DISCRIMINATION PATTERNS IN MONTENEGRO

Prof. Miloš Bešić, PhD

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Conceptual research framework

Discrimination has been the subject matter of scientific attention and research since the 1950-ies. This issue has primarily been dealt with by the theoreticians and researchers, social psychologists by vocation. Allport (1954) offered the first theories, definitions and approaches to the issue of discrimination. The notion of discrimination offered by this author relies, first of all, on the concept of prejudices. In other words, it is assumed that prejudices are the basis which discrimination lies upon. In this way, prejudices are still considered the basis for discriminatory practices, when socio-psychological approach is concerned. In his book The Nature of Prejudice (1954), Allport defines prejudices as an 'antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalizations'. Prejudices actually represent behavioural, attitudinal and verbal expressions by means of which non-critically accepted negative traits of a group are assigned to the individuals who belong to that group. Some other authors, instead of the notion of antipathy, use the term: negative feelings, animosity, hostile attitude etc. Therefore, in essence, prejudices lead to distancing, and distancing consequently leads to discrimination. Generalization, as a term found in the definition, comprises non-critical perception of individuals in the sense that negative traits of the group they belong to are assigned to them, without any need for justification, just because of the mere fact that they belong to that group.

When discussing discrimination, Allport claimed that there were five forms that happened sequentially, in the sense that every new degree represented a higher intensity of discrimination. These are: antilocution, avoidance, segregation, physical assault and extermination. A large number of authors have been dealing with descriptions and researches within these types in a very careful and exploratory manner. In the following lines, we are going to point out to several key authors and researches whose objective was to operationalize, confirm and expand the forms of discrimination defined by Allport.

Antilocution is a simple form of discrimination, more precisely, the way by means of which hostile attitude is demonstrated towards some social groups and their representatives using derogatory language. It happens both when the members of the disadvantaged groups are present during the communication or not. In different situations, the members of certain groups are assigned verbal attributes which have negative connotation (for instance, gypsies, sluggards, alcoholics, illiterate etc.). Antilocution is the mildest, the first, but also the most frequent form of discrimination which occurs in a society (Essed, 1997; Feagin, 1991)

Besides antilocution, discriminatory behaviour can be practiced through various form of **non-verbal violence**, which together with the verbal one creates some form of hostile environment in a social setting in relation to discriminated individuals. There are many ways to use verbal and non-verbal violence in the function of discrimination, and typical examples are job interviews, when you simply shorten the envisaged time, or when you do not listen what a candidate tells you, and/or when you move your chair away from him/her (Darley and Fazio, 1980; Word et al., 1974). With such an attitude the effect of the interviewee is undermined, and then negative decision on the employment of the interviewee is justified by his/her poor performance at the interview, which (effect) is presented as 'objective', and which is actually the result of the discriminatory attitude of the interviewer.

Avoidance represents 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 often want to function in the world which is similar to them, their perceptions and their culture. This type of discrimination most often results in differences which occur in the socio-class structure of the society, which appear as ethnic or racial (Johnson & Stafford,

1998). There is a large number of laboratory experiments which corroborated the 'avoidance' phenomenon and described the manners in which it operates (Pettigrew, 1998b; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

Segregation represents the exclusion of individuals who belong to certain social groups when it comes to resource allocation. This form of discrimination most often appears with regards 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. Most frequent research subject matter is frequency, magnitude and circumstances under which these occur (Schneider et al., 2000).

Extermination is the extreme form of discrimination which appears in special historical and political circumstances, and constitutes 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, so to say, 'invisible' and which are theoretically defined as **subtle prejudices** (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Katz and Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986). As the effect of these latent forms of prejudices, the members of certain social group feel rejected, humiliated and labelled. They lose self-confidence and often those discriminated ones come to form negative attitude about themselves. Consequently, if they accept the fact that they are 'less worthy', they will also act accordingly in the society. This will encourage and justify the perception of the majority of them being 'really' less worthy.

In literature and researches the notion of **indirect prejudices** has also been defined. This form of discrimination comprises the procedures of criticizing the members of other groups for their behaviour and/or culture. A typical example of this is when it is said that Roma members are 'lazy by nature', or similar. This form of discrimination often includes a specific negative and degrading attitude in relation to the members of the groups which are the subject matter of discrimination when it comes to their language, the way how they express themselves etc. This form of discrimination often functions automatically, it is, therefore, a legitimized form of discrimination implemented by the majority and as such it does not call for justification, nor is it perceived as any sort of problem (Fiske, 1998). Consequently, the members of discriminated minority groups develop the sense of anxiety (Hart et al., 2000; Phelps et al., 2000).

Statistical discrimination constitutes a form of discrimination when by means of prejudices certain individuals belonging to certain social groups get rejected, in such a way that they are assigned the traits which result from the statistical data valid for that group on aggregate level (Arrow, 1973; Coate and Loury, 1993; Lundberg and Startz, 1983; Phelps, 1972). For instance, on the basis of the census it turns out that Roma members are less educated on average, when their level of educated is statistically compared with the level of education of majority population. In this way, every member of Roma ethnic community who applies for a job, for instance, is perceived as less educated as compared to other individuals who apply for the job as members of majority community. As a result, statistical discrimination consequently confirms, prolongs and perpetuates the differences which exist between a discriminated group on one side and 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 organizational and/or social structure systematically favours the representatives of majority population. Residential segregation is one of typical forms of this type of discrimination. For example, the members

of discriminated groups are often residentially segregated and live in informal settlements. Because of that, they may not gain mortgage credits, which they might need to start a small business, for instance. Or, for example, when someone tries to get employed, often informal communication and references play a significant role. In these procedures, the references for the members of discriminated groups are avoided, which, consequently, hinders the employment of the members of discriminated groups in an invisible but systematic way.

Various forms of discrimination are theoretically described in various ways. Although social-psychology had pioneering advantage, as a science, in dealing with the issues of discrimination, contemporary approaches are mainly multidisciplinary and try to explain the phenomenon of discrimination relying on the knowledge from various scientific areas. Rice[1] (K.E.) classified these approaches most thoroughly into several theoretical categories. According to him, essentially all discrimination theories can be divided into three categories:

- Theories which insist on differences between majority population and discriminated groups

- Theories which explain various forms of violence over the members of discriminated groups

- Theories which explain the futility of adjustment to the specificities and/or 'defects' of discriminated groups

On the basis of these criteria, using complex meta-analysis of the literature dealing with prejudices, Rice developed a complex classification of all the theories that deal with the issue of prejudices and discrimination[2]:

1. **Theories of social categorization** – very act of grouping and identifying with own group inevitably leads towards the forming of prejudices on other groups

2. **Theories of social identification** – absorption of the culture of the group we belong to consequently leads to the prejudices towards the values and norms of the members of other groups.

3. **Theories of social comparison** – need for personal identity which derives from group identification which leads to the perception that the group I belong to is better as compared to other groups

4. **Theories of consolidation of group cohesion** – provoking conflict with other groups with the purpose of strengthening cohesion inside the group

5. **Realistic conflict theory** – discrimination is the result of zero total game; namely, the perception that the interests of one group can be achieved solely to the detriment of other group's interests

Discriminatory practices, irrespective of the theories they are explained with, have their own consequences. On one side, they are socio-psychological, therefore behavioural, and on the other side of social and political character. There are two key theories which deal with socio-psychological consequences of discrimination in a society. The first is the so called **theory: frustration-aggression** (Dollard, 1980) and it indicates that discrimination, causes frustration with the individuals suffering it, which consequently leads to aggressive behaviour of the members of these groups towards the members of majority group (who are therefore perceived as 'aggressors'). The second one is known as the **theory of relative deprivation** (Stouffer,

1 http://www.integratedsociopsychology.net/prejudice-discrimination.htm
2 The first three have in fact been taken over from Tajfel & Turner, 1979

1949), which argues that the tension between the oppressors and the deprived group appears as the resultant of unequal distribution in the process of permanent comparison. In simple terms, the theory of social deprivation indicates that majority group uses discrimination in order to maximize the benefits which result from the exclusion of discriminated groups from the distribution of benefits, while at the same time the animosity appears among the members of discriminated groups towards the members of the majority group due to the fact that they have been eliminated from the distribution of resources[3]. However, when it comes to the consequences of discrimination, irrespective of the (non)acceptance of one of these two theories, the essential thing is that the consequences of discriminatory practices deepen the gap, animosity and conflict between the majority group and other social groups, which has got negative consequences both on individuals and on the society as a whole.

Therefore, discrimination is not only socio-psychological, but significant social and political issue. Contemporary society is highly differentiated by various criteria, and because of that there is a large number of social groups which differ by large number of distinct criteria. Democratic order rests on the idea of the absence of discrimination. The equality of opportunities is one of the key assumptions which ensure social justice, social trust and stability of the political community. In case discrimination is pronounced, it essentially harms the legitimacy of the overall social and political order, and consequently, besides the injustice which concerns an individual, the society itself is characterized by political instability, too. These are the reasons due to which every democratic society should intensively advocate equal opportunities and because of which it should fight against discrimination.

Fight against discrimination requires first of all the identification of key social groups and degrees of discrimination. This was the first and key objective of this research. Therefore, the research aimed at determining **the extent of discrimination towards key social groups which face discrimination risk**. The second objective of the research was to determine the trends when it comes to the perception of discrimination. In other words, using the same methodology, we implemented the research on discrimination between 2010 and 2015. This made it possible to apply longitudinal approach to measure **whether, to what degree, in what direction and according to which groups discrimination is in the increase or, on the contrary if the trends are regressive.** Finally, the third objective of the research was to determine certain differences between individual 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 degree of discriminatory attitudes makes integral part of the cognition which we wanted to identify with this research. Ultimately, for the needs of public policies we will try to identify possible proposals for instruments and measures aimed at reducing the extent of discrimination, more precisely, the measures which are aimed at reducing the level and effect of discriminatory practices.

Operational research framework

For the needs of this research **discrimination is defined as the relation of the individuals who belong to a majority group towards 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 empirical and not theoretical research, operational discrimination definition is a lot more important.

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3 Commonly said, ones (members of the majority group) become covetous, and others (members of discriminated group) envious and jealous. The former use discrimination so as to usurp as many resources and benefits as possible, and others are angry with them because of that.

In this sense, discrimination was defined in the way that we first of all operationally determined social areas in which we measure discrimination, and then also the criteria by which discrimination is practiced. In this way, by intersecting these two analytical criteria, we measured the existence of discrimination in every area by defined discrimination criteria. The list of areas and the list of criteria is certainly not exhaustive, since this is simply impossible, due to the total number of possible criteria and areas. This is why we selected those areas and those criteria which appear as most important in our everyday life, in the media, in the work of NGO sector and in the overall political discourse. Social areas in which discrimination was measured are the following:

- Employment
- Education
- Accessibility of health care
- Work of public services
- Discrimination in the area of culture and cultural protection

The criteria for the identification of social groups which are under the risk of discrimination, and which are operationalized in this research are as follows:

- Sex/gender (discrimination of women by men)

- Nationality (discrimination on the grounds of ethnic/national criterion)

- Religion (discrimination by religious beliefs)

- Political belief (discrimination on the grounds of differences in political belief)

- Age (discrimination on the grounds of age, so called ageism)

- 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 it concerns the application of the survey method, or more precisely, we measured **discrimination perception** in a **quantitative manner.** All the data and measurements we obtained are, therefore, the result of citizens' perception. Basic advantage of such analytical and methodological approach is that for every measured area and by all measured criteria we will obtain **comparative insight**, or more precisely, by using identical methodological approach with scales which have identical metric features, it will be possible to compare the extent of discrimination by areas and by defined criteria.

Design, dynamics and research sample

The research used **survey method.** Sampling units were local communities. Sampling ensures the representativeness for entire adult population of Montenegro. The sample was **dually-stratified with random selection of interviewees** within the framework of selected census circles. Stratification criteria were regional distribution and size of local communities. The interviewees were also being randomly selected within households by the criterion of calendar birthday. **Post-stratification** was done by the following criteria: sex/gender, age and nationality. The total of 1038 interviewees took part in the research, which ensures s**tandard**

measurement error of +/-3.04% for the phenomena with 50% incidence, and trust interval of 95%. The research instrument was a questionnaire which we developed in 2010 for the same research purposes, but supplemented with certain questions that should offer answers to certain in-depth specific questions which we will especially elaborate in the text. The questionnaire consisted of 10 demographic and 25 research questions. For a large number of questions and in the function of comparative validity, we used a large number of items in the form of matrix. The research was implemented from 2nd to 20th March 2017. Demographic features of the sample can be seen in the graph 1.

Graph 1. Demographic features of the sample %
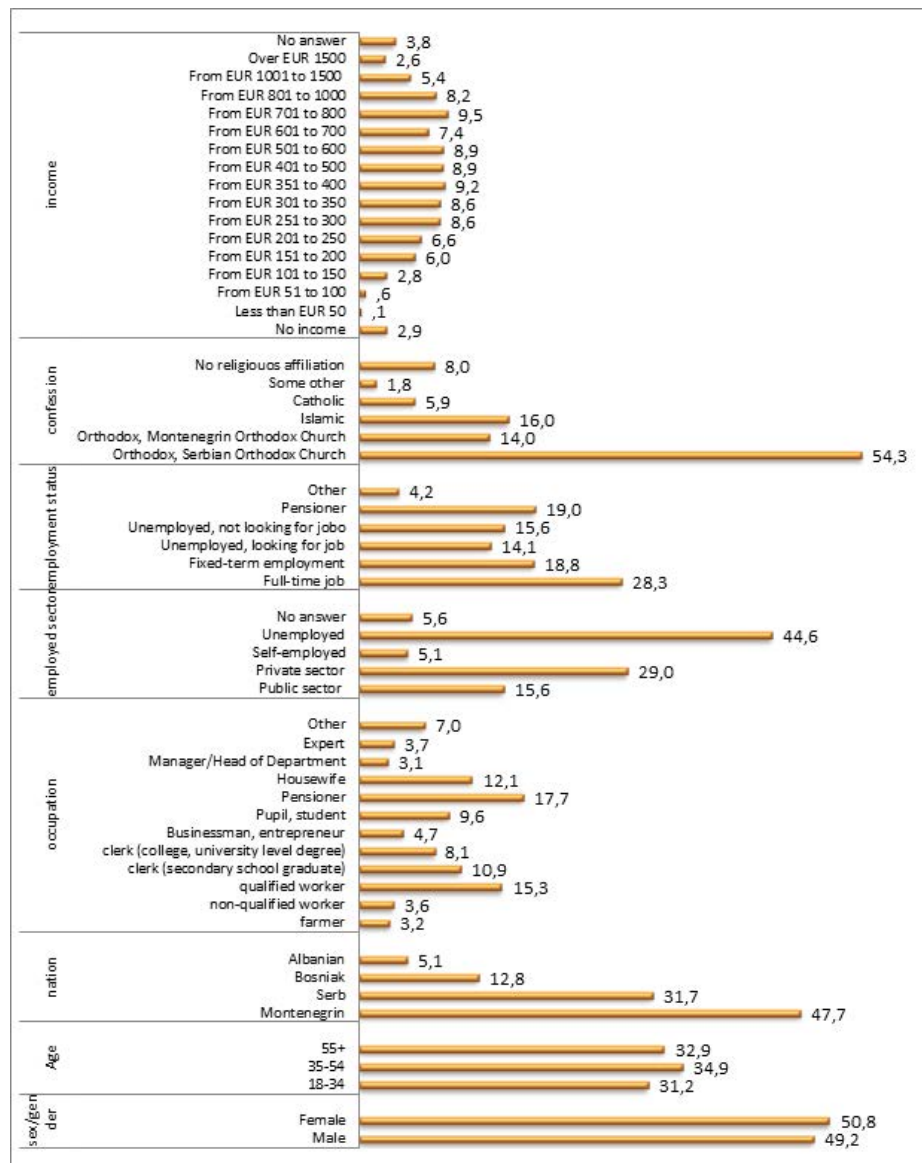
Research results

The first discrimination indicator was general estimate of the extent of discrimination in Montenegro, without stating discriminated social groups (graphs 2). The data indicate that almost every other interviewee thinks that discrimination is 'mainly present', with every fourth interviewee emphasizing that discrimination is 'very much present'. Therefore, the data initially indicate that **discrimination perception is on a very high level**. From the point of view of trend, the data indicate **that discrimination perception today is on a higher level than it was the case two years ago** (x2(3)=10.773, p=.013). However, when the values from 2017 are compared with the referential values from 2010, the results indicate that the differences are insignificant ((x2(3)=4.643, p>.1). In other words, from 2010 to 2015 we measured the reduction in the extent of discrimination, only **from 2015 to 2017 to return to the level of discrimination perception which had existed in 2010.**

Graph 2. Generally speaking, to what extent, according to your view, is discrimination present in Montenegro%
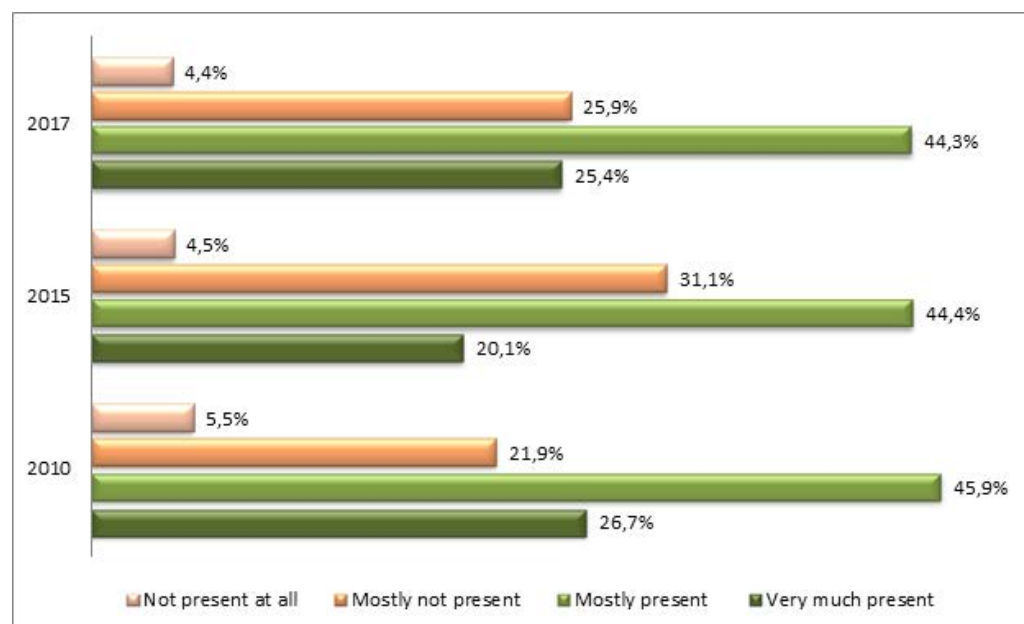
The first area in which we measured the extent of discrimination was **employment**. Therefore, we wanted to determine to what extent, according to the opinion of Montenegrin citizens, discrimination was present in the treatment of the members of various social groups when it comes to employment. In the graph 3 there are data for all groups, and they indicate that the **highest degree of discrimination is present in the area of employment by the criterion of political affiliation** (69.1%). In relation to the year 2010, the trend is negative by this criterion (in the sense of the increase in the extent of discrimination), at which the differences between 2015 and 2017 are not significant (x2(2)=2.436, p>.1). In other words, discrimination in employment by political criterion was on the increase between 2010 and 2015, whilst today it is at the same level as it was two years ago. Very high value of the assessment of the extent of discrimination is measured when it comes to age as the criterion (60.5%), and this measurement value is considerably higher than in 2015 (x2(2)=14.902, p<.01). Therefore, older citizens, so called, transition victims are today considerably more discriminated according

to the opinion of the citizens than it was the case two years ago. The next group which is discriminated most, on the basis of citizens' opinions, are persons with disabilities (56.3%). From the standpoint of the trend, however, irrespective of the observed proportionate values, the differences between 2015 and 2017 are not significant ($x2(2)=3.834$, $p>.1$); therefore, discrimination today is on approximately the same level as it was two years ago. Even when it comes to nationality, the data indicate that discrimination is high (49.8%), but it is on the more or less the same level as in 2015 ($x2(2)=3.057$, $p>.1$). The next social group, by the intensity of discrimination perception in the area of employment is religion (45.7%). In this respect, however, contrary to the previous cases, discrimination today is considerably more prominent than it was the case in 2015 ($x2(2)=13.984$, $p<.01$). Although only ranked penultimate in the overall hierarchy in the area of employment, discrimination by sexual/gender criterion is, also, very pronounced (42.6%), and the problem is that much greater with the data indicating that the trend is particularly negative as compared to the year 2015 ($x2(2)=9.782$, $p<.01$). Therefore, we measure that the discrimination in the area of the employment of women today is more pronounced that it was the case in 2015. Finally, although numerically comparatively we measure the lowest value when it comes to the discrimination related to the employment of the members of sexual minorities, it must be said that this value is still high (38.5%). The trend analysis indicates that in this sense there are no significant changes in the perception of the extent of discrimination in relation to the year 2015 ($x2(2)=3.648$, $p>.1$).

Graph 3. Discrimination in the area of employment: % of YES answers for all groups
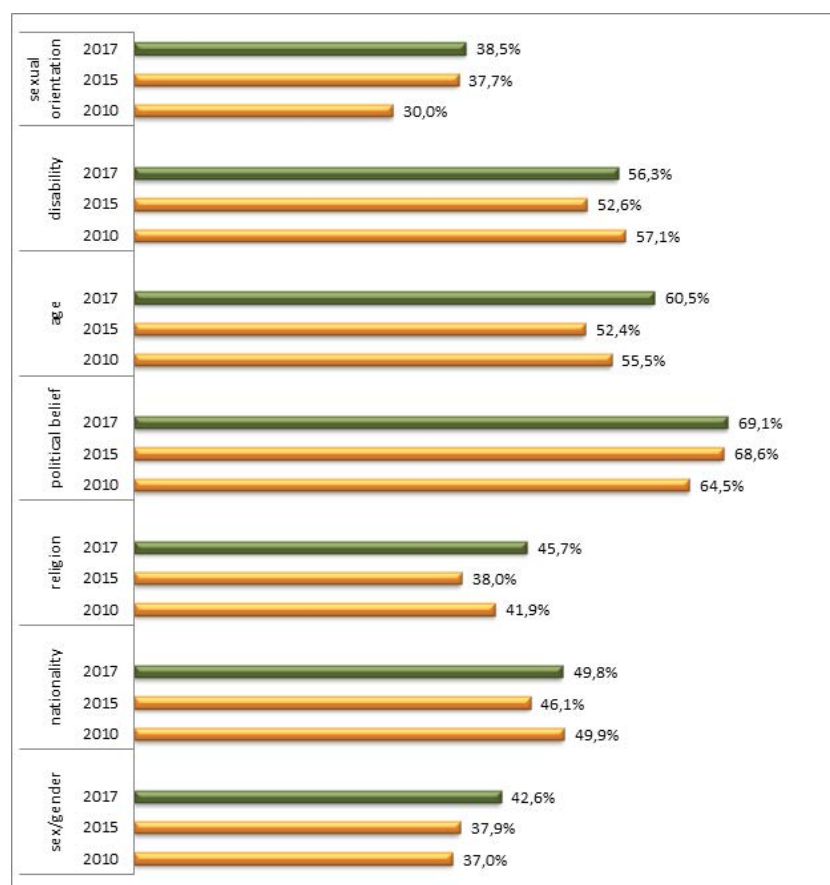
Another area which was the subject matter of our interest is discrimination in education (graph 4). Initially, the data show that in this area there has been the reduction in the extent of discrimination when it comes to some groups, and to stable values in relation to the year 2015 when it comes to other groups. Key thing is that, when it comes to the measurement by groups, in no case have we measured higher value of discrimination perception in relation to 2015[4]. Analytically, **when it comes to discrimination in the area of education, the highest degree of discrimination is measured in relation to political affiliation** (31.5%), therefore, the same as in relation to employment. However, on the basis of the data, although the measured extent of discrimination is very high, the trend is very progressive in relation to 2015 ($x2(2)=12.745$, $p<.1$). In other words, citizens think that discrimination in education by the criterion of political affiliation is present nowadays to a significantly lesser extent, than it was the case in 2015.

Graph 4. Discrimination in the area of education: % of YES answers for all groups
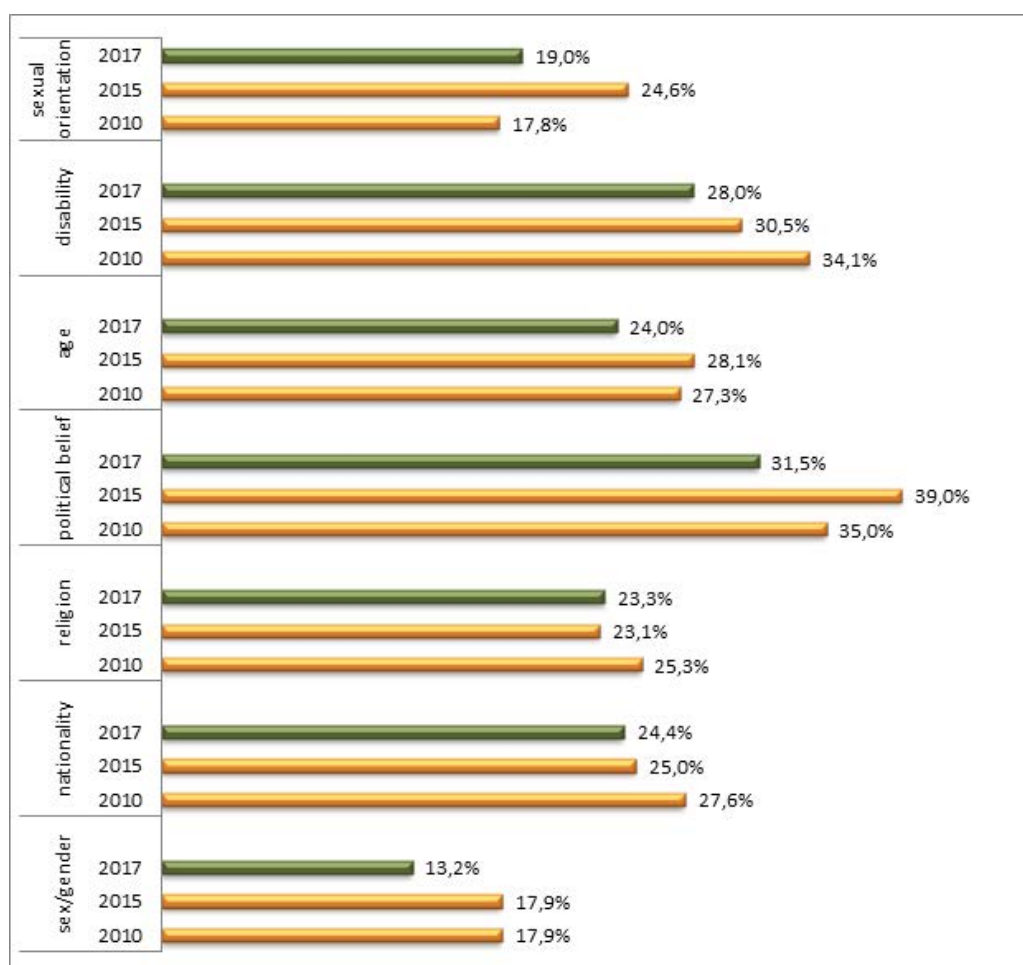

Another category according to the hierarchy of the extent of discrimination in the area of education are the persons with disabilities (28%). However, the analysis of the trend indicates that this extent of discrimination is on approximately the same level as two years

4 Except when it comes to religious affiliation, but the difference is really negligible

ago (x2(2)=2.019, p>.1). Therefore, in the last two years there has been no improvement or worsening of the position of the persons with disabilities in the area of education. When it comes to nationality, 24.4% of citizens consider that discrimination by this criterion is present in the area of education. This value is almost identical as it was two years ago, therefore, there are no changes in the perception of the extent of discrimination (x2(2)=.139, p>.1). Very similar value of the extent of discrimination perception is measured when it comes to discrimination by age criterion (24%). Although proportional difference can be observed in relation to the year 2012, on the basis of statistical criteria of significance, it cannot be said that we have progressive trends in this respect (x2(2)=4.417, p>.1). When it comes to religious affiliation, we measured almost the same extent of discrimination perception (23.3%). The trend indicates that this value is almost identical today as it was the case two years ago (x2(2)= .031, p>.1). Measured extent of discrimination when it comes to sexual orientation is on a relatively low level in relation to other groups (19%). More significant data from the very assessment of the extent of discrimination is the finding that discrimination in this respect is on a significantly lower level in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=17.982, p<.01). Finally, the lowest degree of discrimination in the area of employment is measured on the grounds of sexual/gender affiliation (13.2%). Even in this respect, which is particularly important, we measure progressive trends in the previous two years (x2(2)=9.590, p<.01), therefore, the measured extent of discrimination in the area of education against the persons of female sex/gender is on a significantly lower level today than it was the case in 2015.

The area which was also the subject matter of our interest, when it comes to discrimination, is **healthcare** (graph 5). In this area the **highest degree of discrimination perception is measured in relation to the treatment of the elderly** (32.2%) who, in reality, are the most sensitive ones with regards to the area of healthcare. What is particularly worrying in this respect is the finding that according to citizens' opinions discrimination towards the elderly in the healthcare system is more pronounced today than it was the case two years ago (x2(2)=16.876, p<.01). If the trend is analysed more carefully, it can be noticed that numeric values today are almost identical as in 2010. Therefore, we measured the progress from 2010 to 2015, only to see the extent of the measured discrimination today returning to the level from 2010. Another category with regards to the extent of discrimination as to the accessibility of healthcare, at which the values are a fraction lower in relation to 'ageism', is discrimination by the criterion of political belief (31.4%). Additionally, in that sense we measure regressive trends (x2(2)=8.992, p= .011). Therefore, there is a conviction that according to the criterion of political affiliation discrimination in the area of healthcare is more pronounced today than it was the case in 2015. The third in the hierarchy according to the extent of discrimination perception in the area of healthcare are persons with disabilities (25.6%). These data are even more worrying due to the fact that they show significant worsening in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=12.268, p<.01). Furthermore, as regards nationality, 22.4% of citizens consider that there is discrimination by this criterion when it comes to the accessibility to healthcare. This value is somewhat higher in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=4.481, p=.106). Perceived extent of discrimination in the area of healthcare when it comes to religious affiliation is 19.3%, which is on a significantly higher level in relation to 2015 (x2(2)=9.860, p<.01). The next group according to the extent of perceived discrimination are sexual minorities (17.1%). The measured value is somewhat higher in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=5.430, p=.066). Finally, Montenegrin citizens consider that discrimination in the area of healthcare is least pronounced in relation to sexual/gender criterion (12.8%), and the obtained value is more or less at the same level as it was the case two years ago (x2(2)=4.373, p>.1), with breakdown for all three years in which researches were being carried out clear decreasing trend can be observed.

Graph 5. Discrimination in the area of healthcare: % of YES answers for all groups
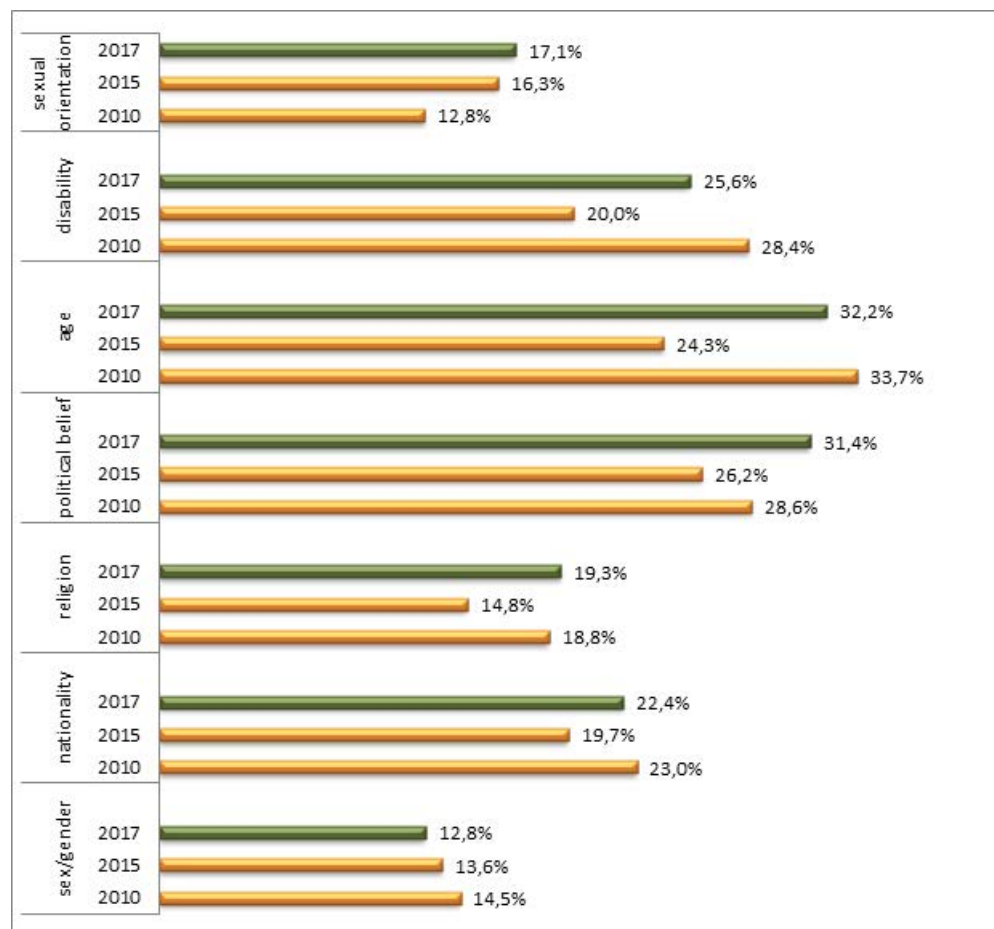
The area we dealt with in particular when it comes to measuring the extent of discrimination is the work of **public services** (graph 6). **The highest degree of discrimination in this area, according to citizens' opinion, we measure with regards to political belief** (35%). From the standpoint of the trend, this value is not significantly lower in relation to the year 2015 ($x2(2)=2.040$, $p>.1$), but if we analyse the 2010 trend, or more precisely if the discrimination degree in 2010 is compared to the reference value we measured in 2017, it is clear that the extent of the perceived discrimination has shown considerable decrease, it is, therefore, lower by more than 8% ($x2(2)=12.975$, $p<.01$). The second criterion by hierarchy, in the sense of discrimination perception, is nationality (26.9%). This value is almost identical as in 2015 ($x2(2)= .270$, $p>.1$)., therefore, in this respect there have almost been no changes in the previous two years. We measure relatively high 23.2% of discrimination perception in the work of public services even when it comes to religious affiliation, which is at a more or less the same level in relation to 2015 ($x2(2)=.589$, $p>.1$), but the progress is evident in case the values from 2010 and 2017 are compared ($x2(2)=17.979$, $p<.001$). Therefore, discrimination has not been reduced in this respect in the past two years, but it has been considerably reduced in relation to 2010.

Graph 6. Discrimination in the area of service delivery by public services: % of YES answers for all groups
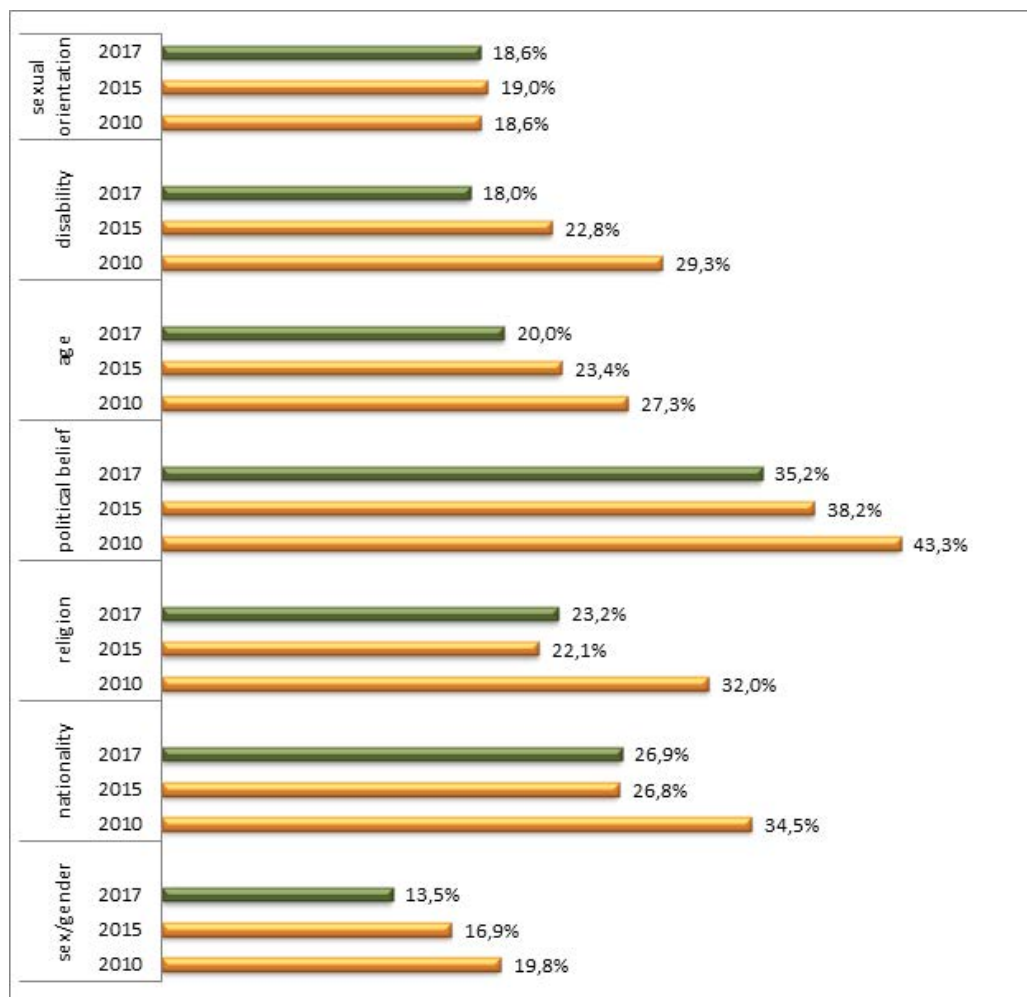
Stable progressive trend (in the sense of reduced degree of discrimination) is also measured with regards to the perception of discrimination in the work of public services as concerns the elderly (20%). More precisely, statistically, neither in this respect have there been significant changes in relation to 2015 ($x2(2)=4.2403$, $p>.1$), but the progress is evident when the year 2017 is compared to 2010 ($x2(2)=13.557$, $p>.001$). Furthermore, the research shows that 18.6% of citizens consider that discrimination in the work of public services is present when it comes to the relationship towards sexual minorities. From the point of view of trend analysis, the measured extent of discrimination is almost identical both in relation to 2010 ($x2(2)=4.606$, $p>.1$). and in relation to 2015 ($x2(2)=1.014$, $p>.1$). Therefore, in this respect we measure no changes whatsoever for the past seven years. On the other hand, when it comes to the persons with disabilities, the measured extent of discrimination perception in the work of public services is almost on the same level as when it comes to sexual orientation (18%), but in this case the differences are considerable in relation to 2015 ($x2(2)=7.233$, $p=.027$). Therefore, it is citizens' perception that the extent of discrimination in this respect has been considerably reduced in the past two years.

Finally, we record the lowest level of the measured extent of discrimination when it comes to the relation towards women (13.5%), and in addition, this value is lower in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=5.137, p=.077).

Graph 7. Discrimination in the area of the right to own culture and protection: % of YES answers for all groups
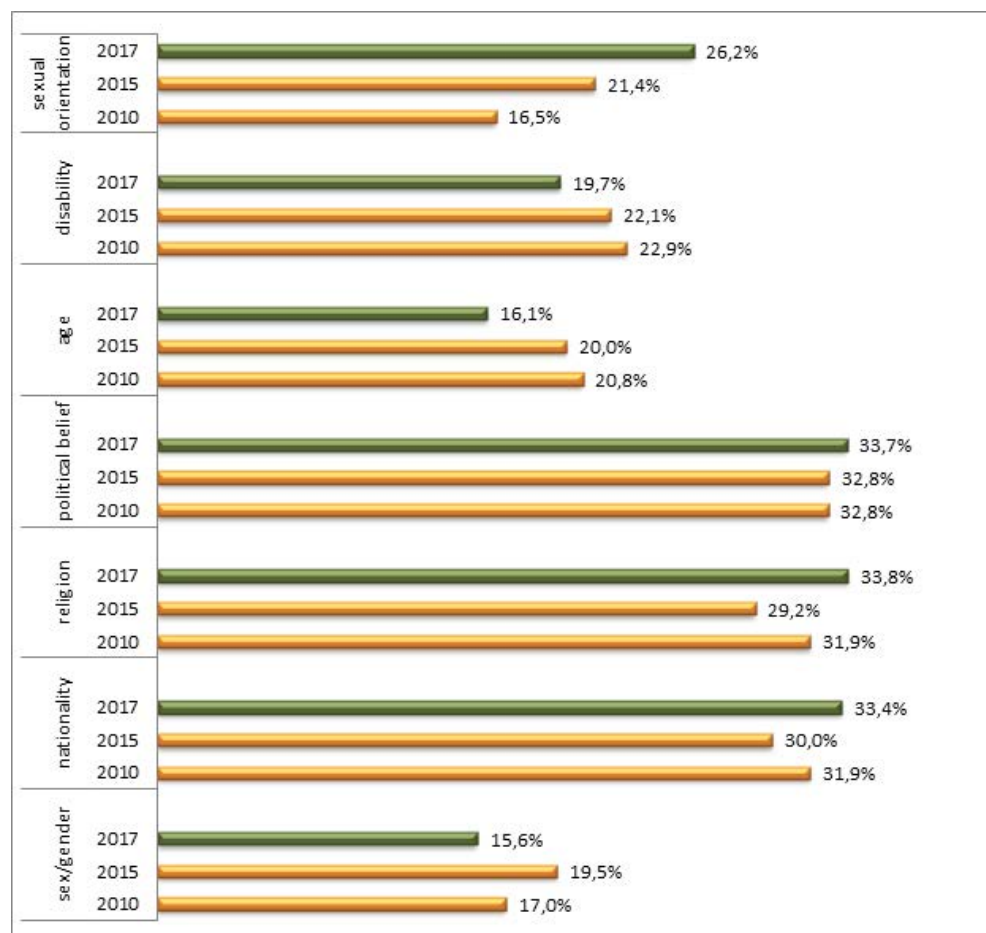
The last area in which we undertook measuring of discrimination perception is the **right to own culture and protection**[5] (graph 7). It is interesting that in this respect we **measure almost identical extent of discrimination perception when it comes to three criteria, namely religion (33.8%), political belief (33.7%) and nationality (33.4%)**[6]. At the same time, when it comes to political belief, trends are such that they indicate that there have been no changes in the previous seven years (x2(4)=.588, p>.1).

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5 Sincerely, it is a justified question whether this area is applicable when it comes to sex/gender, persons with disabilities, the elderly and sexual orientation. It is certainly more than relevant when it comes to national and religious affiliation, while political affiliation is under question mark. However, for the reason of systematism we had to include assessments for all groups in the identical way as in previous cases.
6 This in fact indicates that these three aspects are perceived as a single criterion when it comes to culture and cultural protection which we will be talking about in the final section and dedicate due attention to this problem for the reason of importance of this issue

As concerns religion, the trend is negative, or more precisely, in this year's research we measure higher level of discrimination perception than it was the case in 2017 ($x2(2)=4.914$, p=.086), and when it comes to nationality, despite proportional differences, it cannot be said that present-day situation differs from the one in 2015 ($x2(2)=3.271$, p>.1). Furthermore, in this area we measure relatively high value of discrimination perception even when it comes to sexual minorities (26.2%). However, the problem might be even bigger when it comes to the discrimination of persons with sexual orientation different from the majority one, since the trends in this respect have constantly been negative, and the differences of this year's research are significant in relation to the research carried out two years ago ($x2(2)=7.394$, p=.025). The persons with disabilities have been perceived as discriminated in this area at the level of 19.7%, and this value is not significantly lower in relation to 2015 ($x2(2)=3.077$, p>.1). We measure relatively low values of discrimination perception in this segment when it comes to the elderly (16.1%) and sexual/gender affiliation (15.6%). The trends are also negative in relation to the year 2015 when it comes to age criterion ($x2(2)=7.093$, p=.029), as well as with regards to sexual/gender affiliation ($x2(2)=5.367$, p=.068).

Cumulative discrimination indicators by groups, areas and trends

In this part of the research we used cumulative scores by various criteria in order to show in a synthetic way which groups and which areas are mostly exposed to discrimination. With the purpose of measuring trends, these scores were being analysed even longitudinally. Therefore, we compared the degree of distancing by groups and areas in three timelines. First of all, we calculated cumulative degree of distance in all areas (graph 8). These data were obtained in the way that the score was formed[7] for all groups in the given areas. As the analysis has already indicated, **the highest degree of discrimination is measured in the area of employment**, only to be followed by three areas in which differences are minor, namely culture, education and healthcare. The lowest degree of discrimination towards all social groups was measured in the area of the work of public services.
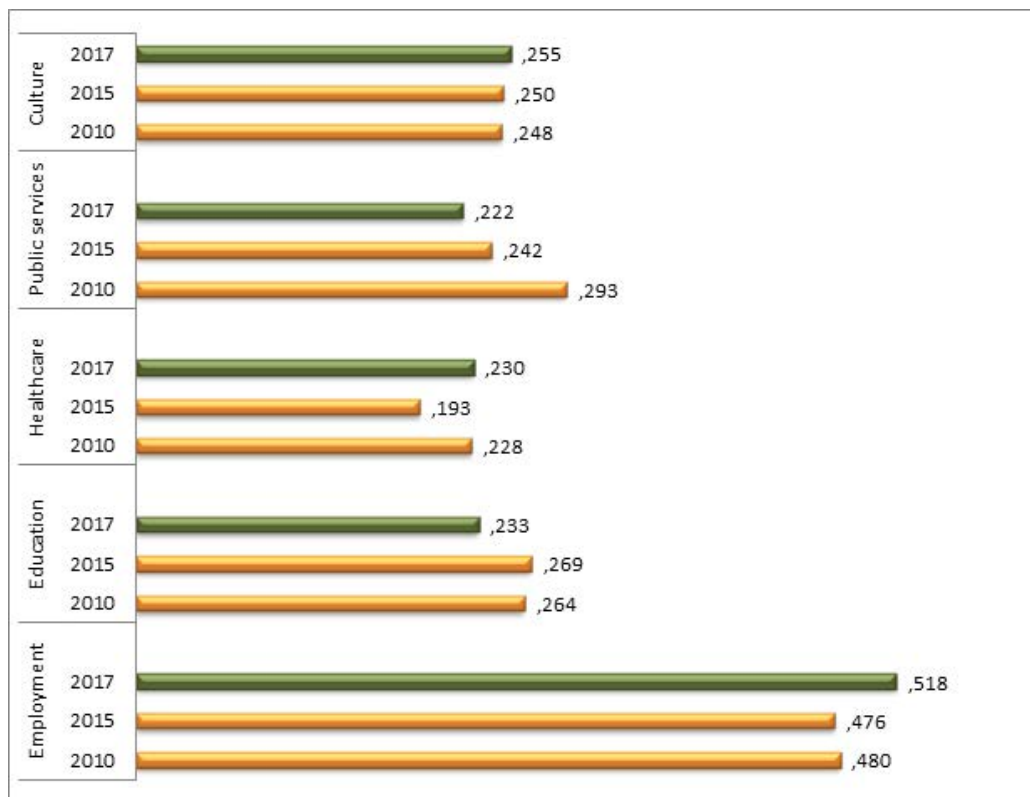
Graph 8. Total discrimination perception by area

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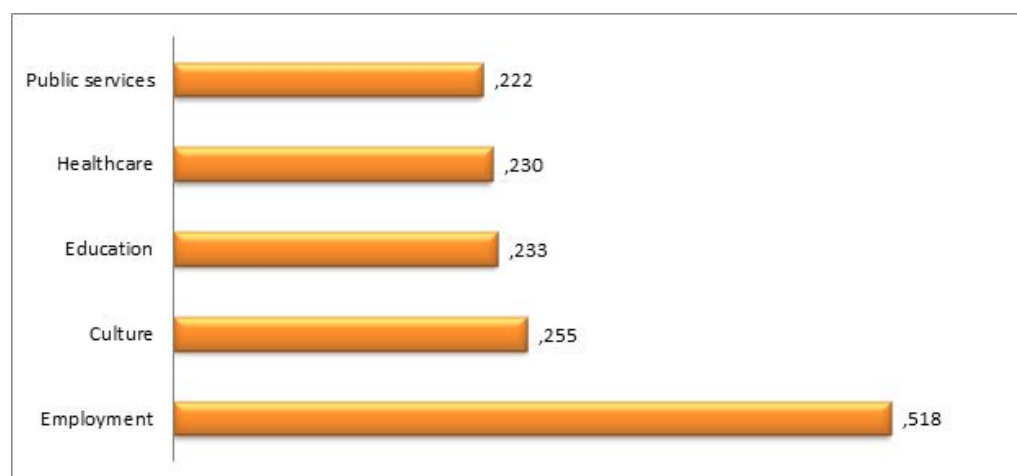
7 In this and every future case when scores are formed 0=minimum value and 1=maximum value. Therefore, 0-no distance and 1-greatest possible distance

The graph 9 gives discrimination measurement results for three researches we compared and which were carried out in different time periods. The most indicative data in this respect are considerable differences that we measure in the area of employment ($F_{(2, 2839)}=4.646$, $p<.01$), at which there are no differences between 2010 and 2015, while the differences between 2017 and the previous two snapshots are very much pronounced[8]. Therefore, **from 2010 to 2015, discrimination towards all the groups in the area of employment was high and on approximately the same level, only to observe considerable increase from 2015 to 2017**. In the area of culture and cultural protection, the comparison among three research periods indicates that there has been no changes in the degree of discrimination perception since 2010, thus, the values for all three researches are on approximately the same level ($F_{(2, 2839)}=.105$, $p>.1$). When it comes to education, there is a trend which indicates that the degree of discrimination in this area has been considerably reduced in the past two years, although it stagnated until 2015 (therefore, there was no difference between 2010 and 2015 ($F_{(2, 2839)}=3.755$, $p=.024$). Discrimination in the area of healthcare is on a significantly lower level today in relation to 2015, but one should have in mind negative trend we measure when comparing researches from 2010 and 2015. In other words, discrimination in this area has been reduced in the past two years, at which discrimination level today is approximately on the level from 2010 ($F_{(2, 2839)}=4.652$, $p<.01$). The greatest differences in the extent of discrimination, when three research periods are compared, are measured in the area of the work of public services ($F_{(2, 2839)}=11.288$, $p<.001$). However, although the trend is linear, going towards the reduction of the extent of discrimination, the differences between 2015 and 2017 may not be considered significant.

The graph 10 shows the results of the measurement of the overall discrimination perception (therefore for all areas) for the social groups which were subject matters of the measurement. Discrimination perception measurement results indicate that Montenegrin citizens consider **that the highest degree is expressed towards political opponents**. This is followed by distancing in relation to the three groups on approximately the same level, namely discrimination on the grounds of national affiliation, age and disability. Somewhat lower degree of discrimination is measured when it comes to the relation towards the members of other religion. Still lower discrimination perception degree is measured when it comes to the relation towards the persons with different sexual orientation, and the lowest degree is measured when it comes to sexual/gender criterion.

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8 Measured using LSD Post Hoc test

Graph 9. Overall discrimination perception by areas – TREND

Graph 10. Overall discrimination perception towards all groups
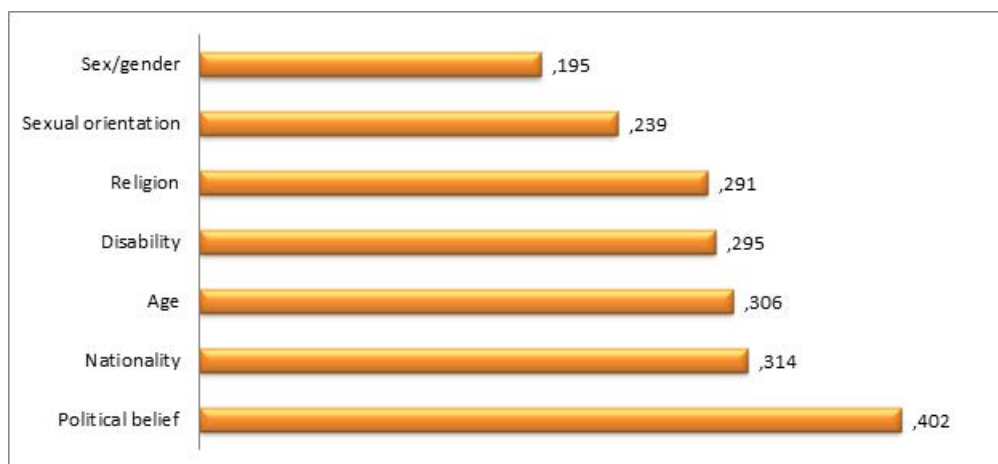
In case we analyse discrimination perception trends for all groups (graph 11) firstly when it comes to discrimination on the grounds of sexual/gender criterion, we can say that the extent of discrimination is on a more or less identical level in all three measured periods

(F(2, 2839)=1.210, p>.1). In case we analyse discrimination perception degree by ethnic criterion, the data indicate that there are certain differences between the three periods (F(2, 2839)=3.109, p=.045), with the measured difference referring to the reduction of the extent of discrimination between 2010 and 2015. In other words, discrimination in 2017 is more or less on the same level as in 2015. When it comes to religion, the data show that the extent of discrimination today is on a higher level that it was the case in 2015, with the progressive trend having been measured between 2010 and 2015, thus this year's degree of distance reached the level from 2010 (F(2, 2839)=5.313, p<.01). Furthermore, the results indicate that the extent of discrimination by political belief is on a stable high level and it does not differ in the three observed periods (F(2, 2839)=.148, p>.1). Therefore, **political discrimination is the most present one and in the last seven years there have been no positive or negative trends in this respect.** Discrimination on the grounds of age recorded a negative trend (therefore, reduction in the extent of discrimination) from 2010 to 2015, but today it is on approximately the same level as it was two years ago (F(2, 2839)=2.876, p=.057), according to the citizens' views, relation towards the persons with disabilities was considerably improved from 2010 to 2015, but there have practically been no changes ever since (F(2, 2839)=6.923, p<.01). Finally, when it comes to sexual orientation, we measure considerably greater extent of discrimination in 2015 that it was the case in 2010, whilst the level of discrimination today in this respect is on almost the same level as it was two years ago (F(2, 2839)=7.152, p<.01).

Graph 11. Overall distance towards all groups - TREND
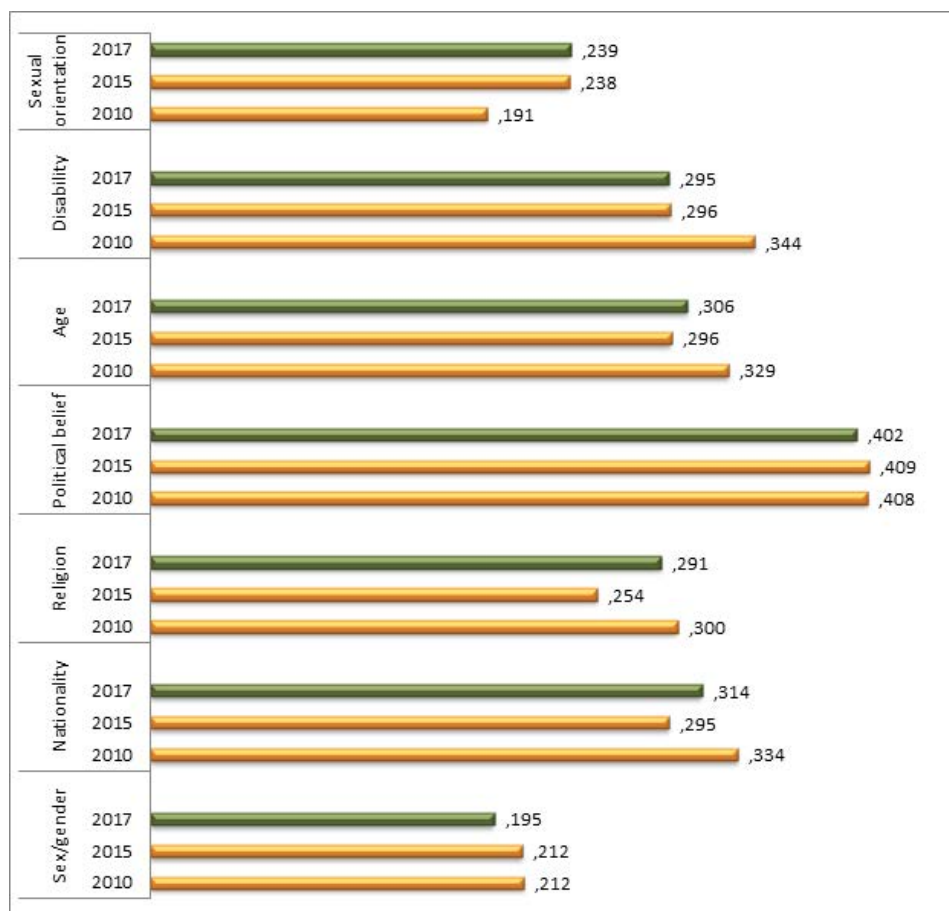
The overview of the results of measurements by all areas and all categories is shown in the table 1. The data speak clearly and comparatively on the extent of discrimination which has been established in all three analysed periods for every group. The data also indicate that discrimination in employment is present most when it comes to all categories. Very high degree of discrimination perception, considerably more than for other groups, is measured with regards to political discrimination in the work of public services, education, while in the area of culture, alongside political discrimination, discrimination on the grounds of national affiliation and religion is almost on the identical level. In the area of healthcare the elderly are exposed to discrimination most, at which the measured value for political discrimination is equally high. If employment and culture discrimination are excluded from the analysis, it can be said that all other values of the measured extent of discrimination are rather equalized. The trends are very different and detailed analysis of these has been given above.

Table 1. Discrimination in all areas and for all groups

		Employment	Education	Healthcare	Public services	Culture
Sex	2010	36.9%	17.9%	14.5%	19.8%	17.0%
	2015	37.9%	17.9%	13.6%	16.9%	19.5%
	2017	42.7%	13.2%	12.8%	13.5%	15.6%
Nationality	2010	49.9%	27.5%	23.0%	34.5%	31.9%
	2015	46.0%	25.0%	19.7%	26.7%	30.0%
	2017	49.8%	24.4%	22.4%	27.0%	33.4%
Religion	2010	41.9%	25.3%	18.8%	32.0%	31.9%
	2015	38.0%	23.1%	14.8%	22.1%	29.2%
	2017	45.7%	23.3%	19.3%	23.2%	33.7%
Political belief	2010	64.5%	35.0%	28.5%	43.3%	32.8%
	2015	68.6%	39.0%	26.2%	38.2%	32.7%
	2017	69.1%	31.5%	31.4%	35.2%	33.7%
Age	2010	55.5%	27.3%	33.7%	27.3%	20.8%
	2015	52.4%	28.1%	24.3%	23.4%	20.0%
	2017	60.5%	24.0%	32.2%	20.0%	16.1%
Disability	2010	57.1%	34.2%	28.4%	29.3%	22.9%
	2015	52.6%	30.5%	20.0%	22.8%	22.1%
	2017	56.3%	28.0%	25.6%	18.0%	19.7%
Sexual orientation	2010	30.0%	17.8%	12.8%	18.6%	16.5%
	2015	37.7%	24.6%	16.3%	19.0%	21.4%
		38.5%	19.0%	17.1%	18.6%	26.2%

Actions and measures which can/should be undertaken with the purpose of reducing discrimination extent

Special segment of the research was dedicated to citizens' opinion as to what can be undertaken in order for the extent of discrimination in Montenegro to be reduced. First of all, in this part of the research we asked the citizens if it was an advantage or disadvantage to belong to the abovementioned groups. In this way, methodologically and from the point of view of group identification, we validated the findings we had identified in the very examination of the extent of discrimination by areas, and of course provided supplementary information significant for discrimination perception.

Graph 12. Is affiliation to the stated groups an advantage or disadvantage?
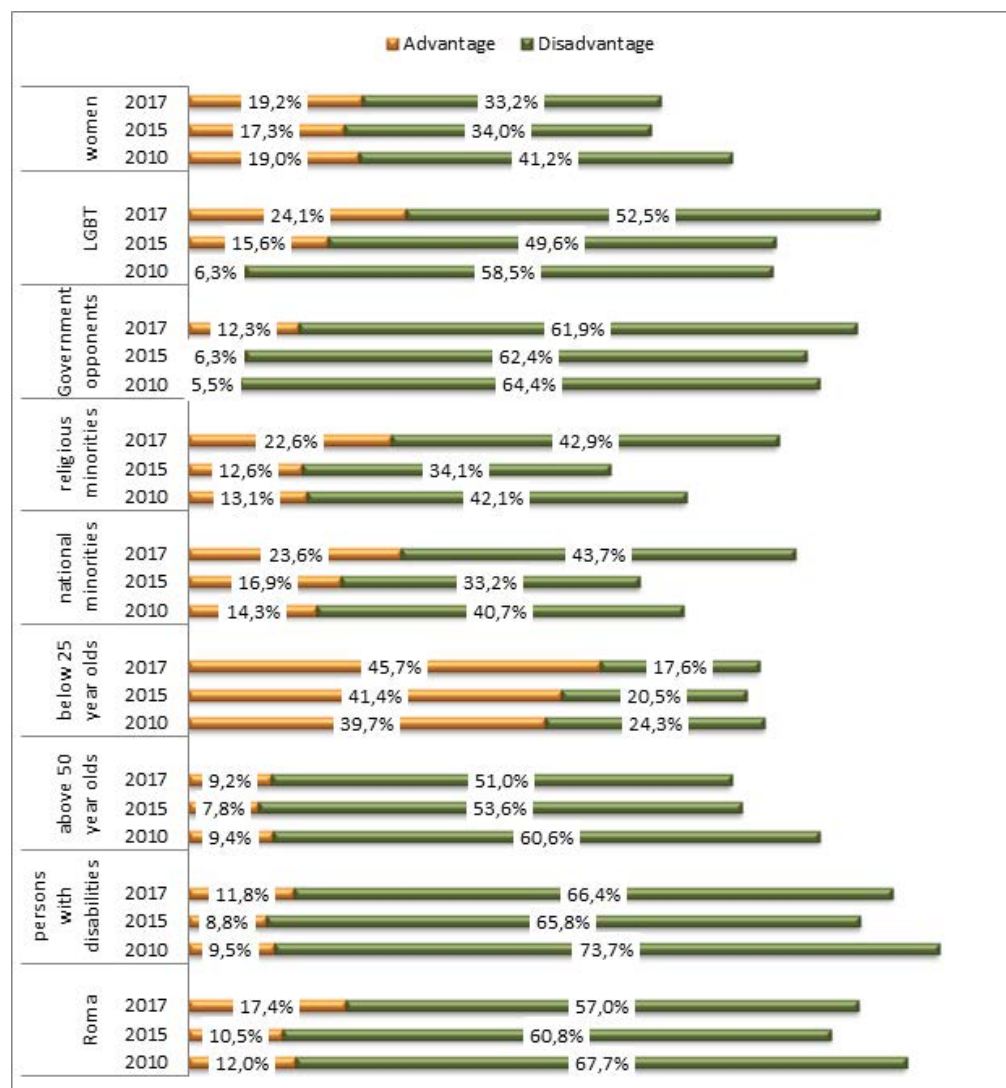
Research results (graph 12)[9] indicate that the greatest extent of deprivation exists with regards to the persons with disabilities (66.4%). The results of the analysis indicate, however, that the trends are positive in relation to the year 2015 ($x2(2)=6.343$, $p=.042$), for the reason that considerably greater number of interviewees think that the affiliation to this group is an advantage. Second ranked category by the degree of deprivation are political opponents (61.9%), but, statistically, this is also a significant trend due to the fact that almost twice as many people emphasize that the affiliation to this category constitutes an advantage, and not as a disadvantage ($x2(2)=20.157$, $p<.001$). The third ranked category by the extent of deprivation are the Roma (57%), and the analysis of trends in this respect shows positive trends, therefore this percentage is considerably lower in relation to the year 2015 ($x2(2)=17.268$, $p<.001$).

After Roma, by the measured extent of deprivation we determined that 52.5% of citizens think that the affiliation to that population as a sexual minority is a 'disadvantage' in Montenegro. The differences in relation to the year 2015 are significant due to the fact that almost 10% more of the interviewees consider the affiliation to this sexual group an 'advantage' and not a 'disadvantage' ($x2(2)=30.370$, $p<.001$).

Furthermore, by the extent of deprivation we measure 51% of the interviewees who think that the affiliation to the group of the-above-50s is a 'disadvantage'. From the viewpoint of the trend, however, these values are more or less on the same level as two years ago ($x2(2)=1.696$, $p>.1$). When it comes to the affiliation to the category of national minorities, the measured extent of deprivation is 43.7%, which is considerably more as compared to 2015 ($x2(2)=50.343$, $p<.001$). The data obtained for religious minorities are almost identical as for national minorities, or more precisely, the extent of measured deprivation is 42.9%, which is considerably more than in 2015 ($x2(2)=63.254$, $p<.001$). Every third interviewee in the research thinks that being a woman is a disadvantage in Montenegro (33.2%). These are the values which do not differ considerably from the reference values obtained in 2015 ($x2(2)=.970$, $p>.1$). Finally, and as a control variable and as a proxy for a large number of political variables, the data indicate that the extent of deprivation is the lowest when it comes to the under-25s, and from the point of view of the trend, these values are on the level of the research from 2015.

*Graph 13. Are you familiar with antidiscrimination laws?*

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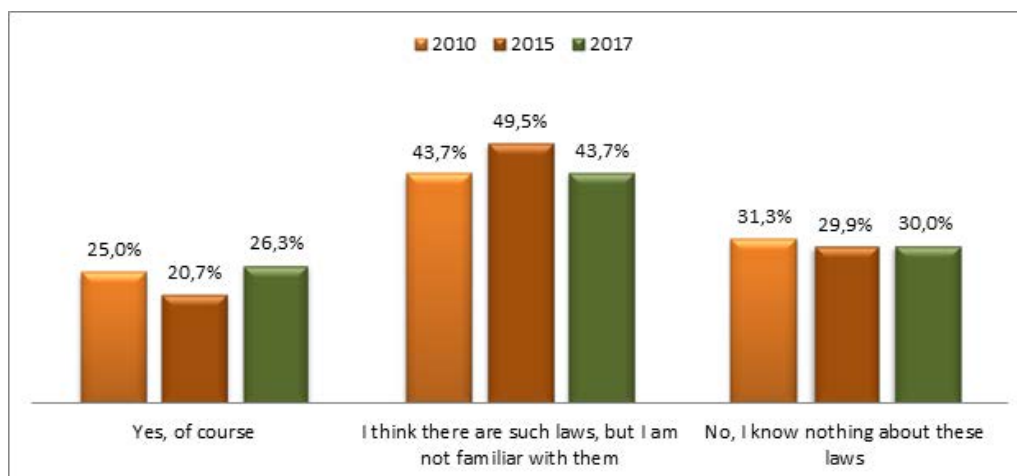
9 Missing percentages (up to 100%) by bars is the percentage of those who have no opinion

When it comes to the level of information about legislation that regulates the issues of discrimination, the data indicate that most citizens are aware of the existence of certain laws, but they are unaware of their exact area/subject matter (graph 13). However, key point in this sense is that there is significantly larger percentage of those who say that they are familiar with the laws that regulate the issues of discrimination as compared to the year 2015 (x2(2)=10.321, p<.01); we can, therefore, speak about a positive trend.

One of the questions in the research was related to the assessment of the amount of efforts invested in the fight against discrimination (graph 14). **Most citizens think that efforts are invested, but that this is not sufficient**. In comparative sense, those who think that Montenegro invests sufficient efforts constitute the lowest percentage. From the viewpoint of the trend, the analysis indicates that we measure positive trends in this respect in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=9.979, p=.019), only one should have in mind that the trends were negative when the years 2010 and 2015 are compared, as well as that from the point of view of statistics the obtained measured values are on the level we measured in 2010 (x2(2)=1.909, p> .1).

Graph 14. Is enough effort invested in Montenegro in the fight against discrimination?
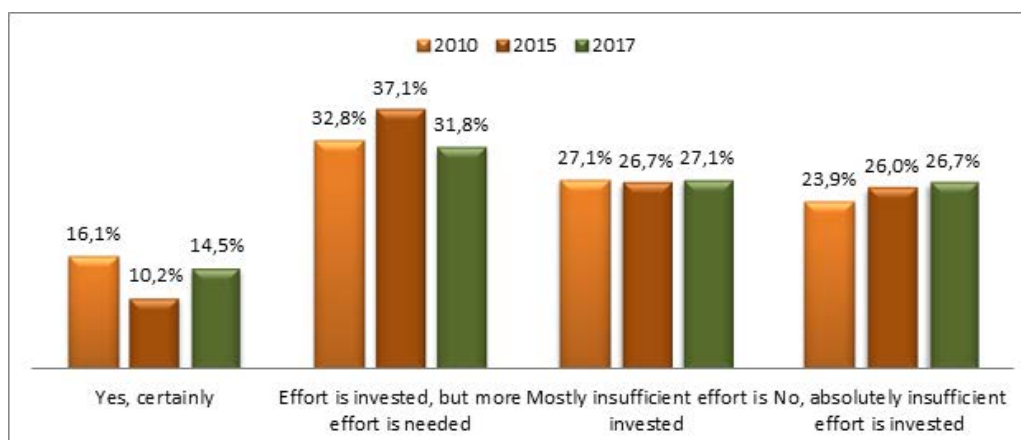
In the research citizens were assessing **the extent to which relevant institutions offer their contribution to the fight against discrimination** (table 2 & graph 15). Results for 2017 indicate that **the greatest contribution is offered by educational institutions (52.9%), media (51.1%) and NGOs (51.1%)**. These are followed by church (46.9%), then the state (37.4%) and EU Delegation (36.7%), while the smallest contribution, according to citizens' views, is offered by political parties (23%). The trend analysis indicates that, when it comes to the state and its bodies, there are no differences among three researches. In fact, citizens consider that the state gives more or less the same contribution today as it did in 2010, and/or 2015. As regards media, the differences are statistically significant among all three measured periods[10], only the trend is not linear, more precisely, the greatest media contribution was measured in 2010, only to observe drastic decrease in 2015. In relation to 2015, according to the interviewees' assessment, media today offer considerably greater contribution, but it is still on a level which is lower than it was in 2010. Church, according to citizens' assessment offers considerably greater contribution today as compared to 2015, which is particularly significant with regards to the fact that this contribution had not seen any improvement from 2010 to

10 Differences among the three observed researches for every institution were measured by comparing the arithmetic mean on a four-grade scale, as well as by using the LSD Post Hoc Test with the criterion of p<.01

2015. The same pattern was observed when it comes to the assessment of the contribution offered by educational institutions, i.e. between 2010 and 2015 there were no significant differences, while the contribution in this year's research is on a significantly higher level in relation to 2015, and naturally, to an even greater extent in relation to 2010. When it comes to the assessment of the NGO sector contribution, just as in the previous two cases, there were no significant differences between 2010 and 2015, whilst the measured contribution in 2017 is significantly different from the previous two researches. However, the trend is negative in this case, with the assessment that NGO sector today offers considerably smaller contribution towards the protection from discrimination than it was the case in 2015 and 2010. When it comes to political parties, besides the fact that the contribution in all researches was assessed as low, there is no difference between the years 2017 and 2015. Therefore, parties' contribution is on a stable low level today as it was the case two years ago (it should be borne in mind that the trend was considerably negative when the years 2010 and 2015 are compared).

Table 2 To what extent do institutions give their contribution to the fight against discrimination?

		Key contribution	Big contribution	Small contribution	No contribution	X2
State	2010	16.9%	19.6%	45.5%	18.0%	$F_{(2, 2300)}$= 1.408, p>.1)
	2015	17.0%	21.3%	36.6%	25.2%	
	2017	13,8%	23.5%	37.8%	24.8%	$F_{(2, 2364)}$= 9.960, p<.01)
Media	2010	14.8%	39.3%	36.4%	9.5%	
	2015	12.3%	32.4%	40.4%	14.9%	
	2017	16.8%	35.0%	38.0%	10.2%	$F_{(2, 2015)}$= 8.855, p<.01)
Church	2010	9.0%	25.1%	44.3%	21.6%	
	2015	10.0%	25.9%	38.1%	26.0%	
	2017	14.2%	32.7%	30.5%	22.6%	$F_{(2, 2224)}$= 4.998, p<.01)
Eductaional institutions	2010	12.7%	30.3%	46.0%	10.9%	
	2015	12.9%	34.2%	40.9%	12.0%	
	2017	18.1%	34.9%	34.6%	12.5%	$F_{(2, 2200)}$= 8.002, p<.01)
NGOs	2010	22.1%	37.8%	30.0%	10.1%	
	2015	16.0%	42.4%	32.6%	9.0%	
	2017	16.4%	34.7%	34.7%	14.2%	$F_{(2, 2167)}$= 5.737, p<.01)
Parties	2010	8.8%	14.1%	45.1%	32.0%	
	2015	3.9%	17.2%	37.8%	41.1%	
	2017	6.0%	15.7%	40.8%	37.5%	N/A
EU Delegation	2010	-	-	-	-	
	2015	-	-	-	-	
	2017	14.6%	22.2%	33.6%	29.6%	

Graph 15. To what extent do institutions give their contribution to the fight against discrimination - sum key and big contribution?
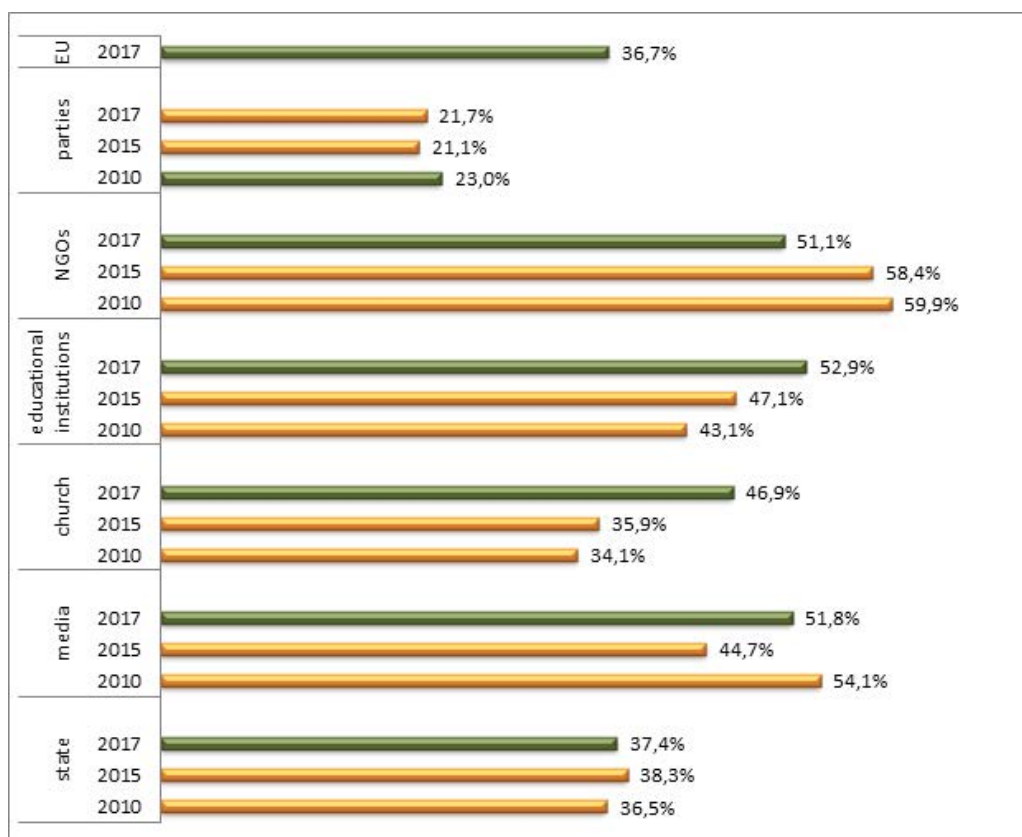

In the research we implemented first time, we particularly examined the contribution offered by key state authorities and services, which are competent for the issue of discrimination to the greatest possible extent (table 3 & graph 16). Therefore, in this case we do not have comparative data in relation to the research from the previous years. The research data show that **Ombudsman and the Centre for Social Work offer the biggest contribution, 51.3% and 49%** respectively. These two institutions stand out by their contributions in relation to all others. The ones that follow hierarchically are those among which there are small differences in the estimated contribution level, namely they are the following: police (38.9%), state agencies (37.8%), Government and its ministries (36.7%), courts (34.9%), national employment service (33.5%), and finally Montenegrin Parliament (29.2%).

*Tabela 3 U kojoj mjeri država i njeni organi daju doprinos borbi protiv diskriminacije %: 2017 godina*

	Key contribution	Big contribution	Small contribution	No contribution
Government and its ministries	14.3	22.5	35.9	27.4
Police as a special body	12.5	26.3	39.0	22.1
Courts	12.1	22.8	38.0	27.1
Parliament of Montenegro	10.6	18.6	39.8	30.9
Centre for Social Work	14.1	34.9	34.8	16.2
National employment service	9.9	23.6	39.4	27.1
Ombudsman	15.6	35.7	34.6	14.0
State agencies	10.2	27.5	34.3	27.9

Graph 16. To what extent do the state and its bodies give their contribution to the fight against discrimination - SUM % key and big contribution: year 2017
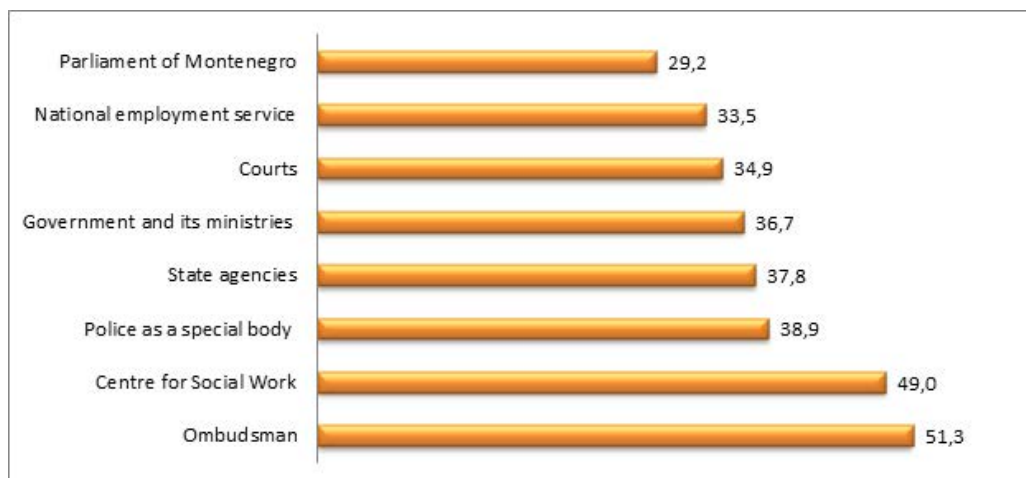
As regards the state and its role, we asked the citizens if they had trust in the state that it would protect them from discrimination (graph 17). **The results show that every fifth citizen has full trust in the state with over 27% of those who have some trust.** The analysis from the point of view of the trend indicates that the obtained values for three researches are considerably different (F(2, 2788)=3.010, p=.049), but we could establish that the measured differences between 2017 and 2015 cannot be considered significant (LSD Post Hoc Test, p=.464) although the percentage of those who have 'full trust' is nominally higher.

Graph 17. Do you have trust in the state that it will protect you from discrimination?
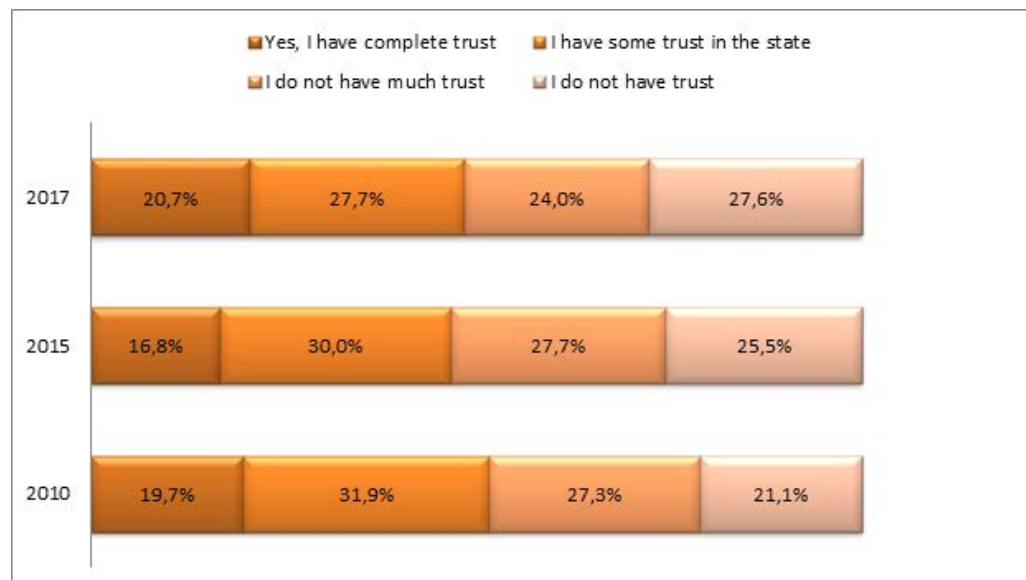
The research has shown us that more than **every fourth citizen knows exactly what his/her rights are in case he/she falls victim to discrimination,** while more than 30% say that they do not know what they would do in such case (graph 18). The trend analysis indicates that progress has been made in this respect in relation to the year 2015 (x2(2)=31.228, p<.001). However, it has to be said that the values obtained in this year's research do not differ significantly in relation to the research implemented in 2010 (x2(2)=3.667, p>.1). In other words, we measure negative trend from 2010 to 2015, and then positive one from 2015 to 2017, at which the values obtained in 2017 are at the level we had had in 2010.

Graph 18. Do you know what your rights would be in case you were to fall victim to discrimination?
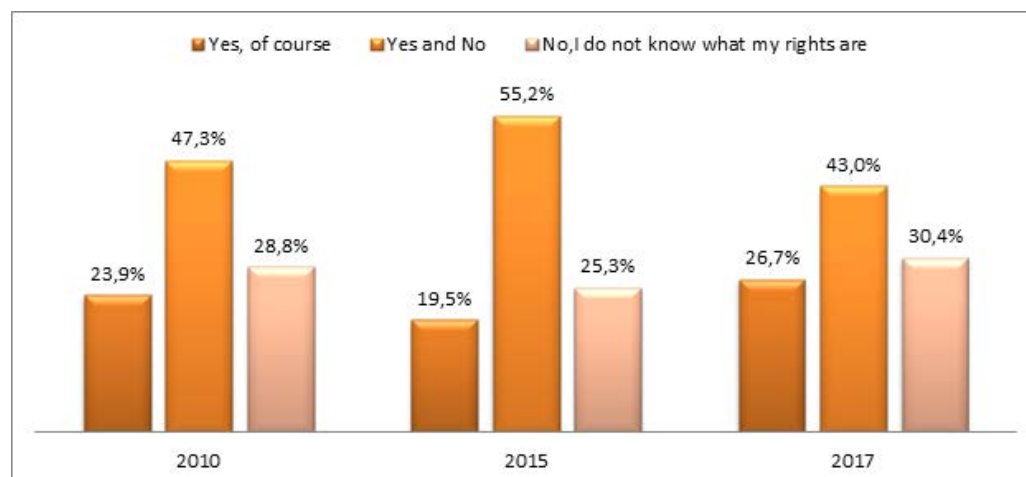
Were they to fall victim to discrimination (graph 19), **the first address citizens would approach is police** (29.8%), followed by media (15.5%), Ombudsman (14.1%), then judiciary (11.2%), inspection authorities (11%), and finally the NGOs (8%). There are significant differences in relation to the year 2015 (x2(6)=26.918, p<.001), and they are the result of potentially higher degree of reports sent to media, and of the reduced degree of reports sent to courts, inspection authorities and NGOs.

Graph 19. Were you to fall victim to discrimination, who would you approach for the assistance first?
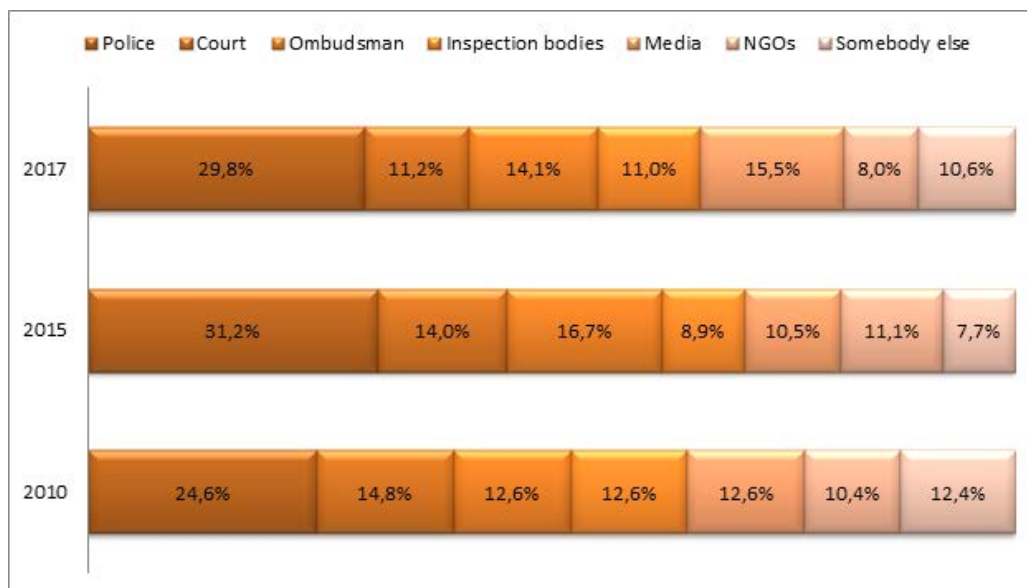
The Graph 20 shows the results of the research which concern the interviewees' assessments on **whether they support the actions of the state directed towards the fight against discrimination of the stated groups.** This information represents, in fact, a measure of social responsibility and care which, according to citizens' opinion, the state should offer with a view to fighting discrimination. First of all, and crucial, the interviewees offered support to the state to a significant proportion so as to undertake actions directed towards the fight against discrimination. Comparatively, **the highest degree of support is offered to women (85.5%) and persons with disabilities (85.3%).** Great degree of support is also offered to the state in the fight against discrimination of national minorities (76.7%) and Roma (72.5%). To a somewhat smaller extent, but still quite high support is offered to the fight against discrimination of political opponents (65.2%), only for citizens to offer least support to the fight against discrimination of LGBT population (40.8%). It is important to mention that the measured hierarchy of the support to the fight against discrimination is not at the same time the hierarchy of the assessment of vulnerability of these groups (which we measured in the preceding part), but it represents social attractiveness and benevolent attitude. Therefore, the information concerning the trends is most indicative. Namely, that information indicates the direction in which awareness is raised on the importance of the protection of the stated groups. In this sense, numerically greatest progress has been achieved in the past two years

when it comes to the protection of national minorities ($x2(2)$=17.806, p<.001). Therefore, awareness has been considerably raised in the past two years when it comes to insisting on the state undertaking measures in the fight against discrimination of national minority groups. Also, although the very value for the year 2017 is comparatively at the lowest level in relation to other groups, we measure significant progress when it comes to the protection of LGBT population as compared to the year 2015 ($x2(2)$=12.542, p<.001). Citizens are, therefore, a lot readier today to give their support to the protection of LGBT persons than it was the case two years ago. In this sense, however, one should have in mind that the trend from 2010 to 2015 was negative, more precisely, the data from the most recent research have returned to the 2010 level. Changes have also been recorded when it comes to political opponents ($x2(2)$=8.495, p=.014), only these changes are interesting solely because they are regressive. Namely, when it comes to political opponents and when the data from 2015 and 2017 are compared, almost identical is the number of those who consider that the state should undertake measures in the fight against their discrimination (65.2% vs. 65.6%), but the number of those who think that no support needs to be offered to them is considerably higher[11] (18.9% vs. 14.9%). The number of those who think that the state should help the persons with disabilities has been somewhat increased as compared to the 2015 data ($x2(2)$=6.705, p=.035), and there is a very similar finding when it comes to women ($x2(2)$=5.769, p=.056). Finally, when it comes to Roma, the data are on the level of those from 2015 ($x2(2)$=1.858, p>.1); therefore, there is no reduction or increase in the level of support.

Graph 20. Do you support the measures and actions directed towards the fight against discrimination of the stated groups?

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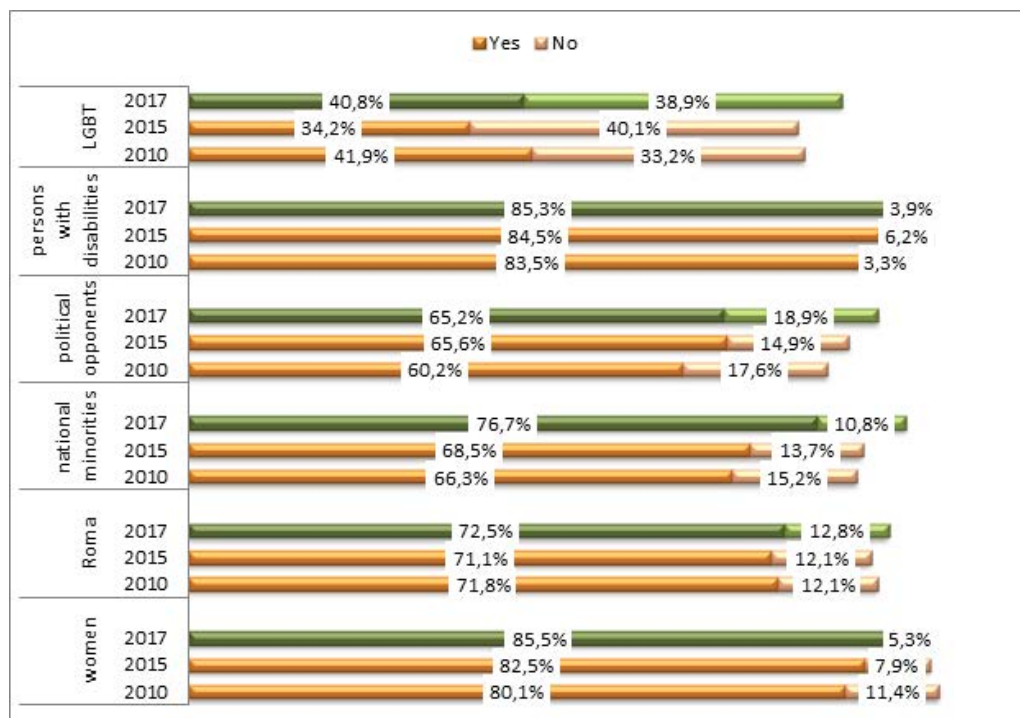
11 It goes without saying that this is to the 'expense' of those who have no attitude with regards to this issue

Discrimination in Montenegro compared to other countries in the region and Europe

With the purpose of comparing the extent of distancing in relation to certain groups, in our research we used a standardized scale[12] to measure three types of distancing, namely **racial-ethnic distance, behavioural distance and political extremist distance**. Reference groups which were the subject matter of the assessment (distancing) on a bivalent scale are enclosed in the table 4. We used one of the modalities of Bogardus social distance measuring scale, more precisely, in the questionnaire the interviewees were asked if they were bothered with the fact that the members of the stated groups lived in their neighbourhood[13].

Table 4. They would not like to have in their neighbourhood:

Ethnic/racial distance	Behavioural distance	Political extremist distance
People of different race	Persons with criminal past	Extreme rightists
People with numerous family	Alcoholics	Extreme leftists
Muslims	Emotionally unstable persons	
Immigrants	Persons with AIDS	
Jews	Drug addicts	
Roma	Homosexuals	
Christians		

If we compare the data on distancing towards the stated groups, i.e. comparing the years 2008 and 2017, we can clearly see that **the distance towards almost every group by ethnic and racial criterion today is on a higher level than it was the case nine years ago** (graph 21). The greatest difference is the distancing in relation to the Roma, towards whom the distance is most distinctive in any case. This information indicates that almost 30% people in Montenegro today do not want to have Roma neighbours, which is almost 10% more than in 2008. It is particularly interesting that the distance towards the Jewish is very high (21.9%), and it is perhaps even more interesting that in the past nine years this has been the most significant distancing increase by more than 7%. Very high distancing value exists towards settlers/immigrants, too (19.4%), with distancing towards this group increased by over 8%. Neighbours of different race are not desired by 16.7% of citizens, which is over 4% higher value than nine years ago. Muslims are undesirable neighbours in 12.8% of the cases, which is on the level we measured in 2008. Also, every tenth Montenegrin citizen does not want a neighbour with numerous family, and even this value is on the level we measured in 2008[14].

The graph 22 gives comparative data by the same distancing criteria by ethnic/racial criterion for Montenegro with categorized European countries.

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12 http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/
13 See the data on reliability and comparability of distance measuring scale in Bešić (2014)
14 Distance towards Christians, in the country in which Christians are a majority, has the function of a control variable, and the obtained measurement values are reciprocal to the distancing towards the stated groups.

Graph 21. People they would not like to have as their neighbours – ethnic/racial distance: Montenegro %
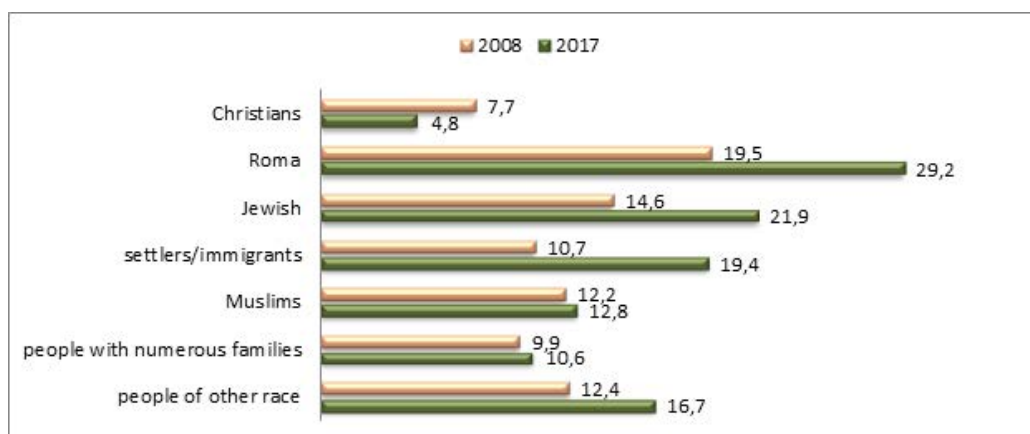
Graph 22. Ethnic/racial distance – comparison between Montenegro and Europe

These data show that **distancing level in Montenegro is higher in relation to the categorized countries only when it comes to the Jewish[15]**. In all other cate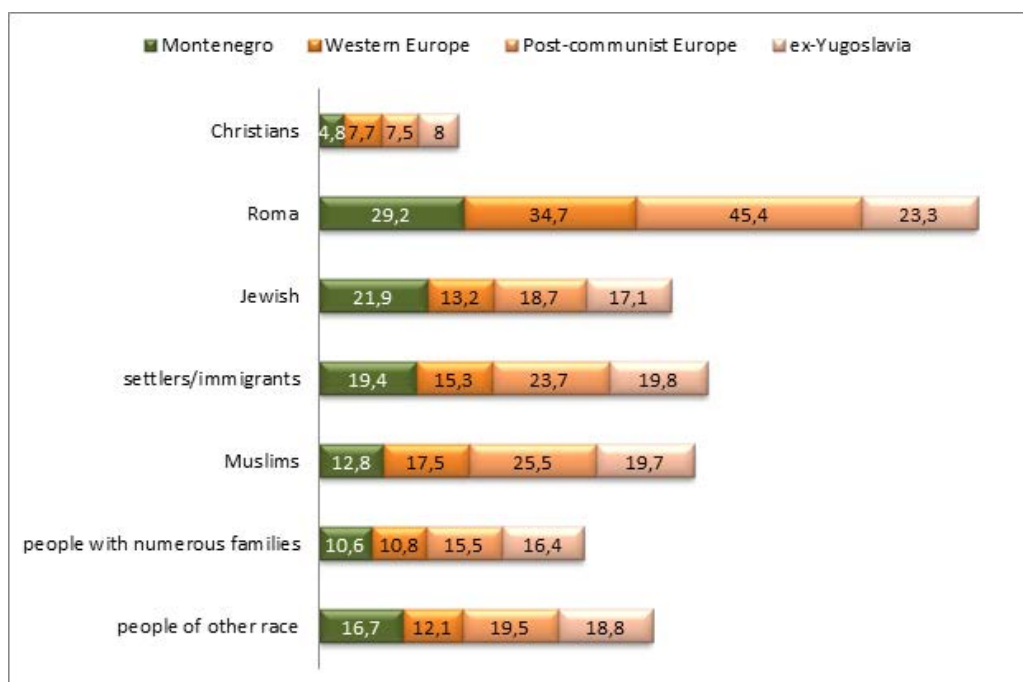gories the distancing in Montenegro is on a lower level than it is the case with other categories of countries. Furthermore, the data indicate that the distancing in relation to the Roma is on the highest level in relation to other groups in all categories of countries. The highest degree of distance towards the Roma is measured in post-communist Europe, and in Montenegro, the

15 This is a very interesting piece of information which the author of this report finds completely inexplicable. It is not known on the basis of historical, political, cultural and any other social reasons why antisemitism would be on a high level in Montenegro.

distance towards the Roma is considerable lower even in comparison with Western European average, whilst that distance is somewhat greater in comparison with the ex-Yugoslav countries. The distancing towards settlers/immigrants is also the greatest in post-communist Europe, while in Montenegro the measured value is on the level of ex-Yugoslav countries, and somewhat greater in relation to the Western Europe. With regards to the people of other race, the distancing in Montenegro is on a somewhat lower level in relation to the ex-Yugoslav countries, as well as in relation to the entire post-communist Europe, but on a somewhat higher level in relation to the Western European average. When it comes to Muslims, the distancing in Montenegro is on the lowest level in relation to all other countries, and it is on a particularly lower level in relation to entire post-communist Europe, including the ex-Yugoslav countries. Social distancing in relation to the people with numerous family in Montenegro is on the level of Western European average, even lower both in relation to entire post-communist Europe and in relation to ex-Yugoslav countries. It goes without saying that in relation to Christians distance is least pronounced in all samples, with this value in Montenegro being on the lowest level in relation to all categories of countries. Grafikon 23. Ukupna etnička /rasna distanca – poređenje između Crne Gore i Evrope

Graph 23. Overall ethnic/racial distance – comparison between Montenegro and Europe
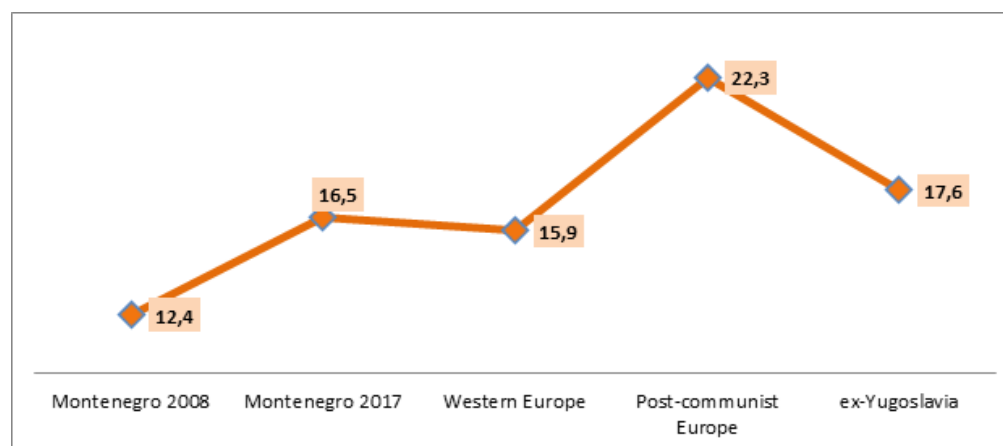

If we calculate average value of ethnic/racial distancing in all categories of countries, and if we additionally compare the measured distance in Montenegro for 2008 and 2017 we can see the data presented in the graph 23. Therefore, **by ethnic/racial criterion Montenegro is on the level of Western European average, and the level of distancing is on more or less the same level in the entire ex-Yugoslavia. Comparatively speaking, distancing is on a considerably lower level in relation to post-communist Europe. However, it is worrying that the measured level of ethnic/racial distancing is on a higher level in relation to 2008.** In other words, by racial/ethnic criterion the extent of discrimination in Montenegro has been on the increase for the previous 10 years.

Another type of distancing we measured and compared with other European countries is **behavioural distance.** From the point of view of terminology, this type of distance is marked as behavioural because the distancing is reported towards individuals and groups which are characterized by certain way of behaviour, or consequences of that behaviour. Therefore, methodologically, just as in the previous case, the interviewees expressed their view in the research that they 'did not want' to have the individuals who belong to the stated groups as

their neighbours. The data which point out to the differences in the extent of behavioural distance we measured in 2008 and today are shown in the graph 24. The first, and key finding of this comparison is that **behavioural distance today is on a lower level in relation to all social groups, rather than it was the case some 10 years ago**. On the other hand, distancing level is very high and most certainly considerably higher than it is the case with ethnic/racial distancing. In other words, **distancing in Montenegro by behavioural criterion is considerably more prominent than it is the case with ethnic/racial distancing**. When distancing by behavioural groups is compared, the greatest degree of distance is measured in relation to drug addicts (69.3%). This value is, however, on a significantly lower level than it was the case in 2008 (80.2%). The second category by 'undesirability' of living in a neighbourhood are the persons with criminal past (60.3%). Even this percentage is considerably lower in comparison with the distancing we measured nine years ago (77.2%). There is a very high distance even towards alcoholics (54.3%), which is by more than 8% lower in relation to 2008. Every other citizen does not want to have homosexual neighbours, which is a very high degree of distancing, but certainly significantly lower in comparison with the research from 2008. Even towards the persons with AIDS the level of distancing has been considerably lowered (from 56.1% to 49.3%), only the measured value is still very high. Finally, the lowest level of distance in this category is measured in relation to emotionally unstable persons (39.5%), which is, therefore, again, considerably lower in comparison with the year 2008 (51.1%).

Graph 24. Persons they would not want to have for their neighbours – behavioural distance: Montenegro %
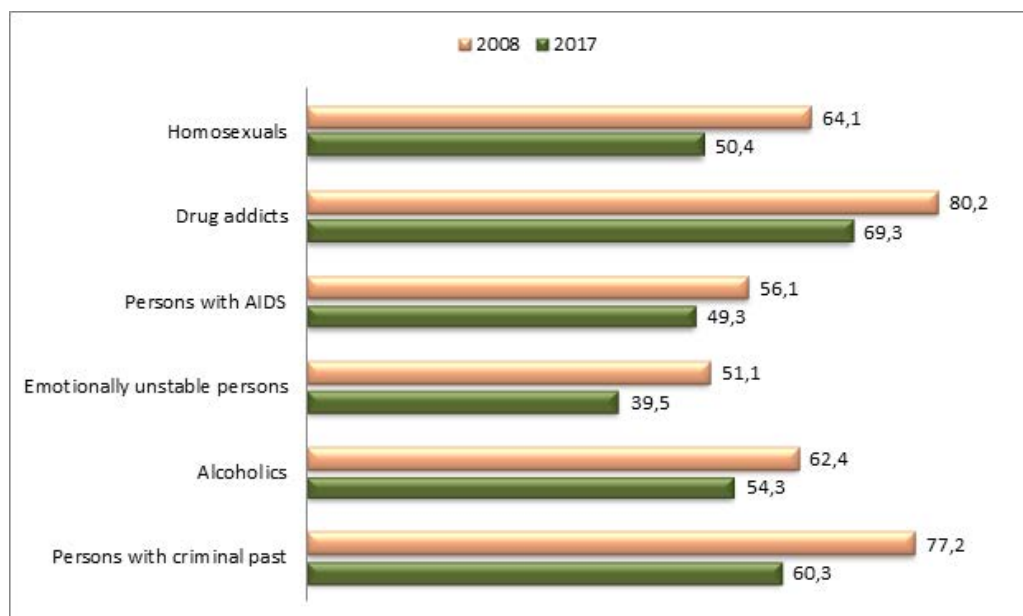
When the degree of distance is compared to the categorized European countries (graph 25), first of all the distance towards homosexuals in Montenegro is somewhat lower in relation to post-communist and ex-Yugoslav countries, but on a drastically higher level in relation Western Europe. The distance towards drug addicts in Montenegro is on almost the same level as in the ex-Yugoslav countries, which is lower when compared to post-communist countries and considerably higher in relation to Western European countries. In relation to the persons

with AIDS, the distance in Montenegro is on almost identical level as in other post-communist countries, including former Yugoslavia, which is considerably higher degree of distancing as compared to Western European average. The information on distancing in relation to emotionally unstable persons indicates that the degree of distancing in Montenegro is almost identical as in former Yugoslavia, which is lower than in other post-communist countries, and higher in relation to Western European ones. Distancing in relation to alcoholics in Montenegro is also higher as compared to Western European countries, and that degree of distance is more or less the same as in the ex-Yugoslav countries, as well as considerably lower in relation to other post-communist countries. Finally, when it comes to distancing in relation to the persons with criminal past, the measured degree of distance in Montenegro is lower than in the rest of post-communist Europe, including former Yugoslavia, while the measured distance is on a significantly higher level in relation to Wester European average.

Graph 25. Behavioural distance – comparison between Montenegro and Europe
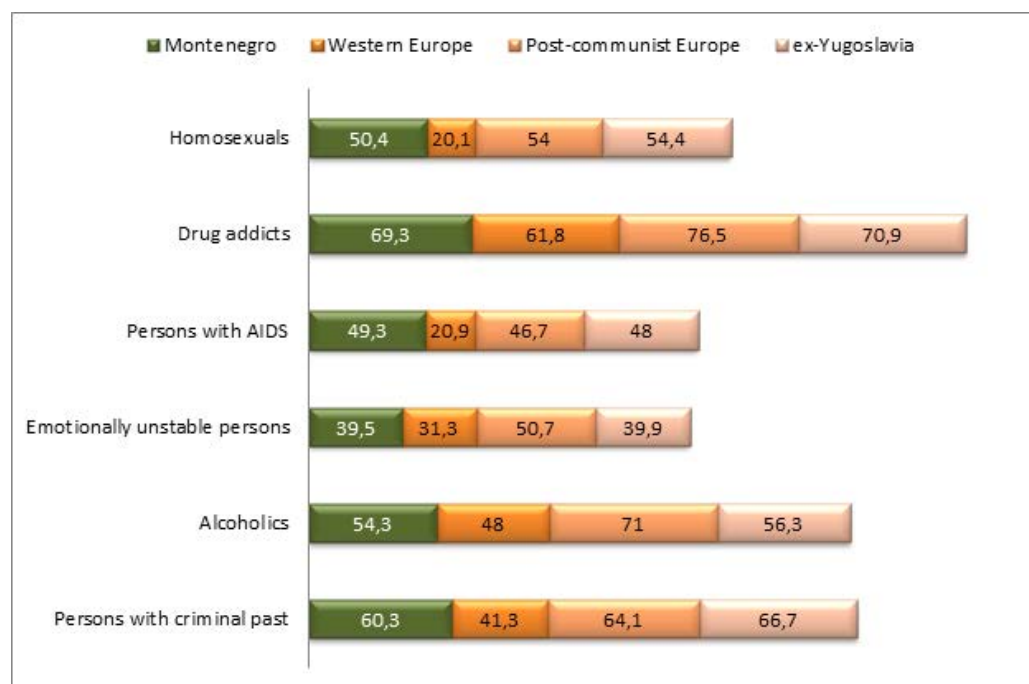
According to the calculated average distancing values towards all categories in relation to which behavioural distancing was measured, graph 26 was compiled in which we measure average distance on all samples. As we have stated, the data indicate, that **the degree of distancing by behavioural criterion in Montenegro is very high, but comparatively on a significantly lower level today than it was the case nine years ago**. Furthermore, the data indicate that the measured degree of behavioural distancing is somewhat lower than the average of all former Yugoslav countries, and even lower in comparison with the average in all post-communist countries. On the other hand, this information shows convincingly that behavioural distancing in Montenegro is on a significantly higher level in relation to the average in Western European countries.

Graph 26. Overall behavioural distance – comparison between Montenegro and Europe
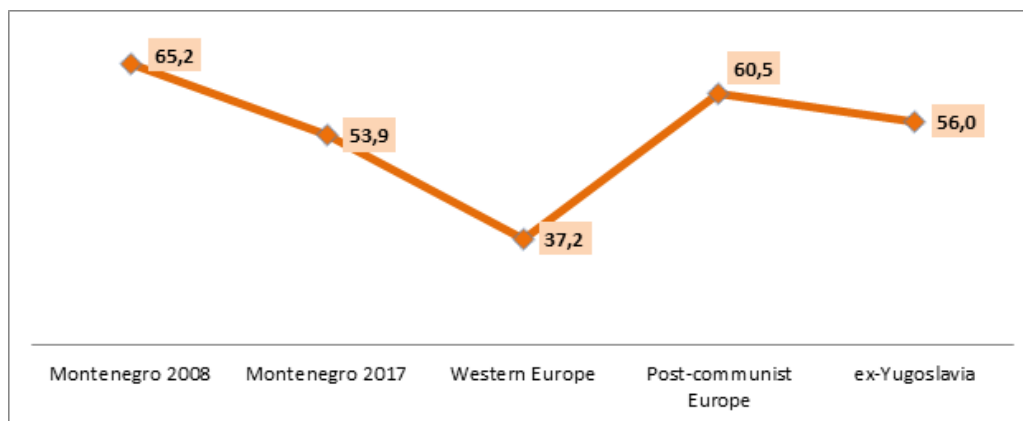
Graph 27. They do not want to have extreme leftists or rightists for their neighbours %

Within the framework of this comparative measurement, we compared the degree of distancing towards political extremism in Montenegro with other countries, including the comparison of data obtained by this research, and the reference data from 2008 (graph 27). The data indicate that there is a very small difference in distancing towards political extremism irrespective of whether it comes 'from the left' or 'right', when it comes to all the countries with the exception of Western Europe, in which the rightists are considerably more undesirable than the leftists. Then, **the data show that the degree of distancing towards extreme leftists and rightists in Montenegro today is on a higher level that it was in 2008**. Furthermore, the data indicate that in Montenegro the distance towards political extremists is on a higher level than in the ex-Yugoslav countries, that it is on approximately the same level as in other
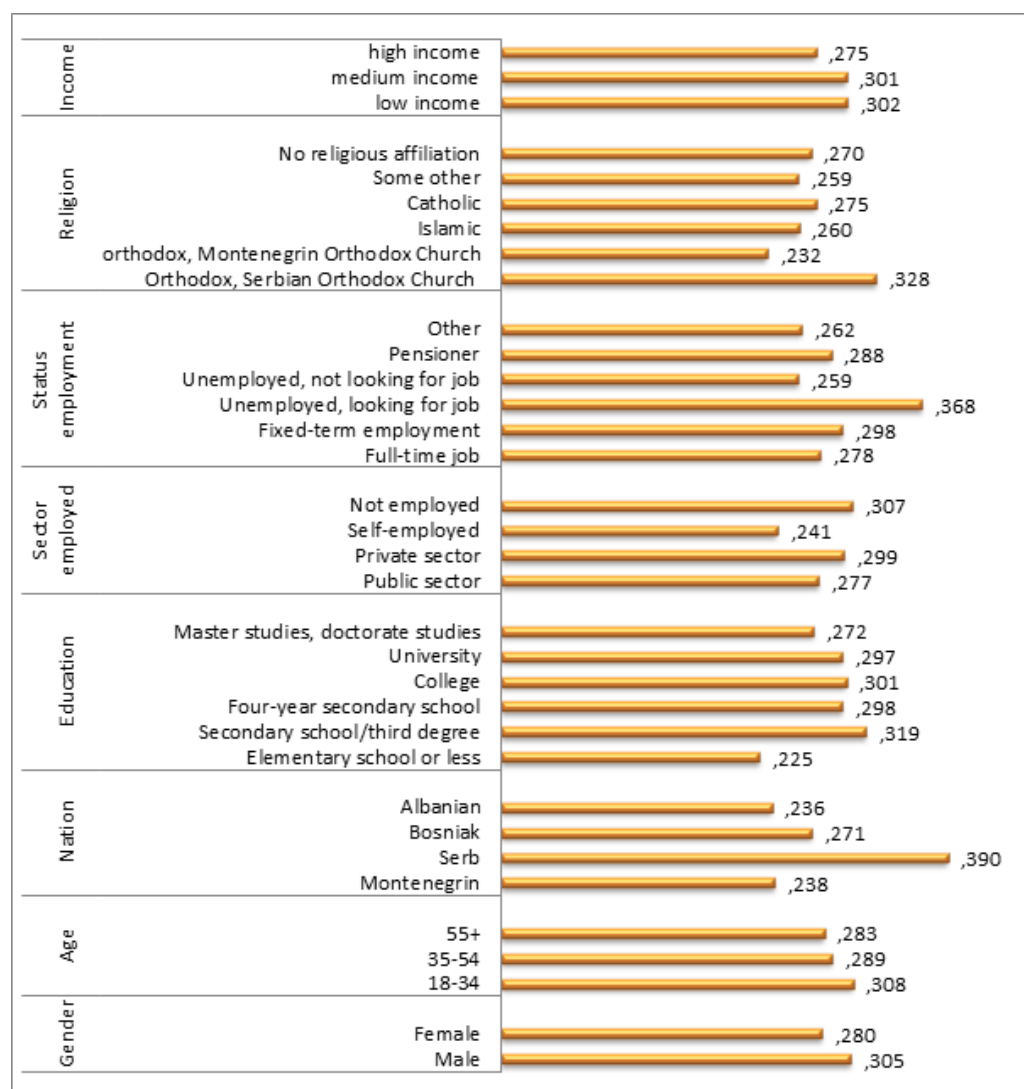
Western European countries when it comes to the 'left', and/or on a lower level when it comes to post-communist Europe, still when talking about the 'left'. **In relation to the 'rightists', Montenegro is significantly more tolerant than Western European countries, and this degree of tolerance is on the level of average in the post-communist countries**. All in all, when it comes to tolerance towards political extremism, Montenegro does not deviate significantly from other countries in Europe and the region, except that the distance towards the 'leftists' is on a considerably lower level than it is the case in Western Europe.

What factors does discrimination perception in Montenegro depend on?

For the purpose of the analysis of the factors that discrimination perception depends on, we synthetized the entire measured distance by areas towards all social groups into a single score, which therefore measures the overall discrimination perception. In this way, we will use the total discrimination score to show which one of the factors does discrimination perception possibly depends on in Montenegro. When it comes to factors, methodically, we will divide them into three groups, the first being socio-demographic, the second political and the third, socio-psychological correlates.

When it comes to socio-demographic factors (graph 28), the data show that men perceive discrimination to a greater extent than women do. It is particularly significant that the data show that the younger the citizens the greater discrimination perception. Ethnic affiliation is obviously a very sensitive factor, namely, the members of Serbian nationality perceive discrimination considerably more than the members of other ethnic groups. Also, Bosniaks perceive discrimination to a greater extent than Montenegrins or Albanians, while there is almost no difference between the perceptions of the members of the last two groups. When it comes to education, it is interesting that the lowest degree of discrimination perception is measured with the lowest educated population, or more precisely, with the interviewees who are uneducated or who finished but elementary school. This result is interesting due to the finding that those who fall into the first next category in the hierarchy of education (secondary school, 3rd degree), perceive the highest degree of discrimination. This finding probably indicates that education is not a factor, but that this variable is co-linear with some other factors. The unemployed and those who work in private sector perceive discrimination to a significantly greater extent as compared to those who are self-employed and work in public sector. More precise finding, however, when it comes to employment status is the one that indicates that the unemployed actively looking for a job perceive discrimination to a considerably greater extent in relation to those who are unemployed and not actively looking for a job. Furthermore, those who belong to Serbian Orthodox Church perceive discrimination to a considerably greater extent in relation to the members of other confessions. Finally, those with higher incomes perceive discrimination to a greater extent in relation to those with medium and high incomes.

*Graph 28. Socio-demographic factors of discrimination perception*

		Value
Income	high income	,275
	medium income	,301
	low income	,302
Religion	No religious affiliation	,270
	Some other	,259
	Catholic	,275
	Islamic	,260
	orthodox, Montenegrin Orthodox Church	,232
	Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox Church	,328
Status employment	Other	,262
	Pensioner	,288
	Unemployed, not looking for job	,259
	Unemployed, looking for job	,368
	Fixed-term employment	,298
	Full-time job	,278
Sector employed	Not employed	,307
	Self-employed	,241
	Private sector	,299
	Public sector	,277
Education	Master studies, doctorate studies	,272
	University	,297
	College	,301
	Four-year secondary school	,298
	Secondary school/third degree	,319
	Elementary school or less	,225
Nation	Albanian	,236
	Bosniak	,271
	Serb	,390
	Montenegrin	,238
Age	55+	,283
	35-54	,289
	18-34	,308
Gender	Female	,280
	Male	,305

In the graph 29 there are results of the measurement of the effects of political factors on discrimination perception[16]. The data indicate that those who consider that Montenegro is on the right track have more than twice lower extent of discrimination perception in relation to those who consider the Montenegro moves along a poor track. Also, the data indicate that the more satisfied people are with their life and job, to a lesser extent they perceive discrimination. Finally, the higher the trust in political institutions, the lesser the extent of discrimination perception. Therefore, let us conclude that discrimination perception is greatly determined

16 We did not measure party preference in our research. However, on the basis of a large number of previous researches (CEDEM 2001 to 2017), it was established that there is a high correlation between the assessment whether Montenegro goes into the right direction, whether people are satisfied with their life and job, and how much trust in political institutions they have. These researches indicate that those who support the authorities to a significantly greater extent in relation to those who are against, consider that Montenegro follows the right track; they are more satisfied with their jobs and their lives, and they have greater trust in political institutions, contrary to those who are against the authorities. Therefore, these four factors are used as 'proxy' for political factors.

by political attitude, more precisely, negative attitude towards the authorities, their operation and results, increases the extent of discrimination perception.

Graph 29. Political factors of discrimination perception
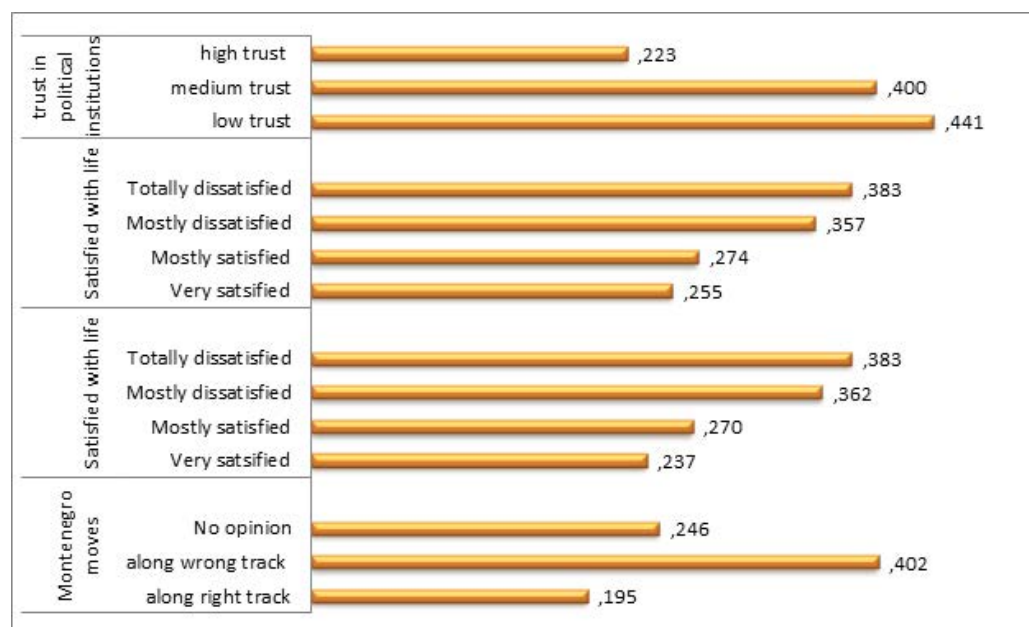
Finally, when it comes to socio-psychological correlates , we tested several of them which are treated in literature as significant for discrimination perception (graph 30). The most interesting fact is the lack of connection between discrimination perception and nationalism. In other words, we have not found that there is a connection between discrimination perception, on one side, both with national identification and with national exclusiveness on the other. This finding is indicative, and it indicates that nationalism does not affect the extent of discrimination perception in Montenegro. Also, control locus has proved to be a non-connected factor, more precisely, which does not affect discrimination perception. Therefore, discrimination perception in a society is not dependent on whether individuals consider that they have or do not have control over their own lives. Interpersonal trust, however, is a socio-psychological factor which is a very important discrimination perception correlate.

Therefore, the data indicate that **the greater the level of trust individuals have towards other individuals, the lower discrimination perception is**. Consequently, this means **that great extent of discrimination perception measured in Montenegro is the consequence of the low level of social (interpersonal) trust.**

Graph 3. Socio-psychological factors of discrimination perception
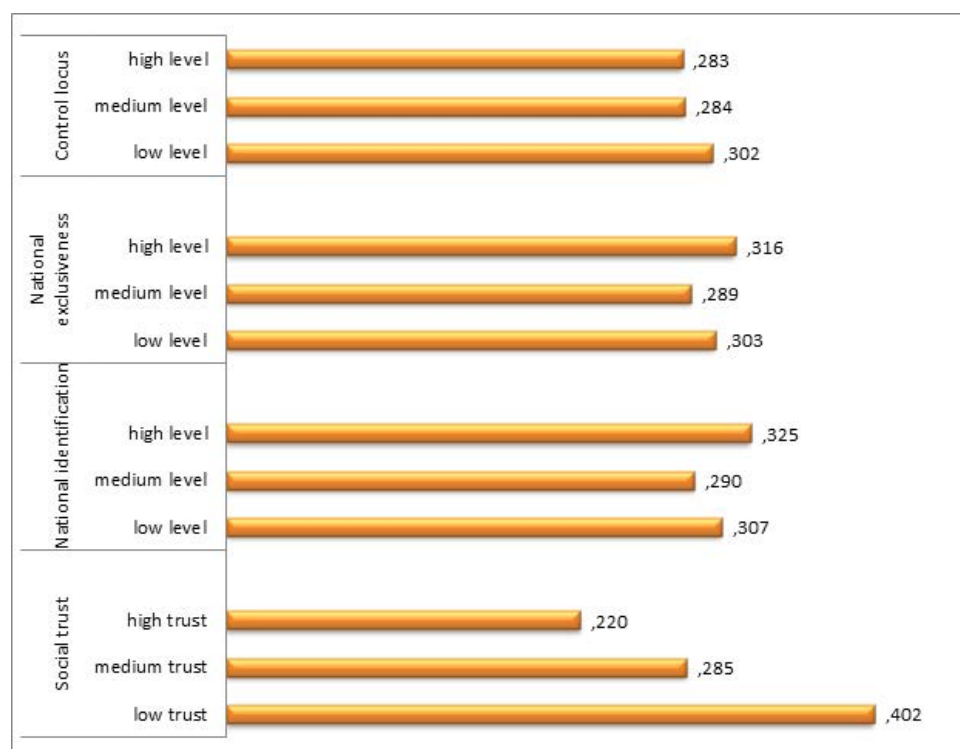
Key research findings

In a differentiated society discrimination is one of the greatest problems democratic society is faced with. The existence of a large number of social groups, with their differences in various senses: religious, ethnic, gender, political, sexual orientation and any other, creates potential danger from conflicts, with the biggest problem being discrimination of minorities by majorities. Consequently, such discriminatory practices bring entire political order and social consensus into the state of instability, and as a result potential long-lasting conflicts might lead to various forms of societal disintegration. All these problems are more pronounced in the societies with emphasized authoritarian and conflict past, which particularly the case with post-communist societies in which authoritarianism and intolerance make integral part of historical and political being. Therefore, fight against discrimination is an important task of all democratically responsible social actors. The first step in the fight against discrimination is its systematic and longitudinal measurement, as well as the assessment of its extent and what are its systematic causes. Exactly this kind of analysis was made in the coming pages. This report is just an excerpt of a broader report we have prepared and which contains incomparably greater amount of information for those that might be interested. In this place, however, we will just give an overview of the key research findings in order for decision makers to be able to become quickly and efficiently familiar with the condition and trends related to discriminatory views and practices in Montenegro. By measuring discrimination this year, we established that the greatest extent of discrimination, according to citizens' perception, was found towards the persons with different political beliefs. This information supports numerous other former researches carried out by CEDEM, which indicate that political divisions in Montenegro are

deep and constitute the basis for the social divide and all kinds of existing conflicts. The second group by the extent of discrimination are the elderly, i.e. according to citizens' opinion there is widespread 'ageism' in Montenegro, and on the basis of comparative researches in other countries elderly persons are in fact the greatest victims of transition. Then, based on the measured degree of vulnerability, follow persons with disabilities, discrimination on the grounds of national, and religious affiliation, discrimination of women and finally discrimination of LGBT persons. Discrimination by political affiliation, which is the most pronounced form, is

exposed to very small changes, or more precisely, it is on almost the same level as it was two and seven years ago respectively. This persistency of the level of discrimination by political criterion points out to stable and strong mechanisms which contribute to its reproduction, and the grounds for its existence are probably very deeply entrenched into the political tissue of Montenegrin society.

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

The extent of discrimination is on the increase today, as compared to the year 2015, by the criterion of religious affiliation, while towards all other groups it is on a more or less the same level as it was two years ago, and the changes with these groups are registered when the measurements for the year 2010 and 2015 are compared. In other words, we had more pronounced change dynamics from 2010 to 2015, than it has been the case from 2015 until today. On the other side, the changes from 2010 to 2015 were mostly regressive in nature, while those from 2015 till today have mostly been progressive. In simple terms, in most cases, the pattern shows that the extent of discrimination in Montenegro today is on a lower level in relation to the year 2015, but in 2015 it is on a higher level in relation to 2010, consequently, present-day level of discrimination is more or less on the level measured in 2010.

According to citizens' opinion, the greatest extent of discrimination exists in the area of employment. One should have in mind that the area of employment in itself is probably the most sensitive in the situation when unemployment is relatively high, or more precisely, economic crisis can greatly enhance the perception of high discrimination in the area of employment.

Out of all social areas, discrimination in the area of employment is the most evident

All other areas show considerably lower and mutually harmonized level of discrimination. Employment is obviously particularly sensitive even due to the fact that according to citizens' assessment discrimination level has risen today in relation to 2015. Also, in relation to the period two years back, we record new lower level of discrimination in the area of education and healthcare, while in other areas the extent of discrimination today is approximately on the level we established two years ago.

Prejudices towards certain groups are the basis for distancing in relation to the members of these groups, and distancing constitutes the grounds for discriminatory attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, we identified the degree of distancing towards key groups which face discrimination risk all over Europe. This type of research shows that there are three profiles of distancing, the first one by ethnic/

In Montenegro just as in Europe, the greatest extent of distancing by ethnic/racial criterion exists in relation to the Roma

racial criterion, the second by behavioural criterion, and the third by political criterion. By exactly following this international standardized methodology, we measured distancing by comparing the degree of distance in 2008 and today, as well as by comparing the degree of distance which exists in Montenegro with the reference degree of distance in other countries of the region and Europe.

Distancing towards various groups is done in the way that the interviewees express their views that they 'do not want' to have members of these groups for their neighbours.

By ethnic/racial criterion in all European countries, including Montenegro, the greatest extent of distancing exists towards the Roma. Comparatively speaking, distancing by ethnic/racial grounds in Montenegro is on a significantly lower level in relation to the average in post-communist European countries, and approximately on the level of other ex-Yugoslav countries and Western European countries. Particularly interesting is the fact that in Montenegro there is a high degree of distancing in relation to the Jewish, which there is no rational explanation for. However, the most indicative fact with regards to Montenegro is the finding that the total level of distancing by ethnic/racial criterion today is on a higher level than it was the case nine years ago.

Ethnic/racial distancing in Montenegro today is on a considerably higher level than it was in 2008

The highest degree of distance in Montenegro, by behavioural criterion exists in relation to drug addicts and persons with criminal past

With regards to distancing in relation to individuals who belong to the groups being discriminated on the grounds of their behaviour and/or consequences of the same, we found that in Montenegro distance is very much present, certainly on a considerably higher level in relation to ethnic/racial distancing.

The highest degree of distance in Montenegro, in relation to behavioural criterion, exists in relation to drug addicts and persons with criminal past. However, this level of distancing is somewhat below the average in ex-Yugoslav countries, and even significantly lower than in other former socialist countries. On the other hand, in Montenegro, just as

Behavioural distance in Montenegro today is on a significantly lower level than it was nine years ago

in all other post-communist countries, including ex-Yugoslav countries, behavioural distance is on a drastically higher level in relation to Western European countries. However, key fact in our research is that behavioural distance today is on a considerably lower level as compared to the year 2008. Therefore, high degree of behavioural distancing and positive trends are the main findings of this year's research.

When it comes to distancing in relation to political extremists, we notice, first of all, that the level of distancing in Montenegro is on approximately equal level, irrespective of the fact whether political extremism comes 'from the left' or 'from the right'. In any case, distancing in relation to political extremism

Distancing in relation to political extremism in Montenegro today is on a higher level than it was nine years ago

in Montenegro today is more prominent towards both leftists and rightists as compared to the year 2008. Montenegro differs from other countries solely in the higher degree of tolerance towards rightist extremism when compared to Western Europe.

In all other distancing measures, Montenegro is approximately on the same level as the countries in the region and other post-communist countries.

Analysing the factors that discrimination perception depends on we found several factors which fall under different categories by their attributes. When it comes to sociodemographic factors, national affiliation proved to be crucial, or more precisely, those who declare as being Serbs perceive discrimination to a significantly greater extent as compared to the members of other national groups. However, it is

Discrimination perception is on a significantly higher level among those who are Government opponents than among Government supporters

questionable whether nationality is a demographic or political variable. This is because on the political stage in Montenegro political conflict between Government and opposition is at the same time a national conflict, since political parties which represent Serbs' interests are in the opposition.

That discrimination perception is of a political character to a significant degree can be proved by the fact that among those who think that the country moves along the right track (and this is a proxy for those who represent Government), discrimination perception is on a considerably lower level in relation to those who think that the country moves into

Low level of social (interpersonal) trust is one of the key factors of high discrimination in Montenegro

wrong direction (proxy for those who are against Government). This corresponds to the fact that those with low trust in political institutions, perceive discrimination to a considerably high degree in relation to those whose trust in political institution is high. As a control indicator which proves this claim there is a link between overall satisfaction with life and discrimination perception, or more precisely, those who are more satisfied with life perceive discrimination on a significantly lower level in relation to those who are dissatisfied.

The research has shown that one socio-psychological factor is very important when it comes to discrimination perception, and it is interpersonal trust. In other words, if social (interpersonal) trust is on a high level, discrimination is perceived to a significantly lower level, than if that trust is on a low level. Therefore, we can say that high degree of discrimination perception in Montenegro is to a great extent a resultant of the low degree of interpersonal trust which exists.

Educational institutions, media and NGOs contribute most to the fight against discrimination

Different institutions, according to citizens' opinions offer different contribution to the fight against discrimination. Citizens assess that the greatest contribution to this fight is offered by educational institutions, media and NGOs, while the lowest level of contribution is offered by political parties.

Out of state institutions, the greatest contribution to the fight against discrimination is offered by Ombudsman and Centre for Social Work

On the other hand, when it comes to educational institutions and media, the trend is prominently positive, therefore, it is considered that they contribute to the fight against discrimination to a significantly greater extent than two years ago, whilst when it comes to NGOs, the trend is negative.

When it comes to the state and its institutions, the greatest contribution to the fight against discrimination, according to citizens' opinion, is offered by Ombudsman and Centre for Social Work, and the smallest by the Parliament of Montenegro. Overall trust in the state and its bodies is not particularly high, but it is on the increase in relation to the year 2015.

The strongest support of the public is the fight against discrimination of women and persons with disabilities

Finally, very high degree of support in the fight against discrimination is offered by citizens to almost all groups which were the subject matter of this research. The fight against discrimination of women and persons with disabilities is supported to the greatest possible extent. The least supported is the fight against discrimination of LGBT persons, but in this respect the trend is positive, or more precisely, the support to this group is more prominent today than it was the case two years ago.