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Department for Empirical Research

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**DEMOCRACY INDEX
MONTENEGRO 2012**

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INTRODUCTION

Democracy Index is a project which CEDEM realised for the first time in 2006. Afterwards, since the idea was to realise a longitudinal research survey, the project was realised in 2007, 2008 and in 2009 in succession. Unfortunately, from objective reasons, the project could not have been realised in two years which followed. Therefore, after two years of pause, thanks to the cooperation with CES and Konrad Adenauer foundation, in 2012 we used identical methodology and realised a survey of state of democracy in Montenegro.

First of all, when we talk about socio-political context, it is important to bear in mind that in the last three years which we do not have data for, some social and political processes which are certainly relevant for the obtained results, happened. However, in the same way the processes which happened are important, also the processes which did not happen should be taken into account. Here, first of all, we have in mind that Montenegro still is a state where the authorities have not changed even after 22 years, since the fall of socialism and beginning of the process of social transition. In the same way the authorities have not changed, the actors on the opposing political scene have not changed. It resulted in a kind of cementing of electorate on the political market. In this way we undoubtedly have one kind of political conservatism which certainly influences deficiency of capacities for changes in some important aspects of social life, especially those closely related to politics and political activities of the ruling elite. What is important to bear in mind is a fact that even after six years of independence crucial social cleavages, which have defined the overall social dynamics for long, have not disappeared. Here we certainly have in mind the cleavage which became explicit on referendum in 2006, and that is a division on pro-Serbian and authentic Montenegrin bloc. Besides political this cleavage also has wider social and economic dimension, and it is particularly responsible for political tensions, domination of one (pro-Montenegrin) political elite, and problems which come out from this situation on the widest social plan and in the field of international relations. In this constellation, in political and social life, two political discourses which consistently follow this crucial cleavage. One discourse is dominantly related to interests of the ruling elite and it ranges from the pro-European policy to criticism of

pro-Serbian elements in the society. The other is aimed against the authorities, and this discourse implicitly defends positions of pro-Serbian electorate, and explicitly uses corruption and crime in the ruling structures as key concepts. Main power of the former is a fact that the governing structures have not changed since the fall of socialism and that it provides continuity and reproduction of the governing structures, and main power of the latter is longevity of the governing structures which obviously have problems with corruptive behaviour. Main weakness of the former is deficiency of capacities for integration of the whole society on a civil platform, whereas main weakness of the latter is bad political leadership and inability to impose the opposing structures as a serious alternative to the governing structures.

However, as we have already said, apart from the things which did not happen, there were certain changes in the previous period. The first and the crucial one is that Montenegro made progress in the process of European integrations, and at the time of writing this report Montenegro got the date for beginning of negotiations for joining the EU. It is the last step before getting membership in the EU. Honestly, although membership in the EU is not a dominant political theme, and that is due to 'material fatigue' and longevity of this theme, the road to membership in the EU made essential contribution to certain improvements in sense of democracy, starting from change of legislative which is permanently being synchronised with European standards, over strengthening of all mechanisms of control of the governing structures, to strengthening integrities of the institutions themselves. These changes unfortunately, are not followed by positive economic trends, but it is clear that the economics of the society is not the only reason for this situation, but also the world economic crisis which especially strikes small and dependent economies as Montenegrin is.

However, independently from joining the EU there were certain changes in Montenegro, first of all in an institutional sense. Degree of responsibility in the overall technocratic-bureaucratic work is improved, capacities of institutions are strengthened, and also, there is change of generations, where each new generation latently makes requests for speaking contemporary technocratic language at all levels. It seems that especially media became stronger in the previous period, not so much in professional sense, as in sense of their monitoring behaviour of authorities and individuals, and the overall influence of

creation of public opinion. There was an expansion in the area of education, not only in the sense of quantity but also in the sense of quality. Some private universities were opened, and democratic mechanisms strengthened by means of which pupils/students and their parents have more and more influence on the process of making decisions.

Therefore, in short, it can be expected that also when we survey situation democracy is in we find some improvement, and to what extent, in which direction and in which aspects, is the aim of Index as a research survey project.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL PLATFORM

There can be a lot of discussion about democracy. The number of democracy definitions, from the antique one to the contemporary political theory, is fascinating. Naturally, depending on concrete experience and cultures of different societies, then on different historical contexts, the 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 essence, 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 exchange faith in

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

When we talk about a conceptual scope, 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 indicates 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 surroundings showed alliance, and 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 equality 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, i.e. empirical particles which in their cumulative form offer necessary information on the basis of which Index is created. Indicators represent state of democracy in relation to

the aspects which represent operationalization of the democracy concept itself within 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 LAW
- ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION
- EDUCATION
- MEDIA
- NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
- SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN
- SOCIAL POSITION OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

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 these areas separately and in the final outcome, get the 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 that 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.

However, we have a few more important methodological comments. The leading idea during creation of the Index was to realize only measuring of the situation 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 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.

Process of indexing 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 enables 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 the 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 (2.79 versus 2.45) as well as for the efficiency of local authorities control (2.82 versus 2.49). Also when we talk about public control of secret service and security service, a trend is positive (2.87 versus 2.73). On the other hand, when we talk about lawfulness of authority bodies' work, absence of corruption and crime in state and municipal authorities, the 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 (2.45 versus 2.07), as well as about presence/absence of corruption and crime in local authorities (2.55 versus 2.24), we measure positive trends, although there was no progress in those two aspects in the period 2008 – 2009. However, regardless of the trend, we cannot be satisfied with the values in this dimension, or in other words, **it still remains that corruption in work of state and local authorities are the two aspects we must insist on in the following period.**

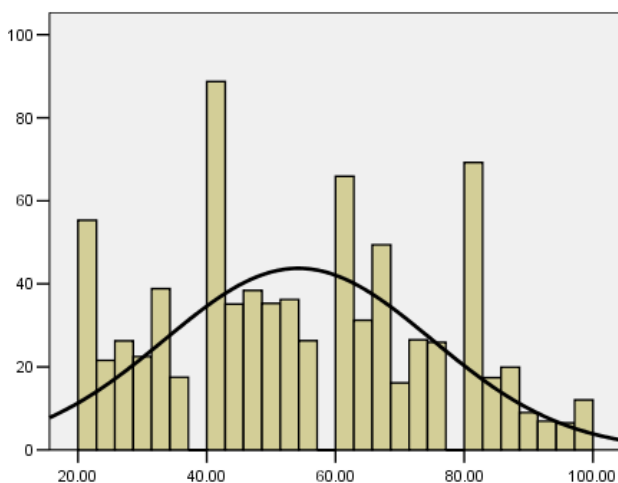
Table 1 – Control and lawfulness of authorities –survey of all indicators

INDICATORS	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Efficiency of civil control of state authority	2.18	2,25	2,35	2,45	2,79	1,25
Efficiency of civil control of local (municipal) authority	2.26	2,23	2,38	2,49	2,82	1,29
Public and governmental control of secret services and security police	2.32	2,43	2,62	2,73	2,87	1,26
Legality in authority bodies'activities	2.46	2,59	2,68	2,66	2,81	1,27
Absence of corruption and crime in state authority	1.95	1,99	2,08	2,07	2,45	1,21
Absence of corruption and crime in local (municipal) authority	2.04	2,12	2,21	2,24	2,55	1,23

Table 1.1 – Control and lawfulness of authorities - SCORE

Parameters			Statistics
Arithmetic mean			54,2116
95% Confidence interval	FROM		52,7665
	TO		55,6567
Median			53,3333
Variance			432,685
Standard deviation			20,8011
Minimum			20,00
Maximum			100,00
Range			80,00

Graph. 1. Control and lawfulness of authorities



1.2. Transparency (Publicity) of the 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 2009, there is either slight progress or stagnation with most of the indicators. Transparency in work of state and also local authorities recorded slight progress, and we measured **a negative trend for objectivity of media about following activities of the Government and the Parliament**. The value of this indicator returned to a low level from 2008. What is especially interesting is that this indicator, although we measure a regressive trend, has the highest mean value in comparison with all other indicators. Comparatively, inside the dimension itself, it is obvious that in the following period additional effort is necessary in order to improve publicity of work of state and local authorities, and this includes also the need to improve mechanisms of enabling citizens to have the insight into activities of authorities.

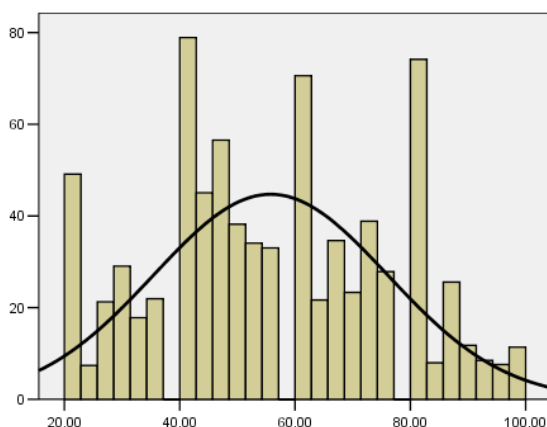
Table 2 – Transparency (publicity) of authorities – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Publicity of governmental authorities' activity	2.49	2,53	2,73	2,74	2,78	1,204
Publicity of local authorities' activity	2.51	2,59	2,76	2,79	2,82	1,218
Media objectivity in following activities of the government and the Parliament	2.81	2,85	2,97	3,05	2,96	1,192
Possibility that citizens have an insight into the process and making of important political decisions	2.39	2,46	2,66	2,65	2,77	1,218
Availability of information from legal authorities and services to journalists	2.60	2,58	2,77	2,75	2,79	1,202
Availability of information from legal authorities and services to citizens	2.37	2,32	2,50	2,52	2,67	1,178

Table 2.1 – Transparency (publicity) of authorities - SCORE

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	55,7674
95% Confidence interval	54,3560
FROM	57,1788
TO	
Median	53,3333
Variance	411,700
Standard deviation	20,2904
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 2. Transparency (publicity) of authorities



1.3. Accountability and changeability of the Government

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 Montenegrin context. A 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 for us 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 (table 3), in comparison to the previous research, first of all it is clear that we have negative trends in several aspects. Firstly, there is **changeability of authorities both on state and local levels**, and also **responsibility of ministers and ministries**. In these three aspects, the surveyed values are even lower than the values we measured in 2008, therefore, we have a distinct negative trend. Also when we talk about legitimacy of authorities and responsibility of authorities, trends are negative, also below the level from 2009, but above the level from 2008. Therefore, these are the four aspects which should be insisted on in the following period. When we talk about other aspects, we have slight improvement, which in some cases does not go above the line of statistical significance in comparison with 2009.

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

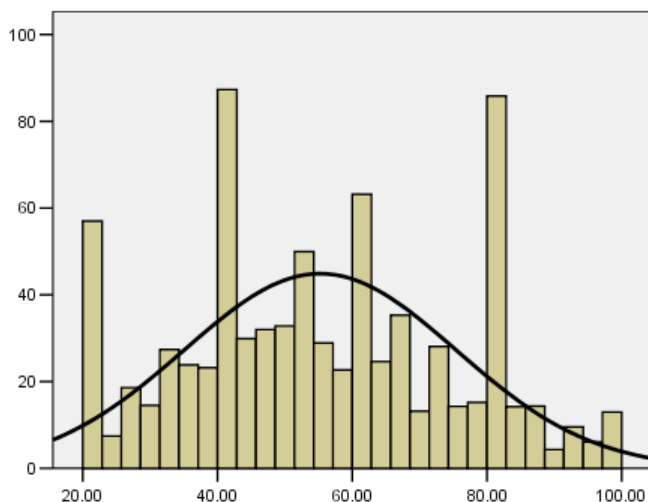
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Governmental authority as citizens' service	2.35	2,39	2,58	2,57	2,62	1,221
Local authority as citizens' service	2.46	2,48	2,66	2,66	2,68	1,195
Responsibility and conscientiousness of state administration as citizens' service	2.44	2,47	2,71	2,68	2,72	1,148
Responsibility and conscientiousness of local administration as citizens' service	2.53	2,54	2,73	2,71	2,81	1,169
Responsibility and conscientiousness of members of the Parliament	2.26	2,32	2,49	2,47	2,68	1,165
Responsibility and conscientiousness of ministries and ministers	2.43	2,44	2,67	2,73	2,66	1,171
Changeability of governmental authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	2.71	2,77	2,87	2,89	2,80	1,292

Changeability of local authorities on the elections and in compliance with democratic procedures	2.89	2,88	3,08	3,06	2,93	1,295
Legitimacy of authorities	2.91	3,12	3,33	3,29	3,01	1,322
Responsibility of authorities and citizens' interests protection	2.30	2,32	2,60	2,55	2,76	1,264

Table 3.1. – Responsibility and changeability of authorities – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmethic mean	55,2233
95% Confidence interval	FROM 53,8163 TO 56,6303
Median	54,0000
Variance	409,305
Standard deviation	20,2313
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 3. Responsibility and changeability of authorities



1.4. Professionalism in the Work of Government Bodies

Democracy today to a great extent, in fact represents rule of technocracy. Knowledge and professionalism are the basis of efficient functioning of democratic institutions. Consequently, professionalism at 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 a survey of this dimension **unambiguously show that there are negative trends in every single aspect**. Therefore, citizens of Montenegro think that the situation is worse in every single aspect than it was in 2009, and the situation is even worse if we notice that mean values are lower than in 2008. Thus, we have a long-term negative trend, **so that in the following period special attention should be paid to strengthening all the aspects which would strengthen professionalism at work of the authorities on all levels**.

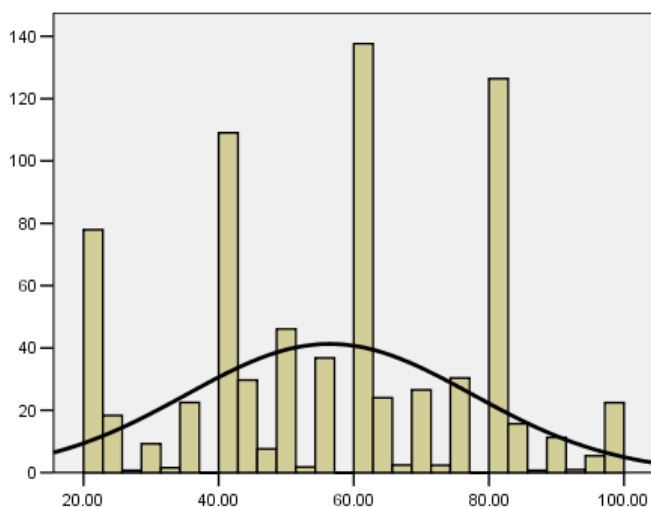
Table 4. Professionalism in authority bodies' work - survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in governmental services and ministries	2.74	2,88	2,94	3,00	2,87	1,188
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in local authorities	2.65	2,73	2,88	2,85	2,83	1,182
Professionalism and vocational skills of the officials in the Parliament and its bodies	2.69	2,80	2,86	2,94	2,85	1,170
Respect of minorities by majority at all levels of authority	2.44	2,53	2,67	2,69	2,74	1,184

Table 4.1 Professionalism in authority bodies work – SCORE

Parametres			Statistics
Mean			56,3975
95% Confidence interval	FROM		54,8964
	TO		57,8987
Median			60,0000
Variance			448,629
Standard deviation			21,1809
Minimum			20,00
Maximum			100,00
Range			80,00

Graph. 4. Professionalism in authority bodies' work



1.5. Summary Indicators in Area of Democraticity of Political Processes

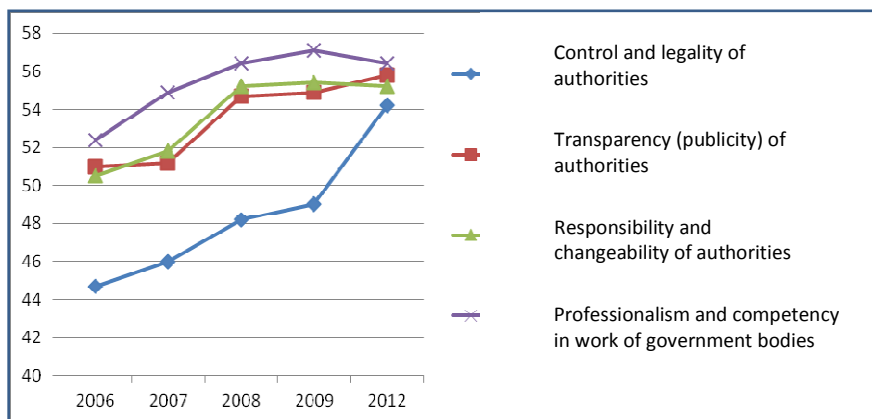
There is a comparative review of all dimensions in table 5¹, as well as of a trend in comparison to the previous research surveys. The results show that the only progress was made with control and legitimacy of authorities, whereas in all other dimensions we surveyed stagnation. From this point of view, differences which can be noticed numerically cannot be qualified as statistically significant. Therefore, what remains is to **put additional effort in strengthening control, transparency, responsibility and professionalism at work of the authorities.**

Table 5. Politics and authority – summary by dimensions

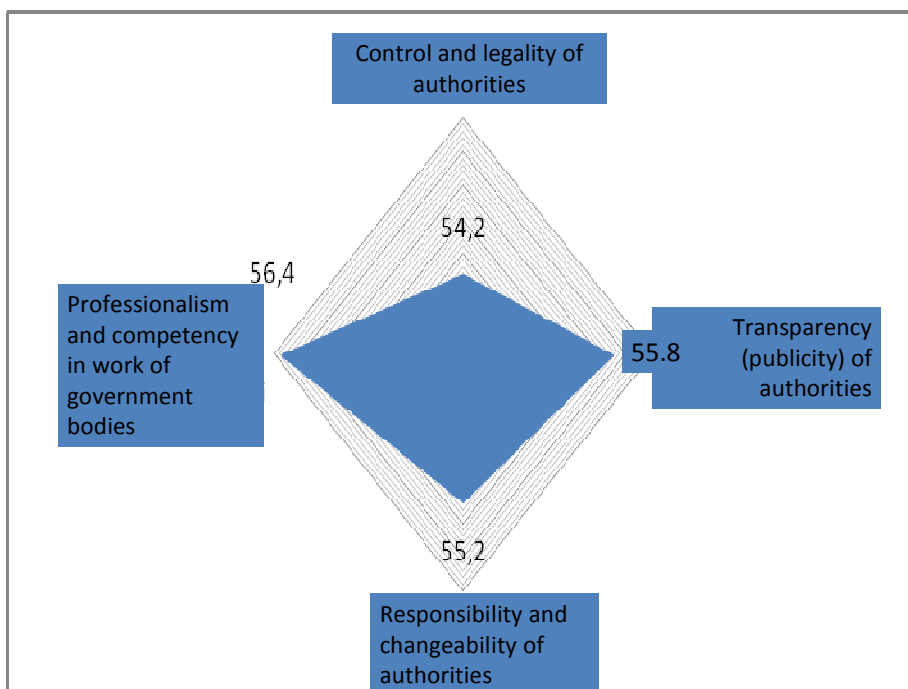
Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	t stat.
Control and legality of authorities	44,7	46,0	48,2	49,0	54,2	7.08; p<0,01
Transparency (publicity) of authority	51,0	51,2	54,7	54,9	55,8	1,21; p>0,05
Responsibility and changeability of authority	50,5	51,8	55,2	55,4	55,2	0,03; p>0,05
Professionalism and competence in authority bodies' work	52,4	54,9	56,4	57,1	56,4	0,92; p>0,05

¹ Cumulative scores are always given within the range from 20 – 100, where 100 is a maximal value

Graph 5.1 Democraticity of political processes–TREND



Graph 5.2 Democraticity of political processes



Finally, if we analyse scores by dimensions (graph. 5.2) within the scope of democraticity of political processes, we can see that, although there is the largest progress in this aspect in comparison with 2009, **the biggest problem is the issue of control and legality of authorities**. Therefore, a conclusion still remains that in this respect crucial progress has to be achieved, 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 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 must not 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 emphasized, by national political actors as well as international ones, as a priority in the sense of enforcement of overall reforms. 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 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 before 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 some positive trends** (table 6), and this is important considering the fact that we surveyed negative trends in the period 2008-2009. Comparatively, **the highest mean value refers to**

the aspect of lawfulness of a process of passing laws in the interest of all the citizens disregarding their differences, and we survey the lowest mean value when we talk about equality of individuals in front of the law.

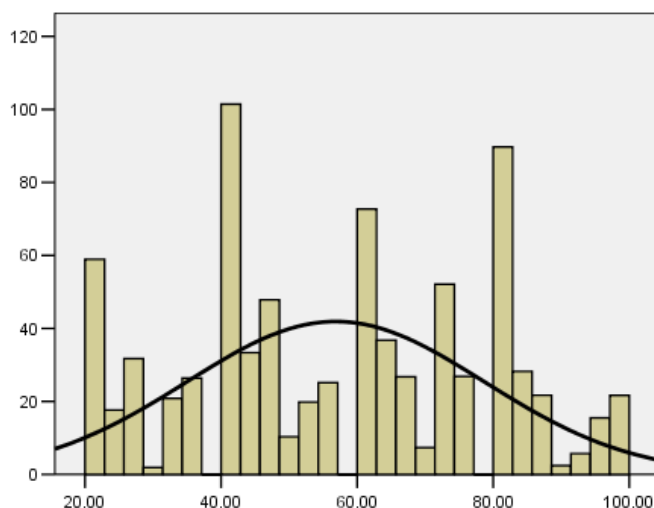
Table 6 Equality in front of the law – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Legality of the process of passing the law in interest of all citizens, 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	3,12	1,185
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	3,01	1,290
Equality in a process of enforcement of the law disregarding the material status of an individual	2.30	2,43	2,63	2,48	2,76	1,217
Equality of enforcement of the law disregarding citizens' political, ideological or party affiliation	2.30	2,42	2,66	2,49	2,76	1,245
Equality of individuals in bodies of authority in front of the law	2.23	2,23	2,42	2,45	2,63	1,260

6.1. Equality in front of the law – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	56,8365
95% Confidence interval	FROM 55,3233 TO 58,3497
Median	60,0000
Variance	477,145
Standard deviation	21,8437
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 6. Equality before of the law



2.2. Accessibility to Legal Protection

Our goal in this part of the research is 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 were some positive trends in all three surveyed aspects**. Comparatively, the biggest problem is **equality of legal protection disregarding political or party affiliation**.

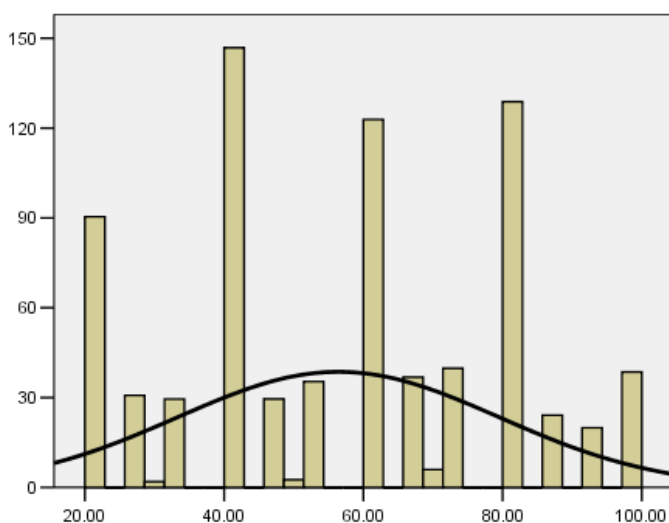
Table 7 Availability of legal protection – survey of all indicators

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Legal protection is provided equally for all the citizens disregarding their material status	2.39	2,45	2,65	2,60	2,83	1,240
Legal protection is provided equally for all the citizens disregarding their national or religious affiliation	2.66	2,77	2,88	2,85	2,90	1,243
Legal protection is provided for all the citizens disregarding their political or party affiliation	2.36	2,65	2,80	2,63	2,74	1,258

Table 7.1 Availability of legal protection – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	56,4069
95% Confidence interval	FROM 54,7847
	TO 58,0292
Median	60,0000
Variance	535,276
Standard deviation	23,1360
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. A problem of autonomy of judiciary 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 aspect is

the pressure on judiciary by authorities and political structures of power. Surveying of this dimension indicates that during the last year there were different trends in relation with the aspects which were the objects of the survey (table 8). We surveyed a positive trend for independence of judiciary from the influence of parties, from the influence of the government and state services and also from the influence of powerful individuals. We surveyed a negative trend for independence of judiciary from the influence of the Parliament, from the influence of nongovernmental organizations and from the influence of religious organizations. When we talk about the influence of EU organizations mean value is identical to values from 2008 and 2009. Disregarding relative progress in comparison with 2009, **the biggest problem remains independence of judiciary from political parties, government and state services.**

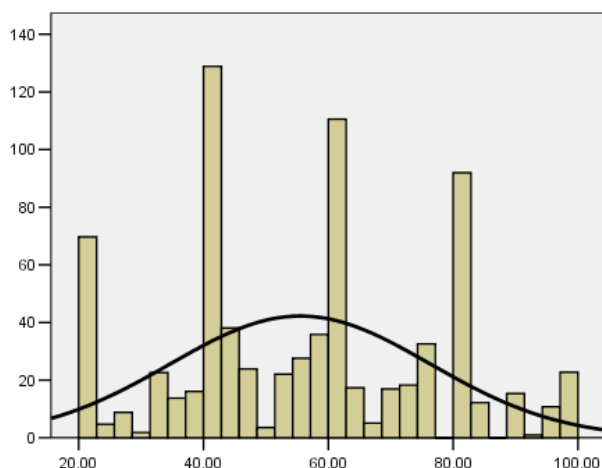
Table 8 Autonomy of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Independence of judiciary from the influence of political parties	2.22	2,33	2,54	2,53	2,64	1,209
Independence of judiciary from the influence of the government and state services	2.23	2,29	2,51	2,48	2,58	1,205
Independence of judiciary from the influence of the Parliament	2.52	2,54	2,73	2,74	2,71	1,210
Independence of judiciary from the influence of powerful and wealthy individuals and groupings	2.16	2,21	2,34	2,39	2,70	1,243
Independence of judiciary from the influence of nongovernmental organizations	3.04	3,11	3,20	3,15	3,01	1,190
Independence of judiciary from the influence of religious organizations and churches	3.30	3,34	3,34	3,28	3,12	1,197
Independence of judiciary from the influence of EU organizations	2.92	2,90	2,86	2,86	2,86	1,213

Table 8.1 Autonomy of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Parametres			Statistics
Mean			55,4910
95% Confidence interval	FROM	TO	54,0193
			56,9627
Median			57,1429
Variance			433,901
Standard deviation			20,8303
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 distinct. 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 are slight positive trends in all the aspects except professionalism and judges' expert qualifications for efficient application of law**, and the mean value we surveyed is lower even in comparison with 2008. However, comparatively, in relation to other indicators, this value is still on the highest level, and **the largest deficit is in efficiency of judiciary and presence of corruption in judiciary due to the influence of individuals and groupings**.

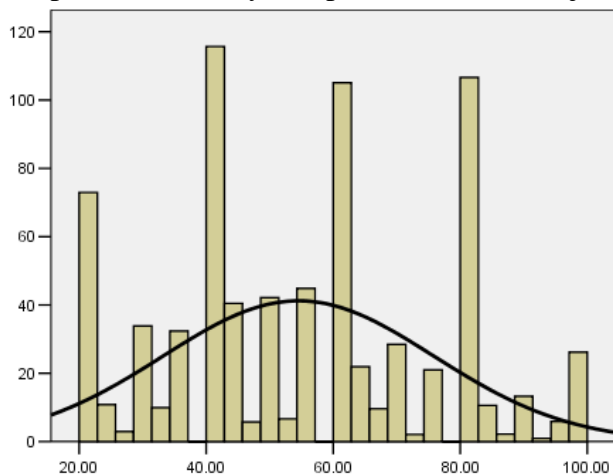
Table 9 Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary – survey of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Efficiency of the courts in the process of solving litigation	2.18	2,28	2,44	2,47	2,65	1,174
Professionalism and vocational qualifications of judges for an efficient application of law	2.85	2,83	3,01	3,00	2,86	1,188
Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary in successful protection of citizens' rights	2.48	2,51	2,63	2,72	2,76	1,194
Absence of corruption and activities for the interests of individuals and groups	2.06	2,18	2,31	2,27	2,64	1,220

Table 9.1. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	54,5208
95% Confidence interval	53,0123
OD	56,0292
DO	
Median	55,0000
Variance	456,038
Standard deviation	21,3550
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 9. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary



2.5. Control and Transparency of Judiciary

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 is obvious that we have positive trends with certain aspects, whereas we have negative trends for others and there is stagnation for some trends. **We measure positive trends for availability of information relevant to protection of citizens and availability of control and influence on judiciary.** On the other hand, **we measure negative trends for monitoring of agents of the law by nongovernmental organizations.** Other aspects have the same values we measured in 2009. However, although this trend is negative, comparatively, in relation to other aspects, the measured value is still the highest in this respect, **whereas citizens' control and influence on agents of the law through institutions and legal mechanisms has the lowest value.**

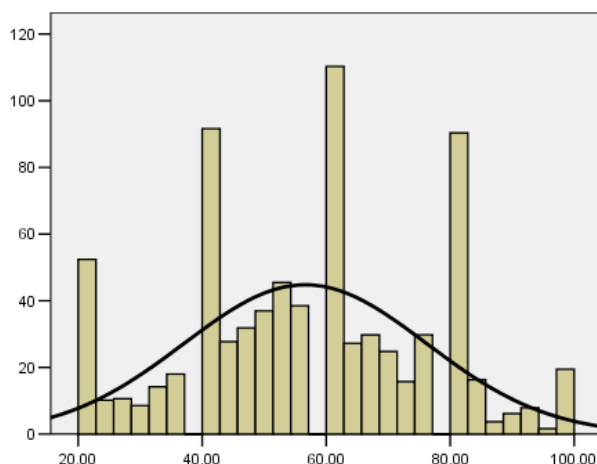
Table 10 Control and transparency of judiciary work – summary of all indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Efficiency of state control of judiciary work with the purpose of law and legality protection	2.65	2,67	2,76	2,84	2,87	1,185
Transparency of court activities and possibility of monitoring by media	2.48	2,66	2,75	2,76	2,77	1,165
Availability of information relevant to protection of citizens' rights by the public	2.42	2,53	2,71	2,74	2,80	1,141
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	2,70	1,143
Existence of Parliamentary control mechanisms of judicial bodies' work	2.80	2,75	2,90	2,90	2,88	1,135
Monitoring of judicial bodies by NGO sector	2.88	2,91	3,07	3,10	3,02	1,141

Table 10 Control and transparency of judiciary work – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	56,6271
95% Confidence interval	55,2415
FROM	58,0127
TO	
Median	56,6667
Variance	383,206
Standard deviation	19,5757
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 10 Control and transparency of judiciary work



2.6. Summary Indicators in the Area of Rule of Law

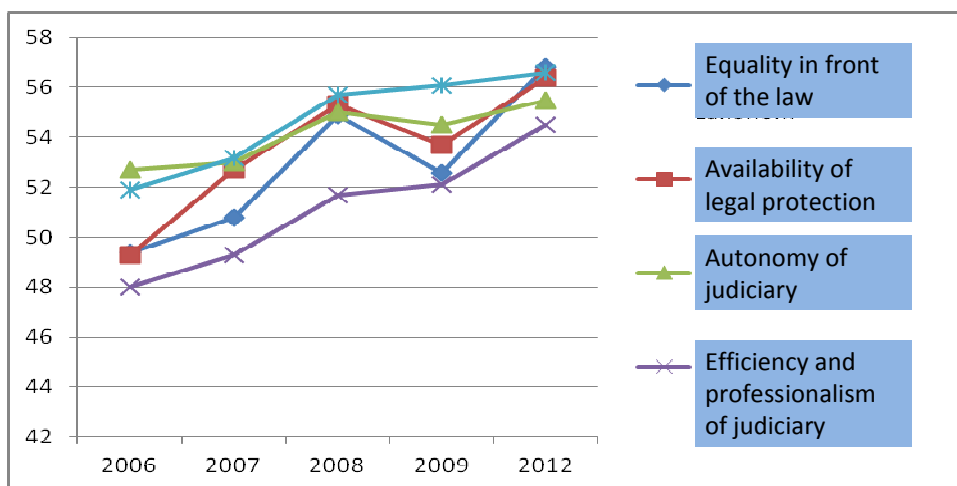
By analysis of summary indices for the rule of law area by dimensions (table 11), we can see that we have completely clear and statistically **significant positive trends for all dimensions which were objects of our survey except for control and transparency of judiciary work, where we have stagnation.** Comparatively, **equality in front of the law achieved the biggest progress in comparison with 2009.** Finally, it should be mentioned that if we compare mean values in this year, differences are not especially distinctive.

Table 11 Rule of law – summary by dimensions

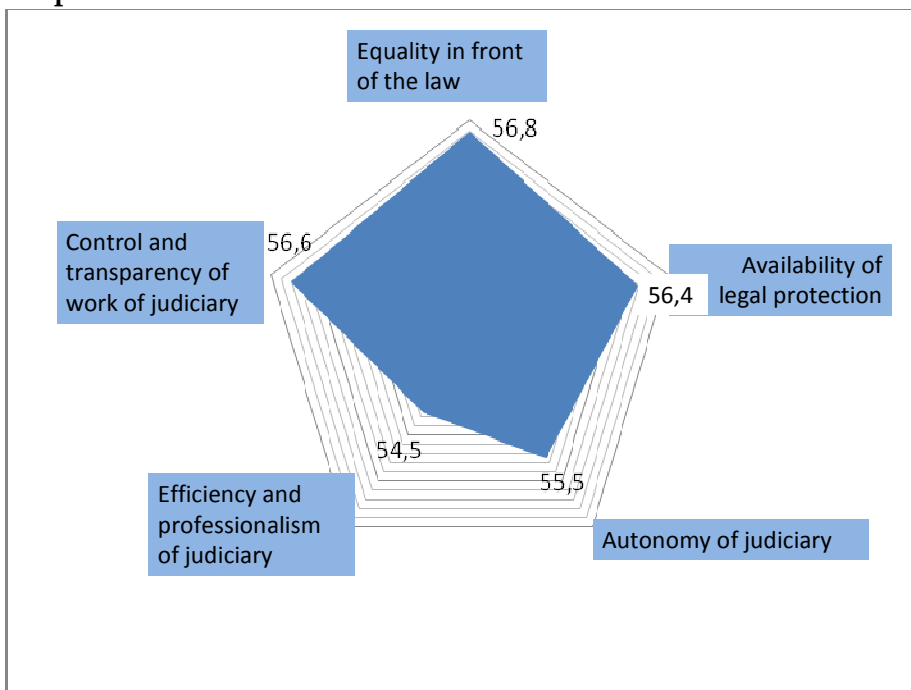
Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	T test
Equality in front of the law	49.4	50,8	54,9	52,6	56,8	5,50 p < 0,01
Availability of legal protection	49.3	52,7	55,3	53,7	56,4	3,28 p < 0,01
Autonomy of judiciary	52.7	53,0	55,0	54,5	55,5	1,32 p > 0,05

Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary	48.0	49,3	51,7	52,1	54,5	3,15 p < 0,01
Control and transparency of judiciary work	51.9	53,2	55,7	56,1	56,6	0,75 p > 0,05

Graph 11.1 Rule of law - TREND



Graph 11.2 Rule of law – TREND



If we make comparative analysis of all dimensions in rule of law area (graph. 11.2), it can be seen that **the biggest problem is efficiency and professionalism of judiciary, therefore, in the period to follow, special effort should be made in order to improve situation in judiciary in this respect.**

3. ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

Integration of Montenegro into the EU first of all implies creation of functional market economy, which will be able to face competition and market principles within EU. Therefore, it has to create the 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 absolutely 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 in 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 positive trends (table 12). Each single indicator in the scope of this dimension has higher value in comparison to the research survey from 2009. This is especially important since we measured negative trends in almost all dimensions in 2009 in comparison with 2008. If we compare mean values measured in the last research survey, we can see that we have the most favourable situation with equal treatment on the market disregarding national or religious affiliation, and the least favourable situation with market equality with regard to material status of an individual, and then equality with regard to political and party orientation of citizens.

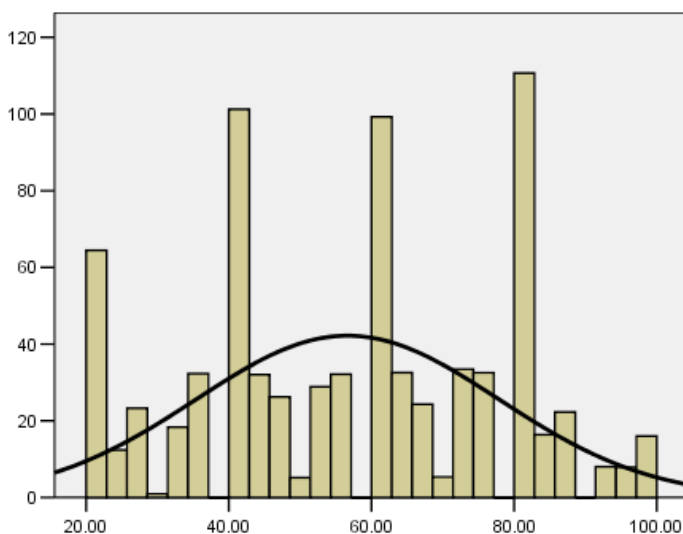
Table 12 Economic equality of individuals on the market – summary by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Equal treatment on the market disregarding social origin of the citizens	2.81	2,68	2,90	2,78	2,94	1,179
Equal treatment on the market disregarding national and religious affiliation	2.93	2,86	2,98	2,92	3,02	1,221
Equal treatment on the market disregarding material status of individuals	2.38	2,37	2,55	2,46	2,71	1,207
Equal treatment on the market disregarding political commitment and party belonging	2.33	2,32	2,58	2,45	2,71	1,188
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	2,84	1,181

Table 12.1 Economic equality of individuals on the market – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	56,6408
95% Confidence interval	FROM 55,1542
	TO 58,1275
Median	60,0000
Variance	450,908
Standard deviation	21,2346
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

Status 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 all indicators are on a higher level in comparison with 2009, what undoubtedly indicates that there is some progress in this dimension. Comparatively, by comparing indicators, **we have the best situation when we talk about equality of companies on the market disregarding the form of ownership, and the biggest problem is autonomy of inspection services and their non-selective practice in enforcing the law.**

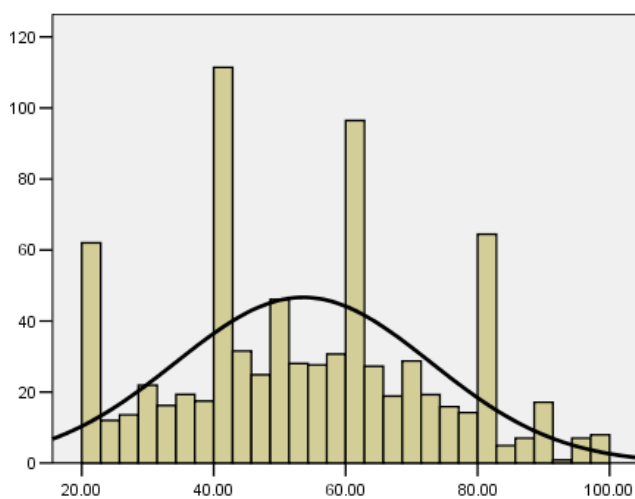
Table 13 Economic equality and autonomy of companies – summary by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Equality of companies on the market disregarding the form of ownership	2.68	2,64	2,80	2,76	2,84	1,169
Absence of discrimination and favouritism of some companies by state	2.28	2,29	2,52	2,55	2,70	1,177
Absence of influence of individual and party interests on companies	2.26	2,27	2,44	2,45	2,64	1,150
Equality of application of the law for all companies	2.40	2,30	2,57	2,52	2,68	1,147
Autonomy of companies in a process of making decisions	2.45	2,44	2,54	2,57	2,69	1,149
Absence of ideology and pressure by state in public companies	2.39	2,32	2,50	2,45	2,64	1,156
Absence of economic monopolies which enjoy protection of the state and privileged groups	2.20	2,20	2,40	2,42	2,55	1,137
Autonomy of inspection departments and their non selectivity in enforcement of the law and regulations	2.43	2,41	2,48	2,52	2,61	1,141
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	2,77	1,165

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

Parametres			Statistics
Mean value			53,5669
95% Confidence interval	FROM		52,2166
	TO		54,9172
Median			53,3333
Variance			375,291
Standard deviation			19,3724
Minimum			20,00
Maximum			100,00
Range			80,00

Graph. 13 Economic equality and autonomy of companies



3.3. Protection Mechanisms of Economic Subjects and Individuals

In this dimension we deal with examination of (non)existence of mechanisms which are supposed to provide protection of economic subjects and individuals. 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 measuring within this dimension (table 14), the results show that some aspects have positive and some negative trends. There are positive trends for efficient struggle against grey economy, rights and legal protection of consumers, efficiency of judiciary in protection of individuals and companies from violence, as well as for efficiency of state services in struggle against corruption. On the other hand, there are negative trends for the role of NGOs in protection of economic life participants from different forms of pressure, protection of property rights by state and government bodies, as well as for efficiency of the state in property right protection. All other aspects are on the same level as they were in 2009.

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

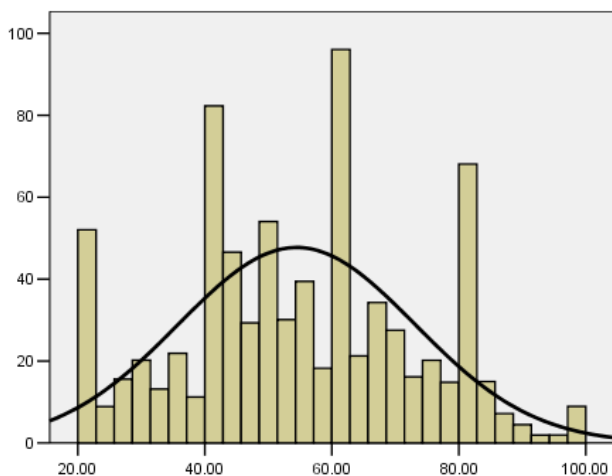
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Existence of institutions which provide freedom on the market	2.83	2,74	2,83	2,87	2,84	1,145
Existence of NGOs which protect participants in economic life from all forms of pressure by state, parties, powerful individuals and groups.	2.94	2,81	2,89	2,98	2,86	1,181
Efficiency of struggle against grey economy	2.18	2,21	2,36	2,43	2,61	1,189
Consumers' rights are protected by law	2.59	2,52	2,55	2,75	2,69	1,179
Existence of organizations by means of which companies and individuals can have influence on overall economic policy of the state	2.97	2,56	2,76	2,82	2,76	1,141

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	2,87	1,103
Efficiency of judiciary in protecting individuals and companies from all forms of violence and disrespect of their economic rights and freedom	2.43	2,40	2,63	2,65	2,71	1,124
Efficiency of judiciary in solving contractual litigations	2.40	2,54	2,71	2,71	2,69	1,157
Protection of a property right by the state and its bodies	2.80	2,84	2,97	2,94	2,77	1,111
Efficiency of the state in respect to property right protection	2.69	2,80	2,94	2,84	2,73	1,163
Efficiency of state bodies in struggle against corruption	2.14	2,19	2,34	2,37	2,57	1,163

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

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	54,4562
95% Confidence interval	FROM 53,1463 TO 55,7662
Median	54,5455
Variance	347,798
Standard deviation	18,64935
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 14 Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals



3.4. Summary Indicators of Economic Freedoms Area and Area of Economic Participation

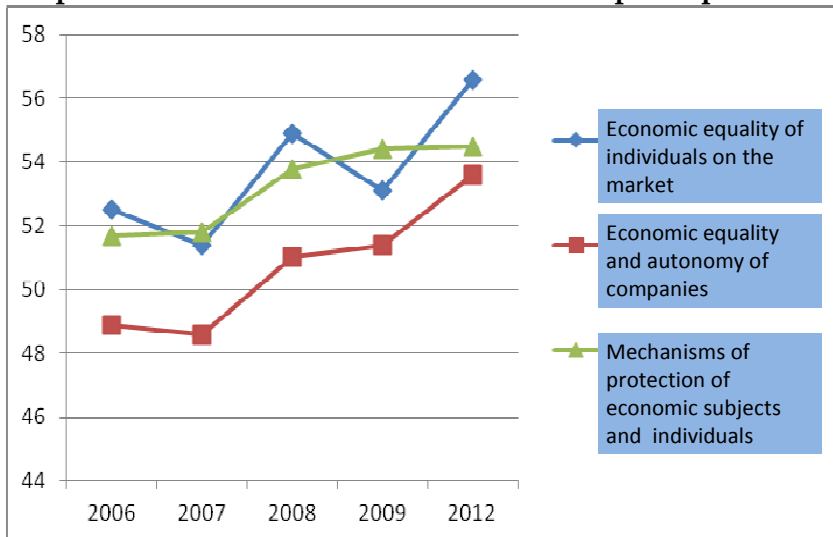
Analysis of all dimensions in the area of economy (table 15) indicates that **economic equality of individuals is worse than it was in 2009** (56.6 versus 53.1), as well as economic equality and autonomy of companies (53.6 versus 51.4). On the other hand, when we talk about mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals, we can say that the values are on the level from 2009, so that we cannot claim there was either improvement or deterioration in this respect.

Table 15 Economic freedom and economic participation – summary by dimensions

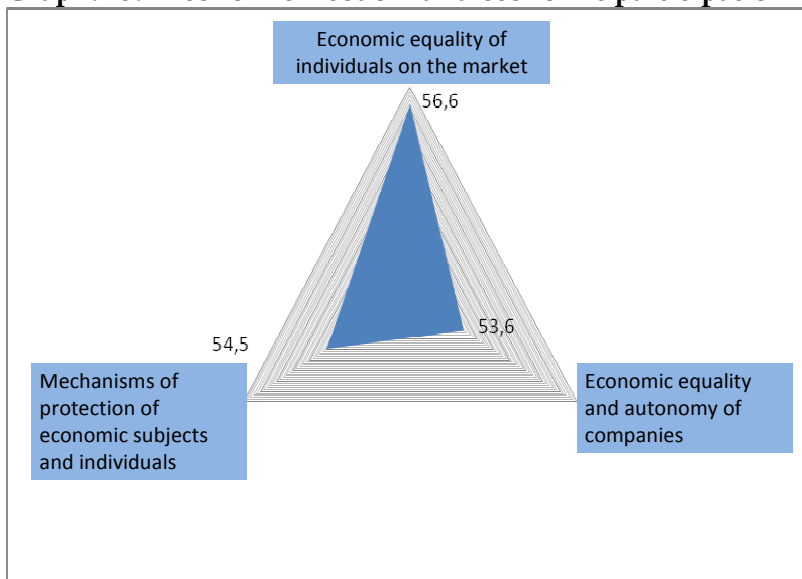
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	T test
Economic equality of individuals on the market	52,5	51,4	54,9	53,1	56,6	4,68 p < 0,01
Economic equality and autonomy of companies	48,9	48,6	51,0	51,4	53,6	3,15 p < 0,01

Mechanisms of protection of economic subjects and individuals	51,7	51,8	53,8	54,4	54,5	0,08
						p > 0,05

Graph. 15.1 Economic freedom and economic participation – TREND



Graph. 15.2 Economic freedom and economic participation



Comparatively, therefore, by comparing the values of all three dimensions, **the biggest problem still is providing 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 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, or in other words, if education is one of 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 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. Thus, it is very important to examine the results and see to what degree the process of educational reform in Montenegro has arrived, that is, to examine that segment through comparison with 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 dimensions was surveyed by an 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 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 some progress in the previous period, in dimension of openness of education to children with unfavourable social status, then equality irrespective of national and religious affiliation and also openness of education to suggestions and opinion of citizens** (table 16). When we talk about availability of education irrespective of place of residence, the surveyed values are on the level of 2009. However, although there is no progress for this indicator, **comparatively, we surveyed the highest value exactly for this indicator, whereas the lowest value related to openness of education was surveyed for opinion and suggestions of citizens.**

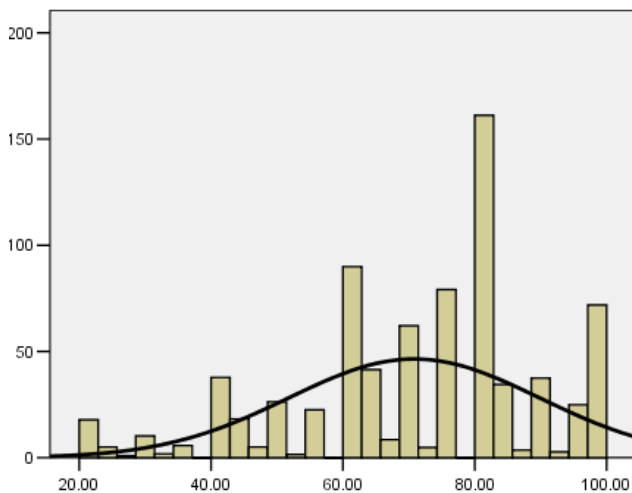
Table 16 Openness and participation in education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Availability of education to all the citizens disregarding their residence/ a place of permanent residence	3,72	3,79	3,77	3,72	3,71	1,053
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	3,51	1,162
Equal educational conditions for the whole student population disregarding their ethnic and religious affiliation	3,46	3,57	3,49	3,47	3,58	1,095
Openness of education to suggestions and the citizens' opinion	3,00	2,96	3,18	3,23	3,39	1,129

Table 16 Openness and participation in education – survey by indicators

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	70,8022
95% Confidence interval	FROM 69,4617 TO 72,1427
Median	75,0000
Variance	361,600
Standard deviation	19,0158
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 educational 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 (table 17) show that there is stagnation when we talk about development of personality, freedom and creativity of pupils/students, whereas all other dimensions have positive trends. Comparatively, although there is stagnation from longitudinal point of view, the situation is the best exactly in development of freedom and creativity of pupils/students, whereas the lowest surveyed value is for pressure by political structures and other centers of power on educational system.

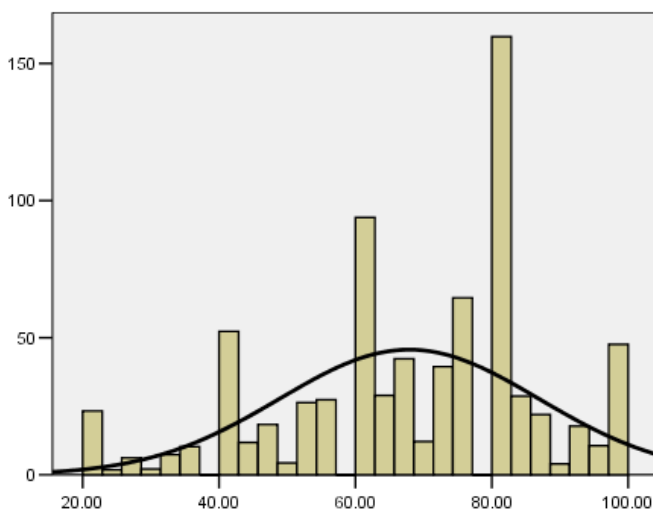
Table 17 Autonomy and efficiency of education- survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Existence of autonomy of University	3,10	3,18	3,23	3,24	3,40	1,111
Development of autonomy of students' personality, freedom and creativity in educational system	3.56	3,87	3,69	3,60	3,61	1,049
Absence of pressure by political structures and other centers of power on educational system	2.81	2,91	3,16	3,11	3,30	1,189
Absence of ideological content from school curriculums	2.94	3,09	3,26	3,20	3,34	1,147
Efficiency of educational system in respect to realization of the key educational goals	3.16	3,33	3,37	3,26	3,36	1,108

Table 17.1 Autonomy and efficiency of education – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	67,8845
95% Confidence interval	66,5304
FROM	69,2386
TO	
Median	72,0000
Variance	363,026
Standard deviation	19,0532
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, mechanisms of control of education which ensure its legality have to exist in a democratic society. 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 we have very positive trends in every single aspect which was the object of the survey (table 18). Comparatively, **we surveyed the highest level for existence of developed criteria for quality of education assessment on national level, whereas we surveyed the lowest level for efficiency of the law in struggle against corruption in education.**

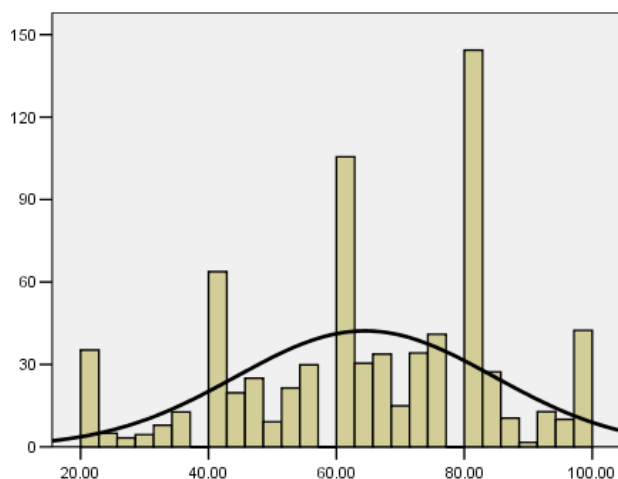
Table 18 Legality and control of educational system –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Efficiency of the law in supressing corruption in educational system	2.71	2,75	2,87	2,86	3,15	1,187
Efikasnost zakona u promjeni loših i nekvalitetnih propisa	2.88	3,09	3,08	3,10	3,28	1,147
Existence of developed criteria for the assessment of quality of education on a national level	3.02	3,12	3,24	3,19	3,31	1,115
Respect of regulations by state services in assessing quality of educational institutions	2.94	3,05	3,22	3,19	3,28	1,106
Possibility of assessing activity of teaching staff and institutions by students	2.76	2,85	3,00	3,11	3,23	1,136

Table 18 Legality and control of educational system – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	64,4721
95% Confidence interval	63,0241
FROM	65,9201
TO	
Median	65,2917
Variance	406,189
Standard deviation	20,15414
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 (table 19) show that in one aspect within this dimension there is a negative trend, and that is a **possibility of pupil's / student's choice of educational content, what represents a problem due to the fact that there was some progress in the period 2008-2009 exactly in this dimension**. In all other aspects, the situation is slightly better than in comparison with 2009.

Table 19 Pluralism in education – survey by indicators

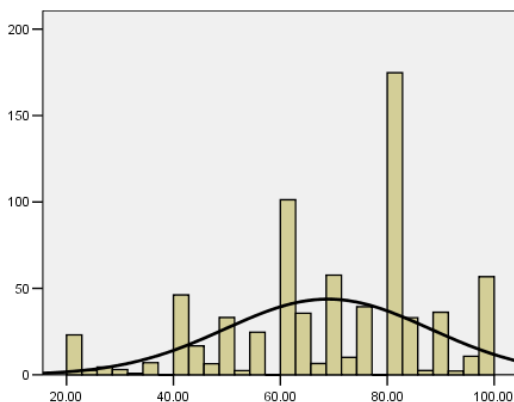
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Student's tolerancy development in respect to all forms of differences in educational system	3.35	3,52	3,41	3,45	3,49	1,051
Acceptance of gender, physical, cultural, ethnic and religious differences of society in school curriculums and programmes	3.41	3,51	3,48	3,47	3,50	1,063

Existence and application of a large number of teaching methods in educational process	3.13	3,31	3,34	3,34	3,41	1,136
Possibility of pupil's / student's choice of educational contents	3.06	3,43	3,44	3,58	3,43	1,105

Table 19.1. Pluralism in education – SCORE

Parametres			Statistics
Arithmetic mean			68,8547
95% Confidence interval	FROM		67,4670
	TO		70,2425
Median			70,0000
Variance			368,538
Standard deviation			19,19734
Minimum			20,00
Maximum			100,00
Range			80,00

Graph 19.1. Pluralism in education



4.5. Influence and Effectiveness of Debate on 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 in comparison with the previous referential period, we surveyed some progress with regard to **initiating changes in by teachers/professors and initiating changes in university education by students**. All other aspects, disregarding differences in numerical values, we surveyed statistically more or less the same values as in 2009, therefore, there was neither progress nor deterioration. However, if we compare values of different indicators in current situation, it can be seen that differences between the aspects are very small, or in other words, according to all the aspects which were the object of survey, the situation is more or less on the same level.

Table 20 Influence and effectiveness of debate on education – survey by indicators

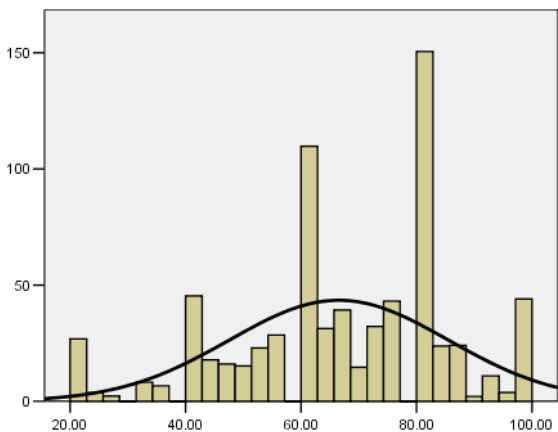
Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Possibility of initiation of concrete changes in educational system by teachers/professors	2.98	3,14	3,14	3,22	3,34	1,127
Respect of opinion of NGO experts, respectful individuals and other people interested in the process of passing regulations and the law in education	3.03	3,25	3,23	3,30	3,26	1,135
Existence of a dialogue between competent state institutions and social organizations which deal with the issue of education	3.12	3,32	3,29	3,31	3,34	1,059

Participation of national minorities organizations in planning educational programmes intended for national minorities	3.29	3,48	3,24	3,28	3,30	1,105
Possibility of initiating concrete changes aimed at improvement of quality of university education by students	2.99	3,16	3,08	3,16	3,34	1,098

Table 20.1 Influence and effectiveness of debate on education – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	66,5397
95% Confidence interval	65,1560
FROM	67,9235
TO	
Median	68,0000
Variance	359,151
Standard deviation	18,9513
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 20. Influence and effectiveness of debate 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. For surveying this dimension, we defined a whole range of indicators which structurally pervade (table 21). **First of all, when we talk about certification and validation of coursebooks and about availability of relevant information about students' achievements, we surveyed stagnation. We measured positive trends for transparency of work of educational institutions and for systematic informing of the public by competent authorities. On the other hand, we surveyed negative trends for availability of information related to curriculum and syllabus.** Comparatively, it is important to mention again that relevant differences by indicators at this moment are very small, and it tells us that situations in all aspects of the surveyed dimension are approximately on an even level.

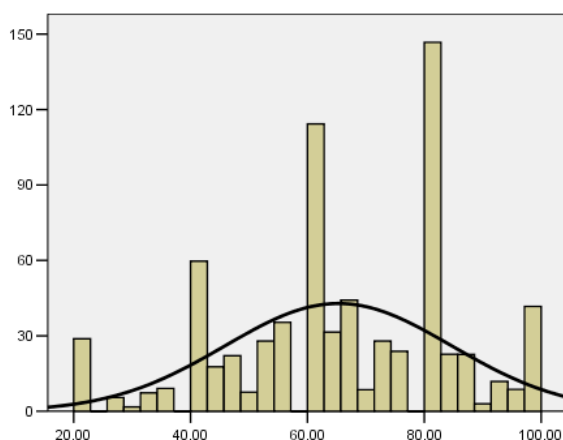
Table 21 Transparency and availability of information in education – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Existence of public and transparent control of activities of educational institutions	2.89	3,05	3,10	3,12	3,28	1,136
Certification and validation of coursebooks	3.05	3,20	3,21	3,31	3,28	1,171
Availability of relevant information about educational programmes to the public (the citizens and media)	3.03	3,16	3,24	3,32	3,25	1,111
Availability of relevant information about student population activities to the public (the citizens and media)	3.09	3,08	3,22	3,33	3,31	1,070
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	3,28	1,105

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

Parametres		Statistics
Mean		65,2885
95Confidence interval	FROM	63,8779
	TO	66,6992
Median		65,0000
Variance		377,046
Standard deviation		19,4177
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

Graph. 21. Transparency and availability of information in education



4.7. Summary Indicators for the Field of Education

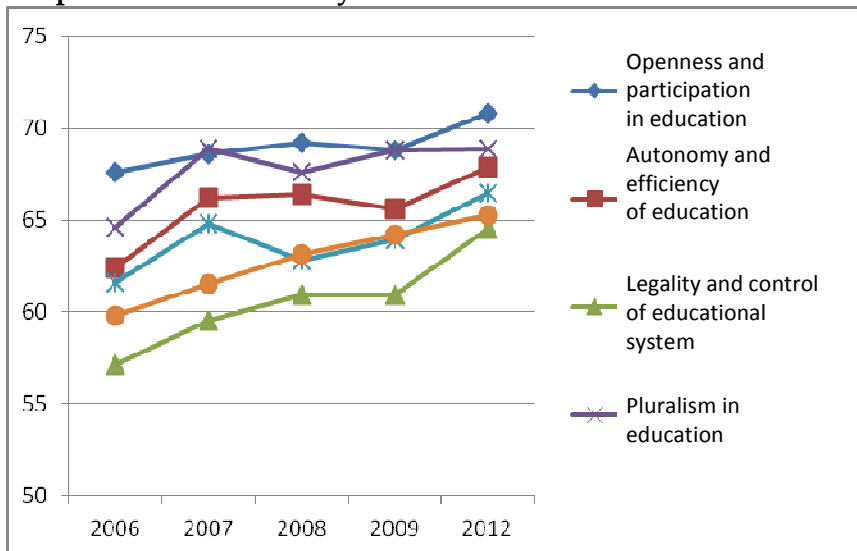
Results of democraticity in education survey show positive trends (table 22). The most positive trend is for **legality and control of educational system** ($t=4.84$), and then for the **influence and efficiency of public discussion on education** ($t= 3.75$), then for **autonomy and efficiency of education** ($t = 3.31$), and finally, there is

progress in openness and participation in education (t = 2.93). On the other hand, when we talk about pluralism in education and transparency and availability of information, we surveyed stagnation in comparison with 2009.

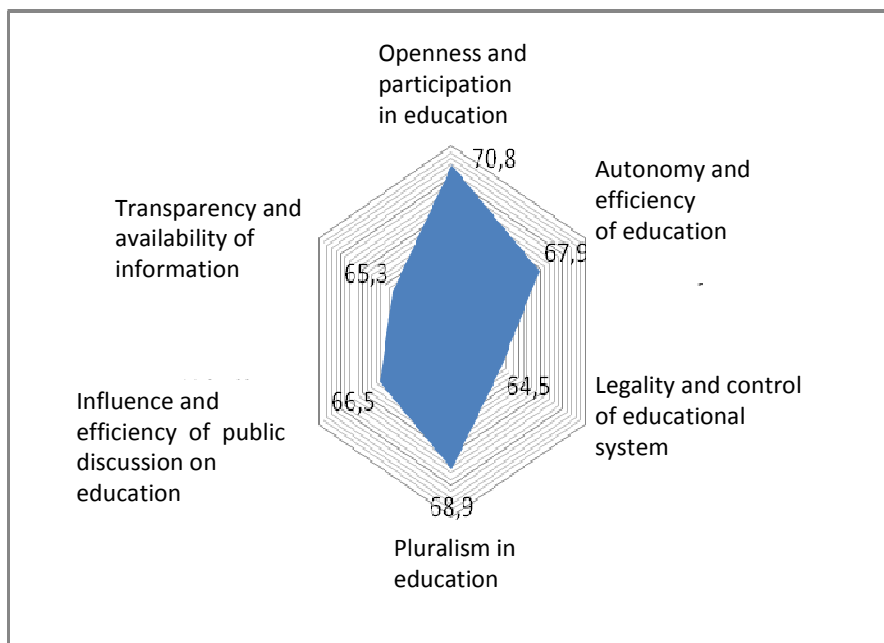
Table 22 Democraticity in educational process – summary by dimensions

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	T statistics
Openness and participation in education	67,6	68,6	69,2	68,8	70,8	2,93 p <0,01
Autonomy and efficiency of education	62,4	66,2	66,4	65,6	67,9	3,31 p <0,01
Legality and control of educational system	57,1	59,5	60,9	60,9	64,5	4,84 p <0,01
Pluralism in education	64,6	68,9	67,6	68,8	68,9	0,08 p > 0,05
Influence and effectiveness of public discussion on education	61,6	64,8	62,8	63,9	66,5	3,75 p <0,01
Transparency and availability of information	59,8	61,5	63,1	64,2	65,3	1,52 p > 0,05

Graph. 22.1 Democraticity in education – TREND



Graph 22.2 Democraticity in education



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 education system, i.e. educational system is the most deficient in this respect, although we surveyed the most positive trend for this dimension.** 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 obvious. 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 hidden 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 their role. When the Communist party disappeared from political scene and when larger number of new parties was formed, 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 democratised 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 the 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 (table 23) **indicate positive trends for all the aspects which were the object of our survey except for pressure on media from institutions in Serbia.** However, comparatively, at this moment, when we come to the issue of media, **we measured the highest values exactly for pressure on media from institutions in Serbia, as well as for pressure on media from religious and national communities.** On the other hand, we surveyed the lowest values in this dimension for pressure on media from authorities and state institutions, from political parties and influential individuals.

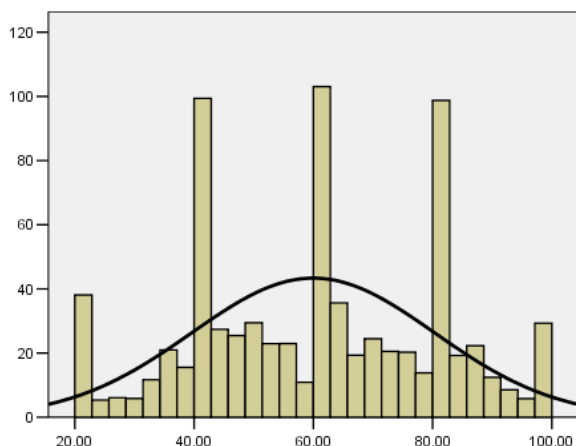
Table 23 Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	200	2008	2009	2012	SD
Absence of pressure on media from authorities and state institutions	2.54	2,53	2,60	2,65	2,87	1,241
Absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations	2.57	2,50	2,54	2,61	2,89	1,262
Absence of pressure on media from rich individuals and groups	2.68	2,57	2,52	2,54	2,90	1,252
Absence of pressure on media from religious and national communities	3.07	3,08	2,93	3,07	3,11	1,172
Absence of pressure on media from organizations and institutions from Serbia	3.22	3,35	3,09	3,25	3,12	1,175
Autonomy of printed media	2.56	2,68	2,82	2,87	3,03	1,166
Autonomy of radio stations	2.74	2,80	2,92	2,93	3,09	1,184
Autonomy of TV stations	2.54	2,64	2,85	2,82	3,07	1,170

Table 23.1 Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	59,9647
95% Confidence interval	FROM 58,5280 TO 61,4015
Median	60,0000
Variance	415,422
Standard deviation	20,3819
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 23 Autonomy and independence of media



5.2. Media Professionalism

On one hand, media have to be independent in order to fulfill their role in a democratic society, but on 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 values of these indicators are higher in comparison with 2009, so that there is no doubt that we have positive trends for professionalism of media (table 24). If we compare indicators one with another, it should be emphasized that relative differences among the indicators are proportionally small, that is, the situation in all surveyed aspects is more or less on the same level.

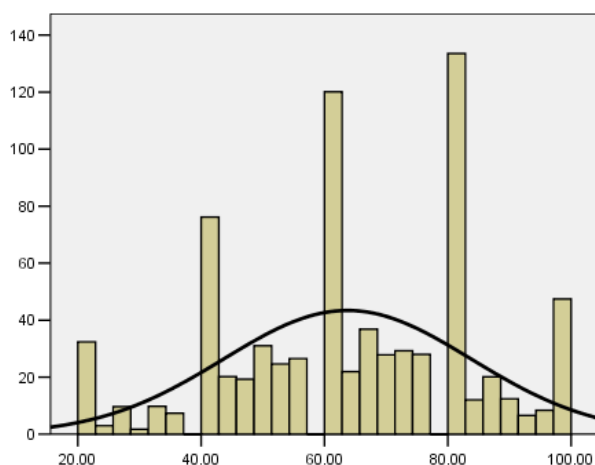
Table 24 Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Professional informing of the public	2.91	2,97	3,10	3,07	3,22	1,135
Objective informing of the public	2.81	2,85	2,95	2,95	3,24	1,148
Timely informing of the public	3.16	3,16	3,15	3,17	3,25	1,126
Professionalism of printed media	2.78	2,86	3,01	3,01	3,15	1,136
Professionalism of radio stations	2.99	3,02	3,17	3,11	3,21	1,091
Professionalism of TV stations	2.90	2,93	3,10	3,05	3,12	1,144

Table 24.1 Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Parametres			Statistics
Mean			63,7123
95% Confidence interval	FROM		62,2854
	TO		65,1391
Median			63,3333
Variance			404,814
Standard deviation			20,1200
Minimum			20,00
Maximum			100,00
Range			80,00

Graph. 24 Professionalism of media



5.3. Absence of Monopolies and Media Equality

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 is the one responsible for monopoly in media.

When we talk about measuring indicators for this dimension (table 25), we can say that we have **positive trends for all the aspects which were the object of the survey**. Further on, and it is an indicative datum, relative differences in mean values are at this moment proportionally small, therefore, the situation is uniform for all the aspects in this dimension.

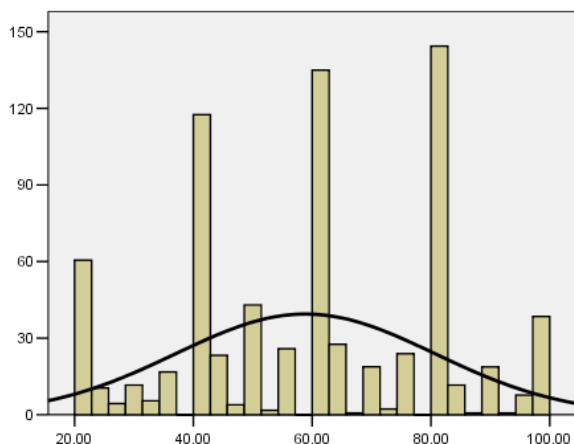
Table 25. Absence of Monopolies and Media Equality – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Equality of printed media	2.57	2,54	2,71	2,66	2,99	1,178
Equality of radio stations	2.62	2,59	2,75	2,66	2,98	1,183
Equality of TV stations	2.55	2,53	2,67	2,63	2,91	1,171
Absence of monopoly of some media in relation to the rest of media	3.13	2,57	2,70	2,66	2,96	1,162

Table 25.1. Absence of Monopolies and Media Equality – survey by indicators

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	58,8577
95% Confidence interval	57,2990
FROM	60,4163
TO	60,0000
Median	60,0000
Variance	475,982
Standard deviation	21,8170
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 25 Absence of Monopolies and Media Equality



5.4. Media Openness

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 a negative trend for **openness of media to different political opinions and different ideologies**, then **openness of media to different religious and national groupings who live in Montenegro**. What is indicative is that progress was surveyed exactly for those two aspects in the period 2008 – 2009. By measuring openness of media to

the opinion of the citizens and organizations, we surveyed an identical value as it was in 2009, and there is a positive trend only for openness of media to free criticism of authorities and individuals. However, on the other hand, when comparing relative values by aspects, exactly the value of indicator in this respect is the lowest, wherea the remaining three are quite even.

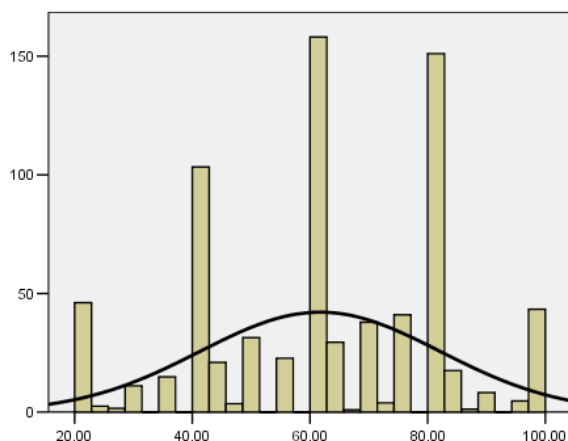
Table 26 Media Openness – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Media openness to different political opinions and different ideologies	2.59	2,56	3,05	3,20	3,11	1,124
Media openness to different religious and national groupings who live in Montenegro	3.16	3,32	3,14	3,21	3,13	1,124
Media openness to opinions of the citizens, civil organizations and respectable citizens	2.94	3,08	3,08	3,12	3,12	1,101
Openness and freedom to criticise authorities and other institutions and individuals	2.63	2,77	2,79	2,82	3,04	1,140

Table 26.1 Media Openness – survey by indicators

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	61,7114
95% Confidence interval	60,2510
OD	63,1717
DO	
Median	60,0000
Variance	417,848
Standard deviation	20,44134
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 26 Media Openness



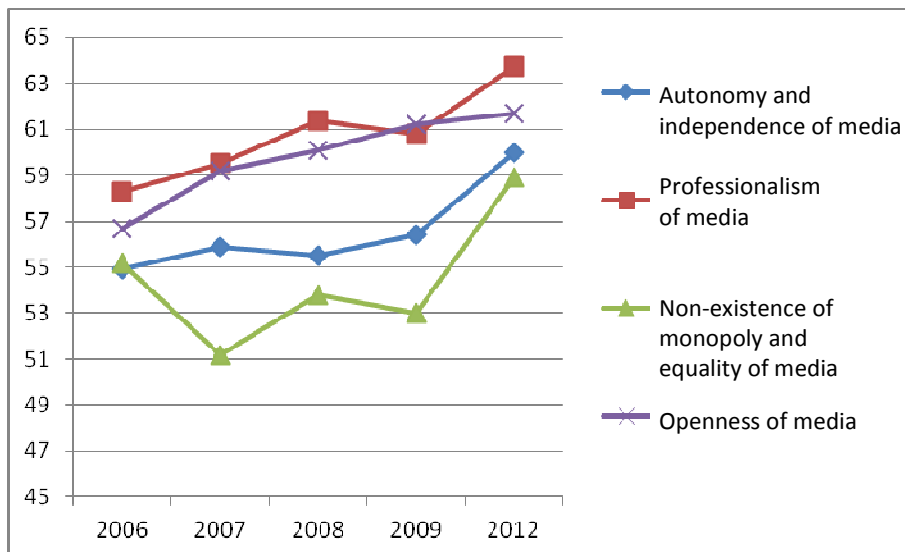
5.5. Summary Indicators for the Field of Media

Analysis of all dimensions involved in media area points out that **there was stagnation in only one segment and it is openness of media, whereas we surveyed significant progress in all other dimensions.** In comparison with 2009, we surveyed the largest progress for existence of monopoly and equality of media ($t = 7,38$), for **autonomy of media** ($t = 4,87$) and then for professionalism of media ($t = 4,00$). Relative differences among indicators at current moment are proportionally low.

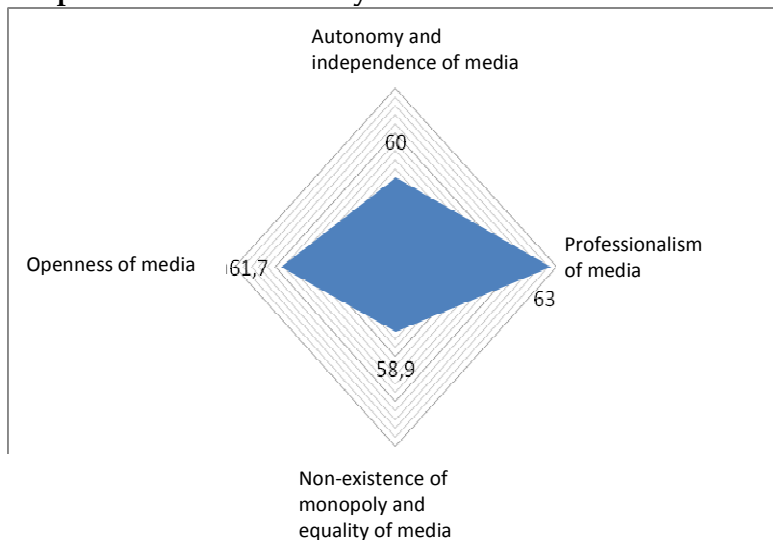
Table 27 Democraticity of media- summary by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	T test
Autonomy and independence of media	54,9	55,9	55,5	56,4	60,0	4,87 p < 0,01
Professionalism of media	58,3	59,5	61,4	60,8	63,7	4,00 p < 0,01
Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media	55,2	51,2	53,8	53,0	58,9	7,38 p < 0,01
Media openness	56,7	59,2	60,1	61,2	61,7	0,69 p>0,05

Graph. 27.1 Democraticity of media - TREND



Graph. 27.2 Democraticity of media



In summary, although situation in all areas which embody media practice is satisfactory, the biggest problem still is **situation of monopoly and equality of media**. The value of this dimension (58.9) is slightly below all other dimensions and it points out that when we talk about monopolies, we have a problem with democraticity in media area.

6. NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The aim of minority politics of all democratic societies is complete integration of minorities in social life with further preservation and development of their national and religious particularities. In that direction, it is necessary to establish permanent communication of government 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.

Stable legal position of national minorities requires protection of their rights as 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 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 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. Ethnic 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 the issue 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. Official and 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 2009 to today, it has been clear that we have a positive trend**, and this is especially important since we surveyed negative trends for all aspects in the period from 2008 to 2009. When we compare values for the indicators, as in previous years, we measure the lowest values of indicator referring to existence of concrete actions of authorities for minority rights protection, whereas the highest value is surveyed for freedom of expressing religious affiliation.

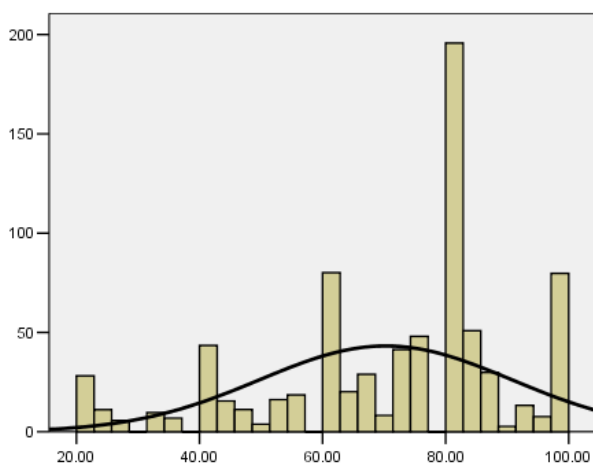
Table 28. Formal- legal protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Legal protection of national minorities	3.72	3,69	3,53	3,45	3,53	1,140
Legal protection of religious communities	3.61	3,70	3,50	3,42	3,57	1,126
Freedom of expressing religious affiliation	3.70	3,71	3,59	3,53	3,62	1,082
Freedom of expressing political and cultural affiliation of national minorities	3.61	3,59	3,51	3,42	3,49	1,120
Existence of concrete activities of authorities in order to protect minority rights	3.47	3,49	3,27	3,26	3,44	1,147

Table 28.1. Formal- legal protection of minorities – SCORE

Parametres			Statistics
Arithmeic mean			70,2573
95% Confidence interval	OD		68,8142
	DO		71,7005
Median			76,0000
Variance			419,895
Standard deviation			20,4913
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 our research.

Results of the survey indicate that we have positive trends for all the aspects we surveyed within this dimension, except for the aspect referring to economic and social development of the region where minorities live, where we have a negative trend (table 29). At the same time, the surveyed value is the lowest, in comparison with all other aspects, exactly for this aspect and it additionally burdens the mean value of the indicator. Further on, mean value of the indicator referring to discrimination against national and religious minorities by government apparatus and its officers is also very low. On the other hand, the highest values refer to representative participation and promotion of national minorities in civil service, as well as to equality of minorities to majority nation in case of getting employment.

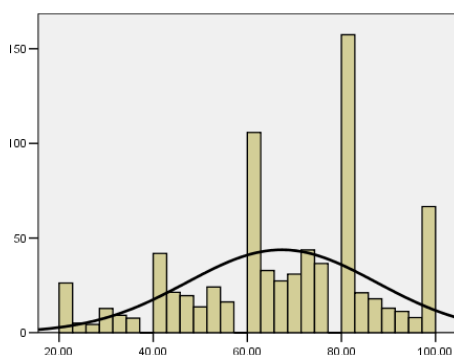
Table 29 Discrimination against minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Equality of minorities and majority nation in getting employment and promotion	3.54	3,47	3,29	3,25	3,44	1,166
Representative participation and promotion at work of national minorities in civil service	3.46	3,41	3,25	3,22	3,45	1,154
Impartiality of judiciary in processes which national and religious minorities take part in	3.17	3,30	3,24	3,21	3,35	1,130
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	3,39	1,134
Absence of discrimination against national and religious minorities by state offices and officials	3.42	3,38	3,33	3,21	3,34	1,159
State concern for economic and social development of the regions where national and religious minorities live	3.25	3,25	3,14	3,05	3,33	1,173

Table 29.1. Discrimination against minorities – survey by indicators

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	67,3001
95% Confidence interval	FROM 65,8783
	TO 68,7220
Median	70,0000
Variance	406,038
Standard deviation	20,1504
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 29 Discrimination against minorities



6.3. Existence of Protective Mechanisms for Minorities

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 positive trends in every single aspect of mechanisms for protection of minorities** (table 30). Therefore, in this respect the situation is getting better, so that the public thinks that quality of mechanisms of minority protection in the previous period is better than it was in 2009. We can also see that relative mean values among the aspects in the current moment are proportionally low.

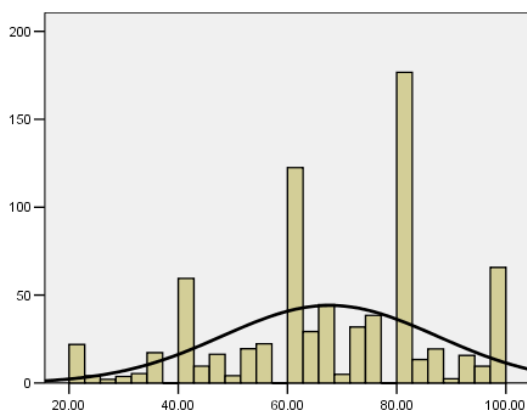
Table 30 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Degree of development of state institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities	3.48	3,42	3,28	3,19	3,40	1,099
Degree of development of civil society institutions which protect rights of national and religious minorities	3.40	3,40	3,32	3,19	3,45	1,089
Existence of public reactions to the cases of minority rights violation	3.35	3,38	3,34	3,26	3,43	1,074
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	3,36	1,122
Efficiency of a state apparatus in cases of violation of national minority rights	3.23	3,23	3,13	3,08	3,39	1,126

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

Parameters	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	67,7146
95% Confidence interval	FROM 66,3170 TO 69,1121
Median	68,0000
Variance	385,494
Standard deviation	19,63401
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 30 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities



6.4. Attitude of the Majority towards Minorities and Accuracy in Public Informing

Especially important issue in a democratic system is a way how majority treats minorities, 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 positive trends are emphasised, especially in comparison to 2009** (table 31). Thus, there was some improvement in every single aspect which was surveyed. If we compare values of indicators in the last research survey, we can also in this case see proportionally small differences among the indicators.

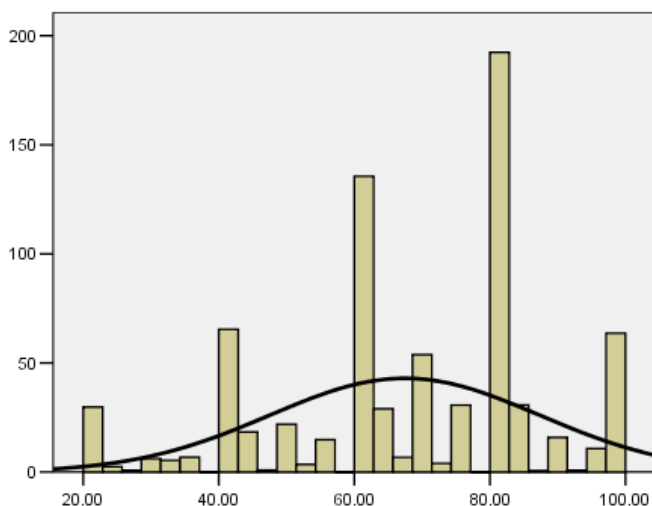
Table 31 Attitude of the Majority towards Minorities, and Accuracy in Public Informing – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Absence of animosity speech in media towards national and religious minorities	3.32	3,31	3,34	3,33	3,38	1,109
Help of authorities in realisation of contacts and giving stimuli to cooperation between national minorities and their home country	3.38	3,41	3,26	3,22	3,35	1,093
Participation and state support to the actions which provide better treatment of national and religious minorities	3.39	3,46	3,30	3,22	3,40	1,076
Participation of national and religious minorities in activities of the organizations which protect their rights	3.65	3,66	3,44	3,32	3,43	1,086

Tabela 31.1 Attitude of the Majority towards Minorities, and Accuracy in Public Informing – SCORE

Parametres	Statistics
Arithmetic mean	67,4288
95% Confidence interval	66,0017
FROM	68,8559
TO	
Median	70,0000
Variance	397,139
Standard deviation	19,92835
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 31. Attitude of the Majority towards Minorities, and Accuracy in Public Informing



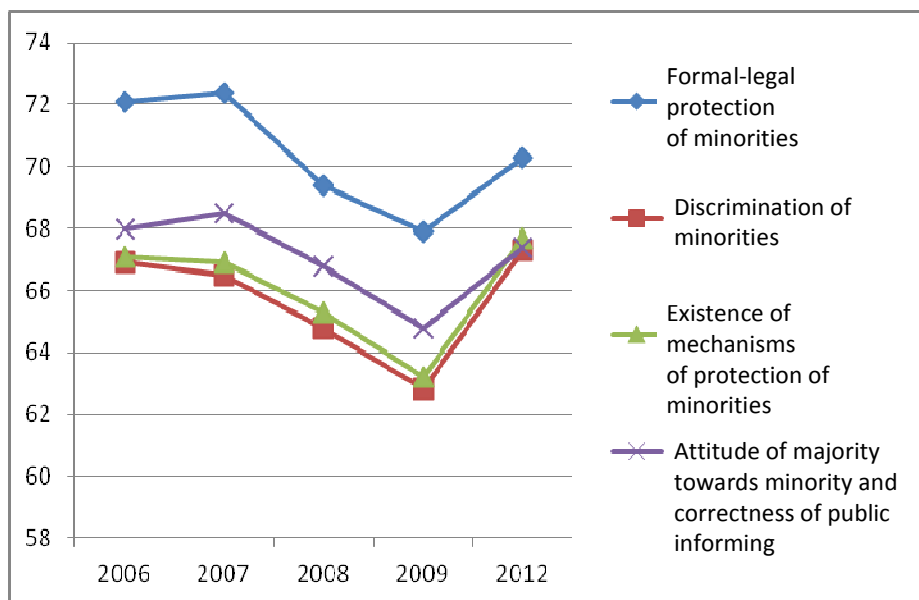
6.5. Summary Indicators Illustrating the Status of National and Religious Minorities

Summary indices for the social position of national and religious minorities area undoubtedly point to positive 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 was very progressive in comparison with 2009.** It is especially important to emphasise that mean values of all dimensions are very high if they are compared to other areas of survey. Thus, we can say that, in terms of democracy, problems of protection of national and religious minorities are really not a problem.

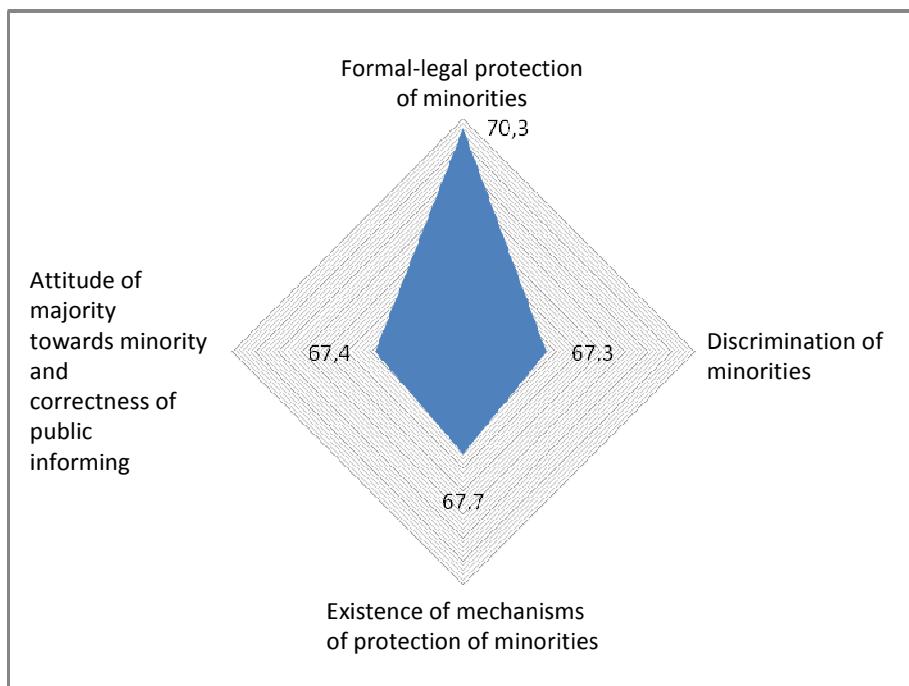
Table 32 Democraticity in the area of national and religious minorities – summary by dimensions

Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	T statistics
Formal- legal protection of minorities	72,1	72,4	69,4	67,9	70,3	3,21 $p < 0,01$
Discrimination of minorities	66,9	66,5	64,8	62,8	67,3	6,21 $p < 0,01$
Existence of mechanisms for minority protection	67,1	66,9	65,3	63,2	67,7	6,34 $p < 0,01$
Attitude of majority towards minority and correctness of public information	68,0	68,5	66,8	64,8	67,4	3,62 $p < 0,01$

Graph. 32.1 Social position of national and religious minorities – TREND



Graph. 32.2 Social position of national and religious minorities – TREND



On the basis of high and comparatively small differences of mean values within dimensions of the issue of national and religious minorities, we have to be satisfied and it cannot be said that special interventions are necessary in any of the surveyed dimensions.

7. POSITION OF WOMEN

The issue of gender equality and 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 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 place of work 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 their subjective transcription, get 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.

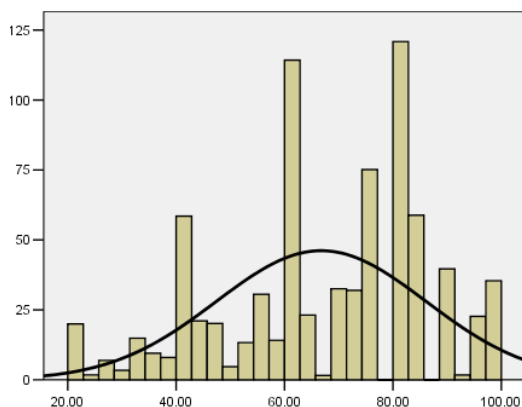
Results of a gender equality survey show positive trends for the most of the surveyed aspects (table 33). This is especially important since we measured negative trends for almost all the aspects in the period 2008 – 2009. However, this time we also **surveyed more negative trends, and they refer to activities of institutions and**

organizations which protect rights of women as well as to the existence of animosity speech towards women. If we compare indicators, we can see that the biggest problem still remains discrimination of women in a family and this is the aspect where the society has to be organized and directed most in order to improve the situation.

Table 33 Position of women-survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Equal participation of women in all aspects of social life	3.08	2,99	3,12	2,96	3,33	1,174
Equal participation of women in authorities' bodies	2.92	2,89	3,05	2,86	3,34	1,226
Non-existence of discrimination against women on the occasion of employment and promotion at work	3.11	3,10	3,07	2,94	3,32	1,160
Non-existence of discrimination against women in companies, institutions and organizations	3.12	3,15	3,11	2,99	3,34	1,159
Non-existence of discrimination against women in families	2.64	2,64	2,76	2,60	3,11	1,182
Activities of organizations and institutions which protect women's rights	3.70	3,73	3,69	3,56	3,53	1,079
Non-existence of animosity speech towards women in media	3.79	3,85	3,75	3,69	3,57	1,106

Graph. 33 Gender equality



8. POSITION OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Democraticity of a society depends to a great extent on the attitude towards persons with disabilities, 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 persons with disabilities is not just a question of democraticity, but also the question of humanity in the broadest sense. A society cannot be considered humane or democratic if its members do not show empathy and do not give support to persons with disabilities. The experience in this area has shown that a problem in this respect mainly consists of the fact that persons with disabilities 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 a problem of persons with disabilities as a 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 persons with disabilities 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.

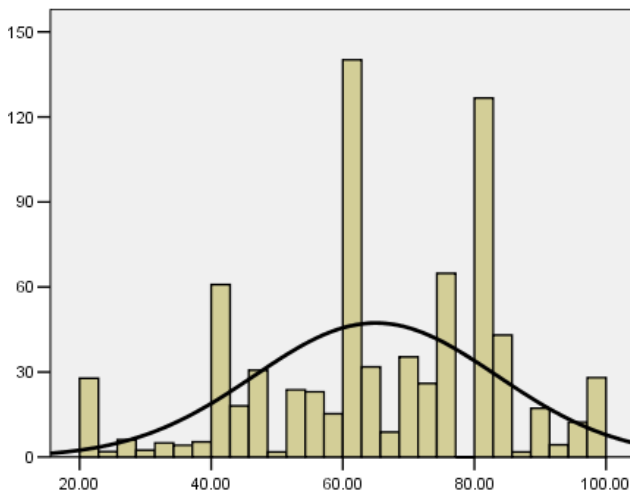
When we talk about survey of this area (table 34), the same as with gender issues, **data show extremely positive trends for every single surveyed aspect. Therefore, in the previous year, treatment of persons with disabilities became significantly better.** Comparatively, the biggest problem is adaptation of school buildings to the needs of persons with disabilities and children with disabilities. Besides this, the situation is comparatively bad when we talk about treatment of persons with disabilities in media and when we talk about discrimination of persons with disabilities. However, in comparison with other surveyed areas, it has to be said that the surveyed values are proportionally high, that is, social position of persons with disabilities

is not an emphasised problem, if we make conclusions according to attitudes of the public.

Table 34 Attitude towards persons with disabilities –survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	SD
Existence of legal protection of the persons with disabilities	3.39	3,42	3,49	3,32	3,44	1,086
Existence of concrete actions of authorities for protection of persons with disabilities	3.15	3,13	3,25	3,07	3,31	1,118
Non-existence of discrimination against persons with disabilities	3.03	3,02	3,06	2,81	3,18	1,145
Existence of services and institutions which protect rights of persons with disabilities	3.38	3,40	3,42	3,22	3,35	1,073
Educational system provides necessary knowledge for persons with disabilities and children with disabilities	3.48	3,45	3,44	3,26	3,33	1,050
Extent of adaptability of school objects to persons with disabilities	2.78	2,81	2,84	2,70	3,07	1,109
Presence and appropriate treatment of persons with disabilities in media	2.59	2,71	2,89	2,80	3,18	1,083

Graph. 34 Social position of the persons with disabilities



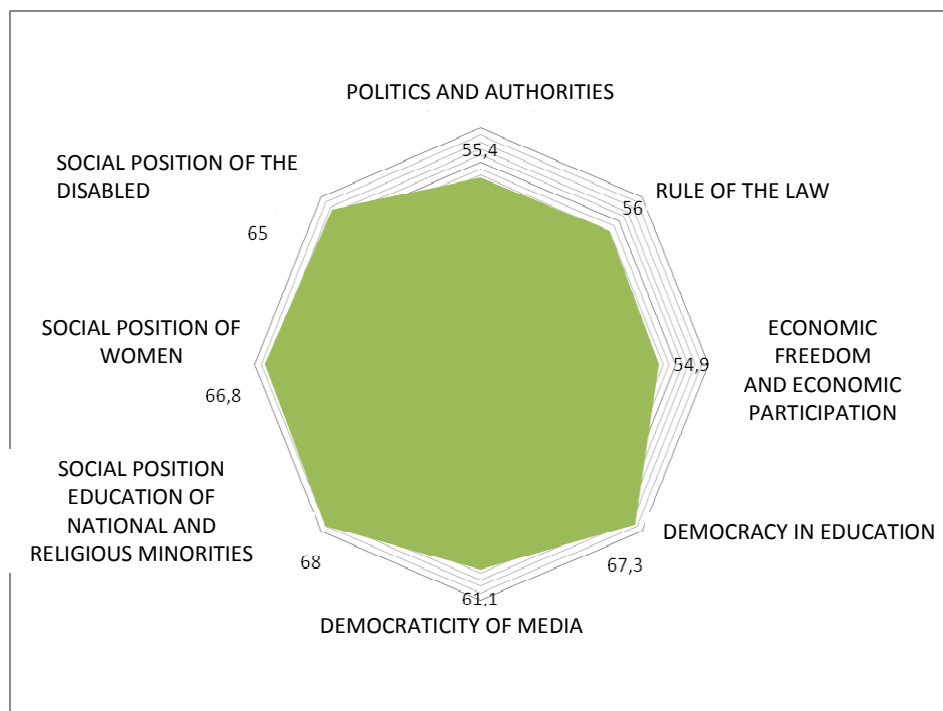
9. DEMOCRACY INDEX – SUMMARY REVIEW

On the basis of all realised measurements, 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 social position of national and religious minorities**, and they also show that **mean values are also proportionally very high when we talk about education, social position of women and social position of persons with disabilities**. We surveyed slightly lower, but still high value for democraticity of media. **Lower mean values are surveyed when it comes to rule of law, democraticity in the sphere of politics and authorities, and finally, we surveyed the lowest value for democracy in the field of economics**. These last three areas are the ones to be taken special care of in the future period in order to achieve necessary progress.

Table 35 DEMOCRACY INDEX

AREAS	N	I	SD
POLITICS AND AUTHORITY	805	55,4	18,76
RULE OF LAW	808	56,0	19,36
ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	799	54,9	18,35
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	782	67,3	17,20
DEMOCRATICITY OF MEDIA	784	61,1	18,64
POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	784	68,0	18,87
POSITION OF WOMEN	784	66,8	19,37
POSITION OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES	767	65,0	18,47

GRAPH. 35 DEMOCRACY INDEX



Then, it is necessary to compare trends on a longitudinal level, of course, by comparing values of the scores by areas (table 36 and graph.36). **Key finding in this respect is that there is a positive trend in each single area in comparison with 2009.** We surveyed the most positive trend, in comparison with 2009, for social position of women ($t = 7.90$), and then for social position of persons with disabilities. There is significant progress for social position of national and religious minorities ($t = 5.24$), as well as for democraticity of media ($t = 4.75$). Slightly lower, but certainly positive trend, was realised in the areas of rule of law ($t = 3.03$), democracy in education ($t = 3.02$), economy ($t = 2.85$), and in the area of politics and authority ($t = 2.12$), where it is comparatively the lowest, but statistically significant progress was certainly realised.

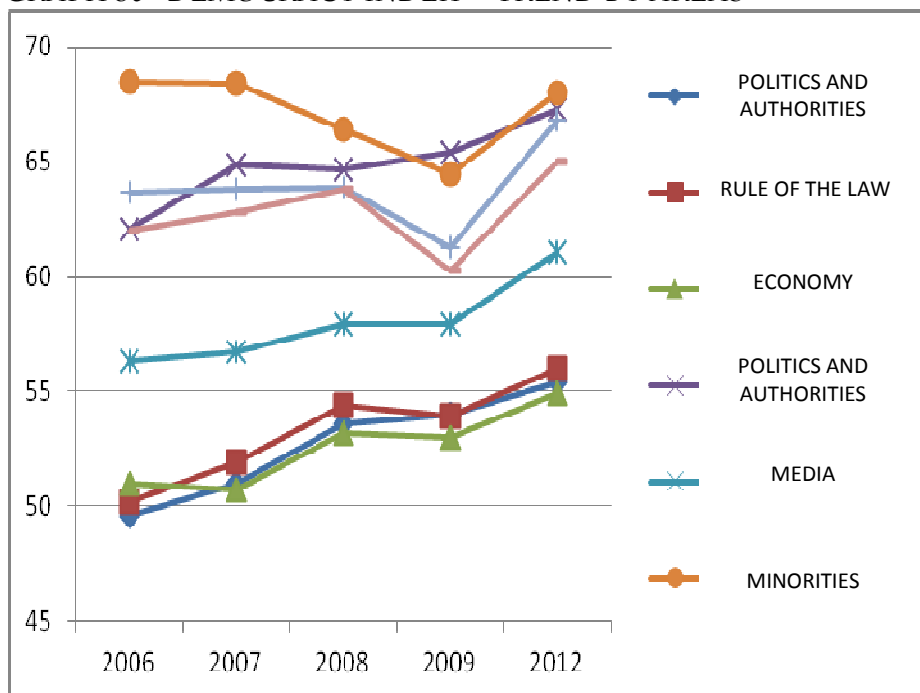
Table 36 DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2012	T TEST
POLITICS AND AUTHORITY	49,6	51,0	53,6	54,0	55,4	2,12*
RULE OF LAW	50,2	51,9	54,4	53,9	56,0	3,03**
ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION	51,0	50,7	53,2	53,0	54,9	2,85**
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION	62,1	64,9	64,7	65,4	67,3	3,02**
DEMOCRATICITY OF MEDIA	56,3	56,7	57,9	57,9	61,1	4,75**
SOCIAL POSITION OF NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES	68,5	68,4	66,4	64,5	68,0	5,24**
SOCIAL POSITION OF WOMEN	63,7	63,8	63,9	61,3	66,8	7,90**
SOCIAL POSITION OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES	62,0	62,8	63,8	60,3	65,0	7,04**

** p < 0,01

* p < 0,05

GRAPH 36 DEMOCRACY INDEX - TREND BY AREAS

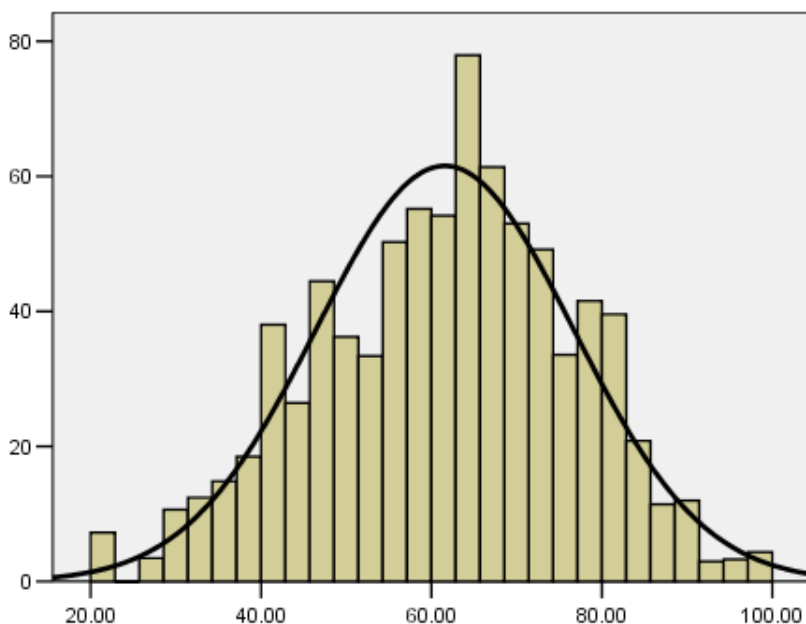


Finally, on the basis of all surveyed values by areas, we formed synthesised score which surveyed state of democracy in Montenegrin society, and the values can be seen in table 37 as well as on graph 37.

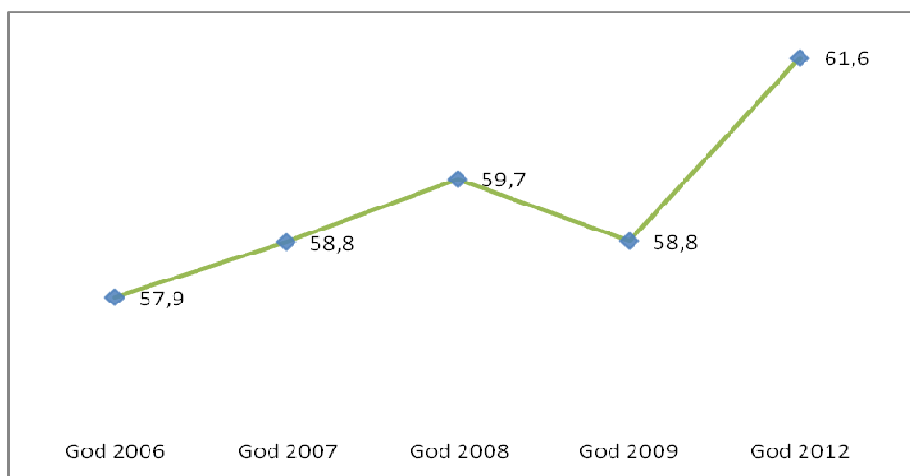
Table 37 Synthesised score of democracy INDEX

Parametres		Statistics
Arithmetic mean		61,5674
95% Confidence interval	FROM TO	60,5291 62,6057
Median		62,9805
Variance		228,400
Standard deviation		15,1129
Minimum		20,00
Maximum		100,00
Range		80,00

GRAPH 37 DEMOCRACY INDEX - DISTRIBUTION



GRAPH 38 DEMOCRACY INDEX – TREND



In the end, by comparing summary values of a composite score – democracy INDEX, difference in comparison with 2009 is 61.6 versus 58.8 index points. This is statistically significant progress measured by t-test ($t = 5,23$; $p < 0,01$). Therefore, **there is no doubt that during last three years the overall state of democracy in Montenegrin society improved.** It is important also to have in mind previously presented values of the survey, namely, **not only was there improvement in the total score, but trends are positive in every single area of survey.**

Finally, if we take into consideration results of democracy survey, some theoretical issues which should be discussed remain. The issues, first of all refer to relationship of political forces in current divisions which have existed in Montenegrin society for long. Do these data speak in favour of near resolution of the conflict on behalf of pro-Montenegrin forces or they are just cementing of current unchangeable authorities in Montenegro? Can we, on the other hand, really claim that, disregarding 22 years of its unchangeability, current authorities has continuously provided democratic progress and in this way gave additional legitimacy to its continuity? Finally, can we ask a question whether a secure road towards membership in the European Union brought positive trends in Montenegrin society disregarding inner problems and deficits of post-communist democracy in Montenegro? All these are the questions which, I believe, will get reliable answers within a relatively short historical period of time. In the end, a task to

fight for further progress of democracy zealously and persistently and in accordance with the highest democratic standards, but at the same time on the benefit of all citizens of Montenegro, remains to creators of politics, institutions, international community and all other social and political forces.

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