

Public Opinion Survey Report

Public Perceptions of Discrimination in Serbia



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Resilient nations.*

Belgrade, December 2013

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1. METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

Survey carried out by	CeSID, Belgrade
Fieldwork	Between 21 and 28 November 2013
Sample type and size	Random, representative sample of 1,200 people over 15 years of age throughout Serbia excluding Kosovo and Metohija
Sample frame	Polling station catchment areas as the most reliable registry units
Selection of households	Random sampling without replacement – each second street address from starting point for each polling station catchment area
Selection of respondents by household	Random sampling without replacement – respondents selected by date of first birthday in relation to survey date
Survey technique	Face-to-face at home
Survey instrument	Questionnaire

The public opinion survey was carried out by CeSID between 21 and 28 November 2013 throughout Serbia excluding the territory of Kosovo and Metohija.

The survey involved a representative sample of 1,200 male and female citizens of the Republic of Serbia, excluding Kosovo and Metohija, aged 15 and above.

A questionnaire developed in collaboration with the UNDP and the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality was used as the survey instrument.

Respondents were interviewed using the 'face-to-face' (F2F) method. During interviewer training, instructors insisted on adherence to two important rules that, in addition to the sample, together have a major impact on the representativeness of the survey – *order of steps* and the *first birthday rule*.

Adherence to the order of steps ensures that an interviewer can comprehensively cover each survey point, while the first birthday rule prevents responses only from members of the public who first answer the door when an interviewer visits. Interviewers were required to interview the member of each households aged 15 or above whose birthday came soonest after the date of the interviewer's visit. This also ensured the representativeness of respondents by gender, education and age.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The following categories of respondents, citizens of the **Republic of Serbia** excluding Kosovo and Metohija, were represented based on the methodology established for the study:

Gender: male, 48 percent; female, 52 percent.

Age: 15 to 18, 2 percent; 19 to 29, 17 percent; 30 to 39, 18 percent; 40 to 49, 17 percent; 50 to 59, 17 percent; 60 to 69, 18 percent; 70 and above, 11 percent.

Education: primary school or lower, 18 percent; vocational school, 12 percent; secondary school, 43 percent; college or university, 22 percent; school or university student, 5 percent.

Current employment status: public-sector employee, 13 percent; private-sector employee, 18 percent; business owner, 3 percent; unemployed, 32 percent; inactive/retired or disabled, 27 percent; school or university student, 7 percent.

Average income per household member, in RSD: up to 10,000, 24 percent; 10,000 to 20,000, 27 percent; 20,000 to 40,000, 19 percent; 40,000 to 60,000, 8 percent; over 60,000, 2%; does not know / would not say, 20 percent.

Ethnicity: Serbian, 87 percent; Hungarian, 3 percent; Bosniak, 2 percent; Roma, 1 percent; other, 7 percent.

DISCLAIMER:

The opinions presented in this Report are those of its authors and may not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations Development Programme or the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality.

** All words/terms used in this report in the masculine gender are to be understood as including persons of both male and female gender they may refer to.*

3. SUMMARY

The survey that led to the drafting of this Report was carried out by CeSID over the course of the second half of November, 2013, at the request of the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality and with the assistance and support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). We actively co-operated with staff of the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality to define the research methodology. The aim was to offer answers to key questions regarding attitudes to and perceptions of discrimination in Serbia, as well as to identify changes and trends in relation to findings of surveys carried out in 2009, 2010, and 2012.

The analysis is divided into several thematic units: awareness, attitudes, and perceptions of the situation in Serbia; prejudice and tolerance; responsibilities and roles of institutions; personal experiences; familiarity with discrimination; visibility of the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality; and profiles of (non-) discriminators.

❖ **CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY.** In interpreting these findings, two events should be taken into account that coincided with the work of our interviewers in the field: the campaign to end violence against women, and the protests against asylum-seekers housed in Obrenovac.

As it turned out, **both of these events and the media coverage of them affected public opinion, so that women and asylum-seekers/migrants were perceived as vulnerable groups subject to discrimination** to a greater extent than in earlier years. Both events were widely reported in the media (notably the protests against asylum-seekers), and were often accompanied by screaming headlines and information intended to cause alarm.

❖ **DISCRIMINATION INDEX.** The one year that has elapsed since the last survey is too short a time for any in-depth changes to have taken place in Serbia. Analyses show that the groups most prone to discrimination are LGBT people, other ethnic communities, and minority religious communities.

The extent to which respondents are really prepared to discriminate against others can best be gauged by examining their opinions of particular issues or potential groups discriminated against. The data show some differences relative to last year's survey, but also bear out the view that has already been voiced several times – **no in-depth changes can take place in Serbia over short periods of time. There is substantial likelihood of discrimination against LGBT people** (49 percent of those polled agree with the statement that *homosexuality is a disease that should be treated*), **other ethnic communities, and minority religious communities** (38 percent of all respondents agree with the statement that *a normal man recognises only traditional religions*, whilst 35 percent agree that *small religious communities 'steal' people's souls*).

Generally, relative to 2012, **there has been a drop in the numbers of those ready to discriminate against others, but the number of those who do not discriminate, or are ready to stand up to discrimination, has also gone down.**

❖ **AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS DISCRIMINATION.** People in Serbia primarily associate discrimination with violation or denial of rights. This opinion is shared to an above-average degree by people aged between 30 and 59, those with college or university education, and members of minority communities.

Most people in Serbia believe that discrimination represents a **violation or denial of rights (22 percent)**, humiliation (13 percent), or is a demonstration of inequality (7 percent). At the same time, **four-fifths of those polled are clearly aware that someone cannot be denied a right only on the basis of a personal characteristic.** However, the same as last year, a substantial number of respondents (16 percent) say this is ‘mostly unjustified’, but also that there are circumstances that could conceivably justify such behaviour.

❖ **PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION IN SERBIA.** Two-thirds of those polled say that there is discrimination in Serbia; we have also seen an increase in the numbers of those who report more discrimination now than three years ago. The vast majority of respondents – over two-thirds – also believe that violence against women is widespread in Serbia. Respondents consider women and the Roma as the groups that suffer the most discrimination.

Most respondents believe the society we live in is discriminatory. Thus two-thirds of those polled say discrimination is present in Serbia to a great or a very great degree. **There has also been an increase in the numbers of those who report more discrimination now than three years ago**, from 36 percent in 2012 to 46 percent in 2013. **More than two-thirds of those polled (69 percent) also say that violence against women is common in Serbia.** As little as two percent believe there is no violence against women at all.

Which groups suffer the most discrimination in Serbia? There are several differences in this regard relative to 2012. The first is the lower number of respondents who did not know, would not answer, or had no opinion; this has made some groups more ‘visible’ than in previous surveys. The second and greatest difference in relation to all previous surveys is the fact that **women come first in terms of discrimination, as reported by as many as 42 percent of those polled.** In second place are the Roma (41.5 percent), who had been ranked first in earlier surveys, with 37.8 percent in 2012, 45 percent in 2010, and 50 percent in 2009. This year, the Roma are followed by people with disabilities (28.4 percent); the poor (27 percent); and the elderly (24.5). Also ranked high are children (18.6 percent) and sexual minorities (16.4 percent).

Most respondents (57 percent) know discrimination is illegal, but believe sanctions are imposed selectively (this view is particularly dominant amongst residents of Belgrade).

Poor living standards and high unemployment drive public opinion as to which areas of everyday life are seen as most prone to discrimination: more than one-third says discrimination is at its most evident in employment (a slight drop of two percentage points relative to 2012).

The number of those who say discrimination is an exceptionally significant problem that has to be addressed as a matter of priority has gone down in relation to the two previous research cycles: in 2010 the number was 41 percent, dropping to 37 percent in 2012 and 35 percent in 2013. At the same time, there has been steady growth in the numbers of respondents who consider discrimination a significant problem but also feel that there are greater issues faced by people in Serbia: their ranks swelled from 34 percent in 2010 to 45 percent in 2012, reaching one-half of all those polled in 2013. What this really means is that economic issues have become dominant over all other problems facing the Serbian society.

❖ **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MEASURES.** Respondents are now more ready to support affirmative actions aimed at minorities when it comes to employment than with respect to university enrolment. Residents of Belgrade show above-average disagreement with providing government funding to minority media or allowing minorities to communicate with institutions in their native languages if doing so would entail added government expenditure.

The public are more ready to support affirmative action measures with regard to employment than those aimed at university enrolment (78 vs. 73 percent). Respondents show most understanding for instruction in native languages: **41 percent of those polled agree that minorities should have access to instruction in their native languages**, although this results in additional government expenditure, but many (39 percent) are also opposed.

❖ The remaining two statements met with greater disagreement. Thus, **46 percent of those polled do not agree that the state must finance ethnic minority media, whilst 49 percent are against always allowing members of ethnic minorities to communicate with government institutions in their native languages if this results in added government expenditure.** Residents of Belgrade show above-average disagreement with providing government funding to minority media or allowing minorities to communicate with institutions in their native languages. As expected, ethnic minorities agree with these statements to an above-average extent.

❖ **ETHNIC AND SOCIAL DISTANCE.** Respondents show the most ethnic distance towards Albanians; Croats and Bosniaks fare slightly better than in the previous survey; whilst the distance towards the Roma has increased substantially when it comes to marriage. The greatest social distance is exhibited towards LGBT and HIV positive people.

Ethnic distance. **Respondents show the most social distance towards Albanians, more so than towards any other ethnic group across all eight types of social contacts** covered by the slightly extended Bogardus scale used. There has been a major drop in the distance shown towards Croats across all the criteria measured, whilst according to the final criterion, which relates to the most significant form of social interaction (namely marriage), **the distance shown towards Croats is significantly lower than that felt towards Bosniaks.** As far as the Roma are concerned, the distance shown towards them in lower or medium-intensity social contacts is not great (up to accepting them as family members by marriage, in which case the distance grows).

Social distance. **A general overview of the findings shows that respondents show the most social distance towards LGBT and HIV positive persons.** The distance shown towards LGBT people has been declining relative to last year for most contact levels, save for the final one, namely **accepting a member of this group as a family member by marriage** (which is where **the distance has grown from an already high 80 percent seen in the previous survey to 82 percent recorded in this cycle**). The distance shown towards HIV positive people has grown across the board, rising with the degree of contact to peak at marriage, where 85 percent of those polled feel distance (up from last year's 80 percent). **The distance shown towards religious minorities has declined across all eight segments measured, but has grown with respect to migrants/asylum-seekers.**

A possible cause for concern revealed by this survey is the fact that the **slight decline in the distance shown towards ethnic groups (Croats, Bosniaks) is accompanied by an increase in the distance shown towards the Roma and other marginalised social groups (LGBT and HIV positive people).** Respondents also feel that discrimination against these two groups has increased. **The discrimination index for asylum-seekers/migrants has increased by 0.2 index points, whilst the index for women has risen by 0.3 points.**

❖ **RESPONSIBILITIES AND ROLES OF INSTITUTIONS.** Respondents believe that the Government practises the most discrimination, but also that it is the body best placed to help in this regard. The police are held less responsible for discrimination than last year, and the public are growing less confident in the ability of the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality to contribute to addressing discrimination.

Respondents believe that **political parties, the Government, parliament, and the judiciary are the institutions that most discriminate against members of the public**. Surprisingly, the media and the public themselves are placed high on this list – although they should figure rather as protectors of those who face discrimination than themselves promote discriminatory behaviour.

As for which institutions should act to reduce discrimination, the Government, Parliament, political parties and the judiciary are again seen as the most responsible, but all other actors – such as the Ombudsman, members of the public, and families – are also expected to bear some of the responsibility.

Relative to 2012, the police are seen as less responsible for both practising discrimination and protecting the public from it. The Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality is not perceived as an institution that engages in discrimination, but, on the other hand, neither is it seen as a body that prevents such behaviour.

❖ **PERSONAL EXPERIENCES WITH DISCRIMINATION.** As in 2012, 16 percent of those polled said they had had personal experiences with discrimination. Most discrimination in Serbia occurs in the workplace.

The percentage of those facing discrimination is the same as in 2012, with 16 percent claiming they have been personally exposed to discrimination. This is an improvement on three and four years ago, when 24 and 22 percent, respectively, had been discriminated against. Most discrimination occurs in the workplace. Respondents willing to report discrimination would do so with **the police (10 percent), the Ombudsman (4 percent) and the judiciary (3 percent)**. In the event of discrimination, 2.3 percent of those polled would contact the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality, a figure unchanged since last year.

❖ **FAMILIARITY WITH DISCRIMINATION.** Respondents recognise problems faced by groups that face discrimination, but mainly leave the resolution of those issues to society as a whole. Those polled show the least understanding for LGBT people and religious and ethnic minorities.

Most people believe that the media devote little attention to the issue of discrimination in Serbia (as reported by 56 percent of those polled, three percentage points more than in 2010 and 2012).

We asked the respondents to tell us how much they discussed vulnerable groups with their friends, how much media coverage these groups received, and how much attention society should devote to them. **Those polled mainly talk with their friends about the poor and the elderly;** at the same time, they believe that persons of different sexual

orientations receive the most media coverage (as reported by nearly two-fifths of all respondents). On the other hand, members of the public feel that vulnerable groups' issues should be addressed most by society as a whole. Thus, for instance, 76 percent say that society should devote a great deal of attention to the poor; 72 feel the same way about the disabled; 71 percent believe attention should be paid to violence against women; etc. Respondents single out only people of different sexual orientations and religious minorities as groups that should receive no attention at all from society (as reported by 24 and 18 percent of those polled, respectively).

These results show that the public are aware of the issues of most groups (with the exception of LGBT people and, to a lesser extent, religious and ethnic minorities), but that responsibility for solving their problems should be borne by society as a whole.

❖ **COMMISSIONER FOR THE PROTECTION OF EQUALITY.** Encouragingly, the numbers of those aware of the existence of an institution devoted to safeguarding the equality of all Serbian citizens have been on the increase since 2010: in that year, 21 percent of those polled were aware of the Office of the Commissioner; the figure rose to 31 in 2012; and in 2013 it increased to a full one-third of all respondents.

This year, one in eleven respondents claim such an institution does not exist in Serbia, which represents a slight increase relative to last year. It can be seen, when the findings of multiple iterations of the survey are considered, **that the number of those who say no such institution exists is on the decline, whilst there are now more respondents who have no opinion or do not know the answer.**

❖ **PROFILES OF (NON-) DISCRIMINATORS.** Fifteen percent of those polled in Serbia can be said to be prone to discriminatory behaviour. Most of them are men over 60 years of age, not active in the labour market, and of lower educational attainment levels.

Most respondents not prone to discrimination are aged between 30 and 50 and female; most hold college or university degrees, or, at a minimum, have secondary school diplomas; and are mainly employed in the public sector. This group accounts for 24 percent of the sample.

Most of those inclined to discriminatory behaviour are men, predominantly over 60 years of age; and mainly with completed primary or secondary education; most of them are not active in the labour market (i.e. are retired). This group accounts for 15 percent of the sample.

4. CONTEXT OF THE SURVEY

This report is the result of a survey carried out on behalf of the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality by CeSID with the assistance and support of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). This is the fourth survey of this type in Serbia. The first iteration was carried out in 2009, the second in 2010, whilst the third round of research took place in November 2012; this research attempts to ensure continuity in tracking the public's opinions of discrimination and (in) tolerance, extent of prejudice, and social and ethnic distance between various social groups.

The fourth cycle of research on public perceptions of discrimination in Serbia was carried out between 21 and 28 November 2013. Its key findings (compared with earlier cycles) are presented in this report. The survey has also made it possible to gain insight into the extent to which the public is satisfied with the work of government bodies tasked with safeguarding human rights, and whether members of the public are aware of these bodies' powers and avenues through which they can be contacted. This year's survey differs from previous ones **in that it includes, for the first time, several questions that have not been posed previously, including those relating to attitudes towards women and violence against women.**

As in previous years, **the survey involved a representative sample of Serbian citizens** (this time numbering 1,200 respondents), **excluding the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, and was carried out using the face-to-face method.** As this is the fourth iteration of the survey, we are now able to view trends over a longer period of time. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination is a relatively new piece of legislation (it was enacted in 2009), which is why it is important to track changes in public opinion, but also to ascertain public attitudes towards the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality that was established under this Law.

Although the fieldwork portion of the survey took place over a relatively short span of time (21 to 28 November 2013), two important events that happened in this period could have affected the public perception of discrimination in Serbia.

The first event was the campaign entitled *Ne okreći leđa nasilju, prijavi ga* ('Don't turn your back to violence, report it'), launched by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy on International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. On this occasion, the National Assembly's Gender Equality Committee organised a debate on 'Inter-Ministerial Co-Operation and Mechanisms of Support for Victims of Violence', which saw the presentation of a video clip intended to promote recognition and prevention of family violence. The clip received television and radio airtime throughout Serbia for 16 days following 25 November. **But more important – and also receiving the**

greatest media coverage – were the data presented at this event: 6,000 families reported incidents of family violence in 2013, whilst 27 women died as a direct result of family violence.¹Here are some of the headlines carried by Serbian printed and online media that dealt with this topic:

Ubijeno 46 žena u Srbiji ('46 Women Killed in Serbia', *Novi Magazin*, 25 November);

Srbija: Ove godine 27 žena ubijeno kao posledica porodičnog nasilja ('Serbia: Family Violence Kills 27 Women this Year', *Večernje Novosti*, 25 November);

Šokantni podaci uprave za rodnu ravnopravnost – Svaka druga žena je žrtva nasilja ('Shocking Data Released by Gender Equality Directorate – One in Two Women Victims of Family Violence', *Alo!*, 24 November).

The second incident had in effect begun even earlier, with protests in Banja Koviljača, but saw its culmination in the days immediately following 27 November. On that day, **residents of the village of Ušće, near the town of Obrenovac in the vicinity of Belgrade, blockaded a road intersection close to the Nikola Tesla B power plant in protest against the Government's decision to house some eighty asylum-seekers near the power station.** A prefabricated house intended for use by the asylum-seekers was also set on fire. The protesters received indirect support from the Obrenovac local authority.

The findings of the survey show that these events had an impact on answers given by respondents. Women were perceived as vulnerable and victims of discrimination to a greater extent; more distance was felt towards asylum-seekers/migrants, etc.

¹ Data quoted from www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/125/Dru%C5%A1tvo/997252/Stop+nasilju+nad+%C5%BEnama.html [in Serbian] (accessed on 8 December 2013).

5. DISCRIMINATION: Awareness, Attitudes, and Perception of the Situation in Serbia

5.1. Discrimination index

Respondents' true readiness to engage in discriminatory behaviour can best be ascertained by examining their opinions of particular issues or groups discriminated against. By using pairs of statements we endeavoured to find out the grounds for discrimination against the following groups: Roma; LGBT people; ethnic minorities (xenophobia); religious minorities (religious exclusivity); Jews (anti-Semitism); people with disabilities; and HIV positive people.

We offered respondents 16 statements, or eight pairs in total. Unlike last year, this cycle included two new statements regarding violence against women (the pair numbered 8.1 and 8.2). Responses were possible on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 meaning *completely disagree* and 5 meaning *completely agree* (see Table 5.1.1).

The data show some differences relative to last year's survey, but also bear out the view that has already been voiced several times – **no in-depth changes take place in Serbia over short periods of time.** The findings lead us to conclude that **there is substantial likelihood of discrimination against LGBT people** (49 percent of those polled agree with the statement that *homosexuality is a disease that should be treated*), **other ethnic communities**, and **minority religious communities** (38 percent of all respondents agree with the statement that *a normal man recognises only traditional religions*, whilst 35 percent agree that *small religious communities 'steal' people's souls*). This finding matches that obtained one year ago. **Views of minority religious groups have gained in negativity in the meantime**; in addition, as subsequent analysis showed by revealing the distance towards the Roma, attitudes concerning this ethnic group have also become more negative. This view is confirmed by the increase in the number of people who agree with the statement that they 'have got nothing against the Roma', but that 'they still like to steal.'

Respondents' views indicate a lower likelihood of discrimination against most groups covered by the survey, but **a possible cause for concern is the fact that ten percent fewer people than last year believe that HIV positive people have only themselves to blame for their illness: last year, 52 percent of those polled had disagreed with this statement, whilst this year the figure stood at 42 percent.** At the same time, 28 percent of those polled agreed with this statement.

As for attitudes towards women, responses to statements offered (*Women do not always have the qualities and skills required for positions of responsibility*, and *Women victims of violence usually provoke perpetrators of violence by nagging*) showed that ten percent of

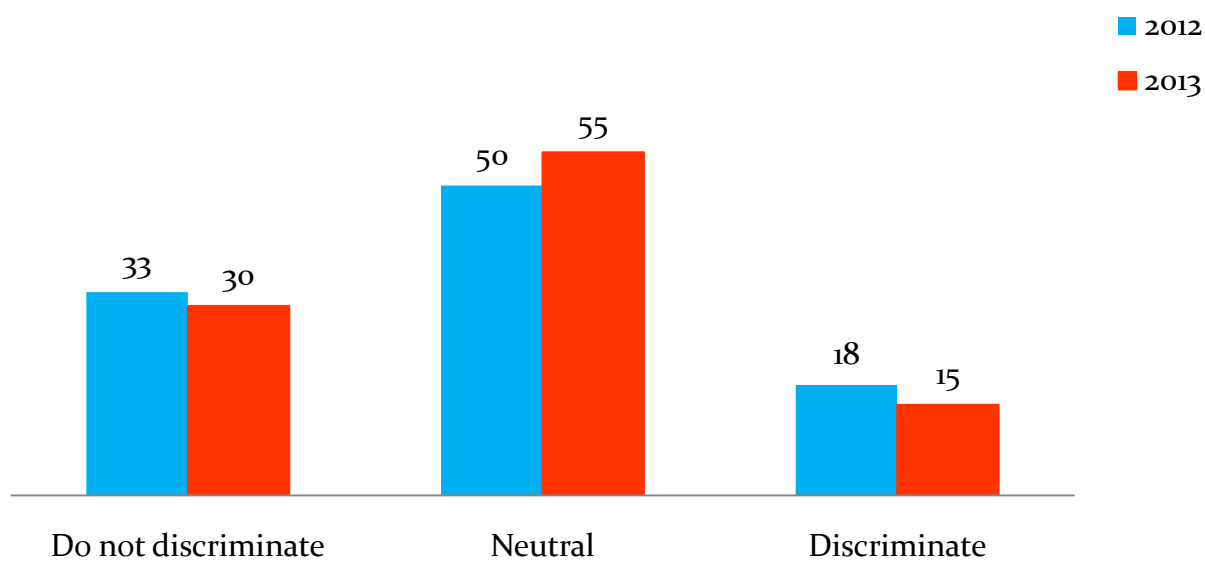
those polled accuse women of causing violence against themselves (this was the number of respondents who agreed with the statement that *Women victims of violence usually provoke perpetrators of violence by nagging*).

Table 5.1.1 Statements used to establish the discrimination index (in %)

	Disagree		Unsure		Agree	
Research cycle	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
1.1. It is easy to support the Roma when they are not in your neighbourhood	49	46	20	20	31	34
1.2. I have got nothing against the Roma, but they still like to steal	42	38	22	23	37	39
2.1. Homosexuality is a disease that should be treated	32	30	20	21	48	49
2.2. I have got nothing against homosexuals, but they should do that at home	17	12	13	14	71	74
3.1. One should be cautious of other peoples even when they appear friendly	32	31	20	23	48	46
3.2. Serbia should be the state of the Serbian people only, because this is the majority people	61	59	15	18	24	23
4.1. A normal man recognises only traditional religions (Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Islam)	37	39	22	24	41	38
4.2. Small religious communities 'steal' people's souls	33	33	35	32	33	35
5.1. There is some truth to books that explain the existence of Jewish conspiracies	34	30	46	54	20	16
5.2. The Jews attempt to gain even from their own suffering	34	33	43	48	23	19
6.1. Children with developmental difficulties should not be allowed to mix with other children	61	62	19	25	20	13
6.2. There are few people with disabilities among our people	61	57	29	33	10	10
7.1. Healthcare institutions should refuse to treat those suffering from HIV/AIDS	85	84	11	12	4	4
7.2. Those suffering from HIV/AIDS have only themselves to blame for their illness	52	42	25	30	23	28
*8.1. Women do not always have the qualities and skills required for positions of responsibility		67		19		14
**8.2. Women victims of violence usually provoke the perpetrator of violence by nagging		72		18		10

Starting from these statements, we developed a compound indicator showing the extent to which the public in Serbia is, generally, prone to discrimination. Relative to one year ago, there has been a drop in the numbers of those ready to discriminate against others, but the number of those who do not discriminate, or are ready to stand up to discrimination, has also gone down, at least judging from the views aired in this survey. Both groups have declined by three percentage points in relation to last year, whilst the number of those defined as 'neutral' has risen from 50 to 56 percent of the total number of those polled.

Chart 5.1.2 Discrimination index (in %)



5.2. Awareness of and attitudes towards discrimination

Having methodologically defined the discrimination index (see Chapter 5.1) and presented the key results of the survey, we will now move on to a detailed interpretation of the findings of the research. All findings will be compared with those of last year's survey carried out by CeSID (using a methodological framework identical to the one used in this iteration for 90 percent of the questionnaire), and also with results of certain earlier surveys², wherever possible for reasons of comparability.

As in previous iterations, the first question asked respondents to say what the word 'discrimination' meant to them. What was it that first came to mind when this word was mentioned? This open-ended question prompted spontaneous answers. **Three-quarters of those polled answered, the same number as one year ago.** The responses of those who did have an opinion and offered a 'definition' of discrimination can be grouped into three types:

1. **Violation/denial of rights** (22 percent),
2. **Humiliation/degradation** (13 percent), and
3. **Unequal exercise of rights/inequality** (7 percent).

The order in which these associations appear is the same as last year; in the 2010 survey, the top-ranked definition described discrimination as rejection/exclusion from the community (mentioned by six percent of those polled this year). Other associations mentioned by significant percentages of those polled include: being different/threatened for being different and violence/abuse/mistreatment.

Discrimination is seen as a violation or denial of rights by above-average numbers of respondents aged between 30 and 59; holders of university degrees; business owners or employees in the public sector; and members of minority communities (particularly Bosniaks, 40 percent of whom associate discrimination with this concept, which is nearly double the average).

² Carried out by Ipsos Strategic Marketing.

Table 5.2.1 What do you believe is discrimination? (in %)

	2012	2013
Violation/denial of rights	23	22
Humiliation, degradation	17.8	13.1
Unequal exercise of rights, inequality	11.9	7.5
Rejection, exclusion from the community	7.7	6
Being different/threatened for being different	4	4.5
Violence/abuse/mistreatment	2.1	3.8
Being misunderstood/threatened on grounds of religion	1.2	1.1
Racial discrimination, racism	1.3	1.3
Ethnicity, ethnic intolerance or being threatened on grounds of ethnicity	1.1	3
Labour discrimination, discrimination in the workplace	0.9	1.8
Limitation (prohibition) on people or groups	0.8	0.7
Being ignored or neglected as a person or group	0.7	0.9
Acting poorly, arguing, showing hate, being insulting	0.4	1.5
Disrespecting differences in opinion	0.4	1.4
Abuse of force, threatening those weaker than one's self	0.3	0.2
Women/discrimination against women/abuse	0.2	1.4
Threatening/denying minority rights	0.2	1.4
Differences in material wealth, discrimination against the poor	0	0.4
Relationship towards the elderly, sick, disabled	0	0.1
Something else	0.9	3.8
<i>Does not know, Has no opinion</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>24.2</i>

We also asked respondents whether it was justified to deny someone a right (to work, to get an education, etc.) merely on the basis of a personal characteristic (ethnicity, religion, gender...). This question addresses the essence of discrimination as defined in the Serbian Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination adopted in 2009.³

Four-fifths of those polled are clearly aware that this behaviour is unjustified, i.e. that someone cannot be denied a right only on the basis of a personal characteristic. However, the same as last year, a substantial number of respondents (16 percent) say this is 'mostly unjustified', but also that there are circumstances that could conceivably justify such behaviour. Given the fact that this is a rather sensitive issue, this

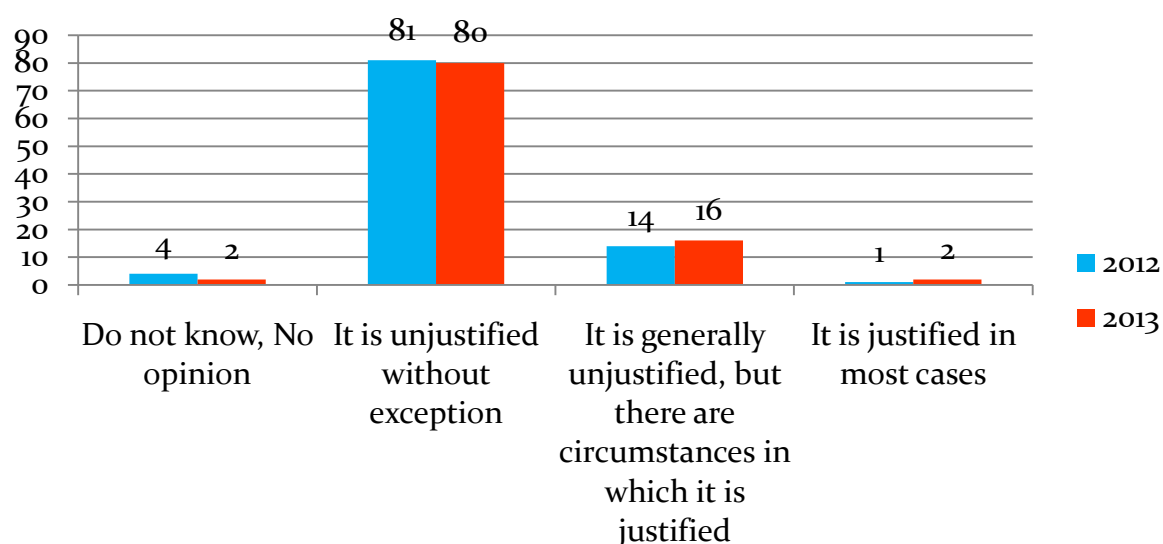
³ Article 1 of this Law states that 'the terms "discrimination" and "discriminatory treatment" shall be used to designate any unwarranted discrimination or unequal treatment, that is to say, omission (exclusion, limitation or preferential treatment) in relation to individuals or groups, as well as members of their families or persons close to them, be it overt or covert, on the grounds of race, skin colour, ancestors, citizenship, national affiliation or ethnic origin, language, religious or political beliefs, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, financial position, birth, genetic characteristics, health, disability, marital and family status, previous convictions, age, appearance, membership in political, trade union and other organisations and other real or presumed personal characteristics (hereinafter referred to as: personal characteristics).'

group can be considered ready to engage in discriminatory behaviour under certain conditions.

A negligible number of respondents believe discrimination is justified in most cases.

Which groups say it is generally not justified to deny someone a right just on the basis of a personal characteristic, but that there are also circumstances in which this can be warranted? **This view was shared to an above-average extent by the residents of Vojvodina; young people (aged between 15 and 18); respondents with high school diplomas; and school and university students.**

Chart 5.2.1 Is it justified to deny someone a right (to work, to get an education, etc.) merely on the basis of a personal characteristic (ethnicity, religion, gender...) (in %)

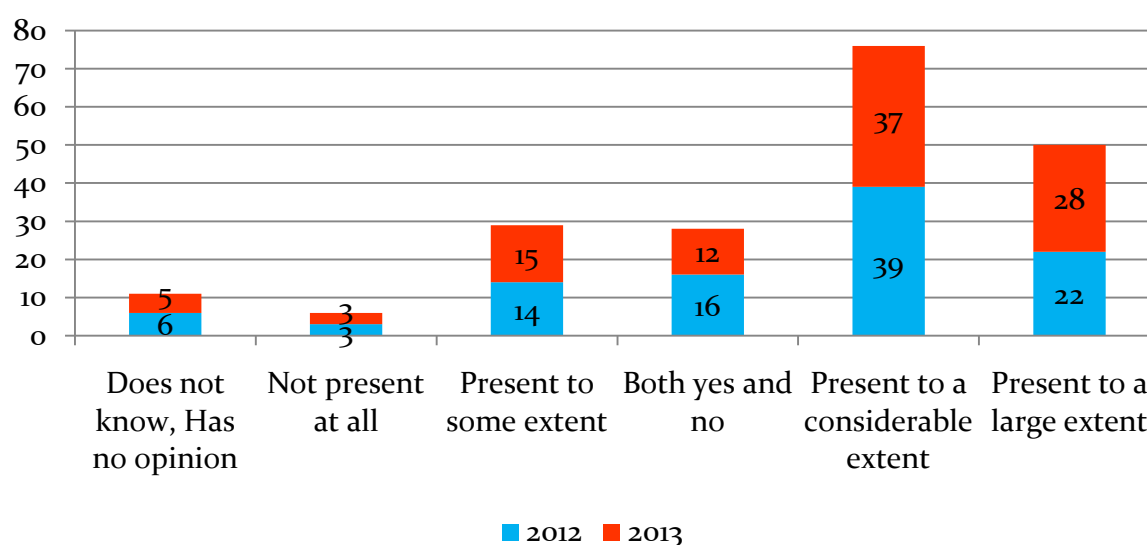


5.3. Perception of the situation in Serbia

This Chapter will present the general picture of how the Serbian public perceives discrimination in Serbia.

The same as last year, **most of those polled believe the society we live in is prone to discrimination.** This view is further borne out by the fact that **nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of all respondents claim that discrimination is present in Serbia to a considerable or large extent.** If we add to this the 12 percent of those who said 'both yes and no', and the 15 percent of those who believe some discrimination is present, we can see that the number of respondents who say there is no discrimination at all is within the margin of error. **All survey iterations since 2009 showed that 60 percent of those polled believed discrimination was present to a considerable or large extent; this number has now increased to as much as 65 percent.**

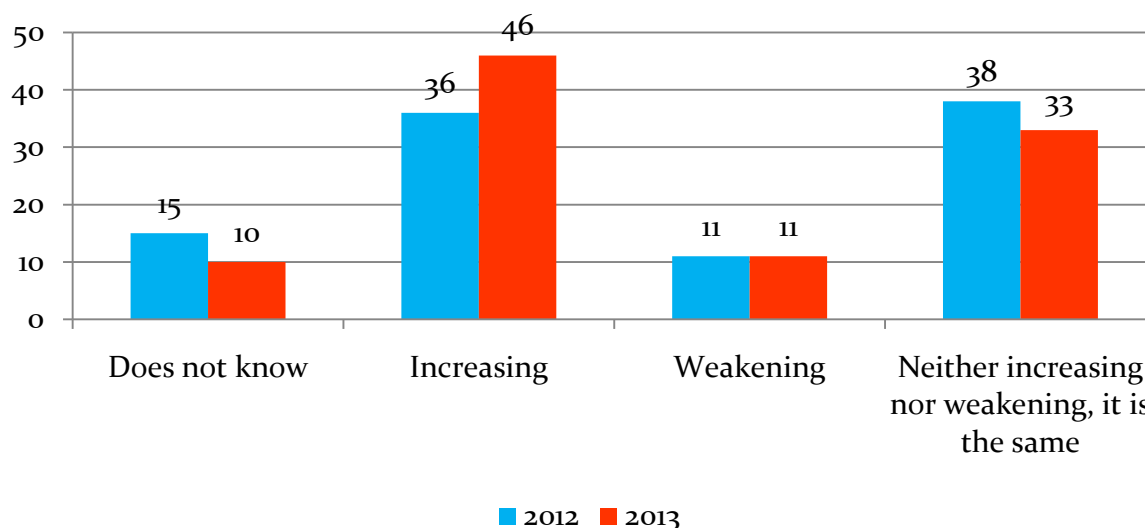
Chart 5.3.1 To what extent is discrimination present in Serbia? (in %)



To complete the general picture of the extent of discrimination in Serbia, we asked respondents to tell us whether they felt that discrimination was increasing or weakening relative to three years ago. The findings correlate with the conclusion given above (Chart 5.3.1), as **this iteration has revealed an increase in the number of respondents who feel discrimination was on the rise, from 36 percent in 2012 to 46 percent in 2013.** There has been a five percentage point drop in the numbers of those who have no opinion and those who believe the situation has not changed.

There seems to be almost no correlation between these views and respondents' socio-demographic characteristics.

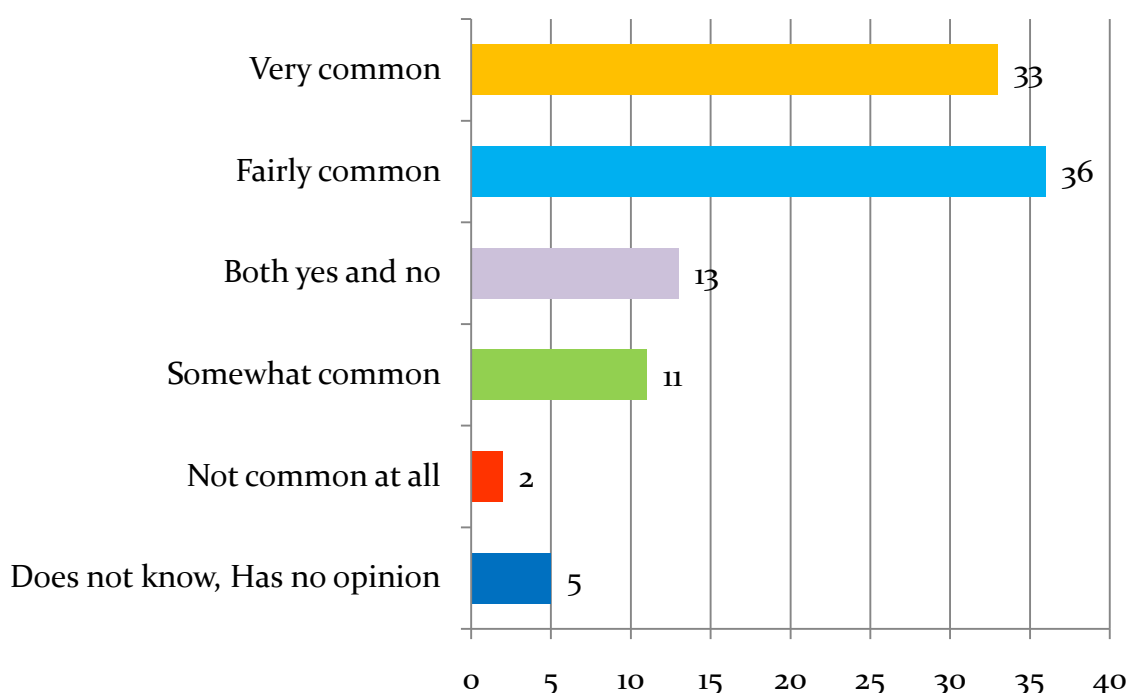
Chart 5.3.2 Is discrimination in Serbia increasing or weakening relative to three years ago? (in %)?



This year's survey, unlike the previous iteration, included questions designed to gauge respondents' views of the extent of violence against women. **More than two-thirds of those polled (69 percent) tell us that violence against women is common in Serbia;** 13 percent say 'both yes and no', whilst one in nine respondents feel that such violence is not very common. **As few as two percent believe there is no violence against women at all.** Respondents, thus, feel that violence against women is very common in Serbia, which is a discouraging finding and one that calls for a more active engagement of both government bodies and civil society organisations.

Disproportionally large numbers of younger and middle-and high-income respondents believe violence against women is very or fairly common.

Chart 5.3.3 How common is violence against women in Serbia? (in %)



Which groups face the most discrimination in Serbia? We asked respondents to name three groups that are in their opinion the most exposed to discrimination. The results are here shown cumulatively, with mentions of all groups (first, second, and third choices) tallied up to make them comparable with the findings of all cycles since 2009.

The first difference we can see relative to 2012 is the drop in the numbers of those who did not know, did not answer, or had no opinion, adding credibility to the findings shown in Table 5.3.1.

The second and greatest difference in relation to all previous iterations of the survey is the fact that women are ranked first by their perceived exposure to discrimination, as reported by as many as 42 percent of those polled. This number is twice as high as last year. How should these findings be interpreted? A possible (but probably not the only) reason why this view is so prevalent is that the fieldwork period coincided with the ‘Don’t turn your back on violence, report it’ campaign launched by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy on International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women. The debate accompanying this campaign prompted a great deal of media coverage, with the press reporting alarming data that showed 46 women had been killed in Serbia, of which 27 in incidents of family violence.

Ranked second by perceived discrimination are the Roma (with 41.5 percent), who had topped the list in previous iterations with 37.8 percent in 2012, 45 percent in 2010,

and 50 percent in 2009. **Besides the Roma, the survey also found that discrimination also affects people with disabilities (28.4 percent), the poor (27 percent), and the elderly (24.5 percent). Also ranked high on the list are children (18.6 percent) and sexual minorities (16.4 percent).** What does a closer look at these results reveal? Firstly, the Roma, the poor, and people with disabilities now head the list of vulnerable groups; the Roma and people with disabilities are now seen as more likely to be discriminated against than last year (although the Roma are still perceived as less so than in 2009-10). Secondly, more respondents now mention the elderly (an increase from 17.6 to 24.5 percent), and, notably, children (reported by 3.9 percent of those polled in 2012, and as many as 18.6 percent in 2013).⁴ There has also been some slight growth in the numbers of respondents who cited persons of different sexual orientations. A possible interpretation for these findings may be that respondents link the issue of violence against women with children, whilst mentions of LGBT people and the elderly may be due to the relatively fresh memories of events surrounding Belgrade Pride and the International Day of Older Persons.

⁴ By way of a reminder, on 19 November 2013 the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality presented her Special Report on Discrimination against Children. The launch debate was held in Parliament and was covered by numerous printed and broadcast media. This event should be borne in mind when interpreting data on the perception of discrimination against children, although it took place before the interviewers did their fieldwork.

Table 5.3.1 Which groups face the most discrimination in Serbia (three answers possible)? (in %)

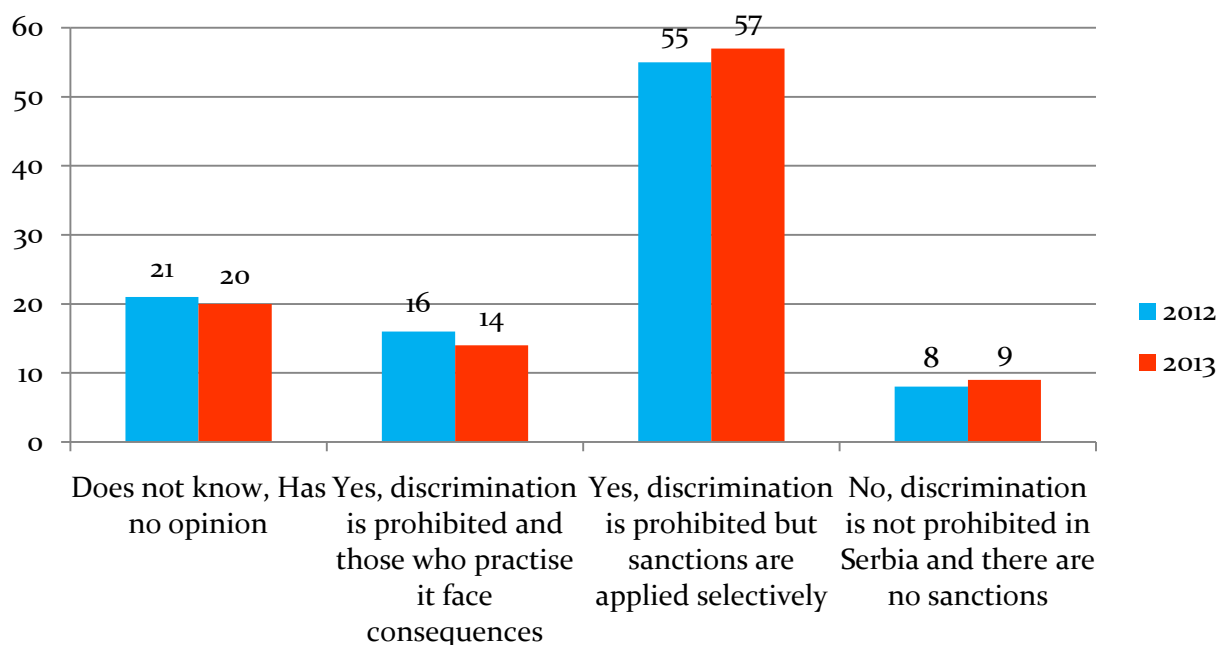
<i>Research cycle</i>	2012	2013
Roma	37.8	41.5
The poor	27.8	27
People with disabilities	22.3	28.4
Women	17.3	41.9
The elderly	17.6	24.5
Sexual minorities	14.2	16.4
Serbs	4.9	4.1
Workers	4.8	5.2
Ethnic minorities	4	7.6
Refugees, displaced persons	5.1	4.5
People with special needs	3.2	0.2
Children	3.9	18.6
The unemployed	3.4	5.9
The young	2.9	3.3
The ill	3.9	6
Country dwellers	2.9	1.4
Religious minorities	2	3.6
Muslims/Bosniaks	2	3.1
HIV-positive people/AIDS sufferers	2.5	3.2
People of different political convictions	0.6	1.1
The uneducated	0.7	0.9
Albanians	1.6	1.9
Croats	0.9	2.1
Someone else	7.1	9.3
Hungarians	0.5	1.2

It is very important that we know to what extent respondents are aware of the statutory prohibition of discrimination in Serbia and the consequences faced by those who break the law. **Most respondents (57 percent) know discrimination is against the law but feel that sanctions are applied selectively; 20 percent either do not know or have no opinion; 14 percent believe that all who break the law suffer the consequences; whilst nine percent say that discrimination is not forbidden at all and that this means there are no sanctions at all.** These results are nearly identical to those seen last year; further, there has been progress relative to the 2009 and 2010 iterations in that the number of respondents who say discrimination is not banned at all now stands at 8 percent, as opposed to 9 percent in both 2012 and 2010.

Residents of Belgrade seem to doubt the implementation of the law: as many as 78 percent of those polled in the Serbian capital claim discrimination are against the law but sanctions are applied selectively. This is one-fifth more than the Serbian

average, and exceeds even last year's figure (when Belgrade residents also topped the list). Higher-income respondents and those holding university degrees also doubt whether the law is applied.

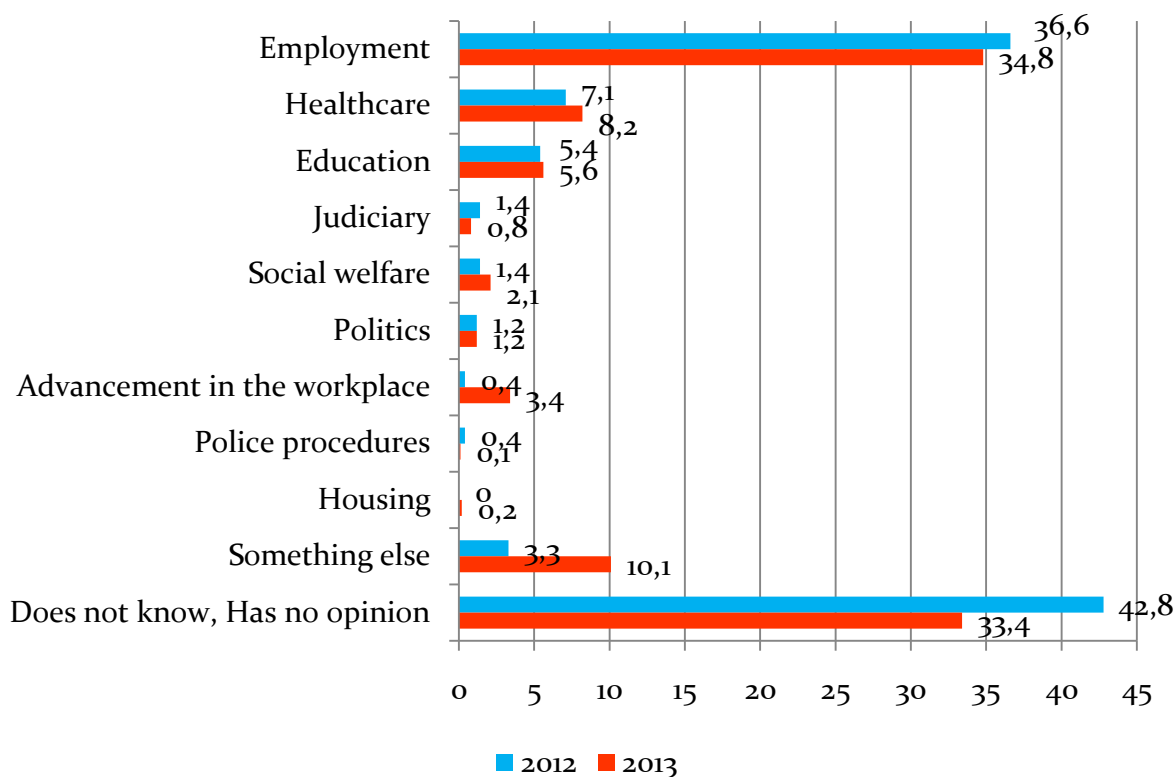
Chart 5.3.4 Is discrimination prohibited in Serbia and to what extent is this adhered to? (in %)



Poor living standards and high unemployment drive public opinion as to which areas of everyday life are seen as most prone to discrimination: more than one-third of all respondents say discrimination is at its most evident in employment (a slight drop of two percentage points relative to 2012), whilst eight percent claim healthcare is the area of daily life where discrimination is at its most evident. All other areas were cited by fewer than six percent of those polled.

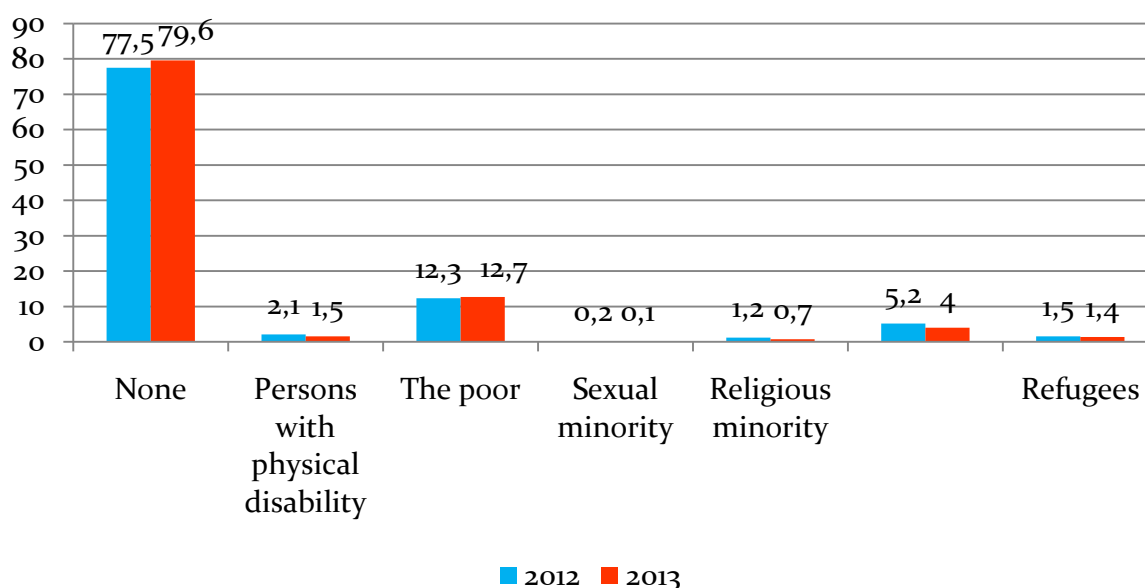
Importantly, those with highest educational attainment feel employment is where discrimination is at its most present. As for other groups, ethnic Bosniaks are represented to an above-average extent in the group of those who see employment as most prone to discrimination.

Chart 5.3.5 Which area of daily life is discrimination most present in? (in %)



We also asked respondents to tell us whether they consider themselves members of a group that is (potentially) discriminated against. **The vast majority (80 percent) say they do not see themselves as members of such a group; 13 percent feel poor; whilst four percent see themselves as having political views different to those held by their environment.** All other responses are within the margin of error.

Chart 5.3.6 Do you consider yourself member of any of the following groups? (in %)

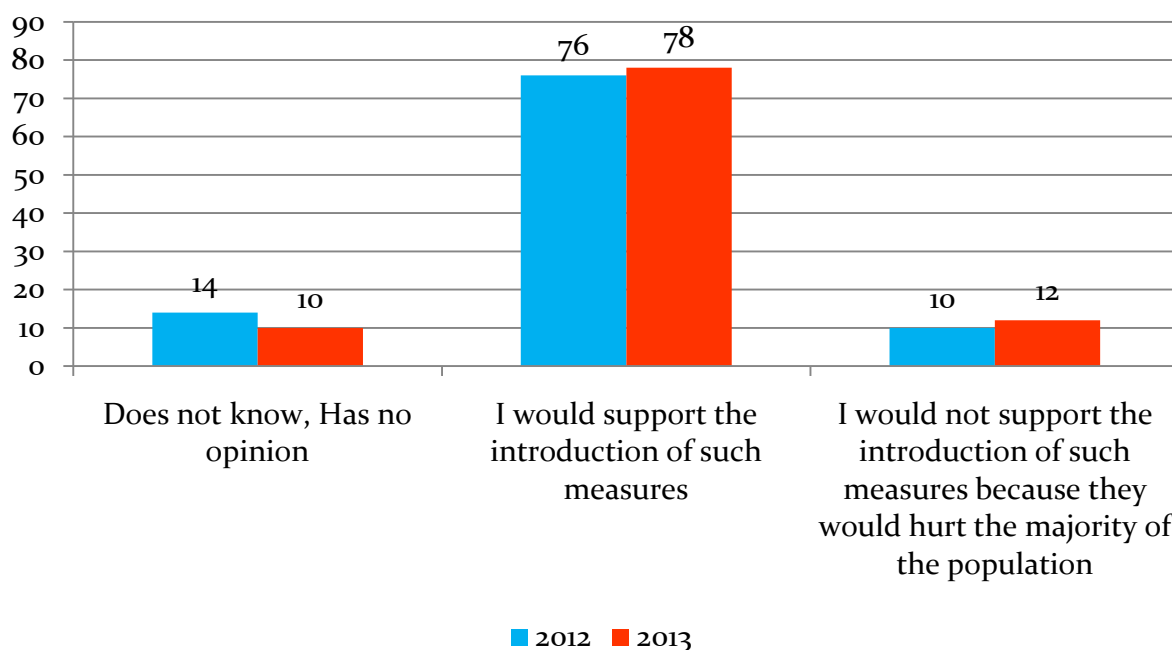


The remaining part of this Chapter will examine respondents' perceptions of measures that could improve the position of groups suffering discrimination (in various areas of daily life) but would also entail added government expenditure.

The first question concerned measures that would ensure employers devoted an appropriate percentage of jobs to members of groups facing discrimination (persons with disabilities, women, the Roma) and that would also entail greater government expenditure.

The results are encouraging, the same as last year, since **78 percent of those polled claim they would support such measures**. One in ten respondents had no opinion, whilst 12 percent would not be in favour since, in their view, the measures would hurt the majority of the population. **Interestingly, 24 percent of the residents of Belgrade (twice as much as the average) would not support these measures.** This figure is the same as last year, but the divergence from the average is even greater. As expected, more residents of Vojvodina would support measures to stimulate employment of those who face discrimination regardless of possible government expenditure.

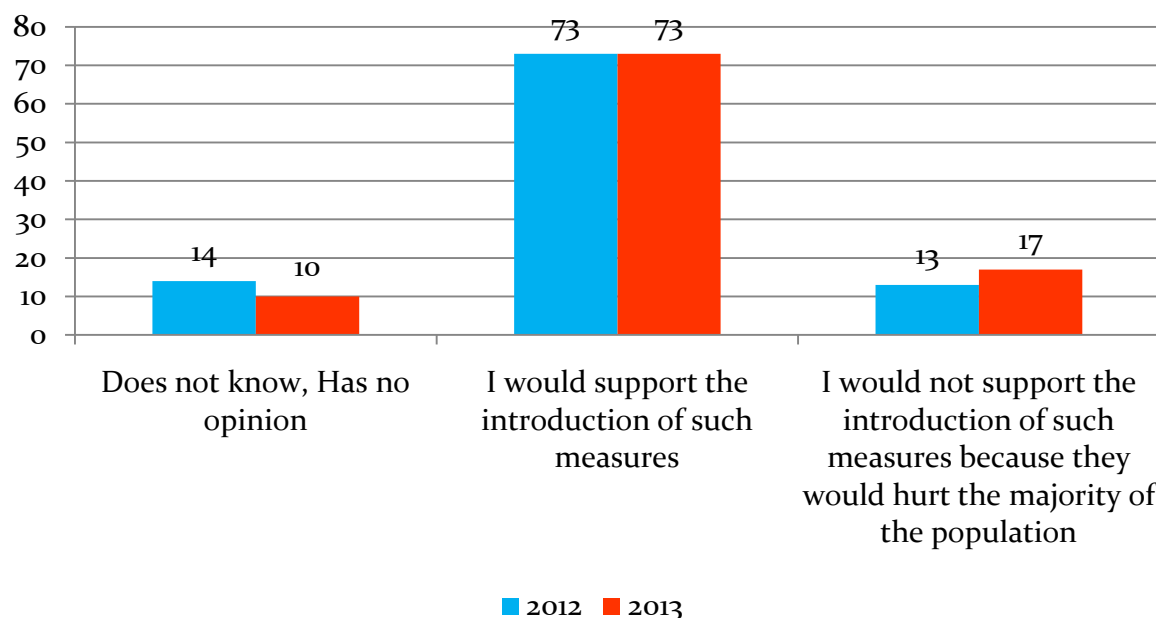
Chart 5.3.7 What is your opinion of the introduction of measures that would ensure employers devote an appropriate percentage of jobs to members of groups facing discrimination (persons with disabilities, women, the Roma), although this would entail added government expenditure? (in %)



The second question asked respondents to say whether they would support measures to ensure special treatment of minority groups (persons with disabilities, the poor, the Roma, etc.) in terms of university enrolment, although this would entail added government expenditure. The number of those not in favours of such measures has grown from 13 percent in 2012 to 17 percent this year. At the same time, the number of respondents who had no opinion has decreased, whilst the number of those polled in favour of these measures has remained constant (at 73 percent).

Interestingly, respondents would rather see affirmative action in support of employment than to facilitate university enrolment. These findings do not correlate in any statistically significant way with socio-demographic characteristics of those polled.

Chart 5.3.8 What is your opinion of the introduction of measures that would ensure special treatment of minority groups (persons with disabilities, the poor, the Roma, etc.) in terms of university enrolment, although this would entail added government expenditure? (in %)



The following three statements presented to respondents focused on measures that could possibly improve the position of ethnic minorities whilst at the same time entailing added government expenditure.

The same as last year, **respondents showed the most understanding for native-language education: 41 percent agree that minorities should have access to instruction in their native languages, even though this may entail added government expenditure**, although a substantial number of those polled (39 percent) were also against it.

The other two statements met with greater disagreement. Thus, **46 percent of those polled do not agree that the state is required to finance ethnic minority media, whilst 49 percent are against always allowing members of ethnic minorities to communicate with government institutions in their native languages if that entails added government expenditure**. In both cases, the numbers of those who disagree has increased slightly relative to the 2012 iteration of the survey.

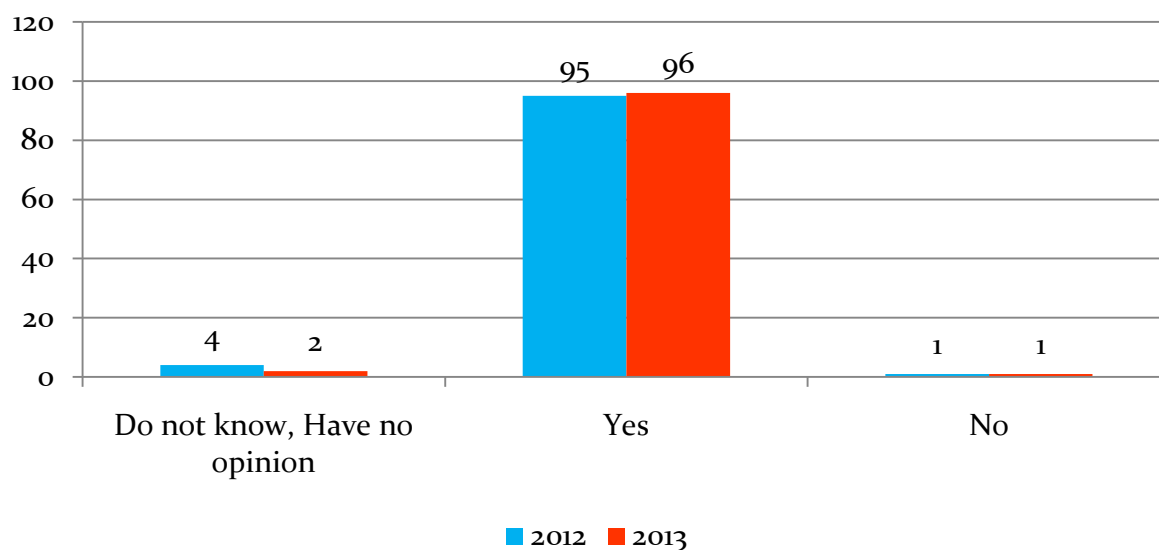
Residents of Belgrade show above-average disagreement with providing government funding to minority media and allowing minorities to communicate with institutions in their native languages if doing so would result in greater government expenditure. As expected, ethnic minorities agree with these statements to an above-average extent.

Table 5.3.2 Respondents' views of measures to improve the position of ethnic minorities (in %)

	2012			
	I do not agree	Undecided	I agree	Total
Ethnic minorities should have access to education in their native languages even if this entails added government expenditure	37	18	45	100
The state is required to finance ethnic minority media even if this entails added government expenditure	42	22	36	100
Members of ethnic minorities should always be allowed to communicate with government institutions in their native languages even if this entails added government expenditure	46	19	35	100
	2013			
	I do not agree	Undecided	I agree	Total
Ethnic minorities should have access to education in their native languages even if this entails added government expenditure	39	20	41	100
The state is required to finance ethnic minority media even if this entails added government expenditure	46	20	34	100
Members of ethnic minorities should always be allowed to communicate with government institutions in their native languages even if this entails added government expenditure	49	21	30	100

Finally, we asked respondents whether government buildings should be adapted to allow unrestricted access for persons with disabilities, even though this would entail added government expenditure. The response was eminently clear: 96 percent of those polled agreed.

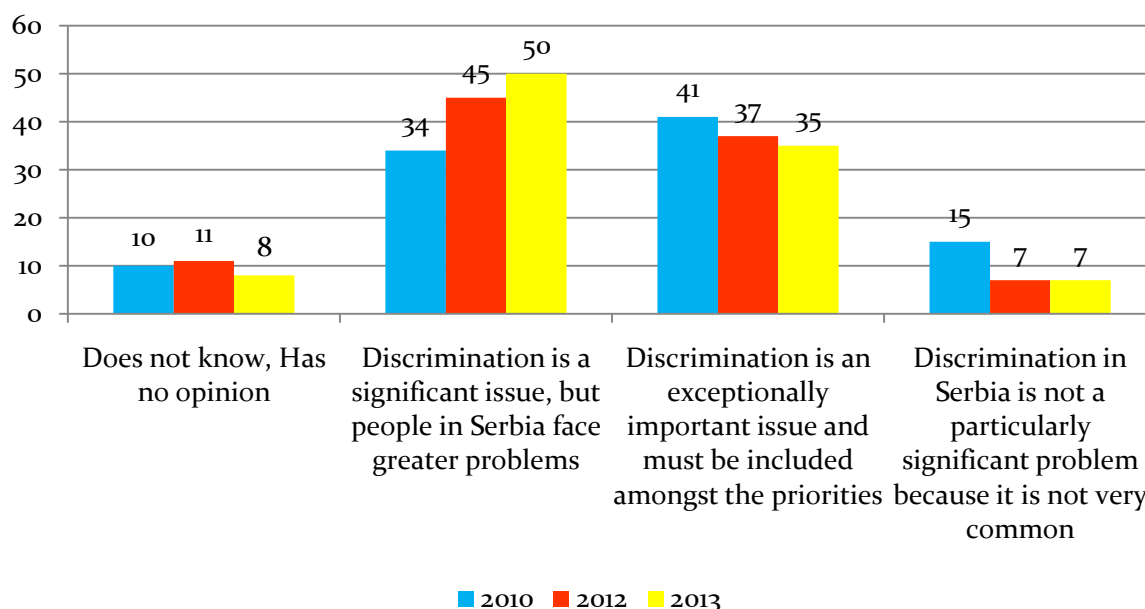
Chart 5.3.9 Should government buildings be adapted to allow unrestricted access for persons with disabilities, even though this would entail added government expenditure? (in %)



We ended this section of the survey questionnaire by asking whether the state should resolve the issue of discrimination as a matter of priority. This question was important for finding out the importance that respondents attach to the issue of discrimination in Serbian society. Generally, the trends seen in this respect are relatively favourable, although certain negative developments can also be identified. Notably, **the number of respondents who feel that discrimination is an exceptionally important issue, and one that should be addressed as a matter of priority, has declined relative to the previous two iterations of the survey (from 41 percent in 2010 to 37 percent in 2012, and 35 percent in 2013)**. Encouragingly, the number of those polled who claim discrimination is not a particularly important issue in Serbia has remained the same as last year, at seven percent, which is half as high as three years ago.

At the same time, **there has been steady growth in the numbers of respondents who consider discrimination a significant problem but also feel that there are greater issues faced by people in Serbia: their ranks swelled from 34 percent in 2010 to 45 percent in 2012, reaching one-half of all those polled in 2013**. What this really means is that economic issues have become dominant over all other issues in our society and that other problems are unlikely to top the list of priorities. The number of those who have no opinion is now at its lowest since the surveys first began.

Chart 5.3.10 Should the state include discrimination amongst priorities that need to be addressed? (in %)



6. PREJUDICE AND TOLERANCE: Ethnic and Social Distance

There is good reason to presume that ethnic and social distance are preconditions for discrimination; thus, where distance appears, discrimination can be expected to follow. Last year's and this year's iterations of the survey were designed to uncover to what extent our fellow citizens tend feel distance towards various ethnic and social groups.

In both cycles we used an extended eight-level version of the Bogardus scale, the reference instrument for capturing such opinions. The respondents were asked about the extent to which they would be willing to participate in social contacts of varying degrees with *a member of a particular social group*. The first level entailed the broadest degree of contacts, i.e. the question was phrased as *How would you feel about a member of a particular social group being* 1) a fellow citizen of Serbia; 2) a neighbour. This was followed by medium-intensity social contacts: *Would you accept such a person as* 3) a co-worker; 4) manager; 5) government official. Finally, social contacts of the highest degree were tested: *How about if such a person were* 6) a close personal friend; 7) your child's teacher; 8) married to you or your child.

Unlike the previous iteration, where we tested opinions of 17 different groups, in this survey we looked at opinions of 11 different social groups. The scale proved inappropriate for some groups because some types of interaction are not possible (e.g. a person with a mental disorder cannot be a manager or government official; most people cannot relate to the question about women in the family, etc.), whilst numerous respondents self-identified with some of the groups (the poor or the elderly); it was thus difficult to gauge the true extent of this type of distance.

As in the previous iteration, types of distance were divided into **ethnic** (relative to ethnic groups) and **social** (relative to other/non-ethnic criteria for defining groups towards which respondents feel distance).

ETHNIC DISTANCE

Information about ethnic distance ought to be read in the context of the ethnicity of the majority of respondents. In this iteration, the percentage of ethnic Serbs in the sample was 87 percent, two percentage points more than in last year's survey; the percentages of Hungarians, Bosniaks, and Roma remained the same, at 3, 2, and 1 percent, respectively; other ethnicities accounted for seven percent, two percentage points fewer than last year.

The findings show that changes have occurred relative to the previous survey at each of the eight levels.

Respondents show the greatest social distance towards Albanians, more so than towards any other ethnic group across all eight types of social contacts/interactions. The findings that relate to distance shown in the broadest types of interaction are now slightly more favourable than one year ago, but when it comes to the most important social contacts, things have remained the same. **The distance felt towards Bosniaks and Hungarians has not changed substantially relative to last year**, save only for the acceptability of these ethnicities as government officials (with the distance declining for Bosniaks and remaining the same for Hungarians). The distance shown towards Croats has fallen across all criteria measured; at the final level, involving the most significant form of social interaction (i.e. marriage), **the distance felt towards Croats is significantly lower than that shown towards Bosniaks.**

As far as the Roma are concerned, the distance shown towards them in lower or medium-intensity social contacts is not great (up to accepting them as family members by marriage). We can term this phenomenon *mass mimicry*, but it is made apparent only at the final level, where the distance shown towards the Roma is just one percentage point lower than that felt towards Albanians. **As expected, respondents show the least distance towards Serbs; the slightly higher percentage at the highest level is due to the fact that Bosniaks and the Roma remain unwilling to marry Serbs.** Generally speaking, the distance has become smaller as the share of Serbs in the overall sample has increased.

Table 6.1 Ethnic distance (in %)

Interaction level	Cycle	Roma	Bosniaks	Hungarians	Croats	Albanians	Serbs
Fellow citizen	2012	6	10	6	16	23	2
	2013	6	9	6	11	20	1
Neighbour	2012	13	12	7	17	26	3
	2013	14	11	7	14	25	1
Co-worker	2012	11	11	7	16	27	3
	2013	11	10	7	13	23	1
Manager	2012	19	16	13	23	34	3
	2013	20	16	11	19	32	2
Gov't official	2012	28	32	30	40	49	3
	2013	28	28	26	35	47	1
Friend	2012	18	14	10	19	33	3
	2013	20	15	9	16	33	1
Children's teacher	2012	26	22	16	26	42	2
	2013	27	22	15	22	41	1
Family member	2012	53	41	30	41	57	5
	2013	56	43	31	39	57	4

SOCIAL DISTANCE

We used the same methodology for social groups as we did to measure ethnic distance. **The objective was to uncover the degree of social distance felt towards particular social groups**, or, rather, to gauge the room available for potential discrimination. **A cursory look at the findings shows that the respondents show the most social distance towards LGBT and HIV-positive people.** Relative to last year, the **distance shown towards LGBT people** has been declining across most levels of social contact, excepting the final level, i.e. **accepting a member of this group as a family member by marriage** (which is where **the distance has grown from an already high 80 percent seen in the previous survey to 82 percent recorded in this cycle**). On the other hand, **the distance shown towards HIV positive people has grown across the board**, rising with the degree of contact to peak at marriage, where 85 percent of those polled feel distance (up from last year's 80 percent). **The distance shown towards religious minorities has declined across all eight segments measured, but has grown with respect to migrants/asylum-seekers.** It seems that frequent media coverage of these groups has led to an increase in the distance felt towards them. We mentioned this likely conclusion in the introduction to this report, given that the fieldwork for this survey coincided with the outbreak of protests in Obrenovac.

Respondents of different ethnicities vary by how much ethnic distance they feel. With distance towards different social groups, there is no major divergence that could be accounted for by the respondent's social and demographic characteristics. As in the 2012 survey, the only characteristic that seems to affect feelings of social distance is **being religious: respondents who view themselves as regular churchgoers or are active in church organisations show greater distance towards LGBT people and minority religious communities.**

Table 6.2 Social distance (in %)

	Cycle	LGBT people	Religious minorities	Refugees	Asylum-seekers	HIV-positive people
Fellow citizen	2012	24	11	4	19	12
	2013	23	10	4	20	13
Neighbour	2012	30	16	5	19	21
	2013	29	16	5	23	22
Co-worker	2012	33	16	4	20	26
	2013	29	14	5	20	26
Manager	2012	41	22	9	29	31
	2013	36	20	11	31	32
Gov't official	2012	48	33	16	48	36
	2013	43	29	21	47	35
Friend	2012	46	24	6	24	38
	2013	46	23	7	29	42
Children's teacher	2012	59	31	7	35	55
	2013	55	29	9	37	55
Family member	2012	80	48	15	45	80
	2013	82	45	18	50	85

If we consider changes in distances felt towards various ethnic and social groups over the past several years, we will notice that they have not changed substantially. This further bears out the fact that **distances are part of prejudices and opinions formed at the time that young people become socialised, and do not change much later in life. Certain situations and circumstances can increase or reduce the distance felt towards various groups, but, in relative terms, trends remain constant** and may change only over lengthy periods of time. What may be a cause for concern is the fact that **the mildly downward trend shown by distances towards ethnic groups (Croats, Bosniaks) is accompanied by increasing distances felt towards the Roma and other marginalised social groups (LGBT people, HIV-positive people).**

Table 6.3 Changes to feelings of ethnic and social distance (in %)

	As neighbours				As family members			
	2009	2010	2012	2013	2009	2010	2012	2013
Roma	11	12	12	14	46	52	53	56
Bosniaks	10	16	17	11	40	48	41	43
Hungarians	5	7	7	7	24	28	30	31
Croats	10	17	17	14	31	39	41	39
Albanians	26	31	26	25	55	64	57	57
LGBT people	21	40	30	29	69	82	80	82
Refugees	4	3	5	5	11	7	15	18
HIV-positive people	28	35	21	22	78	82	80	85

Regardless of any ethnic/social distance felt by respondents, we wanted to find out whether they noticed any of these groups being treated in a discriminatory fashion by the majority. Here we were able to include all social groups we did not measure for using the Bogardus scale (such as, for instance, people with mental disabilities). **We first asked whether each of the groups was discriminated against, and then we posed specific (differentiating) questions to ascertain which group the respondents faced most discrimination.** Given how the question was posed, it should be said that **the lower the index, the more respondents perceive the group is exposed to discrimination.**

Let us first present the changes that occurred over one year (2012–13) in how much certain groups are perceived to be discriminated against. **Respondents believe that two groups now face more discrimination: asylum-seekers/migrants have seen their discrimination index rise by 0.2 index points, whilst the discrimination index for women has increased by 0.3 points.** Respondents believe that the situation has improved when it comes to discrimination against Serbs, where the index has dropped by 0.2 points. No major changes are in evidence for any of the other groups tested for (Table 6.4).

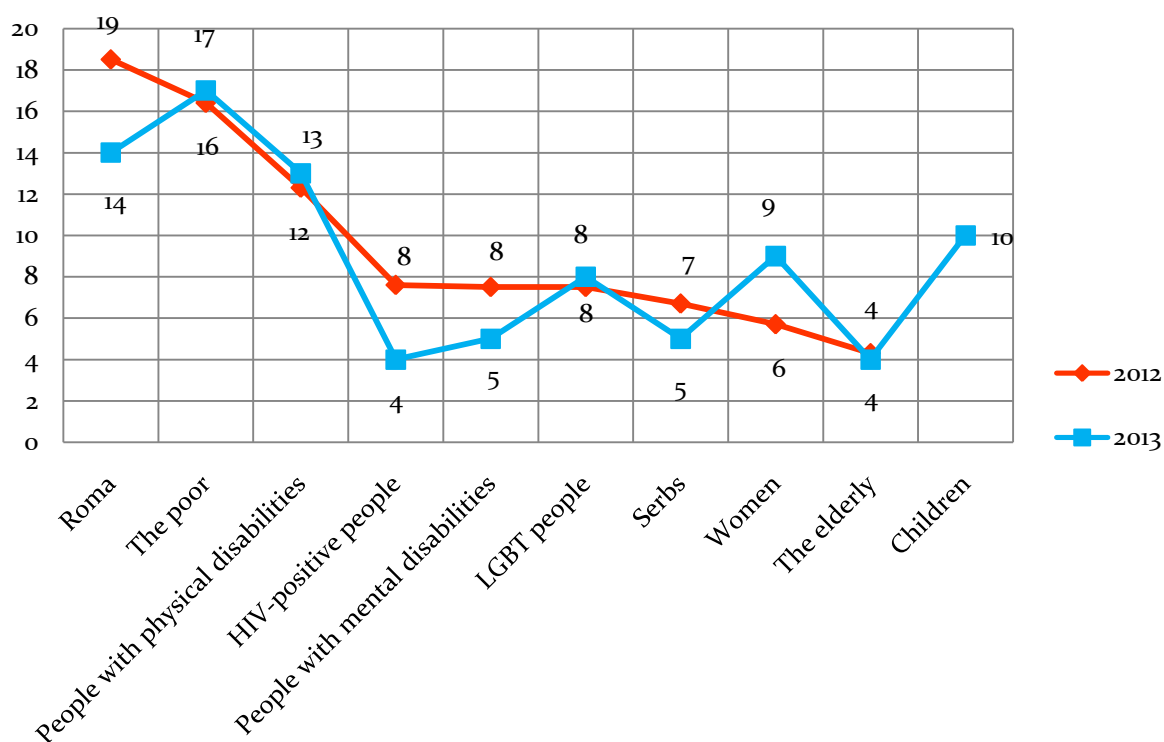
As for ethnic groups, **most respondents do not perceive ethnic groups, except the Roma, as being discriminated against in Serbia.** The perceived index of discrimination against the Roma stands at 2.9, which indicates that most respondents believe that this ethnic group is faced with some form of discrimination. **With other social groups, the poor are perceived as facing the most discrimination, followed by people with mental and physical disabilities.**

Table 6.4. Discrimination perception indexes for various social groups (in %)

	2012	2013
Roma	2.8	2.9
Bosniaks	3.9	4.0
Hungarians	4.3	4.4
Croats	4.1	4.2
People with physical disability	2.5	2.5
People with mental disability	2.4	2.4
The elderly	2.8	2.8
Women	3.1	2.8
The poor	2.4	2.3
LGBT people	3.1	3.1
Religious minorities	3.6	3.8
Albanians	3.8	3.9
Serbs	3.7	3.9
Refugees	3.6	3.9
Migrants/Asylum-seekers	3.7	3.5
Foreigners	4.3	4.4
HIV-positive people	2.7	2.8
Children without parental care		2.8

Chart 6.1 presents percentages that indicate respondents' perceptions of the extent to which certain groups are discriminated against (those polled were here able to choose only one group). These data differ to some extent both from those recorded in 2012 and from those obtained when respondents were asked about each group individually. Firstly, **it is no longer the Roma, but the poor, who face the most discrimination. This is a consequence of the fact that some respondents self-identify with the 'poor' group** due to the dire economic straits that Serbia has been facing. No major changes are in evidence when it comes to respondents' perceptions of discrimination against people with physical disabilities and LGBT people, while **women are now recognised as a group that faces more discrimination than one year ago**. This last finding is expected, since women have to a great extent been perceived as a vulnerable group ever since the survey was first carried out. Children without parental care are also seen as a vulnerable segment of the population, although they were not mentioned in last year's iteration of the survey. All other groups cited by respondents as facing the most discrimination, and not listed in the chart below, each received fewer than one percent of all mentions.

Chart 6.1 Who do we discriminate against the most? (in %)



7. RESPONSIBILITIES AND ROLES OF INSTITUTIONS

We posed two sets of questions in an attempt to learn to what extent discrimination was present at government and political institutions. **One battery of questions related to how much institutions discriminated against members of the public, whilst the second was designed to gauge respondents' perceptions of how much the institutions ought to work towards reducing discrimination.** In both cases, institutions were scored on a scale from one to five, with one being best and five worst. Two indexes were derived from these scores: the first one shows how much certain institutions discriminate against members of the public, whilst the second indicates how much effort these bodies should put into reducing discrimination.

INSTITUTIONS THAT PRACTISE DISCRIMINATION

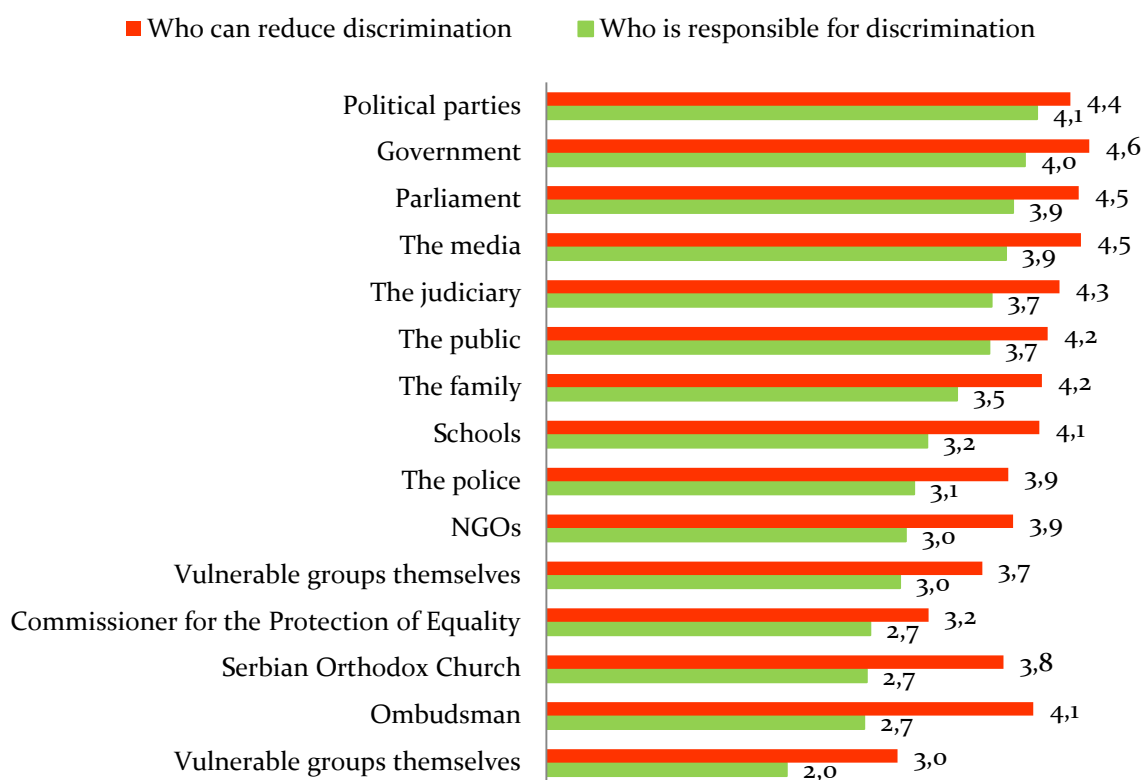
Respondents are able to differentiate between various institutions in terms of the perceived extent of their discriminatory behaviour. Thus **political parties, the government, parliament, and judiciary** – all of them political organisations and state authorities – are seen as the most prone to discrimination. **Surprisingly, the media and the public themselves, who should rather be expected to protect those who face discrimination, are here seen as the opposite – as those who engage in discrimination.** The high average scores awarded to all of these institutions, ranging from 3.7 to 4.1 out of 5, show that respondents perceive them as practising discrimination.

INSTITUTIONS THAT PREVENT DISCRIMINATION

On the other hand, differences between these institutions become significantly smaller when it comes to their roles in preventing discrimination. **The government, parliament, the media, political parties, and the judiciary are again seen as being the most responsible for preventing discrimination,** but similar importance is attached to all other social actors, such as the Ombudsman, members of the public, and families.

Variations between these indices are minimal relative to last year's iteration of the survey, but there are two important differences. Firstly, **the police are seen as being less responsible both for practising and resolving discrimination.** The second finding pertains to the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality: it is not perceived as an institution that engages in discrimination, but, on the other hand, neither is it seen as a body that prevents such behaviour.

Chart 7.1 Government institutions and discrimination (in %)

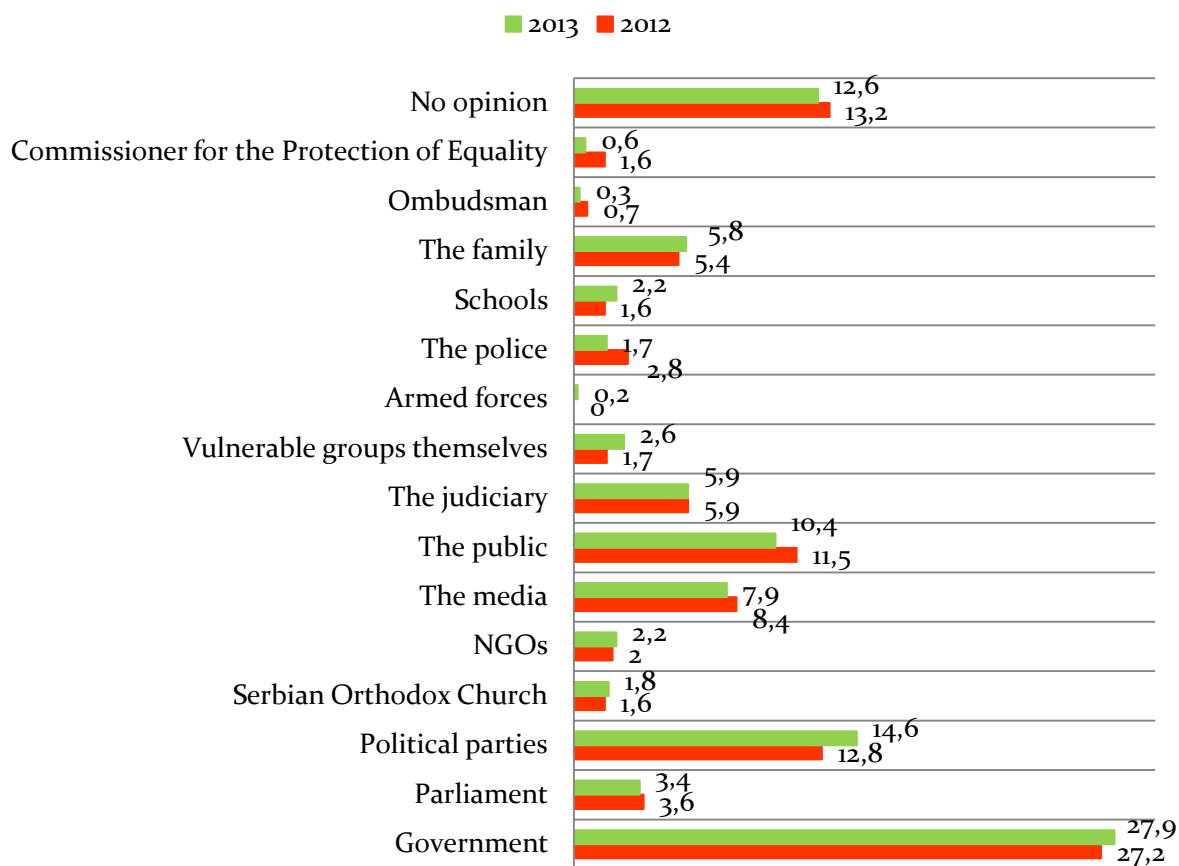


INSTITUTIONS THAT PRACTISE DISCRIMINATION AND THOSE THAT SHOULD PREVENT IT

Two differentiating questions were used to capture respondents' perceptions of institutions seen as the most responsible for discrimination and those viewed as being most able to help prevent such behaviour. This year's findings are here shown in comparison with those recorded last year to highlight changes over time.

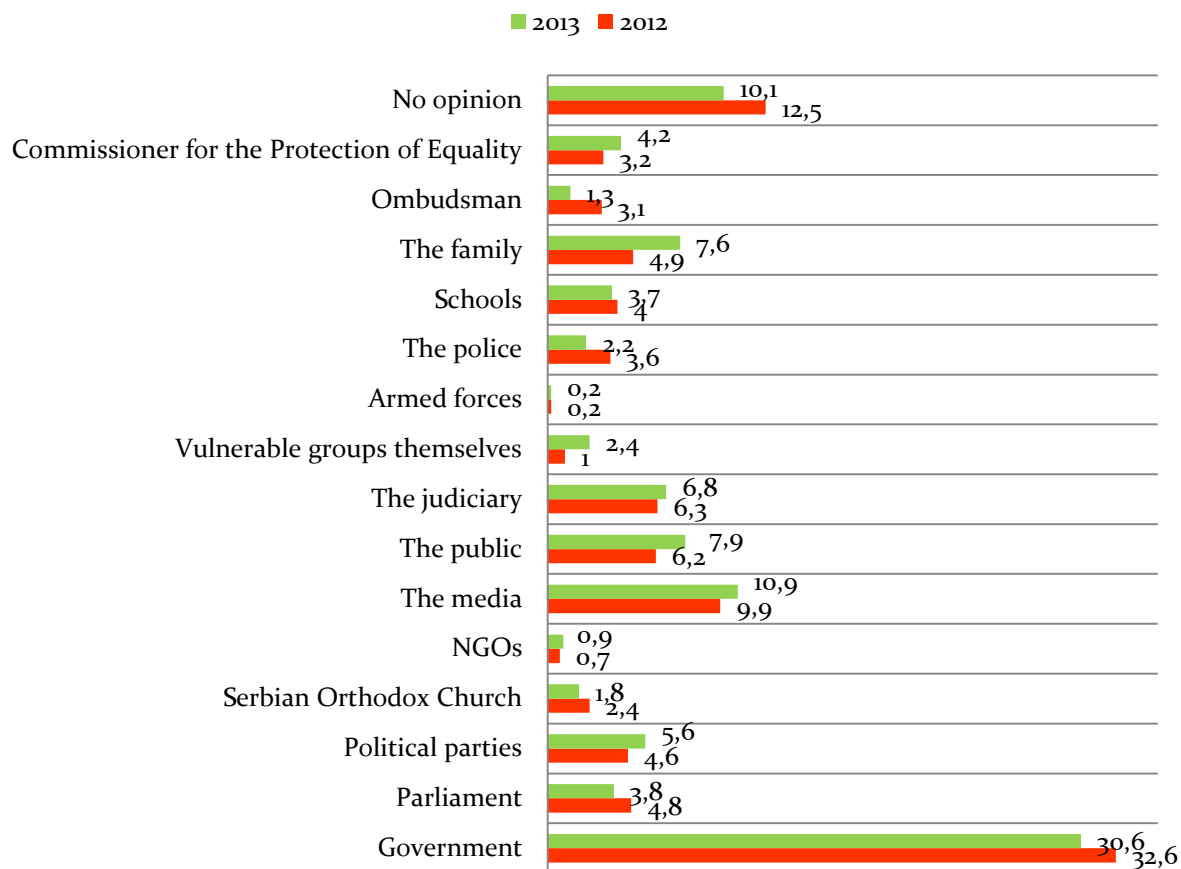
The Government, that is, the executive power, is perceived as being at the same time the most prone to discrimination and the best placed to help in this area. Nearly 28 percent of those polled cited this institution as the most discriminating. More than ten percent of all respondents feel that, besides the Government, it is political parties and members of the public themselves that most engage in discrimination. **The numbers of those polled who cited political parties and the public have increased appreciably relative to last year, whilst there are now slightly fewer respondents mentioning the Government.** All other institutions are seen as practising discrimination to a lesser extent and there are no significant changes relative to last year's findings.

Chart 7.2 Which institution practises discrimination the most? (in %)



On the other hand, **more than 30 percent of those polled perceive the Government as the stakeholder best placed to resolve these issues; only the media have scored anywhere near as high, with slightly over ten percent.** Nevertheless, the public, families, and the judiciary are also seen as having some responsibility in the matter. **Thus, the number of respondents who view the family as able to make a difference has increased from 4.9 to 7.6 percent over the previous year –the most significant change captured in this area.**

Chart 7.3 Which institution should prevent discrimination? (in %)



8. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES WITH DISCRIMINATION

To be able to gain a more comprehensive picture of respondents' views of discrimination we also asked them to relate their own personal experiences with discrimination, if any. **The percentage of those who report having personally been discriminated against is the same as in 2012, and stands at 16 percent.** This figure shows progress has been made relative to three or four years ago, when 24 and 22 percent of those polled, respectively, reported having faced discrimination.

The order of circumstances that result in discrimination is now somewhat different than one year ago, although the changes are slight. **This year, most respondents report having been discriminated against in the workplace (four percent, or one-quarter of all those who had a personal experience with discrimination);** this is followed by discrimination in everyday life (2.9 or 18 percent) and when being hired or looking for a job (2.8 or 18 percent).

Clearly, **most discrimination in Serbia takes place in the workplace or is associated with being hired.**

Table 8.1 Exposure to discrimination (in %)

	2012	2013
No, I have never been exposed to it	83.6	84.3
Being hired / looking for a job	3.5	2.8
In the workplace	3.2	4
In everyday life or society	2	2.9
Religious discrimination	1.2	0.1
At a healthcare institution	1.2	0.9
At school (university, nursery school)	1.2	0.5
Being fired, losing a job	0.6	0.4
Queuing, e.g. in front of a public counter or waiting to see a public official	0.5	0.1
When exercising rights (to retirement, social security, etc.)	0.4	1.1
At the police station, in conflict with the police	0.3	0.2
At election time, in conflict with the authorities	0.1	0.3
Something else	2.1	2.4
Total	100	100

If a respondent were to be exposed to discrimination, which official institution would they report it to? Encouragingly, there has been a slight increase in the number of those polled who would report discrimination.

Most respondents said they would report discriminatory behaviour to **the police (10 percent), the Ombudsman (four percent), and the judiciary (three percent)**. The Commissioner for the Protection of Equality was cited by 2.3 percent of those polled, a figure very similar to that seen in last year's iteration of the survey. **A relatively high number of respondents (six percent) do not know who to report discrimination to.**

Table 8.2 If you have been or become exposed to discrimination, which official institution did you or would you report it to? (in %)

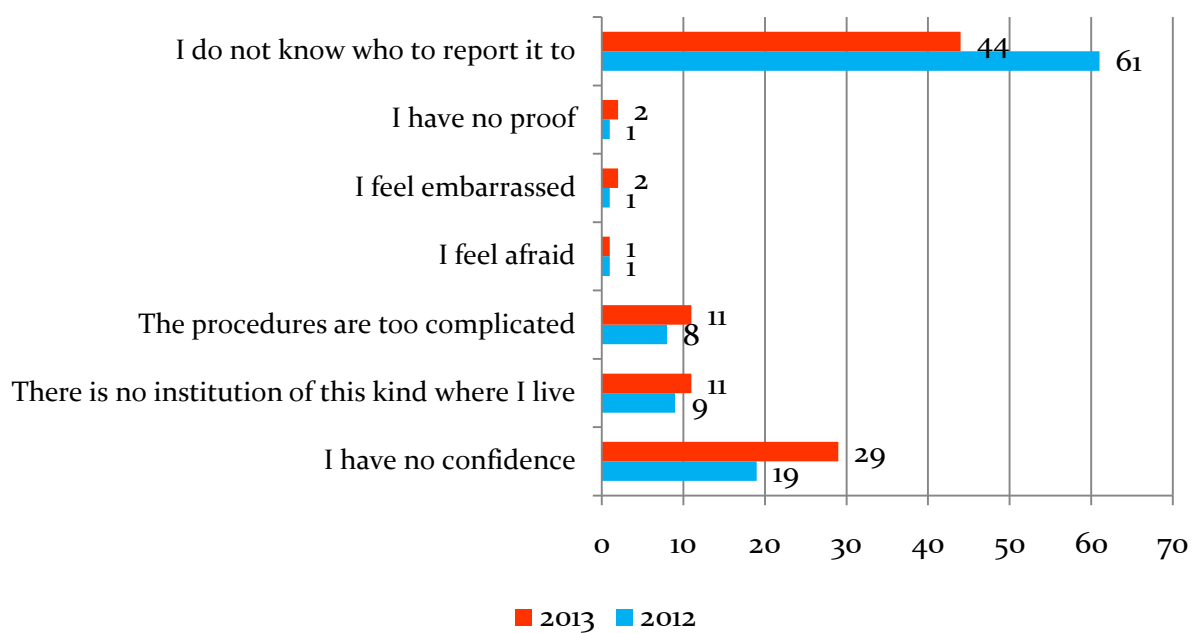
	2012	2013
Did not / Will not report it to anyone	72.2	67.5
Police	12.5	9.6
Ombudsman	3.5	3.9
Judiciary	3.3	3.4
Municipality/ City	2.2	2.1
Commissioner for the Protection of Equality	2.1	2.3
National Government	0.4	1
Non-governmental organisations	0.4	0.1
Media	0.3	0.4
School	0.2	0.4
Commissioner for Information of Public Importance	0.1	0.3
<i>Does not know who to report it to</i>	0.8	5.6
Someone else	2.1	3.6

We asked the respondents why they did not report actual discrimination to anyone or why they would not do so in the future. Responses to this question also served to reveal the level of trust that institutions enjoy with the public. **The number of those who do not know who to report discrimination to has fallen relative to 2012 (from 61 to 44 percent), although it remains high.**

However, negative trends can be seen amongst those who cited a reason for not reporting or not wanting to report discrimination. **The number of respondents who have no confidence in institutions has grown relative to 2010 and 2012 (from one-fifth of the total to 29 percent in this year's survey).** At the same time, **the percentage of those polled who say procedures are excessively complicated has also increased (from eight to 11 percent).** Slight growth can also be seen amongst those who say there are no institutions they could report such behaviour to in the area where they live.

Mistrust of institutions is cited to an above-average extent as a reason for not reporting discrimination by residents of Belgrade (38 percent); respondents aged between 60 and 69 (37 percent); and those with monthly incomes of between RSD 40,000 and RSD 60,000 per member of household (44 percent).

Chart 8.1 Why did you not or why would you not report discrimination? (in %)

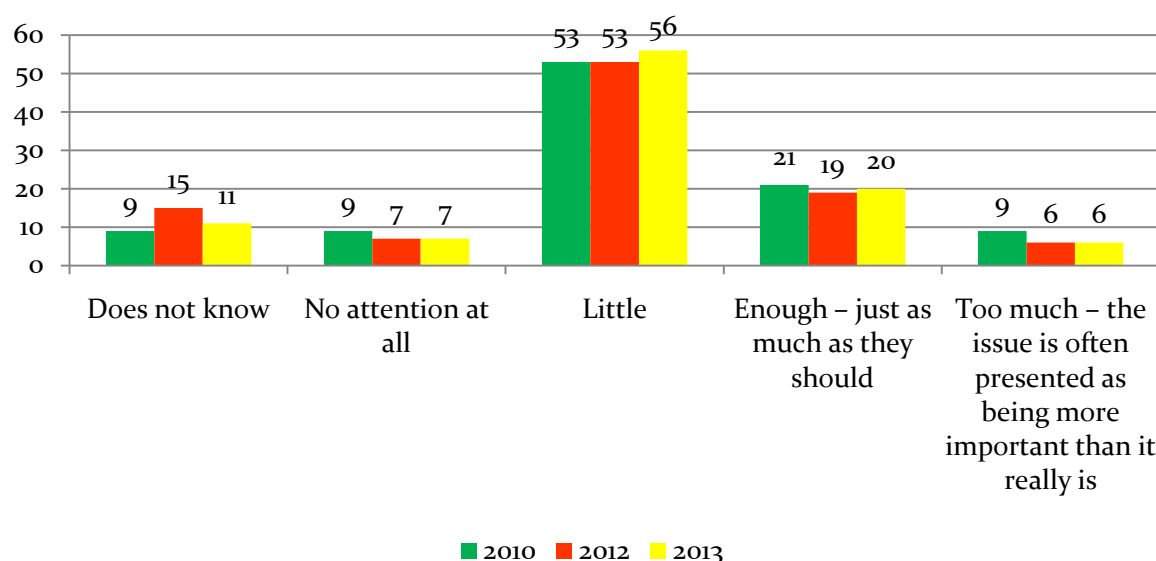


9. FAMILIARITY WITH DISCRIMINATION AND GROUPS FACING DISCRIMINATION

An unavoidable feature of an analysis such as this is the public perception of how one learns about discrimination and groups facing discrimination, as well as of the roles of the media and institutions. This Chapter particularly examines the extent to which society addresses the needs of vulnerable groups and how much attention people devote to their issues in everyday life (for instance, by discussing them with their friends).

No substantial differences were recorded relative to previous iterations of the survey. **Most respondents believe that the media devote little attention to the issue of discrimination (56 percent, three percentage points more than in 2010 and 2012).** One in five members of the public feel that the media ‘strike a balance’, meaning that they report these issues exactly as much as they should (a figure close to previous years’ levels); seven percent believe that the media devote no attention at all to this issue; whilst six percent claim that discrimination is excessively talked and written about in the media (i.e. that the issue is presented as being more important than it really is).

Chart 9.1 How much attention do the media devote to the issue of discrimination? (in %)



After asking the introductory question about the media’s relationship with the issue of discrimination in general, **we asked respondents to tell us how much time they spent talking to their friends about the eight vulnerable groups or issues; how they feel the media address the same groups or issues; and how much attention society as a whole should devote to these issues.** Therefore, we started from the lowest level of interpersonal communication (where it all begins), examined the media, as the ‘middle’

level, to finally arrive at the most general plane – the relationship of society as a whole towards vulnerable groups and their issues.

All trends seen in interpersonal communication last year are again in evidence in this iteration of the survey. **Of all the vulnerable groups, only the poor and the elderly are a frequent topic of conversation amongst friends: 28 and 21 percent of those polled, respectively, say they discuss these segments of society.** Most respondents do not discuss religious minorities (50 percent), people of different sexual orientations (42 percent); or issues of ethnicity (38 percent) at all. These groups came last in the previous iteration of the survey, but the findings are now even poorer. This year we also included violence against women in our analysis, and obtained the following results: 14 percent of those polled discuss this issue with their friends a great deal; 26 percent do so to some extent; 35 percent talk about it a little; whilst 25 percent do not discuss it at all.

Table 9.1 How much do you discuss the following issues with your friends? (in %)

Survey cycle	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
	Not at all		A little		Some		A great deal	
Equality between men and women	23	26	31	35	32	26	14	13
People of different sexual orientations	34	42	34	34	24	17	8	7
People with disabilities	22	25	37	40	30	25	11	10
The poor	12	15	24	29	35	28	29	28
The elderly	16	20	30	31	31	28	23	21
Ethnicity	31	38	37	38	23	18	9	6
Religious minorities	43	50	33	34	18	13	6	3
* Violence against women		25		35		26		14

At a higher level, we asked respondents how much attention the media devoted to this issue. This question matters because we can compare responses to it with what those polled actually do in their everyday lives. **The findings are inversely proportional to how much respondents discuss these issues with their friends.** Those polled feel that **the media devote most attention to people of different sexual orientations(as reported by nearly two-fifths of those polled), although this issue is close to the bottom of the list in terms of interpersonal communication.** At the same time, **respondents believe that the media devote no attention at all to the elderly and the poor (23 percent each), or to religious minorities (21 percent).** The above table (Table 9.1) shows that, of all the vulnerable groups offered, the elderly and the poor were the subject of most discussions amongst friends (as expected, due to self-identification in a considerable number of cases).

Fifteen percent of those polled believe that the media pay a great deal of attention to violence against women, and one in ten feel they do not report on it at all.

Table 9.2 How much attention do the media devote to the following issues? (in %)

Survey cycle	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
	None		A little		Some		A great deal	
Equality between men and women	12	12	40	42	36	35	12	11
People of different sexual orientations	7	8	25	26	33	27	34	39
People with disabilities	17	18	48	52	28	24	7	6
The poor	20	23	45	48	26	22	9	7
The elderly	19	23	48	51	27	20	6	6
Ethnicity	11	17	39	43	39	30	11	10
Religious minorities	17	21	42	44	33	27	8	8
* Violence against women		10		38		37		15

Table 9.3 is the best indicator of respondents' views towards problems encountered by vulnerable groups. **When respondents are asked about the extent to which society should address these issues, percentages increase across the board, relative to both media reporting and discussions with friends** (shown in Tables 9.1 and 9.2). So, for instance, **76 percent say that society should devote a great deal of attention to the poor; 72 percent cite people with disabilities; 71 percent mention violence against women; 68 percent say more attention should be paid to the elderly; whilst 53 percent cite gender equality.** According to our respondents, **only people of different sexual orientations and religious minorities are perceived as groups that society should not devote any attention at all to** (with 24 and 18 percent, respectively).

These results mean that the respondents are aware of the problems (of most groups, with the exclusion of LGBT people and, to a lesser extent, religious minorities and ethnic communities), but that society was solely responsible for resolving them. Unfortunately, these findings are not much different from those seen last year.

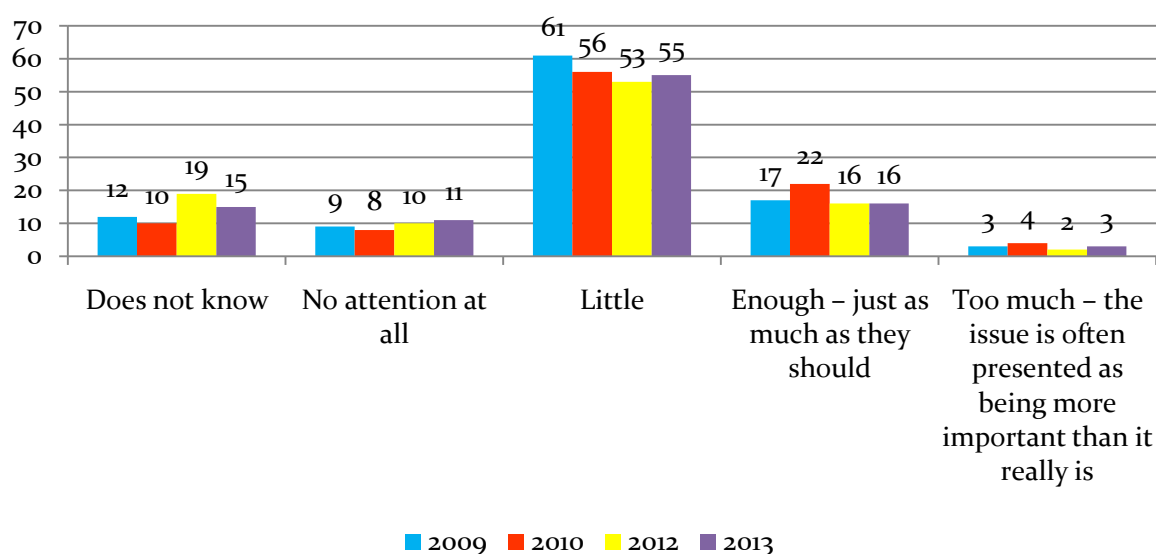
People of different sexual orientations fare the worst: they are not the subject of discussions between friends (as reported by 42 percent of those polled); 39 percent of all respondents feel they receive a great deal of media coverage; and one-quarter believe that society should not address their problems.

Table 9.3 How much attention should society devote to the following issues? (in %)

Survey cycle	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
	None		A little		Some		A great deal	
Equality between men and women	6	4	10	8	35	34	49	53
People of different sexual orientations	24	24	20	22	31	27	25	27
People with disabilities	5	2	4	5	25	21	66	72
The poor	4	2	4	3	20	19	72	76
The elderly	5	2	6	6	26	24	63	68
Ethnicity	10	12	19	24	40	33	31	31
Religious minorities	13	18	23	26	38	31	26	25
* Violence against women		2		5		22		71

It is very important that not only the media, but also government institutions, contribute to raising awareness of discrimination among the Serbian public. To what extent do government bodies do so? Not sufficiently, judging by the findings of this year's survey: **more than one-half of all those polled (55 percent) believe that institutions provide little information to the public about discrimination and government activities, whilst one in nine respondents feel that no information is given at all, which is a slight increase on previous iterations of the survey.** A total of 16 percent of those polled believe that institutions provide just enough information about discrimination (nearly identical to last year's findings); whilst another three percent claim that too much information is disseminated.

Chart 9.2 How much information do government institutions provide to the public about discrimination in Serbia and the government's activities with respect to this issue? (in %)

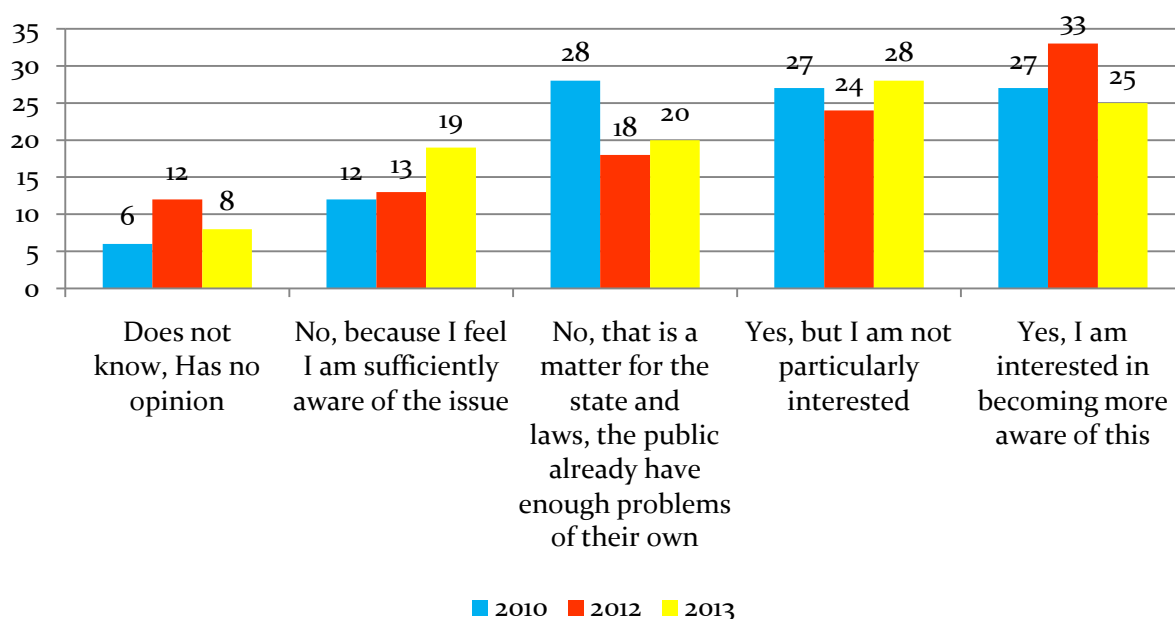


Would the respondents themselves be interested in learning more about discrimination issues? **More than one-half of the population (53 percent) is interested in becoming more aware of discrimination in Serbia; of these, 25 percent are very interested and 28 percent are not particularly so.** From a broader perspective, this is a decrease of four percentage points relative to last year (when 57 percent were interested), or a drop of one percentage point in relation to 2010 (with 54 percent).

Young people (primary and secondary school students, university students) are among those whose interest in learning more about discrimination is not restricted.

Two-fifths of all respondents are not interested in finding out more about discrimination in Serbia and the government's activities in this respect: 20 percent of these show no interest because they believe that is a matter for the state and that the general public has its own problems, whilst another 19 percent feel they already have all the information they need.

Chart 9.3 Would you personally like to learn more about discrimination in Serbia and the government's activities with respect to this issue? (in %)



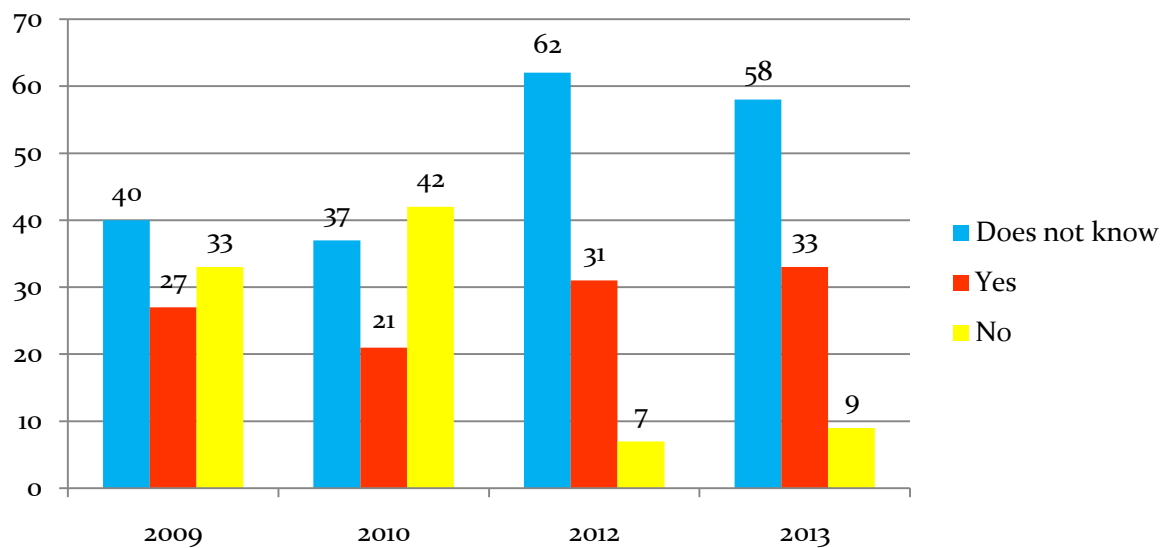
10. VISIBILITY OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR THE PROTECTION OF EQUALITY

The Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination was enacted in the Serbian Parliament in 2009. This piece of legislation envisaged the establishment of an independent, autonomous, and specialised body, the Office of the Commissioner for the Protection of Equality. It is important, therefore, to continuously gauge the visibility of this institution amongst the public, as well as how the public rate its performance. Four years have now passed since the Law was adopted, and it has been three years since the establishment of the Office of the Commissioner. This distance is sufficient to ascertain the true extent to which the Serbian public is aware of the existence of an institution devoted to protecting the equality of all citizens.

Encouragingly, since 2010 we have been seeing an increase in the numbers of those aware of the existence of an institution tasked with protecting equality: in 2010, 21 percent of all respondents were aware of this; the figure rose to 31 percent in 2012; and this year it has increased to a full one-third of those polled. At the same time, the numbers of those who either do not know or have no opinion have declined (from 62 to 58 percent). This year, one in eleven respondents claim such an institution does not exist in Serbia, which represents a slight increase relative to last year. It can be seen, when the findings of multiple iterations of the survey are considered, **that the number of those who say no such institution exists is on the decline, whilst there are now more respondents who have no opinion or do not know the answer.**

Respondents unaware of the existence of an institution tasked with safeguarding equality are to an above-average extent residents of Central Serbia (65 percent) and mainly have lower educational attainment (i.e. completed primary or vocational school).

Chart 10.1 Is there an institution in Serbia that safeguards the equality of all citizens, i.e. that citizens can turn to for assistance in case of discrimination? (in %)



APPENDIX 1. PROFILES OF (NON-) DISCRIMINATORS: Cluster Analysis – Public Opinions of Discrimination and Value Matrix

Experience has shown that the opinions of various groups of respondents differ to a much larger degree in relation to the values they hold rather than on the basis of their demographic characteristics. Such findings were obtained in both last year's and this year's iteration of the survey on discrimination in Serbia.

We repeated the questions used to capture respondents' opinions of four value orientations and two situational attitudes. The values and positions were captured on the basis of answers to multiple statements that were used to construct a compound indicator for each value matrix and position.

Four value orientations (traditionalism, conformity, authoritarianism, and nationalism) and two situational attitudes (towards the EU and towards democracy) were covered by the questionnaire. Value orientations were captured on the basis of answers to multiple statements that were used to construct compound indicators.

Answers to the following statements were used to measure **traditionalism**:

'Leading positions in businesses should be in the hands of men.'

'The most important virtue for a woman is being a good housewife.'

'One should firmly hold on to the beliefs and customs of the people.'

'One should hold on to the morality preached by the religious community.'

Answers to the following statements were used to measure **conformity**:

'I always behave as my environment expects me to.'

'I do not like to argue with people if our opinions differ.'

'I try not to be too different from other people in my environment.'

'I do not like to express my opinions if I know they will differ from those of others.'

Answers to the following statements were used to measure **authoritarianism**:

'Children should be brought up in strict discipline.'

'Teachers should be strict with students.'

'This country needs a mighty leader whom the people will follow without question.'

'Respect for authority is the highest virtue that people should aspire to.'

Answers to the following statements were used to measure **nationalism**:

'I am ready to sacrifice myself for the interests of my people.'

'We are in danger of losing our identity because of the mixing of various cultures.'

Situational attitudes were obtained on the basis of answers to multiple statements; these were then used to develop compound indicators.

Answers to the following statements were used to measure **attitude towards the EU**:

‘We risk losing our national identity and culture by joining the EU.’

‘The EU is the guarantee of Serbia’s peace, stability, and development.’

Answers to the following statements were used to measure **attitude towards democracy**:

‘Democracy may be flawed, but it is better than all other forms of governance.’

‘Democracies do not succeed in keeping order.’

Each of the value orientations and attitudes were divided into a negative (*Completely disagree / Mostly disagree*) and a positive (*Mostly agree / Completely agree*) pole, and a neutral ‘middle’ (*Neither agree nor disagree*).

The analysis given below relates, therefore, to four value orientations (traditionalism, conformity, authoritarianism, and nationalism) and two situational attitudes (towards the EU and towards democracy).

Firstly, **we can say that respondents’ opinions have not changed materially relative to last year. This was not entirely unexpected, as these are fundamental opinions** that become fixed through processes of socialisation and politicisation and thereafter most often remain firmly embedded in individuals for the rest of their lives. Any minimal changes in respondents’ value matrices and attitudes can also be ascribed to the errors inherent to all opinion polling.

Generally, we can conclude that none of the six categories examined contains an absolute majority tending towards the positive pole of a value or attitude, which to a large extent drives adverse discriminatory processes. Yet, things are not as negative as they might seem, because **identifying with negative values and attitudinal orientations is predominant with authoritarianism and attitude towards the EU**, but the differences relative to the positive pole are not overly great. **The majority of the population can be categorised as neutral, and in practice gives in to the attitudes of whoever is dominant, regardless of whether they come from the positive or the negative pole.**

Individually, respondents’ values and situational attitudes correlate to a great extent with the discrimination index. **Thus, traditionalists, conformists, authoritarians, and nationalists, or those who hold negative attitudes towards the EU and democracy, are much more prone to discrimination than those found at the opposite poles of values and situational attitudes.**

Table 1 Value orientations and attitudes of the Serbian population (in %)

		2012	2013
Traditionalism	Modernist	32	33
	Neutral	44	43
	Traditionalist	24	24
Conformity	Non-conformist	34	35
	Neutral	45	45
	Conformist	21	20
Authoritarianism	Non-authoritarian	28	27
	Neutral	41	40
	Authoritarian	32	32
Nationalism	Internationalist	27	29
	Neutral	47	46
	Nationalist	26	25
Attitude towards the EU	In favour of the EU	24	23
	Neutral towards the EU	46	50
	Against the EU	30	27
Attitude towards democracy	Democratic	28	30
	Neutral	60	59
	Undemocratic	13	11

If we wish to present data on value orientations and attitudes cumulatively by group, we must first construct these groups using cluster analysis. The procedure used here is identical to that employed last year, and the data obtained do not differ at the level of the groups' general characteristics. Cluster analysis (see Table 2) enables us to show the *sum* of all characteristics that relate to respondents' values and attitudes, as well as how they relate to discrimination.

PROFILES OF (NON-) DISCRIMINATORS

Respondents' groups have similar characteristics and share values across categories. Thus, **Group 3** is mainly made up of modernists, non-conformists, non-authoritarians, internationalists, those in favour of or neutral towards the EU, and those who recognise democracy as a desirable political order. **This group accounts for slightly under one-quarter (24 percent) of Serbia's population.** As can be seen, members of this group are not prone to engaging in discrimination, and can be termed **NON-DISCRIMINATORS**.

In addition to Group 3, **Group 2** also exhibits a dominantly non-discriminatory attitude. This group is neutral in almost every aspect we tested for, but some opinions that reflect positive values or attitudes are also shared by the majority of its members. Accordingly, we can term them **NEUTRAL NON-DISCRIMINATORS; they account for about one-eighth of the population.**

In contrast, those who make up **Group 5** can be termed **DISCRIMINATORS**. They display a readiness to engage in discrimination above that shown by other groups; their key features are traditionalism, authoritarianism, nationalism, and a negative attitude towards the EU. They are at a position midway between neutral and negative with respect to conformity, and see democracy as a desirable form of governance.

The remaining three groups show no significant indication of being prone to discrimination; the relationship between discriminators and non-discriminators is either balanced or slightly in favour of the non-discriminators. We have therefore opted for naming them after their other key distinguishing marks.

Since most members of **Group 1** who neither agreed nor disagreed with the majority of the statements on offer, we can call them **NEUTRAL**.

The distinguishing characteristic of **Group 4** members is conformity; they will always adapt to the attitudes of the majority, which is why we termed them **CONFORMISTS**.

Group 6 is made up of respondents who hold traditional notions of society, but have rather negative opinions of democracy and the EU. We can term them **TRADITIONALISTS**.

To recapitulate the foregoing cluster analysis, our society is made up of six distinct groups that are characterised by particular traits and opinions of discrimination. We have termed these groups:

NON-DISCRIMINATORS (accounting for 24 percent of the population);
NEUTRAL NON-DISCRIMINATORS (13 percent);
DISCRIMINATORS (15 percent);
NEUTRAL (24 percent);
CONFORMISTS (11 percent), and
TRADITIONALISTS (14 percent).

Table 2 Value orientations and attitudes of (non-) discriminating groups (in %)

		1 Neutral	2 Neutral discrim- inators	3 Non- discrim- inators	4 Con- formists	5 Discrim- inators	6 Tradi- tionalists
Discrimination	Non-discriminating	14	54	73	10	2	14
	Neutral	74	46	26	71	56	64
	Discriminating	12	1	1	18	42	22
Traditionalism	Modernist	36	12	82		2	21
	Neutral	61	68	18	33	31	51
	Traditionalist	3	20		68	67	28
Conformity	Non-conformist	27	4	81		1	60
	Neutral	70	61	19	28	50	40
	Conformist	3	35		72	49	1
Authoritarianism	Non-authoritarian	1	47	79		5	11
	Neutral	59	53	20	37	33	43
	Authoritarian	40		1	63	62	46
Nationalism	Internationalist	23	47	69	17		1
	Neutral	72	51	30	73	19	27
	Nationalist	4	2	1	10	81	72
Attitude towards the EU	In favour of the EU	25	44	39	25		1
	Neutral towards the EU	71	49	50	70	26	24
	Against the EU	4	7	11	5	74	76
Attitude towards democracy	Democratic	18	47	47	14	45	6
	Neutral	75	53	51	71	50	49
	Undemocratic	8	1	2	15	5	45
Cluster size		24	13	24	11	15	14

These individual groups of respondents were then disaggregated by key socio-demographic characteristics. It seems that the crucial distinction (which is also the most important for this survey) is that between **Group 1, Non-Discriminators**, and **Group 5, Discriminators**. Highlighting the differences between these two groups reveals the **typical characteristics of respondents who do and do not practise discrimination**.

PROFILE OF NON-DISCRIMINATORS IN SERBIA: Nearly one-quarter (24 percent) of the population

Group 3, Non-Discriminators, is predominantly made up of respondents aged between 30 and 50 and female; most hold college or university degrees, or, at a minimum, have secondary school diplomas; and are mainly employed in the public sector.

PROFILE OF DISCRIMINATORS IN SERBIA: 15 percent of the population

Most of those inclined to discriminatory behaviour are men, predominantly over 60 years of age and mainly with completed primary or secondary education; most of them are not active in the labour market (i.e. are retired).