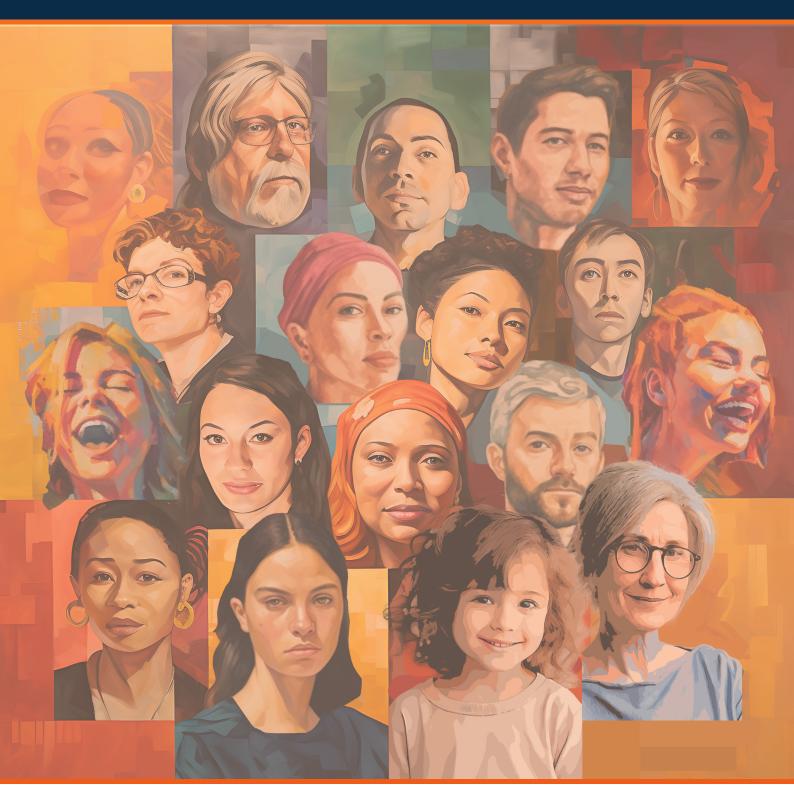
REPORT **BAROMETER OF EQUAL** OPPORTUNITIES







OSCCCCOrganization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Mission to Skopje





MACEDONIAN CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

REPORT

Barometer of Equal Opportunities

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Introduction

Discrimination as a global phenomenon has a negative impact on all aspects of human life. It leads to exclusion, marginalization and dehumanization. Therefore, the principle of equality and non-discrimination constitutes the foundation of the basic rights set forth in the international law and reflected in the national legal systems. The national legal framework for protection against discrimination, as laid out by the Law on the Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination from 2020¹, also regulates the protective mechanisms against this adverse phenomenon. The relevant institutions with legally defined competencies in the area of protection against discrimination and exercise of the right to equality are as follows: The Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination, the Ombudsman, the Constitutional Court, the courts, the legal representative for equal opportunities for women and men, and the inspectorates.

The experience acquired not only here, but also in the European Union shows that invoking equal rights and adopting laws with a view to their promotion and protection does not suffice to ensure that everyone enjoys equal opportunities in practice. Such experiences in this country have ignited initiatives for a more comprehensive fight against discrimination. In line with the new approach, four public opinion surveys were conducted in the period between 2009 to 2023. The objective of these surveys has been, inter alia, to provide empirical data on the perceptions and experiences of the women and men citizens in the area of discrimination and support for the measures aimed at combating discrimination in general. Following these trends in the public

constitutes concurrently a useful tool which facilitates insight not only by the general public, but also by the professional public which tackles such challenges.

The initial survey of this type was conducted in April 2009, prior to the adoption of the *Law on the Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination* (hereinafter referred to as: *the Law*), and thence it constitutes a comparative analysis basis for the perceptions, views, knowledge and awareness related to discrimination and inequality in the domestic public in relation to the findings provided by the subsequent three surveys, conduced in 2013, 2018 and 2023. The results of the last three surveys reflect the changes occurred after the adoption of the Law and its implementation.

It should be noted that due to the different methodological approaches of the surveys, the possibilities for a comparative analysis were limited. In the 2013 survey, the chosen method of data collection was a 'telephone interview', unlike the field surveys conducted in 2009, 2018 and 2023, when the 'face-to-face' method was applied by visiting the homes of the respondents. Furthermore, in the 2013 survey changes were introduced in the order and the text of the questionnaire (for more details refer to Annex 1 - Survey Methodology). Due to the unavailability of the database for the survey conducted in 2013, some segments of the report only show comparisons between the results from the 2009, 2018 and 2023 surveys.

This Report analyzes the data from the survey titled Barometer of Equal Opportunities, conducted for the fourth time in the period May/ June 2023.

¹ Official Gazette of the RNM No. 258/2020 dated 30.10.2020

The comparative analysis of the results from the four surveys provides insight into the direction and the intensity of the changes in the perceptions, the views, the knowledge and the awareness related to discrimination and inequality in the country in the period 2009 to 2023. The Report analyzes the responses given by the women and men respondents with reference to seven grounds for discrimination - gender, ethnicity, religion or belief, age, disability, sexual orientation and political affiliation.

The Report also illustrates the intensity of the changes that occurred in the period covered in the 2009-2023 surveys and it identifies the items regarding which the reluctance to change is most conspicuous.

The Report covers the following topics:

- The social context of the women and men respondents and their self-identification as members of a particular minority/discriminated group;
- Perceptions of the various types of discriminations, multiple discrimination and the stances towards various groups susceptible to discrimination;
- Perceptions of the personal discriminatory experiences of the women and men respondents and/or witness statements pertaining to the discriminatory experiences of other persons;
- Assessment of the women and men respondents in terms of the efforts exerted by the state in the fight against corruption;

- Awareness of rights by the potential victims of discrimination; and
- Opinions regarding employment related equal opportunities in the country;
- Willingness to accept the inclusion of information of the differences in the school curricula; and
- Preparedness to accept a third determinant in personal identification documents in addition to men or women.

During the presentation and analysis of the findings related to the researched topics, comparisons were made between various sub-groups of respondents, defined according to the following sodio-demographic characteristics: gender, age, level of education, employment status, ethnicity, religious and political affiliation, place of living (urban/rural) and regional location,

In view of the specific socio-economic context of the country ever since the initial survey in 2009, in addition to the standard six categories² of grounds for discrimination applied also in the Special Eurobarometer of the European Union member-states, the category discrimination on the grounds of political affiliation³ was added as well. When reading the results of the 2023 survey, the political context in which the fieldwork was carried out was taken into consideration, especially the initiative for modifying the Constitution and including the Bulgarian community explicitly in the text.

The Report presents solely the data that have a certain level of statistical significance.

² The six categories of grounds for discrimination which are also analyzed in the Special urobarometer are as follows: discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion or belief, age and disability.

³ The results of the surveys show that the vast majority of the popilaton consider political affiliation as the most frequent basis for discrimination, also perceived as the key factor in the process of selection for employment.

Summary

The 2023 survey is identical to the one from 2009 in terms of its indication that, according to the perception of the public, discrimination is widely present as opposed to the perception that discrimination is absent. Discrimination on the basis of political affiliation and ethnic origin is considered to be most widely spread. This finding is closely related to the perception of the respondents that the deciding factor that puts job applicants possessing equal skills and qualifications in an unequal position in terms of employment arises precisely from their political affiliation and ethnic origin.

In the opinion of the public, discrimination based on sexual orientation is at the bottom of the list. An indicator for the detachment of the general population in terms of this category is also the fact that this group is the least accepted as neighbour/s or friend/s.

The responses to the question as to whether discrimination has been more frequent or less frequent over the past five years indicate that this phenomenon is perceived as more frequent in the said period. The latest 2023 survey indicates that the perception in terms of the frequency of discrimination has dwindled. In the mid-term, the least favourable is the perception of discrimination on the basis of political affiliation. The number of respondents that have assessed this type of discrimination as being more frequent compared to five years prior is six-fold higher.

The survey results show that the citizens expressed a high level of tolerance in the public and private sphere of life. On the scale of tolerance in terms of different groups, the respondents expressed higher level of willingness to accept, both as neighbours and as public office holders, members of 'another' political orientation and members of other ethnic and religious commu-

nities. On the other hand, there is a predominant reluctance in terms of persons of a different sexual orientation.

The data on the personal experiences of discrimination indicate that more respondents stated that they had witnessed discrimination though have not been direct victims. In all the surveys conducted in the period 2009 to 2023, political affiliation is recorded as the most frequent type of discrimination, both in terms of situations of being personally discriminated against and situations of being witnesses to discrimination. The slight drop in the results for discrimination on the basis of political affiliation for the first time in 2023 makes this type of discrimination equal to the one based on ethnic origin.

The results show that respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months were most often discriminated against in a public space and while looking for a job or while at work.

The perception of the public is dominated by three factors that lead to an unequal treatment in terms of employment: the applicants' political affiliation, their age and their ethnic origin. On the other hand, the willingness to support affirmative measures with a view to ensuring equal opportunities in terms of employment yields priority to the groups according to disability, the age of the applicants, their ethnicity, religion and political affiliation (which is marked with the most notable drop).

The opinion of the public in terms of the fight against discrimination in the course of time is marked with a declining trend of the assessment that sufficient actual efforts are being exerted.

The majority of the respondents stated that they would not know their rights if they happened to be a victim of discrimination. However, it may be noticed that the awareness of rights among the respondents that were a victim of discrimination upon a single basis has increased.

The respondents that stated that they would seek help in the event they were a victim of discrimination would most often turn to the police, a lower number to the courts, the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination, the Ombudsman, a lawyer and the civil society organizations. It has been observed that the respondents are leaning towards increasing their trust in the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination.

The analysis of the interactions among the various social groups shows that a vast majority of citizens perceive the members of different social groups as a part of their own social circle. A vast majority of respondents have stated that they have friends or acquaintances that differ from them in terms of their political views, ethnic origin and religious beliefs. Three out of five respondents answered that they have friends or acquaintances from the Roma ethnic community. The same applies to persons with disability. On the other hand, only one out of ten respondents stated that there are persons of different sexual orientation in their social circle.

The percentage of respondents that view themselves as members of a minority in the place where they live has increased over the last five years. In the course of the entire period, the most numerous respondents are those that feel to belong to an ethnic minority, followed by a religious minority and a minority in terms of the political affiliation.

The 2023 survey indicates that the respondents are most willing to accept information on disability to be included in the school curricula and a little less so to include information of the religious and ethnicity differences. The respondents are divided in terms of the question as to whether the school curricula should include information on the Roma culture and history. The lowest level of support was expressed regarding the inclusion of information in the schools related to sexual orientation and transgender persons.

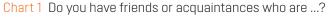
There is an obvious reluctance of the respondents regarding the idea of introducing a third option in addition to men or women in the gender field in the official identification documents, which would enable people to identify themselves in a manner other than the binary choice applied thus far. The vast majority of respondents rejected the idea of introducing such third option, whereas one out of ten respondents is willing to accept this change.

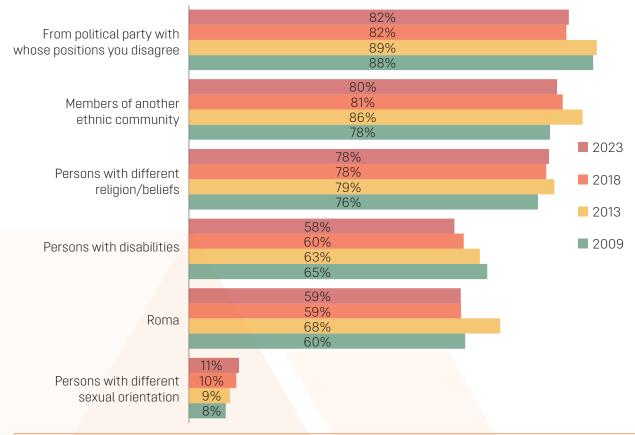
1. Setting the context

1.1 Social distance in the private sphere

The survey further demonstrates that a vast majority of respondents consider members of different social groups as a part of their own social circle. The trend of socializing with minority groups has been stagnant over the last 5 years, whereas the analyzed minority groups do not show any statistical differences between the 2018 and this year's 2023 survey.

Both in the 2023 and in the 2018 survey, four out of five respondents stated that they have friends or acquaintances who are different from them in terms of their political affiliation (82%), ethnic origin (80%) and religious beliefs (78%). On the other hand, three out of five respondents answered that they have friends or acquaintances from the Roma ethnic community (59%) and friends or acquaintances with a disability (58%). Only one out of ten respondents stated that in their closer or wider social circles they met persons of a different sexual orientation (11%). There is a declining trend in the number of respondents that stated that their social circle includes persons with a disability (**2009** – 65%; **2013** - 63%; **2018** - 60%; **2023** – 58%) (see Chart 1, respondents that answered with Yes).





Having friends and acquaintances who belong to another ethnic community is more frequent with:

- Men compared to women;
- Respondents aged between 15 and 64 compared to those aged 65+;
- Respondents with completed higher education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Inhabitants of urban compared to rural areas.

In 2023, a statistically significant trend of ethnic diversity was recorded within the social circle of Albanians, which has a tendency of becoming equal to that of ethnic Macedonians. On the other hand, ethnic diversity is marked with a decline of 7 p.p.⁴ with generations aged 65+ compared to 2018. This age group is characterized by the lowest percentage of multi-ethnic presence of all age groups throughout all survey waves. The number of respondents that stated that they have friends and acquaintances of a different ethnic community increases in parallel with the level of education (see Table 1).

Table 1

Having friends and acquaintances who belong to another ethnic community

Gender:		Men				Women			
2009	85%					71%			
2018		86%				77%			
2023		83%				77%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-	44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	78%	81%	78	%	81%	78%	74%		
2018	82%	83%	83	%	83%	79%	77%		
2023	84% 82% 82%			84%	81%	70%			
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Edu			Education	Higher E	ducation			
2009	70%			829	%	86	%		
2018	70%			849	%	86	%		
2023	73% 83%			%	87	%			
Ethnicity:	Macedonian				Albanian				
2009	79%					69%			
2018	84%					69%			
2023	80%					76%			
Religion:		Christian				Muslim			
2009		80%				75%			
2018		84%				75%			
2023		80%				79%			
Place of living:		Urban				Rural			
2009		84%				71%			
2018		84%				78%			
2023		82%				77%			

In general, the number of respondents that stated that they have Roma friends and acquaintances has remained unchanged if we make a comparison between **2009** (60%), **2018** (59%) and **2023** (59%). Nevertheless, the comparative analysis shows that there is a fluctuation in the socio-demographic profile of the respondents who have Roma friends, as explained below.

⁴ A percentage point (p.p.) constitutes the difference between two percentages obtained fom populations and subpopulations of a virous dimension.

Having Roma friends and acquaintances is more frequent with:

- Men compared to women;
- Respondents aged between 45 and 54;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Christians compared to Muslims; and
- Inhabitants of urban compared to rural areas.

In 2023, compared to 2018, there is a decline in the women respondents that stated that they have Roma friends and acquaintances, while there is an increase in this respect with the men respondents. In addition, a positive trend has been noted in terms of the inclusion of ethnic Roma citizens in the social circle of the youngest age group (15-24), as well as among those aged 45-54 (8 and 10 p.p. respectively), while there is a decline in this respect with the age groups 35-44, 54-64 and 65+ (7, 6 and 7 p.p. respectively). The latest survey indicates a significant growth of the social inclusion of Roma citizens in the social life of ethnic Albanians (14 p.p.) and Muslims (12 p.p.). Even though having Roma friends and acquaintances is by far more frequent with ethnic Macedonians and Christians compared to ethnic Albanians and Muslims, still such difference is declining substantially. There is a statistically significant difference also in terms of the place of living, wherein the 2023 survey indicates an icrease of 6 p.p. in the number of respondents from rural areas and a decrease of 5 p.p. in the urban areas (see Table 2).

Table 2

Has Roma friends and acquaintances

	annances							
Gender:		Men			Women			
2009		66%			54%			
2018		60%			58%			
2023		65%			53%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	55%	61%	57%	65%	66%	58%		
2018	47%	52%	65%	62%	65%	63%		
2023	55%	54%	58%	72%	59%	56%		
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Edu			Education	-			
2009	52%			%	65%			
2018	52% 629			%	60	%		
2023	57% 61%			%	60	%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonian			Albanian			
2009		67%			33%			
2018		69%			29%			
2023		62%			43%			
Religion:		Christian			Muslim			
2009		67%			43%			
2018		69%			40%			
2023		62%			52%			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2009		68%			48%			
2018		68%			47%			
2023		63%			53%			
	1				1			

Having friends and acquaintances of a different sexual orientation is more frequent with:

- Respondents aged between 25 and 44;
- Persons with completed higher education compared to those with primary and secondary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Christians compared to Muslims; and
- Inhabitants of urban compared to rural areas.

The frequency of having a friend and an acquaintance of a different sexual orientation decreases with the age of the respondents and it is least present in the case of respondents aged 65+. There is a positive trend in the age group 35 – 44, whereas the frequency of having a friend and an acquaintance of a different sexual orientation is least likely with the youngest generation (15-25 years of age), with the elderly group aged 55-64 and with the oldest (65+ years of age) generation. Despite the fact that there are no major statistical shifts, there is still a significantly higher likelihood of having a friend and an acquaintance of a different sexual orientation with respondents with a completed higher level of education, ethnic Macedonians, Christians and inhabitants of urban areas (see Table 3).

Table 3

Has friends and acquaintances of a different sexual orientation

-								
Gender:		Men				Women		
2009	7%					9%		
2018	10%					11%		
2023		11%				10%		
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-	-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	14%	6	%	6%	4%	3%		
2018	12%	15%	9	%	12%	11%	3%	
2023	9%	15%	19	9%	11%	9%	5%	
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Edu			ducation	Higher E	ducation		
2009	5		9%		13	%		
2018	4		11%)	15	%		
2023	6%			11%)	18	%	
Ethnicity:		Macedonian				Albanian		
2009	9%					5%		
2018	13%					5%		
2023	13%					5%		
Religion:		Christian				Muslim		
2009		8%				5%		
2018	12%					6%		
2023		13%				6%		
Place of living:		Urban				Rural		
2009		10%				5%		
2018		15%				5%		
2023		13%			7%			

Having friends and acquaintances with a disability is more frequent with:

- Respondents aged between 35 and 64 compared to those aged 15 to 24;
- Persons with completed secondary and higher education compared to those with primary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Christians compared to Muslims; and
- Inhabitants of urban compared to rural areas.

In 2023, just like 5 years ago, it is more usual to have a friend and an acquaintance with a disabil-

ity with respondents aged between 45 and 64, while it is the least usual with the youngest population aged between 15 and 24, which records a staggering decline of 15 p.p. (**2018** - 53%; **2023** - 38%). The difference between the two most numerous ethnicities and religions in the country in 2023 increased even more on account of the downward trend with ethnic Albanians of 7 p.p. (**2018** - 51%; **2023** - 44%). Despite the fact that having a friend and an acquaintance with a disability is more prevalent in persons with completed secondary and higher education, still there has been a significant downward trend in this respect throughout the years (see Table 4).

Table 4

Has friend/s and acquanitance/s with a disability								
Gender:		Men			Women			
2009		68%			61%			
2018		63%			57%			
2023	57%				58%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	58%	68%	64%	72%	65%	63%		
2018	53%	58%	59%	66%	66%	58%		
2023	38%	56%	62%	66%	62%	58%		
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Edu			Education	-			
2009	58%			68%		71%		
2018	53	3%	61	%	64	%		
2023	54% 59%			%	61	%		
Ethnicity:	Macedonian				Albanian			
2009		68%			58%			
2018		63%			51%			
2023		61%			44%			
Religion:		Christian			Muslim			
2009		68%			56%			
2018		64%			52%			
2023		61%			50%			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2009		66%			63%			
2018		62%			57%			
2023		58%			57%			

Having friends and acquaintances of a different religion/belief is more frequent with:

- Men compared to women;
- Respondents aged between 45 and 54 and those aged 15 to 24;
- Persons with completed higher and secondary education compared to those with primary education;
- Christians compared to Muslims.

The frequency of having friends and acquaintances of a different religion is still more prevalent with men than with women. This survey wave indicates a majot positive trend with the youngest population aged 15-24 (10 p.p.) and 45-54 (6 p.p.), while there is a downward trend with respondents aged between 35-44 (4 p.p.) and the oldest population aged above 65 (7 p.p.). Even though the frequency of having friends and acquaintances of a different religion is still on the rise with the level of completed education, in 2023 a positive trend of growth has been observed in those with completed primary education (6 p.p.). For the first time ever in 14 years, from the 2009 survey thus far, the difference between ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians has levelled out. In fact, for the first time ever the opposite phenomenon has been noted - the frequency of having a friend and an acquaintance of a different religion has been on the rise over the last 5 years among ethnic Albanians, with a staggering leap of 12 p.p., whereas with ethnic Macedonians there is a slight decrease of 4 p.p. The difference between the largest religious communities remains the same in 2023 and still for the Christian respondents it is more usual to have a friend and an acquaintance of a different religion or belief than theirs compared to Muslims. The difference in terms of the place of living remain negligible owing to the upward trend recorded in the rural areas and the slight drop recorded in the urban areas (see Table 5).

Table 5

Having friends and acquaint	tances of a di	fferent religio	n/belief					
Gender:		Men				Women		
2009		81%				70%		
2018		81%			74%			
2023		82%			75%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44		45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	75%	76%	77%		79%	76%	71%	
2018	74%	79%	81%		79%	77%	76%	
2023	84%	80%	77%		85%	77%	69%	
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Edu			Jcation	Higher E			
2009	66% 80%				86			
2018				79%		84		
2023	73% 81%				83	%		
Ethnicity:	Macedonian				Albanian			
2009	76%				70%			
2018		81%			65%			
2023		77%			77%			
Religion:		Christian				Muslim		
2009		76%				74%		
2018		81%				71%		
2023		81%				72%		
Place of living:		Urban				Rural		
2009		79%				72%		
2018		83%			71%			
2023		79%				77%		

Having friends and acquaintances of a different political affiliation whose views they disagree with is more frequent with:

- Men compared to women;
- On the rise with the age of the respondents;
- Persons with completed higher and secondary education compared to those with primary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Christians compared to Muslims.

The frequency of having friends and acquaintances of a different political affiliations whose views they disagree with is still more usual with men than with women. The frequency of having friends and acquaintances with different political views rises with the age of the respondents. The latest survey indicates that the younger population aged between 15 and 24 and the generation between 45 and 54 are more open to accept people with different political views in their private social circle compared to 5 years ago. Still, having friends and acquaintances who are of a different political affiliation whose views they disagree with is more prevalent with respondents with completed higher education, even though there is a stastistically significant increase of 5 p.p. with persons with completed primary education. The most notable difference has been observed with ethnic Albanians and Muslims, with whom more frequent socialization has been recorded with persons of a different political affiliation and there is a growth of 13 p.p. and 10 p.p. compared to 5 years ago. On the other hand, ethnic Macedonians and Christians show a slight decline of 4 p.p. A positive trend of growth of 6 p.p. has also been recorded with respondents from rural areas which, alongside the slight decline with respondents from urban areas of 3 p.p., levels out the difference between them from the last 5 years (see Table 6).

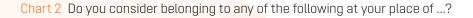
Table 6

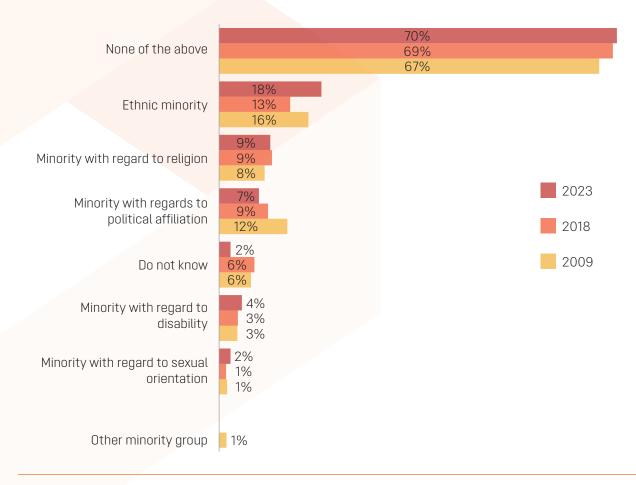
Has friends and acquaintances who belong to a different political affiliation with whose views they disagree								
Gender:		Men			Women			
2009		91%			85%			
2018		84%			80%			
2023		85%			80%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	85%	91%	87%	90%	87%	86%		
2018	70%	81%	86%	86%	84%	86%		
2023	76%	83%	85%	85%	88%	88%		
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Edu			Education	Higher E	ducation		
2009	81	L%	90	%	97	%		
2018	72	2%	84	%	87	%		
2023	77% 84%			%	88	\$%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonian			Albanian			
2009		90%			85%			
2018		88%			65%			
2023		84%			78%			
Religion:		Christian			Muslim			
2009		90%			83%			
2018		88%			70%			
2023		84%			80%			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2009		88%			87%			
2018		86%			76%			
2023		83%			82%			

Has friends and acquaintances who belong to a different political affiliation with whose views they disagree

1.2 Belonging to a particular minority in the local environment

The percentage of respondents that view themselves as members of a minority in the place where they live has increased over the last five years by 5 p.p., thus getting close to the figure of 42% from **2009** (35% in **2018**/ 40% in **2023**).⁵ Over the entire period, the most numerous ones are those that feel as a an ethnic minority (**2009** – 16%; **2018** – 13%, **2023** – 18%), which in the period of 5 years marks a growth of 5 p.p. and it is the highest it has been in the course of the entire period covered by the survey throughout the years. The religious minority is in the second place (**2009** – 8%; **2018** – 9%, **2023** – 9%), followed by the minority based upon political affiliation (**2009** – 12%; **2018** – 9%, **2023** – 7%), which has been slightly declining over the years. Concurrently, a very small number of respondents have sated that they belong to a minority in relation to disability (**2009** – 3%; **2018** – 3%, **2023** – 4%) and sexual orientation (**2009** – 1%; **2018** – 1%, **2023** – 2%) (see Chart 2).





 $^{^{5}}$ This is a multiple choice question and thence the percentage is higher than 100%.

Unlike ethnic Macedonians, ethnic Albanians predominantly feel as an ethnic minority in the place where they live. Furthermore, the number of ethnic Albanians that have declared that they consider themselves an ethnic minority has increased drastically by 10 p.p. over the last five years and it is the highest it has been in the last fourteen years (**2009** – 21%; **2018** – 17%, **2023** – 27%). The number of ethnic Macedonians who feel as an ethnic minority in the place where they

live is slightly on the rise with 3 p.p. (**2009** – 8%; **2018** – 5%, **2023** – 8%). On the grounds of political affiliation, the number of ethnic Macedonians has decreased by 3 p.p. compared to 2018, whereas the number of ethnic Albanians has remained the same. No change has been observed in the number of persons that feel a belongingness to a religious minority, according to their declared religious belief. The number of Muslims is higher than that of the declared Christians (see Table 7).

Table 7

Do you think that in the place where you live you belong to ...

Ethnic minority:	Ethnicity:			
	Macedonian	Albanian		
2009	8%	21%		
2018	5%	17%		
2023	8%	27%		
Minority in teerms of political affiliation:	Macedonian	Albanian		
2009	9%	20%		
2018	9%	9%		
2023	6%	9%		
Minority in terms of religious belief	Religion:			
Minority in terms of religious belief:	Christian	Muslim		
2009	4%	16%		
2018	6%	16%		
2023	6%	17%		

2. Perception of discrimination

2.1 Perceived level of discrimination

The results from the four surveys conducted in 2009, 2013, 2018 and 2023 indicate that, according to the perception of the public, discrimination is widely spread against the perception that there is absence of discrimination (see Chart 3). In the course of the last fourteen years, the surveys have registered a decrease in the number of citizens who consider that there is no discrimination in the country, regarding all types of discrimination (2009 - 14%; 2013 - 13%; 2018 - 9%; 2018 - 9%)⁶, but it has been stagnant during the last five years. The range of the perception that there is no discrimination varies from 2% in terms of political affilitation to 18% in terms of religion and beliefs and persons with disability.

There is merely a marginal number of answers stating 'I do not know' to the question as to how frequent discrimination is in relation to all grounds for discrimination, varying from 2% to 5%. The only exception to the foregoing are the answers pertaining to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, which comprised 20% in the prior three surveys, while in 2023 they dropped to 14%.

In order to acquire a precise insight into the changes of the perceptions of the respondents, discrimination upon all grounds has been ranked from the most prevalent to the least prevalent. The perception of the frequency of discrimination has been determined using the aggregate answers from 'very frequent' and 'quite frequent'.

Discrimination on the basis of political affiliation is considered to be the most frequent and the most prevalent in all surveys. It was characterized as frequent as follows: **2009** - 78%, **2013** - 78%, **2018** - 77% and in **2023** - 77%.

Discrimination on the basis of ethnicity remains to be the second most prevalent in all surveys (**2009** - 55%; **2013** - 51%; **2018** - 50%; **2023** - 53%).

Discrimination on the basis of disability has been ranked one place higher as the third in the latest survey, on account of the growth of 8 p.p. of the answers stating that it is frequent, from 45% – **2009**, 42% - **2013**, 41% - **2018** to 49% -**2023.** There is a stagnation in the perception of **age-based discrimination** as regards its prevalence over the last three waves of the survey, wherein a remarkable decline has been noted from 49% in 2009 to 40% Bo 2013 (49% – **2009**, 40% - **2013**, 41% - **2018** to 42% - **2023).**

Discrimination on the basis of religion and belief shows certain variations in the answers stating that it is frequent, from 37% in 2009 to 42% in the latest survey conducted in 2023 (37% – **2009**, 41% - **2013**, 39% - **2018** to 42% - **2023**).

Gender-based discrimination shows certain variations in the answers stating that it is frequent, from the lowest 37% in 2013 and in 2018 to 40% in the latest survey conducted in 2023, as well as in the first survey conducted in 2009 (40% – **2009**, 37% - **2013**, 37% - **2018** to 40% - **2023).**

Discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation had the highest ranking in 2013 with 46% of the respondents stating that it is frequent. Thereafter, this number has slightly dropped and in 2023 it is the lowest it has been at 38%, comparable to 40% from the first survey in 2009 (40% – 2009, 46% - 2013, 44% - 2018 to 38% - 2023).

⁶ The percentage has been obtained as the median of the answers 'does not exist' in all categories of respondents.

_	2023		48%		4	29%	12	%	8%
Political	2018		47%		C	30%	11	%	6% 40
Political affiliation	2013		57%			22%	7	% 5%	7%
	2009	_	56%		1	22%	8	% 5%	6%
s s	2023	17%	32%		23%		18	%	7%
Persons with disabilities	2018	13%	28%	22%		2	21%	10)%
ersor lisab	2013	14%	28%	16%		18%		18%	
Pe	2009	17%	27%	20	20%		7%	149	%
5	2023	15% 27%		26%	%		19%		11%
Religion or beliefs	2018	12%	27%	25%		2	0%	12	2%
kelig bel	2013	13%	28%	20%		17%		18%	
	2009	14%	23%	22%		17%		18%	
	2023	14%	27%	24%)		21%		11%
Age	2018	10%	31%	24%)		21%		10%
Ā	2013	11%	28%	23%		17%	, D	16%	6
	2009	19%	30%		22%		12%	14	%
U	2023	16%	22%	21%		19%	79	%	
Sexual orientation	2018	18%	26%	16%		13%	7%		
Se) Irien	2013	22%	24%	14%	14% 11		9%		
0	2009	20%	20%	15%	9%	169	%		
	2023	13%	27%	25%	25%		20%	1	2%
Gender	2018	8%	29%	27%	27%		20%	1	3%
Ge	2013	8%	28%	25%	25%		,)	179	%
	2009	12%	28%	23%		189	%	179	%
>	2023	21%	32%		249	%		16%	6%
Ethnicity	2018	20%	30%		229	%	16%	, D	9%
Ethi	2013	22%	29%		239	%	139	6	11%
	2009	24%	31%		179	6	14%	1	1%

Chart 3 How widespread is discrimination in our country on each of the following grounds?

By cross-referencing the results according to the socio-demographic characteristics, it may be discerned that the respondents who think that discrimination on the basis of political affiliation is a frequent phenomenon are predominantly:

- Men (2009 80%; 2018 79%; 2023 79%) compared to women (2009, 2018 and 2023 76%); and
- Respondents with completed higher (2009 79%; 2018 77%; 2023 79%) and

secondary education (**2009** - 81%; **2018** - 82%; **2023** - 81%) compared to primary education (**2009** - 73%; **2018** - 67%; **2023** - 72%).

Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin is perceived as frequent predominantly by:

- Respondents with completed higher (2009 54%; 2018 50%; 2023 59%) compared to primary education (2009 53%; 2018 49%; 2023 50%).
- Ethnic Albanians (2009 75%; 2018 63%; 2023 52%) and ethnic Macedonians (2009 48%; 2018 45%; 2023 51%) became equal in 2023
- Muslims (2009 69%; 2018 59%; 2023 56%) compared to Christians (2009 48%; 2018 45%; 2023 51%).

The perception of discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin as frequent is marked by a significant declining trend with ethnic Albanians and Muslims, while it is on the rise with ethnic Macedonians and Christians. In 2023 there is no difference in the perception of ethnicity-based discrimination between the two largest ethnic groups, i.e. every other ethnic Albanian/Macedonian perceives this type of discrimination as frequent. As regards the two largest religions, it has a tendency of becoming equal.

Discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is perceived as frequent predominantly by:

- Respondents aged 15 to 24 (2009 and 2018

 49%; 2023 48%) compared to respondents aged above 65 (2009 29%; 2018 33%; 2023 26%);
- Respondents with completed higher education (2009 47%; 2018 50%; 2023 44%), compared to those with primary education (2009 30%; 2018 38%; 2023 34%); and
- Ethnic Macedonians (2009 45%; 2018 46%; 2023 37%) and ethnic Albanians (2009 28%; 2018 43%; 2023 38%) became equal in 2023
- Muslims (2009 27%; 2018 42%; 2023 41%) compared to Christians (2009 45%; 2018 45%; 2023 37%).

Compared to the period 5 years prior, the perception of the discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation as frequent has significantly declined with ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians, while in 2023 it has become equal between these two groups. The number of Muslims who perceive this type of discrimination as frequent is higher compared to the number of Christians, which is marked by a significant decline over the last 5 years.

Gender-based discrimination is perceived as frequent predominantly by:

- Women (2009 43%; 2018 40%; 2023 43%) compared to men (2009 37%; 2018 34%; 2023 37%)
- Ethnic Albanians (2009 49%; 2018 40%; 2023 - 49%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (2009 - 38%; 2018 - 36%; 2023 - 38%)
- Muslims (2009 44%; 2018 40%; 2023 44%) compared to Christians (2009 38%; 2018 36%; 2023 38%).

Discrimination on the basis of disability is perceived as frequent predominantly by:

- Women (2009 44%; 2018 44%; 2023 52%) compared to men (2009 45%; 2018 39%; 2023 46%)
- Respondents aged 15 to 24 (2009 45%; 2018 36%; 2023 43%) compared to respondents aged 35 to 44 (2009 43%; 2018 42%; 2023 54%) and those aged 65+ (2009 42%; 2018 43%; 2023 53%)
- Ethnic Macedonians (2009 44%; 2018 44%; 2023 48%) and ethnic Albanians (2009 53%; 2018 35%; 2023 47%) became equal in 2023
- Respondents in urban areas (2009 45%; 2018 – 46%; 2023 – 51%), compared to those in rural areas (2009 – 45%; 2018 – 35%; 2023 – 45%).

Over the last 5 years, the perception of discrimination on the basis of disability as frequent has significantly increased both with women and men population, but it is still more prevalent in women. Respondents aged 35 to 44 and above 65 are more prone to perceiving it as frequent, whereas with the youngest population aged 15-24 this percentage is the lowest. Nevertheless, in all age groups, an increasing trend may be observed in the perception in the course of the

last 5 years. There is an increase with ethnic Albanians and a slight increase with ethnic Macedonians, wherein these two groups have become equal in this respect in 2023. Respondents in urban areas have predominantly answered that this type of discrimination is frequent, compared to the ones from rural areas. Still, with both groups an increase in the perception may be observed.

Age-based discrimination is perceived as frequent predominantly by:

- Respondents aged from above 65 (2009 50%; 2018 46%; 2023 48%) compared to respondents aged from 15 to 24 (2009 44%; 2018 33%; 2023 31%);
- With respondents with completed secondary (2009 51%; 2018 44%; 2023 42%) and primary education (2009 44%; 2018 41%; 2023 42%) there is an equalization in 2023; and
- ethnic Macedonians (2009 51%; 2018 46%; 2023 42%) compared to ethnic Albanians (2009 43%; 2018 31%; 2023 37%).

The generation gap between the youngest and the oldest population in the survey has been widening throughout the years in terms of the perception as to whether discrimination on the basis of age is frequent and it has reached its peak during this wave with 17 p.p. This perception in 2023 has become equal between the respondents according to the level of completed education. Ethnic Macedonians still perceive age-based discrimination as more frequent compared to ethnic Albanians, but this discrepancy has a propensity to be levelled out.

Discrimination on the basis of religion and belief is perceived as frequent predominantly by:

- Younger persons aged from 15 to 24 (47% in the three surveys), compared to the older generation aged above 65 (2009 31%; 2018 28%; 2023 44%);
- With ethnic Albanians (2009 50%; 2018 49%; 2023 41%) and ethnic Macedonians (2009 32%; 2018 35%; 2023 40%) there is an equalization in 2023; and

Muslims (2009 – 47%; 2018 – 46%; 2023 – 45%) compared to Christians (2009 - 32%; 2018 - 35%; 2023 – 40%).

The perception that discrimination on the basis of religion and belief is frequent is clearly prominent with the majority of young people aged from 15 to 24 in 2009, 2018 and 2023 with 47%. However, over the last 5 years a significant increase in the perception has been recorded with the older generation aged above 65. In the last wave of the survey, ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians equally perceive discrimination on the basis of religion and belief as frequent and this levelling out is due to the decrease of the perception with ethnic Albanians and its increase with ethnic Macedonians. The majority of Muslims perceive this type of discrimination as frequent, whereas this perception is less prevalent with Christians. In the latest survey a tendency may be observed for narrowing down the gap between the perceptions of respondents from the two religions due to the increase in the persception of Christians.

2.2 Perceived level of discrimination in the mid-term

The analysis of the answers pertaining to the frequency of particular types of discrimination compared to the status from five years prior provides an assessment of the respondents' perception in the longer run. These perceptions of discrimination are an intrinsic indicator that allows for an assessment of the effects of any measures taken with a view to combating discrimination. The answers stating that certain types of discrimination are more frequent are an indication of the failure of the fight against discrimination, wherein the answers stating that particular types of discrimination are less frequent point to the positive effects of the efforts exerted for decreasing discrimination.

The results of the surveys show that as regards discrimination on the basis of political affiliation in **2009**, 60% of the respondents considered it to be more frequent than in the previous 5 years, 12% considered it to be less frequent and 24% believed that it has remained the same. In **2018** 57% assessed it as more frequent, 11%

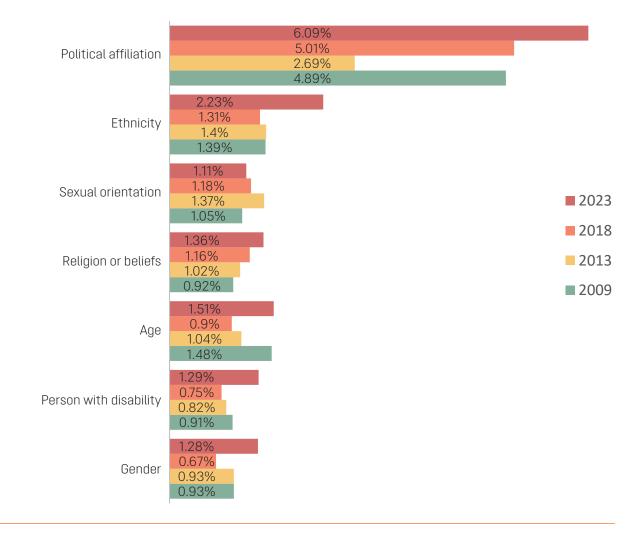
as less frequent and 30% that it has remained the same. In **2023** 60% assessed it as more frequent, 10% as less frequent and 28% that it has remained the same. This goes to show that there have been no major shifts throughout the years. The answers stating that discrimination on the basis of political affiliation is more frequent are most numerous when compared to other types of discrimination and thence these grounds have been ranked in the first place, in all four surveys (see Chart 4).

Chart 4 If one compares the current situation with that before 5 years, would you say the following forms of discrimination occur more or less often in our country?

1.8 6% 1.3 10 2.3 10 2.3 23 1.3 10 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11 2.3 11	15% 0% 13% % 18% 0% 12% 16% 12%	34% 32% 45% 37% 19% 17% 21% 16% 21% 20%	27% % 309 32%	25% 2 40% 38 % 40	25 3% 40% 31 % 38% 41%	5% 1% 30%	24% 20% 19%	18% 20% 17% % 1 15%	11% 8 10% 7% 11%
1.3 1 1.3 1 2.3 2 1.8 6% 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 6% 1.3 6% 1.3 6% 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1 1.3 1	<pre>% 1 15% 0% 1 13% % 18% 0% 1 2% 16% 12%</pre>	45% 37% 19% 17% 27% 21% 16% 21% 20%	27% % 309 32%	2 40% 38 % 40	25 3% 40% 31 % 38% 41% % 41% % 42%	5% 1% 30%	17 24% 20% 19% 15 18%	18% 1 20% 17% % 1 15%	9% 7% 5 10% 11% 8 10% 7% 11% 7 11%
09 1 23 6% 13 6% 13 1 23 1 13 1 13 1 13 6% 13 6% 13 6% 13 1 13 6% 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1 13 1	<pre>% 1 15% 0% 1 13% % 18% 0% 1 2% 16% 12%</pre>	37% 19% 17% 17% 22% 21% 16% 21% 20%	27% % 309 32%	40% 38' % 40	23% 40% 33% 38% 41% % 42%	30%	24% 20% 19% 15 18%	18% 1 20% 17% % 1 15%	7% 5 7 10% 111% 8 10% 7% 11% 7 11%
23 23 13 6% 13 10 23 23 13 10 23 10 14 6% 13 6% 13 6% 13 10 23 11 23 11 23 11 23 11 23 11	<pre>% 1 15% 0% 1 13% % 18% 0% 1 2% 16% 12%</pre>	19% 17% 17% 22% 21% 16% 21% 20%	27% % 309 32%	40% 38' % 40	40% 31 % 38% 41% % 42%	30%	20% 19% 15 18%	18% 20% 17% % 1 15%	7 10% 11% 8 10% 7% 11% 7 11%
1.8 6% 1.3 10 2.3 10 2.3 23 1.3 10 2.3 11 2.3 11 1.3 6% 1.3 6% 1.3 11 1.3 11 1.3 11 1.3 11 1.3 11 2.3 11	<pre>% 1 15% 0% 1 13% % 18% 0% 1 2% 16% 12%</pre>	17% 17% 22% 21% 16% 21% 20%	27% % 309 32%	38 % 40 43	31 % 38% 41% % 42%	30%	20% 19% 15 18%	1 20% 17% % 1	11% 11% 10% 7% 11% 7 11%
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L8 6% L3 1 23 1	6 16% 12%	20%	32%				179	%	11%
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)9 1 23 1	12%	21%		0		20%		17	'%
23 1		21%				2370		1/	
					40%		1	4%	9%
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	%	16%		36%		14%	6 7%	'	
L3	20%	0	28	8%	1	23%	12%	6	
	.0%	15%		30%		15%	9%		
	.1%	21%			42%			16%	8
	6 15	5%		45%			20%		11%
L3	15%		31%			32%		1	7%
)9 89	%	20%		39	9%		19%)	10%
23	17%		27%			34%		14	%
	14%	21%	%		36%		1	8%	89
L3	25	5%		31%		2	7%		13%
)9	16%	2	1%		33%		18	3%	9%
	09 1 23 1 8 59 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1 .3 1	09 10% 23 11% 23 11% .8 5% 1 .3 15% 09 8% 23 17% .8 14% .3 2 09 16%	09 10% 15% 23 11% 21% 28 5% 15% 3 15% 20% 23 17% 21% 28 14% 21% 3 25% 20% 09 16% 2	09 10% 15% 23 11% 21% 88 5% 15% 33 15% 31% 09 8% 20% 23 17% 27% 88 14% 21% 33 25% 21% 09 16% 21% 16% 21% 16%	09 10% 15% 30% 23 11% 21% 28 5% 15% 45% 3 15% 31% 31% 09 8% 20% 39 23 17% 27% 31% 23 14% 21% 31% 3 25% 31% 31%	09 10% 15% 30% 11% 21% 42% 8 5% 15% 45% 3 15% 31% 16% 09 8% 20% 39% 39% 13 17% 27% 36% 13 14% 21% 36% 13 25% 31% 36% 14 21% 36% 33% 15 21% 33% 33% 16% 21% 33% 33%	09 10% 15% 30% 15% 11% 21% 42% 42% 8 5% 15% 45% 15% 3 15% 31% 32% 32% 09 8% 20% 39% 34% 13 17% 27% 34% 14% 21% 36% 2 09 16% 21% 33% 16% 21% 33% 1	09 10% 15% 30% 15% 9% 11% 21% 42% 20% 8 5% 15% 45% 20% 3 15% 31% 32% 19% 23 17% 27% 34% 1 8 14% 21% 36% 1 3 25% 31% 27% 3 09 16% 21% 33% 18 frequent Much more frequent Neither more or less frequent 18	09 $10%$ $15%$ $30%$ $15%$ $9%$ 23 $11%$ $21%$ $42%$ $16%$ 88 $5%$ $15%$ $45%$ $20%$ 33 $15%$ $31%$ $32%$ $17%$ 99 $8%$ $20%$ $39%$ $19%$ 23 $17%$ $27%$ $34%$ 14 8 $14%$ $21%$ $36%$ $18%$ 33 $25%$ $21%$ $33%$ $18%$

In order to get a good idea of the perception of the public as to whether the situation with discrimination has deteriorated or improved, we have calculated a coefficient C⁷ which indicates the proportion of the answers stating that discrimination is more frequent compared to the answers stating that discrimination is less frequent in relation to the situation from five years ago (see Chart 5).

Chart 5 C ratio trend for the question: If you compare the current situation with that before 5 years, would you say the following forms of discrimination are more or less frequent in our country?



Discrimination on the basis of political affiliation has been ranked in the first place in all surveys, in 2023 with C = 6.09 (more frequent 60.5%; less frequent 9.9%) which means that in this survey the share of the assessment as more frequent is 6-fold more prevalent compared to assessments as less frequent. This is in fact the most prominent discrepancy recorded thus far.

⁷ The coefficient C is obtained when the assessment "more frequent" is divided with the assessment "less frequent". Each C value above 1 points to how much proportionately higher is the share of the assessment "more frequent" as compared to the assessment "less frequent". Each value below 1 points to how much proportionately lower is the share of the assessment "more frequent" as compared to the assessment "less frequent". Coefficient C higher than 1 indicates that no visible results have been achieved and/or that the traditional negative stereotypes pose a latent obstacle for the changes. Coefficients below 1 point to a relatively positive outcome in the fight against discrimination in the domain of a particular area subject to the survey.

The cross-referencing with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents points to the following:

Discrimination on the basis of political affiliation compared to the situation from five years prior is perceived as more frequent in the following groups of respondents:

According to the age:

Respondents aged 45 to 54 (**2009** - 61%; **2018** - 54%; **2023** - 65%) and those aged 65+ (**2009** - 50%; **2018** - 54%; **2023** -68%) compared to those aged from 35 to 44 (**2009** - 62%; **2018** - 59%; **2023** - 55%).

According to the education:

In **2009** there was no notable difference between the respondents with a different level of completed education: higher education (59%), secondary education (61%), primary education (58%);

In **2018** – higher (60%) and secondary education (58%), compared to primary (50%).

In **2023** – higher (64%) and secondary education (64%), compared to primary (57%).

For the first time ever, in the latest survey from 2023, the older respondents aged from 45 to 54 and above 65 perceive discrimination on the basis of political affiliation as more frequent in the last 5 years, wherein a significant increase of 11 p.p. and 14 p.p. has been recorded. On the other hand, for the first time ever, in the latest survey, the youngest respondents aged 15-24 are not the most numerous ones who perceive this type of discrimination as more frequent. The level of education also has a significant bearing in terms of the analysis of the answers. In 2009, the difference in the perception that discrimination is more frequent is almost equal in relation to the level of education, whereas in the last 5 years there has been a leap with those who have completed secondary and primary education who consider it to be more frequent, while the perception of those with completed higher education has been stagnating.

Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin has been ranked in the second place. In 2009 the coefficient was C = 1.39 (more frequent 36.8%; less frequent 26.4%), in 2013 C = 1.40 (more frequent 56%; less frequent 40%), in 2018 C = 1.31 (more frequent 34.4%; less frequent 26.3%) and in 2023 C = 2.23 (more frequent 44%; less frequent 20%). The data show that there has been a significant deterioration in the perception of this type of discrimination.

Discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin compared to the situation from five years ago is perceived as more frequent in the following groups of respondents:

According to the age:

In **2009** with respondents aged from 15 to 44 (it ranges from 38% to 40%) compared to those above the age of 55 (it ranges from 29% to 33%);

In **2018** with respondents aged from 15 to 34 (it ranges from 39% to 42%) compared to those above the age of 55 (it ranges from 26% to 27%).

In **2023** with respondents aged from 15 to 34 (49%) compared to those above the age of 65 (38%).

According to the ethnicity:

In the three surveys – with ethnic Albanians (**2009** - 59%; **2018** - 50%; **2023** – 54%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (**2009** – 30%; **2018** – 30%; **2023** – 39%).

According to the place of living:

In the three surveys – with respondents from rural areas (**2009** - 40%; **2018** - 36%; **2023** - 42%) compared to those from urban areas (**2009** - 35%; **2018** - 33%; **2023** - 45%).

In all surveys the perception that discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin is more frequent declines with the age, while with all the older categories there is an increase in the perception of this type of discrimination being more frequent, while the most noteworthy changes in the course of the last 5 years have been recorded in the following categories: age group from 45 to 55 and those above the age of 65 with 12 p.p., as well as those at an age between 55 and 64 with an increase of 15 p.p. As regards the ethnicity, even though ethnic Albanians have primarily assessed that discrimination is more frequent in comparison to the ethnic Macedonians in the latest survey, there is still a significant increase

in the perception of ethnic Albanians and a slight increase in that of ethnic Macedonians.

Discrimination on the basis of religion and belief in 2009 was ranked in the sixth place (C = 0.92). At that time, the answers stating that such discrimination was less frequent were more numerous (28.5%) in comparison to the answers stating that it is more frequent (26.2%). In the subsequent surveys the coefficient C is on the rise. In 2013 C = 1.02 (more frequent 48%; less frequent 47%), while in 2018 C = 1.16 (more frequent 29%; less frequent 25.1%). In 2023 C = 1.36 (more frequent 35%; less frequent 25%). The data show that in the course of the last 5 years there have been no major changes in the experiences related to discrimination on the basis of religion and belief as more frequent.

Discrimination on the basis of religion and belief compared to the situation from five years ago is perceived as more frequent in the following groups of respondents:

• According to the age:

Young respondents aged from above 15 to 24 (**2009** – 32%; **2018** – 37%; **2023** – 38%) compared to respondents aged above 65 (**2009** – 21%; **2018** – 22%; **2023** – 32%).

• According to the education:

Respondents with completed secondary (2009 – 28%; 2018 - 30%; 2023 – 33%) and higher education (2009 – 28%; 2018 – 31%; 2023 – 37%) and those with completed primary education (2009 – 22%; 2018 – 25%; 2023 – 35%) are almost equal in 2023.

According to the ethnicity:

In the two surveys – with ethnic Albanians (**2009** μ **2018** - 38%; **2023** – 41%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (**2009** – 22%; **2018** -26%; **2023** – 30%).

According to the religion:

In the two surveys – with Muslims (**2009** and **2018** - 35%; **2023** – 44%) compared to Christians (**2009** - 22%; **2018** - 26%; **2023** – 30%).

 According to the place of living: In 2009 there were no significant differences, urban (27%) or rural (25%); In **2018** more with respondents from rural areas (31%) compared to those from urban areas (28%);

In **2023** more with respondents from urban areas (37%) compared to those from rural areas (31%).

The 2023 survey shows a growth of 10 p.p. with the age group 55-64 and 65+. In all waves, the perception regarding the frequency of discrimination on the basis of religion and belief declines with age, however, in the latest 2023 wave, there is a considerable approximation between the differences. The latest survey does not point to any significant differences between the level of education of the respondents. In terms of religion, in all three surveys (2009, 2018 and 2023) Muslims estimated that discrimination is more frequent compared to Christians. As regards the ethnicity, a rise has been observed in both groups in terms of the perception regarding the frequency of discrimination, but ethnic Albanians still see it as more frequent compared to ethnic Macedonians.

Age-based discrimination in 2009 was ranked in the third place, with the coefficient being C = 1.48 (more frequent 33%; less frequent 22.3%). In 2013 the coefficient dropped to C = 1.04 (more frequent 48%; less frequent 46%). In 2018 the coefficient continued dropping and it went below one to C = 0.90 (more frequent 25.5%; less frequent 28.3%). In 2023 the coefficient increased to C = 1.51 (more frequent 33%; less frequent 21%), which is the highest it has been in all the surveys. It points to an increased perception of the frequency of age-based discrimination.

Age-based discrimination compared to the situation from five years ago is perceived as more frequent predominantly in the following groups of respondents:

• According to the age:

In **2009** respondents aged from 55 to 64 (43%) compared to younger ones aged from 15 to 24 (26%);

In **2018** no major difference was discerned with the age groups from 15 to 24 (28%), i.e. from 55 to 64 (26%).

in **2023** respondents aged from 45 to 54 (39%) compared to the other age groups.

According to the education:

In **2009** respondents with completed higher (38%) and secondary education (36%) compared to those with primary education (28%);

In **2018** there was no significant difference according to the level of education: primary and secondary (26%) and higher education (24%).

In **2023** respondents with secondary education (36%), compared to those with primary education (31%).

The results show that in 2023 there is an increase in the perception of the frequency of this type of discrimination with all age groups and levels of education, compared to the previous five years, but their ratio has altered. In 2023, respondents aged from 45 to 54 and those with completed secondary education see age-based discrimination as more frequent compared to the other categories.

Discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in 2009 was ranked with C = 1.05, which points to the fact that in this period there was a balance between the assessment that discrimination is more frequent (24.8%) and the assessment that it is less frequent (23.7%). In 2013 the coefficient increased C = 1.37 (more frequent 48%; less frequent 35%) and it was ranked in the fifth place, where as in 2018 the coefficient C = 1.18 (more frequent 24.5%; less frequent 20.8%) decreased, but still the ranking remained in the fifth place. In 2023 C = 1.11 (more frequent 28%; less frequent 26%).

Discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation compared to the situation from five years ago is perceived as more frequent in the following groups of respondents:

According to the age:

in the two surveys, the younger respondents aged from above 15 to 24 (**2009** – 28%; **2018** – 31%; **2023** - 30%) compared to respondents aged above 65 (**2009** – 21%; **2018** – 19%; **2023** – 23%).

According to the education:

26

In the two surveys, the respondents with completed higher (**2009** - 28%; **2018** - 27%; **2023** - 30%) compared to those with primary education (**2009** - 20%; **2018** - 22%; **2023** - 25%).

In the three surveys from 2009, 2018 and 2023, young persons and respondents with completed higher education considered that discrimination on this basis is more frequent than in previous five years, in comparison with those aged above 65 and respondents with completed primary education.

Discrimination on the basis of disability in 2009 was marked with a coefficient of C = 0.91, when 26.9% of the respondents stated that it is more frequent, while 29.6% that it is less frequent. In 2013 the coefficient dropped to C = 0.82 (more frequent 42%; less frequent 51%) and it continued dropping also in 2018 when it reached C = 0.75 (more frequent 22.7%; less frequent 30.2%). In 2023 the coefficient increased to C = 1.29 (more frequent 32%; less frequent 25%), which is the highest it has been in all the surveys. It points to an increased perception of the frequency of discrimination on the basis of disability.

Discrimination on the basis of disability compared to the situation from five years ago is perceived as more frequent predominantly in the following groups of respondents:

According to age:

In **2009** – respondents aged from 15 to 44 (26%) compared to those above the age of 65 (18%);

In **2018** there was no remarkable difference in the perception according to the age of the respondents from 15 to 24, i.e. above the age of 65 (25%).

In **2023** – respondents aged from 45 to 54 and above 65 (36%) compared to the youngest ones aged from 15 to 24 (26%);

According to ethnicity:

In the three surveys – with ethnic Albanians (**2009** - 38%; **2018** - 29%; **2023** – 42%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (**2009** – 24%; **2018** – 22%; **2023** – 28%).

In the 2023 survey a major increase of 11 p.p. is recorded with the oldest population aged above 65 in terms of the perception of the frequency of discrimination on the basis of disability compared to the period five year prior, which for the first time ever renders this age group the most concerned one in comparison to the other groups. Furthermore, it is for the first time ever that young people consider it to be less frequent. As regards ethnicity, ethnic Albanian consider this type of discrimination to be more frequent compared to ethnic Macedonians in the three surveys, whereas in both groups in 2023 a growth has been recorded in the perception of the frequency of this type of discrimination.

Gender-based discrimination from being ranked fourth in 2009 with a coefficient C = 0.93 (more frequent 27.3%; less frequent 29.3%), in 2013 went to the sixth place with C = 0.94 (more frequent 46%; less frequent 49%), while in 2018 it settled in the seventh place, with C = 0.67 (more frequent 20.5%; less frequent 30.4%). In 2023 the coefficient increased to C = 1.28 (more frequent 32%; less frequent 24%), which is the highest it has been in all the surveys. It points to an increased perception of the frequency of gender-based discrimination.

Gender-based discrimination compared to the situation from five years ago is perceived as more frequent predominantly in the following groups of respondents:

According to gender:

In the 2009 and 2018 surveys – no remarkable difference was observed between men (**2009** - 27%; **2018** - 20%; **2023** - 28%) and women (**2009** - 28%; **2018** - 21%; **2023** - 28%).

In 2023, women (33%), compared to men (30%)

According to education:

In the 2009 and 2018 surveys - respondents with completed secondary (**2009** – 29%; **2018** – 22%; **2023** - 28%) and higher education (**2009** – 30%; **2018** – 20%; **2023** - 28%) compared to primary education (**2009** – 24%; **2018** – 18%; **2023** - 28%)

In 2023 respondents with higher education (33%), compared to those with primary education (30%)

According to ethnicity:

In the three surveys – with ethnic Albanians (**2009** - 35%; **2018** - 24%; **2023** – 42%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (**2009** – 26%; **2018** – 19%; **2023** – 27%).

In 2009 and 2018, both men and women equally considered that gender-based discrimination is more frequent, while in the last survey a slight difference is coming to the surface between women, who have experienced this type of discrimination as more frequent in the course of the last 5 years, compared to men. The data point to a major increase in the perception in both ethnic groups, especially in terms of ethnic Albnanians with an increase of 18 p.p., which makes the difference between them and the ethnic Macedonians most prominent thus far.

2.3 Acceptance of the differences

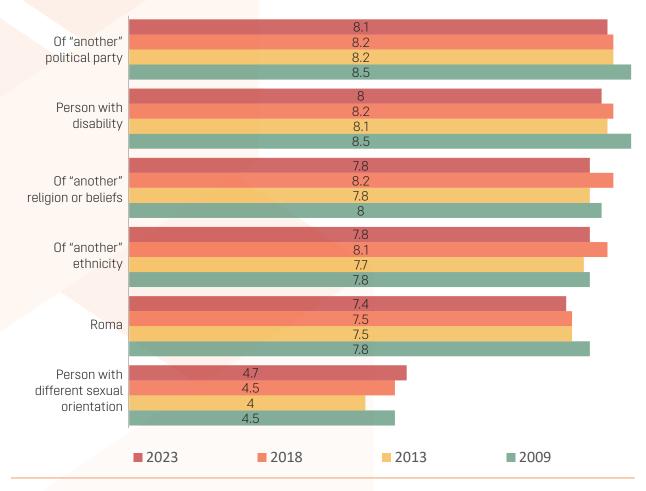
The survey indicates a steady trend of a high level of willingness on the part of the respondents to accept different groups in their private sphere of living⁸. The results show that the willingness to accept a neighbour who is a member or supporter of 'another'⁹ political party or a person with a disability is the highest. In terms of members of 'other' religious and ethnic communities, the latest survey shows a negative trend and a declining level of willingness to accept them compared to 5 years ago. The level of acceptance of a neighbour member of the Roma ethnic community is quite high, but it is still lower com-

⁸ In the 2009, 2018 and 2023 surveys, the respondents were asked: "By using a scale from 1 to 10, could you please tell me how would you personally feel in each of the given situations?". On the scale, '1' means that you feel 'very uncomfortable', while "10" means that you feel 'quite comfortable' in the given situation. The scale used in the 2013 survey has been modified: "By using a scale from 1 to 9, could you please tell how would you personally feel in each of the given situations?". On the scale, '1' means that you feel 'using a scale from 1 to 9, could you please tell how would you personally feel in each of the given situations?". On the scale used in the 2013 survey has been modified: "By using a scale from 1 to 9, could you please tell how would you personally feel in each of the given situations?". On the scale "1" means that you feel 'very uncomfortable', while "9" means that you feel 'quite comfortable' in the given situation. Therefore, the 2013 results have been taken only as an indicator for the identification of possible major changes in the structure of the views of the population.

⁹ The term 'another' is used to denote a group/community to which the respondents do not belong.

pared to the general acceptance of a neighbour from 'another' ethnicity. The level of willingness to accept persons of a different sexual orientation is the lowest. The highly prominent social detachment of this group is marked with a slight decrease in 2023 (see Chart 6).¹⁰

Chart 6 On a scale from 1 (very unpleasent) to 10 (very pleasent), please indicate how would you personally feel if you had a neighbour who is ...?



The level of comfort with having Roma neighbours is higher with:

- Respondents aged above 65 compared to those aged between 15 and 24;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians; and
- Respondents from urban areas compared to those from rural areas.

The latest survey shows a positive trend of an increased willingness of the younger population aged from 15 to 24 for accepting Roma neighbours. The results also indicate a continuous trend throughout the years of a greater willingness to accept people of the Roma ethnicity among ethnic Macedonians and inhabitants of urban areas, even though there is a decrease in both categories in the course of the last 5 years (see Table 8).

¹⁰ Obtained as the median in the spss system via recorded variables without the 'I don't know' and 'indifferent' values.

Table 8

Level of comfort with having Roma neighbours							
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	7.5	7.7	7.7	7.8	8.1	8.0	
2018	6.9	7.4	7.8	7.6	7.6	7.9	
2023	7.6	7.2	7.5	7.3	7.3	7.3	
Ethnicity:		Macedonian			Albanian		
2009	8.0				6.5		
2018	8.2			5.8			
2023		7.8		5.7			
Place of living:	Urban			Rural			
2009	8.0			7.3			
2018		8.0			6.9		
2023		7.5		_	7.1		

Level of comfort with having Roma neighbours

The level of comfort with having neighbours with a disability is higher with:

- Respondents with completed higher education compared to those with primary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;

The feeling of comfort with having a neighbour with a disability is one of the highest ranked cat-

egories in the survey. The latest survey indicates an almost equal percentage according to the level of education and the place of living of the respondents. A lower level of willingness to accept persons with disability has been noted with tethnic Albanians, while a trend of a slightly increased social detachment has also been noted throughout the years (see Table 9).

Table 9

Level of comfort with having neighbours with a disability

Education:Primary EducationSecondary EducationHigher Education2009 8.4 8.6 8.5 2018 7.6 8.3 8.4 2023 7.9 8.1 8.1 Ethnicity:Macedonian 7.4 2009 8.8 7.4 2018 8.6 6.9 2023 8.6 6.4 Place of living: 0 8.8 2009 8.8 8.6 2009 8.6 7.8 2018 8.8 8.7 2018 8.8 8.7 2018 8.8 8.4 2018 8.8 7.8 2018 8.6 8.8 2018 8.6 8.8 2023 8.6 8.8 2018 8.8 8.1			5	
2018 7.6 8.3 8.4 2023 7.9 8.1 8.1 Ethnicity: Macedonian Albanian 2009 8.8 7.4 2018 8.6 6.9 2023 8.6 6.4 Place of living: Urban Rural 2009 8.8 8.1 2018 8.4 7.8	Education:	Primary Education	Secondary Education	Higher Education
2023 7.9 8.1 8.1 Ethnicity: Macedonian Albanian 2009 8.8 7.4 2018 6.9 2023 8.6 6.9 2023 6.4 8.1 Place of living: Urban Rural 2009 8.8 8.1 2018 7.8 7.8	2009	8.4	8.6	8.5
Ethnicity: Macedonian Albanian 2009 8.8 7.4 2018 8.6 6.9 2023 8.6 6.4 Place of living: Urban Rural 2009 8.8 8.1 2018 8.4 7.8	2018	7.6	8.3	8.4
20098.87.420188.66.920238.66.4Place of living:UrbanRural20098.88.120188.47.8	2023	7.9	8.1	8.1
2018 8.6 6.9 2023 8.6 6.4 Place of living: Urban Rural 2009 8.8 8.1 2018 8.4 7.8	Ethnicity:	Macedonian		Albanian
2023 8.6 6.4 Place of living: Urban Rural 2009 8.8 8.1 2018 8.4 7.8	2009	8.8		7.4
Place of living: Urban Rural 2009 8.8 8.1 2018 8.4 7.8	2018	8.6		6.9
2009 8.8 8.1 2018 8.4 7.8	2023	8.6		6.4
2018 8.4 7.8	Place of living:	Urban		Rural
	2009	8.8		8.1
8.0 8.1	2018	8.4		7.8
	2023	8.0		8.1

The level of comfort with having a person of a different sexual orientation for a neighbour is higher with:

- Respondents aged between 35 and 44 compared to those aged 65+;
- Respondents with completed higher and secondary education compared to those with primary education.

The 2023 survey shows a levelling out of the difference with multiple socio-demographic groups in terms of the respondents' willingness for social inclusion of homosexuals. A positive trend with a higher level of willingness for accepting homosexuals is prominent with women, respondents aged from 15 to 44 and from 55 to 64, all levels of completed education, the two major ethnic communities, epecially the Albanians and the Muslims, and respondents living in rural areas. For the first time ever within the survey, in the last 2023 wave, the differences between the ethnic and the religious groups are almost levelled out (see Table 10).

Table 10

Level of comfort with having a person of a different sexual orientation for a neighbour

Gender:	Men					Women			
2009	4.3					4.7			
2018	4.2					4.8			
2023	4.7					4.6			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-	44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	4.8	4.6	4.	5	4.3	4.4	4.1		
2018	4.5	4.6	5.	0	4.4	4.4	3.9		
2023	4.9 5.0 5.2		4.3	4.7	3.9				
Education:	Primary (Education	Seco	ndary	Education	Higher E	ducation		
2009	3.9 4.6			5	5.5				
2018	3.4 4.6			5	5.2				
2023	3.8 4.8			3	5.9				
Ethnicity:	Macedonian				Albanian				
2009	4.9				3.5				
2018	4.8					3.6			
2023	5.0				4.2				
Religion:	Christian					Muslim			
2009	4.8				3.6				
2018	5.1				3.3				
2023	4.9					4.1			
Place of living:	Urban				Rural				
2009	4.8					4.0			
2018	5.2					3.6			
2023	4.8					4.4			

The level of comfort with having neighbours from another ethicity is higher with:

 Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians; and

The latest survey points to a continuous widening of the gap between the ethnic Macedonians and the ethnic Albanians, wherein in both categories a trend has been observed of an increased social detachment from different ethnicities, which is especially prominent with ethnic Albanians (see Table 11).

Table 11

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	7.8	7.6	7.9	7.7	7.9	8.1	
2018	7.9	8.0	8.2	8.1	8.0	8.3	
2023	8.0	7.7	7.9	7.9	7.9	7.7	
Ethnicity:		Macedonian		Albanian			
2009		8.0		7.2			
2018		8.5		7.0			
2023		8.2		6.4			
Place of living:		Urban		Rural			
2009	8.1			7.5			
2018	8.4			7.8			
2023	7.9			7.7			

Level of comfort with having neighbours from another ethicity

The level of comfort with having neighbours from another religion or belief is higher with:

- Respondents with completed higher education compared to those with primary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians; and
- Christians compared to Muslims.

The latest survey shows a continuous waning of the willingness to accept people of a different religion or belief among ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians, as well as among the two largest religious communities in the country. Throughout the years, ethnic Albanians and Muslims have demonstrated a lower level of willingness to accept neighbours from another religion or belief compared to ethnic Macedonians and Christians (see Table 12).

Table 12

Level of comfort with having neighbours from another religion or belief

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009 2018	8.0 7.9	7.8 8.1	8.1 8.3	7.8 8.2	7.9 8.0	8.3 8.6		
2023	7.8	7.6	7.7	8.0	7.8	7.6		
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	ducation Higher Education			
2009	7.7 8.0			.0	8.6			
2018	7.7 8.3			.3	8.4			
2023	7.6 7.8			.8	8.0			
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	ר		Albanian			
2009		8.2			7.2			
2018		8.6			6.9			
2023	8.2				6.4			
Religion:		Christian			Muslim			
2009	8.2				7.5			
2018		8.6			7.4			
2023		8.1			6.9			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2009	8.3				7.5			
2018	8.4				7.8			
2023	7.8 7.6							

The level of comfort with having neighbours with a different political party affiliation is higher with:

- Respondents aged above 65 compared to those aged between 15 and 24;
- Respondents with completed higher education compared to those with primary education: and
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;

Compared to the situation from 5 years ago, a continuous trend has been observed among the different socio-demographic groups. The 2023 survey detects a decreased level of comfort with having neighbours from another political party with respondents aged above 65, ethnic Albanians and inhabitants of urban areas (see Table 13).

Table 13

15-24 45-54 25-34 35-44 55-64 65+ Age groups: 2009 8.4 8.6 8.6 8.2 8.4 8.8 2018 7.8 8.2 8.3 8.0 8.1 8.7 2023 7.9 8.0 8.2 7.8 8.1 8.3 Primary Education Secondary Education Higher Education Education: 8.2 2009 8.6 8.9 7.8 2018 8.3 8.4 2023 7.8 8.1 8.4 Macedonian Albanian Ethnicity: 2009 8.8 7.5 2018 8.7 6.8 2023 8.7 6.1 Place of living: Rural Urban 2009 8.7 8.2 7.9 2018 8.4 2023 8.1 8.0

Level of comfort with having neighbours from another political party

As regards the willingness to accept differences in the public sphere¹¹, the study indicates that there are no drastic changes in the distribution of the answers among the respondents.

The respondents included in all surveys demonstrate the lowest level of reluctance in terms of the idea of women holding the highest level of public office in the country. This is followed by the high level of willingness of the respondents

to accept members of an opposition political party as the holder of such office. Immediately thereafter is the willingness to accept persons belonging to a non-majority religious or ethnic groups, while a slight decline has been observed, followed by a slightly lower level of willingness to accept persons with disability. In terms of age, it is more acceptable for the respondents to support a younger holder of the highest level of public office as opposed to persons older than 75

¹¹ In the 2009, 2018 and 2023 surveys, the respondents were asked: "By using a scale from 1 to 10, could you please tell me how would you feel if any of the following categories of persons were the holder of the highest public office in the country?" (On the scale, "1" means that you feel 'very uncomfortable', while "10" means that you feel 'quite comfortable'). The scale used in the 2013 survey has been modified: "By using a scale from 1 to 9, could you please tell how would you personally feel if any of the following categories of persons were the holder of the highest public office?". On the scale "1" means that you feel 'very uncomfortable', while "9" means that you feel 'quite comfortable' in the given situation. Therefore, the 2013 results have been taken only as an indicator for the identification of possible major changes in the structure of the views of the population.

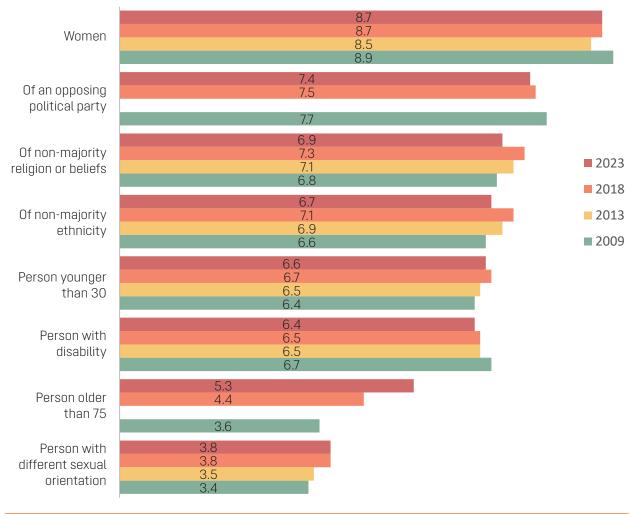


Chart 7 On a scale from 1 (very unpleasent) to 10 (very pleasent), please indicate how would you personally feel if the person at the highest elected position in the country is ...?

years of age. Nevertheless, willingness to accept older persons is also on the rise. According to the respondents, the least acceptable is the idea of a person of a different sexual orientation as the holder of the highest level of public office. The reluctance of the respondents towards these persons is visibly expressed in both the public and the private sphere (see Chart 7)¹².

The level of willingness to accept a women holder of the highest public office is higher with:

- Women compared to men;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Christians compared to Muslims; and

 Respondents from urban areas compared to those from rural areas.

The willingness to accept a women holder of the highest public office is the highest assessed category in all the surveys throughout the years and there are no major differences based upon the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, except for those between the two most numerous ethnic and religious communities in the country. A continuously higher willingness to accept a women holder of the highest public office has been expressed by the ethnic Macedonians and Christians as opposed to the ethnic Albanians and Muslims (see Table 14).

¹² Obtained as the median in the spss system via recorded variables without the 'I don't know' and 'indifferent' values.

Table 14

Level of withing less to accept a women notice of the highest public office						
Gender:	Men	Women				
2009	8.6	9.2				
2018	8.5	9.0				
2023	8.5	8.8				
Ethnicity:	Macedonian	Albanian				
2009	9.1	8.4				
2018	9.2	7.4				
2023	9.3	7.0				
Religion:	Christian	Muslim				
2009	9.1	8.4				
2018	9.2	7.9				
2023	9.2	7.5				
Place of living:	Urban	Rural				
2009	9.0	8.7				
2018	9.0	8.3				
2023	8.8	8.5				

Level of willingness to accept a women holder of the highest public office

The level of willingness to accept a person from an opposition political party as the holder of the highest public office is higher with:

- Respondents with completed higher education compared to those with primary education; and
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;

Throughout the years, the highest level of willingness to accept a person from an opposition political party as the holder of the highest public office has been observed with respondents aged above 65, with whom concurrently a continuous decline has been observed. Furthermore, the survey has detected a continous difference upon an ethnic basis in terms of the willingness to accept a person from an opposition political party as the holder of the highest public office, which throughout all the surveys is higher with ethnic Macedonians as opposed to ethnic Albanians (see Table 15).

Table 15

34

Level of willingness to accept a person from an opposition political party as the holder of the highest public office

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	7.8	7.6	7.7	7.7	7.9	7.9	
2018	7.0	7.2	7.6	7.4	7.6	8.1	
2023	7.0	7.3	7.6	7.2	7.5	7.6	
Education:	Primary Education Secondary			Education	cation Higher Education		
2009	7	.5	7.8		8.2		
2018	6	.9	7.7		7.6		
2023	7	.0	7.6		7.8		
Ethnicity:	Macedonian				Albanian		
2009	8.0				6.8		
2018	8.0				5.9		
2023	7.9				6.1		
Place of living:	Urban				Rural		
2009	8.1				7.3		
2018	7.8				7.1		
2023	7.4				7.4		

The level of willingness to accept a person who belongs to an ethnic or religious minority as the holder of the highest public office is higher with:

- Respondents according to the level of education;
- Ethnic Macedonians and ethnic Albanians; and
- Christians and Muslims.

From the perspective of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, the differenc-

es in their willingness to accept a member of an ethnic or religious minority as the holder of the highest public office have almost levelled out throughout the years through the prism of various parameters being observed in this study. There is a mild trend of a decline of the willingness for acceptance throughout the years with the two ethnic and religious groups, however, the results yielded by the ethnic Albanians and the Muslims are the only ones that are below the total average within the survey (see Table 16 and Table 17).

Table 16

Level of willingness to accept a person who belongs to an ethnic minority as the holder of the highest public office

Education:	Primary Education	Secondary Edu	cation Higher Education
2009	6.7	6.4	7.1
2018	6.7	7.1	7.3
2023	6.6	6.8	7.0
Ethnicity:	Macedonia	Π	Albanian
2009	6.3		6.8
2018	7.1		6.5
2023	6.9		6.1
Religion:	Christian		Muslim
2009	6.4		7.1
2018	7.1		6.9
2023	6.9		6.4
Place of living:	Urban		Rural
2009	6.8		6.3
2018	7.3		6.8
2023	6.7		6.8

Table 17

Level of willingness to accept a person who belongs to a religious minority as the holder of the highest public office

Education:	Primary Education	Secondary Educat	ion Higher Education
2009	6,9	6,6	7,4
2018	6,9	7,3	7,4
2023	6.6	6.9	7.2
Ethnicity:	Macedonia	n	Albanian
2009	6,6		7,0
2018	7,4		6,6
2023	7.0		6.2
Religion:	Christian		Muslim
2009	6,6		7,2
2018	7,4		7,0
2023	7.0		6.6
Place of living:	Urban		Rural
2009	7,0		6,4
2018	7,5		7,0
2023	6.9		6.9

The level of willingness to accept a person younger than 30 years of age as the holder of the highest public office is higher with:

- Respondents aged from 15 to 34 compared to those aged from 45 to 64;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians; and
- Christians compared to Muslims.

Younger respondents aged 15 to 34 are more willing to accept a person younger than 30 years of age as the holder of the highest public office.

Even though such willingness declines with the age of the respondents, still some incremental changes have been observed with the older population throughout the years.

A remarkable decline has been recorded with ethnic Albanians and Muslims, which alongside the slight growth with ethnic Macedonians and Christians has led to a change in the position pertaining to the willingness of these two groups for the first time ever in the course of the survey (see Table 18).

Table 18

Level of willingness to accept a person younger than 30 years of age as the holder of the highest public office

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-	44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	7.1	6.5	6.	3	6.2	5.8	5.9	
2018	7.6	7.0	6.	6	6.4	6.3	6.1	
2023	7.3	6.9	6.	7	6.0	6.2	6.4	
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Seco	ndary	Education	Higher E	ducation	
2009	6	.7		6.7	2	6	.1	
2018		.0		6.6		6	.5	
2023	6	.5		6.6	5	6	.7	
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π			Albanian		
2009		6.0				7.6		
2018		6.4				7.2		
2023		6.9				5.9		
Religion:		Christian				Muslim		
2009		6.0				7.2		
2018		6.3				7.4		
2023	6.9 5.9							
Place of living:	Urban Rural							
2009	6.2 6.6							
2018	6.6 6.8							
2023		6.3				6.7		

The level of willingness to accept a person older than 75 years of age as the holder of the highest public office is higher with:

 Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;

In the course of the last five years, in terms of all meaningful groups of respondents analyzed in this study, an increase has been observed in the willingness to accept older persons as holders of the highest public office. The most prominent increase of the willingness to accept older persons in the public sphere has been observed with the respondents of both genders, the youngest population and the population aged 55+, with the two largest ethnic groups and the inhabitants of rural areas. A more remarkable difference between the socio-demographic characteristics has been noted in ethnic Macedonians, who are more prone to accept the idea of a holder of the highest public office aged above 75, as opposed to ethnic Albanians (see Table 19).

Table 19

Level of willingness to accept a person older than 75 years of age as the holder of the highest public office

Gender:		Men			Women			
2009 2018 2023		3.9 4.5 5.5		3.3 4.4 5.2				
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009 2018 2023	3.7 3.5 5.4	3.7 5.0 5.2	3.5 4.9 5.3	3.4 4.2 5.0	3.5 4.3 5.2	3,8 4,4 5.7		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π		Albanian			
2009 2018 2023		3.6 4.7 5.6			3.5 3.9 4.6			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2009 2018 2023		3.8 4.7 5.4			3.3 4.1 5.1			

The level of willingness to accept a person with a disability as the holder of the highest public office is higher with:

- Respondents in the age group 55 to 64;
- Respondents with a completed higher level of education;
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians;
- Christians compared to Muslims; and

Inhabitants of urban areas.

The latest survey indicates that there are no major differences in the socio-demographic profile of the respondents when it comes to the level of willingness to accept persons with a disability in the public sphere. A slight positive growth has been observed over the last 5 years with the youngest population aged 15 to 24 and with the respondents with completed primary education (see Table 20).

Table 20

Level of willingness to accept a person with a disability as the holder of the highest public office

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	45-54	55-64	65+				
2009	6.8	6.6	6.8	6.9	6.5	6.7			
2018	5.6	6.8	6.8	6.3	6.7	6.5			
2023	6.3	6.4	6.6	6.3	6.7	6.3			
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Secondary	Education	Higher E	ducation			
2009	6	.6	6.	.7	7	.1			
2018	5	.8	6.	.6	7	.0			
2023	6	.4	6.	.4	6	.6			
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π		Albanian				
2009		6.7			6.7				
2018		6.9			5.8				
2023		6.6			6.0				
Religion:		Christian			Muslim				
2009		6.8			6.6				
2018		6.9			5.7				
2023		6.6			6.0				
Place of living:	Urban Rural								
2009	6.9 6.4								
2018	6.9 5.9								
2023		6.6			6.1				

The level of willingness to accept a person of a different sexual orientation as the holder of the highest public office is higher with:

 Respondents with completed higher and secondary education compared to those with primary education.

The willingness to accept persons of a different sexual orientation as the holder of the highest publc office is in the second place as a positively assessed category in all the surveys throughout

the years. In the latest survey from 2023 it has been observed that the differences according to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents have been levelled out. The willingness to accept persons of a different sexual orientation in the public sphere increases with the level of education and it has been on the rise throughout the years. An especially positive trend has been observed with the ethnic Albanians, the Muslims and the inhabitants of rural areas (see Table 21).

Table 21

Level of willingness to accept a person of a different sexual orientation as the holder of the highest public office

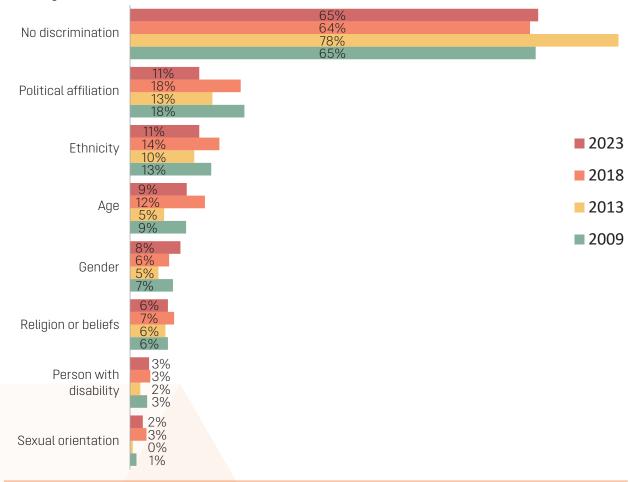
Gender:	Men		Women			
2009	3.2				3.5	
2018	3.6				4.1	
2023	3.8				3.8	
Education:	Primary Education	Seco	ndary Edu	ucation	Higher Educatior	۱
2009	3.0		3.5		3.8	
2018	3.1		3.9		4.4	
2023	3.0		3.9		4.8	
Ethnicity:	Macedonia	n			Albanian	
2009	3.6			2.8		
2018	4.2				2.9	
2023	3.8				4.0	
Religion:	Christian				Muslim	
2009	3.6				2.8	
2018	4.2				3.0	
2023	3.8				3.7	
Place of living:	Urban	Rural				
2009	3.6	3.0				
2018	4.4	3.0				
2023	3.9				3.6	

3. Experiences of discrimination

3.1 Personal experiences of discrimination

The results of the surveys show that one in three respondents had been discriminated upon at least one of the grounds that are subject to the surveys (**2009** – 34%; **2013** – 22%¹³; **2018** – 36%; **2023** – 34%). On the other hand, the majority have declared that they had not been personally discriminated against (**2009** – 65%; **2013** – 78%; **2018** – 64%; **2023** – 65%) (see Chart 8).

Chart 8 In the past 12 months, have you felt discriminated against or harassed on one or more of the following grounds?



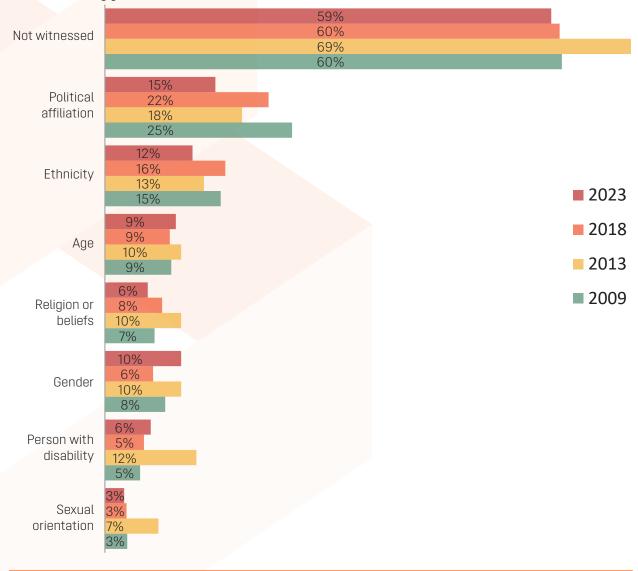
¹³ The 2013 results were obtained via a telephone survey, unlike the field surveys in 2009, 2018 and 2023 and that is why we are using it as an indicator which basically points to an identical structure, but with a different frequency of the answers.

3.2 Witnessing discrimination against other persons

On the other hand, 38% of the respondents had witnessed at least one type of discrimination

in **2009**, 31% in **2013**, 40% in **2018** and 38% in **2023.**¹⁴ Respondents that stated that they had never witnessed any such discrimination were 60% in **2009** and **2018**, 69% in **2013** and 59% in **2023** (see Chart 9).

Chart 9 In the past 12 months, have you witnessed discrimination or harassment on one or more of the following grounds?



In all the surveys throughout the years, political affiliation has been the most common basis for discrimination, both in terms of situations in which the respondents were personally discriminated against (**2009** – 18%; **2013** – 13%; **2018** –

18%%; **2023** – 11%) and in which they witnessed discrimination (**2009** – 25%; **2013** – 18%; **2018** – 22%%; **2023** – 15%). Yet, in 2023 a statistically significant decline of 7 p.p. has been observed both in terms being personally discriminated

¹⁴ A new variable has been generated which enables counting the answers given by the respondents to this multiple choice question. Each respondent lists one, two, three or more types of discrimination and the result is a sum of all those who have listed one or more types of discrimination.

against and in terms of witnessing discrimination. There is a slight decline in both instances of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, which leads to equalization and puts it in the first place alongside political discrimination. The data show that in the majority of the cases the respondents predominantly found themselves in a situation of witnessing discrimination rather than being personally discriminated against upon such grounds. The lowest number od instances of personally experiencing discrimination was observed in relation to the sexual orientation (2009 - 1%; 2013 - 0.4%; 2018 - 3%; 2023 -2%), which also includes the lowest number of respondents who witnessed such type of discrimination (2009 - 3%; 2013 - 7%; 2018 - 3%; **2023** – 3%).

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of political affiliation is predominant with:

- Men compared to women; and
- Ethnic Macedonians compared to ethnic Albanians.

The most frequent grounds for personally experienced discrimination in the country is political affiliation, which is marked with a downward trend in the latest survey. Despite the downward trend, men are still more frequently exposed to discrimination on the basis of political affiliation as opposed to women. As regards the ethnicity of the respondents, in 2009 the number of victims is two-fold higher with ethnic Albanians (30%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (14%). In 2023, this type of discrimination has plummeted by 14 p.p. in terms of ethnic Albanians, wherein for the first time ever in the course of the survey ethnic Macedonians are more frequently victims of discrimination upon such grounds compared to ethnic Albanians (see Table 22).

Table 22

Respondents that have personally experienced discrimination on the basis of political affiliation

Gender:	Men	Women
2009	21%	15%
2018	20%	15%
2023	13%	9%
Ethnicity:	Macedonian	Albanian
2009	14%	30%
2018	18%	22%
2023	12%	8%

On average, about 79% of the general population consider this type of discrimination to be frequent, unlike an average of 20% that consider it to be rare. From amongst those that have stated that they had been discriminated upon this basis, 88% consider it to be frequent, while 12% consider it to be rare. The data show that approximately one in seven citizens have stated that they had been discriminated on political grounds. Discrimination on the basis of political affiliation is especially significant since it is related in various manners to the creation of conditions for equal employment opportunities and equal chances for building a professional career based on merits, capabilities, qualifications and knowledge.

According to the personal experience of being discriminated, the ethnicity of the respondents has been ranked in the second place in the prior three surveys (**2009** – 13%; **2013** – 10%; **2018** – 14%; **2023** – 11%), while in the latest survey it is at the same level as discrimination on the basis of political affiliation. In fact, this type of discrimination has been ranked in all four surveys in the second place in situations when the respondents were witnesses to discrimination (**2009** – 15%; **2013** – 13%; **2018** – 16%; **2023** – 12%).

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is predominant with:

- Men compared to women; and
- Ethnic Albanians compared to ethnic Macedonians;
- Muslims compared to Christians.

In 2009, in comparison to the ethnic Macedonians (5%), ethnic Albanians (34%) substantially more frequently stated that they had been personally discriminated on the basis of ethnicity. Even after fourteen years and despite the tendency of reducing the mutual differences, this perception is still significantly more frequent among ethnic Albanians (23%) compared to ethnic Macedonians (5%). In our country this phenomenon is in close correlation with the ethnic origin and the religious beliefs. The foregoing fact has also been confirmed with the data indicating the the answers of the respondents according to their religious beliefs are rather proportionate to the answers according to their ethnic origin. The gender of the respondents also contributes for different personal experiences of discrimination. According to the statements given by the respondents, there is a more pronounced propensity among men as opposed to women in stating that they had been discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity¹⁵ (see Table 23).

Table 23

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of ethnicity:

Gender:	Men	Women
2009	15%	11%
2018	17%	12%
2023	13%	8%
Ethnicity:	Macedonian	Albanian
2009	5%	34%
2018	7%	28%
2023	5%	23%
Religion:	Christian	Muslim
2009	4%	32%
2018	7%	27%
2023	5%	22%

Ranking in the third place according to personal experience is held by age-based discrimination (**2009** – 9%; **2013** – 5%; **2018** – 12%; **2023** – 9%), which has been ranked in the third place also in situations of the respondents having been witnesses to discrimination (**2009** – 9%; **2013** – 10%; **2018** – 9%; **2023** – 9%).

Personal experience with age-based discrimination is predominant with:

- Respondents aged 65+; and
- Retirees.

42

The latest survey from 2023 sheds light on some major sharp changes in the distribution of personally experienced age-based discrimination. For the first time ever older respondents aged above 65 and retirees have been established as victims of this type of discrimination much more frequently, which has almost doubled in the course of the last five years and more than twice lower with the youngest population aged from 15 to 24, while 20-fold lower amongst pupils and students (which makes it almost inexistent) (see Table 24).

¹⁵ In terms of the assessment as to whether a certain change has occurred or not, account should be taken of the fact that we are analyzing cross-tabulation segments, which comprise a relatively small number of respondents in each of them and, therefore, they should be understood as indications which, with a certain level of likelihood, reflect certain tendencies in the answers of the respondents.

Table 24

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35	-44	45-5	4	55-64	65	;+
2009	8%	6%	10	0%	12%	6	11%	69	%
2018	18%	12%	13	3%	12%	6	10%	89	%
2023	7%	6%	6	%	7%		10%	15	%
Employment status:	Employed	Unemplo	oyed	Home	emaker	Stuc	lent/pupil	Retire	ee
2009	10%	9%		5	5%		11%	8%	
2018	12%	12%)	1	0%		21%	8%	
2023	7%	9%		1	1%		1%	15%)

Personal experience with age-based discrimination:

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of religion or belief is predominant with:

- Ethnic Albanians compared to ethnic Macedonians; and
- Muslims compared to Christians.

Due to the relatively low number of respondents that have given a positive answer regarding

the following basis for discrimination, account should be taken of the fact that we have analyzed cross-tabulation segments and, therefore, all these should be understood as merely indications reflecting certain tendencies observed in society (see Table 25).

Table 25

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of religion or belief:

Gender:		Men			Women			
2009		7%			5%			
2018		9%			5%			
2023		7%			6%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	8%	8%	7%	5%	4%	3%		
2018	10%	12%	6%	6%	5%	2%		
2023	5%	8%	8%	5%	6%	5%		
Ethnicity:		Macedoniar	ר		Albanian			
2009		2%			17%			
2018		3%			18%			
2023		4%			10%			
Religion:		Christian			Muslim			
2009		2%			16%			
2018		3%			14%			
2023		4%			12%			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2009		5%			7%			
2018		6%			9%			
2023		7%			6%			

Personal experience with gender-based discrimination is predominant with:

- Respondents aged between 15 and 34; and
- Ethnic Albanians compared to ethnic Macedonians.

Women compared to men;

Table 26

Personal experience with gender-based discrimination:

Gender:		Men			Women	
2009 2018 2023		5% 5% 6%			8% 8% 8%	
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
2009	8%	8%	8%	7%	5%	3%
2018	9%	9%	8%	5%	4%	2%
2023	11%	14%	9%	5%	6%	2%
Ethnicity:		Macedoniar	ו		Albanian	
2009		4%			14%	
2018		5%			10%	
2023		3%			19%	

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of disability is predominant with:

- Respondents aged above 65 compared to those aged between 15 and 24.
- Men compared to women; and

Table 27

44

Personal experience with discrimination on the basis of disability:

Gender:	Men					Women		
2009		3%				2%		
2018	3%					3%		
2023	4%					2%		
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-	44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	3%	6	2%	4%	3%			
2018	4%	3%	49	6	4%	2%	2%	
2023	1%	2%	49	6	3% 2% 5%			
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	n			Albanian		
2009		2%			7%			
2018		2%			6%			
2023		3%				3%		

The bottom of the ranking list based upon the personal experience of discrimination is occupied by sexual orientation (**2009** – 1%; **2013** – 0.4%; **2018** – 3%; **2023** – 3%), whose ranking is almost identical also in situations when the

respondents were witnesses to discrimination (**2009** – 3%; **2013** – 7%; **2018** – 3%; **2023** – 2%).

Personally experienced discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation does not show any

significant differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

The analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents that have experienced discrimination of the basis of their sexual orientation is limited because it has been observed in only a small number of respondents that have confirmed their own personal experience, which may be interpreted as an indication that citizens of a different sexual orientation avoid discussing their problems even under circumstances of an anonymous survey. Monitoring their prevailance is of great importance since, inter alia, it is closely related to the formation of the personality and as such, in short timeframes, the size of this community may not undergo any drastic increase or decrease. Thence, it may be concluded that the modest number of persons discussing their problems is a result of the gradual change of the social climate which paves the way for this generally isolated and segregated community of citizens to speak more openly about their experiences of discrimination. The results from the 2023 survey indicate that the persons that were subject to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation equally comprise both men and women. In similar proportions, also various age groups and levels of completed education have stated to have experienced discrimination upon this basis (see Table 28).

Table 28

Persons who have personally experienced discrimination based on sexual orientation:

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·								
Gender:		Men			Women			
2009		1%			1%			
2018		3%			2%			
2023		2%			2%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	2%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%		
2018	3%	4%	3%	4%	1%	0%		
2023	1%	3%	2%	2%	1%	2%		
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Secondary	Education	Higher Education			
2009	19	%	19	%	10	%		
2018	19	%	29	%	4%			
2023	19	%	29	%	20	%		

The additional processing of the data showed that in a large number of cases the personal experience of exposure to discrimination is related to the situation witnessed by the respondents, regardless of the type of discrimination. The results of the survey show that 9% in **2009**, 9% in **2018** and 7% in **2023** found themselves in a situation of only being discriminated against, but not being witnesses of discrimination. On the other hand, the percentage of respondents who

were only witnesses of discrimination in 2009 was 13%, in 2018 – 13% and in 2023 – 11%.¹⁶ Every fourth respondent stated that they found themselves in both situations where they were personally discriminated against and when they witnessed discrimination (**2009** – 24%, **2018** – 27%, **2023** – 27%). The majority of respondents (52% in each of 2009, 2018 and 2023) stated that they were neither discriminated against nor witnessed discrimination.

¹⁶ In order to obtain this data, a variable is first generated that describes that the person was/was not discriminated against on any basis, and then another variable that the person was/was not a witness of discrimination. Then, the third variable unites all combinations of the previous two variables, as follows: the person was only discriminated against but not a witness; was only a witness but not discriminated against; was both discriminated against and a witness; and was neither discriminated against nor a witness of discrimination.

More of those who personally experienced and witnessed discrimination were:

- ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and
- Muslims than Christians.

The analysis further shows that ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion stated significantly more often than ethnic Macedonians and members of the Christian religion that they were in a dual situation of both being discriminated against and having witnessed discrimination. This ratio did not actually change during the period covered by the survey, but in the last wave of the survey there was a large increase among ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion. In the latest survey, education did not appear to be a factor that differentiates such experiences among the respondents (see Table 29).

Table 29

Persons who have personally experienced and witnessed discrimination:

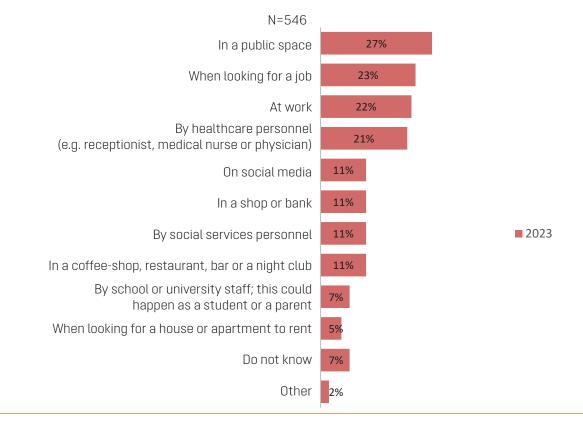
Education:	Primary Education	Secondary Education	Higher Education		
2009	22%	24%	26%		
2018	21%	27%	32%		
2023	28%	25%	30%		
Ethnicity:	Macedonia	Π	Albanian		
2009	17%		43%		
2018	21%		41%		
2023	18%		54%		
Religion:	Christian		Muslim		
2009	16%		40%		
2018	21%		37%		
2023	18%		45%		

3.3 Circumstances under which the discrimination occurred

Those respondents who stated that they were discriminated against on any basis, for the first time in the survey in 2023, were asked the question as to the circumstances under which that happened. The results show that respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months were most often discriminated against

in the public space (27%), while the second most common place was either while looking for a job or while at work (23%, 22%, respectively). Every fifth respondent stated that they were discriminated against by health personnel (21%). Also, one in ten respondents mentioned social networks, shops/banks, personnel of public services and cafes, restaurants, bars and night clubs as places where they experienced discrimination (11%) (see Chart 10).

Chart 10 When pondering about the last time you felt discriminated, under which circumstances it occurred?



The most common place where respondents were discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity:

- When they were looking for a job
- In a public space
- By health personnel

The most common place where respondents were discriminated against on the basis of gender:

- When they were looking for a job
- In a public space
- At work

The most common place where respondents were discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation:

- By health personnel
- By school or university personnel
- By a social service personnel

The most common place where respondents were discriminated against on the basis of age and religion of belief:

- By health personnel
- In a public space
- When they were looking for a job

The most common place where respondents were discriminated against on the basis of disability:

- In a public space
- By health personnel
- On the social networks

The most common place where respondents were discriminated against on the basis of political affiliation:

- At work
- When they were looking for a job
- In a public space

Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months in a public space were most often:

- Respondents aged over 65 and between 35-44 years;
- Those with completed primary and secondary education, more than those with higher education;
- Ethnic Macedonians more than ethnic Albanians; and
- Christians more than Muslims.

The 2023 survey shows that ethnic Macedonians and respondents with completed primary and secondary education are discriminated against in a public space much more often than ethnic Albanians and those with completed higher education (see Table 30).

Table 30

Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months in a public space:

15-24	15-24 25-34 35-44 45-54		55-64	65+		
15%	13%	20%	13%	15%	24%	
Primary 6	ducation	Secondary	Education	ucation Higher Education		
40%			%	22%		
	Macedonia	Π		Albanian		
	52%			38%		
	Christian			Muslim		
	55%			45%		
	15% Primary B	15% 13% Primary Education 40% Macedonia 52% Christian	15% 13% 20% Primary Education Secondary 40 ⋅⋅ 39' Macedonian 39' 52% Christian	15% 13% 20% 13% Primary Education Secondary Education 40% 39% Macedonian 52% Christian Image: Christian	15% 13% 20% 13% 15% Primary Education Secondary Education Higher Education 40% 39% 22 Macedonian Albanian 52% 38% Christian Muslim	

Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months while they were looking for a job were mostly:

- At the age of 25 to 34 years;
- With completed secondary education; and
- Ethnic Macedonians more than ethnic Albanians.

The 2023 survey shows that respondents with a completed secondary education were almost twice as discriminated against while looking for a job compared to those with a completed primary or higher education. Also, such occurrence was almost twice or three times more common in the age group from 25 to 34 than in the other age groups (see Table 31).

Table 31

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Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months while they were looking for a job:

Age groups:	15-24 25-34		35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	10% 35%		19%	14%	9%	12%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	Higher E	Higher Education 27%	
2023	26	5%	47	%	Higher Education		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	n		Albanian		
2023		47%			39%		

Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months at work were mostly:

- At the age of 25 to 34 years;
- With completed secondary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians more than ethnic Albanians; and

Christians more than Muslims.

The 2023 survey shows that respondents with a completed secondary education were discriminated against in large numbers while looking for a job compared to those with a completed primary or higher education (see Table 32).

Table 32

	-						
Age groups:	15-24	15-24 25-34 35-44 45-54		55-64	65+		
2023	11%	27%	21%	20%	13%	9%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	13% 9% Higher Education 22% Albanian 42%		
2023	27	'%	51	%	22%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π		Albanian		
2023		52%			42%		
Religion:	Christian				Muslim		
2023	56%				44%		

Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months at work:

Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months by health personnel were mostly:

- At the age of more than 65;
- With completed secondary education;
- Ethnic Macedonians more than ethnic Albanians; and
- Christians more than Muslims.

The elderly population aged 65+ is more exposed to discrimination by healthcare personnel compared to the other age groups. Big differences are also visible among respondents with secondary education compared to those with completed primary or higher education. Three out of five respondents who were discriminated against by health personnel were ethnic Macedonians and Christians, which is much more common than in the case of ethnic Albanians and Muslims (see Table 33).

Table 33

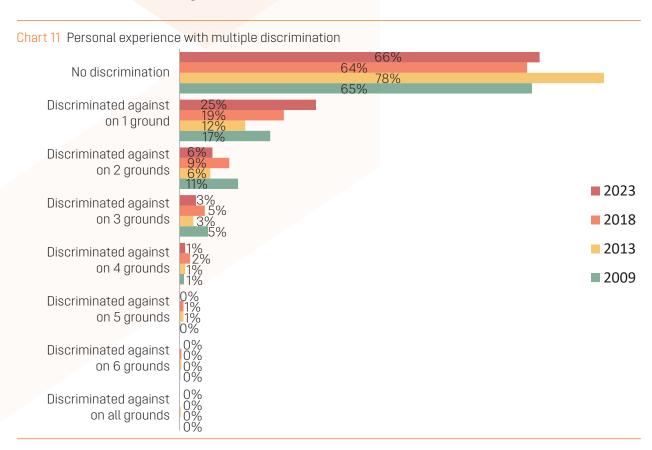
Respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months by health personnel:

Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	8%	13%	20%	12%	17%	30%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	ucation Higher Education		
2023	37	%	48	%	15	15%	
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π		Albanian		
2023		58%			28%		
Religion:	Christian				Muslim		
2023		60%			39%		

Experiences with and perception of multiple discrimination

4.1 Personal experiences with multiple discrimination

The results of the survey show that the majority of citizens were not discriminated against on any basis (**2009** – 65%; **2013** – 78%; **2018** – 64%; **2023** – 66%). Approximately, for one citizen who was a victim of some kind of discrimination, there are on average two citizens who were not discriminated against. The majority of those who were discriminated against stated that they were discriminated on one basis (**2009** – 17%; **2013** – 12%; **2018** – 19%; **2023** – 25%). Over the years, the number of citizens who stated that they were discriminated against on one basis increased, while the number of those who were discriminated against on multiple bases decreased (see Chart 11)¹⁷.



¹⁷ These percentages are obtained by summing up the answers on how many bases someone was personally discriminated against.

Personal experience with multiple discrimination was more common among:

- Respondents who are unemployed or work part-time;
- Respondents at the age of 25 to 34; and
- Ethnic Albanians more than ethnic Macedonians.

In 2023, there was a decrease in personal experience with multiple discrimination and a parallel increase in discrimination on one basis, which resulted in large variations in the different socio-demographic characteristics of the population. The analysis of the data shows that personal experiences with multiple discrimination are determined by several factors, based on which a profile can be made of individuals who have personally faced this type of discrimination. It can be said with a certain degree of correctness, that the characteristics of the persons who more often considered that they were exposed to situations that they perceived and valued as repeatedly discriminatory were those between the ages of 25 and 34, unemployed or working part-time employees and of Albanian ethnicity (see Table 34).

Table 34

Personal experience	with multiple	discriminatio	Π				
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	20%	19%	18%	19%	13%	8%	
2018	24%	23%	20%	14%	9%	7%	
2023	3%	15%	11%	8%	9%	9%	
Ethnicity:		Macedonian			Albanian		
2009		8%			43%		
2018		12%		29%			
2023		7%			13%		
Place of living:		Urban			Rural		
2009		14%		21%			
2018		14%		19%			
2023		10%			10%		
Employment sta- tus:	Full-time employed	Part-time employed	Unemployed	Homemaker	Student	Pensioner	
2009	15%	42%	16%	20%	23%	10%	
2018	18%	30%	19%	18%	21%	6%	
2023	8%	15%	20%	12%	0%	9%	

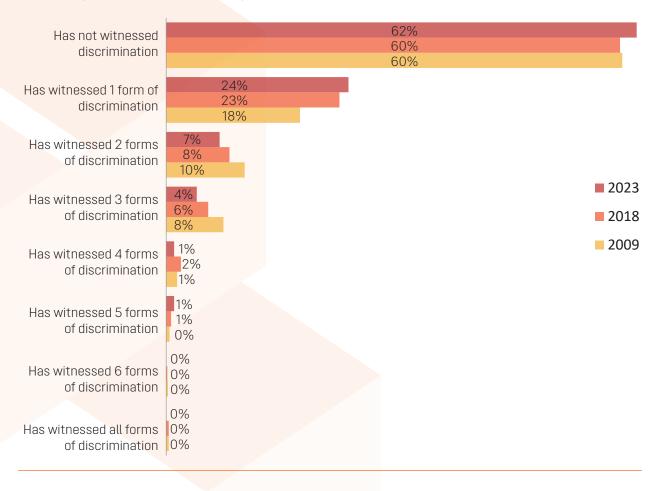
Personal experience with multiple discrimination

4.2 Experiences with multiple discrimination of other persons

During the survey period (**2009–2023**), the majority of citizens (62%/60%) did not witness discrimination. The number of those who stated

that they witnessed a single type of discrimination remained almost the same (**2009** – 18%; **2018** – 23%; **2023** – 24%). On the other hand, the number of respondents who stated that they witnessed two or more types of discrimination had a decreasing tendency (**2009** – 20%, **2018** – 17%; **2023** – 14%) (see Chart 12).

Chart 12 Experience as witness of multiple discrimination



Witnessing multiple discrimination was more common among:

- Respondents with completed primary and higher education than among those with secondary education; and
- Ethnic Albanians than among ethnic Macedonians.

In the last survey, the age of the respondents did not affect the experience of multiple discrimination when they were in the capacity of witnesses of discrimination. The 2023 survey notes that there was a decrease in the youngest population and those aged 35-44 who reported having witnessed at least two types of discrimination. A similar tendency was also observed in relation to education - among those with completed higher education, whereas there was an increase among those with completed primary education. According to ethnicity, a much greater number of ethnic Albanians stated that they had witnessed multiple discrimination compared to ethnic Macedonians (see Table 35).

Table 35

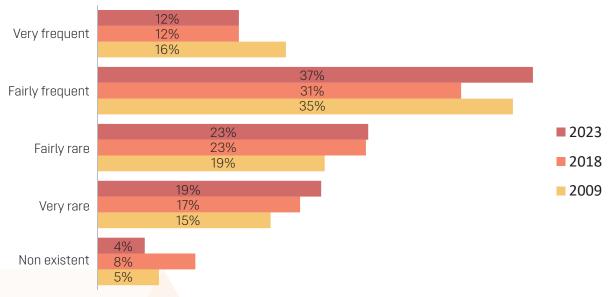
Witness of multiple discrimination								
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	26%	22%	21%	22%	15%	9%		
2018	25%	19%	23%	15%	11%	5%		
2023	13%	16%	15%	15%	11%	12%		
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Secondary	Education	ucation Higher Edu			
2009	19	9%	20%		25%			
2018	9'	%	18	%	21%			
2023	17	' %	11	%	15%			
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π		Albanian			
2009	13%				38%			
2018		15%			22%	Higher Education 25% 21% 15% Albanian 38%		
2023		11%			20%			

4.3 Perception of multiple discrimination

tiple discrimination¹⁸ show that slight changes happened in the last 5 years. In 2018, 43% of the respondents believed that multiple discrimination was common¹⁹, while in 2023 this attitude has increased slightly (49%) (see Chart 13).

The results in terms of the perception of mul-

Chart 13 Do you deem multiple discrimination very frequent, fairly frequent, fairly rare, very rare or non existent in our country?



¹⁸ The question about the perception of multiple discrimination was not asked in the 2013 survey.

¹⁹ The responses "very frequent" and "fairly frequent" are aggregated into the category "frequent"; the responses "very rare" and "fairly rare" are aggregated into the category "rare".

The changes in the perception of multiple discrimination are correlated to a significant degree with the experience of discrimination. The results show that the biggest increase in the last 5 years in the perception that multiple discrimination is common was recorded among those respondents who were only discriminated against (**2009** – 58%; **2018** – 47%; **2023** – 58%); followed by those respondents who were neither discriminated nor witnessed discrimination (**2009** – 43%; **2018** – 27%; **2023** – 39%). The most frequent answers that multiple discrimination was common, in all three surveys, were given by the respondents who were both witnesses and victims of discrimination (**2009** – 68%; **2018** – 66%; **2023** – 63%). This data indicates that the double position of being both witnesses and victims of discrimination strongly supports the impression that discrimination is not only present, but also frequently occurs in the form of multiple discrimination.

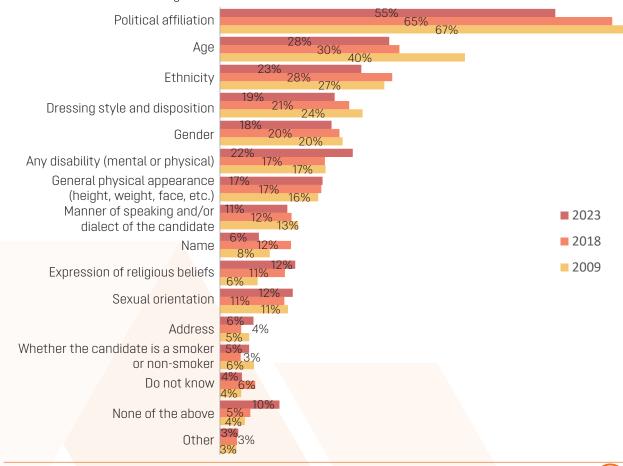
5. Attitudes towards equal employment opportunities

5.1 Attitude towards equal employment opportunities

Among the respondents, "political affiliation" remained the main factor of discrimination for unequal treatment of candidates with the same qualifications during the employment process (**2009** – 67%; **2018** – 65%; **2023** – 55%), showing a downward trend. The "age" factor (**2009** – 40%; **2018** – 30%; **2023** – 28%) was the second

key factor for the respondents. Right behind it was "ethnicity" as the third most frequently mentioned factor that puts one of the candidates in a less favourable position (**2009** – 28%; **2018** – 27%; **2023** – 19%). On the other hand, factors that according to the respondents had the least influence during the selection process for employment were the address of residence (**2009** – 5%; **2018** – 4%; **2023** – 6%) and the candidate's smoking habits (**2009** – 6%); **2018** – 3%; **2023** – 5%) (see Chart 14).

Chart 14: In our country when a company wants to hire someone and has the choice between two candidates with equal skills and qualifications, which of the following criteria may, in your opinion, put one candidate at a disadvantage?



Political affiliation was more frequently considered as a factor for discrimination in employment by:

- Respondents at the age from 45 to 54 and those at the age of more than 65;
- Ethnic Macedonians than ethnic Albanians; and
- Pensioners and employees than unemployed persons.

The difference in attitudes is most noticeable among the different ethnic communities. Almost twice as many ethnic Macedonians see political affiliation as a basis for discrimination than ethnic Albanians (see Table 36).

Political affiliation as a factor for discrimination in employment									
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+			
2009	63%	<mark>70</mark> %	73%	69%	72%	55%			
2018	60%	<mark>63</mark> %	66%	64%	65%	70%			
2023	51%	<mark>47</mark> %	53%	62%	57%	60%			
Education:	Primary E	ducation	Secondary	y Education	Higher E	ducation			
2009	62	%	7	0%	71	L%			
2018	58	58% 6			68	3%			
2023	54	54% 5			54	54%			
Ethnicity:		Macedoniar	ו		Albanian				
2009		69%			62%				
2018		73%			Albanian 62% 45%				
2023		60%			35%	55% 70% 60% 60% 68% 54% an			
Employment	Employe	ed l	Jnemployed	Student/Pu	ipil Pe	ensioner			
status:	720/		670/	600/		C 40/			
2009	72%		67%	60%					
2018	65%		65%	53%					
2023	56%		47%	54%		60%0			

Table 36

Age was more frequently considered as a factor for discrimination in employment by:

- Respondents at the age from 45 to 54; and
- Respondents with completed primary and secondary education.

Respondents aged 45 to 54 more frequently considered that the age of the candidate is a factor for discrimination in employment, as well as those with completed primary and secondary education compared to those with completed higher education (see Table 37).

Table 37

Age as a factor of discrimination for employment								
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2009	34%	38%	45%	47%	42%	37%		
2018	24%	23%	34%	34%	34%	29%		
2023	30%	25%	24%	33%	25%	31%		
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Secondary	Education	Higher E	ducation		
2009	35	5%	42	42%		49%		
2018	27	'%	32	% 27		7%		
2023	30	1%	28	8%	24	1%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonian			Albanian			
2009		44%			30%			
2018		33%			23%			
2023		28%			26%			

Age as a factor of discrimination for employment

The ethnicity of the candidate was more frequently considered as a factor for discrimination in employment by:

- Respondents at the age from 25 to 34 and those at the age from 45 to 54;
- Ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and
- Unemployed respondents

In 2023, there are variations in the perception of ethnicity as a key factor for unequal treatment in employment in relation to the age of the re-

spondents. In the previous two waves from 2009 and 2018, it decreased with the increase of the age of the respondents. On the other hand, in 2023 it was more common among those aged 25 to 34 and 45 to 54. Although there is a downward trend among the two largest ethnic communities in the country in the perception of the role of ethnicity in the selection for employment, there is still a large gap between them when it comes to this issue. Twice as many ethnic Albanians see political affiliation as a basis for discrimination compared to ethnic Macedonians (see Table 38).

Table 38

····· · ······························				- I			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2009	33%	<mark>32</mark> %	25%	29%	19%	17%	
2018	36%	35%	32%	25%	24%	16%	
2023	24%	29%	24%	30%	24%	13%	
Ethnicity:		Macedonian			24% 13% Albanian 47% 37%		
2009	18%			47%			
2018		<mark>22</mark> %			37%		
2023		<mark>16</mark> %			37% 34%		
Employment status:	Employ	ed U	nemployed	Student/Pu	pil Pe	ensioner	
2009	25%		29%	35%		20%	
2018	31%		33%	29%		16%	
2023	25%		30%	21%		14%	

The ethnicity of the candidate as a factor for discrimination in employment

5.2 Support for measures that ensure equal employment opportunities

In all three surveys in the period from 2009 to 2018, the respondents were asked a group of questions that referred to their willingness to support measures and activities aimed at ensuring equal employment opportunities. The introduction of specific measures refers to special training programs or quotas for underrepresented groups based on gender, ethnicity, polit-

ical affiliation, age, religion and belief, disability or sexual orientation (affirmative actions).

The results of the survey show that the willingness to support such measures prevails against the opposition to the introduction of these measures²⁰ (see Chart 15). The only exception is the measures aimed at people with a different sexual orientation, where the majority of respondents oppose the introduction of affirmative measures aimed at greater representation of this group.²¹ The data in the text are aggregated for the purposes of easier analysis.

²⁰ The responses "I agree" represent an aggregation of the responses "I completely agree" and "I partially agree", and the responses "I am against" represent an aggregation of the responses "I completely disagree" and "I partially disagree".

²¹ In the telephone survey conducted in 2013, without exception, the willingness prevailed to accept the introduction of specific measures (affirmative actions) for all categories, including for persons with different sexual orientation based on their sexual orientation.

	2023	29%		22%	18%		27%	
ical ition	2018	36%		22%	1	4% 2	22%	
Political affiliation	2013			83%			<mark>6%2%3</mark> %	
5 III	2009	33%		20%	12%	27%		
	2023	13% 21%		24%		33%		
Sexual orientation	2018	22%	20%	17%		28%		
Sexual ientatio	2013		66%			10% 7%	6 9%	
0	2009	22%	18%	15%		29%		
÷.	2023	31%		37%		15%	14%	
r wit	2018	39%		3	80%	14%	10%	
Person with disability	2013			81%			10% 2 <mark>%</mark> 2%	
- Hereit	2009	41%			28%	12%	11%	
2	2023	29%		30%		19%	19%	
eligion c beliefs	2018	36%		28%	,)	15%	15%	
Religion or beliefs	2013			84%			<mark>9% 2%</mark> 2%	
	2009	37%		25%		13%	18%	
	2023	30%		36%	36%		15%	
Age	2018	38%		3	32%	15%	10%	
Ag	2013			83%			10% 2 <mark>%</mark> 2%	
	2009	40%			30%	12%	11%	
	2023	32%		31%		16%	18%	
Gender	2018	41%		2	5%	13%	15%	
Ger	2013			86%			7%1 <mark>%</mark> 2%	
	2009	42%			26%	11%	14%	
~	2023	31%		28%		19%	20%	
licit)	2018	38%		28	%	15%	13%	
Ethnicity	2013			82%			10% 2 <mark>%</mark> 3%	
	2009	37%		299	%	11%	16%	
Fully agree		Partially agree		Partially dis	sagree	■ Fu	lly disagree	

Chart 15 Would you be for or against introduction of specific measure for ensuring equal employment opportunities for all people?

In 2023, we see a slight decrease in the support for all categories of measures monitored by the survey. The largest number of respondents supports the introduction of specific measures against discrimination in the workplace on the basis of disability (68%) and on the basis of age (66%). They are immediately followed by measures against discrimination on the basis of gender (63%), and ethnic and religious affiliation (59%). In terms of political affiliation (51%), we see the biggest drop in support of 7 p.p.. The support for people based on their sexual orientation is consistently the lowest in relation to all others, and it has been in continuous decline over the years (**2009** – 40%; **2018** – 41%; **2023** – 34%).

The employment status of the respondents is one of the most relevant socio-demographic characteristics when it comes to the readiness

to support the introduction of specific measures for creation of equal opportunities for all persons. The data show that the willingness to support such measures is highly variable among persons with different employment status. In the last five years, from 2018 to 2023, a large negative trend can be observed among the students and pupils. In their case, the willingness to support has significantly decreased for six out of seven investigated bases. These changes pertain to the reduced support for the following bases: ethnicity (2009 – 59%; 2018 – 73%; **2023** – 59%), gender (**2009** – 62%; **2018** – 74%; **2023** – 59%), age (**2009** – 61%; **2018** – 76%; **2023** – 68%), religion and belief (**2009** – 55%; **2018** – 77%; **2023** – 51%), sexual orientation (2009 - 41%; 2018 - 53%; 2023 - 36%) and political affiliation (2009 - 41%; 2018 - 53%; 2023 – 47%). There is a positive change in this category of respondents only in terms of the support based on disability (2009 - 63%; 2018 - 62%; **2023** – 74%).

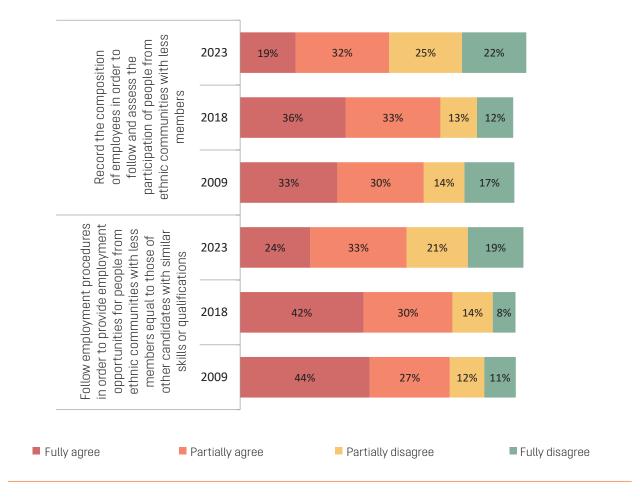
Additionally, some positive changes are observed among the unemployed. These changes apply to four out of seven grounds, as follows: persons according to religion and gender, persons with disabilities and homosexuals.

A key finding of the surveys is the fact that according to the respondents' profession, only among the directors and managers the level of support for the introduction of specific measures increased in 2023 compared to 2018. The finding is indicative (although it is a statistically small subpopulation) because their contribution is of special importance for the successful implementation of the measures. Among them, the increase is the highest when it comes to the introduction of equal measures for people according to their political affiliation (**2009** – 51%; **2018** – 45%; **2023** – 65%), gender (**2009** – 73%; **2018** – 52%; **2023** – 65%), ethnicity (**2009** – 67%; **2018** – 59%; **2023** – 71%) and then for people with disabilities (**2009** – 79%; **2018** – 56%; **2023** – 70%).

5.3 Support for the measures for monitoring jobs

There is public support for the measures aimed at providing equal employment opportunities for the members of the less numerous ethnic communities. Namely, this support is greater in relation to the opposition to these measures. In the 2023 survey, the percentage of those who support the monitoring of the employment procedures is slightly higher than the percentage of those who support the recording of the ethnic composition of the employees (57% vs. 51%). However, in terms of both measures, the latest survey showed a big decrease in their support. This decrease is primarily a result of the changes in the willingness to support such measures among the two most numerous ethnic communities in the country (see Chart 16).





For the first time in the survey, the support among ethnic Macedonians for recording the ethnic composition of the employees is lower in relation to the opposition to the measure. With both the largest ethnic communities, we see a sharp decrease in support, with a drop of 13 p.p. among ethnic Albanians (**2009** – 84%; **2018** – 78%; **2023** – 65%) and a drop of 21 p.p. among ethnic Macedonians (**2009** – 55%; **2018** – 64%; **2023** – 43%). In all the waves of the survey, ethnic Albanians show a greater willingness to give support than ethnic Macedonians. In addition to these quantitative changes, it is necessary to emphasize the positive trend among the directors and managers, as a specific category of respondents, who are in a position to significantly influence the successful implementation of affirmative measures. The consent for employee recording among the directors and managers has been high throughout the years (**2009** – 43%; **2018** – 68%; **2023** – 63%) and in 2023 it is above the survey average (51%) (see Table 39).

Table 39

To record the composition of the employees in order to be able to monitor and assess how many members of the less numerous ethnic communities are represented		Macedonians	Albanians	Directors and managers
2023:	Total:			
In favour	51%	43%	65%	63%
Against	47%	54%	34%	36%
2018:	Total:			
In favour	69%	64%	78%	68%
Against	25%	30%	15%	29%
2009:	Total:			
In favour	63%	55%	84%	43%
Against	31%	40%	10%	54%

The monitoring of the procedures that aim to provide equal employment opportunities for the persons belonging to less numerous ethnic communities is accepted by a large majority of citizens in all surveys (**2009** – 71%; **2018** – 72%; **2023** – 57%). In this segment as well, a greater number of ethnic Albanians agree with the

adoption of such measures compared to ethnic Macedonians (**2009**: Mac.– 66%, Alb.– 83%; **2018**: Mac.– 69%, Alb.– 78%; **2023**: Mac.– 51%, Alb. – 68%). The support among the directors and managers has been increasing over the years (**2009** – 59%; **2018** – 62%; **2023** – 68%) (see Table 40).

Table 40

The employment procedures are monitored in order to ensure that the persons belonging to less numerous ethnic communities have equal opportunities to be employed as other candidates with similar skills or qualifications		Macedonians	Albanians	Directors and managers
2023:	Total:			
In favour	57%	51%	68%	68%
Against	40%	45%	32%	30%
2018:	Total:			
In favour	73%	69%	78%	62%
Against	22%	25%	16%	30%
2009:	Total:			
In favour	72%	66%	83%	59%
Against	23%	29%	9%	30%

6. Fight against discrimination

6.1 Evaluation of the efforts to combat discrimination

The answers to the question as to whether sufficient efforts are made to combat discrimination

show a downward trend over time (**2009** – 46%; **2013** – 34%; **2018** – 36%; **2023** – 24%) (see Table 41).

Table 41

In general, would you say that enough efforts are made in our	Year			
country to combat all forms of discrimination?	2009	2013	2018	2023
Yes No	46% 49%	34% 59%	36% 58%	24% 73%

In all surveys, there is a constant tendency for the respondents who believe that discrimination is frequent, regardless of what type of discrimination it is, to respond in a significantly larger number that insufficient efforts are made to combat discrimination, compared to the respondents who believe that discrimination is rare. In 2023, we get an obviously negative picture when the data is viewed through the prism of experiences with discrimination. Regardless of whether the respondents were victims or witnesses of discrimination or not, the vast majority believes that the level of efforts to combat discrimination is not sufficient.

7. Awareness of rights and seeking protection in case of discrimination

7.1 Awareness of rights in case of discrimination

Over the years, the awareness of the respondents about their rights, in case they become victims of discrimination, was continuously increasing (**2009** – 40%; **2018** – 43%; **2023** –

47%)²². However, the majority of respondents still state that they do not know their rights if they become victims of discrimination (**2009** – 56%; **2018** – 52%; **2023** – 50%). Although there is some increase among those who stated that they were aware of their rights, the change is small and slow (see Chart 17).

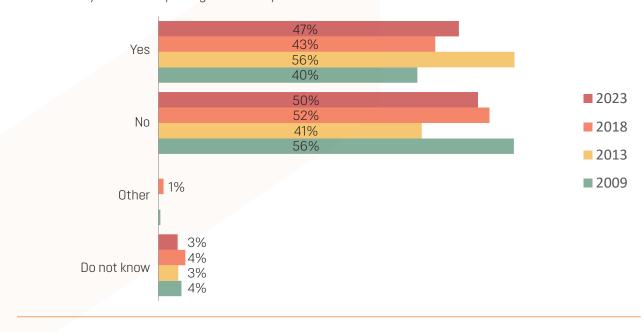


Chart 17 Are you aware of your rights in case you are a victim of discrimination?

²² It is not possible to know for sure whether the difference in the data that appears from the survey in 2013 is due to the changes that occurred in the population or because of the changed methodology used for the survey (in 2013 a telephone survey method was used, and in 2009, 2018 and 2023 a face to face survey in the respondent's home was conducted). For this reason, the data from 2013 on the questions of this topic were not analyzed.

The awareness of one's rights in case of discrimination is more pronounced among:

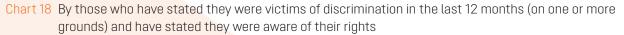
- Men than women;
- Respondents with completed higher education than secondary education.
- Ethnic Macedonians and Christians than ethnic Albanians and Muslims; and
- Christians than Muslims.

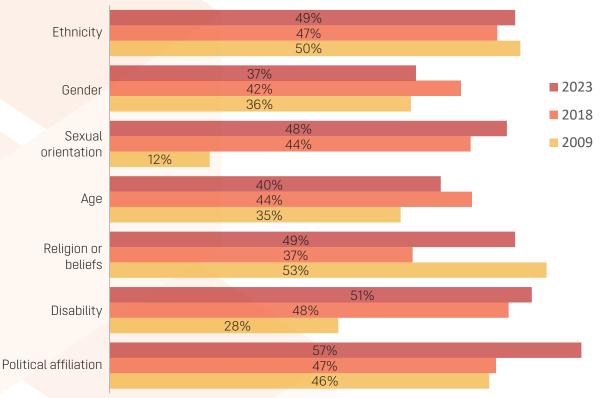
The latest survey notes an increase in terms of the awareness of rights in case of discrimination among the relevant socio-demographic groups monitored in the study. According to the respondents' perception, men are more informed about their rights in case they are victims of discrimination than women. The awareness increases with the higher level of education of respondents. A large increase in the awareness of their rights is observed among ethnic Albanians (11 p.p.) and members of the Muslim faith (9 p.p.). In 2023, once again after 2009, this makes these two groups of respondents declare that they are informed about their rights in a significantly larger number than ethnic Macedonians and Christians (in whose case there is no increase in terms of the awareness of their rights) (see Table 42).

Table 42

Awareness of one's rights in case of discrimination					
Gender:	Men		Women		
2009	44%		37%		
2018	48%		38%		
2023	50%			43%	
Education:	Primary Education Secondary Educ			Higher Education	
2009	33%	33% 41%		58%	
2018	28%	28% 43%		57%	
2023	36%	47%		65%	
Ethnicity:	Macedonia	n		Albanian	
2009	37%		50%		
2018	46%		38%		
2023	46%		49%		
Religion:	Christian			Muslim	
2009	38%		48%		
2018	45%		39%		
2023	46% 48%				

It is important to point out the extent to which the respondents who stated that they were a victim of discrimination (on one or multiple bases) in the last 12 months stated in a relatively large number that they were aware of their rights. The analysis shows positive changes in the awareness of their rights among a large number of victims of discrimination on several bases. In the last five years, the awareness among the victims of discrimination about their rights on almost all grounds has clearly increased. The biggest increase in awareness is present among the victims of discrimination based on religion and belief (12 p.p.) and the victims of discrimination based on political affiliation (10 p.p.). A smaller increase is observed among those discriminated on the basis of sexual orientation (4 p.p.), ethnicity (3 p.p.) and disability (3 p.p.). A slight decrease was observed in the awareness of discriminated persons based on gender (5 p.p.) and age (4 p.p.) (see Chart 18).





However, if we analyse whether those who felt like a victim of discrimination in the last 12 months are more informed than those who did not feel discriminated against, the results are not very reassuring. The respondents who state that they have been discriminated against are not significantly more aware of their rights than those who state that they have not been discriminated against. However, continuous positive changes are observed among those who stated that they were discriminated on one basis, as well as among those who stated that they were not discriminated (in their case we see an increase of 4 p.p./3 p.p., respectively, in the last 5 years) (see Table 43).

Table 43

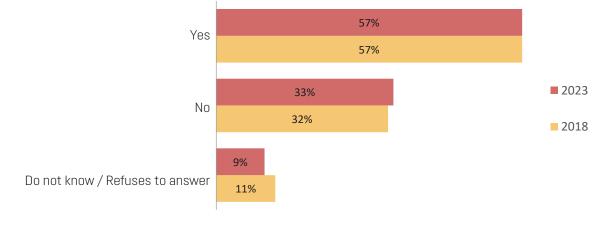
Do you know what your rights are in case you are a victim of discrimination?		Respondents who were personally discriminated against in the last 12 months		
		Were not discriminated	On one basis	On multiple bases
2023:				
Yes	47%	46%	51%	41%
No	50%	50%	46%	56%
2018:				
Yes	43%	42%	48%	43%
No	52%	53%	48%	50%
2009:				
Yes	40%	40%	37%	47%
No	56%	56%	60%	50%

7.2 Willingness to seek protection from the relevant institutions in case of discrimination

The majority of respondents (57%), in both waves of the 2018 and 2023 survey, stated that

they would seek protection from relevant institutions if they hypothetically found themselves in a situation of being a victim of discrimination or harassment. A third of them (33%) stated that they would not report (see Chart 19).





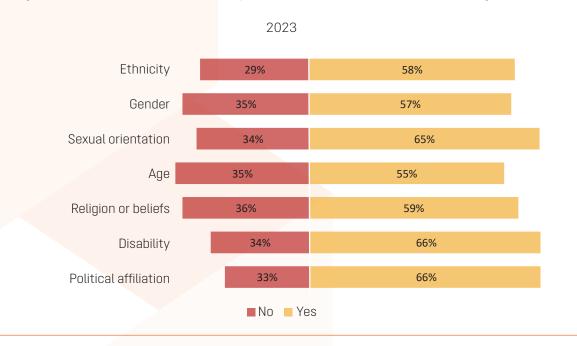
The willingness of the respondents to turn to the institutions and organizations responsible for protection against discrimination for help is much higher among those who have personally been victims of discrimination on any basis (76%) than among those who stated that they were not discriminated against in the past 12 months (40%). However, one fifth (20%) of those who were personally discriminated against stated that they would not seek protection from any competent institution or organization (see Table 44).

Table 44

If you were a victim of discrimination or harassment, would you seek protection from the relevant institutions or organizations?		Do you know what your rights are in case you are a victim of discrimination?	
		Yes	No
2023:			
Yes	57%	76%	40%
No	32%	20%	46%
2018:			
Yes	57%	71%	47%
No	32%	23%	41%

The analysis shows that there are no big differences between the various vulnerable groups subject to discrimination when it comes to their willingness to address the state institutions for help and protection. In all seven groups that were discriminated against and that are covered by the survey, the majority of them (percentages ranging from 57% to 66%) answered that they would seek protection, and about a third of them (percentages ranging from 29% to 36%) answered that, if they feel discriminated against, they would not address the competent institutions for help (see Chart 20).

Chart 20 By those who have stated they were victims of discrimination in the last 12 months (on one or more grounds) and have asked or not asked protection from the relevant institutions/organisations



There are differences in the answers to this question among certain segments of the population. Willingness to report a case of discrimination in a hypothetical scenario in which the respondent would be discriminated against is more likely among people with higher education in both surveys (**2018**: primary – 51%, secondary – 57%, higher – 63% **2023**: primary – 57%, secondary – 54%, higher – 64%). Along ethnic and religious lines, there have been big changes in the last five years. In 2018, the willingness to report a case of discrimination was more pronounced among ethnic Macedonians and Christians than among ethnic Albanians and Muslims (**2018**: Macedonians – 62%, Albanians – 45%, Christians – 62 %, Muslim – 47%). In 2023, the differences between them are eliminated because among the ethnic Macedonians and Christians, there is a decrease in willingness, and vice versa, among the ethnic Albanians and Muslims there is an increase (**2023**: Macedonians – 57%, Albanians – 56%, Christians – 57%, Muslims – 58%).

Of the respondents who said that they would seek protection if they were discriminated against²³ - 57% (N = 919), the largest number would seek protection from the police (64%), which they consider as a relevant institution responsible for protection against discrimination, and a somewhat smaller number would turn to

²³ The respondents were asked: "If you are a victim of discrimination or harassment, will you seek protection from the relevant institutions and organizations?". Those who answered that they would seek protection were asked an open-ended question: "Whom would you address to seek protection?" And what other place? And what else?", thus giving them the opportunity to name several institutions that they know, without any choice of answers being read to them.

the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination (47%). They are followed by the Ombudsman (37%), the court (31%), a lawyer (27%) and civil society organizations (12%). The trade unions are mentioned by the lowest number of respondents (7%). In the last 5 years, between the survey from 2018 and now, the trust in the courts and civil society organizations has significantly decreased. A significantly smaller number of respondents mentioned the court (a decrease of 16 p.p.) and the civil society organizations (a difference of 7 p.p.) as an institution or organization of choice in case they need to request protection from discrimination.

The results show that, when the respondents think about whom they would address to seek help if they were discriminated against, the most common institution that comes to mind first is the police (38%), the second is the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination (24%) and the third is the Ombudsman (13%). The court (7%), a lawyer (5%), the civil society organizations (2%) and the trade unions (1%) are not often mentioned as the first

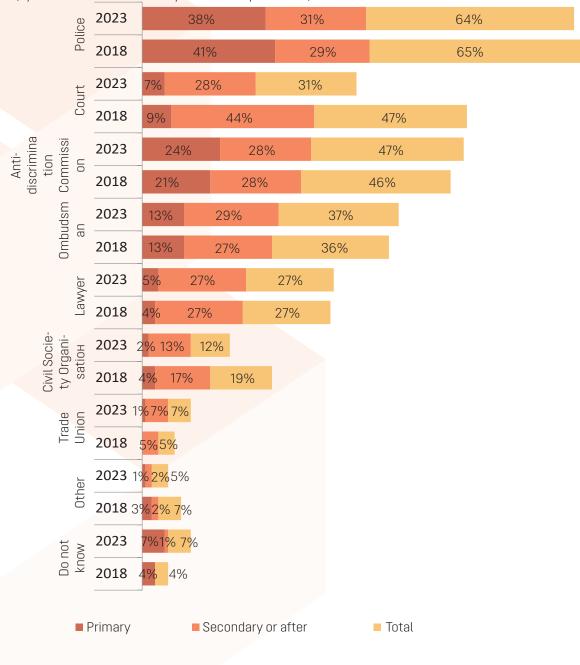
choice by the respondents. This distribution of first-mentioned responses is the same in both the 2018 and 2023 surveys, with slight variations in percentages.

On the other hand, the most "second or other mentioned" in 2018 was the court (44%), where in 2023 we see a steep decrease of 16 p.p. (28%). As a result of that, in 2023 it is almost equal with the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination (28%), the Ombudsman (29%) and the lawyers (27%), in the cases of which there have been no changes in the last 5 years. The decrease in the trust in the courts in 2023 makes the police the most common "second or other mentioned" (31%), with a slight increase of 3 p.p.. In both surveys, the civil society organizations are mentioned much less often (13%), and the trade union is the least mentioned (7%). It is interesting to note that the police are the first choice for the respondents, although this institution does not have the authority to act in cases of discrimination (except in cases of violation of Article 417 of the Criminal Code²⁴).

²⁴ Article 417 of the Criminal Code: Racial or other discrimination.

Chart 21 Where would you seek protection?

(by those who answered they would seek protection)



Among the respondents with completed primary and secondary education, in both surveys, the police is much more frequently the first mentioned institution (**2018**: primary – 48%, secondary – 44%; **2023**: primary – 46%, secondary – 39%), than among the respondents with completed higher education (**2018** - 28%; **2023** - 23%). Among the ethnic Albanians and ethnic Macedonians in 2018, the most frequently mentioned institutions were: the police, the court and the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination (**police**: Mac. - 63%, Alb. - 71%; **court:** Mac. - 44%, Alb. - 60%; **Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination:** Mac. - 42%, Alb. - 58%). On the other hand, in 2023 only the police and the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination are worth mentioning, because

the courts as institutions have seen a huge drop, making them almost insignificant in this segment (**police**: Mac. - 42%, Alb. - 24%; **court**: Mac. - 7%, Alb. - 8%; **Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination:** Mac. - 21%, Alb. - 37%).

In 2023, ethnic Albanians state that they would request protection from the **Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination** more often than the ethnic Macedonians. Conversely, a greater number of ethnic Macedonians than ethnic Albanians state that they would ask for protection from the **police**.

The analysis shows that the police is the most frequent choice of the respondents regardless of whether they stated that in the last 12 months they were a victim of discrimination on one (54%) or multiple bases (74%) or they were not a victim of discrimination at all (67%). The results after 5 years show that there is a decrease in the choice

of the victims of discrimination on one basis for the police (12 p.p.) and the courts (26 p.p.) as institutions which they would ask for help, and an increase of 15 p.p. in the case of the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination. The decrease in the choice of courts is not only recorded among this group of citizens (although it is the biggest among them), but also among those who were discriminated on multiple bases (13 p.p.) and those who stated that they were not discriminated against in the last 12 months (12 p.p.).

In the case of the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination, we see an increase in the number of those who stated that they were a victim of discrimination on one basis or were not a victim of discrimination at all (15 p.p.), and a decrease in the victims of discrimination on multiple bases (18 p.p.) (see Table 45).

Table 45

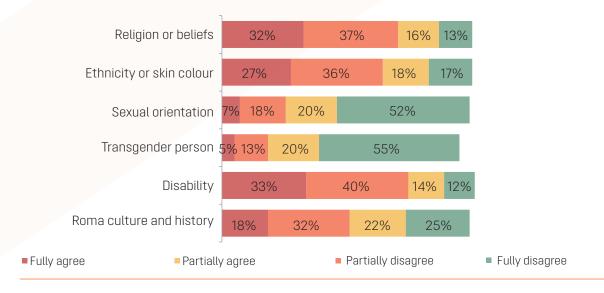
Whom would you add		Respondents who were personally discriminated against in the last 12 months					
protection? (Those who answered that they would seek protection $- N = 916$)		Were not discriminated	On one basis	On multiple bases			
2023:							
Police	64%	67%	54%	74%			
Court	31%	32%	19%	50%			
Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination	47%	59%	56%	41%			
2018:							
Police	65%	64%	66%	69%			
Court	47%	44%	45%	63%			
Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination	46%	44%	41%	59%			

 Measuring the willingness to accept the inclusion of information about diversity in the school materials

8.1 Measuring the willingness to accept the inclusion of information about diversity in the school materials

The 2023 survey shows that the respondents are most willing to accept that information about disability is included (73%) in the school materials, in the second place is the inclusion of information about diversity in religion or belief (69%), and then ethnic origin (63%). The respondents have opposing opinions in terms of the question of whether the school materials should include information about Roma culture and history: 50% agree, while 47% disagree. There is the least support for the inclusion of information about sexual orientation (25%) and transgender persons (18%) in the schools (see Chart 22).

Chart 22: To what extent you agree or disagree with all of the following statements? School classes and material should include information on differences pertaining to ...



Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about diversity in religion and belief are more often:

- Women than men;
- At the age of 15 to 24 years;
- With completed primary education than with completed secondary and higher education;
- Ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and

Muslims than Christians.

The biggest differences exist between the two largest ethnic and religious communities in the country on this issue. Ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion state in a significantly larger number that they agree that school materials should include information about diversity based on religion and belief than ethnic Macedonians and Christians (see Table 46).

Table 46

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about diversity in religion and belief:

Gender:		Men			Women		
2023		67%			71%		
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	75%	71%	71%	68%	69%	64%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	Higher E	ducation	
2023	72	2%	68%		68%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Г		Albanian		
2023		66%			78%		
Religion:		Christian			Muslim		
2023	66%				78%		
Place of living:	Urban				Rural		
2023		70%			68%		

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about diversity in ethnic origin and skin colour are more often:

- At the age of 15 to 34 years;
- With completed primary and higher education than with completed secondary education;
- Ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and

• Muslims than Christians.

The biggest differences once again exist between the two largest ethnic and religious communities in the country on this issue. Ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion state in a significantly larger number that they agree that school materials should include information about diversity based on ethnic origin and skin colour than ethnic Macedonians and Christians (see Table 47).

Table 47

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about diversity in ethnic origin and skin colour:

Gender:		Men			Women			
2023		63%			64%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2023	67%	66%	64%	62%	63%	59%		
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Secondary	Secondary Education		ducation		
2023	66	%	59	59% 66%		5%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	n		Albanian			
2023		57%			70%			
Religion:		Christian			Muslim			
2023		58%			75%			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2023		64%			63%			

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about diversity in sexual orientation are more often:

- At the age of 15 to 24 years;
- With completed higher education than with completed primary and secondary education;
- Ethnic Albanians more than ethnic Macedonians;
- Muslims than Christians; and
- Respondents from urban areas than respondents from rural areas.

The consent to include information in the school materials about sexual orientation is one of those with lowest level of acceptance in the survey. However, the results give some indications about

the differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The support for the introduction of information about sexual information in the school materials is greater among the younger population; it decreases with the increase of the age of the respondents, and increases with the increase of the degree of completed education. There are also noticeable differences in terms of this issue between the two largest ethnic and religious communities in the country. Ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion state in a larger number that they agree that school materials should include information about sexual orientation than ethnic Macedonians and Christians. Also, the residents of urban areas show a greater willingness to accept the foregoing than those of rural areas (see Table 48).

Table 48

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about sexual orientation:							
Gender:		Men			Women		
2023		24%			24%		
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	33%	25%	29%	25%	19%	18%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	ucation Higher Education		
2023	20)%	26	%	29%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	n		Albanian		
2023		23%			31%		
Religion:		Christian			Muslim		
2023		23%			26%		
Place of living:		Urban			Rural		
2023		27%			21%		

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about transgender persons are more often:

- At the age of 25 to 44 years;
- With completed higher education than with completed primary and secondary education;
- Ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and
- Muslims than Christians.

The consent to include information in the school materials about transgender persons is one of those with lowest level of acceptance in the survey. The support is the lowest among the older

respondents aged over 65 and those from 45 to 55 years, and the highest among the youngest population from 15 to 24 years. It also increases with the increase of the level of education, i.e. those with higher education are more likely to support such an initiative than those with completed primary education. There are also noticeable differences in terms of this issue between the two largest ethnic and religious communities in the country. Ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion state in a larger number that they agree that school materials should include information about transgender persons than the ethnic Macedonians and Christians (see Table 49).

Table 49

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about being a transgender person:

Gender:		Men			Women		
2023		17%			18%		
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	19%	21%	20%	17%	19%	14%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	Higher E	ducation	
2023	16	5%	19%		22%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	П		Albanian		
2023		15%			28%		
Religion:		Christian			Muslim		
2023		15%			24%		
Place of living:		Urban			Rural		
2023		17%			20%		

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about disabilities are more often:

- At the age of 15 to 24 years;
- Ethnic Albanians more than ethnic Macedonians;
- Muslims than Christians; and
- Respondents from urban areas than respondents from rural areas.

The consent to include information in the school materials about disabilities does not create big differences in the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The biggest differences are visible among the youngest respondents aged 15 to 24, who would support this initiative in greater numbers than the rest of the age groups (see Table 50).

Table 50

Gender:		Men			Women		
2023		72%		73%			
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	78%	72%	72%	73%	72%	70%	
Education:	Primary 6	ducation	Secondary Education		Higher Education		
2023	75	%	70%		73%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	п		Albanian		
2023		70%			75%		
Religion:		Christian			Muslim		
2023		71%			77%		
Place of living:		Urban			Rural		
2023	74%				70%		

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about disabilities:

Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about Roma culture and history are more often:

- At the age from 25 to 34 and from 55 to 64;
- With completed primary and higher education than with completed secondary education;
- Ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and
- Muslims than Christians.

The topic of including topics about Roma culture and history in the school materials divides the public when it comes to giving consent to such an initiative. The results show the biggest differences between the two largest ethnic and religious communities in the country on this issue. Ethnic Albanians and members of the Muslim religion state in a significantly larger number that they agree that school materials should include information about the Roma culture and history than the ethnic Macedonians and Christians (see Table 51).

Table 51

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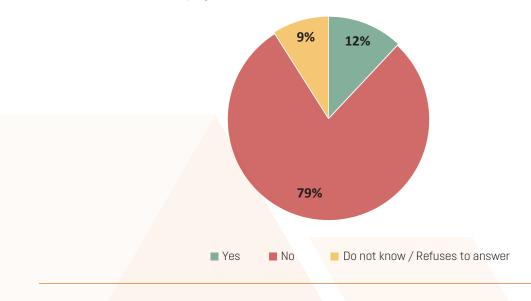
Respondents who agree to the inclusion of information in the school materials about Roma culture and history:

Gender:		Men			Women		
2023		51%			50%		
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
2023	53%	55%	51%	48%	53%	43%	
Education:	Primary (Education	Secondary	Education	Higher Education		
2023	53	3%	46%		53%		
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	n	Albanian			
2023		41%			63%		
Religion:		Christian			Muslim		
2023		42%			67%		
Place of living:		Urban			Rural		
2023		51%		49%			

 Measuring the willingness to accept a third gender identity in personal documents other than those for a men or a women

There is an obvious resistance of the respondents to the idea of introducing a third gender identity in the gender column in the official documents, which would allow people to identify themselves differently from the previous binary choice between men or women. The majority of the respondents reject the idea of introducing a third gender identity (79%), a small number (12%) are willing to accept it, while 9% of the respondents do not have an opinion on the topic and answered with "I don't know" (see Chart 23).

Chart 23 Do you think that official documents, such as passports, ID cards and excerpts from the Registry of Births, should have a third option, such as X or O (other) in addition to men (M) and women (F) for those not identifying as women or men?



By crossing the data with the respondents who stated that they were discriminated against in the last 12 months, only the victims based on sexual orientation show a greater willingness (46%) to support the introduction of a third option in the official documents, while among those discriminated against on all other bases, the support is much lower and ranges from 13% to 22%. Respondents who believe that there should be a third gender identity in the official documents are more often:

- Men than women;
- At the age of 35 to 44 years;
- Respondents with completed secondary and higher education than with primary education;
- Ethnic Albanians than ethnic Macedonians; and
- Muslims than Christians.

Table 52

Respondents who believe that there should be a third gender identity in the official documents:

Gender:		Men			Women			
2023		13%		10%				
Age groups:	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+		
2023	12%	10%	15%	8%	13%	11%		
Education:	Primary 6	Education	Secondary	Education	Higher E	ducation		
2023	99	%	14%		12%			
Ethnicity:		Macedonia	Π	Albanian				
2023		10%			15%			
Religion:		Christian		Muslim				
2023		10%			17%			
Place of living:		Urban			Rural			
2023		14%		9%				

10. Conclusions

Perceptions of discrimination

The analysis of the data from all surveys (2009, 2013, 2018 and 2023) shows that the phenomenon of discrimination is widespread in the public, with a moderate growth trend in five out of seven bases of discrimination, while the remaining two show stagnation. The data continuously show that the majority of the respondents believe that the discrimination is frequent, in contrast to those who do not agree with this view and believe that it is rare, although this percentage has been showing a steady increasing trend over the years.

The discrimination based on political and ethnic affiliation is the most prevalent in all surveys over the years. These data indicate that the public recognizes them as the main "generators" that represent an obstacle in the realization of equal opportunities for citizens in various spheres of life. The data show that in the majority of cases, victims or witnesses of discrimination are persons who have been put in a disadvantageous position only on the basis of their political affiliation or ethnicity. In addition, according to the assessment of the respondents, at the top of the list of factors that put the candidates with equal skills and qualifications in an unequal position when it comes to employment are precisely their political affiliation and ethnicity.

In all surveys, the discrimination based on sexual orientation according to public perception is at the bottom of the ranking list as the least widespread. The overall atmosphere in the country shows that the public has the greatest tendency to not accept this minority group. The results of the surveys show that in real life there is a big distance from the people with different sexual orientation. The members of this group are at the bottom of the list of acceptance as neighbours or friends, and there is also the least willingness to support the specific measures aimed at ensuring equal employment opportunities for this category of people, just like the willingness to accept the inclusion of information about the sexual orientation in the school materials.

A special aspect of the perceptions of discrimination are the respondents' evaluations as to whether a certain type of discrimination is more frequent or less frequent compared to the situation in the past five years. According to this parameter, from the surveys from 2018 until now, the results show that the perception of the frequency of discrimination has become worse. The analysis of the structure and dynamics of changes shows the urgency of taking actions in the fight against discrimination.

The most unfavourable perception of discrimination in the medium term (in the past five years) is in relation to political affiliation. The number of respondents who believe that this type of discrimination is more frequent is six times greater than those who believe that it is less frequent. The drastic difference between the perception of discrimination based on political affiliation, in comparison to all others, is shown by the data that already in the second-ranked discrimination based on ethnicity, the dominance of the perception that it is more frequent is only 2.2 times higher than the perception that this discrimination is less frequent.

The results of the research show that the citizens declare a high level of tolerance when it comes to the private sphere, i.e., living in a neighbourhood with members of different groups. This is reflected on the public sphere as well, in terms of accepting people belonging to different groups for highest public offices. On the scale of tolerance towards different groups, the respondents express great willingness to accept both as neighbours and as holders of highest public offices people of "other" political affiliation and from "other" ethnic and religious communities.

Speaking of the negative zone of the tolerance "barometer", the reservation towards people with different sexual orientation is visibly expressed in both the public and the private sphere. The common denominator of the data related to the perceptions of sexual orientation, in terms of all topics and aspects in the survey, is that they have a negative connotation. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the acceptance and integration of this group represents one of the biggest challenges in the fight against discrimination.

Experience of Discrimination

Data on personal experiences of discrimination shows that every third respondent has stated that they have been a victim of discrimination and four out of ten respondents have witnessed discrimination. In all surveys (2009, 2013, 2018 and 2023), political affiliation is perceived as the most frequent type of discrimination, both in situations when the persons were personally discriminated and when they were witnesses of discrimination. However, in 2023 there is a statistically significant decrease in both the situations of personal discrimination and in situations of being a witness of discrimination. There is also a slight decrease in the two cases of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, which in 2023 equalizes it and puts it in the first place together with the political discrimination. Practice has shown that in numerous cases, personal experiences of exposure to discrimination and the situation in which they found themselves as witnesses are closely linked. This double experience of discrimination significantly affects their perception of prevalence of discrimination. This is confirmed by the fact that a significantly larger number of these respondents perceive discrimination as widespread compared to all other categories of respondents. This finding should be used in targeting people with such experiences by organizations focusing on the fight against discrimination in order to obtain specific and definite information from such respondents, which can contribute to the improvement of the results in terms of the fight against discrimination.

For the first time in the research in 2023, those respondents who stated that they were discriminated against on any basis were asked the question as to the circumstances under which that happened. The results show that respondents who were discriminated against in the last 12 months were most often discriminated against in the public space, while the second most common place was either while looking for a job or while at work. Every fifth respondent stated that they were discriminated against by health personnel. Also, one in ten respondents mentioned social networks, shops/banks, personnel of public services and cafes, restaurants, bars and night clubs as places where they experienced discrimination.

Half of those who say they have been discriminated against have been subjected to multiple discrimination, but their number has been slowly decreasing over the years. On the other hand, the data on the perception of multiple discrimination in the past five years show a slight increase. The experience of discrimination has a significant impact on the perception of multiple discrimination. The greatest increase in the perception that multiple discrimination is frequent is noted among those respondents who were only discriminated against, followed by those who were neither discriminated against nor have they witnessed discrimination. On the other hand, the most frequent answers that multiple discrimination is frequent are given by respondents who have been both witnesses and victims of discrimination.

Attitudes towards equal employment opportunities

The analysis of the perceptions of the respondents has shown that there are three main factors which lead to unequal treatment in employment: political affiliation, candidates' age and their ethnicity.

The analysis shows that there is also a slight decrease in the perception of the most frequent factors that lead to unequal treatment in employment on the one hand and the willingness to support the specific measures for ensuring equal employment opportunities. Then again, the biggest decrease in both categories is noted with the answers about the political affiliation of the candidate. In 2023, the largest number of respondents supports the introduction of specific measures against discrimination in the workplace on the basis of disability and on the basis of age. They are immediately followed by measures against discrimination on the basis of gender and ethnic and religious affiliation. The support for people based on their sexual orientation is consistently the lowest in relation to all others, and it has been in continuous decline over the years. However, in terms of both measures (for recording the composition of the employees and monitoring the employment procedures), the latest survey notes a big decrease in their support. This decrease is primarily a result of the changes in the willingness to support such measures among the two most numerous ethnic communities in the country.

The fact that the support for the special measures for ensuring equal employment opportunities to a high degree coincides with the key factors that undermine equal employment opportunities shows that discrimination in employment affects the citizens' vital existential and socio-economic interests. These findings are also backed up with the expressed readiness of the majority of citizens to support the measures for keeping records and monitoring the procedures for employment of persons belonging to the less numerous ethnic communities. As for the other aspects of discrimination, in this case too, the equality of people of different sexual orientation is neglected.

Fight against Discrimination

The opinions of the citizens in terms of the efforts to fight discrimination show a downward trend when it comes to the assessment whether sufficient and adequate efforts are made in the fight against discrimination. In 2023, we get an obviously negative picture when the data is viewed through the prism of experiences with discrimination. Regardless of whether the respondents were victims or witnesses of discrimination or not, the vast majority believes that the level of efforts to combat discrimination is not sufficient.

Awareness of rights and seeking protection in case of discrimination

Over the period covered by the surveys, i.e. from 2009 to 2023, the majority of respondents state that they do not know their rights if they become victims of discrimination. Nevertheless, a positive effect in the fight against discrimination can be noted. The data from the surveys show that among the respondents who have been victims of discrimination on one basis, the number of respondents who are aware of their rights is increasing.

The willingness of the respondents to seek protection from the institutions and organizations responsible for protection against discrimination is much higher among those who have personally been victims of discrimination than among those who stated that they were not discriminated against. However, one fifth of those who were personally discriminated against stated that they would not seek protection from any competent institution or organization.

Most respondents who say that they would seek protection if they were victims of discrimination would go to the police, which is considered as a relevant institution competent for protection against discrimination, and in somewhat smaller numbers they would turn to the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination. The Ombudsman comes next, then the court, lawyers and the civil society organizations. The trade unions are mentioned by the lowest number of respondents. The structure of these answers points to the conclusion that, de facto, a large part of citizens do not recognize the relevant antidiscrimination institutions, although they are subjectively convinced that they do. This finding shows that greater public promotion is needed in relation to the institutions competent to fight against discrimination, especially the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination, the Ombudsman and the courts.

In 2023, we see a steep decrease in the selection of the court as the second or other mentioned institution to which the respondents would turn for help if they were a victim of discrimination. This drops it from first place in 2018 to the current second place. Then again, in 2023, the police takes the first place also in the answers to this question regarding the "second and other mentioned" institutions. A trend of increasing trust in the Commission for Prevention and Protection against Discrimination has been observed.

The Impact of the Social Context on the Attitudes towards Discrimination

The analysis of the social context and the interactions between different social groups shows that the vast majority of citizens consider people belonging to various social groups as part of their own social circle. The trend of socialization with minority groups in North Macedonia shows stagnation in the last 5 years and the analysed minority groups do not show statistical differences between the survey from 2018 and 2023. However, during the fourteen years of the survey, there has been a continuous decrease in those who stated that their social circle includes persons with disabilities.

A large majority of respondents state that they have friends or acquaintances who are different from them in terms of political views, ethnicity and religious affiliation. Also, three out of five respondents answered that they have friends or acquaintances who are from the Roma ethnic community and people with disabilities. In contrast, only one out of ten respondents state that in their narrower or wider social circle they also meet people with different sexual orientation.

The percentage of respondents who perceive themselves as belonging to a minority in the place where they live has increased in the last five years. In the entire period, the most numerous are those who feel like an ethnic minority, which in the last wave recorded an increase and is the highest in the entire period of the survey over the years. The second place is held by the religious minority, followed by a minority in terms of political affiliation, which has seen a slight decrease over the years. At the same time, a very small number of respondents declare that they belong to a minority in terms of disability and sexual orientation.

Based on these findings, a general conclusion can be drawn from the survey, according to which the perception and attitudes about discrimination in the public will be widespread as long as there are grounds for anticipating discrimination on political and ethnic grounds. The focus of the fight against the widespread perception of discrimination in the public in our country should be directed to in-depth research of the factors that determine such attitudes.

Willingness to accept the inclusion of information about diversity in the school materials

The 2023 survey shows that respondents are most willing to accept that information about disability is included in the school materials and a little bit less about diversity in religion or belief and ethnic origin. Respondents have opposing opinions in terms of the question of whether the school materials should include information about Roma culture and history. There is the least support for the inclusion of information about sexual orientation and transgender persons in the schools.

The analysis shows that the biggest differences exist between the two largest ethnic and religious communities in the country on this issue: ethnic Albanians and Muslims express support for introducing information about diversity in school materials in greater numbers than ethnic Macedonians and Christians. There are also differences in the age of the respondents: the youngest aged 15 to 34 show a greater willingness to support the expansion of the school cur-

riculum with information about diversity than the other age groups.

Acceptance of a third gender identity other than that for men/ women in the official identification documents

There is an obvious resistance of the respondents to the idea of introducing a third gender identity in the gender column in the official documents, which would allow people to identify themselves differently from the previous binary choice between men or women. The vast majority of respondents reject the idea of introducing a third option, while one in ten respondents is willing to accept such a change.

The analysis shows that the respondents who stated that they had a personal experience with discrimination based on sexual orientation support the introduction of a third option in the official documents, while among those discriminated against on all other bases, the support is much lower.

ANNEXES

Annex 1 Survey Methodology

The four waves of the survey were conducted from 2009 to 2023, at an interval of about five years. The data of the first survey was collected between 9 and 15 April 2009, of the second survey between 10 and 27 September 2013, of the third survey between 5 and 17 September 2018 and the data from the last 2023 survey was collected between 25 and 12 June.

The first (2009), the third (2018) and the fourth (2023) survey were conducted by BRIMA - research agency for public opinion, marketing and media, using the same methodology and sample design. All the three surveys were representative at the national level covering the population at the age of 15+, using "face to face" data collection method in respondents' homes. The interviews were conducted in Macedonian language (for ethnic Macedonians and respondents belonging to the smaller ethnic communities) and in Albanian (for ethnic Albanian respondents). The 2009 sample covers N=1606 respondents, the 2018 covered N=1607 respondents and the 2023 covered N = 1608, with a margin of error +/- 2.5% at the 95% confidence level. The sample applied in the surveys was designed as multi-layered, stratified randomly selected sample.

- First stage: Distribution of sampling points proportionally to regional, urban/rural and ethnic characteristics of the population, by applying the Probability Proportion to Size Method, i.e. probability proportionate to the size.
- Second stage: Selection of households using the random selection method. For every sector a starting point and given direction were assigned.

- Third stage: Selection of 1 respondent per household using the "first next birthday" selection key, which is the person in the household aged 15 years or over whose birthday is next.
- Fourth stage: Replacement of the household, using a procedure for selection of households only if the selected household member refuses or is unavailable to take part in the interview after three attempts (initial visit and two call-backs).

The samples for the 2009 and 2018 surveys were prepared using State Statistical Office data (2002 Census results) for the population aged 15 and older. On the other hand, the 2023 sample was prepared using data from the State Statistics Office (2021 Census results). The sample also included the population structure by age, sex, place of living, ethnic composition and region, which have been updated accordingly in line with the latest estimates and primary data of the State Statistics Office for the population in the country, processed by BRIMA. The survey database was adjusted according to age, sex, region and ethnic affiliation.

The second survey (2013) was conducted by the Macedonian Centre for International Cooperation (MCIC), in cooperation with the company M-prospect DOO - Skopje. The survey was conducted by telephone (80% landline and 20% mobile phones using M-prospect's own database of telephone numbers) using the "next birthday" method on the 15+ aged population. The sample was designed as multi-layered, taking into consideration the distribution of the population by place of living in rural and urban areas and the ethnic affiliation. The interviews were conducted in Macedonian and Albanian. The sample covered 1600 respondents with a margin of error +/- 2.5% at the 95% confidence level.

Methodological Issues

The questionnaire used in all three surveys has had the same structure of topics and questions in order to ensure insights into the changes of perceptions, attitudes, knowledge and awareness of discrimination, with certain changes in some of the questions of the 2013 survey.

In 2013, changes were made to the following questions:

- With respect to question 2 (Q2) the choice "Neither more nor less frequent" was removed from the answers:
- Questions Q5, Q7, Q10_1 and Q10_2 were removed from the questionnaire;

- The scale used in questions Q6 and Q8 was changed from 1-10 to 1–9;
- With respect to question Q9, a new choice was added "neither agree nor disagree";
- With respect to Q13, no filter was used.

These changes in the questionnaire limited the possibilities for comparing the results of all three surveys.

Furthermore, new questions (Q13 and Q14) were added as of 2013 to in order to follow the impact and progress in the implementation of the *Law on Prevention of and Protection against Discrimination*. In addition, the awareness of the respondents of the existence of the *Commission for Protection against Discrimination*, as a central national body in this area, was measured.

Annex 2 Survey Questionnaire

(TO BE READ BEFORE ASKING THE FIRST QUESTION)

The questions that follow are related to the topic of *discrimination*.

Discrimination means unequal treatment of people, i.e. different treatment of people only because they are women or men, belong to a particular ethnic group or community, have a certain religion, are persons with disabilities (i.e. persons with mental or physical disability), etc. Unequal treatment can be visible, such as when you find a published job advertisement which states that workers belonging to a particular ethnic group or just men are required. Unequal treatment can also be hidden, for example, when in the employment procedure testing is conducted on a religious holiday due to which people belonging to a particular religion would not be able to attend.

SHOW CARD Q1

Q1. Could you tell me what you think, how frequent is discrimination on each of the following Discrimination on the basis of...

	UT, ROTATE SWER IN EACH ROW	Very frequent	Fairly frequent	Fairly rare	Very Rare	Non- existent	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q1_1	Ethnicity	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q1_2	Gender	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q1_3	Sexual orientation (e.g. homosexuality)	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q1_4	Age	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q1_5	Religion or belief	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q1_6	Disability	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q1_7	Political affiliation	1	2	3	4	5	9

SHOW CARD Q2

Q2. If you compare the present day situation with the situation of 5 years ago, would you say that the following forms of discrimination are more frequent or less frequent in our country? Discrimination on the basis of...

	T, ROTATE WER IN EACH ROW	Much more frequent	Fairly more frequent	Neither more frequent nor less frequent (the same)	Fairly less frequent	Much less frequent	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q2_1	Ethnicity	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q2_2	Gender	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q2_3	Sexual orientation (e.g. homosexuality)	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q2_4	Age	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q2_5	Religion or belief	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q2_6	Disability	1	2	3	4	5	9
Q2_7	Political affiliation	1	2	3	4	5	9

TO BE ANSWERED BY THOSE WHO ON Q3 STATED THAT THEY HAVE FELT DISCRIMINATED

Q3a. Thinking about the last time you felt discriminated against, under what circumstances did it happen?

MULTIPL	E ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE	
Q3a_1	When you were looking for a job	1
Q3a_2	At work	2
Q3a_3	When you were looking for a house or apartment for rent	3
Q3a_4	By health personnel (e.g. receptionist, nurse or a doctor)	4
Q3a_5	By a social service personnel	5
Q3a_6	By school or university personnel; this might have happened to you as a student or parent	6
Q3a_7	In a coffee bar, restaurant, bar or night club	7
Q3a_8	In a shop or a bank	8
Q3a_9	In a public space	9
Q3a_10	On the social media/networks	10
Q3a_11	Other, write down	11
Q3a_99	I don't know (DO NOT READ)	99

ASK EVERYBODY

SHOW CARD Q3

Q3. In the past 12 months, have you personally felt discriminated against or harassed on one or more of the following bases? Have you been discriminated on the basis of ...? Please select all the bases you consider relevant.

Q3_1Ethnicity1Q3_2Gender2Q3_3Sexual orientation3Q3_4Age4Q3_5Religion or belief5Q3_6Disability6Q3_7Political affiliation7Q3_8Other reason, write down8	MULTIPU	LE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE	
Q3_3Sexual orientation3Q3_4Age4Q3_5Religion or belief5Q3_6Disability6Q3_7Political affiliation7	Q3_1	Ethnicity	1
Q3_4Age4Q3_5Religion or belief5Q3_6Disability6Q3_7Political affiliation7	Q3_2	Gender	2
Q3_5Religion or belief5Q3_6Disability6Q3_7Political affiliation7	Q3_3	Sexual orientation	3
Q3_6Disability6Q3_7Political affiliation7	Q3_4	Age	4
Q3_7 Political affiliation 7	Q3_5	Religion or belief	5
	Q3_6	Disability	6
Q3_8 Other reason, write down 8	Q3_7	Political affiliation	7
	Q3_8	Other reason, write down	8
П3_98 Не сте биле дискриминирани (НЕ СЕ ЧИТА) 98	П3_98	Не сте биле дискриминирани (НЕ СЕ ЧИТА)	98
П3_99 Не знам (НЕ СЕ ЧИТА) 99	П3_99	Не знам (НЕ СЕ ЧИТА)	99

Q4. In the past 12 months, have you witnessed someone being discriminated against or harassed on one or more of the following bases? Was it discrimination on the basis of ...? Please state all the bases you consider relevant.

MULTIP	E ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE		
Q4_1	Ethnicity		1
Q4_2	Gender		2
Q4_3	Sexual orientation		3
Q4_4	Age		4
Q4_5	Religion or belief		5
Q4_6	Disability		6
Q4_7	Political affiliation		7
Q4_8	Other reason, write down		8
Q4_98	You have not been a witness (DO NO	DT READ)	98
Q4_99	l don't know (DO NOT READ)		99

SHOW CARD Q5

Q5. We have just been discussing discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age, religion or belief, and/or disability. Some people may experience discrimination on more than one basis. When people are discriminated against on several bases, this is called 'multiple discrimination'. Could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, multiple discrimination is very frequent, fairly frequent, fairly rare, very rare or non-existent in our country?

READ OUT	
Very frequent	1
Fairly frequent	2
Fairly rare	3
Very rare	4
Non-existent	5
l don't know (DO NOT READ)	9

Q6. Please tell me how you would personally feel about each of the following situations, using a scale from 1 to 10. On this scale, '1' means that you would be "very uncomfortable" and '10' means that you would be "totally comfortable" with this situation.

	OUT, ROTATE ANSWER IN EACH ROW	Very uncomfortable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Totally comfortable	Indif.	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q6_1	Having a Roma as a neighbour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q6_2	Having a person with a disability as a neighbour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q6_3	Having a person of different sexual orientation (gay or lesbian) as a neighbour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q6_4	Having a person belonging to a different ethnic group than yours as a neighbour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q6_5	Having a person of a different religion or belief than yours as a neighbour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q6_6	Having a person who is a member or a sympathizer of another political party other than the one you sympathize or of which you are a member as a neighbour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99

SHOW CARD Q7

Q7. In our country when a company wants to employ someone and has the choice between two candidates with equal skills and qualifications, which of the following criteria may, in your opinion, put one candidate at a disadvantage? (based on which the company will decide which of the two candidates not to employ)

	JT, ROTATE MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE	
Q7_1	The candidate's name	1
Q7_2	The candidate's address	2
Q7_3	The candidate's way of speaking, his or her accent	3
Q7_4	The candidate's ethnicity	4
Q7_5	The candidate's gender	5
Q7_6	The candidate's sexual orientation (e.g. being homosexual)	6
Q7_7	The candidate's age	7
Q7_8	Disability	8
Q7_9	The expression of a religious belief (e.g. wearing a visible religious symbol)	9
Q7_10	Political affiliation	10
Q7_11	Whether the candidate is a smoker or not	11
Q7_12	The candidate's look, dress-style and appearance	12
Q7_13	The candida <mark>te's general physical</mark> appearance (height, weight, face, etc.)	13
Q7_14	Other, write down	14
Q7_98	None of the above (DO NOT READ)	98
Q7_99	l don't know (DO NOT READ)	99

Q8. Using a scale from 1 to 10, please tell me how you would feel about having someone from each of the following categories in the highest public office in our country?

	IT, ROTATE WER IN EACH ROW	Very uncomfortable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Totally comfortable	Indif.	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q8_1	A woman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_2	A person of different sexual orientation (gay or lesbian)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_3	A person belonging to a different ethnic community than the majority of the population	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_4	A person aged under 30	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_5	A person of a different religion than the majority of the population	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_6	A person with disability	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_7	A person from a political party which is not part of the Government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99
Q8_8	A person aged over 75	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	99

SHOW CARD Q9

Q9. Would you be in favour of or opposed to introducing specific measures for ensuring equal employment opportunities for everyone? Such measures could include, for example: special training programmes or quota systems for employment of people based on their...

	JT, ROTATE SWER IN EACH ROW	Totally in favour	Partially in favour	Partially opposed	Totally opposed	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q9_1	Ethnicity	1	2	3	4	9
Q9_2	Gender	1	2	3	4	9
Q9_3	Age	1	2	3	4	9
Q9_4	Religion or belief	1	2	3	4	9
Q9_5	Disability	1	2	3	4	9
Q9_6	Sexual orientation	1	2	3	4	9
Q9_7	Political affiliation	1	2	3	4	9

Q10. To what extent would you support or oppose the following in the work place?

READ OUT, ROTATE ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW		Totally in favour	Partially in favour	Partially opposed	Totally opposed	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q10_1	To record the composition of the employees in order to be able to monitor and assess the extent to which the members of the less numerous ethnic communities are represented	1	2	3	4	9
Q10_2	To monitor the employment procedures in order to ensure that the persons belonging to less numerous ethnic communities have equal opportunities to be employed as other candidates with similar skills or qualifications	1	2	3	4	9

SHOW CARD Q11

Q11. In general, would you say that enough efforts are made in our country to combat all forms of discrimination?

READ OUT ONLY ONE ANSWER	
Yes, definitely	1
Yes, to some extent	2
No, not really	3
No, definitely no	4
l don't know (DO NOT READ)	9

Q12. Do you know what your rights are in case you are a victim of discrimination?

READ OUT	
Yes	1
No	2
Other (write down)	3
l don't know (DO NOT READ)	9

Q13. If you were a victim of discrimination or harassment, would you seek protection from the relevant institutions or organizations?

READ OUT			
No		GO TO Q1_1	1
Yes		GO TO Q14	2
l don't know / Ref	uses to answer (DO NOT REA	D) GO TO Q1_1	9

TO BE ANSWERED BY THOSE WHO ANSWERED Q13 CHOSING ANSWER OPTION 2

Q14. Whom would you address to seek protection? And what other place? And what else? DO NOT READ THE ANSWERS

			Q14,a First mentioned	Q14,b Other mentioned
1	Court			
2	Police			
3	Ombudsman			
4	Commission for Prevention and Protecti Discrimination	ion against		
5	Lawyer			
6	Trade Union			
7	Civil society organization			
8	Other (write down)			
99	I don't know / Refuses to answer (DO	NOT READ)		

ASK ALL

Q1_1 Do you have friends or acquaintances who are...?

READ OUT ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW	Yes	No	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q1_1_1 Members of another ethnic community	1	2	9
Q1_1_2 Roma	1	2	9
Q1_1_3 Persons of different sexual orientation (gay or lesbian)	1	2	9
Q1_1_4 Persons with disability	1	2	9
Q1_1_5 Persons of a different religion or with different beliefs than you	1	2	9
Q1_1_6 Members or sympathizers of a political party whose views you disagree with	1	2	9

Q1_2 At your place of living, do you consider yourself to be part of any of the following? Please select all options you consider relevant.

READ OUT, ROTATE MULTIPLE ANSWERS ARE POSSIBLE					
Q1_2_1	An ethnic minority	1			
Q1_2_2	A religious minority	2			
Q1_2_3	A sexual minority	3			
Q1_2_4	A minority in terms of disability	4			
Q1_2_5	A minority in regards to political affiliation or party sympathizer	5			
Q1_2_6	None of the above	6			
Q1_2_7	Any other minority group (write down)	7			
Q1_2_99	l don't know (DO NOT READ)	99			

Q15 To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? School lessons and materials should include information about diversity in terms of...

READ OUT ONE ANSWER IN EACH ROW	Totally agree	Partially agree	Partially disagree	Totally disagree	l don't know (DO NOT READ)
Q15_1 Religion or belief	1	2	3	4	9
Q15_2 Ethnic origin or skin colour	1	2	3	4	9
Q15_3 Sexual orientation (being gay, lesbian or bisexual)	1	2	3	4	9
Q15_4 Being a transgender person	1	2	3	4	9
Q15_5 Disability	1	2	3	4	9
Q15_6 Roma culture and history	1	2	3	4	9

Q16 Do you think that the official documents such as passports, ID cards and birth certificates should have a third option such as X or O (other) in addition to men (M) and women (F) for those individuals who do not identify as women and men?

READ OUT	
Yes	1
No	2
I don't know (DO NOT READ)	99



Annex 3 Distribution of the relevant socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

	2009	2013	2018	2023
	%	%	%	%
Gender				
Men	50.3	50.0	49.8	49.2
Women	49.7	50.0	50.2	50.8
Age groups				
15-24	20.5		15.7	13.8
25-34	18.9		18.8	15.7
35-44	18.9		17.8	16.7
45-54	16.6		16.6	16.5
55-64	11.7	14.8	15.2	16.6
65+	13.4	12.3	15.9	20.7
Education				
Primary Education	35.8	17.7	24.2	36.3
Secondary Education	49.7	53.3	49.9	44.1
Higher Education	14.5	29.0	26.0	19.6
Ethnicity				
Macedonian	67.0	69.1	63.4	65.5
Albanian	22.9	24.8	25.9	24.3
Turkish	2.8	1.4	3.6	1.9
Vlach	0.9	0.6	0.1	0.7
Roma	3.1	1.1	3.2	4.1
Serbian	1.8	1.5	1.7	1.1
Other	1.6	1.5	2.1	2.5
Religion				
Christian	69.1		65.0	67.4
Muslim	29.5		34.2	31.9
Atheist	0.9		0.5	0.7
Other	0.5		0.2	
Employment status				
Full-time employed	28.7		40.3	43.6
Part-time employed	1.7		2.2	4.1
Unemployed	28.2		17.9	9.7
Homemaker	12.3		11.3	10.5
Student/Pupil	11.5		8.4	7.8
Pensioner	16.9		18.6	24.4
Occupation				
Self-employed, craftsman	12.6		19.6	14.3
Manager, director	8.1		4.3	6.4
Clerk with completed higher education	19.9		19.4	16.0
Clerk with completed secondary education	12.0		9.4	13.9
Skilled worker with secondary education	29.7		26.8	22.8
Worker	14.9		15.1	19.8
Police, army	1.8		1.7	1.7
Farmer (men and women)	0.3		3.1	5.1
Other	0.8		0.5	
Place of living				
Rural	42.4	37.9	43.2	37.8
Urban	57.6	62.1	56.8	62.2
Region				
Vardar	7.9	7.1	7.4	7.7
East	9.2	9.0	8.7	8.5
South-West	10.9	10.0	10.8	9.8
South-East	8.3	8.9	8.4	8.2
Pelagonija	11.6	10.9	11.3	11.7
Polog	14.2	16.0	15.5	13.4
North-East	8.4	8.9	8.4	8.3
Skopje	29.4	29.1	29.5	32.4