

# CEDEM

ISSN 1853-5652

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# NEWSLETTER

No 24 • June - September 2008



# democracy<sup>1</sup> index

## 1. EDUCATION

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

In contemporary democratic society, education plays an important role. First of all, as technologically developed society, democracy cannot be imagined without developed education system. The very idea of democracy, in its educational transcription can be reduced to the idea of meritocracy, or in other words, if the education is one of the key mechanisms for achieving social status, than the equality of opportunities within educational

process produces social equality. The practice, however, showed that this is not easy to implement, because even by giving equal opportunities to individuals within the educational process, one still cannot neutralize basic differences that do exist on the social and stratification level.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> DEMOCRACY INDEX represents methode of measuring the level of democratic process, achieved in one society. By the language of numbers and through the analyses of specific indicators, INDEX demonstrates to what level do citizens percept the presence of democracy within their society. The rule of law is one of five areas which were the subject of our measurement. The complete report is available on the web page ([www.cedem.cg.yu](http://www.cedem.cg.yu)). The project is supported by NED.

last Index of Democracy that was focused on this particular sector.

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

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

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

### 1.1 Openness and participation in education

Using these dimensions, we aimed at testing the level of openness of education for all so-

cial groups. As the social status is, to a great degree, the function of educational process, this dimension was very important from the perspective of democracy in the society.

Regarding the findings, we can say that results obtained, for all the indicators are relatively high (ranging from 2.96 to 3.79). At the first glance, we can say that scores in the area of education are much better compared to already analyzed areas. Comparatively, the highest score is recorded in area of accessibility of education to all citizens, regardless of their permanent residence (3.79). Therefore, our conclusion is that citizens don't see as a problem, the fact that we have discrimination based on students' place of residence. Furthermore, citizens rate very highly, equal schooling conditions for the entire students' population, regardless of their nationality or religion (3.57). Regarding openness for children with unfavorable social status, i.e. children from poor families, the results are pretty good (3.33). The lowest score was recorded when measuring openness of education system for citizens' suggestions and opinions (2.96) pointing to the need, that for the sake of improving the democracy, it is necessary to establish more intensive communication between education institutions and citizens, i.e. it is necessary to set

*Table 16 Openness and participation in education – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Accessibility of education to all citizens regardless of their residence / place of permanent residence	943	3,79	1,200	-0,819
Openness of education for children with unfavourable social status, i.e. children from poor families	939	3,33	1,282	-0,344
Equal schooling conditions for the entire students' population regardless of their nationality or religion	941	3,57	1,256	-0,584
Openness of education for citizens' suggestions and opinions	871	2,96	1,193	0,096

up mechanisms that would allow citizens to impact educational process, through their suggestions and opinions, more than it was the case so far.

## 1.2 Education autonomy and efficiency

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

Highest score in this area is recorded regarding the indicator for development of personality autonomy, freedom, and creativity of students within educational process (3.87), and we can be very satisfied with this result. Furthermore, Montenegrin society considers education system to be functional from the view point of implementation of

key educational objectives (3.33), and even in respect to autonomy of University we recorded significant progress (3.18). On the other hand, lower score was recorded when speaking about absence of ideological contents in curricula (3.09) and even lower score regarding the influence of political structures and other power centers (2.91). Thus, even in this dimension, just as in number of previous cases, we see majority of problems regarding the influence of politics and special centers of power. Therefore, neutralizing influence of politics on the autonomy of University and autonomy of other areas of social life, as well as elimination of influence of powerful individuals and power centers, remains priority task in the future process of democratization of the society.

## 1.3 Legality and control of the educational system

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

*Table 17 Education autonomy and efficiency – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Autonomy of the University	740	3,18	1,206	-0,161
Developing personality autonomy, freedom, and creativity of students within education system	912	3,87	1,092	-0,959
Absence of pressures from political structures, and other centers of power on the education system	906	2,91	1,339	0,080
Absence of ideological contents in curricula	462	3,09	1,204	-0,185
Efficiency of educational system regarding implementation of key educational objectives	859	3,33	1,115	-0,364

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

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Efficiency of law in combating corruption within education system	852	2,75	1,185	0,292
Efficiency of law in changing poor and low quality regulations	811	3,09	1,152	-0,069
Existence of developed criteria, at national level, for evaluating the quality of education	781	3,12	1,148	-0,127
Government services are complying with regulations when assessing the quality of educational institutions	823	3,05	1,201	-0,100
Possibility for students to evaluate their institutions and work of their professors	783	2,85	1,250	0,209

do 3.12, meaning lower scores compared to previous two.

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

#### 1.4 Pluralism in education

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

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

*Table 19 Pluralism in education – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Developing tolerance at students in respect to all forms of diversity within education system	893	3,52	1,128	-0,554
The curricula are respecting sexual, physical, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversities in the society	894	3,51	1,094	-0,599
Existence and implementation of variety of different teaching methods within educational process	889	3,31	1,162	-0,293
Possibility for students to choose educational contents	905	3,43	1,144	-0,407

### 1.5 Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education

Public debate as an institute represents a novelty that was introduced at the early stages of transitional period. It turned out that this mechanism is of great value for the process of overall social reforms, and that by means of public debate the society can obtain number of important information, which is very use-

ful for successful transformation of certain social areas. Therefore, we have defined the network of indicators, which are aiming to measure, both the impact and effectiveness of public debate on the education system.

Comparatively, the best result is recorded when it comes to participation of national minorities in designing educational curricula that are intended for them (the score is 3.48,

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

	N	K	SD	Skewness
Possibility for teachers/professors to initiate concrete changes within education system	825	3,14	1,119	-0,157
Respecting the opinion of experts from NGO sector, respectable individuals, and other interested parties during the process of drafting laws and regulations related to education	755	3,25	1,156	-0,306
Existence of dialogue between competent government institutions and social organizations involved in area of education	732	3,32	1,048	-0,502
Participation of national minorities' organizations in designing educational programs that are intended for national minorities	751	3,48	1,074	-0,584
Possibility for students to initiate concrete changes in area of university education, which are directed at improving the quality of university education	788	3,16	1,120	-0,113

and scores per indicators range from 3.14 to 3.48). Furthermore, the existence of dialogue between competent government institutions and social organizations involved in area of education is highly regarded (3.32). Impact of NGO sector is significant (3.25), and the possibility for students to initiate concrete changes in university education area, which are directed at improving the quality of university education is rated somewhat lower (3.16); finally possibility for teachers/professors to initiate concrete changes in the education scored 3.14. All in all, when it comes to public debate and its impact on education system, we can be satisfied with achieved scores, but of course we should always strive for more.

### 1.6 Transparency and accessibility of information in education

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

indicators that permeate structurally.

Scores in this area are relatively small and they range between 2.95 and 3.20. In addition, it is obvious that there are no significant differences between indicators. The highest score was recorded on certification and testing of textbooks (3.20), followed by public accessibility of relevant information on educational programs (3.16); also very good and satisfactory score regarding public accessibility of relevant information on results achieved by students' population (3.08). On the other hand, somewhat lower scores recorded regarding public and transparent control (3.05), as well as regarding government bodies systematically informing the public on issues related to education (2.95). Therefore, in these two segments there is still space for improvement, when it comes to reform of education system.

### 1.7 Summary indicator for area of education

In order to give comprehensive assessment of the situation in area of education, regarding the level of achieved democracy, in the table 22 and the graphic presentation we presented

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

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Existence of public and transparent control of educational institutions	780	3,05	1,137	-0,058
Certification and testing of textbooks	762	3,20	1,168	-0,335
Public (citizens and media) accessibility of relevant information on educational programs	851	3,16	1,117	-0,243
Public (citizens and media) accessibility of relevant information on results achieved by students' population	843	3,08	1,137	-0,176
Government and its bodies (ministries) are systematically informing the public on all issues related to problems in education	873	2,95	1,168	0,074

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

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Openness and participation in education	983	68,6	19,40215	-0,356
Education autonomy and efficiency	974	66,2	18,72386	-0,212
Legality and control of the education system	970	59,5	19,41905	0,156
Pluralism in education	978	68,9	17,89934	-0,376
Impact and effectiveness of public debate on education	945	64,8	17,88930	-0,259
Transparency and accessibility of information	952	61,5	19,53937	-0,089

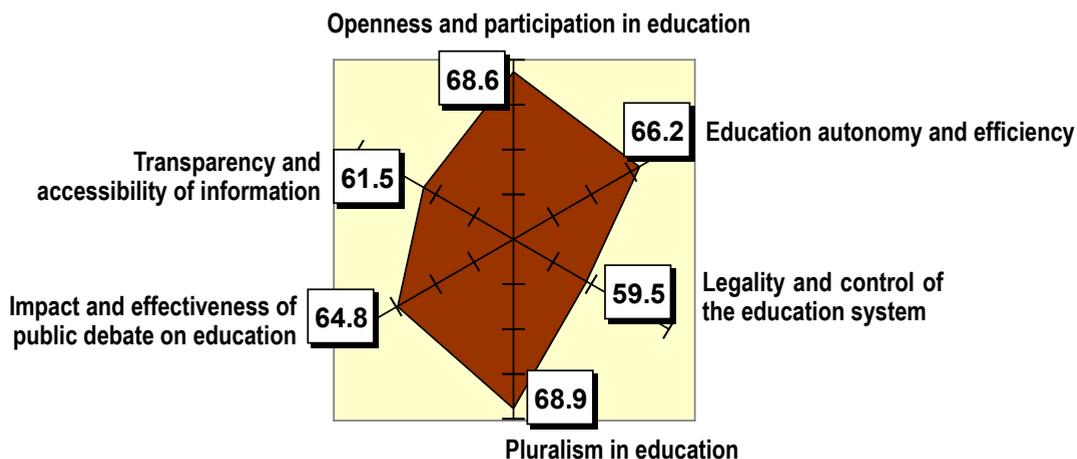
summary results recorded in each of the dimensions individually, as well as comparison with previous survey results.

Analyzing the area of education from the aspect of recorded scores, which we defined for each dimension, we came to conclusion that in general we can be satisfied with results. However, it is indicative that range of scores is quite wide, from 59.5 to 68.9. Education reform in Montenegro has contributed mostly to improvement of situation in area of pluralism in education (68,9) and openness and participation in education (68,6). Furthermore, we can also be satisfied with scores recorded in area of autonomy and efficiency of education (66,2), and impact and effectiveness

of public debate on the educational process (64,8). Scores are halfway when it comes to issues of transparency and accessibility of information (61,5), and legality and control of the education system (59,5).

Regarding the trend, it is obviously positive one, because we recorded growth in all the indicators. Situation has improved significantly, i.e. the highest growth trend was recorded in area of pluralism in education, autonomy and efficiency of education. Somewhat lesser scores, but still an improvement, were recorded in areas of openness and participation in education, impact and effectiveness of public debate on education, transparency and accessibility of information in education. The lowest recorded scores were in area of

### Level of democracy achieved within education process



legality and control of education system, but it is encouraging to see the growth trend when it comes to this indicator, meaning that certain positive results have been achieved and that direction taken is a good one.

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

However, we should keep in mind that, regardless of good scores achieved in this area, a society that aspires to present itself as democratic one, should find the place and the role for education system, which, as a result of that positioning, should function adequately. Because, without adequate functioning of the education system, it will be extremely hard to deal with numerous challenges that

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

Montenegrin society will be facing or is already facing, especially bearing in mind that the processes of crucial compliance with EU standards is yet to come.

## CEDEM Activities

### *Seminar:*

”Implementation of the European Convention on Human Rights ”

**Zabljak, May 30-31, 2008**

The seminar primarily organized for young employees in judiciary. Facilitators were eminent Montenegrin jurists, Supreme Court's judges Mrs. Julka Badnjar, Mrs. Vesna Begovic, Mr. Radule Kojovic, Mr. Petar Stojanovic, President of the Basic Court in Podgorica Mr. Zoran Pazin, as well as coordinator of the Centre for Human Rights Mr. Sinisa Bjekovic, and OSCE representative Mr. Aleksa Ivanovic. They were talking to their young colleagues about importance and implementation of international standards on human rights and freedoms. Seminar was realized with the support of the Balkan Trust for Democracy



*Seminar:*

”Torture, Other Forms Of Ill-Treatment  
And Deprivation Of Liberty Under The ECHR”

***Kolasin, July 4-5, 2008***

Seminar was organized for Montenegrin judges, prosecutors, attorneys, representatives of state institutions and civil sector. CEDEM organized the seminar with support of USA Embassy, OSCE, AIRE Centre from London and Center for education of judges. Facilitators were: Richard Thomas, Barrister, Doughty Street Chambers; Radomir Prelevic, Attorney, Podgorica; Nuala Mole, Director, The AIRE Centre; Zeljko Tomovic, Advisor of Minister of Justice; Milan Skulic, Professor, Law Faculty, Belgrade.

*Seminar:*

”Efficient Judiciary As The Important Precondition For Establishing The Rule  
Of Law In Montenegro – Right On Fair Trial And Court Proceeding ”

***Budva, September 17-20, 2008***



Seminar organized for young employees in judiciary. Facilitators were Supreme Court’s judges: Mrs. Julka Badnjar, Mrs. Vesna Begovic, Mr. Radule Kojovic and Mr. Petar Stojanovic, as well as Mrs. Branka Lakocevic who is the Deputy of the Minister of Justice, and coordinator of the Centre for Human Rights, Mr. Sinisa Bjekovic. Seminar was supported by Konrad Adenauer

Stiftung and Balkan Trust for Democracy.

• We were visited by... • We were visited by... • We were visited by...

- Delegation from Centre for Civil Military Relations and Belgrade School of Security Studies
- Vegard Valther Hansen, Deputy Director of Department and Director of the Balkans Programme at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
- Gerhard Schaumberger, Head of the Coordination Office for Technical Cooperation, Austrian Embassy

## Public opinion in Montenegro June 2008

This research was conducted in period June 25 – July 05 2008, using standard CEDEM's twofold stratified sample with random selection of interviewees in final units applied, at the level of 1029 interviewees from 9 municipalities ( Pljevlja, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Podgorica, Niksic, Cetinje, Herceg Novi, Bar i Ulcinj). Project Political Public Opinion is supported by Foundation Open Society Institute, representative office in Montenegro (OSIM).

### Basic characteristics of the sample

Educational struct. of interviewees%	
No education	1.0
Primary	10.0
Secondary	60.2
Higher	14.8
High	14.0
Nationality of interviewees %	
Montenegrians	43.6
Serbs	33.1
Bosnians	3.9
Albanians	5.1
Muslims	9.4
Other	4.9

### Membership in the European Union (trend)

	Jun 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	Mar 08	Jun 08
Yes	78.3	72.4	72.8	78.2	70.8
No	6.5	9.4	9.2	9.1	12.1
Doesn't know	15.2	18.2	18.0	12.7	17.1

### Membership in NATO (trend)

	Jun 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	Mar 08	Jun 08
Yes	32.9	32.4	29.5	33.1	26.3
No	39.7	40.7	44.2	43.1	46.7
Doesn't know	27.4	26.9	26.3	23.8	27.0

### Cooperation with the Hague Tribunal (trend)

	Jun 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	Mar 08	Jun 08
Yes	48.2	47.7	49.2	47.2	46.1
No	30.6	29.5	29.8	31.6	31.2
Doesn't know	21.2	22.8	21.0	21.2	22.7

### Confidence in Institutions

Institution	N	K	SD
Serbian Orthodox Church	752	3.40	1.583
President of Montenegro	906	2.93	1.450
Government of Montenegro	904	2.80	1.407
Montenegrin Police	899	2.66	1.299
Montenegrin Parliament	891	2.64	1.278
Montenegrin Judiciary	883	2.46	1.255
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	715	2.45	1.494
Political Parties in Montenegro	851	2.27	1.152

### Confidence in Politicians/Public figures

Rating of the politician/ public figure	Average score
1. Vanja ČALOVIĆ	3.21
2. Filip VUJANOVIĆ	3.04
3. Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	3.01
4. Gordana ĐUROVIĆ	2.86
5. Srđan MILIĆ	2.56
6. Vujica LAZOVIĆ	2.51
7. Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.49
8. Andrija MANDIĆ	2.39
9. Ranko KRIVOKAPIĆ	2.34
10. Ranko KADIĆ	2.19
11. Predrag POPOVIĆ	2.10
12. Miodrag ŽIVKOVIĆ	2.07
13. Zoran ŽIŽIĆ	2.01
14. Emilo LABUDOVIĆ	1.97
15. Ferhat DINOŠA	1.93
16. Mehmet BARDHI	1.72
17. Vasilj SINIŠTAJ	1.60
18. Rafet HUSOVIĆ	1.58

**Rating of the politician/public figure**  
- Trends at the level of entire group of interviewees -

Politicians / public figures	February 2007.	June 2007.	Sep/Oct 2007.	February 2008.	March 2008.	June 2008.
Vanja ČALOVIĆ	-	3.18	3.19	3.16	3.31	3.21
Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	2.86	3.09	3.01	2.96	3.27	3.01
Filip VUJANOVIĆ	2.82	2.99	3.02	3.06	3.22	3.04
Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.93	3.10	2.98	2.65	2.60	2.49
Gordana ĐUROVIĆ	-	2.86	2.95	2.89	3.06	2.86

**Confidence in Institutions – trend**

Institution	K (confidence coefficient)		
	feb '08.	mar '08.	jun '08.
Serbian Orthodox Church	3.38	3.58	3.40
President of Montenegro	2.90	3.08	2.93
Government of Montenegro	2.72	3.00	2.80
Montenegrin Police	2.60	2.89	2.66
Montenegrin Parliament	2.59	2.82	2.64
Montenegrin Judiciary	2.31	2.63	2.46
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	2.41	2.71	2.45
Political Parties in Montenegro	2.28	2.44	2.27

*Comment: Completed opinion poll results could be found on CEDEM's website: [www.cedem.co.me](http://www.cedem.co.me)*

**Satisfaction With The Government Of Montenegro**

Modalities of answer	%
Very dissatisfied	26.6
Mostly dissatisfied	16.4
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	28.8
Mostly satisfied	18.7
Very satisfied	9.5

**Electoral preference – Committed voters**

DPS	47.1
SDP	4.2
SNP	11.1
SNS	14.4
PzP	10.8
Other	12.1
Turn out	69.1

**Electoral preference – Committed voters - trend**

Political party	June '07.	Sep/Oct '07.	Feb. '08.	June '08.
DPS	41.1	43.5	44.5	47.4
SDP	3.6	5.0	3.0	4.2
PzP	22.4	19.4	18.1	10.8
SNS	12.2	12.7	11.2	14.4
SNP	6.1	7.1	9.7	11.1
LPCG	2.8	2.5	2.0	1.7
Srpski radikali	3.0	1.6	2.0	2.4

## Montenegrin allies in area of foreign policy

	Attitudes				
	Absolute-ly not	A little	Yes significantly	Yes, absolutely	Can not tell
EU	11.0	14.4	20.8	23.1	30.7
USA	31.1	13.4	11.4	8.2	35.9
RUSSIA	15.8	18.8	14.9	15.4	35.1
SERBIA	18.2	10.7	13.7	22.4	35.0

**NOTE:** 19,3% of interviewees think that Montenegro should not rely on nobody in area of foreign policy.

## International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part

**PhD Srdjan Darmanovic**

*September 11 – 14 2008, Belgrade*

Joint Workshop of the PfP Consortium Study Group “Regional Stability in South East Europe” and Centre for Civil-Military-Relations, entitled: Serbia – Stepping into Calmer of Rougher Waters? Internal Processes, Regional Implications.

**PhD Srdjan Darmanovic**

*September 22 - 23 2008, Barcelona*

Conference entitled: The EU and South East Europe in 2008: Is all still well? Burning issues and difficult questions. It was organized by: CIDOB Foundation, the Open Society Institute Fellowship Program (OSI), European Stability Initiative (ESI), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES, Madrid).

**MA Nenad Koprivica**

*June 12 – 13 2008, Brussels*

The Second Citizens Agora on the topic: Climate Change, organized by European Commission.

**MA Nenad Koprivica**

*September 14, Sofia*

Participation in the regional project of the European Institute from Sofia.

**Rajko Radevic**

*August 5 2008, Oslo*

The visit to the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI).