



Evaluation of Nashe Maalo:

Design, Implementation, and Outcomes

Social Transformation Through the Media

On Behalf of Search for Common Ground

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The views presented here are those of the consultants and may not be those of Search for Common Ground

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Executive Summary

1. Introduction

It was decided by Search for Common Ground in April 2004 to evaluate “Nashe Maalo”, one of its larger projects in Macedonia. Nashe Maalo (“our neighbourhood”, referred to generally as NM) is a television series aimed at promoting inter-cultural understanding among children with a view to conflict transformation. It has been running since October 1999, and is scheduled to finish at the end of 2004.

Search for Common Ground commissioned this evaluation in the summer of 2004 to contribute to the organisation’s understanding and continuous learning from this type of programming as well as to expand peace-building evaluation methodology.

The methodology used is tried for the first time, as the evaluation was intended as a pilot. The main reasons for innovation are very widespread in social transformation projects around the world today: dealing with a multiplicity of intended outcomes, and growing pressure to know what contribution these made to the broader conflict.

This evaluation was commissioned to a team led by Channel Research, with support from the Macedonia Helsinki Committee, as well as Search personnel from the Washington, Brussels and Skopje offices.

Macedonia is comprised predominantly of Macedonians (67 percent), Albanians (23 percent), Turks (4 percent), Roma (2 percent), Serb (2 percent), and other nationalities (2 percent). The official national language is Macedonian – however, in those communities where at least 20 percent of the population speaks another language (e.g., Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Serbian, Vlach), they have become de facto official languages.ⁱ Religious affiliation closely follows ethnic affiliation: 67 percent of the population are Macedonian Orthodox, 30 percent are Muslims, with the remaining 3 percent are cited in the census as other.ⁱⁱ

The country has a relatively small population of 2.2 million occupying a region slightly smaller than the state of Belgium. The capital of Macedonia, Skopje, is located in the north central part of the country. It has an estimated 600,000 inhabitants or over a quarter of the national population. While the national growth rate is low, there is also a small, but discernible, emigration of young people — especially trained professionals — for other parts of Europe, the United States and other developed nations calling for special skills.

NM is the first TV program for children in Macedonia that promotes intercultural understanding and encourages conflict prevention in a multicultural society.

Each 30-minute show is about the daily life of eight children from Macedonian, Roma, Turkish, and Albanian ethnic groups, who live together in one house or in the same neighbourhood. The show stars Karmen, an animated building with a voice, whose mission is to harbour peace within her walls.

The three main objectives of NM during the development of the curriculum can be summarised as the following:

- Promotion of intercultural understanding
- Conflict Prevention through increased Cultural Awareness
- Promotion of Conflict Resolution Skills.

Those objectives were adjusted each year after close consultation with local experts and through research done by researchers. The production of the show began in 1998, and ended in 2004.

2. Methodology

The evaluation was organised into two components.

- The first is based on a representative sample survey (1202 children of the age of 8-15 interviewed, plus the same number of parents, located in six regions) and a series of 16 focus group discussions led by facilitators, providing respectively an audience profile, and an account of changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. The aim was to define the results achieved by the programme at the level of intended outcomes (changes in attitudes, knowledge and behaviour), using a partial baseline of the situation before the conflict drawn up by Search.
- The second component, called “Mapping of Change”, attempts to answer the “so *what?*” question: what wider impact do changes among children have on inter-communal relations and then on the broader conflict¹? To do this the evaluation mapped the links between the project’s outcomes (intended and unintended) and changes in relations in the country. This is done by defining the extent to which new social models² have been assimilated; the extent to which new forms of interaction have taken place; and the extent to which

¹ Although this was not seen as the primary outcome, conflict transformation is the general objective addressed by Search.

² These are highly attractive modes of interaction proposed by individuals which highlight understanding of differences and emphasis given to commonalities.

opportunities have been created for better relations, should the conflict escalate once more.

By running these two evaluation models we sought to overcome the general weakness prevalent in many evaluations of conflict transformation programmes: firstly the sense that one is trying to analyse something which did not happen (i.e. more conflict), without the assistance of clear baseline data about the context. Secondly most evaluations concentrate on finding out whether specific outputs or delivery targets have been achieved.

Once the outputs (usually quantifiable finite changes around the project) have been defined by the evaluators, an intellectual leap is then made: a narrative interpretation is given of the causes of the conflict and a story is told as to how these were changed by the intervention. This then supports the claim that the programme had (or, more rarely, did not have) a broader impact – a proposition which as a result cannot be independently verified.

To overcome this last pitfall, as well as the insufficient baseline, the first component of the methodology seeks to assess changes through in-depth discussions with the target population. The second situates that population and its role in a broader picture. As a consequence the assessment is context based rather than outputs based.

3. Key Findings from the Component One Surveys

3.1. Nature of Audience

The survey, covering a sample of children (1202 children, 597 or 49,7% male and 604 or 50,3% female) aged 8-15 across the country yields a very clear result regarding the popularity of NM: 94.30% of the children have heard of the show, and more than 91% watch it at least once. Only 5,7 % have not heard of NM at all.

The show has been watched the least by members of the ethnic Albanian (86,8%) and Turkish (78,9%) communities, and the most by members of the ethnic Macedonian and Serbian communities. The show is watched most in eastern (99%) and southern Macedonia (97,3%), and least in the western (87,5%) and northern part (85,7%).

There is no relevant difference in viewing according to whether the area is urban (92%) or rural (90,6%) and the difference based on gender is small (boys 88,9%, girls 94,2%). 10,1% of the 14 year olds and 14% of the 15 year olds have watched all five seasons of NM.

53.7% of the children talk in one way or the other about the show with their siblings (especially the Roma, Albanians and Turks) and over 61% of the children discuss the show with their friends. The high percentage (45.5%) of children that talk about the show with their parents reflects the level of their interest (which requires clarification by parents of some points, asking of questions) and facilitates the dissemination of the messages to a much wider population than just the first target group.

Some 32% of the children talk about the show with their teachers at school. It reflects a child-driven dynamic, as the programme was originally intended for the children. 77% of the children know the NM song. Girls know the song more often than boys, and it is somewhat better known in the urban populations than in rural groups.

Over 73% of the children have seen the music videos related to the show, but very few (11.30%) have their own music CD. 73% have seen the NM magazine (the least among the Albanians - 57%). Very few of the children have seen the NM puppet theatre (10%), faithfully reflecting the fact that it was shown only in 11 cities. Even fewer of the children have participated in the quiz connected to the show (only 6.7%).

Parents not only watch the show together with their children (66% of the parents watch the show together with their child) but they also talk about it (50%). It is more often the mother who watches the show than the father (69%, 59%); it is mostly watched together in the Roma, and the least so in the Turkish communities.

3.2. Focus Groups

-Acceptance and learning

Focus group research confirms a high level of acceptance of NM among children and adults. The idea of the show is acknowledged and mainly seen positively. This is not only true for the production, but also for the content (of a high technical quality, and unique in national cultural production). Viewers understand the “NM logic”: the more open attitude of “inclusivity” (embracing diversity) pioneered by the show. They see it as positive and as a possible model for thinking and dealing with conflicts in daily life in Macedonia.

Some groups more exposed to NM (older Albanian children) reveal a greater awareness of non-confrontational dispute resolution and a willingness to accept more critically the advice of parents in resolving issues. This finding, which is quite striking, must be balanced by the fact that the children report that disputes are still settled in a traditional manner (fighting and intimidation), in spite of this awareness. The research was not able to elucidate

this paradox, but it may be attributed to the fact that alternative ways of resolving disputes are not widespread enough to be applicable.

-Gap between show and reality

The research confirms the finding in the *Mapping of Change* component of the evaluation that there is a gap between the show and perceived “reality” in which one must live. “NM has no roots yet in this country” says one of the producers of NM. This is reflected in the focus groups.

Children and adults stated that they believe the NM environment and stories not to be real, belonging to an idealised world. Even others who do not share this opinion, who see their real life reflected in the show, and who take up the ideas of NM, report that they do not apply the NM methods in real life (based on evidence found in formative research in year 3 of NM as well as the present evaluation). The regular inter-seasonal research carried out by Search had noted a further strengthening in 2001 of perceived distance from NM (this was the year of active armed conflict inside Macedonia). This highlights the fact that in intense conflict conditions the “imaginary” world of a TV show may still be very meaningful (there was no noticeable reduction in audience), while at the same time it becomes less immediately relevant. Future research may reveal that it remained relevant for the long term, but not the short term, but unfortunately this angle of exploration was not followed when the primary information collection was done.

Even the child actors who enact the “NM logic” over the years claim that they do not - or cannot - apply it in real life, even in cases of heightened and continued polarization in schools. This is mainly because of discrepancies between real life and the models proposed in the show (for example cohabitation in the same buildings and neighbourhoods, which is reportedly decreasing since 2000). Willingness to have occasional recourse to violence is to be found in school (according to interviews with children), and it is hard for individuals to break through these mores.

-Strong influence from other factors

Another obstacle to enacting NM logic is the strong cultural influence of others. Research shows a continual predominant influence from the environment, particularly parents, older children and teachers, as well as news media, carrying contrary messages. Although a new approach has been developed and discussed in family life and during leisure activities, it is not drawn on. During the 2001 war, group thinking was very common, and children adopted it. The influence of NM in this context must be seen as limited, in spite of the fact that it was so highly appreciated.

-Intended outcomes

During the planning phase of NM a curriculum document was produced. This document served as the basis for all later detailed planning and producing of NM seasons and episodes, and is reproduced for reference in annex to this report. Although the stated intended outcomes were not followed strictly and there was generally no direct reference to the curriculum document during the later productions, these intended outcomes are reflected in every episode and in all NM outreach activities.

The outcomes, as we have analysed them (and in no particular order), were, in synthesis:

- Children acquire elements of other languages spoken in Macedonia.
- Children learn to prevent conflicts by raising their inter-cultural awareness.
- Children discover elements of common culture and heritage.
- Children learn about unique elements of each culture.
- Children become familiar with and competent in aspects of Macedonia's various cultures
- Children learn to recognize and reject stereotypes.
- Children recognize and resist negative social pressure.
- Children acquire conflict resolution skills.

The intended outcomes defined by Search in its documents are partially achieved.

Outcomes related to the acquisition of knowledge and the adoption of constructive social models are partially achieved. Some knowledge aspects, such as understanding of other languages which can in principle be acquired easily, are limited. It must be noted that early on this outcome was seen as less appropriate for the age and changed to a related outcome by Search, but this was not formally reflected in changed outcome targets³.

In knowledge the efforts of NM are overwhelmed by other influences (like ethnic Macedonian parents who do not see the value of learning the Albanian language). Summative research however showed favourable responses to the sound of other languages, so that, in combination with a desire for greater

³ Search for Common Ground made the following comment to this point: „*understanding* other languages was not simply dropped as an intended outcome. Rather, it was changed to a related outcome: ‚Children will become aware of and sensitive to the Macedonia as a multi-lingual society’. It is true that this was not changed in the curriculum document itself, but this is not say that it was accidental or unintentional. It was entirely intentional and consistent after Season 1.“

realism, the linguistic diversity in broadcasts of NM increased significantly over the years.

More complex outcomes, like the notion of interdependence or mature aspects of conflicts - such as seeing the positive sides of conflicts - are well perceived if they are in line with already existing attitudes of children. However there does not seem to be greater critical distance of children toward adults as regards social judgement, other than that which stems naturally from the normal psychological development of children (going through stages of distancing from parents).

The research confirms the assumption made by Search in the design of intended outcomes that children are naturally open-minded on the subject of inter-group relationships, in spite of the fact that many have been exposed to specific negative notions regarding others. NM succeeded in getting new messages to the children and made them discuss the NM logic with peers and parents.

Children who watch NM over a longer time period learn slightly more concrete information about other ethnic communities and other languages in their country, going beyond external attire and eating. To some degree they find out about conflict resolutions skills and alternative models for behaviour.

NM did not succeed as much in changing the behaviour of children as in encouraging a broader understanding of differences, making it easier to enter into contact with other social systems. Most of Macedonian children familiar with NM have a positive vision of the future but still need to better define the modality of how they should live together with the members of the other ethnic communities.

4. Key Findings from Component 2: Mapping of Conflict

4.1. Relevance

The evaluation helped define a set of priority areas which, if subjected to influence, could alter the probability of conflict. These priority areas were elicited as the result of a workshop with informed experts, and even though these were not asked to differentiate between adults and children, the priority areas concerned essentially factors (trends and events) which can be influenced by adults. These were:

- Increased perceptions of insecurity among the population
- Refugee influx from Kosovo

- Militarisation of civilians (organisations and weapons)
- Events during the summer of 2001
- Threatened ethno national identity of ethnic Macedonians
- Ohrid agreement (a positive event)
- Mixed ethnic security forces (a positive trend)
- Increasing sense of security
- Unemployed young people
- Dissolution of Yugoslavia
- Multi-ethnic constitution (positive)
- Economic decline
- Criminalisation in economy and politics
- Segregation of media
- International factor/actors (both positive and negative)

Among those priority areas which NM is seen as able to influence have been the reassurance of societal identities (specific identities are shown not to be threatened), and the independence of the media. However the influence of children (which have been the target NM audience) on these was not perceived as important by the persons interviewed by the evaluation⁴.

Instead, media, sports groups and politicians are seen as most influential on these priority areas in Macedonia. At the same time both are much criticised and their messages surrounded by offhand cynicism. This predominance of influence created resistance to, but also an opportunity for NM, particularly from 2000 when social tensions and the sense of manipulation mounted. NM has provided a welcome and timely alternative, and has been shown on the most visible and widely known public media.

TV is clearly the right medium in Macedonia to communicate a message such as that of 'NM logic'. Of course an excellent children's TV series can only have limited influence in a climate marked by segregation and a polarised ethnic environment (albeit this climate today appears to become less antagonistic). However it provided a national reference point because of its impact as a model and the way in which it created a valid model.

4.2. Impact as a Model

NM was very important as a model for the society generally, beyond the mere audience of children. It was known to all the key groups in the priority areas in which it could play an influence (for example journalists, or sports stars and advertising companies). NM was the first show of its kind (intended for children, as well as in its multi-ethnic approach generally), and so filled a gap and achieved a high degree of visibility.

⁴ It should be noted that this evaluation did not cover other activities by Search to reinforce its message among the adults, the focus is limited to Nashe Maalo.

Although not intended, its potential impact concerning adults (children were the primary intended beneficiaries) is reduced by the perception they have that it is a fictional story and not an example of alternative resolution of conflict in real life. Predictably, there is no evidence of emulation in interviews with adults and actors. These reveal a tendency to relegate NM logic to a status other than “real life” ethnic relations.

NM is perceived as attractive because of the high technical quality of production, which is unique in Macedonia’s TV programmes for children. NM addresses the right topics (i.e. questions about the existential choices that are typical of that generation) and has interesting characters, so that children (and adults) recognise parallels with their daily lives. This impact as “the model is the point of reference, but not for direct imitation” became increasingly apparent over time. The state broadcaster’s change of attitude toward NM, first refusing to have anything to do with it but then asking to broadcast it for free, is emblematic of a shift from distrust towards a deep acceptance.

NM was especially important and recognized at the time of the 2001 war, due to the fact that NM continued throughout, although segregation was increasing. Today NM is mainly seen as a very well produced educational programme, which is at the same time very entertaining.

4.3. Impact in terms of new interaction

A significant unintended impact of the programme has been on the adult population, at two levels. The first is the often underestimated influence of children in a family, particularly because of their emotional identification with the characters (and the loyalty of parents to these affections), and because of the unavoidability of the television when switched on (usually in the living room). As such the effects of NM, according to the interviews carried out, permeated the families, for example triggering conversations about how best to deal with ethnic differences.

The second reason is that adults do not have many alternative programmes, and elect to watch NM as a form of light recreation from which some form of outcome in attitudes, similar to that of children, can be inferred (even if the imaginary and “out of the world” nature of the message is however still as strong as in the younger age groups). It should also be noted that there is often only one television set in every household, reducing the opportunity for other programmes not appreciated by the children.

It is mainly the people who were closely involved in the production of NM that continue to apply ‘NM logic’ (the indicator for this finding is the group of six persons who were interviewed). This is

also found in “allied” broadcasters such as Life Radio, TV Terra, which also seek to promote dialogue and are funded by foreign donors. These can be described as allied because of the similarity of their philosophy to that of NM. They also report that they have been inspired by the production of NM. The producers and broadcasters who have promoted NM have remained in the country, and continue to work on related issues.

However the continued dependence of NM and other related programmes on external funding means that the political dimension of the message (as opposed to its emotional appeal, see below) has not been well rooted in indigenous dynamics. If no support can be found locally to continue to fund initiatives akin to NM (even after considering the widespread economic scarcity), the evaluators conclude that key stakeholders (movements, parties, wealthy financial centres) have failed to take on NM logic as their own.

4.4. Impact in terms of capacity building

Institutions which were directly involved in the production of NM continue to apply the ‘NM logic’ by working on related productions (the evaluation identified three separate groups, Children’s Theatre Centre, adult actors, and musicians), while in some cases this was already the case before NM. This is less true for broadcasters and other producers. The impact is good at the level of individuals.

If multi-ethnic programmes are done in the media they are mainly limited to multi-lingual programmes. Productions similar to NM in the future would have to be done more cheaply, more in line with the resource flows in Macedonia’s situation (advertising and state media based). The public sector has some funds available for these kinds of activities, but NM logic does not relate at all to state priorities. Capacity building could not have extended to a commercial self-generation of funding.

The technical production capacity exists to a high degree in Macedonia. Yet there are a few institutions that work in the multi-ethnic context. The NGO sector is very active but dominated by foreign funds, which are decreasing. Today there is once again a need for an appropriate educational or information programme, especially aimed at children in a multi-ethnic context. There may be a possibility to support them from private funds, but Search for Common Ground has not yet explored those. Capacity building in terms of supporting local civil society has not taken place around NM.

5. Recurrent Themes and Weak Assumptions

The evaluation has defined the different contributions made by the programme to Macedonian society. This was done in terms of outcomes (audience, changes in knowledge attitudes and to a certain extent behaviour) and impact (NM as a social model, as a source of new interaction, and as the opportunity for future similar initiatives).

These contributions, particularly concerning children (the original target) are in some aspects good and in others leave a lot of room for strengthening:

- creating a highly attractive reference point for children, as intended originally, but also for parents, transferring knowledge about the social “other”, and strengthening sectors of the independent media professional community...
- yet not being able to take root in the society, and become sustainable both in terms of enacting “NM logic” in today’s reality (i.e. changes in behaviour), and in terms of tomorrow’s institutional and resource environments.

The findings lead to a series of lessons learnt, which can be based on a revision of the assumptions made at the beginning of the programme - which, should they be recast, would allow the programme to capitalise fully on its very real current successes:

Table 1. Original Assumptions and Revision

The following table was established in consultation with Mr Eran Fraenkel, who is the former Search Executive Director during the production of NM, and was co-executive producer. It is presented here more or less as he provided it to the evaluation after review of the findings.

Assumptions made originally	Revision based on lessons learned
Children are the focus of the intended outcomes	Families should become the focus of the intended outcomes
The quality of the programme depends on a comprehensive list of intended outcomes, agreed at the beginning, which serve as a backdrop to the programme	The list of intended outcomes should be less extensive and more related to changes in society, and regularly updated to highlight controlled changes made to the programme
More exposure to the programme (i.e. children must be familiar with NM) leads to better impact in society	Exposure must be accompanied by a follow-up action of a different kind, to incarnate NM in reality
By watching NM the perception of the others is improved.	NM is essentially an improvement in the perception of self in relation to others
Children exposed to NM will naturally resist more ambient attitudes and will influence the adults	Children remain highly susceptible to the influence of the world of adults, this programme is complementary with others aimed at adults
Changes in knowledge lead to changes in attitudes lead to changes in behaviour	Knowledge leads to knowledge and in some cases to changes in attitudes, but changes in behaviour are dependent on other independent variables than knowledge and attitudes

TV can have an impact on attitudes and behaviour	TV is best at transmitting knowledge, then transmitting elements of attitudes and behaviour.
NM by focusing on children aged 8 to 14 can impact current affairs	The targeting of children must be explained in light of the long term creation of new values: in the form of an internalised model concerning multi-culturalism. It should not be labelled as direct conflict prevention, but a contribution to conflict prevention.

Correct assumptions were made by Search however on a number of counts. The first of these was to render the programme as culturally relevant as possible to Macedonian culture, choosing the production staff and the actors from the country, emphasising technical realism to a very high degree. The assumptions made about the power of television, about using an indirect narrative structure rather than a didactic lecturing tone, have also proved to be very much on target. NM has given Search a strong “brand” in Macedonia which would be lost were it not followed up by future programmes.

4. Recommendations

1. NM has created an opportunity for an indigenous message with conflict transformation potential, but needs to continue capitalising on it if it is to have an impact on the conflict. This can be done by (A) preparing a new programme which will continue to follow the NM primary audience (now entering political life) and begin targeting the secondary audience (educated adults). And by (B) creating “spawns of NM” in other cultural fora, to ensure that it becomes more part of the national references.
2. Work to a much greater extent, in the content of production and follow up activities (competitions etc...) on the incarnation of NM into everyday inter-ethnic relations. It should become clearer in the subsequent phases that the message of NM is more than fiction that it aims to lead to political or semi-political consequences.
3. Avoid in the early stages that the technical quality of the programme be a primary focus, and ensure a planning process which includes some form of analysis of the needs of the context (country, problems to be resolved) so that the impact is not lost as a criteria of quality. Identify early on independent research capacities from the beginning which can provide a critical and hence more credible assessment of progress (Macedonia is a small country and there is a risk that the experts pool will not explore dimensions unfamiliar to them)

4. Carry out at the outset a conflict analysis which presents priorities for different kinds of activities to respond to the needs in the context analysis, such as capacity building and sustainability, or continuity in the targeting of age groups as they enter the politically active age. Include “a theory of change” into the curriculum/intended outcomes document; this should include all age groups (Mozaik Kindergarten for 3-7, NM for 8-12, youth programme for 13-18, Balkan Bridges for adults, for example) where the logic of targeting youth is explained.
5. Design programmes which are based on clearly defined intended outcomes of a finite number, articulated in phases over the life of the project, on the basis of the conflict assessment. These outcomes should be underpinned by a few indicators, and if possible, a baseline/initial conditions survey to monitor progress rather than formative research which only allows for the tuning of the content of the message. Changes to the intended outcomes should be clearly referenced and explained. Formative research would monitor both the acceptability of the message on the part of the audience, but also how it relates to the overall needs assessment and context analysis.
6. Integrate more the end stages of the project into the national networks of NGOs working in the media and/or multi-ethnic context. This is intended to strengthen the capacity-building work of the organisation and will lead to more local ownership. It could in particular include a survey of the resource environment and the potential for fundraising from public and private donors, as well as a review of the risks inherent in each option.

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The present evaluation was commissioned by Search for Common Ground over the period May to August 2004 to expand the range of its methods used for evaluation, the focus here being on media programmes.

The conclusions presented in this report are those of the team of consultants; they may differ from the analyses of Search for Common Ground.

The work was carried out by the following individuals:

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List of Acronyms

CD	Compact Disc
CGP	Common Ground Productions
CTC	Children Theatre Centre
CTW	Children's Television Workshop
DSTL	Defence Science and Technology Laboratory of the MoD, UK
EU	European Union
FCO	Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
MIM	Media Institute of Macedonia
MoD	Ministry of Defence, UK
MTV	Macedonian Television
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non governmental organization
NM	Nashe Maalo
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OTI	Office of Transition Initiatives of USAID
SFCG	Search for Common Ground
SFCGM	Search for Common Ground Macedonia
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USCR	US Committee for Refugees
USAID	US Agency for International Development

1. Presentation and Methodology

1.1. Background to the Evaluation

There are presently few developed methodologies for the evaluation of conflict prevention and peace-building programs. As Church and Shouldice found in the 2003 INCORE study: “evaluation theory specific to conflict resolution has not kept up with the demand” (2002, p 5). The challenge is to find methods which can be recognised as verifiable assessments of performance.

“Where methodologies exist, they are used by a small segment of stakeholders and often it is an *ad hoc* process conforming to the needs of the moment and limited by lack of skills, understanding and resources.” (ibid, p. 1) Moreover the temptation, for reasons of resources and complexity of the subject, is to concentrate on the delivery of the intended outputs, and not analyse rigorously the subsequent effects on the conflict.

However organisations which specialise in this field are beginning to see it as their fiduciary responsibility to generate guidelines on the design of objectives, indicators, and monitoring systems to enable evaluations to verify the quality of the outcomes of individual projects.

The present project was developed to respond to this need. It brings together the two perspectives required for information collection: namely a high quality of access to respondents in the country, and methodological independence from the project.

To ensure that findings may be replicated to other cases, it has been decided to proceed by using a case study. This is *Nashe Maalo*, the SFCG children’s TV series in Macedonia which aims to enhance tolerance of different identities, which has been running over the period 1999-2004.

As the report “Confronting War: Critical Lessons for Peace Practitioners” by Mary Anderson states, ‘most agencies neglect to question how their discrete programs contribute to progress on the bigger picture, to Peace Writ Large.’ (p.14, 2003) However no conflict transformation actor can be expected to cause, or to generate, peace unilaterally. Their role is rather to contribute strategically.

Although a causal relationship may not be easily established between outputs (for example the production of a TV programme) and the transformation of conflict, it is observable that changes have occurred in the environment of the conflict within the peace-building project’s sphere

of influence. These contributions improve the potential for peace. The objective of NM, in our case, was to help prevent the escalation of future conflicts through increased intercultural competence, and the way this is done must be carefully identified.

These contributions are not automatic, yet there are many projects where they are assumed to be there. Developing and testing an approach that links a project's output to the contribution to society is required in a manner which can be verified by all the stakeholders. The development of a reliable methodology would make a significant contribution to identifying strategic intervention points, increasing accountability to funders and fulfilling the trust and hope that individuals living in divided and violent societies often place in peace-building agencies. One of the aims of the study was to propose a new method to verify the conflict transformation contribution achieved by a public media programme.

1.2. Evaluation Approach

1.2.1. Two overall challenges

The methodology chosen set out to overcome two specific challenges frequently encountered in the evaluation of conflict transformation programmes: the absence of a baseline of data on initial country conditions (although interestingly this is less true in the case of NM there have been various studies carried out, and Search itself conducted substantial pieces of research on attitudes – it may reflect an increasing focus on initial conditions in this and other sectors), and the difficulty of generalising from the results achieved. While the challenge of not having a baseline is intuitively easy to understand (how can one evaluate change if there is no clear data on the situation before intervention?), it is necessary to explain further the risk of generalisation.

Success achieved at the project level, in terms of achieving stated outputs, may or may not be the optimal choice to contribute to conflict transformation (a problem of relevance which is indeed encountered for all assistance programmes). It is not rare for a project to successfully achieve all of its desired outputs and not contribute clearly to the conflict at hand. Mary Anderson states that “the effectiveness questions at this level ask whether, in meeting specific program goals, an agency makes a contribution to the bigger picture” (p. 13, 2003). Further, in some cases, projects do harm as well as good, and here the question of how to weigh the two becomes significant in determining the value contribution overall.

1.2.2. Choice of approach

To overcome these challenges the evaluation avoided both purely quantitative and narrative methods. The evaluation combined two small scale research models:

- **Social surveys:** The surveys concentrate on the changes sought through the project in the population's knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour, in favour of conflict resolution (intended outcomes defined in the Search Macedonia documents). The surveys cover two levels, the first being the nature of the audience ("viewership") achieved by the TV programme, the second being the acquisition of intercultural competence assessed through the use of focus groups, as well as changes in attitudes and behaviour within this audience. The imperfect baseline is addressed by creating a form of control group, and by asking for respondents to recall how things were before the project was implemented.
- **Mapping of change:** The first step was to draw a conflict map. This is a visual map of the main triggers (events represented as boxes) and trends (slow changes represented as ovals) which either constrain or accelerate the evolution of the conflict (increase or decrease the probability of the boxes situated to the right). By drawing through arrows the ways in which different drivers relate to one another, and then ranking them by degree to which they can be influenced by the programme (here *Nashe Maalo*), it is possible to generate a ranking of priority areas of intervention for specific programme activities. The second step of the Mapping method seeks to define the ways in which these priority areas were in fact (or were not) influenced by the programme.

The Mapping model was the most untested part of our methodology. It is based on the notion that during conflicts the most promising entry points are the actors in a priority area, which accelerate or act as a brake on conflict - actors, cultural reference points, or customary modes of interaction between different groups. This method consequently reviews the influence played on those actors by the programme.

This represents an effort to move away from the Greek or western tradition of thinking as central the strength of the link from means to ends. In this tradition an ideal is described in terms of an objective, and a technique governs the way in which this is to be achieved. Instead what we propose here allows one to move away from the logic of means subordinated to an end. This has been typified in the aid world as the logical framework. The logical framework requires a precise definition of the final desired end state, for example free elections held regularly. Such a condition is highly problematic for outside actors to achieve, especially for aid agencies with very limited means, where the specific objective may seem very small compared to the scale of the problems in a country.

The Mapping approach proposed here is in a way more akin to eastern thinking, which concentrates on the trends that will determine an event, on the environment, and on achieving a position of influence among those trends, rather than forcing the event. The conflict should evolve toward its own resolution. The indicators for the Mapping assessment can vary widely⁵, but should be based closely on the nature of the organisation concerned.

1.3. Design for the Surveys

1.3.1. *Problématique*

The design of both surveys ran into the difficulty of choosing representative samples on the basis of a nationwide programme, for which no previous initial state study had been carried out. The formative research (described further down in the evaluative sections) had focused on methodologies which did not rely on sampling (essentially focus groups). It was also difficult to cover groups with more limited access to television, such as rural populations.

1.3.2. *Design of the viewership survey*

The first component of the surveys was based on nationwide representative sampling, using more general questions than would normally define outcomes. Using closed structured questionnaires, including 1202 children of the age of 8-15, and the same numbers of parents in six regions, the survey gives a mapping of the receptiveness of the population to the message. The sample was drawn in the following proportions from the different regions:

Table 2. Survey and regions

Region	No.	%
Skopje	336	28
Eastern Macedonia	99	8,2
Central Macedonia	166	13,8
South Macedonia	110	9,2
North Macedonia	105	8,7
Western Macedonia	385	32,1
Total	1201	100

Regions and ethnic representation have been selected according to the latest census data.⁶ Individual households have been chosen randomly.⁷

⁵ Some indicators can be drawn from company valuation methods, such as Intellectual Capital Management, the Balanced Scorecard, or derived from objectives such as in the case of the MoD whose focus on people and organisation leads it to review investment in training, and retention rates for example.

⁶ Republic of Macedonia, State Statistical Office, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002: Total Population 2.022.547; Households 564.296

⁷ See locations in Annex I

The researchers used questionnaires and interviewed children in the presence of their parents. Children and adults were questioned in particular about how often they watch NM, on which channel they watched it and with whom they talk about the show.⁸

1.3.3. Design of the focus group survey

Due to limited resources the second survey concentrated on focus groups and a definition of changes based on a selection of the intended outcomes developed in the programme documents.

The design of the focus group interviews started on May 6 with a first field mission from May 6 to 9, 2004.⁹ The set up was finalized on June 11 and the survey took place in Skopje from June 14-30. No population living outside Skopje was included for lack of time and resources, but this is less a drawback than it seems at first glance: migration patterns make Skopje the most representative cross-cutting sample of the national population. With about 600,000 inhabitants it contains a sizeable proportion of the total of 2.2 million.

Sample and sampling procedure

The sample included 160 children and 40 adults (20 ethnic Albanians and 20 ethnic Macedonians) who were either parents to teenage children or work with children in schools or different NGOs.

Adults were included for two reasons: Firstly the statements of the adults allow some contextualisation of children's statements. Secondly the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of the adults is of interest for the research. The design of the research meant that by talking about their children (rather than about themselves), parents and teachers would give their own opinions and show their own behaviour, which is of high interest for the assessment of the wider effects of NM.

The children's sample consisted of 160 children, disaggregated according to the following three criteria:

- age: 80 at the age of 10-11 and 80 at the age of 13-14;
- familiarity with NM: 80 very familiar with the series and 80 less familiar with the series;
- ethnicity: 80 ethnic Macedonians and 80 ethnic Albanians.

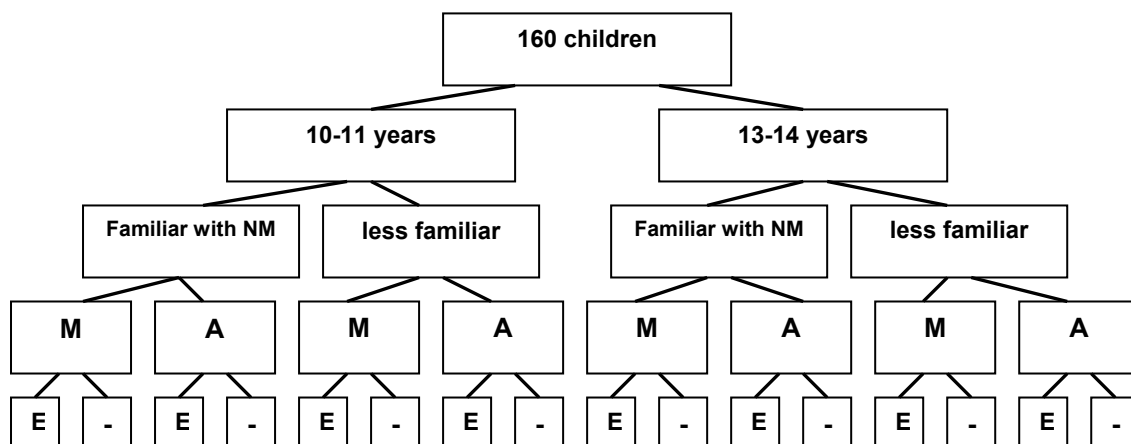
In that way, the sample was composed of eight distinctive subgroups, with 20 children per subgroup. Each of these eight groups was divided further into two entities, equal by number of subjects and balanced by gender – one that will be interviewed promptly after watching one NM

⁸ See questionnaire in Annex II

⁹ See the report of the first field mission in Annex III

episode¹⁰ and the other one that will be interviewed without that exposure. Thus, the total number of subgroups equals 16, as shown in the following graph and in Table 1.

Sub-groups – focus groups of children



M= Ethnic Macedonian A=Ethnic Albanian
E=watched NM before group interview

Table 3. Sample numbers – focus groups of children

		Macedonians (ethnic Macedonian children)		Albanians (ethnic Albanian children)	
		older (age 13-14)	younger (age 10-11)	older (age 13-14)	younger (age 10-11)
familiar with "NM"	exposed to an episode	10	10	10	10
	not exposed to an episode	10	10	10	10
not familiar with "NM"	exposed to an episode	10	10	10	10
	not exposed to an episode	10	10	10	10

¹⁰ All children exposed to a NM episode watched the "Love story" – a story about a Macedonian boy who falls in love with a Roma girl and do many things to attract her, while being video-recorded by his friends (an Albanian and an ethnic Macedonian boy).

The third criterion (familiarity with the NM series) was assessed with a questionnaire composed of 18 questions connected to general liking and interest shown for the series, as well as to the knowledge about the content of 10 randomly chosen episodes from all NM seasons. It was prepared in Macedonian and in Albanian language. After being administered to over 360 children (179 ethnic Macedonians and 185 ethnic Albanians), the questionnaires were scored by previously trained personnel, under supervision of the research coordinator. In accordance with the score that reflects respondent's familiarity with the series, respondents were divided into "upper" (familiar) and "lower" (less familiar) group. Each of these groups was gender balanced (50±10 percent).

Children who were chosen as participants were personally contacted by phone and invited to take part in the focus group discussion. The refusal rate was below 5 percent and the most frequent reason was absence from home.

The structure of the sample (disaggregated by all criteria mentioned above) from which the results were collected, is presented below.

Table 4. Sample of children –numbers according to ethnicity, gender, age and familiarity with the series, grade 7

grade 7; age 13-14				
	Macedonians		Albanians	
	familiar	not familiar	familiar	not familiar
<i>female</i>	10	6	8	9
<i>male</i>	7	9	10	9
TOTAL	17	15	18	18

Table 5. Sample of children –numbers according to ethnicity, gender, age and familiarity with the series, grade 4

grade 4; age 10-11				
	Macedonians		Albanians	
	familiar	not familiar	familiar	not familiar
<i>female</i>	10	7	9	9
<i>male</i>	10	10	9	9
TOTAL	20	17	18	18

A sample of 40 adults, disaggregated by ethnicity and the particular role (parents, teachers, or service providers working for NGOs) was selected on a balance by gender (50% males and 50% females) and age (range from 25 to 55). The structure of the sample (disaggregated by ethnicity and role) from which the results are collected, is presented in Table 3.

Table 6. Sample of adults - numbers according to ethnicity, gender and role

	<i>ethnic Macedonians</i>		<i>ethnic Albanians</i>	
	parents	teachers and NGO workers	parents	teachers and NGO workers
<i>female</i>	5	5	2	5
<i>male</i>	5	5	6	5
TOTAL	10	10	8	10

Data gathering procedure

The research was conducted in the period of June 14-30.

1. The questionnaire for assessing familiarity with NM was administered while children were attending regular classes at school. In those classrooms where children were slower in reading, the team of two implementers read the questionnaire question by question in order to prevent skipping or “blind” answering.

2. Children focus groups were conducted at schools as well, after the end of the school year. Both facilitators and note-takers received three hour training for this particular interview, in addition to their previous training in the field of quantitative and qualitative data gathering, their educational background in social sciences, as well as long-term experience in working with children. Two ethnic Albanians and two ethnic Macedonians interviewers worked with groups from the respective ethnicity. In order to provide optimal conditions for spontaneity and honesty, teachers who mediated the process of recruitment and contact were not present in the classroom.

The average time of discussion in the focus groups was one hour and thirty minutes. The groups selected to be exposed to one episode of the series before the discussion, were engaged in the process approximately half an hour more.

The interview was semi-structured, conducted on the basis of asking previously prepared questions divided in several interconnected fields. The overall impression of the facilitators was that the respondents were cooperative and talkative.¹¹

3. Focus groups with adults were facilitated by other interviewers, one ethnic Albanian and two ethnic Macedonians, all of them previously trained and with a long-term experience with different data collection techniques. The interviewers with parents took place in the schools where their children study, whereas the other two were conducted in a meeting room outside the schools. The average time of discussion in the focus groups was one hour and thirty minutes.

¹¹ See Questionnaire Focus Group Interviews in Annex IV

The overall impression of the facilitators is that the respondents were cooperative and fluent in exposing their opinions.

The interview was semi-structured, conducted on the basis of asking previously prepared questions divided in several interconnected fields.

The information collected was transcribed into written notes and one video tape. This was analysed and discussed during meetings in Skopje, and the analysis drafted in Macedonian, and then translated into English, in the text under section 3.1.

1.4. Design for the Mapping of Change

1.4.1. Obstacles met by previous evaluations

This methodology for assessing the impact of a programme on a conflict flows from the following observation: it is possible to say whether a programme has succeeded in meeting its intended outcomes (in the present case achieving some change in attitudes, knowledge and behaviour among a target group), and tempting but mistaken to extrapolate just on the basis of this information whether this has had an impact on the course of the conflict. Conversely it is mistaken to conclude that a programme was ineffective because the conflict was not resolved. This is what can be called the fallacy of attribution (i.e. of attributing effect to cause).

This was for example one of the most striking findings of USAID's OTI Confidence Building Initiative evaluation in Macedonia in 2003. Even though the intended outcomes had been reached (here to develop trust between ethnic communities), the evaluation led to the conclusion that it was not possible to say whether the programme had been effective. It was argued in this report (as had been done in a previous evaluation report on behalf of the European Commission in Liberia in 1999¹²) that an intermediary objective was missing (i.e. an objective situated between the specific objective or project purpose and the general objectives of conflict resolution).

To define impact it is necessary to track its effects through different stages of the chain of causes and effects, all the way to the evolution of the conflict. At each stage of generalisation, which can be viewed as a concentric circle, the change achieved by a programme can be less and less attributed to it, and increasingly to other actions. For example peace in Macedonia can be due to aid programme interventions, diplomatic pressure, and peace-keeping.

¹² Evaluation of EC Rehabilitation Activities, APT Consult, 1999. Case Study Liberia.

To avoid the trap of attributing resolution (or on the contrary escalation) in a conflict to the success or failure of a sole programme, it is necessary to review the intermediary connections. This allows the evaluation to clarify firstly the trends or events that the programme has tried to counter and/or encourage (avoid escalation). It then allows for a measure of this change, whether it was important or not.

In this way it is possible to avoid using narrative accounts of the causes of the conflict, as these are, as seen in other evaluations, a highly problematic model for assessing outcomes. These are problematic mainly because, in order to convince, the method revolves around personal selection from a wide range of evidence, and on the questionable projection of individual project level actions on to the national level¹³.

The options other than narratives, for example relying on systematic monitoring of correlations between factors (Correlates of War Project, Ted Gurr), or of changes in triggers of conflict (such as would be available to certain government agencies), were perceived not to be available to this evaluation because of the scale of resources.

The UK Government, through the evaluation of its Conflict Prevention Pools, has sought to overcome the difficulty of attribution in another manner, by introducing quantitative targets of a general nature, and some country specific narratives, drawn from the DFID country strategies. Changes in the measurements of these targets would allow the UK Government to deduce that it had been effective.

The consultants working on the evaluation of the Pools have found three broad reasons for which this method is not valid. This is interesting to explore as it is related to the notion of management by results, exemplified in the UK as the Public Service Agreements. The reasons were the following:

1. The quantitative measurement is dependent on good quality sources, and on a clear relationship between UK outputs/results and outcomes/impacts. Conflicts generate inherently contentious streams of information, and contrary to what is found in DFID practice in the economic development sphere, there are no national data sets. The method as it is currently formulated requires use of the SIPRI, IISS, US Committee for Refugees and UNHCR data. This data is not necessarily up to date, and is in some instances guided by institutional bias¹⁴. It is very difficult to relate war stress such as population movements, to levels of violence (increasing number of besieged populations, for example, will reduce displacement).

¹³ „Evaluation of the Conflict Prevention Pools, Synthesis Report“, DFID, March 2004, Evaluation Report EV 647

¹⁴ To give but one example, even in the relatively measurable issue of repatriation figures for Burundi refugees from Tanzania back to Burundi in 2002, UNHCR has provided diverging figures from its Branch Office in Bujumbura and that in Dar Es Salaam.

2. A qualitative measurement of reduction in potential sources of future conflict was introduced to mitigate the weaknesses of the quantitative targets. It includes the success of the UK in mobilising an effective international response. This is however very difficult to aggregate, especially since the definition of the causes of war is more closely related to the position of the actors and to their responsibility¹⁵, and is most often based on the conflict prevention strategy documents which are not of a consistent quality.
3. The Public Service Agreement target concerning conflict prevention is not limited to the Pools, but covers the work of three Departments working in foreign policy, and is the responsibility of two Ministers. A vast array of measures can be said to serve the purpose of avoiding the unwanted impact of violence on human life, including those controlled by the Secretary of Defence, whose officials have described for example, not illogically, airport anti-terrorist security training as serving the conflict prevention PSA. In some cases the contribution to the reduction of conflict are so varied as to be barely comparable.

This evaluation has consequently not followed the quantitative target approach. We have used a mapping process based on expert opinion, leading to a cascade of targets and priority areas.¹⁶

1.4.2. Design of the first step of mapping

The method proposed here requires a group of experts to draw up a map of those trends and events which increase the probability of conflict or of peace (be they for adults or for children, the mapping is not specific to an age group), and seek to draw the links which lead from one to the other.

As it happened these trends and events mostly focused on the roles of adults, and included for example, in the case of Macedonia, the criminalisation of the economy (a trend) and the killing of policemen by Albanian groups (an event). Arrows in the graphs which were drawn up indicate when events and trends increase or decrease the probability of the others occurring. "Key points" are points (events and trends), on which many arrows concentrate, then emerge in the course of the workshop, indicating areas of priority intervention. These are then classified into two categories: those which are amenable to influence by the actor concerned (here Search for Common Ground), and those which are not. Those which can be influenced by Search, and more

¹⁵ Within the active body of literature we recommend « On the Causes of War », Hidemi Suganami, Clarendon Press Oxford, 1996. He argues that « the most (we) can endeavour to arrive at is an inter-subjective consensus, among professional historians and their readers, that their story is the more persuasive – or at least not less so – than the pre-existing ones... Its persuasiveness may in turn be judged in the light, among other things, of breadth and judiciousness in its available use of evidence, and, more broadly, its coherence with other well-accepted facts and stories » which, he notes, is fragmentary and cannot be tested (page 207).

¹⁶ See Scope of Work (ToR) in Annex V

specifically NM, are then put into relation with the existing programme objectives.

In the case of the present evaluation, the elements which were identified as key points are listed below, where those underlined are the ones which could be influenced by Search through its programme NM:

Workshop 1 (NM related personnel):

- Increased perception of insecurity (a)
- Refugee influx from Kosovo
- Militarization of civilians
- Events during summer 2001
- Threatened ethno national identity of ethnic Macedonians (b)
- Ohrid agreement
- Mixed ethnic security forces
- Increasing sense of security (c)
- Unemployed young people

Workshop 2 (Non-NM related personnel)

- Dissolution of Yugoslavia
- Multi-ethnic constitution
- Economic decline
- Criminalisation in economy and politics
- Refugee influx from Kosovo
- "Ohrid" Agreement
- Segregation of media
- International factor/actors

It is then possible, by assessing the importance of priority areas underlined, to assess whether a programme has focused on the important drivers in a conflict. The fact that for non-NM related participants (about half of those included in one of the two workshops) as well as for the NM staff there were few key causes which could have been influenced by NM is important, because it shows that many other forces were at play. However it should not be read as an indicator of the irrelevance of the programme: it may to a certain extent relate to the dynamics (and facilitation) of the workshop more than to the conflict itself.

The two lists should consequently be read and reconciled together:

- Increased perception of insecurity/security
- Threatened ethno national identity of ethnic Macedonians
- Segregation of media by ethnic communities

These are the trends and events which are deemed as most significant in driving the conflict, and are at the same time are most open to influence by NM.

It is important to note here that the analysis has not attempted to define the causes of conflict (which are often hard to confirm or contradict), but

instead concentrated on events and societal trends for which verifiable indicators are more easy to find (for example the number of associations which try to protect Macedonian identity, or the forms of collaboration between different media from different communities).

1.4.3. Design of the second step of mapping

To carry out the second step, i.e. define the importance of NM to these priority areas, four evaluative questions were presented to a range of actors which are perceived to be influential in each area. These cover four dimensions of influence:

1. Strength: How influential is the programme in the society, compared to other actors? Which trends or drivers of conflict transformation does it influence?
2. To catch people's imagination (short term impact): Has there been a propagation of new social models, which are attractive and are reproduced and emulated further within the society? What are these models, how attractive are they? Were they proposed at the right time, or have they allowed the organisation to buy time while contradictory messages of incitation to violence and tension were being spread?
3. To create new modes of interaction (medium term impact): Have the activities allowed groups which did not previously have contact to talk to each other, either through representatives, or between communities? Have these contacts been of a new nature? Were they noticed as important by a significant number of people?
4. Capacities (long term impact): What institutions have been created, for example new radio stations? What personnel have been trained and what skills have been improved that will allow the society to respond to any new upsurge in violence? How sustainable are these new capacities?

These questions were presented in a semi-structured form, more fully developed than they are here. The full list is included in annex 7 and constitute the leading questions.

The interviews were analysed for recurring patterns of answers in each dimension. The degree to which the respondents may or may not be representative was judged as of less importance than elements in these patterns which were quite clear and consistent.¹⁷

¹⁷ See Aide Mémoire, July 8, 2004 in Annex VI

1.5. Implementation of the Evaluation

For the first stage of the research exercise (first half of 2004), the evaluation of Search's *Nashe Maalo*, Channel fielded the team leader and two international experts to ensure overall management and impartiality of findings. These individuals have managed the different components of the study, and wrote the report. Search for Common Ground provided the services of two staff members to the core team to assist in the collection of the information (but not the drafting of the report findings) and in the workshops. The project team was hence structured in three groups (survey, support and drafting).

Writing members:

- Emery Brusset, Team Leader, lead researcher for the Mapping of conflict
- Ralf Otto, Channel: lead researcher for the survey

Support members:

- Cheyanne Church, Search Washington: design of methodology, linkage mapping
- Eran Fraenkel, Search Brussels: facilitation of field contacts, collection of information on capacity assessment, assistance in the formulation of survey questions, discussion of findings
- Marijana Handziski, independent researcher, attached to the Institute for Psychology of the University of Skopje
- Mark Hoffman, Channel: review of methodology, overall quality assurance

Survey Teams:

- Mirjana Najcevska, Helsinki Committee Macedonia
- Violeta Petroska Beska, Helsinki Committee Macedonia
- Klime Babunski, media consultant
- Students from the University of Skopje

The surveys were carried out over the period May-July 2004. The mapping of change took place from June 3 to 17, 2004. It began with two mapping exercises carried out in expert workshops on June 7 and 8. The participants in the first workshop were staff members of Search for Common Ground, as well as persons involved in the production of NM. The participants in the second workshop were persons not directly involved in NM but representing the media, research, ethnic minorities, and the private sector¹⁸.

The workshops generated priority areas of intervention, on the basis of which a list of key informants and a set of leading questions for the interviews were drafted.¹⁹ The interviews were targeted at individuals active in the defined priority areas. These interviews were combined with

¹⁸ See list of participants Workshop 1 and 2 in Annex XIII

¹⁹ See Leading Questions in Annex VII

site visits of institutions that are involved in NM or that have a potential for producing similar conflict resolution programs. The sites included theatres, TV and radio production sites and premises of NGOs.²⁰

Sections 6 of this report contains an analysis of the limits of the methodology as it was applied.

²⁰ See Interview Schedule in Annex VIII

2. Presentation of the Subject

2.1. Situation Overview

The Republic of Macedonia proclaimed its independence in a general referendum on 8 September 1991, and became the only republic of the former Yugoslavia to secede peacefully.²¹

After gaining independence from Yugoslavia, Macedonia was beset by troubled relations with its large Albanian minority, who pushed for greater national rights, and a dispute with Greece over its right to use the name Macedonia. Greece imposed a trade embargo, closing their ports for Macedonia's imports and exports. In September 1995, they signed an agreement establishing diplomatic and economic relations. United Nations sanctions against rump Yugoslavia -- Serbia and Montenegro -- in 1992 because of their involvement in the Bosnian war also cost Macedonia more than \$3 billion in revenue. About 60 percent of its industrial production was closely linked to them.

In the republic's first post-communist multi-party elections in 1991, Kiro Gligorov was elected president. He was re-elected in 1994, when his ruling Alliance for Macedonia consolidated its parliamentary majority.

At independence in November 1991, Macedonia was the least developed of the Yugoslav republics, producing a mere 5% of the total federal output of goods and services. The collapse of Yugoslavia ended transfer payments and eliminated advantages from inclusion in a de facto free trade area. An absence of infrastructure, UN sanctions on its largest market Yugoslavia, and a Greek economic embargo hindered economic growth until 1996. GDP subsequently rose each year through 2000. However, the leadership's commitment to economic reform, free trade, and regional integration was undermined by the events of 2001. The economy shrank 4.5% because of decreased trade, intermittent border closures, increased deficit spending on security needs, and investor uncertainty. Growth barely recovered in 2002 to 0.9%, then rose to 2.8% in 2003. Unemployment at one-third of the workforce remains the most critical economic problem. The grey economy is estimated at around 40% of GDP.²²

-Brief overview of the conflict

The country was close to a civil war between February and August 2001 after an Albanian insurgency created instability on Macedonian territory and several villages and suburbs of Skopje witnessed fighting. The conflict displaced over 170,000 people, of which 74,000 were internally

²¹ see map of Macedonia and Country Facts in Annex IX and X

²² CIA World Fact Book, May 2004

displaced. Over 95 per cent of the people uprooted during the brief but intense conflict have been able to return.²³ In some cases, communities returned hospitality to families who had sheltered them during previous population movements time.²⁴

After the intervention of NATO and the EU a ceasefire agreement has been announced on July 5. Under a US and EU-brokered peace deal – the Ohrid Framework Agreement- the rebels handed over some of their weapons to NATO troops. NATO subsequently maintained a lightly armed force, known as the Task Force Amber Fox, to protect international monitors observing the return of government forces and displaced people to areas formerly controlled by the rebels.²⁵

-Situation today

Regarding the conflict situation today Macedonia shows a positive trend. In the first quarter of 2004 Macedonia went through the most difficult period since the crisis in 2001. On 26 February 2004 the popular president Boris Trajkovski, who was seen as a crucial guarantor for the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement, died in an airplane crash. In a very short time elections were held without major disturbances of the public order. The low participation of only 53,35 percent still is a matter of concern.

Another potential source of destabilisation can be seen in the violent events in Kosovo in March 2004. Unlike in the past these events did not lead to confrontations in Macedonia and the political situation remained stable.

Macedonia has taken an important step towards the EU membership by submitting its official application. Although international organizations are often viewed sceptically in Macedonia because of their role during the Kosovo conflict and the events in 2001, most Macedonians see primary benefits of EU membership.²⁶

However this positive trend could be threatened by an increasing harsher political confrontation between the government and the opposition as well as due to the ongoing socio-economic discontent. As a result of the ongoing dissatisfaction with the economic situation employees of some public enterprises and public administration went on strike and the country saw the biggest strike in his history in the educational sector. The level of foreign investments is still far from what the country needs.

The ongoing volatility of interethnic relations derives among others from the absence of social or political structures intended to integrate the country's communities across their ethnic and linguistic segregation.

²³ Macedonia: Fear prevents remaining IDPs from returning home, Norwegian Refugee Council, 26 February 2004

²⁴ Humanitarian Update OCHA Skopje Sept - Nov 2001, December 3 2001, UN OCHA Strategy Paper 2003, 31. December 2002

²⁵ NATO Statement on the situation in the Balkans, 18 December 2001

²⁶ On March 22nd Macedonia submitted its application for a EU membership.

Public schools, for example, are organized along ethno-linguistic lines. Over recent years, especially since the war of 2001, Macedonia has experienced increasing residential segregation, which has further reduced contact between children of different ethnic backgrounds. Children grow up in a world of prejudicial vocabulary and in structures that justify group thinking.

With a new president and a new prime minister installed (Hari Kostov)²⁷, attention is now focused on the sole remaining substantive issue from the Ohrid Agreement: devolution of power to local government units. This is a decisive matter for the survival of the Macedonian state. After lengthy negotiations within its coalition, the government proposed on 14 July to reduce municipalities from the current 123 to 80²⁸. Heavy criticism could be noted in Skopje and in the city of Struga, where ethnic Macedonians fear the marginalization in a community where Albanians are gaining.

-Media in Macedonia

Macedonia is one of the densest per-capita electronic media markets in the region. The present broadcast media environment is largely unregulated. Hundreds of unlicensed radio and TV stations broadcast for their own ethnic groups and in their own language. The capital alone has over 20 television stations, including one full-time broadcaster in Albanian and two in Romane.

Political influence is widespread and the quality of journalistic work is often criticized.²⁹

Television is clearly the main media in Macedonia:

Table 7. Viewing time per individual

(year 2002, in Min per day)³⁰		
	Adults (14+)	Children (3-13)
Western Europe	213	128
Central /Eastern Europe	222	180
Total Europe	217	145
Macedonia	282	n.a.

The Ohrid Framework Agreement stipulates the encouragement to promote minority language media. The Macedonian Law on Broadcasting Services also stipulates that public broadcasters must broadcast programs in the languages of the respective minorities in

27 Since writing of this report, Kostov has resigned and Vlado Bučkovski has been installed as the new PM.

28 Since writing of this report, Macedonia rejected a referendum proposed by the opposition objecting to the redistricting of Macedonia as part of the decentralization process. This was seen as a major test of the country's dedication to the Ohrid Agreement.

29 Media in multi-lingual societies: The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; Tanja Popovi OSCE Conference Paper, 2003

30 Television 2003 International Key Facts; Thomas Kirsch IP Germany

those regions in which the population is predominantly from the minorities, or where there are significant numbers. The public broadcaster *MTV* is still working on the basis of the quota system inherited from the Titoist time. *MTV 1* broadcast in Macedonian language and *MTV 2* in Albanian language, whereas *MTV 3*, which was created in 2002, is broadcasting in Turkish, Roma, Vlach and Serbian-Croatian language. The public institution is seen as badly managed, inefficient and under political influence.

Private broadcasters, such as *A1* and *Site1*, are granted the right to broadcast in the languages of minorities. A certain degree of the broadcasting fee is dedicated for programs in languages of minorities and for private productions. These funds are limited and presently under negotiation. The collection of the broadcasting fee is unsatisfactory as many viewers do not feel committed and the legal enforcement is not efficient. The funds are managed by the Broadcasting Council, which claims to be independent but is assigned by the government and all main decisions need to be confirmed by the government. The private TV stations *A1* and *Site1* are the most popular private Macedonian-language broadcasters.

Only few media broadcast in different languages or produce for different ethnic groups. SCGM's 4-year long program (2000-2004) *Bridges for the New Balkans* includes local bi-lingual Macedonian-Albanian monthly TV and bi-weekly radio exchanges. Its regional component includes *Balkan Kaleidoscope*, a series of documentary films covering and broadcast in six countries. Three Macedonian language and two Albanian language independent, private local TV stations (including *Bitola TV*) have been cooperating as a networking group on common productions since 2002. They do joint productions or buy productions together and broadcast them with subtitles in the other language, which is rarely the case at other Macedonian broadcasters.

Life Radio is an independent bi-lingual radio station, which is broadcasting in both Macedonian, and Albanian language in the capital region.

In Macedonia there is no locally produced TV programming for children. Children watch most cartoons, news reports for adults, movies, and Spanish-language soap operas for adults.

Around one thousand print media are registered in Macedonia. Like electronic media the print media are mono-lingual. Reports about other ethnic groups are exceptional and often not free of prejudices and false statements. A low degree of professionalism is often mentioned as a reason for poor quality in journalist work.

Only few print media publish in different languages or produce for different ethnic groups. *Bridges for the New Balkans* is an exemption. It includes *Karavan*, a trimesterly six-country regional magazine appearing in the local languages of the participating countries, and *Multi-Ethnic*

Forum, a quarterly bi-lingual magazine appearing in Albanian and Macedonian. All are distributed free of charge as supplements of main daily newspapers in Macedonia and in five countries in the Balkans.

During the conflict the media was under heavy influence of politicians. News played already an important part in the beginning of the conflict. This can be seen for example from the fact that the government decided to send troops to villages with Albanian rebels after a TV reportage and a hostage taking of an A1 team in Tanuševeci village in February 2001, which was taken as a first confirmation of the presence of armed troops in the villages.

The broadcasting of the Albanian protesting and violent escalations in Tetovo's centre on March 14 can also be seen as a turning point in the public awareness of the crisis. Viewers were shocked and obviously not prepared to witness incidents live on TV. From these days on stations broadcasted the activities of the security forces constantly.

The conflict has influenced the media and the media played an important part during the conflict. Hate speech and partial reporting were common in almost all of the media during this time.³¹ Ethnic loyalty became more important than professional standards. The ones who tried to clearly describe the responsibilities for what has been happening in their own ethnic group were under risk and were announced traitors. Due to the high speed of the events and the huge demand for daily information low quality journalism was common and easily accepted.³²

Politicians used the media (local and international) to communicate the messages in favour of their interests, which led to completely different news in different media and even within one station. The public broadcaster MTV for example broadcasted contradictory facts about events at the same time in their Macedonian language program and in their Albanian language program.³³

The Macedonian media and communications expert Klime Babunski analyzed sample cases to compare reporting of Macedonian language media and Albanian language media about key events of the conflict.³⁴ In all cases the discrepancies in reporting were enormous. Not only the choice of words (for example "eliminated Albanian terrorists" versus "2 executed innocent Albanians") but also the mentioning or not mentioning of key facts (for example the fact that persons who were killed were heavily armed) was significant and reflected clearly the media's ethnic and language affiliation. The influence went so far that even foreign media adopted terms that segregate (for example "Slav Macedonians")

³¹ Media in multi-lingual societies: The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; Tanja Popovi OSCE Conference Paper, 2003

³² Vesna Šopar, Professor at the Institute of Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, Skopje at the International Media Conference November 2003

³³ Media in multi-lingual societies: The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; Tanja Popovi OSCE Conference Paper, 2003

³⁴ Identification of Gap, Klime Babunski, Pro Media Macedonia

instead of “Macedonians”),³⁵ a phenomenon that could be observed in Macedonia for many years already. Many journalists saw their role more in a mediator of their political or ethnical group rather than in the role of a neutral observer.³⁶

-Search for Common Ground in Macedonia

Search for Common Ground in Macedonia (SCGM) is a field office of Search for Common Ground (SCG), which has headquarters in Washington DC and Brussels. Since its foundation in Macedonia in 1994, SCGM has been working to transform the way citizens of Macedonia deal with conflicts; from destructive and confrontational to constructive and cooperative approaches. SCGM has designed and implemented projects in various sectors of Macedonian society: the media, education, ecology, and various kinds of training. SCGM's media program includes radio, television and print. Besides the children TV program *NM* two major long-term programs are characterizing SCGs work in the country: *Bridges for the New Balkans* is SCGM's first regional media project started in September 2000. Its regional component includes both print (*Karavan*) and TV (*Balkan Kaleidoscope*) appearing in six Balkan countries (Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia). Within Macedonia it includes the production and exchange of bi-lingual radio and TV programs and the publication of a bi-lingual magazine (*Mutli-Ethnic Forum*). The program promotes cooperation among different media in the Balkan countries, provides information about other ethnic groups and facilitates the exchange of media professionals between the countries.

In education SFCGM focuses on children from pre-school to high school age. *Mozaik*, is a multi-cultural and bi-lingual kindergarten program. To date *Mozaik* includes Macedonian/Albanian, Macedonian/Serbian, and Macedonian/Turkish pre-school groups in 5 cities. The objectives are to promote a child-centered pedagogical model of pre-school education for children of 4 to 7 years and to introduce children from different ethno-linguistic communities to an environment of impartiality and tolerance in which all children are equally valued.

In cooperation with Children's Theatre Centre (CTC) from Skopje, SFCGM produces intended-outcome puppet and live theatre plays. The puppet shows have been designed for children ages 7-9, and are performed in eleven cities throughout Macedonia. The live theatre programme, for 9-11 year old school children, has been based on *Nashe Maalo* characters and uses actors and writers from the TV series. All the dramas convey messages regarding ethnic and cultural diversity in Macedonia and are followed by facilitated interactive dialogue that reinforces messages from the plays. Children in the audience all receive a copy of the *Nashe Maalo* music CD or audio cassette.

³⁵ Iso Rusi Fact and fiction: the media's negative role; in Macedonia: The conflict and the media, MIM 2003; page 105

³⁶ Iso Rusi Fact and fiction: the media's negative role; in Macedonia: The conflict and the media, MIM 2003; page 100

2.2. Presentation of Nashe Maalo

NM (“Our Neighborhood”) is the first TV program for children in Macedonia that promotes intercultural understanding and encourages conflict prevention in a multicultural society.

Each 30-minute show is about the daily life of eight children from Macedonian, Roma, Turkish, and Albanian ethnic groups, who live together in one house or in the same neighbourhood. The show stars Karmen, an animated building with a voice, whose mission is to harbour peace within her walls.

NM has been co-produced by Common Ground Productions (CGP), the media production division of SCG, and SCGM. The intended target group are children ages 8 to 12, but NM audience surveys indicate that the programme is watched regularly by children ages 5 to 17 as well as by adults. The show has been broadcast on the main national TV stations and on some local stations for five seasons with 45 episodes in total.

For the first 3 seasons, the series was broadcast nationally on A1, the private Macedonian-language TV station. The Albanian-subtitled series was carried by 5 independent Albanian stations in Western Mac. In season 4, SCGM was approached by MTV (state-run Macedonian Television) with a request to carry both the Macedonian and Albanian language versions of NM, which it did for 2 years. SCGM, however, has always granted permission for rebroadcast to any TV station in Macedonia. Thus NM has been aired not only nationally on both private and public TV but has been rebroadcast locally repeatedly, by both Macedonian and Albanian TV stations, over the 5 years of the project.

The idea for a pro-social TV program for children in Macedonia dates back to the year 1996. In 1997, Children’s Television Workshop (CTW), known as the producers of *Sesame Street*, CGP and SFCGM began talking of collaboration. CGP secured the expertise of CTW in developing a children’s TV programme which eventually became NM. Dr. Ed Palmer, the then-retired co-creator of CTW and of *Sesame Street*, worked with SCGM and Macedonian experts to create the curriculum. Brett Pierce, then of CTW, helped produce Season 1 of the the series³⁷. Empirical data regarding children’s knowledge of the lives of other children and their attitudes in a multi-ethnic environment and their conflict behaviour served to provide some information for decisions about key elements of the TV program. Although this did not present a systematic and replicable study of the population at the initial stage (which would have allowed it to be used as baseline survey) it gave some sense of the point of departure, and above allowed for the tuning of the message.

³⁷ Statement of Intended Outcomes for a Children’s Television Series, 11 February 1999, see Annex XI

The design process during the development phase included international and local experts in education, development psychology, sociology, media and politics. A *Contents Team* functioned throughout all seasons to assure the inclusion of the educational goals into the program at any time. The team included again experts from various backgrounds. In case of need, external expertise was requested or additional research has been done to get authenticity and coherence.

The first season of the series was broadcasted nationally in Macedonia in October 1999 on A1 TV station and several independent Albanian-language stations. In addition, the series could be viewed in four cities in Kosovo.

Formative research has been undertaken before the beginning of the project and summative research has been conducted between the seasons (see chapter Achievement of Intended Outcomes for summaries of this research).

-Awards

NM has won several distinguished honours for children's television programming:

- Prix Jeunesse Finalist, 2001
- Silver Axiom Award (US), 2001
- Gabriel Award (US), 2001
- Japan Prize Finalist (2002)
- "Zlatna Buba Mara" Award for Best Children's TV program in Macedonia, 2002
- Best Director Award to Dritero Kasapi for "Other Side of the River," Macedonian National Film Festival, 2002
- Selected for inclusion in various children's media festivals throughout the US by the Coalition for Quality Children's Media (Santa Fe, NM), 2004

-Outreach activities

NM Outreach projects were introduced to elevate the impact of NM TV series through various activities. NM main children cast are often invited to schools, institutions for children with special needs and orphanages, promoting the values of NM. These events are ongoing in 2004, even after the production of new episodes of NM has stopped.

The first and the second seasons of NM Children's Magazine were printed in 185,000 copies, in Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish languages. In each season there were 3 magazines. Furthermore, in Season 1, there was a parent/teacher guide that was printed in about 170.000 copies and distributed to all children in the NM age range through schools using the national PTA. The magazine has a wide selection of activities for children, and the information about NM TV

programme. There are descriptions of NM characters and their hobbies, activity games, knowledge-based games, information about the main religious holidays of all NM's featured ethnicities, and the quiz questions. Distribution of the magazine is organized through the regional branches of the Ministry of Education. Free copies of the magazine are distributed to every child in Macedonia within the age group 7 to 12.

A NM Music CD and audiocassette contain a collection of songs that are related to NM. It serves as another entertaining way of bringing values of NM into the lives of children in Macedonia. The songs are in Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, and Roma, while some songs combining all languages.

A Knowledge Quiz Show started in April 2004, coinciding with re-runs of NM on the national television. Viewers are required to answer contents-related questions and submit answers to SFCGM, receiving music CD or cassette in return.

The NM Live Theatre is based on the characters and principles of NM series, with similar objectives: increasing tolerance among children in Macedonia and promoting inter-cultural understanding. Beyond simple dramatic performances, this theatre also involves direct communication between the audience and the cast. Following each show, children are led to a facilitated discussion about what they have seen. This give them an opportunity to ask questions, make comments, or otherwise explore the experience they had. The first phase of the project involves formative research conducted among 400 children, based on which the play designs are made. The actors are drawn from different Macedonian ethno-linguistic communities. Combined with community-based performance, this project offers accessible, grassroots arts program that will help overcome ethnic mistrust.

SFCGM regularly receives fan mail from viewers and participants in outreach activities. Some of the mail addresses the characters and the actors of the show directly. Other writers want to express their opinion about the show. Comments are almost exclusively positive. Most of the comments concern the production, the characters in the show, the music or outfit. Some letters refer to the content and the message of the show. These letters have not been analyzed in detail for this study but from interviews with the Project Manager it can be said that there are certain letters showing that the viewers understood the message of NM and accept the idea behind it. Extracts from the fan mail can be found in annex³⁸.

-Concept

The concept of NM follows the strategy to provide knowledge about other ethnic groups among children and to promote pro-social attitudes and conflict resolution skills in an entertaining way. The show confronts

³⁸ See extracts from fan mail in Annex XII

children with daily life situations in a familiar environment, combined with new approaches and role-models for a community life with members from all ethnic groups present in Macedonia. Children have been chosen as the target group as they are seen as the country's future. Children are in a development stage, which allows understanding and goodwill with regard to other ethnic and cultural groups.

Already here it can be said that NM is not only seen as a children program. Teenagers and adults not only watch the episodes but are also involved directly and indirectly in various ways, which results from the high viewership rates (see survey results later) and the presence of NM in Macedonia's public life.

NM is based on an educational curriculum, which contains intended outcomes³⁹. The three main objectives of NM during the development of the curriculum can be summarized in the following:

- Promotion of intercultural understanding
- Conflict Prevention through increased Cultural Awareness
- Promotion of Conflict Resolution Skills.

Those objectives were adopted and weighed newly for each year after close consultation with local experts and research done by local researchers.

The selection of these objectives is based on the assumption that segregation results from and causes the lack of knowledge about other groups combined with fear about status. Elevation of self-respect was hence an underlying element in all seasons. Search concluded that segregation contributes to the stereotypes and prejudices that communities have of each other due to their ignorance of each other. This contributes to and reinforces their mutual suspicions and fears, about their own status and the intentions of the „other“

The curriculum follows a three level approach: The first level concerns the teaching of specific points of awareness, skills, understanding, attitudes and vocabulary terms. The second level addresses the broader conceptual and intellectual context for the first-level skills. The third level focuses on actions and behaviour resulting from the newly acquired knowledge and contextual awareness.

2.3. Early NM Formative Research

During the planning phase of NM a curriculum document was produced. It is titled: *Statement of Intended Outcomes for a children television series on intercultural understanding, conflict prevention in a multi-*

³⁹ See footnote 30.

cultural context, and conflict resolution in children's everyday lives & circumstances, 11 February 1999 (Dr Ed Palmer and Dr Eran Fraenkel).

This document served as the basis for all later detailed planning and producing of NM seasons and episodes. Although the stated intended outcomes were not followed strictly and there was generally no direct reference to the curriculum document during the later productions, these intended outcomes are reflected in every episode and in all NM outreach activities.

To analyse the achievement of these intended outcomes a number of researches have been undertaken during the past years. Additionally there has been research on the content and acceptance of NM.

Within the present research interviews in focus groups have been conducted to further analyze the achievement of the intended outcomes and a nation-wide viewership survey has been conducted. The methodology applied is similar to previous research so that continuity is guaranteed and comparison over time is possible⁴⁰. An overview of the relevant research is shown in the following table. The survey within this research is added to show the common elements of all studies.

Table 8. Summary of NM research

Season	Date	Sample	Age	Locations	Method	Topics
1	October 1999 (before 1 st broadcasting)	240 children (60 from each ethnic group)	9-11 years	Skopje region	Individual interviews before watching and after watching NM over a period of several months	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stereotypes ▪ Willingness to interact ▪ Language awareness
3	November 2001	240 children (60 from each ethnic group)	10 and 11 years	Different regions in Macedonia	Individual interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnic stereotypes ▪ Gender stereotypes ▪ Awareness of cultural similarities and differences
4	November 2002	240 children (60 from each ethnic group)	10-15 years	Skopje region, Gostivar, Stip	Group interviews after watching of episodes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Attitudes towards interethnic relationships ▪ Attitudes regarding their future ▪ Attitudes regarding children's position in the community ▪ (self-esteem)
End	June 2004	160 children (2 age groups, 2 ethnic groups, one half exposed to NM a lot, one half lesser exposed) 40 adults	10-11 and 13-14 years	Skopje region	Group interviews, half after watching one episode of NM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perception of conflicts ▪ Knowledge about other ethnic communities ▪ Knowledge of languages from other ethnic groups ▪ Social distance ▪ Resistance to social pressure ▪ interdependence

⁴⁰ The main difference lies in the sample size.

Studies (or parts of the above mentioned studies) not related to knowledge, attitudes and behavior and therefore not comparable to the research in the table because of objectives and methods:

- July 1999: Study about the appeal and comprehensibility of the episode "*Mali has a little lamb*"
- October 2000: Study about the understanding and the content acceptability of the episodes of season 2
- Viewership survey in 2000
- November 2001, Part 1 of the above-mentioned study: A study about form and appropriateness of content in all episodes of the third season
- November 2002, Part 1 of the above-mentioned study : A study about the extend the show has kept its original purpose, the acceptability of the story and topics and the appropriateness of the age target group
- Viewership survey 2004 (see later)

Short summaries of previous research:

The **first research** (*Lessons from Our Neighbourhood: What Ethnic Albanian, Macedonian, Roma and Turkish Youth Liked and Learned from Watching NM*, October 1999-June 2000) showed that watching episodes of NM has a positive influence on children. Children showed different attitudes and knowledge after watching NM over a longer period (8 months). Stereotypes were less used when describing other ethnic groups, the willingness to interact rose and the understanding of other languages improved. The conclusion of this research was that NM is an attractive learning tool and that it is worth to invest more in it to have a positive influence on children.

Research in **year three** (*Study on Ethnic and Gender Stereotypes in Children in the Republic of Macedonia*, November 2001) showed that children have strong negative stereotypes about other ethnic groups and also stereotypes when it comes to gender. Group thinking is very common and children were largely influenced by their environment and the strong interethnic tension at this time. The willingness to interact was very limited, which was especially true for the willingness of ethnic Macedonians, Albanians and Turkish children to interact with Roma children.

The awareness of cultural similarities was much less than the awareness of cultural differences, although there was some knowledge about other ethnic communities. Especially religious symbols and customs are known.

Research in **year four** (*Episode Study on NM: Season 4*, November, 2002) has been very much related to the content of the episodes and less to changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. It shows that NM

is well perceived and understood. Children accept the models presented in the show and occasionally apply them in their life. But the research states doubts that the solutions applied are seen as the children's own solutions rather than adopted or just learned solutions for conflict situations. Children rather copy and repeat than accept the presented models as their own way of thinking.

Further the study shows that children see discrepancies between the show and their real life. Children generally show positive attitudes for their future life in a mixed society.

Short comments about the value of previous research:

The previous research was very helpful and important for the NM programme and this study in particular. But the research could have contributed more and missed some opportunities. Firstly, no proper baseline has been established, nor a reference group of children for the ongoing research. The determination of indicators at the beginning of the programme, checked regularly over the years, could have been an excellent opportunity to measure impact over time. The varied use of methodologies and choice of samples also hampered the comparison of findings over the years. Finally the involvement of only one research organisation might have resulted in fewer approaches being used, leading to weaknesses persisting throughout the years, and a predominant focus on receptivity to the message rather than on the impact of the programme.

3. Survey Findings:

3.1. Viewership Survey

The survey yields a very clear result regarding the popularity of NM: 94.30% of the children have heard of the show, and more than 91% watched it at least once. Only 5,7 % have not heard of NM at all.

Table 9. Viewership question 5 - Ethnicity

Have you ever watched the show "NM"		26. ETHNICITY						Total	
		Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Roma	Serbian	Vlav		Other
Yes, I watch it now / I've seen it before		94,00%	86,80%	78,90%	90,30i%	96,60%	100,00%	92,90%	91,60%
No, I don't watch it now / I haven't seen it before		1,80%	4,40%	10,50%				7,10%	2,70%
Haven't heard of NM		4,20%	8,80%	10,50%	9,70%	3,40%			5,70%
Total		100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Regarding ethnic groups, the show has been watched the least by members of the ethnic Albanian (86,8%) and Turkish (78,9%) communities, and the most by members of the ethnic Macedonian and Serbian communities. The show is watched most in eastern (99%) and southern Macedonia (97,3%), and least in the western (87,5%) and northern part (85,7%). The western and northern parts have a majority of ethnic Albanians or Turks.

There is no relevant difference in viewing according to whether the area is urban (92%) or rural (90,6%) and the difference based on gender is small (boys 88,9%, girls 94,2%). The data indicates that girls watch the repetitions of the show more often than the boys.

10,1% of the 14 year olds and 14% of the 15 year olds have watched all five seasons of NM.

Over 43% of the children have watched the show on MTV (the national television channel), and very few of them have seen it on some local channel (this is surprising, since Search reports that local broadcasters have done repeat broadcasts themselves and MTV carried the programme only in seasons 4 and 5). A considerable factor in this is the strength and availability of the signal, as well as the habit of people to look for and expect educational shows from this specific channel. In the choice of channel there is a clear difference between the members of the Macedonian community (and the smaller ethnic groups) and the Albanian one: the research indicates that the Albanian viewers watch the show primarily on one of the private channels that transmits it in

Albanian oral language only (all channels use subtitles), and much less on the national TV (19%) or the private A1 TV (25%).

It should be pointed out here that NM always broadcasts with the actors using the language of the group they represent, which is then translated in the form of systematic subtitles. This means that it is harder for Macedonians to follow as they have to look for the translation in subtitles, whereas the majority of Albanians are able to listen to all.

Discussions about NM

53.7% of the children talk about the show with their siblings (especially the Roma, Albanians and Turks) and over 61% of the children discuss the show with their friends. The show is much more a subject of conversation in villages than in towns.

The high percentage (45.5%) of children that talk about the show with their parents reflects the level of their interest (which requires clarification of some points and asking questions) and, on another hand, facilitates the dissemination of the messages to a much wider population than just the target group. The Albanians and Roma stand out from this aspect with over 60% of the children.

32% of the children talk about the show with their teachers at school. It is interesting that this is much more frequent in Skopje, than in other parts of the country (over 42%). This can possibly reflect a cultural cleavage in relationships between the children in the city and those in rural areas.

Outreach Activities

77% of the children know the NM song. Girls know the song more often than boys, and it is somewhat better known in the towns than in the villages.

Over 73% of the children have seen the music videos related to the show, but very few (11.30%) have their own CD. 73% have seen the NM magazine (the least among the Albanians - 57%). Very few of the children have seen the puppet theatre (10%). Even fewer of the children have participated in the quiz connected to the show (only 6.7%).

Parents

Parents not only watch the show together with their children (66% of the parents watch the show together with their child) but they also talk about it (50%). It is more often the mother who watches the show than the father (69%, 59%); it is mostly watched together in the Roma, and the least in the Turkish communities; it is rarest for the parents to watch the show with their children in the northern parts of the country.

Table 10. Viewership question 24 - Ethnicity

Do you watch the show with your child?	26. ETHNICITY							Total
	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Roma	Serbian	Vlavl	Other	
Yes, most of the time	16.60%	23.00%	13.20%	22.60%	17.20%		7.10%	18.20%
Yes, from time to time	24.60%	27.80%	28.90%	25.80%	34.50%	37.50%	14.30%	25.80%
Yes, but rarely	22.60%	16.70%	7.90%	25.80%	10.30%	25.00%	35.70%	20.60%
No, the children watch the show without us	30.00%	21.10%	28.90%	22.60%	34.50%	37.50%	28.60%	27.60%
Doesn't know	6.20%	11.40%	21.10%	3.20%	3.40%		14.30%	7.90%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Analysis

The data describes a widely known show, with a large number of children who are continually exposed to its influence through an active analysis of its storyline. Children reflect about the show and discuss it with friends and family. The programme has been accepted by members of various ethnic communities. The data also indicates that the show has become a part of children's everyday life by being watched collectively within the family, discussed (in the family, with friends and at school), it is a shared moment in the daily life of children in both the urban and rural environments.

The viewership survey shows that SFCGM created a high quality programme regarding production technique and acting, which did not leave out any members of the target group. Bearing in mind that the first step to influence people is to reach them, NM has fulfilled this task in a difficult environment. Children and adults from different ethnic groups, from different regions in Macedonia and from villages as well as from cities, watched NM in high numbers.

The second step after communicating a message is to bring people to reflect on it. This has been achieved as well, which can be seen from the high numbers of children and adults that discuss the show with each other. Whether these two steps lead to a change in attitudes and behaviour can not be seen from the viewership survey but have been assessed more deeply through a focus group survey and interviews.

3.2. Focus Group Survey:

Perception of Conflicts

The curriculum document formulated a number of intended outcomes referring to perspectives on conflicts in everyday life. The overall aim was to show that conflicts are a normal part of daily life, and brings with it

chances and opportunities. The show intended to teach constructive ways to confront conflict in people's every day life.

During the focus group interviews most of the children defined conflicts as problems and clashes of an inter-personal nature. There were no relevant differences between the different 16 sample sub-groups.

Children do not readily mention inter-group conflicts of a wider scale, such as conflicts between communities or the armed conflict in Macedonia. Only in one of the subgroups (Macedonians-older-familiar-not exposed) several children brought up differences in religion, ethnicity and party affiliation as sources of conflicts. In the same group, the children mentioned that it is very hard to solve conflicts with Roma because they tend to lie.

Children see conflicts as a part of their daily life and most think that it is not possible to avoid them. Still, most of the children perceived conflicts as negative, to be avoided (they result in quarrels and fights), while a small number of children believe that conflicts can be positive (useful in clarifying problems and finding solution, or expressing one's own opinion).

Regarding conflict prevention strategies most of the children think that evading conflict situations or withdrawing from a possible conflict is the best way to prevent a conflict. Some of them mention communication, reaching an agreement and/or giving in as the best conflict resolution mechanisms. Yet, for some (the research carried out did not provide specific proportions) of the children fighting seems to be a necessary outcome in a conflict situation. In two subgroups of older Albanian children a possibility of using a mediator to reach a solution was mentioned. In the eyes of all Albanian children, resolving conflicts with parents is extremely hard ("they never listen to us, because they know better"; "we cannot oppose them"; "they will beat us"), and when a younger person opposes an older one, the conflict is not even discussed.

Earlier formative research showed that children appreciated the fact that in the programme the older children did not beat the younger, did not for example "flick" their ears to dismiss them. This had even been difficult to get across to the local producers, for whom such behaviour was natural among the young⁴¹.

It is visible that all children have acquired certain knowledge about conflicts, which they can formulate in their own words, but they have not assimilated the acquired knowledge and they have difficulties in applying the models learned in everyday life.

The Albanian children show to a greater extent that other influences (personal relation with parents, age) are stronger than the models

⁴¹ Interview with the former Programme Manager Eran Fraenkel.

proposed in NM. For this the limited extent of the sample for focus groups did not allow for disaggregation rural to urban.

Knowledge about other ethnic communities

The curriculum document formulates a number of intended outcomes referring to an improved awareness of a common culture and heritage (this was appreciated as more or less important according to the staff involved, but the written text did not give a ranking). This is based on the assumption that groups living in a conflict situation tend to exaggerate their differences and minimize their similarities. Lack of knowledge about other ethnic communities opens the way to the use of stereotypes and prejudices. NM intended to promote respect for differences and teach positive qualities of the different culture groups in Macedonia.

The general conclusion from focus group interviews with children is that they know very little about the other ethnic communities.⁴² Children who are more familiar with NM only know slightly more about other cultures and habits.

Their knowledge generally focuses around external appearance, clothing (like the traditional cloths of Muslim women, traditional cloths of Roma women, traditional caps of Albanian men) or generally accepted ethnic stereotypes. A very small number of children have knowledge about the contrasted characteristics of everyday life, or of cultural distinctiveness. Only children who have direct contact with other ethnic communities in their everyday life have greater knowledge about the “others”, even though this knowledge is of a very limited character and does not cover issues with regard to other’s history, tradition, literature, or arts.

In general, children recognize religious objects from other ethnic groups (churches and mosques), major religious holidays, and major differences in food (eating or not eating pork). NM intended to bring the religion of other groups closer to the children. Just a few children can discuss in more details the religion of the other ethnic community. These all belong to the focus groups that are more familiar with NM.

Macedonian children about Albanians:

The familiarity with NM appears to make a difference in the ethnic Macedonian children’s descriptions of Albanians – those who are familiar with NM possess more concrete information about the Albanians’ life, customs, and family relations, whereas those who are not familiar with the TV series stick to negative stereotypes. The group of children who are less familiar with NM stated that Albanians are “on a lower level than

⁴² Discussion in the Albanian focus groups differ significantly from the discussion in the ethnic Macedonian focus groups. Albanian children tend to give more general answers without details, descriptions, clarification and examples. Most of the time their answers express certain attitudes and opinions but the facilitators’ feeling is that these attitudes and opinions do not reflect their own views. Unlike Macedonian children, Albanian children restrain from giving socially unfavorable descriptions when it comes to expressing their attitudes about the “others”. This situation is a plausible reason for the apparent absence of differences in descriptions offered by the Albanian children who are familiar with NM and those who are not.

Macedonians”, that they discriminate against women and that nobody would like to socialize with them.

Finding similarities with members of the Albanian community is extremely difficult for all Macedonian focus groups. Most of those who are familiar with NM talk about belonging to mankind as a common characteristic, some of them mention food or clothing, and some refer to the knowledge of Macedonian language, or living on the same territory. On the other hand, most of Macedonian children who are less familiar with the TV series either make no attempt to look for similarities or cannot think of any.

Albanian children about ethnic Macedonians:

For most of the Albanian focus groups, Macedonians are generally good, even though there are some bad among them; they are clean, educated, well mannered, and friendly; their language is nice.

A large number of Albanian children think that they have many similarities with Macedonians, but only a few of the children explain these similarities in more details (with regard to food, clothing, music). On the other hand, many of them can talk in more details about the differences in religious customs (eating pork and drinking alcohol) and holidays, as well as in family relations (“both parents go to work”, “the whole family goes out together”). A big number of Albanian children claim that they are not troubled by these differences; on the contrary, in some cases (as with family relations and well manners) some of them find Macedonians even better.

Macedonian and Albanian children about Turks:

It is interesting that most of the children in the focus groups have had very little direct contact and communication with members of the Turkish community, and yet, they express in general positive opinion about them (“Turks are good”). They recognise the dominant religion of the Turks, they know a lot about traditional Turkish clothing and their traditional crafts.

There are noticeable differences between Macedonian children who are familiar with NM and those who are not in the way they describe Turks and express their inter-relations. These differences do not indicate substantial distinctions in their knowledge about Turks, but mainly a variation in wording and comparisons. Macedonian children who are familiar with the TV series experience Turks as more similar to Macedonians (in their manners, clothing, way of life) than to the Albanians. Turks are seen as non-violent and friendly (“they do not ask for much and are aware that they are not in their own country”).

On the other hand, according to Macedonian children who are not familiar with NM, Turks are more similar to Albanians than to Macedonians.

According to the Albanian children, Turks are good, and even “the best” for some of them.

Macedonian and Albanian children about Roma:

Both Macedonian and Albanian children express similar attitudes towards the Roma community – Roma people have darker skin, are poor and uneducated, badly dressed and dirty, speak a different language, and some differ in religion.

Unlike children who are not familiar with NM, those children who are make attempts to find similarities with the Roma. Thus, Macedonian children in this group indicate that the Roma are human beings and live in the same country, whereas Albanian children mention only the Muslim religion as a similarity with part of the Roma community.

Among differences that are liked several Macedonian children from the groups that are familiar with NM point out the Roma’s joyfulness, appreciation when something good is done, readiness to earn money from an early age, and non-confrontational attitude.

The general conclusion which can be brought concerning the cultures of the other ethnic communities is that the children know very little, and that their knowledge is superficial and built over the existing ethnic stereotypes. The influence of the NM series exists but is noticeable mostly in the vocabulary which is used – children familiar with NM often make their descriptions with greater sensitivity. In addition, they try to see positive things in the “others” and find common elements with the “others”. The most difficult task for all children is to discover similarities with members of the other ethnic communities.

The importance of the neighbourhood (ethnically mixed or not) the children are living in shows once more that other influences have a stronger impact on the knowledge of the children than the TV show.

Knowledge about other languages

To promote better understanding between the different groups in Macedonia the NM curriculum document formulated a number of intended outcomes referring to knowledge of language. The show intended to teach basic expressions, songs and games in other languages. This was changed to a related outcome: « Children will become aware of and sensitive to Macedonia as a multi-lingual society ». This was not changed in the curriculum document itself, but this is not to say that it was accidental or unintentional. Rather it contributed to a greater appeal of the programme among children because of the linguistic diversity.

NM found from summative research that kids responded well to the linguistic diversity of the shows. This encouraged a decision that had

been considered risky at first: to increase the amount of time on air that dialogue was in languages other than Macedonian. NM staff never imagined in season 1 that some later NM episodes would be 80% in Albanian and would be aired on Macedonian-language TV. This was considered a success, even though an unintended outcome. Politicians were arguing about the right of Albanian MPs to use their language in Parliament, while NM was broadcasting Albanian language TV programming on MTV Channel 1. Regarding the change in intended outcome, Search realized that NM could not have the level of repetition needed to actually teach language through the show. Search also realized that many children in Macedonia considered the minority languages to be foreign. NM thus informally changed the intended outcome from acquisition to sensitization. Summative research continuously came back with positive responses about the linguistic diversity of NM.

Children generally show only limited knowledge of the languages of the other ethnic communities (excluding the Macedonian language which is compulsory in all schools). Some Macedonian children have picked up few words or short phrases in Albanian through direct contacts, in school or on TV, and reproduce them very often with wrong pronunciation and without awareness of their real meaning.

Only Macedonian children who are familiar with NM and were exposed to an episode prior to the focus group discussion were able to immediately reproduce words and phrases from this episode. No noticeable difference was observed between any other groups. Some of the children who are not familiar with NM are proud to know insulting words in Albanian that they use for fun among themselves.

All Albanian children in focus groups regardless of their age claim that they know the Macedonian language (to speak, read and write) and that they use it all the time. Their statements do not correspond with the real situation – experience has shown that the number of Albanian children in primary schools that speak Macedonian has been constantly decreasing and the number of them that use Macedonian in everyday contacts has also been decreasing.

The situation with the knowledge of the Turkish language is very specific, especially when it comes to Macedonians. Many Macedonian children can produce a certain number of Turkish words, but only those that are adopted and used in Macedonian national literature or are part of spoken Macedonian. Some Albanian children say that they know a little bit of Turkish, which they have learned from their friends – they either only understand Turkish, or can speak few words or can count to ten.

Very few Albanian and Macedonian children say that they know a word in the Roma language. The Albanians that know some words in Roma come from a school with majority of Roma students.

The study has confirmed that the knowledge of the other languages depends above all on the circumstances in which the children live. Children who live in an ethnically mixed community tend to learn at least some words and/or phrases from the language spoken by the other ethnic community in their surrounding.

Contrary to the data that obtained through the viewership survey, where a large number of children declared that they know the song from the NM series, the focus group interviews have shown that only a small number of children have learned a few words of the other languages just by watching NM.

Social distance

According to the statements of the Macedonian children, only a small number of them have friends from another ethnic community. In every group there are a few children that have at least one friend of another ethnicity, either from school, from an out-of-school activity, or from the street they live in. A small number of children from the Macedonian groups declare that they wish they had friends from other ethnic communities, but there are only few in their surrounding. A large number of Macedonian children, regardless of their familiarity with NM, have greatest resistance to socializing with Albanians. It is often mentioned that the language is a barrier in the communication.

A large number of Albanian children claim that they have Macedonian friends and daily contacts with them. They socialize with them mostly in the street where they live or at school, but never visit them at home. A far smaller number have Turks as friends (the explanation is that there are not so many Turks in their neighbourhood), and only a small number have Roma friends. There are not any differences in the answers depending on the time the children spent watching the series NM.

In mixed surroundings and in mixed schools there are conditions for children from different ethnic communities to meet and communicate. In most cases, this communication is very superficial – it is not carried out at home and does not develop in a real friendship. Children are neither used nor encouraged to have friends from other ethnic communities, which is especially the case with Macedonians who have already developed adverse attitudes towards it.

Resistance to social pressure

The curriculum introduced elements referring to resistance to social pressure (critical distance to the views of parents, teachers, peer groups). The intended outcomes include the knowledge about social pressure and mechanisms to react to it.

The resistance to social pressure grows with age. Younger children lean towards their parents and follow their parents' opinion and their influence. Most of the younger Macedonian children obey this rule, with an exception that they are ready to oppose their parents when it comes to matters of special importance to them (like choice of friends). Under these circumstances some of them can get what they want by begging, crying, or arguing with their parents.

Older Macedonian children claim greater independence in the decision making at home. While they believe that they can influence their parents' decisions and sometimes decide on their own, older Macedonian children confirm that they use their friends' advice to make a decision. When it comes to socializing with members of other ethnic communities, most of them say that nobody forbids them to have friends of another ethnicity, but if it becomes an issue, they would fight for their choice.

The influence of Albanian parents (or relevant adults) on their children is highly emphasized. Among younger Albanian children, parents are absolute authorities and opposing to their opinion is seen as connected to loss of certain existential goods. The most frequently used phrases during the focus group discussion are: that "parents know the best" and "parents know what is best for us".

Older Albanian children generally agree that it is difficult or even unnecessary to confront decisions made by their parents because "they want the best for their children". Older Albanian children's intention to present their own opinion to their parents is limited to matters of great importance, like the choice of school, or sometimes friends.

Among them, children who are familiar with NM offer more detailed explanations about the adults-children relationships in the decision making process – children are dependent on adults and adults are not ready to listen to their children's opinion because "they think children are too young to have valuable opinion".

The focus group discussion managed neither to bring resistance to social pressure in correlation with children's familiarity with NM, nor to make connection between resistance to social pressure and exposure to an episode prior to the discussion.

It is obvious that long lasting traditions and family habits influence children very strongly. The Albanian answers in the focus group are a good example. A TV show can only have limited impact in this regard.

Interdependence

Communicating the notion of the natural interdependence of different ethnic groups in Macedonia can be seen as another key element of NM. Although not mentioned directly in the Curriculum document (except as a general trend) the production referred to the principle that Macedonia is a multi-ethnic state, with a positive potential coming from its diversity.

The surveys report that all Macedonian children (with an exception of one in the focus groups) like to live in Macedonia. There are no larger differences between children that are familiar with NM and children that are less familiar.

The focus group research also brought up an interesting finding, although this was not fully explored. It would appear that in the discussions the majority of Macedonian children who are not familiar with NM believe that it is better to live in Macedonia as a mono-ethnic country. Most of them think that it would be best for the country if Roma and Albanians would leave. However most of Macedonian children familiar with NM (this familiarity was not defined, nor was the proportion given) have a positive vision of the future, but without a specific idea how they should live together with the members of the other ethnic communities. Unfortunately it has not been possible in this evaluation to investigate further the causal connections, or the reliability of the correlation between this positive vision and exposure to NM.

All Albanian children expressed their wish to live in multiethnic Macedonia. According to them, the only way this could be accomplished is through existence of friendship and respect.

With regard to children's understanding of interdependence, it seems that existential experiences are replaced with politicized phrases that children keep repeating. It is evident that attitudes and concepts that children learn from news and adult conversations prevail in children's general perception of the events in the country and in their global remarks and expressions. Only their wish to live in Macedonia appears to be very genuine, in the sense that it reflects less the views of the parents.

Results from focus groups of adults:

Perception of conflicts

Ethnic Macedonian adults see the sources of conflicts mainly in external factors, such as influence of the media and economic constraints. According to one teacher conflicts occur only in ethnically mixed environments and are usually not part of daily life. Adults are perceived as necessary arbiters in any situation.

The Albanian representatives have a more positive view of conflicts but do not think that children are able to solve the conflicts by themselves.

Knowledge about other ethnic communities

Both groups see that children are heavily influenced by their environment, which is responsible for their knowledge about other communities. This influence comes mainly from the media and the

adults. Other important factors are the neighbourhood the child lives in and the school. Events like the armed conflict in 2001 also have an impact on the children's perception of other communities.

All parents seem to be of the opinion that their children know a lot about other groups.

Macedonian parents and educators are not able to motivate children to learn more about the other ethnic and cultural communities in the Republic of Macedonia, and develop respect for differences, tolerance and understanding. This leads to a circular situation where the general influence of the environment creates its own rigidity to change, even among children which are the target group of NM precisely because they were identified as more open.

It is obvious that they harbour negative stereotypes and prejudices towards the other ethnic communities, which they cannot inhibit even in a conversation when they know that they are expected to. The events of 2001 and the related negative feelings are very much present in the every day life. They do not allow these negative attitudes to be easily forgotten, and impose them as a subject of discussion in front of children.

Albanians are portrayed as an enemy – they are uneducated liars with a clear intention to defeat Macedonians by gradual increase of their population through deliberate high birth rate. The word “Shiptari” (a derogatory term derived from the Albanian language to mean Albanian) is frequently used instead of Albanians to insult them.

Albanian parents and educators are overwhelmed with the feeling of inequality and injustice. In their opinion, Macedonians have everything just because they are Macedonians, and Albanians must struggle for respect (at any price). Macedonians are to be blamed for the lack of communication among children of different groups, and Macedonians are held responsible for the existing injustices, differences and discrimination. In their perception, Albanians have very little room for other ethnic communities – there is room only for the Albanian and Macedonian communities.

Knowledge about other languages

The opinions of the Macedonian adults about the use of learning the language of another ethnic group are very strong: they state that there is no use in learning another language, except maybe for protection against the “bad intentions” of Albanians.

For the Albanian adults it is normal to learn at least Macedonian and they think that their children have some knowledge of other languages.

Social distance

According to the Macedonian adults children have only limited contacts with other ethnicities. If their children have friends from other groups they do not visit each other at home.

The Albanian perspective is different. Although they report the same problems (influence of parents on the choice of friends, lack of meeting opportunities) they tend to have a more positive view towards inter-ethnic friendships.

Resistance to social pressure

Not surprisingly both groups oppose the idea of resistance to parents' advice. Although it is realised that greater independence is more common today, the adults (particularly Macedonian) do not favour this concept.

The traditional model (for Macedonia) of behaviour in the family prevails among Macedonians – a lenient mother and a strict father with children who try to oppose, but need to be put on the right track. Albanian adults perceive and treat their children as dependent on them.

Interdependence

There is strong stated opposition against a multiethnic state among the Macedonian adults (even though the precise meaning of the term could not be explored here it indicates a preference for the status quo as opposed to more political activism by minorities; it should not be taken to mean a desire for ethnic cleansing). They believe that if peaceful co-existence can be achieved, then it can be done only by the government and the efforts of the minorities (who must reduce their ambitions).

The Albanian group has a more positive view of the multi-ethnic country, but also sees the need for many changes in the society.

4. “Mapping of Change” Findings

4.1. Relevance of NM to the Priority Issues

Analysis of the mapping exercise (with external and internal respondents to NM as described in the methodology) reveals that the issues in the conflict which NM is seen as able to influence have been the reassurance of societal identities (specific identities are shown not to be threatened because differences make up the wealth of Macedonia), the perception of insecurity (security conditions will not get worse because all interests converge), and the independence and segregation of the media, and impartiality and professionalism of the media (journalists who broadcast NM support positive messages and are able to distinguish between truth and propaganda). In all these priority areas NM has been very relevant in the sense that it could provide a response very much in line with the needs of the situation.

However many of the “key” issues were not affected by NM, in particular the climate of security and security sector reform, criminalisation of the economy, and the ethnic definition of national politics. For these NM could not be a relevant actor.

More specifically the influence on the conflict of children which have been targeted by NM was not perceived as important by the respondents, even though the older groups are now reaching the age of 18. Search for Common Ground has not designed a programme to be direct follow-ups to reinforce the message it had given to its target audience when in an earlier age group. Other Search programmes, such as Bridges for the New Balkans, which give analogous messages, are much less aimed at the NM population as to the adult population in general.

It is reported to the evaluation by respondents that the influence of NGOs in Macedonia depends on three key factors:

1. The message the NGO wants to communicate has to be right.
2. The key personal of the NGO must have the right contacts, for example with politicians and the media.
3. The NGO needs to have the capacities, for example to make use of the media.

All three points have been met by Search:

1. The NM message has been well received and the show has been very popular although the content was very controversial at certain times (especially at the beginning of broadcasting and during the violent conflict).
2. The three Executive Directors of SCGM have/had excellent contact to both politicians and media.
3. SCGM is well positioned in Macedonia’s media sector.

Media and politicians are seen as the most influential in Macedonia. At the same time both are much criticised and their messages surrounded by offhand cynicism. In turn politicians and the private sector have the biggest influence on the media, mainly through the control of financial flows, in particular corporate sponsorship and advertising. A few large groups, supported by communication specialists, reportedly control all broadcasting carried out independently of state media. The private influence on media determines which programmes are funded. There is a preference for foreign productions, and apart from NM there are no locally produced TV series for children.

A second strand of influence is consistently identified by respondents. During the 2001 conflict there has been a significant increase of foreign influence in Macedonia, particularly from international media, representatives from the EU and NATO, and from the wealthier western states that could fund NGOs and state programmes. NM is perceived to belong to this category of influence. However it is not perceived as sustainable as foreign funding drops, and all international NGOs gradually withdraw. The programmes have not created their own roots in the society, and no alternative funding is easily available for programmes such as NM (as far as the evaluation could ascertain).

TV is clearly the priority medium in Macedonia to communicate a message such as 'NM logic'. Professionals working with children in Macedonia confirmed the influence of media on young people in Macedonia, with many messages related to violence and sex, but also an absence of a politically relevant content. Respondents feel that the school system is losing influence. Teenager and university students are attracted by independent media (internet) or local information sources (local radio and TV stations). As there are no specific media for this age group there is a gap in the system.

There is a complete absence of a TV series aimed primarily at children, and none which deals with inter-ethnic issues, even if in an indirect way. Most respondents indicated that they had watched NM as a form of recreation, in many cases because it is filling a gap, or because their own children do watch it. NM was identified by them as presenting an alternative role model. This indicates that children may be a vector of penetration into the arena of political and cultural decision makers: by watching the programme, the adults are exposed to it, and of their own admission have come to respect the quality of the message (even if, as we shall see later, it is taken with important reservations). This is an unintended but important impact of the project.

But even an excellent children's TV series can only have limited influence compared to the productions controlled by the political actors. *Nashe Maalo* is the only programme of its kind, and is not echoed by other programmes on TV. NGOs have some influence through other independent productions, in particular radio programmes, but far less than national media and politicians because of lack of long-term funding.

National NGOs are also criticised as being under the influence of politicians (this is not the case for SCGM).

NM was especially important and recognized at the time of the war, especially the fact that NM continued throughout although segregation was increasing. But the mapping exercise showed that there is today still a major deficit in the national Macedonian way of seeing the ethnic multiplicity in the country and there is a considerable need for a higher self-esteem among ethnic Macedonians. Interestingly this was highlighted in the workshops by the ethnic Macedonians themselves. Even the international effort is not always constructive in this direction.

Today NM is mainly seen as a very well produced educational program, which is at the same time very entertaining. NM is recognised as a role model for Macedonians (of all ethnic groups) but there is very limited evidence for a continuation of 'NM logic' in real life or in related cultural productions, where a climate of depolarisation, resignation and powerlessness still prevails.

4.2. Impact as Creation of New Models

According to all the persons interviewed in this component of the evaluation, there was and still is a noticeable level of general public demand for the message which NM has generated. NM is the only TV production especially addressed to children in Macedonia, and is highly visible and distinct in its style and periodicity, earning its message the label "NM logic" among some respondents. It has generated its own love heroes ("sex gods" in the words of some). None of the adult respondents in the Mapping of Change ignored the identity and content of NM; all had watched some of the episodes.

NM is perceived as attractive because of the sensitivity it deploys in dealing with cultural narratives, and the high technical quality of production (acting, sets, story line) which is unique on Macedonia's TV programmes. NM addresses all the right topics (i.e. questions about the existential choices that are typical of that generation) and has interesting characters, so that children (and adults) effortlessly recognise situations from their own daily lives.

On the other hand NM includes an element of fantasy (the character Karmen, the building in which most ethnicities are represented) and stories that are not part of daily experience and that make a story entertaining (love stories, adventures, crisis situations). The last characteristic is deemed necessary to make for an entertaining programme, but also allows a widespread perception that "NM logic" is unrealistic as an inspiration for personal orientation. The extensive research carried out during the creation of the series and over the years helped to make NM attractive and understood by the viewers, but created its own "box".

The formative research results showed that children preferred a magical element in the programme. This was extensively discussed within Search, and the decision was taken to adopt this style. It allowed the organisation to touch at the same time on the more oppressive aspects of life, such as divorce, unemployment, depression, and death. This was tuned to the circumstances and the feedback from the audience, and reduced after 2001 as it was reported too real. This evidence shows that complex trade-offs are involved, and the evaluation concludes that developing new complementary programmes would have been a more appropriate response to the need to make more plausible “NM logic” (an option which was not really available until today) rather than seeking to change its character.

The finding to be drawn from this is that Search should have stuck with the original concept for the lower age range and produced a separate but related programme (not necessarily a production like NM, it could have been a totally different public information programme) with more plausible NM logic for older viewers. Search in effect made strategic choices but not necessarily the best ones.

A significant unintended impact (which occurs through the unplanned exposure to the programme) has been that on the adult population. It has become a recognised and appreciated point of reference. The interviews (albeit of an unrepresentative sample of the general population, but selected among groups influential in the critical areas) reveal that it may be as well known among the adults as it is among the children. This usually takes place for two reasons. The first is the influence of children as channels of entry of the programme into a family, according to the interviews - particularly because of their emotional identification with the characters, and because of the physical unavoidability of the television when switched on (usually in the living room). The second reason is that adults do not have many alternative programs (nor even TV sets within the house), and elect to watch NM as a form of light recreation. The imaginary and “out of the world” nature of the message is however still as strong as in the younger age groups.

4.3. Impact in Terms of Interaction

NM has been successful in spreading its own wisdom during the production. All persons involved (of whom four involved in production were interviewed, out of an approximate 10 in production over the life of the programme) in the production of the show who have been interviewed reported positively on the working atmosphere over the years and on the experience of working in a multi-ethnic team. For many of them it was the first time that they experienced close cooperation with members from other ethnic communities. Artists described an enrichment coming from the work with people from other cultural backgrounds. There are efforts to continue the production independently of Search through other media (theatre, CD).

This effect should not be underestimated as SFCG was able to attract some of the best actors and producers from Macedonia. These persons are key actors in their professional domain, and the influence of NM has had an impact on their future professional and private life. They can be seen as multipliers (albeit a small number), who will keep on communicating the NM message.

4.4. Impact in Terms of Capacity Building

The program succeeded in building professional capacities for TV and movie productions by supporting individuals who work as producers, actors, script writers. It has contributed to inter-ethnic music playing and educational entertainment for children (basically CTC). People who were closely involved in the production of NM apply the 'NM logic'. This is also found in "allied" programs such as Life Radio, TV Terra. However these are characteristically foreign funded, and both for NM and for them the political dimension of the message (as opposed to its emotional appeal) has not been well rooted in indigenous dynamics.

The producers and broadcasters who have promoted NM have remained in the country, and continue to work on related issues. In some cases decision makers who would not have elected to promote NM did so because of the clear popularity of the show (in particular MTV), although they resisted making it a central element in programming (one TV station complained that it was not compatible with advertising, which is contradicted by the advertising industry).

With regards to the long programme duration (five years) and the large number of actors involved, the outputs in terms of institutional capacity building are rather limited. The sustainability aspect has never been in focus for Search. Institutional sustainability is quite distinct from the points noted in the previous section concerning relationship building and the professional training of individuals. It covers the creation of structures and training in their ability to obtain resources independently. The programme has not so far supported similar children's TV productions that could step in after the end of NM, nor did it help other production studios fundraise to continue the programme.

In the final year a number of follow-up activities were initiated (NM live theatre in cooperation with CTC for example) and the institutions involved applied the NM logic by working with multi-ethnic teams and by communicating similar messages as those of NM. Still, the activities were direct continuations of NM and none were designed for TV. After the end of NM there will be the same gap on TV as before the programme started.

The argument that local capacities would not be available for such a production was stated many times. This statement is questionable. Thanks to extensive support of international donors local producers are well developed and able to work according to national needs, while advertising and production industries contain highly qualified personnel. This could probably not support a production as sophisticated as NM, but could possibly be reproduced on a lesser scale on TV and through other media. NM in fact could pursue a wide variety of models, as it is not bound by public policy guidelines (as is the case for example for *Mozaik*, SCGM's multi-cultural, bi-lingual kindergarten programme).

The key question is that of the financial capacity for the production of a local children TV programme, or similar initiative in Macedonia. The answer depends on many factors. First of all children's TV programmes in Macedonia do not necessarily need to be produced on the same quality level as NM and could therefore be realised with a smaller budget than the internationally funded project. Although the quality of the production was one of the key factors for the success of NM, local productions could have the same success with a production that is according to national standards.

Secondly, there are numerous institutions that could realize a children's TV programme. Broadcasters are involved in local productions, although not on a high level. Private producers (whatever their source of funding) are active in the country and on the international level.⁴³ NGOs active in inter-ethnic cooperation implement numerous projects, including media programs and theatre productions.⁴⁴

The most crucial question is where financial resources could come from and whether such a programme could be profitable. International donors are still very active in Macedonia and interviews with representatives from donor organisations showed that programs similar to NM could still be funded with training with a view to ensuring their ability to obtain funding from private sources in due course in the future.⁴⁵ A big number of NGOs in Macedonia run multi-ethnic programs, because they are favoured by donors.

It is difficult to judge how far the private sector could have financial resources for a media programme for children. According to economic data the private sector is recovering only slowly.⁴⁶ After the crisis in 2001 the media market almost completely collapsed with hardly any investments in advertisements any more. Even after the violent phase of

⁴³ See for example the movie „Before the rain“, by Milcho Manchevski (1994), which was an international success.

⁴⁴ The *Youth Cultural Centre* in Bitola for example, which organises different cultural events, like multi-ethnic music festivals, multi-ethnic summer camps, video art and photography for young people between 15 and 35 years, has recently started a multi-ethnic shadow-puppet play, which is performed in kindergartens and schools. The Macedonian *Olympic Committee* is organising games for the youth, regardless ethnicity or language, and the Bitola Human Rights NGO *Civic Tracks* produced multi-ethnic documentaries in cooperation with a Roma TV producer, to name a few examples.

⁴⁵ Confirmed by the Dutch Embassy and USAID

⁴⁶ See country background above

the conflict was resolved, the companies only very slowly restarted investment in advertisement.

Macedonian media suffered from this development in a double way. While income was collapsing due to the lack of advertisement, the costs for the media operation were raising due to increased needs for coverage and due to the general rise in prices. The international community answered this situation with different programmes, such as the International Media Fund. But this temporary assistance can not compensate the investments from Macedonia itself which must become the actor of its own dynamics, and the private sector.

Private investments into the Macedonian media market are among others hampered by the lack of reliable data on the media environment. In Macedonia a German investor recently took control of about 80 percent of the national print media. Regarding electronic media investors and advertisers will only invest more in Macedonia once privatisation extends and once there is reliable data on market share. Privatisation in the TV sector is still limited and foundations of new TV stations by foreign owners, such as the Greek TV station "Alpha" have difficulties in obtaining a national concession.

Nevertheless many representatives from the media and from marketing agencies confirmed that companies would have more funds for advertising and would be interested in funding multi-ethnic programs. Their target group is multi-ethnic and many producers cover the regional market.⁴⁷

Although companies are usually not interested in communicating other messages than those referring to their product, advertisers would not decline from placing their product in a peace-building context. The first interest lies in targeting the people. A popular program similar to NM would be of interest for advertisers.

Yet, many media in Macedonia are not market oriented or do not act professionally enough, which is one of the reasons why private funds are not exhausted.

Corporate Social Responsibility is not yet a common term for Macedonian enterprises. But the awareness and the investment into this aspect are growing, while the potential for advertising funds in Macedonia is estimated to 6 to 10 million Euro per year. Presently many TV stations have raised their prices. *Site1* and *A1* for example have doubled their prices per minute.

The public sector is supporting local productions through the Broadcasting Council. This council is closely linked to the government. The members and the director are nominated by the parliament.

⁴⁷ The Youth Cultural Centre in Bitola is continuously cooperating with private sponsors for cultural activities. At the moment the Centre is negotiating longer-term agreements with private companies about social sponsoring.

Compared to the past the level is very low. Presently 10% of the broadcasting budget is allocated for independent productions.⁴⁸ About 1500 productions have been financed over the past six years. A major problem is the high level of unpaid taxes, which results in a lower national budget for broadcasting.

The Ministry of Culture is funding different culture programs including media productions. There are presently five national theatres and CTC is partly funded by the Ministry. On the other hand local communities might have funds available in the future. At the present infrastructure programmes are a priority and receive most of the local resources.

⁴⁸ The present broadcasting law is presently discussed and this clause might no longer exist in the future.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The evaluation has defined the different levels of contribution contributed by the programme to Macedonian society. This was done in terms of outcomes (audience, changes in knowledge attitudes and to a certain extent behaviour) and impact (NM as a social model, as a source of new interaction, and as the opportunity for future similar initiatives).

These different contributions are in some ways better than intended, and in others leave room for strengthening:

- providing a highly attractive reference point for children, as intended originally, but also for parents, transferring knowledge about the social “other”, and strengthening sectors of the independent media professional community;
- yet not able to take root in the society, and become sustainable both in terms of enacting “NM logic” in today’s reality, and in terms of tomorrow’s institutional and resource environments.

NM’s unique nature is its greatest quality and greatest flaw. The pioneer type entry in the ethnically divided audience, its survival during the armed conflict, the broad nature of the audience it has secured and the unique nature of the subjects it covers made it instantly recognizable.

However, as already mentioned, the problem is exactly in its uniqueness. In the past period the creation of similar shows, following the example of NM, has not been promoted by donors and it remains the only multicultural show based on multilingualism in its execution. It is opposed to many countervailing forces in the media, for which it should be complemented by other programmes.

This exclusive character is a failing as it can only be a single countervailing force. Particularly in periods of widespread interethnic tensions, when children are exposed to everyday influences by their closest environment, in their schools and by the media, all geared towards separation based on ethnic lines, the existence of only one show with opposite content will find it hard to bring about a change in attitude and behaviour.

It can cause a critical approach to certain information, introduce the possibility of different viewpoints but also induce declarative acceptance of the desired attitudes it is trying to promote. There is a need for a much broader media action in order to strengthen part of the different perspective that has been offered and so that this perspective can have an equal chance with the more widely accepted positions and opinions.

This is also confirmed by the information gathered from in-depth interviews with children and adults within the research. The declarative attitudes that are presented as desirable (and which largely correspond with the contents and situation presented in part of the NM episodes) do not manage to influence a factual change of the children's opinions and become applicable in the everyday life. The research was not able to define what the reason for this was, although time would not appear to be a factor, as shown by the high levels of familiarity. The evaluators would tend to conclude that it is because NM has not been followed up by like-minded programmes, it remains too limited.

The findings lead to a series of lessons learnt which can be based on a revision of the assumptions made at the beginning of the programme.

These assumptions are listed below. They are based on an intuitive assessment of the findings of the evaluation, and on extensive interviews with the former SCGM Executive Director and NM Co-Executive Producer, Eran Fraenkel who provided most of the analysis that follows:

Table 1. Original Assumptions and Revision

Assumptions made originally	Revision based on lessons learned
Children are the focus of the intended outcomes	Families should become the focus of the intended outcomes
The quality of the programme depends on a comprehensive list of intended outcomes, agreed at the beginning, which serve as a backdrop to the programme	The list of intended outcomes should be less extensive and more related to changes in society, and regularly updated to highlight controlled changes made to the programme
More exposure to the programme (i.e. children must be familiar with NM) leads to better impact in society	Exposure must be accompanied by a follow-up action of a different kind, to incarnate NM in reality
By watching NM the perception of the others is improved.	NM is essentially an improvement in the perception of self in relation to others
Children exposed to NM will naturally resist more ambient attitudes and will influence the adults	Children remain highly susceptible to the influence of the world of adults
Changes in knowledge lead to changes in attitudes lead to changes in behaviour	Knowledge leads to knowledge and in some cases to changes in attitudes, but changes in behaviour are dependent on other independent variables than knowledge and attitudes
TV can have an impact on attitudes and behaviour	TV is best at transmitting knowledge, then transmitting elements of attitudes and behaviour.
NM by focusing on children aged 8 to 14 can impact current affairs	The targeting of children must be explained in light of the long term creation of value: in the form of an internalised model concerning multi-culturalism. It should not be labelled as direct conflict prevention, but a contribution to conflict prevention.

Correct assumptions were made by Search however on a number of counts. The first of these was to render the programme as culturally relevant as possible to Macedonian culture, choosing the production

staff and the actors from the country, emphasising technical realism to a very high degree. The assumptions made about the power of television, about using an indirect narrative structure rather than a didactic lecturing tone, have also proved to be very much on target. NM has given Search a strong “brand” in Macedonia which would be lost were it not followed up by future programmes.

The evaluation has defined seven overall recommendations for consideration for future similar programmes:

1. NM has created an opportunity for an indigenous message with conflict transformation potential, but needs to continue capitalising on it if it is to have an impact on the conflict. This can be done by (A) preparing a new programme which will continue to follow the NM primary audience (now entering political life) and begin targeting the secondary audience (educated adults). And by (B) creating “spawns of NM” in other cultural fora, to ensure that it becomes more part of the national references.
2. Work to a much greater extent, in the content of production and follow up activities (competitions etc...) on the incarnation of NM into everyday inter-ethnic relations. It should become clearer in the subsequent phases that the message of NM is more than fiction, that it aims to lead to political or semi-political consequences.
4. Avoid in the early stages that the technical quality of the programme be a primary focus, and ensure a planning process which includes some form of analysis of the needs of the context (country, problems to be resolved) so that the impact is not lost as a criteria of quality. Identify early on independent research capacities from the beginning which can provide a critical and hence more credible assessment of progress (Macedonia is a small country and there is a risk that the experts pool will not explore dimensions unfamiliar to them)
5. Carry out at the outset a conflict analysis which presents priorities for different kinds of activities to respond to the needs in the context analysis, such as capacity building and sustainability, or continuity in the targeting of age groups as they enter the politically active age. Include “a theory of change” into the curriculum/intended outcomes document; this should include all age groups (Mozaik Kindergarten for 3-7, NM for 8-12, youth programme for 13-18, Balkan Bridges for adults, for example) where the logic of targeting youth is explained.
6. Design programmes which are based on clearly defined intended outcomes of a finite number, articulated in phases

over the life of the project, on the basis of the conflict assessment. These outcomes should be underpinned by a few indicators, and if possible, a baseline/initial conditions survey to monitor progress rather than formative research which only allows for the tuning of the content of the message. Changes to the intended outcomes should be clearly referenced and explained. Formative research would monitor both the acceptability of the message on the part of the audience, but also how it relates to the overall needs assessment and context analysis.

7. Integrate more the end stages of the project into the national networks of NGOs working in the media and/or multi-ethnic context. This is intended to strengthen the capacity-building work of the organisation and will lead to more local ownership. It could in particular include a survey of the resource environment and the potential for fundraising from public and private donors, as well as a review of the risks inherent in each option.

6. Methodological Findings

The convergence of findings between the surveys and the mapping of change would indicate that there is a complementarity of approach, permitting triangulation. This method should be applied in the next stages of this research project for future evaluations.

The importance of the mapping workshops would warrant more preparation than they were given in this evaluation. This would include more preparation of the invitations, so as to gather a carefully selected representative group of experts (in this case for example the second workshop was dominated by Macedonians), and the preparation of an explanatory package so that the participants are aware of what they will be asked to do in advance. The rules concerning the definition of trends and of events, and the varying strengths of the links between them, need to be carefully defined in advance so that the different workshops have a uniform approach.

The surveys using focus groups concentrated to a great extent on changes in knowledge and attitudes. Resources did not allow a precise definition of the changes in the area of behaviour, which could have been captured through school statistics possibly.

The control groups were based on greater or lesser exposure to NM. This avoided the use of the only alternative method, in the absence of an adequate baseline, which would be based on recall: using questions such as “before you had heard NM how would you have reacted to...” which is not a valid method when dealing with children exposed to the programme for five years. This “exposure” variable would need to be analysed carefully for future stages, in light of the importance it is given.

Lack of resources and time did not allow the sample of participants in the focus group surveys to be representative of the population. All were drawn from the capital. This would need to be avoided in the future, to ensure more validity (even though representativeness is not paramount for focus groups). More directive tasking would be required of the survey teams to avoid selective sampling.

An important weakness of the evaluation was based on the ill defined hierarchy of intended outcomes listed by Search. These were very numerous (many dozens), and some were privileged at the expense of others over time. This was not easy to verify, in a large documentary base of evidence. It would have been easier for the evaluation to use a smaller preliminary framework of intended outcomes, followed by a mid-term revision.

The result was that there is a disconnect between the surveys (which ask questions such as “what and with whom do you discuss NM”) and the need to understand the impact (for example “why do you discuss NM with your parents, what are their reactions?”). Instead the impact assessment contained in the Mapping of Change focused on adults (since children are not key actors of change), while this was in fact not one of the intended outcomes of NM.

In terms of implementation of the evaluation itself the team roles became more precise as time went on. However if the evaluation were to be done again, it would be important to differentiate early on those whose role is only to facilitate, (namely the programme personnel), those who will help develop the methodology and carry out interviews but not participate in the drafting (evaluation personnel), and external contractors carrying out specific segments of work. In the latter case it is imperative that the core team be given early on the authority to set out the tasks to be carried out, and to monitor progress.

7. Annexes

- I. Locations Viewership Survey
- II. Questionnaire Viewership Survey
- III. Report First Field Mission to Macedonia
- IV. Questionnaire Focus Group Interviews
- V. Scope of Work (ToR)
- VI. Aide Mémoire of 8 July 2004
- VII. Leading Questions “Mapping of Change”
- VIII. Interview Schedule “Mapping of Change”
- IX. Map of Macedonia
- X. Macedonia Country Facts
- XI. Statement of Intended Outcomes, February 11, 1999
- XII. Extracts from Fan Mail
- XIII. List of persons attending Mapping Workshops

ⁱ The evaluation team was told by several persons interviewed that the only communities likely to reach this percentage were Albanian communities.

ⁱⁱ All statistics are from the World Fact Book, 2002.