



# Social Democracy and Rights of LGBTI People

Author: Miloš Đajić





# CHAPTERS

Introduction: About project	3
Why the Handbook?	5
Social Democracy: Short overview	7
LGBTI movement: Short overview	8
Social democracy and human rights	12
Same rights for all: LGBTI community and human rights	14
Stereotypes and prejudice	16
Discrimination	18
Homophobia	19
Hate speech	21
Pride Parades	22
Roadmap for SD political parties	24
Take action	26
APPENDIX I: A Little Dictionary of LGBTI Terminology	28
APPENDIX II: Useful dates for political action	33



# Introduction: About project

*The Social Democracy and Human Rights Project* started in 2017 with a small group of progressive activists from Education centers of the Social Democratic (SD) parties in Serbia. It was conducted after regional meetings aimed at bringing together representatives of the Social Democratic parties and the LGBTI community. First, Training of Trainers from education centers of the Social Democratic parties was organized in cooperation with Foundation “Max Van der Stoel”<sup>1</sup>, after which they held a seminar for activists from the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Union, as well as representatives of the LGBTI community. Following the educational activities, an inter-party dialogue was launched in each of the parties, and political actions were implemented on the promotion of human rights with an emphasis on LGBTI rights. In addition, the first joint participation in the Pride Parade in Belgrade was organized in 2017.

In 2018, a regional training program was initiated that included trainers from the Center of Modern Skills. A total of three seminars were held for activists of the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia. The handbook in front of you is part of the Center of Modern Skills' efforts to educate, empower and connect SD parties and LGBTI community representatives in these countries. We are glad that the participants of our seminars also attended the first Pride Parade in Skopje and Sarajevo. We are confident that the years ahead will bring even more regional integration of SD parties as well as common progressive practical policies to improve the position of the LGBTI community. The adopted "Road Map" of the Party of European Socialists (PES) is a good foundation for both intra-party work and work in the general public.

We are grateful to Danijel Tadić and Nabila Sattar MBE for their help and support. We are grateful to Ian Dylan Thomas for his useful advice, experience and knowledge that he shared in our seminars. We are grateful to Dajana Bakić for organizing a „Live Library”<sup>2</sup>, who brought additional value to the

---

1 <https://www.foundationmaxvanderstoel.nl/>

seminar in Sarajevo. We also thank the Forum of the Left Initiative (BiH), the Progress Institute (North Macedonia) and the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro for their assistance in organizing seminars and gathering activists.



2 <https://www.coe.int/en/web/youth/living-library>



# Why the Handbook?

You have downloaded this online Handbook, and we believe you have some expectations from it. In order to understand the significance of the battle we are fighting, it is necessary to begin by understanding the position of social democracy in today's world. We will all admit that after the last few election cycles, generally speaking, social democracy is in a serious crisis. The traditional electorate base that has voted for SD parties for decades is slowly turning their backs on us or just disappearing. The structure of the electorate is changing and the population is ageing. Take for example the percentage reduction in the number of production workers in EU countries. New generations are coming with different problems, priorities and ways of communication. While trust in political parties is generally declining, social movements appear more attractive to voters. **The world is changing fast.**

SD parties do not do very well in such a world. In most elections after the 2008 global economic crisis, their results have been getting worse. They are struggling to find concrete and clear answers to the problems of people in today's world. The populists' arrival to power in some countries, the whole drama around Brexit, constant immigration, regression in multilateral relations, fake news, post-truth, restriction of liberties, etc. - all this is also reflected in the election results of the SD parties. Human rights are an important political topic and the line of our defense against the right and the extreme right wing. This line is our stronghold and represents a willingness to fight the so-called post-materialist values and progressive reforms. The reforms we stand for include deepening gender equality, environmental and climate change policies, advocating for LGBTI rights and other social freedoms. Let's not forget that the idea of progressives has always been to build a better and more equal world, with greater vertical permeability and a reduced economic gap in society. Unfortunately, we, social democrats, have not been able to build such a world with electoral support from the workforce. So today we have to find the same ideological feeling, but using some new matrix. I believe we can find that matrix in the field of human rights.

---



This Handbook should help us strengthen respect for human rights in our countries and parties. It can be a source of ideas and can help us initiate dialogue both within the party itself and in society. SD parties must be leaders in human rights education and promotion activities. The Handbook will help us see how all SD parties can advocate for LGBTI rights. We must not forget that respecting human rights must be high on our political agenda, at levels of government where we are able to react.

Because of all the above, it is important that we improve our knowledge and build support networks in the LGBTI community on a daily basis. Without it, our ideology remains just a hollow shell, and our dream of a just society becomes history.



LGBTI rights are human rights leaflet

# Social Democracy: Short overview

Starting from the fact that the term "socialist" comes from the Latin verb *sociare*, which means to merge (join), we can say that the social democratic ideology has always been aimed at merging and cohesion of society. Two revolutions are important for the development of its values. The first is the French Bourgeois Revolution, and the second is the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the working class that followed, especially in the developed countries of the Western Europe. The French Bourgeois Revolution brought ideas summarized in the slogan of Liberté, égalité, fraternité, as well as activism, new laws and freedoms, while in the Industrial Revolution, along with the unions, the working class got authentic political representatives fighting for its rights.

Social democracy emerged as a political ideology at the end of the 19th century. Its core values are freedom, equality (social justice) and solidarity. The ideological goal it strives for is to build a society of equal opportunities for all. The social democratic ideology accepted the transformation of the capitalist into a socialist society through gradual reforms, instead of the revolution advocated by the communists at the time. Social democracy has embraced parliamentary struggle, the social market economy and private property, with a strong fight for the social state. The derived values of social democracy today are: human rights, social justice, the rule of law, gender equality, tolerance, internationalism, ecology and the fight against climate change and for sustainable development.



# LGBTI movement: Short overview<sup>3</sup>

Society's attitude towards same-sex relationships has changed throughout history, from ancient times to the present, so we cannot look at them through contemporary concepts of sexuality and society's attitude towards it. Marriage in the past was not based on love and mutual emotional support from partners, but was a means of acquiring wealth, securing a social position and empowering the community through reproduction.

Historical facts indicate that sexual practices between men and boys were described in Sumerian civilization (3000 BC). Babylon (2100–560 BC) also documented homosexuality, which was considered an everyday occurrence and was not condemned at the time. On the other hand, the Assyrians (1900–1077 BC) were not tolerant of homosexuality, and they had a law punishing homosexuality by castration. The historical sources about homosexuality in Egypt are ambiguous and imprecise. The earliest written sources on homosexual practices come from ancient Greece, where same-sex relationships were commonly present in that culture. These relationships did not replace (heterosexual) marriage, but were often practiced side by side. It was a common practice for an adult male, an *erast* (lover), to have a younger male, *eromenos* (their favourite). Same-sex relationships were the practice mostly of aristocracy. Some historians consider that the Greeks believed that the male semen was a source of wisdom, and these relationships were viewed as a way to transmit wisdom. Most historical figures from this period are thought to have had relationships with men for at least one period of their lives.

In ancient Rome, social attitudes toward homosexuality changed over time. Initially, in the Roman Republic, homosexual relationships were forbidden by law known as *Lex scantinia* and were considered "Greek" and deviant. But in the first half of the empire period, these relations were accepted and practiced by the rulers. In addition, a common form of same-sex relations in Rome was between masters and slaves (it was considered shameful in Greece). There are also numerous sources from that time that describe the first examples of male prostitution. The first same-sex marriage in history

---

3 <http://labris.org.rs/sites/default/files/citanka-2009.pdf>  
<http://www.fpn.bg.ac.rs/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Ljudska-prava-u-Srbiji-2017.pdf>  
[http://www.idn.org.rs/biblioteka/Transrodno\\_lice\\_pravde.pdf](http://www.idn.org.rs/biblioteka/Transrodno_lice_pravde.pdf)



was also recorded during the Roman Empire. Thus, for example, Emperor Nero married three men.

If we look at the civilizations of the Far East, same-sex practice in China has been known since ancient times. Almost all Han Dynasty emperors were thought to have had one or more male sexual partners. In China, LGBTI people have never been persecuted like those in Medieval Europe.

In Japan, homosexual relationships have never been considered a sin. Several Heian periodicals have described homosexual relationships.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, during the early Middle Ages, homosexuality was free and relatively tolerated in much of Europe. In 1184, the Inquisition was founded, which aimed at the persecution of heretics, but also persecuted those accused of homosexuality. There was a belief that practicing same-sex relationships attracted the wrath of God. From then until the end of the Middle Ages, LGBTI people in Europe were constantly persecuted, tortured and killed.

Under the influence of the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the principles of liberty, the French Revolution, with its 1791 Constitution, abolished all crimes that were thought to have been fabricated, such as witchcraft, heresy and homosexuality. That's when the first social activists started appearing and fighting for civil rights. In 1897, the Scientific and Humanitarian Committee, the first gay rights organization in the world, was established in Berlin. In 1930, also in Germany, the first sex change was registered. During Hitler's reign, homosexuals were persecuted and sent to concentration camps.

After the Second World War, the Homophilic Movement appeared. It was the first gay movement, and lasted between 1945 and 1960. The term "homophilia", from which the name of this movement was derived, comes from the Greek word *φιλία* (*philia* – love), and is coined as an alternative to the notion of homosexuality, to emphasize that love was above sex.

During the 1960s, New York City authorities did not allow alcohol to be served in bars visited by LGBTI people, which was also the reason for ongoing police raids and abuse of customers. The Stonewall Riots were a series of spontaneous

---

violent demonstrations of LGBTI persons against such police raids. They happened in the early morning hours of June 28, 1969, at the Stonewall Inn Club in Greenwich Village. This June, we celebrated fifty years since the Stonewall Riots. In the 1980s, the LGBTI movement plunged into a crisis with the advent of AIDS. Gay men have been blamed for this disease, and many religious communities have said it was God's punishment.

The World Health Organization removed homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses in 1991.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, significant efforts were made throughout the world to remove legal barriers to same-sex marriage or registered partnerships. The first state to officially recognize same-sex unions in modern history was Denmark, which passed the Registered Partnership Act in 1989.

According to a report by the international organization *The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA)*<sup>4</sup>, for 2019, sexual intercourse of persons of the same sex is legally allowed in 123 Member States of the United Nations. Of these 123, in 73 Member States, the discrimination of persons of a different sexual orientation in relation to labor rights is prohibited; 26 Member States recognize same-sex marriage, and another 27 recognize different forms of same-sex partnerships, a total of 53. Among them are Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Finland, France, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Taiwan, South Africa, Canada, USA, New Zealand, Hungary, Czech Republic, Croatia, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Switzerland, Estonia and Slovenia. With regard to family rights, 28 Member States have adopted laws on the joint adoption of children of same-sex parents, while another 30 states allow the adoption of partner child/ children, but joint adoption is not possible.

In the former SFRY republics, the LGBTI movement went through various stages. In 1959, a criminal law was adopted that criminalized homosexuality. A homosexual act, and only a male homosexual relationship, was punished with one year in prison. In Slovenia, homosexuality was decriminalized in

---

4 <https://ilga.org/about-us/annual-reports-documents>


1974. The Croatian Medical Chamber removed homosexuality from the list of mental disorders in 1973, and in 1977 Croatia, Vojvodina and Montenegro also decriminalized homosexual relationship of consenting adult men. Serbia decriminalized homosexuality only in 1994, Macedonia in 1997 (in 1995 Macedonia tried to ban gays and alcoholics from becoming lawyers), Bosnia and Herzegovina did so later, only in 1998, and in both entities.

In the former Yugoslavia and the Western Balkans, the situation is as follows. Pride Parades are held in several cities in all Western Balkan countries. All Western Balkan countries have enacted anti-discrimination laws that, among other things, prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and to some degree on the basis of gender identity as well. According to the already mentioned ILGA<sup>5</sup> report for 2019, Slovenia has passed laws on same-sex partnerships as well as on adoption of children, while Croatia has a Law on Same-Sex Partnerships. In 2019, Montenegro tried to pass a Law on Same-Sex Partnerships, but it did not receive support in the Assembly. LGBTI people from all countries in the region face similar problems: discrimination, peer violence, rejection by the family, hate speech, poor protection due to poor implementation of anti-discrimination laws. According to a report by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for 2017, LGBTI persons are one of the most discriminated groups in the Western Balkan countries.



---

5 <https://www.ilga-europe.org/rainboweurope>



Looking at the development of social democracy over the last thirty years, we can conclude that respect for human rights is an important value for us. We are reminded that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations on 10 December 1948. It was intended as an advisory document, but its provisions have been incorporated into many constitutions of UN member states. Even today, we can say that it is the most important international human rights document. The Declaration emphasized the universality and inalienability of human rights and the respect for the dignity of human life as the supreme value of the new emerging world. It pointed to the need for as much freedom as possible for people, in pursuit of peace and prosperity in the world and to free development of humanity in all fields - civil, political, economic, social and cultural.

Human rights mean the rights, freedoms and obligations that belong to every human being at their very birth. We have already said that a hierarchy of human rights cannot be created. They are equal for everyone and apply to everyone. States continue to violate them frequently, leading to discrimination and social exclusion. That is why the political fight of us, social democrats, is very important for their implementation.

Each state protects the human rights of its citizens by laws that must comply with international standards. Human rights are a set of universal values without which no human being can develop in its entirety. They represent the true values of human life and human community. They define the full responsibility of individuals and groups to themselves and to others, to the world, nature and life. It is politics and social democracy!

### **We can talk about three generations of human rights:**

- I. I. civil and political rights;
  - II. II. social, economic, family and cultural rights;
  - III. III. solidarity rights, right to peace, the environment, the Internet.
-

The first generation of human rights is freedom-oriented. It includes the right to life, to human dignity, to movement, to the right to vote, to the right of public gathering.

The second generation has more demanding rights that require greater involvement of social communities and the state. These include, for example, the right to work and cultural creativity, as well as social, economic, family and cultural rights. They are security-oriented and seek a higher social standard.

The third generation of human rights is one with the most demanding rights. They are aimed at solidarity, and include problems that relate to future generations of humanity.

### There are four basic human rights:

- Right to freedom
- Right to self-determination
- Ownership right
- Right to life

If we look at the rights of the LGBTI community, we will see that many of these rights cannot be enjoyed by its members.

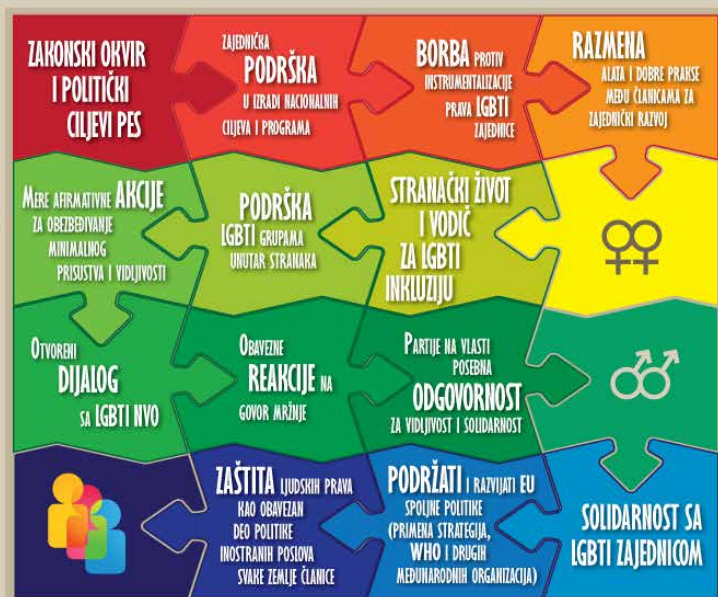
## SOCIJALDEMOKRATIJA I LGBTI

PARTIJA EVROPSKIH SOCIJALISTA\* (PES) JE NAPRAVILA MAPU PUTA ZA STRANKE KOJE SU NJENE ČLANICE KAO DA U SVOJE POLITIKE UVEDU OBLAST ZAŠTITE I PROMOCIJE PRAVA LGBTI OSOBA.

Postoje 3 oblasti delovanja:

- ➡ **ZAKONSKI OKVIR I POLITIČKI CILJEVI**
- ➡ **STRANAČKI ŽIVOT I VODIČ ZA LGBTI INKLUZIJU**
- ➡ **MEĐUNARODNA SOLIDARNOST SA LGBTI ZAJEDNICOM U SVETU**

\*PARTIJU EVROPSKIH SOCIJALISTA ČINE SOCIJALDEMOKRATSKIE I SOCIJALISTIČKE STRANKE IZ ZEMALJA ČLANICA EVROPSKE UNIJE, KAO I ZEMALJA KANDIDATA ZA PRIJEDUŽIVANJE.







Same rights for all:

# LGBTI community and human rights

In order to have at least some understanding of the issues of the LGBTI community, let's go through the four primary human rights at the basic level and see in what areas the state discriminates against them. This can help us as an initial step in future policy-making or political action.

Speaking of the right to freedom, we must know that no one should be restricted or restrained, separated or forced. People need to be able to publicly say what they think. That is why state governments must allow freedom of expression, peaceful demonstrations, freedom of public gathering, regarding nationally important matters and referendums.

**That is why holding the Pride Parade is important! By facilitating this public gathering, states show that the LGBTI community can gather freely, express its views and draw attention to the rights it has been denied.**

Apart from the basic demand for freedom, dignity, equality and justice, equality in the application of rights without discrimination is one of the crucial factors for the development of every society. All people must be treated equally without discrimination by state regulations and rules, because we are all equal in the eyes of the law.

Privacy protection also falls within the domain of freedoms. The area of privacy is very important for maintaining a sense of safety, developing personality and maintaining human relationships. No one shall be subjected to interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, or to attacks on his or her honor and reputation. This applies both in offline life and on the Internet.

The right to self-determination is a very important right for LGBTI people, especially for Transgender people, because it implies a far-reaching individual choice of each individual regarding his or her progress as a social individual. In several countries, laws regulating the status of Transgender persons were passed on the basis of self-determination, i.e. allowing Transgender people to change their sex qualification without being conditioned to have surgery.

---

When it comes to employment rights, these include the right to work, to free choice of employment, to fair and favorable working conditions and to protection against unemployment, as well as the prohibition of discrimination in employment.

**Talk to the LGBTI community sometimes and you will hear many examples of their discrimination at work and in work relations.**

Now we come to a topic that many do not understand, which is the right to family. In theory, it is the right of every person to marry. In addition, every parent has the right to care for their children.

**Do we, as SD parties, work hard enough on progressive social campaigns that successfully communicate these topics?**

The right to ownership is one of the most important rights, because "without ownership, no other right is possible." All people are born with the right to acquire and create ownership using their abilities and talents.

**Now, how, with no rules for entering a community, representatives of the LGBTI community can inherit or create their own or joint ownership?**

And fourth, the right to life. The right to life regulates and guarantees the freedom of political, trade union and any other association, as well as the right to remain outside any association. In addition, the right to life implies a guarantee of security by the state. The state should protect people's associations from crimes such as violence, murder, torture, rape, etc.

**Talk to the LGBTI community in your area, and see if and how much they feel safe in their own town, neighborhood or street?**





# Stereotypes and prejudice

The word stereotype comes from the language of the printing industry. Stereotype in printing technology is a print with a fixed style. By analogy, in social sciences, this term is used to describe a schematic, simplistic, and difficult to change relationship to someone or something. The use of this term in social sciences arose during the period of emergence and development of racial, ethnic, religious and social intolerance. At the very core of the stereotype is a misguided and unjustifiably broad generalization.

Stereotype is usually based on the assumption that members of a group have certain characteristics that are unique to them and that distinguish them from all others. It implies that the characteristics that are distinctive of a group must be shared by all members of the group in question. They are usually negative because they push all individuals into the "same basket". The problem with stereotyping is the lack of information and ignorance of the group in question. When creating stereotypes, people are most often grouped by ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, sex, or some other category.

Stereotypes may be based on the specific characteristic of the group or person to whom they are attributed. Sterotyping results in an incorrect image (prejudice) of a particular person or group. It is important for us, social democrats, to know that stereotypes negate the individuality of a person. Stereotypes represent persons incompletely, superficially, solely on the basis of their sex, nationality, sexual orientation, some disadvantage or physical disability.

Stereotypes and prejudice in the most general sense imply the representation of others in predetermined and seemingly invariable ways. The production of prejudice and stereotypes about those who are different, that is, about others, primarily has to do with the characteristics of some groups and individuals who present themselves as general, essential and unchangeable (examples: "all Serbs are ..." or "all women are...", "all Roma are..."). Racism, sexism, homophobia, as well as other forms of discrimination, also involve the production of stereotypes and prejudices.

---

# ZAŠTO PARADA PONOSA?


2 od 3 osobe



doživele su u Srbiji neki oblik nasilja zbog svoje seksualne orijentacije





Od 70 slučajeva uznemiravanja i zločina iz mržnje prema LGBTI osobama, nijedan nije pozitivno rešen



**6 od 10** srednjoškolaca smatra da je nasilje nad LGBTI osobama opravdano

**25%** građana Srbije ne želi da ima LGBTI kolegu

**7%** stanovnika ove zemlje bi sopstveno dete izbacilo iz kuće ako saznaju da je gej

**Svaka 4 osoba** bi odbila da komunicira sa LGBTI osobom iz komšiluka

**65%** transrodnih osoba je pokušalo da sebi oduzme život



Nedelja, 17. septembar od 10h  
Cvetni trg  
www.parada.rs



**LGBTI prava su ljudska prava**



centar modernih veština

Izvor podataka: DA se zna - dasezna.lbg

Social democracy and LGBTI rights infographic

100% 18:22

← Tweet

 **Maja Videnović**  
@MajaVidenovic

**Love is the best politics!**

[Translate Tweet](#)


 **šparavalo** @Stefansparav... · 18 Feb

The Pride Info Center was attacked again during the DSS rally tonight, and here's the answer for all fascists and hooligans!



21:25 · 18 Feb 19 · [Twitter for Android](#)

Maja Videnović, Democratic Party, Member of parliament


 **Sasa Magazinovic** ✓  
26 August at 21:38 · 🌐

"IT'S NO SHAME TO NOT KNOW, IT'S A SHAME TO NOT KNOW, AND PRETEND YOU KNOW"

Human rights are not some of the special social privileges an individual deserves by being born or acting. They always belong to one, every hour, even when one is not aware of them, when one does not recognize the same rights to others, or when others do not recognize those rights to one. Given that they are essential condition of human existence, they do not depend on the mercy of those who are in power.

The state does not grant an individual their fundamental rights and freedoms; one does not deserve them, because they are simply an inalienable part of one's human nature. But it can recognize them and guarantee them through laws, as it can challenge them and forbid them. The difference between the two is the difference between a good and bad governing.

But when a government challenges one's fundamental rights and freedoms, the individual remains their "owner" because of which one has the inalienable right to constantly and persistently "strive for one's own happiness."

 Sabina Oručević, Amina Zilić and 85 others

2 comments

Saša Magazinović, SDP BiH, President of Main Board and MP



# Discrimination

Discrimination is any differentiation, exclusion, restriction of rights and any form of disadvantaging a person or group. There are different bases of discrimination, that is, characteristics that put a person or group of persons at a disadvantage (sex orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, political orientation, etc.)

Indirect discrimination means any situation in which a seemingly neutral provision, criterion or practice has or would have the effect of disadvantaging or creating a less favourable position related to another person.

Direct discrimination is any different treatment or failure to act when a person or group of persons is brought or has been or could be brought into a disadvantaged position, unlike another person or group of persons in similar situations.

Institutionalized discrimination is the social structure reflected in institutions of power (language, media, education, economy, religion, etc.) and which favors one group (or one system of its attributes) over others. Contemporary theory generally agrees that the basic "group" is a privileged group of white (race), heterosexual (orientation) middle-aged (age) men (sex), members of middle or upper-middle class (class). Anyone who in one way or another deviates from a given "group" is treated as a minority (even when they form a group that is more numerous). The power of that group, even over roughly equal other groups (say, black men with all of the above characteristics) or larger groups (women in general), is maintained through institutions that represent institutions of social power.

Multiple discrimination describes discrimination that occurs on several separate grounds (for example, the same person may experience discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity, racial discrimination, etc.). It refers to a situation in which there are multiple grounds for discrimination at the same time, and it is difficult to divide and look at them separately.

---





# Homophobia

Homophobia is an irrational fear or aversion to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersex and queer<sup>6</sup> people. It is not a classic phobia, that is, some form of neurosis, but this term qualifies a negative attitude towards people who have sexually-emotional relationships with people of the same sex. The term "homophobia" consists of the Greek word *homós* meaning *same, equal* and word *phóbos* meaning *fear*. Homophobia results in discrimination against persons of different sexual orientation in all walks of life, leading to their marginalization and social exclusion. Social democrats do not fight for such societies.

We can recognize the manifestations of homophobia in public discourse on a daily basis. That is why it is important for all politicians reading this to fight homophobia. Homophobia can take forms of physical violence. In a society where social democrats strive to witness no form of violence, any acts of violence should be sanctioned.

What generally needs to be taken into account in politics is the use of language, which will be discussed later. Language plays a significant role in demonstrating homophobia. The prejudice we cultivate are often conveyed in public through homophobic jokes, homophobic and sexist metaphors and the like. There is also institutional homophobia. It encompasses all mechanisms of homophobia implemented through the public sector, religious institutions, the private sector, the media and other non-private spheres. Institutional homophobia based solely on sexual orientation and / or gender identity is carried out through discrimination during education, employment process, career progress, administrative difficulties, etc. Cultural homophobia relies most on the traditions and customs of a particular "culture" and punishes all those who try to disrupt traditional settings. As in most societies in the Western Balkans region, there is a patriarchy that only recognizes heterosexual relations as a measure of normality (heteronormativity), and every other social matrix is seen as a direct threat. Being hetero means being a normal person in society, and all other orientations and identities are abnormal, unnatural and unacceptable because they do not fit into the

---

6 <https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queer>

norm. This kind of conservatism has been advocated by many right-wingers and populists. Therefore, progressive forces should always oppose any discrimination and support minority groups. We believe that you now understand why the secularity of the state is important in this sense. Three most prominent causes of widespread homophobia are patriarchy, strong religious sentiment, and the taboo of sexuality.

### **How do you speak?**

I often say in seminars that politics equals communication. Language is, in my opinion, the most important tool we use in politics. In addition to being a means of expression, language gives form to thoughts and attitudes, argumentation and motivation. There are numerous examples of how outrageous stereotypical statements have cost many politicians their successful career.

**Never allow yourself as a politician to be remembered for discriminatory statements and hate speech.**

It is important for us social democrats to know that the way out of the patriarchal model of thinking is precisely to change the language spoken. As someone who acts in a public space, you have the opportunity to create the thoughts and attitudes of those you are addressing. We can remember how long our colleagues in the women's forums have struggled to use gender-sensitive language.

By using LGBTI terminology, we represent and demonstrate the principle of equality and make this minority group more visible. We social democrats fight against discrimination and for equality. We have to show it and prove it on a daily basis. The question of using the LGBTI language is not a question of its structure, but of our power and desire to use it consistently. All those who apply the LGBTI language, as well as those who oppose it, know that language shapes and creates people's awareness.

In order to master and understand LGBTI terms and concepts, please find a small LGBTI dictionary at the end of this guide.

---



# Hate speech

Hate speech has been talked about a lot in recent years. I remind you that large, multinational Internet companies have also introduced restrictions on content that demonstrates hate speech. Hate speech is any form of expression that encourages, promotes or justifies intolerance, discrimination and hostility to an individual (or group) on the basis of some of its characteristics. We can also recognize such language by the goal of acting negatively in the view of the marginalization of an individual or group.

Often in the Western Balkan countries, we may hear statements from political or religious leaders, or the opinions of other social authorities, which are published in the press or on the Internet, which aim to incite hatred in society. While there are legal provisions that sanction hate speech, the legal framework should continue to be improved, as regulating content on the Internet is still neither fast nor expedient enough.

It is important for all social democrats to recognize, respond to, and never apply hate speech. The manifestations of hate speech are multiple and those who broadly express their disdain for an individual or group create stereotypes, incite discrimination, violence and hostility, inflict spiritual pain, threaten, cause fear and insecurity, but also create a social atmosphere that hate and discrimination are desirable and that no one would suffer any sanctions spreading them.

Personal characteristic of a particular person, or belonging to a particular vulnerable group, is essential for defining the term hate speech. The message expressed in hate speech is always focused on a personal characteristic. Parliament is still a place where hate speech can occasionally be heard, and this kind of public address has not disappeared from the traditional media in Serbia. Calls for violence, ethnic hatred, xenophobia and threats to national and sexual minorities are increasingly found on the Internet, in particular through various forums, social networks and media sites.

**Social democrats, along with LGBTI activists, should always insist that hate speech is sanctioned!**



# Pride Parades

In the History of the LGBTI Movement section we have already mentioned the 1969 Stonewall Riots as the first organized rebellion of representatives of the LGBTI community against repression to which they were daily exposed. The Pride or Pride Parade is representing the celebration of June 28, 1969, and the Stonewall riots in New York's Greenwich Village. At that time, for the first time in the history of LGBTI people, they offered physical resistance to harassment by the police, who then detained people solely because of their sexual orientation. Since then, that day has been marked as a day of fighting for the rights of persons of different sexual orientation. Around the world, for years, June has been a "pride month", when anyone can put rainbow flags in prominent places, paint their rainbow logos, or otherwise express their support for the fight for the rights of the LGBTI community.

As the LGBTI movement has grown and evolved ever since, so many rights of the LGBTI community have been fulfilled in the meantime (i.e. made equal with the rights of people of heterosexual orientation), especially in Europe and America. In these countries, the Pride Parade has taken on a carnival character in major urban centers and turned into a fun event that continues to highlight the specificities of the LGBTI "subculture" in its diversity - from, for example, gay police officers to drag queens and kings.

**Pride in this sense is, above all, pride in the courage to fight for their rights, as well as the response to the disdain and violence of the patriarchal community and the absence of shame that has been imposed on them for years, and not pride in sexual orientation as such.**

There is still no Pride Parade in the Western Balkans in such a carnival form, as it is a specific experience of the Western countries, which has been developed for a long time and which has arisen in special historical circumstances. There are no conditions in our region for organizing a massive "Pride Parade" of fun and commercial character. The reason for this is the underdeveloped LGBTI subculture / infrastructure (compared to the Western one) and there is still work to be done. The good news is that Belgrade is running for the organization of Europride<sup>7</sup> in 2022.

---

<sup>7</sup> <http://epoa.eu/>

However, a protest rally in our region commemorating "Pride Day" is important and, above all, of political significance. Social democrats are expected to always be present and support the LGBTI community in their environment.

I have already mentioned the importance of holding a Pride Parade. By going out to the streets, the LGBTI community exercises its elementary right, guaranteed by the Constitution, to free public gathering and protest. The "Pride Parade" in our region is still an act of protest, which aims to indicate that discrimination and violence against LGBTI persons are still present and that we seek their abolition.

The Pride Parade as a manifestation is also part of the process of empowering the LGBTI community and the fight for equality of its members. It is never "early" for this fight, as marginalized groups always have to struggle to balance their rights. Therefore, they also need our support. The protest itself is part of an action to create more tolerant conditions and raise the profile of the LGBTI community. There is no waiting in the fight for a good society, and history has shown us the success of the fight of other marginalized groups.







# Roadmap for SD political parties

The Party of European Socialists (PES)<sup>8</sup> is the center-left European political party. It brings together socialist, social democratic and labor parties in Europe. Each of the Western Balkans countries has members in this important family of European left-wing parties.

PES has an associated supranational network in its ranks, "Rainbow Rose"<sup>9</sup>, made of representatives of social democratic parties fighting for LGBTI rights. Through its work, Rainbow Rose is committed to developing and shaping practical policies and assisting in the work and programs of the Left parties.

At the initiative of the Rainbow Rose network, in June 2017, the Party of European Socialists adopted a "Road Map" to achieve LGBTI rights. This document provides a basis for all PES Party members to initiate the necessary changes to their structures, documents and policies.

There are four key points in this document, binding on all PES members. I will address three here, because the Western Balkans countries are not yet members of the European Union and cannot participate in political activities within the EU.

## ■ Building a national legal framework and legislation

"Rainbow Rose" takes ILGA annual reports as the standard of progress of LGBTI rights in countries. These reports, across four areas - equality and non-discrimination, family, hate speech and hate crime, gender identity and physical integrity, the non-governmental sector and asylum - clearly rank each country and its position in relation to the desired standard of law. (You have a list for 2019 in the next section). It is our job as social democrats to promote LGBTI rights in these areas.

## ■ Party work and involvement of the LGBTI community

Political parties are obliged to adapt their party statutes and to stipulate

---

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.pes.eu/en/>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.rainbowrose.eu/>

in them a special party body that would deal with human and minority rights and gender equality. They should identify a key place/person as the focal point involved in the advancement of the LGBTI community. These bodies should ensure that non-party experts on these topics as well as LGBTI community trainees are involved in the work of the party. Parties should adopt specific inter-party programs for the protection of human rights, including women's rights and the LGBTI community, with concrete proposals for the protection and promotion of minority groups' rights. In addition to education programs within party campaigns promoting LGBTI rights, the most important task of the parties is to create an atmosphere in which LGBTI community members can join the party and get involved in political work and stand for election.

### ■ International Solidarity and the Rights of LGBTI Persons worldwide

As I mentioned earlier, internationalism and international solidarity are important values of social democracy. Accordingly, PES members are obliged to include solidarity in organizations, movements and individuals fighting for the rights of LGBTI persons in non-free countries in their party international policies and activities. Problems with respect for basic human rights, including the rights of the LGBTI community, still exist in many countries of the world. Countries that use sexism, homophobia and transphobia as diplomatic means to increase their influence are at great risk. In general, PES parties should put respect for human rights in the priorities of international policies and relations.





# Take action

In line with what I have outlined so far, I will list possible proposals for political actions that the Social Democrats can take in their work. According to the already mentioned ILGA report for 2019, out of 49 European countries, the Western Balkans countries are ranked as follows. Montenegro is ranked 22<sup>nd</sup> with 36% of criteria, Bosnia and Herzegovina is ranked 23<sup>rd</sup> (36%), Albania is 24<sup>th</sup> (31%), Kosovo\* is 28<sup>th</sup> (28%), Serbia is 30<sup>th</sup> (28%) and North Macedonia is 34<sup>th</sup> (22%).

Considering the fight for LGBTI rights is one long process, it is important that we work daily on tasks that require us to value the ideology we believe in, the principles that our parties stand for, belonging to the international movement. If you are a party member and at whatever function you are, look around and see what you can do for people in the LGBTI community.

## ■ **Party members may:**

- Respond to homophobia and hate speech on social networks
- Attend the Pride Parade in their environment
- Respond publicly in situations where the rights of members of the LGBTI community are violated
- Refrain from using discriminatory language in their area
- Participate in the activities of the party concerning human rights
- Attend activities of civil society organizations on the promotion of human rights.

## ■ **In addition to what they do as party members, SD party officials in local communities can:**

- Establish cooperation with civil society organizations dealing with human rights.
  - Effectively respond to and seek prosecution of discrimination cases.
  - Utilize all mechanisms for democratic inclusion of LGBTI persons in institutions in which they are active.
-

- Initiate the development of local strategic documents in the field of human and minority rights and gender equality.
- Initiate the development of practical policies planned by strategic plans.
- Initiate special funds for organizations involved in promoting LGBTI culture.
- Initiate changes to the statutes of local government units if necessary.
- Initiate the establishment of psychological counselling centers in the Health Centers
- Take into account the amount of funds in the budgets intended to fight discrimination against LGBTI persons and all other marginalized groups.
- Use the power of local media to publicly express their party views.
- **Party officials at national level can:**
- Utilize all mechanisms for the democratic inclusion of LGBTI persons in their institutions.
- Initiate the development of practical policies to address human and minority rights and gender equality.
- Initiate legal initiatives to resolve problems in line with ILGA and Council of Europe recommendations.
- Take into account the amount of funds in the budgets intended to combat discrimination against LGBTI persons and all other marginalized groups.
- Use the power of national media to publicly express their party views.
- Establish international cooperation.
- Establish cooperation with international and national human rights organizations.

We believe that this list is only a part of the potential activities that we, social democrats, can perform on a daily basis. Since this is an online Handbook, you can send us suggestions and examples of your actions at [office@cmv.org.rs](mailto:office@cmv.org.rs) and we will gladly include them in the contents of the Handbook.

---

## APPENDIX I

### A Little Dictionary of LGBTI Terminology

**Activism:** Political belief that working at the individual or collective level can cause political change.

**Outing:** The act of publicly announcing that a person is gay, lesbian or bisexual.

**Assimilation:** Part of the LGBTI movement emphasizes that there are no significant differences between heterosexuals and homosexuals, and that if they behave in a way that is acceptable to the dominant culture, lesbian and gay men will eventually be given equal access to all the resources and privileges available to the heterosexual majority.

**Biological sex:** Sex determined by chromosomes (XX, XY), hormones (estrogen, progesterone, testosterone) and internal and external genitalia (vulva, clitoris, vagina, testicles and penis).

**Bisexual person:** A person sexually and / or emotionally attracted to people of both sexes.

**Biphobia:** Irrational fear, intolerance, prejudice and / or discrimination against bisexual persons

**Other family:** A network of friends, partners from whom an LGBTI person receives support, sometimes to make up for what they have been denied in their primary environment.

**Drag:** The word was originally used in Shakespeare's Globe Theater as a label for actors who played female roles (since there were no actresses). The term generally refers to costume and dress (hence the phrase in drag - dressed in the opposite sex clothes).

**Drag King:** A lesbian / straight woman who simulates a man.



**Drag Queen:** A gay / straight man simulating a woman.

**Gay:** The basic meaning of the term is cheerful, joyful. The word became widely used in the 1960s and 1970s, when the term was accepted by the media as a replacement for the clinical name homosexual, used by psychiatrists in the diagnosis of mental illness.

**Genderphobia:** Gender discrimination (gender roles, expression and norms) arising from the rejection and denial of an individual's right to a personal conception of sexual / gender identity and expression.

**Identity:** Sexual identity (LESBIAN, STRAIGHT, GAY, BI, ASEXUAL person) and gender identity (TRANVESTITE, TRANS-GENDER, TRANSSEXUAL person).

**Sexual identity:** It refers to how we call ourselves and perceive ourselves.

**Gender identity:** Individual sense of self and self-awareness as a sexual / gender social human being that does not depend on sex attributed at birth.

**Intersexual person:** Persons born with chromosomal, hormonal or genital characteristics that do not meet the specified standards of the "male" or "female" category. This term replaces the politically incorrect term HERMAFRODITE, which was widely used by physicians during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and which is now considered unprofessional.

**Homophobia:** Fear, intolerance, violence or hatred towards gay men, lesbians and bisexuals (see BIPHOBIA, TRANSPHOBIA).

**Homosexual:** An outdated clinical term for people whose sexual orientation is directed at people of the same sex. The term is inappropriate and many gays and lesbians find it offensive. Better to use the terms "gay man" and "lesbian".

**Lesbian:** A woman who is sexually and / or emotionally attracted to other women. The name itself comes from the name of the Greek island of Lesbos, the birthplace of the poet Sappho, who spread love among women.

**LGBTI:** A comprehensive term used to refer to lesbian, gay men, bisexual and transgender and intersex persons. Sometimes the term LGBTI can be extended to include queer people (LGBTIQ).

**Personal characteristic:** Characteristic of an individual or vulnerable group on the basis of which discrimination or hate speech is invoked (race, nationality, ethnicity, religious affiliation, sex, sexual orientation, origin...)

**Misogyny:** Literally - hatred towards women or female gender in general.

**Out:** Describes persons who identify themselves in a sexual / gender aspect in public and / or professional life.

**Patriarchy:** The traditional norm on which the structure of society is based; a range of strategies to establish and maintain existing systems of power-privilege relationships that are continuously granted to men.

**Fagot:** In homophobic use, slang that in principle denotes gay men and in particular implies the gender character of a weak and feminine man.

**Polyamory:** Multiple open love relationships , versus traditional relationships. The condition is that all persons in these relationships know about each other and that these relationships are based on consensus.

**Sex:** Classification, on the basis of reproductive organs / functions and genitals, into male and female. For persons who cannot be classified, we use the umbrella term "intersex".

**Sexual identity:** Individual identification by sex and qualification, which does not depend on the sex attributed at birth.

**Gender identity:** Gender identity is related to an individual's experience of understanding one's sex, which may or may not correspond to the sex attributed at birth, and includes personal experience of the body and other expressions of gender (i.e., "gender expression"), such as dressing or speaking and addressing others.

**Gender expression:** Visual and external presentation of each person reflected through clothing, dress or body markings, hairstyle, behavior and body language.

**Sexual orientation:** Emotional and / or physical attraction or affection that may be expressed towards people of the same and / or different sex.

**Sexism:** Discrimination and / or attitudes, conditions and behavior through which stereotypes and oppressive social roles and norms are promoted based on sex and gender. It is especially about norms, values, beliefs, structures and systems that marginalize and subjugate women; but there is also sexism against men. Form of violence perpetrated against women individually or in an institutionalized way.

**Sexual identity:** Sexual identity refers to how we call ourselves and perceive ourselves. These include "straight," "gay," "bi," "queer," "vague," "indecisive," "asexual," etc.

**Lifestyle:** A stereotyped term often used to degrade the lives of gays and lesbians. Avoid using it. Just as there is no heterosexual lifestyle that is unique to everyone, there is no gay lifestyle either.

**Straight (str8):** It signifies, first of all, something right, without deviation, something that does not deviate from the norms accepted as common, "normal" and "natural" “.

**Cross-dressing:** Literally, wearing clothes that are designed for the opposite sex.

**Transgender:** A term used to describe different persons, behaviors and groups that have a common, partial or complete, opposition to the imposed sexual and gender roles.

**Transgender person:** A term for people whose gender identity does not match the sex they were assigned at birth. These are persons whose gender identity and / or gender expression does not conform to the respected (imposed) traditional gender roles and norms.

**Transsexual person:** A person who has a clear desire and intention to change their sex, as well as a person who has partially or completely modified their body and presentation, expressing their sex and / or gender identity and sense of self.

**Transphobia:** By analogy with biphobia and homophobia, a form of discrimination based on fear, ignorance and hatred directed against transsexual and transgender persons.

**Transvestite:** Transvestites are people who like to wear the opposite sex clothes.

**Transition:** It represents the process of changing person's gender expression in order to conform to the inner experience of one's gender.

**Triangle (black triangle / pink triangle):** During the Second World War, the Nazis in concentration camps marked gays with triangles and lesbians, Roma women and prostitutes with black triangles.

**Queer:** The word primarily refers to anything different from the conventional in some unusual way (synonymous with weird, eccentric).

**Harassment:** Harassment is any behavior that offends a person's dignity and creates a hostile and abusive environment in connection with a personal property. Harassment is discrimination.

**Rainbow flag:** A symbol of unity and diversity used around the world as a hallmark of the peace, feminist and LGBTIQ movement.

**Hatred crime against LGBTI persons:** Refers to crimes motivated by prejudice against a particular person or group of persons. Hate crimes include intimidation, threats, property damage, abuse, murder, or any other crime in which the victim became the target of an assault because of a real or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity.

## APPENDIX II

### Useful dates for political action

January 1 - World Family Day  
January 27 - International Holocaust Remembrance Day  
March 8 - International Women's Day (United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace)  
March 31- International Transgender Day of Visibility  
April 7 - World Health Day  
May 17 - International Day against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia  
June 20 - World Refugee Day  
June 26 - International Victims of Violence Support Day  
June 28 - Pride Day  
August 12 - World Youth Day  
September 15 - International Democracy Day  
October 11 - National Coming Out Day  
October 24 - United Nations Day  
November 16 - International Tolerance Day  
November 17 - International Students' Day  
November 20 - World Children's Rights Day  
November 20 - International Day of Remembrance for Victims of Transphobia  
November 21 - World Television Day  
November 25 - International Day against Violence against Women  
December 1 - World AIDS Day  
December 3 - International Day of People with Disability  
December 5 - The International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development  
December 10 - World Human Rights Day  
December 20 - International Human Solidarity Day

# Author

## Miloš Đajić

An activist at heart, a Democrat by definition and a big fan of the Internet. Master's degree in cello at the Faculty of the Art of Music and employed at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad. Founder of the Center for Modern Skills, a blogger and a human rights activist dedicated to activism, communication, politics and advocacy. Likes to learn and to teach. Within various projects, he led trainings in advocacy, public and media appearances, political communications and campaigns, social democracy, gender equality... in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia and Croatia, the Netherlands and Sweden. Co-author of 6 manuals with topic of public relations, political campaigns, Internet communication, communication strategies, democracy ... and a large number of newspaper articles. He has worked as a consultant for various organizations and institutions. Winner of the PRIZNANJE (Recognition) award for personal contribution in the field of communication of the Public Relations Society of Serbia; as well as of the award of Women's Governments for contribution to gender equality in Serbia. Anna's husband, Milica and Tamara's dad.





# Impresum

**Publication:**

Social democracy and LGBTI rights

**Author:**

Miloš Đajić

**Publisher:**

CENTER OF MODERN SKILLS

**For Publisher:**

Miloš Đajić

**Editor:**

Ivana Đorđević

**Photos:**

Miloš Đajić and SONY XPERIA

**Proofreading, Tekstogradnja and Translation**

Nataša Mrdak

**Graphic processing:**

Mass Vision d.o.o.

4 / II Kralja Milana St., Belgrade

[www.massvision.net](http://www.massvision.net)

**CENTER OF MODERN SKILLS**

E: [office@cmv.org.rs](mailto:office@cmv.org.rs)

Web: [www.cmv.org.rs](http://www.cmv.org.rs)

FB: [www.facebook.com/CentarMV](https://www.facebook.com/CentarMV)

TW: [www.Twitter.com/CentarMV](https://www.Twitter.com/CentarMV)

IN: [www.instagram.com/CentarMV](https://www.instagram.com/CentarMV)

**This publication was produced with the support of the Max van Der Stoel Foundation of the Netherlands and the Labour Party through the Westminster Foundation for Democracy of Great Britain. The views in this publication belong solely to the author and do not necessarily represent the views of FMS and WFD.**