

Centar za demokratiju
i ljudska prava

Center for Democracy
and Human Rights

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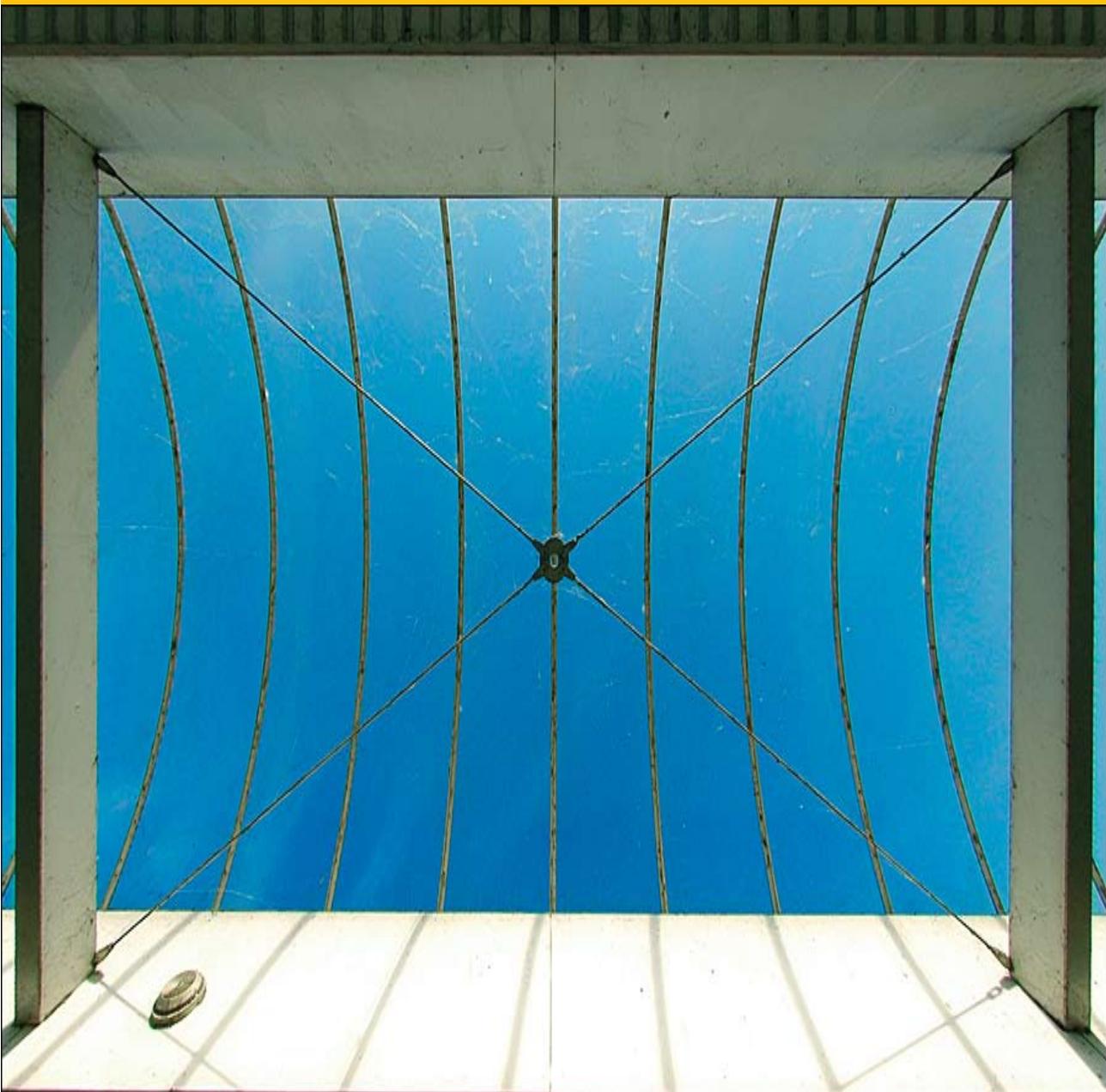
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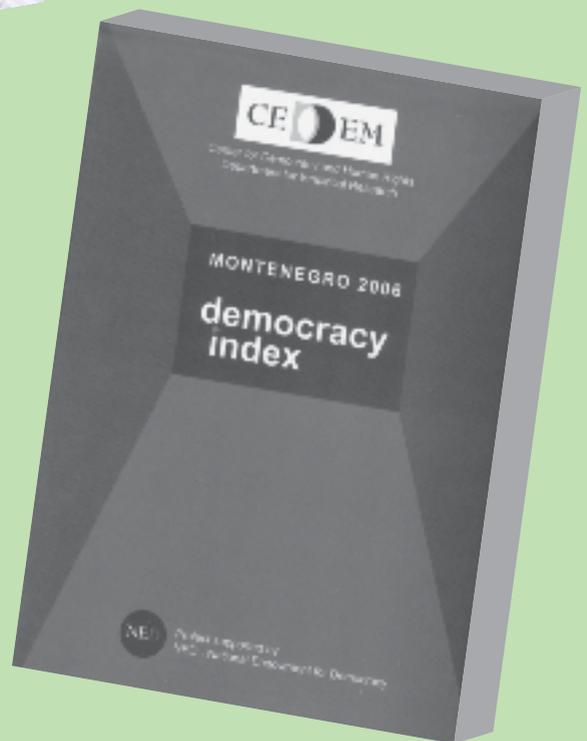
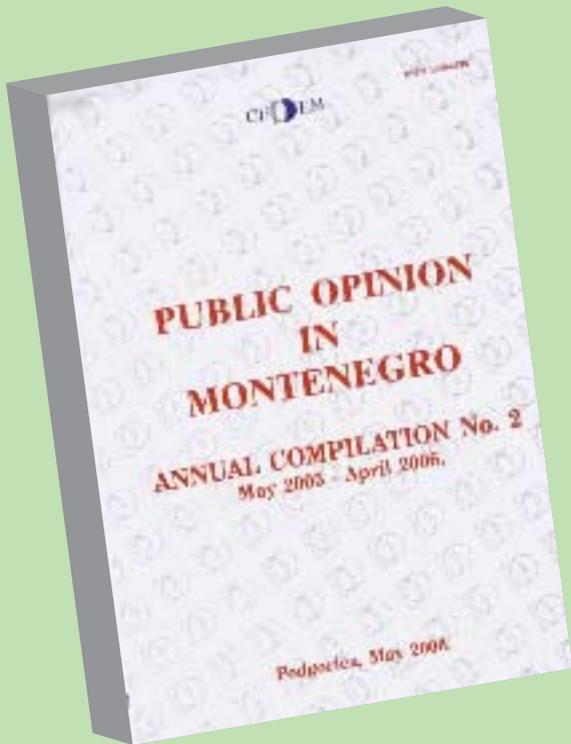
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NEWSLETTER



CEDEM edition:



democracy index

After 15 years of social transformation in Montenegro, just as in other countries that underwent the same process, a number of important social and political issues have been raised, which relate directly or indirectly on the evaluation of effects of implemented reforms. Speaking of the very nature of these social changes, first we have to stress one important fact: 'changes are irreversible'. The fact remains that both in the Montenegrin as well as in other societies in transition, there are social groups and their political promoters who demand the return to the old ways. However, even among the supporters of this idea there is a conviction that it is quite impossible to turn the wheel backward and that thanks to the reform process the key social and political mechanisms, which eventually could start the reversible process, have been dismantled. This, by all means, does not mean that the transformation process is completed, or that it was successful in all social segments. Furthermore, when determining the reach and depth of changes that occurred within the social structure, one should be very careful. If we take phenomenological layers as evaluation criteria we can easily end up with wrong conclusions, or in other words, by superficial review of changes, without analysis of all the layers, we may overestimate their depth. In that sense, political scientists, sociologists, economists,

and other social analysts rightfully point out to fact that post-socialist society is convergent in its nature and that in many elements it is burdened by past which is permanently acting as barrier to reform processes.

Today the question is whether we can talk about the transition process of post-socialist societies anymore. There are some opinions, even good arguments, saying that process of social transition is finished. This definitely does not mean that modern democratic society based on the private property and market economy of the kind that exists in countries of western civilization circle, is being formed, but that the basic social relations have been created in the newly formed societies, that basic social groups have taken their places within the social structure, and finally, that post-socialist societies are not characterized by the greater level of dynamics compared to societies that did not underwent the transition process. However, even under assumption that this thesis is correct, the task of further reforming of the society still remains, and we primarily think on implementation of democracy at all levels within the society.

Looking at the transition from comparative point of view, we may conclude, without major problems, that different post-socialists countries have been moving in different

directions, and that the outcomes of this process differed. Practice has shown that there is no magical word, which could, using standardized mechanisms and methods, turn the authoritarian real-socialist society into democratic model. All post-socialist societies have their specifics, which primarily reflect in their pre-socialist history, cultural differences, and differences in potentials and capacities. All these differences caused that, as a result of transition process, we have new social model that moved away from authoritarian society of communist type, but which both by its nature and structure differs from societies that have tradition of market economy and parliamentary democracy. Because of significant differences that existed in the past between these societies, the application of the same measures in different conditions gave different results. The consequence is that there are differences between post-socialist societies that cannot be disregarded.

This shouldn't pose a problem. Very often all the countries of west Balkan circle, which served as a model for transitional societies, are viewed from identity point of view, i.e. it is customary to take all these societies as identical in their social essence, and that is certainly not the case. It is not necessary to be equipped with scientific apparatus to be able to identify great number of differences between, for example Great Britain, Germany, Greece, and USA. Each of these societies have number of not just cultural, but also social-structural, and political specifics. It seems that this fact, per se, is quite enough to accept the fact that each of post-socialist societies, in their final transitional outcome,

will be specific and unique.

However, if there is a word that connects all the different transitional societies, that is definitely the word 'democracy'. Nobody objects that the ultimate goal of transition is moving from authoritarian toward democratic model of the society. Still, imprisoned within proper political tradition, in political even intellectual circles people often forget that democratic society means much more than simple political transformation and implementation of political pluralism principle. Democracy is both social and political system at the same time, a foundation upon all social relations and institutions are built. Democracy is, by its nature, very vulnerable because the absence of support in one of the integral parts of social totality, significantly limits the possibilities for implementation of democratic principles in other areas of social life. Therefore, democracy is the system, totality whose existence and efficiency depends on harmonious functioning and complementarity of its component parts.

If democracy is the goal that post-socialist societies aspire to achieve, than it is necessary to monitor the direction and depth of social and political changes, or in other words, the progress in the implementation of democratic society must be measured in some way. If we conduct these measurements periodically and using unique methodology, it is possible to influence the direction of social changes, and consequently to mobilize society's action potentials and make necessary corrections. This is the idea upon which our work is based. We will present you the results of one-year efforts that reflect in the establishment of parameters and measuring the development

of democracy in Montenegrin society. Thus, we formed Democracy Index, unique socio-political and statistical amalgam, which in unified manner, through language of numbers speaks about the level of achieved democracy in Montenegrin society.

The idea to measure democracy is certainly not new and in that respect, our attempt is not original. There are 5 parameters in the USA, based on which this index is being formed, with basic goal to set the rating of all USA states. However, this index relates only to aspect of political participation, meaning that just one criteria with five aspects is being used. In the surrounding countries, there have been similar attempts. Croatia has formed 'open society index', which in its essence is in fact a kind of democracy index. Croatian experience was useful to us when creating our index, although there are significant differences. Israel is also one of the countries where attempts have been made to use the index and measure the democracy within society, and we took into account even these experiences when designing our model. Finally, as widely known, Freedom House has a number of different indexes used for measuring the 'situations' in certain social areas, so we have used these procedures and experiences when selection our indicators. However, all in all, our model has number of specific features, and we also believe advantages, with respect to other models we mentioned (as well as with respect to ones we didn't mention). Time will tell whether our assessments and our satisfaction are realistic. In any case, looking from theoretically- methodologically, and empirically point of view, this represents grandiose attempt to measure the state of democracy in Montenegrin society

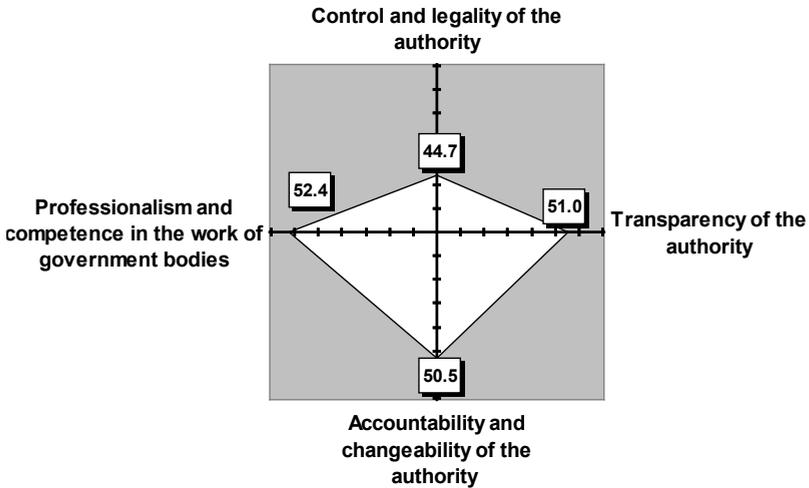
in a summary way.

In the creation of the Index, we have stopped at halfway. The idea was to measure the state of democracy on 'two separate fronts'. One front is the perception, i.e. positions of the public opinion and the second is setting objective indicators that can be summarized through statistical procedure. What is essential, what connects both of these measurement dimensions is conceptual framework serving as methodological platform. Therefore, in both cases the key problem was establishment of unique criteria that can serve as bases for aforementioned measurements. We have made great efforts in this direction and we believe that the totality we have shaped is valid and with proper operational capacity. When we say that the job is done only halfway, that means that we have conducted surveys regarding citizens' perception of 'state' of democracy in Montenegro. Results of that survey are presented on this occasion. What await us, according to identical conceptual model and prepared operational platform, in the time to come is to conduct survey of objective situation, i.e. to collect data based on indicators, which are of quantitative type and which do not relate to perception but they are indicated in the realistic processes and situations. This is the work we will be facing in the next year, and we are quite convinced that, with respect to this, survey will be done and presented to public in this manner.

The support provided by National Endowment for Democracy (NED) from Washington D.C. was vital for the implementation of the project Index of Democracy.

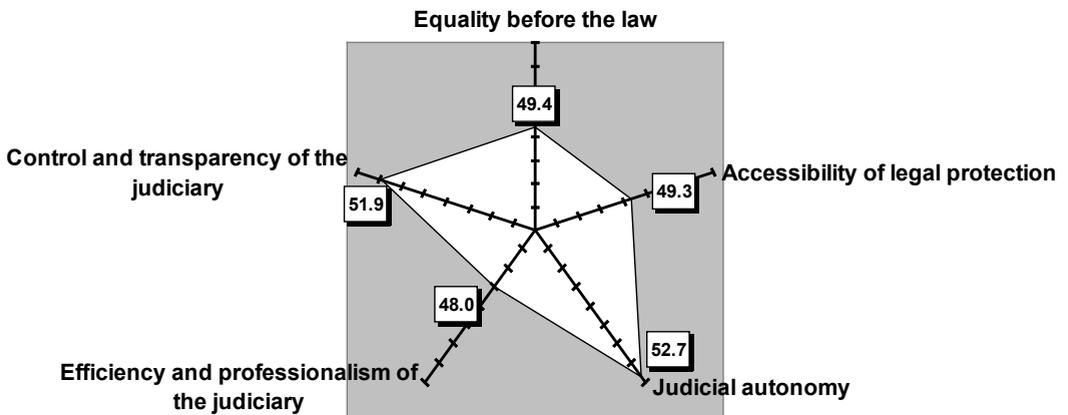
Democracy Index 2006 - Results

Democracy of political processes



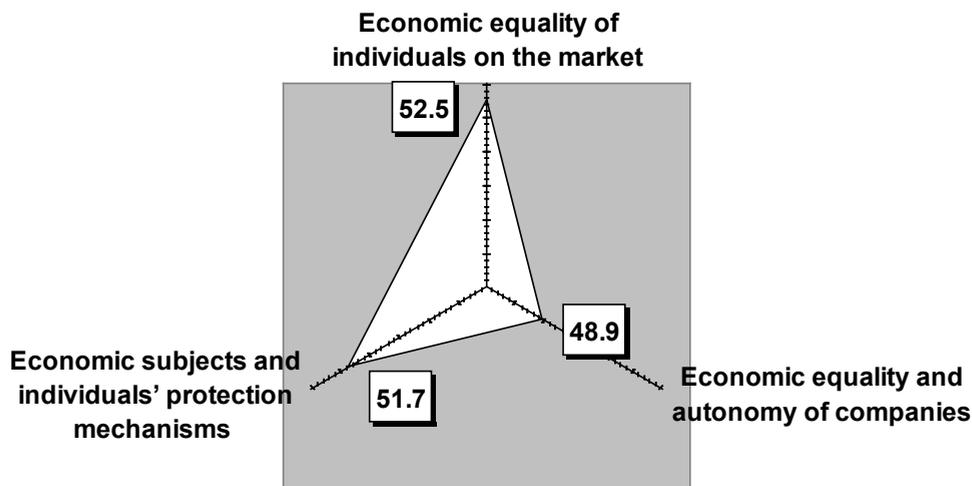
Results are showing that first steps that need to be taken in direction of improving the area of democracy of political processes are to provide greater control and legality of the government. From the analytic point of view the biggest problem is presence of crime and corruption within the government. Compared to the neighboring countries one cannot say that concerning this aspect Montenegro is specific, i.e. the problems of crime and corruption are certainly one of the key problems of all transitional societies.

Rule of Law



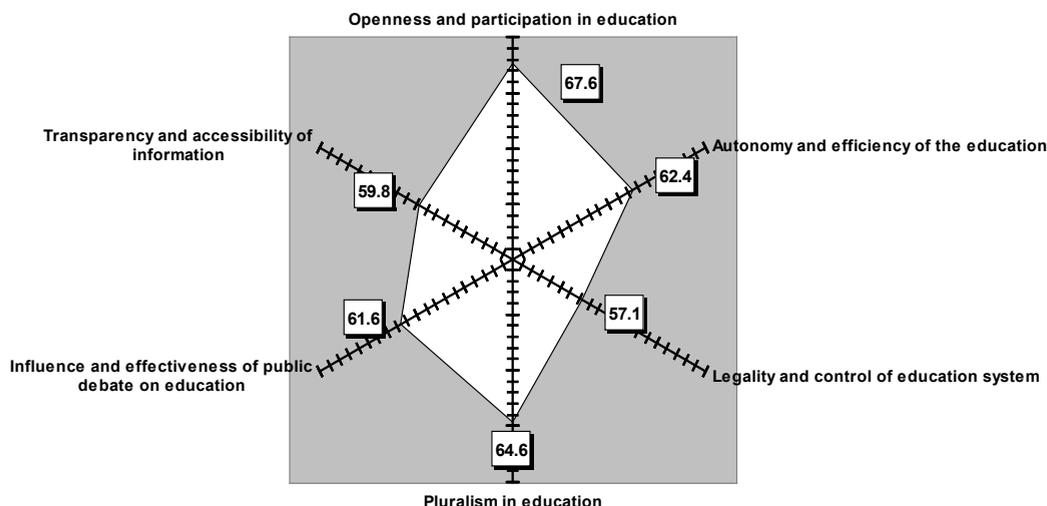
In order to foster democratization process in this area it is necessary to take steps, which would increase the efficiency of judicial system and it is also of crucial importance to set the mechanisms that would pose an obstacle to corruption within judiciary, as well as to influence of ‘untouchables’ on the court proceedings.

Economic Freedoms and Economic Participation



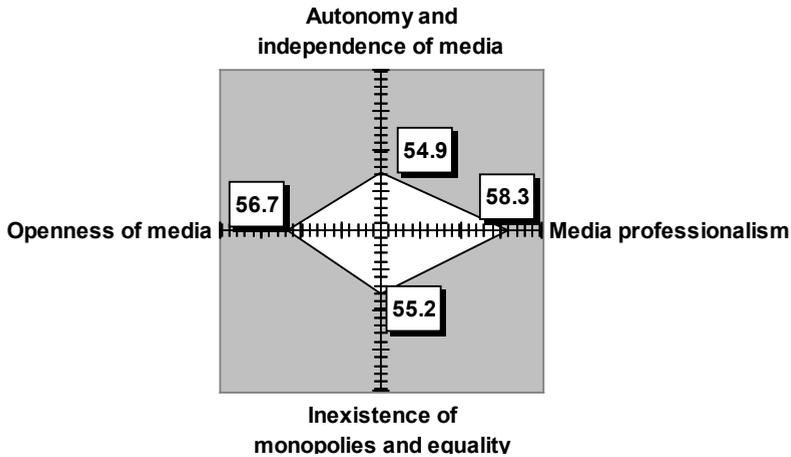
In the period to come it is necessary to promote principles and develop mechanisms which will improve economic equality and autonomy of companies. Of course this is a complex task that does not depend solely from institutional infrastructures and eventual rules of the game, but also relates to the functioning of the companies and their search for mechanisms that will provide their autonomy.

Democracy of education



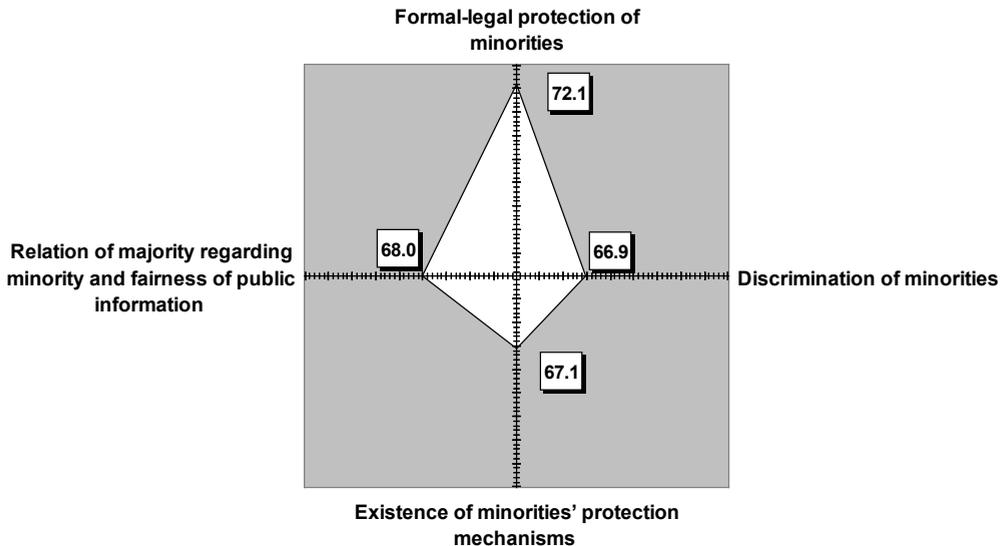
In Montenegrin society there are no major problems in view of democratization of the education process and possible interventions in this area should be aimed at the improvement of legality and control of the education system as well as the raising the level of transparency and availability of information.

Democracy of media



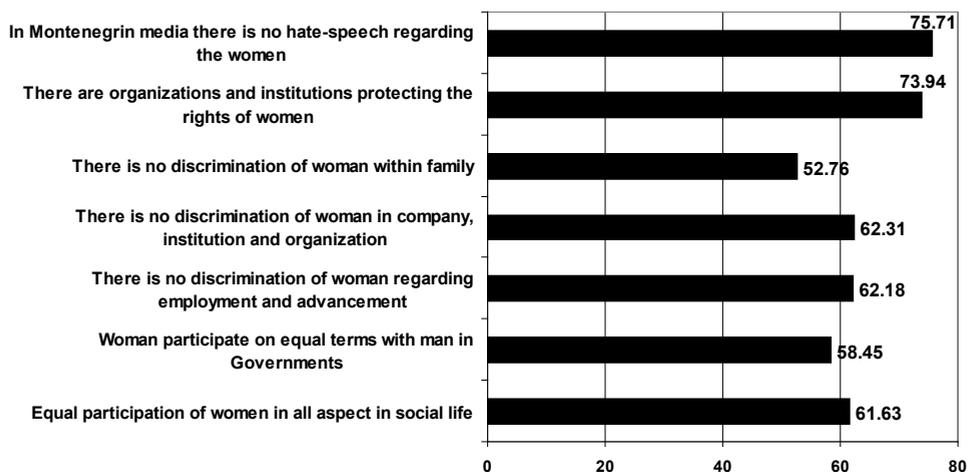
As regards the improvements which could be undertaken in this field, attention should certainly be paid to the issues of media autonomy and independence, and, primarily, to eliminating the influence by the political parties and structures in power. To tell the truth, it would be naive to believe that in any democratic system, structures in power are not able to influence media in their own interest, so that in this respect it cannot be stated that Montenegrin society is specific.

National and religious minorities



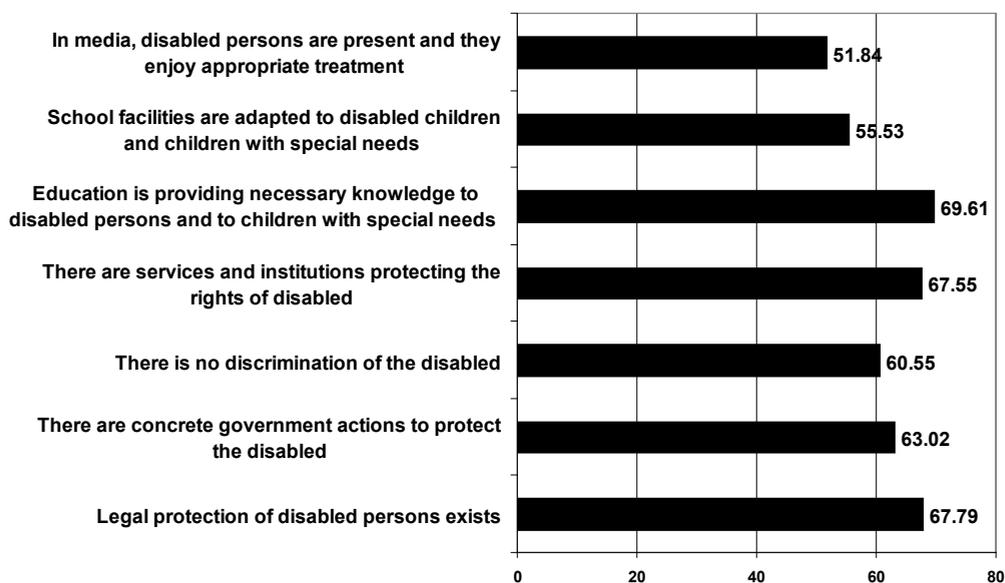
The results of our measurement reflect the fact that Montenegrin society does not have noticeable problems when it comes to the treatment of national and religious minorities. All values per dimension in this area are far above ones we recorded in other areas, and they range from 67.0 to 72,1. The highest value exists in official and legal protection for minorities, after which other dimensions appear to be similar and also high values.

Position of women



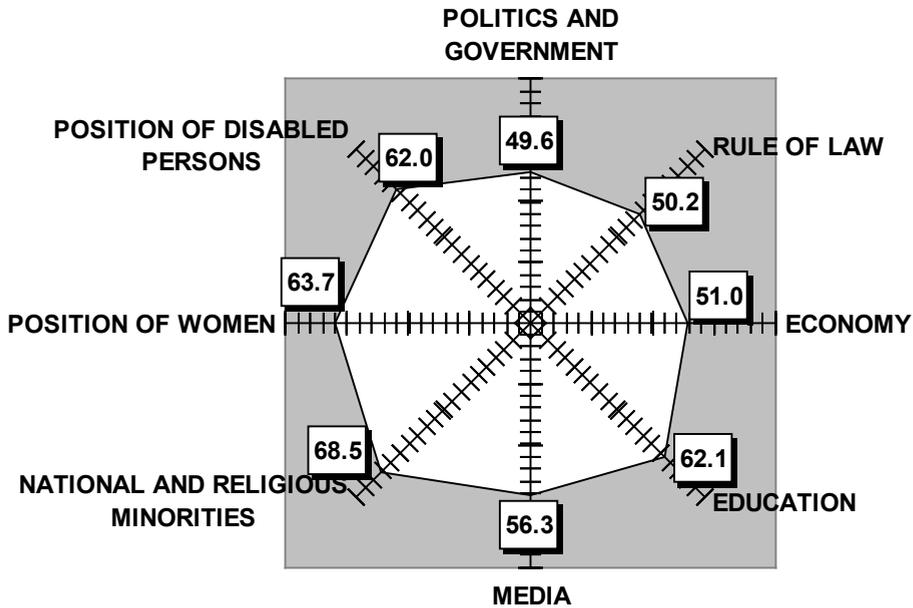
The status of women is mainly endangered in their families, so the issue of the status of women in their families should be a priority of future activities aimed at establishing overall gender balance. The second priority here is for sure the equal participation of women in the authorities of the power, since the current proportions in this sense are far away from equality, whereas the introduction of quotas is most likely to be the best solution therefore.

Position of disabled persons



It can be said that it is required to take measures in order to adjust school facilities to the children with special needs and that media should have take more active r4ole in promoting the equality in treatment of disabled persons.

Democracy index – summary



The highest level of democratization is measured in area of protection of the rights of national and religious minorities, than comes the status of women, the status of disabled persons and the field of education. Democratic qualities in media deserve sufficient mark, while the results in area of economic participations and freedoms and in the area of rule of law are not satisfactory. Finally, the weakest advancement in the democratization process of our society has been reached within the area of political processes democratization.



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CEDEM Activities

Seminar:

“State Obligations that derives from the Right to Life and Prohibition of Torture guaranteed by European Convention on Human Rights”

June 15 – 17. 2006, Igalo

Seminar for Montenegrin judges, attorneys and advocates regarding European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), were organized and held by the Council of Europe, AIRE (Advice on Individual Rights) Center from London, Judicial Training Center and the CEDEM. State obligations that derive from the right to life and prohibition of torture guaranteed by European Convention on Human Rights were discussed at the seminar.

This project has been supported by: British Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Westminster Foundation for Democracy and Council of Europe.



Seminar:

Training for young employees in judiciary –
Seminar on human rights and freedoms

June 22 – 24. 2006, Žabljak



Target group of this seminar were, primarily, young employees in judiciary. Facilitators of the seminar were eminent montenegrin jurists, Supreme Court’s judges, Mrs. Badnjar, Mr. Stojanovic, Mr. Radovic, President of the Basic Court from Podgorica, Mr. Z. Pazin and coordinator of the Centre fr Human Rights, Mr. Bjekovic. 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.

CEDEM

Empirical Research Department

**Public opinion in Montenegro
June 2006**

The research was conducted on a stratified, two-phase quota sample. The project was realised in 9 Montenegrin municipalities (Pljevlja, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Podgorica, Nikšić, Cetinje, Herceg Novi, Bar i Ulcinj) at the level of 983 subjects. Field research and primary data processing has been made from June 24th to 29th 2006. Project Political public opinion in Montenegro is supported by foundation Open Society Institute, office in Montenegro.

Basic characteristics of the sample

Age structure of testees	%
18 - 34 years	36.4
35 - 54 years	39.8
Over 55 years	22.7
No response	1.1

Nationality	%
Montenegrins	45.2
Serbs	37.2
Bosnians	3.4
Albanians	4.4
Muslims	8.2
Croats	0.9
Others	0.6

Confidence in institutions

Institutions	Confidence coefficient
Serbian Orthodox Church	3.39
President of Montenegro	3.06
Montenegrin Government	2.94
Montenegrin Police	2.87
Montenegrin Parliament	2.84
Montenegrin Judiciary	2.72
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	2.51
Political parties in Montenegro	2.36

Satisfaction with the Government of Montenegro

	%
Very dissatisfied	23.5
Mostly dissatisfied	20.1
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	22.0
Mostly satisfied	23.7
Very satisfied	10.7

Confidence in politicians and public figures

Rating of the politician/ public figure	Average score
1. Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	3.18
2. Filip VUJANOVIĆ	2.96
3. AMFILOHIJE Radović	2.83
4. Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.79
5. Ranko KRIVOKAPIĆ	2.53
6. Miodrag ŽIVKOVIĆ	2.30
7. Andrija MANDIĆ	2.29
8. Krsto PAVIĆEVIĆ	2.10
9. Predrag POPOVIĆ	2.09
10. Predrag BULATOVIĆ	2.05
11. Ranko KADIĆ	2.05
12. Zoran ŽIŽIĆ	2.04
13. Ferhat DINOŠA	1.96
14. Mehmet BARDHI	1.78

Confidence in politicians and public figures

- Trends at the level of entire group of testees -

Rating of the politician/public figure	January 2005.	May 2005.	September 2005.	December 2005.	April 2006.	June 2006.
Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	2.63	2.67	2.72	2.79	3.21	3.18
Filip VUJANOVIĆ	2.54	2.54	2.57	2.67	-	2.96
AMFILOHIJE Radović	2.78	2.61	2.67	2.57	-	2.83
Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.86	2.95	2.99	3.07	2.97	2.79

* Scores of the four most favored politicians/public figures from the June survey

Party preference- individual parties (trend)

	Jan 05	May 05	Sep 05	Dec05	Jun 06
DPS	25.5	25.5	26.2	27.3	38.5
SNP	7.9	7.7	7.3	6.0	8.2
SNS	3.7	7.3	8.4	6.4	9.1
SDP	5.3	4.1	3.5	3.8	4.2
SRS/V. Šešelj	3.7	2.8	4.4	3.1	-
NS	2.3	2.5	1.3	0.8	0.8
NSS	1.2	0.8	0.5	1.2	-
DUA	1.8	1.3	1.4	0.8	-
DSCG	0.3	0.5	0.5	1.1	-
GP	0.6	0.9	1.3	0.3	-
LPCG	0.8	1.5	2.1	2.2	3.4
GZP	7.8	11.3	9.1	13.2	14.2
DSS	1.0	1.6	0.3	0.2	-
Other parties	-	-	-	2.6	12.2
Doesn't know	-	-	-	19.6	10.2
Abstinent	-	-	-	20.3	-

Confidence in institutions(trend)

	Jan 05	May 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06
Serbian Orthodox Church	3.28	3.45	3.27	3.19	3.39
President of Montenegro	2.56	2.63	2.61	2.63	3.06
Montenegrin Government	2.42	2.53	2.50	2.53	2.94
Montenegrin Police	2.45	2.52	2.51	2.52	2.87
Montenegrin Parliament	2.24	2.33	2.28	2.26	2.51
Montenegrin Judiciary	2.36	2.46	2.48	2.41	2.72
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	2.38	2.48	2.43	2.41	2.84
Political parties in Montenegro	2.07	1.99	2.02	2.36	

Montenegrin allies in area of foreign policy

	Absolutely not	Little bit	Yes, significantly	Absolutely	Can't assess
EU	11.0	13.6	32.2	32.5	10.7
USA	27.0	21.8	23.9	15.8	11.4
RUSSIA	22.4	30.0	22.0	12.9	12.7
SERBIA	23.6	19.9	15.2	29.2	12.1

NOTE: 15.3% of interviewees thinks that Montenegro shouldn't rely on nobody especially in area of foreign politics

Positions regarding referendum

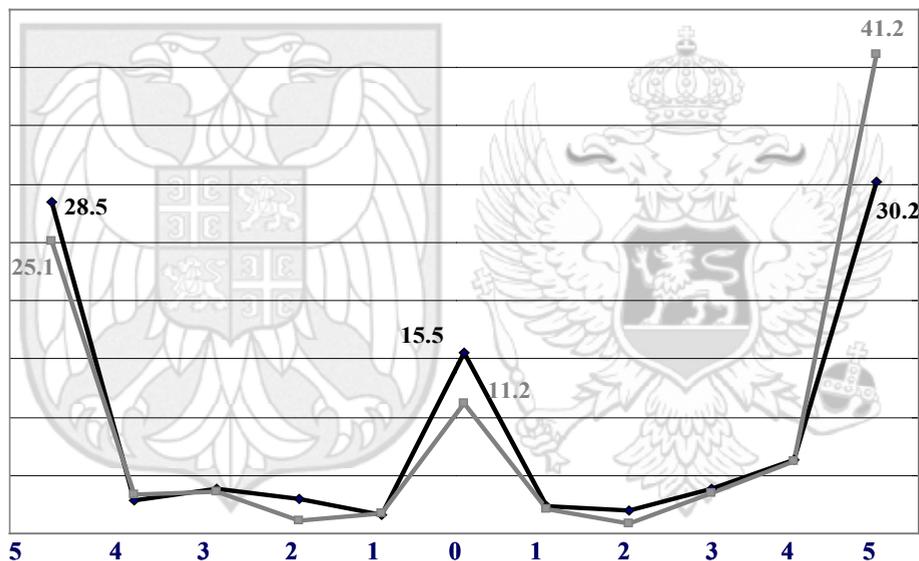
- Positions of the entire group of testees, expressed through coefficients (K) -

Rank / Position	K
Now, as the referendum issue is off the agenda, we should all turn to some important economic issues	4.63
After the referendum regardless of who is the winner or loser, we should all get together in Montenegro in order to build better future	4.45
Referendum clearly demonstrated the will of the citizens and there are no reasons to discuss the issue anymore	3.43
I am very happy that Montenegro again, finally became an independent state	3.40
The issue of Montenegrin statehood is not that important as both Montenegro and Serbia, sooner or later, will become part of EU	3.11
Nothing significant will change after the referendum in Montenegro because great number of citizens will still aspire toward joint state with Serbia	3.10
For me, the issue of Montenegrin independence was always 'imposed' and not particularly important issue, behind which, both the government and opposition used to hide	2.85
I simply can't accept that Montenegro and Serbia are not one state anymore	2.70
Referendum wasn't valid and its results shouldn't be endorsed	2.46
Montenegrin independence is just temporary and after the fall of the government Montenegro will unite with Serbia	2.42

Firmness of position regarding the "referendum" - Comparison before and after 21st of May -

April 2006

June 2006



Position regarding referendum results

	%
Victory of Block for independence is undeniable	47.4
Referendum doesn't reflect the will of citizens but its result should be accepted	15.5
Result is a fraud and shouldn't be accepted	27.8
Doesn't know, can't assess	9.3

Voting in "referendum"

If the referendum on Montenegrin statehood issue were to be held next week, you would vote:

	%
FOR Independent Montenegro	50.4
AGAINST independent Montenegro	28.1
Wouldn't vote in referendum	12.2
Doesn't know, doesn't think about that	9.3

Membership in European Union

	Jan 05	May 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06
Yes	78.9	80.1	77.0	81.2	81.5
No	6.1	5.6	6.4	4.8	5.5
Doesn't know	15.0	14.3	16.6	14.0	13.0

Cooperation with the Hague Tribunal

	Jan 05	May 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06
Yes	44.8	44.9	47.4	49.7	54.8
No	38.3	39.3	33.1	31.0	28.4
Doesn't know	16.9	15.8	19.5	19.3	16.8

Membership in NATO

	Jan 05	May 05	Sep 05	Dec 05	Jun 06
Yes	34.9	35.7	33.3	37.8	44.2
No	37.9	35.0	34.6	35.0	27.3
Doesn't know	27.2	29.3	32.1	27.2	28.5

International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part

Srdan Darmanović

May 8, 2006, Washington D.C, USA

On the invitation of Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Prof. Darmanović held the lecture / round table on the topic „*Montenegro at the Crossroad – Forthcoming Referendum in State Issue*“. Lecture / round table was followed by the discussion in that took part representatives of diplomacy, state administration, USA Congress, NGOs that deal with the issues of western Balkans and journalists.

Nenad Koprivica

May 30, 2006, Belgrade

Regional Conference on the issue *Permission of Temporary Residence and Help to Victims of Human Beings Trafficking*, organized by IOM, International Organization for Migration

Nenad Koprivica

June 3 – 6, 2006, Dubrovnik, Croatia

Meeting of the Steering Committee of The Balkan Human Rights Network

Nenad Koprivica

June 25-28, 2006, Copenhagen, Denmark

Human Rights Education workshop and meeting with eight representatives of the Turkish Human Rights Network – IHOP organized by DIHR – Danish Institute for Human Rights.



We were visited by

- **Snjezana Ivandic i Aida Vezic** – Balkan Human Rights Network's Secretariat, Sarajevo
 - **Fabrice de Kerchove** – project manager, King Baudouin Foundation, Brussels
 - **Ivana Howard** – National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Washington D.C.
- Delegations of Swedish Helsinki Committee lead by **Anna Jonsson**, LL. D, member of the Board and **Marie Manson**, Programme Director Western Balkans
- **Roger Petersen** - Associate Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 - **Finn Jorgensen** - Diplomatic Correspondent, The Danish News Agency
 - **Ole Nyeng** - journalist, Weekendavisen, Copenhagen
 - **Jean - Michel Demetz** - journalist, L' EXPRESS, France
 - **Marina Mielczarek** – journalist, Radio France Internationale