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Department for Empirical Research

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DEMOCRACY INDEX MONTENEGRO 2007

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TABLE OF CONTENT

COORDINATOR ABOUT PROJECT	5
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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL PLATFORM.....	11
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1. DEMOCRATIC QUALITY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES.....	16
1.1. Control and legality of structures in power	19
1.2. Transparency (publicity) of structures in power	20
1.3. Accountability and removability of structures in power	22
1.4 Professionalism in the work of authorities.	24
1.5. Summary indicators of democratic quality of political processes	25
2. RULE OF LAW	27
2.1. Equality before the law	29
2.2. Availability of legal protection.....	31
2.3. Autonomy of the judiciary	32
2.4. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	33
2.5. Control and transparency of operation of judiciary.....	34
2.6. Summary indicators for the field of the rule of law.....	36
3. ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION ..	40
3.1. Economic equality of individuals in the market	40
3.2. Economic equality and autonomy of companies.....	42
3.3. Mechanisms for protection of economic entities and individuals....	44
3.4. Summary indicator for the field of economic freedoms and economic participation	46
4. EDUCATION	48
4.1. Openness and participation in education.....	50
4.2. Education autonomy and efficiency	51
4.3. Legality and control of the educational System	52
4.4. Pluralism in education	53
4.5. Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education.....	54
4.6. Transparency and accessibility of information in education	56
4.7. Summary indicator for area of education	57

5. MEDIA	60
5.1 Autonomy and independence of media.....	62
5.2. Professionalism of media.....	63
5.3. No monopolies and equality of media	64
5.4 Openness of media	65
5.5. Summary indicators regarding media.....	66
 6. NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	 69
6.1. Formal-legal protection of minorities.....	70
6.2. Discrimination of minorities.....	71
6.3. Existence of protective mechanisms for minorities.....	72
6.4. Relationship of majority toward minority, and fairness of media coverage	73
6.5. Summary indicators for the position of national and religious minorities.....	75
 7. POSITION OF WOMEN	 77
 8. PUBLIC RELATION TOWARD DISABLED PERSONS.....	 80
 9. DEMOCRACY INDEX-SUMMARY	 82

ABOUT THE PROJECT

By the Coordinator

In the last couple of years, Montenegrin social and political context has undergone certain changes. Very soon after the referendum was finished and the independence proclaimed all the expectations for Montenegro to become a politically stable society over night turned to be unfounded. The problems that characterize post-communist societies are still a constituent part of the overall social environment in Montenegro. Rather poor democratic institutions, lack of good practice in the democratization of relations in the society, problems of establishment of the rule of law, oligarchic tendencies, corruption and economic problems are only some of the elements of the old/new environment that Montenegrin citizens live in. Political elite in Montenegro has not changed since the beginning of the transformation of Montenegrin society. This elite, that stems from the closed Alliance of Communists of Montenegro, survived in the multi-party system first by transforming the socialist idea and then by supporting Serbian nationalism in the first half of the nineties. In a later stage, however, the same structures won in the conflict with the Serbian regime by advocating neo-liberal ideology. Finally, the idea that these structures so strongly opposed in the nineties – the idea of Montenegrin independence, became their new basis for legitimacy. By successful and timely change of the political matrix, the same structure has remained in power and that is the type of the continuity that we cannot recognize in the practice of any other post-communist society. Being in power for too long, thus made Montenegrin independence possible and the relatively easy turn to European values was made possible by the continuity. However, this long time in power left some negative consequences as well. It is in the nature of longevity

of one ruling structures and under the influence of oligarchic tendencies, that clientism endangers stability of the political system and creates long-term benefits for the new class of entrepreneurs who, as the public thinks, made their capital in a suspicious manner and who are as such subject to moral judgment. It is quite often and with rather solid arguments, we must say, that the public insists on an inseparable connection between the new class of entrepreneurs and the political elite that was responsible for the economic transformation of the society. If we just remember various scenarios that had the nature of predictions in the early nineties, we can conclude that one of them might be coming true (Szeleny). In this prediction, namely, the political elite is the key factor of the social transformation but by distributing the overall economic resources in compliance with the interests of the elite to the 'selected' members of the society. Foreign investments and the external factors in general were quickly and easily put under the control by making the political moves that were in the interest of the stability of the region.

The above process should be treated as a regularity that almost necessarily happens in the given circumstances rather than as a mere intellectual criticism. The society, which is traditional in its nature and in which friendships and family relations have been determining the political structures for centuries, is more than a fruitful soil for this kind of scenario. Although we have to have in mind that this is a "law of small numbers", where the social network is fully developed and where its full integration into every individual activity is possible. A proof for this is a general view of the political scene. Opposite to the ruling structures, that are so long lasting, there is the opposition which has identical structural characteristics. Within the opposition, namely, the established parties and their leadership are long lasting too, and then, quite naturally, within these parties oligarchic structures appear - very similar to such structures in the ruling parties. Long life of the ones influenced the long life of the others and the long life of both of them brought to a long lasting conflict between them. Further on, authoritarian performance and the lack of 'rational' political discourse indicates to the fact that the structures that will take the place of the ruling structures, that will certainly be replaced eventually, do offer anything new or different in its essence. The thing that can be different is a radical change in the ideological matrix through focusing again on the national issue, which, it appears, will never be solved in this territory. This is at the same time the most serious threat

to the long-term stability of Montenegro, both in political and in the economic sense. The political conflict related to the referendum and the decision on independence was *par excellence* national issue. This is true because the overall majority population can be divided into two basic groups that are ethnically identical but that have different perceptions about their own national identity. Although one side in that conflict won in the referendum, we cannot get the impression that the defeated side gave up on its national ID. On the contrary! Party leadership of this option insists even more on this issue because it is, simply, pragmatic from the aspect of the election mathematics and sharing the Parliament cake. Furthermore, in the given context this situation brings the opposition to a very comfortable situation that in every single move they can obstruct the ruling structure on the level of the legitimization of the entire political system. In such moves the delegitimization is successfully brought into connection with ideological and national arguments on one side and the discourse of 'catch the thief' on the other side. One of the clear indicators of such an attitude is the existing discussion about the Constitution which is supposed to solve the issue of legitimacy of the political system. Since the Constitution has to solve the national issue in the end in a way, the side that lost in the referendum, in spite of being the minority, insists on its status in the Constitution. That is legally and logically legitimate but it brings to the deadlock because the winners in the referendum do not want to take this attitude, simply because they are the winners. The lack of compromise about the basic legal enactment that the society should rest on threatens to bring to the lack of legitimization of the entire social system, which from the aspect of structure and in the essence is a threat to the stability of the overall society and potentially justifies re-vindication in the changed relations of the political forces.

Anyway, it sounds very prosaic but it is simply true and the premises are as follows: the worn out ruling structures, bad opposition, and domination of the ideological and national issue, economic polarization and weak state of the rule of law. This kind of framework, we must admit, does not lead to the conclusion that we can talk of any political stability, because, analytically speaking, both scenarios are possible. When I say both I mean, first of all, the continuation of the process of stabilization in spite of the current political tensions and, second, the possibility of more radical changes in the ruling structures

and going back to the old unresolved issues. Thus, the key problem in Montenegro is the problem of political stability. However, the essence of this problem is reflected not only in the intensity of the conflict but also in its depth, let alone in its historical relevance.

From the aspect of the 'condition' of democracy, these issues are of utmost importance. Due to the fact, namely that the relations are brought to such a level that only one side can win in the political process, they do not chose the means. This brings to the deviations in the functioning of the society, starting with the judiciary, going through all the institutions and ending with the economic structure. This is a local and political framework in which we measure democracy. To have things being even worse, our measurement is based on the perception of the citizens, because this is a survey by items defined in the research. Sharp political division brings to an artificial picture resulting from the measurements. The variance is namely divided into three parts - supporters of the ruling parties, the groups opposing the ruling structures and the rest of the citizens that are tired of politics. Thus, in one, other or the third manner the citizens necessarily relate to the existing political divisions and that defines their perceptions. In other words, in our research all the numerical values that we got are the cumulative expressions of the citizens that undoubtedly belong to one of these three categories. The estimate made for every question that is integrated by this instrument is thus not the estimate based on ascertaining judgments, but the estimate from the angle of supporters of one of the sides in the conflict. This can be seen best through the extremely asymmetrical distribution in the case of measures for the central tendencies that were the basis for the overall indexing. To translate this - in case of supporters of the ruling structures, all the aspects that were measured got very high scores, while in case of the supporters of opposition all the aspects got very low scores. Both sides were giving the scores from personal, political-party reasons and not on the basis of objective estimates. Thus, in Montenegro we cannot speak of independent public opinion, but about party public opinion and that means that the numerical values of the INDEX of democracy reflect the divisions that exist on the political scene.

However, this should certainly not diminish the value of the obtained results of the measurements. The differences between the aspects that were subject to measurement indicate that the situation in democracy in some of the fields is significantly better than in some other

areas. Thus, although the preciseness of the measurement is reduced by divisions in the political scene, it seems that the relative relations between the aspects and dimensions are quite solidly identified. This is a reason for satisfaction on the side of the researchers and a good basis to continue utilizing the Democracy INDEX.

You will now be looking at the results of the empirical research done in the period September 2006 – September 2007. This is the second research of a panel type aimed at scanning the condition of democracy in Montenegro. This is the measuring of democracy and we used the democracy INDEX shaped and verified in the period behind us. Here we used the same methodological tools as in the past, which provides us with the possibility to compare the data and establish the trends. As a consequence, the idea of this project is to follow the condition of democracy in Montenegro by implementing the panel research year after year. The research was designed in such a way as to provide for the possibility to compare the overall values of the INDEX but the comparison can also be done by segments, i.e. dimensions and aspects of the measuring. In other words, this research, which is the second in the row, makes it possible for us not only to have an insight into whether the overall democracy progressed in comparison to the previous period or not, but it also gives us the possibility to compare the situation in various fields of political and social activities. These are the bases that provide the possibility to identify the critical points or bottlenecks that immanently require the relevant institutions, media, government and non-governmental organizations and other structures to pay attention to the aspects in which the problems have been identified and to try to correct the identified deviations by their activities. This aspect of using the INDEX is of key importance since our task is not only of analytical nature, but it is pragmatic in its essence.

To achieve such goals of the INDEX, we paid particular attention to identifying very precisely every field and dimension where there are any problems from the aspect of the criteria of democratic quality. A careful reader and user will easily access the data in the INDEX that do not only identify the problems but indicate clearly to the direction in which certain steps are to be undertaken to improve the situation in every single aspect. Thus, we should only work on an intensive communication with all the institutions which can use INDEX as an important resource in their activities. In that respect, the analytical

data should be substituted by specific measures that the institutions can undertake within their competencies.

We would like to express special gratitude to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) with the headquarters in Washington DC for helping us with the entire project. Without their support and encouragements, this project would have never been implemented. We also want to thank Ivana Howard, and all the others that helped us to implement this project successfully. We also want to say that CEDEM, as one of the most reputable NGOs in Montenegro has the heavy burden of responsibility for a complex and essentially important task which is contained in this project. Therefore, we want to thank everybody that helped us to implement the project successfully. First of all, our interviewees who responded to all the questions with patience and understanding.

Finally, I as the coordinator of this project, have to express personal gratitude to my friend and colleague Srdjan Darmanovic, who, as the leading person in CEDEM, continually monitored and evaluated the work of all of us that were involved and who significantly contributed to the implementation of the project by his advice, expertise and support. I also want to express personal and special gratitude to my dear friend and colleague Vesko Pavicevic. Without his methodological and logistical support, the project would not have been implemented. A large contribution to the project was also given by our young colleagues in CEDEM, Rajko Radevic and Nikola Djurovic, who were involved in all the stages of the project this year and whose support was necessary in the implementation of the overall idea. In the end, I want to thank all the people that helped us in any way in the process theoretical conceptualization and operationalization of the INDEX. I am personally deeply convinced that we did a huge and important job by putting all our great efforts together and by working hard. That work will be used for improvement of democratic processes in Montenegrin society. At the same time I want to express that I am convinced that in the future period we are to face a difficult and responsible task of the implementation of the second part of the project, measures that we will prepare on the basis of the objective indicators.

Project Coordinator
Miloš Bešić, PhD

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL PLATFORM

A lot can be said about democracy, from antic to contemporary political theory, the number of democracy definitions is fascinating. Of course, depending on concrete experiences and culture of different societies, and different historical contexts the very face of democracy can be quite different. Our goal is not to be engaged in these issues. Our task is more of methodological than theoretical character. In that sense, we are inclined see democracy as a process rather than a state. In other words, we believe that democracy is not a social state that can be achieved through universal and methodologically unified procedure. It is more probable that democracy, in its final form, is never achieved state; the democracy is social and political system in perpetual process. Regardless of different theoretical approaches, democracy is essentially based on the idea of equality and we think it is not necessary to prove that it is impossible to achieve absolute equality. The very idea of equality in contemporary approaches is primarily interpreted as equality of opportunities and not as equality-outcome. However, practice is showing that even the equality of opportunities, which is not difficult to be defined in formal form, is being severely limited at the very beginning due to social relations, which are primarily reflected in power relations that exist in every society. Furthermore, isonomy as aspiration and the world of what is possible and isomerism as the need and aspiration of majority of public, are very often resulting in changing the desire for democracy with desire for authoritarianism, and this can be easily seen on the example of post-socialist societies.

Speaking of the very conceptual framework, we have tried on one hand that make it in harmony with understanding of democracy in

its essential-substantial sense as well as with the idea of democracy in procedural sense. Conceptual framework, upon which the Index is based, is prepared for operational process and later on measurements, and epistemological experiences in social sciences are showing that differences in theoretical approaches are often disappearing once we get to the field of real social processes and relations. This is confirmed by our experience when forming the Index; different theoretical approaches we were taking into account have demonstrated similarities in their operational environment and the differences among them were not so hard to overcome, because in the empirical aspect these differences proved to be false. In this concrete situation democracy is both the process and the very essence, that is the equality that needs to be achieved. Process does not exist per se, but is directed at the essence, and equality idea in any society can be achieved only through certain procedures and social mechanisms. This is not eclecticism but necessity of integrative approach defined by the very nature of operational process and empiric quantification, and we are convinced that we have clearly proven this theses when defining the Democracy Index.

Without pretensions to be creators of new definitions under the term democracy we mean the form of social and political organization of the society which provides the equality for all the citizens, regardless of their financial or social status, their ethnic origin or political and religious believes, and which is accomplished through efficient institutions, respect of democratic procedures, participation of citizens in political and overall social life, and existence of control mechanisms and changeable political power. This definition is not neither original nor the best possible one, but for our operational purposes it is quite sufficient as starting referent point.

In methodological sense, the key thing is definitely the choice of indicators as they are the bearers – the empirical particles that in their cumulative form provide necessary information based on which the Index is created. Indicators are indicating the state of democracy with respect to aspects representing operational aspect of the notion of democracy within socio-political environment. In order to identify the indicators, first we have to determine the areas and than the dimensions as generic categories gathering the very indicators. Finally, it is necessary to review each dimension from the point of hypothetical aspects.

Speaking of areas, here we certainly mean social fields that can be viewed individually, and which later on can serve as base for comparison and production of summary Index. Based on experience- analyses in measuring democracy throughout the world and in surrounding countries as well as on big number of individual interviews conducted with experts we have selected the following social areas to be measured (and later to be indexed).

- DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES
- RULE OF LAW
- ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION
- EDUCATION
- MEDIA
- NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
- POSITION OF WOMEN
- POSITION OF DISABLED PERSONS

Thus, we are speaking here about eight areas and the selection of these areas is not arbitrary but based on the essential characteristics of the society based on democratic criteria, as well as on specific needs of Montenegrin society. Therefore, during the process of measurement, we shall pay special attention to each of these areas and in the final outcome, we shall have, according to unique methodological procedure, democracy measure for each of them.

However, to be able to quantify each area it is necessary to determine all aspects based on which it is possible to view each of these areas through different dimensions. Aspects are, therefore, necessary analytical mean serving to determine the dimensions that each individual area comprises of. Aspects used as criteria for determining the dimensions are:

- EQUALITY
- PARTICIPATION AND PROTECTION
- TRANSPARENCY
- CONTROL
- ACCOUNTABILITY

- REPRESENTATION
- EFFICIENCY AND PROFESSIONALISM
- AUTONOMY

Therefore, for each of the areas representing the monitoring units for measuring the democracy of the society, we shall determine the degree in which, in that particular area, equality of citizens is provided, their participation and protection, the level of transparency (public access) of that area, as well as the degree of control of given area by the citizens, than we shall also measure the level of accountability as well as the degree to which the representation of citizens is provided, and also to what extent the given area is efficient and professional in its work and finally we shall measure the level of autonomy for certain areas.

Furthermore, in other that methodological procedure can be operative in form of empiric indicator, it was necessary to review every area, thanks to aforementioned and indicated aspects, in multidimensional way. The fact is that dimensions for each area have to be different, and this because of the nature of the areas. In that regard, consequent reviewing of each area from the point of described aspects, as well as unified quantification method, enable us to reach compatible information that later on, can be reviewed in complementary way thanks to empiric indicators.

Presented procedure may seem complex but eventually we will demonstrate that it is quite simple in its essence and in our judgment necessary so that the very idea of measurement could be implemented in valid and methodologically unified way. Therefore, hereinafter we shall be dealing with each individual area, we shall present all dimensions given area comprises of, and finally the indicators which are measurement particles and which have been identified thanks to the analytical power of several aspects we spoke of earlier.

However, before that a couple important methodological remarks. Guiding idea behind the creation of Index was that on two separate fronts we should conduct just the measurement of the current state. First, that is the state of democracy based on subjective perception of citizens, and second, identification of objective indicators based on the same theoretical and operational criteria. On this occasion, our mandate covers only one of these two parts, and that is creation

of Index and measurements based on the perception of citizens. This approach has one methodological advantage as well as one methodological defect. The advantage is that democracy at its final stage must obtain legitimacy from citizens because the citizens are the ultimate target of all democratic reforms. Defect is that in given political constellation, and by saying so we primarily think on sharp political divisions and lack of political consensus, the judgments of one part of public opinion do not correspond to real situation in the field. This is because critically orientated and politically inspired part of the public often, instead of evaluating real achievements, tends to establish, at the level of perception, direct connection between state of democracy and actual power. Therefore, criticism of actual power, which is formed ad hoc at the mental level, reflects each individual assessment given with respect to the state of democracy. Secondly, the fact remains that between perception and realistic state on the field, there are certain deviations, and we will try to elaborate this issue in each individual case. However, we think that all of us must agree that measurement of this type is valid only in this moment. By this we mean the current situation in institutions of Montenegrin society, which due to lack of systematic collection of information about themselves, are not capable to give us materials that would be possible to transform into Index language. This task is very important and we shall work on it in the time to come.

Indexation process was conducted in two phases. First, we have collected empiric data through four surveys (two areas per survey) on representative samples of 1020 polled persons. Thanks to experience CEDEm has in public opinion surveys, there is no doubt that sample and data obtained in the field are in line with strict empiric demands and standard errors characteristic of any sample. The sample is multi-level and random type, we also used stratification principle to divide the population in three regions, and we also got representative sample for each of these three regions, what enables us to have deeper analytical insight in the state of democracy for each region individually. Of course, the proportion of each region is in proportion regarding distribution at the level of entire population. Second, during creation of Index and based on pilot surveys, we have used fifth-grade ordinal scales of Likert type and in indexing these scales were transformed

into point system from 20 to 100 points. The key thing is that for each individual survey, as well as for each individual area we have used the identical methodological procedure, what enabled us to make the comparison of obtained data. All in all, as a result of described procedures we got Democracy Index for which we present the detailed data on the following pages.

1. DEMOCRATIC QUALITY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES

Politics is a complex social phenomenon which includes power as one of the basic categories. It is understood and interpreted in different ways. According to the modern liberal concept politics is a social activity of conscious governing of social processes and affairs in the aim of harmonizing and overcoming irreconcilable interests and opposites, with the view of achieving harmonious development and integration of the society. Thus, politics has a governing – guiding and organization-integration function. On the other side, in democratic societies power is in the function of certain politics, which is a result of social consensus and democratic harmonization. Power, therefore, should be organizational-functional element of politics, i.e. its executive tool and physical instrumentarium. However, it is not rare that politics and power become factors of disintegration in a society. And it is exactly because of such a possibility that it is important to research this field and improve by suggestions the democratic quality of Montenegrin society in order to neutralize, or at least to reduce the possibility for the power to become alienated from the ones in whose name and on whose behalf it should be working.

There is one specific feature in Montenegro which makes it different from the other post-socialist societies. While in other young post-communist democracies there were frequent changes of power in the first several elections, namely, Montenegro has one political party, which has “skillfully” managed to stay in power all the time.

The reasons for this are numerous but we will mention only a few that we consider the most important. One of the basic reasons is certainly the fact that the current ruling political class managed to neutralize conservative forces in the crisis and final stage of the rule of the Alliance of Communist of Montenegro. It managed to impose a new and at that time revolutionary pace followed by the ideas of modernization. Along with this there is one demographic variable that significantly influenced the course of events. The political elite that took the helm from the Communist Party of Montenegro at the end of the eighties was, namely, extremely young at that time. And in fact, the same elite still belongs to the group of young political classes, particularly if compared to European political elites. And then, there is no doubt that the ruling party in Montenegro manages really well to stay in power by supporting various ideas, starting from the national idea at the beginning of the 90s, changing the ideological matrix in the second half of the last decade and becoming the leading advocate of the civil and statehood option. At the same time, the ruling party used to include other parties of various political orientation into the ruling structures, which was of help to maintain its own 'freshness'. And finally, the right timing of the identification with the idea of European integration in the ideological sense provided good prospects to the ruling party.

These were only some of the reasons. We could certainly list a huge number of other reasons as well, including some that were functional from the aspect of staying in power but negative from the aspect of democratization and development of Montenegrin society. But the fact that one party has been in power for such a long time implies a number of negative consequences, one of which is the phenomenon of clientism. Making connections with the ruling structures, a large number of individuals acquired significant wealth under suspicious circumstances and not in a transparent process of primary capital accumulation. Unfortunately, it seems that those connections are still rather stable and strong. Clientism certainly is a strong obstacle for success of democratic reforms because it significantly influences social polarization and political delegitimization of power. Another problem of having one political elite in power for a long time is the fact that the possibility of innovation of staff is limited, so that 'worn

out' but also very frequently corrupt staff suffer from the lack of ideas and initiatives. And finally, when one ruling structure is in power for so long one of the basic principle of democracy is challenged – the principle of removability of ruling structures. „*It is wrong to ask 'who will rule'. The ability to vote a bad government out of office is enough. That is democracy*“ (Karl Popper).

Currently the electorate have a bit wider range of party supply in Montenegrin political market than they used to have in the past. Supply on the political market of Montenegro is richer then it was in the period behind us. The political scene is more diversified, there are new players and slowly the formal preconditions for development of the necessary alternative to the ruling party are being created. This is certainly a positive trend because diversity of choices is equally important as the opportunity to choose.

It is also important to mention that the hot issue of Montenegrin independence got its epilogue in the referendum, the results of which are well known, and thus this important issue was put *ad acta*. Unfortunately, the divisions on all other grounds have persisted. The best evidence of this is the discussion on the future Constitution of Montenegro.

As for political structure of the society, which is reflected in the aspects we referred to above, using the relevant analytical apparatus we identified four key dimensions of this area. They are

- Control and legality of structures in power
- Transparency (publicity) of structures in power
- Accountability and removability of structures in power
- Professionalization in the operation of authorities

Each of the listed dimensions was subject to separate measuring done by a network of indicators. What follows is a presentation of every dimension and the indicators used as unit of measurement for the given dimensions.

1.1 Control and legality of structures in power

The issue of possibility to control the ruling structures and the compliance of their activities with the law is definitely of particular importance for the overall democratic process in a society. Therefore, we wanted to examine to what extent Montenegrin citizens perceive the structures in power as are working in legal manner and controlled by the citizens. Table 1 provides an insight into all the indicators we included in the measuring of this dimension.

Table 1 – Control and legality of structures in power – presentation of all indicators¹

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skew-ness
Efficiency of civil control of central government structures	897	2.25	1.135	,779
Efficiency of civil control of local (municipal) government	895	2.23	1.135	,737
Control of publicity and authority over secret services and security services	834	2.43	1.248	,485
Legality in the operation of state authorities	864	2.59	1.260	,353
Absence of corruption and criminal in central government structures	887	1.99	1.027	1,044
Absence of corruption and criminal in local (municipal) government	859	2.12	1.043	,887

We can see that the range for all the indicators is from 1.99 to 2.59. The highest value is measured for the indicator of legality in operation of state authorities and it amounts to 2.59. The indicator of the control of publicity and authority over secret services and security services is on the second position (2.43), which indicates to the fact that these structures are losing the power they used to have in the period of socialism. However, we also have to have in mind the very nature of their activities, which is mostly perceived as non-transparent

¹ Coefficients range from 1 to 5

by default. Then, we can see that in comparison to the last Index the citizens think that civil control of central government structures is on a higher level (2.25) than the civil control of local government (2.23). And finally, the last finding indicates that corruption and criminal are the most serious problems both at the local (2.12) and at the national level (1.99)

1.2 Transparency (publicity) of structures in power

Transparency of work is one of the basic principles on the basis of which every power should function. It is a situation in which every authority and every official is positioned in such a way that it is controlled by citizens. Although this principle is promoted through all the laws that govern the operation of public administration and local government, the citizens obviously see the implementation side as a huge problem.

Transparency or publicity in work is one of the key conditions for achieving the relationship of trust between citizens and people holding responsible public offices. **In the specific cultural setting as Montenegro (layers of traditional-patriarchal society; to dense social network of tribal, family, best-friends/godfathers and friendship relations and other informal elements, i.e. power channels that can often be participated as a kind of nepotism) and with population of 670,000 people it is only expected to have the problem of non-transparency.**

The problem of transparency is in the perception of citizens also particularly emphasized in the area of economics, which is understandable because in the period we observed the accelerated ownership transformation is in progress.

Discussing transparency of the structures in power, we also have to mention the role of NGO sector in that respect. This sector has a very important role in the overall democratization of Montenegrin society, both because it generates the energy of mostly young and educated people that work in NGOs and because NGOs are connected to similar organizations in Europe and in the world that provide them with the necessary logistics and expertise.

As for the results for this dimension, we can say that the best scores are given to the objectivity of the media in reporting on the work of the Government and the Parliament (2.85). This is immediately followed by transparency in the operation of local government (2.59) and accessibility of the information of authorities and services to the media (2.58). These three indicators that have the best scores are followed by the indicator for transparency in the operation of national government (2.53), the possibility of citizens to obtain insight into the decision making process for important political decisions (2.46). And in the end, Montenegrin citizens gave the lowest score to the accessibility of information of the authorities and services to the citizens (2.32). In general, the range of indicators for this dimension is from 2.32 to 2.85.

Table 2 – Transparency of power – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skew-ness
Transparency in operation of central government structures	887	2.53	1.118	,412
Transparency in operation of local government	882	2.59	1.100	,364
Objectivity of media in following the work of the Government and the Parliament	902	2.85	1.163	-,021
Possibility of citizens to obtain insight into the process and making of important political decisions	876	2.46	1.130	,432
Accessibility of the information of authorities and services to the media	781	2.58	1.102	,311
Accessibility of information of the authorities and services to the citizens	860	2.32	1.065	,565

1.3 Accountability and removability of structures in power

Removability of political elite, ensured in a legal and legitimate way through democratic elections, with political responsibility of the parties and individuals in power and the existence of several political options, is one of the basic preconditions to build a society on democratic principles. Of course, we have to have in mind that removability of ruling structures is a democratic principle, but as such it does not mean that the ruling structure has to be removed *de facto* in the elections, but only that democratic mechanisms have to provide for the possibility to remove the ruling structures. So, we must not confuse the possibility to remove (removability of) and the factual situation of removing ruling structures which is the consequence that is not necessary as such.

On the other side, the accountability of the ruling structures is very important because a democratic society has to provide mechanisms that will guarantee that the ruling structures will behave in a responsible manner in their relations to the citizens, since they are the source of the legitimacy of the ruling structures. The process of democratization is not a simple establishment of democratic mechanisms, but (the case of Montenegro being convincing evidence) it necessarily requires a specific civil emancipation and change in the social-psychological tissue of the society.

The results that we got measuring this dimension (Table 3) show that the scores range between 3.12 and 2.32. The highest score was given to the legitimacy of the ruling structures (3.12). It is followed by the removability of local government in the elections in compliance with democratic procedures (2.88). And then, on the third position, which is rather interesting in light of the fact that the ruling structures have not yet been removed in Montenegro, there is the indicator of removability of national government in the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures (2.77). Then there is the accountability and conscientiousness of the local government in providing services to citizens (2.54), and after that the statement that the local government is in the service of citizens (2.48); the accountability and conscientiousness of public administration in providing services to citizens (2.47); the accountability and conscientiousness of ministries

and ministers (2.44) and almost at the very bottom the statement that the national government is in the service of citizens (2.39). The last position is shared by the indicator of accountability and conscientiousness of Members of Parliament and the indicator of responsibility of ruling structures for the protection of the interests of citizens, with the lowest scores (2.32).

Table 3 – Accountability and removability of ruling structures – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skewness
National government in the service of citizens	899	2.39	1.095	,506
Local government in the service of citizens	895	2.48	1.095	,399
Accountability and conscientiousness of public administration in providing services to citizens	869	2.47	1.094	,301
Accountability and conscientiousness of local government in providing services to citizens	865	2.54	1.103	,270
Accountability and conscientiousness of Members of Parliament	890	2.32	1.119	,534
Accountability and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers	864	2.44	1.121	,383
Removability of national government in the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	870	2.77	1.337	,077
Removability of local government in the elections in compliance with democratic procedures	870	2.88	1.304	-,057
Legitimacy of ruling structures	897	3.12	1.408	-,236
Responsibility of ruling structures for the protection of the interests of citizens	893	2.32	1.213	,572

1.4 Professionalism in the work of authorities

Modern society is a kind of organized technocracy. Expertise, professionalism and competence are constituent parts of an efficient democratic rule. That is why we included this dimension in our measurements. It should also be noted that a constituent part of this dimension is the relation of majority to minority when it comes to expert and competent arguments.

Thus, a democratic society envisages certain criteria for the inclusion of expertise and competences in the overall political life of the society, regardless of ideological and political differences between political parties and other participants.

Table 4 Professionalism in work of authorities – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skewness
Professionalism and expert qualifications of civil servants and employees in government services and ministries	885	2.88	1.135	,031
Professionalism and expert qualifications of civil servants and employees in local government	880	2.73	1.145	,187
Professionalism and expert qualifications of administrative officers in the Parliament and parliamentary bodies	862	2.80	1.127	,106
Respect for minority shown by majority at all levels	873	2.53	1.212	,404

The results we got measuring this dimension show that the scores range between 2.53 and 2.88. The highest score was given to the professionalism and expert qualifications of civil servants and employees in government services and ministries (2.88) which is much higher score than the one given to the civil servants and employees in local government (2.73), while administrative officers in the Parliament and its bodies are somewhere in the middle (2.80).

And in the end, the lowest score was recorded for the indicator of respect for minority shown by majority at all the levels of power (2.53). We should say that this result is slightly improved in comparison to the last measuring, but the very fact that it is at the bottom of our ranking indicates that not enough has been done in this field, although the need for higher-quality communication between majority and minority in Montenegro is strongly emphasized.

1.5 Summary indicators of democratic quality of political processes (Trend)

In the end we summarized and compared the results we got, which is one of the basic goals we set in this survey. In order to see possible changes we also compared the results we got this year with the results from the last Index (2005 – 2006). Table 5 and graph 1 provide an insight into the data we obtained for all four areas we measured². It should be noted that the presented data for one dimension present a summary of indicators measured for that dimension.

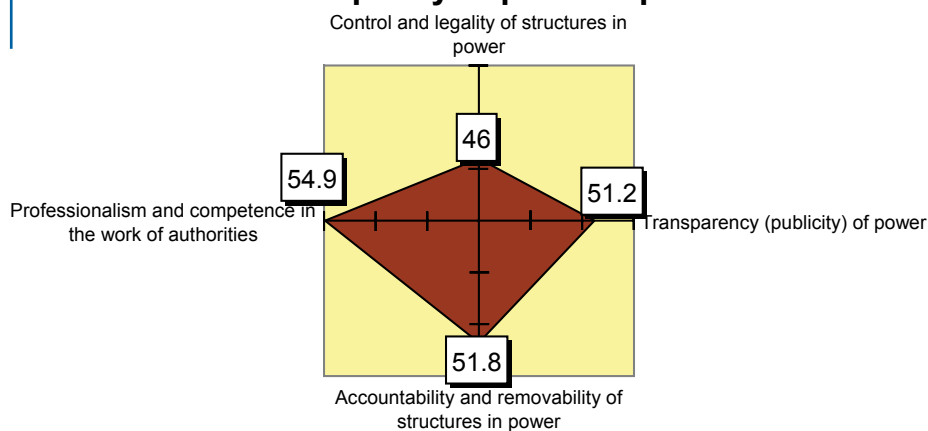
Summary indicators for the area of democratic quality of political processes

Table 5 Politics and ruling structures - summary by dimensions

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Control and legality of structures in power	968	45.9225	18.59244	,586
Transparency (publicity) of power	969	51.1934	18.41105	,239
Accountability and removability of structures in power	965	51.7969	18.99458	,176
Professionalism and competence in the work of authorities	944	54.8996	20.49428	,179

2 Coefficient is optimized and it ranges from 20 to 100

Democratic quality of political processes

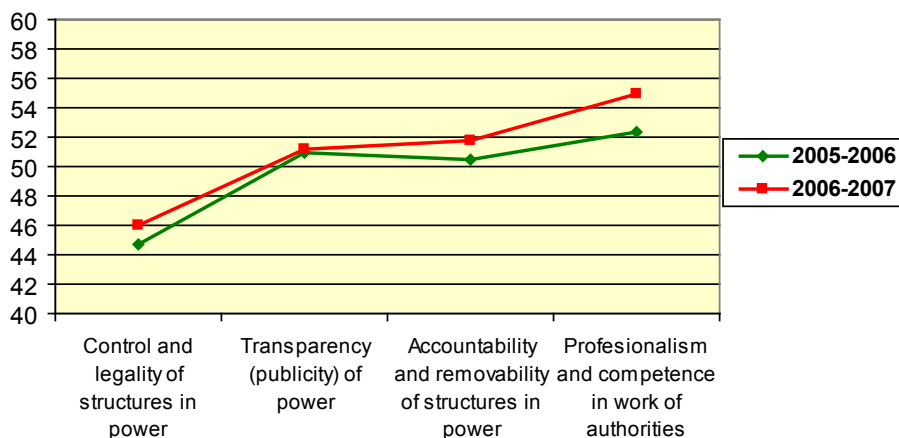


The results show that the citizens perceive that most has been achieved in the field of professionalism and competences in the work of authorities (54.9), then in the field of accountability and removability of ruling structures (51.8) and in transparency (publicity) of power (51.2), the difference between these two dimensions being very small. Finally, the citizens think that the most serious problem in Montenegro from the aspect of democratic quality of political processes is in the dimension of control and legality of structures in power (46) and the score for this dimension is much lower than all the others.

TREND

Dimensions	2005-2006	2006-2007
Control and legality of structures in power	44.7	46.0
Transparency (publicity) of power	51.0	51.2
Accountability and removability of structures in power	50.5	51.8
Professionalism and competence in work of authorities	52.4	54.9

Democratic quality of political processes - TREND



If we compare the results that we obtained this time with the results from the last survey we can notice that the ranking of dimension scores is the same and that a slight increase is recorded in all indicators. The range of coefficients by dimensions is from 46 to 54.9, which means they are slightly higher than in the last measuring but it is certainly still unsatisfactory since the maximum value of the coefficients is 100.

In the end we can conclude that **the first step to be taken in order to improve democratic quality of political processes in Montenegro is ensuring higher level of control and legality of structures in power.** It should be noted that within this dimension **corruption and criminal in the ruling structures, particularly on the national level**, has been emphasized as the most serious problem.

2. RULE OF LAW

Democratic reforms in East and South-east Europe assumed in the last period a constitutional proclamation of the principle of the rule of law. Experience has however shown that this is not enough and that it is possible to have undemocratic regimes behind such politi-

cally correct constitutional texts. In the light of these facts the reasons for including the rule of law and laws in our Index are quite obvious. There is no modern society and no free individual without positive law and the laws based on it. Destruction of legality is the most traumatic experience a political community can go through. When legality of a political body is destroyed, members of the political community are in the condition characterized not only by general uncertainty but also by the absence of clear landmarks which make it possible for people to route their individual and collective experience (Weber). This sentence presents in the best possible way the importance that the rule of law has for a society, and Montenegrin society is no exception in that respect. Montenegro has done a lot on establishment of this basic democratic principle if we compare the current situation with the situation in real-socialism, where the principles of equality before the law and rule of law were often underappreciated. However, this is at the same time a field that Montenegro still has to work hard on in order to achieve certain standard and align its legislation to the European legislation, which is one of the key requirements for joining EU.

Practice in Montenegro has shown that passing of laws is probably the easier part of the task and that the lack of implementation of the laws is much more serious problem, which is a significant obstacle for development of the society and for its overall democratization.

Equally significant problem in Montenegro today is (dis)respecting the autonomy of judiciary, since it is hard to break the inherited ties between the structures in power and judges. Among serious problems there are also the limitation in terms of professionalism of officers of all levels employed in judiciary.

Just like in the case of democratic quality of political processes we divided this field to several dimensions and within each dimension we defined a number of indicators that were the final cells of measurement. Dimensions in this area are:

- Equality before the law
- Availability of legal protection
- Autonomy of judiciary
- Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary
- Control and transparency of the operation of judiciary

2.1 Equality before the law

We can say that in a way equality of people before the law is a synonym for the rule of law, i.e. equal obligation for everybody to comply with the laws and absolute exclusion of every possibility that anybody can or should be above the law. This means that it is only law that truly rules and that consistent compliance with the law is expected from everybody. Only the situation in which the condition of equality of everybody before the law is fulfilled can provide for order and stability in the society. Implementation of this basic democratic principle is particularly important for the societies as Montenegro, which are in the transition from a state of pre-political and traditional-party into the state of political and civic, the foundation of which is civil society.

A significant number of citizens think that the principle of equality before the law does not exist in Montenegro.

Also, having in mind the multi-national nature of Montenegrin society, we posed the question of equality of citizens before the law, regardless of their national or ethnical affiliations. In this segment of the Index, from the methodological point of view, this indicator was one of our control variables since the status of national minorities was a separate item of our measurement.

Table 6. Equality before the law – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skew-ness
Legality of the processes of passing laws in the interest of all citizens, regardless of differences in their material and social status and regardless of their national, ethnic, religious and political affiliations	889	2.85	1.214	,032
Equality in the process of law enforcement for all the citizens regardless of their ethnic, national or religious origin	892	2.74	1.231	,113

Equality in the process of law enforcement regardless of the material status of individuals	903	2.43	1.123	,449
Equality in the process of law enforcement regardless of political, ideological or party affiliations of citizens	899	2.42	1.167	,431
Equality before the law when it comes to individuals from within the ruling structures	889	2.23	1.139	,686

The results we got show that the highest score was given to the legality of the processes of passing laws in the interest of all citizens, regardless of differences in their material and social status and regardless of their national, ethnic, religious and political affiliations (2.85). This indicator is followed by the one indicating to the equality in the process of law enforcement for all the citizens regardless of their ethnic, national or religious origin (2.74). It can be noted that the first two indicators got significantly higher scores than the other three indicators, which shows that the citizens think the best result in the process of democratization of Montenegrin society has been achieved in this field. In the middle of the table there is the indicator of equality in the process of law enforcement regardless of the material status of individuals (2.43). And in the end, the citizens gave the lowest score to the equality in the process of law enforcement regardless of political, ideological or party affiliations of citizens (2.42) and equality before the law when it comes to individuals from within the ruling structures (2.23). The low values that we recorded for these two indicators are in a way supporting the above statement about the existence of powerful individuals that have an influence on the ruling structures and indirectly on the judiciary, which makes the existence of the very principle of equality before the law questionable.

2.2 Availability of legal protection

The rule of law and possibility of having legal protection for everybody and under the same conditions provides citizens with the necessary feeling of predictability and certainty. This is one of the extremely important questions from the aspect of measuring this specific field. We measured the perception of citizens of the availability of legal protection having in mind the differences in material status, national and religious affiliations and differences from the aspect of political and party affiliations. These are the necessary criteria having in mind the specific characteristics of the transition process in Montenegro. The results show that the indicators range between 2.45 and 2.77. According to these results the highest level of protection is achieved in the field of protection of national and religious minorities (2.77). The second highest value is recorded for the indicator of availability of legal protection for citizens regardless of their political and party affiliations (2.65). And in the end we can see that the availability of legal protection for citizens of different material status is the most problematic dimension (2.45).

Table 7 Availability of legal protection – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skew-ness
Legal protection is ensured equally to all citizens regardless of their material status	897	2.45	1.166	,413
Legal protection is ensured equally to all citizens regardless of their national or religious affiliations	873	2.77	1.237	,060
Legal protection is ensured equally to all citizens regardless of their political or party affiliations	917	2.65	1.187	,236

The above finding is rather indicative and it shows again the polarization of Montenegrin society on the basis of material status and party affiliations. Citizens, namely think that some categories of citizens have better access and they exercise their rights at Montenegrin

courts significantly faster and more efficiently than other categories of population.

3.3 Autonomy of judiciary

This is one of the issues that are always topical in Montenegro. The fact is that the autonomy of judiciary is significantly endangered both by ruling structures and by individuals that have significant capital. It should be noted that the principles for ensuring autonomy of judiciary are formally in place. However, the matter that arises as a problem in Montenegro in many fields is the inconsistent implementation of such rules in practice. Inertia and lack of capacities for full implementation of the principle of autonomy of judiciary in Montenegro can be identified as causes of such a situation.

Table 8 Autonomy of judiciary – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skewness
Independence of judiciary of the influence of political parties	878	2.33	1.106	,593
Independence of judiciary of the influence of the Government and state services	858	2.29	1.087	,573
Independence of judiciary of the influence of the Parliament	821	2.54	1.090	,279
Independence of judiciary of the influence of powerful and rich individuals and groups	869	2.21	1.052	,669
Independence of judiciary of the influence of non-government organizations	773	3.11	1.152	-,337
Independence of judiciary of the influence of religious organizations and churches	801	3.34	1.181	-,590
Independence of judiciary of the influence of EU organizations	777	2.90	1.151	-,120

The range for this indicator is from 2.21 to 3.34. Such a wide range indicates that there are significant differences between the indicators related to judiciary. The autonomy of judiciary in relation to the influence of religious organizations and churches is the strongest (3.34). The independence of the influence of non-government sector is on the second position (3,11) and the NGO sector is strong in Montenegro and present in all the aspects of the society. Having in mind the scores we recorded we cannot say that the judiciary is completely independent from the influence of EU organizations (2.90). The middle of the table belongs to the autonomy of judiciary on relation to the Parliament (2.54). This result is certainly something we expected because of the fact that the election of judges has its epilogue in the voting of the Parliament. In the light of this fact it will be very interesting to see what solution the new Constitution of Montenegro will envisage for the issue of election of judges. The measurements done within this dimension confirmed the above statements that political parties have a strong influence on judiciary (2.33) and that there is also a strong influence of Government and state services (2.29). And finally, the lowest score was recorded for the autonomy of judiciary in relation to the influence of powerful and rich individuals and groups (2.21), so we can conclude that it is this category that degrades and endangers the autonomy of judiciary most seriously.

3.4 Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary

Montenegrin judiciary is extremely inefficient and slow in its work. This is the fact that is frequently emphasized and the genuineness of which is not difficult to confirm. It is sufficient to make an insight into the average amount of time needed for the solution of the simplest dispute. It is also connected to the lack of professionalism in judiciary, which only partly stems from the objective limitations, as well as the lack of expert capacities in judiciary.

The values that we got are very interesting and they range between 2.18 and 2.83. In the opinion of our citizens the least serious problem in this field is professionalism and expert qualifications of judges for more efficient implementation of laws (2.83), while a more serious

problem is efficiency and professionalism of judiciary for successful protection of the rights of citizens (2.51). The lowest scores were given to the efficiency of judiciary in the process of dispute resolution (2.28) and at the very bottom there is the indicator of the absence of corruption and working in the interest of influential individuals and groups (2.18), which fully corresponds to the measurements in the other dimensions. In other words, corruption and certain influential groups and individuals are the most significant obstacle on the road to fast dispute resolutions and the possibility of having judges who are professional in doing their jobs. So, it is the field that limits the efficiency of the judiciary the most and therefore it deserves the full-est attention.

Table 9 Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skew-ness
Efficiency of judiciary in the process of dispute resolution	898	2.28	1.086	,540
Professionalism and expert qualifications of judges for the efficient implementation of the laws	844	2.83	1.170	-,075
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary for the successful protection of the rights of citizens	873	2.51	1.079	,293
Absence of corruption and working in the interest of influential individuals and groups	878	2.18	1.076	,708

3.5 Control and transparency of operation of judiciary

Citizens want the courts that are just and fair, that are strong enough to enforce their decisions, that are fast and financially acceptable. In order to achieve this it is necessary that in every democratic society there is a certain control over the work of courts. Thus, the autonomy of judiciary does not mean the lack of every control and transparency

of judiciary. It is exactly the opposite. Our intention was to use a larger set of indicators and measure the level and presence of the mechanisms for control of the operation of judiciary, i.e. to establish the level of transparency of operation of courts.

Table 10 Control and transparency of judiciary – presentation of all indicators

Indicators	N	A.S.	SD	Skew-ness
Efficiency of state control of the work of judiciary in the service of protection of law and legality	832	2.67	1.158	,229
Transparency of work of courts and the possibility of monitoring by the media	830	2.66	1.123	,216
Accessibility of the public to the information relevant for the protection of the rights of citizens	819	2.53	1.085	,269
Availability of control and influence of citizens to judiciary through organizations and institutions and in compliance with the law	833	2.35	1.060	,492
Existence of the mechanism of parliamentary control of the work of courts	784	2.75	1.141	,034
Monitoring of courts by NGO sector	782	2.91	1.168	-,087

Our measuring confirmed the statements that NGO sector is extremely important for the process of overall democratization of our society. This is confirmed by the fact that the highest score was given to the indicator of monitoring of courts by NGO sector (2.91). On the basis of the obtained data the Parliament also has efficient mechanisms for the control of work of judiciary (2.75). This data is certainly not surprising since judges are appointed in the Parliament. So, the state controls the work of judiciary in a rather efficient manner in order to provide protection of legality (2.67). When it comes to the possibility of the media to control judiciary, the success is half-way (2.66), but this

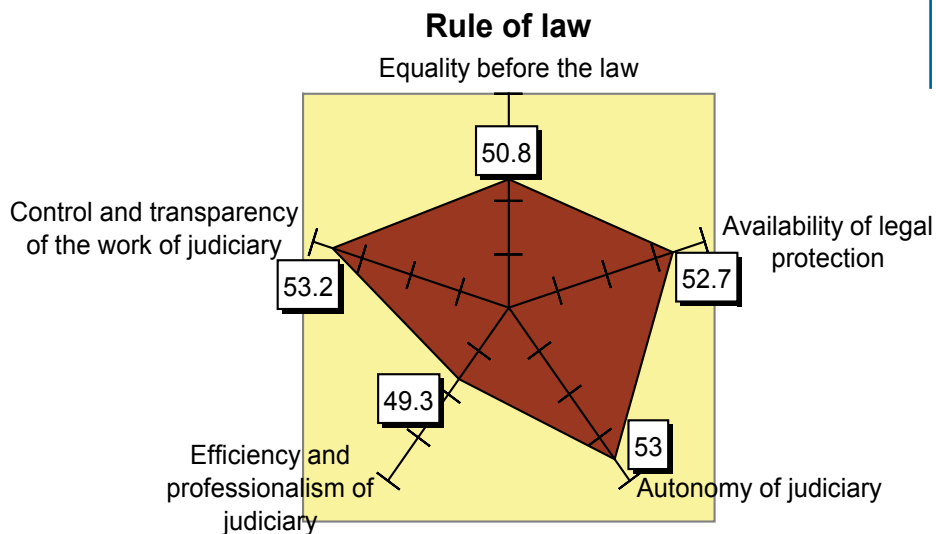
is certainly a positive result. In the end there is the accessibility of the public to the information relevant for the protection of the rights of citizens (2.53) followed only by the indicator of availability of control and influence of citizens to judiciary, which is unfortunately on the very last position (2.32). In the light of this fact we can identify this indicator as the priority in terms of future activities that are related to the increase of the possibility of control and transparency of the work of judiciary. The range in this dimension is 2.35 to 2.91.

3.6 Summary indictors for the field of the rule of law (Trend)

Table 11 and the graph below give a summary presentation for the field of the rule of law and laws. They are followed by the comparison with the results of the last measurement aimed at noticing the trends in the dimensions in relation to the 2005-2006 Index.

Table 11 Rule of law – summary by dimensions

Dimensions	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Equality before the law	960	50.8	20.52421	,302
Availability of legal protection	966	52.7	21.68941	,232
Autonomy of judiciary	949	53.0	18.17105	,163
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	963	49.3	19.58690	,373
Control and transparency of the work of judiciary	941	53.2	18.95696	,110



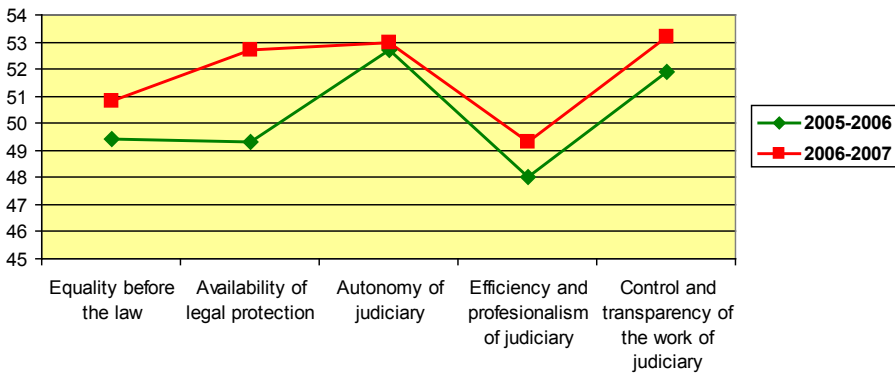
If we summarize the results we obtained we can see that the range between the dimensions we measured is from 49.3 to 53.2, which is extremely low since the maximum value that can be obtained is 100. The opinion of citizens was that the best score in the field of democratization - rule of law should be given to the possibility to control and the transparency of work of judiciary (53.2) but we certainly have to note the negative fact that the availability of control and insight into the work of judiciary is seen as most difficult for citizens. The second best score and at the same time a satisfactory result is recorded for the autonomy of judiciary (53.0) the difference between these two dimensions being insignificant. So, we can say that these are the two dimensions with best achievements.

A slightly lower score (52.7) was recorded for availability of legal protection and equality before the law (50.8). However, democratic quality in this field is strongly endangered by inefficiency and unprofessionalism of judiciary (49.3).

TREND

Dimensions	2005-2006	2006-2007
Equality before the law	49.4	50.8
Availability of legal protection	49.3	52.7
Autonomy of judiciary	52.7	53.0
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	48.0	49.3
Control and transparency of the work of judiciary	51.9	53.2

Rule of law - TREND



If we look at the trend of the values in this dimension in comparison to the last Index, we can notice certain changes. So, this time instead of the autonomy of judiciary the dimension which has the highest score is the one related to the possibility to control judiciary and the transparency of the work of judiciary. A slightly better score in comparison to the last Index is now recorded for the availability of legal protection in relation to the equality before the law. And in the end, firmly at the bottom, just like in the last Index, there is the dimension of efficiency and professionalism of courts. We also have to note that there is a slight increase of scores for this dimension, which is certainly a positive trend.

In the end we can conclude that **if we want to increase the level of democracy in this region necessary steps have to be undertaken**

in the aim of increasing efficiency and professionalism of judges, which will indirectly lead to the autonomy of judicial branch of power being fully protected from the structures that can have an influence on judiciary through their connections in the ruling structures and the capital they have at their disposal. All together this would be a strong obstacle to the corruption and the existence of the untouchables in court processes. This task is neither easy nor simple, but it will certainly have to be done if there is any wish to see the overall democratization of Montenegrin society.

3 ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Economic transition is undoubtedly the most requiring part of transformation of post-communist societies into democratic societies. In the economic aspect socialist society behaved in a protectionistic manner towards all social groups, proclaiming ‘public’ ownership as a common good. In that way social differences were neutralized to a significant extent. The economic position of the residents of former SFRY was also much better because the particular form of socialism was in place, called self-governing socialism. It was closer to the Western system of market economy than to the socialist system. It is important to notice also that the former SFRY was oriented to the markets of Western countries. All of these brought to the situation that the living standard of population in former SFRY was on a significantly higher level in comparison to the living standard in the rest of the Eastern block.

The first step in the process of transformation of the economic systems of former socialist countries is the change in the ownership structure. Privatization of ‘public’ ownership, as the central process of transition of socialist to capitalist economy, started at the end of the eighties. Practice proved that the said process, regardless of its form, inevitably brought to social stratification (higher or lower degree)

and the appearance of individuals that we can call ‘winners’ and the individuals that we can call ‘losers’ of the process of privatization. At the same time, it led to the criminalization of the society, additional divisions and tensions that destroy legal system.

An additional problem in this respect in Montenegro is the traditionally collectivistic type of society where the need for solidarity is of exceptional importance. So, we can say that the problems partly stem from the specific nature of Montenegrin society that is based on small settlements where family, relations and friendships among the population of 670,000 people governed human relations through the history and they still do. That is why politics very frequently has had a strong role in the privatization processes and why very frequently birth of the new economic elite was directly connected to the structures of power in political circles.

All in all, this problem became more emphasized in the societies that are being transformed from real-socialism to market economy societies. Montenegrin society is one of them, with the neo-liberal concept of national economy being dominant.

From the aspect of the Index we identified three dimensions and made the measurement just like we did in the areas mentioned above. Dimensions within this area are:

- Economic equality of individuals in the market
- Economic equality and autonomy of companies
- Mechanisms of protection of economic entities and individuals

3.1 Economic equality of individuals in the market

Economic equality in the market is one of the basic principles of market economy that Montenegrin society also strives for in a declarative-political sense. Of course, the equality of individuals should not be understood in the extreme sense of the word, it is about equality of opportunities that the participants in the economic competition have and at the same time it is the most important precondition for the full development of individual achievements. However, the market does not guarantee this of itself and therefore it is the state that should

solve that by creating the framework conditions for the equality of opportunities. The importance of this issue is even stronger having in mind the problems immanent to the nature of Montenegrin society where it is not rare that an individual is excluded from the competition due to the concentration of power or unfair practice.

We wanted to examine if the differences influence the better or worse position of individuals in the market and to define what these differences are. As a criterion we took social origin, nationality and confession, material status, political affiliations and party affiliations and the possibility of all the citizens to participate in the economic life of the society. The basic idea is certainly that (un)achieved equality in these aspects presents a summary indicator of democratic quality in this dimension.

Table 12 Economic equality of individuals in the market – presentation by indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Equal treatment in the market regardless of the social origin of the citizen	884	2.68	1.210	,204
Equal treatment in the market regardless of national or religious affiliation	884	2.86	1.209	,006
Equal treatment in the market regardless of material status of individuals	903	2.37	1.115	,577
Equal treatment in the market regardless of political affiliations or party affiliations of citizens	907	2.32	1.166	,567
Equality of individuals in terms of participation in the economic life of the society under equal conditions	885	2.58	1.171	,280

According to the perception of our citizens the least strong obstacle in getting equal opportunities in the market comes from national and religious affiliations of citizens (2.86), the range of this indicator being from 2.32 to 2.86. An extremely positive score was also given to

the social origin of citizens (2,68). We can also say that there are no significant problems in Montenegrin society in relation to the stated grounds. We also see quite good scores for the indicator of equality of individuals in terms of participation in the economic life of the society under equal conditions (2.58), while the scores for the last two indicators show that there are differences in the equality of conditions in the market competition when it comes to material status of individuals (2.37), and particularly when it comes to political affiliations and party affiliations of citizens (2.32). So, this is a result similar to the results obtained for other dimensions where we can notice that socio-economic differences and the overemphasized influence of politics, which are the results of transition processes, significantly limit the process of democratization from the aspect of this dimension and other dimensions as well.

3.2 Economic equality and autonomy of companies

In this survey we wanted to establish to what extent Montenegrin companies are independent from the influence of the state. This dimension has been included in the Index primarily because in the socialist system companies were under the full control of the state. Having in mind that the process of privatization is still in progress in Montenegro it was important to establish how the citizens perceive this process.

Table 13 Economic equality and autonomy of companies – presentation by indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Equality of companies in the market regardless of the form of ownership	838	2.64	1.177	,187
Absence of discrimination and favouring some companies by the state	829	2.29	1.084	,558
Absence of influence of individual and party interests on the companies	873	2.27	1.114	,716

Equality in the implementation of laws for all the companies	876	2.30	1.102	,547
Autonomy of companies in the process of decision making	828	2.44	1.112	,342
Absence of ideology and pressure of the state in public companies	832	2.32	1.105	,559
Absence of political monopolies that enjoy the protection of state and privileged groups	833	2.20	1.094	,722
Autonomy of inspection services and their consistence in enforcement of legislation	846	2.41	1.139	,490
Transparency of the operation of the Government in terms of affecting economic life of the society	848	2.60	1.127	,228

On the basis of the opinion of citizens, the best score was recorded for the equal treatment of all forms of ownership (2.64). The second place belongs to the transparency of the operation of the Government in terms of affecting economic life of the society (2.60). These are the two highest scores and all the other scores are significantly lower. The indicator for the autonomy of companies in decision making (2.44) holds the position number three and it is followed by the autonomy of inspection services and their consistency in enforcing legislation (2.41) and absence of ideology and state pressure in public companies (2.32). Equality in the implementation of laws for all the companies recorded an extremely bad score (2.30) as well as the indicator for absence of discrimination and favouring of some companies by the state (2.29). At the very bottom we can see that the citizens identified the influence of individual and party interests on the companies (2.27) as the most serious problem from the aspect of economic equality and autonomy of companies. It is followed only by the existence of economic monopolies that enjoy the protection of the state and privileged groups (2.20).

3.3 Mechanisms for protection of economic entities and individuals

The implementation of this principle is imposed as *sine qua non* of successful transition, i.e. transformation from autocratic to democratic society. We have to have in mind that there are two key aspects of this dimension. First, it is the development of an efficient institutional infrastructure and second, the establishment of the practice of an efficient protection of mechanisms that provide for free market competition. We wanted to find out what is the opinion of citizens regarding how much Montenegro has achieved in this field and we included as many as eleven indicators in this measuring.

The results show that this is a very heterogeneous dimension because the scores are in the range from 2.19 to 2.84. The highest score was recorded for the indicator of protection of ownership by the state and state bodies (2.84). It is followed by a highly satisfactory score for protection from all forms of pressure provided by NGOs to the participants in the economic life of Montenegro (2.81), which emphasizes again the importance of the „third sector“ for the overall democratization. Positive results are also recorded for the indicator of efficiency of the state in protection of ownership rights (2.80) and the existence of institutions that provide for the freedom of the market (2.74). The activities of the media in exercising the principle of equality and protection of economic rights and freedoms of individuals, companies and organizations also recorded a satisfactory result. A slightly lower but still satisfactory score belongs to the indicator of the existence of organizations through which companies and individuals can affect overall economic policy of the state (2.56). Significantly lower score was given to the following indicators: efficiency of judiciary in solving disputes arising from contracts (2.54), protection of consumers by law (2.52), efficiency of judiciary in protection of individuals and companies from all kinds of violence and disrespect of their economic rights and freedoms (2.40). And at the very bottom there are two indicators that require the most of attention within this field: combating grey economy (2.21), and efficiency of state services in combating corruption, which got an extremely low score (2.19) becoming such the priority of all priorities.

*Table 14 Mechanisms of protection of economic entities and individuals
– presentation by indicators*

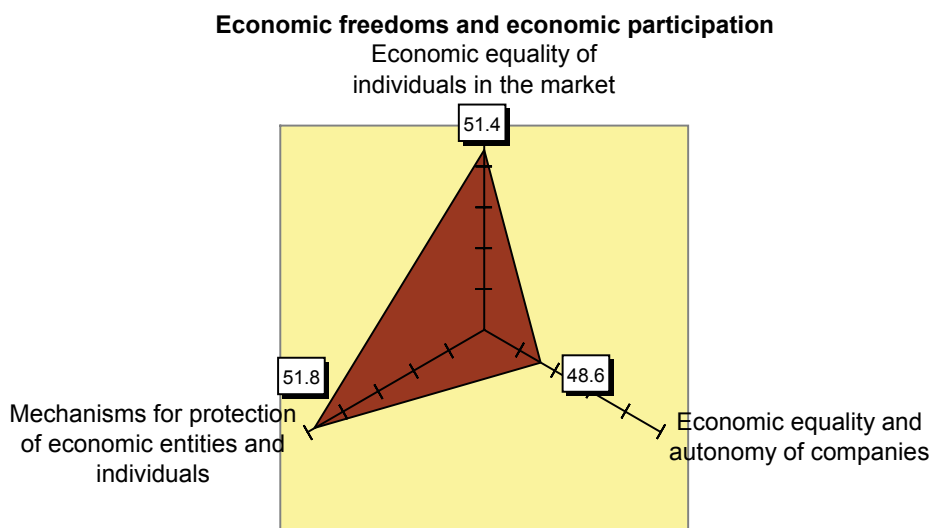
Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew- ness
Existence of institutions that ensure freedom of the market	764	2.74	1.121	,092
Existence of NGOs that protect participants in economic life from all the forms of pressure of the state, parties and powerful individuals and groups	752	2.81	1.105	-,023
Efficiency in combating grey economy	882	2.21	1.039	,698
Consumer rights are protected by the law	869	2.52	1.166	,255
Existence of the organizations through which companies and individuals can affect overall economic policy of the state	741	2.56	1.147	,189
Active role of the media in exercising the principle of equality and protection of economic rights of individuals, companies and organizations	830	2.69	1.146	,061
Efficiency of judiciary in protection of individuals and companies from all kinds of violence and disrespect for their economic rights and freedoms	831	2.40	1.098	,459
Efficiency of judiciary in solving disputes arising from contracts	828	2.54	1.102	,346
Protection of ownership rights by the state and its bodies	860	2.84	1.160	-,057
Efficiency of the state in terms of protection of ownership rights	876	2.80	1.137	,036
Efficiency of the state services in combating corruption	905	2.19	1.095	,724

3.4 Summary indicator for the field of economic freedoms and economic participation (Trend)

Table 15 and the graph bellow provide the summary indicators for the field of economic freedoms and economic participation and in the end we compared the results obtained this year with the results from the last Index.

Table 15 Economic freedoms and economic participation – summary by dimensions

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Economic equality of individuals in the market	961	51.4	20.15709	,273
Economic equality and autonomy of companies	959	48.6	18.76805	,451
Mechanisms for protection of economic entities and individuals	975	51.8	17.35394	,135

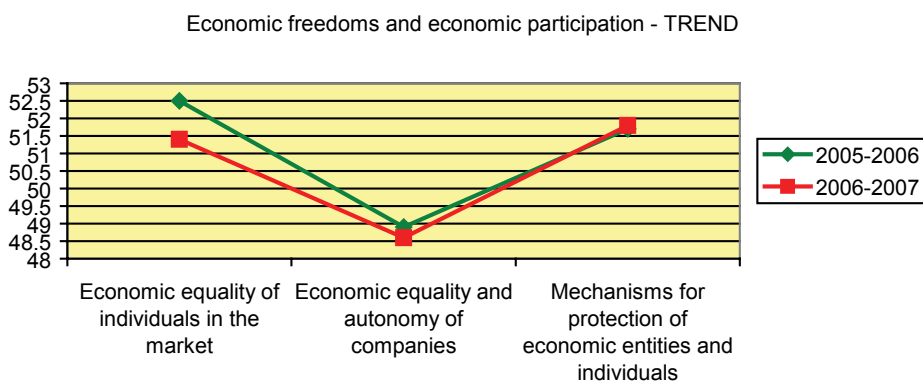


After summarizing data by all dimensions for the field of economic freedoms and economic participation, we can see that the highest score

was recorded for the field of mechanisms for protection of economic entities and individuals (51.8). A quite high score was also given to the dimension which measures economic equality of individuals in the market (51.4). We can say that the results in these dimensions are quite acceptable and satisfactory. However, it cannot be said for the area number three that we measured – economic equality and autonomy of companies (48.6) which we can identify as the most serious problem in Montenegro from the aspect of this dimension.

TREND

Indicators	2005-2006	2006-2007
Economic equality of individuals in the market	52.5	51.4
Economic equality and autonomy of companies	48.9	48.6
Mechanisms for protection of economic entities and individuals	51.7	51.8



If we compare the values we got in this dimension in the last Index with the latest data we can see that the range is wider, but slightly wider only. We can also note that the best score was this time given to the indicator of the existence of mechanisms for protection of economic entities and individuals, while in the last Index the best score was given to economic equality. And in the end, we see that the indicator of

economic equality and autonomy of companies got the lowest score, even lower than in the last measuring.

Finally, on the basis of everything stated above we can conclude that if Montenegro wants to become a democratic society with economic area that has democratic mechanisms and functions on the principles of market economy of developed Western democracies, it will have to make the solution of this problem a priority. **It has to uphold the principles and develop mechanisms that will support economic equality and autonomy of companies.** Of course, we should not think that this problem is easy and simple to solve and that it is possible to find a solution over night. On the contrary! This requires a systematic approach, a very deep and thorough analysis and engagement of all the structures of Montenegrin society so that in the end all these efforts can result in improvement of the situation in the said sector. Of course, the companies also have to take a part in this process so that searching for the mechanisms for providing them with more autonomy can be faster and more efficient.

4 EDUCATION

There is no doubt that in period preceding transition we had significant improvements in area of education. In this period, mandatory elementary education was introduced, for all the citizens regardless of their economic, social or any other features. Furthermore, the situation within the society was simulative in terms of constant improvements of the educational process, both from the aspect of values introduced and from the aspect of functionality. In socialism, education was free of charge, at all levels, and this fact represented the driving force for reducing social differences. Today, however, the main problem is exactly the heritage from that period, which is reflected in inadequate compatibility of education system with the needs of today's technologically developed society.

In contemporary democratic society, education plays an important role. First of all, as technologically developed society, democracy

cannot be imagined without developed education system. The very idea of democracy, in its educational transcription can be reduced to the idea of meritocracy, or in other words, if the education is one of the key mechanisms for achieving social status, than the equality of opportunities within educational process produces social equality. The practice, however, showed that this is not easy to implement, because even by giving equal opportunities to individuals within the educational process, one still cannot neutralize basic differences that do exist on the social and stratification level.

Democratic society has more reasons to be interested in planned and systematic education than some other societies, because we think we can agree that people live in one community based on common features and today the notion of democracy is much wider than just determination of **form of government**, and relates primarily to the state of spirit and way of life.

The importance of education for democratic practice can be seen in light of the opinion of European Court for Human Rights from 1976, "Education is essential for preserving the democratic society". With great certainty, we can say today that all roads are going in direction of democracy but the success on that road can be expected only if adequate attention is given to education of every individual and the society as a whole, and if appropriate frameworks for that are created.

If the education system is not set, and does not function on principles of openness, autonomy, efficiency, transparency, it will be unable to play important role for the society. Therefore, it is very important to review the results of the education reform in Montenegro and see where the reform process stands at the moment, i.e. to look upon this sector through comparison with the survey from the last Index of Democracy that was focused on this particular sector.

In any case, the area of education was necessary for the analysis of the society from the view point of democracy. For this area, we have defined and surveyed the following dimensions:

- Openness and participation in education
- Education autonomy and efficiency
- Legality and control of the education system
- Pluralism in education
- Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education

- Transparency and accessibility of information in education

Each dimension was surveyed according to identical and already described methodological procedure, and we tried to include every important dimension into the survey. Survey results per dimensions and summary of data are given in the text below.

4.1 Openness and participation in education

Using these dimensions, we aimed at testing the level of openness of education for all social groups. As the social status is, to a great degree, the function of educational process, this dimension was very important from the perspective of democracy in the society.

Table 16 Openness and participation in education – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Accessibility of education to all citizens regardless of their residence / place of permanent residence	943	3,79	1,200	-,819
Openness of education for children with unfavourable social status, i.e. children from poor families	939	3,33	1,282	-,344
Equal schooling conditions for the entire students' population regardless of their nationality or religion	941	3,57	1,256	-,584
Openness of education for citizens' suggestions and opinions	871	2,96	1,193	,096

Regarding the findings, we can say that results obtained, for all the indicators are relatively high (ranging from 2.96 to 3.79). At the first glance, we can say that scores in the area of education are much better compared to already analyzed areas. Comparatively, the highest score is recorded in area of accessibility of education to all citizens, regardless of their permanent residence (3.79). Therefore, our conclusion is that citizens don't see as a problem, the fact that we have discrimination based on students' place of residence. Furthermore, citizens rate very highly, equal schooling condi-

tions for the entire students’ population, regardless of their nationality or religion (3.57). Regarding openness for children with unfavorable social status, i.e. children from poor families, the results are pretty good (3.33). The lowest score was recorded when measuring openness of education system for citizens’ suggestions and opinions (2.96) pointing to the need, that for the sake of improving the democracy, it s necessary to establish more intensive communication between education institutions and citizens, i.e. it is necessary to set up mechanisms that would allow citizens to impact educational process, through their suggestions and opinions, more than it was the case so far.

4.2 Education autonomy and efficiency

Autonomy of education system is one of the important elements, within educational process, from the democracy point of view. Educational system cannot function properly without necessary level of autonomy, and the fact remains that authoritarian states are assaulting particularly this segment of the society. Education in real- socialism wasn’t autonomous, or to be more precise, it was directly serving the purpose of ideological reproduction of the society, and this was one of the crucial shortages of education system in that period.

Table 17 Education autonomy and efficiency – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Autonomy of the University	740	3,18	1,206	-,161
Developing personality autonomy, freedom, and creativity of students within education system	912	3,87	1,092	-,959
Absence of pressures from political structures, and other centers of power on the education system	906	2,91	1,339	,080
Absence of ideological contents in curricula	462	3,09	1,204	-,185
Efficiency of educational system regarding implementation of key educational objectives	859	3,33	1,115	-,364

Highest score in this area is recorded regarding the indicator for development of personality autonomy, freedom, and creativity of students within educational process (3.87), and we can be very satisfied with this result. Furthermore, Montenegrin society considers education system to be functional from the view point of implementation of key educational objectives (3.33), and even in respect to autonomy of University we recorded significant progress (3.18). On the other hand, lower score was recorded when speaking about absence of ideological contents in curricula (3.09) and even lower score regarding the influence of political structures and other power centers (2.91). Thus, even in this dimension, just as in number of previous cases, we see majority of problems regarding the influence of politics and special centers of power. Therefore, neutralizing influence of politics on the autonomy of University and autonomy of other areas of social life, as well as elimination of influence of powerful individuals and power centers, remains priority task in the future process of democratization of the society.

4.3 Legality and control of the educational system

Contemporary education system is certainly subjected to number of control mechanisms. Furthermore, education system is defined by legal regulations, and its efficiency depends on the implementation of the regulations. In order to measure this dimension, we have selected five indicators, ranging from 2.75 do 3.12, meaning lower scores compared to previous two.

Table 18 Legality and control of the educational system – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Efficiency of law in combating corruption within education system	852	2,75	1,185	,292
Efficiency of law in changing poor and low quality regulations	811	3,09	1,152	-,069
Existence of developed criteria, at national level, for evaluating the quality of education	781	3,12	1,148	-,127

Government services are complying with regulations when assessing the quality of educational institutions	823	3,05	1,201	-,100
Possibility for students to evaluate their institutions and work of their professors	783	2,85	1,250	,209

The best score is recorded regarding existence of developed criteria, at national level, regarding evaluation of educational quality (3.12), followed by law efficiency in changing of low quality regulations (3.09). Than we have government services compliance with regulations in area of quality assessment of educational institutions (3.05), followed by possibility of students to evaluate their institutions and work of their professors (2.85). The lowest score was recorded when measuring efficiency of law in combating corruption within education system (2.75), thus confirming that corruption, just as in other areas, represents the biggest problem for the enhancement and democratization of the overall social processes. Therefore, speaking of corruption, we can say that this sociological-pathological phenomenon is universal by character and pervades the entire social life, meaning that without efficient fight against the corruption, on all levels, we cannot expect significant progress in overall social reforms.

4.4 Pluralism in education

Democratic education per definition has the task of respecting cultural differences that exist within certain society. In addition, the principle of pluralism in education means that objects of the educational process have a choice, so that relation educator-educated is two-way. All these are important elements that, eventual should result in development of a tolerant person ready to respond to different challenges facing certain society.

Table 19 Pluralism in education – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Developing tolerance at students in respect to all forms of diversity within education system	893	3,52	1,128	-,554
The curricula are respecting sexual, physical, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversities in the society	894	3,51	1,094	-,599
Existence and implementation of variety of different teaching methods within educational process	889	3,31	1,162	-,293
Possibility for students to choose educational contents	905	3,43	1,144	-,407

Scores obtained in this dimension are more than satisfactory. Development of tolerance at students with respect to all forms of diversity within education system got average score of (3.52), while the result regarding respect toward sexual, physical, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversities in curricula and programs was (3.51). Somewhat lower score was recorded (3.43) regarding possibility of students to choose their educational contents. The lowest but still not low score (3.31) was recorded regarding the existence and application of variety of teaching methods within educational process. Scores obtained in this dimension are more than satisfactory and they range from 3.31 to 3.52.

4.5 Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education

Public debate as an institute represents a novelty that was introduced at the early stages of transitional period. It turned out that this mechanism is of great value for the process of overall social reforms, and that by means of public debate the society can obtain number of important information, which is very useful for successful transformation of certain social areas. Therefore, we have defined the network of indicators, which are aiming to measure, both the impact and effectiveness of public debate on the education system.

Table 20. Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Possibility for teachers/professors to initiate concrete changes within education system	825	3,14	1,119	-,157
Respecting the opinion of experts from NGO sector, respectable individuals, and other interested parties during the process of drafting laws and regulations related to education	755	3,25	1,156	-,306
Existence of dialogue between competent government institutions and social organizations involved in area of education	732	3,32	1,048	-,502
Participation of national minorities' organizations in designing educational programs that are intended for national minorities	751	3,48	1,074	-,584
Possibility for students to initiate concrete changes in area of university education, which are directed at improving the quality of university education	788	3,16	1,120	-,113

Comparatively, the best result is recorded when it comes to participation of national minorities in designing educational curricula that are intended for them (the score is 3.48, and scores per indicators range from 3.14 to 3.48). Furthermore, the existence of dialogue between competent government institutions and social organizations involved in area of education is highly regarded (3.32). Impact of NGO sector is significant (3.25), and the possibility for students to initiate concrete changes in university education area, which are directed at improving the quality of university education is rated somewhat lower (3.16); finally possibility for teachers/professors to initiate concrete changes in the education scored 3.14. All in all, when it comes to public debate

and its impact on education system, we can be satisfied with achieved scores, but of course we should always strive for more.

4.6 Transparency and accessibility of information in education

The issue of transparency and accessibility of information within education system is very important, because in this way, two-way communication is being established between the public and education system, which is very important for further democratization of the education system. When measuring this dimension we have defined a number of indicators that permeate structurally.

Table 21. Transparency and accessibility of information in education – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Existence of public and transparent control of educational institutions	780	3,05	1,137	-,058
Certification and testing of textbooks	762	3,20	1,168	-,335
Public (citizens and media) accessibility of relevant information on educational programs	851	3,16	1,117	-,243
Public (citizens and media) accessibility of relevant information on results achieved by students' population	843	3,08	1,137	-,176
Government and its bodies (ministries) are systematically informing the public on all issues related to problems in education	873	2,95	1,168	,074

Scores in this area are relatively small and they range between 2.95 and 3.20. In addition, it is obvious that there are no significant differences between indicators. The highest score was recorded on certification and testing of textbooks (3.20), followed by public ac-

cessibility of relevant information on educational programs (3.16); also very good and satisfactory score regarding public accessibility of relevant information on results achieved by students' population (3.08). On the other hand, somewhat lower scores recorded regarding public and transparent control (3.05), as well as regarding government bodies systematically informing the public on issues related to education (2.95). Therefore, in these two segments there is still space for improvement, when it comes to reform of education system.

4.7 Summary indicator for area of education

In order to give comprehensive assessment of the situation in area of education, regarding the level of achieved democracy, in the table 22 and the graphic presentation we presented summary results recorded in each of the dimensions individually, as well as comparison with previous survey results.

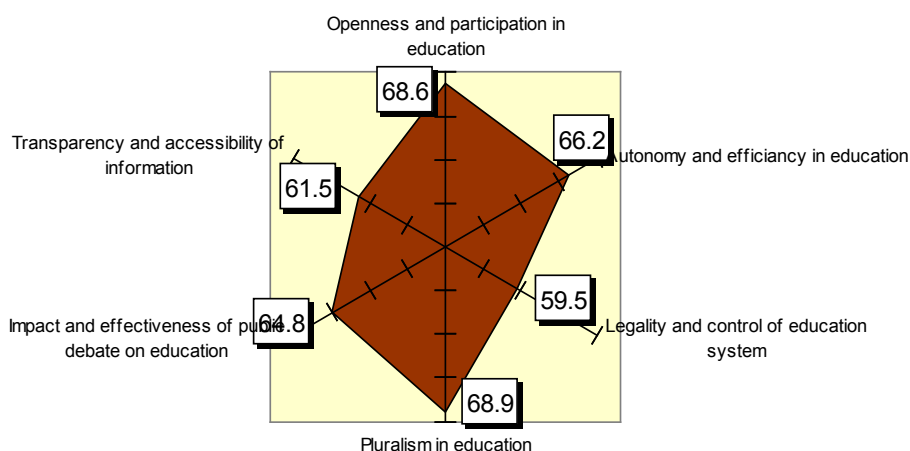
Table 22. Level of democracy achieved within education process – summary per dimensions

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Openness and participation in education	983	68,6	19,40215	-,356
Education autonomy and efficiency	974	66,2	18,72386	-,212
Legality and control of the education system	970	59,5	19,41905	,156
Pluralism in education	978	68,9	17,89934	-,376
Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education	945	64,8	17,88930	-,259
Transparency and accessibility of information	952	61,5	19,53937	-,089

Analyzing the area of education from the aspect of recorded scores, which we defined for each dimension, we came to conclusion that in general we can be satisfied with results. However, it is indicative that

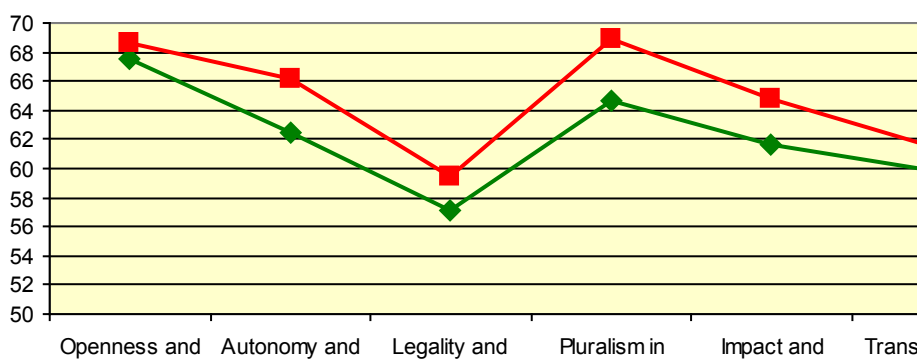
range of scores is quite wide, from 59.5 to 68.9. Education reform in Montenegro has contributed mostly to improvement of situation in area of pluralism in education (68,9) and openness and participation in education (68,9). Furthermore, we can also be satisfied with scores recorded in area of autonomy and efficiency of education (66.2), and impact and effectiveness of public debate on the educational process (64.8). Scores are halfway when it comes to issues of transparency and accessibility of information (61.5), and legality and control of the education system (59.5).

Level of achieved democracy in area of education



Regarding the trend, it is obviously positive one, because we recorded growth in all the indicators. Situation has improved significantly, i.e. the highest growth trend was recorded in area of pluralism in education, autonomy and efficiency of education. Somewhat lesser scores, but still an improvement, were recorded in areas of openness and participation in education, impact and effectiveness of public debate on education, transparency and accessibility of information in education. The lowest recorded scores were in area of legality and control of education system, but it is encouraging to see the growth trend when it comes to this indicator, meaning that certain positive results have been achieved and that direction taken is a good one.

Indicators	2005-2006	2006-2007
Openness and participation in education	67,6	68,6
Education autonomy and efficiency	62,4	66,2
Legality and control of the education system	57,1	59,5
Pluralism in education	64,6	68,9
Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education	61,6	64,8
Transparency and accessibility of information	59,8	61,5



Generally speaking, **citizens' perception is that there are no serious problems in Montenegrin society from the aspect of democratization of educational process, and eventual interventions should be dominantly directed at improving the legality and control, as well as on raising the level of transparency and accessibility of information.**

However, we should keep in mind that, regardless of good scores achieved in this area, a society that aspires to present itself as democratic one, should find the place and the role for education system, which, as a result of that positioning, should function adequately. Because, without adequate functioning of the education system, it will be extremely hard to deal with numerous challenges that Montenegrin society will be facing or is already facing, especially bearing in mind that the processes of crucial compliance with EU standards is yet to come.

5. MEDIA

It is difficult, almost impossible to imagine the domain of politics, in modern countries and mass societies without the media component. The importance of media in modern societies is best reflected in statements, claiming that media represent the fourth 'power' within the country. In any case, we can say that today, the politics is adopted and transferred through media, thus making the role of media extremely important for the democracy in general. Specific synthesis of relation media-democracy can be seen through position that media can exist without the democracy, but democracy of today is not possible without free and professional media.

Conceptually, democracy is based on fight of different opinions, and it needs to create social climate, in all segments of social life, which enhance and support public debate on different positions and opinions. Freedom of media, and its constructive, crucial role in democratic processes is often restricted in ways that more often hidden than not. The mission of media in principle is to be *vox populi*, the voice of the people, to represent the people's right to find out the truth and to have critical relation toward it; still it is impossible to provide fully, the mechanisms that would guarantee the work of media to the service of democracy. Because the invisible hand of freedom is not a priori inviolable or untouchable as the one may get impression when analyzing leading theoreticians of free word, philosophers of liberal ideology John Stewart Mill and John Milton. The practice is teaching us otherwise; freedom of media, even in the most democratic of societies is reduced, to a certain degree, by economic, political, social, and cultural limitations.

We should point out that media arena in Montenegro, during its development, has underwent several stages. Media community in Montenegro is today quite different from the one that was characteristic for the pre-transition period. During the period of real-socialism the media represented one of the important elements for the ideological reproduction of the society. This kind of state in media, during this period, is of declarative character, and the informing of citizens

that was in service of maintaining the socialist society and its truths cannot be characterized as censorship but as a system that rests on a unique matrix.

During the social transformation, situation in media industry was changing day 'in, day 'out. First of all, along the existing state media, we witnessed the creation of private media, which by definition haven't represented the long arm of the government and its policies. This goes both for electronic and printed media. Furthermore, the state media have changed in respect to their place and role. With the disappearance of communist party from political scene, and formation of large number of new parties, the media that were still under control of ruling structures had to demonstrate certain degree of flexibility, and in that respect reflect the changes that have occurred. Truth be known, state media than, just as today, were and still are promoting the ruling political parties, but their efforts to strike certain balance between the positions of the ruling structures and opinions of the opposition, is obvious. Finally, it is very important to see what effect did the transformation of the state run TV Montenegro into the public service, had on citizens; this is very important as this media company is recognized as the most powerful electronic media, and also to see the impact of this transformation on democratization of the society as a whole.

On the other hand, the establishment of private media has democratized social relations and additionally relaxed the overall political communication. Although individual and group interests of certain structures have played their role during the establishment of new media, this process was quite versatile, so today, private media, guided by different interest structures, are promoting opposite political options, what is good from the aspect of democratization. When making this kind of statement, we are primarily keeping in mind the fact that existence of alternative information is one of the key preconditions for the development of poliarchy (v. R. Dal).

Maybe the most accurate statement would be that media today represent amalgam of different influences, starting from political interests, financial interests of media owners, and mass audience that has its own demands regarding the things it wants to find out.

Therefore, regarding this area we have defined the following dimensions:

- Autonomy and independence of media
- Professionalism of media
- No monopolies and equality of media
- Openness of media

Looking from methodological aspect, we have applied the same procedure as in previous cases, and cumulatively, based on all dimensions it was possible to synthesize unique score for the entire area.

5.1 Autonomy and independence of media

When measuring the perception of media autonomy in Montenegro, we focused primarily on measuring the influence of key factors that eventually can threaten media independence. In addition, we tried to measure separately, the perception of the degree of autonomy, both for printed and electronic media. Before we move to the analysis of scores, it is important to say that it is very difficult to assess the ideal state in this area, because even in the most democratic of societies certain power structures are *de facto* capable of influencing media. In other words, it is not advisable to think of media independence, in any country from the idealistic-typical viewpoint, and Montenegro is no different, because interest structures, as a rule, find their way to influence the media.

Table 23 Autonomy and independence of media – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
There are no pressures of government and state institutions on media	891	2,53	1.286	,484
There are no pressures of political parties and political organizations on media	872	2,50	1.227	,510
There are no pressures of wealthy individuals and groups on media	858	2,57	1.229	,412
There are no pressures of religious and national communities on media	811	3,08	1.198	-,129

There are no pressures of organizations and institutions from Serbia	768	3,35	1.237	-,358
Autonomy of printed media	898	2,68	1.144	,307
Autonomy of radio stations	897	2,80	1.180	,139
Autonomy of TV stations	896	2,64	1.197	,272

Speaking of pressures on media, judging by the survey results, citizens think that there are practically no pressures coming from organizations and institutions from Serbia (3.35), and this is a consequence of resolved statehood issue. Similar apply for religious and national communities where we recorded the score of (3.08). However, public opinion is noticing the influence of wealthy individuals and groups on existing media (2.57), and even greater influence of authority and government institutions (2.53), as well as parties and political organizations (2.50). Speaking of autonomy of media, the highest level of autonomy was achieved at radio stations (2.80), followed by printed media with score (2.68), and finally TV stations (2.64).

Results regarding democratization of media can be evaluated differently, depending on selected criteria. If we take for criteria, the situation from the previous period of real-socialism, media scene has improved in every aspect. However, if we treat the issues of autonomy and independence as strict variables, we can say that results are halfway and there is still a lot of space for improvements in this area.

5.2 Professionalism of media

When measuring this dimension, we have applied all the standard criteria, such as, professionalism, objectivity, and timeliness. In addition, we have measured both printed and electronic media. According to recorded scores, we have just halfway results in this dimension. From the viewpoint of professionalism, although the differences are not significant, on the first place we find radio stations (3.02), followed by TV stations (2.93), and at the end we have printed media (2.86). This ranking is understandable if we keep in mind that, unlike electronic media, printed media in Montenegro are, more or less openly, supporting some of the political options. Speaking of criteria, the best rated

s timelines (3.16), followed by professionals (2.97) and at the end we have objectivity (2.85).

Table 24. Professionalism of media – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Professional reporting public	938	2,97	1,204	-,060
Objective reporting to public	936	2,85	1,180	,079
Timelines in reporting to public	929	3,16	1,125	-,302
Professionalism of printed media	928	2,86	1,100	,095
Professionalism of radio stations	914	3,02	1,116	-,116
Professionalism of TV stations	928	2,93	1,156	-,050

Bearing in mind the scores that range from 2.85 do 3.16, we can say in general that media scene in Montenegro, from the aspect of professionalism is obviously improving, and if compared it with period preceding transition, we can see that citizens are satisfied with achieved results. Of course, it is clear that there is still a lot of space for improvements in that regard, and special efforts should be focused primarily on the aspect of objective reporting, with intention to increase the professionalism of printed media.

5.3 Inexistence of monopolies and equality of media

Existence of monopolies, in any segment of the society is contrary to principles of democracy. In that regard, media scene in one democratic society should be characterized by equality of media and absence of preferential media on the expense of others. Results, which are ranging from 2.53 to 2.59, are dissatisfying and indicate the need to implement fundamental changes in this area. Obtained scores are showing that, in citizens' view, TV stations enjoy unequal status (2.53), followed by printed media (2.54). Regarding possibility for some media to own another media, the results are showing that this situation can be accepted as quite realistic (2.57), although we have to say that the score is not at the highest level; as the 'most equal' among media, we find radio stations (2.59).

Table 25. No monopolies and equality of media – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew- ness
Equality of printed media	862	2,54	1,172	,484
Equality of radio stations	855	2,59	1,166	,516
Equality of TV stations	862	2,53	1,156	,537
Absence of monopolies of certain media in respect to others	911	2,57	1,210	,400

4.4 Openness of media

The issue of media openness is of special importance for democracy in this area. In one politically pluralistic and nationally heterogeneous society, the media must be able, in line with democratic principles, to reflect different opinions and positions, and immanently integrate all diversities in unique political and social space. This request goes beyond politics, and must be in line with demands for reaching overall social consensus, which is important for the functioning of social system.

Table 26. Openness of media – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew- ness
Openness of media for different political opinions and different ideologies	819	2,56	1,220	,400
Openness of media for different religious and national groups living in Montenegro	905	3,32	1,173	-,439
Openness of media for opinions of citizens, civic organizations and respectable individuals	915	3,08	1,160	-,119
Readiness and freedom to criticize the government and other institutions and individuals	919	2,77	1,243	,269

Regarding this dimension, we have identified four key indicators that relate to different aspects of media openness. It is evident that citizens think that different religious and national groups have the ‘easiest’ access to media, thus confirming thesis that media are adequately responding to challenges of cultural heterogeneousness of Montenegrin society (3,32). Scores of other indicators are significantly lagging behind; still, solid score was recorded regarding openness of media for opinions of citizens, civic organizations, and respectable individuals (3,08). However, when it comes to readiness and freedom to criticize the government, and other institutions and individuals, the situation is much worse and score obtained is (2,77), while the lowest score is given for openness of media to different political opinions and different ideologies (2,56). Our conclusion regarding openness of media in Montenegro is as follows; it is necessary to continue working to increase the level of democracy in this dimension, and the biggest efforts should be directed in increasing the openness of media in respect to political and ideological differences.

4.5 Summary indicators regarding media

Now, by summarizing the results obtained in different dimensions, presented in table 27 and subsequent graphic presentation, we are able to review the situation as a whole when it comes to issue of media in Montenegrin society, i.e. the level of achieved democracy in this area. Through comparison with previous survey we shall see the degree of progress in this area.

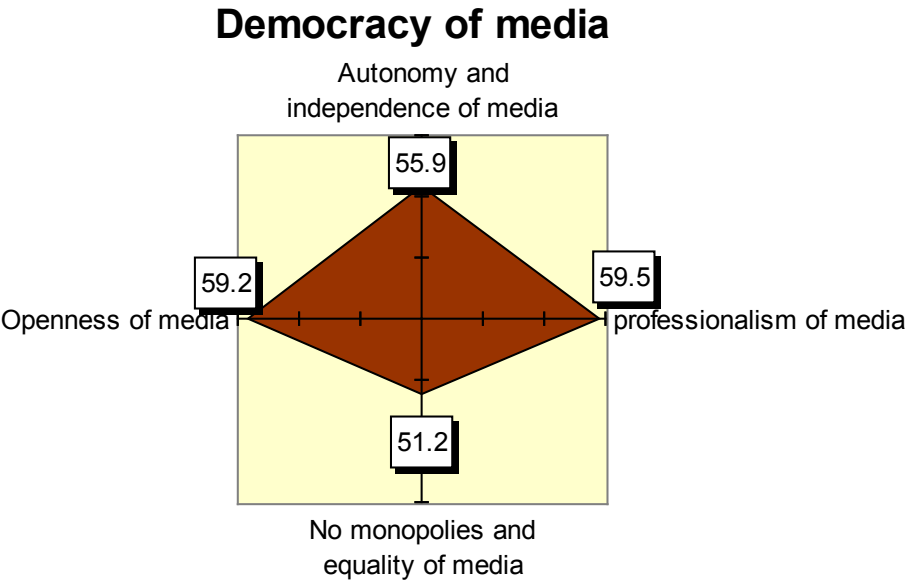
Table 27. Democracy of media – summary per dimensions

Dimensions	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Autonomy and independence of media	969	55,9	18,80392	,277
Professionalism of media	976	59,5	19,68441	-,064
No monopolies and equality of media	898	51,2	22,52482	,495
Openness of media	967	59,2	20,33243	,041

Summary indicators regarding democracy of media, comparatively looking, are indicating that citizens think that the best result was achieved regarding professionalism of media (59,5), followed by openness of media with also very good score (59,2). However, the issue of autonomy and independence of media received far lower score (55.9), while the lowest score was recorded regarding non-existence of monopolies and equality of media (51,2). The range of obtained results is from 51.2 to 59.5 and we can describe them as relatively satisfactory.

TREND

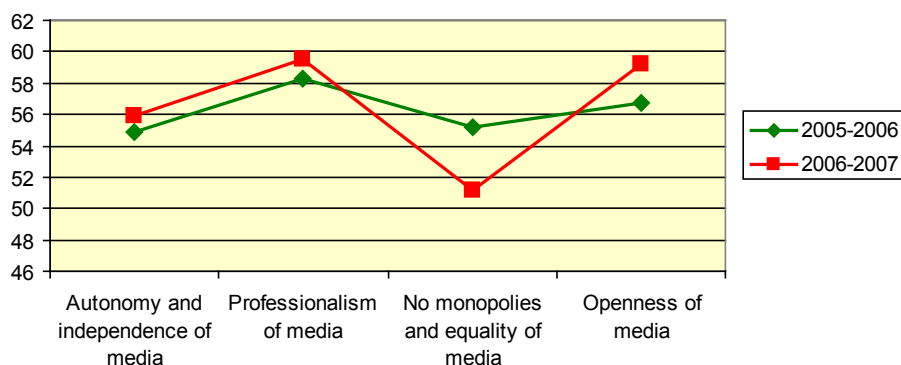
Dimensions	2005-2006	2006-2007
Autonomy and independence of media	54,9	55,9
Professionalism of media	58,3	59,5
No monopolies and equality of media	55,2	51,2
Openness of media	56,7	59,2



Comparing the results with the ones from the previous survey, we can see that citizens are noticing significant growth in area of openness

of media, than to somewhat lesser degree we also have growth trend in area of professionalism of media, where the score regarding autonomy and independence of media is very high. However, the discouraging result is the significant trend of decrease when it comes to non-existence of monopolies and equality of media. This indicates that urgent actions should be taken in this regard, because the existence of monopolies is in direct collision with the very notion of democracy.

Democracy of media - TREND



If we look at summary of results per indicators, which are ranging from 51.2 to 59.5, we may draw satisfactory conclusion, although the difference between certain indicators is relatively big. Having in mind the trend regarding results in this area, and from the viewpoint of improving the situation, the attention **must be directed, primarily at achieving equality among media and elimination of 'monopoly' position of certain media**, as much as possible. In addition, activities should also be directed at **improving the things in area of autonomy and independence of media, primarily on eliminating influence coming from political parties and ruling structure**. However, we should be aware of the fact that media, in democratic systems, are not immune to influence of ruling structures, and Montenegrin society cannot be exception in that regard.

6. NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The basis of minority policy in all democratic societies is full integration of minorities in the social life, along with preserving and developing their national and cultural specifics. In that regard, it is necessary to implement constant communication of government bodies with representatives of minority communities, partnership with relevant international organizations and institutions and all other actors engaged in related areas.

National division of the majority nation upon political criteria is of course very important fact, even from the perspective of national minorities, because practice has shown that political holders of these two confronted sides (Montenegrins and Serbs) have different relationship toward minorities.

Stabile legal position of national minorities requires that protection of their rights should be integral part of the constitutional system, including undisturbed access to all political, social, economic, cultural, and governmental activities, as well as possibility of choice at all levels of social selection. As the process of adoption of Montenegrin Constitution is ongoing, it will be very important that constitutional solutions set a foundation for legal production of mechanisms that will protect individual but also collective rights of minorities, as well as development of the affirmative action institute. It is impossible to imagine modern democratic society without national and religious pluralism.

The issue of national minorities' status and the level of their inclusion in political processes is certainly the issue of the overall democracy of the society. The following survey will show us the condition of Montenegrin society in that regard. When measuring the level of democracy achieved in this area, we have used the following dimensions.

- Formal-legal protection of minorities
- Discrimination of minorities
- Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities
- Relationship of majority regarding minority, and fairness of media coverage.

Measuring per dimensions was done according to standardize methodological procedure, and in the same way as in other areas, thus

enabling comparison of any kind of data. The choice of dimensions is founded both theoretically and practically, and by making, their summary we can reach the unique synthetic indicator.

6.1 Formal-legal protection of minorities

Here we are definitely dealing with positive legal aspect, and using this particular dimension, we wanted to explore the equality of national and religious minorities before the law, in respect to the majority nation. When evaluating this aspect one should bear in mind that positive legal regulations, even in socialist period, contained significant elements of equality of all national and religious minorities. Results obtained, based on the indicators for this dimension, are more than satisfactory and they range from 3.49 do 3.71. Therefore, scores are high on all the indicators, and this is telling us that, from the aspect of positive law, citizens' perception is that, national and religious minorities, when it comes to their rights, are to a great extent equalized with the rights of the majority nation.

Table 40. Formal-legal protection of minorities – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Legal protection of national minorities	931	3,69	1,106	-,734
Legal protection of religious communities	918	3,70	1,089	-,782
Freedom to express religious beliefs	933	3,71	1,060	-,799
Freedom to express political and cultural characteristics of national minorities	920	3,59	1,085	-,674
Concrete activities taken by the government in order to protect minorities' rights	814	3,49	1,079	-,613

Comparatively, when speaking about formal-legal protection of minorities, general public thinks that the best scores are recorded in areas of freedom of expression of religious beliefs (3.71), and legal protection of religious communities (3.70). The same, still high scores, we also recorded at indicator of legal protection of national minorities

(3.69), and freedom to express political and cultural characteristics of national minorities (3.59). The lowest, but still very high score is recorded when speaking of concrete government activities in order to protect minorities' rights (3.49).

6.2 Discrimination of minorities

The issue of formal-legal protection of minorities and the issue of different forms of discrimination are interfering with each other. Discrimination is much wider notion from the positive legal regulation and can be manifested in different ways, and we have to bear in mind that numerous forms of discrimination are not covered by legal regulations. Aiming to measure different forms of discrimination, we have defined network of indicators treating those forms.

Table 41. Discrimination of minorities – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Equality of minorities and majority nation in employment and career advancement	908	3,47	1,218	-,488
Representational participation of national minorities' advancement within government bodies	894	3,41	1,188	-,375
Impartial judiciary in processes that include national and religious minorities	811	3,30	1,115	-,291
Relation of confidence in authorities that no discrimination of national minorities, within court proceedings, will happen	781	3,19	1,113	-,243
Absence of discrimination of national and religious minorities by the government apparatus and civil servants	863	3,38	1,111	-,407
Government care of economic and social development of regions inhabited by national and religious minorities	882	3,25	1,130	-,298

Scores are ranging from 3.19 to 3.47., and these are relatively high scores. Comparatively, the best score was recorded in area of equality of national minorities in employment and advancement (3.47). In addition, representational participation and possibility of national minorities' advancement within government services, also earned high scores (3.41), and this is in correlation with the data that in Montenegro there is no discrimination of minorities by the government apparatus and civil servants (3.38). Impartiality of judiciary was rated quite well (3.30). Furthermore, government care about regions inhabited by minorities also received high score (3.25), and the lowest, but still high score, was recorded in area of court proceedings in cases when parties involved are members of national minorities (3.19).

6.3 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities

Democratic society is primarily characterized by developed institutions and mechanisms, which guarantee the implementation of democracy in every single segment of social life. It is the responsibility of the majority to develop mechanisms for improving and protecting national and religious minorities, because the minorities can act as a linking factor and promote mutual understanding and creativity, but only if they are in position to act freely.

Speaking of status of national and religious minorities, our task was to determine the perception of level of social development in terms of mechanisms that guarantee equality.

Table 42. Existence of mechanisms for the protection of minorities – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Development of state institutions protecting the rights of national and religious minorities	839	3,42	1,053	-,503
Development of civil society institutions protecting the rights of national and religious minorities	813	3,40	1,017	-,435

Reactions of public in cases when minorities' rights are violated	827	3,38	1,056	-,439
Readiness and willingness of authorities to protect the rights of national and religious minorities in all parts of the country	866	3,34	1,136	-,364
Efficiency of state apparatus in cases when national minorities' rights are violated	847	3,23	1,165	-,199

The highest score was recorded regarding development of state institutions protecting the rights of national and religious minorities (3.42). Civil society institutions engaged in protection of national and religious minorities are also highly rated (3.40), as well as general public in reacting on cases, when minorities' rights are violated (3.38), followed by readiness and ability of authority to protect the rights of national and religious minorities in all parts of the country (3.34), while the lowest, but still high, score was recorded regarding efficiency of state apparatus in cases when national minorities' rights are violated (3.23).

6.4 Relationship of majority toward minority, and fairness of media coverage

Crucial issue in multinational communities is the relationship that majority nation has toward national minorities. This relationship is reflected primarily through the relationship of the state and media, because exactly these institutions dominantly represent the positions of the majority nation. These were the motifs directing us to measure this dimension of democracy of social relations when it comes to national minorities' status.

Table 43. Relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
Absence of hate speech in media directed at national and religious minorities	883	3,31	1,164	-,427
Assistance of authorities in establishing contact between national minorities and their motherlands	785	3,41	1,084	-,442
Participation, support of the state to activities providing better treatment of national and religious minorities	769	3,46	1,016	-,473
Participation of national and religious minorities in activities performed by organizations that protect their rights	797	3,66	,983	-,827

We have identified four basic indicators, and they range from 3.31 to 3.66. The best score was recorded in area of participation of national and religious minorities in the activities performed by organizations that protect their rights (3.66); this score is significantly higher compared to the remaining three indicators, which are also highly rated. After this we have participation and support of the state in activities that provide better treatment of national minorities, with score (3.46), followed by assistance of authorities in establishing contact and stimulating cooperation between national minorities and their motherlands (3.41). The lowest score, but still, just as previous three very high and good one, was recorded in area of absence of hate speech in media directed at national and religious minorities (3.31).

6.5 Summary indicators for the position of national and religious minorities

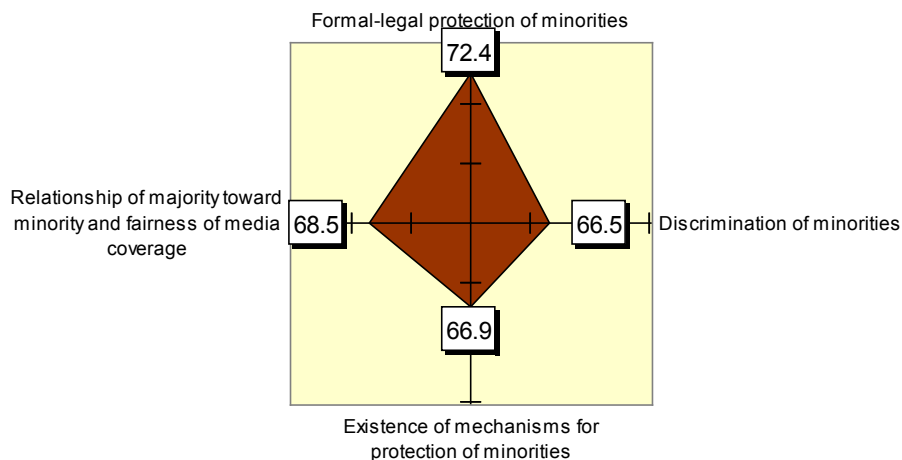
Now, by presenting summary of obtained scores, we shall be able to see the level of democracy achieved in respect to area of national and religious minorities. Furthermore, we will make a comparison of these new results with the last year survey results.

Bearing in mind that all the scores per dimensions are well above scores recorded in previous surveys, and that they range from 66.5 to 72.4, we conclude that, at the level of general public opinion, it is considered that position of national and religious minorities is correct. The highest score was recorded regarding formal-legal protection of minorities (72.4), somewhat lower but still very high regarding the relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage (68.5). They are followed by issue regarding existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities (66.9), and finally, with score of (66.5) we have the issue of discrimination of minorities.

Table 44. Level of democracy in area of national and religious minorities – summary per dimensions

Dimensions	N	K	SD	Skewness
Formal-legal protection of minorities	967	72,4	18,65996	-,627
Discrimination of minorities	968	66,5	19,33461	-,331
Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities	953	66,9	18,72442	-,287
Relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage	936	68,5	19,11749	-,541

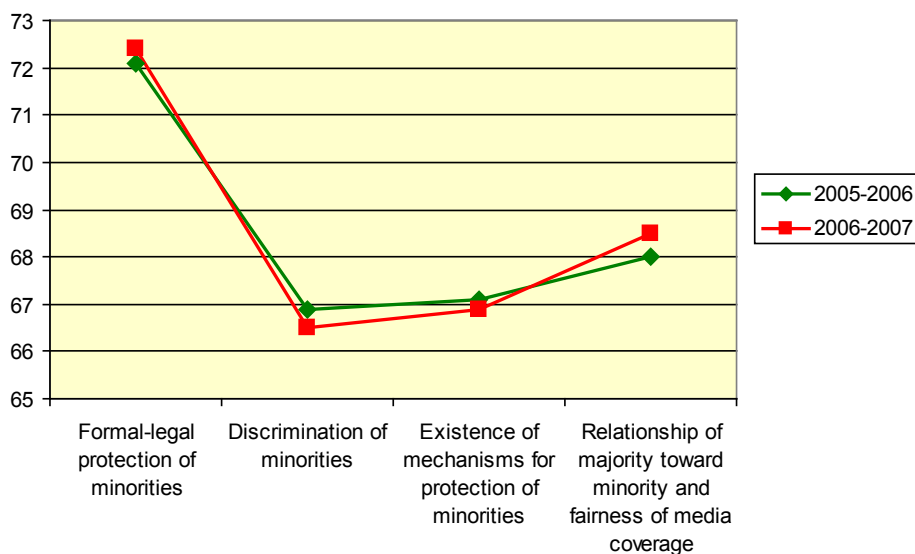
National and religious minorities



Compared with previous survey, there are no significant changes in respect to obtained results. Trend is indicating slight, we can say negligible oscillations, regarding obtained scores per dimensions, and this can be easily seen from the table. We recorded increase, although not big one, in area of formal-legal protection of minorities and also in area of relationship of majority toward minority. Slight decrease is recorded in area of discrimination of minorities, as well as in area of existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities.

TREND

Dimensions	2005-2006	2006-2007
Formal-legal protection of minorities	72,1	72,4
Discrimination of minorities	66,9	66,5
Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities	67,1	66,9
Relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage	68,0	68,5



Taking into account all the specifics of Montenegrin society we are pointing the following: the issue of national and religious minorities can be solved only through active dialogue and participation of minorities because any other solution is short-lived. Of course, despite good results in this area, it is necessary to proceed in direction of further improvements regarding the position of national and religious minorities, where is needed. In this case, although the situation is far from alarming, attention should be paid to discrimination of minorities, discrimination in wider sense of the word, wider than its strictly formal-legal definition.

7. POSITION OF WOMEN

Every female issue, theoretical establishment of genders, determining specific feminine view of the world, and special need for political articulation of gender equality, as the foundation of any democratic society, are occupying significant part of local, international, and global intellectual space. Transition of one society includes the transformation of women position, way in which women issue is articulated, and specifics of women view of the world.

Evaluating the perception of women position within Montenegrin society is integral part of the Democracy Index. Quality of democracy in one country influences, to a great degree, the relations within that very country. Today's democracy means much more than democratic institutions, and free and fair elections; therefore, if women access to decision making process is limited, denied, or banned, that democracy is just an empty word. Individual initiatives are not sufficient; awareness regarding the need of gender equality must pervade the entire society, all decision- making levels and in particular political activities.

Process of implementing gender equality in all areas of social, and therefore political activities, should be perceived as generally accepted social value, which implies redefining of social relations and thus getting closer to solutions that will be in line with customs of modern Europe.

This aspect definitely had specific weight even from the standpoint of defined methodology. Gender relations and gender inequality, which definitely exists in Montenegro, in its subjective transcription receives quite different meaning, and it is obvious that possibility to give objective assessment in these circumstances is limited. Genders, as sexually determined habitués, represent basic entity division, which is social-cultural in its nature, although in this case 'natural' is based on biological differences. This means that possibility to perceive gender differences is significantly limited by value-conceptual apparatus that is gender constructed. Therefore, it is quite understandable that gender theory, before making any assessment of women position, requires that process of gender deconstruction is done, both at the cultural and awareness level, thus creating necessary but still not sufficient conditions for objective evaluations.

However, it wasn't possible simply to exclude the issues of gender equality from the Index, and we were equally unable to apply alternative methodological procedures for this area. In other words, being aware of all limitations of our methodology when it comes to gender issues, along with surveys in other areas we have done complementary survey even in this area. Findings about gender equality that we had before this survey, are very indicative data from previous surveys when we were measuring Socio-Economic Index, as well as from comparative data of UNDP (GDI and GEI), which are speaking of serious gender

imbalance in Montenegro, which is result of tradition and authoritarian culture. Therefore, data offered here, refer just to one dimension and that is the perception of gender inequality and in that respect obtained results should be viewed.

Table 45. Position of women – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Equal participation of women in all aspects of social life	930	2,99	1,256	,059
Equal participation of women in power	950	2,89	1,242	,203
There is no discrimination of women in employment and advancement	923	3,10	1,218	-,123
There is no discrimination of women in companies, institutions, and organizations	906	3,15	1,188	-,185
There is no discrimination of women within family	904	2,64	1,173	,349
Activities of organizations and institutions engaged in protecting women's rights	895	3,73	,976	-1,053
There is no hate speech in media directed at women	933	3,85	,962	-1,159

Therefore, keeping in mind previously mentioned methodological limitations, the highest score was recorded regarding media treatment of women and absence of hate speech (3.85). Somewhat lower but still high score was recorded in area of organizations engaged in protecting women's rights (3.73), and based on comparative data we want to underline that influence and role of these organizations is very important for establishment of gender balance in Montenegrin society. When it comes to absence of discrimination against women in companies, institutions and organizations (3.15) and absence of discrimination in employment and advancement (3.10), we recorded quite high scores, but this does not coincide with repeated appeals about the need to improve the situation in this area. Equal participation of women in all aspects of social life received solid score (2.99).

Lower score was recorded regarding equal participation of women in power (2.89), and the lowest regarding discrimination of women within family (2.64).

Although one can question the meaning of obtained results, the citizens obviously still do not perceive that current position of women in social life in Montenegro is unsatisfactory. **It is clear that relations within the family primarily threaten the position of women, and this issue should be priority regarding future activities that are aiming to establish overall gender balance.** Second place on the priority list belongs to **reducing the inequality when it comes to participation of women in government bodies, bearing in mind that current ratio is far from equality, and introduction of quotas in this respect would probably present the best solution.** Improvement of women position should be reviewed from the aspect of mobilizing all social mechanisms that are systematically reproducing inequality; we primarily mean those mechanisms that are especially strong and empirically untraceable. In that regard we should bear in mind the tradition as the keeper of inequality and overall symbolic communication that is based on masculine patterns.

8. PUBLIC RELATION TOWARD DISABLED PERSONS

Relation toward disabled persons is not just the issue of democracy but also the issue of humanity in the widest sense of the word. Practice has shown that crucial problem in this regard is the fact that disabled persons are 'invisible' for wider public, and this is limiting factor in making objective perception of the issue. This fact goes, in particular, for traditional and essentially closed cultures, and this is the case of Montenegro. In this constellation, often the problem of disabled persons is treated as individual problem of particular family, and public disclosure of this type of problems is considered inappropriate. All these facts are just confirming the fact on 'invisibility' of

disabled persons and limited perception regarding comprehensiveness of the problem.

Practice of developed democracies has shown that the state is indeed capable of creating number of mechanism that can have beneficial effect and significantly improve position of disabled. In this regard, we should also keep in mind that society in period of real-socialism has done a great deal in order to eliminate barriers and obstacles that were leading toward discrimination of these persons. However, there is still a lot of space for improvements in this aspect.

Table 46. Public relation toward disabled persons – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Existence of legal protection for disabled persons	860	3,42	1,127	-,596
Authorities are taking concrete activities in order to protect disabled persons	810	3,13	1,170	-,147
There is no discrimination of disabled persons	842	3,02	1,173	-,081
Existence of services and institutions engaged in protection of disabled persons' rights	814	3,40	1,067	-,593
Education is providing necessary skills to disabled persons and children with special needs	865	3,45	1,069	-,568
Suitability of schools for disabled children and children with special needs	848	2,81	1,222	,172
Media are covering and adequately treating issues related to disabled persons	842	2,71	1,160	,313

Based on our survey, we can say that citizens believe that education in Montenegro is providing necessary knowledge and skills to disabled (3,45), that they are legally protected (3.42), as well as that there are services and institutions that protect their rights (3.40). Lower score was recorded regarding concrete activities of authorities in order to

protect disabled persons (3.13), as well as in area of discrimination of disabled persons (3.02). Speaking of suitability of schools for disabled children, the score is not satisfactory (2.81), just as in the case of media treatment of these persons (2.71).

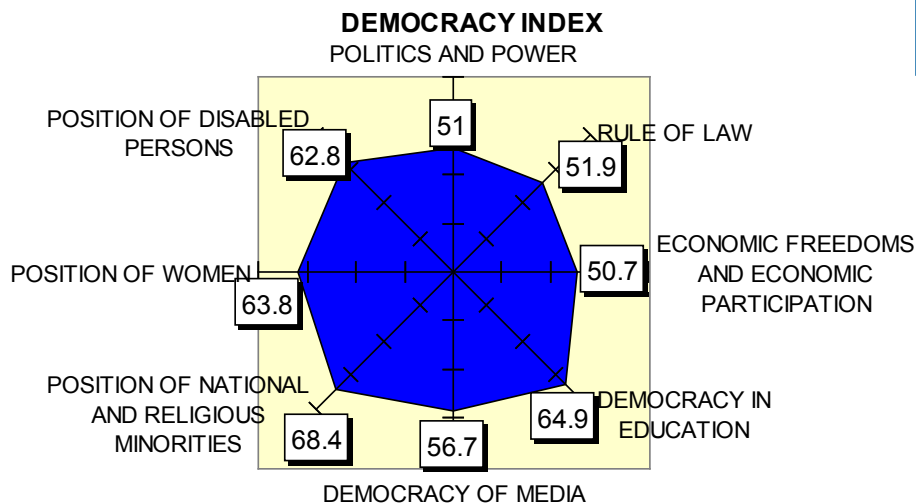
Therefore, based on the survey results, we can say that in order to improve the situation in this area, **it is necessary to undertake measures so that media would be more sensitive and more active in promoting equal treatment of disabled persons, as well as activities directed at adapting schools to disabled children and children with special needs, as much as possible.** It seems that implementation of recommendations in this particular area is not so costly, so there is really no reasons why we shouldn't be moving in this direction.

DEMOCRACY INDEX – SUMMARY

Public opinion thinks that Montenegrin society, although 'young' and burdened with relics from the past, with strong elements of pre-modern traditionalism, is still on the right path when it comes to democratization of social relations.

Table 47 DEMOCRACY INDEX

AREAS	N	K	SD	Skew-ness
POLITICS AND POWER	978	51,0	17,14189	,314
RULE OF LAW	980	51,9	17,53515	,260
ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	977	50,7	17,31700	,302
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	985	64,9	15,43342	-,096
DEMOCRACY OF MEDIA	985	56,7	17,77028	,255
POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	976	68,4	17,05928	-,405
POSITION OF WOMEN	974	63,8	17,62573	-,027
POSITION OF DISABLED PERSONS	966	62,8	18,46170	-,050



From the survey results it is quite clear that certain areas of social, are not perceived by citizens as areas that do have democracy deficit. Talking about minority nations, public perception is, bearing in mind recorded score (68.4) that Montenegrin society has made certain progress. Furthermore, if we bear in mind the recent past of this geographic area that Montenegro belongs to this results becomes even more important.

There is no doubt that certain efforts made in area of respecting the rights of minority nations, are recorded by public opinion, and this is the way to proceed in the near future.

The next area that obtained relatively positive score was field of education (64.9). In this regard, positive heritage from the real-socialism period has played crucial role, although the citizens also perceive the efforts that are currently being made in area of education reform, and all this has contributed to current positive rating of education from the democracy viewpoint.

Position of women, based on comparative data, was highly rated (63,8), but we should keep in mind the limitations in this regard. We refer, of course, to the fact that we have imbalance between perception and reality, and this is the consequence of the very nature of gender supremacy, so immanent to Montenegrin society. Cultural patterns and imbalanced criteria of evaluation have contributed to these high

scores, which are definitely much higher in respect to reality. Although, and maybe just because of it, at the level of public opinion there is no perception of the problem when it comes to issue of women position, therefore this issue deserves all the attention it can get.

The issue of disabled persons received relatively positive scores (62,8). Here again, we have to be aware of the fact that in line with the tradition of Montenegrin society, the life of disabled persons is kept hidden, so we have to accept this positive score with some reserve.

Partially satisfactory result is achieved regarding media (56,7). Based on our survey, it is clear that public opinions recognizes the problem of equality, autonomy, and independence of media in respect to pressures and influences coming from parties, political and other organizations, and other power centers. There is more than enough space for improvement in this area, starting from legal regulations to activities of civil society institutions.

Speaking of areas where achieved results are unsatisfactory, we come to dimension of rule of law, where the score recorded (51.9) implies to clear necessity of corrections in this area. Simply saying, rule of law is not at satisfactory level in Montenegro, and citizens clearly see that, and the biggest problem, in their view is **unprofessional and inefficient judicial system**. Based on survey results, we have found out that **this fact is in direct correlation with high level of corruption and activities conducted in favor of individual and group interests**. Therefore, it is necessary to devote greater attention to this outstanding and very complex problem, although we have to say that systemic approach, continuous activities and mobilization of the entire society, as well as the launching of positive processes is needed in order to solve this particular problem.

Dissatisfactory results are also recorded in area of politics and power (51.00). This score clearly illustrates that little has been done regarding democratizing the political processes and that key obstacle for development of democratic processes in Montenegro is the reform of the political system. Citizens' perception is that, the biggest problem is that there is no appropriate control and legality in the work of the authorities, where, if we go deeper into the issue, we find corruption and crime present in certain ruling structures, as well as absence of efficient civic control of authorities. Of course, these phenomena are

not common to all transitional societies, so the priorities should be set individually. Therefore, priorities in terms of democratization of Montenegrin society must be directed at political arena and at taking measures that would improve the control and legality of authorities.

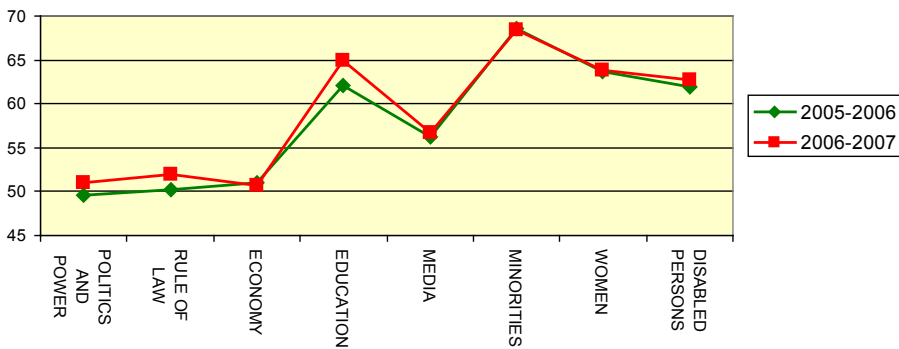
The worst results are recorded in area of economic freedoms and economic participation (50.7). Analysis of economy has shown that, citizens' opinion is that recorded scores are lagging far behind democratic standards applicable for this area. The biggest problem is absence of economic equality and autonomy of companies, which are result of monopolies that enjoy protection from state, influence of individual and party interests on companies, as well as influence of state and authorities in discriminating some and promoting other companies. Therefore, maximally serious reaction is urgently need and measures taken in order to provide greater level of autonomy and equality of companies.

When comparing the results from our previous survey, we noticed certain growth trend in all areas except in area of economic freedoms and economic participation; just as in case of national and religious minorities where the decrease is quite small. Score increase is recorded primarily in area of democracy in education, followed by rule of law, and area of politics and power. It is very important, from the democracy point of view, that the last two areas have recorded increase because we are dealing with areas, as we already saw, 'that are more endangered', meaning that, in citizens' opinion there are some positive steps achieved and that additional corrective measures in that respect should be intensified. Very small growth was recorded in areas regarding the perception of position of disabled persons, democracy of media, and position of women.

TREND

	2005-2006	2006-2007
POLITICS AND POWER	49,6	51,0
RULE OF LAW	50,2	51,9
ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	51,0	50,7
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	62,1	64,9
DEMOCRACY OF MEDIA	56,3	56,7
POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	68,5	68,4
POSITION OF WOMEN	63,7	63,8
POSITION OF DISABLED PERSONS	62,0	62,8

DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND



Fast transformation from one-party to multi-party system, privatization and market reforms consequently resulted in social inequalities, and if we add on top of that negative heritage of authoritarian past, we get obstacles that cannot be avoided but the entire society must be fully engaged, 'on all fronts', in eliminating them. Successful democratization of Montenegrin society requires mobilization of all social institutions as well as organizations of civil society, mobilization of citizens, on all levels. We hope that our work and further monitoring of Democracy

Index in Montenegro will contribute to identification of those hot spots that require further efforts to be made in this regard.

Finally, one of the biggest problems facing Montenegro is quite visible absence of social and political consensus that would calm down the passions on a divided political scene, and lead, in spirit of cooperation and identification of common objectives, to continuous progress in terms of overall democratization of Montenegrin society. Although the referendum process, which was well rated, is now over thus closing one important chapter in Montenegrin history, divisions in Montenegrin society haven't disappeared; they are simply diluted on number of issues that require high degree of tolerance and willingness to make compromises. In that regard, time represents limited resource, because coming generations will have far less understanding for higher historic goals, and much greater need to live in democratic and developed society.

