# PATTERNS AND DEGREE OF DISCRIMINATION IN MONTENEGRO 2022

CEDEM

November 2022.

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# INTRODUCTION

The goal of this survey is measuring the degree of discrimination in Montenegro. CEDEM has been continuously dealing with this topic, more precisely, the first survey was carried out in 2010, after which and following the same methodology four more surveys were being carried out, in 2015, 2017, 2018 and 2020. In other words, by its character the survey is longitudinal, or more precisely, it is a trend analysis. This simply means that based on the same toolkit we measure the degree of discrimination, monitoring the changes that happen through time. Therefore, the goal is not only to determine the degree of discrimination, but also to see whether and to what extent that degree is increased or decreased, or even more precisely, in relation to which groups and in which areas are these changes the most dynamic.

When it comes to the very concept, theories and approaches, dealing with the issue of discrimination, these are thoroughly and extensively explained in the section – Conceptual framework of the survey. Entire survey opus relies on theoretic approaches which we analysed carefully and then operationalized by means of authentic toolkit.

However, irrespective of the method of measuring discrimination which we are about to explain in the following chapter, one should bear in mind that Montenegrin society has experienced significant changes in the previous two years and that these changes might have an impact on the total value of discrimination measurement. Crucial change is the political one, in fact, after the election of 30th August 2020 the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists lost the power after 30 years. This cannot be qualified as a mere change of government in a democratic regime of a society, because Montenegro does not have centuries' long experience of democracy, but represents a relatively new democratic product created after the fall of socialist order in the 1990-ies. Turbulent processes of societal transformation from socialism towards liberal-democracy were accompanied by the wars in former Yugoslavia, the struggle for and regaining of independence in Montenegro, then by 'stabilitocracy' regime of DPS or creation of a political system with one dominant political party which, as stated above, lasted until August 2020. In the last period of rule of DPS and even following the change of government, political intolerance between irreconcilable political poles has been characterized by pronounced social and ethnic divide. When the issue of the state identity is constantly challenged it causes fundamental political instability which 'is spilt' to all sphere of the society. Consequently, revitalization of all forms of intolerance is favoured and becomes a crucial contextual factor which has to be taken into account when speaking about the problem of discrimination. In other words, all previous discrimination surveys we have realized thus far, were being carried out in a different socio-political framework. This is the first survey dealing with this issue in the conditions of fundamental social and political changes characterized not by reduction but by increase of political tensions.

# CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE SURVEY[1]

1 This part of the report is taken over from the last year's report drafted under the title: *Obrasci diskriminacije u Crnoj Gori, (Discrimination patterns in Montenegro), March 2018.* The reason for this being the fact that the former was being drafted under identical conceptual and operational framework..

Discrimination has been in the focus of scientific attention and research ever since 1950-ies. This issue was primarily been dealt with by theoreticians and researchers whose background was in the field of social psychology. 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 prejudice. In other words, his hypothesis was that bias was the basis which discrimination rested upon. Thus, prejudice is still taken as the basis of discriminatory practice, when it comes to socio-psychological approach. In his book "The Nature of Prejudice" (1954), Allport defines prejudice as "antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization". In fact, prejudices constitute behavioural, attitudinal and verbal expressions by means of which non-critically accepted negative traits of some group are attributed to the individuals who belong to such group. Some other authors, instead of the notion of antipathy use: negative feelings, animosity, hostile attitude etc. Therefore, prejudices essentially lead to distancing, which consequently leads to discrimination. Generalization, as a term used in the definition, refers to non-critical perception of individuals in the sense that negative traits of a group are attributed to an individual belonging to such a group, without a need to justify it.

When it comes to discrimination, Allport claimed that there were five forms which happen sequentially, in the sense that every subsequent degree represents higher intensity of discrimination. These are: verbal antagonism, avoidance, segregation, physical attack and extermination. Numerous authors dealt attentively and scholarly with descriptions and research within the framework of these types. In the lines to come we are going to indicate several key authors and research activities the objective of which was to operationalize, confirm and expand discrimination forms defined by Allport.

**Verbal antagonism** is a simple form of discrimination, more precisely, a way to express hostile attitude towards certain social groups and their representatives by using language. This happens whether the members of groups at risk in communication are present or not. In different situations members of certain groups are attributed verbal attributes with negative connotations (for instance, Gypsies, lazy, alcoholics, illiterate etc.). Verbal antagonism is the mildest, the first, but also the most frequent form of discrimination which happens in the society (Essed, 1997; Feagin, 1991).

Besides verbal antagonism, discriminatory behaviour can also be practiced in various forms of **nonverbal violence** which, together with verbal creates some sort of hostile environment in relation to discriminated individuals. There are many ways to use both verbal and nonverbal violence in the function of discrimination, typical being job interviews, when simply the time for interview is shortened, or when you do not listen what the candidate is speaking, and/or when you put your chair away from him/her (Darley & Fazio, 1980; Word et al., 1974). With such attitude the performance of the interviewee is undermined, justifying the decision by his/her poor performance at the interview which in turn is the result of the interviewer's discriminatory attitude.

**Avoidance** entails giving priority to the members of own social group in relation to the members of other groups. This happens because, socially-psychologically, people often want to operate in a familiar environment, similar to their perceptions and their culture. This form of discrimination most often results in differences which originate in the social-class structure of the society and which appear as ethnic and racial (Johnson & Stafford, 1998). There is a large

number of laboratory experiments which confirmed the phenomenon of "avoidance" and described the methods in which it operates (Pettigrew, 1998b; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000).

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

**Physical attacks** need not be defined, with the most frequent research topics being frequency, magnitude and circumstances under which attacks occur (Schneider et al., 2000).

**Extermination** is an extreme form of discrimination which occurs in special historical and political circumstances, representing 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 speak, which are theoretically defined as **subtle prejudices** (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Katz and Hass, 1988; McConahay, 1986). As a result of these latent forms of manifestations of prejudices, the members of certain group feel rejected, humiliated and labelled. They lose self-confidence, which often leads to the discriminated forming negative opinion of themselves. Consequently, if they accept the fact that they are "less worthy", they will behave accordingly in the society. In that way they will support and justify the perception of the majority that they are "really" less worthy.

Literature and research papers also define the notion of **indirect prejudices**. This form of discrimination implies the procedures of accusing the members of other groups for their behaviour and/or culture. Typical example is when it is said that the Roma are "lazy by nature" and similar. Often this form of discrimination includes specific negative and humiliating attitude in relation to the members of discriminated groups when it comes to their language, parlance etc. This form of discrimination often operates *automatically*, therefore, it is a legitimized form of discrimination practiced by the majority group and as such does not ask for justification, nor is it seen as any kind of problem whatsoever (Fiske, 1998). As a result, the members of minority groups which are discriminated develop the feeling of anxiety (Hart et al., 2000; Phelps et al., 2000).

**Statistical discrimination** is a form of discrimination when by means of prejudices individuals belonging to certain social groups are rejected in such a way that they are attributed the traits which result from aggregate statistical data valid for that group (Arrow, 1973; Coate and Loury, 1993; Lundberg and Startz, 1983; Phelps, 1972). For instance, based on the census it results that on average the Roma have lower level of education when their level of education is statistically compared with the level of education of the majority population. Thus, every member of Roma ethnic community, who applies for a job for instance, is perceived as less educated than other applicants who are members of the majority population. As a result, statistical discrimination consequentially confirms, prolongs and perpetuates the differences which exist between a discriminated group on one side and the majority community on the other.

**Organizational discrimination** is another form of 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 the majority population. Residential segregation is one of the typical types of this form of discrimination. For instance, the members of discriminated groups are often residentially segregated and live in illegal neighbourhoods. Because of that, they may not take out mortgages, which are necessary for, say, small business, or for instance when someone is recruited, informal

communication and recommendations often play a significant part. In these procedures, recommendations for the members of discriminated groups are avoided, which consequently, in an invisible but systematic manner hinders recruitment of the members of discriminated groups.

Different forms of discrimination are theoretically explained in different ways. Although as a science social psychology had a pioneering success in dealing with discrimination issues, contemporary approaches are mostly multidisciplinary and attempt to explain the phenomenon of discrimination relying on the knowledge from various scientific areas. Rice[22] (K.E.) classified these approaches most thoroughly in several theoretic categories. According to him, all discrimination theories can be divided in three categories:

- *Theories which insist on differences between majority population and discriminated groups;*
- *Theories which explain different forms of violence over the members of discriminated groups;*
- *Theories which explain the ineffectiveness of adjusting to the specificities and/or "deficiencies" of discriminated groups.*

Based on these criteria and using complex meta-analysis of reference literature dealing with prejudices, Rice developed a complex classification of all theories dealing with the issue of prejudices and discrimination[3]:

1. **Theories of social categorization** - very act of grouping and identifying with own group unavoidably leads to forming prejudices about other groups;
2. **Theories of social identification** – absorption of the culture of the group we belong to leads consequently to prejudices towards values and norms of the members of other groups;
3. **Theories of social comparison** – need for personal identity which stems from group identification and leads to the perception that the group I belong to is better in comparison to other groups;
4. **Theories of strengthening group cohesion** – provoking conflict with other groups with a view to strengthening cohesion inside the group;
5. **Realistic conflict theory** – discrimination is a result of the zero-sum game; in fact, it is a perception that the interests of one group can be achieved only to the detriment of interests of the other group;

Discriminatory practices, irrespective of the theories that attempt to explain the same, have got their consequences. On one side, they are socio-psychological, therefore also behavioural, and on the other they are of social and political character. There are two key theories which deal with socio-psychological consequences of discrimination in the society. The first is so-called **frustration-aggression theory** (Dollard, 1980) and it indicates that the effect of discrimination is frustration with individuals suffering discrimination, which 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 the tension between the oppressor and the deprived group appears as a result of unequal distribution in the process of permanent comparison. Putting it in a simplified way, social deprivation theory indicates that the majority group uses discrimination so as to maximize benefits which result in the exclusion of discriminated groups for the distribution of benefits, while concurrently generates animosity among the members of discriminated groups towards the members of the majority group due to the fact that they are excluded from resource distribution . However, when it comes to the consequences of discrimination, irrespective of the (non)acceptance of one of these two theories, it is the essence that the consequences of discriminatory practices deepen the divide, animosity and conflict between the majority and other social groups, which has negative consequences both to individuals and to the society as a whole.

Therefore, discrimination is not only socio-psychological, but significantly social and even political question. Contemporary society is highly differentiated by various criteria, because of which there is a large number of social groups

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

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

which differ by a large number of distinctive criteria. Democratic order is based on the idea of the absence of discrimination. Equality of opportunities is one of the key assumptions which ensures social justice, social trust and stability of political community. In case discrimination is pronounced, it essentially harms the legitimacy of the overall social and political order, and consequently, besides injustice concerning an individual, society itself is also characterized by political instability. These are the reasons due to which every democratic society should intensively advocate the equality of opportunities and due to which discrimination has to be combatted.

Fight against discrimination presupposes identification of key social groups and degrees of discrimination. This was, in fact, the first crucial objective of this survey. Therefore, our desire was to determine to **what degree discrimination is pronounced in relation to key social groups which are at risk of discrimination**. The second objective of this survey was to determine trends when it comes to discrimination perception. In other words, we used the same methodology for discrimination surveys in 2010 and 2015. This longitudinal approach enabled us to measure **whether, to what degree, in what direction and in relation to which groups discrimination is on the increase or, if in fact the trends are regressive**. Finally, the third objective of this survey was **to determine certain differences between individual categories of population when it comes to discrimination perception**. Pointing to the fact that certain demographic, social, political, ethnic and/or other features that determine the degree of discriminatory attitudes are integral part of the cognition we wanted to identify by this survey. Finally, for the needs of public policies, we will try to identify possible proposal for instruments and measures aimed at reducing the degree of discrimination, more precisely, measures aimed at reducing the level and effect of discriminatory practices.

# 2 OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE SURVEY

For the needs of this survey **discrimination is defined as the relationship of the individuals who belong to the 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**. Given that this is an empirical and not theoretic survey, operational definition of discrimination is a lot more significant. In this respect we defined discrimination in the way that in the operational sense we first of all determined social areas in which we measure discrimination, and then also the criteria by which discrimination is practiced. In this way, by cross-referencing these two analytical criteria, we measured the existence of discrimination in every area by the defined discrimination criteria. The list of areas and list of criteria are certainly not exhaustive, since this is simply impossible due to the overall number of possible criteria and areas. Therefore, we chose the areas and criteria which appear as most significant in everyday life, media, in the work of NGO sector and in the entire political discourse. Social areas in which discrimination is measured are the following:

- **Employment**
- **Education**
- **Availability of healthcare**
- **Work of public services**
- **Discrimination in the area of culture and cultural protection**

Criteria for identifying social groups which are at risk of discrimination, which are operationalized in this survey are the following:

- **Sex/Gender (discrimination of women by men)**
- **Nationality (discrimination on the grounds of ethnic/national criterion)**
- **Religion (discrimination on the grounds of religious affiliation)**
- **Political belief (discrimination on the grounds of differences in political belief)**
- **Age (discrimination on the grounds of age, so-called 'ageism'[4])**
- **Disability (discrimination of persons with disabilities)**
- **Sexual orientation (discrimination of LGBT population and sexual minorities)**
- **Roma and Egyptians**

Methodologically, it is certainly significant to point out the fact that we applied questionnaire method, more precisely, we measured **discrimination perception in a quantitative manner**. All the data and scores we obtained are, therefore, the result of citizens' perception. Main advantage of such analytical and methodological approach is that for every measured area and by all measured criteria we will obtain a **comparative insight**, more precisely, by using identical methodological approach with scales which have identical metric features it will be possible to compare the degree of discrimination by areas and by defined criteria.

4 'ageism'

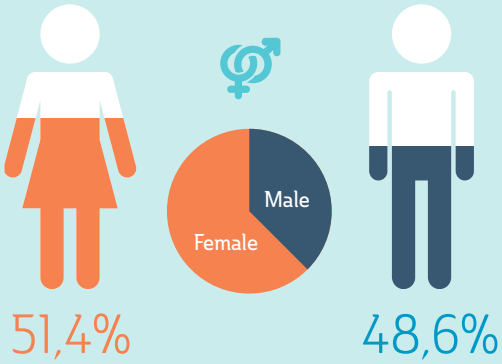
# BASIC METHODOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE SURVEY

3

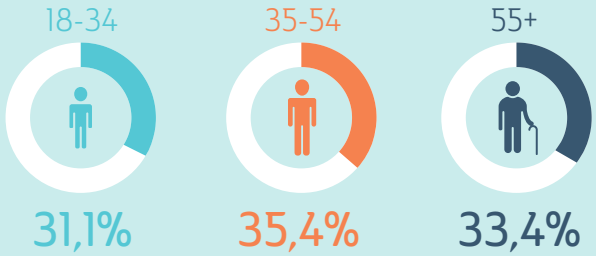
**Questionnaire method** was used in the survey. Sampling units were local communities. Sampling ensures representativeness for the entire adult population of Montenegrin citizens. The sample was **double-stratified with random selection of interviewees within the framework of the chosen census rounds**. Stratification criteria were regional distribution and size of local community. The interviewees were also randomly selected within the framework of a household by the criterion of calendar birthday. **Post-stratification** was done by the following criteria: sex/gender, age and national affiliation. The total of 997 interviewees took part in the survey, which ensures **standard error of measurement** of +/-3.1% for the phenomena with 50% incidence and 95% trust interval. Survey instrument was a questionnaire which we created in 2010 for the same purpose but supplemented by certain questions which were supposed to the answers to certain deep specific questions which we will elaborate herein. The questionnaire consisted of 10 demographic and 29 research questions. For a large number of questions, in the function of comparable validity, we used a large number items in the form of a matrix. **The survey was being carried out from 2nd to 15th November 2022**. It is crucial that for a large number of questions and items we have comparative data from several surveys starting from 2010. In other words, this survey represents a continuity of trend analysis when it comes to discrimination perception. Also, the survey also operates with a set of specific questions formed only for the need of this survey, and in accordance with the needs of the project. In the report which follows special attention will be paid to trends, and we will certainly present the results for those questions which were not used in previous surveys. For the sake of comparison in the areas of interest, as well as for the categories of population at the risk 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 the simplicity of interpretation and clearer perception of trends. Demographic features of the sample can be seen in the Graph 1.

*Graph 1: Demographic characteristics of the sample*

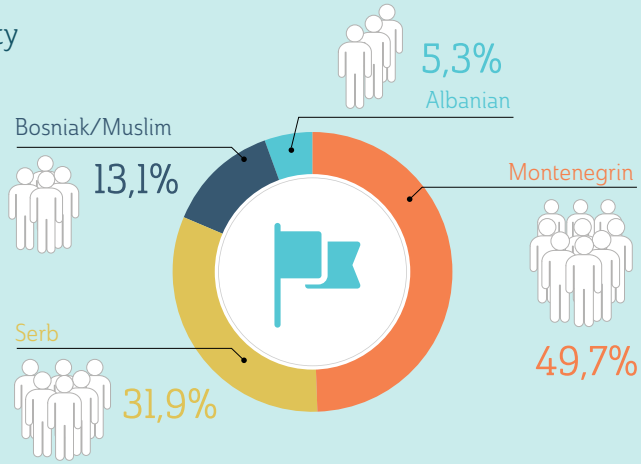
## Sex/Gender



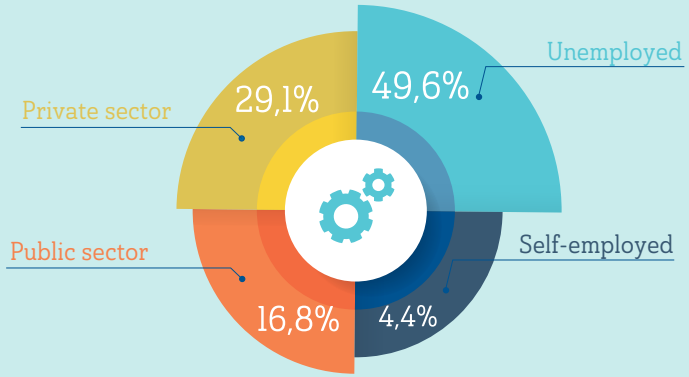

## Age



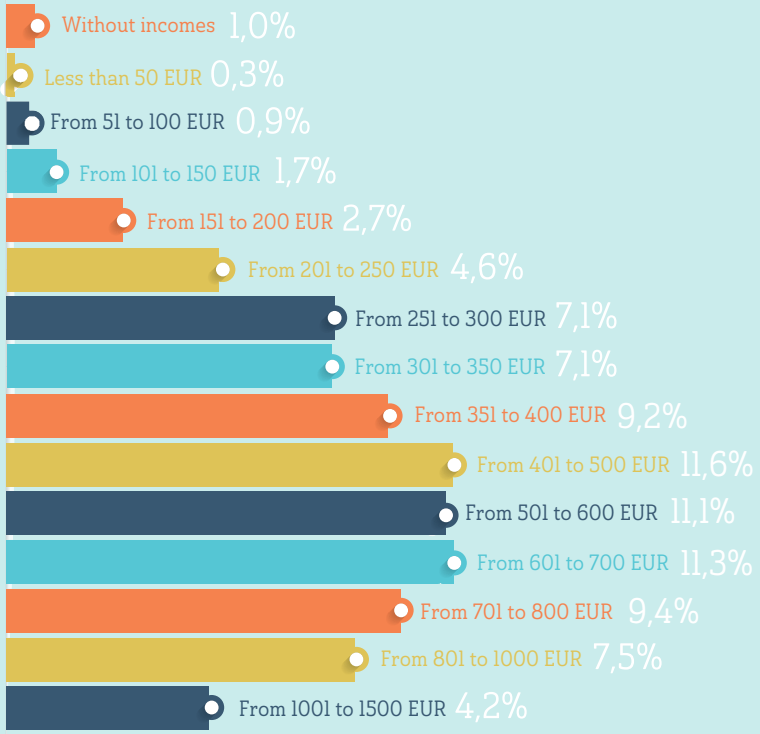

## Nationality




## Employment status




## Incomes

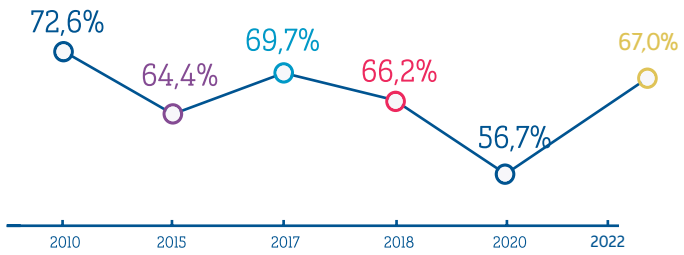


# GENERALIZED DISCRIMINATION INDICATORS

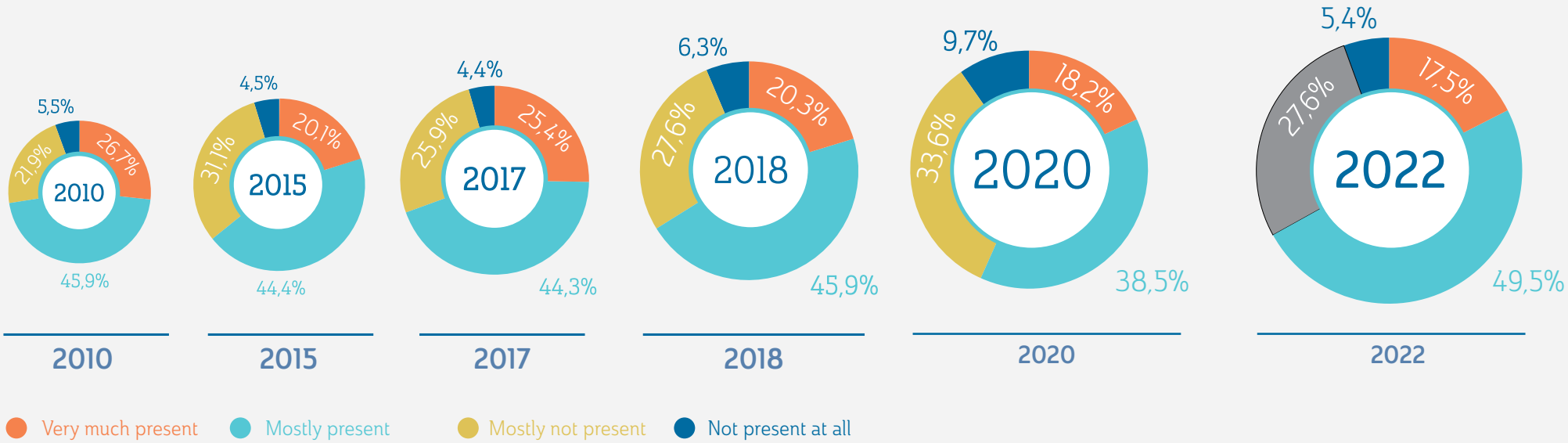
4

The first question in the survey was for the interviewees to assess to what degree discrimination is present in Montenegro in general (Graph 2). Differences among waves are very prominent and they indicate that **it is citizens' assessment that discrimination nowadays is generally on a higher level that this was the case in 2020**, which can be clearly seen in the Graph 3. The trend indicates that the degree of perception of discrimination nowadays has 'returned' to the high level we measured in 2018, but the crucial information is that over 11% of citizens consider that generally speaking discrimination nowadays is more prominent that it was the case two years ago.

*Graph 3 Discrimination is present and very present - % TREND*




*Graph2 To what extent is discrimination present in Montenegro %*

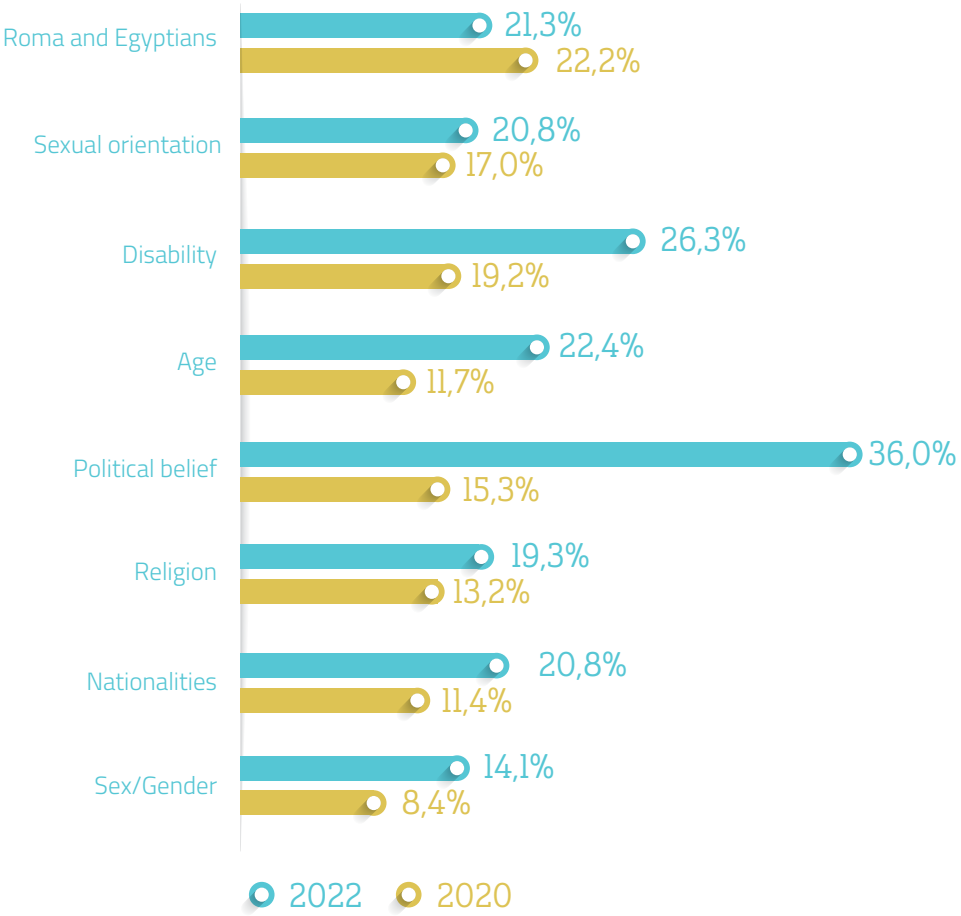


Then, for the same groups we developed a generalizing indicator and on the four-level ordinal assessment scale we asked the citizens to what extent discrimination was pronounced towards the stated groups (Table 1 and Graph 3). When analysing the findings based on this generalizing and certainly not sufficiently precise indicator, the results are largely linked to political contextual factors which we explained in the introductory part. In fact, while in 2020 the percentage of those who considered that discrimination on the grounds of political belief was very pronounced was 15.3%, it is now 36%, which is **a dramatic increase in the perception of discrimination**. Therefore, it is obvious that the change of government and political instability, then very conflicting relationships between the confronted sides and political actors resulted in the atmosphere and practice of the overall political intolerance. Thus, the perception of discrimination by the criterion of political belief is also the highest value of perceived discrimination in relation to all reference categories which were the subject matter of measurement. In the previous survey, the highest degree was measured in relation to the Roma and Egyptians, while it is interesting that according to citizens' assessment the degree of discrimination is less pronounced ONLY towards the members of this group rather than this was the case two years ago (although the level of decrease is not particularly high). In relation to the members of all other groups we measure higher values of perception of discrimination, which is significantly higher when it comes to age, nationality, disability and religion, while it is somewhat lower in relation to other categories.

*Table 2 Generally speaking, to what extent is discrimination pronounced in relation to the stated groups %*

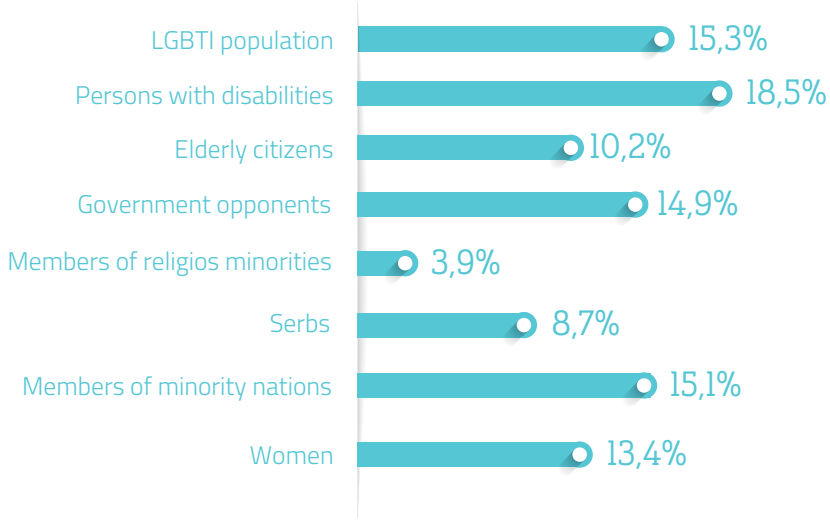
| | Very present | Mostly present | Mostly not present | Not present at all | I don't know, I am unable to assess |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex/Gender | 14.1 | 29.3 | 26.2 | 21.0 | 9.4 |
| Nationality | 20.8 | 31.3 | 22.7 | 16.3 | 8.8 |
| Religion | 19.3 | 27.6 | 24.7 | 18.7 | 9.7 |
| Political belief | 36.0 | 32.5 | 13.9 | 7.8 | 9.7 |
| Age | 22.4 | 36.6 | 21.8 | 12.8 | 6.3 |
| Disability | 26.3 | 36.8 | 15.3 | 15.9 | 5.8 |
| Sexual orientation | 20.8 | 29.7 | 13.2 | 22.9 | 13.3 |
| Roma and Egyptians | 21.3 | 35.7 | 13.2 | 20.6 | 9.3 |

*Graph 3 Discrimination towards the stated groups is VERY present %*




In addition, we asked the interviewees to identify, among all stated groups, ONLY one group which is the MOST VULNERABLE one. When the question is asked in such a way, we obtain somewhat different and more balanced values (Graph 4).

*Graph 4 Which group is the most vulnerable one %*

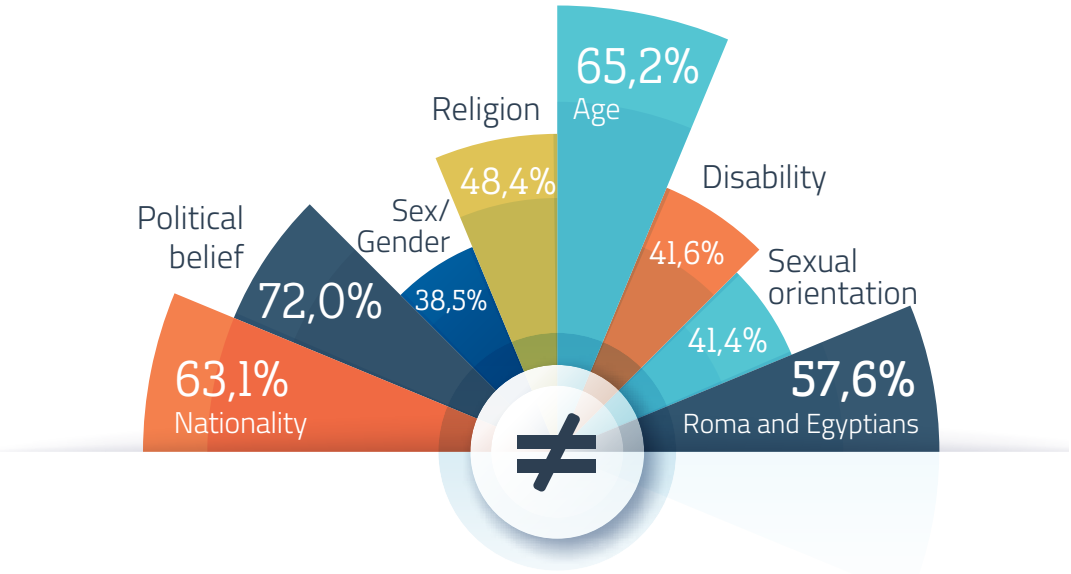


# 5

# DISCRIMINATION IN KEY AREAS OF SOCIAL LIFE AND IN RELATION TO THE MEMBERS OF KEY GROUPS AT RISK

More precise indicators of discrimination towards key groups at risk were formed in the way that we asked the citizens about the existence of discrimination in special areas of social life. The first area, which is sensitive by nature, was employment. In the Graph 5, we present the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups at risk in the area of employment. The data indicate that citizens assess that in the area of employment discrimination is pronounced most towards political opponents, the elderly and the persons with disabilities. High level of discrimination perception is also measured in relation to the Roma/Egyptians, while the values for other categories are lower.

*Graph 5 Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of employment for all groups*



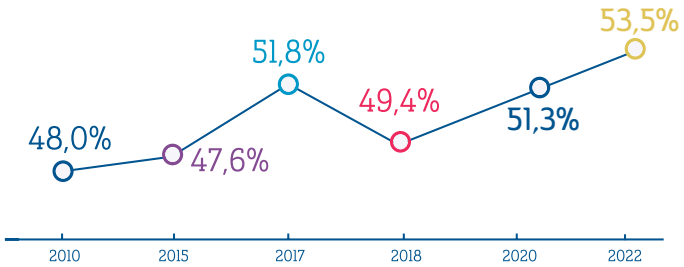

The data in the Table 3 indicate the change in discrimination perception in relation to the stated groups, which we have been measuring as of 2010. The most indicative piece of information is in accordance with the findings we have come to present, i.e. the degree of discrimination in the area of employment is pronounced most by political criterion and that this degree has recorded an increase in the last two years. However, except in relation to the Roma and Egyptians, the increase in discrimination perception in the area of employment is measured for all other categories of interviewees, although this increase is considerably less pronounced in relation to the mentioned degree of discrimination on the grounds of political belief.

Table 3 Assessed level of discrimination in the area of employment for all groups by all survey waves

| | Sex/Gender | Nationality | Religion | Political belief | Age | Disability | Sexual orientation | Roma Egyptians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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% | 60.1% |
| 2022 | 41.4% | 48.4% | 41.6% | 72.0% | 65.2% | 63.1% | 38.5% | 57.6% |

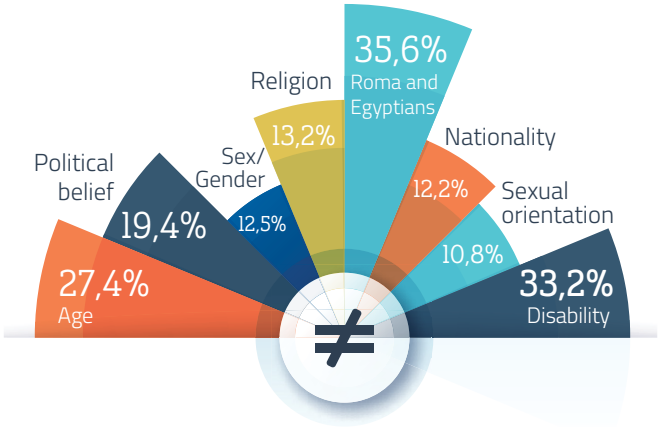
However, when it comes to trend, we calculated average percent value for all categories of interviewees by waves (Graph 6). This piece of information indicates, in fact, what the total degree of discrimination is in the area of employment for all groups in the reference period. Measurement results indicate that the **degree of discrimination in the area of employment has recorded an increase in the past two years**, but particularly worrying information is, firstly, that there has been a linear trend of the increase of discrimination degree in the area of employment since 2018, and secondly, more indicative, **the degree of discrimination perception in the area of employment nowadays is on the highest level since we started measuring it**, therefore, since 2010. Thus, special concern should be raised when it comes to discrimination in the area of employment, while one has to have in mind that the measured value of the increased degree of discrimination perception is primarily the result of discrimination of political opponents. Taking into consideration political processes that have been going on in the last two years, intuitively but justifiably it can be said that new ruling structures, according to citizens' opinion, are particularly discriminatory in the area of employment in relation to the partisans of the 'old' DPS Government.

*Graph 6 Average percent value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of employment by survey year*




The second area we measured the degree of discrimination is education. In the Graph 7, we present the assessed degree of discrimination in this area for all groups. The results indicate that the highest degree of discrimination in this area is pronounced in relation to the Roma followed by the persons with disabilities. Discrimination perception in this area is also very high in relation to age criterion. Significantly lower level of discrimination in the area of education, on the basis of interviewees' assessment, is pronounced in other areas, among which discrimination on the grounds of political belief and sexual orientation is more pronounced in comparison with discrimination on the grounds of sex/gender, nationality and religion.

*Graph 7 Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of education for all groups*



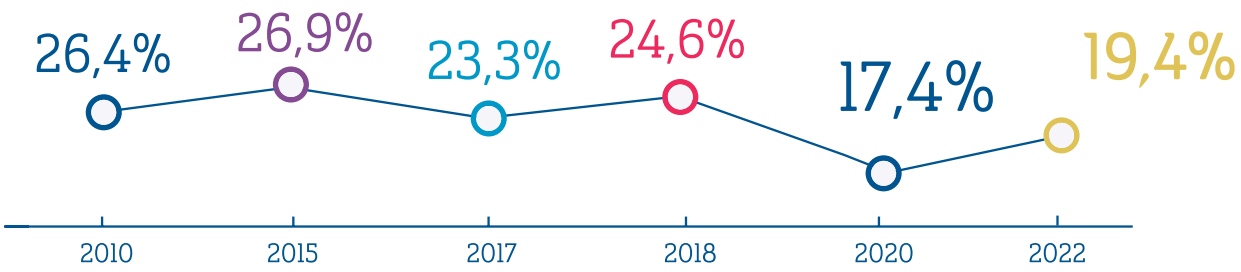

In the table 4, we present the assessed degree of discrimination in the area of education for all groups by all survey waves. This result is interesting because it indicates that the perceived discrimination is on a somewhat lower level in relation to the members of some groups, and on a higher level towards the members of other groups. More precisely, in the area of education, when comparing the data obtained in 2020, the degree of discrimination records a decrease when it comes to sex/gender, nationality and religion, but increase is recorded in relation to all other groups. The greatest difference of the increased degree of discrimination perception in the area of education is measured when it comes to persons with disabilities.

Finally, with a view to clear understanding of the trend when it comes to the area of education, in the Graph 8 we are presenting the trend for the entire area calculated as the average value of discrimination in relation to all groups. Measurement results indicate that we have negligible increase in the degree of discrimination perception in the area of education, however it has to be said that, from the standpoint of trend, the measured average values are significantly lower than it was the case in up to 2018.

*Table 4 Assessed level of discrimination in the area of education for all groups by all survey waves*

| | Sex/ Gender | Nationality | Religion | Political belief | Age | Disability | Sexual orientation | Roma and Egyptians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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% | 31,1% |
| 2022. | 10,8% | 12,2% | 13,2% | 19,3% | 27,4% | 33,2% | 19,4% | 35,6% |

*Graph 8 Average percent value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of education by survey year*




The next area we dealt with was healthcare. In the Graph 9 we are presenting the assessed degree of discrimination in this area in relation to the members of all groups. The data indicate that the greatest degree of discrimination when it comes to healthcare is pronounced in relation to the Roma, followed by the persons with disabilities and the elderly. Somewhat lower degree of discrimination in this respect is pronounced towards those who have different political belief and sexual orientation, and still lower degree is pronounced towards the members of other groups.

*Graph 9 Assessed degree of discrimination in the area of healthcare for all groups*

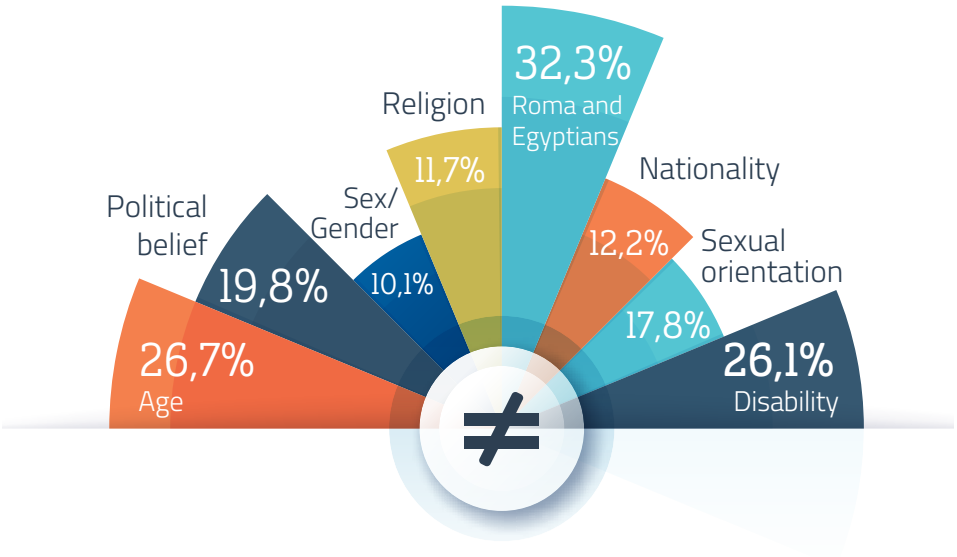
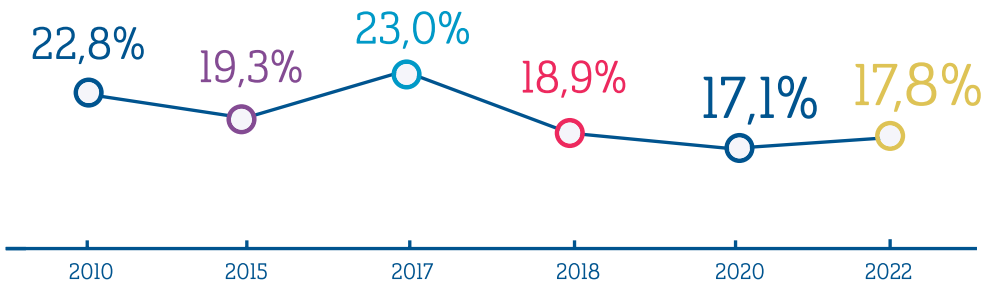



*Table 5 Assessed level of discrimination in the area of healthcare for all groups by all survey waves*

| | Sex/Gender | Nationality | Religion | Political belief | Age | Disability | Sexual orientation | Roma Egyptians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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% | 25,8% |
| 2022. | 10,1% | 12,2% | 11,7% | 19,8% | 26,7% | 26,1% | 17,8% | 32,3% |

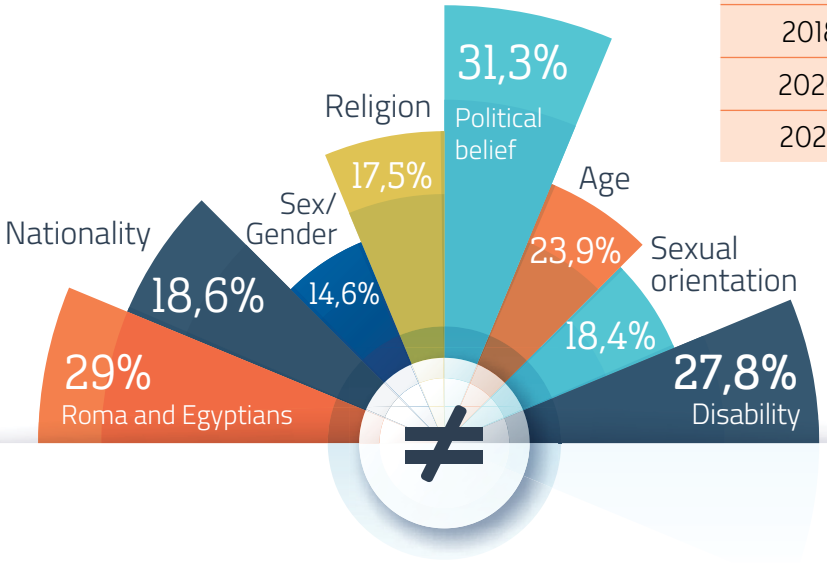
Table 5 shows the assessed discrimination values in relation to the members of all groups for all survey waves. The data indicate completely identical pattern when it comes to education. Therefore, the differences are not particularly pronounced as compared to two years ago but, generally speaking, it can be said that the perception of discrimination on the grounds of sex/gender, nationality and religion in the area of healthcare has recorded some decrease, while in other areas increase has been recorded. The highest degree of increase of discrimination perception is measured when it comes to the Roma and Egyptian. If average values as trend analysis criterion are calculated for all groups, it can be said **that the degree of discrimination in the area of healthcare nowadays is on the more or less the same level as two years ago**, and certainly somewhat lower than it was the case until 2017.

*Graph 10 Average percent vale of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of healthcare by survey year*



In the Graph 11 we bring the overview of the assessed degree of discrimination when it comes to the treatment of individuals by public services. The data indicate the highest degree of discrimination, when it comes to the work of public services, on the grounds of political belief and the Roma. However, it has to be said that the values of the measured discrimination even in relation to other groups are proportionally high. In comparative sense, the first two groups mostly discriminated against in the work of public services according to citizens' opinion are followed by disability and age. In relation to other categories, the degree of assessed discrimination in this area is rather evenly balanced and on a lower level.

*Graph 11 Assessed discrimination degree in the area of the work of public services for all groups*




The Table 6 shows the assessed level of discrimination in the work of public services in relation to the members of all groups for all survey waves we implemented. The assessed degree of discrimination is on a more or less the same level as in 2020 when it comes to political belief, disability and the Roma/Egyptians. In relation to the members of all other social groups, the assessed level of discrimination nowadays is lower than it was two years ago, with the biggest 'drop' measured when it comes to the assessed discrimination on the grounds of nationality. The analysis of the trend of the assessed degree of discrimination in the work of public services is clearer when we compare the average values of the assessed discrimination for all groups by all survey waves (Graph 11). This information is encouraging because it indicates that the degree of discrimination has recorded a decrease in relation to 2020, when the measured trend was worrying in the sense of the overall trend measured from 2010 till 2018.

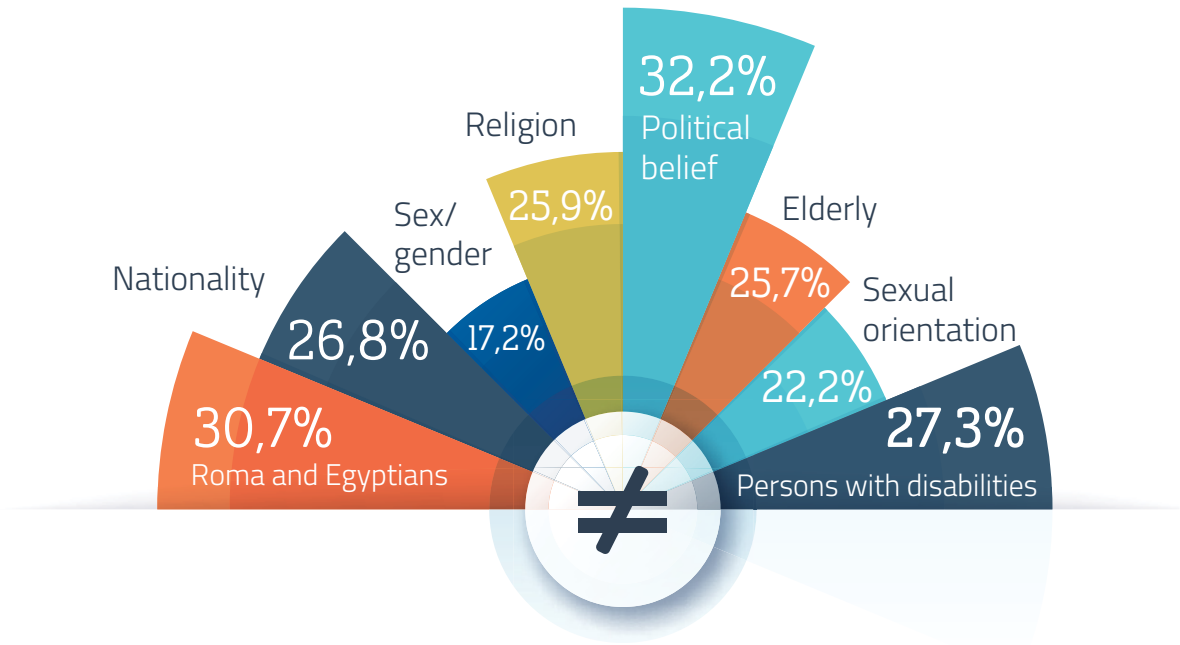
*Table 6 Assessed level of discrimination in the area of the work of public services for all groups by all survey waves*

| | Sex/Gender | Nationality | Religion | Political belief | Age | Disability | Sexual orientation | Roma Egyptians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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% | 30.7% |
| 2022 | 14.6% | 18.6% | 17.5% | 31.3% | 23.9% | 27.8% | 18.4% | 29% |

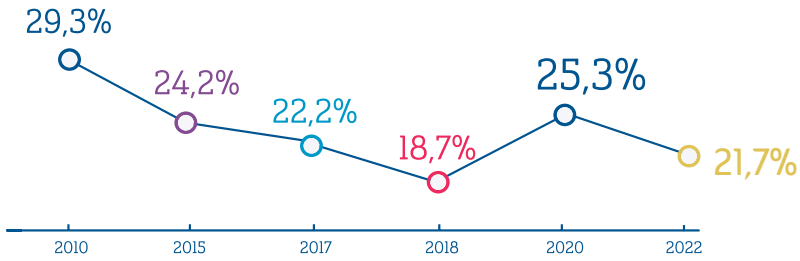
More specifically, from 2010 till 2018 we had continuously measured a decrease in the degree of discrimination when it comes to the work of public services, only to record sudden increase in the assessed value of discrimination two years ago. Therefore, actual measurement indicates 'the return' to the lower values of discrimination in this area which is a very progressive finding.

The last area of social life which was the subject matter of our measurement is culture. First of all, in the Graph 13 we are presenting the assessed degree of discrimination in this area in relation to all groups. According to the assessment of the interviewees, even when it comes to this criterion, discrimination is pronounced the most towards the Roma. These are followed by disability, sexual orientation and political belief, with rather evenly balanced values of the measured discrimination degree. Somewhat lower values are measured when it comes to religion, age and nationality, and the lowest when it comes to sex/gender.

*Graph 13 Assessed degree of discrimination on the area of culture for all groups*




*Graph 12 Average percent value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of the work of public services by survey years.*

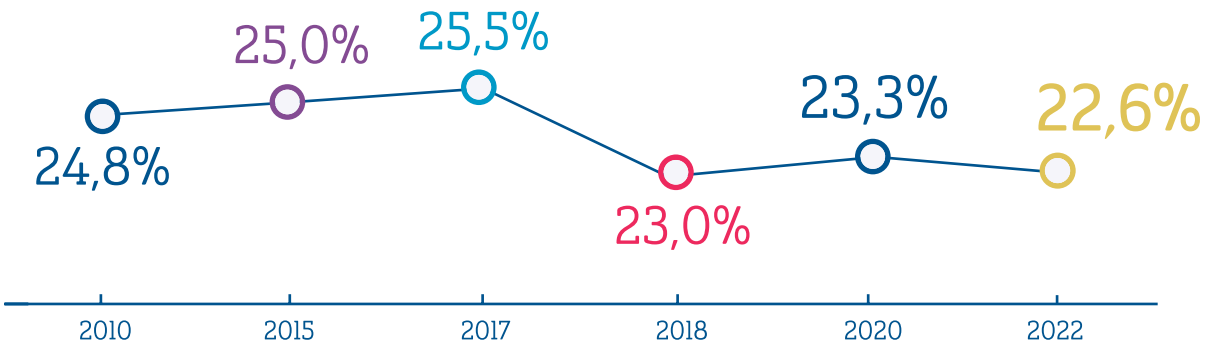



In the Table 7, we give the overview of the trend for all groups in the area of culture. In relation to 2020, we measure slightly increased values when it comes to political belief and sexual orientation, and more or less identical values when it comes to age and Roma/Egyptians, while the assessed degree of discrimination is somewhat lower when comparing the assessed degree of discrimination in relation to other groups. Key information, when we analyse the trend, is the comparison of average values of discrimination for all groups by the reference periods. This information indicates that discrimination in the area of culture is symbolically lower than two years ago, in fact we can say that the measured values have more or less been on the same level since 2018.

*Table 7 Assessed level of discrimination in the area of culture for all groups by all survey waves*

| | Sex/ Gender | Nationality | Religion | Political belief | Age | Disability | Sexual orientation | Roma Egyptians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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% | 33.3% |
| 2022. | 14.9% | 19.8% | 22.3% | 26.0% | 21.3% | 27.4% | 26.8% | 32.1% |

*Graph 14 Average percent value of the assessed degree of discrimination for all groups in the area of culture by survey year*

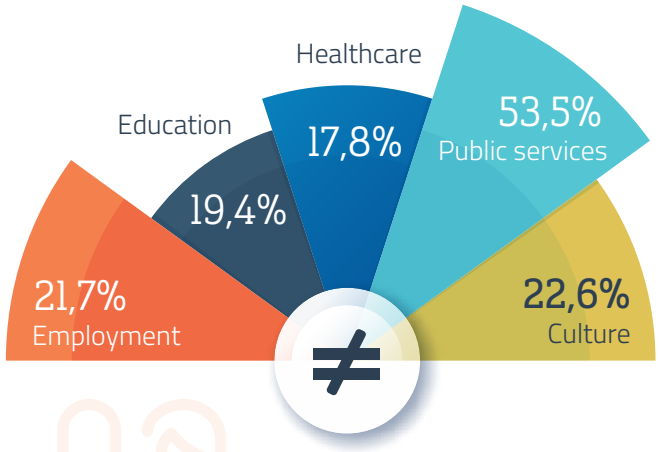


# 6

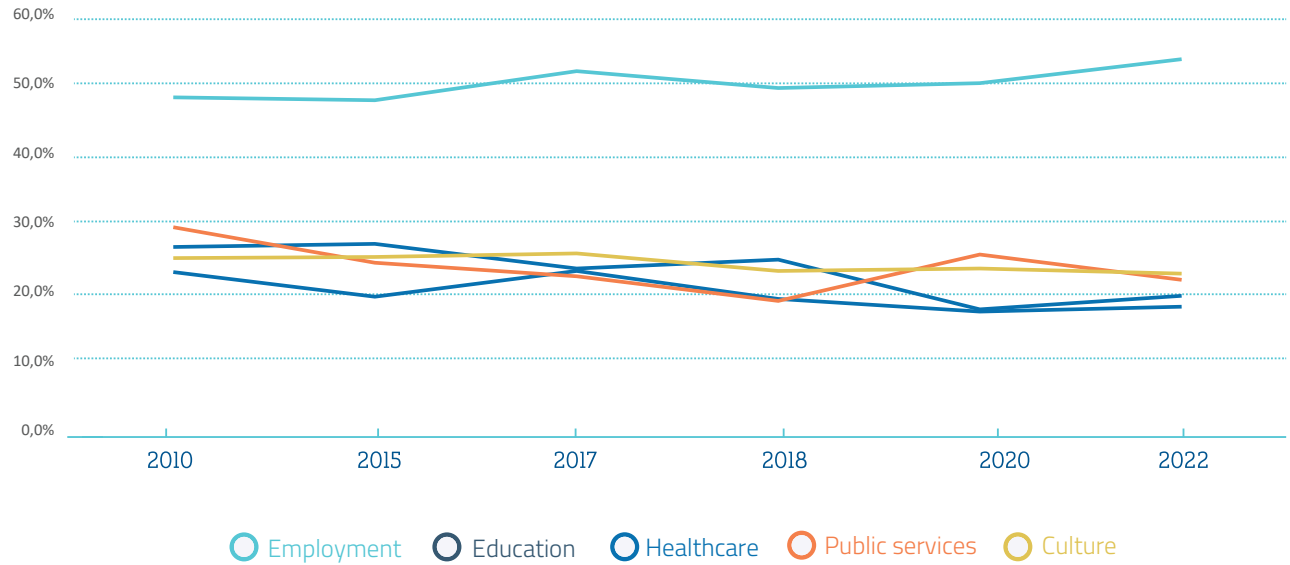
# INTEGRATED SYNTHETIC INDICATORS OF THE DEGREE OF DISCRIMINATION PERCEPTION

With the purpose of synthetic presentation of the data, more specifically the presentation of the trend analysis, first of all in the Graph 15, we are presenting the average degree of discrimination towards all groups by all areas. The data indicate that discrimination is the most pronounced in the area of employment, the measured value of which is comparatively significantly higher than in case of all other areas, which leads us to the conclusion that key problem of discrimination in Montenegro exists in the area of employment. The values of measured discrimination are considerably lower and very balanced, with the assessment of the degree of discrimination in healthcare being at the comparatively lowest level.

*Graph 15 Average degree of discrimination for all groups by survey area, in 2022*




*Graph 16 Average degree of discrimination towards all groups for all areas by survey waves*




In the Graph 16 we are giving an overview for all areas by survey wave. This information is not particularly encouraging since it demonstrates rather stable values irrespective of the passage of time.

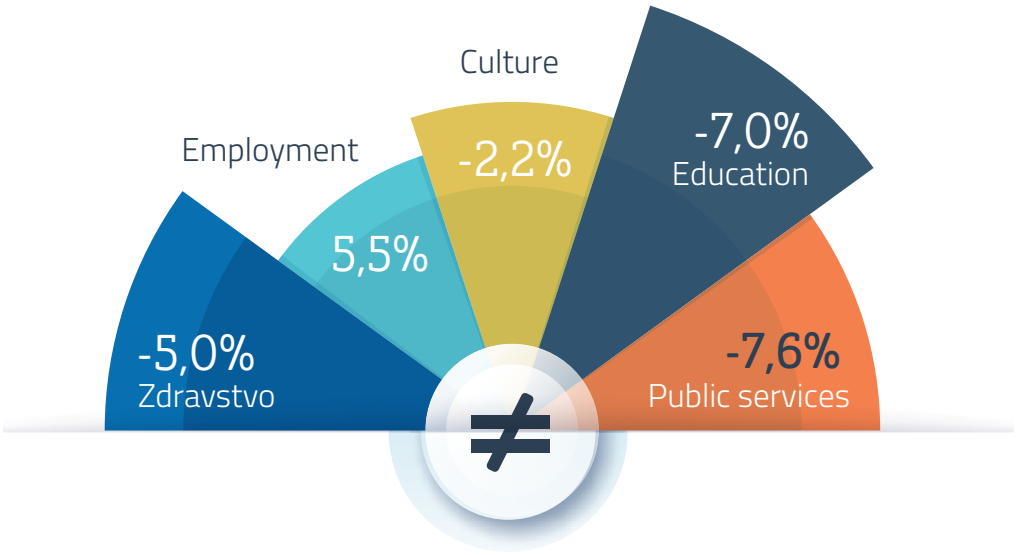
In the Table 8, we give the average values in relation to all groups by areas for all survey waves, and in the Graph 18 there is a difference between 2010 and 2022 so as to measure the changes from 2010 up to now. This information indicates that in the last twelve years the greatest progress has been made in the area of the work of public services (7.6% decrease) and in the area of education (7% decrease). This is followed by the progress in healthcare (5%) and in the area of culture (2.2%). The biggest problem is in the fact that, although high, discrimination in the area of employment has recorded increase in the last twelve years by 5.5%.

*Table 8 Measured average values of discrimination towards all groups, for all areas by survey 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% |
| 2022. | 53.5% | 19.4% | 17.8% | 21.7% | 22.6% |

We, then, give the overview of the average measurement of the degree of discrimination in our latest survey for all groups (average for all areas), the data are given in the Graph 18. The results indicate that the highest degree of discrimination in Montenegro is pronounced in relation to the Roma, then on the grounds of political belief, followed by the elderly and persons with disabilities. Lower degree of discrimination is measured on the grounds of sexual orientation, then nationality and religion, whilst the lowest degree of discrimination perception is recorded in relation to sex/gender criterion.

*Graph 17 Difference among average measured values of discrimination for all areas: comparison 2022 vs 2010*




*Graph 18 Average value for all areas by groups in 2022*

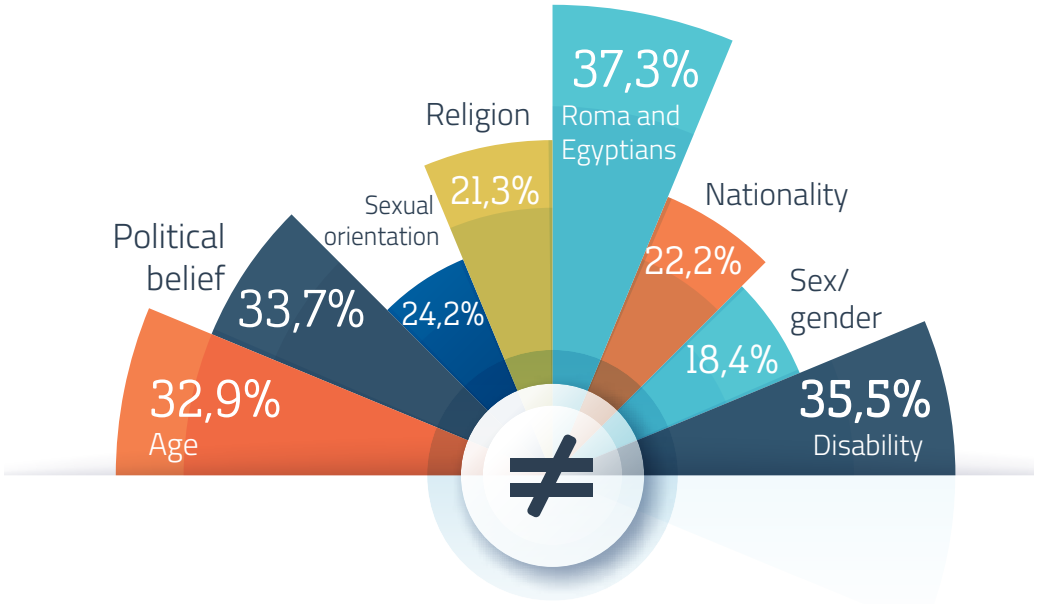
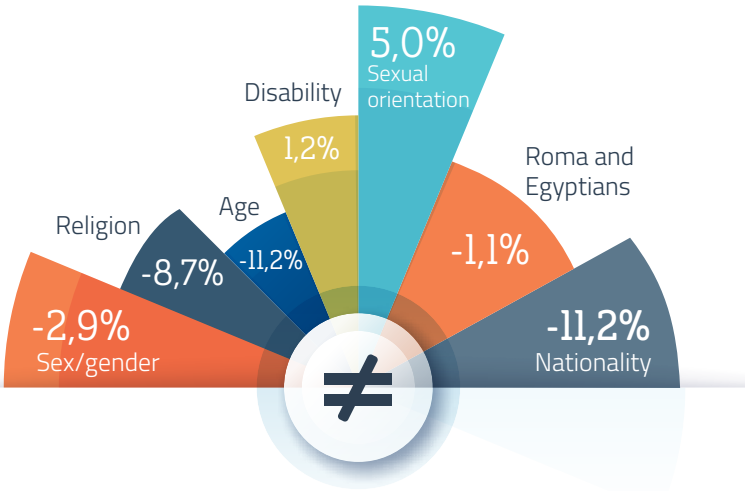


*Table 9 Degree of discrimination towards all groups and by all areas for all survey waves*

| | Sex/Gender | Nationality | Religion | Political belief | Age | Disability | Sexual orientation | Roma Egyptians |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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% | 36.2% |
| 2022. | 18.4% | 22.2% | 21.3% | 33.7% | 32.9% | 35.5% | 24.2% | 37.3% |

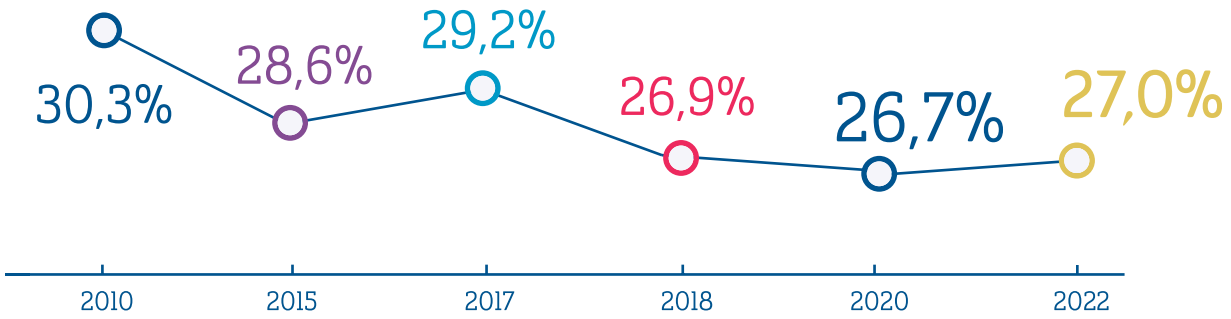
In Table 9 we give the assessment of the degree of discrimination towards all groups, as the average of all areas by all survey waves, and in the Graph 19 there is comparison of the 2022 survey values with the data from 2010, with a view to identifying the degree of changes in the last ten years. The results indicate **that in the last twelve years, the degree of discrimination has recorded significant decrease by national criterion (11.2%), religion (8.7%) and by political belief (7.2%)**. Lower value of the reduced degree of discrimination is measured in relation to sex/gender (2.9%), and when it comes to age, disability and Roma, there is almost no change. On the other hand, **the only area where we measure increased degree of discrimination nowadays compared to 2010 is sexual orientation**. Overall perception of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is by all areas of social life nowadays higher by 5% on average than it was twelve years ago.

*Graph 19 Difference among average measured values of discrimination in relation to all groups: comparison 2022 vs 2010* [6]




Finally, we calculated the average value of the assessed degree of discrimination towards all groups, on the basis of the average by all areas (Graph 20). Actually, this information, assesses the degree of discrimination in Montenegro in a synthetic and cumulative manner by comparing survey waves. The analysis of the entire trend tells us that the degree of discrimination in Montenegro has recorded a decrease in the past twelve years, but it also tells us that the decrease is not particularly prominent. More specifically, **on average, the degree of discrimination nowadays, in relation to 2010 is cumulatively lower by less than 3%, which simply is not particularly impressive**. When on the other side, the year 2018 is simply compared to 2022 the information shows that the measured degree of discrimination is on a more or less the same level, or, cumulatively on average in relation to all groups, **discrimination in Montenegro nowadays is on a more or less the same level as in 2018.**

*Graph 20 Average value of discrimination for all areas and for all groups - TREND*




Furthermore, we asked the citizens to assess whether in Montenegrin society belonging to certain groups brings the advantage or disadvantage, with a view to assessing not only potential degree of discrimination, but also the advantages, according to their opinion, of belonging to certain groups (Table 10). The data indicate that, according to the opinion of the interviewees, the most disadvantaged are persons with disabilities, then Roma and Egyptians. Lower marked is the disadvantage of being a member of LGBTIQ group, government opponent, persons above the age of fifty and women; still lower value of disadvantage is measured when assessing persons who are Serbs or members of national minorities. The only group which is assessed as having more advantages than disadvantages are those below the age of 25.

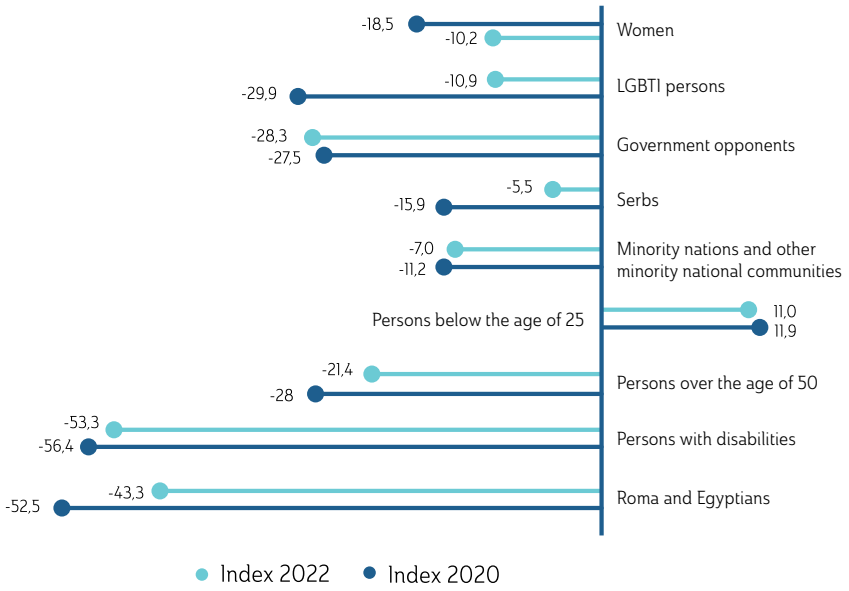
In the Graph 21 we give a simple longitudinal overview of the indexed values of the ratio of advantages and disadvantages. The information is obtained by simple calculation (Percentage of those who consider an advantage MINUS percentage of those who think that it is a disadvantage to belong to certain group). More specifically, positive values of the index indicate percent difference of those who think it is and advantage to belong to some group in relation to the reference percentage of those who consider that it is disadvantage to belong to such group, while negative values of the index indicate other way round. This information points out to generally progressive trends since in this year's survey, on average, the percentage of those who think that belonging to reference groups is an advantage has recorded an increase. Comparatively, the most progressive trend is measured when it comes to sexual orientation, Serbs and Roma/Egyptians. Statistically significant negative trend is measured solely when it comes to women.

6 When it comes to the Roma/Egyptians, the measured degree of the change is related to 2020 since that was year when we measured the discrimination towards the members of this group for the first time.

*Table 10 Belonging to the stated groups is an advantage or disadvantage*

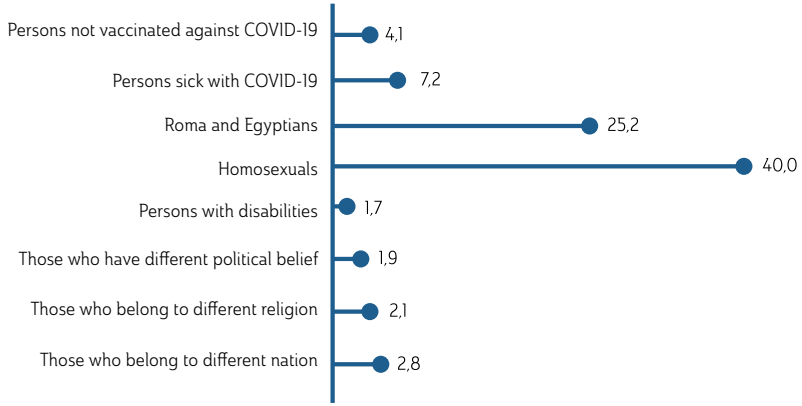
| | Advantage | Disadvantage | Neither advantage nor disadvantage | I don't know, I am unable to assess |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roma and Egyptians | 10.7 | 54.1 | 25.1 | 10.1 |
| Persons with disabilities | 7.0 | 60.5 | 22.4 | 10.1 |
| Persons over the age of 50 | 12.0 | 33.4 | 44.8 | 9.8 |
| Persons below the age of 25 | 28.7 | 17.8 | 44.2 | 9.3 |
| National minorities | 19.4 | 26.4 | 41.5 | 12.7 |
| Serbs | 19.5 | 25.0 | 44.7 | 10.8 |
| Government opponents | 7.5 | 35.8 | 40.7 | 16.0 |
| LGBTIQ persons | 26.1 | 37.1 | 21.0 | 15.8 |
| Women | 13.1 | 31.7 | 45.1 | 10.0 |

*Graph 21 INDEX ratio of advantages and disadvantages.*




Finally, when it comes to measuring the degree of discrimination in the way that groups at risk are compared, in this year's survey we included a new indicator which was not used before. The goal of that indicator is to measure the degree of social distancing towards the members of various groups. With a view to measuring distance we used one of the items of Bogardus Scale for measuring social distance, more precisely, interviewees were asked to express their views for every group about them NOT DESIRING for the members of these groups to live in their neighbourhood[7]. The information indicates that **exceptionally high degree of social distancing is recorded in relation to homosexuals, and that the degree of distancing in relation to the Roma/Egyptians is also very high**. Social distance towards the members of all other groups is on a proportionally low level.

*Graph 22 They DO NOT WANT to have in their neighbourhood %*



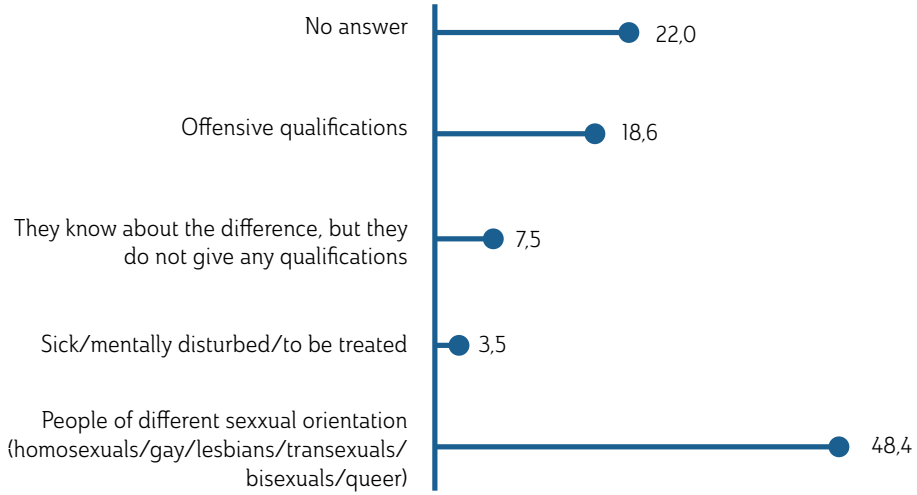

7 'Neighbourhood' represents a medial value of measuring social distance on the nine-grade scale, and among other things as a 'proxy' for measuring distance it is used in the European Values Study (EVS)

# 7 SPECIAL INDICATORS OF DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS LBTIQ PERSONS AND HOMOSEXUALS

Special set of questions in the survey was dedicated to LGBTIQ persons given the fact that the persons who belong to these categories are at particular risk of discrimination. It is in more traditional and more conservative settings, and Montenegro belongs to this category by all general indicators, that discrimination towards LGBTIQ persons is particularly pronounced. Therefore, in the survey we generated several questions related to discrimination towards those who belong to some of these groups. First of all, in the Graph 23 we give the overview of the narrative and associations of the interviewees to the open question, i.e. the question in which they were asked to describe LGBTIQ persons. A large number of responses were summed up within several codes. The data indicate that almost half the citizens, in one way or the other qualify and classify properly LGBTIQ persons. However, it is crucial to say that the fact that they classify and qualify the members of LGBTIQ community in 'proper/correct' way does not mean that they do not have negative attitude towards them, which we could see on the basis of the measurement of social distance, and as it can be seen by observing other indicators. On the other hand, 22% of citizens did not give an answer to the question. Offensive words  are used by somewhat less than 19% of citizens, thus, almost every fifth. In addition, 7.5% of citizens stress that they know what the acronym LGBTIQ means, but they did not write down what it meant for them. Offensive qualifications which indicate 'illness, disorder, abnormality and/or immorality' feature 3.5% of citizens.

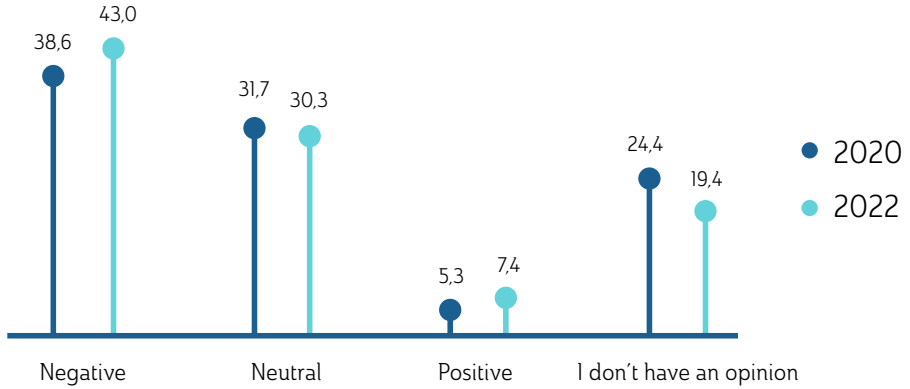
8. The most frequent offensive words are 'pederi' and 'pederčine' [queer].

*Graph 23 Narratives/description of LGBTIQ persons - N*



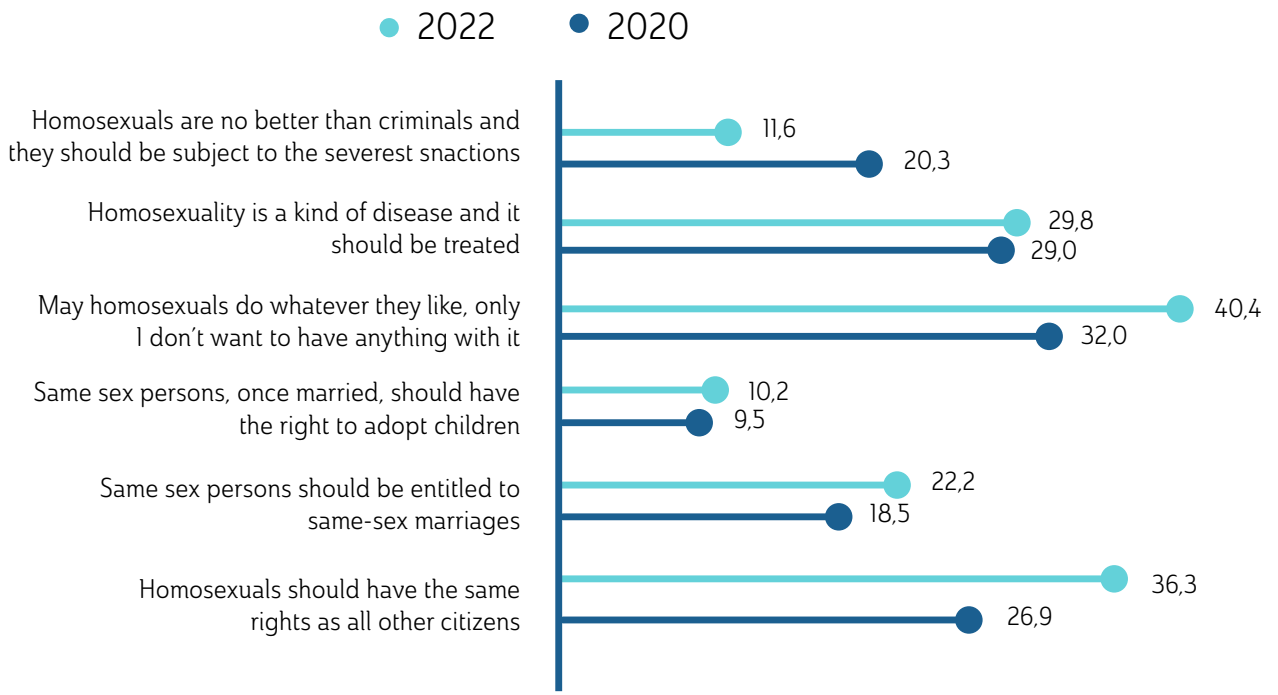

When it comes to homosexual persons, we first asked the citizens what their general attitude was (Graph 24). The data clearly indicate that the percentage of those who have negative attitude on homosexuals is the highest (over 40%), and, interestingly, this percentage is very similar to the information we obtained by measuring social distance towards homosexuals (Graph 23). Neutral attitude is expressed by about 30%, and positive attitude by 7.4% of citizens. When the measured values are compared with the survey conducted two years ago, we observe the increase in the number of those who have negative attitude, but also of those with the positive one, with proportionately reduced number of those who express no attitude.

*Graph 24*
*Attitude on homosexual persons %*



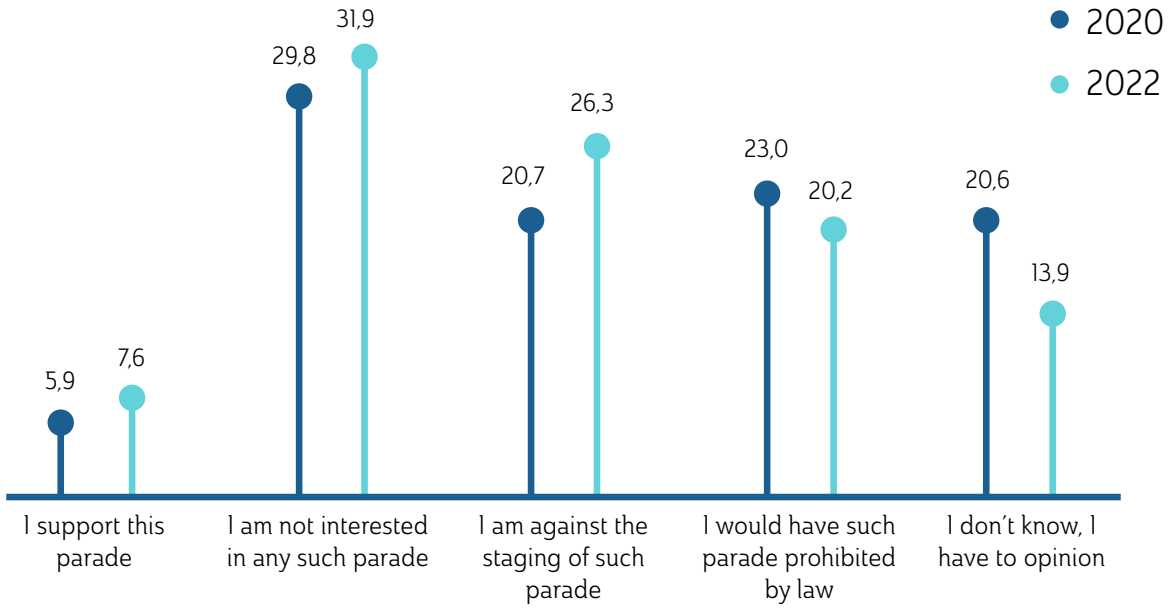
Furthermore, for the need of the survey we formulated six attitudes, which the interviewees used to express higher or lower degree of concordance with the four-grade assessment scale. Three attitudes were positive and three were negative. In the Graph 25, we are presenting cumulative degree of concordance and/or discordance with each one of these attitudes. On the basis of the findings, we measure progress when it comes to positive attitudes, particularly pronounced progress is related to the attitude that 'homosexuals should have the same rights as other citizens', from 27% we measured in 2020 to over 36% we measured in 2022. Significant increase is measured, however, even when it comes to the most moderate negative attitude which reads 'may homosexuals do what they want, only that I have nothing to do with that'. Overall support to the concordance with this attitude is expressed by over 40% of the citizens nowadays, as opposed to 32% in 2020. Furthermore, significantly smaller percentage of citizens express extremely negative attitude towards homosexuals, more specifically, the attitude that 'homosexuals are no better that criminals and they should be most severely punished'. The percentage of those who agree with this attitude has been almost halved (from 20% to some 12%). Other measured values do not deviate significantly from the viewpoint of the trend. Generally speaking, when it comes to the attitudes towards homosexuals, **we conclude that they are somewhat more positive nowadays than it was the case two years ago.**

*Graph 25 Attitudes on homosexual persons – summary percentage of concordance with the attitude to a bigger or smaller degree*



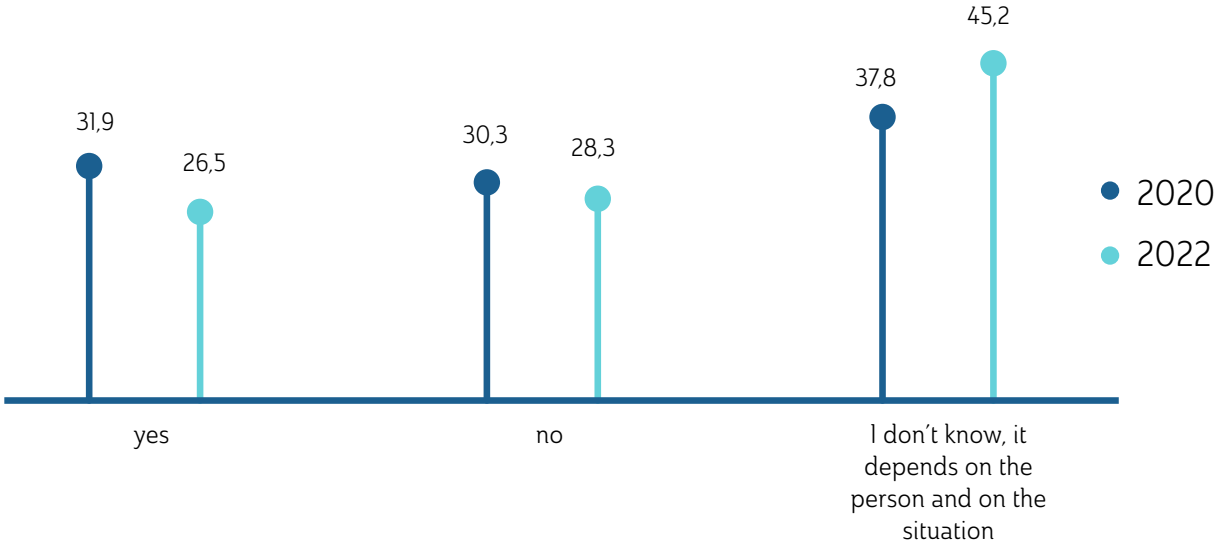

Gay Parades (PRIDE) have been organized in Montenegro for some years now. This event is an expression of the rights to different sexual orientation, and the one in which the need is expressed for solidarity and elimination of discrimination. In our survey we asked the citizens what they thought about this parade (Graph 26). The data indicate that the percentage of supporters has recorded an increase as well as of those against the PRIDE, and, of course the percentage of those who have no attitude towards PRIDE has gone down. The only progressive finding when it comes to this indicator is smaller percentage of those with the most extreme attitude, more specifically, those who say that they would made PRIDE prohibited by law.

*Graph 26. Attitudes towards Gay Parade (PRIDE) %*




In the last question of this segment of the survey, we asked the citizens whether they would be personally ready to protect LGBTIQ persons in case these would be threatened (Graph 27). Around 32% of citizens expressed their readiness for this kind of action in 2020, which percentage has gone down this year to 26.5%. On the other hand, the percentage of citizens who do not express their readiness to help has been somewhat reduced for the previous two years (reduction by 2%). The most significant increase in the previous two years is measured in the attitude that the assessment of assistance to LGBTIQ persons would depend on the situation and on the person concerned (increase from 37.8% to 45.2%).

*Graph 27 Would you personally be ready to protect LGBTIQ persons in case they are threatened?*

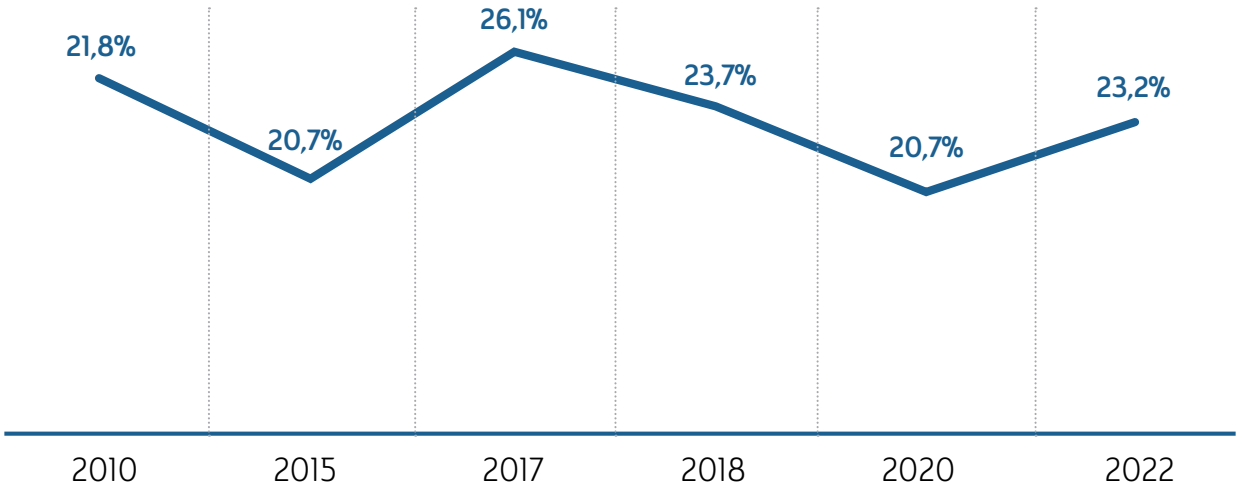


# 8

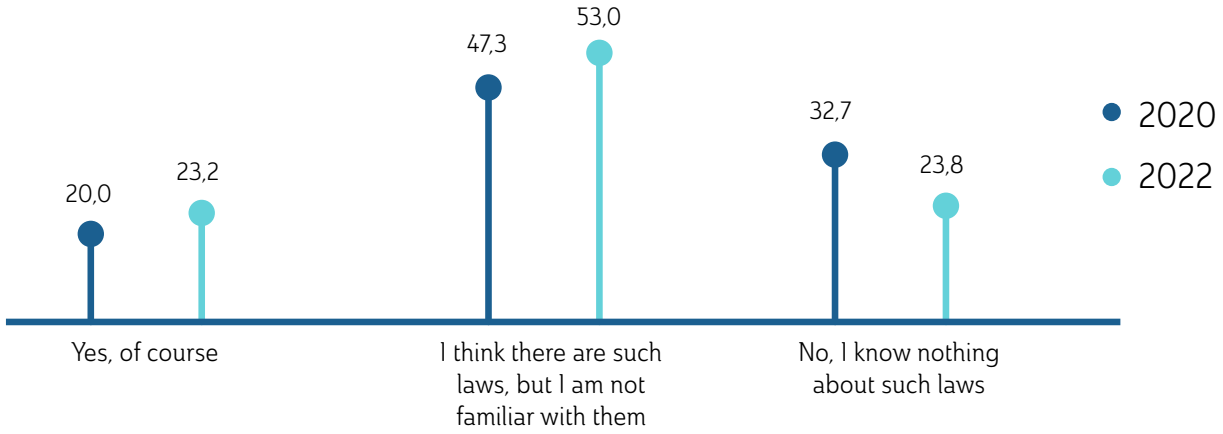
# APPRAISAL OF THE WORK AND EFFECTS OF RESPONSIBLE ACTORS AND DISCRIMINATION RELATED PUBLIC POLICIES

In this segment of the survey, we asked the citizens to assess the work of responsible actors when it comes to protection from discrimination. We wanted to find out how citizens assess the effects of work of key political and social actors whose goal is fight against discrimination. First of all, we asked the citizens if they are familiar with antidiscrimination laws (Graph 28). The data indicate that the number of citizens who say they are familiar with the laws concerned is somewhat higher. In fact, if we are to look more closely into the trend (Graph 29), we can say that the percentage of those who are familiar with the laws is rather stable and that the variations are proportionately small when comparing all survey waves in the last twelve years. In other words, we can say **that in the last twelve years no progress has been recorded when it comes to the knowledge of antidiscrimination laws.**

*Graph 29 They are familiar with antidiscrimination laws %*

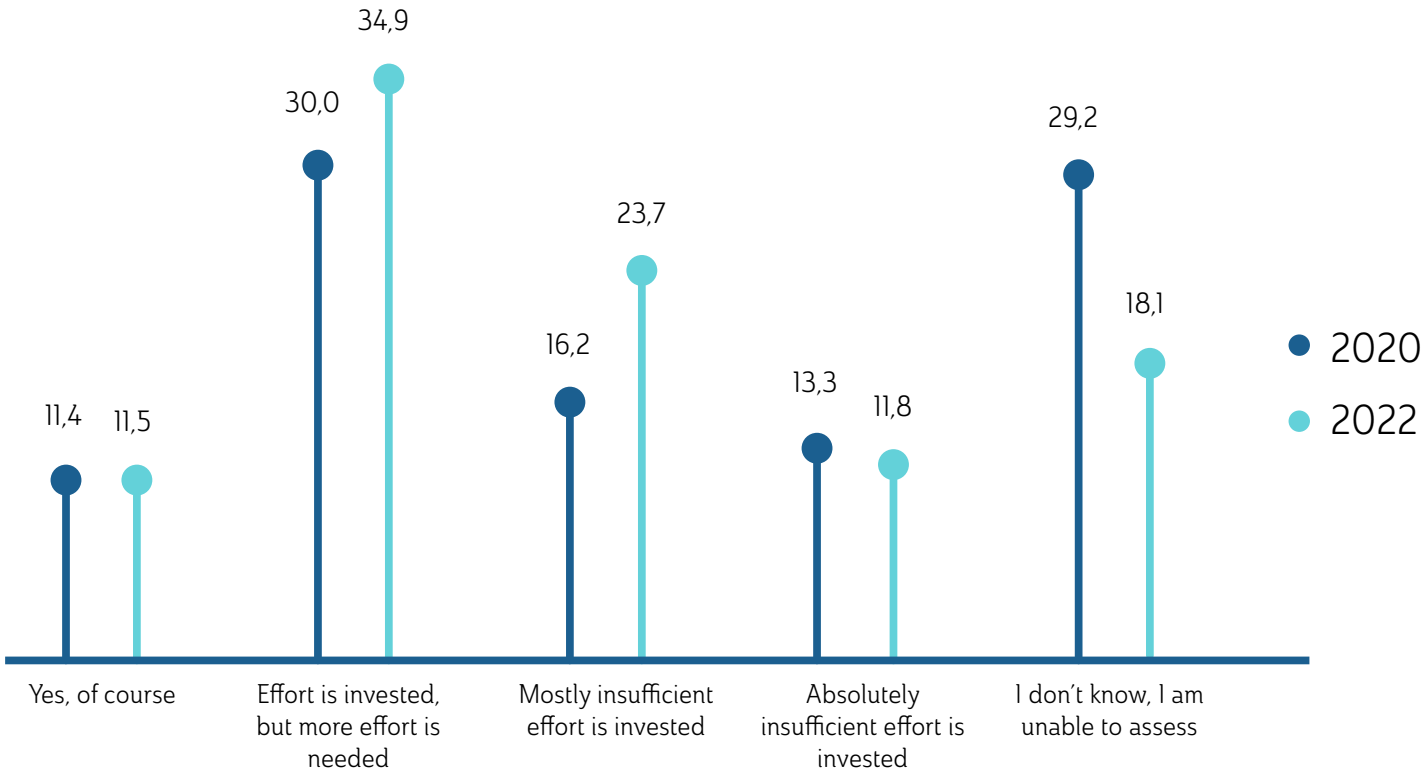



*Graph 28 Are they familiar with antidiscrimination laws %*

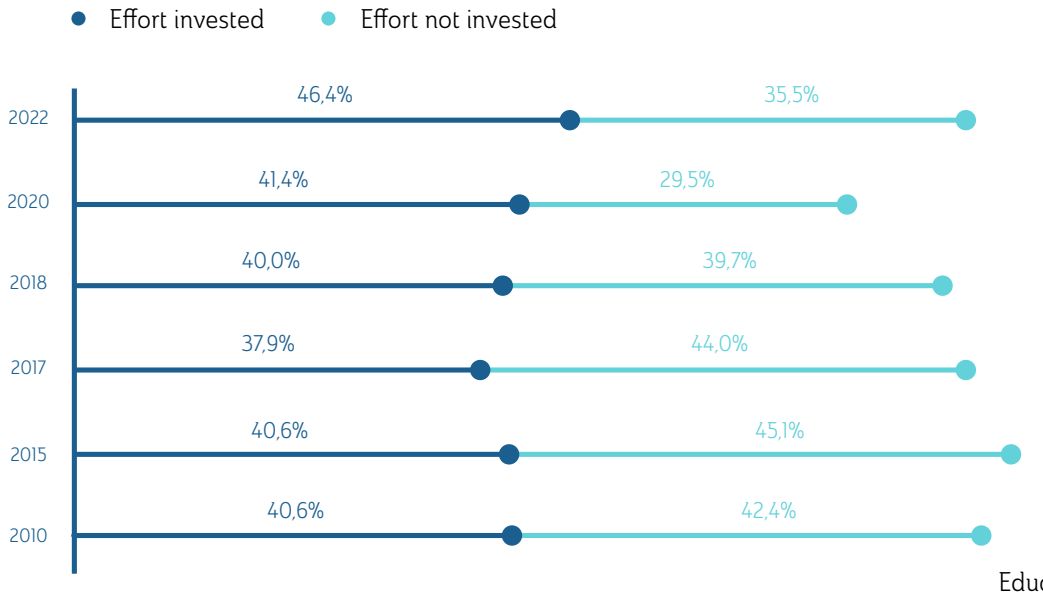


In the next question, we wanted the citizens to say whether Montenegro invests sufficient efforts in combatting discrimination (Graph 30). In comparative sense, the number of citizens who think that the state invests sufficient efforts is greater as compared to those who think otherwise, and, in addition, it is interesting that nowadays in relation to 2020 for both categories the percentage has been increased to the detriment of those who have no attitude regarding this question. However, the information on the assessment of efforts is even more informative if it is analysed from the viewpoint of the trend (Graph 31). This information indicates that the number of citizens who assess that Montenegro invests sufficient effort has been rather stable in the last ten years, with by about 6% larger number of those who think that the state invests sufficient effort in relation to the original survey from 2010. On the other hand, if we compare the percentage of those who consider that Montenegro does not invest sufficient effort, we measure an increase by about 7%, again when comparing the values of the actual survey with the reference one from 2010. All in all, **with no particular prominence and dynamic, we can still say that the overall assessment of the citizens on the efforts invested by the state aimed at reducing discrimination has recorded an increase in the last twelve years.**

*Graph 30 Does Montenegro invest sufficient effort in the fight against discrimination %*

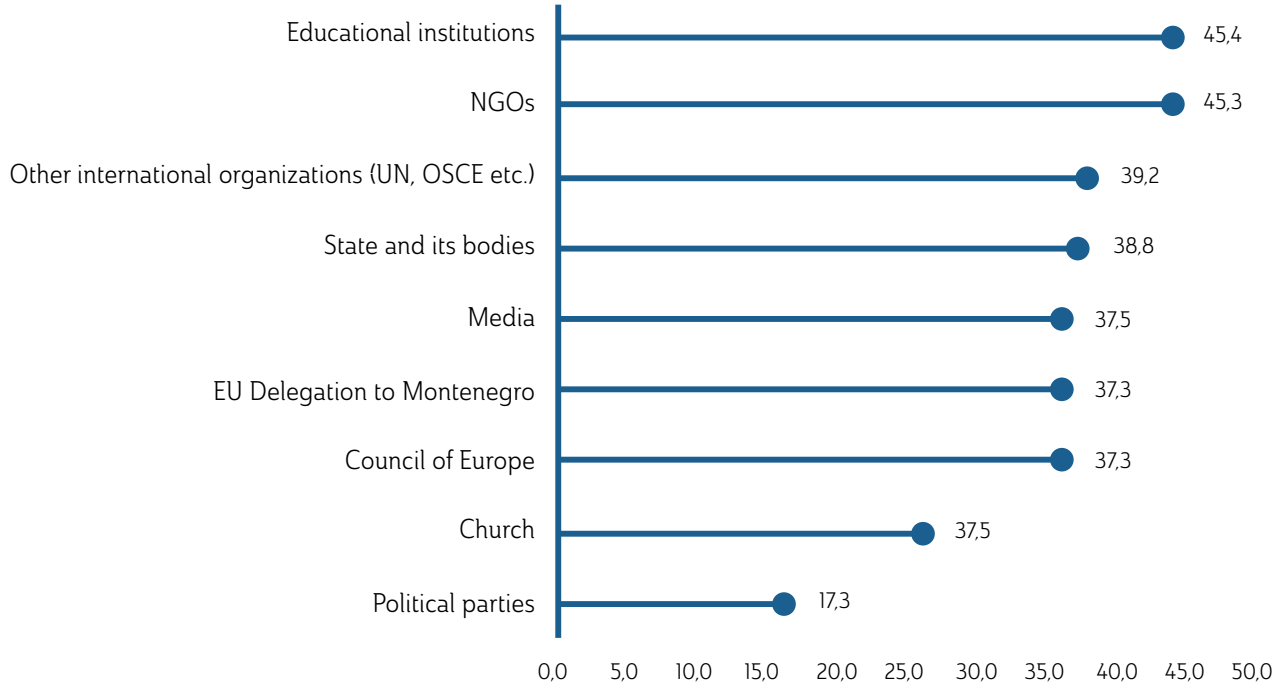


*Graph 31 Montenegro invests effort in combatting discriminaiton - TREND*




The appraisal of the work of institutions in combatting discrimination is an important part of our survey. For this purpose, we used Likert four-grade assessment scale, more specifically, for each one of the stated institutions citizens expressed their view as to whether a given institution gives a contribution to a smaller or greater degree (Graph 32). The results are given by hierarchy and they indicate that the citizens very consistently single out three institutions when it comes to the contribution in combatting discrimination, i.e. educational institutions and NGOs. However, it has to be said that other institutions, with the exception of church, got positive marks.

*Graph 32 Contribution given by institutions in combatting discrimination – SUM% crucial and big contribution*



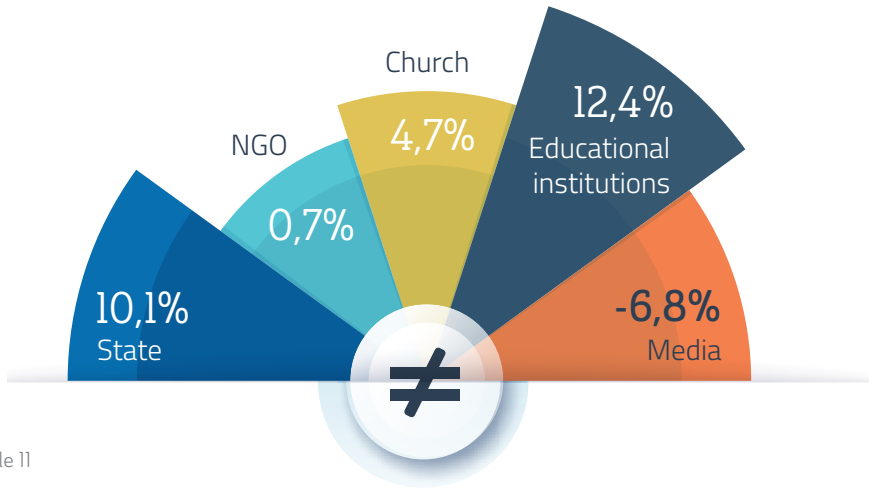
In the Table 11, we bring the overview of the trend related to the assessment of the contribution of institutions in combatting discrimination. Key information are the differences in the measured values in the last twelve years (Graph 33)

*Table 11 TREND: Contribution of all institutions in the fight against discrimination*

| | State and its bodies | Media | Church | Educational institutions | NGOs | EU Delegation | Council of Europe | Other international organizations UN, OSCE etc.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2010. | 28.7% | 44.3% | 22.8% | 33.0% | 46.0% | | | |
| 2015. | 31.6% | 37.7% | 25.7% | 37.4% | 45.7% | | | |
| 2017. | 30.5% | 43.2% | 34.6% | 42.6% | 39.6% | 26.5% | | |
| 2018. | 31.1% | 36.8% | 24.0% | 41.7% | 37.2% | 29.3% | | |
| 2020. | 34.9% | 38.4% | 31.0% | 39.9% | 46.4% | 36.9% | 37.2% | 39.1% |
| 2022. | 38.8% | 37.5% | 27.5% | 45.4% | 45.3% | 37.3% | 37.3% | 39.2% |

When the actual assessment of the contribution is compared with the year 2010, for the institutions for which we have the reference values twelve years back, the data indicate that the biggest progress of contribution is measured when it comes to the State and its bodies (10% progress) and educational institutions (progress in excess of 12%). Slight progress is only measured when it comes to Church (below 5%). On the other hand, according to citizens' opinion, media give smaller contribution to the fight against discrimination than it was the case in 2010 (value being more negative by about 7%), whilst other measured institutions give more or less the same contribution as they did twelve years ago, as perceived by the citizens.

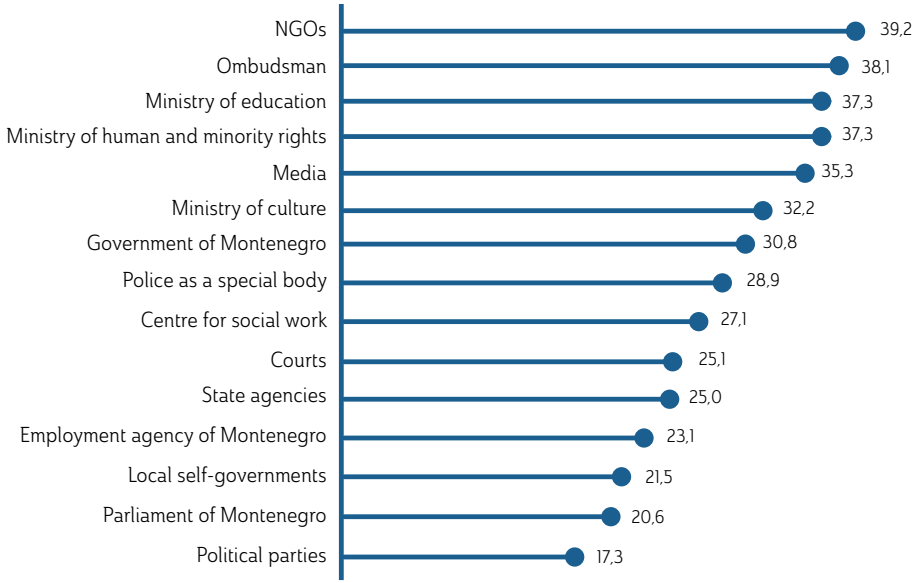
*Graph 33 Contribution of institutions – Differences in the assessment of contribution - 2022 vs 2010[9]*



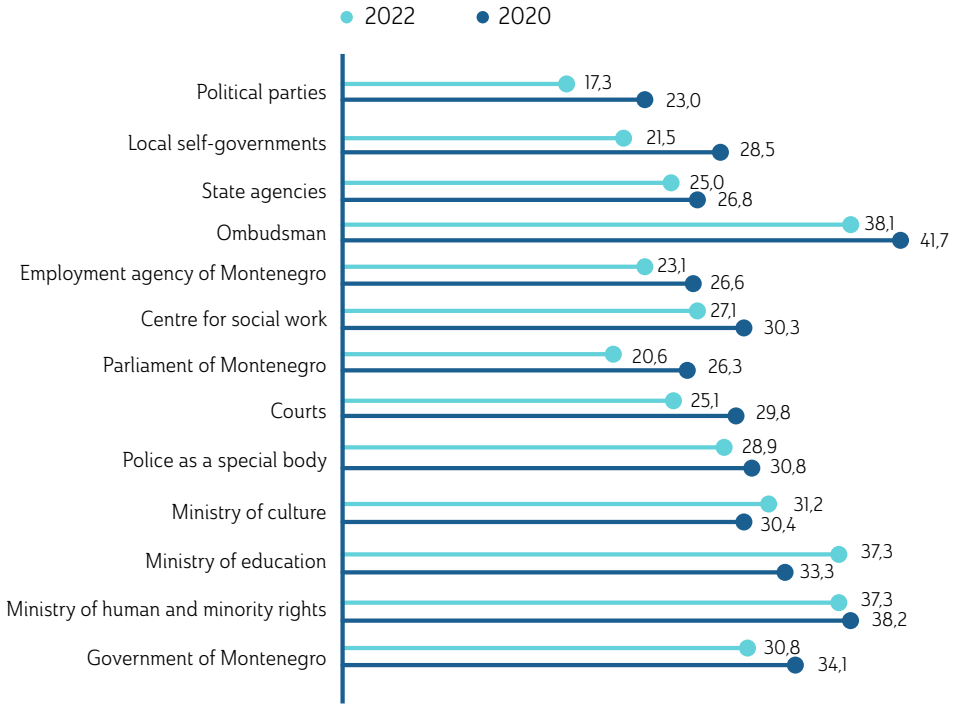

9. The difference is calculated only for the institutions we have been measuring SINCE 2010. As for others, comparison can be seen in the table 11

However, having in mind that the fight against discrimination is primarily the duty and responsibility of the State institutions, we asked the citizens specifically to assess the efficiency of fight against discrimination of these institutions (Graph 34). The results indicate that in this respect the greatest contribution to the fight against discrimination is given by the Office of the Ombudsman, followed by the Ministries of Education and of Human and Minority Rights, with the smallest contribution being given by political parties. When the assessment of the contribution of State institutions is analysed from the viewpoint of the trend (Graph 35), progressive (very moderately) trend is measured only when it comes to the Ministries of Education and of Culture, whilst in all other cases the values of the trend are negative. At the same time, the most negative trend is measured when it comes to the assessment of the contribution to the fight against discrimination of local self-governments, political parties and the Parliament of Montenegro.

*Graph 34 Contribution of Montenegrin institutions to the fight against discrimination – SUM % key and big contribution*

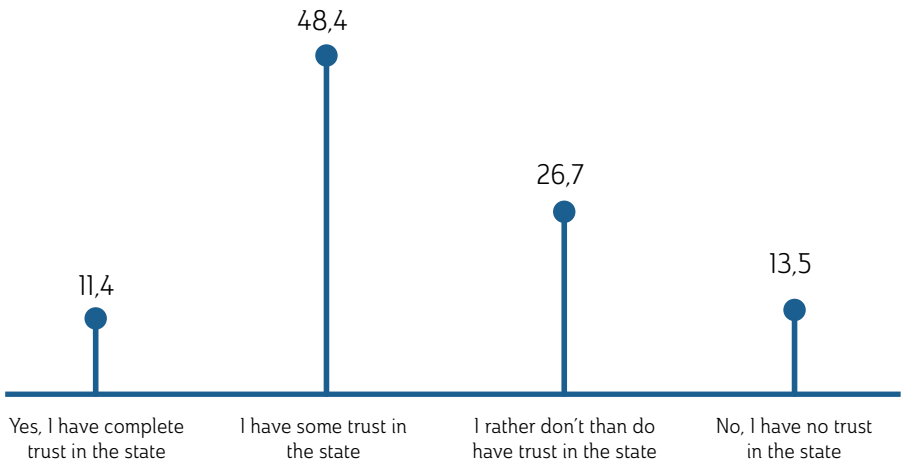



*Graph 35 Contribution of Montenegrin institutions to the fight against discrimination – TREND*

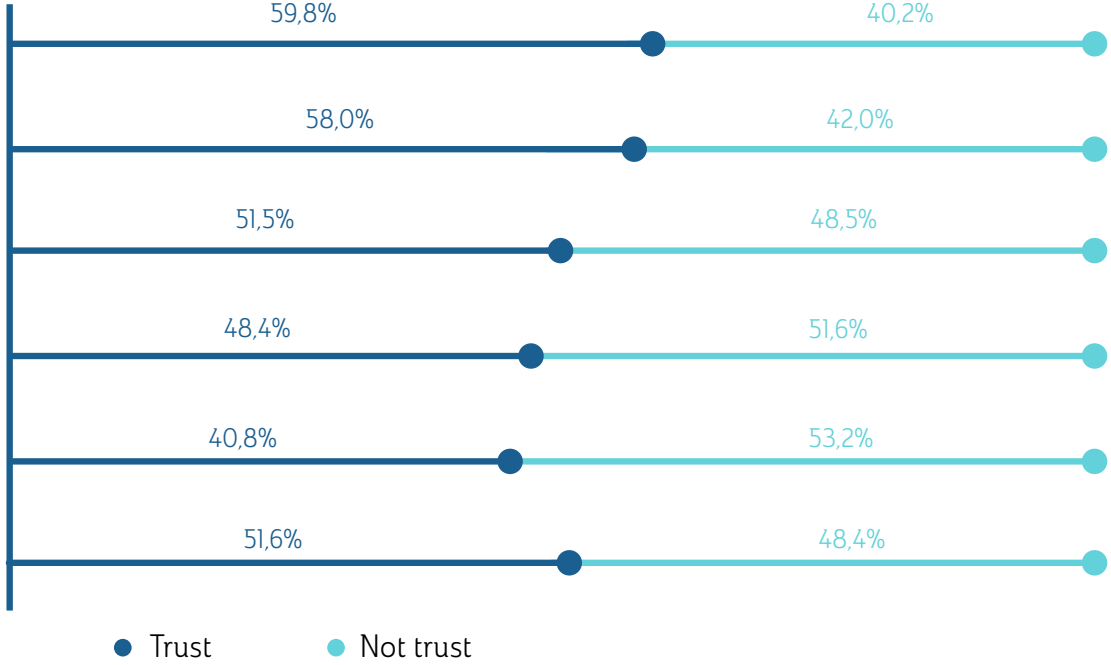


When it comes to the relation of the State towards the issues of discrimination, one of the important matters is the trust which citizens have in the ability of the State to protect them from discrimination. Therefore, it is exactly this question we asked the citizens in our survey (Graph 36). Only 11.4% of citizens have full trust, but in addition, almost every other citizen expresses moderate trust. When we compare the degree of trust in the ability of the State to protect its citizens in case of discrimination with previous survey waves (Graph 37), the findings indicate that nowadays the degree of trust is somewhat higher than two years ago, but one should have in mind distribution of two degrees of trust, more specifically, significant decrease in the number of those who express 'full' trust and proportionate increase in the number of those who express 'moderate trust'.

*Graph 36 They have trust in the ability of the State to protect them from discrimination*

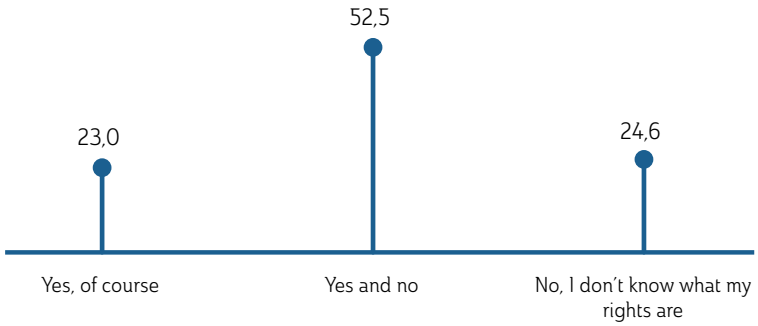



*Graph 37 They have trust in the ability of the State to protect them from discrimination - TREND*

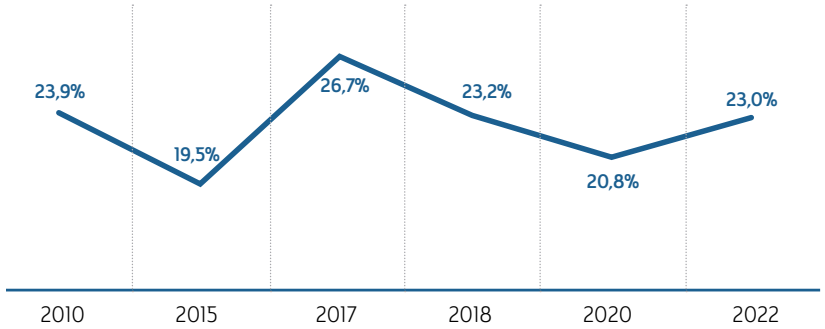


One of the issues related to the capacity for the protection in the fight against discrimination was whether citizens knew their rights in case of becoming discrimination victims (Graph 37). The data **indicate that almost one fourth of the citizens are cognizant of their rights in case they would suffer discrimination.** Over 50% of citizens demonstrated relative knowledge of their rights, and every fourth says explicitly that he/she is not familiar with his/her rights. In case we analyse the trend (Graph 38), the percentage of those who explicitly say that they KNOW what their rights are is rather unstable. This percentage ranges from 20% to 27%. The comparison of two latest waves shows insignificant increase but, key information is that **with regards to the knowledge of their rights in case of becoming discrimination victims in the past twelve years we have not recorded particular changes**, more precisely the value we measure nowadays is almost on the same level as the reference value in 2010.

*Graph 37 They are cognizant of their rights in case of becoming discrimination victims*

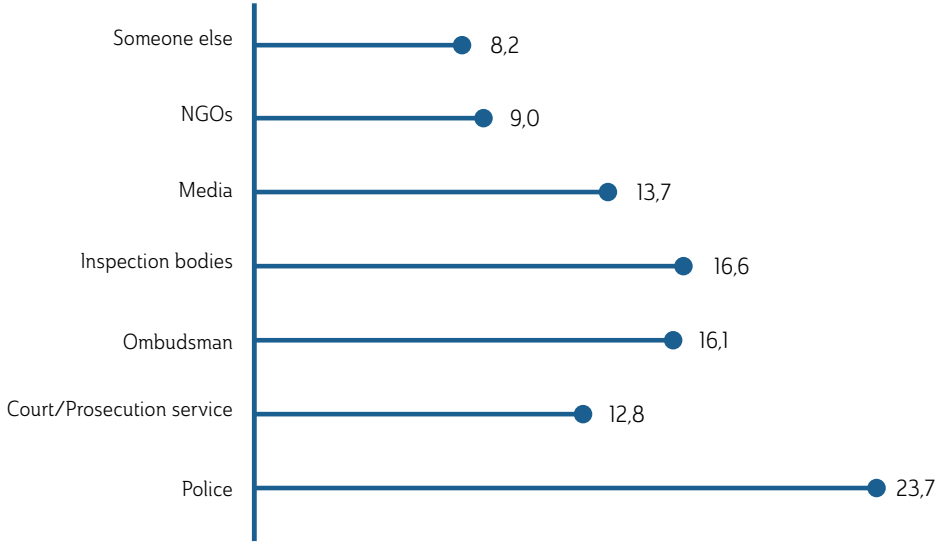



*Graph 38 They are cognizant of their rights in case of becoming discrimination victims – TREND*




To the question whom they would address first in case of becoming discrimination victims (Graph 39), citizens emphasize that the Police would be their first address. The second address are inspection authorities and Ombudsman, then judiciary/prosecution service and media. The analysis of the trend (Graph 40) indicates that the greatest increase in the value in relation to 2020 is measured when it comes to inspection authorities and media. The values obtained for Ombudsman are on the level of 2020, while all other measured values are lower in relation to 2020. However, if we analyse the trends starting from 2010, with minor variations, we can see that there are very small differences when we compare 2010 and the latest survey.

*Graph 39 In case of becoming a discrimination victim, the first address would be %*

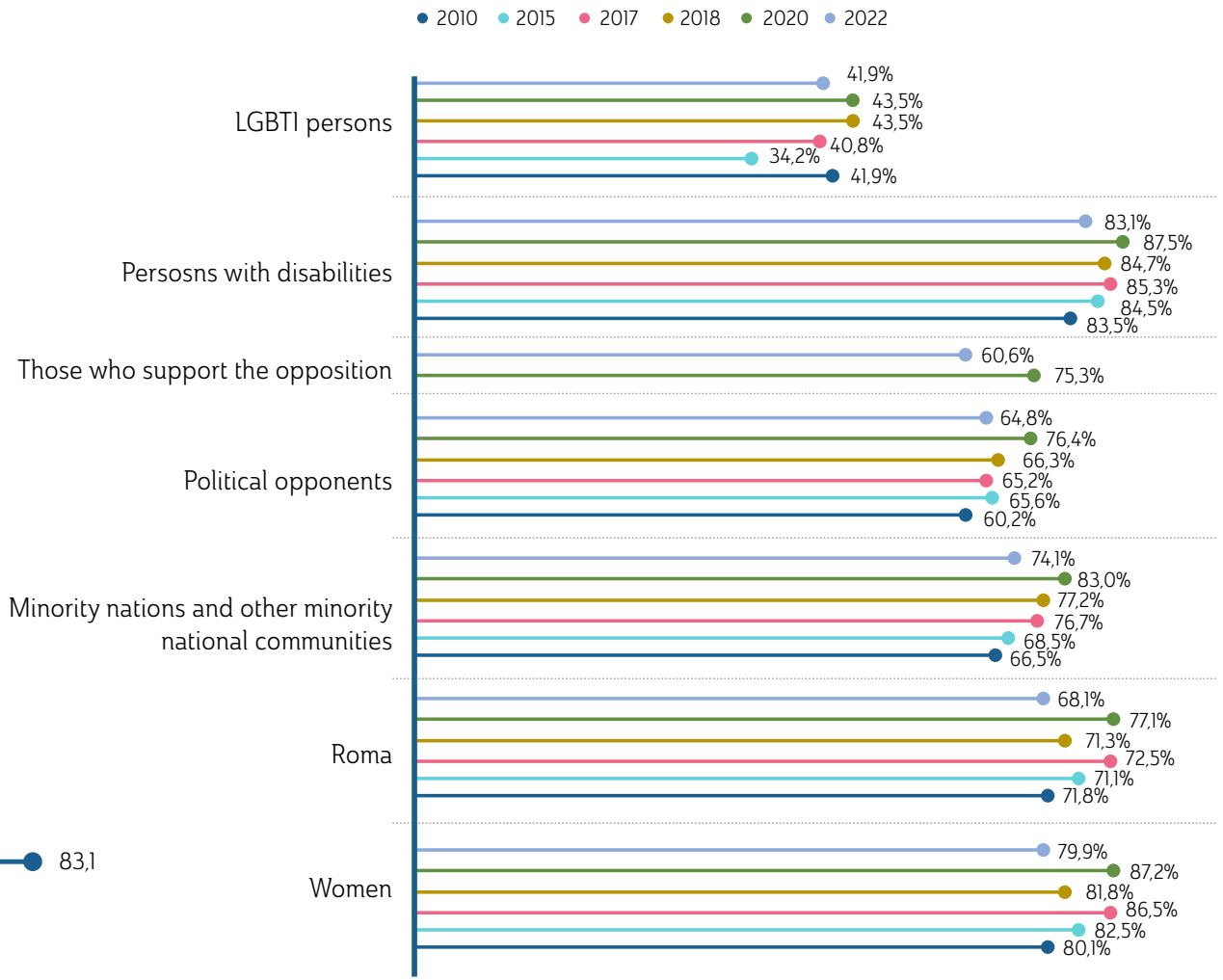


*Graph 40 Who would you adress – TREND*

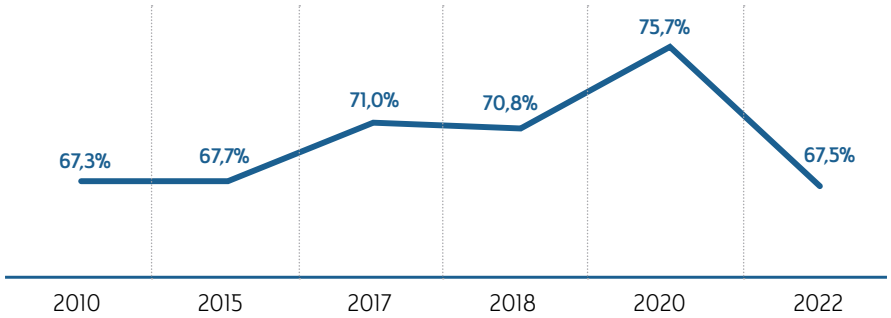
In this section of the survey, we asked the citizens whether they supported the measures focusing on the fight against discrimination, and then gave the list of groups at risk (Graph 41). The data indicate that citizens offer strong support to these measures for the members of all groups, except when it comes to LGBTIQ population. In comparative sense, the measures focusing on the fight against discrimination of persons with disabilities are supported most. The analysis of the trend in this segment (Graph 42) shows that all measured values are lower in relation to 2020.

*Graph 41 Do they support the measures for the fight against discrimination of the stated groups % of YES answers*

*Graph 42 They support the measures - TREND*



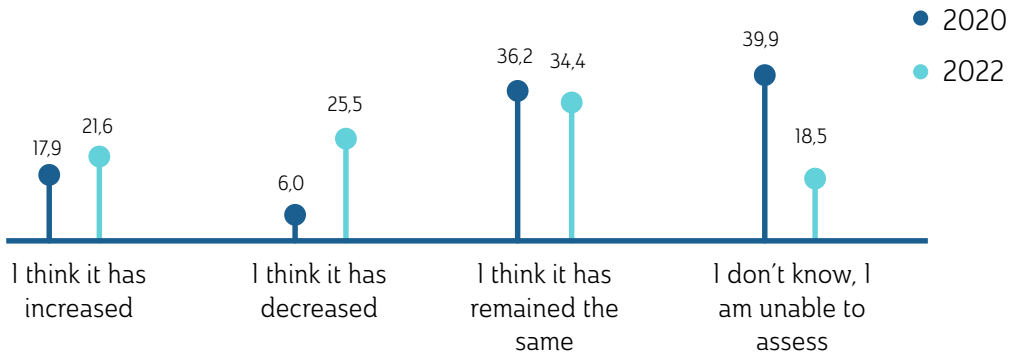
*Graph 43 Average values of the support to anticorruption measures for all categories by survey year*




Finally, when it comes to trends, the most indicative finding is measuring average values of support to all groups by survey waves (Graph 43). This information is somehow demoralizing because we measured constant progress from 2010 to 2020, only to 'suddenly' in this survey to go back to the values measured in 2010.

At the end of this section of the survey, although in certain way COVID19 epidemic is 'behind us', we asked the interviewees about the impact of the epidemic on the degree of discrimination; more specifically, we explicitly asked whether due to COVID epidemic the degree of discrimination has recorded a decrease or increase. Since we asked the same question in the previous wave, in the Graph 44 we give comparative results. Over one fifth of the citizens consider that COVID 19 epidemic has led to the increase in discrimination; every fourth interviewee considers that the epidemic has led to the decrease in the degree of discrimination, whilst just over a third assess that the level of discrimination today is the same as it was before the epidemic. From the viewpoint of the comparison of the values measured in 2020, the most interesting thing is the increase in the number of citizens who consider that COVID 19 epidemic has led to the decrease in the degree of discrimination (25.5% vs 6%)

*Graph 44 Has COVID 19 epidemic led to the increase or decrease of the degree of discrimination?*



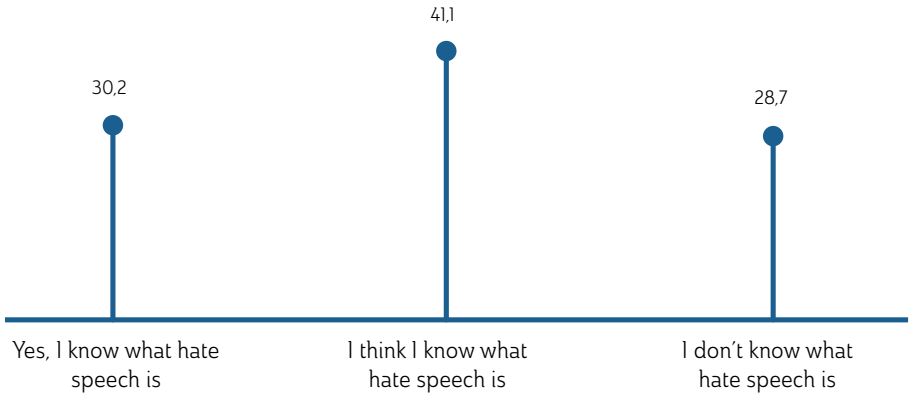
# HATE SPEECH

9

In our survey, most of dimensions and indicators are repeated from one wave to another, so as to compare the measured values, in order to be able to determine the changes related to the degree and patterns of discrimination. In this year's survey, however, a special segment was added dedicated to hate speech. The goal of this part of the survey was to determine the degree, magnitude of hate speech, as well as to determine the most frequent forms of hate speech, but also to identify the members of which groups are mostly exposed to this kind of speech. In the part of the survey below there are findings of this part of the survey.

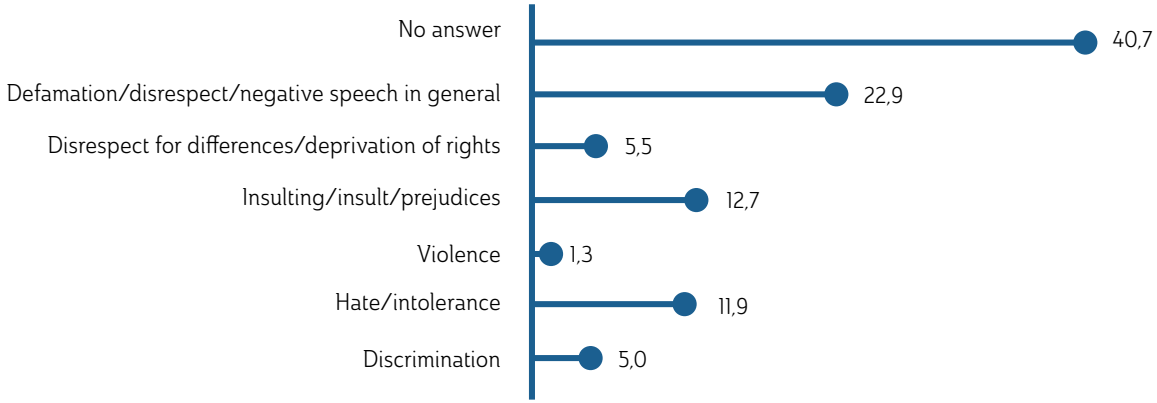
The first question in this segment was a general one by which we simply asked the interviewees whether they knew what hate speech was (Graph 45). To such a simple question, over 30% of citizens gave explicit answer that they knew what hate speech was, while over 40% responded that they 'though they knew', which leaves something below 29% of citizens who say explicitly that they don't know what hate speech is.

*Graph 45. Do you know what hate speech is %*



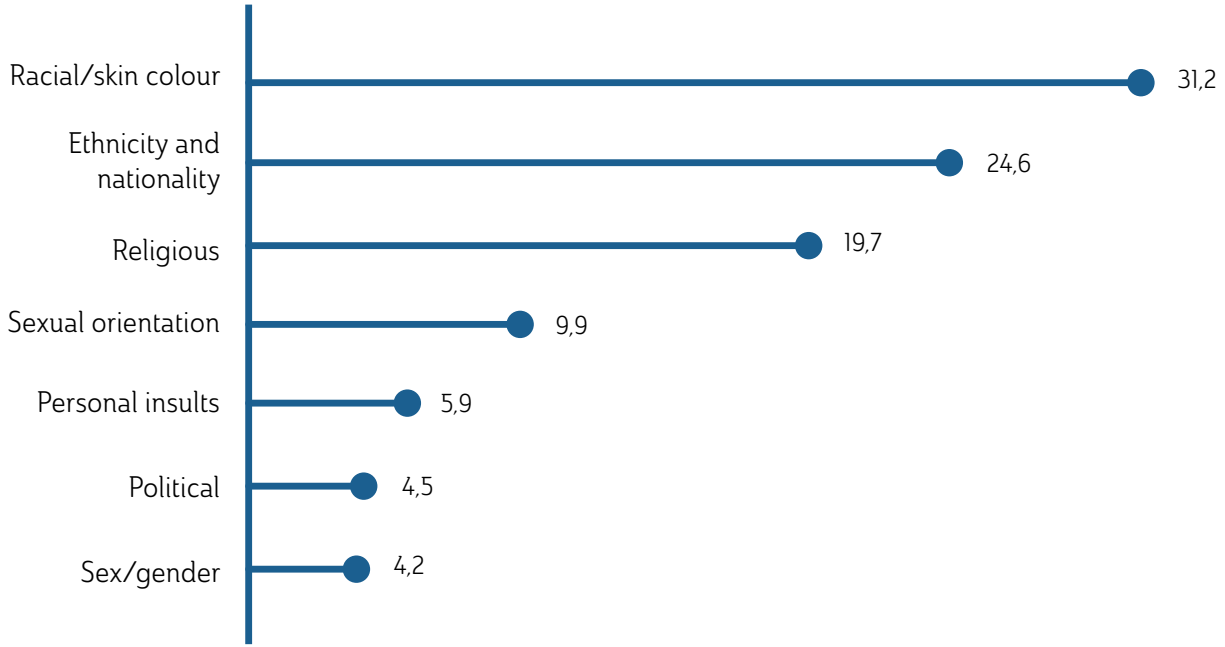

Then, with the open question we asked the interviewees to tell us what they think hate speech is. Since the answers were very different, all the answers were classified in several categories in view of the way in which the interviewees qualified hate speech (Graph 46). First of all, the data indicate that slightly over 40% of the interviewees in no way expressed what hate speech is while answering to the open question. When it comes to those who did, the most frequent understanding is that hate speech is: defamation, disparagement and in general saying bad and negative things about someone (almost 23%). Secondly, by the frequency of understanding hate speech is qualified as insulting and using prejudices (12.7%), then hatred, intolerance and antipathy (11.9%). In addition, 5.5% of the interviewees consider that hate speech is disrespecting differences and rights of certain group, with 5% of interviewees identifying hate speech with discrimination. Finally, 1.3% of the interviewees simply say that hate speech is the same as violence.

*Graph 46 What is hate speech %*



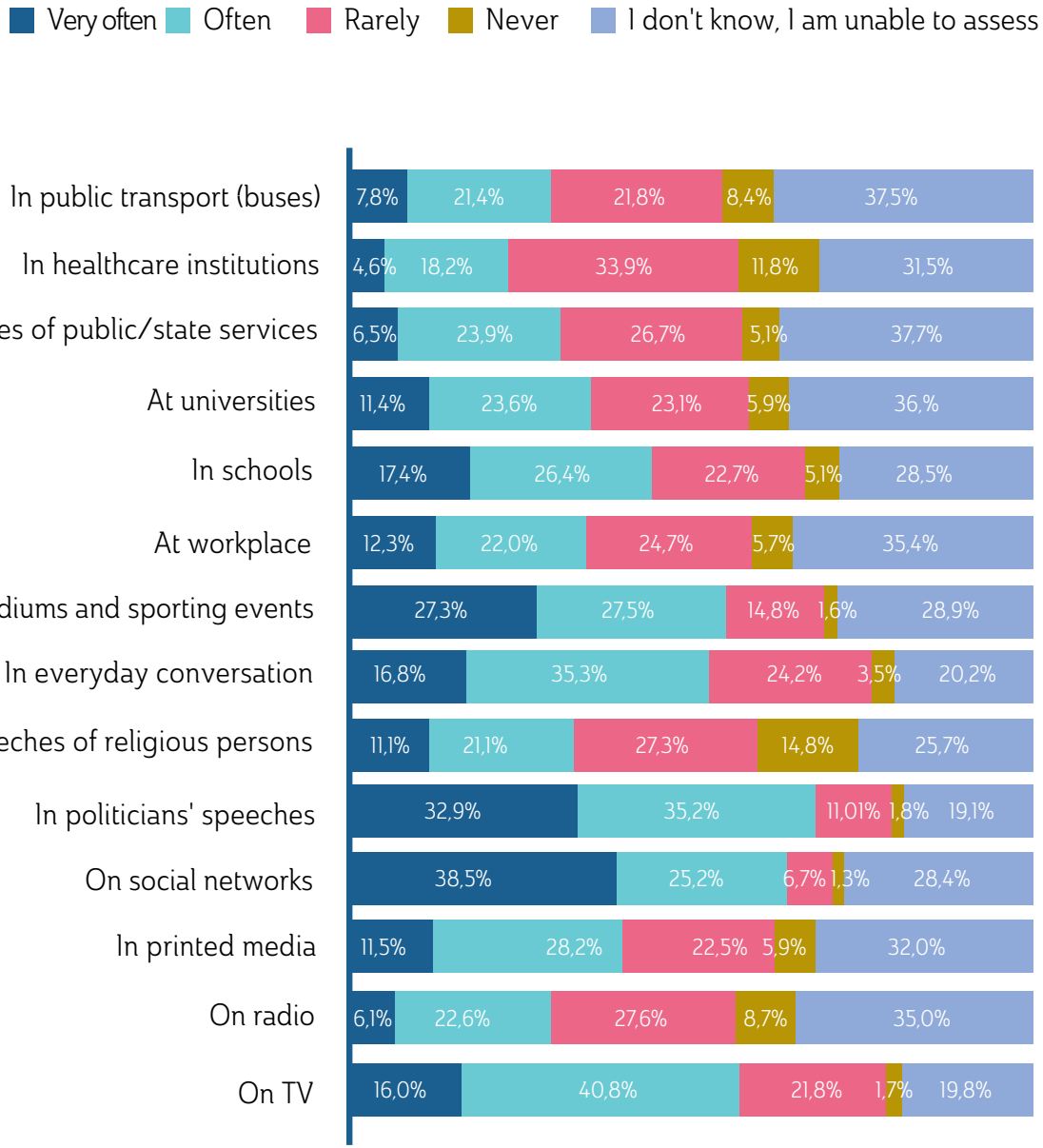
However, one question is how one understands hate speech, and another who is it directed to. In the same question, which as we said was open, besides expressing their view of hate speech, they also wrote who this kind of speech is most often directed to. All their answers which referred to the group which hate speech is used against were classified in several categories (Graph 47). First of all, we conclude that 426 out of 997 interviewees identified a group which hate speech is directed to, which is 42.7%. Out of those who fall into this category of interviewees, 31.2% link hate speech with racial intolerance, whilst every fourth interviewee links hate speech with national and ethnic antipathy. Every fifth interviewee points out to hate speech under religious criterion, while every tenth interviewee sees sexual minorities as the key group which is exposed to hate speech. Almost 6% of interviewees consider that hate speech is in fact language of personal insults, or insults directed to individual persons irrespective of their social features. Finally, 4.5% of the interviewees identify hate speech with the language directed on the grounds of political orientation, then 4.2% speak about sexual/gender discrimination using hate speech.

*Graph 47 Hate speech: who is it directed to – N=426*



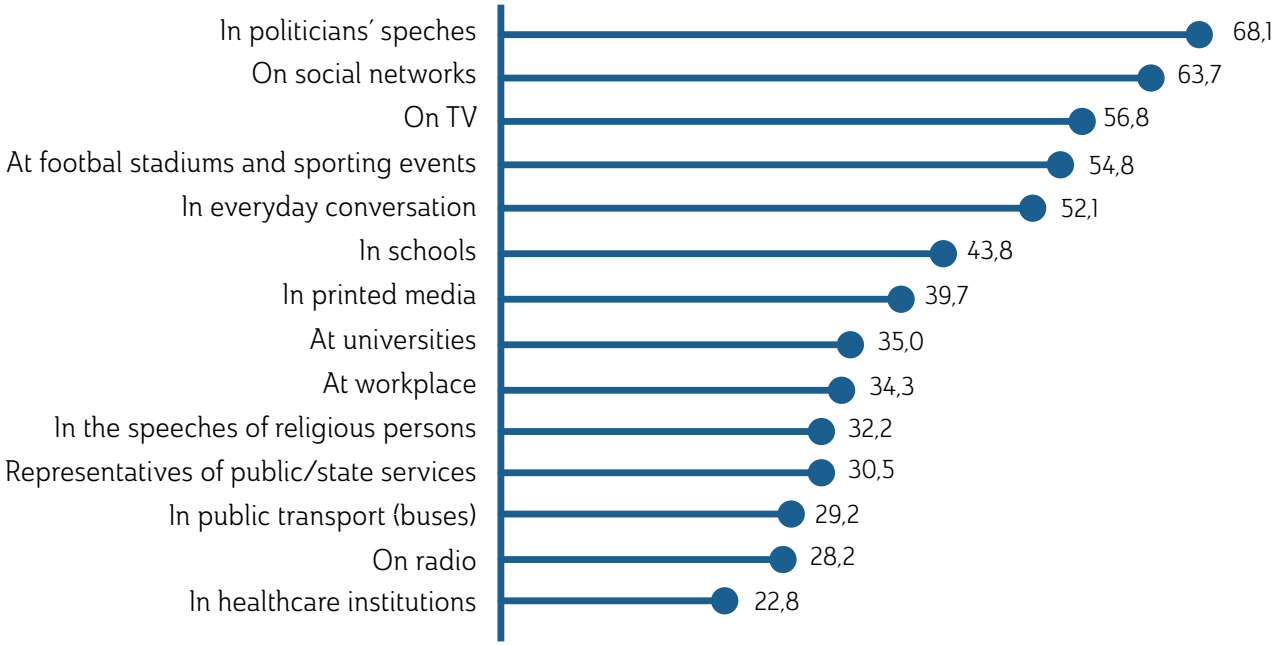
In the next question, we asked the interviewees to mark on the four-grade scale how often hate speech can be heard in some typical socially important places and in media (Graph 48).

*Graph 48 How often is hate speech present in the said places/media %*

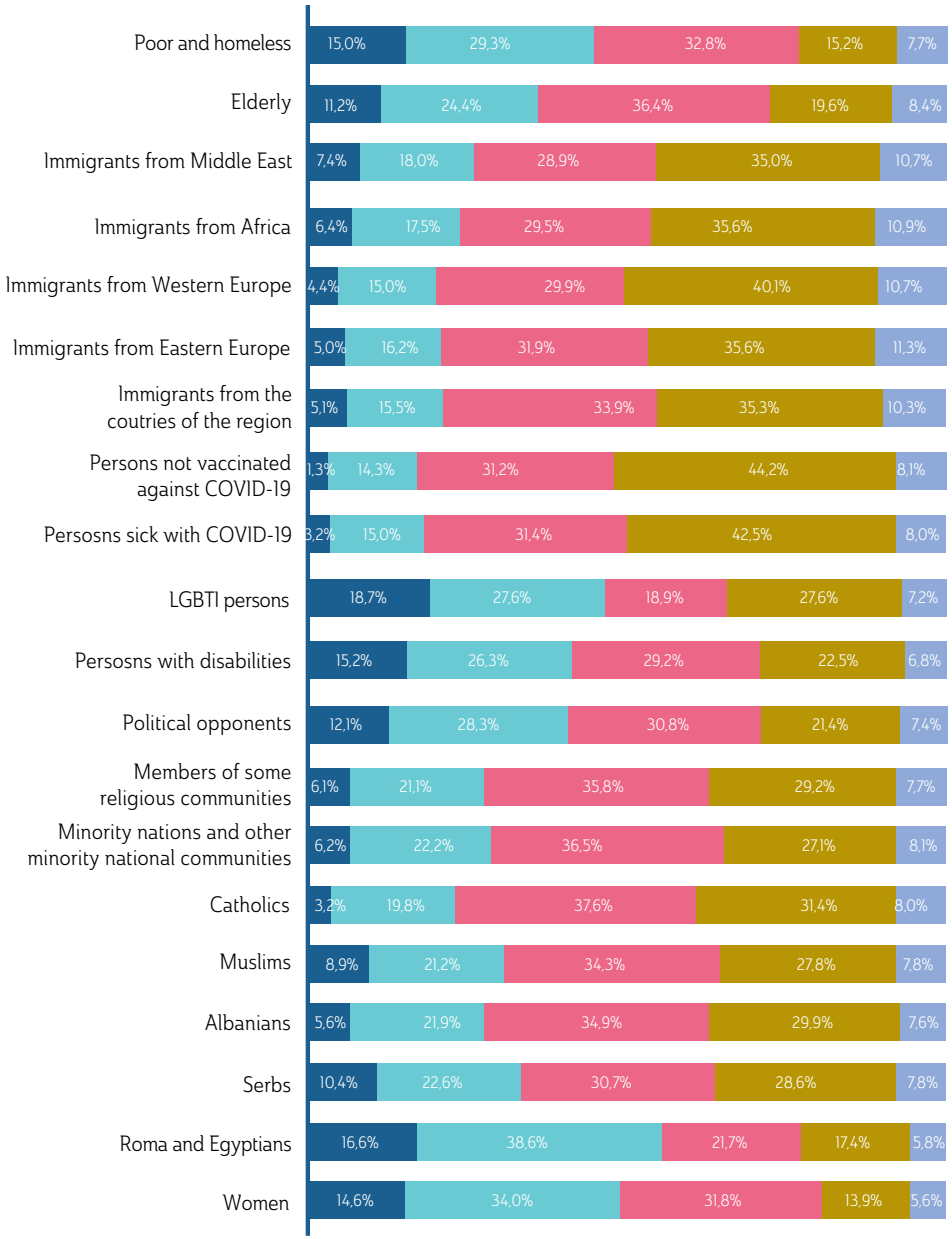


In case we sum up those who say for every item that hate speech is used very often and often we obtain the image as shown in Graph 49. The obtained values are generally very high, or it can be said that hate speech is very present in the overall media and social space. In comparative sense, the citizens assess that **hate speech is present most in politicians' narratives and on social networks**. However, very high values of the assessed frequency of hate speech are also measured when it comes to TV, sporting events and in everyday conversation. Even the value of the assessed frequency of hate speech in schools is very high (43.8%). Next, there is a list of places/media by hierarchy, with healthcare institutions being assessed as a place where hate speech is most rarely heard. However, one should not disregard that even in this case over 22% of citizens assess that hate speech can be heard in healthcare institutions often and very often. In other words, even in the place where hate speech is assessed as the least frequent, it cannot be said that it happens rarely, and this is a worrying finding.

*Graph 49 Hate speech is present very often and often %*

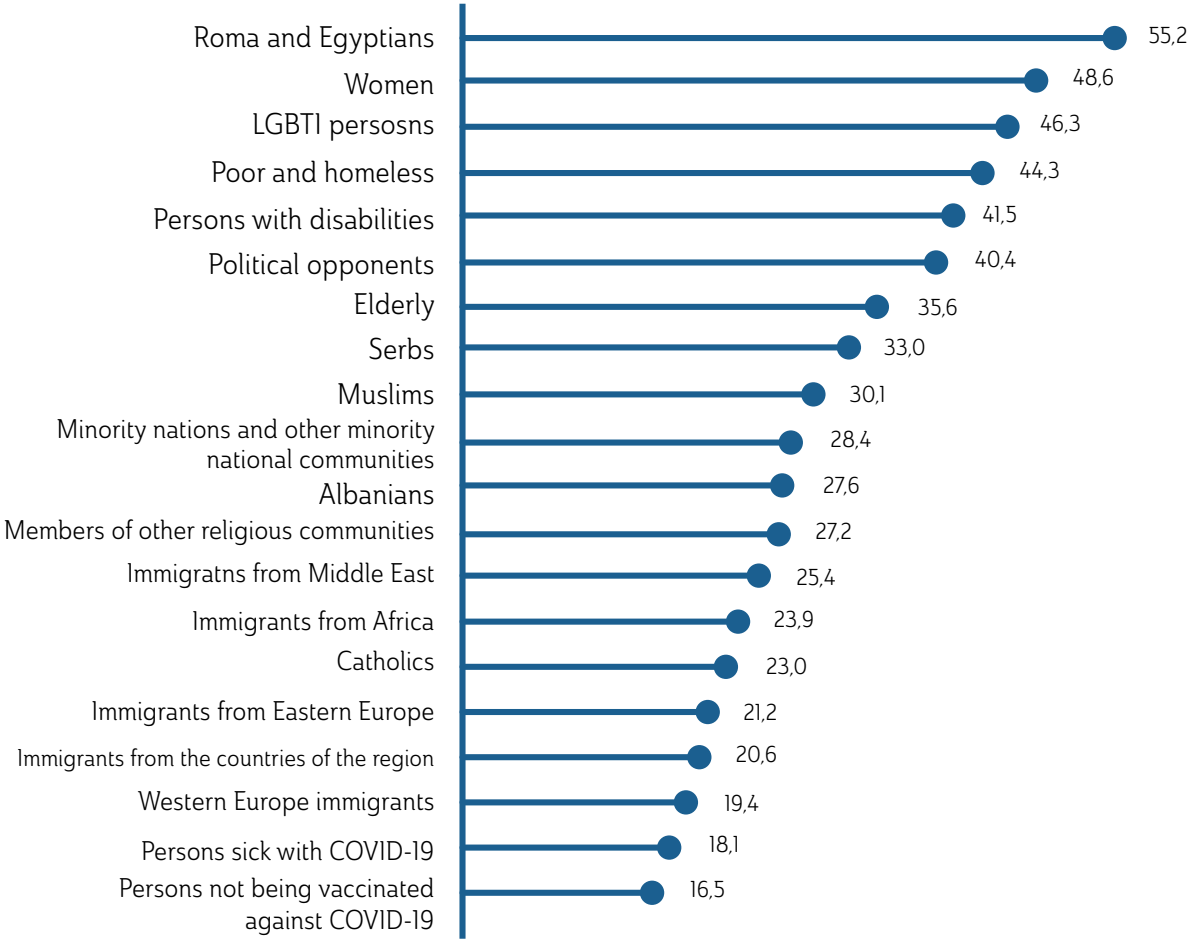


*Graph 50 How often is hate speech directed towards the members of the stated groups %*




On the basis of open questions, we were able to identify which groups and /or their members hate speech is most often directed to. To the next question we were looking for an explicit answer in such a way that the interviewees needed to assess on the four-grade scale for every group at risk to what extent hate speech is directed against such group (Graph 50). In order for this survey to be simpler and more informative, in the Graph 51 we give hierarchical overview of the summed assessments that hate speech is 'very pronounced' and 'pronounced'. The data indicate that hate speech is pronounced most in relation to the Roma/Egyptians, then towards women, LGBTIQ persons, the poor, persons with disabilities and political opponents. However, measurement values for other groups are also rather high, while the lowest values are measured for the persons sick with COVID-19 and the non-vaccinated.

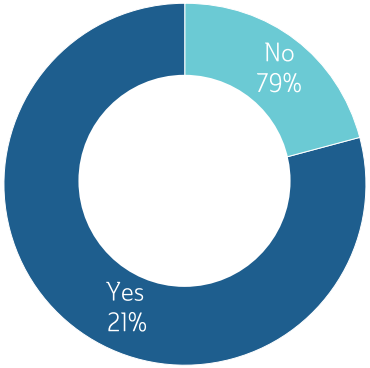
*Graph 51 Hate speech is very pronounced and pronounced %*



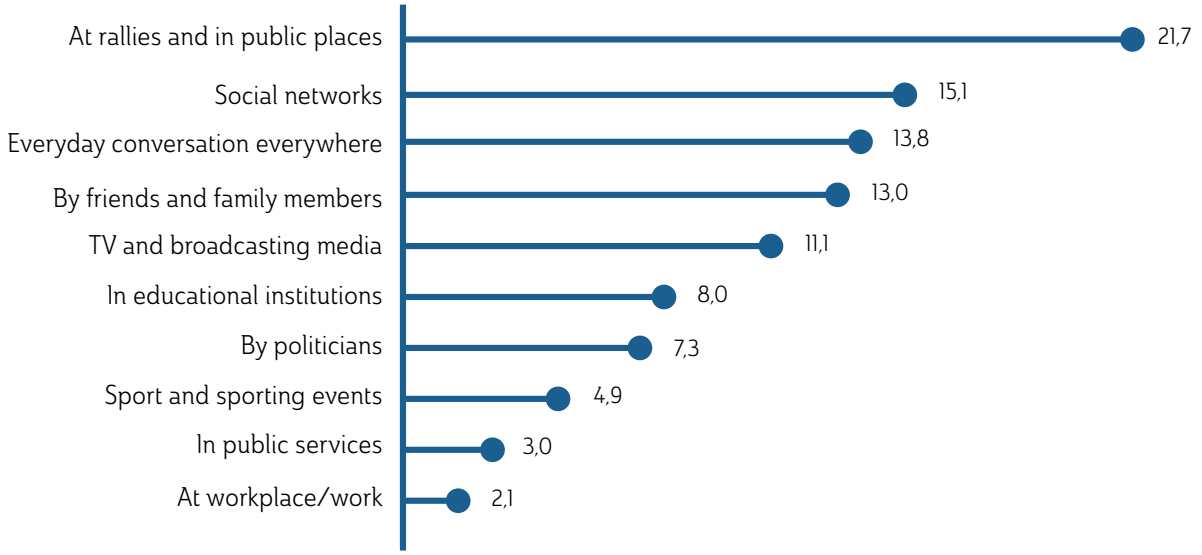

With a view to identifying hate speech we formed a set of question in our survey for every social group at risk asking the interviewees which offensive words are most often used towards the members of these groups. Due to the significant indecency, inappropriateness and offensiveness their responses are tnot present in this report.

We also asked the interviewees if they had personal experiences of witnessing hate speech (Graph 52). Out of all the interviewees over 1/5 reported having had personal experience of this type. Those who had this experience were asked an open question to give detailed description, responding to which they were reporting where they had seen such thing and/or where this had happened to them (Graph 53). The interviewees claimed that most often they had the opportunity to hear/see hate speech at rallies and in public places, as well as on social networks. Hate speech has also become frequent in everyday conversation, among friends and family members. More than every tenth interviewee reports having seen hate speech on TV and in broadcasting media, while 8% reports hate speech in educational institutions. Somewhat less consider that politicians spread hate speech (7.3%), and among the places which are mentioned less frequently are sporting events, public services and workplace.

*Graph 52 Did they during the past year have the opportunity to witness/see/hear hate speech in PERSON*




*Graph 53. Where did they have personal experience with hate speech – Percentage distribution: N=155*



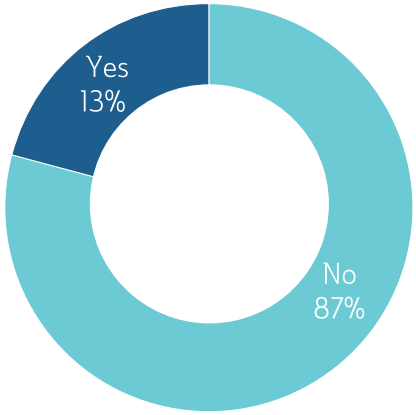

Furthermore, we asked those interviewees who reported having personally witnessed hate speech if they reacted to it or reported it (Graph 54). To this question, out of all those who had personal experience with hate speech, almost half (47.2%) said they had never nor would they ever report it. Over 30% say they did not, but express regret for not doing so, while 14.3% of the interviewees claim they wanted to report it only they did not know where and how to do it. Finally, only in 7.6% of the cases hate speech was actually reported. Asked who they had reported hate speech and in what way, this small number of interviewees claim they addressed the Ombudsman, in school, at work, to the Police and to social network moderators[10].

*Graph 54 Did you react or report hate speech when you personally witnessed it %*

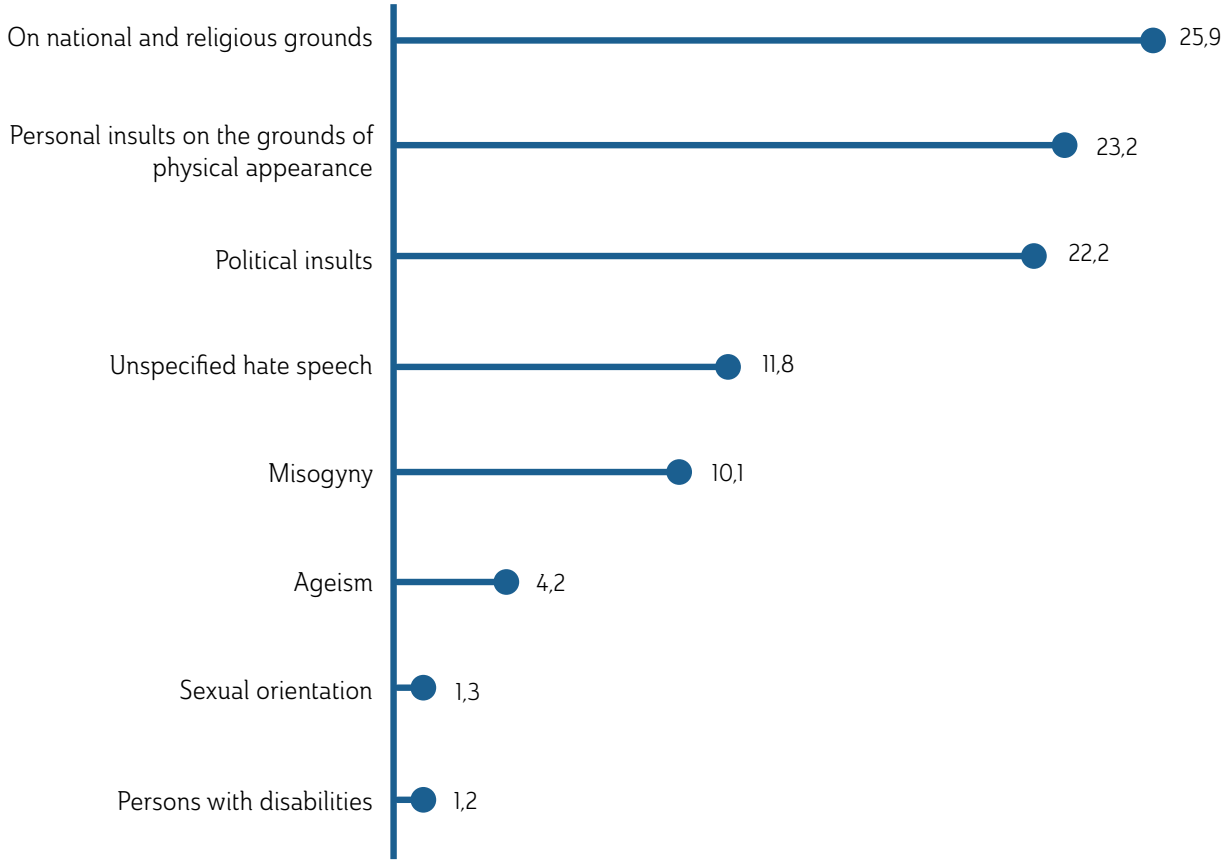
10. It is a matter of only a few interviewees, thus graphic presentation is not necessary.

Finally, we asked the interviewees whether they had PERSONALLY been exposed to hate speech (Graph 64). Positive answers came from 13% of the interviewees. Asked to describe their personal experience, 77 described the situation, and categorized responses are shown in the Graph 65.

*Graph 64 Were you personally exposed to hate speech*

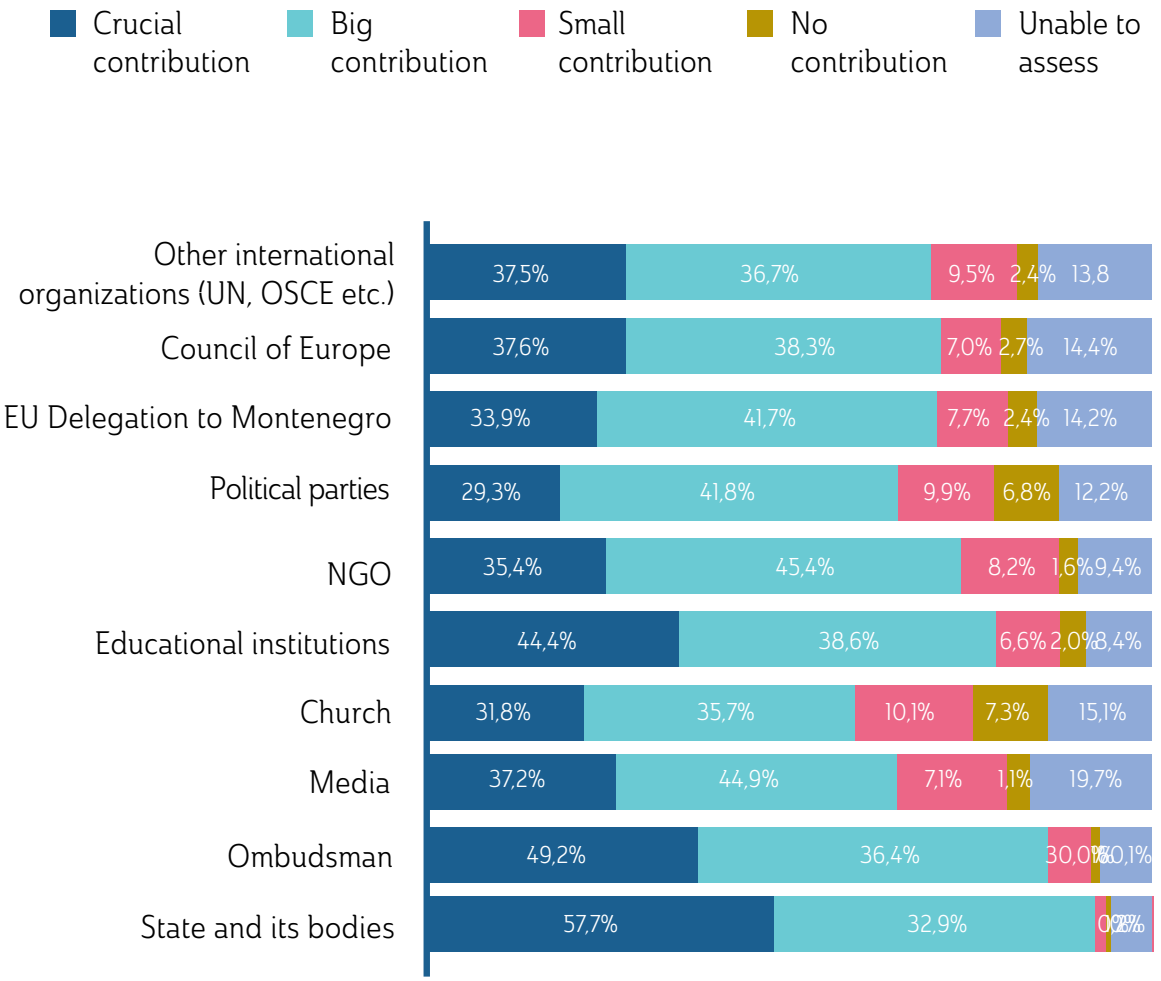



*Graph 55 Description of hate speech in relation to the interviewees: Percentage distribution N=77*



In the last question of this survey, we asked our interviewees to assess to what extent reference institutions should, according to their opinion, give their contribution to combatting hate speech (Graph 56). The results indicate that the citizens consider that all the stated institutions should give their contribution, while in comparative sense they expect most from the State and its institutions, then from the Ombudsman.

*Graph 56 To what extent should institutions give their contribution to combatting hate speech %*



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