cultural events and activities, tolerance for Other languages in public space as well as reporting the level of individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of diversity in the neighbourhood. The component is labelled: "Ethnic proximity". Cronbach's alpha for Component 1 is .871. The Item statistics shows that if any item is deleted from the component the α value would not increase. Ten items are part of Component 2 which relate to the diversity accommodation approach in the neighbourhoods, how ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhoods affecting the personal perception of the space. This component is labelled: "Diversity accommodation approach". Cronbach's alpha for Component 2 is .777. The Item statistics shows that if the item: "The ethnic and cultural symbols in my neighbourhood make me feel like I do not belong there" is deleted from the component the α value would increase to .823. Four items are part of Component 3 which relate to the preference for co-ethnic socialisation. This component is labelled: "Co-ethnic socialisation". Cronbach's alpha for Component 3 is .778. The Item statistics shows that if the item: "Ethnic and cultural symbols of other groups in my neighbourhood causes me stress" is deleted from the component the α value would increase to .783. Three items are part of Component 4 and these items reported on the perception of public space and neighbourhood change and the consultation of ethnic groups of the changes being made. This component is labelled: "Change and ethnic consultation". Cronbach's alpha for Component 4 is .716. The Item statistics shows that if any item is deleted from the component the α value would not increase. Three items are part of Component 5 which relate to reported level of participation and consultation in local decision-making processes for accommodating diversity in the public space of the neighbourhoods, as an individual and as an ethnic group. This component is labelled: "Individual partic-

ipation". Cronbach's alpha for Component 5 is .757. The Item statistics shows that if the item: "I was never consulted on opinion related to the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood" is deleted from the component the α value would increase to .886. Four items are part of Component 6, which relate to the inter-group antagonism resulting from the represented ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space in the neighbourhood. The component reported on negative attitude, stressful emotions and discomfort because of the representation of ethnic and cultural symbols in the public space in the neighbourhood and reported avoidance of certain public spaces and support for Other' symbols in public space. This component is labelled: "Intergroup antagonism". Cronbach's alpha for Component 6 is .47. The Item statistics shows that if the item: "Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space" is deleted from the component the α value would increase to .627. There were no items with the loading of less than .40 on the components. In addition, two items were excluded from the component matrix with a goal to increase the inter-item reliability of the components.

4.4 Missing data treatment

In the survey, missing data had occurred at both unit and item level. Within the unit level, there were 168 failed attempts to include the randomly selected respondents in the research. Table 1.6 describes the number of cases in each category of failed attempts. In most cases, the selected respondent refused to take part in the research or was not at home. When met with such situations, the interviewers had instruction to continue to the next respondent, following the random pattern of selection. Notes are kept only for the reasons for refusal. On item level, missing data resulted from either incomplete questionnaires or respondents' selection of the option 'cannot decide/refuse to give an answer' to a specific item. The proportion of missing data on item level in this particular survey is 4.5% of the data set. There is no established cut-off from the literature about an acceptable percentage of missing data in a data set for valid statistical inferences. For example, Schafer (1999) asserted that a missing rate of 5% or less is inconsequential. Bennett (2001) maintained that statistical analysis is likely to be biased when more than 10% of data is missing. This research explicitly acknowledges the presence of missing data and it is not taking any specific approach to deal with such data. With the used statistical analysis, missing data is treated using the Listwise Deletion (LD) method. The percentages represent only the non-missing data in the respective category.

Appendix 5

Operationalisation and Level of Measurement of Variables in Hypothesis One

5.1 Operationalisation of "Individual participation"

As shown by the PCA, the component "Individual participation" was measured through two Likert items, on an answering scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. In order to interpret the respondents' participation in local working groups and Council meeting activities, it was necessary to merge the respective variables. When dealing with ordinal data, one of the ways to do this is by estimating the median value of the items. As a result, a new "latent-variable", Individual participation was created which shows the mean of both items for each respondent. Higher Mean Rank means a higher level of participation. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicate the "likeliest" response or what the "average" respondent might think.

Education and employment status were self-reported categorical variables. Education was categorised into three mutually exclusive categories: (1) primary education or less; (2) secondary education; and (3) higher education, magistrate and doctorate. Employment was categorised into three mutually exclusive groups: (1) employed (full-time/part-time and self-employed); (2) unemployed; and (3) economically inactive which includes: housewives, students, retired persons and other.

Given that the hypothesis indicated the exploration of the relation between independent variables with two or more categories and an ordinal dependent variable, the Kruskal-Wallis H test was used as an appropriate statistical test. This non-parametric test does not require a normal distribution of data. Data gained as a result of Likert items is unlikely to be normally distributed. In addition, the assumptions behind the use of the Kruskal-Wallis H test were checked. Those are: (a) the dependent variable should be measured at ordinal or continuous level; (b) the independent variable con-

sists of two or more categorical, independent groups; (c) observations are independent which means that participants belong to a single group only; and (d) the distribution of scores for each group of the independent variable have the same shape. If the distribution of scores between groups has a different shape, the Kruskal-Wallis H test can only be used to compare Mean Ranks. The last assumption is often omitted.

Table 5.1a: Statistics of Component "Individual participation"

Variable	Statistic	
Participation	Median	1.5
	Minimum	1.00
	Maximum	5.00
	Range	4.00
	Interquartile Range	2.5
	Skewness	0.602
	Kurtosis	-1.08

Table 5.1b: Inter-item statistics – Component "Individual participation"

		I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed	I have participated in working groups/multicultural forums in the neighbourhood where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed
N	Valid	381	386
	Missing	22	17
Median		1	1
Interquartile Range		2	3
Percentiles	25	1	1
	50	1	1
	75	3	4

Table 5.1c Frequency of responses to items of component "Individual participation"

Items	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed.	55%	8%	14%	11%	12%
I have participated in working groups/ multicultural forums in the municipality where the public representation of cultural diversity was discussed.	53%	5%	13%	14%	14%

Table 5.1d Frequency of responses to individual items by ethnicity

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed					
	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
Macedonians	78%	5%	7%	3%	7%
Albanians	26%	13%	25%	22%	14%
Other	70%	0%	4%	0%	26%
Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed					
	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
Macedonians	72%	3%	7%	6%	12%
Albanians	30%	9%	21%	26%	14%
Other	57%	0%	7%	4%	32%

Table 5.1e: Frequency of responses to individual item by ethnicity and composition of neighbourhood

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on the public representation of diversity were discussed						
			Ethnicity			Total
			Macedonian	Albanian	Other	
	Strongly disagree	Count	79	14	3	96
		% within Ethnicity	80,6%	16,3%	75%	51,1%
		% of Total	42%	7,4%	1,6%	51,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	7	10	0	17
		% within Ethnicity	7,1%	11,6%	0%	9%
		% of Total	3,7%	5,3%	0%	9%
	Undecided	Count	2	30	1	33
		% within Ethnicity	2%	34,9%	25%	17,6%
		% of Total	1,1%	16%	0,5%	17,6%
	Partly agree	Count	5	19	0	24
		% within Ethnicity	5,1%	22,1%	0%	12,8%
		% of Total	2,7%	10,1%	0%	12,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	5	13	0	18
		% within Ethnicity	5,1%	15,1%	0%	9,6%
		% of Total	2,7%	6,9%	0%	9,6%
Total	Count	98	86	4	188	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	52,1%	45,7%	2,1%	100%	
a. Composition of neighbourhood = Ethnic neighbourhood						

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed						
			Ethnicity			Total
			Macedonian	Albanian	Other	
	Strongly disagree	Count	72	27	16	115
		% within Ethnicity	75%	36,5%	69,6%	59,6%
		% of Total	37,3%	14%	8,3%	59,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	3	11	0	14
		% within Ethnicity	3,1%	14,9%	0%	7,3%
		% of Total	1,6%	5,7%	0%	7,3%
	Undecided	Count	11	10	0	21
		% within Ethnicity	11,5%	13,5%	0%	10,9%
		% of Total	5,7%	5,2%	0%	10,9%
	Partly agree	Count	1	16	0	17
		% within Ethnicity	1%	21,6%	0%	8,8%
		% of Total	,5%	8,3%	0%	8,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	9	10	7	26
		% within Ethnicity	9,4%	13,5%	30,4%	13,5%
		% of Total	4,7%	5,2%	3,6%	13,5%
Total	Count	96	74	23	193	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	49,7%	38,3%	11,9%	100%	
a. Composition of neighbourhood = Mixed neighbourhood						

Table 5.1f: Frequency of responses to individual item by ethnicity and composition of neighbourhood

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed						
			Ethnicity			Total
			Macedonian	Albanian	Other	
	Strongly disagree	Count	78	21	3	102
		% within Ethnicity	79,6%	23,9%	75%	53,7%
		% of Total	41,1%	11,1%	1,6%	53,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	4	10	0	14
		% within Ethnicity	4,1%	11,4%	0%	7,4%
		% of Total	2,1%	5,3%	0%	7,4%
	Undecided	Count	6	28	1	35
		% within Ethnicity	6,1%	31,8%	25%	18,4%
		% of Total	3,2%	14,7%	,5%	18,4%
	Partly agree	Count	3	24	0	27
		% within Ethnicity	3,1%	27,3%	0%	14,2%
		% of Total	1,6%	12,6%	0%	14,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	7	5	0	12
		% within Ethnicity	7,1%	5,7%	0%	6,3%
		% of Total	3,7%	2,6%	0%	6,3%
Total	Count	98	88	4	190	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	51,6%	46,3%	2,1%	100%	
a. Composition of neighbourhood = Ethnic neighbourhood						

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed						
			Ethnicity			Total
			Macedonian	Albanian	Other	
	Strongly disagree	Count	62	28	13	103
		% within Ethnicity	63,9%	37,3%	54,2%	52,6%
		% of Total	31,6%	14,3%	6,6%	52,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	2	4	0	6
		% within Ethnicity	2,1%	5,3%	0%	3,1%
		% of Total	1%	2%	0%	3,1%
	Undecided	Count	8	6	1	15
		% within Ethnicity	8,2%	8%	4,2%	7,7%
		% of Total	4,1%	3,1%	,5%	7,7%
	Partly agree	Count	8	19	1	28
		% within Ethnicity	8,2%	25,3%	4,2%	14,3%
		% of Total	4,1%	9,7%	,5%	14,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	17	18	9	44
		% within Ethnicity	17,5%	24%	37,5%	22,4%
		% of Total	8,7%	9,2%	4,6%	22,4%
Total	Count	97	75	24	196	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	49,5%	38,3%	12,2%	100%	
a. Composition of neighbourhood = Mixed neighbourhood						

Table 5.1g: Frequency of responses to individual item by ethnicity and neighbourhood

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed					
			Ethnicity		Total
			Macedonian	Other	
	Strongly disagree	Count	71	3	74
		% within Ethnicity	78,9%	75%	78,7%
		% of Total	75,5%	3,2%	78,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	4	0	4
		% within Ethnicity	4,4%	0%	4,3%
		% of Total	4,3%	0%	4,3%
	Undecided	Count	6	1	7
		% within Ethnicity	6,7%	25%	7,4%
		% of Total	6,4%	1,1%	7,4%
	Partly agree	Count	3	0	3
		% within Ethnicity	3,3%	0%	3,2%
		% of Total	3,2%	0%	3,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	6	0	6
		% within Ethnicity	6,7%	0%	6,4%
		% of Total	6,4%	0%	6,4%
Total	Count	90	4	94	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	95,7%	4,3%	100%	
a. Neighbourhood = Kisela Voda					

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed					
			Ethnicity		
			Macedonian	Albanian	
	Strongly disagree	Count	23	14	9
		% within Ethnicity	85,2%	28,6%	47,4%
		% of Total	24,2%	14,7%	9,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	2	0
		% within Ethnicity	3,7%	4,1%	0%
		% of Total	1,1%	2,1%	0%
	Undecided	Count	0	4	0
		% within Ethnicity	0%	8,2%	0%
		% of Total	0%	4,2%	0%
	Partly agree	Count	0	18	1
		% within Ethnicity	0%	36,7%	5,3%
		% of Total	0%	18,9%	1,1%
	Strongly agree	Count	3	11	9
		% within Ethnicity	11,1%	22,4%	47,4%
		% of Total	3,2%	11,6%	9,5%
Total	Count	27	49	19	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	28,4%	51,6%	20%	
a. Neighbourhood = Chair					

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed					
			Ethnicity		Total
			Macedonian	Albanian	
	Strongly disagree	Count	7	21	28
		% within Ethnicity	87,5%	23,9%	29,2%
		% of Total	7,3%	21,9%	29,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	10	10
		% within Ethnicity	0%	11,4%	10,4%
		% of Total	0%	10,4%	10,4%
	Undecided	Count	0	28	28
		% within Ethnicity	0%	31,8%	29,2%
		% of Total	0%	29,2%	29,2%
	Partly agree	Count	0	24	24
		% within Ethnicity	0%	27,3%	25%
		% of Total	0%	25%	25%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	5	6
		% within Ethnicity	12,5%	5,7%	6,3%
		% of Total	1%	5,2%	6,3%
Total	Count	8	88	96	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	8,3%	91,7%	100%	
a. Neighbourhood = Saraj					

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed					
			Ethnicity		
			Macedonian	Albanian	
	Strongly disagree	Count	39	14	4
		% within Ethnicity	55,7%	53,8%	80%
		% of Total	38,6%	13,9%	4%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	2	0
		% within Ethnicity	1,4%	7,7%	0%
		% of Total	1%	2%	0%
	Undecided	Count	8	2	1
		% within Ethnicity	11,4%	7,7%	20%
		% of Total	7,9%	2%	1%
	Partly agree	Count	8	1	0
		% within Ethnicity	11,4%	3,8%	0%
		% of Total	7,9%	1%	0%
	Strongly agree	Count	14	7	0
		% within Ethnicity	20%	26,9%	0%
		% of Total	13,9%	6,9%	0%
Total		Count	70	26	5
		% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	69,3%	25,7%	5%
a. Neighbourhood = Butel					

Table 5.1h: Frequency of responses to individual item by ethnicity and neighbourhood

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed					
			Ethnicity		Total
			Macedonian	Other	
	Strongly disagree	Count	72	3	75
		% within Ethnicity	80%	75%	79,8%
		% of Total	76,6%	3,2%	79,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	7	0	7
		% within Ethnicity	7,8%	0%	7,4%
		% of Total	7,4%	0%	7,4%
	Undecided	Count	2	1	3
		% within Ethnicity	2,2%	25%	3,2%
		% of Total	2,1%	1,1%	3,2%
	Partly agree	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	5,6%	0%	5,3%
		% of Total	5,3%	0%	5,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	4	0	4
		% within Ethnicity	4,4%	0%	4,3%
		% of Total	4,3%	0%	4,3%
Total	Count	90	4	94	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	95,7%	4,3%	100%	
a. Neighbourhood = Kisela Voda					

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed					
			Ethnicity		
			Macedonian	Albanian	Other
	Strongly disagree	Count	24	14	12
		% within Ethnicity	88,9%	29,2%	63,2%
		% of Total	25,5%	14,9%	12,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	5	0
		% within Ethnicity	3,7%	10,4%	0%
		% of Total	1,1%	5,3%	0%
	Undecided	Count	0	9	0
		% within Ethnicity	0%	18,8%	0%
		% of Total	0%	9,6%	0%
	Partly agree	Count	0	13	0
		% within Ethnicity	0%	27,1%	0%
		% of Total	0%	13,8%	0%
	Strongly agree	Count	2	7	7
		% within Ethnicity	7,4%	14,6%	36,8%
		% of Total	2,1%	7,4%	7,4%
Total		Count	27	48	19
		% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	28,7%	51,1%	20,2%
a. Neighbourhood = Chair					

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed					
			Ethnicity		Total
			Macedonian	Albanian	
	Strongly disagree	Count	7	14	21
		% within Ethnicity	87,5%	16,3%	22,3%
		% of Total	7,4%	14,9%	22,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	10	10
		% within Ethnicity	0%	11,6%	10,6%
		% of Total	0%	10,6%	10,6%
	Undecided	Count	0	30	30
		% within Ethnicity	0%	34,9%	31,9%
		% of Total	0%	31,9%	31,9%
	Partly agree	Count	0	19	19
		% within Ethnicity	0%	22,1%	20,2%
		% of Total	0%	20,2%	20,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	13	14
		% within Ethnicity	12,5%	15,1%	14,9%
		% of Total	1,1%	13,8%	14,9%
Total	Count	8	86	94	
	% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	8,5%	91,5%	100%	
a. Neighbourhood = Saraj					

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed					
			Ethnicity		
			Macedonian	Albanian	
	Strongly disagree	Count	48	13	4
		% within Ethnicity	69,6%	50%	100%
		% of Total	48,5%	13,1%	4%
	Partly disagree	Count	2	6	0
		% within Ethnicity	2,9%	23,1%	0%
		% of Total	2%	6,1%	0%
	Undecided	Count	11	1	0
		% within Ethnicity	15,9%	3,8%	0%
		% of Total	11,1%	1%	0%
	Partly agree	Count	1	3	0
		% within Ethnicity	1,4%	11,5%	0%
		% of Total	1%	3%	0%
	Strongly agree	Count	7	3	0
		% within Ethnicity	10,1%	11,5%	0%
		% of Total	7,1%	3%	0%
Total		Count	69	26	4
		% within Ethnicity	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	69,7%	26,3%	4%
a. Neighbourhood = Butel					

Table 5.1i: Frequency of responses to individual item by period of residence

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed							
			Period of residence				Total
			up to 5 years	between 6-15 years	between 16-30 years	above 31 years	
	Strongly disagree	Count	13	19	66	107	205
		% within Residence	81,3%	54,3%	52,8%	51,0%	53,1%
		% of Total	3,4%	4,9%	17,1%	27,7%	53,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	2	5	13	20
		% within Residence	0,0%	5,7%	4,0%	6,2%	5,2%
		% of Total	0,0%	,5%	1,3%	3,4%	5,2%
	Undecided	Count	2	5	15	28	50
		% within Residence	12,5%	14,3%	12%	13,3%	13%
		% of Total	,5%	1,3%	3,9%	7,3%	13,0%
	Partly agree	Count	0	4	22	29	55
		% within Residence	0%	11,4%	17,6%	13,8%	14,2%
		% of Total	0,0%	1,0%	5,7%	7,5%	14,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	5	17	33	56
		% within Residence	6,3%	14,3%	13,6%	15,7%	14,5%
		% of Total	,3%	1,3%	4,4%	8,5%	14,5%
Total		Count	16	35	125	210	386
		% within Residence	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	4,1%	9,1%	32,4%	54,4%	100%

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed							
			Period of residence				Total
			up to 5 years	between 6-15 years	between 16-30 years	above 31 years	
	Strongly disagree	Count	11	22	66	112	221
		% within Residence	68,8%	59,5%	54,1%	54,4%	55,4%
		% of Total	2,9%	5,8%	17,3%	29,4%	55,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	1	13	16	31
		% within Residence	6,3%	2,7%	10,7%	7,8%	8,1%
		% of Total	0,3%	0,3%	3,4%	4,2%	8,1%
	Undecided	Count	3	4	17	30	54
		% within Residence	18,8%	10,8%	13,9%	14,6%	14,2%
		% of Total	,8%	1,0%	4,5%	7,9%	14,2%
	Partly agree	Count	0	4	12	25	41
		% within Residence	0,0%	10,8%	9,8%	12,1%	10,8%
		% of Total	0%	1%	3,1%	6,6%	10,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	6	14	23	44
		% within Residence	6,3%	16,2%	11,5%	11,2%	11,5%
		% of Total	,3%	1,6%	3,7%	6,0%	11,5%
Total		Count	16	37	122	206	381
		% within Residence	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	4,2%	9,7%	32,0%	54,1%	100%

Table 5.1j: Frequency of responses to individual item by gender

Q3.9: I have participated in working groups/multicultural forum in the municipality where public representation of cultural diversity was discussed					
			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
	Strongly disagree	Count	115	90	205
		% within Gender	57,5%	48,4%	53,1%
		% of Total	29,8%	23,3%	53,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	9	11	20
		% within Gender	4,5%	5,9%	5,2%
		% of Total	2,3%	2,8%	5,2%
	Undecided	Count	26	24	50
		% within Gender	13%	12,9%	13%
		% of Total	6,7%	6,2%	13%
	Partly agree	Count	30	25	55
		% within Gender	15%	13,4%	14,2%
		% of Total	7,8%	6,5%	14,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	20	36	56
		% within Gender	10,0%	19,4%	14,5%
		% of Total	5,2%	9,3%	14,5%
Total		Count	200	186	386
		% within Gender	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	51,8%	48,2%	100%

Q3.6: I have been to Local Council meetings where decisions on public representation of diversity were discussed					
			Gender		Total
			Female	Male	
	Strongly disagree	Count	113	98	211
		% within Gender	57,9%	52,7%	55,4%
		% of Total	29,7%	25,7%	55,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	12	19	31
		% within Gender	6,2%	10,2%	8,1%
		% of Total	3,1%	5,0%	8,1%
	Undecided	Count	26	28	54
		% within Gender	13,3%	15,1%	14,2%
		% of Total	6,8%	7,3%	14,2%
	Partly agree	Count	20	21	41
		% within Gender	10,3%	11,3%	10,8%
		% of Total	5,2%	5,5%	10,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	24	20	44
		% within Gender	12,3%	10,8%	11,5%
		% of Total	6,3%	5,2%	11,5%
Total		Count	195	186	381
		% within Gender	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	51,2%	48,8%	100%

Appendix 6

Operationalisation and Level of Measurement of Variables in Hypothesis Two

6.1 Operationalisation of "Co-ethnic socialisation"

As shown by the PCA, the component "Co-ethnic socialisation" was measured through three Likert items, on an answering scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. In order to interpret the respondents' attitudes toward socialisation in public space, it was necessary to merge the corresponding variables and estimate the median value of the items defining the component. As a result, the new "latent-variable", Co-ethnic socialisation was created which shows the mean of the three items for each respondent. Higher Mean Rank means a higher level preference for co-ethnic socialisation in public spaces in the neighbourhood. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicate the "likeliest" response or what the "average" respondent might think. Higher IQR means that data is more spread through the data points.

Table 6.1a: Statistics of Component "Co-ethnic socialisation"

Variable	Statistic	
Ethnic identification	Median	4.00
	Minimum	1.00
	Maximum	5.00
	Range	4.00
	Interquartile Range	2.00
	Skewness	-0.641
	Kurtosis	-0.632

Table 6.1b: Inter-item statistics – Component “Co-ethnic socialisation”

		In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my 'own' group than with others	I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group	I choose public spaces where people of my "own" ethnic group go
N	Valid	394	375	387
	Missing	9	28	16
Median		4	4	4
Interquartile Range		3	2	3
Percentiles	25	2.75	3	2
	50	4	4	4
	75	5	5	5

Table 6.1c Frequency of responses to items of component “Co-ethnic socialisation”

Item	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my 'own' group than with other ethnic groups.	11.4%	13.5%	16%	33%	26.1%
I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group: food, music, or customs, festival, etc.	9.1%	12%	16%	26.7%	36.3%
I choose public spaces where people of my 'own' ethnic group go.	13.4%	14%	14.7%	30.5%	27.4%

Table 6.1d Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.5: In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my 'own' group than with other ethnic groups					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	16	29	45
		% within Composition of municipality	8,2%	14,5%	11,4%
		% of Total	4,1%	7,4%	11,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	35	18	53
		% within Composition of municipality	18%	9%	13,5%
		% of Total	8,9%	4,6%	13,5%
	Undecided	Count	41	22	63
		% within Composition of municipality	21,1%	11%	16%
		% of Total	10,4%	5,6%	16%
	Partly agree	Count	78	52	130
		% within Composition of municipality	40,2%	26%	33%
		% of Total	19,8%	13,2%	33%
	Strongly agree	Count	24	79	103
		% within Composition of municipality	12,4%	39,5%	26,1%
		% of Total	6,1%	20,1%	26,1%
Total		Count	194	200	394
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,2%	50,8%	100%

Table 6.1e Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.9: I choose public spaces where people of my "own" ethnic group go					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	22	30	52
		% within Composition of municipality	11,3%	15,5%	13,4%
		% of Total	5,7%	7,8%	13,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	32	22	54
		% within Composition of municipality	16,5%	11,4%	14%
		% of Total	8,3%	5,7%	14%
	Undecided	Count	39	18	57
		% within Composition of municipality	20,1%	9,3%	14,7%
		% of Total	10,1%	4,7%	14,7%
	Partly agree	Count	82	36	118
		% within Composition of municipality	42,3%	18,7%	30,5%
		% of Total	21,2%	9,3%	30,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	19	87	106
		% within Composition of municipality	9,8%	45,1%	27,4%
		% of Total	4,9%	22,5%	27,4%
Total		Count	194	193	387
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,1%	49,9%	100%

Table 6.1f Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.6: I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group: food, music, or customs, festival, etc.					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	15	19	34
		% within Composition of municipality	8,2%	9,9%	9,1%
		% of Total	4%	5,1%	9,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	38	7	45
		% within Composition of municipality	20,7%	3,7%	12%
		% of Total	10,1%	1,9%	12%
	Undecided	Count	32	28	60
		% within Composition of municipality	17,4%	14,7%	16%
		% of Total	8,5%	7,5%	16%
	Partly agree	Count	64	36	100
		% within Composition of municipality	34,8%	18,8%	26,7%
		% of Total	17,1%	9,6%	26,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	35	101	136
		% within Composition of municipality	19%	52,9%	36,3%
		% of Total	9,3%	26,9%	36,3%
Total	Count	184	191	375	
	% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	49,1%	50,9%	100%	

Table 6.1g Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q5.9: I choose public spaces where people of my "own" ethnic group go					
Ethnicity			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	7	13	20
		% within Composition of municipality	6,9%	13,3%	10%
		% of Total	3,5%	6,5%	10%
	Partly disagree	Count	26	14	40
		% within Composition of municipality	25,5%	14,3%	20%
		% of Total	13%	7%	20%
	Undecided	Count	7	4	11
		% within Composition of municipality	6,9%	4,1%	5,5%
		% of Total	3,5%	2%	5,5%
	Partly agree	Count	50	24	74
		% within Composition of municipality	49%	24,5%	37%
		% of Total	25%	12%	37%
	Strongly agree	Count	12	43	55
		% within Composition of municipality	11,8%	43,9%	27,5%
		% of Total	6%	21,5%	27,5%
	Total	Count	102	98	200
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	51%	49%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	13	13	26
		% within Composition of municipality	14,9%	18,3%	16,5%
		% of Total	8,2%	8,2%	16,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	5	2	7
		% within Composition of municipality	5,7%	2,8%	4,4%
		% of Total	3,2%	1,3%	4,4%
	Undecided	Count	32	12	44
		% within Composition of municipality	36,8%	16,9%	27,8%
		% of Total	20,3%	7,6%	27,8%
	Partly agree	Count	30	11	41
		% within Composition of municipality	34,5%	15,5%	25,9%
		% of Total	19%	7%	25,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	7	33	40
		% within Composition of municipality	8%	46,5%	25,3%
		% of Total	4,4%	20,9%	25,3%
	Total	Count	87	71	158
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	55,1%	44,9%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	2	4	6
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	16,7%	20,7%
		% of Total	6,9%	13,8%	20,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	6	7
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	25%	24,1%
		% of Total	3,4%	20,7%	24,1%
	Undecided	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,3%	6,9%
		% of Total	0%	6,9%	6,9%
	Partly agree	Count	2	1	3
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	4,2%	10,3%
		% of Total	6,9%	3,4%	10,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	11	11
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	45,8%	37,9%
		% of Total	0%	37,9%	37,9%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Table 6.1h Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q5.5: In the public space in my neighbourhood, I would rather socialise with my "own" group than with other ethnic groups					
Ethnicity			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	4	12	16
		% within Composition of municipality	3,9%	12,1%	8%
		% of Total	2%	6%	8%
	Partly disagree	Count	27	2	29
		% within Composition of municipality	26,5%	2%	14,4%
		% of Total	13,4%	1%	14,4%
	Undecided	Count	12	11	23
		% within Composition of municipality	11,8%	11,1%	11,4%
		% of Total	6%	5,5%	11,4%
	Partly agree	Count	47	28	75
		% within Composition of municipality	46,1%	28,3%	37,3%
		% of Total	23,4%	13,9%	37,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	12	46	58
		% within Composition of municipality	11,8%	46,5%	28,9%
		% of Total	6%	22,9%	28,9%
	Total	Count	102	99	201
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,7%	49,3%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	10	11	21
		% within Composition of municipality	11,5%	14,3%	12,8%
		% of Total	6,1%	6,7%	12,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	8	14	22
		% within Composition of municipality	9,2%	18,2%	13,4%
		% of Total	4,9%	8,5%	13,4%
	Undecided	Count	29	9	38
		% within Composition of municipality	33,3%	11,7%	23,2%
		% of Total	17,7%	5,5%	23,2%
	Partly agree	Count	28	18	46
		% within Composition of municipality	32,2%	23,4%	28%
		% of Total	17,1%	11%	28%
	Strongly agree	Count	12	25	37
		% within Composition of municipality	13,8%	32,5%	22,6%
		% of Total	7,3%	15,2%	22,6%
	Total	Count	87	77	164
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53%	47%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	2	6	8
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	25%	27,6%
		% of Total	6,9%	20,7%	27,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,3%	6,9%
		% of Total	0%	6,9%	6,9%
	Undecided	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,3%	6,9%
		% of Total	0%	6,9%	6,9%
	Partly agree	Count	3	6	9
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	25%	31%
		% of Total	10,3%	20,7%	31%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	8	8
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	33,3%	27,6%
		% of Total	0%	27,6%	27,6%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Table 6.1i Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q5.6: I only participate in cultural events that celebrate the culture of my own ethnic group: food, music, or customs, festival, etc.					
Ethnicity			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	8	10	18
		% within Composition of municipality	8,6%	10,8%	9,7%
		% of Total	4,3%	5,4%	9,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	22	2	24
		% within Composition of municipality	23,7%	2,2%	12,9%
		% of Total	11,8%	1,1%	12,9%
	Undecided	Count	10	7	17
		% within Composition of municipality	10,8%	7,5%	9,1%
		% of Total	5,4%	3,8%	9,1%
	Partly agree	Count	31	18	49
		% within Composition of municipality	33,3%	19,4%	26,3%
		% of Total	16,7%	9,7%	26,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	22	56	78
		% within Composition of municipality	23,7%	60,2%	41,9%
		% of Total	11,8%	30,1%	41,9%
	Total	Count	93	93	186
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50%	50%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	4	4	8
		% within Composition of municipality	4,6%	5,3%	4,9%
		% of Total	2,5%	2,5%	4,9%
	Partly disagree	Count	15	4	19
		% within Composition of municipality	17,2%	5,3%	11,7%
		% of Total	9,2%	2,5%	11,7%
	Undecided	Count	22	20	42
		% within Composition of municipality	25,3%	26,3%	25,8%
		% of Total	13,5%	12,3%	25,8%
	Partly agree	Count	33	11	44
		% within Composition of municipality	37,9%	14,5%	27%
		% of Total	20,2%	6,7%	27%
	Strongly agree	Count	13	37	50
		% within Composition of municipality	14,9%	48,7%	30,7%
		% of Total	8%	22,7%	30,7%
	Total	Count	87	76	163
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53,4%	46,6%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	3	5	8
		% within Composition of municipality	75%	22,7%	30,8%
		% of Total	11,5%	19,2%	30,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	1	2
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	4,5%	7,7%
		% of Total	3,8%	3,8%	7,7%
	Undecided	Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,5%	3,8%
		% of Total	0%	3,8%	3,8%
	Partly agree	Count	0	7	7
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	31,8%	26,9%
		% of Total	0%	26,9%	26,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	8	8
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	36,4%	30,8%
		% of Total	0%	30,8%	30,8%
	Total	Count	4	22	26
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	15,4%	84,6%	100%

6.2 Operationalisation of "Ethnic proximity"

As shown by the PCA, the component proximity between ethnic groups was measured through nine Likert items, on an answering scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. In order to interpret the respondents' attitudes toward public space as a place of proximity between ethnic groups the corresponding variables were merged and a new "latent-variable" was created which showed the mean of the nine items for each respondent. Higher Mean Rank meant a higher level of ethnic proximity in public spaces. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicated the "likeliest" response or what the "average" respondent might think. Higher IQR meant that data is more spread through the data points.

Table 6.2a: Statistics of Component "Ethnic proximity"

Variable	Statistic
Ethnic proximity	Median
	4.00
	Minimum
	1.00
	Maximum
	5.00
	Range
	4.00
	Interquartile Range
	2.00
	Skewness
	-0.495
	Kurtosis
	-0.453

Table 6.2b: Inter-item statistics - Component "Ethnic proximity"

Item A	As citizen, I can make individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood
Item B	There are public spaces in my neighbourhood which are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging
Item C	I choose public spaces which offer me rest and recreation regardless of which ethnic groups go there
Item D	It is easy to get to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space in my neighbourhood
Item E	When I walk through the streets of my neighbourhood, I also greet people from other ethnic groups
Item F	I feel comfortable with ethnic groups making their celebrations and festivals in public space in my neighbourhood
Item G	I am willing to participate in community activities in public space with members of other ethnic groups
Item H	It is irrelevant for me which ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhood
Item I	Ethnic groups should use their own language in public space without fear or threat

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
N	Valid	385	392	392	387	387	381	374	383	389
	Missing	18	11	11	16	16	22	29	20	14
Median		2	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	5
Interquartile Range		3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Percentiles	25	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3
	50	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	5
	75	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5

Table 6.2c: Frequency of responses to items of component "Ethnic proximity"

Item	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
As a citizen, I can make individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	39.2%	15.6%	17.9%	10.6%	16.6%
There are public spaces in my neighbourhood which are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging.	13.3%	10.7%	18.4%	16.3%	41.3%
I choose public spaces which offer me rest and recreation regardless of which ethnic groups go there.	6.9%	20.2%	18.9%	25.3%	28.8%
It is easy to get to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space in my neighbourhood.	9.3%	15%	22%	24.8%	28.9%
When I walk through the streets of my neighbourhood, I also greet people from other ethnic groups.	3.1%	9.3%	14.7%	24.8%	48.1%

I feel comfortable with ethnic groups making their celebrations and festivals in public space in my neighbourhood.	7.6%	8.1%	21.3%	27%	36%
I am willing to participate in community activities in public space with members of other ethnic groups.	7.2%	14.2%	21.1%	29.4%	28.1%
Ethnic groups should use their own language in public space without fear or threat.	5.4%	9.3%	15.7%	15.9%	53.7%
It is irrelevant for me which ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhood	13.1%	25.8%	22.5%	19.3%	19.3%

Table 6.2d: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q3.1: As citizen, I can make individual influence over decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	62	89	151
		% within Composition of municipality	33,2%	44,9%	39,2%
		% of Total	16,1%	23,1%	39,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	32	28	60
		% within Composition of municipality	17,1%	14,1%	15,6%
		% of Total	8,3%	7,3%	15,6%
	Undecided	Count	51	18	69
		% within Composition of municipality	27,3%	9,1%	17,9%
		% of Total	13,2%	4,7%	17,9%
	Partly agree	Count	26	15	41
		% within Composition of municipality	13,9%	7,6%	10,6%
		% of Total	6,8%	3,9%	10,6%
	Strongly agree	Count	16	48	64
		% within Composition of municipality	8,6%	24,2%	16,6%
		% of Total	4,2%	12,5%	16,6%
Total		Count	187	198	385
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	48,6%	51,4%	100%

Table 6.2e: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.1: There are public spaces in my neighbourhood which are used by all citizens regardless of their ethnic belonging					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	30	22	52
		% within Composition of municipality	15,6%	11%	13,3%
		% of Total	7,7%	5,6%	13,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	16	26	42
		% within Composition of municipality	8,3%	13%	10,7%
		% of Total	4,1%	6,6%	10,7%
	Undecided	Count	44	28	72
		% within Composition of municipality	22,9%	14%	18,4%
		% of Total	11,2%	7,1%	18,4%
	Partly agree	Count	22	42	64
		% within Composition of municipality	11,5%	21%	16,3%
		% of Total	5,6%	10,7%	16,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	80	82	162
		% within Composition of municipality	41,7%	41%	41,3%
		% of Total	20,4%	20,9%	41,3%
	Total	Count	192	200	392
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49%	51%	100%

Table 6.2f: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.2: I choose public spaces which offer me rest and recreation regardless of which ethnic groups go there					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	13	14	27
		% within Composition of municipality	6,7%	7,1%	6,9%
		% of Total	3,3%	3,6%	6,9%
	Partly disagree	Count	41	38	79
		% within Composition of municipality	21%	19,3%	20,2%
		% of Total	10,5%	9,7%	20,2%
	Undecided	Count	45	29	74
		% within Composition of municipality	23,1%	14,7%	18,9%
		% of Total	11,5%	7,4%	18,9%
	Partly agree	Count	61	38	99
		% within Composition of municipality	31,3%	19,3%	25,3%
		% of Total	15,6%	9,7%	25,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	35	78	113
		% within Composition of municipality	17,9%	39,6%	28,8%
		% of Total	8,9%	19,9%	28,8%
	Total	Count	195	197	392
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,7%	50,3%	100%

Table 6.2g: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.3: It is easy to get to know people from other ethnic groups in the public space in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	21	15	36
		% within Composition of municipality	11,1%	7,6%	9,3%
		% of Total	5,4%	3,9%	9,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	26	32	58
		% within Composition of municipality	13,7%	16,2%	15%
		% of Total	6,7%	8,3%	15%
	Undecided	Count	46	39	85
		% within Composition of municipality	24,2%	19,8%	22%
		% of Total	11,9%	10,1%	22%
	Partly agree	Count	62	34	96
		% within Composition of municipality	32,6%	17,3%	24,8%
		% of Total	16%	8,8%	24,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	35	77	112
		% within Composition of municipality	18,4%	39,1%	28,9%
		% of Total	9%	19,9%	28,9%
	Total	Count	190	197	387
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,1%	50,9%	100%

Table 6.2h: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.4: When I walk through the streets of my neighbourhood, I also greet people from other ethnic groups					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	5	7	12
		% within Composition of municipality	2,6%	3,6%	3,1%
		% of Total	1,3%	1,8%	3,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	15	21	36
		% within Composition of municipality	7,9%	10,7%	9,3%
		% of Total	3,9%	5,4%	9,3%
	Undecided	Count	30	27	57
		% within Composition of municipality	15,7%	13,8%	14,7%
		% of Total	7,8%	7%	14,7%
	Partly agree	Count	54	42	96
		% within Composition of municipality	28,3%	21,4%	24,8%
		% of Total	14%	10,9%	24,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	87	99	186
		% within Composition of municipality	45,5%	50,5%	48,1%
		% of Total	22,5%	25,6%	48,1%
	Total	Count	191	196	387
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,4%	50,6%	100%

Table 6.2i: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.7: I feel comfortable with ethnic groups making their celebrations and festivals in public space in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	10	19	29
		% within Composition of municipality	5,3%	9,9%	7,6%
		% of Total	2,6%	5%	7,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	13	18	31
		% within Composition of municipality	6,8%	9,4%	8,1%
		% of Total	3,4%	4,7%	8,1%
	Undecided	Count	52	29	81
		% within Composition of municipality	27,4%	15,2%	21,3%
		% of Total	13,6%	7,6%	21,3%
	Partly agree	Count	67	36	103
		% within Composition of municipality	35,3%	18,8%	27%
		% of Total	17,6%	9,4%	27%
	Strongly agree	Count	48	89	137
		% within Composition of municipality	25,3%	46,6%	36%
		% of Total	12,6%	23,4%	36%
Total		Count	190	191	381
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,9%	50,1%	100%

Table 6.2j: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q5.8: I am willing to participate in community activities in public space with members of other ethnic groups					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	9	18	27
		% within Composition of municipality	5%	9,3%	7,2%
		% of Total	2,4%	4,8%	7,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	26	27	53
		% within Composition of municipality	14,4%	14%	14,2%
		% of Total	7%	7,2%	14,2%
	Undecided	Count	50	29	79
		% within Composition of municipality	27,6%	15%	21,1%
		% of Total	13,4%	7,8%	21,1%
	Partly agree	Count	70	40	110
		% within Composition of municipality	38,7%	20,7%	29,4%
		% of Total	18,7%	10,7%	29,4%
	Strongly agree	Count	26	79	105
		% within Composition of municipality	14,4%	40,9%	28,1%
		% of Total	7%	21,1%	28,1%
Total	Count	181	193	374	
	% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	48,4%	51,6%	100%	

Table 6.2k: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q6.4: It is irrelevant for me which ethnic and cultural symbols are represented in the public space in the neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	16	34	50
		% within Composition of municipality	8,7%	17,1%	13,1%
		% of Total	4,2%	8,9%	13,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	52	47	99
		% within Composition of municipality	28,3%	23,6%	25,8%
		% of Total	13,6%	12,3%	25,8%
	Undecided	Count	49	37	86
		% within Composition of municipality	26,6%	18,6%	22,5%
		% of Total	12,8%	9,7%	22,5%
	Partly agree	Count	48	26	74
		% within Composition of municipality	26,1%	13,1%	19,3%
		% of Total	12,5%	6,8%	19,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	19	55	74
		% within Composition of municipality	10,3%	27,6%	19,3%
		% of Total	5%	14,4%	19,3%
	Total	Count	184	199	383
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	48%	52%	100%

Table 6.2I: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q7.4: Ethnic groups should use their own language in public space without fear or threat					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	7	14	21
		% within Composition of municipality	3,6%	7,1%	5,4%
		% of Total	1,8%	3,6%	5,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	22	14	36
		% within Composition of municipality	11,4%	7,1%	9,3%
		% of Total	5,7%	3,6%	9,3%
	Undecided	Count	39	22	61
		% within Composition of municipality	20,2%	11,2%	15,7%
		% of Total	10%	5,7%	15,7%
	Partly agree	Count	43	19	62
		% within Composition of municipality	22,3%	9,7%	15,9%
		% of Total	11,1%	4,9%	15,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	82	127	209
		% within Composition of municipality	42,5%	64,8%	53,7%
		% of Total	21,1%	32,6%	53,7%
Total		Count	193	196	389
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,6%	50,4%	100%

6.3 Operationalisation of "Intergroup antagonism"

The component "Intergroup antagonism" was measured through three Likert items, on an answering scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. A "latent-variable" was created by merging the mean of the corresponding items for each respondent. Higher Mean Rank meant a higher level of intergroup antagonism in public spaces. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicated the "likeliest" response or what the "average" respondent might think. Higher IQR meant that data is more spread through the data points.

Table 6.3a: Statistics of Component "Intergroup antagonism"

Variable		Statistic
Intergroup antagonism	Median	3.00
	Minimum	1.00
	Maximum	5.00
	Range	4.00
	Interquartile Range	3.00
	Skewness	.274
	Kurtosis	-1.178

Table 6.3b: Inter-item statistics – Component "Intergroup antagonism"

		I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.	I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own.	Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space
N	Valid	387	385	394
	Missing	16	18	9
Median		2	2	4
Interquartile Range		3	3	3
Percentiles	25	1	1	2
	50	2	2	4
	75	4	4	5

Table 6.3c: Frequency of responses to items of component "Intergroup antagonism"

Item	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.	32.3%	20.9%	18.6%	14.2%	14%
I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own.	37.4%	15.3%	14%	20.8%	12.5%
Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space	20.1%	12.2%	17.3%	13.7%	36.8%

Table 6.3d: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q7.2 I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	54	71	125
		% within Composition of municipality	28,6%	35,9%	32,3%
		% of Total	14%	18,3%	32,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	48	33	81
		% within Composition of municipality	25,4%	16,7%	20,9%
		% of Total	12,4%	8,5%	20,9%
	Undecided	Count	42	30	72
		% within Composition of municipality	22,2%	15,2%	18,6%
		% of Total	10,9%	7,8%	18,6%
	Partly agree	Count	34	21	55
		% within Composition of municipality	18%	10,6%	14,2%
		% of Total	8,8%	5,4%	14,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	11	43	54
		% within Composition of municipality	5,8%	21,7%	14%
		% of Total	2,8%	11,1%	14%
Total		Count	189	198	387
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	48,8%	51,2%	100%

Table 6.3e: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q7.3: I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own.					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	74	70	144
		% within Composition of municipality	39,6%	35,4%	37,4%
		% of Total	19,2%	18,2%	37,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	30	29	59
		% within Composition of municipality	16%	14,6%	15,3%
		% of Total	7,8%	7,5%	15,3%
	Undecided	Count	28	26	54
		% within Composition of municipality	15%	13,1%	14%
		% of Total	7,3%	6,8%	14%
	Partly agree	Count	44	36	80
		% within Composition of municipality	23,5%	18,2%	20,8%
		% of Total	11,4%	9,4%	20,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	11	37	48
		% within Composition of municipality	5,9%	18,7%	12,5%
		% of Total	2,9%	9,6%	12,5%
Total	Count	187	198	385	
	% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	48,6%	51,4%	100%	

Table 6.3f: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q7.2: I avoid public spaces in my neighbourhood where people from other ethnic groups gather.					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	33	18	51
		% within Composition of municipality	34%	18,6%	26,3%
		% of Total	17%	9,3%	26,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	31	16	47
		% within Composition of municipality	32%	16,5%	24,2%
		% of Total	16%	8,2%	24,2%
	Undecided	Count	15	21	36
		% within Composition of municipality	15,5%	21,6%	18,6%
		% of Total	7,7%	10,8%	18,6%
	Partly agree	Count	14	15	29
		% within Composition of municipality	14,4%	15,5%	14,9%
		% of Total	7,2%	7,7%	14,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	4	27	31
		% within Composition of municipality	4,1%	27,8%	16%
		% of Total	2,1%	13,9%	16%
	Total	Count	97	97	194
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50%	50%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	18	40	58
		% within Composition of municipality	20,7%	51,9%	35,4%
		% of Total	11%	24,4%	35,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	17	12	29
		% within Composition of municipality	19,5%	15,6%	17,7%
		% of Total	10,4%	7,3%	17,7%
	Undecided	Count	25	8	33
		% within Composition of municipality	28,7%	10,4%	20,1%
		% of Total	15,2%	4,9%	20,1%
	Partly agree	Count	20	3	23
		% within Composition of municipality	23%	3,9%	14%
		% of Total	12,2%	1,8%	14%
	Strongly agree	Count	7	14	21
		% within Composition of municipality	8%	18,2%	12,8%
		% of Total	4,3%	8,5%	12,8%
	Total	Count	87	77	164
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53%	47%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	3	13	16
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	54,2%	55,2%
		% of Total	10,3%	44,8%	55,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	5	5
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	20,8%	17,2%
		% of Total	0%	17,2%	17,2%
	Undecided	Count	2	1	3
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	4,2%	10,3%
		% of Total	6,9%	3,4%	10,3%
	Partly agree	Count	0	3	3
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	12,5%	10,3%
		% of Total	0%	10,3%	10,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,3%	6,9%
		% of Total	0%	6,9%	6,9%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Table 6.3g: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q7.3: I do not feel comfortable while walking in public spaces with many members of ethnic groups that are different to my own.					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	47	16	63
		% within Composition of municipality	48,5%	16,3%	32,3%
		% of Total	24,1%	8,2%	32,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	20	17	37
		% within Composition of municipality	20,6%	17,3%	19%
		% of Total	10,3%	8,7%	19%
	Undecided	Count	13	17	30
		% within Composition of municipality	13,4%	17,3%	15,4%
		% of Total	6,7%	8,7%	15,4%
	Partly agree	Count	14	23	37
		% within Composition of municipality	14,4%	23,5%	19%
		% of Total	7,2%	11,8%	19%
	Strongly agree	Count	3	25	28
		% within Composition of municipality	3,1%	25,5%	14,4%
		% of Total	1,5%	12,8%	14,4%
	Total	Count	97	98	195
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,7%	50,3%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	24	42	66
		% within Composition of municipality	27,9%	55,3%	40,7%
		% of Total	14,8%	25,9%	40,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	9	8	17
		% within Composition of municipality	10,5%	10,5%	10,5%
		% of Total	5,6%	4,9%	10,5%
	Undecided	Count	15	6	21
		% within Composition of municipality	17,4%	7,9%	13%
		% of Total	9,3%	3,7%	13%
	Partly agree	Count	30	10	40
		% within Composition of municipality	34,9%	13,2%	24,7%
		% of Total	18,5%	6,2%	24,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	8	10	18
		% within Composition of municipality	9,3%	13,2%	11,1%
		% of Total	4,9%	6,2%	11,1%
	Total	Count	86	76	162
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53,1%	46,9%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	3	12	15
		% within Composition of municipality	75%	50%	53,6%
		% of Total	10,7%	42,9%	53,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	4	5
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	16,7%	17,9%
		% of Total	3,6%	14,3%	17,9%
	Undecided	Count	0	3	3
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	12,5%	10,7%
		% of Total	0%	10,7%	10,7%
	Partly agree	Count	0	3	3
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	12,5%	10,7%
		% of Total	0%	10,7%	10,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,3%	7,1%
		% of Total	0%	7,1%	7,1%
	Total	Count	4	24	28
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	14,3%	85,7%	100%

Table 6.3h: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q7.1: Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	24	55	79
		% within Composition of municipality	12,3%	27,6%	20,1%
		% of Total	6,1%	14%	20,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	19	29	48
		% within Composition of municipality	9,7%	14,6%	12,2%
		% of Total	4,8%	7,4%	12,2%
	Undecided	Count	45	23	68
		% within Composition of municipality	23,1%	11,6%	17,3%
		% of Total	11,4%	5,8%	17,3%
	Partly agree	Count	28	26	54
		% within Composition of municipality	14,4%	13,1%	13,7%
		% of Total	7,1%	6,6%	13,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	79	66	145
		% within Composition of municipality	40,5%	33,2%	36,8%
		% of Total	20,1%	16,8%	36,8%
Total		Count	195	199	394
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,5%	50,5%	100%

Table 6.3i: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q7.1: Ethnic groups should speak the language of the majority in the public space					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	8	21	29
		% within Composition of municipality	7,9%	21,2%	14,5%
		% of Total	4%	10,5%	14,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	6	12	18
		% within Composition of municipality	5,9%	12,1%	9%
		% of Total	3%	6%	9%
	Undecided	Count	6	8	14
		% within Composition of municipality	5,9%	8,1%	7%
		% of Total	3%	4%	7%
	Partly agree	Count	17	16	33
		% within Composition of municipality	16,8%	16,2%	16,5%
		% of Total	8,5%	8%	16,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	64	42	106
		% within Composition of municipality	63,4%	42,4%	53%
		% of Total	32%	21%	53%
	Total	Count	101	99	200
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,5%	49,5%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	13	23	36
		% within Composition of municipality	14,6%	29,9%	21,7%
		% of Total	7,8%	13,9%	21,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	13	15	28
		% within Composition of municipality	14,6%	19,5%	16,9%
		% of Total	7,8%	9%	16,9%
	Undecided	Count	39	14	53
		% within Composition of municipality	43,8%	18,2%	31,9%
		% of Total	23,5%	8,4%	31,9%
	Partly agree	Count	9	6	15
		% within Composition of municipality	10,1%	7,8%	9%
		% of Total	5,4%	3,6%	9%
	Strongly agree	Count	15	19	34
		% within Composition of municipality	16,9%	24,7%	20,5%
		% of Total	9%	11,4%	20,5%
	Total	Count	89	77	166
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53,6%	46,4%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	3	11	14
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	47,8%	50%
		% of Total	10,7%	39,3%	50%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,7%	7,1%
		% of Total	0%	7,1%	7,1%
	Undecided	Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,3%	3,6%
		% of Total	0%	3,6%	3,6%
	Partly agree	Count	2	4	6
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	17,4%	21,4%
		% of Total	7,1%	14,3%	21,4%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	5	5
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	21,7%	17,9%
		% of Total	0%	17,9%	17,9%
	Total	Count	5	23	28
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,9%	82,1%	100%

6.4 Operationalisation of "Diversity accommodation approach"

The component "Diversity accommodation approach" was measured through nine Likert items, on an answering scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The "latent-variable" was created by merging the mean of the nine items for each respondent. Higher Mean Rank meant a higher level of support for an ethno-based diversity accommodation approach of public spaces. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicated the "likeliest" response or what the "average" respondent might think. Higher IQR meant that data was more spread through the data points.

Table 6.4a: Statistics of Component "Diversity accommodation approach"

Variable	Statistic
Diversity accommodation approach	Median 4.00
	Minimum 1.00
	Maximum 5.00
	Range 4.00
	Interquartile Range 2.00
	Skewness -.766
	Kurtosis -.075

Table 6.4b: Inter-item statistics – Component "Diversity accommodation approach"

Item A	Only when part of an ethnic group, can people influence decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood
Item B	The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood
Item C	Only by working together, should members of different ethnic groups decide on the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood
Item D	My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living here
Item E	In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen
Item F	The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in my neighbourhood
Item G	Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood
Item H	I am prepared to move to another municipality where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group
Item I	It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
N	Valid	389	388	382	385	388	394	376	388	385
	Missing	14	15	21	18	15	9	27	15	18
Median		4	4	4	4	3	5	3	2	4
Interquartile Range		2	2	2	3	3	2	4	2	2
Percentiles	25	3	3	3	2	2	3	1.25	1	3
	50	4	4	4	4	4	5	3	2	4
	75	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5

Table 6.4c: Frequency of responses to items of component "Diversity accommodation approach"

Item	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
Only when part of an ethnic group, can people influence decisions concerning public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	6.9%	11.8%	13.9%	27%	40.4%
The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	10.3%	12.6%	14.9%	23.5%	38.7%
Only by working together, should members of different ethnic groups decide on the public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	3.9%	9.4%	15.4%	24.1%	47.1%
My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living here.	14.3%	15.1%	14.3%	23.1%	33.2%

In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen.	15.2%	12.9%	20.4%	19.8%	31.7%
The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in my neighbourhood.	9.6%	9.1%	17%	12.2%	52%
Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	25%	13%	15.7%	19.9%	26.3%
I am prepared to move to another municipality where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group.	49.7%	14.4%	15.7%	13.7%	6.4%
It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood.	6.2%	8.3%	19%	24.2%	42.3%

Table 6.4d: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q3.4: The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Strongly disagree	Count		6	34	40
	% within Composition of municipality		3,2%	17,1%	10,3%
	% of Total		1,5%	8,8%	10,3%
Partly disagree	Count		19	30	49
	% within Composition of municipality		10,1%	15,1%	12,6%
	% of Total		4,9%	7,7%	12,6%
Undecided	Count		28	30	58
	% within Composition of municipality		14,8%	15,1%	14,9%
	% of Total		7,2%	7,7%	14,9%
Partly agree	Count		60	31	91
	% within Composition of municipality		31,7%	15,6%	23,5%
	% of Total		15,5%	8%	23,5%
Strongly agree	Count		76	74	150
	% within Composition of municipality		40,2%	37,2%	38,7%
	% of Total		19,6%	19,1%	38,7%
Total	Count		189	199	388
	% within Composition of municipality		100%	100%	100%
	% of Total		48,7%	51,3%	100%

Table 6.4e: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q3.4: The majority ethnic group in my neighbourhood should decide on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	2	20	22
		% within Composition of municipality	2%	20,4%	11,1%
		% of Total	1%	10,1%	11,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	4	17	21
		% within Composition of municipality	4%	17,3%	10,6%
		% of Total	2%	8,6%	10,6%
	Undecided	Count	12	8	20
		% within Composition of municipality	12%	8,2%	10,1%
		% of Total	6,1%	4%	10,1%
	Partly agree	Count	27	11	38
		% within Composition of municipality	27%	11,2%	19,2%
		% of Total	13,6%	5,6%	19,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	55	42	97
		% within Composition of municipality	55%	42,9%	49%
		% of Total	27,8%	21,2%	49%
	Total	Count	100	98	198
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,5%	49,5%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	3	11	14
		% within Composition of municipality	3,6%	14,3%	8,7%
		% of Total	1,9%	6,8%	8,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	14	10	24
		% within Composition of municipality	16,7%	13%	14,9%
		% of Total	8,7%	6,2%	14,9%
	Undecided	Count	16	19	35
		% within Composition of municipality	19%	24,7%	21,7%
		% of Total	9,9%	11,8%	21,7%
	Partly agree	Count	30	15	45
		% within Composition of municipality	35,7%	19,5%	28%
		% of Total	18,6%	9,3%	28%
	Strongly agree	Count	21	22	43
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	28,6%	26,7%
		% of Total	13%	13,7%	26,7%
	Total	Count	84	77	161
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	52,2%	47,8%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	1	3	4
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	12,5%	13,8%
		% of Total	3,4%	10,3%	13,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	3	4
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	12,5%	13,8%
		% of Total	3,4%	10,3%	13,8%
	Undecided	Count	0	3	3
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	12,5%	10,3%
		% of Total	0%	10,3%	10,3%
	Partly agree	Count	3	5	8
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	20,8%	27,6%
		% of Total	10,3%	17,2%	27,6%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	10	10
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	41,7%	34,5%
		% of Total	0%	34,5%	34,5%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Table 6.4f: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q4.2: My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living here					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	26	29	55
		% within Composition of municipality	14,1%	14,5%	14,3%
		% of Total	6,8%	7,5%	14,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	35	23	58
		% within Composition of municipality	18,9%	11,5%	15,1%
		% of Total	9,1%	6%	15,1%
	Undecided	Count	32	23	55
		% within Composition of municipality	17,3%	11,5%	14,3%
		% of Total	8,3%	6%	14,3%
	Partly agree	Count	41	48	89
		% within Composition of municipality	22,2%	24%	23,1%
		% of Total	10,6%	12,5%	23,1%
	Strongly agree	Count	51	77	128
		% within Composition of municipality	27,6%	38,5%	33,2%
		% of Total	13,2%	20%	33,2%
Total		Count	185	200	385
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	48,1%	51,9%	100%

Table 6.4g: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q4.2: My neighbourhood has always been marked with symbols of all ethnic groups living here					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	15	8	23
		% within Composition of municipality	16%	8,2%	12%
		% of Total	7,8%	4,2%	12%
	Partly disagree	Count	9	8	17
		% within Composition of municipality	9,6%	8,2%	8,9%
		% of Total	4,7%	4,2%	8,9%
	Undecided	Count	8	3	11
		% within Composition of municipality	8,5%	3,1%	5,7%
		% of Total	4,2%	1,6%	5,7%
	Partly agree	Count	16	31	47
		% within Composition of municipality	17%	31,6%	24,5%
		% of Total	8,3%	16,1%	24,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	46	48	94
		% within Composition of municipality	48,9%	49%	49%
		% of Total	24%	25%	49%
	Total	Count	94	98	192
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49%	51%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	11	20	31
		% within Composition of municipality	12,8%	25,6%	18,9%
		% of Total	6,7%	12,2%	18,9%
	Partly disagree	Count	26	13	39
		% within Composition of municipality	30,2%	16,7%	23,8%
		% of Total	15,9%	7,9%	23,8%
	Undecided	Count	23	19	42
		% within Composition of municipality	26,7%	24,4%	25,6%
		% of Total	14%	11,6%	25,6%
	Partly agree	Count	24	10	34
		% within Composition of municipality	27,9%	12,8%	20,7%
		% of Total	14,6%	6,1%	20,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	2	16	18
		% within Composition of municipality	2,3%	20,5%	11%
		% of Total	1,2%	9,8%	11%
	Total	Count	86	78	164
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	52,4%	47,6%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,2%	3,4%
		% of Total	0%	3,4%	3,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,3%	6,9%
		% of Total	0%	6,9%	6,9%
	Undecided	Count	1	1	2
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	4,2%	6,9%
		% of Total	3,4%	3,4%	6,9%
	Partly agree	Count	1	7	8
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	29,2%	27,6%
		% of Total	3,4%	24,1%	27,6%
	Strongly agree	Count	3	13	16
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	54,2%	55,2%
		% of Total	10,3%	44,8%	55,2%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Table 6.4h: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q4.6: In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	17	42	59
		% within Composition of municipality	8,8%	21,5%	15,2%
		% of Total	4,4%	10,8%	15,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	28	22	50
		% within Composition of municipality	14,5%	11,3%	12,9%
		% of Total	7,2%	5,7%	12,9%
	Undecided	Count	38	41	79
		% within Composition of municipality	19,7%	21%	20,4%
		% of Total	9,8%	10,6%	20,4%
	Partly agree	Count	40	37	77
		% within Composition of municipality	20,7%	19%	19,8%
		% of Total	10,3%	9,5%	19,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	70	53	123
		% within Composition of municipality	36,3%	27,2%	31,7%
		% of Total	18%	13,7%	31,7%
	Total	Count	193	195	388
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,7%	50,3%	100%

Table 6.4i: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q4.6: In my neighbourhood, only ethnic and cultural symbols of the majority ethnic group can be seen					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	7	24	31
		% within Composition of municipality	6,9%	24,7%	15,7%
		% of Total	3,5%	12,1%	15,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	7	12	19
		% within Composition of municipality	6,9%	12,4%	9,6%
		% of Total	3,5%	6,1%	9,6%
	Undecided	Count	6	8	14
		% within Composition of municipality	5,9%	8,2%	7,1%
		% of Total	3%	4%	7,1%
	Partly agree	Count	17	20	37
		% within Composition of municipality	16,8%	20,6%	18,7%
		% of Total	8,6%	10,1%	18,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	64	33	97
		% within Composition of municipality	63,4%	34%	49%
		% of Total	32,3%	16,7%	49%
	Total	Count	101	97	198
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	51%	49%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	10	15	25
		% within Composition of municipality	11,5%	20,3%	15,5%
		% of Total	6,2%	9,3%	15,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	20	9	29
		% within Composition of municipality	23%	12,2%	18%
		% of Total	12,4%	5,6%	18%
	Undecided	Count	31	30	61
		% within Composition of municipality	35,6%	40,5%	37,9%
		% of Total	19,3%	18,6%	37,9%
	Partly agree	Count	22	11	33
		% within Composition of municipality	25,3%	14,9%	20,5%
		% of Total	13,7%	6,8%	20,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	4	9	13
		% within Composition of municipality	4,6%	12,2%	8,1%
		% of Total	2,5%	5,6%	8,1%
	Total	Count	87	74	161
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	54%	46%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	0	3	3
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	12,5%	10,3%
		% of Total	0%	10,3%	10,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	1	2
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	4,2%	6,9%
		% of Total	3,4%	3,4%	6,9%
	Undecided	Count	1	3	4
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	12,5%	13,8%
		% of Total	3,4%	10,3%	13,8%
	Partly agree	Count	1	6	7
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	25%	24,1%
		% of Total	3,4%	20,7%	24,1%
	Strongly agree	Count	2	11	13
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	45,8%	44,8%
		% of Total	6,9%	37,9%	44,8%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%
		% of Total	49,7%	50,3%	100%

Table 6.4j: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q6.1: The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	27	11	38
		% within Composition of municipality	13,8%	5,5%	9,6%
		% of Total	6,9%	2,8%	9,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	15	21	36
		% within Composition of municipality	7,7%	10,6%	9,1%
		% of Total	3,8%	5,3%	9,1%
	Undecided	Count	37	30	67
		% within Composition of municipality	19%	15,1%	17%
		% of Total	9,4%	7,6%	17%
	Partly agree	Count	18	30	48
		% within Composition of municipality	9,2%	15,1%	12,2%
		% of Total	4,6%	7,6%	12,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	98	107	205
		% within Composition of municipality	50,3%	53,8%	52%
		% of Total	24,9%	27,2%	52%
	Total	Count	195	199	394
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,5%	50,5%	100%

Table 6.4k: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q6.1: The visible ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group make me feel at home in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	0	3	3
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	3%	1,5%
		% of Total	0%	1,5%	1,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	7	8
		% within Composition of municipality	1%	7,1%	4%
		% of Total	,5%	3,5%	4%
	Undecided	Count	3	8	11
		% within Composition of municipality	3%	8,1%	5,5%
		% of Total	1,5%	4%	5,5%
	Partly agree	Count	16	14	30
		% within Composition of municipality	15,8%	14,1%	15%
		% of Total	8%	7%	15%
	Strongly agree	Count	81	67	148
		% within Composition of municipality	80,2%	67,7%	74%
		% of Total	40,5%	33,5%	74%
	Total	Count	101	99	200
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,5%	49,5%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	24	7	31
		% within Composition of municipality	27%	9%	18,6%
		% of Total	14,4%	4,2%	18,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	14	13	27
		% within Composition of municipality	15,7%	16,7%	16,2%
		% of Total	8,4%	7,8%	16,2%
	Undecided	Count	34	21	55
		% within Composition of municipality	38,2%	26,9%	32,9%
		% of Total	20,4%	12,6%	32,9%
	Partly agree	Count	2	11	13
		% within Composition of municipality	2,2%	14,1%	7,8%
		% of Total	1,2%	6,6%	7,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	15	26	41
		% within Composition of municipality	16,9%	33,3%	24,6%
		% of Total	9%	15,6%	24,6%
	Total	Count	89	78	167
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53,3%	46,7%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	3	1	4
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	4,5%	14,8%
		% of Total	11,1%	3,7%	14,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,5%	3,7%
		% of Total	0%	3,7%	3,7%
	Undecided	Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,5%	3,7%
		% of Total	0%	3,7%	3,7%
	Partly agree	Count	0	5	5
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	22,7%	18,5%
		% of Total	0%	18,5%	18,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	2	14	16
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	63,6%	59,3%
		% of Total	7,4%	51,9%	59,3%
	Total	Count	5	22	27
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	18,5%	81,5%	100%

Table 6.4I: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q3.8: Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	61	33	94
		% within Composition of municipality	33%	17,3%	25%
		% of Total	16,2%	8,8%	25%
	Partly disagree	Count	32	17	49
		% within Composition of municipality	17,3%	8,9%	13%
		% of Total	8,5%	4,5%	13%
	Undecided	Count	36	23	59
		% within Composition of municipality	19,5%	12%	15,7%
		% of Total	9,6%	6,1%	15,7%
	Partly agree	Count	39	36	75
		% within Composition of municipality	21,1%	18,8%	19,9%
		% of Total	10,4%	9,6%	19,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	17	82	99
		% within Composition of municipality	9,2%	42,9%	26,3%
		% of Total	4,5%	21,8%	26,3%
	Total	Count	185	191	376
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,2%	50,8%	100%

Table 6.4m: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q3.8: Some ethnic groups have more power to influence decisions of public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	54	23	77
		% within Composition of municipality	57,4%	24,2%	40,7%
		% of Total	28,6%	12,2%	40,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	18	8	26
		% within Composition of municipality	19,1%	8,4%	13,8%
		% of Total	9,5%	4,2%	13,8%
	Undecided	Count	5	12	17
		% within Composition of municipality	5,3%	12,6%	9%
		% of Total	2,6%	6,3%	9%
	Partly agree	Count	11	16	27
		% within Composition of municipality	11,7%	16,8%	14,3%
		% of Total	5,8%	8,5%	14,3%
	Strongly agree	Count	6	36	42
		% within Composition of municipality	6,4%	37,9%	22,2%
		% of Total	3,2%	19%	22,2%
	Total	Count	94	95	189
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,7%	50,3%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	7	9	16
		% within Composition of municipality	8,1%	12,3%	10,1%
		% of Total	4,4%	5,7%	10,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	14	8	22
		% within Composition of municipality	16,3%	11%	13,8%
		% of Total	8,8%	5%	13,8%
	Undecided	Count	31	11	42
		% within Composition of municipality	36%	15,1%	26,4%
		% of Total	19,5%	6,9%	26,4%
	Partly agree	Count	27	16	43
		% within Composition of municipality	31,4%	21,9%	27%
		% of Total	17%	10,1%	27%
	Strongly agree	Count	7	29	36
		% within Composition of municipality	8,1%	39,7%	22,6%
		% of Total	4,4%	18,2%	22,6%
	Total	Count	86	73	159
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	54,1%	45,9%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,3%	3,6%
		% of Total	0%	3,6%	3,6%
		Count	0	1	1
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	4,3%	3,6%
		% of Total	0%	3,6%	3,6%
		Count	1	4	5
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	17,4%	17,9%
		% of Total	3,6%	14,3%	17,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	4	17	21
		% within Composition of municipality	80%	73,9%	75%
		% of Total	14,3%	60,7%	75%
	Total	Count	5	23	28
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,9%	82,1%	100%

Table 6.4n: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q4.4: I am prepared to move to another municipality where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	85	108	193
		% within Composition of municipality	45%	54,3%	49,7%
		% of Total	21,9%	27,8%	49,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	28	28	56
		% within Composition of municipality	14,8%	14,1%	14,4%
		% of Total	7,2%	7,2%	14,4%
	Undecided	Count	39	22	61
		% within Composition of municipality	20,6%	11,1%	15,7%
		% of Total	10,1%	5,7%	15,7%
	Partly agree	Count	33	20	53
		% within Composition of municipality	17,5%	10,1%	13,7%
		% of Total	8,5%	5,2%	13,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	4	21	25
		% within Composition of municipality	2,1%	10,6%	6,4%
		% of Total	1%	5,4%	6,4%
Total		Count	189	199	388
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	48,7%	51,3%	100%

Table 6.4o: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q4.4: I am prepared to move to another municipality where the public space is marked with more ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	68	68	136
		% within Composition of municipality	70,1%	68,7%	69,4%
		% of Total	34,7%	34,7%	69,4%
	Partly disagree	Count	9	11	20
		% within Composition of municipality	9,3%	11,1%	10,2%
		% of Total	4,6%	5,6%	10,2%
	Undecided	Count	7	6	13
		% within Composition of municipality	7,2%	6,1%	6,6%
		% of Total	3,6%	3,1%	6,6%
	Partly agree	Count	12	7	19
		% within Composition of municipality	12,4%	7,1%	9,7%
		% of Total	6,1%	3,6%	9,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	7	8
		% within Composition of municipality	1%	7,1%	4,1%
		% of Total	,5%	3,6%	4,1%
	Total	Count	97	99	196
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,5%	50,5%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	12	27	39
		% within Composition of municipality	13,8%	35,1%	23,8%
		% of Total	7,3%	16,5%	23,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	19	13	32
		% within Composition of municipality	21,8%	16,9%	19,5%
		% of Total	11,6%	7,9%	19,5%
	Undecided	Count	32	14	46
		% within Composition of municipality	36,8%	18,2%	28%
		% of Total	19,5%	8,5%	28%
	Partly agree	Count	21	13	34
		% within Composition of municipality	24,1%	16,9%	20,7%
		% of Total	12,8%	7,9%	20,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	3	10	13
		% within Composition of municipality	3,4%	13%	7,9%
		% of Total	1,8%	6,1%	7,9%
	Total	Count	87	77	164
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53%	47%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	5	13	18
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	56,5%	64,3%
		% of Total	17,9%	46,4%	64,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	0	4	4
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	17,4%	14,3%
		% of Total	0%	14,3%	14,3%
	Undecided	Count	0	2	2
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	8,7%	7,1%
		% of Total	0%	7,1%	7,1%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	4	4
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	17,4%	14,3%
		% of Total	0%	14,3%	14,3%
	Total	Count	5	23	28
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,9%	82,1%	100%

Table 6.4p: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q6.3: It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	18	6	24
		% within Composition of municipality	9,5%	3,1%	6,2%
		% of Total	4,7%	1,6%	6,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	20	12	32
		% within Composition of municipality	10,6%	6,1%	8,3%
		% of Total	5,2%	3,1%	8,3%
	Undecided	Count	46	27	73
		% within Composition of municipality	24,3%	13,8%	19%
		% of Total	11,9%	7%	19%
	Partly agree	Count	44	49	93
		% within Composition of municipality	23,3%	25%	24,2%
		% of Total	11,4%	12,7%	24,2%
	Strongly agree	Count	61	102	163
		% within Composition of municipality	32,3%	52%	42,3%
		% of Total	15,8%	26,5%	42,3%
	Total	Count	189	196	385
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,1%	50,9%	100%

Table 6.4q: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q6.3: It is important for me to see ethnic and cultural symbols of my ethnic group in the public space in the neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	4	3	7
		% within Composition of municipality	4%	3,1%	3,5%
		% of Total	2%	1,5%	3,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	8	1	9
		% within Composition of municipality	7,9%	1%	4,5%
		% of Total	4%	,5%	4,5%
	Undecided	Count	15	6	21
		% within Composition of municipality	14,9%	6,1%	10,6%
		% of Total	7,5%	3%	10,6%
	Partly agree	Count	20	27	47
		% within Composition of municipality	19,8%	27,6%	23,6%
		% of Total	10,1%	13,6%	23,6%
	Strongly agree	Count	54	61	115
		% within Composition of municipality	53,5%	62,2%	57,8%
		% of Total	27,1%	30,7%	57,8%
	Total	Count	101	98	199
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,8%	49,2%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	12	2	14
		% within Composition of municipality	14,5%	2,6%	8,8%
		% of Total	7,5%	1,3%	8,8%
	Partly disagree	Count	12	11	23
		% within Composition of municipality	14,5%	14,5%	14,5%
		% of Total	7,5%	6,9%	14,5%
	Undecided	Count	28	21	49
		% within Composition of municipality	33,7%	27,6%	30,8%
		% of Total	17,6%	13,2%	30,8%
	Partly agree	Count	24	15	39
		% within Composition of municipality	28,9%	19,7%	24,5%
		% of Total	15,1%	9,4%	24,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	7	27	34
		% within Composition of municipality	8,4%	35,5%	21,4%
		% of Total	4,4%	17%	21,4%
	Total	Count	83	76	159
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	52,2%	47,8%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	2	1	3
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	4,5%	11,1%
		% of Total	7,4%	3,7%	11,1%
	Undecided	Count	3	0	3
		% within Composition of municipality	60%	0%	11,1%
		% of Total	11,1%	0%	11,1%
	Partly agree	Count	0	7	7
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	31,8%	25,9%
		% of Total	0%	25,9%	25,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	14	14
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	63,6%	51,9%
		% of Total	0%	51,9%	51,9%
	Total	Count	5	22	27
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	18,5%	81,5%	100%

6.5 Operationalisation of "Change and consultation"

The component "Change and consultation" was measured through three Likert items, on an answering scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The "latent-variable" was created by merging the mean of the three items for each respondent. Higher Mean Rank meant a higher level of perceived change without consultation in representing diversity in public spaces. Higher Median score and lower IQR on each item indicated the "likeliest" response or what the "average" respondent might think. Higher IQR meant that data was more spread through the data points.

Table 6.5a: Statistics of Component "Change and consultation"

Variable	Statistic
Perception of power	Median
	3.00
	Minimum
	1.00
	Maximum
	5.00
	Range
	4.00
	Interquartile Range
	3.00
	Skewness
	.203
	Kurtosis
	-1.277

Table 6.5b: Inter-item statistics - Component "Change and consultation"

		My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood	My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here	In my neighbourhood many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in the last few years
N	Valid	363	396	389
	Missing	40	7	14
Median		3	1	3
Interquartile Range		3	2	2
Percentiles	25	2	1	1.5
	50	3	1	3
	75	5	3	4

Table 6.5c Frequency of responses to items of component "Change and consultation"

	Strongly disagree	Partly disagree	Undecided	Partly agree	Strongly agree
My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood.	17.1%	12.1%	21.2%	15.4%	34.2%

In the last few years, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in my neighbourhood.	24.9%	13.6%	19.5%	18.8%	23.1%
My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here.	52.3%	13.4%	12.9%	7.1%	14.4%

Table 6.5d: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q3.3: My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	35	27	62
		% within Composition of municipality	20,6%	14%	17,1%
		% of Total	9,6%	7,4%	17,1%
	Partly disagree	Count	29	15	44
		% within Composition of municipality	17,1%	7,8%	12,1%
		% of Total	8%	4,1%	12,1%
	Undecided	Count	39	38	77
		% within Composition of municipality	22,9%	19,7%	21,2%
		% of Total	10,7%	10,5%	21,2%
	Partly agree	Count	33	23	56
		% within Composition of municipality	19,4%	11,9%	15,4%
		% of Total	9,1%	6,3%	15,4%
	Strongly agree	Count	34	90	124
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	46,6%	34,2%
		% of Total	9,4%	24,8%	34,2%

Total	Count	170	193	363
	% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
	% of Total	46,8%	53,2%	100%

Table 6.5e: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q3.3: My ethnic group was never consulted while deciding on public representation of cultural diversity in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	21	17	38
		% within Composition of municipality	26,6%	18,5%	22,2%
		% of Total	12,3%	9,9%	22,2%
	Partly disagree	Count	16	2	18
		% within Composition of municipality	20,3%	2,2%	10,5%
		% of Total	9,4%	1,2%	10,5%
	Undecided	Count	18	16	34
		% within Composition of municipality	22,8%	17,4%	19,9%
		% of Total	10,5%	9,4%	19,9%
	Partly agree	Count	4	6	10
		% within Composition of municipality	5,1%	6,5%	5,8%
		% of Total	2,3%	3,5%	5,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	20	51	71
		% within Composition of municipality	25,3%	55,4%	41,5%
		% of Total	11,7%	29,8%	41,5%
	Total	Count	79	92	171
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	46,2%	53,8%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	12	10	22
		% within Composition of municipality	14%	13%	13,5%
		% of Total	7,4%	6,1%	13,5%
	Partly disagree	Count	13	13	26
		% within Composition of municipality	15,1%	16,9%	16%
		% of Total	8%	8%	16%
	Undecided	Count	19	21	40
		% within Composition of municipality	22,1%	27,3%	24,5%
		% of Total	11,7%	12,9%	24,5%
	Partly agree	Count	29	11	40
		% within Composition of municipality	33,7%	14,3%	24,5%
		% of Total	17,8%	6,7%	24,5%
	Strongly agree	Count	13	22	35
		% within Composition of municipality	15,1%	28,6%	21,5%
		% of Total	8%	13,5%	21,5%
	Total	Count	86	77	163
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	52,8%	47,2%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	2	0	2
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	0%	6,9%
		% of Total	6,9%	0%	6,9%
	Undecided	Count	2	1	3
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	4,2%	10,3%
		% of Total	6,9%	3,4%	10,3%
	Partly agree	Count	0	6	6
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	25%	20,7%
		% of Total	0%	20,7%	20,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	17	18
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	70,8%	62,1%
		% of Total	3,4%	58,6%	62,1%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Table 6.5f: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q4.3: In the last few years, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	58	39	97
		% within Composition of municipality	30,7%	19,5%	24,9%
		% of Total	14,9%	10%	24,9%
	Partly disagree	Count	34	19	53
		% within Composition of municipality	18%	9,5%	13,6%
		% of Total	8,7%	4,9%	13,6%
	Undecided	Count	39	37	76
		% within Composition of municipality	20,6%	18,5%	19,5%
		% of Total	10%	9,5%	19,5%
	Partly agree	Count	41	32	73
		% within Composition of municipality	21,7%	16%	18,8%
		% of Total	10,5%	8,2%	18,8%
	Strongly agree	Count	17	73	90
		% within Composition of municipality	9%	36,5%	23,1%
		% of Total	4,4%	18,8%	23,1%
Total		Count	189	200	389
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	48,6%	51,4%	100%

Table 6.5g: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q4.3: In the last few years, many new religious buildings of the majority ethnic group have been constructed in my neighbourhood					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	42	21	63
		% within Composition of municipality	43,3%	21,4%	32,3%
		% of Total	21,5%	10,8%	32,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	20	6	26
		% within Composition of municipality	20,6%	6,1%	13,3%
		% of Total	10,3%	3,1%	13,3%
	Undecided	Count	12	14	26
		% within Composition of municipality	12,4%	14,3%	13,3%
		% of Total	6,2%	7,2%	13,3%
	Partly agree	Count	18	17	35
		% within Composition of municipality	18,6%	17,3%	17,9%
		% of Total	9,2%	8,7%	17,9%
	Strongly agree	Count	5	40	45
		% within Composition of municipality	5,2%	40,8%	23,1%
		% of Total	2,6%	20,5%	23,1%
	Total	Count	97	98	195
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	49,7%	50,3%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	15	18	33
		% within Composition of municipality	17%	23,1%	19,9%
		% of Total	9%	10,8%	19,9%
	Partly disagree	Count	13	11	24
		% within Composition of municipality	14,8%	14,1%	14,5%
		% of Total	7,8%	6,6%	14,5%
	Undecided	Count	26	20	46
		% within Composition of municipality	29,5%	25,6%	27,7%
		% of Total	15,7%	12%	27,7%
	Partly agree	Count	22	14	36
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	17,9%	21,7%
		% of Total	13,3%	8,4%	21,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	12	15	27
		% within Composition of municipality	13,6%	19,2%	16,3%
		% of Total	7,2%	9%	16,3%
	Total	Count	88	78	166
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	53%	47%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	1	0	1
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	0%	3,6%
		% of Total	3,6%	0%	3,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	1	2	3
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	8,3%	10,7%
		% of Total	3,6%	7,1%	10,7%
	Undecided	Count	1	3	4
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	12,5%	14,3%
		% of Total	3,6%	10,7%	14,3%
	Partly agree	Count	1	1	2
		% within Composition of municipality	25%	4,2%	7,1%
		% of Total	3,6%	3,6%	7,1%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	18	18
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	75%	64,3%
		% of Total	0%	64,3%	64,3%
	Total	Count	4	24	28
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	14,3%	85,7%	100%

Table 6.5h: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood

Q4.1: My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
	Strongly disagree	Count	112	95	207
		% within Composition of municipality	57,7%	47%	52,3%
		% of Total	28,3%	24%	52,3%
	Partly disagree	Count	28	25	53
		% within Composition of municipality	14,4%	12,4%	13,4%
		% of Total	7,1%	6,3%	13,4%
	Undecided	Count	34	17	51
		% within Composition of municipality	17,5%	8,4%	12,9%
		% of Total	8,6%	4,3%	12,9%
	Partly agree	Count	10	18	28
		% within Composition of municipality	5,2%	8,9%	7,1%
		% of Total	2,5%	4,5%	7,1%
	Strongly agree	Count	10	47	57
		% within Composition of municipality	5,2%	23,3%	14,4%
		% of Total	2,5%	11,9%	14,4%
Total	Count	194	202	396	
	% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%	
	% of Total	49%	51%	100%	

Table 6.5i: Frequency of responses to individual item by type of neighbourhood and ethnicity

Q4.1: My neighbourhood is made a worse place to live because people of other ethnicities have come to live here					
			Composition of municipality		Total
			Ethnic	Mixed	
Macedonian	Strongly disagree	Count	68	40	108
		% within Composition of municipality	66,7%	40,4%	53,7%
		% of Total	33,8%	19,9%	53,7%
	Partly disagree	Count	14	5	19
		% within Composition of municipality	13,7%	5,1%	9,5%
		% of Total	7%	2,5%	9,5%
	Undecided	Count	3	10	13
		% within Composition of municipality	2,9%	10,1%	6,5%
		% of Total	1,5%	5%	6,5%
	Partly agree	Count	8	10	18
		% within Composition of municipality	7,8%	10,1%	9%
		% of Total	4%	5%	9%
	Strongly agree	Count	9	34	43
		% within Composition of municipality	8,8%	34,3%	21,4%
		% of Total	4,5%	16,9%	21,4%
	Total	Count	102	99	201
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	50,7%	49,3%	100%

Albanian	Strongly disagree	Count	42	47	89
		% within Composition of municipality	48,3%	59,5%	53,6%
		% of Total	25,3%	28,3%	53,6%
	Partly disagree	Count	12	18	30
		% within Composition of municipality	13,8%	22,8%	18,1%
		% of Total	7,2%	10,8%	18,1%
	Undecided	Count	31	7	38
		% within Composition of municipality	35,6%	8,9%	22,9%
		% of Total	18,7%	4,2%	22,9%
	Partly agree	Count	1	3	4
		% within Composition of municipality	1,1%	3,8%	2,4%
		% of Total	,6%	1,8%	2,4%
	Strongly agree	Count	1	4	5
		% within Composition of municipality	1,1%	5,1%	3%
		% of Total	,6%	2,4%	3%
	Total	Count	87	79	166
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	52,4%	47,6%	100%

Other	Strongly disagree	Count	2	8	10
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	33,3%	34,5%
		% of Total	6,9%	27,6%	34,5%
		Count	2	2	4
		% within Composition of municipality	40%	8,3%	13,8%
		% of Total	6,9%	6,9%	13,8%
		Count	1	5	6
		% within Composition of municipality	20%	20,8%	20,7%
		% of Total	3,4%	17,2%	20,7%
	Strongly agree	Count	0	9	9
		% within Composition of municipality	0%	37,5%	31%
		% of Total	0%	31%	31%
	Total	Count	5	24	29
		% within Composition of municipality	100%	100%	100%
		% of Total	17,2%	82,8%	100%

Appendix 7

Curriculum Vitae

Katerina Mojanchevska (1980) since March 2012 was a non-resident student at the Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University in Rotterdam. She obtained a Master degree in Communications in 2010 from the Institute for Sociological and Political-Juridical Researches, part of the University “Cyril and Methodius” in Skopje, Macedonia and a Bachelor degree in Psychology at the same university. She has been working in the civil society sector in Macedonia on research projects, trainings and seminars in the field of cultural policy, as well as on research projects in urban and social development. She has lecturing experience as well as experience in policy writing and analysis. Her research and professional interests encompass intersection among identity, public space, inter-culturality and innovation in urban governance. Her PhD was partially funded by The Open Society Foundation, Global Supplementary Grant Program Europe with support received in 2012 and 2013, as well as through a writing up grant from the Foundation for Urban and Regional Studies in 2017.

Contact: katerina.mojanchevska@gmail.com; +389 78 217113

