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THE INFLUENCE OF INTERCULTURAL FACTORS ON ASYLUM DECISION MAKING IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

ВЛИЈАНИЕТО НА ИНТЕРКУЛТУРНИТЕ ФАКТОРИ ВРЗ ДОНЕСУВАЊЕ ОДЛУКИ ВО АЗИЛОТ ВО РЕПУБЛИКА МАКЕДОНИЈА

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ABSTRACT

In 2011, in Republic of Macedonia, **740** applications for asylum were submitted in front of the Section for asylum (SfA), Ministry of interiorⁱ. Vast majority of them were submitted by applicants coming from the world's most vulnerable countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and Somalia. However, none of these applicants was granted with convention statusⁱⁱ (meaning **refugee status**) or complementary protection statusⁱⁱⁱ (according the Law on Asylum and Temporary Protection^{iv}, Article 4-a- **subsidiary protection**).

This study is designed as an experimental research with a goal to examine whether intercultural factors such as **gender**, **age**, **ethnicity**, **nationality**, **religion and language**, have influence on the asylum decision- making^v, at the same time allowing us to fabricate the profile of the so- called "new asylum seekers". As a sampling group (respondents) we will use all asylum seekers that applied for asylum in Republic of Macedonia from 01 of January till 31 of December 2011, therefore the research does not claim to be representative for the comparative previous period before 2011. The researched sample is represented by twenty four nationalities, including both men and women, from a range of age groups. Additionally, through examination of four individual cases from 2011, selected on the basis whether an interview was conducted with the asylum seeker, particular attention will be

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addressed to the process of communication in the asylum cases, as a form of intercultural communication.

Keywords: asylum, decision- making, intercultural factors.

АПСТРАКТ

Во 2011 година во Република Македонија беа поднесени 740 барања за признавање на правото на азил пред Одделението за азил при Министерството за внатрешни работи. Најголемиот дел од овие апликации беа поднесени од страна на баратели кои доаѓаат од најранливите земји во светот, како Авганистан, Пакистан и Сомалија. Меѓутоа, ниеден од овие баратели на азил не се здоби со конвенциски статус - статус на признаен бегалец или комплементарен статус на заштита (согласно Законот за азил и привремена заштита, Член 4-а, супсидијарна заштита).

Оваа студија е дизајнирана како експериментално истражување, со цел да истражи дали интеркултурните фактори, како што се: полот, возраста, етничката припадност, националноста, религијата и јазикот, влијаат врз донесувањето одлуки во областа на азилот, едновремено дозволувајќи ни да го фабрикуваме и профилот на т.н "нови баратели на азил". Како истражувачки примерок се избрани барателите на азил кои аплицирале за добивање азил во Република Македонија преку Македонското здружение на млади правници, во периодот од 01 јануари до 31 декември 2011 година. Оттука, ова истажување не се поставува како репрезентативно за компаративниот, претходен период, пред 2011 година.

Примерокот за истражување се состои од 24 различни националности, вклучувајќи мажи и жени од различни возрасни групи. Дополнитено, преку истражување на четири индивидуални случаи од 2011 година, избрани врз основа на фактот дали со барателот на азил е извршено интервју, посебно внимание ќе обрнеме на комуникацијата во постапката за азил, како форма на интеркултурна комуникација.

Клучни зборови: азил, одлучување, интеркултурни фактори

MACEDONIAN ASYLUM SYSTEM - SHORT HISTORICAL OVERVIEW AND THE CURRENT DECISION-MAKING

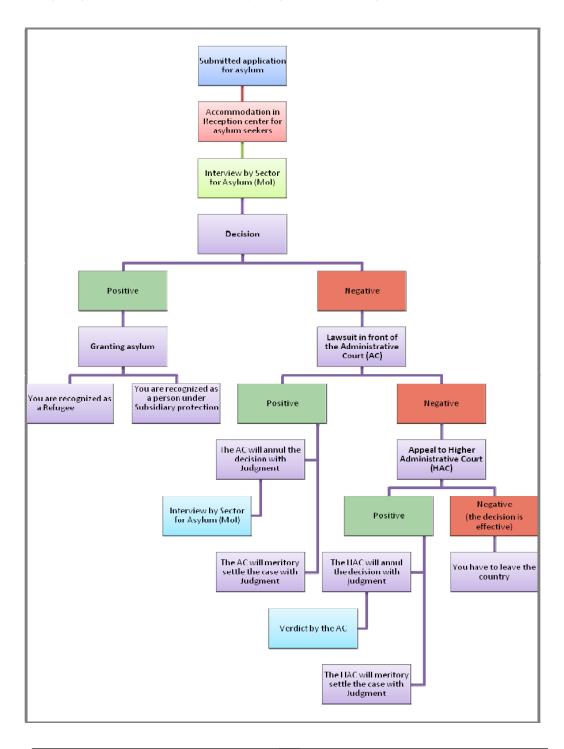
The choices that asylum seekers are able to make (in terms of where to apply for asylum) are shaped by their country of origin, age, gender, socioeconomic status and education, as well as links with others who can help facilitate the journey and open up possibilities for the future. The chances of gaining protection on the other side depend greatly upon the procedures used to assess asylum cases. Even most founded and impelling claim for international protection can fail if it is not fully and fairly considered by the respective authorities.

On January 18, 1994 Republic of Macedonia signed and ratified the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees with which guarantees the right to seek asylum to foreigners and stateless persons "expelled" because of their democratic political beliefs and activities. In the period between 1992 and 1995 a number of 32.000 to 35.000 cases were registered from the Bosnian refugee crisis. The Ministry of interior affairs at that time was conducting a process of policy- making of illegal immigration in the country. In 1999 the first steps towards establishing a separate organizational unit- Section for asylum and illegal immigration were taken in order to facilitate the refugee issue. In the same period, the country faced a massive influx of about 360.000 refugees due to the war crisis in Kosovo, most of them ethnic Albanians, and Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians, Serbs and Gorani. Following the trends in this area in the European Union (EU), in March 1999 the Government of the Republic of Macedonia adopted decision with which all refugees were provided with status of temporary humanitarian assisted persons (Directive on temporary protection in EU was adopted 2001). Simultaneously, the Section of asylum and illegal immigration began to act upon individual requests submitted for recognition of refugee status. In December 2002, the Government adopted the National Action Plan on Asylum and Migration. In August 2003 the new Law on Asylum and Temporary Protection was adopted. After the entry into force of this law, the remaining persons from Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro, which previously had the status of temporary humanitarian aid since 1999, according Article 74 of the new law were treated as persons with temporary protection.

However, because the maximum duration of the temporary protection of two years was expired and the situation in the country of origin was still not changed in terms of their safe and sustainable return, all remaining persons from Kosovo were

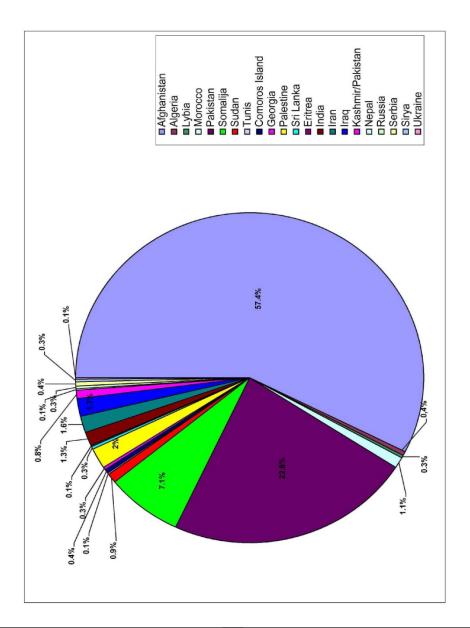
allowed to submit individual application for asylum without interrupting any of their previously acquired rights. Consequently, during 2003 the Section for asylum received 1153 applications for asylum for 2311 persons (most of them ethnic minorities from Kosovo). In April 2006, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia adopted the module for asylum suggested in the EU report of the country's progress in order to establish a compatible legal and institutional framework in the field of asylum, migration and visa issues with the one of the European Union. In 2007 through amendment and modification of the Law on Asylum and Temporary Protection new kind of international protection was introduced- the right to asylum for subsidiary protection. In the period between 2003 and 2008 a total number of 2.631 asylum seekers were registered, of which 2.580 (or 98.1%) were from Kosovo. In October 2008 passed another Law amending the Law on Asylum and Temporary protection- the term person under humanitarian protection was replaced with the term person under subsidiary protection, further change was made in the applicant's right to use appropriate remedy- namely the possibility of an administrative dispute against the decisions of the Section for asylum in front of competent court. In Republic of Macedonia two ministries share the responsibility regarding the procedure and care of the asylum seekers - the Ministry of interior and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. The Section for asylum processes the asylum applications, whether the application is submitted at the border crossing, inside the territory of the country or at the airport. During the asylum procedure, including the appeal period, asylum seekers are allowed to stay in the country; additionally the state covers all costs for their care and residence. With fair and thorough procedures benefit both refugees and host countries, mainly by producing high quality asylum decisions at first instance.

Graphic picture 1: Scheme of the asylum procedure in Republic of Macedonia



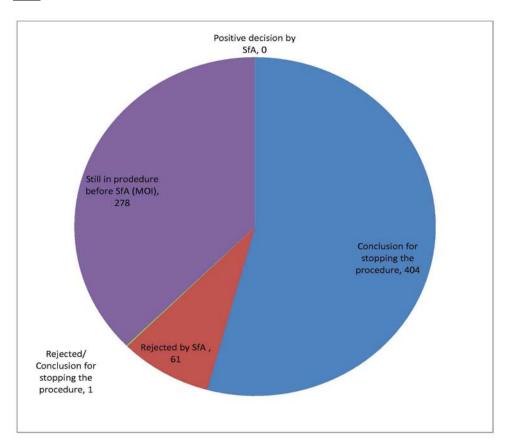
In 2011, through Skopje based NGO-Macedonian Young Lawyers` Association^{vii} 744 applications for asylum were submitted in front of the Section for asylum, Ministry of interior. Vast majority of the asylum seekers were from war torn countries like Afghanistan (427 asylum applications), Pakistan (170 asylum applications) and Somalia (53 asylum applications).

Graphic picture 2: Asylum seekers applied in 2011 in RM divided by country of origin



In this period the Section for asylum (SfA, MOI) concluded the asylum procedure for **466** asylum seekers, thereby bringing **404 conclusions for stopping the procedure** (on the grounds that the asylum seeker has left the country), **61 decision for rejecting the asylum application** (from which 56 on the ground of the safe third country^{viii}, 2 on the grounds that the person constitutes a danger to the security of the country^{ix}, 1 on the grounds that there is no fear of prosecution, 1 because the asylum seeker was not present at the scheduled interview and 1 on the ground that his/her claim was unfounded) and 1 decision for rejecting the applicant and conclusion for stopping the procedure. The rest of the asylum applications are still in procedure.

<u>Graphic picture3: Initial decisions brought by the SfA upon submitted applications in 2011</u>



From the stated above and the graphic picture presented, we can clearly see that there is **no positive decision** brought by the respective authorities, therefore none of these applicants was granted with convention status (meaning **refugee status**) or complementary protection status (according the Law on Asylum and Temporary Protection*, Article 4-a- **subsidiary protection**).

INTERCULTURAL FACTORS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE ASYLUM DECISION MAKING

Culture is defined by UNESCO as "the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs". Spencer-Oatey (2000) defines the concept of culture- "Culture is a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural norms, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the "meaning" of other people's behaviour."(Spencer-Oatey, 2000, p.4). Law and legal systems are cultural products; like religion, ideology or art, they are: "structures of meaning in terms of which individuals and groups of individuals live out their lives,... symbols and systems of symbols through whose agency such structures are formed, communicated, imposed, shared, altered, reproduced (Geertz, 1983:182)**i.

Many of the legal scholars and practitioners who deal with asylum cases may firmly argue that a credible evidence of "well- founded fear" of persecution is the most important factor for refugee status determination. However, this adjudication process is exceptionally complex and despite legal, psychological, linguistic and overall cultural factors (as gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, religion, language etc.) have significant influence on it. Through examining individual level data- cases of asylum seekers whose asylum procedure was concluded and initial decision by the respective authority (Section for asylum) was brought, we'll be able to assess the degree of their influence on the asylum decision- making in Republic of Macedonia.

Analyzing the selected cases in this manner will give us the opportunity to observe whether today in the Macedonian asylum system the indicated intercultural factors, also called "unobserved factors" have influence on the brought initial

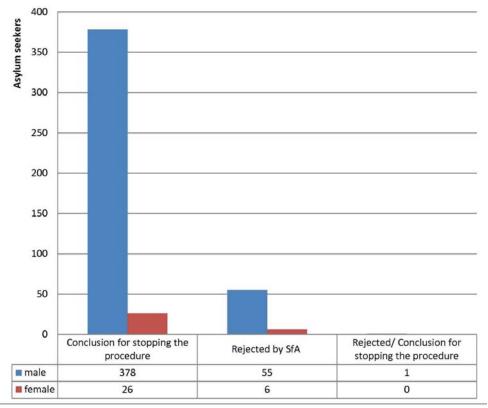
decisions, or maybe the Section for asylum is led by various different factors while examining each case individually.

1. Gender

Although gender is not specifically enumerated as one of the grounds for establishing Convention refugee status, the definition of Convention refugee may properly be interpreted as providing protection for women who demonstrate a wellfounded fear of gender-related persecution by reason of any one, or a combination of, the enumerated grounds. When woman submit asylum application, that is to seek protection from a various of human rights abuses in her home country- maybe she was persecuted by her state because of her involvement in political activities for which she might be even detained. Human rights reports^{xiii} observe that in many countries such detention frequently includes raping by state officials. Alternatively a woman may have been persecuted by her family or community and the state authorities did not protect her, situations common in countries where there are no adequate laws or where laws are not effectively enforced. These forms of persecution tend to be particular (although not exclusive), to women and include domestic violence, rape, sexual violence, forced marriage, "honor" crimes and female genital mutilation. The persecution experienced by women often differs from the experience of the men; the asylum system tends to interpret it through a framework of the male experiences. Consequently, a gender- sensitive asylum system is not just recommended but absolutely needed.

<u>Graphic picture 4: Asylum seekers with initial decision by SfA (MOI) presented by gender</u>



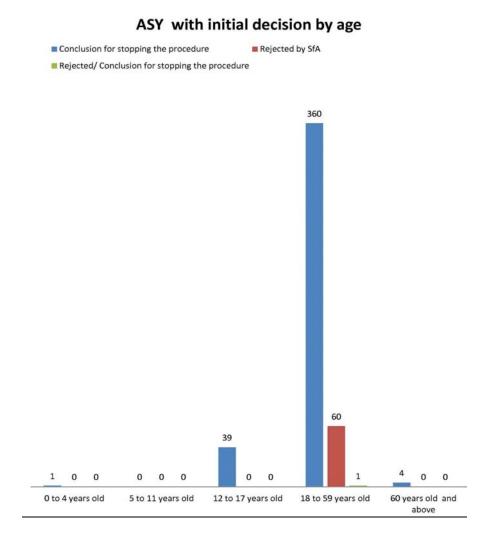


As we can see from the graphic presentation of the number of asylum seekers with received initial decision by the SfA, we can notice that the majority of them 93,13% were male and 6,87% were female asylum seekers. Conclusions for stopping the procedure are brought because the asylum seeker has left the country and there are no positive decisions in 2011, so the initial decision where the asylum seeker is rejected are more appropriate for discussion (the authority has actually decided upon the merit of the claim). In this context, 90,16% of the rejected asylum seekers were male and 9,84% female.

2. Age

Refugees and asylum seekers belong to one of the most vulnerable groups of people in the world. Among them there are particular groups of asylum seekers who are exposed to a greater extent of risks and problems because of their age-unaccompanied minors and older people.

<u>Graphic picture 5: Asylum seekers with initial decision by SfA (MOI) presented by age</u>



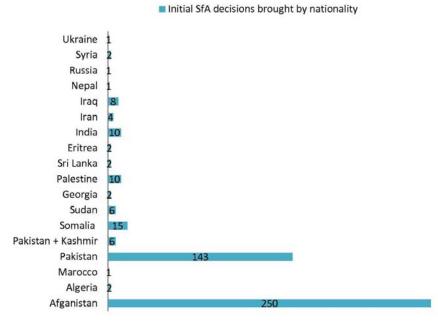
According the statistic in 2011, most of the asylum seekers upon whose application an initial decision was brought 90, 54% were adults between 18 and 59 years. Very small number of 0, 86% were older people (60 years old and above) and 8, 60% were minors, among which are calculated and the unaccompanied children-asylum seekers.

3. Nationality

Asylum seekers are a diverse group. In 2011, asylum seekers from 24 different nationalities asked for protection in Republic of Macedonia. The graphic picture below represents the numerical representation among the asylum seekers with initial decision brought by the Section for asylum.

<u>Graphic picture 6: Number of asylum seekers with initial decision brought</u> <u>presented by nationality</u>

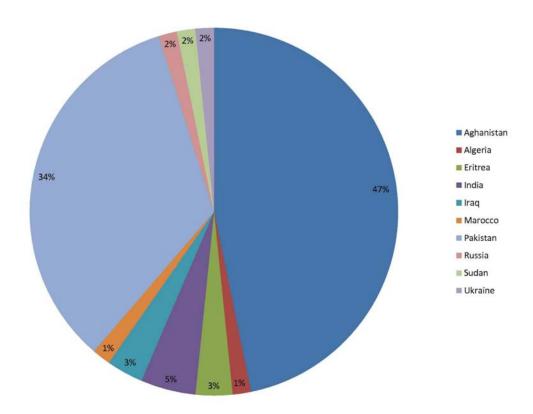
Initial SfA decisions brought by nationality



As we can notice, the majority of asylum seekers with initial SfA decision were with Afghan nationality- 53,65%, following by the ones with Pakistan nationality-30,69% and in the ranking as thirds are the asylum seekers with Somali nationality-3,22%.

<u>Graphic picture 7: SfA initial decision for rejecting the asylum seeker, presented by nationality</u>

Rejected ASY by nationality

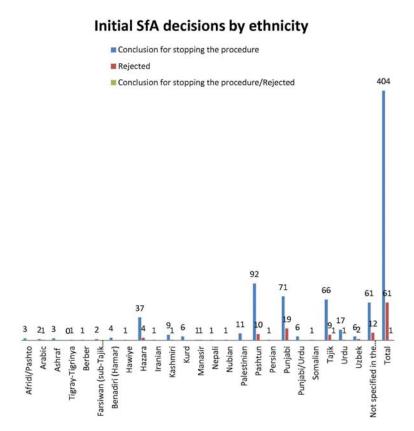


4. Ethnicity and Religion

Current developments like emergence of new States, the crisis of the Welfare State, economic and cultural globalisation, lead to massive increases in all forms of international population movements among which are the asylum movements, thus impact and increase possibilities for inter-ethnic and inter-religious contacts, as well as patterns of different ethnic and religious relations between people. This permanent presence of different ethnicities and religions in Europe influences

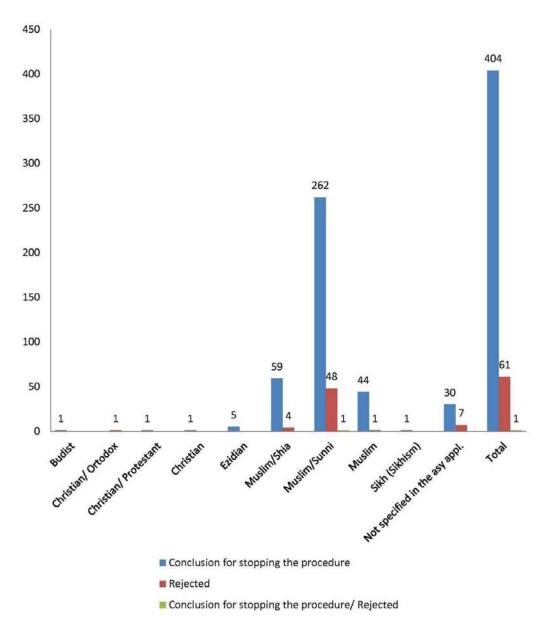
towards creating and nurturing various forms of intercultural relations, at different levels of the society.

Graphic picture 8: Initial SfA decisions presented by Ethnicity



Majority of the asylum seekers whose right to asylum was rejected with initial decision were from the Punjabi ethnic group- 30, 65%. Further with 16, 13% asylum seekers from Pashtun and Tajik ethnic group.

Graphic picture 9: Initial SfA decisions presented by Religion



As we can see from the graphic picture above 85, 48% of the rejected asylum seekers or 89, 91% from the asylum seekers with initial decision brought by the Section for asylum (both rejected and the ones with conclusion for stopping the procedure) were from Islam religion.

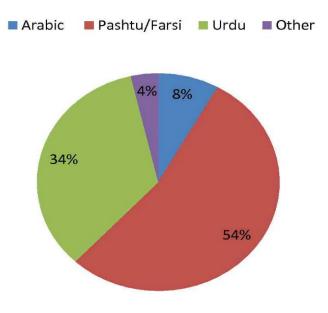
6. Language

Language barriers make it very difficult for the asylum- seekers to access the overall asylum procedure. An asylum seeker who does not speak the language of the host country or language from which the host country can provide an appropriate interpreter, there are big chances that his application for asylum will not be recognized. In this context we can take in consideration the assumption that the initial decision – credibility testing – may be prolonged or disturbed because the state capacity for further analyzing is reduced due to technical incapability concerning the language (and/or translation).

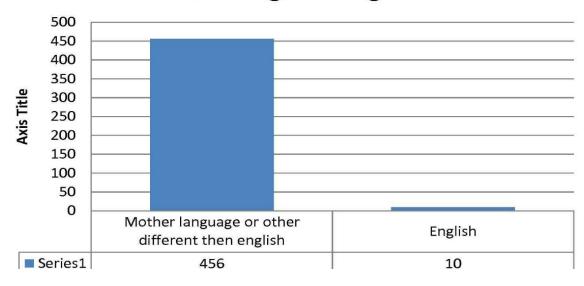
From the graphic picture below we can see that the percentage of respondents who speak or understand English (as language most commonly known in the world) is very low, approximately around 2, 15% of the asylum seekers with brought initial decision from the SfA.

Graphic picture 10: Spoken languages and knowledge of English

Spoken languages



Knowledge of english



Intercultural communication in the asylum procedure

As we previously defined, the term "culture" refers to all characteristics common to a particular group of people that are learned and not given by nature. Social reality is constructed of objective and subjective aspects of culture. As Milton states, the less obvious aspect of the culture is its subjective side which refers to the psychological features that define a group of people—their everyday thinking and behaviourxiv-rather than to the institutions they have created, which as such represent the objective aspect of culture.xv Triandis is the one that introduced this concept of "subjective culture" or a "characteristic way of perceiving its social environment" (Triandis, 1972, p. viii). Precisely this less obvious aspect of the culture is the exclusive focus of the intercultural communication. Common language, behaviour patterns, and values form the base upon which members of the culture exchange meaning with one another in conducting their daily affairs demonstrate that monocultural communication is similarity-based. In this type of communication, difference represents the potential for misunderstanding and friction. Thus, social difference of all kinds is discouragedxvi. On the other hand intercultural communication approach is difference-based^{kvii}. Here cultures embody variety in patterns of perception and behaviour, values and languages, approaches to communication in cross-cultural situations which quard and encourage the consideration of difference. Compiling the above mention, intercultural communication can be defined as "a process that occurs when two or more cultures or co-cultures exchange messages in a manner that is influenced by their different cultural perceptions and symbol systems, both verbal and nonverbal". xviii

Gadamer argues that *prejudice and fore-meanings in the mind of the interpreter consciousness are not at his free disposal. He is not able to separate in advance the productive prejudices that make understanding possible from the prejudices that hinder understanding and lead to misunderstanding.* (Truth and Method 263).^{xix} It is in the act of interpretation that fore-meanings and prejudices become evident not prior to it. As we interpret and interact with the social world, our prejudices are increasingly fore-grounded^{xx}. Gadamer argues that 'prejudices' are constitutive of who we are; they shape and enable our very being. According him there are productive prejudices- those that we become aware of because of the interpretative process and then there are prejudices which obstruct understanding (Truth and

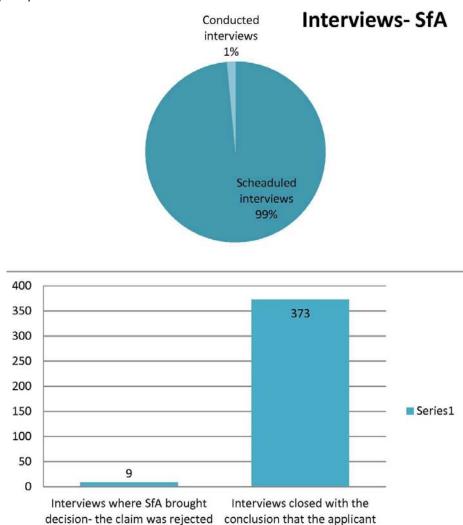
Method 263). The conclusion from his theory is that in order to adopt an intercultural mode of interpretation, we need to acknowledge that the other is not an end but a means with which we enlarge our understanding and knowledge of ourselves and the others.

Communication in asylum cases is a form of intercultural communication. Communication even in normal settings requires constant interpretation of meanings and different cultural varieties, especially language differences play significant role. Moreover, this is exceptionally crucial in legal context where every participant has a previously defined role and as such is expected to behave on a certain manner. The intercultural communication as a form of communication is most obviously present and crucial in the *interviewing phase* of the procedure. The interview is the most important opportunity for clarifying the basis of receiving international protection. Successful interview is the best basis for making a decision that complies with the guarantee of legal protection^{xxi}. Nienke Doornbos identifies four factors by which he makes a difference between the everyday conversation and asylum interviews xxii: First, communication in asylum cases is primarily a form of institutional interaction, often in bureaucratic context and with question- answer structure. Second, the interviews take place in strict legal context, where the aim is fact-finding. Third, communication in asylum cases is a form of intercultural communication. People tend to judge one another on group characteristics (profession, residence, gender, religion, ethnicity, language and age). These perceived difference often result in prejudices. Usually the subjective perception of the "otherness" plays a dominant role in intercultural communication rather then the actual difference. Lastly, the interlocutors often do not speak the same language. In the majority of cases the officer (inspector) conducts the interview with the assistance of an interpreter, whose primer job is to bridge the gap between the interviewer and the interviewee. Nevertheless this presence of a third person can as well complicate the communication during the interview, since the interlocutors depend on the translator's interpretation of the questions and replies.

From the submitted **744** asylum applications, significant number of the asylum seekers left the Reception center for asylum seekers even before the formal procedure take further development (the procedure was finalized with *Conclusion for stopping the procedure*). Nevertheless, in 2011 were **scheduled 396 interviews**, from which only **6 (six) were conducted**. In **9** of the scheduled interviews the

respective authority brought a decision with which the applicant was rejected and the rest of the interviews- 373 (i.e. cases) were closed with the conclusion that the applicant has left the Reception Center for asylum seekers in Vizbegovo and the territory of the country.

Graphic picture 11: Scheduled and conducted Interview



In relation to this we have to mention that from the conducted six interviews, two of the applicant had submitted their application for asylum in 2010 and the other four

has left the country

in 2011. Since the period we are examining and the sampling group is consisted only from asylum seekers that applied in 2011, we'll discuss only the four cases in which an interview was conducted.

In the 2011 cases where an interview was conducted, two of the asylum seekers were from Afghanistan, one from Ukraine and one from Georgia. After the conducted interviews, the asylum seekers from Afghanistan still wait for initial SfA decision upon their claim, the applicant from Ukraine was rejected because the claim was unfounded-"no grounds for fear of persecution because the application has not been submitted for reasons established by this law, but for the possibility of employment and better living conditions or when the asylum seeker gives no data that he would be subject to persecution or when his claims are impossible or contradictory"; "the application is based on a deliberate deception or an abuse of the procedure for recognition of the right to asylum" and on the ground of Safe Third Country (First country of asylum). The applicant from Georgia voluntary renounced from the claim, so Conclusion for stopping the procedure was brought. Two of the interviews were conducted with an interpreter from Russian, one with interpreter from English and one with interpreter from Roma language.

It has to be highlighted that in practice, decisions in asylum cases often are made on the basis of the statements given during the interviewing phase in front of the SfA. Therefore the relevance of this stage in the asylum procedure is substantial.

CONCLUSION

The conducted empirical study suggests that the influence of the intercultural factors is notable, but yet not strong enough to make any significant difference in the outcome in asylum decision making. From the graphics and tables presented above it is obvious that we cannot talk about degrees and likelihood of granting status because in 2011 (selected as time frame for this research) there is no single positive initial decision brought by the Section for asylum. What we can conclude is that factors other than those specifically related to the merit of an individual's rights claim, but well observed in the presented results above, are influential- the decision of the asylum seeker to leave the territory of Republic of Macedonia even before initial decision by the SfA was brought, as well as the country's technical incapability- difficulties concerning providing translation.

We must take in consideration that the examined experimental sampling group is small and the results in this case are only suggestive. Wider (comparative) period of

time should be taken into account in order more accurate conclusions to be extracted. Ultimately, comprehensive study concerning this question is clearly needed.

However, even with results narrow as the one we got from this research, it is safe to say that societies influenced by globalization and migratory movements need to develop strategies that aim to build a more intercultural and inclusive society. They have to ensure that the basic rights and needs of refugees and asylum seekers are properly recognized and included in the asylum and overall state system. At the same time training for intercultural dialogue and intercultural communication for all included actors (asylum officers, judges, interpreters, employees in the Reception center, as well as the lawyers providing legal aid) in the asylum procedure is an imperative.

Finally, the conducted research draws attention to the need for more wideranging research and analysis of this kind in the field of asylum. If the asylum officers can be more aware of the biases that influence their decisions, perhaps that will be the initial and proactive step towards reducing them.

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 Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia Number 19, Year LXV and its amendments-Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia number 146, Year LXV
- ' In order to get better focus and concise research, we'll focus on the initial stage of the decision- making process when asylum seekers present their case and it is decided upon it in front of the Section for asylum. Therefore the appeal proceedings before the judicial authorities are not subject of examination in this study.
- vi Crawley. H. (2010, January), "Refugee Council Chance or choice? Understanding why asylum seekers come to the UK" p.5
- vii In this research we'll use the unique data base of the Macedonian Young Lawyers' Association's (MYLA) project for "Legal assistance and representation of persons of concern", funded by the UNHCR Representation Office in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia viii Article 10, Safe third country (First country of asylum), Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia Number 19, Year LXV and its amendments- Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia number 146, Year LXV
- ^{ix} Article 6, paragraph 2, Reasons for exclusion, Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia Number 19, Year LXV and its amendments- Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia number 146, Year LXV
- ^x Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia Number 19, Year LXV and its amendments-Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia number 146, Year LXV

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