

Small States Challenges to democracy

Your country
MONTENEGRO

Created by: Olivera Komar
Presented by: Olivera Komar

Index	Montenegro
Nations in transit, 2020; values from 1 to 7, with 1 representing the highest level of democratic progress and 7 the lowest	
National Democratic Governance	3.25
Electoral Process	4.25
Civil Society	5.25
Independent Media	3.25
Local Democratic Governance	4.50
Judicial Framework and Independence	3.50
Corruption	3.00
Democracy Score	3.93
V-Dem project, 2019; rank and score from 0 to 1, with 1 representing higher quality	
Liberal Democracy Index	97/ 0.349
Electoral Democracy Index	107/ 0.456
Liberal Component Index	82/ 0.699
Egalitarian Component Index	58/ 0.731
Participatory Component Index	46/ 0.605
Deliberative Component Index	98/0.663
Polity IV, 2014; scores between -10 to 10, where 10 is full democracy, 6 to 9 democracy, 1 to 5 open anocracy, -5 to 0 closed anocracy and -10 to -6 autocracy	
Authority trends	9, since 2006
The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy index, 2018; rank and scores between 0 to 10, where 0 to 4 are Authoritarian regimes, 4.01 to 6 hybrid regimes, 6.01 to 8 flawed democracies and 8.01 to 10 full democracies	
Electoral process and pluralism	6.08
Functioning of government	5.36
Political participation	6.11
Political culture	4.38
Civil liberties	6.76
Regime type	81/ 5.74
Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, 2018, rank and score between 1 and 10 where 10 is the highest value	
Status Index	20/7.35
Political Transformation	26/7.55
Economic Transformation	23/7.14
Governance Index	17/6.49

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The quality of democracy in the country

“Objective” measures

Subjective measures of dimensions of quality of democracy, EVS, 2008 and 2018; mean values			
Variable	Year	2008	2018
How good is having a democratic political system to govern this country? (1- very good, 4- very bad), v228 Q66, v148 Q43		1.72	1.60
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government (1- agree strongly, 4- disagree strongly) v229 Q67		1.76	8.05
How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? (1- not at all important, 10- absolutely important) v142 Q40			
How satisfied are you with democracy? (1- very satisfied, 4- not at all satisfied) v223 Q64		2.73	5.18
And how democratically is this country being governed today? (1- not at all democratic, 10- completely democratic) v143 Q41			
People have different view about the system for governing this country. How well things are going? (1- very bad, 10- very good) v224 Q65		5.25	5.05
How satisfied are you with how the political system is functioning in your country these days? (1- not satisfied at all, 10- completely satisfied) v144 Q42			
Confidence in government (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v222 q63 V 131 Q38		2.77	2.79
Confidence in: parliament (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v211 q63 V121 q38		2.80	2.80
Confidence in: political parties (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v221 q63 V130 q38		3.19	2.93
Confidence in: European union (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v214 q63 V124 q38		2.62	2.46
Confidence in trade unions (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v209 q63 V119 q38		2.97	2.95
Confidence in environmental organizations (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v220 q63, V129 q38		2.68	2.72
Confidence in: social security system (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v213 q63 V123 q38		2.55	2.74
Confidence in: armed forces (1- a great deal, 4- none at all) v206 q63 V116 q38		2.75	2.40

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The quality of democracy in the country

“Subjective” measures

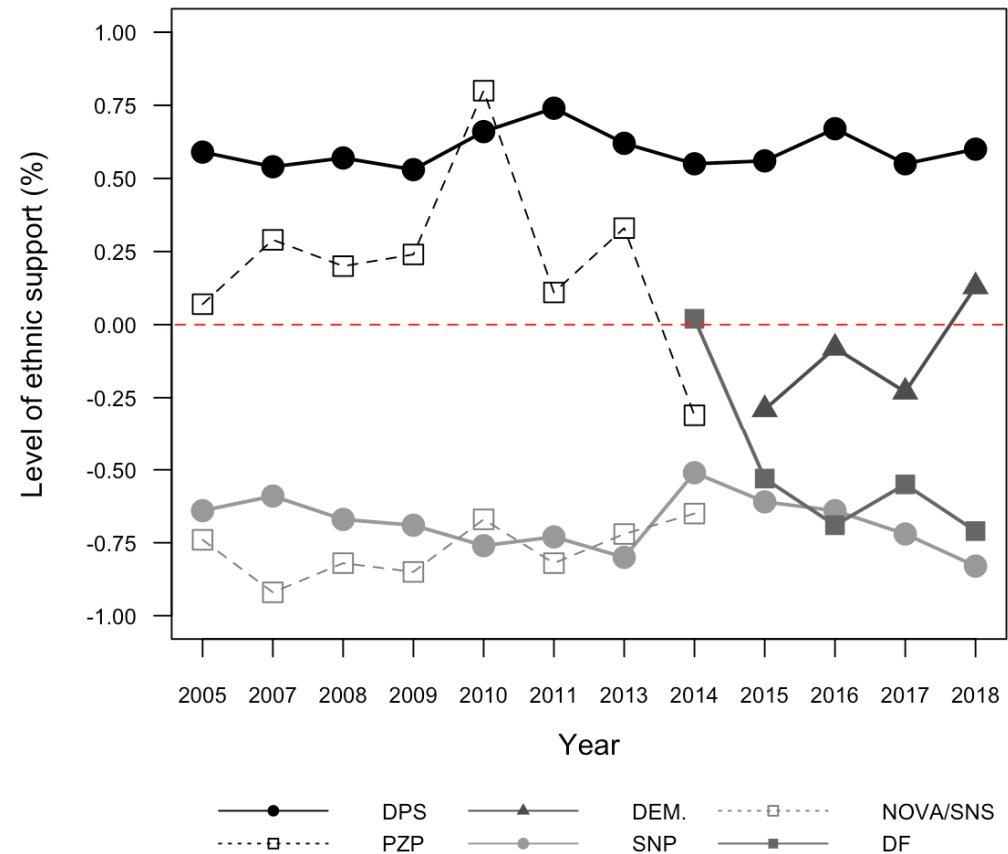
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Social cleavages

What kind of political/social cleavage exist in the country?

- Ethnic cleavage based on statehood issue –
- pro/Montenegrin and pro/Serbian sides
- Referendum as an estimate of the sides: 55% “pro/Montenegrin, 45% pro/Serbian
- Attempts to bridge the cleavage – 2020 Parliamentary election and loss of power for DPS



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Mobilisation of anti-democracy sentiment

- The main topic is identity (anthem, flag, church...)
- The second most important topic is corruption and economy
- Strong potential for mobilisation



2019, anti-government anti-corruption protests “Odupri se”



Liturgical protests, 2020



Patriotic post-election gathering, 2020

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Corruption and inefficiency

- Corruption is a huge problem in Montenegro along with nepotism and cronyism
- 30 years of one party in power
- An obstacle to European integration (Chapter 23 and 24)
- Corruption affairs on tape with the highest state and party official
- Misusing judiciary – prosecutors “losing” important cases due to the “errors”
- Weak institutions - state capture

Small States Populism

- State populism – DPS
- Opposition populism – Demokrate
- Weak evidence of the typical populist party features
- Strong populist appeals during 2020 elections (anti-elitism)
- "a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups: "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite," and argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people" (Mudde 2004; Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser 2017).
 - Thin-centered ideology ✓
 - Homogeneous groups ✗

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Extremism and extremist parties

- Politically right and economically left
- Small nationalistic religious pro-Serbian parties – e.g. Prava Crna Gora (True Montenegro)
- Small support but strong potential for driving the agenda right and initiating conflicts – burning of NATO or Montenegrin flag, drawing Serbian flags on the streets of Montenegro, etc.

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Democracy and COVID-19

- COVID-19 opened up room for authoritarian practices:
 - Breaking rights to personal data (publishing names of people in isolation)
 - Using COVID-19 for political gains, e.g. blocking cities in order to stop Liturgical protests
 - Using public funds for elections with COVID-19 as an excuse, e.g. retroactively increasing pensions in election time “because of COVID-19”
 - Parliamentary elections in 2020 in the midst of COVID-19 crises

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Prospects of democracy

- In 2020 DPS lost power on national level after 30 years
- The prospects however not pink
- The new majority includes three party groups, among which one is strongly controlled by the Serbian Orthodox Church
 - Government forming talks being held in monastery, e.g.
- “Pro-Montenegrin” party in the new majority holds only 4 seats in the Parliament (81 in total)
- Strong polarisation and resurrection of identity politics
- Authoritarian practices in COVID-19 times
- Economic crises due to the public debt and COVID-19