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Department for Empirical Research

DEMOCRACY INDEX

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DEMOCRACY INDEX MONTENEGRO 2008

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ABOUT THE PROJECT BY THE COORDINATOR

Montenegro, as a state, at the moment of writing of this Report, has already applied for the membership in EU, and in that way has gone one step further in a process of European integrations. Therefore, since the last year when we presented the results of our democracy survey in 2007, social and political dynamics have been an important characteristic of Montenegrin society. By applying for the membership, Montenegro qualified itself as a state which has come closer to EU in a political sense, and this status at the same time represents the evaluation of to what extent a big number of social life areas are democratic, and these areas are the object of a careful monitoring of EU bodies from the standpoint of a future integration of Montenegro within European Union. In that sense, the Report we are presenting this time, and which by identical methodology as the one from the previous years represents a survey of democracy in Montenegro in 2008, is especially interesting. In fact, it points to the absence or presence of a discrepancy between formal-political conditions and reality of Montenegrin society, where when we say reality we mostly think of a relation and estimation of Montenegrin citizens. Thus, on one hand, there are formal conditions which always prompt political elite fulfils in order to realise already planned political goals. On the other hand, there are real reforms which happen in a post-transitional period, and the third party is the citizens who live in that society and who have their own perception and attitudes towards that reality. Research of democracy which we really survey includes this third component, the citizens' attitudes as a reflex of a dominant political discourse, and changes in a social organism itself.

On a political scene of Montenegro, and this is certainly the first variable which has to be the basis of all analyses in Montenegro, for the reasons we presented in the previous Reports, Presidential elections additionally strengthened the ruling party, since that party, with no bigger problems, won the elections in the first circle. Consequently, these elections created further chaos in the lines of opposition, especially in a part of young and ambitious opposition, which obviously cannot cope with a serious political struggle with an experienced political opponent who has been ruling the country since the first elections. This fact actually represents a problem, a theoretical one, for all the analysts and researchers. Namely, it should be explained how, in hard times like a period of transition is, a political party which inherited Communist League of Montenegro, followed by all the troubles starting from the war of the 90-ies over a difficult economic situation to all the affairs which are constantly in media, succeeds in ruling sovereignty without any bigger problems. Although this is not our research issue, it is certainly relevant to the results of our research, since when the citizens estimate the state of democracy in some areas of a social life, they certainly target the government and a specific ruling party, which for the reason of this continuity has become a synonym for a state. However, here we neither condemn nor pass any judgements and we certainly do not want to give any value qualifications. We simply identify the political context which is an integral part of our research focus and which to a great extent represents the basis for correct understanding of our Index.

Therefore, there was continuity on a political scene during the previous year. However, there were certain turns in a sphere of economy. Firstly, privatisation is less and less a current theme, since almost the whole state sector has already been privatised. Secondly, so-called world economic crisis also influenced the economic trends in Montenegro, and this can clearly be seen from extremely negative trends of Montenegrin stock market Index. This situation created negative consequences for the investments and economic

stability, and it particularly shook two key categories of stockholders; firstly, the banks and their liquidity and readiness for further investment of money in a credit form, which will influence decreased economic growth in the next year. Secondly, sudden impoverishment of some economic subjects and individuals which represented the bearers of that large capital, and who gained their economic power within a relatively short period of business time under chaotic conditions of undefined transitional market. Further on, this situation is especially interesting because by these processes, clientilistic relation between the political system and individuals who were the economic 'winners' of transition, has been clearly unmasked in the eyes of the public, where the oligarchic character of key driving forces of economic system is clearly illuminated. Finally, it is especially interesting that after eighteen years of domination of neo-liberal economic and political discourse, there were huge turns in respect to orientation towards state interventionism, unfortunately, only in respect to big economic subjects' protection, but not in respect to initiating socio-democratic tendencies. Thus, state interventionism paradoxically entered service of neo-liberal practice, without accompanying protectionist measures for economic 'losers' of transition. What is being discussed, in fact, are political measures to ensure that the 'winners' of transition do not accidentally lose this status, even if the state has to protect them directly. For a paradox to be even bigger, the loudest advocates of state intervention are exactly those who were the key bearers of neo liberal ideology.

When we speak about the Balkans, this is only one of the paradoxes, and negation of formal logic and common sense is nothing new and even not sensational any more. One of the old-new paradoxes is certainly a 'technology of survival' of the most endangered categories of population, for which there is no mathematical method to explain and prove in practice. The problem in this respect is serious! Namely, what we are talking about is a political-economic category of population, which is not a victim of discrimination in the

true sense, but which endures the consequences of economic and political reforms. They, in fact, represent victims of the overall transitional shocks on one hand, and political processes and a dominant neo liberal discourse on the other. We are particularly discussing this category from a simple reason because we are asking the question: 'Is there a stable democracy when a large proportion of the citizens is on the edge of economic survival?' This situation is also interesting from the standpoint of the INDEX we are presenting, namely, it shows that this grouping (every fifth citizen), simply because of its low material status, gives very low values for each of the surveyed dimensions of democracy. They are simply, because of their difficult material status, not capable of estimating separate aspects of 'achievements of democracy' and democratic reforms which objectively happened in the previous period. For them there is no change until their economic status is brought to the minimum level of economic decency. A separate problem, as we have already mentioned, is a fact that this economic category correlates to national belonging and political affiliation. Therefore, we are talking about a well-structured part of the population which in a certain constellation can represent the centre of political and economic conflicts, and in that way endanger the overall social and political stability.

Nevertheless, on the other hand, viewed from 'above', political and social life in Montenegro does not seem to be dramatic. According to the instructions of EU bodies, reforms are going more or less in a solid tempo, key aggregate economic indices are satisfactory, and adaptation to the economic crises as well as clumsy opposition have not succeeded in accumulating possible dissatisfaction of the citizens. The consequences are simple, stable government, non-functional but stable institutions and the state which is definitely moving towards European integrations.

If we take into account key dimensions of democratic surveying, it can be seen that summarily, there was some progress in the previous year. It was not dramatic, but I would say, its influence is even bigger, because

dramatic changes in this respect would rather be a reason to be worried than a reason to be satisfied. The biggest improvement was reached in respect to 'democraticity of political processes', 'rule of the law' and 'democraticity in economy'. We think this is especially important, taking into consideration that the problem was the most expressed exactly in these dimensions, according to the surveying from the previous years. In this respect, we have to express special satisfaction, since we pointed to the problems and concrete aspects which exist in those areas to all relevant subjects exactly by the previous INDEX-is, trying to identify 'black points' of democracy very precisely. It is obvious that the overall efforts and reforms in all the areas, created positive effects and in that sense, we are very grateful to all sectors and structures which contributed to the improvement in these areas. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that our research identified one negative trend and it was about 'social position of national and religious minorities'. Careful perception of this problem shows that there was a negative trend in each, single aspect of surveying, which in fact shows that the problem is of a systematic character, and that minorities reacted negatively to the behaviour of the state in an organized way. This certainly remains a problem to be further analysed with the aim to identify the situation, because at this moment it is not clear what a concrete reason for dissatisfaction of minorities is. Equally, it should be said, that minority protection is still, in comparison to other dimensions, the best assessed area of democracy in Montenegro, so that the concern should be viewed in this respect. There was some progress, also when we are talking about 'media', namely, if we apply slightly weaker statistical criteria, it is obvious that there was some progress also in this area. Finally, it is not good that we have stagnation in other areas. In other words, although stagnation does not represent a negative trend, it is not good, simply because Montenegrin society asks for this kind of dynamics, as a society which is in a process of democratic development. Therefore, stagnation is actually an

obstacle which has to be surmounted, in order for our society to enter the circle of developed democratic countries of the Western cultural circle.

At the end, I would like to say thank you to everyone who enabled realisation of this project. First of all, there is NED, which by its support and generosity helped us to realise the research. 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. Then, I especially thank to my colleague, professor Pavicevic, my friend and fellow soldier, who was always ready to solve concrete problems. This time I cannot leave out a young associate Mr Djurovic, who showed maturity and readiness to deal with problems in a competent and analytical way, and who definitely represents a young force CEDEM can rely on in the future. I also thank to my colleagues, Mr Koprivica and Mr Radevic who showed important professionalism in realisation of certain phases of the project. I certainly owe words of gratitude to our diligent pollsters who carefully gathered data in the field. Above all, I express my gratitude to a large number of citizens of Montenegro, who are always a loyal partner to CEDEM, ready to offer their hospitality and to answer our questions carefully, and this is certainly the key factor which determines quality and validity of our research.

Coordinator,

Associate professor Miloš Bešić, PhD

CONCEPTUAL SCOPE 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 makes 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 these 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 beliefs, 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 should be noted. 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 multilevel 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. DEMOCRATICITY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES

Montenegro took a step into the process of an overall social transformation almost two decades ago. After that period, it is quite natural to ask a whole set of questions connected to the successfulness of transitional changes in various social segments. One of perhaps the most important questions refers exactly to the citizens' perception of democraticity level of political processes in the country. This question is especially important when we know the fact that Montenegro is the only post socialist country where there has not been a change of the ruling political elite since the introduction of a multiparty system. Therefore, when one political party heads the country for so long, the very existence of one of the basic postulates of democracy is endangered, and that is changeability of authorities. In addition to this, a whole set of answers to the question why the situation is as it is, imposes itself. On one hand, it is completely clear that the ruling party succeeded in changing its policy and in its successful adaptation to the needs of the citizens of Montenegro, which successively led to a constant giving of votes of confidence on the elections. Also, as one of the reasons, there is a fact that in Montenegrin parliamentarism there is no high-quality alternative to the ruling coalition. This is certainly one of the basic reasons why it is very advisable to recognise the perception of Montenegrin citizens on this issue, and to follow their attitudes through a longer period of time.

When we talk about political structure of a society, we identified, on the basis of application of an analytical apparatus, which is reflected in the aspects we have already mentioned, four key dimensions which comprise this area and they are:

- Control and legality of authorities
- Transparency (being transparent) of authorities
- Responsibility and changeability of authorities
- Professionalism in authority bodies' activities

Thus, each of those dimensions was a subject of a special measuring by means of a network of indicators. In the following part, we are going to present a survey of each of those areas as well as the indicators which were taken as a unit of measurement for the given areas.

1.1 Control and legality of authorities

Democratic and civil control of chosen representatives of the citizens, who have to act within a legal frame, represent sine qua non of a democratic society. We were of the opinion that this very fact made it necessary to find out how Montenegrin citizens evaluate the possibility of conducting control, and also, in their opinion, to which extent authorities in Montenegro are legitimate in their work.

Table 1 – Control and legality of authorities – survey of all the indicators¹

	2006	2007	2008	SD
Efficiency of civil control of governmental authority	2.18	2,25	2,35	1,142
Efficiency of civil control of local (municipal) authority	2.26	2,23	2,38	1,095
Public and governmental control of secret services and security police	2.32	2,43	2,62	1,226
Legality in governmental bodies' activities	2.46	2,59	2,68	1,231
Absence of corruption and crime in governmental authority	1.95	1,99	2,08	1,047
Absence of corruption and crime in local (municipal) authority	2.04	2,12	2,21	1,081

Therefore, values of all the indicators which measure the area of legality and control of authorities range from 2.08 to 2.68. We can notice that the values of all the indicators in this survey are rather bigger in comparison to the survey from 2007. We can record the biggest value with the indicator which refers to the legality of governmental bodies' activities (2.68), which corresponds completely with the result we obtained in our last survey. Also, we can notice that the citizens estimations are getting better when we talk about possibility of secret services and security police control, which speaks in favour of Montenegro being on the right way when we talk about the establishment of necessary mechanisms for democratic and civil control of the security sector; therefore, here we recorded the second biggest value in this segment (2.62). As a difference from the last year's survey, when the possibility of control over authorities on the level of the state was estimated better than the possibility of control over local authorities, this time the result is the opposite. Therefore, citizens think that they control local (municipal) authority more efficiently (2.38) than the state one (2.35). Finally, as it was the case in the previous research, existence of corruption and crime in local (2.21)

¹ Coefficients range from 1 - 5

as well as in governmental authority (2.08) is perceived as the biggest problem.

1.2. Transparency (being transparent) of authorities

Basic foundations on which democratic government is built are: transparency (being transparent) and responsibility. Therefore, here we wanted to find out to what extent Montenegrin government is public and at the same time responsible in its activities. This is also important because the socialist period was characterised by absence of transparency in governmental bodies' activities. Transparency of activities is the very characteristic which clearly distinguishes an authoritarian (as the socialist one was) from a democratic model of society. This issue is exceptionally important, especially if we take into account the fact that the population of Montenegro is 650 000 citizens and that alternative channels of communication are gaining in importance a lot, and this very often leads to disavowal of the public and announcing wrong information of all kinds. The results we have been obtaining for a longer period indicate that there has been a positive step out about this issue in comparison to the socialist period, but it is still far from a satisfying result. Thus, a lot of work is still necessary in order to achieve transparency of authorities in a sense which developed Western democracies have.

At this point a special emphasis should be put on roles of NGOs and media, and their influence is crucial in this sense. NGO sector is rather strong in Montenegro and its contribution to the overall democratization of the society was really big, first of all, by inviting the authorities to be much more public in their work. However, both media and NGO sector have to put much more effort into a significant improvement of the situation in this area.

When we talk about measuring itself, there is a survey in table 2 of all the indicators which were taken into account during the last two pieces of research. Data show that, like in the last measurement, the best result was recorded with the indicator which speaks about objectivity of media while following government and the Parliament activities (2.97). The next indicator on the scale is the one which speaks about availability of information from legal authorities and services to the journalists (2.77), thus, we record a positive trend with this indicator in comparison to the previous research. The next best estimated indicator refers to transparency of activities of local (2.76), and right after it of state authorities (2.73). Therefore, those are the indicators which can be treated as the ones with passing grades (values) in the research. On the very bottom of the table, there are the indicators which refer to a conceivable possibility for the citizens to have insight into the process and making of important political decisions (2.66), and in the end, like in the

previous research, citizens of Montenegro think that the worst situation is with a possible availability of information from legal authorities and services to citizens (2.50).

Table 2 – Transparency (being transparent) of authorities – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Transparency in governmental authorities activity	2.49	2,53	2,73	1,118
Transparency in local authorities activity	2.51	2,59	2,76	1,100
Media objectivity in following activities of the government and the Parliament	2.81	2,85	2,97	1,163
Possibility of citizens having insight into the process and making of important political decisions	2.39	2,46	2,66	1,130
Availability of information from legal authorities and services to journalists	2.60	2,58	2,77	1,102
Availability of information from legal authorities and services to citizens	2.37	2,32	2,50	1,065

1.3. Responsibility and changeability of authorities

The issue of existence of a responsible government and mechanisms for its conceivable change at the elections is very significant for a democratic society. A responsible government is the one which puts interests of the state in the first place, and not interests of governing individuals or those close to them. A democratic society has to create effective and efficient mechanisms which will guarantee that elected authorities will also be responsible to the citizens who in the end are the source of their legitimacy. A vast majority of post socialist societies had or still has problems of this kind, so it was very important to see how citizens of Montenegro perceive this issue.

Changeability of authorities is a very important issue in a context of Montenegro. The fact that, since democratic changes at the beginning of the nineties until today, one party has won all the elections is a reason good enough to see what Montenegrin citizens think of it. Apart from this, we should bear in mind that changeability of authorities is a principle of a democratic society, but as a principle it does not imply that the authority in question has to be de facto changed on some elections, but that democratic mechanisms have to provide changeability of authorities. Therefore, in this respect we should distinguish between a possibility (changeability), which

should be provided by the political system, and facticity (change) as a consequence which is not necessary.

When we talk about the obtained results, this dimension, bearing in mind that it has two sub dimensions, has relatively big number of indicators. The best result, like with the previous measuring, is recorded with the indicator which speaks about legitimacy of authorities (3.33). Immediately after this one, there is changeability of local authorities on the elections and in accordance with democratic procedures (3.08). This finding is somehow expected, taking into consideration that local authorities were changed several times in the previous period.

Table 3 – Responsibility and changeability of authorities – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Governmental authority as citizens' service	2.35	2,39	2,58	1,095
Local authority as citizens' service	2.46	2,48	2,66	1,095
Responsibility and conscientiousness of state administration as citizens' service	2.44	2,47	2,71	1,094
Responsibility and conscientiousness of local administration as citizens' service	2.53	2,54	2,73	1,103
Responsibility and conscientiousness of members of the Parliament	2.26	2,32	2,49	1,119
Responsibility and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers	2.43	2,44	2,67	1,121
Changeability of governmental authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	2.71	2,77	2,87	1,337
Changeability of local authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	2.89	2,88	3,08	1,304
Legitimacy of authorities	2.91	3,12	3,33	1,408
Responsibility of authorities and citizens' interests protection	2.30	2,32	2,60	1,213

Immediately after this indicator, according to rank, there is the indicator which talks about changeability of governmental authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedure (2.78). Therefore, on the basis of a high rank of this indicator, we can claim that Montenegrin citizens think that democratic mechanisms for a possible change of authorities

exist. The next indicator refers to responsibility and conscientiousness of local administration in performing services for the citizens' (2.73), and right after this indicator, responsibility and conscientiousness of state administration in performing services for the citizens comes (2.71). Further on, there is responsibility and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers (2.67). In the lower part of the table, there is the indicator which refers to the question whether or not local authorities serve the citizens and it was given more negative value (2.66); after this indicator, there is responsibility of authorities and citizens' interests protection (2.60). Finally, at the end of the scale, and that corresponds to the results of the previous research, there is citizens' perception of the question whether or not state authorities serve the citizens (2.58), whereas at the very bottom of the scale there is the indicator which refers to responsibility and conscientiousness of members of the Parliament (2.49). Thus, the citizens' perception of their chosen representatives is very low when we talk about those two indicators.

1.4. Professionalism in authority bodies' work

Professionalism in work and vocational skills of the individuals who are in ruling positions, are necessary in order to enable one society to function in an appropriate way. It means that the main principle for filling certain positions is, first of all, the result and degree of education, and not nepotism or some other personal interest. Therefore, we were of the opinion that it would be good to see what Montenegrin citizens thought of this issue. Additionally, an integral part of this dimension is the attitude of majority towards minority when we come to the question of skilled and competent arguments.

Table 4 Professionalism in authority bodies' work- survey of all the indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in governmental services and ministries	2.74	2,88	2,94	1,210
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in local authorities	2.65	2,73	2,88	1,195
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in the Parliament and its bodies	2.69	2,80	2,86	1,173
Respect of minorities by majority at all levels of authority	2.44	2,53	2,67	1,191

Therefore, the best valued are professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in governmental services and ministries (2.94), this indicator also

won the biggest value with the previous measurement. Further on, we record certain changes in relation to the previous research, thus professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in local authorities are in the second position (2.88), which makes a positive shift when we talk about this indicator in relation to Index 2007. Furthermore, professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in the Parliament are better valued (2.86) than the indicator which refers to respect of minorities by the majority at all levels of authority (2.67), so we can conclude that better quality communication between minority and majority in Montenegro is necessary.

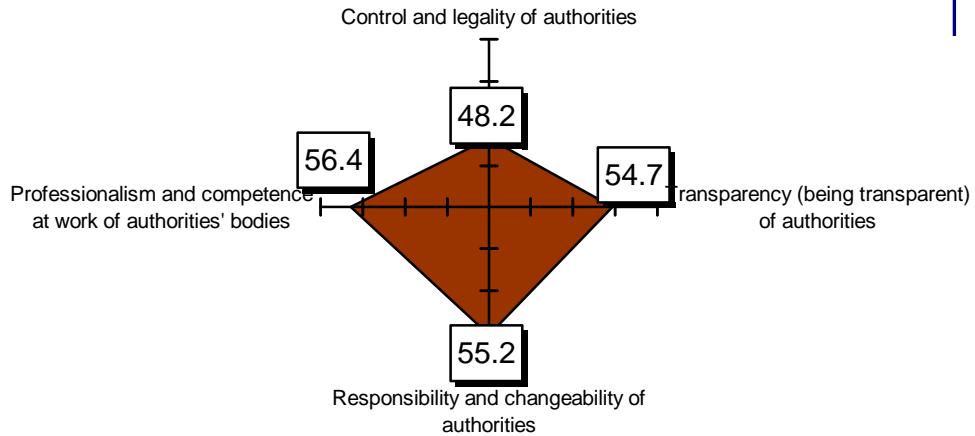
1.5. Summary indices of democraticity of political processes

Summarisation of the results of all the areas and their comparison is one of the basic goals we set in this research. In table 5, as well as in Graph 1 we presented comparative data for all four areas which were the objects of measurement. Besides, datum about every dimension represents summarization of indicators which were taken as objects of measurement for a given dimension. Finally, we can follow the results from the viewpoint of a trend, which means through last three pieces of research.

Table 5 Politics and authority - summary by dimensions

	2007	2008	SD
Control and legality of authorities	45,9	48,2	19,01
Transparency (being transparent) of authority	51,2	54,7	19,33
Responsibility and changeability of authority	51,8	55,2	20,09
Professionalism and competence in authority bodies' work	54,9	56,4	21,64

Democraticity of political processes

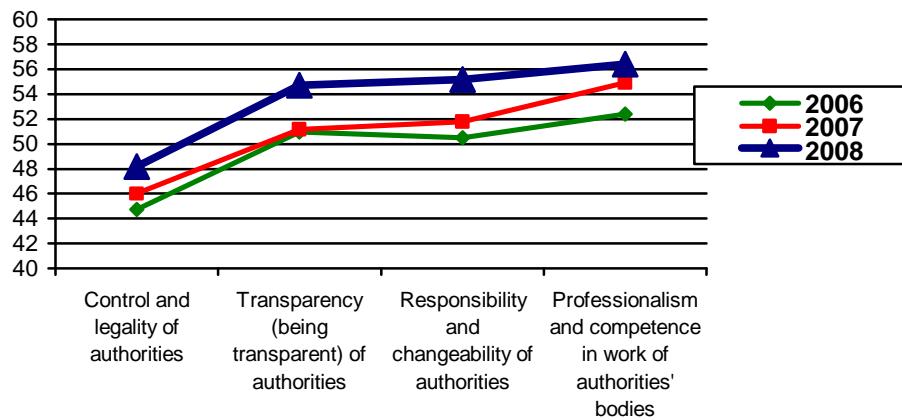


The results show that the best results, from the viewpoint of democratization of political processes, were achieved in a domain of professionalism and competency in work of authorities (56.4), then in the field of responsibility and changeability of authorities (55.2) and transparency (being transparent) of authorities (54.7). Finally, and consequently the biggest problem in the perception of Montenegrin citizens is a possibility of control and legality of authorities (48.2), where the value is indicatively smaller in relation to the other values. Therefore, the citizens think that **priority in the overall process of social transformation should be given to providing more effective and more efficient mechanisms of control and respect of the law by authorities**. From the analytical point of view, more precisely, from the viewpoint of aspects which were taken into consideration when this dimension was measured, the biggest problem is presence of crime and corruption with authorities. In comparison to other countries in its encirclement, even to some countries which became full members of EU and NATO, it cannot be said that Montenegro is specific in this regard.

TREND

	2006	2007	2008
Control and legality of authorities	44,7	46,0	48,2
Transparency (being transparent) of authorities	51,0	51,2	54,7
Responsibility and changeability of authorities	50,5	51,8	55,2
Professionalism and competence in authority bodies' work	52,4	54,9	56,4

Democraticity of political processes - TREND



Finally, when we talk about democraticity of political processes area, we see that its range by dimensions is from 48.2 to 56.4, which is extremely low if we take into consideration that maximum value of a coefficient is 100. However, if we look at the results from the viewpoint of a trend in relation to the previous two pieces of research, we will notice that it is positive and that range, within which the indicators vary, increases from one year to another.

2. RULE OF THE LAW

The second area which is the object of measuring in Index is rule of the law. This area has a special position in the research. Reasons are clear since it is not possible to imagine a democratic system without the existence of positive legal norms which apply to everyone equally. Therefore, for a society to be called democratic there mustn't be a situation where laws do not apply or where they are applied but selectively. We tried to find out what citizens' perception of the situation in this area was by using several indicators.

A process of democratic reforms of Montenegrin society, as a priority task, implies a reform of juridical system. This authority branch is very often emphasised as a priority in the sense of enforcement of overall reforms by national political actors as well as international ones. Annual reports on progress in this area by European Commission also speak in favour of this statement. These reports constantly emphasise the need for further reforms of juridical system. It should also be said that there is obvious progress in respect to juridical system in the field of establishment of a necessary normative legal frame for its functioning on democratic principles. However, in adequate application of legal regulations in practice represents the biggest problem when we come to the issue of juridical reform. Thus, it is not enough to plan a normative frame, but it is equally important to enforce it in practice. Adoption of laws and their non-selective application in practice is significant, first of all, because of a direct benefit which citizens of Montenegro acquire in that way, but it is also one of basic conditions for association with EU, and that is a primary foreign-relation priority of the state of Montenegro.

Another big problem in this area is creating necessary conditions for juridical autonomy. It seems that usual patterns from real socialism, in which governing structures were directly connected to holders of judicial functions, have their consequences which are still noticeable today. Finally, a juridical reform depends a lot on so-called administrative capacities of Montenegrin courts, where limits of professional and vocational abilities of employees at all levels who work in them are visible.

We also divided this area on several dimensions and within each of them we defined number of indicators which represented final particles of the measurement. Dimensions in this area are:

- Equality before the law
- Availability of legal protection
- Juridical autonomy
- Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary
- Control and transparency of judiciary work

2.1. Equality before the law

This is one of the key principles which a legal state is based on. Thus, in a democratic state everybody has to be equal in front of the law and a situation where some of them are "more equal" than the others is not possible. This principle is quite often discussed in Montenegro. There are numerous accusations in public by the opposition against the government representatives in respect to the existence of untouchable individuals from the government or those close to the government who the law does not apply to. This was a sufficient reason for us to include this dimension in our research and see what the citizens think of it. Also, since Montenegro is a multinational state, we wanted to examine to what extent members of minorities are equal in front of the law in comparison to members of a majority nation.

At the same time this was one of our control variables, taking into consideration that a status of national minorities was a separate object of our measurement.

Table 6 Equality before the law – survey of all indicators

	2006	2007	2008	SD
Legality of the process of passing the law of all citizens' interest, disregarding differences in respect to their material and social status, and disregarding their national, ethnic, religious and political affiliation as well	2.81	2,85	3,13	1,232
Equality in a process of law enforcement for all citizens disregarding their ethnic, national or religious descent	2.68	2,74	2,92	1,248
Equality in a process of law enforcement disregarding the material status of an individual	2.30	2,43	2,63	1,239
Equality of law enforcement disregarding political, ideological or party belonging of citizens	2.30	2,42	2,66	1,225
Equality of individuals in bodies of authority before the law	2.23	2,23	2,42	1,230

Results of the surveying show that the scope (range) of indicators is from 2.42 to 3.13. As it was the case in the previous survey, in the first position there is the indicator which refers to legality of the process of passing the law of all citizens' interest, disregarding differences in respect to their material and social status, and also disregarding their national, ethnic, religious or political affiliation (3.13). It should also be mentioned that in comparison to the previous research, we record a significant increase of a coefficient with this indicator. Immediately after this one, there is the indicator which refers to equality in a process of enforcement of the law for all citizens disregarding their ethnic, national or religious affiliation (2.92); therefore, this result is at the same rank as it was with the last surveying. In the middle of the scale, there is the indicator of equality in a process of enforcement of the law disregarding the material status of an individual. The worst estimated are: equality of enforcement of the law disregarding political, ideological and party belonging of citizens (2.66), as well as equality of individuals in bodies of authority before the law (2.42). Therefore, the citizens think that the last two indicators are the biggest obstacles to democratization of the society, when it comes to the issue of a principle of equality in front of the law.

2.2. Availability of legal protection

In this part of the research, our goal was to find out to what extent legal protection was available to the citizens of Montenegro, disregarding their material status, national, religious affiliation and a choice of a political party. The results we obtained show that there is no discrimination of the citizens regarding this issue when we talk about their national or religious affiliation, and this is confirmed by the biggest value we recorded with this indicator (2.88). However, the situation is worse when it comes to the issue of their political or party belonging (2.80). Finally, the citizens perceive material status of an individual as the most important for availability of legal protection (2.65).

Table 7 Availability of legal protection – survey of all indicators

	2006	2007	2008	SD
Legal protection is provided equally for all the citizens disregarding their material status	2.39	2,45	2,65	1,221
Legal protection is provided equally for all the citizens disregarding their national or religious affiliation	2.66	2,77	2,88	1,246
Legal protection is provided for all the citizens disregarding their political or party belonging	2.36	2,65	2,80	1,241

In other words, citizens of Montenegro think that material status and political affiliation are crucial when we talk about the issue of availability of legal protection.

2.3. Autonomy of judiciary

Autonomy of judiciary is also one of the primary conditions for functioning of a legal state. Range of indicators for this issue is from 2.51 to 3.34. The biggest independence of Montenegrin judiciary is achieved in relation to conceivable influence of religious organizations and churches (3.34); it is interesting to notice that the result is identical to the result we had with the previous surveying. Also, the citizens think that judiciary is independent from the influence of nongovernmental organizations (3.20), as well as from EU organizations (2.86). Further on, there is the indicator of judiciary independence from the influence of the Parliament (2.73), and then from the influence of political parties (2.54). On the basis of the data we got on this occasion, and with the previous surveying as well, judiciary autonomy is most endangered by the influence of the government and state services (2.51), and especially by powerful and wealthy individuals and groupings (2.34).

Table 8 Autonomy of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Independence of judiciary from the influence of political parties	2.22	2,33	2,54	1,159
Independence of judiciary from the influence of the government and state services	2.23	2,29	2,51	1,148
Independence of judiciary from the influence of the Parliament	2.52	2,54	2,73	1,125
Independence of judiciary from the influence of powerful and wealthy individuals and groupings	2.16	2,21	2,34	1,155
Independence of judiciary from the influence of nongovernmental organizations	3.04	3,11	3,20	1,182
Independence of judiciary from the influence of religious organizations and churches	3.30	3,34	3,34	1,166
Independence of judiciary from the influence of EU organizations	2.92	2,90	2,86	1,228

On the basis of the obtained data, we can conclude that social polarization and appearance of transition winners, as well as a connection between governing structures and courts, is the biggest problem when we talk about the autonomy of judiciary organization in Montenegro.

2.4. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary

A large number of unsolved dossiers, as well as too long periods of time necessary for solving litigations, clearly indicate the fact that Montenegrin judiciary is inefficient in its work. This value constantly repeats itself in reports of different international organizations. Efficiency of courts is directly dependent on their professionalism. The data we obtained point quite clearly to the problems which exist in this branch of authority.

Therefore, the citizens think that Montenegrin judges are professionally and vocationally qualified for an efficient application of the law (3.01). The indicator which immediately follows is the one which refers to efficiency and professionalism of judiciary in successful protection of the citizens' rights (2.63), whereas lack of efficiency of judiciary in solving litigations (2.44) and presence of corruption and activities for interests of individuals and groups (2.31) are identified as the biggest problems. Those findings correspond with the last years'.

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

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Efficiency of the courts in the process of litigation solving	2.18	2,28	2,44	1,143
Professionalism and vocational qualifications of judges for an efficient application of the law	2.85	2,83	3,01	1,161
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary for a successful protection of citizens' rights	2.48	2,51	2,63	1,104
Absence of corruption and activities for the interests of individuals and groups	2.06	2,18	2,31	1,128

2.5. Control and transparency of judiciary activities

Judicial, as well as other governmental bodies, have to be under some kind of control. The best way of control of judiciary activities is through nongovernmental sector, media and the citizens themselves – individuals. All those subjects have to have the right to have the insight in judicial activities in order to be able to control it. At this point we examined to what extent possibility of control of the courts in Montenegro is present and efficient. In order to get the most complete image possible, we introduced a large number of indicators.

Table 10 Control and transparency of judiciary activities – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Efficiency of state control of judiciary work with the purpose of law and legality protection	2.65	2,67	2,76	1,171
Transparency of court activities and possibility of monitoring by media	2.48	2,66	2,75	1,137
Availability of information relevant for protection of the citizens' rights to the public	2.42	2,53	2,71	1,117
Availability of control and citizens' influence on judiciary by means of organizations and institutions in accordance with the law	2.33	2,35	2,54	1,084
Existence of Parliamentary control mechanisms of judicial bodies	2.80	2,75	2,90	1,124
Monitoring of judicial bodies by NGO sector	2.88	2,91	3,07	1,118

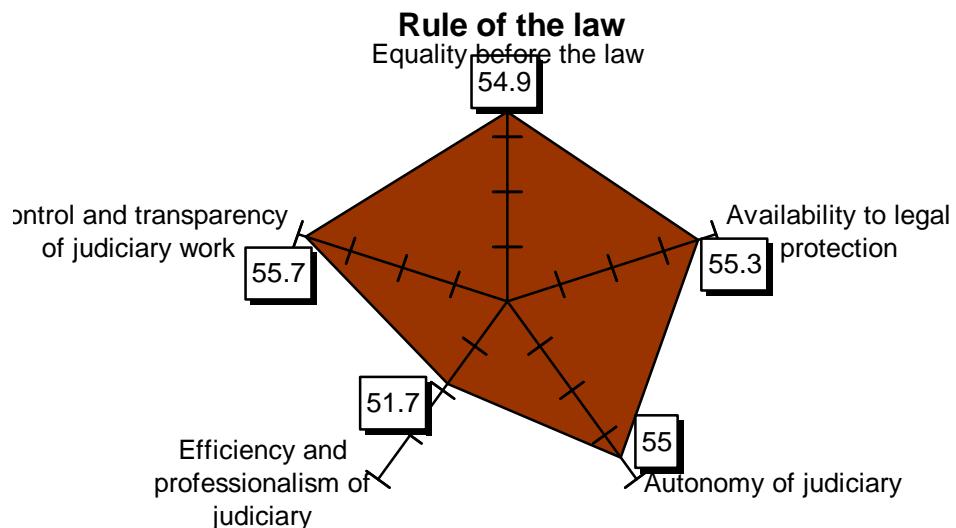
To what extent NGO sector is important in the overall process of democratization is clearly shown by the value we recorded for this indicator (3.07). Thus the citizens think that NGOs are quite successful in monitoring and control of judiciary work. The Parliament also has efficient mechanisms of control of judiciary work (2.90). State mechanisms of control of jurisdiction with the purpose of law and legality protection follow (2.76). Further on, on the basis of the data, media also have quite efficient mechanisms of activities of the court control (2.75), whereas the citizens estimate very badly availability of information relevant for citizens' rights protection to the public (2.71). And at the very end, democraticity of courts in a dimension of transparency (being transparent) is the lowest when we talk about the issue of the citizens' control of judiciary by means of organizations and institutions in accordance with the law (2.54).

2.6. Summary indices for the rule of the law area

At this point we are going to summarize the results obtained by using different indicators for the rule of the law area. We can also follow the results from the viewpoint of a trend by comparison of the newest research with the previous two (Index 2006 and Index 2007).

Table 11 Summary survey of the rule of the law given by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	SD
Equality before the law	49.4	50,8	54,9	21,91
Availability of legal protection	49.3	52,7	55,3	22,28
Autonomy of judiciary	52.7	53,0	55,0	19,50
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	48.0	49,3	51,7	19,87
Control and transparency of judiciary activities	51.9	53,2	55,7	19,54

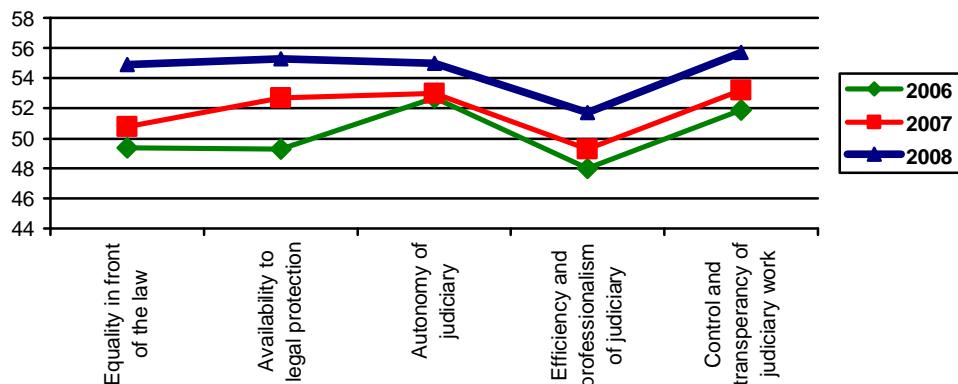


Therefore, if we summarize the results of this area by dimensions, it can be seen that a scope (range) is from 51.7 to 55.7. It is thus a slightly bigger range than in the previous surveying. We can say that a process of democratization in the rule of the law area is realised the most, when we talk about control and transparency of judiciary activities (55.7); right after it, the indicator which refers to availability of legal protection comes (55.3). Afterwards, there is judiciary autonomy (55), then equality before the law (54.9), whereas efficiency and professionalism of Montenegrin judiciary are perceived as the worst (51.7). Therefore, democraticity in this social area is most endangered by inefficiency and lack of professionalism of judiciary in Montenegro. **Therefore, with a goal to improve the situation in this area it is necessary to increase judiciary efficiency in the process of litigation solving, and to create mechanisms for prevention of corruption, so that the courts wouldn't operate for the interests of powerful individuals and/or groups.**

TREND

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008
Equality before the law	49,4	50,8	54,9
Availability of legal protection	49,3	52,7	55,3
Autonomy of judiciary	52,7	53,0	55,0
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	48,0	49,3	51,7
Control and transparency of judiciary activities	51,9	53,2	55,7

Rule of the law - TREND



If we look at the results in this area from the viewpoint of a trend, we will see that they are positive. However, a range is from 51.7 to 55.7, what is still low taking into consideration that a maximum value is 100.

3. ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Economic issues are perhaps the most important in a context of transition of post socialist countries. The socialist society acted protectively to all social groupings, so that social differences were neutralised. However, social structure had numerous shortcomings, for example in respect to inequality of economic subjects on the market, absence of free competition, etc. Montenegro, as a state on its way to European integrations, and first of all it implies creation of functional market economy., which in its turn will be able to face the competition and market tensions within EU, has to create those already mentioned conditions in order to become a full member of European Union.

In this respect, there are numerous problems in Montenegro, for example the process of transition which led to the appearance of a class of extremely rich individuals and on the other side of those who can be marked as “transitional losers“. In addition to this, it is completely evident that politics had a strong role in transitional processes, and rather often the birth of new economic elite was in direct connection to structures of power in political circles.

Therefore, bearing those facts in mind, we tried to find out, on the basis of established indicators, how Montenegrin citizens perceive the situation in this, certainly, extremely important area of a social life.

From the point of view of the Index, we identified three dimensions and realised surveying by a unique procedure as it was done in previous areas. Dimensions within this area are:

- Economic equality of individuals on the market
- Economic equality and autonomy of companies
- Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals

In other words, we chose the dimensions which by themselves are not supposed to be disputed from the viewpoint of democraticity, i.e. disregarding the nature and effects of the very process of an economic transformation of a society in a process of transition, democraticity level of an arising democracy depends on (non)existence of economic equality of individuals on the market,

economic (in)equality of autonomies of companies, as well as on (non)existence of mechanisms for protection of economic subjects and individuals.

3.1. Economic equality of individuals on the market

Therefore, in the scope of this part of the research, we talk about existence or non-existence of equality of individuals on the market, in the sense of chances which all the citizens, participants of a market competition have. Here we wanted to examine, first of all, whether there are any differences, what differences they are and what their influence on equality during a market competition is. The basic idea certainly is that (un)attained equality in those aspects represents a summary indicator of democraticity of a society in this dimension.

Table 12 Economic equality of individuals on the market – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Equal treatment on the market disregarding social origin of the citizens	2.81	2,68	2,90	1,162
Equal treatment on the market disregarding national and religious affiliation	2.93	2,86	2,98	1,147
Equal treatment on the market disregarding material status of individuals	2.38	2,37	2,55	1,101
Equal treatment on the market disregarding political commitment and party belonging	2.33	2,32	2,58	1,166
Equality of individuals in respect to their participation in economic life of a society under equal conditions	2.67	2,58	2,79	1,159

As well as with the previous indicators, here we can also observe the results from the point of view of a trend. We see that the results obtained on this occasion, range in a slightly bigger scope than in the previous research, but that difference is irrelevant. The results show that the best situation is with equal treatment on the market disregarding national and religious affiliation (2.98), what corresponds to last years' finding. Then, social origin also does not represent a big obstacle when we talk about conceivable participation in a market competition (2.90). After this, there is a solid result of the indicator which talks about attained equality of individuals in respect to their participation in economic life of a society under equal conditions (2.79). Further on, as the two economic factors which have the biggest limiting

influence on attaining equality on the market, influence of political commitment and party belonging of the citizens (2.58) impose, as well as the influence which material status of an individual has (2.55) in this respect.

3.2. Economic equality and autonomy of companies

During the period of socialism, all companies were state property, thus autonomy of companies did not exist. To what extent Montenegrin society succeeded in moving away from that period in the sense of economic equality and guarantee of independence in work of a company, was the goal of this part of the research, because it is a fact that a democratic society has to rest on autonomy of companies and their dependence on free market competition?

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

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Equality of companies on the market disregarding a property form	2.68	2,64	2,80	1,124
Absence of discrimination and favouritism of some companies by state	2.28	2,29	2,52	1,066
Absence of influence of individual and party interests on companies	2.26	2,27	2,44	1,063
Equality of application of the law for all companies	2.40	2,30	2,57	1,167
Autonomy of companies in a process of making decisions	2.45	2,44	2,54	1,062
Absence of ideology and pressure of a state in public companies	2.39	2,32	2,50	1,054
Absence of economic monopolies which enjoy protection of the state and privileged groups	2.20	2,20	2,40	1,038
Autonomy of inspection departments and their non selectivity in enforcement of the law and regulations	2.43	2,41	2,48	1,024
Transparency of work of the government in respect to its influence on economic life of a society	2.67	2,60	2,76	1,070

In order to obtain the most precise answers, we introduced here a large number of indicators. The scope (range) of indicators is from 2.40 to 2.80. The best mean value was recorded in respect to equality of companies on

the market disregarding a form of property (2.80), and that corresponds with the best estimated indicator from the last research. Right after this, there is transparency of work of the government in respect to its influence on economic life of society (2.76). The other values are significantly lower in comparison to the previous two. The third indicator in order is the one which talks about equality in application of the law for all companies (2.57), then, the next one is the indicator of autonomy of companies in the process of making decisions (2.54). After those indicators, there is a very bad result with conceivable absence of discrimination and favouring of some companies by the state (2.52), in other words, the citizens think that certain companies are in a better position than the others when we talk about their relationship with the state. Then, the citizens think that ideology and pressure of the state in public companies exist (2.50). A slightly worse situation is with the autonomy of inspection departments and their non selectivity in enforcement of the law and regulations (2.48), then there is the absence of the influence of individual and party interests on work of the companies (2.44), and at the very end, the citizens think that the worst situation is in this area, when we talk about conceivable absence of economic monopoly which enjoy protection of the state and privileged groups (2.40).

3.3. Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals

In this dimension we wanted to find out how Montenegrin citizens perceived the situation on the issue of development of mechanisms for protection of subjects on the market, in the sense of creating equal conditions of work for everyone.

As well as with the previous dimensions, at this point we can also follow the results from the viewpoint of a trend.

Table 14 Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals - survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Existence of institutions which provide freedom on the market	2.83	2,74	2,83	1,052
Existence of NGOs which protect participants in economic life from all forms of pressure of the state, parties, powerful individuals and groups.	2.94	2,81	2,89	1,097
Efficiency of struggle against grey economy	2.18	2,21	2,36	1,077
Consumers' rights are protected by law	2.59	2,52	2,55	1,180
Existence of organizations by means of which companies and individuals can influence overall	2.97	2,56	2,76	1,084

economic policy of the state				
Active role of media in realisation of a principle of equality and protection of economic rights and freedom of individuals, companies and organizations	2.70	2,69	2,84	1,044
Efficiency of judiciary in protection of individuals and companies from all forms of violence and disrespect of their economic rights and freedom	2.43	2,40	2,63	1,046
Efficiency of judiciary in solving contractual litigations	2.40	2,54	2,71	1,071
Protection of a property right by the state and its bodies	2.80	2,84	2,97	1,117
Efficiency of the state in respect to a property right protection	2.69	2,80	2,94	1,114
Efficiency of state bodies in a struggle against corruption	2.14	2,19	2,34	1,118

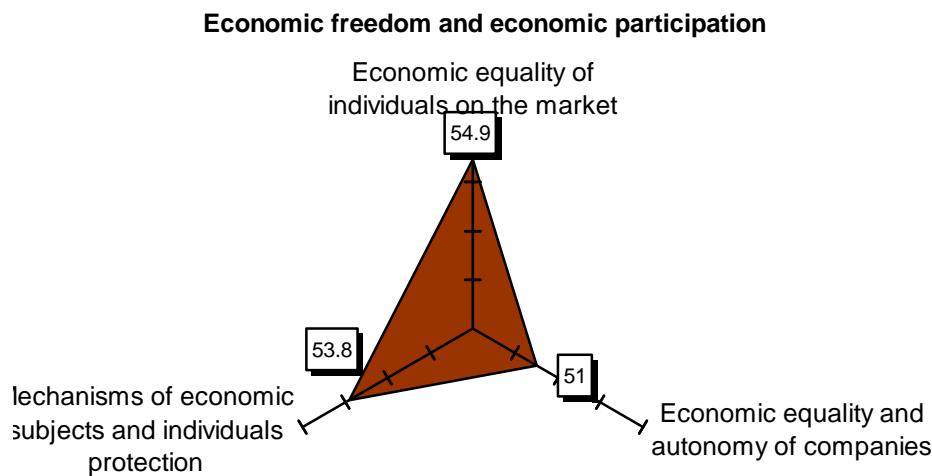
According to the results we obtained, the citizens think that there is efficiency in respect to a property right protection by the state and its bodies (2.97), and this indicator was estimated best in the last Index too. Efficiency of the state in respect to a property right protection is estimated as very good (2.94), as well as existence of NGOs which protect the participants in economic life from all forms of pressure by the state, parties, powerful individuals and groups (2.89). Then, the active role of media in realisation of the principle of equality and protection of economic rights and freedom of individuals, companies and organizations follows (2.84), and after that, existence of institutions which provide freedom of the market (2.83). The mean value for existence of organizations by means of which companies and individuals can influence overall economic policy of the state (2.76) is the next one. A slightly worse mean value refers to efficiency of judiciary in solving contractual litigations (2.71). Finally, the citizens think that the worst situation is with the efficiency of judiciary in protection of companies and individuals from all forms of violence and disrespect of their economic rights and freedom (2.63), then the citizens think that consumers' rights are not sufficiently protected by law (2.55), and also that the state is not efficient in its struggle against grey economy (2.36), and finally, that the state is not efficient in its struggle against corruption (2.34).

3.4. Summary indices for economic freedom and economic participation area

When, at the end, we analyse the area of economy in Montenegro, we will notice that the best results are achieved when we talk about the indicator which refers to the equality of individuals on the market (54.9), and then the indicator which refers to mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection (53.8), and finally, economic (in) equality and autonomy of companies are perceived as the biggest problem (51.0).

Table 15 Economic freedom and economic participation – summary by dimensions

Indicators	2007	2008	SD
Economic equality of individuals on the market	51,4	54,9	20,25
Economic equality and autonomy of companies	48,6	51,0	18,37
Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals	51,8	53,8	17,18



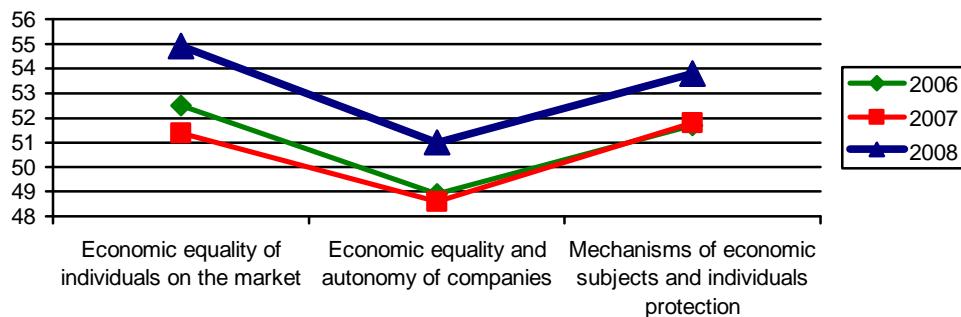
Therefore, the range is slightly bigger than in the last Index, whereas the order of indicators is partially different in comparison to the latest research. Thus, the difference is that in Index 2007, the citizens estimated best mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals, which on this occasion are in the second position, whereas immediately after, there is economic equality on the market, which as it has already been mentioned, is in the first position in the Index 2008. The only similarity is that in both pieces of

research, economic equality and autonomy of companies were given the worst mean values. Therefore, if there is a wish to make progress in this social area, **a lot more has to be done in order to provide equality of chances in a market competition for all companies and their autonomies as well.**

TREND

Indicators	2006	2007	2008
Economic equality of individuals on the market	52,5	51,4	54,9
Economic equality and autonomy of companies	48,9	48,6	51,0
Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals	51,7	51,8	53,8

Economic freedom and economic participation - TREND



Therefore, from the viewpoint of a trend, the result in Index 2008 is positive, although we cannot be completely satisfied with the obtained values, because a possible maximum mean value is 100.

4. EDUCATION

There is no doubt that in a period which preceded the process of transition, there was significant progress in a domain of education. During this period, primary education was made compulsory for everyone disregarding economic, material, and social or any other characteristic. The whole society, also, acted stimulatively on improving a process of education both in a sense of value as well as in a functional sense. All levels of education were free in socialism and in that way it represented one of the most powerful levers which influenced reduction of social differences. Nowadays, however, the main problem is exactly a relapse of that period which reflects itself through inadequate functionality of educational system in the sense of needs of a contemporary, technologically developed society.

In a contemporary democratic society education also holds a very important position. First of all, as a technologically developed society, modern democracy cannot functionally be imagined without a developed educational system. Then, the idea of democracy in its educational transcription can be reduced to the idea of meritocracy, in other words, if education is one of the key mechanisms of achieving social status, then equality of chances in a process of education also creates social equality. The experience, however, has shown that this is not easy to achieve, because by giving equal chances to all individuals in a process of education, basic differences which exist on social and stratification level cannot be neutralized.

A democratic society has more reasons to be interested in planned and systematic education and upbringing than other communities, because we will agree that people live in a community on the basis of what they have in common, and nowadays the idea of democracy overcomes certain **forms of government** and first of all it reflects a state of spirit and a way of life.

Importance of education for democratic practice can be examined in the light of the opinion of European court for human rights from 1976. "Education is the essence of preservation of democratic society". Nowadays we can be pretty sure that all roads lead to democracy, but success on that way can be expected only if we pay appropriate attention to the education and progress of every individual and a society as a whole and create relevant scopes of work.

If an educational system is not set on and does not function on principles of openness, autonomy, efficiency and transparency, it won't be

possible for it to play an important role for the whole society. That's the reason why it is important to examine the results which show to what degree the process of educational reform in Montenegro has arrived, that is to examine that segment through comparison with the research of the previous Index of democracy about this area.

Anyway, the area of education was necessary for the analysis of a society from the viewpoint of democraticity. We defined and surveyed the following dimensions for this area:

- Openness and participation in education
- Autonomy and efficiency of education
- Legality and control of educational system
- Pluralism in education
- Influence and effectiveness of public discussion on education
- Transparency and availability of information in education

Each of those dimensions was surveyed by the identical and already described methodological procedure, and we tried to take into consideration all significant dimensions. The results of surveying by dimensions and summary indices follow in the text.

4.1. Openness and participation in education

Our goal was to examine, by means of this dimension, to what degree education is open for all social groups. Since a social status is largely a function of educational process, from the viewpoint of democraticity of a society this dimension is very important.

When we talk about our findings, we can say that obtained mean values for all the indicators are relatively high (range is from 3.18 to 3.77). We can at once say that the results from the area of education are much better than those from the areas analysed up to now. Comparatively, we recorded the highest value with the citizens' perception of availability of education to everyone, disregarding residence - a place of permanent residence (3.77). We can thus conclude, that the citizens do not experience discrimination caused by students' place of residence as a problem. Also, the citizens estimated highly the equality of educational conditions for the whole student population disregarding their ethnic or religious affiliation (3.49). When we come to the issue of openness of education for children whose social status is unfavourable, that is, children who come from poor families, we have a slightly lower mean value, but it is still quite well positioned (3.45). We have the lowest value in the area of the openness of education for suggestions and opinion of the citizens (3.18), but it is still quite high.

Table 16 Openness and participation in education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Availability of education to all the citizens disregarding their residence/ a place of permanent residence	3.72	3,79	3,77	1,106
Openness of education for children who have unfavourable social status i.e. those who come from poor families	3.37	3,33	3,45	1,185
Equal educational conditions for the whole student population disregarding their ethnic and religious affiliation	3.46	3,57	3,49	1,187
Openness of education for suggestions and the citizens' opinions	3.00	2,96	3,18	1,157

In comparison to the previous year, we notice that high mean values in the area of education still remain dominant. A strong positive trend is recorded with the openness of education for suggestions and the citizens' opinions, what is very important, bearing in mind that this area fell behind the others to a great extent. It shows, with the goal to improve democraticity, that it is necessary to keep on establishing more intensive communication between educational institutions and the citizens, i.e. it is still necessary to create mechanisms by means of which the citizens would be able, by their suggestions and opinions, to influence educational process to the bigger extent than it was the case up to now. The increase of mean values is also very noticeable with the issue of openness of education for children who have unfavourable social status, i.e. those who come from poor families. We mark a significant negative trend with the issue of equality of educational conditions for the whole population of students disregarding their ethnic or religious affiliation. Although the mean value here is also satisfactory, we emphasise that it may turn out to be useful to be more careful when we talk about this indicator, especially if we perceive it in a correlation with a negative trend in the area of the social position of minorities.

4.2. Autonomy and efficiency of education

Autonomy of educational system is one of the significant elements from the point of view of democraticity in educational process. It is evident that educational system cannot function in the right way if it doesn't have a necessary dose of autonomy. Education in real-socialism was not autonomous, or more precisely, it was directly in function of an ideological reproduction of

a society and this was one of the key shortcomings of educational system in that period.

The highest mean value in this area is related to the indicator of development of a personal autonomy, freedom and creativity of the students in educational process (3.69). Further on, in Montenegrin society, educational system is thought of as functional from the viewpoint of realisation of key educational goals (3.37), and it is noticeable that examinees point out its functionality in respect to the absence of ideological contents in school curriculum (3.26). According to the obtained mean value, we conclude that autonomy of University is at a solid, we can say high level (3.23).

On the other hand, we record lower mean value when we talk about absence of pressure by political structures and other centres of power on educational system and even lower in comparison to the influence of political structures and other centres of power (3.16).

Table 17 Autonomy and efficiency of education- survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Existence of autonomy of University	3.10	3,18	3,23	1,121
Development of autonomy of students' personality, freedom and creativity in educational system	3.56	3,87	3,69	1,013
Absence of pressure by political structures and other centres of power on educational system	2.81	2,91	3,16	1,196
Absence of ideological contents from school curriculum	2.94	3,09	3,26	1,125
Efficiency of educational system in respect to realisation of key educational goals	3.16	3,33	3,37	1,077

We have to point out that, when we talk about a trend for autonomy and efficiency of education we have a positive trend, and the trend is positive with the areas which were estimated worst in the last surveying; therefore, first of all, the issue of absence of pressure by political structures and other centres of power on educational system and absence of ideological contents from school curriculum. We also record a significant positive trend with autonomy of University. There is a slight *fall* with the issue of development of autonomy of students' personality, freedom and creativity in educational system, but the value is still very good with this indicator.

Therefore, also with this dimension of education, as well as in the large number of previous cases, the citizens see the most problems in the influence of politics and special centres of power. Thus, neutralization of influence of politics on the autonomy of University and on the autonomy of other areas of

social life, and exclusion of influence of influential individuals and centres of power, remains a priority task in a further process of educational area democratization, whereas positive trends certainly encourage and give stimulus to that process.

4.3. Legality and control of educational system

System of contemporary education is certainly exposed to a big number of control mechanisms; of course, what is the most important is the very question of the efficiency of those mechanisms. Also, educational system is organized by specific legal regulations, where the efficiency depends on application of those regulations. For surveying this dimension, we chose five indicators; the range is from 2.87 to 3.24, which means that it is lower than the previous two.

We record the best mean value for the existence of developed criteria on a national level for the assessment of quality of education (3.24), then the value for respect of regulations in assessing quality of educational institutions by state services (3.22). Efficiency of the law in changing bad and bad-quality regulations are estimated solidly (3.08), whereas a possibility of evaluation of activity of teaching staff and institutions by students (3.00) is on a satisfactory level.

We obtained the lowest mean value by surveying efficiency of the law in stamping out corruption in educational system (2.87), and with this mean value, corruption represents, as in other areas, the biggest problem from the point of view of strengthening of democratization of overall social processes.

Table 18 Legality and control of educational system –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Efficiency of the law in stamping out corruption in educational system	2.71	2,75	2,87	1,169
Efficiency of the law in changing bad and bad-quality regulations	2.88	3,09	3,08	1,094
Existence of developed criteria on a national level for the assessment of quality of education	3.02	3,12	3,24	1,065
Respect of regulations by state services in assessing quality of educational institutions	2.94	3,05	3,22	1,059
Possibility of assessing activity of the teaching staff and institutions by students	2.76	2,85	3,00	1,175

We conclude that, although the range of the surveyed values in this area is smaller than it was the case in the previous two indicators of education, there is a strong, positive trend in comparison to the last years' research. The biggest shift is achieved when we talk about respect of regulations by state services in assessment of educational institutions quality and possibility of assessing work of teaching staff and institutions by students.

The main problem still is corruption, although, we here also record a positive shift, the mean value is anyway unsatisfactory. Of course, when we talk about corruption, we can say that this is a socio-pathological phenomenon which has a character of universality and it pervades whole social life, which means that without an efficient struggle against corruption, we cannot expect any significant progress of overall social reforms.

4.4. Pluralism in education

Democratic education, by its definition, has a task to accept all the differences which exist in a culture of one society. Also, principle of pluralism in education means existence of choice of objects of educational process, so that relation educator-educatee is a two-way relation. All those elements are important and in the end, they should develop a tolerant individual ready to respond to various challenges which may be encountered.

Tolerancy development of students in relation to all forms of differences in educational system was assessed with an average mean value (3.41), whereas the mean value for acceptance of gender, physical, cultural, ethnic and religious differences in school curriculum and programmes got the biggest mean value (3.51). We got a lower value (3.44) when we talk about the issue of a possibility of pupil's-student's choice of educational contents. We record the lowest value (3.34), but by no means low, on the issue of the existence and application of a big number of teaching methods in educational process. The mean values we obtained by surveying these dimensions range from 3.34 to 3.48 and we can describe this range as satisfactory.

Table 19 Pluralism in education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Tolerancy development of students in respect to all forms of differences in educational system	3.35	3,52	3,41	1,079
Acceptance of gender, physical, cultural, ethnic and religious differences of society in school curriculum and programmes	3.41	3,51	3,48	1,066
Existence and application of a big number of teaching methods in educational process	3.13	3,31	3,34	1,114
Possibility of pupil's-student's choice of educational contents	3.06	3,43	3,44	1,032

When we talk about pluralism in education, we record a negative trend for the following indicators: tolerancy development of students in respect to all forms of differences and acceptance of gender, physical, cultural, ethnic and religious differences of society in school curriculum and programmes. There is a mild positive trend for the existence and application of a big number of teaching methods in educational process and for a possibility of pupil's-student's choice of educational content.

4.5. Influence and effectiveness of education debate

It has been shown that institutionalised mechanism of a public discussion, which was promoted in the legal system of Montenegro in the previous period, had a big value for the process of overall social reforms and that by means of a public discussion we get a whole range of important information, which in their turn are more than useful for a successful transformation of certain social areas. In a given constellation, we defined a network of indicators with a purpose to survey influence as well as effectiveness of a public discussion on educational system.

Comparatively, we record the best result when we talk about the existence of a dialogue between competent state institutions and social organizations which deal with the issue of education (3.29). Further on, participation of national minority organizations in planning educational programmes intended for national minorities is highly estimated (3.24). Influence of NGO sector is significant (3.23), there is a slightly lower value for a possibility of initiation of concrete changes in university education by students, which are aimed at improvement of university education quality (3.14). Finally, we have a possibility of initiation of concrete changes in

educational system by teachers and professors (3.08) as the worst estimated with this group of indicators.

Table 20 Influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Possibility of initiation of concrete changes in educational system by teachers/professors	2.98	3,14	3,14	1,117
Respect of opinion of NGO experts, respectful individuals and other people interested in the process of passing regulations and law in education	3.03	3,25	3,23	1,078
Existence of a dialogue between competent state institutions and social organizations which deal with the educational issue	3.12	3,32	3,29	1,041
Participation of national minority organizations in planning educational programmes intended for national minorities	3.29	3,48	3,24	1,090
Possibility of initiation of concrete changes in university education by students which are aimed at improvement of university education quality	2.99	3,16	3,08	1,095

In comparison to the previous research, we record a negative trend for all the indicators when we talk about influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education. However, it's a fact that mean values are on a fairly high level, whereas we record the most negative trend with participation of national minority organizations in planning of educational programmes, which should be dealt with big attention.

4.6. Transparency and availability of information in education

The issue of transparency and availability of information in educational system is very important because in this way, two-way communication between the public and educational system is set, and it is certainly significant for further processes of democratization of educational system. On the occasion of surveying this dimension, we defined a whole range of indicators which structurally pervade.

The results show that a range of mean values for this area is relatively small and it is between 3.10 and 3.24. The largest value was obtained on the

issue of availability of relevant information about educational programmes to the public (the citizens and media) (3.24), then, the mean values go in the following order: availability of relevant information about the results of student population activity to the public (the citizens and media) (3.22), which is also good, and we have a satisfactory value for the process of certification and checking of course books (3.21). On the other hand, presence of public and transparent control was valued slightly lower (3.10), as well as systematic informing of the public about issues connected to the problems of education by the state and its bodies (3.10).

Table 21 Transparency and availability of information –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Existence of public and transparent control of activities of educational institutions	2.89	3,05	3,10	1,095
Certification and checking of course books	3.05	3,20	3,21	1,133
Availability of relevant information about educational programmes to the public (the citizens and media)	3.03	3,16	3,24	1,110
Availability of relevant information about student population activities to the public (the citizens and media)	3.09	3,08	3,22	1,062
Systematic informing of the public about all issues connected to the problems of education by state and its bodies (ministries)	2.90	2,95	3,10	1,121

When we talk about a trend, first of all, we want to emphasise that there are no big differences among the values of certain indicators, which speaks about inequality, that is, all examined aspects are approximately on the same level in respect to their development. The thing which is important is that we notice a positive trend for all the indicators, and the biggest shift is with the issue of availability of relevant information about student population activities to the public (citizens and media).

4.7. Summary indices for the area of education

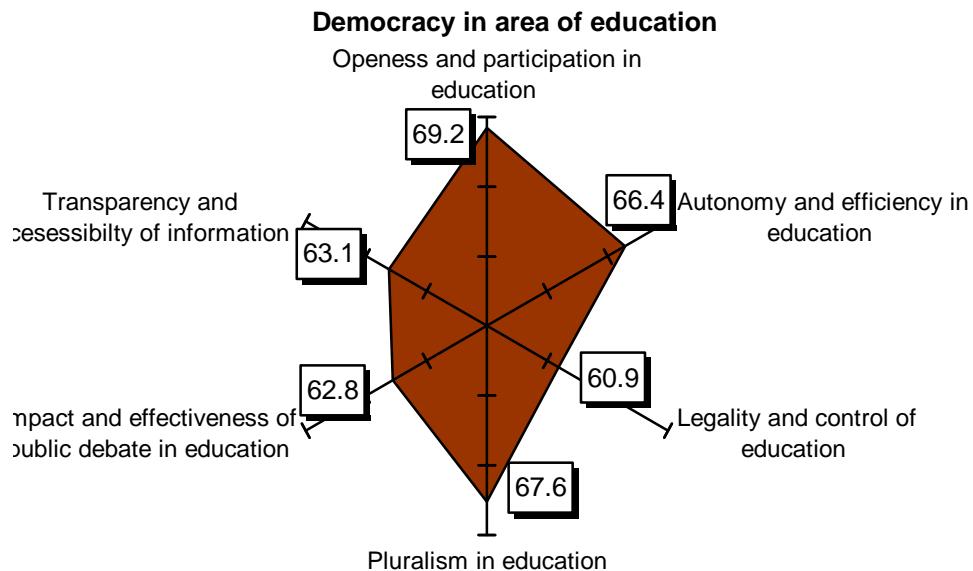
With a goal to give a complete value of a situation in educational sphere when we talk about a degree of democraticity, we presented a summary of the results, table 22 and a graph, realised individually in each of the dimensions, as well as a comparison with the results of a previous research.

Analysing area of education by means of mean values we defined for each of dimensions, we can generally be satisfied with the results. The range is from 60.9 to 69.2. Educational reform in Montenegro, in the opinion of the examinees, contributed most to the improvement of a situation in the area of openness and participation in education (69.2). Pluralism in education was also highly ranked (67.6), as well as autonomy and efficiency of education issue (66.4). On the other hand, we have mediocre results when we talk about transparency and availability of information (63.1), as well as when we talk about the influence and effectiveness of public discussion on education (62.8). We obtained the lowest value, and it is certainly a worrying situation, when we come to the issue of legality and control of educational system, which can be said to represent the basis of every contemporary educational system (60.9).

We will repeat that the mean values for the issue of education are still on a much higher level than the values we had in the previous three parts of our analysis.

Table 22 Democraticity in educational process – summary by dimensions

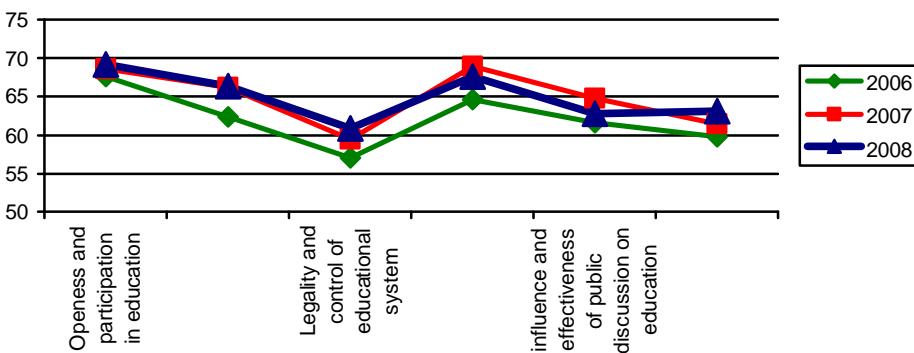
Indicators	2007	2008	SD
Openness and participation in education	68,6	69,2	19,61
Autonomy and efficiency of education	66,2	66,4	18,75
Legality and control of educational system	59,5	60,9	19,30
Pluralism in education	68,9	67,6	19,40
Influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education	64,8	62,8	19,05
Transparency and availability of information	61,5	63,1	19,83



Taking a three-year trend into consideration, we emphasise that issues of openness and participation in education, autonomy and efficiency of education, legality and control of educational system and the issue of transparency and availability of information record a stable, continuous, positive trend. When we talk about pluralism in education and the influence and effectiveness of public discussion on education, there are mild negative trends. However, since we had the increase with both indicators in the previous research, these negative trends are not worrying.

TREND

Indicators	2006	2007	2008
Openness and participation in education	67,6	68,6	69,2
Autonomy and efficiency of education	62,4	66,2	66,4
Legality and control of educational system	57,1	59,5	60,9
Pluralism in education	64,6	68,9	67,6
Influence and effectiveness of public discussion on education	61,6	64,8	62,8
Transparency and availability of information	59,8	61,5	63,1



Generally speaking, citizens in Montenegrin society do not perceive presence of serious problems from the point of view of democratization of educational process, but that potential interventions should predominantly be aimed at the improvement of legality and control, rising of transparency and availability of information level, as well as the improvement of the influence and effectiveness of public discussion on educational system.

However, we should bear in mind, that besides good results obtained in this area, it is necessary for a society which strives to present itself as democratic, to find a place and a role for educational system, the result of which will be its adequate functioning. It will be very difficult to struggle with numerous challenges which Montenegrin society is facing or will face without adequate functioning of educational system, especially taking into account that processes of essential adaptation to EU standards are still about to approach.²

In order to make it possible to expect harmonious development in a life of a community which aspires to be democratic, building of democratic institutions, economic stability, creation of new educational and cultural hypothesis, that is providing conditions which will enable real, and not only declarative, respect and realisation of human rights, enrichment and expanding of experiences in personal as well as interpersonal sphere are necessary. It is for certain that it's a long-lasting process which demands changes in the way of thinking and behaviour of numerous participants in one society - both when we talk about responsibility of the citizens as well as the responsibility of the government. 2

At the very end of a discussion of a relation of education and democracy, there is one more detail worth mentioning. All the most developed

² Source: *Demokratija i obrazovanje*, Gvozdenović Slavka, 2006;

countries of the world are democratic, whereas the largest number of non-democratic countries comes from the category of less developed, underdeveloped countries or poor countries. It is obvious that the economic level is in a direct correlation with development of democracy, and one of the linking points in that complex relation definitely is the educational issue. High standard of living enables high educational level which then, in its turn certainly enables high level of recognition of political participation and everything referred to as a necessity for democratic behaviour of the citizens.

5. MEDIA

It is difficult, almost impossible, to imagine a political sphere in modern countries and mass society without a media component. The importance of media in modern societies is maybe best represented by the attitudes which point out that media represent “the Fourth Estate” in a country. Anyway, it can be emphasised that nowadays, politics is being adapted and forwarded by media and because of that, the importance of media for democracy is generally more than significant. A unique synthetisation of media-democracy relation can be seen through the attitude that media can exist without democracy, but today democracy without free and professional media is not possible.

Conceptually, democracy exists on a struggle of different opinions and it is necessary to create a social climate which improves and supports public discussion about different attitudes and opinions in all spheres of a social life. Freedom of media and its constructive, key role in democratic processes is often binded in different ways, which are more often hidden rather than obvious. Fundamental mission of media is to be *vox populi*, voice of people, and their right to know the truth and to be critical towards it. Nevertheless, it is impossible to provide mechanisms which will completely guarantee work of media in service of democracy, because the invisible hand of freedom is not *a priori* inviolable and untouchable, as it could be understood by analysing leading theoreticians of free speech, liberal ideology philosophers John Stuart Mill and John Milton. The experience teaches us differently, freedom of media is reduced even in the most democratic societies to some extent by economic, political, social and cultural limitations.

In modern democratic societies, media should have several functions in order to contribute properly to consolidation of a democratic system. Thus, media should be the source of reliable information, they should tend to be a control of the government, take a role of a guardian dog of democracy and democratic values generally. Further on, media are expected to be a mechanism by means of which the public controls how some elected representatives perform their duties in the name of people, to be a special forum for public discussion, to create the environment where different social ideas by different social subjects are presented and come into conflict in order

to create general social consensus on them as the final product. In order to accept them as credible and useful for democraticity strengthening, media representations of reality should have bases in real social interests as well as in predominant norms and values. Media practice of reality interpretation neither happens in an empty space nor depends on the free will of journalists. It is determined by historical, social and cultural development of a community – media practice reflects dominant social, political and cultural norms and values. A problem appears when we meet with societies where there is no consensus of majority on norms and values, and then media often function as a means of struggle over establishing dominant norms and values. That is why there are efforts to make media political instruments, and that is how certain parts of the public think that some media are instrumentalised, even when their journalists think that they act completely professionally.

It should be emphasised that media scene in Montenegro passed through number of phases during its development. Media scene in Montenegro today is completely different from the one which characterised the period before transition. In the real-socialism period, media represented one of the important elements of ideological reproduction of a society. This media situation in this period was of a declarative character, whereas information had a role of preservation of a socialist regime and their truth and it cannot be qualified as censorship, but as a system based on a unique matrix.

On entering the process of social transformation, the situation on media scene was changing daily. First of all, apart from the state, predominant media, private media, which did not by their definition represent voice of the state and its politics, appeared. This applied both to electronic as well as to printed media. State media also changed their position and role. By disappearance of the Communist party from the political scene and formation of larger number of new parties, media, which still were under control of governing structures, had to show a dose of elasticity and in that way reflect changes which happened. It is of course true that state media favoured then as well as they do today, political parties which came to power, but equally obvious is the effort to establish some kind of balance between the attitudes of governing structures and opposing opinions. Finally, it is very important to realise what effect in attitude of the citizens, transformation of a state television of Montenegro into a public service had, which is extremely important bearing in mind the epithet of the most powerful electronic media that is how important it is for democratization in general.

On the other hand, appearance of private media additionally democraticized social relationships and relaxed the overall political communication. Although individual and group interests of certain structures intervened in a process of creation of new media, this process was many-sided,

so that today private media, led by different interest structures, favour opposing political options, which is certainly good from the viewpoint of democratization. By this statement we first of all bear in mind the fact that existence of alternative information is one of the key conditions for formation of polyarchy (see R.Dal).

Dealing with this area, we defined the following mechanisms which represented the object of a survey:

- Autonomy and independence of media
- Professionalism of media
- Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media
- Openness of media

Methodologically speaking, the same procedure as in the previous cases was applied, and cumulatively, on the basis of all dimensions, it was possible to synthetise a unique value for the whole area.

5.1. Autonomy and independence of media

At the beginning of our research of a sphere of media in Montenegro, we dealt with always contemporary topic, the issue of autonomy and independence of media. We focused on the survey of the influence of key factors which may really imperil media independence. We also tried to measure the level of achieved autonomy separately for printed and electronic media. Before we start analysing the results, it is important to say that it is hard to assess an ideal situation in this area, because even in the most democratic societies some structures of power are *de facto* capable of influencing media. In other words, it is not advisable to imagine independence of media of an ideal-type in any society, and also in Montenegro, because interest structures almost as a rule find a way to influence media.

When we talk about possible pressure on media, according to the obtained results, the citizens think that mainly there is no pressure from organizations and institutions from Serbia (3.09), which is probably expected if we take into consideration that Montenegro is although young but still a sovereign state. It is similar for religious and national minorities where the mean value (2.93) shows that the absence of pressure is on a satisfactory level. However, public opinion reflects very well the fear of the influence on media which comes from rich individuals and groups (2.52), then possible pressure from parties and political organizations (2.54) and in the end, absence of pressure from authorities and state institutions (2.60) which, although estimated better than the previous two forms of pressure, is not on satisfactory level. It should especially be taken into account that the values for all three

forms of pressure are fairly equal, so that a possible danger for media independence comes equally from all three directions.

When we talk about estimation of media autonomy, the biggest degree of autonomy was achieved with radio stations (2.92), then TV stations (2.85) and in the end, printed media with the value of (2.82). Bearing in mind that the values are very similar for all three media, we can conclude that their autonomy is roughly on the same level with slight but constant advantage of radio stations.

Table 23 Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Absence of pressure on media from authorities and state institutions	2.54	2,53	2,60	1,154
Absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations	2.57	2,50	2,54	1,098
Absence of pressure on media from rich individuals and groups	2.68	2,57	2,52	1,101
Absence of pressure on media from religious and national communities	3.07	3,08	2,93	1,128
Absence of pressure on media from organizations and institutions from Serbia	3.22	3,35	3,09	1,151
Autonomy of printed media	2.56	2,68	2,82	1,087
Autonomy of radio stations	2.74	2,80	2,92	1,097
Autonomy of TV stations	2.54	2,64	2,85	1,135

We record a slight positive trend for the absence of pressure on media from authorities and state institutions and absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations. Whereas we have a negative trend in comparison to the previous research for the absence of pressure on media from organizations and institutions from Serbia, absence of pressure on media from rich individuals and groups and absence of pressure on media from religious and national communities, what is certainly encouraging is a strongly expressed positive trend when we talk about the autonomy of all three media with the advantage of TV stations of Montenegro.

5.2. Professionalism of media

Professionalism of media is with no doubt conditioned to a great extent by their independence, but it is the issue where media themselves can do a lot

by their adequate work and respect of rules which are accepted in the modern media world as *condition sine qua non* of professional informing of the public

From the point of view of professionalism, although differences are not significant, radio stations are in the first position (3.17), then TV stations (3.10) and in the end there are printed media (3.01). This sequence is understandable if we take into consideration that as a difference from electronic, printed media in Montenegro more or less openly support certain political option. We emphasise that the level of obtained values is on satisfactory level and the range is from 3.01 to 3.17.

When we talk about criteria in the work of media, the best estimated is timely informing of the public (3.15), then professionalism (3.10) and in the end objectivity in informing (2.95). Perhaps it is a bit worrying, when we talk about criteria that objectivity is in the third position.

Table 24 Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Professional informing of the public	2.91	2,97	3,10	1,128
Objective informing of the public	2.81	2,85	2,95	1,119
Timely informing of the public	3.16	3,16	3,15	1,090
Professionalism of printed media	2.78	2,86	3,01	1,113
Professionalism of radio stations	2.99	3,02	3,17	1,093
Professionalism of TV stations	2.90	2,93	3,10	1,082

Comparatively speaking, in comparison to the previous research, we notice a positive trend for all the indicators when we talk about professionalism of media issue, which definitely is a sign that they have taken a right direction and that they should go on with already undertaken measures.

5.3. Non existence of monopoly and equality of media

Existence of monopoly in any segment of society clashes with principles of democraticity. In that sense, media scene in democratic society should be characterised by equality of all media and absence of favouritism of some media at the expense of the others.

The range of the obtained results is from 2.67 to 2.75 and it is still unsatisfactory and points to the necessity for radical changes in this area. The obtained values show that the citizens think that TV stations are in an inferior position (2.67), and printed media are right after them (2.71). When it is a

question of possibility that some media influence some other media, from the obtained results we can conclude that such situation cannot be accepted as completely real (2.70). With a remark that the value is not on the highest level, we find radio stations as the most equal ones (2.75).

Table 25 Non existence of monopoly and equality of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Equality of printed media	2.57	2,54	2,71	1,118
Equality of radio stations	2.62	2,59	2,75	1,120
Equality of TV stations	2.55	2,53	2,67	1,074
Absence of monopoly of some media in relation to the rest of media	3.13	2,57	2,70	1,090

A trend shows that there has been an improvement in respect to all the indicators. Simply speaking, equality in relations between printed media, radio stations and TV stations has significantly improved or at least this is how the citizens of Montenegro perceive the situation in these areas. Nevertheless, we should mention that the very height of the obtained values is still low, so there is enough space for improvement of the situation when we come to the issue of equality among media.

5.4. Media openness

Media openness issue is especially important for democraticity in this area. In a society which is politically plural and nationally heterogeneous, media have to be able to reflect, in accordance with democratic principles, different opinions and attitudes and to immanently integrate all differences in a unique political and social space. This demand is more than a partial political interest of any grouping and it has to be in accordance with demands for the achievement of general consensus, which is very important for functioning of a social system. Tolerance and openness to various opinions and attitudes of media editorial policies towards certain themes and social groups, especially when we talk about the themes which are outside *a dominant milieu*, are the key component of a democratic culture without which no institutional progress won't achieve any long-term results.

When we talk about this dimension, we identified four key indicators which refer to different aspects of media openness. According to the latest

results, media are the most open when we talk about different religious and national groupings, so we conclude that media respond adequately to the challenges of cultural heterogeneity of Montenegrin society (3.14). There is a very high value for media openness for suggestions and opinions which come from the citizens, civil organizations and respectable individuals (3.08). Media openness to different political opinions and different ideologies is also very satisfactory in our citizens' opinion (3.05), whereas in the last position, with much lower value in comparison to the previous three indicators, there is openness and freedom of criticism of the government and other institutions and individuals (2.79).

Table 26 Media openness – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Media openness to different political opinions and different ideologies	2.59	2,56	3,05	1,127
Media openness to different religious and national groupings who live in Montenegro	3.16	3,32	3,14	1,122
Media openness to opinions of the citizens, civil organizations and respectable citizens	2.94	3,08	3,08	1,145
Openness and freedom to criticise authorities and other institutions and individuals	2.63	2,77	2,79	1,178

What is the most interesting about the trend is that we recorded an extreme increase when we talk about media openness to different political opinions and different ideologies. In the last years' research, this indicator was assessed as the worst. We notice a slight negative trend for media openness to different religious and national groupings that live in Montenegro, but the mean value here is extremely high so that there are no big reasons to be worried. Also, with the worst estimated segment, readiness for criticism of authorities, institutions and individuals, we notice slightly increased values and that is very important in respect to the level of the value itself.

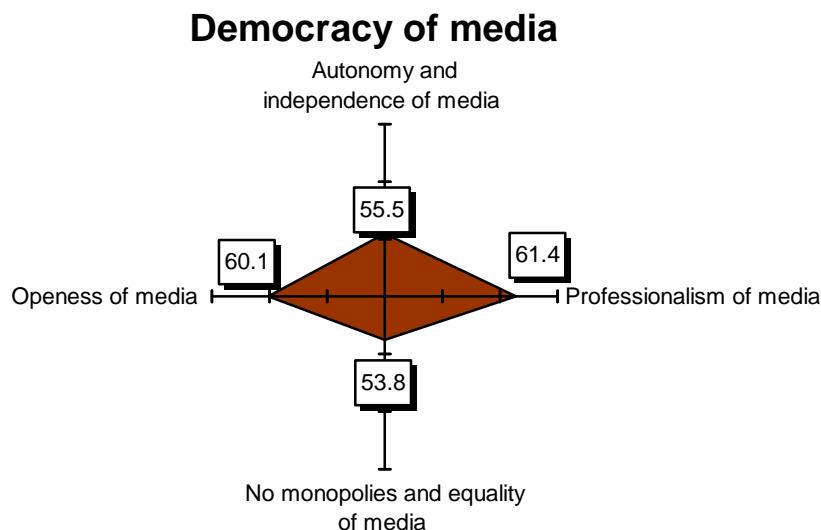
5.5. Summary indices for media area

By summarisation of the values realised in different dimensions, represented in Table 27 and the accompanying graph, we can perceive a complete situation when we talk about media in Montenegrin society that is a degree of democraticity achieved in this area. We will also find out, by comparison of the results to the previous research, to what extent the situation in this area has been improved.

The range of the results is from 53.8 to 61.4 and we can qualify them as relatively satisfactory. The best valued is professionalism of media (61.4), then media openness with a high value also (60.1). The other pair, as we put it, consists of the other two dimensions which are much lower valued. Therefore, a dimension of autonomy and independence of media follow (55.5), and there is the area of demonopolization in the last position with the weakest value (53.8).

Table 27 Democraticity of media – summary by dimension

Dimensions	2007	2008	SD
Autonomy and independence of media	55,9	55,5	18,56
Professionalism of media	59,5	61,4	19,62
Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media	51,2	53,8	20,25
Media openness	59,2	60,1	17,82



Having followed the trend for three years backwards, we see that it is positive in respect to three dimensions. With the issue of autonomy and independence of media, after a strong positive trend measured in the last years' research, now we have a slightly negative trend, but in this way we can see that the increase is stable to a great extent. A positive trend for the issue of existence of monopoly and independence is certainly encouraging, although this dimension is still the worst estimated.

TREND

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008
Autonomy and independence of media	54,9	55,9	55,5
Professionalism of media	58,3	59,5	61,4
Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media	55,2	51,2	53,8
Media openness	56,7	59,2	60,1

Bearing in mind a trend of value movement on this issue and from the point of view of an improvement of the situation, our attention **has to be at the first place aimed at achievement of more equal relation among media and elimination of “monopolistic“ status of some of them**, as much as it is possible. We should also act on **the field of improvement in a sphere of autonomy and independence of media, first of all, on elimination of influences which come from political parties and governing structures**. We should, however, be aware of the fact that media are not immune to the influence of governing structures in democratic systems, so that Montenegrin society cannot be an exception to that issue. Perhaps it is the best to emphasise that media today do not represent an amalgam of different influences, starting from political interests, over financial interests of media owners, to mass audience which in its turn has its own requirements connected to what it wants to find out.

6. NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

In a process of perceiving a level of democratic of one society, position of national minorities certainly holds a special place. The basic dilemma of philosophers, politicologists, sociologists and historians, is the issue of preservation of democracy in heterogeneous societies or however, whether that very mixture of national, religious and every other basis represents the essence of democracy and its *spiritus movens*. Although not directly affected by destruction, the war on the territory of ex Yugoslavia and tumultuous maturation of Montenegro as a modern state, left trace on multicultural relations within Montenegrin society.

The basis of minority politics of all democratic societies is a complete integration of minorities in a social life with further preservation and development of their national and religious particularities. In that direction, it is necessary to establish permanent communication of state bodies with representatives of all national minorities, relation of partnership with relevant international organizations and institutions and all those subjects who work in a similar field.

A stable legal position of national minorities requires that protection of their rights is an integral and functional part of the overall positive legal system, including free access to all political, social, economic, cultural and state activities, as well as a possibility of choice at all levels of social selection. Constitutional and legal solutions set the ground for the production of mechanisms which will protect individual, but also collective minority rights as well as development of the institution of affirmative action. Montenegro is in a final phase of creating a legal environment which will guarantee preservation and development of national and religious pluralism in accordance with standards of modern Europe. Without national and religious pluralism, even if there is real political pluralism, it is impossible to imagine a contemporary democratic society.

Changes which are being realised, and which are necessary, have to be an expression of ripe consciousness of a nation released from the ballast of history and prejudices. Only the changes like these can give a necessary impulse to the overall democratization of Montenegrin society. A desirable

model of social relations in multinational societies, which Montenegro is a unique example of, introduces coordination of social and political interests of different ethno cultural communities in relation to the promotion of their identity and culture as necessary.

Sufficient degree of equality, non-discrimination, tolerance, and respect of differences with the aim to establish a balance of often opposing interests of these groups and a general interest as a whole have to be realised. Ethnical differences and cultural pluralisms should be an advantage and wealth, not a basis for lack of understanding and intolerance. Animosity among ethnical groups is mainly based on the issues of narcissistic egocentrism, prejudices, stereotypes which members of different ethnic groups bear in their collective memories, and non-democratic situational context is fertile ground for their inflammation.

The issue of a social position of national minorities and a degree of their participation in political processes is certainly a question of an overall democraticity of one society. The following survey on this issue is going to show what the situation on this issue in Montenegrin society is. In order to survey a degree of democraticity in this field, we defined the following dimensions:

- Formal legal protection of minorities
- Discrimination of minorities
- Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities
- Attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information

The survey by dimensions was carried out according to standardised methodological procedure and in the same way as with the other areas, which enabled comparison of every kind. The choice of the very dimensions is theoretically as well as practically grounded where by their summarization we can reach a unique and synthetic index.

6.1. Formal legal protection of minorities

At the very beginning, our object of interest, when we discuss the issue of a social position of minority nations, is a positively legal aspect. By means of this dimension, we wanted to examine equality of national and religious minorities before the law. When we deal with this aspect, we should bear in mind that legal regulation was changed to some extent in relation to the period of the previous research. The results we obtained on the basis of the indicators which operationalise this dimension range from 3.27 to 3.59. Therefore, mean values are high for all the indicators, which generally suggest,

from the point of view of a positive law, that in the perception of the citizens national and religious minorities are to a great extent made equal with the rights of the other part of population of Montenegro.

When we talk about realisation of formal legal protection of minorities, on the level of general public opinion, there is a conviction that the best results are achieved in the areas of freedom of expression of religious belonging (3.59) and legal protection of national minorities (3.53). We record similar, still high value, for the indicator of freedom of expression of political and cultural choice of national minorities (3.51) and legal protection of religious communities (3.50). There is the lowest, but still high value, when we talk about concrete activities and measures which authorities undertake to protect minority rights (3.27).

Table 28 Formal legal protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Legal protection of national minorities	3.72	3,69	3,53	1,175
Legal protection of religious communities	3.61	3,70	3,50	1,131
Freedom of expression of religious belonging	3.70	3,71	3,59	1,098
Freedom of expression of political and cultural belonging of national minorities	3.61	3,59	3,51	1,110
Existence of concrete activities of authorities in order to protect minority rights	3.47	3,49	3,27	1,086

What we are worried about when we talk about this dimension is that there is strongly expressed negative trend in comparison to the previous research. It is easily noticed that the values are lower for all the indicators, and not only to an irrelevant extent. Thus, by evaluating each of the indicators separately, the citizens pointed out that the situation is serious, concretely according to the obtained values; we see that legal protection of religious communities recorded the biggest decrease in comparison to the previous research. These results should be understood as a suggestion for the preventive actions when we talk about formal legal protection, but it also should be emphasised that the values for all the indicators of this issue are still very high.

6.2. Discrimination of minorities

The issue of formal legal protection of minorities and the issue of different forms of discrimination are in an interfering relation. Namely, discrimination is perceived as a broader term than a positive legal structure and it can be manifested in different ways, where a large number of possibilities for discrimination stay out of legal regulation. With the aim to

survey different forms of discrimination, we defined a network of indicators which deal with them.

The obtained values range from 3.14 to 3.33 which are relatively high. The best result is achieved when we talk about the absence of discrimination of national and religious minorities by the machinery of government (offices and personnel) and state employees (3.33). The issue of equality on the occasion of employment and promotion at work of national minorities and majority nation (3.29), representative participation and promotion of national minorities in civil service (3.25) as well as impartiality of judiciary authority in processes which national and religious minorities take part in (3.24) are also highly estimated. Activities of the courts from the point of view of impartiality, were evaluated fairly well (3.20), whereas taking care of the regions where minorities live is on the last, but still a satisfactory level (3.14).

Table 29 Discrimination of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Equality of national minorities and majority nation on the occasion of employment and promotion	3.54	3,47	3,29	1,189
Representative participation and promotion at work of national minorities in civil service	3.46	3,41	3,25	1,142
Impartiality of judiciary in processes which national and religious minorities take part in	3.17	3,30	3,24	1,105
Relation of trust towards authorities that there won't be any discrimination of national minorities in a court trial	3.30	3,19	3,20	1,097
Absence of discrimination of national and religious minorities by state offices and officials	3.42	3,38	3,33	1,145
State care for economic and social development of the regions where national and religious minorities live	3.25	3,25	3,14	1,093

It is a fact that all the obtained values are very close one to another, and that in relation to the other dimensions they are on a high level. However, the trend shows that only when we talk about the issue of trust towards authorities that there won't be any discrimination of national minorities in court trials, we record an insignificant improvement. Therefore, in relation to all the indicators we record fall of values, and that fall is the easiest to be seen with equality of minorities and majority nation on the occasion of employment

and promotion at work, and representative participation and promotion at work of national minorities in civil services.

6.3. Existence of mechanisms for minority protection

In the essence of every democratic society, there are, first of all, developed institutions and built mechanisms which guarantee democraticity in every single segment of a social life. It is responsibility of the majority to build mechanisms for promotion and protection of national and religious minorities, because minorities can act as a factor of connection of mutual understanding and creativity, only if they are in the position to act freely.

Our intention was to find out to what extent Montenegrin state and society has come on the plan of development of the above mentioned mechanisms, which are used for production of equality resting on the citizens' perception of that process.

The highest value this time we record for the issue of the existence of public reaction to the cases of minority rights violation (3.34), the second position with almost the same value is for the degree of development of civil society institutions which protect national and minority rights (3.32). A degree of development of state institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities is highly estimated (3.28). There is a slightly lower level for the issue of readiness and capability of authorities to protect national and religious rights protection in all parts of the country (3.22), whereas the lowest, but still high value got the state for the efficiency of state apparatus in cases of national minority rights violation (3.13).

Table 30 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Degree of development of state institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities	3.48	3,42	3,28	1,083
Degree of development of civil society institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities	3.40	3,40	3,32	1,059
Existence of public reactions to the cases of minority rights violation	3.35	3,38	3,34	1,066
Readiness and ability of authorities to protect rights of national and religious minorities in all parts of the country	3.36	3,34	3,22	1,113
Efficiency of a state apparatus in cases of violation of national minorities rights	3.23	3,23	3,13	1,143

Similarly to the previous dimensions of national and religious minorities, the trend shows a strongly noticeable fall of the values. We record the biggest fall with the issue of readiness and ability of authorities to protect rights of national and religious minorities in all parts of the country, as well as with a degree of development of institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities. A negative trend with those two indicators clearly point to dissatisfaction of the citizens with work of state bodies when we talk about these areas.

6.4. Relation of the majorities towards minorities and correctness of public information

Correctness of public information is extremely important, especially in the process of prevention of prejudices and judgements without any grounding, which often appear as a burden to normal communication and relation among different communities. These relations are first of all reflected by means of relationship between a state and media, since exactly those two institutions represent dominant attitudes of the majority nation. Bearing this in mind, we decided to carry out the survey of this dimension too, because it is very important in the area of democraticity of social relations when we talk about status of national minorities.

Four basic indicators were defined and the range of surveyed values is from 3.26 to 3.44. Namely, the best estimated is the value for participation of national and religious minorities in activities of the organizations which protect minority rights (3.44). This value is significantly bigger than the values of the remaining three indicators, which were also highly estimated. Absence of animosity speech in media towards national and religious minorities (3.34) follows, then participation and state support to the actions which provide better treatment of national and religious minorities (3.30). We got the lowest value, but still a good one like with the previous three values, for help of the state in realisation of contacts and giving stimuli to cooperation between national minorities and the home country (3.26).

Table 31 Attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Absence of animosity speech in media towards national and religious minorities	3,32	3,31	3,34	1,158
Help of authorities in realisation of contacts and giving stimuli to cooperation between national minorities and home country	3,38	3,41	3,26	1,055
Participation and state support to the actions which provide better treatment of national and religious minorities	3,39	3,46	3,30	1,068
Participation of national and religious minorities in activities of the organizations which protect their rights	3,65	3,66	3,44	1,045

In comparison to the previous research, we see that a negative trend is expressed most for the issue of help of authorities in realisation of contacts and giving stimuli to cooperation between national minorities and home country and for participation and support of the state to actions which provide better treatment of national and religious minorities. Only when we talk about absence of animosity speech, we see that there is a positive shift, whereas in all other cases there is a negative trend, that is the citizens think that in those areas it has not been done enough on the plan of improvement of the social position of national minorities.

6.5. Summary indices for social position of national and religious minorities

What we are to do now is to perceive, through a summary of the obtained values, a degree of realised democraticity when we talk about national and religious minorities area. Also, we are going to carry out the comparison of new results to the results of the previous research, separately by dimensions, as well as survey of a trend for the previous three years.

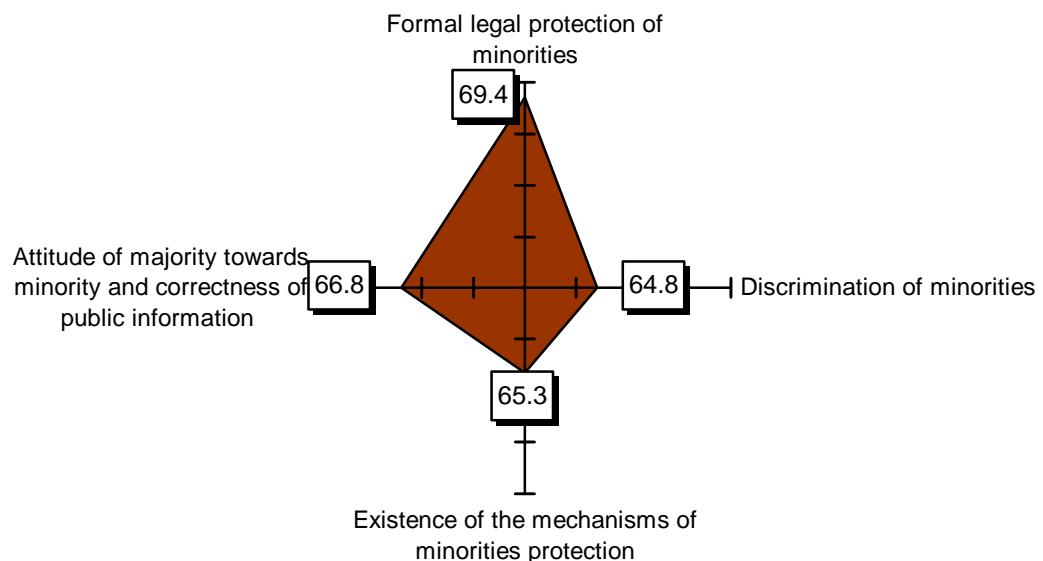
The newest range of values when we talk about democraticity in the area of national and religious minorities, expressed through the values of some dimensions, is from 64.8 to 69.4. It is a fact that the obtained results are above the majority of those we recorded by surveying other areas.

The highest value was recorded for formal legal protection of minorities (69.4), a lot lower, but still a solid value was obtained for the

attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information (66.8). The issue of existence of the mechanisms for minority's protection follows (65.3), whereas we recorded the lowest value for the issue of discrimination of minorities.

Table 32 Democraticity in the area of national and religious minorities – summary by dimensions

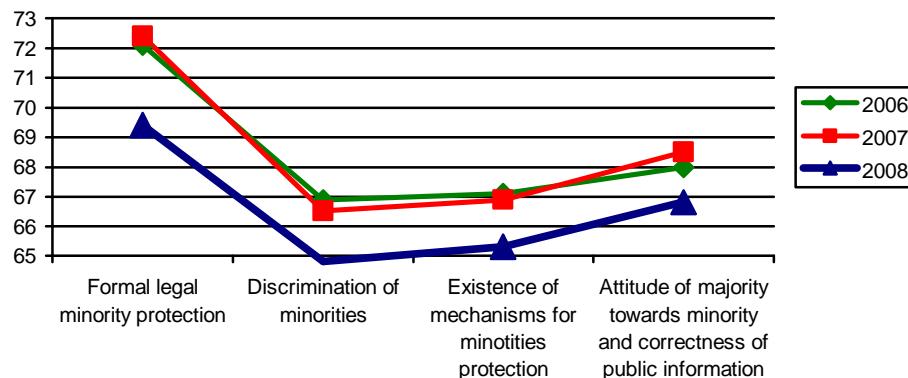
Dimensions	2007	2008	SD
Formal legal protection of minorities	72,4	69,4	19,73
Discrimination of minorities	66,5	64,8	19,64
Existence of the mechanisms for minority protection	66,9	65,3	19,41
Attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information	68,5	66,8	18,22



Therefore, when we look at the results of our research for the previous three years, we notice that our latest research points to a list of worrying data. First of all, a negative trend is present in each of these dimensions, and also that number is not insignificant, but the opposite, that trend is not insignificant, but much emphasised.

TREND

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008
Formal legal protection of minorities	72,1	72,4	69,4
Discrimination of minorities	66,9	66,5	64,8
Absence of mechanisms for minority protection	67,1	66,9	65,3
Attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information	68,0	68,5	66,8



Further on, we notice that a decrease of the obtained values is equal in each of those dimensions and this shows that on the whole they in an *equally bad position* when we talk about the social position of national and religious minorities. However, first of all we can identify a significant fall of the values in the area of formal legal protection of minorities. Also, there is a negative trend in two areas throughout three year period and this fact calls for caution.

Nevertheless, on the whole, the values we obtained for the social position of national and religious minorities are still on a solid, and it can be said on a high level. At this moment, although the situation is far from being alarming, attention should be paid to the issue of **discrimination of minorities, discrimination in the sense broader than its positive legal definition as well as to the issue of development of mechanisms for protection of minorities in Montenegrin society**. Finally, taking into consideration all the particularities of Montenegrin society we emphasise the following: the issue of national and religious minorities can be solved only by an active dialogue and participation of minorities, because any other solution is a solution without any chance to be of a long-term character.

7. SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN

In democracy, where all the citizens are respected and equal, women have an equally important role as the role of men. Women comprise a bit more than half of the world population, and with this fact in mind, societies are more righteous, democracy stronger, when women take part in all aspects of political life. The issue of gender equality and of a social position of women in one society is one of the basic issues. It is hard to build a democratic society successfully, if the issue of a social position of women is not solved in accordance with standards of the contemporary world and contextual, cultural, social and economic particularities. Quality of democracy in one state defines to a great extent relations within the state itself. Democracy today means a lot more than democratic institutions, free and fair elections; therefore, if the access to the process of making decisions is limited, denied or forbidden to women, democracy is just a dead letter. Individual initiatives cannot be enough gaining consciousness in respect to the needs of gender equality should pervade a society on the whole, all levels of making decisions and especially political activities. Process of implementation of gender equality into all area of social, and in that way of political activities, should be perceived as generally accepted social value which directs to a redefinition of relations within a society and in this way at the same time to coming closer to solutions which will be in accordance with standards of contemporary Europe.

It is a fact that a female issue, theoretical establishing of a gender, definition of particularities of a female point of view and especially the need for political articulation of gender equality as the basis of every democratic society, take an important part of local, international and global intellectual space. Transition of societies also includes transition of a social position of women, the way of articulation of a female issue and particularities of a female point of view. We should especially take into account the transitional character of Montenegrin society, namely the five year experience of carrying out reforms show that systematic economic reforms affect women more than men. Women are far more sensitive to negative effects of transition such as losing a job, losing rights acquired in the previous period and reduction of a social role of a state because of a double role at a job and in a family, growing discrimination, strengthening of patriarchal values and because of the omission of a state to protect vulnerable groups by legislation or by some other means.

This aspect was certainly specific also from the point of view of methodology we had defined. Gender relationship and gender inequality, which definitely exist in Montenegro, in its subjective transcription gets different meaning and it is certain that a possibility of objective assessment under those circumstances is limited. Genders as sexually defined habituses represent basic entity division which is socio-cultural by its nature, and at the same time it is “naturally” based on biological differences. This shows that a possibility of perception of gender differences is significantly limited by value-conceptual apparatus which is gender constructed. Thus, it is completely understandable that in gender theory, before every assessment of a social position of women, there is a demand for the process of gender deconstruction at levels of culture and consciousness, by means of which necessary but not sufficient conditions for objective assessment are created.

Anyway, it is not possible to exclude the issue of gender inequality from the Index, and we also could not apply alternative methodological procedures for this area. In other words, being conscious of all the limitations of our methodology in connection to gender problems, we conducted a survey for this area also, complementary to the other areas. Our findings about gender equality which we had before this survey, were more than just indicative data we had obtained in previous pieces of research by surveying socio-economic index, as well as on the basis of comparative data of UNDP (GDI and GEI), which showed that Montenegro was characterised by serious gender imbalance as a result of traditional inheritance and authoritarian culture. Therefore, the data we present on this occasion are related to only one dimension of the survey, and that is perception of gender inequality in the light of which the obtained results should be understood.

Therefore, when we talk about a social position of women, from the point of view of citizens of Montenegro, we obtained the following results. We record the biggest value for non-existence of animosity speech against women in media (3.75). There is slightly lower, but still very high value, for organizations which protect women's rights (3.69), which is an encoring fact because the influence and the role of those organizations are very important for establishing of a gender balance in Montenegrin society. When we talk about equal participation of women in all aspects of social life (3.12) and non-existence of discrimination of women in companies, institutions and organizations (3.11), rather high values were obtained. They are almost identical, which does not coincide with the often repeated appeals for the need of improvement of the situation in this area by subjects professionally involved in this issue. There is also a very high value for non-existence of discrimination of women on the occasions of employment and promotion at work (3.07), as well as when we talk about participation of women in different

forms of authority (3.05). We record the lowest value when we talk about discrimination of women in their families (2.76), which is a very interesting datum, that is, it shows that the citizens, in spite of a strong influence of traditional forms of opinion, still perceive a difficult position of women in Montenegrin family today.

Table 33 Social position of women-survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Equal participation of women in all aspects of a social life	3.08	2,99	3,12	1,203
Equal participation of women in authorities' bodies	2.92	2,89	3,05	1,217
Non-existence of discrimination of women on the occasion of employment and promotion at work	3.11	3,10	3,07	1,212
Non-existence of discrimination of women in companies, institutions and organizations	3.12	3,15	3,11	1,191
Non-existence of discrimination of women in families	2.64	2,64	2,76	1,216
Activities of organizations and institutions which protect women's rights	3.70	3,73	3,69	1,000
Non-existence of animosity speech towards women in media	3.79	3,85	3,75	1,052

In comparison to the previous research, we can see that there is the biggest shift in the perception of equal participation of women in all aspects of social life and of equal participation of women in authorities. Also, when we talk about discrimination of women in families, there is a positive trend, although it is, as we have already seen, still the lowest value when we talk about this indicator. We record a slight fall for non-existence of discrimination of women on the occasion of employment and promotion at work, non-existence of discrimination of women in companies, institutions and organizations, non-existence of discrimination of women in families, activities of organizations and institutions which protect rights of women, as well as for non-existence of animosity speech towards women in media. Although we can notice a negative trend for these indicators, the values we obtained are still at a very high level.

Extremely high values, especially for Montenegrin circumstances, show that the citizens are still not aware of the seriousness of a problem of a social position of women in Montenegro. It is certain, however, that a social position

of women is still to the greatest extent **endangered in family relationships and that issue should represent a priority in respect to future activities which have a goal to establish an overall gender balance.** The second position on a priority list is held by measurements with the aim to achieve **more equal participation of women in authorities' bodies, bearing in mind that present proportions are far from equality, as well as elimination of the most often forms of discrimination women face with.** Improvement of women's social position should be perceived from the point of view of starting all social mechanisms which systematically reproduce inequality, and at the same time, first of all we mean those mechanisms which are extremely strong and empirically untouchable. Here we should take into account tradition as a guardian of inequality as well as the overall symbolical communication which is based on masculine formulas.

Finally, we will remind that healthy, lasting democracy means a competitive multi-party political system based on responsibility, transparency and representativity. There is no doubt that the condition of representativity cannot be fulfilled if there is no significant roles of women in the process of making decisions. It is a fact that, at a global level, in the previous 25 years, an important increase of political mobilization of women and their active contribution to the creation of democracies all over the world happened. This positive trend coincided to a great extent with what in the theory of international relations is called *The third wave of democratization*. We hope that Montenegro will also have better results in its political reality soon in relation to political representation of women, as well as when we talk about a social position of women in general.

8. ATTITUDE TOWARDS PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

People with special needs live in all societies in the world, in war and in peace. On the Balkans, where both social systems and societies are still in different phases of democratic consolidation, community care about human rights and special needs of these people is still on an unsatisfactory level. Struggle for these people's rights is an inseparable part of a struggle for general improvement of a society and for realisation of human rights on the whole. Democraticity of a society depends to a great extent on the attitude towards people with special needs, and it is very important that every social dimension and structure give positive impulses in this direction. Without an interaction of all the subjects, including citizens individually, with the aim to improve the situation in this area, no society, according to the standards of contemporary era, can plead to be democratic.

Attitude towards the disabled is not just a question of democraticity, but also the question of humanity in the broadest sense. A society cannot be considered humane and neither democratic if its members do not show empathy and do not give support to people who have a social need like the disabled people do. The experience in this area has shown that a problem in this respect mainly consists of the fact that the disabled people are "invisible" for the public, and a possibility of an objective perception of this problem is limited. This fact is especially true for traditional, in their essence closed cultures, and this is the case with Montenegro. In a constellation like this, it is not rare to treat the problem of the disabled as the problem of that individual family, where public emphasis of this problem is considered as inappropriate. All this speaks in favour of a thesis of invisibility of the disabled and of a limited perception of the totality of this problem on a wider social plan. The obtained results should be observed through the fact of a limited perception in connection to the totality of this problem in Montenegrin society.

On the basis of the results of our research, we can point out that there is a strongly expressed conviction of citizens of Montenegro that there is an adequate legal protection of the disabled (3.49), that the educational system provides necessary knowledge for the disabled people and for children with

special needs (3.44), as well as that there are services and institutions which protect rights of the disabled (3.42) in an appropriate way. We record a slightly lower value for the existence of concrete actions of authorities with the aim to protect the disabled (3.25), but still a very high value, as well as when we talk about non-existence of discrimination of the disabled (3.06). In respect to other values, when we talk about treatment of these people in media (2.89), as well as to what extent school objects are adapted to the needs of disabled children, the values are not satisfactory (2.84), and it shows in which direction we should primarily act.

Table 34 Attitude towards the disabled –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	SD
Existence of legal protection of the disabled	3.39	3,42	3,49	1,056
Existence of concrete actions of authorities for the protection of the disabled	3.15	3,13	3,25	1,121
Non-existence of discrimination of the disabled	3.03	3,02	3,06	1,168
Existence of services and institutions which protect rights of the disabled	3.38	3,40	3,42	1,067
Educational system provides necessary knowledge for the disabled and children with special needs	3.48	3,45	3,44	1,048
Extent of adaptability of school objects to disabled children and children with special needs	2.78	2,81	2,84	1,155
Presence and appropriate treatment of the disabled in media	2.59	2,71	2,89	1,140

Making observations about a trend, we record the improvement of the obtained values almost in every dimension. We notice the most important positive trend for the presence and appropriate treatment of the disabled in media as well as for the value of the system of legal protection of the disabled. A slightly negative trend is present only when we talk about educational system, but it is negligible, and it is the indicator where we obtained the highest value in our research.

The experience of developed democracies has shown that a state is capable of developing of a whole set of mechanisms which can have a beneficial influence on significant improvement of a social position of the disabled. In this sense, also, we should bear in mind that a society of a real socialism period made a big effort to overcome the barriers and obstacles which led to discrimination of these people. Anyway, it is certain that in this

respect, there is always more than enough space for further advancement and improvement.

Therefore, strictly speaking on the basis of the results of our research, we can say that with the aim to improve the situation in this area **it is necessary to take certain measures and act efficiently in order to adapt school objects to disabled children and to children with special needs, but also to undertake the activities in a way so that media have more understanding and a more active role in promotion of an equal treatment of the disabled.** It seems that fulfilment of recommendations in this area is not extraordinarily expensive, and they are certainly not especially demanding, so that there are no reasons for not making a step forward.

If we go back to the introductory words about what the main problem with this dimension is, we will point out that what is the most necessary is to be able to see and hear, because it is the only way we can change something. The biggest danger for realisation of absolutely necessary changes lies in an ignoring attitude, and it should be changed so that we could improve democraticity of a contemporary Montenegrin society through this dimension also. The disabled comprise approximately 10 per cent of every population, and 20 per cent of the poor population. A basic source of discrimination of the disabled lies in their exclusion from social, economic and political life. Montenegro is not an exception here, it is necessary to start a set of activities with the aim to affirm further and deeper the concept of a social model of disability, which in its transcription includes a change of a society which has to become inclusive for everyone.

9. DEMOCRACY INDEX – SUMMARY

The latest results we obtained in our third research give us right to point out that Montenegrin society, although “young” and at the same time burdened by its past, with distinctive elements of pre-modern traditionalism, is on the right way of democratization of social relations. We can also conclude that there is a noticeable progress in some areas, but there is stagnation or regression in the others, results of the Index 2008 actually *mapped* our way, clearly identifying key problems to be solved in order to speed up the process of creation of a democratic society.

It is obvious that, on the basis of the results of the survey, the citizens do not perceive certain areas of social life as seriously deficient from the standpoint of democraticity; first of all, when we talk about a social position of minorities, with respect to the obtained value which is (66.4). If we have in mind direct history of the area which Montenegro geographically belongs to, burdened with national conflicts, this result gets special weight. There is no doubt that certain efforts which are being made in a field of respect of minorities are perceived as such by the general public opinion, and it is where an extremely high value comes from. The next area which is assessed with a high positive value is education (64.7). Positive inheritance from the period of real-socialism here certainly played an important role, although it is very probable that the citizens also perceive the efforts which are being made in the field of a reform of education at present, so that all this contributed to this positive “rating” of education from the standpoint of democraticity.

On the basis of comparative data, a social position of women is highly estimated (63.9), but we should bear in mind all the limitations which exist in this case. We, of course, think of the fact that there is a disbalance of perception and reality, which is a consequence of the very nature of gender supremacy immanent to Montenegrin society. Cultural patterns and not balanced criteria of estimation certainly caused a lot higher values in this respect than reality deserves. Although, and maybe because of that, at the level of general public opinion, there is no perception of a problem when we talk about the social position of women, this issue should get special attention in the future. The issue of the social position of the disabled is relatively positively estimated (63.8) by examinees. Here we also have to be aware of the

fact that tradition of Montenegrin society to a great extent hides lives of the disabled, so that this high value should be accepted with some reservation.

We have a halfway result when we talk about media (57.9). On the basis of the survey we conducted in this area, it is clear that public opinion perceives the existence of a problem of equality, autonomy and independence of media from the pressure and influence which come from the parties, political and other organizations and centres of power. There is more than enough space for correction in this area, starting from legal regulative to activities of institutions of a civil society.

When we come to the areas where unsatisfactory results were obtained, we start from the dimension of rule of the law where the obtained value (54.4) points to a clear necessity of correction. Simply speaking, rule of the law in Montenegro is not on a satisfactory level, and this is obviously perceived by the citizens, and the biggest problem, in their opinion, represents **unprofessional and inefficient juridical system**. Here we established a fact, through the results of the survey that **it is in a direct connection to a high degree of presence of corruption and acting in the interest of individuals and groups**. Therefore it is necessary to pay more attention to this widespread and especially difficult problem with a remark that its solution asks for a systematic approach, measures of continuous activities and mobilization of the entire society with the aim to start positive processes in solving this problem.

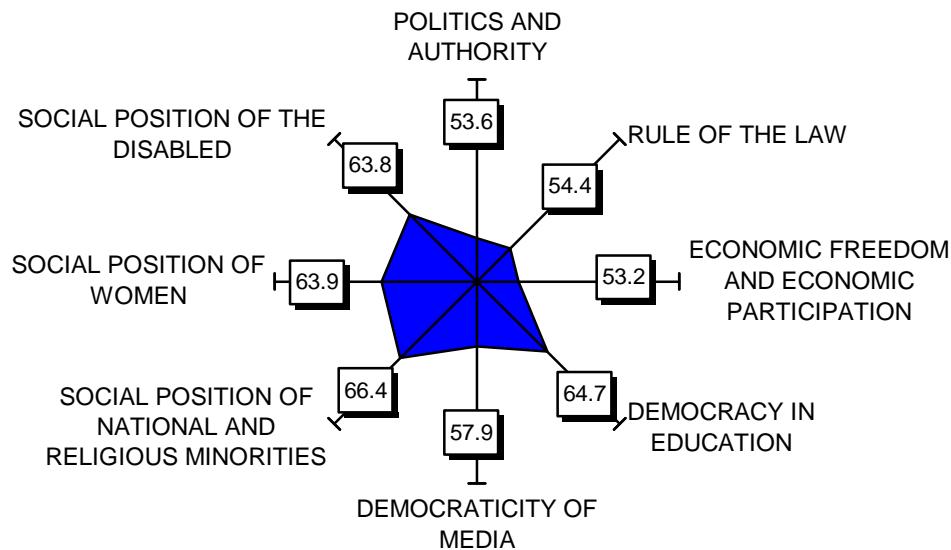
Unsatisfactory value was recorded also for the area of politics and authority (53.6). This clearly shows that what was done in the field of democratization of political processes is not enough and that a reform of political system is one of the key obstacles to development of democratic relations in Montenegro. The citizens perceive non-existence of appropriate control and legality of work of the authorities as the biggest problem where again by further analysis of this issue we find a clear manifestation of corruption and crime in some structures of authorities, as well as the absence of efficient civil control of authorities. Certainly, those phenomena are common to all transitional societies and they should be given priority in respect to the necessary correction. Therefore, priorities in respect to **democratization of Montenegrin society have to be directed towards political field and undertaking measures which would enhance control and legality of authorities**.

We find the worst results, when the summary is in question, with the issue of economic freedom and economic participation (53.2). Analysis of the sphere of economics shows that the citizens think that the realised results are far from democratic standards valid for this area, **and that the biggest problem is absence of economic equality and autonomy of companies**. This

was, first of all, caused by existence of monopolies protected by state, by influence of individual and party interests on companies, as well as by influence of the state and authorities in discrimination of some and favouring of some other companies. Thus, we should react to this situation with maximum attention, and take measures to provide higher degree of autonomy and equality of companies.

Table 35 DEMOCRACY INDEX

AREAS	N	K	SD
POLITICS AND AUTHORITY	811	53,6	18,18
RULE OF THE LAW	808	54,4	18,31
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	807	53,2	17,20
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	807	64,7	17,17
DEMOCRATICITY OF MEDIA	798	57,9	17,82
SOCIAL POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	785	66,4	18,22
SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN	791	63,9	18,81
SOCIAL POSITION OF THE DISABLED	763	63,8	19,11



³When we talk about trend (the following table), the latest research brought some new moments which all the participants on a social stage must bear in their minds. Situation is in the process of stagnation in the area of education, social position of women, social position of the disabled and in the area of media. This datum shows that there were no necessary corrections last year or not in sufficient quantity so that the citizens did not experience them sufficiently.3 we noted positive changes in the fields of politics and authority, rule of the law, as well as in the field of economic freedom and economic participation. These indices really instil optimism when we talk about development of democratic capacities of Montenegrin society, but again with a remark that there is still a lot of space and need for improvement. What is extremely negative is a social position of national and religious minorities, the only area where we *caught* a negative trend. This fact should lead to much more active activities of bearers of authorities and all the subjects involved in the process of solving problems which minority communities face in Montenegro, with respect to the multiculturalism as recognisable fact and special *wealth* of Montenegro.

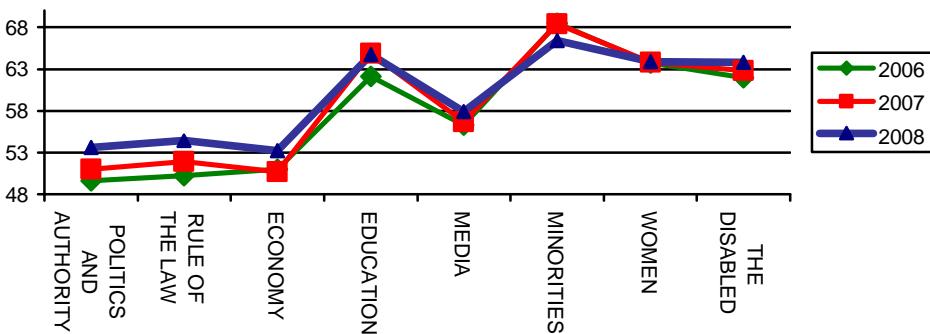
TREND

	2006	2007	2008	Z STAT
POLITICS AND AUTHORITY	49,6	51,0	53,6	4,06*
RULE OF THE LAW	50,2	51,9	54,4	3,91*
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	51,0	50,7	53,2	4,10*
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	62,1	64,9	64,7	-0,33
DEMOCRATICITY OF MEDIA	56,3	56,7	57,9	1,91
SOCIAL POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	68,5	68,4	66,4	3,08*
SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN	63,7	63,8	63,9	0,15
SOCIAL POSITION OF THE DISABLED	62,0	62,8	63,8	1,45

* p < 0,01

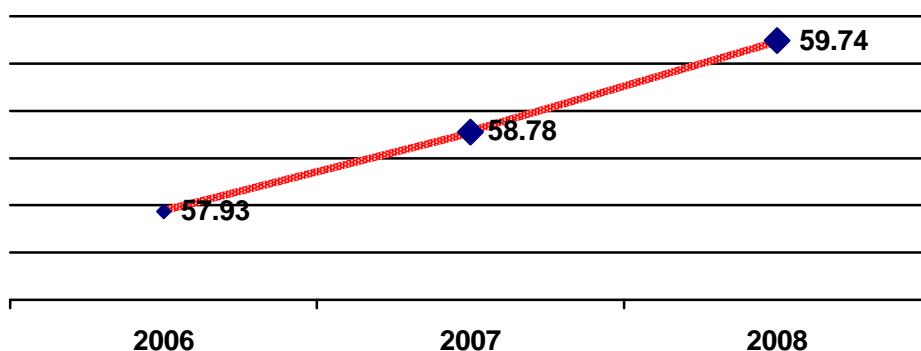
³ Changes of the values in these areas which we see in the table are not on the level of necessary statistical importance

DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND BY AREAS



At the end however, it should be emphasised that Montenegrin society has made some progress to a certain extent, when the overall Democracy Index 2008 is in question.

DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND



Quick transformation from one-party to multi-party system, privatization and market reforms which unavoidably created social inequalities, and negative inheritance of authoritarian past, represent the obstacles which cannot be bypassed and jumped over, but the entire society has to struggle with them in all the areas. For successful democratization of Montenegrin society, all social institutions should be mobilised as well as organizations of civil society, and the citizens at all levels. We hope that, with our work and further following of democracy index in Montenegro, we will contribute to identification of the points which ask for future efforts in this respect.

Finally, one of the biggest problems Montenegro faces is the obvious absence of social and political consensus which would calm down the situation on a divided political scene and which would, in the spirit of cooperation and identification of common goals, lead to continuous progress of the overall democratization of Montenegrin society. Although a referendum process is over and positively estimated from the point of view of democraticity, and this ended one significant chapter, divisions in Montenegrin society has not disappeared but they have disassembled to a number of questions, each of which requires a high degree of tolerance and readiness to compromise. Time in that regard is a limited resource, because the generations to come will have less and less understanding for higher historical goals, and more and more an unambiguous need for life in a democratic and developed society.