

democracy¹ index

1. NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The basis of minority policy in all democratic societies is full integration of minorities in the social life, along with preserving and developing their national and cultural specifics. In that regard, it is necessary to implement constant communication of government bodies with representatives of minority communities, partnership with relevant international organizations and institutions and all other actors engaged in related areas.

National division of the majority nation upon political criteria is of course very important fact, even from the perspective of national minorities, because practice has shown that political holders of these two confronted sides (Montenegrins and Serbs) have different relationship toward minorities.

Stabile legal position of national minorities requires that protection of their rights should be integral part of the constitutional system, including undisturbed access to all political, social, economic, cultural, and governmental activities, as well as possibility of choice at all levels of social selection. As the process of adoption of Montenegrin Constitution is ongoing, it will be very important that constitutional solutions set a foundation for legal production of mechanisms that will protect individual but also collective rights of minorities, as well as development of the affirmative action institute. It is impossible to imagine modern democratic society without national and religious pluralism.

¹ 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 citizen's percept the presence of democracy within their society. Integration of national and religious minorities is one of five areas which were the subject of our measurement. The complete report is available on the web page (www.cedem.co.me). The project is supported by NED.

The issue of national minorities' status and the level of their inclusion in political processes is certainly the issue of the overall democracy of the society. The following survey will show us the condition of Montenegrin society in that regard. When measuring the level of democracy achieved in this area, we have used the following dimensions.

- Formal-legal protection of minorities
- Discrimination of minorities
- Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities
- Relationship of majority regarding minority, and fairness of media coverage.

Measuring per dimensions was done according to standardize methodological procedure, and in the same way as in other areas, thus enabling comparison of any kind of data. The choice of dimensions is founded both theoretically and practically, and by making, their summary we can reach the unique synthetic indicator.

1.1 Formal-legal protection of minorities

Here we are definitely dealing with positive legal aspect, and using this particular dimension, we wanted to explore the equality of national and religious minorities before the law, in respect to the majority nation. When evaluating this aspect one should bear in mind that positive legal regulations, even in socialist period, contained significant elements of equality of all national and religious minorities. Results obtained, based on the indicators for this dimension, are more than satisfactory and they range from 3.49 do 3.71. Therefore, scores are high on all the indicators, and this is telling us that, from the aspect of positive law, citizens' perception is that, national and religious minorities, when it comes to their rights, are to a great extent equalized with the

rights of the majority nation.

Comparatively, when speaking about formal-legal protection of minorities, general public thinks that the best scores are recorded in areas of freedom of expression of religious beliefs (3.71), and legal protection of religious communities (3.70). The same, still high scores, we also recorded at indicator of legal protection of national minorities (3.69), and freedom to express political and cultural characteristics of national minorities (3.59). The lowest, but still very high score is recorded when speaking of concrete government activities in order to protect minorities' rights (3.49).

1.2 Discrimination of minorities

The issue of formal-legal protection of minorities and the issue of different forms of discrimination are interfering with each other. Discrimination is much wider notion from the positive legal regulation and can be manifested in different ways, and we have to bear in mind that numerous forms of discrimination are not covered by legal regulations. Aiming to measure different forms of discrimination, we have defined network of indicators treating those forms.

Scores are ranging from 3.19 to 3.47., and these are relatively high scores. Comparatively, the best score was recorded in area of equality of national minorities in employment and advancement

(3.47). In addition, representational participation and possibility of national minorities' advancement within government services, also earned high scores (3.41), and this is in correlation with the data that in Montenegro there is no discrimination of minorities by the government apparatus and civil servants (3.38). Impartiality of judiciary was rated quite well (3.30). Furthermore, government care about regions inhabited by minorities also received high score (3.25), and the lowest, but still high score, was recorded in area of court proceedings in cases when parties involved are members of national minorities (3.19).

1.3 Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities

Democratic society is primarily characterized by developed institutions and mechanisms, which guarantee the implementation of democracy in every single segment of social life. It is the responsibility of the majority to develop mechanisms for improving and protecting national and religious minorities, because the minorities can act as a linking factor and promote mutual understanding and creativity, but only if they are in position to act freely.

Speaking of status of national and religious minorities, our task was to determine the perception of level of social development in terms of mechanisms that guarantee equality.

The highest score was recorded regarding de-

Table 1 Formal-legal protection of minorities – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Legal protection of national minorities	931	3.69	1.106	-0.734
Legal protection of religious communities	918	3.70	1.089	-0.782
Freedom to express religious beliefs	933	3.71	1.060	-0.799
Freedom to express political and cultural characteristics of national minorities	920	3.59	1.085	-0.674
Concrete activities taken by the government in order to protect minorities' rights	814	3.49	1.079	-0.613

Table 2 Discrimination of minorities – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Equality of minorities and majority nation in employment and career advancement	908	3.47	1.218	-0.488
Representational participation of national minorities' advancement within government bodies	894	3.41	1.188	-0.375
Impartial judiciary in processes that include national and religious minorities	811	3.30	1.115	-0.291
Relation of confidence in authorities that no discrimination of national minorities, within court proceedings, will happen	781	3.19	1.113	-0.243
Absence of discrimination of national and religious minorities by the government apparatus and civil servant	863	3.38	1.111	-0.407
Government care of economic and social development of regions inhabited by national and religious minorities	882	3.25	1.130	-0.298

velopment of state institutions protecting the rights of national and religious minorities (3.42). Civil society institutions engaged in protection of national and religious minorities are also highly rated (3.40), as well as general public in reacting on cases, when minorities' rights are violated (3.38), followed by readiness and ability of authority to protect the rights of national and religious minorities in all parts of the country (3.34), while the lowest, but still high, score was recorded regarding efficiency of state apparatus in cases when national minorities' rights are violated (3.23).

1.4 Relationship of majority toward minority, and fairness of media coverage

Crucial issue in multinational communities is the relationship that majority nation has toward national minorities. This relationship is reflected primarily through the relationship of the state and media, because exactly these institutions dominantly represent the positions of the majority nation. These were the motifs directing us to measure this dimension of democracy of social relations when it comes to national minorities' status.

We have identified four basic indicators, and they range from 3.31 to 3.66. The best score was recorded in area of participation of national and religious minorities in the activities performed by organizations that protect their rights (3.66); this score is significantly higher compared to the remaining three indicators, which are also highly rated. After this we have participation and support of the state in activities that provide better treatment of national minorities, with score (3.46), followed by assistance of authorities in establishing contact and stimulating cooperation between national minorities and their motherlands (3.41). The lowest score, but still, just as previous three very high and good one, was recorded in area of absence of hate speech in media directed at national and religious minorities (3.31).

1.5 Summary indicators for the position of national and religious minorities

Now, by presenting summary of obtained scores, we shall be able to see the level of democracy achieved in respect to area of national and religious minorities. Furthermore, we will make a comparison of these new results with the last year survey results.

Table 3 Existence of mechanisms for the protection of minorities – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Development of state institutions protecting the rights of national and religious minorities	839	3.42	1.053	-0.503
Development of civil society institutions protecting the rights of national and religious minorities	813	3.40	1.017	-0.435
Reactions of public in cases when minorities' rights are violated	827	3.38	1.056	-0.439
Readiness and willingness of authorities to protect the rights of national and religious minorities in all parts of the country	866	3.34	1.136	-0.364
Efficiency of state apparatus in cases when national minorities' rights are violated	847	3.23	1.165	-0.199

Bearing in mind that all the scores per dimensions are well above scores recorded in previous surveys, and that they range from 66.5 to 72.4, we conclude that, at the level of general public opinion, it is considered that position of national and religious minorities is correct. The highest score was recorded regarding formal-legal protection of minorities (72.4), somewhat lower but still very high regarding the relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage (68.5). They are followed by issue regarding existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities (66.9), and finally, with score

of (66.5) we have the issue of discrimination of minorities.

Compared with previous survey, there are no significant changes in respect to obtained results. Trend is indicating slight, we can say negligible oscillations, regarding obtained scores per dimensions, and this can be easily seen from the table. We recorded increase, although not big one, in area of formal-legal protection of minorities and also in area of relationship of majority toward minority. Slight decrease is recorded in area of

Table 4 Relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage – per indicators

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Absence of hate speech in media directed at national and religious minorities	883	3.31	1.164	-0.427
Assistance of authorities in establishing contact between national minorities and their motherlands	785	3.41	1.084	-0.442
Participation, support of the state to activities providing better treatment of national and religious minorities	769	3.46	1.016	-0.473
Participation of national and religious minorities in activities performed by organizations that protect their rights	797	3.66	0.983	-0.827

Table 5 Level of democracy in area of national and religious minorities – summary per dimensions

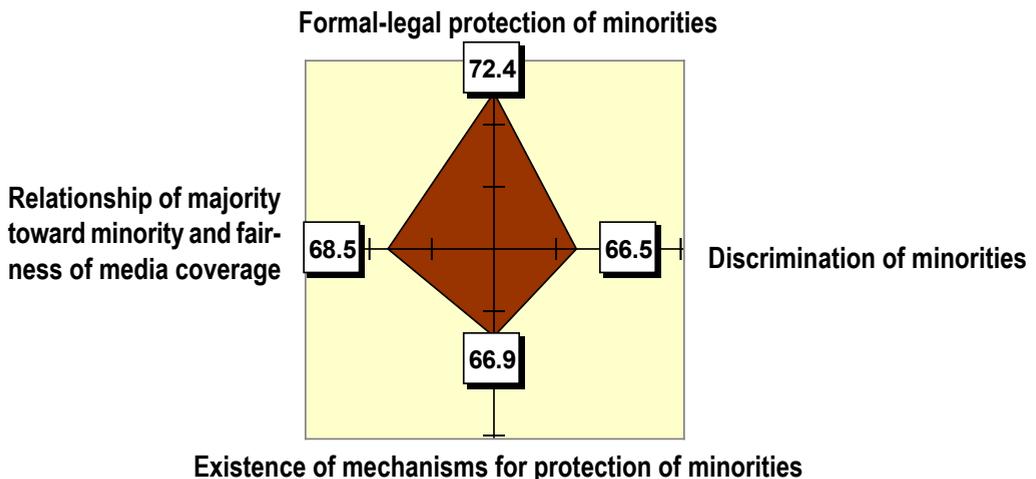
Dimensions	N	K	SD	Skewness
Formal-legal protection of minorities	967	72.4	18,65996	-0.627
Discrimination of minorities	968	66.5	19,33461	-0.331
Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities	953	66.9	18,72442	-0.287
Relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage	936	68.5	19,11749	-0.541

discrimination of minorities, as well as in area of existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities.

Taking into account all the specifics of Montenegrin society we are pointing the following: the issue of national and religious minorities can be solved only through active dialogue and participation of minorities because any other solution is short-lived. Of course, despite good results in this area, it is necessary to proceed in direction of further improvements regarding the position of national and religious minorities, where is needed. In this case, although the situation is far from alarming, attention should be paid to discrimination of minorities, discrimination in wider sense of the word, wider than its strictly formal-legal definition.

Dimensions	2005-2006	2006-2007
Formal-legal protection of minorities	72.1	72.4
Discrimination of minorities	66.9	66.5
Existence of mechanisms for protection of minorities	67.1	66.9
Relationship of majority toward minority and fairness of media coverage	68.0	68.5

National and religious minorities



CEDEM Activities

Workshop:

”REFORM OF JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM”

Podgorica, 17 February 2009

Center for Democracy and Human Rights - CEDEM is by UNICEF in charge of providing support to Judge of the Supreme Court of Serbia in retirement, Mr. Nikola Milosevic, in the implementation of normative analysis of existing framework and practices in the areas of criminal responsibility of minors and a misdemeanor, criminal enforcement sanctions to juveniles and concentration of competencies that are implemented in the project juvenile justice system reform. Very important segment of the analysis, which is an introduction to the process of passing a special law on juvenile justice, refers to the perception of attitudes and experience of practitioners in regard to the existing situation in the juvenile justice and the collection of their recommendations in relation to the upcoming reform of the system. Therefore a meeting was held in CEDEM's facilities, with representatives of the following institutions: Center for Social Labour from Podgorica, Police Directorate, Basic Prosecutors Office in Podgorica, Basic Court in Podgorica, UNICEF and CEDEM's research team.



Presentation:

”EUCLID Network”

Podgorica, 27 February, 2009

CEDEM organized presentation of Euclid Network in Podgorica. Euclid Network is the first European network of third sector leaders. It was launched in 2007 and already has over 250 members in 22 countries, across Europe, including Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia - Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania. Euclid Network aims to empower third sector leaders by developing, connecting and supporting them, in order to make the whole sector more professional and innovative. The event in Podgorica was introduced by Euclid Network member Nenad Koprivica, Executive Director of CEDEM Montenegro, who invited Euclid Network Director Filippo Addarii to give an overview of Euclid Network, and explain the specific role that it plays in the Western Balkan region, and across Europe. This was followed by an exploration of the specific challenges for leaders in Montenegro.



"Open Day in CEDEM"

Podgorica, 19 March, 2009

On March 19th CEDEM organized "Open Day" to which was invited all interested political and media subjects. "Open Day" followed after presentation of research results within the project "Political public opinion 2009 – March 2009". CEDEM's guests were the representatives of the: Socialist Peoples Party (SNP), New Serbian Democracy (NOVA), Albanian Alternative, Social Democratic Party, as well the representatives of TV and daily "Vijesti".

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

- **Peter Lassen**, First Secretary in the Royal Danish Embassy, Belgrade
 - **Bjorn Linderfalk**, Counsellor in the Embassy of Sweden Belgrade
 - **Patrick Hebert**, Counsellor in the Embassy of Canada, Belgrade
- Representatives of **OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission:**
- **Mr. Artis Pabriks**, Head of Mission
 - **Beata Martin-Rozumilowicz**, Deputy Head of Mission
 - **Paul O'Grady**, Election Analyst
 - **Judith Gimenez**, National Minorities Analyst
- Representatives of **Euclid Network, London**
- **Filippo Addarii**, Executive Director
 - **Ben Rattenbury**, Member of Euclid Network

International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part

MA Nenad Koprivica

March 05-06 2009, Belgrade

Consultation meeting within the regional project: *Toward the Wight Schengen List*, organized by NGO Group 484.

MA Nenad Koprivica

March 11 2009, Tirana

Regional conference titled: *Strengthening Civil Society - Government Cooperation*. Organized by Euclid Network – London.

MA Nenad Koprivica

March 19-21 2009, Sarajevo

Regional Conference titled: *South Eastern Europe: From Dayton to Brussels*, organized by NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

Rajko Radevic

January 19 – 20, 2009, Istanbul

Regional NGO Consultation Seminar on the Code of Good Practice for South East Europe. Organized by TUSEV and Council of Europe.

CEDEM - Empirical Research Department

Public Opinion in Montenegro
March 2009

This research was conducted in period 09 – 15th March 2009, using standard CEDEM's twofold stratified sample with random selection of interviewers in final units applied, at the level of 1207 interviewees from 19 municipalities. Project Political Public Opinion is supported by Foundation Open Society Institute, representative office in Montenegro (OSIM).

Basic characteristics of the sample		Confidence in Institutions (trend)			
Age structure	%	confidence coefficient			
18-34	33.3	Institutions	june '08	nov '08	mar '09
35-45	37.5	Serbian Orthodox Church	3.40	3.50	3.69
55+	29.2	Montenegrin Educational system	-	-	3.24
Nationality of interviewees	%	President of Montenegro	2.93	2.97	3.02
Montenegrins	44.7	Montenegrin Health System	-	-	2.95
Serbs	33.5	Montenegrin Police	2.66	2.70	2.87
Bosnians	4.6	The Government of Montenegro	2.80	2.84	2.85
Albanians	5.6	Montenegrin Parliament	2.64	2.71	2.78
Muslims	8.6	Montenegrin Judiciary	2.46	2.54	2.72
Croats	1.1	Morntenegrin Orthodox Church	2.45	2.51	2.54
Other	2.1	Political Parties in Montenegro	2.27	2.38	2.50

Electoral preference – with 95% of certainty	%	SE 95%	od %	do %
Albanian Alternative - perspective	0.6	0.5	0.1	1.1
Albanian List DSCG i AA	0.7	0.5	0.2	1.2
Bosniaks and Muslims Together	1.9	0.9	1.0	2.8
Montenegrin Communists	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.7
DUA-Ferhat Dinoša	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.5
European Montenegro DPS. SDP. BS. HGI 51.2	3.2	3.2	48.0	54.4
FORCA - Nazif Cungu	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.6
For different Montenegro DC I LPCG	2.9	1.1	1.8	4.0
Peoples Coalition - NS DSS	1.0	0.6	0.4	1.6
New Serbian Democracy	12.0	2.1	9.9	14.1
Fathersland Serbian Party	0.6	0.5	0.1	1.1
PDP	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.5
Mouvement for Changes – We can	6.3	1.5	4.8	7.8
Socialist Peoples Parties	16.8	2.4	14.4	19.2
Serbian National List	1.6	0.8	0.8	2.4
Party of retired and disabled persons	3.5	1.2	2.3	4.7

Confidence in Politicians/Public figures

Rating of the politician/ public figure	Average score	
	nov08	mar09
1. Filip VUJANOVIĆ	3.03	3.17
2. Vanja ČALOVIĆ	3.06	3.13
3. Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	2.95	3.12
4. Gordana ĐUROVIĆ	2.84	2.97
5. Srđan MILIĆ	2.67	2.72
6. Vujica LAZOVIĆ	2.36	2.51
7. Andrija MANDIĆ	2.43	2.47
8. Ranko KRIVOKAPIĆ	2.31	2.45
9. Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.31	2.22
10. Ranko KADIĆ	2.19	2.07
11. Goran BARIĆEVIĆ	-	2.06
12. Predrag POPOVIĆ	2.08	2.05
13. Miodrag ŽIVKOVIĆ	1.97	2.03
14. Zoran ŽIŽIĆ	1.97	2.01
15. Emilo LABUDOVIĆ	19.5	1.96
16. Dobrilo DEDEIĆ	-	1.93
17. Ferhat DINOŠA	1.81	1.73
18. Rafet HUSOVIĆ	1.67	1.71
19. Mehmet BARDHI	1.72	1.67
20. Vasilj SINIŠTAJ	1.60	1.53

Membership in the European Union (trend)

	Feb 08	Mar 08	June 08	Nov 08	Mar 09
Yes	72.8	78.2	70.8	73.9	75.9
No	9.2	9.1	12.1	11.5	10.5
Undeter- mined	18.0	12.7	17.1	14.6	13.6

Membership in NATO (trend)

	Feb 08	Mar 08	June 08	Nov 08	Mar 09
Yes	29.5	33.1	26.3	26.9	31.2
No	44.2	43.1	46.7	46.9	45.1
Undeter- mined	26.3	23.8	27.0	26.1	23.7

Cooperation with the Hague Tribunal (trend)

	June 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	June 08	Mar 09
Yes	48.2	47.7	49.2	46.1	44.6
No	30.6	29.5	29.8	31.2	33.8
Undeter- mined	21.2	22.8	21.0	22.7	21.9

Comment: Completed opinion poll results could be found on CEDEM's website: www.cedem.co.me

Confidence in TV stations - trend

	Feb 07	June 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	June 08	Nov 08	Mar 09
TV CG 1	26.3	26.0	25.4	24.1	21.0	20.6	26.7
TV CG 2	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	
TV ELMAG	10.8	9.9	14.4	10.6	10.9	9.2	8.8
TV MONTENA	3.6	2.8	4.1	3.3	1.8	1.7	2.2
TV MBC	2.3	3.3	0.9	1.6	2.3	1.1	1.0
TV PINK	16.2	16.4	14.5	11.3	15.8	11.8	13.0
TV IN	27.0	27.6	28.5	34.3	26.7	28.4	27.3
ATLAS TV	-	7.6	6.5	6.1	6.1	7.0	5.0
TV VIJESTI	-	-	-	-	1.4	2.8	4.0
RTS	1.4	1.4	1.6	5.2	5.8	8.1	4.7
Other TV	12.5	5.2	4.1	3.5	8.2	9.3	7.2

Confidence in Radio stations - trend

	Feb 07	June 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	June 08	Nov 08	Mar 09
Radio Crne Gore	22.2	23.7	21.4	26.2	13.4	17.8	22.6
Radio Elmag	20.3	20.4	23.9	20.6	25.3	24.4	20.6
Radio D	11.0	6.4	10.1	9.4	9.4	4.5	7.1
Antena M	5.5	2.9	3.3	3.7	4.9	4.7	2.0
Radio Montena	2.6	2.8	1.9	2.1	1.1	1.7	1.0
Radio Svetigora	2.1	1.4	-	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.6
Radio Free Europe	1.9	0.9	0.2	1.3	0.8	0.3	0.9
Atlas Radio	-	5.6	7.0	5.6	6.3	7.9	6.0
Local radio stations	25.8	28.6	26.3	15.8	21.0	26.2	23.6
Other	8.6	7.3	6.0	14.2	16.5	11.7	15.6

Confidence daily Newspapers - trend

	Feb 07	June 07	Sep 07	Feb 08	June 08	Nov 08	Mar 09
POBJEDA	14.1	11.9	12.0	12.6	13.3	12.1	15.7
VIJESTI	44.0	42.1	50.8	48.5	44.9	47.8	44.3
DAN	35.1	35.4	32.4	32.2	34.1	32.2	31.5
REPUBLIKA	0.7	1.5	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.7	-
POLITIKA	0.7	1.5	-	0.8	1.1	0.6	1.5
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI	2.2	3.5	3.1	3.7	4.4	5.4	3.7
BLIC	0.1	0.7	0.3	0.6	1.3	1.2	0.6
OTHER	3.0	3.3	0.4	0.8	-	-	2.6



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