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**BETWEEN CIVIC AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: THE
ATTACHMENT OF RESPONDENTS TO SPECIFIC
VALUES / CATEGORIES**

The identity of the individual category is a complex category and consists of multiple identity features through which their affiliation / attachment to several social groups is expressed. Thus, the individual has a sense of belonging to their family, their religion, their ethnic group, their place of birth, their profession, etc. All those feelings of belonging / attachment or all the identity features, make up the complex notion of identity, indicating on one hand the prudence by which we should approach in making their analysis, but on the other, hand the dangers of simplification.

Do we feel a greater attachment to the members of our own gender than to members of our profession or religion? Do we and to what extent we recognise common interests with other people belonging to our profession, religion, friends, etc..? These and many other questions were the focus of interest of sociologists and political scientists, as well as, of social anthropologists. The problem is very interesting also from the perspective of politics, since the establishment of these relations is directly related to numerous dimension of the political life in one society. From the elections, to offers by the political parties, the design of public policies and their sustainability, to the political identification and mobilisation etc.

When it comes to multi-ethnic societies, the most exploited or most explored identity features are the ethnic and civic identity, their interconnection, and association with some of the socio-economic characteristics of the respondent,

in the research often referred to as independent variables (gender, age, social and economic status, etc.). In fact, in culturally heterogeneous societies the basic problem with attachments is located in the fact that the determination of the behaviour of individuals from their particular socio-cultural affiliations weakens and sometimes completely delegitimises their national attachment. That, however, may cause serious problems in the functioning of culturally heterogeneous communities, to compromise their democratic development and political stability. In this regard, studies of this type are particularly interesting in multicultural societies (Kimlika 2004), which certainly include the Macedonian society, which except for its multicultural / multiethnic features can be marked as typically divided society. In divided societies the ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic cleavages are reflected in political life, as well (Horowitz 1985, Liphart 1999), structuring the political processes, power relations in society and political development.

This research measured the respondents' attachment to certain values / categories, as follows: to Republic of Macedonia as a country, to their own ethnic group, the place of birth, to religion, to the Balkans and finally to Europe. In the case of the Balkans and Europe the respondents were told that these categories are not perceived as geographical terms, but above all it is about sharing common views and values. Respondents had the opportunity to express their attachment to these six categories through a five-point grading scale where the lowest degree 1 indicates absence of attachment ("I'm not attached"), and the highest degree 5 -full attachment ("I am completely attached").

Overall results of the survey indicate that the largest percentage of respondents opted for higher levels of attachment, or in our case the distribution of responses shows a high concentration in the fourth and especially fifth grade of Likert scale ("I am completely attached"). This conclusion applies to the general distribution of responses, and to the so-called cross data, in the which attachment to a particular category is brought into a relation with some of the independent variables.

There are some exceptions from this *general* rule, relating to the categories Balkans and Europe, where there was more equitable distribution of responses to Likert five-point grading scale, including the mean point of the scale (third degree), which was chosen by relatively more respondents compared to the other categories. The second exception relates to attachment to Republic of Macedonia, where in some intersections with independent variables the same phenomenon may again be observed, which suggests that the intensity of the attachment is not as high as to the other items.

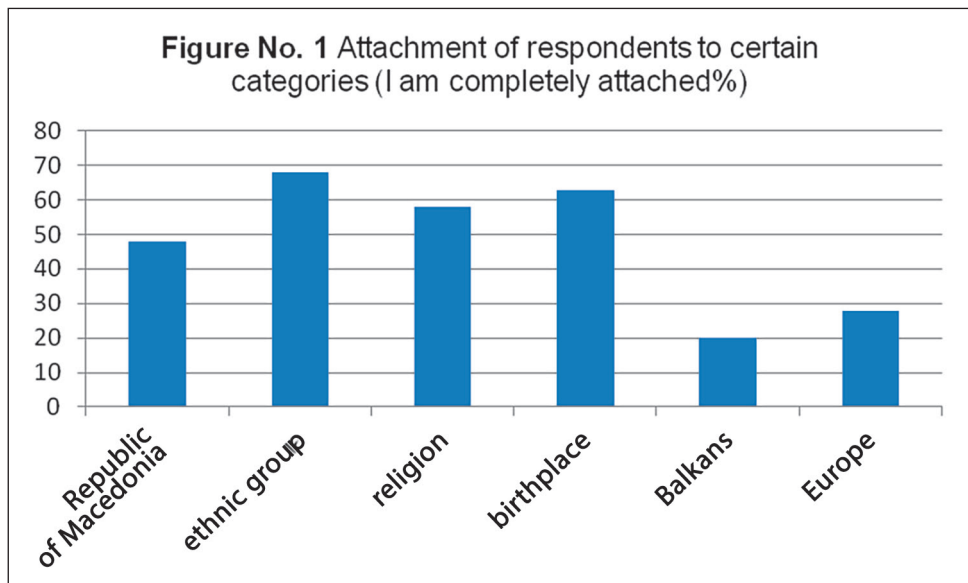
Such a distribution of responses allows us to show the results of the research by the obtained mean values on the scale (which is otherwise normal) and also by percentage of respondents who opted for the modality "I am very attached."

WHAT TYPE OF ATTACHMENTS ARE PREFERRED BY RESPONDENTS?

The overall distribution of responses suggests that attachment to mutual origin and cultural background (ethnic group, religion, birthplace) or traditional features / values are far more important to respondents than those associated with the civil concept of the nation (commitment to Republic of Macedonia, the Balkans and Europe). This is demonstrated by the obtained mean values (Table. 1) of Likert scale, but even more through analysis of the responses of respondents who opted for the modality “I am completely attached” (Figure 1).

Table 1: Attachment of respondents to specific categories (mean values)

| What is your attachment to: | Republic of Macedonia as a state | Your ethnic group | Your birthplace | Your religion | Balkans | Europe |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------|--------|
| | 3,98 | 4,49 | 4,38 | 4,27 | 3,29 | 3,46 |



As for the relationship of the independent variables on the attitudes of the respondents, the survey showed that ethnicity, religion, age and socio-economic status of respondents are particularly significant for the creation of their attitudes. Given the multicultural nature of the Republic of Macedonia, we find it especially interesting to present the data obtained from respondents belonging to the two largest

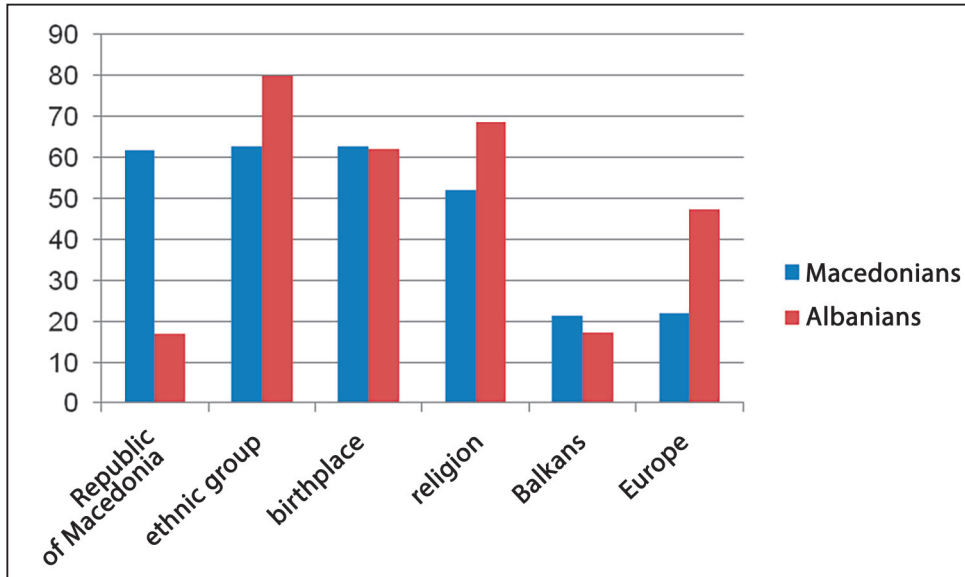
ethnic groups in Republic of Macedonia (Table. 2 and Figure. 2). (The number of members of other ethnic groups in the sample is quite small and therefore not suitable to (further) statistical processing).

Table no. 2: Attachment to certain categories according to the ethnicity of respondents ('m very attached%)

| | RM as a state | Ethnic group | Religion | Birthplace | Balkans | Europe |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------|----------|------------|---------|--------|
| Macedonians | 61,7 | 62,7% | 52,0% | 62,7% | 21,4% | 21,9% |
| Albanians | 16,9 | 79,8% | 68,5% | 62,1% | 17,3% | 47,2% |

All differences between respondents of Albanian and Macedonian ethnicity are statistically significant at the level of 0.01, except the attachment to the birthplace and the Balkans where there is no statistically significant difference.

Figure 2 Attachment to certain categories according to the ethnicity of respondents (I'm completely attached %)



The primary differences in attachment of the citizens of the two largest ethnic communities to these categories are reflected in the following: 1. Drastic difference in the attachment to Republic of Macedonia (state) between the members of the two

ethnic groups 2. Increasingly more emphasised devotion to their own ethnic group and religion among Albanians than among ethnic Macedonians 3. Greater interest / commitment to Europe among ethnic Albanians than among ethnic Macedonians. In general terms, this distribution of responses was expected. In several studies of this type (Laponce, for example) researchers note that people react according to the so-called minority syndrome or minority groups prefer or emphasise their (minority) affiliations. Therefore, the increasingly emphasised devotion to their own ethnic group and religion among Albanians is an expected reaction. Their greater attachment to Europe compared to the ethnic Macedonians is also expected, due to the name dispute and the longstanding status of candidate country for EU membership. What is worth mentioning is the large difference in the percentage of respondents, ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians, who said they were completely attached to the Republic of Macedonia as a state.

High and almost equal attachment to the birthplace/homeland of respondents in both communities is somewhat surprising. It remains unclear what is the reason for the great attachment to the homeland of respondents that by far exceeds the attachment to the Balkans and to Europe.

The analysis of the mean values and the calculated difference between them for the two categories (ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians) again shows the great difference in attachment to Republic of Macedonia and then to Europe (Table 3).

Table No. 3 Attachment to certain categories by ethnicity (mean values).

| What is your attachment to: | Macedonians | Albanians | Difference M-A |
|---|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Republic of Macedonia as a state | 4,36 | 3,01 | 1,35 |
| Your ethnic group | 4,39 | 4,75 | -0,36 |
| Your birthplace | 4,40 | 4,33 | 0,07 |
| Your religion | 4,17 | 4,53 | -0,36 |
| Balkans | 3,35 | 3,14 | 0,21 |
| Europe | 3,30 | 3,87 | -0,57 |

Below we will present the preferences of social groups (by age, religion, socioeconomic status, education, political orientation) in relation to the examined categories. In other words, we will try to point out which categories of respondents showed a greater and lesser intensity of commitment to the state, religion, birthplace, ethnicity etc.

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS AND ATTACHMENT TO EXAMINED CATEGORIES

Attachment to Republic of Macedonia

First, because of the importance given to this issue in culturally heterogeneous societies in terms of political integration and social cohesion, in addition we will present the distribution of responses obtained on the five-point grading scale of attachment to Republic of Macedonia by the ethnic Albanians and Macedonians. There is a clear difference in the attitudes of respondents from both communities in terms of the attachment to the Republic of Macedonia as a state. Unlike Macedonians relatively balanced distribution of responses is apparent among the Albanian community, with the highest concentration of responses in the third (neutral) degree of attachment (Table No.4).

Table No. 4 Attachment to Republic of Macedonia by ethnicity (%)

| | Macedonians | Albanians |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| I am completely not attached | 2,5% | 14,5% |
| 2 | 3,6% | 19,8% |
| 3 | 11,4% | 32,7% |
| 4 | 20,8% | 16,1% |
| I am completely attached | 61,7% | 16,9% |
| Total | 100% | 100% |

Statistically significant to 0.00

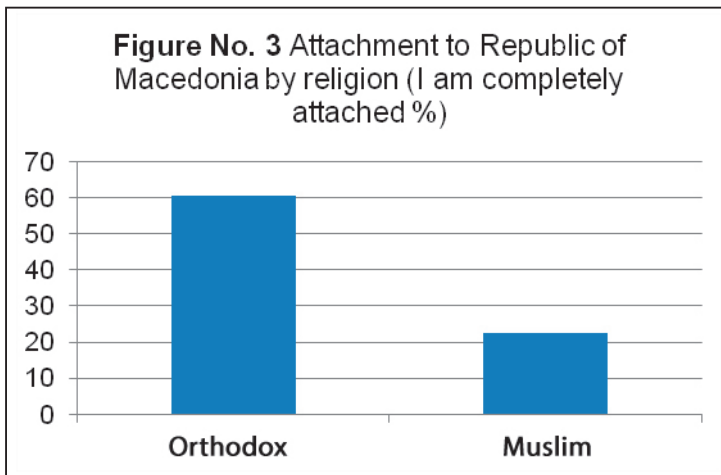
Table No. 5 Attachment to Republic of Macedonia by age (%)

| | 18-29 years of age | 30-39 years of age | 40-49 years of age | 50-65 years of age | above 65 years of age |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| I am completely not attached | 9,1% | 5,4% | 8,4% | 4,2% | 4,7% |
| 2 | 13,9% | 6,9% | 6,4% | 3,3% | 5,5% |
| 3 | 22,2% | 17,3% | 17,2% | 17,7% | 7,8% |
| 4 | 21,0% | 24,8% | 20,7% | 19,1% | 14,1% |
| I am completely attached | 33,7% | 45,5% | 47,3% | 55,8% | 68,0% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

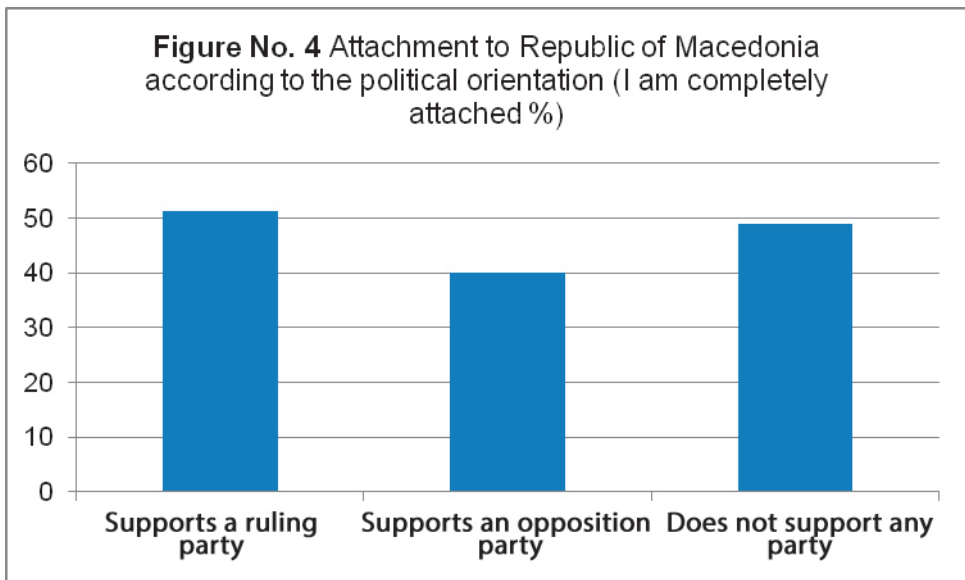
Statistically significant to 0.00

Besides ethnicity other characteristics of the respondents also influence their attachment to Republic of Macedonia. The data analysis indicates that age, socio-economic status, religion and political orientation is related to the degree of attachment to the Republic of Macedonia.

Older, compared with younger categories expressed the highest degree of attachment (Table. 5) and those with orthodox religious affiliation (61.5%) compared to Muslims (22.5%) (Figure No. 3).



Statistically significant to 0.01



With regard to political affiliation, respondents who stated that they support a party that is part of the government, expressed greater attachment to the state

(51.3%) compared to respondents who stated that they support a party that is part of the opposition (40.1%). Respondents who stated that they do not support any party, are very close to the supporters of the ruling party (49%) according to the percentage of attachment (Figure No. 4).

The difference between supporters of the ruling parties and supporters of the opposition parties is statistically significant at 0.01 level.

Attachment to the ethnic group

When it comes to attachment to their own ethnic group, the analysis of the data suggests association of the age of respondents, their ethnic and religious affiliation, the level of education and socio-economic status with the level of attachment to their ethnic group. The highest degree of commitment (“I am completely attached”) is expressed in a greater percentage by respondents of the older categories, Muslims (79.1%), those with lower level of education (78%), and according to the socio-economic status - housewives (79.5%), retired (74.4%) and farmers (72.1%).

As for ethnicity, respondents of Albanian ethnicity expressed much greater attachment to their own ethnic group than respondents of Macedonian ethnicity (Table. 6).

Table No. 6 *Attachment to the ethnic group by ethnicity (%)*

| | Macedonians | Albanians |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| I am completely not attached | 2,3% | |
| 2 | 3,3% | 0,4% |
| 3 | 10,0% | 3,6% |
| 4 | 21,7% | 16,1% |
| I am completely attached | 62,7% | 79,8% |
| Total | 100% | 100% |

In general terms, the distribution of responses in both communities shows the same tendency-concentration of responses on the higher degrees of the scale, but the intensity of the commitment, however, varies considerably.

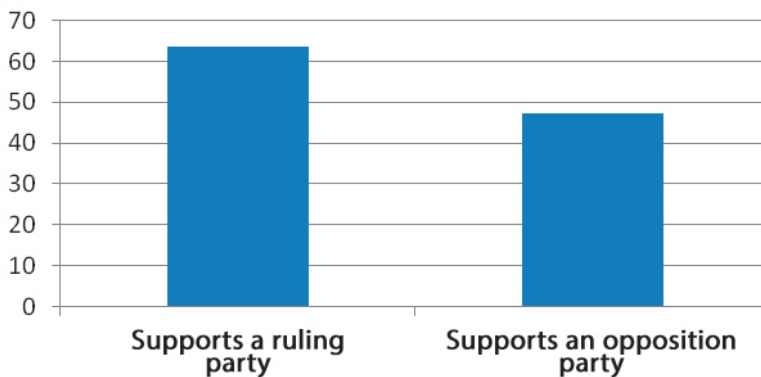
Attachment to religion

Unlike the other categories, differences in the gender of the respondents for the first time appear regarding the attachment to religion. Thus, women in a higher

percentage (61.7%) opted for the highest degree of attachment (“I am completely attached”), compared to men (54.2%). As for age, almost all categories have a high degree of attachment to religion, whereby the younger population (18-29 years of age) is no exception (59%), a phenomenon which is not typical for most European countries. Ethnic and religious affiliations are important for the intensity of attachment to the religion of respondents, whereby Muslims and Albanians expressed greater attachment to their religion than those with orthodox religion and Macedonians.

There are also differences in terms of attachment to religion by the political orientation of respondents, so that supporters of the parties that are part of the government express higher level of commitment to the religion that those who support the opposition parties (Figure No. 5).

Figure No. 5 Attachment to religion (Orthodox and Muslims) by the political orientation



Statistical significance at 0.05

Attachment to Europe

In this occasion we will also comment the commitment of respondents to Europe, given the importance that this attachment has in the context of the European integration of the country, as well as, given that the attachment to supranational identities and values can be an indicator of openness and cosmopolitanism of citizens. The analysis of cross data indicates relatively high values of the average degree of the scale and far more equitable distribution of the answers at all levels of Likert scale compared with other categories of attachments.

There is a clear difference in the intensity of attachment of ethnic Macedonians and Albanians. This difference may be seen in the distribution of answers on the scale, and between the values of the modality “I am completely attached” (the difference is more than 25 percentage points) (Table No. 7).

Table No. 7 *Attachment to Europe by ethnicity (%)*

| | Macedonians | Albanians |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| I am completely not attached | 11,4% | 8,1% |
| 2 | 12,8% | 8,5% |
| 3 | 31,7% | 19,0% |
| 4 | 22,2% | 17,3% |
| I am completely attached | 21,9% | 47,2% |
| Total | 100% | 100% |

Statistical significance at 0.00

It is interesting that in terms of the political orientation of respondents major differences may not be observed between respondents who support ruling parties, those who support opposition parties, and the so-called undecided, which may be in favour of the thesis that the most important political parties have a relatively uniform policy in terms of the association of the Republic of Macedonia to the European Union.

CONCLUSION

The identity of the individual category is a complex category and consists of multiple identity features through which their affiliation / attachment to several social groups is expressed. Thus, the individual has a sense of belonging to their family, their religion, their ethnic group, their place of birth, their profession, etc. All those feelings of belonging / attachment or all the identity features, make up the complex notion of identity, indicating on one hand the prudence by which we should approach in making their analysis, but on the other hand, the dangers of simplification.

Research on these affiliations is very important in terms of policy and the development of democratic performances of society and what is of particular importance in multicultural societies, where the achievement of social cohesion and integration is one of the primary challenges faced by these societies.

Research on the attachment of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia to certain categories showed that the attachments to traditional values are prevailing. Citizens of the Republic of Macedonia are primarily attached to their ethnic group, religion and birthplace, compared to attachments that have a feature of the civic identity-Republic of Macedonia as a state, the Balkans and Europe, to which the extent and intensity of attachment is smaller.

Several characteristics of the respondents are related to the intensity of attachment to the inspected categories, whereby ethnicity has quite a big impact. This confirms the so-called minority syndrome, and shows significant differences in the intensity of attachments of the two largest ethnic communities in the Republic of Macedonia.

Given the fragility of multicultural societies and the need to ensure broad social integration, political elites should observe the results of this type of research with particular attention. The obtained results, on one hand indicate the differences in the individual segments of the population and help to understand the attitudes and reactions of social groups in everyday political life. On the other hand, this type of research, especially longitudinal, enable monitoring of trends which are necessary for building policies that will strengthen civic identity of the individual and the group, as an important prerequisite for the democratic development of culturally heterogeneous societies.

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