Managing Ethnocultural Pluralism in Montenegro: Do We Need Interculturalism?

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Abstract:
Ex-Yugoslav countries are known as countries in which ethno-national identity was, or still is, traditionally dominant. Montenegro is no exception, as it belongs to the group of countries with high level of ethnocultural pluralism. Pluralism and multi-ethnic character are the result of the historical existence of national minorities and minority peoples on its territory. Therefore, national minorities are the dominant type of ethnocultural communities in Montenegro. It is reflected on the specificity of the requirements that these communities have for the state and on the character of multiculturalism model, which is applied in institutional, legal and political sense. The reaches of mechanisms and multiculturalism policy measures can be evaluated from the perspective of ethnonational communities, but also from the perspective of the society as a whole and its cohesion. In this sense, the importance of interculturalism is emphasized, as a kind of `supplement` to the multiculturalism policies, which is supposed to strengthen the interaction, exchange and contacts between the communities and to make `living with each other` possible, not `living next to each other`.

Keywords: *Multiculturalism; Montenegro; national minorities; interculturalism*

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Introduction

Regardless of the differences in views among theoreticians on the definition of the model of multiculturalism, a consensus has been reached on the fact that the elements of this model and its implications are dependent upon the particular social and political context. The effects of multiculturalism in countries whose most critical challenge is the integration of immigrants, are different than its effects in countries who primarily aim at meeting the demands of national minorities. *Communal diversity* (Parekh, 2002:4), i.e. multiculturalism which is a result of ethnic and cultural differences, and the specificities of multiculturalism in each particular case determine the holder of the rights, the mechanisms and means of implementation of the politics of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in contemporary societies is a far more comprehensive and elaborated concept compared to how it was defined in the premodern era. Consequently, it poses greater challenges for states. In light of democratic principles and human rights, minority ethnonational communities demand equal possibilities in terms of participation in political decision making, and shaping of social life as a whole (Parekh, 1998: 68, 69). The fight against "status hierarchies" (Kymlicka, 2010), which aims at revealing all forms of inequality and cultural domination, i.e. the domination of a single ethno-cultural and ethnonational identity, is the essence of the politics of recognition and acknowledgment. Unless an equal position is secured for all ethnonational communities, and unless their participation is enabled in political decision making processes, there can be no talk of consolidation of democracy in that particular context.

This poses a particular challenge for former Yugoslav countries, and Eastern Europe as a whole, bearing in mind the specificities of their development throughout history, and the way in which national identities have been formed in this region. Therefore, any attempt of analysis of the politics of multiculturalism in these countries, including Montenegro, must take into account the specificities of their multi-ethnicity, characterised by: "A close connection between national cultures, territorialisation and the numerousness of ethnic groups, as well strong opposition to the concept of political and territorial autonomy" (Bašić, 2016:60). It is a fact that all post-socialist countries in the region are dominated by ethno-nationalism, to a greater or lesser degree, which further complicates the issue of managing ethno-cultural pluralism. Even when they declare that they want to distance themselves from such a way of forming a national-state identity, in reality, they frequently rely on the elements and practice of the ideology of ethno-nationalism.[1] In the process of identity-forming at the national-state and ethno-cultural level, the ethnonational matrix renders such an identity isolated, to a greater or lesser degree. This primarily refers to ethnonational communities in the first case, and the individual members of those communities in the latter. Montenegro is among such countries with a high degree of ethnonational pluralism, as demonstrated by its demographic data. It is a multicultural country, when that term is used in the demographic-descriptive sense of the word. Ethno-cultural pluralism of contemporary societies, as a form of cultural pluralism, is considered a characteristic that ought to be preserved. In UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity, adopted in 2001, the value of cultural pluralism of contemporary societies is acknowledged in the following manner: "Cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit

of present and future generations". (UNESCO, 2001:4).[2]By recognising the significance of preserving ethno-cultural diversity and the specificities of ethno-cultural identities in the context of contemporary states, the UNESCO Declaration acknowledges the significance of preserving (ethno)cultural pluralism: "In our increasingly diverse societies, it is essential to ensure harmonious interaction among people and groups with plural, varied and dynamic cultural identities as well as their willingness to live together. Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace" (UNESCO, 2001:4)[3].

This paper will not provide a detailed overview of the politics of collective rights in the period when Montenegro was a member republic of the state community. Rather, it will focus on the degrees of recognition of the multicultural character in the legal-political sense of the word, from the point when a multi-partite system was first introduced in the country, to present time and current circumstances.

Multiculturalism in Montenegro - The phases of development

Montenegro can be grouped among the countries that belong to the so-called *multi-cultural model*, according to the classification of national states using the criteria of citizenship developed by Castles and Miller.(Guibernau, 2007:62). Within this model, a national community is grounded as a political community, while its ethno-cultural pluralism remains acknowledged.[4] Countries that employ the multicultural model secure adequate institutional and legal solutions, and create a political ambient which contributes to the preservation of identity specificities of ethno-cultural communities, and their integration in the social and political life of the community. This inclusion must be based on equality, so that all forms of discrimination, assimilation and marginalisation of ethno-cultural and ethnonational communities are prohibited. All minority communities must have the possibility to equally participate in political decision-making, and in managing the society at all levels of decision-making. The application of the model of multiculturalism in terms of minority ethno-cultural and ethnonational communities in Montenegro is marked by two phases. The first phase coincided with the introduction of a multi-partite election system in Montenegro, and lasted until 1997. During this phase, the process of securing legal and political solutions in line with the model of multiculturalism was not well developed. The matter of the position and participation of minority ethnonational communities was mainly marginalised. However, the political situation at the time induced certain changes that would result in the creation of an improved ambient for the adoption and the implementation of the model of multiculturalism. Until the adoption of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms in 2006, the legal and political solutions in line with the politics of multiculturalism had a modest impact. The adoption of the above mentioned law and the Constitution of Montenegro in 2007 present the foundations for the application of the model of multiculturalism in the context of Montenegro.

The Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms primarily defined the term "minority" and set definite institutional and legal solutions for the protection of minority ethno-cultural communities and their identities. It starts from the obligation to adopt the Strategy for Minority Policy, continues with a set of guaranteed rights in the area of visibility and presence of minority communities in the media, as well as rights in the area of education, and concludes with enabling minorities to form minority councils. National minority councils and the formation of the Fund for Minorities are the most significant institutional changes brought by this Law. Subsequent legislation amended the forms of organisation

and functioning of minority councils and the Fund for Minorities. The Constitution of Montenegro, adopted in 2007, developed the model of multiculturalism in a special section - the fifth section - which deals with minority rights, and which is divided in two groups of provisions. The first group of provisions deals with matters related with the protection of identity, and entails a list of rights that members of minority peoples and other minority national communities can exercise either individually or in a community (Article 79). The second group of provisions (Article 80) deals with prohibition of all forms of assimilation.

Imprecise and inconsistent use of the terms "minority nation" and "other minority national communities" can be observed in the relevant legislation. The Constitution does not specify which communities fall in the first group, and which fall in the second, nor does it provide a clear criterion for drawing this distinction. Will Kymlicka, one of the lead theorists of multiculturalism, sets boundaries between national minorities, immigrant communities and indigenous peoples, in the context of the model of multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2010: 36-37). Each model employs different forms of legal and political measures secured by the state, in line with the specificities of the demands of the different types of ethno-cultural communities. States can apply one or all three of these models, depending on the specificities of the type of ethno-cultural pluralism within the national-state context. The model of multiculturalism applied when national minorities are the present form of ethno-cultural communities in a particular state, most frequently comprises a combination of six different elements, according to Kymlicka: "1. Federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy; 2. Official language status, either in the region or nationality; 3. Guarantees of representation in the central government or on Constitutional Courts; 4. Public funding of minority language universities/schools/media; 5. Constitutional or parliamentary affirmation of "multinationalism"; 6. According international personality e.g. allowing the substate region to sit on international bodies, or sign treaties, or have their own Olympic team" (Kymlicka, 2010: 37).

The model of multiculturalism applied in Montenegro is the closest to the model which corresponds with national minorities, with certain elements that Kymlicka associates with multiculturalism for immigrant communities.[5] In terms of the first element, the context of Montenegro is more characterised by what Kymlicka associates with the politics of multiculturalism for immigrants. The existence of federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy is not a characteristic of the context of Montenegro, but it is possible to say that there is constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism, at the central and/or regional and municipal levels. At the national-state, and the local levels, the Constitution and the relevant legislation affirm the multicultural character of the state and the need to secure, implement and develop guaranteed minority rights. The right to political participation and representation of minority ethnonational communities is secured in the Constitution of Montenegro and by regulations in the area of electoral legislation. Members of minority peoples and other minority national communities have the right to authentic representation in the Parliament of Montenegro and the assemblies of the local self-government units in which they comprise a significant share in the population, according to the principle of affirmative action (Article 79, point 9). Additionally, in terms of securing political participation of minority ethnonational communities, point 10 of the same Article guarantees the right to proportionate representation in public services, state authorities and local self-government bodies.[6] Measures of affirmative action were introduced in the area of electoral legislation. Their

aim was to secure political participation and representation of minority peoples and other minority ethnonational communities.

The next element that Kymlicka emphasises as a significant part of the model of multiculturalism for national minorities is the existence of public funding for educational institutions and the media that use the language of national communities. Two additional elements may be added here, which are of particular importance for the context of Montenegro, and which Kymlicka associates with the model of multiculturalism for immigrant communities. They are: The adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum, and the inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media and media licensing. In terms of the implementation of this model in the media, Article 79 of the Constitution of Montenegro specifies that minority peoples and other minority national communities have the right to information in their own language. Article 12 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, adopted in 2006, states that the competent administrative and programmatic bodies of the media founded by Montenegro have to provide an appropriate number of hours for broadcasting news, cultural, educational, sports and entertainment programmes in the languages of minority nations and other national minority communities, and to provide the financial means for funding such programme contents.[7] Therefore, in the normative sense, visibility of minority ethno-cultural communities in the media has been secured. In reality, the presence and duration of content aimed at minority ethno-cultural and ethnonational communities broadcasted by the national public broadcaster financed by the state must be analysed. In the programme and production plan of the Television of Montenegro for 2016, a total of 6 880 minutes of the programme was allocated for content aimed at national and ethnic minorities, which is 2 % of the total programme content. A lack of home-produced programmes is compensated by content purchased from other broadcasters. These programmes are mainly educational and informational. The content provided in the Albanian language (one daily show, one weekly show, and one New Year's Eve show) had 5 360 minutes, while content in the languages of other national minorities had 1 950 minutes in the plan. A total of 600 minutes was allocated for content aimed at the Roma ethnic community, which is marked by severe socio-economic difficulties.[8] The Law on Amendments to the Law on Public Radio-Diffusion Services was adopted in 2016.[9] Article 9 of the said Law stipulates that the programme, the amount of financial support and the provision of that support is subject to contractual agreement between the Government of Montenegro and the Radio and Television of Montenegro (RTCG). It also foresees organising public debates on the proposals of programme obligations of RTCG, lasting for 45 days, so that the general public could have insight into whether or not the submitted proposals meet the criteria that, among other things, also refer to affirmation and preservation of minority ethno-cultural identities. In terms of the state financial support to the national broadcaster, the Law proposes a new solution which requires the Government of Montenegro to allocate 0,3 % of the GDP from its budget to the national broadcaster (Article 16). This solution was supported by representatives of minority national communities, who had criticised the previous arrangement, by which a total of 1,2 % of the yearly adopted budget was allocated to the broadcaster. The actual financial support was frequently smaller than what had been allocated due to budget cuts. The part referring to national minority programmes in the programme-production plan of RTCG for 2017 was not amended in accordance with the new law.[10] The duration of the programme content aimed at the Roma ethnic community was increased to 660 minutes.[11] Evidently, certain changes have to be made in the area of media representation of this community,

which is also the case in the area of political participation and representation of the Roma ethnic community, marked by severe normative shortcomings and issues with implementing the guaranteed rights, such as the right to proportionate representation.[12] Therefore, we argue that the visibility of the Roma ethnic community in the media must be increased. The current solution, providing 660 minutes of media representation focused mainly on one show presented by the public broadcaster, is inadequate. One of the measures defined for reaching the goal of greater media presence of the Roma community, defined in the Strategy for Social Inclusion of Roma and Egyptians 2016-2020, is the production and broadcasting of radio shows in the Roma language.[13] Less than 6 % of the programme of the Radio of Montenegro deals with topics related to national minorities. The plan to broadcast a radio show "Glas Roma" ("The Voice of the Roma") has still not been realised. Consequently, there is an evident lack of content that would provide visibility and affirmation of the identity specificities of this community, and of the most critical problems that the members of this community face in the process of integration.[14]

Another critically important area in the model of multiculturalism is the area of education. As was mentioned before, the main elements of this area have to do with financing of educational institutions that provide education in the language of national minorities, and the adoption of multiculturalism in school curricula. In that sense, the Constitution of Montenegro guarantees the right to education in their own (national minority) language and alphabet in public institutions, and the right to have included in the curricula the history and culture of the persons belonging to minority nations and other minority national communities.[15] Article 13 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms provides that minority nations and other national minority communities and persons belonging to them shall have the right to education in their language and to adequate representation of their language in general and vocational education. This representation is achieved through special schools or special classes in regular schools. The curricula for certain subjects have to contain topics in the field of history, culture and other identity specificities of minority communities.[16] Classes with instruction in the Albanian language is performed at all levels of education. Special attention is paid to the education of members of the Roma ethnic community, as a prerequisite for defining a solution for the ongoing problems that inhibit successful integration of this community. Improvements can be noted in this area. The aims defined in the Strategy for Social Inclusion of Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro 2016-2020, entail increasing the number Roma children enrolled in pre-school and school education, and decreasing the number of children failing to attend school. The Strategy provides occupational standards for the working post *associate in the social inclusion of Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro*, first of its kind in the country, so as to facilitate the process of adapting to the educational system, and motivate active participation among the Roma children. The model of affirmative action also applies in this area in terms of setting quotas system for enrolment of a certain number of members of the Roma and Egyptian ethno-cultural community in secondary schools and university institutions.[17]

It can be said that, in legal, political and institutional terms, despite the before mentioned shortcomings, multiculturalism in Montenegro is the model which is being employed in managing ethno-cultural pluralism. However, particular attention must be paid to the effects of the model being applied, not just in terms of the position of individual communities and their rights, but in terms of the impact of the model on inter-ethnic relations and the society as a whole.

Multiculturalism vs. Interculturalism

The matter of the effects of the politics of multiculturalism, broadly speaking, implies taking into consideration the impact that the model being applied has on the relationships between ethnonational and ethno-cultural communities. Is communication on the increase, leading to interaction and better understanding between the communities, as a result of the application of all the mechanisms and measures of this model, or does it lead to closing off, and a certain degree of self-isolation of ethnonational and ethno-cultural communities?

This is one of the downsides of the model of multiculturalism. In societies traditionally dominated by ethnonationalism, with less likelihood that minority ethnonational communities will identify with the common national identity, there is a danger of isolationism. Using the mechanisms and measures of the politics of multiculturalism leads to the integration and improvement of the social and political status of ethno-cultural communities. However, this is not the only point of the politics of multiculturalism. If it does not simultaneously contribute to strengthening inter-ethnic relations, in terms of greater understanding, communication and interaction between the communities, there is a threat of disintegration of the society, and self-isolation of the communities. Additionally, if a particular community has problems identifying with the common political identity, there is a greater chance that that community will have a greater degree of isolation. Therefore, the critical question that the model of multiculturalism must answer is how to cohabit (live with one another, rather than next to each other) in conditions of ethno-cultural pluralism? [18]

In theory, there is an ongoing debate juxtaposing elements and effects of the models of multiculturalism and interculturalism. In the said debate, the critics of multiculturalism and those who support the inter-culturalist perspective, argue that the model of multiculturalism disregards the complexity of cultural identities, by insisting on "an idea of culture as temporally and spatially fixed." (Antonsich, 2015:1). Multiculturalism fails to provide an adequate response to the complexity of ethno-cultural communities, i.e. to their heterogeneity. Instead, it treats these communities as more or less homogenous entities. This is precisely what the model of interculturalism is trying to avoid, although there is a lack of consensus among the supporters and the critics of the model on whether it is a new, unique model, or whether it is merely a derivative of multiculturalism. Meer and Modood identified four ways in which interculturalism allegedly opposes multiculturalism and its downsides. However, the model of multiculturalism, as presented in that relationship, is a simplified one, and therefore incomplete, and interculturalism still seems to be a derivative of multiculturalism, rather than a model on its own (Modood, 2014:303). Advocates of the idea that it is a new model start from the premise that it implies more than pure coexistence of communities; it includes more interaction and dialogue compared to multiculturalism. Furthermore, interculturalism does not focus on the group as much as multiculturalism does; instead, it focuses on the whole, in terms of a common identity. Another aspect of interculturalism that makes it different than multiculturalism, according to some of its representatives, is the fact that it is more critical of non-liberal cultural practices compared to multiculturalism (Modood, 2014: 302, 303). Ted Cantle isolates a few key characteristics of interculturalism.[19] Primarily, interculturalism implies a deviation from traditional

conceptions of identity based on differences, and emphasising what supersedes those differences in the sphere of identification and belonging. We believe that Cantle argues that the term "common identity" is rather imprecise, and that it has multiple meanings. Cantle focuses on certain forms of cosmopolitism and the common identity in the broadest possible sense of the word. However, a common identity does exist, and it exists at the level of a national-state political identity, which, in a way, supersedes ethno-cultural and ethnonational particularities, and gathers them under a single umbrella. With that in mind, Tariq Modood quite rightfully argues that Cantle's model of interculturalism is, in fact, a variation of cosmopolitism (Modood, 2014:304). Furthermore, Cantle insists that interculturalism implies the necessity to use education with the aim of socialising individuals toward the experience of Others, the ones who are different in the ethno-cultural or the ethnonational sense, in a positive way. This means that ethno-cultural specificities and differences are perceived as an opportunity to learn, understand differences and broaden one's own identity. In that sense, the pluralism of identity, and the various forms of transitional identities that combine various forms ethno-cultural and ethnonational belonging, carry a special value, and should be equally treated. In his view, the need to connect all the members of different communities on every-day basis (in neighbourhoods, school, work place etc.) is equally important, and the members of the communities must see that they are being treated equally, and that they share a social space.[20] This is what Gerard Bouchard labels as the second level of interculturalism, the so-called *interculturality*, or the micro-social level, as differentiated from the social level, which implies defining certain principles of the model (Bouchard, 2011:444). Bouchard presents the basic characteristics of interculturalism, analysing it as a model of managing ethno-cultural pluralism at the first level. Primarily, it is a model that acts in the context of duality and the relation majority/minority. This relation is frequently laden by a feeling of fear or threat that controls one or the other side, regardless of whether the minority is a national minority or an immigrant community. In such circumstances, regardless of the cause, stereotypes, exclusion, marginalisation and different forms of discrimination develop easily. Bearing the paradigm presented here in mind, minority and majority groups must not be understood as homogenous entities (Bouchard, 2011:447). Another characteristic of interculturalism is that it is a model which advocates a positive view on dialogue, and which promotes the need for greater interaction and exchange between ethnonational and ethno-cultural communities. The third main characteristic refers to the fact that the said model implies that all members of a particular society are responsible for creating intercultural relationships and contacts on an every-day basis. Interculturalims aims at avoiding a communitarian approach, which comes with a risk of fragmentation; instead, it emphasises the significance of the common traits, i.e. of the elements that can serve as links between ethno-cultural and ethnonational communities, which is the fourth characteristic of this model. A lack of dialogue and exchange, and a lack of forming relationships leads to greater risk of marginalisation and fragmentation (Bouchard, 2011:448 - 450).

Although there are such advocates of interculturalism as a new model of managing ethno-cultural pluralism who share a simplified and frequently flawed understanding of the model of multiculturalism, it is necessary to point out a few facts. Indicating certain tendencies that can appear as an effect of the politics of multiculturalism is absolutely justified. The dichotomy majority/minority, typical of the model of multiculturalism, is subject to correction in the model of interculturalism, so that it implies interaction and exchange, regardless of the majority-minority type of relationship, as it

eventually enriches the majority (Bugarski, 2016:112). The context of Montenegro is traditionally characterised by domination of ethnonationalism, where the collective takes primacy over the individual. In such circumstances, the aforementioned tendencies can be encouraged. Therefore, it is very important to adopt certain elements of the model of interculturalism in future development of multiculturalism for ethnonational communities. Primarily, we refer to two such circumstances. Interaction, understanding and exchange between ethnonational communities must be motivated, regardless of whether these are majority or minority communities. The development of *interlinguality* can also play a major role in this context, particularly in the educational system. Finding ways to increase the level of interest in the Others and their identity specificities is crucial, as is finding a way of avoiding the perception of Others as a threat. Working on reducing ethnic distance is equally important, which is the responsibility of all social subjects, but it is primarily the responsibility of political elites. The degree of political instrumentalisation and politicisation of the ethnic and the national must be reduced. Additionally, it is important to bear in mind that ethnonational and ethno-cultural communities are heterogeneous in terms of the definition and experience of their own identity. They are not homogenous, monolithic structures, which is a frequently disregarded fact. Furthermore, apart from the complexity present at the level of the community, the same complexity prevails over personal identity. In such contexts in which ethnonationalism is traditionally dominant, and contexts marked by a significant degree of politicisation of ethnic and national identification, pluralistic identities are perceived as dubious. Affirmation of pluralistic identities is seen as a threat to the community and its homogeneity, grounded in ethnonational principles. A community grounded in ethnonational principles is primarily interested in preservation of homogeneity inside its own ethno-cultural space, and in prevention of the relativisation of its identity. This goal is frequently reached by pressuring individuals and reducing the scope of their freedoms. In terms of identity, the aforementioned processes manifest as insistence on preserving the authenticity and exclusivity of belonging to a community. Any type of split loyalty, in terms of simultaneous belonging to another ethnic or national community, is greeted with doubt and distrust. Interculturalism emphasises the need to accept the fact that a significant number of individuals have multiple, pluralistic and dynamic identities. It is necessary to create a political and legal ambient which would facilitate affirmation of pluralistic identities and their equal treatment.[21] Achieving this goal would reduce the likelihood of political instrumentalisation and political abuse of ethnic and national identities. We believe that all of the aforementioned is critical for future democratisation of the Montenegrin society.

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[1] On the specificities of the context of south-eastern Europe in terms of the application of the model of multiculturalism, Stanković-Pejnović poses three assumptions, widely accepted in South-eastern Europe: "Minorities are disloyal, while a strong and stable state requires week and powerless minorities (whatever is beneficial for minorities is a threat to the majority), and the treatment of minorities is a matter of national security" (Stanković-Pejnović, 2010: 481). On the elements of the ideology of ethnonationalism, see: (Kecmanović, 2014: 117-134).

[2] UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity, 2001. Available from: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (15.11.2017).

[3] UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity, 2001. Available from: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL_ID=13179&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (15.11.2017).

[4] Apart from the aforementioned, Castles and Miller present the following models: *Imperial* (typical for the premodern era, when membership in a political community was determined in terms of being a subject of the same power or ruler); *the folk or ethnic model* (exclusive by nature. In this model, members of a particular political community are only those who are members of ethnic community based on common descent and the understanding of a nation as an extended family); *the republican model* (the nation and the national state are determined in legal-political terms, and there is a tendency to create a distance from all forms of collective rights) (Guibenau, 2007: 62)

[5] Forms of multicultural citizenship for immigrant groups include a combination of the eight policies, among which we emphasise the following: „1. Constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism, at the central and/or regional and municipal levels; 2. The adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum; 3. The inclusion of ethnic representation/sensitivity in the mandate of public media and media licensing; 4. The funding of ethnic group organizations to support cultural activities; 5. Affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups "(Kymlicka, 2010: 37).

[6] The Constitution of Montenegro, 2007, available from:
http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7B70C61F26-B411-4FA2-BEF3-45A4E23C998A%7D (20.11.2017.).

[7] The Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, 2006. Available from:
http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7B9CA4613B-9871-47EF-A24A-DFEDA6E15F38%7D (17.11.2017).

[8] The programme-production plan of the Television of Montenegro for 2016, pp. 51-54. Available from: http://rtcg.me/rtcg/poslovanje.html (17.11.2017.).

[9] Article 9 of the Law specifies that the "programme obligations of RTCG fulfil the democratic, social and cultural needs of the democratic society and guarantee pluralism, including cultural and linguistic variety, and that RTCG must apply high standards of professional ethics and quality in producing and broadcasting programme contents, free from any form of discrimination". These programme contents are "intended for all segments of the society, with particular attention to youth and children, *members of minority nations and other minority national communities*", and that these contents, apart from aiming at affirming and preserving the Montenegrin identity, also aim at *preserving and affirming the cultural and ethnic identity of other minority national communities, the* European cultural heritage and cultural diversity (italics: D.V.Ć)

The Law on Amendments to the Law on Public Radio-Diffusion Services, 2016, p. 3. Available from: http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag={98B736AA-3E8E-4B27-B173-12EE3546CD9C} (20.11.2017.).

[10] The duration of the minorities programme was increased from 6 880 minutes in 2016 to 7370 in 2017. The duration of the programme in the Albanian language remained the same as in 2016, 5 360 minutes. For shows in other national minority languages, a total of 2 010 minutes was allocated in 2017, while in 2016, it was 1 950 minutes.

[11] The programme-production plan of the Television of Montenegro for 2017, p. 46. Available from: http://rtcg.me/rtcg/poslovanje.html (17.11.2017.).

[12] This is particularly important bearing in mind the Report by the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights on employment and the situation in administrative areas for 2015, which provides research results on the perception, attitudes and experiences with discrimination in Montenegro, that the aforementioned Ministry conducted in 2015 (Research with the same goal was conducted in 2011 and 2013 by the aforementioned institution). Social groups were ranked according to the degree of discrimination from most discriminated, to middle and least discriminated. According to the views of Montenegrin citizens, the Roma population is the most discriminated group. Compared to the results of previously conducted research, there are no tendencies that would indicate an improvement of the position of the Roma ethnic community. For more details, see:
Report by the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights on employment and the situation in administrative areas for 2015. Podgorica, 2016, pp. 8-9. Available from:
http://www.mmp.gov.me/pretraga?query=Izvje%u0161taj&siteId=48&contentType=2&searchType=4&sortDirection=desc (10.11.2017.)

[13] Strategy for Social Inclusion of Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro 2016-2020, p. 116. Available from: http://www.mmp.gov.me/biblioteka/strategije (13.11.2017).

[14] Radio of Montenegro - Draft of the programme-production plan for 2017. Available from: http://rtcg.me/rtcg/poslovanje.html (12.11.2017.).

[15] The Constitution of Montenegro, 2007, article 79. Available from: http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7B70C61F26-B411-4FA2-BEF3-45A4E23C998A%7D (20.11.2017.).

[16] The Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, 2006. Available from: http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7B9CA4613B-9871-47EF-A24A-DFEDA6E15F38%7D (20.11.2017).

[17] For more details on the goals and measures defined for the integration of Roma and Egyptians in the area of education, see: Strategy for Social Inclusion of Roma and Egyptians in Montenegro 2016-2020, pp. 23-44. Available from: http://www.mmp.gov.me/biblioteka/strategije (20.11.2017).

[18] In societies marked by a situation in which ethno-cultural diversity is becoming more complex, this question changes. Instead of asking how to live *with* diversity, the key question is how to live *in* diversity. (Antonsich, 2015:1)

[19] Ted Cantle is one of the representatives and promoters of interculturalism as a unique model of managing ethno-cultural pluralism. In his view, multiculturalism is completely inadequate in conditions of increased diversity, which is a result of globalisation. He argues that multiculturalism ignores certain new characteristics of the new reality, such as the dynamism of identity in the conditions of globalisation, the need to employ an interdisciplinary approach in studying this problem matter, the political and power structures etc. The fluidity of identity, and the impossibility of essentialising it is what advocates of multiculturalism frequently disregard, by perceiving it as limited and enclosed. Furthermore, in his view, multiculturalism fails to take into consideration new relations and forms of belonging that are a result of diasporas, transnational communities, transnational movement and the impact of communication in the virtual sphere. The new context generated by globalisation leads to social links and relations that supersede the state-national dimension, and exist as a supra-territorial phenomenon. This circumstance amends the classic relation that multiculturalism adopts as the most important element - the relationship majority/minority. In these new conditions, the nature of minority communities and their inner relations grow more complex within the given national-state context. By providing data indicating an increase in the number of people who define themselves in terms of a cosmopolitan identity, and lower levels of identification with the national identity, Cantle argues that multiculturalism has a complete disregard of the importance of cosmopolitanism, and of the new circumstances. Available from: http://tedcantle.co.uk/publications/about-interculturalism/#ii (27.11.2017.).

[20] For more details, see: http://tedcantle.co.uk/publications/about-interculturalism/#ii (27.11.2017.).

[21] This necessity is recognised in the so-called Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies by the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, 2012. The portion of the document that deals with the principles of integration acknowledges the fact that the contemporary identity of a great number of people is pluralistic and multiple. Contemporary circumstances render these identities multiple, contextualised, dynamic and layered. In terms of ethno-cultural belonging, multiple identities imply simultaneous existence of "several horizontal identities", i.e. belonging to more than one national/ethnic group. The specificity of the context also dictates which identity is dominant in a particular period of time. This is particularly the case with ethno-cultural and ethnonational identities that gain significance in conditions of ethnic and national politicisation. The Ljubljana Guidelines emphasise inclusion of all the levels of governance in political decision-making, with a particular focus on *sub-state centres of decision making*. In the context of the Montenegrin society, this would impose a critical role to the on the *local level* in terms of implementation of the relevant plans of the integration policies. In the present state of the application of the model of multiculturalism in Montenegro, the local level, i.e. the application of the said model at the local level is one of its weakest links. This is particularly the case in the area of political participation and the right to authentic representation in the assemblies of local self-government bodies in which they comprise a significant share in the population. It was in 2017, when the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms was adopted, that the meaning of "a significant share in the population" was specified, stating that it means a minimum of 5 % of the total population, according to the results of the two most recent population censuses (Article 4 of the Law on Amendments to the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms).

Law on Amendments to the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, 2017. Available from: http://www.sluzbenilist.me/PravniAktDetalji.aspx?tag=%7B596D56C2-54AF-4639-A664-F57A76F4B9B3%7D (23.11.2017).

The situation is similar in the context of exercising the rights to proportionate representation in local self-government bodies. There is a lack of precise records on proportionate representation at the local level.

Additionally, in the area of the integration of the Roma community, a community in an extremely poor social, economic and political position, the local level plays a crucial role. However, according to representatives of this community, it is precisely the local level that failed to provide adequate support. Local action plans were adopted in several local self-government units (Nikšić, Berane, Herceg Novi, Bijepo Polje, Ulcinj, Tivat and Kotor) with the aim of successfully integrating members of this community in the social and political life at the local level. To this day, none of those plans have been implemented.

OSCE, High Commissioner on National Minorities *Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies & Explanatory Note*, 2012, pp. 14, 34. Available from: http://www.osce.org/sr/hcnm/110500?download=true (23.11.2017). For more details on the Ljubljana Guidelines, see: (Đorđević, 2016: 197-213).

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