

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH - NOVEMBER 2012

Report On Public Opinion Research

"Citizens' Attitudes on Discrimination in Serbia"

In Belgrade, December 2012

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Foreword

The publication before you is the result of a study conducted for the Commissioner for Protection of Equality by the Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID), with support and guidance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The study was first conducted in 2009 then again in 2010, followed by this, third study conducted in November of 2012. This study is part of our ongoing effort to secure current data on the state of opinions, extent of discrimination, degree of (in)tolerance among the citizens of Serbia, extent of prejudice and the level of social and ethnic distance between individual groups. The study has also enabled us to measure the degree to which citizens are satisfied with the work of state institutions responsible for protection of human rights and if and to what extent they are informed of their competences and the ways in which they can contact them.

The results of the study have enabled the Office of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality to properly identify key areas of focus for its work, form priorities for removing the causes of discrimination and work towards efficiently curbing it. The findings are also relevant for all other institutions under whose competences falls promoting, protecting and advancing human rights. The findings of this study form an invaluable roadmap for civil society organizations, the media and all other civil actors who may influence changes, increase the degree of tolerance in societal views and advance equality.

The results presented within this publication show that the Commissioner for Protection of Equality faces considerable challenges. One of our basic objectives is making the institution more visible and accessible to all citizens of Serbia. Through our work, coupled with other civil subjects, we intend to increase the intensity of our promotion of equality, non-discrimination and advance legal protection from discrimination.

Commissioner for Protection of Equality

Dr Nevena Petrušić

1. Methodology

Research realization	CeSID Belgrade
Field work	Period between Nov 16 and Nov 26 2012
Type and size of sample for the Republic of Serbia	Random representative sample comprising 1196 citizens older than 15 years of the Republic of Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija excluded
Sample frame	Polling station territory as the most reliable unit of registry
Household selection	Random sampling, without right of replacement - one in two home addresses, from the starting point, within the boundaries of the polling station
Selection of interviewees within a household	Random sampling, without right of replacement - selection of interviewees using the "first birthday" method in relation to the day of survey
Research technique	<i>Face to face</i> within the household (F2F, <i>face to face</i>)
Research instrument	Questionnaire with 129 questions

The public opinion study realized by CeSID was carried out from November 16 to November 26, in the territory of the Republic of Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija excluded, within the sub-sample of six municipalities/cities in the Raska and Zlatibor districts.

The study was carried out on a representative sample of 1196 Serbian citizens over the age of 15, Kosovo and Metohija excluded.

The research instrument used in this survey was the questionnaire, created in cooperation with UNDP and the Office of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality; it consisted of 129 questions.

Interviews with citizens were carried out by use of the "face to face" technique (*F2F*), in direct contact with interviewees. Throughout the process of interviewer training, the trainers insisted on implementation and respect for two very important rules that apart from the very sample itself bear significant influence on the representativeness of the study - *respect of steps* and *first birthday rule*. *Respect of steps* provides for overall coverage of the complete research point by the interviewers, while the *first birthday rule* eliminated the possibility of the questionnaire being answered only by the individuals who were first to open the door of a household to the interviewer. This means that the interviewers were asked to question a person over the age of 15 in a household and the first to have their birthday following the day of the interviewer's visit. In such manner, we provided for sex, education and age representativeness of the interviewees.

2. Sample description*

Based upon the methodology established in this study, the following categories of interviewees were represented - **Republic of Serbia**:

Sex: male (48%); female (52%)

Age: 15-18 (2%); 19-29 (19%); 30-39 (18%); 40-49 (17%); 50-59 (18%); 60-69 (16%); over 70 (10%)

Education: elementary school or less (16%); vocational training school (8%); secondary school (45%); higher school or faculty (24%); pupil or student (7%)

Average income in RSD: up to 10,000 (19%); 10,000-20,000 (31%); 20,000-40,000 (20%); 40,000-60,000 (6%); 60,000-100,000 (1%); more than 100,000 (1%); doesn't know/refuses to answer (22%)

Nationality: Serbian (87%); Hungarian (3%); Bosniak/Muslim (2%); other (8%)

Opinions presented in this report represent the findings of the report's author and do not necessarily represent opinions of the United Nations Development Programme or the Commissioner for Protection of Equality.

** All terms used in this research in masculine gender comprise similar terms in feminine gender.*

3. Summary

The study before you was realized by CeSID in the second half of November, at the Request of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality and with support and assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In the course of establishing the methodology framework, we actively cooperated with representatives of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality. **The aim was to offer answers to key issues related to the attitudes and views on discrimination in Serbia, as well as to note changes and trends compared to the results of studies conducted in 2009 and 2010.** The analysis is divided into several thematic segments: short overview of the *methodological framework* and introductory text on *prohibition of discrimination in Serbia*; followed by a chapter on "Discrimination: familiarity, attitudes and perception of situation in Serbia", where we dealt with *the index of discrimination in Serbia, familiarity and attitudes towards discrimination, perception of the situation in Serbia, prejudices and tolerance, hate speech, responsibility and the role of institutions, personal experiences and recognisability of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, cluster analysis, attitudes of citizens towards discrimination and value matrix, as well as short final deliberations.*

Citizens are generally familiar with the idea of discrimination, but there is still significant space for improvement. A quarter of the population has no view or knowledge of the issue. Among those who provided an answer, there are three dominant ways of "understanding" the idea of discrimination: **jeopardy/deprivation of rights (23%), belittlement, humiliation (18%) and inequality (12%).** In comparison to a survey conducted two years ago, the order of associations is different although the same "definitions" remain in the top five of the list. A majority (81%) of Serbian citizens clearly recognize that it is never justified to deny someone a certain right (right to work, education...) based solely upon specific personal characteristics (national background, religion, sex).

More than 60% of interviewees believe that discrimination is highly, or to a large extent present in Serbia. Only 3% believe that discrimination is not present at all; 14% say it is marginally present, while 16% are not completely certain about their own attitude ("both yes and no"). **More than a third of citizens (36%) believe that discrimination has been rising, over the last three years.** One in nine interviewees believes that it is diminishing; 15% have no knowledge or an attitude on the matter, while 38% believe that it is not moving in either direction. Where do we find the highest deviations? The following groups believe, above the average, that discrimination is on the rise: 1) the youngest population (between 15 and 18 years of age); 2) national minorities, particularly the Roma, and 3) those with the lowest incomes (less than 10,000 dinars per month).

The top of the most endangered list belongs, convincingly, to the Roma, named by 38% of interviewees through an open answer question. This number is smaller (by 7% and 12% respectively) in comparison to surveys from 2010 and 2009 (it was 45% and 50% respectively). Next on the list are impoverished individuals (28%), persons with disabilities (22%), elderly (18%), women (17%) and members of sexual minority groups (14%).

In regard to regulating discrimination and respect for laws we have come to two key findings: there is a large number of people who don't know discrimination is prohibited by the law (one fifth of interviewees) and 55% of those who are aware of legal regulation, doubt its adequate implementation, or believe the laws are applied selectively (there is a mild increase of 3% towards this view in comparison to two years ago).

In-depth effects of the crisis are more visible when citizens were asked to define the area where discrimination is the most present (open ended questions). If we remove those who were unable to name anything (43%), a total of **37% of citizens named employment as an area where most discrimination occurs.**

Seventy six percent of interviewees said they would support measures to employ members of discriminated groups at the expense of the state budget and only one in 10 said they would not. We also presented a similar question, dealing with enrolment of minority groups in universities. There were almost no differences, apart from a minor increase (3%) in the number of those who would oppose the measure; 73% are in support and 14% remain neutral.

The citizens of Serbia are most sympathetic (45% agree) to national minorities receiving education in their mother tongue, despite budgetary costs (18% are indecisive and 37% reject the idea). Serbian citizens are also agreeable to the notion that national minorities should be able to address state institutions in their own language despite budget costs (35%) and slightly more would support financing for national minority media outlets (36%).

Ethnic distancing is expectedly least expressed against the ethnic Serb population. A slightly higher degree of distance occurs in inter-ethnic marriages, being that two thirds of Bosniaks and a third of the Roma population are unwilling to marry Serbs. Conversely, the **highest degree of ethnic distancing is expressed against ethnic Albanians.** It remains the highest among all other ethnic groups in all eight areas of relations we surveyed. In regard to extent, the distance from Croats, Roma, and Bosniaks follows Albanians, the smallest being against Hungarians.

In all surveyed categories, **social distancing is most expressed against the LGBT population.** In regard to the extent, **there is a large distancing against HIV positive individuals;** this category covers seven out of eight degrees of distance, following individuals of different sexual orientation. **The majority of Serbian citizens do not believe that ethnic groups (apart from the Roma) are victims of**

discrimination in our society. Out of all ethnic groups, the interviewees - most of them Serbs - say that Serbs are most exposed to discrimination in their country. The belief that there is discrimination against the Roma falls below index 3, demonstrating that a majority of the population identifies certain elements of discrimination occur against this group. Individuals with mental disability, the poor, persons with physical disability, those with HIV and the elderly belong to groups exposed to the highest degree of discrimination. The highest degree of discrimination is suffered by the mentally disabled, followed by the poor, the physically disabled, HIV positive and the elderly.

Differentiating questions show that, citizens believe that the Roma are the most discriminated group, followed by the poor and persons with physical disabilities.

Research into hate speech has revealed three key conclusions: 1) all deviations included, **citizens generally recognize hate speech**; 2) **only a few do not know the answer or remain indecisive** (between 4% and 8%) and 3) **the biggest "dilemma" arises in the statement that "all politicians are thieves"**; **there is almost an equal number of those who say it represents hate speech (36%) and those who say it does not (37%).**

Citizens notice a difference in discrimination between institutions. **As was expected, those who exert the most discrimination were identified as political parties, government, parliament and judiciary bodies (political and state actors), however the findings on media and citizens come as a surprise, as these institutions are in the domain of civil society.**

Distance between the above mentioned institutions is significantly smaller in regard to prevention of discrimination. The institutions of government, parliament, media, political parties and judiciary are seen as being most responsible for preventing discrimination, but responsibility is expected from all others as well - Ombudsman, Commissioner for Protection of Equality, citizens, family...

The government, i.e. executive power, is seen both as an institution that is engaged in discrimination the most, as well as the one most responsible for alleviating the problem. More than one fifth of respondents named this institution as the largest source of discrimination. The percentage of citizens who believe that political parties and citizens themselves are the biggest creators of discrimination is in the double digits.

The percentage of those who were exposed to discrimination is smaller (by 8% and 6% respectively), in comparison to surveys from 2010 and 2009 - 24% and 22% respectively; the 2012 study shows that 16 % of interviewees had personal experience with discrimination. Regarding the circumstances under which discrimination occurred we find (akin to 2010 results) that it occurs most often in the employment process or during a job search.

Discounting the large number of respondents who would not ask for help or those who did not experience discrimination, **the largest number of citizens would turn to the police (13%), ombudsman (4%) and judiciary (3%) for help.**

Why would the respondents not ask for help in cases of discrimination? The prime obstacle is a lack of awareness; 61% of them don't know who to turn to. In addition to this, almost one in five have no trust in the responsible institutions (akin to the 2010 survey). Lack of relevant institutions in the area and overly complicated procedures are another two most frequently mentioned problems.

More than half of the population in Serbia believes that the media pays little attention to the problem of discrimination (53%), which is identical to the results from 2010; 19% believe they adequately report on the issue and 6% believe it is reported too much; 7% say that the media pays no attention to it at all. The respondents are aware of the existence of discrimination in issues related to vulnerable groups and express a wish for society to address this problem. At the same time, these citizens do not discuss the issue at length with their friends instead, choosing to remain passive and letting someone else solve the problem. This shows a certain amount of passivism in a majority of the population, which can also be seen in surveys dealing with different subjects.

Almost two thirds of the population (63%) believe that the institutions responsible for dealing with discrimination have not adequately informed the citizens of problems related to discrimination and state activities in response to the issue. Sixteen percent believe that official bodies are effectively reporting on the issue, while on 2% believe they overdo it. One in five remain either neutral or could not provide an answer.

To what extent are citizens interested in becoming more familiar with issues surrounding discrimination? The findings have been encouraging in comparison to the 2010 study. The percentage of those interested in becoming better informed about discrimination and related state activities grew from 27% to 33%.

We have been able to register positive trends this year, after the number of those familiar with the institution for protection of equality dropped in 2010. Thirty one percent of citizens say they know such an institution exists, being the highest number recorded so far - 2010: 21%. 2009: 27%. (up by 10% since 2010 and 4% since 2009). In comparison to previous years, the number of those who are unsure if such an institution exists has risen to 62%. This is why there are far fewer respondents who definitively said they didn't know an institution that protects equality exists, 7% (42% in 2010 and 33% in 2009).

There are few citizens who can correctly name the relevant institution: more than 80% did not provide an answer, 13% named the wrong institution and 5% gave the correct answer. The findings are similar in naming the Commissioner for Protection of Equality: 92% did provide an answer, 7% gave the wrong answer and only 1% knew the correct answer. This suggests that part of the population knows that bodies for protecting equality among citizens exist, but only a small number knows the correct name of the

Commissioner for Protection of Equality, which also influences the visibility of other bodies (above all the Ombudsman and Commissioner for Information of Public Importance).

The Report ends with a chapter that presents the most important findings in the area of relation between value standards of interviewees (attitude to traditionalism, conformism, authoritarianism, nationalism, the EU and democracy) and possibilities for non/discrimination arising from it.

4. DISCRIMINATION IN SERBIA: PROHIBITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND VULNERABLE GROUPS¹

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, adopted in the October 2006 referendum, establishes, in several of its provisions, principles of equality, egalitarianism, non-discrimination and to a certain extent respects the principle of affirmative action.

An important step in building efficient and competent sub-systems for protection of equality and prevention of discrimination within the legal system of the Republic of Serbia was adopting the general Anti-discrimination Law in 2009. The area dealing with prohibition of discrimination within the Serbian legal system was very inefficient, mostly because the general Anti-discrimination Law defined the idea of discrimination (direct and indirect), affirmative action², discrimination against certain categories of population and in certain cases serious forms of discrimination for the first time.

By establishing a separate and independent body of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality that should provide for successful prevention, prohibition and battle against all forms, types and cases of discrimination, the Republic of Serbia made a giant leap forward in fulfilling international standards in the area of anti-discrimination efforts. The responsibilities of the Commissioner are numerous and widely established which should provide this new and independent body with the tools necessary for combating and preventing discrimination. The Law provides a specific court procedure for protecting citizens from discrimination and it also establishes misdemeanor sanctions for discriminatory behaviour.

I DISCRIMINATION OF ROMA

The Roma national minority in Serbia is not only, exposed to open and omnipresent hate speech, but is also frequently subjected to attacks. Any analysis into the social status of the Roma community indicates that they are still a highly discriminated group. The discrimination of members of the Roma national minority is most visible in areas of employment, education, health care and housing. The lack of personal documentation continues to be a problem, mostly among the forcibly displaced Roma from Kosovo and Metohija, hindering their ability to enjoy fundamental human rights.

¹ The data in this chapter were taken from publication *Prohibition of Discrimination and Vulnerable Social Groups*, Working version, group of authors: Sasa Gajin, Mirna Kosanovic and Dejan Milenkovic, UNDP and Ministry of labour and social policy. ; Yearly report of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality 2011.

² Measures of affirmative action are, in principle, rules, special measures, criteria and practices that are adopted or implemented with the purpose of removal of inequality, and that are objectively justified in order to achieve equality and remove factual inequality between different groups that should not be considered discriminatory or described as violation of equal rights and responsibilities.

Studies have shown that 72% of 593 Roma settlements are illegal. The Council of Europe report worryingly noted that there are 137 informal Roma settlements in Belgrade alone and noted an increase in forced evictions in 2011.

II GENDER – BASED DISCRIMINATION

Gender based discrimination is most frequently carried out against women. Its main causes are firmly entrenched, traditional, patriarchal stereotypes on female and male gender roles in the family and wider community. Available data confirms that, in comparison to men, women are in an unfavorable position in all areas of social life and that negative consequences of structured and indirect discrimination of women are visible in both the public and private sphere.³ Prohibition of discrimination based on gender is defined in the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, and further developed in the 2009 Law on Gender Equality⁴. This Law establishes that public bodies have a duty to develop an active policy of equal opportunities in all spheres of public life, including equal participation of both women and men in all phases of planning, passing and implementing of decisions which have an influence on the position of women and men (Art. 3 Law on Gender Equality). There are still a number of provisions in some systems of law, and in the Constitution, that fall below European standards, or remain unclear, contradictory, and do not represent efficient instruments, in practical application, for protecting women from discrimination.

III DISCRIMINATION OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITY

The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia adopted the Law on Prevention of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities in April 2006. This was the first real anti-discrimination law in the country. Discrimination of the disabled, both direct and indirect, exists in all spheres of social and private life, and is most visible in areas of employment, education, access to public buildings, public areas and provision of services and housing. Their position can best be seen in a high degree of unemployment, low level of education, poverty, lack of representation in politics, violence, risk of institutionalization and hindered access to public buildings, areas and services.

³ See data contained in the *National Strategy for the Improvement of the Position of Women and Improving Gender Equality, 2008 – 2014*

(Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia 15/09), although this data is from 2009, the situation has not changed significantly.

⁴ Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 104/2009.

IV DISCRIMINATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

There are a large number of national minorities living in the Republic of Serbia. Their legal position is regulated by a large number of ratified international treaties, the constitution of the Republic of Serbia and special laws, such as the Law on the Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities⁵ and the Law on National Minority Councils.⁶ There are provisions pertaining to national minority issues in other laws, such as the Law on the Official Use of Language and Script⁷, Law on Local Self-Governance⁸ Law on Personal Status Records⁹, Law on Culture¹⁰ and others. Although the existing normative framework on the issue of national minorities is fairly developed, upon fulfilling these rights, representatives of national minorities are faced with difficulties.

V DISCRIMINATION OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

Analysis of the legal status of internally displaced persons, in some areas, and particularly in the area of access to personal documents, education, employment, social care, access to property and justice, undoubtedly shows that these individuals are not able to enjoy their rights equally with other citizens of the country; this makes internally displaced persons one of the most discriminated groups of Serbian citizens. Among them, the particularly endangered categories are Roma nationals, as well as children, women, the elderly and disabled.

VI DISCRIMINATION IN THE AREA OF RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

Prohibition of discrimination based upon religion and religious conviction represents one of the cardinal principles in international agreements signed under the auspices of the United Nations (UN), and in regional documents, above all the European Convention of Human Rights. The interpretation of these documents leads to the conclusion that the authorities should not only be prohibited from taking steps that would represent involvement into thoughts, consciousness and religious convictions of citizens, but that they should also, under certain circumstances, take positive measures in order to cherish and protect these rights.

⁵ „Official gazette of the Federal Republic Yugoslavia“, No. 11/02, „Official gazette of the Serbia and Montenegro“, No. 1/03 – „Constitutional charter” and „Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia“, No. 72/09 – other law.

⁶ „Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia“, No. 72/09.

⁷ „Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia“, No. 45/91, 53/93, 67/93, 48/94, 101/05 – other laws and 30/10.

⁸ „Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia“, No. 129/07.

⁹ „Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia“, No. 20/09.

¹⁰ „Official gazette of the Republic of Serbia“, No. 72/09.

VII DISCRIMINATION OF PERSONS BASED ON SEXUAL ORIENTATION

Preventing discrimination of individuals, based on their sexual orientation, continues to represent a taboo subject in the Serbian public. Adopting the Anti-discrimination Law represents a qualitative step in preventing discrimination against this group of individuals however, different forms of discrimination, violence and threats against the LGBT community continue to occur.

Constitutional provisions, as along with provisions of some systems of law are to a certain extent below European standards, often being partial or insufficient. Cases in which the LGBT population is discriminated against are still very common, and responses by relevant bodies of state continue to be inadequate.

VIII DISCRIMINATION OF PERSONS WITH HIV AND AIDS

Discrimination of those living with HIV/AIDS in Serbia is commonplace - it is generated by deeply rooted prejudices stemming from different types of fear, lack of basic knowledge and wrongly adopted information on the nature and spread of the illness. Expressive forms of discrimination of these individuals are numerous and comprise: denial of the right to primary and secondary education, loss of employment, denial of urgent medical care to those suffering from HIV/AIDS, and a media campaign featuring sensationalist revelations of critical events involving those suffering from HIV/AIDS.

5. DISCRIMINATION: FAMILIARITY, ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTION OF SITUATION IN SERBIA

5.1. Index of discrimination

We presented the interviewees with a set of 14 statements that they could agree, disagree or remain neutral to, in order to determine if and to what extent they were ready to discriminate. The statements address seven areas in which discrimination is highly expressed: relations towards the Roma, LGBT individuals, xenophobia, religious intolerance, anti-Semitism, relations towards persons with disabilities and persons with HIV/AIDS.

We can say that our citizens have a negative attitude in three out of seven areas, or that they are prone to discrimination in these fields. The interviewees are largely homophobic, xenophobic and somewhat religiously intolerant. They also attribute certain negative stereotypes to the Roma, as well as showing a degree of anti-Semitism; negative attitudes prevail in both categories. Citizens are less likely to discriminate against persons with disabilities or with HIV/AIDS.

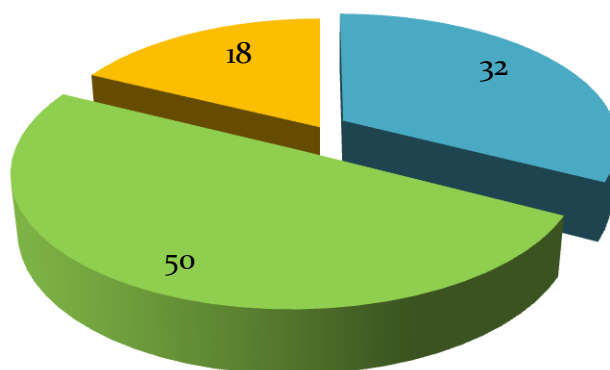
Table 5.1.1: Statements that form index of discrimination (in %)

	I don't agree	Indecisive	I agree
It's easy to support the Roma when they're not your neighbors	49	20	31
I have nothing against the Roma, but still, they like to steal	42	22	37
Homosexuality is an illness that should be treated	32	20	48
I have nothing against homosexuals, but they should do that in the privacy of their homes	17	13	71
One should be cautious towards other nations even when they behave as friends	32	20	48
Serbia should be a state of Serbian people only, as Serbs are the majority	61	15	24
A normal person recognizes only traditional religions (Orthodox, Catholic, Islam)	37	22	41
Small religious groups "steal" peoples' souls	33	35	33
There's a pinch of truth in books that explain the existence of a Jewish conspiracy	34	46	20
Jews tend to profit even from their own misfortune	34	43	23
Children with impaired development should not be mixed with other children	61	19	20
There are few disabled people in our nation	61	29	10
Health care facilities should refuse treatment of HIV/AIDS patients	85	11	4
HIV/AIDS patients should blame themselves for their illness	52	25	23

Based on the seven areas of potential discrimination, we created a joint **synthetic indicator** that measures the inclination towards discrimination. Half of our citizens are not inclined to discriminate, but are also equally not ready to question it. This is the so-called "silent majority" that will move toward those who are, in their eyes, a stronger majority. Luckily, there are more citizens who are not inclined to discriminate, in comparison to those who are. Less than one fifth is inclined to discriminate, while around one third is not

Chart 5.1.1: Index of discrimination (in %)

■ Do not discriminate ■ Neutral ■ Discriminate



5.2. Familiarity and attitudes towards discrimination

After defining the index of discrimination methodologically (see Chart 5.1.1) and presenting the most important results (where statistically justifiable, the index will be used as one of the variables for further examination of co-relation with other questions from the questionnaire), we move to a detailed interpretation of the research findings.¹¹

We began the study, intending to assess the extent of knowledge and perception of discrimination among the Serbian public. All in all, citizens are familiar with the idea of discrimination, but there is a lot of room for improvement; a quarter of the population has either no attitude or knowledge of the issue. Of those who provided an answer, three "ways of understanding" discrimination prevail: jeopardy/deprivation of rights (23%), belittlement, humiliation (18%) and inequality, dissimilarity (12%). All other answers fall below 10%.

¹¹ The Report will involve "cross-references" (correlations) at three different levels: with socio-demographic variables and index of discrimination (if there are relevant statistical aberrations), as well as with the findings of the IPSOS agency surveys realised in 2009 and 2010. Bearing in mind the fact that the methodological frame is not identical to those researches, there are limited possibilities for comparisons and they will often be only at the level of indication.

Although the same “definitions” remain in the top five, their order of importance has changed since the study conducted two years ago. This year the top of the list is taken by jeopardy/deprivation of rights, while in 2010 it was rejection/exclusion from the community. The definition of discrimination as “inequality, dissimilarity” rose by two ranks in comparison to the 2010 study.

The citizens of Belgrade and those living in urban areas believe that discrimination represents jeopardy/deprivation of rights more than the general population (27% in urban areas versus 23% throughout all of Serbia).

Table 5.2.1: What does the term discrimination mean to you? (in %)

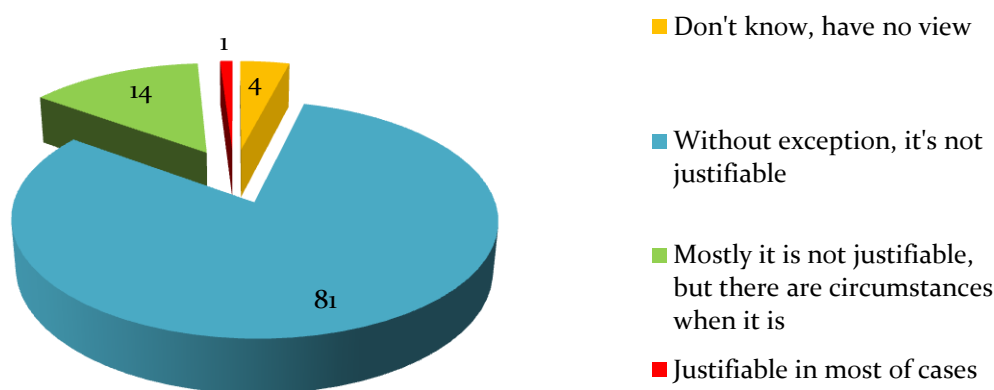
Jeopardy/deprivation of rights	23
Belittlement, humiliation	17.8
Inequality, dissimilarity	11.9
Rejection/exclusion from community	7.7
Diversity/menace because of being different	4
Violence, abuse, harassment	2.1
Religious misunderstanding/jeopardy	1.2
Racial discrimination, racism	1.3
National affiliation, intolerance, endangering	1.1
Racial discrimination at work	0.9
Restricting (prohibiting) persons or groups	0.8
Ignoring, neglecting of person or groups	0.7
Maltreatment, quarrels, hatred, insulting	0.4
Disrespect of difference in opinion	0.4
Abuse of power, vulnerability of weaker	0.3
Women/discrimination of women/harassment	0.2
Jeopardy/deprivation of rights of minorities	0.2
Other	0.9
I don't know, have no view	25
Total	100

Citizens clearly recognize that it is never justified to deprive someone of his/her rights (right to work, education...), based solely on personal characteristics (national affiliation, religious beliefs, sex); 81%

Conversely, 14% believe that it is mostly unjustified, while there are certain circumstances when this could be acceptable.

The findings are very clear and call for no additional interpretation, except in dealing with the age and education structure of interviewees, which will be explained later. There is a possibility of socially appropriate answers. Those who might otherwise disagree with a statement, tend to agree due to a more socially acceptable model of behavior or thought.

Chart 5.2.1: Is it justified to deny someone a certain right (to work, education) based only on some of his/her personal characteristics (national affiliation, religious belief, sex)? (in %)



In correlation with socio-demographic characteristics, we can single out the following most important findings. Above average, young people (aged between 19 and 29) say, (21% against 14%) that deprivation of rights, based upon someone's personal characteristics, is mostly unjustifiable, but that there exist circumstances when they could justify such actions. Pupils and students also tend to agree with the above statement on an above average level. This indicates that the youth and students are likely to treat this phenomenon in a relative context, instead of in its broader implications. They do not see anything wrong with deprivation of basic human rights in certain situations.

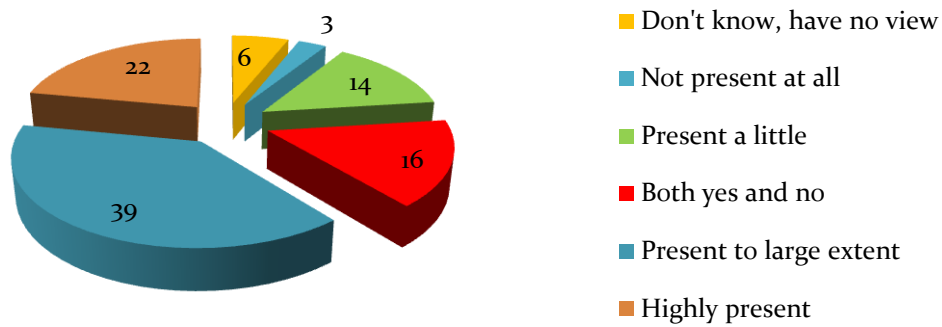
5.3. Perception of the situation in Serbia

In this chapter, we will show how citizens view discrimination in Serbia. If one is to judge based on the responses of our interviewees, the society we live in is more or less, a discriminatory society. More than 60% of interviewees are of the opinion that discrimination is to a large extent, present in Serbia. Only 3% believe that discrimination is not present at all; 14% say it is marginally present, while 16% are not completely sure about their views ("both yes and no"). Members of the Roma, Hungarian and Bosniak

minorities say that discrimination is largely present in Serbia, well above the average of 10% percent: from 21% to 38%. However, one should be cautious in interpreting these results, as there are not enough members of national minorities in the sample in order to precisely interpret the data Views of the Bosniak minority are better expressed in the section of the Report that deals with six municipalities/cities in the Raska and Zlatibor districts.

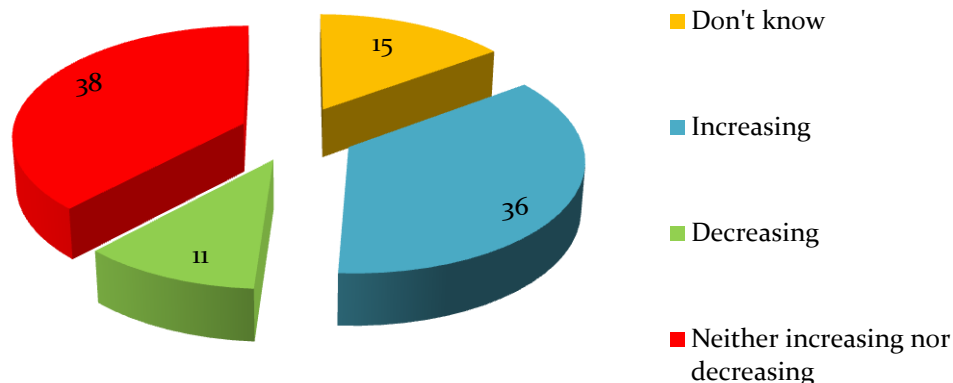
When divided into regions, the citizens of Belgrade belong to the group that believes discrimination to be highly present in Serbia. There is an almost identical number of those that say discrimination is largely present when compared to results from previous studies (62% in 2012; 63% in 2010; 59% in 2009).

Chart 5.3.1: To what extent is discrimination present in our country? (in %)



When compared to the last three years, more than a third of citizens (36%) say that discrimination is on the rise. One in nine interviewees believe it is decreasing; 15% have no view or opinion, while 38% of citizens say that discrimination is neither increasing nor decreasing. We can note bigger deviations from the norm in the following groups, which are of the prevailing belief that discrimination is increasing: 1) the youngest population (between 15 and 18 years); 2) ethnic minorities, particularly the Roma; and 3) those with the lowest incomes (less than 10,000 dinars a month). When observed regionally, the citizens of Vojvodina believe, above the average, that discrimination is on the rise, while the indecisive are below average in Belgrade, and above average in Central Serbia.

Chart 5.3.2: Is discrimination increasing or decreasing in Serbia, compared to the last three years? (in %)



What are the most discriminated groups in Serbia? We gave the citizens a possibility to name three groups (*multiple answer questions*). The findings (Chart 5.3.1) are presented in a cumulative manner, in order to note the extent of this phenomenon. The Roma are convincingly the most discriminated group, named by 38% of interviewees in an open ended question. This is, however, less when compared to studies from 2010 and 2009 (by 7% in 2010, and 12% in 2009), when the figures were at 45% and 50% respectively. They are followed by the poor (28%), persons with disability (22%), the elderly (18%), women (17%) and members of sexual minorities (14%). Other groups fall below 10%. The order, relative to 2010, is almost unchanged, apart from the fact that women are placed above members of sexual minorities. How do we interpret such results? The Roma are at the top of the list, which is a long recorded trend; the Roma population is in many aspects one of the most vulnerable; the poor took second place, since the effects of harsh economic conditions bear repercussions on all aspects of life; for a majority of citizens, the disabled and members of groups that society feels sorry for, represent "the most visible vulnerable groups".

The fact that ethnic minorities occupy the bottom of the list is indicative of a majority attitude, which is that Serbian citizens do not think these groups are discriminated against.

Conversely, ethnic minorities themselves report that discrimination is very present in Serbia. The citizens of Belgrade report at an above average level that the Roma represent the most discriminated group, while citizens of Vojvodina are of the opinion that women and the poor occupy the same category. It is interesting to note that even those who have a more favourable financial situation (have enough money for a normal life and can even afford everything they want) identify the Roma as the most vulnerable group.

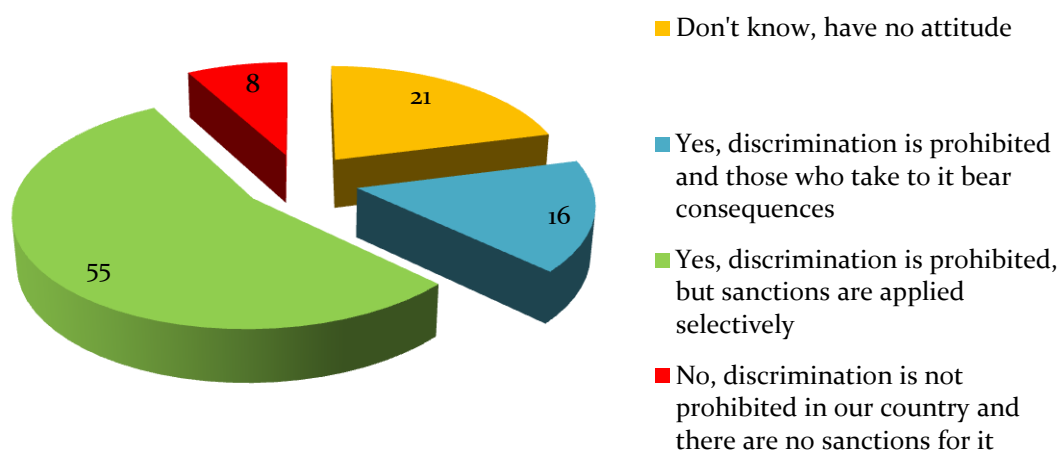
Table 5.3.1: Which groups are the most discriminated in Serbia? (in %)

Discriminated groups	Total/ <i>*possibility of three answers</i>
The Roma	37.8
The poor	27.8
Persons with disability	22.3
The elderly	17.6
Women	17.3
Members of sexual minorities	14.2
Refugees, internally displaced persons	5.1
Serbs	4.9
Workers	4.8
National minorities	4
Sick persons	3.9
Children	3.9
Unemployed	3.4
Persons with special needs	3.2
Young	2.9
Persons from villages	2.9
HIV/AIDS persons	2.5
Religious minorities	2
Muslims/Bosniaks	2
Albanians	1.6
Croats	0.9
Uneducated	0.7
Persons with different political beliefs	0.6
Hungarians	0.5
Other	7.1

Two key findings present themselves in regard to regulation of discrimination and respect for laws: a) One fifth of all citizens is unaware that discrimination is prohibited in Serbia, and b) 55% of those who are aware that legal regulations exist, doubt their adequate application, or believe that laws are applied selectively (which is a slight increase in relation to the previous study, from 52% to 55%). At the same time, 16% are explicit in the view that discrimination is prohibited and that the consequences are clear, while 8% believe that discrimination has no consequences at all. It is encouraging that the percentage of those who believe that discrimination is not prohibited at all has halved, from 17% in 2010 to 8% in 2012. Also, there are a growing number of interviewees who believe that there are clear consequences for those who discriminate, from 6% two years ago to 16% in 2012.

Citizens of Belgrade are most inclined to think that there is selectivity in the application of law, 66%, which is 10% above the average.

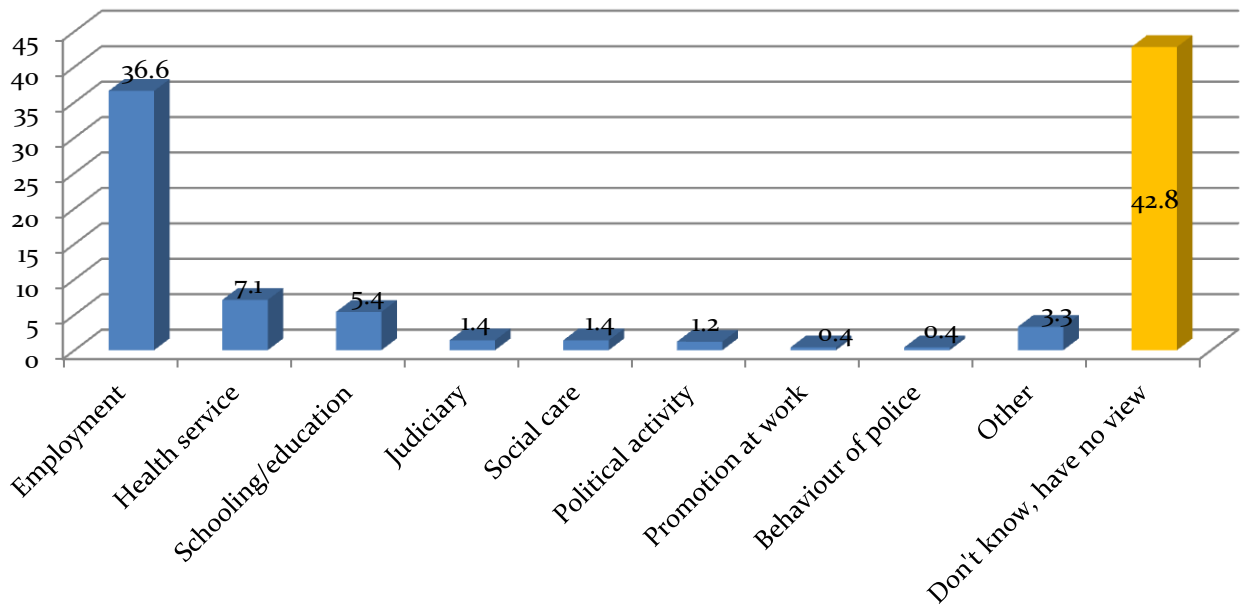
Chart 5.3.3: Is discrimination prohibited by law in our country, and how is the law respected? (in %)



The effects of this crisis are more visible when citizens are asked to identify the area of life in which discrimination occurs most often (Open ended question). If we exclude those who were not able to provide an answer (43%), a total of 37% said that discrimination is highest in employment. This is the case of a different spectrum of answers that indicate problems in seeking employment (different forms of discrimination against applicants) and discrimination that occurs at the work place.

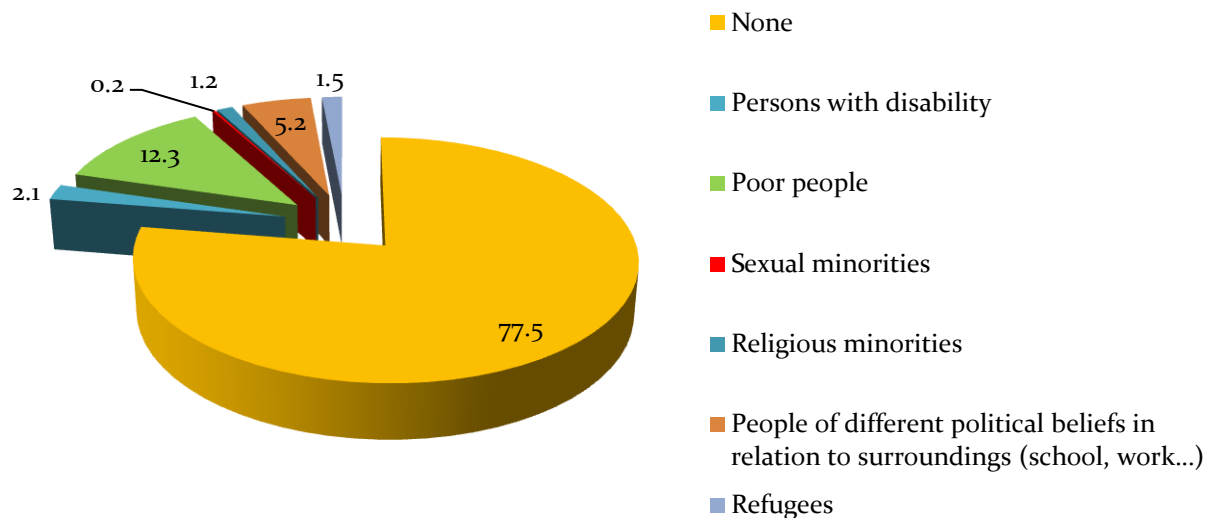
In other areas, only the health care system and education stand out. The hierarchy is identical to that from 2010, when the issue was even more profound. Citizens in urban areas, such as Belgrade say discrimination is present in employment, more than their counterparts in rural areas.

Chart 5.3.4: In what area is discrimination present the most? (in %)



When asked if they see themselves as being part of any of the discriminated groups, a clear majority (76%) said they did not. The ones that did, most often identified themselves as being part of the impoverished group (12%).

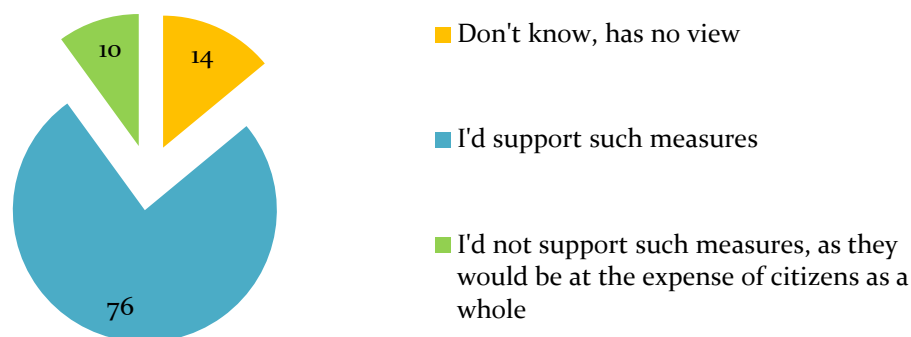
Chart 5.3.5: Do you consider yourself as member of some of the following groups? (in %)



By the end of this chapter, we will examine how citizens relate with measures that would improve the position of discriminated groups (in different segments), while incurring costs to the state budget. We will identify different modalities of positive discrimination. We wanted to observe how citizens would react to these measures if they incurred costs on the majority, through government spending.

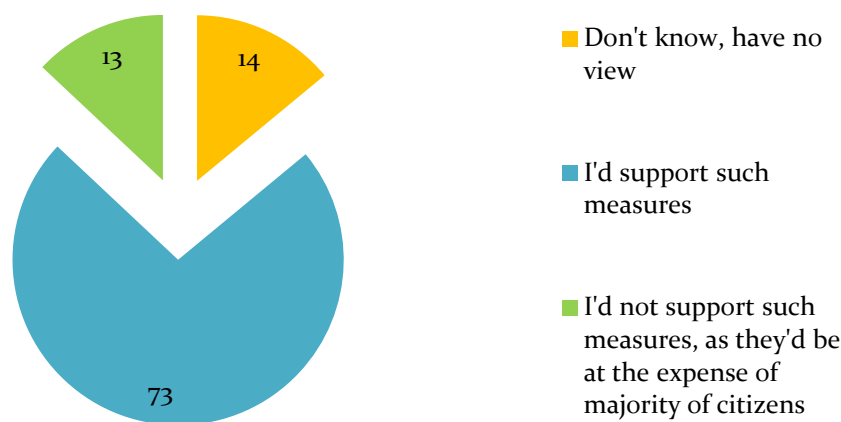
We began by asking if the interviewee would support employment of members of discriminated groups at a cost to the state budget. The results are encouraging, as 76% percent said they would support such measures, only one in ten said they would not and 14% remained indecisive. It is worth noting that the citizens of Belgrade are typically against these measures (17% compared to the average of 10%); they are also below the average among those who support them (74% compared to 76%).

Chart 5.3.6: What is your attitude towards the introduction of measures that would provide for employers to employ, in an adequate percentage, members of discriminated groups (persons with disability, women, the Roma), despite it burdening the budget? (in %)



We then asked an identical question, this time, dealing with the enrolment of minority groups in universities. There are almost no differences, except for a small increase in the number of those who oppose it. We have found that 73% would support such measures, 14% are indecisive and 13% oppose the measures. In this matter, the citizens of Belgrade are even more radical - 22% of them said they would not support such measures, which is almost 10% more than the average percentage in Serbia.

Chart 5.3.7: What is your attitude towards the introduction of measures that would provide special treatment for minority groups (individuals with disabilities, the poor, the Roma) when enrolling at university, despite burdening the budget? (in %)



The citizens were then presented with three statements, asking for the implementation of certain measures, despite costs to the state budget. They were most understanding to education in the mother tongue, which was confirmed by 45% (18% are indecisive, while 37% are against it). The level of disagreement is higher than agreement in the following two statements: members of national minorities should always be able to address the state in their own language, (35% agree) and financing of national minority media–(36% agree).

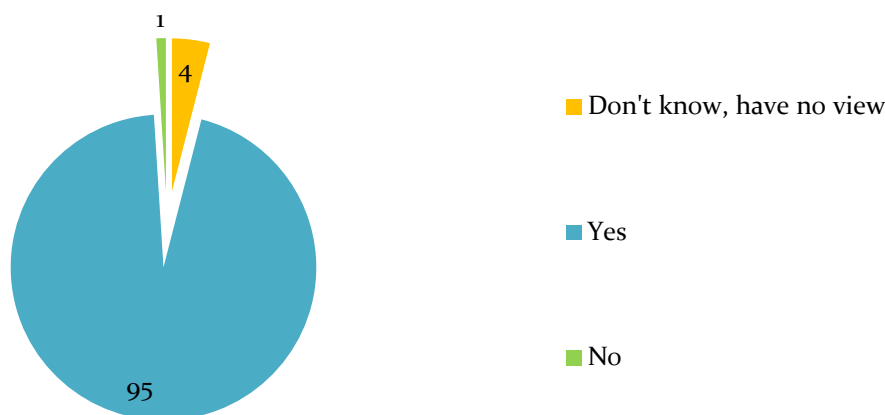
In order to better understand the findings, we will include a regional component into the analysis. Keeping in mind the high number of minorities in the province, the citizens of Vojvodina have a profound influence on the understanding of minority needs. This is to say that the citizens of Vojvodina agree with the three statements well above the overall average (variable "I agree completely"); in the case of education, the ratio is 40% versus 23%; in financing of media, it is 35% versus 18%, and in addressing state institutions, the ratio is 37% versus 19%. In contrast to the Vojvodina region, the citizens of Belgrade disagree with all the listed statements in an increasingly higher degree (over 30 percent in all three categories); they especially oppose the idea that members of national groups should address state institutions in their mother tongue. As much as 75% of the residents of Belgrade either disagree or completely disagree with this idea.

Table 5.3.2: How citizens relate to measures for national minority status improvement (in %)

	Completely disagree	Don't agree	Indecisive	Agree	Completely agree	Total
National minorities should have schooling in their mother tongue, despite costs to the budget	23	14	18	22	23	100
It is the obligation of the state to finance media of national minorities, despite costs to the budget	26	16	22	18	18	100
Members of national minorities should always be able to address the state institutions in their language, despite costs to the budget	29	17	19	16	19	100

Lastly, we asked the interviewees if the disabled should be enabled easy access to all state buildings, despite costs to the state budget. An overwhelming majority of 95% agreed with this measure. As we previously stated, this group constitutes the most visible one, and citizens are often inclined to approach any matters dealing with the disabled in a socially and politically correct way.

Table 5.3.8: Should the disabled be provided with easy access to all state buildings, despite costs to the budget? (in %)



5.4. Prejudices and tolerance

During the course of this study, we sought to measure the extent to which our interviewees were willing to distance themselves from different social groups. Supposing that social distance can represent a precondition for discrimination, we can say that the presence of distance is a “mirror” to the occurrence of discrimination.

We have used a version of the Bogardus social distance scale, which is well suited for this study. The scale we are using comprises eight "steps", starting from the widest association (citizen) and closing in on the most personal (marriage/family). The member of a given group is: 1) a citizen of our country, 2) a neighbor, 3) an associate at work, 4) has a leading position in the company or in 5) the state, 6) person you are friends with and/or visit each other, 7) teacher of your children and 8) member of a certain group of people you or your children could marry. In total, we tested how citizens relate to 17 different groups, covering the largest number of those that are potentially discriminated. The general characteristics of these groups allow us to divide them into a category of ethnic affiliation and those where the basis lies in other social differences.

In the analysis of obtained data, one has to bear in mind the national or ethnic structure of interviewees. The largest group, Serbs, make up 85% of the sample; 3% are Hungarians, 2% Bosniaks and 1% Roma; all other ethnic groups are significantly smaller and they make up the remaining 9%, counted together with those who did not want to express their national or ethnic affiliation. While the smallest distance is towards the Serbs, a higher gap exists at the last step of the scale in the fact that two thirds of Bosniaks and a third of Roma would not marry members of the Serbian population. On the other hand, the highest degree of ethnic distance exists towards Albanians, being the highest among all ethnic groups in all eight

forms of examined relations. In regard to the degree, distance to Croats, Roma, Bosniaks comes next, while it is the smallest towards Hungarians. It is interesting to note that at the last step, after Albanians, more than half of population of Serbia would not marry a Roma, nor would they allow their children to do so. This indicates a degree of mimicry among the population, as the distance to Roma is very high; they did not participate as actors in recent war developments, and thus are viewed preferentially in comparison to other ethnic groups. This is why the Roma are acceptable at some other levels of the scale, such as performing a statesman's duty or living together in the same country.

Table 5.4.1: Ethnic distance: **would you mind if some of the members of the following groups became...** (in %)

	Citizen	Neighbor	Colleague	Boss	Statesman	Friend	Teacher	In the family
Roma	5.9	12.5	11	18.7	28.2	18.2	25.9	53.3
Bosniaks	9.7	11.5	10.5	16.1	32	14	21.8	40.9
Hungarians	6.4	7.1	7.4	12.8	29.5	9.8	15.9	30.2
Croats	16	17	16.2	22.6	39.5	19.1	26.4	41.2
Albanians	22.9	26.1	27	34.1	48.7	32.7	41.8	57.4
Serbs	2	2.5	2.5	2.9	3.3	2.7	2.4	5

We used the same methodology to see the degree of social distance from other social groups. For some categories it was not possible to position some of the above listed degrees of distance, so those fields are shown in the next table without a percentage (person with mental disability having a leading position in a company or in the state, degree of distance when marrying a woman, asylum seeker or foreigner at a leading state position and the like).

The general insight obtained from the results indicates that, in all eight examined levels, the biggest social distance is against the LGBT community. Proportionally, a large distance was expressed against HIV positive persons. This category of the population stands second in seven of eight levels, following LGBT individuals. Next on the list are four social groups that differ in their position on individual levels of the scale, but each share in the existence of significant social distance. These are the mentally disabled, members of religious minorities, asylum seekers and foreigners. Social distance to all other groups is smaller, be it persons with physical disabilities, the elderly, the poor, women or refugees. The closest social association of marriage of the interviewee or their children is used in order to avoid the likelihood of socially or politically appropriate answers. Using this level of association, we have noted that four out of five respondents would not marry members of the LGBT community or HIV positive individuals; three quarters would not marry the mentally disabled and nearly half would not agree to this interaction with members of religious minorities or those seeking asylum.

In the case of ethnic distance, we expected to see differences according to the national affiliation of the interviewees. We tested all classic socio-demographic characteristics in these social groups (sex, age, education, labour status) and did not find significant co-relations or deviations from the norm. We noticed that those who see themselves as believers, or regularly attend church or religious organizations, showed a higher degree of distance against members of the LGBT community and minority religious groups.

Table 5.4.2 Social distance: **Would you mind if members of the following groups become** (in %)

	Citizen	Neighbour	Colleague	Boss	Statesman	Friend	Teacher	In the family
Persons with physical disability	2.7	2.7	3.9	7.8	13.2	5.3	10.9	36.3
Persons with mental disability	4.1	8.6	23.8			23.6		72.8
Elderly persons	2.6	2.6	4	6.8	10	3.6	6	27.4
Women	2.3	2.5	2.4	5.3	6	2.5	3	
Poor people	2.3	2.5	2.8	4.8	6.1	3.5	3.7	10.4
LGBT persons	23.8	30.2	32.5	40.6	48.4	46.2	58.8	79.5
Religious minorities	11	16.4	15.8	22.4	33	24.3	31.2	47.6
Refugees	4	4.6	4	8.9	15.6	6	7.4	15.2
Asylum seekers	19.4	19.3	19.9	28.8		24.4	35.2	45.2
Foreigners	7.9	7.8	8.1	15.1		10.5	20.4	22.8
HIV carriers	12.4	21.3	26.2	30.8	36	38.2	55.4	79.5

No significant changes can be noted in social and ethnic distancing over the past several years. This result is in accordance with the realization that distancing represents prejudice and attitude formed during socialization in the formative years of young people and that they cannot be easily changed afterwards. Distancing can be increased or decreased in certain situations or under specific circumstances, however in the relative context it is a persistent trend which cannot be changed in the short term.

Table 5.4.3: Changes in ethnic and social distances: **would you mind if members of following groups became** (in %)

	NEIGHBOUR			IN THE FAMILY		
	2009	2010	2012	2009	2010	2012
Roma	11	12	12	46	52	53
Bosniaks	10	16	17	40	48	41
Hungarians	5	7	7	24	28	30
Croats	10	17	17	31	39	41
Albanians	26	31	26	55	64	57
Persons with physical disabilities	3	2	3	29	30	36
LGBT persons	21	40	30	69	82	80
Refugees	4	3	5	11	7	15
HIV carriers	28	35	21	78	82	80

By using the Bogardus scale, we obtained the frame of ethnic/social distance against 17 different groups. Apart from that, we wanted to learn if interviewees note that some of the listed groups are being discriminated by the majority. Firstly, we asked them if discrimination exists against all the listed groups and then, through the use of differentiating questions, we sought to determine which group is discriminated against the most. On a scale of answers, where 1 means that there is a lot of discrimination of a certain group and 5 meaning that there isn't any, we created a unique index of discrimination of social groups.

Bearing in mind the manner of presenting the question, it is necessary to note that the lower the index becomes, the more citizens have an opinion that the named group is more exposed to discrimination. Firstly, it is indicative that the majority of citizens do not find that ethnic groups, except the Roma, are exposed to discrimination in our country. Out of all ethnic groups, interviewees, who are mostly Serbs, believe that Serbs are most exposed to discrimination. The view that there is discrimination against the Roma stands below index 3, which indicates that a majority of the population recognizes certain elements of discrimination against this ethnic group. The highest degree of discrimination is suffered by persons with mental disabilities, the poor, persons with physical disabilities, the HIV positive and the elderly.

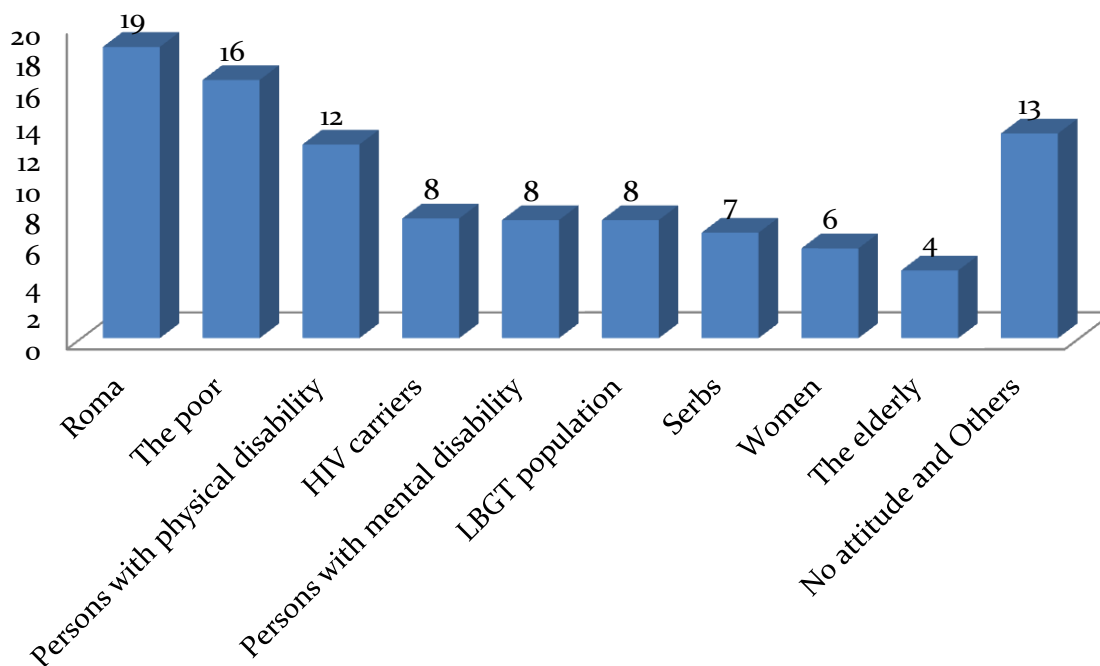
Table 5.4.4: Index of perception of discrimination of 17 social groups (average mark)

Persons with mental disabilities	2.38
The poor	2.40
Persons with physical disabilities	2.51
HIV carriers	2.67
The elderly	2.81
Roma	2.84
LGBT population	3.09
Women	3.13
Refugees	3.59
Religious minorities	3.65
Migrants/asylum seekers	3.66
Serbs	3.69
Albanians	3.76
Bosniaks	3.94
Croats	4.14
Hungarians	4.27
Foreigners	4.28

Data from the above table, notes how citizens view discrimination toward these groups. In order to see to what extent the citizens believe these groups to be discriminated, we presented a differential question (citizens were to single out the most discriminated group).

We can immediately note changes relative to the indicated indexes. Firstly, citizens believe that the Roma are the most discriminated group, followed by the poor and persons with physical disability. This is significantly different from the order obtained from the index and makes it easy to establish priorities in assisting the most discriminated groups. We should also keep in mind that the answers contain a measure of “self-projection”, namely, that the interviewees self identification causes them to believe they are endangered. Accordingly, we see that the interviewees who identified themselves as being poor, elderly or members of the Serbian nationality believe they are discriminated against.

Chart 5.4.1: Who do we discriminate against the most (in %)



5.5. Hate speech

The general definition of hate speech is that it represents an expression that contains messages of hatred or intolerance towards a certain racial, national, ethnic or religious group or its members. In recent times, hate speech has also encompassed speech which aims to produce hatred and intolerance towards the opposite sex and sexual orientation, and has more frequently grown to include intolerance toward political or differing opinions as well as, national and social backgrounds.

Barring the scarcity of research on the subject, hate speech is nonetheless discussed at length in the public sphere. Although not the primary topic of the study, we presented five statements to the interviewees in order to obtain a better understand it.

We asked the interviewees to identify if any of the five statements represented hate speech. Statements were selected on the basis of frequent media coverage, deep rooted prejudices ("Gypsies stink" or "Politicians are thieves"), or events and causes such as: nationalist slogans "Serbs on willow trees", soccer fans' folklore "Knife, wire, Srebrenica" or statements by church officials surrounding the Pride Parade, like "homosexuals are barren trees that should be cut down and thrown into fire".

There are three key conclusions: 1) in general, citizens recognize hate speech 2) there is a small number of those who are indecisive or do not know the answer (between 4% and 8%) and 3) the largest "dilemma" presents itself in the statement that "all politicians are thieves". There are an almost equal number of those who say it represents hate speech (36%) and those who do not (37%). We find less understanding towards the "Gypsies stink" statement, as a relatively high percentage does not deem this to be hate speech.

While the citizens of Vojvodina are largely in agreement that "Gypsies stink" represents hate speech, the citizens of Belgrade are of the opposite opinion. Another regional deviation is in the fact that the citizens of central Serbia believe the statement "politicians are thieves" represents hate speech more than those in other regions.

Table 5.5.1: Understanding hate speech (in %)

	I don't know	Yes	Both yes and no	No	Total
"Gypsies stink"	5	68	13	14	100
"Knife, wire, Srebrenica"	6	87	4	3	100
"Serbs on willow trees"	4	91	3	2	100
"Homosexuals are barren trees that should be cut down and thrown into fire".	8	74	10	8	100
"Politicians are thieves"	8	36	19	37	100

5.6. Responsibility and role of institutions

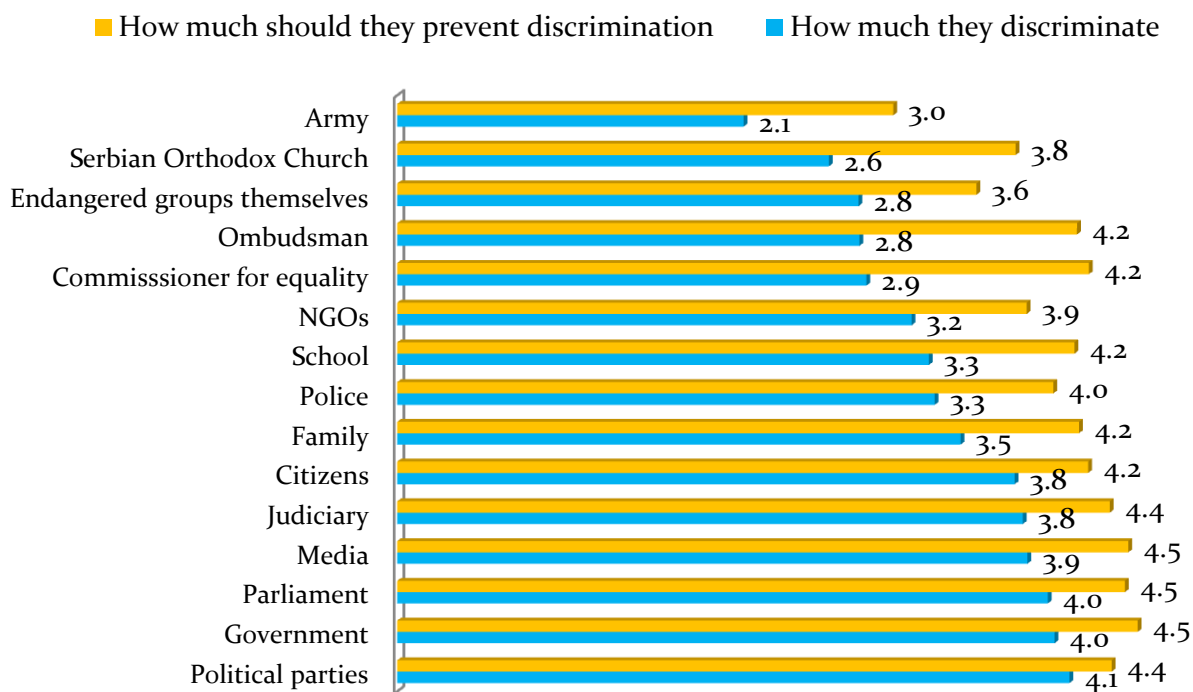
We tried to establish the degree of discrimination present in state and political institutions with two sets of questions. The questions are meant to determine to what extent the citizens believe these institutions to discriminate and how much they believe they should be involved in anti-discrimination efforts. Interviewees were able to express their attitudes by using the classic school one to five scale, where one meant no discrimination or no possibility to improve the situation in the area; five meant they were highly responsible in discriminating and that they can highly influence its prevention.

We created two indexes based on citizens' views on the role of certain institutions. The first index describes the degree of discrimination in these institutions and the second describes how much they should work towards preventing discrimination.

Firstly, citizens noted the difference between institutions in regards to discrimination. Chart 5.6.1 shows the institutions which discriminate the most, from top to bottom. Political parties, government, parliament and judiciary branch being the political and state institutions have expectedly been identified as the most discriminatory institutions, but media and citizens themselves, who in their nature represent actors in the area of civil society, came as a surprise. Interviewees are equally critical about these institutions, their average grade, scoring from 3.8 to 4.1; on a scale of 1 to 5 this represents high values that indicate these institutions to be viewed as discriminatory.

On the other hand, differences between the above listed institutions regarding their role in preventing discrimination are significantly smaller. It is again the institutions - government, parliament, media, political parties and judiciary branch - that are seen as most responsible for preventing discrimination, similarly, there are high expectations regarding responsibility from all others, such as ombudsman, Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, citizens, family.

Chart 5.6.1 State institutions and discrimination (average mark)



The index is flawed in the sense that we were unable to determine which institution is seen as most responsible for discrimination or anti-discrimination efforts by the interviewees. This is why we have used differentiating questions that provide us with data that will help determine the most important institutions and future steps.

Government, i.e. executive power, is viewed both as an institution that discriminates the most, as well as the one that should help the most in this field. More than a fifth of interviewees named this institution as the one that discriminates the most; apart from it, a two digit percentage believes the political parties and citizens themselves to be those who generate the most discrimination. On the other hand, one in three interviewees see government as a key player in the solution of this problem, likewise, the only other two digit score went to the media.

Chart 5.6.2: What institution discriminates the most (in %)

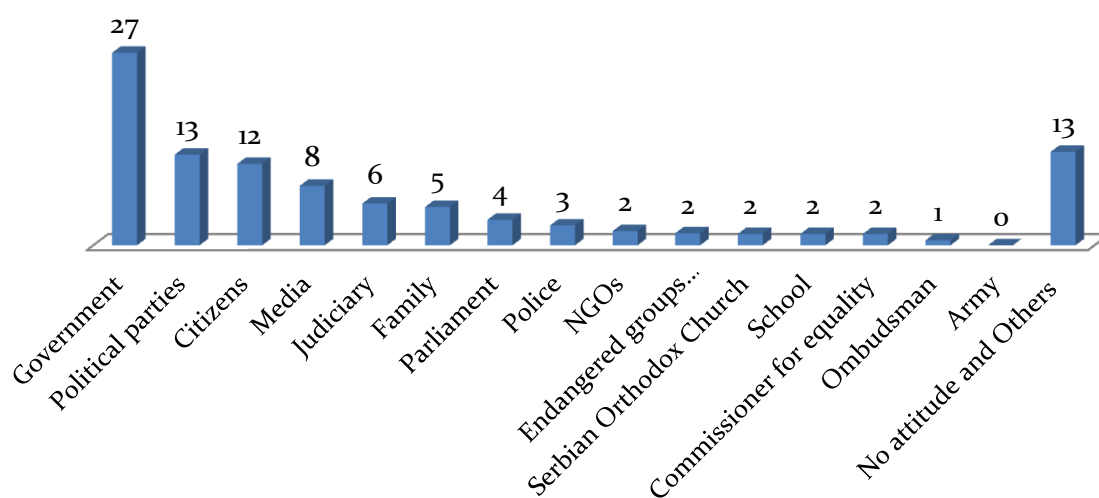
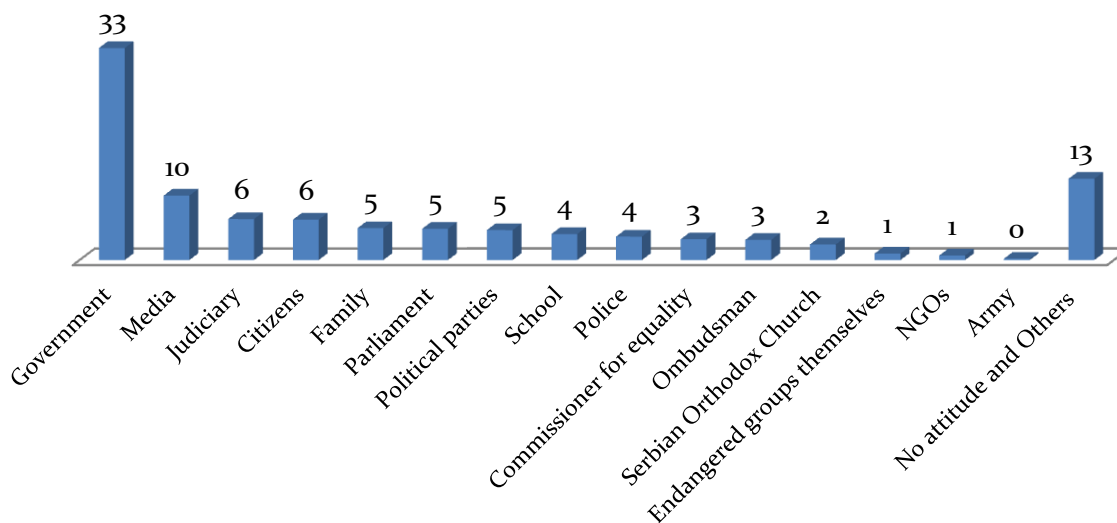


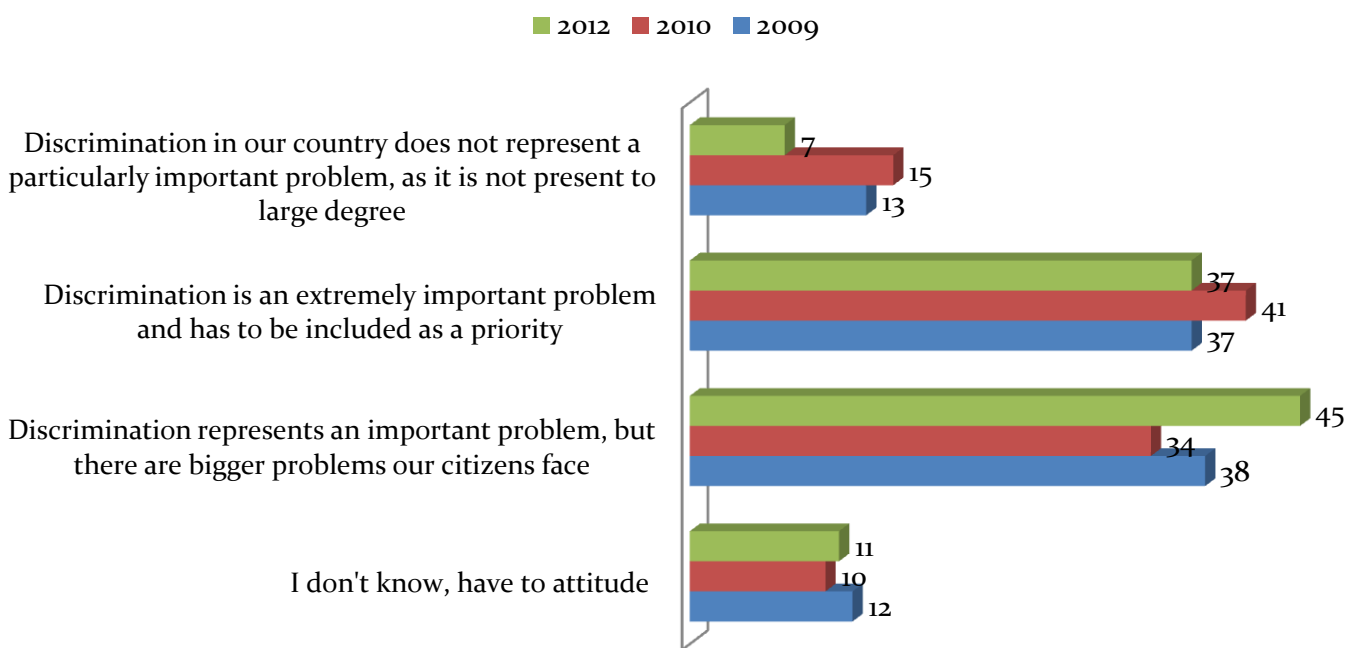
Chart 5.6.3: What institution should prevent occurrence of discrimination (in %)



The subject with which we will close the chapter on the role of institutions in prevention of discrimination remains linked to the role and priorities of the state in the process.

The interviewees had an opportunity to answer the same question over time in a series of interviews, so we could measure the extent in the difference of their views on the role of the state in this area. The differences we noted in comparison with 2009 and 2010 show an increased percentage of those who see discrimination as a problem which is not treated as a priority (from 38% in 2009 and 34% in 2010, to 45% in 2012); the increase happens at the expense of those who believe that this is not an important problem needing attention. In this sense, we can say that there is an increase of interest among citizens for this subject.

Chart 5.6.4: Should the state make solving discrimination a priority (in %)



5.7. Personal experiences

An inseparable part of this study is the research on personal experiences with discrimination. It became clear, however, that the percentage of these experiences is low. This is to say that the percentage of those exposed to discrimination is smaller in comparison to the studies of 2010 and 2009 - 24% and 22% respectively; the 2012 study shows that 16% of interviewees had personal experience with discrimination (that is 8% less than in 2010 and 6% less than in 2009). Similar to findings from the 2010 study, discrimination in employment and on the job hunt, continues to top the list of highest exposure.

It is followed by discrimination in the workplace, in everyday life, religious discrimination and discrimination in health care institutions and schools. Careful consideration of the answers reveals a connection to the effects of the crisis on discrimination in employment and at the workplace. The best confirmation is found if we co-relate these findings to the financial situation in the household, as the highest deviations from the average are recorded among those who are living on a day to day basis and have no money for elementary items.

Table 5.7.1: Exposure to discrimination (in %)

Wasn't exposed	83.6
Employment/job search	3.5
At workplace	3.2
In everyday life, society	2
Religious discrimination	1.2
At health care facility	1.2
At school (faculty, kindergarten)	1.2
Fired, left jobless	0.6
Queuing, before counters, with clerks	0.5
Realization of rights (pension, social care)	0.4
In police, conflict with police	0.3
At time of elections, changes, conflict with authorities	0.1
Other	2.1
Total	100

If they have previously been exposed to discrimination, or if it happens in the future, who will the citizens turn to? If we exclude a large number of those who would not address anyone or did not experience discrimination, the largest number of citizens would turn to the police (13%), ombudsman (4%) and judiciary bodies (3%). This order is almost identical to that of two years ago, however the question was not presented along the same methodology. Apart from these three institutions, a certain percentage of respondents (although within the level of statistical error) would address bodies of local self-government and Commissioner for Protection of Equality.

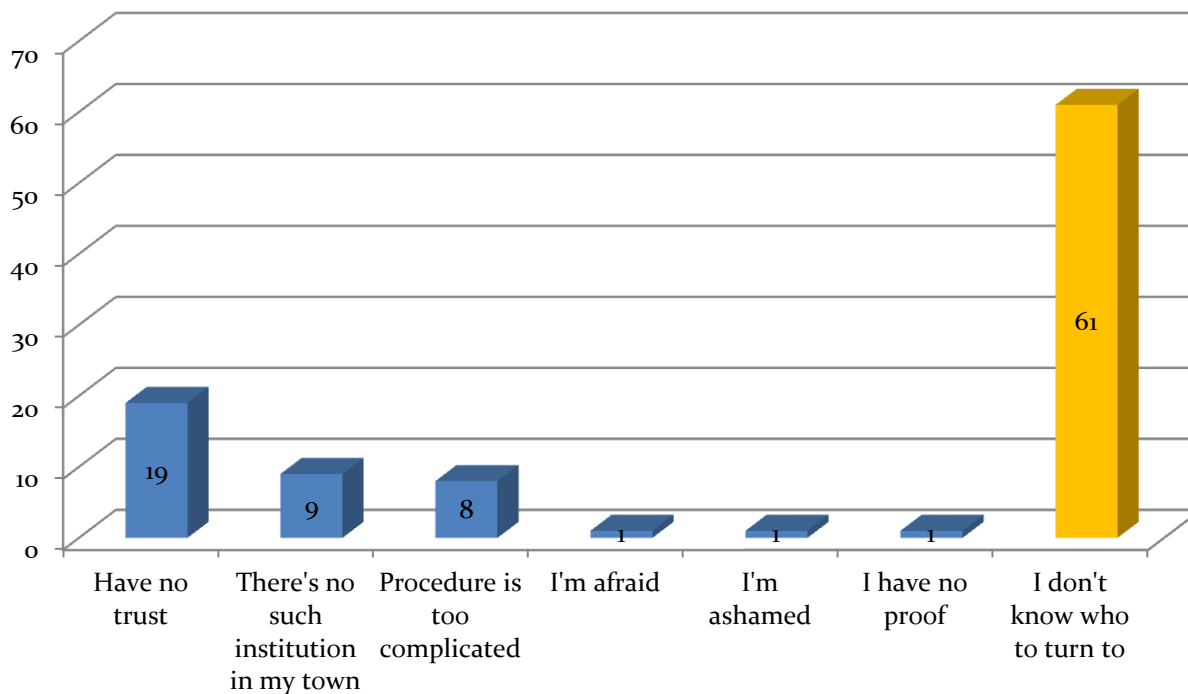
Table 5.7.2: If you were or would be exposed to discrimination, what official institution will/would you address? (in %)

None	72.2
Police	12.5
Ombudsman	3.5
Judiciary	3.3
Municipalities/cities	2.2
Commissioner for protection of equality	2.1
Government of the republic	0.4
NGOs	0.4
Media	0.3
School	0.2
Commissioner for information of public interest	0.1
Doesn't know who to turn to	0.8
Others	2.1
Total	100

We consequently asked the citizens, why they didn't address anyone or why they wouldn't do so in cases of discrimination. The question can be a good indicator of trust that the citizens have in the institutions of the Republic of Serbia. There are several important conclusions and each one of them offers huge possibilities to improve communication in case of future or present discrimination among citizens. Firstly, a total of 61% don't know who to address. Secondly, almost one in five has no trust (which correlates with the 2010 survey). Thirdly, the second and third most frequently mentioned reasons are a lack of relevant institutions in the vicinity and overly complicated procedures.

If we take a look at the regions the citizens come from, we see two interesting results: the first is that for interviewees in Belgrade the procedures are excessively complicated; second, amongst the citizens of Vojvodina almost half said they didn't know who to address. The problem is greater to those who live in poor conditions, which is an expected result.

Chart 5.7.1: Why didn't/wouldn't you turn to anyone? (in %)

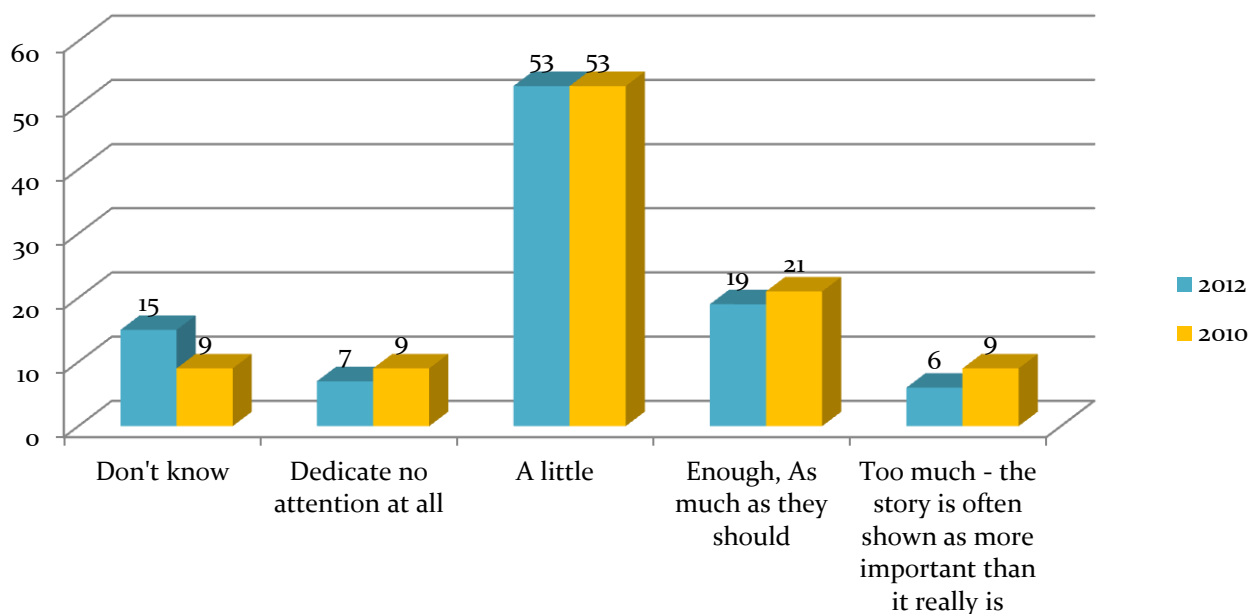


5.8. Information

How much attention are media dedicating to the problem of discrimination? How often do the interviewees discuss endangered groups with friends? How do the responsible institutions inform citizens about discrimination? These are only some of the questions we will answer in this chapter.

Over half of Serbian citizens does not believe the media is paying enough attention to the problem of discrimination, the number remains at 53%, identical to data from 2010. Only 6% believe the media to be over reporting the issue, 19% believe they report just enough and 7% believe they pay no attention to the issue whatsoever. There are almost no significant deviations from the 2010 survey, except for the fact that there was an increase in the number of those who did not have an answer to the question - from 9% to 15%.

Chart 5.8.1: How much attention do media dedicate to the problem of discrimination? (in %)



We offered the citizens seven different subjects related to endangered groups and asked them to provide their stance on the matter: 1) how much do you discuss these issues with your friends; 2) how much attention do the media pay to this issue and 3) how much attention should society as a whole dedicate to such problems. In this manner, we wanted to find out the level of personal interest of the issue among the interviewees; how active are they in the resolution of these problems and how they see the responsibility of the media or society as whole.

More than a fifth of interviewees discuss the problems of the poor and the elderly extensively with friends (29% and 23% respectively). Among other presented subjects, the numbers range from 6% to 14%. On the other hand, religious minorities (43% say they do not discuss it at all) and people of different sexual orientation (a third of the population does not discuss the issue with friends) are discussed with friends the least.

In their closest surroundings, citizens most often discuss concrete, everyday issues, accounting for why the poor and elderly are in focus. The citizens of central Serbia comprise the largest number of those who, in their close surroundings, rarely or never discuss people of a different sexual orientation. The trends are also similar for impoverished citizens.

Table 5.8.1: How much attention do the media pay to the problem of discrimination? (in %)

How much do you discuss these subjects with your friends ...	Not the least	A little	Medium	A lot	Total
Equality of men and women	23	31	32	14	100
People of different sex orientation	34	34	24	8	100
Persons with disability	22	37	30	11	100
Poor people	12	24	35	29	100
The elderly	16	30	31	23	100
National affiliation	31	37	23	9	100
Religious minorities	43	33	18	6	100

We also asked the interviewees how much attention should be dedicated to this issue by the media. The findings are indicative of counter trends relative to inter-personal communication. A third of the population says that media should pay a lot of attention to people of a different sexual orientation. The extent to which this number is greater, when compared to other subjects, is evidenced from the data that places the equality of men and women in second place with "only" 12%. Again, a fifth of the population says that the media should in no manner concern themselves with the poor and elderly. The citizens of Belgrade and Vojvodina express an above average opinion in the view that media should dedicate more attention to people of a different sexual orientation.

Table 5.8.2 How much attention does the media dedicate to the problem of discrimination? (in %)

How much attention does the media pay to the following issues ...	None	A little	Medium	A lot	Total
Equality of men and women	12	40	36	12	100
People with different sexual orientation	7	25	33	34	99
Persons with disabilities	17	48	28	7	100
The poor	20	45	26	9	100
The elderly	19	48	27	6	100
National affiliation	11	39	39	11	100
Religious minorities	17	42	33	8	100

Finally, and at the most general level, we asked the interviewees how much attention should be dedicated to this issue by society as a whole. The numbers are significantly higher in almost all subjects relative to the findings on how much this subject is discussed with friends and how much attention should be paid by the media.

A total of 72% say that society should care for the poor; 66% say it should do so for people with disabilities and 63% for the elderly. Conversely, one in four respondents believes that society should not concern itself with people of different sexual orientations.

Table 5.8.3: How much attention do media pay to the problem of discrimination? (in %)

How much attention should society dedicate to the following subjects ...	None	A little	Medium	A lot	Total
Equality of men and women	6	10	35	49	100
People with different sexual orientation	24	20	31	25	100
Persons with disabilities	5	4	25	66	100
The poor	4	4	20	72	100
The elderly	5	6	26	63	100
National affiliation	10	19	40	31	100
Religious minorities	13	23	38	26	100

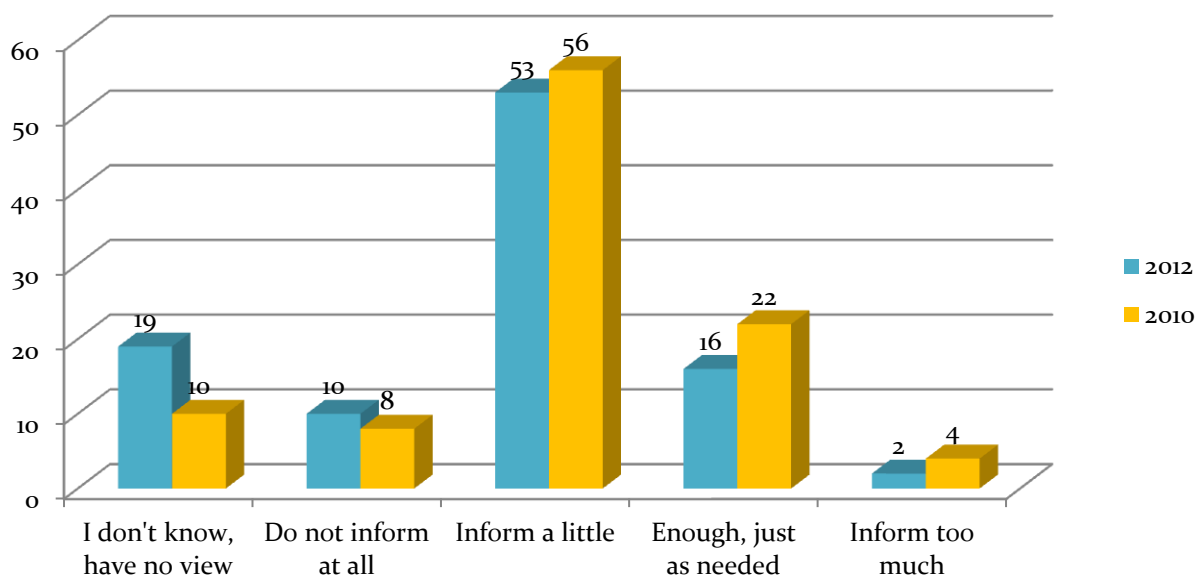
How should we interpret these findings? Citizens are not only aware of discrimination, but recognize the problem and would like society to solve it. They do not discuss the issues at length with their friends, instead choosing to remain passive. It could be said that they would rather see the problem solved without their involvement. This indicates a type of passivism among a majority of the population, which also appears in other studies dealing with other issues.

Out of all the subjects we offered, the most interesting finding was in people of different sexual orientations. Citizens do not discuss this subject often with their friends (14% do it often and 34% medium); at the same time, they would like the media to report more on them (a third of the population), but believe that the society should not address their problems to a large extent. This also confirms the precision of the above named interpretation: citizens see this group encounters problems, but prejudices are very strong for a majority of them, and thus they expect that there are more important priorities for our society than people of different sexual orientations.

How do the responsible institutions inform the citizens of the problems of discrimination and related state responses? Almost two thirds of the population (63%) says that the responsible institutions do little or nothing to inform citizens about the issues of discrimination and state activities related to the problem; 16% believe that official bodies report adequately on the issue, while only 2% say they are overdoing it. One in five is indecisive or does not have an answer to the question.

The number of indecisive interviewees increasing from 10% to 19% represents the highest deviation from the 2010 survey results. There is a view among the citizens of Vojvodina that the responsible institutions do not inform them on discrimination at all (17%); 7% more than the average.

Chart 5.8.2: To what extent are responsible institutions informing citizens on discrimination and state activities related to this problem? (in %)



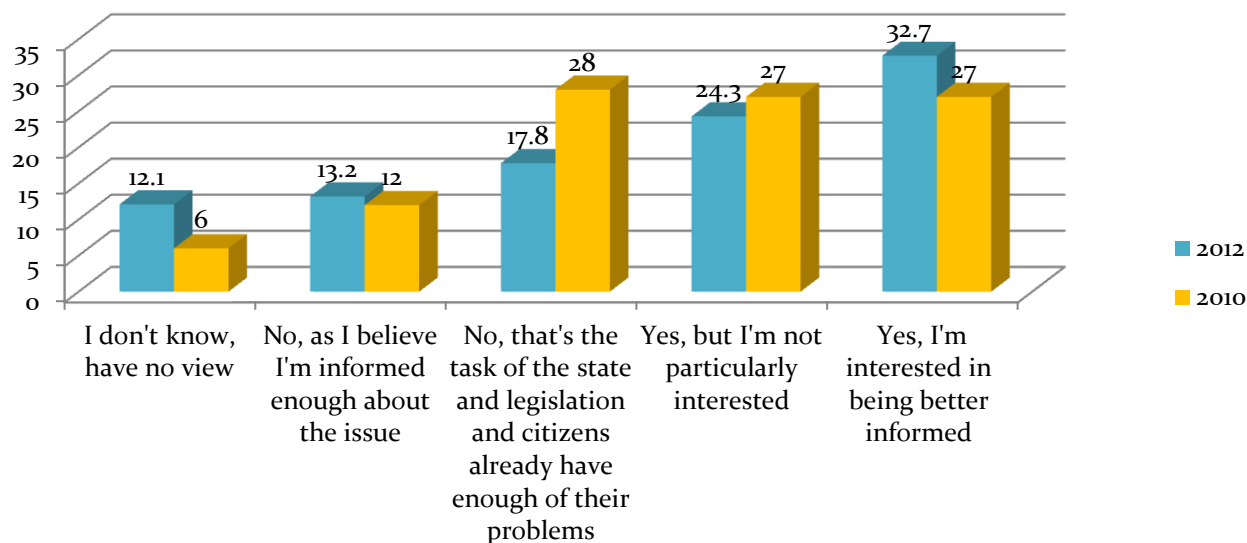
How would citizens like to get more familiar with the issues of discrimination? In comparison to the 2010 study, the findings have been encouraging. The number of those who are interested in being better informed on discrimination and state activities related to the issue increased from 27% to 33%. Alongside an increase in interest, the number of those who decidedly said that discrimination represents a problem for the state only and that citizens should not concern themselves with such issues has dropped by 10% (28% in 2010; 18% in 2012).

Other variables show little to no change, except for an increase in the indecisive or those who had no answer.

Those with higher education, pupils/students and members of national minorities show a higher than average interest in discrimination. Moreover, it was expected that those who do not belong to a group prone to discrimination in the index should show a higher interest in discrimination and state activities related to the problem.

The trend of increased interest for improved familiarization with problems of discrimination comes predominantly from Belgrade and Vojvodina populations, while citizens of central Serbia remain below the national average. Also, those who are better off financially, and those who declare themselves as atheists or belonging to a group that sometimes celebrates religious holidays wish to be better familiarized with discrimination and state activities more than the national average.

Chart 5.8.3: Would you personally like to be better informed on discrimination and state activities related to the problem? (in %)



6. RECOGNISABILITY OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR PROTECTION OF EQUALITY

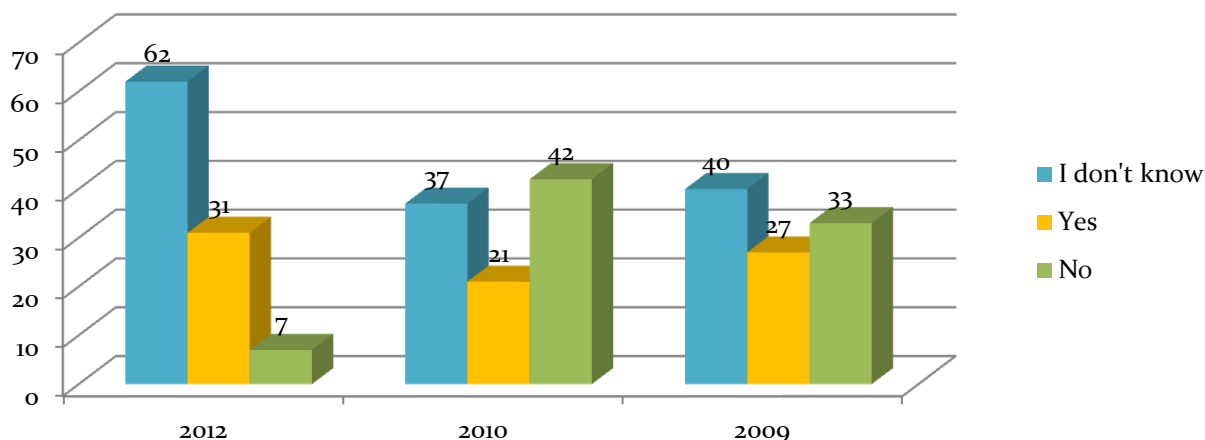
Due to the fact that the National Assembly has adopted in 2009 the Anti-Discrimination Law that created conditions for the establishment of independent, autonomous and specialized body of the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, it seemed important to examine how recognizable it is among the public. A period of three years since the adoption of the Law and two years since the establishment of the body represents a relatively sufficient amount of time for us to study if the citizens are aware that a state body, responsible for the protection of equality among them exists.

Following a drop in the number of citizens who were aware of the institution in 2010, this year we were able to record positive trends. Thirty one percent of citizens say they know such an institution exists, representing the highest percentage (up by 10% since 2010 and 4% since 2009, when it was 27%) since measurements were introduced. The number of those who are unsure if any such institution exists has increased above any previous year to a total of 62%. This is why the number of those who told us they decidedly didn't know about the institution has decreased by 7% compared to 42% in 2010 and 33% in 2009.

The youth (particularly high school students) are more uncertain than others if such an institution exists - 75% of them do not know the answer to this question. These findings are related to the educational structure; as expected, citizens with elementary school or vocational secondary schooling are less familiar with the existence of an institution that protects the equality of all citizens.

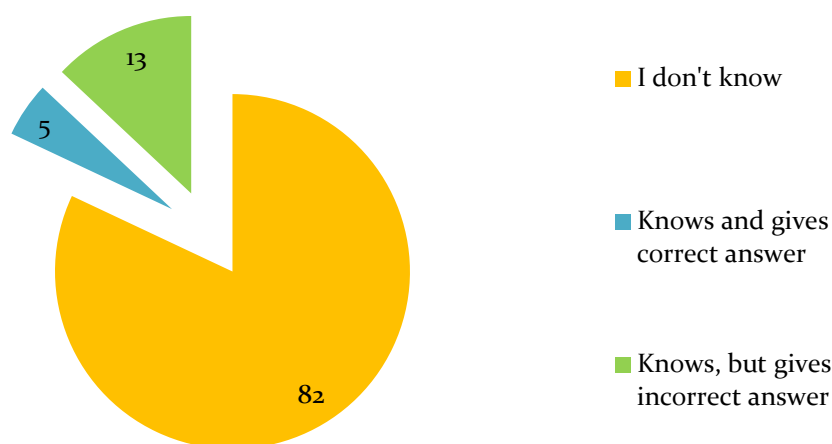
It is indicative that the citizens who are prone to discrimination, according to the discrimination index, belong above the average to the group that is not sure if such an institution exists, or decidedly said it does not exist at all. The most familiar are citizens of Belgrade (49% of them are aware of its existence), while the most uncertain are citizens of central Serbia.

Chart 5.9.1: Does an institution for the protection of equality exist in Serbia, that can be addressed for help in case of discrimination? (in %)



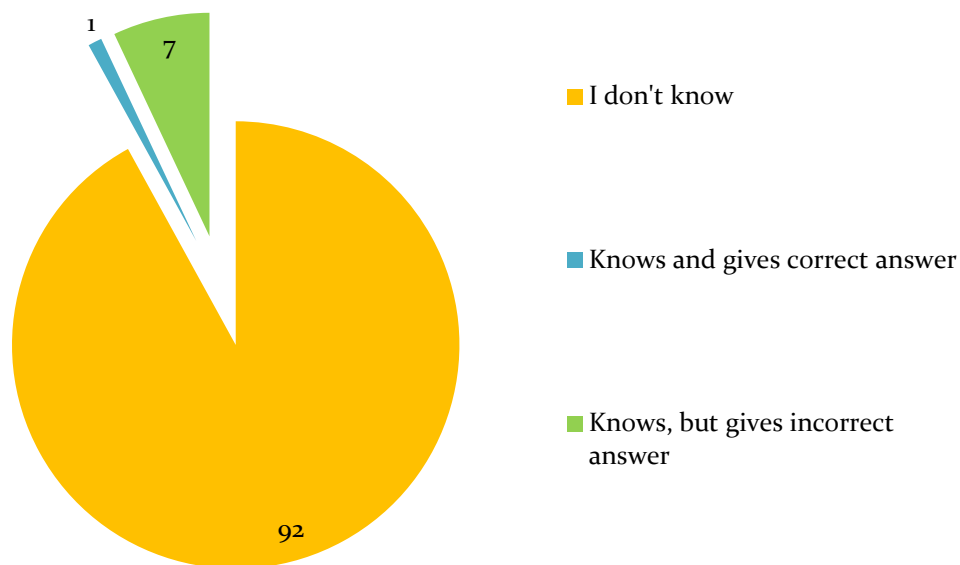
Next, we asked the citizens to precisely name the institution that protects the equality of all citizens in the Republic of Serbia. More than 80% of them did not know the answer to the question; 13% named some institutions, although incorrectly; only 5% knew the correct answer. Citizens of Belgrade know the correct answer above the national average, but they also belong to the group which answered incorrectly more than others.

Chart 5.9.2: What is the name of the institution that protects equality in Serbia? (in %)



When we asked citizens to name the Commissioner for Protection of Equality, 92% did not know the answer to the question; 7% gave wrong answer, and only 1% gave the correct answer.

Chart 5.9.3: Who is the Commissioner for Protection of Equality? (in %)



7. CLUSTER ANALYSIS: ATTITUDES OF CITIZENS TOWARDS DISCRIMINATION AND VALUE MATRIX

The attitude of interviewees towards discrimination does not have particular characteristics within the demographic segment. We did not find significant correlations between different social-demographic characteristics of interviewees' groups and attitude towards discrimination. This is why we introduced value judgment of interviewees into the analysis and tried to establish if the possibility of non/discrimination stands behind some of their value attitudes.

Value attitudes of interviewees mean that we have taken into account their attitudes towards: traditionalism, conformism, authoritarianism, nationalism (*value orientation*), attitude towards the EU and democracy (*situation attitudes*).

Value orientation came as a result of answers to several statements that served as a basis for complex indicators.

- Indicator of **traditionalism** came from answers to the following statements:
 - “Leading positions in the business world should be in the hands of men”
 - “The best virtue for a woman is being a good housewife”
 - “One should firmly hold on to peoples' customs and tradition”
 - “One should uphold the morale preached by the religious community”
- Indicator of **conformism** came from the answers to the following statements:
 - “I always behave according to the expectations of my environment”
 - “I don't like to argue with people if we have different opinions”
 - “I try not to be too different from other people in my environment”
 - “I don't like to express my opinion if I know it will be different from others”
- Indicator of **authoritarianism** came from the answers to the following statements:
 - “Children should be brought up with strict discipline”
 - “Teachers and professors should be strict with students”
 - “This country needs a strong leader whom people would follow without question”
 - “Respect of authority is the highest virtue people should nourish”

- Indicator of **nationalism** came from the answer to the following statements:
“I’m ready to sacrifice for the interest of my nation”
“We’re in danger of losing our identity due to the mixing of different cultures”

Situation attitudes came as a result of answers to several statements which represented the basis for complex indicators.

- Indicator of **attitude on the EU** came from the answer to the following statements:
“We risk losing national identity and culture by joining the EU”
“EU is a guarantor of peace, stability and the development of Serbia”
- Indicator of **attitude on democracy** came from the answer to the following statements:
“Democracy might have some deficiencies, but it is better than any other form of governance”
“Democracies are not successful in keeping order”

Each of the value types and situation attitudes were divided into three parts: negative (answers “I don't agree at all/I mostly don't agree”); positive (answers “I mostly agree/I agree completely”) and neutral (answers “neither agree nor disagree”).

The following analysis deals with four values (traditionalism, conformism, authoritarianism and nationalism) and two situation views (attitude towards the EU and attitude towards democracy). In none of the six examined categories was there an above the average majority that inclines to the positive answers; this should, to a large extent, cause worry among the *founders* of our modern community. On the other hand, things are not as bad as they look, being that negative attitudes prevail toward authoritarianism and the EU, the differences being insignificant. We can say that the bulk of the population belongs to the neutral segment that aligns to the views of predominant groups - be it in positive or negative attitudes.

Individually examined, values and situation views of interviewees are in high correlation with the index of discrimination. Those who are traditionalists, conformists, authoritarians and nationalists, express negative attitudes towards the EU and democracy and they are more prone to discriminate in comparison to those who have opposite values and situation views.

Table 7.1: Value and views basis (in %)

Traditionalism	Modern	32
	Neutral	44
	Traditionalists	24
Conformism	Non-conformists	33
	Neutral	45
	Conformists	21
Authoritarianism	Non-authoritarian	28
	Neutral	41
	Authoritarian	32
Nationalism	Internationalists	27
	Neutral	47
	Nationalists	26
Attitude to EU	EU supporter	24
	Neutral	46
	Opponent of the EU	30
Attitude to democracy	Democrat	28
	Neutral	60
	Non-democrat	13

We now want to see to what extent certain groups of interviewees with similar values and situation views in all six categories are prone to discriminate. This is why we use a cluster analysis, which enables us to show a summary of all values and view characteristics and their relation to discrimination. (see Table 7.2).

The created groups of interviewees have similar characteristics and share value standards in different categories. So, in the Group 1 the largest number of interviewees are modernists, non-conformists, non-authoritarian, internationally oriented, supporters of the EU and predominantly democrats. This group makes up slightly more than one fifth of the Serbian population (21%). As one can see, this group is not prone to discriminate and we can call them NON-DISCRIMINATORS. Apart from Group 1, Group 4 shows dominantly non-discriminatory or indecisive views. The traditionalism, conformism, and relation towards democracy group is divided between neutral and negative attitudes. According to such characteristics, we can say that they are NATIONAL NON-DISCRIMINATORS; they make up slightly less than one fifth of the population.

Contrary to these groups, Group 2 can be named as DISCRIMINATORS. They show above the average inclination towards discrimination, and their key characteristics are traditionalism, authoritarianism, nationalism and a negative attitude towards the EU. In the case of conformism and attitude towards democracy they stand between neutral and negative.

With three remaining groups, there are no significant indications that they are prone to discrimination; the relation between those who discriminate and those who do not is balanced or mildly advantageous to those who do not discriminate. This is why they can be named relative to the definition of other key characteristics.

Out of all the groups that we examined, Group 3 has the highest number of indecisive answers and thus they can be named as NEUTRAL. Group 5 has conformism as its key characteristic, and they represent a part of the population that will always adapt to the views of the majority; they are called CONFORMISTS. Group 6 represents a group of citizens that are traditional in views on society, but also have high regard for democracy and a positive evaluation of the EU. They can be called TRADITIONALISTS.

These groups of interviewees differ in some key socio-demographic characteristics. It appears that the key difference which can be established exists between Group 1 NON-DISCRIMINATORS and 2, DISCRIMINATORS, and this is how we obtain type characteristics of interviewees who do/do not discriminate. Group 1 is dominated by middle aged interviewees (between 30 and 50 years of age), women over men, with a higher school or faculty degree predominantly and, at minimum, a secondary school degree and work in the public sector. Contrary to them, there is Group 2, which is balanced in gender lines, predominantly comprising persons over 60 years of age, those with degrees from elementary, high school, and pensioners.

Table 7.2: Value characteristic of groups that non/discriminate (in %)

		1	2	3	4	5	6
Index of discrimination	Don't discriminate	74	2	17	48	28	16
	Indecisive	25	40	71	48	58	67
	Discriminate	1	58	12	4	14	19
Traditionalism	Modern	81	5	17	54	7	5
	Neutral	17	42	76	44	45	45
	Traditionalists	1	52	7	2	47	50
Conformism	Non-conformists	61	15	24	45		43
	Neutral	34	51	71	51	2	57
	Conformists	5	35	4	4	98	
Authoritarianism	Non-authoritarian	82	2	4	40	15	8
	Neutral	18	31	61	55	36	47
	Authoritarian		68	36	6	49	46
Nationalism	Internationalists	82		28	1	11	26
	Neutral	18	12	72	72	62	60
	Nationalists	1	88	0	27	28	15
EU relation	EU supporter	60		1	2	29	54
	EU neutral	39	16	59	65	59	44
	Opponent of EU	1	84	40	34	12	2
Democracy relation	Democrat	55	6	2	24	29	50
	Neutral	44	57	73	68	70	51
	Non-democrat	1	38	25	8	2	0
Size of cluster		21	18	17	18	13	13

8. FINAL DELIBERATIONS

At the end of the study, we have to emphasize the fact that it was realized at the time of two important developments in the Hague tribunal, that are mutually connected and that should be taken into account in the interpretation of the research data.

The first was the acquittal of Croatian Generals Ante Gotovina and Mladen Markac, pronounced by the Hague Tribunal on November 16, the same day when F2F research began.

Second is immediately connected to the first, and deals with hints that the same decision could be made by The Hague in the case of Ramus Haradinaj (which ultimately happened). The case of Haradinaj was parallel to media reports on acquittal of generals, a subject closely followed by our public.

It is also very important to bear in mind all developments that followed before, during and after the unsuccessful attempt to organize the Pride Parade, regardless of the fact that this transpired a month and a half to two months before research began.