

# DEMOCRACY INDEX

2020



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# Preface

Basic pillars of democracy are primarily among else the rule of law principle, parliamentary and socio-political pluralism, transparent and efficient state institutions and active participation of civil society in policy matters. If one of these democracy-pillars is missing or defective, then the whole entire democratic system of a state will come into imbalance.

As consequence of this fact democracy-promotion must be a two-track-approach: First, the attendance, backing and support of all respective state- and socio-political reforms in order to develop and consolidate the process of democracy. But second, as well important as the first point, analysis, evaluation, monitoring and supervision of the difficult and tedious path to consolidated democracy, in order to draw “lessons-learned” from the symptoms of progress and success or failure and regress. Both, historical review to the past and future-oriented proposals and recommendations for available solutions to improve the situation, are necessary and useful.

On these grounds the Belgrade-office of Hanns-Seidel-Foundation, responsible for multisectoral project activities in Serbia and Montenegro by promoting democratic institutions and facilitating the Western-Balkan EU-integration process, for the second time after 2016 intended to participate in the now published newest CEDEM-“Democracy Index Montenegro 2020”.

The Democracy Index is a unique survey of eight different sectors of investigation, measured and specified by seven relevant criteria, as for instance transparency, control or accountability. By these determining dimensions to identify the status and prospect of the level of state institutions and civil society it is possible to submit analytical data and trends in a summarized overview directly to all stakeholders, who are in their respective functions involved to the topic.

In an excellent scientific methodology, the “Democracy Index” contributes to our overall objective, to strengthen the efficiency of relevant democratic institutions by our project-activities of Hanns-Seidel-Foundation, which are focused on stable and sustainable democratic conditions in Montenegro. The “Democracy Index” furthermore is accomplishing some of our specific objectives by evaluating current political tendencies of Montenegro by giving comparative analysis how to raise the awareness to ensure the democratic development of society.

Montenegro has been running in EU-accession negotiations since June 2012, all 33 chapters have been opened and 3 of them have been already provisionally closed. Despite of these positive facts there is to recognize some stagnation of development-progress and the results of the EU-Commission-Report of 6th of October 2020 indicated again some severe criticism about democracy issues.

In this context it must be mentioned, that according to the “Freedom-House-Report” and also due to the “Bertelsmann-Transformation-Index of 2020 Montenegro is still defined and characterized as some “hybrid regime” with “defective democracy”.

There is to hope, that the last parliamentary elections from 30th August of this year in any case, no matter who will come into power of government, will have some decisive positive incentive and input to the necessary reform-agenda.

The improvement of democratic capacities in Montenegro remains a fundamental task of all relevant reform-oriented entities. Hanns-Seidel-Foundation as one of them also in future time will accompany Montenegro on its burdensome route to optimize the level of democracy and to fulfil all preconditions to become a member of European Union as soon as possible.

**Dr. Klaus Fiesinger**

Regional Director of Hanns-Seidel-Foundation for South-East-Europe  
Leading Head of the Project Offices in Serbia and Montenegro, Albania, Bulgaria and Croatia



# Introduction

After four years, the CEDEM is once again in a position to implement the project entitled “Democracy Index”. It is a complex longitudinal research (trend analysis) which was successfully implemented in 2007, 2008, 2009, 2012 and 2016. Therefore, the research was being conducted three years in a row, following the referendum, followed by a three-year suspension. Without entering the reasons because of which we had not been able to sustain the initially envisaged trend measuring dynamics, it is a very good news that we managed to implement the project after a four-year suspension. In other words, we are now in a position to compare the values of democratic progress between the initial condition, after the referendum on Montenegrin independence, and the present-days, in the moment which is very interesting from the point of view of the parameters we use to measure the degree of democracy.

There are several things which make the measuring of democracy in Montenegro in this moment particularly interesting. The first, and key thing, after thirty years of unparalleled rule of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), which had been in power from the period of the beginning of transition from socialism to liberal democracy, the election held on 30th August 2020 saw the change of Government. In other words, measuring of the degree of democracy in all previous waves was characterized by continuous domination of one political party, which quite certainly affects the entire set of parameters and indicators when it comes to the condition of democracy itself. Therefore, the removability of government, above all, but also a whole series of other parameters which the measuring of democracy includes will, quite certainly, be assessed differently due to the fact that long-lasting government was finally removed, having in mind that stagnation and lack of democratic progress could be largely attributed exactly to the fact that there had been no change of government. The moment in which research was being carried out is, also, indicative. In fact, in the divided Montenegrin society there is ongoing euphoria ensued from the removal of the DPS, on one hand, and the disappointment with the loss of power on the other. In any case, before and even after this research, Montenegro was and remained a divided society, and in view of the overall dynamics of political processes, it is not to be expected that these divisions will disappear soon. Therefore, it will be particularly interesting to perceive the trends in exactly this interesting political moment. However, the change of government is not the only contextual factor, when it comes to the topical moment in which we measure the condition of democracy. The contextual factor, which may in no way be neglected is COVID-19 epidemic, which has affected the entire world. This epidemic has put to a serious test the efficiency of institutions, and fear and concern are integral part of the lives of all citizens. The relationship towards the state and the capacities of the system to stage efficient fight against the epidemic can affect the assessment of the condition of democracy in all areas to a not an insignificant degree. In Montenegro, in the period in which this research was being carried out, the number of infected people grew, and not an insignificant criticism was directed towards the state institutions which were responsible for the fight against epidemic in one way or the other.

The third contextual factor is bad economic situation in Montenegro, which is partly a result of poor economic trends in the past couple of years, mostly due to considerably reduced dynamics of the inflow of direct foreign investments. The economically unfavourable situation is quite certainly a result of the fact that there is no sufficient internal economic dynamics, i.e. there are no economic processes which would improve domestic economy and entrepreneurship to a significant level. These two aspects are accompanied by the third one, which is again a result of the 'Corona crisis'. In fact, tourism is a key branch of economy in Montenegro, and due to the epidemic, the reported revenues are 90% less than those of the previous year, which constitutes a big problem for the entire economy and questions seriously the capacities of Montenegro to achieve the necessary budget inflows in order for all financial liabilities of the state to be settled. The economic argument is very important and it must not be taken for granted. The practice of scientific research into the degree of democracy clearly indicates that there is a high correlation between economic parameters and the condition of democracy in a society. Therefore, it can be expected for economic regressive trends to act towards weakening democratic capacities of the state.

The fourth factor which must be taken into consideration in our longitudinal perspective of measuring the condition of democracy are certain global political processes which have been going on in the western countries during the past decade, and especially intensively in the last five years. Socio-political practice, and consequently also political theory indicate that we record negative trends in the entire western hemisphere when it comes to democratic standards. Populism in quite a number of western countries, even the ones with long democratic tradition, rising of rightist movements, rise of authoritarian political leaders, immigration crisis which fired up the animosities on the grounds of racial criteria, are all the factors which political theory has recognized as the key ones, and the ones which were conditional to the overall drop of democratic standards and democratic practice in the western societies. In other words, democracy we have known in traditional democracies of the countries from the western circle has been put to serious testing, and in political theory, new terms have been created, like 'illiberal democracy', a concept designating a society which is, nominally, organized in a democratic way, but in which authoritarian leaders and their oligarchical political and economic proponents manage to discredit the operation of democratic institutions and to strengthen their personal power through disrespecting democratic standards. These trends have been particularly recognized in Southeastern Europe and there is a potential likelihood that they can have an impact on still unconsolidated democracies of the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Therefore, all changes that have happened in the last four years, which is a period we measured the condition of democracy in Montenegro, could have a powerful impact on the measured values of the Democracy Index. In the light of that, the change of government in Montenegro can generally be treated as a progressive factor of the measurement of democracy itself, but all other national and global contextual factors would hypothetically have to have negative effect. Thus, in the pages that follow, we present in the first place our conceptual framework, followed by interesting results of the measuring of Democracy Index.

# CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGICAL PLATFORM<sup>1</sup>

One can talk a lot about democracy, and from the Classical to the contemporary political theory there has been a fascinating number of definitions of democracy. Naturally, depending on specific experience and culture of various societies, as well as different historical events, the very face of democracy can be quite different. Our objective is not to avoid dealing with these issues. Our task is more of a methodological, rather than theoretical nature. In that sense, we tend to understand democracy as a process rather than as a condition. In other words, we believe that democracy is not a social condition which can be achieved by means of a universal and methodically unified procedure. One would rather say that democracy is in one of its ultimate form a condition never reached, and/or social and political system which is in a permanent **process**. Irrespective of different theoretical approaches, democracy essentially rests on the idea of equality, and it is almost not necessary to prove that it is impossible to attain equality in its fullest. The very idea of **equality** in contemporary approaches is interpreted primarily as equality of opportunities, and not as equality in outcomes. However, practice shows that even the equality of opportunities, which is not hard to be put

in a formal shape, already in the first step becomes substantially limited due to societal relations which are primarily personified in power relations which exist in every society. Also, *isonomy* as a striving makes for the belief in democracy to be replaced with a striving for authoritarianism, which can be best seen in the example of the experiences of post-socialist societies, as well as contemporary negative trends in the West, when it comes to democracy.

When it comes to the very conceptual framework, we tried to make it harmonized with the understanding of democracy in its **essential**, i.e. substantial sense, in the first place, as well as with the idea of democracy in **procedural** sense. The conceptual framework which the Index is based on had been prepared beforehand for the process of operationalization and subsequent measuring, while epistemological experiences in social sciences indicate that differences in theoretical approaches are seldom lost when one comes to the field of real societal processes and relations. This is also indicated by the experience we had had on the occasion of the Index establishment. In fact, diverse theoretical approaches we were taking into consideration in their operational environment showed relatedness where it was not difficult to overcome the subject differences which empirically proved to be false. In the specific situation, democra-

<sup>1</sup> Methodological framework was taken over from the previous reports since the Democracy Index was created by applying the same standards

cy is both a process and the essence, i.e. equality to be achieved. The process does not exist on its own and for the purpose of its own, instead it is directed towards the essence, and the idea of equality in every society can be achieved only through certain procedures and societal mechanisms. This is not eclecticism, but a necessity of integrative approach which is determined by the very nature of the process of operationalization and empirical quantification and we are convinced that this assumption has been unequivocally proved in our conceptualization of the Democracy Index.

With no pretension of being the creators of new definitions *we understand democracy as a form of social and political organization of a society which ensures the equality of all citizens, irrespective of their financial and social status, their ethnic origin or political and religious belief, which is achieved via efficient institutions, observance of democratic procedures, citizens' participation in political and overall social life, and finally the existence of mechanisms of oversight and removability of political power.* Such definition is neither original nor is it probably the best possible one, but for our research and operational purposes it is quite appropriate as a baseline and reference point.

In the methodological sense, the key issue quite certainly is the choice of indicators, since they are the carriers, i.e. empirical particles which, in their cumulative form offer the necessary information on the basis of which the Index is created. Indicators show the condition of democracy in relation to the aspects which constitute operationalization of the very notion of democracy in the socio-political space. In order to be able to identify the indicators, one needs in the first place to determine the **areas** and then **dimensions** as generic categories which amass the very indicators. Finally, every dimension needs to be perceived from the viewpoint of all these **aspects**.

When it comes to the areas, we quite certainly think here of the social fields which might be viewed individually, which subsequently serve as the basis for comparison and for generating the summary Index. On the basis of experience analyses in measuring democracy in the world and in the region, as well as on the basis of a large number of individual interviews held with expert interlocutors, for our measurement (and indexing later on) we determined the following social areas:

- Democracy of political processes
- Rule of law
- Economic freedoms and economic participation
- Education
- Media
- National and religious minorities
- Position of women
- Position of persons with disabilities

Therefore, we focus on eight areas the selection of which is not arbitrary, but based on both essential features of the society grounded on democratic criteria, and also on specific needs of Montenegrin society. Consequently, in the measuring process we will pay the attention to every one of these areas and ultimately obtain, according to a unique methodological procedure, measure of democracy for each one of them.

However, in order for every area to be quantified, it was necessary to determine the aspects on the basis of which it is possible to perceive each one of them through different dimensions. The aspects are, therefore, a necessary analytical tool serving as a view for determining the very dimensions which every individual area consists of. The aspects which were used as a criterion for determining dimensions are the following:

- Equality
- Participation and protection

- Transparency
- Oversight
- Responsibility
- Representativeness
- Efficiency and professionalism
- Autonomy

Therefore, for each one of these areas, which represent observation units for measuring societal democracy, we will determine the degree to which the following have been secured in a given area: **equality**, their **participation and protection**, degree to which a given area is **transparent** (public), as well as the degree to which **oversight** of a given area is secured by the citizens, then, we will be measuring the degree of **responsibility** in a given area, as well as the degree to which citizens' **representativeness** was secured, and whether and to what extent a given area is **efficient and professional**, finally measuring the degree of **autonomy** for individual areas.

Furthermore, in order to identify empirical indicators using the methodological process of operationalization, it would be necessary for every area to be perceived in a multi-dimensional way, thanks to the abovementioned aspects. It is a fact that the dimensions for every area must be different, the reason being the very nature of each one of them. In that sense, systematic and consistent perceiving of every area from the viewpoint of the described aspects, as well as the unified quantification method, enable reaching of comparable numeric information which might later on be perceived and analyzed in a complementary way.

The presented procedure might look complex, but in final outcome we will show that it is essentially straightforward, and by our judgement it is necessary in order for the very idea of measuring to be realized in a valid and methodologically unified way. Therefore, in the further text we will be dealing with every individual area, presenting the dimensions it consists of, and finally the indicators, which are the ultimate measuring

particles, which were identified thanks to the analytical power of the aspects we have come to talk about.

However, let's mention several important methodological remarks before all that. The guiding idea while developing the Index was just to perform measuring on two separate fronts. First of all, it concerns the condition of democracy on the basis of subjective perception of citizens themselves, and secondly, it is the identification of objective indicators based on the same theoretical and operational criteria. On this occasion our mandate covers only one of these two parts, which is the development of the Index and measuring on the basis of citizens' perception. This approach has one methodological advantage, as well as one key methodological shortcoming. The advantage is in the fact that democracy in the ultimate outcome must be legitimized by very citizens, since they are the ultimate goal of all democratic reforms. The shortcoming is certainly in the fact that in the given political constellation, where we think in the first place of severe political divisions and lack of political and social consensus, the assessments of one part of the public opinion potentially largely do not reflect the actual condition. This is because critical attitude of the public and politically inspired public seldom, instead of assessing real achievements, tend to establish a direct link between the condition of democracy and government, at the level of perception. This is why government criticism, which is established *ad hoc* at the level of awareness, is reflected on every individual assessment made in relation to the condition of democracy.

From the methodological point of view, the procedure of developing the Index relies on the method of survey. In other words, we asked the citizens to assess certain aspects of social and political life which indicate the degree of the achievement of democratic standards on the basis of the stated conceptual criteria. This approach differs from those which use some important global institutions dealing with the measuring of democracy. Some of these are the following: Freedom House Index (FHI), Democracy Perception

Index (DPI), Economist Intelligence Unit Index (EUI). All these indices rely on expert assessments and rankings of countries in several categories (mainly democratic, hybrid and authoritarian regimes). Qualitative assessments of several international experts were used as the basis for this indexing, and then in a secretive and by no means intelligible and methodologically justified way these qualitative reports acquire numeric properties. Consequently, all countries are ranked according to the degree of democracy. It is considered, by these approaches, that experts who are guided by certain criteria are a sufficiently good source of information on the basis of which indexing is done. Criticism towards us could be directed from the viewpoint that citizens are not capable of assessing the condition of democracy. Let us focus on the elements of this criticism, which is the following: citizens are unable to properly assess, for instance, media freedoms, discrimination against women, status of minorities in education, in-

dependence of judiciary, etc. We simply do not agree with this comment and we think that the citizens are indeed capable of assessing all of the above. Besides, citizens, as opposed to experts who are deployed for other indices, are not institutionally connected with political power structures, nor are they prominent experts representing certain ideologies, which is an advantage and not a disadvantage. Citizens, simply on the basis of life experience, assess certain aspects of the experience we shaped in such a way as to indicate the condition of democracy, which indicate to us the condition of democracy on the basis of theoretical-operational criteria we have come to mention.

The very indexing process was taking place in two stages. Firstly, empirical data were collected using an extensive tool (questionnaire) on representative samples of interviewees, by 795 each. Thanks to the experience CEDEM has in opinion polling, there is no doubt that the sample and data we obtained in the field in accordance with strict empirical requirements and standard errors which every sample has. Sample has multiple layers, where region is used as a stratification criterion; in doing so, we obtained representative samples for all three regions, which enables deeper analytical insight into the condition of democracy for every region individually. Sampling was done in accordance with the sampling procedure by the probability proportionate to size, with primary units being local communities (poling stations). Within every polling station, we were selecting a balanced number of households, and within each household we were choosing random interviewee as final sampling units. Secondly, in the process of establishing the Index, and on the basis of pilot research, in the very tools, Likert five-point scales were being used. Key thing is that for every individual research, as well as for every individual region, identical methodological approach was being used, which enabled the comparison of the obtained data. All in all, as a result of the procedures we have come to describe, we obtained the Democracy Index for which, on the pages below, we present detailed data.



# DEMOCRACY OF POLITICAL PROCESSES





The first area we measured is the field of policy and political processes. On the basis of the application of analytical apparatus, which is reflected in the aspects we have talked about, we identified four key dimensions making this area, and these are:

- Oversight and legality of government
- Transparency (publicity) of government
- Accountability and removability of government
- Professionalism in the work of the authorities

Therefore, every dimension was the subject matter of special measurement using a network of indicators. In the following section, we are going to present every dimension which makes these areas, as well as indicators which were taken measurement units for given areas.

## 1.1 Oversight and legality of government

In the Graph 1, we are presenting percentage-wise distribution of the citizens who consider that the stated parameters related to the oversight and legality of government in Montenegro have been more or less achieved. The data indicate that citizens assess that the efficiency of the civil oversight of the state and then also of local authorities has been largely achieved. Somewhat lower assessed is the legality in the work of the authorities, while almost equally were assessed the remaining three measured aspects in this dimension of the area of oversight and legality of government.

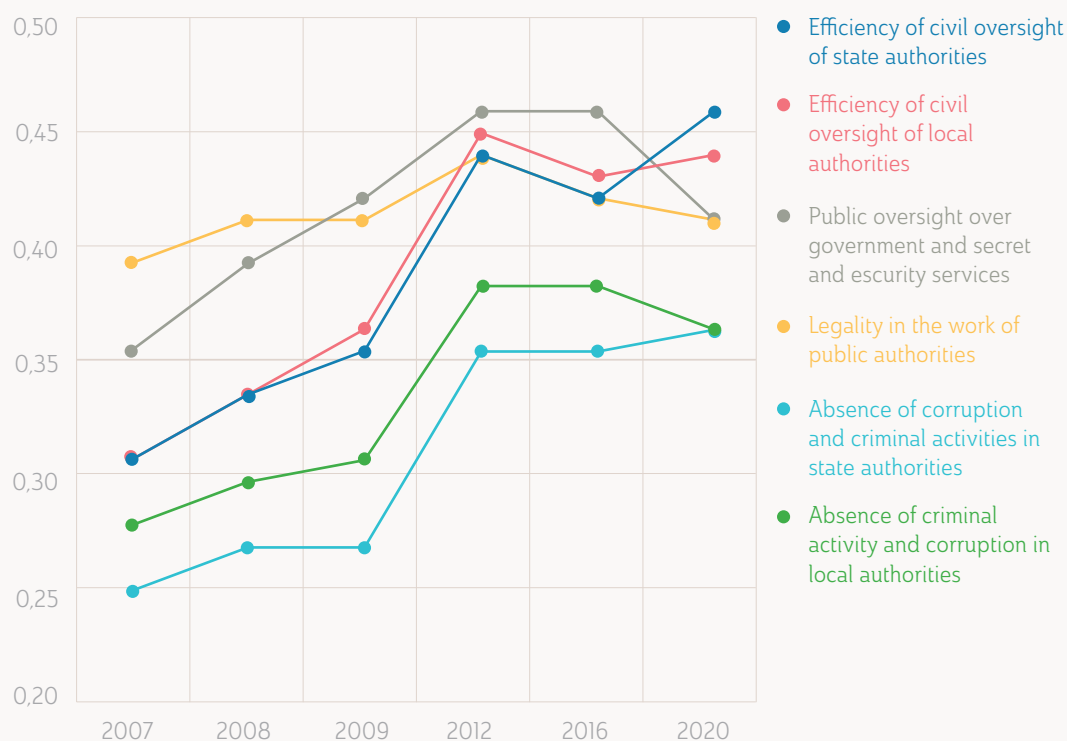
*Graph 1. Oversight and legality of government by aspects*



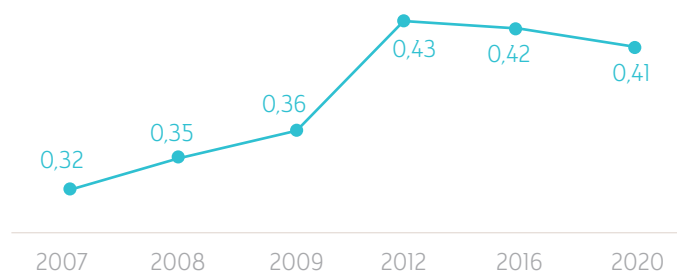


In the Graph 2 we are presenting the trend for all indicators<sup>2</sup>, and in the Graph 3 there is the presentation of the cumulative score for all indicators on this dimension. The data indicate that the greatest progress was achieved between 2009 and 2012, after which we note significant stagnation. However, in any case, **if the values from 2007 are compared to the present-day ones, we can say that progress has been achieved when it comes to all the aspects of the oversight and legality of government** in this long period. **In the past four years we have measured stagnation with a slightly negative trend.**

Graph 2. Oversight and legality of government by aspects - trend



Graph 3. Oversight and legality of government SCORE: trend

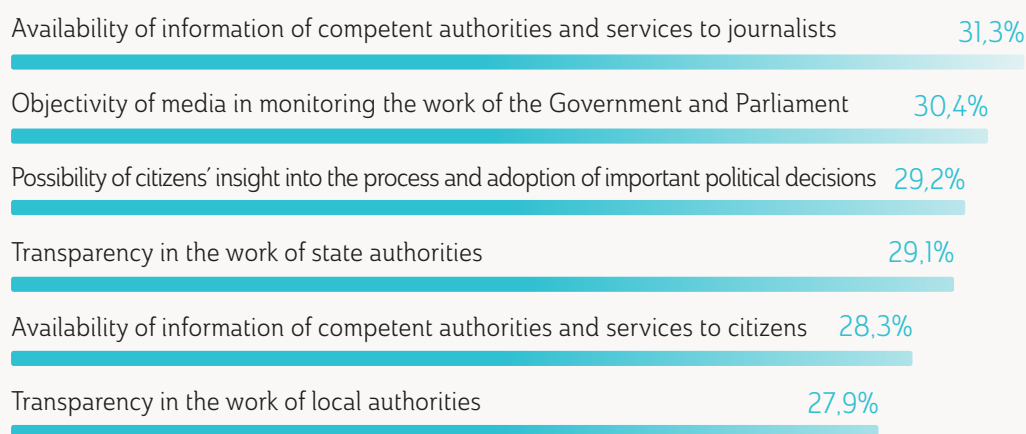


<sup>2</sup> Indexing was made on an optimized scale from 0 to 1, which means that all values measure democracy in the range from 0 (lowest) to 1 (highest)

## 1.2 Transparency (publicity) of government

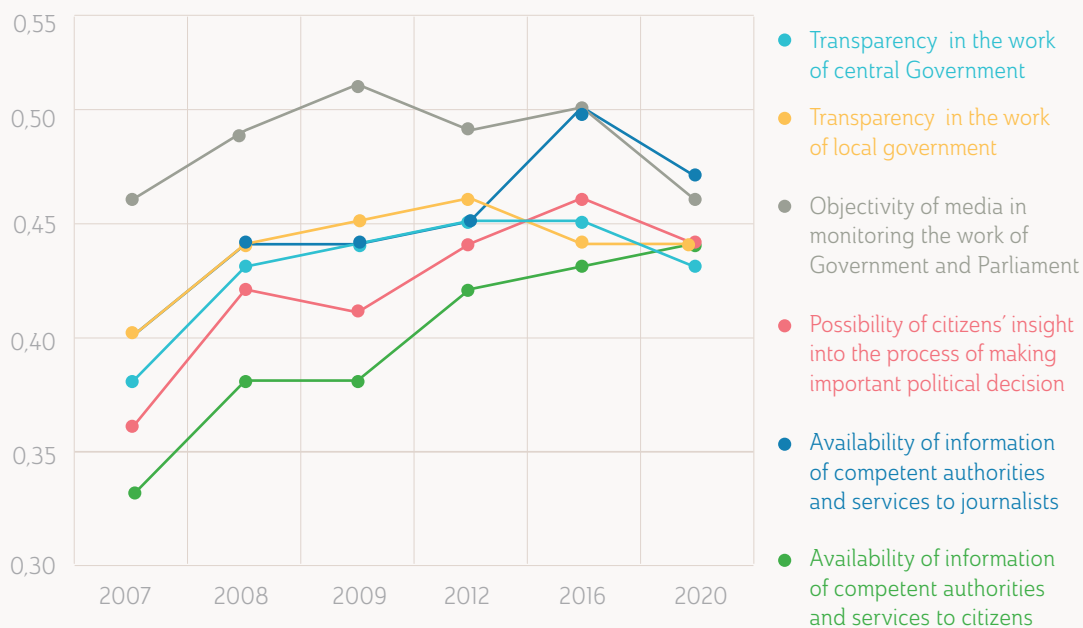
The second dimension in the area of democracy of political processes is transparency, and/or publicity of work of government. With the purpose of measuring this dimension, we established a series of indicators related to various aspects of transparency in the work of government. In the Graph 4, we are presenting the result of the measuring carried out in 2020 by all indicators. The data indicate that the citizens assess government transparency best when it comes to the availability of information to competent journalists, then also when it comes to media objectivity in relation to the monitoring of the work of the Government and Parliament, as well as with regards to the civil insight into decision-making process and the publicity of work of the state authorities. Finally, it is with no difference that the citizens assessed the availability of information and the transparency of work of local authorities.

*Graph 4. Transparency of government – presentation of all indicators*

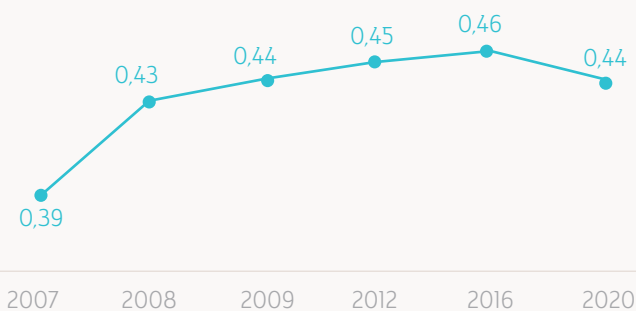


In the Graphs 5 and 6, we are presenting first of all the trend of all indicators which we measure government transparency with, followed by the cumulative score which we measure entire dimension with. The data indicate volatile values, with very mild progressive trends during the entire measuring period. Key piece of information is that the greatest progress in this area was achieved in the period from 2007 to 2008, as well as that as of 2012 we have been measuring mild negative trends, both in all aspects, and when it comes to the cumulative score. When cumulative score values are compared, to put it simply, **when it comes to government transparency, progress was achieved in the initial year, while the values measured since 2008 have been evenly balanced.**

Graph 5. Transparency of government: trend by indicators



Graph 6. Transparency of government: SCORE – trend

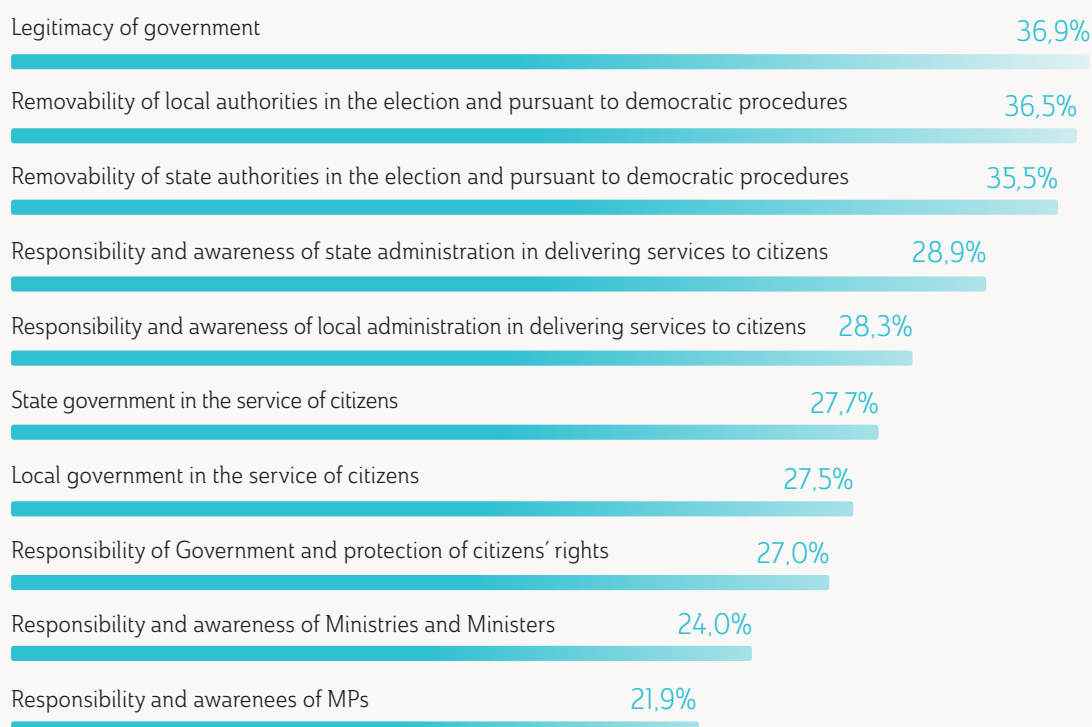


### 1.3. Accountability and removability of government

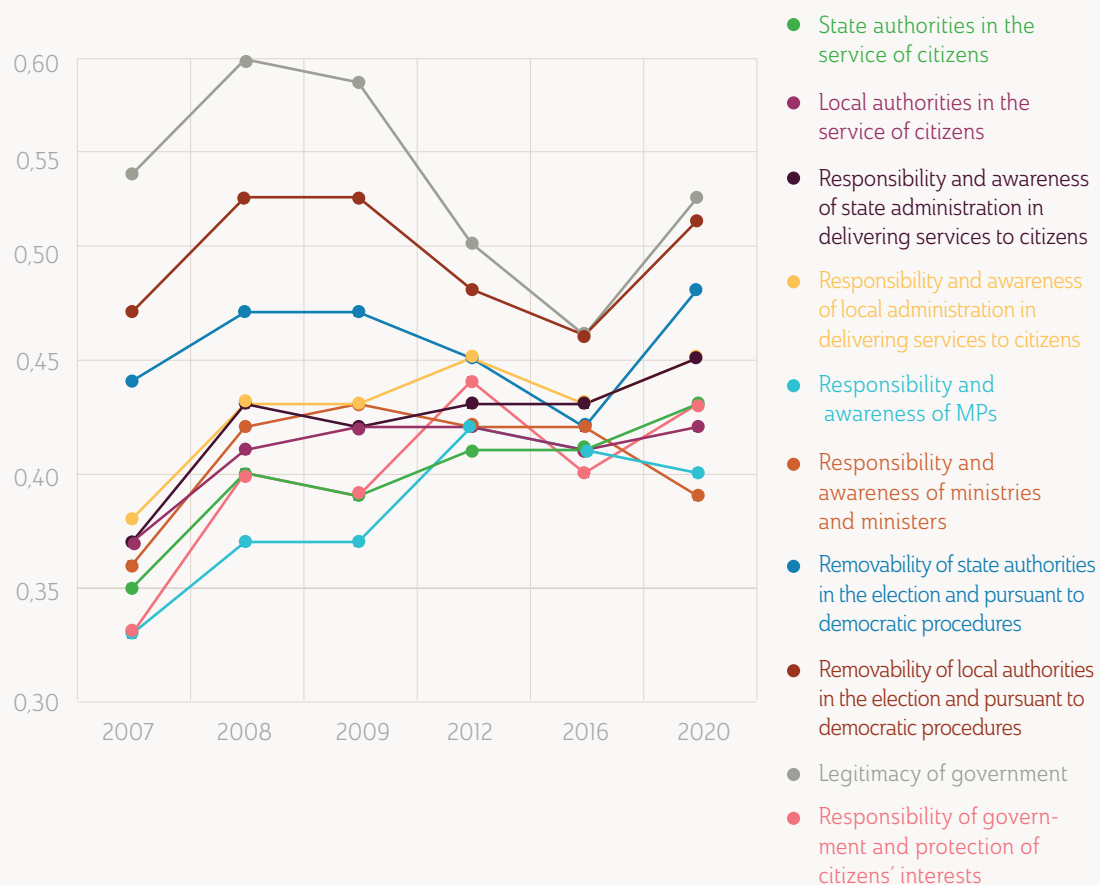
The accountability and removability of government is a very important issue in Montenegrin context. The fact that, ever since the democratic changes from the beginning of the 1990s until 30th August 2020, one party was winning all the elections, is sufficient a reason for us to see what Montenegrin citizens think about that. Besides, one should have in mind that the removability of government is a principle of democratic society, but as a principle it does not mean that the government must be de facto removed at the elections, but that democratic mechanisms have to ensure the removability of government. Therefore, in this respect, one should differentiate between the possibility (removability), that the political system is to ensure, and the facticity (change) as an unnecessary consequence.

The measuring of this dimension by all indicators is presented in the Graph 7. The results indicate that the citizens assess best the legitimacy and removability of government both on national and local level. This is followed by hierarchical items measuring the accountability of the national and local governments with regards to delivering services to citizens, and two items which once again speak about the work of local and national authorities in citizens' service. Three types of accountability, however, are found at the bottom of hierarchy, namely the accountability of government when it comes to citizens' interest, accountability of ministries and ministers, as well as accountability of MPs. In other words, legitimacy and removability of government get the best marks, while the accountability of MPs gets the worst marks.

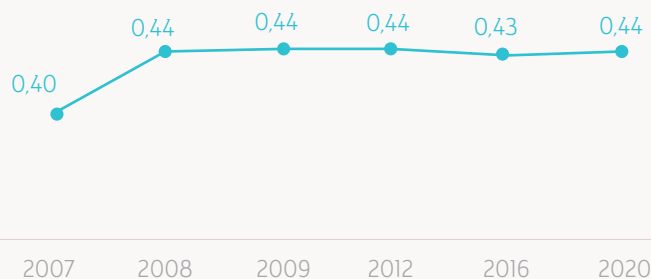
*Graph 7. Accountability and removability of government by all indicators*



Graph 8. Accountability and removability of government – Trend by indicators



Graph 9. Accountability and removability of government: SCORE – trend



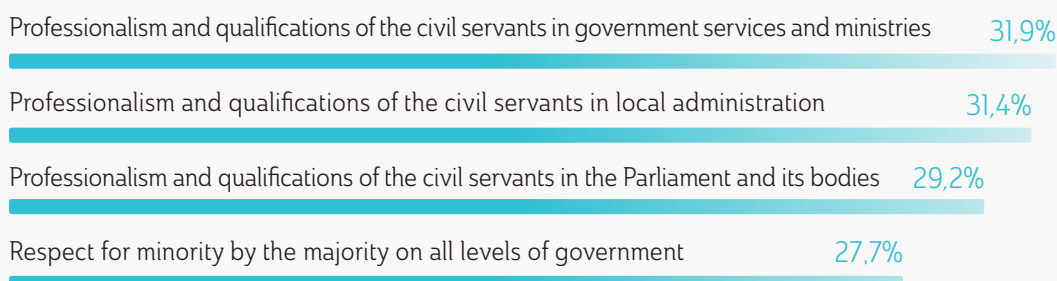
If we analyze the trends in this dimension (graph 8 and graph 9), we can see that progress has been achieved when it comes to the removability of government, which is understandable having in mind that long-lasting government got replaced at election held on 30th August 2020. In all other aspects, however, we measure stagnation. In other words, government removal in itself has not yet led to significant changes in all aspects we deal with in this dimension of the Index. Viewed from the standpoint of the total score, government accountability and removability record the greatest progress in the first measured period, after which we can, generally, say that we have had stagnation.

## 1.4 Professionalism in the work of the authorities

Knowledge and professionalism are the basis for efficient functioning of democratic institutions. Consequently, professionalism in work and professional competence of the individuals holding managerial positions, is necessary in order for the society to function properly. This implies that the main principle on the occasion of filling certain positions is merit and level of education, and not nepotism or other personal interest. Therefore, we thought it would be good to see what Montenegrin citizens think about this issue. In addition, integral part of this dimension is also the relation of the majority to the minority when it comes to professional arguments and those of competence.

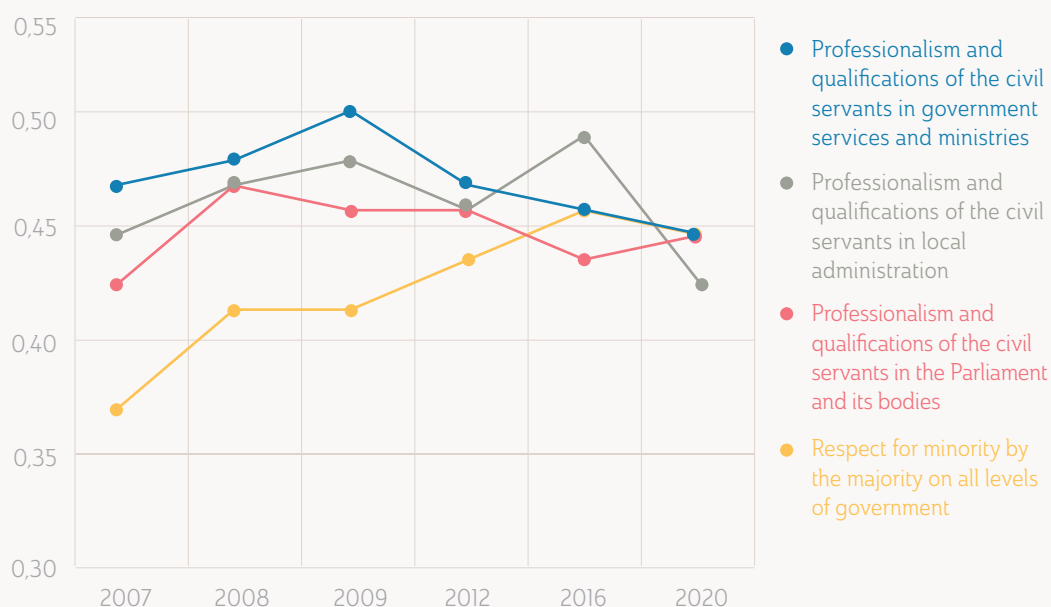
The results of the research into this dimension by all indicators are presented in the Graph 10. The highest value is measured when it comes to professionalisms of the employed in government agencies, followed by those at the local level. Lower values are measured when it comes to professionalism of Parliamentary staff, and the lowest ones are those related to respecting political minority by the majority.

*Graph 10 - Professionalism in work by all indicators*



In the Graph 11, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. First of all, we note down that the differences in values measured during the last two waves for all indicators are very slight. Progressive trend is only measured when it comes to the professionalism of local civil servants, while in all other aspects we have noted slightly negative trends within the past year. The information on the fluctuation of the overall score for this dimension (Graph 12) indicates that today, in relation to 2012, government generally speaking is less professional, while the measured value for 2020 is identical to the reference value for 2007, which tells us that **professionalism on all government levels has not made a progress since the beginning of our measuring exercise.**

Graph 11. Professionalism of government – Trend by indicators



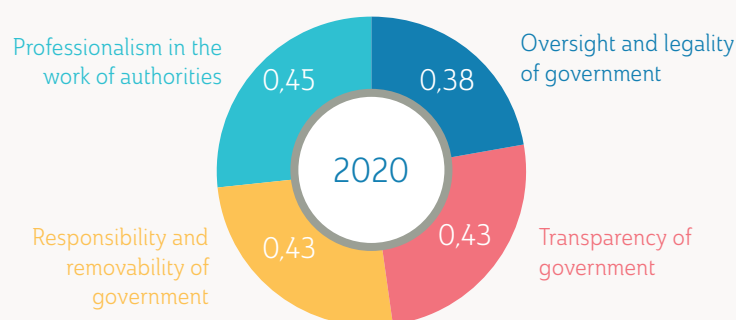
Graph 12. Professionalism of government: SCORE – Trend



## 1.5. Aggregated indicators of the area of democracy of political processes

In the Graph 13 we are presenting the indexing in the area of **democracy of political processes** in 2020. The results indicate that the **weakest dimension in this area is the oversight and legality of government**, while the measured values for the remaining dimensions are rather balanced. Comparatively speaking, somewhat better assessed is the dimension measuring professionalism of government in relation to the dimensions which measure transparency and accountability / removability of government.

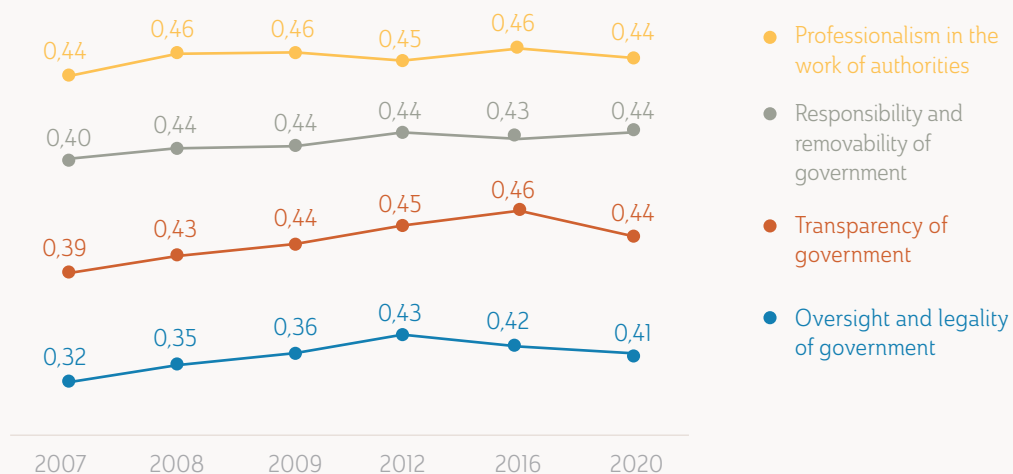
Graph 13. Democracy of political processes: Index 2020



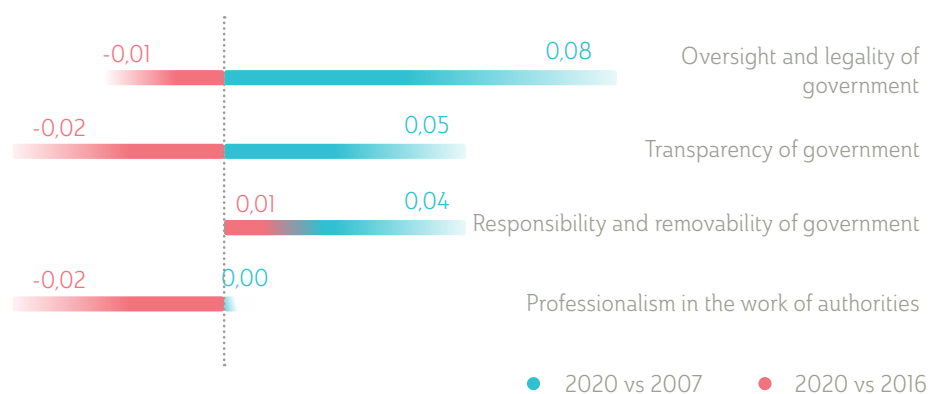
In the Graph 14, we are presenting the trend by all dimensions, while the Graph 15 shows the measured difference when previous and this year's research exercises are compared, as well as when the original and the most recent research exercises are compared. First of all, when we compare the data of the last four years, the results indicate that **there are significant differences between 2016 and 2020, or, the level of democracy on all dimensions within the framework of the area of democracy of political processes are on the same level nowadays as they were four years ago**. However, when overall progress is measured from 2007 until today, **the results indicate that there has been significant positive progress in all dimensions except when it comes to professionalism of the work of the government** ( $t(1685) = 0.214$ ,  $p = 0.830$ ). **The greatest progress has been achieved in relation to the oversight and legality of government** ( $t(1720) = 6.55$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), **followed by the transparency of government** ( $t(1725) = 4.23$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), **and somewhat smaller when it comes to the accountability and removability of government** ( $t(1730) = 3.47$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). **In other words, we can conclude that democracy of political processes today is on the same level as compared to four years ago, but that one can speak about significant progressive shift in relation to 2007.**



Graph 14. Democracy of political processes for all dimensions – trend



Graph 15. Comparing 2020 to 2007 and 2016



# RULE OF LAW

02

The issue of the rule of law is one of the key ones when it comes to consolidating democratic institutions. Democratic society implies for law to apply equally to all members of the society, irrespective of their socio-demographic, economic or political differences. Rule of law issue, however, is one of the key ones which has not passed by a single post-socialist democracy. While some post-socialist countries have made strong progress in this respect, Montenegro, on the basis of the current liberal-democracy practice, has still got serious problems in this respect. Therefore, measuring of this dimension in the Index is particularly important.

In our operational design, using the abovementioned universal analytical criteria, particularly important is the issue of equality before the law, availability of legal protection, autonomy of judiciary, professionalism in the work of judiciary, as well as oversight of work and transparency. Exactly because of that, key dimensions within this area are defined in the following way:

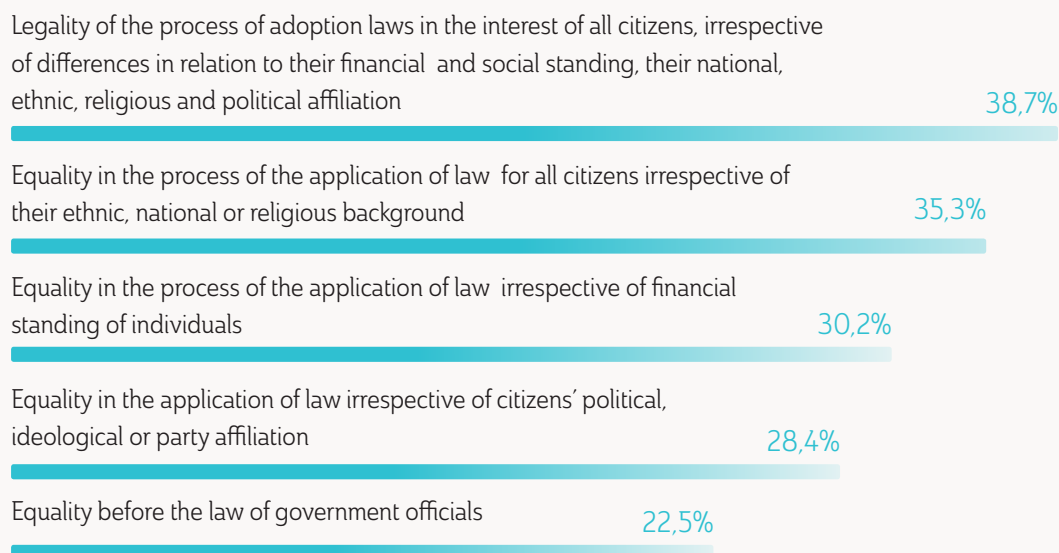
- Equality before the law
- Availability of legal protection
- Autonomy judiciary
- Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary
- Oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary

## 2.1. Equality before the law

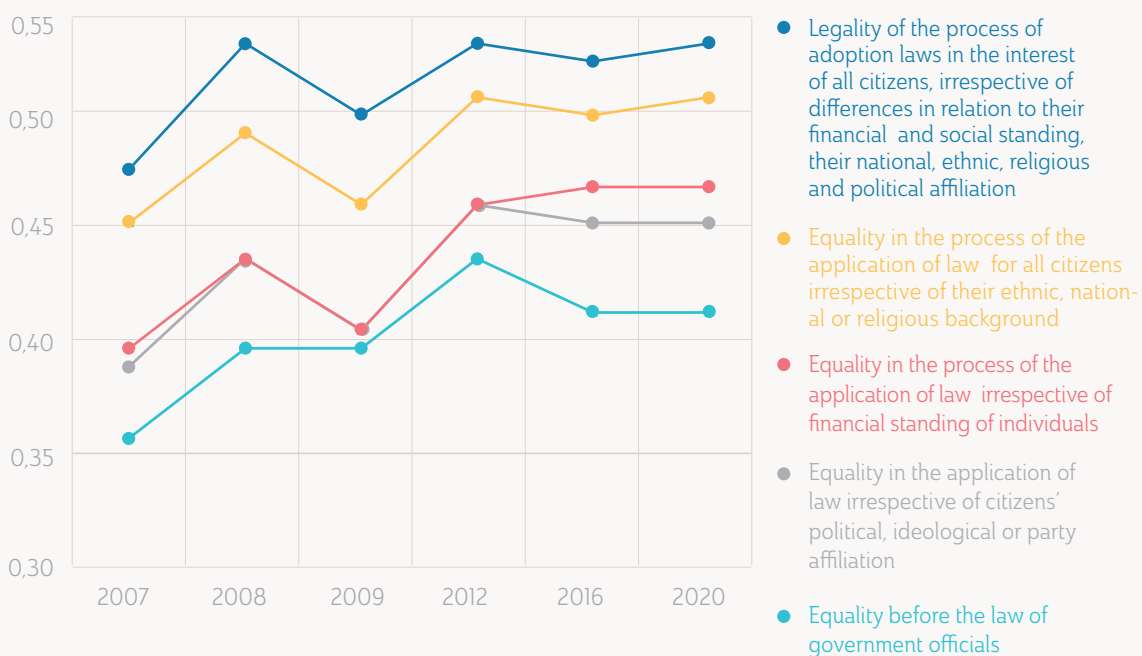
The first dimension within the area covering the rule of law is, as we have indicated, **equality before the law**. This is, undoubtedly one of the key area, and for measuring the same we used five indicators/items, the distribution of which is enclosed by hierarchy in the Graph 16. The data indicate that equality before the law has mostly been achieved, irrespective of orientation, social and ethnic differences. Equality has been achieved to a somewhat lesser degree when it comes to financial differences, even less when it comes to party affiliation, and the least when it comes to powerful individuals in the authorities. In other words, equality before the law is mostly endangered in the zone of government, and then in the remit of political parties.

The Graph 17 is presenting the trend by indicators, and/or the overall score. The data point out to stagnation by all indicators in relation to the period of four years ago. On the basis of the Graph 18 we can, actually, see that equality before the law has not made any progress since 2012, more precisely that there had been progressive tendencies from 2009 till 2012, after which progress was stopped.

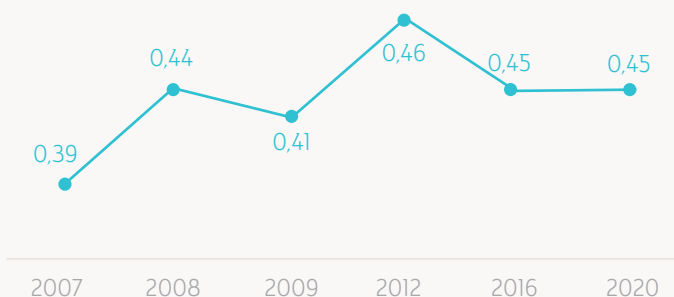
Graph 16. Equality before the law by all indicators



Graph 17. Equality before the law: TREND by indicators



Graph 18. Equality before the law: SCOR – trend



## 2.2. Availability of legal protection

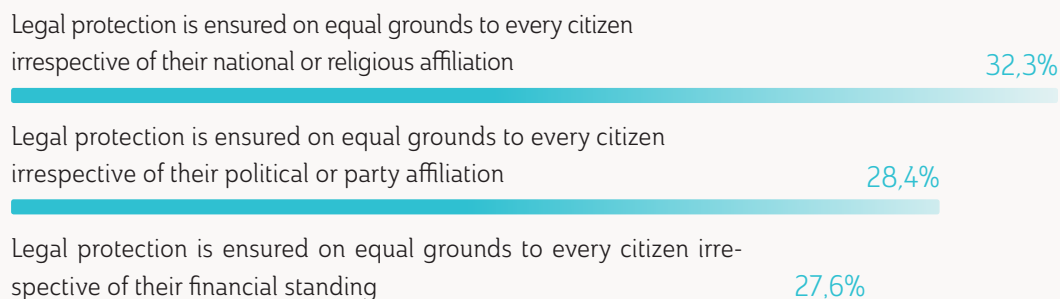
The availability of legal protection is the second dimension within the area of the rule of law. The goal of this part of the research was to find out to what extent is legal protection available to Montenegrin citizens, irrespective of their financial standing, national, religious affiliation, political commitment. Therefore, these were three key criteria we had identified as measuring indicators.

In the Graph 19, we are presenting the findings by indicators. The results indicate that the availability of legal protection have been mostly achieved when it comes to national and religious affiliation. Legal protection is significantly less available in relation to political and party affiliation, and even less when it comes to the differences in citizens' financial status.

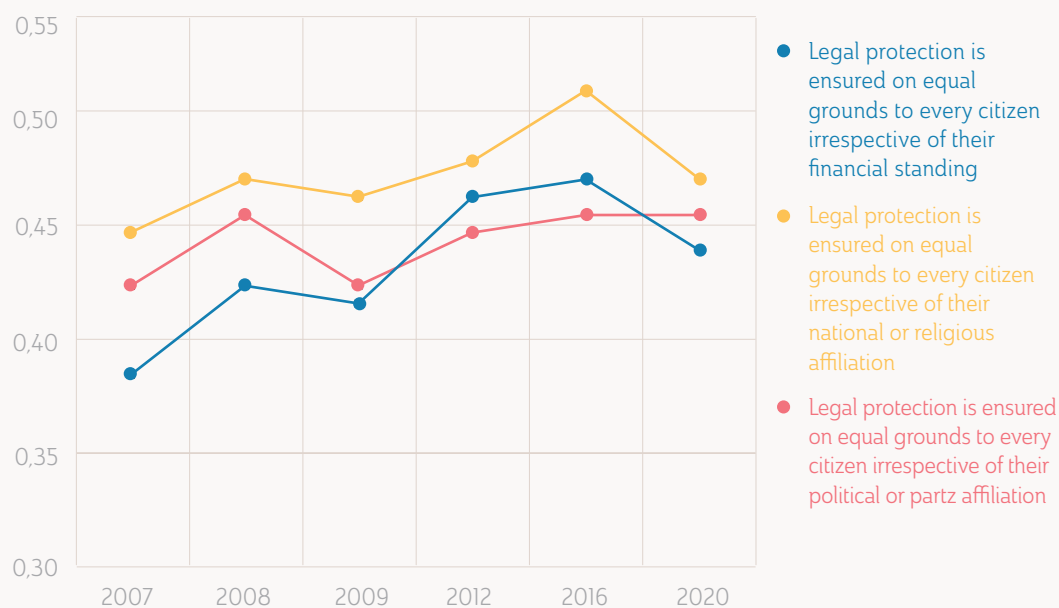
In the Graph 20, we are presenting the trend for all three indicators within this dimension. The data indicate that the availability of legal protection is on the same level as it was four years ago, when it comes to the criterion of political and party affiliation, as well as that we note regressive trends when it comes to the availability for the remaining two indicators. Therefore, citizens think that the availability of legal protection is on a somewhat lower level than in 2016 with regards to the differences which exist with regards to the differences which exist in financial status, then citizens' religious and national affiliation.

In the Graph 21, we are presenting the aggregate trend of the score which was formed on the basis of all three criteria and which measure overall availability of legal protection. The results of the measurement indicate that the **availability of legal protection is on a lower level, not only in relation to 2016, but also in relation to the year 2012**. Therefore, measuring on this dimension indicates that in the last eight years we have been recording negative trends when it comes to the availability of legal protection.

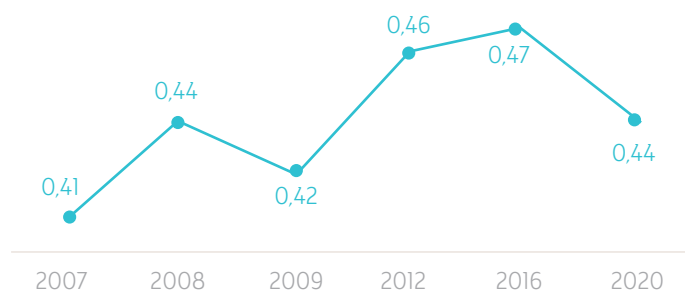
Graph 19. Availability of legal protection – overview by all indicators



Graph 20. Availability of legal protection – Trend by indicators



Graph 21. Availability of legal protection: SCORE – Trend

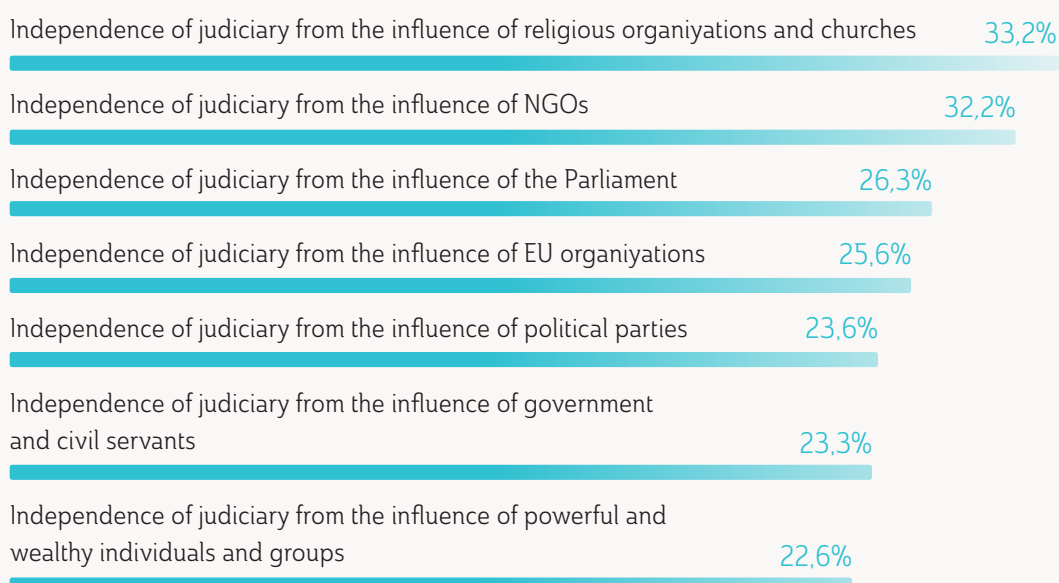


## 2.3. Autonomy of judiciary

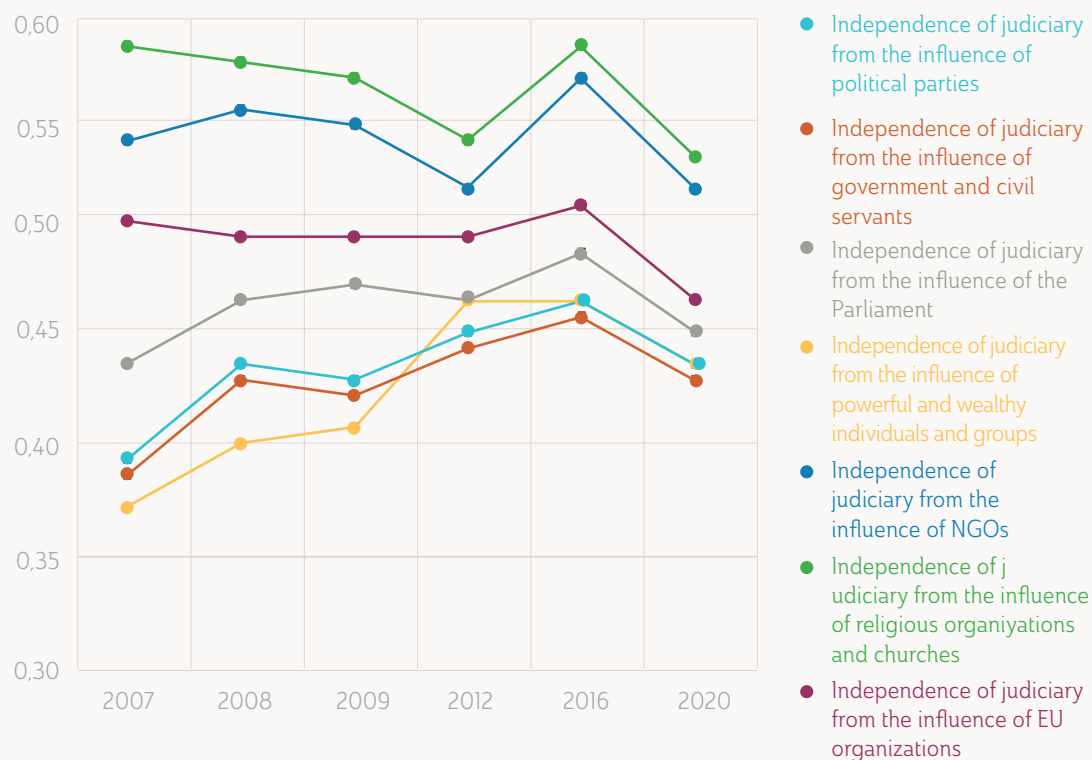
By definition, in a democratic society, judiciary would have to be an independent branch of power, and in relation to that, the operation of judiciary would have to be autonomous. The problem of the autonomy of judiciary is, also, seldom the subject matter of public debates, thus criticism is directed towards judiciary exactly in relation to the lack of autonomy, where mostly criticised is the pressure applied on judiciary by the government and political power structures. Therefore, we were particularly dealing with this dimension within the framework of the area of the rule of law. For this purpose, we used seven indicators and the presentation of the distribution of research findings by hierarchy can be seen in the Graph 22. The highest score with regards to independence is measured when it comes to the impact of religious organizations/churches and NGOs. Therefore, citizens assess that these two types of institutions endanger least the autonomy of judiciary. Furthermore, judiciary is less independent with respect to the influence of the Parliament and the EU organisations. Finally, in a rather balanced way, citizens think that judiciary is endangered most by political parties, government and wealthy individuals.

In the Graph 23 we are presenting the trend for all indicators. The results clearly show that **judiciary nowadays is less autonomous by all stated criteria as compared to 2016**. Therefore, negative trend of the autonomy of judiciary is clear when one observes the trends of the overall score measuring this dimension (Graph 24). General finding is that judiciary nowadays is less independent than it was the case four years ago. More precisely, the data on the overall tend indicate that the only 'upswing' happened between 2012 and 2016, and that the autonomy of judiciary nowadays is almost on the same level it was on in 2007.

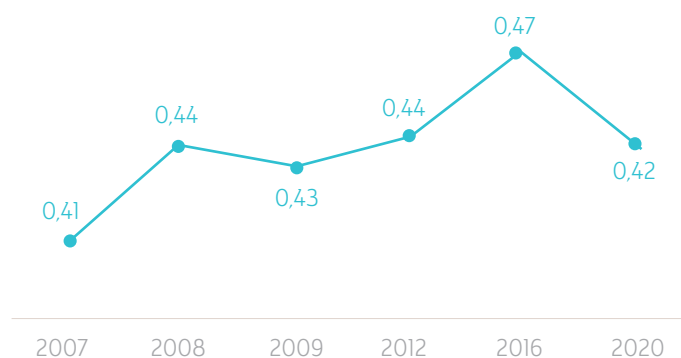
*Graph 22. Autonomy of judiciary by all indicators*



Graph 23. Autonomy of judiciary by all indicators – Trend



Graph 24. Autonomy of judiciary: SCORE – trend



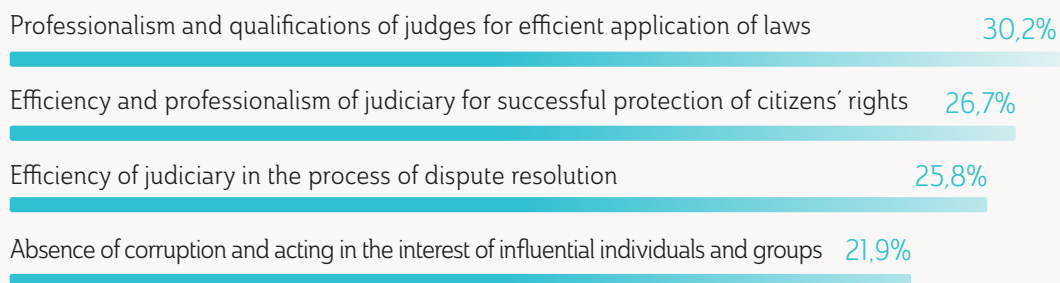


## 2.4. Efficiency and professionalism of judiciary

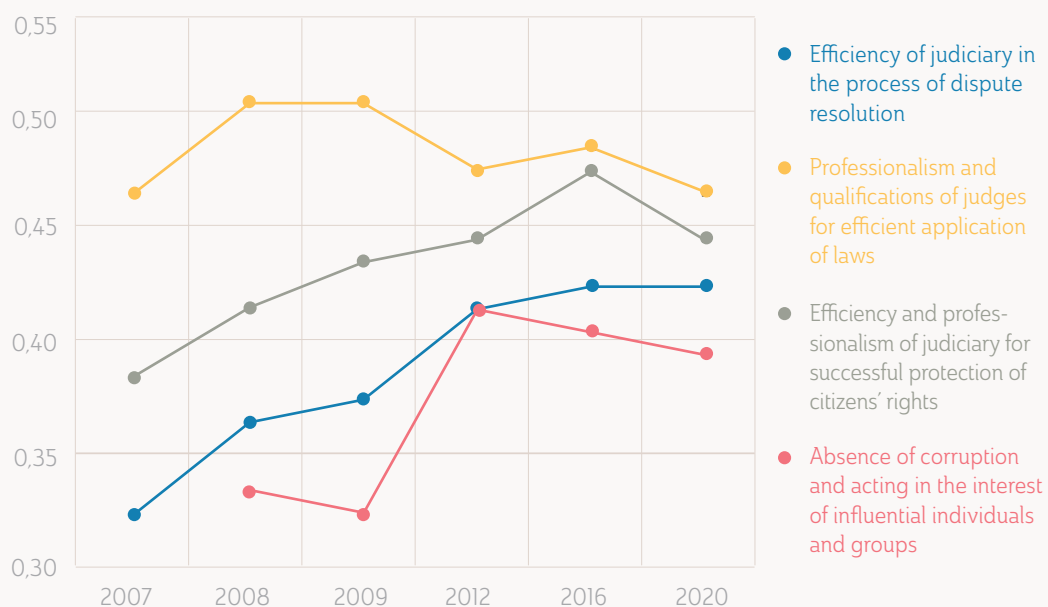
The efficiency of the work of judiciary is one of the key criteria from the viewpoint of the state of law and its overall functionality. On the basis of objective indicators, like average duration of judicial proceedings, the problem of efficiency of judiciary is one of the serious problems in all transition countries. In Montenegro, according to a large number of reports, this problem is, also, very pronounced. In our Index, to measure this dimension, we used four indicators, which is presented hierarchically in the Graph 25. Citizens assess that in this respect, judges are most efficient with regards to professionalism and professional competence. This is followed by the assessment of efficiency and professionalism when it comes to successful protection of citizens, and then comes the efficiency with regards to dispute resolution. The lowest assess efficiency is the one related to corruption, rather, according to citizens' opinion, **the biggest problem related to the efficiency of judiciary is the issue of corruption.**

In Graph 26, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. The data point out to stagnation and negative trends, while Graph 27 indicates clearly that **in cumulative sense, the efficiency of judiciary nowadays is on a lower level than it was the case four years ago.** More specifically, positive trends had been measured up to 2012, after which in fact, we measure stagnation.

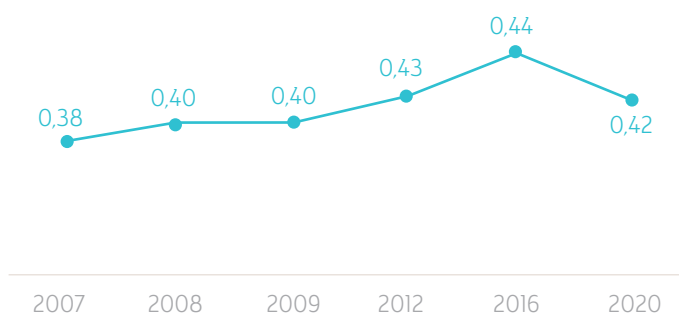
*Graph 25. Efficiency of judiciary by all indicators*



Graph 26. Efficiency of judiciary: Trend by indicators



Graph 27. Efficiency of judiciary: SCORE – Trend



## 2.5. Oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary

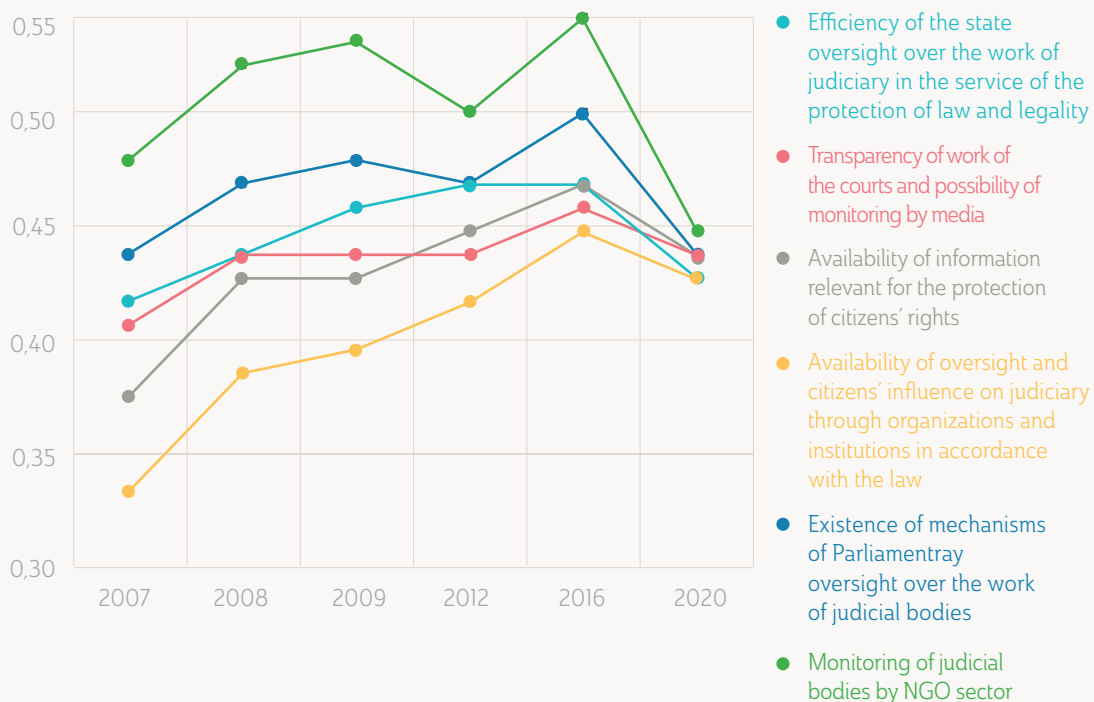
The last dimension within the area of the rule of law is the **oversight and transparency of work judiciary**. Democratic society rests on transparency and system of oversight of all authorities. In this respect, oversight and transparency, when it comes to judiciary, are particularly important, since this is a branch of government with decisive role with regards to guaranteeing the rule of law. Within the framework of this dimension, we measure six indicators which are very important for the existence of oversight and transparency when it comes to judiciary. First of all, we conclude that differences in percentages are very small, rather, citizens assessed each of the aspects as being quite balanced (Graph 28). In comparative sense, the transparency of work of the courts by media and the availability of information to citizens have been somewhat better assessed in relation to other indicators. This is followed by the availability and oversight by citizens through organisations, while the remaining three indicators have been assessed as evenly balanced.

In the Graph 29, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. The result indicate that **in all measured aspects we have negative trends when it comes to the oversight and transparency of work of judiciary**. In comparative sense, **as compared to the period of four years ago, the most negative trend is measured when it comes to monitoring of judicial authorities by NGO sector, as well as when it comes to parliamentary oversight of the work of courts**. Therefore, oversight and transparency nowadays is considerably less pronounced than four years ago. Overall trend for the entire area, pointing out to regressive fluctuations, is presented in the Graph 30.

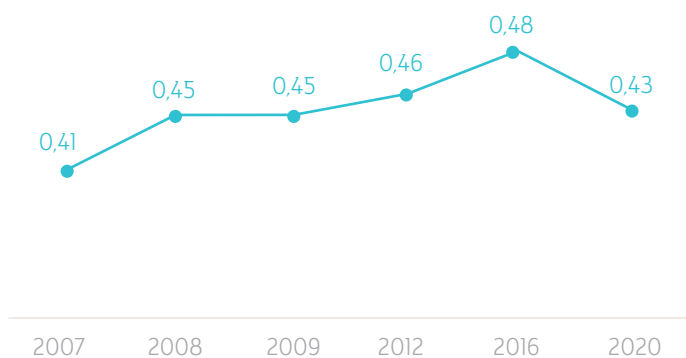
*Graph 28. Oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary by all indicators*



Graph 29. Oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary: Trend by all indicators



Graph 30. Oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary: SCORE – Trend



## 2.6. Summary indicators for the area of the rule of law

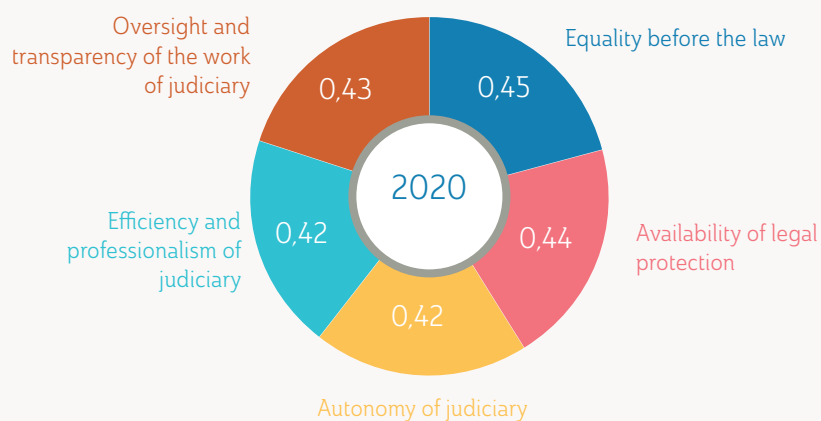
Finally, we are presenting the results of measuring all dimensions within the area we defined as rule of law (Graph 31). First of all, we can conclude that the differences in the assessment of all areas are not particularly pronounced and range between 0.42 to 0.45. In comparative sense, best assessed is *equality before the law*, somewhat worse *availability of legal protection*, then *oversight and transparency of work of judiciary*. In the end, we should say that the *efficiency* and the *autonomy of judiciary*, with slight differences in numeric values, were assessed slightly worse.

Trend analysis by all dimensions (Graph 32) indicates what we have already concluded. In fact, the progress achieved in this area so far has been very modest, while with *the equality before the law where*, in relation to 2016, we measure stagnation, in all other dimensions we have measured negative trends in the last four years.

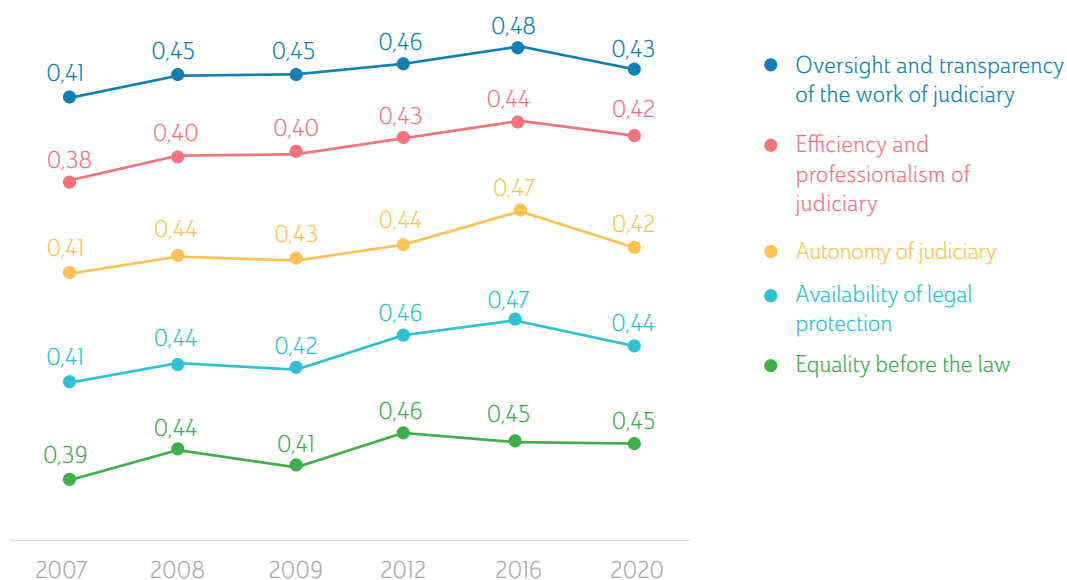
In the Graph 33, we are presenting Index differences in the area of rule of law, comparing the values of the most recent research with reference values from 2016 and 2007. First of all, in comparison with 2016, we can conclude that there are no differences when it comes to equality before the law ( $t(1486)=0.073$ ,  $p=0.942$ ), as well as when it comes to the efficiency and professionalism of judiciary ( $t(1472)=1.336$ ,  $p=0.182$ ). In other words, in these two dimensions, rule of law is on the same level as it was four years ago. On the other hand, the biggest differences in relation to four years ago we measure when it comes to the autonomy of judiciary ( $t(1466)=4.00$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). More precisely, our measurement shows that **in 2020 judiciary is considerably less autonomous than it was the case in 2016. Considerably negative trend is also measured when it comes to the oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary, again, when comparing 2016 and 2020** ( $t(1448)=3.02$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). Not so pronounced, but still statistically significant negative trend is measured when it comes to the availability of legal protection ( $t(1444)=2.039$ ,  $p=0.041$ ). Therefore, we can say that **the availability of legal protection nowadays is on a lower level than it was four years ago.**

On the other hand, if we compare present-day values by all other categories in relation to 2007, **the results indicate that we are on a more-or-less the same level as thirteen years ago when it comes to the autonomy of judiciary and oversight and transparency of the work of judiciary.** On the other hand, **when comparing the year 2020 to 2007, the greatest progress was achieved in the area of the equality before the law** ( $t(1716)=4.935$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In remaining two areas, when comparing 2007 and 2020, we can say that somewhat less pronounced, but still **very significant progress is measured when it comes to the efficiency and professionalism of judiciary** ( $t(1690)=2.695$ ,  $p<0.01$ ), as well as when it comes to the **availability of legal protection** ( $t(1497)=2.336$ ,  $p=0.020$ ).

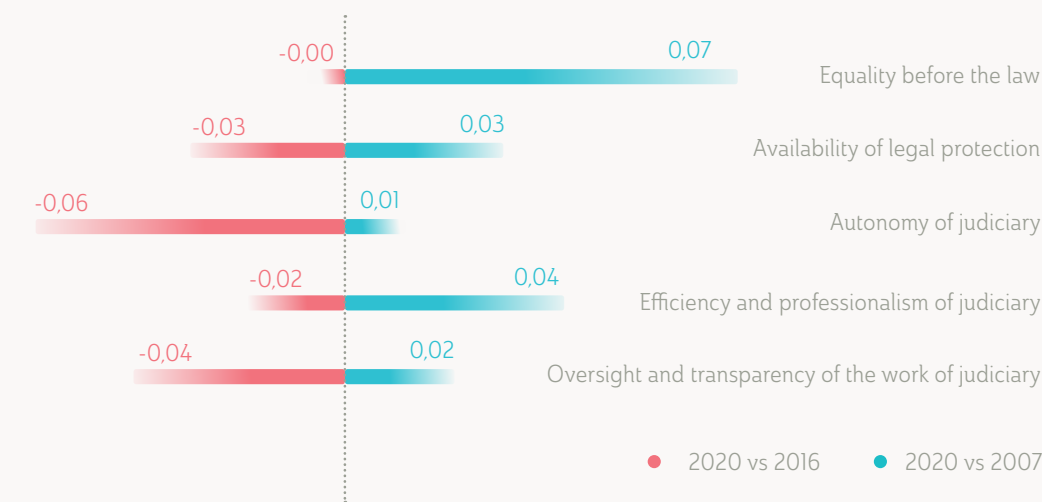
Graph 31. Rule of law: Index 2020



Graph 32. Rule of law – trend by dimensions



Graph 33. Rule of law: Comparison between 2020 and 2007 and 2016



# ECONOMIC FREEDOMS AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

13



The area of economy is quite certainly significant not only as a financial base of social reproduction, but also as an active social mechanism which in a democratic society should be in the function of strengthening democracy. In our conceptual framework, there are three essential features of economy, which is of democratic character. First of all, it is the issue of equality of all economic operators on the market, thus in a democratic society all those active in the field of economy would have to have equal opportunities on the free market. This equality of economic operators implies their autonomy, more precisely, absence of dependence from state or some other power apparatus. Secondly, it is the issue of the very individuals on the market who would, also, have to have equal opportunities in democratic society. Thirdly, it is the issue of the existence of institutional mechanisms for the protection of economic operators and individuals. In accordance with that, there are three dimensions we measured within this area, as follows:

- Economic equality of an individual on the market
- Economic equality and autonomy of enterprises
- Mechanisms of the protection of economic entities and individuals

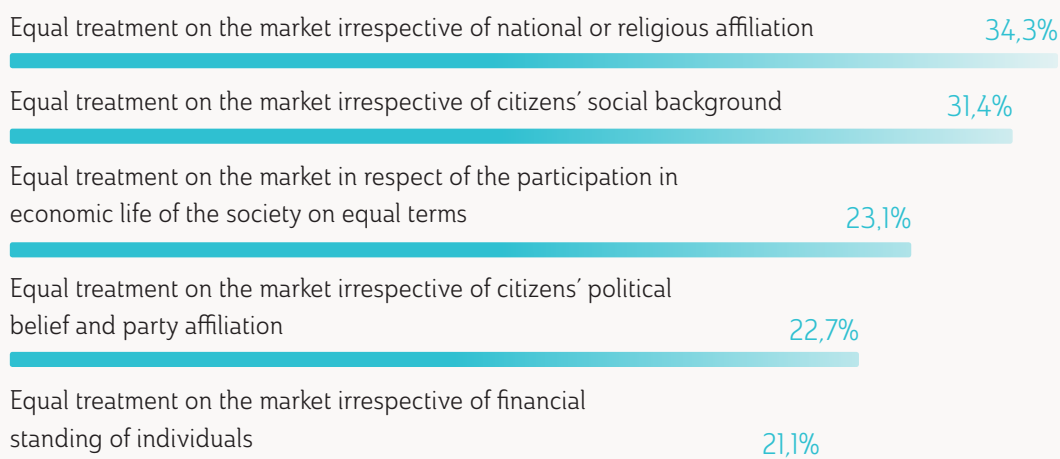
Measurement results for every dimension are presented in special chapters.

### 3.1. Economic equality of an individual on the market

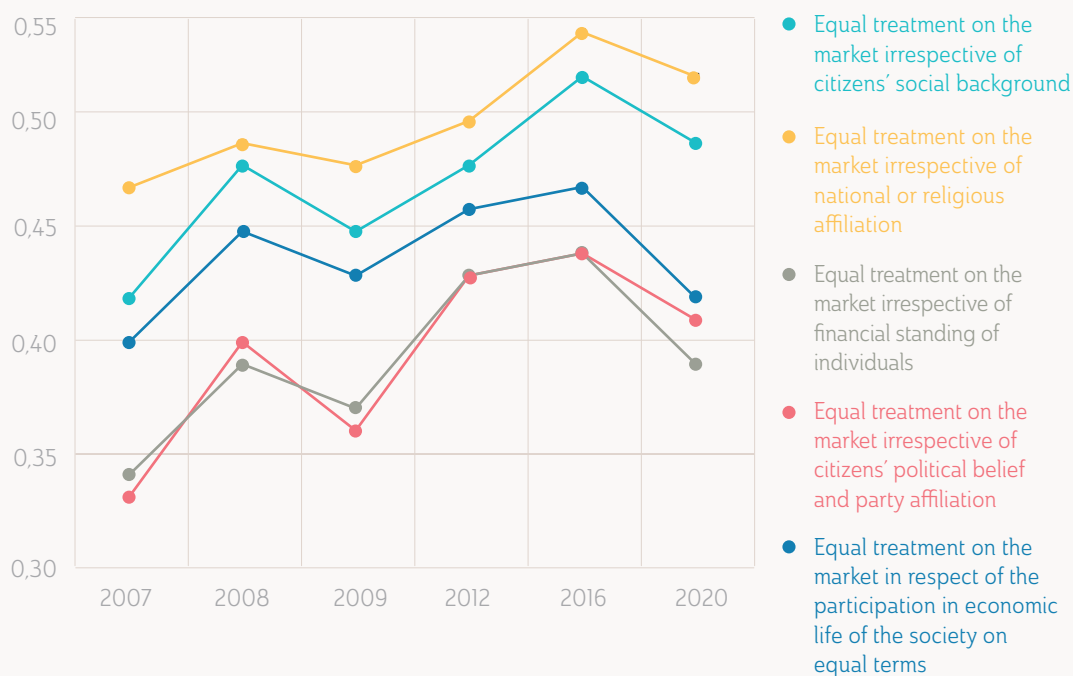
Measuring of economic equality of individuals on the market was realised through five indicators and the Graph 34 is presenting the results by indicators. Measuring results indicate that the equality of individuals on the market is largely achieved when it comes to the observance of national and religious, and then social differences. According to the results of the research, equal conditions of all participants in the market were achieved to a lesser extent, which is particularly true for party affiliation and financial standing of an individual. In other words, **the existing financial differences and party affiliation are key obstacles for the strengthening of democracy in the field of economy.**

The analysis of the trend by indicators is presented in the Graph 35. The results indicate that **by every single indicator we measure negative trends in relation to 2016.** Finally, the Graph 36 is presenting the trend of the aggregate score of this dimension for all research waves. This piece of information clearly indicates that nowadays as compared to the period of four years ago, we have a lower degree of economic equality of individuals on the market. The measured value is, in fact, somewhat lower even in relation to 2012. Therefore, negative economic trends in Montenegro in the past eight years, have been accompanied by negative trends with regards to the equality of individuals on the free market.

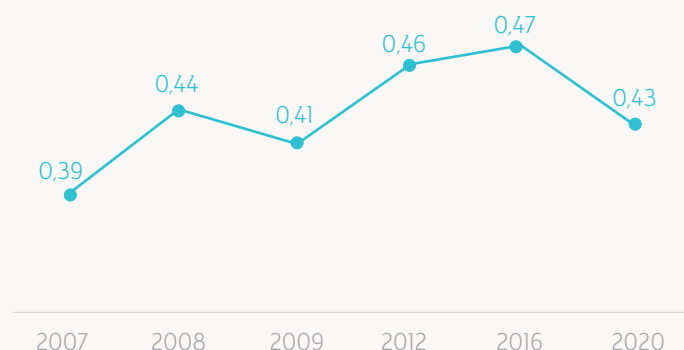
Graph 34. Economic equality of individuals on the market by all indicators



Graph 35. Economic equality of individuals on the market by all indicators – trend



Graph 36. Economic equality of individuals on the market by all indicators: SCORE- trend

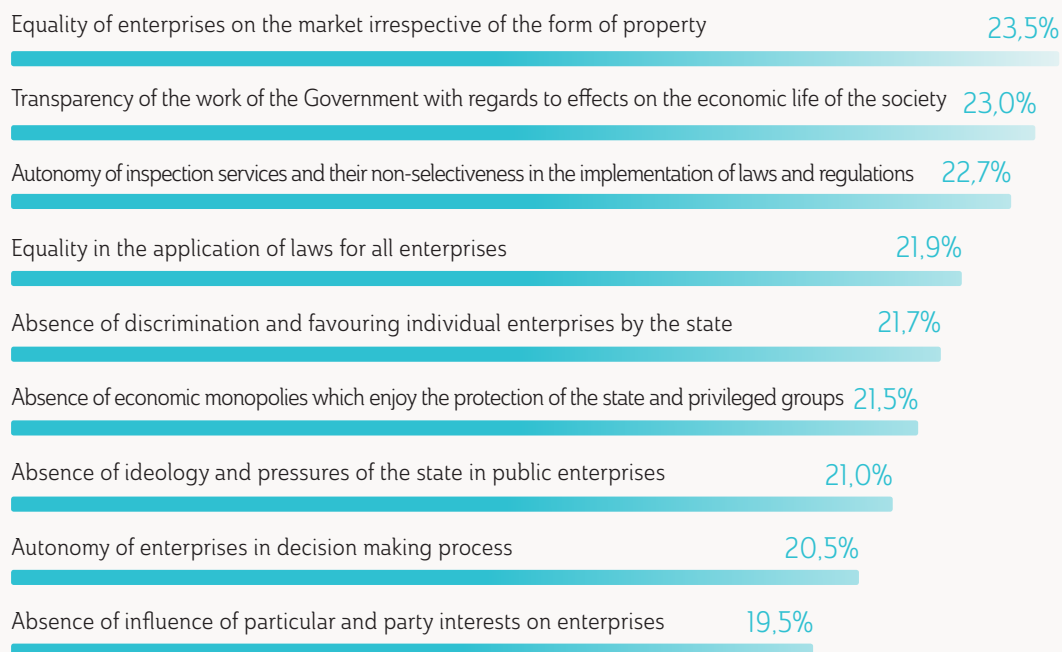


## 3.2. Economic equality and autonomy of enterprises

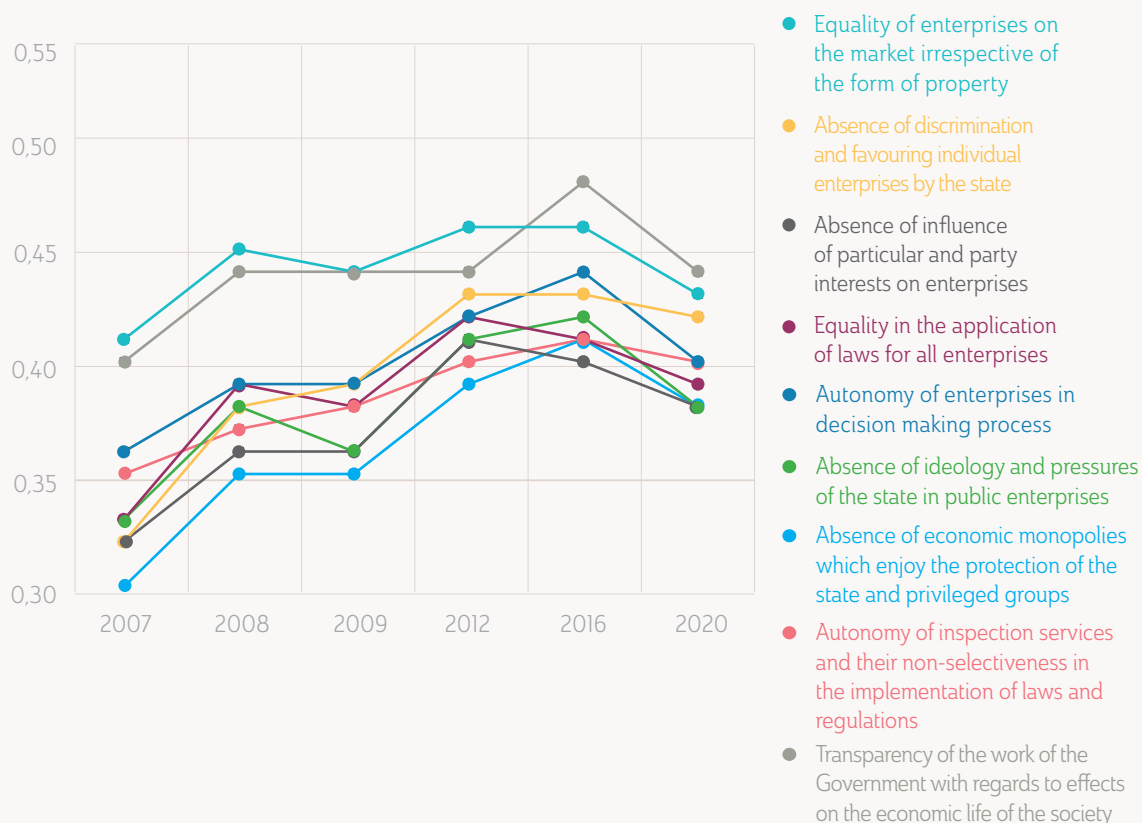
The equality in market competition and the autonomy of enterprises are important factors of democracy in this area. Enterprises are the pillars of economic life in a society, which is based on the market, thus their autonomy in business activity, as well as securing individual conditions for all economic operators, are conditions for the realisation of democracy in practice. This dimension was measured through nine indicators, and the results of this measurement, by the hierarchy of all indicators, are presented in the Graph 37. First of all, we must conclude that the measured values for all indicators are very approximative. In other words, citizens assess in a balanced way the achieved degree of equality and autonomy of enterprises irrespective of various criteria which potentially harm democracy in this respect. In comparative sense, the results of measurement indicate that economic equality was mostly achieved when it comes to the equality of various forms of property, as well as when it comes to the transparency of government, and then when it comes to autonomous work of inspection services. This is followed by the equality in the application of laws for all enterprises, absence of discrimination and favouring certain enterprises, absence of economic monopoly which enjoy the support of the state, absence of ideology and pressures on enterprises, with the least achieved autonomy of enterprises in decision making, and absence of particular and party interests related to enterprises.

In the Graph 38, we are presenting all indicators from the viewpoint of the trend. The data indicate **that in relation of every individual aspect the degree of equality and autonomy of enterprises is lower nowadays as compared to the period of four years ago**. This, overall, negative trend can be seen even more clearly in the Graph 39. To be precise, the value of the measured index had been in stagnation from 2012 till 2016, while the present value is somewhat lower. Therefore, **there is no doubt that the equality and autonomy of enterprises nowadays are on a lower level that it was the case in 2016 and in 2012**.

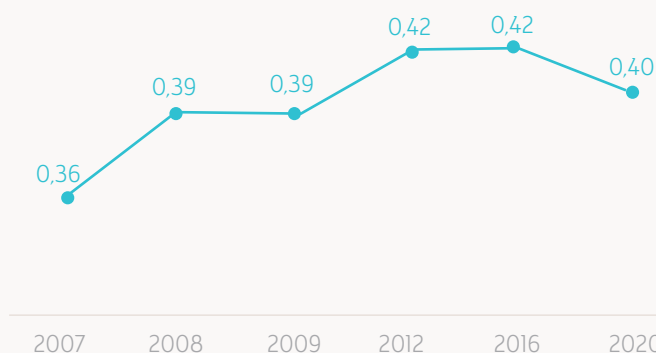
Graph 37. Economic equality and autonomy of enterprises by all indicators



Graph 38. Economic equality and autonomy of enterprises by all indicators - trend



Graph 39. Economic equality and autonomy of enterprises by all indicators: SCORE- trend

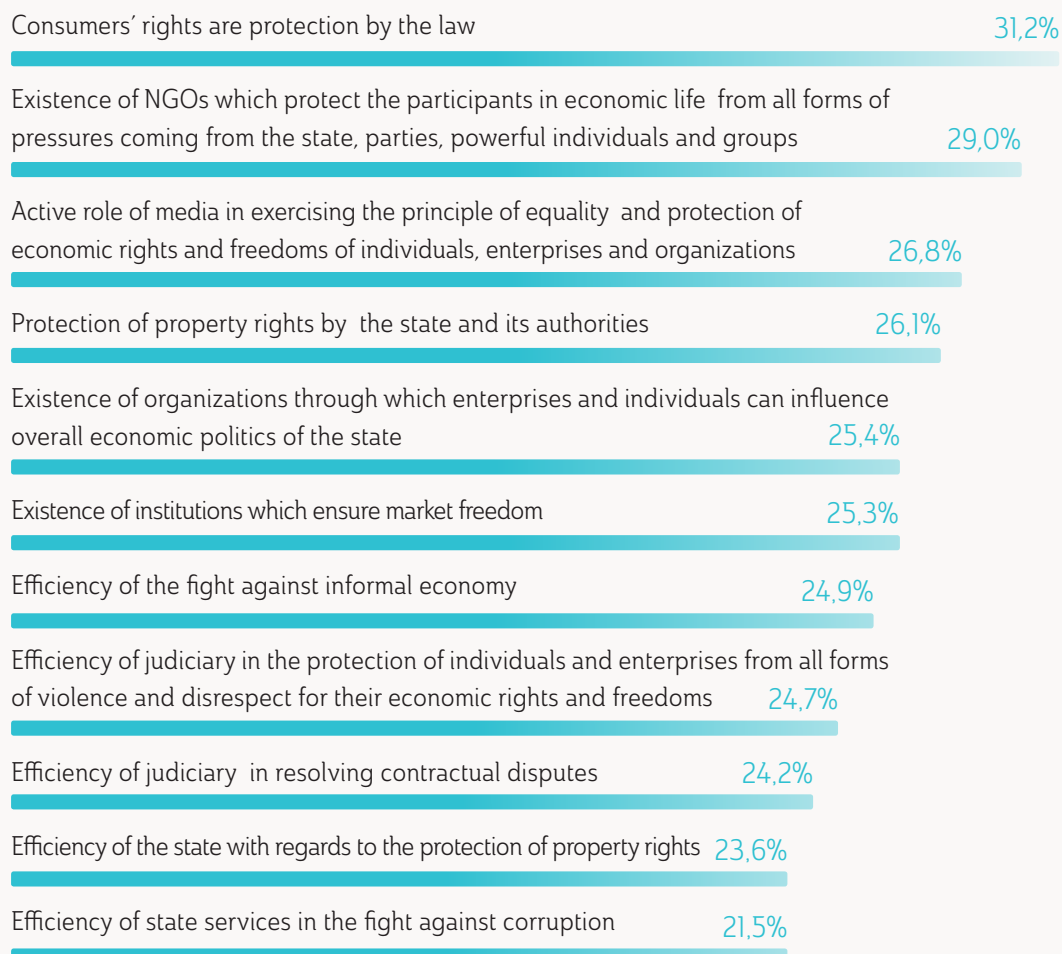


### 3.3. Mechanisms of the protection of economic entities and individuals

This dimension concerned the research into the (non)existence of mechanisms which should ensure the protection of economic entities and individuals. Efficient democratic society in its economic potency takes into account for mechanisms to be incorporated in the institutional setting which will ensure the implementation of democratic principles. The importance of these mechanisms is particularly pronounced when it comes to the field of economy, since active regulation of this type is necessary in order for economic life to be made more democratic.

For measuring this dimension, we had very extensive number of indicators. Measuring results by all indicators are presented in the Graph 40. The biggest value is measured when it comes to consumer protection, then when it comes to NGO sector activity in the area of the protection of economic participants. These are followed by the role of media and protection of the state when it comes to the right of ownership, then a series of items with very close numeric values, which are primarily related to the efficiency of state institutions in the function of the strengthening of democracy in the field of economy. **The problem which is the most pronounced in this respect is corruption which accompanies the economic life in Montenegro.**

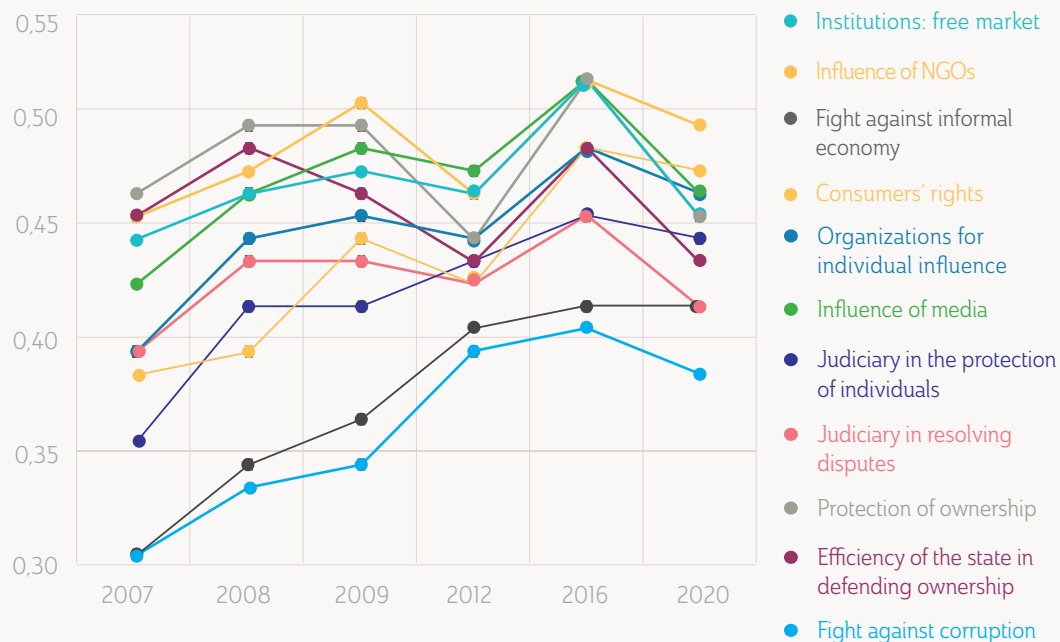
Graph 40. Mechanisms of protection of economic entities and individuals by all indicators



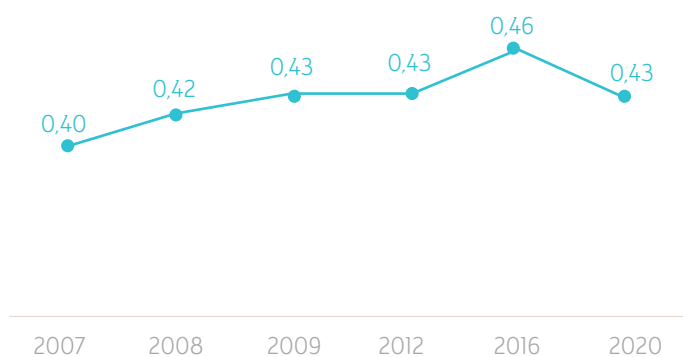
In the Graph 41, we are presenting the trend according to all of the indicators. **The data clearly indicate that the trend is negative by all individual measurement aspects. The most negative trend is measured when it comes to the protection of ownership rights, effect of institutions in defence of the free market, as well as when it comes to the effect media have on the strengthening of economic mechanisms.**

Finally, in the Graph 42, we are presenting the trend of cumulative measurement score for this area for all research waves. The data unambiguously indicate that **in the past four years there have been negative trends when it comes to the efficiency of mechanisms which in the function of the strengthening of democracy of economic processes.** The measured values nowadays are on the level they were on eight years ago.

Graph 41. Mechanisms of the protection of economic entities and individuals – trend by indicators



Graph 42. Mechanisms of the protection of economic entities and individuals: SCORE- trend

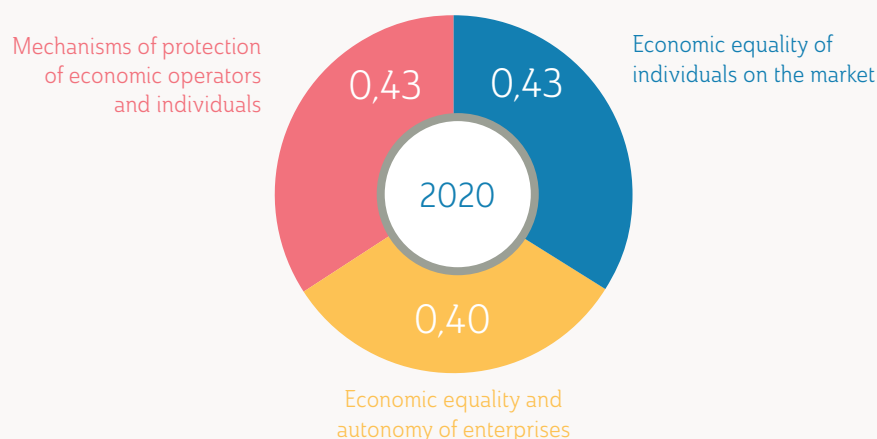


### 3.4. Summary indicators of the area of economic freedoms and economic participation

On the basis of the measurement of three dimensions of the area of democracy in the field of economy, we formed the cumulative score. First of all, in the Graph 43, we are presenting all dimensions for 2020. Measurement results indicate that economic equality of individuals on the market and mechanisms of the protection of economic entities and individuals are on the same level, while the measured degree of equality and autonomy of enterprises is on a lower level in relation to the previous two dimensions.

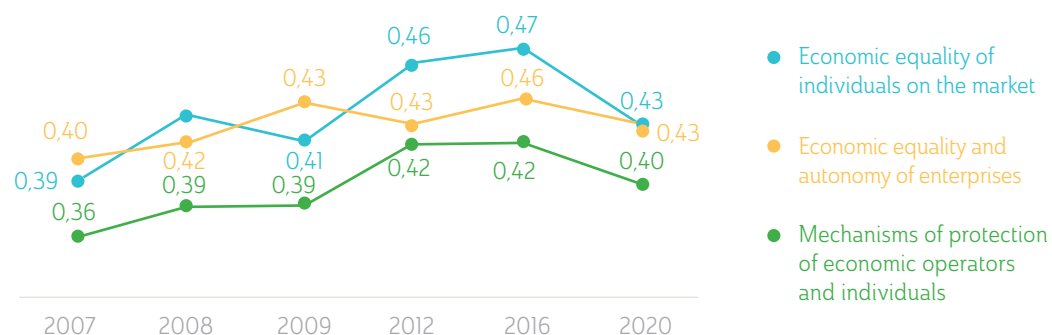
The analysis of trend for all dimensions is presented in the Graph 44. The data indicate that after the initial positive trends, recorded stagnation in the first place, and then slight negative trends. In the Graph 45, differences are presented in the overall score, when this year is compared to 2016 and 2007. Firstly, when we compare 2016 and 2020, although slight negative trends can be seen in numeric sense, key finding is that there are no significant differences between the two indicated periods, or for one of the measured dimensions (measured by t test). We can conclude that by all dimensions in the area of economy **the degree of democracy nowadays is on a more-or-less the same level as it was four years ago**. However, when we compare 2020 with 2007, we can conclude that in the last 13 years certain progress has been made. This progress is mostly evident when it comes to economic equality and autonomy of enterprises ( $t(1696)=3.456$ ,  $p<0.01$ ), then when it comes to economic equality of individuals on the market ( $t(1673)=3.123$ ,  $p<0.01$ ), and somewhat less pronounced when it comes to the mechanisms of the protection of economic entities and individuals ( $t(1721)=2.825$ ,  $p<0.01$ ).

Graph 43. Economic freedoms and economic participation: Index 2020

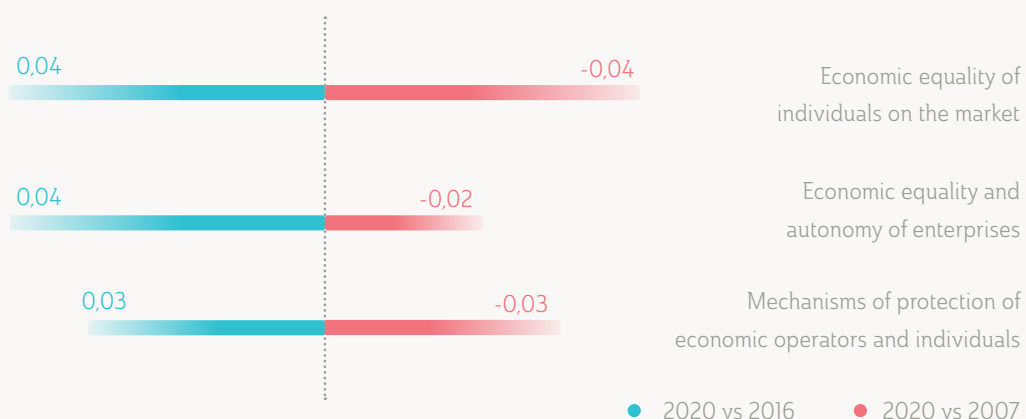




Graph 44. Economic freedoms and economic participation – trend by dimensions



Graph 45. Economic freedoms and economic participation: 2020 vs 2012 and 2007



EDUCATION

04

The system of education is the key when it comes to the strengthening of democratic potential of the entire society. Education in contemporary society is a mechanism which should ensure equality of all participants on the free market. Stratification in contemporary society largely depends on cultural capital, knowledge and skills which individuals possess. Education should ensure equal opportunities to all individuals, only after acquiring the necessary knowledge on all levels of the society to strengthen all segments of the society through political and economic participation. Unless the system of education is set up and operates on the principles of openness, autonomy, efficiency, transparency, it will not be possible for it to play important role for the entire society. It is therefore very important to perceive the results of the education reform process in Montenegro, and/or perceive that segment through comparison with the research for the previous democracy Index in relation to this area.

The following dimensions were defined and measured for this area:

- Openness and participation in education
- Autonomy and efficiency of education
- Legality and control of the system of education
- Pluralism in education
- Impact and effectiveness of public consultation on education
- Transparency and availability of information in education

Every dimension was being measured according to identical and already described methodological procedure, and we tried to take into consideration all significant dimensions. The measurement results by dimensions and summary data are presented in the text below.

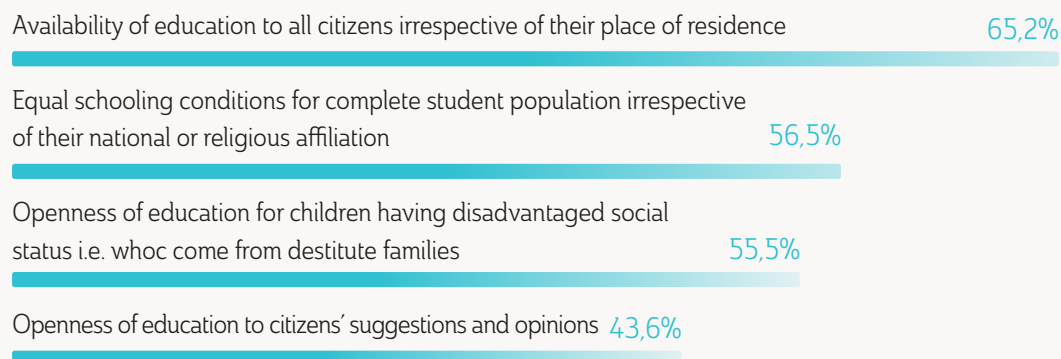
## 4.1. Openness and participation in education

This dimension is aimed at examining the degree to which education is open for all social groups. Since social status is largely a function of educational process, from the viewpoint of democracy of the society, this is a very important dimension. In the Graph 46, we are presenting measurement in the last research by all indicators. The data indicate that the system of education is the least restrictive when it comes to the differences which exist in view of the place of residence. The following two indicators show very balanced value, and they are related to exercising equality in education irrespective of national and religious affiliation, as well as to the openness of the system of education notwithstanding social status. The lowest value within this dimension is measured when it comes to the openness of the system of education towards citizens' suggestions.

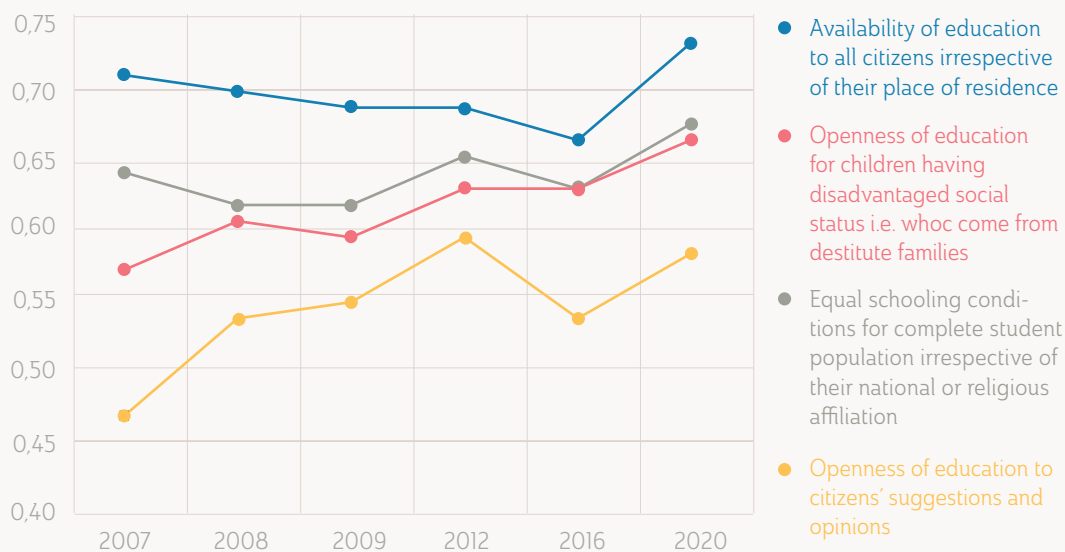
In the Graph 47, we are presenting the trend by all indicators covered by this dimension. The results indicate that **in the last four years we have had progressive trends when it comes**

to every single aspect which concerns openness and participation in the system of education. As a consequence, in the Graph 48 we have a clear presentation of the progress when analysing the trend of the overall composite score which measures this area. Therefore, **there is no doubt that Montenegro has made a progress in the past four years when it comes to the openness and participation in education.**

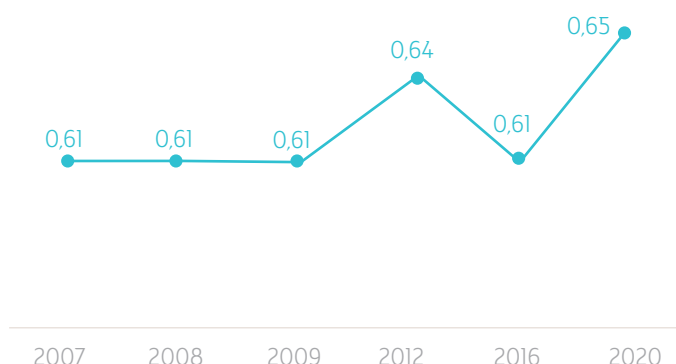
Graph 46. Openness and participation in education by indicators



Graph 47. Openness and participation in education - trend by indicators



Graph 48. Openness and participation in education: SCORE – trend

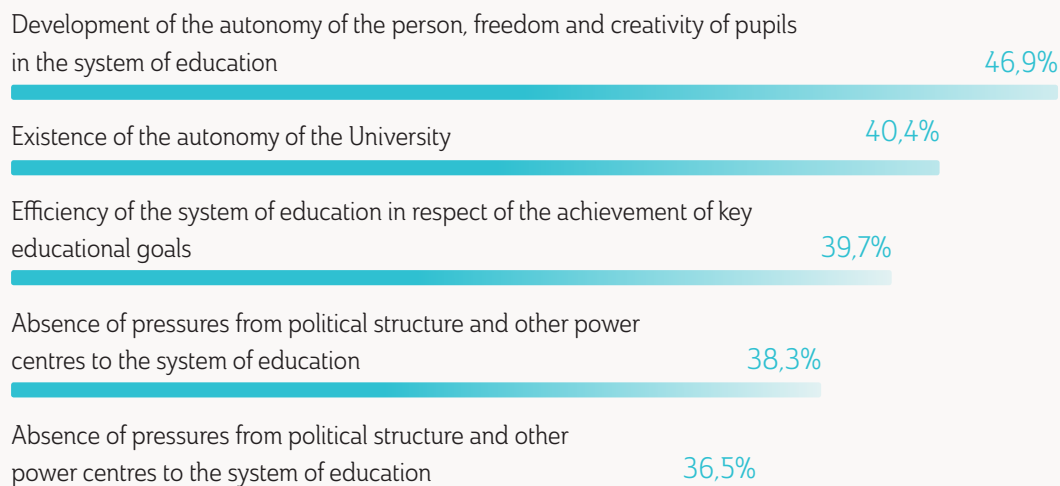


## 4.2. Autonomy and efficiency of education

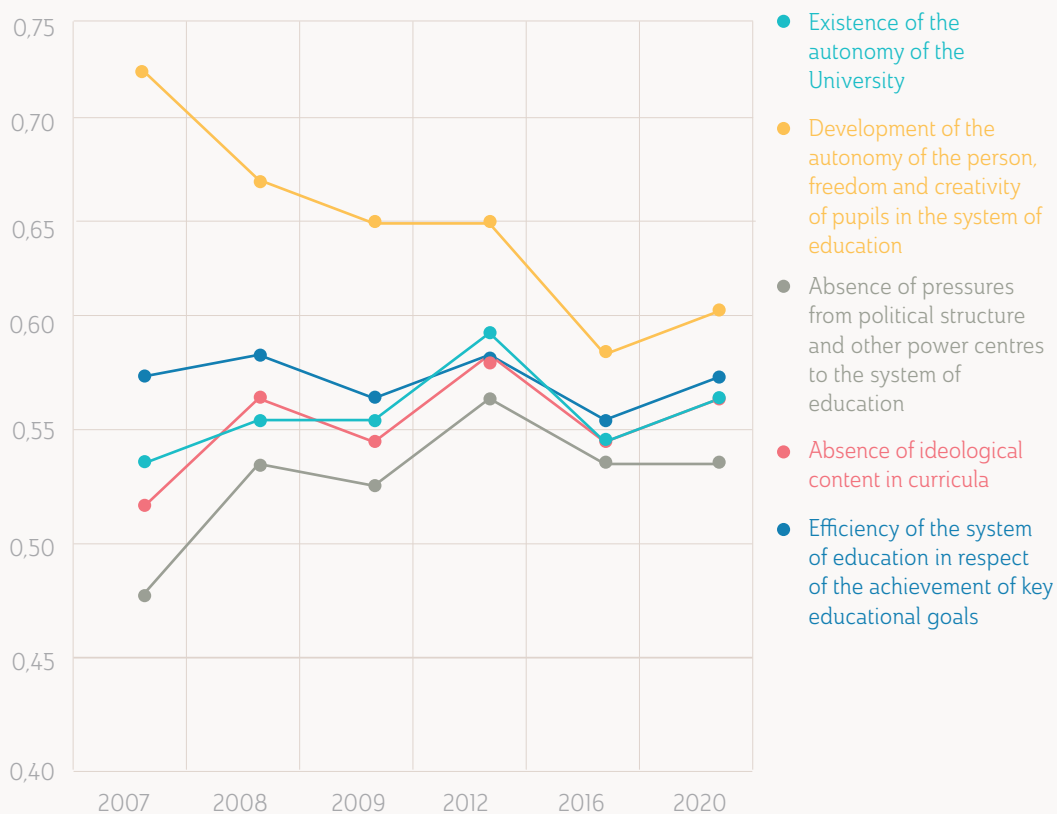
The autonomy of the system of education covers a whole series of aspects, from autonomy within the meaning of the absence of pressures to the system of education, to the existence of internal mechanisms focused on the autonomy of the actors of educational process themselves. All these aspects were the subject matter of measurement within the framework of this dimension. This dimension, also includes the issue of efficiency of the system of education, since efficiency is in fact one of the key features with regards to the outcome which is expected from education. The results of the measurement by all indicators are presented in the Graph 49. The highest value is measured when it comes to the development of personal autonomy and students' creativity. Then, it is the assessment that the University is autonomous to a significant extent and that the system of education achieves key educational objectives. Somewhat lower is the value for the absence of ideological contents in curricula, and the lowest value in this area is measured when it comes to the absence of pressures of political structures and other power centres on the system of education. Therefore, the biggest problem in this area is **political influence on the system of education**.

In the Graph 50, we are presenting trend measuring results by all indicators. In this respect, key information is that in all aspects we measure very low values, which can rather be interpreted as stagnation. Finally, in the Graph 51, we are presenting trend analysis for the measurement of the entire dimension. The information indicates that **we record stagnation in the past four years when it comes to the autonomy and efficiency of the system of education**.

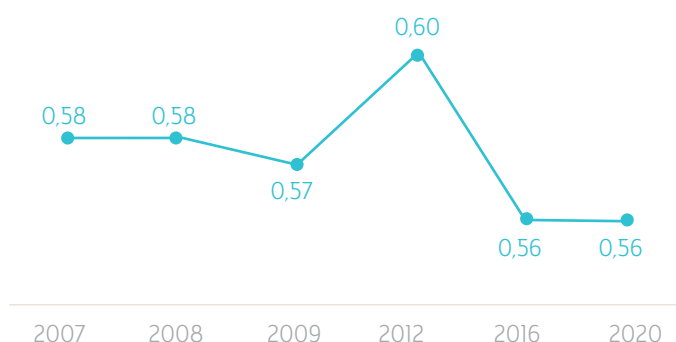
Graph 49. Autonomy and efficiency of education by all indicators



Graph 50. Autonomy and efficiency of education by all indicators – trend



Graph 51. Autonomy and efficiency of education: SCORE – trend



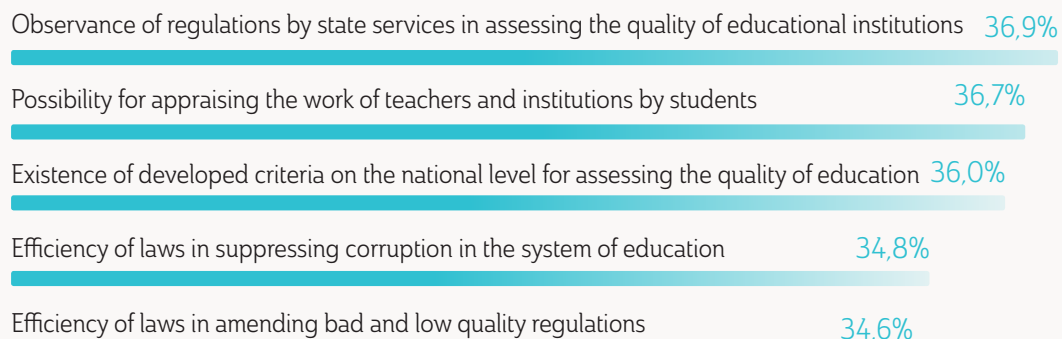
### 4.3. Legality and control of the system of education

Besides autonomy and efficiency, a democratic society should also have education control mechanisms which ensure its legality. This actually means that a society must develop a whole series of measures to control the system of education, in order for the entire process of education to be capable of providing efficiency and democracy. This dimension was measured through five indicators, and the Graph 52 brings the distribution of the findings. The results indicate that in the area of control and legality of the system of education the best result was achieved with regards to the observance of regulations and the assessment of the quality of work of educational institutions, and then when it comes to the possibility for students to appraise teachers and institutions they frequent. Then follows the assessment of the existence of developed national criteria for the assessment of the quality of education. **Two lowest assessed aspects within this dimension are the efficiency of law in suppressing corruption in the system of education and the efficiency of law in amending bad and inadequate regulations.**

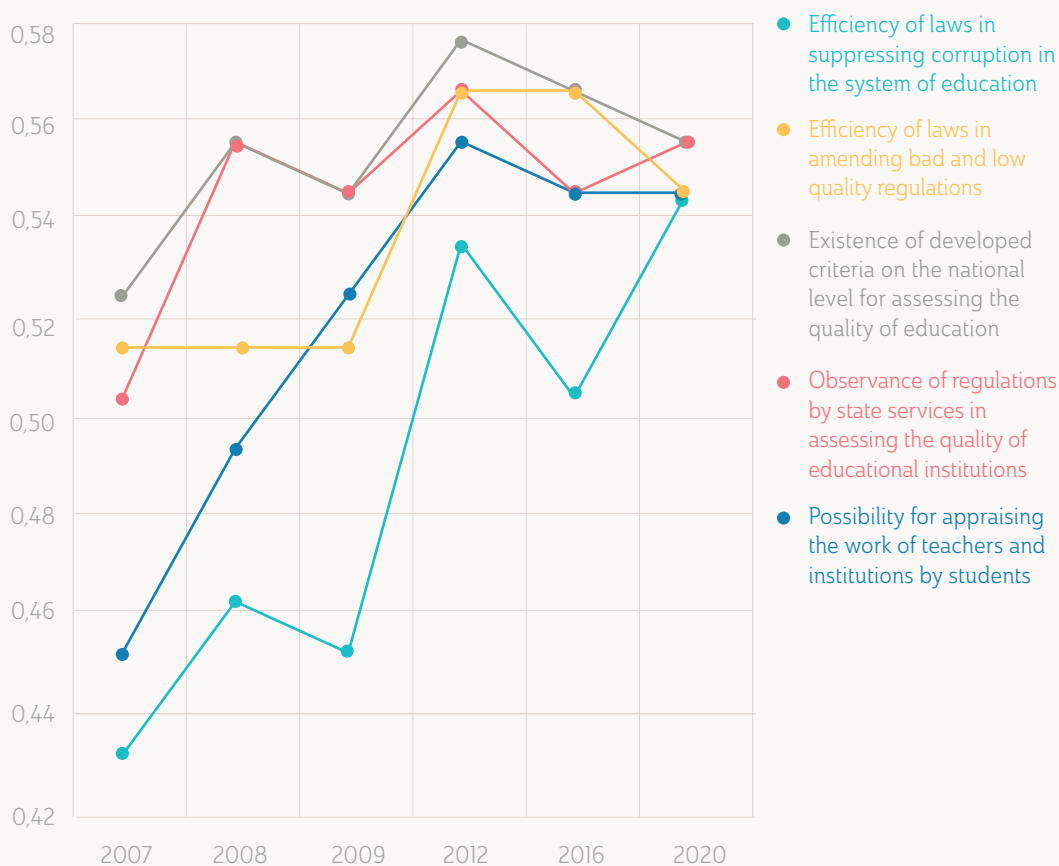
In the Graph 53, we are presenting the trend by all indicators for this dimension. The measurement results indicate that **the biggest progress has been achieved when it comes to the efficiency of law on suppressing corruption in higher education.** Therefore, worst assessed aspect records the most progressive trend, which can be considered the most significant progress. In other aspects (indicators), the measured values are on a more-or-less the same level as four years ago.

Finally, in the Graph 54 we are presenting trend analysis of the cumulative score in this dimension, and **the results indicate that the total level of control and legality in the system of education is on the same level as it was four years ago.**

Graph 52. Legality and control of the system of education by indicators

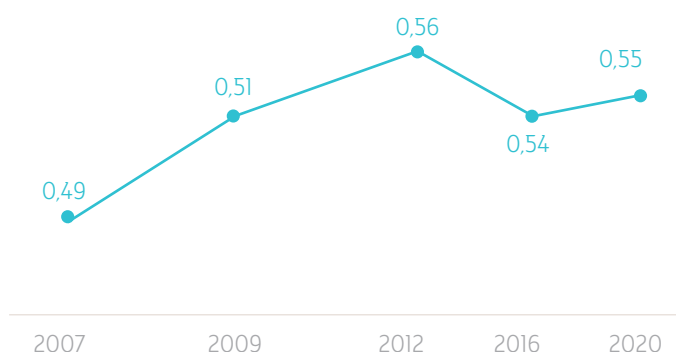


Graph 53. Legality and control of the system of education by indicators – trend





Graph 54. Legality and control of the system of education by indicators: SCORE – trend



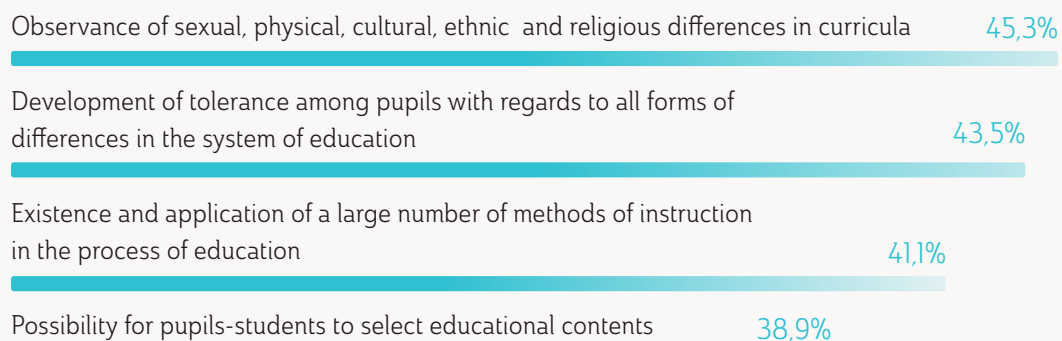
## 4.4. Pluralism in education

Observance of pluralism in the system of education is one of the most important principles for securing democracy in education. Within the framework of this dimension, we acknowledged all key principles which pluralism should rest upon in this dimension. The entire dimension was being measured through four indicators, and their hierarchical presentation is given in the Graph 55. Comparatively, the results indicate that, when it comes to pluralism, best achieved is pluralism in the curricula which acknowledge all key socio-cultural differences that exist in Montenegro. Then, very positively was assessed the development of tolerance among students, irrespective of differences. Somewhat less positively was assessed the existence and application of a large number of methods in the teaching process, and the least measured value is identified when it comes to the possibility for students to choose educational contents.

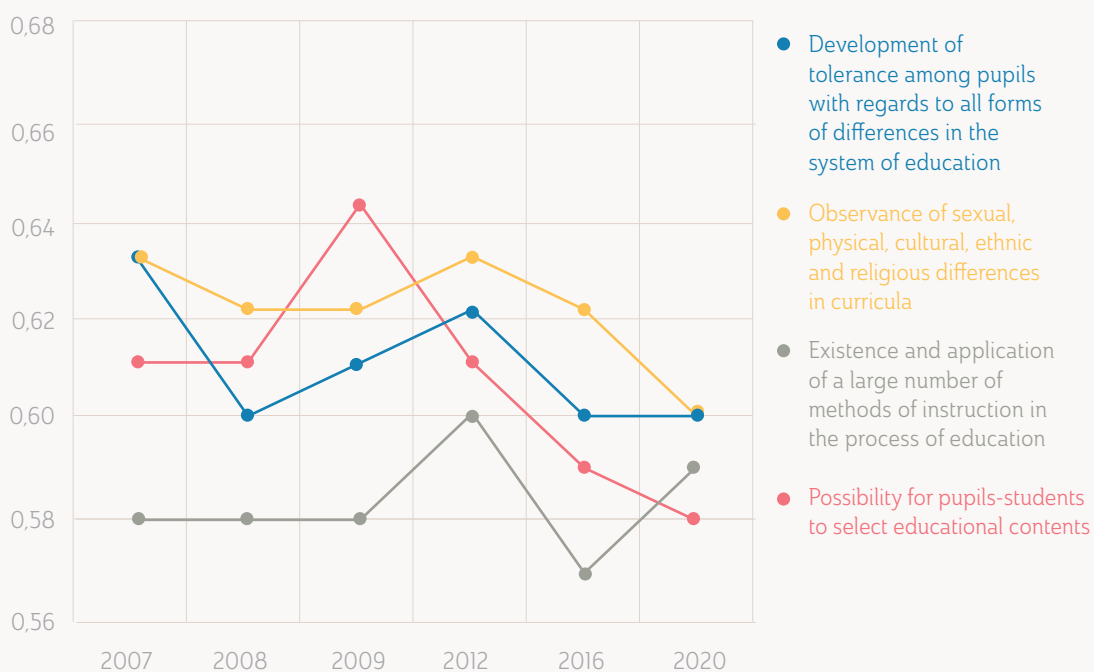
In the Graph 56, we are presenting trend analyses for all indicators within the framework of the dimension related to pluralism in education. The data point out to volatile, but rather stable trends. Somewhat better values nowadays in relation to four years ago are measured when it comes to the existence of pluralism methods in teaching, and somewhat lower values are recorded when it comes to acknowledging socio-economic and cultural differences. The values of the remaining two indicators are on a more-or-less the same level as four years ago.

Finally, in the Graph 57, we are presenting the trend of the cumulative synthetic score of pluralism in education for all research waves. Nevertheless, the data indicate that, to a certain extent, we can speak about slight negative trends when it comes to education pluralism.

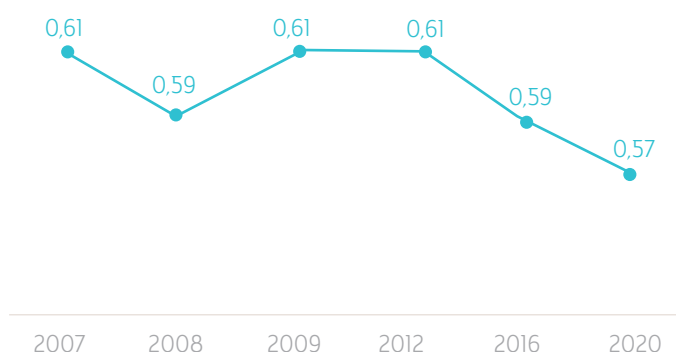
Graph 55. Pluralism in education by all indicators



Graph 56. Pluralism in education by all indicators – trend



Graph 57. Pluralism in education by all indicators: SCORE – trend

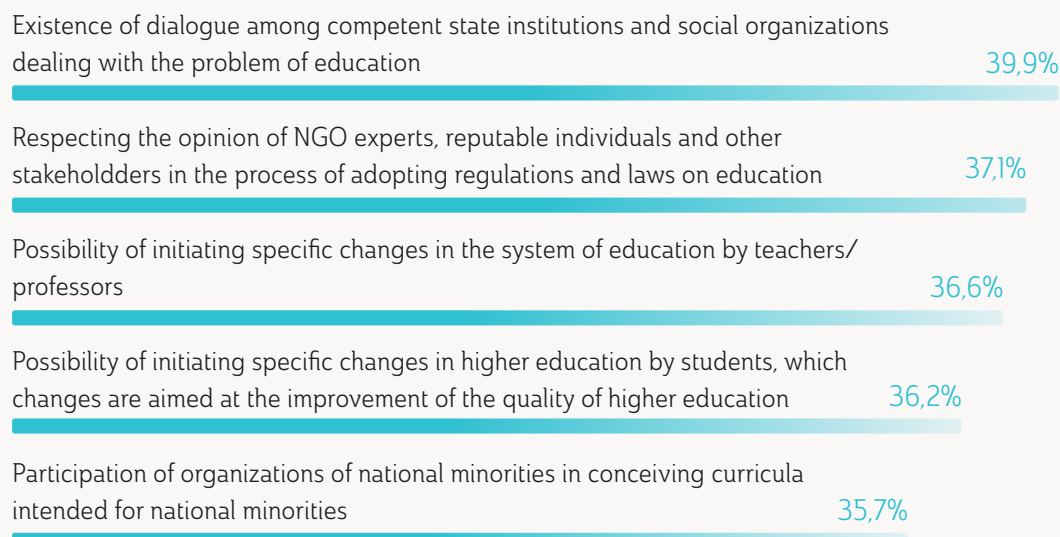


## 4.5. Impact and effectiveness of public consultations on education

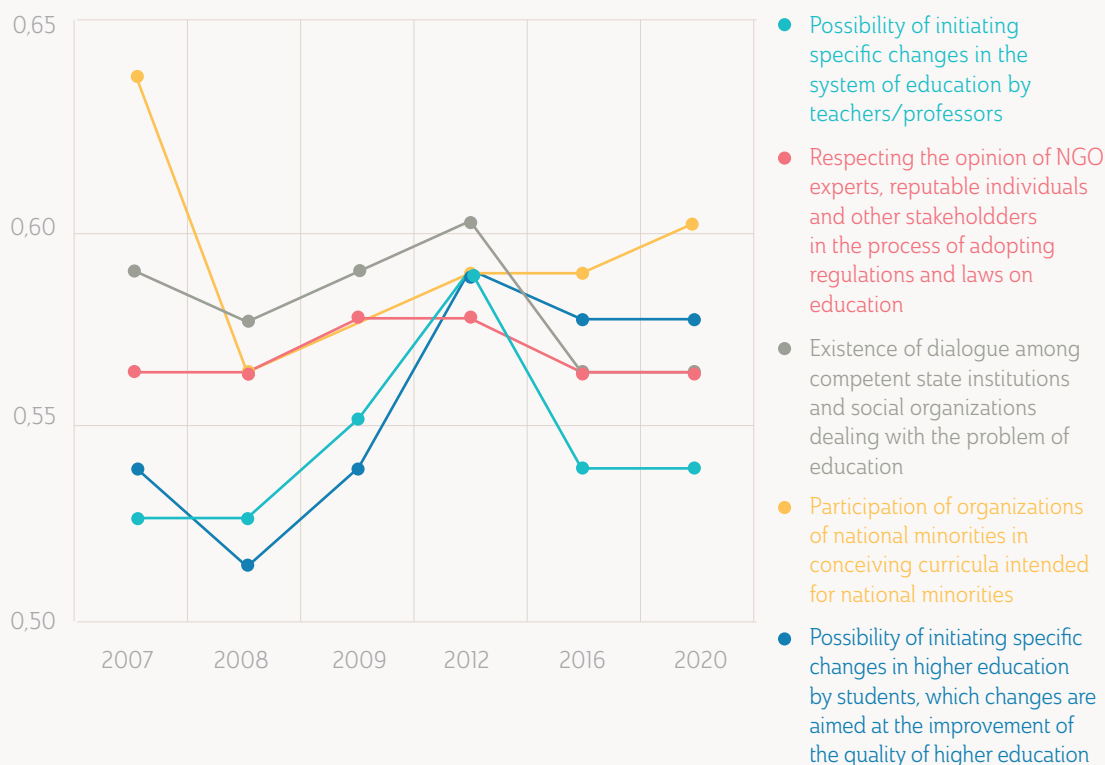
Public consultations secure a whole series of important pieces of information which are more than useful for successful transformation of certain social areas. Within a given constellation, we defined a network of indicators which are aimed at measuring of both impact and effectiveness of public consultations on the system of education. In the Graph 58, we are presenting the measurement results of the most recent research by all indicators. The findings indicate that the best results were achieved when it comes to the participation of organisations of national minorities in designing curricula intended for them. The next indicator measures the possibility of students' initiative focused on specific changes in the field of higher education, then the possibility of changes initiated by teachers themselves. By hierarchy, to a somewhat smaller degree the acknowledgement of NGO experts and other renowned individuals was achieved when it comes to regulations and laws in the field of education. The last by hierarchy comes the indicator measuring the dialogue between the state institutions and societal organizations on the very system of education.

The overview of the trend by all indicators which cover this dimension is presented in the Graph 59. The results indicate **almost identical values by all indicators as compared to the reference values of four years ago**. In other words, in all aspects the level of effectiveness and impact of public consultations in the field of education is on the same level as it was four years ago. This finding we only confirm when we perceive the fluctuation of the entire score for this dimension (Graph 60).

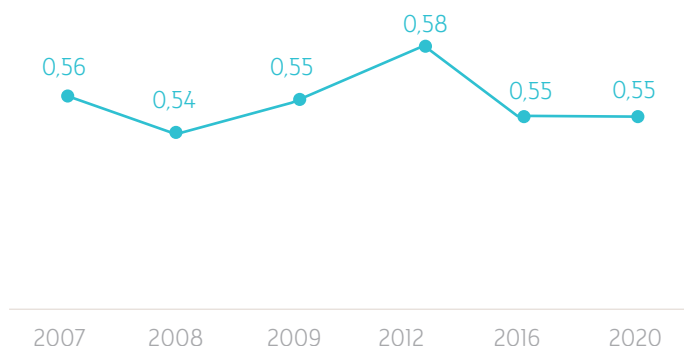
Graph 58. Impact and effectiveness of public consultations in the field of education by all indicators



Graph 59. Impact and effectiveness of public consultations in the field of education by all indicators – trend



Graph 60. Impact and effectiveness of public consultations in the field of education by all indicators: SCORE – trend

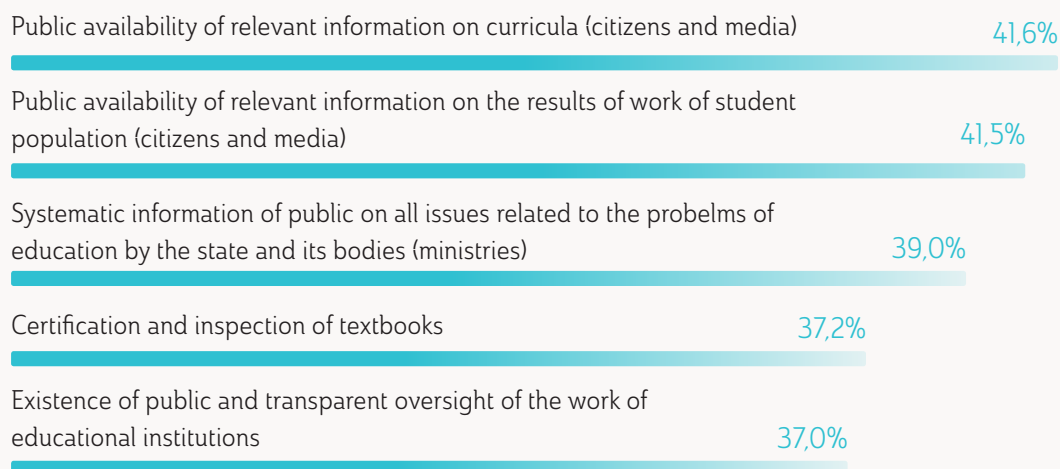


## 4.6. Transparency and availability of information in the field of education

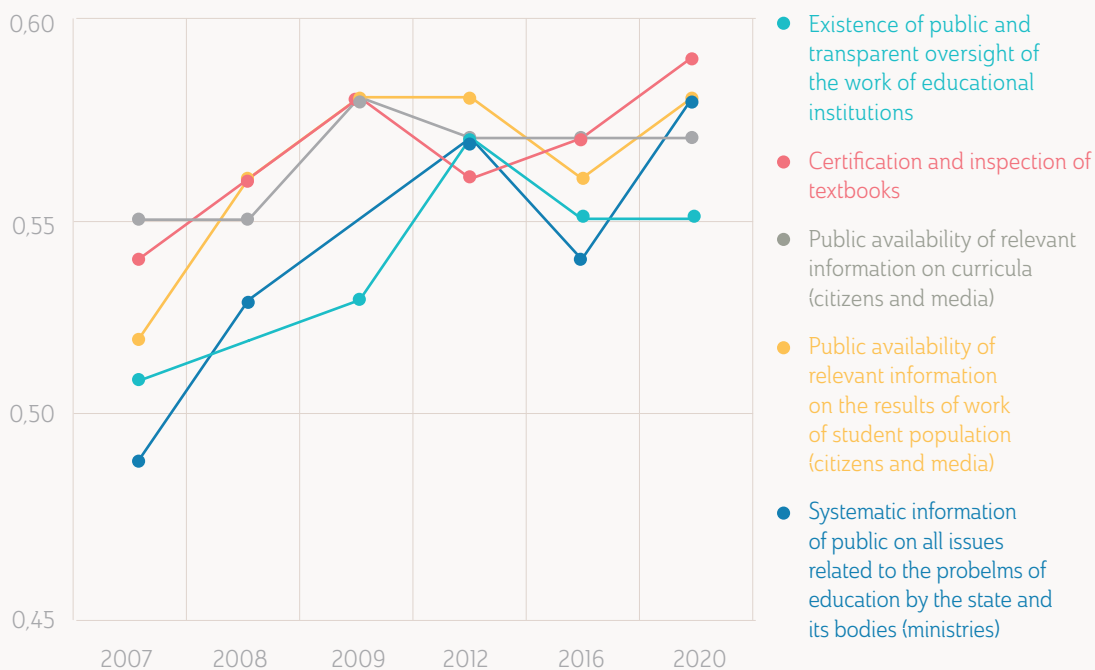
Transparency and availability of information in the system of education is a very important issue since in this way two-way communication is established between the public and the system of education. Such communication is quite certainly important for further processes of democratization of the system of education. The presentation of measuring this dimension by all indicators is given in the Graph 61. The results indicate that the most available pieces of information are those related to curricula, followed by those of students' results. Less available are the pieces of information related to problem with education. Least available are those concerning certification and inspection of textbooks, as well as those related to the existence of public and transparent oversight of the operation of educational institutions.

In the Graph 62, we are presenting the trend of all indicators related to the transparency of the system of education. The results of the trend indicate that the values are quite close to the reference measurement carried out four years ago. **The sole somewhat significant progress is measured when it comes to systematic information of citizens on education related issues by the state and competent institutions.** Consequently, even the cumulative progress of the overall score which we measure this dimension with records very modest progress (Graph 63).

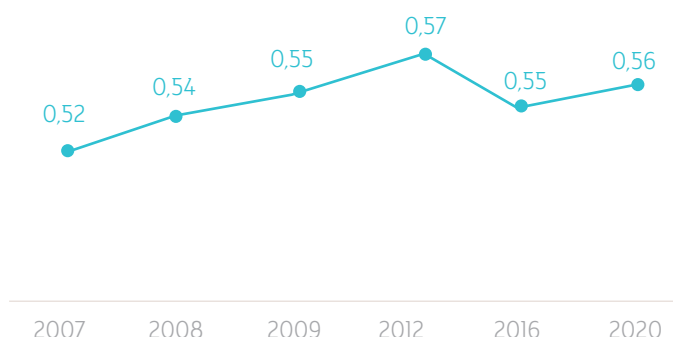
Graph 61. Transparency and availability of information in education by all indicators



Graph 62. Transparency and availability of information in education by all indicators – trend



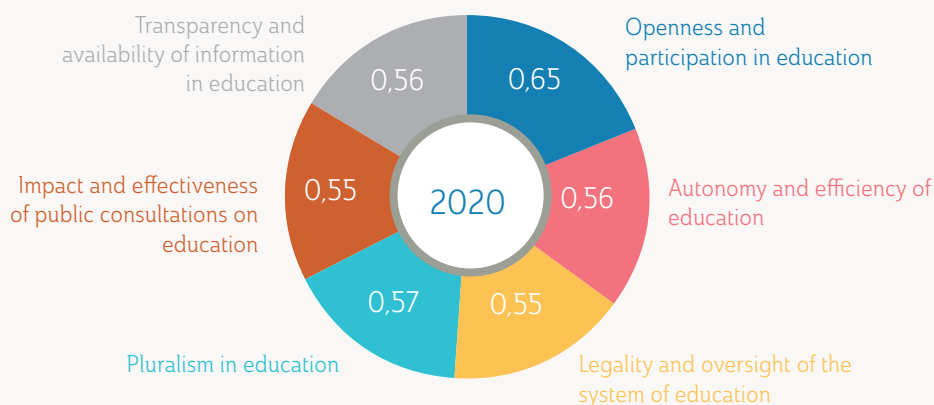
Graph 63. Transparency and availability of information in education: SCORE - trend



## 4.7 Summary indicators for the area of education

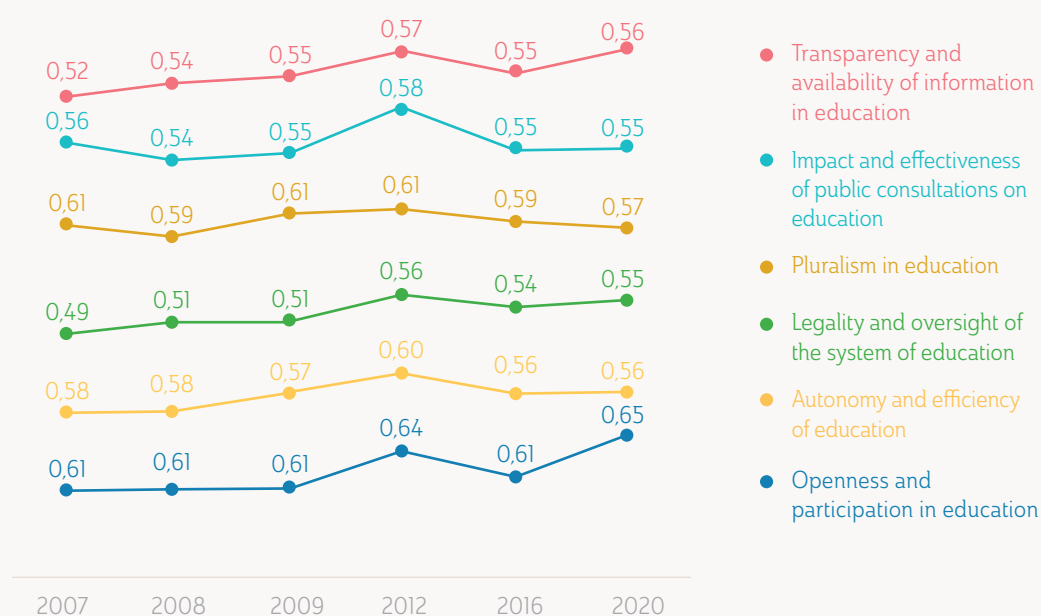
On the basis of the comprehensive analysis of the condition of democracy in the area of education, it is possible to assess the condition by all key dimensions, as well as the trends which indicate the changes which have happened since the first measurement, thirteen years ago. When talking about the indicators for the area of education, the results obviously point out to significantly higher values than when it comes to all other areas in which we measured the condition of democracy. In comparative sense, the highest level of democracy in education is recorded with regards to openness and participation in education. All other dimensions, by measurement results, are on a very much balanced level.

Graph 64. Democracy in education – Index 2020



Trend measuring results by all dimensions are presented in the Graph 65. The results indicate that, as compared to 2016, we do not record changes when it comes to autonomy and efficiency, legality and oversight, pluralism, impact and effectiveness of public consultations and transparency in the system of education. On the other hand, **pronounced progressive trend is measured when it comes to openness and participation** ( $t(1498)=3.013$ ,  $p<0.01$ ).

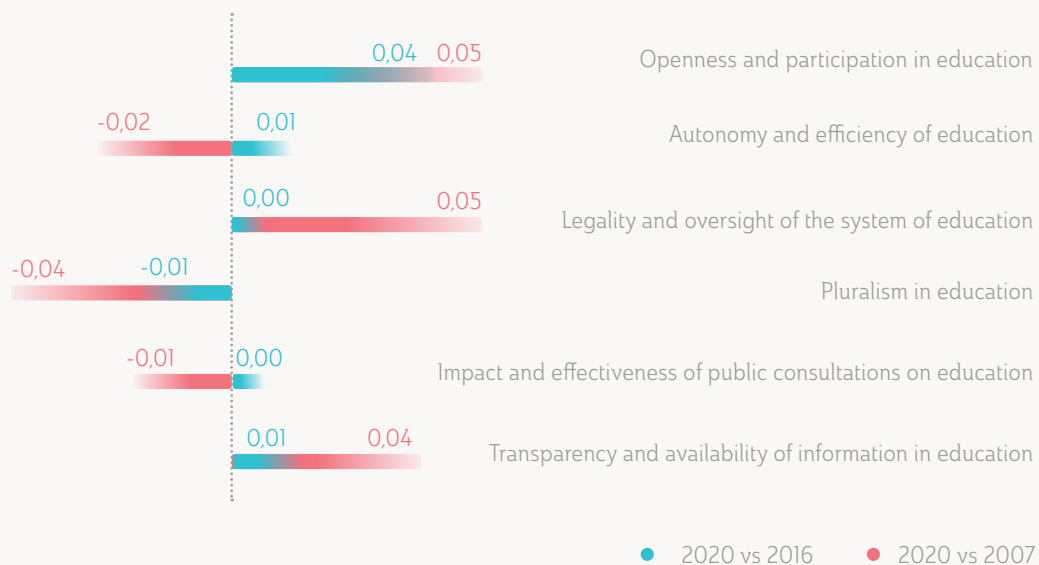
Graph 65. Democracy in education – trend by all dimensions



Finally, in the Graph 66 we are presenting the differences in measurement between the most recent research and those from 2016 and 2007. The data indicate that the level of impact and effectiveness of public consultations, then autonomy and efficiency of the degree of measurement nowadays are on the same level as they were in 2007. On the other hand, when it comes to pluralism in education, we measure negative trend ( $t(1703)=3.003$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). In all other dimensions, the trends are progressive, again when comparing the original research and the most recent one implemented in 2020.



Graph 66. Democracy in education: 2020 vs 2016 and 2020 vs 2007



MEDIA

05

Media in democratic societies should have several functions in order to contribute properly to the consolidation of democratic system. Therefore, media should be a source of reliable information, then government controllers and holders of the role of a watchdog of democracy and democratic values in general. Furthermore, media are expected to be a mechanism through which public oversees how certain elected representatives exercise power on their behalf, to be particular forum for public debate, to create an environment where different ideas of various entities are presented and contended, so as to create general social consensus about the same, as a final product. Dealing with this area, we defined the following dimensions which constituted measurement subject matter:

- Autonomy and independence of media
- Professionalism of media
- Non-existence of monopoly and media equality
- Media openness

From the methodological viewpoint, the same procedure was applied, just like in previous dimensions, and cumulatively, on the basis of all dimensions it was possible to synthesize single assessment for the entire area.

## 5.1. Autonomy and independence of media

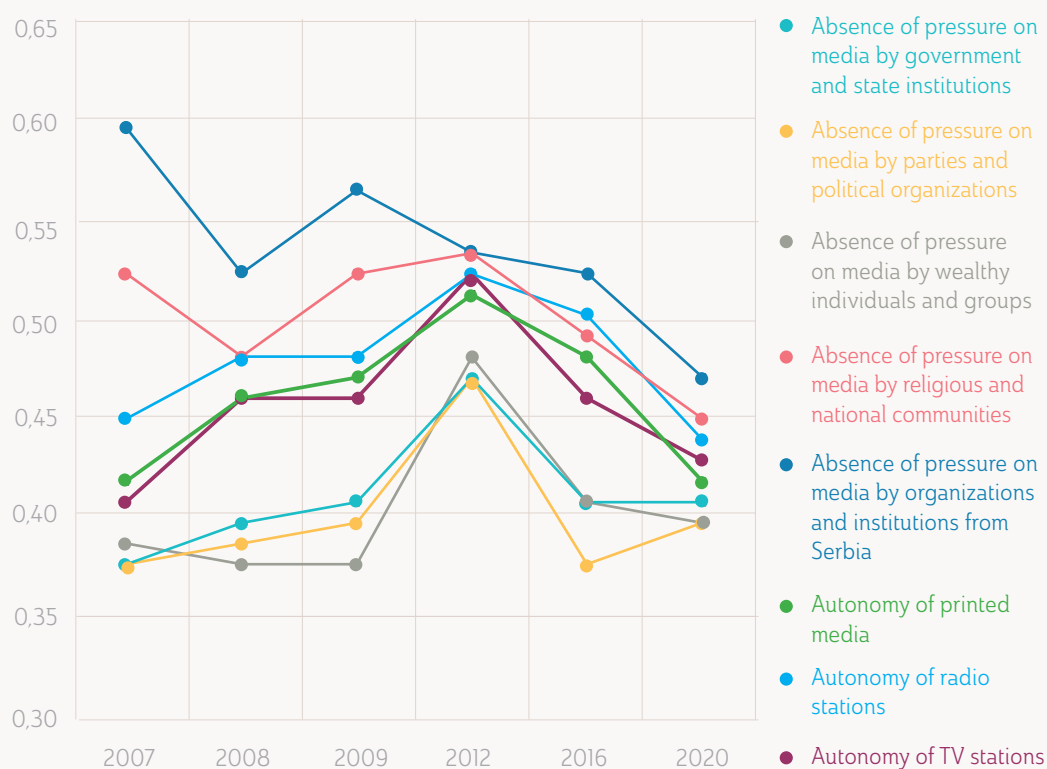
The first dimension which is the subject matter of the measurement within the framework of this area is the autonomy and independence of media. In this respect, we tried to measure the degree of the achieved autonomy, especially for printed and broadcasting media, but the score on this dimension is integrated since it deals with identical field (autonomy and independence). In the Graph 67, we are presenting the findings of the measurement of this dimension by all indicators. First of all, we can conclude that percentage-wise values are relatively low, especially as compared to the reference values which we had the opportunity to present when we were dealing with education. Therefore, when it comes to the autonomy and independence of media, the highest value is measured when it comes to the absence of pressure on media by religious and national communities. Then follows the indicator which measures potential pressure on media by organizations from Serbia. After these, very similar numeric values were recorded for the autonomy of radio stations, printed media and TV stations. Then follows the lack of pressure on media by wealthy individuals and groups, with the lowest values measured when it comes to the absence of pressure by the government and state institutions and pressure by parties and political organizations. Therefore, we can conclude that **the greatest threat for media independence and autonomy comes from political parties and political organizations.**

In the Graph 68, we are presenting the trend by all indicators which measure this dimension. The data indicate predominantly negative trends, or more precisely, except when it comes to political influence on media (parties and the State) where the measured values are on a more-or-less the same level as they were in 2016, while by all other indicators we measure lower values. The overall score of this dimension, presented in the Graph 69, is also in accordance with these findings, i.e. **the degree of independence and autonomy of media nowadays is generally on a lower degree than it was the case four years ago.**

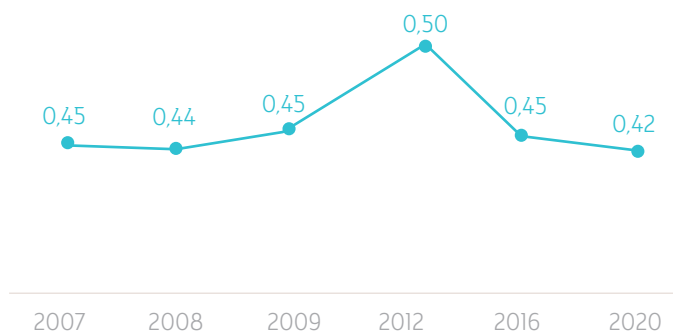
Graph 67. Autonomy and independence of media by all indicators



Graph 68. Autonomy and independence of media by all indicators – trend



Graph 69. Autonomy and independence of media: SCORE – trend

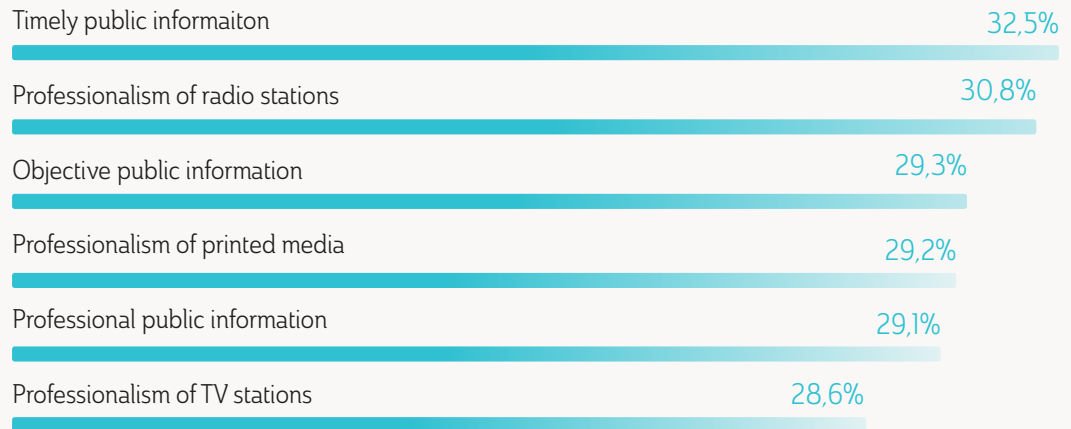


## 5.2. Professionalism of media

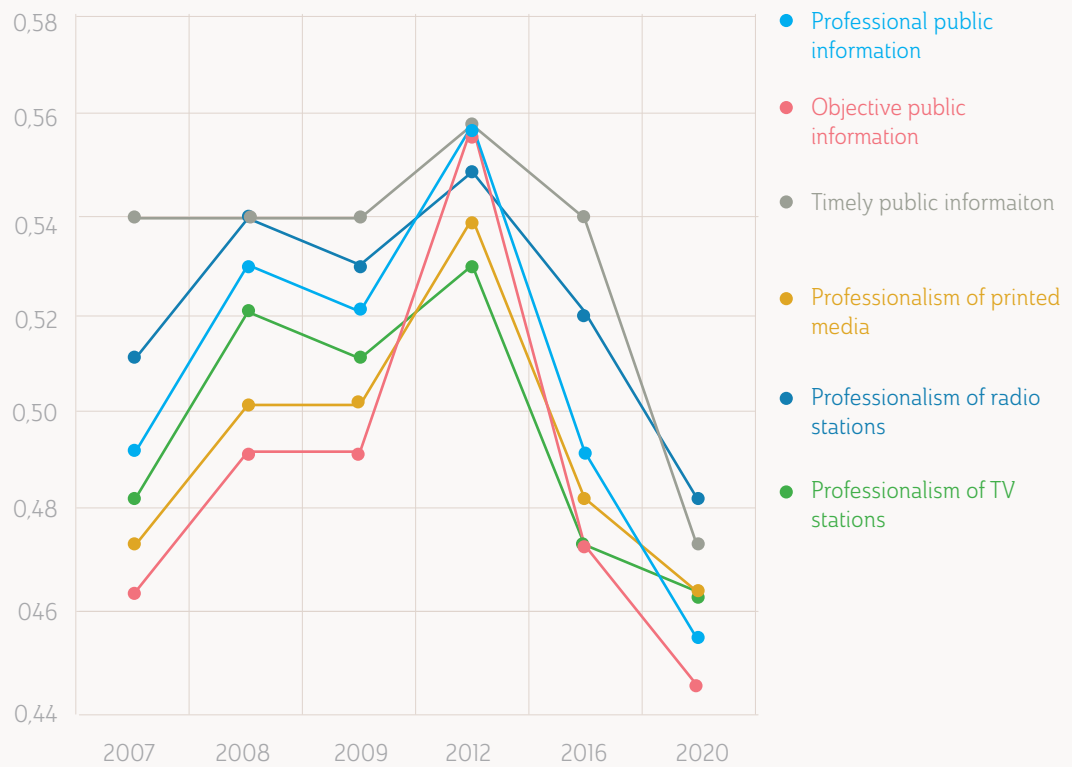
The next dimension within the area related to media is the professionalism of media. This dimension was measured through six indicators, and hierarchical distribution of our findings is presented in the Graph 70. The results indicate that, when it comes to the professionalism of media, most highly ranked are **timely information of the public and professionalism of radio stations**. Somewhat worse result is recorded by objective information of the public, professionalism of printed media and professional information of the public. **The lowest measured value within this dimension is identified when it comes to the professionalism of TV stations.**

When talking about the trend within this dimension, for every single indicator the results indicate that the measured values are lower than it was the case four years ago (Graph 71). In other words, **in every individual aspect related to the professionalism of media, situation nowadays is worse than it was the case four years ago**. This is supported by the measurement of the overall score for this dimension (Graph 72), which clearly indicates that **the level of professionalism of media in 2020 is lower than it was the case in 2016**.

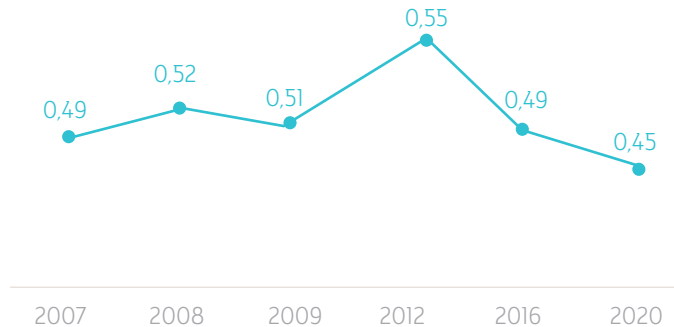
Graph 70. Professionalism of media by all indicators



Graph 71. Professionalism of media by all indicators – trend



Graph 72. Professionalism of media: SCORE – trend

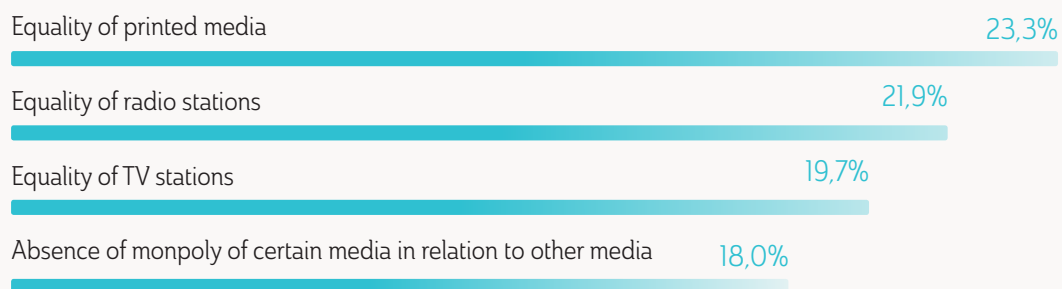


### 5.3. Non-existence of monopoly and media equality

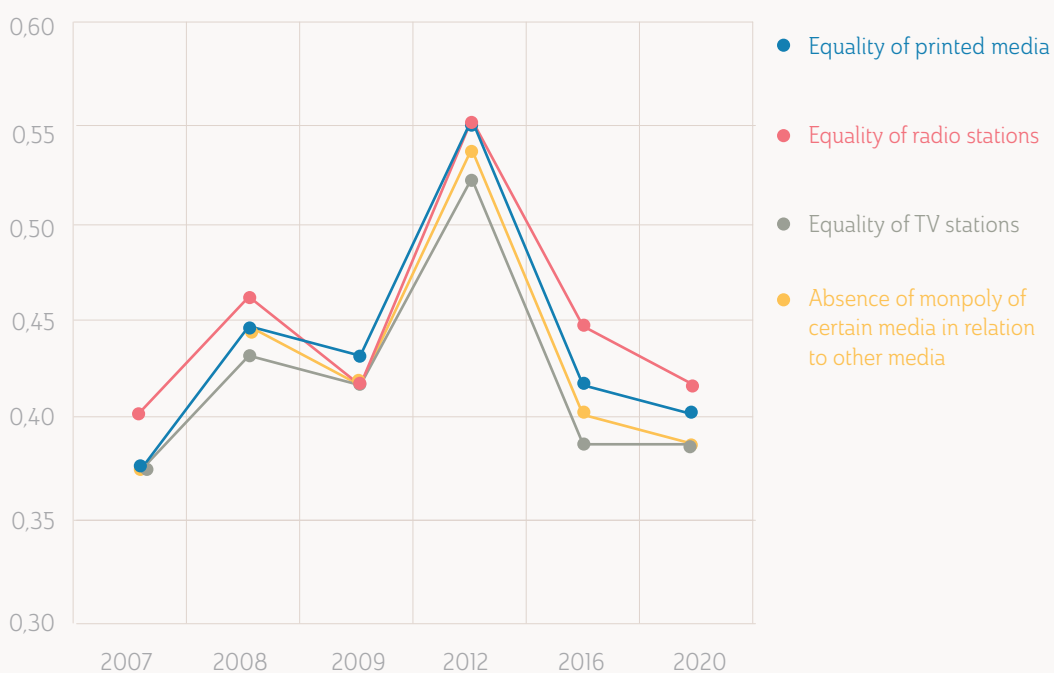
The existence of monopoly in any segment of a democratic society constitutes a serious obstacle from the viewpoint of the achievement of democratic principles. When it comes to media, this problem is particularly prominent, simply because in such situation, in the overall political communication only one political discourse can be dominant and it is the one which is responsible for the monopoly in media. The measuring of this dimension was exercised through four indicators, and hierarchical results of the same are presented in the Graph 73. The results indicate that the highest measured value is related to the equality of printed media, followed by the equality of radio stations, and the equality of TV stations. The lowest value is measured when it comes to the absence of monopoly of certain media in relation to other media. Therefore, we can conclude **that the biggest problem within this dimension is the existence of monopoly of certain media in relation to other media.**

In the Graph 74, we are presenting the trends by all indicators that this dimension is composed of. The results point out to very stable and slightly negative trends by all indicators. In the Graph 75, we are presenting the trend of the overall score for this dimension, and the data point out to insignificantly small negative trends, or, **the existence of monopoly and inequality among media which is nowadays on the same level as it was four years ago.**

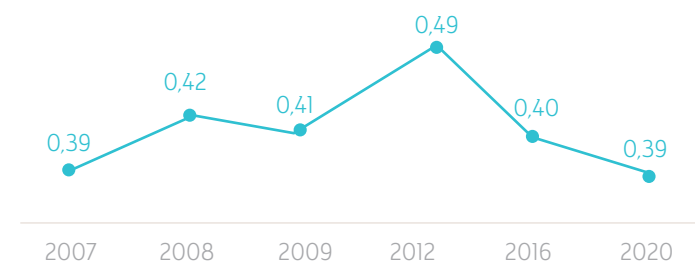
Graph 73. Non-existence of monopoly and media equality by all indicators



Graph 74. Non-existence of monopoly and media equality by all indicators – trend



Graph 75. Non-existence of monopoly and media equality: SCORE - trend





## 5.4. Media openness

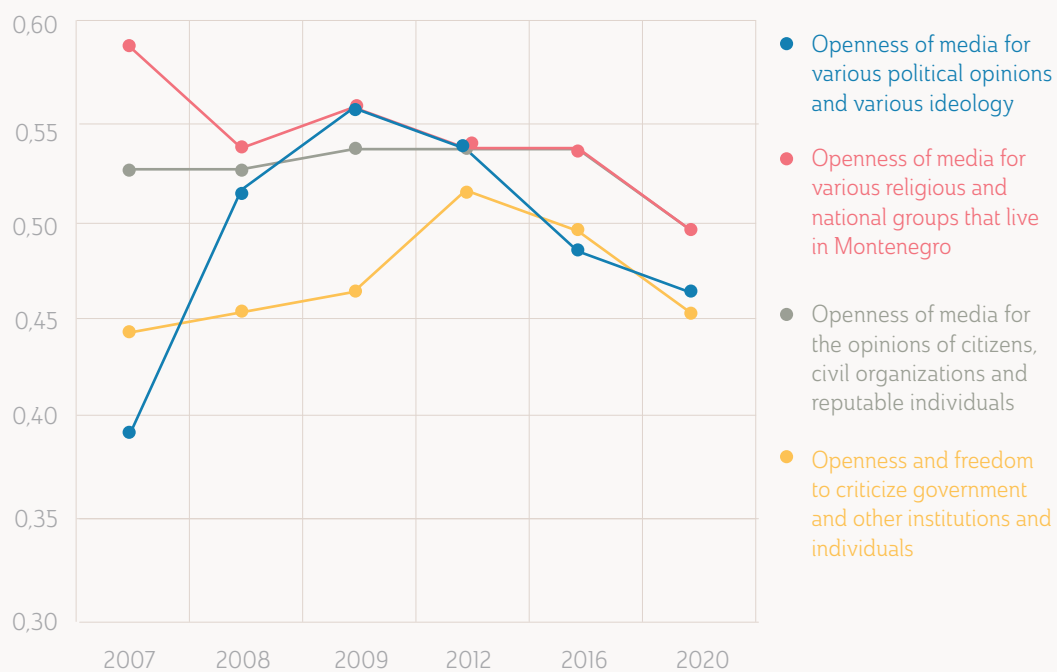
In a politically plural and nationally heterogeneous society, media have to be able, in accordance with democratic principles, to reflect different opinions and views and to integrate inherently all the differences into a uniform political and social space. Therefore, our Index covers a very important dimension we qualified as “media openness”. Within this dimension, we defined four indicators, and the distribution of main frequency findings by indicators is presented in the Graph 76. On the basis of the research findings, it is the assessment that media are the most open for citizens’ opinions, opinions of civic organizations and reputable individuals. Then follows the openness of media for various religious and national groups. Media are open to a smaller degree when it comes to criticizing government and other institutions and individuals, and least open towards different political opinions and ideologies.

In the Graph 77, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. The data indicate **that the values for every single indicator are lower nowadays than it was the case four years ago**. This kind of finding confirms convincingly the trend of the cumulative score we are presenting in the Graph 79. Therefore, **media openness nowadays is on a lower level than it was four years ago and it has been steadily decreasing since 2012**. More precisely, **it is the assessment that media openness nowadays is on a lower level that it was the case in the original research implemented in 2007**.

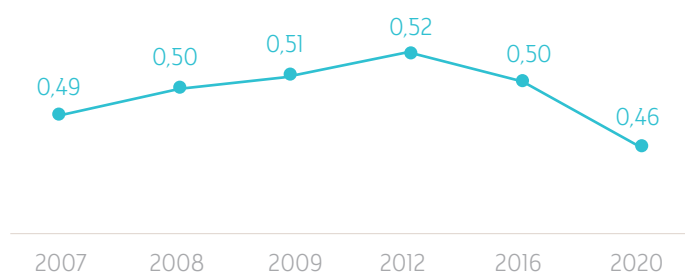
Graph 76. Media openness by all indicators



Graph 77. Media openness by all indicators – trend



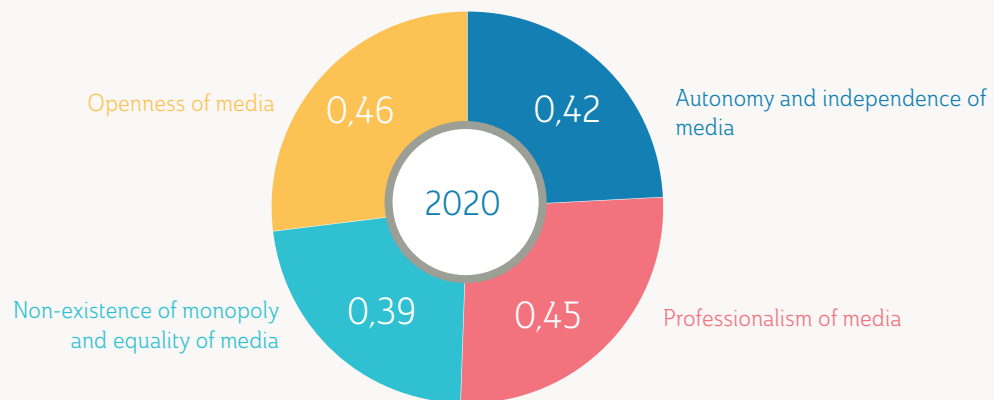
Graph 78. Openness: Score – trend



## 5.5 Summary indicators for the area of media

On the basis of indexing all dimensions measuring the degree of democracy in the area of media, we are presenting the overview of findings, first of all when it comes to all dimensions (Graph 79). The data indicate that the highest degree of media democracy is measured when it comes to media openness, followed by media professionalism. The lowest degree of democracy is measured when it comes to media autonomy and media independence, while the lowest degree of democracy is measured with regards to the existence of monopoly and equality of media.

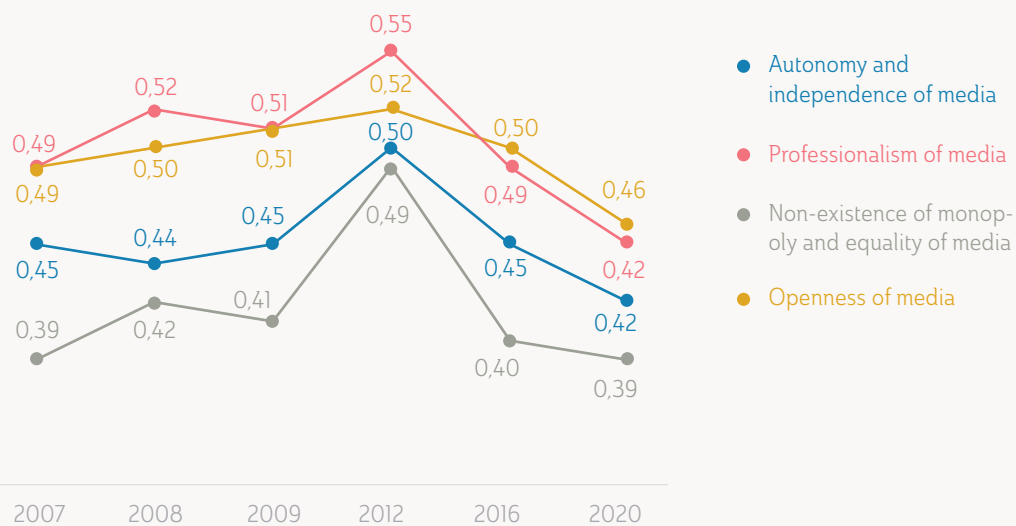
Graph 79. Media democracy: Index 2020



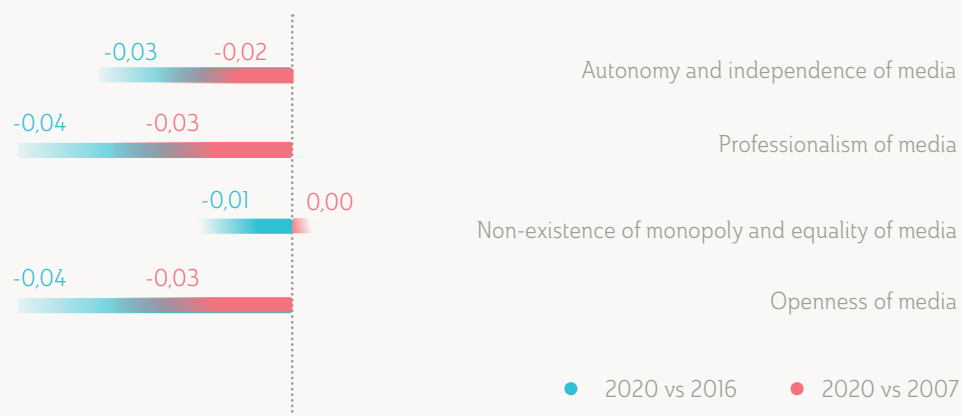
In the Graph 80, we are presenting the trend for every measured dimension. The results indicate that **for every measured dimension the degree of democracy is lower than it was the case four years ago, or more precisely, that the degree of democracy in media has been constantly decreasing since 2012.**

In the Graph 81, we are presenting the comparison between the most recent research and the one conducted four years ago, but also between the first research conducted in 2007. When we compare the indexed values by dimension between 2020 and 2016, we conclude that **there are no differences in the Index when it comes to the non-existence of monopoly and media equality, and that for all three remaining dimensions the measured values nowadays are significantly lower than it was the case four years ago.** The greatest difference, or, most regressive trend is when it comes to media openness ( $t(1425)=2.747$ ,  $p<0.01$ ), while there are somewhat smaller differences when it comes to media professionalism ( $t(1469)=2.520$ ,  $p=0.012$ ), media autonomy and independence ( $t(1450)=2.295$ ,  $p=0.022$ ).

Graph 80. Media democracy – trend by dimension



Graph 81. Media democracy 2020 vs 2016 and 2020 vs 2007



# NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

16

The issue of the status of national minorities and the degree of their involvement in political processes is quite certainly the issue of the overall democracy of a society. The following measurement is going to show us what the condition of Montenegrin society is in relation to that issue. In measuring the degree of democracy which was achieved in this area, we have defined the following dimensions:

- Formal-legal protection of minorities
- Discrimination of minorities
- Existence of mechanisms for the protection of minorities
- Attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information.

Measurement by dimension was performed according to a standardized methodological procedure and in the same way as with all other areas, which enabled comparison of data of any kind. The choice of dimensions is founded both theoretically and practically, where by summarizing them we can obtain a uniform and synthetic indicator.

## 6.1. Formal-legal protection of minorities

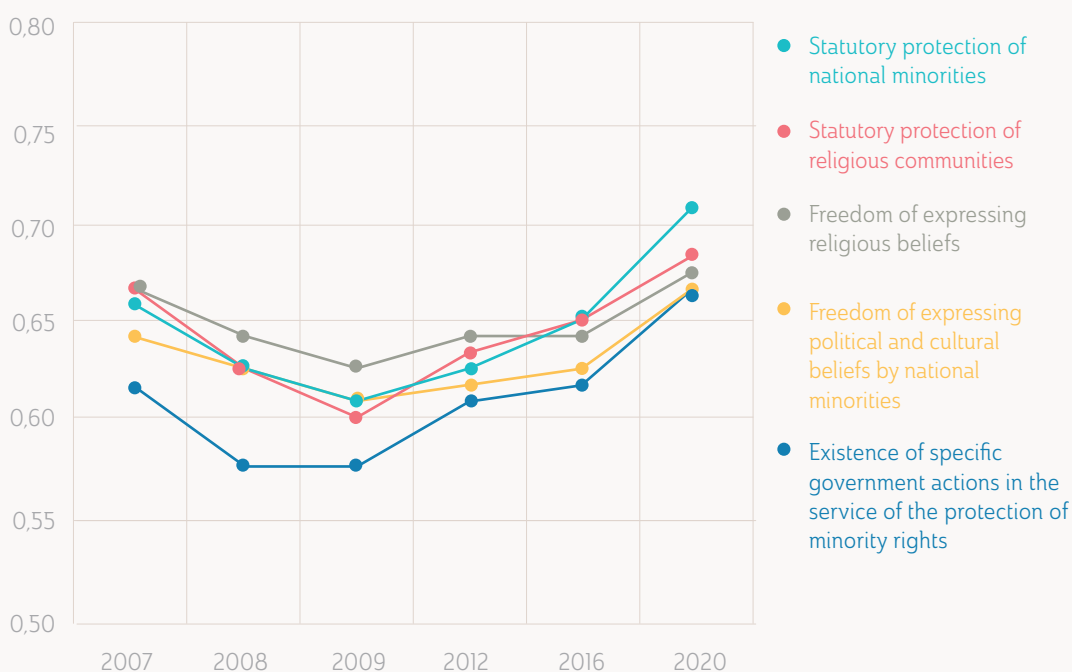
The first dimension of our measurement is formal-legal protection of minorities. The goal of this dimension is to examine to what extent does legislation itself protect the rights of national minorities. This is a significant question, simply because of the fact that this aspect of the protection of minority rights is a fundamental prerequisite for all other aspects and forms of equalising and integrating minorities into the democratic system and functioning of the entire society. In the Graph 82, we are going to present measurement results by all indicators. Overall data indicate that the measured values are on a very high level, provided they are compared to other areas we have measured thus far. In comparative sense, **the greatest progress was achieved when it comes to legal protection of national minorities, followed by legal protection of religious minorities.** Then comes the freedom of expressing religious beliefs, while freedom of expressing political and cultural beliefs of national minorities were assessed as being on almost the same level. **The lowest value within the framework of this dimension is measured when it comes to the existence of specific government actions aimed at protecting minority rights.**

Graph 82. Formal-legal protection of minorities by all items

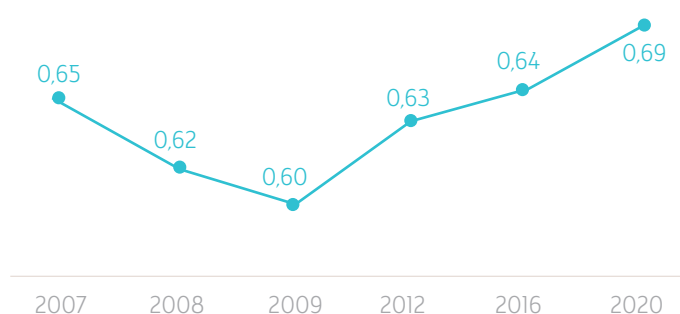


In the Graph 83, we are presenting the measurement of the trend by all indicators. The results indicate **that in the past four years visible progress was made when it comes to every single aspect of formal-legal protection of the minorities**. In comparative sense, the greatest progress was achieved on the issue of legal protection of national minorities. This finding is clearly confirmed by the trend analysis of the score of the entire dimension which is presented in the Graph 84. The information tells us that **formal-legal protection of national minorities has been continuously improved since 2009**.

Graph 83. Formal-legal protection of minorities by all items – trend



Graph 84. Formal-legal protection of minorities: SCORE – trend



## 6.2. Discrimination of minorities

The next dimension that was the subject matter of the measurement is discrimination of minorities, the aspect which undoubtedly has exceptional value when it comes to democracy in the entire area. This dimension was measured through six indicators, and the account of the most recent research findings is presented in the Graph 85 by way of item hierarchy. The measurement results indicate that **the greatest degree of democracy in this dimension was achieved when it comes to equality in the area of employment and promotion of the members of national minorities in relation to the members of majority, as well as when it comes to representation and promotion of the members of national minorities in civil service. What follows is the assessment of impartiality of judiciary in the proceedings in which national and religious minorities take part.** Finally, the assessment of state's care of economic and social development of the regions where minorities live, absence of discrimination of national and religious minorities by the state apparatus and trust of the members of minorities that there will be no discrimination in judicial proceedings, follows with very close numeric values.

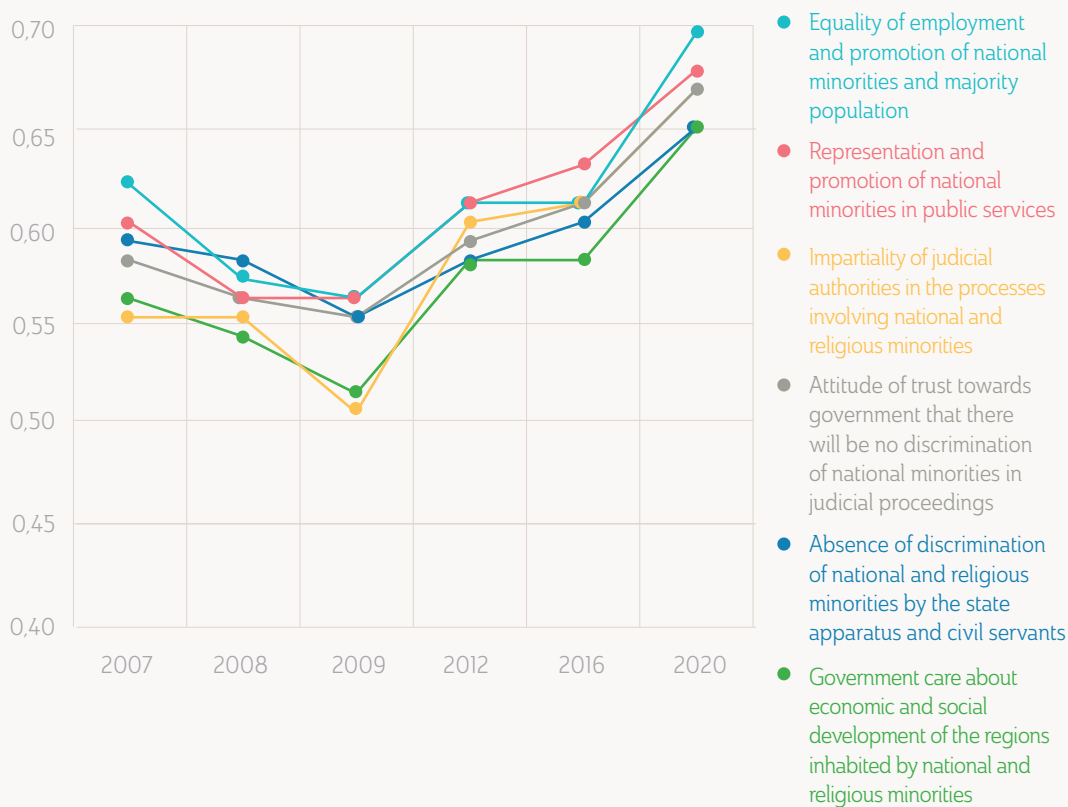
Graph 85. Discrimination of minorities by all indicators



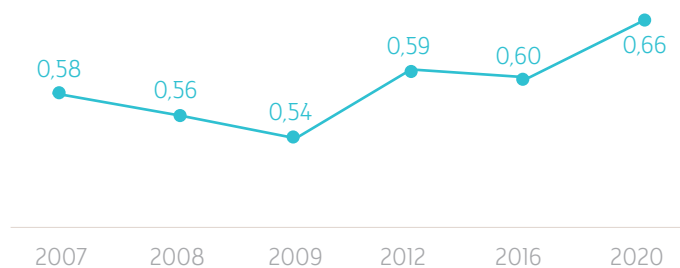


In the Graph 86, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. Key finding is that **the degree of discrimination of national minorities by all indicators nowadays is on a lower level than it was four years ago**. In comparative sense, **the greatest progress was achieved with regards to equalizing the chances for employment and promotion for both national minority members and majority group members**. This progressive trend, when it comes to the entire dimension, is clearly seen in the analysis of the overall score, which tells us, in fact, that **the degree of discrimination of national minorities has been continuously since 2009**.

Graph 86. Discrimination of minorities by all indicators – trend



Graph 87. Discrimination of minorities: SCORE – trend

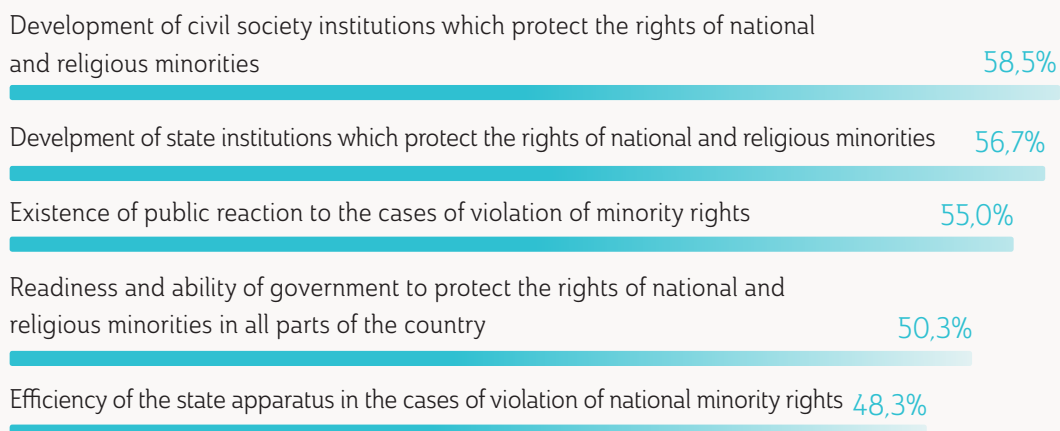


## 6.3. Mechanisms for the protection of minorities

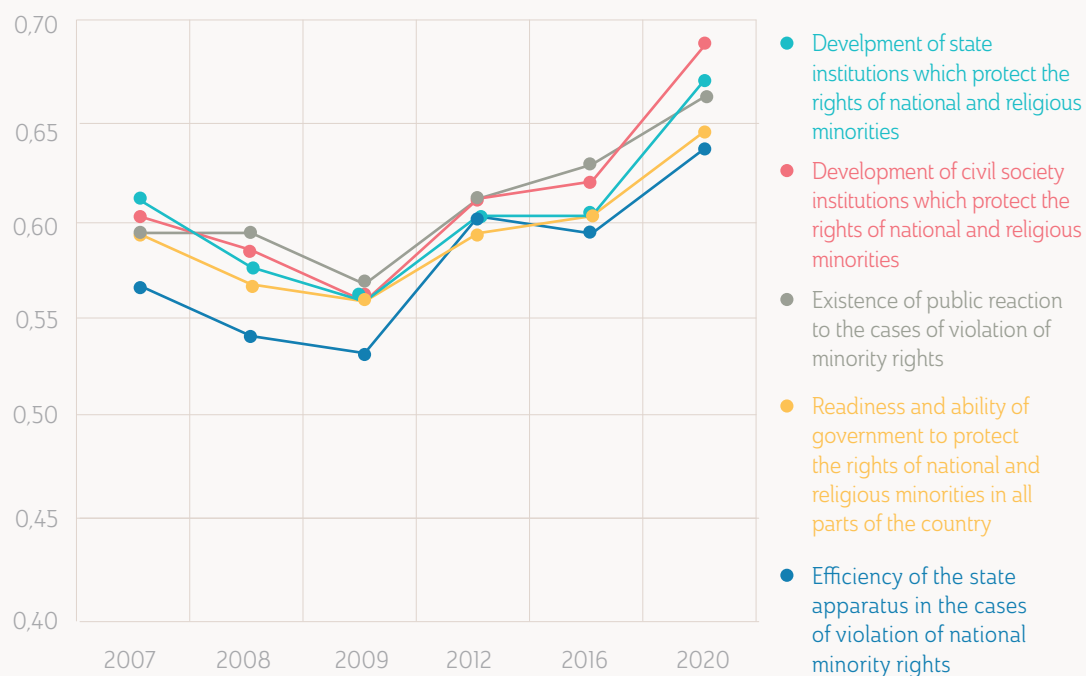
Particularly important issue, from the point of view of the overall condition of democracy in a society, is the existence of mechanisms which are in the service of the protection of minorities. In international documents dealing with minority rights, as well as in the practice of developed democracies, there is a whole series of developed mechanisms which are exactly aimed at protecting minority rights. This dimension was measured through 5 items and their hierarchical distribution are presented in the Graph 88. The measurement results indicate that **the best results were achieved in relation to civil society capacity when it comes to the protection of national minorities**. This is followed by the assessment of the degree of development of the state institutions that protect minority rights, and then the existence of public reaction in the cases of the violations of minority rights. Then, hierarchically comes the readiness and the ability of the authorities to protect minority rights in all parts of the country. Based on the measurement results it has been found that **the biggest problem in this dimension is the efficiency of the state apparatus in the cases of violations of national minority rights**.

In the Graph 89, we are presenting the findings of the trend by all indicators. The data indicate **that in all aspects of the measurement (indicators) the degree of minority protection mechanisms is on a higher level nowadays than it was the case in 2016**. The greatest progress, when all indicators are compared, has been achieved in relation to the development of the state institutions and civil society institutions focusing their activities on the protection of national and religious minorities. In the Graph 90, we are also presenting the trend of the overall score and we can, thus, conclude that in the last four years there has been a significant progress when it comes to the mechanisms of the protection of national and religious minorities. The trend also tells us that the progress has been particularly pronounced since 2009.

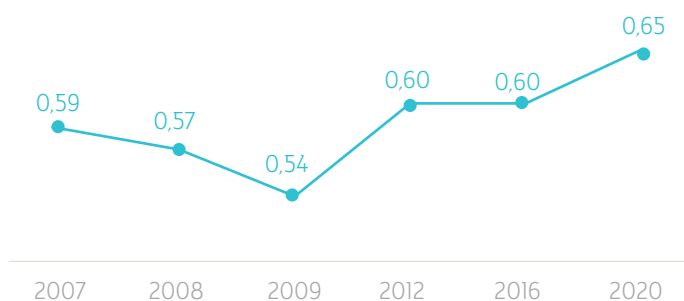
*Graph 88. Mechanisms for the protection of minorities by all indicators*



Graph 89. Mechanisms for the protection of minorities by all indicators – trend



Graph 90. Mechanisms for the protection of minorities: SCORE – trend

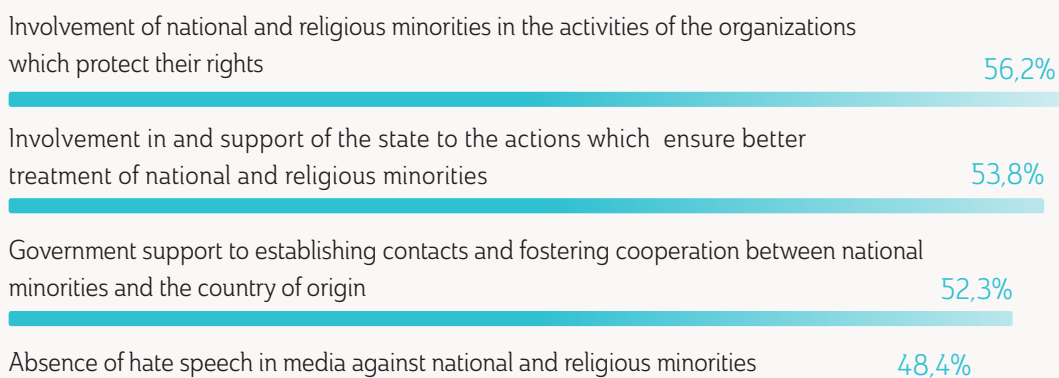


## 6.4. Attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information

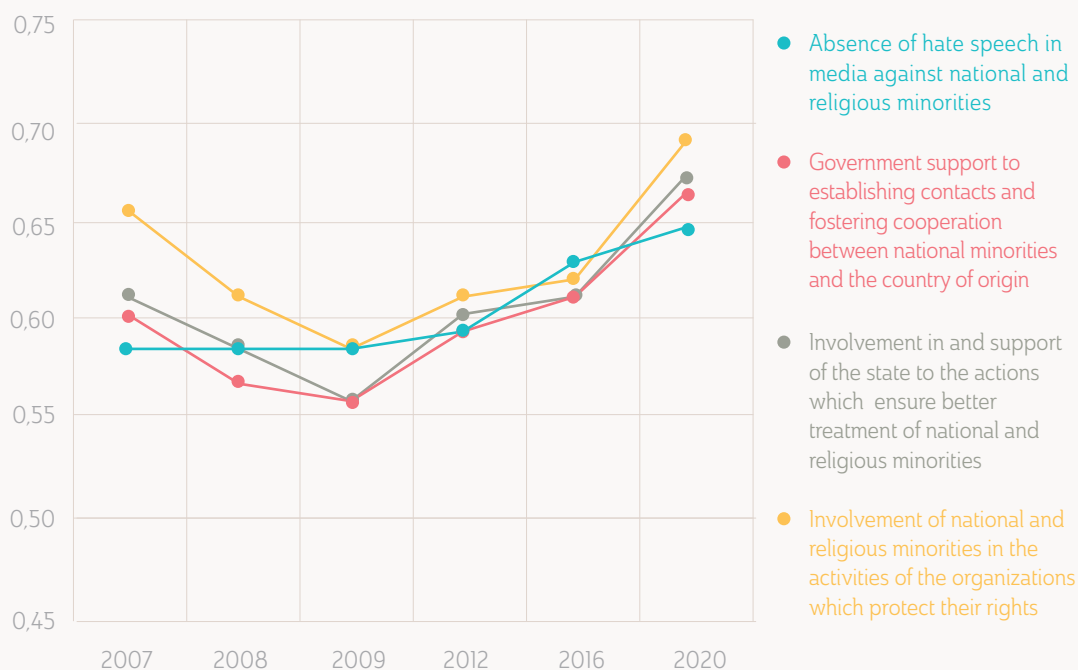
The last dimension covered by the area of national and religious minorities concerns the attitude of the majority towards minority members. This dimension also includes correctness of public information, which also includes national and religious minorities. For measuring this dimension we used four indicators, and the main finding is presenting in the Graph 91. The results indicate that the greatest degree of democracy in this dimension has been achieved with regards to inclusion of national and religious minorities in the activities of the organizations which protect their rights. Then follows the involvement and support of the state to the actions directed towards the improvement of the position of minorities. Somewhat lower assessed is the assistance of the authorities in relation to the strengthening of cooperation between national minorities and their home countries, while comparatively, **the absence of hate speech towards the members of national and religious minorities has been achieved least within this dimension.**

In the Graph 92, there is the measurement trend by all indicators. And in this respect, just like in all dimensions which comprise the area of democracy in relation to minorities, **progress has been achieved by all indicators when the results of this research is compared to the one conducted four years ago. The most positive trend is measured with regards to the involvement of minorities in the activities of the organizations which protect their rights**, with the smallest progress achieved when it comes to the absence of hate speech towards minority members. The trend analysis on the level of the entire dimension measured through the overall score which was formed on the basis of all indicators is presented in the Graph 93, which data corroborate the key finding. Therefore, **nowadays, the attitude of the majority towards minorities and correctness of public information are on a significantly higher level that it was the case four years ago**, this positive trend has been being recorded continuously since 2009.

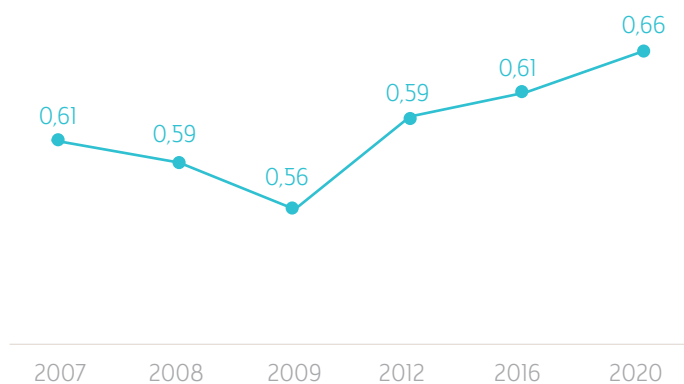
*Graph 91. Attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information by all indicators*



Graph 92. Attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information by all indicators – trend



Graph 93. Attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information: SCORE – trend

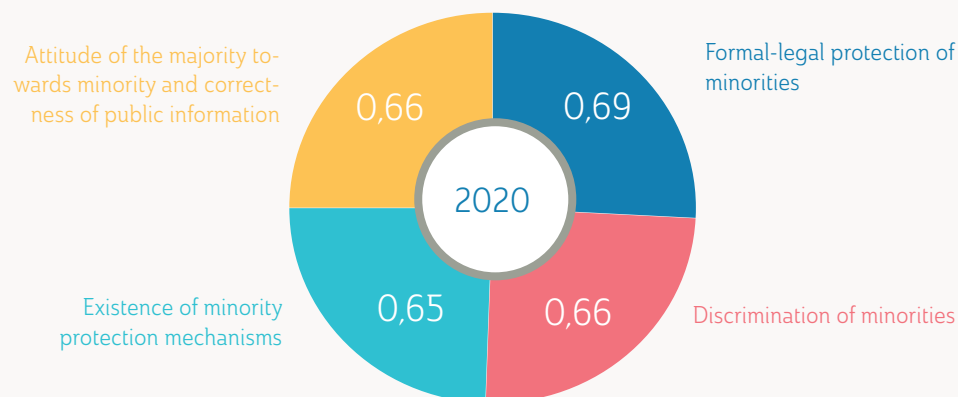


## 6.5. Summary indicators for the situation of national and religious minorities

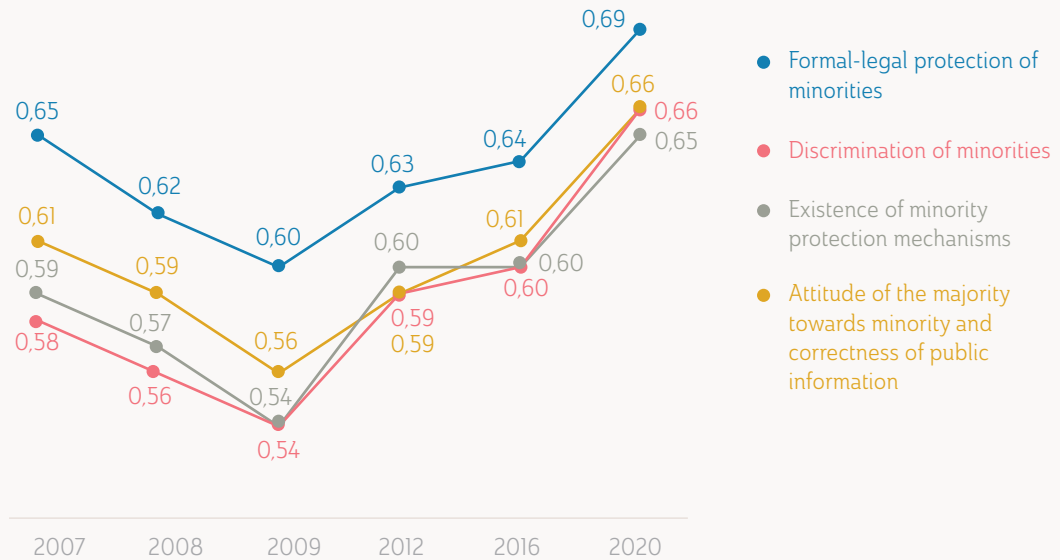
On the basis of the measurement of all indicators, we formed indices for every dimension, and 2020 measurement results are presented in the Graph 94. First of all, we can conclude **that all values are relatively high, more precisely, overall degree of democracy which is reflected in the protection of national and religious minorities is on a high level**. In comparative sense, the best results were achieved when it comes to formal-legal protection of minorities, while the remaining three dimensions, which belong to this area, scored somewhat lower grades, with insignificant mutual differences.

In the Graph 95, we are presenting the trend for all dimensions. The data indicate what we have already concluded, having analysed every individual dimension. Therefore, **in every segment of the protection of national and religious minorities, the degree of democracy has nowadays been achieved to a higher degree than it was the case four years ago**. The second conclusion which is, also, significant, is **that positive trend in all dimensions has been present since 2009**.

Graph 94. Situation of national and religious minorities: Index 2020

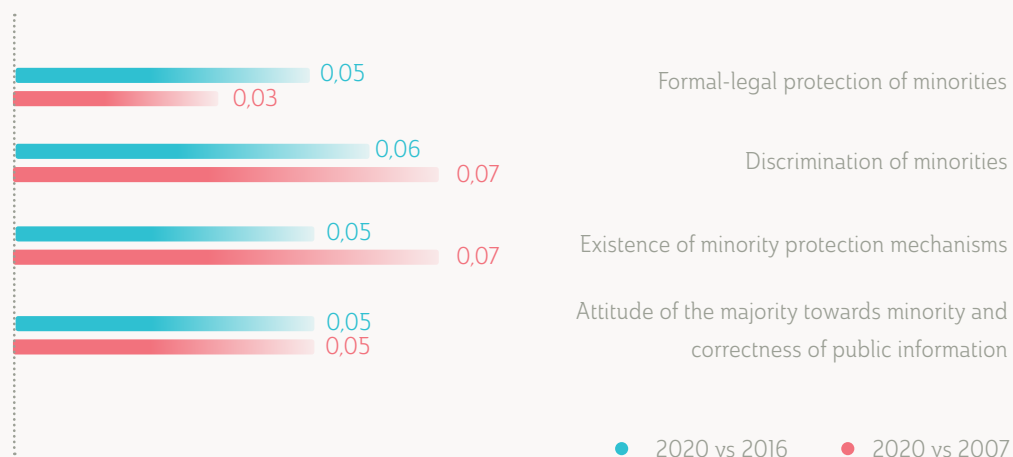


Graph 95. Situation of national and religious minorities – trend



When it comes to the assessment of the improvement of the situation of minorities by all dimensions, particularly important is the assessment of progress when measurement results are compared, i.e. the most recent one with the previous reference one, as well as with the original measurement (Graph 96). First of all, when we compare 2020 with 2016, we can conclude **that progressive trends are significant when it comes to all four dimensions**. In comparative sense, the greatest progress has been achieved when it comes to reducing discrimination of minorities ( $t(1479)=4.312$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and when it comes to improving the mechanism of the protection of minorities ( $t(1471)=4.255$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Then follows significant progress achieved with regards to the formal-legal protection of minorities ( $t(1491)=3.602$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and, finally, evident progress in relation to the attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information ( $t(1440)=3.383$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). When overall trend is perceived, it is important to say that from **2007 to 2009 we had negative trends by all dimensions, followed by continuous positive trends as of 2009. Therefore, which is crucial, policies, actions and overall activities of all the actors since 2009 deserve every praise when it comes to national minorities.**

Graph 96. Situation of national and religious minorities – 2020 vs 2016 and 2020 vs 2007



Finally, when comparing the year 2020 with the initial research conducted in 2007, **our findings also indicate that we record significant progress by all dimensions which are related to the degree of democracy in the treatment of national and religious minorities.** The biggest progress was achieved in relation to the reduction of the degree of discrimination of minorities ( $t(1719)=6.236$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), as well as when it comes the improvement of minority protection mechanisms ( $t(1705)=5.738$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Then comes a very important progress achieved in respect of the attitude of the majority towards the minority and correctness of public information ( $t(1667)=4.162$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), as well as in respect of the formal-legal protection of minorities ( $t(1730)=2.780$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).



# POSITION OF WOMEN

07

The issue of gender equality and the position of women in a democratic society is one of the fundamental ones. It is unlikely that there can be successful building of democratic society unless the issue of the position of women has been properly resolved, in accordance with the principles of the modern world and contextual cultural, social and economic specificities. The quality of democracy in one country is determined by a degree of gender equality achieved. The process of building a society of gender equality is a complex long-lasting process and we were, of course, dealing with this issue with due attention while compiling the Democracy Index.

The measuring of this area, however, is specific for the reason that there are not many dimensions, as it has been the case with other areas. Instead, there are only seven indicators that cover the entire area. The reason is of statistical nature, in fact, the degree of correlation among the initial dimensions (and all items) in the pilot research, which was conducted in 2007, was so high that there was no point to create special dimension. Instead, we identified seven indicators which cover properly the entire area. The results of the measurement for all indicators are presented in the Graph 97. **The greatest achievement in the area of gender equality is measured when it comes to the activities of the organizations and institutions which protect women's rights.** Somewhat lower, and very close values are measured when it comes to discrimination of women in institutions and organizations, equal participation of women in social life, discrimination of women in the field of employment, non-existence of hate speech and equal participation of women in government. The data indicate, and this is a significant finding, **that the greatest problem when it comes to gender equality, is discrimination of women in their families.**

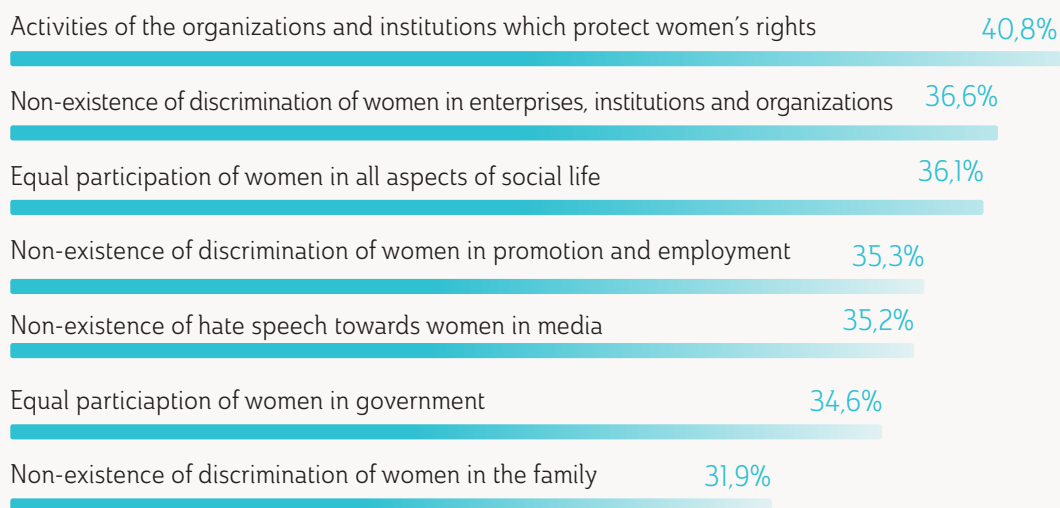
In the Graph 98, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. The data indicate **that the trends are negative in all segments of gender equality when we compare the measurement from the last research with the reference research conducted four years ago.** The problem is that much more pronounced when the continuity of the negative trend is taken into consideration, more precisely, **since 2012 we have measured negative tendencies in all aspects of gender equality.**

In the Graph 99, we are presenting the comparison between the most recent research and the one conducted in 2012, as well as with the one implemented for the first time in 2007. The data indicate **that there are no significant changes when the measurements are compared with 2016 in relation to discrimination in the family, discrimination in enterprises and institutions, then discrimination in the area of employment. On the other hand, in all other aspects we have recorded significant negative trends in the last four years. The most prominent negative trend is present in the hate speech against women** ( $t(1388)=6.567, p<0.001$ ). Then follows the negative trend in relation to the activities of the organizations and institutions for the protection of women's rights ( $t(1379)=4.203, p<0.001$ ), as well as equal participation of women in all aspects of social life ( $t(1416)=3.465, p<0.01$ ). Negative trends in the four-year period are still pronounced even when it comes to equal participation of women in the government ( $t(1435)=2.694, p<0.001$ ).

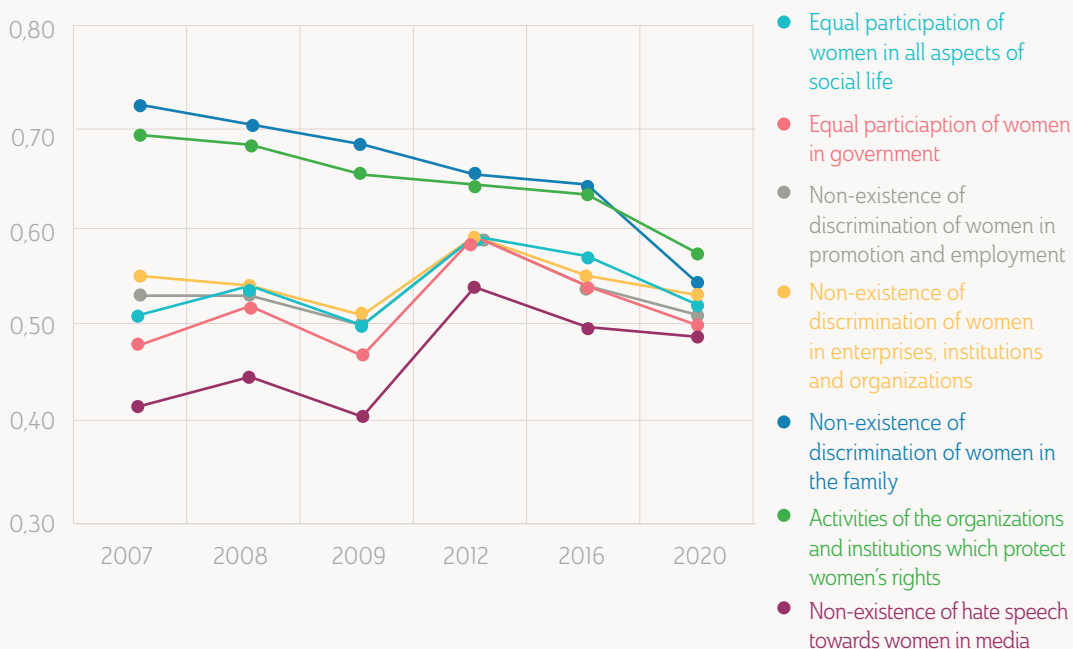
Finally, when we compare the degree of gender equality nowadays with the degree measured in 2007, **we could establish that the level of gender equality was on the same level**

when it comes to equal participation of women in social life, equal participation of women in the government, discrimination in the area of employment and discrimination in enterprises and institutions. The most negative trend is measured when it comes to hate speech in media ( $t(1621)=13.999$ ,  $p<0.001$ ); trend is also emphatically negative with respect to the activities of institutions and organizations which protect women's rights ( $t(1575)=9.358$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The only positive trend, when comparing the condition of gender equality in 2007 and today, is measured in relation to the discrimination of women in the family ( $t(1602)=4.428$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

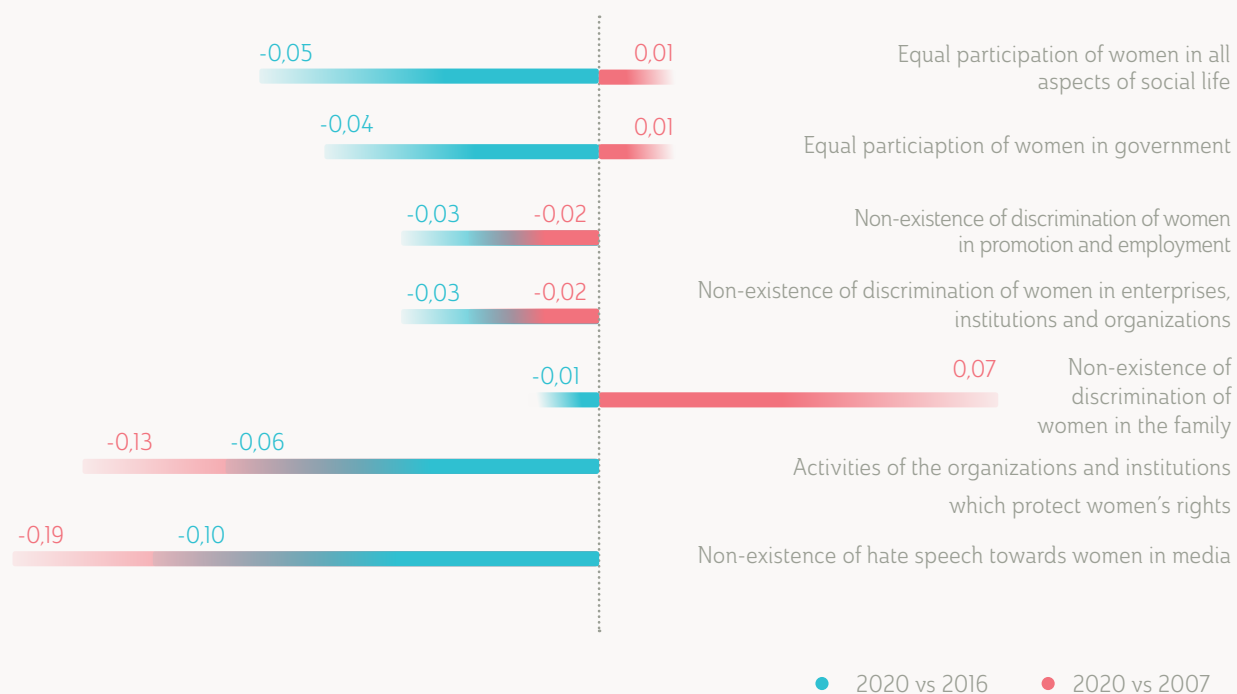
Graph 97. Gender equality by all indicators



Graph 98. Gender equality by all indicators – trend



Graph 99. Gender equality – 2020 vs 2016 and 2020 vs 2007

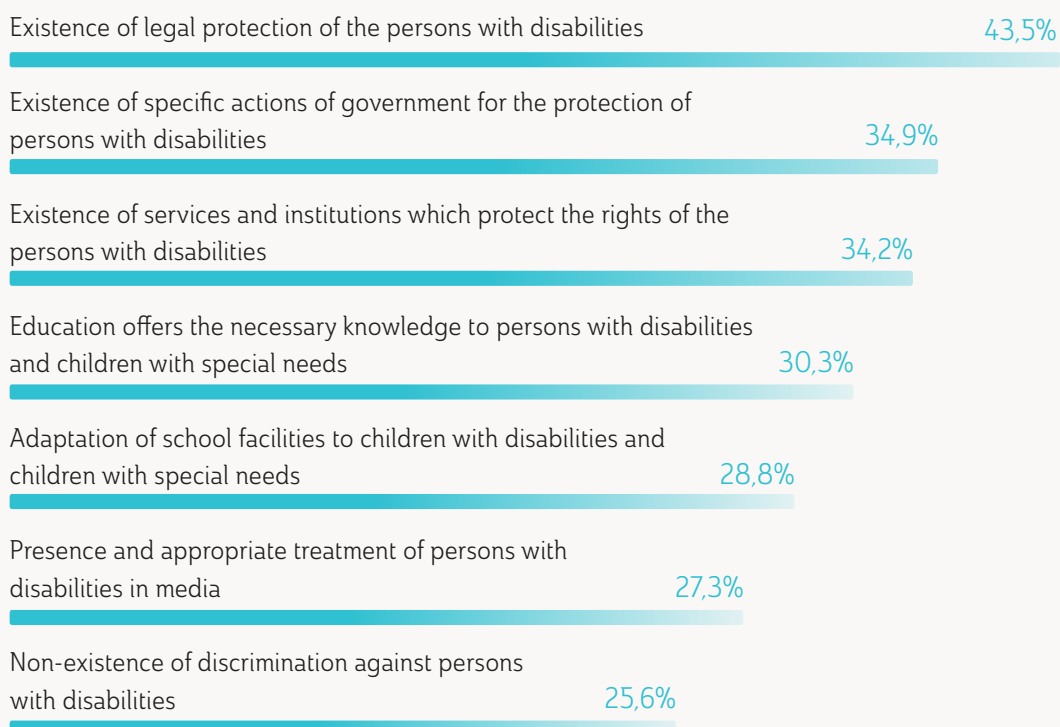


# SITUATION OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES



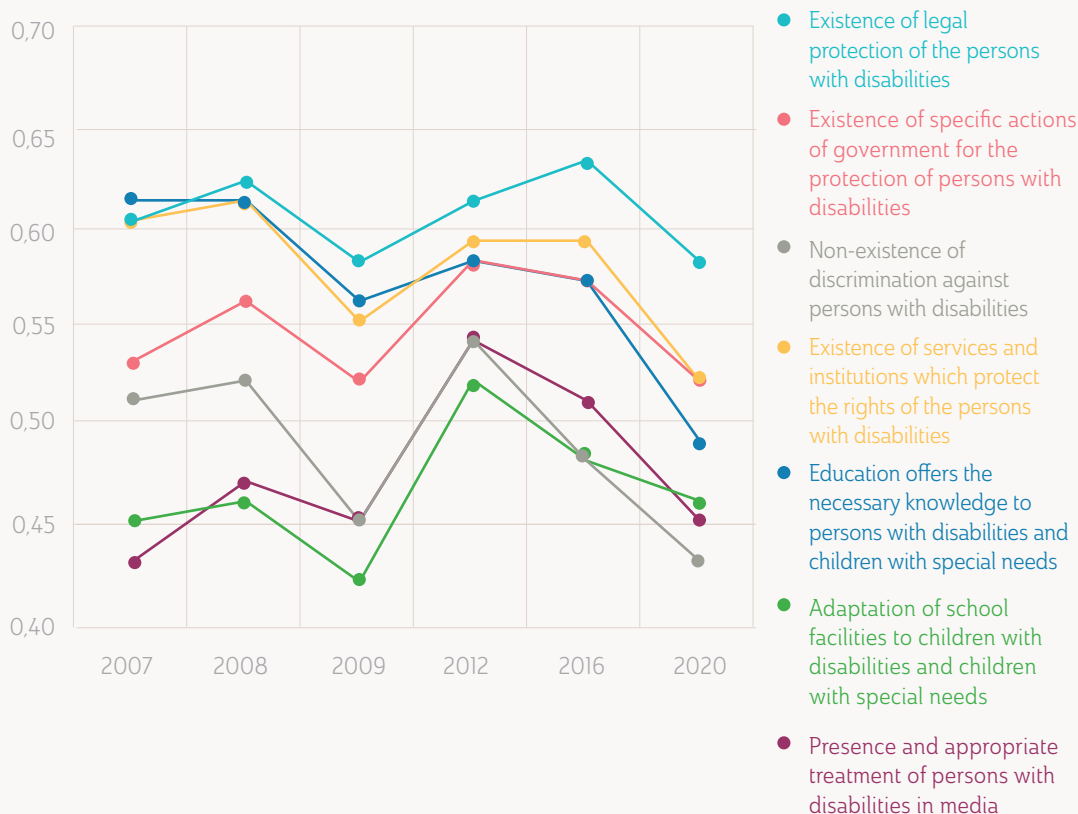
The last area which was the subject matter of the research and development of the Index is the situation of persons with disabilities. Clearly, as a disadvantaged and marginalized social group, the attitude towards the persons with disabilities constitutes a measure of democratic relationship of a society towards all marginalized social groups, just as it is the with gender equality. Even this time, we have no special dimensions, but only seven items covering the entire dimension. The reason being, just as we said regarding gender equality, the fact that in the activities of the pilot research, conducted in the period when the Index had been being created for the first time, it became obvious that all items used, irrespective of dimension, had very high mutual correlation, or in other words – citizens perceive the problems of the persons with disabilities in a non-distinctive way in relation to different social areas and issues. In the Graph 100, we are presenting, hierarchically, all the items used for measuring the attitude towards the persons with disabilities. The results indicate that out of all aspects dealing with this dimension, **legal protection of the persons with disabilities has been achieved**. Furthermore, very highly were assessed specific actions on the side of the authorities directed towards the protection of the persons with disabilities, as well as the existence of services and institutions dealing with this disadvantaged group. Somewhat lower was assessed the role of education in relation to the needs of the persons with disabilities, as well as the level of adaptation of educational facilities to this disadvantaged group. **Comparatively speaking, the presence and treatment of the persons with disabilities were assessed worst, as well as the degree of discrimination expressed in relation to them.**

*Graph 100. Situation of the persons with disabilities by all indicators*

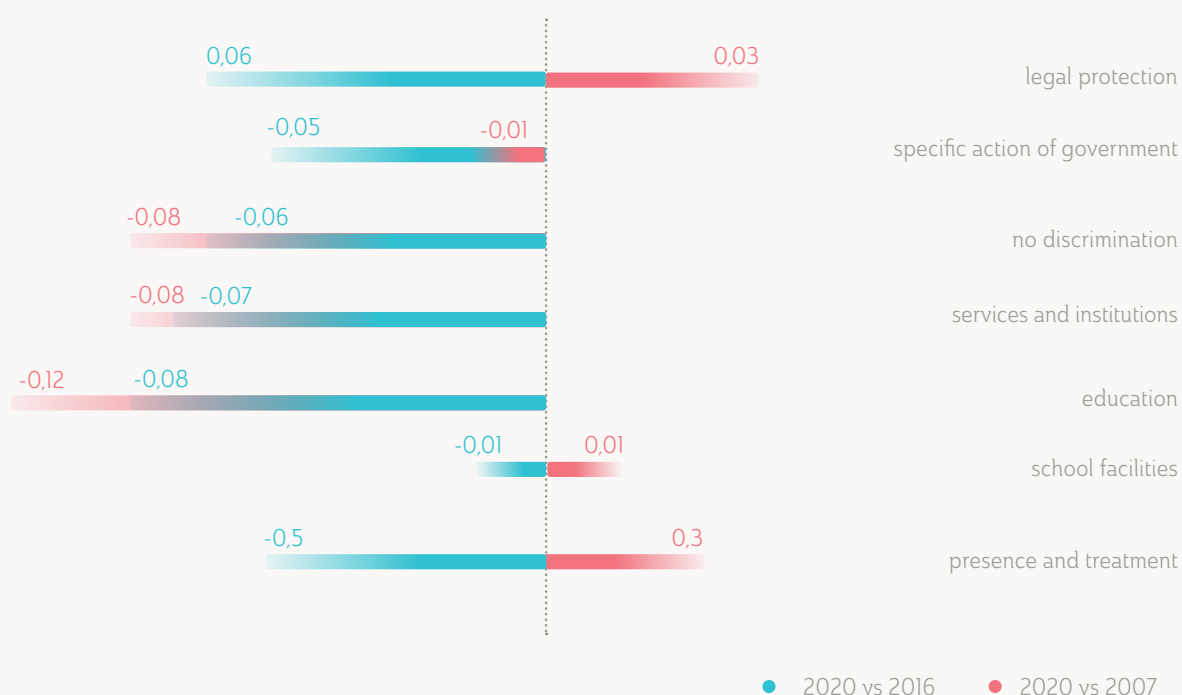


In the Graph 101, we are presenting the trend by all indicators. This information simply indicates **that the situation of the persons with disabilities is worse than four years ago, in every single measured aspect**. In the Graph 102, we measure precise differences by all aspects when comparing 2020 to 2012, and then 2020 to 2007. In relation to 2012, the only aspect which is on the same level nowadays as it was then is the level of adaptation of educational facilities to the persons with disabilities. On the other hand, **the most regressive trend in the last four years is measured when it comes to the way in which education treats persons with disabilities** ( $t(1358)=5.268$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The next item by expressed negative trends is the existence of services and institutions which protect the rights of the persons with disabilities ( $t(1341)=4.678$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). This is followed by the assessment of legislation ( $t(1378)=4.100$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and the remaining ones which are also highly regressive in relation to the research conducted four years ago.

Graph 101. Situation of the persons with disabilities by all indicators – trend



Graph 102. Situation of the persons with disabilities: 2020 vs 2016 and 2020 vs 2007



Finally, when we compare the measurement by indicators in the most recent research to the one conducted in 2007, generally speaking all trends are negative. More precisely, when it comes to the actions of the authorities, the level of adaptation of educational facilities and the presence and treatment of the persons with disabilities, the measured values nowadays are on the same level as they were in 2007. On the other hand, **in relation to 2007, worst assessed is the role and effect of education on the functioning of the persons with disabilities** ( $t(1540)=8.584$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), then follows the work of the services and institutions with a view to improving the needs of the persons with disabilities ( $t(1486)=5.385$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), then in relation to discrimination against the persons with disabilities ( $t(1539)=5.220$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). The least pronounced, but quite certainly significantly negative is measured when it comes to legislation in this area ( $t(1552)=1.963$ ,  $p<0.05$ ).

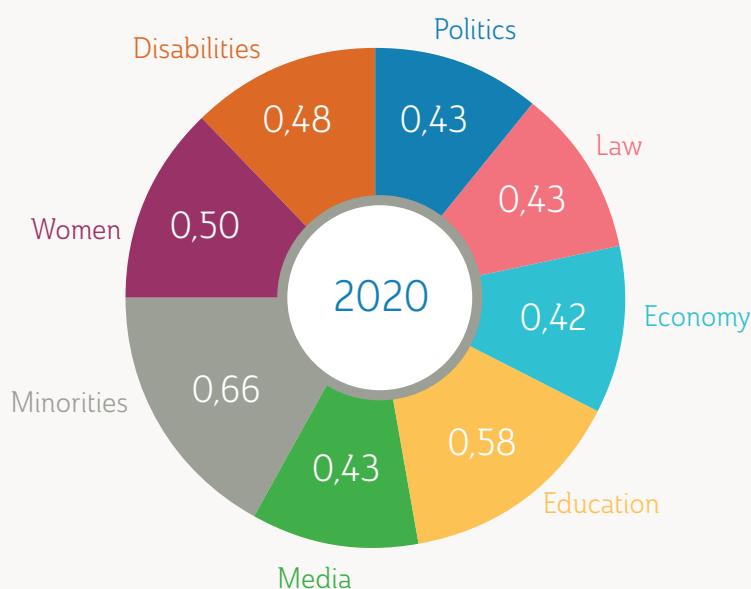


# DEMOCRACY INDEX – SUMMARY

09

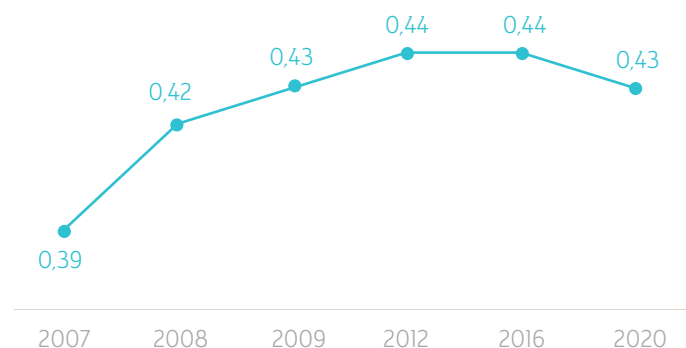
On the basis of the measurement of all indicators, dimensions and areas, we were able to compile a summary Democracy Index for 2020. The results of measuring cumulative scores for all areas are presented cumulatively in the Graph 103. The data indicate **that the highest degree of democracy is measured in the treatment of national and religious minorities, then in relation to the system of education**. After that, relatively highly assessed is the degree of gender equality, followed by the situation of the persons with disabilities. Finally, very balanced and comparatively **negatively is assessed the degree of democracy in political processes, rule of law, as well as when it comes to economic freedoms and economic participation**.

Graph 103. Democracy Index – 2020



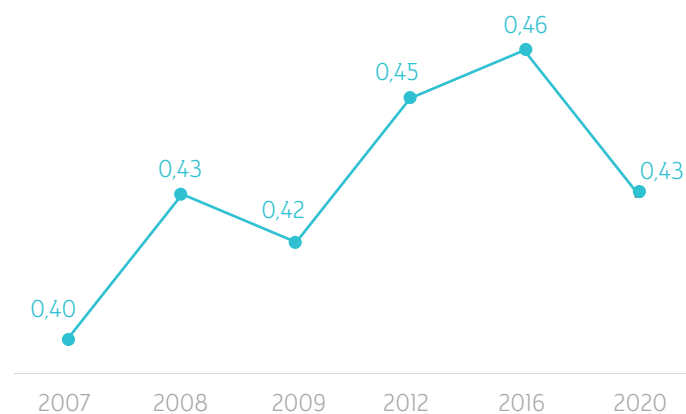
On the pages below, we will consider the findings and trends by areas. First of all, in the Graph 104, we are presenting the results of the trend when it comes to the sphere of politics. The results indicate that the democracy of political processes had been having upward trend by 2012, only to start recording slightly negative trends afterwards. Precise measurement indicates **that in this area more-or-less the same degree of democracy has been achieved today as it was the case in 2016** ( $t(1495)=0.780$ ,  $p=0.436$ ). Comparison with the initial situation, i.e. measurement conducted in 2007, indicates that certain progress has still been achieved ( $t(1746)=3.673$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Therefore, to summarize, **in the past thirteen years we have measured progress in the area of political processes, only one should have in mind that this progress was achieved in the first several years, while in the last several years we have had pronounced stagnation in the sphere of politics**.

Graph 104. Political processes – trend



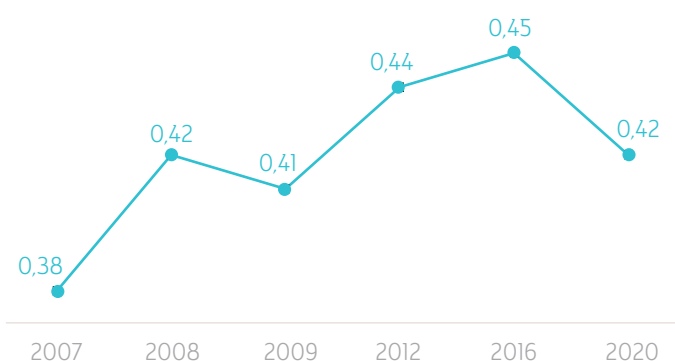
In the Graph 105, we are presenting the trend in the area of the rule of law. In this area, the trend is pronouncedly negative in relation to 2016 ( $t(1498)=2.069$ ,  $p=0.039$ ). Therefore, **the degree of democracy in the area of the rule of law nowadays is on a lower level as compared to the period of four years ago**. The measured values of the trend point out, in fact, to a lower degree of democracy in this area than it was the case in 2012. When comparing the degree of democracy in this area nowadays with the original research conducted in 2007, **it can still be said that the condition of democracy nowadays is on a somewhat higher level in this area than it was the case thirteen years ago** ( $t(1747)=2.485$ ,  $p<0.05$ ).

Graph 105. Rule of law – trend



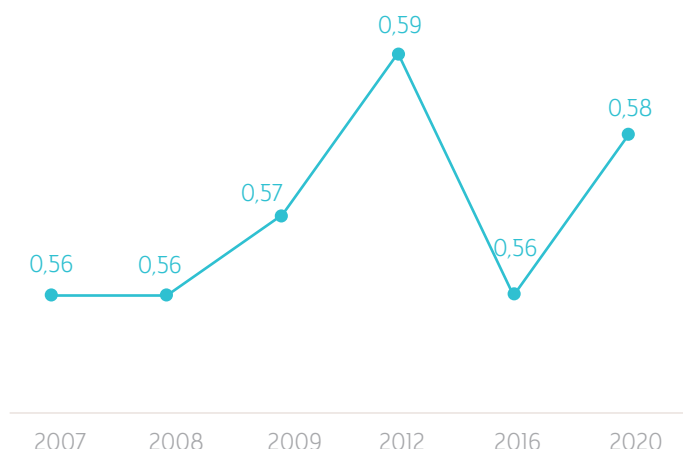
In the Graph 106, there is the trend of the condition of democracy in the area of economic freedoms and economic participation. The data indicate **that the degree of the achieved democracy in economy nowadays is on a lower level than it was the case four years ago** ( $t(1476)=2.196$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). And again, just like a pattern, the measured values of the trend point out to lower degree of democracy in economy as compared to 2012. However, when the measurement for this area is compared to 2007, we can conclude **that the degree of democracy in the area of economy nowadays is on a higher level than it was the case thirteen years ago** ( $t(1724)=3.353$ ,  $p<0.01$ ).

Graph 106. Economic freedoms and economic participation – trend



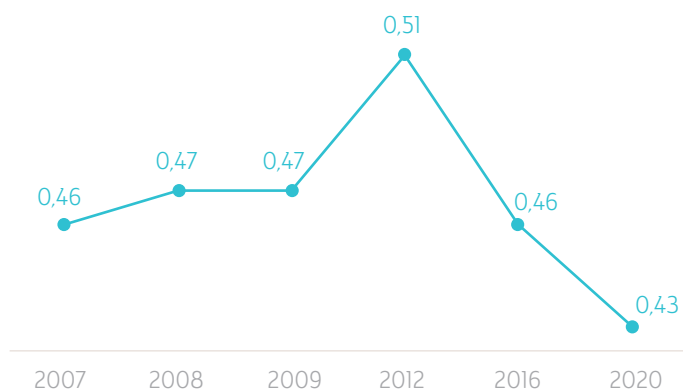
The results of the trend in the area of education are presented in the Graph 107. In this area, we measure traditionally high values, which is clearly indicated by comparative values of the entire Index, more precisely, **in this area we measure hierarchically second highest degree of democracy as compared to all other areas**. To be precise, the trend analyses indicates, however, that there were no significant changes in comparison with the research conducted four years ago ( $t(1504)=0.996$ ,  $p=0.334$ ). In other words, **the situation of democracy in education is on a more-or-less the same level as it was four years ago**. When comparing the situation of democracy in education nowadays with the reference situation in 2007, we can conclude, **that nowadays the level of democracy in the system of education is on the same level as it was thirteen years ago** ( $t(1745)=1.382$ ,  $p=0.167$ ). More precisely, **the situation in education is quite solid in comparative sense as compared to other areas, only we have not had progressive developments in this area**.

Graph 107. Democracy in education - trend



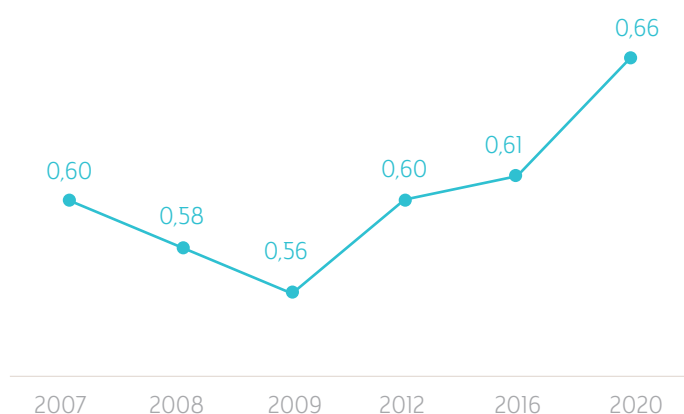
In the Graph 108, we are presenting the trend of measuring the degree of democracy in the area of media. The results indicate **that the situation in media nowadays is on a lower level than it was the case four years ago** ( $t(1486)=2.109$ ,  $p=0.035$ ). In fact, ever since 2012 we have been measuring constant drop of democracy in media sphere. However, the biggest problem, when it comes to media, is in the fact **that the level of democracy in the area of media nowadays is lower as compared to the original measurement which was conducted thirteen years ago** ( $t(1773)=2.213$ ,  $p=0.027$ ). This finding indicates that the media scene in Montenegro is in a critical condition and that from the viewpoint of democracy there is urgent need for certain measures.

Graph 108. Democracy in media - trend



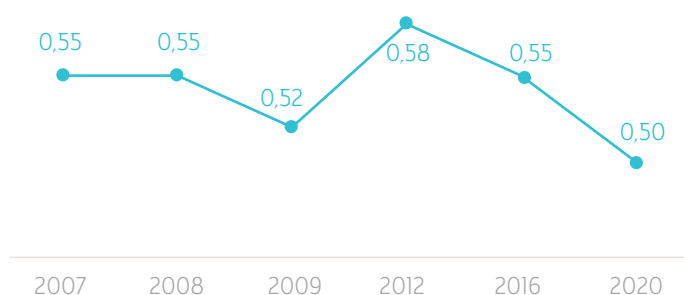
In the Graph 109, we are presenting the trend of the condition of democracy in the area of the treatment of national and religious minorities. The results of the measurement indicate **that the situation of national and religious minorities has been significantly improved in the last four years** ( $t(1502)=4.110$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). In comparative sense, this increase is, actually, the most pronounced one. Therefore, the biggest progress in relation to four years ago is measured exactly in this area. Furthermore, the trend indicates that since 2009 we have been recording progressive trend in this area, and that from 2007 to 2009 the trend had been negative. Finally, when we compare the measurement of this most recent research with the first one conducted in 2007, the data indicate **that democracy in the area of the treatment of national and religious minorities nowadays is on a significantly higher level** ( $t(1743)=5.273$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

Graph 109. Attitude towards national and religious minorities - trend



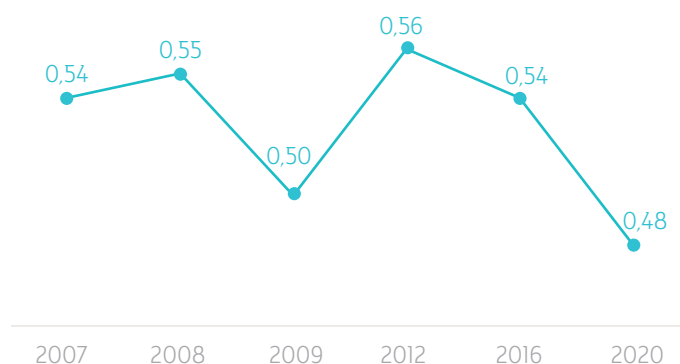
In the Graph 110, we are presenting the trend of measuring gender equality for all research waves. As it has already been suggested in the overview by indicators, **gender equality trend is generally negative** and since 2012 the process has been quite pronounced. **In comparison with 2016, the degree of gender equality nowadays is on a significantly lower level** ( $t(1489)=3.973$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), and it **is even a bigger problem that the degree of gender equality nowadays is on a lower level that it was the case thirteen years ago** ( $t(1718)=4.174$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

Graph 110. Gender equality - trend



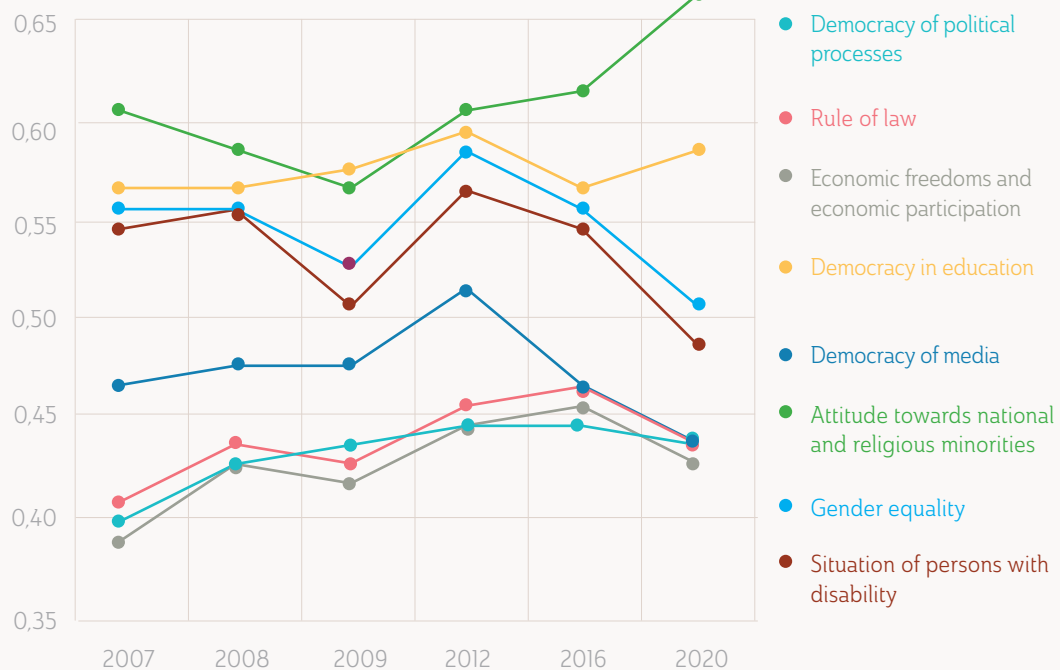
Finally, in the Graph III, we are presenting the results of the measuring trend of the situation of persons with disabilities in Montenegro. The results indicate that the trends have been negative since 2012. More precisely, **the situation of the persons with disabilities nowadays is on a significantly lower level than it was the case four years ago** ( $t(1477)=4.965$ ,  $p<0.001$ ). Besides, on the basis of the measurement results we find **that the situation of the persons with disabilities nowadays is on a lower level than it was the case thirteen years ago** ( $t(1713)=4.831$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

Graph III. Situation of persons with disabilities – trend

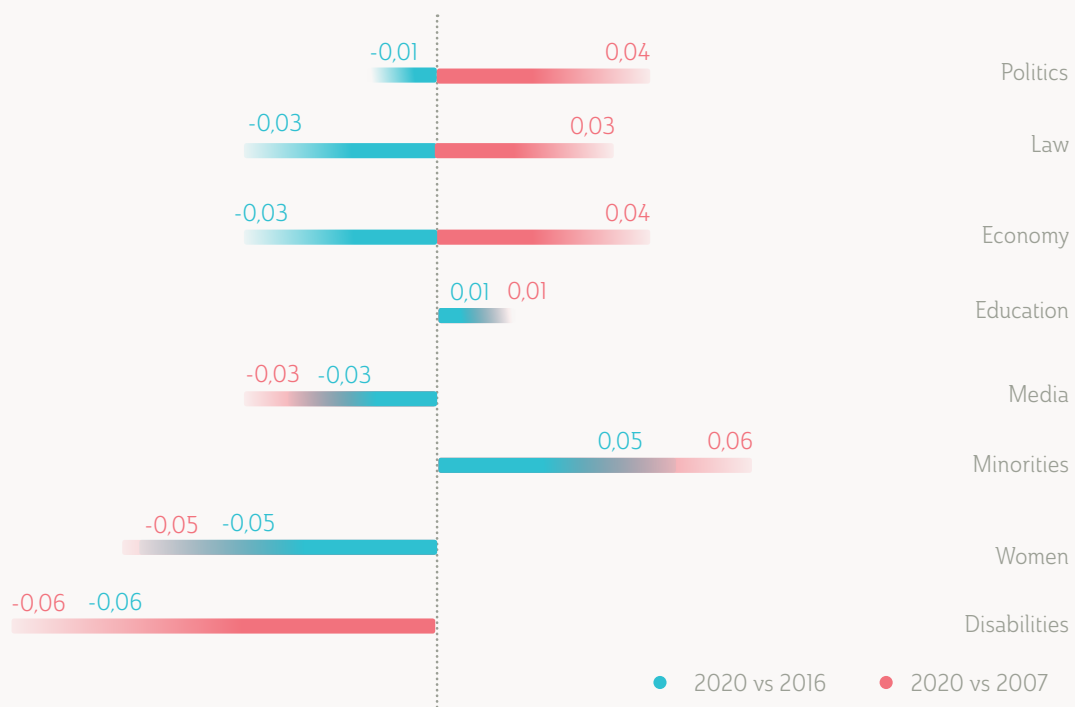


In order to be systematic, in the Graph II2 we are presenting comparative analysis of the trend by all areas, as well as the comparison of values by areas when the most recent research is compared to 2016 and 2007 (Graph II3). **Generally speaking, it is worthwhile concluding that we have four patterns when it comes to trend and that in some areas of democracy we measure progress through comparisons with 2007 and 2020 (national minorities). In some areas we measure negative trend and when we compare the values from the most recent research with 2016 and 2007 (gender equality and situation of the persons with disabilities). The third pattern indicates that we have had a negative trend in the past four years, but that generally speaking progress has been achieved in relation to 2007 (politics, rule of law and economy). Finally, there is stagnation pattern (education) both when we compare the results with 2007 and with 2020.**

Graph 112. Democracy Index – trend by areas



Graph 113. Democracy Index by areas – 2020 vs 2016 and 2020 vs 2007

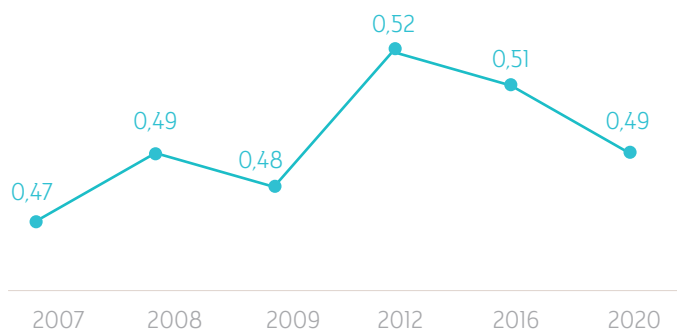


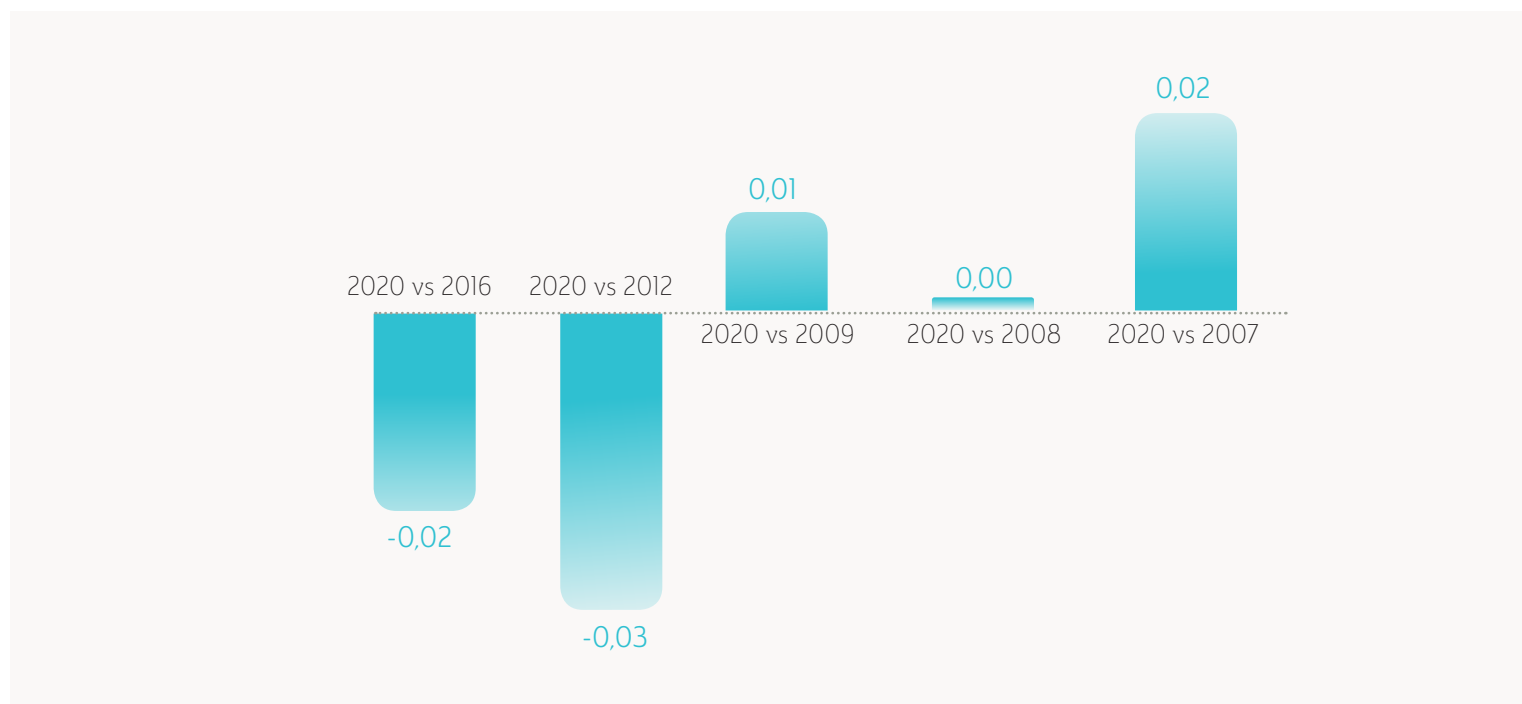


Finally, it remains for us to conclude that many things have to be done in order for the degree of democracy in Montenegro to be raised on a higher level. **The biggest problem in this respect is the condition of democracy in the area of political processes, rule of law and especially in the sphere of economy and economic relations.** On the other hand, **we have a positive finding when it comes to the system of education and the situation of national and religious minorities, where we record pronouncedly progressive trends.** However, **particularly worrying are continuously pronounced negative trends when it comes to gender equality and the situation of the persons with disabilities, as well as when it comes to media.** In this respect, we are emphasizing that **in these three areas the condition of democracy is worse even than the initial one we measured thirteen years ago.**

Finally, to conclude we are presenting the Graph 114 with the measurement of the trend of the overall composite democracy index. Nominally, with minor fluctuations, the Index values had been growing up to 2012, only to experience permanent fall ever since. This information tells us, in fact, **that from the moment of the regaining of our independence until 2012 we had had progressive trends in the development of democracy, but that afterwards the trend has been regressive, although all measured values are not characterized by 'imposing' numeric differences.** Therefore, in the Graph 115, we compared the measured values of the Democracy Index in such a way as to measure precisely the difference between the last measurement and all previous research waves. More precise comparison of these values tells us **that the degree of democracy nowadays is on a more-or-less the same level as it was the case in 2016** ( $t(1544)=1.633$ ,  $p=0.103$ ). In other words, nominal negative trend in the last four years is not significant. However, if we compare the values with those from 2012, the information indicates that **democracy nowadays is on a lower level than it was the case eight years ago** ( $t(1608)=3.007$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). The measured Index values nowadays are on a more-or-less the same level as in 2009 ( $t(1548)=0.639$ ,  $p=0.523$ ), and there are also no differences between the values measured in 2020 and the reference values from 2008 ( $t(1611)=0.466$ ,  $p=0.641$ ). Finally, this the sole progressive finding in this part. **The condition of democracy nowadays is still on a higher level in relation to 2007** ( $t(2768)=2.708$ ,  $p<0.01$ ).

Graph 114. Democracy Index – trend



Graph 115. **Democracy Index: 2020 vs all other research waves**

We can conclude that **regressive trends of the condition of democracy in Montenegro have been present since 2012**. Special responsibility for such trend are born by negative trends when it comes to gender equality and the situation of the persons with disabilities. However, besides pronouncedly negative trend in the past eight years, it can still be said that the degree of democracy in Montenegro nowadays is on a somewhat higher level that it was the case thirteen years ago.



