The Montenegro I Want

Report on Post-2015 National Consultations in Montenegro

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Olivera Komar & Pavle Gegaj

About the Post 2015 National consultations process in Montenegro

More than 8.000 people in Montenegro or 1.3% of total population have actively participated in national post-2015 consultations on development priorities after 2015. National post-2015 consultations in Montenegro are a part of the global campaign undertaken with the support of the United Nations in more than 80 countries around the globe. The global campaign aims to include citizens from all parts of the world in creation of development agenda that will follow up on current Millennium Development Goals. These are the first consultations of a kind which allow creation of development policies through, not only governments' but also citizens' active participation. In order to ensure strong citizens' participation in national consultations and offering them the opportunity to express what kind of ''Montenegro and the World they want'', the UN System in Montenegro has, in cooperation with numerous national partners, created a wide communication platform with the aim of collecting citizens' opinions and ideas on development priorities for the period beyond 2015.

The authors: Olivera Komar, Pavle Gegaj

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Montenegro was one of the countries involved in national consultations on post-2015 development goals. This process, supported by the UN, was part of a global discussion through which people from all over the world have been invited to help Member States shape the future development agenda that will build on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) after their target date at the end of 2015. In order to involve the people of Montenegro and give them the opportunity to describe "what kind of Montenegro and what kind of world they want to live in", the UN system in Montenegro, in cooperation with a number of local partners, has created a broad platform for communication with the purpose of collecting people's ideas, and hence helping world leaders create a new global development agenda after 2015.

(1) **At this point of time, jobs and unemployment are the main factors determining the quality of life**. People believe that job insecurity and economic hardship endanger other connected aspects of life e.g. health, education and happiness. Therefore, it should be everyone's priority (state, businesses, civil society, media, etc.) to work effectively on dealing with setbacks of the economic crises and to work hard on developing and strengthening safer environment for the people that are being affected

(2) **People dominantly see corruption and crime as one of the most important issues Montenegro has to deal with in the future.** This is issue that most gravely affects the quality of life, according to the views of majority of respondents. Efforts of the authorities, primarily Government, should be therefore focused on these two priority areas in order to improve the quality of people's life and meet their expectations.

(3) **Majority of respondents thinks that the gap between the rich and the poor is being further widened at a worrying pace, which is endangering very core of the society**. Economic, social, health and educational policies should therefore take into account this problem and seek to reduce it.

(4) **Ensuring equal opportunities to quality health care and standardization of providing health care services were recognized as important challenges and priorities in the process of strengthening health care system, with the aim of improving citizens' health**. The need for systemic approach to corruption in health care system and balancing distribution of professional and motivated staff were emphasized in the context of availability of health care. The need for allocation of greater financial support to health care sector has been underlined, as well as investments in human capital development, especially when it comes to implementation of prevention programmes. Respondents have clearly recognized and emphasized the connection between social determinants of health and morbidity among population.

(5) **A need for better planning and implementing public policies in the future has been as well recognized by the people.** Having in mind that the outcomes of different segments of public policy are intertwined (economic policies affect health, which in turn affects education, which has its own effect on the economy for example) it is crucial that the authorities, primarily Government, as well as other stakeholders, take more holistic and strategic approach with this regard.

(6) **People see equality as one of paramount priorities for the future.** They expressed wide range of equality concerns, including social, economic, gender, sexual and ethnic, recognizing mistreatment of different groups. According to people's views, it is crucial that principal of equal treatment and opportunities as well as affirmative action is part of every single policy.

(7) **Exclusion of women from decision-making processes was one of the problems strongly emphasized by the people.** It has been noted that women faced with lack of understanding, prejudices, traditional expectations, unequal salaries, etc. It is therefore of particular importance that gender equality becomes one of the priority principles of the public policies.

(8) **The environment is being recognized as one of the country's top strengths and opportunities.** It is, however, also perceived as not only underutilized, but also rapidly destructed. People believe that the environmental protection is predominantly responsibility of each individual. It is every person's responsibility to preserve the environment, protect the ecosystem, and use it in a sustainable manner.

(9) **Urban planning and illegal housing needs to be dealt with in a way which is both taking in consideration the current state of vulnerable groups and is based on the principles of sustainable development.** This problem is being widely recognized by the majority of respondents as one of the key problems of contemporary society in Montenegro.

(10) **Infrastructure, primarily transportation, presents a major obstacle to economic development, particularly to balanced regional development**. This being said, people still think that when evaluating new infrastructure projects, the Government should take into consideration the sustainability of such projects in order not to jeopardize financial stability of the economy.

(11) **Education is being perceived as one of the essential resources for the future**. Namely, people are whishing for society based on knowledge. Therefore, the ongoing transformation of the education system should take into account improving the quality of education, applicability of attained knowledge, strengthening of social and practical skills and abilities, developing critical opinion and participation and better connection to labor market. Educational system needs to be improved even further in order to develop and strengthen participant and responsible attitude among population.

(12) **In many responses people expressed their concern about rapid changes in values.** They believe that the society should work on strengthening social capital based on solidarity, family values, tolerance, respect for others and non-discrimination.

In 2015, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) – which have served as a broad framework for development work over the past 12 years – are set to expire. As we are approaching this date, Member States and the entire United Nations system are conducting world-wide consultations with the aim of gathering as much input as possible for drafting new development goals for the post-2015 period. The idea is that new goals should come from the people, and should address issues and problems identified by people, as opposed to building on the experience of limited participatory engagement in formulating the original Millennium Declaration. The process was designed to include up to 100 different countries and consultations are being organised in 86 countries so far.

Montenegro was one of the countries involved in national consultations on post-2015 development goals. This process, supported by the UN, was part of a global discussion through which people from all over the world have been invited to help Member States shape the future development agenda that will build on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) after their target date at the end of 2015. In order to involve the people of Montenegro and give them the opportunity to describe "*what kind of Montenegro and what kind of world they want to live in*", the UN system in Montenegro, in cooperation with a number of local partners, has created a broad platform for communication with the purpose of collecting people's ideas, and hence helping world leaders create a new global development agenda after 2015.

The consultations were organized in the period between December 2012 and April 2013. They were structured into three consecutive phases.

The first phase took place in December 2012 and January 2013 and included 2.946 respondents: 1.995 were face-to-face interviews with respondents from different parts of Montenegro, plus 951 on-line respondents. The representative sample included all categories of the population so that the attitudes and opinions of as many different women and men as possible could be collected. Although the interviews were conducted in the form of a poll, most questions were left open-ended so that people would be free to express how they feel and what they think, without being even subtly led by the options provided in the response sheets.

Based on the frequency of responses, the eight most prominent concerns were identified around which priorities for the future should be set:

- **The economy, unemployment, income and equal regional development**
- **Fighting crime, corruption and nepotism**
- **Health**
- **Equality**
- **The environment**
- **Building infrastructure**
- **Education**
- **Values**

In the second phase, after the eight most important priorities were identified, specific questions were tailored for the purpose of gaining more in-depth understanding of people's priorities within these identified themes. These questions were then asked both to specialists/experts and again to the general population. The objective was two-fold: to gain more specific understanding of the priorities that were chosen by the representative sample of people in the first round of consultations and to consult as many people as possible on these eight topics.

In order to involve as many people as possible, the project team used a number of channels for communication adjusted to different population groups: 1) *classic face-to-face interviews* in order to encompass representatives of all these groups – the young and elderly, employed, unemployed, interested and not-so-interested, wealthy and vulnerable; 2) *Twitter, Facebook and social networks* in order to mobilize young people and those that use these kind of tools for social engagement; 3) *town meetings, round tables and focus groups* in order to reach experts.

The total outreach of 8,023 consulted people in Montenegro[1] shares ownership of the ideas and findings presented in this report.

On a general note, specialists were pleasantly surprised with the prudence of the selections made by the general population in the first phase. Reminding the reader again that the respondents in the first phase were not offered closed-ended questions and therefore were not compelled to choose among predefined topics, the selection of some important but not-so-prominent topics such as equality or values came as a positive surprise.

The graph that follows portrays the answers that were asked in the second phase of the research in order to evaluate to what extent the quality of life in Montenegro depends on the issues selected in the first phase. It is obvious that the range of their replies – between 60% and 90% of them being "very" or "somewhat" – allows us to state with some certainty that in fact, the quality of life in Montenegro depends mainly on development in these eight priority areas: **the economy, unemployment, income and equal regional development, fighting crime, corruption and nepotism, health, equality, environment, building infrastructure, education** and **values.**
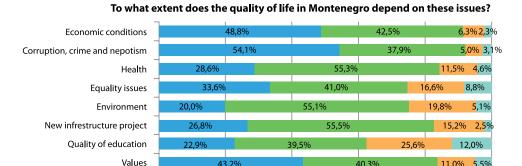
To what extent does the quality of life in Montenegro depend on these issues?

However, at the same time, the problems and issues are only one side of the coin, while ineffectiveness in tackling them is the other, and is probably just as important. Therefore, when designing new development goals, "who needs to do it" and "how it should be done" should be regarded as being equally important as "what needs to be done".

The most respondents believe that the current efforts of the government and other actors in the defined eight priority fields are not as effective and sufficient as they could be. The respondents identify the government as being the most responsible for dealing with all of these issues (with the exception of values, where the government is the second most responsible, after the individual), in the same time seeing the efforts as insufficiently effective. (With the exception of HIV prevention as a subtopic, no more than 25% of respondents perceive the government as effective in any of the main eight topics.) **Given the methodological framework of the research, the effectiveness of other organizations and entities which could be seen as important in tackling these issues was not measured.**

It could be perhaps noted that people in general tend to shift responsibility unevenly towards the Government and other institutions (i.e. municipalities, departments, agencies) lacking to recognize own and individual responsibility and the fact that proactive approach of individuals could foster the change.

Effectiviness of the government in dealing with issues / problems

1   Montenegro has a population of 620.000, so this represents about 1,3% of the total population.

This report is part of phase three: preparation of the final conclusions which will be submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and which will ensure that the opinions and attitudes of the Montenegrin people regarding their vision of a better future are included in the global report on post-millennium development plans. In addition, the findings from the global discussion will be delivered to the Secretary-General of the UN, Heads of State and Government attending the 2013 UN General Assembly, and the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals.

Methodology

The post-2015 consultation was conducted in two phases. The first phase started with promotion of the consultation in December 2012 and concluded with the interim report in January 2013, identifying the main topics and themes. The second phase of the research started in February with more in-depth consultations on the topics identified in the first phase, and ends with this final report in April 2013.

The first phase of the survey on post-2015 development goals was conducted on three separate platforms: an on-line survey, face-to-face (F2F) interviews and a Twitter survey. The idea was to include as large a basis as possible, but also certain stakeholders, whose inputs are important in designing development goals.

The questionnaire for face-to-face interviews was designed such that the majority of the questions were open-ended, asking respondents to say in their own words about issues and problems, identify solutions and so on. Given the character of the questionnaire, the survey was designed with these two modules – f2f and on-line. Namely, with the f2f survey we would get the results about the most important topics and themes which are representative of the whole population. On the other hand, the on-line survey was intended to give input about more specific and precise issues, giving respondents the opportunity to state their mind whenever they feel they have something to say. For the purpose of this research a specific Twitter hash tag was promoted – #post2015me – which members of the Montenegrin Twitter community could use to give their response to any or all questions from the survey.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted on a multilevel stratified sample at the national level, with 1,997 respondents. The standard error based on the sample size is ±2.19% with a 95% confidence interval for a 50% distribution. The interviews were conducted between the 3rd and 13th of January 2013. The sample was realized in 79 different communities from all 21 municipalities in Montenegro. The sample was representative of the population according to gender, age and nationality variables, based on the 2011 census. Distributions for the main demographic variables are presented in table below. The first phase of the post-2015 consultations in Montenegro, which included 2.946 respondents, was concluded with the report identifying the eight different topics recognized by people living in Montenegro as key aspects that should be addressed in the period after 2015. The second part of the consultations was designed in the form of a nationwide dialogue with the objective to deepen insight into the eight topics identified, and include as wide a body of the population as possible. National consultations aimed at including every relevant institution and as many individuals as possible in the process, whose outcome should be the medium and long-term development goals for the period after 2015. The process included consultations with NGOs, experts, state representatives, vulnerable groups, minorities, children and others. NGOs were in fact the partners that organized most of the 30 consultations with stakeholders.

The design of the second phase of the process was divided into three compatible categories: consultations in the form of focus groups and round-table discussions conducting a public opinion survey through on-line polls and face-to-face interviews and general public engagements which took the form of 'tweeting' and other social media discussions. As a result, these consultations had an unprecedented outreach and included 1.3% of the population of Montenegro. The purpose of such a design was to provide a suitable medium for different categories

of audiences to participate: a) focus groups and round tables for people with deeper knowledge who could provide valuable insight into the topics and add considerably to what had already been collected, b) public opinion surveys, focus groups and face-to-face interviews as a way of consultation with the general public in order to get a more precise picture regarding important topics and issues within these topics, and c) social media discussions as a powerful tool for collecting ideas and issues which affect us every day.

For the thematic consultations on each of the eight topics, three questionnaires were prepared.

(1) The first questionnaire was designed in the form of a focus group guide and was used by moderators of the events as a guide for the discussion. The "specialists" included in these discussion were professionals and other people who, on the basis of their personal or professional experience, were in a position to have more information on the topic identified beforehand by the general population.

(2) The second questionnaire had most of these open-ended questions closed, so that they were more suitable for face-to-face interviews, and as such were used to interview 1,500 respondents face-to-face, and were distributed to participants in the round-table discussions, focus groups and other events organized within the consultation process.

(3) Finally, the third questionnaire was designed specifically for on-line polls, thus, with a few exceptions, had only closed-ended questions, and were reduced to an average of 20 questions per topic. This was done in order to optimize the time needed for a respondent to answer the poll questions, and minimize the number of respondents lost due to the length of questionnaire.

All the questionnaires were aimed at measuring the same concepts and ideas, and followed the same core questions, thus providing comparability of results obtained from different events.

The total outreach in the post-2015 process in Montenegro of 8,023 citizens is split up in the following way: 3,495 face-to-face interviews, 3,583 on-line polls, 375 town hall meetings, 260 focus groups and round-table participants and 310 tweets. This amounts to about 1.33% of the population of Montenegro, which makes it an unprecedented outreach in which the population was directly consulted.

The on-line "community" was included in both phases of the survey. From 28th December 2012 until 20th January 2013 a total of 451 on-line questionnaires were collected on the general questionnaire about post-2015 development goals. In the second part that took place in the period between 1st and 20th of March, a total of 3,132 on-line questionnaires were collected on the 8 different topics. Most questionnaires were collected on the topics of the economy and unemployment (560), followed by corruption, crime and nepotism (478), the environment (461), education (409), infrastructure development (372), values (370), health (269) and equality (213).

These on-line surveys, conducted for each topic separately, do not aim at being and cannot be representative of the whole population of Montenegro. That said, the idea was to engage those whose voices are usually not heard and those who believe that they have something to share, to participate in and influence the process of designing new development goals. In that sense, all the results are only an indication of the distribution of responses among respondents.

Each on-line questionnaire contained two specific types of questions. The first type asked the respondents to rank issues within a specific topic from the most to least important, while the second type asked them to rank 14 different subjects according to how responsible they should be held for dealing with issues within a certain topic. When analyzing responses to these questions, we bore in mind that, on one hand, basing analysis only on the first choice would be highly limiting, given that there were up to 14 different answers provided, while on the other hand, in most of the cases the data on the third and further choices provided no significant information, thus we based our analysis of the questions on the first two choices – i.e. the first and second most important issues or responsible actors.

The distribution of respondents included in face-to-face and on-line polls according to gender, region and age are presented in the table below.

Variable	Category	Face-to-face	On-line	Total	Table 1
Gender	Male	52.3%	59.3%	55.9%	
	Female	47.7%	40.7%	44.1%	
Region	Centre	37.3%	52.4%	44.9%	
	North	38.9%	20.8%	29.8%	
	South	23.8%	26.8%	25.3%	
Education	Elementary and below	14.8%	5.8%	10.2%	
	3-year high school	21.0%	5.5%	13.2%	
	4-year high school	36.3%	25.8%	31.0%	
	College degree	9.7%	11.1%	10.4%	
	Undergraduate degree	16.6%	41.4%	29.2%	
	Masters/PhD degree	1.6%	10.0%	5.8%	
Age	24 years and below	11.2%	23.8%	17.6%	
	25 to 34 years	21.3%	37.6%	29.6%	
	35 to 44 years	19.6%	21.3%	20.4%	
	45 to 54 years	17.1%	11.8%	14.4%	
	55+ years	30.8%	5.5%	18.0%	

Apart from on-line consultations and face-to-face interviews, a separate round of consultations included 30 town hall meetings, round tables and focus groups that were conducted with both experts and the general population including vulnerable groups. These events were moderated by UN partners – predominantly NGOs that followed specially developed protocols for each of the topics. It is important to mention that the events took place in the northern, central and southern parts of the country aiming to include everyone's voice.

National Consultations

TOPIC 1:

The economy, unemployment, income and uneven regional development

This topic dominated all the responses. People are very worried about the state of the economy and are complaining about their job prospects. It is obvious that the standard of living has fallen rapidly and that people are facing substantial problems in providing the essentials for their families and themselves.

> *"The main problem in Montenegro is the state of the economy. Privatisation in Montenegro is only a sale of property. People who have worked for over 25 years are lost. They cannot retire. People are deceived. We should turn our attention to the economy. There is no life in this municipality without at least 2-3 factories".*

Both the experts and people surveyed emphasized economic hardships that are both locally and globally induced and their effect on the general population. Most comments could be classified into several subgroups:

The general state of the economy and unemployment

1) By far most important issue that people raised is unemployment and the general state of the economy. Many have lost their jobs and even more are afraid for their future. They have noticed that not much economic development is taking place, industries are closing down and other economic sectors are in a bad way. This is therefore one of the main concerns for the near future.

A strategic approach to strengthening a socially responsible business environment

2) Experts believe that a more strategic approach towards stimulating socially responsible businesses should be taken. The first step would be passing relevant bylaws and documents such as the Strategy for the Development of Social Responsible Businesses in Montenegro[2].

3) Stronger involvement by the state regarding the definition of directions for companies to invest in the community is important. Representatives of the business sector recognize the importance of their role but they would like more guidance. The state should create the environment for investments in communities, e.g. to define areas that most require financial and non-financial support from businesses. National recognition for businesses that are socially responsible could prove to be a powerful incentive for more entities to get involved.

4) Current legislation with the aim of stimulating donations for philanthropic and charitable purposes is neither sufficient nor in line with comparative practice. It should be improved through providing more incentives to the private sector to become more socially responsible.

5) The business community emphasized that there should be greater harmony between activities conducted by the government, unions and employers in the future.

A grassroots approach to creating public policies

6) The public should be more actively involved in creating and implementing public policies. Public discussions on important decisions should be visible, accessible and truly reaching out to the people that they would affect.

7) The social policy of Montenegro needs a new responsible approach. The transition process has weakened many groups of people, increasing vulnerability and the risks of unemployment, social exclusion, poverty, inequality and ill health. A more effective safety net should be in place.

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2 Social responsibility here is defined, among other things, as the employer-employee relationship.

Education focused on businesses

8) Representatives of businesses believe that the education system does not adequately prepare future employees for the market. There should be more harmonization between market needs and the educational offer. One of the most critical notes was the fact that the current education system does not involve enough transfer of practical skills.

Gender mainstreaming in business

9) Employers recognize the fact that there is a severe gender gap when it comes to access to business. For a number of reasons (cultural, transitional and traditional), women have worse start-up chances to develop their own business initiatives and therefore more effort should be given to the stimulation of gender equality and women's entrepreneurship.

10) The situation is even worse when it comes to opportunities for people with disabilities. A more active approach to providing equal opportunities for everyone should be one of the priorities.

Unequal distribution of investment and resources:

11) Experts emphasize what was already mentioned in the general population survey – living conditions in the northern part of the country are significantly worse than in other parts. There are resources in the north, but there is no investment. Several people stated that resources actually exist (both human and natural) and that the only thing missing is good organization and utilization.

> *"Your outlook for happiness depends primarily on where you live in Montenegro. Life is happening in Podgorica or Budva… Other than that, we barely survive in the other municipalities."*

Internal migration

12) People leave northern cities and municipalities in order to get education and to work, but never go back. These internal migrations are posing a serious threat to the human and other resources of the North.

Own responsibility

13) Respondents did not avoid speaking about their internal migration. One of them tried to remember when the last time was that there was a genuine civic initiative launched by people living in the North. Another argued that although there are many problems regarding resources, the ones to blame are not only "Podgorica" (i.e. it is not always the fault of the Government and its agencies seated in Podgorica) but also "us".

> *"People used to leave Bijelo Polje for Podgorica and Belgrade and stay there. This is still the case, this mentality. People in Montenegro were constantly told: study so that you will not have to work."*

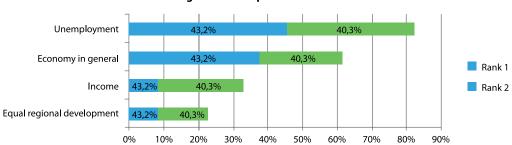### Ethnic distance and a lack of trust

14) "I believe that one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of the North (unlike e.g. Podgorica) is the fact that mainly Serbs, Muslims and Bosniaks live there. They are kept 'on a leash' and given just a little." This kind of statement expressed in the focus group with experts, whether it is true or not, is in fact proof of a certain ethnic distance and a lack of trust which destroys and undermines social capital.

Survey data on the economy, unemployment, income and unequal regional development

Respondents were offered 4 different issues within the topic of the economy and unemployment, and were asked to rank them according to their importance (with the option of adding additional issues). By far the most important issue was unemployment, ranked first by 45.3% and second by 37.1% of respondents. Next in line was the economy in general with 37.6% re-

spondents indentifying it as the first and 24.2% as the second most important topic. Income was represented at number 3, with 8.6% and 24.5% of first and second preferences, while the least important topic was equal regional development, with 8.4% of first and 14.2% of second choices.
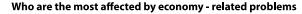
Importance of subtopics within the first topic – the economy, unemployment and regional development
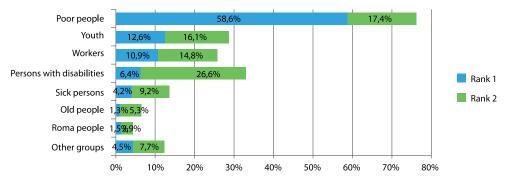
Gender does not account for significant differences in ranking the issues, which suggests that both men and women are equally worried about their prospects for the future. However, age does matter. Even though the ranking stays the same, the differences between preferences are much more emphasized. Namely, 61.0% of young people (24 and below) identify unemployment as the most important issue, and an additional 33.9% rank it as the second most important issue, with all other issues being less important. Finally, region does not account for significant differences.

When asked about those that are most hit by economic issues and unemployment, the majority of respondents identify poor people (58.6% of first and 17.4% of second choices). Next are young people with 12.6% of first and 16.1% of second choices, and workers with 10.9% and 14.8% of first and second choices, followed by people with disabilities with 6.4% of first and 26.6% of second choices. Other groups were identified in the first two choices with below-average frequency. None of the independent variables used (gender, region and age) account for significant differences in identifying groups that are specifically affected by these issues.

Who are the most affected by economy - related problems

When asked about the gap between the rich and the poor, the overwhelming majority (86.7%) identified it as widening, 11.6% as staying the same, while only 1.7% said that it is getting smaller.

When asked if the economic situation is affecting women as well, 58.4% said yes, while 41.6% said no. Women's entrepreneurship is identified as being underdeveloped by 79% of respondents, while 21% see it as being developed.

More than three-quarters of respondents think that social services and child protection mechanisms can reduce the negative effects of the bad economic and social situation. Furthermore, when asked to what extent the quality of life depends on the quality of social and child welfare protection, two-thirds said that it does (68.7%) while one-third think that it does not.

Next in line were questions about community services and their importance. When talking about community support, we can note that responses are almost equally distributed. Still, more often than not, respondents identified housing assistance (32.8%), while interpreting and translating sign language and personal assistance are the least selected (3.0% and 11.2%).
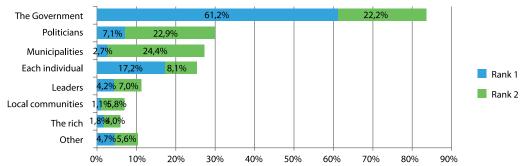
Between counselling and therapy services respondents most often identified counselling (50.2%) and then therapy (33.4%), while SOS phone lines and mediation are marginally selected with 11.1% and 5.4%.

Finally, the most important issue among accommodation services are foster homes and family accommodation with 37.1% and 36.2%. Accommodation in social institutions is selected by 19.5% while shelter services are important for 7.2% of respondents.

Despite the fact that equal regional development was not ranked highly among issues concerning the economy and unemployment, 84.5% of respondents still think that their quality of life depends on it, while only 15.5% think that it is not important to their quality of life. On the other hand, only 36.2% of respondents think that it is realistic to expect equal regional development, while the remaining 63.8% see it as unrealistic.

Four subjects are clearly emphasized as being most responsible for equal regional development, with the government being the first, with 61.2% giving it as their first and 22.2% as their second choice. Politicians are identified as being responsible by 7.1% of first and 22.9% of second preferences, and municipalities by 2.7% of first and 24.4% of second preferences. Finally, respondents also see each individual as an important factor, with 17.2% of first and 8.1% of second preferences.

The most responsible for even regional development

Graph 5

The last part of the questionnaire was devoted to the ever-increasing concentration of the population in urban centres, especially Podgorica. Four out of five respondents (80%) see this as a negative or very negative trend, while 94.9% think that people should be motivated to stay in rural areas and villages.
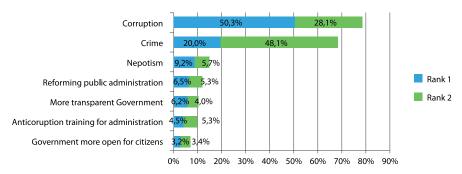
TOPIC 2:

Fighting crime, corruption and nepotism

These three problems were also quite frequent in respondents' comments. They believe that a very effective fight against corruption and nepotism is the solution to many problems in the country. Most respondents elaborated that their complaints about the work of the government could be also related to this topic.

> *"The only people who are rewarded are those that toe the line with the dominant political parties. It doesn't depend on how you work. You cannot get work if you do not vote for the incumbent party."*

As expected, by far the most important issues within this topic were corruption (50.3% of first and 28.1% of second preferences) and crime (20.0% of first and 48.1% of second preferences). Third most important, but with considerably lower frequency, is nepotism, with 9.2% of first and 5.7% of second preferences. All other issues have below-average frequencies. It is important to point out that the importance of the issues within this topic does not vary with gender, age or region.

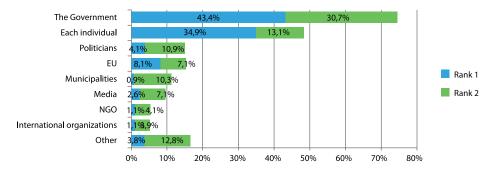**Importance of subtopics withing the second topic - Corruption, crime, nepotism**

Graph 6

Respondents most often identify the government as the one that should be responsible for these issues, with 43.4% of first and 30.7% of second preferences. Second most important is each individual with 34.9% first and 13.1% second preferences, while in third place are politicians with 4.1% of first and 10.9% of second preferences.

> *"Politicians prefer the people being poor. If they are poor, they are cheap. They will sell themselves for €20 or €50. If citizens were paid normally and could afford a decent life, they could not be manipulated so easily. So, our politicians and bosses want to keep us as low as possible."*

The efforts of the government regarding these issues are seen as effective by 8.2% while the remaining 91.8% think that they are inefficient. When respondents were asked about the efforts of non-governmental organizations the situation is somewhat better, with one-third seeing other organizations as effective in their efforts to combat corruption, crime and nepotism, while two-thirds see them as ineffective.

The most responsible for fighting corruption, crime and nepotism
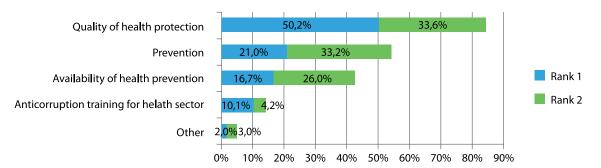
Graph 7

Health

People in Montenegro are quite concerned about health insurance, accessibility and the quality of medical care. They are complaining about the lack of medical care: the lack of hospitals, medicines and low quality of services provided by the current health insurance system.

> *"I was recently in hospital and the conditions were awful. This is unfortunate for us and all the caring and competent people that actually work in the health sector."*

In the survey conducted, respondents recognized several important issues and sub-topics within health topic. Some of them were offered in questionnaire, such as quality of healthcare services, importance of prevention, anti-corruption trainings and other, but some of the issues were identified by respondents themselves, without being mentioned, such as increase of resources allocated for health system as they are considered as investment in health, social determinants of the health, public-private partnership issues, responsibility for health is shared between the citizens and system, and others.

Importance of subtopic within the third topic - Health

Graph 8

The **quality of healthcare services** was recognized as a key challenge within the topic of health. Namely, more than half of all the respondents in the survey (50.2%) identified it as the single most important aspect. Within this issue, respondents say that the expertise of health workers should be better, and that their competencies, effectiveness, and professionalism should be elevated to a higher level - namely, one of the functions of the healthcare system which is generating human resources, should be strengthened. Also, in the category of health workers, respondents have identified the payment system as a vehicle to ensure fair and just compensation for the health care services provided, recognizing that this can be an important motivational instrument for health workers as well as a method for improving the quality of healthcare services. The motivation of the health workers is stated to be equally important for both doctors and nurses. Finally, regarding distribution of healthcare workforce, respondents and participants in the consultations stated that the quality of health should be better and provision of health care standardized throughout Montenegro. Respondents' opinion is that the most of the doctors are concentrated in Podgorica and the Government should take some measures to ensure balanced distribution of health workforce to ensure equitable access to quality health care.

Prevention has been identified as the second most important issue, being recognized as one of the crucial components of better health care system. In addition to choosing it as one of the important issues, a number of respondents had gone further to state that more care should be devoted to addressing known risk factors, most of them identifying smoking, unhealthy food and stress. Also, respondents state that a way towards the better epidemiological landscape is better education about the prevention, and strengthening awareness about the importance of the healthy lifestyle. In that effect, they propose open-

ing of youth counselling centres, within primary healthcare centres. Finally, respondents have stated that screening programs as effective methods of prevention should be better promoted and used more often.

Third, but almost equally important as the previous issue, was the **health care access**. The greatest number of complaints in this regard was related to the fact that the health care system is unnecessarily and highly burdened by procedures, paperwork and bureaucracy, and this should be changed. Furthermore, despite the fact that the reform of primary healthcare has been completed, and that chosen doctors are more available, waiting times reduced, and accessibility improved, some respondents still state that chosen doctors and medical examinations in general are not available for the patients, that the waiting times are unnecessarily long, and they are "often forced to go from one doctor to another, even in conditions of severe illness". On the other hand, some respondents support the idea of integration of health care across different levels and establishment of health care centres one in each region of Montenegro, which would in turn improve equitable access to quality and standardized health care across different levels of health care. Some respondents have recognized the organizational model of health care service delivery as a limitation factor with respect to health care access.

Also, the issue which emerged as very important to those consulted within this thematic area is **corruption in health**. Namely, respondents state that corruption is very present in the health sector, having a profound effect on the health outcomes, quality of health care, while limiting the accessibility of healthcare, and hence should be dealt with immediately. In this context respondents have recognized a shift of health care services provision from the public to the private sector. Their perception is that the effect of corruption is such that it is often impossible or more expensive to get treatment in government-operated health institutions than it is in privately owned ones. Also, the respondents state that the fact that doctors work for both public and private healthcare institutions increases the level of corruption in healthcare system. Finally, respondents state that the corruption in health should be dealt with on the system level, and that corruptive practices should be penalized.

Investment in health was an issue which was frequently mentioned by respondents. All of the responses in this category mention that the current level of financial resources allocation for the health isn't sufficient and that the share of GDP for health should be higher. Also, the payment model should be changed to ensure that the funds "follow" patients, where provided health care services should be financed instead of the existing capacities. Also, more important, respondents see this allocation as investment rather than expenditure. They state that this allocation is investment in society and investment in development and human capital. Furthermore, in this category of answers, some respondents identified that equipment in health institutions as outdated. However, some of the examples used to support this opinion were apparently wrong (for example oncology clinic was stated as poorly equipped, while it is in effect equipped as per the highest European standards). Furthermore, respondents have identified lack of space in the hospitals. However, given that the data show that hospital capacities are underutilized, it could be that this issue should be tackled through better resource organization and planning, rather than adding new ones. Finally, this line of responses indicates that the perception of healthcare system is changing from what was perceived as "free" healthcare in the past, towards perception that we pay for the healthcare and thus have a right to demand better quality. Namely, respondents become aware that they allocate part of their income for this purpose, and given that there are other private expenditures for health, they demand that public healthcare system provides better services for money they pay. Finally, despite the fact that the funds allocated for health are not seen as enough, respondents say that even the funds available should be spent in a more rational and efficient way and the system should be organized in a way so that this rationality and efficiency is achieved.

Social determinants of health were picked up as important by number of respondents. Namely, as is known from numerous research, social factors are very important in determining health of an individual. Respondents in the survey have recognized this, and stated that the health outcomes depend on social determinants, and that we need to improve our living standard which will affect our health.

"Reform of the reform" is an issue that was underlined by respondents. Apart from perceiving some of the aspects of healthcare system as bad, such as waiting times, organization of service delivery, dental care and other, number of respondents have stated that new reform of the healthcare should be done, despite the fact that the reform has already been done, in effect judging this reform as not good or adequate response to the current needs. Other issues that should be considered when planning reform are unnecessary bureaucracy and paperwork, system centred around patient, equal accessibility to healthcare for every person, shorter waiting times (probably related to secondary healthcare), better treatment for vulnerable groups, more medical staff. Finally, some respondents stated that a comprehensive research on the reform should be done to evaluate its effects and downsides so that the new reform is done in a better and more purposeful way.

Public-private partnership in health is an issue that frequently appeared in responses. However, no clear opinion on how or in which direction it should go can be distinguished. Some respondents state that public and private institutions should be integrated, which would in effect increase the access to quality healthcare, while other voiced their concern that this integration would only mean another way for public resources to be drained. What was voiced often is that Government needs to exercise better control over private healthcare institutions. Also, some respondents think that mandatory insurance should be expanded so that rights regarding basic healthcare services can be realized also in private institutions. Finally, some respondents were mentioning voluntary health insurance as an option which should be considered.

Privatization of the **dental care** is also one of the issues respondents raised. Namely, the current healthcare system provides free dental care only for children, elderly and pregnant women. Respondents state this as one of the flaws of the system, and something that should be changed. Given that the "reform of the reform", as stated above, is something that is mentioned often, this should be one of the things to consider reforming.

Respondents have also identified **food safety** as one of the issues that should be important, which is also one of the EU-wide priorities. Respondents think that issue of food safety is not addressed properly, and that the Government should do more in that respect. As one of the main ways to deal with this issue, respondents have stated that existing control system should be strengthened and more rigorous so that the food safety level is higher.

Good governance is also one of the issues mentioned by respondents. They state that it is very important that healthcare sector is managed in a good way, so that the quality, efficiency and availability of healthcare protection is increased. In this sense, given that the healthcare sector is one of the biggest sectors in Montenegro as per number of employees, respondents say that it is important for anyone who wants to manage the healthcare to have a broad understanding of the overall socio economic context within which the healthcare sector is operating. Also, procurements in health should be done in a more transparent manner, so to reduce corruption and increase efficient and rational use of funds invested in healthcare. Respondents recognize importance of the cooperation within and outside Government, with non-governmental entities. Also, this cooperation should be achieved on both national and local level, with involvement of international agencies.

Apart from the issues and its importance, respondents were asked to rate the effectiveness of the Government in dealing with the health-related issue. The consultations showed that only one out of five respondents think that the government is effective in dealing with health-related issues, while 4 out of 5 see them as inefficient. Furthermore, the majority of respondents say that the government is ineffective as opposed to only one-third who thinks they are only somewhat ineffective.

However, efforts made by other organizations (e.g. NGOs) are not seen as having any better effect: 27% say that other organizations are effective, while the remaining 73% think they are ineffective (again, two-thirds of them say they are completely ineffective).

The government is by far most responsible for dealing with these issues, with 62.5% of respondents identifying them as their first and an additional 26.6% as their second choice. In addition to stating that each individual is and should be responsible for the quality of the health system, respondents identify local municipalities (24.7% of second choices) and politicians (12.9% of second choices) as being responsible for these problems.

Equality

The problem of equality in many forms came up very often. People are especially concerned about the growing gap between the rich and the poor, but this is not the only aspect of inequality that they talk about. Their concerns include gender inequality (and violence against women), discrimination against minorities, treatment of homosexuals and people with disabilities.

Although *equality* was identified as a separate topic by the general Montenegrin population, it was an underlying theme in most of the other topics. One must be positively surprised by the fact that the citizens of Montenegro nominated this topic by themselves at this time when there are many other urgent problems that they face.

Decision making that includes women

1) Exclusion of women from the decision-making process in politics, the economy and society in general was one of the problems that were strongly emphasized not only in consultation, and not only by people that are involved in this issue, but also in other thematic focus groups.

A lack of understanding

"Women are whining about not being acknowledged enough. I can give you examples of women in power."

2) It is evident that even people that are in charge of leading the processes related to gender issues do not fully understand the problem. For example, there are almost no men in the Parliamentary board in charge of gender equality which reflects the attitude towards the importance of what this board does. Figures are also very discouraging when it comes to other political, public or other positions that are imbued with any power.
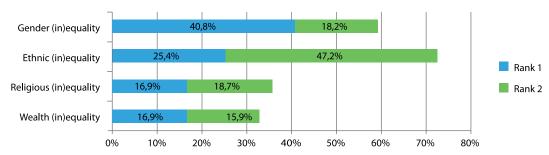
Equal job opportunities

3) **Access to decision-making positions**. Statistics show that women are becoming equally and even more educated than their male counterparts. However, women still do not hold important decision-making positions. Capable educated women are deputies, "number 2s", and important staff members.

4) **Equal salaries**. Gender inequality is reflected in the amount of income and salaries received by men and women for the same positions that they hold. Unlike before, this injustice is now well-documented in official and unofficial statistics.

Survey on equality

The issue that emerged as the most important within the topic of equality is gender (in)equality. Namely, 40.8% and 18.2% of the respondents rate gender issues as the first and second most important issues respectively, more often than any other topic. The second most important topic is ethnic (in)equality, identified as the first and second most important issues by 25.4% and 47.2% of respondents respectively. On the other hand, , respondents identified with below-average frequency religious (in)equality as the third and wealth (in)equality as the fourth most important issues.

Importance of subtopics within the fourth topic - Equality

Graph 9

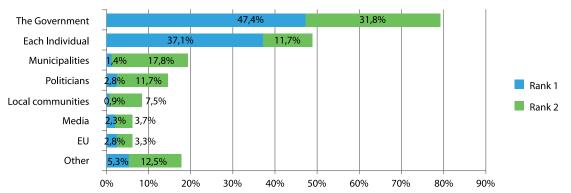|	Rank 1	Rank 2
Gender (in)equality	40,8%	18,2%
Ethnic (in)equality	25,4%	47,2%
Religious (in)equality	16,9%	18,7%
Wealth (in)equality	16,9%	15,9%

When we look at the importance of these issues separately for male and female respondents, the ranking stays the same. However, we see the differences, such that women, more often than men, state gender inequality as being the most important topic. Still, the differences are only marginally significant. The regional and age distribution did not show statistically significant differences, except in one instance, where young people perceive ethnic inequality as much less important than others do.

Respondents see equality and the respect of human rights as an important aspect of the quality of life in Montenegro. Namely, roughly 80% of respondents state that the quality of life completely or somewhat depends on these issues, while only 20% see them as unimportant.

Most responsible for dealing with these issues, as respondents identified, is the government, being the first-choice response for 47.4% and the second choice response for another 31.8% of respondents (a total of 81.2% of respondents). Also important and responsible for dealing with these issues, with frequency considerably higher than that of all other subjects (save for the Government) are the individuals themselves (48.8% of first and second preferences combined). Respondents have also identified municipalities, politicians and media, but their frequencies are considerably lower, namely 19.2%, 14.5% and 6% of first and second preferences combined, respectively.

The most responsible for equality issues

However, when asked about the effectiveness of the government, 22% of respondents see its efforts as effective. Also, 23% of the respondents think that citizens have equal access to the different kinds of services that are provided by the Government or municipalities.

TOPIC 5:

The environment

Many people are concerned about the protection of the environment in Montenegro. They are complaining that their quality of life is being endangered by pollution and that natural resources are not being utilized in a sustainable manner. They are afraid that this could be one of the most important problems for the future generation.

> *"The environment – the most important Montenegrin resource that economic development should be based on."*

Rapid destruction of environmental and cultural heritage

1) It is the overwhelming opinion that rapid destruction of natural resources is taking place. The reasons for this destruction are: uncontrolled and illegal construction, construction that is not in line with the natural surroundings, industry that produces pollution (harbours that are major polluters, ship construction sites, etc.), fishery sites (that have a negative effect on the coastal flora and fauna), pollution of the sea by ships that were not supposed to be granted access to the bay without certificates proving that they are environment friendly, etc.

Incompetence and negligence of the people that are in charge of the decision-making processes

> *"Our state does not have a vision. Corruption enables investors to do as they wish... Those who are guilty of destroying the environment are not being punished."*

2) The people who are in a position to make decisions regarding the environment on different levels (from local to national) are believed not to be sufficiently competent to reach decisions that influence the environment. Participants of the focus groups and discussions criticized their decisions. It was emphasized that investors are not to be blamed for the destruction of the environment but the fact that the representatives of the state did not take enough care to protect the environment.

3) Lack of regular control. Most of the problems would be solved if the procedures that are already in place were implemented and if existing state services were more diligent in their work.

4) Lack of knowledge-based foundations for the decision-making process. Respondents emphasize the fact that there are not enough scientifically supported studies that are the basis for decisions that influence the environment. There are people who possess the knowledge and that could be consulted but they are often not invited to state their opinion.

5) Excluding citizens from decisions. Respondents complain that in many cases the public are not well informed about the place, date and the topics of the public discussions. Even when some citizens try to point out the problems that they face, their voices are ignored. Civil society is sometimes not interested enough in local topics.

> *"In Montenegro, people could get together around some major topics such as the protection of the River Tara. However, when it comes to local issues, there is no solidarity."*

Environment as a developmental opportunity

6) Many respondents emphasize that the environment has not been used enough as a resource for development. Sustainable development which would maximize the tourist, agricultural and cultural resources of Montenegro is not utilized enough.

> *"The environment and development are at the moment in conflict."*

7) State support for businesses to be environmentally conscious.

Creating synergy around environmental issues

8) When it comes to the environment the government, non-governmental organizations and civil society, the education system, the media and others should be more connected. Non-governmental organizations are especially responsible for creating such a link. Respondents also recognized the very important social role of media representatives that are not supposed to focus only on popular stories, but engage in real investigative journalism that could help discover and prevent destruction of environmental resources.
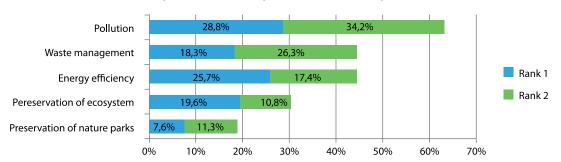
Downsides of decentralization

9) In the case of Montenegro, respondents noticed that decentralization had had a number of downsides. Namely it enabled local governments to make decisions for which they were not ready both financially and in terms of human capacities.

Survey on the topic of the environment

Pollution is the most important issue within the field of the environment with 63% of the first and second choices combined. Following it are waste management on one side and energy efficiency on the other, which were identified by 44.6% and 43.1% of respondents respectively (the percentage indicates the frequency of first and second choices). On the other side, respondents selected preservation of the ecosystem and preservation of national parks as less important issues with 30.4% and 18.9% respectively (again, the percentages indicate frequency of first and second choice preferences combined).

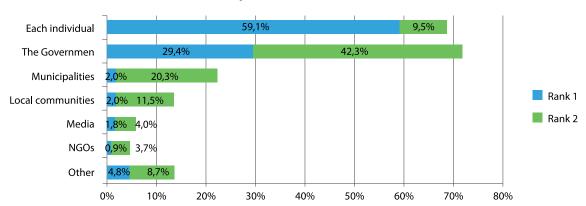**Importance of subtopic within the fifth topic - Environment**

Graph 11

Almost two-thirds of the respondents (64%) state that it is very or somewhat realistic to expect the environment to become a development priority, while only 34% see this as an unrealistic expectation. Furthermore, an encouraging 71.5% of individuals and organizations surveyed in the process think that their own contribution to the process can be important.

On the other hand, respondents perceive that the environment and economic development can be in conflict. Indeed, when asked, 30% of respondents gave an affirmative response stating that environment protection and economic development are in conflict, while 42% say that they are in conflict to some extent, while only 18% think that they are not in conflict.

Most of the respondents put each individual as being most responsible for development with 59.1% first and 9.5% second preferences. Also, the government is again one of the most responsible, with 29.4% of first and 42.3% of second preferences. In addition to these two, respondents identified municipalities and local communities as being responsible for the environment, with 22.3% and 13.5% of first and second preferences combined respectively. All other responses appear below average, with frequencies several percent lower. Even non-governmental organizations, some of which have had a mission to protect the environment and act on it for decades, are identified as responsible by only 4.6% of respondents in the first two preferences combined.

Most responsible for environmental issues

Graph12

	Rank 1	Rank 2
Each individual	59,1%	9,5%
The Governmen	29,4%	42,3%
Municipalities	2,0%	20,3%
Local communities	2,0%	11,5%
Media	1,8%	4,0%
NGOs	0,9%	3,7%
Other	4,8%	8,7%

Four out of five respondents think that the efforts of the government in the area of the environment are ineffective. Out of those 80%, three-quarters think that they are completely ineffective, and one quarter think they are somewhat ineffective. When asked about other organizations, the percentages are better: 45% of respondents perceive other organizations' efforts as effective.

The Montenegro I Want

Building infrastructure

People are complaining about basic infrastructure – roads, water-supply systems, electricity-supply systems, housing, etc. However, infrastructure is being mentioned also as a potential for economic development (tourism, agriculture and industry).

Infrastructure is rather underdeveloped in Montenegro and the existing infrastructural resources are not utilized sufficiently. Four main subtopics that emerged from the specific consultations were *urban planning, the transportation infrastructure, the environmental infrastructure and technology.*

Urban planning

1) Solving the problem of illegal construction. One of the most important problems that Montenegro faces in this field is that of illegal construction. This problem is not exclusively Montenegrin. Many countries in the region are facing the same issues. However, the problem is very severe in Montenegro bearing in mind the fact that this country's economy relies heavily on tourism.

2) Illegal housing. This is a subtopic within illegal construction. Namely, many houses that were illegally built outside of the urban plans are now providing necessary housing for a number of low-income families. Resolving this problem by controlling construction and legalizing some of the buildings will be of utmost importance in Montenegro.

Transportation infrastructure

3) A very poor transportation infrastructure is one of the main developmental obstacles and barriers in the country. It influences heavily the competitiveness of the Montenegrin economy and endangers tourism. Respondents agree that the following three sectors should be priorities:

   o Maritime infrastructure;

   o Railway infrastructure;

   o Road infrastructure.

   The first is a very important precondition for the optimal and environmentally safe use of coastal resources (e.g. the Port of Bar), while the latter two will, among other things, improve connections between the North and the rest of the country, thereby reducing inequality.

Environmental infrastructure

4) Efficient energy use – it is possible to save approximately 63% of the energy that is currently being used and therefore indirectly support development.

5) The water supply, wastewater management and waste disposal systems are another unsolved problem in the country that requires an eminent and sustainable solution.
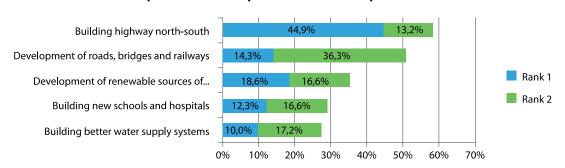
Technology

6) Development of so-called *technopolises* – cities with effective and efficient use of resources mediated by opportunities provided by the latest technology.

Survey on infrastructure

The most important infrastructural issue, as identified through the on-line survey, is the highway connecting the North and South of Montenegro – 44.9% of respondents gave it as their first preference with an additional 13.2% of second preferences. The second most important issue is the development of roads, bridges and railways, with 14.3% and 36.3% giving it as their first and second preferences. On the other hand, with below-average frequency, respondents selected development of renewable sources of energy (18.6% and 16.6% of first and second preferences), building new schools and hospitals (12.3% and 16.6% of first and second preferences) and building better water supply systems (10.0% and 17.2% of first and second preferences) as development issues within the topic of infrastructure.

Importance of subtopic within the sixth topic - Infrastructure

The quality of life in Montenegro somewhat or completely depends on the completion of new infrastructure projects in the opinion of 82.3% of respondents, while only 17.7% think that this is not the case, and that infrastructure does not play an important role in the quality of life. When asked about the prospects for important infrastructure projects being realized, 45.6% think that it is realistic that these projects will be realized, while 54.4% disagree. Finally, the government's efforts towards building the infrastructure are ineffective for 74.5% of respondents.

On one hand, the financial feasibility of large infrastructure projects is one of the issues that are often cited against them, while on the other hand the indirect and non-financial effects are used as an argument in favour of such large projects, therefore we wanted to test this idea with the respondents. When having to choose whether financial or non-financial effects are more important in deciding whether to construct an infrastructure project, 19.6% say that financial effects are more important while only 7.2% say that non-financial effects are. Still, the majority of respondents (73.2%) say that both are equally important and should be taken into consideration when evaluating potential projects.

Adequate living space is very important for the quality of life in Montenegro, with 80.5% of respondents saying that it is highly or to some extent important. When asked how realistic it is for families to have adequate living space, 43% of respondents say that it is realistic, while 57% think that it is not. The government's efforts in the area of adequate housing are seen as effective by one in five respondents, while four out of five think that the efforts are not yielding results.

Education

This topic appears in several forms. Most prominent is concern about the future for young people in Montenegro. Apart from that, people are worried about the accessibility and quality of education. There is another context in which education appears and that is the need to put knowledgeable people in positions to make decisions for society, so in a sense, people are wishing for a society based on knowledge.

It was very interesting to learn that citizens chose *education* as one of the eight most important priorities of the future. Their understanding of what needs to be improved matches with what the experts said.

Evaluation of the transformation of the system of higher education

1) One of the preconditions that were mentioned was detailed evaluation of the effects of the new educational system according to *Bologna process of higher education reform*. The question was whether this transformation has improved quality and by how much.

2) Improvement in the quality of education and the applicability of attained knowledge; strengthening of social and practical skills and abilities.

3) Strengthening of critical opinion and active methods.

4) Constant insistence on improving literacy and key competences.

5) Improvement in conditions for work and school equipment.

6) Strengthening of capacities and new methods in the education process.

7) Transformation of teachers' education.

Education and the labour market

8) Respondents believe that there is a certain mismatch between actual labour market demands and the professional profiles that are being produced by the education system in Montenegro.

9) There should be more cooperation between the business sector and the educational system. Companies should provide guidance about their needs when it comes to labour. Also, they should provide support by financing talented individuals or supporting high-quality programmes.

10) More emphasis should be given to the professional orientation of young people.
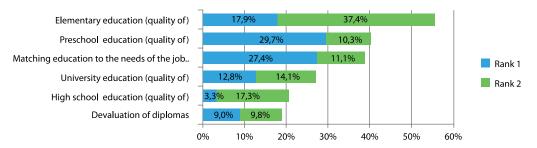
Survey on the topic of education

In an effort to identify which issue within the topic of education is the most important, and how different issues rank, respondents were asked to rank according to their preference 6 different issues (as was the case with issues within other topics that were surveyed). However, within the topic of education, although some differences in the importance of issues exist, these differences are much less evident than in other topics, leading us to the conclusion that all aspects of the education process are perceived as being equally important. That said, elementary education has the highest frequency of the first two choices, with 17.9% of first and 37.4% of second preference. Preschool education is the second most highly rated, with 29.7% of first and 10.3% of second preferences. Matching education to the needs of the job market is the third most important aspect with 27.4% of first and 11.1% of second preferences (38.5% combined). Quality of university education is in fourth place within this topic, with 26.9% of respondents

identifying it as the first or second most important. Finally, respondents that participated in the on-line survey indicated that the least important issues are high school education (20.6% combined) and the devaluation of diplomas (18.8% combined first and second preferences).

Importance of subtopic within the sevent topic - Education

Subtopic	Rank 1	Rank 2
Elementary education (quality of)	17,9%	37,4%
Preschool education (quality of)	29,7%	10,3%
Matching education to the needs of the job..	27,4%	11,1%
University education (quality of)	12,8%	14,1%
High school education (quality of)	3,3%	17,3%
Devaluation of diplomas	9,0%	9,8%

The quality of life in Montenegro depends on the quality of education, in the opinion of 62.4% of respondents, while 37.6% think that it does not. More than half of the population interviewed (55.1%) think that it is realistic to expect education to become an important priority.
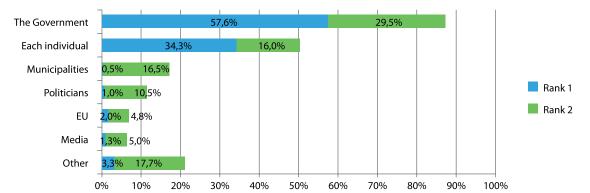
The quality of education in Montenegro is rated as very poor. Namely, only 2% of respondents think that it is very good, 25.2% rate it as good, 49.4% as bad, while 23.4% think it is very bad. On the other hand, 17.3% think that education in Montenegro can be fully competitive in the region, with an additional 43.8% saying that it can be competitive to some extent (a total of 61%). The remaining 39% of respondents think that our education cannot be competitive in the regional context.

The same question about the competitiveness of the education system was elevated to the level of Europe and the world. 7% and 4.9% of respondents said that education can be fully competitive at the level of Europe and the world respectively, 30.1% and 25.4% think that it can be competitive to some extent, while the remaining 62.9% and 69.7% think that it cannot be competitive with European and world universities respectively.

The most responsible factor for dealing with the issue of education, according to this survey, is the government – 57.6% of respondents give it as their first, and an additional 29.5% as their second preference. The second most responsible factor for education is the individual, with 34.3% of first and 16.0% of second preferences. Municipalities and politicians are also identified by 16.5% and 10.5% of second preferences, respectively. All other subjects are not identified as being responsible for education, with frequencies no more than a few percentage points.

The most responsible for education issues

Factor	Rank 1	Rank 2
The Government	57,6%	29,5%
Each individual	34,3%	16,0%
Municipalities	0,5%	16,5%
Politicians	1,0%	10,5%
EU	2,0%	4,8%
Media	1,3%	5,0%
Other	3,3%	17,7%

Given that the government is perceived as being the most responsible for education, it was interesting to see how respondents rate the effectiveness of the government's efforts. We can see that 23.2% of the respondents rate their efforts as effective, while 76.8% rate them as ineffective in their efforts. The efforts of other organizations are not rated much better either, with 30.7% rating them as effective.

Values

In many responses people expressed their concern about rapid changes in values. There are a lot of specific values that they mention, but most prominent are solidarity, family values, tolerance, respect for others and non-discrimination.

Values are one of the most ambivalent issues in these consultations. They have been emphasized as a problem in many interviews, but most of the respondents actually do not have an idea about how values should be changed or who is responsible for such a change. Although most of the respondents in the specific focus group that was organized about this topic believed that the quality of life depends on the values that dominate society, the question about which direction these value systems should be changed in remained unanswered. The other point that most of the respondents agreed upon was the fact that the value system was going through a particular type of crisis at the moment. They are mostly sceptical about the values that dominate the population of the country and they evaluate those as mostly negative.

One of the positive findings is the fact that according to the respondents, every individual is most responsible for restoring a more positive system of values. The second place is occupied by the state.

> *"The value system in Montenegro is corrupt. Before, one was valued for being honest, humane, knowledge-able. Not any more. Now, the most valued quality is political affiliation. You are not rewarded for your work."*

The negative values most criticized by the respondents are:

- General apathy and a lack of will to influence positive changes by one's own example;

- Tolerance of the attitude that taking shortcuts is acceptable;

- So-called "subject" psychology which means that people are not behaving as participants but as passive subjects,

- Promoting inequality in the sense that an individual is being merited primarily by how much he/she owns;

- Too much value given to material things, especially money.

Some of the respondents see this change as global. However, some of them believe that things are rapidly changing in Montenegro. Most of those who are critical believe that the incumbent party supports this kind of value system because it helps them win elections.

Most respondents do not believe that change is possible and are looking to the outside for decisive influences towards improving it. Some of them are mentioning specific organizations (e.g. the EU), but most of them emphasize the weakness of the society itself and the inability of our institutions to deal with the problem by themselves.

Survey on the topic of values

The values that dominate Montenegrin society such as solidarity, family values, tolerance, respect for others and non-discrimination are perceived as being very important for the quality of life. Namely, 43.1% of the respondents say that their quality of life depends on values in the most part, and an additional 40.3% say that it somewhat depends on values. Only 16.5% of respondents say that their quality of life is independent of values.

More respondents rate the predominant values negative than positive – 70.2% versus 29.8%

respectively. When asked about the government's efforts regarding values in our society, only 14% see these efforts as effective, while 86% find them ineffective. Though the percentages are still low, other organizations are seen as being more effective, with a 30:70 ratio of those who rate them effective to those who rate them ineffective.

When asked to identify whose responsibility it is to change and affect the values that dominate our society, 54% of respondents said that each individual is most responsible, with an additional 10.6% stating this as their second choice. After individuals, the most responsible actor is the government, with 24.1% of first and 39.7% of second choices. Also, but with much lower frequency, respondents stated that this is the responsibility of municipalities, the local community, the media and politicians.

Most responsible for values

Graph 16