

PATTERNS AND DEGREE OF DISCRIMINATION IN MONTENEGRO 2020



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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH¹

¹ This part of the Report was taken over from the last year's report/research carried out under the title: Forms of discrimination in Montenegro, March 2018. The reason being the fact that this research was being managed using identical conceptual and operational framework.



Discrimination has been the subject matter of scientific attention and research activities since 1950-ies. This issue has primarily been dealt with by theoreticians and researchers who were social psychologists by vocation. The first theories, definitions and approaches to the issue of discrimination were offered by Allport (1954). The notion of discrimination offered by this author relies primarily on the concept of bias. In other words, it is a hypothesis that prejudice is the basis which discrimination rests upon. Prejudice is thus still considered the basis for discriminatory practice, when it comes to socio-psychological approach. In his book *The Nature of Prejudice (1954)*, Allport defines prejudice as 'antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization'. Prejudices, in fact, represent behavioural, attitudinal and verbal expressions through which non-critically accepted negative traits of some group are attributed to individual members of that group. Some other authors, instead of the term antipathy, the following terms are used: negative feelings, animosity, hostile attitude, etc. Therefore, prejudices essentially lead to distancing, which consequently leads to discrimination. Generalization, a term used in the definition, implies non-critical perception of individuals in the sense that they are attributed negative traits of the group they belong to, by mere fact that someone belongs to such group, without a need for justification.

When it comes to discrimination, Allport claimed that there were five forms of discrimination occurring sequentially, in the sense that every succes-

sive degree represents also higher discrimination intensity. These are: verbal antagonism, avoidance, segregation, physical attack and extermination. Large number of authors were dealing cautiously and inquisitively with descriptions and research activities within the framework of these types. In the text that follows we are going to point out to several key authors and research activities aimed at operationalizing, confirm and expand the forms of discrimination defined by Allport.

Verbal antagonism is a simple form of discrimination, more precisely, a way that by using language hostile attitude is expressed towards certain social groups and their representatives. It also happens when the members of disadvantaged groups are either present in communication or not. In various situations, members of certain groups are verbally assigned attributes with negative connotation (for instance, gypsies, sluggards, alcoholics, illiterate etc.). Verbal antagonism is the mildest, first, but also the most frequent form of discrimination that happens in a society (Essed, 1997; Feagin, 1991)

Besides verbal antagonism, discriminatory behaviour can also be practiced through various forms of non-verbal violence which, together with the verbal creates a kind of hostile environment in a society in relation to discriminated individuals. There are numerous ways of using verbal and **non-verbal violence** in the function of discrimination, and typical examples are job interviews, when you simply cut short the time envisaged for an interview, or when you do not listen what a candidate is telling you, and/or when you place your chair away from him/her (Darley & Fazio, 1980; Word et al., 1974). Such attitude undermines the effect of the interviewee, thus negative decision on the employment of the interviewee is justified by his/her poor performance at the interview, which (performance) is presented as 'objective', and which in fact is a result of discriminatory attitude of the interviewer.

Avoidance means favouring the members of one's own social group in relation to the members of other groups. This happens because, socio-psychologically, individuals often wish to function in the world which is similar to theirs, their perceptions and their culture. This type of discrimination most often results in differences which are created in the social-class structure of the society, which appear

either as ethnic or racial (Johnson & Stafford, 1998). There is a large number of laboratory experiments which confirmed the phenomenon of 'avoidance' and described ways in which it operates (Pettigrew, 1998b; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

Segregation means exclusion of individuals who belong to certain social groups when it comes to allocation of resources. This form of discrimination appears in the context of employment or access to certain institutions like the educational ones, access to social welfare and similar (Duckitt, 2001; Bobo, 2001).

Physical attacks need not be defined, and the most frequent subject matter of research activities is frequency, magnitude and circumstances under which they occur (Schneider et al., 2000).

Extermination is an extreme form of discrimination which appears in special historical and political circumstances, and 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 which are 'invisible', so to say, which are theoretically defined as **subtle prejudices** (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Katz and Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986). As an effect of these latent forms of manifestations of prejudices, the members of certain social group feel rejected, humiliated and labelled. They lose self-confidence which often leads to discriminated individuals creating negative attitude about themselves. Consequently, if they accept the fact that they are 'less worthy', they will behave as such in the society. In this way, the perception of the majority of them 'really' being less worthy will be strengthened and justified.

In literature and studies, the notion of **indirect prejudices** is also defined. This form of discrimination implies the actions of condemning the members of other groups for their behaviour and/or culture. Typical example is when it is said that it is in the nature of the 'Roma' to be lazy and similar. This form of discrimination often includes specific negative and humiliating attitude in relation to the members of the groups which are object of discrimination when it comes to their language, way of expressing themselves, etc. This type of discrimination often operates automatically, thus it is a legitimized form of discrimination practiced by the majority group and as such it does not call for justification, nor is it experienced as any kind of problem whatsoever (Fiske, 1998). Consequently, the members of minority groups, which are discriminated against, develop a feeling of anxiety (Hart et al., 2000; Phelps et al., 2000).

Statistical discrimination constitutes a form of discrimination when by means of prejudices individuals who belong to certain social groups are rejected in such a way that they are attributed traits stemming from 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 results that the Roma are on average less educated, when their level of education is statistically compared with the level of education of majority population. Thus, every member of Roma ethnic community applying for a job, for instance, is perceived as less educated in relation to other individuals applying for the job, being the members of the majority community. As a result, statistical discrimination consequentially confirms, extends and perpetuates 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 implies the procedures in which organizational and/or social structure systematically favours the representatives of majority population. Residential segregation is one of the typical forms of this type of discrimination. For instance, the members of discriminated groups are often residentially segregated and live in the informal neighbourhoods. As a result, they are unable to raise mortgage credits, which they need, say, for starting

a small business, or, for instance, when someone is recruited, often informal communication and recommendations play a significant role. In these procedures, recommendations are avoided for the members of discriminated groups, which, consequently, and in an invisible but systematic way, hinders the employment of the members of discriminated groups.

Various forms of discrimination are theoretically explained in different ways. Although social psychology as a science had pioneering advantage in dealing with discrimination issues, contemporary approaches are mostly multidisciplinary and attempt to explain the phenomenon of discrimination by relying on the knowledge from various scientific fields. These approaches were most thoroughly classified in several theoretic categories by Rice² (K.E.). According to him, essentially all theories of discrimination 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 inefficiency of adjusting to the specificities and/or 'deficiencies' of discriminated groups.*

Based on these criteria, by using complex meta-analysis of literature dealing with prejudices, Rice developed another complex classification of all theories dealing with the issue of prejudice and discrimination³:

- 1 **Social categorization theories** – mere act of grouping and identification with own group leads unavoidably towards creating prejudices on other groups;
- 2 **Social identification theories** – absorption of the culture of the group we belong to consequently leads to prejudices towards values and norms of the members of other groups;
- 3 **Social comparison theories** – need for personal identity which stems from collective identification which then leads to the perception that the group I belong to is better in comparison to other groups;
- 4 **Theories of strengthening collective cohesion** – causing conflicts with other groups with the purpose of strengthening cohesion with one's own group;
- 5 **Realistic conflict theory** – discrimination is a result of the game of zero sum; in fact, perception that the interests of one group can only be achieved to the detriment of other group's interests;

Discriminatory practices, irrespective of the theories used to explain them, have their consequences. On one hand, they are socio-psychological, therefore also behavioural, and on the other,

they are of societal and political character. There are two key theories dealing with socio-psychological consequences of discrimination in a society. The first one being so called **theory: frustration-aggression** (Dollard, 1980) and it indicates that discrimination produces frustration with the individuals who are exposed to it, and this consequently leads to aggressive behaviour of the members of these groups towards the members of the majority group (who are thus perceived as 'aggressors'). The other one is known as **theory of relative deprivation** (Stouffer, 1949), which argues that tension between oppressors and a deprived group occurs as a result of unequal distribution in the process of constant comparison. To put it simply, social deprivation theory indicates that the majority group uses discrimination to maximise benefits stemming from the exclusion of discriminated groups from the distribution of benefits, while, at the same time, animosity is generated among the members of discriminated groups against the members of the majority group due to the fact that they have been excluded from the distribution of resources⁴. However, when it comes to the consequences of discrimination, regardless of the (non) acceptance of one of these two theories, it is the essence that the consequences of discriminatory practices deepen the gap, animosity and conflict between the majority group and other social groups, which has negative consequences both on individuals and on the society as a whole.

² <http://www.integratedsociopsychology.net/prejudice-discrimination.html>

³ The first three were actually taken over from Tajfel & Turner, 1979

⁴ In plain words, the ones (members of majority group) become greedy, and the others (members of discriminated group) envious and jealous. The former use discrimination to appropriate as many resources and benefits as possible, and the latter are angry with them on those grounds.

Therefore, discrimination is not only a socio-psychological issue, but also a significant social and even political issue. Contemporary society experiences very high degree of differentiation by various criteria, due to which there are many societal groups which differ by a large number of distinctive criteria. Democratic order rests on the idea of the absence of discrimination. The equality of chances is one of the key assumptions which ensures social justice, social trust and stability of a political community. In case discrimination is pronounced, it seriously damages the legitimacy of the entire social and political order, and consequently, besides the injustice pertaining to individuals, the society itself is characterized by political instability. These are the reasons because of which every democratic society should strongly advocate the equality of chances, and fight against discrimination.

Fight against discrimination presumes, first of all, identification of key societal groups and degree of discrimination. This was the first and key objective of this research. Therefore, with this research we wanted to determine **the degree of discrimination that key societal groups under threat of discrimination are exposed to**. The second objective of this research was to determine trends when it comes to perception of discrimination. In other words, by applying the same methodology, we carried out discrimination research in 2010 and 2015. In this way it was possible to measure, using longitudinal approach, **whether, to what extent, in which direction and towards which groups discrimination has upward trend, or if the trends are regressive**.

Finally, the third objective of the research was to **determine certain differences among certain categories of population when it comes to the perception of discrimination**. Pointing out to the fact that certain demographic, social, political, ethnic and/or other features determine the degree of discriminatory views are integral part of the knowledge we wished to identify through this research. Ultimately, for the needs of public policies, we will try to identify possible recommendations of instruments and measures with a view to reducing the degree of discrimination, or more precisely, the measures aimed at reducing the level and effect of discriminatory practices.



OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

2



For the needs of this research, **discrimination was defined as a relationship between the persons who belong to a majority group and other individuals or groups in which according to certain discriminatory criterion the principle of equal treatment of these individuals and social groups is not observed.**

Since this research is an empirical and not a theoretical one, operational definition of discrimination is deemed more important. In this regard, discrimination was defined in such a way that, from the operational point of view, we first and foremost determined social areas in which we were to measure discrimination, then also the criteria according to which discrimination is practiced. In this way, by intersecting these two analytical criteria, we measured the existence of discrimination in every area according to the defined discrimination criteria. The list of areas and the list of criteria is certainly not exhaustive, as this is simply impossible, due to the total number of potential criteria and areas. We, therefore, selected the areas and criteria that appear most significant in everyday life, media, in the work of NGO sector and overall political discourse. Social areas in which discrimination was measured are:

- **Employment;**
- **Education;**
- **Accessibility to healthcare;**
- **Functioning of public services;**
- **Discrimination in the area of culture and cultural protection.**

Criteria for the identification of social groups which are at risk of discrimination, which have been opera-

tionalised in this in this report, are the following ones:

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

From the point of view of methodology, it is certainly important to point out to the fact that it concerns the use of survey method, more precisely, we measured **perception of discrimination** in a **quantitative manner**. All data and results obtained are, therefore, a result of citizens⁵ perception. Main advantage of such analytical and methodological approach is in the fact that for every measured area and by all measurement criteria, we will obtain comparative insight, more precisely, by using identical methodological approach with scales having identical metric features, it will be possible to compare the extent of discrimination by areas and by defined criteria. From the international standpoint, the survey also aims at reflecting the challenges related to discrimination in Montenegro identified in the 2017 country report of the European Commission against racism and intolerance (ECRI)⁶. The report spelled

out vulnerable groups at risk of discrimination, hate speech and hate crime in the most serious cases.

The COVID outbreak has exacerbated discrimination and stigmatization of vulnerable groups. Reinforcing inclusion measures for such groups, especially when outside the formal social security schemes offered during the emergency by the authorities, has become urgent.

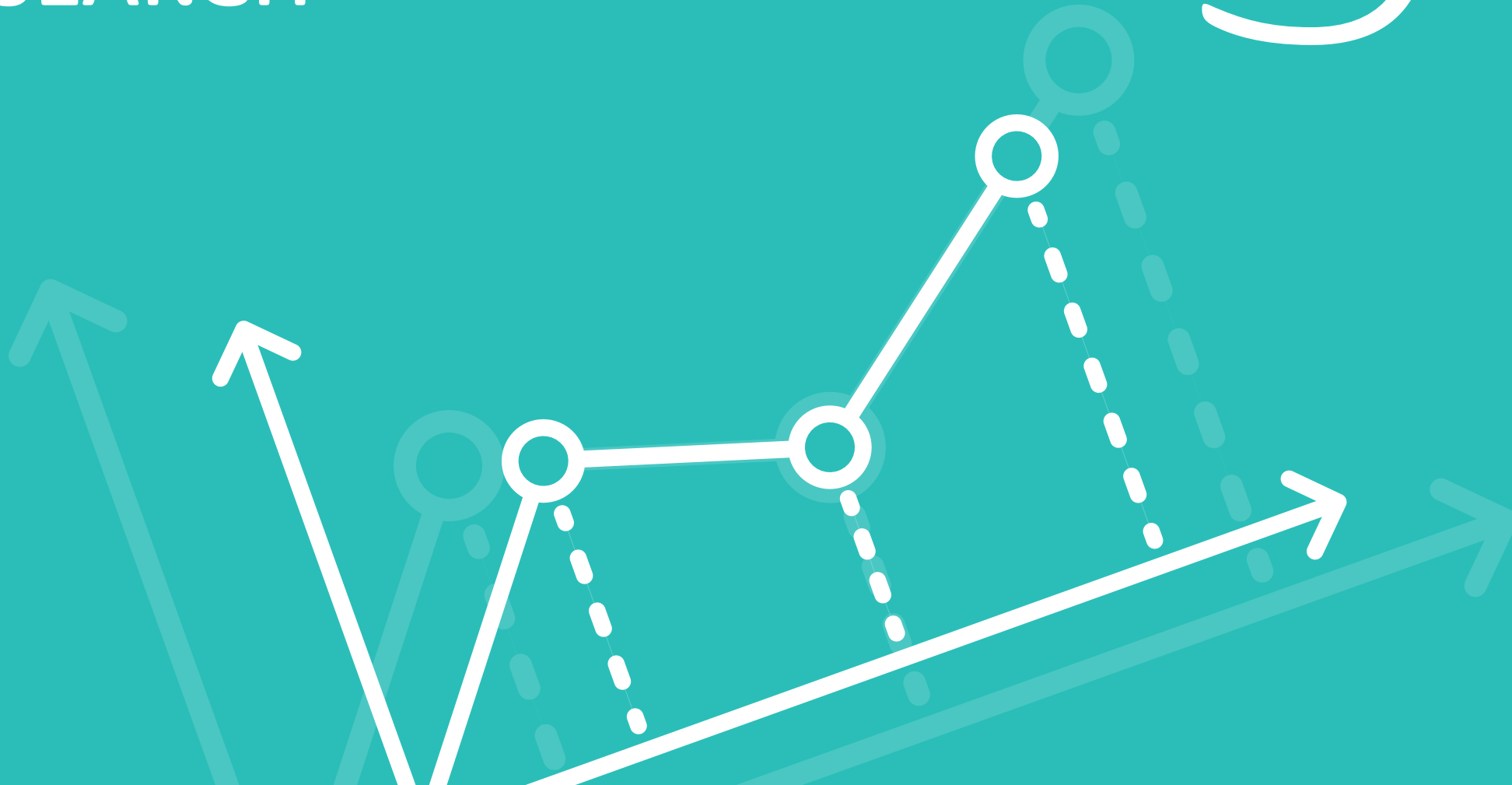
In order to support the national institutions in combating discrimination and ensuring a more inclusive society in this emergency, the Council of Europe, in consultation with the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights and with the Ombudsperson's Office, decided to launch a country-wide survey on discrimination patterns, against vulnerable groups as per the ECRI 2017 report on Montenegro and issues identified therewith. In addition, the survey aimed at identifying whether discrimination against those groups has changed due to the COVID outbreak. The survey provides information on individuals' perceptions and direct experiences of human rights violations as well as their knowledge and assessment of the work of human rights institutions in Montenegro. It will also generate data, which will serve the Ombudsperson's Office to identify which human rights related issues are of concern to persons living in Montenegro, so it could develop appropriate counter measures. This data will be shared with other stakeholders and partners, for planning joint activities. Finally, this data would be used for project reporting, monitoring and evaluation purposes.

⁵ Under the term 'citizen' we understand: adult person with citizenship and permanent residence in Montenegro

⁶ <https://rm.coe.int/second-report-on-montenegro/16808b5942#page3>

BASIC METHODOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE RESEARCH

3



Survey method was applied in the research. Local communities were sampling units. Sampling ensures representativeness for the entire adult population of Montenegro. The sample was **double stratified with random choice of interviewees** within the framework of the selected census rounds. Stratification criteria were regional distribution and size of a local community. The interviewees were also randomly selected within a household by birth calendar criterion. **Post-stratification** was done by applying the following criteria: sex/gender, age and national affiliation. The total of 1035 interviewees took part in the research, which ensures standard error of measurement of +/-3% for the **occurrences with the incidence** of 50%, and confidence interval of 95%. Research instrument was a questionnaire which we had established in 2010 for the same research purposes, only it was supplemented by certain questions which were supposed to provide answers to certain specific in-depth questions which will be especially elaborated in the text that follows. The questionnaire consisted of 10 demographic and 47 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 a pattern.

The research was carried out from 11th to 19th September 2020, therefore immediately after the Parliamentary election which resulted in the change of the government, which can be a significant contextual factor.

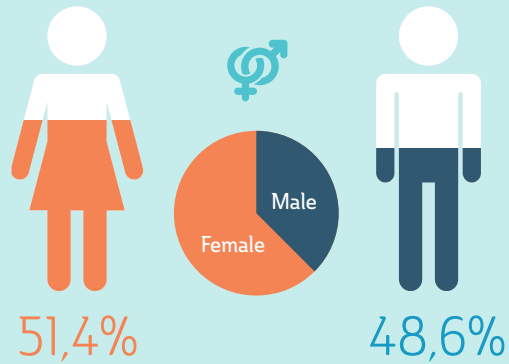
It is a key thing that for a large number of questions and items we have comparative data from several research activities starting from 2010. In other words, this research constitutes a continuity of the analysis of trends when it comes to the perception of discrimination. Also, the research operates with a set of questions which are specific and compiled only for the needs of this research, and in accordance with the needs of the Project.

In the report below, special attention will be paid to trend analysis, and we will certainly present the results for those questions which had not been used in previous research activities. For the sake of comparison, in the areas of interest, as well as for the categories of population which are at of corruption, we formed synthetic scores. In this way, we made it possible for a large number of indicators to be expressed cumulatively for the sake of simplicity of interpretation and clearer observation of trends. Demographic characteristics of the sample can be seen in the Graph 1 below.

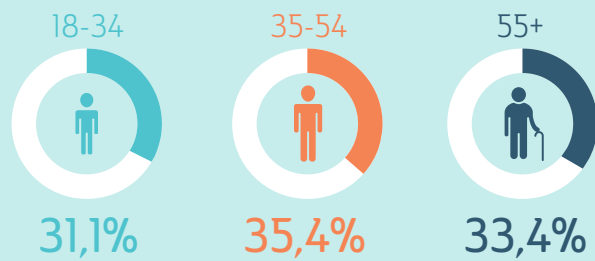


Graph 1: Demographic characteristics of the sample

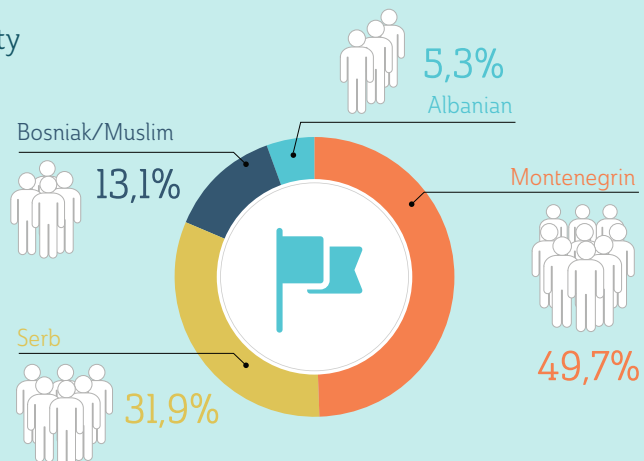
Sex/Gender



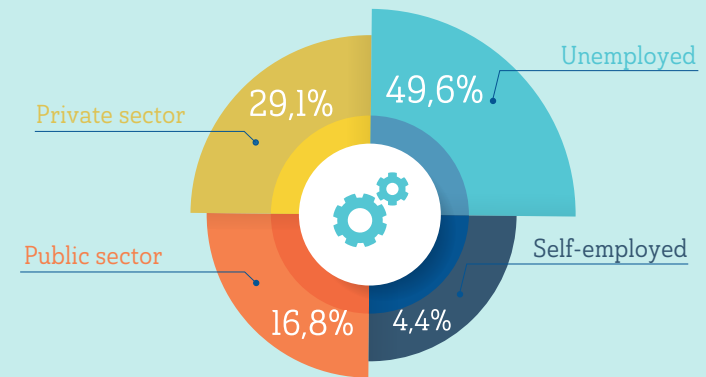
Age



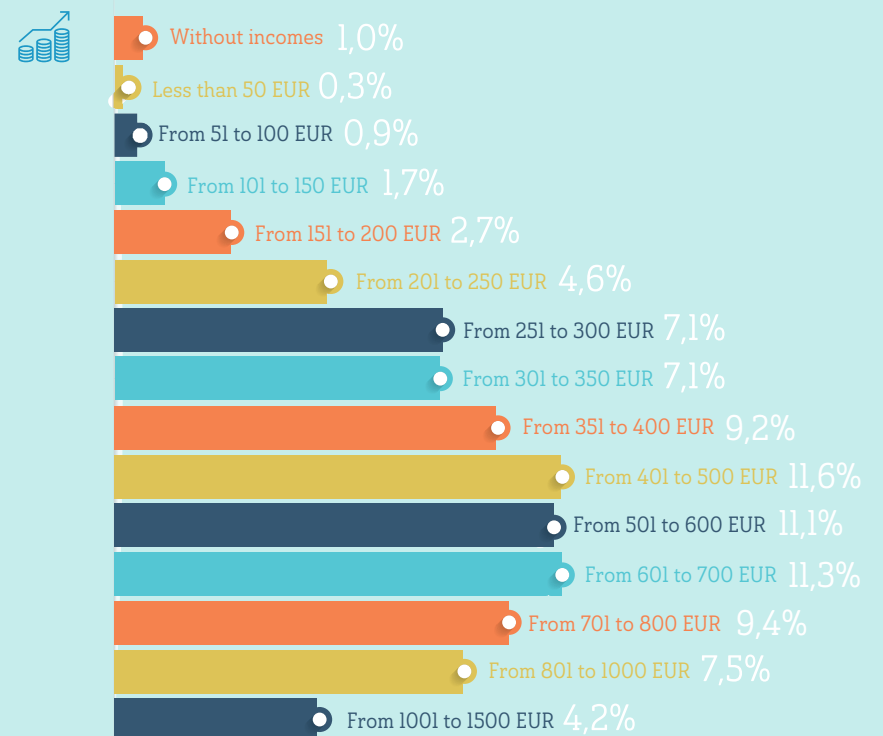
Nationality



Employment status



Incomes



GENERALIZED DISCRIMINATION INDICATORS

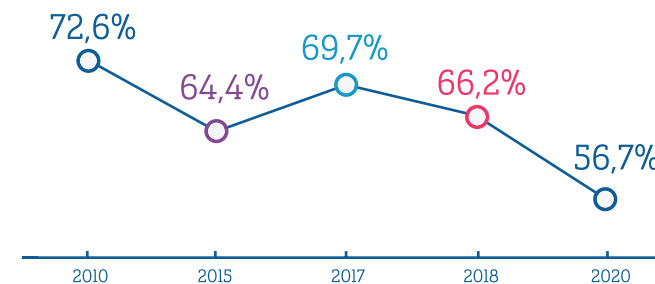
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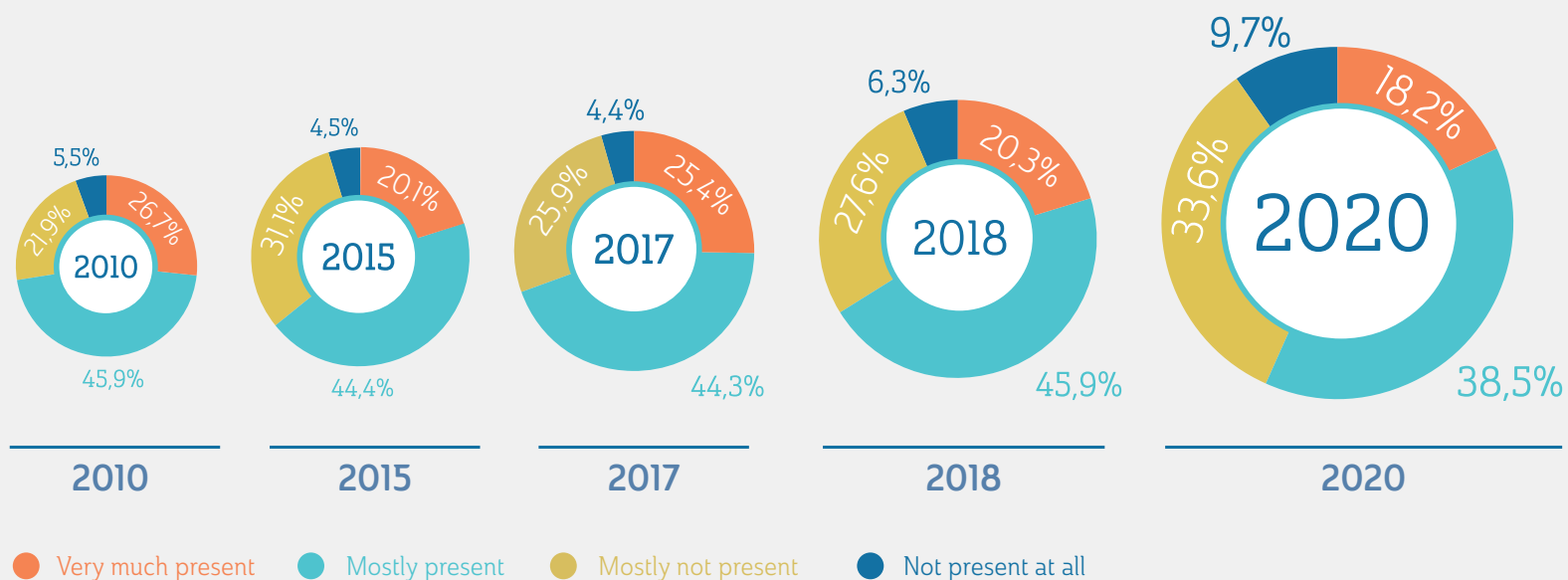
The first question in the research was for the interviewees to assess the extent in which discrimination is generally present in Montenegro (graph 2). Differences among waves are very prominent and they indicate that **citizens' assessment is that generally speaking discrimination nowadays is on a considerably lower level than it was the case in 2010**, which is clearly visible in the Graph 3.

In fact, the trend indicates that the year 2017, in relation to 2015, was rather regressive, and that as of then we have had constant reduction in the discrimination perception degree. Cumulatively put, in relation to 2010, citizens assess that discrimination is on a lower level nowadays as compared to ten years ago by almost 16%.

Graph 3: Discrimination is present and very much present – (%) TREND



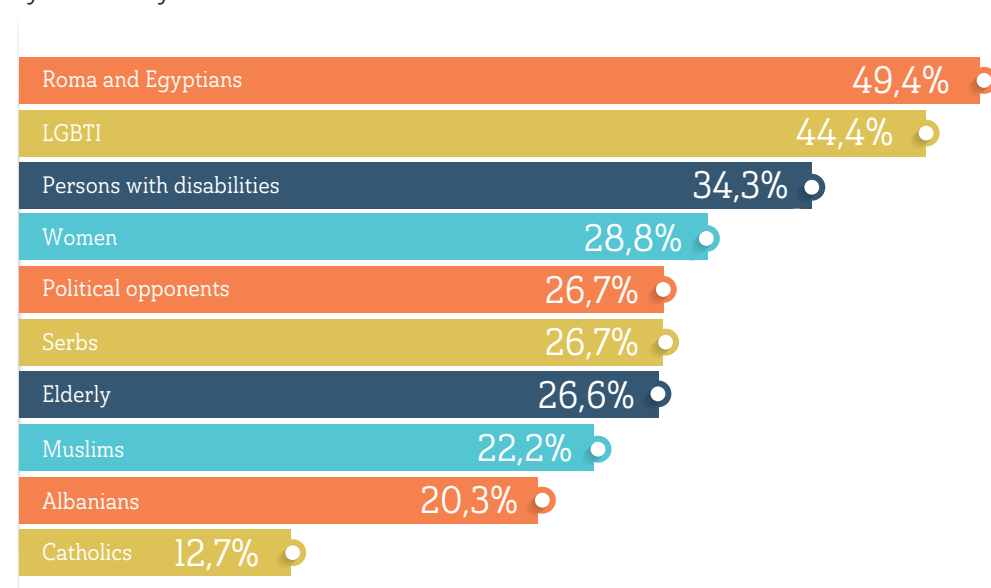
Graph 2: To what extent is discrimination present in Montenegro



With the next question, we wanted to determine to what extent, according to citizens' experience, hate speech is targeting key groups which are at risk of discrimination (table 1 and graph 4). Citizens state that in everyday narratives hate speech is mostly used towards the Roma and Egyptians, then to LGBTI persons, thus it can be said that **the highest degree of hate speech in everyday life is endured by the Roma and the members of sexual minorities**. However, one should note that neither the members of other groups, which were the subject matter of the research, are not spared from hate speech in everyday life. The data on the prominence of this type of violence, by hierarchy, can be seen in the Graph 4.

Table 1: How often hate speech is used towards the members of the stated groups (%)

Graph 4: How often hate speech is used towards the members of the stated groups SUM (%) very often and often



	Very often	Often	Rarely	Never	I don't know, I cannot assess
Women	7,8	21,0	39,9	19,3	12,0
Serbs	9,2	17,4	34,9	25,0	13,4
Albanians	3,0	17,3	41,0	25,4	13,2
Muslims	2,7	19,5	40,5	25,9	11,3
Catholics	1,4	11,3	42,3	29,4	15,6
Political opponents	6,8	19,9	34,7	23,1	15,4
Elderly people	6,9	19,7	36,9	25,1	11,3
Persons with disabilities	12,8	21,6	32,7	20,1	12,9
LGBTI	18,1	26,3	21,1	14,8	19,7
Roma and Egyptians	18,3	31,1	25,6	10,7	14,3

Then, for the same groups, we developed a generalizing indicator and on the four-grade ordinal assessment scale we asked the citizens to what extent was discrimination present towards the stated groups (table 2 and graph 5). When analysing the findings on the basis of this generalizing, and quite certainly insufficiently precise an indicator, the results indicate that discrimination is mostly present towards the Roma and Egyptians, as well as towards the persons with disabilities. Therefore, in somewhat change order, the first three groups which are exposed to the highest degree of hate speech, are assessed as generally most at risk when it comes to the general assessment of the degree of discrimination.

Graph 5: Discrimination towards the stated groups is very much and mostly present

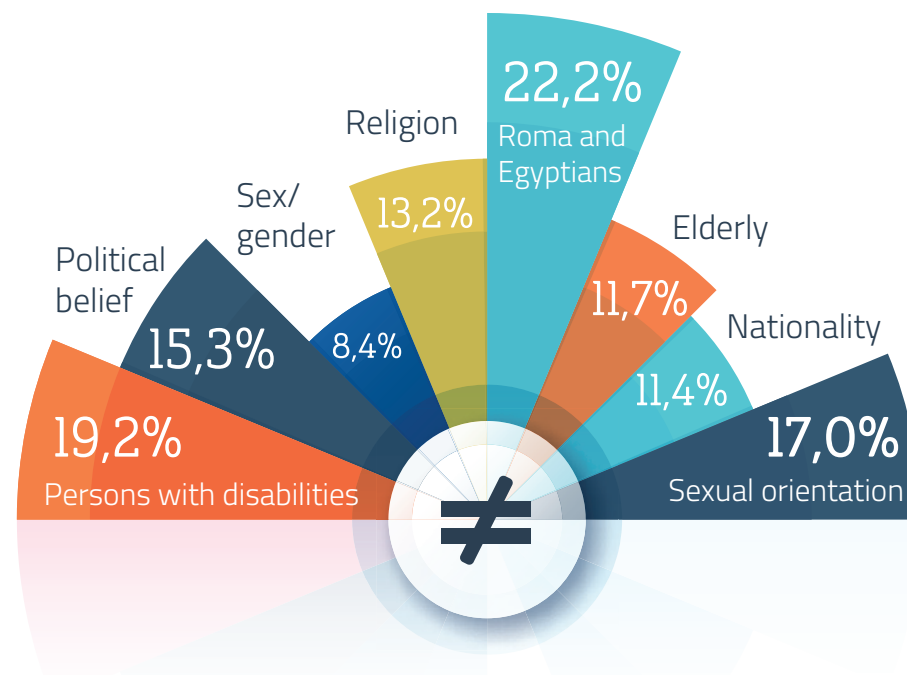


Table 2: To what extent is discrimination generally present towards the stated groups (%)

	Very much present	Mostly present	Mostly not present	Not present	I don't know, I cannot assess
Sex/gender	8,4	25,7	34,3	16,5	15,1
Nationality	11,4	31,2	31,4	10,7	15,4
Religion	13,2	30,0	30,0	12,6	14,3
Political belief	15,3	31,3	26,8	11,3	15,2
Elderly	11,7	32,3	30,7	10,9	14,4
Persons with disabilities	19,2	35,1	23,5	8,8	13,5
Sexual orientation	17,0	32,3	21,3	8,0	21,5
Roma and Egyptians	22,2	36,4	20,5	7,4	13,5

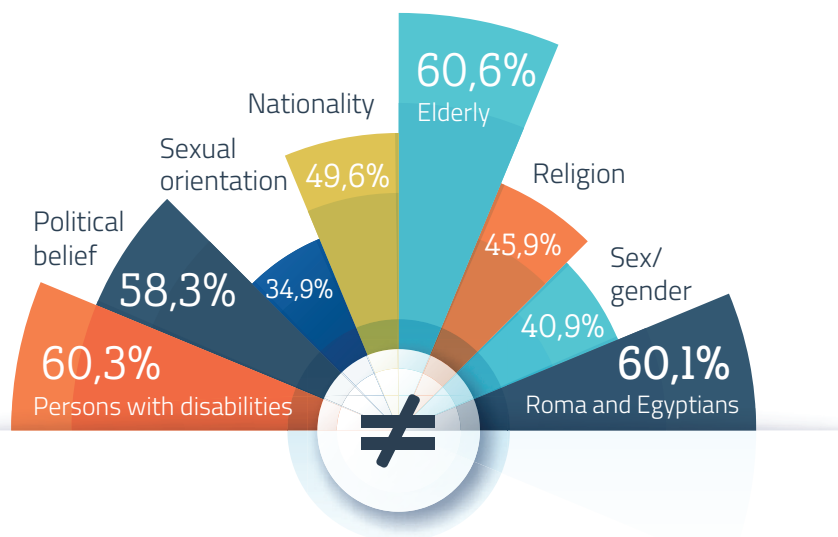
DISCRIMINATION
IN KEY AREAS OF
SOCIAL LIFE AND
TOWARDS MEMBERS OF
KEY GROUPS AT RISK

5



More precise indicators of discrimination against key groups at risk were formed in such a way that we had asked citizens on the existence of discrimination in special areas of social life. The first area, which is sensitive by its nature, was employment. In the graph 6 we present the assessed extent of discrimination for all groups at risk. The data indicate that citizens assess that in the area of employment the highest degree of discrimination exists against the oldest citizens, then against the persons with disabilities and the Roma. Discrimination is also very much present against political opponents, while it is on a slightly lower level when it comes to nationality, religion and sex/gender.

Graph 6: Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of employment for all groups



Finally, citizens comparatively assess that in the area of employment, discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is least prominent.

In the table 3, we present the assessed extent of discrimination for all groups, for all waves of research ⁷. The trends indicate that in relation to 2018, there is a lower level of discrimination by sex/gender, political belief, and sexual orientation, with higher level on the grounds of nationality, religion and disability, while in relation to age, in this research, we measured exactly the same level, as it had been the case in 2018. It is indicative and rather unfavourable that there are great differences in percentages when it comes to nationality and religion, therefore, significantly greater number of citizens, than two years ago, consider that, by these criteria, discrimination nowadays is present significantly more than two years ago.

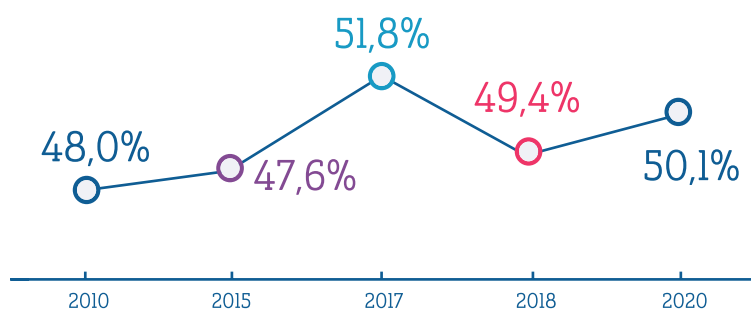
Table 3: Assessed level of discrimination in the area of employment for all groups in all research waves

	Sex/gender	Nationality	Religion	Political belief	Elderly	Persons with disabilities	Sexual orientation
2010	36,9%	49,9%	41,9%	64,5%	55,5%	57,1%	30,0%
2015	37,9%	46,0%	38,0%	68,5%	52,4%	52,6%	37,7%
2017	42,6%	49,8%	45,7%	69,1%	60,5%	56,3%	38,5%
2018	41,3%	45,9%	39,7%	62,6%	60,6%	58,6%	36,7%
2020	40,9%	49,6%	45,9%	58,3%	60,6%	60,3%	34,9%

⁷ In all presentations of trends by areas, we did not include the Roma because this is the first time that we included discrimination measurement by this characteristic

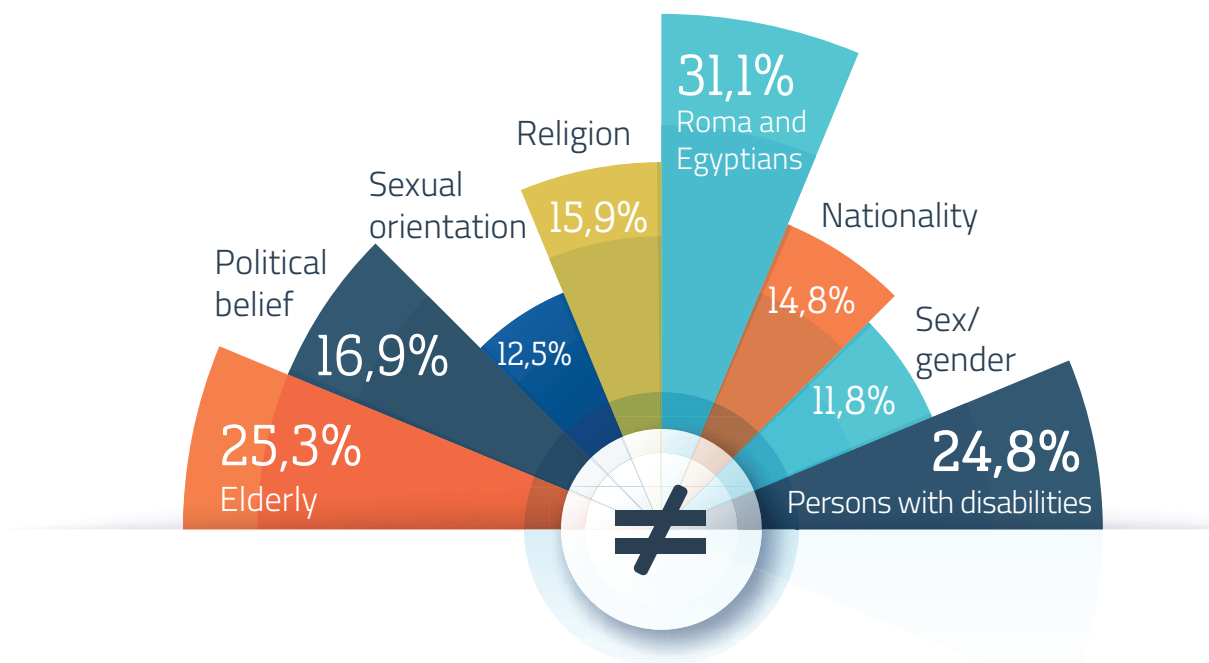
Ultimately, in the graph 7 we give the overview of average percentage values for all groups by research year. The information obtained indicates that nowadays, on average, discrimination in the area of employment against all groups is, more or less, on the same level as in 2018.

Graph 7: Average percentage value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of employment, by research year



The second area we measured the extent of discrimination in is education. In the graph 8, we present the extent of assessed discrimination in this area for all groups. The results indicate that the highest degree of discrimination in this area exists in relation to the Roma, followed by Age and Disability. Significantly lower degree of discrimination in the area of education, based on interviewees' assessment, is present in others, among which is discrimination on the grounds of political belief, religion and nationality, somewhat more pronounced in comparison to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and sex/gender.

Graph 8: Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of education for all groups



In the Table 4, we give the overview of the assessed degree of discrimination in the area of education for all groups, by all research waves. Key information, according to citizens' assessment, is that the extent of discrimination against the members of all groups in the area of education nowadays is less pronounced than it was the case two years ago.

The biggest progress in this respect was recorded on the grounds of political affiliation⁸, then on the grounds of nationality and religion

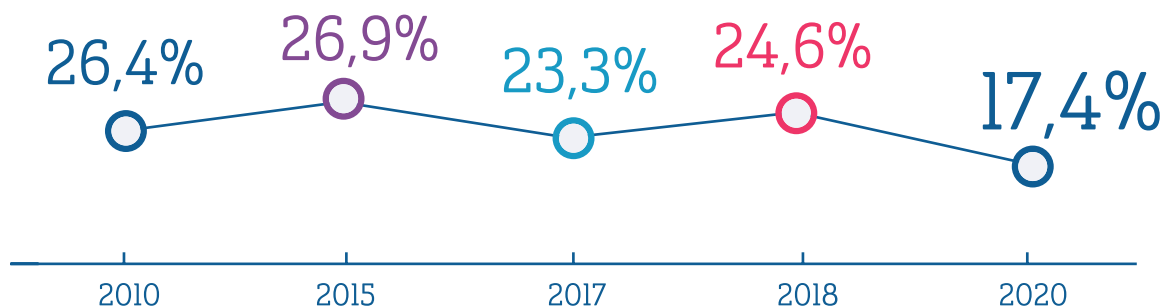
⁸ Otherwise, the values of discrimination measurement are very often significantly lower for this criterion, and this piece of information should be considered in the context of the fact that the research was being performed immediately after the Parliamentary election at which the Democratic Party of Socialists lost power after 30 years.

Table 4: Assessed level of discrimination in the area of education for all groups by all research waves

	Sex/ gender	Nationality	Religion	Political belief	Elderly	Persons with disabilities	Sexual orientation
2010	17,9%	27,5%	25,3%	35,0%	27,3%	34,1%	17,8%
2015	17,9%	25,0%	23,1%	39,0%	28,1%	30,5%	24,6%
2017	13,2%	24,4%	23,3%	31,5%	24,0%	28,0%	19,0%
2018	17,0%	24,1%	22,9%	30,5%	28,4%	30,2%	19,0%
2020	11,8%	14,8%	15,9%	16,9%	25,3%	24,8%	12,5%

Finally, in order to be able to visualize better the trends in the area of education, the Graph 9 gives average value of the measured degree of discrimination for all areas, by all research waves. The information indicates that the average level of discrimination in relation to 2018 is on average lower by more than 7%, which is really a significant progress.

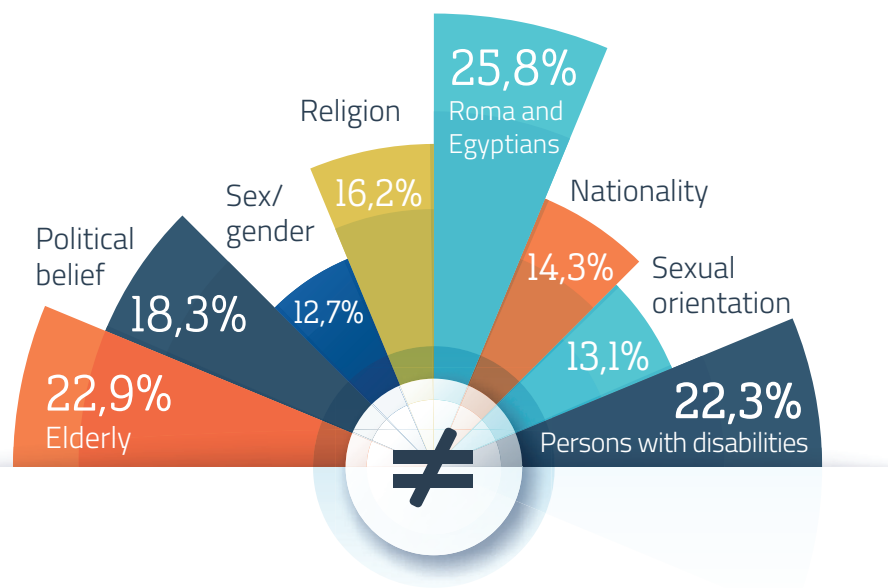
Graph 9: Average percentage value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of education, by research year



Next area we were dealing with was health-care. In the Graph 10, we present the assessed degree of discrimination in this area in relation to the members of all groups. The information indicates, again, that, when it comes to healthcare, the highest degree of discrimination is present in relation to the Roma, followed by the persons with disabilities and the elderly. Somewhat lower degree of discrimination in this respect, exists in relation to those with different political views and religion; even lower degree is present on the grounds of nationality, sex/gender and sexual orientation.



Graph 10: Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of healthcare for all groups



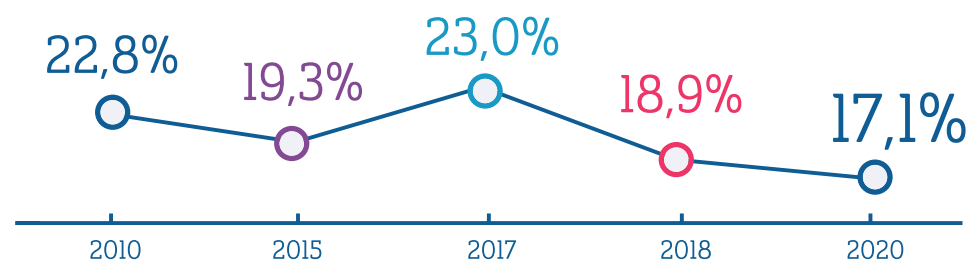
The Table 5 shows the assessed values of discrimination in relation to the members of all groups, for all research waves. The information indicates that the greatest progress is measured when it comes to reduction of discrimination, as compared to 2018, on the grounds of political belief and nationality. Somewhat smaller progress exists when it comes to age and sexual orientation. On the other hand, negative trend, therefore increased degree of discrimination, in citizens' opinion, is measured when it comes to healthcare, in relation to the persons with disabilities, although it must be said that this change is not particularly pronounced (around 1%).

Table 5: Assessed level of discrimination in the area of healthcare for all groups, by all research waves

	Sex/gender	Nationality	Religion	Political belief	Elderly	Persons with disabilities	Sexual orientation
2010	14,5%	23,0%	18,8%	28,5%	33,7%	28,4%	12,8%
2015	13,6%	19,7%	14,8%	26,2%	24,3%	20,0%	16,3%
2017	12,8%	22,4%	19,3%	31,4%	32,2%	25,6%	17,1%
2018	13,2%	18,4%	16,7%	23,4%	25,1%	21,3%	14,4%
2020	12,7%	14,3%	16,2%	18,3%	22,9%	22,3%	13,1%

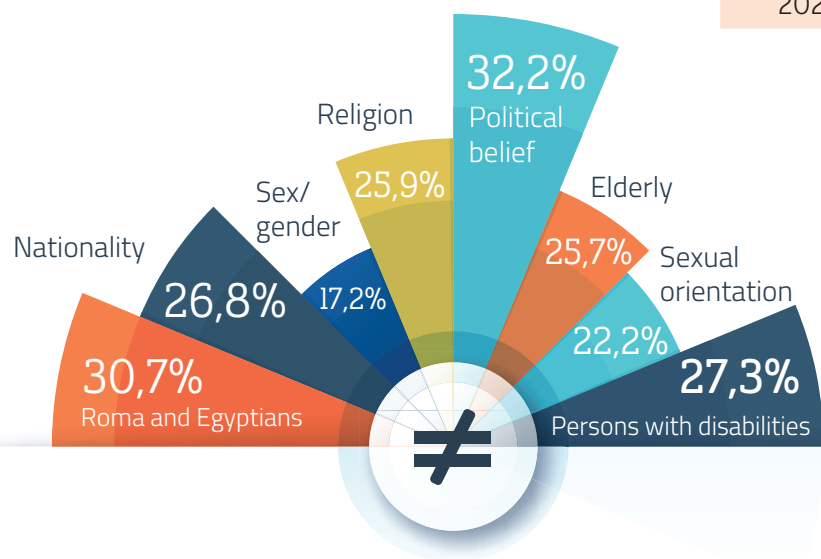
Finally, when it comes to healthcare, the Graph 11 presents average values for all groups and by research years. The data indicate that the progress is not impressive, but it is certainly positive that on average citizens assess nowadays that the degree of discrimination is lower in the area of health care that it was the case in 2018.

Graph 11: Average percentage value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of healthcare, by research years



In the Graph 12, we give an overview of the assessed degree of discrimination when it comes to the treatment of individuals by public services. The data indicate that, when it comes to the work of public services, the highest degree of discrimination exists on the grounds of political belief, then against the Roma. However, it has to be said that the values of the measured discrimination against other groups are also proportionately high. Comparatively speaking, after these first two groups against which, in citizens' opinion, public services discrimination is at its highest level, come at equal level disability, nationality, religion and age; somewhat lower level of discrimination exists on the grounds of sexual orientation, with sex/gender group being assessed as least exposed to discrimination.

Graph 12: Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of work of public services for all groups



In the Table 6 we give an account of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups, by research waves, with the purpose of measuring trends. The data are very unfavourable in this respect, or more precisely, when it comes to the work of public services, it is citizens' assessment that against the members of ALL groups in recent two years the degree of discrimination has

increased. Comparatively speaking, discrimination has mostly been increased in relation to the persons with disabilities, then on the grounds of sexual orientation. Increase is then noted on the grounds of religion, nationality and age. In citizens' opinion, the least increase of discrimination in the work of public services has been noted on the grounds of political belief and sex/gender.

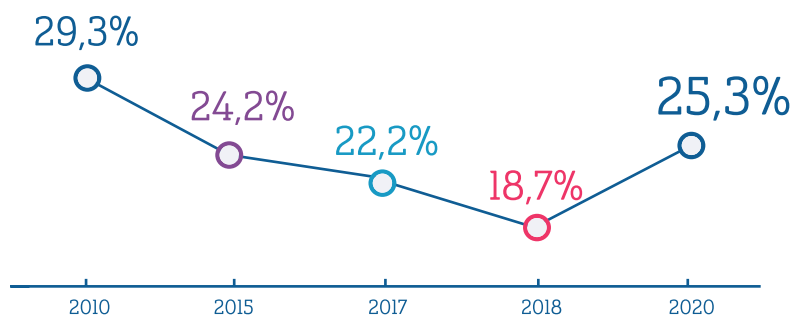
Table 6: Assessed level of discrimination in the area of the work of public services for all groups, by all research waves

	Pol/Rod	Nacionalnost	Vjeroispovijest	Političko uvjerenje	Godine	Invaliditet	Seksualna orijentacija
2010	19,8%	34,5%	32,0%	43,3%	27,3%	29,3%	18,6%
2015	16,9%	26,8%	22,1%	38,2%	23,4%	22,8%	19,0%
2017	13,5%	26,9%	23,2%	35,2%	20,0%	18,0%	18,6%
2018	15,3%	19,0%	18,2%	28,2%	18,6%	17,7%	13,7%
2020	17,2%	26,8%	25,9%	32,2%	25,7%	27,3%	22,2%



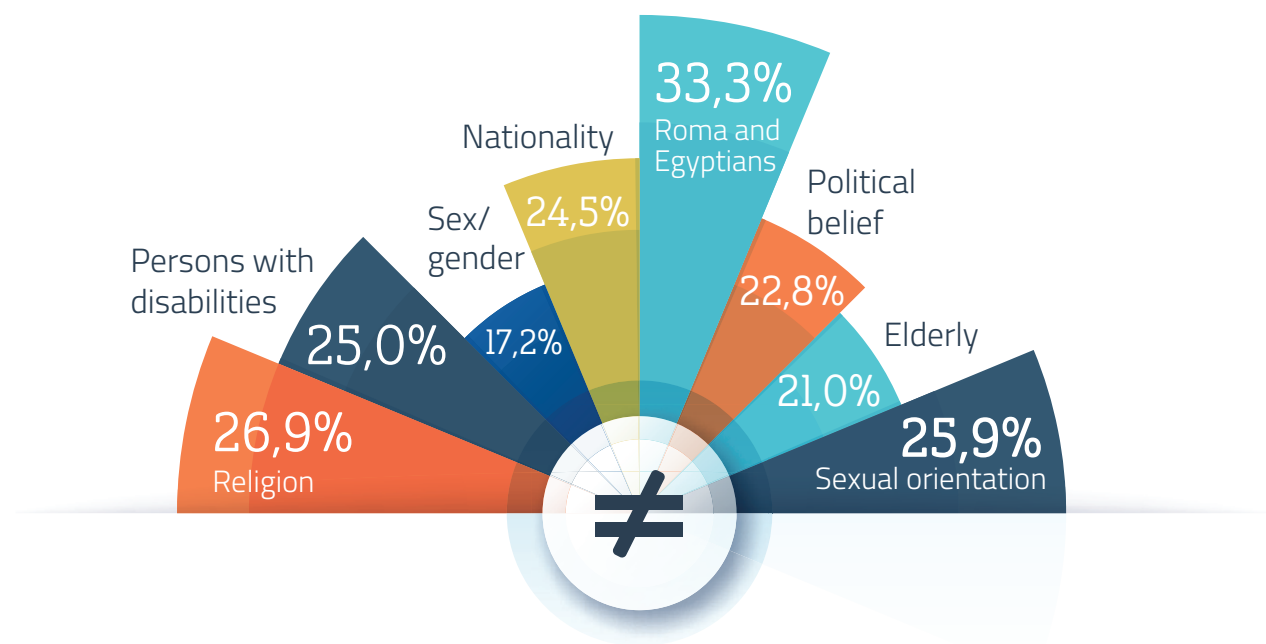
With a view to presenting cumulatively the trend of the measured discrimination in the work of public services, the Graph 13 offers an account of average values of discrimination in relation to all groups and for all research waves. The data indicate that the degree of discrimination has on average been increased by almost 7% for the previous two years, which is a very unfavourable finding.

Graph 13: Average percentage value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of the work of public services, by research years



The last area of societal life which was the subject matter of our measurement is culture. In the Graph 14, we, first of all, offer the overview of the assessed degree of discrimination in this area in relation to all groups. Once again, according to the assessment of the interviewees, when it comes to this particular area, the most pronounced discrimination is present against the Roma. Then come, with rather uniform values of the measured degree of discrimination, religion, sexual orientation, disability and nationality; somewhat lower value was measured for political belief and age, while the lowest one was the value measured for sex/gender.

Graph 14: Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of culture for all groups



The Table 7 shows the changes in the measured degree of discrimination in relation to all groups, by all research waves. In general, the data indicate that there are relatively small differences between the values obtained in the 2018 research and this one, which has just been completed. In comparative sense, the only significant improvement is measured when it comes the assessment of the degree of discrimination on the grounds of political belief, while, at the same time, we measure very slight, one would say even negligible improvement when it comes to religion, nationality and sex/gender.

On the other hand, negative trends are measured when it comes to disability, sexual orientation and age.

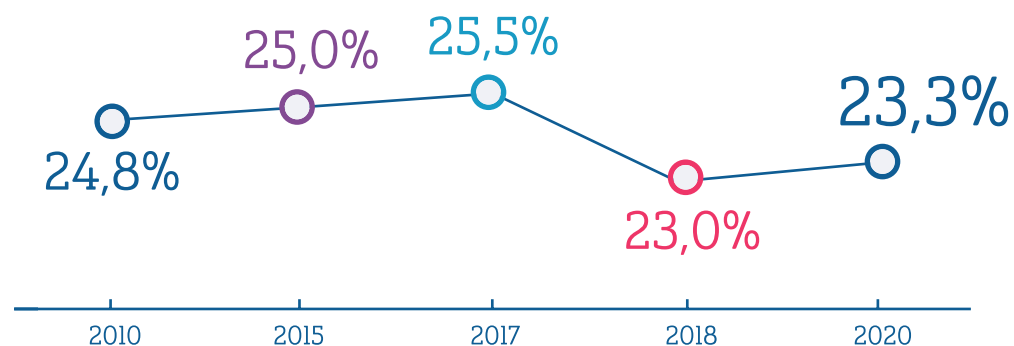
Table 7: Assessed level of discrimination in the area of culture for all groups, by all research waves

	Sex/ gender	Nationality	Religion	Political belief	Elderly	Persons with disabilities	Sexual orientation
2010	17,0%	31,9%	31,9%	32,8%	20,8%	22,9%	16,5%
2015	19,5%	30,0%	29,2%	32,7%	20,0%	22,1%	21,4%
2017	15,6%	33,4%	33,8%	33,7%	16,1%	19,7%	26,2%
2018	17,9%	25,4%	25,9%	26,0%	19,6%	21,9%	24,2%
2020	17,2%	24,5%	26,9%	22,8%	21,0%	25,0%	25,9%



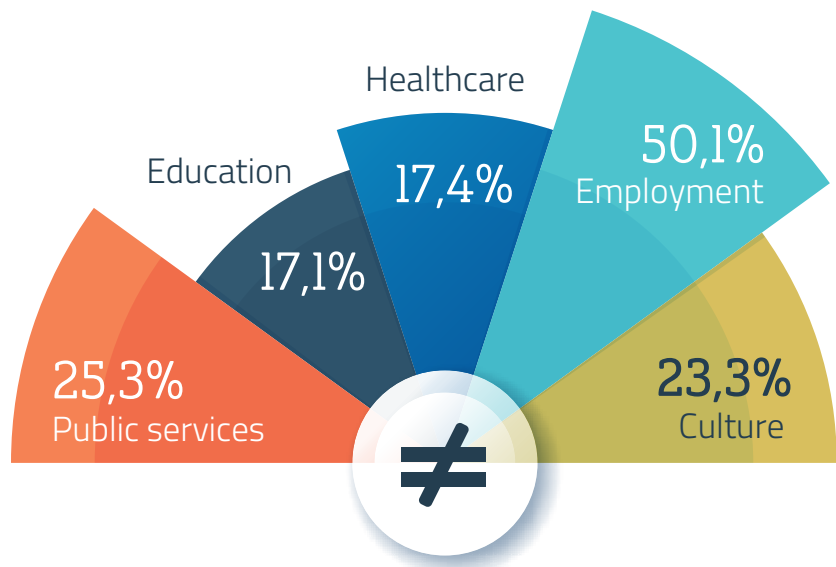
Finally, in the Graph 15, we give an overview of average values of the measured degree of discrimination for all groups, by research waves. This information simply indicates that on average, in relation to all groups, the assessed degree of discrimination is on a more or less the same level as it was two years ago. However, it has to be noted that the changes are not significant when it comes to culture, even when all research waves are compared, more precisely since 2010 when we carried out our first research. The assessment of the degree of discrimination in the area of culture is on a more or less the same level.

Graph 15: Average percentage value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of culture, by research years



With a view to synthetically presenting the data, and presenting trend analysis in a more precise manner, in the Graph 16 we give an overview of the average degree of discrimination in relation to all groups by areas, for our latest research. The data indicate that discrimination is pronounced most in the area of employment, where the measured value in comparative sense is significantly greater than with all other areas, which leads us to the conclusion that the key discrimination problem in Montenegro is present in the area of employment. It is followed by a high degree of discrimination in the work of public services and in the area of culture, whilst it is the lowest when it comes to healthcare and education.

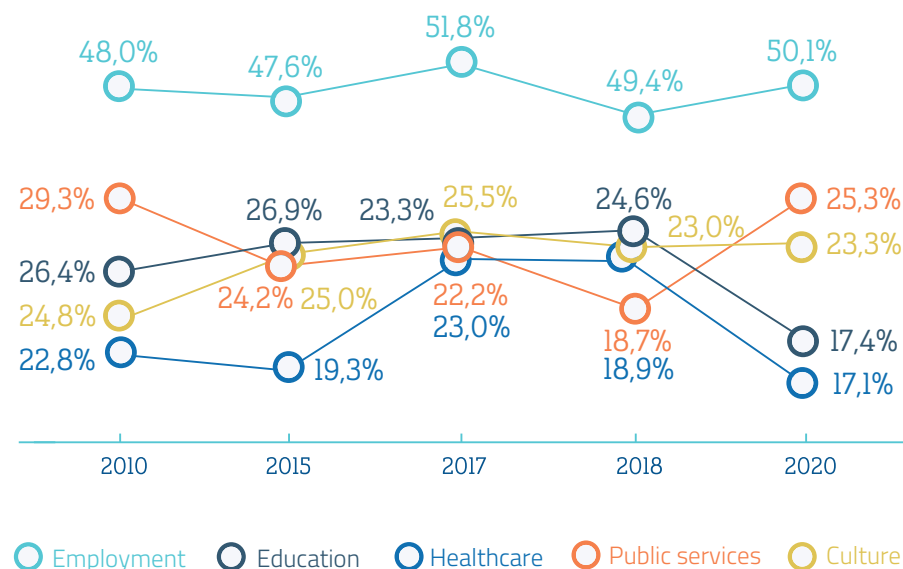
Graph 16: Average degree of discrimination for all groups by areas, in the 2020 research



In the Graph 17, we give an overview for all areas by research waves. This information is not particularly encouraging because it shows rather stable values irrespective of the passing of time.



Graph 17: Average degree of discrimination in relation to all groups, by research waves



In the Table 8 we give the average values in relation to all the groups, by areas and for all research waves, and in the Graph 18 the difference between 2010 and 2020 in order to be able to measure changes since 2010. The information indicates that in the last ten years the greatest progress was achieved in the area of education, rather, that discrimination in the last ten years has on average decreased by 9% in relation to all groups. Then, there is progress noted in the area of healthcare (5.7%), and in the work of public services (3.9%).

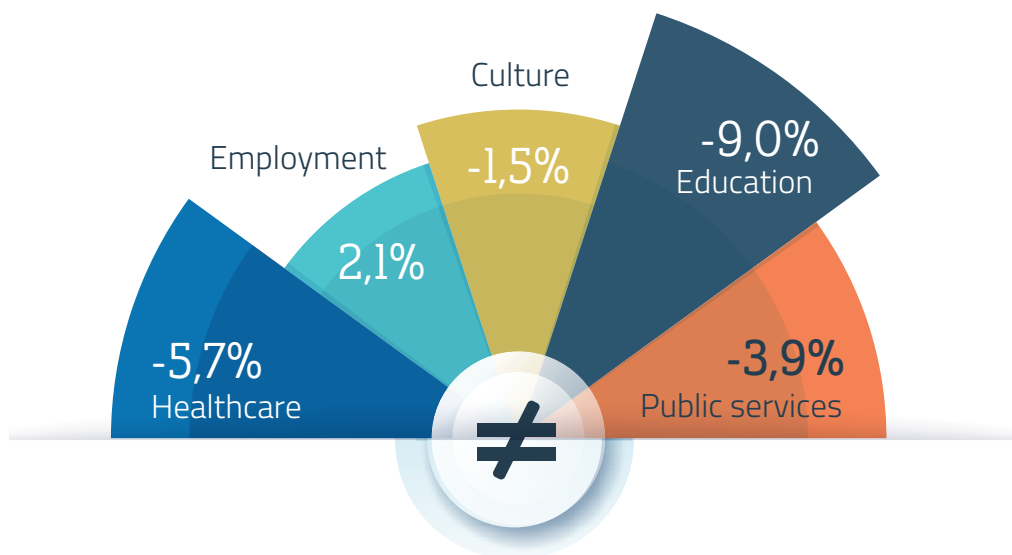
The progress recorded in the area of culture is symbolic (1.5%), while the biggest problem is in the fact that, already high discrimination rate in the area of employment has recorded increase in the last ten years by 2.1%.

Table 8: Measured average values of discrimination in relation to all groups, for all areas, by research waves

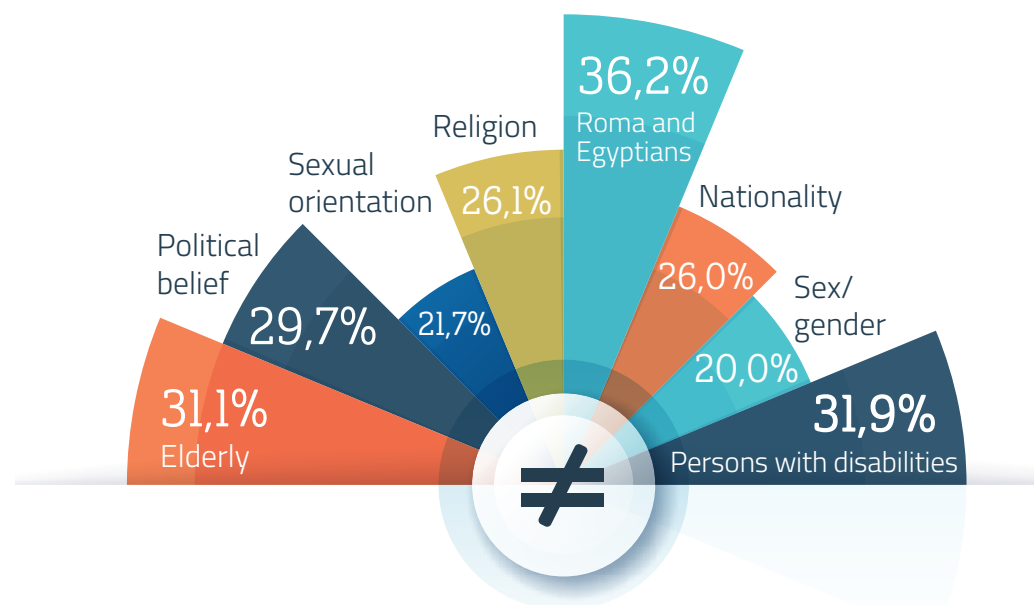
	Employment	Education	Healthcare	Public services	Culture
2010	48,0%	26,4%	22,8%	29,3%	24,8%
2015	47,6%	26,9%	19,3%	24,2%	25,0%
2017	51,8%	23,3%	23,0%	22,2%	25,5%
2018	49,4%	24,6%	18,9%	18,7%	23,0%
2020	50,1%	17,4%	17,1%	25,3%	23,3%

We, then, give an account of average measurement of the degree of discrimination in our latest research, for all groups (average for all areas), and the data are shown in the Graph 19. The results indicate that the greatest degree of discrimination in Montenegro exists in relation to the Roma, followed by the persons with disabilities and the elderly, then on the grounds of political belief. Somewhat lower degree of discrimination is noted on the grounds of religion and nationality, and comparatively lowest discrimination exists on the grounds of sexual orientation and sex/gender.

Graph 18: Difference between the average measured values of discrimination for all areas: comparison 2020 vs 2010



Graph 19: Average value for all areas, by groups, for 2020

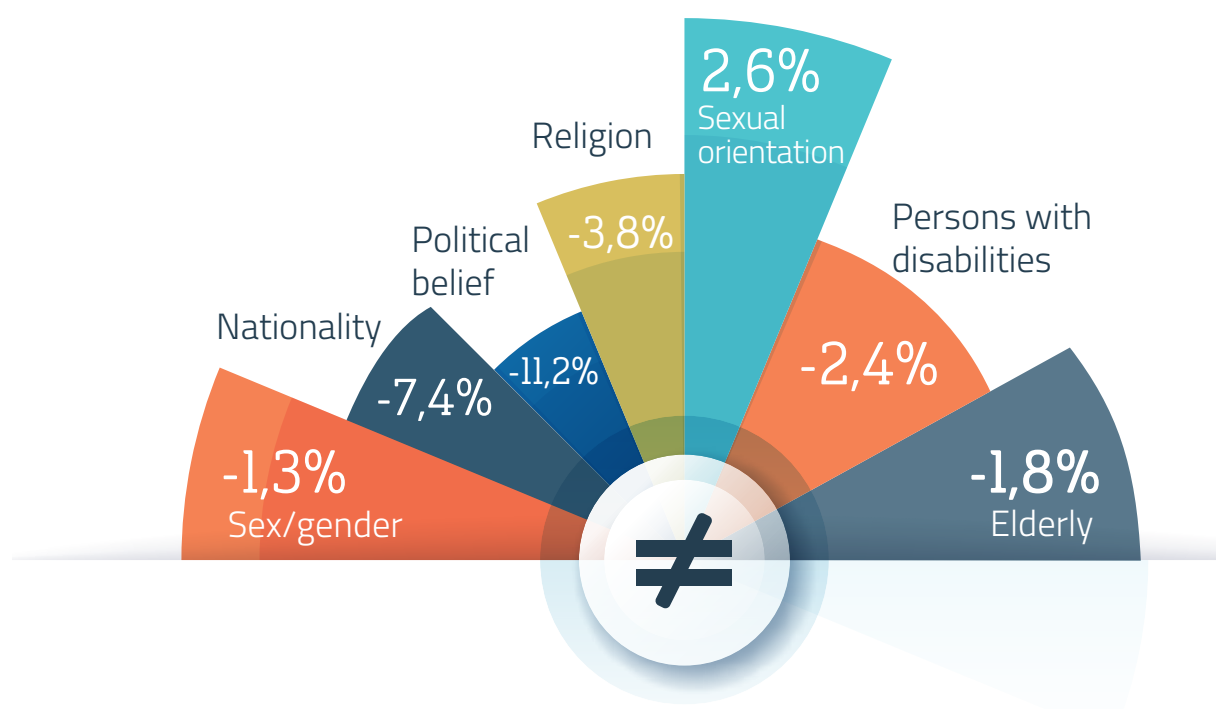


In the Table 9, we present the assessment of the degree of discrimination in relation to all groups, as the average of all areas by all research waves, while in the Graph 20 there is a comparison between the data from the 2020 research and the one from 2010, with the purpose of identifying the extent of changes **in the last ten years. The results indicate that in the last ten years, the degree of discrimination in relation to all groups has been decreased, except when it comes to sexual orientation might also be linked to the “more outing” of the community members.** The best progress is measured when it comes to discrimination of political opponents, since, in citizens’ opinion, in the last ten years discrimination on this criterion has been decreased by more than 11%⁹. Then follows significant decrease for the area of nationality (7.4%), followed again by a minor decrease for the area of religion (3.8%) and disability (2.4%), as well as symbolic discrimination decrease when it comes to age (1.8%) and sex/gender (1.3%). On the other hand, although not particularly pronounced, we measure increased degree of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation (2.6%).

Table 9: Degree of discrimination in relation to all groups and by all areas, for all research waves

	Sex/ gender	Nationality	Religion	Political belief	Elderly	Persons with disabilities	Sexual orientation
2010	21,2%	33,4%	30,0%	40,8%	32,9%	34,4%	19,1%
2015	21,2%	29,5%	25,4%	40,9%	29,6%	29,6%	23,8%
2017	19,5%	31,4%	29,1%	40,2%	30,6%	29,5%	23,9%
2018	20,9%	26,6%	24,7%	34,1%	30,5%	29,9%	21,6%
2020	20,0%	26,0%	26,1%	29,7%	31,1%	31,9%	21,7%

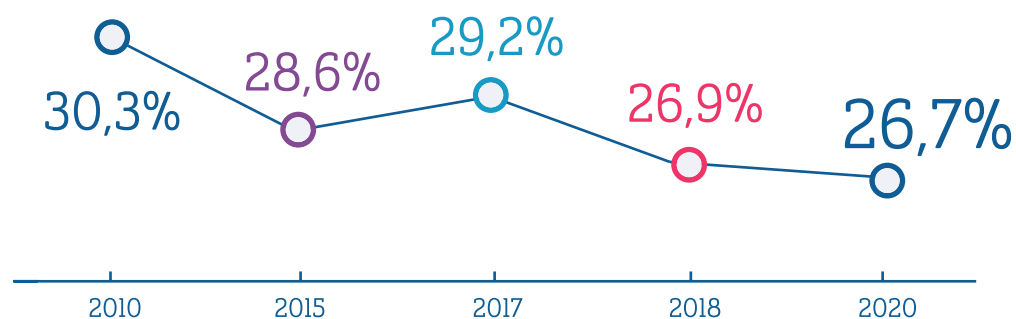
Graph 20: Difference between average measured values of discrimination towards all groups: comparison 2020 vs 2010



⁹ We reiterate that the research was being carried out immediately after the Parliamentary election at which the ruling DPS lost.

At the end, we calculated the average value of estimated level of discrimination towards all groups, based on the average value in all areas (graph 21). Data, on a synthetic and cumulative way estimates the value of discrimination in Montenegro, when different waves of researched are compared. Comparison results showcase that one can speak about a progressive trend, which truthfully speaking, is not substantially articulate. Therefore, one can conclude that the level of discrimination in Montenegro, in the past 10 years has decreased, but that this decrease has not been substantially articulate. More so, the level of discrimination today, compared to 2010 on an average value, is cumulatively lower for less than 4%, which simply speaking, is not that quite impressive. On the other hand, when 2018 is compared with 2020, data simply shows that the measured level of discrimination, more or less is on the same level, or cumulatively speaking, on average level towards all groups, today's discrimination in Montenegro is showcased more or less on the same level as in 2018.

Graph 21: Average value of discrimination for all groups - TREND



Furthermore, we asked the citizens to assess whether in Montenegrin society the affiliation to certain groups brings an advantage or if it is, in fact, a disadvantage, in order to assess, not only potential discrimination degree, but also the benefits that, in their opinion, such affiliation brings (Table 10). The data indicate that the biggest disadvantage, in interviewees' opinion, experience persons with disabilities, then Roma and Egyptians. Signifi-

cantly lower was assessed a disadvantage if somebody is an LGBTI person or if he/she is a member of the government, lower still was assessed as a disadvantage if somebody is a member of national minorities or a Serb, then if a person is of female sex/gender. The only group the affiliation to which is more of an advantage than it is a disadvantage are those under 25 years of age.

Table 10: Advantage or disadvantage of affiliation to the stated groups

	Advantage	Disadvantage	Neither advantage, nor disadvantage	I don't know, I cannot assess
Roma and Egyptians	1,8	54,3	23,6	20,4
Persons with disabilities	1,2	57,6	23,4	17,8
Persons above the age of 50	5,7	33,7	42,8	17,8
Persons under the age of 25	25,1	13,2	45,2	16,6
National minorities	13,3	24,5	43,1	19,1
Serbs	8	23,9	46,4	21,7
Government opponents	3,4	30,9	40,8	24,8
LGBTI persons	9,1	39,0	26,7	25,2
Women	10,7	20,9	48,1	20,3



In the Table 11, we give the overview of the changed values for the stated groups¹⁰ and for all research waves. The data indicate that the greatest progress has been made in the assessment when it comes to Government opponents¹¹, namely, over 16% of citizens less consider that it is a disadvantage to be a Government opponent nowadays rather than it was the case two years ago. Significant progress is measured even when it comes to national minorities (9.6%), as well as to the persons over the age of 50 (7%), and women (7%). Slight progress is also measured when it comes to the assessment of the disadvantage carried by belonging to the persons with disabilities (3.7%), while the assessment for those under the age of 25 is identical as two years ago. The only group for which it was assessed that belonging to it was bigger disadvantage nowadays than it had been the case ten years ago are the Roma, or more precisely, nowadays there is 3.5% more of those who consider disadvantage being a Roma, than it was the case two years ago.



Table 11: Advantage or disadvantage of belonging to the stated groups - TREND

	Roma	Persons with disabilities	Above the age of 50	Below the age of 25	National minorities	Government opponents	Women
2010	56,0%	62,2%	50,7%	20,2%	31,3%	48,0%	32,3%
2015	49,7%	55,3%	44,3%	16,7%	25,8%	48,6%	27,3%
2017	48,9%	56,8%	42,5%	15,0%	36,0%	49,5%	27,6%
2018	50,8%	61,3%	40,7%	13,2%	34,1%	47,4%	27,6%
2020	54,3%	57,6%	33,7%	13,2%	24,5%	30,9%	20,9%

¹⁰ Serbs, as a group, were not involved in the previous research activities. As a result, we do not have these two groups in our comparison from the point of view of the trend.

¹¹ It is, probably, again the matter of the effect of election on the research

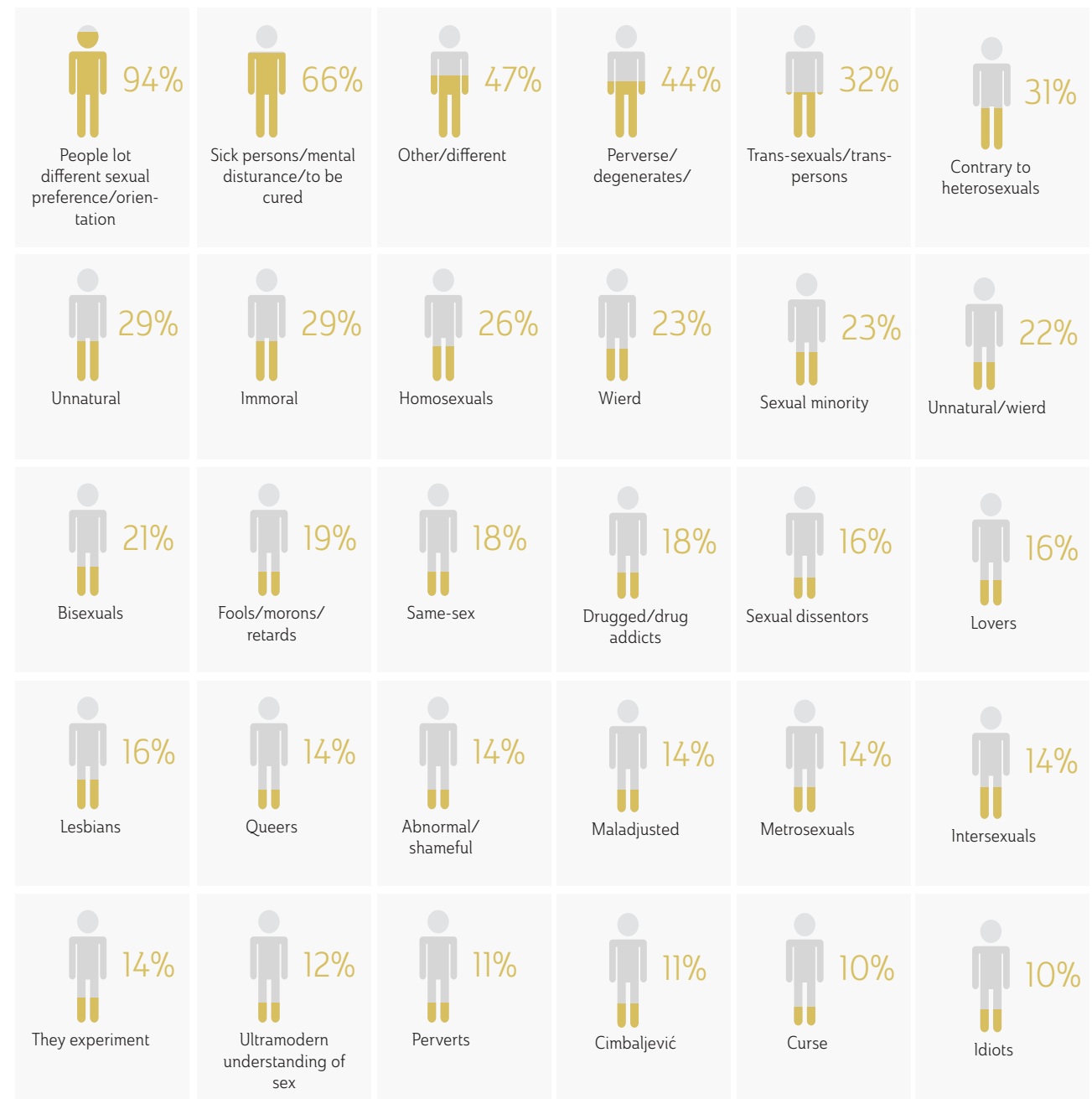
SPECIAL INDICATORS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST LGBTI PERSONS

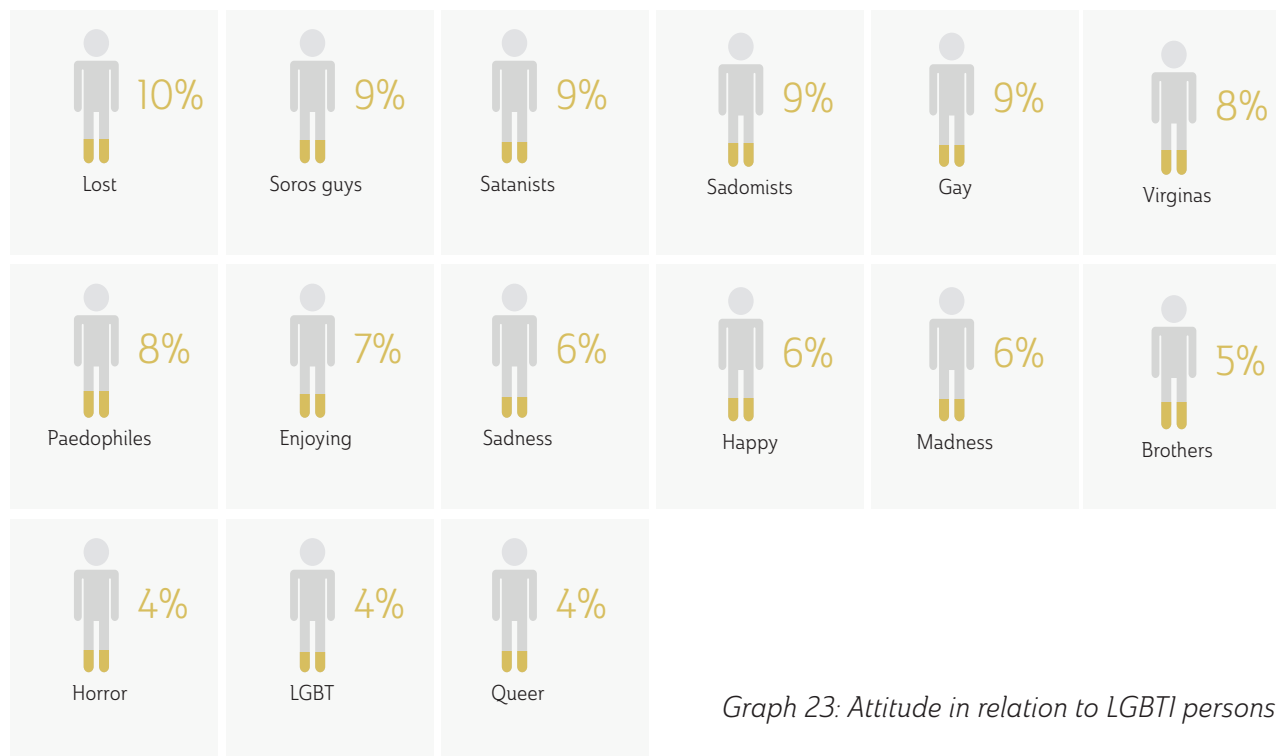
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A large number of indicators point at the fact that LGBTI persons are at special risk of discrimination. Normally, in more traditional and conservative settings, and Montenegro according to all general indicators falls into this category, discrimination against the persons who belong to these categories is particularly pronounced. Therefore, in our research we generated several questions which concern discrimination against LGBTI. First of all, in the Graph 22 we give the account of the narrative of the interviewees to an open question. Survey interviewees were asked to say what is their connotation when it comes to LGBTI or to describe LGBTI persons in their own words. The data indicate that a large number of citizens uses very derogatory terms, at the hedge of hate speech, in relation to the persons who belong to this group. Therefore there is no doubt that social distance in relation to LGBTI persons is at a very high level in Montenegrin society.

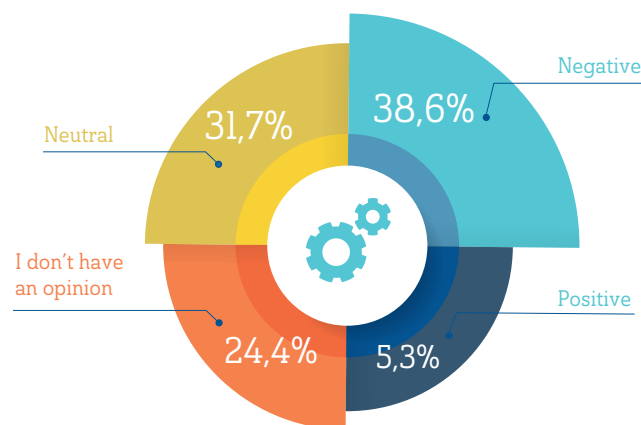
Graph 22: Narratives/descriptions of LGBTI persons - N





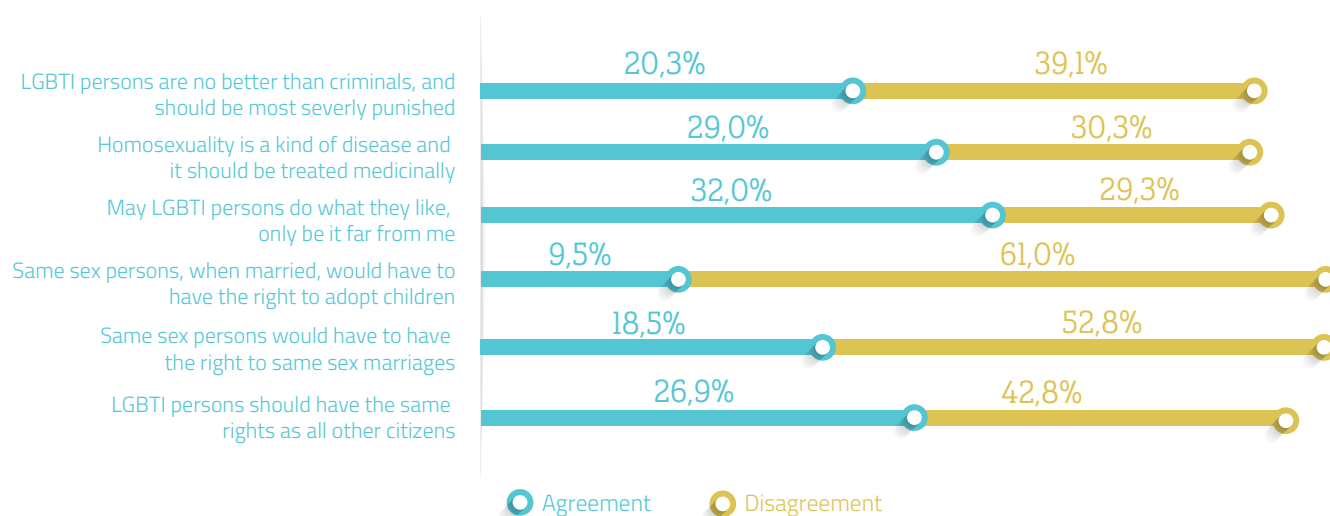
When it comes to LGBTI individuals, we first of all asked the citizens what their general attitude was (graph 23). The data clearly indicate that the highest percentage is scored (below 40%) by those with negative attitude in relation to LGBTI persons. Somewhat above 30% express neutral attitude, while ONLY 5% of citizens have positive attitude. Therefore, on the basis of this general indicator of the attitude in relation to LGBTI persons, we can conclude that the negative attitude is very pronounced.

Graph 23: Attitude in relation to LGBTI persons (%)



Furthermore, for the needs of this research, we formulated six views, by means of which the interviewees expressed higher or lower degree of agreement on a four-grade assessment scale. Three views were tinted positively and three negatively. In the Graph 24, we give cumulative account of the agreement and/or disagreement with each of these views. Citizens mostly agree with the view that 'LGBTI persons can do whatever they like, provided it does not concern me' and then that 'homosexuality is a disease which should be subject to medical treatment'. However, the most indicative data are the points of disagreement with the given views. Thus, we can see that 61% of citizens are against same sex partners having the right to adopt children, almost 53% of them are against same sex registered partnerships, and even just below 43% of citizens who do not agree that LGBTI persons should have the same rights as other citizens. However, although at first glance the percentage does not seem remarkable, what is most indicative is that **every fifth citizen considers that LGBTI persons are not any better than criminals and that they should be most severely punished. In other words, as a conclusion, every other citizen, on average, expresses homophobic views, and one fifth of the population is extremely homophobic.**

Graph 24: Views on LGBTI persons

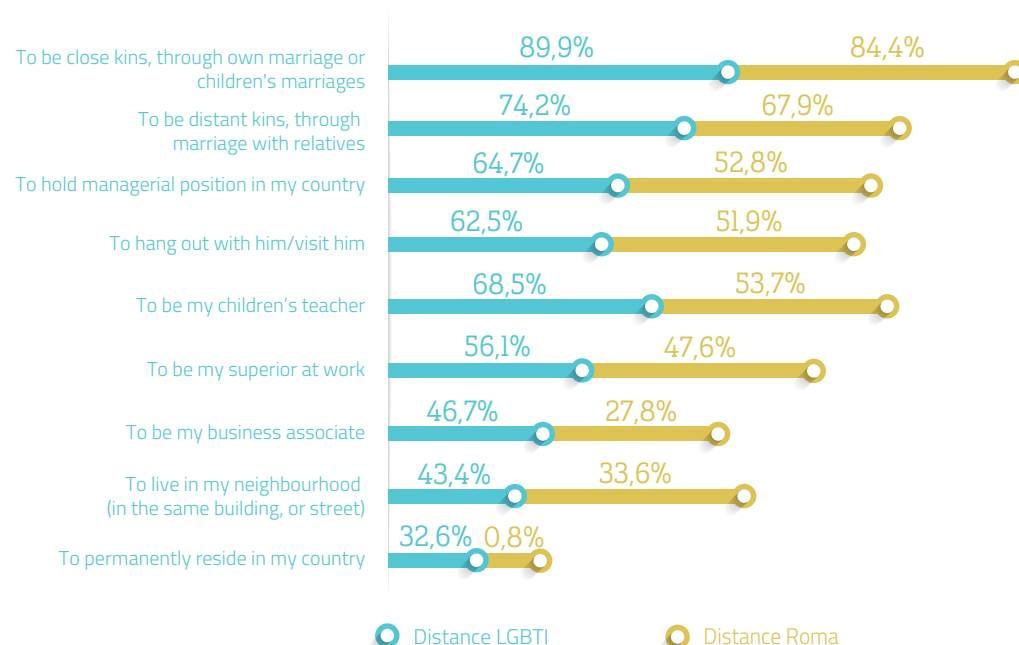


However, perhaps the best way to measure the relationship towards LGBTI persons is measuring social distance. Therefore, we used traditional Bogardus Scale with nine items/relationships, and citizens were responding if they would or would not get involved in the described relationships with LGBTI persons (graph 25). Since Bogardus Scale is of Guttman's type, every subsequent relationship implies higher degree of closeness. This way of measuring indicates very clearly a high degree of animosity towards LGBTI persons. The data even show that as much as one third of the citizens would not like to live in the same country with LGBTI persons. Therefore, at the 'softest' possible distance measuring item, citizens express very high de-

gree of social distancing. Having an attitude of not wanting to live next to a member of some group, even in the same country, indicates, in other words, very high degree of animosity towards the members of that group. Moreover, every subsequent relationship is closer, and social distancing towards LGBTI persons, just as it can be seen from the data, increases very much. Already more than 43% of citizens would not like to have LGBTI persons as neighbours, and over 46% would not like having a LGBTI person as his/her business partner; while more than 56% do not want for LGBTI person to be his/her superior at work. Furthermore, percentages grow, and especially sensitive is the item related to the possibility for LGBTI persons to raise children.

Even the relationships of socializing, visiting (62.5%), and the possibility for LGBTI persons to hold managerial positions in the country (64.7%) indicate that the distance is very pronounced. At the top of distance, 3/4 of citizens does not want kinship with LGBTI persons, and 90% refuses to have closer relationships through marriage or children entering into registered partnerships with LGBTI persons. Therefore, the measurement indicates that social distance in relation to LGBTI persons is very pronounced. In parallel to that, and for informative reasons but also for the sake of comparison, we measured in the same way the distance in relation to the Roma, as a particularly vulnerable group. The data indicate that social distance in relation to the Roma is also very pronounced, but that the distancing degree is still considerably smaller as compared to the distance measured in relation to LGBTI persons. For every individual relationship towards the Roma distance is lower, and the degree of animosity can be best compared if he/she lives with the Roma in the same country. Numeric values of distancing, however, approach 'closer' relationships, and we conclude that **social distance in relation** to the Roma is **very pronounced**, but that it is on a lower level than it is the case with LGBTI persons.

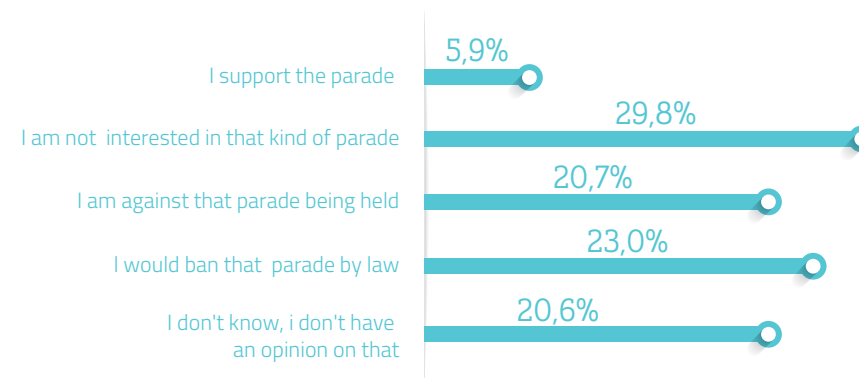
Graph 25: Social distance in relation to LGBTI persons and the Roma



Having in mind that the Law on same sex partnerships was adopted in Montenegro, we asked the citizens what they thought about the Law, in such a way that the question was an open one. Citizens were, thus, freely, entering their attitude/opinion on an empty line. Most of interviewees (231) simply, and in a different way, wrote that it concerned same sex marriages. However, there is a large number of questions with extremely negatively tinted answers. In other words, **a large number of citizens have extremely negative attitude towards the Law on same sex partnerships.**

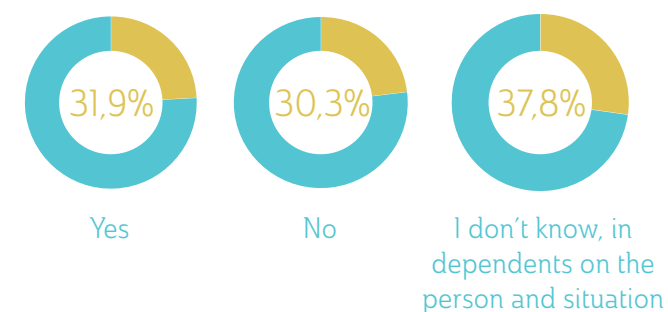
LGBTI parades (PRIDE) have been organized in Montenegro for several years now. They are a manifestation of rights to different sexual orientation and the one which the need is expressed for solidarity and elimination of discrimination. We asked our citizens during the research what their view was about these parades (Graph 26). The data indicate that ONLY 6% of citizens support the PRIDE. On the other hand, about 30% say that they do not care about the PRIDE, while every fifth citizen is against the staging of the PRIDE, with 23% of those who say that Pride Parade should be forbidden in the law. Therefore, **almost half of the population express negative or very negative view in relation to Pride Parade, and symbolically small number have positive view.**

Graph 26: Attitudes in relation to LGBTI Pride Parade (PRIDE) (%)



The last question in this segment of the research asked the citizens if they would be personally ready to protect LGBTI persons in case they were threatened (Graph 27). About 32% of citizens expressed their readiness for this kind of action which, in light of high distance and pronounced negative views being analysed, is not such a bad score. However, there is certain number of those who would not offer any protection in these situations, and there are almost 38% of those who say that their behaviour would depend on specific situation and person concerned.

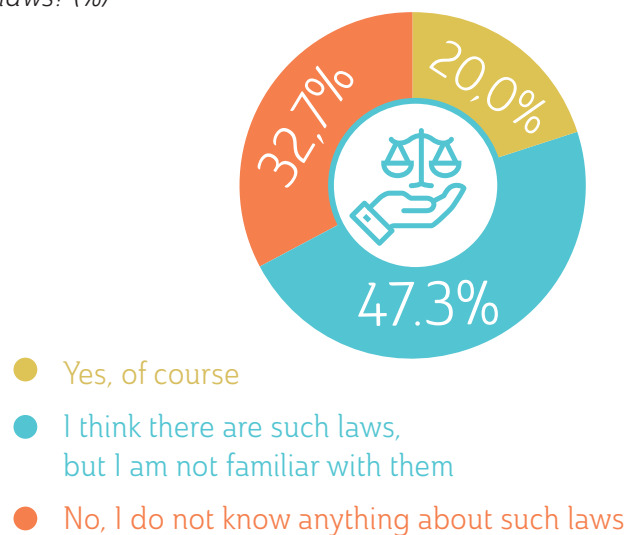
Graph 27: Would you be personally ready to protect LGBTI persons in case they were threatened? (%)



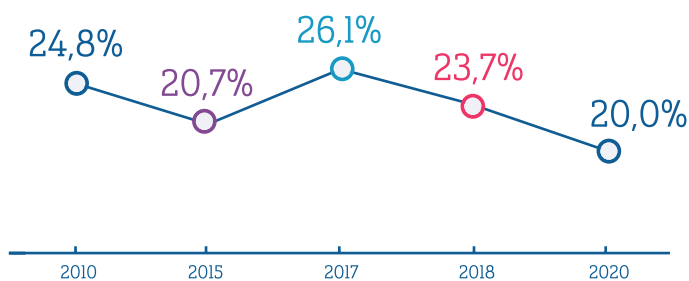
Assessment of work and effects of responsible actors and policies concerning protection from discrimination

In this segment of our research, we asked the citizens to assess the actions of responsible actors when it comes to the protection from discrimination. We wanted to know how the citizens assessed the effects of work of key political and social actors the objective of which is fight against discrimination. Firstly, we asked them if they were familiar with antidiscrimination laws (Graph 28). The data indicate that every fifth citizen is familiar with such laws, and that almost half of the citizens know of the existence of such laws, but that they are not familiar with them. One third of the citizens claim not knowing anything about these laws. However, this information is even more informative if we analyse it from the point of view of the trend (Graph 29). The score indicates that the number of citizens who say they are familiar with the laws concerned varies from 20% to 25% in the last ten years, and the values obtained are changeable, specifically, when it comes to comparison with 2018, trends are even regressive. Therefore, we must conclude that **insufficient number of citizens is familiar with anti-discrimination laws, and that in the last ten years this number has not been increasing.**

Graph 28: Are they familiar with anti-discrimination laws? (%)

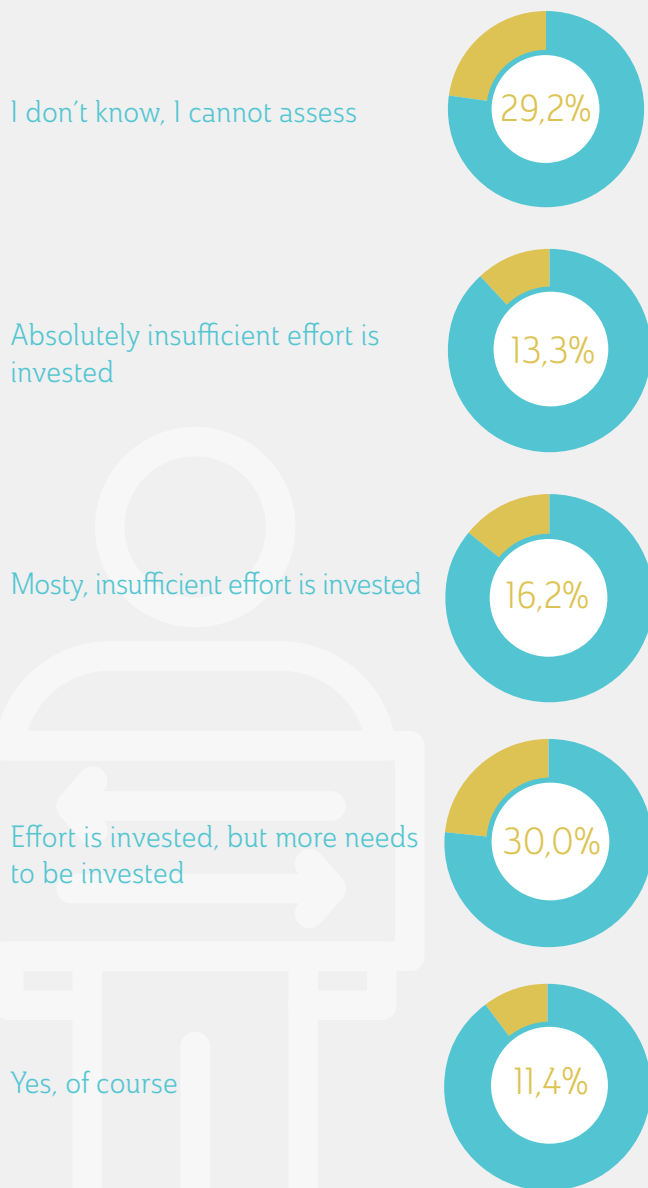


Graph 29: They are familiar with anti-discrimination laws (%)

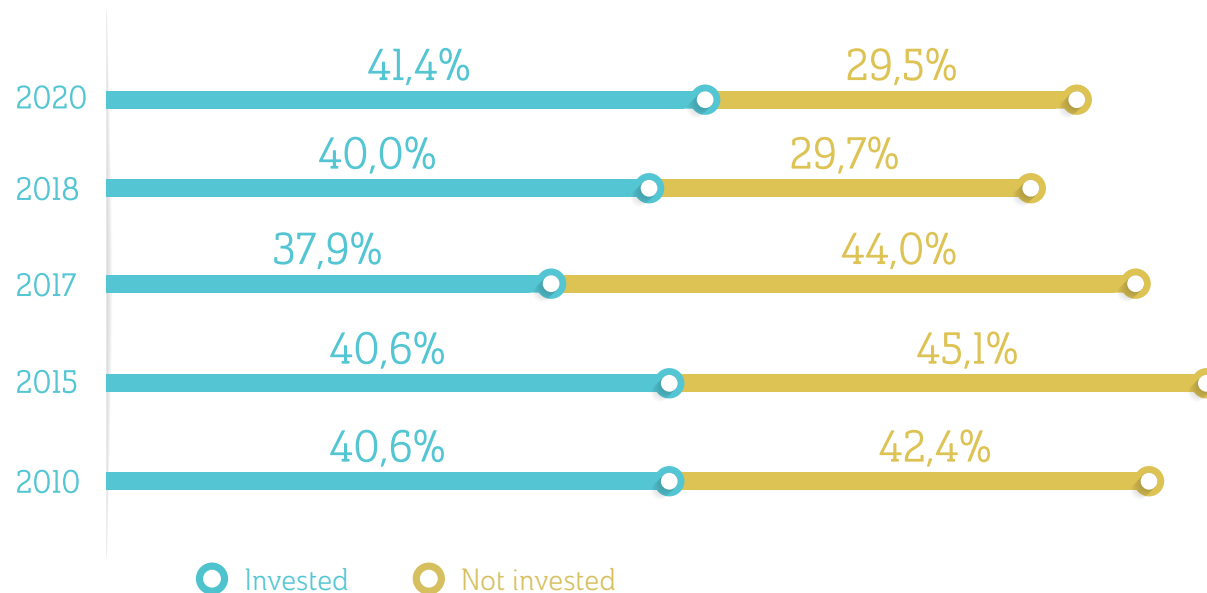


With the next question we wanted to see citizens' opinion on whether Montenegro invested sufficient effort in the fight against discrimination (Graph 30). Most citizens (30%) think that certain effort is invested, but that more needs to be done. However, a large number of citizens think that insufficient effort has been invested, rather over 16% consider that mainly insufficient effort is invested, with 13.3% who say that absolutely insufficient effort is invested, making the aggregate of about 30%. On the other hand, just over 11% of citizens think that Montenegro invests sufficient effort in the fight against discrimination. However, the information on the assessment of effort is more informative if analysed from the viewpoint of the trend (Graph 31). This score indicates that the number of citizens who assess that Montenegro invests sufficient effort has been rather stable in the last ten years, the figure being around 40% (only in 2017 this figure was somewhat lower). However, on the other hand, it can be said that the number of those who claim that Montenegro does not invest sufficient effort has gone down, if compared to the 2010 research, by around 12%. Therefore, to conclude, the number of citizens who think that Montenegro invests sufficient effort in **the fight against discrimination is stable, but the number of those who claim the contrary has significantly decreased in the last ten years.**

Graph 30: Does Montenegro invest sufficient effort in the fight against discrimination (%)



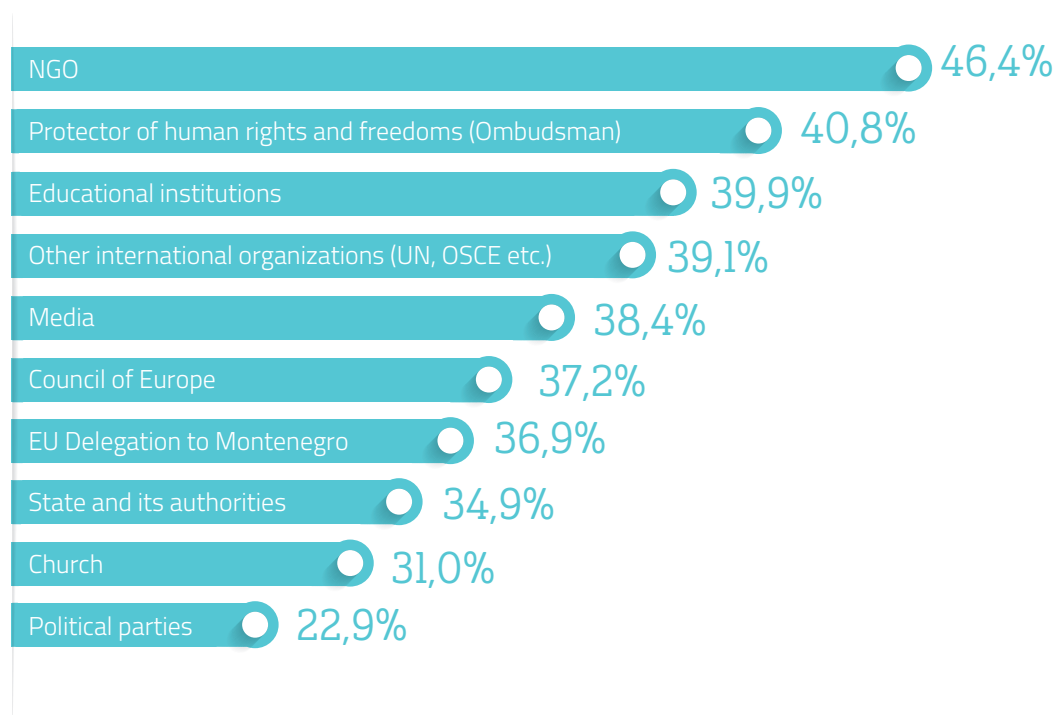
Graph 31: Montenegro invests effort in the fight against discrimination – TREND



The assessment of work of the institutions in the fight against discrimination is an important part of our research. For this purpose, we used four-grade Likert assessment scale, rather, for each of the stated institutions the citizens expressed the view if a given institution makes a contribution or not, to a smaller or greater degree (Graph 32). **Citizens think that out of all stated institutions, NGOs**

contribute most. Rather uniformly assessed were then the Ombudsman, educational institutions, international organizations and media. Furthermore, according to the hierarchy, more than solidly were assessed the EU Delegation, the State and its authorities. The smallest contribution in the fight against discrimination, in citizens' opinion, is made by the church and political parties.

Graph 32: Contribution made by institutions in the fight against discrimination – SUM (%) crucial and big contribution

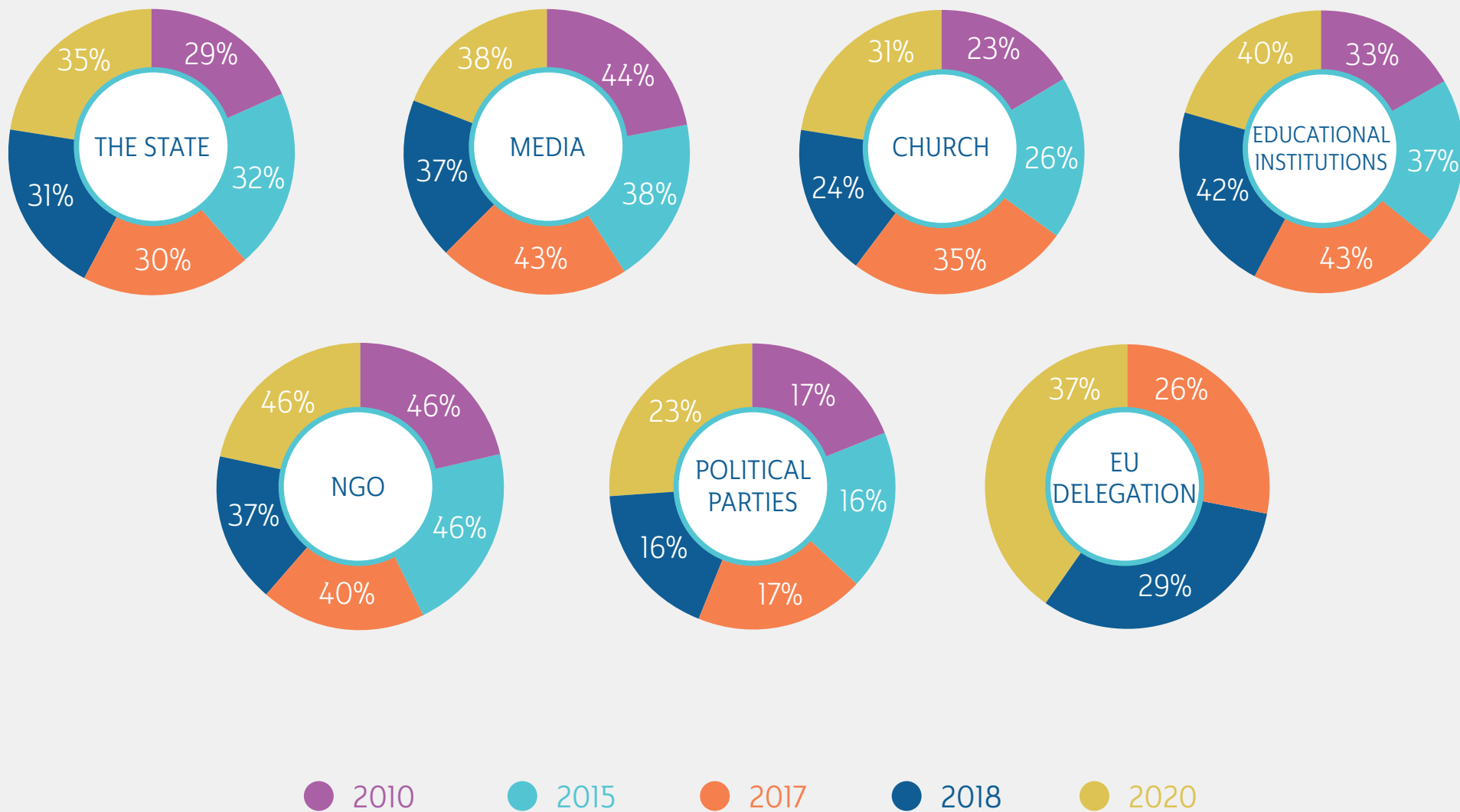


Since we used the same question in previous research waves, very important information concerns the trend, i.e. when perceiving the assessment of the efficiency of institutions in the last ten years. However, in this respect no list of identical institutions was used, so we are unable to present the trend for all institutions involved in this year's research wave. In the Graph 33 we give the overview of the trend for the institutions that had been listed for the previous research waves. In this respect, the data are very interesting. First of all, **NGOs record the most progressive trend as compared to the research carried out two years ago, but the measured value is identical to the one obtained in the research carried out ten years ago.** In other words, NGOs constantly offer the greatest contribution to the fight against discrimination, but this contribution has not been changed in the past ten years. **The EU Delegation, also, records a steady growth in relation to contribution, and when this value is compared**

to the reference data from 2017, when the Delegation was included in our list for the first time, progressive trend is even more pronounced. Although the Church, in general, is not assessed particularly impressively from the point of view of contribution, we note that nowadays there are 7% more people who assess that this institution gives its contribution as compared to 2018, and cumulatively, in relation to ten years ago, 8% of citizens nowadays assess the Church better. Political parties also record significant progress of 7% in the last two years, and cumulatively in relation to 2010, this contribution progressed by 6%. When it comes to the State, the progress in the last two years is 4%, and 6% in the last ten years. Educational institutions, on the other hand, record negative trend of 2% in the past two years, but their overall progress in the past ten years is 7%.

We can conclude that in the last two years, there is the assessment that all institutions raised their contribution in the fight against discrimination, with the exception of educational institutions.

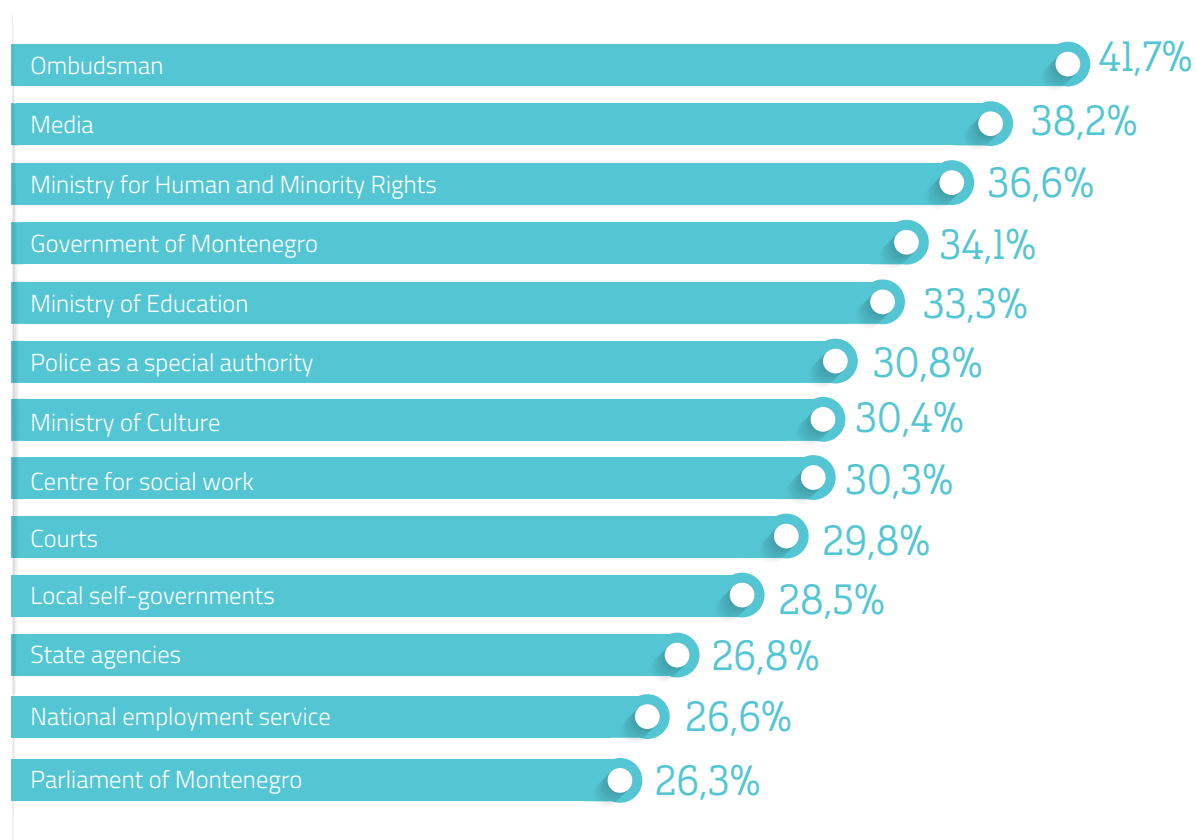
Graph 33: Contributions of institutions – TREND



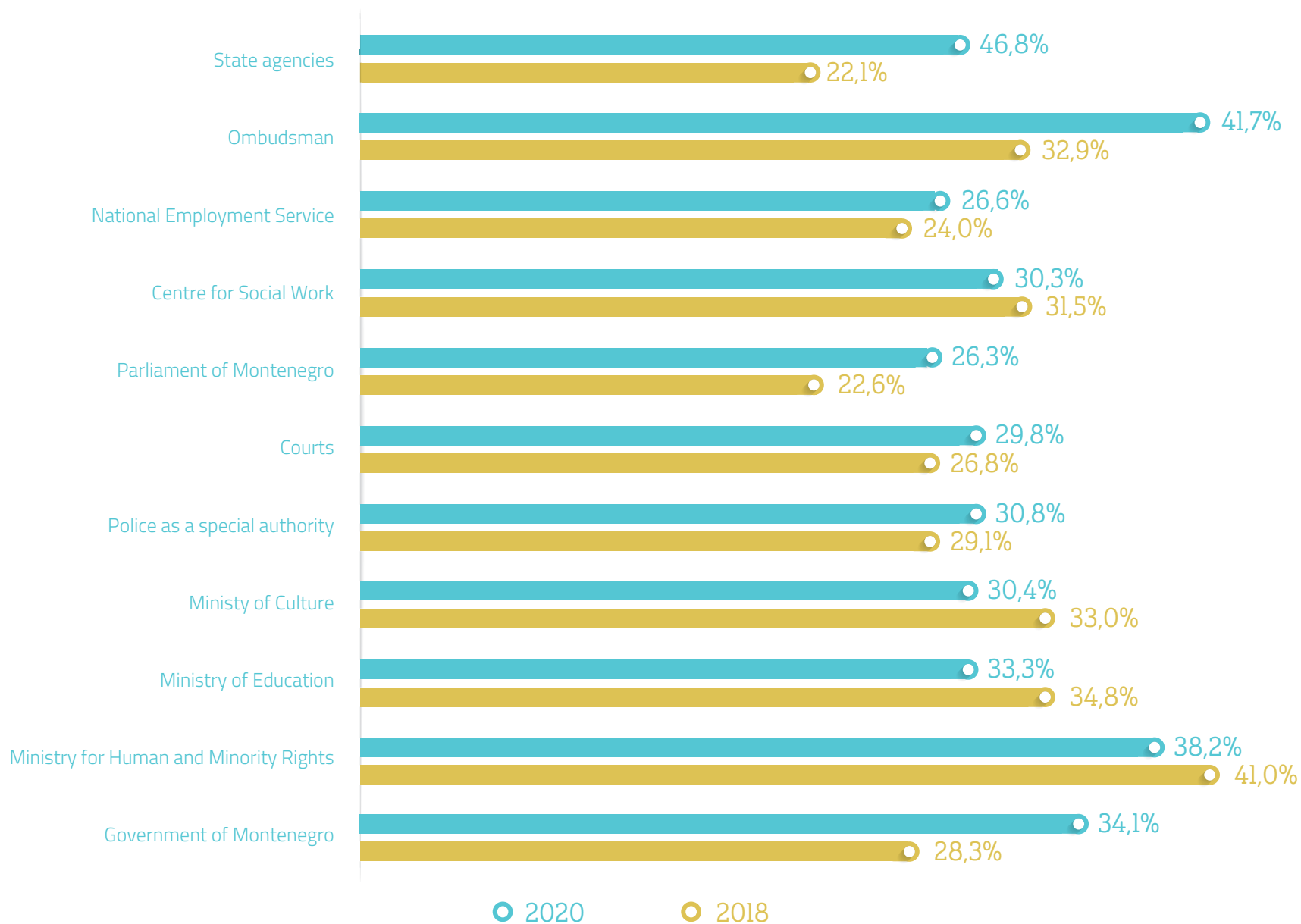
However, having in mind that the fight against discrimination is primarily a duty and obligation on the state institutions, we examined specifically citizens' views when it comes to their assessment of the efficiency of these institutions in the fight against discrimination (Graph 34). The data indicate that, just as in the previous case, **the Ombudsman's Office makes the greatest contribution**. It is followed by media and the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights, then the Government of Montenegro and the Ministry of Education. In citizens' views, least contribution in the fight against contribution is made by state agencies, national employment service and the Parliament of Montenegro. Moreover, even in this case we compared the values with the previous research (Graph 35). These data exist solely for the research conducted two years ago, whereby some institutions were not included in that research. Therefore, we are making comparison for the institutions which we have comparative data for. The data indicate that the greatest progress is measured when it comes to the Ombudsman. We can, therefore, conclude **that citizens assess that the Office of the Ombudsman has improved its operation most in the previous two years when it comes to the fight against discrimination**. We also measure significant improvement when it comes to the Government of Montenegro and state agencies, with somewhat better assessed contribution of the Parliament, courts, National Employment Service and Police.

On the other hand, the contribution of all three ministries and of the Centre for Social Work was not so highly assessed as compared to 2018.

Graph 34: Contribution of Montenegrin institutions to the fight against discrimination – SUM (%) crucial and big contribution



Graph 35: Contribution of Montenegrin institutions to the fight against discrimination – TREND

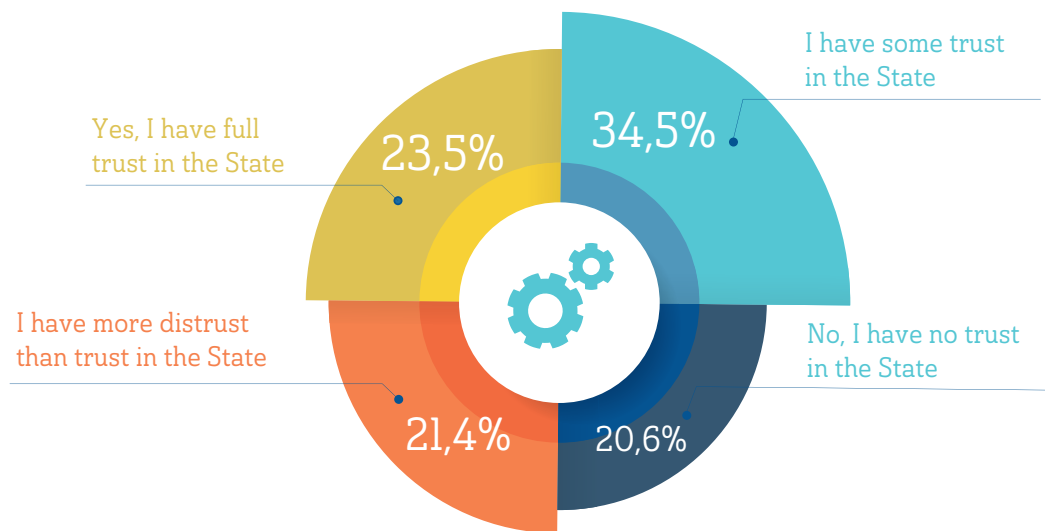


When it comes to the relationship of the State towards the issues of discrimination, one of the main questions is also the trust that citizens have in the ability of the state to protect them from discrimination. Therefore, in our research the citizens we asked exactly this question (Graph 36). The results indicate **that every fourth citizen has full trust in the ability of the state to protect him/her**

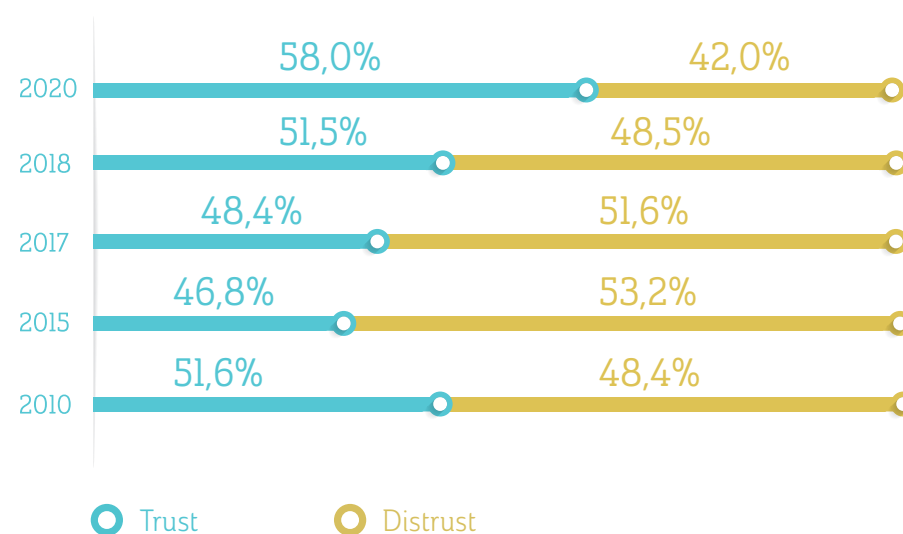
from discrimination, while about 35% of citizens show relative trust. On the other hand, one fifth express smaller and one fifth greater degree of mistrust, which means that **a bit over 40% of citizens has no trust that the state will protect them from discrimination in case of need**. If one calculates trusts and mistrust cumulatively and analyse the trend (Graph 37), the data indicate that

the overall trust has been increased in relation to 2018 by 6.5%, with identical cumulative progress for the past ten years. The trend indicates that the degree of trust had been on a higher level, than going down with the passing of time, only to show an increase in the last two years.

Graph 36: They have trust in the ability of the state to protect them from discrimination

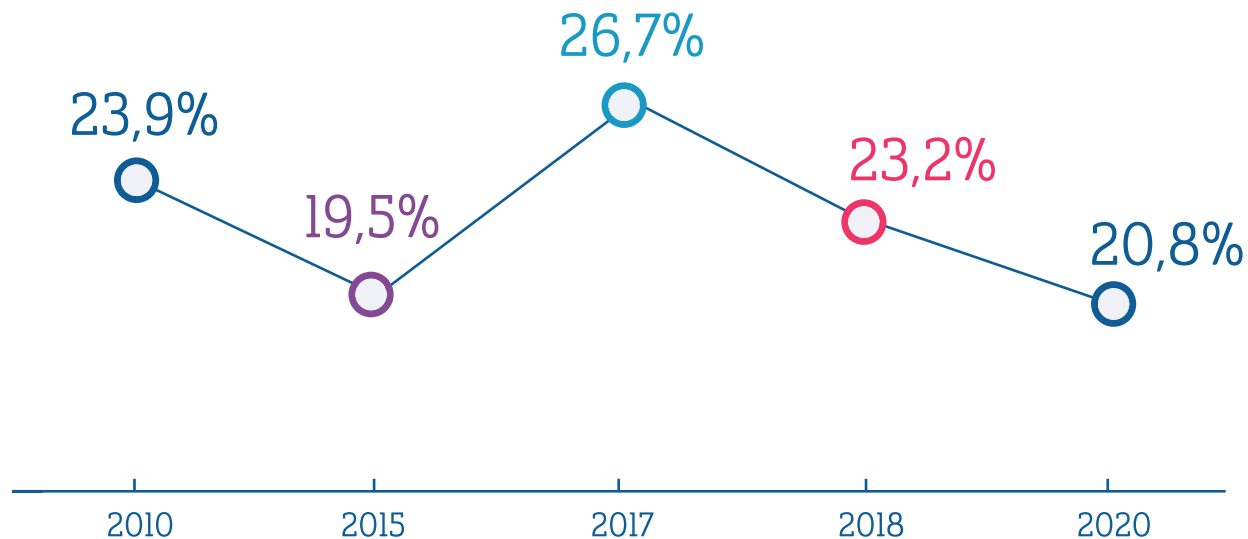


Graph 37: They have trust in the ability of the state to protect them from discrimination - TREND

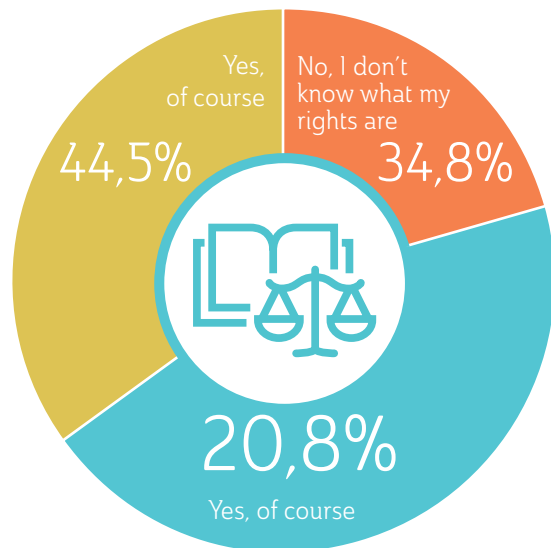


One of the questions concerning the capacity for the protection from discrimination, was whether citizens knew their rights in case they would be victims to discrimination (Graph 38). The data indicate that a bit over one fifth of **the citizens are familiar with their rights in case of becoming victims of discrimination**. Relative knowledge of their rights was expressed by almost 45% of citizens, and over 1/3 explicitly say that they are not familiar with their rights. If we were to analyse the trend (Graph 39), the percentage of those who explicitly say that they KNOW what their rights are is rather volatile. This percentage ranges from 20% to 27%. However, key information is that **in relation to the knowledge of one's rights in case of falling victim to discrimination, we do not record special changes in the last ten years**.

Graph 39: They are familiar with their rights in case they fall victim to discrimination – TREND



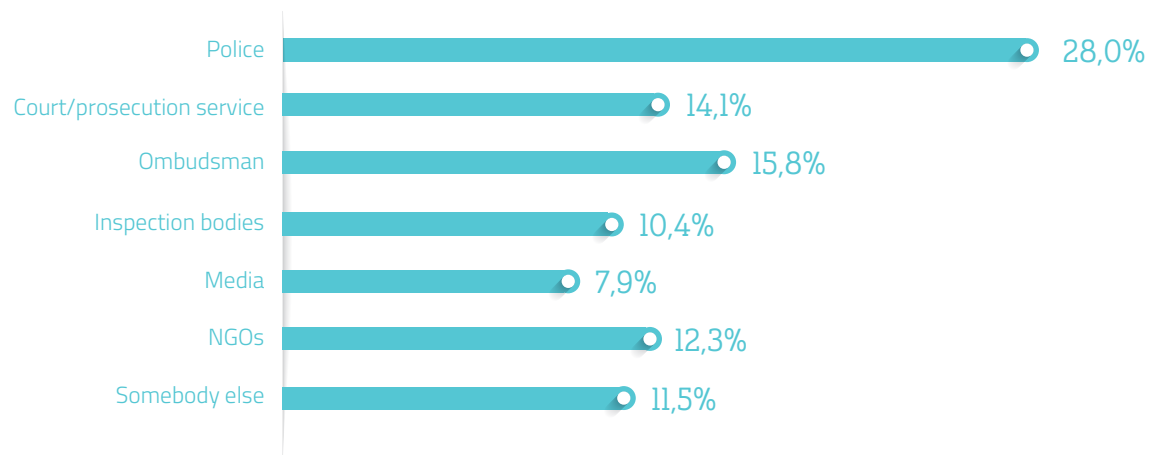
Graph 38: They are familiar with their rights in case they fall victim to discrimination (%)



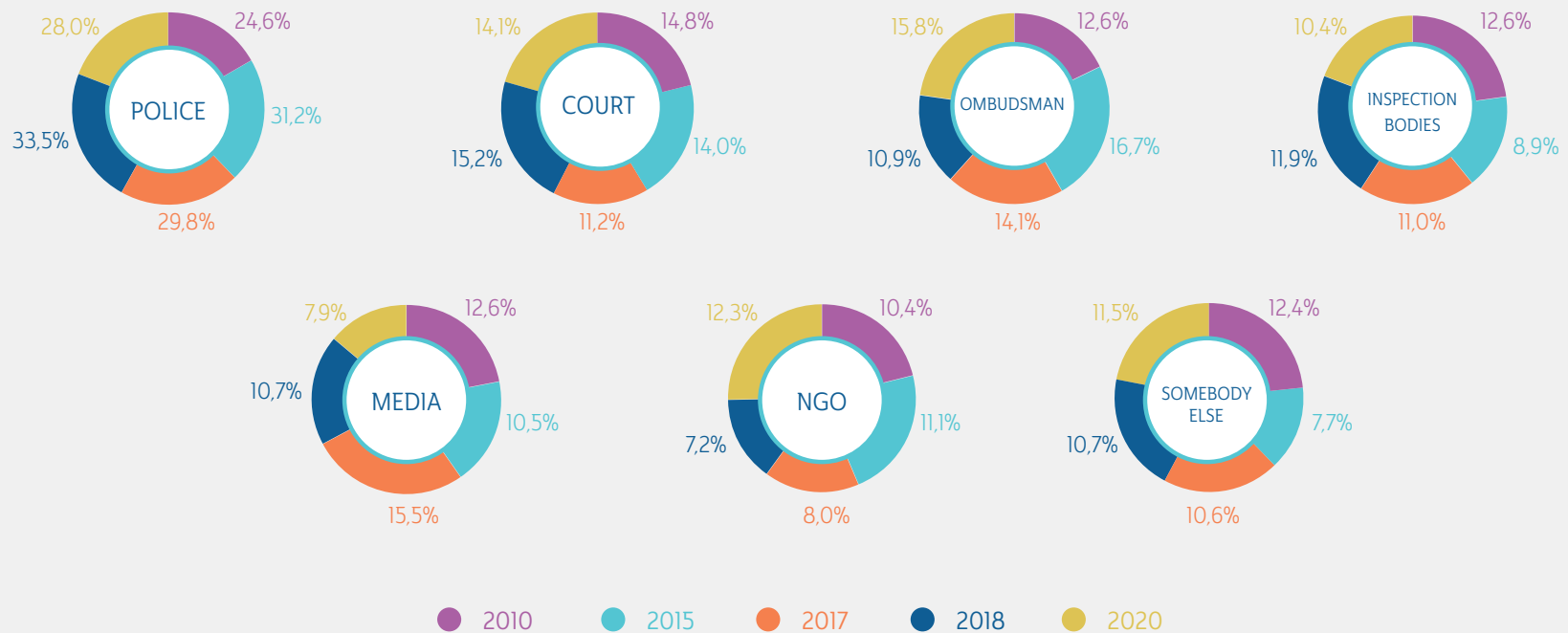
To the question who one would approach first in case one was to fall victim to discrimination (Graph 40), citizens state that the Police would be the first institution. Another institution is the Ombudsman, followed by judiciary/prosecution service, then NGOs. Trend analysis indicates, however, that when it comes to police, we record comparatively most regressive trend, since nowadays 5.5% less citizens would approach police in case of discrimination than it was the case two

years ago. Mild regressive trends in this respect are measured also when it comes to media, inspection bodies and judiciary. On the other hand, **progressive trends are measured when it comes to the Office of the Ombudsman and NGOs**, therefore generally speaking citizens have greater degree of trust in these institutions than it was the case two years ago.

Graph 40: In case of falling victim to discrimination, I would first approach (%)

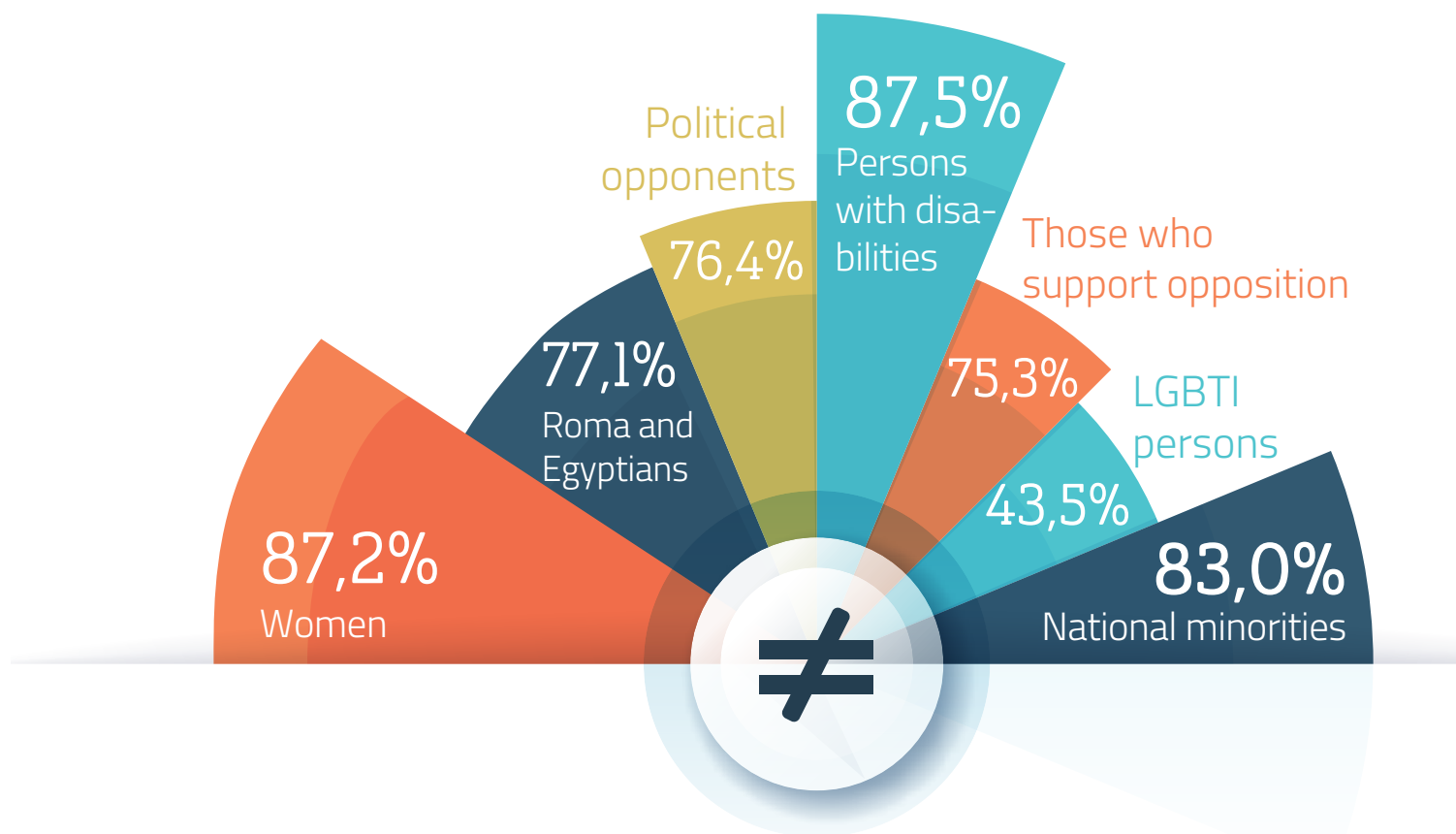


Graph 41: Who would you address? – TREND

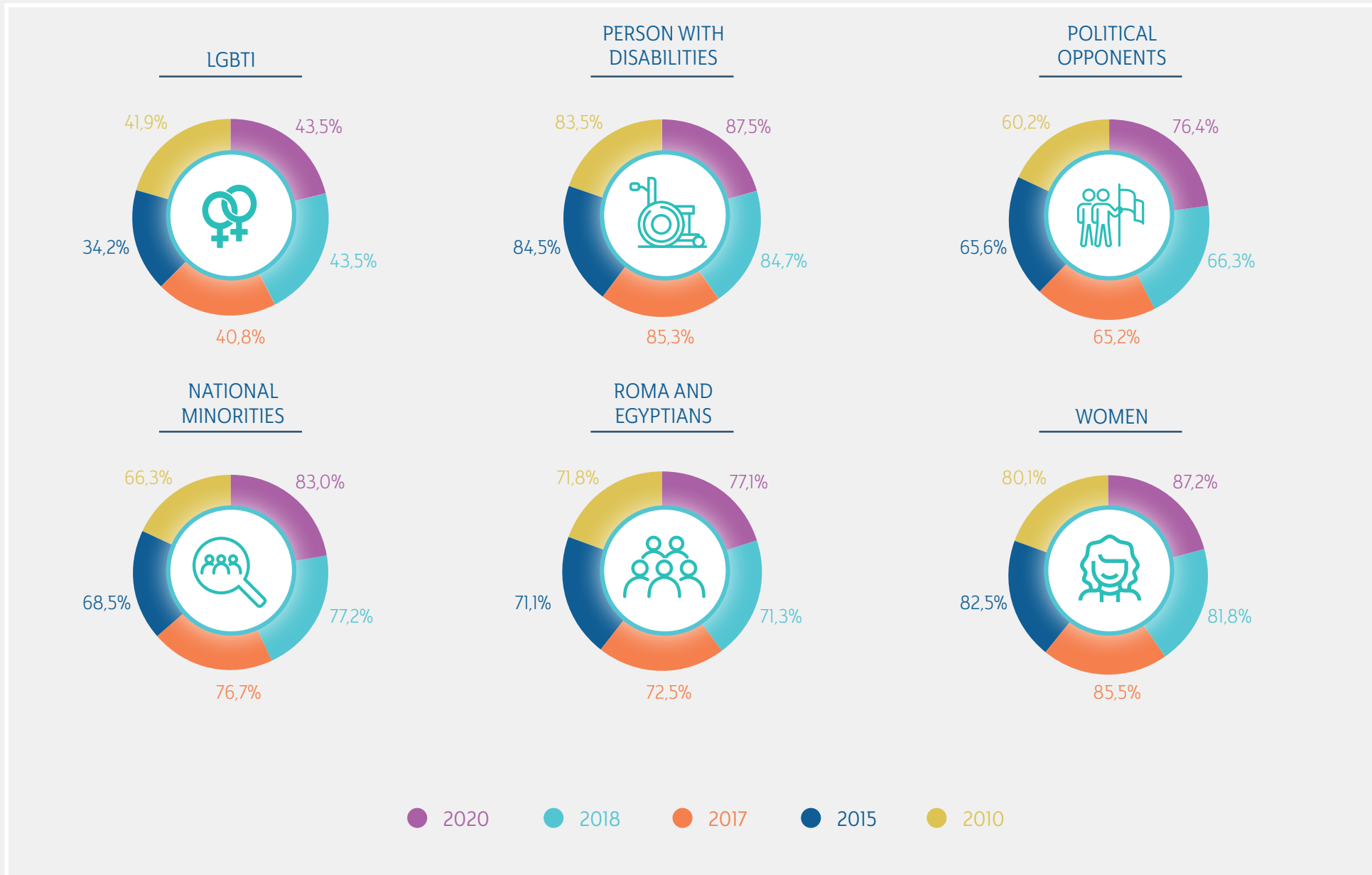


Finally, in this part of the research, we asked the citizens if they supported the measures directed towards the fight against discrimination, and then gave a list of vulnerable groups (Graph 42). The data indicate that **citizens strongly support these measures for the members of all groups, except when it comes to LGBTI population**. Trend analysis in this segment is interesting (Graph 43). First of all, and key finding, **support to measures aimed at protecting vulnerable groups is on a significantly higher level nowadays than it was the case in 2018 in relation to all groups except for LGBTI persons**. Comparatively speaking, the greatest progress is measured when it comes to the measures aimed at protecting political opponents. The support to the measures for the protection of women, Roma and national minorities ranges between 5% and 6%, whilst somewhat smaller progress when it comes to the support to measures aimed at protecting persons with disabilities.

Graph 42: Do they support measures for the fight against discrimination of the stated groups (%) of YES replies



Graph 43: They support the measures - TREND



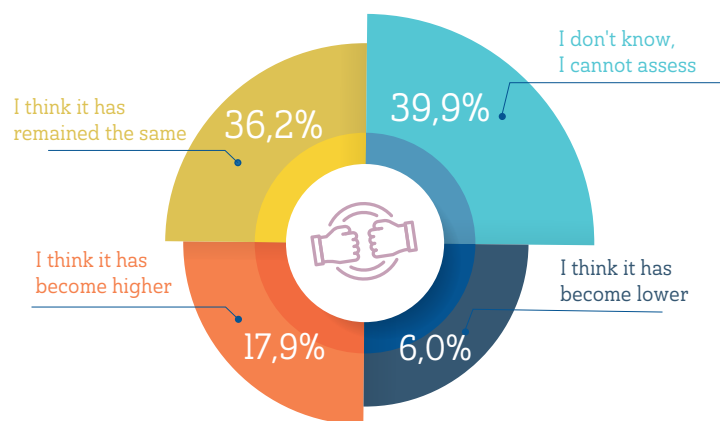
COVID 19 EPIDEMICS EFFECT ON DISCRIMINATION

7



We live in times of COVID 19 epidemics which can simply not be neglected when it comes to all aspects of social life. The impact of epidemics is undisputed and very pronounced even when it comes to economy, but also to everyday life. After several months of epidemics, and without an indication of it disappearing quickly, it is necessary for all segments of social life to be adjusted to new circumstances. Therefore, in our research we asked two questions on the effects of COVID 19 epidemics to discrimination (Graph 44). About 18% of citizens think that the degree of discrimination has become higher due to epidemics, as opposed to 6% of those who think that the degree of discrimination has been reduced. However, most of the citizens are unable to assess the degree, and who think that COVID 19 epidemics has not impacted the degree of discrimination in Montenegro. The reason that number of infected and died people went on rise only recently in Montenegro, might be the reason why people have not felt particularly touched by the COVID 19 epidemic.

Graph 44: Has the degree of discrimination in Montenegro due to COVID 19 epidemics become higher or been reduced

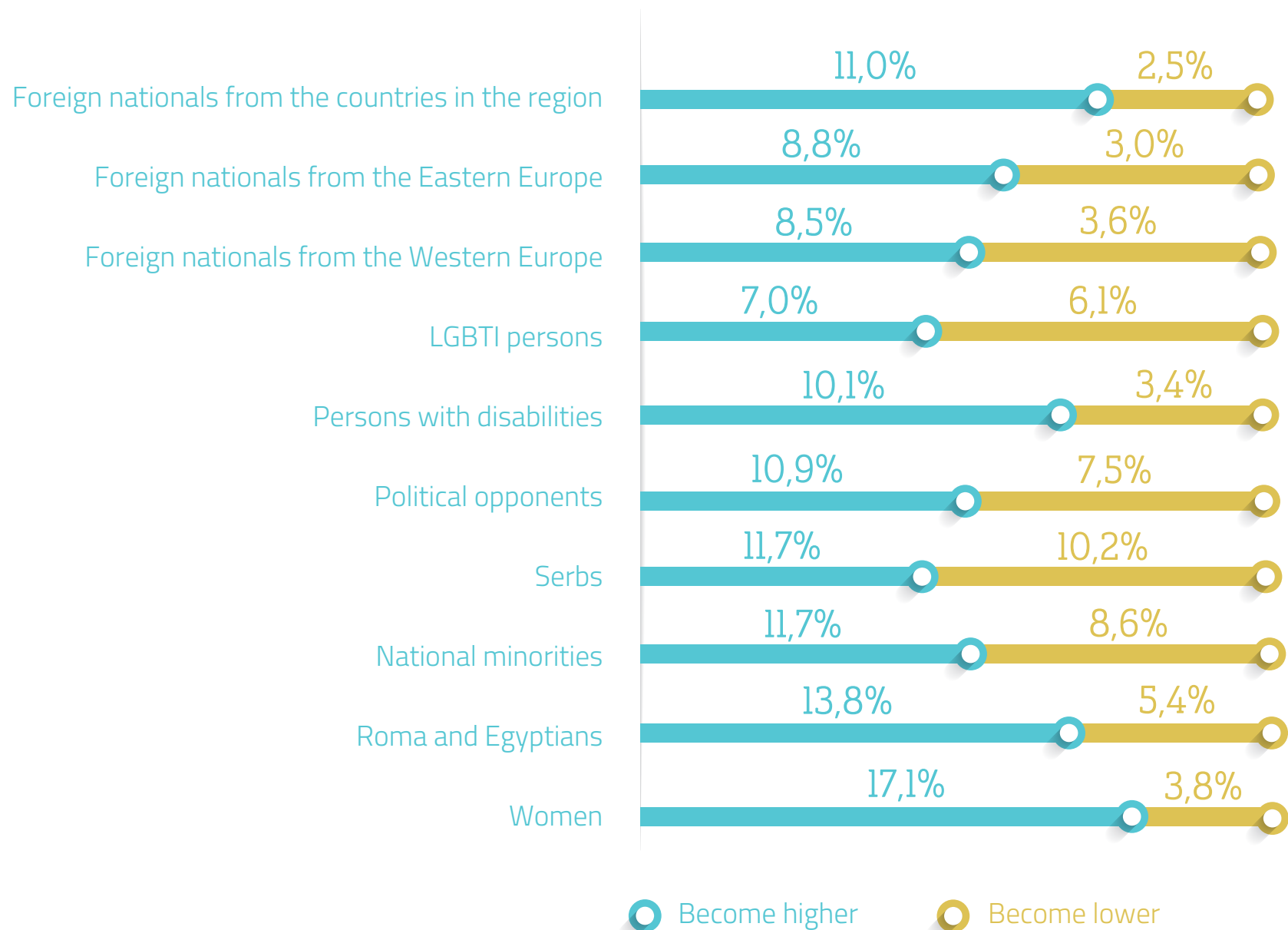


However, general assessment of the effect of the epidemics to discrimination is one thing, while the assessment of the effect on specific groups is a lot more precise estimate, having in mind that it cannot be expected for the epidemics to have uniform effect on discrimination in relation to the members of vulnerable groups. Therefore, we asked the citizens explicitly about the effect of COVID 19 epidemics on all key vulnerable groups (Table 13). Most of citizens either could not assess or consider that the degree of discrimination following COVID 19 epidemics has remained the same. Comparatively speaking, however, if discrimination degree increase percentage is compared to the decrease percentage (Graph 45), we can see the assessment that the increase in the degree of discrimination is more relevant in relation to the assessment of the decrease in the degree of discrimination, thus one can generally say that **up to certain extent COVID 19 has contributed to the increase in the degree of discrimination in Montenegro in relation to all groups**. In comparative sense, according to citizens' assessment, **due to the epidemics the degree of discrimination in relation to women has shown greatest increase**, whilst citizens assess that the degree of discrimination in relation to foreign nationals shows least increase.

Table 12: Increase/decrease of the degree of discrimination due to COVID 19 epidemics

	Increased	Remained the same	Decreased	I don't know, I cannot assess
Women	17,1	43,9	3,8	35,2
Roma and Egyptians	13,8	45,5	5,4	35,3
National minorities	11,7	45,4	8,6	34,3
Serbs	11,7	44,2	10,2	34,0
Political opponents	10,9	46,4	7,5	35,1
Persons with disabilities	10,1	50,6	3,4	35,9
LGBTI persons	7,0	48,4	6,1	38,5
Foreign nationals from Western Europe	8,5	48,9	3,6	39,0
Foreign nationals from Eastern Europe	8,8	49,0	3,0	39,2
Foreign nationals from the countries in the region	11,0	47,2	2,5	39,4

Graph 45: Increase vs. decrease of discrimination due to COVID 19 effect



YOUTH ATTITUDES ON DISCRIMINATION



In the text below, we will distinguish between the young and those above the age of 30 by key issues, in order to determine whether there are differences in the perception of discrimination. The young are defined as those in the age group between 18 and 39 years of age. We are presenting here the results by individual indicators as well as in the composite manner, so as to perceive the differences between the two categories. Firstly, in the Table 1 we are presenting the full overview of YES answers to the question Is discrimination present in all areas and in relation to all categories:

Graph 1: Perception of discrimination by areas: % of the young and others

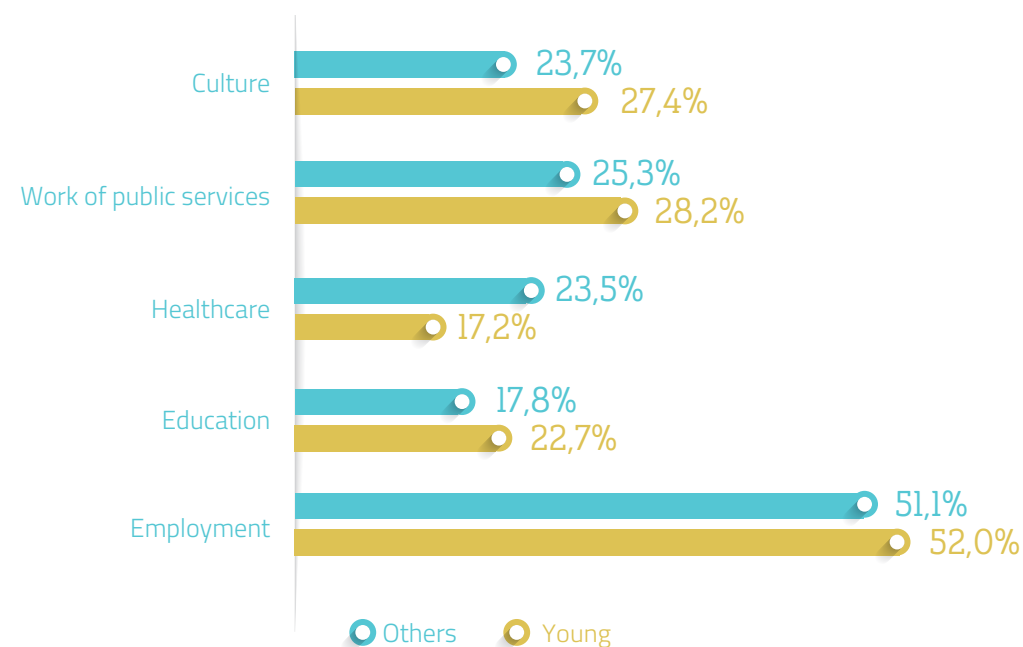


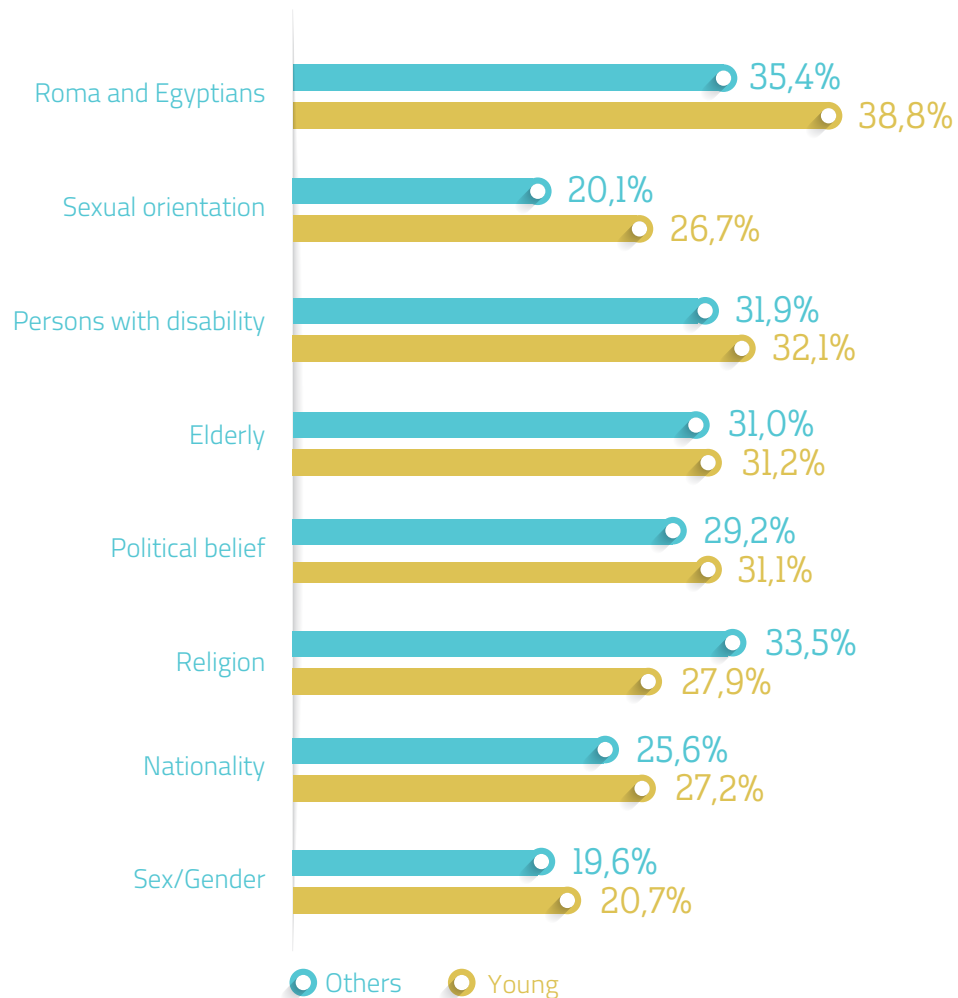
Table 1: Discrimination is present - % of YES answers

	Employment		Education		Healthcare		Work of public services		Culture	
	YOUNG	OTHERS	YOUNG	OTHERS	YOUNG	OTHERS	YOUNG	OTHERS	YOUNG	OTHERS
Sex/Gender	41.9%	40.4%	14.2%	10.8%	10.7%	13.3%	20.2%	16.2%	16.7%	17.4%
Nationality	49.8%	49.4%	17.8%	13.6%	12.3%	14.9%	28.9%	26.1%	27.3%	23.7%
Religion	47.8%	45.2%	20.9%	14.0%	14.2%	56.9%	26.9%	25.5%	29.8%	25.9%
Political belief	60.1%	57.7%	20.2%	15.6%	16.5%	18.9%	33.2%	31.8%	25.7%	21.8%
Elderly	59.3%	61.0%	27.3%	24.5%	20.9%	23.6%	26.5%	25.4%	22.1%	20.7%
Persons with disabilities	57.1%	61.4%	26.9%	24.1%	20.6%	22.8%	28.9%	26.9%	27.0%	24.3%
Sexual orientation	37.2%	34.3%	17.4%	10.8%	17.8%	11.6%	27.3%	20.6%	34.0%	23.4%
Roma and Egyptians	62.5%	59.3%	36.8%	29.3%	24.5%	26.3%	33.6%	29.8%	36.8%	32.3%

We can see in the Table above that the young differ in some assessments, and not in others. In order to determine these differences in a more precise manner, in the Graph 1 we present the assessment of the young in relation to others for all areas. The data indicate that the assessment of the young is rather balanced when it comes to discrimination in the area of employment, while the young assess that in the area of healthcare there is less discrimination as compared to the assessment of the adults. In all other areas, the young assess that discrimination is present more than as assessed by the adults.

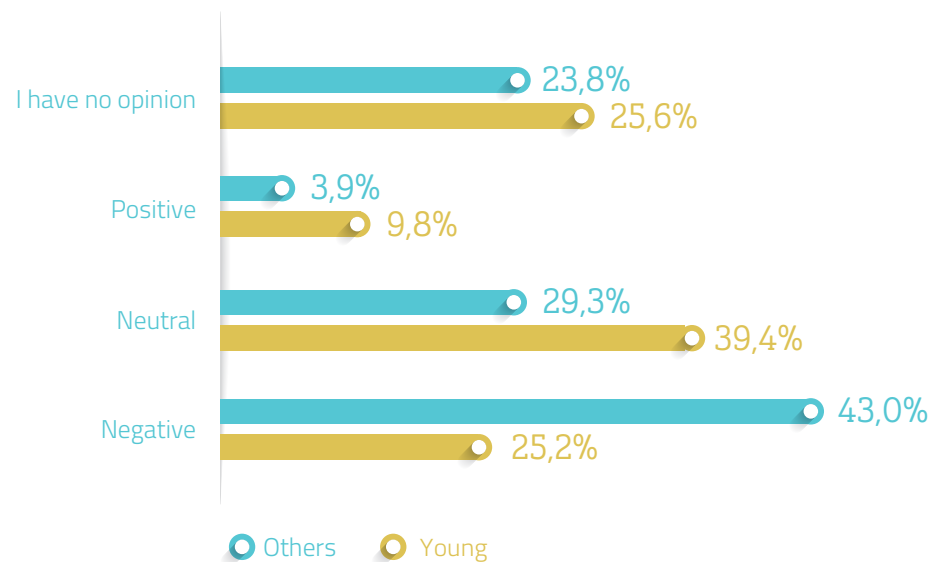
The assessment by groups is presented in the Graph 2. In some areas we measure significant differences. The most significant difference is the fact that the young consider that discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is considerably more pronounced as compared to the adults

Graph 2: Perception of discrimination by groups: % of the young and the adults



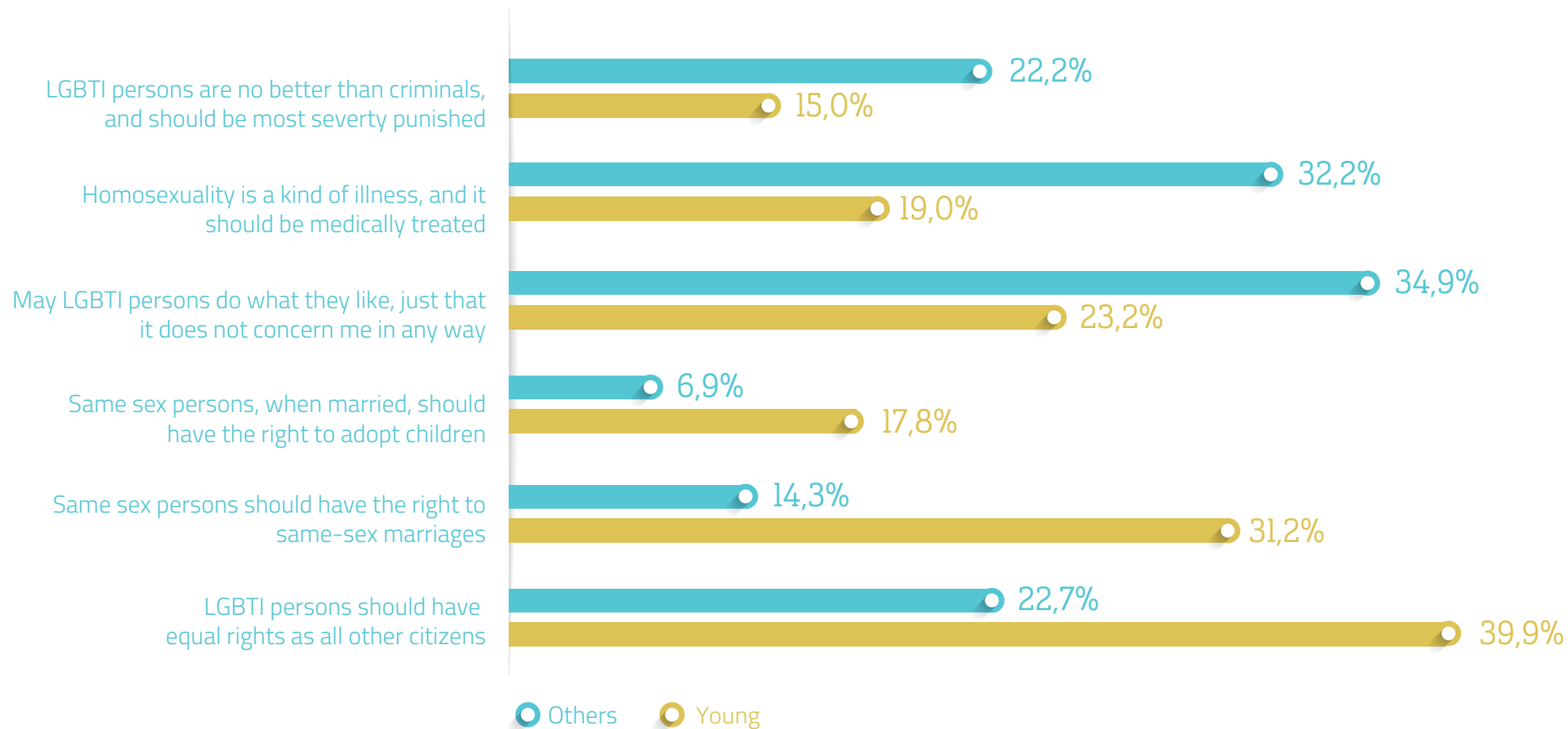
In the Graph 3, we can see big differences between the young and the adults when it comes to the attitude in relation to LGBTI persons. The data indicate that significantly smaller number of the young have negative attitude in relation towards LGBTI persons.

Graph 3: Attitude in relation to LGBTI persons



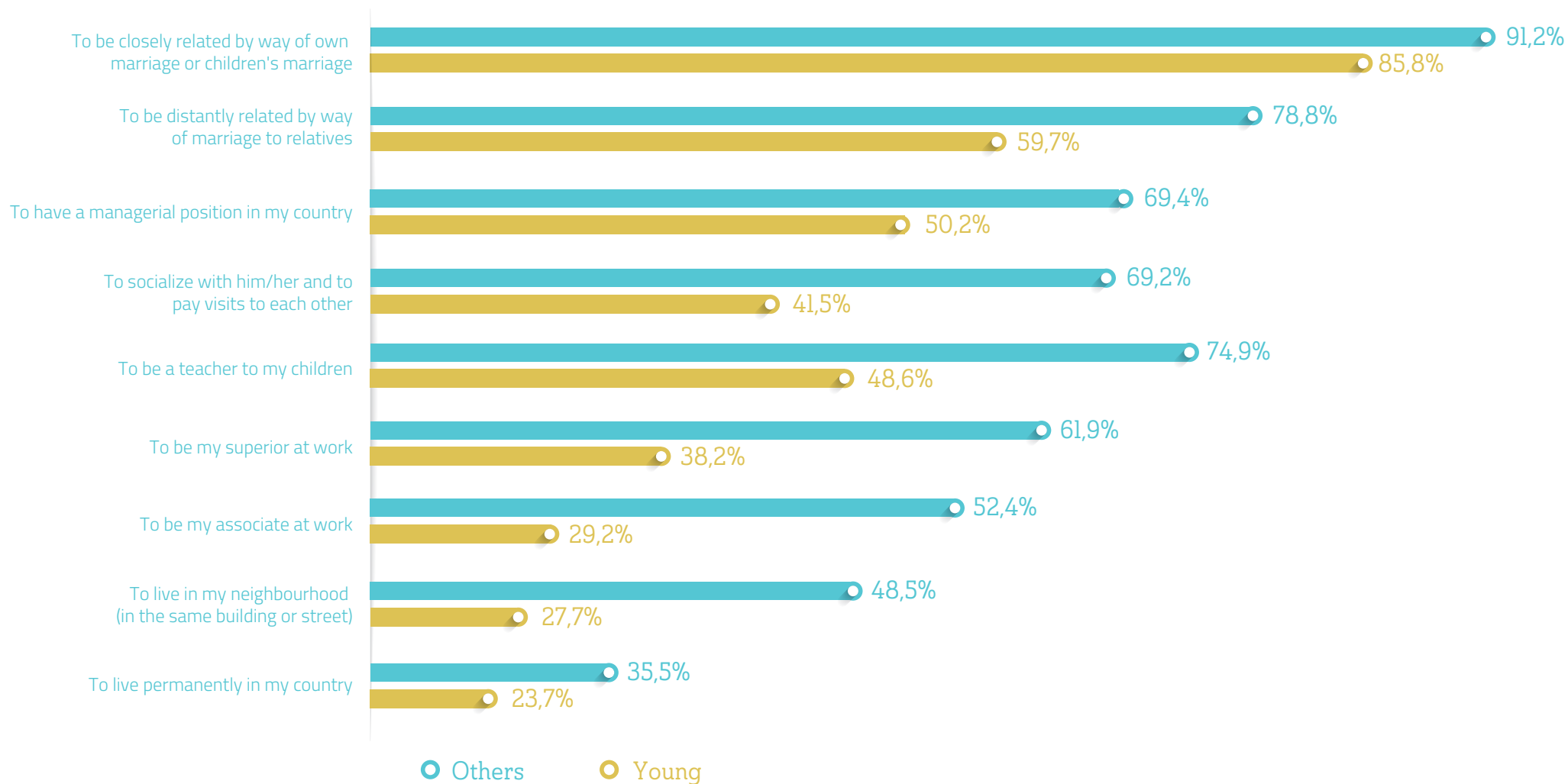
In the Graph 4, we can see clearer differences in the degree of agreement with the stated attitudes by comparing the young and others. The data clearly indicate that the young are considerably more tolerant towards LGBTI persons as compared to the adults.

Graph 4: They agree with the statements



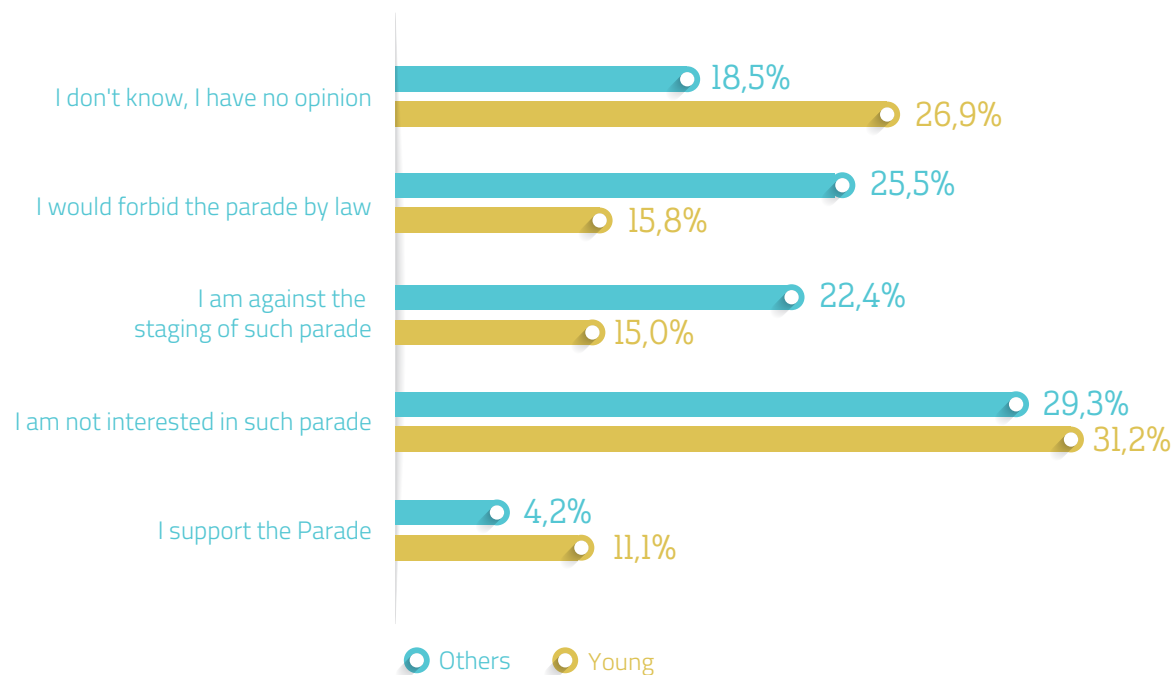
In the Graph 5, we compared social distancing in relation to LGBTI persons expressed by the young and the adults. Numeric values in the Graphs are the percentages of those who DO NOT WANT to establish the stated relations with LGBTI persons. The differences are drastic and they clearly indicate that the young have considerably smaller distance in relation to LGBTI persons as compared to the adults.

Graph 5: Social distance towards LGBTI persons

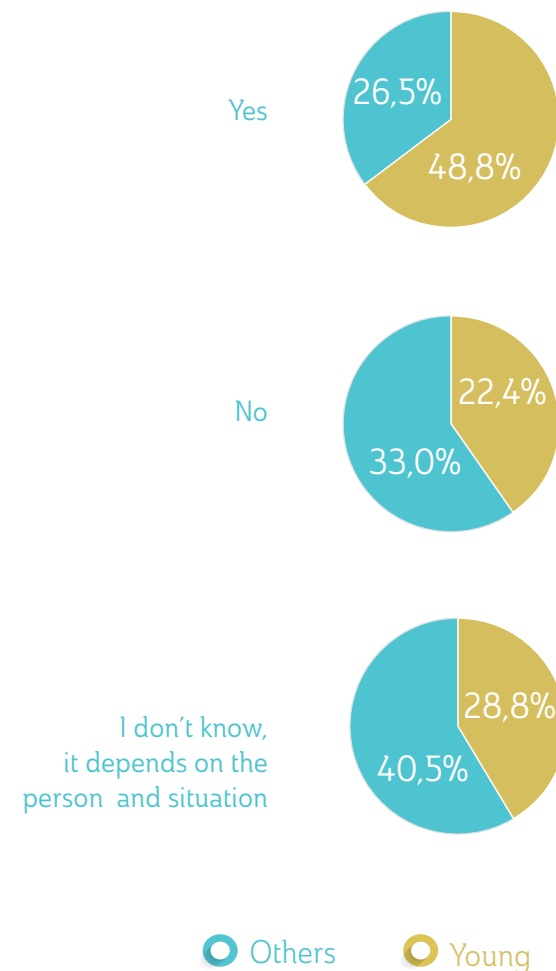


In the Graph 6, we present the attitudes in relation to the LGBTI PRIDE by way of comparing the young and the adults. Although the majority of the young do not support the Pride, their attitude towards it is clearly more positive than the one of the adults.

Graph 6: Attitudes in relation to the LGBTI Pride Parade



Graph 7: Would you be personally ready to protect LGBTI persons if they were threatened?



The last question asked to compare the young and the adults concerns their readiness to protect LGBTI persons if they happen to be threatened (Graph 7). Even by this parameter, we measure significantly greater degree of readiness to offer protection expressed by the young as compared to the adults.



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CENTAR ZA DEMOKRATIJU I LJUDSKA PRAVA



Crna Gora
Ministarstvo za
ljudska i manjinska prava



Zaštita ljudskih prava
i sloboda Crne Gore
Ombudsmen