ANALYTICAL REPORT

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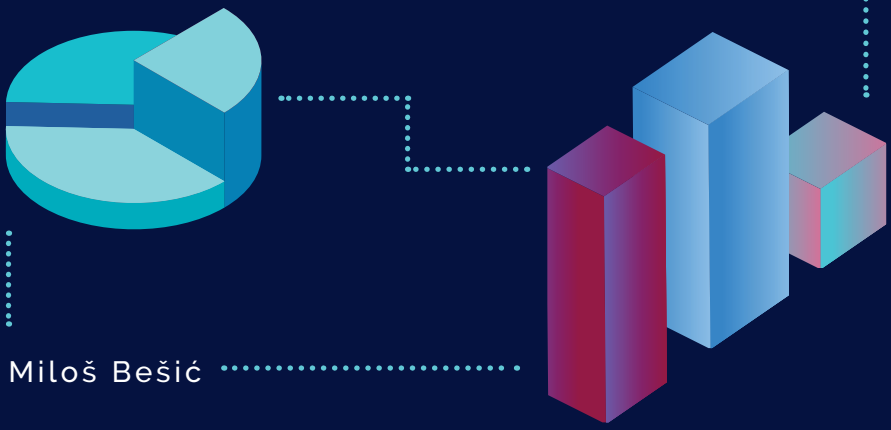
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN MONTENEGRO



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INCLUSIVE DIALOGUE FOR THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY

CEDEM CENTAR ZA DEMOKRATIJU I LJUDSKA PRAVA

CENTAR ZA DEMOKRATSKU TRANZICIJU

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GENERAL GOAL

This analytical report provides a comprehensive examination of key socio-political aspects shaping Montenegro's current landscape. Montenegro is undergoing significant transformations across various domains. From subjective well-being and political awareness to social capital, democratic orientation, and foreign policy, this report dissects critical indicators, offering insights into the evolving dynamics of the country.

GENERAL INDICATORS

This section unveils crucial insights into Montenegro's subjective happiness, regional disparities, life satisfaction, and political optimism. The declining trends in happiness and life satisfaction coupled with political fluctuations raise questions about the factors impacting Montenegro's citizens' perceptions of contentment and hope. Here are the key findings:

1. Subjective Happiness Decline: The research reveals that while a significant number of citizens express happiness, there is a concerning negative trend over the past five years. The number of citizens who consider themselves happy has notably decreased. This indicates a potential decline in overall well-being and contentment among the population.

2. Regional Disparities: There is a clear regional disparity in happiness and life satisfaction. Scandinavian and Western countries tend to have higher levels of happiness and life satisfaction, while countries in the region, and even more, Ukraine and Russia, report lower levels. This regional divide suggests that socio-economic and cultural factors play a crucial role in shaping individuals' perceptions of happiness.

3. Life Satisfaction Decrease: When assessing life satisfaction, the research shows a decline in the average life satisfaction score over time. The data indicate regressive trends, with people reporting lower levels of satisfaction in recent years compared to earlier periods.

4. Political Optimism Fluctuations: The assessment of the "direction" in which Montenegro is moving serves as a measure of optimism and satisfaction with the political situation. The data show fluctuating trends, with periods of optimism followed by declines. Recent political events, particularly presidential and parliamentary elections, have had a significant impact on citizens' perceptions of the country's direction. The inability to form a new government post-parliamentary election has contributed to negative assessments.

In summary, the research highlights a complex interplay of subjective well-being, regional disparities, and political events in shaping citizens'

perceptions of happiness, life satisfaction, and optimism in Montenegro. The declining trends in happiness and life satisfaction, coupled with fluctuations in political optimism, suggest the need for further investigation into the underlying factors contributing to these shifts and potential policy interventions to address them.

POLITICAL AWARENESS

Understanding the pulse of Montenegro's political landscape is pivotal, and this section delves into the frequency of political discussions, interest in politics, and media consumption. While there is room for improvement in fostering more active political conversations and increasing political interest, media remains a potent source of political information in the country. Here are the key findings:

1. Frequency of Political Discussions: The research indicates that while most citizens "occasionally" discuss politics, only a minority does so "often." The frequency of political discussions has increased compared to 2008 but remains lower than the average in other countries. This suggests that while there has been progress in political engagement, there is room for improvement in fostering more active political conversations among citizens.

2. Interest in Politics: The percentage of citizens who express a strong interest in politics is very low and has declined since 2018, even falling below the levels observed in 2008. When compared to other European countries, Montenegro's interest in politics is among the lowest, indicating a negative trend in this important l aspect of political awareness.

3. Media Consumption: TV remains the primary channel for following political content, with a significant portion of citizens doing so multiple times a day. Social media and internet portals also play important roles in keeping citizens informed about politics. The cumulative data show that nearly two-thirds of citizens consume political information through various media outlets daily, highlighting the significance of media in shaping political awareness.

In summary, the findings suggest that while there has been an increase in political discussions and media consumption related to politics in Montenegro over the years, there are notable challenges. Interest in politics is extremely low, falling behind both historical levels and international benchmarks. To foster a more politically engaged and informed citizenry, efforts should be directed towards increasing interest in politics and encouraging more frequent and meaningful political discussions among Montenegrin citizens. Additionally, continued attention to media as a vital source of political information is essential to enhancing political awareness in the country.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is a fundamental aspect of societal functioning, holding particular significance in contemporary society. It plays a vital role in supporting democratic political culture and the effective functioning of the economic system. The study divides social capital into four components, with a focus on trust in institutions and interpersonal trust. Here are the key findings:

1. Trust in Institutions: Trust in institutions is vital for assessing their legitimacy and effectiveness in society. Montenegro demonstrates higher trust in the Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) and the President of Montenegro, while political parties face the lowest levels of trust.

2. Political trust in Montenegro is disturbingly low, with significantly more citizens expressing distrust in political parties than trust. This presents challenges for the political system and society. The trend in political trust has fluctuated over the years, with notable shifts linked to political events. Montenegro's political trust issue is not unique, as many European countries grapple with similar challenges.

3. Interpersonal Trust: Interpersonal trust in Montenegro leans towards distrust, with a higher number of individuals expressing mistrust than

trust. Changes in interpersonal trust over time have been relatively stable, with a slight increase compared to 2018. Low generalized trust is a common issue across European countries, particularly in Southeastern Europe. While Montenegro's interpersonal trust ranks relatively low in Europe, it is not the lowest, with several EU member states exhibiting even lower levels of trust.

4. Trust in Different Groups: Trust in family members is universally high across all countries, including Montenegro. Trust in people in the neighborhood and those known personally tends to be high. Generalized trust in people not known personally is low in Montenegro and most European countries. Trust in people of different nationalities and religions varies, with the highest levels observed in Scandinavia and the Netherlands.

5. Overall Social Capital: The overall level of social capital in Montenegro is lower than in many developed European countries, with Scandinavian nations leading in this aspect. Southeast European countries, including Montenegro, exhibit notably lower levels of social capital.

In conclusion, the analysis of social capital in Montenegro underscores its pivotal role in societal functioning. While the country faces challenges in trust, both in political institutions and generalized interpersonal interactions, these challenges are not unique and are widespread across Europe. Efforts to elevate social capital are essential to advance social development and enhance the overall quality of life in Montenegro, aligning with the global trend that associates higher social capital with higher human development.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION

Democratic values and orientations are fundamental in any democratic society, yet they face challenges worldwide due to various factors, including the rise of extremism, populism, and authoritarian tendencies. This study focuses on assessing the level of democratic orientation in Montenegro, offering comparative data with other European countries. Here are the key findings:

1. Preferences for Political Systems: Montenegrin citizens largely favor the democratic political system, with nearly 95% of respondents considering it good or very good. While the expert political system is somewhat neutral, support for authoritarian and militaristic political systems is concerning, with almost 50% of citizens finding them good or very good. Over one-third of Montenegrin citizens support a militaristic political system, posing a potential challenge to democratic values. Trends indicate stability in preferences for the democratic system, while support for authoritarianism has decreased. Comparative data with other European countries show that Montenegro ranks relatively high in support for authoritarian political systems.

2. Understanding of Democracy: Montenegrin citizens express strong support for democratic orientations, with a significant level of support for protectionist (social-democratic) views of democracy. Despite the high democratic orientation, around one-third of Montenegrin citizens hold anti-democratic views, indicating the presence of a notable anti-democratic orientation. Montenegro has the lowest level of authentic democratic orientation among European countries. Protectionist and anti-democratic orientations are relatively strong in Montenegro compared to other European nations.

3. Attitudes Toward Government Surveillance: Montenegrin citizens generally justify government surveillance measures, particularly video surveillance in public areas. Justification for email monitoring and the collection of information without individuals' knowledge is present but to a lesser extent. Attitudes toward surveillance measures have become more favorable over time.

4. Satisfaction with Democracy and the Political System: Satisfaction with democracy in Montenegro is moderate, with 18% of citizens expressing satisfaction and 14.6% dissatisfaction. Over time, there has been a slight increase in satisfaction with democracy in Montenegro. Satisfaction with the political system is also moderate, but dissatisfaction predominates, with more citizens dissatisfied than satisfied. Comparative data show that in most European countries, including Montenegro, dissatisfaction with the political system is higher than satisfaction.

In conclusion, Montenegro faces complex challenges in terms of democratic orientation. While there is strong support for democratic values, there is also significant backing for anti-democratic and protectionist orientations, which could potentially undermine democratic principles. Additionally, the increasing acceptance of government surveillance measures is a notable trend. The country's low level of authentic democratic orientation underscores the need for continued efforts to promote democratic values and institutions. Satisfaction with democracy and the political system remains at a moderate level, with notable levels of dissatisfaction. This situation aligns with broader European trends, where dissatisfaction with political systems is widespread. Efforts to enhance democratic education and civic engagement are essential to address these challenges and strengthen Montenegro's democratic foundations.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation, the lifeblood of a thriving democracy, is examined closely. Voter turnout, membership in organizations, protest participation, and the resulting political participation index are meticulously analyzed, revealing Montenegro's actively engaged citizenry. Here are the key findings:

1. Importance of Political Participation: Political participation is fundamental to democratic societies. Democracy relies on citizens' active involvement in the political process, such as voting, engaging in political organizations, participating in public debates, and even protesting.

2. Voter Turnout: Voter turnout, both at the national and local levels in Montenegro, is stable. There is a slight increase in voter turnout readiness at the national level compared to five years ago. Montenegro's voter turnout is in line with the European average, suggesting that the country has an engaged electorate, despite the last elections which could be considered as situational exception.

3. Membership in Organizations: The percentage of Montenegrin citizens who are members of various social and political organizations is relatively low. However, there has been a significant increase in organizational membership over the last five years, particularly in labor unions, political parties, professional associations, sports, and religious organizations. Montenegro's ranking in organizational membership is lower compared to most Western and Scandinavian countries but better than many Eastern and Southeastern European nations.

4. Protest Participation: Protest participation in Montenegro is relatively high, with a significant number of citizens having participated in various forms of political action or expressing a willingness to do so. The readiness for protest participation has increased over the years, with values higher than they were five years ago and significantly higher than in 2008. Montenegro ranks relatively high in protest participation compared to other European countries, particularly in Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

5. Political Participation Index: A political participation index is created by combining voter turnout, membership in organizations, and protest participation. Montenegro's level of political participation is moderate, lagging behind most Western European countries but still rating high compared to Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The data reinforces the idea that countries with high levels of political participation tend to have higher Human Development Index values.

Overall, Montenegro demonstrates active political participation among its citizens, including voting, organizational membership, and a willingness to engage in protests. These indicators show that Montenegrin society is actively involved in shaping its political landscape, which is crucial for a functioning democracy.

CIVIC MORALITY AND RULE OF LAW

The rule of law and civic morality form the crux of this section. Challenges related to the rule of law and civic morality are scrutinized, particularly in the context of corruption. The evolving trends in civic morality provide a glimmer of hope, suggesting that cultural factors may not be insurmountable obstacles. Here are the key findings:

1. Rule of Law and Legal State: Montenegro faces a common challenge seen in countries without a strong democratic tradition, where the effective implementation of the rule of law and the legal state lags behind the development of political institutions. This gap between political institutions and the rule of law can lead to significant issues in the functioning of the economy and the entire political system. Montenegro's difficulties in these areas are highlighted in the EU Progress Reports, particularly in Chapters 23 and 24, which emphasize the need for improvements in the rule of law. Corruption is identified as one of the most significant social problems in this context.

2. Civic Morality as a Cultural Factor: The report focuses on "civic morality" as a cultural factor that can be studied through surveys. Civic morality relates to citizens' attitudes regarding whether they justify certain moral aspects that affect the efficient functioning of civil society and a legally organized state. The data analysis indicates that a significant portion of Montenegro's citizens to some extent justify civic immoral behaviors. Specifically, over 35% justify not paying for tickets in public transport, every fourth person justifies seeking benefits from the state to which they are not entitled, every fifth person justifies tax evasion, and over 18% justify accepting bribes. A historical trend is observed in the data: civic morality has fluctuated over the years. There was a significant increase in civic immorality between 2008 and 2018, reflecting a political legitimacy crisis in the final phase of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) government's rule. However, in recent years, there has been an improvement in civic morality, and it is measured at a "decent" level, like what was observed in 2008.

3. Comparative Analysis: The report includes a comparative analysis of civic immorality across listed countries, highlighting the percentage of citizens who justify the mentioned behaviors. Surprisingly, Montenegro measures moderate values, indicating that it falls "in the middle" in terms of civic morality compared to other countries. Notably, the four countries with the highest civic morality are from the region: Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and North Macedonia. Conversely, countries with the lowest civic morality include Eastern European nations, Spain, and France. It is important to emphasize that there has been a significant increase in civic morality in Montenegro over the last five years. This suggests that cultural tendencies toward lawlessness are not the primary challenge when it comes to citizens' value orientations. The report suggests that problems in establishing the rule of law in Montenegro are more likely the result of other political, social, and institutional deficits rather than inherent cultural tendencies.

In summary, Montenegro's report on the rule of law and civic morality reveals fluctuations in civic morality over the years but demonstrates recent improvements. While challenges remain, particularly regarding corruption and the rule of law, the data suggests that cultural factors may not be the primary obstacles to progress in these areas, and other political and institutional issues may play a significant role.

NATIONALISM, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

These complex and interconnected phenomena are explored to understand how they influence Montenegro's political landscape. The presence of nationalism and authoritarian tendencies alongside positive trends in social distancing reveals a nuanced picture of the nation's values and orientations. Here are the key findings:

1. Nationalism: Nationalism is identified as a significant factor that has impeded the development of democracy in post-socialist countries, including Montenegro. It posed threats not only to democracy but also to

peace and stability in the region during the 1990s. The level of nationalism in Montenegro is assessed using a survey method involving four statements. Approximately one-fifth of citizens completely agree with three out of four nationalism-related statements, while over 30% completely agree with the statement related to the "survival of one's own people." When considering both those who completely agree and those who agree, it can be said that about half of Montenegro's citizens have a nationalist orientation, indicating a high level of nationalism. Comparing data from 2015 to the present, there haven't been significant changes in the overall level of nationalism, although there's a noticeable increase in agreement that ethnically mixed marriages are undesirable.

2. Authoritarianism: Authoritarianism is measured as an individual psychological characteristic, focusing on the extent to which citizens lean towards authority figures. A shortened scale consisting of four items/statements is used to gauge authoritarian tendencies. Approximately 19% of citizens strongly agree with the statements, with an additional 28% expressing agreement. This implies that over 46% of Montenegro's citizens exhibit authoritarian tendencies. The highest level of agreement is observed regarding strict punishment for those who do not respect laws, while the lowest agreement is recorded for dividing the world into 'strong' and 'weak.'

3. Social Distance: Social distance is measured to assess intolerance towards others and those who are "different." For racial/ethnic criteria, the highest level of social distancing is expressed towards immigrants/foreign workers, followed by people of other religions. On average, social distance based on racial/ethnic criteria is expressed by every fifth citizen of Montenegro. While social distancing by racial/ethnic criteria is lower today compared to five years ago, it is still higher than in 2008. Notably, distancing towards people of other religions has increased in the last five years. Additionally, distancing from people with different behavior patterns is also assessed. Approximately every other citizen expresses behavioral distance. The highest level of distancing is observed towards drug addicts. Comparatively, Montenegro ranks among the most intolerant countries in Europe regarding behavioral distancing, following Armenia, Albania, and Belarus. However, there has been a significant reduction in behavioral distance over the past five years.

In summary, Montenegro's research report highlights that nationalism, authoritarianism, and social intolerance pose challenges to the development of democratic values and relations in the country. While levels of nationalism and authoritarianism remain relatively high, there have been some positive trends, such as a reduction in social distancing, suggesting that efforts to promote tolerance and democratic values are having some impact, albeit with room for further improvement.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS

The section on "Political Culture and Value Orientations" in Montenegro's research report explores several dimensions related to political culture, including post-materialistic orientation, authoritarian political culture, and social justice. Here are the key findings:

1. Post-Materialistic Orientation: Post-materialistic orientation refers to a shift in political culture from materialistic to post-materialistic values, which is often associated with economic and democratic development. In Montenegro, post-materialistic orientation is measured using Inglehart's scale, which includes questions about value priorities. The items "maintaining order in the state" and "fighting against rising prices" represent materialistic orientation, while "securing a greater say for the citizens in government decisions" and "protecting freedom of speech" indicate post-materialistic orientation. The data reveals that over one-third of citizens are materialistically oriented, while only 4.8% are post-materialistically oriented. This suggests that Montenegro falls into the category of less developed socio-political and economic environments. Interestingly, there have been fluctuations in materialistic orientation over the years, strengthening between 2008 and 2018 but decreasing in the most recent survey. Comparative data show that Western countries have a higher degree of post-materialistic orientation than Eastern and Southeastern European countries. There is a positive correlation between post-materialistic orientation and the Human Development Index, indicating that it is associated with a higher quality of life.

2. Authoritarian Political Culture: Authoritarian political culture is assessed by asking respondents whether 'greater respect for authorities' in the future is considered good or bad. Over 56% of Montenegro's population believes that greater respect for authorities in the future is 'good,' indicating the presence of an authoritarian political culture. However, when analyzing the trend, there is a lower level of authoritarian political culture today compared to 2018 and even 2008. Comparative data on authoritarian political culture across Europe show a diverse distribution of values, with Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Georgia, and Albania having the highest support. Montenegro's measured value is relatively high but not among the highest.

3. Social Justice: Social justice is measured using questions related to income inequality reduction, meeting basic needs, and rewarding people based on merit. The data indicates a very high level of support for all three aspects of social justice. Social justice has become more prevalent in Montenegro today than it was five years ago, with the greatest progress observed in the aspect of 'rewarding based on merit.' Comparative data on social justice show that the concept is most accepted in the countries of the region, along with Iceland. Montenegro's values are not among the highest but have increased significantly over the past five years.

In summary, Montenegro's research report suggests that the country exhibits a mix of value orientations, with materialistic orientation dominating and post-materialistic orientation remaining low. Authoritarian political culture is present but has shown a decreasing trend. Social justice is highly supported, and there has been progress in this regard over the years. Comparatively, Montenegro's values fall within the range of Eastern and Southeastern European countries for these dimensions of political culture and value orientations.

FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION

The section on "Foreign Policy Orientation" in Montenegro's research report examines various aspects related to the country's foreign policy orientations, including preferences towards the EU or Russia, support for EU integration and NATO membership, and perceptions of friendly and unfriendly countries. Here are the key findings:

1. Orientation towards EU or Russia: A special index was used to measure preferences for Montenegro's foreign policy goals, including getting closer to the EU, strengthening Montenegro's NATO membership, getting closer to Serbia, and getting closer to Russia. Respondents who choose the EU and NATO as their first and second choices (regardless of the order) are classified as Western-oriented, while those who prefer Montenegro to approach Serbia and Russia in foreign policy (again, regardless of the order) are classified as non-Western-oriented. Nearly 38% of Montenegro's citizens are oriented towards the West, while half as many are not oriented towards the West. Every fourth citizen falls into the mixed type category. The trend analysis shows that Western orientation has dominated over non-Western orientation during the monitoring period, with a somewhat reduced dominance today compared to a few months ago. However, this regressive trend is not accompanied by a proportional increase in non-Western orientation; instead, there is an increase in the number of those who have no orientation.

2. Support for EU Integration and NATO: Over two-thirds of all citizens support Montenegro's EU integration, while almost 42% support Montenegro's membership in NATO. Trend data indicates that in this wave, negative trends have been observed compared to May 2023, both for NATO and the EU. This suggests a decrease in support for these institutions in Montenegro.

3. Perceptions of Friendly and Unfriendly Countries: Respondents were asked to classify various countries as friends or enemies of Montenegro. Montenegro's greatest "friend" is perceived to be Serbia, followed by France and Russia. The countries rated as Montenegro's greatest "enemies" are Albania and the USA.

In summary, Montenegro's research report indicates a diverse range of foreign policy orientations within the country, with a significant portion of the population being Western-oriented. Support for EU integration and NATO membership remains relatively high but has shown a decrease in the most recent wave of data. Perceptions of friendly and unfriendly countries vary, with Serbia being perceived as a friend and Albania and the USA as enemies. These findings provide insights into Montenegro's foreign policy preferences and relationships with other nations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the comprehensive report on "Political Participation in Montenegro 2023," here are some key recommendations:

POLITICAL AWARENESS

1. Frequency of Political Discussions: Encourage more active political discussions among citizens by promoting platforms for open dialogue, debates, and community engagement. Invest in educational programs that enhance political literacy.

2. Interest in Politics: Address the decline in citizens' interest in politics by launching public awareness campaigns, school programs, and initiatives that emphasize the importance of civic engagement and participation.

3. Media Consumption: Continue to support media outlets that provide reliable, balanced, and diverse political information. Promote media literacy programs to help citizens critically evaluate the information they consume.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

1. Enhance Social Capital: Recognize the correlation between social capital and human development. Develop policies and programs that strengthen social cohesion, trust in institutions, and interpersonal trust. Encourage community building and civic engagement.

2. Trust in Institutions: Work to rebuild trust in political parties and institutions. Implement measures to enhance transparency, accountability, and ethical conduct within these entities.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION

1. Preferences for Political Systems: Address the significant support for authoritarian and militaristic political systems. Promote democratic values and education to reinforce the importance of democratic institutions.

2. Understanding of Democracy: Combat anti-democratic views through civic education and public campaigns that highlight the benefits of democracy, including protecting individual rights and freedoms.

3. Attitudes Toward Government Surveillance: Monitor the implications of increasing acceptance of government surveillance and ensure that surveillance measures are proportionate, lawful, and respect citizens' privacy rights.

4. Satisfaction with Democracy and the Political System: Acknowledge citizens' dissatisfaction with the political system and work to improve political processes, transparency, and responsiveness to citizen concerns.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1. Importance of Political Participation: Continue efforts to engage citizens in the political process, emphasizing the importance of voting, civic involvement, and activism.

2. Membership in Organizations: Encourage citizens to join social and political organizations, labor unions, and other groups that promote civic engagement and address specific social issues.

3. Protest Participation: Recognize the high level of protest participation and create channels for peaceful expression of dissent. Ensure that protests are conducted within the bounds of the law and respect for public safety.

4. Political Participation Index: Strive to increase Montenegro's level of political participation, aligning it more closely with Western European countries and recognizing the positive correlation between political participation and human development.

RULE OF LAW

1. Address Rule of Law Deficits: Address the gaps between political institutions and the effective implementation of the rule of law. Tackle corruption and strengthen legal frameworks to ensure the rule of law is upheld.

2. Enhance Civic Morality: Continue efforts to improve civic morality by promoting ethical behavior and reducing corrupt practices. Implement anti-corruption measures and engage in public awareness campaigns.

NATIONALISM, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

1. Combat Nationalism: Develop educational programs and initiatives that promote inter-ethnic and inter-religious understanding, tolerance, and multiculturalism.

2. Address Authoritarianism: Promote democratic values and emphasize the importance of checks and balances within a democratic system to counteract authoritarian tendencies.

3. Reduce Social Distance: Encourage initiatives that promote inclusivity, diversity, and acceptance of people from different backgrounds. Foster dialogue and understanding among diverse communities.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS

1. Promote Post-Materialistic Values: Implement programs that foster post-materialistic values, including civic engagement, environmental awareness, and social responsibility.

2. Counter Authoritarian Culture: Develop initiatives to counteract authoritarian political culture by emphasizing democratic principles and the importance of individual freedoms.

3. Strengthen Support for Social Justice: Continue efforts to enhance social justice, reduce income inequality, and reward merit. Implement policies that address economic disparities and promote fairness.

FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION

1. Enhance Foreign Policy Understanding: Develop educational campaigns to inform citizens about the implications of foreign policy choices, such as alignment with the EU, NATO, and neighboring countries.

2. Address Support Trends: Recognize the decreasing support for EU and NATO integration and analyze the reasons behind these trends. Engage in open dialogue with citizens to address concerns and promote the benefits of integration.

3. Promote Positive Perceptions: Work on improving perceptions of friendly and unfriendly countries, fostering diplomacy, and enhancing international relationships.

These recommendations aim to address the key findings and challenges identified in the report, promoting political participation, democratic values, and overall well-being among Montenegro's citizens while strengthening the country's democratic institutions and social cohesion.