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ЗБОРНИК НА ТРУДОВИ

Штип, 2016

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СОЦИАЛЬНЫЕ ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ В ГЛОБАЛЬНОМ МИРЕ

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THE ROLE OF STEREOTYPES IN CREATING SOCIAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

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Abstract

This paper is based on empirical research conducted in 2015 in Faculties of Law in Universities Goce Delchev in Shtip, Cirilus and Methodius in Skopje and University in Tetovo. Also there is comparative research with similar surveys conducted in Republic of Macedonia in years 1995 and 2003. The role of stereotypes in generating precondition for interethnic relations is one of basic factors in building permanent peace and coexistence in multiethnic societies. The tendency of decreeing of social distance between ethnic groups in Republic of Macedonia can help in furthers social development and cooperation between communities. Also we are analyzing other different factors of influence in interethnic relations as, social environment, education, professional affiliations, and family etc.

Keywords: *interethnic coexistence, Macedonians, Albanians, social distance, stereotypes.*

Methodology

This paper includes the research results obtained as part of the project “Impact of Stereotypes and Ethnic Distance on the Phenomena of Discrimination, Hate Speech and Hate Crime“. The research was conducted through joint activities of the faculties of law at the University “Goce Delcev” from Stip, “Justinian Prvi” from Skopje and the faculty of law at the Tetovo State University, and supported by the OSCE Mission to Skopje. The survey was conducted in the course of 2015, based on

previously designed methodological framework by the students and teaching staff at the Centre for legal and political research at the Faculty of Law, University "Goce Delcev" in Stip. Teams of professors and students of the three afore mentioned faculties carried out the research. The processing of data and the respective analysis were undertaken in the course of 2015 and 2016 at the Faculty of law, University "Goce Delcev" in Stip. The research covered several areas related to certain societal factors (gender, age, ethnic and religious background, social status, education and similar) that impact the respondents' perception, interethnic interaction and coexistence or the ethnic distance, on the contrary. Furthermore, it includes various aspects in the analysis of existing stereotypes and their impact on the phenomenon of ethnic distance by use of the Bogardus and Likert scale. The last part of the paper includes the results arising from the questions on discrimination, hate speech and hate crime, based on the methodology applied for the Barometer for Equal Opportunities, which was tailored to the needs of the target group of respondents.

The research "Impact of Stereotypes and Ethnic Distance on the Phenomena of Discrimination, Hate Speech and Hate Crime" included 519 respondents.41% of the respondents are male, and 59 % of the respondents are female. According to the representation of age categories, 243 respondents or 46,8 % are aged 16-18, 255 respondents or 49,1 % are aged 19-21, while 17 respondents or 3,3 % are aged 22-24. 38,7 % of the respondents live in a village, while 59 % live in a town.

According to the ethnic origin, most of the respondents are from the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community. Hence, 342 respondents or 65,9 % are Macedonians, while 156 respondents or 30,1% are Albanians. Other ethnic groups have lower participation rate, or they account for 4 % in the total number of respondents (Chart1).

According to the religious background of the respondents, 323 respondents or 62,2 % declared as Christians Orthodox, 172 respondents or 33,1 % as Muslims, while around 4 % of the respondents declared as Catholics or Protestants, atheists or opted for the option"other".

Stereotypes in Republic of Macedonia

This part of the research examines the characteristic traits of certain ethnic communities. Different traits were offered randomly for each ethnic community. The respondents were given the following task: to read all the stated traits (attributes) and then to enter the number before five to ten traits which are typical or characteristic for the respective ethnic community. Typical traits of an ethnic community are traits that most people (members) of that ethnic group have in common. The following

stereotypes, i.e. traits were offered: Courageous, Proud, Cunning, Hardworking, Outmoded, Goodhearted, Uncultured, Hard-hearted, Hospitable, Cowards, Calm (withdrawn), United, Quarrelsome, Joyful, Selfish, Progressive, Loud, Tardy, Polite, Lazy, Self-confident, Sociable, Stupid (unintelligent), Dirty, Feisty, Do not like the other nations, Unselfish, Aggressive, Reasonable, Open, Oversensitive, Liberal, Unhospitable, Boisterous, Intelligent, Love to rule, Tender, Peace-loving, Closed, Clean, Brazen, Sincere, Drunkards, Shrewd, Arrogant, Temperamental, Cultured, Pragmatic, Social climbers, Boaster, Envious, Corruptive, Smugglers. The respondents were also allowed to write additional characteristics, which are not offered on the list.

Given the small number of respondents from the small ethnic groups, the presentation of results includes only the stereotypes that respondents from the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic groups stated for the other ethnic groups. In this research, one can notice that Macedonian respondents have positive stereotypes about themselves, such as Courageous, Proud, Hardworking, Hospitable and Joyful. At the same time, this group construes stereotypes or assumed characteristics regarding the other ethnic groups. Hence, within the five top stereotypes about the Albanian community, there are positive characteristics, such as Courageous and United; however, the negative characteristics prevail, such as Uncultured, Hard-hearted and Love to rule. Respondents of Albanian ethnic origin construe positive attributes for themselves, such as Courageous, Proud, Goodhearted, Hospitable and Feisty, while they have negative stereotypes for the Macedonian community, such as Hard-hearted, Do not like other nations, Selfish, Love to rule and Envious. Both the respondents from the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic groups have positive stereotypes for the Turkish ethnic community, and negative stereotypes for the Roma ethnic community. In addition, Macedonian respondents have positive stereotypes for the Serbian ethnic group, while Albanian respondents have negative stereotypes for this ethnic group.

The Table shows that the percentage of preference for certain characteristic that ethnic groups construe about themselves is significantly higher compared to the projection of the same characteristic for another ethnic group. For instance, 36,4 % of the Macedonian respondents think that they are Courageous, this being the first preference, although the same characteristic is attributed to other three ethnic groups on the first place, where the percentage of preference for the Serbs is 16,7 %, for Albanians - 12 %, and for Turks - 10,2 %. The situation is similar among the Albanian respondents, where one can clearly notice that the percentage of preference for the characteristics of their own ethnic group is much higher, compared to the characteristics attributed to the other ethnic groups. For instance, 59,6 % of the Albanian respondents opted for the characteristic Courageous. This shows a strong uniformity in attitudes towards their own group, while among the other respondents

there is a strong dispersion in the choice about the characteristics (Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1

MACEDONIANS					
	STEREOTYPE 1	**STEREOTYPE 2**	**STEREOTYPE 3**	**STEREOTYPE 4**	**STEREOTYPE 5**
MACEDONIANS	Courageous (36,4 %)	Proud (22,8 %)	Hardworking (14, 9 %)	Hospitable (10,5 %)	Joyful (9,1 %)
ALBANIANS	Courageous (12 %)	Uncultured (9,9 %)	United (7 %)	Hard-hearted (5,3 %)	Love to rule (5,3 %)
TURKS	Courageous (10,2%)	Hospitable (7,6 %)	United (4,4%)	Progressive (3,5 %)	Hardworking (4,4 %)
ROMA	Cunning / Uncultured (7 %)	Outmoded (7,3 %)	Dirty (5,6 %)	Loud (5,3 %)	Stupid (unintelligent) (5,3 %)
SERBS	Courageous (16,7 %)	Proud (10,5 %)	Hardworking (7 %)	Joyful (6,1 %)	Polite / Open (4,1 %)

Table 2

ALBANIANS					
	STEREO TYPE 1	**STEREO TYPE 2**	**STEREO TYPE 3**	**STEREO TYPE 4**	**STEREO TYPE 5**
MACEDONIANS	Hard-hearted (8,3 %)	Do not like other nations (5,1 %)	Selfish (5,8 %)	Love to rule (4,5%)	Envious (3,8 %)
ALBANIANS	Courageous (59,6 %)	Proud (42,3 %)	Goodheart-ed (19,2 %)	Hospitable (17,9)	Feisty (9 %)
TURKS	Goodheart-ed (7,1 %)	Proud (5,8%)	Sociable (4,5 %)	Feisty / Clean (3,8%)	Reasonable (7,1 %)
ROMA	Outmoded (9,6 %)	Uncultured (4,5 %)	Quarrelsome (4,5 %)	Dirty (3,8,%)	Outmoded (3,8 %)
SERBS	Aggressive (7,7 %)	Uncultured (5,8 %)	Quarrel-some (5,1%)	Outmoded / Social climbers (3,2 %)	Love to rule (4,5 %)

The comparison of the results about the stereotypes that both Macedonians and Albanians construe about themselves (autostereotypes) and for the others (heterostereotyps), shows the situation, as presented in Table 3 and Table 4. The characteristics presented in the respective tables may be divided in three groups: 1. Heroic-libertarian (Courageous, Feisty, Proud, Love to rule and similar), 2. Cultural (Progressive, Outmoded, Hardworking, Lazy, Dirty, Polite and similar) and 3. Interactional (Hospitable, Joyful, Selfish and similar). These groups may be supplemented with the Osgood's semantic differential, which considers the stereotypes from the aspect of evaluation (evaluation, good-bad), potency (potency, strong-weak) and activity (active-passive) (Tashevska, 2004). If one considers the stereotypes that Macedonians construe about themselves, all groups of stereotypes can be noticed; however, although the cultural concepts prevailed in the past, now, once can notice a shift towards the heroic-libertarian concept. With regard to the heterostereotypes about the Albanian ethnic community, the cultural level of stereotypes prevails as well as the heroic-libertarian stereotypes from the researches

conducted in 1995 and 2003. Regarding the latter, once can notice a significant shift in 2015, because the first most important stereotype about the Albanian ethnic group is the stereotype with heroic-libertarian meaning. Among the autostereotypes of the Albanians, the positive heroic-libertarian stereotypes prevail, as well as the cultured; however, there are negative heroic-libertarian stereotypes about the Macedonian community as well as negative cultural and interactional stereotypes. Despite the mild shift in 2015 if compared to the two previous researches, one can conclude that the competitiveness and parallelism still exist regarding the construing of stereotypes among the two biggest communities in the country, which, in fact, is an indicator of insufficiently developed communication among the individuals from both communities which, in turn, further creates preconditions for segregation in the society. Furthermore, the prejudices of these two groups have strongly highlighted *paternalistic characteristics* and *competitiveness component*. The first one refers to behavior with distinct negative drive when it comes to the valuable characteristics and cultural level of the "other", while the second one indicates the competitive relations among the ethnic groups, which is incited by the feeling of being threatened and having limited access to the social resources.

Table 3

MACEDONIANS						
	1995		**2003**		**2015**	
Type of image	**Macedonians for themselves (autostereotype)**	**Macedonians for Albanians (heterostereotype)**	**Macedonians for themselves (autostereotypes)**	**Macedonians for Albanians (heterostereotype)**	**Macedonians for themselves (autostereotypes)**	**Macedonians for Albanians (heterostereotype)**
Trait 1	Proud	Outmoded	Good	Aggre-ssive	Courageous	Courageous
Trait 2	Hospitable	Uncultured	Lenient	Un-cultured	Proud	Uncultured
Trait 3	Courageous	Hard-hearted	Passive	Hard-hearted	Hard-working	United
Trait 4	Hard-working	Do not like other nations	Lenient	Love to rule	Hospitable	Hard-hearted
Trait 5	Goodheaded	Smugglers	Goodheart-ed	Smugglers	Joyful	Love to rule

Table 4

ALBANIANS						
	1995		2003		2015	
Type of image	**Albani-ans for them-selves (autoster eotype)**	**Albanians for Macedo-nians (heterostere otype)**	**Albanians for themselves (autostereo type)**	**Albanians for Macedo-nians (heterostere otype)**	**Albanians for themselves (autostereo type)**	**Albanians for Macedo-nians (heterostere otype)**
Trait 1	Courageo us	Do not like other nations	Courageous	Do not like other nations	Courageous	Hard-hearted
Trait 2	Proud	Selfish	Feisty	Selfish	Proud	Do not like other nations
Trait 3	Hospit-able	Hard-hearted	Proud	Passive	Goodheart-ed	Selfish
Trait 4	Hard-working	Cowards	Hardwork-ing	Cowards	Hospitable	Love to rule
Trait 5	Goodhear ted	Lazy	United	Bad	Feisty	Envious

Ethnic distance

In the following questions, the respondents were asked to order the offered groups: Albanians, Macedonians, Roma, Serbs and Turks, under the ordinal numbers from 1 to 5, where 1 is the group they feel closest, and 5 is the group they feel most distant. Given the results, one can conclude that both Macedonian and Albanian respondents maintain distance; however, it is more highlighted as the distance that Macedonians keep from Albanians, and less of a distance that Albanians maintain from Macedonians. Also, one can notice that the Roma community is ranked on the fourth place, both according to the attitudes of the Macedonian respondents and the Albanian respondents. The presented figures show the percentage of respondents (Macedonians and Albanians) who positioned the indicated group on the respective place (Table 5).

Table 5

MACEDO-NIANS	MACEDONIANS (83, 3 %)	SERBS (66, 7%)	TURKS (48 %)	ROMA (30, 4 %)	ALBANI-ANS (39, 5 %)
ALBANIANS	ALBANIANS (86, 5 %)	TURKS (48, 7 %)	MACEDO-NIANS (37, 2 %)	ROMA (42, 9 %)	SERBS (52, 6 %)

The scale of interpersonal ethnic preference is used in order to present the subjective dimension of interaction, that is, the feeling of attachment and distance among the members of ethnic groups in Republic of Macedonia. Table 6 shows the results obtained from the question where respondents were asked to order the ethnic groups based on the closeness they feel to each of the ethnic groups. The attachment coefficient level is determined in the numerical range of 1-5, where 1 is the biggest distance and 5 the biggest attachment. The results are then presented from the aspect of comparison with the results from the research undertaken in 1995, 2003 and 2015. Presented data show that the ethnic distance coefficient, in the first place among the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community, is biggest in the post-conflict period in 2003. Given all the results, one can notice that the ethnic distance is closely related to the confession of the groups, with minor exception for the Turkish community where the constant is most stable both among the Macedonian and Albanian respondents. Also, the ethnic distance in the perception of the Albanian respondents is smaller compared to the Macedonian ethnic group, while the distance that Macedonian respondents maintain from the Albanian ethnic group is somewhat bigger. An exception to this conclusion is presented by the research results from 2003. It is both encouraging and worth noting that despite the narrow scope, the ethnic distance from the last 2015 research is lowest compared to previously conducted research. In particular, this is shown in the attitude of the Macedonian ethnic group towards the Albanian ethnic group, where from the maximal distance in 2003 and 1,07 index, there is an enhanced feeling of closeness in 2015, i.e. 3,18 index. Although the respective index is lower in the perception of the Albanian ethnic community regarding the closeness with the Macedonian ethnic community, yet, there is a positive shift from 1, 12 in 1995 and maximum possible distance of 1 in 2003, and up to 1,98 in 2015. Overall, from the last research in 2015, in the perception of both Macedonian and Albanian respondents, one can notice a downward trend for

the ethnic distance in interpersonal relations, as well as in the attitudes they have towards the other ethnic groups. An exception is only the ethnic distance that Macedonians maintain from the Serbian ethnic group, which had the lowest margin in the previous researches, especially in 2003 when it accounted for 4,78. Nevertheless, the last research shows a clear upward trend regarding this distance, and accounts for 3,68 in 2015. Despite the existing considerable ethnic distance among the two biggest ethnic communities in Republic of Macedonia, the results are indication of gradual improvement of interethnic relations in the country, that is, a clear tendency for decline in such ethnic distance (Chart 1 and Chart 2).

Table 6

	Ethnic origin					
	Macedonian			**Albanian**		
	1995	**2003**	**2015**	**1995**	**2003**	**2015**
MACEDONIANS	4,87	4,92	4,73	2,24	1,07	3,18
ALBANIANS	1,12	1	1,98	4,88	5,00	4, 92
TURKS	2,34	2,30	2,70	3,67	3,70	3,51
ROMA	1,54	1,23	2,02	1,35	1,30	2,06
SERBS	4,34	4,78	3,68	1,02	1	1,44

Chart 1

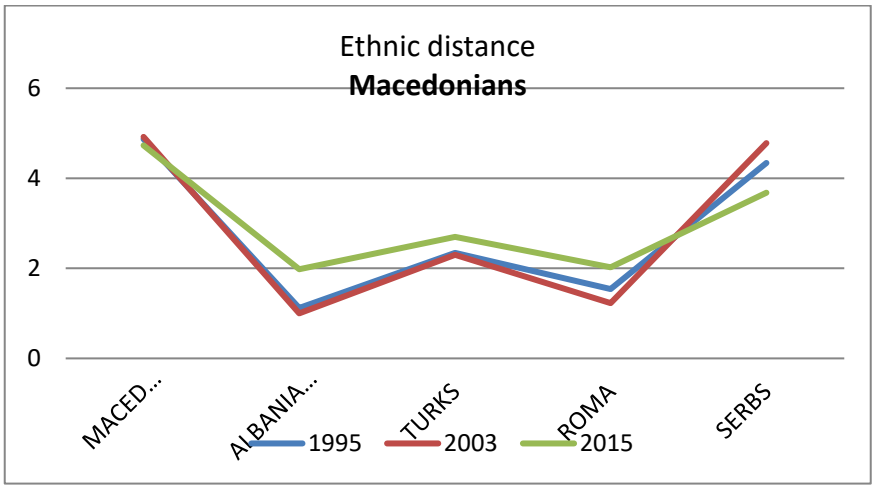
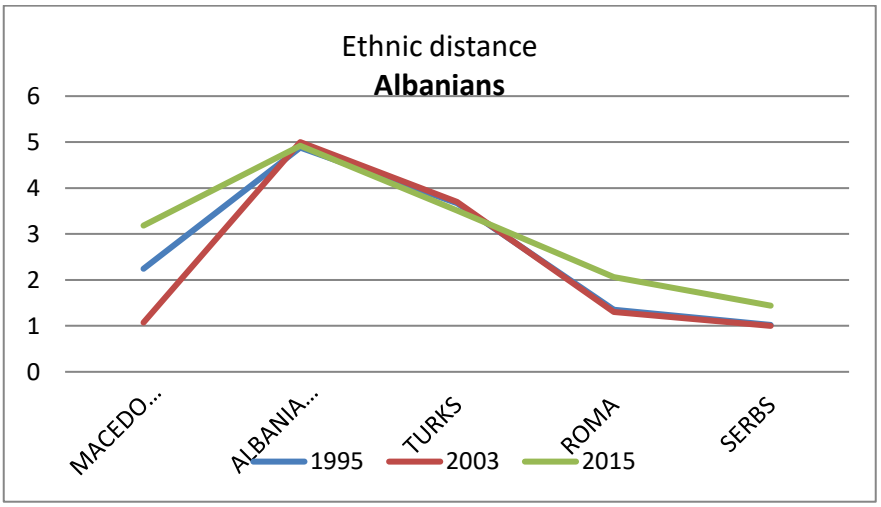


Chart 2



Members of different ethnic communities and different confession live together in the country. This part of the research aims to examine which are the relations that the respondents would like to have with an ordinary, neither best nor worse, member of certain ethnic community and confession. The Tables below (Table 7, 8, 9 and 10) present the attitudes of the respondents from the empirical research from 2015. The questions refer to the interpersonal ethnic and religious distance (Attitudes "To mingle with him/her and be my friend" and "My sister/brother or relative to get married to him/her"), the ethnic and religious distance connected with the place of residence ("To live with me in the same municipality" and "To live with me at the same place"), ethnic distance related to the social position ("To be mayor in my municipality", "To represent the municipality in the Parliament" and "To be director of the organization which employs me"), as well as educational distance ("His children to attend the same school as my children"). Also, some of the attitudes refer to the use of the so-called Bogardus ethnic distance scale.

With regard to the interpersonal distance, one can notice somewhat narrower distance of the Macedonian ethnic community from the others in comparison with the attitudes of the respondents from the Albanian ethnic community.Furthermore, it is interesting to note that despite the minimal difference, the religious barrier in the interpersonal relations among the ethnic communities is not always overriding. For instance, the ethnic distance among the respondents of the Macedonian ethnic group towards the Turkish community is lower than the interpersonal distance, which, on the other hand, is manifested by the respondents of the Albanian ethnic community. The correlational interpersonal relations are also similar in the perception of the respondents from the two biggest religious communities (Christian-Orthodox and Muslim), whereby the interpersonal distance of the respondents from the Christian-Orthodox community towards the others is smaller when compared to the distance maintained by the respondents of Islam religion.

Speaking about the ethnic distance in connection with the place of residence, one can notice similar attitudes among the two dominant ethnic communities in the country, with the exception that the distance of the Albanian ethnic community from the Roma and Serbian ethnic community is considerably bigger. With regard to the religious distance, one can notice considerable distance by the members of the Islam community compared to the other confessions, and compared to the attitudes that respondents of Christian-Orthodox confession have towards the others. The situation is similar concerning the ethnic and religious distance in respect of the social position and educational distance.

The data presented in Table 7-10, show that the biggest margin of ethnic distance among the respondents Macedonians refers to the interpersonal distance

from the Roma ethnic community, i.e. the biggest distance is in terms of the attitude "My sister or relative to get married to him", where the preference for the Roma ethnic community accounts for only 8,2 %. Furthermore, there is a distinct ethnocentrism among the Albanian respondents, and the same can be noticed in the distinct ethnic distance from the Roma and Serbian ethnic community on all grounds; or the ethnic distance exists also on interpersonal level, and distinct ethnic distance concerning the place of residence, social position as well as educational distance. The interpersonal ethnic distance is most prevailing with respect to the Roma ethnic community, where only 1,9 of the Albanian respondents opted for the statement "My sister or relative to get married to him". The reasons for such attitude towards the Roma community, despite the confessional closeness, can be identified with the very distinct traditional stigmatization of the Roma community, and when it comes to the Serbian community, it is experienced as the biggest ethnic rival, hence, also as threat for the Albanian community. With regard to the Macedonian ethnic community, the attitudes of the Albanian respondents show the biggest interpersonal ethnic distance. For instance, 12 % of the Macedonians would agree if their sister or relative marries an Albanian, while only 3,8 % of the Albanians gave this answer on the same question. In spite of that, one can notice that for the second statement which refers to the interpersonal distance "To mingle with him/her and be my friend", the ethnic distance is smallest in the correlational relations of Macedonians, Albanians and Turks. In addition, the educational distance is also smaller among the before mentioned groups.

With regard to the religious distance, the respondents of the Christian-Orthodox and Islam religion show distance from the Protestants. Religious distance among the Christians-Orthodox and respondents of Islam religion is on the ground of interpersonal religious distance, that is, regarding the statement "My sister or relative to get married to him". Namely, that is acceptable only for 7 % of the Muslim respondents, and for 19% of the Orthodox respondents. (Table 9 and 10).

Table 7 **MACEDONIANS**

	MACEDONIAN	**ALBANIAN**	**TURK**	**ROMA**	**SERB**
To live with me in the same municipality	89, 8 %	31, 3 %	39, 8 %	34, 6 %	58, 5 %
To live with me at the same place	86 %	24, 9 %	34, 2 %	19, 3 %	54, 1 %
His children to attend the same school as my children	84, 8 %	31, 3 %	43 %	29, 2 %	57, 9 %
To mingle with him/her and be my friend	84, 8 %	35, 4 %	50 %	28, 7 %	65, 2 %
My sister or relative to get married to him	86, 3 %	12 %	16, 4 %	8, 2 %	41, 5 %
To be mayor of my municipality	90, 1 %	15, 2 %	15, 8 %	10, 8 %	24 %
To be director of the organization where I am employed	89, 2 %	21, 3 %	27, 2 %	15, 8 %	35, 4 %
To represent my municipality in the Parliament	89, 5 %	16, 1 %	18, 4 %	11, 1 %	26, 6 %

Table 8 **ALBANIANS**

	MACEDONI-AN	**ALBANIAN**	**TURK**	**ROMA**	**SERB**
To live with me in the same municipality	23, 1 %	84 %	37, 8 %	7, 7 %	7, 7 %
To live with me at the same place	15, 4 %	88, 5 %	32, 1 %	5, 8 %	4, 5 %
His children to attend the same school as my children	20, 5 %	84, 6 %	30, 1 %	5, 1 %	6, 4 %
To mingle with him/her and be my friend	27, 6 %	80, 8 %	37, 8 %	5, 8 %	5, 8 %
My sister or relative to get married to him	3, 8 %	91 %	14, 1 %	1, 9 %	2, 6 %
To be mayor of my municipality	11, 5 %	87, 2 %	15, 4 %	6, 4 %	5, 1 %
To be director of the organization where I am employed	17, 3 %	86, 5 %	18, 6 %	6, 4 %	8, 3 %
To represent my municipality in the Parliament	17, 3 %	86, 5 %	16 %	5, 8 %	7, 1 %

Table 9 **CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX RELIGION**

	ORTHODOX	**MUSLIM**	**CATHOLIC**	**PROTESTANT**
To live with me in the same municipality	89, 5 %	46, 7 %	50, 2 %	32, 5 %
To live with me at the same place	90, 1 %	38, 4 %	44 %	27, 9 %
His children to attend the same school as my children	87 %	43, 7 %	46, 4 %	31 %
To mingle with him/her and be my friend	89, 5 %	43, 3 %	47, 7 %	30, 3 %
My sister or relative to get married to him	90, 4 %	19, 8 %	26, 9 %	17 %
To be mayor of my municipality	90, 1 %	25, 4 %	31 %	21, 1 %
To be director of the organization where I am employed	90, 4 %	28, 5 %	30, 3 %	21, 7 %
To represent my municipality in the Parliament	85, 8 %	25, 1 %	29, 4 %	18, 9 %

Table 10

MUSLIM RELIGION

	ORTHODOX	MUSLIM	CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT
To live with me in the same municipality	24 %	93 %	18 %	10, 5 %
To live with me at the same place	19, 2 %	91, 3 %	16, 3 %	7, 6 %
His children to attend the same school as my children	23, 3 %	89 %	16, 3 %	10, 5 %
To mingle with him/her and be my friend	23, 3 %	84, 9 %	18, 6 %	8, 1 %
My sister or relative to get married to him	7 %	87, 8 %	4, 1 %	2, 3 %
To be mayor of my municipality	17, 4 %	88, 4 %	14 %	8, 1 %
To be director of the organization where I am employed	16, 9 %	87, 2 %	10, 5 %	5, 8 %
To represent my municipality in the Parliament	23, 8 %	83, 7 %	14 %	7, 6 %

Conclusions

There is a very distinct ethnic distance in the country from the aspect of stereotypes that ethnic communities construe about each other. Negative stereotypes are mutually construed in the relations between the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic community, but unlike the pre-conflict and post-conflict period, there is a mild shift towards creation of preconditions to gradually tackle the negative stereotyping. Both of the largest ethnic communities construe stereotypes about the Turkish ethnic community, which are quite positive, and about the Roma community, which are quite negative.

Prejudices of both the Albanian and Macedonian ethnic group have distinct *paternalistic characteristics* and *competitive component*. The first one refers to a marked negative drive with regard to the values and cultural level of the "Other", while the second one refers to the competitive relations among the ethnic groups, which is prompted by the feeling of being threatened and having limited access to social resources.

Ethnic distance in the country is still strongly accented, in relation to the religious denomination and general cultural characteristics.Nevertheless, there is clearly marked tendency for reducing the ethnic distance, which is a fact of encouragement, and can be noticed in mutual relations both in the Macedonian and Albanian community. Although closeness among these two communities is still strongly expressed, the only tendency for increasing the ethnic distance refers to the attitude of the Macedonian to the Serbian ethnic community.

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