

DEMOCRACY INDEX MONTENEGRO 2009

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Project:

DEMOCRACY INDEX MONTENEGRO 2009

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ABOUT THE PROJECT

BY THE COORDINATOR

A period we realized this INDEX in, was characterized first of all by economic crisis of Montenegrin society. During realization of the previous INDEX, the crisis also knocked at the door of Montenegrin society and influenced crucial economic indices. This time, the crisis moved into companies and homes of Montenegrin citizens, and it has certainly caused troubles to the Montenegrin government as well, which by a method of 'extinguishing fire' is trying to solve newly created problems. There are four key problems the Government is facing, in the economic sense. First, it is a budget deficit, since budget receipts are not in the slightest in accordance with what has been planned. A problem like this is especially emphasized in a small system as Montenegro is, simply because importance and 'price' of government apparatus and all institutions financed from the budget is significantly bigger in comparison to bigger social systems. The second problem is a lack of investments of all forms, especially direct foreign investments, which were counted on as important driving force of economic development. In this way, a lack of money inflow, which was one of crucial driving forces in the previous period, seriously shook set economic goals. The third problem certainly is a lack of banks' credit potential, which cannot follow the firms and their ambitious projects. Consequently, it has led to making money itself more expensive and endangered profitability of the projects the private sector counted on. The fourth, and in this macroeconomic point of view the last, a chronic problem of high foreign trade deficit is still present, and it is a much bigger problem now in the light of the fact that the present deficit is disproportional at the expense of capital expenditures.

Bad economic situation, as it is known according to the laws of

sociology, has flown into the social level. Therefore, the crises is not only economic, but also a social one. Protests of workers, strikes, and open demonstration of workers' discontent, continuous negotiations with the Government and owners of the companies are a part of Montenegrin everyday events. In this respect, the problem is the most emphasized with few big companies, which, for Montenegrin standards, employ a large number of people, first of all 'Aluminum Plant' ('Kombinat aluminijuma'), an urgent and difficult to be solved problem of Montenegrin economy. However, besides big systems, social crisis is also present in a private sector, and together with a problem of budget deficit, it's a matter of time when the same problem will be reflected in the public sector as well.

However, disregarding all economic and social problems, the ruling DPS, in a coalition with SDP and some other minority parties, won Parliamentary elections held in March 2009 convincingly, more precisely, never so easily or more convincingly won the absolute majority. This situation does not have to be perceived as a curiosity in the light of economic crisis and described social problems following this crisis. In parliamentary democratic practice, in a large number of cases in history, the government in economic crisis has often won the elections, more precisely, during quiet times and periods of economic prosperity, change of authorities happens more often than in periods of crisis. Also, when we talk about Montenegro, it is not a curiosity any more that DPS has continuity of government and winning all the elections held up to now. What, however, is a curiosity, at the same time a topic for serious contemplation, is the very fact that there has been no change of authority in Montenegro for the last twenty years. We emphasised this issue in the previous INDEX as well and pointed out its importance. A question which is behind this issue, and questions of all questions, when we talk about Montenegrin democracy is, **is the authority in Montenegro changeable?** Does unchangeability of authority in Montenegro speaks about not democratic character of the regime, or that the citizens support current authorities because they are satisfied with them or perhaps because there is no worthy alternative to the current authorities? This is one of the questions where qualitative estimation of a state of democracy in Montenegrin society depends on its answer.

Anyway, we have a continuity of authorities in Montenegro. This continuity undoubtedly also has its negative sides. Due to symbiosis

of political and economic elite formed as a consequence of oligarchic clientelism in the initial phase of transition, continuity of authorities shows signs of 'material fatigue' and insufficient personnel circulation within the ruling structure, and also certain vacillations and conflicts within the structure of authority itself. In other words, continuation of conflicts within the governing structure itself should be expected, since 'a cake' is becoming smaller and smaller for a growing number of authority members whose appetite has become stronger. Also, omnipotency of authorities creates high level of animosity from the opposingly oriented political and broader public. This animosity should be understood since it is a result of a limited possibility of their political penetration and influence on that part of the public which supports the present government. Currently, in this light, opposing parties are not so serious opponents of the government as some other structures are. We have a situation like this simply because the opposition is in a state of a double 'knock down', both because of lost presidential elections and severe defeat on parliamentary elections. There are three driving forces of serious opposition of the government in Montenegro today. Firstly, it is that part of financial elite which is not inside the ruling structure or became 'alienated' from this structure in the previous period. This alternative financial elite acts in a symbiosis with a couple of influential media in Montenegro and represents an opponent who, in some scenarios, could seriously shake the ruling DPS. Secondly, it is dissatisfaction itself, not as a group of workers who protest, but as an everyday fact of a social life which has broad support of the public. The third is a part of NGO sector which acts explicitly politically and opposingly, and has financial support of a part of a world community. Their influence and activities should be perceived first of all in the light of inefficient activities of political opposition, whereas in fact here we have political party activity in a form of NGO sector. They, therefore clearly, undoubtedly and openly have replacement of the ruling DPS as a platform of their own activity, and in this respect, they should analytically be understood more through a prism of alternative political parties activity, than through reformist NGO sector. Those three structures of serious political opposition of current government still does not act together, but in time, symbiosis is becoming more and more obvious, especially between media and a part of NGO sector. The aim of this analysis is not to give political or value qualifications, more precisely, to say whether

it is good or bad, but the aim is to clarify position and activity of key political actors in Montenegro.

Therefore, today in Montenegro we still have the omnipotent authorities, weak opposition and a loud intensive minority which disputes legitimacy of the authorities. The citizens, faced with a large number of social and economic problems which amount to 'survival' in the time of crisis, are somewhere 'between' or it is better to say 'behind' them. Not rarely it can be heard in public that citizens of Montenegro are not 'competent' enough in respect to realization of their democratic capacities, more precisely, it is claimed that they are victims of manipulation and that they represent 'a polling machine' for DPS. This statement, which is a resultant of frustration with defeat on the elections, is not only wrong but also dangerous. On the basis of all research surveys CEDEM conducted in the last ten years, when we talk about Montenegrin citizens, it can be said that citizens of Montenegro are not only well informed above average, but also that they can estimate political situation very well and that they understand personal benefits which are results of their decisions. This is one of the lessons which dissatisfied political opposition has to understand if it wants to make changes on political scene. Thus, the problem is not that the citizens have been manipulated or not educated, or that they do not understand what the opposition offers, but the problem is that the citizens themselves do not see a worthy political alternative, and they behave conservatively, because they estimate that a political alternative on the political market is unclear and confusing.

Those statements about political opposition in Montenegro certainly do not abolish ruling political elite from responsibility for negative phenomena which cannot and must not be ignored. Inefficient and bureaucratized institutions, nepotism, clientism, corruption and irresponsibility are just some of the characteristics of continuity of DPS rule. Equally true is the fact that since there is no strong political alternative on a political scene, it does not mean that those negative phenomena should not be fought against by all available means. What is a methodological issue in fact is crucial: **should the strength be directed to a reform of institutions of the system taking them as they are, or a condition for every reform is change of authorities in Montenegro?** Therefore, are we going to fix the existing institutions diligently or we are going to do everything to change the authorities, with the argument that under conditions of DPS rule we

cannot carry out any reform, simply because the ruling elite does not want to, or we are going to uncompromisingly enter a project of 'demolishing DPS'. We do not offer an answer to this question; we are leaving it to all political and social actors to decide according to their own estimates. However, what we insist on, in the analytical sense, is 'disjunction', namely, we cannot work on fixing the institutions and changing of authorities, because one excludes the other! Fixing institutions is a very difficult and strenuous job, and it excludes broader political activities on the project such as 'change of the government'. If the second option is chosen, change of government as a condition for changes, then, projects of improving institutions cannot be worked on, because that same government which leads the institutions will not be cooperative towards those who want to destroy it. We do not condemn any political actors in this way, but we are trying to light up some of their possible choices and political paths in a given constellation of political conditions.

Taking a broader view, social reforms in Montenegro have certain dynamics and direction. That direction is primarily a resultant of one significant political project of the current government, and that is integration in EU. There is no doubt that ruling political elite is honest in their intention to integrate Montenegro in EU. It seems that they experience it as a crown of their long-standing rule and equally as justification for all failures on the way. This is a crucial reason why almost all structures of authority and administrative capacities are directed towards achieving progress in all areas where compliance with EU standards is needed. In this respect, formal progress is crucial as far as they are concerned, whereas there is a lack of essential progress. Therefore, laws and regulations are passed, but they often do not give the desired results. The ruling elite, however, does not worry much about this. They leave it to the institutions themselves to bring their practice in compliance with the passed laws and coordinate it with standards as they know and as they can. Anyway, this model proved as more or less efficient, because it cannot be said that there is no progress at all, in spite of all the problems and not rarely revindicative requests. Therefore, it is analytical estimation that this and such omnipotent authorities have sincere and clear intention to integrate Montenegro in EU, and that this fact leads to positive reformist trends on all levels of society, with a remark that these changes are not fast and efficient enough.

*It seems that everything mentioned above is an integral part of correct understanding of results of a state of democracy survey in our last INDEX. The easiest way to understand these results can be expressed in one word: **stagnation**. The citizens estimate that in the previous period there was no progress in five out of eight measured areas of a state of democracy. However, there were **negative trends** in three areas, and they are areas of a social position of national and religious minorities, social position of women and social position of the disabled. Thus, these data show that **there are reasons for concern when we talk about further advance of democratic reforms in Montenegro**. In this respect, a fact that research surveys were conducted in the period when economic crisis had already seriously shaken Montenegrin economy, certainly cannot justify inefficiency of reforms in Montenegrin society. On the contrary, economic crisis should be one reason more and not less to make additional efforts in order to improve all crucial institutions of democratic society, and in that way contribute to more efficient solution of economic problems. A careful reader, in the analysis of INDEX, will not miss that in certain aspects surveyed by indicators, significant changes were recorded, and they are in some cases progressive and in some of them regressive. Thus, besides the surveyed areas themselves, which represent an aggregate survey model, INDEX offers a large quantities of analytical information which not only give answers to understanding data and trends in the surveyed areas of democracy, but also show to what extent and in which segments there were positive or negative trends. We encourage exactly this way of using INDEX, since it is the right way to direct activities of institutions and individuals to the path of the overall improvement of a state of democracy.*

Finally, as a coordinator, first of all I want to thank a large number of citizens of Montenegro, who as they always do, showed their cooperativeness in conducted surveys and who are certainly a key partner to CEDEM in realisation of its mission on Montenegrin social and political scene. I also have to express my gratitude to all the members of the CEDEM team who contributed to successful realisation of this year's INDEX. First of all, I am indebted to Srdjan Darmanovic, President of CEDEM, for his help and support, and who by his authority and support gave significant contribution to successful realisation of the whole project. I am also grateful to CEDEM Executive Director, Nenad Koprivica, who

neatly and accurately monitored project realisation in all its phases. A great contribution to successful realisation of INDEX was given by Maja Corovic, who fulfilled all expectations in respect to numerous aspects of the project realisation. However, all of us certainly owe our greatest gratitude to NED, which provided necessary financial help and support without which realisation of this complex project would not be possible.

Coordinator,
Miloš Bešić, PhD

CONCEPTUAL SCOPE AND METHODOLOGICAL PLATFORM¹

There can be a lot of discussion about democracy. A number of democracy definitions, from the antique one to the contemporary political theory, is fascinating. However, depending on concrete experience and culture of different societies, then on different historical contexts, the very face of democracy can be completely different. It is not our goal to deal with those issues. Our task is more of a methodological than of a theoretical character. In that sense, we tend to understand democracy as a **process** and not as a state. In other words, we believe that democracy is not a social state which can be achieved through universal and methodologically unified procedure. We are more of the opinion that democracy in its final form is a never achieved state, that is, a social and political system in a perpetual process. Disregarding different theoretical approaches, democracy in its basis, rests on the idea of **equality**, and it is almost not necessary to prove that it is not possible to achieve equality in its full form. The very idea of equality in contemporary approaches is first of all interpreted as the equality of chances, and not as the equality-outcome. However, practical experience shows that the equality of chances, which is not difficult to be set in a formal way, also with its first step becomes significantly limited due to social relations, which are primarily reflected in relations of power existing in every society. Also, *isonomy* as a tendency and the world of possible and *isomery* as a need and a tendency of a large part of the public, very often make faith in democracy changed by tendency

1 This segment of our study is intended for those who come across INDEX for the first time. Namely, conceptual scope and methodological platform is a necessary key for understanding and interpretation of indicators which make a constant in this long-term research.

towards authoritarianism, and this can be best seen on the basis of experience of post-socialist societies.

When we talk about a conceptual scope itself, we tried to adjust it, on one hand, to the understanding of democracy in its **essential**, that is substantial meaning, and on the other hand to the idea of democracy in its **procedural** meaning. A conceptual scope this Index is based on, is prepared in advance for the process of operationalization and later for measuring, and epistemological experience in social sciences indicate that differences in theoretical approaches often disappear in the field of real social processes and relations. This is also proved by the experience we had during creation of the Index, namely, different theoretical approaches we took into account in our operational surrounding showed alliance, where it was not very difficult to overcome the differences we have talked about so far and which, in an empirical view are false. In a concrete situation, democracy is both a process and the very essence, that is equality to be achieved. The process does not exist by itself and for itself, but it is aimed at the essence, and the idea of democracy in every society can be achieved only by means of specific procedures and social mechanisms. This is not eclecticism, but necessity of an integrative approach defined by the very nature of a process of operationalisation and empirical quantification, and we are convinced that we proved this thesis unambiguously in defining Index of democracy.

Without any pretensions to be creators of new definitions, we understand democracy as a form of social and political organization of a society, which provides equality of all citizens, disregarding their material and social position, their ethnic origin or political and religious beliefs, and it is achieved by means of efficient institutions, respect of democratic procedures, participation of citizens in political and overall social life, and by existence of mechanisms of control and changeability of political authorities. A definition like this is neither original nor probably the best possible, but it is quite sufficient for our operational needs as a starting and referential point.

In methodological sense, the key issue is certainly the choice of indicators since they are the bearers, that is empirical particles which in their cumulative form offer necessary information on the basis of which Index is created. Indicators represent democracy condition related

to the aspects which represent operationalization of the democracy concept itself in socio-political space. In order to identify indicators, first of all it is necessary to define **areas**, and then **dimensions** as generic categories gathering indicators themselves. Finally, it is necessary to perceive each dimension from the point of view of all hypothetical **aspects**.

When we talk about areas, here we certainly have in mind social areas which can be viewed individually, and which are later used as the basis for comparison and for production of a summary Index. On the basis of analyses of the experience in measuring democracy in the world and in the surrounding countries, as well as on the basis of a large number of individual interviews conducted with experts, we defined the following social areas for measurement (and later for indexing).

- DEMOCRATICITY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES
- RULE OF THE LAW
- ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION
- EDUCATION
- MEDIA
- NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
- SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN
- SOCIAL POSITION OF THE DISABLED

Thus, we have eight areas and the choice of them was not arbitrary but deeply established on essential characteristics of a society on the basis of democratic criteria, as well as on the specific needs of Montenegrin society. Therefore, in the process of measuring, we will pay attention to each of those areas separately and in the final outcome, get measure of democracy for each of them by means of a unique methodological procedure.

However, in order to quantify each area, it was necessary to define aspects on the basis of which each of them could be perceived through different dimensions. Aspects, therefore, are a necessary analytical means used as a model for defining dimensions themselves which each particular area consists of. The aspects used as a criterion for dimension determination are :

- EQUALITY AND EGALITY
- PARTICIPATION AND PROTECTION
- TRANSPARENCY
- CONTROL
- RESPONSIBILITY
- REPRESENTABILITY
- EFFICIENCY AND PROFESSIONALISM
- AUTONOMY

Therefore, for each of the areas representing units of observation of democraticity of a society survey, we will identify a degree of **equality and equality** of the citizens, their **participation and protection**, a degree of **transparency** (publicity) of the area, as well as a degree of **control** of the area in question by the citizens, then, we will measure a degree of **responsibility** in that area, as well as a degree of **representability** of the citizens, if the area is and to what extent **efficient and professional** in its work, and eventually we will measure a degree of **autonomy** for particular areas.

Further on, for a methodological procedure to be operationalised in a form of empirical indicators, it was necessary to perceive each area in a multi-dimensional way, thanks to the aspects identified above. It is a fact that dimensions for each of the areas have to be different, and it is so because of the very nature of each of them. In that sense, consequential perception of each of the areas from the point of view of the aspects described, as well as a unified method of quantification make it possible for us to reach compatible information, which later can be perceived in a complementary way, thanks to empirical indicators.

A presented procedure perhaps seems to be complex, but in the final outcome we will show that it is basically simple, and in our opinion necessary in order to realize the idea of measurement in a valid and methodologically unified way. Therefore, in the further text we will deal with each particular area, we will show dimensions each area consists of, and eventually, indicators which are final particles of measurement, and which are identified thanks to the analytical power of the aspects we have talked about.

But, before that, there are some more important methodological comments. The leading idea during creation of Index was to realize

only state measuring on two separate fronts. Firstly, it's a state of democracy on the basis of subjective perception of the citizens themselves, and secondly, identification of objective indicators on the basis of the same theoretical and operational criteria. This time, our mandate covers only one of those two parts, and it is index creation and measuring on the basis of the citizens' perception. This approach has one methodological advantage as well as one key methodological disadvantage. The advantage is that democracy in its final outcome has to be legitimated by the citizens, since citizens are the final goal of all democratic reforms. The disadvantage certainly is that, in a given political constellation, where we first of all think of sharp political divisions and absence of political and social consensus, evaluation by one part of the public potentially does not reflect the real situation in a lot of respects. We have a situation like this because a part of the public keen on criticism and at the same time politically inspired, often instead of real achievement evaluation tends to establish, on a level of perception, direct connection between the state of democracy and authority. Hence the criticism of authority, which is on the level of *ad hoc* established consciousness, reflects on every single evaluation which is given when we talk about the state of democracy. Secondly, it is a fact that there are certain deviations between perception and objective situation, and we will try to elaborate this problem in every single case. Anyway, my opinion is that we all have to agree that a survey of this type is valid only at this moment. When I say this, I first of all think of the state in institutions of Montenegrin society, which because of the lack of systematic gathering of information about itself is not capable of offering us a material which is possible to be translated into the Index language. This task is certainly important and it will be realised in the following period.

Indexing process was realised in two phases. Firstly, empirical data were collected by means of four research surveys (two areas for each research survey) on representative samples of 757 examinees each. Thanks to the experience CEDEM has in public opinion poll, there is no doubt that the sample and data we obtained in the field work are in accordance with strict empirical requests and standard errors which every sample has. The sample is of a multi-level and random type, principle of stratification of population in three regions was used,

where we obtained representative samples for all three regions which make possible a deeper analytical insight into a state of democracy for each region separately. A proportion of each region in a total sample is certainly proportional in relation to distribution on a level of entire population. Secondly, during the process of Index formation, and on the basis of a pilot research survey, five-level ordinal scales of Likert type were used in the very instruments, and in indexing these scales were transformed into system of points from 20 to 100. What is crucial is that for each single research survey, as well as for each single area, identical methodological procedure was used, and it made comparison of the obtained data possible. On the whole, as a result of the procedures we have described, we got Democracy Index which we are presenting detailed data for on the following pages.

1. DEMOCRATICITY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES

When we talk about political structure of a society, on the basis of analytical apparatus application reflecting itself in the aspects we have talked about, we identified four key dimensions which comprise this area and they are:

- Control and legality of authorities
- Transparency (publicity) of authorities
- Responsibility and changeability of authorities
- Professionalism in government bodies' activities

Therefore, each of the dimensions was a subject of a separate survey by means of indicator network. In the following part we will show a review for every area as well as indicators taken as units of measurement for 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 *conditio sine qua non* of a democratic society. We were of the opinion that it was necessary to find out how Montenegrin citizens evaluated the possibility of conducting control, and also, in their opinion, to which extent Montenegrin government was legitimate in its work. Data show (Table 1) that when we talk about this segment, we register mostly positive trends for individual items. We observe a positive trend for the efficiency of civil control of state authorities (2,45 versus 2,35) as well as for the efficiency of local authorities control (2,49 versus 2,38). And also when we talk about public control of secret service and security service, a trend is positive (2,73 versus 2,62). On the other hand, when we talk about lawfulness of authority bodies' work, absence of corruption and crime in state and municipal authorities, surveyed values are on the level of 2008, thus, we cannot claim there was any progress. Finally, when we talk about **presence/absence of corruption and crime in state authority**, opinion of the public is

that this is the biggest problem when we talk about this dimension, so that this problem still remains “a black hole” in regard to control and lawfulness of authorities. Consequently, we cannot be satisfied with the values in this dimension, or in other words, **it is necessary to make progress when we come to the issue of control and lawfulness of authorities, especially in respect of struggle against corruption and crime.**

Table 1 – Control and lawfulness of authorities –survey of all indicators²

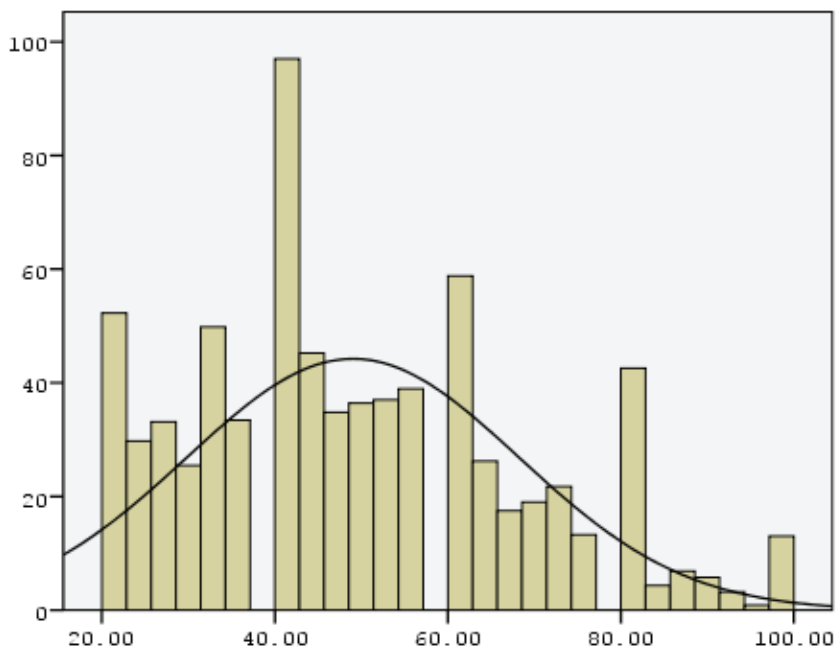
INDICATORS	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Efficiency of civil control of state authority	2.18	2,25	2,35	2,45	1,185
Efficiency of civil control of local (municipal) authority	2.26	2,23	2,38	2,49	1,174
Public and governmental control of secret services and security police	2.32	2,43	2,62	2,73	1,267
Legality in authority bodies'activities	2.46	2,59	2,68	2,66	1,267
Absence of corruption and crime in state authority	1.95	1,99	2,08	2,07	1,001
Absence of corruption and crime in local (municipal) authority	2.04	2,12	2,21	2,24	1,076

Table 1.1 – Control and lawfulness of authorities - SKOR

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	49,0240
95% Confidence interval	FROM 47,6415
	TO 50,4065
Median	46,6667
Variance	370,176
Standard deviation	19,23996
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

2 Coefficients range from 1 to 5

Graph. 1. Control and lawfulness of authorities



1.2. Transparency (publicity) of authorities

Transparency of activities is the very characteristic which clearly distinguishes an authoritarian (as the socialist one was) from a democratic society. This issue is exceptionally important, especially if we take into account the fact that the population of Montenegro is around 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 significant improvement of the situation in this area.

When we talk about this dimension (Table 2), we can see that in comparison to 2008, there is stagnation with most of the indicators, namely, although we can perceive a bit larger mean values of surveyed indicators, it is completely clear that there is no progress, but differences which are not statistically significant. Comparatively, inside the dimension itself, like in the previous research, **we have the most problems with availability of information from authorized bodies and services to the citizens.** In this respect, from the point of view of a trend, some progress was made in 2008 in comparison to 2007, but within the last year, there was no significant progress in this respect. On the other hand, when we come to the issue of authority transparency, **the situation is the best with objectivity of media in following work of the government and the Parliament.**

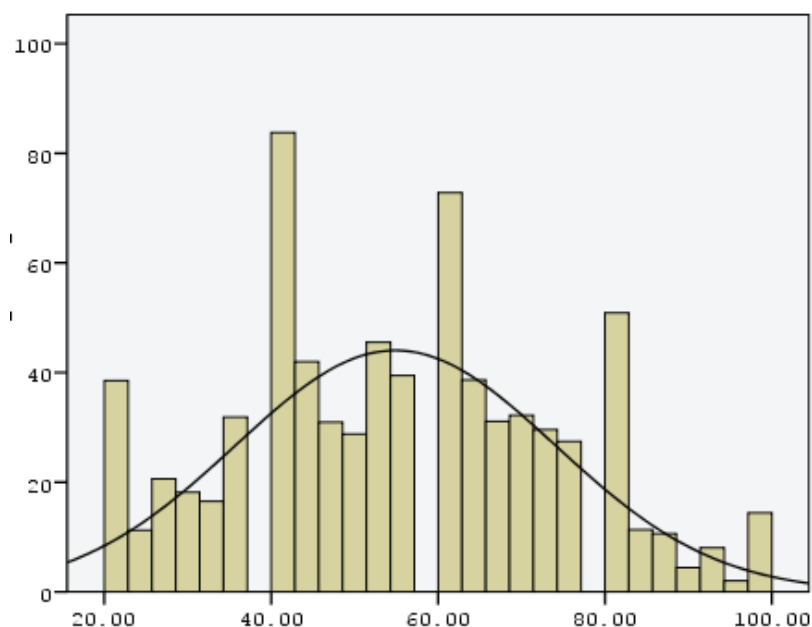
Table 2 – Transparency (publicity) of authorities – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Publicity in governmental authorities activity	2.49	2,53	2,73	2,74	1,136
Publicity in local authorities activity	2.51	2,59	2,76	2,79	1,152
Media objectivity in following activities of the government and the Parliament	2.81	2,85	2,97	3,05	1,146
Possibility of citizens having insight into the process and making of important political decisions	2.39	2,46	2,66	2,65	1,161
Availability of information from legal authorities and services to journalists	2.60	2,58	2,77	2,75	1,108
Availability of information from legal authorities and services to citizens	2.37	2,32	2,50	2,52	1,119

Table 2.1 – Transparency (publicity) of authorities - SCORE

Parameters		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		54,8923
95% Confidence interval	FROM	53,5093
	TO	56,2754
Median		55,0000
Variance		367,792
Standard deviation		19,17790
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 2. Transparency (publicity) of authorities



1.3. Responsibility and changeability of authorities

A responsible government is the one which puts interests of the state and its citizens on 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 its legitimacy. A vast majority of postsocialist 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 results of surveying this dimension (Tble 3), in comparison to the previous research, it is clear that we have stagnation, namely, **we cannot say that the government is more responsible or more changeable than it was in the previous period.** Explanation for stagnation in this respect, most probably lies in the fact that both presidential and Parliamentary elections were held in the previous period, and there was no change of authority. Therefore, in both election races the same governing structure won and it carried on with its continuity which has lasted since the first Parliamentary elections till today. This fact really imposes a question whether invincibility of the present government is the result of "a deficit in a democratic system" or it is however, a product of some other socio-economic, political or cultural factors. If we compare indicators, we can see that like in the previous research, we have most problems with **responsibility and conscientiousness of members of the Parliament (2,47)**, then with **responsibility of authorities and citizens' interest protection**

(2,55). On the other hand, democraticity in this respect is the best with **legitimacy of authorities** (3,29), therefore, the public has almost no doubts that present authorities are legitimate.

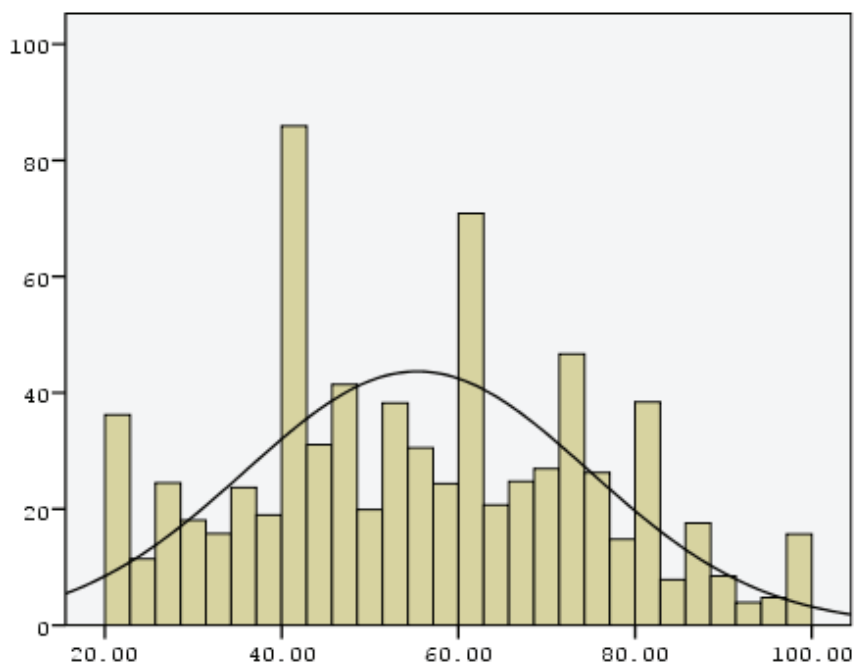
Table 3 – Responsibility and changeability of authorities – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Governmental authority as citizens' service	2.35	2,39	2,58	2,57	1,216
Local authority as citizens' service	2.46	2,48	2,66	2,66	1,188
Responsibility and conscientiousness of state administration as citizens' service	2.44	2,47	2,71	2,68	1,125
Responsibility and conscientiousness of local administration as citizens' service	2.53	2,54	2,73	2,71	1,091
Responsibility and conscientiousness of members of the Parliament	2.26	2,32	2,49	2,47	1,134
Responsibility and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers	2.43	2,44	2,67	2,73	1,108
Changeability of governmental authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	2.71	2,77	2,87	2,89	1,290
Changeability of local authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	2.89	2,88	3,08	3,06	1,226
Legitimacy of authorities	2.91	3,12	3,33	3,29	1,287
Responsibility of authorities and citizens' interests protection	2.30	2,32	2,60	2,55	1,234

Table 3.1. – Responsibility and changeability of authorities – SCORE

Parameters		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		55,3615
95% Confidence interval	FROM	53,9607
	TO	56,7623
Median		55,5556
Variance		380,679
Standard deviation		19,51098
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 3. Responsibility and changeability of authorities



1.4. Professionalism in authority bodies' work

Democracy today to a great extent, in fact represents rule of technocracy. Knowledge and professionalism in work are the basis of efficient functioning of democratic institutions. Consequently, professionalism in work and vocational training of individuals who are on ruling positions, are necessary for a society in order to function in the appropriate way. It implies 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 issue of skills and competence.

Results of this dimension research show that the indicators are to some extent more positive in comparison to the previous period (Table 4). The biggest progress was made in respect to **professionalism and vocational training of officials in the Parliament and its bodies** (2,94 versus 2,86). All other indicators show more or less identical results as in the research a year ago. Comparatively, when we talk about this dimension, the biggest problem still is **respect of minorities by majority on all levels of authority** (2,69), thus, it is very important to make effort for further progress in this respect.

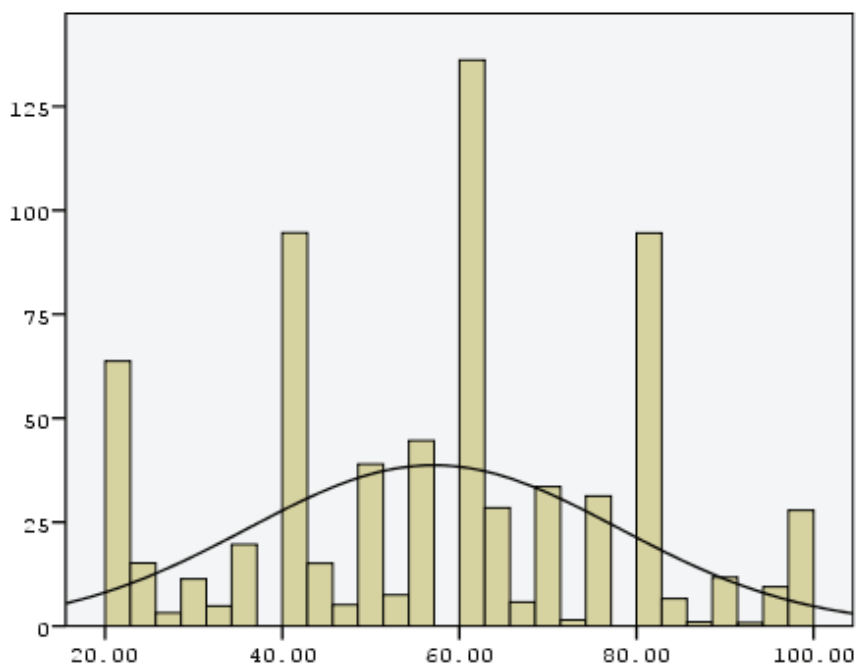
Table 4. Professionalism in authority bodies' work - survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in governmental services and ministries	2.74	2,88	2,94	3,00	1,147
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in local authorities	2.65	2,73	2,88	2,85	1,155
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in the Parliament and its bodies	2.69	2,80	2,86	2,94	1,150
Respect of minorities by majority at all levels of authority	2.44	2,53	2,67	2,69	1,202

Table 4.1 Professionalism in authority bodies work – SCORE

Parameters		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		57,0761
95% Confidence interval	FROM	55,5327
	TO	58,6195
Median		60,0000
Variance		440,264
Standard deviation		20,98248
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 4. Professionalism in authority bodies' work



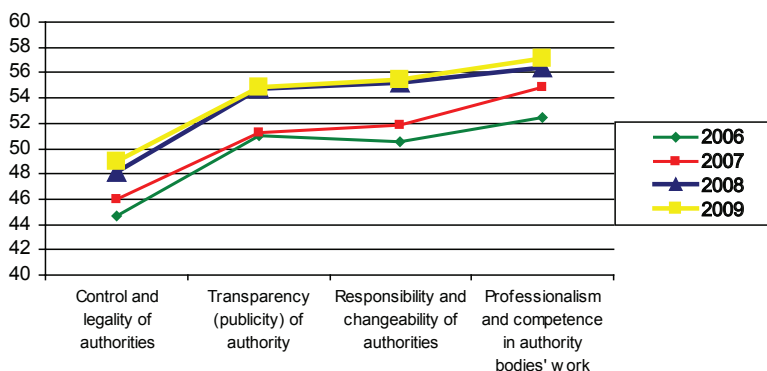
1.5. Summary indices of democraticity of political processe area

There is a comparative review of all dimensions, as well as a trend in comparison to the previous research surveys. The data show that differences on the level of dimensions we can identify in numerical sense, are not statistically significant (one-sided test). In other words, **each of the dimensions which was the object of surveying in the scope of democraticity of political processes stagnated in comparison to the previous period.** Therefore, when we talk about democraticity of political processes, on the basis of the obtained data, it cannot be said that Montenegrin society made some progress during last year.

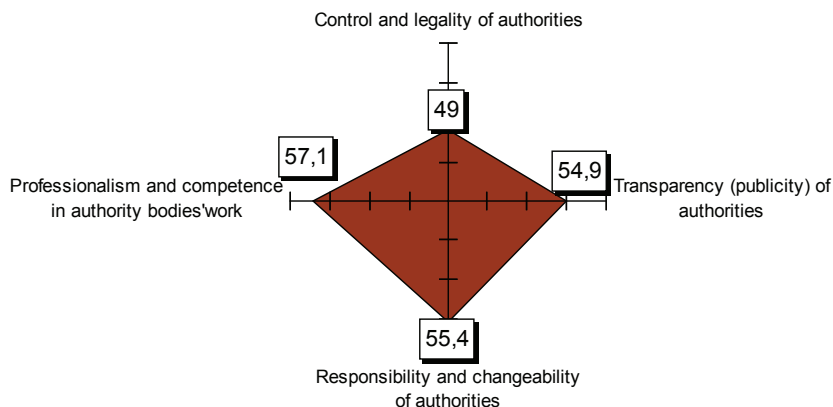
Table 5. Politics and authority – summary by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z stat.
Control and legality of authorities	44,7	46,0	48,2	49,0	1,14; p>0,05
Transparency (publicity) of authority	51,0	51,2	54,7	54,9	0,29; p>0,05
Responsibility and changeability of authority	50,5	51,8	55,2	55,4	0,28; p>0,05
Professionalism and competence in authority bodies' work	52,4	54,9	56,4	57,1	0,90; p>0,05

Graph. 5 Democraticity of political processes - TREND



Graph. 5.1 Democraticity of political processes



Finally, if we analyse scores by dimensions (graph. 5.1) within the scope of democraticity of political processes, we can see that **the biggest problem is when we come to the issue of control and legality of authorities**. Therefore, a conclusion that in this respect key progress has to be achieved still remains, in order to raise overall democratic capacity of Montenegrin society in the aspect of political process.

2. RULE OF 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 is 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, inadequate 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 a 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 a number of indicators which represented final particles of the measurement. Dimensions in this area are:

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

2.1. Equality in front of the law

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 political communication in Montenegro. There are numerous accusations in public by the opposition and a part of NGO sector directed to 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

Results of the survey show that in regard to **"equality in front of the law" as a dimension there were negative trends** (table 6). Those are warning data taking into consideration a fact that right from the viewpoint of ensuring equality in front of the law and public debate, problems in judiciary practice occur and we really have to pay attention to them. Comparatively, a negative trend is obvious when we come to the issue of equality in front of the law and in regard to material and social, as well as ethnic and religious reasons. The public, therefore, indicates that trends in all those aspects are regressive in the last year.

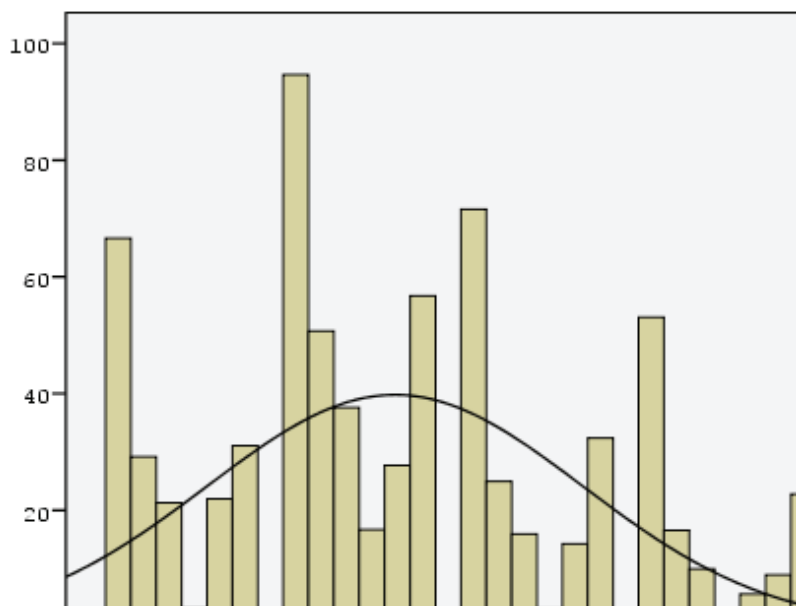
Table 6 Equality in front of the law – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	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	2,96	1,208
Equality in a process of enforcement of the law for all citizens disregarding their ethnic, national or religious descent	2.68	2,74	2,92	2,76	1,221
Equality in a process of enforcement of the law disregarding the material status of an individual	2.30	2,43	2,63	2,48	1,174
Equality of enforcement of the law disregarding political, ideological or party belonging of citizens	2.30	2,42	2,66	2,49	1,221
Equality of individuals in bodies of authority in front of the law	2.23	2,23	2,42	2,45	1,190

Table 6.1. Equality in front of the law – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	52,5778
95% Confidence interval	FROM 51,0501
	TO 54,1055
Median	50,0000
Variance	446,839
Standard deviation	21,13857
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 6. Equality in front of the law



2.2. Availability of legal protection

Our goal in this part of the research was to find out to what extent legal protection is available to Montenegrin citizens, disregarding their material status, ethnic or religious affiliation, or political belonging. The results we obtained, indicate that there was no significant change when we talk about availability of legal protection, or when we come to the issue of differences in material status or differences in ethnic or religious affiliation (table 7). However, we recorded a negative trend for availability of legal protection, in regard to differences in political or party criterion (2.63 versus 2.80). Therefore, we can say that the opinion of the citizens is that **in the last year there was a negative trend for the issue of availability of legal protection with regard to political and party differences.**

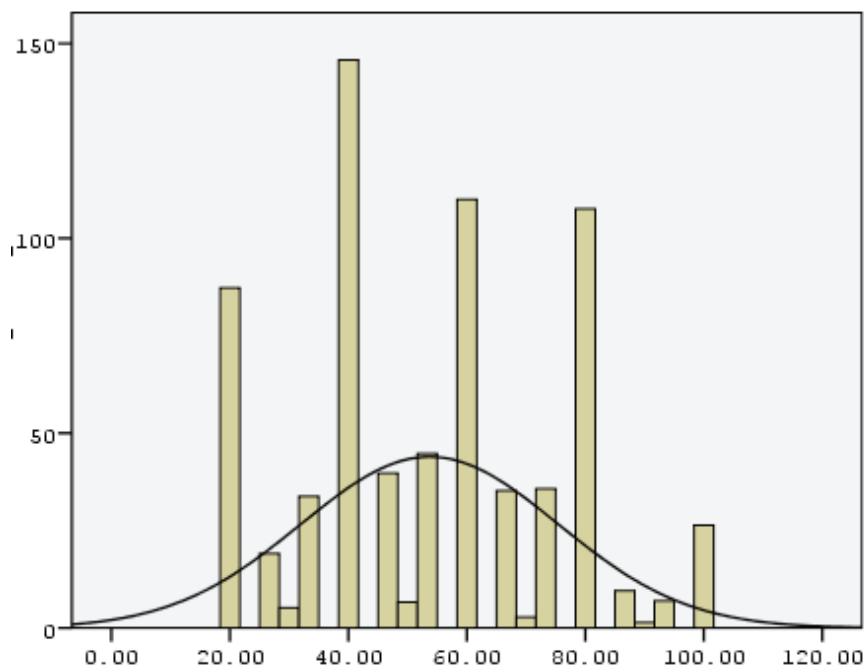
Table 7 Availability of legal protection – survey of all indicators

	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Legal protection is provided equally for all the citizens disregarding their material status	2.39	2,45	2,65	2,60	1,169
Legal protection is provided equally for all the citizens disregarding their national or religious affiliation	2.66	2,77	2,88	2,85	1,152
Legal protection is provided for all the citizens disregarding their political or party belonging	2.36	2,65	2,80	2,63	1,181

Table 7.1 Availability of legal protection – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	53,7037
95% Confidence interval	FROM 52,1116
	TO 55,2957
Median	53,3333
Variance	471,920
Standard deviation	21,72372
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 7. Availability of legal protection



2.3. Autonomy of judiciary

The next dimension which was the object of a survey in this area is autonomy of judiciary. Autonomy of judiciary problem is also, not rarely a subject of public debates, so the criticism is directed to judiciary for a lack of its autonomy, where the most criticised is the pressure on judiciary by authorities and political structures of power. Surveying of this dimension indicates that during the last year there was no progress (table 8). Differences we can see in arithmetic means are not statistically significant, so that we cannot claim for sure that the trends are negative, but what we can claim is that the citizens think that **in the last year there was no progress when we talk about autonomy of judiciary**. Comparatively, there are two neuralgic points that have to be dealt with in order for judiciary to be more autonomous and they are: **judiciary independence from the influence of powerful and rich individuals**

and groupings (2.39), judiciary independence from the influence of the government and state officials (2.48), and independence of judiciary from the influence of political parties (2.53).

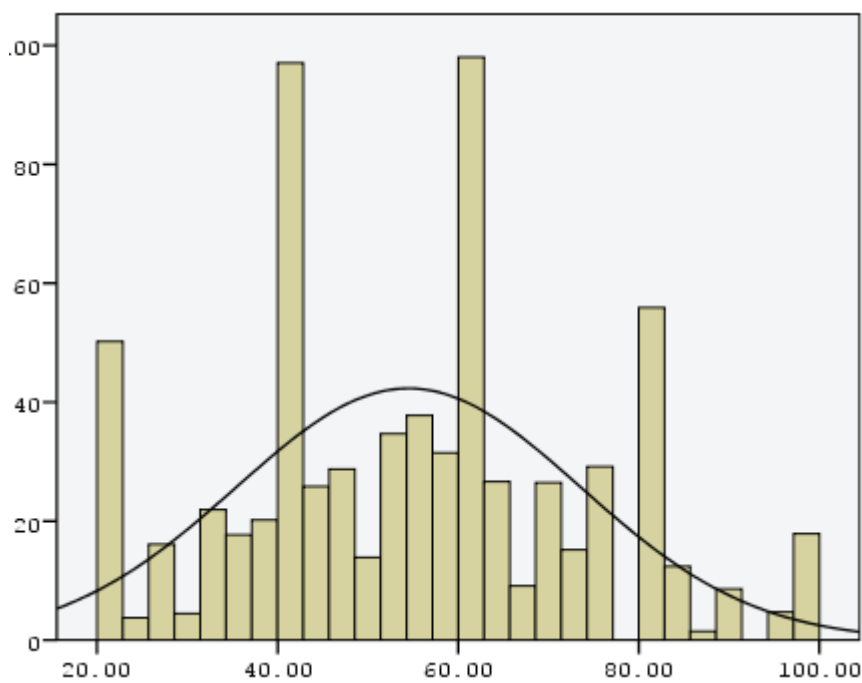
Table 8 Autonomy of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Independence of judiciary from the influence of political parties	2.22	2,33	2,54	2,53	1,173
Independence of judiciary from the influence of the government and state services	2.23	2,29	2,51	2,48	1,191
Independence of judiciary from the influence of the Parliament	2.52	2,54	2,73	2,74	1,147
Independence of judiciary from the influence of powerful and wealthy individuals and groupings	2.16	2,21	2,34	2,39	1,120
Independence of judiciary from the influence of nongovernmental organizations	3.04	3,11	3,20	3,15	1,085
Independence of judiciary from the influence of religious organizations and churches	3.30	3,34	3,34	3,28	1,137
Independence of judiciary from the influence of EU organizations	2.92	2,90	2,86	2,86	1,158

Table 8.1 Autonomy of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Parameters	Statistics
Mean	54,4925
95% Confidence interval	FROM 53,0843
	TO 55,9006
Median	54,2857
Variance	364,888
Standard deviation	19,10203
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 8.1 Autonomy of judiciary



2.4. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary

Efficiency of judiciary work is one of the key criteria from the point of view of a state based on the rule of law and its overall functionality. On the basis of objective indicators, as length of judicial proceedings is, problem of efficiency of judiciary is one of serious problems in all countries in a period of transition. In Montenegro, on the basis of a large number of reports, this problem is also apparent very much. Our measuring in previous research surveys confirmed that we have problems when the issue is autonomy of judiciary. Our research in this year shows (table 9) that there is slight progress only with efficiency and professionalism of judiciary for successful legal protection of the citizens' rights (2.72 versus 2.63). All other indicators have values on the level of the previous research survey, so that it cannot be claimed that there are some changes. Comparatively, the biggest problem still is the estimation that **in judiciary there are corruption and activities**

in the interest of influential individuals and groupings (2.27). In this respect, a trend is even slightly negative, in other words, in the following period, most energy has to be put into activities against corruption and influence of powerful individuals and groupings.

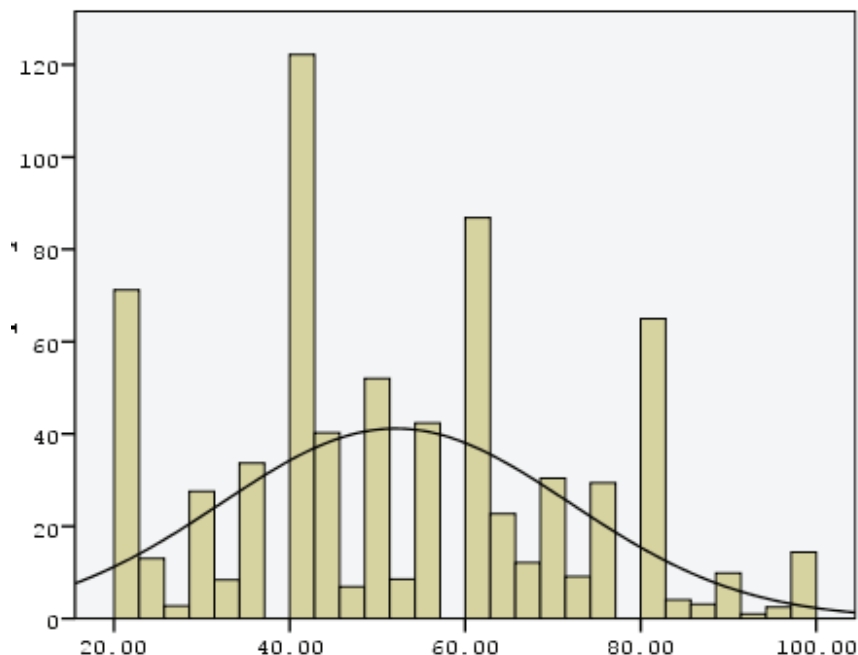
Table 9. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Efficiency of the courts in the process of litigation solving	2.18	2,28	2,44	2,47	1,119
Professionalism and vocational qualifications of judges for an efficient application of the law	2.85	2,83	3,01	3,00	1,145
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary for successful protection of citizens' rights	2.48	2,51	2,63	2,72	1,119
Absence of corruption and activities for the interests of individuals and groups	2.06	2,18	2,31	2,27	1,098

Table 9.1. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	52,0978
FROM	50,6402
95% Confidence interval	TO 53,5554
Median	50,0000
Variance	396,403
Standard deviation	19,90986
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 9. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary



2.5. Control and transparency of judiciary work

A democratic society is based on transparency and systems of control of all bodies of authority. In this respect, control and transparency, when we talk about judiciary, are especially significant, bearing in mind that this is a branch of authority which has a crucial role as a guarantee of a state based on the rule of law. Within this dimension we measure a few indicators which are very important for the existence of control and transparency of judiciary. On the basis of data we obtained by measuring these indicators, it can be said that we have slightly positive trends (table 10). The most positive trend has '**efficiency of state control of judiciary work in the field of law and lawfulness protection**' (2.84 versus 2.76). All other indicators, however, have very small increase which can be attributed to a standard error

of estimate. Finally, if we compare the indicators, like in the previous research surveys, the biggest problem remains **'availability of control and citizens' influence on judiciary by different organizations and institutions in accordance with the law'** (2.59).

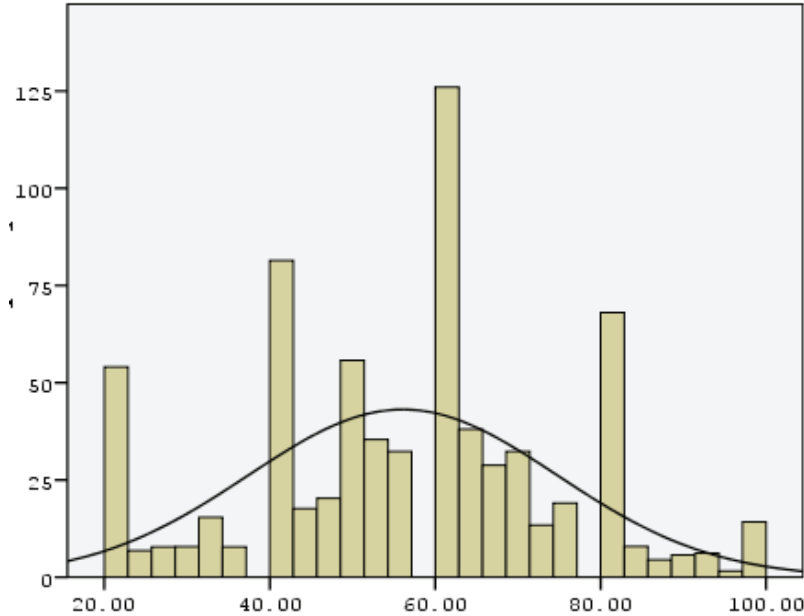
Table 10 Control and transparency of judiciary work – summary of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Efficiency of state control of judiciary work with the purpose of law and legality protection	2.65	2,67	2,76	2,84	1,111
Transparency of court activities and possibility of monitoring by media	2.48	2,66	2,75	2,76	1,099
Availability of information relevant for protection of citizens' rights by the public	2.42	2,53	2,71	2,74	1,090
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	2,59	1,070
Existence of Parliamentary control mechanisms of judicial bodies' work	2.80	2,75	2,90	2,90	1,090
Monitoring of judicial bodies by NGO sector	2.88	2,91	3,07	1,118	1,084

Table 10 Control and transparency of judiciary work – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	56,0814
95% Confidence interval	FROM 54,7004 TO 57,4624
Median	60,0000
Variance	350,432
Standard deviation	18,71982
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 10 Control and transparency of judiciary work



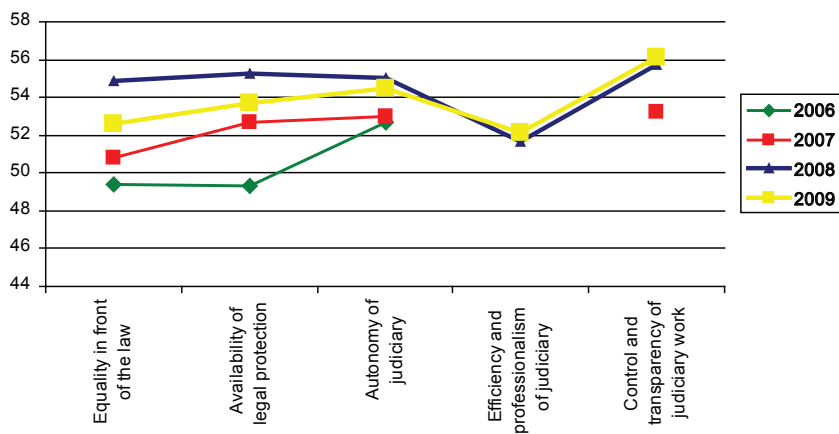
2.6. Summary indices for the rule of the law area

By analysis of summary indices for the rule of the law area by dimensions (table 11), we can see that we have completely clear and statistically **significant negative trends when we come to the issue of equality in front of the law (52.6 versus 54.9) and availability of legal protection (53.7 versus 55.3)**. When we, however, come to the issue of autonomy of judiciary, efficiency and professionalism of judiciary and control and transparency of judiciary, in total, the differences we measured were not statistically significant in comparison to the previous year, so that we cannot say that there was neither progress nor regression in this respect.

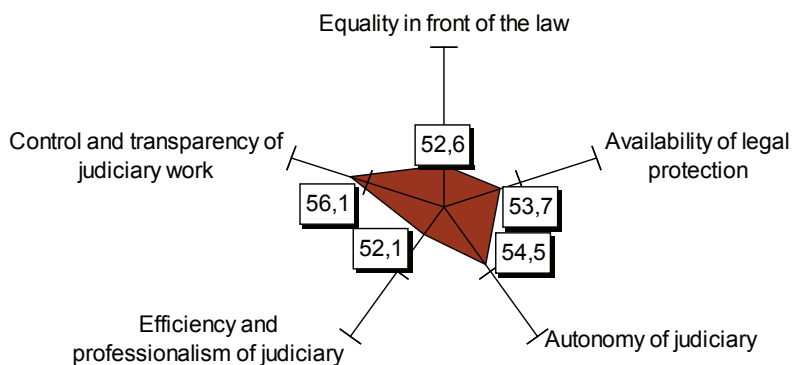
Table 11 Rule of the law – summary by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z score
Equality in front of the law	49.4	50,8	54,9	52,6	- 2,95 $p < 0,01$
Availability of legal protection	49.3	52,7	55,3	53,7	-1,98 $p < 0,05$
Autonomy of judiciary	52.7	53,0	55,0	54,5	-0,70 $p > 0,05$
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	48.0	49,3	51,7	52,1	0,54 $p > 0,05$
Control and transparency of judiciary work	51.9	53,2	55,7	56,1	0,57 $p > 0,05$

Graph. 11. Rule of the law - TREND



Graph. 11.1 Rule of the law



If we make comparative analysis of all dimensions in rule of the law area (graph. 11.1), it can be seen that two dimensions ‘have a problem’ and they are **equality in front of the law** (52.6) and **efficiency and professionalism of judiciary** (52.1). On the other hand, when dimensions are compared, we measure the biggest value for **control and transparency of judiciary work** (56.1). Therefore, in the future, special effort should be made in order to improve equality in front of the law as well as efficiency and professionalism of judiciary.

3. ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Montenegro, as a state on its way to European integrations, first of all implies creation of functional market economy, which in its turn will be able to face competition and market principles within EU. Therefore, it has to create those already mentioned conditions in order to become a full member of European Union. When we talk about economy, however, it is not only its efficiency, but also that it has to provide realisation of certain principles of democraticity in the way a society economically reproduces itself.

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 processes of privatization, 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 the established indicators, how Montenegrin citizens perceive the situation in this, certainly, extremely important area of social life.

From the point of view of Index, we identified three dimensions and realised surveys 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 were 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 nonexistence 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.

Results of measuring indicate that in this dimension we can talk about slightly negative trends (table 12). Each single indicator in the scope of this dimension has lower value in comparison to the last year's research survey, although differences are not big and they can be a result of a standard error of estimate. The indicator which records the most intensive fall is 'equal treatment on the market with no regard to social background of the citizens' (2.78 versus 2.90). All other values, although slightly lower, are on the level of the 2008 survey. Comparatively, when we discuss this dimension, **the biggest problem still is providing equality on the market when we talk about differences which originate from material status of an individual and political commitment and party belonging**. Therefore, the Montenegrin public thinks that different material status as well as political commitment and party belonging ensure 'advantage' on the market for some individuals.

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

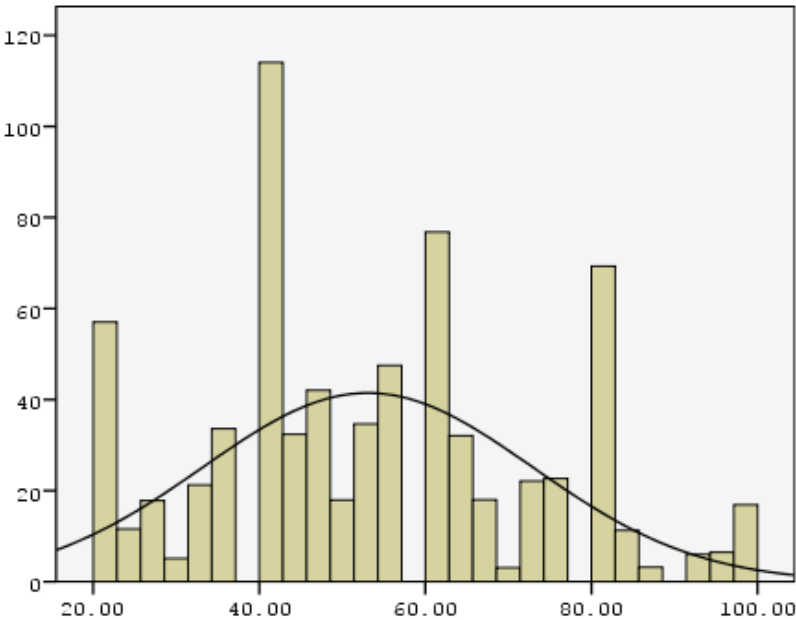
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Equal treatment on the market disregarding social origin of the citizens	2.81	2,68	2,90	2,78	1,168
Equal treatment on the market disregarding national and religious affiliation	2.93	2,86	2,98	2,92	1,133
Equal treatment on the market disregarding material status of individuals	2.38	2,37	2,55	2,46	1,063
Equal treatment on the market disregarding political commitment and party belonging	2.33	2,32	2,58	2,45	1,134

Equality of individuals in respect to their participation in economic life of a society under equal conditions	2,67	2,58	2,79	2,70	1,158
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Table 12.1. Economic equality of individuals on the market – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics	
Arithmetic mean		53,0686
95% Confidence interval	FROM	51,6172
	TO	54,5199
Median		52,0000
Variance		394,912
Standard deviation		19,87239
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph.12. Economic equality of individuals on the market



3.2. Economic equality and autonomy of companies

Position of companies in market competition and ensuring their equality is one of the key factors of democracy in this area. Companies are the bearers of economic life which is based on the market, thus, their autonomy in work as well as providing equal conditions for all economic subjects is a condition for realization of democracy in practice.

Results of the research survey indicate that there were no changes in this respect during the previous year (table 13). Values of those indicators are more or less on the level of the previous research surveys, therefore, it cannot be said that in the previous period there was either improvement or deteriorating in regard to economic equality and autonomy of companies. What is also interesting is a fact that the values of all indicators are relatively close, or more precise, with the exception of differences disregarding property and transparency of the Government in its economic activity, where the values are somewhat higher, all other indicators are on the same level. It really means that all those problems are perceived as one totality, so that consequentially it is necessary to improve the situation evenly in all those aspects.

Tabela 13. Economic equality and autonomy of companies – summary by indicators

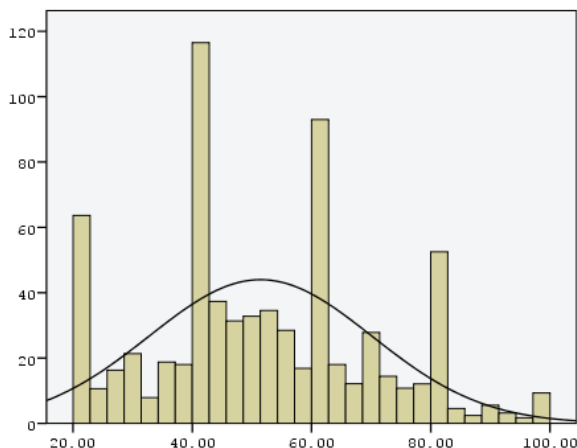
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Equality of companies on the market disregarding the form of property	2.68	2,64	2,80	2,76	1,136
Absence of discrimination and favouritism of some companies by state	2.28	2,29	2,52	2,55	1,119
Absence of influence of individual and party interests on companies	2.26	2,27	2,44	2,45	1,117
Equality of application of the law for all companies	2.40	2,30	2,57	2,52	1,146
Autonomy of companies in a process of making decisions	2.45	2,44	2,54	2,57	1,085
Absence of ideology and pressure of a state in public companies	2.39	2,32	2,50	2,45	1,087

Absence of economic monopolies which enjoy protection of the state and privileged groups	2.20	2,20	2,40	2,42	1,119
Autonomy of inspection departments and their non selectivity in enforcement of the law and regulations	2.43	2,41	2,48	2,52	1,108
Transparency of work of the government in respect to its influence on economic life of a society	2.67	2,60	2,76	2,75	1,136

Tabela 13.1. Economic equality and autonomy of companies – summary by indicators

Parameters		Statistics
Mean		51,4394
95% Confidence interval	FROM	50,0726
	TO	52,8062
Median		50,0000
Variance		349,842
Standard deviation		18,70408
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph, 13. Economic equality and autonomy of companies – summary by indicators



3.3. Mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection

In this dimension we deal with examination of (non)existence of mechanisms which are supposed to provide economic subjects and individuals protection. Efficient democratic society in its economic potential, takes care of building in mechanisms which will provide realization of democratic principles in its institutional system.

When we come to the measuring in the scope of this dimension, the results are mostly on the level of the last year, thus, there were no significant trends (table 14). However, in some cases, data are interesting and they indicate changes. First of all, we measured positive trends for efficiency of struggle against grey economy (2.43 versus 2.36), then for active role of media in realization of a principle of equality of economic subjects (2.91 versus 2.84). However, **the most positive trend certainly is for legal protection of consumers' rights (2.73 versus 2.55)**. On the other hand, we have one explicitly **negative trend and that is for efficiency of the state in property right protection (2.84 versus 2.94)**.

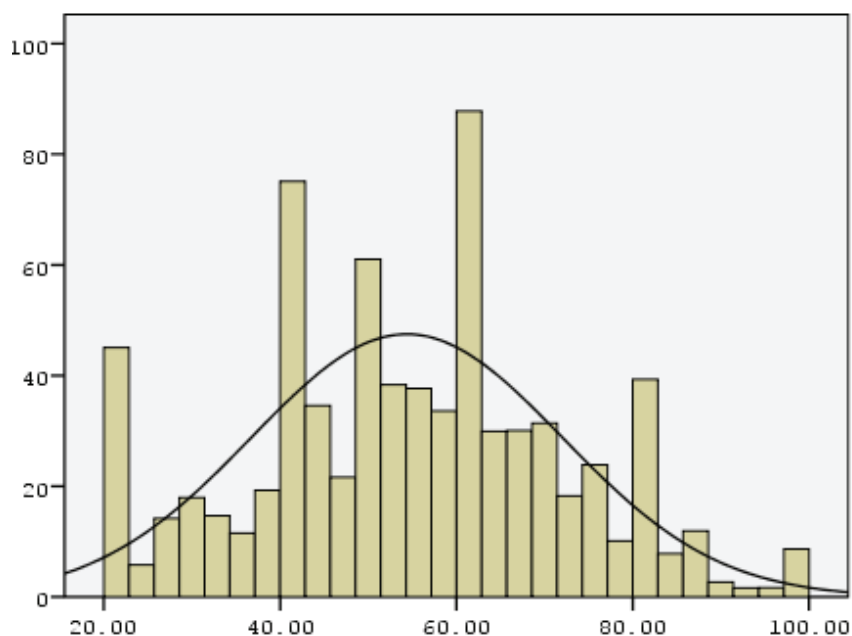
*Table 14 Mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection
– summary by indicators*

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Existence of institutions which provide freedom on the market	2.83	2,74	2,83	2,87	1,080
Existence of NGO 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	2,98	1,082
Efficiency of struggle against grey economy	2.18	2,21	2,36	2,43	1,059
Consumers' rights are protected by law	2.59	2,52	2,55	2,75	1,132
Existence of organizations by means of which companies and individuals can influence on overall economic policy of the state	2.97	2,56	2,76	2,82	1,066
Active role of media in realization of a principle of equality and protection of economic rights and freedom of individuals, companies and organizations	2.70	2,69	2,84	2,91	1,051
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	2,65	1,051
Efficiency of judiciary in solving contractual litigations	2.40	2,54	2,71	2,71	1,133
Protection of a property right by the state and its bodies	2.80	2,84	2,97	2,94	1,104
Efficiency of the state in respect to property right protection	2.69	2,80	2,94	2,84	1,113
Efficiency of state bodies in a struggle against corruption	2.14	2,19	2,34	2,37	1,149

Table 14.1. Mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection – summary by indicators

Parameters		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		54,3747
95% Confidence interval	FROM	53,0967
	TO	55,6527
Median		54,5455
Variance		311,620
Standard deviation		17,65277
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 14. Mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection



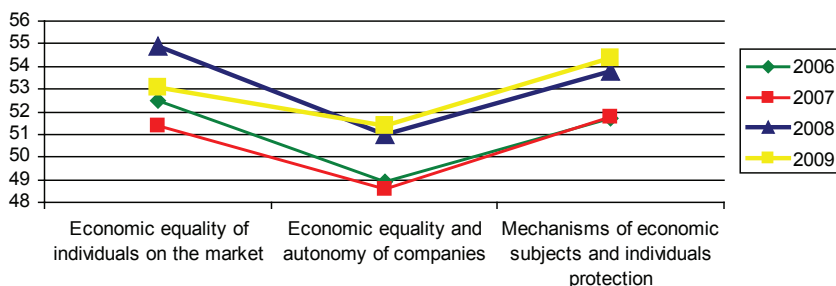
3.4. Summary indices for economic freedom and economic participation area

Analysis of all dimensions in the area of economy (table 15) indicates that **economic equality of individuals is in a worse position than it was in 2008** (53.1 versus 54.9). On the other hand, when we talk about the issue of economic equality and autonomy of companies, then mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection, we can say that the values are on the last year's research survey level, so that we cannot claim there was either improvement or deterioration.

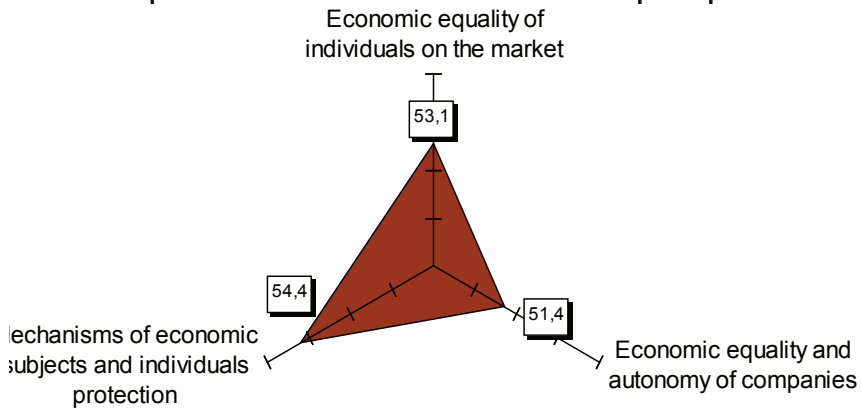
Table 15 Economic freedom and economic participation – summary by dimensions

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	Zscore
Economic equality of individuals on the market	52,5	51,4	54,9	53,1	-2,43 p < 0,01 0,57
Economic equality and autonomy of companies	48,9	48,6	51,0	51,4	p > 0,05 0,92
Mechanisms of economic subjects and individuals protection	51,7	51,8	53,8	54,4	p > 0,05

Graph. 15. Economic freedom and economic participation - TREND



Graph.15.1. Economic freedom and economic participation



Comparatively, therefore, by comparing the values of all three dimensions, **the biggest problem still is providing of economic equality and autonomy of companies** (51.4). According to this, future efforts should be aimed at providing economic autonomy of companies and improvement of the situation for offering equal chances to economic subjects on the market.

4. EDUCATION

In a contemporary democratic society, education holds a very important position. As a technologically developed society, modern democracy cannot functionally be imagined without a developed educational system. 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. Practice, however, showed 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 stratificational level cannot be neutralized.

Importance of education for democratic practice can be seen 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 to what degree the process of educational reform in Montenegro has arrived, that is to examine that segment through comparison to the research survey 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

This dimension has a goal to examine 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. **Results of the survey show that when we come to the issue of education there was no progress in the previous period, but there were no negative trends either** (table 16). All values of indicators in this dimension are on the level of the last year's research survey. By comparing values of indicators, **the biggest problem still remains openness of education for opinion and suggestions of the citizens** (3.23).

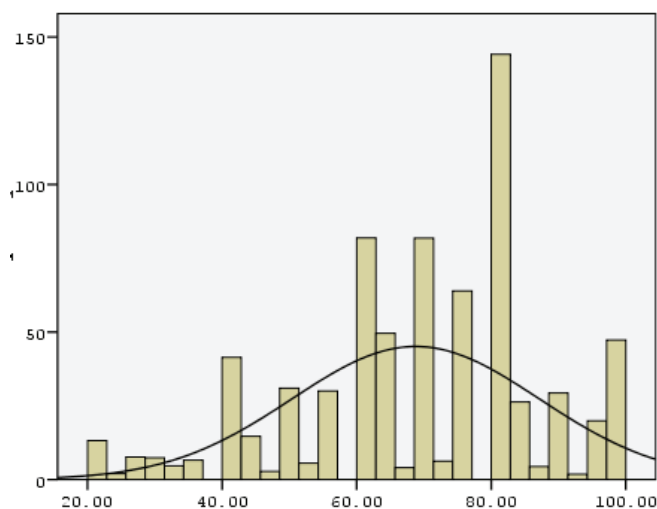
Table 16. Openness and participation in education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Availability of education to all the citizens disregarding their residence/ a place of permanent residence	3.72	3,79	3,77	3,72	1,042
Openness of education for children who have unfavourable social status i.e. those who come from poor families	3.37	3,33	3,45	3,41	1,136
Equal educational conditions for the whole student population disregarding their ethnic and religious affiliation	3.46	3,57	3,49	3,47	1,104
Openness of education to suggestions and the citizens' opinion	3.00	2,96	3,18	3,23	1,046

Table 16.1 Openness and participation in education – survey by indicators

Parameters		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		68,7639
95% Confidence interval	FROM	67,4259
	TO	70,1019
Median		70,0000
Variance		337,903
Standard deviation		18,38212
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 16. Openness and participation in education



4.2. Autonomy and efficiency of education

Efficient educational system in a democratic society has to be autonomous. Autonomy of educational system involves a whole range of aspects, from autonomy in the sense of absence of pressure on educationl system, to existence of inner mechanisms aimed at autonomy of actors of educational process themselves. All those aspects were the objects of a survey in the scope of this dimension. This dimension, also, includes the issue of the outcome which is expected from education.

Results of the survey show that in the largest number of aspects which were the objects of our survey within this dimension, values are on the level of the last year's research survey, therefore we cannot say there was a change (table 17). However, in one segment, we measured **a negative trend, and that is the aspect of efficiency of educational system in regard to realization of key educational goals** (3.26 versus 3.37). If we compare values of all indicators, the biggest problem of educational system, however, remains **absence of pressure by political structures and other centers of power on educational system** (3.11). Thus, in this area also, as well as in other areas, the key problem reflects itself in pressure by political structures and centers of power.

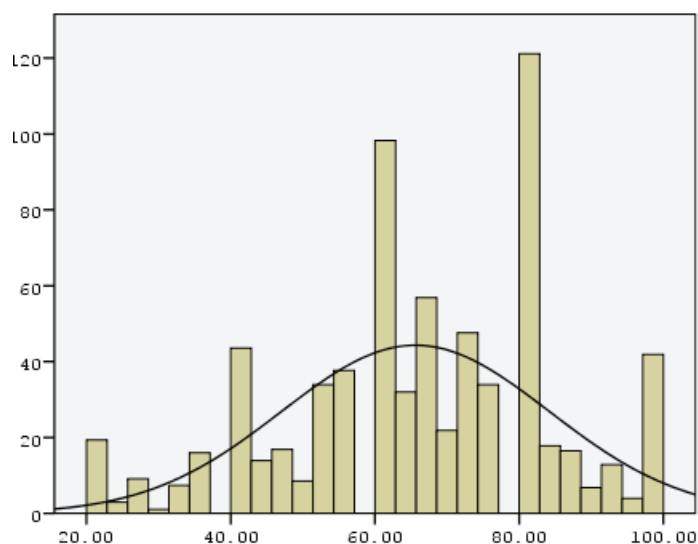
Table 17 Autonomy and efficiency of education- survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Existence of autonomy of University	3.10	3,18	3,23	3,24	1,074
Development of autonomy of students' personality, freedom and creativity in educational system	3.56	3,87	3,69	3,60	1,023
Absence of pressure by political structures and other centers of power on educational system	2.81	2,91	3,16	3,11	1,180
Absence of ideological contents from school curriculums	2.94	3,09	3,26	3,20	1,068
Efficiency of educational system in respect to realization of the key educational goals	3.16	3,33	3,37	3,26	1,087

*Table 17.1 Autonomy and efficiency of education- survey by indicators
– SCORE*

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	65,6147
95% Confidence interval	FROM 64,2583
	TO 66,9712
Median	68,0000
Variance	344,477
Standard deviation	18,56009
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 17. Autonomy and efficiency of education



4.3 Legality and control of educational system

Besides autonomy and efficiency, in a democratic society there have to be mechanisms of control of education which ensure its legality. This in fact means that a society has to develop a whole range of control measures for educational system in order to enable whole educational process to ensure efficiency and democraticity. Research survey of this dimension indicates that mean values by indicators are mostly on the level of the last year's research survey with one exception (table 18). Namely, it is a **possibility of evaluation of teachers' (professors') work and activity of institutions by students, and we have a positive trend about this aspect** (3.11 versus 3.00).

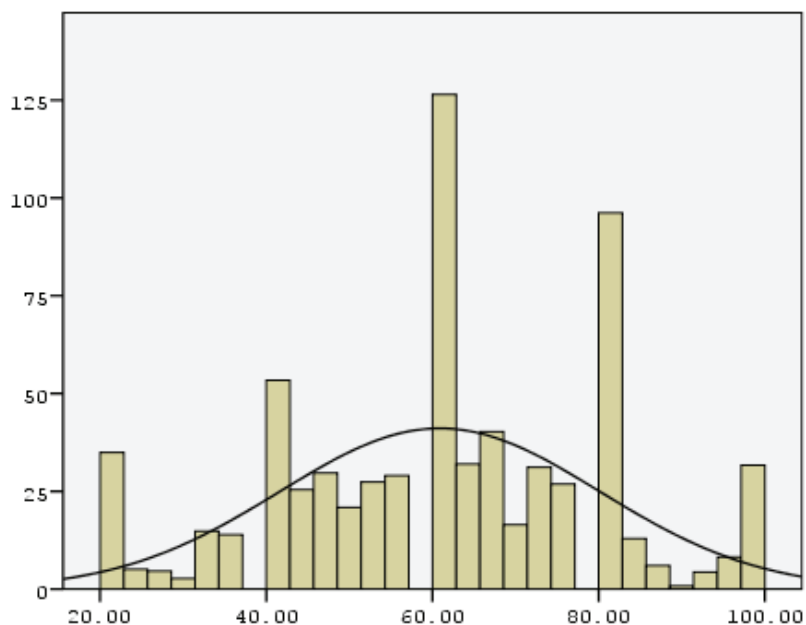
Table 18 Legality and control of educational system –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Efficiency of the law in stamping out corruption in educational system	2.71	2,75	2,87	2,86	1,135
Efficiency of the law in changing bad and bad-quality regulations	2.88	3,09	3,08	3,10	1,070
Existence of developed criteria on a national level for the assessment of quality of education	3.02	3,12	3,24	3,19	1,043
Respect of regulations by state services in assessing quality of educational institutions	2.94	3,05	3,22	3,19	1,058
Possibility of assessing activity of the teaching staff and institutions by students	2.76	2,85	3,00	3,11	1,121

Table 18 Legality and control of educational system – SCORE

Parameters		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		60,8796
95% Confidence interval	FROM	59,4446
	TO	62,3147
Median		60,0000
Variance		371,310
Standard deviation		19,26941
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 18. Legality and control of educational system



4.4. Pluralism in education

Respect of pluralism in educational system is one of the most important principles of ensuring democraticity in education. In the scope of this dimension, we considered all key principles which pluralism in this dimension should rest on. Results of the survey show that in one aspect within this dimension there was significant progress (table 19), and that is a **possibility of a pupil's – student's choice of educational contents** (3.58 versus 3.44). In all other aspects, situation is almost identical to the last year's. When we talk about this dimension, it should be noted that all mean values are very high and relatively even.

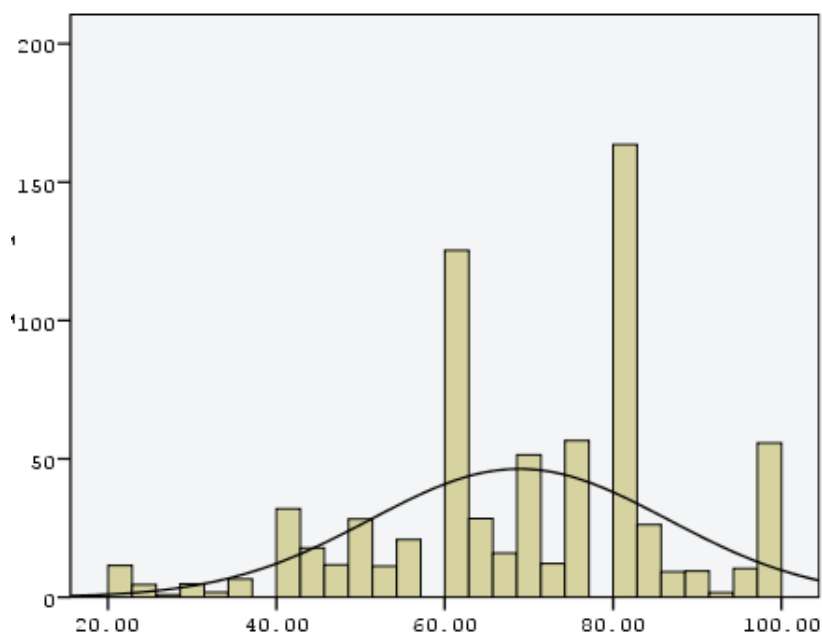
Table 19 Pluralism in education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Tolerancy development of students in respect to all forms of differences in educational system	3.35	3,52	3,41	3,45	1,016
Acceptance of gender, physical, cultural, ethnic and religious differences of society in school curriculums and programmes	3.41	3,51	3,48	3,47	1,028
Existence and application of a big number of teaching methods in educational process	3.13	3,31	3,34	3,34	1,044
Possibility of pupil's-student's choice of educational contents	3.06	3,43	3,44	3,58	,998

Table 19.1. Pluralism in education – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	68,8454
95% Confidence interval	FROM 67,5524
	TO 70,1384
Median	70,0000
Variance	311,170
Standard deviation	17,64002
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph 19.1. Pluralism in education



4.5 Influence and effectiveness of debate about education

Generally speaking, during previous years, there was some progress with the issue of public discussion in Montenegro at all levels. Public discussion ensures a whole range of important information which 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 public discussion on educational system (table 20). When we talk about this dimension, there are two aspects where we measured **positive trends and they are a possibility of initiating changes in educational system by teachers/professors (3.22 versus 3.14) and a possibility of initiating changes in university education by students (3.16 versus 3.08)**. Therefore, in the previous year educational system was more open when we talk about changes initiated by teaching staff and students. However, although it records a significant increase, indicator which refers to changes initiated by students at college/university education still is at the lowest level in comparison to other indicators, so that it is certainly necessary to put more effort in order to improve this aspect. Survey of other indicators does not show significant deviation in comparison to the previous period.

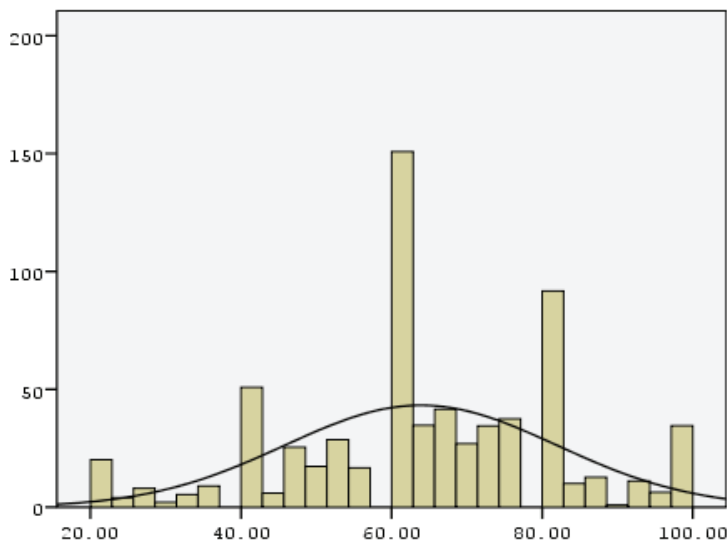
*Table 20 Influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education
– survey by indicators*

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Possibility of initiation of concrete changes in educational system by teachers/professors	2.98	3,14	3,14	3,22	1,015
Respect of opinion of NGO experts, respectful individuals and other people interested in the process of passing regulations and the law in education	3.03	3,25	3,23	3,30	1,069
Existence of a dialogue between competent state institutions and social organizations which deal with the education issue	3.12	3,32	3,29	3,31	1,005
Participation of national minorities organizations in planning educational programmes intended for national minorities	3.29	3,48	3,24	3,28	1,051
Possibility of initiation of concrete changes in university education by students, which are aimed at improvement of quality of university education	2.99	3,16	3,08	3,16	1,060

Table 20.1 Influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education – SCORE

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	63,8839
95% Confidence interval	FROM 62,5275
	TO 65,2402
Median	60,0000
Variance	327,578
Standard deviation	18,09913
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 20. Influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education



4.6 Transparency and availability of information in education

The issue of publicity and availability of information in educational system is very important because in this way, a 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 (table 21). **When we talk about this dimension, we measure positive trends in almost all aspects.** The only aspect where it can be said there was not progress is existence of public and transparent control of work of educational institutions (3.12 versus 3.10). However, on the other hand, **trends are strongly positive for all aspects of availability of relevant information to the public and systematic informing of the public by proper ministry.** Further on, it should be said, all values are very high and they show that democraticity in this respect is on a completely satisfactory level.

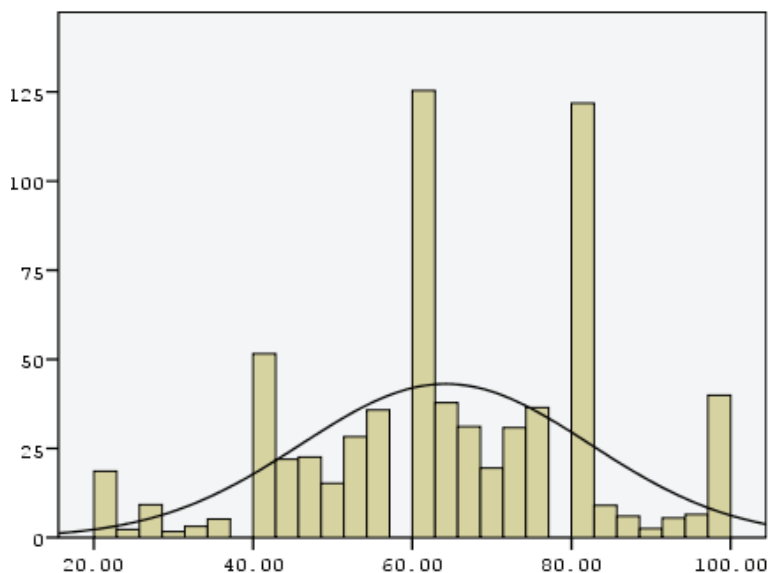
*Table 21 Transparency and availability of information in education
–survey by indicators*

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Existence of public and transparent control of activities of educational institutions	2.89	3,05	3,10	3,12	1,075
Certification and checking of coursebooks	3.05	3,20	3,21	3,31	1,101
Availability of relevant information about educational programmes to the public (the citizens and media)	3.03	3,16	3,24	3,32	,995
Availability of relevant information about student population activities to the public (the citizens and media)	3.09	3,08	3,22	3,33	,985
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	3,21	1,027

*Table 21.1 Transparency and availability of information in education
–survey by indicators*

Parameters	Statistics
Mean	64,1924
95% Confidence interval	FROM 62,8303
	TO 65,5545
Median	64,0000
Variance	330,972
Standard deviation	18,19264
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 21. Transparency and availability of information in education



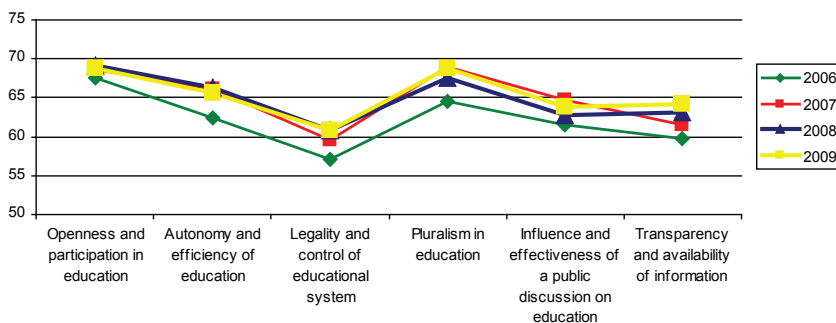
4.7 Summary indices for the area of education

Results of democraticity in education survey show positive trends (table 22). The most positive trend is for **pluralism in education** (68.8 versus 67.6), and then, when we talk about **influence and effectiveness of a public discussion on education** (63.9 versus 62.8) and for **transparency and availability of information** (64.2 versus 63.1). On the other hand, when we talk about openness and participation in education as well as autonomy in education, results show that democraticity in those segments is on the same level as it was a year ago.

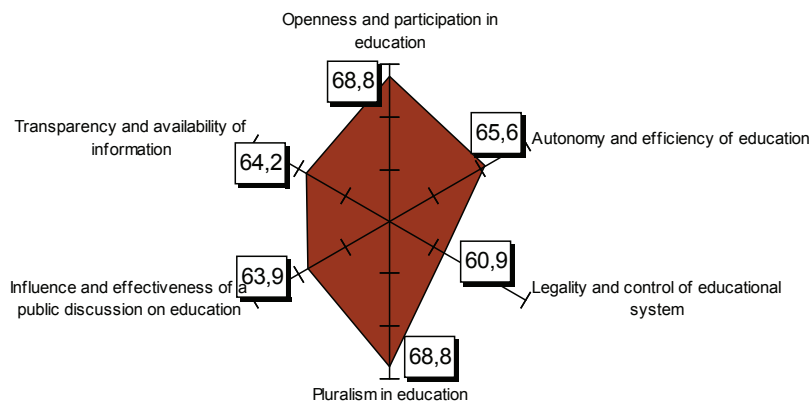
Table 22 Democraticity in educational process – summary by dimensions

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z SCORE
Openness and participation in education	67,6	68,6	69,2	68,8	-0,58 $p > 0,05$
Autonomy and efficiency of education	62,4	66,2	66,4	65,6	-1,16 $p > 0,05$
Legality and control of educational system	57,1	59,5	60,9	60,9	0,00 $p > 0,05$
Pluralism in education	64,6	68,9	67,6	68,8	1,85 $p < 0,05$
Influence and effectiveness of public discussion on education	61,6	64,8	62,8	63,9	1,59 $p = 0,055$
Transparency and availability of information	59,8	61,5	63,1	64,2	1,59 $p = 0,055$

Graph.22. Democraticity in education - TREND



Graph. 22.1. Democraticity in education area



If the mean values are compared by dimensions, it can be seen that one of them significantly falls behind and that is **legality and control of educational system, i.e. educational system is the most deficient in this respect**. However, it has to be pointed out that in comparison to other areas of democracy, all mean values by dimensions when we talk about education, are much higher, i.e. **generally, democracy in Montenegro has the fewest problems in regard to education** or the problems in all other areas are significantly more emphasised.

5. MEDIA

A role of media in contemporary democratic societies is irreplaceable. It may be pointed out that today 'politics' in the broadest sense, is adopted and forwarded by media, and in this respect, importance of media for democracy in general is more than significant. Synthesis 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. 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, 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. Practice 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 contemporary 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 controller of the government, take a role of a guardian dog of democracy and democratic values in general. 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 a 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.

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 changed daily. First of all, apart from 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 political scene and formation of a larger number of new parties, media, which still were under control of the governing structures, had to show a dose of elasticity and in that way reflect changes which had happened. It is of course true that state media favoured then, 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

democraticised 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 have 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 synthesise a unique value for the whole area.

5.1 Autonomy and independence of media

The first dimension which was the object of survey in this area is autonomy and independence of media. In this respect, we 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.

Results of this dimension research point to **three indicators for which we can say they have positive trends** (table 23). Those three indicators are absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations (2.61 versus 2.54), absence of pressure from national and religious communities (3.07 versus 2.93) and absence of pressure

from organizations and institutions from Serbia (3.25 versus 3.09). All other indicators which measure autonomy and independence of media are on the last year's level. When we compare the aspects, **the biggest problem, when we talk about autonomy of media, still is pressure on media from wealthy individuals and groupings (2.54).**

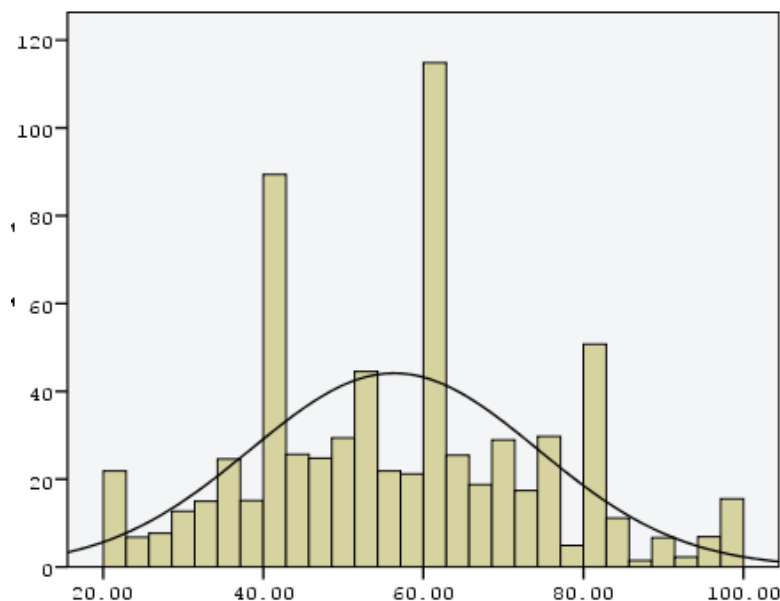
Table 23 Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Absence of pressure on media from authorities and state institutions	2.54	2,53	2,60	2,65	1,171
Absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations	2.57	2,50	2,54	2,61	1,124
Absence of pressure on media from rich individuals and groups	2.68	2,57	2,52	2,54	1,085
Absence of pressure on media from religious and national communities	3.07	3,08	2,93	3,07	1,101
Absence of pressure on media from organizations and institutions from Serbia	3.22	3,35	3,09	3,25	1,102
Autonomy of printed media	2.56	2,68	2,82	2,87	1,077
Autonomy of radio stations	2.74	2,80	2,92	2,93	1,056
Autonomy of TV stations	2.54	2,64	2,85	2,82	1,086

Table 23.1 Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	56,3612
95% Confidence interval	55,0239
	57,6984
Median	57,1429
Variance	322,443
Standard deviation	17,95670
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 23. *Autonomy and independence of media*



5.2. Professionalism of media

For media to fulfill their role in a democratic society, they have to be independent from one side, but from the other they have to respect professional standards relevant for media scene. This was the object of survey for this dimension. Results of the research show that in the previous year there were almost no changes when we talk about aspects which represent this dimension (table 24). If we compare indicators mutually, it can be seen that **the situation is the best when we talk about timely informing of the public (3.17), and comparatively it is the worst when we talk about objective informing of the public (2.95).**

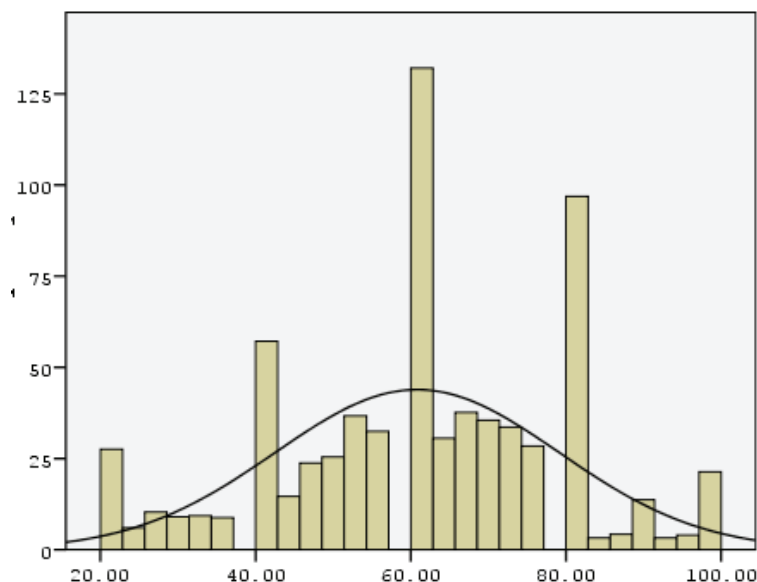
Table 24 Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Professional informing of the public	2.91	2,97	3,10	3,07	1,093
Objective informing of the public	2.81	2,85	2,95	2,95	1,094
Timely informing of the public	3.16	3,16	3,15	3,17	1,049
Professionalism of printed media	2.78	2,86	3,01	3,01	1,032
Professionalism of radio stations	2.99	3,02	3,17	3,11	1,028
Professionalism of TV stations	2.90	2,93	3,10	3,05	1,055

Table 24.1 Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistics
Mean	60,8206
95% Confidence interval	TO
	59,4664
95% Confidence interval	FROM
	62,1749
Median	60,0000
Variance	335,785
Standard deviation	18,32444
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 24. Professionalism of media



5.3. Non existence of monopoly and equality of media

Existence of monopoly in any segment of a democratic society represents a serious obstacle from the viewpoint of democratic principles realisation. When we talk about media, this problem is especially emphasised, simply because in a situation like that in the overall political communication only one political discourse can be dominant, and it's the one responsible for monopoly in media.

In Montenegro this issue is especially interesting. Namely, although once a state medium, RTCG was officially transformed into public service, there is an open doubt t in the public that it is still a state medium which works for the interest of the government and ruling political circles. On the other hand, new media appeared on the media scene in the meantime, precisely TV VIJESTI, which are not allowed by the Government to distribute TV signal throughout whole Montenegro, and they are equally not allowed to distribute their signal via most influential cable operator. Different administrative and

technical reasons are stated as reasons, and there are few doubts that it's a kind of political discrimination of TV VIJESTI since political discourse of this TV station is extremely oppositionally oriented and very critical towards this government.

When we talk about measuring indicators for this dimension (table 25), we can say that we have a **negative trend only for one single aspect and it is equality of radio stations** (2.66 versus 2.75). All other indicators point out that there were no changes in the last year. Further on, and it is an indicative datum, mean values are very close, which indicates that the situation is either very good or very bad in all aspects comprising this dimension.

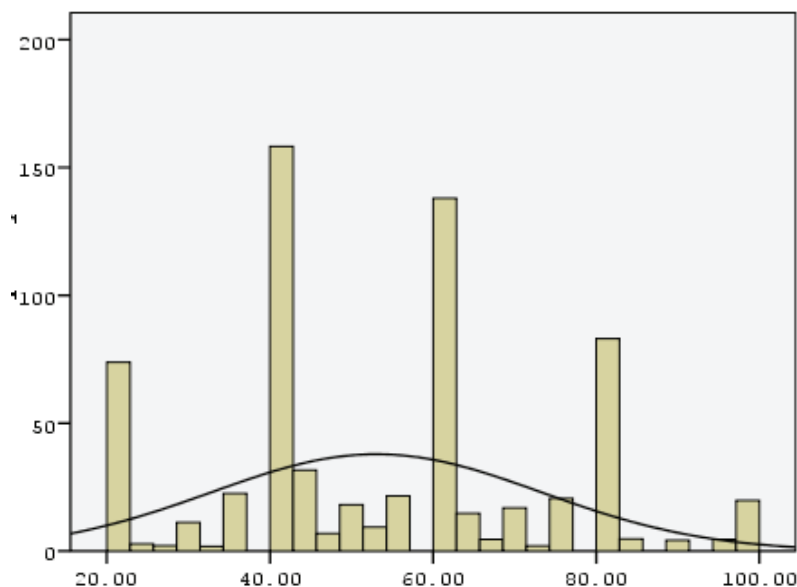
Table 25. *Non existence of monopoly and equality of media – survey by indicators*

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Equality of printed media	2.57	2,54	2,71	2,66	1,060
Equality of radio stations	2.62	2,59	2,75	2,66	1,080
Equality of TV stations	2.55	2,53	2,67	2,63	1,104
Absence of monopoly of some media in relation to the rest of media	3.13	2,57	2,70	2,66	1,121

Table 25.1. *Non existence of monopoly and equality of media – survey by indicators*

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	53,0473
95% Confidence interval	FROM 51,5144
	TO 54,5801
Median	53,3333
Variance	410,199
Standard deviation	20,25336
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 25. Non existence of monopoly and equality of media



5.4. Openness of media

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 a key component of democratic culture without which no institutional progress will achieve long-term results.

Surveying this dimension by means of indicators, we can see significant progress in two aspects (table 26). More precisely, last year there was significant progress for **openness of media to different**

political opinions and different ideologies (3.20 versus 3.05), then openness of media to different religious and national groupings who live in Montenegro (3.21 versus 3.14). Also when we talk about remaining two aspects of openness of media to free criticism of authorities and openness of media to the opinion of the citizens, civil organizations and respectable individuals, progressive numerical values can be seen, but on the level which is not statistically significant. Comparatively, the aspect which has the smallest numerical value is **openness of media to free criticism of authorities and other institutions and individuals** (2.82).

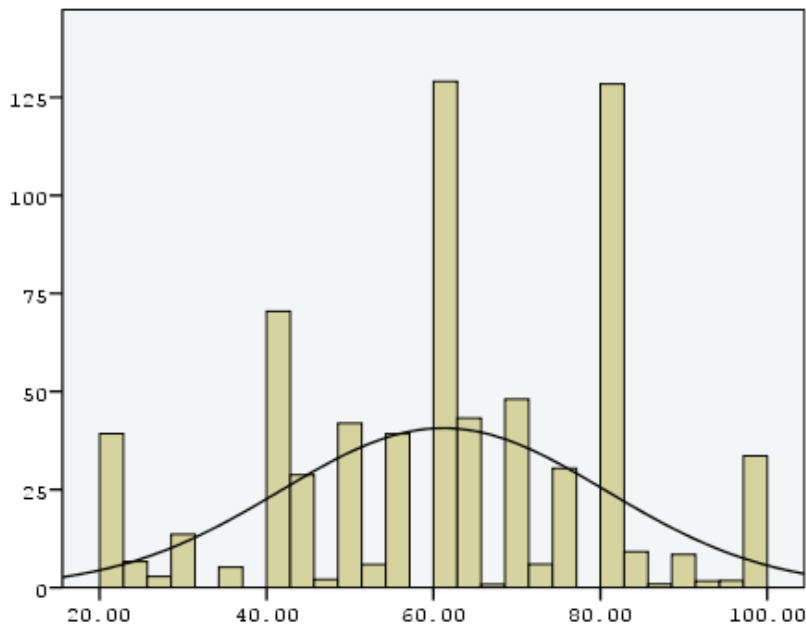
Table 26 Openness of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Media openness to different political opinions and different ideologies	2.59	2,56	3,05	3,20	1,091
Media openness to different religious and national groupings who live in Montenegro	3.16	3,32	3,14	3,21	1,052
Media openness to opinions of the citizens, civil organizations and respectable citizens	2.94	3,08	3,08	3,12	1,067
Openness and freedom to criticise authorities and other institutions and individuals	2.63	2,77	2,79	2,82	1,140

Table 26.1. Openness of media – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistics	
Arithmetic mean		61,1747
	OD	59,7215
95% Confidence interval	DO	62,6279
Median		60,0000
Variance		381,828
Standard deviation		19,54043
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 26. Openness of media



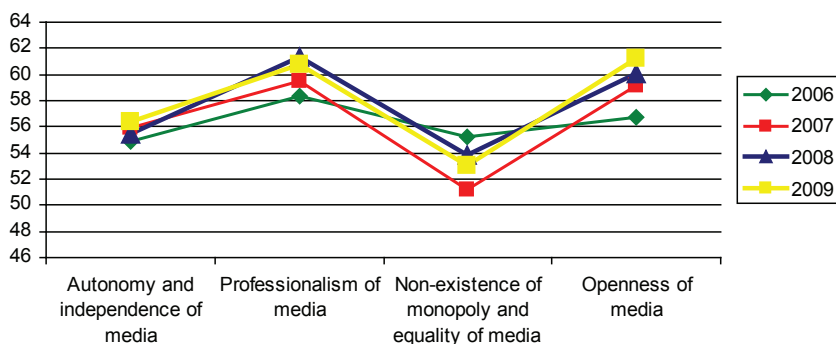
5.5 Summary indices for media area

Analysis of all dimensions involved in media area points out that **there was improvement in only one segment and it is openness of media** (61.2 versus 60.1) Therefore, the only thing we can be sure of, on the basis of measuring, is that media has been more open since a year ago than they were before. All other dimensions, when we talk about media, record neither positive nor negative trend, thus the situation is on the level of 2008.

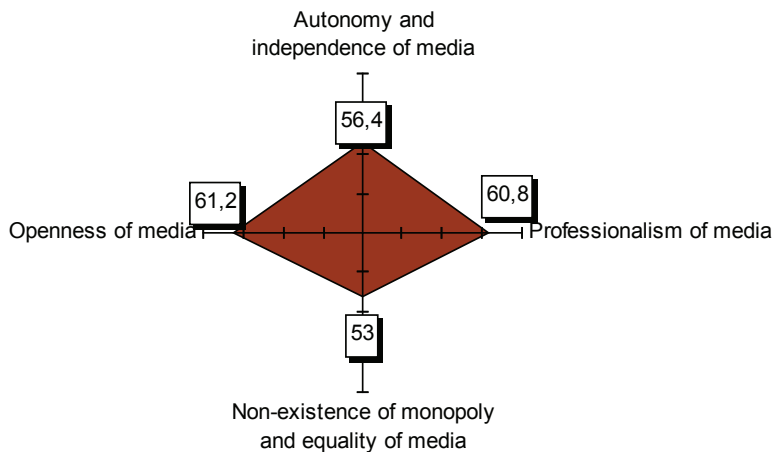
Table 27 Democraticity of media- summary by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z STAT
Autonomy and independence of media	54,9	55,9	55,5	56,4	1,32 $p > 0,05$
Professionalism of media	58,3	59,5	61,4	60,8	-0,87 $p > 0,05$
Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media	55,2	51,2	53,8	53,0	1,03 $p > 0,05$
Media openness	56,7	59,2	60,1	61,2	1,61 $p = 0,054$

Graph.27. Democraticity of media - TREND



Graph. 27.1 Democraticity of media



In summary, although situation in all areas which embody media practice is satisfactory, **situation of monopoly and equality of media is worrying**. The value of this dimension (53.0) is by far behind all other dimensions and it points out that when we talk about monopolies, we have a problem with democraticity in media area. The most probable reason for this datum is **prevalent perception of RTCG as a dominant state medium** (disregarding its public service status), then a fact that **there are serious indications that private media, which are aimed at criticism of the government, are silenced by governing structures and their oligarchies**. Here TV VIJESTI is a flagrant example. It seems that those two aspects are crucial and that they should be corrected in order to raise democratic capacity of Montenegrin society in the area of media.

6. NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The aim 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 impuls 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, 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 status 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 against minorities

- Existence of mechanisms for minorities protection

- 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 data 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

The first dimension of our survey is formal-legal protection of minorities. The aim of this dimension is to examine to what extent legal regulations protect rights of national minorities. This is a significant issue, simply because of the fact that this aspect of minority rights protection is a basic precondition for all other aspects and forms of equalization and integration of minorities into democratic structure and functioning of a whole society.

Results of the research survey point to two crucial things (table 28). Firstly, **according to all indicators, from 2007 till today, it has been clear that we have a stable negative trend.** Does it mean that formal-legal position of minorities deteriorated in the last two years? Not necessarily, but what we are completely sure of is that current formal-legal position is perceived as worse than it was earlier. Reasons for this can be different. One of the reasons can be a fact that coming

closer to EU, criteria for minority rights protection are raised and the public, especially minority members, are more critical in comparison to the previous period. A reason can be also that political and religious elites of minorities themselves raised criteria and that in a political discourse they established larger number of claims for better formal-legal protection. Secondly, with no regard to fall of the values of all measured indicators, it should be said that **all obtained values are even and relatively high**. Comparatively, the biggest problem in this dimension is existence of concrete actions of authorities for minority rights protection (3.26), so that this is the aspect which deserves special attention in future.

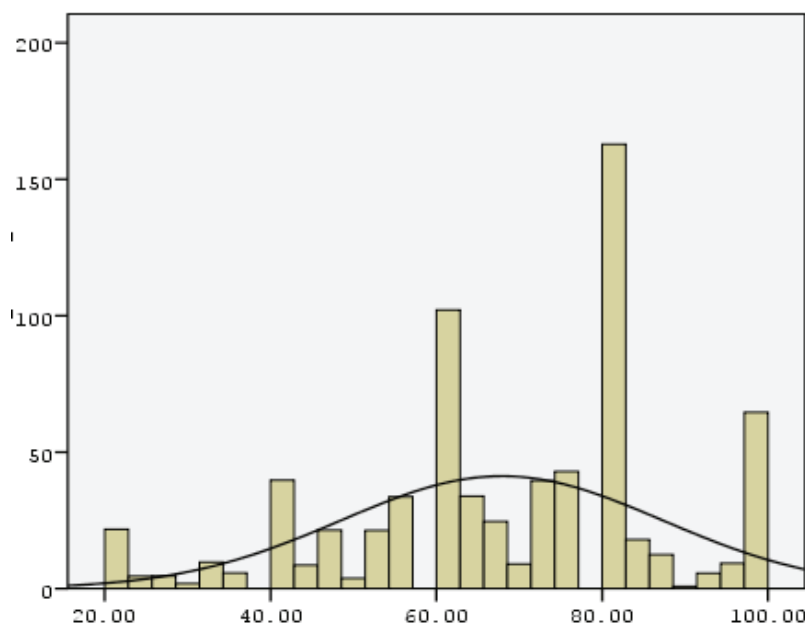
Table 28. Formal- legal protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Legal protection of national minorities	3.72	3,69	3,53	3,45	1,135
Legal protection of religious communities	3.61	3,70	3,50	3,42	1,101
Freedom of expression of religious belonging	3.70	3,71	3,59	3,53	1,068
Freedom of expression of political and cultural belonging of national minorities	3.61	3,59	3,51	3,42	1,106
Existence of concrete activities of authorities in order to protect minority rights	3.47	3,49	3,27	3,26	1,113

Table 28.1. Formal- legal protection of minorities – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	67,9018
95% Confidence interval	FROM 66,4629
	TO 69,3407
Median	72,0000
Variance	377,137
Standard deviation	19,42002
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 28. Formal- legal protection of minorities



6.2. Discrimination against minorities

One of the key issues when we talk about overall social and political position of minorities, is existence or nonexistence of all forms of discrimination against minorities. This was a direct object of our survey of this dimension which has six forms of discrimination as objects of research.

Results of the survey again indicate that we had negative trends in the previous year, and those trends are even more expressed if they are compared with 2007 (table 29). Therefore, **we undoubtedly have negative trends for each single indicator when we talk about discrimination against minorities.** It should be said that mean values, in comparison to other areas and dimensions of survey are not worrying, but a trend certainly is worrying. What, however, is the most worrying is comparative analysis by aspects, which points out that discrimination against minorities is the most present when we talk about **confidence in government that there won't be any discrimination against minorities in court procedures** (3.01) and discrimination

about the issue of **state concern for economic development of the region where national and religious minorities live** (3.05). Therefore, those are two crucial aspects where intervention is necessary when we talk about discrimination against minorities.

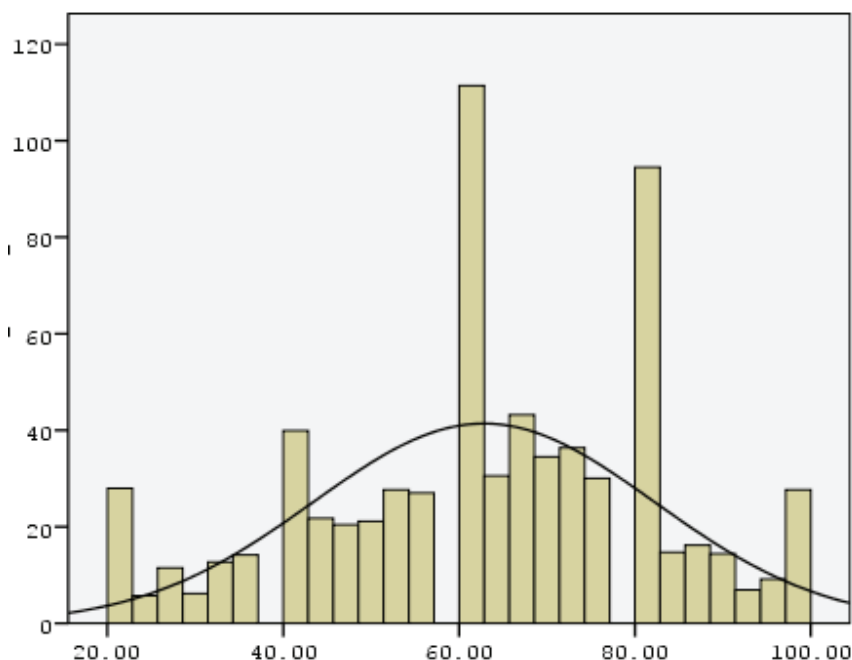
Table 29 Discrimination against minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Equality of minorities and majority nation in getting employment and promotion	3.54	3,47	3,29	3,25	1,187
Representative participation and promotion at work of national minorities in civil service	3.46	3,41	3,25	3,22	1,156
Impartiality of judiciary in processes which national and religious minorities take part in	3.17	3,30	3,24	3,21	1,077
Relation of trust towards authorities that there won't be any discrimination against national minorities in a court trial	3.30	3,19	3,20	3,01	1,112
Absence of discrimination against national and religious minorities by state offices and officials	3.42	3,38	3,33	3,21	1,108
State concern for economic and social development of the regions where national and religious minorities live	3.25	3,25	3,14	3,05	1,113

Table 29.1. Discrimination against minorities – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	62,8225
95% Confidence interval	FROM 61,3862
	TO 64,2588
Median	63,3333
Variance	377,628
Standard deviation	19,43264
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 29. Discrimination against minorities



6.3. Existence of mechanisms for minority protection

Especially important issue from the viewpoint of the overall state of democracy in a society is existence of mechanisms for minority protection. In international documents which deal with minority rights, as well as in practice of developed democratic societies, there is a whole range of developed mechanisms with the aim to protect minority rights. These mechanisms are partly institutional, but they also partly represent reactions of certain structures which are an integral part of democratic habitus of one society.

Our results in this respect again indicate that **in Montenegro we have had negative trends for two years when we talk about mechanisms for minority protection** (table 30). Therefore, in this respect the situation is getting worse, so that the public thinks that

mechanisms of minority protection are worse than a year ago, and especially than two years ago. However, as well as in the previous cases, on the average, the values are still relatively high, and situation is not alarming, but a trend is a reason for concern. By comparison of indicators, it can be seen that **situation of nonexistence of mechanisms for minority protection is the most critical when we talk about efficiency of a government machinery in cases of violation of minority rights** (3.08).

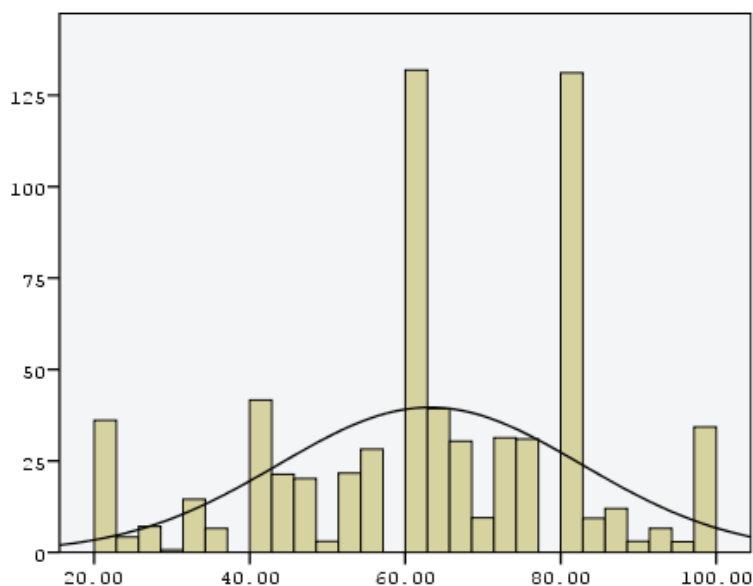
Table 30 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Degree of development of state institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities	3.48	3,42	3,28	3,19	1,097
Degree of development of civil society institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities	3.40	3,40	3,32	3,19	1,078
Existence of public reactions to the cases of minority rights violation	3.35	3,38	3,34	3,26	1,063
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	3,20	1,086
Efficiency of a state apparatus in cases of violation of national minority rights	3.23	3,23	3,13	3,08	1,104

Table 30.1 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	63,2097
95% Confidence interval	FROM 61,7399
	TO 64,6795
Median	64,0000
Variance	379,762
Standard deviation	19,48748
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 30. Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities



6.4. Attitude of majority towards minorities and correctness of public information

Especially important issue in a democratic system is a way which majority treats minorities in, and this issue is directly connected to the way the public is informed about minority status and minority rights. In this respect we introduced all crucial indicators which measure this dimension.

Results of the survey indicate that also **in this respect negative trends are expressed, especially in comparison to 2007** (table 31). The exception here is the indicator which measures absence of animosity speech against national and religious minorities in media (3.33), therefore, in this aspect the situation is on the same level as it was during previous years. However, the public thinks that the government does not make sufficient effort to help minorities make contact with home countries, then that a state does not take concrete actions in order to improve social position of national and religious minorities, and that national and religious minorities are not sufficiently involved in activities of organizations which protect their rights. However, in this respect it should also be pointed out that mean values for all indicators which measure this dimension are relatively high, and that there are no special reasons for concern, but negative trends should be certainly taken into account.

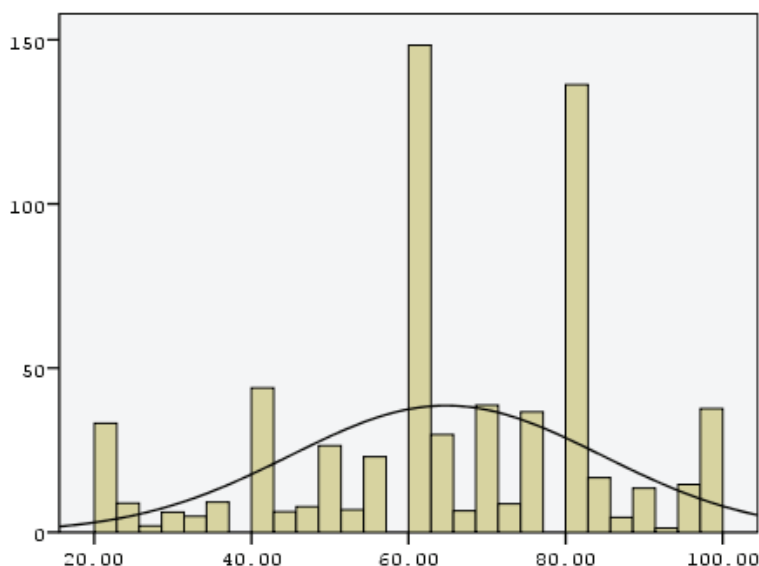
Table 31 Attitude of majority towards minorities and correctness of public information – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Absence of animosity speech in media towards national and religious minorities	3.32	3,31	3,34	3,33	1,098
Help of authorities in realisation of contacts and giving stimuli to cooperation between national minorities and home country	3.38	3,41	3,26	3,22	1,060
Participation and state support to the actions which provide better treatment of national and religious minorities	3.39	3,46	3,30	3,22	1,111
Participation of national and religious minorities in activities of the organizations which protect their rights	3.65	3,66	3,44	3,32	1,046

Tabela 31.1 Attitude of majority towards minorities and correctness of public information – SCORE

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	64,7943
95% Confidence interval	FROM 63,2915
	TO 66,2971
Median	65,0000
Variance	393,382
Standard deviation	19,83387
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 31. Attitude of majority towards minorities and correctness of public information



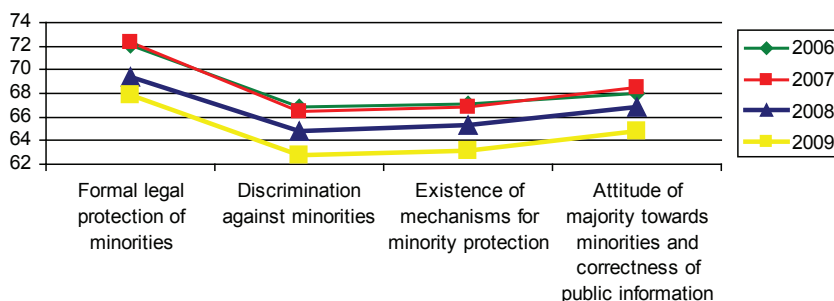
6.5 Summary indices for social position of national and religious minorities

Summary indices for the social position of national and religious minorities area undoubtedly point to negative trends we identified both for each single dimension and for almost all indicators which comprise dimensions. Therefore, we can say that **when we talk about national and religious minorities, implementation of democratic principles has had a negative trend for two years.** On the other hand, it is important to emphasise that mean values of all dimensions are still more than satisfactory if they are compared to other areas of survey, but what is worrying is stable negative trends.

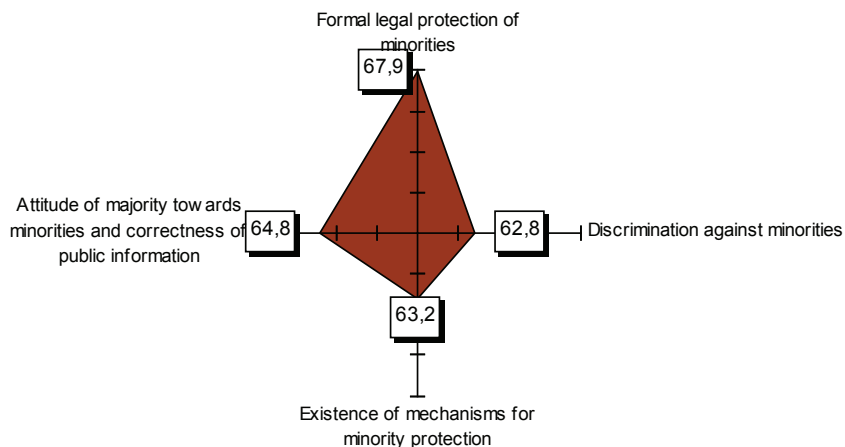
Table 32 Democraticity in the area of national and religious minorities – summary by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z STAT
Formal legal protection of minorities	72,1	72,4	69,4	67,9	-2,06 $p < 0,05$
Discrimination of minorities	66,9	66,5	64,8	62,8	-2,74 $p < 0,01$
Existence of mechanisms for minority protection	67,1	66,9	65,3	63,2	-2,80 $p < 0,01$
Attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information	68,0	68,5	66,8	64,8	-2,60 $p = 0,054$

Graph. 32 Social position of national and religious minorities - TREND



Graph. 32.1 National and religious minorities



On the basis of all trends, we raise a question, if it is really possible that in the previous two years there were negative trends in regard to overall social position of national minorities or there were some other factors which influenced change of the perception of the public. This remains an open question, and it can be a subject of discussion for all those who deal with those issues. Empirical data themselves cannot give the answer to this question. Our overall research experience, however, can suggest a possible answer to this question. The point is that here we have 'expectations'. Namely, before becoming an independent country, national and religious minorities had great expectations in independent Montenegro. These expectations were not realised to a sufficient extent, so that the same factual situation related to the position of minorities are assessed with lower values.

7. SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN

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 sufficient, gaining consciousness in respect to the needs of a 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.

We should especially take into account the transitional character of Montenegrin society, namely 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, strenghtening 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 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.

Results of a gender discrimination survey, in the broadest sense, are simply defeating (table 33). A situation is worse for every single aspect of gender equality survey than it was a year ago. To make the situation worse, data are even worse than they were in 2007. Data like these indicate that reaction should be urgent and fast when we talk about gender equality. Adequate measures should be taken in order to activate gender equality mechanisms and to stop an obviously negative trend. In this respect, we should certainly bear in mind a fact that what we have here is estimation of the public, and not objective indicators survey. This may mean not that the situation is worse, but that a rise of criteria (consciousness) has happened, so that the public has become more critical towards the gender equality issue which is not changed. However, even if it is so, some intervention in this area is necessary and we ask the public, relevant institutions and organizations to take actions for realization of basic principles of gender equality.

Table 33 Social position of women-survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Equal participation of women in all aspects of social life	3.08	2,99	3,12	2,96	1,248
Equal participation of women in authorities' bodies	2.92	2,89	3,05	2,86	1,232
Non-existence of discrimination against women on the occasion of employment and promotion at work	3.11	3,10	3,07	2,94	1,236
Non-existence of discrimination against women in companies, institutions and organizations	3.12	3,15	3,11	2,99	1,207
Non-existence of discrimination against women in families	2.64	2,64	2,76	2,60	1,210
Activities of organizations and institutions which protect women's rights	3.70	3,73	3,69	3,56	1,023
Non-existence of animosity speech towards women in media	3.79	3,85	3,75	3,69	,990

8. SOCIAL POSITION OF THE DISABLED

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.

When we talk about survey of this area (table 34), the same as with gender issues, **data show extremely negative trends for every single surveyed aspect. Therefore, in the previous year, treatment of the disabled became significantly worse.** In this respect there is also a possibility of interpretation that a situation is not really worse than it was, but that problems in this area became more obvious and/or the public became more critical. Anyway, there is no doubt that the democratic public estimates treatment of the disabled negatively and calls the responsible to take some actions in order to improve their social position.

Table 34 Attitude towards the disabled –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Existence of legal protection of the disabled	3.39	3,42	3,49	3,32	1,110
Existence of concrete actions of authorities for protection of the disabled	3.15	3,13	3,25	3,07	1,105
Non-existence of discrimination against the disabled	3.03	3,02	3,06	2,81	1,158
Existence of services and institutions which protect rights of the disabled	3.38	3,40	3,42	3,22	1,093
Educational system provides necessary knowledge for the disabled and children with special needs	3.48	3,45	3,44	3,26	1,096
Extent of adaptability of school objects to disabled children and children with special needs	2.78	2,81	2,84	2,70	1,186
Presence and appropriate treatment of the disabled in media	2.59	2,71	2,89	2,80	1,109

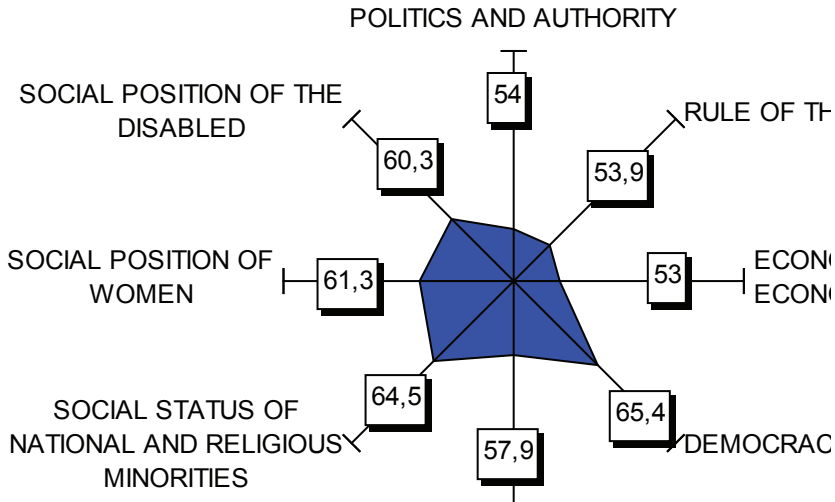
9. DEMOCRACY INDEX – SUMMARY

On the basis of all realised measuring, we formed a democraticity survey by areas in order to analyse state of democraticity of Montenegrin society. In table 35 and graph 33, composite scores of measurements for each area can be seen and they are the summary of all dimensions comprising the areas. Results of the research survey show that **democraticity is on the highest level when we talk about education (65.4) and social position of national and religious minorities (64.5)**. Further on, although we measure negative trends, **social position of women (61.3) and the disabled (60.3) is on the satisfactory level** in comparison to other areas. When we talk about **democraticity in media area (57.9), the situation can be qualified as satisfactory** (this is for comparative numerical, not in a qualitative sense). Finally, state of democracy is **the worst in politics and authority area (54.0), rule of the law (53.9) and area of economy (53.0)**. Therefore, **crucial tasks for further progress of democracy still remain democratization in the sphere of politics, rule of the law and economic transformation**. Analytically, we should bear in mind that all areas which were the object of measuring are mutually connected, more precisely, division by areas is empirical but it is also to a great extent analytical. This simply means that situation in one area is directly or indirectly related to other areas. Consequently, bad situation in identified areas represents an obstacle to further development of democraticity in other areas.

Table 35 DEMOCRACY INDEX

AREAS	N	I	SD
POLITICS AND AUTHORITY	750	54,0	18,02967
RULE OF THE LAW	744	53,9	18,02735
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	741	53,0	17,60962
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	732	65,4	15,88380
DEMOCRATICITY OF MEDIA	718	57,9	16,69259
SOCIAL POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	720	64,5	17,96142
SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN	736	61,3	19,20361
SOCIAL POSITION OF THE DISABLED	715	60,3	18,91799

Graph. 33. DEMOCRACY INDEX



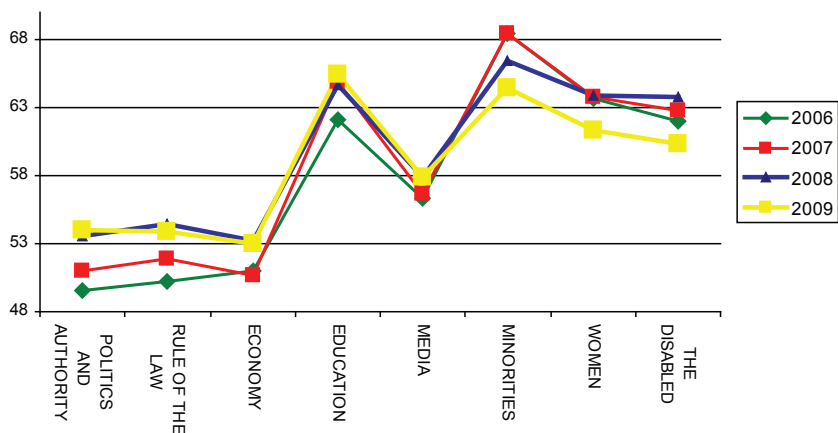
The object of our special interest when we talk about INDEX is survey of trends by areas, as well as a survey of a trend in total (table 36 and graph 34). The analysis shows that **trends are extremely negative when we talk about social position of the disabled (60.3 versus 63.8), social position of women (61.3 versus 63.9) and social position of national and religious minorities (64.5 versus 66.4)**. Therefore, although mean values of surveys in these areas are comparatively completely satisfactory, trends are warning. On the other hand, there was no regression in other areas, but there was no progress either. The problem here is very emphasised because the values themselves are unsatisfactory and also a lack of progressive trends is very worrying. Therefore, it was necessary to realise positive shifts in all areas, especially in politics, law and economy, where there was no progress.

Table 36 DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND

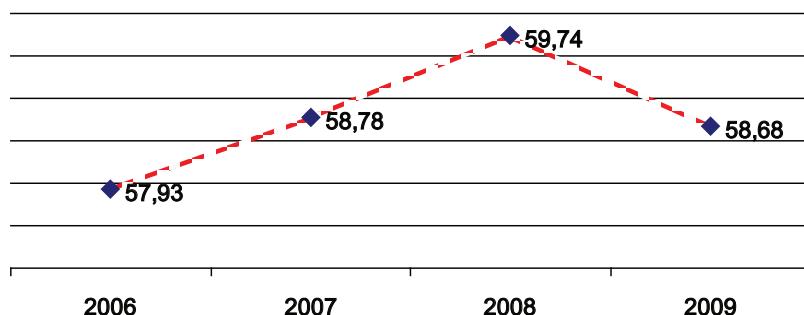
	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z STAT
POLITICS AND AUTHORITY	49,6	51,0	53,6	54,0	0,61
RULE OF THE LAW	50,2	51,9	54,4	53,9	-0,76
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	51,0	50,7	53,2	53,0	-0,31
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	62,1	64,9	64,7	65,4	1,19
DEMOCRATICITY OF MEDIA	56,3	56,7	57,9	57,9	0,00
SOCIAL POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	68,5	68,4	66,4	64,5	-2,84*
SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN	63,7	63,8	63,9	61,3	-3,66*
SOCIAL POSITION OF THE DISABLED	62,0	62,8	63,8	60,3	-4,93*

* $p < 0,01$ (one-sided test)

Graph. 34. DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND BY AREAS



Graph. 35. DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND



Finally, negative trends we identified by areas can be also clearly seen when the total value of INDEX is compared to the previous research survey (graph. 35). In 2009 the average value of INDEX is 58.68 versus 59.74 value from 2008 (Z statistics = 1.96; $p < 0.05$ – one-sided test). Therefore, democracy of Montenegrin society today is on a lower level than it was last year. Reasons for this datum are negative trends in the areas of social position of the disabled, social position of women and social position of national and religious minorities, and there was no progress in other areas. How can we understand these findings? First of all, it should be clearly said that here we have estimations of the public, not measuring based on objective indicators. More precisely, when we talk about categories of progress and regression, we talk about how the citizens estimate state of democracy. Further on, this means that we have perception of the public, or more precisely, there still remains a possibility that in reality the situation is perhaps different from the one as the public estimates it. This is not defence of negative trends, but just clarification of obtained results. In reality, a possibility which is still completely open is that things did not change in the previous year, but that critical consciousness of the public is on a higher level. This critical consciousness can be a resultant of a rapid process of European integrations, which leads to greater expectations of the citizens. However, higher degree of criticism of negative phenomena in society, which were, from various reasons tolerated before, is equally possible. Anyway, critical consciousness of the public is one of significant elements of the overall state of democracy within one society, and what INDEX insists on is that reforming actions, which will be aimed at direction of further development of democracy, should be taken by authorised bodies, institutions and individuals, in accordance with expectations and needs of the democratic public in Montenegro.