

# **The role of inter-ethnic conflicts on the integration of the Macedonian society**

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## **Abstract**

*The thesis is focused on the ethnic distance between the Macedonians and the Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia. This issue is of fundamental significance because it has a great impact on the overall development (economic, political, cultural and social) of the country. Essential goals of the research are to detect and observe the level (extent) of ethnic distance between Macedonians and Albanians; to determine the views (positions) of the both ethnicities towards the functioning of the political institutions of Republic of Macedonia and their perceptions regarding the Ohrid Framework Agreement. The general findings of the research confirm the hypothesis which states that in Macedonia there is a high degree of ethnic distance which leads to the disintegration of the Macedonian society. The ethnic distance is measured and analyzed by using Bogardus' scale and the data is collected through a survey based on a closed questionnaire. The field research is conducted in the two regions - Pelagonija and Ohrid region in the south-west part of the Republic of Macedonia in April-May 2011 with a total of 370 respondents.*

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## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Theoretical and methodological aspects of the research.....</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1 Theoretical determination of the subject of research.....	3
2.1.1 Macedonia between 1990 and 2000 .....	3
2.1.2 Armed Conflict from 2001 and its implications.....	4
2.2 Operational determination of the subject of research.....	6
2.2.1 Determination of the time-framework of the research .....	6
2.2.2 Geographic Determination of the subject of research .....	6
2.2.3 Disciplinary Determination of the subject of the research .....	6
2.2.4 Fundamental Goals of the research .....	7
2.2.5 General hypothesis .....	7
2.2.6 Literature Review .....	8
2.3 Methodological determination of the subject of research .....	19
2.4 Formulation and Realization of the empirical research.....	20
<b>3. Presentation of the collected data.....</b>	<b>24</b>
3.1 Presentation of the data considering respondents' views on the ethnic distance .....	24
3.2 Presentation of the data considering the respondents' views on the political institutions in the Republic of Macedonia.....	42
3.3 General analysis regarding the respondents' views on the ethnic distance .....	51
3.4. Chi-square analysis.....	56
3.5 General analysis regarding the respondents' views on the political institutions of Republic of Macedonia.....	56
<b>4. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations .....</b>	<b>61</b>
4.1 Conclusion .....	65
Reference List: .....	67
Appendix 1 .....	70
Appendix 2 .....	74
Appendix 3 .....	75

## Table of figures

Graph 1 : Member the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) to be a citizen of your country	24
Graph 2 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the willingness to see a member of other ethnicity as a citizen of the country .....	25
Graph 3 : Member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) lives in your neighborhood? .....	27
Graph 4 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to live with a member of the other ethnicity group in same neighborhood.....	28
Graph 5 : Having a coworker from the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?.....	30
Graph 6 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to accept as coworker a member of the other ethnicity .....	31
Graph 7 : Member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) as a supervisor at work? ...	32
Graph 8 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to accept as supervisor a member of the other ethnicity .....	33
Graph 9 : To socialize in your free time with a member of other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)? .....	35
Graph 10 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the willingness to be a friend with a member of the other ethnicity .....	35
Graph 11 : Member of other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) to be a head of political institution in your country?.....	37
Graph 12 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the willingness to see member of the other ethnic group as a head of political institution.....	38
Graph 13 : Having a family ties with a member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)? .....	40
Graph 14 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to have family ties with member of the other ethnicity.....	40
Graph 15 : Do you think that the government of the Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function? .....	42
Graph 16 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the Government's performance ..	43
Graph 17 : Do you agree that the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function? .....	45
Graph 18 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding Parliament's performance.....	45
Graph 19 : Do you think that the Judicial system in Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function? .....	47
Graph 20 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the Judiciary performance of its functions .....	48
Graph 21 : Do you think that the Ohrid Framework Agreement positively influenced the cohabitation among Macedonian and Albanian population? .....	49
Graph 22 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the perceptions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement .....	50

## 1. Introduction

During the past centuries the Balkans, especially the Republic of Macedonia, represent a geo-political place characterized by myriad conflicts between numerous ethnicities based on ethnic, cultural and religious differences. Regarding the Balkans Maria Todorova underlines:

“The Balkans have always signified fragmentation and adversity. The junction of western and oriental cultures and threshing floor of different peoples (Greeks, Latins, Slavs, Bulgars and Turks) and religions (Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim), Southeastern Europe appears in every sense to be a crossroads of continents.”<sup>1</sup>

Nowadays, similar to many countries in the world, the Republic of Macedonia is a heterogeneous country in which the differences in the religious experiences, language and the way of performing cultural tradition are deeply rooted. However, it would be wrong to assume that this multicultural ambient should be considered *ex ante* as a disintegrative factor. Namely, ethnic and cultural pluralism can result in a wide spectrum of interactions which provide variety of possibilities that can improve the level of integration within the society.

Having said this, it is very difficult to accept the fact that the ethnic and confessional polyvalence of the Macedonian cultural ambient is rather disintegrative instead of integrative factor. Nowadays, there are self-evident and negative implications of the ethnic stereotypes which lead to creation of fertile ground for new disputes and conflict situations. There is constantly increasing tendency in perceiving ethnic belonging as crucial factor for fulfilling one's own fundamental socio-psychological needs such as need for one's own identity, need for security and need for unity. In addition, this process is followed by constant emphasizing and glorification of one's own ethnic and cultural identity. This creates objective conditions

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<sup>1</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York City, 1997, p.59

for realization of certain a priori devised political manipulation on the behalf of certain political leaders of nationalistic parties. Ultimately, all these characteristics together, lead to destabilization of the Macedonian social and political environment.

Regardless of the promotion of the Ohrid Framework Agreement which led to ‘relativization’, to a certain extent, on the consequences of the armed conflict in 2001, today it is evident that the Macedonian society is still in a very complex situation. Ten years later, the Republic of Macedonia is characterized by objective existence of ethnic intolerance that frequently turns into open clashes with extremely unwanted effects for the society as a whole and for its citizens.

Considering this elaboration of the negative conditions in the realm of the inter-ethnic coexistence, I shall make an attempt in my thesis to diagnose the contemporary situation and its problems. In addition, I shall create certain assumptions for their overcoming which would ultimately result in increasing the social cohesion of the society.

In the final part of the theoretical and methodological aspect of the research I shall present brief analysis of the literature which would contribute for a better theoretic perception of the issue and at the same time would serve for better understanding of the practical facets of the empirical research. In other words, its main function is to set up the framework in the process of creating the basic research instrument (preparation of the questionnaire).

## 2. Theoretical and methodological aspects of the research

### 2.1 *Theoretical determination of the subject of research*

#### 2.1.1 Macedonia between 1990 and 2000

During the 1990s the Republic of Macedonia experienced peaceful transition to a new, democratic regime. Macedonia declared independence in the beginning of the 1990's, after the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia. Constitution was enacted in 1991 defining Republic of Macedonia as a sovereign, independent, democratic and social state.<sup>2</sup> In April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1993 the Republic of Macedonia became a member of the United Nations<sup>3</sup>. On November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1995, Macedonia was inaugurated as a full member of the Council of Europe. One week later it joined the Partnership for Peace.

By that time, Macedonian social reality was characterized by various ethnic groups and different segments of the society accompanied with obvious disparities among them. Thus, Constitution makers showed great tolerance and acknowledged the necessity of recognition of the ethnic minorities and their rights. Moreover, the Macedonian political parties during the 1990s always formed coalition with Albanian party in the government as a sign of recognition of their rights and attempt to decrease the ethnic tensions. However, throughout the years discontents had increasing line that escalated in armed conflict in 2001 between the Albanian ethnic group and the Macedonians. Therefore, Macedonia was yet again, perfect illustration that democracy is not just enacting new constitution and passing norms and laws. Democracy is much more than that, it is process that has to be nurtured, it is culture that has to be built,

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<sup>2</sup> Constitution of Republic of Macedonia, available at: <http://www.constitution.org/cons/macedoni.txt>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.un.org/depts/dhl/unms/theformeryugoslavrepublicofmacedonia.shtml>

finally, democracy is a way of life. In that sense, Gordana Siljanovska-Davkova states: ...”democracy grows ‘from the bottom’ and civil society develops ‘from within’.”<sup>4</sup>

### **2.1.2 Armed Conflict from 2001 and its implications**

The Republic of Macedonia similar to many other multi-ethnic countries faced with armed conflict. It was result of latent discontents and tensions between Albanians and Macedonians which had been accumulated during the 1990’s and ultimately escalated in 2001. Albanian Liberation Army (NLA) attacked Macedonian security forces in January 2001 and military actions mainly took place in the north-west part of the country wherein Albanians are majority of the population. Military actions finally ceased in August 2001, but consequences were extremely harmful. Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed by the Macedonian and Albanian political elites under strong supervision of the international community. Consequently, the document was also signed by two representatives on the behalf of the European Union and the United States of America.

Despite the different perceptions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, its importance is unquestionable. First and foremost, it halted military actions and represented peaceful solution to a conflict which could have been catastrophic for the future of Macedonia. Secondly, it was sign of a good will expressed by Macedonians and Albanians looking to a mutual co-existence and improved interaction. As a result of the Ohrid framework agreement Macedonian democracy moved towards consociational model. In that sense, it was decided (mainly under pressure from the international community) that Republic of Macedonia should

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<sup>4</sup> Gordana Siljanovska-Davkova, Globalization, Democracy and Constitutional Engineering as mechanism for resolving ethnic conflict, p. 8 available at: <http://www.enelsyn.gr/papers/w6/Paper%20by%20Prof.%20Gordana%20Siljanovska%20Davkova.pdf>

follow the path of the western countries which already have adopted consociational model (Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium) since there was obvious resemblances.

However, it does not mean that success is guaranteed, which depends on many other factors and not just the mere implementation of the consensus or consociational elements. For that reason, the different ethnic groups in Republic of Macedonia are still facing with difficulties to overcome their disparities. Also, many legal experts and law professors underlined the irregularities and contradictions regarding the way that Ohrid framework agreement was formulated and signed. For instance, professor Gordana Siljanovska-Davkova emphasized that OFA is document in which...”the original version is in English which is contrary to the Article 7 paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia” and...”the agreement has been reached and signed in the presence of ‘witnesses’ – category unknown to the Macedonian constitution law”<sup>5</sup>

Taking into consideration previously depicted conditions, it is evident that in Republic of Macedonia, regardless of the effects of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, the conflict still exists between Macedonian and Albanian population. Consequently, the level of social integration of the society is low which results with decreased social capital of the country. This situation creates pre-conditions for ethnic, religious and political conflicts but, also, ultimately results with extremely negative implications on the economic development of the Republic of Macedonia. Therefore, in the research, I will make attempt, through measuring the ethnic distance, to consider new ways and alternatives in order to increase social cohesion of the society.

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<sup>5</sup> Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia Contribution to the public debate, University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Faculty of Law, Skopje 2001 p. 120.

## **2.2 Operational determination of the subject of research**

A successful realization of the research requires operational definition of the subject of research. This activity incorporates the following content: structural determination of the subject of research (determination of the time-framework of the research, geographic determination of the research, disciplinary determination of the subject of research); fundamental goals of the research, specification on the general hypotheses, review of the existing literature; research methods and the way of formulation and realization of the research

### **2.2.1 Determination of the time-framework of the research**

The Research encompasses the present period between April and May 2011.

### **2.2.2 Geographic Determination of the subject of research**

The Research shall be accomplished in the following regions in South-west part of Republic of Macedonia: 'Pelagonija' and 'Ohrid'

### **2.2.3 Disciplinary Determination of the subject of the research**

The research is within the following science disciplines: political science, political sociology, ethnic relations.

#### **2.2.4 Fundamental Goals of the research**

Having in mind the concrete social reality, which is characterized by numerous conflicts between the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic population, objective of this research is to diagnose the current situation and conditions. In such context, fundamental goals of the research are to detect and observe the following: the level (extent) of ethnic distance between Macedonians and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia; views (positions) of the both ethnicities towards the functioning of the political institutions of Republic of Macedonia; recognition and interpretation of approaches which would decrease ethnic distance and increase social cohesion in Macedonian society.

#### **2.2.5 General hypothesis**

The main focus of the research is to measure the ethnic distance between the Macedonians and Albanians in Republic of Macedonia., the general hypothesis is that higher level of integration between the ethnic groups within society should result with lower ethnic distance. Hence, general hypothesis states that in Macedonia there is a high degree of ethnic distance which leads to disintegration of Macedonian society. Second hypothesis reads: there is no difference between Macedonians and Albanians in their judgments regarding the political institutions' level of successfulness in fulfilling their duties. Simultaneously, in the theses I shall examine interplay between basic socio-demographic indicators (sex, age, education) and different degrees of ethnic distance and citizens' judgments on political institutions in Republic of Macedonia, by using Chi-square test of independence.

## 2.2.6 Literature Review

The concept of social distance dates back to 1924, when Robert Park wrote:

“The concept of "distance" as applied to human, as distinguished from spacial relations, has come into use among sociologists, in an attempt to reduce to something like measurable terms the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations generally”<sup>6</sup>

Park elaborated this possibility to measure social distance based on the notion that we can easily make a distinction between different levels of intimacy among people. In addition, Frosina Tashevska – Remenski, by using Park’s definition of the social distance, underlines that it is a general continuum which encompasses high level of closeness and intimate contacts at the beginning, through indifference, to intolerance and antagonism at the end of the continuum.<sup>7</sup>

Having in mind the frequency and intensity of ethnic tensions and conflicts throughout the world, the concept of ethnic distance, as another facet of the social distance, became widely used in the last decades. In such cases, social distance is measured between two different ethnic groups within the society and turns into ethnic distance. Frequently, ethnic distance derives from ethnic prejudices and stereotypes. In general, it is an expression of negative attitude towards a certain nation or ethnic group and frequently is a sign of ethnocentrism. According to Erlich Howard, we can distinguish four aspects of ethnic distance:

### 1. Manifested forms of behavior – distance based on the genuine behavior

<sup>6</sup> Robert E. Park, *The Concept of Social Distance As Applied to the Study of Racial Attitudes and Racial Relations*, University of Chicago, 1924 p.339 ([http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Park/Park\\_1924.html](http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Park/Park_1924.html))

<sup>7</sup> Frosina T. Remenski, *Albancite i Makedoncite: Etnickata Interakcija vo Republika Makedonija, pred i po konfliktot od 2001, 2-ri Avgust S. Skopje 2007* p.85

2. Idealized form of behavior – expressed preference for specific inter-group behavior
3. Social norms of behavior – indicators of established legalism and conventionalism for specific ways of inter-group behavior
4. Personal forms of behavior – indicators of expressed intention for personal engagement in specific ways of inter-group behavior.<sup>8</sup>

Regarding the ethnic conflicts as social phenomena there is a wide range of literature that deals with issues such as ethnic co-existence, ethnic stereotypes and ethnic prejudices. Ethnic conflicts can be defined as phenomena which are characterized by destructive behavior that includes struggle and violence. For instance, Sandole defines ethnic conflict as dynamic phenomena, manifested conflict process which integrates several phases: (1) initiating, (2) escalation, (3) controlled maintaining, (4) calming, (5) resolving. In addition, Horowitz in his book *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* asserts Levis Coser's definition, who defines ethnic conflict as a struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, Donald L. Horowitz elaborates the two dimensions of conflict theory and emphasizes the gathered momentum during the world-wide expansion of the ethnic conflicts in the last fifty years. As global phenomena, ethnic conflicts took place in every part of the world, from Northern Ireland, Cyprus, Macedonia, to Ivory Coast, Nigeria India-Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The first dimension affirms the existence of close bond between ethnicity and ethnic conflicts on one hand and modernization and economic interests on the other. Concerning this relation, Horowitz distinguishes three mutually opposite aspects. According to the first one, ethnic conflicts are rooted in the outmoded traditionalism and shall be

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<sup>8</sup> Frosina T. Remenski, Albancite i Makedoncite: Etnickata Interakcija vo Republika Makedonija, pred i po konfliktot od 2001, 2-ri Avgust S. Skopje 2007 p.86

<sup>9</sup> Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press Ltd., London 1985 p.95

exceeded by the new era of modernization. The second one locates ethnic conflicts in the tradition, but perceives them as an obstacle for the modernization process. Ultimately, the third facet of modernization process perceives ethnic conflicts as integral part - even a product - of the modernization process.<sup>10</sup>

The second dimension explains ethnic conflicts through the prism of cultural pluralism and conceives them as clashes of incompatible values. Obviously, both theories have opposite arguments as Horowitz states: “where cultural pluralist theory stresses separation and isolation of the groups, modernization and economic-interests theories stress contact and competition. Where one speaks of divergence and dissensus, the others speak of convergence and consensus”.<sup>11</sup>

What precedes the elaboration of reasons and factors of the ethnic conflicts is a brief overview of certain theoretical views regarding the conflicts in order to understand them better. In this case, I would like to underline the typology of different conflicts based on the potentially involved subjects, offered by James Anderson and Douglas Hamilton. The first one is conflict between states (the case of Kashmir – a disputed region which is considered as their own part by both India and Pakistan). Second one is conflict within the borders of the state between two ethnic groups (the case of Flemings and Walloons in Belgium). The third type is a conflict between ethnic group and state, wherein national minority demands greater self-governance and autonomy (the case of Quebec’s nationalism in Canada, or Basque and Irish nationalism in Spain and Northern Ireland).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press Ltd., London 1985, p.96, 97

<sup>11</sup> Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press Ltd., London 1985, p. 140

<sup>12</sup> James Anderson, Douglas Hamilton, *National Conflict, Transnationalism and Democracy: Crossing Borders in Ireland*, National University of Ireland Maynooth, and Queen’s University Belfast, 1998, p.8,9

Simultaneously, Anderson and Douglas highlight the multidimensional character of certain conflicts which frequently include all three above mentioned facets. Therefore, when authors define ethnic conflicts, they take into consideration not only the identity and basic interests of the ethnic groups but the legitimacy of the state as well. In this sense, according to Monica Duffy Toft the geographic territory is the crux of the matter which could cast away doubts of certain aspects and causes of the conflicts. On one hand, territory which is dominantly populated by one ethnic group is perceived as fundamental for their existence, and for that reason very often greater self-governance or autonomy is required. On the other hand, this is contrary to the state's principles of sovereignty and integrity. Obviously, the permanent disputes between two confronted sides can easily escalate into conflict.<sup>13</sup>

Regarding the causes of the conflicts, many authors (e.g. Collier, Hoeffler, Stewart) perceive economic underdevelopment and poverty as the most important reason,<sup>14</sup> since the percentage of the poor countries involved in conflicts is the highest. In addition, these countries are frequently characterized by ethnic diversities which often are seen as insurmountable differences rather than as tools for uniting and introducing new cultures and traditions. By the same token, Michael Brown provides broader and systematic classification of the main reasons that cause ethnic conflicts. For instance, he distinguishes the following main factors: structural, political, economic (social) and cultural (perceptual).<sup>15</sup>

In order to provide better comprehension of the ethnic conflicts and what causes them one has to reflect on ethnic relations as such. In this sense, Petra Kovacs underlines: “for a deep understanding of the roots of ethnic conflict, one must consider the numerous aspects of

<sup>13</sup> Monica D. Toft, *Indivisible Territory and Ethnic War*, Harvard University, Cambridge, 2001, p.6

<sup>14</sup> Jean Daudelin, *Land and Violence in Post-Conflict Situations*, The North-South Institute and The World Bank, Ottawa, 2003, p.1

<sup>15</sup> Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Cote, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Steven E. Miller, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, The MIT Press, London, 1997, p. 5-12

ethnic relations”.<sup>16</sup> According to her, ethnic cooperation, as a kind of ethnic interaction, is typical for dispersed ethnic societies characterized by several different ethnic groups in which no ethnic group is dominant. Kovacs provides systematic elaboration on the ethnic tensions and ethnic conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe. For that reason, she takes into consideration the degree of ethnic interaction between the majority and minority on one hand, and the state’s policy towards the ethnic minorities in order to measure the index of ethnic climate in different countries in the region and formulate a typology of ethnic relations. Also, in the comparative model she takes into consideration the following independent variables: ethnic stratification, discrimination, relative size of the minorities, political environment, and economic transformation.

As a result of the different values of the variables, Kovacs distinguishes three types of ethnic climate. The first one is inclusive ethnic climate, which is typical of countries (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovenia) which successfully developed market economies and plural party systems during the 1990s. Consequently, this group of countries met the criteria and successfully joined the European Union. This also means fewer issues in the realm of ethnic relations since constitutional reforms were adopted which served as an initial framework as well as a guarantee that minority rights were protected. Moreover, the level of political culture among the main political actors was sufficient and the need of successful implementation of the reforms in the field of minority and human rights was recognized.

The second type is ambiguous ethnic climate, characteristic of a greater number of countries including Albania, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, Moldova, Lithuania and Ukraine. According to the author this group of countries shared:

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<sup>16</sup> Petra Kovacs, *A Comparative typology of ethnic relation in Central and Eastern Europe*, Published by the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, 1998, p.8

...”relatively slow transformation from socialism to a free-market system which resulted in the economic polarization of these societies. Legislation in these countries begun to deal with the protection of minorities only after international pressure from the minorities’ motherland”.<sup>17</sup>

The third type, an exclusive ethnic climate is present in the countries which practice discriminatory policy towards the ethnic minorities or break the human rights and freedom and simultaneously preventing to enjoy practice their culture, religion or involve in the political processes. (Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Georgia, Bulgaria)

Ethnic stereotypes are an important aspect of the ethnic stance and can frequently play a significant role, especially in the initial stages of ethnic conflicts. In general, they are constant and rigid perceptions or understandings about other ethnic groups. Moreover, it is very difficult for these stereotypes to be changed because they are accompanied with strong emotions. For instance, C.W.Backman and P.F Secord define stereotypes as acts of adding attributes to individuals judged only by the category which they fall in<sup>18</sup>. Thus, when someone assesses or forms opinion of another person, he/she shall exclusively rely on categorial information. According to the authors, ethnic stereotypes have three main characteristics: (1) Persons are characterized by certain identified attributes; (2) Noticing the certain character feature which persons possess in the certain category; (3) Discrepancy between allegedly and genuine possessed character features.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Petra Kovacs, A Comparative typology of ethnic relation in Central and Eastern Europe, Published by the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, 1998, p 17

<sup>18</sup> Seen at: Frosina T. Remenski, Albancite i Makedoncite: Etnickata Interakcija vo Republika Makedonija, pred i po konfliktot od 2001, 2-ri Avgust S. Skopje 2007, p.83

<sup>19</sup> Erlich J. Howard, The Social psychology, Harper and Row, Publishers, New York, 1956 (seen in Remenski, Skopje 2007)

Ethnic stereotypes are closely related to ethnic prejudices. Usually, manifestation of ethnic prejudices and ethnocentrism is analyzed through elaboration and measurement of ethnic stereotypes. Moreover, their relation is almost always positive (directly proportional) as socio-psychologist Nikola Rot explicitly states: "...in situations in which we express positive attributes, we find positive affective attitude and readiness for undertaking positive action towards the ones we expressed positive characteristics. In contrast, in cases in which negative attributes dominate, emotional attitude is negative and preparedness for undertaking hostile actions.”<sup>20</sup>

Regarding the aforementioned as well as the specific literature that deals concretely with social i.e. ethnic distance in the Republic of Macedonia, I shall focus on four previously conducted researches.

The first one by Lela Jakovlevska – Josevska titled “Social Distance in Adolescents in the Republic of Macedonia” in which among different topics, the specific subject of research was the ethnic distance between Macedonian and Albanian high school students in Skopje – the capital of Republic of Macedonia<sup>21</sup>. Modified version of Bogardus scale was used for the purpose of this research. The sample of the research included 105 respondents, (students in their third and fourth year in high school). As a research design quasi-experiment was used, thus respondents were divided into experimental and control group. The independent variable was special educational program "Appreciating Differences" which encompassed thematic workshops and extra-curricular activities during the 1997/98 academic year. The aim of the

<sup>20</sup> Nikola Rot, *Osnovi Socijalne Psihologije*, Zavod za udzbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1983, p. 329

<sup>21</sup> [http://newbalkanpolitics.org.mk/OldSite/Issue\\_2/jakovlevska.eng.asp](http://newbalkanpolitics.org.mk/OldSite/Issue_2/jakovlevska.eng.asp) p.3

program was to ...“create an intellectual, emotional, and social climate among the students and to enable communication leading to mutual respect and understanding”.<sup>22</sup>

Once the program was introduced to the students belonging to different ethnic groups, social distance was measured. The final results showed that the special program had little effect on the students. After the analysis of the results, the Josevska's conclusion was that the social distance between the Macedonian and Albanian students is highly expressed.

The second research is the analysis by Mirjana Malevska, a professor at SEE University in Tetovo, Macedonia which actually represents the result of a large empirical research, conducted in the beginning of September 2009. In this research project 943 respondents answered questions about several aspects of their life and the life of their household. Inter-ethnic relations, analyzed here, represent an aspect of the survey “People Centered Analyses”, supported by UNDP<sup>23</sup>. The author also shows concerns towards the problem of ethnic conflict in Macedonia and she writes:

“The majority of the Macedonian population, who work in large scale industry and in the public sector, have been adversely affected by the economic crisis, and feel economically insecure. Dissatisfaction or pessimism among middle-lower class people can negatively affect inter-ethnic relations...”<sup>24</sup>

Similarly to the previous research ethnic prejudices can be recognized here as well. For instance, up to 55% of the respondents are not willing to send their children to a school where the other ethnic group is majority.

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<sup>22</sup> Lela Jakovlevska-Josevska, Social Distance in Adolescents in the Republic of Macedonia- empirical research, New Balkan Politics p.4

<sup>23</sup> Mirjana Maleska, Interethnic relations in Macedonia: People Centered Analyses, New Balkan Politics, Issue 12, 2010, p.1

<sup>24</sup> Mirjana Maleska, Interethnic relations in Macedonia: People Centered Analyses, New Balkan Politics, Issue 12, 2010 p.1

The third research on inter-ethnic relations and ethnic distance was conducted by the UNICEF Country Office, Skopje in 2009. It was prepared by the ‘Center for Human rights and solving conflicts’ in Skopje. The main goal was to diagnose the reasons which result from ethnic-based divisions between students in the schools and at the same time to develop recommendations that will stimulate the Government, the Civil Society and the International Community to undertake actions that will improve inter-ethnic relations. This study is composed of two phases. The first phase encompasses theoretical analysis on the relevant political and legal framework.

The second phase is an empirical research that was conducted in the primary and secondary schools in Struga, Kumanovo and Kicevo. The research methods include: questionnaires, interviews, discussions, focus-groups with students, parents and professors. Results obtained from the questionnaires show that students from both ethnicities (Macedonian at 70% and Albanian at 67%) stated that attend the same school with member of the ‘other’ ethnic group. This percentage (Macedonians at 45% and Albanians at 57%) is smaller when it comes to spending free time outside the school or having a friend from the ‘other’ ethnic group.<sup>25</sup>

Regarding joint participation, the percentage is higher in sport activities (76% Macedonians and 67% Albanians) and significantly lower (both groups between 8% and 13%) when it comes to frequent informal interactions such as attending same coffee shops, discotheques or parties. Some of the conclusions regarding the students were that:

“The students have little interaction at school. There is a tendency to present themselves as more tolerant than the ‘others’. Although many students report having friends from the other ethnic community, the quality of such friendships must be called into question when the same

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<sup>25</sup> Violeta Petroska-Beska, Mirjana Najcevska, Nikolina Kenig, Safet Ballazhi, and Ana Tomovska., Multiculturalism and inter-ethnic relations in education, UNICEF country office, Skopje 2009 p.69

students clearly demonstrate an ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ attitude and entertain negative ethnic stereotypes and prejudices about the ‘others’.”<sup>26</sup>

As far as parents and teachers were concerned, it was concluded that ...“teachers and parents from both ethnic communities do not explicitly prohibit friendship between the Albanian and Macedonian students. However, they do not encourage it either.”<sup>27</sup> It is inevitable to highlight the similarity between the outcome of this research and the social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner developed in 1979. According to the theory, individuals are recognized within their own group identified as ‘Us’ followed by permanent glorification of the group identity at the expense and humiliation of other groups which are defined as ‘Them’.<sup>28</sup>

The fourth research is comparative study conducted from 1998 to 2003 by Frosina Tashevska – Remenski. The purpose research was to measure ethnic distance between the different ethnic groups in the Republic of Macedonia. Hence, the author used modified the version of the Bogardus’ scale and therefore ethnic distance was divided in three categories: inter-personal, residential and position distance. In the research, ethnic distance is analyzed, as the author states:

“...through the prism of the ethnic interaction and its influence on the ethnic distance between the Macedonian and Albanian respondents. On the other hand, the problem of ethnic distance is treated from the point of view of the permanent influence of ethnic prejudices, high degree of ethnocentric stances which are obvious in both ethnicities and the effect of the armed conflict from 2001 on the ethnic distance”<sup>29</sup>.

Regarding the measurement of the inter-personal ethnic distance, respondents were asked to express their preferences about the other ethnic groups on a scale from 1 (greatest distance) to

<sup>26</sup> Violeta Petroska-Beska, Mirjana Najcevska, Nikolina Kenig, Safet Ballazhi, and Ana Tomovska., Multiculturalism and inter-ethnic relations in education, UNICEF country office, Skopje 2009 p.101

<sup>27</sup> Violeta Petroska-Beska, Mirjana Najcevska, Nikolina Kenig, Safet Ballazhi, and Ana Tomovska., Multiculturalism and inter-ethnic relations in education, UNICEF country office, Skopje 2009 p.101

<sup>28</sup> Henry Tajfel, John Turner, An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole 1979

<sup>29</sup> Frosina T. Remenski, Albancite i Makedoncite: Etnickata Interakcija vo Republika Makedonija, pred i po konfliktot od 2001, 2-ri Avgust S. Skopje 2007 p.275-276.

5 (greatest closeness). Results of the research confirmed the author's initial assumptions. Namely, both ethnicities (Macedonian and Albanian) are closely affiliated to their own group, which they strongly prefer compared to the other ethnic groups. Moreover, armed conflict from 2001 only increased the already high inter-personal distance. For instance, Albanians' preference towards Macedonians decreased from 2.24 in 1995 to 1.07 in 2003. Likewise, Macedonians just confirmed the low coefficient of preference towards Albanians from 1.12 in 1995 to 1.00 in 2003.

Analysis of the residential ethnic distance once again confirmed the high degree of distance between the two ethnicities. Thus, results of the question "would you live with a member of other ethnic group in the same municipality?" showed that 50% of the Albanian respondents prefer to live in the same municipality with Albanians and 49.04% prefer to live with all other ethnic groups. However, the percentage of Albanians who prefer to live in the same municipality with only Macedonians is 0.96%. On the other hand, residential ethnic distance is even higher among the Macedonian respondents who do not want at all to live in same municipality with Albanians. Similarly, the percentage of Macedonians who accept to live in the same municipality with members of all other ethnic groups, except Albanians increased from 7.14% in 1995 to 8.8% in 2003.

The analysis on the position distance between the ethnic groups included measurement of the respondents' stances on whether they accept or reject members of the other ethnic groups to represent the municipality in Parliament or to become city Mayor. Results on this issue showed both ethnic groups predominantly reject the idea to see members of other ethnic groups on important political positions, while the percentage of those who accept is minute.

Finally, the existence of the ethnic distance within the territory of the Republic of Macedonia is related to the events that occurred within the former Yugoslavia during the process of its dissolution. Simultaneously, different ethnicities declared their own independent states. Thus, Goran Opačić and Branko Vujadinović emphasize that in the last few decades, the former Yugoslavia was a fertile ground for such research. Their results indicate that ethnic distance, low in the period 1960-80, rose abruptly at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, reaching its maximum in 2000. Afterwards, the distance gradually decreased, with occasional oscillations<sup>30</sup>. In their research conducted in 2005 they concluded that ethnic distance between Serbs, Croats and Bosnians is very high on the territory of former Yugoslavia

### ***2.3 Methodological determination of the subject of research***

Methodological techniques used in the research are the following: Bogardus' scale for measuring ethnic distance, survey, questionnaire, chi-square test of independence.

Emory S. Bogardus was one of the first theorists who created a scale in order to measure the level of social distance. The scale represents psychological testing instrument which empirically measures people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups, such as other racial and ethnic groups, sex offenders, and homosexuals<sup>31</sup>. For that reason, he included seven types of attitude which should serve as indicators regarding the social distance: (1) to admit to close kinship by marriage; (2) to have as "chums"; (3) to have as neighbors on the same street; (4) to admit as

<sup>30</sup> Goran Opačić, Branko Vujadinović, Ethnic Distance and Ethnic Stereotypes as Factors Influencing the Decision on Repatriation <http://www.ian.org.rs/publikacije/posleratnezajednice/book/09ETHNIC-DISTANCE.pdf> p. 119

<sup>31</sup> Paul S. Gray, John B. Williamson, David A. Karp, The Research imagination: an introduction to qualitative and quantitative methods, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 389

members of one's occupation within one's country; (5) to admit as citizens of one's country; (6) to admit as visitors only to one's country; and (7) to exclude entirely from one's country.<sup>32</sup>

Some of the criticisms to Bogardus' scale argue that it is not a single scale but rather composition of multiple scales. However, there is general agreement that these attitudes represent logical continuum beginning with the degree of closeness and ending with the degree of intolerance and ultimately exclusion of the country.

For the purposes of the research closed questionnaire is used which encompasses three types of questions. The first part is consisted of questions with regards to socio-demographic characteristics. The questions regarding the ethnic distance are in the second part and in the third part are the questions related to citizens' perceptions about the level of successfulness of the political institutions in the Republic of Macedonia. (I explain the questionnaire in detailed manner in the final part - Realization of the research). Also, I examine the dependence/independence between the variables by using chi-square test of independence. For the purpose of this research, all statistical operations, including the chi-square test of independence, are processed by using the statistical software S-PLUS, while for presentation of the data (graphs and bars) Microsoft Excel is used.

## ***2.4 Formulation and Realization of the empirical research***

Formulation of the way of empirical research, operationalization of methodological instrumentarium and conducting a survey encompass the following contents and actions: (1)

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<sup>32</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, Social Distance in the City: Proceedings and Publications of the American Sociological Society. 20, 1926, 40-46

diagnose of the current conditions by detecting the essential reasons that cause permanent ethnic tensions in the Republic of Macedonia by measuring the degree of ethnic distance; (2) statistical analysis on the established hypothesis, anticipated from the goals of the research; (3) creating theoretical and methodological assumptions in order to form data base that may serve as ground for further analysis regarding social changes.

Special attention is dedicated in defining the sample. Namely, a survey conducted on the basis of one sample aims to collect information from every single unit that is part of the sample. Another aim is to enable assessment of one or more characteristics or parameters of the population that can be calculated depending on the results that shall be evoked from the process of surveying.

The research is conducted in the two regions in South-west part of Republic of Macedonia. The first region is ‘Pelagonija’ wherein live approximately 200 000<sup>33</sup> inhabitants over 18 years. The survey is conducted within the time framework, established quotas and special stratification in the following cities and surrounding villages: Bitola, Prilep, Demir Hisar and Krusevo. The second one is ‘Ohrid’ region populated by approximately 180 000 inhabitants over 18 years. Also, the survey is carried out according to the established quotas in the following municipalities: Ohrid, Struga, Resen, Kicevo, Debar, and Makedonski Brod.

The sizes of the quotas were created according to the following socio-demographic indicators: sex, age, religion, education, ethnicity, income, place of residence and profession. Also, attention is devoted to the quotas according the size of the cities.

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<sup>33</sup> Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, 2002

Formulation of the questionnaire is a fundamental part in the process of examining public opinion. Validity of the collected result depends on the way of its organization and formulation. In the process of its formulation the focus was on the following:

- target group of the survey (what kind of population);
- demographic characteristics;
- questions were formed in a way that are precise, logically consistent, within the semantic realm of the respondent, that is to be understandable for each respondent;
- through this set of questions my aim is to gain concrete information, facts, beliefs opinions and attitudes regarding the co-existence of the Macedonians and Albanians in Republic of Macedonia;
- attention was dedicated to size of the questionnaire, the number of questions and its strategic ordering;
- according to the type of the research, closed-type questionnaire was used.

Questions were formed in a way that enables respondents to have the opportunity of free choice to accept one of the possible varieties of the offered answer in the most of the cases. Therefore, through the analysis of the selected varieties of the answers I rank the values or attitudes of the respondents within the framework of the offered scale. During the process of formularization I take into consideration the consistency of the offered varieties of every answer in order to avoid eventual risk of certain mistakes and wrong conclusions in the process of analysis of the collected data.

The survey is conducted through field work with direct contact between the interviewer (pollster) and respondent, process known as face-to-face survey. Meeting the criteria of the

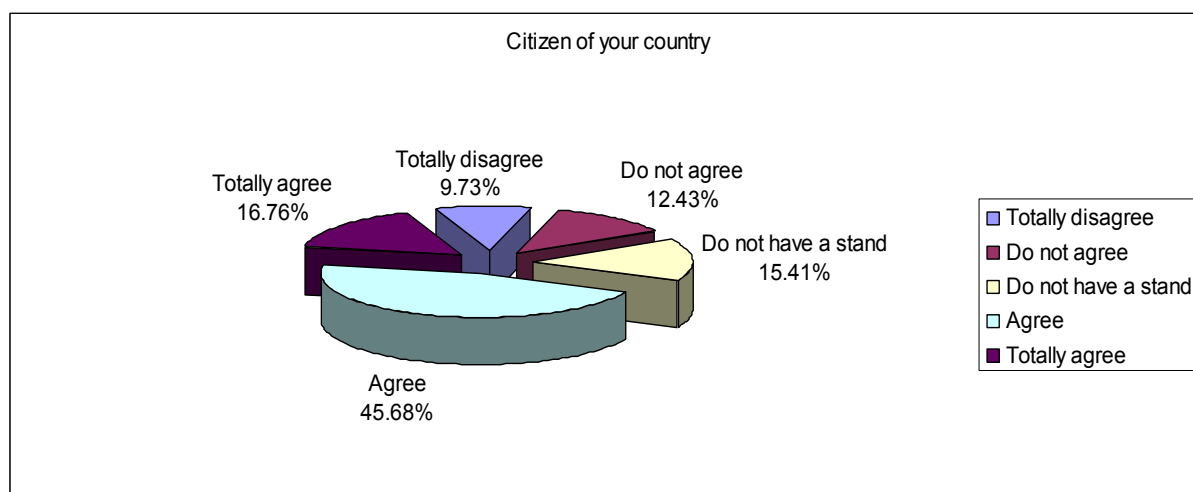
size of the quotas, deviations shall be tolerated of plus – minus 10% of what was predicted. Survey is conducted according to the time framework (April-May) by educated interviewers (pollsters) based on random selection within the limits of the established quotas after respondent's voluntary has accepted to take part in the survey. Survey is anonymous without any presence of other persons.

### 3. Presentation of the collected data

#### 3.1 Presentation of the data considering respondents' views on the ethnic distance

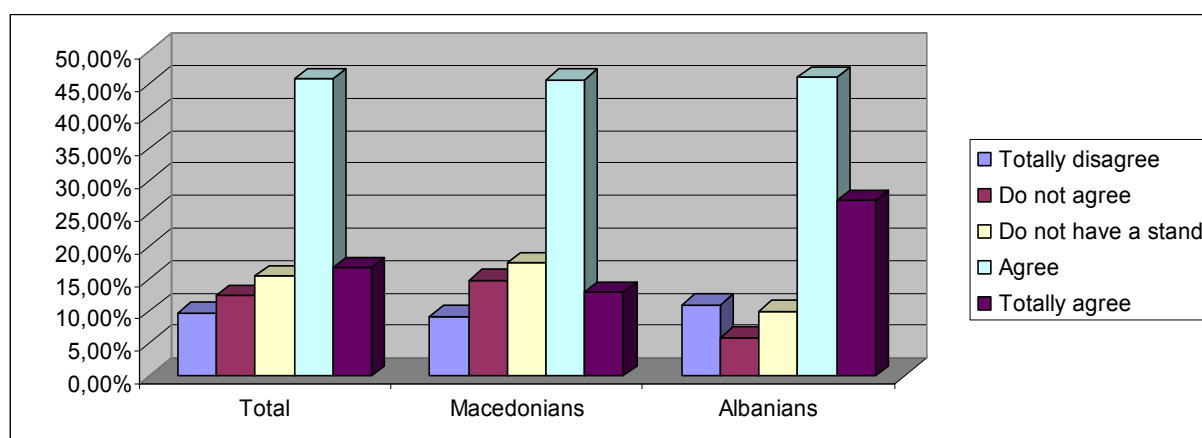
Macedonia, as most of the countries in the world, is characterized by an ethnical heterogeneous population, which determines the differences with respect of religious stances, language, and way of life in regards to its own cultural tradition. In my research I decided to account for the stands of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia i.e. Macedonians and Albanians, in respect to the mutual ethnic distance. The analysis that follows describes the facts and their meaning from my research project.

In regards of the question - **“If you would like a member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) to be a citizen of your country?”**, 9.7% stated that totally disagree, 12.4% do not agree, 15.4% do not have a stance 45.6% agree, and 16.8% totally agree with the statement (Graph 1).



Graph 1: Member the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) to be a citizen of your country

Regarding the same question viewed from the aspect of ethnicity, showed in Graph 2, it can be noticed that the Albanians agree with the statement in somewhat larger percent (46% that agree and 27% totally agree), whereas the Macedonian percentage is at 45.6% that agree and 6.9% totally agree. Also, the percentage of Macedonians that do not agree is at 14.8%, whereas the Albanian population percentage is at 6%. In addition, the percentage of Macedonians that totally disagree is at 9.2% when compared to the Albanians at 11%. It is also important to emphasize that in this case the ethnicity also corresponds with the religious choice, since the Macedonians are declared as orthodox Christian whereas the Albanians declare themselves as Muslims. Hence, the analysis regarding the ethnicity also corresponds with the religion and therefore the religious aspect will not be a subject of this thesis.



Graph 2 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the willingness to see a member of other ethnicity as a citizen of the country

Among the socio-demographic factors which do not play a major role on the respondents' stand (whether agree or do not agree) is the sex of the citizens. There is difference, however, in the percentage regarding this question as women declare no stand at 20.9% while the male citizens declare no stand at 10.1%.

On the other hand, age evidently has an influence in terms of their stances. Namely, the elderly seem to have a more distinct ethnic distance, so much so that 40% of the population above the age of sixty declared themselves as not agreeing or totally not agreeing about living together with the other ethnicity, whereas citizens between ages of 18 and 29 are at 22.7%, and the percentage of those between the ages of 40 to 60 is at 17%. It is kind of a surprise that in the group of people above the age of 60, there were 27% who have no stand. In addition, 64% of 18 to 29 year olds agree or totally agree with sharing the country with other ethnicities, and this percentage between ages 30-39 is at 60% and in those between ages 50 and 59 is above 75%. The percentage of those that disagree is the lowest in the age group above 60, and it is at 40%.

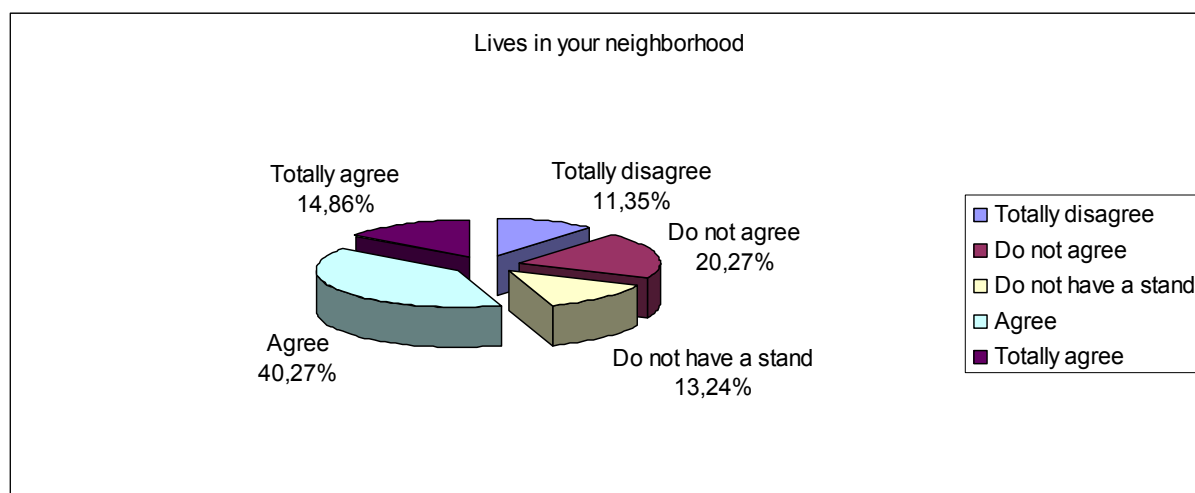
The results of the research indicate that the ethnic distance in regards of place of living is relatively similar. Those interviewed from the countryside that do not agree or totally disagree with living together in the same country with member of the other ethnicity is at 23%, whereas the ones from the cities is at about 20%. In addition, the percentage of those that live in the countryside and agree or totally agree with sharing the country is at 60%, and this number for the citizens of the major cities in Macedonia is at 64%. The percentages of people without stance in the cities and the country side are 16% and 15% respectively.

In regards to the same, above stated question, the degree of education has a certain influence in the opinions of the citizens. The percentage of people without any education that totally disagree is at 20%, those that do not agree is at 13%, whereas the people with a higher degree of education, i.e. MA, PhD that share the same opinion is at 9% and 7% respectively. However, viewed from an aspect of positive answers, it can be concluded that education is not a major determining factor in declaring a stance as the percentage of people with some degree

of education or higher degree of education that had an agreeable stance is at 40% and 48% respectively.

The monthly income of the people interviewed has only a small amount of influence when declaring a stance to the same question. The percentages of those that agree with living in the same country with different ethnicity that do not have any income is at 63%, in those making between 15000 to 20000 MKD is at 67.5%, and it is the highest at 70% in those who have a monthly income between 30000 and 50000 MKD<sup>34</sup>.

In regards to the following question-“**Would you agree if a member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) lives in your neighborhood?**”, 11% totally disagreed, 20% did not agree, 13% had no stance, 40% agreed and 15% totally agreed (Graph 3).

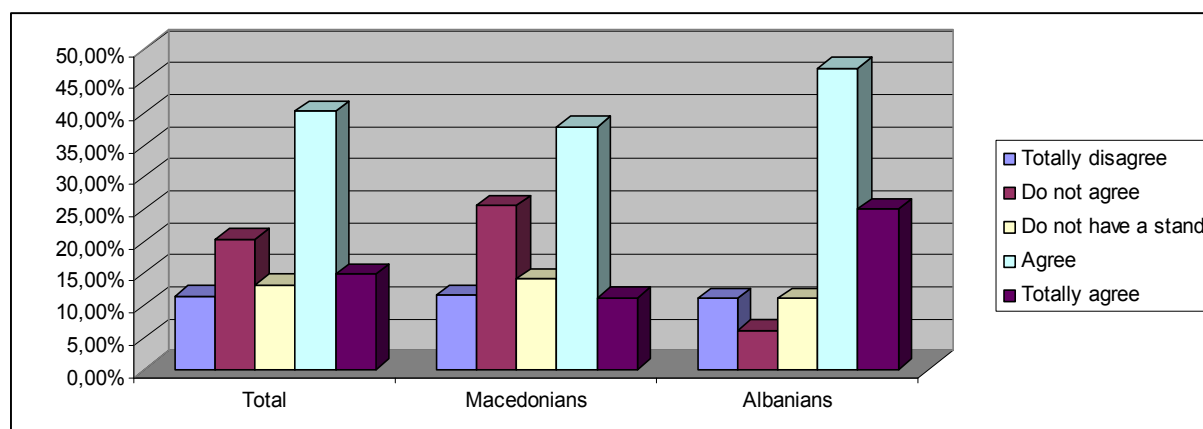


Graph 3 : Member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) lives in your neighborhood?

When this question is analyzed from an aspect of nationality, it becomes evident that the Albanian population tends to answer positively in a larger percent. Namely, 47% agreed

<sup>34</sup> Exchange rate 1 EUR = 61,50 MKD

versus 37% of the Macedonians. Similarly, the percentage of Macedonians that do not agree with it is at 25.5% whereas the Albanian one is at 6%. Likewise, the percentage of Macedonians that totally agree is at 11% when compared to the Albanian counterpart, at 25% (Graph 4).



Graph 4 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to live with a member of the other ethnicity group in same neighborhood

There is not a great difference in the numbers when the place of residence is in question regarding the stance of the respondents. The percent of people interviewed from the cities that agree is at 39.5% when compared to those in the countryside, which is at 41.9%. Those that do not agree, coming from the countryside is at 30%, whereas the percentage of the ones from the cities is slightly higher, at 32.6%. The percentage of the ones without a stance in the cities and the countryside is at 14% and 11.6% respectively.

Like previously, the degree of education has some influence upon the response, especially in the negative responses. The percentage of those interviewed with little education that do not agree or totally disagree is at 46%. The counterpart at the higher education group is at 22%. The percentage of people with little education that agree or totally agree with sharing the

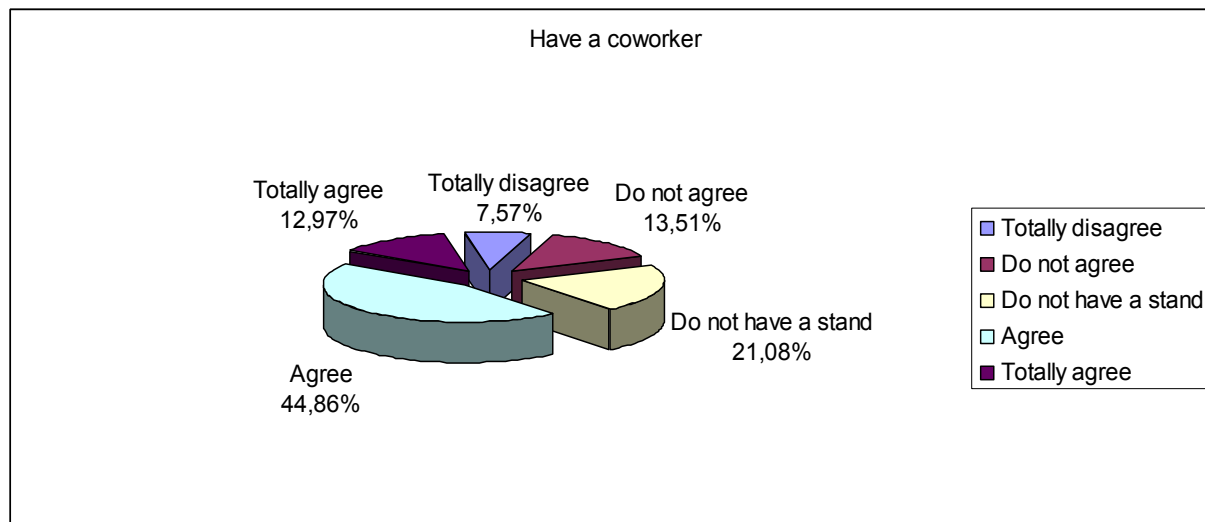
neighborhood with different ethnicity is at 46%, whereas in those with higher education is at 64%. The percentage of those without any stance on the issue is highest in the group of people with little education and it is above 25%.

The results also indicate the influence of monthly income in terms of the stance regarding the question. For example, the people with income up to 5000MKD that do not agree or totally disagree is at 50%, and in the group of 5000-10000MKD is at 43%. Furthermore, in the citizens that have a monthly income of 20000-30000MKD, this number is at 24%, and it is the lowest, at 13.5% in the group of 15000-20000MKD.

When it comes to the positive stances, the tendency seems to favor the higher monthly income groups. Namely, those that have an income of up to 5000MKD, the percentage of agreeing or totally agreeing is at 41%, between 15000-20000 is at 46%, those between 20000-30000 is at 60%, and the highest percent, at 66.7% is in those that have a monthly income of above 50000MKD. There is no significant difference among the people with different income, interviewed that have no specific stand regarding the question.

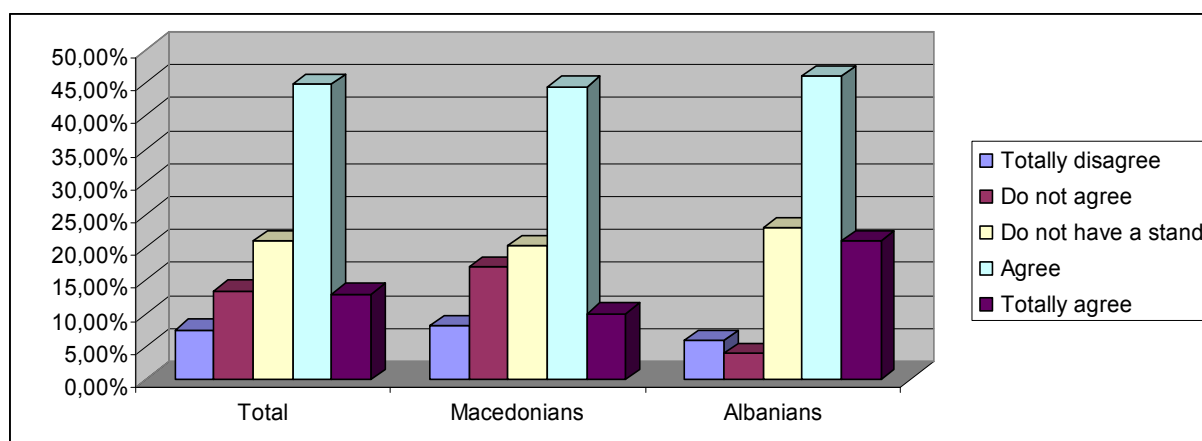
It seems, once again, that age has a specific tendency when it comes to this question. 60% of those polled that were above the age of 70, declared themselves as disagreeing or totally disagreeing with having a neighbor from different ethnicity. This percent is 33% between ages 60-69, 36% in the group of 18-29 years old, and it is the lowest, at 20% in the age group of 50-59. It is this very same age group that also has the highest percentage of agreeing when it comes to sharing the neighborhood with other ethnicities, at 68%.

Regarding the question-“**Do you agree having a coworker from the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?**”, 7.6% totally disagreed, 13.5% disagreed, 21% had no stand, 44.9% agreed and 13% totally agreed (Graph 5)



Graph 5 : Having a coworker from the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?

The Albanians show a higher degree of readiness to have a Macedonian as a coworker, at 67%, whereas the Macedonian counterpart is at 54%. The Macedonians that did not agree or totally disagreed is at 25%, and the Albanian counterpart is at 10%. However, very similar percentage of people with no stance was reported, with 21% in the Macedonian population, and 23% in the Albanian population (Graph 6).



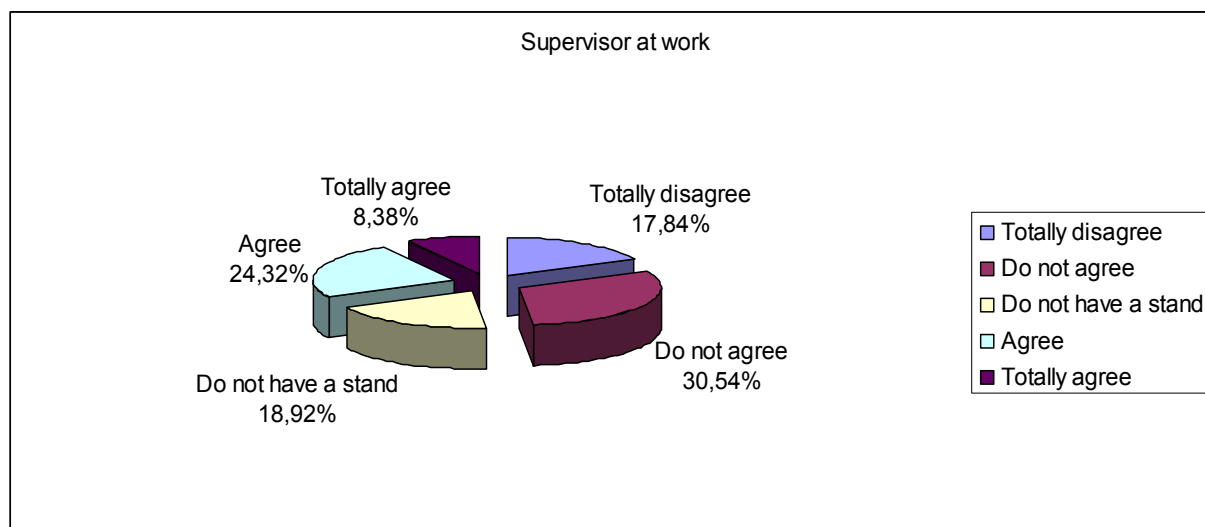
Graph 6 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to accept as coworker a member of the other ethnicity

The age seems to have a significant impact on all the above questions, including this one as well. People interviewed above age 70, that did not agree or totally disagreed have a percent of 44%. The age group of 18-29 that do not agree or totally disagree is at 19%, and the lowest percent, at 15% belongs to the age group of 50-59. On the other side, the percentage of those that agree or totally agree is very similar in all age groups (between 60-63%, with the exception of the elderly, where the percentage is at 40%).

The place of residence (city/countryside) regarding this question does not to have a significant impact on the answers from the people interviewed. However, the results with evident differences in the stances regarding this question seem to stem from the degree of education. The percent of people polled, with no or little formal education that do not agree or totally disagree, is at 46%. This number in the group of people with high school degree or higher education degree is very similar at 20%. On the other side, the percentage of those that totally agreed or just agreed is highest at the ones with higher degree of education, at 60%.

When the results are viewed from an aspect of monthly income, the largest percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree is evident in the income group of up to 5000MKD, and it is at 27%. The lowest percent is evident in the income group of 15000-20000MKD at 5%. It is important to notice that in regards of this question, the number of those without any stance is significantly increased in the income group of no income or very low income. A 39% of those people without any income and 25% of those with income of up to 5000MKD, have no stand regarding this question.

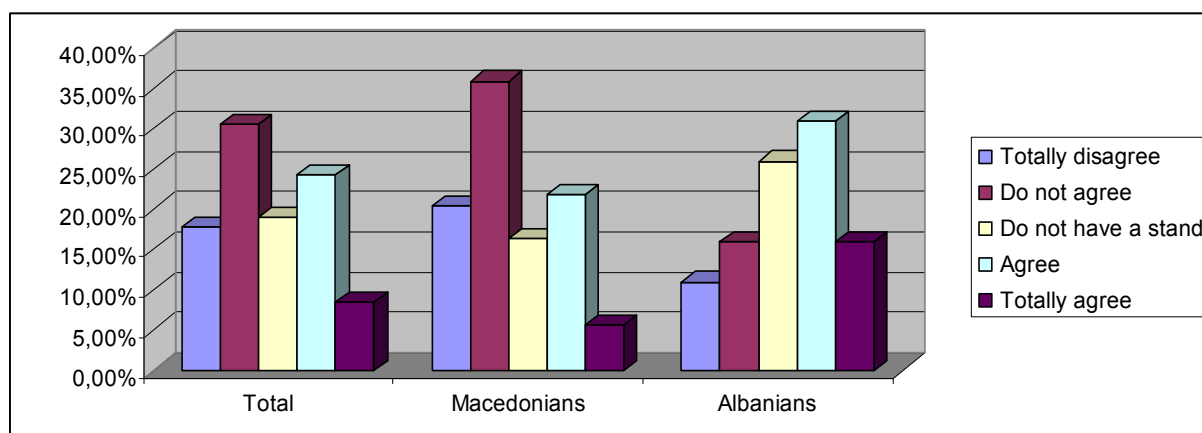
In regards to the question - **“Do you agree if your supervisor at work is a member of different ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian),** 17.8% totally disagree, 30.5% do not agree, 18.9% have no stance, 24.3% agree and 8.4% totally agree (Graph 7).



Graph 7 : Member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) as a supervisor at work?

Analysis of this question confirms the previous tendency that the Albanian population show more readiness to accept a Macedonian as their supervisor. The percentage of interviewed Albanians that totally agree and agree with the previous question is at 47%, whereas the Macedonian counterpart is about 26%. On the other hand, the percentage of Albanians that

totally disagree or do not agree is at 37%, while the Macedonian percentage for the same is about 56%. (Graph 8)



Graph 8 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to accept as supervisor a member of the other ethnicity

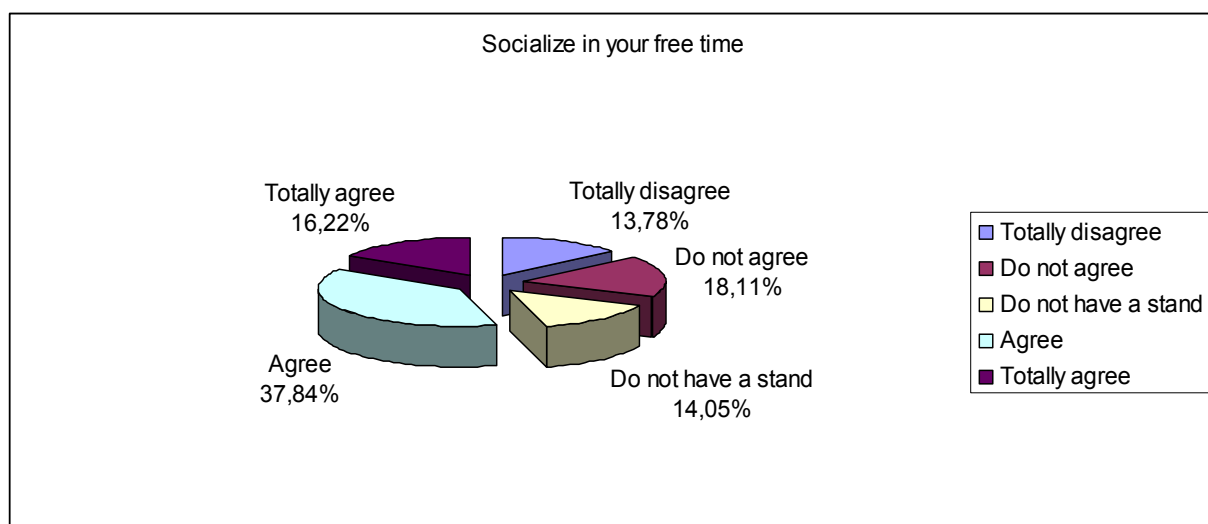
The age group is once again, the biggest influence regarding the ethnic distance, especially in population of 60 years, and that percentage (totally disagree/do not agree) is at 76%. However, an interesting fact is that the percentage of youth, between the ages of 18-29 that totally disagree or do not agree with the above question, is much larger when compared with the previous stance of Bogardus' scale. So much so, that 52% of those polled declared negative answer about having a supervisor from different ethnic background, whereas the lowest percentage is noticed in the age group of 40-49, and it is at 38%. The percentage of citizens in the age group 18-29 that totally agree or agree with the statement is at 31%.

The place of living i.e. city versus countryside does not play a major role in the respondents' answers to this question. However, one point has to be emphasized, which is the percentage of people that have no stand regarding this question in cities and country side is at 16.7% and 24.1% respectively.

The ethnic distance seems to be more evident in terms of degree of education. The percentage in those without formal education, that totally disagrees or do not agree with the statement is at 66%, while those who agree or totally agree is only at 6%. The increase of percentage for a positive answer seems to correlate with the degree of education. Even though this is not a parallel increase, the small variations are relatively insignificant and do not require any further analysis. For example, the population that declared positive answer regarding the question with high school degree is at 31% and the percentage in the group with higher education is about 39%.

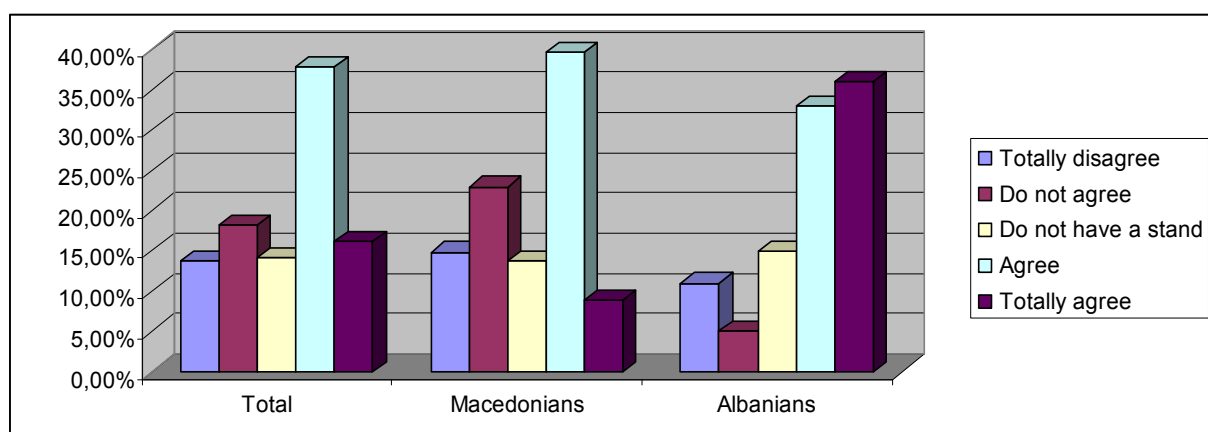
In terms of living standards in regard to ethnic distance, there is a same tendency as with the previous questions. That is, the category of people that have no monthly income and do not agree with having a supervisor from different ethnic background is at 49.7%. This percentage in the category of people that make up to 5000MKD is even higher, at 58%, and it is somewhat lower in the category of people with a monthly income of 15000-20000MKD, which is 40%. In terms of positive answers, the following percentages are noted: up to 5000MKD 25%, up to 10000MKD is at 32% and it is highest in the category of people with monthly income of above 15000, which is above 45%.

In regards to the question, “**Do you agree to socialize in your free time with a member of other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?**”, Generally speaking, 14% totally disagree, 18% do not agree, 14% do not have a stance, 38% agree and 16% totally agree with the above statement (Graph 9).



Graph 9 : To socialize in your free time with a member of other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?

Once again, it is the Albanian population that displays more readiness and acceptance when compared to the Macedonian, with the following percentages: the ones that totally disagree or do not agree are 16% in the Albanian population and 37% in the Macedonian population. Furthermore, the category of those polled that totally agree or agree with the statement is at 48.5% in the Macedonian, and 69% in the Albanian population. An emphasis has to be placed on the fact that in those that totally agree, the percentages are 8.9% and 36% for the Macedonian and Albanian population respectively (Graph 10)



Graph 10 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the willingness to be a friend with a member of the other ethnicity

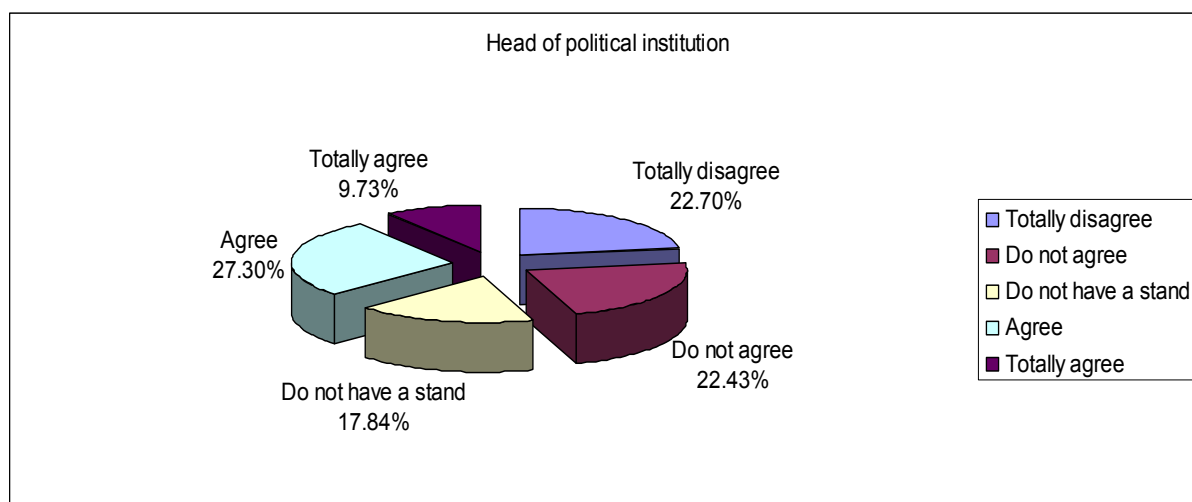
The age group above 60 years seems to have constant tendency in terms of ethnic distance. The percentage of people that totally disagree or do not agree, in the age group 60-69 is at 39%, while in those above 70 years old is at 52%. This percentage is lowest in the age group of 40-60 years old, and it is at 29%. Furthermore, from the respondents that positively answered to this question, the percentage of the age groups between 18 and up to 59 is ranging from 53-56%. This number is lower in the age group 60-69 as well as above 70, and it is at 45% and 40% respectively.

There are no significant differences in terms of the place of residence, i.e. city versus countryside in the responses of the people polled, however, the degree of education, once again has an impact on the responses. Those polled without any formal education and that do agree or totally agree with socializing with members of different ethnicity during their free time is at 26%. This percentage in the category with people with high school education is at 52%, while it is highest in those with higher education, which is at 60%. On the other hand, in the category of respondents that totally disagrees or do not agree with the statement, there is a higher percentage in those without formal education, at 46%, whereas in the other categories, it varies between 28-33%.

From a monthly income aspect it can be noticed that those with a lower income tend to have a lesser degree of readiness to spend their free time with a member from a different ethnic group. The percentage of those with an income up to 5000MKD, which also declared negative response is at 41%, those between 5000-10000MKD have a percentage of 44%. Once again, this number is lowest in the monthly income group of 10000-20000MKD, at 23%. On the other hand, the percentage that agrees or totally agrees with the statement in the monthly

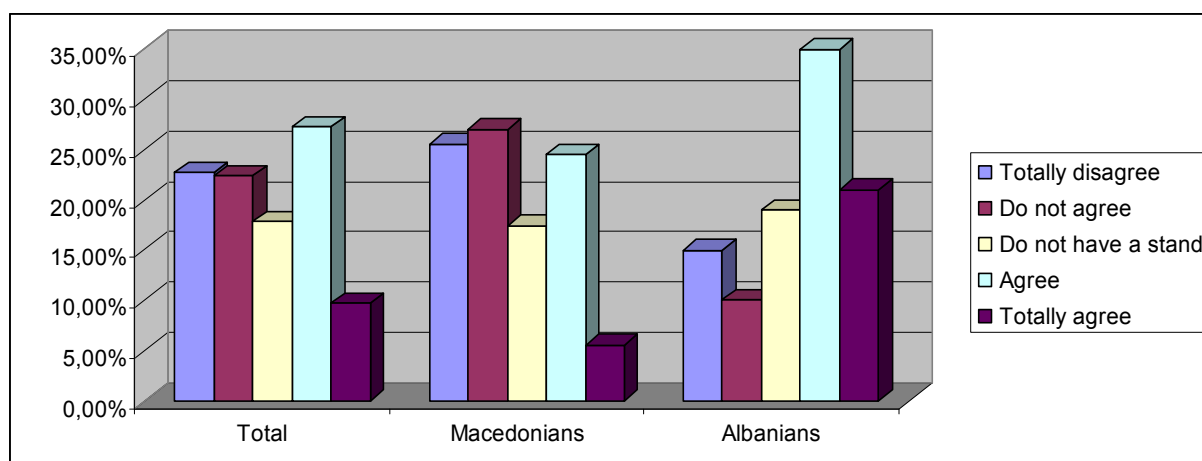
income group above 15000MKD is above 60%, whereas, as expected, in the group without income or up to 5000MKD varies from 50% to 40%.

In regards to the following question-**“Do you agree for a member of other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) to be a head of a political institution in your country?”** generally speaking, 22.7% totally disagree, 22.4% do not agree, 17.8% have no stand, 27.3% agree and 9.7% totally agree (Graph 11)



**Graph 11 : Member of other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian) to be a head of political institution in your country?**

The analysis furthermore concurs with the general tendency that a larger percentage of Albanian population display more readiness and willingness. The percentage of Albanian population that totally agrees is 56%, whereas the Macedonian counterpart is at 30%. Likewise, the percentage of Macedonian that totally disagrees or do not agree is 52%, while the Albanian percentage is at 25%. The Macedonian and Albanian population percentages that have no stand are 17.4% and 19%, respectively (Graph 12)



Graph 12 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the willingness to see member of the other ethnic group as a head of political institution

From an age group aspect, the analysis of this question reveals the greatest ethnic diversity in the elderly population, however the discrepancy among the age groups of elderly and younger population, is significantly smaller. For example, the percentage of those polled between the ages of 18-29 that totally disagree or do not agree is 46%, and the same percentage in those above the age of 60 is at 56%. Once again the lowest percentage of negative response from the respondents is in the group age between 30-60, which varies between 36% and 44%.

On the other hand, the percentage of those polled that agree or totally agree is very similar among the ages 18-59 years old, which is at 39%, and in the group of above 70 years old, this percent is at 36%. It can be noticed that the ethnic distance is more emphasized in all older age categories and not only in the elderly age group.

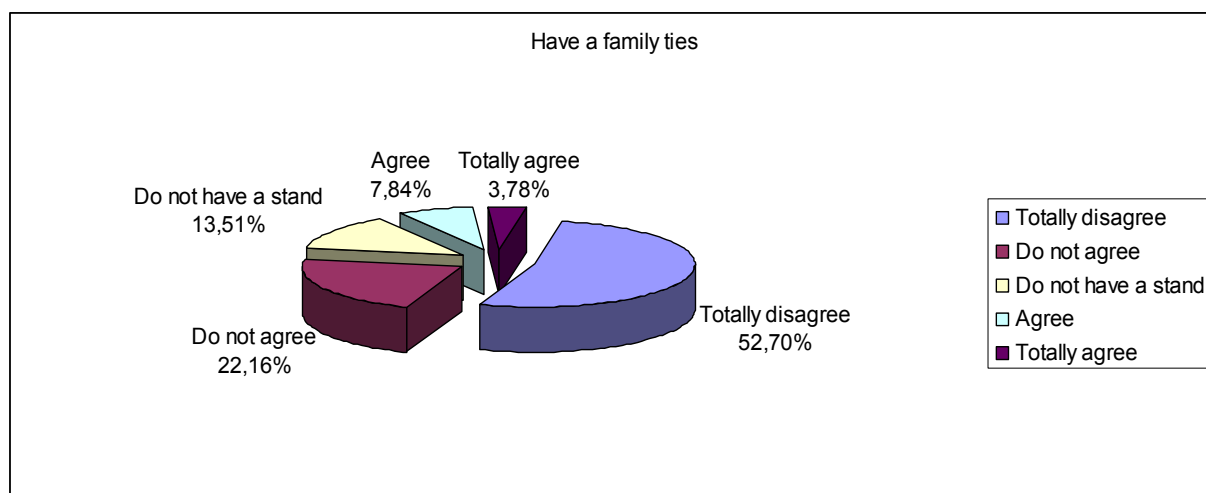
The place of residence does not play a significant role in the responses to this question. The percentage of those who totally agree or agree in the cities is at 34%, whereas in those that

live in the country side is at 41%. The percentage of those from the country side that totally disagrees or do not agree is at 41%, and its city counterpart is 46%.

In same manner, the degree of education does not seem to have significant impact on the response as well. In those polled with no or little formal education, and all the way up to higher degree of education that do not agree, ranges from 40-46%. In terms of positive responses, it is somewhat surprising that the highest percent is noticed in those without formal education, at 46%, whereas the rest of the educational categories it ranges from 32-36%

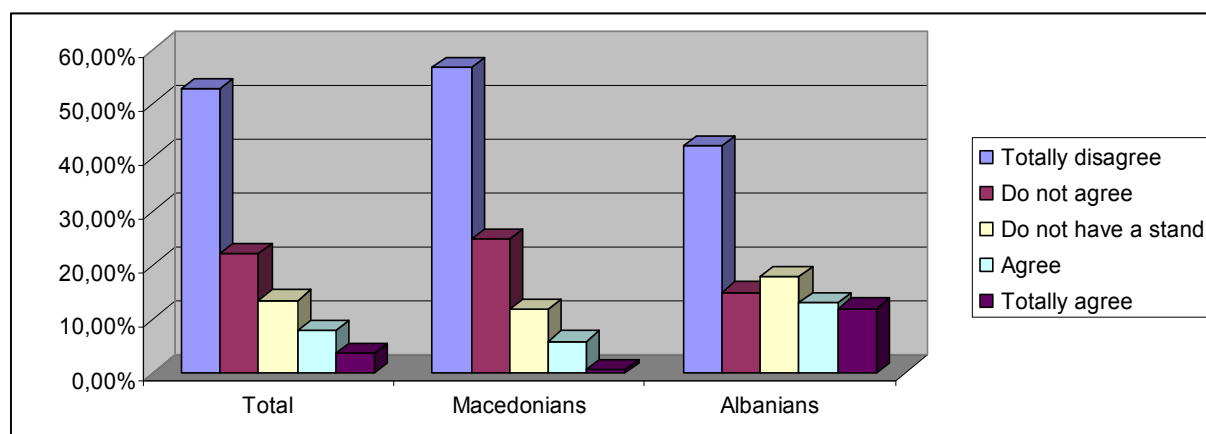
The same question analyzed from an aspect of monthly income seems to have little significant difference among the categories. From the ones polled, that have a monthly income up to 5000MKD and that do not agree or totally disagree is 54%, those between 5000-10000MKD is at 52%, and this percentage is somewhat smaller in the people polled with monthly income between 10000-30000MKD ranges from 40-44%. In terms of positive answers, respondents with monthly income of above 30000MKD have the lowest percentage, which is at 34.5%.

In regards to the following question-**“Do you agree with having a family ties with a member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?”**, 52.7% of those polled totally disagree, 22.2% do not agree, 13.5% have no stance, 7.8% agree and 3.8% totally agree (Graph 13).



Graph 13 : Having a family ties with a member of the other ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian)?

There is a significant difference between the Albanian and Macedonian population in regards to this question. The percentage of Albanians that agree or totally agree is 25%, whereas the Macedonian counterpart is at 6.5%. From the ones polled, the Macedonian population that do not agree or totally disagree is significantly higher at 81%, while the Albanian counterpart is at 57%. (Graph 14)



Graph 14 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the readiness to have family ties with member of the other ethnicity

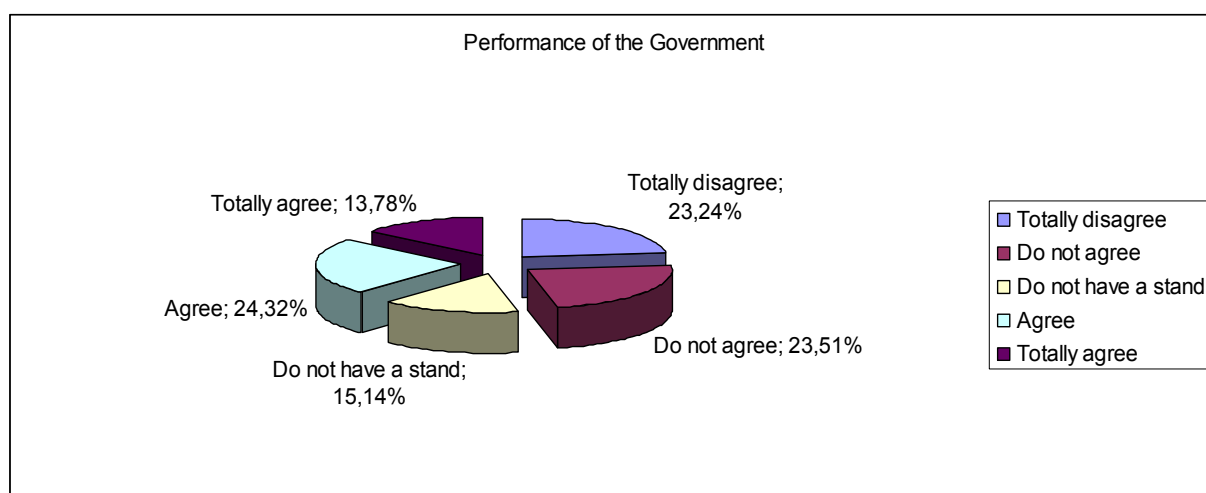
The analysis of the question from an age group aspect only confirm the ethnic diversity which is relatively similar in all age groups, with exception of the eldest, which is most emphasized. The percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree is highest among age group 18-29, at 76%, while in the age group between 30-59 years old is at 72%. This percentage is highest in the age group of above 70 years old, which is 92%. On the other hand, from those that agree or totally agree, the age group with highest percentage of positive answers are the citizens between ages of 40-49, and it is at 17%.

The place of living (city/countryside) has little influence in terms of ethnic distance in regards of this question. The percentage of people polled that live in the countryside and did not agree or totally disagreed is at 15%, whereas the city counterpart is at 9%. There is a more significant difference in the responses when it comes to the degree of education. The percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree among all categories ranges from 71-83%, while the percentage of those that agree or totally agree is almost identical in all categories of education, and it stands at 12%.

From an aspect of monthly income, there are small differences among the people polled, but generally speaking, the percentage of negative answers is relatively high in all categories. For example, the percentage in those without formal education and high school degree that do not agree or totally disagree ranges from 76-83%, while the same percentage is somewhat smaller in those with higher education and PhD, which ranges between 62-66%. On the other hand, the percentage of the people polled that agreed or totally agreed is highest in the category of the highest degree of education, at 29%, while the same percentage in the rest of the categories is lower, and ranges from 3-14%.

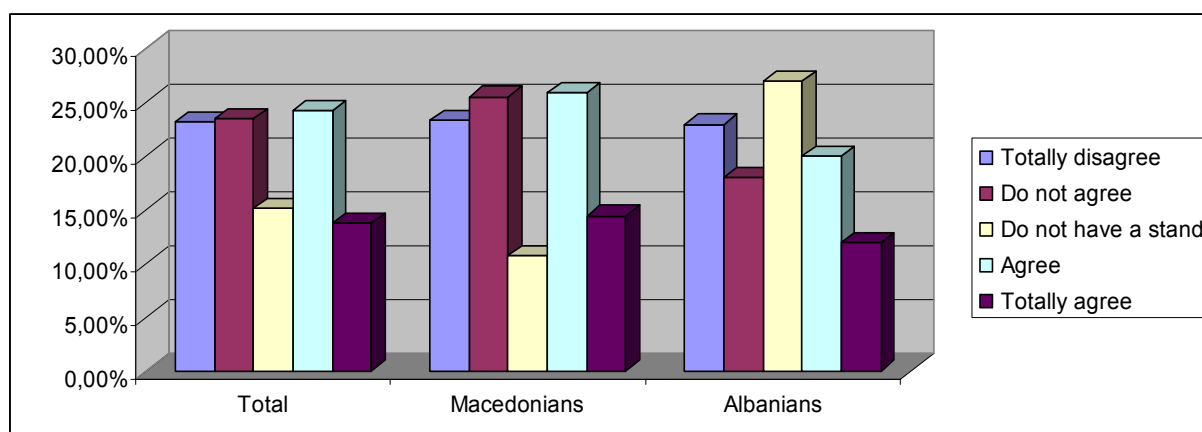
### **3.2 Presentation of the data considering the respondents` views on the political institutions in the Republic of Macedonia**

In regards to the question-“**Do you think that the government of the Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function?**”, generally speaking, 23% totally disagree, 24% do not agree, 15% do not have a stance, 24% agree and 14% totally agree with the question (Graph 15)



Graph 15 : Do you think that the government of the Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function?

When the results are reviewed from an ethnic point of view, in terms of the people polled that totally disagree with the statement, it is almost identical between the Albanians and Macedonians, at 23% and 23.3% respectively. The Albanian population percentage that has no stand is at 27%, whereas the same percentage in the Macedonian population is at 10.7%. The percentage of Albanians that totally agree or just agree with the above question is at 32%, while the Macedonian counterpart is at 40.3% (Graph 16).



Graph 16 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the Government's performance

When viewed from an age group point of view there are not significant differences in terms of the people polled that do not agree or totally disagree with the question of the government performs its function successfully. Namely the percentage ranges from 41-49%. On the other hand, the percentage from those that agree or totally agree is as follows: age group 18-29 (46%), 30-39 (37%), 40-49 (43.6%), 50-59 (35.8%), 60-69 (33.3%) and in those above the age of 70, it stands at 44%.

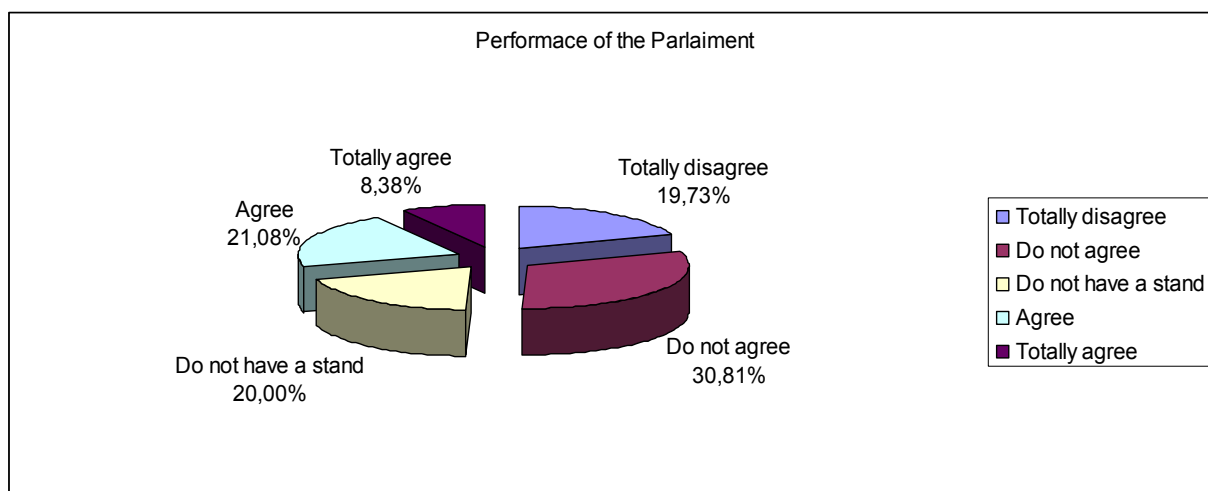
When the same question is analyzed from, city versus country living point of view, there is no significant difference in the responses. The percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree is almost the same, regardless of their place of living, and it stands at 45%. On the other hand, the percentage of those polled that agreed or totally agreed is 39% in those living in the cities, whereas it stands at 36% in those living in the country side. The percentage of those not having stand is 14.7% and 16.1%, in the cities and country living, respectively.

In regards to the degree of education, there are some differences in the responses of those polled. For example, the percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree is the lowest at the elementary school education level, at 34%, while the highest percentage exists in those

with higher degree of education, at 50%. On the other hand, the percentage of the people polled that agree or totally agree is highest at the level of high school degree or higher degree of education, at 39%. This percentage is 33% in those with little formal education.

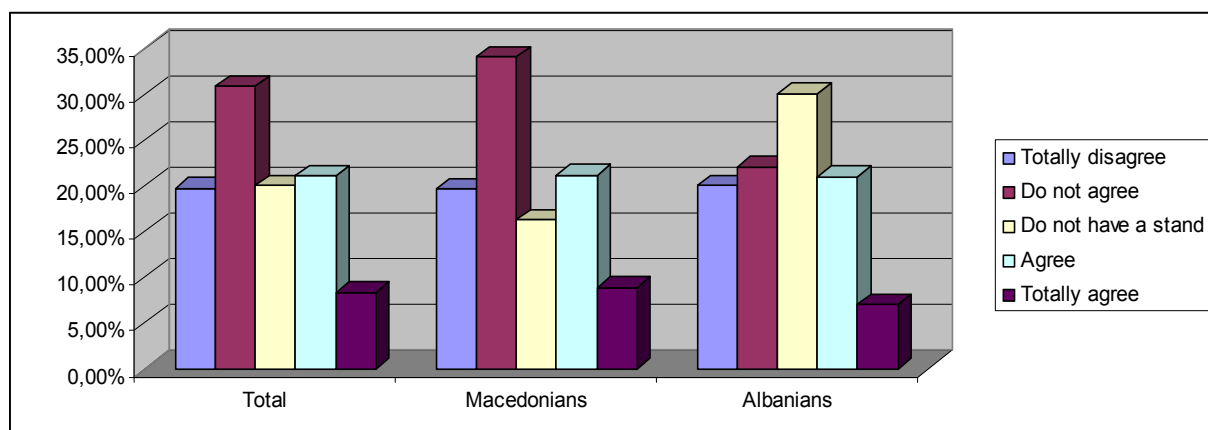
From a monthly income point of view, the percentage of the people polled that do not agree or totally disagree with the above question, is the highest in those with monthly income from 20000-50000MKD, which stands at 60%, whereas the same percentage is the lowest in those with income up to 5000MKD at 29%. In those that have no income, this percentage is at 48.36%. On the other hand, the percentage of people polled that agree or totally agree with the statement above, is highest in the monthly income group up to 5000MKD, and it is at 54%. Although these results are little surprising, we can assume that there is a party influence on the responses.

In regards to the question-**“Do you agree that the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function?”**, 19.7% totally disagree, 30.8% do not agree, 20% do not have a stance, 21.1% agree and 8.4 totally agree (Graph 17).



Graph 17 : Do you agree that the Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function?

Looking from a nationality point of view, there are small differences between the responses of Albanian and Macedonian population. The percentage of Macedonians that do not agree or totally disagree with the statement is 53%, whereas the same percentage in the Albanian population is at 42%. On the other hand, the percentage of the people polled that agree or totally agree is almost the same, with 30% in the Macedonian population and 28% in the Albanian population. The major difference is in the percentages of those that have no stand on this point, which is 16% in the Macedonian and 30% in the Albanian population (Graph 18)



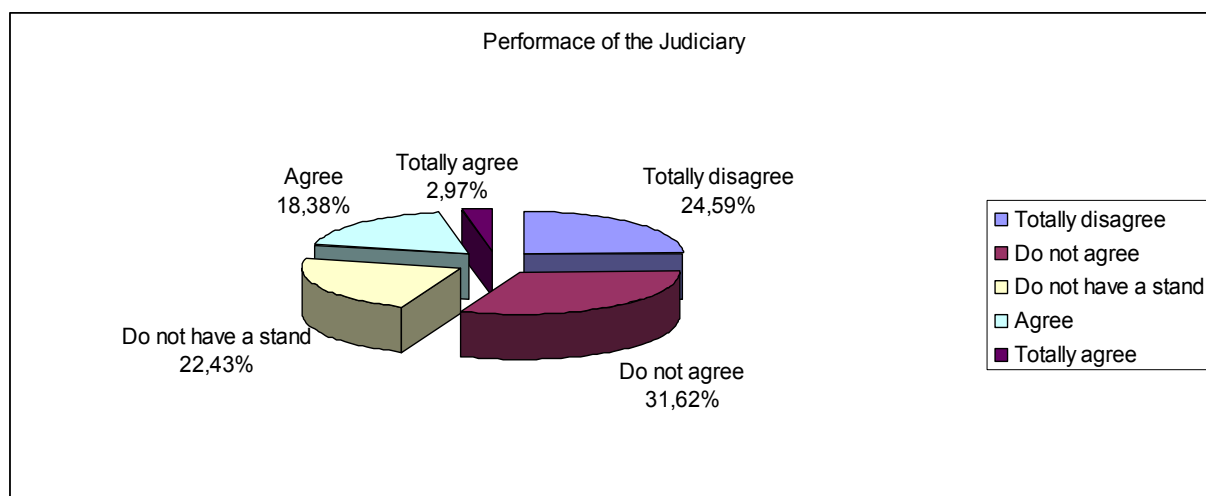
Graph 18 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding Parliament's performance

From an age group point of view, regarding the same question, the percentage of the people polled that do not agree or totally disagree is highest in the age group of above 60 years old, which stands at 64%. This percentage is relatively high (53%) in the younger group age of between 18-29, whereas the percentage of those that agree or totally agree with the question is the highest among the population of 30-39 years old, and it stands at 26%.

The analysis of the responses in terms of monthly income and degree of education reveals smaller differences among the population polled. The percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree and have no formal education or only an elementary education is at 53% and 46% respectively. This percentage is the highest among those with high degree of education (60%) whereas the ones with the highest degree of education, stands at 50%. The percentage of those that agree or totally agree is lowest in the population with no formal education (20%), elementary education (25%), and it is the highest in those with the higher degrees of education at 31%.

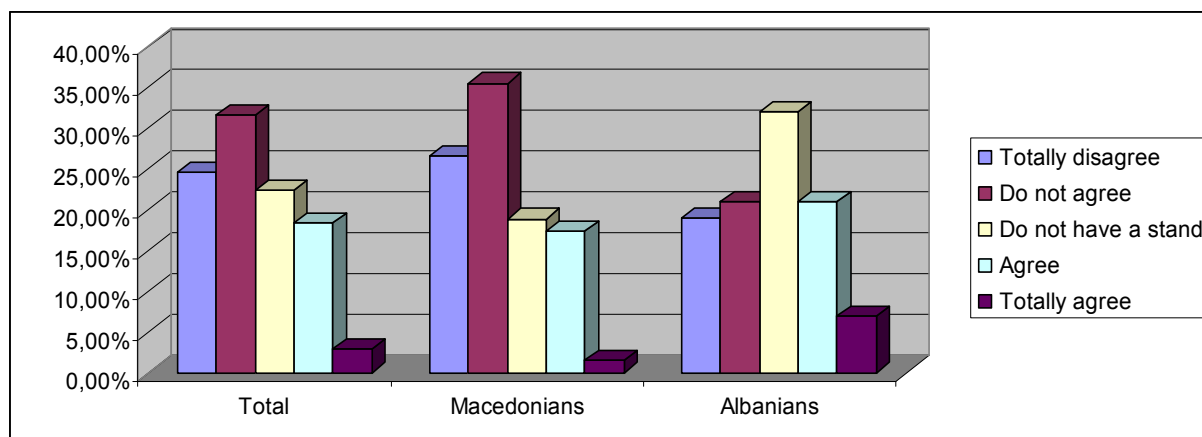
From a monthly income point of view, there is 60% of those polled that do not agree or totally disagree that belong to the monthly income group of 30000-50000MKD. On the other hand, the percentage of those that agree or totally agree is highest in the monthly income group of 15000-20000, and it stands at 43.2%. The lowest percentage of those polled is in the monthly income group of 5000-10000MKD, at 20%.

In regards to the question, **“Do you think that the Judicial system in Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function?”**, 25% totally disagree, 32% do not agree, 22% have no stance, 18% agree and 3% totally agree (Graph 19).



Graph 19 : Do you think that the Judicial system in Republic of Macedonia successfully performs its function?

There are certain differences between the Macedonian and Albanian population in terms of the responses. The percentage of Macedonian population that totally disagrees or do not agree is at 62.3%, whereas the Albanian counter part stands at 40%. Likewise, it should be noted the relatively high percentage of the Albanians that had no opinion on this question, which stands at 32%. This percentage among the Macedonian population is 18.9%. On the other hand, the percentage of Macedonian population polled that agree or totally agree is at 18.9%, and the Albanian one is at 28% (Graph 20).



Graph 20 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the Judiciary performance of its functions

The age group when it comes to this question seems not to have a significant difference in the responses. Namely, the high percentage of those polled that do not agree or totally disagree is present among all age groups, and ranges from 50-62%. On the other hand, the percentages are lower in the population that agrees or totally agrees with the question, which ranges from 17-28% in all age categories. This percentage (17%) is the lowest among those between 18-29 years of age, and it is highest in the 50-59 year old age group, at 28%.

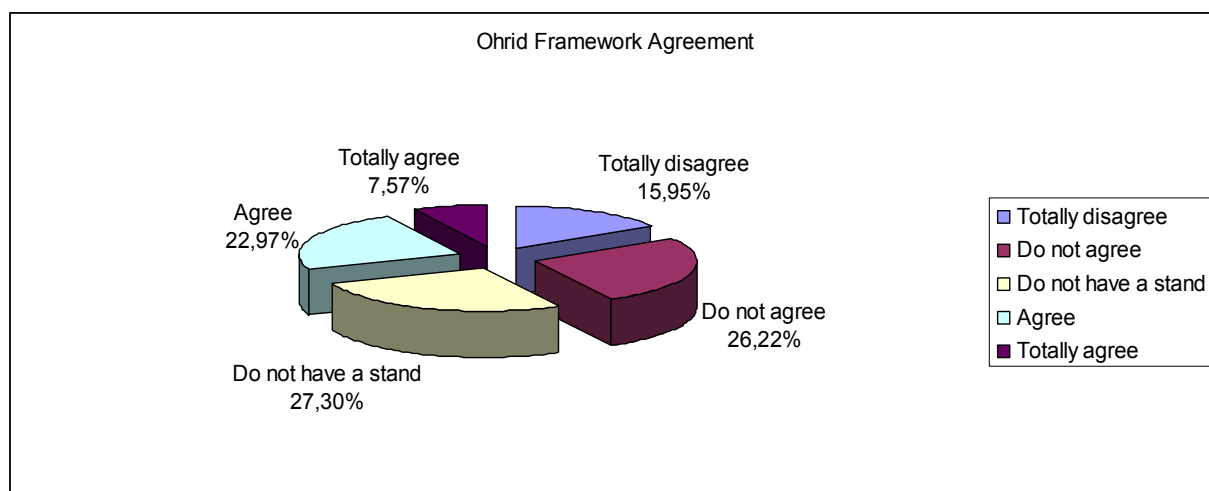
The place of residence (city versus countryside), do not reveal any significant differences in the responses. Those that do not agree or totally disagree and live in the city have a percentage of 51.8%, whereas that number is 58% in those living in the countryside. On the other hand, the percentage of those that agree or totally agree is almost identical in both groups, and it stands at 21%.

The degree of education in regards to this question also does not seem to have any great impact to the response. The percentage of the people polled that do not agree or totally disagree is almost the same in three categories of degree of education (elementary, high

school and college degree) and ranges from 53-56%. On the other hand, the percentage of those polled that agree or totally agree, in all categories ranges from 16-21%.

The negative responses to this questions in terms of monthly income point of view was highest among the monthly income group of 5000-10000MKD at 69%. The percentage of those that agreed or totally agreed that the judicial system successfully performs its function is the highest in the monthly income group of 15000-20000MKD, at 29%.

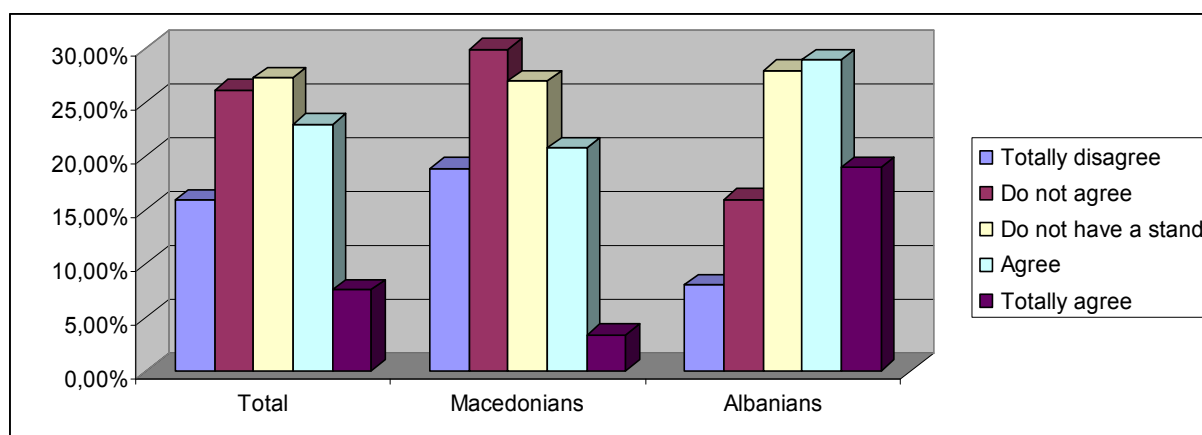
In regards to the question, **“Do you think that the Ohrid Framework Agreement positively influenced the cohabitation among Macedonian and Albanian population?”**, 15.9% totally disagree, 26.2% do not agree, 27.3% have no stance, 23% agree and 7.6% totally agree (Graph 21)



Graph 21 : Do you think that the Ohrid Framework Agreement positively influenced the cohabitation among Macedonian and Albanian population?

Viewed from an ethnic point of view, there is an evident difference in the responses. The percentage of Macedonians that do not agree or totally disagree is 48.9%, whereas the same

percentage in the Albanian population is twice as lower than the Macedonian, at 24%. The surprising data is the relatively high percentage (27% and 28%) in both ethnic groups that have no stance on this important question. On the other hand, the percentage of Macedonian respondents that agree or totally agree with this question is 24%, while the Albanian counterpart is at 48% (Graph 22).



Graph 22 : Macedonian and Albanian responses regarding the perceptions of the Ohrid Framework Agreement

The analysis of this question in terms of age groups, reveal that the highest percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree with the statement is the age group between 18-29 years old, at 51%, whereas this percentage in the age group of 50-59 years old is at 49%. The percentage of those that agree or totally agree is highest in the age group of 30-39 year old, and it stands at 39%.

The place of residence with regards to this question reveals no significant differences. Those that live in the countryside and do not agree or totally disagree have a percentage at 40%, while the cities counterpart stands at 43%. On the other hand, the percentages of those that agree or totally agree, and live in cities and countryside, are 29.5% and 33% respectively.

The degree of education seems to have certain influence in the responses to this question. For example, the percentage of those that totally disagree or do not agree is highest among the people polled with high and highest disagree of education, at 48%, followed by those with elementary education at 45%, then high school degree at 42%. On the other hand, the percentage of those polled that agreed or totally agreed is 30.8% in those with higher degree of education, 27.4% in high school degree and 28% in those with elementary education.

This question viewed from a monthly income point of view does not reveal any significant differences. The percentage of those that do not agree or totally disagree is highest in the population with monthly income from 15000-20000MKD, and it stands at 48%. Likewise the percentage in those with no income is relatively high at 45%. On the other hand, the percentage of those polled that agree or totally agree is highest in the monthly income group of 20000-30000MKD, at above 44%/ This percentage in the group with no monthly income is at 28%.

### ***3.3 General analysis regarding the respondents` views on the ethnic distance***

The research on the influence of the ethnic distance upon the integrity of the Macedonian society, according to many relevant factors, represents an important challenge from a theoretical as well as practical point of view. It is an analysis of context that determine the inner core of the dynamic movements in the Republic of Macedonia, from an aspect of its future development, as well as from an aspect of a continuous degree of cohesion of the modern social life in the country. In that context, from the previous analysis, we can see that in Republic of Macedonia, when the question regarding the coexistence of Albanians and

Macedonians arises, there are evident problems and issues that negatively impact the overall social life.

Namely, 23.6% of the total number of people polled declared a stand that states that they totally do not want (9.3%) or just do not want (14.3%) a member of a different ethnicity (Albanian or Macedonian) to live in the country. In terms of the second question, regarding a member of different ethnicity living in your neighborhood, 11% of the people polled totally disagreed and 20% disagreed, making the total of 31% of those polled that declared a negative answer. The third question about the willingness to have a coworker from a different ethnicity (Macedonian/Albanian), generally speaking 21.1% of the people polled had a negative answer, 7.6% totally disagreed and 13.5% that did not agree. In addition, it is important to emphasize that large number of the people polled did not have any stand regarding to this question (21%).

The fourth question if you agree to have a supervisor at your place of employment from a different ethnicity, 17.8% totally disagreed, 30.5% did not agree, 18.9% had no stand, 24.3% agreed and 8.4% totally agreed. The answers to the fifth question about socializing with a member from a different ethnicity during your free time reveal that 14% totally disagree, 18% did not agree, 14% had no stand, 38% agreed and 16% totally agreed.

The answers to the sixth question regarding having a head of political institution in your country that belongs to the other ethnicity, the ethnic distance became even more evident with the following percentages: 22.7% totally disagreed, 22.4% did not agree, 17.8% did not have a stand, 27.3% agreed and 9.7% totally agreed. The highest degree of ethnic distance was reached at the seventh question regarding having a close family relation to a member from a

different ethnicity with the following results: 52.7% totally disagreed, 22.2% did not agree, 13.5% did not have a stand, 7.8% agreed and 3.8% totally agreed with that statement.

In any case, the results received from the analysis of the stances from the people polled, generally speaking confirmed the basic assumptions of the research, namely the fact that the Republic of Macedonia is a divided ethnic society and that the ethnic conflicts represent a potential factor for a disintegration of the Macedonian society. Twenty years after the change in the political and economic system in the country, i.e. from the time of introduction of the democracy, the political pluralism and market economy in the Republic of Macedonia, it is still facing with difficulties to implement the concept of civil society. Namely, against the common sense and logic of the civil society, that bases itself upon many individual and group interactions among the people from different ethnic backgrounds, the Macedonian society is characterized by interactions that are dominated by an ethnic and confessional code, which is based upon ethnic loyalty. This results in an absence of communication among its citizens, leading to polarity of the society. The ethnic background comes first compared to the common background of the country.

On one side, this decreases the social cohesion of the society, creating assumptions for its political instability, and on the other side it also blocks the activities needed for collaboration in all other aspects, leading to extremely negative consequences in terms of building a mutual cultural and economic matrix. Considering this fact, it is evident that Macedonia finds itself in a very complex situation and it needs to pay a great deal of attention in finding alternatives for improving the ethnic relations of its citizens.

When we view the ethnic distance from the two different aspects, i.e. Macedonian and Albanian, it can be noticed that it is much more expressed among the Macedonian population when compared to the Albanian. For example, this is very evident in regards to the question if you accept to have a close family ties/relation with a member from a different ethnicity. 81% of the Macedonian population polled totally disagree or disagree with the statement, whereas this percentage among the Albanian population is 57%. This result is extremely worrying considering the fact that the ethnic background coincides with the religious beliefs, and that the ethnic distance now also becomes religious distance, i.e. this represents a constant distance between the Christian orthodox and the Muslim population in the Republic of Macedonia. In this context, there is a huge necessity for all institutions to create a better environment so that these differences can be overcome, namely the Macedonian population needs to have a better understanding of the Albanian culture.

In terms of the other socio-demographic facts, the analysis shows that the sex of the citizens (male versus female) or the marital relationship do not play any significant role in the ethnic distance, with one exception that is worth mentioning. The women have a somewhat higher percentage in the number of population polled, that have no stance in certain questions/statements.

In regards of place or residence, countryside versus city, the responses of the people polled display no significant differences between the citizens and those respective environments. This surprises to a certain degree considering certain characteristics of the countryside, and it was expected for the citizens of that environment to have a higher degree of ethnic distance. However, it has to be noted the percentage among those polled that had no stance is higher in those living in country side versus the ones living in the cities.

Regarding the standard of living in context of ethnic diversity and distance, the responses received show certain influences from the monthly income brackets, from the people polled in this research project. For example, the people with a lower monthly income, as well as those with no monthly income tend to have a greater ethnic distance, whereas those that have higher monthly income show larger degree of tolerance, but still show some degree of ethnic distance. In the context of this analysis, it can be noticed that there is no significant correlation between the percentage of people polled that have no stance, regardless of their monthly income.

The analysis of ethnic distance viewed from an aspect of degree of education, as expected, plays a certain role in the responses and the citizens' stance. That is more strongly emphasized in the first four questions form Bogardus' scale, where the people polled with no or little formal education have a larger percentage of negative responses compared to those with higher degree of education, and hence have a higher degree of ethnic distance. It comes to a little surprise that this tendency is not as evident when the other three questions are analyzed, where the ethnic distance is present in every category of people polled. This is especially evident with a high degree of ethnic distance in the last two questions.

The age group, evidently, influences the stances of the people polled regarding the ethnic distance. Namely, the elderly have a greater ethnic distance, where 40% of the population of age 60 and above, declared that they totally disagree or disagree with living with members from different ethnicity in the country, and this percentage in regards to the question whether to have a close family tie/relationship with a member of different ethnicity, in this same age group is even higher at 92%. The percentage of those with negative responses in the younger

population, the 18-29 age group varies in regards to these two questions, with 22.7% and 76% respectively. It can be noted that the ethnic distance is somewhat less in the people polled from the rest of the age groups, namely those in their middle ages.

### **3.4. Chi-square analysis**

The statistical analysis of the collected data regarding the ethnic distance between the two ethnicities (Macedonian/Albanian) was conducted by using the chi-square test of independence. The purpose of this statistical operation (tool) is to determine and measure the degree of independence/dependence between the variables. The hypothesis of the research is that there is high degree of ethnic distance between Macedonians and Albanians in the Republic of Macedonia. Accordingly, analysis of the data has shown significant level of dependence between the respondents' ethnicity and the respondents' opinions. Thus, the obtained chi-square values exceed the critical value in the cases of all seven statements included in the Bogardus' scale. Consequently, it can be concluded with 95% confidence ( $\alpha = .05$ ) that there is statistically significant relationship between the above mentioned variables. With other words, general hypothesis can be accepted. (Chi-square values are presented in the appendix 3)

### **3.5 General analysis regarding the respondents' views on the political institutions of Republic of Macedonia**

The research of ethnic distance was supported by additional questions regarding the functions and performance of the political institutions in Macedonia. This was done with one goal in

mind, which is to see the role that they play in securing a successful functioning of the Macedonian society in terms of improvement of the integrity of its own citizens. Namely, even though the Republic of Macedonia in the last twenty years of transition, towards the ultimate goal of democracy and better economic and social life had some core changes, it seems that in this moment it is still far away from the expected results. The results indicate only a small segment of this reality, in terms of successful performance of the government, parliament and the judicial system in Macedonia.

In regards to the function of the government in Republic of Macedonia, only slightly more than one third of those polled actually are pleased with the performance of the government, which represents worrying factor, especially taking in consideration that its role in this specific period is the functionality and development of the Macedonian society. This refers first and foremost to the solutions of the problems with Euro-Atlantic integration processes, ethnic conflicts, economic situation, the unemployment rate and the standard of living of its citizens. It should be emphasized that in regards to these issues, the Albanian population is far more unsatisfied, which indicates their level of integrity in the system.

From an age group point of view there are no significant differences in the population polled that disagree or totally disagree with the success rate of functioning of the government. Likewise, there are no significant differences in regards to the sex of the citizens, marital situation and place of residence. However, from an education degree point of view, this question reveals some differences in the stands of those polled. Those with a higher degree of education are less satisfied with the way the government performs its function, whereas those with little or no formal education are little more satisfied. In terms of the living standards, as expected, the least satisfied population is that of the unemployed.

In terms of the Parliament's performance, the dissatisfaction with its functioning is mostly expressed by the low percentage of citizens that agree with the statement that it functions well, which stands at 29%. Opposite from the results from the previous question, the percentage of those polled that do not agree with this is larger in the Macedonian population when compared to the Albanian population.

The analysis of the responses from an age group point of view, as well as the place or residence, and marital status does not seem to have any significant impact to the stands of the people polled. In contrast, the degree of education seems to be a factor that influences the opinion regarding the success of the Parliament's functioning. For example, the percentage of those that agree is the lowest in the group with little or no formal education, and increases in those with higher degrees of education. This can be attributed to the fact that the population with no formal or little education is not very familiar with the functions of the Parliament. The responses to this question from a monthly income point of view do not reveal any mutual relationship or conditional correlations.

The opinion of the people polled regarding the successful functioning of the Judicial system in Macedonia reveals high degree of dissatisfaction among all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. This percentage is higher in the Macedonian population, when compared to the Albanian population, which once again confirms the insufficient integrity of the Albanians. On the other hand, this can also be a byproduct of their lack of information, and more or less a certain degree of lack of interest for the functioning of the institutions of the system. It should be noted that large percentage of Albanian population that was polled (32%) had no stance in regards to this question. Furthermore, there is certain influence of the monthly income bracket

when it comes to the same questions, revealing greatest disappointment in the performance of the Judicial system in Macedonia in the citizens with monthly income of up to 5000MKD. In terms of the rest socio-demographic factors, (sex, place of residence and degree of education), there are no significant differences in the responses of the population polled.

The analysis of the results to the questions of the population polled regarding the “Ohrid Framework Agreement”, which asked if it had a positive influence in the cohabitation among Macedonians and Albanians, completes the picture of this social coexistence in the Republic of Macedonia. Namely, with this question we receive a clearer picture of the degree of integrity of the Macedonian society, in other words, we can observe the ethnic diversity and distance from a different angle. Today, there are different understandings in terms of the agreement, and hence different understandings of the conflict itself. The Macedonians characterize the conflict as a forceful aggression, and this in itself leads to understanding that this is forced solution.

On the other hand, the Albanian population accepts this as a fight for human rights, which the agreement seems to realize most of those rights. Within this context, Florian Bieber states: “The commitment and identification with Ohrid Agreement and the subsequent changes to the state is also asymmetric and many Macedonians consider the agreement as a ‘loss’ which was ‘won’ by Albanians”.<sup>35</sup> It should be also emphasized that there are radical Albanian movements that are not satisfied with the rights received by the agreement. In addition, there is a group of the Albanian population which thinks that the points of the agreement are very slow to be realized. However, it still seems that the Macedonians have a greater degree of

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<sup>35</sup> Florian Bieber, *Power Sharing and the Implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Office Macedonia, Skopje, 2008 p.207

resistance towards this document, because they receive this agreement as an unjustified reward to the Albanian population, for an aggressive military based act.

Analogous to the above, the different perceptions of both ethnicities in terms of this important document are significant, in that the percentage of the Albanian population polled that agrees is two times the percentage of its Macedonian counterpart. In any case, the results only confirm the long history of misunderstandings between the Macedonians and Albanians that escalated into a military conflict in 2001. It can be concluded the Ohrid Framework Agreement, as a finalized document that suppose to solve the conflict, in the reality it did not perform its duty, and did not deliver the needed results. The goal of decreasing the ethnic distance and ethnic diversities between the Macedonian and Albanian population can only be reached with a tolerant atmosphere and democratic dialogue, so that all aspects of this issue can be analyzed and addressed. Once again, a surprising fact is the significant percentage in both ethnic groups (27% and 28%), that had no stance or opinion to this matter.

The rest of the socio-demographic factors i.e. sex, place of residence, degree of education and monthly income, do not seem to have a significant influences and hence do not cause significant differences. An exception to this is the age group, which unfortunately in those with negative responses is highest in the population of 18-29 years old. This fact is worrying because it is exactly this generation of young people that have to take on a big role and hence carry the load of the process of building a mutual future with overall successful development of the Republic of Macedonia.

## 4. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Considering the previous analysis, it is evident that the Macedonian society has a problem with the degree of its own integrity regarding the ethnic basis. My research reveals that there are significant differences among the stands of the Macedonian and Albanian population in terms of personal and institutional questions about their coexistence. Taking this into account, it becomes obvious that my hypothesis is confirmed, that is to say that there is an emphasized ethnic distance among the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, which negatively influences the cohesion and the development of its social life. In addition, the current political and economic situation of the country also adds to this existing issue. Namely the partition of the society and the bad economic performances of the Macedonian economy influence the citizens' sense of confidence.

Analogous to this, ethnic belonging becomes an even larger protective factor for ethnicities' own self-identification. The fundamental human social-psychological needs: the need for its own identity, the need of security and cohesiveness, largely are realized within the frames of the ethnic group of his or her belonging, rather than to the one of the global social ambience in the country. As such, the lack of trust, fear, and disrespect are becoming intensified, which results in a low degree of tolerance and empathy towards the opposite ethnicity. This is followed by the creation of negative feelings towards members of the opposite ethnic groups. This cycle only confirms the already present negative stereotypes, which inevitably lead to new segregations, confrontations and conflicts.

Concurrently, enclosing within the frames of its own ethnicity leads towards personal stands that more and more frequently substitute the generally accepted stands (more often than not

propelled by the political leaders) of the current ethnicity. This fact speaks for the reason that the Republic of Macedonia, even after twenty years, is still dominated by holistic, traditional values. In addition, within the frame of this holistic understanding, in large part there is still strong emphasis that there is equality, security, collective belonging (opposite to the differentials created by individual interests), and analogous to this, anti-individualism.

Parallel to this, the tradition, as a collection of values, ideas, norms and customs that are contained in the “historical memory” of the Macedonian and Albanian ethnicity, still represents a powerful tool for the instrumentation of patriotism as well as a capability for the manipulation of the citizens in order to glorify its own ethnic marks, while concurrently negate the ones from the opposite ethnicity. In this manner, the rational interest and individual freedom of the citizens becomes secondary. One of the reasons for this condition of the Macedonian society is the fact that a large portion of the citizens are yet to anticipate the basic liberal values such as equality, independence, private ownership, individuality and agreements (agreement versus dictatorship, rationality versus irrationality).

Therefore, it is a necessity to affirm the thesis that the citizens should aim to create the values of personal freedom (especially the freedom of choice, tolerance, rationale, rather than dictatorship and absolute systems), because freedom is a cornerstone for creating criteria that values all social institutions. Moreover, in a liberal democracy according to John McGarry and Brendan O’Leary, ...”all individuals are accorded equal civil and political rights and judged my merit. They compete and are free to mix, integrate, assimilate, or alternatively form separate communities as long as they do not discriminate against others.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnicity*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996, p. 332

The adoption of liberal and democratic values becomes an absolute necessity for overcoming the current conditions. This would be better enabled by a more efficient functioning of the market economy as well as the development of democratic social institutions. It should be noted however, that the liberal orientation should be based upon democratic performances of the partitioned political culture, which incorporates in itself that understanding that individual luck has to be created within the frames of the institutionalized relations of the democratic country. This means that there should be a balance in the manner of gaining the freedom between the individual and the collective (in this case, the country). In other words, it is absolutely necessary that the Republic of Macedonia realizes both fundamental factors of a democracy.

Firstly, securing social equality, based upon equal opportunities (first and foremost the right for employment, as an elementary human right for securing its own existence). Secondly, securing individual freedom of choice based upon institutionalizing rules and regulations that would protect the plural interests in all aspects of social life (economic, political, judicial and social), which in turn would also create elementary assumptions for fair play in all forms of ownership. Evidently, in the Macedonian model of social practice there is a lack of the previously mentioned principles and with that alone, there is stimulation of negative trends in the overall social life in the country, best viewed from an aspect of ethnic distance that was presented in this thesis.

According to the above stated conclusions, if we want to improve the current conditions in terms of ethnic distance and stereotypes, and concurrently improve the integrity of the country, it is necessary to reach the consolidation of the Macedonian social system, and all of its aspects: political, economic, social, judicial, cultural and educational, as soon as possible.

This will create the basis for establishing stable social relations based upon generally accepted social values and norms. This will lead to building a mechanism in which the citizens would faster and more efficiently reach their goals, and develop a sense of security, confidence as well as affirmation of the individual, cultural and national values. This in return would lead to better integration in its own country.

This has to be emphasized in the years to come, as the Republic of Macedonia is looking forward to joining the European Union and functioning according to relative indicators and having an autonomous value system, which is a prerequisite for the realization of the wanted institutionalized coexistence of all European citizens. In this context, for the realization of these fundamental priorities, in my opinion, the following is needed:

First, to work in a direction that would increase the political culture of citizens, representatives of political parties<sup>37</sup>, including their leaders, so that they can awaken the strategic interest of the Republic of Macedonia. As such, the parties and their political leaders have to understand that the interests of the country are a priority, which means that they have to enter a mutual dialogue that would create the basis for defining national values, mutual national strategies that would lead towards economic development. In this sense, Mirjana Maleska concludes: “There is a gap between people and their political representatives, which is mainly filled with conflicting ethnic politics. Political parties are divided along ethnic, and

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<sup>37</sup> Research conducted in 2006 showed that citizens (Macedonians 53% and Albanians 48%) pointed out political parties as the strongest factor of negative influence on the ethnic relations, followed by the mass media and the government. See in detail: Istrazuvanje za ocekuvanjata na mladite vo Republika Makedonija, Dane Taleski, Ivan Dajmanovski, Nenad Markovik, Vladimir Bozinovski, Fondacija Fridrih Ebert – Kancelarija Skopje, 2006, p.18

their leaders compete for the distribution of the privileges associated with their public functions.”<sup>38</sup>

Secondly, there is a need for new, well thought out cultural politics, supplemented by educated politics, that would enable the building of an axiological matrix (cultural model) based upon the values that would develop the sense of worthiness among the citizens. In the core of this model should be the opportunity for a dialogue among its citizens, parties, ethnic groups in which the power of the arguments, objectivity and creativity, that will develop its own personal culture, past and present, and always confirm its credibility.

Thirdly, considering the fact that Macedonian society is a ethnically heterogeneous society with a multicultural structure and different values of its citizens, which creates economic inefficiency and social tensions, it is of a great importance to improve the socio-economic aspect that in turn would create a better opportunity for its citizens to solve and realize the rest of the aspects of their social life.

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

In conclusion, Republic of Macedonia should continue to build its own political life according to consensual democracy, with certain elements of pluralistic the model, so that the united character of the country is kept intact. This means that the Macedonian political system has to be based upon the following: dispersed governing power, decentralization, modesty and preparedness for compromise, proportional representation consensus and dialogue.

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<sup>38</sup> Mirjana Maleska, Interethnic relations in Macedonia: People Centered Analyses, New Balkan Politics, Issue 12, 2010, p.29

Macedonia is somewhat conditioned to accept the consensus model of democracy with some additions that were mentioned earlier, aware of all its weaknesses and risks: the lingering decisions, the high price of materialistic expenses for its survival, the capability of federalization which inevitably would lead to military conflict. However, if there is a genuine willingness for cohabitation of the Macedonian citizens, and readiness for dialogue, tolerance, it seems that this model can produce good results and thus change the current differences (ethnic/cultural/religious) into constructive elements of the country, rather than the weaknesses of the country. In this context, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner underline: “Where political institutions that disperse power, protect minorities and reward moderation are planned early enough, democracy and peace can prevail.”<sup>39</sup>

Finally, I would like to emphasize that the previously mentioned goals will not only stimulate the sense of life as a unit and decrease the ethnic distance in the Republic of Macedonia, it would also facilitate the process of fulfilling the criteria for entrance in the European Union due to the common ground between the goals and the criteria. It can be stated that the mentioned goals serve as anticipators for the process.

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<sup>39</sup> Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Democracy*, The Johns Hopkins Press Ltd., London, 1994, p.29

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## Appendix 1

### Questionnaire

#### **I Part**

##### **1. Sex**

1. Male
2. Female

##### **2. Age**

1. 18 – 29 years old
2. 30 – 39 years old
3. 40 – 49 years old
4. 50 – 59 years old
5. 60 – 69 years old
7. Over 70 years old

##### **3. Marital Status**

1. Single
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Widowed

##### **4. Place of Permanent Residence**

1. Village
2. Small city (25 000 inhabitants)
3. Medium city (25 001 – 50 000 inhabitants)
4. Bigger city (50 001 – 100 000 inhabitants)
5. Big city (over 100 000 inhabitants)

##### **5. Ethnicity**

1. Macedonian
2. Albanian

##### **6. Religion**

1. Christian-orthodox
2. Muslim
3. Catholic
4. Protestant

5. Other

## **7. Education**

1. Incomplete primary education
2. Complete primary education
3. High School Degree
4. College Degree
5. Bachelor Degree
6. MA and PhD Degree

## **8. Profession/Occupation**

1. worker
2. administrative servant
3. manger
4. specialist (M.D., engineer, other )
5. politician
6. artist
7. farmer
8. pupil
9. student
10. craft person
11. housewife
12. retired
13. unemployed
14. other

## **9.Total monthly income:**

1. up to 5000 MKD
2. from 5001 to 10000 MKD
3. from 10001 to 15000 MKD
4. from 15 001 to 20000 MKD
5. from 20001 to 30000 MKD
6. from 30001 to 50000 MKD
7. above 50000 MKD
8. no income

## **II Part**

**10. Would accept someone from the other ethnic group as:**

**as a citizen of your country:**

1. I completely agree

2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

**11. as your neighbor:**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

**12. as your co-worker:**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

**13. as your supervisor at workplace:**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

**14. as your personal friend:**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

**15. as a head of political institution**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

**16. as a close relative (kinship by marriage)**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree

3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

### **III Part**

#### **17. The Government of Republic of Macedonia successfully meets its objectives**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

#### **18. The Parliament of Republic of Macedonia successfully meets its objectives**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

#### **19. The Judiciary in Republic of Macedonia successfully fulfills its duties**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

#### **20. The Ohrid Framework Agreement\* has contributed by increasing the level of co-existence between Macedonians and Albanians**

1. I completely agree
2. I agree
3. I don't have opinion
4. I disagree
5. I completely disagree

\* Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed in 2001 as a peaceful solution of the armed conflict between Macedonians and Albanian in Republic of Macedonia

## Appendix 2

### Organizational structure of the research

Target groups:

Macedonian and Albanian citizens in ‘Pelagonia’ and ‘Ohrid’ region

Activities:

Time Schedule:

Activities are conducted in the following phases:

1. Theoretical and operational determination of the subject of the research	15 January - 14 March
1.1. Structural determination of the subject of research	
1.2. Specification of the hypothesis and the indicators in the research	
1.3. Specification of the research manner	
1.4. Operationalization of the methodological instrumentarium	
1.5. Formulation of the questionnaire	15 March – 1 May
2. Realization of the field research	
2.1. Creation of the research team for conduction of the survey	
2.2. Technical preparation for the research	
2.3. Education of the interviewers (pollsters)	
2.4. Conduction of the field survey	1 May – 10 May
3. Technical process of the data	
3.1. Creation of data base	
3.2. Computer processing of the data	
3.3. Graphical display of the data	10 – 25 May
4. Analysis of the processed data and concluding thoughts	
5. Summary	

Appendix 3

Presentation of the results regarding the questions analyzed from ethnicity point of view

Call:  
crosstabs(formula = ~ P10 + P5, data = S.Plus.4, na.action =  
na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)  
370 cases in table  
+-----+

	P10		P5		
	1	2	1	2	RowTotal
1	25	11	36		
	0.694	0.306	0.097		
	0.093	0.110			
	0.068	0.030			
2	40	6	46		
	0.870	0.130	0.124		
	0.148	0.060			
	0.108	0.016			
3	47	10	57		
	0.825	0.175	0.154		
	0.174	0.100			
	0.127	0.027			
4	123	46	169		
	0.728	0.272	0.457		
	0.456	0.460			
	0.332	0.124			
5	35	27	62		
	0.565	0.435	0.168		
	0.130	0.270			
	0.095	0.073			
ColTotal	270	100	370		
	0.73	0.27			

Test for independence of all factors  
Chi^2 = 15.97092 d.f.= 4 (p=0.00305843)  
Yates' correction not used

Call:  
crosstabs(formula = ~ P11 + P5, data = Final.Regioni.Prasalnik.03,  
na.action  
= na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)  
370 cases in table  
+-----+

	P11		P5		
	1	2	1	2	RowTotal
1	31	11	42		
	0.738	0.262	0.11		
	0.115	0.110			
	0.084	0.030			
2	69	6	75		
	0.920	0.080	0.20		
	0.256	0.060			
	0.186	0.016			
3	38	11	49		
	0.776	0.224	0.13		
	0.141	0.110			
	0.103	0.030			
4	102	47	149		
	0.685	0.315	0.40		
	0.378	0.470			
	0.276	0.127			
5	30	25	55		
	0.545	0.455	0.15		
	0.111	0.250			
	0.081	0.068			
ColTotal	270	100	370		
	0.73	0.27			

Test for independence of all factors  
Chi^2 = 25.31358 d.f.= 4 (p=0.00004350845)  
Yates' correction not used

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P12 + P5, data = Final.Regioni.Prasalnik.03,
na.action
          = na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P12      P5
|1      |2      |RowTotal|
+-----+
1      |22     |6      |28     |
|0.786  |0.214  |0.076  |
|0.081  |0.060  |       |
|0.059  |0.016  |       |
+-----+
2      |46     |4      |50     |
|0.920  |0.080  |0.135  |
|0.170  |0.040  |       |
|0.124  |0.011  |       |
+-----+
3      |55     |23     |78     |
|0.705  |0.295  |0.211  |
|0.204  |0.230  |       |
|0.149  |0.062  |       |
+-----+
4      |120    |46     |166    |
|0.723  |0.277  |0.449  |
|0.444  |0.460  |       |
|0.324  |0.124  |       |
+-----+
5      |27     |21     |48     |
|0.562  |0.438  |0.130  |
|0.100  |0.210  |       |
|0.073  |0.057  |       |
+-----+
ColTotal|270    |100    |370    |
|0.73    |0.27    |
+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 16.70802 d.f.= 4 (p=0.002202407)
Yates' correction not used
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P13 + P5, data = S.Plus.4, na.action =
na.fail,
          drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P13      P5
|1      |2      |RowTotal|
+-----+
1      |55     |11     |66     |
|0.833  |0.167  |0.178  |
|0.204  |0.110  |       |
|0.149  |0.030  |       |
+-----+
2      |97     |16     |113    |
|0.858  |0.142  |0.305  |
|0.359  |0.160  |       |
|0.262  |0.043  |       |
+-----+
3      |144    |26     |170    |
|0.629  |0.371  |0.189  |
|0.163  |0.260  |       |
|0.119  |0.070  |       |
+-----+
4      |59     |31     |90     |
|0.656  |0.344  |0.243  |
|0.219  |0.310  |       |
|0.159  |0.084  |       |
+-----+
5      |15     |16     |31     |
|0.484  |0.516  |0.084  |
|0.056  |0.160  |       |
|0.041  |0.043  |       |
+-----+
ColTotal|270    |100    |370    |
|0.73    |0.27    |
+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 28.72252 d.f.= 4 (p=8.900413e-006)
Yates' correction not used
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P14 + P5, data = Final.Regioni.Prasalnik.03,
na.action
          = na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P14      P5
  1      2      RowTotal
-----+-----+
1      40      11      51      |
      0.784      0.216      0.14      |
      0.148      0.110      |
      0.108      0.030      |
-----+-----+
2      62      5      67      |
      0.925      0.075      0.18      |
      0.230      0.050      |
      0.168      0.014      |
-----+-----+
3      37      15      52      |
      0.712      0.288      0.14      |
      0.137      0.150      |
      0.100      0.041      |
-----+-----+
4      107      33      140      |
      0.764      0.236      0.38      |
      0.396      0.330      |
      0.289      0.089      |
-----+-----+
5      24      36      60      |
      0.400      0.600      0.16      |
      0.089      0.360      |
      0.065      0.097      |
-----+-----+
ColTotal|270      100      370      |
      0.73      0.27      |
-----+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 47.78394 d.f.= 4 (p=1.04691e-009)
Yates' correction not used
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P15 + P5, data = Final.Regioni.Prasalnik.03,
na.action
          = na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P15      P5
  1      2      RowTotal
-----+-----+
1      69      15      84      |
      0.821      0.179      0.227      |
      0.256      0.150      |
      0.186      0.041      |
-----+-----+
2      73      10      83      |
      0.880      0.120      0.224      |
      0.270      0.100      |
      0.197      0.027      |
-----+-----+
3      47      19      66      |
      0.712      0.288      0.178      |
      0.174      0.190      |
      0.127      0.051      |
-----+-----+
4      66      35      101      |
      0.653      0.347      0.273      |
      0.244      0.350      |
      0.178      0.095      |
-----+-----+
5      15      21      36      |
      0.417      0.583      0.097      |
      0.056      0.210      |
      0.041      0.057      |
-----+-----+
ColTotal|270      100      370      |
      0.73      0.27      |
-----+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 33.99568 d.f.= 4 (p=7.467088e-007)
Yates' correction not used
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P16 + P5, data = Final.Regioni.Prasalnik.03,
na.action
          = na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P16  P5
    1  2  |RowTotal|
-----+-----+
1  |153 | 42 |195 |
   |0.7846 |0.2154 |0.527 |
   |0.5667 |0.4200 | |
   |0.4135 |0.1135 | |
-----+-----+
2  | 67 | 15 | 82 |
   |0.8171 |0.1829 |0.222 |
   |0.2481 |0.1500 | |
   |0.1811 |0.0405 | |
-----+-----+
3  | 32 | 18 | 50 |
   |0.6400 |0.3600 |0.135 |
   |0.1185 |0.1800 | |
   |0.0865 |0.0486 | |
-----+-----+
4  | 16 | 13 | 29 |
   |0.5517 |0.4483 |0.078 |
   |0.0593 |0.1300 | |
   |0.0432 |0.0351 | |
-----+-----+
5  |  2 | 12 | 14 |
   |0.1429 |0.8571 |0.038 |
   |0.0074 |0.1200 | |
   |0.0054 |0.0324 | |
-----+-----+
ColTotal|270 |100 |370 |
        |0.73 |0.27 | |
-----+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 37.29932 d.f.= 4 (p=1.562829e-007)
Yates' correction not used
Some expected values are less than 5, don't trust stated p-
value
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P17 + P5, data = S.Plus.4, na.action =
na.fail,
          drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P17  P5
    1  2  |RowTotal|
-----+-----+
1  |163 |23 |186 |
   |0.733 |0.267 |0.23 |
   |0.233 |0.230 | |
   |0.170 |0.062 | |
-----+-----+
2  |169 |18 |187 |
   |0.793 |0.207 |0.24 |
   |0.256 |0.180 | |
   |0.186 |0.049 | |
-----+-----+
3  |129 |27 |156 |
   |0.518 |0.482 |0.15 |
   |0.107 |0.270 | |
   |0.078 |0.073 | |
-----+-----+
4  |170 |20 |190 |
   |0.778 |0.222 |0.24 |
   |0.259 |0.200 | |
   |0.189 |0.054 | |
-----+-----+
5  |139 |12 |151 |
   |0.765 |0.235 |0.14 |
   |0.144 |0.120 | |
   |0.105 |0.032 | |
-----+-----+
ColTotal|270 |100 |370 |
        |0.73 |0.27 | |
-----+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 15.89107 d.f.= 4 (p=0.003168867)
Yates' correction not used
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P18 + P5, data = S.Plus.4, na.action =
na.fail,
          drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P18      P5
-----+-----+-----+
|1|53|120|173|
|0.726|0.274|0.197|
|0.196|0.200|
|0.143|0.054|
+-----+
|2|92|122|114|
|0.807|0.193|0.308|
|0.341|0.220|
|0.249|0.059|
+-----+
|3|44|130|174|
|0.595|0.405|0.200|
|0.163|0.300|
|0.119|0.081|
+-----+
|4|57|121|178|
|0.731|0.269|0.211|
|0.211|0.210|
|0.154|0.057|
+-----+
|5|24|7|31|
|0.774|0.226|0.084|
|0.089|0.070|
|0.065|0.019|
+-----+
ColTotal|270|100|370|
|0.73|0.27|
+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 10.62087 d.f.= 4 (p=0.03117218)
Yates' correction not used
value
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P19 + P5, data = S.Plus.4, na.action =
na.fail,
          drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P19      P5
-----+-----+-----+
|1|72|19|91|
|0.791|0.209|0.25|
|0.267|0.190|
|0.195|0.051|
+-----+
|2|96|121|117|
|0.821|0.179|0.32|
|0.356|0.210|
|0.259|0.057|
+-----+
|3|51|132|183|
|0.614|0.386|0.22|
|0.189|0.320|
|0.138|0.086|
+-----+
|4|47|121|168|
|0.691|0.309|0.18|
|0.174|0.210|
|0.127|0.057|
+-----+
|5|4|7|11|
|0.364|0.636|0.03|
|0.015|0.070|
|0.011|0.019|
+-----+
ColTotal|270|100|370|
|0.73|0.27|
+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 20.21265 d.f.= 4 (p=0.0004533653)
Yates' correction not used
Some expected values are less than 5, don't trust stated p-
value
```

```
Call:
crosstabs(formula = ~ P20 + P5, data = S.Plus.4, na.action =
na.fail, drop.unused.levels = T)
370 cases in table
+-----+
|N      |
|N/RowTotal|
|N/ColTotal|
|N/Total |
+-----+
P20 |P5
   |1  |2  |RowTotal|
+-----+
1  |51 | 8 | 59 |
   |0.864 |0.136 |0.159 |
   |0.189 |0.080 | |
   |0.138 |0.022 | |
+-----+
2  |81 |16 | 97 |
   |0.835 |0.165 |0.262 |
   |0.300 |0.160 | |
   |0.219 |0.043 | |
+-----+
3  |73 |28 |101 |
   |0.723 |0.277 |0.273 |
   |0.270 |0.280 | |
   |0.197 |0.076 | |
+-----+
4  |56 |29 | 85 |
   |0.659 |0.341 |0.230 |
   |0.207 |0.290 | |
   |0.151 |0.078 | |
+-----+
5  | 9 |19 |28 |
   |0.321 |0.679 |0.076 |
   |0.033 |0.190 | |
   |0.024 |0.051 | |
+-----+
ColTotal|270 |100 |370 |
   |0.73 |0.27 | |
+-----+
Test for independence of all factors
Chi^2 = 36.74115 d.f.= 4 (p=2.036592e-007)
Yates' correction not used
```