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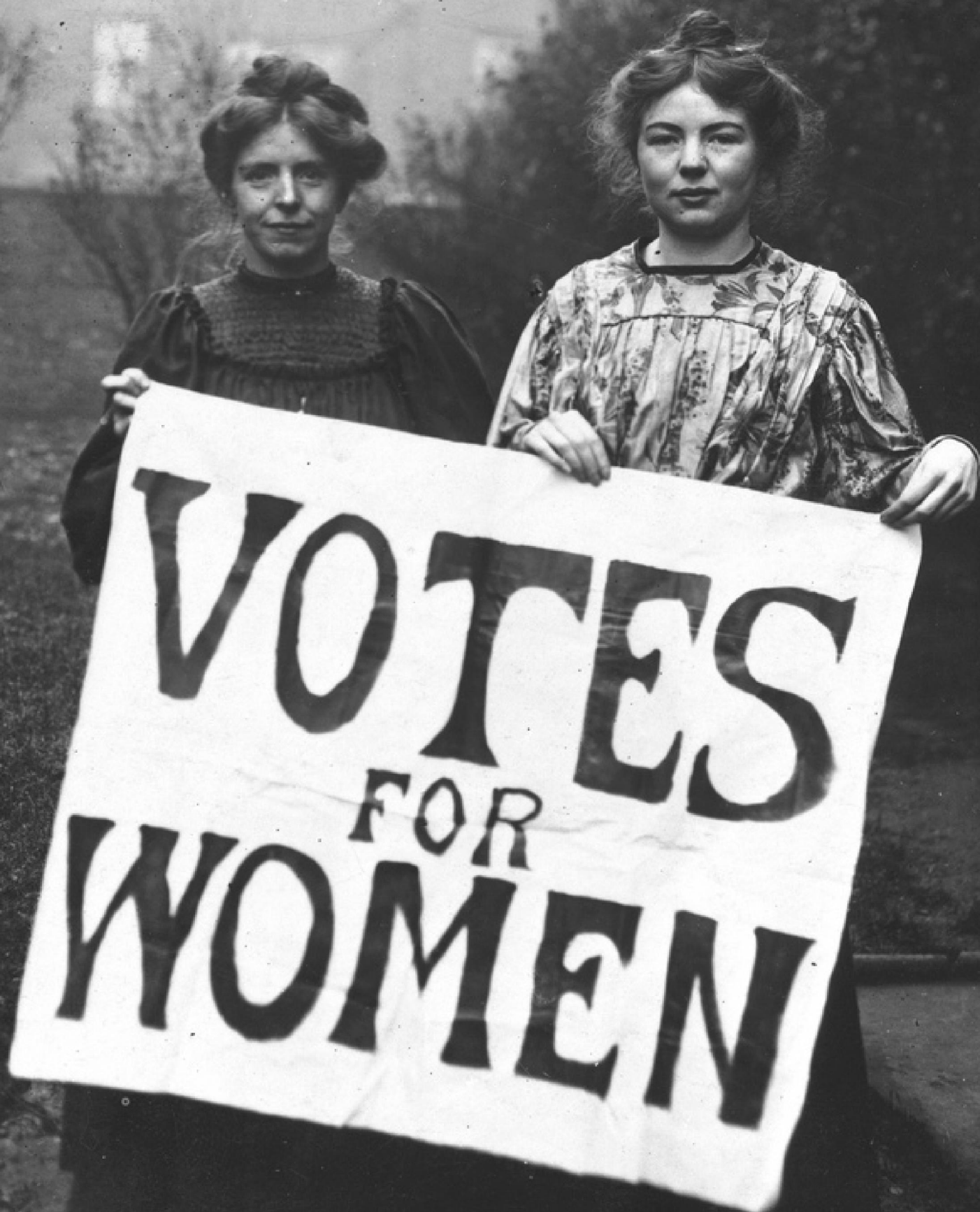
# Women in politics

Montenegro, June 2012



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**VOTES  
FOR  
WOMEN**

# 1. Research methodology

In the research about position of women in politics two target groups were studied and various research methods and techniques were applied. Ambition of the research was to feel the pulse of public opinion on one hand, and examine attitudes, opinions and perception of public opinion, that is, to study the attitudes, opinions and perception of Montenegrin citizens through field F2F survey and discussion groups which include evaluations by means of response meters. On the other hand, the research aims to understand how the most important actors of social and political life perceive the position of women in Montenegro. These actors are political functionaries, functionaries in political parties, representatives of nongovernmental organizations and media companies. Their opinions and perceptions are examined through in-depth-interviews. The most important details connected with the chosen methodological approach are presented in the following table:

Type of research	Short description	Most important goals
DESK research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assessment of the existing legal framework and gender mechanisms which secure bigger participation of women in politics</li> <li>Review of experiences from other countries, with accent on cases which support the assumption that bigger participation of women can bring positive changes</li> </ul>	Analysis of legal framework and the existing mechanisms for participation of women in politics, review, comparison and current experiences of other countries regarding participation of women in politics, relevant changes as a result of increased number of women in politics and decision making.
F-2-F survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>General population;</li> <li>A total of 1230 F-2-F interviews. 1000 interviews on nationally representative sample; Addition to sample – the so called booster (oversample) - 200 interviews with members of ethnic minorities</li> </ul>	Evaluate to what extent general population understands the role and position of women in politics (“what women politicians can change”) and what the voters can expect from women in politics. Testing of presence and scope of gender-related stereotypes regarding the so-called „masculine“ issues (security, police, crime, etc.) and “feminine” issues (education, health, social protection, etc.), through field survey

In-depth-interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Female politicians and decision makers in political parties, advisors and persons who make the most important decisions in political parties, NGO representatives and representatives of institutions which cooperate with female MPs, as well as representatives of the most influential media</li> <li>A total of 22 interviews</li> </ul>	<p>Assessment of motivation of women who actively participate in politics and barriers which they face in private and professional life, understanding the way in which political parties chose their leaderships, expectations regarding position of women in future, attitudes on introduction of quotas</p>
Response-meters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Two groups with 20 citizens in each, of different sex, age, voting preferences and nationality</li> <li>A total of 40 participants</li> </ul>	<p>Evaluate to what extent the same political messages presented by men and women can influence the potential voters, and whether there are topics which female politicians present more successfully.</p>



## 1.1 Desk

**Secondary research (also known as Desk Research) involves collection of data from the existing resources and summing up, comparison and/or synthesis of the existing research.** Desk research is very effective and it can be conducted in the initial research phase, but it can also be used as an independent research technique. Use of desk research in the initial phase of research process provides us with basic information about particular topic. This type of research is the most effective if it is combined with other methodological solutions, because it provides extensive and complete information about some topic.

Desk analysis allowed us to understand the broader context, primarily legal framework, the existing mechanisms and data about participation of women in politics. Besides that, desk analysis helped us understand the experiences of other countries (for which the data are available) on how the **politics changed with increased participation of women in parliaments and governments, aiming to show a clear connection between participation of women and changes in politics.** We consider this aspect particularly important, since positive example of foreign countries which are economically and socially more developed can be a strong argument for decision makers in political parties, but also for the citizens on elections.

In order to realize the main objectives of the whole study, three main topics were realized with the help of desk research:

- Assessment of broader socio-economic and cultural context of women's participation in politics
- Assessment of the existing legal framework and gender-related mechanisms which secure bigger participation of women in politics
- Review, comparison and presentation of experiences from other countries regarding participation of women in politics, as well as relevant changes resulting from increased number of women in politics and decision making.

## 1.2 Face-to-face (F-2-F) survey

F-2-F survey is probably the most popular and the oldest method of data collection. In case of face-to-face surveys the interviewer is physically present in respondent's household, asking questions and helping the respondents to answer them. This method of data collection is still the best when the aim is to minimize the percentage of non-response and maximize the quality of collected data. Face-to-face interviews are often used to collect data in studies which explore sensitive topics. The main advantage of F-2-F interviews is presence of the interviewer, which smoothes establishment of mutual confidence between the interviewer and respondent, but it also helps the respondent to answer some questions or clarify some items in questionnaire. Besides that, in F-2-F interviews various visual materials are used (such as show cards or audio-visual testing material) to help the respondent answer some questions.

Therefore, in this study, survey on general population was conducted using F-2-F method, on representative sample of Montenegrin citizens aged 18 + years. In other words, the survey covers the citizens on the entire territory of Montenegro, both those living in urban and rural settlements. Respondents are of mixed sex, belonging to various age groups, with different financial status, which means that structure of the sample reflects structure of population. Realized sample is 1230 respondents, and it included female and male respondents in proportion that reflects situation in population. Size of realized sample made it possible to obtain reliable appraisal of the measured indicators (attitudes, observations, habits in behavior) both for male and female subpopulation. Besides that, the realized size and structure of the sample made it possible to obtain reliable results on the level of nationality, since percentage of representative of national minorities whose share in population of Montenegro is small was increased in sample through the so-called booster sample or oversample.

Quantitative survey<sup>1</sup> provided **exact measurements and quantification** of relevant indicators and **comparison** of results on these indicators for various target groups or segments of population, as well as comparisons with previously conducted surveys or surveys realized in other countries (if such surveys exist, and if they were conducted in similar way). Besides that, quantitative surveys realized on representative sample in compliance with particular procedures for planning and realization of sample make possible **generalization of the obtained results to the entire population, which is also the case with this study**. Namely, we can state with a certain degree of certainty that results of the survey on participation of women in politics, obtained on representative sample, reflect exact situation in the entire population; figuratively speaking, the obtained results are reflecting the opinion of the citizens of Montenegro, and not "only the respondents".

When it comes to technical details regarding the realization of the field survey, it is worth mentioning that the sample is representative for population of adult citizens of Montenegro, covering 1230 respondents. According to its technical characteristics, this sample was a three-stage stratified random sample, with sampling frame based on territories of polling places. Stratification was made by region and type of settlement, and three phases which secure randomness of the sample are: selection of sampling points, that is, the polling place territories included in the survey (probability of selection is proportional to size of the polling place expressed through number of registered voters), selection of household (using the random route technique) and selection of respondent (using Kish tables). The sample consisted of 157 sampling points, and data collection was realized in the period from 02 and 11 June 2012.

### 1.3 In-depth interviews

In-depth interview is a qualitative method, focused on understanding, which implies collecting of data from a small number of respondents through individual interviews about their behavior, opinion, emotions and experiences or perception of some idea, program or situation. In-depth interviews are the most efficient method in cases when it is necessary to understand a phenomenon

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<sup>1</sup> In social sciences, quantitative research is systemic, empirical research of social phenomena, facilitated by statistical, mathematical or computer techniques. The aim of quantitative research is developing and using mathematical models, theories and/or hypotheses referring to the tested phenomenon. The process of measuring is crucial for quantitative research, since it provides the fundamental link between empirical observation and mathematical expression of quantitative connections.



more deeply, to discover attitudes, opinions and emotions of target group representatives, and to shed light on mechanisms underlying some processes. In other words, qualitative methods, that in-depth interviews belong to, are efficient methods in surveys that require reaching beyond mere measuring and determining frequencies, or surveys that are expected to offer deeper understanding and explanation of some phenomena. During an interview, trained moderator speaks to a respondent who may be a member of target group or to key information-providers who share special knowledge about target population, who have relevant status among target group members, access to relevant information or the will to share their knowledge and skills.

In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with women involved in the political process in Montenegro, with decision makers in political parties, with their advisors and with representatives of NGOs and institutions collaborating with women MPs and representatives of the most influential media. **This part of the survey provided a more complete image and enabled deeper insight in women's motives to take part in political life, in obstacles they are faced with in private and professional life, as well as empirical material used as foundation for design of recommendations for overcoming the identified problems and improving the position of women in political life of Montenegro.** Participation of NGOs is very important, considering their significant role in social and political life of Montenegro, and influence they have on shaping the attitudes of general population, but also attitudes of makers of most important decisions in political parties. At the same time, information collected in in-depth interviews enables understanding of the way party officials think, those who are responsible for making cadre decisions, and provides insight in factors they take into consideration when making these decisions.

There are many reasons for choosing in-depth interviews as a research technique in this study. Firstly, qualitative study introduces something new relative to classical fieldwork poll: since our objective is not only exact measuring of the most significant attitudes, opinions and perceptions of general population, but we also want to understand the way most relevant participants of political, NGO and media scene in Montenegro think, and what their attitudes and values are, in terms of the position of women in politics. So, quantitative study, although it provides evaluation of population parameters, very often can't reach deeper into attitudes, values and emotions of respondents, and can't provide material for reconstruction of the process of decision making or identifying relevant factors and the ways they act. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand the viewpoints of the most relevant participants in political and social life in terms of the position of women in politics using quantitative approach, since these samples, as a rule, are small, so results obtained on them - unreliable.

What made us choose in-depth interviews instead of some other type of qualitative research, primarily focus group discussions, was the fact that it was very difficult to reach our respondents, since these are women on prominent political positions, political party leaders or prominent party officials, NGO leaders, chief editors of the most influential media. Out of this reason, it was necessary to adjust appointments to their schedule, so it was practically impossible to gather 6-8 persons of this profile for a group discussion.

Conducted were 22 interviews. Each in-depth interview lasted between 30 and 60 minutes and was conducted by a trained and experienced moderator. All in-depth interviews were held between June 12 and June 28, 2012.

## 1.4 Response meters

**Response meters (or perception meters) are a combination of quantitative (objective and precise) measuring of various elements according to various criteria, and conversation about these elements using the qualitative research principle.** During the research, respondents use devices to evaluate given elements by various criteria defined by research objectives. It is important to stress that evaluation is carried out all the time while respondents are exposed to tested material, so available are aggregate or segmented quantitative data about impressions for any part of portion of tested material (for example, available is evaluation for the entire tested speech, from the beginning to the end, where it is clearly visible whether certain portions are approved of or disapproved of by target groups). Additionally, evaluation of tested materials is complemented by discussion about them or their parts, providing respondents' impressions, emotions, thoughts about what they saw. This means going "beyond numbers", and using qualitative techniques delivering explanations of given evaluation, or understanding the reasons why respondents react positively or negatively to tested material or some of its parts.

On basis of field work with general population, obtained were topics that citizens consider typically „male“ or typically „female“. Taking this as the foundation, our outsourcer with rich experience in conducting and creating electoral campaigns, designed different electoral messages with different topics. Then an audio recording of these messages was made, in the form of short speeches and addressing the audience, read by a woman and a man. Some of the experienced journalists from Montenegro were engaged in this. In this way, we obtained accurate and precise reactions (for example appeal and credibility) to electoral messages about various topics spoken by a man and a woman and comparison of these reactions between men and women (quantitative aspect), but we also obtained insight in the reasons behind such reactions, in positively and negatively received parts of messages etc. (qualitative aspect).

We held two response meter discussion groups. Each group included 20 respondents living in Podgorica, age 20 to 64 years, chosen by predefined criteria, so one group consisted of undecided voters and those who were saying at that moment that they were not going to vote, while the other group included politically decided respondents of various political orientation (voters of all big political parties, both position and opposition). Groups included persons of both sexes, of different age and education, so that their structure approximately matched the structure of adult population of Montenegro.

Both groups were guided by a trained moderator, psychologist, and they lasted for 2 hours approximately. They were held on June 22, 2012.

## 2. Legal and strategic frame

### 2.1 International standards and initiatives

One of the prerequisites of women participation in the political life of a country is the existence of adequate normative frame which enables women to exercise their rights to political representation and protects this right. Although every country forms independently its legislative system, based on social and state structure, in creating it the country is bound to adhere to the standards and principles established in the international law. Among these principles, due to their universal and mainly legally binding character, a particular importance is given to the standards of the United Nations.

Equality between men and women, in terms of realization and protection of human rights, was originally proclaimed in the **UN Charter (1945)** and **UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948)**. After UN organization was founded, in 1946 a **Commission on the Status of Women** was formed within Economic and Social Council of the UN, with a mandate to research the status of women and submit to the General Assembly proposals and reports related to the rights of women in political, economic, civil, social and educational spheres. As a result of the Committee's efforts, General Assembly of the UN in 1952 adopted the **Convention on the Political Rights of Women**. Considering that the convention was passed at the time when a large number of developed countries did not guarantee women the right to vote, this Convention took a step forward in the international regulations. The Convention comprises three rights:

1. Women are entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men, without any discrimination (active voting right)
2. Women are eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, established by national laws, on equal terms with men without any discrimination (passive voting right)
3. Women are entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination

Taking into consideration the general regulations of these documents and the necessity of having more detailed regulations for particular areas of human rights, two treaties were adopted: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966).

**International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)**, along with confirmation of the principle of equality for men and women included in previous UN acts, prescribes certain obligations of the states parties to the present Covenant. Each state party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the Covenant and to take necessary steps to adopt legislative measures in accordance

with provisions of the Covenant to enable all citizens access to appeal to competent authorities in cases when the proclaimed rights were violated.

As previously adopted instruments failed to eliminate discrimination against women, General Assembly of UN in 1979 adopted **the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women** (CEDAW). Today this Convention represents one of the widest international agreements on human rights. What sets this Convention apart from previous documents related to the equality between men and women is the program which binds countries which have ratified it not only to incorporate provisions of the Convention in their legal system, but also to implement measures and activities leading to real equality of men and women. In terms of political representation, an important part is article 7 of the Convention which binds countries to undertake all measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country, and in particular, to ensure the following 3 rights:

1. The right of women to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
2. The right of women to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
3. The right to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country binds all States Parties to take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.

What distinguishes this Convention from other international acts is the system of control of implementation of its provisions in states parties. This Convention binds states parties to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a report on legislative, judicial, administrative and other measures they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the Convention (article 18)<sup>2</sup>. States parties submit two kinds of reports: one prepared by the Government and its bodies, and the other submitted by non-governmental organizations. Based on the report submitted by the states that ratified CEDAW Convention, the Committee provides the states parties with its Conclusions and proposals for further measures.<sup>3</sup>

Acknowledging that there has been some progress in the sphere of men and women equality, but that some degree of inequality between men and women in certain areas still persist, the participating countries of Fourth World Conference on Women, held in 1995 in Beijing, China, adopted the **Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action**. This document defines several critical

<sup>2</sup>Initial CEDAW report submitted by Montenegro was discussed and agreed upon at the Montenegro Government session on 25 February, 2010 following the proposal of the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, upon which it was forwarded to the CEDAW Committee.

<sup>3</sup>The most significant suggestions by CEDAW Committee to Montenegro, referring to political participation of women, are listed in chapter 3.2.3. CEDAW Committee Report.

areas of concern and urges all governments, international community, civil society, non-governmental organizations and the private sector to take strategic action in these critical areas of concern. As one of the critical areas, the Declaration states inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels. In order to achieve solution to this issue, the Declaration establishes several strategic objectives:

- **Strategic Objective G.1.:** Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making
- **Strategic Objective G.2.:** Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership
- **Strategic Objective H2.:** Integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programs and projects
- **Strategic Objective I.2.:** Ensure equality and non-discrimination under the law and in practice

**Millennium Declaration** is a Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2000. It stresses key values of international relations in the 21 century: freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature and shared responsibility. The Declaration states as its main objectives:

- peace, security and disarmament
- development and poverty eradication
- protection of environment
- human rights, democracy and good governance
- protecting the vulnerable
- meeting the special needs of Africa
- strengthening the role of the United Nations

In accordance with the adopted United Nations Millennium Declaration, **Millennium Development Goals** were defined (**MDGs**):

- eradicating extreme poverty and hunger
- achieving universal primary education
- promoting gender equality
- reducing child mortality rates
- improving maternal health
- combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
- ensuring environmental sustainability
- developing a global partnership for development

The year 2015 was set as the final deadline for achieving the determined goals. By adopting the resolution, it was set out that the General Assembly will prepare regular reports on achieved progress in implementation of Declaration provisions<sup>4</sup>.

**Gender equality has been the focus of many documents, adopted not only by the United Nations, but also by the European Union.**

The key document of the EU related to the area of human rights is the **Charter of Fundamental Rights in the European Union**, adopted in 200 in Nice. Although it did not represent a legally binding document until the European Constitution had been adopted, this document has a significant importance as it is considered a major source in interpreting the European Union law by the European Court of Justice.

In order to define priority areas and interventions which would enable complete men and women equality, the European Commission adopted in 2006 **The Roadmap for Equality between Men and Women 2006-2010**. The roadmap outlines six priority areas of EU activities related to gender equality for the period 2006-2010:

1. Achieving equal economic independence for women and men
2. Encouraging reconciliation of professional, private and family life
3. Promoting equal representation of women and men in decision-making
4. Eradication all forms of gender-based violence and human trafficking
5. Elimination of gender stereotypes in societies
6. Promotion of gender equality in countries outside the EU

Taking into consideration that the fact that women are under-represented in political decision-making represents a democratic deficit, the Roadmap for Equality Between Men and Women 2006-2010 stresses further promotion of active civil engagement of women and their participation in politics along with taking high leading positions in public services at all levels (local, regional, state, European).

To mark the international Women's Day and the 30th anniversary of adoption of the Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, the European Commission presented the **Women's Charter** in 2010. The Charter defines five key areas of action: men and women equality on the labor market and equal economic independence, equal pay for equal work, eradication of gender-based violence and gender equality beyond the EU.

**EU Strategy for Equality between Men and Women from 2010 to 2015** is a strategic document defining the policy of active participation with an aim of achieving gender equality. The Strategy defines concrete measures in five priority areas set out in the Geneva Charter and one area dealing with issues present in all other areas.

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<sup>4</sup>Review of the report by Montenegro on implementation of Millennium development objectives in Montenegro related to gender equality is to be found in chapter 3.2.4. Report on implementation of Millennium objectives in Montenegro.



An important document is **the European Charter on Men and Women Equality in Local Life**, adopted in 2006 by the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) as association of local and regional governments. Starting from the necessity of equal participation and presence of women and men in all governance and in leading positions, the Charter establishes the following principles as fundamental for further activities in favor of gender equality:

- Equality of women and men constitutes a fundamental right
- To ensure the equality of women and men, multiple discrimination and disadvantage must be addressed
- The balanced participation of women and men in decision-making is a prerequisite of a democratic society
- The elimination of gender stereotypes is fundamental to achieving equality of women and men
- Integrating the gender perspective into all activities of local and regional government is necessary to advance equality of women and men
- Properly resourced action plans and programs are necessary tools to advance equality of women and men

The European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life binds all signatory authorities to develop and adopt Equality Action Plan, which sets out its objectives, priority measures planned to be implemented and resources allocated for implementation of the Charter and prescribed objectives.

Inter-Parliamentary Union adopted **IPU Strategy 2012-2017** with an overall title **“Better Parliaments, Stronger Democracy”**. Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) was founded in 1889 as an international organization of Assemblies of sovereign countries. This organization has the observer status within the United Nations. At the moment it consists of 162 member countries. Montenegro is a member of this organization and has 3 representatives, one of whom is a woman. As the focal point of parliamentary dialogue and activities, IPU gathers parliaments around considerations of issues of international interest, contributes to the defense and promotion of parliamentarians’ and human rights and contributes to the strengthening of representative institutions throughout the world.

IPU Strategy for 2012-2017 charts 3 strategic objectives of this organization over this period:

- Better parliaments, stronger democracies
- More international involvement of parliaments
- The IPU as a more effective instrument of parliamentary cooperation

The IPU holds that gender equality is a key component of better parliaments. As part of IPU's strategic objective «Better parliaments, stronger democracies», this Strategy sets out as a separate aim «Improving gender equality», particularly:

- Maintaining the position of IPU as a global reference point for women in politics
- Developing national strategies to facilitate women's access to parliament and support women MPs in policy-making
- Fostering gender-sensitive change in parliament

- Assisting parliaments in amending discriminatory laws and strengthening their capacity to address violence against women

Along with previously mentioned documents, there are also series of directives related to gender equality that prescribe adapting national legislation during the process of EU accession where addressing this issue represents one of the requirements of European integrations for all countries in the pre-accession or integration phase.

## 2.2 National normative and institutional frame

### 2.2.1. Normative and strategic frame

The principle of gender equality, as one of the standards of modern democracies, was integrated into the constitutional system when the **Constitution of Montenegro** was adopted in 2007. The Constitution stipulates that the state assures the equality of women and men and develops equal opportunity policy (Article 18.) Along with gender equality, article 8 of the Constitution prohibits any kind of direct and indirect discrimination. However, the overall content of the Constitution is dominated by the principle of national equality, while gender equality has been proclaimed only in the two above mentioned articles of the Constitution.

Anti-discriminatory and at the same time the most important law in the area of gender equality in Montenegro is the **Law on Gender Equality**, passed in 2007. Gender equality means that *women and men equally participate in all spheres of public and private life, and that they have equal status, equal opportunities to enjoy and exercise all their rights and freedoms, to make use of their individual skills and capabilities for the development of society and equally benefit from achieved results of their work* (article 2). Along with regulations related to securing and exercising rights on the basis of gender equality, the Law also stipulates measures to eliminate gender discrimination and establish equal opportunities for women and men in all fields of social life. In accordance with prohibition of discrimination proclaimed in the Constitution of Montenegro, the Law on Gender Equality in article 4 defines gender discrimination as *all legal and de facto, direct or indirect differentiation, privilege, exclusion or restriction based on gender which results in difficulties for the discriminated persons to be granted acknowledgment, access or exercise of their human rights and freedom in political, educational, economic, social, cultural, sports, civil and in other fields of public and private life*. At the same time, the Law stipulates that *general and special measures, adopted or undertaken for elimination or prevention of unequal treatment of women and men, for elimination of consequences of unequal treatment of women and men and promotion of gender equality shall not be considered as discrimination* (Article 5).

General measures undertaken to secure gender equality, stipulated by the Law on Gender Equality are:

- Parliament of Montenegro and Government of Montenegro are bound to apply principles of gender equality, in particular the principle of gender-balanced representation in elections and appointments to certain functions, formation of working bodies and the structure of official delegations (Article 10).
- Local governments are bound, within the scope of their competencies, to foster and achieve gender equality, i.e. to undertake measures and activities of importance for the establishment of gender equality (Article 11).
- Political parties are obliged, through their regulations, to select the methods and measures to secure gender-balanced representation of women and men within the bodies of the party, on the candidate lists for the election of members of the republic parliament and members of the local parliament, in elected clubs of MPs and representatives of both local and republic parliament and appointment to managing positions at all levels (Article 12).
- The media are bound to promote gender equality in their program concepts (Article 13).

Along with general measures, the Law in article 16 stipulates a possibility of undertaking special measures in order to achieve and improve gender balance in spheres of social life where women

have been under-represented, i.e. where unequal treatment of one gender was noticed. These measures eliminate the existing obstacles that lead or may lead to unequal position of one gender or give special benefits in favor of under-represented gender (Article 16). The Ministry in charge of gender equality is the Ministry of Protection of Human and Minority rights, while the action plan in this field and programs aimed at implementation of this plan are determined by the Government.

A step further towards achieving full gender equality is also the **Law on Prohibition of Discrimination** (2010). This law defines discrimination, with precise explanation of direct and indirect discrimination, addresses special forms of discrimination that have not been addressed by other laws and also outlines institutional protection mechanisms.

Along with the law which stipulates men and women equality, an important point is the **legislation which regulates activities and structure of political parties, as well as electoral legislation.**

**The Law on Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament** adopted in 1998 defines the procedures for election of councilors and members of Parliament. In accordance with this law, a voter who has turned 18 years of age, with business capacity and permanent residence in Montenegro for no less than two years prior to the polling day is entitled to elect and be elected an MP. A voter who has turned 18 years of age, with business capacity and permanent residence in Montenegro for no less than two years and permanent residence in a municipality, or a city municipality as an electoral district for no less than six months prior to the polling day is entitled to elect and be elected a councilor. (Article 11)

However, until 2011 the Law on Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament did not include provisions that refer to gender structure of electoral lists of political parties and coalitions. The amendments to this Law in September 2011 introduce mandatory «quota system» into electoral legislation for parliamentary and local elections and at the same time outline the measures to sanction disrespect of this system. Article 39a of the Law prescribes that an electoral list shall include at least 30% of the candidates of the under-represented gender, and if the electoral list does not comply with this requirement and does not eliminate the shortcomings of the list within the legal frame, the election commission will decline to confirm the electoral list. The amendments also refer to article 96, which now states that the number of seats in the Parliament that a list of candidates has acquired shall be allocated to candidates according to the order from the list of candidates.

Although these were significant changes to one of the electoral laws, aimed at improving and increasing the representation of women in the highest state bodies, it seems that certain shortcomings still persist. Taking into consideration the provision that the nominator of electoral list decides on the order of the candidates, it seems that the provision of Law binding political parties and coalitions to nominate at least 30% of the candidates of the under-represented gender, does not offer sufficient guarantee that after the elections the Parliament and local governments will include at least approximately equal percentage of councilors and representatives of female gender. What the electoral legislation lacks are certain requirements referring to the order of candidates on the lists which would make the option of having higher percentage of women in the Parliament more likely.

According to the Law on **Political Parties** (2004), the procedure of selecting candidates for government bodies is determined by the Statute of the political party, as one of the basic acts of the political parties. Along with the procedure of selecting electoral lists, the Statute also defines the

method of undertaking affirmative actions in order to achieve gender equality in the election of party bodies<sup>5</sup>.

At the Conference the Role of Women in Politics and Decision-Making – Women Quota a Necessary Starting Mechanism, held in 2006, all parliamentary parties in Montenegro signed the **Declaration on Gender Equality**. The Declaration urges all relevant participants to:

- Promote gender-balanced participation of men and women in decision-making as a priority goal in the European practice context which stresses equal opportunities for women and men
- Make an integrated global strategy to promote gender-balanced participation in decision-making. The strategy will include a wide range of measures and take into consideration the best methods and options currently implemented in EU member countries
- Regularly make and publish reports with data on women participation in decision-making in the political, economic, social and cultural life in order to obtain precise insight into objective situation and raise awareness on necessary changes
- Create stimulating support measures for non-governmental organizations in general, and particularly for those who are actively committed to this goal
- Insist on use of gender-sensitive language in the national and local media
- Insist on introduction of gender-sensitive statistics
- Initiate and monitor the initiative for adoption of the Law on Amendments on Councilors and Representatives Election in Montenegro, which will introduce quotas for under-represented gender: at least 30% of women on electoral lists and at least 30% of women elected to representative bodies at all levels
- Initiate amendments to the Law on Political Parties in order to include mandatory norms which will secure at least 30% representation of women in party organs

**Action Plan for Achievement of Gender Equality in Montenegro (2008-2012)** represents the most significant strategic document related to the area of gender equality. This document is based on national legislation and international human rights declarations adopted by the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the European Union, and other international organizations in parts related to equality of women and men. After assessing gender equality conditions in Montenegro, the following areas of concern were defined: European integration, Education, Health, Violence against Women, Economy and Sustainable Development, Politics and Decision-Making, Media and Culture and Institutional Mechanisms for creation and implementation of gender equality policy.

The area Politics and Decision-Making outlines as its strategic goal securing equal participation of women and men at all levels. This strategic goal includes several individual aims:

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<sup>5</sup> Review of the Statute of 5 Parliamentary parties in Montenegro was presented in chapter 3.2.2. Programmes of political parties in Montenegro.

- Strengthening the under-represented gender in politics and decision-making
- Achieving balanced representation of women and men at all levels of legislative and executive power
- Increase the participation of women in executive power to an extent that they can have a real impact on decision making, as well as increase participation of women at decision-making positions appointed by the government – making sure that nomination and election processes are gender-balanced
- Develop the strategy for increased number of rural and Roma women in decision-making bodies at local level, in accordance with the Article 14 of the UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The Action Plan for Achieving Gender Equality in Montenegro prescribes that all participants included in the realization of individual measures should submit their reports to the Ministry for Protection of Human and Minority Rights every six months. The reports include reports by non-governmental organizations that were involved in individual measures taken. Based on these reports, the Ministry for Protection of Human and Minority Rights submits to the Government of Montenegro the annual report on exercising PAPRR<sup>6</sup> rights.

Up to now, the Ministry for Protection of Human and Minority rights has submitted two annual reports on implementing Action Plan for Achievement of Gender Equality: for a period from August 2008 to December 2009 and from December 2009 to June 2011.

**The report on implementing Action Plan for Achievement of Gender Equality for a period from August 2008 to December 2009** firstly confirms a low level of representation of women in the activities of political parties, as well as low representation in high positions which involve decision-making. Similar situation was noticed with relation to representation of women in the Parliament (11%) and in local governments (12.7%). A slightly higher percentage of women was noticed in state institutions of (54%) and in judicial institutions.

Some of the most important activities carried out over a period August 2008-December 2009 are:

- cycles of training for women from parliamentary parties in Montenegro carried out by the Government in cooperation with Foundations Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Eduardo Frei
- trainings for representatives of state administration and parliamentarians in cooperation with UNDP Office in Podgorica
- address by Ministry of Human and Minority Rights to Working Group for change in the electoral legislative with initiative for introduction of quotas for under-represented gender (30%) in the electoral legislative

**Report on implementing Action Plan for Achievement of Gender Equality for a period from December 2009 to June 2011** confirms that women are under-represented in political parties, Parliament and in local governance. Over this period, several activities were carried out:

- cycles of training for women from parliamentary parties in Montenegro carried out by the Government in cooperation with Foundations Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Eudardo Frei
- Conference `Women Participation in Politics` which integrated requests by all representatives of political parties, as well as experts from the country and the region and

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<sup>6</sup> Action Plan for Achievemnt of Gender Equality



reached an agreement on the proposal of the text of the regulation in the Law on Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament which binds political parties to include not less than 1/3 of under-represented persons into their party lists of electoral candidates, where each electoral list should contain at least one under-represented gender person for each 3 candidates. The text of this proposal was forwarded to the Speaker of the Parliament, presidents of parliamentary political parties, MPs, international organizations, organizations of civil society and the media in Montenegro

- organization of two round tables in 2010 and in the first half of 2011 with the title “Women Participation in Political and Public Life” by Department of Gender Equality in cooperation with OSCE Mission. On this occasion, participants exchanged regional experiences from gender equality on elected positions.

It is important to mention that changes in the electoral legislation carried out in 2011 introduced mandatory representation of a minimum of 1/3 of women on electoral lists, but not the requirement to nominate at least one person of under-represented gender for every 3 candidates.

After the National Action Plan for Achieving Gender Equality was adopted, a large number of municipalities in Montenegro adopted **Local Action Plans for Achieving Gender Equality**. Actions taken by local teams for gender equality most often include:

- creating the data base by gender, referring to the representation in municipal institutions, public services, managerial positions, managing structures of all organs and institutions founded by the municipality
- training and campaign for women’s political engagement
- strengthening the under-represented gender participation in politics and in decision-making positions, through education of parliamentarians, local governance staff, and members of political parties.

### 2.2.2. Institutional framework and incentive programs

In line with contemporary international documents requiring that gender equality be attained not only legally but also in reality, Montenegro has developed an adequate institutional framework aimed at promoting gender equality. Government institutional mechanisms include government authorities and local gender equality teams in particular municipalities.

There are two institutional mechanisms in Montenegro aimed at attaining gender equality:

- Gender Equality Committee within the Parliament of Montenegro
- Department for Gender Equality Issues within the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights

**The Gender Equality Committee within the Parliament of Montenegro** was established on 11 July 2001 by means of a Parliament decision. The Decision on Establishment of the Gender Equality Committee within the Parliament of Montenegro defines the Committee as a standing working body of the Parliament, tasked with reviewing and monitoring the achievement of constitutional freedoms and rights of man and the citizen, in regard to gender equality. The mandate of the Gender Equality Committee includes the following:

- examination of draft laws, other regulations and general acts relating to the achievement of gender equality principles;
- monitoring the implementation of these rights through the application of laws and promotion of gender equality principles, particularly in the fields of children's rights, family relations, employment, entrepreneurship, decision making, education, health system, social policy and information;
- participation in preparation, development and harmonization of laws and other regulations with standards of European legislation and European Union programs relating to gender equality, promotion of signing international documents regulating this issue, and monitoring their implementation, cooperation with relevant working bodies of other parliaments and NGOs engaged in this field.

**The Department for Gender Equality Issues within the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights** was set up after the reorganization of the Ministry in 2009 when the Department assumed the responsibilities of the earlier Gender Equality Office that operated within the General Secretariat of the Government. Under its mandate relating to gender equality, stipulated by Article 22 of the Gender Equality Law, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights:

1. coordinates activities aimed at establishing gender equality and participates in preparation and adoption of action plans for the establishment of gender equality at all levels;

2. monitors the implementation of international documents and conventions, and adopted international standards in the field of gender equality, takes measures to transpose them into the Montenegrin legal system, and ensures quality monitoring of compliance with these documents;
3. prepares the Activity Plan, proposes its adoption and monitors its implementation;
4. prepares programs for the implementation of the Activity Plan based on authorities' reports in the fields under their remit;
5. organizes research and analyses of the gender equality situation, including analyses needed for implementation of the Activity Plan, and collects data within cooperation at the national and international levels;
6. prepares reports on the fulfillment of international obligations by Montenegro in the gender equality field;
7. cooperates with the local government and provides support for the establishment of gender equality mechanisms at the local level;
8. establishes cooperation with NGOs;
9. undertakes and encourages activities relating to gender equality education and organizes publication of relevant publications aimed at promoting gender equality;
10. acts upon citizens' petitions relating to direct or indirect gender discrimination, takes attitudes and gives opinions and recommendations, and when necessary informs the ombudsman about instances of gender discrimination.

In March, in cooperation with the UNDP and EU Delegation to Montenegro, the Department for Gender Equality Issues began to implement the three-year IPA 2010 Gender Equality Program, aimed at improving the conditions for the implementation of the National Gender Equality Action Plan (PAPRR) through strengthened capacities, upgraded institutional mechanisms and improved policies. The project includes a number of activities divided into three different fields: violence against women, economic and political empowerment of women. The focus of the political empowerment of women will be the promotion of gender sensitivity in political parties and public administration authorities. In the prior period, in order to raise public awareness about the importance of greater engagement of women in politics, the Department for Gender Equality Issues organized a number of round tables and conferences. In addition to activities focusing on the Montenegrin population and interested parties, the Department held a number of trainings for women from political parties, aiming to contribute to the improvement of political skills and knowledge of women from political parties and their more extensive participation in the Montenegrin political life.

In addition to the activities already implemented this year, the Activity Program of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights for 2012 envisages the following two important activities:

- implementation of campaigns supporting women in politics – before the oncoming presidential election, campaigns will be organized, inciting greater participation of women in politics and aiming at practical implementation of quotas for the under-represented gender. Given that this will be the first election conducted after the adoption of amendments to the election law, familiarization of women in politics with these changes and their consequences

may have a significant effect on the degree of women's presence in workings of political parties;

- preparation of the Gender Equality Activity Plan for the 2013–2017 period.

Though the achievement of gender equality is not possible without adequate legal solutions, NGOs provide significant support to women through different programs and trainings which encourage and improve women's political activism and through initiatives for upgrading the national policy in the field. Some of the NGOs active in raising women's political participation are the following: "Ženska akcija" ("Women's Action"), "Crnogorski ženski lobi" ("Montenegrin Women's Lobby"), "Forum žena Crne Gore" ("Forum of Montenegrin Women"), "Centar za demokratsku tranziciju" ("Center for Democratic Transition").

### 3. Political participation of women in practice

The gender gap in political participation was studied, among the first, by the Swedish political scientist Herbert Tingsten (1937) and the French sociologist Maurice Duverger (1955).<sup>7</sup>

However, it was only the expansion of feminist theory during the 1980s and 1990s that crucially impacted on the development of an interdisciplinary approach to studying the assumptions of women's political capacities. Linking political sciences, sociology, psychology and feminist theory became the proven key to studying political socialization and participation of women.

The women's wish and possibility to involve themselves more in the country's political life depend on a great number of factors, primarily on their educational, professional and social status, as well as on the development of democratic institutions, the influence of women's organizations and the assessment of possibilities of achieving support in election campaigns. Traditional beliefs and prejudices toward women have a strong impact on women's decision to run for election and on their environment to accept their candidacy. This in turn affects women's self-confidence and their wish to participate in political life.

The women's presence in parliamentary life is also influenced by political factors, such as the type and structure of the electoral system, the number of parties in representative bodies, number of candidates by election seats. Though parties increase women's chances to enter parliament, the percentage of women in parliament depends on the type of the political party, degree of centralization of the MPs election and the manner of electing them. Practice shows that left and socialist parties are more prone to supporting women's candidacy for political functions than right and conservative parties.

The difference between authoritarian and bureaucratized governance systems also significantly affects the election of women candidates. Bureaucratized governance systems imply the existence of detailed and standardized election rules. On the other hand, rules in authoritarian governance systems are not precisely defined and are not consistently complied with. In parties controlled by their leaders, candidates are usually leaders themselves or someone they choose, and chances for a woman to be a candidate are very small. The shorter an electoral list, the more difficult it is to involve all social groups, including women. Renewed candidacy of the same people and disabling new candidates to compete in the election game also limit the women's chances to get involved in the political struggle.

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<sup>7</sup> The term "gender gap" was for the first time introduced in literature by Pamela Johnston Conover in 1980, on the eve of the presidential election, when it was ascertained that Ronald Reagan had significantly greater support among men. This concept covered four aspects: gender differences in participation, attitudes, party identification and voting. Eleanor Smeal, the tenth president of the National Organization for Women in America, began to use the term in everyday practice.

The last step for taking a decision making position is the election of candidates by voters. In developed democracies and proportional systems with closed lists, the majority vote for the candidate of a particular party, and not for an individual. In such cases, voters bear in mind party and not gender interests. Data show that women have always had advantage in proportional systems. Twice more women are elected to parliaments through proportional electoral systems, rather than through majority systems, while in mixed systems this percentage equals around 14% (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Percentage of women in parliaments of 24 countries from 1945 to 1998

Electoral system/Year	1945	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1998
<b>Majority</b> (Australia, Canada, France, Japan, Great Britain, the USA...)	3.05	2.13	2.51	2.23	3.37	8.16	11.64
<b>Proportional</b> (Austria, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain...)	2.93	4.73	5.47	5.86	11.89	18.13	23.03

Source: *International IDEA: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2000.*

In the majority of parliaments, the number of women parliamentarians does not reflect the percentage of female population in the electorate. Nordic countries have most women in parliament (42%), while this percentage is significantly lower in the USA (around 23%) and the European Union (around 21%). Women are the least present in parliaments of Pacific (around 15%) and Arab states (around 13%) (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Women in national parliaments, 31 May 2012

Countries	Unicameral parliament/Lower House	Upper House / Senate	Both Houses mixed
Nordic countries	42.0%	/	/
Both Americas	22.8%	23.2%	22.8%
The EU including Nordic countries	23.0%	21.1%	22.6%
The EU excluding Nordic countries	21.2%	21.1%	21.1%
Asia	18.4%	14.0%	17.9%
Sub-Saharan Africa	19.8%	19.0%	19.7%
Pacific states	12.4%	34.8%	14.9%
Arab states	14.7%	6.4%	13.0%

Source: *Interparliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/>.*

In 1995, only 10% of women participated in the working of parliaments across the world; this percentage rose to 17% in 2007. In 1997, there were 16% women parliamentarians within the EU, or 24% in 2007. Governments of Norway (53%), Sweden, Finland (60%), the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain (41%), Belgium, Germany and Austria, reached the critical mass of 30%. Slovakia, Greece and



Turkey had only one woman minister, while Romania had no woman ministers. The Czech Republic, Cyprus, Ireland, Slovenia, Hungary and Malta had less than 15% of women in parliaments (Source: *Equality in Politics: Survey on Women and Men in Parliaments, 2008*).

In 2007, women held less than a tenth of ministerial and one/fifth of sub-ministerial posts. In 39 countries, women were elected for heads of state or government. In EU governments, there are three times more men (76% of men and 24% of women). Central banks of all 27 EU member states are governed by men. In the European Central Bank, European Investment Bank and European Investment Fund, only 16% of women hold important positions. In leading companies, around 90% of managing board directors are men. Only in Norway, owing to the positive government action, around 40% of women are engaged in boards of private and public companies. In the EU administration, 33% of women hold leading positions. Only 18% of judges are women, while in Bulgaria and Romania, the new EU members, over 70% of judges are women due to the underestimate of the function, inadequate rewards and corruption. The wage difference between men and women is around 15% (*Women and Men in Decision-Making: Analysis of the Situation and Trends, 2007*).

In recent period, the number of women elected to parliament is higher than in some less developed countries (South Africa (30%), Mozambique, Venezuela) than in the USA, France or Japan, where the number of women in universities, managing functions in private companies and traditionally male professions has rapidly increased. The society development index and the degree of democratization of institutions are directly linked to the number of women in parliamentary life. However, the examples of China and Cuba, where the number of women politicians is significant, indicate the presence of other parameters as well – notably the value-normative framework of society and cultural life patterns.

### 3.1. Quotas and raising women's participation in politics

In addition to general rules for the election of parliamentarians and decision making on the distribution of mandates based on the number of taken votes, the parliamentary structure is also influenced by special rules that are called special or affirmative action measures. Practice so far shows that women are less represented than men in a great number of countries. Although constitutions guarantee the election right without gender discrimination, women effectively use only the active election right, without being able to fully exercise their passive election right.

**Affirmative quotas are temporary stimulating measures determining the minimum share or the number of the under-represented gender in electoral lists or political bodies.** Due to the sluggish rise in the number of women in politics, women across the world are constantly seeking more effective methods to increase their representation. One of the most successful mechanisms are often considered quotas for women or gender neutral quotas. According to the international database IDEA, such measures are implemented in 81 states. However, it should not be disregarded that quotas for women are considered temporary measures and therefore, though they impact the percentage of women in politics, political parties should get involved more in this process. Electoral quota systems are not considered a measure of discrimination against men, but represent the compensation for historically inherited social obstacles for women to take the posts that they deserve.

**In majority electoral systems, the problem of under-representation of women is solved with more difficulty than in countries with proportional electoral systems and electoral units with several mandates.** In majority electoral systems, the advantage over legal quotas may be given to inter-party quotas envisaged by acts of political parties. Within political parties, they encourage the candidacy of women, and thus contribute to the representation of women in representative bodies.

Proportional electoral systems are characterized by list candidacy and the election of a greater number of MPs in one electoral unit. In such systems, raising the number of women in parliaments through affirmative action measures seems more probable. The most efficient measures imply particular quotas for the under-represented gender on the candidacy list (list quotas) and quotas in mandates belonging to the list ("double quotas").

List quotas represent a measure binding political parties or coalitions to have a particular percentage of women on the list of parliamentary candidates (not below 30%). An electoral system applying only these two quotas does offer real prospects for women to run for parliamentary seats under equal conditions. List quotas will not result in greater representation of women in parliament if candidates' names are placed on the bottom of the list as in proportional systems one candidacy list will never be assigned all available mandates.

Closed and strictly structured candidacy lists offer better prospects to ensure equal chances for candidates of the under-represented gender, on condition they reserve a particular place (the third place and then each subsequent third place in case the quota is determined at 30% at least) for candidates of the under-represented gender (double list quota). These measures (list quota and a

reserved place on the list) offer greater chances to effectively ensure in practice equitable representation of women and men in a representative body, but under two conditions. The first regards the type of the list as this measure will contribute to greater representation of women, only in case of closed lists, i.e. if mandates are allocated to candidates according to their position on the list. Under the second condition, when replacing an MP whose mandate expired for different reasons, the mandate is allocated not only complying with the rule of sequence of candidates on the list, but also in compliance with the corrective rule (special measure). In case of expiry of the mandate of the candidate of the under-represented gender, the mandate is allocated also to the candidate of the under-represented gender (triple quota).

As presented above, success of the quota system depends on several factors. In most countries, the quota mechanism has proved efficient, particularly when applied in mass bureaucratized parties which abide by rules (e.g. Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, Belgium, Argentina). However, in some countries, quotas have not brought about significant breakthroughs in the number of women in national parliaments (Mexico – mixed, France – majority) (Table 3.1.1).

Table 3.1.1. Gender quotas in lower houses of national parliaments – examples

Country	Year of quota introduction	Gender quotas %	Electoral system	% of women before quota introduction	% of women after quota introduction
France	1999	50	Majority	11	12
Belgium	1994	33	Proportional	18	23
Argentina	1991	30	Proportional	6	27
Mexico	1996	30	Mixed	17	16

Source: *International IDEA: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2002.*

The fact that adequate female quotas represent a safe way of ensuring a greater percentage of women in parliament was also confirmed by results of the last parliamentary election in Serbia and the provincial election in Vojvodina.

**Serbia** amended its electoral legislation, stipulating that among each three candidates according to their sequence on the electoral list (the first three places, second three places, down to the bottom of the list) must contain at least one candidate – representative of the gender less represented on the list. Mandates taken by one party are allocated to candidates under their sequence on the list. Such change to the electoral system brought about an increase in the number of women in parliament – in the previous convocation, women made up 22% vs. current 32.4%.

**The electoral system of Vojvodina** shows advantages of a proportional relative to a majority system. Total 120 MPs are elected to the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina under a proportional and majority electoral system. Under the proportional system, 60 MPs are elected in the Province which constitutes one electoral unit, based on the list of a political party (party electoral list), a coalition of political parties or a coalition of a political party and a citizens' group (coalition electoral list) or a citizens' group (electoral list of a citizens' group). On the electoral list, of

each three candidates according to their sequence on the list (the first three places, second three places, down to the bottom of the list) there must be at least one candidate who represents the under-represented gender on the list. Under the majority electoral system, with the Province being divided into 60 electoral units, 60 MPs are elected from the candidates' list, in 45 municipalities in Vojvodina. The candidate who won the majority of votes of voters from an electorate unit is elected for an MP. In the new convocation of the Vojvodina Assembly, there are only 18% of women, or 22 seats out of 120 mandates. Under the proportional system, 19 women MPs were elected (31%), vs. only 3 (5%) under the majority system.

## 3.2. Montenegro – current situation

As post-communist countries experienced the processes of transition and globalization at the same time, the development of political participation in these countries was rather specific. The number of women in public life declined as their position in the labor market deteriorated, unemployment went up, the access to funding, resources and new knowledge became strained, the government's social role weakened, and poverty and discrimination increased. Women were recognized as losers in transition given the feminization of poverty, deprofessionalization, a rise in violence and general insecurity. Budget reduction and the government's weakened social role brought women back to the seclusion of privacy and the family environment, away from politics and public life. Women abandoned the official masculinized political scene and more often participated in NGOs and the civil sector.

During the 1980s, exclusively as part of the socialist inheritance, around 27% of women entered parliaments of East European countries, which was significantly above the number in EU national parliaments (12.5%). Following the 1989 changes, the share of women declined drastically (8.4%) – this period is described in the feminist literature as the "democracy of men". During the 1990s, women's representation in parliaments and governments was sustained at an exceptionally low level, particularly in former Soviet republics, countries of the Caucasus region and Eastern Europe (*Women in Transition*, 1999).

After 2000, the percentage of women in representative bodies of new democracies rose to 17%, still below the European average (22%).

After the 1992 election, 8.2% of women entered the Parliament of Montenegro. After the 1996 election, their number slightly increased, only to fall to 5.1% after the 1998 election. The 2001 election saw more than a 100% increase, though the figure of 10.4% can be considered exceptionally low. In the 2002 convocation, women accounted for 13.3%, but their numbers fell to 11.1% already in 2006. The current parliamentary convocation is best on record in terms of women's representation over the last 20 years, though such representation *per se* can be characterized as exceptionally low.

**Table 3.2.1. Women's representation in convocations of the Parliament of Montenegro, 1992–2009**

CONVOCATION	Women %
Convocation 1992–96	8.2
Convocation 1996–98	8.4
Convocation 1998–2001	5.1
Convocation 2001–02	10.4
Convocation 2002–06	13.3
Convocation 2006–09	11.1
Convocation 2009	13.6

According to the percentage representation of women in parliament, Montenegro takes 99<sup>th</sup> place among countries of the world. Compared to the world average (19.6%), Montenegro is below this average with 13.6% of women parliamentarians. Among countries created after the disintegration of the joint state, Montenegro holds the last place, behind Bosnia and Herzegovina (21.4%), Croatia (23.8%), Macedonia (30.9%), Slovenia (32.2%) and Serbia (32.4%).

Though the number of women in parliament increased, it is still much below the world average and the obligation that Montenegro has to fulfill until 2015.

### 3.2.1. Current women's representation in the highest state bodies of Montenegro

The last parliamentary and local elections in Montenegro were held in 2009. As the more significant engagement of governmental and non-governmental sectors in raising the share of women in Montenegro's political life took place after the last elections, the outcome of such initiatives will be valued only after the next election cycle. Therefore, an overview of the current situation in the field may serve as the basis for creating future policies and strategies.

The current **Government of Montenegro** has 86 members. It consists of the president and vice-presidents, ministers and assistant ministers and the General Secretariat. Men perform the functions of the president and vice-presidents. Of total 17 ministries, there are only 2 women ministers (the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Science). Somewhat more women hold the positions of assistant ministers: 41%. Most women work in the General Secretariat: 60% – of 5 members of this body, women hold 3 positions. **Women make up 34.9% of the overall composition of the Government**, primarily owing to the number of women who are assistant ministers (Table 3.2.1.1. Structure of the Government of Montenegro).

**Table 3.2.1.1. Structure of the Government of Montenegro**

	Total	Women	Men	Women %	Men %
President of the Government	1	0	1	0	100
Vice-Presidents of the Government	2	0	2	0	100
Ministers	17	2	15	11.8	88.2
Assistant ministers	61	25	36	41	59
General Secretariat	5	3	2	60	40
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>65.1</b>

**The legislative body of Montenegro** has 81 MPs. As in the case of the Government, the president and vice-presidents are men. In the new parliamentary convocation, the number of women MPs is significantly lower than required by international standards: of 81 MPs, there are 11 (or 13.6%) women (Table 3.2.1.2. Structure of the Parliament of Montenegro). This percentage implies a change in the gender structure compared to the Parliament composition after the election – the initial figure of 11% of women is now higher.

**Table 3.2.1.2. Structure of the Parliament of Montenegro**

	Total	Women	Men	Women %	Men %
President	1	0	1	0	100
Vice-Presidents	2	0	2	0	100
<b>Composition of the Parliament</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>86.4</b>

**The gender distribution of MP seats by parliamentary parties** reveals an approximately the same picture. The leading Democratic Party of Socialists has most women (19.4%). It is followed by the Socialist People's Party (SNP) with 18.8%, and the Social-Democratic Party (SDP) with 11% women MPs. Other parties do not have women among their representatives in the Parliament of Montenegro (Table 3.2.1.3).

An upward trend in the number of women MPs has been observed in the Democratic Party of Socialists which was first represented with 4 (or 11.1%) women MPs, vs. current 7 women MPs. By contrast, the parliamentary group of the Movement for Changes (PzP) which used to have 1 woman, now has no female representative.



**Table 3.2.1.3. Structure of the Parliament of Montenegro – political parties**

	Total	Women	Men	Women %	Men %
Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)	36	7	29	19.4	80.6
Social-Democratic Party (SDP)	9	1	8	11.1	88.9
Socialist People's Party (SNP)	16	3	13	18.8	81.3
New Serbian Democracy (NOVA)	8	/	8	0.0	100.0
Movement for Changes (PzP)	5	/	5	0.0	100.0
Bosniak Party (BS)	3	/	3	0.0	100.0
DUA, Forca, DSCG – Albanian Alternative and Perspective	4	/	4	0.0	100.0

There are only 15.4% of women in **parliamentary working bodies**. Women make up the majority in the Gender Equality Committee (63.6%), while they account for a significantly smaller percentage in other working bodies (between 12.5% and 20%). Dominantly 'male' are the Security and Defense Committee, the Committee on Economy, Finance and Budget, and the Administrative Committee with no woman among its 13 members (Table 3.2.1.4).

**Table 3.2.1.4. Working bodies in the Parliament of Montenegro**

	Total	Women	Men	Women %	Men %
Constitutional Issues and Legislative Committee	13	2	11	15.4	84.6
Committee on Political System, Justice and Administration	13	2	11	15.4	84.6
Security and Defense Committee	13	0	13	0.0	100.0
Committee on International Relations and European Integration	15	2	13	13.3	86.7
Committee on Economy, Finance and Budget	13	0	13	0.0	100.0
Committee on Human Rights and Freedoms	11	2	9	18.2	81.8
Gender Equality Committee	11	7	4	63.6	36.4
Committee on Tourism, Agriculture, Ecology and Spatial Planning	13	2	11	15.4	84.6
Committee on Education, Science, Culture and Sports	10	2	8	20.0	80.0
Committee on Health, Labor and Social Welfare	10	2	8	20.0	80.0
Administrative Committee	13	0	13	0.0	100.0
Commission for Monitoring and Control of the Privatization Procedure	8	1	7	12.5	87.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>84.6</b>

Data also show a low degree of women's representation in **municipal assemblies**. At the level of Montenegro, women make up 12.7% of councilors in municipal assemblies. Tivat and Budva municipalities have the highest percentage of female members (21.8%), while the Andrijevica municipality has 3.2% of female councilors (Table 3.2.1.5). A similar situation is observed for the leading positions in local government units: of 21 municipalities, only Kotor has a woman president, while Herceg Novi and Cetinje have women vice-presidents.

**Table 3.2.1.5. Local governments in Montenegro**

	Total	Women	Men	Women %	Men %
Tivat	32	7	25	21.8	78.1
Mojkovac	31	4	27	12.9	87.0
Plužine	31	4	27	12.9	87.0
Ulcinj	33	2	31	6.0	93.9
Plav	32	3	29	9.3	90.6
Herceg Novi	35	7	28	20.0	80.0
Cetinje	33	4	29	12.1	87.8
Pljevlja	35	2	33	5.7	94.2
Andrijevica	31	1	30	3.2	96.7
Žabljak	31	6	25	19.3	80.6
Nikšić	41	4	37	9.7	90.2
Berane	35	2	33	5.7	94.2
Danilovgrad	33	6	27	18.1	81.1
Rožaje	33	3	30	9.0	90.9
Bijelo Polje	38	4	34	10.5	89.4
Kolašin	31	6	25	19.3	80.6
Bar	36	5	31	13.8	86.1
Budva	32	7	25	21.8	78.1
Kotor	33	7	26	21.2	78.7
Podgorica	55	8	47	14.5	85.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>724</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>12.7</b>	<b>87.2</b>

### 3.2.2. Programs of political parties in Montenegro

As specified above, with a view to raising women's representation in representative bodies, appropriate changes were made to the electoral legislation of Montenegro in 2011. The Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament envisages that each electoral list must contain at least 30% of candidates of the under-represented gender, while there are no additional requirements for the sequence of candidates on the electoral list. As mandates are allocated according to the electoral list sequence, while the sequence is determined by the submitter of the electoral list, the representation of women in the highest state bodies and local government bodies primarily depends on the procedure of determining electoral lists within political parties and the dedication of political parties to gender equality. With the aim to determine the attitudes of Montenegrin parties toward gender equality issues, an analysis was made of statutes of 5 parliamentary parties in Montenegro. Despite their different political programs, these parties have several common characteristics in terms of their attitude toward gender equality:

- all parliamentary parties are signatories to the 2006 Gender Equality Declaration (apart from the New Serbian Democracy which was founded later),
- despite their commitment to greater participation of women in the country's political life, no party has more than 19% of women MPs,
- men make up the vast majority of members of highest party bodies.

### **Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)**

The Statute of the Democratic Party of Socialists, adopted in May 2011, stipulates the promotion of gender equality as one of the core party principles. Moreover, it is written in a gender-sensitive language. Promotion of gender equality as one of party principles is also confirmed by Article 26 of the Statute, which envisages adequate gender representation in party bodies, and the obligation of the party's competent body to ensure, by means of the decision on candidacy and the election of members of party bodies, the mechanisms for attaining adequate gender representation, i.e. for ensuring at least 30% of the under-represented gender.

The manner and procedure for electing party bodies are not prescribed by the Statute. It is envisaged instead that the Main Board shall determine the criteria and procedure for the election of members of party bodies (Article 25 of the Statute). The Main Board is also in charge of determining the MP list, but the Statute itself does not envisage any quotas for the creation of electoral lists.

Under Article 56 of the Statute, the party has an organization of women. The name of the organization, the manner and forms of organizing women are determined by the Main Board under a special decision. In December 2011, the DPS's Main Board adopted the decision on setting up the organization of women of DPS Montenegro. It is called the Female Alliance of the Democratic Party of Socialists (ŽAD).

In the current convocation of the Montenegrin Parliament, the Democratic Party of Socialists has 36 MPs. After the Parliament formation in 2009, the DPS's parliamentary group had 4 women (11%). In time, this number increased to the current 7 (or 19.4%).

In terms of party bodies, the DPS's Main Board has the greatest percentage of women, who account for 27% of the Board's composition (of 201 members, there are 55 women). The DPS's Presidency has 16 members, of which 3 women (19%). The Executive Board has a somewhat smaller percentage of women: of 14 members, there are 2 women (14%). Women are not members of the party's Supervisory Board which consists of 3 men.

### **Social-Democratic Party (SDP)**

The last Statute of the Social-Democratic Party, adopted in June 2011, is written in a gender-sensitive language. Though the Statute does not emphasize the attainment of full gender equality as one of its aims, the commitment to gender equality derives from the SDP's Program. The section of the Program relating to human rights, underscores that women's position in society is still inequitable in numerous fields of life and work, which is why the SDP must *"get engaged even more strongly in raising the awareness about the importance of gender equality, particularly in creating real conditions for the full inclusion of women in political and decision making processes."*

The SDP's Statute as the standing form of SDP's special organization envisages the Forum of Women. Under Article 84 of the Statute, the Forum of Women, *"by respecting the core objectives and principles of the SDP, fights for women's rights and the protection of these rights, particularly for: gender equality, greater participation of women in the political and public life, the improvement of women's position in society and the family, provision of support to the woman and family."*

The process of determining the electoral list for parliamentary elections falls under the remit of the party's Presidency and the Main Board. Pursuant to the SDP's Statute, of applied candidacies, the Main Board, on proposal of the Presidency, determines the list of candidates for MPs, members of the Government and other state bodies. Though the Statute stipulates that the Main Board adopts the final decision on MPs after parliamentary elections, the last amendments to the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament abolished the possibility of free election of MPs, envisaging that parliamentary mandates be allocated under their electoral list sequence. The Main Board determines the requirements and criteria for the election of delegates for Congress and members of the Main Board.

Despite the existence of the Forum of Women, tasked with promoting women's participation in political life, of 9 SDP's MPs there is only 1 woman (11%). There are somewhat more women in party's bodies: of 79 members of the Main Board, there are 13 women (16%), while the party's Presidency has 16 members, of which 3 women (18.7%).

### **Socialist People's Party (SNP)**

The Program of the Socialist People's Party, in its part titled "Gender Equality, Social Safety", highlights that the SNP is committed to the *equitable participation of women at the most important places of adopting important political and economic decisions, never ignorant of the fact that women are the majority population in Montenegro*. Such party's commitment is also confirmed by Article 3 of the Statute which, as one of SNP's basic principles, stipulates the protection and promotion of the family's role in society, and the promotion of gender equality. The Statute is written in a gender-sensitive language.

Article 67 of the Statute envisages the Organization of SNP's Women. The Organization is defined as a voluntary women's organization, consisting of female party members and dealing with the position and rights of women in society, and the exercise of women's rights in line with European standards and the convention.

The way of creating the electoral list for parliamentary elections is similar to procedures existing in other parties. The party's president proposes the list of the party's candidates for the Parliament of Montenegro, while the Main Board determines the list of the party's candidates for MPs, on proposal of the party's president. Under Article 24 of the Statute, at least 30% of the under-represented gender is elected to party bodies at all levels of organization, while the party's competent body, by means of the decision on candidacy and the election of members of party bodies, ensures the mechanisms to comply with the criteria from the previous paragraph.

The Socialist People's Party has 16 MPs in the current Parliament convocation, including 3 women (18.8%). There is a somewhat higher percentage of women in the Main Board (24%), while the

Executive Board of the Main Board has the greatest percentage of women members (32%). There are no women in the Supervisory Board and the Statutory Commission.

### **New Serbian Democracy (NOVA)**

The Statute of the New Serbian Democracy was adopted in 2009. Though the Statute does not explicitly stipulate the promotion of women as one of its objectives, the party's commitment to gender equality derives from the party's Program which, in its part titled "Family", sets forth the NOVA's struggle for *full emancipation of women, the protection and dignity of mothers, struggle against domestic violence, and a clamp-down on juvenile delinquency*.

The Statute also envisages a special organization of women – the Forum of Women. The Forum is defined as a voluntary organization of members, actively involved in NOVA's political life, aimed at creating the environment for the most significant possible participation of women in politics, and promoting the principles of gender equality.

The creation of electoral MP lists falls under the remit of the Presidency and the party's president. NOVA's president proposes the MP list, creates personnel lists for authorities of the Republic, proposes to the Presidency, from the personnel list, the list of individuals for authorities, while the Presidency confirms the proposed list of candidates for authorities of the Republic.

The Statute of the New Serbian Democracy does not contain provisions on the minimum representation of women in party's bodies and candidate lists for parliamentary and local elections. The party's acts are not written in a gender-sensitive language.

The party's current parliamentary group has no women, and there are no women in the party's Presidency and Executive Board either. Women account for around 11% of the wider composition of the Presidency and the Main Board.

### **Movement for Changes (PzP)**

Though adopted 6 years ago, the Statute of the Movement for Changes is written in a gender-sensitive language. The core party principles are defined by the party's Program, adopted in 2006. The core principles highlight that *"equality is one of the basic civilizational attainments. As one of basic human rights, the preservation and promotion of gender equality is the PzP's permanent political task. PzP is committed to ensuring that this right and principle are respected and manifested every day, at different levels: in the family, workplace, public and social life"*.

Article 57 envisages the Network of Women as a special form of organization. The Network deals with the position and rights of women in society, their exercise of rights in line with European standards, and advocates women's active participation at all levels and all party's activities.

The Main Board and the Presidency are in charge of electing the party's body members. The Main Board determines the number of members for the Parliament and, on Presidency's proposal, sets out the criteria for the election of candidates for all PzP's bodies. The president proposes candidates for party's vice-presidents and Presidency members. The Statute envisages no quotas or similar measures to ensure a higher percentage of women in party's bodies and candidate lists for parliamentary and local elections.

The Movement for Changes' parliamentary group has 5 representatives in the Parliament of the Republic. There is no woman among them. Women's representation is somewhat higher in main party's bodies: women account for 12.5% of the Presidency and 20% of the Main Board.

The main characteristics of 5 parliamentary parties regarding their attitude toward gender equality are presented in Table 3.2.2.1.

Table 3.2.2.1.

	Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS)	Social-Democratic Party (SDP)	Socialist People's Party (SNP)	New Serbian Democracy (NOVA)	Movement for Changes (PzP)
<b>Gender equality in party's acts</b>	As one of the core party principles, the Statute envisages the promotion of gender equality and adequate gender representation in party bodies.	The section of the Program relating to human rights, underscores that women's position in society is still inequitable in numerous fields of life and work, which is why the SDP must "get engaged even more strongly in raising the awareness about the importance of gender equality, particularly in creating real conditions for the full inclusion of women in political and decision making processes".	The party's Statute stipulates the protection and promotion of the family's role in society and promotion of gender equality as one of the core party principles.  The party's Program, in its part titled "Gender Equality, Social Safety", highlights that the SNP is committed to the equitable participation of women at the most important places of adopting important political and economic decisions.	The party's Program, in its part titled "Family" highlights the party's struggle for full emancipation of women, the protection and dignity of mothers, struggle against domestic violence, and a clamp-down on juvenile delinquency.	Under the party's Program, the preservation and promotion of gender equality is the PzP's permanent political task. PzP is committed to ensuring that this right and principle are respected and manifested every day, at different levels: in the family, workplace, public and social life.
<b>Structure of the party's highest bodies</b>	Main Board: 27% of women Presidency: 19% of women Executive Board: 14% of women	Main Board: 16% Presidency: 18.7%	Main Board: 24% Executive Board of the Main Board: 32%.	Presidency in wider composition: 11% Main Board: 11%	Presidency: 12.5% Main Board: 20%.
<b>Percentage of women in the Parliament of Montenegro</b>	19% of women	11% of women	19% of women	No women	No women
<b>Women's groups within the party</b>	Female Alliance of the Democratic Party of Socialists (ŽAD)	Forum of Women	Organization of Women	Forum of Women	Network of Women
<b>Quotas for the creation of electoral lists</b>	Only for the structure of party bodies, but not for electoral lists	Do not exist	Only for the structure of party bodies, but not for electoral lists	Do not exist	Do not exist
<b>Use of gender-sensitive language in party's acts</b>	The party's Statute is written in a gender-sensitive language	The party's Statute is written in a gender-sensitive language	The party's Statute is written in a gender-sensitive language	The party's acts are not written in a gender-sensitive language	The party's Statute is written in a gender-sensitive language



### 3.2.3. Report of the CEDAW Committee

In accordance with the obligation anticipated by the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discriminations against Women, the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights submitted in February 2010 a Report on the Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discriminations against Women to the CEDAW Committee, which covers a period spanning from 2006 to 2009 and describing legislative and other measures that Montenegro has undertaken and is undertaking in view of fulfilling the obligations foreseen in the Convention. Subsequently to the submission of the Report on the Implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, and to responses to additional questions posed after the initial report, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women adopted on October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2011, “Final Standpoints of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women”. Even though the Committee generally welcomes the adoption of a number of regulations aiming at eliminating discrimination against women, on the other hand it expresses its concerns in certain fields and gives recommendations for further actions. Special consideration has been given to women’s participation in political and social life. Primarily, the Committee regrets that amendments to the Law on the Election of Committee Members and Deputies do not envisage women-candidates being appointed to one place over three on election lists, and observes concerned that women are less present in the Assembly, Assembly Committees, ministries, managing municipal structures, managing positions, organizational bodies of political parties and in higher positions in the judicial system and public services, including sectors where women are in majority such as education. To eradicate this shortcomings, CEDAW recommends Montenegro to:

- Reflect on the quota of 30% in the Election Law securing that at least one woman, in each group of three candidates, is on election lists;
- Implement legal measures and procedures for the enforcement of Article 10 of the Law on Gender Equality, including provisions on the refusal of the nomination proposal which do not comply with the principle of gender equal representation, if there is no justified reasons to disregard this principle;
- Adopt temporary special measures, such as parity gender system in women’s nominations and accelerated employment in public services, particularly in higher hierarchical positions;
- Eradicate discriminatory practice and take action to remove cultural barriers preventing women from being appointed to decision-maker and managing positions in the educational sector, and to secure proportional women’s and men’s representation in job positions of school principals.
- Motivate political parties to nominate equal numbers of women and men as their candidates and to harmonize their statutes with the Law on Gender Equality, for example by financing the parties and incite electronic media to set aside additional time for those parties during election campaign.

- Create favorable environment for women's political participation, including women from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian population, for example through adequate financing of a campaign of a woman-candidate, by educating young women in leadership positions, and by building the women's part in political parties.

### 3.2.4. Report on Millennium Goals implementation in Montenegro

The first annual report on Millennium Goals implementation in Montenegro was submitted by the Government of Montenegro at the end of 2011. Goal 3. Promotes Gender Equality and Empowers Women, as target 2, anticipates also the raise women's participation in elected government bodies on national and local levels to 30%. Even though 2015 has been set to be the deadline, the report submitted by Montenegro reads that the defined goal will certainly not be reached by the deadline, but that the percentage of women in elected government bodies is expected to increase to a level of 30% for those belonging to the less represented gender, as the result of the latest amendments to the Law on the Election of Committee Members and Deputies, which introduces for the first time a quota in election lists. Additionally, to come closer to the values foreseen for 2015, one considers that Montenegro should:

- Continue the program of empowering women in social and political life
- Encourage women who were on election lists in accordance with the Law on the Election of Committee Members and Deputies to keep holding the positions in local or State parliaments, i.e. to have, in a possible process of replacement, women deputies or committee members replaced by other women.
- Continue building the capacities of institutional mechanisms
- Introduce gender sensitive budgets.

Conviction is expressed in the report that increased women's participation in decision-making positions will change the perception of women's role and place in the society, make changes in all mentioned fields with obvious women's unequal position in Montenegro.

## 4. Women's participation and changes in politics

Women's participation, i.e. larger women's participation in politics, has significantly influenced changes in public politics. Those changes may be observed through several developments: direct impact on adopted laws and policies, introduction of new themes in public politics, change in the public discourse, changes in procedures and rules of legislative bodies, introduction of new stakeholders in political life (e.g. non-governmental organizations, etc.), changes in political parties processes. Also, there are evidences<sup>8</sup> that show that women in parliaments or local representative bodies have directly changed women's and young girls' lives, influenced significantly programs and policies relative to child rights, social welfare, political participation, etc.

Experience has proved that the *influence of women in the parliament depends largely on the number of women* (even though there were situations where one woman has brought significant changes, and where the presence itself of women has changed the atmosphere because men behave differently in their presence<sup>9</sup>), thus the most important difference that women have made is when they have *succeeded to introduce the quota for less represented gender* (key factor to empower women in public politics), as well as other mechanisms securing women's representativeness.

Therefore, by changing the number of women, women's political participation is not only linked to their election in the parliament, but also to *their large activity in the parliament*: their organization, motivation, readiness to mobilize other women, connection with women's NGOs and other initiatives, representation of women's interests and minorities' groups in general. Such women's activity in legislative and local representative bodies has made big differences.

Thus, a larger number of women<sup>10</sup> in parliaments and their co-operation with the civil women's sector has brought new discourse and themes in public politics<sup>11</sup>, first of all new themes relative to the equality, reduction of discrimination and equal opportunities. Also, larger women's participation in parliaments, but in international and local representation offices too, has introduced public debates and politics subjects specifically related to women's position: violence over women, reproductive rights, differences in salaries, political representation, etc. The new legislation on the reduction of gender-based violence, for example, has directly resulted from women's political participation ("in fact,

<sup>8</sup> There are still insufficient number of this kind of records. The Commission for Women's Status, therefore, invites reporting on 'how women in politics make a difference', IDEA, 2002

<sup>9</sup> „Women in parliament: Making a Difference”, Joni Lovenduski and Azza Karam, Interanational IDEA, 2002

<sup>10</sup> It is important to mention that all women do not participate in representing women's interests, there are among them oponents to so-called feminist subjects and interests, IDEA 2002

<sup>11</sup> Drude Dahlerupe in the book „From a Small to a Large Minority: Theory of a Critical Mass”, 1988 says that prior to the big entrance of women in the Scandinavian Parliament, politicians did not have words to describe discrimination, equality, sexual harassment, abuse, etc. Even to denote women, neutral terms were used.

politicians find it more difficult to vote against proposals on women's rights when these are on the agenda than to prevent these to be put on the agenda at all<sup>12</sup>).

Most of women in representative bodies have significantly influenced their working procedures and methods (committees for gender equality, women's caucuses, use of gender sensitive language, working hours adapted to school holidays<sup>13</sup>, etc.). One of the most important changes brought by women are the women's linkage between parties in representing women's interests<sup>14</sup>

It is important to say that the number of women in the parliament has also an impact on its efficiency, knowing for example that the study carried out by Stanford University (University of Chicago) shows that women are more efficient than men in the legislation field. This study monitored, over 1994-2004, the activities of the female and male member of the Congress. The conclusion thereof was that, compared to men, women presented more law proposals, attracted more sponsors and brought more money to their districts<sup>15</sup>.

Nowadays the argumentation is oriented towards more concrete examples where women, through their participation in representative bodies, have influenced directly both women's and men's lives.

So, the most recent study on women's leadership in India<sup>16</sup> has shown that the seats guaranteed to women in councils and local authorities increased the education level of young girls and reduced their homework (the difference in places where women were represented and where there were no women reached 32 % for adolescents and 25% for their parents!) . The study has proved that the strength of the "role model" has made a significant difference in young girls' wishes and standpoints, as well as in their parents.

On the other hand, when, Great Britain, after 1997 elections, saw the number of women in the parliament doubled from 9.2% to 18.2%, this was a real test for the theory of critical masses and for Westminster to change the political course. The entry of a larger number of women into the parliament changed the climate and led to more equal gender relationships on the labor market, promotion of

<sup>12</sup> Women in Parliament: Making a Difference, Joni Lovenduski and Azza Karam, International IDEA, 2002

<sup>13</sup> The South Africa Parliament has harmonised its work with the school year in order to enable balance of both female and male members in the Parliament „The Role of Parliamentary Committees in Mainstreaming Gender and Promoting the Status of Women“, Seminar for female and male members of parliamentary bodies for the promotion of gender equality, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2007

<sup>14</sup> British Parliament had a lot of examples of such co-operation when it came to violence against women, abortions, rape, salaries differences, etc. Also, there was in the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia a strong group of women who co-operated in the process of introducing quotas for women in the law, and the Law on Gender Equality contains an article on the introduction of gender equality mechanisms owing to amendments and initiatives of female parliament members who returned three times the same proposal to the related Ministry until the latter agreed.

<sup>15</sup> The study supplies also the fact that women are in minority, that it is harder for them to present their candidacy and participate in politics than for men, and that they make much more effort in achieving this goal.

<sup>16</sup> In 1993 seats were guaranteed to women in randomly selected villages. The study covered 8.453 adolescents in 453 villages, and data were collected in 2006 and 2007.

„Female Leadership Raises Aspiration and Educational Attainment for Girls: A Policy Experiment in India“, Lori Beaman, Northwest University Evanston; Esther Duflo, Department of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Rohini Pande, Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard University; Petia Topalova, International Monetary Fund, Washington

women's position in the tertiary sector, professional and management activities, tertiary education and trade union's movement.<sup>17</sup>

This change has also impacted the work of the party. The Labor Party has enlarged its constituents' base with female voters. It has become more progressive and introduced positive gender discrimination through gender quotas for the election of candidates to the parliament as well as internal rules of the party. Women were high positioned in electoral lists and has contributed to the breakthrough of left-oriented and feminist values in politics. They have influenced the general direction of party politics, confidence return in the electoral system and representative democracy, changes in the legislation and public discourse. Similar situation happened in Spain, after 2008 elections, when the new administration started to be a balancing political group with nine women leading Ministries, out of 17 ministry positions.

At present, one of the most important examples of good practice is the French Government where, with Francois Hollande, women occupy half of the ministerial positions. The introduction of women in half of ministerial positions is considered to be a pre-electoral political promises come through as to larger opportunities and equality for all.

Besides, the first majority female government was voted after 2012 elections in Finland. There were 12 female ministers out of 20.

The introduction of gender perspective in public politics<sup>18</sup>, gender analyses and gender budgeting as tools of this politics are also stemming from larger women's political participation (first of all on international level) and from their permanent co-operation with the civil sector and experts. The introduction of gender perspective is nowadays the third global strategy (in addition to the equality in the law, and policies on equal opportunities) to achieve gender equality.

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<sup>17</sup> Čičkarić, L. 2009. Institut os Social Sciences, Women in Political Arena – Insiders or Outsiders?

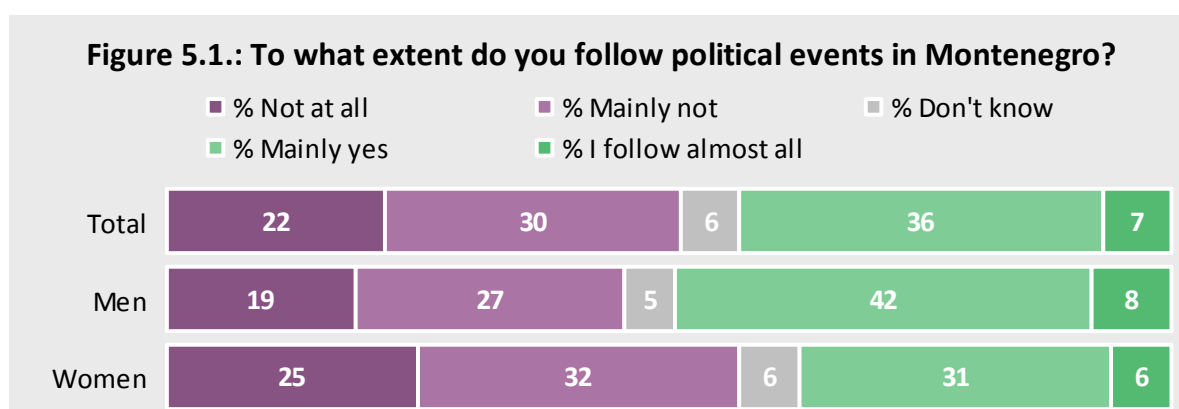
<sup>18</sup> „As for breakthrough and promoting the strategy of gender mainstreaming in official politics of the European Union, one can certainly say that the entry of Scandinavian countries (Sweden and Finland) in the European Union in 1995 crucially impacted favourable political opportunities as well as the adoption of the Maastricht Agreement two years earlier. Nevertheless, favourable political opportunities are not sufficient if social movements are not able to use them and influence political institutions. The usability of political opportunities depends on another important factor, being mobilising structures. These are in fact existing groups or networks making pressure, which are interested in implemented certain changes, in this case gender equality. These are mostly lobby groups of women's movement, specialised agencies or offices dealing with gender equality, and of course academic structures. In the case of the European Union, the body for equal opportunities within the European Commission, as supranational stakeholder, and the Committee for Women's Rights with the European Parlieament, made together a network of experts and activists in the field of equal opportunities, which succeeded to put on the agenda the issues that were at that time out of the scope of the European Union politics, and thus to make gender mainstreaming be accepted as the official strategy“, Dragana Todorović, „Gender Mainstreaming and European Union“, 2007.

## 5. Views on Politics

Less than a half of citizens of Montenegro follow political events in the country, but higher percentage of male citizens deal with this issue. Interestingly enough, even though more than a half of population does not think that politics has influence on their everyday lives, and despite the fact that it is not among their personal priorities, at the declarative level, it has been mentioned that politics has the greatest impact on standard of living and employment opportunities. Citizens of Montenegro state that family is the most important thing in life, as well as the most common topic to be discussed among friends. Almost 10% of citizens discuss politics with their friends.

Less than a half of Montenegrin population state to have been following political events (43%), while slightly more than 50% deny following politics (52%). More than one fifth of population does not follow events on the political scene at all, while only 7% closely follow political events. There is a clear distinction between men and women when it comes to following politics – higher percentage of men than women deal with political events.

In addition to this, the young follow politics in lesser percentage than the older ones; it is obvious that interest of individuals in politics increases with age. When it comes to nationality, Serbs in Montenegro follow political events above average.



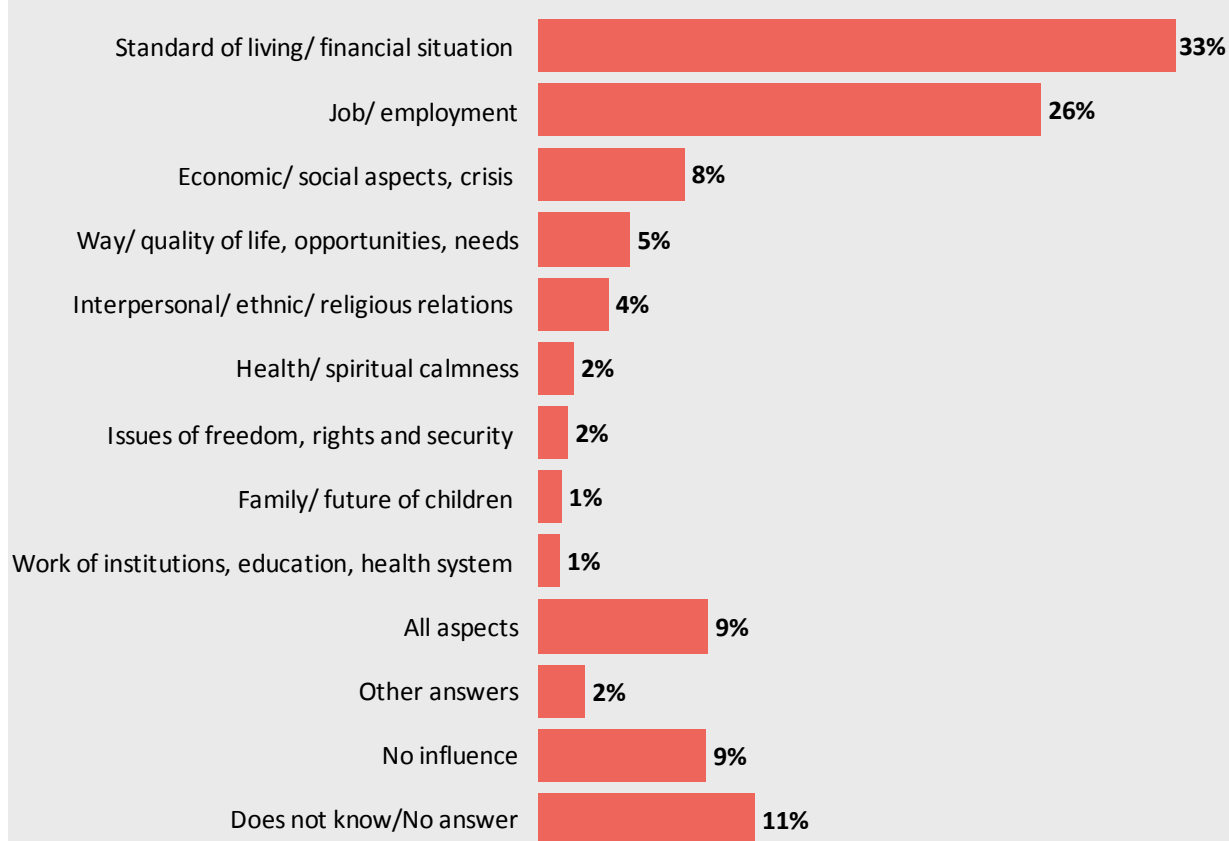
It is interesting to mention that citizens of Montenegro largely believe that politics has no influence on their everyday lives (60%), and beside this, 17% of them find influence of politics to be at a low level. Less than one quarter of population believes that political events do have certain implications on their everyday life.

It has been noticed that high percentage of Serbs believe that politics has a direct influence on their everyday lives.

When we talk about areas that politics has most influence on, citizens of Montenegro most often list standard of living, i.e. financial situation (33%), followed by job, i.e. employment opportunity (26%).

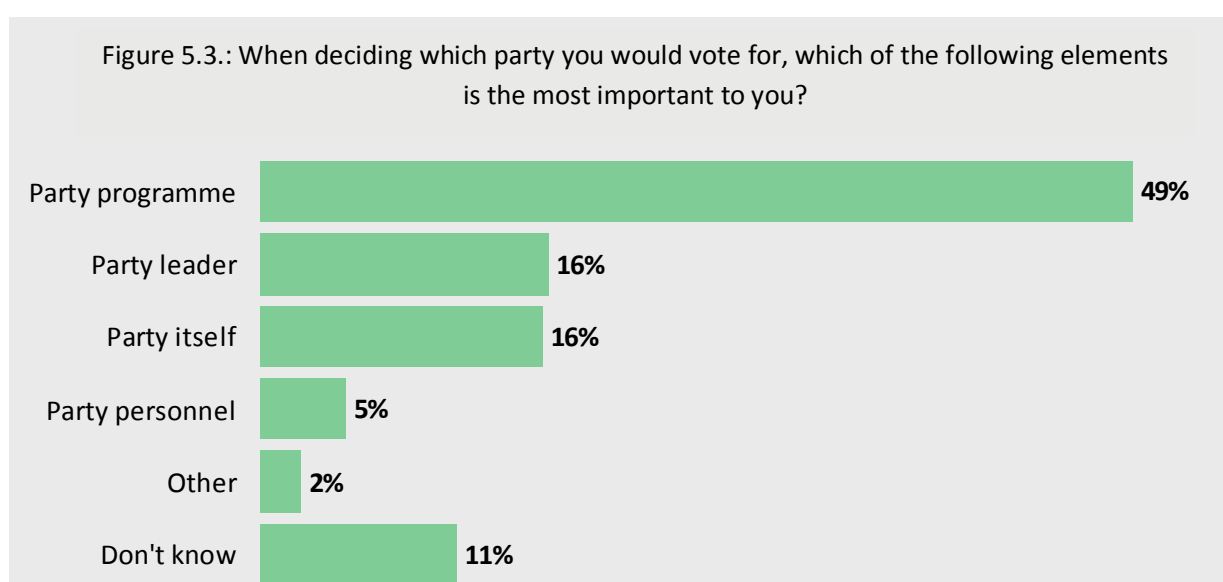
They much more rarely mention various social and economic factors (8%), followed by the way and quality of life, i.e. possibilities that citizens have (5%), interpersonal, ethnic and religious relations (4%), etc. Interestingly enough, approximately 10% believe that impact of politics on all aspects of life, and same percentage claims that politics has no influence whatsoever. There is a curious contradiction in responses of Montenegrin citizens: they mention influence of politics on economic living conditions (standard and employment opportunity), while the majority of them deny influence of politics on their lives, even though previous, as well as this research, has revealed that these economic living conditions are what worries them the most.

**Figure 5.2.: Which aspects (areas) of your life politics has most influence on?**





When it comes to factors relevant for deciding which political party the Montenegrin citizens would vote for, the highest percentage of Montenegrin citizens mention party program in the first place (49%), followed by a party leader (16%), and party itself (16%), while only 5% of the citizens mention party personnel. This is a significant finding, since it reveals that citizens of Montenegro don't pay much attention to personnel, and the quality of people in parties is the main prerequisite of policy implementation. Further on, this could be an indicator of general stand towards politics and understanding of the way it functions in Montenegro – party personnel are irrelevant since they have not been delegated by citizens, but the party's top or leader himself/herself. Personnel becomes less important, having in mind that there is neither direct choice, nor direct accountability of politicians appointed this way.

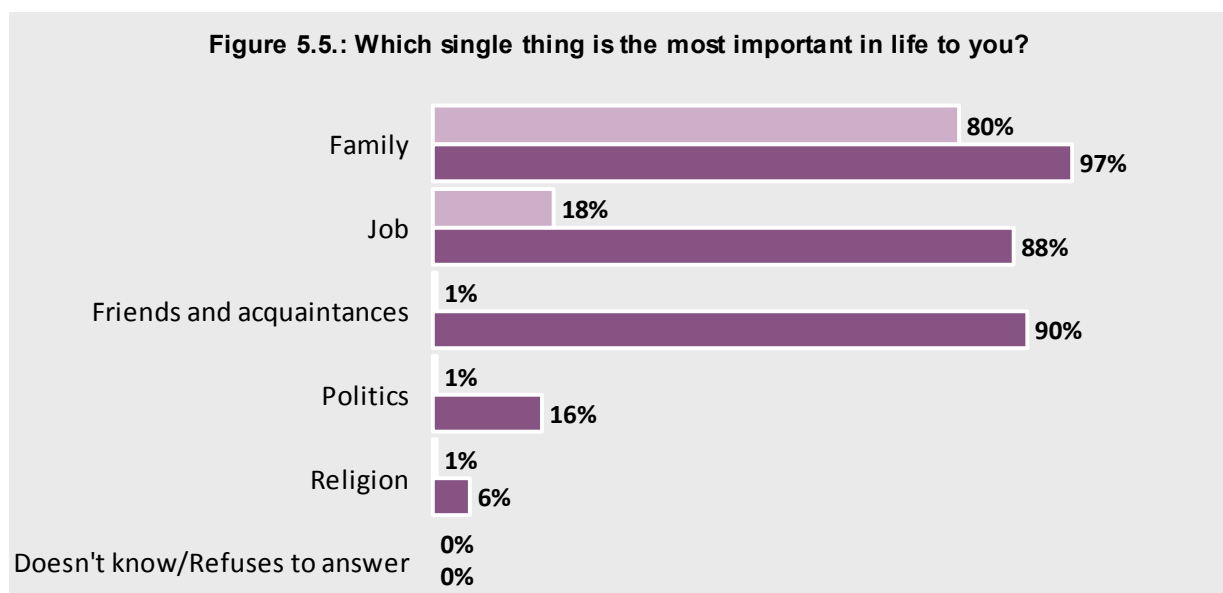


Citizens of Montenegro usually aren't active members of any organizations. The most active individuals are members of sport associations (6%), followed by political parties (5%), NGOs (4%), cultural-artistic associations (3%) and trade unions (3%). Interestingly enough, there is no difference between men and women when it comes to engagement in a political party.

Generally speaking, young people are more often active members of any association. There are more highly educated people among members of political parties. Logically enough, active members of political parties are more often people who more closely follow political events in Montenegro and who believe politics has an impact on their everyday life.



When it comes to one thing citizens of Montenegro single out as the most important one in their lives, the highest percentage of them mention family (80%), followed by job (18%).

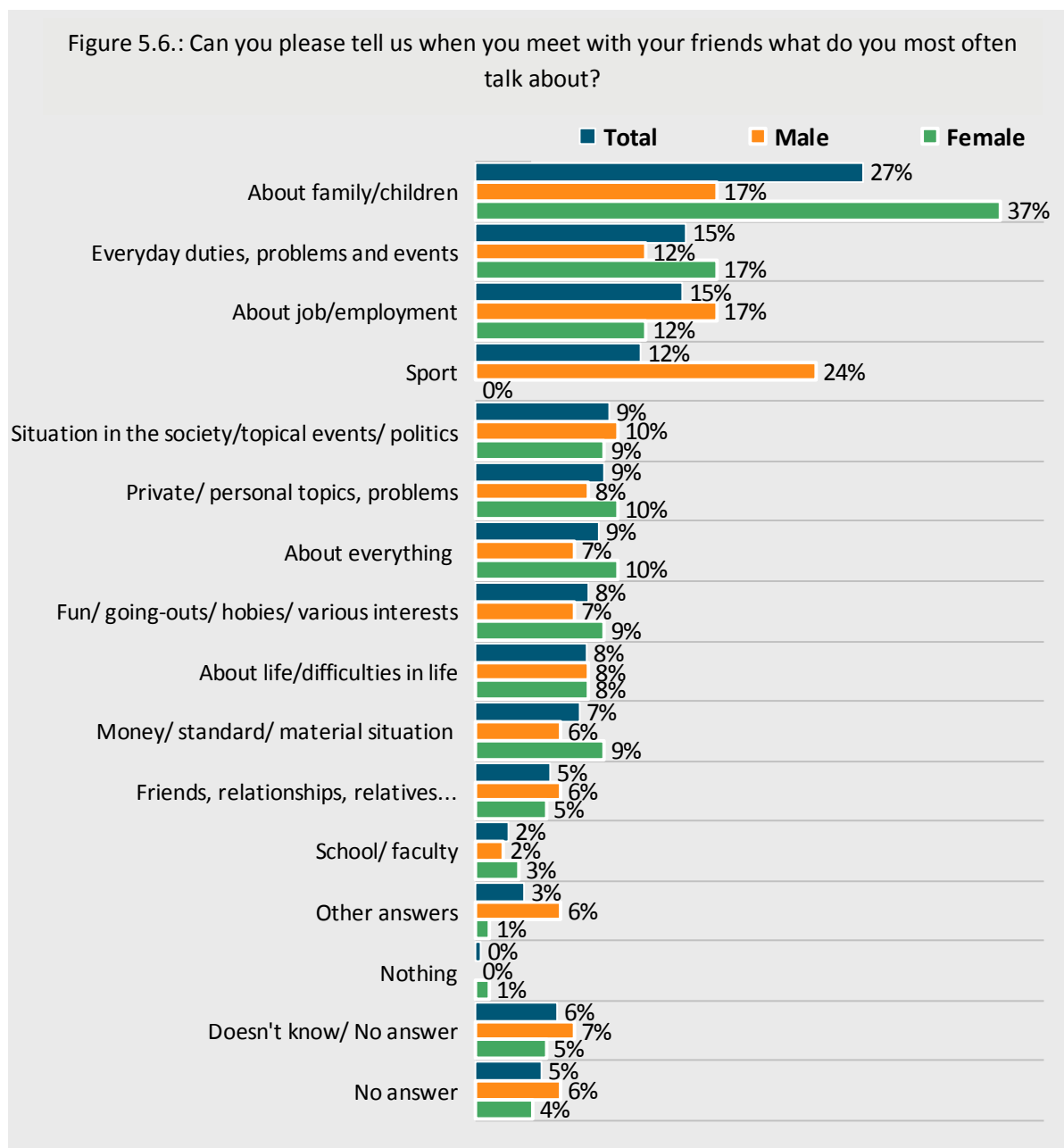


When taken into consideration three most important singled out things, family remains in the first place (97%), followed by friends and acquaintances (90%), job (88%), religion (16%) and, finally, politics (6%). Hence, at declarative level, politics is not considered to be among personal priorities of Montenegrin citizens.

What is interesting to note is that patriarchal, undemocratic and authoritarian persons are more likely to mention politics as one of the most important things for them.

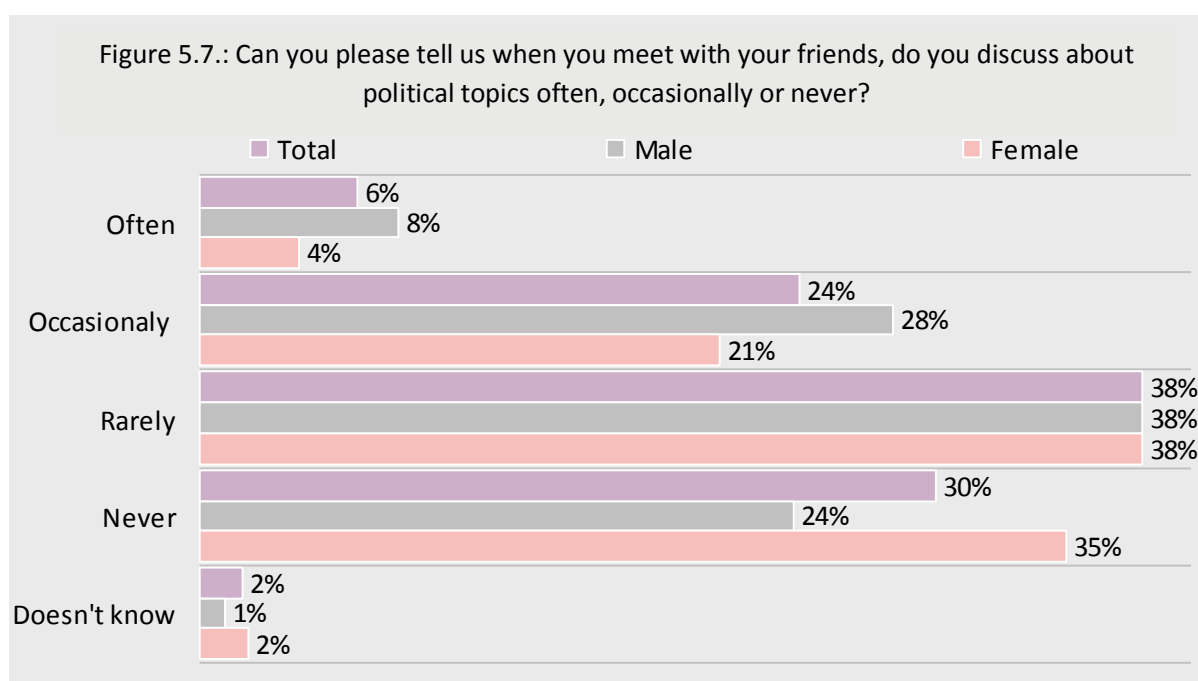
Topics they most often talk about with their friends are in line with priorities of Montenegrin citizens; the highest percentage of them talk about family (27%), everyday duties (15%), job (15%) and sport (12%). Interestingly enough, almost 10% of the citizens discuss topical social and political situation in the country with their friends.

As it was expected, people who follow political events in Montenegro and who report that politics impacts their lives, more often talk with their friends about political topics.



When it comes to frequency of discussion with friends about political topics, one third of the citizens admit that politics has never been their topic for discussion, and almost another 40% say that political and social issues have rarely been in the focus of discussion with friends. One fourth of citizens at least occasionally talk about politics, and only slightly above 5% often discuss about politics.

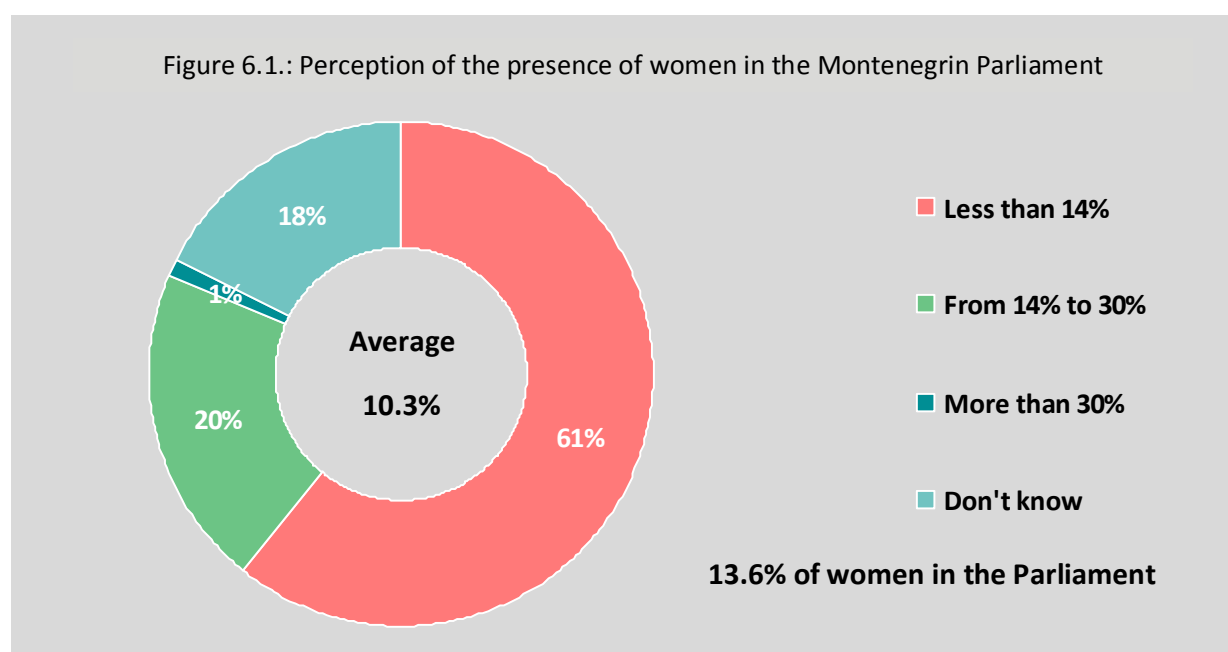
Women and the young are less likely to discuss politics. Politics is more often the topic among highly educated citizens.



## 6. Presence of women in politics

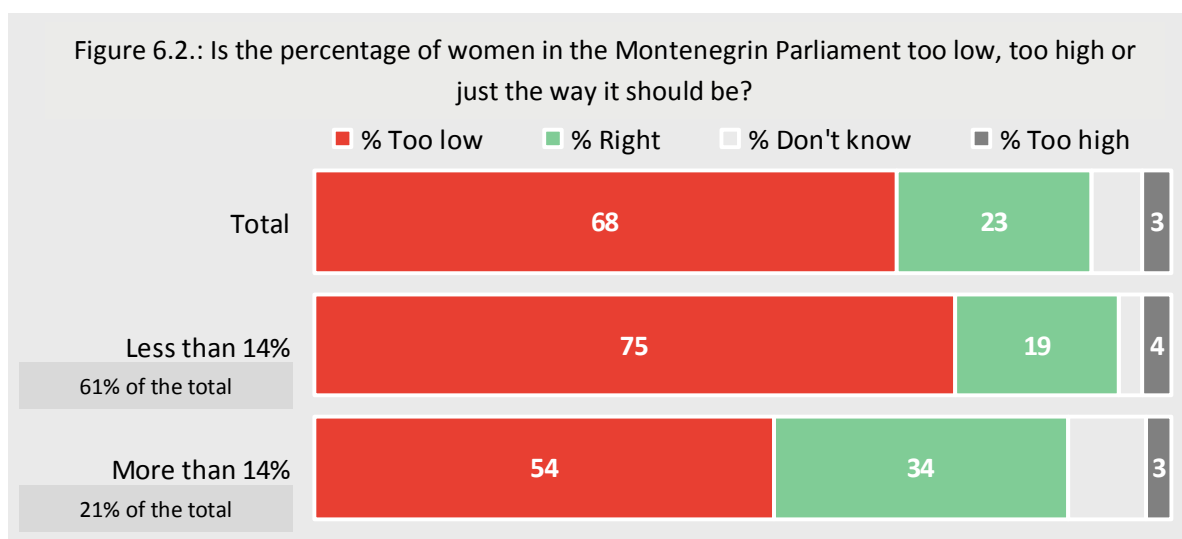
More than a half of Montenegrin citizens are not satisfied with the presence of women in Montenegrin Parliament and women tend to be more dissatisfied than men. Situation is similar when it comes to presence of women in Montenegrin Government, as well. Even though the highest percentage of citizens do not believe that there are differences between men and women when it comes to performance of MP or ministerial jobs, men are more likely to say that women perform these duties in a less professional way. Patriarchal, undemocratic and authoritarian individuals mainly agree with men when it comes to adequate and exaggerated presence of women in Montenegrin Parliament and Government, and their poorer performance on MP and ministerial jobs. Citizens of Montenegro, Serbs by nationality are more likely than other citizens to demonstrate a conservative stand pertaining to the participation of women in politics. A significant percentage of the citizens believe that female politicians are often badly treated by male politicians in public appearances.

When it comes to perception of the presence of women in Montenegrin Parliament, more than 60% of citizens believe that there are less than 14% of women in Parliament, 20% state this figure ranges between 14% and 30%, while only 1% think that women make more than 30% of members of Parliament.



Almost 70% of the citizens think that there are not enough women in Parliament; somewhat less than one fourth of them are satisfied with their presence, while 3% of them say that there are too many women in Parliament.

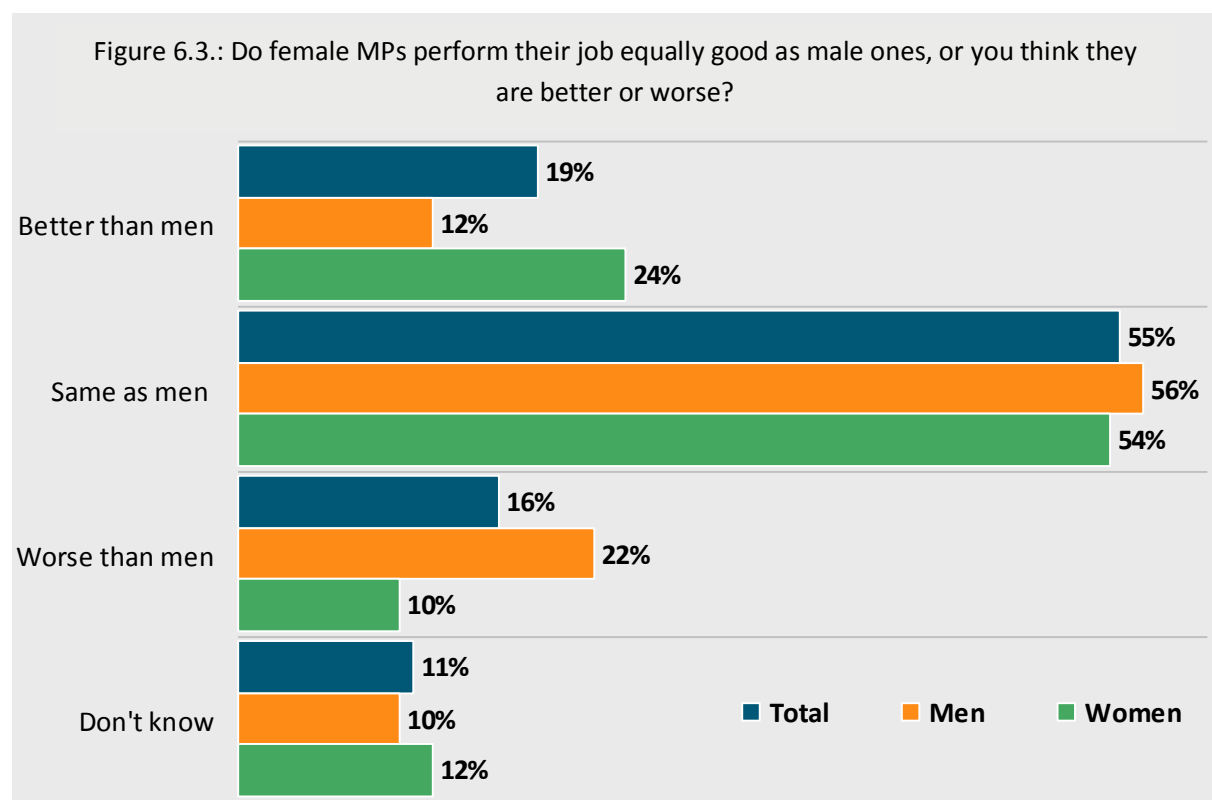
Over 70% of citizens, who believe that there is less than 14% of women in the Montenegrin Parliament underscore that women are insufficiently present, i.e. that there are not enough women in the Parliament. Less than 20% would say that such presence is adequate, while only 4% would say that there are too many women in the Parliament. When citizens perceive that there are more than 14% of women in the Parliament, still more than one half tend to say that they are insufficiently present (54%), one third that this number is just the way it should be and only 3% that there are too many of them. These results change if citizens perceive that there are over 30% of women in Parliament; in this case, 85% think that they have been represented adequately, and 15% that there are few of them.



We may notice that female citizens believe women have not been sufficiently represented in the Parliament, while men believe that presence of women is adequate; they are more likely to say that there are too many women in the Parliament. This directly points to the fact that men fail to see position of women in politics as an unequal one and cannot see this low percentage of their presence as an issue. Expectedly enough, individuals who believe that women perform better their MP jobs than men are not satisfied with the involvement of women in the work of Parliament, while those who state that women do not perform equally well as men, emphasize that there are even too many of them.

When it comes to quality of performed MP job, more than a half of Montenegrin citizens do not believe that there are any differences between women and men, slightly less than 20% think that women do this job better, while 16% think that women are worse. Higher percentage of male citizens of

Montenegro in comparison with female ones, state that men do their jobs better, while female citizens naturally find women better.



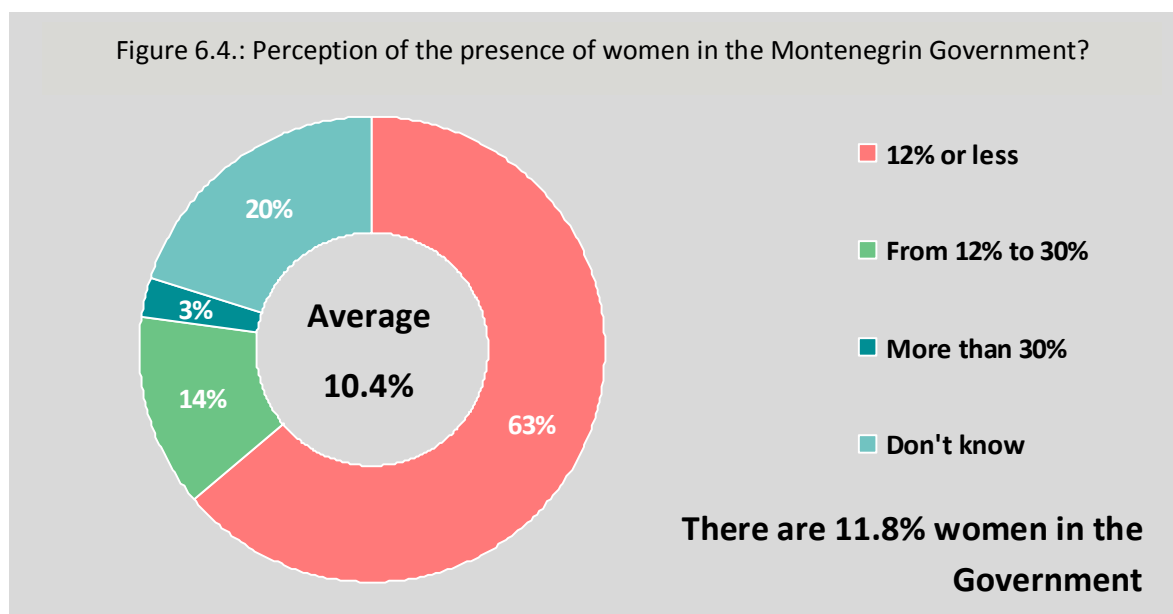
Respondents in in-depth interviews from all areas, politics, media, NGO sector, agree when assessing there are not enough female MPs in the Parliament. Current situation, according to their opinion, is a reflection of general position of women on political scene of Montenegro, which is almost a marginal one. Poor involvement of women is linked with historical context and tradition, even though this situation is slowly changing.

*President of a party: 'I think there are not enough women in politics, not enough of them in decision making bodies and political parties, in civil administration, in places where certain policies have been created or decision have been made. This might be matter of circumstances in the Montenegrin society. I think that we are, conditionally speaking, at a certain turning point in our society, women have been perceived here as mothers and sisters and wives, and many generations here doubt they could be successfully engaged in public jobs, and they are sometimes much more successful than their husbands.'*

They notice differences in performance and involvement among a small number of MPs. On one hand, there are female MPs who are actively and efficiently engaged both in the Parliament sessions and in its committees, whereas there are still some female politicians who provide for quorum and vote and almost never ask for floor in the Parliament, even when a topic is within their area of expertise.



When we talk about perception of the presence of female ministers in the Montenegrin Government, over 60% of citizens believe that women make up to 12% of the Government, 14% of them think this percentage is not higher than 30%, while less than 5% of the citizens believe that share of women is over 30% in the Government. This implies that citizens of Montenegro quite correctly perceive situation on political scene and are aware that women are insufficiently represented in the Government.

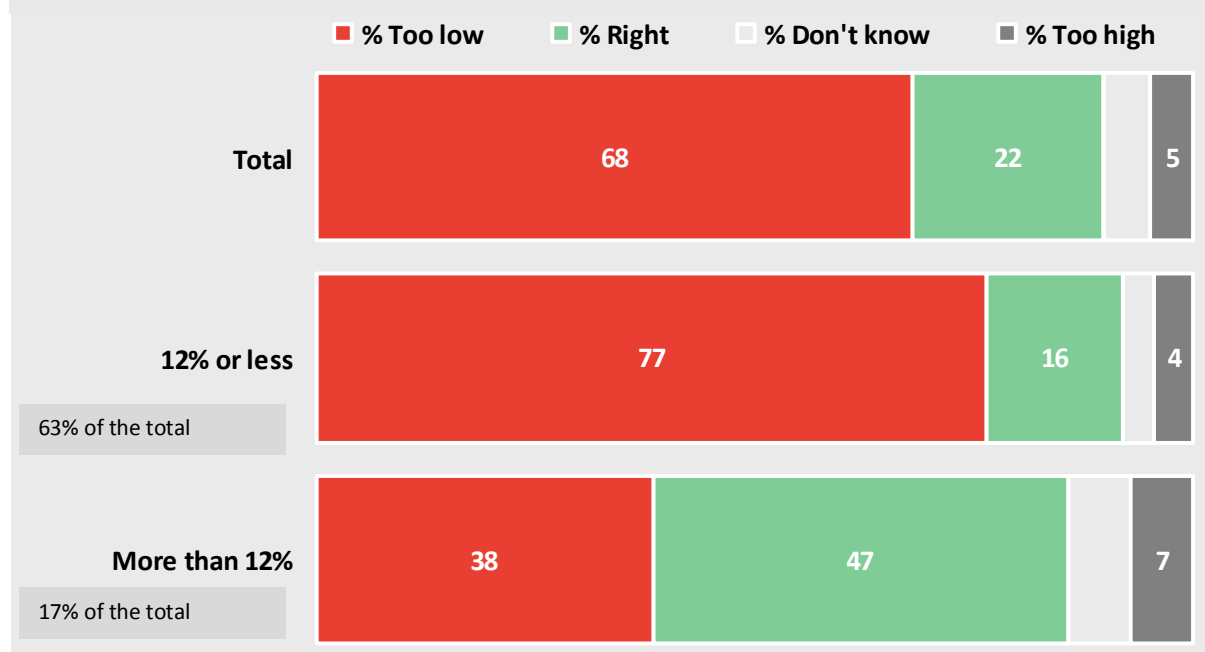


Finding that almost 70% of population believe that presence of women is insufficient is in line with previous conclusion. Nonetheless, besides the fact that situation for female politicians is rather unfavorable in Montenegro for the time being, slightly more than one fifth find it adequate, while 5% think that there are too many female ministers in the Government. Men, same as for representation of women in the Parliament, think that women have been adequately represented in the Government, while women disagree believing there are too few women MPs, as well as female ministers.

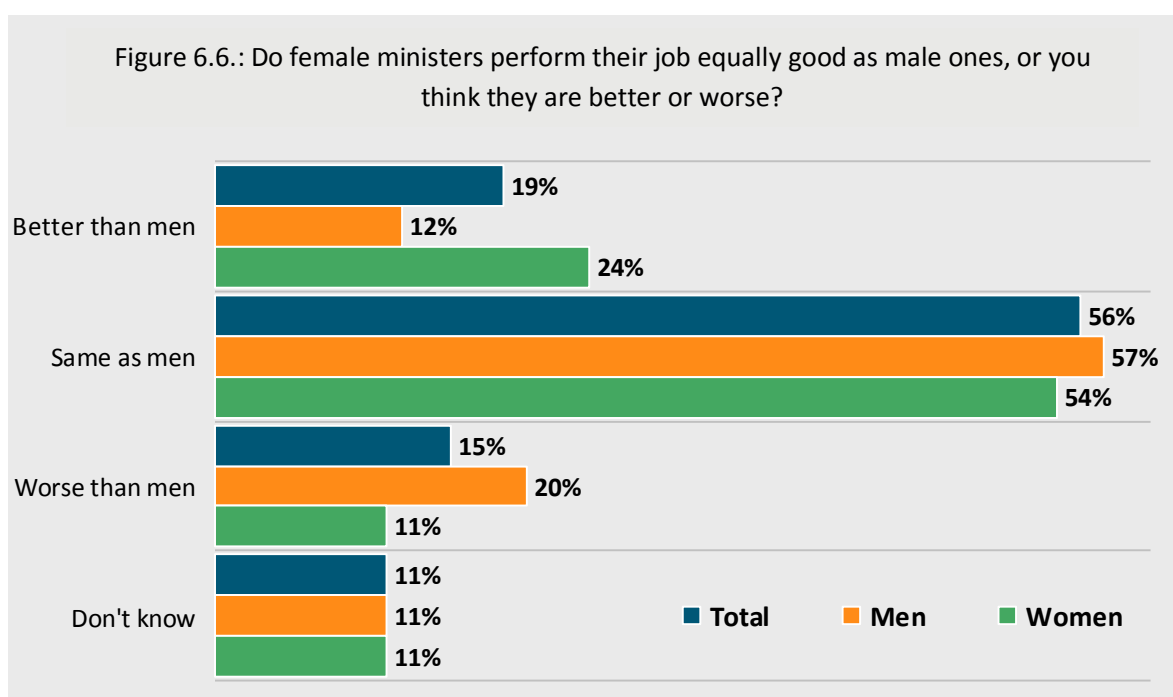
Persons who share men's opinion that women have been adequately represented in the Government are usually older and less educated.

Citizens of Montenegro who believe that women make less than 12% of the Montenegrin Government would in the majority of cases (77%) say that there are only few women in the Government, slightly more than 15% of them would say that they have been adequately represented, and less than 5% that there are too many of them. When citizens perceive that there are more than 12% of women in the Government, 38% of them find this figure insufficient, i.e. 47% that the percentage of women is just the way it should be and 7% that there are too many of them.

Figure 6.5.: Is the perception of female ministers in the Montenegrin Government too low, too high, or just the way it should be?



When it comes to quality of performance in the Government, more than a half of citizens do not think that there are any differences between women and men, almost one fifth think women perform better than men as ministers, while 15% believe women are worse than men. Same as pertaining to the quality of performance in Parliament, higher percentage of men tend to say that male ministers perform better than the female ones, while women disagree with this view.



Data obtained from the interviews show that presence of women on higher posts, including ministerial ones, is evaluated as extremely poor, while on the other hand, women dominate on advisory positions in ministries. Frequent appointment of women as advisors shows that they have necessary knowledge and experience. Hence the question is why are not been more present on higher positions. Lack of readiness among women to take more prominent functions has been mentioned as one the factors; they prefer to rule from the shadow. However, insufficient political willingness of party leaders to involve women is perceived as a more important reason. Majority of the citizens believe that there is still a glass ceiling for women in politics.

*Female politician: 'Declaratively women are not hindered for promotion; however, there are no women where the very decisions are made, where signatures are required and where money is.'*

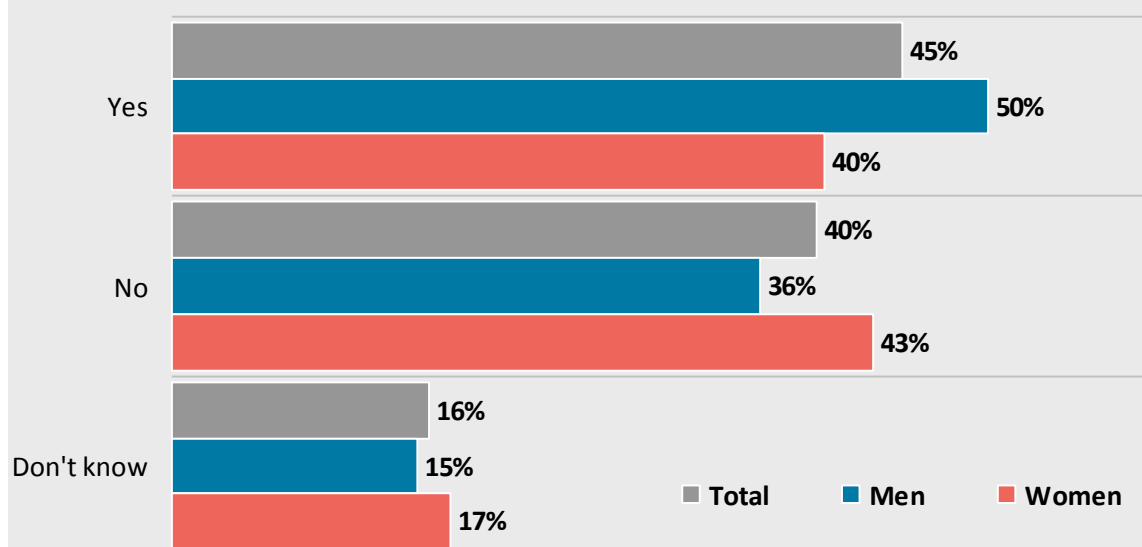
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All respondents have positively assessed the work of women on ministerial posts and believe that they are equally good as men or even more successful in running every ministry. Recent appointment of a woman at the defense minister's post, which has traditionally been a male position, has been particularly positively assessed.

Serbs, in comparison with other ethnic communities, are more likely to say that there are too many women in Parliament and Government, as well as that women are worse than men in performing MPs and ministerial jobs. Higher percentage of less educated people and persons with below average monthly income state that female MPs, i.e. ministers do not perform their job as well as male MPs, i.e. ministers. A high level of patriarchy, authority and democracy contribute to the view that women have been adequately or even over represented in the Montenegrin Parliament and Government, as well as the opinion that they do not perform their duties equally well at posts of MPs and ministers.

When we talk about public appearances of male and female politicians in Montenegro, 40% of the citizens think that male politicians do not treat their female fellow-politicians as equal, while almost a half of the citizens believe that there is equality between female and male politicians. Hence, one should notice that a huge percentage of the citizens spot inferiority of female politicians to male politicians in public appearances.

Figure 6.7.: When you think of public appearances, would you say that male politicians treat their female colleagues as equal ones?



Interviews with political party representatives, MPs in particular, have shown that **communication in the Parliament and replies to political opponents is another segment that patriarchy** of the Montenegrin society and male politicians may apply to. Namely, representatives of MP clubs tend to ask their female colleagues to reply to an argument a female MP from other party presented, since 'a man should not argue with a woman'. On the other hand, female MPs do not have any issues or embarrassments when discussing with their male colleagues since women perceive political discussion as a conflict of opinions and presentation of arguments and not as a conflict of personalities or gender issues.

*Female politician: 'I was anxious in the state Parliament when I said something and men would not reply because I was a woman. I told them that was irrelevant. I am an MP just like them, hence they all most likely potentially have this issue...Well, you can't be indifferent since you feel as if you were inferior and not worthy of any attention. They would never admit it, but this is the point and you feel helpless about it.'*

Women, who are into politics, assess cooperation and relations with their male colleagues in different ways. There are usually no greater problems in communication, or at least there are no open conflicts. However, women who have been longer in politics have experienced prejudices and stereotypes when they began to work. This has changed in time, according to them, which definitely has been a result of reputation and authority they acquired in time through their work. Others, however, experienced these issues when they were promoted since until then they were not perceived as a threat. Men see women more and more as a competition since if 30% quota were respected, this would mean fewer men in the Parliament.

*Female MP: 'I did not have any problems when I came, but when I was promoted. There were all enthusiastic until someone realizes that the fact I am here implies I would take someone else's place.'*

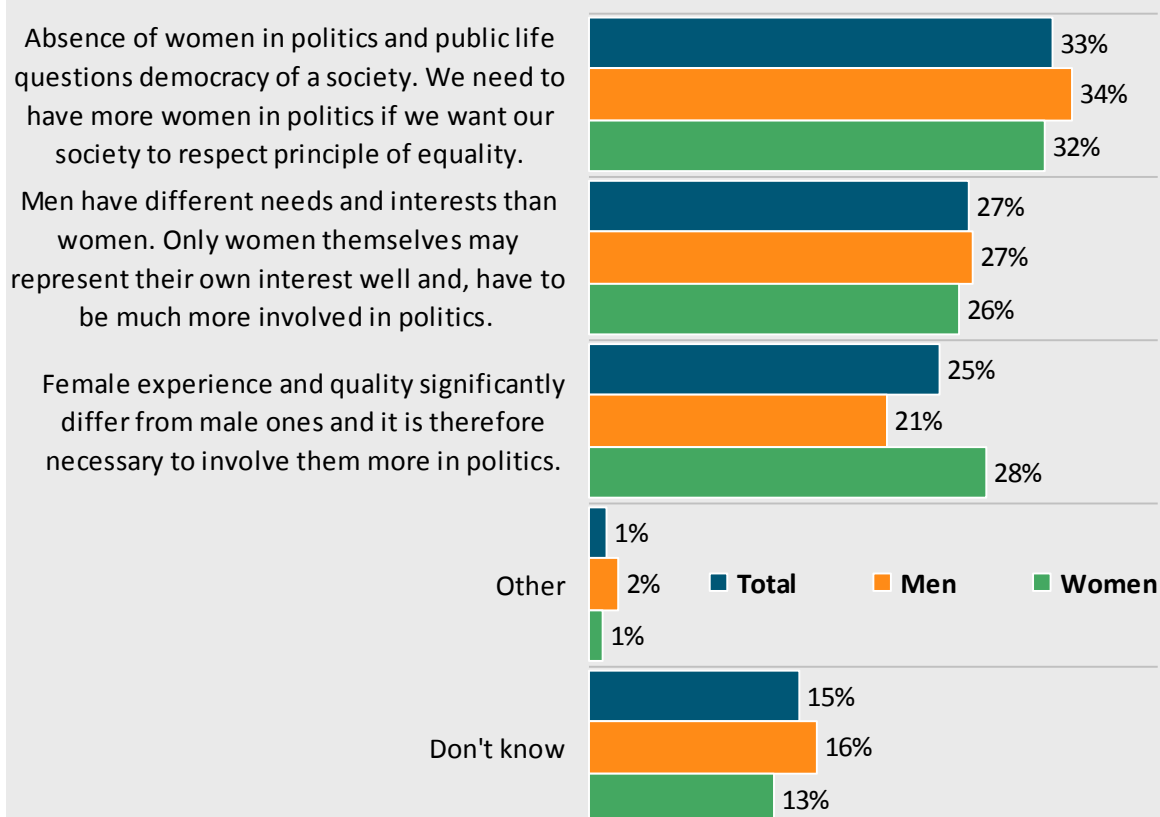
*Female MP: '30% of women automatically implies that 10 current male MPs from a party would have to go home since there is no room in the Parliament for them.'*

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## 6.1. Views on greater participation of women in politics

When we talk about equal representation of women in politics, three arguments have been most frequently mentioned. The main question that many concepts start from is: why should women be present in politics. The first argument is in favor of **equality principle and refers to an issue that absence of women in politics and public life questions democracy of a society**. The second one is of a pragmatic nature and implies that **women know best how to represent their own interests**. The third underpins diversity since **female experience and quality significantly differ from the male ones**.

Figure 6.1.1.: There are different agreements in favor of greater presence of women in politics. Which of the following opinions is closer to your views?

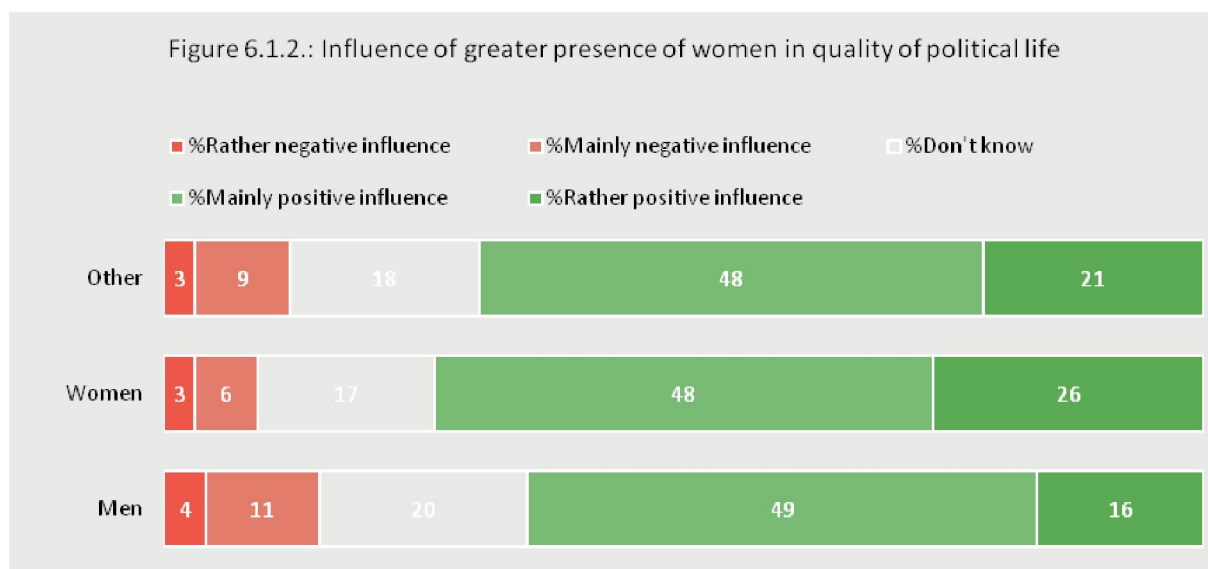


The first argument in favor of equality principle is the closest to the general population (33%). Men tend to choose this argument more often (34%), as well as the part of population that believes current percentage of presence of women in the Montenegrin Parliament is too low (38%). In addition to this, this argument is more often chosen by those who find gender irrelevant when choosing an ideal male/female politician in Montenegro (48%), as well as those voters, who would certainly vote in the forthcoming elections for Montenegrin Parliament (36%).

It is worth mentioning that the third argument in favor of differences in female and male experience and quality is the least close to general population (25%) and men (21%). On the other hand, women tend to give advantage to this argument saying that women and men have different needs and hence only women may well represent their own interests and needs (26%).

It is here necessary that we insist on difference in essential representation of female interests and processes of constructing gender relations through representational process. While the first type speaks about female interests, the second one does it for them and on their behalf. With regard to this, central issue is not how to represent female interests, but **how to set up gender relations within representational democracy**.

Majority from the general population believe that higher percentage of women (above 30% in the Montenegrin Parliament and Government) would result in increased quality in political life of Montenegro (69%). Men are somewhat more skeptical towards positive influence of greater representation of women (65%), while women have much more affirmative views towards greater presence in politics than men (74%), as well as highly educated people (80%) and Podgorica male/female citizens (80%).

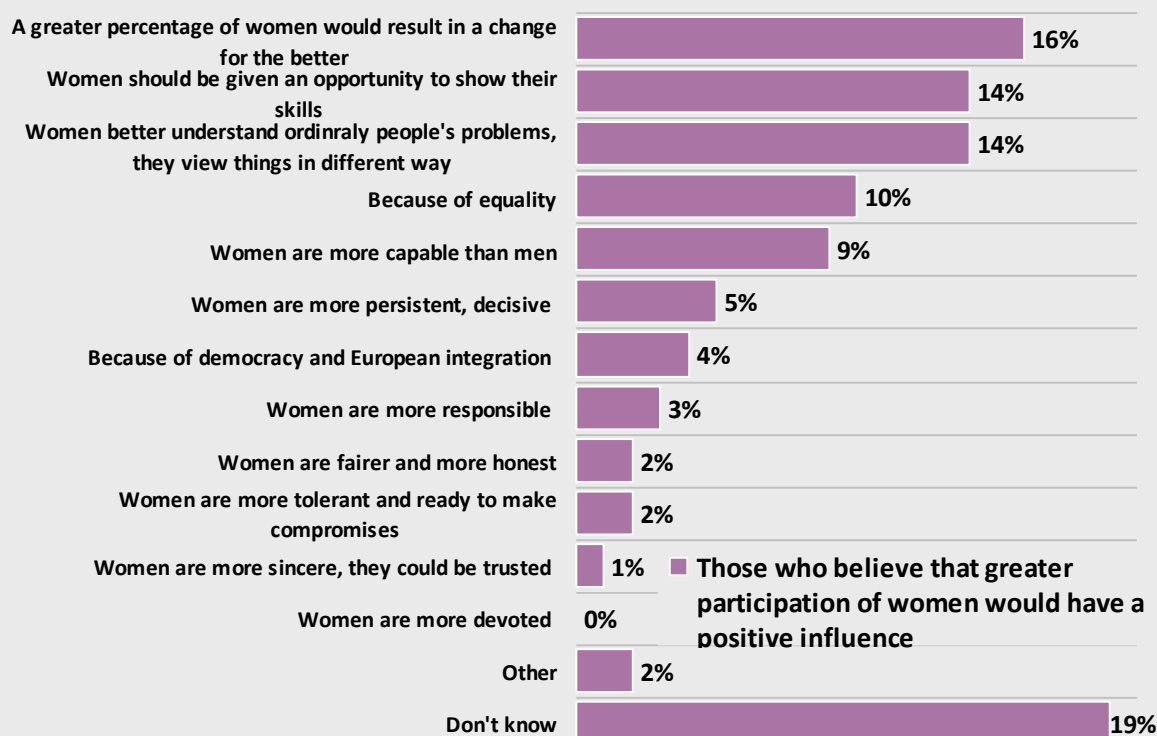




12% of general population (60% of men and 40% of women) believe that presence of women above 30% in Montenegrin Parliament and Government would have a negative influence on quality of political life. Reasons for this are the following: view that politics is not for women 33% (i.e. 4% of general population); women are weak and too soft to be good in politics 13% (2% of general population); men are stronger and better politicians 13% (2% of general population); 10% of women is enough, 30% is too high, 8% (1% of general population); women should stay at home 5% (less than 1% of general population); women would make wrong decisions, we would be ruined because of them 5% (less than 1% of general population); there would be even more disputes with a higher percentage of women 4% (less than 1% of general population).

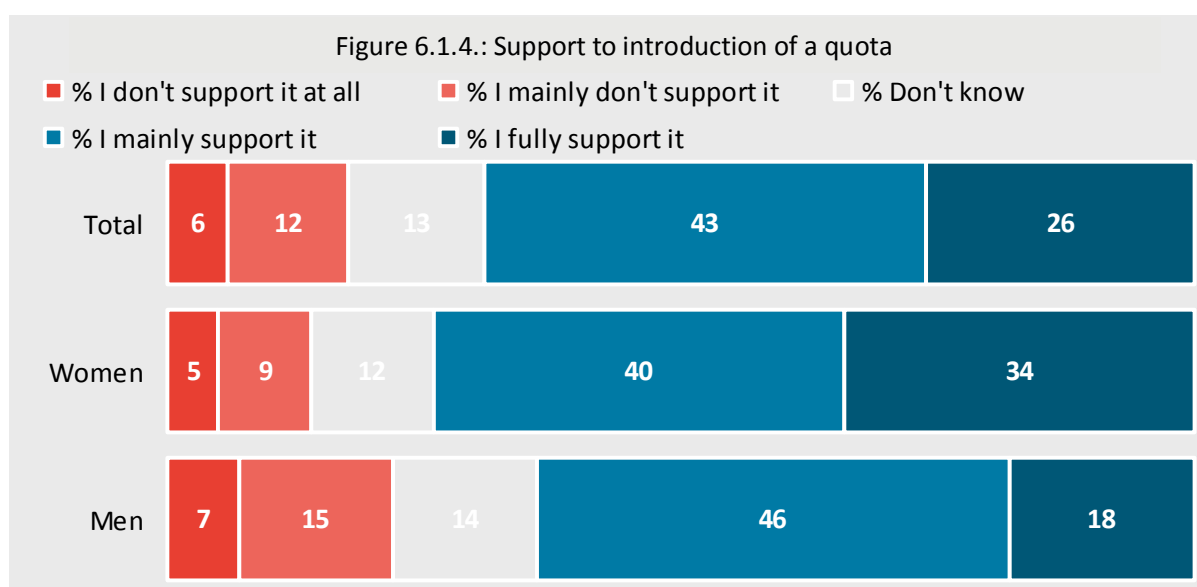
On the other hand, majority of general population (69%), who expect positive influence from greater participation of women mention, apart from positive female attributes, general benefit through contribution to the European integration processes and increased level of democracy.

Figure 6.1.3.: Positive influence of greater presence of women in politics - Arguments



Even though a significant majority of general population expects a positive influence on Montenegrin policy from greater participation of women in Montenegrin Government and Parliament, both male and female citizens of Montenegro are rather pessimistic when it comes to implementation of this objective in near future. Hence, only 29% of general population expect that participation of women in Montenegrin Government and Parliament will exceed 30% by 2020, 15% expect that this will take place later and even 30% think that it would never happen. Podgorica citizens, those who follow political events in Montenegro, as well as those who voted for the ruling coalition in previous elections are slightly more optimistic.

Quotas for electoral lists with at least 30% of women are supported by 69% of general population (18% against). Quotas have been largely supported by women, highly educated citizens of Montenegro, Podgorica citizens, potential voters of newly formed parties in Montenegro, as well as a part of population that failed to vote in previous elections for Montenegrin Parliament.



New Law on election of MPs, as well as the overall process of passing it provokes spontaneous and contradictory reactions of respondents in in-depth interviews. Most disputed were caused by directives stipulating that parties have to have 30% of female candidates on electoral lists, as well as failure to adopt amendments stipulating that every third candidate on the list has to be a woman, as well as defining the replacement of a candidate with a person of the same gender. Consequently, this law does not ensure that women would make 30% of MPs in the Parliament, but leaves it to parties to decide the share of women in their MP clubs. Therefore, not much is expected from such a law, i.e. that it would improve position of women, even though it is believed that they would be more present in the next composition. It is, nonetheless, not expected that this percentage would above 30%.

All Respondents from in-depth interviews agree that introduction of quotas is primarily a response to a request coming from the western world insisting on gender equality. All of them also support greater engagement of women in politics, but fail to see quotas as an efficient way to achieve this. Existence of quotas for women's participation in Parliament is not an ideal solution. However, those in support of this provision, current female MPs in the Parliament among all others, believe this is the best way to improve position of women in politics for the time being.

A part of respondents think that parties have so far proved that there is no real political willingness to enhance position of women and that nothing would be done self-initiatively, while the law would in a way oblige them to do it.

*NGO leader: 'Law is a necessary temporary mechanism since it is clear that nothing would be done in existing framework of a party itself, but only what the law requires them to do in order to improve position of women.'*

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Generally accepted view is that women, among other things, hesitate to join politics since they are aware that there is only little room for them there, and that their possible engagement in a party, regardless of their results, would not be valued adequately and awarded by a Parliament post. Having this in mind, quotas guaranteeing posts for women would be an additional motive for them. At the same time, a more numerous presence in Parliament would in time lead to better representation of women in higher posts and offer them opportunity to urge for female population needs and work on raising awareness of gender equality.

Potential danger that quota principle may bring about is a non-selective participation of women aiming at fulfillment of norms only. Some Respondents from in-depth interviews even doubt that Montenegro, at this very moment, has enough good quality women in politics who would be able to take 30% of MP posts, which would imply that lower quality female politicians would join the Parliament even though they do not deserve it. Female politicians have spontaneously mentioned more than once that every woman in politics is under the public magnifier and every success, and particular failure they make has been generalized and applied to all of them and position of women in politics in general. Failure is always a proof that 'women should not be there'. On the other hand, when it comes to men, quality if often not analyzed at all and definitely not brought into connection with all men in politics.

*Female MP in the Parliament: 'There were disputes when the law was being passed over 30% of women and where they would be found, while no one questioned men in politics at the moment, out of which a half could be removed since they are not good quality ones.'*

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Different, but rarely presented view on the existence of quotas is the one assessing this principle as humiliating since it points at position of women and their inability to take a more active part in political life by themselves.

*Media representative: 'We are still far away from an ideal quota of 30% in the Parliament, which is unfortunately necessary. This is humiliating and depicts current position of women and women have been put into a framework that does not belong to them.'*

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## 6.2. Position of women in political parties

Female association of some form exists in all parliamentary parties. However, majority of respondents from other areas (media, NGO) assess that these organizations exist only formally, without any active measures and hence with no influence on work of a party. Due to this lack of activities the wider public has not been familiar with them. Namely, they have been almost invisible media wise.

*NGO leader: 'These organizations are media wise almost completely invisible, only sometimes for 8th March holiday.'*

Party leaders and female politicians have slightly different perspective and do not perceive female forums as fictitious ones, but admit that position of women and female associations should be enhanced. Due to this very reason, most parties have currently undertaken reorganization of this association in their respective party and when necessary amendment of the statute so that their importance is administratively improved.

Plan of party leaders usually envisages that organization is reinforced up to the municipality level so that base of female members who would be involved in work of higher structures is increased. It is assumed that work on quantity would improve the quality as well, hence that parties would have a larger number of high quality female personnel at their disposal. One gets the impression that female association is primarily a way of providing better recruitment of women in a party and their selection for party leaders, and not a structure that would have a qualitative influence on work of the party reviewing its polity from a female perspective. At the same time, having been determined to get closer to EU standards and requirements, presence of women has become a matter of competition among parties themselves.

*Party president: 'Our opponents boast with having a higher percentage of women in their MP club. I think this would somehow become a matter of competition pertaining to who has progressed more in this segment.'*

Taking female perception into consideration and analysis of policies and party decisions impact in women is a practice that has not only been poorly applied but also not recognized as necessary. Even women who are active in politics often fail to see the need for this form of analysis and indirectly tend to deny different influence that certain political decisions may have on men and women. Female politicians who are gender sensitive see opportunity in these very female associations and forums for supporting and dealing with analysis of a political party impact on women. According to them, the

existing forums nowadays usually contribute to better cooperation among women and their mutual support; however they expect that gender analysis would become one of primary topics in the future.

Even though female politicians and their party leaders deny the existence of stereotypes in male and female relations, parties still try to formalize female associations and necessity of their existence. Namely, it is believed that men preferred previous organization based on self-initiative of women since women are generally speaking not that eager to become active, which left more room for men in the party.

### 6.3. Cooperation with non-governmental sector

Cooperation between female politicians and NGO sector and organizations working on promotion of position of women is in line with current position of women in political parties and activities of their association within parties. Cooperation is a sporadic one and female politicians tend to behave as party soldiers at any education related training or meetings, and not as women aiming at improvement of their position and position of other women.

***NGO leader: 'They sometimes behave as inferior at meetings organized by NGOs. They more feel the need to defend their party views than to listen to arguments and use what they have heard to improve their position with the party.'***

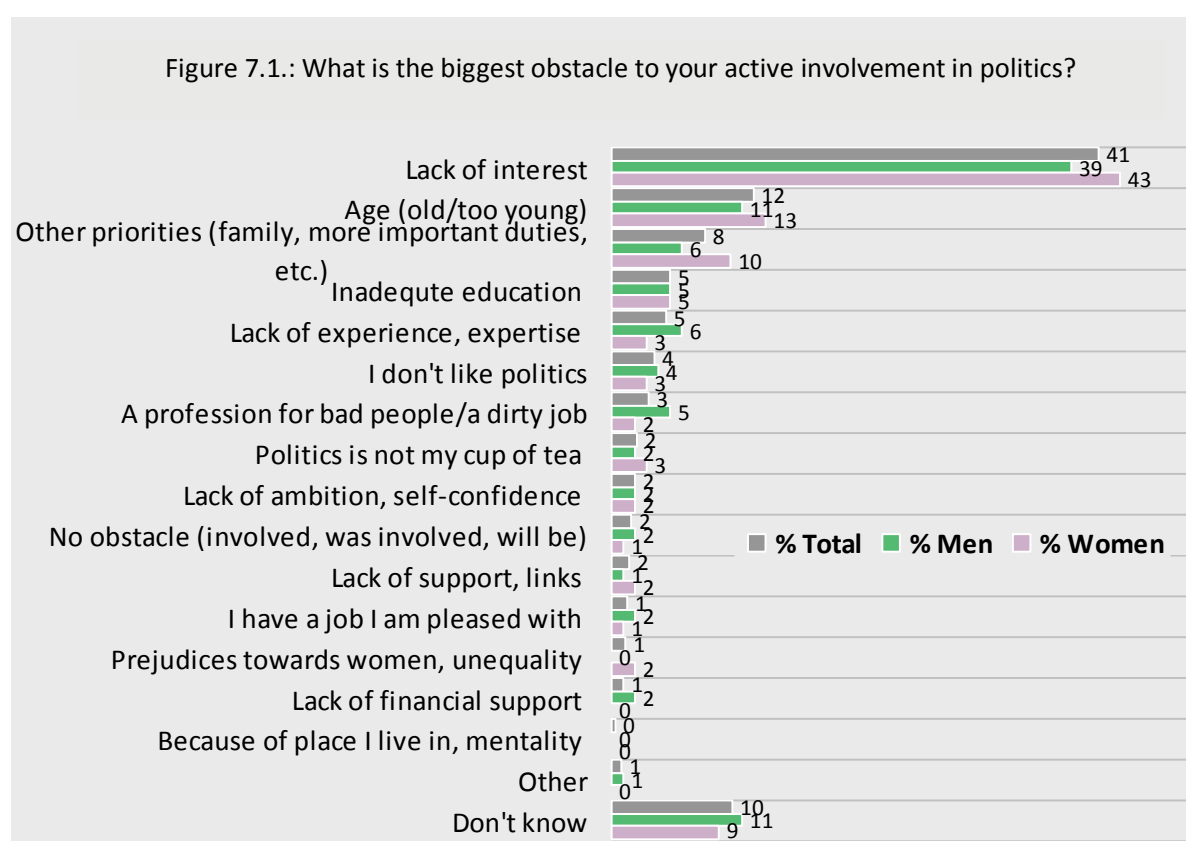
On the other hand, there are positive examples of women who actively look for exchange of experiences with their female colleagues from the region and every offered education is seen as an opportunity to improve their skills. At the same time, this group of female politicians values support obtained from the NGO sector to their proposals in the Parliament. According to them, work of the NGOs should be focused on education and raising of women's awareness, particularly from rural areas, on possibilities for their involvement in politics in order to motivate and strengthen them.

***A female politician: 'We had seminars and training, we always need some help. NGO work would be most useful through various types of training. Montenegro has a huge number of rural citizens, and all education has been concentrated in Podgorica. There are many uninformed women. They should be offered opportunity to see and hear something.'***

## 7. Obstacles to greater participation of women in politics

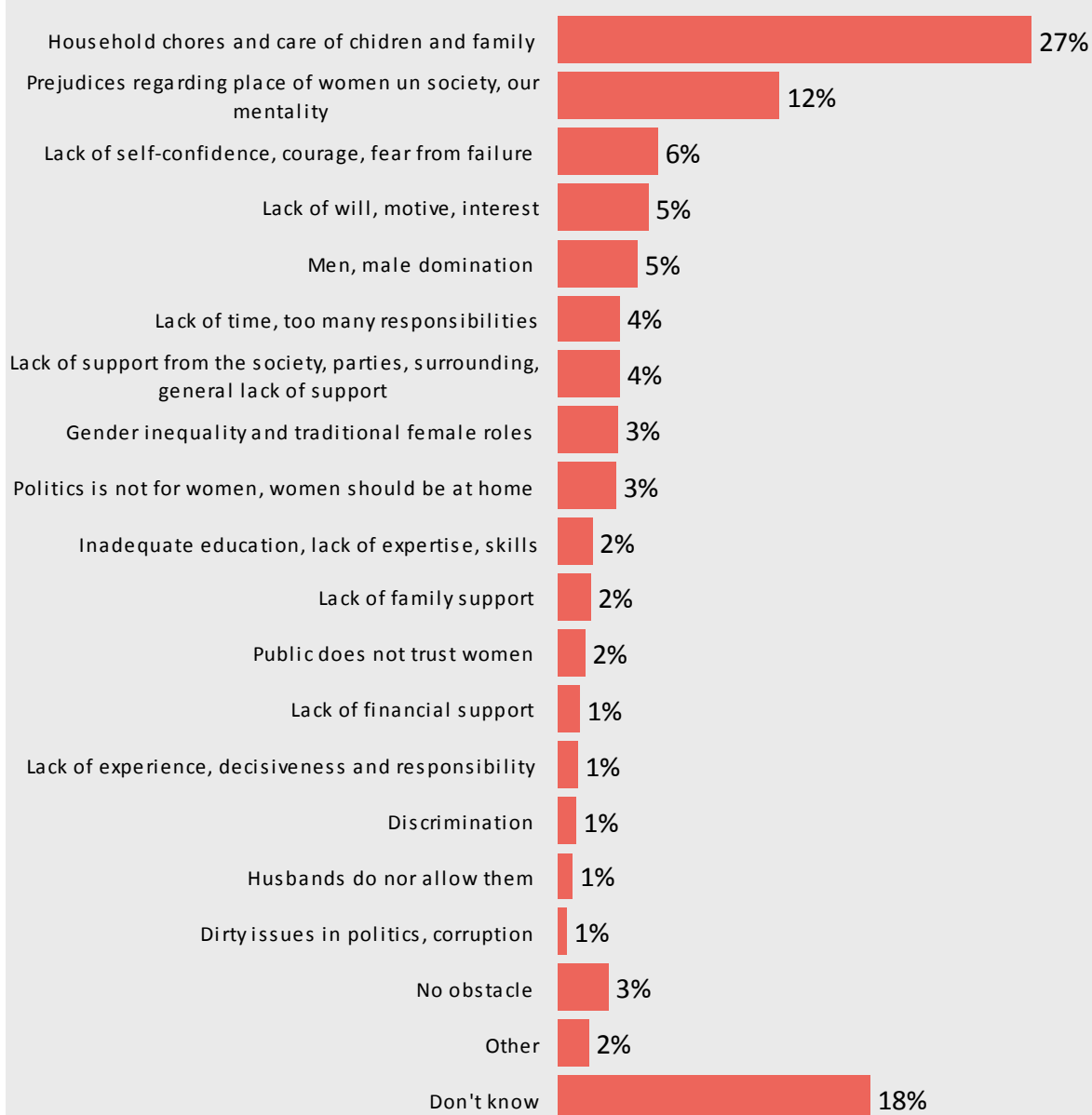
Factors that Montenegrin citizens perceive as obstacles to inclusion in politics are similar to obstacles that stand in the way of men in this area, while problems that women encounter are seen as significantly different. Lack of interest has been perceived as an issue for active involvement in politics of men and all citizens in general, while women mention family and household related duties, domination of men in the public sphere and prejudices on position of women in society. Women face similar obstacles when they join politics; they neither receive support from their family members, nor from political parties and men in politics, which points at gender discrimination.

Regarding the factors preventing Montenegrin citizens to take an active participation in politics, the highest percentage of them mention their lack of interest (41%), age (12%), followed by having other priorities in life (8%), lack of adequate education (5%) or lack of experience and skills (5%) to be engaged in politics.



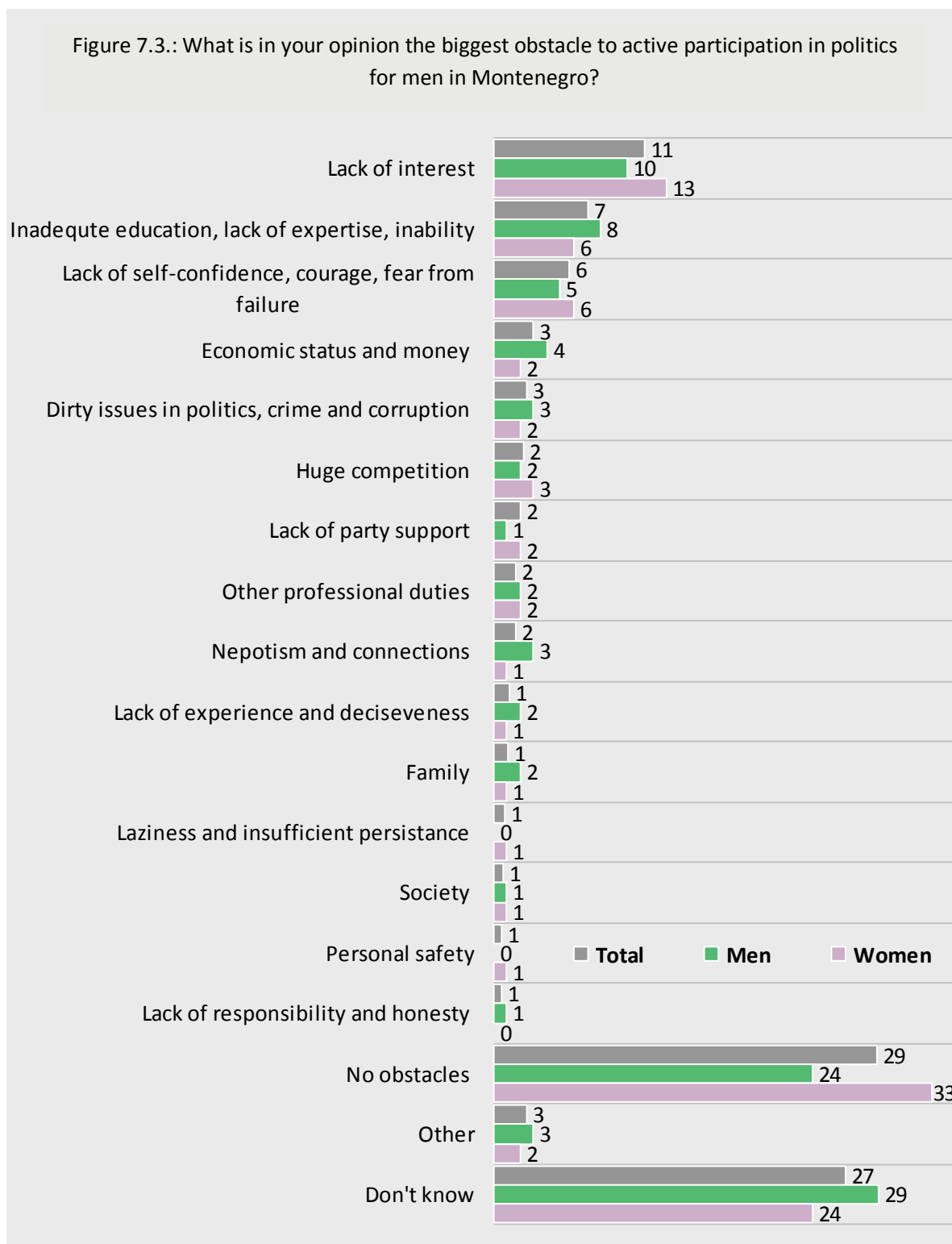
It is interesting that citizens of Montenegro, when talking about facts preventing women from joining the politics, see different obstacles. Even though the majority mention family and household related duties (27%), even 12% of citizens present views that are nothing but prejudices pertaining to position of women in society, and beside this, additional 5% state that men, i.e. their dominance, is a factor preventing political engagement of women. Citizens also point at lack of self-confidence among women, i.e. their fear from failure (6%), as well as their lack of interest (5%).

Figure 7.2.: What is in your opinion the biggest obstacle to active engagement of women in politics in Montenegro?





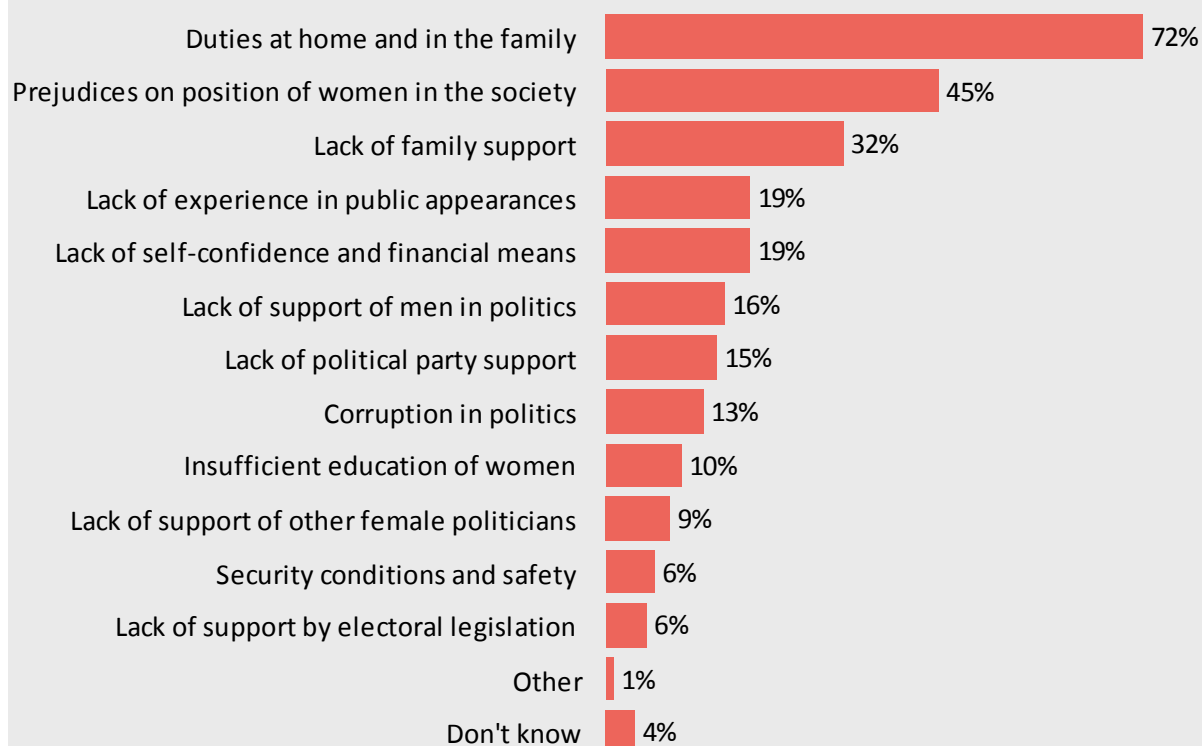
Almost one third of Montenegrin citizens believe that there are no obstacles to active political engagement of men. Obstacles that a certain percentage of citizens mention are: lack of interest (11%), inadequate education (7%) and lack of self-confidence (6%).



Personal reasons for not joining politics that citizens of Montenegro report about and we have already mentioned them, are very much similar to perceived reasons pertaining to men. On the other hand, factors disabling involvement of women in political life of Montenegro underscore a high level of gender discrimination. Hence, lack of interest and other personal factors and issues prevail when citizens have to say what prevents them from taking an active part in political life. It is the same with perceived obstacles imposed to men, while problems that women face stem more from their surroundings, family and society and are to a lesser extent of personal nature.

When it comes to obstacles that women face when joining politics, the highest percentage of the citizens mention family and household related tasks (72%); even 45% of the citizens emphasize prejudice on position of women in the society, while one third of respondents do not think that women have family support for political engagement. There are other reasons being mentioned such as: lack of experience in public appearances (19%), lack of male support in politics (16%) and lack of the political party support (15%). All in all, women who try to become politically engaged face resistance from their family members, as well as from political parties and men in politics, which makes gender inequality in political sphere even more visible.

Figure 7.4.: Choose 3 biggest obstacles women trying to join politics in Montenegro face with?



Respondents from in-depth interview and personal experiences of female politicians currently engaged reiterate the fact that citizens have a clear picture of obstacles that women are faced with in politics. They mention a number of factors having an impact on decision of women to join, i.e. refrain from joining politics. They could roughly be divided to influence of the surrounding and individual factors depending on women themselves. On one hand, there is a historical context and tradition, in which politics is a male area and a woman cannot fully fulfill her capacities in, lacking sufficient both moral and practical support from the outside. On the other hand, women are not ready to accept often dirty rules of game in political life.

Montenegro, despite its modernization, is a patriarchal environment, in which emancipation of women had just begun and is much shorter by its duration than centuries' long subordinated position of women. In such a context, in which 'women's place is not in politics', poor representation of women is a reality. This area is again made even more remote to women who have not been politically engaged due to a small number of women in politics and their poor promotion opportunities. Why joining politics when this engagement shall not change anything essentially?

*Media representative: 'Montenegro has always been a conservative and patriarchal environment and only until a few centuries ago woman was not allowed to take part in the discussion at home when guests arrive, she was only serving coffee, drinks and food, and was never an equal participant. This civil awareness maturing process, implying accepting female position as an equal participant in political life has started and has shown some results, but is still very slow.'*

*A female politician: 'Women are not ambitious enough. When they see they have fewer chances, they do not even dare try something knowing they would fail. They then withdraw even before trying since the ambiance is such to make you think you have low chances to succeed and they are discouraged. Someone should encourage women.'*

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Nonetheless, women who have firmly decided that they would do this job say that they were able to do this thanks to support from their immediate environment. They all agree that this is not often a case in Montenegro, but more an exception. Namely, women in most cases have family and children and besides all professional duties, they have to run their households as well. Without a support of family members and relatives in the country, where pre-schooling and schooling system is not adjusted to a female politician working hours, it would be almost impossible to do this job. Even when they have support and help system developed, which particularly refers to looking after children, female politicians still do most household chores by themselves, which significantly prolongs their working day.

*Female MP in the Montenegrin Parliament: 'A woman needs much more physical and psychological effort to make. I used to sleep four hours instead of eight. I have not had a family holiday for three years now, they go, but I have to stay. I miss that. I was constantly tired, I used to go to the Parliament every morning, and then go back home by bus in the evening, make dinner, turn the washing machine on, iron and get ready for next day. I have a laptop on my desk and make lunch at the same time for the following day, type what I need to find out, browse and look what I need to the job in the Parliament.'*

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Women are forced to allocate money for childcare services unless they have parents or spouses who would look after children, which is another obstacle to their participation in politics, i.e. economic independence. Only a small percentage of women have such a material support and independence in current economic situation to be able to organize their everyday duties in a way that involvement in politics requires.

*Media representative: 'A woman does not have time, she has to run a house, do the cooking, and these are some objective facts. We are poor society and our standard is far below western countries' standards, where every middle class family can afford to have some help at home. I would not say situation is satisfactory here.'*

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In a system, where a woman has no institutional support, and in which a woman is expected to be 'a good mother, sister, wife, and then all other things' in the first place, as one female MP quoted, either young women without family join politics, which is a rare case, or most often, professionally affirmed and economically independent women, who have grown-up children or adolescents.

*A female politician: 'Women with small children are rarely engaged. These are usually women who have just graduated from the university or elder women with a status and have grown-up children. There is a vacuum in the middle.'*

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A part of respondents support the viewpoint that women are the biggest obstacle to each other in politics, since there is not enough solidarity among them, often not even within the party. Those who support this viewpoint believe that women even actively tend to sabotage initiatives of other female politicians and women who are thinking of joining politics are well aware of this and recognize it.

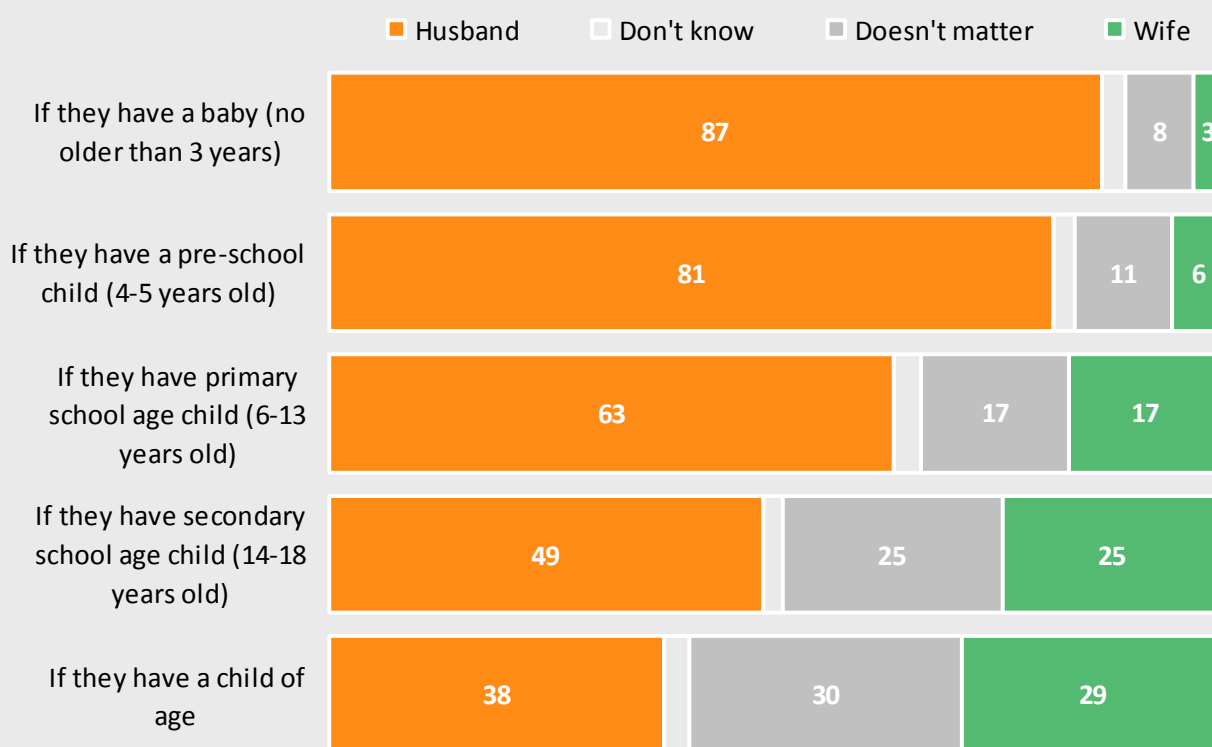
*A female MP in the Montenegrin Parliament: 'There is the least solidarity among women in political parties. We cannot free from this 'I am the cleverest one, I don't see, I don't feel' attitude and women tend to set up to one another. It is very hard to find a support among women.'*

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Women are less ready to join politics which they consider to be dirty. Namely, it is believed that women, by their nature, do not like open conflicts, while, at the same time, political scene in Montenegro is full of such conflicts. It is also believed that women perceive politics not only as dirty, but rather corrupted as well. In such an environment, a woman as a politician becomes tainted as well and questions her overall previous professional career and integrity. Therefore women hesitate to opt for it. This very resistance towards illegal actions and higher principality and respect of fairness principle is considered as a huge advantage of female politicians in comparison with men, even though this is an initial obstacle to them.

Majority of Montenegrin citizens believe that it is more acceptable for a husband to be in politics than a wife. Level of acceptance for women in politics grows with the age of their children. Above average percentage of men underline that it is much more acceptable for a husband to be in politics. In addition to this, citizens think that men in politics have much better promotion related opportunities, and that they are favored by political parties. Prejudices, social mentality, as well as male domination and their mutual support are mentioned as reasons preventing women from being promoted. It is also widely believed that men are more successful at all state functions. As one may assume, men are more likely to support this view. When it comes to physical appearance, it is more relevant to a woman in politics, than to a man.

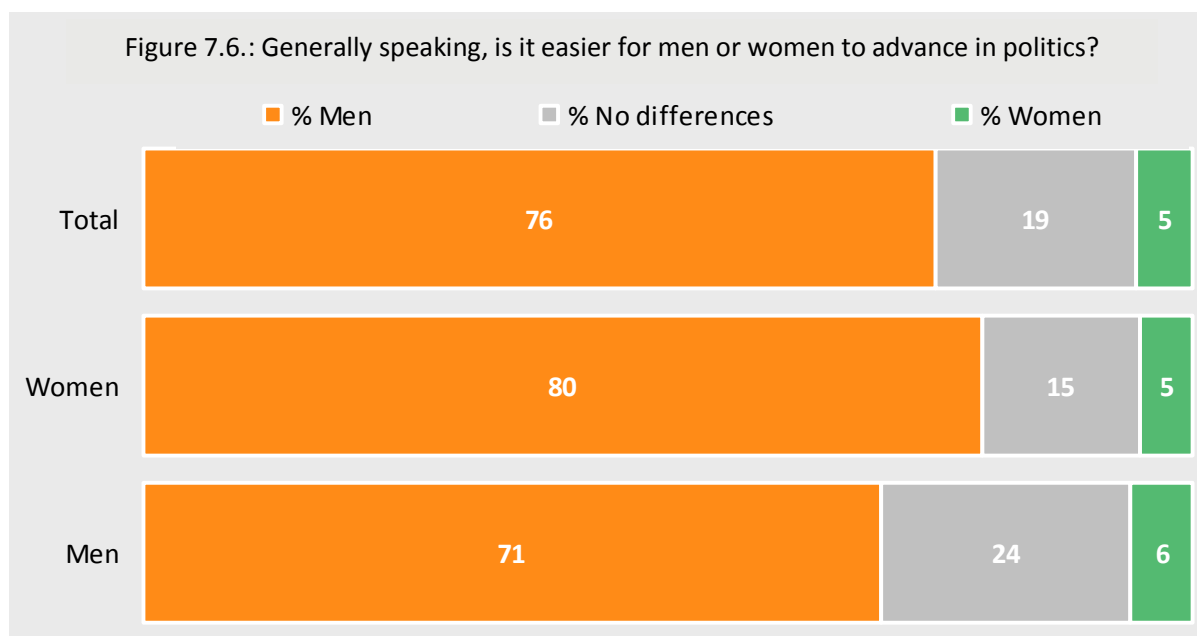
Figure 7.5.: If one of spouses should be into politics, what would be more acceptable, a husband or a wife to join politics?



For citizens of Montenegro, the level of acceptance pertaining to one of spouses in politics depends on the age of their children, which is directly related to the belief that a woman should bring up children. The older the child, the better accepted the concept of a woman in politics is. Hence, 87% of citizens say that it is more acceptable for a husband to be in politics if a child is less than 3 years old, 81% of them if a child is of pre-school age, 63% if a child is of school age, 49% if a child is of secondary school age and 38% if a child is of university age. However, regardless of the age of children, most citizens of Montenegro say it is more acceptable for a husband to be politically engaged. This level of acceptance decreases with age, which is just another confirmation of existence of a strong stereotype of politics as a male activity and child-raising as a primarily female responsibility.

As it could be expected on the basis of previous findings, even if a child is older than 5, that men are more likely to say that it is still more acceptable for a husband to be in politics. Women, regardless of the age of a child, more often than men, say that it is more acceptable for a wife to be in politics. Such an opinion is shared with highly educated individuals. Naturally, patriarchal, undemocratic and authoritative individuals tend to more often say that it is unacceptable for a woman to be involved in politics, even in case when a child is older than 5.

When it comes to promotion opportunities in politics, most Montenegrin citizens think it is easier for men in comparison with women (76%), one fourth cannot see any differences, while only 5% believe it is easier for women. It is therefore clear that citizens perceive women as facing greater obstacles trying to be promoted in politics, obstacles much more difficult than obstacles men are faced with. It has been noticed that male citizens of Montenegro much more often than female ones say there are no differences in promotion opportunities between men and women.

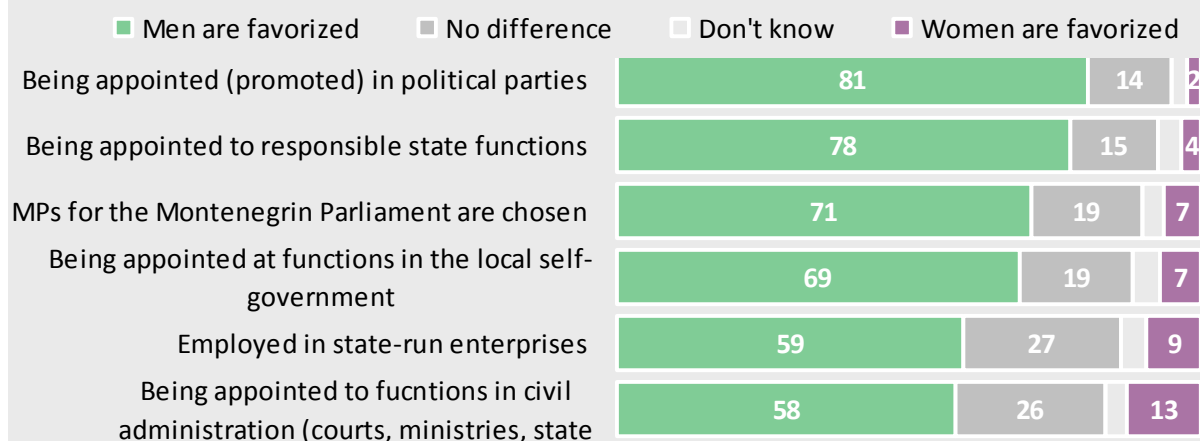


More than 15% of Montenegrin population believe that prejudice citizens have on men and women, social mentality and tradition should be blamed for easier promotion of men; while 11% of them think that this is due to the fact that men make a majority and support each other. Besides, the same percentage of citizens think that men are more capable and better politicians and have experience women don't, which is why they advance more quickly. It is also easier for men since they have more time, since things have always been so; since politics is for men, as well as since widespread is inequality, i.e. discrimination of women. Table 7.7 shows the reasons for easier promotion in politics within men and women subpopulations.

7.7. Why do you think so?	Generally speaking is it easier for men or women to advance in politics?	
	Men	Women
<b>% population</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>5%</b>
Tradition/society awareness/ mentality/ prejudices	22	2
They are more capable, serious, better politicians/ experienced	14	
Men are majority/ support each other	14	
Men are more decisive, braver, adaptable	11	
Men have more time/ fewer duties	10	
It has always been like that/ reality/ it is easier for men in all areas	9	
Politics is a male job	5	
Inequality/ discrimination of women	4	
Due to regulations on number of women		33
Men are more trusted/taken more seriously	2	
Women are more capable/persistent/intelligent/serious		25
Temper, appearance, behavior of women		24
Other responses	2	10
Doesn't know/No answer	11	10

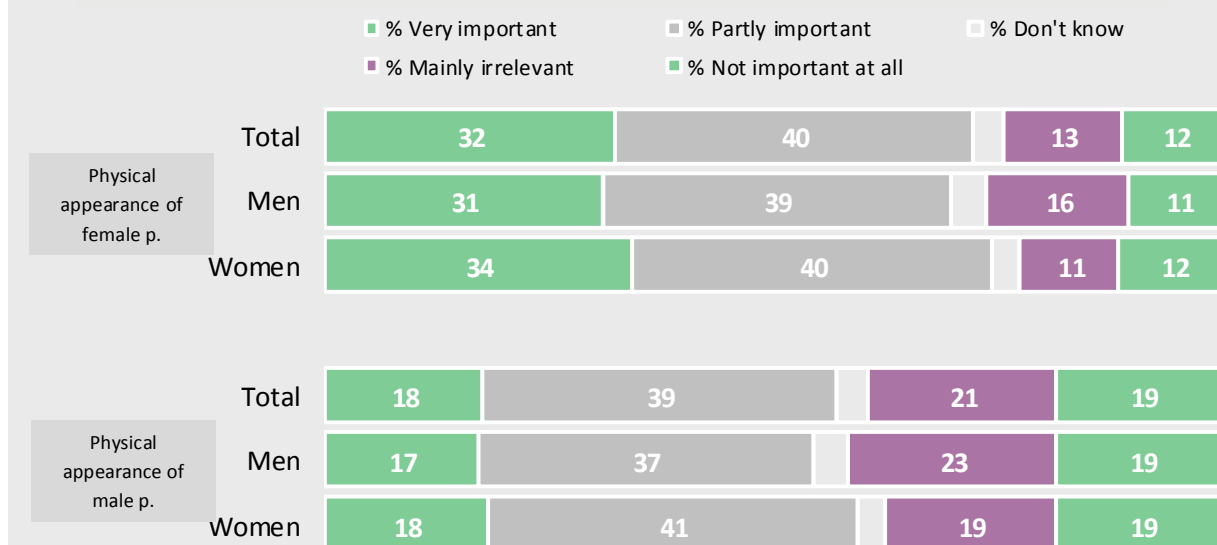
Further on, majority of Montenegrin citizens think that men are favored within and by political parties. They say that favoring of men is the most dominant when it comes to appointments, i.e. promotions in political parties (81%), followed by appointments to responsible state functions (78%), deciding on MPs in the Montenegrin Parliament (71%), as well as appointments to functions in the local self-government and (69%). Most Montenegrin citizens believe that men are in a better position when finding employment in state run companies (59%) and when being appointed to functions in civil administration, such as courts, ministries and state agencies (58%).

Figure 7.8.: Would you say that men or women are generally favored when...



Interestingly enough, even 72% of Montenegrin citizens think that physical appearance of women in politics matters, while only 25% disagrees. One third of citizens say that physical appearance is very important, and 40% of citizens find it partly important. There is huge agreement between male and female views on importance of physical appearance of women in politics. This finding is just another one in a number of stereotypes reiterated in this research – citizens of Montenegro are convinced that physical appearance is more important for women to be successful in politics than for men.

Figure 7.9.: Generally speaking, does physical appearance matter and to what extent?





### 7.1. Perception of women and men in politics

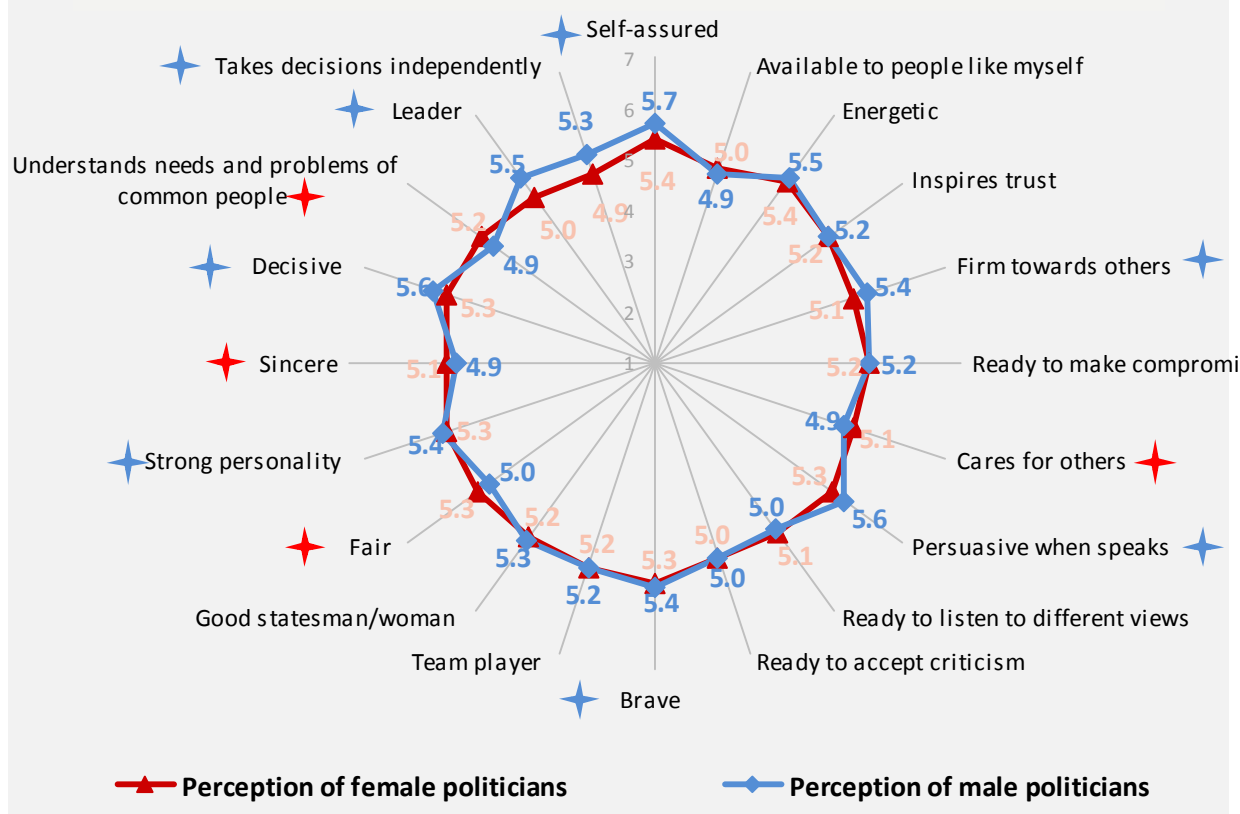
The greatest percentage of population would say that a typical female politician in Montenegro is: energetic (69%), self-assured (69%), persuasive when speaks (67%), decisive (67%), while only a few citizens would say that women in politics is independent in decision making (58%), as well as that she is available to citizens (59%). Even though the smallest number of citizens mentioned these two qualities, one should note that more than a half of the population still believes these are typical female politician in Montenegro characteristics. All in all, more citizens describe a typical female politician using positive attributes. However, one fourth of them would say that female politicians make decisions under the influence of other people, i.e. that they are easily manipulated; and one fifth that they are unavailable, listening only to themselves, unready to take criticism, and fickle.

Population of Montenegro says that a typical male politician is self-assured (78%), persuasive when speaking (75%), decisive (74%), a leader (73%). On the other hand, the lowest percentage of citizens would say that a typical male politician in Montenegro is sincere (58%), taking care of others (58%) and that he is available to citizens (58%). However, more than a half of the population think these traits are Montenegrin male politician's attributes. Generally speaking, most citizens describe typical male politicians using positive attributes as well. One should, nonetheless, neglect the fact that almost one fourth of citizens think politicians care only about themselves, listen only to themselves, are not ready to accept criticism, are unavailable to citizens and are not interested in their needs and problems, as well as the fact that they are prone to double-dealing. One fifth of citizens say they are unfair; making decisions under the influence of other people and not inspiring any trust.

Hence, citizens of Montenegro underline positive characteristics of a typical female and male politician in Montenegro as the following: self-assured, persuasive when speaks, decisive. They also share some negative traits – being susceptible to influences, i.e. taking decisions under the influence of other people, focused on themselves only and neglecting others, lacking readiness to accept criticism, as well as being fickle. The smallest number of citizens tends to say that typical male and female politicians are available to citizens.

A huge number of citizens emphasize leadership, as a typical male politician's quality, and not a female one's. On the other hand, citizens more often say that a typical male politician is unfair and does not inspire trust, whereas a typical female politician is not related with these characteristics. A typical female politician is criticized for not being independent in decision making. Namely, it seems as if typical male politicians were perceived as leaders and female ones as those who always depend on someone and cannot take decisions by themselves. However, citizens tend to express their distrust in male politicians more often and find them unfair.

7.1.1.: Perception of typical men and women in politics

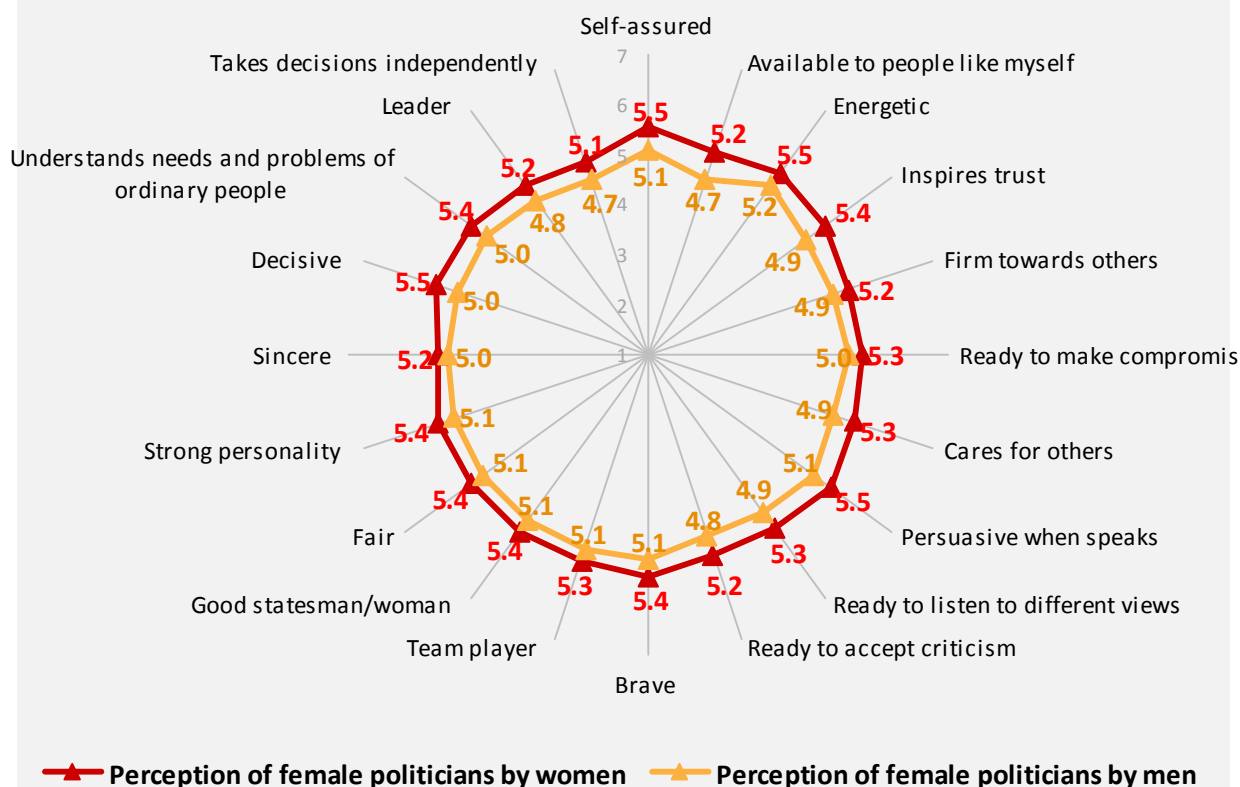


Should we take average grades for attributes describing typical male and female politicians, statistically significant difference in favor of men have been registered pertaining to self-assuredness, independence in decision making, leadership skills, decisiveness, courage, firmness towards others and persuasiveness. On the other hand female politicians, significantly much more than male politicians are perceived as persons who understand needs and problems of ordinary people, as sincere and fair and as persons who look after others.

Further on, if we review these results at the level of gender determined subpopulations, we shall notice that both male and female politicians are not objective when it comes to assessing their own respective gender representatives. Men give advantage to male politicians when it comes to self-assuredness, availability to ordinary people, energy, trust, firm stand towards others, persuasiveness, readiness to accept criticism, courage, good statesmen characteristic, and strength of personality, leadership skills and independence in decision making. Women give advantage to female politicians when it comes to availability to ordinary people, trust, care of other people, readiness to listen to different opinions, readiness to accept criticism, fairness and finally, sincerity. Unlike men, women give much better scores to male politicians than female ones pertaining to some characteristics. Women believe male politicians have better leadership skills than women.

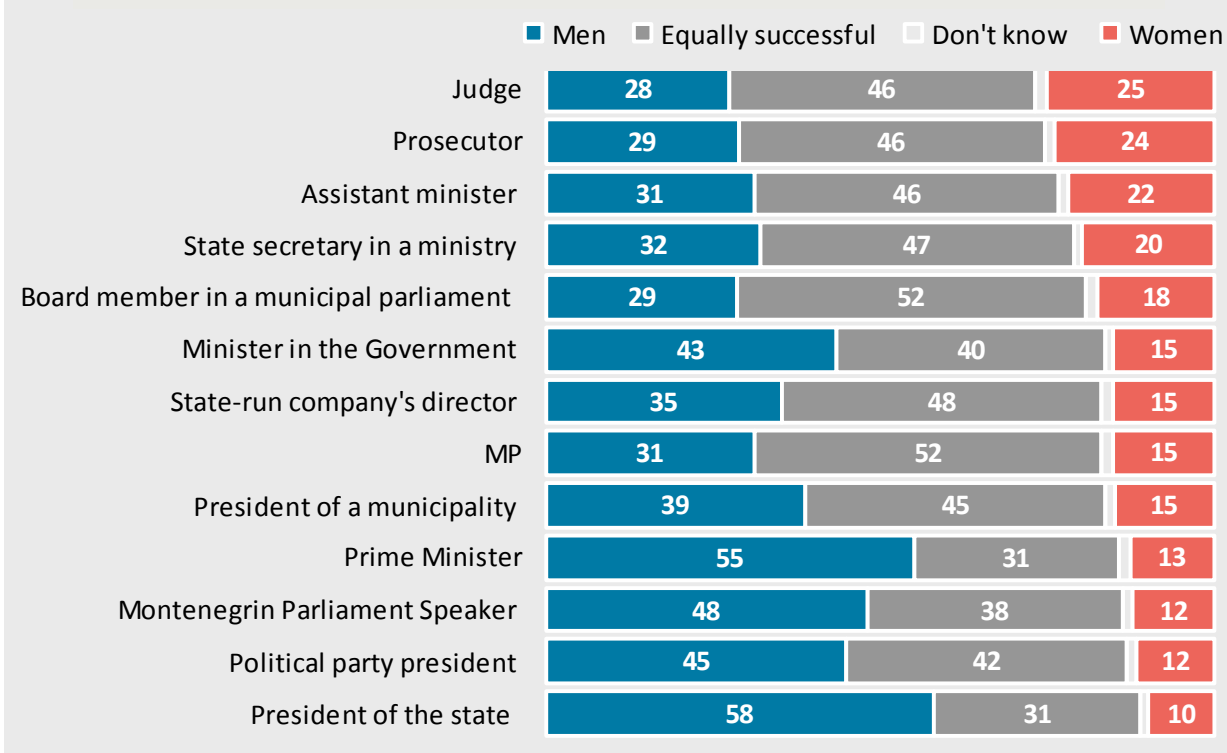
Scores male politicians receive from men and women are almost the same, which is definitely not the case when it comes to scores female politicians receive from men and women. Namely, men give much lower scores to female politicians for all attributes than women give to male ones.

7.1.2.: Perception of FEMALE POLITICIANS by men and women



Findings clearly demonstrate that there are also prejudices referring to who would more successfully perform certain jobs related to politics. Hence, more than a half of Montenegrin citizens think that men are more successful in the function of the president of a state (58%), as well as in the function of the Prime Minister (55%). Men consider themselves more successful than women at the post of the Montenegrin Parliament Speaker (48%).

### 7.1.3.: Who would be more successful in the following posts?



Women and men see themselves as equally successful in all areas women have made a step forward in, hence on positions such as judge, board member in municipal parliament, prosecutor, assistant minister, MP, state-run company's director and president of a municipality. Men slightly lead when it comes to positions of ministers and political parties' presidents. Two of three most important functions in political life of Montenegro – Presidents and Prime Minister – are the only two functions, in which percentage of citizens, who think men would be more successful, is higher than the sum of those who believe women would perform better and those who do not make any gender based differences.

Men, similarly to assessing attributes describing typical male and female politicians, believe that men would be more successful than women in performing all tested function, and the least advantage they

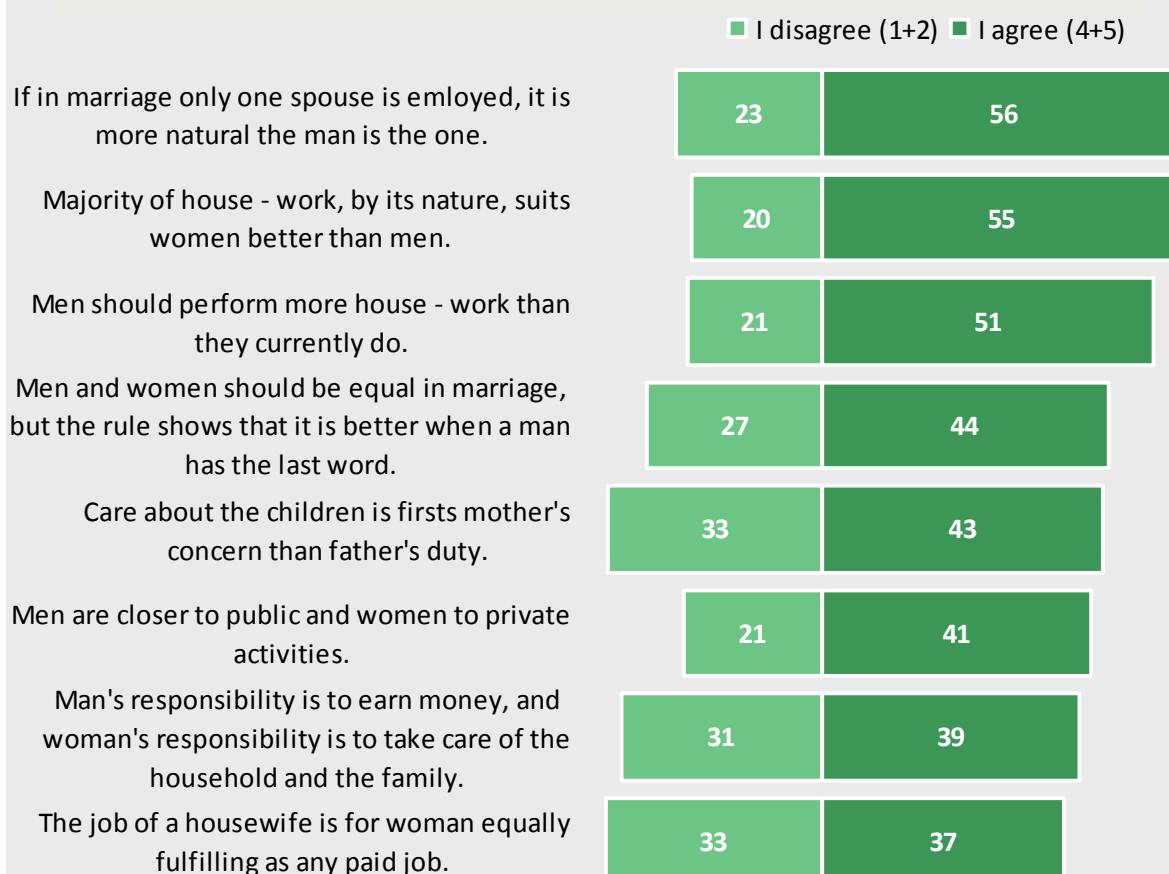
receive is for two functions, in which women currently dominate in Montenegro – judges and prosecutors. Women themselves see men as potentially more successful in almost all areas, but assistant minister posts, ministers, prosecutors, judges, and advantage they give to men for positions of members of boards in local self-government is minimal.

Besides, there are more women among those who believe that men and women would be equally successful on all appointments. Biggest difference is in the population of those who think that both women and men would equally well perform the function of the Prime Minister, i.e. 61% of women and 39% of men, while the difference is the smallest when it comes to state secretaries, members of boards, assistant ministers and state-run companies' directors, i.e. 54% of women and 46% of men.

## 7.2. Private and public patriarchy in Montenegro

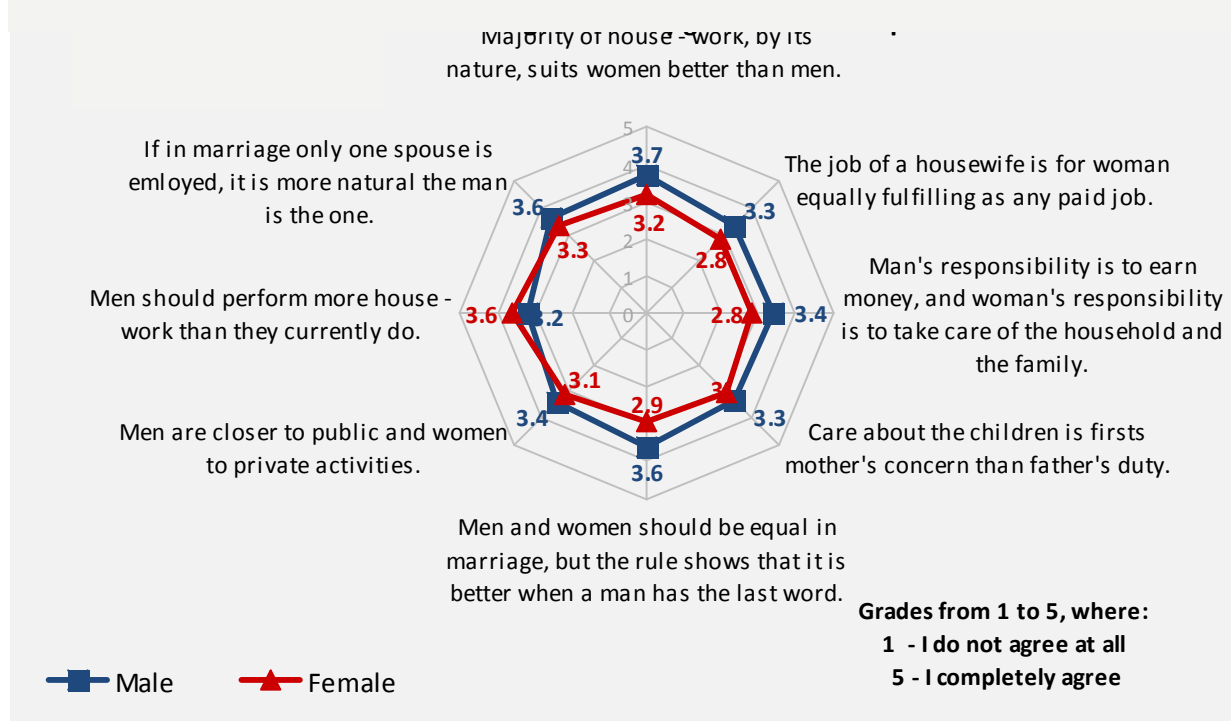
Montenegrin society is shaped by profound patriarchal standards. Huge number of citizens can without any difficulty agree with the statement explicitly expressing attitudes that women's place is at home and not in public and in politics. It is also interesting that women frequently agree with such opinions, yet less frequently than men do. Therefore, it can be stated that both private and public patriarchy are, as sets of attitudes to gender roles and places of men and women in public and private life, particularly apparent, and generators of such circumstances are, first of all, men, but women are as well.

### 7.2.1.: Private patriarchy – level of agreement with the statements



Several conclusions based on this study confirm that present situation demands higher level of attention and systematic approach towards changes of the prevailing stereotypes on gender roles. They refer to private patriarchy – 56% of the population agree that it is common, in case one spouse is employed, the man should be the one who works (a half of the women shares the same opinion), 55% think that majority of housework suits women better than men (46% of women think the same), 44% agree that even though equality in marriage is desirable, men should have the last word (30% of women think the same), 43% think that care about the children is first mother's responsibility (39% of women share the same opinion), 39% think that a man is obliged to earn money and a woman to take care of the household and family (30% of women), while 37% of the citizens of Montenegro claim that housework is equally satisfying for women as is performance of some paid job (every third woman also agrees?!). Data on graph 7.2.1 clearly show that private patriarchy in Montenegro is apparently expressed since, as a rule, agreement with the before mentioned statements that present indicators of private patriarchy is greater than disagreement! Additionally, it is disturbing that private patriarchy is, as has already been pointed out before, also frequently mentioned in scope of women's attitude! However, women will more often say that men's participation in housework is not satisfying and that they should help much more than they currently do (almost 60% of women and 43% of men).

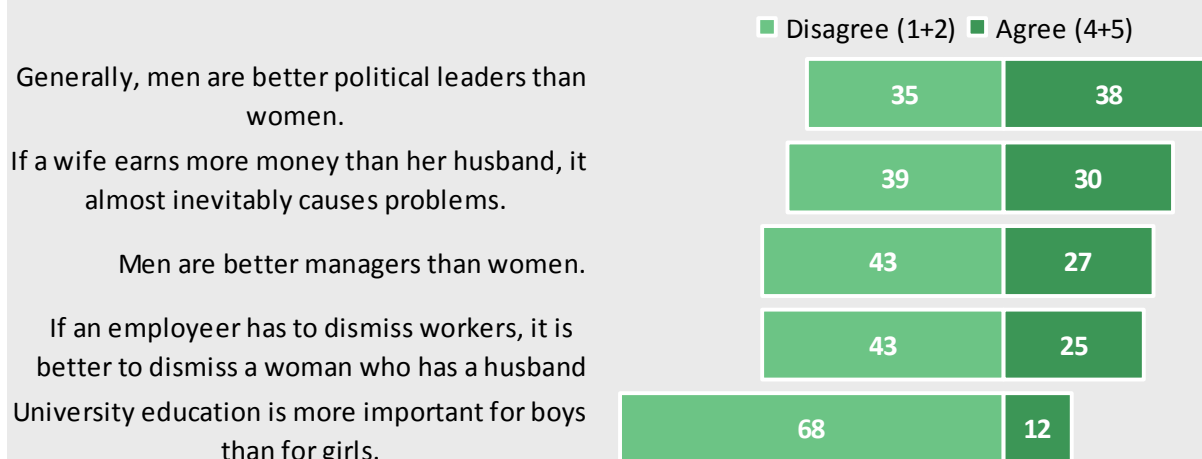
7.2.2.: Level of agreement by gender of the respondents



Optimism can partially be improved by the findings that relate to public patriarchy since the clichés in such cases are not, although they exist, prevailing. Even though there are more people considering men to be better political leaders than women, in comparison with the number of people who disagree with this point of view (38% to 35%), other attitudes that present indicators of public patriarchy are not

dominant in the population; moreover, for each of the statements, there are more people who disagree than those who explicitly support it.

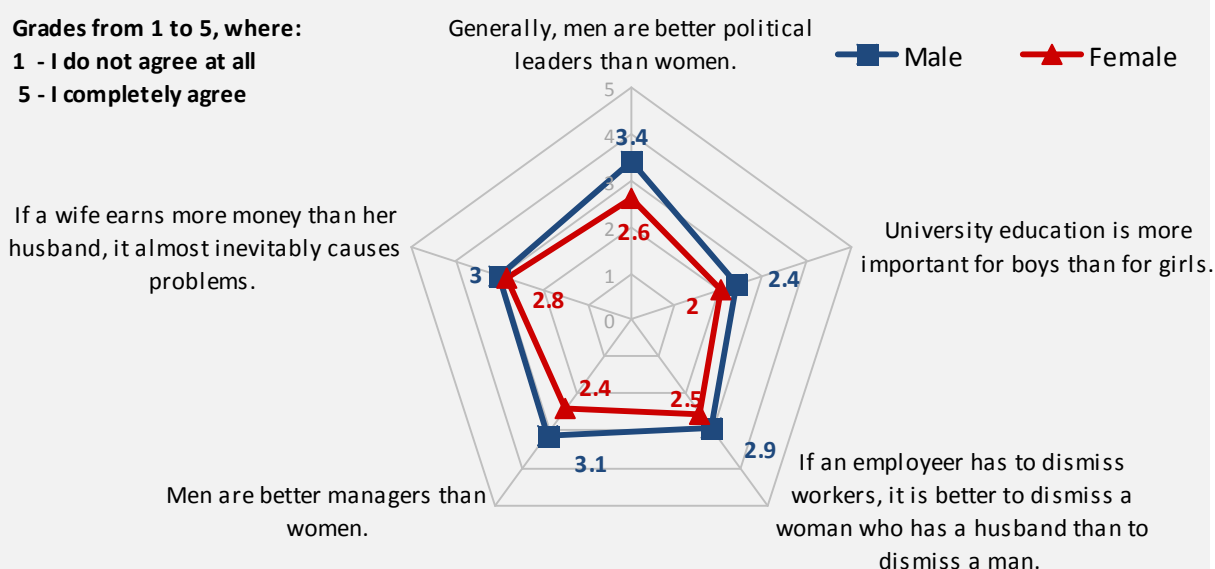
**Figure 7.2.3: Public patriarchy - level of agreement with the statements**



The results show that even 43% of the population disagree with the statement that men are better managers than women, while 27% share this opinion. Conviction that tertiary education is more important for boys than for girls is mostly rare – only 12% of population to almost 70% who disagree with this statement. However, 30% of the citizens still believe that the family situation when a woman earns more money than her husband can easily lead to the problems and disagreements.

Within male population, as is absolutely expected, public patriarchy is more visible than in female

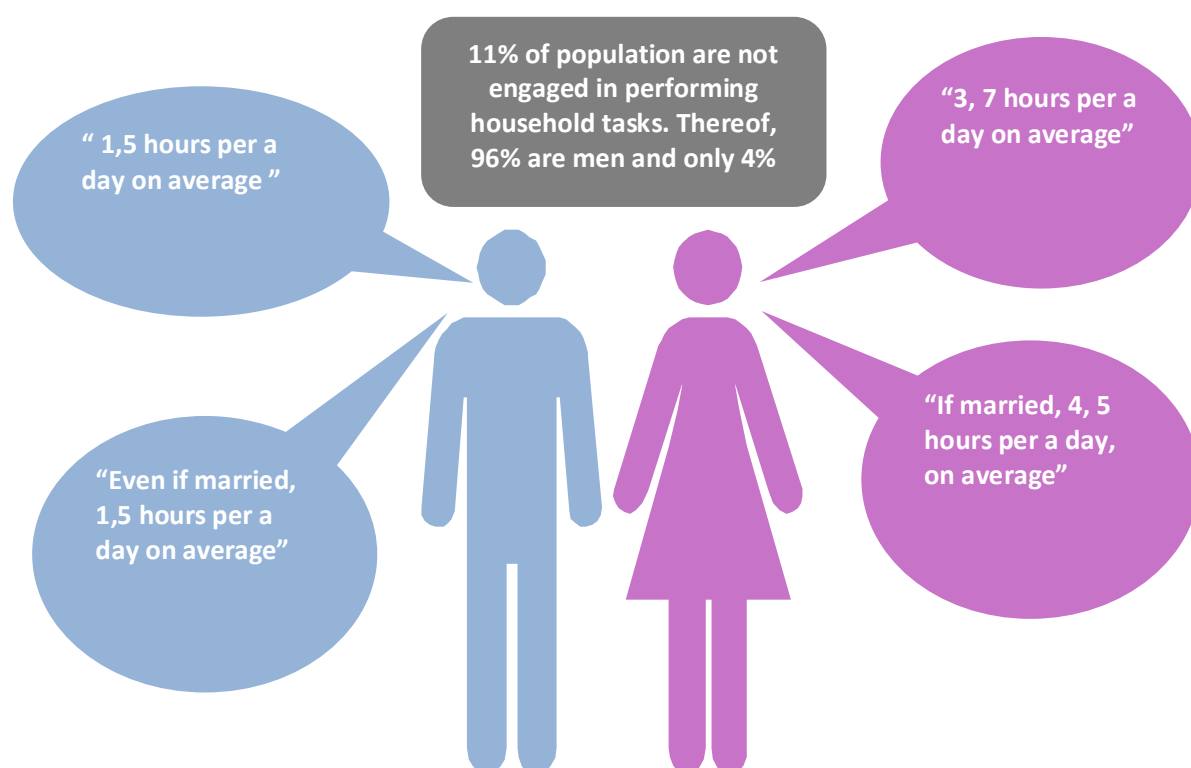
**Figure 7.2.4.:Public patriarchy - level of agreement with the statements**





population, as was the fact regarding private patriarchy. Patriarchy is, besides within male population, more noticeable within the population with lower education level, those living in rural areas, as well as in members of Albanian ethnic community.

The data obtained in this survey, referring to actual proportion of men and women who perform household and family duties, as well as relative contribution of men and women to household budget, clearly indicate that actual situation is in accordance with the attitudes that have been previously discussed; moreover, it is also obvious that attitudes' changing presents the necessary precondition for improvement of women's position in public and private sections. Namely, women in Montenegro spend 3.7 hours per a day, on average, performing household and family duties, while men deal with the same activities only an hour and a half; in case of married couples, average number of hours that women spend dealing with household and family duties even increases from 3.7 to 4.5, while regarding men, the number of hours remains unchanged. Out of the total number of population claiming that they never perform household and family duties (11% of the population), 96% are men! Economic power within the household is, in majority of the cases, on men's side – in 2/3 of Montenegrin families, a man is the one who contributes most to total available income of the household.



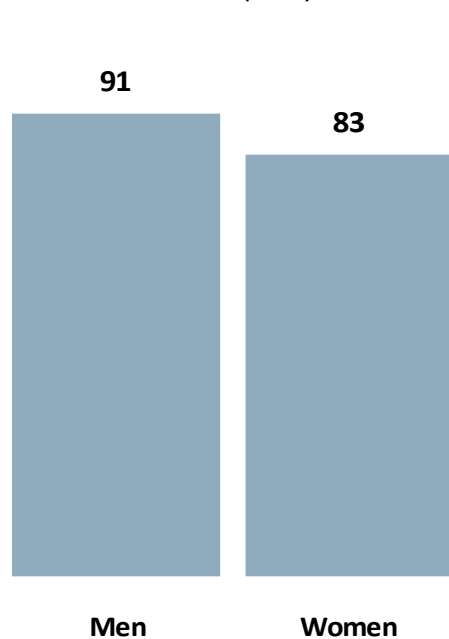
As it is expected, patriarchy is in correlation with the attitudes to political participation of women – within the group of people who are inclined to suppose that tasks related to household and children upbringing are typically female ones, it is also believed that female deputies are worse in performing political tasks than their male colleagues, and such group of people is not ready to accept a woman on

the position of the President or the Prime Minister, also believing that number of women who currently participate in the activities of the Assembly of Montenegro is quite enough or even too large.

### 7.3. Authoritarianism and (non) democracy

Measuring of widespread and frequently very heterogeneous constructs as are authoritarianism and (non) democracy presents real challenge, particularly since these two dispositions can be used for prediction of versatile political and social standpoints. For the purpose of this study, the small authoritarianism scale has been applied, consisting of only 6 statements, while democracy has been measured by several sub-scales used for estimations of mutually connected constructs, that is, the already mentioned authoritarianism, attitude towards the Government, state and media and public and private patriarchy, which have also been previously mentioned. **It is important to emphasize that higher score on this scale implies lower level of democracy and vice versa.**

Analysis of the democracy level according to various socio- demographic groups clearly indicates that women show higher level of democracy than men, meaning that women care more about attitudes and values, such as equality, tolerance, human rights obeying and following of the principles on which



democratically established state and society are based. Younger persons, having completed higher levels of education, living in urban areas, show, on average, higher level of democracy; additionally, level of democracy is also influenced by the region in which the person lives, as well as, nationality.

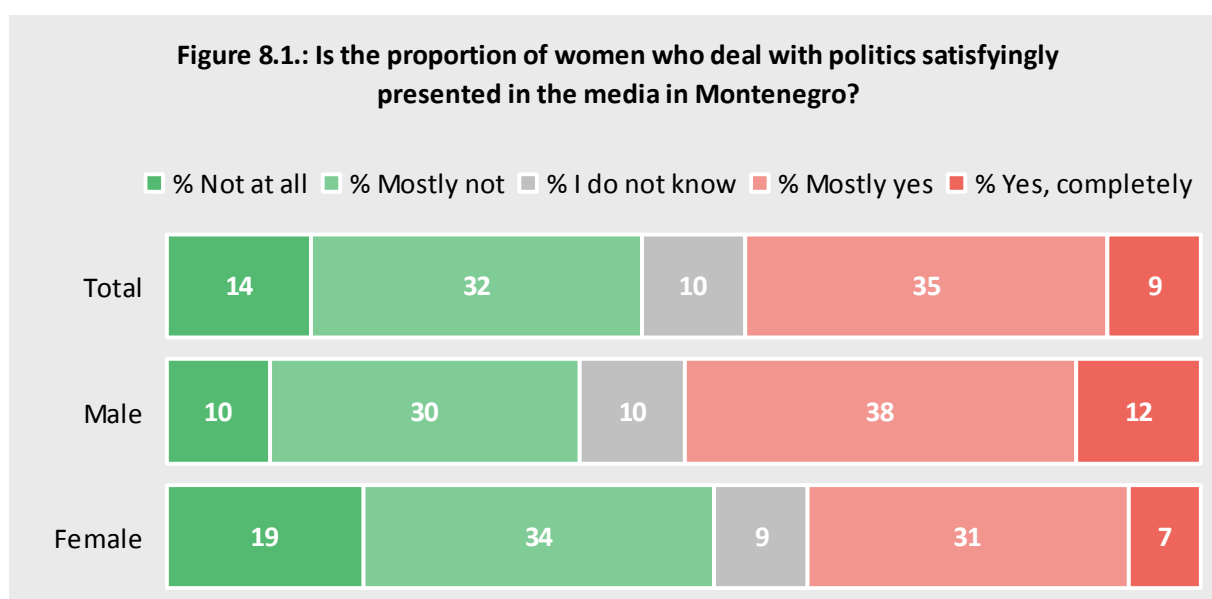
It turned out that persons who are more democratic are also more inclined to support greater participation of women in political process, that they could more easily accept a woman as the President or the Prime Minister, that they do not show the tendency to believe in politics being a “male” profession – even the opposite, they believe, more than average of the population that female deputies perform their tasks equally successfully or even more successfully in comparison with their male colleagues. Moreover, when imagining ideal politician, they more

frequently imagine a woman than is the case regarding general population.

In scope of this survey, on the scale of authoritarianism, no significant difference between men and women has been distinguished.

## 8. Media and women in politics

Male and female citizens of Montenegro have different opinions on proportion of women engaged in politics, regarding their presence / appearance in media of Montenegro; 46% think that proportion of women is not satisfying, while 44% consider that there are enough women dealing with politics and that their appearance in media is appropriate. Men and women have different opinions regarding this issue, i.e. 40% of men estimate that proportion of women dealing with politics is not agreeable in media presentation and 53% of women share the same opinion.



Perspectives of the media representatives and of the female politicians referring to media relations in this section of political scene are to some extent different. On one hand, women engaged in politics, regardless of the political party and position, mainly do not have intensive cooperation with the media, while on the other hand, editors and journalists deny that gender presents significant determinant in the process of interlocutor's selection.

From the media point of view, subject of the conversation is the only factor that determines the structure of the guests in the show or the interlocutor for the newspaper interview.

*Male / female media representative: "We know that we want to hear the comment about the particular subject, event, person, we know who is competent or responsible to talk about it and it is not connected with the gender, but with the position of the person or importance of the person's particular activity and he/she should be selected as the competent interlocutor."*

However, proportion of women in the area of politics is estimated as small. Media find the reason for such a situation in generally small proportion of women in politics (*“share of women present in the media is in proportion with women’s presence in politics”*). Majority of respondents from this specialty thinks that position of women in politics is marginal, far from the status of decision - makers and important participants, with only a few exceptions of women who have the leading positions. Their position in media reporting comes from the previously mentioned position of women. The presented principle of respondent selection indicates that media in Montenegro are not sensitive to specific women’s needs and therefore, they do not consider that while analyzing the problems and policies, it is necessary to particularly analyze their influence on life quality of women and men.

Although editors share the same opinion that women are equally good respondents as men are, that there is no established habit to discuss all subjects with particular men and that one can discuss with women only the topics that are closely connected with women’s expert activities, there are certainly indications that women are more frequently interviewed regarding the issues that deal with family, violence, social welfare, health, education, i.e. the issues that are generally characterized as female. Simultaneously, it is considered that women come to interviews well prepared and that they prefer talking about the issues for which they are competent and that they actually deal with, meaning that they are not inclined to improvise as men are, and it is, according to the standpoint of the media, an advantage of women respondents.

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*Male/ female media representative: “Women can hardly accept talking about all possible subjects, but only about the issues connected with their biography and education”.*

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Both media representatives and political participants are aware of the media influence on public opinion generating. Small proportion of women in the reporting of the media is one of the reasons for insufficient recognition of female politicians in Montenegro, thus providing weaker influence on citizens than is the influence provided by men. Media representatives are convinced that they do not have the responsibility for such a situation and that situation would be different in case women took more active part in politics and struggle for better positions. Female politicians, however, consider media in Montenegro to be too sensationalistic oriented, so that it significantly influences small coverage of their activities, particularly the proposed initiatives in the Parliament.

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*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro: “In case there is a six – hour lasting discussion in the Parliament, referring to the protection of children from abuse and it accidentally happens that somebody mentions Kosovo and one of the colleagues says “NATO has bombed Serbia”, all newspapers, on the following day, write only the articles about such statement, not even mentioning the issue of children protection”.*

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## 9. Objectives perception and necessity of men and women

Montenegrin female politicians are considered most involved in the divisions of social welfare, health and education, while male politicians are perceived as active participants in struggle against crime and corruption and in political system reforms implementation. The most important question for the citizens of Montenegro refers to economic recovery and new jobs and almost 25% of the citizens think that it is prevalingly the men's issue; however, women appear to be more active in three other divisions that are most significant for the citizens of Montenegro and they are: economic recovery and new jobs, struggle against poverty and increased living standard. Interests and needs of women are not considered enough in political life, while men's interests and needs are taken into account. Even though the citizens think that Democratic Party of Socialists is the top party which cares about women's needs, there are more citizens who think that none of **the parties shows adequate concern about** women's needs. For majority of the citizens, it is certainly important that the party they support cares about women's rights, while others think it is not important. The main challenges that female politicians are faced with while appealing for improving the living standard of women in Montenegro are mainly unknown to the Montenegrin citizens; the following issues, such as tradition, mentality, equality and prejudice against women are mentioned as some minor topics. General opinion is that enhancement of female living standard is realized thanks to, first of all, female non - governmental organizations, women themselves and then international organizations.

Montenegrin female politicians are, according to the public opinion, principally engaged in the fields of social and health welfare and in the field of education. They are observed as the most active regarding the issues of preventing domestic violence (29%), education (28%) and social care about the most vulnerable groups (26%), but also in the divisions of health (21%) and judiciary (21%).

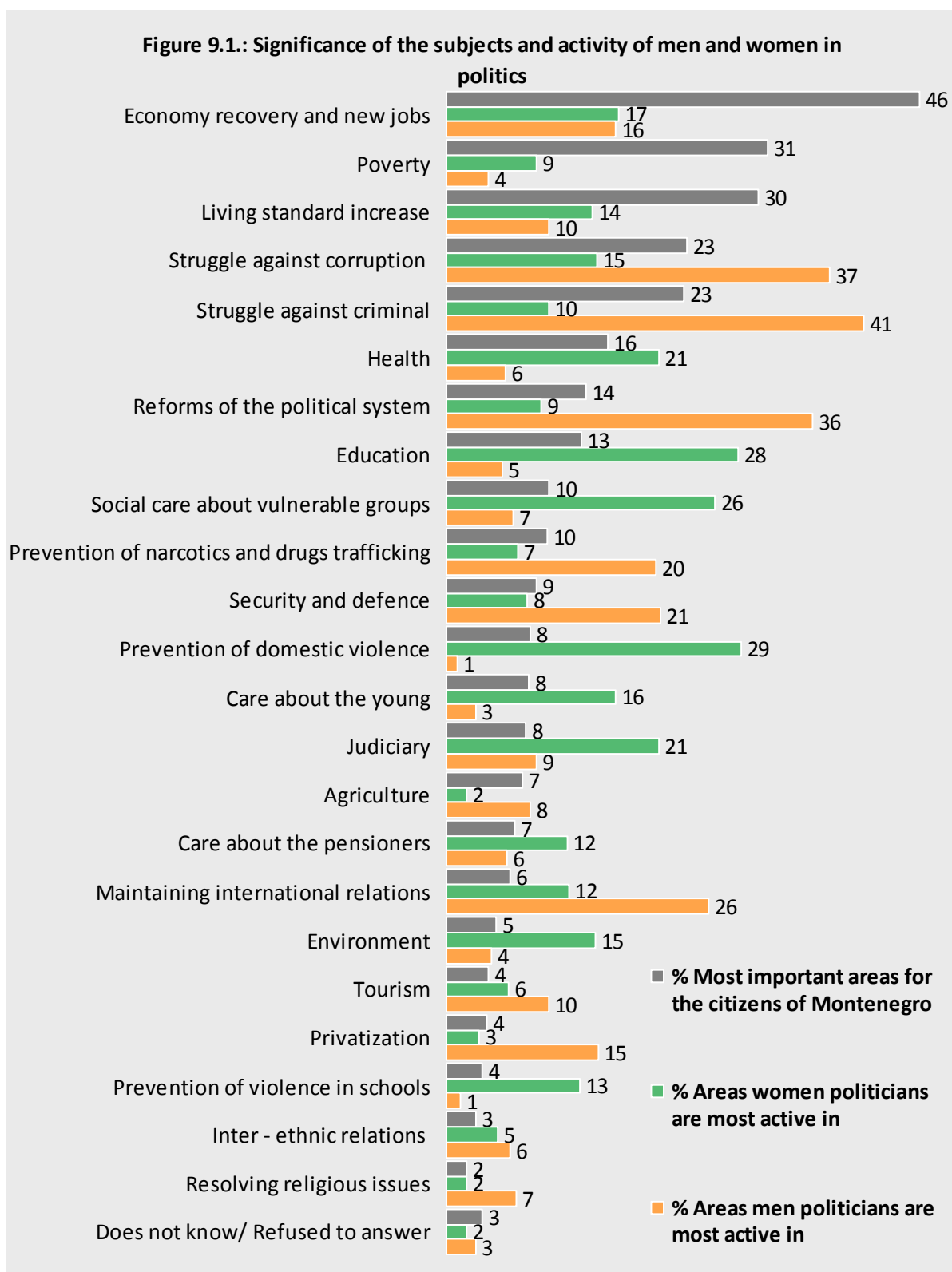
It is thought that Montenegrin male politicians are prevalingly involved in struggle against crime (41%) and corruption (37%), political system reforms (36%), international relations (26%), security and defense (21%), as well as preventing narcotics and drugs trafficking (20%).

Almost a half of the citizens (46%) think that economic recovery and new jobs present the most significant problems that the population of Montenegro faces with. Almost one third of the population mentions poverty (31%) and necessity for living standard's increase (30%) and about a fourth thinks that

struggle against corruption (23%) and crime (23%) is the key problem that bothers the citizens and that should be the priority in the future.

The most important problems mentioned among the citizens of Montenegro (new jobs, poverty, increased standard of living) are not the divisions which female politicians are mostly engaged in and the mentioned issues are also not the most active spots for male politicians as well; **however, citizens share the opinion that in the mentioned fields, female politicians are more active than their male colleagues**, and this particularly relates to struggle against poverty and living standard increase.

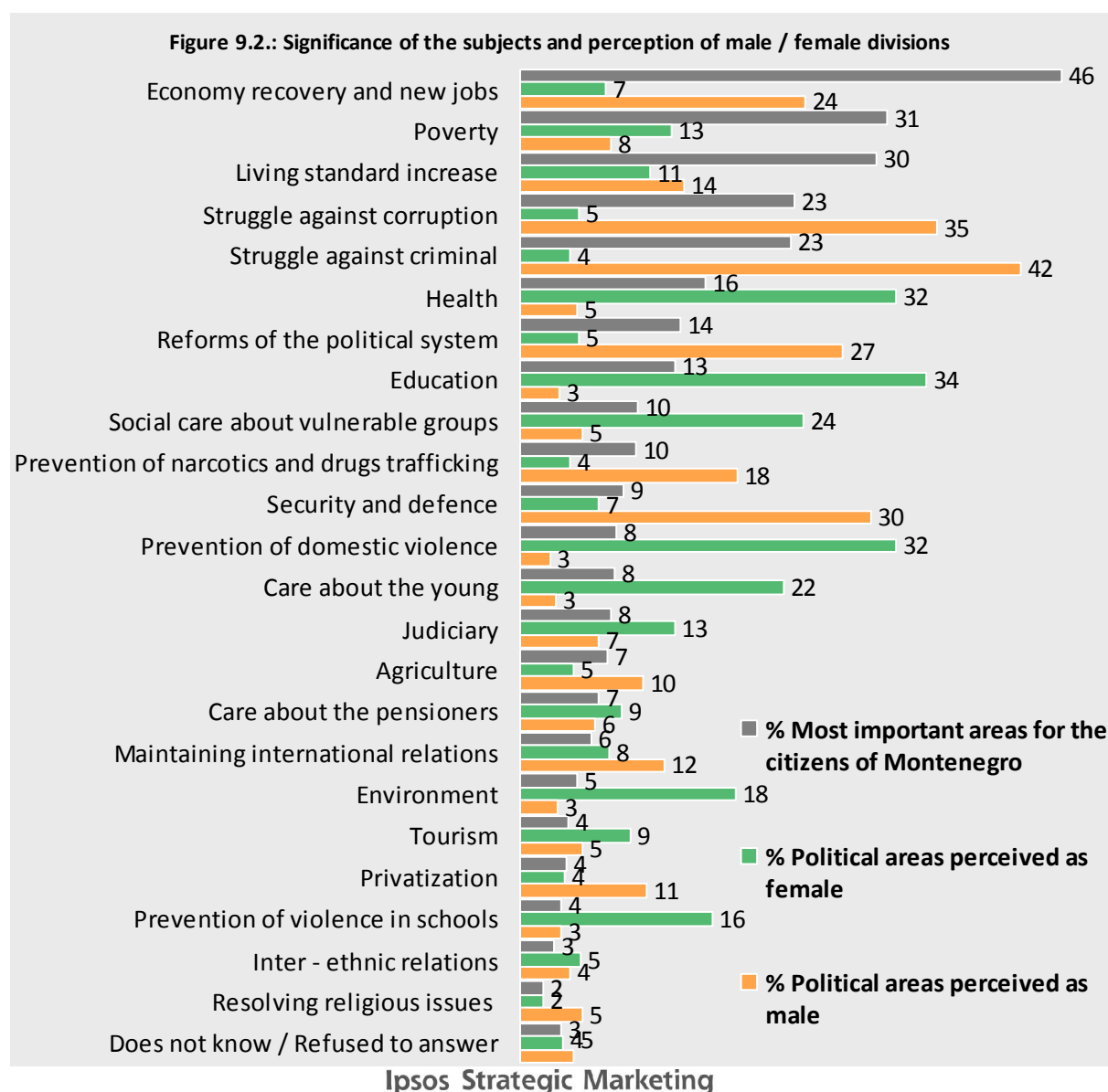
Among the top ten divisions that are of the utmost importance for the citizens of Montenegro, politicians are mainly active in four divisions, i.e. struggle against corruption, struggle against organized criminal, reform of the political system and prevention of narcotics and drugs trafficking. Women are seen as more active in struggle against poverty, living standard improvement, health, education and social care about the most vulnerable groups. As far as the most important issue for the citizens of Montenegro is concerned, and it relates to economic recovery and new jobs, citizens consider that active participation of male and female politicians is almost equal, men – 16% and women – 17%.



Divisions which Montenegrin female politicians are mostly engaged in are considered to be prevalingly male. Approximately one third of the citizens thinks that education (34%), health (32%) and preventing domestic violence (32%) are principally female divisions, while almost a quarter of the citizens recognizes social care about the most vulnerable groups (24%) and care about the young (22%) as the female subjects.

Correspondingly, divisions that politicians in Montenegro mostly deal with, according to the opinion of the citizens, are taken to be predominantly male. Therefore, struggle against criminal (42%) and corruption (35%), as well as issues of security and defense (30%), political system reforms (27%) and economy recovery and new jobs (24%) are observed as predominantly masculine.

Economic recovery and new jobs, presenting the problem of the top priority of Montenegro, almost a fourth part of the citizens takes as principally masculine. Issue of poverty is mostly classified as the area of women, while living standard improvement is seen both as male (14%) and female (11%) area. Struggle against corruption and crime, considered to be very important by almost 25% of citizens, is seen as the division characterized by the activity of men.



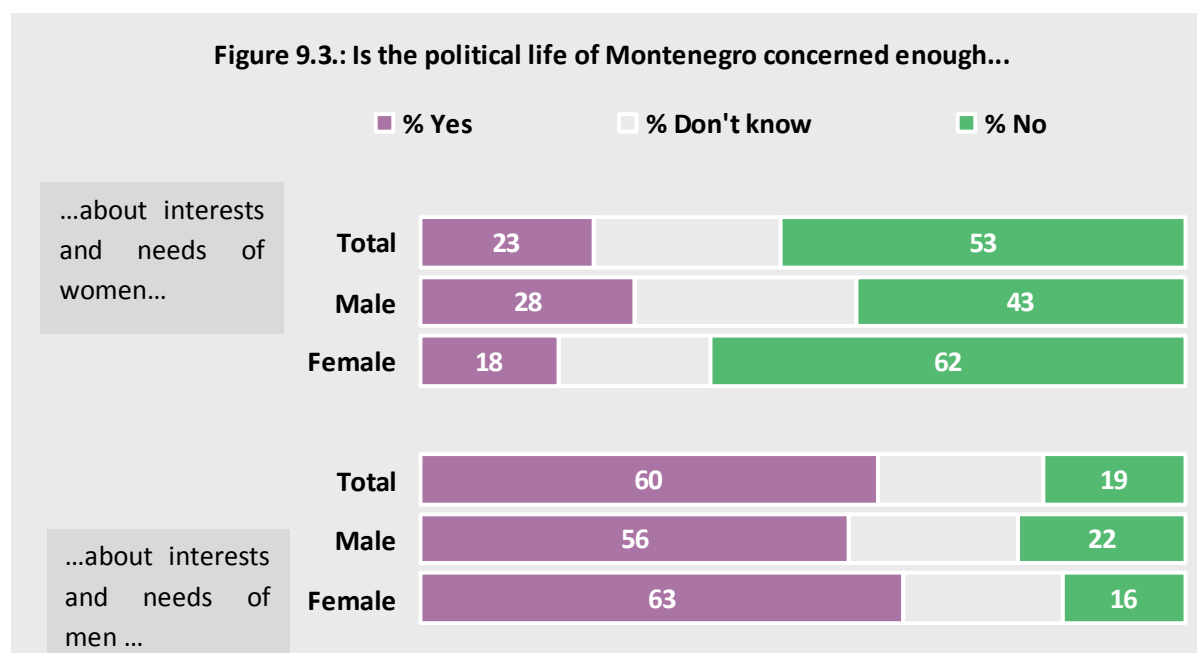


Majority of Montenegrin citizens (53%) think, at least on declarative level, that interests and needs of women are insufficiently cared for in scope of overall political sphere. It is important to emphasize that number of women who think that women's interests are neglected is far above the number of men who share the same opinion.

About 28% of men think that such needs are cared about sufficiently, while significantly smaller percentage of women agrees with this statement (23%).

Citizens of Podgorica, persons with high and higher education level, low patriarchy and high democracy more often think that interests and needs of women are insufficiently cared about by the political elite. Persons who think that female interests and needs are not neglected can more frequently be recorded among high patriarchal persons, with lower level of education and those living in the North area.

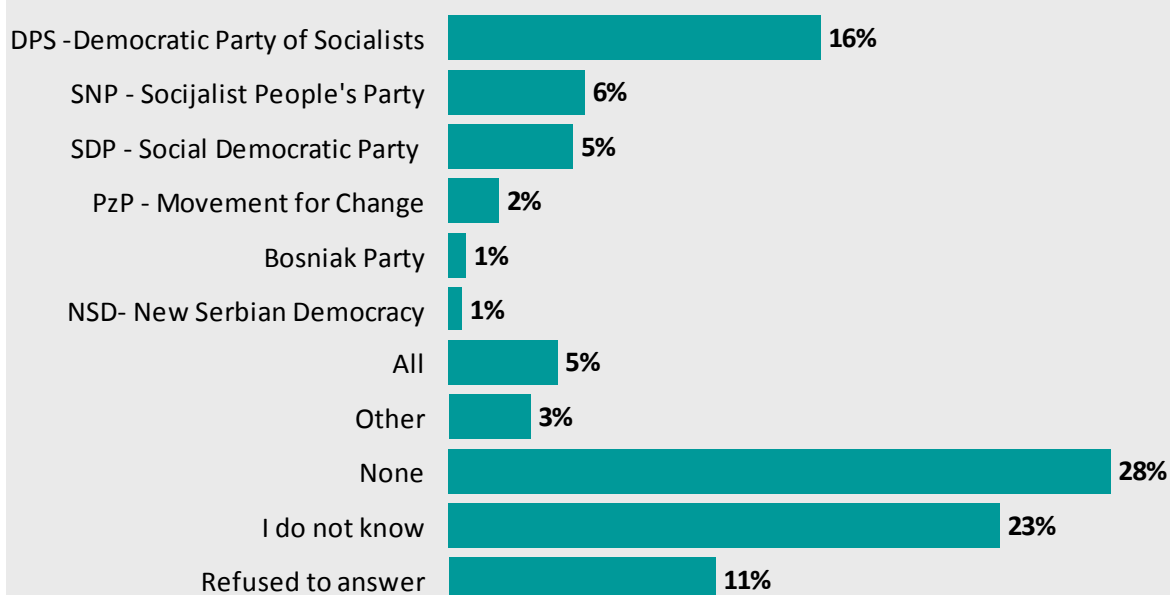
On the other hand, even 60% of the citizens think that political elite cares about men's interests and needs in the appropriate manner. However, almost a fifth part of population does not agree with this way of thinking, while 22% of women do not know or cannot answer this question.



Almost 30% of the population of Montenegro thinks that there is no political party that appropriately takes care of women's needs and 23% cannot name the party concerned most. It seems that structure of answers to this question reflects more the preferences of particular parties and considerations of parties' activities directed towards women's needs; therefore, the most frequent answer is that the Democratic Party of Socialists (16%), Socialistic People's Party (6%) and Social Democratic Party (5%) predominantly respect and adequately react to needs and interests of women in Montenegro.

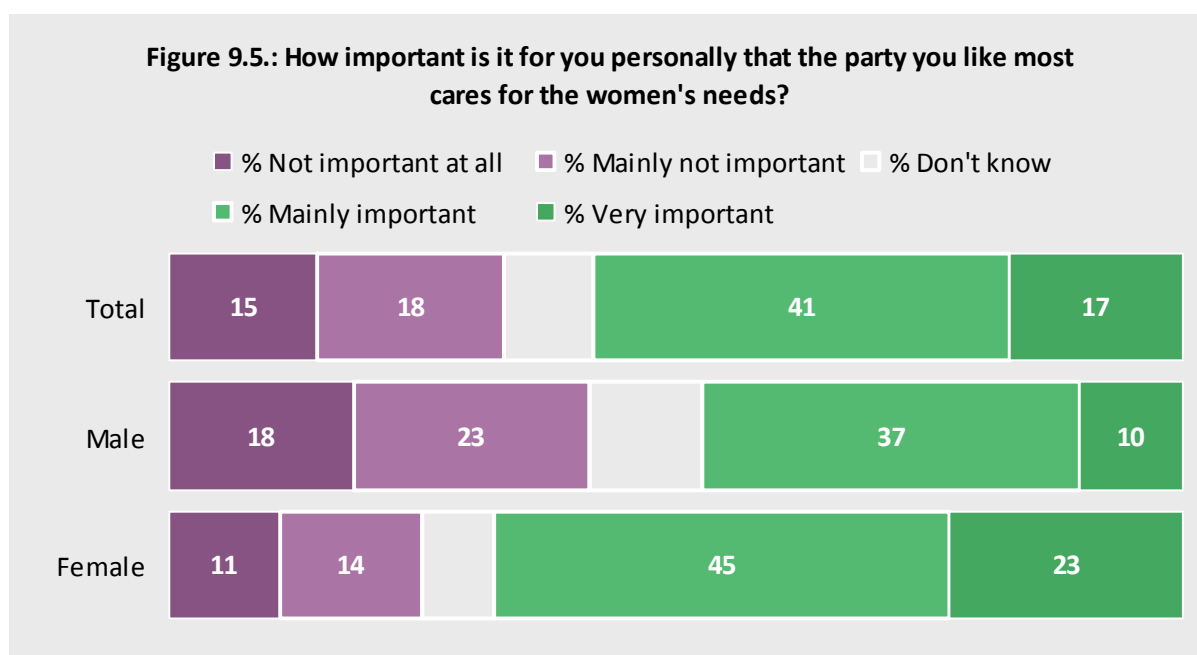
Citizens with tertiary education, those living in urban areas, from Podgorica, that is from central Region, then citizens inclined to believe that ideal gender of the person dealing with politics in Montenegro is feminine, as well as those thinking that number of women in the Assembly is too small, will more frequently say that there is no political party in Montenegro that provides appropriate concern about the women's issues.

**Figure 9.4.: Which political party does, in your opinion, really care about the needs of women in Montenegro?**



Majority of the citizens (58%) think, at least they state it, that it is important that the party they support fights for women's rights, while others don't consider it an imperative.

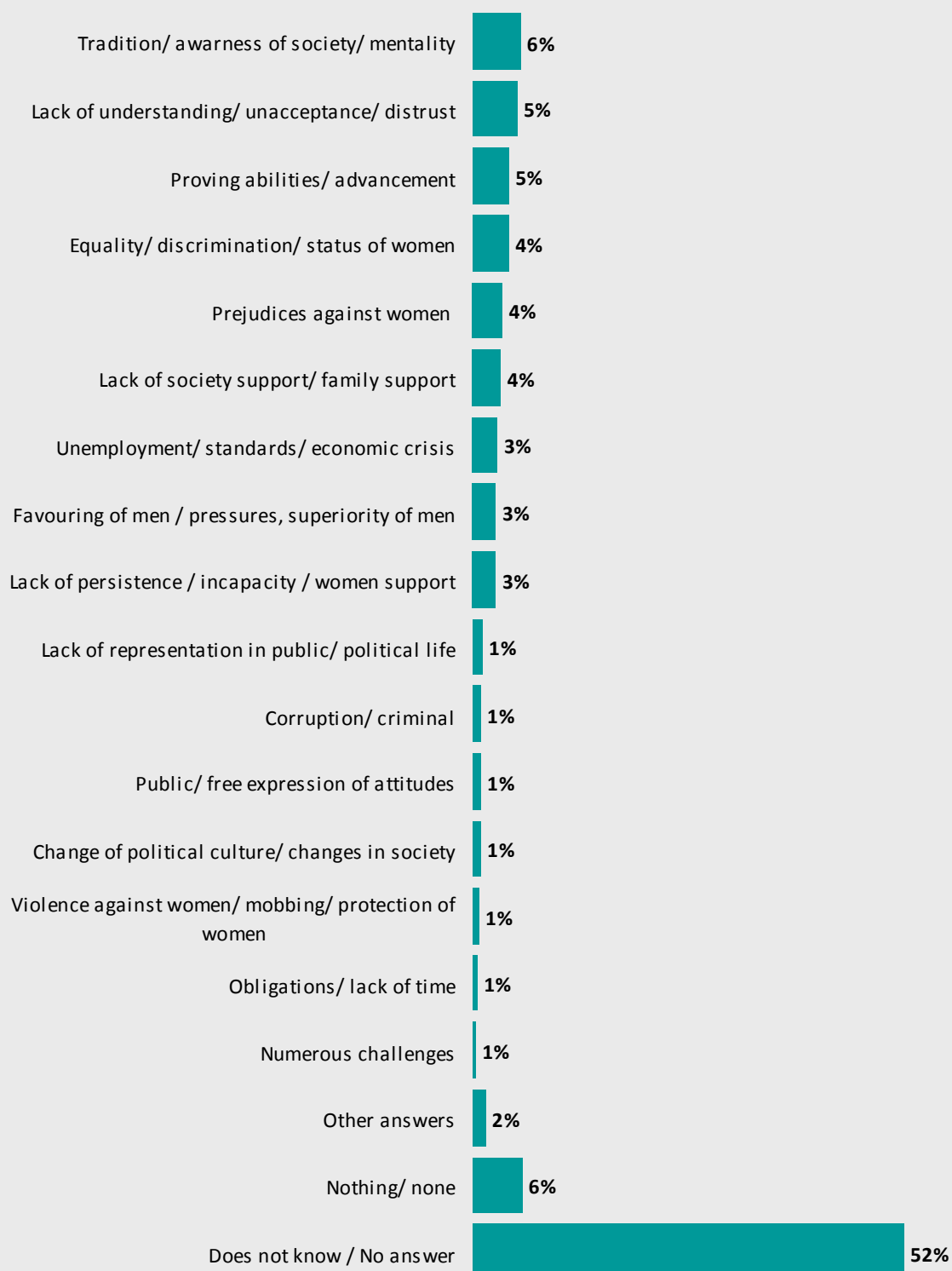
However, male and female citizens significantly differ according to this issue – importance of supporting women's rights is emphasized by 68% of women, while such significance is emphasized by only 47% of men.



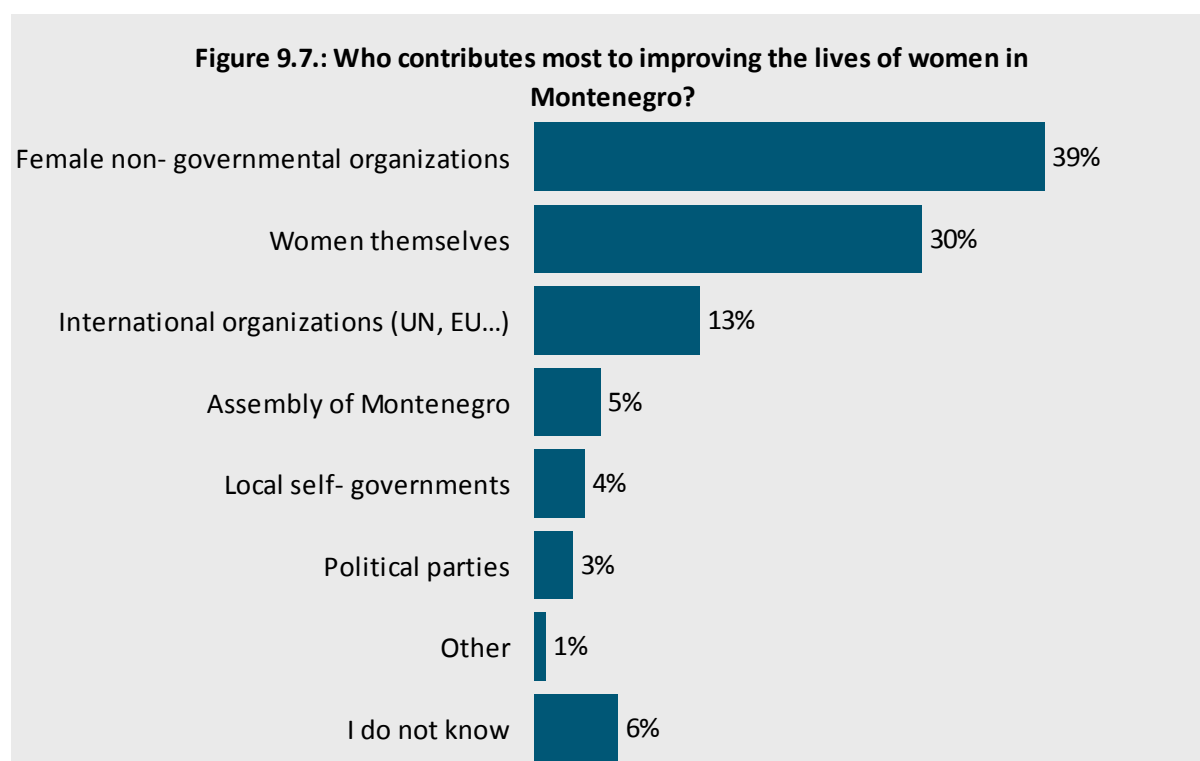
Main challenges that female politicians are faced with, while supporting enhancement of the living standard in Montenegro, are mostly unknown to the citizens. About 6% of the citizens state that there are no challenges and others mention issues of tradition, mentality (6%), non-acceptance (5%), abilities confirmation (5%), equality (4%), prejudice against women (4%), lack of support (4%), unemployment (3%), favoring of men (3%), insufficient persistence of women (3%), etc. These data show that citizens do not have clear presentation of the problems and challenges that women engaged in politics in Montenegro are faced with, meaning that they are not susceptible enough to perceive real obstacles that stand in front of women who want to deal with politics. Citizens from the North Region more often claim that women have been in no manner prevented from actively influencing political events. Also, this statement is confirmed by those who believe that women perform Assembly duties worse than men.

Citizens who notice and point out the challenges that stand in the way of female politicians are more often those living in the Central and Coastal Region, those of high or medium democracy, low authority and patriarchy, those who are generally more open for accepting women in politics, who spend particular time in performing household duties and who consider that politics strongly influences their everyday lives.

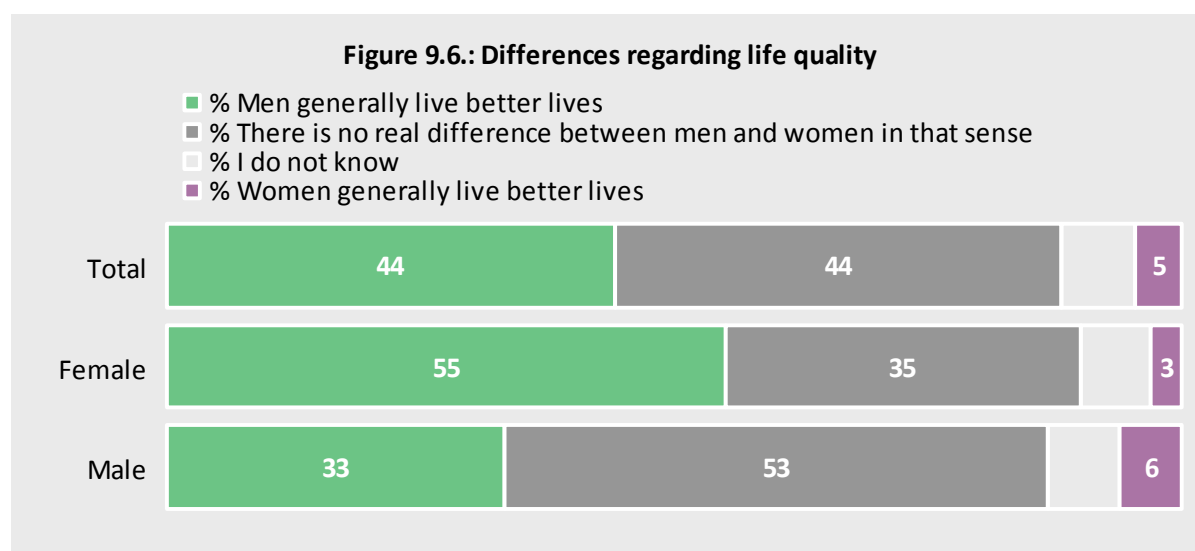
**Figure 9.6.: What do you think are the main challenges, if there are any, that the female politicians face with while struggling to improve life of women in Montenegro?**



Improvement of living conditions of female population in Montenegro can, according to the citizens' opinion, for the most part, be improved by activities of female non-governmental organizations (39%), women themselves (30%) and international organizations (13%). However, the Assembly of Montenegro (5%) and local self-governmental bodies (4%), as well as political parties (3%) can be also useful for realizing this action.



When referring to life quality of men and women in Montenegro, 44% of citizens think that men live better lives, the same percentage considers that there is no difference between life of men and women, but only 5% of women say that life quality of women is better in relation to men.



## 10. Female and male principle in politics, myth or reality

The section about male and female principle in politics presents an attempt to find a confirmation, in scope of this survey, that it is possible to identify the grounds for strategic consideration of communication model that would be aimed at promoting significance and benefits of increased women engagement in politics.

It is apparent that– in the most competitive of the social activities - in politics, women in Montenegro are at the mere beginning of the process that is to lead them to equality with men. Obviously, the reasons for such a situation can be found in the phase of Montenegrin society development that still bears a burden of gender prejudices, in a society with established traditionalism and patriarchy, but that is certainly and inevitably changing.

In scope of numerous possible ways to change this situation and to improve it – starting with development and long - lasting policies, up to changes in law regulations – we have tried to direct this path towards the most efficient issues: which divisions are, judging according to attitudes or prejudices of the Montenegrin society, predominantly feminine ones? Where do the citizens of Montenegro perceive the female politicians in Montenegro? In which sections of politics are women better than men?

On the basis of the performed analysis, depending on the preferences of general population, the examined divisions can be divided in four groups:

1. Security and defense, struggle against criminal, prevention of narcotics and drugs trafficking, struggle against corruption, reforms of the political system and, to a certain extent, agriculture present the **divisions that are, according to the opinion of male/ female citizens of Montenegro predestined for men**. Excluding agriculture, percentage of the citizens who consider that men would be more successful in all of the mentioned fields is greater than the sum of those who think that both genders would be equally successful and those thinking that women would be more effective
2. Another group comprises the divisions dealing with resolving religious issues, privatization, economy recovery, new jobs, international relations, inter - ethnic relations, judiciary, living standard improvement and tourism. The characteristic of this group is that the divisions included in this group cannot be divided by gender differences since both male and female citizens of Montenegro think that **men and women would be equally successful in dealing with the mentioned activities, but the percentage of those considering that men would be more prosperous is bigger** than the percentage of those who are on the side of women.

3. The third group includes the divisions for which the answer of the respondents is that both **men and women would be equally successful in, but the percentage of those who are convinced that women would be more successful is higher** than percentage of those who think the opposite – that men would have more success. These divisions encompass prevention of school violence, poverty, care of the pensioners, education, environment and health issues.
4. Finally, group four involves the divisions for which the greatest number of male and female citizens answered that **women would be more successful** than men and these divisions relate to social care about vulnerable groups, prevention of domestic violence and care about the young.

Classification of these divisions by groups is presented in table 10.1. Male and female citizens of Montenegro consider men to be more successful than women in more divisions.

Table 10.1.

Masculine divisions	Divisions more masculine than feminine	Divisions more feminine than masculine	Feminine divisions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security and defense</li> <li>• Struggle against criminal</li> <li>• Prevention of narcotics and drugs trafficking</li> <li>• Struggle against corruption</li> <li>• Reforms of the political system</li> <li>• Agriculture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resolving religious issues</li> <li>• Privatization</li> <li>• Economy recovery and new jobs</li> <li>• Maintaining international relations</li> <li>• Inter – ethnic relations</li> <li>• Judiciary</li> <li>• Living standard increase</li> <li>• Tourism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Care about the pensioners</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Environment</li> <li>• Health</li> <li>• Prevention of violence in schools</li> <li>• Poverty</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prevention of domestic violence</li> <li>• Social care about vulnerable groups</li> <li>• Care about the young</li> </ul>

Fairly obvious and unambiguous answers have been obtained – yes, there are “feminine” divisions in the political area in Montenegro and they are generally very clearly defined. This distribution has appeared as the consequence of traditional gender roles and stereotypes, but such stereotypes and prejudices can be “changed” and used in such a way so as to enable positive effect, within short - time period, providing greater proportion of women in politics in a way of establishing increased proportion of women on key and the most responsible positions within the mentioned, exact, divisions. In case the decision - makers in political parties want to behave in accordance with the expectations of their voters, women should be the main representatives of the political parties regarding the following fields: prevention of domestic violence, social welfare and care about the poor, care about the young, pensioners, education, environment, health and school violence and poverty. All of these mentioned fields of political activities, listed as they are, have been estimated, by the respondents, as the divisions in which women would be more successful, in statistically significant relations.

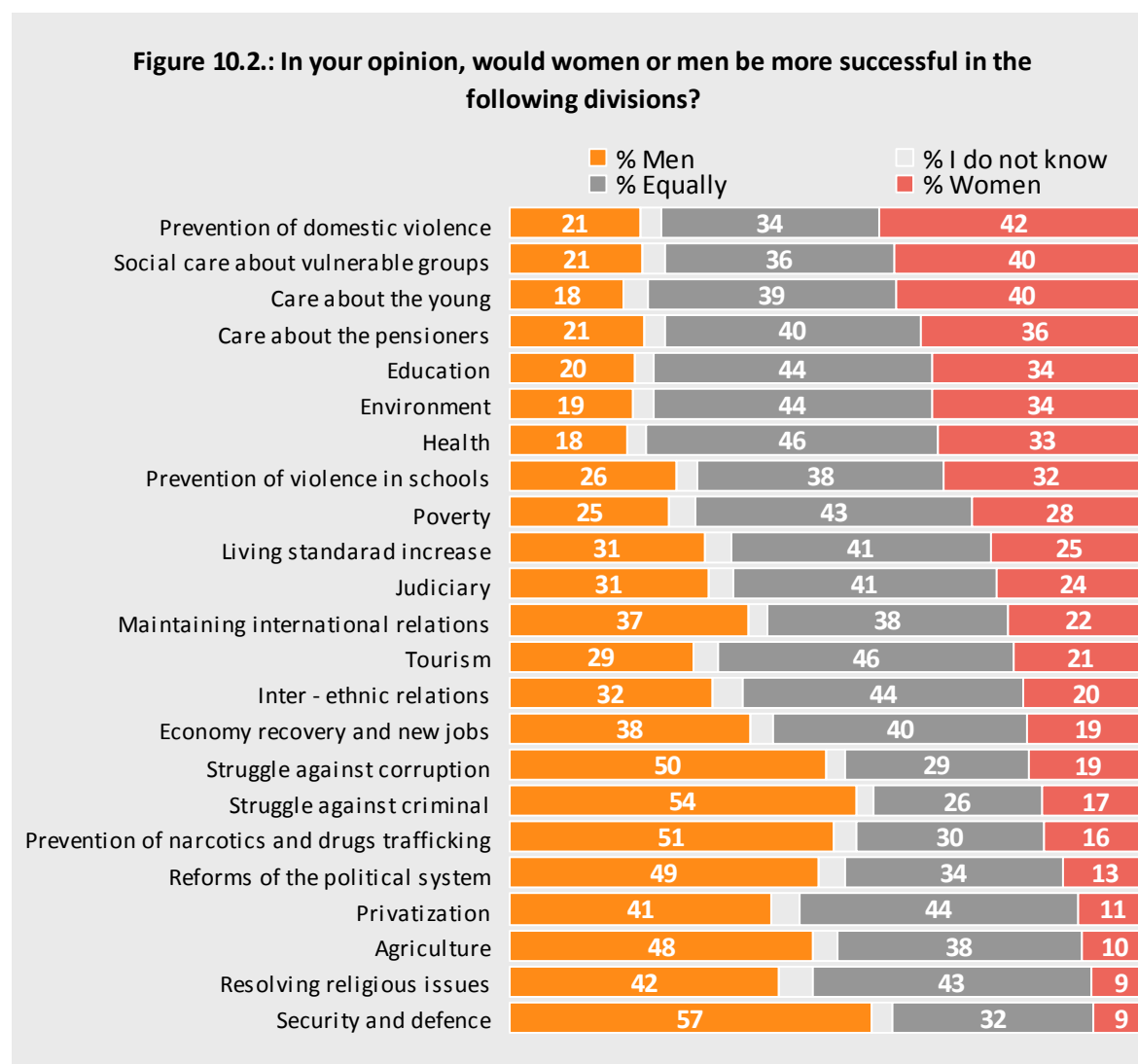
This data becomes even more important when the same results are observed on the sub-populations of men and women in Montenegro. It is interesting that both sub-populations in all proposed divisions

observe the own gender as superior, but regarding women, the same nine divisions (see table 10.1) that have been detected on the sample of total population, listed in almost the same order, are observed as the divisions in which women would be the best, while men think that the mentioned divisions, in somewhat changed order, would be the areas in which male politicians would have the least advantage over female politicians.

On the other hand, significance of women's perception must not be neglected since they are observed as possibly more successful in the mentioned divisions; namely, four divisions out of nine are actually the divisions in which greater women' success is expected and they are simultaneously among the top nine divisions that are of the utmost importance for the general population; these divisions encompass struggle against poverty, health, education, care about the socially vulnerable groups. The listed divisions are not hot political issues, but they certainly present concerns of huge majority of the citizens, exhausted and tired of the big issues, currently only trying to find solutions for their everyday problems.

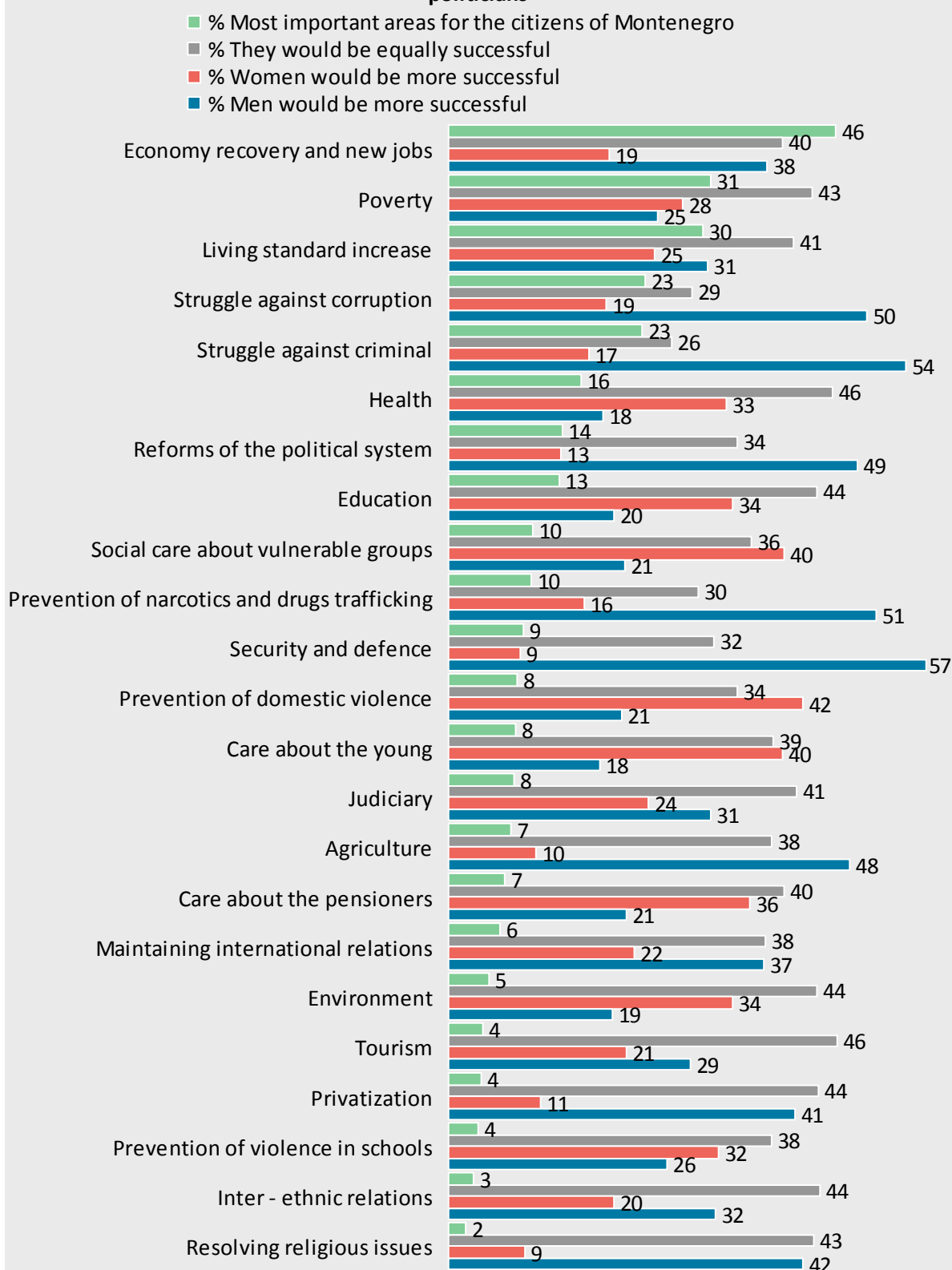


Moreover, when it comes to increased standard of living, as one of the most significant issues for male and female citizens of Montenegro, for which the citizens think that men and women would be equally successful (somewhat higher percentage of the population thinks that men would be more successful), current female politicians are perceived as significantly more active in this field than current male politicians. Situation is similar when it comes to the most important subject for male and female citizens



of Montenegro and it relates to economy recovery and new jobs. If we merge these results with the attitudes that show female politicians to be equally professional and very often even more professional than their male colleagues, that they more frequently adjust their professions with their political ambitions, that they are more realistic in estimating their abilities and ambitions, we come to the whole field of arguments in favor of supporting the idea of presenting women as candidates for the leading positions in the country.

**Figure 10.3: Importance of the subjects and expected success of male / female politicians**



The second finding comes from these results and requires careful consideration of the divisions for which the citizens think that women would be more successful in than men. Actually, in front of almost all divisions, if not in front of all, there is, or can be placed, the word CARE. Care about the poor, the pensioners, environment and the young. Even though CARE about the others presents one of the first traditional gender roles that women have been exposed to even in the earliest childhood and that has the serious consequences on gender segregation of professions, but also on vertical and horizontal segregation on labor market, this part of profound convictions of general population and inserted gender identity of women can be easily used for the purpose of political marketing. It is seen as an important mean for achieving the increased proportion of women on the most responsible functions in the country. It should not be forgotten that care about the others, understanding of the needs and problems of common people, but also honesty and justice are actually the attributes for which typical female politicians have been significantly better estimated than their male colleagues. Alienation of political elites and lack of understanding the common people's problems are the issues that the male politicians have been the most frequently criticized for.

Traditional political systems are established according to vertical principle, as narrow pyramids with the leader and top management at the tip; this part of people is not in direct communication with general population, but has the power to lead the country in particular direction and to hold on power until some other group, idea, project throw it back.

Modern democratic societies are established in a totally different way – they have the tendency to broaden political pyramid of power to the horizontal level so as to achieve realizing more individual interests and involve greater number of citizens in the process of decision - making and problems solving. CARE about particular interests, common people or groups, thus turns into important characteristic of modern democratic societies.

In this sense, in the process of Montenegrin society modernization and all in scope of the process of Euro-Atlantic integrations, it is necessary to increase “transformation” of political vertical level into the political horizontal level and encompass interests of more and more versatile interests. Among them are interests of female population and one of such interests relates to participation of women in impartial and just distribution of political influence and division of the area of political power.

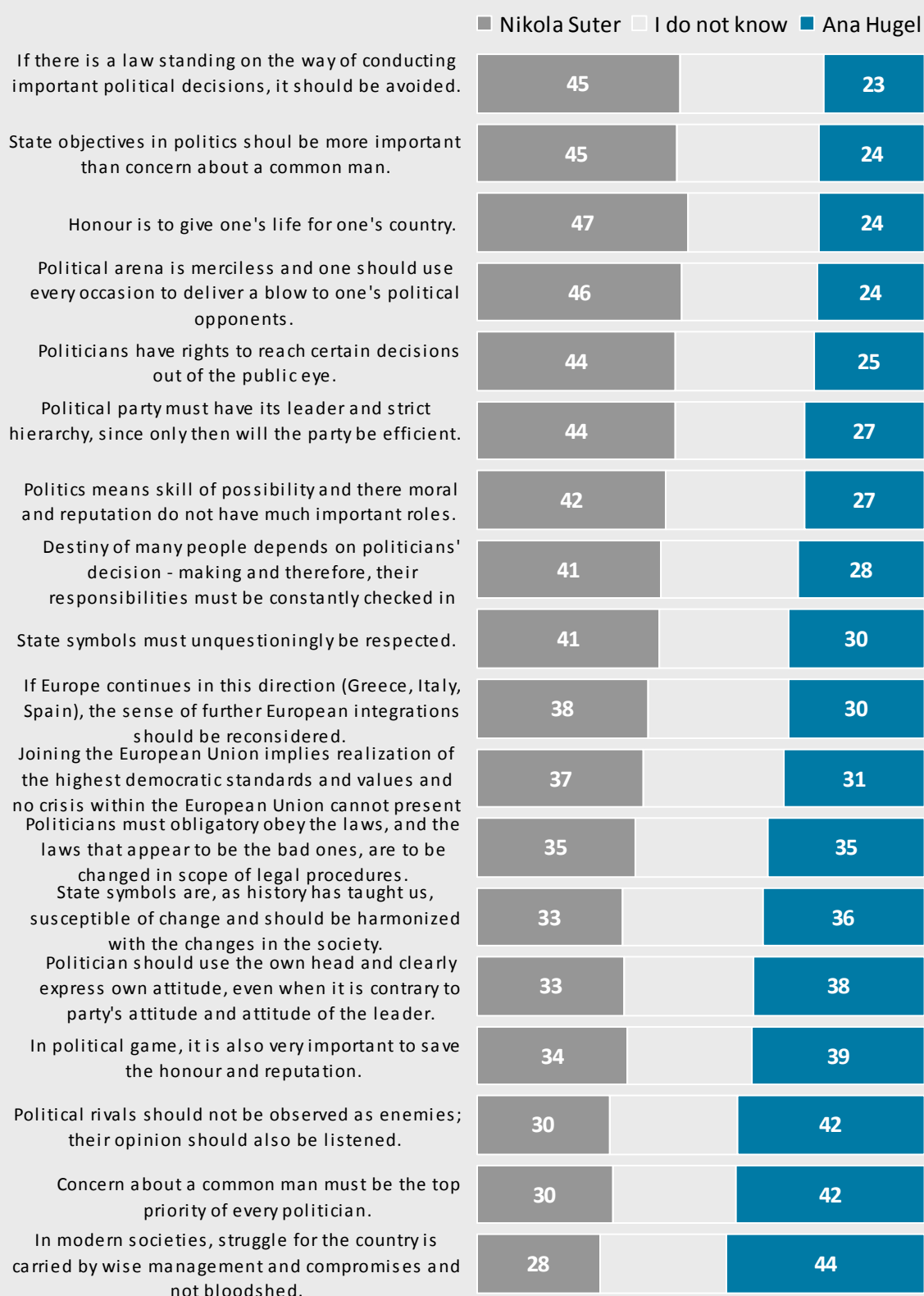
These two methods of rule have been named as male and female principle in politics, thus equalizing the one with traditional societies and the other one with modern democracies.

We have tried to check the extent to which the citizens of Montenegro are able to recognize more or less subtle differences in value systems that we consider as traditional, that is, democratic and whether they will connect such systems with masculine – feminine differences. For such a purpose, two modules within the questionnaire have been applied. In the first one, the respondents were presented statements from an imaginary debate with an imaginary male and female politician.

The citizens were asked to recognize the persons who spoke certain parts from the debate. In the second module, the citizens were asked to imagine facing with particular problems and imagine they had a possibility to address to a particular male or female deputy. In order to avoid influence of preferences to the existing parties, names of male and female deputies were also imaginary. The citizens were asked to tell us whom they would address first, in case they would like to solve any of the tested problems.

Being well aware of the limited domains of this survey, our opinion is that we have succeeded in showing that respondents spontaneously detect differences between the attitudes belonging to traditional, that is modern systems of values and that, in majority of the cases, people spontaneously classify them as masculine and feminine.

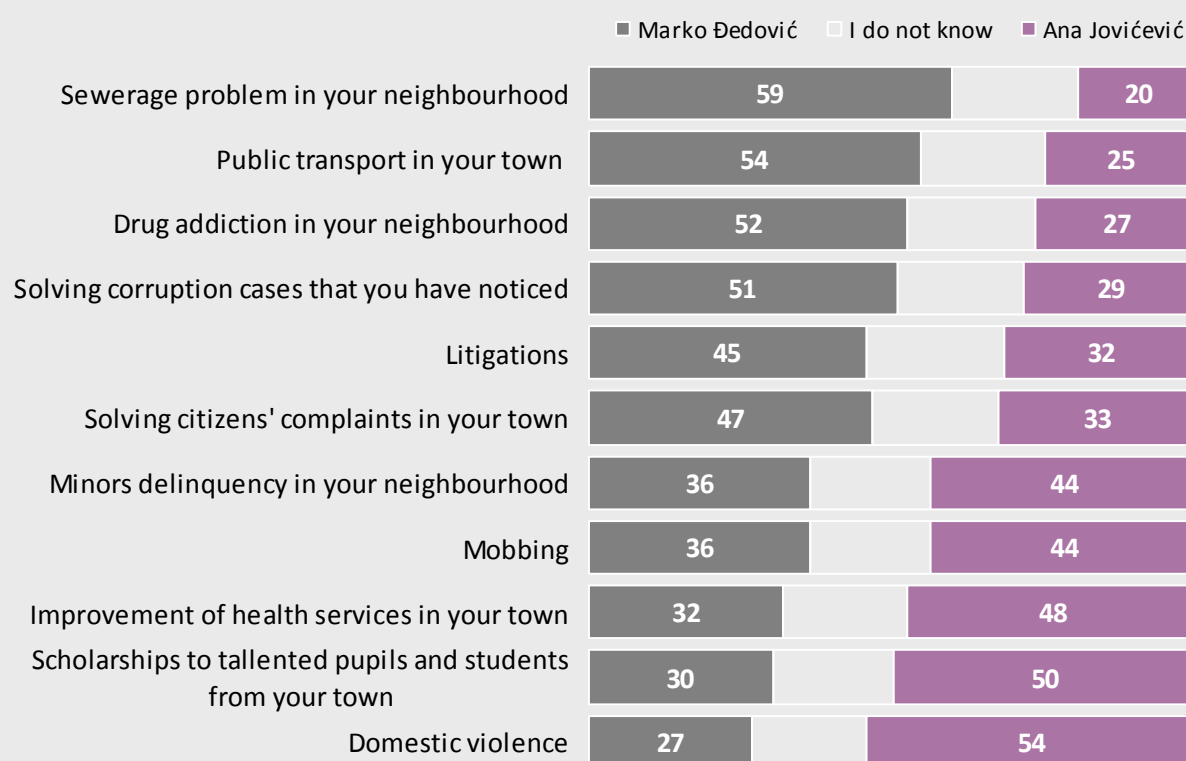
**Figure 10.4: ... Even though you probably have not had the chance to read the text below, could you, please, try to tell me who, in your opinion, pronounced each of the following sentences?**



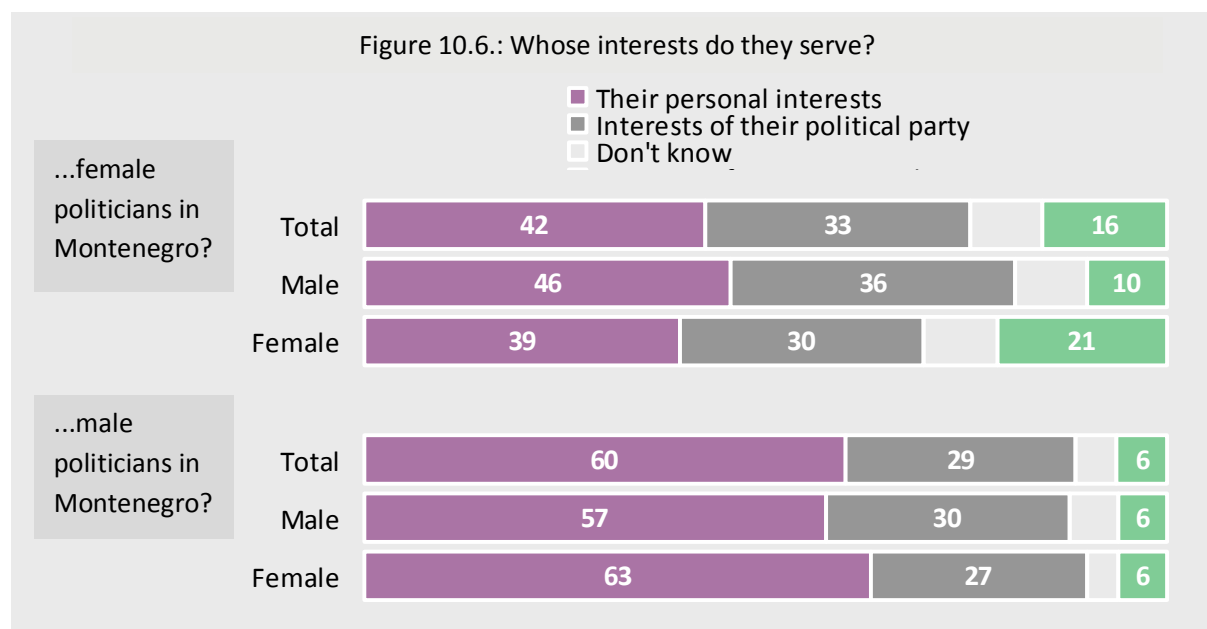
All parts of the debate that can be classified as traditional and conservative system of values have been connected with a man. Out of nine sections from the debate that can be related to modern democratic values, six have been predominantly connected with a woman, there was equal percentage of the respondents for one section of the debate and there were only two sections more closely related with a man than with a woman.

In the second module, the citizens answered they would more willingly address a man to solve their complaints in their own towns, certain litigations, solve certain corruption issues that they noticed, drug taking in the neighborhood, public transportation problems, problems with sewerage systems in the neighborhood. Respondents would address the female deputies in case of domestic violence, scholarships for gifted pupils and students from their towns, health services improvement in their towns, mobbing or delinquency of minors in the neighborhood.

**Figure 10.5.: If you personally had the following problems and a chance to address any of the following deputies, NO MATTER WHETHER YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT THOSE PERSONS OR NOT, whom would you address first?**



Additionally, male and female citizens of Montenegro are convinced that female politicians work more for the benefits of common people. However, they also consider that women, as well as their male colleagues, work more for their own benefits and then for the interests of their parties.



According to the opinion of general population, motives of women and men for engagement in politics are different. Although personal interests are perceived as the most significant both regarding man and women, the citizens think it is much more expressed in male population than women. Regarding men, power is on the second place, followed by ambition and desire to succeed, advancement in career and proving capabilities. Referring to women, struggle for gender equality is on the second place, followed by ambition, proving that they are capable, struggle for better living and society improvement and career advancement.

**Figure 10.7.: The most important motives for dealing with politics?**

Participants of in - depth interviews agree that women introduce qualities in politics that men do not possess at all, or at least not in the same proportion. Both the representatives of the parties and of the media agree that these qualities relate to commitment, thoroughness, professionalism, restraint, care about common people and placing public interests ahead of their own interests, as well as different way of communicating with political opponents.

#### Female principle of dealing with politics implies:

- Detailed, exact and rational approach to the problem
- Expertise
- Harmonization of ability level and ambition level
- Sensitivity for common man's needs and carrying about them
- Flexibility and readiness to make compromises
- Detailed analysis before presenting a conclusion: no sudden statements and decisions
- Political discussion on the level of idea, no insults and descending to personal level



The above mentioned qualities are, however, expectations of future female politicians, since, at the moment, percentage of women in the Parliament that really actively participate in politics is fairly small.

*Male/ female NGO leader: "The greatest number of women in the Assembly is silent. Majority of them act as party's soldiers. Moreover, if my party is wrong, I will be silent."*

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**Furthermore, when dealing with politics, women tend to remain within their primary profession**, thus providing professional quality in their engagement regarding particular subject or problem. Such approach the respondents frequently connect with the Montenegrin practice referring to involvement of women in politics only after being professionally approved and respected within their professions. This presents one of the key criteria for recruiting a woman in the party: involving professionally realized women, respected by people; furthermore, it would certainly bring new votes for the party. On the opposite, men usually build their careers while dealing with politics, even without previous professional experience and additionally, they do not cope with the problems in such a professional and careful manner as women do.

*Male/ female media representative: "In scope of Montenegrin politics, there are many people without any primary profession; they only use politics to achieve certain high positions for which they do not have experience. It might be that women have recognized this fact and they therefore first want to prove themselves on professional level and then engage in politics".*

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*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro:" We more often talk about the issues we are well familiar with since we do not want to improvise. One of my respected colleagues tells me: "I listen your exposure in the Parliament and I remember several sentences. Afterwards, I take a word and I only combine these few sentences, with some general, standard story".*

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On the other hand, male politicians easily switch from one division to the other, while women are conscious of their own knowledge and the divisions they do not know; therefore, they rarely get involved in such divisions. Such professionalism is the feature that **enables women to deal with problems in concrete and practical way**, avoiding general subjects and points that men are inclined to dealing with.

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*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro: "It is characteristic of women to deal with exact issues of the citizens, not involving in Mars, airplanes, satellites that men deal with. Women more frequently give emphasis to the law, using genuine situations and thus they appear to be more convincing."*

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The difference between male and female politicians is apparent when it comes to selection of the subjects and divisions that they would engage in and it is present especially when they accept particular positions, as well as, ambitions in general. Namely, numerous respondents have repeated that **women observe their own abilities in a more realistic way, thus adjusting their political ambitions to their abilities. On the opposite, ambitions of male politicians mainly overcome their abilities** and therefore, they are more prepared for struggle and also ready to accept higher positions. It is believed that small number of women would accept performing the function which they do not possess enough professionalism and experience for. While on one hand this female principle appears to bear the responsibility to the citizens and voters, on the other hand, it also presents one of the barriers for women to not accept higher positions on the political scene.

*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro: "I think that a woman would not accept particular position if she is not absolutely sure she would be able to perform it. On the other hand, men accept everything."*

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*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro: "In majority of the cases, ambition of women is in harmony with their abilities, while regarding men, there is very often huge disagreement among the mentioned two matters."*

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Objectivity and complying with the principle of reality is characteristic for women even when they estimate general situation, their surrounding and topics they deal with. Majority of the respondents believe that women are more realistic than men and that they also approach the problem in the same, more convincing manner.

*Male/ female media representative: "Women observe real life in more realistic way when compared with men. Women are the ones who are ready to observe political and social*

*situation in more realistic way, with increased sense of responsibility, carefully choosing the words and being more cautious."*

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When approaching the particular subject, problem, women do it with more concern and provide certain broader thoughts. A woman mainly considers a problem from several points of view, caring about common people and implications on common people's lives, while a man is led by his personal interests and already determined objectives. This approach is frequently connected with maternity, because a gender role of a woman involves concern about the others as an important section, also involving everyday problems' solving.

*President of the party: "Career is not the primary motive; the motive can be easily compared with the issue of a family, i.e. when one builds a family, it simultaneously means one has to provide better life for the family and for the others. It is a huge difference. General interests are more important for them than personal interests and until now, I have never met a woman in my party who places her own personal interest before the general, public interest, but I have met many such men."*

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*Female politician: "Women are inclined to make compromises and they perceive the issues with more emotions. A woman has more responsiveness for general interest than a man has for a common man. A woman has less personal interests and has increased responsibility, but also, her fears are greater when she has to involve in certain subjects that might be irregular. Men do such things without any difficulty. Women are more hard-working and responsible and I think they would be better regarding the mentioned sections."*

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However, besides common man's problems being very close to them, one gets the impression that female politicians rarely pay additional attention to specific female needs and gender analysis is still unknown to them. Moreover, significant number of women in politics acts in a masculine manner, even insisting that gender does not present any important factor, probably because they behave in the same way as their male colleagues.

It is also thought that women's characteristics involve flexibility and inclination to compromises, as well as readiness to hear the story of the other side as well. For such a reason, it is believed that more women in politics would result in different approach referring to conflicts solving and that would enable easier finding of a common solution of the contrasting parties.

*Female politician: "I think that women are more flexible and have better ears to hear and it would be less difficult to find agreement with them; moreover, women are more courageous than men."*

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*President of the party: "Female principle is more inclined to a dialogue, it is more pragmatic and it more frequently contains the vision of some long - term aspect. On the contrary, male principle does not contain it, i.e. it excludes such characteristics; masculine principle is certainly inclined to intolerable models."*

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Female principle in politics is reflected in the way of communication and addressing the colleagues from other parties. It is believed that **women consider issues more carefully and for a longer period before they express their arguments and conclusions regarding somebody else's work**. Even when they criticize, female politicians do not attack the other side and, on the contrary of men, they mostly do not go beyond the set limits referring to good manners, they do not enter into the personal sphere and do not insult the opponents. Apart from the general belief that this way of communication is characteristic of women, they simply know how to "address somebody in the right moment and in the most appropriate way" and this feature is partly considered to be the consequence of more difficult way women had to pass. Female politicians, among the other issues, do not allow themselves thoughtless and rush moves, so as not to misplace the positions they have been creating for a really long time.

*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro: "Due to the burden regarding the difficult way a woman had to pass in order to achieve certain position, a woman usually thinks five times about the things she has to perform."*

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*Female deputy in the Assembly of Montenegro: "A man usually more cares about his personal interests, his own ambition and for a woman, some broader context is much more considered. Women have that feature that men do not possess. Feeling for the others, need to listen the other people's story, women are not harsh and do not hurt the others, they have the ability to place in another persons' positions. Before I make a charge against somebody, I have to check it three times. Men have reached their positions in much easier way and they do not think about it; on the contrary, we have passed the harder way and we have to think carefully in order not to destroy what we have been building."*

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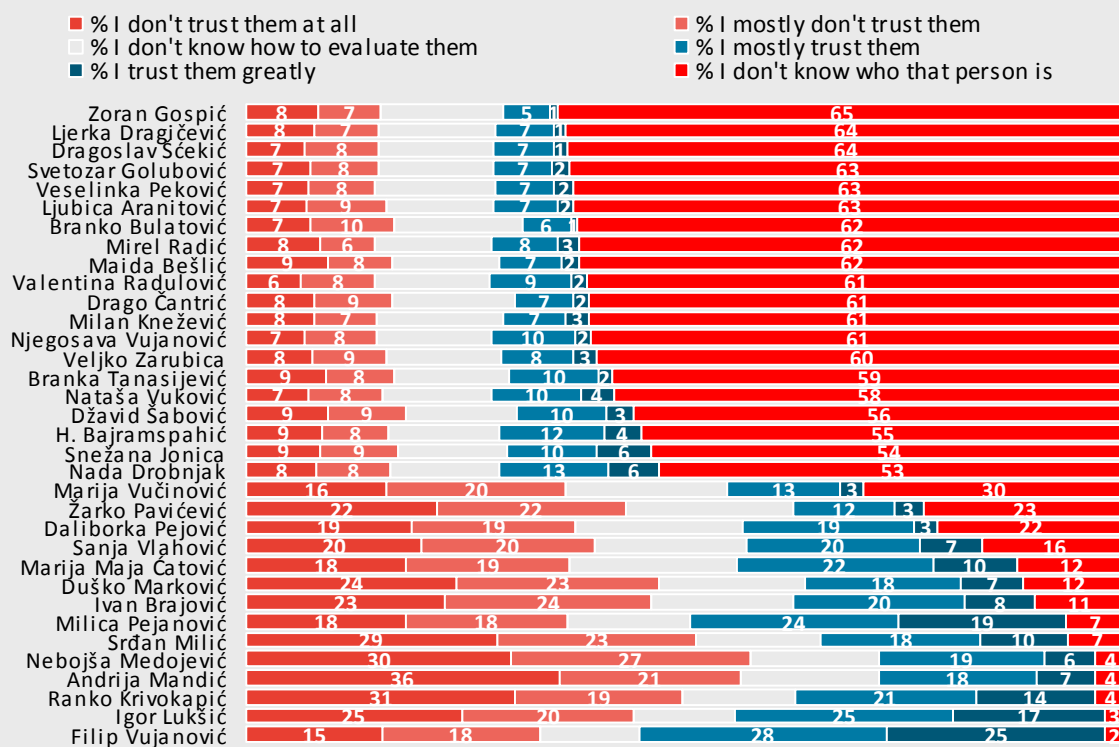
**Communication between persons of same gender, particularly informal, outside regular activities in the Parliament, appears to be different in case of men and women** and such difference, even though it is at first sight unimportant, certainly influences the activity of dealing with politics. Namely, men not only establish certain friendly relations among themselves, but they frequently continue the same

relations in particular informal activities, such as sports practicing, going to lunches and dinners together. During such activities, they spend a lot of time paying attention to politics and they very regularly make certain agreements that they later formalize and about which their female colleagues from the party are not informed, simply because they were not present. Even when they do not reach the agreement, in the before mentioned situations, men discuss some important issues in relaxed atmosphere and thus exchange a lot of information. Women, however, do not organize such activities, but, on the contrary, they do not even create close and jointly responsible relations within the party.

When it regards the divisions in which one gender is better and which suits them better, the majority of the respondents in in - depth interviews, disapproved the existence of such divisions. However, one gets the impression that beyond this declarative and socially desirable answer, majority of the respondents is convinced that **women are better in such divisions in which it is necessary to possess sensitivity for common people's needs, involving particularly compassion for the vulnerable groups and the referent divisions include social welfare, health, education.** On the other hand, even though it has been said that a woman could successfully take the leading position in every ministry, and also to be the Prime Minister, or even the President, majority of the media representatives, including even female politicians, cannot see any woman in Montenegro that is ready to take over such a position.

All of the previously discussed items indicate the fact that further development of the thesis on male and female principle in politics and modernization of Montenegro might contain precisely defined messages that could provide faster intervention that is to lead, in a short period of time, to significant increase of women's participation in, first of all, gender – stereotyped divisions. However, further democratization of the society and political system inevitably requires increased proportion of women in traditionally male divisions characterized by high level of influence and power.

Figure 11.1.: Familiarity and trust - general population



## 11. Awareness and trust

Citizens of Montenegro are convinced that Montenegrin public trust male politicians more (58%) than female politicians (10%). Only every fourth citizen believes that Montenegrin public doesn't take into account the gender difference when trusting politicians is concerned, but trusts them equally. Concerning their attitude toward public trust, no differences were noted between men and women. When personal trust is concerned, relations are significantly different, as the majority says that they trust male and female politicians equally (40%), 29% trust male politicians more (and significantly more men than women) and 24% say they trust female politicians more.

However, when we look at specific male and female politicians in Montenegro, we come to the conclusion that women in politics have an issue with very low awareness. They are above all present in the Montenegrin Parliament, and only few have executive positions, which allow them to be present in the media or focused on one specific area and problems of the Montenegrin society. Due to all this, when men and women are generally compared on the political scene, we can clearly see the influence of the 'glass ceiling'<sup>19</sup> as a form of vertical segregation which disables women to occupy the most responsible **executive** positions in the country and this way gain higher familiarity among citizens and more power in the political life of Montenegro.

When you take into account the male and female politicians less known to the general public (familiarity less than 50% on the level of general population) we come to the conclusion that great majority of them are members of the Montenegrin Parliament and that those in the group of highly familiar politicians are, above all, the ones in executive positions and political party leaders.

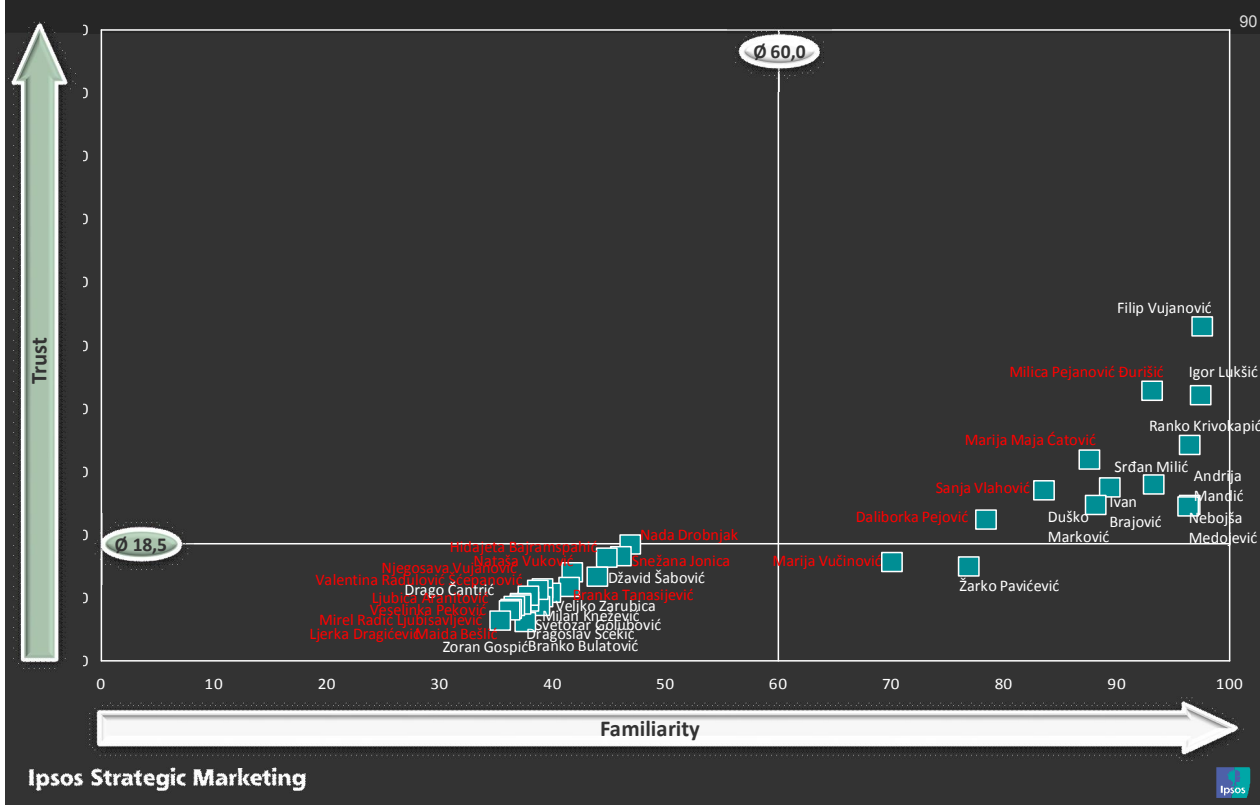
If we take a careful look at the relation between high familiarity and high trust (Figure 11.2.), we'll notice that in that quadrant (which has been defined as the section above average familiarity and above average trust) dominate politicians in executive positions and political party leaders. In addition, we'll notice that very few women in executive positions (and which have been covered by this research) are positioned in 'the most favorable' quadrant. This tells us that women, if given the chance to perform executive functions, very quickly come 'into the spotlight' (that is, on the same level as men).

On the other hand, a certain grouping of male and female Parliament members in the lower familiarity and lower trust quadrant is more than evident. We can notice that not even long working experience in the Parliament brings high familiarity among the citizens of Montenegro. As well, there aren't any noticeable differences between men and women which perform their duties as members of the Montenegrin Parliament.

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<sup>19</sup> *Invisible barriers that prevent women from progressing in political and party hierarchy to the highest managerial positions*

Figure 11.2: Relationship familiarity and trust – general population

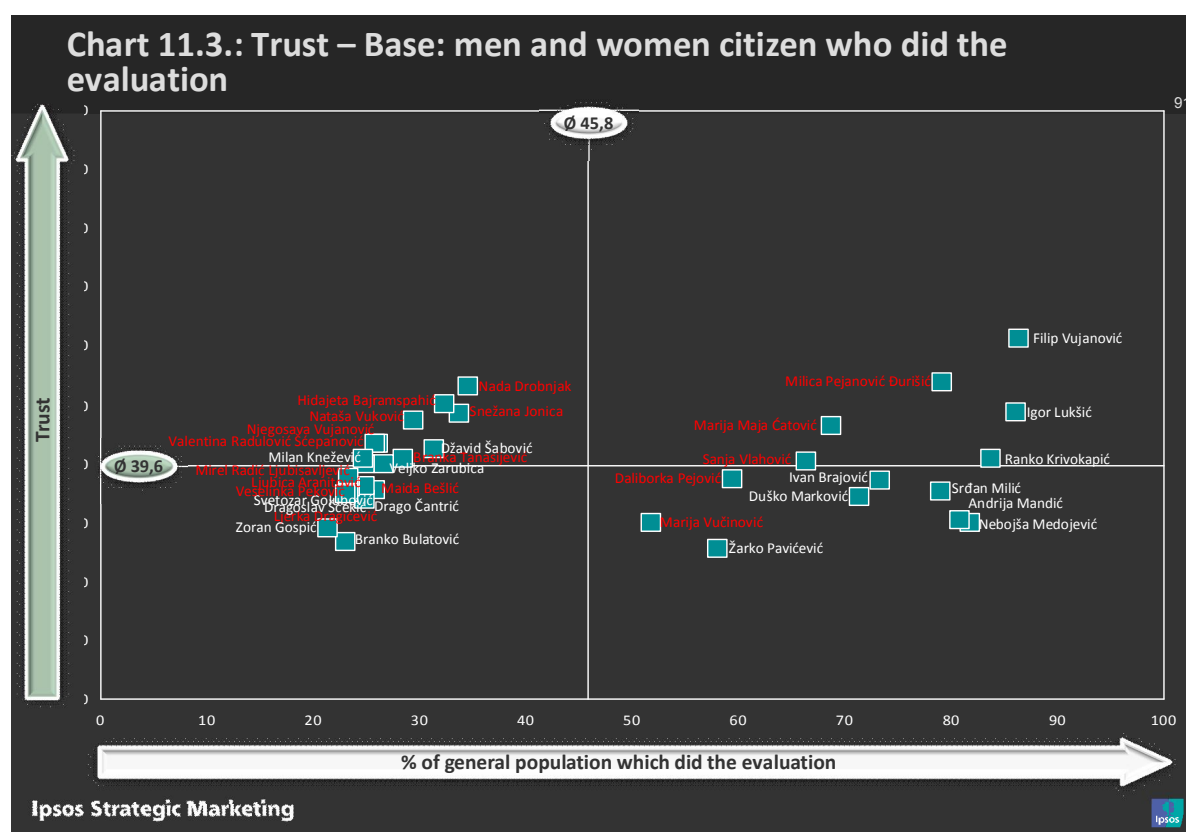




It is interesting that women in Montenegro trust politicians, both male and female, more. When we review the average trust grades on the scale of four, where 1 means I don't trust them at all, and 4 means I highly trust them, the average trust that women feel in male and female politicians (covered by this research) is 2,40, whereas the average trust that men feel is 2,23,. This difference is statistically significant.

Although both male and female citizens of Montenegro are convinced that the Montenegrin public trusts male politicians more (58%), than it is the case with female politicians (10%), the general population still trusts female politicians more than male politicians. Namely, if we take into account the average trust for all the women politicians included in this research, it is 2.37<sup>20</sup>, whereas the average trust in men politicians is 2.23. As in the latter case, this difference is statistically significant. As well, the indecisive voters (those who are going to vote on the next elections, but haven't decided yet who are they going to vote for) have significantly higher trust in women on the political scene (2.41), than in men (2.30).

However, all these findings about trust in men and women politicians should be viewed through the prism of the limited range of this research. In other words, we have tested 34 men and women present in the political life.



<sup>20</sup> Trust grade on the scale of four where 1 means I have no trust in, and 4 means I have great trust in.

## 11.1 Trust in electoral messages

Gender of the carrier of the electoral message, isolated from other potential determinants, doesn't influence in any way the voters' trust. However, gender becomes very important when other important factors are included, like the topic which someone speaks about, as well as the characteristics of the target group. There are topics that citizens trust more if they hear them from women than if they come from men. In this research, we have confirmed that these are topics like defense, justice and social security, but also the topics like internal issues (corruption, identity) and health care if we look only at the part of the sample older than 35. It's interesting that on average women react better to the electoral message if they hear it from a man, and for each of the tested topics, whereas men react better to some topics when they hear them from women and for some other topics that difference doesn't exist. In addition, both undecided and abstainers react better to messages that come from women than those that come from men, and, more importantly, this conclusion is valid for almost all the topics used in this research.

As it has already been mentioned in the part of the text which deals with methods of research, response meters have been used in order to see if the trust differs when the message is delivered by an anonymous male politician, or an anonymous female politician, i.e. on which topics it differs, and who trusts more the same electoral message when delivered by a man, or a woman. For this purpose, an expert for political campaigns had created a political speech which covered different current social topics like employment, domestic production decrease, the economic crisis, the establishment of the judicial system, defense, identity issues, social justice issues and health care. The same speech was read by a man and a woman, which had been presented to the respondents as politicians. The respondents could, by using a special device, evaluate the level of trust they had in the message they were listening to (only an audio recording has been made, to eliminate other effects, like appearance, confidence, age, and likewise) and during the whole time the message was being played, which allowed for an analysis of trust in every segment of the message. Two groups of respondents were tested in total-one containing undecided voters and the citizens which were not going to vote in the elections, and in the other group of those who supported a certain party in Montenegro, no matter whether that is a party in power or the opposition party. The groups were formed with people from Podgorica, of both genders, and of different ages and education.

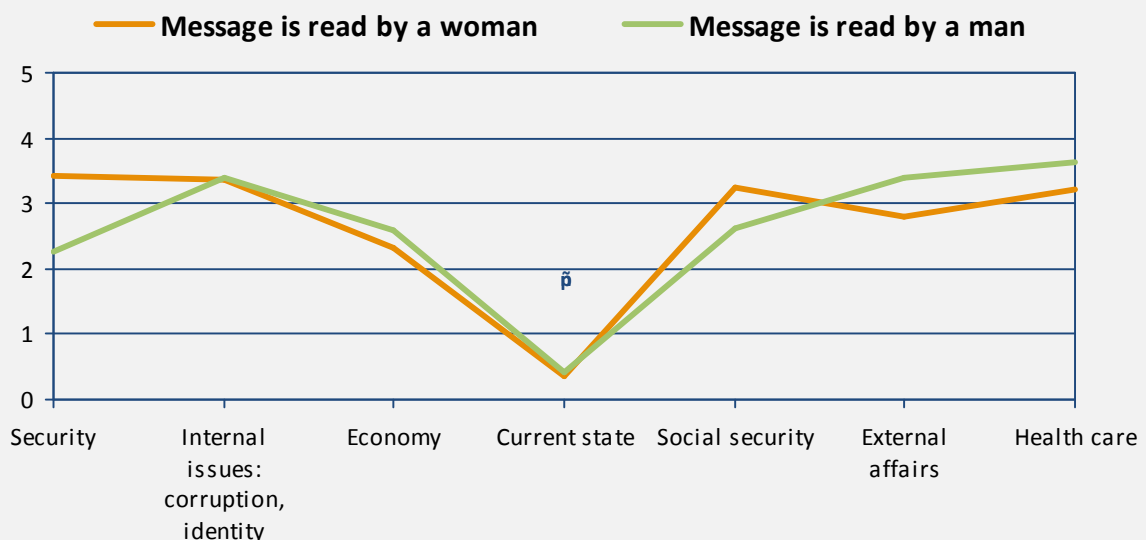
The analysis showed that the gender of the message carrier by itself doesn't influence the trust in the electoral message when you control other potential effects of all other factors included in the research, like gender or political preferences of the respondents, or the topic the message is about. Therefore, the gender itself, viewed separately from other characteristics that may separate politicians, and isolated

from the electoral body and the electoral message, doesn't influence the trust in the electoral message. The bare fact that someone is a man or a woman will not provoke different reactions from voters.

General linear model						
Dependent variable: Trust grade						
Independent variable	Type III sum of squares	df	Average square	F	Significant t (Sig.)	Partial quadrated Eta
Correct model	4004.208	13	308.016	201.6721	0	0.527
Intercept	11535.39	1	11535.39	7552.747	0	0.762
Who delivers the message	1.726021	1	1.726021	1.130105	0.289	0.00048
Topic	3821.864	6	636.9774	417.0581	0	0.51538
Who delivers the message * Topic	182.4059	6	30.40098	19.9049	0	0.048
Model error	3593.763	235	1.527311			
Total	18921.28	236				
Corrected total	7597.971	236				
$R^2 = .527$ (Adapted $R^2 = .524$ )						

As we have seen, an isolated, 'crude' gender of the message carrier is not a significant determinant in citizens' trust, but it becomes very important when it is 'placed' in the context of political life. When the message carrier's gender is matched with the topic being discussed in the message, we come to very

Figure 11.1.: Evaluation according the topic based on the gender of the person message



important findings-there are topics that citizens react better to when they hear them from male

politicians, but there are other topics as well which inspire more trust when they are delivered by a female politician. The analysis procedure of variance has enabled us to view the different effects of the politicians' gender on trust in relation to the content of the message, when all other potential factors, like target group characteristics or other relevant politicians' traits are kept constant. Figure 11.1. undoubtedly reiterates the hypothesis that there are, so to speak, 'men's and women's topics' in political life, and that citizens have more trust in the message concerning defense, legislation, i.e., social security if they are delivered by a woman, whereas male politicians inspire more trust when they talk about external affairs and health care.

When we take into consideration the characteristics of the electoral body, we come to new findings. For example, younger people, up to 35 years of age, on average trust more the political message delivered by a man than older people do (aged 36 or more). In other words, female politicians inspire more trust in people older than 35. As well, there are certain topics which are typically 'male' when you observe the entire sample, but when you take a look at different age groups, we can notice that people older than 35 trust the messages even more if female politicians speak about them. This is the case of internal issues (corruption and identity), economy and external affairs.

Figure 11.2.: (25-35 years old) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message

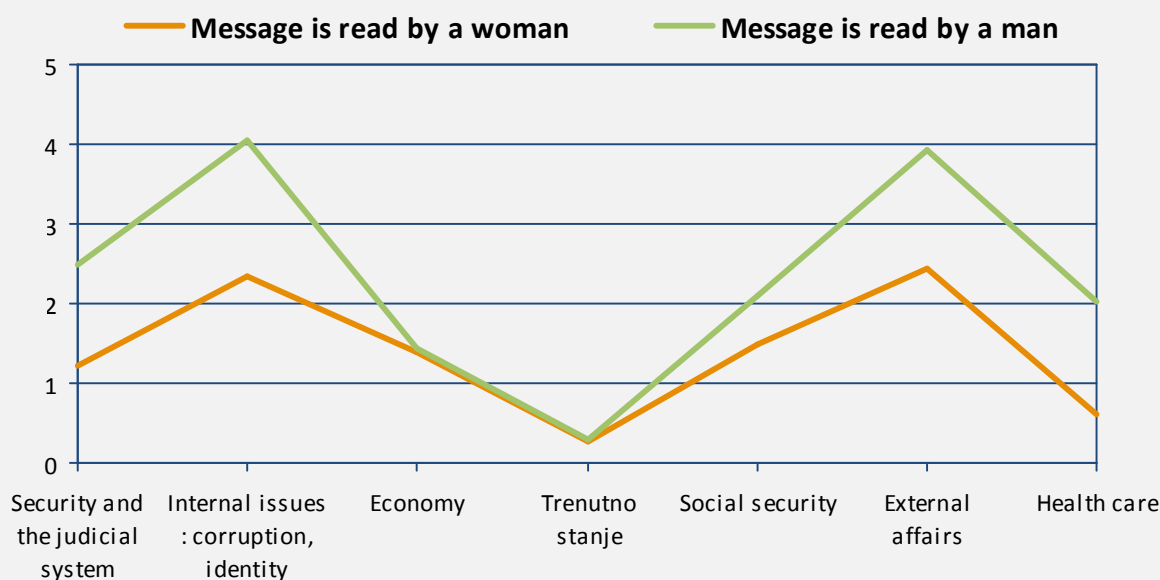


Figure 11.3.: (35-50 years old) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message

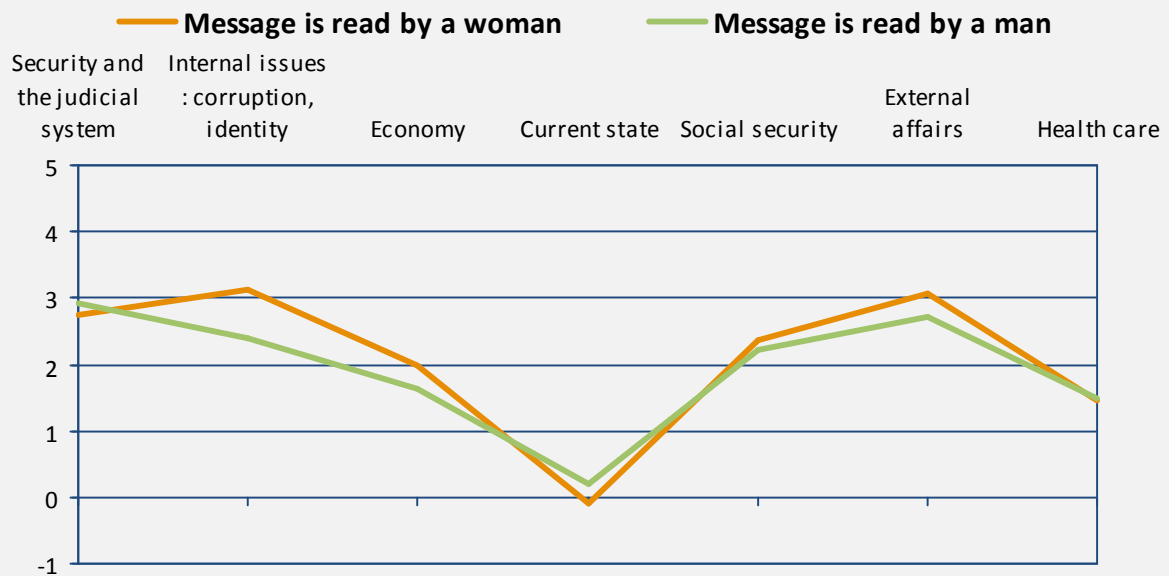


Figure 11.4.: (50+) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message

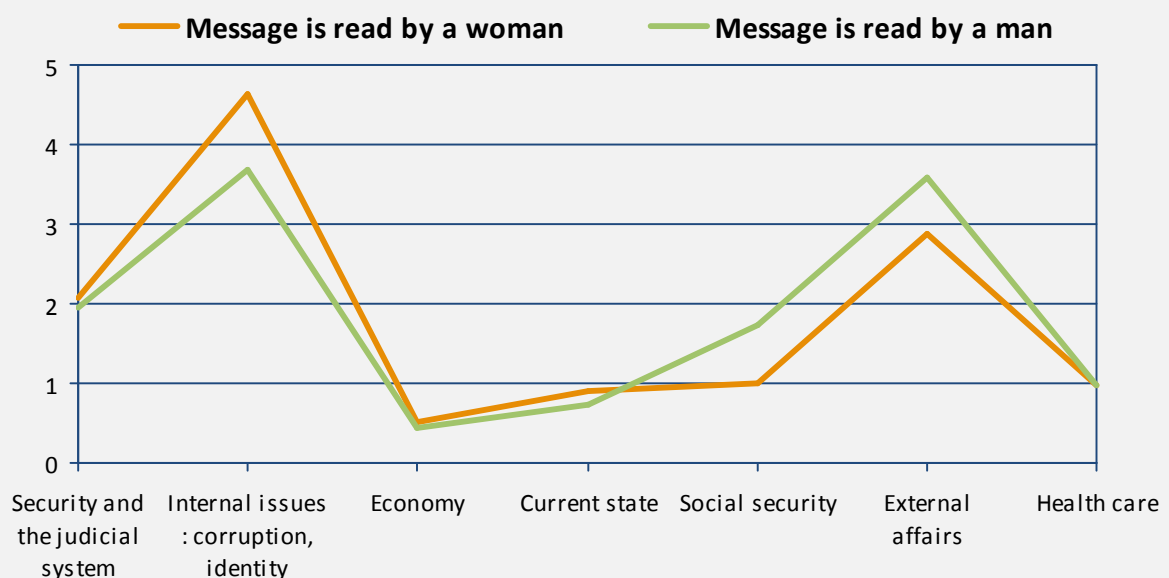


Figure 11.5.: (Abstainers) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message

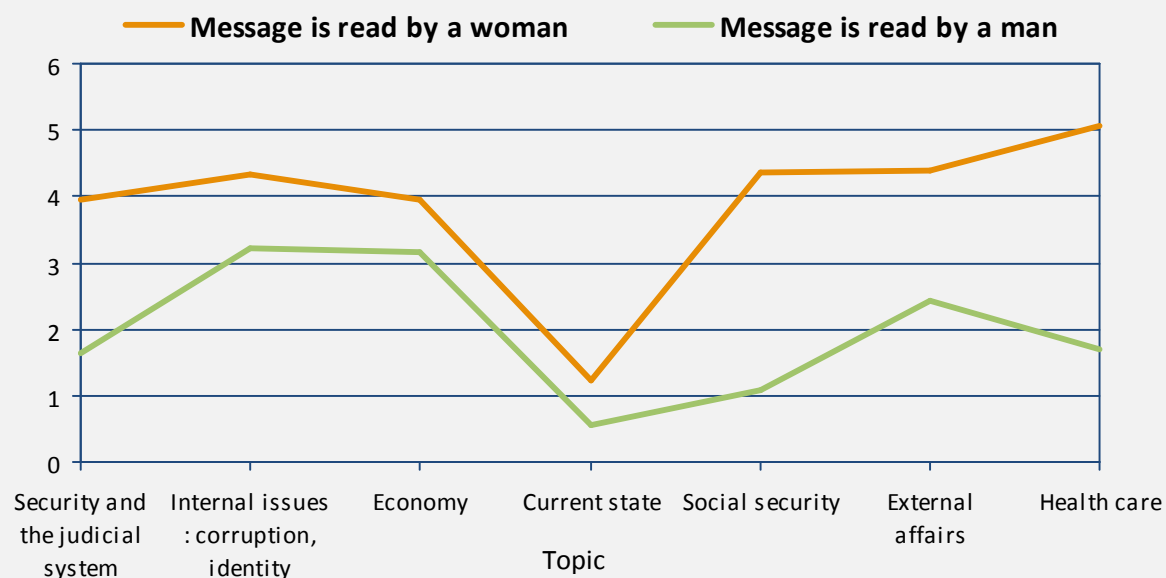


Figure 11.6.: (Indecisive voters) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message

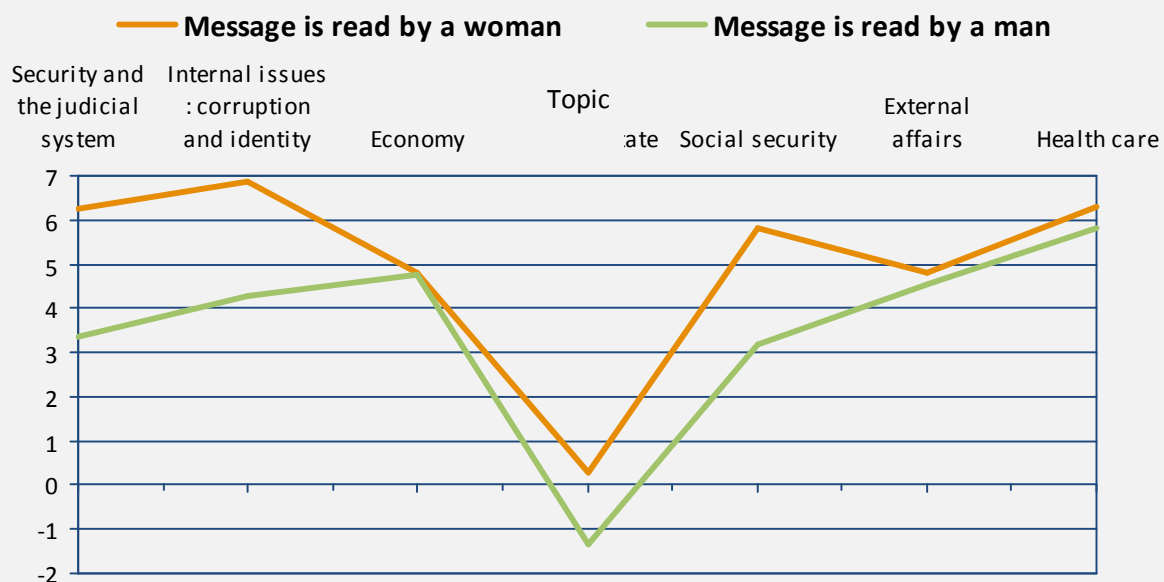
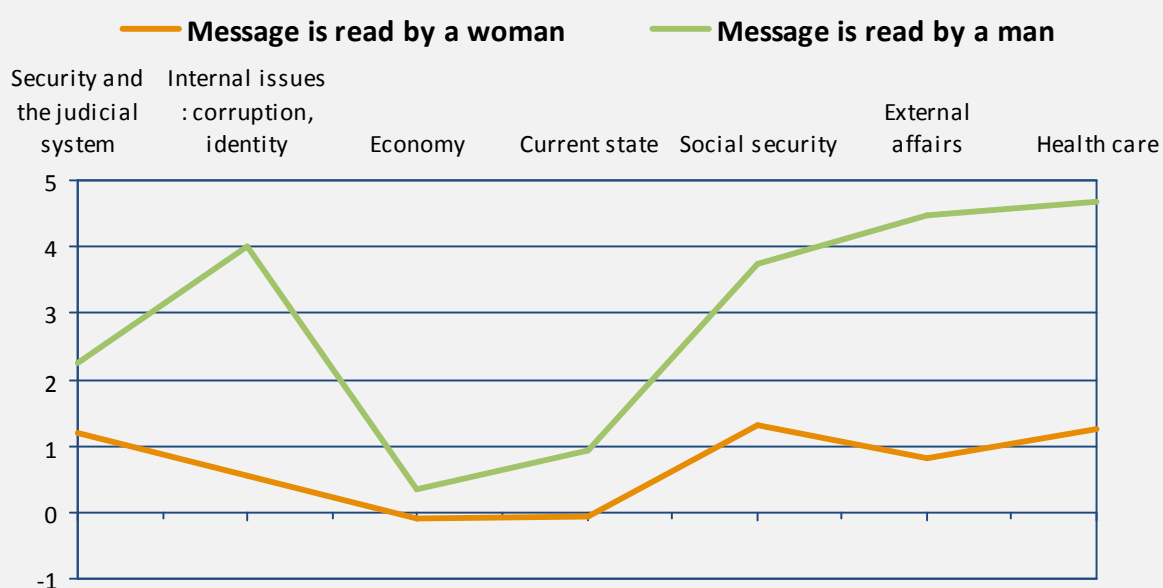
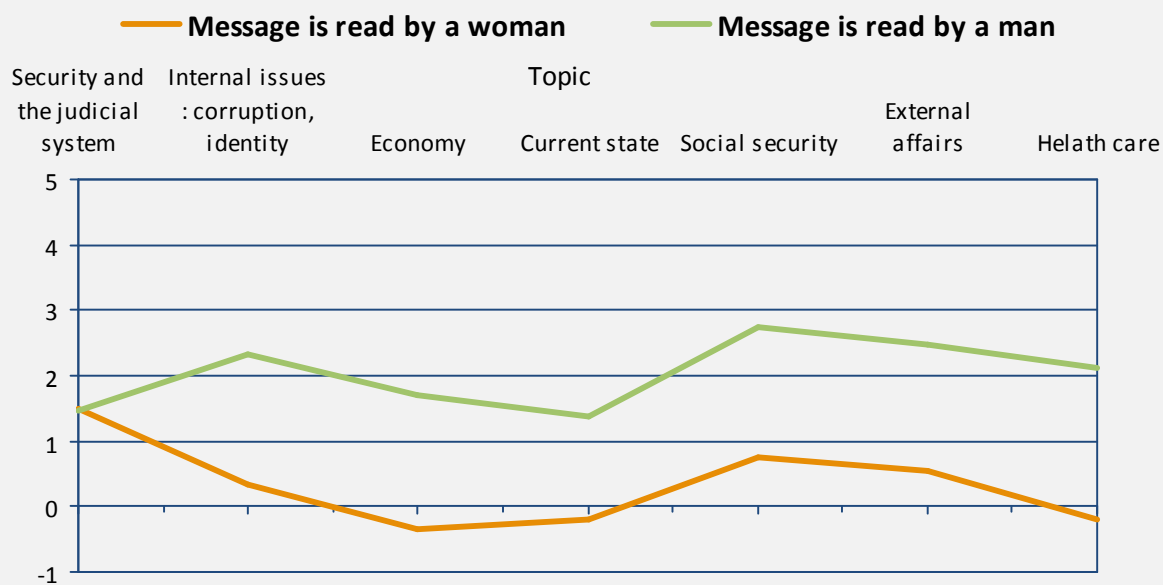


Figure 11.7.: (Governing party support) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message

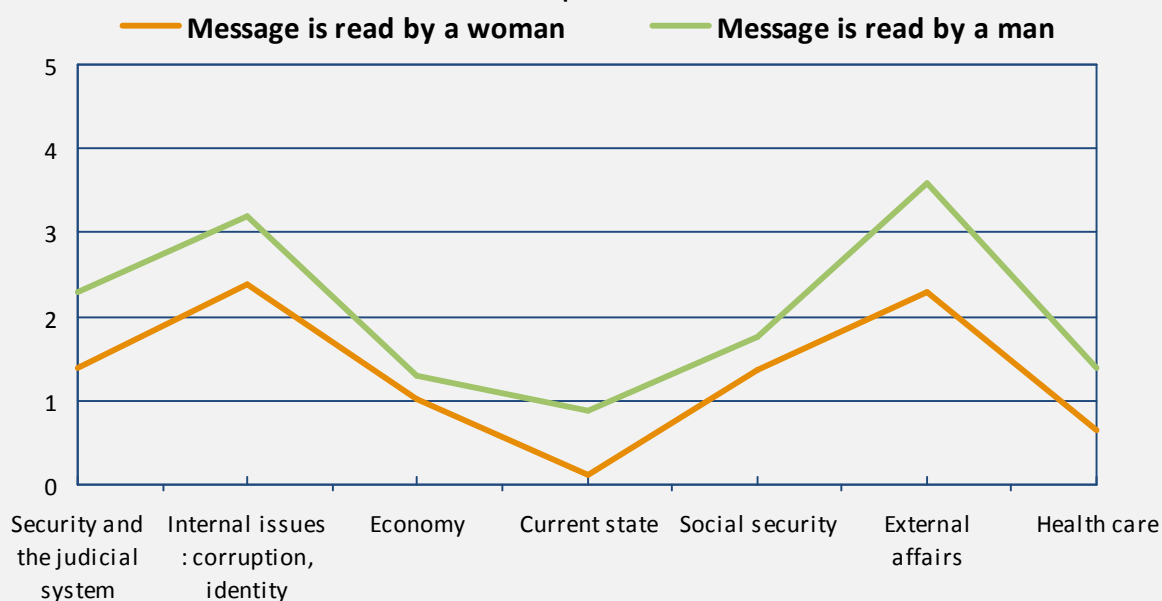


**Figure 11.8.: (Opposition parties support) Influence of the party on trust, depending on the topic and the gender of a person delivering the message**



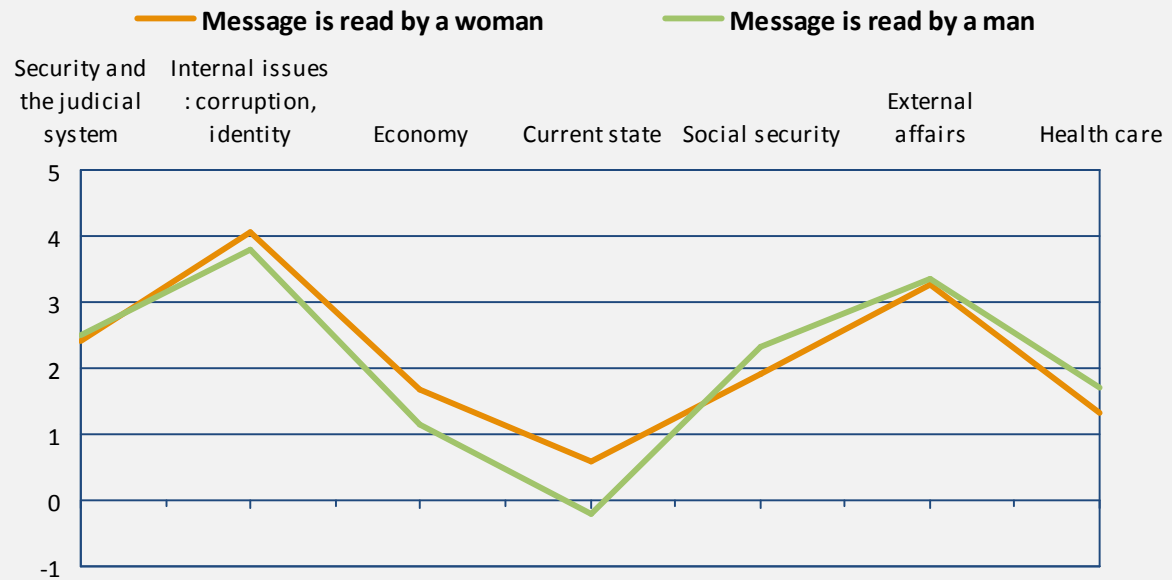
It is interesting that female respondents reacted better to the tested topic if the message was delivered by a male politician (and on all topics!), and that male respondents trusted the message more if they heard it from a female politician on topics such as economy and the current state, while for other topics there was no significant difference whether the message was read by a man or a woman! It's difficult to say what lies behind this observed regularity, is it the influence of tradition, stereotypes about politics as a male profession, or something third.

**Figure 11.9: (Women) Influence of the gender on trust, depending on the topic and gender of a person**



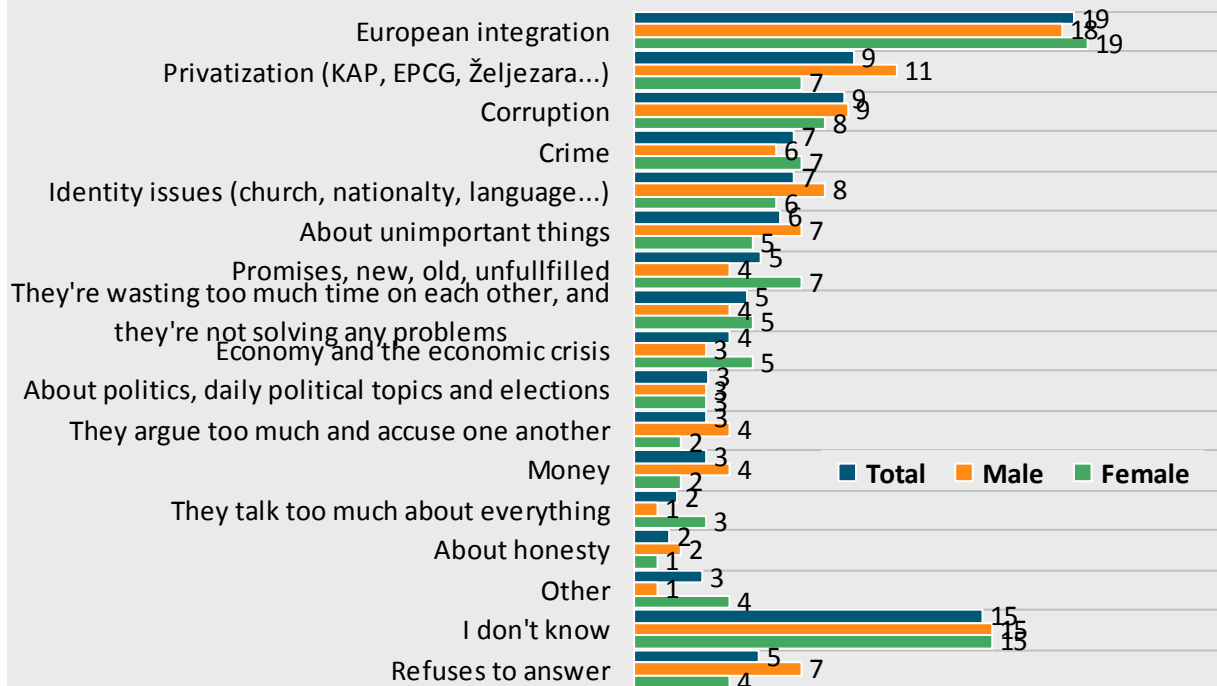


**Figure 11.10.: (Men) Influence of the gender on trust, depending on the topic and gender of a person delivering the message**



Finally, when we talk about topics, citizens of Montenegro believe that current male and female politicians talk too much about European integration, bad privatizations, corruption, crime and identity

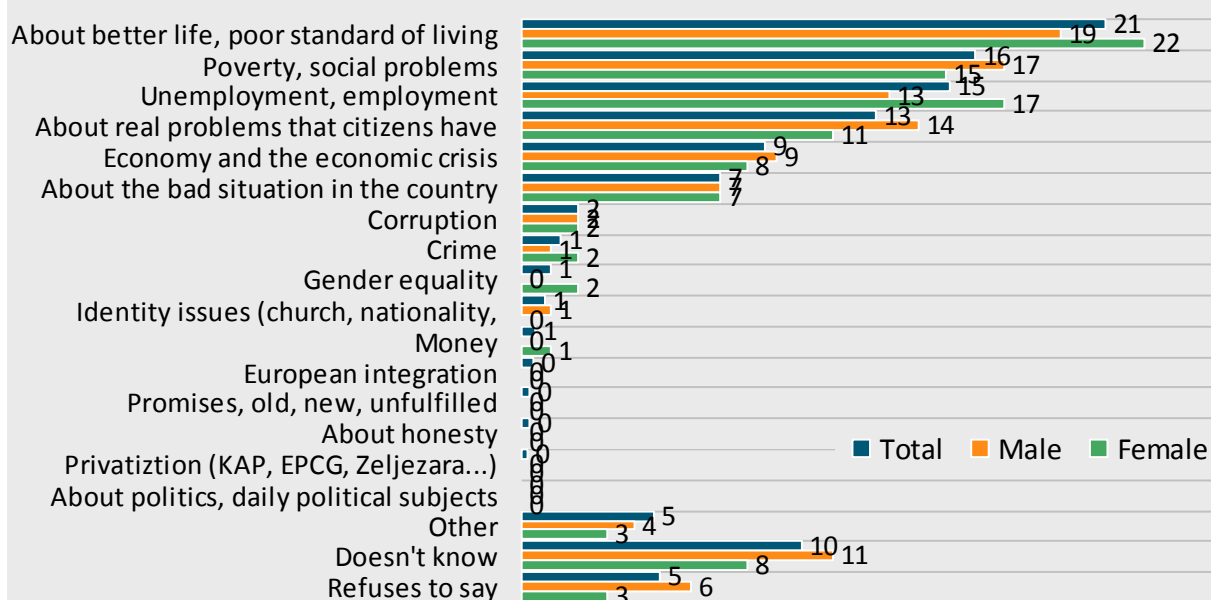
**Figure 11.11.: What do politicians talk most about?**



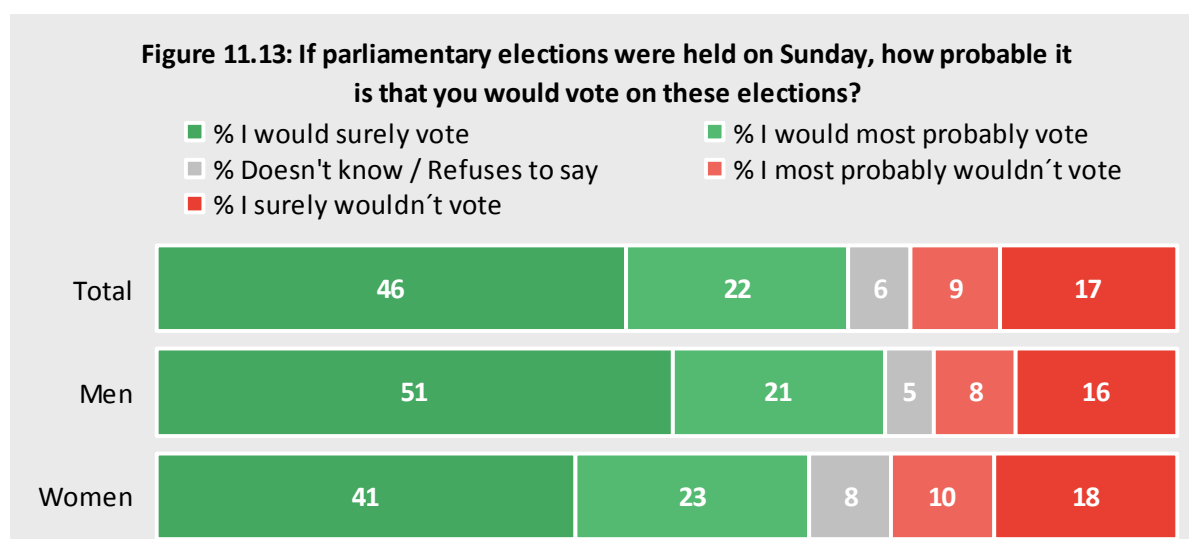
issues.

On the other hand, they consider that politicians talk too little about economic and social topics. They, in the first place, mention poor standard of living, poverty, unemployment, economy and economic crisis, as well as the bad state in the country.

**Figure 11.12.: What do politicians talk too little about?**



If the elections for the Montenegrin Parliament were held now, 46% of the present male and female citizens would surely vote in these elections, and another 22% most probably. Among voters who would vote on the elections (surely + probably) there are more men (72%) than women (64%).



Among indecisive voters (those who would vote, but they still don't know which party they would vote for), and this is what every fifth citizen of Montenegro older than 18 thinks like, and there are significantly more women (59%) than men (41%).

In addition, among those who say they surely or most probably won't vote, there are significantly more women (55%) than men (45%).

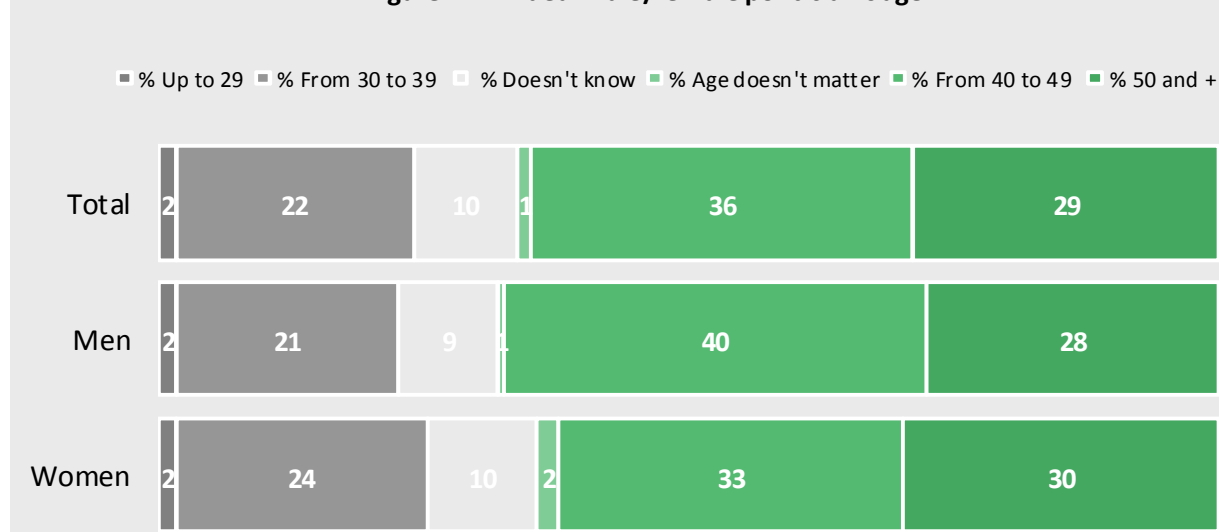
All this indicates that the balance of power on the political scene of Montenegro could significantly change in different directions, and women represent an extremely important potential, especially for those parties which would decide to reinforce their electoral body relying on the need to modernize the society and apply modern policies, which would, as the main aim, have CARE about an ordinary man.

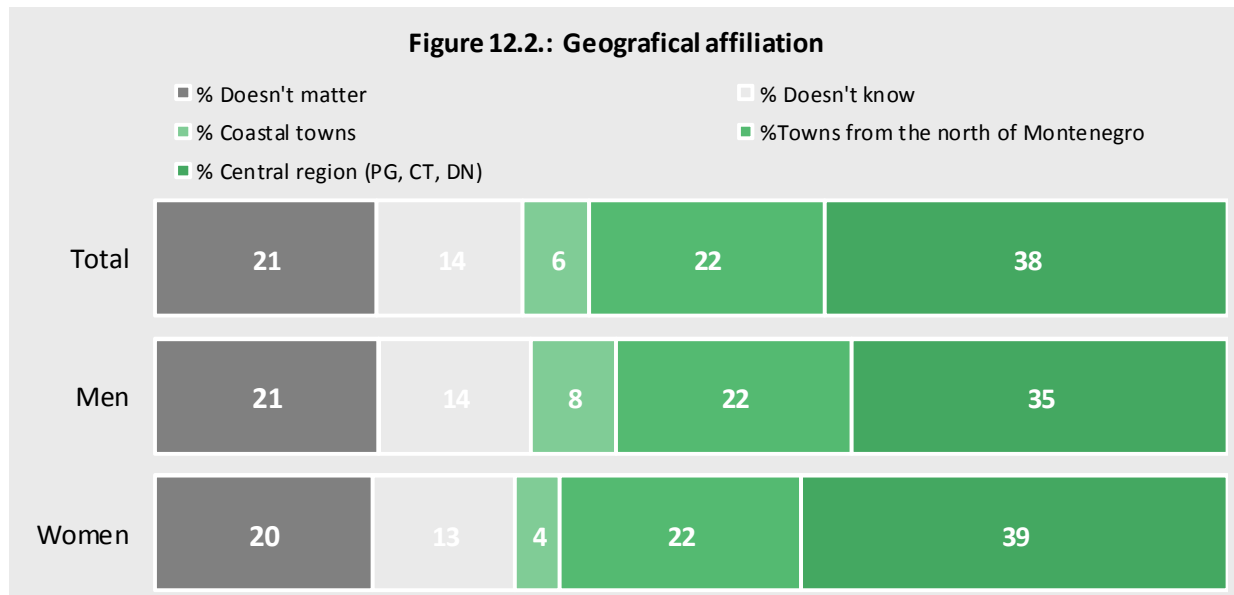
## 12. Ideal male and female politician's profile

The ideal politician in Montenegro is male, from Podgorica, of Montenegrin nationality, between 30 and 49 years old, with a bachelor's degree, married with children. Characteristics which both male and female politicians should have are honesty (morality), education (expertise), and sincerity. Most citizens aren't able to single out a female politician they have a positive opinion about, and each tenth mentions Angela Merkel. Characteristics that citizens admire in female politicians would be decisiveness, intelligence (education), courage, strong personality, competence, uncompromising and leadership. As the preferred gender of the ideal politician is male in 60% of the cases, this tells us enough about the widespread stereotypes among citizens of Montenegro concerning women in politics.

Ideal politician should be between 40 and 49 years old, according to the citizens of Montenegro. More than one third of the population thinks that people in the fifth decade of life perform political functions most successfully, whereas approximately 30% believe that the ideal politician is even older – that he has entered the sixth decade of life (older than 50). Younger people don't see themselves as successful politicians – only one fifth of the population mentions that ideal years to be in politics are between 30 and 39, and only 2% will tell you that a politician's 'photo robot' is below 30.

**Figure 12.1: Ideal male/female politician's age**





Citizens of Montenegro consider that education is very important for a successful political performance. Therefore it is important that politicians have a bachelor's degree (78%). One third of the respondents believe that this person should be from Podgorica, and one fifth thinks it doesn't matter where they are from. The majority (50%) believe that the ideal politician should be of Montenegrin nationality, and one fifth thinks it's not important, and 11% think they should be Serbian.

Politician's religious denomination is also an important factor – an ideal politician should be Orthodox, according to the half of the population. Only each fourth respondent thinks that religious denomination isn't important for successful career in politics. In addition, it's also important that the politician has a family – to be married, i.e. to live with a partner (68%), and have children (68%).

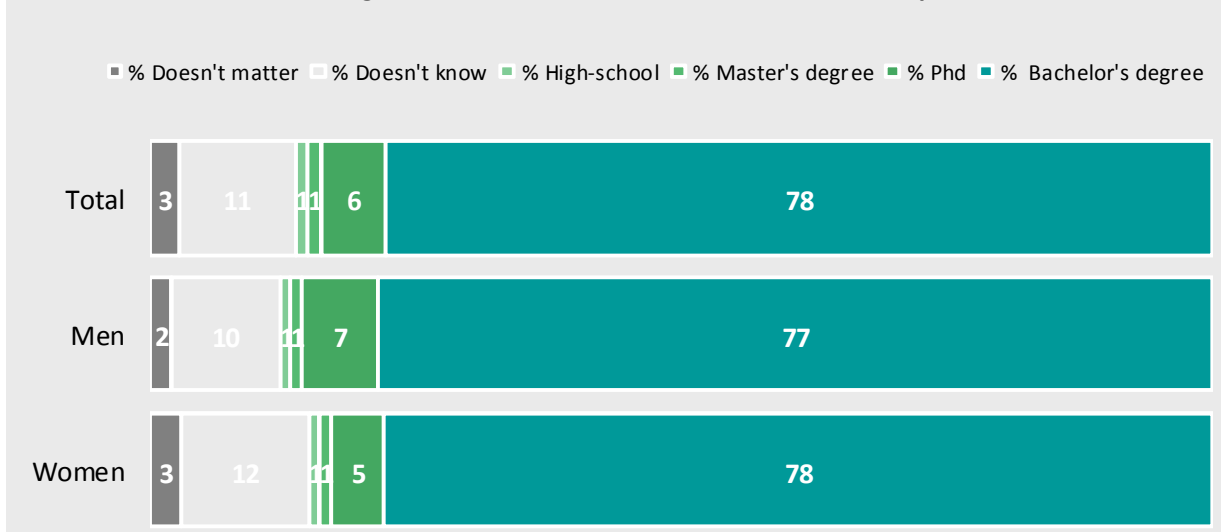
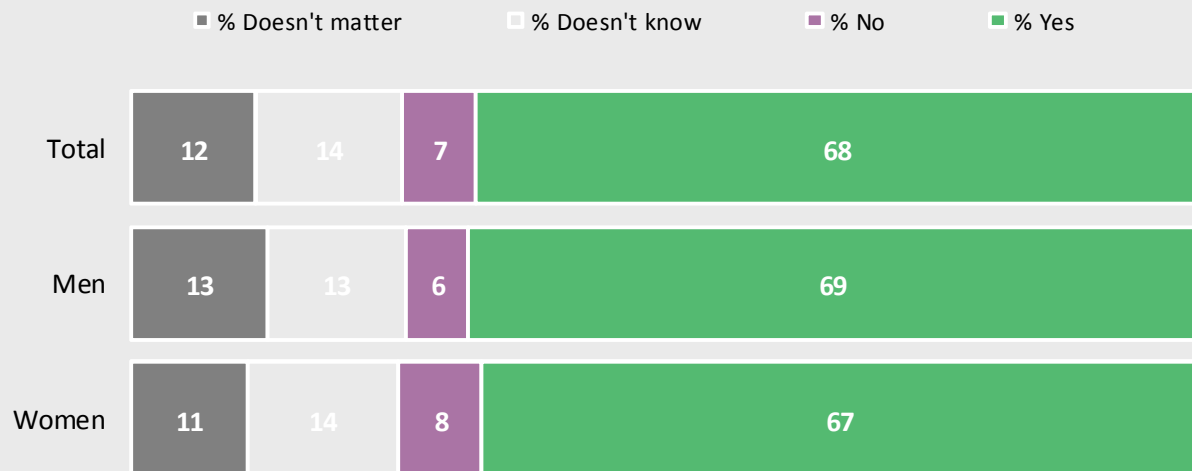
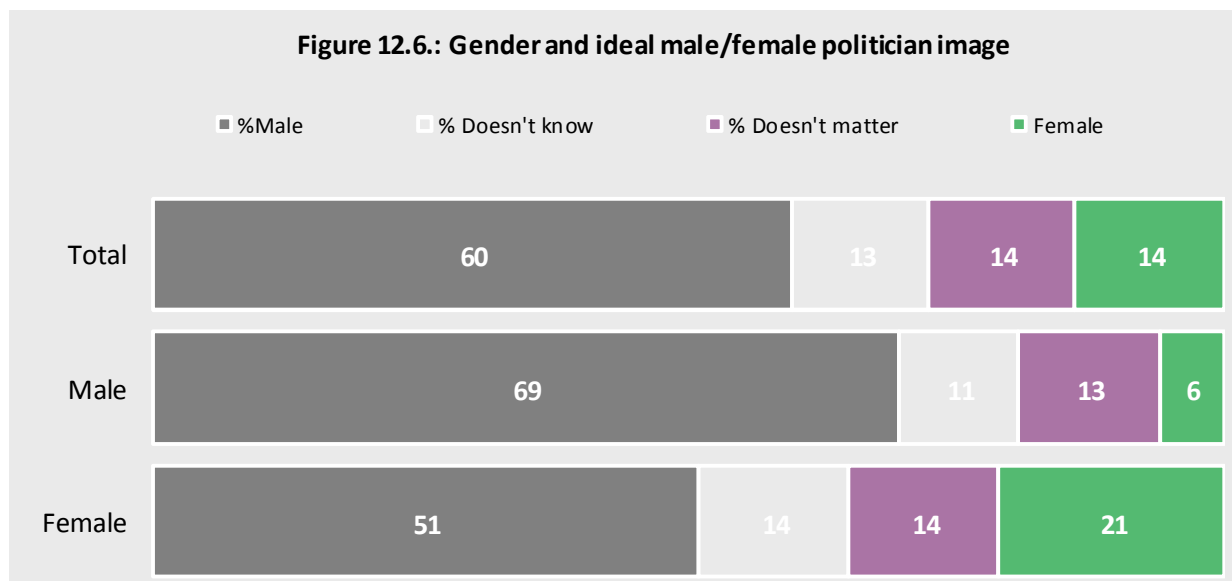
**Figure 12.3.: Education of the ideal male/female politician**

Figure 12.5.: Parenting and the image of perfect male and female politician



Finally, an ideal person in politics in Montenegro is most often perceived as a man (60%), and much more rarely as a woman (14%). Respondent's gender plays important role in this feature only – men much more rarely than women perceive a woman as an ideal politician (6% vs. 21%), and much more often a man (69% vs. 51%). It is very important to note that, beside this, more than half of women (51%) believe that an ideal politician is a male one, which directly shows that most women in Montenegro finds politics to be a profession 'reserved' for male part of population.

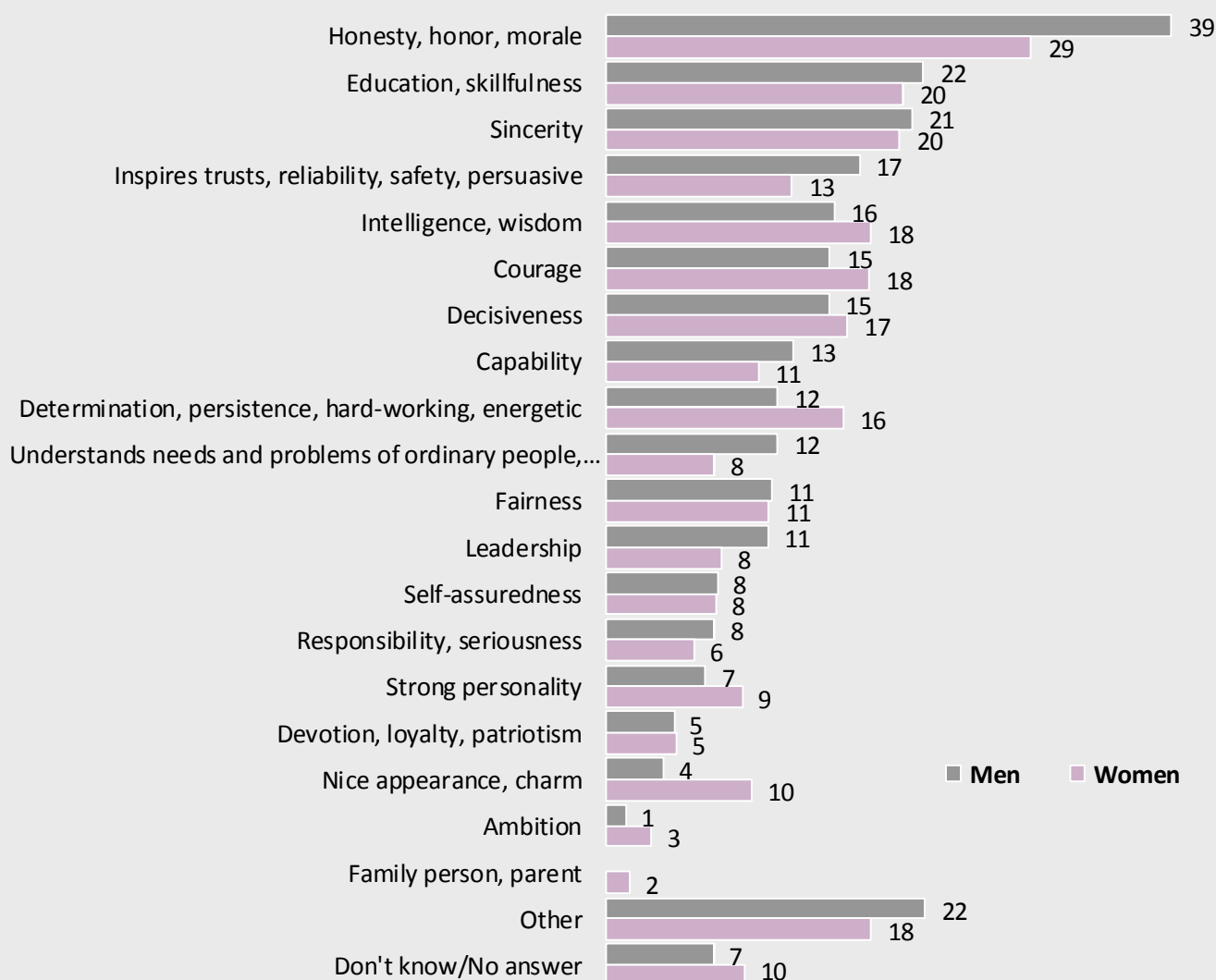




Desirable features both male and female politicians should have mainly coincide. Hence, men in politics should be fair, honorable and moral (39%), and these features are most important for women in politics as well (29%). Around one fifth of citizens think that both male and female politicians should be educated and skillful, as well as sincere. Important traits for female politicians, which have been often mentioned, are persistence, determination and hard-working quality, as well as nice appearance, while male politicians should also be trustworthy and able to provide security.

It is interesting to mention that men more often than women mention wisdom as an important feature a politician should have. In addition to this, women more often mention good-manners, dignity, education and availability to people as important characteristics of men in politics, while these features are rarely mentioned by men. At the same time, female citizens find devotion, loyalty, patriotism important for women in politics, while these features have been less often mentioned by men.

Figure 12.7.: 3 most important features a person in politics in Montenegro should have (Feature of a man, Feature of a woman)



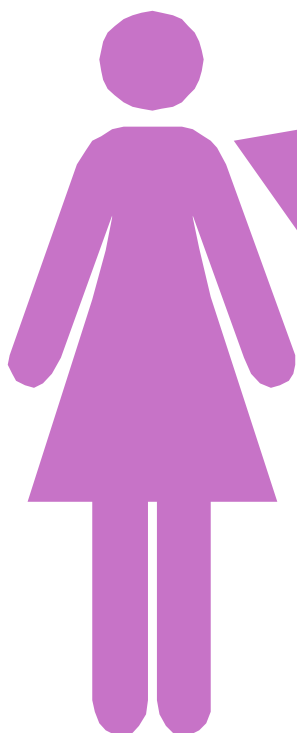
Married, has children, Montenegrin, Orthodox. Faculty education, middle aged and from Podgorica. Nationality, religion and birthplace are not that important! The most important characteristics an ideal man in politics should have are fairness, honesty, professionalism, wisdom and courage.

His voters are mainly worried about recovery of the economy and creation of new jobs, increased standard of living, fighting poverty, corruption and organized crime. 68% of his supporters will most likely vote in the forthcoming elections. 5% of his support are undecided voters.

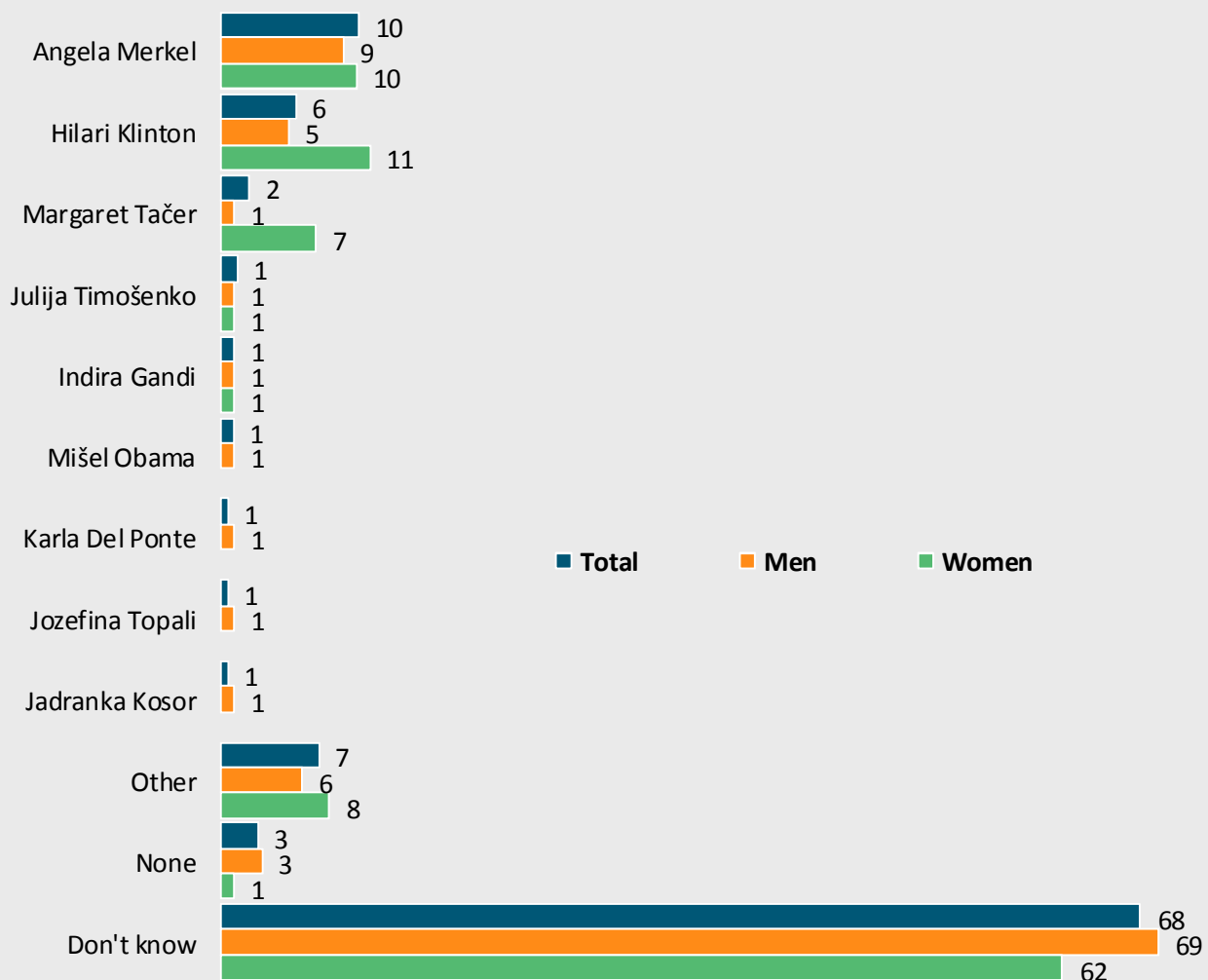


Married, with children, Montenegrin, Orthodox. Faculty education, middle aged and from Podgorica. Nationality, religion, birthplace and marital status are not that important! The most important characteristics an ideal woman in politics should have are fairness, honesty, professionalism, wisdom and courage.

Her voters are worried about same problems as an ideal male politician's voters. Recovery of the economy in the first place and creation of new jobs, closely followed by fighting poverty. 62% of her supporters will most likely vote in the forthcoming elections. 10% of her support is undecided.



**Figure 12.8.: Female politician at the global level citizens of Montenegro have most favorable opinion about**

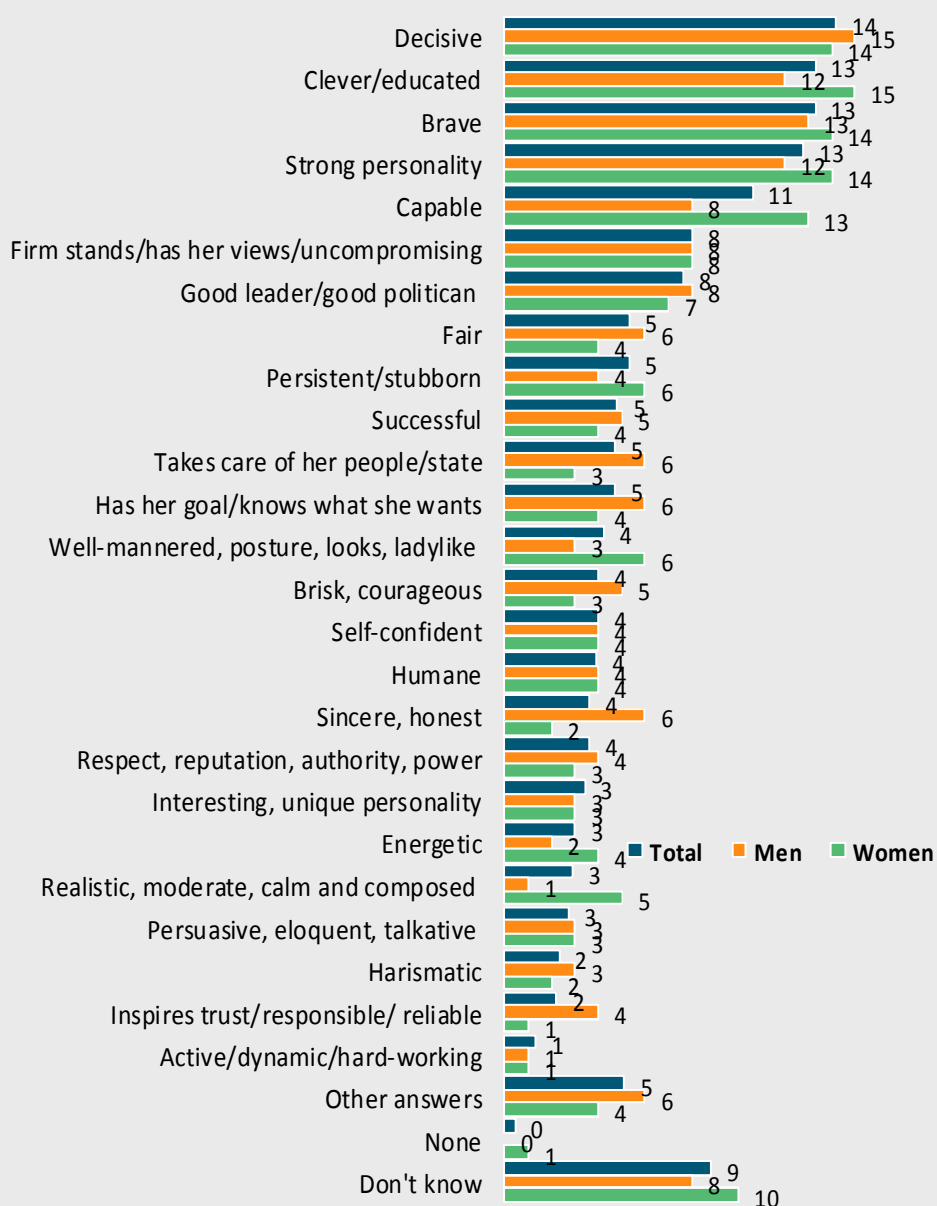


Importantly enough, huge majority of citizens (68%) cannot name any female politician they have favorable opinion about. Every tenth mentioned Angela Merkel, 6% Hilary Clinton and 2% Margaret Thatcher. Women more often than men mention Hilary Clinton and Margaret Thatcher and generally speaking they are more able to mention a number of female politicians than men.

Features that make citizens have favorable opinion about the listed female politicians are decisiveness (14%), cleverness (education) (13%), courage (13%), strong personality (13%), skillfulness (11%), uncompromising (8%), leadership (8%), etc.

Much higher percentage of citizens believe that Angela Merkel is more decisive than other female politicians, and this feature is much more often listed by highly democratic citizens and those who believe that female experience and quality, being significantly different to male ones, a necessary contribution to politics.

Figure 12.9.: Characteristics of women politicians perceived positively

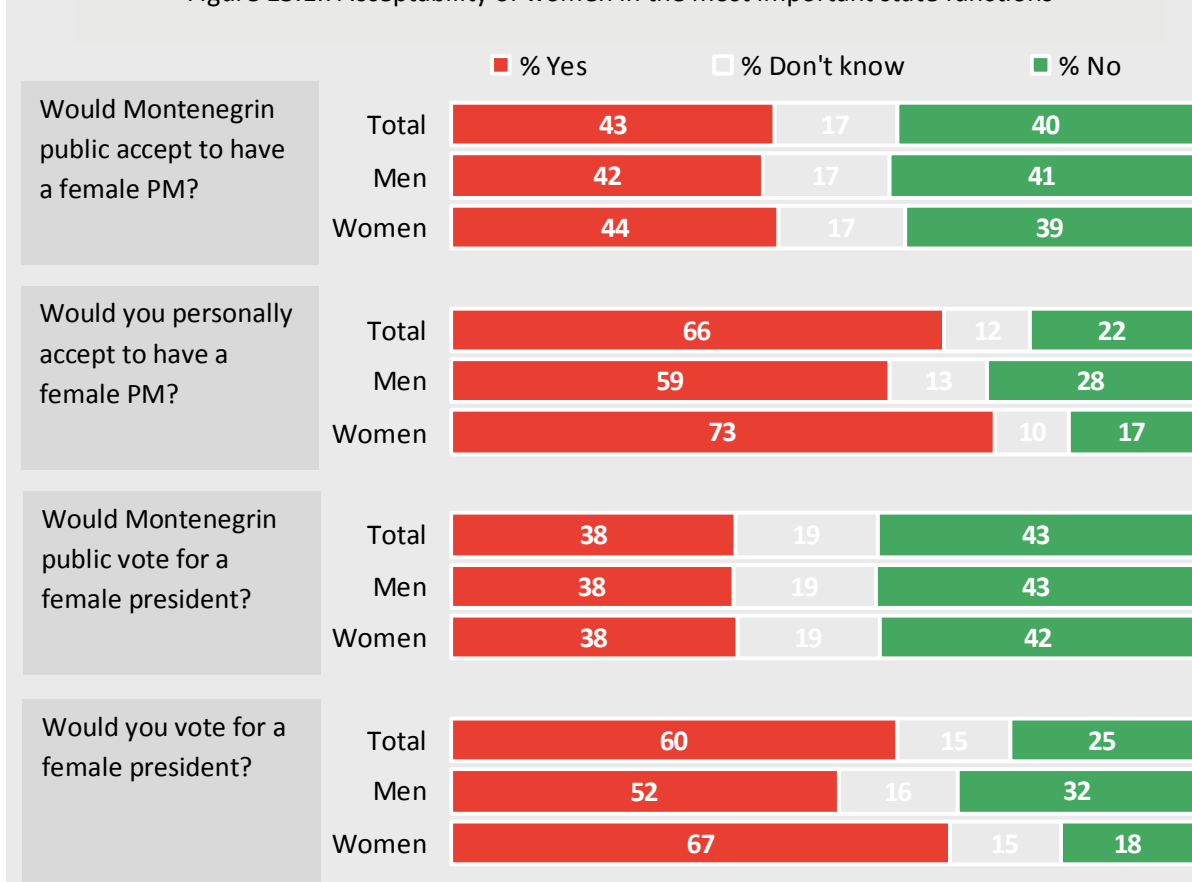


## 13. Perspective for women in politics

Montenegrin population has been divided when it comes to readiness to accept a woman in the most responsible state functions. At personal level, declaratively, men are ready to accept a woman as president or prime minister. They however do not think the public is ready for such a step forward. Two female candidates are singled out as potential candidates, although slightly more than one fourth of citizens do not know which woman they would like to see as a prime minister, i.e. president.

Montenegrin population is very much divided when we reconsider readiness of the public to accept female prime minister – around 43% think that female prime minister would be accepted, while 40% disagree. Interestingly enough, citizens say they themselves would accept to have a female prime minister (66%) – much more often claimed by women (73%) than men (59%). 38% of the population believe female president would be voted for, while 43% do not think Montenegrin public would trust her. At the same time, majority says they would themselves vote for a female president (60%), women to a lot greater extent (67%), than men (52%). On the other hand, a significantly higher percentage of men (32%) than women (18%) is not ready to vote for a female presidential candidate in the elections.

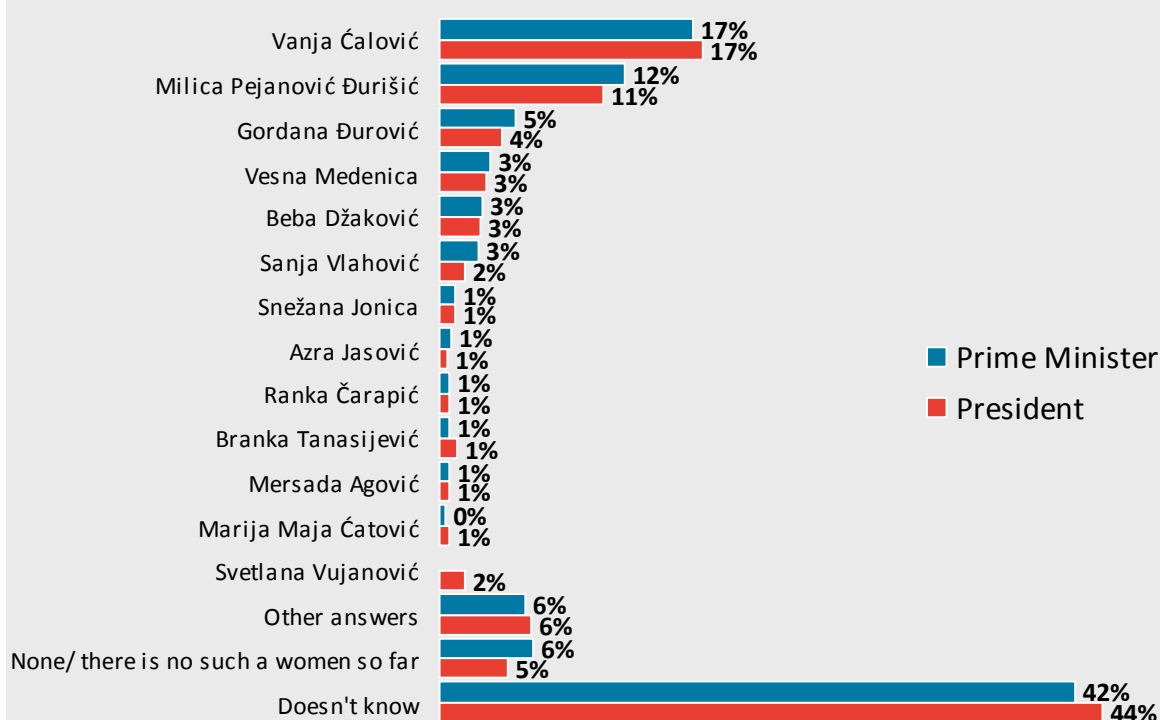
Figure 13.1.: Acceptability of women in the most important state functions



More than 40% of citizens do not know who they would like to see as female prime minister (42%), i.e. male president (44%). Potential candidates have been singled out as follows: Vanja Čalović (17% would like to see her as a prime minister or as a president), Milica Pejanović Đurišić (12% as a prime minister and 11% as a president) and Gordana Đurović (5% as a prime minister, 4% as a president).

Vanja Čalović is more often seen as a prime minister by citizens of Serbian nationality, NSD and SNP voters, while Milica Pejanović Đurišić is more often supported by DPS voters. Gordana Đurović is more often chosen by citizens of Montenegrin nationality.

Figure 13.2.: Which women would you like to see as a prime minister or a president most?



Media, NGO sector and representatives of political parties believe there is a visible progress in involvement and engagement of women in political scene in the last couple of years. However, political will and women's self-initiative is necessary for women to take more and more important function in the future.

Women should be more present in the Parliament and party presidencies so that they are elected for ministers, party presidents and prime ministers in Montenegro. A higher number would lead to better quality, but it would also be a signal to women that there is a need and will for their more active involvement. Currently, most respondents cannot see that any woman would have an ambition to take the highest function in the country even though their expertise has not been questioned. Female respondents themselves, who are actively involved in politics, have not demonstrated a high level of personal ambition and mainly relate their future work with the work of Parliament and parliamentary boards.

*Female politician: „I do not think a female prime minister is an issue, I believe it could come true. But I cannot see anyone that ambitious to want this. I cannot see this is a barrier of any kind. I think she could accept to be a prime minister.“*

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Nonetheless, besides their ambition and motivation, top brass of parties is still much more influential factor. Most media representatives and respondents, who are critical, believe that women would have more room only when leading political figures, most likely due to party interests and western pressure, decided to appoint female politicians to higher positions. They believe the real power lies in party presidency. Most pessimistic ones see a woman as a party president in 50 years time.

On the other hand, despite being patriarchal, Montenegrin society is believed to be able to accept a woman as a prime minister or president, hence this is not an issue. Citizens have prejudices that politics is not for women, and that they are prone to simply accepting all decisions from higher instances. There would be no difference with a woman politician as a prime minister.

## 14. Conclusions and recommendations

### Conclusions and recommendations

Arguments for representation of women in politics today can be classified into two key arguments: justice or fairness, representation of women's interests, respect of women's human rights, revitalization of democracy.

This report shows how the citizens of Montenegro see position of women in politics today, what they perceive as the reasons for non-inclusion of bigger number of women in decision making process, and what they perceive as chances for women. Besides that, this report offers perspective of decision makers on this problem, as well as perception of media about women in politics.

### REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Significantly lower percentage of women than men are present in the processes of decision making, which is the result of **vertical and horizontal division of work in politics** in Montenegro.

According to percentage of women in Parliament **Montenegro occupies the 99th place** in the world. In comparison with average percentage of women in parliaments across the world (19.6%) Montenegro is **below the world average** with 13.6%. Among the countries which were formed after disintegration of former state Montenegro occupies the next-to-last place behind Bosnia and Herzegovina (21.4%), Croatia (23.8%), Macedonia (30.9%), Slovenia (32.2%) and Serbia (32.4%).

Higher percentage of women is registered in service activities, bodies dealing with education, health care, social care and administration. Men are prevalent in finances, security, foreign policy and economic areas. Such picture of **horizontal segregation** is most faithfully reflected in participation of women in parliamentary committees. In parliamentary bodies there are just 15.4% of women. Women form a majority in Committee on Gender Equality (63.6%), while in other working bodies women are represented in significantly lower percentage (between 12.5% and 20%). Dominantly "male" are Committee on Security and Defense, Committee on Economy, Finance and Budget, and Administrative Committee of the Parliament in which among 13 members there is not a single woman.

**Hierarchical marginalization** is reflected in the above average presence of highly educated men in high spheres of political system in Montenegro. This phenomenon confirms the rule according to which "where the power increases number of women decreases". Illustrative example is current Government of Montenegro which has 86 members. It consists of Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Ministers, Ministers, Assistant Ministers and General Secretariat. Function of Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Ministers belongs to men. Out of total number of 17 ministries, only two women perform the function



of minister (Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Science). Women are somewhat more represented among assistant ministers: 41%. Women are the most represented in General Secretariat : 60% - out of 5 members of this body women occupy 3 seats. If composition of the Government is observed overall, the share of women is 34.9% in government composition, primarily thanks to percentage of women who occupy the position of Assistant Minister.

On the other hand, more than one half of Montenegrin citizens are not satisfied with representation of women in Montenegrin Parliament, and percentage of dissatisfied women exceeds the percentage of dissatisfied men. Situation is similar with representation of women in Montenegrin Government. Although the highest percentage of population thinks that there are no differences between men and women when it comes to job of MPs and ministers, higher percentage of men than women say that men do the job of MP and minister better than women.

**According to majority of general population, higher representation of women (above 30% in Montenegrin Parliament and Government) would result in increased quality in political life of Montenegro (69%).**

Such results regarding representation of women and men in the highest positions are primarily the product of the ruling gender-related norms, that is, the conviction that some jobs or positions are "naturally" reserved for men, and not the result of concrete lack of capabilities or knowledge of women. Significantly lower percentage of women on political scene, that is, absence of really efficient mechanisms to respond to this problem can therefore be considered as institutional and structural discrimination of women.

On the other hand, planetary experiences show that such problem is reacted to by provision of systemic measures (quotas for less represented gender incorporated in the law, obligation of political parties to report on position of women in own ranks, etc.), and this is currently the most efficient model (particularly in proportional electoral systems).

New Law on Election of Deputies as well as the overall process of its adoption provokes spontaneous and opposite reactions of respondents in in-depth interviews. The most polemicized provisions are those which oblige political parties to have 30% of women on electoral lists, and non-adoption of amendment according to which, besides distribution on the list which requires that every third person is female, replacement of the candidate by the person of same sex would also be defined. Consequently, this law does not ensure 30% of female MPs in Parliament, but it is on political parties to decide about share of women in their caucus. Due to this, the law thus defined is not expected to improve the position of women significantly, although it is believed that, in the next composition of Parliament, women will be somewhat more represented. Nevertheless, this percentage is expected to be below 30%.

- ✓ Ideal solution of this situation would be re-introduction of Electoral Law in procedure or amendments which would ensure that one out of three positions on electoral list are reserved for less represented gender.

However, having in mind that such outcome is not likely in a short period of time prior to elections, it is necessary to consider other possibilities as well:

- ✓ Mobilization of lobbying potentials which would include women in political parties, NGOs, international organizations, media, experts and respected individuals to make a pressure in a short time that will ensure favorable distribution on electoral lists to female candidates in political parties.
- ✓ Lobbying that political parties introduce gender quotas in their statutes. Gender quotas ensure representation of women in the bodies of political parties and on electoral lists. Affirmative action through quotas is necessary to give women a chance to express their potentials significantly in political party in which the power is concentrated.
- ✓ In longer run, immediately after next election, it is necessary to stimulate organization of preparations of amendments to electoral law which would favor distribution of candidates of less represented gender on electoral lists for some future elections.
- ✓ Besides that, through other legislation (for example laws related to financing of political parties or Law on Gender Equality), it can be demanded from parties to clearly formalize the mechanisms for establishment of gender equality).

**Political parties have an enormous social power and responsibility in creation of public policies which is why they are particularly responsible for introduction of the principle of gender equality and realization of women's human rights. Social representativeness of women and social status of gender equality will greatly depend on whether some political parties will accept the concept of gender equality and in which way<sup>21</sup>**

**Democratization of stat is not possible without democratization of political parties, consequently, it is very important to increase capacity for gender equality within political parties<sup>22</sup>.**

On the other hand:

- ✓ It is necessary to direct political mobilization of women towards different structural levels and focus it towards increased power and participation. It is necessary to encourage nomination of women by political parties as candidates for managerial functions, and develop the network of support to female politicians which will also include cooperation with (primarily) female civil sector. Previous experiences show that specific targeted campaigns can be efficient in encouraging women to run and create pressure that would compel parties to run.

<sup>21</sup> „Capacities of Political Parties in Vojvodina for Realization of Gender Equality“, Višnja Baćanović, Ana Pajvančić, 2010,

<sup>22</sup> Capacities of Political Parties (Baćanović, Pajvančić) for Increase of Gender Equality can be monitored over the set of indicators such as:

- ✓ Analysis of presence of gender equality concept in enactments of political parties
- ✓ Estimation of degree and forms of gender sensitization of male and female members of political parties
- ✓ Estimatiuon of women's position in political parties
- ✓ Analysis of political preferences of female party members
- ✓ Analysis of „successfulness factors“ of female functionaries

- ✓ Special attention should be paid to nomination of women for local institutions because their interests are more often concentrated on topics which are close to closer community and neighborhood in which they live. Comparative experiences also show that women on positions of power on local level create good „role models“ and make influence on the decrease of traditional role of women.
- ✓ At the same time, due to the tendency to get closer to standards and requirements of the EU, representation of women is becoming a kind of competition among political parties, so it is necessary to stimulate competitive spirit among political parties, by focusing on this topic in media.

**POLITICS IN WOMANLY WAY or HOW TO BRING WOMEN'S INTERESTS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE**

Ratio between number of women and openness of institutions is of crucial importance for creation of gender sensitive politics, since increase of number of women in parliament in national and local level is a step ahead, but this is just a part of problem. Increase of women's number, or quantitative representation loses on importance if it isn't also substantial, that is, if their attitudes and opinions are ignored or poorly acknowledged and accepted in the process of decision making. Allow phonetic typing

Women in representative democracy must have access to all the bodies where important decisions are made, and their interests and opinions must be considered substantially.

The assumption, based primarily on studies in western countries, is that women on high positions in political parties, either feminist-minded or not, use their positions for advocating increased engagement and influence of women in political parties. It is also assumed that they will increase awareness about the current underrepresentation of women, and have some bearing on emancipation of women as „role models“. However, there are specificities in this aspect of the work of female politicians in the region, as well as the attitude of society, political structures and media towards them. Participation of women in parliaments is characterized by the lack of a common platform, that is, acting on the orders and within policies and decisions of the parties or parliamentary groups. The women themselves „turn a blind eye“ to gender-related consequences of decisions which their parties make in parliaments, which was explained, for example, in Hungary in 1990-ties as a weakness or absence of feminist organizations. They neither enter into politics as women nor their movement affects institutional action of elites.

**Therefore it is important to recognize the difference between representation of women and representation of women's interests.**

Women's organization exists in some form in all parliamentary parties. Nevertheless, majority of Respondents from other areas (medias, NGO) believe that these organizations exist only formally, without active action, which is why their work has no effect on the work of political party. In compliance with their performance is their public awareness, that is, they are almost invisible in media.

Top functionaries in political parties and female politicians have a somewhat different perspective, and they do not perceive women's forums as fictive, but they admit that it is necessary to improve the position of women and women's organizations. Due to this majority of political parties currently work on reorganization of this organization in their party, and if needed, on change of statute, in order to upgrade their importance administratively.

**One gets the impression that, for leaders of political parties, women's organization is primarily a way for better recruitment of women in the party and their selection, not the structure which would qualitatively affect the work of the party by perceiving the politics from women' perspective.**

Furthermore, **informal networks among men** are more developed and not accessible to women. Women lack preparations and training, support and solidarity of other women in the party, and they are not so successful in creating informal networks and ensuring support by of other women in the party.

Party leaders mainly plan to strengthen the organization from municipal level in order to increase the base of female members who would be included in higher structures. The assumption behind this system is that work on quantity will result in increased quality, and that political parties will have increased number of high quality female cadre.

Institutionalization of representation of women's interests includes funding of women's groups by the state, increased presence of female experts in Parliament and Government, establishment of special bodies for gender equality (on all levels of administration) and cooperation with women's NGOs and other organizations of civil society, building of partnership between sectors of economy, state and political actors aimed at removing barriers to bigger participation of women in politics. In all these processes political parties should play a dominant role<sup>23</sup>.

Cooperation of female politicians with nongovernmental sector and organizations which improve position of women in many ways corresponds to the current position of women in political parties and activities of their organization within the party. Cooperation occurs sporadically, and if it is realized, the female politicians often behave on educations and meetings more like soldiers of the party, not like women whose goal is to improve their own position and position of all other women. On the other hand, there are positive examples of women who actively seek exchange with colleagues from the region, who see each offered education as an opportunity to upgrade their skills. At the same time, this segment of female politicians value the support which their propositions get from the NGO sector in Parliament.

Taking into account gender perspective and analysis of the consequences which decisions of political parties have on women is a practice which is not only poorly represented, but it is also merely recognized as necessary. Even the women who are active in politics often do not see the need for such analysis, thus indirectly denying the difference in the impact of party decisions on men and women. Female politicians who are gender-sensitive perceive female organizations and forums as places of opportunity for stimulation and analysis of effect of politics on women. According to them, the existing forums currently just contribute to strengthening of cooperation between women and their mutual support, but they expect the gender analysis to become one of the most important topics in future.

- ✓ It is necessary to ensure mechanisms within political parties that will neutralize informal networks of men aiming to discourage and isolate women in the processes of decision making. This can primarily be achieved through strengthening of women in political organizations to insist on formalization of decision making in political parties by strengthening the role of women's organizations in political parties and taking into account the gender perspective in decision making.

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<sup>23</sup>Experiences of Western countries indicate that actually this type of cooperation basically changes public policies and represents the essence of what is called politics in women's way.

- ✓ It is necessary to enable bigger support to NGOs to upgrade the training programs for women politicians through national and international funds. It is important to insist here on the process of selection of potential female candidates by political parties, which will primarily involve high degree of candidates' motivation, potential to pass the acquired experiences to other women in the party, and possibility to implement the new things.
- ✓ Support programs and activities of political parties, NGOs, academic community, media and civil society directed towards promotion, networking, mentorship, building of self-confidence, programs of training for women who plan entering the sphere of political and public decision making, including support and promotion of young people, particularly young women.
- ✓ Furthermore, since policies of political parties are not gender-sensitized and analyzed in cooperation with the existing women's organizations, it is necessary to insist on building of capacities among female politicians for being included in gender analyses of party policies as a mandatory program of women's organizations in near future. Due to this it is necessary to create a number of training programs (trainings, presentations, round tables, etc.) for key actors – decision makers in political parties, but also in media.
- ✓ In organization of education, political parties should ensure equal presence of men and women.

#### OBSTACLES TO BIGGER PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Obstacles to bigger participation of women in politics can roughly be divided to impact of environment and individual factors which depend on women themselves.

**Patriarchal norms** are deeply rooted in Montenegrin society. Considerable number of Montenegrin citizens are inclined to agree with the statements which explicitly express the attitudes that women's place is at home, not in public and political life. Very often women themselves agree with such attitudes, although in lower percentage than men. It can therefore be concluded that both private and public patriarchy, as a set of attitudes about gender roles and the place of men and women in public and private life, are very widespread.

As expected, the patriarchy is correlated with attitudes on political participation of women – citizens who are inclined to think that household chores and child raising are typically female tasks express in higher percentage the attitude that female MPs do their job worse than their male colleagues, they are not ready to accept a woman as President or Prime Minister, and they also believe that number of women currently participating in the work of Montenegrin Parliament is sufficient or too big.

Personal reasons of women for non-engagement in politics that Montenegrin citizens report about are very similar to perceived reasons for non-engagement of men.

**On the other hand, factors which prevent inclusion of women in political life of Montenegro point to high level of gender discrimination.** Namely, when citizens report on reasons which prevent them from active participation in politics, these reasons are mainly lack of interest and other factors of personal nature, while perceived problems that women are faced with are not of personal nature, but they originate from environment, family or society.

**Social and gender-related division of work is such that it puts excessive burden on women.** Namely, women are responsible for household work, care about others, children, elderly, sick and adult family members, etc.), and this excessive burden in private sphere has a serious impact on their possibilities and achievements in public sphere. Namely, the highest percentage of women has family and children, so besides professional obligations they are also responsible for household care and maintenance. Even when they have a developed system of support and help, primarily related to care about children, women involved in political work still do the bulk of household work without help, which makes their working day considerably longer. If they do not have parents or spouses to take care about the children during the day, women are forced to pay for the service, and this is where we find another obstacle to their engagement in politics – economic independence. In current economic situation small percentage of women are financially independent enough to organize their daily tasks in a way which political engagement requires.

In such system where a **woman doesn't have institutional support**, while still expected to be (as one female MP describes) a „god mother, sister, wife, and everything else“ only young women without family enter into politics, which is a less common case, or professionally affirmed and economically independent women whose children are grown up or in adolescence.

Citizens of Montenegro will always state in higher percentage that it is more acceptable for the husband to be politically engaged than wife. Data on actual participation of men and women in doing the housework and their relative contribution to household budget obtained in this survey indicate that actual situation is in line with the mentioned attitudes (women work even three times more, but in 2/3 of Montenegrin families men contribute the most to total household income).

Also, people think that men in politics have significantly greater opportunities for advancement, and that political parties favor them. Reasons why women can not advance on political ladder are first and foremost the existing prejudices and mentality, as well as domination of men and their mutual support. Besides favoring men, there is a widespread conviction that men are more successful on all government functions. As one would expect, men are advocating this attitude more strongly than women. As regards physical appearance, it is more important for a woman in politics than for a man.

Respondents who participated in in-depth interviews also state that obstacle to bigger participation of women in politics could roughly be divided into impact of environment and individual factors which depend on women themselves. On one hand there is a historical context and tradition in which politics is an area for men where a woman can not fully realize her capacities, where a woman doesn't have sufficient moral and practical support of environment, while on the other hand, women are not ready to accept often dirty rules of the game in political life.

**Citizens of Montenegro are divided regarding their willingness to accept a woman on the most responsible government appointments. At personal level, declaratively, citizens are willing to accept a woman president or Prime Minister, but they don't believe that Montenegrin public is ready to make such a step forward.**

However, women who are strongly determined to be in this business, say that it was made possible for them because of the support of their nearest surrounding, but they agree that it doesn't happen often in Montenegro, and that they are rather an exception.

Women in politics refer to their gender identity in different ways.<sup>24</sup> They start from the rules of democracy as gender neutral, i.e. they believe that personal qualities are crucial for success. This can send a wrong message to women in general – that there is no gender discrimination and barriers and that success depends on individual affinities and invested effort. Situation is similar also with balancing gender and professional roles, which is recognized as one of the barriers for women in politics, and it being interpreted as possible to be avoided using personal abilities, implying that this is personal responsibility of every woman. Not rarely, and in this survey as well, as barriers for women in politics mentioned are their personal traits, lack of ambition, lack of decisiveness and lack of interest in politics.<sup>25</sup>

Some Respondents share the thesis that women are the most severe barrier to each other, since there is not enough solidarity among them, often not even within one political party. Those who share this attitude believe that women even deliberately sabotage initiatives of other women politicians and that women who are thinking about starting a political career recognize this well.

The factor attributed to women is their weak willingness to get into politics that they consider dirty. Namely, it is believed that women's nature is such that they don't like open conflicts, while the political scene of Montenegro is rich in such conflicts. It is also believed that women usually perceive politics as not only dirty, but also as rather corrupt. Such surrounding makes her, as a politician, also dirty, putting at stake her entire past professional career and integrity, which women hardly decide to do. And exactly this stricter attitude of theirs towards illegal activities and their higher principles, including the principle of fairness, are considered great advantages of women politicians over men politicians, although this is a barrier for women initially.

Women, members of political parties, are faced with all challenges every woman in Montenegro who wants to be realized in professional life is faced with. **Therefore each strategy aimed at stimulating**

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<sup>24</sup> Data collected during the survey on the sample of 71 women politicians from the region, conducted by Gallian and Clavero (2008.) illustrate the attitude of politicians towards gender equality. Tested women politicians think that the number of women in politics is an important issue and that there should be more women present, but not because of the possibility to support interests of women. They do not recognize this as their role in politics, and they even think that this would make them less competitive and less competent for other issues. On the other hand, they start from gender based assumptions about patterns of political activity of women, such as tolerance, insisting on consensus, democracy in decision-making, and gender based assumptions of the areas of politics that women are better in, primarily social protection, health care, education, family care. Identified also is their attitude towards quotas, as ambivalent and even negative, since they think that it is necessary to strengthen women politicians, so that they can, based on their own qualities and affinities and under fair and equal conditions, take their places in the Parliament, Bacanović 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Political participation and women's movement in South East Europe, Višnja Bacanović, 2010.



**more extensive participation of women in politics has to include developing state measures that will efficiently be faced with the problems conditioned by traditional roles of women in the society - equal distribution of work, equal opportunities for progress in career and equal distribution of family responsibilities.**

- ✓ These measures also include the infrastructure for child care and stimuli for men to participate more in activities related to household and watching over children. If men are not encompassed by an adequate set of measures that would influence balancing of private responsibilities between men and women, potential women politicians will be facing increasing challenges of combining private and professional tasks.
- ✓ Also missing is adequate support of well organized social services (children's institutions, in-home assistance, day centers, services for assisting the old).
- ✓ Stereotype notions of gender roles are substantially contributed to by the androcentric model of behavior and conservative school programs, textbooks and instructing materials.
- ✓ To introduce in school curricula and promote education and educational activities aimed at raising awareness among young people about gender equality, and introduce special programs about gender equality regarding media coverage for students of journalism;
- ✓ To stimulate state, but also private companies and associations to ensure balanced participation of women and men in their decision-making bodies, especially those financed from state and public funds.
- ✓ To organize continuous training and seminars about gender equality for representatives of all levels of government, with special accent on the highest positioned officials, with the aim of raising their awareness of the importance of balanced participation of women and men at all decision-making levels, as well as of the role of political party in promoting gender equality.
- ✓ To promote campaigns aimed at the entire public in order to raise awareness about the importance of gender balanced presence in political and public decision-making process as a precondition for true democracy, and campaigns aimed at equal distribution of family responsibilities of men and women.
- ✓ To support media and NGO programs for regular analysis of presence of women and men in informative program about topical events, especially during electoral campaigns.

**Primarily responsible for increase of political participation of women are political parties. They are dealing with issues of gender equality declaratively and very conservatively, mainly restricting women to their reproductive role. Politicians often talk in the media about women using stereotypical models as of those largely borne by the state (women students, mothers/women in confinement), and less as of persons contributing to development of the state (women entrepreneurs, experts, scientist).**

- ✓ It is therefore necessary to disapprove of and sanction sexist and discriminatory appearances of some political parties and their members, as it was the case with the campaign at the recently held local elections in Herceg Novi.
- ✓ When communicating with the public and in political promotion, political parties must avoid stereotypical presentation of women. Reproduction of gender stereotypes doesn't contribute

to gender equality, but it additionally strengthens the current social position of women. Therefore it is important to exercise pressure, so that election campaigns take place in a gender-proper manner, without reproducing gender stereotypes.

- ✓ If women are not visible in public, and visible as equal and active individuals, stereotypes will hardly be changed. It is therefore necessary that political parties become active in terms of increasing visibility of their members, but not as party décor, but as party members<sup>26</sup>.
- ✓ Additionally, to lobby in parties in terms of design/customizing gender sensitive party programs<sup>27</sup>.
- ✓ **To promote gender equality as a fundamental social value**. Article 18. of the Constitution of Montenegro says that the state guarantees equality of women and men, developing policy of equal opportunities.

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<sup>26</sup> This is especially important if it is taken into account that women on high positions, their visibility in the media and in public and perception of them, exercise strong influence on aspirations of the young (role models).

<sup>27</sup> The Council of Europe defines gender sensitive policy (gender mainstreaming) as "reorganization, improvement, development and evaluation of political processes, so that perspective of gender equality is included in each policy at all levels and in all activities."

**Perception of women and men in politics, as a barrier and chance**

If we observe average grades on attributes describing typical men and women in politics, statistically significant differences in evaluation in favor of men are registered regarding self-confidence, independence in decision-making, leading abilities, decisiveness, courage, toughness towards others and persuasiveness. On the other hand, women politicians, substantially more than men politicians, are perceived as persons who understand the needs and problems of common people, as sincere and fair persons taking care of others.

**Women and men are perceived as equally successful in all areas in which women made a step forward in Montenegrin society, so on positions such as judge, delegate in the municipal parliament, prosecutor, deputy Minister, MP, Secretary of State, manager of a public company and president of municipality, citizens mainly think that both women and men would be equally successful.** Minor difference in favor of men is obvious regarding the position of Minister and leader of political party. **The only two positions on which percentage of citizens who think that men would be more successful** is higher than the sum of those who think that women would be more successful and those who see no difference in terms of gender, are two out of three most important positions in the political life of Montenegro – **President of state and Prime Minister.**

Montenegrin women politicians are considered most involved in the areas of social and health care and education, while men politicians are perceived as very active in fighting crime and corruption, and implementing reforms of the political system. The most important problem for the citizens of Montenegro, economic recovery and creating new jobs, is considered predominantly male by almost one fourth of citizens, while women politicians are perceived as more active than men in three most important areas for the citizens of Montenegro, and these are economic recovery and creating new jobs, fighting poverty and increase of living standard.

Interests and needs of women are insufficiently cared for in political life, while interests and needs of men are sufficiently cared for. Although citizens perceive DPS as a political party most concerned about the needs of women, percentage of those who think that no party demonstrates adequate care is higher.

In-depth Respondents agree that women introduce in politics some qualities that men don't possess or at least not to a sufficient extent. Both representatives of political parties and of the media agree that these are primarily devotion, thoroughness, expertise, composure, care for the needs of ordinary people and placing interest of society ahead of personal interests, as well as different way of communicating with political opponents.

Study findings clearly indicate that there is prejudice regarding who would be more successful in certain professions associated with politics. We got quite clear and unambiguous answers – yes, there are areas in the political life of Montenegro where women are perceived as potentially more successful than men, and they are pretty clearly defined.

These divisions to male/female areas were created as a consequence of traditional gender roles and stereotypes, but these stereotypes and prejudices can be „turned“ and used so that they have positive effect on broader presence of women on key and most responsible positions in these exact areas.

If decision makers in political parties want to behave in accordance with the expectations of their electorate, women should be those who will represent party policies in the following areas: surpassing violence in family, social care and care for the poor, care for the young, pensioners, education, environmental protection, health care, violence in schools and poverty. All these areas of political activity and in this order exactly, are perceived as areas in which women would be more successful, and with statistically significant relations<sup>28</sup>.

On the other hand, importance of these areas that women are more successful in than men are, must not be diminished, since four of nine areas where greater success of women is expected are among the first nine areas most important to general population. These are fighting poverty, health care, education and care for socially vulnerable groups. These areas are not burning political issues, but certainly are of interest for majority of citizens who are tired of big issues and who are trying to find the solution for their everyday problems.

If we merge this with attitudes that women politicians are equally skilled or even more skilled than their male matches are, that they more frequently match their profession and political ambition, that they are more realistic when evaluating their own abilities and ambition – we have an entire field of **argumentation** for supporting the idea of candidature of women for the most critical positions in the structure of government.

Another finding originating from these results is that when analyzing areas which women are perceived as potentially more successful in than men are, names of majority of them, or even all of them, include or may include the word CARE. Care for the poor, pensioners, environment, the young. **Although CARE for others is one of the first traditional gender roles** that women are exposed to in their earliest childhood, which has serious consequences on gender segregation of professions, but also vertical and horizontal segregation in labor market, **this part of the deeply rooted belief of general population can be used for political marketing** as important means for increasing participation of women on the most responsible positions in the country. It should not be forgotten that care for others, understanding the needs and problems of ordinary people, but also sincerity and fairness, are attributes that women politicians are rated better on than their colleagues men politicians are. Alienation of political elite and not understanding the problems of common people is something politicians are criticized most for today.

Traditional political systems are organized vertically, on the principle of narrow pyramid with the leader and his close management on the top. They are not in direct communication with population, but they

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<sup>28</sup> It is interesting that both sub-populations, in all tested areas, perceive their gender as better, but women single out 9 same areas in almost same order, that we detected on total population, as areas that women would be best in.

are capable of taking the country in a certain direction and staying in power as long as some other group, idea, project doesn't suppress them.

Modern democratic societies are organized in a quite different way – they are trying to expand the political pyramid of authorities to the horizontal, in order to cover as many individual interests as possible and include as many citizens possible in the processes of making decisions and resolving problems. So, CARE for individual interests, ordinary people or groups, becomes a trademark of modern democratic societies.

- ✓ **In the process of modernization of Montenegrin society, and all within Euro-Atlantic integration, necessary is intensified „toppling“ of political vertical to political horizontal and encompassing increasing number of various interests. Among these interests are also interests of female population, and one of them is that larger number of women take part in fair distribution of political influence and political power.**
- ✓ It should be taken into account here that major obstacles for this type of changes will occur in political parties, that men (but also some women) won't be prone to any changes, therefore it is important to come up with a strategy for these members of political parties (political will, i.e. affiliation of party leader can have an important role here, internal party mechanisms, willingness of women to join together and endure in spite of obstacles, men allies etc.)
- ✓ Additionally, there are a lot more women in the population of abstinent and undecided voters, which is very important and can't be overlooked. Especially when it is realized that the current balance of power in the political landscape of Montenegro may vary significantly in different directions and that women are an extremely important asset especially for those parties that would choose to increase their electorate relying on the need to modernize the society and apply modern policies aimed at CARE for a common individual<sup>29</sup>.
- ✓ **Also, having in mind the perception of women in politics as those who are more prone to taking care of common people, as more responsible and more professional, with more realistic perspective of problems and better self-evaluation, it should be used for promotion of new political participants, new age women politicians. What is especially important here is promotion of women politicians as autonomous, independent, skilled, brave enough to face the challenges and ready to make important decisions, so that women in politics would not remain in the shadow and repeat the model of mother, sister, wife as „force behind the throne“.**

#### Visibility of women in politics and confidence in women politicians

When observing concrete men and women politicians in Montenegro, it becomes apparent that women in politics have a problem with not being well-known. They are primarily present in the Parliament of

<sup>29</sup> In the USA, larger number of women than men vote in the elections (even 9.7 million women more vote) so political message is shaped especially for women voters; political parties in Montenegro would have to take into account the potential of female electorate.

Montenegro and there are only a few of them on executive functions that enable frequent presence in the media and focus on different areas and problems of the Montenegrin society. This is exactly the reason why, when women and men present on the political scene are compared in general, the influence of „glass ceiling<sup>30</sup>“ is clearly visible, as a form of vertical segregation disabling women to break through towards most responsible **executive** functions in the country, to become better known and to gain power in the political life of Montenegro.

**It is interesting that women have more confidence in politicians in Montenegro<sup>31</sup>.**

**Although citizens of Montenegro believe that Montenegrin public has more confidence in men (58%) than women politicians (10%), general population has more confidence in women than in men politicians<sup>32</sup>.**

Additionally, undecided voters (those who will vote in the upcoming elections for the Parliament of Montenegro, but they don't know for whom at this moment) have substantially more confidence in women (2.41) on the political scene than in men (2.30).

Gender of the carrier of political message, isolated from other potential determinants, does not influence voters' degree of confidence. However, gender becomes a very significant factor of confidence when also other important factors are included, such as the issue discussed or target group characteristics. **There are topics that women are more trusted when talking about them than men are. In this survey, it is confirmed that these topics are security, judiciary and social protection, but also interior issues (corruption, identity) and health care, if we observe only the part of the population older than 35.**

It is interesting that **women, on average, react better to a political message if its carrier is a man**, in case of all tested topics, while men react better to women politicians in case of only some topics, without any difference on others. Additionally, **political messages heard from women are also better reacted to by undecided and abstinent** and, what's even more important, this conclusion is valid for almost all topics tested in this survey.

- ✓ **Further on, intensive confidence in women politicians and their potential can be a very significant argument for decision makers in parties and their motivation to elect women as candidates for the most responsible positions.**
- ✓ Additionally, women have to be very specialized in certain topics in order to become key Respondents for the media in certain areas.

<sup>30</sup> Invisible barriers that prevent women from progressing to the highest managerial positions in political and party hierarchy.

<sup>31</sup> Observing average grades for confidence on the four degree scale, where 1 means no confidence at all and 4 means very much confidence, average degree of confidence in men and women politicians (included in this survey) is 2.40, while average confidence of men is 2.23. This is a statistically significant difference.

<sup>32</sup> Namely, average degree of confidence of all women politicians encompassed by the survey is 2.37, while average confidence in men politicians is 2.23. Same as in the previous case, this is a statistically significant difference. It is still important to stress that this survey is of restricted outreach. Tested were 34 of women and men present in political life.

- ✓ This may also be the opportunity for women to enter gender stereotyped areas, i.e. take high positions in these areas of politics
- ✓ Strategy focused on enhancement of familiarity and presence of women must also include work on skills of public appearance, interpretation and collecting of data, building argumentation and other skills necessary for a persuasive public appearance.
- ✓ It is necessary to insist that women be present on executive functions to a greater extent (this very survey offers valid reasons for that), primarily in the Government and on the key positions in local self-governments, since these very positions enable extensive media presence, increase of awareness and increase of influence of public policies.

#### MEDIA AND WOMEN IN POLITICS

Viewpoints of media representatives and women politicians differ somewhat in terms of the attitude towards this part of the political scene. On one hand, **women politicians, regardless of their party affiliation and position, mainly have no intensive cooperation with the media, while on the other, editors and journalists deny that gender is a relevant determinant in the selection of interviewees.**

From the angle of the media, topic of discussion is the only factor determining the structure of guests in a program or Respondents for a press text.

However, presence of women in politics is estimated as not extensive („*they are present in the media proportional to their presence in politics*“). **Majority of Respondents from this area of activity perceive the position of women in politics as marginal, far from being decision makers and relevant participants, with just a few exceptions of women politicians on high positions. Position in media reporting derives from this position of theirs.**

The presented principle of choosing Respondents shows that Montenegrin media are not sensitive to specific needs of women, so they don't think that analysis of problems and politics requires separate focus on their influence on quality of the life of women and life of men.

Although editors share the attitude that women are equally good Respondents as men are, and that it is not true that some men are interviewed about everything, while women are interviewed only about things closely related to their profession, there are some hints that women are more frequently interviewed about topics related to family, violence, social protection, healthcare, education, or topics that are generally perceived as rather female.

Furthermore, it is considered that women come to interviews well prepared and that they prefer to talk about areas they are engaged in. They are not prone to improvisation, unlike men, and this is perceived as an advantage of women interviewees.

Both representatives of the media and political actors are aware of the influence of the media on creating public opinion. **Poor presence of women in reporting is one of the reasons why women politicians are poorly recognized, so their influence on citizens is a lot weaker than influence of men.**

**The media believe that they are not largely to blame for that** and that the situation would have been a lot different if women took more active part in politics and fought for better position.

Women politicians, though, think that the media in Montenegro are too sensationalistic, and that this severely affects media coverage of their work and especially initiatives that they start in the Parliament.

- ✓ The Montenegrin media, and especially those financed from the budget, have to adopt the policy of more extensive participation of women in their reporting as a part of their own socially responsible business operations.
- ✓ In order that the media include women in their reporting to a greater extent and in the right way, they have to be gender sensitive. Therefore it is necessary to bring closer the topic of gender equality to journalists and primarily editors, through organizing workshops about participation of women in politics and about gender equality.
- ✓ Additionally, introducing elective courses about gender equality will create the possibilities for permanent sensitization of new generations of journalists.
- ✓ Media reporting has to be focused more on consequences of current policies on the lives of women and men separately.
- ✓ International organizations can promote and enhance this process through competitions about reporting on gender equality and political participation of women intended for students of journalism.
- ✓ Special attention has to be paid to media reporting during electoral campaigns, since in that period stereotypization of women is used most, while most attention is paid to party leaders who are mainly men.
- ✓ Additionally, through promoting gender equality, highlight the consequences of policy-making without gender analysis and expand media space reserved for women, but this space must not be filled only with contents related to gender equality, but also with all the areas of utmost importance for the citizens of Montenegro.
- ✓ The media have to be an integral part of broad coalition of stakeholders, focused on coordinated enhancement of the position and presence of women in politics.





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