

# DISCRIMINATION PATTERNS IN MONTENEGRO

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## RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

1. *Measuring the extent of discrimination*
2. *Measuring discrimination trends*
3. *Comparing the extent of discrimination in Montenegro with some other countries in the region and in Europe*
4. *Determining the extent of discrimination towards various groups*
5. *Determining the extent of discrimination in various areas*
6. *Determining key factors which discrimination perception depends on*

In a differentiated society, discrimination is one of the biggest problems democratic society is faced with. The existence of a large number of social groups, with their differences in various senses: religious, ethnic, gender, political, then in the sense of sexual orientation and any other sense, creates potential danger for conflict, with the biggest problem being the discrimination of those in minority, by the majority. Such discriminatory practices consequently bring the entire political order and social consensus into the state of instability, and as a result, potential long-lasting conflicts can lead to different forms of societal disintegration. All these problems are more prominent in the societies with strong authoritarian and conflict past,

which is particularly the case with post-communist societies in which authoritarianism and intolerance make integral part of the historical and political being. Therefore, the fight against discrimination is an important task of all democratically responsible social actors. The first step in the fight against discrimination is its systematic and longitudinal measuring, then the assessment of the extent of discrimination, and finally what are its systematic causes. This kind of analysis has been made in the text that follows. This report is just an excerpt from a broader one which contains incomparably greater amount of information for those that might be interested in it. In this document, however, we will just give an overview of the key research findings in order for decision makers to be able to quickly and efficiently become familiar with the condition and trends related to discriminatory attitudes and practices in Montenegro. By measuring discrimination in this year we found that, on the basis of citizens' perception, the greatest extent of discrimination exists towards the persons with different political belief. This piece of information reaffirms a large number of previous researches done by CEDEM, which indicate that political divisions in Montenegro are deep and that they constitute the basis for the societal divide and

## RESEARCH DATA:

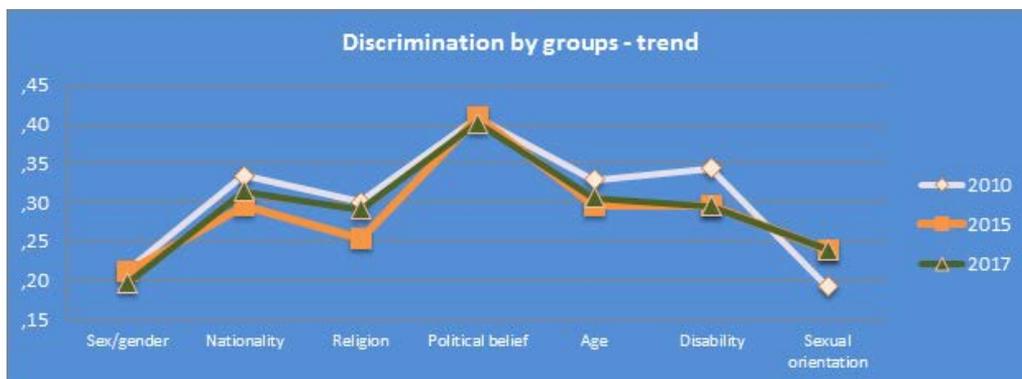
- Survey method
- Representative sample for adult population
- Sample type: double-stratified and random sample
- Total of 1038 interviewees
- Standard error: +/- 3.04% (for the incidence 50 and with 95 CI)
- Post-stratification by gender, age and nationality
- Carried out from 2nd to 20th March 2017
- Approach: longitudinal (trend analysis)

the totality of the existing conflicts. The second group by the extent of discrimination are the elderly, i.e. according to citizens' opinion, 'ageism' is quite widespread in Montenegro, and on the basis of comparative researches in other countries, the elderly are in fact the greatest victims of transition. According to the measured extent of vulnerability with regards to discrimination, this group is followed by the persons with disabilities, then those discriminated on the grounds of national, religious affiliation, discrimination of women and finally discrimination of LGBT persons.

*The greatest extent of discrimination in Montenegro exists towards the individuals who have different political belief*



Discrimination by political affiliation, which is the most prominent and very little exposed to changes, or more precisely it is on almost the same level as it was two and seven years ago respectively. This persistency of the level of discrimination by political criterion points out to stable and strong mechanisms which contribute to its reproduction, thus probably the bases for its existence are very deeply interwoven into the political tissue of Montenegrin society. The extent of discrimination is on the increase today in relation to the year 2015 by the criterion of religious affiliation, while, towards all other groups the extent of discrimination is on a more or less the same level as it was two years ago, and the very changes with these groups are recorded when the measurements from 2010 and 2015 are compared. In other words, there had been more prominent change dynamics from 2010 to 2015, rather than it has been the case since 2015. On the other hand, the changes from 2010 to 2015 were mostly regressive, while those from 2015 until today have been mostly progressive. In simple terms, in most of the cases, the pattern is such that the extent of discrimination in Montenegro today is on a lower level in relation to 2015, but in 2015 it was on a higher level in relation to 2010, consequently, discrimination level today is on a more or less identical level as the one measured in 2010.



According to citizens' opinion, the greatest extent of discrimination exists in the area of employment. One should have in mind that the area of employment in itself is, probably, the most sensitive in the situation when unemployment is relatively high, or more precisely, economic crisis can precipitate to a considerable degree the perception of high discrimination in the area of employment. All other areas have considerably lower and mutually uniform level of discrimination prominence. Employment is obviously particularly sensitive even due to the fact that, according to citizens' assessment, the level of discrimination today has been increased in relation to 2015. Nowadays, also, in relation to two years ago there is a lower level of discrimination in the area of education and healthcare, while in other areas the extent of discrimination today is on approximately the same level he were being able to determine two years ago.

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



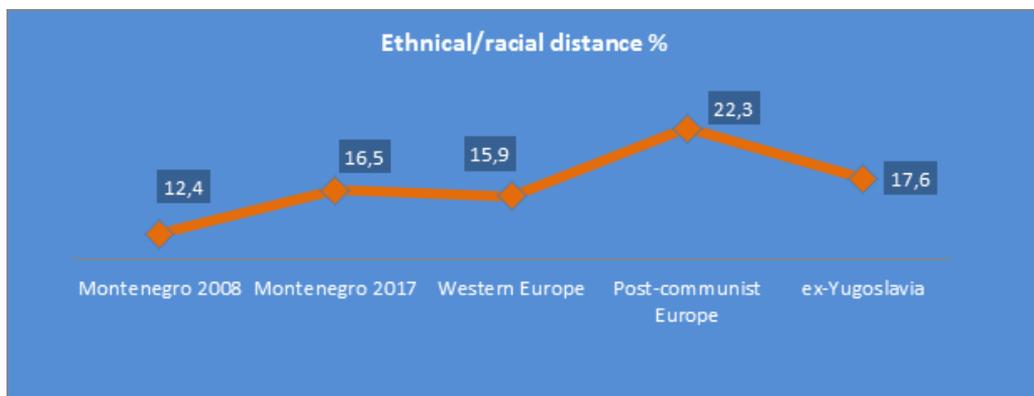
The prejudices towards certain groups are the grounds for distancing in relation to the members of these groups, and distancing is the basis for discriminatory views and behaviours. Therefore, we found the degree of distancing towards key groups which are under the threat of discrimination in the entire Europe. The researches of this type point out to the fact that there are three distancing profiles: the first one by ethnic/racial criterion; the second by behavioural criterion and the third by political criterion. By observing this internationally standardized methodology, we measured the distancing by comparing the degree of distance in 2008 and today, as well as by comparing the degree of distance which exist in Montenegro with the referential degree of distance in other countries of the region and Europe. Distancing towards various groups is done in the way that the interviewees express the views that they 'do not want' to have the members of these groups as their neighbours.

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



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

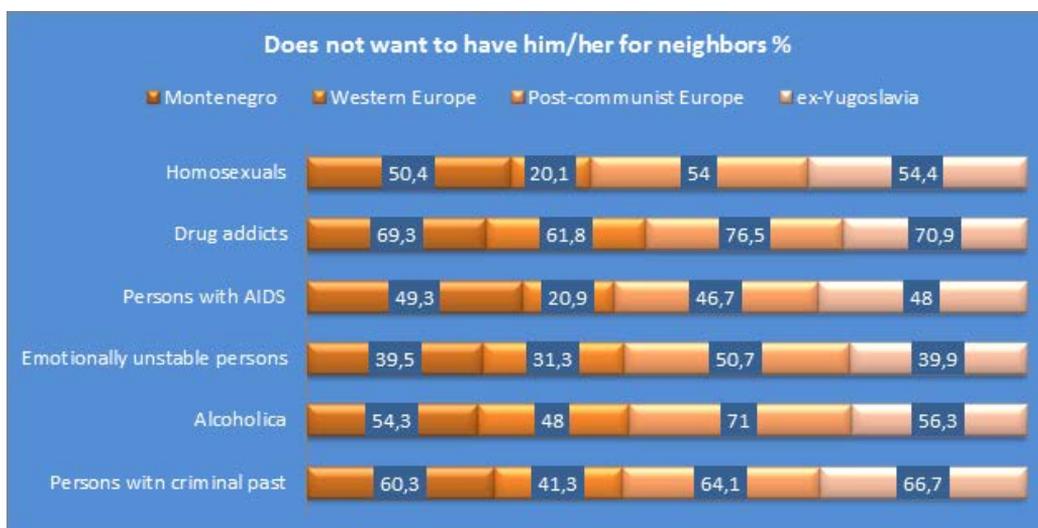
*Ethnic/racial distancing in Montenegro today is on a considerably higher level than it was in 2008*



With regards to distancing in relation to the individuals who belong to the groups being discriminated against on the grounds of their behaviour, and/or consequences of such behaviour, we have found that distance is very prominent in Montenegro, and most certainly on a significantly higher level in relation to ethnic/racial distancing. The highest degree of distance in Montenegro in relation to behavioural criterion exists in relation to drug addicts and persons with criminal past. However, this level of distancing is somewhat below the average in ex-Yugoslav countries, and even more significantly below the average in other ex-socialist countries. On the other hand, in Montenegro, just like in other post-communist countries, including ex-Yugoslav countries, behavioural distance is on a drastically higher level in relation to Western European countries. However, key fact in our research is that behavioural distance today is a significantly lower level in relation to 2008. Therefore, high degree of behavioural distancing and positive trends are the main finding of this year's research.

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

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

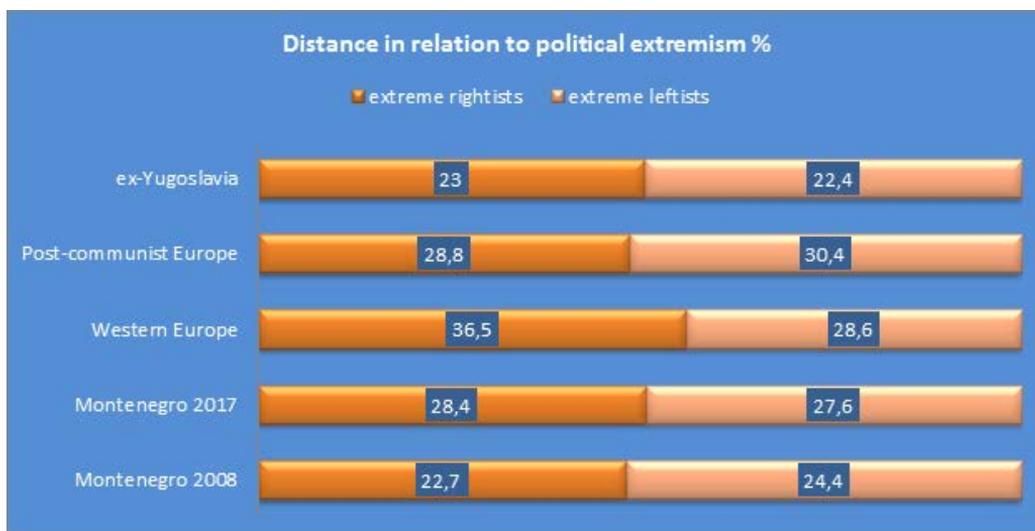




When it comes to distancing in relation to political extremists, we first of all find that the level of distancing in Montenegro is on approximately equal level, irrespective of the fact whether political extremism comes from 'the left' or 'from the right'. In any case, distancing today in relation to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

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

extremism in Montenegro is more prominent towards both leftists and rightists as compared to the year 2008. Montenegro differs from other countries solely with regards to a higher degree of tolerance towards rightist extremism, when it is compared to Western Europe. In all other distancing measurements, Montenegro is approximately on the level of other regional countries and those post-communist ones.





Analysing the factors that affect discrimination perception, we have found that there are several ones falling under different categories by their attributive nature. When it comes to sociodemographic factors, national affiliation proved to be crucial, or more precise, those who declare to be Serbs perceive discrimination to a significantly greater extent in relation to the

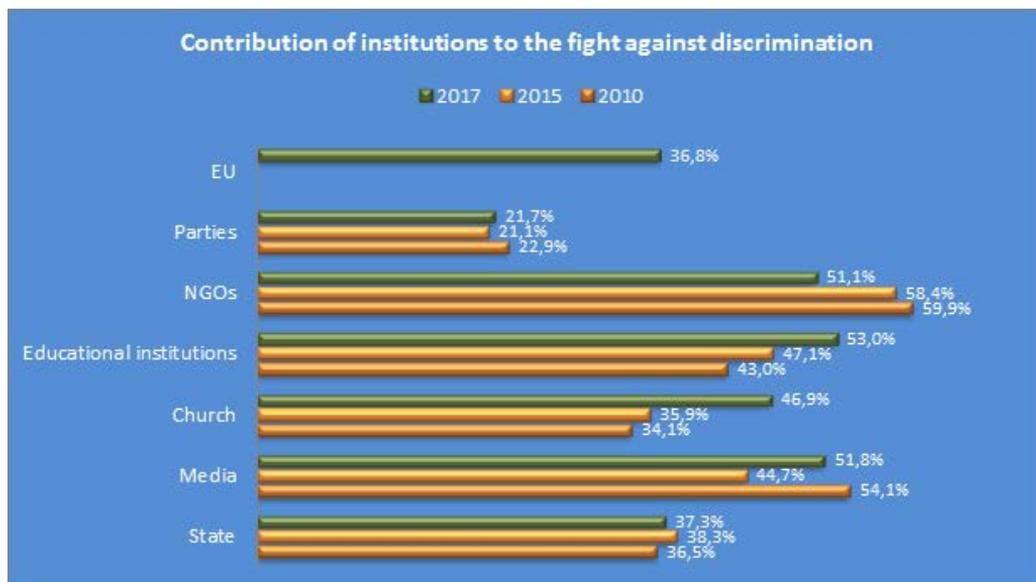
members of other national groups. However, it is questionable whether nationality is a demographic or political variable. This is for the reason that on the political stage in Montenegro the conflict between the government and opposition, as a political conflict, is at the same time the national one, since political parties which represent Serbs'

interests are in the opposition. That discrimination perception is largely of political character can be proved by the fact that among those who think that the country moves along the right track (this is a proxy for government supporters), discrimination perception level is considerably lower in relation to those who think that the country follows a wrong track (proxy for government opponents). This corresponds to the fact that those who have low trust in political institutions, perceive discrimination to a greater extent in relation to those with high level of trust in political institutions. A control indicator which proves this claim is the link between overall satisfaction with life and discrimination perception, or more precisely, those who are more satisfied with their lives perceive discrimination to a considerably

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

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

lesser extent in relation to those who are dissatisfied. The research has showed that there is a very important socio-psychological factor when it comes to discrimination perception, i.e. interpersonal trust. In other words, if social (interpersonal) trust is on a high level, discrimination is then perceived to a considerably lower extent, than if the trust is on a low level. Therefore, we can say that high level of discrimination perception in Montenegro is largely the result of the low level of interpersonal trust.

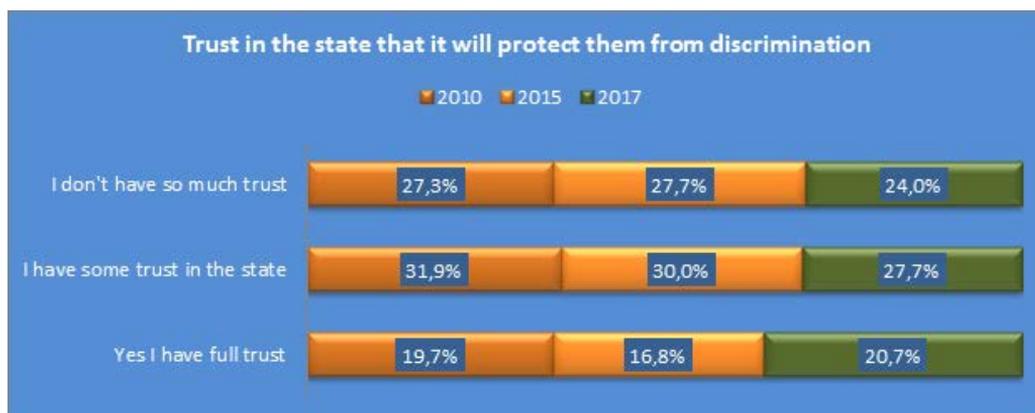
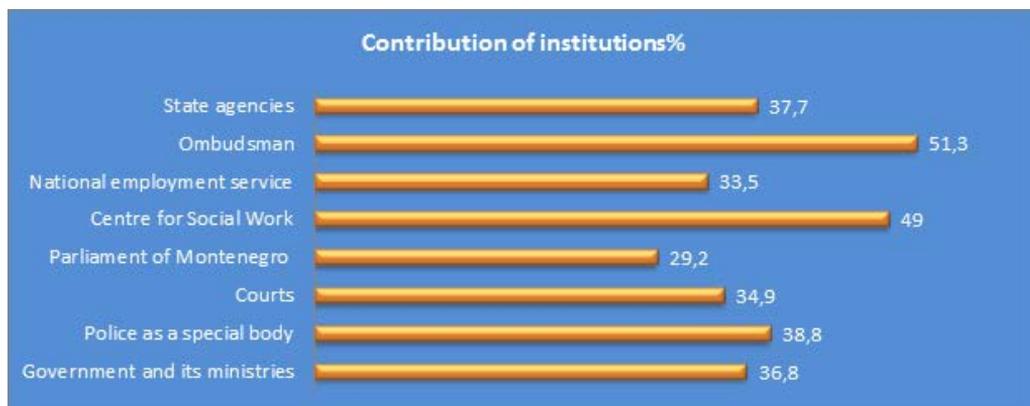


Different institutions, according to citizens' views offer different level of contribution to the fight against discrimination. The citizens deem that the biggest contribution to that fight is offered by the educational institutions, media and NGOs, with political parties offering the lowest level of contribution. On the other hand, when it comes to educational institutions and media, the trend particularly positive. It is, therefore, considered that they contribute to the fight against discrimination considerably more than they did two years ago, whilst, when it comes to NGOs, this trend is negative.

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

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

When it comes to the state and its institutions, Ombudsman and the Centre for Social Work offer the biggest contribution, according to citizens' opinion, to the fight against discrimination, with the Parliament offering the smallest contribution. Overall trust in the state and its bodies



Finally, there is a very high degree of citizens' support to the fight against discrimination towards all groups which were the subject matter of the research. The fight against discrimination of women and persons with disabilities is supported to the greatest possible extent. The least supported is the fight against discrimination of LGBT persons, but in this sense the trend is positive, or more precisely, the support in the way of protection of this group is lot more prominent than it was two years ago.

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