

**FORMS, PATTERNS
AND EXTENT OF
DISCRIMINATION IN
MONTENEGRO – TRENDS
AND ANALYSIS**
Prof. Miloš Bešić, PhD



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Introduction

Multicultural era as the era of the affirmation of diversities, puts before us daily tests for the perseverance of humanity, consistency of identity, both individual and collective, and - naturally, for the courage and integrity of every individual.¹ In this environment, contemporary state is obliged to create the prerequisites for the implementation of the protection and enhancement of fundamental rights, of every single individual, irrespective of the group he/she belongs to.

The issues of the position of minorities was put into the focus at the end of the 19th century, while the international protection of minorities commenced with the establishment of the United Nations and with the respect for ethnic minorities in particular. Ever since then, the improvement of the system of the protection of minorities becomes the subject matter of constant alignment of various international organizations. However, besides all the efforts, there are still no international standards perceived as solutions, i.e. patterns that would be universally accepted and binding for all the countries.² Therefore, the countries are free to narrow down or expand, at their own discretion, the circle of persons who can invoke the established minority protection, naturally in harmony with international legal documents.

The foundations to regulate the national legislation in Montenegro constitute the international acts of the United Nations³, Council of Europe⁴, OSCE⁵ and the European Union⁶. The Article 9 of the Constitution of Montenegro lays down that ratified international treaties constitute the integral part of internal legal order, as well as that they have supremacy over national

¹ Jelić, Ivana, *Ljudska prava i multikulturalizam*, Pravni fakultet UCG, Podgorica, 2013, page 18

² Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro, *Minority Policy Strategy*, page 7

³ Namely: *Universal Human Rights Declaration; UN Declaration on the Rights of the Members of National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, Pact on Civil and Political Rights*, with both optional protocols, *Pact on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*

⁴ *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms; European Social Charter; European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages*, and especially *Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* as the most important regional legal document which contains the largest list of minority rights

⁵ Recommendations of the High OSCE Commissioner for National Minorities from The Hague, Oslo and Lund

⁶ Through Chapter I, Political Accession Criterion, section 1.2. Human Rights and Minority Protection, of the *Agreement on Stabilization an Association of Montenegro with European Union*, as well as the negotiation chapters 19 and 23

legislation⁷. The Constitution also prescribes a set of additional, so called **special – minority rights**, by means of which their importance is normatively confirmed.⁸

Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms⁹ constitutes a legal act by means of which the notion of minorities is defined as well as the set of obligations of the state and other authorities in the implementation of minority rights and freedoms, in view of enabling the effective participation of minorities in the public life. Pursuant to the Article 2 of this law, the wording minority peoples and other minority national communities means every group of Montenegrin citizens which is numerically inferior to the remaining prevailing population, which has common ethnic, religious or linguistic features, different from the rest of the population, and which is historically affiliated and motivated for the preservation of national identity. Having in mind the inefficiency of the existing provisions and insufficiently clear manners and procedures for exercising individual rights, in mid-2017 the Parliament of Montenegro enacted the Law Amending the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms.

Basic planning document, **Minority Policy Strategy**, lays down the policy of the Government of Montenegro in the area of the observance and protection of minority rights, developed with regards to the constitutional provisions laid down in the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms. The importance of this strategy is reflected in the **overview of authentic political representation in state and local government authorities, procedural rights, special identity features, issuing official documents, cultural features, education, information, establishing contacts outside, institutional organization of the authorities aimed at direct or indirect protection of minority rights**. This document introduces the *principle of affirmative action* as a special form of additional rights aimed at protecting the identity of the minorities and enabling factual equality of the minority population.

The issue of the observance of minority population rights, their fair and balanced representation is an exceptionally complex process the success of which depends on the harmonized activities, both of the institutions within the system and the entire social community. Several **institutions and authorities** in Montenegro deal with the protection of rights and the improvement of the position of the minorities. In the first place there is the **Ministry for the Protection of Human and Minority Rights**, then **Committee for Human Rights and Freedoms**, **Fund for Minorities**, **Ombudsman (Protector of Human Rights and Freedoms)**, **Council of Minority Peoples and Other Small National Communities**, Centre for Preservation and Development of Minority Culture¹⁰, Council for the Fight Against Discrimination, Council for

⁷ Available at: <http://www.skupstina.me/images/dokumenti/ustav-crne-gore.pdf>

⁸ In specific terms, Articles 68 – 158, as well as the Articles 79 and 80

⁹ Official Gazette of the Republic of Montenegro, no. 31/06, 51/06 and 38/07, 2/11 and Official Gazette of Montenegro, no. 31/17

¹⁰ Established by the Government through the Amendments to the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms

Civil Control of the Work of Police, Regulatory Broadcasting Agency, Personal Data Protection Agency.

Discrimination, under the Article 8 of the Constitution of Montenegro, means making difference and unequal treatment of individuals in relation to certain racial, national, gender, religious and similar differences among them, at which some of them get certain rights recognized, while the same rights are denied up to certain degree or fully to the others, exactly on the basis of the mentioned differences.¹¹ As such, it is incriminated by the criminal legislation.

The Antidiscrimination Law is a systemic law which offers the basis and mechanisms for the fight against discrimination on any actual, and/or assumed personal trait (race, colour of the skin, citizenship, national affiliation or ethnic origin, religious or political convictions, gender identity and sexual orientation, birth, genetic features, medical condition, disability, marital and family status, age, membership to political, trade union and other organizations).¹² The latest amendments to the Antidiscrimination Law recognize new discrimination grounds, according to a personal trait “gender change” and “intersexual traits”. These amendments introduce discrimination of the child as a special form of discrimination, while racial is separated from religious discrimination. The concept of political discrimination is enlarged to the discrimination on the grounds of the affiliation to trade union organizations.¹³

Relevant institutions develop reports in view of analysing and evaluating the implementation, development and status improvement, but also protection of rights of minority peoples and other minority national communities, as well as the work of institutions in this area. The With In its annual programme, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights envisages the drafting of the **Report on the Development and Protection of Rights of Minority Peoples and Other Minority National Communities**. The report is submitted for adoption to the Parliament of Montenegro. Basic goal of the report is to present minority protection policy, both in the normative section and in certain areas of social life significant for the protection of minority peoples and other minority national communities. In the report for 2016, the necessity is stated for the enhanced knowledge of legally safeguarded rights and the harmonization of normative regulations with the reality, as principal preconditions for the enhancement of human rights in Montenegro.¹⁴

The European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)¹⁵ was established by the Council of Europe. It represents an independent body for the monitoring of human rights,

¹¹ Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro, *Minority Policy Strategy*, page 5

¹² Report on Development and Protection of Rights of Minority Peoples and Other Minority Communities in 2016, page 20

¹³ Information on the Protection from Discrimination from the Point of View of the Activities of Ombudsman of Montenegro for the period 1st January-30th June 2017, page 16

¹⁴ <http://zakoni.skupstina.me/zakoni/web/dokumenta/zakoni-i-drugi-akti/221/171-2067-00-72-13-26.pdf>

¹⁵ <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/library/publications.asp>

specialized for the issues related to racism and intolerance. ECRI performs the monitoring in certain countries and analyses the situation in every member state with regards to racism and intolerance, issuing suggestions and proposals aimed at resolving the observed problems. The ECRI Reports are not the result of investigations or judicial evidence. They represent the analyses based on large quantity of information gathered from the broad spectrum of various sources. In the new report on Montenegro for the period 2012-2017, published by the Council of Europe Commission for the Fight Against Racism, the authorities are praised for the improvement of the protection from hate crime, strengthening the Ombudsman and improvement of the position of the Roma. Nevertheless, LGBT persons are still targeted by violent individuals, the Roma are still at risk from social exclusion and segregation and there are no reliable data on hate crimes.

The National Report on the Condition of Human Rights in Montenegro of the United Nations General Periodic Overview is the result of national consultations which state authorities take part in (ministries and public administration bodies, judiciary and prosecution office), national Ombudsman, NGOs and UN system to Montenegro. In the third cycle for the period from 2013-2017¹⁶, it is stated that new legal solutions have been introduced for more efficient protection from discrimination, so as to enable further strengthening of women and girls, enhance the fight against trafficking in human beings and to render more effective protection of the rights of the persons with disabilities. The areas have been pointed out where more work needs to be done, like the fight against domestic violence, and/or violence over women and children, emphasizing that the state and judicial authorities must offer stronger and more efficient protection to the victims of violence and to act against violent persons more decisively and more rigorously.

In addition, there is a whole series of reports which deal with the analyses of the issues of discrimination of minority peoples and other minority national communities from various aspects and levels, like the Regional Report on the Fight Against Discrimination and Participation of the Roma in Decision Making Process at the Local Level, the Report of the Committee of Experts of the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages in Relation to Montenegro, the Report of Montenegro on Exercising the Framework Convention for the Protection of Minorities, National Report on the Condition of Human Rights in Montenegro etc.¹⁷

Last year, a **set of new documents** was passed aimed at enhancing the position of certain minority groups, as follows: 1) Action Plan for Achieving Gender Equality (APAGE) 2017-2021

¹⁶ <http://www.gamn.org/images/docs/cg/nacionalni-izvje%C5%A1taj-o-stanju-ljudskih-prava-u-crnoj-gori-2013-2017-upr.pdf>

¹⁷ Overview of the implementation of the National Minority Policy and of the bylaws to the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms within the framework of PREDIM Project, Council of Europe, Office to Podgorica, December 2017, page 15

with the Implementation Programme for the period 2017-2018; 2) Strategy for the Protection of Persons with Disabilities from Discrimination and Promotion of Equalities for the period 2017-2021; 3) Action Plan for the Implementation of the Strategy for Social Inclusion of the Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro 2016-2020 for 2017; 4) Action Plan for the Implementation of the Strategy for the Improvement of the Quality of Life of LGBT persons in Montenegro 2013-2018 for the year 2017.¹⁸

Besides that, permanent education and promotion continue of anti-discriminatory behaviour and practice, as well as with media campaigns aimed at the affirmation of anti-discriminatory behaviour, especially towards the persons with disabilities, LGBT and RAE population.

As regards the role of civil sector in policy development in Montenegro, **good cooperation is continuously recorded between state authorities and civil sector** by means of which human rights and freedoms are successfully enhanced.

¹⁸ Information on the Protection from Discrimination from the Point of View of the Activities of the Ombudsman of Montenegro for the period 1st January-30th June 2017, page 15

Conceptual framework of the research¹⁹

Discrimination has been the subject matter of scientific attention and research activities since the 1950-ies. This issue was primarily dealt with by theoreticians and researchers who were social psychologists by profession. The first theories, definitions and approaches to the problem of discrimination were offered by Allport (1954). The notion of discrimination offered by this author relies above all on the concept of prejudice. In other words, the assumption is that prejudices are the grounds which discrimination lies upon. Thereby, prejudices are still considered the basis of discriminatory practices, when it comes to socio-psychological approach. In his book *On the Nature of Prejudice* (1954), Allport defines prejudices as 'antipathy based on false and inflexible generalizations'. Prejudices actually constitute behavioural, attitudinal and verbal expressions by means of which non-critically accepted negative features of some group are attributed to individuals who belong to that group. Some authors, instead of the notion of antipathy, use the following ones: negative feelings, animosity, hostile attitude etc. Therefore, essentially prejudices lead to distancing, and distancing consequently leads to discrimination. Generalization, as a term used in the definition, purports non-critical perception of individuals in the sense that they are attributed negative traits of the group they belong to by mere fact that they belong to that group and without any need to justify such attribution.

When it comes to discrimination, Allport claimed that there were five forms of discrimination which happen sequentially, in the sense that every subsequent degree constitutes a higher discrimination intensity. These are: verbal antagonism, avoidance, segregation, physical assault and extermination. Great many authors dealt carefully and diligently with descriptions and research activities within the framework of these types. In the following lines we will point out to several key authors and research activities which were aimed at operationalizing, corroborating and expanding the forms of discrimination defined by Allport.

Verbal antagonism is a simple form of discrimination, or to be more precise, the manner to express hostile attitude towards certain social groups and their representatives solely by using words. This happens when the members of the endangered groups are present during communication or not. In various situations, members of certain groups are verbally attributed negative connotations (for instance, gypsies, sluggards, alcoholics, illiterate etc.). Verbal

¹⁹ This part of the report was taken over from the last year's Report/research which was made for the needs of the PREDIM Project entitled: *Forms of Discrimination in Montenegro, March 2017*. The reason for taking it over is the fact that this research was being managed by identical conceptual and operational framework.

antagonism is the mildest, first, but also the most frequent form of discrimination that occurs in a society (Essed, 1997; Feagin, 1991)

Beside verbal antagonism, discriminatory behaviour can be practiced through various forms of **non-verbal violence** which together with the verbal one creates some kind of hostile environment in a social setting in relation to the discriminated individuals. There are many ways to use both verbal and non-verbal violence in the function of discrimination, Typical examples are job interviews, when you simply reduce the interview time, or you do not listen what a candidate is saying to you, and/or you distance your chair away from him/her (Darley & Fazio, 1980; Word et al, 1974). This kind of attitude undermines the performance of the interviewee, and the negative decision on his/her employment is justified by his/her poor performance during the interview, which (performance) is presented as 'objective', and which is in fact a result of the discriminatory attitude of the interviewer.

Avoidance purports giving the advantage to the members of one's own social group in relation to the members of other groups. This happens because, socially-psychologically, individuals quite often wish to operate in a world which is similar to them, their perceptions and their culture. This type of discrimination most often results in differences in social-class structure of a society, which appear as ethnic or racial (Johnson & Stafford, 1998). There were many laboratory experiments which confirmed the phenomenon of 'avoidance' and described the ways it operates (Pettigrew, 1998b; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

Segregation connotes the exclusion of individuals who belong to certain social groups when it comes to resource allocation. This form of discrimination most often occurs in relation to employment or access to certain institutions like education, access to social welfare and similar (Duckitt, 2001; Bobo, 2001).

Physical assaults need not be defined, and the most frequently researched subject is the frequency, magnitude and circumstances under which they occur (Schneider et al, 2000).

Extermination is an extreme form of discrimination which appears in special historical and political circumstances and connotes institutionalized and organized practice of physical elimination of the members of some social group (Newman and Erber, 2002; Staub, 1989).

Special forms of discrimination are those which are virtually 'invisible', those which are theoretically defined as **subtle prejudices** (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Katz and Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986). As a result of these latent forms of prejudices, the members of certain social group feel rejected, humiliated and labelled. They lose self-confidence which very often

leads to the situation that the discriminated individuals form a negative attitude about themselves. Consequently, if they accept the fact that they are 'less worthy', they will be acting as less worthy in the society. In this way, the perception of the majority of them being 'really' less worthy will be enhanced and justified.

The notion of **indirect prejudices** is also defined in the literature and in research activities. This form of discrimination comprises the procedures of prejudging the members of other groups for their behavior and/or culture. A typical example is when it is said that the Roma are 'born lazy' and similar. This form of discrimination quite often also includes a specific negative and degrading attitude in relation to the members of discriminated groups when it comes to their language, manner of expressing themselves etc. This form of discrimination very often functions automatically, it is, therefore, a legitimized form of discrimination implemented by the majority group and as such asks for no justification and it is not perceived as any kind of problem (Fiske, 1998). As a consequence, the members of discriminated minority groups develop a feeling of anxiety (Hart et al, 2000; Phelps et al, 2000).

Statistical discrimination constitutes a form of discrimination when, by means of prejudices, individuals who belong to certain social groups are rejected, in the way that they are attributed the features which result from statistical data valid for that group at the aggregate level (Arrow, 1973; Coate and Loury, 1993; Lundberg and Startz, 1983; Phelps, 1972). For instance, the result of the census indicates that the Roma are on average less educated, when their level of education is statistically compared to the level of education of the majority population. Thus, every Roma member applying for a job for instance, gets perceived as less educated in relation to other individuals applying for the same position and who are members of the majority community. As a result, statistical discrimination consequentially confirms, prolongs and perpetuates the differences that exist between a discriminated group on one side and the majority community on the other.

Another form of discrimination is **organizational discrimination**, which is sometimes designated as **structural discrimination** (Lieberman, 1998; Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). This form of discrimination comprises the procedures in which an organizational and/or social structure systematically favours the representatives of majority population. Residential segregation is one of the typical forms of this type of discrimination. For instance, the members of discriminated groups are very often residentially segregated and live in the illegal settlements. For this reason, they are unable to take home loans out, which they might require for, say, starting a business or, for instance when someone is employed, very often informal

communication and references play a significant part. In these procedures references for the members of discriminated groups are skipped, which consequentially, in an invisible but systematic way, hinders the employment of the members of discriminated groups.

Different forms of discrimination are theoretically explained in different ways. Although pioneering social-psychology as a science used to have advantage in dealing with discrimination issues, contemporary approaches are mainly multidisciplinary and they attempt to explain the phenomenon of discrimination relying on the knowledge from other scientific fields. Rice (K.E.) most thoroughly classified these approaches in several theoretic categories. Essentially, he says, all discrimination theories can be classified in three categories:

- Theories which insist on the differences between majority population and discriminated groups
- Theories which explain different forms of violence over the members of discriminated groups
- Theories which explain the unsuccessfulness of adjustment to the specificities and/or 'deficiencies' of discriminated groups

On the basis of these criteria, and by applying a complex meta-analysis of the literature dealing with prejudices, Rice developed a complex classification of all the theories which deal with the issue of prejudices and discrimination²⁰:

- 1) **Theories of social categorization** – mere act of grouping and identifying with the own group unavoidably leads to the creation of prejudices on other groups
- 2) **Theories of social identification** – absorption of the culture of the group we belong to consequently leads to prejudices towards the values and norms of the members of other groups
- 3) **Theories of social comparison** – need for personal identity which results from group identification which leads to perception that the group I belong to is better as compared to other groups
- 4) **Theories of strengthening group cohesion** – provoking conflict with other groups in view of strengthening the cohesion within the group
- 5) **Realistic conflict theory** – discrimination is a result of the game of zero aggregate; in fact, the perception that the interests of one group can be exercised solely at the expense of other group's interests.

²⁰The first three have actually been taken over from Tajfel & Turner, 1979

Discriminatory practices, irrespective of the theories they are described by, have their own consequences. On one side, they are socio-psychological, therefore also behavioral, and on the other of social and political character. There are two key theories which deal with socio-psychological consequences of discrimination in a society. The first one is the so-called **theory: frustration-aggression** (Dollard, 1980) and it indicates that discrimination produces frustration among the individuals who are exposed to it, which consequently leads to aggressive behavior of the members of these groups towards the members of majority group (who are, therefore, perceived as 'aggressors'). The second one is known as **theory of relative deprivation** (Stouffer, 1949), which argues that the tension between oppressors and a deprived group appears as a result of unequal distribution in the process of constant comparison. In simple terms, social deprivation theory indicates that the majority group uses discrimination in order to maximize benefits which result from the exclusion of discriminated groups from benefit distribution, while concurrently among the members of discriminated groups animosity appears towards the members of the majority group on the grounds of the fact that they have been excluded from the distribution of resources²¹. However, when it comes to the consequences of discrimination, irrespective of the (non)acceptance of one of these two theories, the crux of the matter is that the consequences of discriminatory practices deepen the gap, animosity and conflict between the majority and other social groups, which has negative consequences both to individuals and to the society as a whole.

Therefore, discrimination is not only a socio-psychological but also a very important societal and political one. Contemporary society has largely been differentiated by various criteria, because of which there are many social groups that differ by a large number of distinctive criteria. Democratic order is based on the idea of non-discrimination. The equality of opportunities is one of the principal assumptions which ensures social justice, social trust and stability of a political community. In case discrimination is pronounced, the legitimacy of the overall social and political order is essentially undermined, and consequently, besides injustice which concerns individuals, the society itself is characterized by political instability. These are the reasons because of which every democratic society should be intensively advocating the equality of opportunities and consequently fighting against discrimination.

The fight against discrimination presupposes, above all, the identification of key social groups and extent of discrimination. This was the first and principal objective of this research.

²¹In plain words, the ones (members of the majority group) become covetous, and the others (members of a discriminated group) dependent and jealous. The first ones use discrimination in order to appropriate as much resources and benefits as possible, and the others are angry with them because of that.

Therefore, by means of our research we strived to determine to what **extent discrimination is pronounced towards key social groups which are exposed to the threat of discrimination**. The second objective of the research was to determine the trends when it comes to the perception of discrimination. In other words, by using the same methodology, we implemented the discrimination research in 2010 and 2015. This made it possible to measure, by means of longitudinal approach, **whether and to what extent and in what direction and towards which groups discrimination was growing, or, whether the trends showed regression**. Finally, the third objective of the research was to **determine certain differences among certain categories of population when it comes to the perception of discrimination**. Pointing out to the fact that certain demographic, social, political, ethnic and/or other features determine the extent of discriminatory attitudes are integral part of the knowledge we have strived to identify through this research. Finally, for the needs of public policies, we will try to identify possible suggestions in terms of instruments and measures in view of reducing the extent of discrimination, more precisely the measures which are aimed at reducing the level and effect of discriminatory practices.

Operational framework of the research

For the needs of this research, **discrimination has been defined as a relationship between the individuals who belong to the majority group and other individuals or groups in which, according to certain discriminatory criterion the principle of equal treatment of these individuals and social groups is not observed**. However, since we talk here about an empirical and not theoretical research, the operational definition of discrimination is much more important. In this sense, discrimination has been defined in the way that, from the operational point of view, we first of all determined social areas in which we measure discrimination, and then the criteria according to which discrimination is conducted. In this way, by intersecting these two analytical criteria, we measured the existence of discrimination in every area according to defined discrimination criteria. The list of areas and the list of criteria quite certainly are not exhaustive, as this is simply impossible due to the total number of possible criteria and areas. Therefore, we chose the areas and the criteria which appear as most significant in everyday life, in the media, in the work of the NGO sector and in the entire political discourse. The social areas in which discrimination was being measured are the following:

- Employment

-
- Education
 - Accessibility to healthcare
 - Work of public services
 - Discrimination in the area of culture and cultural protection

Criteria for the identification of social groups which are under the risk of discrimination, and which have been operationalized in this research, are the following:

- Sex/Gender (discrimination of women by men)
- Nationality (discrimination on the grounds of ethnic/national criterion)
- Religion (discrimination on the grounds of religious affiliation)
- Political belief (discrimination on the grounds of differences in political conviction)
- Age (discrimination on the grounds of old age, so called 'ageism'²²)
- Disability (discrimination of persons with disabilities)
- Sexual orientation (discrimination of LGBT population and sexual minorities)

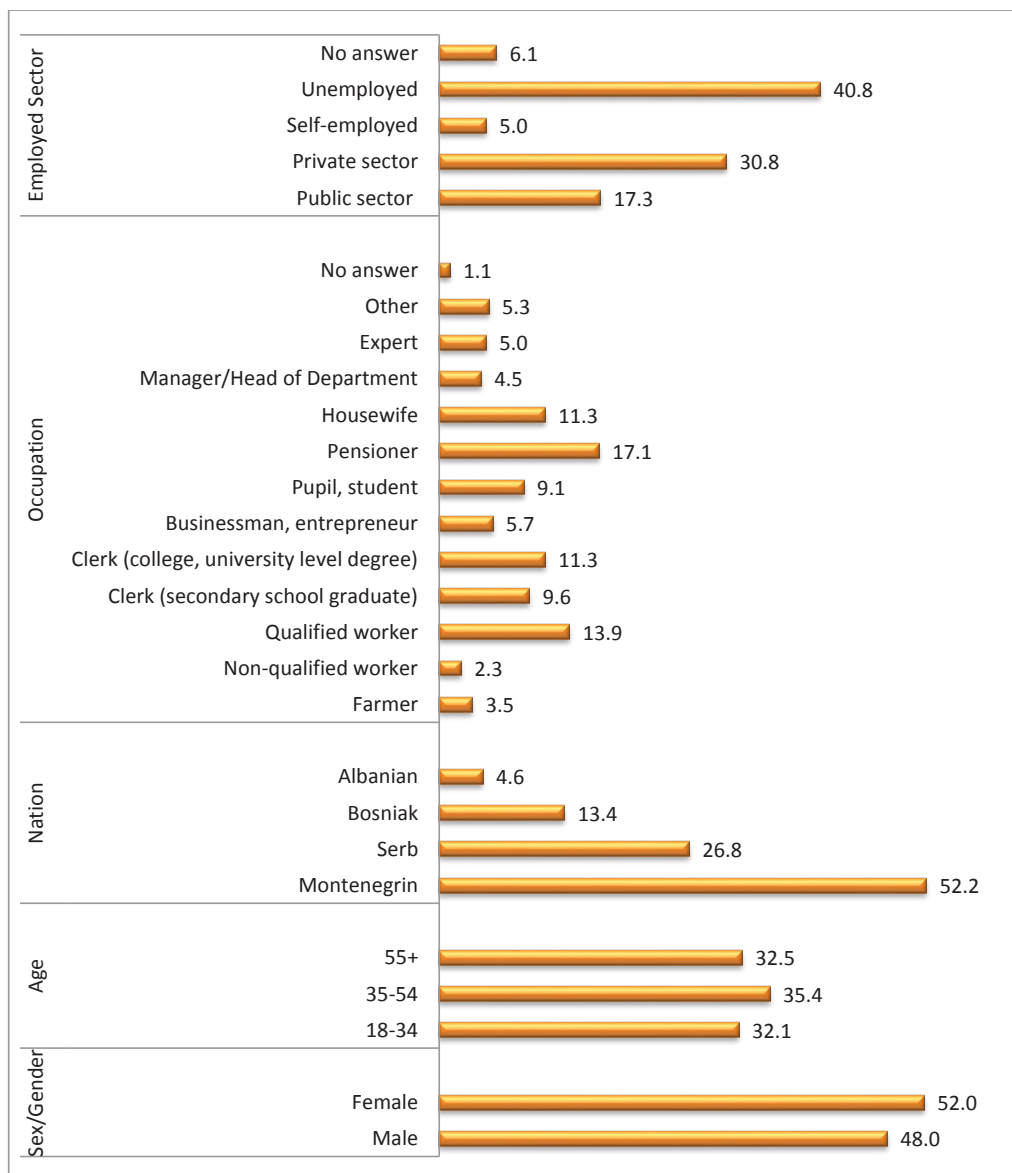
Methodologically, it is certainly important to point out to the fact that we applied the method of survey, or more precisely, that we measured the **perception of discrimination** in a **quantitative way**. All the data and measures we have obtained are, therefore, a result of citizens' perception. Basic advantage of such analytical and methodological approach is in the fact that for every measured area and by all measured criteria, we will obtain a **comparative insight**, or more precisely, by using identical methodological approach with the scales having identical metric features, it will be possible to compare the extent of discrimination by areas and by predefined criteria.

²²'ageism'

Basic methodological features of the research

The research used a **method of survey**. Sampling units were local communities. Sampling provides representativeness for the entire adult population of Montenegrin citizens. The sample was **double-stratified with random selection of interviewees** within the framework of the selected census rounds. Stratification criteria were regional distribution and local communities. The interviewees were also randomly selected within the framework of a household by calendar birthday criterion. **Post-stratification** was done by the following criteria: sex/gender, age and national affiliation. The total of 1000 interviewees took part in the research, which provides **standard measurement error** of +/-3.04% for the phenomena with 50% incidence and 95% trust interval. The research instrument was a questionnaire we developed in 2010 for the same research purposes, only it was supplemented by certain questions which were supposed to give the answers to certain specific in-depth questions which will be particularly elaborated in this document. The questionnaire consisted of 10 demography-related and 37 research questions. For a large number of questions, or the purpose of comparable validity, we used a large number of items in the form of a matrix. The research was being carried out from 6th to 14th March 2018. It is of key importance that for a large number of questions and items we have comparative data from several research activities starting from the year 2010. In other words, this research constitutes a continuity of trend analysis when it comes to the perception of discrimination. Also, the research uses a set of questions which are specific and developed particularly for the needs of this research and in accordance with the needs of the Project. In the following report we will analyze trends in particular, but we will certainly give an overview of the results for those questions that were not used in previous research activities. Synthetic scores were developed for comparison purposes in the areas of interest, as well as for the categories of population which are prone to corruption risk. In this way, we made it possible for a large number of indicators to be expressed cumulatively for the purpose of simplicity of interpretation and clearer perception of the trends. Demographic features of the sample can be seen in the Graph 1.

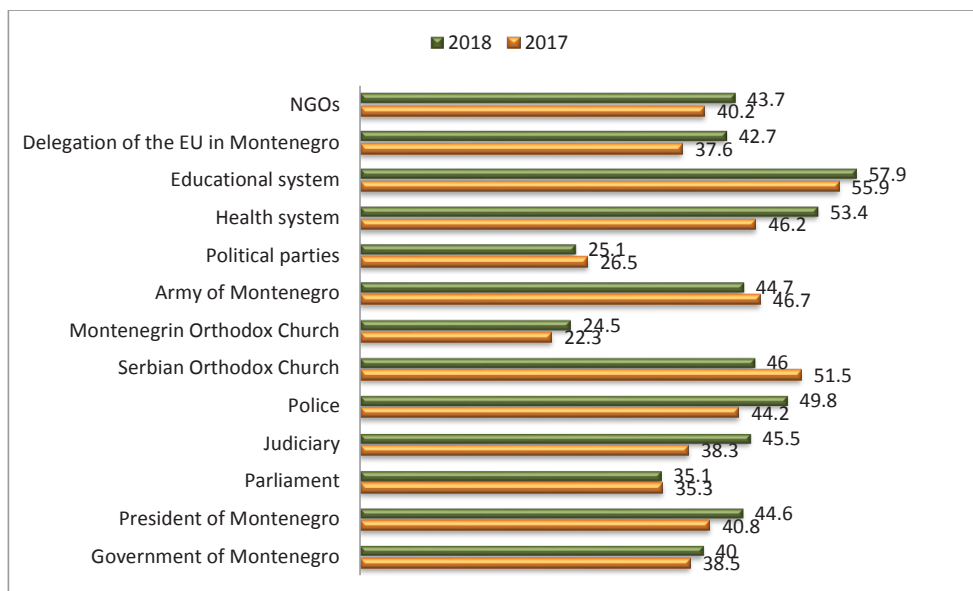
Graph 1 Demographic features of the sample



Research results

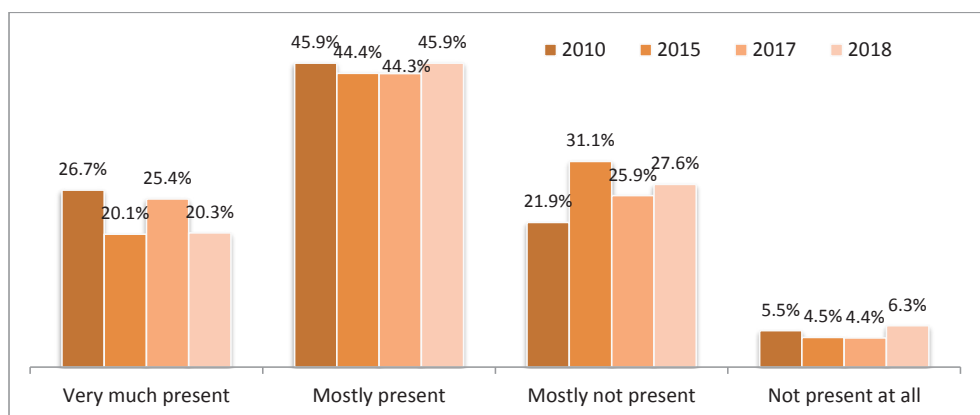
The first indicator in the research was of a general and control character, namely the trust in institutions. The comparison between the previous year and this year's research, for all the institutions that were included in the measurement, can be seen in the Graph 2. **The data indicate that, with the exception of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Parliament and the political parties, the trust in all other institutions is on a higher level today that it was the case last year.** The greatest progress is recorded when it comes to the healthcare system, judiciary and police. Comparatively, if current degree of the trust in the institutions is compared, **the greatest degree of trust is measured in relation to the systems of education and healthcare**, and the lowest when it comes to Montenegrin Orthodox Church and political parties. If we are to calculate cumulatively the trust in all measured institutions the results indicate that average trust in the institutions last year was 40.3%, while today's it is at 42.5%. Therefore, the trust in the institutions indicates slightly positive trends, and, naturally, the perception of discrimination is greatly dependent on this trust, having in mind the fact that institutions are one of the most important barriers for discriminatory behaviours.

Graph 2 Trust in institutions – SUM % big and trust in general

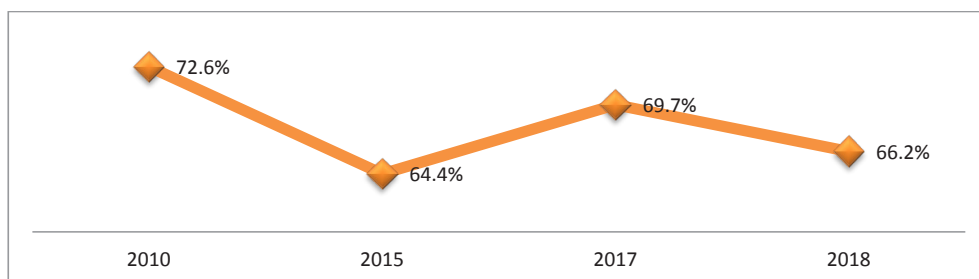


One of the introductory questions in the research was for the interviewees to assess to what extent is discrimination generally present in Montenegro (Graph 3). The differences we can notice are considerable ($\chi^2(2)=33.48, p <.001$), at which the trend is not linear, but it indicates that the **citizens' assessment is that discrimination today is generally on a lower level than it was the case in 2017**, which can be clearly seen from the Graph 3.1. The trend actually indicates that the year 2015 was regressive, while the values for all other years are lower in the linear sense, indicating the lowering of the extent of the perception of discrimination. Cumulatively, in relation to the year 2010, citizens assess that the extent of discrimination today is on a lower level than it was the case eight years ago by more than 6%.

Graph 3 To what extent is discrimination present in Montenegro



Graph 3.1 Discrimination is very much present - % TREND

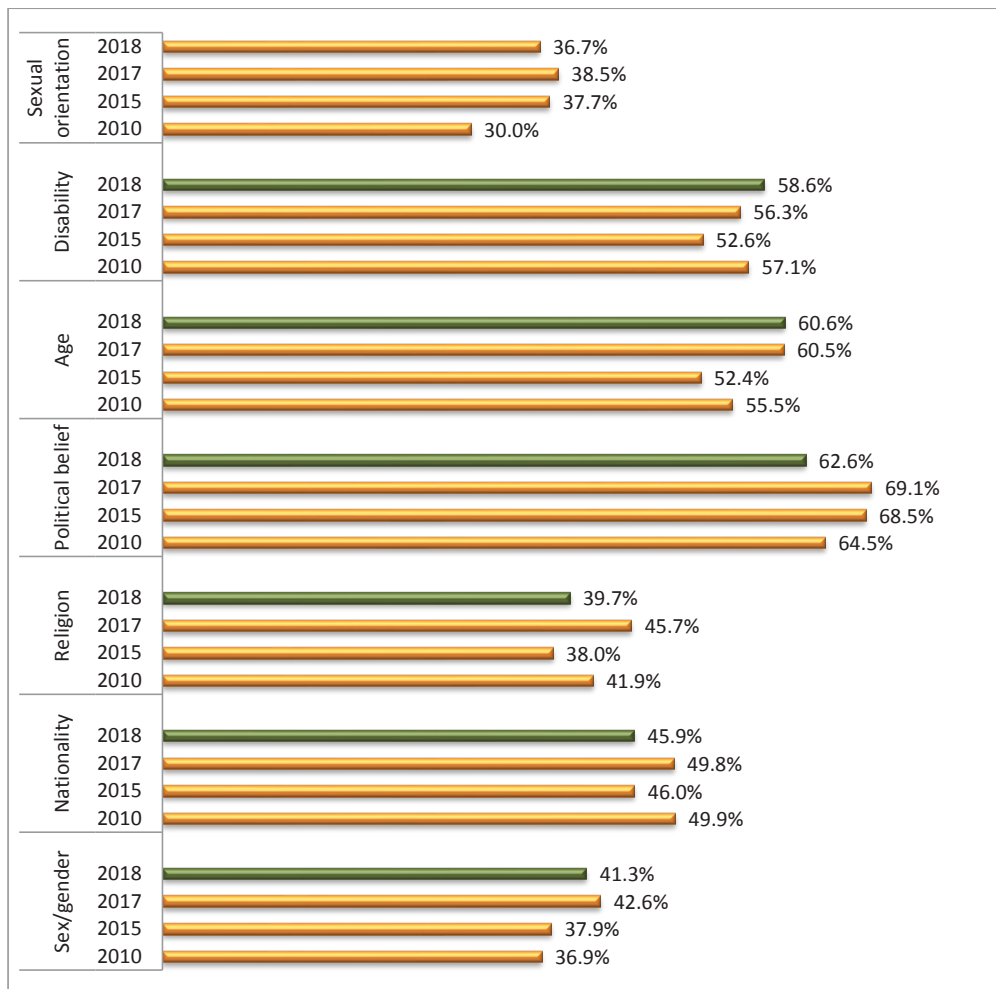


The first area that was the subject matter of measurement was 'employment'. In this, as well as in all other areas, the interviewees assessed if there was discrimination towards disadvantaged groups. The results in the area of employment for all groups can be found in the Graph 4. When it comes to sex/gender, the results indicate that 41.3% citizens think that according to this criterion discrimination is present, which is objectively a high value by every reasonable criterion. In comparative sense, this value is somewhat lower than it was in 2017 (42.6%), but such a small difference cannot be considered significant ($\chi^2(2)=0.79$, $p > .1$). Key information, however, is that this year's value is on a higher level than the initial one (in 2010). Citizens, therefore, assess that discrimination in the area of employment today by sex/gender is more pronounced than eight years ago. When it comes to nationality, nominal value is lower today than it was the case in 2010. However, even this difference is statistically not significant ($\chi^2(2)=4.12$, $p > .1$). On the other hand, by measuring the perception of discrimination in the area of employment by the criterion of religion, we identified considerably lower values as compared to previous research ($\chi^2(2)=9.77$, $p < .01$). Therefore, the assessment is that there is considerably less discrimination by religious criterion than it was eight years ago. Still, when it comes to age in the area of employment, situation today is more or less at the same level as it was last year ($\chi^2(2)=0.21$, $p > .1$). Similar situation is when it comes to discrimination of the persons with disabilities ($\chi^2(2)=1.24$, $p > .1$). Finally, when it comes to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation in the area of employment, the data indicate that discrimination today is at a somewhat lower level than it was previous year ($\chi^2(2)=5.89$, $p=.053$). Therefore, **except when it comes to religion and to certain extent to sexual orientation in the area of employment the extent of discrimination is almost at the same level as it was last year.**

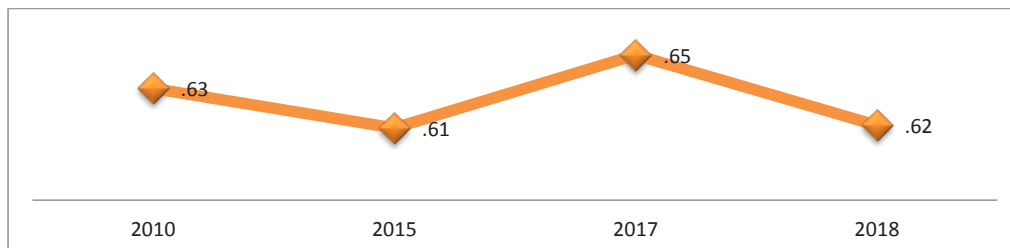
When score is formed²³ for all the categories in the area of employment and when values are compared for all four research activities, we notice a trend in this area which is shown in the Graph 4.1. The results indicate, first of all, that the **perception of discrimination in the area of employment today is at a lower level than it was last year** ($t(1784)=2.011$, $p < .01$). Having in mind that the values were higher in relation to previous two research activities, we can say that **the extent of the perception of discrimination in 2018 is at a more or less same level as it was in 2010 and 2015** ($F(3, 3255)=1.96$, $p > .1$).

²³ All scores in this report range from 0 to 1, where 0 is the lowest value (therefore no discrimination) and 1 maximum value (therefore the highest possible discrimination extent).

Graph 4 Discrimination in the area of EMPLOYMENT - % of YES answers for all areas

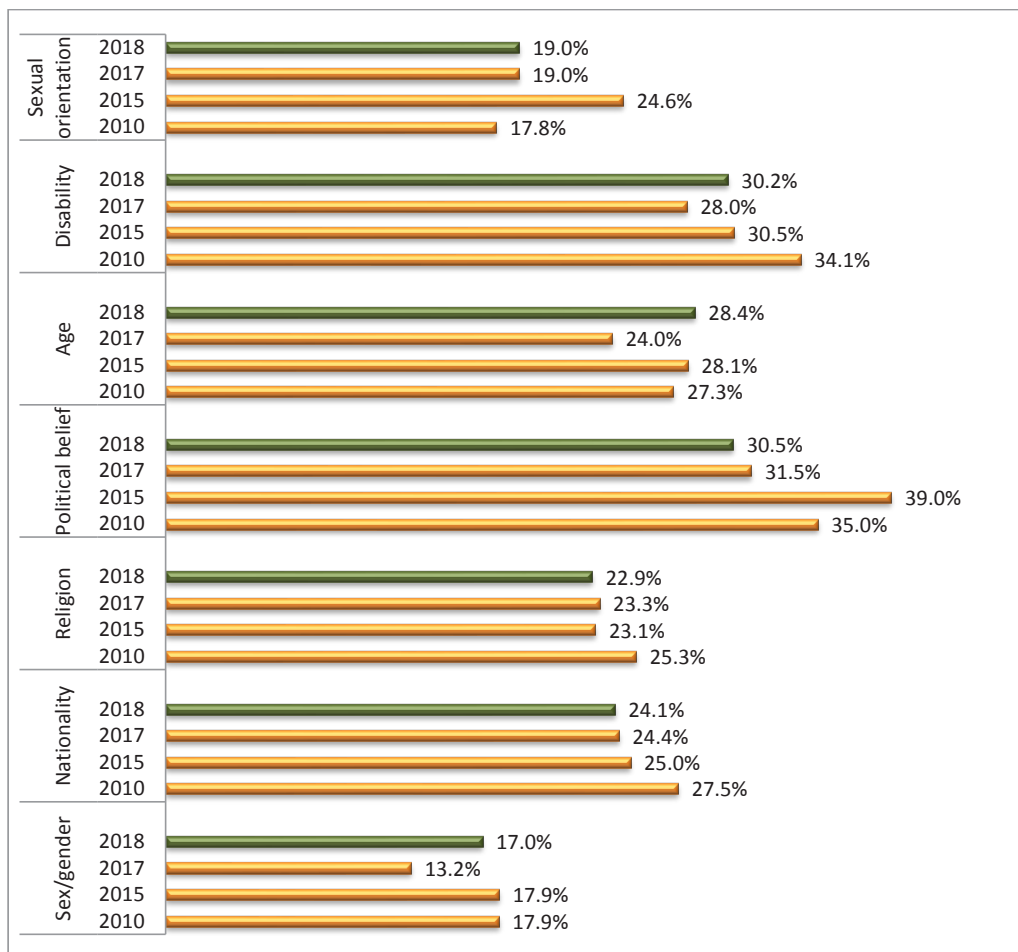


Graph 4.1 Discrimination in the area of EMPLOYMENT - TREND

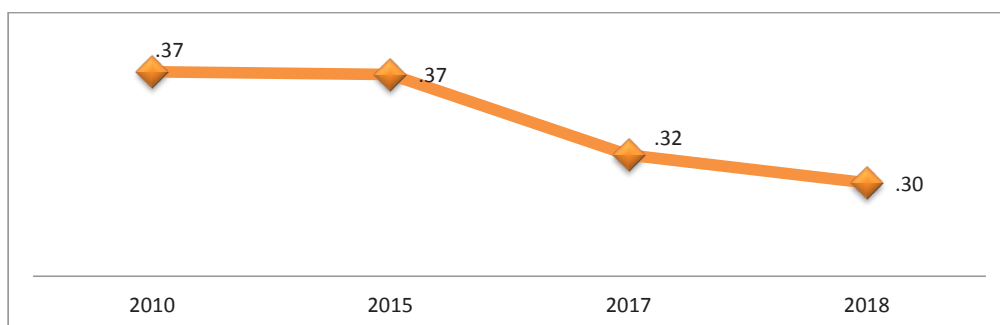


In the area of education, trends are negative in some aspects, but positive in others in relation to 2017. First of all, when it comes to sex/gender, significantly higher number of citizens consider discrimination on this ground in the area of education is more present than last year ($\chi^2(2)=11.97$, $p<.01$). However, when it comes to nationality in the area of education, trends are also positive ($\chi^2(2)=11.36$, $p<.01$), and it is almost identical when it comes to religion ($\chi^2(2)=11.77$, $p<.01$). One should have in mind that by these two criteria there has been no increase in the number of those who consider that discrimination is present, but the number of those who consider that discrimination is not present has been considerably reduced (at the expense of those who have no opinion). When it comes to discrimination on the grounds of political belief, citizens assess that in the area of education the extent of discrimination is somewhat lower than it was one year ago ($\chi^2(2)=16.67$, $p<.01$). When it comes to age, on the other hand, we measure a negative trend ($\chi^2(2)=11.30$, $p<.01$), while slight negative trends are also measured when it comes to discrimination in the area of education of the persons with disabilities ($\chi^2(2)=11.51$, $p<.01$). Finally, when it comes to sexual orientation, although the number of those who consider that discrimination is present is identical as in the last year's research, there is somewhat greater number of those who consider that there is no discrimination (54.3% vs. 48.7%). Therefore, it can be said that the trend is also slightly positive in this aspect ($\chi^2(2)=8.84$, $p<.05$). Finally, if the overall score in the area of education is compared between last year and this year's research (Graph 5.1), although the values of the measured perception of discrimination are somewhat lower, they are not significant ($t(1647)=0.92$, $p>.1$). On the other hand, **if all four measured periods are compared, we can say that the extent of perceived discrimination in the area of education today is less pronounced than it was eight years ago** ($F(3.3009)=0.92$, $p<.001$).

Graph 5 Discrimination in the area of EDUCATION- % of YES answers for all areas



Graph 5.1 Discrimination in the area of EDUCATION - TREND



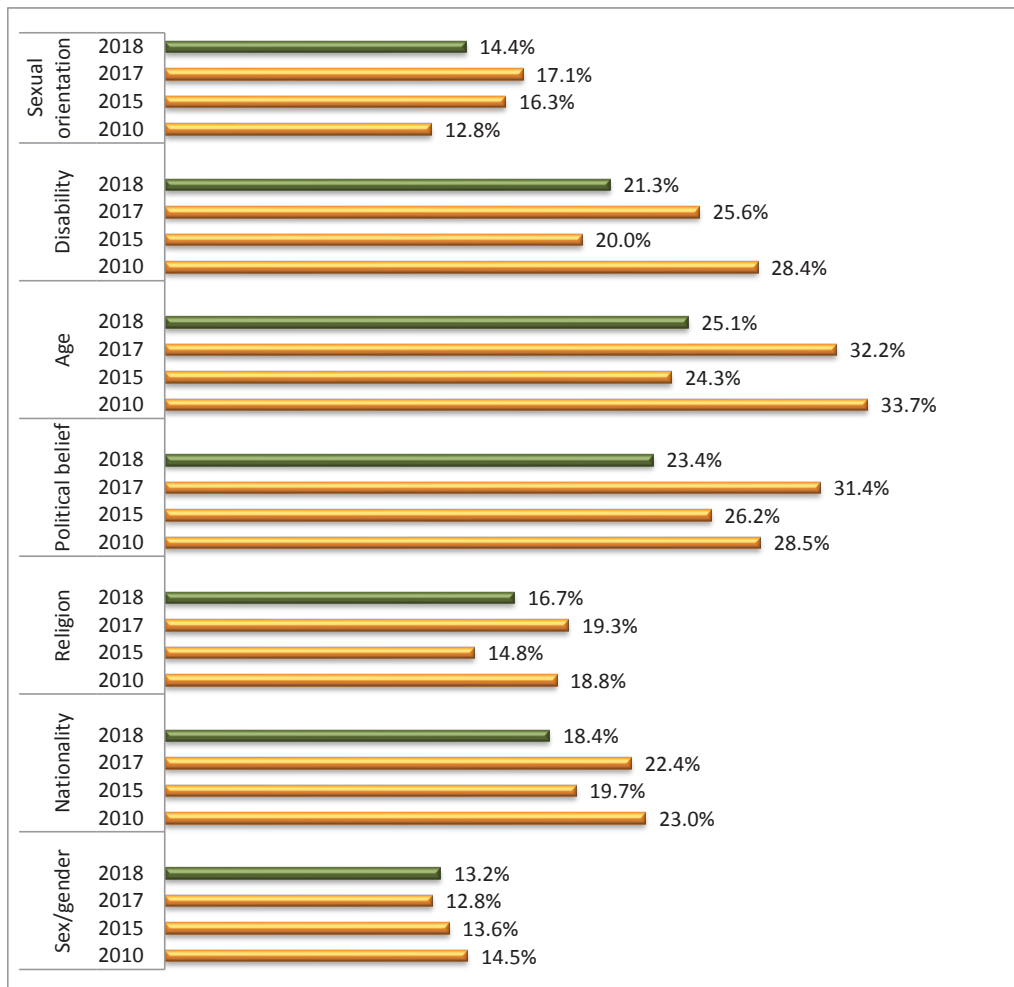
In the area of healthcare, we measure unquestionably positive trends (Graph 6). Therefore, we can claim with a high degree of certainty that the extent of discrimination in this area is at a considerably lower level today than it was the case in 2017. This, however, is not the case when it comes to sexual/gender discrimination, since the values of this year's research are almost at the same level as in the last year's one ($\chi^2(2)=1.44$, $p > .1$). However, when it comes to nationality, we measure lower extent of the perception of discrimination ($\chi^2(2)=6.13$, $p < .05$), which cannot be said for religion, since statistically even here the values are at the same level as last year ($\chi^2(2)=4.23$, $p > .1$). We measure very pronounced reduction of the extent of discrimination in the area of healthcare when it comes to political conviction as a criterion ($\chi^2(2)=21.12$, $p < .01$). Similar situation exists when it comes to age as a criterion ($\chi^2(2)=13.29$, $p < .01$). Although not dramatically, the extent of the perception of discrimination is at a lower level in the area of healthcare even when it comes to the persons with disabilities ($\chi^2(2)=7.28$, $p < .05$), and the same is worth for discrimination in the area of healthcare of the persons with alternative sexual orientation ($\chi^2(2)=8.13$, $p < .05$). The trends for all four measured periods are shown in the Graph 6.1. If cumulative scores are compared for the last year and this year's research, we can claim almost with certainty that the extent of discrimination today, as we have already mentioned, is at a lower level ($t(1665)=3.49$, $p < .01$). However, the data are even more indicative if the trends for all four measured periods are compared, since we have a positive trend which points out to a considerably reduced extent of the perception of discrimination in the area of healthcare in relation to the year 2010 ($F(3, 3013)=7.32$, $p < .01$).

Positive trends are also shown in the measurement of discrimination perception in the work of public services. Therefore, measured extent of discrimination in this area is at a lower level than it was the case in 2017. This, however, is not the case when it comes to this area for the perception of discrimination by sex/gender criterion, since the measured values of the perception are somewhat higher in relation to last year's research ($\chi^2(2)=9.74$, $p < .01$). Judging by this year's measurement when it comes to nationality the perception today is considerably lower than it was the case last year ($\chi^2(2)=32.07$, $p < .01$). There is a very similar finding even when it comes to religion ($\chi^2(2)=15.07$, $p < .01$). Considerable reduction of the extent of discrimination in the area of the work of public services is also measured when it comes to discrimination on the grounds of political conviction ($\chi^2(2)=18.49$, $p < .01$). Age as a discrimination criterion has also been perceived as being at a lower level, although not so much, when perceived through the prism of discrimination, as compared to the last year's research ($\chi^2(2)=6.72$, $p < .05$), while the measured values in this area for the persons with disabilities are at the more or less identical level as last year ($\chi^2(2)=4.62$, $p > .05$). Finally, the work

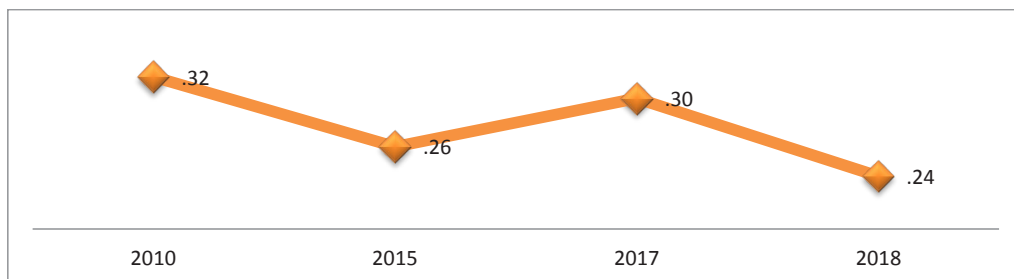
of public services is assessed as being less discriminatory today than it was the case one year ago even when it comes to sexual orientation as a criterion ($\chi^2(2)=25.12, p < .01$).

The Graph 7.1 shows the trends of the measured extent of discrimination for four periods within the past eight years. First of all, when the cumulative score for 2018 is compared with the last year we can see that the measured extent of discrimination is considerably lower ($t(1479)=3.68, p < .01$). However, even more important is the finding that the **discrimination perception trend shows stable progression (or more precisely that it is negative) in the previous four research activities, in a linear sense** ($F(3,2773)=24.13, p < .01$). Therefore, it can be quite reliably claimed that the extent of discriminatory behaviours in public services has been systematically decreasing during the past eight years.

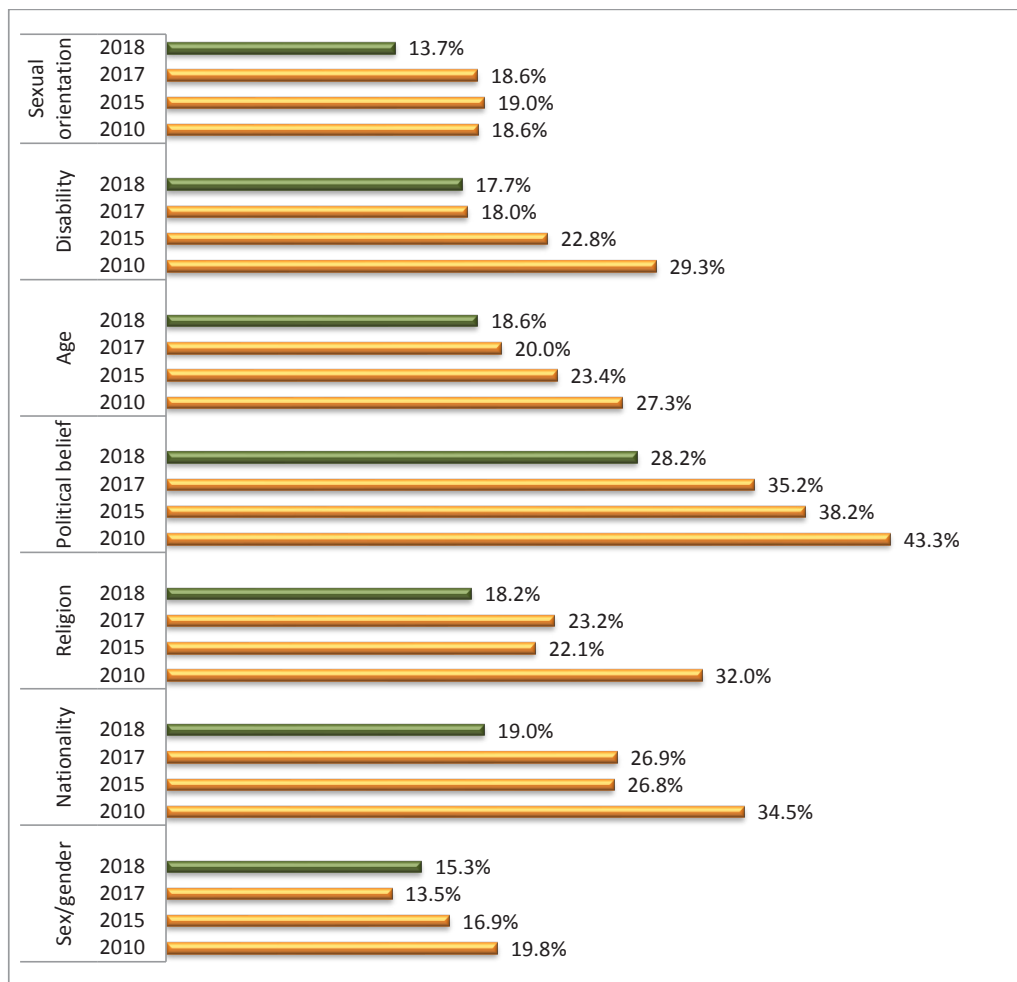
Graph 6 Discrimination in the area of HEALTHCARE- % of YES answers for all areas



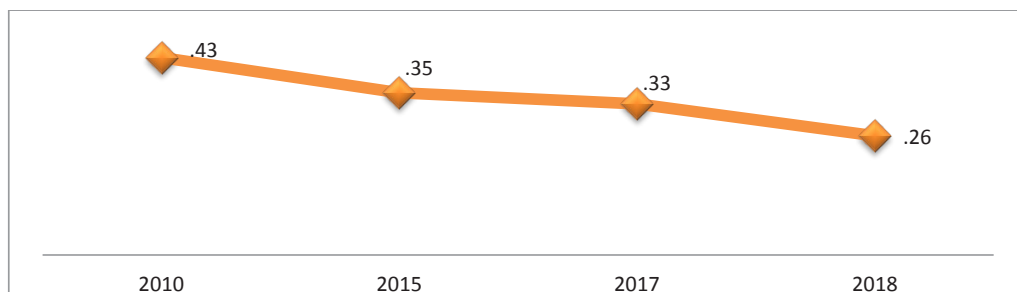
Graph 6.1 Discrimination in the area of HEALTHCARE – TREND



Graph 7 Discrimination in the area of PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY - % of YES answers for all areas



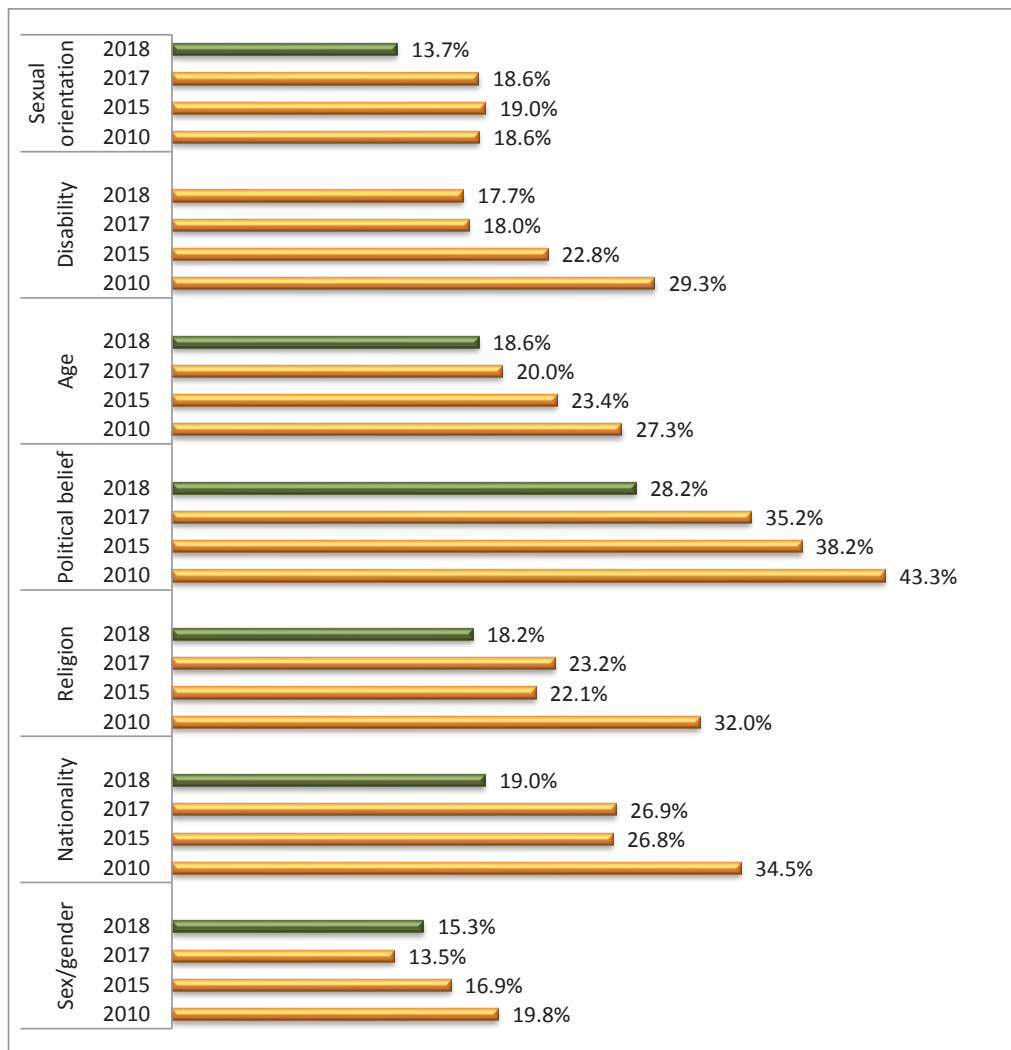
Graph 7.1 Discrimination in the area of PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY - TREND



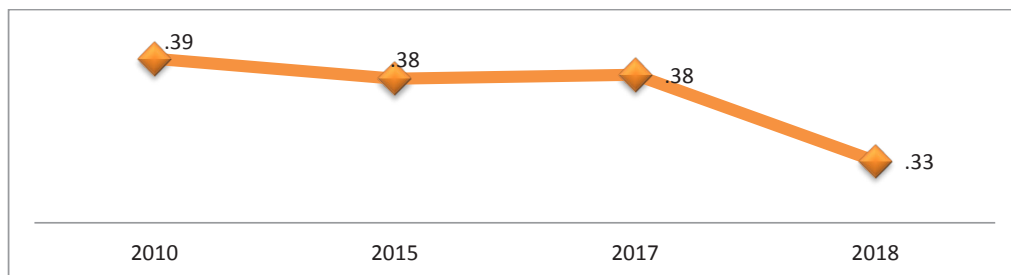
The last area of our measurement was the right to own culture. Even in this respect, in the majority of aspects, the obtained values are at a lower level than they were last year, or more precisely, the citizens assess that **discrimination in the area of the rights to own culture is less pronounced than it was the case last year** (Graph 8). However, just like in all other areas, this is not true for discrimination on the ground of sex/gender, since the obtained values are at a more or less the same level as they were last year ($\chi^2(2)=2.01$, $p>.1$). When it comes to nationality as a criterion, the data point out to a considerably lower extent of discrimination in this area ($\chi^2(2)=18.69$, $p<.01$), and the picture is almost identical when it comes to religion ($\chi^2(2)=18.54$, $p<.01$). Even when it comes to political conviction, the degree of the perception of discrimination in this area is considerably lower today than it was the case one year ago ($\chi^2(2)=18.73$, $p<.01$). On the other hand, according to the age criterion, the data indicate that there were no significant changes in the past year ($\chi^2(2)=4.33$, $p>.1$). Similarly, there are no changes when it comes to the treatment of the persons with disabilities ($\chi^2(2)=1.87$, $p>.1$). Finally, lower extent of discrimination in this area is measured when it comes to sexual orientation as a criterion ($\chi^2(2)=10.09$, $p<.01$).

Finally, when it comes to the trend in this area (Graph 8.1), we have first of all established that it is slightly positive in relation to previous year ($t(1487)=25.12$, $p < .05$). The difference between 2017 and 2018 is crucial for measuring progressive trend in relation to 2010, having in mind that we have measured stagnation in this area so far ($F(3, 2708)=2.91$, $p < .05$).

Graph 8 Discrimination in the area of RIGHTS TO OWN CULTURE - % YES answers for all areas

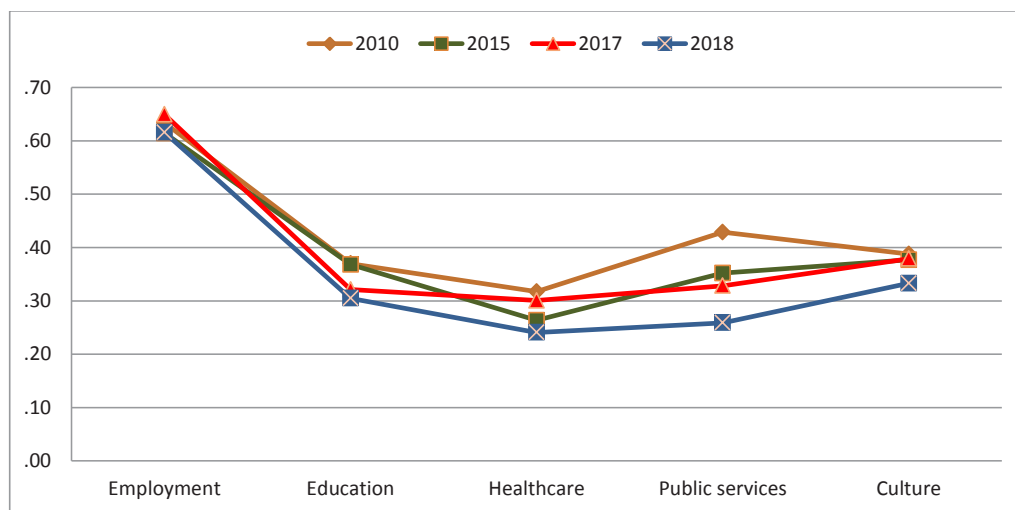


Graph 8.1 Discrimination in the area of RIGHT TO OWN CULTURE - TREND



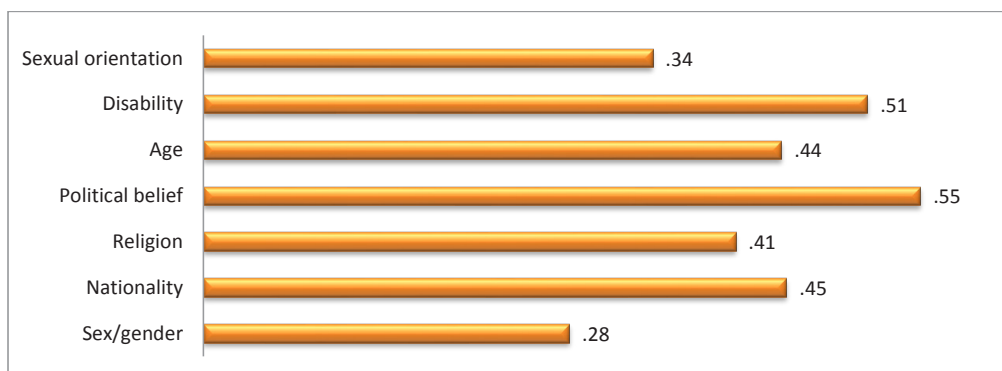
In the Graph 9 we have given an overview for all research periods by areas. The presented data indicate that **the perception of discrimination varies far less with the flow of time than the expressed distinction between the areas of the measurement.** Therefore, **we have identified mainly positive trends through the flow of time but to bear in mind that this progress does not change the relation between the areas of the expressed discrimination.** In other words, **the employment area has been and remains crucial one in the perception of discrimination.** At the same time, the progress in this area is comparatively at the lowest level. On the other hand, the data clearly indicate **that the greatest progress was achieved in the area of public services.**

Graph 9 Perception of discrimination for all areas in observed periods of research

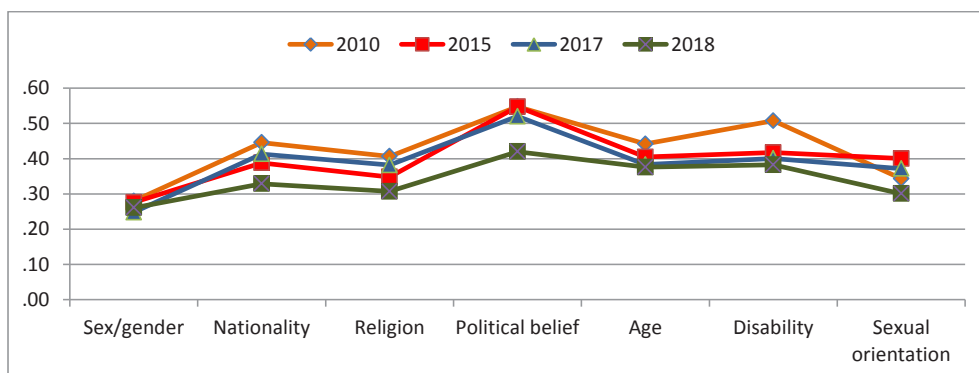


If we make an analysis of the results by comparing the groups at risk of discrimination, the data for the year 2018 (Graph 10) indicate that the citizens believe **that discrimination is present at the highest level under the criterion for political beliefs**, followed by persons with disabilities. **The criterion where discrimination is least present by sex/gender.** If we look at the trends by groups (Graph 10.1), the results once more indicate **fewer differences between the groups than between the observed periods.** Comparatively, the greatest progress in the last eight years was achieved when it comes to the discrimination under the criterion of political beliefs ($F(3, 2653)=18.59, p < .01$), whereas when it comes to the sex/gender discrimination we have no progress whatsoever in the last eight years ($F(3, 2641)=1.31, p > .1$).

Graph 10 Perception of discrimination in 2018 for all groups at risk



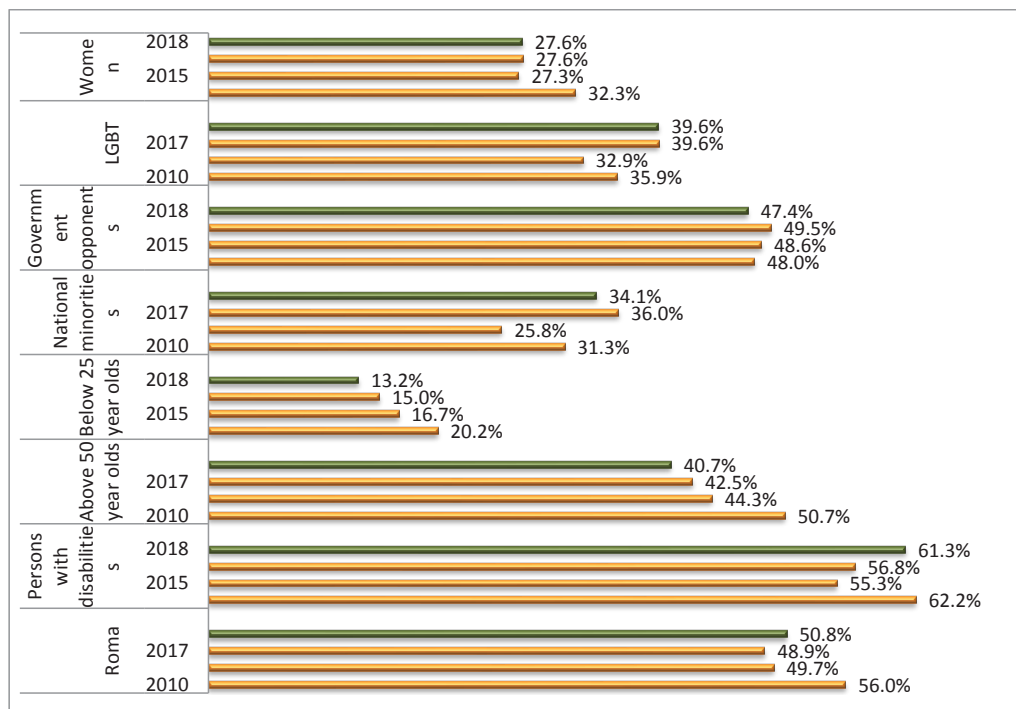
Graph 10.1 Perception of discrimination for all groups in observed periods of research



For the key groups at risk of discrimination, we also had a question in the Questionnaire asking for an assessment of whether the members of these groups have the advantage or disadvantage in the society. The data are in accordance with the findings that we have already outlined and on the following pages we will present exactly the data that uphold this (Graph 11). Firstly, the question referred to Roma population, bearing in mind the fact that, under all criteria, members of this social group are at a high risk of discrimination. Followed up by the persons with disabilities, persons older than 50 as well as persons under the age of 25. This part of the research also includes national minorities, government opponents, homosexuals and women. Thus, for each of these groups, all respondents assessed whether the affiliation to these groups provides an advantage or a disadvantage in the society. The Graph 11 shows the percentage of the citizens who expressed their opinion in the research that the members of these groups have disadvantage in the treatment. The results indicate that **the citizens estimated that the worst treatment is for the persons with disabilities** with the fact that the

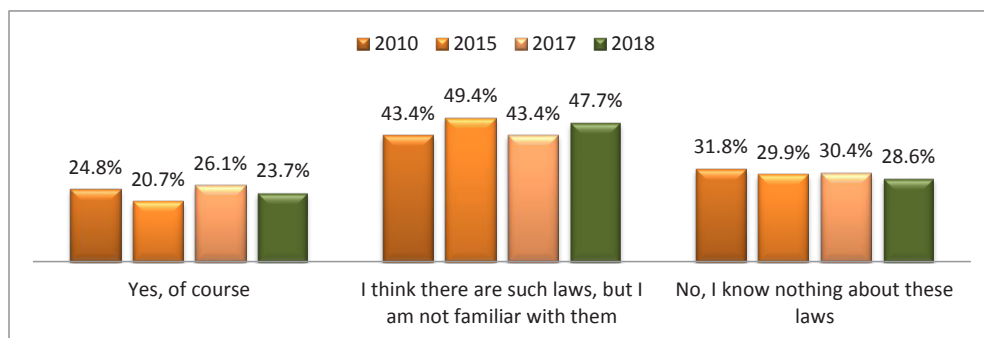
obtained values are more or less at the same level as in the last year's research ($\chi^2(3)=4.99$, $p>.1$). The second category of vulnerability in terms of the treatment is Roma population and the additional problem are negative trends in this respect ($\chi^2(3)=8.83$, $p<.05$). The significant number of citizens believe that those who are against the government have disadvantages in treatment compared to those who are not opponents of the government. However, the trend in this respect is positive compared to last year's research ($\chi^2(3)=39.14$, $p<.01$). A small number of citizens believe that the homosexuals have disadvantages in the treatment compared to 2017 and the obtained values are at identical level as in the last year. The data of this year's research for this indicator for persons over 50 are more or less at the same level as for the last year whereas when it comes to the members of the national minorities we can observe slight positive trends ($\chi^2(3)=20.04$, $p<.01$). The obtained values for the perception of the shortcomings in the treatment when it comes to women are at the same level as for the last year ($\chi^2(3)=3.68$, $p>.1$) while at the end, as expected, the persons under the age of 25 have more advantages in the treatment then the disadvantages and we can notice positive trends in this respect ($\chi^2(3)=13.74$, $p<.01$).

Graph 11 Affiliation to groups that results in negative treatment in society

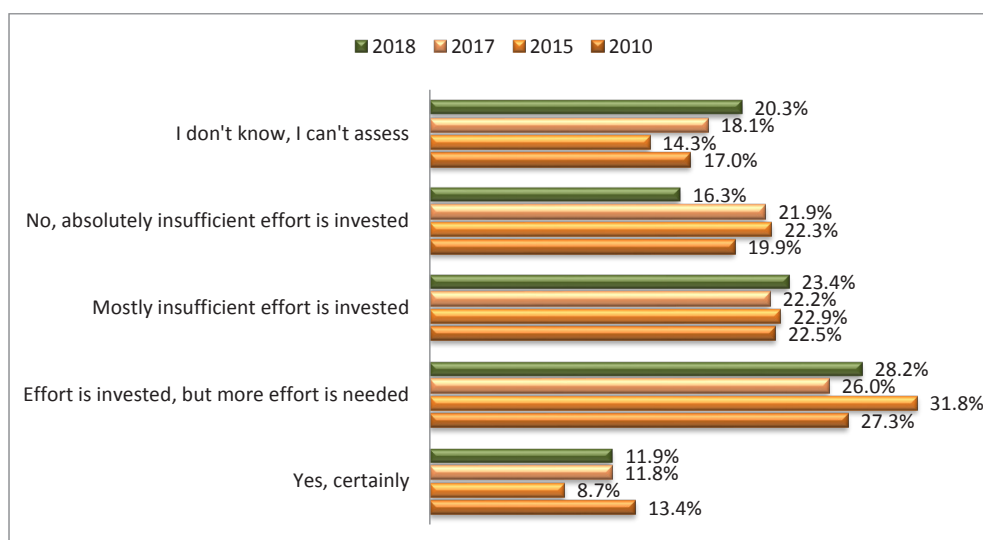


When it comes to the knowledge of antidiscrimination laws, **the results of the research indicate that around ¼ of the citizens are familiar with these laws with the fact that in this respect we do not have significant progress in the last four years** (Graph 12). Therefore, it would be more than recommended **to work with the citizens in the sphere of the introduction of the legislation which would protect them from discriminatory behaviour**.

Graph 12 Familiar with antidiscrimination laws

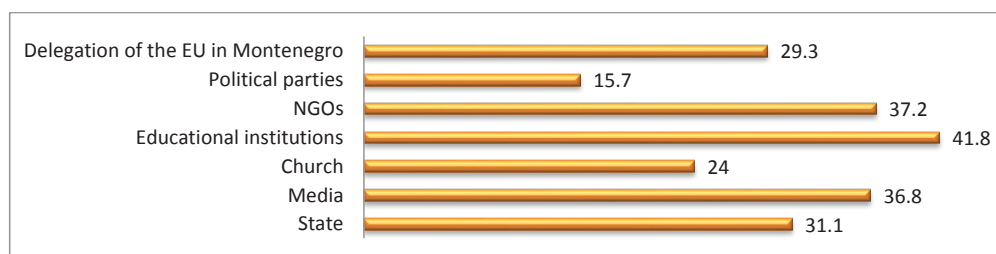


The citizens estimate that more efforts are required in the fight against discrimination (Graph 13). We also do not have drastic differences in this respect in the four periods of the research. Therefore, in the citizens' assessment, the state did not significantly increase the efforts in the fight against discrimination in the last eight years. Graph 13 Montenegro puts sufficient effort in fight against discrimination

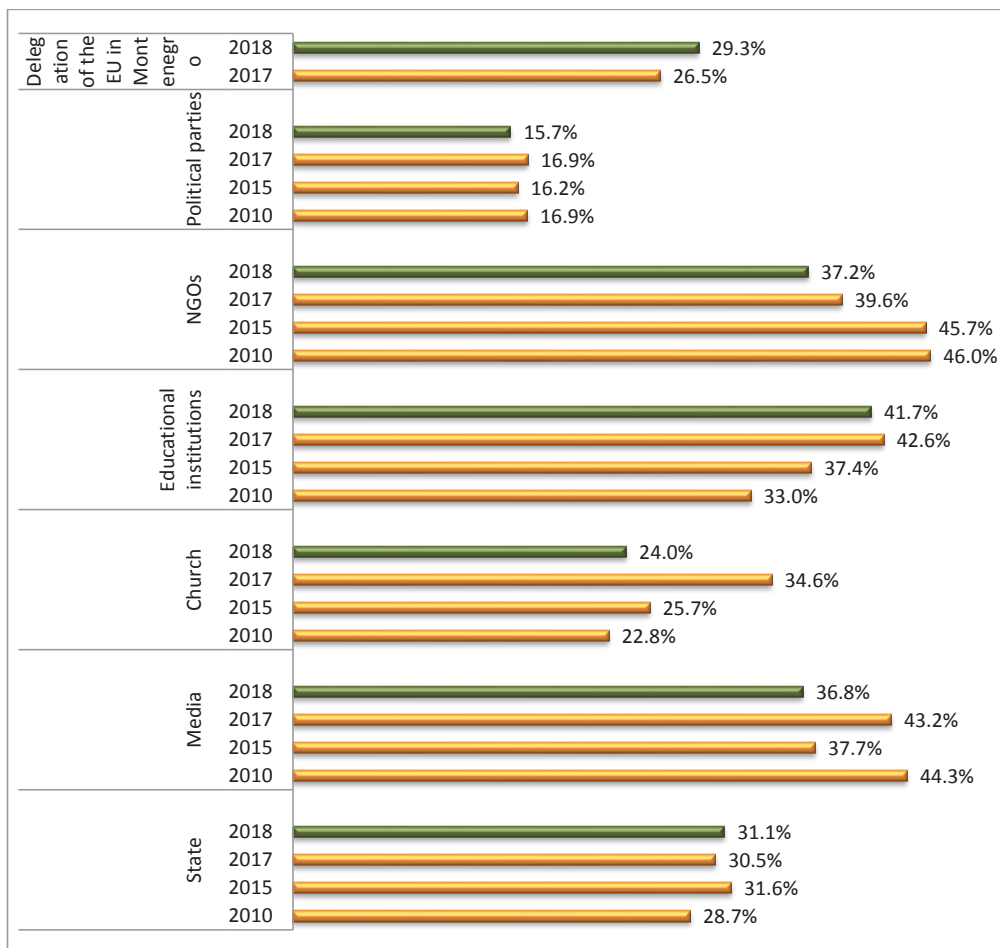


In the research the citizens have also evaluated the institutions and their contributions to the fight against discrimination (Graph 14). **The citizens estimate that the greatest contribution is given by the educational institutions, followed by media and non-governmental organizations.** According to the citizens, smaller contribution is given by the state and its institutions, the Delegation of European Union in Montenegro whereas **the smallest contribution is given by the political parties and the church.** If we analyse the data on the contribution of the institutions for the four periods which cover past eight years, **the data generally indicate that we have stagnation or even negative trends** (Graph 14.1). More precisely, the citizens estimate that **the church, media and non-governmental organizations offer today smaller contribution to the fight against the discrimination compared to last year, whereas this contribution is at more or less the same level when it comes to the state, educational institutions and political parties.** **The only positive trend we can observe when it comes to the contribution of the EU Delegation to Montenegro.** If we calculate the average contribution of all these institutions for the years of the research (Graph 14.2), the data indicate that **the evaluation of the contribution of the institutions in the fight against discrimination is at significantly lower level compared to 2017 and the problem is even greater because the measured value is below the starting value for the year 2010.** Given that the above stated estimate for the state was general since it refers to whole range of institutions, we used a separate question to measure the contribution of the key state institutions to the fight against discrimination in order to determine the relative relations between institutions (Graph 15). The results indicate that **the citizens appraise mostly the work of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights,** then of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Culture, the work of the Office of the Ombudsman and Centre for Social Work and to a lesser extent the police, government, courts, national employment service and in the end the Parliament of Montenegro and state agencies.

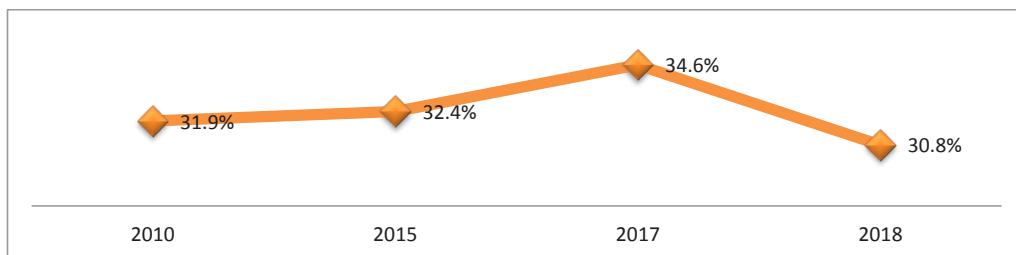
Graph 14 To what extent stated institutions give contribution to fight against discrimination – SUM % key and crucial contribution



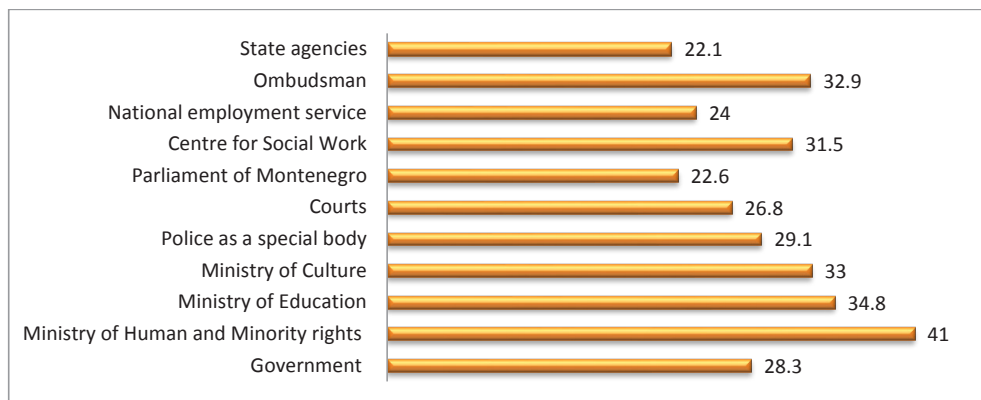
Graph 14.1 Contribution of institutions to fight against discrimination – TREND: SUM% key and crucial contribution



Graph 14.2 Average value of contributions of all institutions to fight against discrimination - TREND

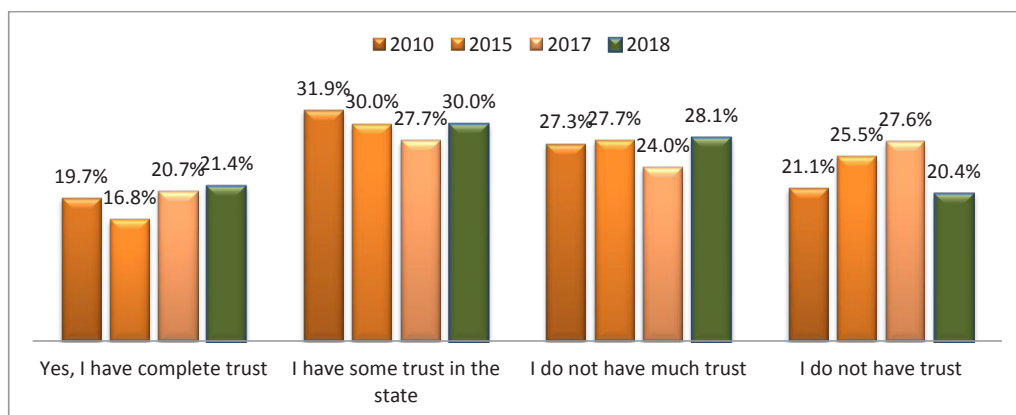


Graph 15 To what extent state institutions give contribution to fight against discrimination – SUM% key and crucial contribution



One of the key aspects, when it comes to the state and its role, is the trust that citizens have in the state and its authorities to be protected from discrimination if necessary. Therefore, in the research we have raised the question of the confidence of the citizens in the state in this regard (Graph 16). The research results indicate that **just over a fifth of the citizens have full confidence that the state shall protect them against discrimination**. A more indicative fact compared to this data is that **there is no progress in this regard in the last eight years**. Thus, the citizens today have the confidence in the state that they will be protected against discrimination more or less as much as eight years ago.

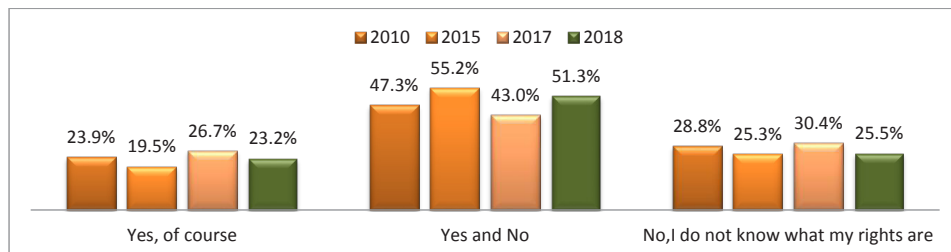
Graph 16 Have confidence that state will protect them from discrimination



We obtained almost identical results of the research when it comes to the knowledge of their own rights in the situations where the citizens would be the victims of the discrimination (Graph 17). Thus, **just under a quarter of the citizens know their rights**, this is slightly less

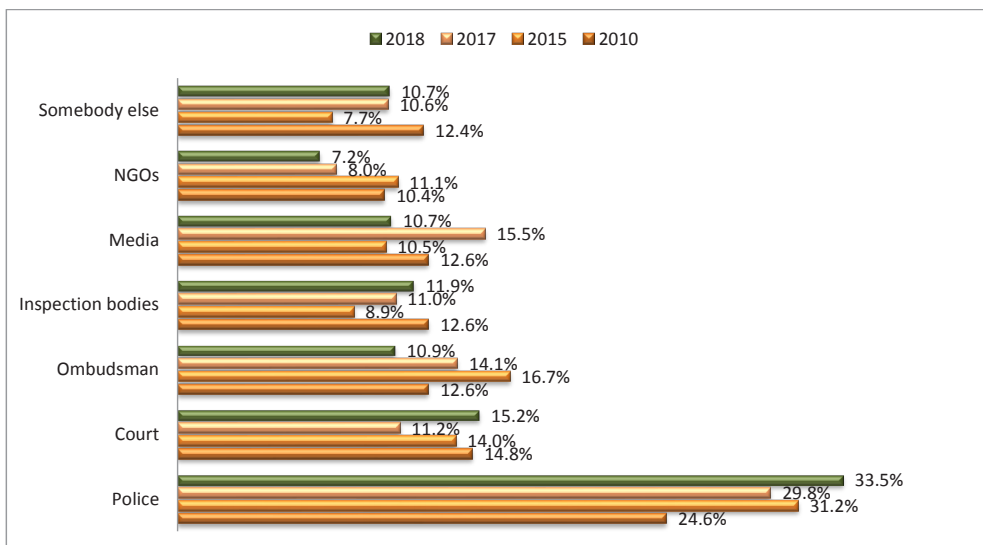
compared to last year, but **this value is almost identical to the measured values eight years ago**. Therefore, **much more effort is needed to make citizens aware of their rights if they become victims of discrimination**.

Graph 17 Know their rights if they become victims of discrimination



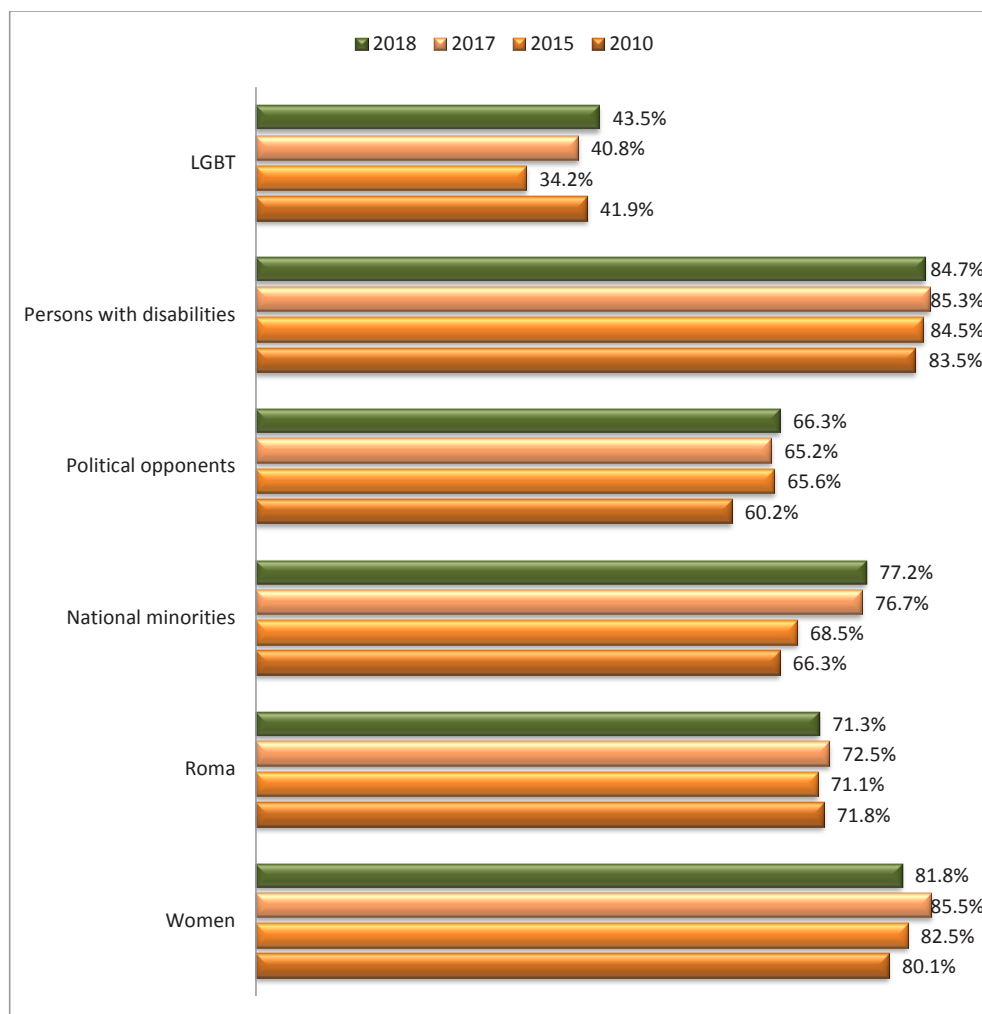
If they became victims of discrimination, the majority of citizens would address the police and this number is higher, both in comparison with the previous year and especially in comparison with 2010. The citizens would not address other institutions as much as they would address police in the case of the necessity.

Graph 18 Whom they would address if they become victims of discrimination



Finally, we asked the citizens in the research whether they support the measures and actions aimed at combating the discrimination against the groups at risk (Graph 19). **The citizens provide the greatest support to the measures and activities aimed at combating the discrimination of the persons with disabilities and women.** The citizens also provide great support to measures and activities when it comes to the fight against discrimination of political opponents, national minorities and Roma population. The lowest level of support is provided to the measures and activities aimed at the fight against the discrimination of homosexuals, which indicates that in Montenegro the homophobia is still at a relatively high level.

Graph 19 Support measures and activities aimed at combating discrimination - % YES answer



Final considerations

Montenegro is a society which in a relatively small area and with a small population abounds in differences. These differences are the result of the turbulent past but also of the factors and processes that have been happening recently. A wealthy country but also burdened with the tradition, Montenegro opened a development page after gaining independence in 2006. From that moment an accelerated process of development started which included mainly, in political terms, European integrations. This process, particularly important for the societies like Montenegro, given the overall level of economic and political development, encompasses the adoption of all norms and standards concerning the respect of diversity and deconstruction of traditional patterns which often intensify intolerance towards certain social groups designated as different and undesirable. The integral part of this development is the development of tolerance and especially the fight against discrimination and all behaviours and attitudes favouring the majority and jeopardizing the right to diversity of the minority groups. Discrimination weakens the social cohesion and acts as a limiting factor for the development and use of the human capital. Discrimination is often an integral part of culture and everyday life, it pervades all pores of society, encompasses all values and attitudes of the citizens and in the manner that this is accepted as “normal” restricts the rights of the members of certain social groups. Therefore, a responsible society led by democratic ideals, must actively invest a great amount of effort and energy in order to reduce and potentially nullify the level of discrimination in a society. This fight against discrimination requires political will, determination and persistence since these discriminatory attitudes and opinions are resistant and it takes a lot of time, effort and energy to deconstruct them. Above all, the fight against discrimination requires the commitment of individuals and institutions, which by using different means, do everything necessary for the benefit of the society in order to reduce the level of discrimination in the society.

An integral part of the fight against discrimination is systematic monitoring of the extent of discrimination that exists in the society. In other words, in order to monitor the effect of the fight against discrimination, it is necessary to conduct periodic research activities that operate with reliable instruments for measuring the level of discrimination. These activities provide to decision makers and to wider population important information which indicate the situation in the society in terms of discrimination and especially indicate the extent of the results of the measures and actions of the participants in the fight against discrimination. CEDEM has traditionally conducted such type of research activities in the past decade. Owing to continuity,

CEDEM provides to institutions the data on the extent of discrimination in the society and the attitudes of the citizens on the key aspects of this problem. This is a longitudinal research or more precisely the research of the trend, which implies that the data can be compared for four research activities over the last eight years.

The highest level of the perception of discrimination, observed by groups, was measured when it comes to discrimination under the political conviction. This indicates that Montenegro is a politically divided and above all politicized society where the symbiosis of the ruling party and the state results in institutional and non-institutional practices favouring supporters and putting the opponents of the government in an unequal position. The high degree of the perception of discrimination is present towards the persons with disabilities and somewhat smaller when it comes to nationality, age and religion. According to citizens, the discrimination is least expressed towards sexual minorities and under the sex/gender.

However, one of the key figures are the trends that indicate that, although there is slight progress in terms of reducing the level of discrimination, the relative relationship between the categories remained the same as it was in 2010. Comparatively, in the opinion of the citizens, the greatest reduction of the discrimination level in the past eight years has been achieved when it comes to the treatment of political opponents.

The analysis of the level of discrimination by areas shows that the highest level of discrimination is present in the area of employment. In the opinion of the citizens, the discrimination in all other fields is present at a significantly smaller extent compared to this field.

The trends in the measurement of discrimination by areas indicate a very slight progress achieved over the past eight years and this progress is smallest when it comes to an area that is assessed as the most discriminatory one, i.e. employment.

The greatest extent of discrimination in Montenegro exists towards those with different political belief

In relation to all groups, discrimination is now at a slightly lower level than it was eight years ago, but the relative relationship between the groups remained the same

Out of all areas, the highest level of discrimination is present in the area of employment

Significant progress is measured when it comes to the work of the public services

Significant progress is measured when it comes to the work of the public services and therefore, with considerable reliability, we can say that discrimination is significantly less present today than eight years ago in the work of the public services, which indicates that the measures and actions aimed at combating discrimination in this area have given certain results.

Upon assessments of the efforts that Montenegro as a state made in the fight against discrimination, the citizens believe that more effort is needed. In this respect, the opinion of the citizens did not change significantly in the past eight years.

The educational institutions give greatest contribution to the fight against discrimination

Upon the assessment of the work of the institutions, the citizens believe that the educational institutions give greatest and political parties smallest contribution to the fight against discrimination. What is not good is the finding that the contribution of almost all institutions is estimated today in a more negative manner compared to last year.

Out of state institutions, the greatest contribution to the fight against discrimination is provided by the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights

When it comes to the very institutions of the state, the citizens estimate that the greatest contribution is provided by the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights and the lowest by the Parliament of Montenegro.

One of the problems is the awareness of the citizens on their rights if they become the victims of discrimination and the data show that almost one quarter of the citizens are not familiar with their rights in such situations. The problem is even more expressed because in this respect we do not have significant changes in the past eight years. Therefore, much more effort and resources should be invested to inform the citizens of their rights. When it comes to the relation towards the state, the results once more indicate that just over a fifth of the citizens have confidence that the state will protect them against discrimination. Finally, if they were victims of discrimination,

The largest number of citizens are not familiar with their rights if they were victims of discrimination, trust in the state in these situations is low, and for help they would turn to the police

the majority of citizens would turn to the police for help. In this respect, from the perspective of the trend, the values grow. Therefore, today there is a significantly higher number of those that would report discrimination to the police than it was the case eight years ago.

Therefore, to sum up, certain progress has been achieved in the past ten years. This progress is substantially the merit of all actors who have made efforts in this process, but there is no doubt that additional work is needed to reduce the degree of discrimination in the society. Most of the activities should be directed in two directions. First to focus on the employment area, where certainly greatest efforts should be made given that the citizens clearly indicate that discrimination is very present in this area. This is especially due to the fact that in this area the lowest progress has been achieved as compared to eight years ago. Therefore, in the most critical area the least progress has been made. Secondly, there is the problem of discrimination of the political opponents. This problem has specific gravity bearing in mind the fact that in Montenegro, for decades, there has been a social gap under the strong political line in the relationship government-opposition. The longevity of the regime of one party caused the increased degree of political animosity among the opponents resulting in discriminatory behaviour of the holder of the power against those who are its opponents.

Therefore, there is a lot of work for the institutions and the leaders of the transformation to show willingness and responsibility in the future democratic development to strengthen the social cohesion and the overall democratic progress, by reducing discrimination in the society, in the light of the accession process of Montenegro to the European Union.