

POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE CITIZENS OF THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA REGARDING THE NATIONALITY OF THE HIGHEST STATE SERVANTS

Aleksandar Jovanoski

Law Faculty – Kicevo
University St. Kliment Ohridski – Bitola
Republic of Macedonia

Kire Sharlamanov

Faculty of Communication
International Balkan University
Republic of Macedonia

Abstract

The main objective of this work is to investigate the attitudes of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia about the ethnicity of the highest state servant's within the executive power. This article makes an attempt also to reveal the preferences of the citizens of Republic of Macedonia in terms of coexistence with the members of different ethnic communities and some aspects of the political system of the Republic of Macedonia. The attitudes of the respondents are reviewed, in terms of the political agreement called Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), executed in 2001, that set the contours of consociationalism in Macedonia. This work also reviews the relationships between the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and the extent of acceptance of the members with different ethnic origin in different roles of everyday life. The obtained results show differentiated relation in the answers of the respondents which confirms certain assumptions for preferential grouping of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia in terms of the acceptance of certain institutional designs and relations.

Key words: Republic of Macedonia, ethnic group, Macedonians, Albanians, Ohrid Framework Agreement, President, Prime Minister etc.

1. Introduction

The Republic of Macedonia is one of the youngest democratic countries in Europe. Positioned in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, Macedonia is one more country in the sequence of countries that confirmed their independence after the breakdown of the socialist systems and federations in the beginning in the 90's of the last century. Republic of Macedonia is one of the countries successors of the former Yugoslav federation and projected its independence in the first democratic Constitution, adopted in the Parliament of Macedonia in 1991. In the process of verification of the democratic capacity of the newly formed Balkan democracies – process that was assessed by appropriate institutions of the European Economic Community (EEC) through eminent legal experts¹ – Macedonia together with the Republic of Slovenia were pointed as the only countries that fulfill the democratic standards of all remaining newly created countries in the

¹ In this regard, especially important was the commission consisted of few legal experts from the countries of the EEC at that time, the head of which was Judge in the Constitutional Court of France - Robert Badenter

Balkan. However, the subsequent development of the events showed certain deceleration of the democratic consolidation and development of the country.

Taking into consideration the historical heritage from the 20th century when Macedonia in the beginning of the century was part of the so called east issue, and later on, there were two Balkan wars for its territory, the ethnic mixture of the population and the deficit of democratic capacity in the transition from socialist statism into parliamentary democracy, which was in parallel with the independence of the country, one of the key issues for future development, was the successful regulation of inter-ethnic relationships (Babuna 2000: 79). That was an issue that was used as a foundation for testing the democratic capacity of the organization of the state governance in the beginning of the 1990's. Namely, Republic of Macedonia is a multiethnic society where few ethnic groups live, of which most dominant are Macedonians and Albanians. Besides these two ethnic communities in Macedonia there is a small percentage of Turks, Roma, Serbs, Vlachs etc. This ethnic coloration of the country is a result of the few centuries of mixing and coexistence.

In the ethnic heterogeneous societies without some more significant democratic tradition, as was the Macedonian society in the beginning in the 1990's, and with the release of the strong ethnic tension during the breakdown of the statist social constitution that held the ethnic energy under control through the mechanisms of more or less, forced state power, there is always a danger of strained relations between the dominant ethnic groups that are in competition for the rare social resources, that can end up with a conflict (Maleska 2010). After the breakdown of former Yugoslavia, the identities of the dominant ethnic communities, as well as the entire political and economic system were in transition (Adamson and Jovic 2004). Macedonians and Albanians were free of the needs and requirements, to conform the basics of their identity to the broader Yugoslav identity, but the issue of coexistence of these two ethnic identities within R. Macedonia was seriously initialized. The constitution which was adopted during the independence of R. Macedonia in 1991 was supposed to reflect the ethnic specifics of the population and to guarantee the individual rights, as well as the rights of the ethnic groups which are indigenous on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

With the Constitution, Republic of Macedonia was defined as sovereign, independent, democratic and social country (article 1), but the preamble contained a provision that pointed out the historical character of the country that was related to the efforts made by the bearing ethnic community – the Macedonian people, that was determined as constitutive and constituent. Namely, the preamble explained that R. Macedonia is a national state of the Macedonian people where equally live the Macedonian people and Albanians, Turks, Vlachs and Roma. At the same time, the article 9 of the Constitution equalized all citizens saying that all citizens are equal in their rights and liberties regardless of the sexual, racial, national and social origin, the political and religious beliefs, the property and social status.

The political representatives of the Albanians did not vote for the adoption of the Constitution and considered that it gives privileged position of Macedonians, considering for themselves that they are citizens of secondary importance. They demanded a change of the constitution, getting a status of a constitutive people, as well as rights in the area of use of the Albanian language and formation of a University in Albanian language (Lesnikovski 2011: 66). Namely, article 7 of the Constitution indicated that official language in R. Macedonia is the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic alphabet, while the languages of the minorities are also official in the municipalities where they live in substantial numbers. Article 48 from the Constitution projected teaching in the language of the nationalities in the primary and secondary education, but there was no clear determination in regard to higher education. The conviction of the political representatives of the ethnic Albanians (who consisted one-fifth of the 120 Parliament members in the multiparty parliament of Republic of Macedonia), that this caused historical injustice to the Albanian people in Macedonia, and conditioned that they do not give legitimacy of the new Constitution of the country.

The results of these standardized inter-ethnic relations led the political game in the area of inter-ethnic relations, towards basic directions. On one hand, R. Macedonia was the only newly created country of former Yugoslavia that avoided military conflict in the period of independence, which at that time, was best reflected through the slogan “Oasis of peace”, which was frequently used by the President of Republic of Macedonia at that time, Kiro Gligorov. Since that time, the Albanians have their representatives in the peaks of state authority in R. Macedonia. Thus, the governments of Republic of Macedonia ever since the beginning of its independence in 1990 to 2001 and to this day, always consisted of coalitions containing political representatives of Albanians. Appropriately to the participation of the Albanian population in the total number of inhabitants of the ‘two-million Macedonia’ and in the Macedonia government, there was appropriate number of ministries headed by Albanians. Also, every governmental constitution had at least one deputy-prime minister from the Albanian ethnic community.

On the other hand, some sparking temporarily occurred between the greater ethnic groups in the inter-ethnic relations. The most serious inter-ethnic incidents in the 1990’s occurred during the foundation of the State University of Tetovo in Albanian language, which was an illegal act at that time. In the incident, after the intervention of the police, one Albanian lost his life. The second serious incident was the pointing out of the Albanian flag, in front of the municipal buildings in Tetovo and Gostivar, cities with dominantly Albanian population, and with mayors - Albanians. After the intervention of the police, one Albanian lost his life, the flags were removed and the mayors ended in prison (Lesnikovski 2011: 66; Babuna 2000: 81). Although these incidents were an indicator of serious problems, they were amortized through the political influence of the Albanian representatives in the executive power and the shifts as regard to their demands especially in the period 1998 – 2001.

The conviction that the political representatives of the ethnic groups protect, thus satisfy the political interests of the largest ethnic groups in the country, burst like a soap bubble in March 2001, with the eruption of the internal conflict of the armed paramilitary formations of the Albanians in Macedonia and the police force of the country. After five months of armed fight, which intensified during the summer, and with the mediation of the international community in a form of facilitators from USA and EU, on August 13, in the southern lake city in the country – Ohrid, a political agreement was executed called Framework Agreement, which rearranged the constitutional order of the country. With the Framework Agreement, there was a change of the preamble which determined Macedonian people as holders of the statehood, simultaneously thirteen constitutional amendments were provided, which stimulated and strengthened the equal status of the remaining minorities in terms of the Macedonian people. Such constitutional amendments were the ones that projected regulation of the use of language and symbols of the ethnic communities, as well as the amendment that formally and legally enforced formation of the future governmental offices with a compulsory participation of the political representatives of the minority community, that consists at least 20% of the entire population of the country.² Minority that according to the number exceeds 20% of the entire population in Macedonia are only Albanians. Except for this amendment, the Ohrid Framework Agreement also rearranged the relations in the local self-governance, the structure of the court system, the

² The form of expression of this demand was indirect. Namely, one of the amendments that later on became article 69 of the Constitution of RM, contains explanation of the precondition for decision making in the legislative body of the Republic: „For laws that directly affect culture, use of languages, education, personal documents and use of symbols, the Parliament decides with majority of votes of the present Parliament members, whereupon there must be a majority of votes of the present Parliament members that belong to the communities that are not majority in Republic of Macedonia. This in itself meant that the future governmental offices must include political representatives of the most important minority community in Macedonia, as a condition for the executiveness and efficiency of the legislative power.

educational process got different dimension, as well as a sequence of political provision from the Framework Agreement regarding the compulsory employment of the members of the Macedonian communities in the public and state services – wherewith the political system of Macedonia from a liberal democracy with competitive Parliament, became a consociative democracy with a cohabitation character in the executive, as well as the legislative power.

The justifiability and the acceptability of the new constitutional (re)design performed through the political agreement from Ohrid was and still is a subject of serious debates, explorations of the public opinion and experts analyses with divided opinions. From a 10 year distance one could say that there are different positions in regard to the Ohrid Framework Agreement. Namely, on one hand, it is observed as a political miracle that saved the country from a conflict and relatively balanced functioning of the state institutions. On the other hand, there are analyses (Vasiljevic 2004) indicating that after the conflict and the Framework Agreement, in R. Macedonia, there is still lack of confidence between the ethnic groups, insufficient communication and different perspectives regarding the future of the country, especially at the level of coexistence that should be built between the members of the separate ethnic groups in everyday life. Some analyses indicate the discrepancy that occurs between the positions of the political representatives of the ethnic communities and the attitudes of the members of those same ethnic communities (Vankovska 2007: 1), that is, the stimulation of harmonic relations through the unfastening of the political élites from the interests and needs of the ethnical groups which they represent, which by some was identified as one of the potentials that conditioned the conflict from 2001. Simultaneously, there are analyses indicating that R. Macedonia in general managed to construct a moderate and relatively successful inter-ethnic model, which has certain weaknesses that temporarily occur and are overcome. This is especially true in comparison to the countries that emerged from former Yugoslavia, where the inter-ethnic relations were solved with evictions of entire ethnic groups. These assessments remained even after the conflict from 2001, which unlike the remaining inter-ethnic conflicts on the Balkan, it had relatively weak intensity and ended relatively quickly and without classical military end (Kubo 2004: 183). From this discrepancy of diametric positions arises the need to find out the opinion of the citizen regarding the issues about inter-ethnic relations, with a special focus on the functioning of the Ohrid Framework Agreement. In this text we publish the results of a survey whose objective was to show the mood of citizens in regard to these issues.

2. Method

In order to collect data for performing analysis on this issue, we decided to construct a questionnaire with scales for assessment of attitudes (Likert and Bogardus) and to implement the same on an appropriate number of respondents. The sample was limited to 100 respondents selected according to the method of random sampling, and three cities in Macedonia were included: Skopje – the capital of the Republic where one third of the total population in Macedonia lives and where the ration of Macedonians-Albanians reflects the ratio of these two ethnic communities at state level, 40 respondents were surveyed in this city; Tetovo, city in the Northwestern part of the country where the predominant population is consisted of Albanians – over 75% od 120 000 inhabitants, 30 respondents were surveyed in this city and Strumica – city in the Southeastern part of the country where mostly Macedonians live, also 30 respondents were surveyed in this city. Of the obtained data, according to certain socio-democratic characteristics of the sample, this is the image we obtained: 56 respondents are Macedonians, 40 are Albanians and 4 are Turks. In regard to the gender of the participants in the survey the ratio was 55 male and 45 female respondents. According to these indicators, one cannot speak of representativity of the sample in regard to the entire territory, but the percentage presence and the ration in terms of these two parameters leaves space for confirmation of the assumption for conformity with the republican conditions.

3. Results and discussion

One of the first questions that the respondents answered regarding the general climate in Republic of Macedonia was, on a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 means very poor and 5 very good) estimate the inter-ethnic relations in the country. The obtained data suggest certain difference in the answers between Macedonians and Albanians but not to a significant extent ($\chi^2(4, N = 92) = 4,175, p < 0,05$) ($t = 0,813$ $M_M = 2,89$ $M_a = 2,72$). According to the mean value, the Macedonian respondents for insignificantly small nuance estimate the inter-ethnic conditions in the country as better, compared to the examined Albanians. The next question referred to the possibilities of the members of smaller ethnic communities for employment in the state services, the obtained data reflect important difference between the Macedonian and Albanian respondents ($\chi^2(4, N = 96) = 37,28 p < 0,05$). This is especially expressed in the mean value on the scale of 1 to 5 where $t = 1,19 p > 0,05$ $M_M = 3,65$ and $M_a = 2,13$.

The next collection of questions for investigating the attitude of the respondents regarding the inter-ethnic relations in Republic of Macedonia referred to the perception of loyalty of certain ethnic groups towards the state policies. Regarding the questions about how loyal Macedonians and Albanians are towards state policies and how much ones or the others take care for maintaining harmonic inter-ethnic relations on a scale for estimation of the attitudes from 1 to 5 (where 1 means 'I completely disagree' and 5 means 'I completely agree'), the following conditions are obtained: To the question 'How much do you agree that Macedonians show loyalty to state politics', the χ^2 test shows ($\chi^2(4, N = 89) = 34,15 p < 0,05$) that there is significant difference in the answers of Macedonians and Albanians, which is also confirmed by the mean values ($t = 6.62 p < 0,01$ $M_M = 3,86$ и $M_a = 2,61$). On the other hand, completely expected reverse ration exists in the answers to the question about how much respondents agree with the assertion that Albanians show loyalty to state politics ($\chi^2(4, N = 88) = 35,62 p < 0,05$), similar tendency is noticed which is also confirmed with the mean values measured on the Linkert scale of attitudes ($t = -6.34 p < 0,01$ $M_M = 2,14$ и $M_a = 3,41$).

In regard to the assessment of the contribution of each of the two most important ethnic communities in Republic of Macedonia for maintaining harmonic inter-ethnic relations, in regard to Macedonians, the flowing results are obtained ($\chi^2(4, N = 94) = 57,16 p < 0,05$). That is, the check of the average values of the two ethnic communities indicates significant difference in the perception of this ethnic group as a factor for maintaining harmonic inter-ethnic relations ($t = 1.50 p < 0,01$ $M_M = 3,96$ и $M_a = 2,30$), which is actually confirmed also in the case with the assessment of the contribution of Albanians for the harmonics of the inter-ethnic relations ($\chi^2(4, N = 94) = 32,95 p < 0,05$), but in this case, although the values expressed differences between them, however the positive value was at the other group of respondents ($t = 1.50 p < 0,01$ $M_M = 2,06$ и $M_a = 3,40$). Completely expected, in this case as well, the respondents experience their ethnic group as significantly more creditable for the maintenance of harmonic relations, than some other one.

With the questionnaire, in the same scale of assessment of attitudes, the respondents were also asked of their opinion how much they agree or disagree with the assertions that Macedonians discriminate the remaining ethnic groups in Republic of Macedonia and how much Albanians are the ones who discriminate the remaining ethnic groups in the country. This question was asked with the assumption that these two ethnic communities have an important approach to the governance and state authorities, and it is precisely this status that enables them to be in position to discriminate members of the minority groups. In this case it was also confirmed the already perceived tendency to experience the personal ethnic group as more democratic and more moderate, while the other group is experienced as discriminatory. In regard to Macedonians as discriminators, the χ^2 determined the following condition ($\chi^2(4, N = 97) = 74,85 p < 0,05$). The values of the answers about how much Macedonians discriminate the remaining ethnic groups best confirm this thesis through the check of the mean values ($t = -12,23 p < 0,01$ $M_M = 1,60$ и $M_a = 3,68$).

When it comes to the other situation that investigates how much Albanians are discriminatory, the values are on the other end (χ^2 (4, N = 92) = 45,28 p < 0,05) and the mean values (t = 7,95 p < 0,01 M_M = 3,71 and M_a = 2,00).

The key problem that this work deals with is refers to the preferences of the respondents regarding the nationality of the highest state officials. Namely, in the questionnaire there was a question for the respondents, who they would like to be Head of state (President) and Head of government (Prime Minister). They were provided few different options for an answer: *Macedonian; Albanian; from some of the smaller ethnic groups; the ethnicity is not important, it is important that he/she is an honest person or a President or Prime Minister should be a woman.*

In this case, due to the nature of the question when performing the analysis, we decided that it is necessary also to include the variable regarding the gender of the respondents as a factor that could contribute for differentiated answers of the respondents.

Table 1

The first thing that can be noticed with the data expressed in this table is that the gender as a factor does not have some very important role in the preference of one or the other gender, for a president of the country. Namely, the number of female respondents that would choose a woman to be a president of the country is surprisingly small, only 5 of 45 respondents. Preference for an appropriate ethnicity of the president can be noticed, but also there are quite a lot of answers of respondents who consider that the honesty of the president's personality should have priority compared to his ethnicity.

However, when it comes to the ethnicity of the respondents and their answer to the question about the type of person they would like for a president of the country, results are obtained indicating the ethnic reliance of the political represents in the ethnically divided societies such as the Macedonian (Taleski 2011). This in turn could mean autarky of the political programs that are closed in the borders of one of the political communities and the serious defect of the democratic political process (Chapman 1991).

Table 2

Although at first sight one can notice grouping of answers regarding the solution that confirms the ethnicity of the respondents with the ethnicity of the President, however, the answers of the Albanians express importantly more neutral attitude expressed with the selection of the option that emphasizes honesty before the ethnicity of the President. This option was selected by 19 of 40 Albanians in total, which is almost a half. What is also interesting is the condition according to which no Macedonian respondent chose an answer that he would like an Albanian for a president, as well as that no Albanian respondent prefers to have a Macedonian for a president. These data and trends maybe most picturesquely express the animosity between Macedonians and Albanians regarding the acceptance of the others as highest state officials.

The question about who and what kind of Prime Minister they would like to have in the country, has shown similar results to the questions about the president of Republic of Macedonia. Also in this case, the preferences of the respondents were tested in terms of their gender and ethnicity.

Table 3

Only 8 female respondents of 45 in total stated that they would like to have a Prime Minister of the same gender. Although here the number of female respondents for whom the gender of the prime minister is important, in this case as well, on can conclude that the gender of the respondents is not expressed as a factor for differentiation of their answers regarding the profile of a prime minister. The number of answers that emphasize the honesty of the prime minister ahead of the remaining characteristics is also significant. In

regard to whether they would like the prime minister to be Albanian, only 11 respondents selected this option.

Table 4

What is more specific with this table as well, is the confirmation of the tendency for the Macedonian respondents to be more exceptional in the selection of the ethnicity of the prime minister than the Albanian respondents. Almost half of the Albanian respondents pointed out that they would like for the prime minister to be an honest person that to belong to a certain ethnic group. In this regard, Macedonians mostly preferred that the President of this high state should be of their ethnicity. It is interesting that more Albanian respondents chose an option for the prime minister to be a woman than the Macedonian respondents. The deviation from the previously determined tendencies is that this time two Albanian respondents would like a prime minister with Macedonian ethnicity, which was not noticed as a selected option in the opposite direction.

The issue regarding the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Ohrid Framework Agreement was elaborated through solutions (options), with the attempt to include the greatest number of possible options that realistically express the emotional and cognitive disposition of the members of its two most important ethnic groups. Although it has been more than ten years since its construction and implementation in the constitutional order of the Republic, one can say that the initial and emotional reactions to this agreement can be noticed today as well. The results from the table below are a good indicator for this:

Table 5

The results generally indicate that Macedonians have the impression that the Framework Agreement is unjust and executed under pressure. The greatest number of respondents selected this option – 37, and 33 of them were Macedonians. On the other hand, majority respondents-Albanians estimate the Agreement as an Agreement that confirmed the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia. Also the number of respondents who answered that they do not have enough information about the Framework Agreement is not small. The conviction that dominates is that the respondents in regard to this agreement have expressed polarizing positions, and that this should be a signal for a more serious study and debates about the motives why its effectiveness at the most significant ethnic groups in the country is diametrically opposite assessed.

4. Concluding observations

The initial estimation of the obtained results from the questionnaire with scales for assessment of attitudes of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, regarding the harmonics of the inter-ethnic relations, as well as the ethnicity of the highest state officials, is that it confirms the tendency for experiencing the personal ethnic group as more peace-loving and less discriminatory than the other and that when it comes to highest state officials, mostly candidates with the same ethnicity as the respondents are preferred. Both important ethnic communities in the country, Macedonians and Albanians, have similar general estimation regarding inter-ethnic relations. Also the respondents experience their group as more loyal to state politics. However, some differences were perceived, offering space for some more interesting interpretations, and this primarily refers to the fact that the gender of the respondents has no significant role in the selection of an appropriate person for the presidential or prime minister's function. Namely, the female respondents would rather choose a man from their ethnic group, than to choose a woman who is highest state official, although there more respondents who would primarily choose a woman for a Prime Minister than for a President.

The attitudes of the respondents according to their ethnicity in regard to the Ohrid Framework Agreement – the political agreement that was later on implemented in the constitutional order of the country and somewhat changed its character, confirmed that certain emotional setting to this problematic is retained at the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, even after more than ten years since its execution. However, when reviewing these and similar questions that express the differentiating relation according to the ethnicity of the respondents, one should not forget the ethnic composite of the places that the questioned respondents come from, that is, cities where one of the most numerous ethnic groups dominates – Tetovo and Strumica. For Macedonians it is typical that they mostly experience this agreement as unfair agreement, adopted under pressure, while Albanians mostly estimate this agreement as an agreement that improved the inter-ethnic relations.

The results of this research, on an issue that has an interesting perception between the citizens even after a period of ten years, is that polarizing positions prevail, requiring further and more serious investigations, that could provide some explanation of the motives why the effectiveness of the Ohrid Framework Agreement is assessed with diametrical contradiction, at the most significant ethnic groups in the country. Such further investigations, should also include more wide-ranging analyses about the impacts of external factors on the nature of inter-ethnic relations in Republic of Macedonia, and this mostly refers to the blockage efforts of Republic of Greece in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration of Macedonia.

References

- Adamson Kevin and Jovic Dejan (2004) The Macedonian – Albanian political frontier: the Re-articulation of post- Yugoslav political identities; *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (3)
- Babuna Aydin (2000) The Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia: Ethnic Identity Superseding Religion; *Nationalities Paper* Vol. 28, No 1
- Chapman, D. (1991). *Can Civil Wars be Avoided? Electoral and Constitutional Models for Ethnically Divided Countries*, London: The Institute for Social Inventions
- Kubo Keiichi (2004) Democratization and Inter-ethnic Relations in Multiethnic Countries: A Comparative Analysis of Croatia and Macedonia; *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, Tomus 21, pp. 181-201
- Lesnikovski Ladislav (2011) Macedonians Ontological Insecurity and the Challenges of Stabilizing Inter – ethnic Relations; *Eurasia Border Review* Vol. 2, No 1
- Lijphart, Arend (1994) *Демократијата во плуралните општества*, Скопје: ПНИД СТЕП.
- Lijphart, Arend (1999) *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press
- Macedonia s Ethnic Albanians: Bridging the Gulf (2000) International Crisis Group, Balkans Report No 98
- Maleska Mirjana (2010) Inter-ethnic Relations in Macedonia: People Centered Politics; *New Balkan Politics*, Issue 12
- Taleski Dane (2011) Competition between ethnic parties in a post-conflict context: Albanians parties in Macedonia and Serbian parties in Croatia; paper presented at the 61st Political Studies Association Annual Conference Transforming Politics: New Synergies 19 – 21 April 2011, Novotel London West
- Vankovska Biljana (2007) *The Role of the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the Peace Process in Macedonia*, in: Stefano Bianchini (Herausgeber): *Regional cooperation peace enforcement, and the role of the treaties in the Balkans*
- Vasiljevic Snjezana (2004) Ethnic Relations and Examples of Positive Practice in Eastern Europe; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Zagreb

Tables

Table 1, Gender of the respondents and preferences for President of the country

	The President of Republic of Macedonia should be					Total
	Macedonian	Albanian	From some of the smaller ethnic groups	Ethnicity is not important, it is important that he/she is an honest person	The president should be a woman	
Gender male	25	7	1	19	3	55
Female	20	8	2	10	5	45
Total	45	15	3	29	8	100

Table 2, Ethnicity of the respondents and preferences for President of the country

	The President of Republic of Macedonia should be					Total
	Macedonian	Albanian	From some of the smaller ethnic groups	Ethnicity is not important, it is important that he/she is an honest person	The president should be a woman	
Nationality of Mac. respondents	45	0	0	7	4	56
Alb.	0	15	3	19	3	40
Tur.	0	0	0	3	1	4
Вкупно	45	15	3	29	8	100

Table 3, Gender of the respondents and preferences for state Prime Minister

	The President of the Government of RM (the prime minister) should be					Total
	Macedonian	Albanian	From some of the smaller ethnic groups	Ethnicity is not important, it is important that he/she is an honest person	The prime minister should be a woman	
Gender male	27	7	1	20	0	55
female	19	4	0	14	8	45
Total	46	11	1	34	8	100

Table 4, Ethnicity of the respondents and the preferences for a prime minister of the country

	The President of the Government of RM (the prime minister) should be					Total
	Macedonian	Albanian	From some of the smaller ethnic groups	Ethnicity is not important, it is important that he/she is an honest person	The president should be a woman	
Ethnicity of the respondents	Mac. 44	0	0	9	3	56
Alb.	2	11	1	22	4	40
Tur.	0	0	0	3	1	4
Total	46	11	1	34	8	100

Table 5, Nationality of the respondents and the attitude regarding the Framework Agreement from 2001.

	What is your opinion regarding the Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001)?					Total
	It is an agreement that improved the inter-ethnic relations in RM	It is an unjust agreement, executed under pressure	It is an agreement that takes time to start functioning	I do not have enough information about the Framework Agreement and I do not know what it contains	The Framework Agreement favors the two greatest ethnic groups and marginalizes the smaller ones	
nationality of the respondents	Mac. 3	33	5	14	1	56
Alb.	22	4	5	6	1	38
Tur.	0	0	0	3	1	4
Total	25	37	10	23	3	98