

Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses



HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

ISSN 1451-4850

10.



October 2004.

ISSN 1451-4850

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This report was prepared by the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses (ISSP) in cooperation with Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development (CEED) based on the eight rounds of Household Survey carried out in period from May 2001 to May 2004.

Surveys were financed by the World Bank, the European Commission Food Security Programme and Chesapeake Associates, United Nation Development Programme and Ministry of Health. During this period, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare of Montenegro, the Republic of Montenegro Bureau of Statistics MONSTAT and BearingPoint provided technical advice and support.

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Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses (ISSP), Podgorica

ISSP Series:
Surveys

Editor of the Series:
Veselin Vukotic, PhD

Editor of the Report:
Petar Ivanovic, PhD

Survey Coordinator:
Dragana Radevic

Layout:
ISSP

Cover Design:
Nebojsa Klacar

Printed by:
Montcarton, Podgorica

Survey managed by: Petar Ivanović, Executive Director of the ISSP

Survey coordinator: Dragana Radević

Consultants: Ruslan Yemtsov, Kathleen Beegle, Greg Ringer

Data analysts: Dragana Radević, Ana Bušković, Jelena Peruničić, Jelena Pavićević, Budimka Mićković, Jelena Janjušević, Marina Milić, Darko Konjević, Ana Kumburović, Sanja Bečić, Vesna Tomović Ojdanić, Milica Perović, Milena Lipovina, Jelena Lipovina

Data entry & processing: Marina Milić, Jelena Pavićević, Jelena Peruničić, Ivana Nikač, Slavica Nikolić, Vesna Tomović Ojdanić, Miroslav Boljević, Srđan Janković, Ana Kumburović, Julija Cerović

Supervisors: Jadranka Kaludjerović, Budimka Mićković, Jelena Jauković, Veljko Karadžić

Surveyors: Gorica Tomović, Ivana Rakonjac, Andrijana Miličić, Anto Milošević, Slavica Labović, Žarković Milenko, Zora Bošković, Mara Peruničić, Žana Gardašević, Branko Trebješanin, Marijo Suša, Dragana Jovanović, Nikola Rovčanin, Slobodan Gajić, Cvetana Tošković, Irena Milić, Iva Bečić, Dacia Grbavčević, Milica Perišić, Danijela Sekulić, Marina Peković, Ivana Latković, Rajko Nikolić, Novica Vujović, Nataša Šćepanović, Goran Jovetić, Jovica Jovanović, Gligor Bojić, Milena Labović, Gorica Bojić, Olja Kumburović, Milan Jovović, Tina Kumburović; Golub Jošović, Filip Petrović, Nedžmedin Šalja

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1. INTRODUCTION

Dear Readers,

We are very pleased to present the tenth Household Survey Report in Montenegro. In this volume we present a standard analysis of specific problems like: customs procedure, grey economy, sustainable tourism in Montenegro, links between poverty and environment, information society development, electricity issues, health, quality management, etc.

Essays were also prepared, which, in our opinion, stimulate thinking. Focus of the essays is on the state and its role in the economy and concept of economic freedom. A chapter from Amartya Sen's book *Development as Freedom* was reprinted, as well as the article about welfare state written by Ludvig von Mises and titled "The Agony of the Welfare State". The third article is written by Frederic Bastiat and well known as "A petition from the Manufacturers of candles, Tapers, Lanterns, sticks, Street Lamps, Snuffers, and Extinguishers, and from producers of Tallow, Oil, Resin, Alcohol, and Generally of Everything Connected with Lighthening" which puts an interesting and funny light on state interventionism.

The report in front of you is one more concrete contribution of ISSP in the elimination of the arbitrary evaluation of socio-economical indicators. Our task is to improve problem understanding, and never use acute criticism. Through collecting, processing and analyzing the data on households in Montenegro in last more then three years, the ISSP has provided a clearer understanding of the socio-economic situation in Montenegro. We believe that we can achieve more and that quality can be improved. By doing this, we will be in a position to better understand the problems we face. Staying on the surface will not help. If you have comments or suggestions, feel free to contact us. Our aim still remains the same: continuous quality improvement.

The Household Survey is still the only publication in Montenegro that, in a transparent manner, offers information to every one interested for data and analysis of different questions concerning the socio-economic situation in Montenegro. It enables decision makers, business people, NGOs, media, international donors, and others to be informed when making decisions. In addition, the Household survey in Montenegro is on the international list of publications.

We would like to thank all of the institutions that have supported the Household survey from the very beginning until now: USAID Montenegro, Chesapeake Associates, EC Food Security Program, World Bank, and United Nations Development Program. Thanks to their understanding and support, the realization of this project continues.

Petar Ivanovic

CEO

2. COMMENTS

In this issue we offer a more in depth analysis of the data collected by undertaking eight Household Surveys. In this Report you will find the following comments:

1. Customs procedure
2. Grey economy in Montenegro
3. Montenegro sustainable tourism assessment
4. Sustainable way of life – links between poverty and environment
5. Virtual reality or real virtuality? - tendencies and perspectives of information society development in Montenegro
6. Electricity in Montenegro and comparisons to the countries in the region
7. Quality management system and ISO standards - global phenomenon of today
8. The health care system of Montenegro
9. Gender equality in Montenegro
10. Law regulation in Montenegro – a stimulus or barrier for development of tourism?

We felt that these issues were important at present. We will continue to monitor important issues in Montenegro and prepare relevant analyses hoping that the conclusions will be beneficial to the users of the Household Survey Report.

2.1 CUSTOMS PROCEDURE¹

1. Introduction

Harmonization of economic relations between Serbia and Montenegro has significantly changed the conditions of doing business in the field of foreign trade. The increase of custom rates worsened the conditions of doing business for Montenegrin entrepreneurs.

In conformity with the new Customs Law, which is drafted according to European Union Customs Law, the customs procedure requires:

- fast and simple transit of passengers, goods and vehicles over the border crossings;
- consistent and strict application of the rules for whose implementation is responsible customs service;
- efficient collection of budget revenues; and
- suppression of smuggling as well as violating the rules.

However, the situation in practice is completely different. Unnecessary administration, inefficient customs officers requiring extended time needed for goods keeping at the border, costs increase, corruption, and the increased custom rates due to the harmonization of economic relations between Serbia and Montenegro are just some of the problems that appear in the import/export procedure.

The aim of the following commentary is to point at the existence of the above mentioned problems, as well as to give suggestions for their efficient transcendence. Commentary consists of three parts. The first part includes a short review of the events in the customs system in 2000, the second part describes the Customs Law in more detail, while the third part shows the results of a research survey that focused on the problems that Montenegrin entrepreneurs are faced with when they

¹ Authors: Vesna Tomović Ojdanić & Jelena Lipovina, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development, CEED

import or export products. The survey is presented from the viewpoint of all activities necessary for the implementation of the customs procedure, with particular attention placed on the problem of corruption. Review includes procedures from start to finish, from the moment of import/export registration at the Central Bank of Montenegro² to the moment products arrive at their final destination.

2. Chronology of development of the customs system

Harmonization of economic relations between Serbia and Montenegro

Harmonization of economic relations between Serbia and Montenegro was a necessary political precondition for membership in the EU and WTO, where one of the basic conditions was harmonization of the custom rates. In conformity with the realization of Action plan of harmonization of economic relations, New Regulation about customs tariff was adopted on August 11th 2003, and will be applied over an 18-month period.

According to this Regulation, new increased custom rates are in force for 93% of imported products (8,500 customs positions). For particular products, implementation of the new custom rates, harmonized with Serbia, should begin 18 to 24 months after the Regulation's adoption, while for a group of 56 strategical food products, the old rates remain in place.

Table 1.1 Changes of custom rates after the harmonization of economic relations

| Changes of custom rates | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 48 groups of product | Increase of 1%-9%, |
| 22 groups of product | Increase of 10%-19%, |
| 12 groups of product | Increase of over 20%, |
| 11 groups of product | No changes |
| 3 groups of product | Decrease of customs |

Through the process of harmonization, it was planned that the average custom rate in Montenegro would increase from 3%³ to 5.7%, while the customs charges of the Republic of Serbia were planned to decrease from 9.4% to 7.4%.

Equalization of custom rates is still a problem because of the great differences between the customs systems of Serbia and Montenegro; additionally, the custom rates for 56 strategic products remain undefined.

The events that preceded harmonization of S&M⁴ are shown in Box 1.1.

3. Customs Law

Customs Law represents an assembly of the rules that regulate passenger and goods turnover between the Republic of Montenegro (domestic customs territory) and foreign countries (foreign customs territory). This Law regulates the rights and obligations of the persons, as well as of the customs service of Republic of Montenegro, about goods and passenger turnover between domestic and foreign territory.

² Hereinafter referred to as Central Bank of Montenegro (CBCG)

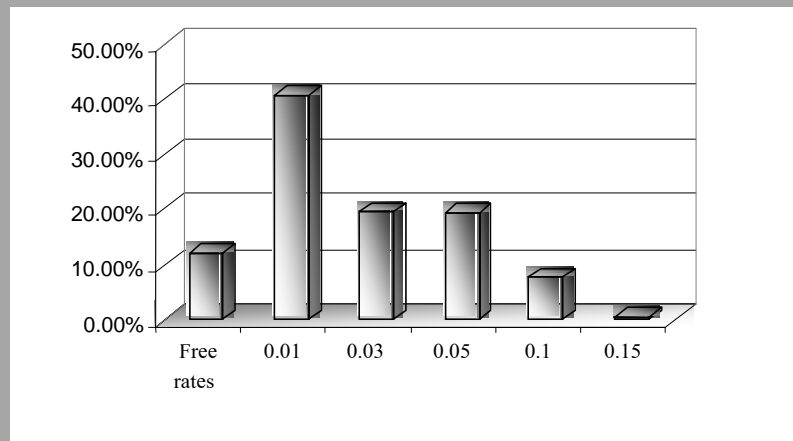
³ Sector analysis of trade, Center for Applied Research and Analysis

⁴ Serbia and Montenegro

Box 1.1: Chronology

2000 - EU set the condition to Serbia and Montenegro to establish customs rates on level with EU, which was defined by Regulation about customs tariffs adopted on June 2000 ("Official Gazette RCG", nmb.38/00). June 2000 – Montenegro adopts new Regulation about customs tariffs, which included 9,000 tariff positions. Regulation establishes custom rates that include 6 levels of customs that range from 0, 1, 3, 5, 10 and 15 percent. In that period, the largest custom rates of 15% were applied only to a very few products such as luxury goods, alcohol and some agricultural products.

Graph 1.1: Participation of particular custom rates in the total custom regime before the harmonization of economic relations between Serbia and Montenegro



A customs rate of 1% is applied for most products (40.8%) in the total customs regime. A rate of 3% is applied for the second large group of products (19.5%), 5% rate is given to 19.4%, and the custom rate of 15% was given to just 0.06% of products. The share of the free customs regime was 12.1%.

Participation of particular custom rates as well as the average custom rates in the customs system of Serbia and Montenegro are shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 An overview of participation of different custom rates in Serbia and Montenegro

| Participation of the custom rates from | Montenegro | Serbia |
|--|------------|--------|
| 0-5% | 91.8% | 50.1% |
| 10-15% | 8.2% | - |
| 10-20% | - | 42.1% |
| 30% | 0% | 7.8% |

As table 2 shows, in Montenegro, customs in the custom range of 0-5% were applied for most products (91.8%), while only 50.1% of products in Serbia enjoy these same rates.

A license system exists for particular products like weapons and munitions, poisons, narcotics, dangerous materials, and nuclear products; and for these, in addition to customs, a separate customs evidence of 1% was paid on every imported product.

March 2003 - Belgrade Agreement is signed, in which it is stated that the harmonization of economic systems should provide transcendence of differences in the field of trade and customs policy of Montenegro and Serbia.

August 2003 - Assembly of Union adopts Action plan, which was a pre-condition for doing the Feasibility Study.

August 2003 – Government of Montenegro surfaces Regulation about customs tariff, which will be in force over an 18-month period.

According to the Law about customs tariff, customs are paid on goods that are imported in the customs territory. An exception is non-merchandise goods, which is carried with the passenger, or one that a physical person receives from another physical person. In that case, a custom rate of 5% could be applied to the customs value of goods.

Dutiable goods should be included within the proper customs declaration, which is requested in written form, by electronic data exchange, verbally or in other ways.

The Law consists of two parts. The first part regulates issues regarding the rights and obligations of participants in the customs procedure, while the second part of the Law regulates competences and organization of the Customs Administration.

The Customs Law was created using European standards (EU Blueprints) and practice of the customs legislation of the member countries of the European Union. This Law includes basic institutes and principles that are in accordance with the Customs Law of the European Union, and which are also in conformity with the standards of the World Trade Organization and World Customs Organization, as well as with the basic commitments from the General Agreement on tariffs and trade (GATT).

Institutes, authorities and responsibilities of the customs service, which so far weren't used in the implementation of the customs procedure and in the organization of the customs service, are now included in the new Customs Law. They are a precondition for the enforcement of the basic goals of the service. As stated before, the basic goals of the service are:

- fast and simple transit of passengers, goods and vehicles over the border crossings;
- consistent and strict application of regulations for whose implementation is responsible customs service;
- efficient collection of budget revenues;
- suppression of smuggling as well as violating regulations.

The function of the new Customs Law is to follow the up-to-date flow of goods and capital, to ensure establishing an open market economy, and to increase the liberalization of goods turnover. The Law should provide protection of domestic production, its technical and technological development, progress, and equality of all participants in the goods turnover process.

The Customs Law is contemporary in that its rules simplify the customs procedure and provide its faster and more efficient implementation through use of electronic document submission, thus all together contributing to the acceleration of the customs procedure and the decreasing costs of foreign-trade turnover.

An objection to this Law is that it gives great power to the customs officers in the enforcement of customs rules. Customs service officers have authority over the process of goods control during and after their transition over the customs line; and this is accompanied with the authority to penalize the criminal act of smuggling and other offenses against customs regulations with huge cash penalties for the offender.

4. Customs procedure

In February 2004, the Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development from Podgorica conducted research about import/export procedures. The questionnaire was designed with entrepreneurs who conduct their business in the field of foreign trade in mind. The purpose of the research was to obtain a clear picture of what the import/export procedures that these enterprises must go through consist of.

Methodology of the research

The data collection phase took three weeks and the research was conducted via one on one interviews with entrepreneurs/enterprises that conduct their business in the field of foreign trade. In direct talk with the responsible persons from the import/export sector, the existing problems in this field surfaced as well as suggestions for improving the customs procedure.

Import and export customs procedure

The import and export customs procedure includes all of the time and all of the necessary activities that a legal subject must undertake in order to import or export certain products or goods.

The import/export procedure includes all of the activities that a subject must undertake in order to import or export certain goods. An example of the import customs procedure is described in detail in Box 1.2.

Box 1.2. Import customs procedure

In order to import products, it is necessary that the enterprise, importer, has a contract or an invoice with a foreign enterprise that is not older than 30 days. If a lorry carrying goods arrives at the border later than 11:00 a.m., goods registration will be completed the following day.

First day

Import registration

- import registration at CBCG (completing the registration form can take up to 4 hours)
- payment of business registration fee on the Giro-account of CBCG in the amount of € 76.69
- business registration form, copy of contract or invoice that is not older than 30 days, as well as a copy of payment slip are delivered to the Central Bank

Second day

- it is necessary that the registrant comes into the CBCG in order to retrieve a notarized copy of the business registration form (for smaller registrations this is available at 10 a.m., and for larger ones at 2:00 p.m.),
- upon receiving the notarized registration form, the partner is informed that he or she can send goods,
- once goods are sent, the customer sends to a forwarder a memorandum that authorizes him to execute his part of the job. Also sent with this memorandum is a copy of the registration from the CBCG. For particular customs crossings, for example the Scepan Polje border crossing towards Bosnia, the memorandum and copy of registration must be submitted personally due to the lack of appropriate communication mediums, such as a fax.
- when the lorry with goods arrives at the crossing, goods enter the country and the customs procedure is then performed,
- forwarder composes bond note and submits all the necessary documentation at the customs outpost: invoice, trucking bill of lading from the driver and bond note,
- customs office stops and "leads" the lorry,
- forwarder charges his services in the amount of € 50,
- customs officer puts together all the necessary documentation and stops the lorry,
- lorry with goods is free to go towards customs clearance place – town in which goods are directed,
- entrance on the customs terminal is paid at the place of arrival for the goods in the amount of €15 for the starting 6 hours, and for entrance in the first minute of the seventh hour an additional €15 are paid,
- after that, the customer pays a fee for goods examination in the amount of € 6 on the giro-account of Customs,

- another forwarder in the location of goods arrival retrieves all the necessary documentation from the first one (driver) and enters the goods to Customs,
- forwarder charges his services in the amount of €117,
- customs outpost sends its officers to examine goods, examination of goods is time limited with the first one being done at 9:00 am second one at 11:00 am, everything after that is left for the following day,
- fees payment:
1) administrative fee € 6
2) collateral fee € 5
3) + VAT (on the goods value and calculated transport charges as well as paid fees)
- after goods examination and fees payment, customs officer goes back to the customs office where he calculates value of duty,
- according to the issued payment order, on the Giro-account of the Customs is paid mentioned amount of the customs fee,
- copy of the payment slip needs to be shown to the customs officer, and after that goods are released, if the entire process was completed before 2:00 p.m.,
- at the end, it is necessary to clear the registration form at the CBCG.

According to the Law, at the end of every year, clearing of the registration form is done. If there are deviations of +/- 2%, additional reclamation of the work is done with the additional payment in amount of € 33 to € 76.

Customs procedures for imports and exports are the same, the only difference is in the amount of fees paid and forwarding charges, which depend on the final destination of the exported goods. With respect to export activity, a fee of €25.57 is paid for the business registration at the CBCG.

4.1 Data analysis

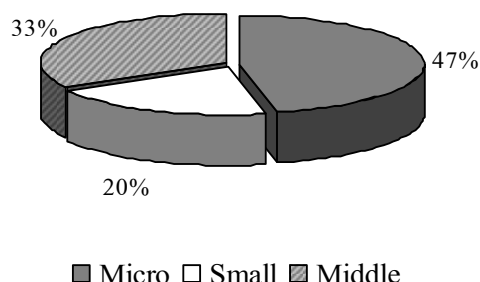
Survey included 30 enterprises, which run their business in the field of import/export.

The questionnaire used in the survey, consisted of three parts:

- The first part includes general information about enterprise, number of employees, nature of the ownership, nature of the activity (branch of industry), and of course type of the activity they perform (import or export). In the sample we tried to include all branches of industry that are doing import/export activity, starting from agriculture, tourism, via manufacturing, services to the retail and wholesale trade.
- The second part consists of issues regarding existing problems in the export/import procedure as well as their impact on the flow of import/export activity. In this section, we reveal problems that might appear in foreign trade activities as well as the intensity in which they appear.
- The third part relates to commentaries and suggestions that might help in improving the performance of the import/export activities and they refer to businesses' costs and acceleration of the whole procedure.

Among all respondents who took part in this survey, 70% were male, and 30% were female. The greatest share of respondents was within the age group from 31 to 40 years (36%), while 30% of respondents were between 41 and 50 years. Approximately one of six respondents (17%) were either between 21 to 30 years old or between 51 to 60 years old. Persons older than 60 were not included in the survey.

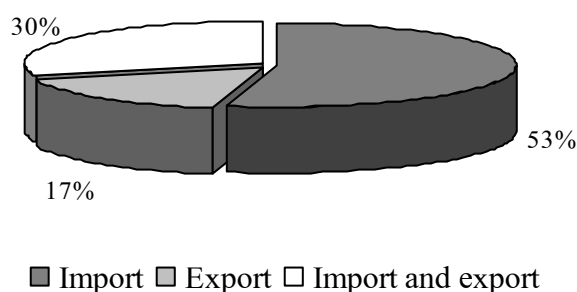
As graph 1.2 shows, micro enterprises (number of employees from 1-9) make up the highest proportion with 47%, while enterprises that fall within the category of medium and small had shares of 33% and 20%, respectively. Enterprises that fall within the category of large were not included in the research.

Graph 1.2 Size of enterprises included in the survey**Table 1.3: An overview of the enterprises according to their activity**

| Activity | Import | Export | Import and export |
|-----------------|--------|--------|-------------------|
| Agriculture | | 2 | 2 |
| Tourism | | | 1 |
| Construction | | | 1 |
| Services | | | 4 |
| Manufacturing | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Retail trade | 4 | | 4 |
| Wholesale trade | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| Other | | 2 | 1 |

Of the total 30 enterprises that took part in the survey and helped us understand the problems that appear in the customs procedure, the greatest proportion of them conduct their business in the field of manufacturing, retail, and wholesale trade. For the majority of these enterprises, ownership is mixed (70%), 17% were privately owned since their establishment, and 13% were privatized. State enterprises were not included in the survey.

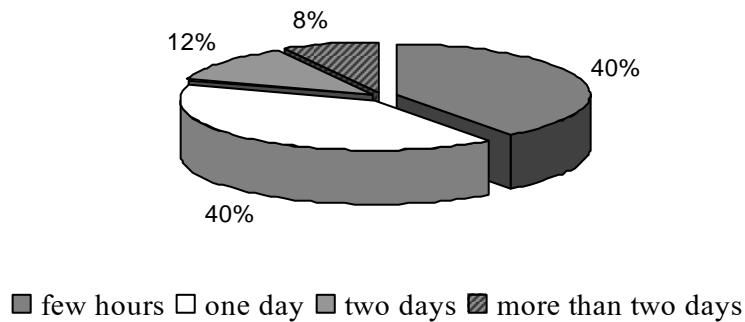
With respect to respondents' role within their enterprise, 41% of respondents were the owners of the enterprise, 23% belonged to the group of executive managers, while 23% of respondents acted as both owner and manager. Managers were included in the survey at a significantly lower percent, only 13%.

Graph 1.3 Structure of enterprises included in the survey

According to survey results, the majority of enterprises import products (53%). The basic activity of these enterprises is manufacturing, as well as retail and wholesale trade. Representing just 17% of enterprises in the research were those that run only export business, while businesses that operate in both import and export made up 30% of the enterprises included in the survey.

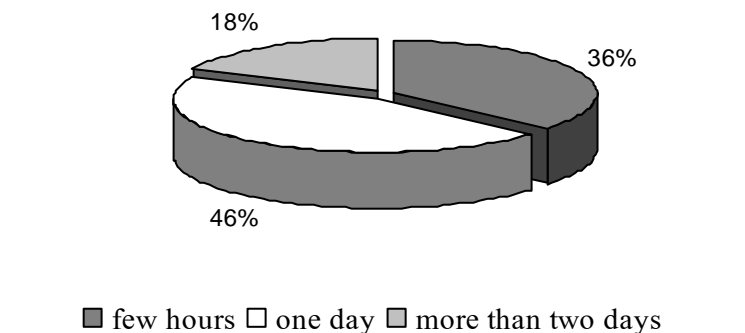
Most respondents agree that the import (export) registration is fairly quick, taking either one day (40%) or just a couple of hours (40%); although, there are those that think registration takes two days (12%) or even more than two (8%).

Graph 1.4 Time needed for import registration



Similarly, as shown in the next graph, the majority of respondents believe that export registration also takes one day or less, with most thinking this takes one day (46%) and 36% of respondents reporting to need a couple of hours. Nearly one of five respondents (18%) need more than two days for export registration.

Graph 1.5 Time needed for import registration



In order to begin import/export activity, it is necessary that the (import/export) registration form be completed at the CBCG. The prices of registration are different for import of those charged for export registration. While it does not represent a barrier for business development, data analysis shows that the greatest proportion of respondents think that registration at the CBCG is unnecessary.

Registration is viewed as needless because the same data included in the registration are also included in the unique customs document⁵ that is drawn up by a forwarder. The customs document is compulsory and it follows goods on the road to their final destination. This document must be in possession of the forwarder at the moment goods enter and clear customs.

Respondent opinion is that this registration helps CBCG control import/export activities, as well as the quantity and quality of the imported/exported goods. Additionally, respondents consider registration as needless because of the increased charges of registered goods, regardless if the goods being delivered to the importer. Naturally, it is clear that on this basis CBCG collects significant revenues.

⁵ JCI

Respondents think that the parking or warehouse charges paid for 6 hours of keeping goods at the customs points are appropriate. However, prolonging the customs procedure due to delays in appropriate decisions, agreements, permissions, registrations at the CBCG, etc. will increase the costs of warehouse storage. At the same time, respondents view the costs of re-sending goods as a huge problem, because in this case, customs are "double" paid.

A high proportion of respondents note a problem in the amount of time wasted on the realization of administrative items (fees), which are an integral part of the customs procedure and automatically prolong the time and increase warehouse, parking, transport charges, etc. According to respondents, an additional barrier for entrepreneurs is the inefficiency of the state services and their lack of willingness to do their work on time.

For products with a relatively short lifetime, the duration of the import/export procedure represents a serious problem because it is dependent on the goodwill and promptness of the customs officers. Despite the fact that prolonged customs procedures translate to increased costs, survey findings show that this is not an influential factor for giving up work.

The recent equalization of custom rates brought on by the harmonization of economic relations in Montenegro has increased the import cost of particular products. Respondents report that import of these products can be suspended for a period of time. Potential products that are cited for suspended import include candies, whose custom rates increased from 6% to 26%, and cosmetic products, whose custom rates increased by 6-7%.

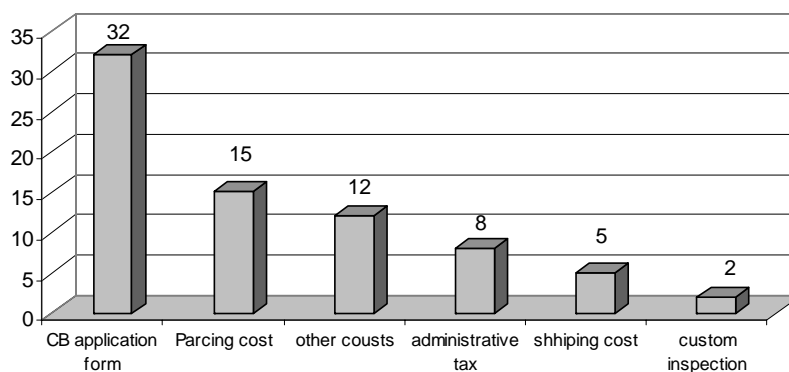
The majority of respondents believe that customs charges:

- are high and obstruct the flow of goods,
- restrict the import of goods, and
- will constantly increase.

While a portion of respondents believe that customs charges that conform to the Law must be paid and because of that they cannot influence a reduced activity volume, others believe that the customs level represents a serious barrier for doing business.

Our research finds that registration of import/export activity at the CBCG is the cost that is considered most unnecessary, followed by parking charges, administrative fees, shipping costs, and customs inspections.

Graph 1.6 Ranking of unnecessary import/export activity at the CBCG



Corruption

In the survey on customs procedure, special attention is placed on the issue of corruption. The majority of respondents (90%) agree that corruption is present and an inevitable part of this type of business. For most transition countries, corruption represents a serious problem.

The most meaningful definition⁶ of corruption was provided by Vito Tanzi⁷: “Corruption exists when one deliberately violates the principle of dispassionate decision making in order to appropriate some privileges.” Corruption is also defined as an: “abuse of public position in order to gain private benefit.”

In some countries, the tradition of bribery has existed for centuries and is typically used as an excuse or alibi for those who use it. Corruption, as a social problem, has tradition and culture, and the way in which it is used changes to fit into the new market order. Different levels of bribery are considered normal behavior in certain social circles.

Corruption in the customs business also has a longstanding tradition. Its existence is evidenced by the huge barriers to performing import/export activities as well as by the negligence of the customs officers.

What are the most frequent forms of corruption?

The most frequent form of corruption is bribery, such as presents, “forced” bribes in small amounts, receipt of goods, etc. Corruption is particularly noticeable among the officers at the customs points. Many people that conduct foreign trade activity will use various forms of corruption to accelerate the import/export procedure.

The survey, which placed special attention on corruption in the customs procedure, showed the following:

- corruption in Montenegro is manifested through friend and acquaintance relations, this being more frequent than receiving bribes,
- respondents do not want to talk about corruption so as not to lose the good cooperation they currently have with customs officers,
- there are some respondents who state that they are not aware of any corruption in this type of business,
- the primary reason for corruption is to accelerate the procedure.

Respondents believe that changes in the legal regulations also represent an obstacle in doing import/export activities because entrepreneurs must constantly adjust to the new rules and standards. This is particularly noticeable for entrepreneurs that are running import activities because the recent harmonization has influenced a significant increase of the custom rates on imported products. Most respondents do not have a clear opinion about the effects of the Customs Law changes as of yet, while a smaller proportion think that this Law will give good results in the long term.

5. Conclusions

The existing custom rates represent a huge problem for entrepreneurs. Returning rates to their level before harmonization with Serbia, or at least reducing the current values, is viewed as an alternative

⁶ Tanzi, V. (1996): *“Money Laundering and the International Financial System”*, International Monetary Fund, Fiscal Affairs Department, Working Paper 96/55, Washington, D.C.

⁷ Vito A. Tanzi, CPCM & Chairman of NBCC (National Bureau of Certified Consultants)

solution by entrepreneurs. Respondents also identify that a new Customs Law is necessary, and that it should be drafted in accordance to the surrounding countries. It remains unknown and under question as to whether “our economy has developed conditions for the implementation of these laws or is it necessary to make a law that will be adjusted to domestic economic conditions while at the same time satisfying requests of the European Union”.

Survey findings include:

- canceling registration at the Central Bank would accelerate the customs procedure and reduce costs,
- greater cooperation between commercial banks and customs service should contribute in improving conditions of doing business ,
- for more efficient realization of import/export customs activity, it is necessary to simplify the procedure of making all accompanying decisions, permissions, and agreements,
- various controls and phyto-sanitary findings for goods intended for import/export are unnecessary because they are not recognized abroad,
- it is necessary to cancel or reduce the value of fees (administrative and collateral).

Better business conditions must be provided for Montenegrin enterprises through improved efficiency of the customs service. Respondents believe that if customs officers were motivated in an appropriate manner, the procedure of preparing the needed documentation would be handled more efficiently. This would be one way to reduce the corruption that exists in the circles of customs service.

The unprofessional behavior of the customs officers is the primary cause of entrepreneurs’ dissatisfaction and it also contributes to the problems in import/export activity. However, in support of the customs officers, some would note that the financial compensation they receive for this job as well as the general situation in the economy, forces them to do their job in this manner.

Still, aren't we all in the same "economic situation?" So then, should we all ask for special compensation for doing everyday activities? Every social segment shares the opinion that corruption is the most common thing in the society. What then, can we expect from other sectors that play a more important role for the individual, for example health?

All of this supports the need to increase the skill and knowledge of employees in free trade, forwarding, and customs businesses. One of the ways to do this is by employing new, young, honest, and skilled staff.

With problem resolution as our aim, in the next period it is necessary to exert influence on:

- the reduction and canceling of unnecessary paperwork, in order to facilitate the import/export procedure,
- the reduction of corruption in customs service, by employing young and skilled staff and having greater control of the customs service officers,
- the improved efficiency and decreased time needed for the import/export procedures,
- the creation of an adequate customs law, in line with the countries of EU.

2.2 GREY ECONOMY IN MONTENEGRO⁸

1. Introduction

Previous experience around the world shows that the key generators of the grey economy are represented by an uncontrolled tax system as well as by exaggerated regulation in the economic domain. As economic consequences of such actions, suffocation of regular business activity and redirection into the so called informal zone appear. Doing business in that zone represents a spontaneous market reaction to unnatural interventionism that is inconvenient state involvement into economic flows. The grey economy could be interpreted as a spontaneous and forced solution to a serious economic problem, rather than just a problem or phenomena in itself.

We consider economic activity that provides a company or entrepreneur with income that is not reported or registered in documentation and on which the obligations to the government are not paid (tax, excises, custom, contributions, etc.) as the grey economy. All activities that are conducted in the area of the grey economy can be done regularly; they are not criminal activities or “black economy” that cannot be legalized.

No matter how hard the state tries to legally regulate the operation of economic activities, to register and to tax them, there are always some segments that can avoid some of these regulations. Practice shows that the tendency towards the grey economy rapidly increases in disturbed economic conditions with huge external shocks (war, blockade, isolation, sanctions, etc.), but also increases because of sudden political-economical turnovers (characteristic of countries in transition) when the fall of production and living standards may also occur (so called Transition shock). That is a very convenient milieu for the spreading of the grey economy. On the other hand, in the micro plan, the bent of citizens towards the grey economy is increased by their mistrust towards the state, by poverty and by the general economic insecurities, as well as by a shortage or decline of business (and tax) morals.

2. Methodology of evaluation of the grey economy

Even though the grey economy phenomenon is complex and with many different and inter-related issues, starting from the economic theory, its quantification is possible. It seems that a direct evaluation of the hidden economy is not possible, but the remnants that it leaves in other spheres of the economy are real. They can be seen, analyzed, and measured. Considering the fact that the grey economy is leaving different trails, methods of measurement differ. By observing the nature of “trails” that grey economy leaves behind, different methods of their evaluation are possible, as follows:

1. Discrepancies between incomes and expenses (on micro and macro level),
2. Labor market,
3. Tax revision, and
4. Monetary methods.

1. Method of discrepancy between income and expenses. Gained incomes can be partially reported or not reported at all, but, its largest part shows as an expense. Though discrepancy between income and expense represents an analytical base for quantification of the grey economy, by following it year by year on the level of the whole economy, one can provide information on the level of the grey economy.

⁸ Author: Marina Milić, Montenegro Business Alliance, MBA

2. Labor market method. The low participation rates at the labor market as compared to earlier (normal) periods or in relation to rates measured in similar countries were the phenomenon of the grey economy is not significant, shows the size of the hidden economy. The difference between the official rate of participation and the “normal” rate is decided by the part of the labor force that is participating in the hidden labor market. The measure of the hidden economy in this case is relative and the absolute amount of the labor force that is showing on the hidden market. When you add to this contingent certain income, we get a rough estimation of the hidden economic activity in absolute amount of money.

3. Tax revision method. Not like the previous method (based on volunteer participation in surveys), the tax revision method is based on active engagement of the tax authorities in identification of hidden incomes. That is done using the tax revision that provides more detailed information about which income groups and which professions is not reporting, or only partially reporting their incomes. Different methods are used in sampling the population. The usual method is the method of accidental sample, and sometimes discriminatory sampling is used to develop the algorithm that will lead to the selection of tax payers that are most suitable for intensive techniques tax revision.

4. Monetary methods. The basic assumption that monetary methods are conceived of is that individuals that are hiding their activities are changing their pattern of money usage. In that sense, the existence of the hidden economy leaves trails in the monetary sphere. Operative assumptions on which concrete methods are based are numerous.

Generally speaking, selection of the appropriate model to evaluate the grey economy depends on the conditions in the economy and the level of its development; it would depend on whether or not the country is developing (transition countries) as well as the methodology of estimation of the grey economy. Also, one of the limiting factors is the level of development for data collection.

3. Grey economy in Montenegro

3.1 Grey economy activities

The grey economy in Montenegro occurs in almost all areas that characterize economical systems in transition and undeveloped economies. Most often, the grey economy makes appearances by:

- Illegal import and distribution of excise goods
- Turnover at internal market of transit goods
- Turnover of goods intentioned for export at internal market
- Selling of goods and services for cash without evidence
- Crediting among citizens out of legal frame (usury)
- Withdrawing and keeping cash out of currency turnover channel
- Privileged and illegal construction
- Illegal employment
- Illegal falling of woods

3.2 The cause of the grey economy

Causes of the grey economy in Montenegro may be grouped into economy/legal and political causes.

Main economy/legal causes of grey economy appearance are:

- Fiscal charges that are too high. High taxes and duties that are forced on employers by the Government to accomplish the budget, and in return state, do not provide basic conditions for normal operation. For this reason, many employers resort to any means possible to avoid taxation duties, such as not declaring turnover of all goods and services, avoiding payment of one part of taxes and contributions on personal income of employees, or by paying duties on guaranteed or minimal wages.
- Ineffectiveness, lack of motivation and the possibility of corruption of authorized inspection services, as well as the monopoly status of individuals.
- Slow transition process that is reflected through uncomplimentary and outdated legal regulations in regard to the law and standards of EU.
- Rigid and outdated labor-legal act
- Economic and monetary systems between Montenegro and Serbia that are not completely harmonized, which is reflected in different legal solutions in the area of custom, tax and monetary regulations between these two republics.
- Difficult socio-economic status of Montenegrin citizens.
- Inadequate educational system
- Lack of program contents through which realization of legal employment would be provided.
- Administrative bureaucracy, obstacles, etc.

The main political cause of the grey economy is several years of practice in tolerating activities in this area for the purpose of keeping social peace.

3.3 Assessment of level of grey economy

The level of the grey economy in Montenegro and Serbia during 1991 was 41.7% of registered GDP, while in 2002, it was at 40%⁹.

Participation of the grey economy in Montenegro in the last ten years was up to 60% of GDP. According to estimations of the Secretary of Development of Montenegro, it amounts to 33% of registered GDP, or expressed in absolute terms, 400 million €. These estimations are based on the following assumptions:

- Participation of official personal consumption in official DP of 60%
- Hypothesis that there is no grey economy in the area of public consumption
- No grey economy in investment activities
- Huge trade deficit, unproved hypothesis that maybe one part of import is done illegally
- Structure of DP
- Services are the sector in which informal activities are present (trade, tourism and transport). For an example, estimated revenues from foreign tourists are greater than official.
- Money offer in Montenegro that is significantly greater than estimated (confirmed by process of conversion of DEM to EURO)

Household research that is done by the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognosis indicates that over 50% of households present expenses that are greater than incomes by at least 50€. When

⁹ According to the estimations of Federal Bureau of Statistics

expenses are greater than income, it leads us to believe that citizens are resorting to one or more of the following options:

- They do not declare, in full, their income and by that avoid paying taxes
- They increase expenses by demanding social benefits
- They work in the grey economy sector

3.4 Incidence of grey economy in different sectors

The level and scope of the grey economy in Montenegro, as well as its involvement in individual sectors, are hard to accurately define and quantify because there is no dedicated research or detailed analytical approach when identifying and quantifying this problem. The grey Economy may be found in almost every activity of the Montenegrin economic system. However, participation of the grey economy is highest in the following sectors:

- Turnover of goods and services (trade)
- Currency turnover
- Forestry sector
- Construction sector

Turnover of goods and services. The grey economy is most often seen in the trade sector, through illegal import of various goods, turnover of unregistered goods of domestic and foreign origin, turnover of transit goods at domestic market, selling goods without evidence of origin, and paying duties based on excises, customs etc.

Currency turnover. Appearances of the grey economy are: mutual payments through compensations, paying wages that don't come from business accounts, and selling for cash, without confirmation of paid taxes and contributions.

Forestry sector. Uncontrolled felling of trees and the absence of a clear strategy in this area brought the forestry and wood processing industry of Montenegro to its very unenviable position. Losses based on the illegal felling of trees in Montenegro are measured in the thousands of cubic meters.

Construction sector. Illegally earned money in the sphere of the grey economy accomplished its legalization in the easiest way through the construction sector by usurping town construction territory, by building objects without corresponding construction licenses, etc.

3.5 Consequences of the grey economy

As consequences of the grey economy, the following are distinguished:

- Aggravation of companies' operations that work in accordance to regulations
- Decrease of budget incomes
- Strengthening of unloyal competency
- Limitation of market and overflowing of income through irregular operations
- Increase of crime rate in the country
- Ineffective administration in the country
- "Outflow" of young, talented labor from the country

4. Repression measures for the grey economy

Regardless that the grey economy is important for the population's survival, its preservation would have a negative impact on the total development of Montenegro, and that is why it is necessary to take strict measures in the following areas:

- Industrial growth and development of infrastructure- creation of new jobs
- Decrease tax rates- increase the number of those who declare full income, loss of income based upon decreased tax rates will be compensated by a wider base of tax payers.
- Stronger controlling mechanisms in the fight against the grey economy- laws must be defined in a consistent way that will lead to stricter confirmations and stronger controls upon the informal sector.
- Keep custom rates as low as possible for all kinds of goods
- Adapt public expenses to the realistic possibilities of incomes
- reorganize the work of inspections- defining higher authorizations and responsibilities in the inspections' work
- Simulative measures in the area of employment
- Solve the problem of the two economic systems of the two republics and their lack of harmonization.

Measures for eliminating the grey economy are related to normative regulation and operative measures. Normative regulation consists of changing or eventually drafting new legislation (tax laws, custom laws, enterprise laws, bankruptcy laws, etc.). Change of this regulation represents a part of the overall legal reform that has begun in Montenegro.

A special segment of the grey economy in Montenegro is engaging labor “on black.” Research conducted about informal work in Montenegro finds that almost 60,000 persons were engaged in the sector of unprotected labor. Government regulation about tax relief for new employers from last year confirmed the existence of the grey economy in the labor market. The regulation formally “increased” the number of employees in Montenegro by almost 40,000 through the decreased tax for new employees, at 20% for newly employed workers, and through the stricter sanctions against not declaring employment. However, there is still a difference of 20,000 workers that are assumed to work in the grey labor market. Even though this is impressive data on the increased number of employees, it is important to mention that an adequate effect of the increased tax revenues from contributions on wages was missing.

With the aim to fight against the grey economy, the Government of Montenegro adopted the Decree on Employment of non-resident workers. According to this decision, every employer is obliged to pay 2.5€ per day for engaging a non-resident worker. With more strict control, this Decree gave a very positive effect, but on the other hand, non-resident workers lose their jobs due to this decision or their salaries are decreased by at least the amount of taxes paid.

One mechanism to eliminate the grey economy and put it into the legal economy is to decrease overall levies on wages. Last July, the new Decree began to be implemented. According to the decree, the amount of levies is decreased by 5% and another 5% decrease will take place on the 1st of December. Results will be visible next year. It is expected that a larger number of companies will report their employees and that the tax base will be wider, thus, it will also cause an increase in budget income and a decrease of the grey economy.¹⁰

¹⁰ Source: Montenegro Business Alliance – Why is decreasing taxes and contributions important?

Tax reform in Montenegro has influenced a decrease of the grey economy. In April of 2004, the VAT was implemented, with a flat tax rate of 17%. To additionally secure tax payment and stimulate the collection of tax receipts, the Government of Montenegro came with program of returning to the citizens 15% of the VAT amount stated on the bill. That produced more revenue for companies that have cash registers in their stores.¹¹

5. Conclusions

In the last transition period numerous factors, both economical and political, influenced the creation of fertile soil for development of the grey economy in Montenegro. By stabilizing political and economic conditions, the base for transfer of the grey economy to the regular economic flows was created. With that too, came the beginning of programs of measure to decrease the grey economy. The introduction of a stable currency, simulative tax law acts, liberalization of foreign trade flows, development of the banking sector, a defined new legal frame, a partnership between the public and private sectors, and severe sanctions for those who disobey the rules are some of the necessary measures that must be taken in order to alleviate the negative impact of the grey economy on the economic, social, and total development of Montenegro.

2.3 MONTENEGRO SUSTAINABLE TOURISM ASSESSMENT¹²

1. Introduction

This report briefly outlines the concerns and recommendations of a rapid assessment project undertaken in April 2004, with the support of the Montenegro Business Alliance and the U.S. Consulate in Podgorica. While admittedly limited in scope, due to both time and financial constraints, the ideas presented are intended to reflect the current and potential status of tourism development and marketing in Montenegro.

The overall goals of the project include the need to provide more information to visitors on available attractions, improve the quality of services and accommodations throughout the region, and generate higher earnings and employment opportunities for Montenegrin residents and travel operators. Specific objectives include the attraction of more foreign visitors and tour groups from Western Europe, and steps that destination operators and officials might employ to take advantage of current visitors and cruise passengers who now stop briefly in the city of Kotor, on the Adriatic coast. Based on anecdotal information obtained from participants in a series of community workshops held across Montenegro, as well as empirical data from site visits and government documents, a number of challenges and opportunities were pinpointed and prioritized.

Certainly, Montenegro's biggest strengths include the strong support of the Ministry of Tourism and the long history of travel to both coastal and mountain communities. Yet, there is clearly some

¹¹ One of the first steps in the tax reform process, adopted by the Government is the program of adoption of Cash registries. The obligation was made by adoption of the Tax on revenues from 01/01/2001. Implementation of this program will provide more data in trade in groceries and markets, and accordingly better calculation of the taxes that need to be paid. This will stop the entrepreneurs from keeping a portion of the money for themselves rather than transferring it into the budget through taxes. This process, while good, has faced many obstacles, partly due to the fact that the private sector was not involved in creating this solution.

¹² Author: Dr. Greg Ringer; University of Oregon, USA

distrust and miscommunication between the public and private sectors which significantly hinder efforts to promote integrated tourism development projects.

Serious concerns were also expressed over the lack of information sharing and collaboration between tourism providers regarding their future business plans and operation. This was explained as a holdover of the country's political history. Yet, the difficulty in networking has already limited the effectiveness of local and national marketing groups in disseminating wider information about the region's attractions. As a result, Montenegro has experienced a significant decline in total visitor numbers in the past decade, and domestic tourists (primarily from Serbia) now dominate.

Other significant impediments include the misperceptions held by many foreign tourists concerning personal safety, the country's poor road and public transportation systems, a lack of visitor information centers and foreign language materials, and the poor quality and value of tourism accommodations. At present, hotels account for only 28% of the total rooms available, with most lodging available in private homes. In addition, many of these facilities are substandard, with the majority (82%) built more than 20 years ago, and only 1% considered international quality. It is also difficult for international visitors to use credit cards for travel purchases or to find foreign exchange offices and ATM cash machines (though this situation is rapidly changing as banks begin to offer more services).

The overuse of rural and protected areas by both tourists and residents, conflicts over the extent and nature of their interaction, increasing population pressures, inadequate zoning and enforcement, and the lack of legal and institutional safeguards for balancing tourism and conservation, are among the other critical issues identified by participants in the assessment.

Most foreign tourists are attracted by Montenegro's significant cultural and physical landscapes, and the region contains some of the highest levels of biodiversity found in Europe, as well as a number of significant ecological sites (including Durmitor National Park, Biogradska Gora, and Lake Skadar). Both individually and collectively, these areas contain more than 350 species of birds, 200 species of freshwater fish, and a number of other mammals (including wolves and gazelles), reptiles, amphibians, and insects. The country also contains more than 500 species of trees, and countless other plants, according to data collected by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and the UN Development Programme.

At the same time, the limited data suggests that more than 12% of the total forest cover in the country has been lost since 1994 through human activity. Consequently, there is increasing pressure on municipal officials and the national tourism office to improve the infrastructure, increase foreign investment, and establish quality standards for tourism accommodations and services, and natural resource management and protection programs.

2. Assessment Methodology

The extent to which Montenegro will benefit or suffer from sustainable tourism development is not readily ascertained through the collection of economic data or an emphasis on quantitative measurements – such as a projected increase in visitor numbers or in revenue earned – alone. Instead, qualitative criteria – including visitor perceptions and their experiences while traveling through the region – must also be evaluated if a realistic understanding of tourism's benefits and costs are to be accurately measured. Further consideration must be given to the institutional capacity (public and private) to manage tourism development, and the level of political will and cultural support for rules and regulations necessary for sustainable management.

For this reason, both a SWOT (strength, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis and an Appropriate Tourism Impact Assessment (ATIA) were conducted using primary and secondary information – including personal interviews, site visits, and data collected on existing political, economic, environmental, social, and technological systems and recreational markets. These multiple approaches enabled a broader consideration of the spectrum of recreational opportunities currently available in Montenegro, as well as potential attractions and facilities that might be made operable with minimal investment and locally available resources.

However ill-defined and appreciated, sustainable tourism depends on individuals who can think both critically and creatively about the direction and long-term attraction of travel for both residents and visitors (domestic and foreign). For this reason, among the central questions considered in evaluating the “attractiveness” of Montenegro as a sustainable tourism destination were the following:

- What do the communities of Montenegro offer for domestic and foreign visitors?
- What is special, scenic or interesting about the region, including the history, culture, and geography?
- What has good potential ~ what do visitors come to see and experience?
- Do existing attractions and facilities satisfy those who do visit Montenegro (expectations)?
- Who may use each site (access)?
- Can greater visitor use be accommodated in terms of capacity and local knowledge?
- Is there sufficient ability, commitment, and demand for the types of tourism preferred by operators and officials?
- What political restrictions or support exists for sustainable tourism development in Montenegro (government and non-government organizations, policies, and subsidies)?
- How much economic support is required by the national and private tour operators? From where should it come?
- What are the best environmental practices available that can be replicated locally (including energy conservation, low-impact activities, and minimal facility “footprint” design)?
- What tourism types and interests are best promoted to the region, given its existing infrastructure, social demographics, and ethnic history?
- What technology is currently available for marketing and design? Which can be readily acquired or utilized?

3. Visitor Demographics

Data provided by the Ministry of Tourism indicate that domestic tourists from Serbia-Montenegro currently make up the largest segment of the visitor market (89%), followed by residents of Western Europe (78% of the total foreign market). The lack of more international visitors is directly attributed to the failure of local travel operators to work more closely with international providers, in particular the cruise lines that stop along the Montenegrin coast during the summer months. Additional causes included a failure to inventory and market the region’s numerous ethnic and natural attractions, water and electric shortages in the coastal resorts during the summer, and waste management problems.

Yet, Montenegro has a number of strengths, including its popularity as an international destination prior to the ethnic conflicts in the 1990’s, a well-trained workforce, direct flights from European cities to Podgorica (and to a lesser extent, Tivat near Kotor), and the ability of foreign visitors to obtain visas on arrival. Consequently, the preliminary assessments suggest strong support for more tourism development among residents, in part because of the expected infrastructure improvements in roads, camping sites, stores, and related activities. However, in Zabljak, there was some opposition to large state-owned tourism facilities that would adversely affect the rural landscape, including hotels and resorts.

Almost 60% of the foreign visitors to Montenegro arrive by plane or cruise ships, with most arriving during the months of June, July, and August, which coincides with the summer vacation season in Europe and the USA. A limited survey of visitors to Kotor and Zabljak found that recreation and leisure are the primary motivations for the trip for most (62%), followed by business travel (18%). The remaining 20% reported other motives, such as visiting friends and family, religious pilgrimages, or health treatments. Some visitors from the diaspora also stated that they had returned to search for family members and former homesteads.

Foreign tourists from the Danube countries (Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria) appear most interested in exploring nature sites and protected areas, such as Durmitor National Park in the north near Zabljak. Other foreign visitors sought religious and historic sites, medieval castles, and the walled cities of Budva and Kotor along the coast.

Most tourists said they traveled in small or medium-sized groups (1-10 persons) and preferred a mix of self-guided and locally-guided activities. Those who visited Zabljak favored activities focused on nature (lakes, forests, mountains) and “extreme” tourism, including snow skiing (95.1%), multi-day hikes and mountain trekking (73.8%), bicycle tours (2.3%), and fishing (1.9%). In contrast, tourists to Kotor and other coastal destinations preferred sunbathing and swimming (67.9%), cultural sightseeing, visits to museums and architectural landmarks (63.4%), and ethnic and social events, including wine tasting and folk festivals (45.8%).

The desire for multiple activities and flexibility was also apparent in the number of visitors who chose individually planned tours over preplanned trips arranged by a travel agent. While many international visitors had pre-arranged itineraries that combined outdoor recreation and historic visits, with accommodations in 3-4 star facilities, Serbian and Montenegrin tourists – as well as many frequent independent travelers (FIT) and self-proclaimed ecotourists – opt for inexpensive lodging and homestays that are comfortable and culturally authentic.

Although local tour operators stated that European and U.S. visitors most often demand air conditioning, clean water for bathing and drinking, individually wrapped soaps and shampoos, international cable TV, and telephones in their room, the tourists themselves said they were equally interested in interacting with local residents, and many considered such social contacts in their selection of a specific facility or destination.

Whatever their origin or motivation, it is apparent that international visitors to Montenegro increasingly seek a wider mix of cultural, recreational, and educational activities in their choice of destinations, and these diverse interests must be satisfied if tourism is to grow over the long term.

4. Critical Issues and Opportunities

Most of the stakeholders expressed concerns about the anticipated impacts and benefits of tourism to Montenegro, in terms of:

- Magnitude ~ amount of anticipated change?
- Extent or size of affected area?
- Significance of tourism to the region ~ how important? To whom?
- Sensitivity ~ individual and regional concerns about tourism and cultural contacts?
- Duration ~ business time frame and seasonality of impacts?
- Irreversibility ~ permanence of changes associated with tourism development?

More specifically, both Montenegrin and foreign visitors mentioned a number of critical areas and priorities, which they believe warrant immediate attention from both government and tour operators. Though the following list is certainly not inclusive, it does suggest important issues to be

considered in managing and marketing tourism in the region, and practical steps that could be taken to attract more foreign tourists to Montenegro.

Challenges:

- 1) Solid and human waste disposal.
- 2) Water and air pollution.
- 3) Ecological carrying capacity remains ill-defined or unappreciated.
- 4) Poor road and public transportation system.
- 5) Inappropriate development, particularly in the coastal communities, reflecting differences in both the philosophy and practice of ecological tourism.
- 6) Substandard design quality of new accommodations, reflecting a lack of suitable standards.
- 7) Limited foreign language materials, maps, and staff, as well as little environmental awareness of the consequences of government and community actions.
- 8) Few relevant examples of “best practices” applicable to coastal and mountain tourism.
- 9) Disagreement over which community members should be included in the planning and development process, and how information could be best shared between visitors and residents, government officials and planning staff, and tour operators and providers.
- 10) Lack of sufficient investment capital to create opportunities for local tourism entrepreneurship.
- 11) Difficult to obtain a consensus from stakeholders on conservation goals and acceptable practices to conserve natural and cultural resources.
- 12) Political conflicts and jurisdiction of destination attractions, as well as issues of land ownership and resource management.
- 13) Inadequate infrastructure planning (water, hotels).
- 14) Emphasis on “high end” visitors and tour groups, rather than independent travelers and backpackers (considered “low end” because they are believed to spend little in the community).
- 15) Insufficient knowledge of local hotels and tour operators to satisfy visitor interests.
- 16) Little or no satisfactory guide training (only 20% of 600 persons currently acting as guides are considered adequately trained – in some cases, hotels simply hire unemployed residents to serve as guides or to host visitor groups).
- 17) Inappropriate visitor management techniques, especially regarding “acceptable” types and number of tourists.
- 18) Insufficient funding to develop interactive websites for visitor information and direct reservations.

Strengths:

- 1) Direct flights from Western Europe hubs (including Paris, Frankfurt, Vienna, Rome, and Zurich).
- 2) Visas available on arrival at airport and border crossings.
- 3) Adoption of Euro as national currency.
- 4) Political stability.
- 5) Long history of international tourism and well-trained workforce.
- 6) Diverse historic, ethnic, and natural attractions.
- 7) Proclamation of Montenegro as “Ecological State.”

Priorities:

- 1) Develop model products in the National Parks (Durmitor) and coastal destinations.
- 2) Increase awareness of residents, travel operators, and government decision-makers about the benefits of sustainable tourism, as well as the socioeconomic and ecological costs of inappropriate or unsustainable development.

- 3) Develop sustainable tourism policies at all levels of government.
- 4) Encourage greater recognition of connection between water shortages, population growth, and inappropriate development in coastal communities (new hotels and other tourism-related facilities).
- 5) Clarify authority of various agencies and stakeholders involved.
- 6) Develop national certification standards and specialized training programs for guide training, hotels, and tourism management (foreign languages, acceptable service practices, cultural communication, historical interpretation, cooking and meal preparation, website and facility design, business administration, marketing and media, environmental knowledge).
- 7) Provide training and support for cultural festivals, performances, agriculture, and other similar events.
- 8) Integrate existing land use laws and standards for coastal zone protection (height and use limits permitted in beach areas, responsibility for waste removal and beach cleanup).

Recommendations:

Tourism is a highly dynamic industry subject to variations in terms of seasonality and focus. As a result, travel to Montenegro may be adversely affected by a range of external factors, including changes in airfare, the political climate, and even personal attitudes, behavior, and biases.

Yet, it is clear that there is tremendous potential for sustainable, community-based tourism in Montenegro if properly planned and implemented. Certainly, Montenegro's diverse attractions and its declaration as the world's first "Ecological State" will appeal to the growing number of international tourists who label themselves as "green" (43% of all foreign travelers in 2003), as well as foreign visitors to destinations in eastern and southern Europe whose main interests are visiting protected areas and national parks (78%), historic sites (69%), and ethnic communities (46%).

To capitalize on this market, tour operators and providers in Montenegro must first broaden their marketing efforts to include the entire spectrum of visitors who currently come to the Balkans, rather than focus on recreation alone. This will entail the creation and/or promotion of complementary activities, such as ethnic handicrafts and weaving, health and spa tourism, and the use of organic foods and vegetarian meals in restaurants. While some municipal officials, travel agents, and hotel owners expressed a disdain for this alternative market, erroneously believing it to be economically unprofitable, the data suggests the opposite.

Instead, statistics obtained from U.S. and European national tourism offices indicate that the number of "sustainable tourists" has nearly doubled since 1994, and this growth rate is expected to continue as more travelers become socially and environmentally aware. Perhaps even more significant for the Montenegrin tourism industry, fully 76% of all "eco-travelers" spend 4-8,000 Euros a year in international travel, while 24% spend in excess of 8,000 € annually.

As a result, targeting more "green" visitors will diversify Montenegro's economy and benefit ethnic communities through increased local purchases (especially agriculture and handicrafts), while simultaneously providing the visitor a wider range of available tourist products, destinations, and experiences. These changes will also help insulate Montenegro from declines in mass tourism associated with external influences, such as the ethnic and political conflicts that continue to define neighboring countries and Kosovo.

Second, improved coordination is required between national and local governments, private tour operators, and hotel owners in Montenegro. Montenegro's business owners and workforce are among its best resources, yet there is a great deal of ignorance about complementary attractions, and an unwillingness or inability to initiate new programs without foreign investments. For this reason, it is critical that both informal and organized forums are held more frequently, so that business

owners and tourism industry leaders may become better informed in promoting each other's activities and facilities.

To support this process, I strongly encourage the Ministry of Tourism and Montenegro Business Alliance to become more actively involved with local and regional tourism officials and the private sector regarding the skills required to design and successfully implement sustainable community tourism attractions. Technical training should also be given to entrepreneurs interested in creating tourism-related activities and small businesses, and local universities must be encouraged to create specialized certification programs and standards for small business management and marketing, guiding, cultural interpretation, and natural resource management. Perhaps more than any other single step, if sustainable tourism is to succeed in Montenegro, it must originate from the leadership and collaboration of community members and government officials.

Third, the appropriate role of tourism in local communities must be clarified and regulations established to provide specific guidelines that balance nature conservation and economic development in Montenegro. Although improved roads and facilities will help stimulate more travel options in the country's interior for outdoor recreation, winter sports activities, and wildlife viewing, they may also result in accelerated environmental degradation and urban migration.

Rules must, therefore, be enacted and enforced to conserve and protect the region's significant cultural, historic, and natural environments as recreational demand grows. Comprehensive environmental impact assessments (EIA) should also be required for any new hotel or tourist facility, to ensure that it does not further strain the surrounding community's waste management or biological carrying capacity.

Among the "best practices" and design features that should be incorporated into visitor facilities to reduce their ecological impacts and maximize the educational and behavioral benefits are the following:

- Install composting or low-flow water toilets, solar panels for lighting, and other energy efficient equipment (for example, computers with the Energy Star rating, and the collection of rainwater or the use of recycled water and native plants in landscaping).
- Use non-endangered, recycled, or renewable building materials.
- Implement height and zoning limits for new buildings to maintain scenic values around coastal and mountain resorts. An ideal height would be 3-4 stories or floors. However, zoning regulations would need to be strengthened to ensure that this action does not lead to further development in sensitive areas as hotel owners strive to provide the same number of rooms now available in taller structures.
- Hotels should be encouraged to use biodegradable soaps and shampoos, and to install refillable containers in each room, rather than the individually packaged containers they currently use. In addition, hotels should post signs in various foreign languages encouraging visitors to minimize their water consumption when bathing, and to reuse towels and bed sheets to reduce the impacts of their visit on the island's resources. Although this practice is widely used as a marketing gimmick in some accommodations to suggest that the facility is environmentally aware, it does reduce costs to the hotel as well as the amount of waste and pollution produced, making it a "win-win" situation for the business owner, the visitor, and the local community.

To fund these programs, local governments may wish to consider alternative sources of income, including a tourist tax or visitor fee. In addition, many destinations worldwide now levy a systems development charge (SDC) on all commercial and tourism-related development. This fee typically equals 1-5% of the gross profit of every business or activity in the immediate area, and is dedicated

solely to conservation and community development projects, in order to maintain quality environments for both visitors and residents.

5. Conclusion

Though these recommended steps are only a partial list of possible approaches, it is hoped that they will initiate more informed discussion about a comprehensive approach to tourism development throughout Montenegro. The ideas presented are further intended to encourage greater appreciation of the resources available for both local and foreign visitors, as well as their fragile state and need for additional protection as the region modernizes.

If the diverse social and biological communities identified with Montenegro remain viable as visitor numbers increase, then tourism may be presumed favorable and its continued development should be supported as sustainable. However, should cultural practices be seriously impinged upon, or native plant and animal species threatened or become extinct, then tourism should be restricted and even eliminated in sensitive areas as incompatible with the socioeconomic goals of the country. Only in this manner will tourism in Montenegro truly sustain itself – socially, economically, and ecologically.

2.4 SUSTAINABLE WAY OF LIFE – LINKS BETWEEN POVERTY AND ENVIRONMENT¹³

The British Department for International Development (DIFID) defines sustainable development as the “capability, property and activities necessary for sustainable life.” Life is sustainable if it can face and recover from stress and shock and sustain and support its own “capabilities and resources that are available now as well as in the future, without destroying the natural resources base.”¹⁴

1. Introduction

The following text is an overview of the environmental issues in Montenegro and the exploitation of natural resources in the past years, this relates not only to the advantages accomplished through the natural resources, but also to the consequences caused by their uncontrolled and unconscious usage. Is it possible to say that the way of life of the average Montenegrin citizen is sustainable and resistant to all influences that occur in the economy and industry? Is it possible to say that the average Montenegrin is aware of the importance of preservation of natural resources?

Undoubtedly, interrelations between natural resources and living standards do exist. The influence of the lost resources on emerging poverty and poverty’s influence on the usually destructive exploitation of natural resources is in the focus.

In the last decade in Montenegro, large state-owned companies collapsed and productivity decreased, as did product quality. This situation caused many people to lose their jobs and begin activities in the grey economy and it also contributed to the exploitation of natural resources. The household budget became overburdened and that created numerous new surviving mechanisms.

¹³ Author: Jelena Perunicic, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development ,CEED

¹⁴ DFID 1999, adopted from Chambers and Conway, 1992

2. Poverty, natural resources, and surviving mechanisms

Under the conditions of a collapsed industry and a high number of unemployed or underpaid persons, humans turn to nature. In order to contribute to the household budget and generate incomes, humans use resources that are considered priceless in the short term. However, is that the case? On the other hand, does income that is based on the usage of natural resources significantly contribute to the income of the poor population in the short, middle or long run? Is the decreased quality and quantity of natural resources considered a risk for the poor population? Is it possible to monitor the influence that the degradation of natural resources has on the incomes of the poor population or on the variability of those incomes? In order to define future objectives, it is very important to understand how the quality of the environment and natural resources influence the poor population. Also, it is very important to know if the degradation of resources presents significant limitations to the chances the poor population might have, especially the ones that survive on natural resources.

Ecological conditions have a huge impact on health, economic possibilities, and also on the safety of the poor population. Activities related to ecology could present an efficient way of strengthening the poor. Deprived people tend to bond their existence to natural resources, and the degree of this co-dependency cannot be determined by traditional analysis. Property rights, common or private, formal or informal, are the basis for natural resource usage.

Incentives reflected in price regulations, taxes, and subventions are an important sign to the users of natural resources regarding the economic possibilities, and could also be used to determine the degree of sustainable development.

What is the situation in Montenegro?

Montenegrin households organize agricultural production, and in that way not only generate additional income to survive, but also produce agricultural products for their personal use¹⁵. More and more often, people are trying to find ways to exploit natural resources for commercial purposes in order to provide income in the short run. Currently, the state has no mechanisms for monitoring changes and influences on the environment; the consequences become visible as problems. As the surviving mechanisms enabled normal life for relatively deprived persons, the concerns for returning to the previous way of generating income and for satisfaction levels of the current social situation lessened.

The availability of natural resources, in many ways, contributes to creating new possibilities for profits and incomes, especially in the rural communities. The relations are changing according to the concrete situation and its quantification is very difficult. The erosion of the terrain does not necessarily influence human life standards, but it can significantly reduce the economic possibilities. Institutions, policies, communities' characteristics, gender relations, and other factors will influence these effects. Therefore, it is essential to provide detailed qualitative information in addition to quantitative studies in order to define deprived persons, the characteristics of poverty under certain contexts, and to what level the population's living standards vary (increase or decrease) on natural resources.

¹⁵ According to the Ministry of forestry, agriculture, and waters of the Government of Montenegro, 60,000 households or 250,000 individuals generated incomes in agriculture last year. Although small agriculture production does not present a reliable basis for a strategy of long-term economic development, the government of Montenegro supported agriculture development last year through many mechanisms, starting with creating policies for credits. The agriculture industry was 20% of Montenegrin GDP in 2002 (The Ministry of the forestry, agriculture, and waters – Paper on “Basic policy on initiating and protecting food production in Montenegro” in 2003).

3. Surviving mechanisms in Montenegro

The situation in Montenegro is impossible to follow by using classical methods of income analysis because surviving mechanisms are based on incomes out of tax systems. Those mechanisms, as well as the grey economy (trading cigarettes, sale on the green markets, etc.), are partly based on uncontrolled and legally irregular exploitation of natural resources. Rural to urban migrations and the small and unconditional agriculture production has forced the rural population to exploit natural resources. The natural resources that are most frequently exploited in order to increase household budgets are the following: uncontrolled wood cut in the north of the Republic¹⁶, agricultural production, exploitation of sand from river basins, exploitation of stone, fishing, etc. In many cases, this is becoming a family business and additionally destroying the natural balance; this is especially true of the uncontrolled exploitation of sand and stone, which permanently changes the living environment. The Survey on household incomes and expenditures by the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses is the first one that offers a quantitative basis for estimating the importance to Montenegrin households of exploitations of natural resources¹⁷.

Agriculture: According to Survey results, 30% of Montenegrin households own agricultural land, while 60% of them use it for agricultural production. Only 1.2% of households perform agricultural production without actually owning the land. On the other hand, 42.6% of households in Montenegro own productive land but do not use it for production. Approximately one of six households (17%) breed cattle; households that possess productive land and perform agricultural production are most likely to also participate in cattle breeding (52.5%), while 2.2% of those who do not possess land breed cattle.

In 2003, approximately one of four households sold fresh animal products (milk, eggs, cheese...), 27%. Most of these households have 4 or more members and are located in central and northern Montenegro. Their average annual income was €1,000. Only 5.7% of households generated monthly income from agricultural production, an average of €400. Less than-one fifth of all products (17%) were produced for personal use. Thus, a very small percent of agricultural production is concentrated in the central region of the Republic, which is expected due to the percent of productive land and marketability.

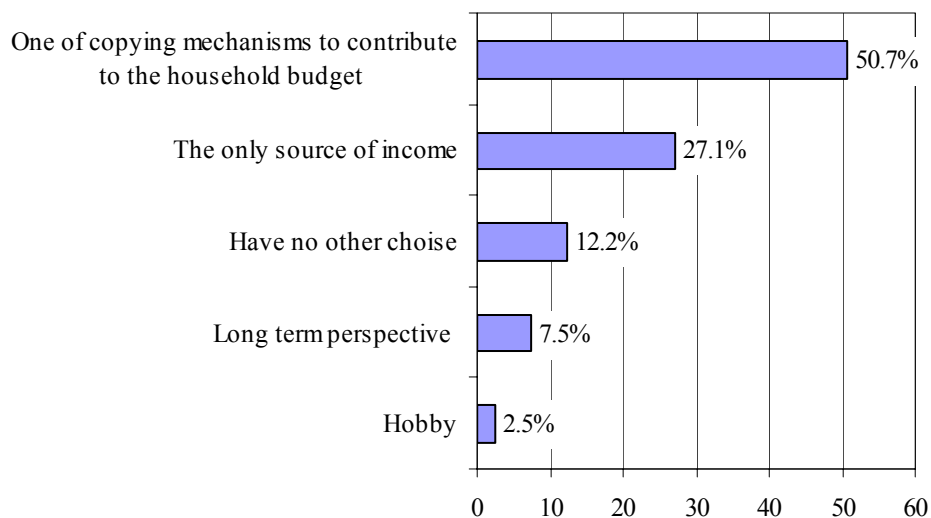
Considering future plans, more than one of ten households (11%) plan to spend more time on agricultural activities. Among them, half (50.7%) will do so in order to contribute to the household budget, while one of four (27%) consider agriculture as their only source of income. Only 7.5% of households consider agricultural production as a prospective activity. With this in mind, we question whether the Montenegrin development policies that rely on the agricultural industry are justified. According to data from 2000, 2001, and 2002, agricultural companies' share in total number of companies remained fairly constant over the years, at 2.2%. Additionally, the number of employed in this sector is rather small (only 3.5% of the total employed in Montenegro)¹⁸.

The conclusion, based on given data, is that the basic problem in agricultural production is the bulkiness of agricultural producers. As a result of that, agricultural production within households is low and is only focused on production for household consumption. Survey results confirm that the population turns toward more profitable activities over agriculture, specifically, the grey economy.

¹⁶ Over 67% of Montenegrin households use wood for heating and 17% of that number use electricity power as well. The large proportion who use wood is due to the easy access to wood as a heating source, low costs of this type of heating, and lack of conditions for any other heating source. Source: ISSP, Survey on household income and expenditures, April 2004.

¹⁷ The Survey included 1,000 households and was conducted in April 2004, with special sample of households living in vulnerable areas: Zeta, Mojkovac and Pljevlje

¹⁸ Center for Applicative Researches and Analysis, Industry analysis for Agriculture

Graph 4.1. Reason for agricultural production in the future

Wood resources: In the northern part of the Republic, exploitation and prefabrication of timber into sub-products and export to neighboring countries is very extensive. Prefabrication is organized within mini timber saw-mills that operate outside of the tax system; timber is partly supplied through the regular (legal) woodcutting process, while a greater portion comes from operations that the local population illegally performs by exploiting the forest. According to official data, human made devastation of forests in 2002 made 0.1% of total forest fund¹⁹. This percent increases every year, powered by frequent forest fires, but also by illegal woodcutting not recorded in any official records.

The Ministry of forestry, agriculture, and waters denies that deforestation is caused by human activities and claims the opposite -- which deforestation is caused by a migration of the population from that area. The population in the rural areas turns to easier means of earning incomes: only 9% of households interviewed indicated that they participate in wood cutting activities. More than one quarter of those households (26%) sold timber, an average of 50m³ at a price of €22 per m³ on average during the winter season in 2003. Among those who did cut forest, only 1% reported that as public property, while 8% are cutting private forests. On the other hand, half of households (51%) bought wood for heating at €23 per m³.

Forest fruits: mushrooms, forest fruits and herbals. Collection and export of forest fruits and mushrooms do not endanger its subsistence and do represent a significant source of income for the population living in the northern region of the Republic. The problem is reflected in the uncontrolled collection and export of sub-products and raw materials. It seems that the idea of investing in establishing a factory that would export the final product has not been given enough consideration. More than one in ten households from the northern region (11.8%) collect and export mushrooms. Seasonal income generated per household through the sale of mushrooms during the period July to November amounted to €250 – €1,500 per household. Some households use this income to prepare for the winter season.

A similar case presents itself with forest fruits, of which 4% of households are collecting, 78% of which reside in the northern region of Montenegro. The average income for this small number of households amounted to €300 – €750 per season. This is a seasonal business that lasts two months and is usually done by children who sell products roadside. A prospective future for the northern

¹⁹ MONSTAT, Statistical Yearbook, 2003

region could be in the production of cultivated forest fruits such as, blackberries, blueberries, raspberries, etc. These are easy to produce and provide significant income. A system of distribution of seedlings and buyouts already exists in some municipalities in the north. This may represent the future for greater agricultural production in Montenegro. However, raspberry production is traditionally developed in Serbia, as the opposite to Montenegro, and therefore the quality and the markets for those products should be considered.

A similar situation is also noticed in the collection of herbals. Only 2% of households from the northern region collect herbals, and they usually collect 5 kg of plants per season. None of the interviewed households reported incomes generated in this activity. There is the potential for harvesting herbals and wild plants, which also present a great renewable resource that is currently unused.

River fishing: Only 3% of households participate in river fishing, mostly in the southern region. Among these, only 15% sell their catch, generating €250 – €450 of monthly income. Only 2% sea fish, and the maximum income earned in this way is €300 per month. With respect to fishing, there are some cases of over-fishing and inappropriate uses of fishing methods (explosives) that damage the entire ecosystem. Additionally, huge industrial systems affect fish food, and they have a significant influence, both positive and negative. In the last year, many incidents happened without timely reaction and the fact that some incidents are repeated speaks to how little the state is concerned for the situation. The text below shows that pollution is not naïve, considering its effect on human health.

Box 4.1 Plague of the fish in Tara²⁰

Outburst of cyanides and other dangerous substances in Tara caused a plague of the fish in that part of the Mojkovac municipality on 12/29/2003. Analysis determined that a military factory in Mojkovac “4, Novembar” was responsible. There were no immediate consequences, but during the spawn consequences appeared.

The plague of the fish in the river Moraca and the downfall of the Aluminum Plant happened on June 16th 2004. This company confirmed a gushing of a solution of LAKA LUZINE (chemicals) from the GLINICA department. Based on the samples of water and fish, Eco-toxicological institute did an analysis and confirmed the presence of the cancer causing substance, PCB, in the water and fish.

Plague of the fish in the river Moraca, ash dropping from the thermo-electrical plant, silos construction in Zelenika, uncontrolled wood cutting in Tmor and in Komarnica where exploiters organize guards against concessionary commission, are just some examples that should emerge entire society.

One way to generate income is to exploit sand from the riverbanks, which leads to degradation of the riverbeds and increases the danger of inundations. According to Survey results, among the 11% of households affected by inundation and earthquake, one-third of them have suffered inundation at some point since 1991. The appearance of inundated areas every year during the rainy seasons could be explained by the lack of concern regarding those areas and by the increased number of rainy days. When asked if their agricultural land was damaged by inundation, 3.2% of households reported damage, and among them, three of five (60%) report having damage within the last 4 years.

This data is similar to findings in the Report of the European Agency for Environment for 2003, which reports: “two out of three catastrophes that happened since 1980 were directly attributable to floods, storms, droughts, or heat waves. The average number of such weather and climate-related disaster per year doubled over the 1990s compared with the previous decade. Economic losses from

²⁰ Source: www.ekforum.org.yu, www.ozonradio.cg.yu

each of those events have more than doubled over the past 20 years and amounts to more than US\$11 billion annually in Europe.”²¹

The population is not aware of the problems regarding the endangered environment, so the problem of deforestation is among the last problems that affect the good quality of life. In March 2004, strong water flows inducted a landfall that destroyed houses, fruit plantations, olive plantations, and a local road that connects the village with the town; this was caused by the people’s lack of observation. Problems began after incompetent work was done on water research in that village. The conclusion: consequences are huge and often caused by human failure.

Overall, people are little aware of the connection between the quality of the environment and human health. For example, in transition countries, approximately 19% of all diseases and deaths have causes that are connected to the environment, water and air quality, sanitary hygiene, or toxicological contaminations.

The greatest concern of the people interviewed is that industrial pollution affects the health of the people living near the sources of pollution (Zeta near Aluminum Plant, Pljevlja near coal plant, etc).

According to the Survey²², among the 8% of persons that suffer from chronic diseases, one of five (20%) suffers from acute chronic disease. Most of these people live in the central region of the Republic, but only 30% were born in that region. We can assume that one of the causes of migration is the appearance of diseases, though there is no valid data to support that thesis.

According to some sources, conditions in the living area and types energies used could also represent a cause of some diseases. From surveys conducted in Montenegro and Serbia, more than half of the population uses coal or wood as the basic source of energy for cooking and heating, which produces high levels of internal and external heating, potentially leading to chronic diseases.

4. Key poverty indicators – natural resources

The link between poverty and the environment is specific and dynamic within the concept – both are influenced by geographical location as well as economical, social, and cultural characteristics of individuals, households and social groups. In the rural areas, deprived people are very concerned for the safe use and quality of natural resources – fertile land, water, domestic animals, fish, forest fruits and biomass for fuels. This refers to the global population since it is not the case in Montenegro. The biggest problems for the urban population are: water, energy, sanitary problems and waste disposal, sewage, etc.

The connection between the environmental conditions and living standards, or poverty, is easiest to observe through indicators. The text below shows the indicators that are defined and accepted by the World Bank experts. As noted, data regarding these indicators does not exist in Montenegro, nor does awareness of the need to monitor these indicators. The authorized institutions are planning to establish the Agency for the Environment and expect to provide relevant data. However, these plans do not provide sufficient pressure for us to understand the need of evaluating and monitoring these indicators.

Natural systems are extremely complex, and it would not be cost effective to monitor all of the different ways in which the deprived people are affected by their natural environment. Sometimes, the circular connection between poverty and the degradation of natural resources causes changes in the list of indicators that are not compatible to this connection. Some of those indicators are shown

²¹ Source: www.eea.eu.int

²² Household Survey, ISSP, April 2004

in the table below and are considered very usable for the monitoring of the natural resources related to factors that affect the income, safeties and sensibility of poor households in developing countries.

Table 4.1 Examples of indicators of the connection between poverty and the environment as a consequence of incomes, safeties and sensibility of deprived person in poor counties²³

| | Poverty problems | Indicators of connections between poverty and the environment ²⁴ | The natural resources problems that could affect indicators |
|----|--|--|---|
| 1 | Healthy food | Percentage of rural population below the poverty line * | Deforestation |
| 2 | | The production of grains in rural area per capita | Water shortage |
| 3 | | Time needed for water and heating wood supply per household member * | Over fishing Degradation of land |
| 4 | | Distance of water and wood provisions for heating for household * | |
| 5 | | Annual income of household generated by agricultural production * | |
| 6 | | Annual income of household generated by wood sale, fishing * | |
| | | Percentage of irrigated land within all land productively used by welfare/income categories* | |
| 7 | | Percentage of rural households that provide adequate water supply for stock by welfare/ income categories* | Degradation of land Water shortage |
| 8 | | | |
| 9 | | Production of grains in rural area per capita | Deforestation Over fishing |
| 10 | | Percentage of crops reduced by hot weather by welfare/incomes in quintiles* | Water shortage Degradation of land |
| 11 | | Households' expenditure quantity caused by forestry fruits and fishing * | Water quality |
| 12 | Percentage of rural children whose weight is not in accordance to their age* | | |
| 13 | Sensitivity to natural disasters | Percentage of rural children under 5 disabled in development* | Natural disaster Deforestation |
| 14 | | Percentage of rural children under 5 who are underweight* | |
| 15 | | Households that lost home because of flood during years regarding incomes/welfare in quintiles* | |
| 16 | | Number of deaths caused by natural disasters by incomes* | |
| 17 | | Percentage of agricultural producers whose land is damaged by swamps by incomes* | |
| 18 | | Percentage of rural children under 5 who are underweight* | |

Most of these indicators should be monitored, based on existing data, but also new data should be collected as well. For now, only the percent of the rural population that is below the poverty line can be calculated according to the existing data from incomes and expenditure analysis of households in Montenegro.

²³ The World Bank Environment Department, Poverty —Environment Indicators, January 2002

²⁴ Note: * indicators that could and should be monitored in Montenegro

The authorized Ministries must be aware of the importance of these indicators as those that deprived persons are facing, but also in order to manage resources. The deprived population depends on natural resources that they could possess, that could be state-owned, or that could be free and available to everyone in the agricultural industry, livestock, fishery, and collection of material for heating or something similar. These resources could be the primary resource for survival or one of the sources that contribute to a household's daily needs.

5. The future problems or possibilities

It should not be forgotten that the environment does not represent only one group of problems, but also a number of opportunities and possibilities. Tourism based on natural wealth currently symbolizes the main economic activity in many countries. For some groups of the deprived population, even a small group of tourists could bring significant incomes compared to local standards. Montenegro offers one of the last possibilities for finding untouched ecosystems and old villages. Are citizens aware that their activities today will influence the environment in the future? On the other hand, their survival depends on the sustainability of those resources. The need for "conservation" of these ecosystems would cause changes in the local population's way of life and changes in the professions that should be sustainable and environment protection oriented. How much is the domicile population ready to sacrifice their living habits and income earning habits in order to make a change for the future, one that might offer an exile in a healthy environment for the rest of the world's population?

Use of natural resources should not be considered only in the context of limited exploitation, it should be seen from the perspective of possibilities that the sustainable economic development concept offers. In Montenegro, exploitation of natural resources in industrial purposes leads to decreased supplies, but also uncontrolled pollution. In the valley of Pljevlja, exploitation of coal and permanent air pollution, as well as life of the people living in this region, could be an example of that. Everything has turned towards well-known sources of energy and its exploitation.

On the other hand, there is great potential in the renewable sources of energy (solar and wind energy) that are unused but could not replace fossil fuels and water energy for a long time. An example of our carelessness for the future of natural resources and their potentials is reflected in the announced building of the hydro plant "Buk Bijela" on the river Tara that would devastate the use of this resource as a tourist attraction. Ecological evaluation should confirm the feasibility of this project.

Also, the energetic potential of waste, as well as disposing of waste improperly, represents a great problem all over the country. We don't have enough knowledge regarding usage of this resource.

Does all of this point to a lack of strategy for managing natural resources or a lack of awareness of the need for such a strategy? It is well known in the region that the purpose of Eco-funds is to direct resources for the protection of the environment. Founders offer the financial support for investments related to the implementation of ecological policies and policies for environmental protection. Their role in the countries that tend to integrate the EU is very important in the context of policies' harmonizing and practice with EU standards.

The intention to establish an ecological fund is confirmed in the Montenegrin legislation (the Law on the environmental protection, 1996) as well as in recent strategic papers (the Economic Reform Agenda, 2003). Nothing has been done yet on this fund's establishment.

Should the state or individuals think of priorities and realize that natural resources will not last forever in this form and that humans "should not cut the branch one is sitting on?"

2.5 VIRTUAL REALITY OR REAL VIRTUALITY? - TENDENCIES AND PERSPECTIVES OF INFORMATION SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT IN MONTENEGRO²⁵

*“Computing is not about computers any more. It is about living!”
Nicholas Negroponte*

Something like a talented artist who always promises so much but somehow never makes any big success, contemporary technologies represent a good and real solution, but the number of consumers, at least in our country, is pretty small. Indeed there are obstacles, but the possibilities are great and the challenges are all around us are numerous. However, the cautious are more than the courageous...

1. Introduction

By all appearances, the vision of modern society, the society of knowledge as it is often said, in large portion is created by the rapid development of technique, communication systems, automatics and information systems. Furthermore, with globalization on one hand and information and communication technologies (ICT) on the other, a new economic and social image of the world is gradually formed. Under existing circumstances, the concepts of organization and realization, in all spheres of human activities, change their meaning at all. The general development of IT in the new technical millennium initiated many problems of adaptation relating to new work conditions, changing psycho-social structure of society, and the introduction and dominance of the phenomenon which is known as the “Digital Divide.” In a few years time, we are truly more calm and composed than during the century shift and we easily try to accept the future that is coming - the future, where our wishes, hopes and fears, promises and treats, all remain at once. How will we adapt?

In addition, the following comments will discuss the information society overall, the appliance of new computer technologies, and the Internet as an increasing medium in our country; special attention will be given to the reactions that follow these innovations. We will also provide research data on computer and Internet usage within the Montenegrin population, including users’ socio-demographic data (education level, social status and generation qualification). That segment is followed by a necessary comparison of similar problems in other countries in the region, as well as countries with a developed economy, with special accent on efforts made to reduce the apprehension surrounding the “Digital Divide.” Finally, there is prognosis about development and usage of new technologies in Montenegro, which, for various reasons, still can’t “catch up” with world-wide technical trends.

2. “Information society”

Technical and cultural standards have shifted within our region in the last few decades, especially during the past several years, and strong qualifications for subsistence in new conditions have caused numerous obscurities in the interpretation and determination of the active social system known as the “information society” or “society of knowledge.” Many authors have their own definition of the “information society,” but among them all, a common denominator is that it is a form of postindustrial economy typical of many well-developed countries. Precisely, it is conditioned with a *“set of acts and activities that have to be done in order to build The Global*

²⁵ Author: Milica Perović, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development, CEED

Information Infrastructure (GII), defined as assembly of technologies, subjects and organization opportunities, with purpose to ease production and usage of IC technologies”²⁶.

One problem that occurs during this explication is due to an inaccurate interpretation of the phenomenon known as “information literacy.” Actually, *information literacy* is something more than a technical knowledge by itself (computer components, its functions, and the way that some problems can be utilized); it represents much more than a basic capability of computer usage. In the long run, it can be defined as harmony between knowledge, skills and deep-rooted habits that depend on modern information technology. While the major part of information literacy is equipment of ICT and investment in its development, much more must be done to create a full *information society*, which, it’s worth noting, has a more comprehensive conception. Its creation requires many other activities (which will be discussed in part 4). In configuration, we are supposed to use a comparative model of the digital economy “8C” – name for the first letter of the parameters that are the most important for ICT development levels’ estimate, especially in countries with an active transition process. The “8C” parameters are: Connectivity, Capacity, Cooperation, Community, Culture, Capital, Commerce and Content.

The final results of these activities are expected to be positive, and in the shortest way it can be manifested through:

- Much easier way to get information, fun and educative content;
- Better communication;
- Reduced communication costs;
- Opportunity to choose between different network operators, providers and contents;
- Faster development and better accessibility to new technologies.

3. Analyses of current status in Montenegro

In the area of Montenegro, unfortunately, there is no reliable statistical information on the number of computers and percentage of ICT equipment users (this type of research is in preparation by the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses from Podgorica). In the middle of 2003, another partial research²⁷ was conducted and information gained shows that computer equipment is used in primary and high schools, as well as in a hostel for students. Gained data is presented below. When we refer to households, analysis comes from polls of the Center for Political Studies and Public Opinion Research in Belgrade that were done in February, 2002. In the region of Montenegro, these studies represent 1000 to 1800 persons²⁸. Finally, information provided on the number and percent of Internet users was received directly from the network provider for the period through October 2003.

ICT in primary schools

Research includes 149 of 162 schools (91.97%). Results show that in those schools 10.8% of teachers (417 of 4,520) and 14.07% of pupils (4,703 of 66,184) are educated for computer usage. According to the poll, there are a total of 381 computers in schools. The computer to pupil ratio in these schools is 1:174. The breakdown of the available computers is as such: 36 schools have computer classrooms using 243 computers, head offices use 51 computers (director, deputy director, secretaries), teachers use 73 computers, 10 are used by pedagogic and psychological offices, and 4 are used in libraries. With respect to computer generation, Pentium-I is dominant (36%). Primary schools have their own dial-up that is used as phone-fax equipment, and might be used for a temporary connection to the Internet via analogue modem. Access to Internet is established in 19 schools, or 11%. Just seven schools have their own web-site (4%).

²⁶ Strategy of Information Society Development; Montenegro Government, May 2004

²⁷ Counsel for Information Society, July 2003

²⁸ Research was conducted through personal interviews and is based on quota example models older than eighteen

ICT in high-schools

Survey has been completed in all high-schools throughout Montenegro (45 schools or 100%). Results indicate that 18.9% of teachers (449 of 2,371) and 29.2% of pupils (9,476 of 32,426) are educated for working on computers. The total number of available computers is 595 and the computer to pupil ratio is 1:72. Computer classrooms have been installed in 34 of 45 high-schools and the current number of computers used in this way is 452. Teachers have 64 computers at their disposal, while administration of high-schools (directors, deputy director, secretaries) use 66 computers, 7 are used by pedagogic and psychological offices and 5 are used by libraries. Still, Pentium-I is the most frequent choice (52%). Access to the Internet is possible in 18 schools (40%). High-schools have their own dial-up that is used as phone-fax equipment, and might be used as a temporary connection to the Internet. Only one school in Herceg-Novi is connected to the Internet via ISDN. Five high-schools (11%) have their own web-site.

According to survey results, 8 Gymnasiums in Montenegro have the best status, with 20% of teachers (76 of 382) and 45.5% of pupils (2,450 of 6,051) having basic knowledge about computers. The number of dial-ups is 22, while the number of computers is 111. Analysis finds the computer to pupil ratio to be 1:58. There are computer classrooms in all 8 gymnasiums with 105 computers being used in this way. Pentium-I is again the dominant processor (57%). Half of the gymnasiums have access to the Internet (50%). Only two of them have their own web-site (25%).

ICT in a hostel for students

In Montenegro there are 10 hostels for pupils and students. 21 of 64 teachers (32.8%) are educated to work on a computer. Total number of students at hostels is 3,053. Student hostels have 27 dial-ups and 35 computers, providing a computer to pupil ratio of 1:191. Only one hostel is equipped with a computer classroom and 16 computers are used in this way. Again, Pentium-I is the dominant processor. Two hostels have the possibility to connect to the Internet and two of them also have their own web-site.

Households

According to research conducted in February 2002, there is computer in every tenth household in Montenegro, while the computer to citizen ratio is about 1:38. However, important differences exist between regions, with households from the Southern region (including Podgorica) having a larger number of computers (14%) than the central area (11%), and households in the Northern district having fewer (6%).²⁹

Research shows that number of computers in households is in direct correlation with the economic development of the region, as well as with the financial situation of the households. Approximately 7% of households have total income of less than 100€ per month, and polls show that these households usually do not own a computer, while among the 34% of households with earnings between 100€ to 200€, 3% own a computer. As income increases, so does ownership and among the 43% of households with monthly incomes between 200€ 300€, 21% have computers; and within households with income over 300€, 24% of households, three of four (76%) own computers.

However, a strong financial situation does not necessarily lead to a compulsive “entrance” to the computer population. Research found that among non-owners, nearly half (45%) do not own a computer because they are not interested, 34% because of insufficient knowledge, and just 17% report that the reason for not owning a computer is because the equipment is too expensive. When discussing Internet usage, or lack thereof, approximately three of ten report that they are not interested in the content of the Web (31%), blame high subscription costs (30%), or report to be

²⁹ Basically, research was done in larger cities, which have been classified, because of easier data processing, by the following: North - Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Berane, Rozaje and Kolasin; central region - Niksic (including Savnik, Zabljak and Pluzine) and Danilovgrad; South: Podgorica, Cetinje, Kotor, Herceg-Novi and Bar.

uneducated (29%). Unbelievably, and rather demoralizing, approximately one of six respondents in Montenegro (17%) actually do not know what the Internet is.

The retrogression in information “literacy” of our population, especially among the young generation, is partly due to the bad situation in our education centers, which previous results attested to. Computer classes are completely inadequate and are usually instructed with plans that are 20 years old. Additionally, teachers are very often acquiring knowledge at the same time as their pupils. Under these circumstances, independent initiative or the ability to be able to pay for organized training courses that are offered by private schools appear to be the only chance to run away from reality.

Also in correlation are the individual’s education level and their ability to use a computer or even be interested in new technical achievement. However, what is condition or consequence? Do well-educated individuals use computers more frequently or does computer usage help in gaining high-level education? In Montenegro, computer usage among various levels of education categories is as follows: 3% of adult users have finished primary school, 10% have finished some high-school, 13% have started faculty, 26% have graduated college, and a solid 39% have finished improvement for specialist, master and doctoral studies (this is the average percent of many Western well-developed countries). According to words of Nenad Golcevski, one of the first cyber-psychologists in our country, the latest registration shows that ICT users’ education level is much more developed than the population overall: *“Education and economic status make them distinguished as a special users’ subgroup. It is very interesting because they represent society’s elite. Basically, they are very young people who will be very influential in this society in the next few years. Research shows that it is a specific part of the population, whose characteristics are more corresponsive to any West-European countries than to a country that is in process of joining the European Union. One thing is for certain, it can’t be said that the Internet causes or creates this group, but it is a sign that the development and usage of information-communication technologies, not only the Internet, is the best way to create a better contemporary situation in our society.”*

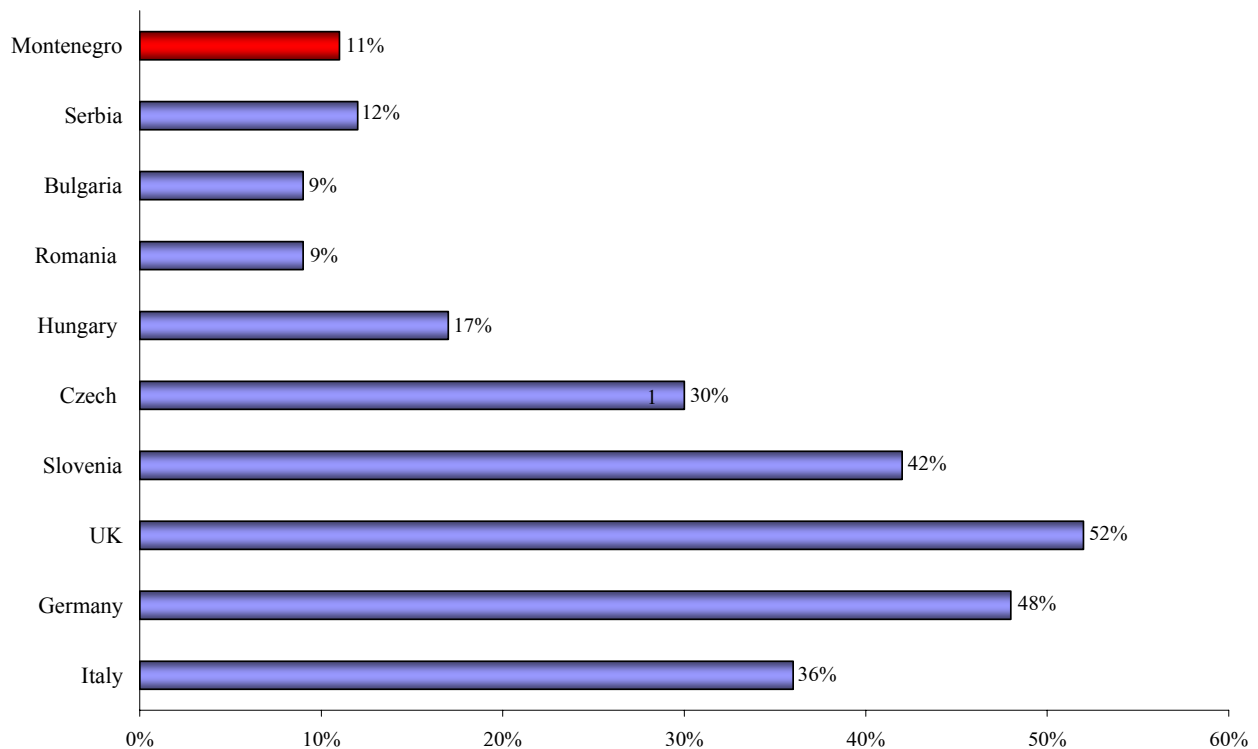
Internet

During the last press-conference of the largest Montenegrin Internet provider (Internet CG), conducted in October 2003, the following information was presented: total number of Internet users in Montenegro is 70,000³⁰ (approximately 11% of the population). Among Internet users, 36,100 are dial-up (they use analogue modem to access the Internet), while the remaining users have rented lines (large corporations, institutions and government). On servers of all providers at the same time, over 700 web-sites were hosted. According to internal analyses, 58% of web-sites were for business and educative purposes, while the remaining 42% are reserved for fun content.

Hotspot 1: Techno-optimism vs. Caution

Innovations in the domain of new technologies and media almost always generate contrary reactions within science and moral authorities in every society. Individuals that believe in “electronic paradise,” popularly called techno-optimists, constantly contradict the deficiencies of modern communication technologies and by doing so, they wage eternal war against admirers of the idea called the “digital apocalypse.” This is a war without sign of any winner because both sides have their own estimable arguments.

³⁰ This information includes 583 users that, at the time of research, had new provider MontSky.

Graph 5.1 Percent of Internet users in Montenegro. Comparisons with countries in region**- A few advantages**

Development of the Internet medium, which successfully integrates letter, word, sound and picture, making communication much better on a global level, largely changed the established opinions in society. There is almost no need to accent the distinct differences between people who live on different continents, and yet, they can communicate daily, combining picture and voice. Also, owing to technical progress, step by step we build a picture that is the symbol for the new millennium – a person in the street who talks by mobile phone or checks e-mail (GPRS, latterly Wireless-Fidelity), and this doesn't even mention the impact that the various portable devices have had on business communication and its efficiency.

On the other hand, it shouldn't be forgotten, that not long ago, in the years of general isolation, the Internet was the only way to get information about new achievements in modern science. The most wanted information was at users' disposal, fast, easy and mostly free. Today, one step further, the active system of education has been developed to education by Internet. It is no longer obscure; on the contrary, its progress is very fast and successful. Confirmation for that is an illustrative example of one Japanese girl who has recently finished quadrennial studies of art history at the outstanding University of Plattsburgh, in New York, all without making a step from her native town. She has seen New York only once when she was conferred her diploma at the pompous event. Examples like this are not unique today a fact that is encouraging to think that within a reasonable time, a similar system of education could be established even in our country. Namely, in October of this year, the first generation of novices at Faculty for Information Systems and Technologies (FIST) in Belgrade will begin, the first one that provides an opportunity to attend lessons, assume literatures, and to pass exams via the Internet (including even real-time lessons by video-link, as well as "live" consulting with professors).

The contribution of high-technologies in the research fields of media, tele-medicine, robotics, genetics and many other sciences has been implied, and in the next few years, it is a baseless proposition that its affirmation in other spheres of science won't be set in foreground.

- A few disadvantages

The base of protestations, which foes of new technologies consign to the Web and computers in general, consists of the following: users spend hours and hours in front of the monitor, lose their eyesight, deteriorate in physical condition, work up an obsessive need for the Internet, become agoraphobic and upset, estrange themselves from the environment, etc. Are these annotations overreactions?³¹ Couldn't they have claimed the same annotations to TV at its onset as a one-way and utterly passive medium?

Even worse are the "enemies" of the Internet and modern technical achievement, the so-called anti-cosmopolitans. Their observations are turned to the Web, which is reputedly the "product of global power centers", a trap in which "evil cosmopolitans capture innocent souls," with the simple aim: to provide direct control of the market.

In the end, we have proponents that are anxious for technical "world end," who see the future through the dimensions crisis - real and virtual. They warn that "The Pandora's Box" of new technologies is irreversible once opened, at the same time summoning the topic of Bill Joy³², released in the magazine, "Wired" in April 2000: "Why the Future Doesn't Need Us." In explication, the author quotes the assumption by which the future wouldn't depend on humans anymore. He suggests that: "...it is coming time when humans will not be in the spotlight; moreover, it is likely possible that he will not be needed, maybe not even desirable."

Final judgment is left for some other moment. Under the circumstances that we have, it would be completely wrong, and more than that thankless, to defend the standpoints of techno-optimist supporters of some kind of humanism, that is not clearly defined. For a change, we'll try to defend mildness with the fact that technical and scientific achievements have never been good or bad by itself - its appearance is conditioned by the way we use it.

Hotspot 2: Digital Divide

"The future is over here. It's just not widely distributed yet."
William Gibson³³

One question that has often been discussed in alternative organizations, and that was in the spotlight during the recent World-Wide Summit about information society in Geneva from December 10th to 12th 2003 is undoubtedly - the "Digital Divide." It is a question about the application of advanced information and communication technologies between developed and undeveloped world countries. In his opening speech, Yoshio Utsumi, general secretary of ITU (The International Telecommunication Union), presented the efforts of the oldest organization³⁴ cooperating with the United Nations to reduce problems about "digital divide," and he vividly explained the enormous difference between developed and undeveloped countries, using the information that the city of New York has more phones than the whole continent of Africa! *"We are aware that the use of information technology revolution is today unequally disposed between developed countries and these that are currently in process of developing. We are kindly interested in converting this digital*

³¹ According to research that has been recently managed by Center for Research of Information Technologies (CePIT) from Belgrade, number of "dependent" users (users that are on-line 12 hours and more) is negligible smaller than total number of computer users.

³² Co-founder and leading engineer of company Sun Microsystems

³³ Science-fiction writer (1948 -)

³⁴ Organization (ITU) was founded in 1865 year

divide into digital opportunity for all, especially for countries who risk being abandoned on the side or even margined.” - added later Utsumi.

Still, essential queries of Digital Divide were not completely included, this time. All that has been said, might be generally applicable in a global way, but using deductive simplification, we get many other divides: important differences appear when ICT equipment is used by the rich, on one hand, and used by the poor, on the other hand in the same society; additionally, differences within population subgroups appear with respect to the various levels of information literacy, sexual determination, different opportunities for individuals from urban/rural areas to get information, lower possibilities for neglected society groups, such as: immigrants, refugees, unemployed, national minority, etc.

Will the future of information and communication technologies bring prosperity only to those who know how to take advantage of it, or will they truly become accessible to all? Besides the gap between rich and poor, will this create a new gap between those, who for whatever reason, can and those who can't come to the necessary information (this aspect is known as “information disabled”)? It looks like that these and numerous other questions will have to wait until the next phase of the World-Wide summit concerning the information society, which is planned for November 2005 in Tunis, and until then . . .

4. Strategy of Information Society Development: path that leads us into Society of Knowledge - short overview

In accordance with the agreement from the World-Wide Summit, on meeting of Counsel for Information Society that was held on May 20th, the Strategy Draft for Information Society Development that was prepared by the Republic Department for Development was carefully considered. This document was created with the purpose of explaining how the adaptation of information and communication technologies can affect the agility of the reform process in Montenegro. It implicates multiple expert works that refer to the process of social knowledge development. Within the Draft, the main aims of the Strategy are defined, as well as a four-year Course of Action. As is stated in the document, by investing in the development of the information society, the following will be assured:

- Faster economic development;
- Accelerated reforms, accepting standards of developed world, democracy build-up;
- Creation of less costly, more efficient, more responsible and transparent public administration;
- Eased citizens' communication with state and environment, as well as eliminating business barriers;
- Equal chances for increasing educative level, life-long learning, distance learning by combining Internet possibilities, continued updating of educative contents, faster access to the Internet anytime and from any place, gaining skills, easier employment and decreasing number of social help users and their complete inclusion in society;
- Increased security for citizens and defense of human rights, as well as an easier struggle against organized crime and terrorism;

Also, the Strategy includes planned activities for improvement of “digital literacy”:

- Innovation of curriculum in primary and high schools;
- Multiply access points of Internet and help citizens to acquire digital literacy;
- Include educative components in e-Government projects;
- Try to translate digital materials into languages of minority nations;
- Prepare items, radio and TV programs for citizens' practical instruction;

- Include women, the elderly and displaced persons in the process of education;

Finally, the Strategy includes the ubiquitous question of “digital divide” within society. Decisive acts to take the edge off it are:

- Making access points of the Internet in rural areas, in all places with over 500 inhabitants;
- Giving an incentive to the private sector for donations of technical equipment;
- Respecting local specialty, such as the language of minority nations;
- Affording an opportunity for all citizens, in spite of their physical potentials.
- Modulating usage programs for the handicapped (preparing of audio materials for blind men etc.)

5. Instead of conclusion

Development of ICT includes one positive trend - more accessible and interactive, and this has positive effects on global communication. The Internet is spreading much more than one could possibly expect, and it is infallible in its efficiency and ability to make it useful to millions and millions of people worldwide. It's fast, modern, sometimes provocative, but as such, it fits the psychological profile of young people, who are mostly distinguished as open-minded persons with rich imagination and creativity. However, although computer usage is in the ascendant, it shouldn't be forgotten that this ascending path is inextricably linked with economic indicators of development as a whole, general as well as individual. And again we are brought to focus on the question of the “digital divide” within society, and ICT technologies, which despite ourselves, are beginning to be term and cause of new social inequality.

The Summit in Geneva explicitly showed that awareness of this problem has come to a crucial point, as well as the common problem of numerous countries lagging in ICT development. Even so, the fact that encourages is that many state members show an interest in all-together steaming triumph on instant problems. Initial steps in that direction, passing the Strategy of Development and the Course of Action (not only in Montenegro, but also in region countries), have been done. Afterwards, we can only hope for consistency in the realization of planned activities and the belief that we will undoubtedly, step by step, come to the ideal society that we tend to. And will it be easy? No, it won't.

If it's any consolation to us, while at the foot of a transition process there are numerous problems, but it almost always has two “advantages” as well. First, we don't have to repeat others' mistakes, and second, we have a large enough environment, which pulls us forward by itself. We are aware that the process of bringing Montenegro into the European economic and cultural trends has begun, and that is a logical step in the right direction to speed the development of ICT. Indeed, globalization and westernization are prices of that process, maybe, but the alternative of it is dead uncertainty. We are assured that, under these circumstances, it is not difficult to make the right choice at all!

2.6 ELECTICITY IN MONTENEGRO AND COMPARISONS TO THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION³⁵

1. Introduction

It isn't necessary to cite that we use electricity every day, in every situation. Besides that, we usually don't take care that electricity has its own economic and ecologic price, that the main resources are limited and exhausted and that we can increase their duration by saving. It is also needless to emphasize that we need to turn off lights and home devices when we don't use them, and slightly less obvious, production from recycled waste materials costs less than production from raw materials.

Electricity consumption is proportional to population growth (doubled over the past ten years worldwide)³⁶; our increased living standard also impacts the way we use electricity. Thirty years ago, it was rare to have a fridge at home, while today, it is one of the most necessary devices and most households have two or more.

The first section of this comment discusses the current electricity situation in Montenegro. The data about electricity consumption, received from the Household Survey in Montenegro³⁷, are presented in the second part. Finally, the last part of this comment is occupied with the problems surrounding the construction of the generating station Buk Bijela' and the possibilities of using renewable energy resources in Montenegro and the European market.

2. Current electricity situation in Montenegro

Production of electricity, gas and water accounts for 24.9% of total industrial production in Montenegro. In the first three months of 2004, the average production in this sector decreased by 11.2% compared to the same period last year. The annual rate of electricity production for March this year was negative and amounts to -27.9%.³⁸

Elektroprivreda Crne Gore (EPCG), one of the biggest producers in Montenegro, decreased its production in the first quarter of 2004 by 10% compared to the same period last year. According to the report of EPCG, power stations "Perucica" and "Piva" generated 976,293,000 KWh of electricity, which is 329,139,000 KWh more than in the same period last year. However, total production decreased because the generating station "Pljevlja" wasn't completely engaged in this period.

Two-thirds of electricity production in Montenegro comes from two large hydro-generating stations, and the rest from termo-generating station. Total production of these three generating stations in the first three months of this year were 1.2% higher than was planned: termo-generating station "Pljevlja" produced 38.9% less than planned, while HE "Piva" exceeded the plan by 30.1% and HE "Perucica" by 24.4%.³⁹

Montenegrin import of electricity for the first two months of this year were 1,400 GWh, or 31% of total production. From domestic and foreign systems, a total of 2,718.7 GWh was purchased during

³⁵ Author: Sanja Becic, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development, CEED

³⁶ www.geografija.hr/novosti.asp

³⁷ Household Survey, Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses (ISSP), April 2004.

³⁸ Elektroprivreda Crne Gore – EPCG (jun 2004)

³⁹ Elektroprivreda Crne Gore – EPCG (june 2004)

2003, which is 14.1% higher than the previous year, and 0.6% of the plan. Almost 48 million euros were spent to import electricity in 2001, which is 4% of GDP. That was a big drain from the already limited account of EPCG.

Losses on the transmission network of 171.9GWh were at the planned level, and on the distributive network, they were 3.63% higher than planned.⁴⁰

Losses on the electricity network are over 20%, 10% due to technical problems and the rest due to illegal consumption.

Table 6.1: Capacities, production and consumption of electricity in the countries of the region, 2001

| Electricity 2001 | Gig watts | Billion kilowatt hours | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| | Installed capacities | Production | Consumption |
| Albania | 1.68 | 5.289 | 5.89 |
| B&H | 3.94 | 9.979 | 8.12 |
| Croatia | 3.82 | 12.117 | 14.27 |
| Macedonia | 1.56 | 6.456 | 5.11 |
| Serbia and Montenegro | 9.6 | 31.710 | 32.374 |
| Total | 20.6 | 13.75 | 13.4 |

Source: www.eia.doe.gov

3. Household Survey's results in Montenegro

Electricity consumption, among households in Montenegro, increased by more than 210% since 1981. This is mostly the result of using devices for heat, air condition, and other electronic devices, but it is also dependent on the population growth. Electricity consumption in Montenegro increased by 10% from 2000-2002 and there is an assumption that the annual growth will be 2.5% in the period 2002-2005.⁴¹

The Household Survey that was conducted in May⁴² this year gives answers to the following questions:

Does your house/apartment have electricity connection?

According to survey results for Montenegro, 99.7% of polled households have an electricity connection, while 0.3% didn't. The percent of households that have an illegal connection is 0.5%.

Do you use electricity to heat your home and do you plan to use it next year?

Electricity is a source of heat for 49.7% of households in Montenegro, while others use another resource for heating, mostly wood (96.4%). The proportion of households that used electricity as a source of heat, and plan to use it again this year, decreased by 2.5%.

It's very interesting data that 88.1% of households from the southern region use electricity for heat and 81% from the north don't use it for the same purpose. The well-known problem of a lack of chimneys in buildings in the southern region influences the significantly higher percent of households that use electricity for heating; however, the situation is different in the north because most of households reside in houses. In the central region, approximately half of all households

⁴⁰ EPCG – newspapers of Elektroprivreda Crne Gore, July 2004

⁴¹ UNECE Environmental Performance Review of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 2003

⁴² Data refer on April 2004.

(48.9%) use electricity for heat and half (51.1%) don't. As far as plans go for this heating season, the number of households in the central region that are planning to use electricity for heat increased to 54.1% and in the south it decreased to 85.8%. In the north, 6% of households decided to start using electricity for heat again.

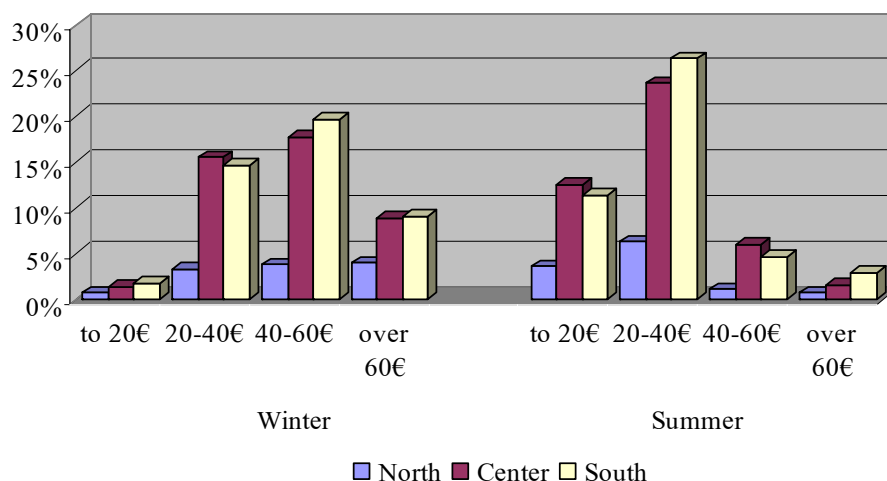
It is important to mention that 13.5% of households use both electricity and wood for heating; this is predominantly done in the central region (41.8%), followed by the south (34.3%) and lastly in the north (23.9%). Each region has its own traditional method of heating: the northern region uses wood, the southern region uses electricity, and the central region uses a combination of wood and electricity.

Most households that use electricity as a source of heating are the owners of their homes (83.7%) and typically they own houses (41.9%) or two-bedroom apartments (25.4%).

Amount of bills

According to the Household Survey, the average electric bill in Montenegro this winter was €53.7. Expected average bill for this summer was € 32.8.

Graphic 6.1. Structure of electricity bills for this winter and summer (expected)



The previous graphic shows that electric bills are highest in the south and central regions. This is because most households in these areas use electricity for heating in the winter and use air conditioners in the summer. The electric bills are lower in the north because they tend to use wood for heating and there is no need for using air condition.

4. Dilemma – Construction of HE "Buk Bijela" or protection of natural beauties

It is a known fact that Montenegro can't satisfy all the needs of consumers for electricity and it imports one third of total expenditures, which annual costs between 50 and 60 million euros. There are potential solutions to this problem: first, construction of HE "Buk Bijela" on the river Tara, and second, the block of TE Pljevlja or mini generating stations on the rivers Moraca, Zeta and Piva. The project of construction of HE "Buk Bijela" has attracted the most attention in the last few months. This project would last 5 years and cover the electricity deficit of 0.4 million KWh. Some experts for electricity think that this project is more profitable than construction of mini-generating stations that are planned to be placed in 70 locations in Montenegro and electricity, generated from Buk Bijela, would be cheaper than the electricity from mini-generating stations or alternative energy resources. The main argument for this is that Montenegro needs a really strong energy

resource and isn't in a situation to choose. There are the ecology and other electricity experts that have different opinions and think that construction of HE Buk Bijela would destroy Tara canyon, one of the most beautiful rivers in Montenegro that is protected by UNESCO. Tourism, as a main branch of industry that relies on our "natural pearls", as well as the Tara canyon, would suffer immeasurable damage. There is another opinion that other means of sanitation of the existing and construction of new blocks of TE "Pljevlja", using the water potentials of the rivers Zeta and Piva and renewable energy resources (wind, sun, biomass, water), can solve this problem. It is well-known that electricity generation from renewable energy resources can't cover the deficit, but it can help to reduce it. Discussion about this is in process and a study that should show the feasibility of investment and its influence on the environment is also in the works.

Box 6.1. Tariffs

According to cost analyses of EPCG and the existing tariff structure, there is the opinion that the tariffs of domestic electricity should be doubled in regard to the current price of 0.049€/KWh. Such an act would increase consumers' desire to save electricity, especially in the areas of investments with low costs, such as lightening and isolation. It was estimated in one household survey that the flexibility of the electricity price in Serbia and Montenegro is in rank 0.25, which shows that for every growth of 10% electricity consumption would be reduced by about 2.5%.

Source: Sector of Accessibility of Electricity in the South-Eastern Europe, Final Report of EBRD, November 2003

Montenegro has great potential for solar heating used in the coast and valleys of the rivers Zeta and Morača. Solar heating is used for warming water and buildings as well as for air conditioning, but its minimal use currently is without significant influence (changes) on the electricity balance in Montenegro. However, a significant growth in the use of solar energy is expected due to further technical and economic development of solar collectors' performances.

According to European standards, use of solar energy is low, mostly being used to warm water in the hotels on the coast. Just 8% of the total electricity produced comes from renewable energy resources and the other 92% comes from fossil and nuclear.⁴³

There is also great potential to use biomass energy because Montenegro is very rich in woods and it can be used very well. On the other hand, the use of wind energy has not been developed, but there is also the potential for using this resource.

This year, the German company "Umwelt" has shown interest in investing 550 million € for setting and installing three plants that would generate 220MW of electricity from wind and biomass. Solar elements will be interesting for the next 4 – 6 years;⁴⁴ however, we must decide on the use of this form of energy due to the existing problem of high consumption and insufficient production.

Experiences in the region

Almost all electricity in Slovenia that is produced of renewable energy resources comes from hydroenergy and this form of power represents one third of total electricity production. Hydroenergy is the most important renewable energy resource and the only one that has commercial meaning. The majority think that it is an ideal resource of energy because it doesn't use fuel and it's cheap, but the reality is different. This energy resource is also limited. For example, in the last three decades, electricity production in hydro generating stations has tripled, but the contribution of

⁴³ www.earthdog.com

⁴⁴ www.vibilia.cg.yu

hydroenergy in the world's electricity consumption increased by only 1.1%. In the same period, production in nuclear generating stations increased 100%, and its contribution to the overall energy supply by 80 times.⁴⁵ Similarly, hydro-energy can't be used everywhere and it requires a lot of fast-running water throughout the entire year, because of storage unpossibility (electricity can be conserved in accumulators, which are very expensive and dangerous for the environment). Some estimations show that 25% of the world's potential is being used today and that full exploitation would satisfy 80% of all needs. Most of the unused potential is in developing countries, which is very favorable because of the expected growth of electricity consumption in these areas.

Croatia is in fifth place in their participation of electricity production from renewable energy resources (40-60% is produced from hydro generating stations) in Europe⁴⁶. The Croatian electrical industry (HEP) induces the development of their renewable resources voluntarily, mainly by inducing private investments and protecting the environment. Production capacities that are installed in this country are as follows: 50% thermal, 7% nuclear and 43% hydro⁴⁷.

After hydroenergy, the next most important renewable energy resource is geothermal, which uses the internal warmth from the earth for warming water to steam (it's a similar principle as in thermo-generating stations) and in that way produces electricity that is used in homes and greenhouses, for heating, or in some industrial processes such as milk pasteurization. The main shortage of this resource is that there are just a few places in the earth where the warm water isn't too deep in the sea. This resource is most often used in the USA, Phillipines, Mexico, and Japan.

Greece is a leader in using solar systems for making electricity. About one million panels that produce electricity are installed in this country. This kind of production is also very popular in Germany, which dominated the European market by using wind energy with a production of 2,645 MW in 2003. Other countries with electricity production include: Spain – 1,337 MW, Austria – 276 MW, Denmark – 243 MW, and Holland with 226 MW. Worldwide, there is 39.29 MW generated from wind energy⁴⁸. Wind capacities in EU grew to 28,440 MW at the end of 2003, which is enough for 14 million average European households or 35 million citizens.

Table 6.2: Energy resources in the region⁴⁹

| Energy | Production (billion KWh) | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|--------|
| | Slovenia | Albania | Croatia | Macedonia | Total |
| Hydro | 3.741 | 3.519 | 6.519 | 0.620 | 14.399 |
| Nuclear | 5.036 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5.036 |
| Geothermal and others | 0.068 | 0 | 0.001 | 0 | 0.069 |
| Thermal | 4.815 | 0.129 | 5.255 | 5.391 | 15.590 |
| Total | 13.66 | 3.65 | 11.78 | 6.01 | |

Countries from the region produce the most electricity using hydro and thermal resources, except Slovenia, which prefers nuclear resources. Croatia produces 45.27% of the total energy that is produced from hydro resources. Slovenia, Macedonia and Croatia use thermal resources for electricity production, in the following amounts: 30.89%, 33.71% and 34.58%.

The table that follows gives a review of the EU countries and the costs of electricity production from different resources.

⁴⁵ www.geografija.hr/novosti.asp

⁴⁶ www.hep.hr

⁴⁷ www.eva.ac.at

⁴⁸ www.ewea.org

⁴⁹ www.eia.doe.gov

Table 6.3: External costs for electricity production in the EU (in EUROcent/kWh)

| Country | Coal & Lignite | Peat | Oil | Gas | Nuclear | Biomass | Hydro | PV | Wind |
|---------------|----------------|------|------|-----|---------|---------|-------|-----|------|
| Austria | | | | 1-3 | | 2-3 | 0.1 | | |
| Belgium | 4-15 | | | 1-2 | 0.5 | | | | |
| Germany | 3-6 | | 5-8 | 1-2 | 0.2 | 3 | | 0.6 | 0.05 |
| Denmark | 4-7 | | | 2-3 | | 1 | | | 0.01 |
| Spain | 5-8 | | | 1-2 | | 3-5* | | | 0.2 |
| Finland | 2-4 | 2-5 | | | | 1 | | | |
| France | 7-10 | | 8-11 | 2-4 | 0.3 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Greece | 5-8 | | 3-5 | 1 | | 0-0.8 | 1 | | 0.25 |
| Ireland | 6-8 | 3-4 | | | | | | | |
| Italy | | | 3-6 | 2-3 | | | 0.3 | | |
| Norway | 3-4 | | | 1-2 | 0.7 | 0.5 | | | |
| Portugal | 4-7 | | | 1-2 | | 1-2 | 0.03 | | |
| Great Britain | 4-7 | | 3-5 | 1-2 | 0.25 | 1 | | | 0.15 |

* - biomass co-fired with lignites , ** subtotal of quantifiable externalities (such as global warming, public health, occupational health, material damage)

As shown, the cheapest electricity is produced from wind energy, hydro, and nuclear resources, and the most expensive comes from coal, lignite, and oil. However, the price of electricity varies from country to country regardless of production from the same resource. The best example given by the significantly lower price of electricity produced from wind in Germany and Denmark compared to the prices in Spain, Greece, and Great Britain.

1.5. Conclusion

In watching the current electricity situation in Montenegro, we can't say that there has been a change for the better. The goals remain the same and little has been done towards their achievement. Sometimes, a new idea is born, or in this case, a 30-year-old idea is born again and becomes the main topic, as this one about constructing HE Buk Bijela. Such an idea creates quite a stir and leads to the beginning of many long discussions. This situation shows that the economic, energetic and ecological point of view is poorly thought of and it reinforces the notion that these three perspectives do not go with one another.

However, those things that are well known and should be done are primarily the rationalization of electricity consumption in the larger sectors in Montenegro (distribution, households and industry). Rationalization is very important because of the current energy network and price shocks that are connected with the entry of Montenegro in the Balkans and the European electricity market. Dependence and import of electricity should be reduced (it is currently 1/3 of total consumption) and the supply efficiency of the energy system should be improved.

In any event, it is high time to start thinking about alternative and renewable energy resources, and look away from the engagement of large hydro/thermal systems that have not given significant results in the last ten years and do not cover the existing electricity deficit. Why don't we give private companies the opportunity to invest in solar systems or windmills without any compensation to the state? It could be profitable for all.

2.7 QUALITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AND ISO STANDARDS - GLOBAL PHENOMENON OF TODAY⁵⁰

Today quality is not a choice; it is the basis of an enterprise's survival.

For Montenegro, membership in the European Union is one of the basic goals of development. In the process of European integration, Montenegro must create an open market economy and procure conditions for the undisturbed flow of international exchange and competitiveness on the international market. It is clear that in order to enter the international market, Montenegrin enterprises must offer a quality product that is attractive and satisfies required European standards.

Still, in Montenegro little attention is devoted to the standardization of enterprises. Do enterprises understand how to conduct business in accordance with certain standards? Do they recognize the importance of the adopted standards? Are they aware of the benefits of standardization for enterprises, customers and the overall economy?

The aim of this commentary is to briefly deal with the quality management system and ISO 9000:2000 and ISO 14000 standards. The commentary consists of two parts; first, a description of the quality management system providing an interpretation, its basic goal, and the importance of this phenomenon, and secondly, we focus on the quality management system and environmental management system -- the meaning and interpretation of standards, results of certification, and benefits brought by the adopted standards.

1. Quality management system

The introduction of the quality management system (QMS)⁵¹ is important to an enterprise's business performance and its prosperity. QMS means continual improvement of the processes in an enterprise; these improvements would impact the quality of products/services and result in the obtainment of prestige and market competitiveness.

One of the falsehoods, which frequently may be heard, refers to QMS interpretation. Experience has shown that QMS is most frequently interpreted as the quality of products/services; however, QMS is actually a much larger conception, including not only the quality of products/services, but also the quality of overall organizational operations.

When is the right time to introduce QMS? The best answer to this question comes from the president of Philips: "We got started to fight for QMS when we had the greatest problems. The more problems are present, the more need for it exists."

2. Standardization – necessity or need?

One of the certain conditions for entry and prestige on the international market is the possession of the ISO standard's certificate. If an enterprise obeys these standards, they maintain QMS, which will ensure that its products/services satisfy the needs and requests of the customers. "The customer is the most important person in the enterprise – personally or by the post. The customer does not depend on us, because we depend on him."⁵²

⁵⁰ Author: Andrijana Kumburovic, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development, CEED

⁵¹ Quality management system consists of organizational structure, responsibility, procedure and resources that are necessary for the application of quality management.

⁵² Enterprise's organization, Bogoljub Boskovic

Numerous changes that are occurring in the modern business environment enforce the need for innovation. Customers have higher expectations and requests regarding quality and design, enterprises are more active in technical and technological changes, competition on the domestic and international market became stronger.... These challenges point to the importance of enterprises applying ISO standards. The adoption of these standards would bring a series of benefits: easier international exchange of products/services, product placement on the market, connection with potential customers, more successful business results, improved openness and willingness to perform on the domestic and international market.

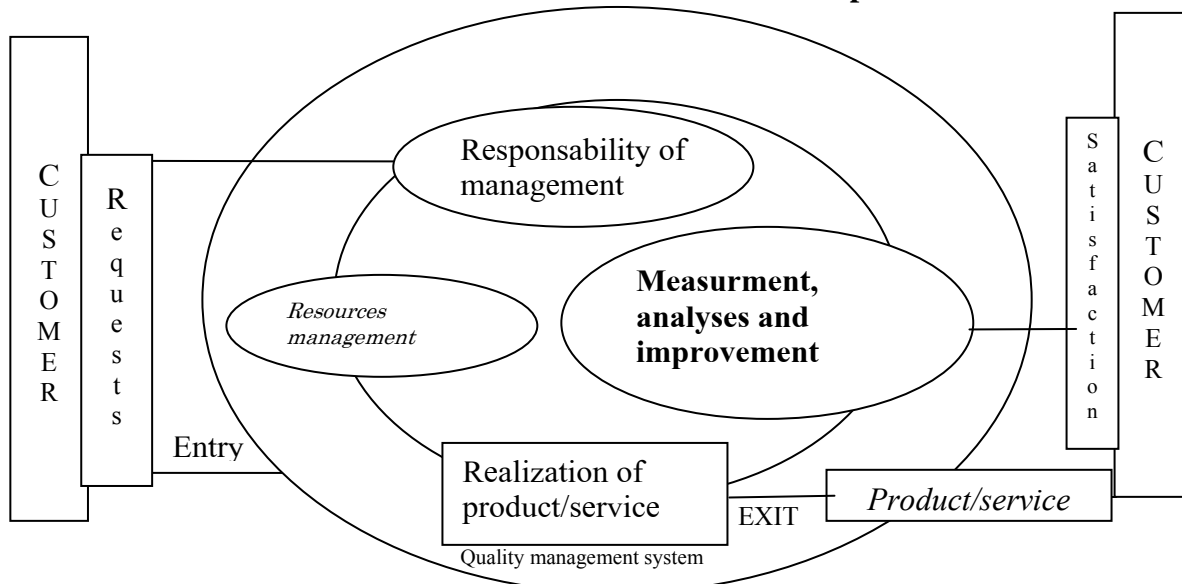
In the following text, attention will be placed on the ISO 9000:2000 and ISO 14000 standards. Series ISO 9000:2000 represents the standard for quality management, while ISO 14000 refers to environmental protection management. ISO 9000:2000 is compatible with the other standards of the management system, and because of the similar principles, it is recommended that enterprises introduce and apply both standard series at the same time.

2.1 Quality management system - ISO 9000:2000

ISO 9000:2000⁵³ is the first⁵⁴ from the ISO series of international standards that provide a Quality management system. Those series of standards put an emphasis on customers' needs and requests. With its adoption, an enterprise significantly increases its level of satisfaction for meeting customer's needs.

The following graph shows the model of operation and implementation of ISO 9000:2000. The overall process is certified through several phases, and eventually an enterprise has a certified product that satisfies customer demand and increases satisfaction.

Picture 7.1 Model of ISO 9000:2000 operation



ISO 9000:2000 series of standards may be applied to all types of organizations (manufacturing, services, non-profit, etc.), to all types of activities and to all sizes of enterprise (small, medium and large).

⁵³ 9000:2001 – defines necessary terminology for the quality management system.

⁵⁴ 9001:2001 – specific requests of QMS for the enterprises in the field of development, production, installation and system's maintenance; 9002:2001 – includes standards which refer to production and installation; 9003:2001 – includes standards of connections, control and testing of the final product, 9004:2001 – specific requests for the constant improvement of global performance, efficiency and effectiveness of the organization.

What is certified with the ISO 9000:2000 series of standards? This standard means standardization of the overall organizational operations, and not just certification of the product, which is often highlighted.

It cannot be precisely determined how long the certification process takes for it depends on the organizational level, the relations between employees and management, organization of the manufacturing process, the rules of an enterprise, and the enforcement of its principles. The organization and its enforcement of the preceding cited elements determine the amount of time needed for standardization.

In Montenegro, few enterprises possess ISO 9000:2000 standards system. This standards system is a very important condition for Montenegrin enterprises because it enables them to make contact with potential suppliers and strategic partners more easily, to draw up and keep potential customers, and to take a place on the international market. Meeting the standard requirements is a condition for an organization/business performing in accordance with the European standards.

Box 7.1 For better understanding of ISO standard 9000:2001

In order to better understand the bottom line of these standards, we will look at one example. Housewives go to the shops to buy cheese, fruits, vegetables, etc. It is not unusual that shopping is, year in and year out, done at the same place, at the same vendor due to the confidence obtained through past experience, which is justified with the goods' quality. The experience reminds us that among vendors there are those with the intention to "cheat" us and those that might want to offer bad goods. On the basis of confidence, the exchange is accomplished with mutual satisfaction and benefits to both the vendor who sold goods and the buyer who purchased the checked provisions.

The preceding example may be identified with the ISO 9000:2000 standard. The bottom line, and the aim of this standard's implementation, is to gain customer confidence through supplier reliability leading to a more efficient business. The same situation is found with enterprises that have received certification since customers know that the product satisfies expected ISO standards, which is the proof of quality.

The standards and the strategic role that they play in an enterprise contribute to the success of an enterprise. They not only bring success to those enterprises that have already been standardized, but to the overall economy as well. Today, many new rules are being introduced, and in accordance with them, non certified products are not only disabled to be exported, but also to be sold on the domestic market. This suggests that enterprises should start their business by establishing relations with foreign partners and should certainly orientate their production towards the European market.

According to the Center for quality's data, there are about 50 enterprises in Montenegro that possess ISO 9000:2000 standard series. The assortment of enterprises with certification includes: manufacturing (anode, furniture made of wood, processing of vine and table grapes, wines and natural rakija, natural and mineral water), processing (cereals), services (freight-forwarding, public and customs warehousing), transport (domestic and international), trade (foreign and domestic), etc.

In Montenegro, the majority of enterprises that have adopted the international standards from the ISO series are export-oriented. The introduction of these standards was "necessary" for Montenegrin companies in order to become competitive in the international market. Montenegrin enterprises had the ambitions to export and they performed well, but they were in a "weaker position" in comparison to those enterprises that had received certification. With the introduction of

standardized products/services they are in the position to compete with other enterprises with a similar offer and to draw customers to their side.

Additional benefits of the standards include:

- Orientation to customer satisfaction;
- A quality working process is procured, and with that comes a quality product/service;
- A reduction of mistakes will occur, and with that operational costs and prices of products/services are reduced, while profit increases;
- A reduction is made in the scrap and finishing process, internal efficiency is improved, and constant improvement is made within all functions of the enterprise;
- While the product is on the verification process or when CE sign already certifies it, enterprises that have received certification have several benefits: products/services are less examined than the others and the process for them is shortened.

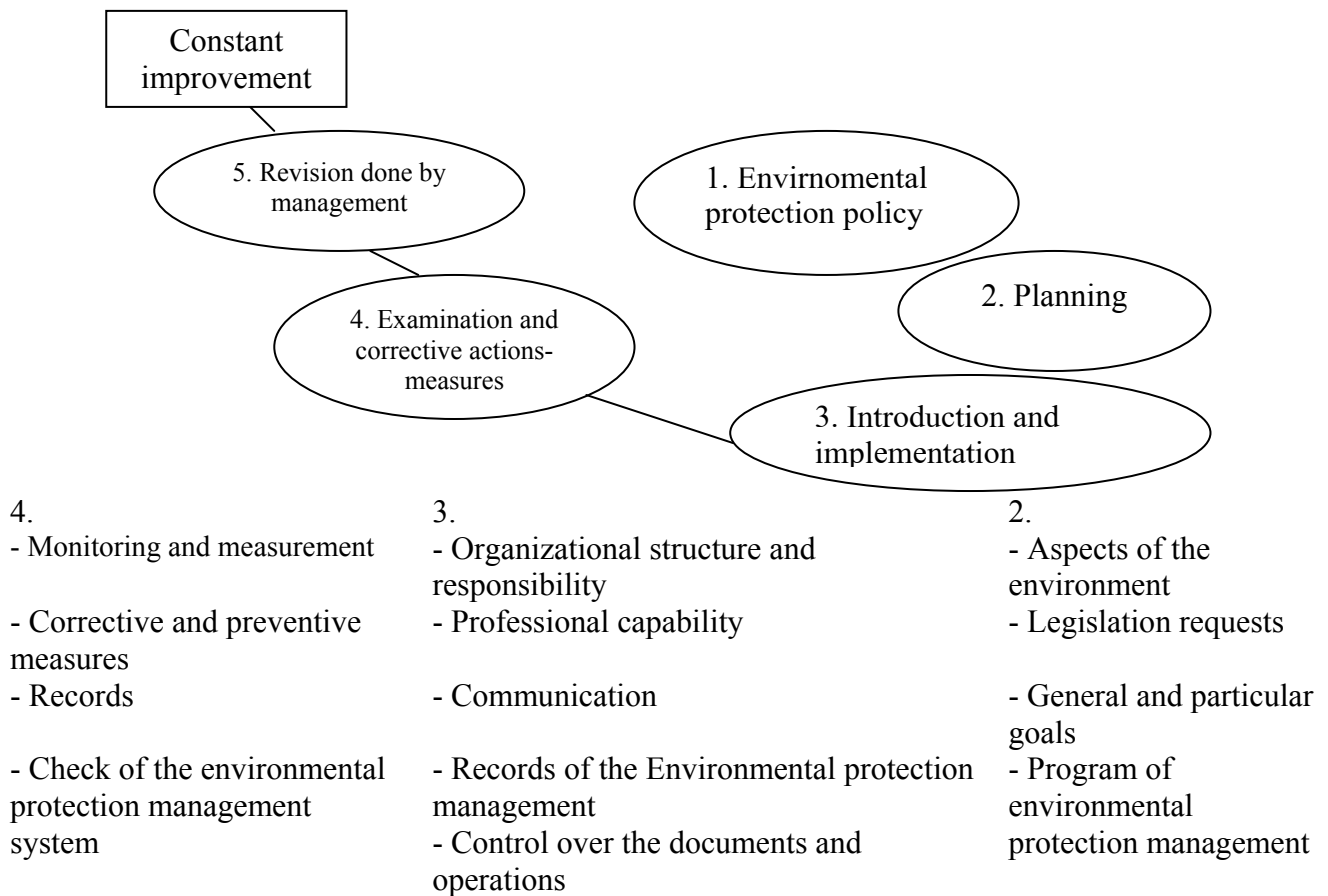
In recent years, enterprises that want to introduce the standard have been mainly orientated towards certification houses from the West. However, standards introduction is preceded by a “preparation phase” for each enterprise, which consists of the pre-certification process, internal revision of the Quality management system, etc. The Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development is the only consulting house in Montenegro that professionally performs these processes. After the pre-certification processes and internal revision of QMS are completed, another certification company completes the enterprise’s certification.

2.2 Environmental managing system – ISO 14000

Creation of different types of waste, emission of gases in the atmosphere, water and land pollution, irrational use of the natural resources -- these are all factors that more and more endanger the health and safety of people, as well as the quality of their lives.

An important factor for today’s modern man’s satisfaction is the quality of the environment in which he lives as well as the protection of this environment. A higher level of man’s awareness of environmental preservation, numerous requests of today, as well as adopted laws are all orientated towards the establishment of the environmental protection system.

ISO 14000 is a standard that refers to environmental protection management and it is applied at the enterprise’s level. The basic goal of this standard is to offer support for environmental protection and to prevent further pollution. With the introduced standard, enterprises, even in the product/service development phase, conduct research on the impact of the manufacturing process on the environment and they strive to obey the rules from the environment protection sphere.

Picture 7.2 Model of ISO 14000 operation

ISO 14000 series of standards applies to all types of organizations of all sizes that conduct their business in different geographical, cultural and social environments.

In Montenegro, according to the data from Center for quality, only two enterprises possess the ISO 14000 standard: MI-RAI (production of furniture made of wood, interiors production, engineering) and Vektra (production, trade, transport, warehousing). Both enterprises are export-oriented and their business is based on established business contacts with foreign clients. Vektra has oriented more than 90% of its production towards the European and world market.

It is interesting to note that both Vektra and MI-RAI possess ISO 14000 and ISO 9000:2000 at the same time. The quality of the products in the ISO 9000:2000 system corresponds to the performance in the environmental protection in the ISO 14000 system. But, in contrast to the product's quality, performance in the environmental protection sphere cannot be evaluated only by product examination; it must be based on an analysis of the product's impact on the environment in the course of the manufacturing process (from raw materials, via manufacturing, usage, and packaging).

Despite the fact that Montenegro is an ecological state, it is faced with a series of problems related to the environment. The air is "polluted" with noticeable clouds of smoke coming from the chimney of Aluminum Plant (KAP) and from the burning waste disposals; rivers are "rich" with car wrecks, damaged appliances, and different waste materials-garbage. This shows that it is necessary to introduce the filtration of exhaust gas system immediately in order to reduce and accomplish the processing of waste materials, to stimulate industrial enterprises to introduce ISO 14000, and to behave in accordance with the measures that refer to environmental protection. The introduction

and implementation of these standards would show that the responsibility for environmental protection is taken seriously.

The advantages of ISO 14000 are observed from different aspects:

- Continual improvement of the organization's performance, as well as renown improvement;
- Better market position in comparison with the competition;
- Confidence of both customers and suppliers is gained;
- Optimization of internal processes;
- Early identification of the environmental problems;
- Easier entry on the international market.

Environmental protection and its improvement is a priority today. The assertion that "we did not inherit the environment from our parents, but rather have borrowed it from our children" points to the fact that it is the time to start this, step by step.

3. Is quality really evaluated by world standards?

An enterprise that stops being better stops being well. The goal of every enterprise should be continual improvement of its internal processes, constantly following and adjusting to the changes in the environment, as well as adjusting to the needs of its clients.

The preceding statements point to the necessity of certificate possession, which are the "foundation" of the quality guarantee. The certification would help Montenegrin enterprises to establish business partnerships in the international market, to react in a timely manner on changeable conditions, and to gain greater confidence and loyalty of clients. While an enterprise will not resolve all of their problems upon receiving certification, it will aid undeveloped countries in winning over their clients, finding strategic partners, and becoming more opened. On the European market, ISO standard is the ticket for entry!

Our standards must be adjusted to the international standards because only those products that are safe for use can be placed on the EU market. Quality should be a commitment of the enterprise, because it is certain that "quality does not cost, but poor quality certainly does."

Certification is completed especially because of the customers. It provides proof, or assurance, that everything that comes from the enterprise is top quality. In this way, the customer is protected from bad products. The example from Box 1 explains that mutually built confidence between customers and vendors is the basis for the existence of mutual satisfaction. Additionally, vendors have an easier time selling their goods and buyers go home without worrying about the quality of the product they have purchased.

We all want to live on this Earth in such a way that enables our heirs to have the same way of life. Because of this, the results of our work must become quality.

2.8 THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM OF MONTENEGRO⁵⁵

*“With no health, intellect means nothing,
Skills could not be seen; power could not be shown,
wealth is useless and intelligence cannot be applied.”
- Herofilus 300 b.c.-*

1. Introduction

Health is a word that is very often used and heard in casual conversations. But, what does it really mean? It is defined as a “condition of complete physical, mental and social welfare”.⁵⁶

This comment will provide answers to the following questions:

- What is the current situation of the health infrastructure in Montenegro?
- What is the health condition of the population in Montenegro?
- How satisfied are consumers with the provided services in medical institutions?
- What are the reasons for Reform in health care?
- What is the plan for health, politically, in Montenegro to the year 2020.

2. Analyses of present situation in health care system of Montenegro

2.1 Health infrastructure and staff

The health care system is organized as a unique health care region and is based dominantly on the public sector. Public health care institutions are organized through a network of primary, secondary and tertiary health care facilities consisting of eighteen medical centers, seven general hospitals, three special hospitals, the Clinical Center of Montenegro, the Institute for Health, and the Pharmaceutical Institute of Montenegro. The private sector, not yet integrated in the health care system, comprises a larger number of medical centers, dental centers, wholesale medicines and pharmacies.⁵⁷

The existing health care resources within the framework of the public sector indicate that the accessibility and development of the health care infrastructure, especially with regard to the number of beds and number of doctors, is at the same level as more developed countries.

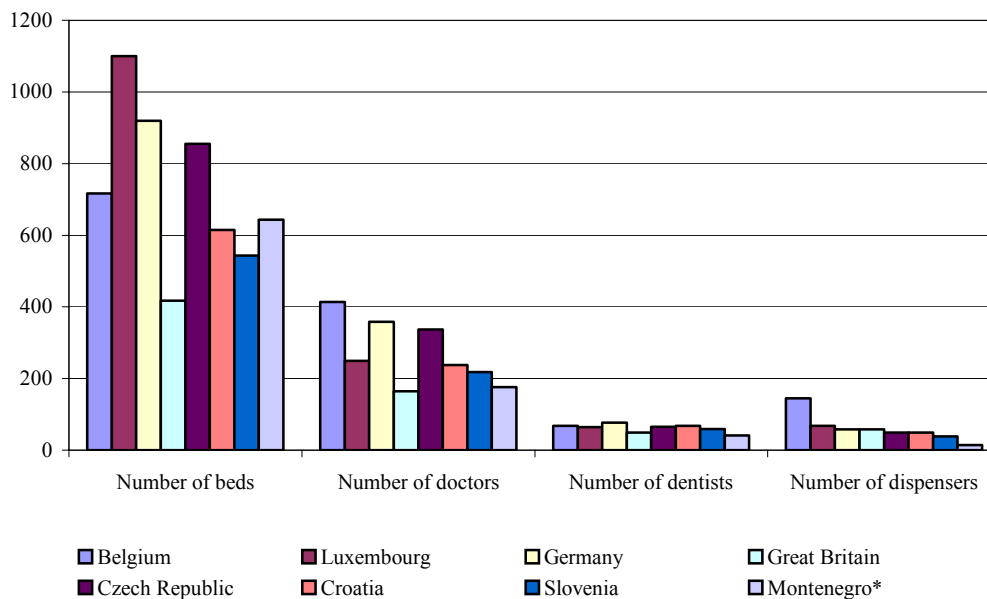
The next graph represents the indicators of health care system development of Montenegro in comparison with other countries in the region and more.

⁵⁵ Authors: Jelena Pavicevic, Center for Applied Research and Analysis, CARA and Jelena Janjušević, Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses, ISSP

⁵⁶ Definition of World Health Organization (WHO)

⁵⁷ Source: The Ministry of Health, "Health Strategy for Montenegro"

**Graph 8.1 Health care capacities in Montenegro and selected countries of Europe
(on 100,000 residents)**



* Data for Montenegro refer to Public Health sector.

Source: Ministry of Health, Montenegro

The total number of public health care employees in 2001 was 7,123, of which 5,339 (74.9%) were health care workers and associates, and 1,784 (25.1%) were non-medical workers.

Table 8.1 Public health care staff in Montenegro, according to last register December 31, 2001

| Employees | Non-medical services ⁵⁸ | % | Medical services | % | Total | % |
|--|------------------------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Medical laborers and collaborators | 2,817 | 78.4 | 2,522 | 71.5 | 5,339 | 74.9 |
| Non-medical laborers and collaborators | 777 | 21.6 | 1,007 | 28.5 | 1,784 | 25.1 |
| TOTAL: | 3,594 | 100.00 | 3,529 | 100.00 | 7,123 | 100.00 |

Source: Ministry of Health, Montenegro

Among the 5,339 health medical laborers and collaborators, 1,563 (29.3%) have a higher education level, with 1,127 (21.1%) being doctors, 269 (5.0%) being dentists, 99 (1.9%) are graduated dispensers, and the other 68 (1.3%) are medical collaborators.

2.2 The health condition of Montenegrin population

The health condition of the Montenegrin population is represented through positive and negative indicators: birthrate, mortality, natural growth and vital index.

⁵⁸ Non-medical services involved: medical centers, local ambulant, emergencies

Table 8.2 Primary vital indicators for the years 1991, 2000, and 2001

| Indicator | 1991 | | 2000 | | 2001 | |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | Number | Rate | Number | Rate | Number | Rate |
| Live births babies | 9,606 | 15.50 | 9,188 | 13.9 | 8,829 | 13.3 |
| Total defunct | 3,970 | 6.40 | 5,408 | 8.2 | 5,436 | 8.2 |
| Mortality of newborn baby | 107 | 11.14 | 100 | 10.9 | 114 | 14.61 |
| Natural growth | 5,636 | 9.10 | 3,780 | 5.7 | 3,393 | 5.1 |
| Vital index | 9,606/3,970 | | 9,188/5,408 | | 8,829/5,436 | |
| | | 242 | | 169.9 | | 162.4 |

Source: Ministry of Health, Montenegro

The birthrate decreased from 15.5‰ in 1991 to 13.3‰ in 2001. The overall mortality rate in 2001 was 8.2‰ (level with the previous year). The changes in birthrate and mortality in the prior period led to the decrease of the rate of natural growth from 9.1‰ in 1991 to 5.1‰ in 2001.

The mortality rate of newborn babies in Montenegro, an indicator of total socio-economic, educational, cultural, and other social development, has a negative trend – going from 10.90‰ in 2000 to 14.61‰ on 1,000 newborn babies in 2001.

The life expectancy in Montenegro is 75.2 years (71.5 for men and 78.7 for women). Vital index, the number of live births per 100 deaths, decreased from 173.4 in 1998 to 154.2 in 2002.

The health condition of the Montenegrin population, measured by health indicators, is similar to that of other East and Central European countries. However, these values are below the levels of Western European countries.

3. Survey about the health among households in Montenegro

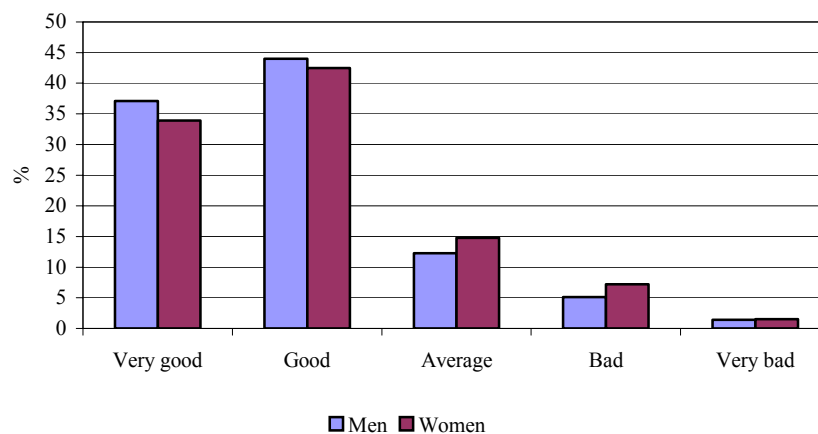
In May 2004, the Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses (ISSP) implemented the survey among households. The Household survey consists of a sample of about 1,000 households from 21 Montenegrin towns.⁵⁹

The health condition of the surveyed sample

When asked to evaluate their own health condition, 35.4% of respondents believe that their health condition is very good; 43.3% believe it is good; 13.6% think it is average, while 8.8% believe that their health is bad.

When comparing the subjective mark of health condition between genders (see graph 2), we conclude that men are more likely to consider themselves to be in good health than are women. On the other hand, women were more likely to believe that their health condition is average/bad/very bad as compared to men.

⁵⁹ Out of the 1,000 sampled, 600 households are considered to be the Core Sample, 200 households are direct recipients of Material protection – a form of social help, and 200 households live in areas with certain ecological problems.

Graph 8.2 How would you rate your own health condition?

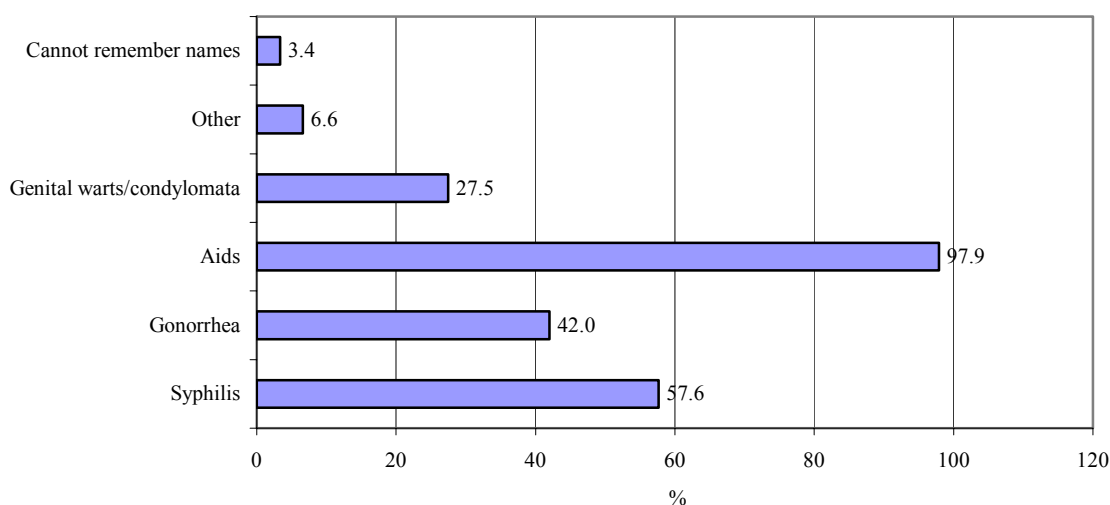
When asked to compare their current health condition with their previous health condition, 83.6% of all respondents believe themselves to be the same, while 9.6% believe that their condition is worse. Most respondents who answered that their health condition is the same as in preceding years were between 15 to 25 years old, while the majority of respondents who believe that their health condition has worsened are 50 or older.

Of those responding to the survey, only 3.7% had some disability; and 85.9% of the disabled respondents had a limited ability to work, while 14.1% are not limited.

Of those responding to the survey, 7.1% had some chronic disease. Of the sampled respondents, 1.4% of households have a child with special needs.

Respondents' information about genital diseases

With respect to sexually transmitted diseases, the questionnaire asked not only about the actuality of this problem, but also of the different means of education offered and more specifically, how much information respondents had been given about genital diseases. Among all respondents that provided an answer to the question "Have you ever heard about diseases that can be transmitted through sexual intercourse," 74.6% had, while the remaining 25.4% had not heard this. Among the respondents who were aware of STD's, almost all of them had heard of aids, while the fewest were aware of condylomata.

Graph 8.3 Which diseases have you heard of?⁶⁰

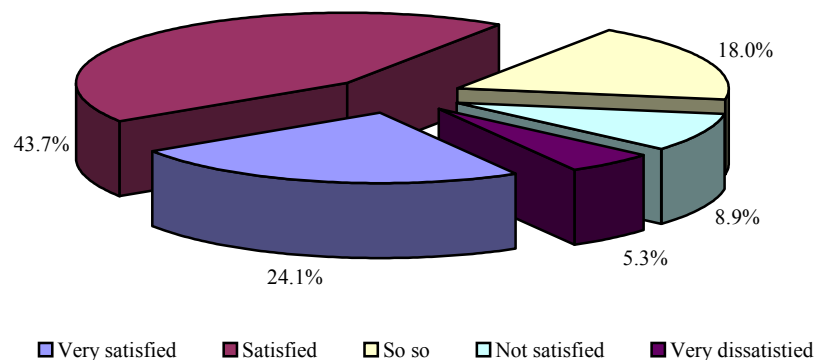
⁶⁰ For the question "Which diseases have you heard of?" respondents could provide more than one answer.

Among respondents who had heard of some diseases, most believed that the best forms of protection against these diseases was to use condoms (74.4%), have only one sex partner (44.7%), avoid sex with prostitutes (26.6%), and to seek medical treatment (22.6%).⁶¹

Consulted health practitioners

Just 9.6% of respondents consulted a health practitioner or visited a health center in the 30 days prior to the survey (April 2004). Graph 4 shows the level of satisfaction with their consultation.

Graph 8.4 Were you satisfied with the consultation?



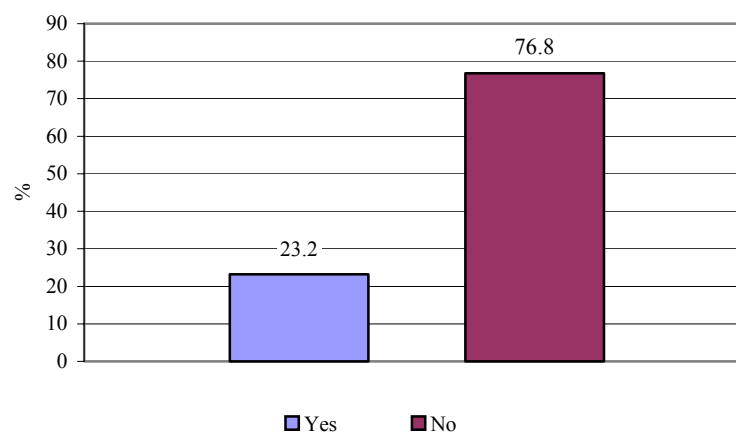
Just 3.5% of those who visited a health practitioner or health center did not provide an answer to the question “Who paid for the treatment?” Among the respondents who did answer this question, nearly nine of ten (88.9%) report that their treatment was paid through their health insurance, 8.5% paid by them, and 2.6% of respondents report that somebody else (cousin, friend) paid for their treatment.

Among respondents that visited some health care institution, 13.7% did not answer the question “Are you satisfied with the service that you received in the Clinic Center of Montenegro.” For those that did answer, one-third was very satisfied (33.2%) and nearly half was satisfied (46.1%), while one of ten was not satisfied (11.8%) and the remaining 8.9% were very dissatisfied.

The quality of the health system in a country has a strong influence on the population’s quality of health. According to results of the Montenegrin Ministry of Health web site survey, only one-fifth of respondents are satisfied with the service provided in the Clinical center. The following graph shows results of the survey:⁶²

⁶¹ For the question “What can people do to protect themselves from these diseases?” respondents could provide more than one answer.

⁶² Source: web site of Montenegrin Ministry of health (www.mzdravlja.vlada.cg.yu). There was a question on the site that could be answered by any of site visitors.

Graph 8.5 Are you satisfied with the service you received in the Clinic Center of Montenegro?

Nevertheless, this cannot be taken as a credible indicator of overall citizen satisfaction with the work of this institution since the structure of the sample is unknown, as are the causes of displeasure. Additionally, the probability is very low that the very same persons who use the services of this institution the most (the elderly) are those who came to visit the web site. An open question remains: Will health care reform manage to change citizens' opinion concerning the quality of services provided in health care institutions.

4. Health care system reform in Montenegro

The reasons behind the health care system reform lie in the inefficient operation of the health system and a number of identified problems: inadequate organization of health care service, method of collecting and distribution of facilities, lack of monitoring and control for different segments, and the overall unsatisfactory quality of health services. These problems have existed for a long time. Health care system reform, much like health insurance reform, impacts all segments and has great implications on events in other social fragments.

New health care model – Choose your doctor

The practice of many European countries, as those in our neighborhood, shows clearly that every country needs to enforce the reform model adapted to local conditions. The previous system of primary health protection in Montenegro became insufficient for people and modern medicine needs. Patients, for whom the system is established, and health workers, who are a very important part of the health care system, are not satisfied.

Most patient problems are related to: inability to choose their own doctor, usual changes of doctors, unmotivated doctors, wait time at the information desk, lack of efficient appointment system, unequipped ambulances, patient waiting rooms that are small and overcrowded, lack of time for inspection and discussion, superfluously used time for huge administrative works, and the lack of medicine in pharmacies.

Additionally, health workers in primary health care are not satisfied with their own status and salaries.

Considering all of the weaknesses of the existing primary and total health care in Montenegro, the Ministry of Health, in cooperation with competent domestic and foreign consultants, especially World Bank, prepared a program of reforms that considers a new model of primary health

protection. That model will be implemented in Podgorica, and after that in the whole Republic, over the next four years.

As planned, primary health care will be based on a chosen doctor, or team of doctors, model. Every resident will have the right to choose one doctor in primary health care. The main protagonists of this model are: actual doctors of general medicine, specialists of intern medicine, pediatricians, and some specialists of primary health care. Besides professional improvement, doctors will have an accurate stimulant in increasing their salary, which will be dependent upon the number of registered patients and extended favors, in other words – the number of patients who choose him/her as their own doctor. This model guarantees competitiveness and improved quality of service, which is one of the main goals of reform.

A doctor will receive a monthly recovery from the future Insurance Health Fund for every registered patient. A patient will have one doctor who he/she will go to with their health identity card, and only that doctor will medicate that patient. The quantity of health favors that the patient receives will be defined in their package of primary, obligatory health insurance. Patients will be registered in the Insurance Health Fund for a period of one year. Assets from the health insurance of all citizens will go in the same Fund. Patients can change their doctor at any time.

The level of extended health favors and the quality of work and other activities considered for the functioning of this system will be under the direction of the Ministry of Health, Association of Doctors, and the Insurance Health Fund. This will result in a total connection of the information network of all components of primary health care; this is covered in the early phase of the project.

As part of the strategy of health care in Montenegro, functional connection and harmonization of the private and public sectors in health activity is one of the goals of the new Law on Health Protection.

The main goal of reform is to save actual positive results of health care and to impose a practical, successful, permanent, and rational model of primary health care that will satisfy patients and health workers.

Considering results of studies⁶³, most respondents (about 96.5%) are informed about Government reforms of the health system, but just 6.4% are very satisfied with the way of enforcing reform and 26% are partly satisfied. One-third of respondents (32.2%) believe enforcement of reform could be better and one-quarter (26.5%) are not familiar with the reanimated progress or don't have an opinion about that⁶⁴.

5. Health politics in Montenegro through 2020

In adopting a health policy in Montenegro to the year 2020, Montenegro involved a unique international process of documenting World health organization implementation goals - "Health for everyone in XXI century" and "21 goals for the 21st century." The health goal strategy submitted with this document was established for the higher health quality of our citizens, while conforming to and improving the function of the health system with financial possibilities. The main goal of the health policy in Montenegro to 2020 is to make it more efficient, to provide more quality protection, and to make the health system in Montenegro a part of the European and world health development process.

The main goals of the Health policy in Montenegro to 2020 are:

⁶³ Source: Household studies, May 2004, ISSP

⁶⁴Source: Household studies, May 2004, ISSP

- Life elongation

Limiting early deaths and prolonging life is a primary goal of the health policy and the main activity of the health system that is implemented with the known weaknesses of detaining and treating ill citizens.

- Upgrading the way of life in order to improve health

Health problems impact a citizen's way of life and decrease their working and functional ability, as well as having an influence on family and societal functioning. Upgrading one's way of life and disabling the quality of life because of health problems is the second main goal of the health policy.

- Restricting health differences

Differences in health and approaches to the health system between socio-economic levels existed in every society. The main goal of the health policy is to influence a lessening of the differences, to decrease them through targeted and clear measures of health goods and resource redistribution to jeopardized parts of society.

- Insurance from financial risk

Health problems can cause noticeable negative financial consequences to citizens and their families. Just as for health treatment costs, the costs of medical science increase faster than the economic base of society. Wherefore, it is necessary to adequately finance the health system so that it can provide the needy with access to health care protection and at the same time distribute financial risk so that citizens won't be financially jeopardized in the event of sickness.

6. Conclusion

This comment tries to answer the questions concerning health care in Montenegro.

We can conclude that the condition of the whole health system and its organization in Montenegro is at a very low level. Some of the most important problems in the Montenegrin health care system are:

- Too big public and total expenditures for health
- Undeveloped system of control and quality of health care improvement
- Inexistence of quality information system
- Employees in health sector have very small wages
- Public hospitals and network of medical centers are inefficient
- Medical prices are high above international standards

Because of these problems, health reform in Montenegro has begun. Naturally, we cannot expect everything to change in the short term, but it is sure that there are positive moves. Every reform, from the root, demands time and hard work, and health care reform even more so because the health care system represents one of the most integrated systems in any country.

2.9 GENDER EQUALITY IN MONTENEGRO⁶⁵

"The woman kept house while the man hunted"

Woman Definition

The reliable answer to the question of whether gender equality exists in Montenegro is not easy to provide. It is clear that gender equality does not only depend on relationships between men and women, but on the entire ambient in which they live, and on formal and informal institutions that connect or disconnect them. Because the Montenegrin population is made up of 50.3% women, this could be a good basis for achieving gender equality in Montenegro. One indicator that this is not completely achieved is the actuality of many organizations that must deal with this issue and their strength points to the fact that there is something they should fight for. Additionally burdensome is the fact that the patriarchal society in Montenegro is inherited from the past and still presents itself to women in the 21st century.

1. Household

The decision to identify a leading person in households does not seem to be important at first sight; however, the question "who is the head of the household" could raise many discussions and open some new questions. Does the head of the household make decisions on behalf of the other household members, handle income, determine the level and structure of expenditures, take responsibility for all household members, or take care of household members, provide income, and represent the "backbone of the house?" According to Survey results⁶⁶, women are identified as the head of households in Montenegro within one of five homes (19%). The following text compares households with women heads to those with men in that position, as well as the main characteristics of households.

Households with men as a head of household have, on average, more members (3.9 members) than those with women in that position (2.6 members on average). Women who manage households are mostly widows (62%) or they are divorced, single or separated (34%). The average age for female heads of household is 57. On the other hand, men who are the head of households are typically married or live with someone unmarried (91%) and their average age is 53.

In most cases (76%), women as heads of household earn their own income, either through pensions (54.5%) or employment (22.5%). Among those who do not earn income, 12% are at home, 6% are looking for a job, approximately 1% attend school, and 4% are sick and unable to work. This structure is in accordance to the above mentioned demographic that most women in the head of household role are elderly widows.

Considering the highest level of education that heads of households completed, the survey finds that women are less educated than men. The following Table illustrates the level of education for persons that represent heads of household. The table is structured by gender and education level of all persons that represent a head of household.

⁶⁵ Author: Budimka Mickovic, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development, CEED

⁶⁶ Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses (ISSP): Survey on Household incomes and expenditures, April 2004

Table 9.1 Education level of head of household structured by gender

| | Male | Female | Total to all sample |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| None | 29.85 | 70.15 | 4.01 |
| Preschool/kindergarten | 37.50 | 62.50 | 0.24 |
| Some primary school | 46.30 | 53.70 | 4.40 |
| Primary school | 46.06 | 53.94 | 17.88 |
| Secondary vocational 1-2 years | 50.00 | 50.00 | 0.96 |
| Secondary vocational 3 years | 56.27 | 43.73 | 16.24 |
| Secondary technical 4 years | 51.43 | 48.57 | 30.29 |
| Gymnasium | 43.87 | 56.13 | 4.64 |
| Secondary arts or music | 12.50 | 87.50 | 0.24 |
| Associate (2-years) College | 53.27 | 46.73 | 6.41 |
| University | 48.51 | 51.49 | 14.08 |
| Postgraduate studies | 58.82 | 41.18 | 0.51 |
| Postdoctoral studies | 100.00 | | 0.06 |
| Special school | 100.00 | | 0.03 |

One indicator of the economic and social situation of a household is its inclusion in Family Material Support (FMS). Survey results show that households with women as a head are more often candidates for the FMS Program and 12% of those households are included in this Program. On the other hand, only 4% of male led households are included in the FMS Program.

Box 9.1 Legal conditions for applying for Family Material Support (FMS)⁶⁷

Family material support is the amount of money that is given to individuals or families that are in a situation of social need if they satisfy the legal regulations and procedures:

The right to FMS can be given to an individual or a family if:

- They are not capable of working and do not have any relatives that are obligated to take care of them, or they have relatives that are not capable of taking care of them.
- They are capable of working but they are supporting minor children, or they have over-age children that are not capable of working, if the inability to work occurred before they were 18 or 21 (in some countries).
- They have lost their right to accommodation in a childcare institution or the right to accommodation in the family, and are at a maximum of 2 years after that right terminates.
- They have completed their studies in special schools or in a special class within a regular school.

The basis for determining the right to FMS is the average wage in Montenegro in the past quarter at a certain percentage, depending on the number of family members. Apart from income received by the family, the right to FMS is regulated by the family's ownership of real estate. The parameters of ownership of real estate are regulated by the Law and related to the number of family members. After the right to FMS is granted to the individual or the family, the level of the right is appointed. The level of the right depends on the average wage in Montenegro in the previous month.

In conclusion, we find that the criteria for receiving FMS are very restrictive. Thus, approximately 10,000 Montenegrin households are included in FMS, or 5% of all households in Montenegro. FMS, as Governmental Assistance, amounted to €8.97 million or 2.1% of total budget expenditure in 2003. The average monthly installment amounts are €63 per individual/family and payments are 6 months late.⁶⁸ The higher proportion of female managed households included in this Program points to the lower living standards within those households.

⁶⁷ Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses (ISSP): Household Survey # 5

⁶⁸ Source: Ministry of labor and social welfare, Government of Montenegro

2. Education and (un)employment

Inequality in education between males and females over 6 exists, though to a lesser degree than the differences in their position as head of households.

The difference in education levels of men and women is apparent. Considering the population without any school completed or with just a primary education, there are more women in this group, while more men completed some secondary school, excluding gymnasium or secondary arts or music. On the other hand, more women completed gymnasium and university. Thus, the conclusion could be made that most girls who choose gymnasium and plan to complete a university education usually succeed in doing so. However, even though there are more university graduated women, it is questionable if their capabilities are being utilized since only 20% of women work in decision making positions (manager or business owner)⁶⁹.

Survey results find nearly half of women (48%) to be in the process of education, accounting for 25% of the total female population. Among females between the ages of 19 to 25, 40% are in process of education, thus showing the active role of the female population in Montenegro within the education system, which is very important since they are less educated than the male population in general. Nevertheless, it is investment that will have results in the mid or long run, so the current effort of women to gain a better education will pay off in the next 5 to 10 years.

Among the working population (those older than 15 and not attending school), the survey finds that half of them (49%) worked or were involved in some gainful activity for money or in-kind compensation (at least one hour) during the previous week⁷⁰. It also should be mentioned that 41% of women and 56% of men in this group contributed in generating income. On the other hand, 47% of the working population (those older than 15 and not attending school) looked for a job during the previous week; 37% of women and 57% of men found themselves in this situation. Within the group looking for employment, 49% were women and 51% were men, and in this finding, we can conclude that gender equality is achieved among unemployment. This data confirms that the employment process is equally stressful for both men and women, the gender of job candidates is not decisively important, and finding a job is equally difficult for all. However, data shows fewer women in the working population actually looking for a job than men; this may be due to family obligations, lack of self-confidence, lack of education, etc.

One indicator of the discrimination of women in the employment process is data regarding the length of time women and men spend looking for a job. Namely, as the job search period increases, so does the percentage of women in that group. Thus, 42% of women and 58% of men look for a job for less than one year, 45% of women and 55% of men spend 1 to 5 years looking for a job, 48% of women and 52% of men look for a job for 5 to 10 years, and 77% of women and 23% of men report to be looking for a job for more than 10 years.

3. Main and secondary job and incomes

Although more than 51% of the working population (not attending school) did not work during the previous week⁷¹, the Survey results showed that 9% of them still have a job and 59% of them are women. Most women who did not work during the previous week but still have a job were on maternity leave (27%), and a significant number of them were on sick leave (25%). On the other

⁶⁹ Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development: Discrimination of Women in the Employment Process and at the Work Places, 2002

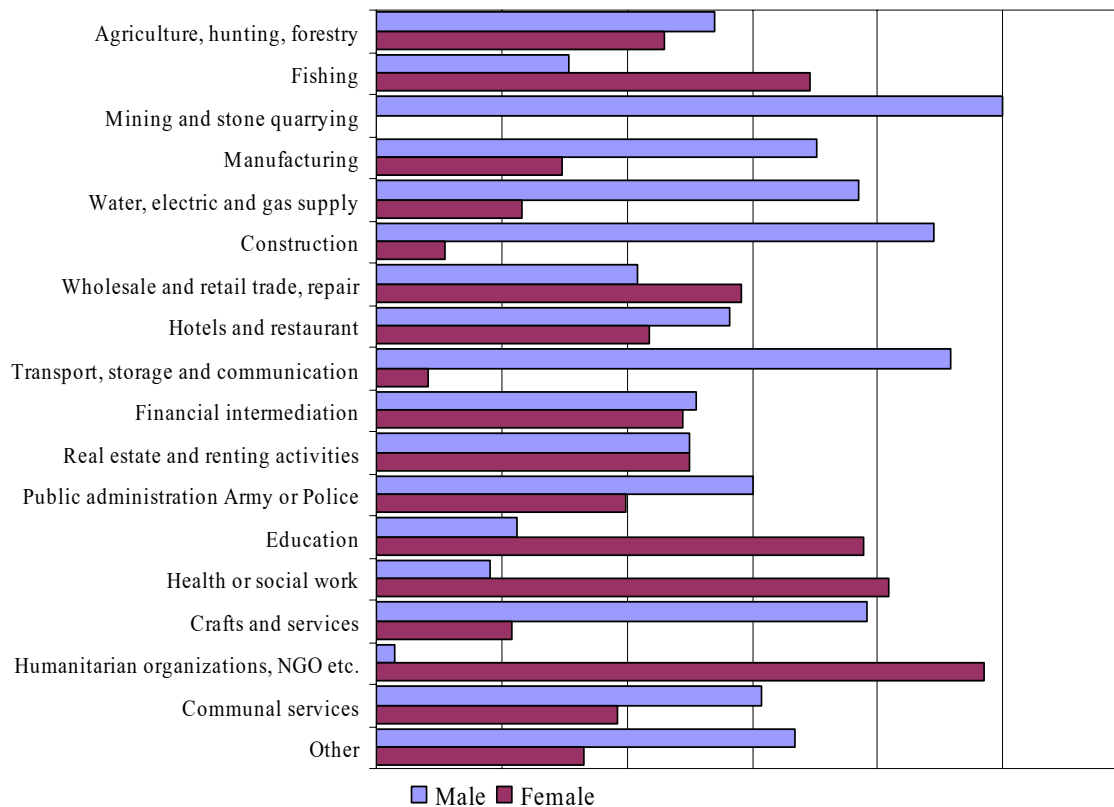
⁷⁰ Related to the week before data collecting implementation

⁷¹ Related to the week before data collecting implementation

hand, 21% of women in this group were on a forced leave, while 8% have a new job but did not start yet. One of ten employed women (10%) were on their annual vacation, 6% were taking unpaid leave for personal reasons, while the remaining 3% did not work during the previous week for “other” reasons, although they do still have a job.

Considering employed persons, regardless of whether they worked during the previous week, 44% of them are women. The following Graph illustrates the number of employees in the different industries in which they are engaged, structured by gender.

Graph 9.1 Gender structure of employees in certain industries



Traditionally, some industries have gender dominance, whether “female” or “male,” and this finding remains consistent with the female labor force being more engaged in education, health or social work, humanitarian work or the trade industry.

With respect to employment status at the main job, the majority of the working population are employees (84% of males and 88% of females). On the other hand, women account for 28% of the self-employed, half of the business owners with no paid labor, and 47% of unpaid family workers. According to the Survey results, among all owners/co-owners of a business with paid labor, none are women.

Men, on average, spend 7.96 hours per day at work during the work week, while women spend less time at their work places – on average 7.68 hours per day (Monday to Friday). Considering time spent working during the weekends, men also spend slightly more time: men work 5.58 hours per weekend day, while women spend 5.02 hours per day at work during the weekend. As mentioned before, the female working population is mostly engaged in such companies or organizations that do not require engagement during the weekend (education, health or social work).

Registered incomes/wages that individuals generate based on work at their main job, as well as wages received on a regular basis do not significantly depend on an employees’ gender.

Average net income generated at the main job varies from female to male. Since more than 80% of males and females work as employees, it is more relevant to consider the average monthly wages within this group. Thus, employed males receive €68 more than employed females (€284 vs. €216).

The following Table shows data regarding the average monthly wages that male and female employees receive, structured by their level of education.

Table 9.2: Monthly net income by level of education

| | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Lower education (lower than secondary school) | €185 | €131 |
| Secondary school | €274 | €190 |
| Higher education (higher than secondary school) | €329 | €263 |

In conclusion, the male population earns more income than female. Therefore, it is very hard to discuss gender equality because any kind of equality is impossible to imagine without economic equality, as the main precondition for economic independence of women. Nevertheless, the Survey does not provide data regarding complexity of jobs that the respondents perform nor does it identify the responsibility they are taking over, so these conclusions could not be more particular.

In addition to their main job, 6% of women and 8% of men were involved in a secondary activity. Among all persons engaged in some secondary activity, almost two-thirds are male. At the second job, most men, as well as women (77% and 78%, respectively), are engaged as “unpaid family workers.” With respect to monthly net income generated from secondary activities, the difference between income that male and female workers earn amounts to €128 in favor of the male (€266 vs. €138).

4. Conclusion

The Survey results partly provide an answer to the question “who kept house and who hunted” in Montenegrin households, schools, and institutions. Thus, according to the Survey, men are heads of household in most cases, they are generally more educated than women, more likely to be employed, they earn higher incomes, and in most cases, they are the business owners. Other surveys conducted in Montenegro show that more women are working in the grey economy and when it comes to company restructuring, women get fired before men⁷². This gender relation in Montenegro is certainly not a good basis for equality. In the past, women in Montenegro were reputed as the “family’s backbone” and it didn’t matter if they did not attend school, were not employed or independent. Comparing this situation to the current one, the progress is more than obvious. More and more women complete university educations, get employed, succeed in their own career, and/or start their own business. Other surveys conducted in Montenegro support that as well.

Businesses managed by women mostly deal with “typically female” activities such as retail, hairdressing and cosmetic services, and similar services. However, there are some cases of businesses that are managed by women and deal in “typically male” activities, and their number is slowly increasing⁷³. Considering private businesses, the trends of global equalization and higher equality between businesses managed by men and women are slowly becoming trends in Montenegro as well. Thus, this is a logical consequence of a situation where more and more women use their opportunities in the educational system, at the workplace, and in households.

⁷² Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development: Discrimination of Women in the Employment Process and at the Work Places, 2002

⁷³ Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development: Challenges Facing Women Entrepreneurs in Montenegro, 2002

Although women today, at least formally, have more opportunities and chances, the expected progress has not yet been achieved. Women today are attending school, are employed, and generate their own income; however, their family obligations have not been reduced. In this way, the independence that they have achieved only increased the daily obligations that women in Montenegro face. However, it is evident that many women are handling all of these obligations and the achieved, or potential to achieve, independence is worth the sacrifice. Under the current economic conditions, education is more difficult, the number of work places is limited, as are the possibilities for making progress in one's career – these problems face all of us, regardless of gender.

The gender equality that we have already achieved is certainly not negligible, but to achieve complete gender equality, this is only reachable with the development of all socio-economic conditions in Montenegro, more active involvement of organizations and associations dealing with gender equality, and by participation of all formal and informal institutions. This is supported by the fact that there are more and more successful women in Montenegro. They are the example that forces women to be considered and treated as equal members of society, and with this we will contribute to faster development.

2.10 LAW REGULATION IN MONTENEGRO–A STIMULUS OR BARRIER FOR DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM?⁷⁴

1. Introduction

Tourism is a strategic economic branch of Montenegro. As such, it has the potential to provide a large number of working places, to help in the development of small and medium entrepreneurship and also to attract foreign investments. The national product of tourism, as a strategic product of Montenegro, assumes whole stability and future development of the Montenegrin economy. While at the same time, a commitment to the mechanism of tourism policy will justify making it a “priority activity.” The policy is a request for more ambitious government activities in the region that would bring and implement appropriate law regulation thus further contributing to the development of tourism in Montenegro and confirm its significance for the whole economy.

The goal of this commentary is to explain the current regulation that has a dominant influence on tourism in Montenegro, its contribution to the development of tourism, the effects on tourism, and to show the problems that are eventually manifested as barriers of tourism development. In addition, we will look back concretely on some of the laws in tourism that were recently adopted in the Parliament of Montenegro. A great deal of attention will be concentrated on the regulation of noise, the Law about residence tax, and the Law about tourist organization.

2. Background of problem and results of research

As mentioned above, Montenegro is a state that wants to develop tourism as one of its primary branches on which its economic development can rely. The state, as one of three key actors of the tourist development process (along with owners and managers of tourist objects) should focus on: (i) insuring that basic development conditions exist, (ii) creating a climate that will stimulate entrepreneurship, and (iii) creating harmony by bringing appropriate measures for operating tourism development. How did the activities of the state in the legislative area contribute to tourism development?

⁷⁴ Authors: Darko Konjevic, Montenegro Bussines Aliance MBA and Milena Lipovina, Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development , CEED

In previous activities, the Montenegrin ministry of tourism did a lot of things to resolve problems in tourism. It has developed a Master plan, brought several laws and regulations into affect including the Law about tourist organization, Law about registration tax, and the Regulation about noise; the categorization of the tourist facilities has been done in harmony with world standards, and it has also introduced a system of national tourist accounts. It has made progress in the construction of the tourism economy.

Apart from the efforts that Ministry of Tourism, sometimes decisions have a bad influence on the tourist economy of Montenegro. One example of this is the regulation about noise, which aims to protect both domestic and foreign guests, as well as local inhabitants, from the noise in bars, cafes, restaurants and other similar places. Namely, the regulation places restrictions on the time in which music and other music program performances can be played; in the summer months, it is allowed until 1:00 a.m. and until 11:00 p.m. in the winter period. On weekends, in both summer and winter, the duration of music allowance is extended for one additional hour.

As always, the most authoritative are tourists themselves, and they indicate that this regulation does impact the quality of their stay. According to the research provided by Tourist Ambassadors⁷⁵ to the question: *“If you have a possibility, what would you change in supply of night life,”* an even 78% of respondents said that they would extend the allowed duration of music past 1:00 a.m.. It is worthy to note here that the age structure does factor into the prevalence of this suggestion with the largest number of tourists suggesting this being between 20 and 30 years (48%), between 30 and 40 years(24%) and younger than 20 years (23%), while just 4% of those who offer this suggestion are between 40 and 50 and just 1% are older than 50. However, the age structure of tourists overall is also dominated by those between 20 and 30 years (33%) and those between 30 and 40 years (29%). Also dominant in respondent suggestions were: increase the number of discos, organize more concerts and cultural manifestations. Additional suggestions provided by tourists were to organize more parties on the beach and have night cruising. Fewer than 9% of respondents would change nothing.

The ministry of tourism emphasizes that guests complain of noise, but is this really so? Research that was conducted in the tourist centers tells a different story; namely, complaints about noise come primarily from the domicile population.

Data obtained from the Tourist center in Herceg Novi shows that foreign guests do not have a problem with the noise, and in fact, from one year to the next, the number of noise complaints by foreign guests has gotten smaller. It is interesting to mention that this complaint is actually the fifth most frequent complaint. But, it is important to mention that from 2002, new type of “noise” started to occur. Complaints typically referred to noisy advertising from boats with different night programs, especially in the afternoon In 2003, “noise” complaints referred to musical performances in cafes and other places, general noise provoked by a great amount of traffic, as well between citizens and tourists in traffic, and the above mentioned noise from advertising of different programs in boats.

Is the noise problem in Montenegro really as great and significant as it would appear based on the space given to it and the way it is being treated as a problem in the media?

⁷⁵ The Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development (CEED), in co-operation with the International Relief and Development (IRD), initiated in July 2002 the program titled Tourist Ambassadors, which was conducted in the following five municipalities: Bar, Ulcinj, Budva, Kotor and Herceg Novi. The two main goals of this program were to provide useful information for tourists and conduct research that would provide determining causes that disable faster business development in all cities.

3. Comparative analysis with Croatia and some suggestions

Let's look at some solutions with insight; here is an example of Croatia and a city called Dubrovnik, which represents the historical core and has large incomes related to tourism.

Croatia adopted a Regulation about protection from noise, similar to the one that already exists in Montenegro, but the following year (tourism season 2003), this regulation was changed. Why? Because the economic effects were bad.

In the region of Dubrovnik, hours of operation for restaurants and hotels were organized in this way: "disco bars and night clubs open from from 5:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m.; taverns, café bars, cafe bar rooms are open in the summer from 5:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. and one hour later on Friday and Saturday; movable objects for providing services open from 5:00 p.m. to midnight".

Therefore, the changes in music duration in Croatia have contributed to the increasing income in tourism. According to estimates of hotelkeepers, the largest income in bars and similar businesses are earned after midnight.

Our opinion is that for a country that has tourism as its basic developmental strategy, tourism must become a priority and guests must be given the best service possible. As mentioned above, according the Tourist Ambassador (TA) research, guests were mainly dissatisfied with the night life because of the limited period of music emission and the fact that night clubs do not have the necessary capacity to receive all guests. Namely, over 90% of tourist capacities on the Montenegrin coast are small and medium bars, pizza places and restaurants, whose business is partly threatened by enforcement of this Regulation. Naturally, poor business activities cannot be blamed on this regulation alone; it is certain that owner's contribute to the trouble through neglect in other areas.

We deem that the Regulation should not be applied linearly! Music from sound equipment and music from acoustic guitar should not be treated equally. Where the natural environment or the health of people is endangered, noise such as music should be even more limited. It is significant to mention that local authorities also misuse the noise allowance. Rules are not equal for everybody; namely, some owners are controlled very often and offensively, while for others, there is no controls at all.

In any case, we deem that the level of noise should be limited, that is, the level of noise should be brought to the measure of good taste. The question remains: does the prohibition of music emission contribute to a better tourist offer or does it create a barrier for its development?

4. Other law regulations and their impact on tourism development

If you on the boardwalk in any coastal city, you might notice objects that are working but they have signs "opening soon". Based on signs of this nature, tourists would think that many new objects are planned for opening in Montenegro and that tourism is "blossoming." However, many of these establishments close at the end of the season to avoid paying taxes and registering its employees. It is rare that these establishments are inspected; an inspector may order a meal at one such place but never return to the restaurant to do planned control. Inspectors are not to blame because they are only instructed to perform check-ups of regular businesses, and these businesses are not registered anywhere.

Another problem we face is that employees are not registered. The adoption of the Law on visitor tax attempts to correct such problems. But, are they solved? Visitor taxation exists in the same volume as before, however, many of the same problems exist today as have over the years when it comes to collecting that tax: unregistered accommodations, uncategorized capacities, uncollected taxes, and many other problems associated with the inspection service. As part of the total activities

of the Government of Montenegro aimed at preventing the grey economy, the registration and legalization of tourism traffic should be priorities.

To encourage the registration of private accommodations, we suggest the following: (i) decrease private accommodation registration expenses through liberalization of registration conditions; (ii) permit certain tax reliefs; (iii) stimulate local self-governance through redirection of income collected as visitors' tax from the republic to the municipality budget.

Another law that has a huge influence upon Montenegrin tourism is the Law about tourist organizations. This law identifies the main purpose of the National and local tourist organizations and organizes their basic function. The basic goal of the National tourist organization of Montenegro is to create a Montenegrin tourist product, to plan for its survival and to realize the Montenegrin tourism strategy; in doing so, the organization welcomes suggestions and performance summaries of promotional activities carried out in this country as well as abroad in an attempt to increase the quality of the Montenegrin tourist offer as a whole. Aims of the organization include the preservation, creation and promotion of recognizable and attractive tourist offers and a milieu of areas for which they are founded, promotion of general conditions for tourist accommodations, increasing the quality of tourist and other complementary services, developing the mentality of the importance of tourism and its effects, and preserving and promoting elements of tourist products. Does the work of these organizations justify their existence?

In the local tourist organization, obligatory members are all legal and physical persons that have their residence on the municipal territory in which the tourist organization is being formed and who create income by performing tourist services and catering, as well as other tourism connected activities. Is it good practice to "force" economy subjects to be members of the Tourist organization? What are the benefits that membership in NTO brings them? Everyone is free to deal with its capital as he/she wishes? Membership should be voluntary since the freedom of choice is the greatest accomplishment of democracy. At the end, there are other organizations in Montenegro that give their support to the private sector in their activities. Montenegro has had enough of monopolies.

5. Conclusion

Tourism laws differ from country to country, creating significant and strong effects in regard to competency. Where regulations support the actions of complementary and micro service providers, quality initiatives among a good tourist product are greater, fewer problems with unregistered workers occur, and the most competitive prices were noticed. Where such regulations do not exist, responsible persons must be convinced, based on empiric evidence and concrete suggestions, of the long-term sustainability of changes.

Thus, tourism can help to accelerate the economic development of Montenegro as a whole. For the development of tourism, it is not enough to have natural wealth and good geographical position, but it is necessary to have adequate institutional organizations in this area as well. It is necessary to create conditions that most utilize the existing natural wealth, which, without doubt Montenegro owns.

Responsibility for the development of tourism is not just in the hands of the Ministry of tourism and the National tourist organization, rather it is necessary to have permanent engagement of everyone that lives and profits from tourism. A good law represents the basement; but a house is also built from its foundation. If we build a strong foundation, we will be able to build the house called Montenegro in which one of the "pillars" will be tourism.

FOOD FOR BRAIN

3.1 THE PERSPECTIVE OF FREEDOM⁷⁶

It is not unusual for couples to discuss the possibility of earning more money, but a conversation on this subject from around the eighth century B.C. is of some special interest. As that conversation is recounted in the Sanskrit text *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, a woman named Maitreyee and her husband, Yajnavalkya, proceed rapidly to a bigger issue than the ways and means of becoming more wealthy: *How far would wealth go to help them get what they want?*⁷⁷ Maitreyee wonders whether it could be the case that if “the whole earth, full of wealth” were to belong just to her, she could achieve immortality through it. “No,” responds Yajnavalkya, “like the life of rich people will be your life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth.” Maitreyee remarks, “What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal?”

Maitreyee’s rhetorical question has been cited again and again in Indian religious philosophy to illustrate both the nature of the human predicament and the limitations of the material world. I have too much skepticism of otherworldly matters to be led there by Maitreyee’s worldly frustration, but there is another aspect of this exchange that is of rather immediate interest to economics and to understanding the nature of development. This concerns the relation between our economic wealth and our ability to live as we would like. While there is a connection between opulence and achievements, the linkage may or may not be very strong and may well be extremely contingent on other circumstances. The issue is not the ability to live forever on which Maitreyee – bless her soul – happened to concentrate, but the capability to live really long (without being cut off in one’s prime) and to have a good life while alive (rather than a life of misery and unfreedom) – things that would be strongly valued and desired by nearly all of us. The gap between the two perspectives (that is, between an exclusive concentration on economic wealth and a broader focus on the lives we can lead) is a major issue in conceptualizing development. As Aristotle noted at the very beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (resonating well with the conversation between Maitreyee and Yajnavalkya three thousand miles away), “wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking; for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else.”⁷⁸

If we have reasons to want more wealth, we have to ask: What precisely are these reasons, how do they work, on what are they contingent and what are the things we can “do” with more wealth? In fact, we generally have excellent reasons for wanting more income or wealth. This is not because income and wealth are desirable for their own sake, but because, typically, they are admirable general-purpose means for having more freedom to lead the kind of lives we have reason to value.

The usefulness of wealth lies in the things that it allows us to do – the substantive freedoms it helps us to achieve. But this relation is neither exclusive (since there are significant influences on our lives other than wealth) nor uniform (since the impact of wealth on our lives varies with in determining living conditions and the quality of life as it is to understand the qualified and contingent nature of this relationship. An adequate conception of development must go much beyond the accumulation of wealth and the growth of gross national product and other income-related variables. Without ignoring the importance of economic growth, we must look well beyond it.

⁷⁶ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*

⁷⁷ *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* 2.4, 2-3.

⁷⁸ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by D. Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, revised edition, 1980), book I, section 5, p.7.

The ends and means of development require examination and scrutiny for a fuller understanding of the development process; it is simply not adequate to take as our basic objective just the maximization of income or wealth, which is, as Aristotle noted, “merely useful and for sake of something else.” For the same reason, economic growth cannot sensibly be treated as an end in itself. Development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy. Expanding the freedoms that we have reason to value not only makes our lives richer and more unfettered, but also allows us to be fuller social persons, exercising our own volitions and interacting with – and influencing – the world in which we live. In chapter 3 this general approach is more fully proposed and scrutinized, and is evaluatively compared with other approaches that compete for attention.⁷⁹

Forms Of Unfreedom

Very many people across the world suffer from varieties of unfreedom. Famines continue to occur in particular regions, denying to millions the basic freedom to survive. Even in those countries which are no longer sporadically devastated by famines, under nutrition may affect very large numbers of vulnerable human beings. Also, a great many people have little access to health care, to sanitary arrangements or to clean water, and spend their lives fighting unnecessary morbidity, often succumbing to premature mortality. The richer countries too often have deeply disadvantaged people, who lack basic opportunities of health care, or functional education, or gainful employment, or economic and social security. Even within very rich countries, sometimes the longevity of substantial groups is no higher than that in much poorer economies of the so-called third world. Further, inequality between women and men afflicts – and sometime prematurely ends – the lives of millions of women, and, in different ways, severely restricts the substantive freedoms that women enjoy.

Moving to other deprivations of freedom, a great many people in different countries of the world are systematically denied political liberty and basic civil rights. It is sometimes claimed that the denial of these rights helps to stimulate economic growth and is “good” for rapid economic development. Some have even championed harsher political systems – with denial of basic civil and political rights – for their alleged advantage in promoting economic development. This thesis (often called “the Lee thesis”, attributed in some form to the former prime minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew) is sometimes backed by some fairly rudimentary empirical evidence. In fact, more comprehensive intercountry comparisons have not provided any confirmation of this thesis, and there is little evidence that authoritarian politics actually helps economic growth. Indeed, the empirical evidence very strongly suggests that economic growth is more a matter of a friendlier economic climate than of a harsher political system.

Furthermore, economic development has other dimensions, including economic security. Quite often economic insecurity can relate to the lack of democracy and of political rights can even help to prevent famines and other economic disasters. Authoritarian rulers, who are themselves rarely affected by famines (or other such economic calamities), tend to lack the incentive to take timely preventive measures. Democratic governments, in contrast, have to win elections and face public criticism, and have strong incentives to undertake measures to avert famines and other such

⁷⁹ I have discussed, in earlier publications, different aspects of a freedom centered view of social evaluation; on this see my “Equality of What?” in *Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, volume I, edited by S. McMurrin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); *Choice, Welfare and Measurement* (Oxford: Blackwell; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982; republished, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); *Resources, Values and development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1984); “Well-being, Agency and freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984”, *Journal of Philosophy* 82 (April 1985); *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). See also Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, eds., *The Quality of Life* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1993).

catastrophes. It is not surprising that no famine has ever taken place in the history of the world in a functioning democracy – be it economically rich (as in contemporary Western Europe or North America) or relatively poor (as in postindependence India, or Botswana, or Zimbabwe). Famines have tended to occur in colonial territories governed by rules from elsewhere (as in British India or in an Ireland administered by alienated English rules), or in one-part states (as in the Ukraine in the 1970s), or in military dictatorships (as in Ethiopia, or Somalia, or some of the Sahel countries in the near past). Indeed, as this book goes to press, the two countries that seem to be leading the “famine league” in the world are North Korea and Sudan – both eminent examples of dictatorial rule. While the prevention of famine illustrates the incentive advantages with great clarity and force, the advantages of democratic pluralism do, in fact, have a much wider reach.

But – most fundamentally – political liberty and civil freedoms are directly important on their own, and do not have to be justified indirectly in terms of their effects on the economy. Even when people without political liberty or civil rights do not lack adequate economic security *and happen to enjoy favorable economic circumstances), they are deprived of important freedoms in leading their lives and denied the opportunity to take part in crucial decisions regarding public affairs. These deprivations restrict social and political lives, and must be seen as repressive even without their leading to other afflictions (such as economic disasters). Since political and civil freedoms are constitutive elements of human freedom, their denial is a handicap in itself. In examining the role of human rights in development, we have to take note of the constitutive as well as the instrumental importance of civil rights and political freedoms.

Processes And Opportunities

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the view of freedom that is being taken here involves both the processes that allow freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual opportunities that people have, given their personal and social circumstances. Unfreedom can arise either through inadequate processes (such as the violation of voting privileges or other political or civil rights) or through inadequate opportunities that some people have for achieving what they minimally would like to achieve (including the absence of such elementary opportunities as the capability to escape premature mortality or preventable morbidity or involuntary starvation).

The distinction between the process aspect and the opportunity aspect of freedom involves quite a substantial contrast. It can be pursued at different levels. I have discussed elsewhere the respective roles and requirements of (as well as mutual connections between) the process aspect and the opportunity aspect of freedom.⁸⁰ While this may not be the occasion to go into the complex and subtle issues that relate to this distinction, it is very important to see freedom in a sufficiently broad way. It is necessary to avoid confining attention only to appropriate procedures (as so-called libertarians sometimes do, without worrying at all about whether some disadvantaged people suffer from systematic deprivation of substantive opportunities), or, alternatively, only to adequate opportunities (as so-called consequentialists sometimes do, without worrying about or the freedom of choice that people have). Both processes and opportunities have importance of their own, and each aspect relates to seeing development as freedom.

⁸⁰ In my Kenneth Arrow lectures, included in *Freedom, Rationality and Social Choice: Arrow Lectures and other Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, forthcoming). A number of technical issues in the assessment and evaluation of freedom are also examined in that analysis.

Two Roles Of Freedom

The analysis of development presented in this book treats the freedoms of individuals as the basic building blocks. Attention is thus paid particularly to the expansion of the “capabilities” of persons to lead the kind of lives they value – and have reason to value. These capabilities can be enhanced by public policy, but also, on the other side, the direction of public policy can be influenced by the effective use of participatory capabilities by the public. The *two-way relationship* is central to the analysis presented here.

There are two distinct reasons for the crucial importance of individual freedom in the concept of development, related respectively to *evaluation* and *effectiveness*⁸¹. First, in the normative approach used here, substantive individual freedoms are taken to be critical. The success of a society is to be evaluated, in this view, primarily by the substantive freedoms that the members of that society enjoy. This evaluate position differs from the informational focus of more traditional normative approaches, which focus on other variables, such as utility, or procedural liberty, or real income.

Having greater freedom to do the things one has reason to value is (1) significant in itself for the person’s overall freedom, and (2) important in fostering the person’s opportunity to have valuable outcomes⁸². Both are relevant to the evaluation of freedom of the members of the society and thus crucial to the assessment of the society’s development. The reasons for this normative focus (and in particular for seeing justice in terms of individual freedoms and its social correlates) are more fully examined in chapter 3.

The second reason for taking substantive freedom to be so crucial is that freedom is not only the basis of the evaluation of success and failure, but it is also a principal determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness. Greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help them and also to influence the world, and these matters are central to the process of development. The concern here relates to what we may call (at the risk of some oversimplification) the “agency aspect” of the individual.

The use of the term “agency” calls for a little clarification. The expression “agent” is sometimes employed in the literature of economics and game theory to denote a person who is acting on someone else’s behalf (perhaps being led on by a “principal”), and whose achievements are to be assessed in the light of someone else’s (the principal’s) goals. I am using the term “agent” not in this sense, but in its older – and “grander” – sense as someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well. This work is particularly concerned with the agency role of the individual as a member of the public and as a participant in economic, social and political actions (varying from taking part in the market to being involved, directly or indirectly, in individual or joint activities in political and other spheres).

This has a bearing on a great many public policy issues, varying from such strategic matters as the widespread temptation of policy bosses to use fine-tuned “targeting” (for “ideal delivery” to a supposedly inert population), to such fundamental subjects as attempts to dissociate the running of government from the process of democratic scrutiny and rejection (and the participatory exercise of political and civil rights)⁸³.

⁸¹ The evaluative and the operational reasons have been explored more fully in my “Rights and Agency”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs II* (1982), reprinted in *Consequentialism and Its Critics*, edited by Samuel Scheffler; “Well-Being, Agency and freedom”; *On Ethics and economics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

⁸² The components correspond respectively to (1) the process aspect and (2) the opportunity aspect of freedom, which are analyzed in my Kenneth Arrow Lectures, included in *Freedom, Rationality and Social Choice*, cited earlier.

⁸³ I have tried to discuss the issue of “targeting” in “The Political Economy of Targeting”, keynote address to the 1992 Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, published in *Public Spending and the Poor: Theory and Evidence*, edited by Dominique van de Walle and Kimberly Nead (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

3.2 THE AGONY OF THE WELFARE STATE⁸⁴

For about a hundred years the Communists and interventionists of all shades have been indefatigable in predicting the impending final collapse of capitalism. While their prophecies have not come true, the world today has to face the agony of the much glorified policies of the Welfare State.

The Welfare State

The guiding principles of the Welfare State were best laid down by Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), both the friend and rival of Marx. Lassalle ridiculed the liberal doctrines. They assigned to the state, he remarked sneeringly, only the functions of a night watchman. In his eyes the state (with a capital S) was God and Santa Claus at the same time. The state had inexhaustible funds at its disposal, which could freely be used to make all citizens prosperous and happy. The state should nationalize big business, underwrite projects for the realization of which private capital was not available, redistribute national income, and provide for everyone security from the cradle to the grave.

For Bismarck and his professorial henchmen, deadly foes of "Anglo-Saxon" freedom as they were, this welfare state program was the consummation of the historical mission of Germany's ruling Hohenzollern dynasty as well as of the social gospel of a new Christianity. This *Sozialpolitik* provided a common ground for the cooperation of churchmen and atheists, of royalists and republicans, of nationalists and internationalists. Capitalism had multiplied population figures and raised the average standard of living to an unprecedented height. Yet all these groups were united in the fight against capitalism's alleged inhumanities.

The new German policy was soon enthusiastically praised by British Fabianism, and later adopted by all European nations and by the United States.

The Welfare State school communicated to mankind the tidings that the philosophers' stone had finally been found. Self-styled "new economics" dismissed as palpable nonsense what "orthodox" economics had said about the alleged nature-given limitation of useful goods and resources and the consequent necessity of saving and progressive capital accumulation. There is, they shouted, abundance; poverty is merely the outcome of bad policies favoring the selfish interests of the few at the expense of the many.

Let the Rich Pay

If the interventionist says the state should do this or that (and pay for it) he is fully aware of the fact that the state does not own any funds but those which it collects as taxes from citizens. His idea is to let the government tax away the greater part of the income and capital of the wealthy citizens and spend this revenue for the benefit of the majority of the people. The riches of the nabobs are considered inexhaustible, and so, consequently, are the funds of the government. There is no need to be stingy in matters of public expenditure. What may appear as waste in the affairs of individual citizens, when we consider the nation's budget, is a means of creating jobs and promoting welfare.

The issue of political freedom as a part of development is addressed in my "Freedoms and needs", *New Republic*, January 10 and 17, 1994.

⁸⁴ Ludwig von Mises, *Reprinted from The Freeman*, May 4, 1953.

Under the impact of such doctrines the system of progressive tax rates was carried to extremes. But then finally the myth of the inexhaustibility of the wealth of the rich had to evaporate. The politicians were perplexed when they discovered that they had reached the limit. Several years ago, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell [1906-1963], head of the British Treasury in the socialist cabinet of Mr. Clement Attlee [1883-1967], had to admit "that there is not enough money to take away from England's rich to raise the standard of living any further." The same is true for all other nations. In this country even if all taxable income of those earning more than \$25,000 were confiscated, the additional income to the government would amount to much less than \$1,000,000,000, a trifle when compared with a [1953] budget of roughly \$78,000,000,000 and a threatened deficit of \$10,000,000,000. The house of cards built by the "new economics" is crashing.

Politics seemed to be a very simple thing in these last decades. The main task of a politician was to induce the government to spend more and more. Subsidies, public works, new offices with hosts of employees, and many other costly things secured popularity and votes. Let "them," that is, the rich, pay. But now their funds are spent. Henceforth the funds of the beneficiaries themselves will have to be tapped if more handouts are to be made to them.

The statist philosophy considers the entrepreneur a useless idler who skims the cream from industry without performing any corresponding economic service. The nationalization of business it is said merely abolishes the unjustified privileges of parasitic drones. A salaried public servant does the jobs previously assigned to the businessman much more efficiently and much more cheaply. The expropriation of private ownership is especially urgent in the field of public utilities.

Guided by these principles, the governments of the various European countries long ago nationalized the railroads, the telephone and the telegraph, and many other branches of business. The result was catastrophic: scandalously poor service, high rates, yearly increasing deficits that have to be covered out of budgetary allowances.

Derailment of State Railroads

The financial embarrassment of the main European countries is predominantly caused by the bankruptcy of the nationalized public utilities. The deficit of these enterprises is incurable. A further rise in their rates would bring about a drop in total net proceeds. The traffic could not bear it. Daily experience proves clearly to everybody but the most bigoted fanatics of socialism that governmental management is inefficient and wasteful. But it is impossible to sell these enterprises back to private capital because the threat of a new expropriation by a later government would deter potential buyers.

In a capitalist country the railroads and the telegraph and telephone companies pay considerable taxes. In the countries of the mixed economy, the yearly losses of these public enterprises are a heavy drain upon the nation's purse. They are not taxpayers, but tax-eaters.

Under the conditions of today, the nationalized public utilities of Europe are not merely feasting on taxes paid by the citizens of their own country; they are also living at the expense of the American taxpayer. A considerable part of the foreign-aid billions is swallowed by the deficits of Europe's nationalization experiments. If the United States had nationalized the American railroads, and had not only to forgo the taxes that the companies pay, but, in addition, to cover every year a deficit of several billions, it would not have been in a position to indemnify the European countries for the foolishness of their own socialization policies. So what is postponing the obvious collapse of the Welfare State in Europe is merely the fact that the United States has been slow and "backward" in adopting the principles of the Welfare State's "new economics": it has not nationalized railroads, telephone, and telegraph.

Yet Americans who want to study the effects of public ownership of transit systems are not forced to visit Europe. Some of the nation's largest cities—among them Detroit, Baltimore, Boston, San Francisco—provide them with ample material. The most instructive case, however, is that of the New York City subways.

New York City subways are only a local transit system. In many technological and financial respects, however, they surpass by far the national railroad systems of many countries. As everybody knows, their operation results every year in a tremendous deficit. The financial management accumulates operating deficits, planning to fund them by the issuance of serial bonds. Only a municipality of the bigness, wealth, and prestige of New York could venture on such a policy. With a private corporation financial analysts would apply a rather ugly word to its procedures: bankruptcy. No sane investor would buy bonds of a private corporation run on such a basis.

Incorrigible socialists are, of course, not at all alarmed. "Why should a subway pay?" they are asking. "The schools, the hospitals, the police do not pay; there is no reason why it should be different with a transit system." This "why" is really remarkable. As if the problem were to find an answer to a why, and not to a wherefrom.

There is always this socialist prepossession with the idea that the "rich" can be endlessly soaked. The sad fact, however, is that there is not enough left to fill the bottomless barrels of the public treasury. Precisely because the schools, the hospitals, and the police are very expensive, the city cannot bear the subway deficit. If it wants to levy a special tax to subsidize the subway, it will have to tax the same people who are supposed to profit from the preservation of the low fare.

The other alternative is to raise the fare from the present [1953] level of ten cents to fifteen cents⁸⁵. It will certainly be done. And it will certainly prove insufficient. After a while a rise to twenty cents will follow—with the same unfavorable result. There is no remedy for the inefficiency of public management. Moreover there is a limit to the height at which raised rates will increase revenue. Beyond this point further rises are self-defeating. This is the dilemma facing every public enterprise.

Subways at a Dead End

How little the management of the New York City subways is touched by the spirit of business was proved a short time ago when it triumphantly announced economies made by cutting down services. While all private enterprises in the country compete with one another in improving and expanding services, the municipality of New York is proud of cutting them down!

When economists clearly demonstrated the reasons why socialism cannot work, the statist and interventionists arrogantly proclaimed their contempt for mere theory. "Let the facts speak for themselves; not economics books, only experience counts." Now the facts have spoken.

It is just an historical accident that transportation systems were nationalized while bakeries and automobile factories remained in the hands of private capital. If it had been the other way round, the socialists would perorate: "It is obvious that bakeries and automobile plants cannot pay like railroads. They are public utilities supplying the masses with vital necessities. They must show deficits, and the taxes paid by the extremely profitable railroads must provide the government with the funds required for making good these deficits."

⁸⁵ On January 1, 1990, the fare on the New York City subway was raised to \$1.15

It is paradoxical indeed that Washington is eager to spend the taxpayers' money for the benefit of European deficit railroads and does not bother about the transit deficits of large American cities. Marshall Plan aid⁸⁶ seems to differ from charity, at least in this respect—it does not begin at home.

History has been rather kind to the American voter. It has provided him with object lessons in socialism. If he looks behind the Iron Curtain, he can learn useful things about the one-party system of the classless and profitless "peoples' democracies." If he studies European budgets, he will be informed about the "blessings" of nationalization. Even if he stays at home, he can extend his views by carefully reading what the newspapers report about the financial breakdown of New York City, the world's largest and richest urban agglomeration, the intellectual capital of Western civilization, the home of the United Nations. There is plenty of experience that can induce a man to analyze scrupulously what the progressive propaganda has taught him, and to think twice before again casting his vote for the apostles of socialization and advocates of public spending.

3.3 A PETITION

From the Manufacturers of Candles, Tapers, Lanterns, sticks, Street Lamps, Snuffers, and Extinguishers, and from Producers of Tallow, Oil, Resin, Alcohol, and Generally of Everything Connected with Lighting⁸⁷

To the Honourable Members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Gentlemen:

You are on the right track. You reject abstract theories and little regard for abundance and low prices. You concern yourselves mainly with the fate of the producer. You wish to free him from foreign competition, that is, to reserve the *domestic market* for *domestic industry*.

We come to offer you a wonderful opportunity for your -- what shall we call it? Your theory? No, nothing is more deceptive than theory. Your doctrine? Your system? Your principle? But you dislike doctrines, you have a horror of systems, as for principles, you deny that there are any in political economy; therefore we shall call it your practice -- your practice without theory and without principle.

We are suffering from the ruinous competition of a rival who apparently works under conditions so far superior to our own for the production of light that he is *flooding* the *domestic market* with it at an incredibly low price; for the moment he appears, our sales cease, all the consumers turn to him, and a branch of French industry whose ramifications are innumerable is all at once reduced to complete stagnation. This rival, which is none other than the sun, is waging war on us so mercilessly we suspect he is being stirred up against us by perfidious Albion (excellent diplomacy nowadays!), particularly because he has for that haughty island a respect that he does not show for us.

We ask you to be so good as to pass a law requiring the closing of all windows, dormers, skylights, inside and outside shutters, curtains, casements, bull's-eyes, deadlights, and blinds -- in short, all openings, holes, chinks, and fissures through which the light of the sun is wont to enter houses, to

⁸⁶ The foreign aid plan sparked June 5, 1947, by General George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, which became the European Recovery Program.

⁸⁷ Frederic Bastiat, *Sophismes économiques*, 1845

the detriment of the fair industries with which, we are proud to say, we have endowed the country, a country that cannot, without betraying ingratitude, abandon us today to so unequal a combat.

Be good enough, honourable deputies, to take our request seriously, and do not reject it without at least hearing the reasons that we have to advance in its support.

First, if you shut off as much as possible all access to natural light, and thereby create a need for artificial light, what industry in France will not ultimately be encouraged?

If France consumes more tallow, there will have to be more cattle and sheep, and, consequently, we shall see an increase in cleared fields, meat, wool, leather, and especially manure, the basis of all agricultural wealth.

If France consumes more oil, we shall see an expansion in the cultivation of the poppy, the olive, and rapeseed. These rich yet soil-exhausting plants will come at just the right time to enable us to put to profitable use the increased fertility that the breeding of cattle will impart to the land.

Our moors will be covered with resinous trees. Numerous swarms of bees will gather from our mountains the perfumed treasures that today waste their fragrance, like the flowers from which they emanate. Thus, there is not one branch of agriculture that would not undergo a great expansion.

The same holds true of shipping. Thousands of vessels will engage in whaling, and in a short time we shall have a fleet capable of upholding the honour of France and of gratifying the patriotic aspirations of the undersigned petitioners, chandlers, etc.

But what shall we say of the *specialities* of *Parisian manufacture*? Henceforth you will behold gilding, bronze, and crystal in candlesticks, in lamps, in chandeliers, in candelabra sparkling in spacious emporia compared with which those of today are but stalls.

There is no needy resin-collector on the heights of his sand dunes, no poor miner in the depths of his black pit, who will not receive higher wages and enjoy increased prosperity.

It needs but a little reflection, gentlemen, to be convinced that there is perhaps not one Frenchman, from the wealthy stockholder of the Anzin Company to the humblest vendor of matches, whose condition would not be improved by the success of our petition.

We anticipate your objections, gentlemen; but there is not a single one of them that you have not picked up from the musty old books of the advocates of free trade. We defy you to utter a word against us that will not instantly rebound against yourselves and the principle behind all your policy. Will you tell us that, though we may gain by this protection, France will not gain at all, because the consumer will bear the expense?

We have our answer ready:

You no longer have the right to invoke the interests of the consumer. You have sacrificed him whenever you have found his interests opposed to those of the producer. You have done so in order *to encourage industry and to increase employment*. For the same reason you ought to do so this time too.

Indeed, you yourselves have anticipated this objection. When told that the consumer has a stake in the free entry of iron, coal, sesame, wheat, and textiles, "Yes," you reply, "but the producer has a

stake in their exclusion." Very well, surely if consumers have a stake in the admission of natural light, producers have a stake in its interdiction.

"But," you may still say, "the producer and the consumer are one and the same person. If the manufacturer profits by protection, he will make the farmer prosperous. Contrariwise, if agriculture is prosperous, it will open markets for manufactured goods." Very well, If you grant us a monopoly over the production of lighting during the day, first of all we shall buy large amounts of tallow, charcoal, oil, resin, wax, alcohol, silver, iron, bronze, and crystal, to supply our industry; and, moreover, we and our numerous suppliers, having become rich, will consume a great deal and spread prosperity into all areas of domestic industry.

Will you say that the light of the sun is a gratuitous gift of Nature, and that to reject such gifts would be to reject wealth itself under the pretext of encouraging the means of acquiring it? But if you take this position, you strike a mortal blow at your own policy; remember that up to now you have always excluded foreign goods *because* and *in proportion* as they approximate gratuitous gifts. You have only *half* as good a reason for complying with the demands of other monopolists as you have for granting our petition, which is in *complete* accord with your established policy; and to reject our demands precisely because they are *better founded* than anyone else's would be tantamount to accepting the equation: $+ \times + = -$; in other words, it would be to heap *absurdity* upon *absurdity*.

Labour and Nature collaborate in varying proportions, depending upon the country and the climate, in the production of a commodity. The part that Nature contributes is always free of charge; it is the part contributed by human labour that constitutes value and is paid for.

If an orange from Lisbon sells for half the price of an orange from Paris, it is because the natural heat of the sun, which is, of course, free of charge, does for the former what the latter owes to artificial heating, which necessarily has to be paid for in the market.

Thus, when an orange reaches us from Portugal, one can say that it is given to us half free of charge, or, in other words, at *half price* as compared with those from Paris.

Now, it is precisely on the basis of its being *semigratuitous* (pardon the word) that you maintain it should be barred. You ask: "How can French labour withstand the competition of foreign labour when the former has to do all the work, whereas the latter has to do only half, the sun taking care of the rest?" But if the fact that a product is *half* free of charge leads you to exclude it from competition, how can its being *totally* free of charge induce you to admit it into competition? Either you are not consistent, or you should, after excluding what is half free of charge as harmful to our domestic industry, exclude what is totally gratuitous with all the more reason and with twice the zeal.

To take another example: When a product -- coal, iron, wheat, or textiles -- comes to us from abroad, and when we can acquire it for less labour than if we produced it ourselves, the difference is a *gratuitous gift* that is conferred up on us. The size of this gift is proportionate to the extent of this difference. It is a quarter, a half, or three-quarters of the value of the product if the foreigner asks of us only three-quarters, one-half, or one-quarter as high a price. It is as complete as it can be when the donor, like the sun in providing us with light, asks nothing from us. The question, and we pose it formally, is whether what you desire for France is the benefit of consumption free of charge or the alleged advantages of onerous production. Make your choice, but be logical; for as long as you ban, as you do, foreign coal, iron, wheat, and textiles, *in proportion* as their price approaches zero, how inconsistent it would be to admit the light of the sun, whose price is *zero* all day long!



Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses
Institut za Strateške Studije i Prognoze
e-mail: issp@cg.yu, web site: www.isspm.org

IZVJEŠTAJ O PRIHODIMA I RASHODIMA DOMAĆINSTAVA U CRNOJ GORI

Oktober 2004

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1. UVOD

Poštovani,

Veoma nam je drago da možemo da Vam predstavimo deseti *Izveštaj o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori* (Household Survey Report). U ovom izdanju predstavljamo standardnu analizu specifičnih tema kao što su: carinska procedura, siva ekonomija, održivi turizam u Crnoj Gori, veza između siromaštva i životne sredine, razvoj informatičkog društva, snabdijevanje električnom energijom, zdravlje, menadžment kvaliteta i sl.

Pripremili smo i tekstove koji, po našem mišljenju, podstiču na razmišljanje. U fokusu tekstova za razmišljanje je država i njena uloga u privredi, kao i koncept ekonomskih sloboda. U ovom izdanju objavljeni su poglavlje iz knjige *Razvoj kao sloboda*, Amartije Sena, kao i članak o državi blagostanja pod nazivom "Agonija države blagostanja", koji je napisao Ludvig von Mises. Treći tekst koji objavljujemo napisao je Frederik Bastija i poznat je pod nazivom "Peticija proizvođača svijeća, voštanica, svetiljki, žezala, uličnih svetiljki, makaza za fitilj, i gasila, i proizvođača loja, ulja, smole, alkohola, i uopšte svega što je vezano sa svjetlošću". Ovaj tekst na interesantna i šaljiv način prikazuje državni intervencionizam.

Izveštaj koji je pred Vama je još jedan veoma konkretan doprinos ISSP u eliminisanju proizvoljnih ocjena socio-ekonomskih indikatora. Naš zadatak jeste da povećamo razumijevanje o problemu, a nikada nije bio akutni criticizam. Kroz prikupljanje, obradu i analizu podataka o domaćinstvima u Crnoj Gori u poslednjih više od tri godine, Institut za strateške studije i prognoze omogućio je jasnije sagledavanje socio-ekonomske slike Crne Gore. Vjerujemo da se može postići više i da se kvalitet može unaprijediti. Na ovaj način bićemo u mogućnosti da bolje razumijemo probleme sa kojima se suočavamo. Zadržavanje na površini neće pomoći. Ukoliko imate sugestija ili komentara, slobodno nas kontaktirajte. Naš cilj i dalje ostaje stalno podizanje standarda.

Ovaj Izveštaj još uvijek je jedina publikacija u Crnoj Gori koja na transparentan način pruža informacije svima koji su zainteresovani za podatke i analize različitih pitanja koja se odnose na socio-ekonomsku sliku Crne Gore. To omogućava donosiocima odluka, poslovnim ljudima, nevladinim organizacijama, medijima, međunarodnim donatorima i drugima da budu informisani i da na osnovu validnih informacija donose odluke. Pored toga, *Izveštaj o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori* nalazi se na listi međunarodnih publikacija.

Željeli bi smo da se zahvalimo svim institucijama koje su podržale Istraživanje o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava od samog početka do danas: USAID-u Montenegro, Chesapeake Associates, EC Food Security Programme, Svjetskoj banci, Programu za razvoj Ujedinjenih nacija, kao i članovima Editorial Borda. Zahvaljujući njihovom razumijevanju i podršci, ovaj projekat nastavlja da se realizuje.

Petar Ivanović
Izvršni direktor

2. KOMENTARI

U ovom izdanju, kao što je to bilo i u prethodnim Izveštajima, pripremili smo detaljnije analize podataka prikupljenih u prethodnih osam istraživanja, uz dodatna istraživanja koja su realizovana u međuvremenu. U ovom izveštaju možete pronaći sledeće komentare:

1. Carinska procedura u Crnoj Gori
2. Siva ekonomija u Crnoj Gori
3. Procjena održivog turizma u crnoj gori
4. Koncept održivog načina života - veza između životne sredine i siromaštva
5. Elektro – energetska situacija u crnoj gori i osvrt na zemlje u regionu
6. Virtuelna realnost ili realna virtuelnost? - tokovi i perspektive razvoja informatičkog društva u Crnoj Gori
7. Sistem menadžmenta kvalitetom i iso standardi - globalni fenomeni današnjice
8. Zdravstveni sistem u Crnoj Gori
9. Ravnopravnost polova u Crnoj Gori
10. Crnogorska regulativa – podsticaj ili barijera razvoju turizma

Smatrali smo da su ove teme važne u ovom trenutku. Nastavićemo da pratimo važna pitanja u Crnoj Gori i pripremamo relevantne analize nadajući se da će zaključci do kojih dolazimo biti korisni za čitaoce Izveštaja o rezultatima istraživanja o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava.

2.1. CARINSKA PROCEDURA⁸⁸

1. Uvod

Uslovi poslovanja preduzeća koja se bave spoljnom trgovinom su se od perioda uspostavljanja harmonizacije ekonomskih odnosa Srbije i Crne Gore značajno promjenili. Povećanje carinskih stopa je crnogorskim preduzetnicima pogoršalo uslove poslovanja.

Novim Carinskim zakonom koji počiva na postulatima Carinskog zakona EU, u carinskom postupku se zahtjeva:

- brz i jednostavan prelazak putnika, robe i prevoznih sredstava preko graničnih prelaza;
- dosledna i striktna primjena propisa za čija sprovođenja je odgovorna carinska služba;
- efikasna naplata budžetskih prihoda; i
- suzbijanje krijumčarenja i povreda propisa.

Međutim, u praksi je sasvim drugačije. Postojanje nepotrebne administracije, prolongiranje rokova zadržavanja robe na granici usljed neefikasnosti i neažurnosti carinskih radnika, povećanje troškova, postojanje korupcije, uvećanje carinskih stopa usljed harmonizacije ekonomskih odnosa Srbije i Crne Gore – su samo neki od problema koji se javljaju pri uvozu ili izvozu.

Cilj narednog komentara je da ukaže na postojanje predhodno navedenih problema, kao i da da preporuke za njihovo efikasno prevazilaženje. Komentar se sastoji od tri dijela. U prvom dijelu je dat kratak prikaz događaja u carinskom sistemu od 2000. godine. Drugi dio detaljnije prikazuje Carinski zakon, dok treći dio prikazuje rezultate istraživanja o problemima koje crnogorska preduzeća imaju pri uvozu ili izvozu proizvoda. Prikaz je dat sa aspekta svih aktivnosti neophodnih za sprovođenje carinske procedure, sa posebnim osvrtom na problem korupcije. Prikaz obuhvata

⁸⁸ Autori: Vesna Tomović Ojdanić i Jelena Lipovina, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

postupke od momenta prijave uvoznog/izvoznog posla kod Centralne Banke Crne Gore⁸⁹, preko obezbjeđenja ovlaštenja špediteru za preuzimanje robe na granici, do momenta kada proizvodi stižu na krajnje odredište.

2. Hronologija razvoja carinskog sistema

Harmonizacija ekonomskih odnosa Crne Gore sa Srbijom

Harmonizacija ekonomskih odnosa između Srbije i Crne Gore je predstavljala neophodan politički uslov za učlanjenje u EU i WTO, čiji je jedan od osnovnih uslova usklađivanje carina. Realizacijom Akcionog plana harmonizacije ekonomskih odnosa, 11. avgusta 2003. donešena je Nova Uredba o carinskoj tarifi, koja će se primjenjivati u vremenskom periodu od 18 mjeseci.

Po ovoj Uredbi, za 93% uvoznih proizvoda (od 8500 carinskih pozicija) važe nove, uvećane carinske stope. Za određene proizvode je primjena novih, sa Srbijom usaglašenih carina, trebala da počne nakon 18 ili 24 mjeseca od donešenja Uredbe, dok za grupu od 56 strateških prehrambenih proizvoda važe stare stope.

Tabela 1.1 Promjene carinskih stopa nakon harmonizacije ekonomskih odnosa

| Promjene carina | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| za 48 grupa proizvoda | povećanje 1%-9%, |
| za 22 grupe proizvoda | povećanje 10%-19%, |
| za 12 grupa proizvoda | povećanje preko 20%, |
| za 11 grupa proizvoda | ostale iste |
| za 3 grupe proizvoda | smanjenje carina |

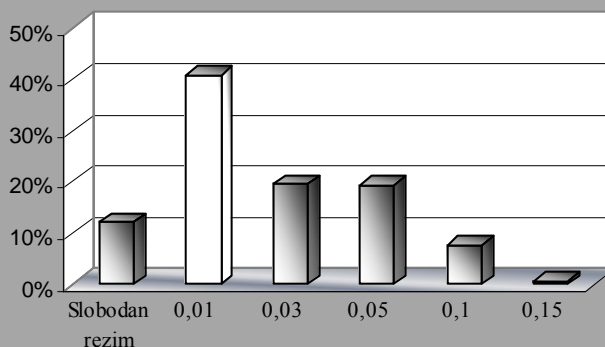
Box1.1: Hronologija

2000 - EU postavlja uslov Srbiji i Crnoj Gori da se carinske stope utvrde na nivou EU, što je bilo definisano Uredbom o carinskoj tarifi donešenoj u junu 2000. godine ("Sluzbeni list RCG", br.38/00).

Jun 2000 - Crna Gora donosi Novu Uredbu o carinskoj tarifi koja je obuhvatala 9000 tarifnih pozicija.

Uredbom su bile uspostavljene carinske stope koje su se sastojale iz 6 nivoa i koje su se rangirale od 0, 1, 3, 5, 10 i 15 procenata. Tad najveće carinske stope od 15% su se primjenjivale samo za neke proizvode kao što su luksuzni proizvodi, alkohol i pojedine poljoprivredne proizvode.

Grafik br. 1.1 Zastupljenost pojedinih carinskih stopa u ukupnom carinskom režimu prije harmonizacije ekonomskih odnosa Srbije i Crne Gore



⁸⁹ U daljem tekstu CBCG

Najveću zastupljenost u ukupnom carinskom režimu imala je carinska kategorija od 1%, njen udio je bio 40,8%. Nakon ove carinske stope slijedi carinska stopa od 3% čija je zastupljenost bila 19,5%, zatim 5% sa zastupljenošću od 19,4 %, dok je najmanja zastupljenost carinske stope bila od 15% i iznosila je samo 0,06%. Slobodan carinski režim je bio zastupljen sa 12,1%.

Zastupljenost pojedinih carinskih stopa kao i prosječne carinske stope u carinskom sistemu Srbije i Crne Gore su prikazani u Tabeli 1.2.

Tabela 1.2. Pregled zastupljenosti različitih carinskih stopa u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori

| Zastupljenost carinske stope od | Crna Gora | Srbija |
|---------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| 0-5 % | 91,8% | 50,1% |
| 10-15 % | 8,2% | - |
| 10-20 % | - | 42,1% |
| 30 % | 0% | 7,8% |

Iz tabele 2 se vidi da su najveću zastupljenost u strukturi carina u Crnoj Gori imale carine u rasponu 0-5%, sa zastupljenošću od čak 91,8%, dok je ta zastupljenost u strukturi carina u Srbiji bila 50,1%.

Za neke posebne proizvode kao što su oružje i municija, otrovi, narkotici, opasne materije i nuklearni proizvodi je sproveden sistem dozvola. Pored carina posebno se plaćala carinska evidencija od 1% na svaki uvezeni proizvod.

Mart 2003 - potpisan Beogradski sporazum, u kom se navodi da harmonizacija ekonomskih sistema treba da obezbjedi prevazilaženje razlika u oblasti trgovine i carinske politike Crne Gore i Srbije.

Mart – avgust 2003 - Srbija i Crna Gora pristupaju izradi Akcionog plana čiji je osnovni cilj uklanjanje prepreka za slobodan protok ljudi, robe, usluga i kapitala između Srbije i Crne Gore.

Avgust 2003 - Skupština Srbije i Crne Gore usvaja Akcioni plan, koji je preduslov za izradu Studije izvodljivosti.

Avgust 2003 - Vlada Crne Gore donosi Uredbu o carinskoj tarifi koja će važiti za period od 18 mjeseci.

Planirano je da se procesom harmonizacije prosječna carinska stopa u Crnoj Gori poveća sa iznosa od 3%⁹⁰ na 5,7%, dok je carinsko opterećenje Republike Srbije smanjeno sa 9,4% na 7,4%.

Ujednačavanje carinskih stopa i dalje predstavlja problem zbog postojanja velikih razlika u carinskim sistemima Srbije i Crne Gore; pored toga, još uvijek nisu definisane carinske stope za 56 strateških proizvoda.

Događaji koji su predhodili harmonizaciji SiCG⁹¹ su prikazani u Boxu 1.1

3. Carinski zakon

Carinski zakon predstavlja skup pravila kojima se uređuje robni i putnički promet između Republike Crne Gore (domaće carinsko područje) i inostranstva (inostrano carinsko područje). Ovim zakonom se uređuju prava i obaveze lica, kao i ovlašćenja carinske službe Republike CG u robnom i putničkom prometu između domaćeg i inostranog područja.

⁹⁰ Sektorska analiza trgovine, CARA

⁹¹ Srbija i Crna Gora

Carina se prema Zakonu o carinskoj tarifi plaća na robu koja se uvozi u carinsko područje. Izuzetak je roba koja nije trgovačkog karaktera i koju putnik nosi sa sobom, ili koju fizičko lice primi od drugog fizičkog lica. U tom slučaju se može primijeniti carinska stopa u visini 5% od carinske vrijednosti robe.

Sva roba nad kojom treba da se sprovede carinski postupak mora da bude obuhvaćena odgovarajućom carinskom deklaracijom koja se podnosi u pisanoj formi, elektronskom razmjenom podataka, usmeno ili drugim radnjama.

Zakon po svojoj strukturi ima dva dijela. Prvi dio uređuje pitanja vezana za prava i obaveze učesnika u carinskom postupku, dok su nadležnosti i organizacija Uprave carina uređene drugim dijelom Zakona.

Koristeći evropske standarde (EU Blueprints) i praksu carinskih zakonodavstava zemalja članica Evropske unije, izrađen je Carinski zakon. Ovaj Zakon sadrži osnovne institute i principe na kojima se zasniva Carinski zakon Evropske Unije, što je u skladu sa stavovima Svjetske trgovinske organizacije i Svjetske carinske organizacije, kao i osnovnim opredjeljenjima iz Opšteg sporazuma o carinama i trgovini (GATT).

Instituti, ovlašćenja i odgovornosti carinske službe koji do sada nijesu korišćeni u sprovođenju carinskog postupka i organizacije carinske službe, su sadržani u novom Carinskom zakonu. Oni su preduslov za sprovođenje osnovnih ciljeva službe. Kao što je predhodno navedeno u osnovne ciljeve službe spadaju:

- brz i jednostavan prelazak putnika, robe i prevoznih sredstava preko graničnih prelaza;
- dosljedna i striktna primjena propisa za čija sprovođenja je odgovorna carinska služba;
- efikasna naplata budžetskih prihoda;
- i suzbijanje krijumčarenja i povreda propisa.

Novi carinski zakon je u funkciji praćenja savremenih tokova robe i kapitala, otvorene tržišne ekonomije i sve veće liberalizacije prometa robe. Zakon treba da obezbjedi zaštitu domaće proizvodnje, njen tehničko-tehnološki razvoj, napredak, i ravnopravnost svih učesnika u robnom prometu.

Savremenost Carinskog zakona se ogleda i u činjenici pojednostavljenja carinske procedure, njenog bržeg i efikasnijeg obavljanja, (mogućnost podnošenja carinskih isprava elektronskim putem), što sve zajedno treba da doprinese ubrzanju carinskog postupka i smanjenju troškova u spoljno-trgovinskom prometu.

Ono što se zamjera ovom Zakonu jeste činjenica da su organima carinske službe data široka ovlašćenja u sprovođenju carinskih propisa. Radnici carinske službe posjeduju ovlašćenja u postupku kontrole robe za vrijeme i nakon njenog prelaska preko carinske linije, što je propraćeno i propisivanjem krivičnog dijela krijumčarenja kao i odgovarajućih carinskih prekršaja i visokih novčanih kazni za prekršioca.

4. Carinska procedura

Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj iz Podgorice je u februaru 2004. godine sproveo istraživanje o uvozno/izvoznim procedurama. U svrhu istraživanja je napravljen upitnik za preduzetnike koji se bave spoljnom trgovinom. Cilj istraživanja je bio da se dobije prava slika o uvozno/izvoznim procedurama kroz koje moraju da prođu ova preduzeća.

Metodologija istraživanja

Prikupljanje podataka je trajalo tri nedelje, a istraživanje je sprovedeno metodom direktnog intervjua i anketiranja preduzetnika/preduzeća koja posluju u oblasti spoljne trgovine. U direktnom

razgovoru sa nadležnim osobama iz uvozno/izvoznih sektora, došli smo do informacija o problemima koji postoje u ovoj oblasti, kao i do prijedloga za poboljšanje carinske procedure.

Uvozna i izvozna carinska procedura

Uvozna ili izvozna carinska procedura uključuje vrijeme i sve neophodne radnje koje preduzima pravni subjekt sa ciljem da uveze ili izveze određeni proizvod ili robu.

Procedura uvoza/izvoza uključuje radnje koje subjekt treba da preduzme da bi uvezao ili izvezao neku robu. Primjer uvozne carinske procedure je detaljno opisan u Boxu 2.

Box 1.2 Uvozna carinska procedura

Za uvoz je potrebno da preduzeće - uvoznik ima ugovor ili fakturu sa stranom firmom koji nije stariji od 30 dana. Ukoliko kamion sa robom prispjeje na granicu poslije 11h, registracija robe se vrši sutra dan.

Prvi dan

Registracija uvoza

- prijava uvoza kod CBCG (popunjavanje prijave traje 4h)
- plaćanje takse za prijavu posla na žiro račun CBCG u iznosu od € 76,69
- prijava posla, kopija ugovora ili fakture koji nije stariji od 30 dana i kopija uplatnice se nose u Centarlnu Banku

Drugi dan

- potrebno je doći u CBCG da se podigne ovjereni primjerak prijave posla (za manju prijavu u 10h, za veću prijavu u 14h),
- nakon toga se obavještava partner da može poslati robu,
- potom kupac šalje špediteru dopis kojim ga ovlašćuje da vrši njegov posao kao i kopiju prijave iz CBCG (za neke carinske prelaze kao što je npr. Šćepan Polje – granični prelaz prema Bosni, dopis i kopija prijave se moraju predati lično jer nema odgovarajućih sredstava komunikacije – fax)
- kad kamion sa robom dođe na prelaz, roba ulazi u zemlju, obavlja se carinska procedura,
- špediter pravi propratnicu i predaje svu dokumentaciju carinskoj ispostavi: fakturu, tovarni list od vozača i propratnicu,
- carinarnica zaustavlja i “plombira” kamion,
- špediter naplaćuje svoje usluge u vrijednosti € 50,
- carinik sastavlja svu dokumentaciju i zaustavlja kamion,
- kamion sa robom je slobodan da ide prema mjestu carinjenja – grad u koji se upućuje roba,
- u mjestu prispjeća robe se plaća ulazak na carinski terminal €15 za prvih 6h, ulazak u prvi minut sedmog sata se plaća dodatnih €15,
- potom se uplaćuje taksa od €6 na žiro račun, za pregled robe carini,
- drugi špediter u mjestu prispjeća robe uzima svu potrebnu dokumentaciju od prvog špeditera (vozača) i pijavljuje robu na carini za carinjenje,
- špediter naplaćuje svoje usluge u iznosu od €117,
- carinska ispostava šalje svoje službenike da pregledaju robu, pregledi robe su vremenski ograničeni tako da se prvi obavlja u 9h, a drugi u 11h, sve poslije toga se ostavlja za sutra,
- naplata taksi:
 - administrativna taksa €6
 - kolaterna taksa € 5

- + PDV (na vrijednost robe i obračunate troškove prevoza i plaćenih taksi)
- nakon pregleda robe i naplate taksi, carinik se vraća u carinarnicu gdje obračunava vrijednost carine,
- po izdatom nalogu za plaćanje, na žiro račun Carine se uplaćuje navedeni iznos carinske takse,
- primjerak uplatnice je potrebno pokazati cariniku, nakon čega slijedi puštanje robe ukoliko je cijeli posao završen do 14h,
- na kraju je potrebno obaviti svođenje prijave u CBCG.

Na kraju svake godine, po zakonu, se vrši svođenje prijave. Ukoliko postoji odstupanje veće ili manje od 2%, vrši se ponovna reklamacija posla uz dodatnu naplatu od € 33-76.

Postupak uvozne i izvozne carinske procedure je isti, jedina razlika je u iznosu plaćenih taksi i troškova špedicije koji zavise od krajnjeg odredišta robe koja se izvozi. U slučaju izvozne aktivnosti za prijavu posla kod CBCG, plaća se iznos od € 25,57.

4.1 Analiza podataka

Istraživanjem je obuhvaćeno 30 preduzeća koja se bave uvozno/izvoznom aktivnošću.

Upitnik korišten u istraživanju se sastojao od tri dijela:

- U prvom dijelu su sadržane opšte informacije o preduzeću, broju zaposlenih, prirodi vlasništva, prirodi djelatnosti (grana industrije), i naravno o vrsti aktivnosti kojom se bave (uvoz, odnosno izvoz). U uzorku smo pokušali da uključimo sve oblasti industrije koje se bave uvozom/izvozom od poljoprivrede, turizma preko proizvodnje, usluga pa do trgovine na veliko i malo.
- Drugi dio upitnika sadrži pitanja vezana za probleme koji postoje u izvozno/uvoznj procedure kao i njihov uticaj na tok uvozne/izvozne aktivnosti. U ovom dijelu se otkrivaju problemi koji se pojavljuju u spoljnotrgovinskim aktivnostima kao i intenzitet njihovog pojavljivanja.
- Treći dio se odnosi na komentare i prijedloge koji bi mogli da dovedu do poboljšanja u obavljanju uvozne/izvozne aktivnosti vezanih za troškove samog posla kao i ubrzanja same procedure.

Od ukupnog broja ispitanika koji su uzeli učešća u ovom istraživanju, 70% je muškog, a 30% ženskog pola. U istraživanju su najzastupljeniji ispitanici strosne dobi od 31 do 40 godina (36%), dok 30% ispitanika ima od 41 do 50 godina. U istom procentu, po 17%, su anketirane osobe starosne dobi od 41 do 50 godina i 51 do 60 godina, respektivno. Osobe koje su prešle 60 godina nisu obuhvaćene ovim istraživanjem.

Na grafiku 1.2 se vidi, da su u istraživanju najzastupljenija mikro preduzeća (broj radnika od 1-9) sa 47%, dok su preduzeća koja spadaju u kategoriju srednjih i malih zastupljena sa po 33% i 20%, respektivno. Preduzeća koja spadaju u kategoriju velikih nisu obuhvaćena istraživanjem.

Grafik 1.2 Veličina preduzeća obuhvaćenih istraživanjem

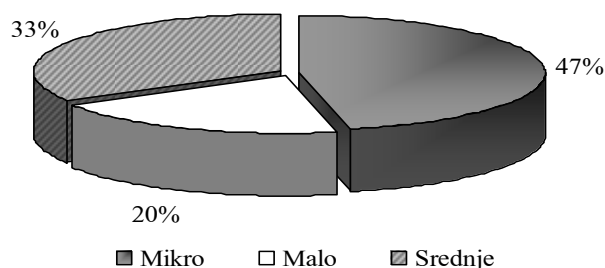


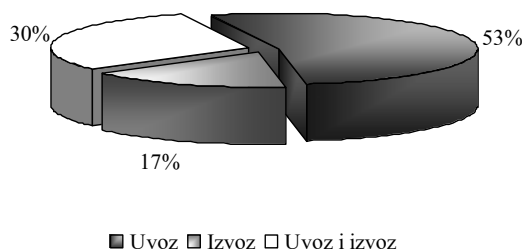
Tabela 1.3: Prikaz preduzeća po djelatnostima

| Djelatnost | Uvoz | Izvoz | Uvoz i izvoz |
|--------------------|------|-------|--------------|
| Poljoprivreda | | 2 | 2 |
| Turizam | | | 1 |
| Građevinarstvo | | | 1 |
| Usluge | | | 4 |
| Proizvodnja | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Trgovina na malo | 4 | | 4 |
| Trgovina na veliko | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| Drugo | | 2 | 1 |

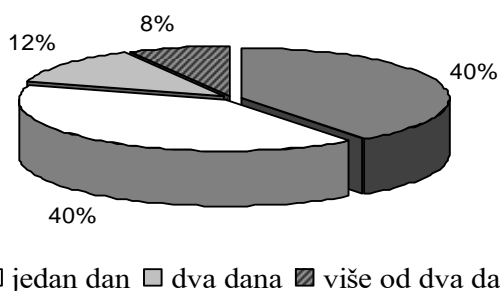
Od ukupno 30 ispitanih preduzeća koja su učestvovala u istraživanju i koja su pomogla da shvatimo probleme koji se javljaju pri proceduri carinjenja, najveći broj se bavi proizvodnjom i trgovinom na malo i veliko. Veći broj anketiranih preduzeća su mješovitog vlasništva (70%), 17% je privatno od osnivanja, dok ih je 13% privatizovanih. Državna preduzeća nisu zastupljena u istraživanju.

Kada je u pitanju pozicija anketiranih, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su 41% anketiranih vlasnici preduzeća, 23% pripadaju grupi izvršnih menadžera, 23% ispitanika su u isto vrijeme obavljali funkcije vlasnika i menadžera, dok su menadžeri zastupljeni u znatno manjem broju 13%.

Analizom prikupljenih podataka ustanovljeno je da se većina preduzeća u uzorku bavi uvozom (53%). Osnovna djelatnost ovih preduzeća je proizvodnja kao i trgovina na veliko i malo. Preduzeća koja se bave samo izvozom su zastupljena sa 17%, dok uvoz i izvoz obavlja 30% anketiranih preduzeća.

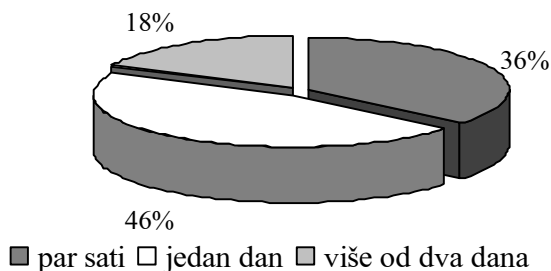
Grafik 1.3 Struktura preduzeća obuhvaćenih istraživanjem

Većina ispitanika se slaže da je za prijavu uvoza (izvoza) dovoljan jedan dan (40%) ili čak par sati (40%), mada postoje i oni kojima za prijavu treba dva (12%) ili više od dva dana (8%).

Grafik 1.4 Vrijeme potrebno za prijavu uvoza

Kod prijave izvoza situacija je slična, što pokazuje naredni grafik. Za prijavu izvoza većini anketiranih je potreban jedan dan (46%). Za 36% ispitanika je potrebno par sati, dok je za 18% ispitanika potrebno više od dva dana za prijavu izvoza.

Grafik 1.5 Vrijeme potrebno za prijavu izvoza



Da bi se otpočela uvozno/izvozna aktivnost potrebno je popuniti prijavu posla (uvoza/izvoza) kod CBCG. Cijene prijavljivanja aktivnosti se razlikuju u zavisnosti od toga da li se radi o izvozu ili uvozu. Analiza podataka pokazuje da većina ispitanika smatra da je prijava kod CBCG nepotrebna, iako ne predstavlja barijeru za razvoj biznisa.

Nepotrebnost prijave se objašnjava činjenicom da se podaci sadržani u prijavi nalaze i u jedinstvenoj carinskoj ispravi⁹² koju sastavlja špediter. Carinska isprava je obavezan dokument koji prati robu na cijelom putu do krajnjeg odredišta i koji špediter treba da ima kod sebe pri predaji i carinjenju robe.

Anketirani smatraju da je postojanje prijave način kojim CBCG kontroliše vršenje radnji uvoza/izvoza, kao i količinu i kvalitet uvezene odnosno izvezene robe. Suvišnost prijave se objašnjava i uvećanim troškovima koji se plaćaju na robu koja stoji u prijavi bez obzira da li je roba dostavljena uvozniku. Naravno, jasno je da CBCG po ovom osnovu ostvaruje značajne prihode.

Troškovi parkinga ili ležarine, koji se plaćaju za 6h držanja robe na carinskim punktovima su prema mišljenju anketiranih odgovarajući. Međutim, produženje postupka carinjenja zbog nedostataka - kašnjenja odgovarajućih potrebnih rješenja, saglasnosti, dozvola, prijave kod CBCG,... uvećava troškove ležarine. Takođe, troškovi prenaupućenja po mišljenju ispitanika predstavljaju veći problem, jer se carine plaćaju "dvostruko".

Većina ispitanika problem vidi u vremenu potrebnom za realizaciju administrativnih veličina (taksi), koje su sastavni dio carinskog postupka, što automatski produžava vrijeme i povećava troškove ležarine, parkinga, prevoznika... Prema mišljenju anketiranih, neekspeditivnost i nespremnost državnih službi da posao obave na vrijeme, za preduzetnike predstavlja dodatnu barijeru.

Pri uvozu/izvozu proizvoda čiji je rok trajanja relativno kratak, vrijeme trajanja uvozno/izvoznih procedura predstavlja ozbiljan problem, iz razloga što zavisi od dobre volje i ažurnosti carinika. Iako prolongiranje carinskih procedura podrazumjeva povećanje troškova, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da ipak ne predstavlja faktor koji bi uticao na to da neki od učesnika odustane od posla.

Nedavna usklađivanja carinskih stopa, usljed harmonizacije ekonomskih odnosa, su u Crnoj Gori povećale trošak uvoza pojedinih proizvoda. Anketirani su mišljenja da se uvoz ovakvih proizvoda u dogledno vrijeme može obustaviti. Primjera radi, kao potencijalni proizvodi se navode bombone čije su carinske stope narasle sa 6% na 26% i kozmetički proizvodi čije su stope povećane za 6-7%.

Prema mišljenju većine anketiranih, troškovi carine:

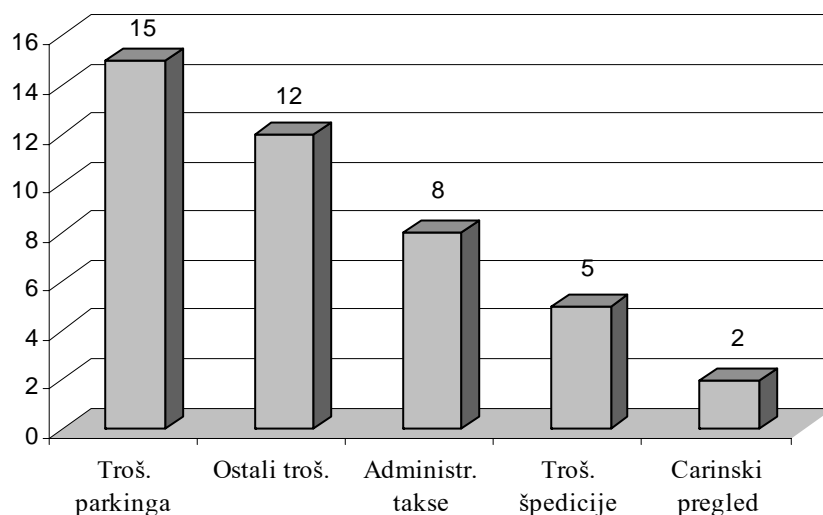
- su visoki i ometaju protok roba,
- ograničavaju uvoznike da uvoze robu,
- konstantno rastu.

⁹² JCI

Po nekim pitanjima među ispitanicima postoje suprotna mišljenja. Jedan dio ispitanika smatra da carinski troškovi koji su utvrđeni zakonom moraju biti plaćeni i zbog toga ne mogu uticati na smanjenje obima posla. Drugi su ipak mišljenja da visina carine predstavlja ozbiljnu barijeru za bavljenje biznisom.

Analiza je pokazala da je prijava uvozno/izvozne aktivnosti kod CBCG najnepotrebniiji trošak, zatim slijede troškovi parkinga, administrativne takse itd, što je prikazano grafikom 1.6

Grafik 1.6 Rangiranje nepotrebnih uvozno/izvoznih aktivnosti kod CBCG



Korupcija

U istraživanju o carinskoj proceduri posebno mjesto je posvećeno korupciji. Većina anketiranih (90%), se slaže da je korupcija prisutna i neizbježna u ovoj vrsti posla. Korupcija u većini zemalja u tranziciji predstavlja ozbiljan problem.

Najsadržajnu definiciju⁹³ korupcije je dao Vito Tanzi⁹⁴: “Korupcija postoji ukoliko dođe do namjernog narušavanja principa nepristrasnosti pri donošenju odluka u cilju prisvajanja neke pogodnosti.” Korupcija se još definiše kao: “Zloupotreba javnog položaja radi sticanja privatne koristi.”

U pojedinim zemljama, tradicija podmićivanja postoji vjekovima i kao takva više služi kao izgovor i alibi onima koji je koriste. Korupcija kao svojevrsan socijalni problem ima tradiciju i kulturu, koja se mjenja i uklapa u novi tržišni poredak. Manji ili veći iznosi mita smatraju se normalnim ponašanjem u određenim društvenim krugovima.

Korupcija u carinskom poslu ima takođe dugu tradiciju. Smatra se da se ona ne javlja samo zbog postojanja velikih barijera koje postoje u uvozno/izvoznim poslovima već i zbog nemarnosti carinskih službenika.

Koji su najčešći oblici korupcije?

Najzastupljeniji oblici korupcije su razni oblici mita, kao sto su pokloni, “prinudni” mito u maloj količini, uzimanje robe i sl. Pojava korupcije je najviše izražena kod službenika na carinskim punktovima. Većina ljudi koja se bavi spoljnom trgovinom, radi ubrzavanja procedure uvoza/izvoza koristi se raznim oblicima korupcije.

⁹³ Tanzi, V. (1996): “*Money Laundering and the International Financial System*”, International Monetary Fund, Fiscal Affairs Department, Working Paper 96/55, Washington, D.C.

⁹⁴ Vito A. Tanzi, CPCM & Chairman of NBCC (National Bureau of Certified Consultants)

Istraživanje o carinskoj proceduri u kojem je posebno mjesto posvećeno korupciji je pokazalo sljedeće:

- korupcija u Crnoj Gori manifestuje se kroz prijateljske veze i poznanstva, koji su zastupljeniji oblik korupcije od primanja mita,
- ispitanici uglavnom ne žele da razgovaraju o korupciji da ne bi izgubili trenutno dobru saradnju sa carinicima,
- postoje ispitanici koji ističu da im nije poznat i blizak nijedan oblik korupcije u ovom poslu,
- glavni uzrok pojave korupcije je ubrzanje procedure.

Ispitanici su mišljenja da promjene zakonske regulative predstavljaju smetnju u obavljanju uvozno/izvoznih aktivnosti preduzeća, zbog potrebe da se preduzetnici konstantno prilagođavaju novim pravilima i normama. Ovaj razlog naročito ističu preduzetnici koji se bave uvozom proizvoda kod kojih je, usljed harmonizacije došlo do osjetnog povećanja carinskih stopa. Većina anketiranih nema izgrađeno mišljenje o efektima promjene carinskog zakona, dok manji broj smatra da ovaj zakon može da da dobre rezultate na duži rok.

5. Zaključak

Veliki problem za preduzetnike predstavljaju postojeće carinske stope. Vraćanje carinskih stopa na vrijednosti prije njihovog usaglašavanja sa Srbijom ili smanjenje njihovih trenutnih vrijednosti preduzetnici vide kao alternativna rješenja ovog problema. Izrada novog carinskog zakona prema mišljenju anketiranih je takođe neophodna. Zastupljeno je mišljenje da se treba uspostaviti carinski zakon po ugledu na zemlje iz susjedstva. Međutim, ostaje otvoreno pitanje da li naša privreda ima razvijene uslove za primjenu ovakvih zakona ili treba izraditi zakon koji će biti prilagođen domaćim uslovima privređivanja, a ujedno ispunjavati zahtjeve Evropske Unije.

Istraživanje je pokazalo sljedeće:

- ukidanje prijave kod Centralne banke uticalo bi na ubrzanje carinske procedure i smanjenje troškova,
- veća kooperacija poslovnih banaka i carinske službe bi doprinijela poboljšanju uslova vršenja posla,
- za efikasniju realizaciju uvozno/izvozne carinske aktivnosti potrebno je pojednostaviti postupak izrade svih pratećih rješenja, dozvola i saglasnosti potrebnih za obavljanje carinskog postupka,
- razne kontrole i fitonalazi za robu namijenjenu uvozu/izvozu smatraju se nepotrebnim, jer se isti ne priznaju u inostranstvu,
- potrebno je ukinuti ili smanjiti vrijednosti taksi (administrativna i kolatelarna).

Crnogorskim preduzećima treba omogućiti bolje uslove poslovanja, kroz poboljšanje efikasnosti rada carinske službe. Anketirani su mišljenja da bi se procedura sređivanja potrebnih dokumenata brže i efikasnije obavljala, ukoliko bi carinski službenici bili motivisani na adekvatan način. Time bi se smanjila korupcija koja postoji u krugovima carinske službe.

Neprofesionalnost službenika na carini u najvećoj mjeri utiče na nezadovoljstvo i probleme pri obavljanju uvozno/izvozne aktivnosti. Međutim, zastupljeno je i mišljenje kojim se opravdava ovakvo ponašanje carinskih službenika, ističući da ih njihova finansijska nadoknada po osnovu obavljanja posla kao i opšta situacija u privredi tjera na vršenje dužnosti na takav način.

Ipak, zar nismo svi u istoj "privrednoj situaciji"? Da li bi onda trebalo da svi traže posebnu nadoknadu za obavljanje svakodnevnih aktivnosti? Mišljenje da je korupcija najnormalnija stvar u društvu je zastupljena u svakom društvenom segmentu. Šta treba da očekujemo od drugih sektora koji su značajniji za pojedinca, kao što je npr. zdravstvo?

Sve do sad navedeno ukazuje na potrebu povećanja stručnog znanja radnika koji se bave spoljnotrgovinskim, špediterskim i carinskim poslovima. Jedan od načina je zapošljavanje novog, mladog, poštenog i stručnog kadra.

U cilju rješavanja problema, u narednom periodu je potrebno uticati na:

- smanjenje i ukidanje nepotrebne papirologije, kako bi se olakšala uvozno/izvozna procedura,
- smanjenje korupcije u carinskoj službi, zapošljavanjem mladog i stručnog kadra kao i većom kontrolom carinskih službenika,
- povećanje efikasnosti i skraćenje vremena potrebnog za uvozno/izvozne procedure,
- kreiranje adekvatnog carinskog zakona, po ugledu na zemlje EU.

2.2 SIVA EKONOMIJA U CRNOJ GORI⁹⁵

1. Uvod

Dosadašnja iskustva zemalja širom svijeta, pokazuju da su ključni generatori sive ekonomije neodmjeren poreski sistem i pretjerana regulativa u domenu privredjivanja. Ekonomske posljedice takvog njihovog dejstva su gušenje regularne poslovne aktivnosti i preusmjeravanje u tzv. neformalnu zonu. Siva ekonomija predstavlja spontanu tržišnu reakciju na neprirodni intervencionizam, odnosno neprikladno uplitanje države u ekonomske tokove. Siva ekonomija se može tumačiti prije kao spontano ili iznudjeno rješenje jednog ozbiljnog ekonomskog problema nego samo kao problem ili fenomen sam po sebi.

Pod sivom ekonomijom podrazumijevamo ekonomsku aktivnost po osnovu koje pojedinac ili preduzeće ostvaruje prihod, koji nije prijavljen odnosno registrovan kroz zvanične knjige i na koji nijesu plaćene obaveze prema državi (porezi, akcize, carine, doprinosi). Sve aktivnosti koje se obavljaju u oblasti sive ekonomije mogu se regularno obavljati, za razliku od kriminalnih aktivnosti ili "crne ekonomije" koja se ne može legalizovati.

Koliko god država nastojala da pravno reguliše obavljanje ekonomskih aktivnosti, da ih evidentira i oporezuje, uvek postoje segmenti u kojima veći ili manji obim ekonomskih transakcija izmiče nekim od tih propisa. Praksa pokazuje da se sklonost ka sivoj ekonomiji rapidno povećava u poremećenim uslovima privredjivanja sa velikim spoljnim šokovima (rat, sankcije) ali i usljed naglih političko-ekonomskih zaokreta (karakteristično za zemlje u tranziciji) kada može doći i do pada proizvodnje i životnog standarda (tzv. tranzicioni šok). To je izuzetno povoljan ambijent za razvoj i širenje sive ekonomije. Sa druge strane, na mikro planu, sklonost građana ka sivoj ekonomiji se uvećava sa nepovjerenjem prema državi, pojavom i povećanjem siromaštva i opštom ekonomskom nesigurnošću, kao i sa nedostatkom ili padom poslovnog (i poreskog) morala.

2. Metodologija procjenjivanja sive ekonomije

Iako je fenomen sive ekonomije kompleksan, sa mnogo različitih i često medjuzavisnih obilježja, polazeći od ekonomske teorije, njegova kvantifikacija je moguća. Čini se da procjene skrivene ekonomije nije moguće izvršiti direktno, ali tragovi koje ostavlja u drugim sferama privrede su realni. Oni mogu da se opažaju, analiziraju, pa i da se mjere. S obzirom da siva ekonomija ostavlja različite tragove, pristupi mjerenju su različiti. U tom smislu, posmatrajući prirodu »tragova« koje siva ekonomija ostavlja, definisani su različiti metodi njene procjene, i to:

1. Diskrepanca između dohodaka i izdataka (na makro i na mikro nivou);
2. Tržište rada;
3. Poreska revizija, i
4. Monetarne metode.

1. Metod diskrepance između dohodaka i izdataka. Dohoci koji se stiču mogu uopšte da se ne prijavljuju ili da se prijavljuju samo djelimično. Medjutim, njihov najveći dio se kasnije neminovno pojavljuje kao izdatak. Stoga, pojava diskrepance između prihoda i rashoda predstavlja analitičku

⁹⁵ Autor: Marina Milić, Montenegro Biznis Alijansa, MBA

osnovu za kvantifikaciju skrivene ekonomije, a njenim praćenjem iz godine u godinu na nivou privrede kao cjeline, može se doći i do informacija o veličini skrivene ekonomije u konkretnom periodu.

2. Metod tržišta rada. Na veličinu skrivene ekonomije ukazuju i niske stope participacije na tržištu rada u odnosu na ranije (normalne) periode ili u odnosu na stope izmjerene u sličnim zemljama gde fenomen skrivene ekonomije nije značajan. Zapravo, razlika između zvanične stope participacije i "normalne" određuje dio radne snage koji učestvuje na skrivenom tržištu rada. Mjera skrivene ekonomije u ovom slučaju je relativni i apsolutni iznos radne snage koja se pojavljuje na skrivenom tržištu. Kada se ovom kontingentu pridoda odgovarajući dohodak, ujedno se dobija i gruba procjena veličine skrivene ekonomske aktivnosti u apsolutnom novčanom iznosu.

3. Metod poreske revizije. Za razliku od prethodne metode (bazirane na dobrovoljnom učešću u anketama), metoda poreske revizije se zasniva na *aktivnom angažovanju poreskih vlasti u identifikaciji* skrivenih dohodaka. To se čini poreskom revizijom koja obezbjeđuje detaljnije informacije o tome koje dohodne grupe i koje profesije ne prijavljuju ili prijavljuju samo djelimično dohotke. Pri izboru uzorka populacije koriste se razni metodi. Uobičajen je metod slučajnog uzorka, a nekad se koriste i diskriminatorski postupci da bi se razvio algoritam koji će voditi selekciji poreskih obveznika najpogodnijih za intenzivne tehnike poreske revizije.

4. Monetarne metode. Bazna pretpostavka na kojoj su koncipirane monetarne metode procjene sive ekonomije jeste da lica koja svoju aktivnost skrivaju mijenjaju obrazac korišćenja novca. U tom smislu, postojanje skrivene ekonomije ostavlja tragove u monetarnoj sferi. Operativne pretpostavke na kojima su zasnovani konkretni metodi su brojne.

Generalno, izbor modela procjene sive ekonomije zavisi od stanja u privredi i nivoa njene razvijenosti. U zavisnosti od toga da li se radi o zemlji u razvoju (u tranziciji) ili o razvijenoj zemlji (tržišne privrede), metodologija izračunavanja nivoa sive ekonomije će se bitno razlikovati. Takođe, jedan od ograničavajućih faktora je nivo razvijenosti statističkog sistema u zemlji i infrastrukture za prikupljanje podataka.

3. Siva ekonomija u Crnoj Gori

3.1 Pojavni oblici sive ekonomije

Siva ekonomija u Crnoj Gori se javlja u gotovo svim pojavnim oblicima koji karakterišu ekonomske sisteme u tranziciji i nerazvijene ekonomije, pri čemu su najčešći i najviše zastupljeni sledeći pojavni oblici:

- Ilegalan uvoz i distribucija akciznih roba,
- Puštanje u promet na unutrašnjem tržištu tranzitnih roba,
- Puštanje u promet na unutrašnjem tržištu roba namjenjenih izvozu,
- Prodaja roba i usluga za gotovinu bez evidencije,
- Medjukreditiranje građana van zakonskog okvira ("zelenaštvo"),
- Izvlačenje i zadržavanje gotovog novca van kanala platnog prometa,
- Privilegovana i bespravna gradnja,
- Zapošljavanje radnika na crno,
- Nezakonita sječa šuma.

3.2 Uzroci sive ekonomije

Uzroke sive ekonomije u Crnoj Gori možemo grupisati u ekonomsko – pravne i političke uzroke.

Glavni ekonomsko – pravni uzroci pojave sive ekonomije su:

- Previsoka fiskalna opterećenja. Visoki porezi i dažbine koje država nameće poslodavcima radi ostvarenja budžeta, a zauzvrat im ne omogućava ni osnovne uslove za normalno poslovanje. Kao posljedica toga, mnogi poslodavci pribjegavaju raznim vidovima izbjegavanja poreskih obaveza, bilo neevidentiranjem prometa svih roba i usluga, bilo izbjegavanjem plaćanja jednog dijela poreza i doprinosa na lična primanja radnika ili plaćanjem obaveza na zagarantovane ili minimalne zarade;

- Neefikasnost, nemotivisanost i mogućnost korupcije nadležnih inspeksijskih službi kao i monopolski položaj pojedinaca;
- Sporost u sprovođenju procesa tranzicije, koja se ogleda u nekomplemetarnosti i zastarjelosti zakonske regulative u odnosu na zakon i standarde EU;
- Rigidna i zastarjela radno – pravna regulativa;
- Neuskладjenost ekonomskih i monetarnih sistema Crne Gore i Srbije, koja se ogleda kroz različita zakonska rješenja u oblasti carinskih, poreskih i monetarnih propisa između dvije republike;
- Težak socio – ekonomski položaj stanovništva Crne Gore
- Neadekvatan sistem obrazovanja, neuskладen sa potrebama tržišta;
- Nedostatak programskih sadržaja čijom realizacijom se obezbjeđuje legalno zapošljavanje
- Administrativno-birokratske prepreke i sl.

Kao glavni politički uzrok sive ekonomije treba navesti višegodišnju praksu tolerisanja aktivnosti u oblasti sive ekonomije u cilju očuvanja socijalnog mira.

3.3 Procjena nivoa sive ekonomije

Nivo sive ekonomije u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori tokom 1991. godine iznosio je oko 41,7% registrovanog DBP, dok je nivo iste tokom 2002. godine iznosio oko 40%⁹⁶.

Učešće sive ekonomije u Crnoj Gori u proteklih deset godina dostizalo je nivo do 60% DBP. Prema trenutnim procjenama Sekretarijata za razvoj Republike Crne Gore, siva ekonomija je na nivou od oko 33% registrovanog DBP ili iskazano u apsolutnom iznosu 400 mil EUR⁹⁷. Ova procjena je bazirana na sledećim pretpostavkama:

- Učešće zvanične lične potrošnje u zvaničnom društvenom proizvodu od 60%;
- Nema sive ekonomije u oblasti javne potrošnje;
- Nepostojanja sive ekonomije u investicionim aktivnostima;
- Visoki trgovinski deficit, nedokazana pretpostavka da se možda jedan dio izvoza obavlja nelegalno;
- Struktura društvenog proizvoda;
- Usluge su sektor gdje su prisutne neformalne aktivnosti (trgovina, turizam i transport). Na primjer, procijenjeni prihodi od stranih turista su veći od zvaničnih;
- Ponuda novca u Crnoj Gori je značajno veća od procijenjene (potvrđeno procesom konverzije DEM u EUR).

Istraživanje o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava koje sprovodi Institut za strateške studije i prognoze pokazalo je da više od 50% domaćinstava, prikazuje rashode veće od prihoda za najmanje 50 eura⁹⁸. Veći troškovi od prihoda dovode nas do vjerovanja da građani pribjegavaju jednoj ili više dolje navedenih varijanti:

- Ne prijavljuju potpuno prihod i tako izbjegavaju plaćanje poreza,
- Povećavaju rashode nadajući se socijalnim benefitima,
- Rade u sektoru sive ekonomije

3.4 Zastupljenost sive ekonomije po sektorima

Nivo i obim sive ekonomije u Crnoj Gori, kao i njenu zastupljenost po pojedinim sektorima teško je precizno odrediti i kvantifikovati jer ne postoje namjenska istraživanja i detaljni analitički pristup kod identifikovanja i kvantifikovanja ovog problema. Siva ekonomija je zastupljena u skoro svim djelatnostima crnogorskog ekonomskog sistema. Ipak, najveće učešće sive ekonomije je u sledećim sektorima:

⁹⁶ Izvor: Savezni zavod za statistiku

⁹⁷ Izvor: Sekretarijat za razvoj Republike Crne Gore

⁹⁸ Izvor: ISSP Istraživanje o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava, jun 2002. godine

- Promet roba i usluga (trgovina)
- Platni promet
- Sektor šumarstva
- Sektor gradjevinarstva.

Promet roba i usluga. Siva ekonomija se najčešće i najviše ispoljava u sektoru trgovine i to kroz nelegalan uvoz raznih roba, promet neevidentiranih roba domaćeg i inostranog porijekla, stavljanje u promet tranzitnih roba na domaćem tržištu, prodaju roba bez dokaza o porijeklu i plaćenim obavezama po osnovu akciza, carina i sl.

Platni promet. U dijelu platnog prometa, pojavni oblici sive ekonomije su: medjusobna plaćanja putem kompenzacija, asignacija i cesija mimo uslova određenih propisima, isplata zarada koje ne potiču sa poslovnih računa, prodaja za gotovinu bez potvrde o plaćenim porezima i doprinosima.

Sektor šumarstva. Nekontrolisana sječa i nepostojanje jasne strategije u ovoj oblasti doveli su do veoma nezavidnog položaja šumarsku i drveno preradivačku industriju Crne Gore. Gubici po osnovu bespravne sječe u Crnoj Gori mjere se hiljadama metara kubnih. Pored toga što je uticaj na životnu sredinu loš, trgovina ovom robom se najčešće ne registruje.

Sektor gradjevinarstva. Nelegalno stečeni novac u sferi sive ekonomije svoju legalizaciju najlakše je ostvario kroz sektor gradjevinarstva i to uzurpiranjem gradsko-gradjevinskog zemljišta, izgradnjom objekata bez odgovarajućih gradjevinskih dozvola i sl.

3.5 Posljedice sive ekonomije

Kao posljedice postojanja sive ekonomije posebno se ističu:

- Pogoršanje poslovanja preduzeća koja rade u skladu sa propisima
- Smanjenje budžetskih prihoda
- Jačanje nelojalne konkurencije
- Ograničenje tržišta i prelivanje dohotka kroz neregularno poslovanje
- Povećanje stope kriminala u zemlji
- Neefektivna administracija u zemlji
- «Odliv» mladih, talentovanih kadrova iz zemlje.

4. Mjere suzbijanja sive ekonomije

Bez obzira na to što je u protekloj dekadi siva ekonomija bila važna za preživljavanje stanovništva, njeno dalje zadržavanje bi negativno uticalo na ukupni razvoj privrede Crne Gore. Zato je neophodno preduzeti snažne mjere u sljedećim oblastima:

- Smanjenje poreskih stopa – povećati broj onih koji prijavljuju puni prihod, gubitak prihoda po osnovu smanjenja poreskih stopa biće nadoknadjeno proširenim bazom poreskih obveznika;
- Industrijski rast i razvoj infrastrukture – kreiranje novih radnih mjesta;
- Čvršći kontrolni mehanizmi borbe protiv sive ekonomije – zakoni moraju biti definisani na konzistentan način koji će voditi oštrijim provjerama i snažnijim kontrolama nad neformalnim sektorom;
- Carinske stope držati na što nižem nivou za sve vrste roba;
- Javne rashode prilagoditi realnim mogućnostima prihoda;
- Reorganizovati rad inspekcijских službi – utvrđivanje većih ovlašćenja i odgovornosti u radu inspekcijских službi;
- Stimulativne mjere u oblasti zapošljavanja;
- Rješiti problem neusklađenih ekonomskih sistema dvije republike.

Mjere za suzbijanje sive ekonomije odnose se na normativno regulisanje i operativne mjere. Normativno regulisanje obuhvata mijenjanje ili eventualno brisanje postojećih i donošenje novih zakonskih propisa (poreski zakoni, carinski zakoni, zakon o preduzećima, stečaju...). Promjena ove

regulative predstavlja dio cjelokupne zakonske reforme koja je započeta i u Crnoj Gori je u podmakloj fazi.

Poseban segment sive ekonomije u Crnoj Gori je angažovanje radne snage «na crno». Istraživanja sprovedena na temu neformalnog rada u Crnoj Gori govore da je blizu 60.000 lica bilo angažovano u sektoru nezaštićenog rada. Prošlogodišnja Vladina Uredba o poreskim olakšicama za novozaposlene je potvrdila postojanje sive ekonomije na tržištu rada. Donesena Uredba je kroz smanjenje poreskih olakšica na nivo od svega 20% za novozaposlenog radnika i strožijim sankcijama u slučaju neprijavlivanja zaposlenih, formalno «povećala» broj zaposlenih u Crnoj Gori za blizu 40.000. Ipak, još uvijek postoji razlika u 20.000 radnika za koje se i dalje pretpostavlja da su zaposleni na sivom tržištu rada. Važno je napomenuti da je pored impresivnih podataka o povećanju broja zaposlenih, adekvatan efekat povećanja poreskih prihoda po osnovu zarada novozaposlenih, izostao.

Sa ciljem borbe protiv sive ekonomije, Vlada Crne Gore je usvojila Uredbu o zapošljavanju nerezidenata. Prema ovoj Uredbi, svaki poslodavac je dužan da za angažovanje nerezidenta dnevno izdvaja 2,5 EUR. Uz strožiju kontrolu, ova Uredba je dala pozitivne efekte, ali su na gobitku nerezidenti sa zaposlenjem u Crnoj Gori koji su, nerijetko, zbog primjene Uredbe ostali bez posla, ili su njihova primanja umanjena najmanje za iznos dažbina državi, koje su ranije primali bez bilo kakve zvanične evidencije.

Jedan od mehanizama suzbijanja tj. prevodjenja sive ekonomije u legalne tokove je smanjenje poreza i doprinosa na plate. Početkom jula ove godine stupila je na snagu nova uredba kojom je smanjen nivo poreza i doprinosa za zaposlene za 5%. Smanjenje od dodatnih 5% se očekuje u decembru. Rezultati će biti vidljivi u narednoj godini. Za očekivati je povećanje broja preduzeća koji će uredno izmirivati svoje obaveze tj. širenje poreske baze, samim tim i povećanje budžetskih prihoda, odnosno smanjenje sive ekonomije⁹⁹.

Poreska reforma u Crnoj Gori imala je uticaja na smanjenje sive ekonomije i to prvenstveno usvajanjem Zakona o porezu na dodatu vrijednost. U aprilu 2004. godine uveden je porez na dodatu vrijednost, koji je za Crnu Goru na nivou od 17%. Da bi dodatno osigurala plaćanje poreza i stimulisala zainteresovanost potrošača za fiskalne račune, Vlada Republike Crne Gore osmislila je program povraćaja 15% od vrijednosti poreza na dodatu vrijednost građanima. Time je, između ostalog, povećan promet u objektima u kojima postoje poreske registar kase¹⁰⁰.

5. Zaključak

U proteklom tranzicionom periodu brojni faktori kako ekonomski tako i politički, uticali su na stvaranje povoljnog ambijenta za razvoj sive ekonomije u Crnoj Gori. Stabilizovanjem političkih i ekonomskih uslova stvorena je osnova za transfer sive ekonomije u regularne ekonomske tokove i otpočinjanje programa mjera za smanjenje sive ekonomije. Razlog više za nižu sivu ekonomiju je potreba da se rastereti privatni sektor od plaćanja raznih poreza, kako bi se na taj način stimulisao njegov razvoj i investicije. Uvodjenje stabilne valute, stimulativne poreske regulative, liberalizacija spoljnotrgovinskih tokova, razvoj bankarskog sistema, utvrđivanje novog zakonskog okvira, uz partnerstvo javnog i privatnog sektora i stroge sankcije za prekršioce pravila, samo su neke od neophodnih mjera koje moraju biti ispoštovane kako bi se ublažio negativan uticaj sive ekonomije na ekonomski, socijalni i ukupni razvoj Crne Gore.

⁹⁹ Izvor: Montenegro Biznis Alijansa – Zašto je važno smanjenje poreza i doprinosa na plate?

¹⁰⁰ Jedan od prvih koraka u sprovođenju programa poreske reforme, usvojenog od strane Vlade, bio je program uvođenja fiskalnih registar kasa. Obaveza registrovanja prometa preko poreske registar kase uvedena je Zakonom o porezu na promet i stupila je na snagu 1.1.2001. godine. Implementacija ovog programa omogućuje praćenje prometa u maloprodaji, na osnovu čega se zaračunavaju i plaćaju poreske i druge obaveze. Na ovaj način prodavcima će se onemogućiti da dio poreza na promet, naplaćenog od potrošača, zadrže za sebe i ne transferišu ga u republički budžet. Iako principijelno dobro zamišljen, ovaj program je izazvao veliki otpor, jednim dijelom i zbog toga što privatni sektor nije učestvovao u kreiranju samog rješenja.

2.3 PROCJENA ODRŽIVOG TURIZMA U CRNOJ GORI¹⁰¹

1. Uvod

Ovaj tekst je kratki osvrt na pitanja i preporuke do kojih se došlo na osnovu ubrzane procjene, koja je sprovedena u aprilu 2004. u saradnji sa Montenegro Biznis Alijansom i Konzulatom Sjedinjenih Država u Podgorici. Iako ograničenog opsega, što zbog vremenskih što zbog finansijskih mogućnosti, ideje prezentovane u ovom tekstu odražavaju sadašnji i potencijalni status razvoja turizma i marketinga u Crnoj Gori.

Glavni cilj projekta zasniva se na potrebi da se obezbijedi više informacija posjetiocima o raznim atrakcijama, da se poboljša kvalitet usluga i smještaja širom regiona, i tako obezbijede viša primanja i mogućnost zapošljavanja za građane Crne Gore i putničke operatere. Posebni ciljevi se odnose na privlačenje više stranih gostiju i turističkih grupa iz Zapadne Evrope, kao i na korake kojima tur operatori i turistički radnici mogu privući turiste koji sada, tokom svog krstarenja, samo na kratko svraćaju u Kotorsku luku, na Jadranskoj obali. Na osnovu anegdotskih informacija dobijenih od učesnika niza radionica koje su održane širom Crne Gore, empirijskih podataka prikupljenih u direktnim posjetama iz vladinih dokumenata, brojni izazovi i mogućnosti su definisani i određeni su njihovi prioriteti.

Naravno, najveće prednosti Crne Gore uključuju jaku podršku Ministarstva turizma i dugu tradiciju obilaska kako primorskih, tako i planinskih opština. Pored svega toga, u Crnoj Gori postoji određeno nepovjerenje i nerazumijevanje između javnog i privatnog sektora koji sprječava da se ostvare efekti napora da se unaprijede zajednički razvojni projekti.

Takodje, zabrinjava činjenica da nema razmjene informacija i saradnje među turističkim provajderima, kada je riječ o njihovim budućim poslovnim planovima i aktivnostima. Ovo se objašnjava kao nastavak istorije državne politike. Takođe, teškoće u povezivanju već ograničavaju efektivnost domaćih i nacionalnih marketing agencija u širenju informacija o regionalnim atrakcijama. Kao rezultat toga, Crna Gora je osjetila značajan pad u ukupnom broju gostiju u prošloj deceniji, tako da sada dominiraju domaći turisti (uglavnom iz Srbije).

Jadna od najvećih smetnji odnosi se na pogrešnu percepciju većine stranih turista koje brine lična sigurnost u Crnoj Gori, slab regionalni putni transportni sistem, oskudnost informacionih centara za posjetioce i materijala na stanim jezicima, slab kvalitet turističkih usluga. Trenutno, hoteli popunjavaju samo 28% smještajnih kapaciteta, dok je najveći broj noćenja realizovan u privatnom smještaju. Pored toga, mnogi od ovih kapaciteta su ispod standarda, u većini slučajeva (82%) izgrađeni su prije 20 godina, dok svega 1% kapaciteta zadovoljava međunarodne standarde. Velike teškoće za strane posjetioce su i nemogućnost korištenja kreditnih kartica za kupovinu ili putovanje, nepostojanje mjenjačnica ili ATM keš mašina (mada se ova situacija veoma brzo mijenja sa uvođenjem raznih servisa u bankarskom sistemu).

Prekomjerna upotreba ruralnih i zaštićenih oblasti od strane i turista i rezidenata, prevazilazi obim i prirodu njihovih međusobnih dejstava, pojačavajući populacijski pritisak; neadekvatno zoniranje i primjena plana, kao i nedostatak pravne i institucionalne zaštite koja bi regulisala turizam i konzervaciju, glavni su problemi koje su identifikovali učesnici u izradi procjene.

Mnogi strani turisti su zadivljeni crnogorskim značajnim kulturnim i prirodnim nasljedjem. Ovaj predio sadrži jedan od najvećih biodiverziteta u Evropi, kao i veliki broj značajnih ekoloških prostora (u prvom redu se misli na nacionalne parkove Durmitor, Biogradska Gora i Skadarsko jezero).

Prema podacima koje je prikupio Fond Svijet divljeg života (World Wildlife Fund, WWF) i program Ujedinjenih nacija, pojedinačno i zajedno posmatrano, ovi krajevi utočište su za više od 350 različitih ptičijih vrsta, oko 200 vrsta slatkovodnih riba i veliki broj sisara (uključujući vukove i

¹⁰¹ Autor: Dr. Greg Ringer, Univerzitet u Oregonu, USA

gazele), reptile, vodozemce i insekte. Ovdje postoji i preko 500 vrsta drveća i bezbroj drugih biljaka.

U isto vrijeme, ograničeni podaci pokazuju da je 12% od ukupnog šumskog pokrivača izgubljeno u periodu od 1994. na ovamo, prvenstveno zahvaljujući ljudskoj aktivnosti. Kao posljedica toga, izvršen je pritisak na lokalne zajednice i nacionalnu turističku organizaciju da poboljšaju infrastrukturu, povećaju strane investicije i uspostave standarde kvaliteta u turističkoj ponudi, upravljanju prirodnim resursima i programima zaštite.

2. Metod procjene

Dobrobit koju bi Crna Gora mogla da dobije ili štetu koja bi bila nanijeta, zbog razvoja održivog turizma nije lako predvidjeti na osnovu prikupljanja ekonomskih podataka ili isticanjem kvantitativnih mjera - kao što je izolovano projektovano povećanje broja gostiju ili prihoda od turizma. Umjesto toga, kvalitativni kriterijumi – uključujući percepciju posjetilaca i njihova iskustva na putu kroz region –takodje se moraju pratiti kako bi se realno izračunali benefiti i troškovi od turizma. Dalje razmatranje bi se moralo odnositi na institucionalne kapacitete (javne i privatne) za upravljanje razvojem turizma, i nivo političke volje i kulturne podrške pravilima i regulativi neophodnim za održivo upravljanje.

Iz tih razloga, SWOT analiza (snage, slabosti, mogućnosti i prijetnje) i procjena turističkog uticaja (Appropriate Tourism Impact Assessment - ATIA) sprovedene su uz upotrebu primarnih i sekundarnih informacija – uključujući direktne intervju, posjete mjestima i prikupljanje podataka o postojećim političkim, ekonomskim, socijalnim i pitanjima životne sredine, kao i tehnološkim sistemima i rekreativnim sadržajima. Ovaj višestruki pristup omogućio je šire razmatranje spektra rekreacionih mogućnosti koje su trenutno dostupne u Crnoj Gori, kao i potencijalnih atrakcija i kapaciteta koji se mogu učiniti operativnim uz minimalna ulaganja i raspoložive domaće resurse. Koliko god loše definisan i vrednovan, održivi turizam zavisi od pojedinaca koji mogu da misle i kritički i kreativno o pravcima i dugoročnoj atrakciji za putovanje kako rezidenata, tako i posjetilaca (domaćih i stranih). Iz tog razloga, među glavnim pitanjima vezano za ocjenu "privlačnosti" Crne Gore kao destinacije za razvoj održivog turizma, našla su se sledeća pitanja:

- 1) Šta lokalne zajednice u Crnoj Gori nude stranim i domaćim turistima?
- 2) Šta je specijalno, lijepo ili interesantno u regionu, uključujući istoriju, kulturu i geografiju?
- 3) Koji su to dobri potencijali – šta su posjetioci došli da vide i dožive?
- 4) Da li postojeće atrakcije i kapaciteti zadovoljavaju očekivanja onih koji posjećuju Crnu Goru?
- 5) Ko može koristiti određenu lokaciju (pristup)?
- 6) Da li veća upotreba lokacije od strane posjetioca može biti prihvaćena u smislu kapaciteta i lokalnog znanja?
- 7) Da li postoji dovoljno sposobnosti, privrženosti i tražnje za vrstom turizma koju preferiraju operatori i turističke organizacije?
- 8) Koja politička ograničenja ili podrška postoji za razvoj održivog turizma u Crnoj Gori (vlada ili nevladine organizacije, politike, subvencije)?
- 9) Koliku ekonomsku podršku nacionalni i privatni tur-operatori zahtijevaju? Ko bi to trebao da obezbijedi?
- 10) Koja su to najbolja dostupna iskustva koja se mogu primijeniti na lokalnom nivou (uključujući čuvanje energije, aktivnosti sa malim uticajem i minimalne mogućnosti za "footprint" diyajn)?
- 11) Koji tipovi turizma i koji interesi su najbolje promovisani u regionu, imajući u vidu postojeću infrastrukturu, socijalno-demografske karaktersitike i etničku istoriju?
- 12) Koja tehnologija je sada dostupna za marketing i dizajn? Koji bi vid te tehnologije bilo lako primijeniti ili iskoristiti?

3. Demografija gostiju

Podaci Ministarstva turizma ukazuju da domaći turisti iz Srbije i Crne Gore čine najveći dio posjete (89%), za njima su posjetioci iz Zapadne Evrope (78% od ukupnog broja stranih posjetilaca). Razlog manjeg broja lokalnih posjetilaca je nedostatak bliže saradnje lokalnih operatora sa stranim kompanijama, naročito sa brodovima koji krstare crnogorskom obalom u toku ljetnjih mjeseci. Dodatni problem predstavljaju i nedostaci popisa i označavanja brojnih regionalnih etničkih i prirodnih atrakcija, nestašice vode i struje tokom ljetnjih mjeseci i problemi odlaganja otpada.

Ipak, Crna Gora ima i veliki broj prednosti. Jedna od njih je i popularnost kao međunarodne destinacije, koju je Crna Gora imala prije sukoba 1990. godine, kvalifikovano osoblje, direktni letovi iz evropskih gradova prema Podgorici (i u manjoj mjeri prema Tivtu blizu Kotora); mogućnost da strani posjetioci dobiju vizu pri dolasku u zemlju. Prema tome, prethodne procjene sugerišu potrebu za jakom podrškom razvoju turizma među rezidentima, naročito u dijelu gdje se očekuje poboljšanje putne infrastrukture, mjesta za kampovanje, prodavnica i sličnih aktivnosti. Međutim, na Žabljaku postoji nezadovoljstvo postojanjem velikih turističkih kapaciteta u državnom vlasništvu koje bi negativno djelovale na ruralno okruženje, uključujući hotele i odmarališta.

Gotovo 60% stranih posjetilaca dolazi u Crnu Goru avionom ili brodom, u najvećem broju tokom ljetnjih mjeseci - jun, jul i avgust, koji se poklapaju sa sezonom odmora u Evropi i USA. Istraživanje među posjetiocima Kotora i Žabljaka pokazalo je da su rekreacija i odmor osnovni motivi za putovanje za većinu turista (62%); drugi najčešće navodđeni razlog su poslovna putovanja (18%). Za preostalih 20% ispitanika, najčešći razlozi posjete ovim gradovima su obilasci prijatelja, religiozni razlozi ili zdravstveni turizam. Neki posjetioci iz dijaspore su naveli da dolaze kako bi pronašli vidjeli neke članove porodice i vratili se domaćem ognjištu.

Strani posjetioci iz zemalja Dunavskog sliva (Njemačka, Austrija, Madjarska i Bugarska) pokazuju mnogo veće interesovanje za istraživanje prirode i zaštićenih oblasti, kao što je NP Durmitor na sjeveru, blizu Žabljaka. Pojedini strani turisti posjećuju religiozna i istorijska mjesta, uključujući ruševine jevrejske sinagoge poslije Drugog svjetskog rata, srednjovjekovna utvrđenja i stare gradove Budve i Kotora na obali.

Mnogi turisti su rekli da su putovali u manjim ili grupama srednje veličine (od 1 do 10 osoba u grupi) i da više vole kombinaciju aktivnosti koje sami organizuju i onog što im se ponudi kad dođu. Oni koji posjete Žabljak favorizuju aktivnosti u prirodi (jezero, šume, planine) i "ekstremni" turizam - skijanje na snijegu (95,1%), višednevno pješaćenje i planinarenje (73,8%), ture biciklom (2,3%) i pecanje (1,9%). Za razliku od njih, turisti u Kotoru preferiraju sunčanje i plivanje (63,4%), razgledanje kulturnih znamenitosti i posjete muzejima i arhitektonska obilježja (67,9%), obilaženje kulturnih događaja, posjete muzejima i arhitektonskih zdanja (63,4%), kao i etničke i socijalne događaje, uključujući konzumaciju vina i lokalne festivale (45,8%).

Želja za različitim aktivnostima i fleksibilnošću su bili očigledni i kod određenog broja turista koji se prije odlučuju za pojedinačno planirane ture koje podrazumijevaju unaprijed planirano putovanje koje organizuju putničke agencije. Dok većina stranih turista vole da kombinuju unaprijed aranžirane programe sa vanhotelskim sadržajima i posjetama istorijskim znamenitostima, sa smještajem u kapaciteteima sa 3-4 zvjezdice, turisti iz Srbije i Crne Gore, kao i česti nezavisni putnici i samoprovzani eko-turisti, biraju manje skup smještaj u sobama i kućnoj radinosti koji je udoban i kulturološki autentičan.

Mada većina lokalnih tur operatora navodi da turisti iz Evrope i Sjedinjenih Država zahtijevaju klimatizovan smještaj, čistu vodu za kupanje i piće, lični sapun i šampon, internacionalnu kablovsku televiziju, telefonske linije u svim sobama, ti isti turisti sami kažu da je veoma interesantno imati dodira sa lokalnim stanovništvom i to smatraju posebnim specifičnostima smještaja ili destinacije.

Bez obzira na različite izvore motivacije stranih turista u Crnoj Gori, očigledno je da je u porastu potražnja za većim miješanjem kulturnih, rekreativnih i edukativnih aktivnosti prilikom biranja destinacija. Ovako različita interesovanja moraju biti zadovoljena ako se razmišlja o razvoju turizma u dužem vremenskom roku.

4. Kritična pitanja i mogućnosti

Većina zainteresovanih izrazila je zabrinutost u vezi sa predviđanjem uticaja i dobiti od turizma u Crnoj Gori, u navedenim oblastima:

- 1) Veličina – iznos predviđenih promjena?
- 2) Step en ili veličina ugroženih oblasti?
- 3) Značaj turizma za region – koliko je turizam značajan? Za koga?
- 4) Osjetljivost – interesovanje pojedinaca i regiona u vezi sa turizmom i kulturnim kontaktima?
- 5) Trajanje - vremenski okvir poslovanja i sezonski uticaj?
- 6) Nepovratnost – stalne promjene koje prate turistički razvoj?

Drugim riječima, i turisti iz Crne Gore i strani posjetio ci naveli su brojne kritične oblasti i prioritete za koje vjeruju da zahtijevaju pažnju kako Vlade, tako i tur operatora. Iako lista koja slijedi nije finalna, ona ipak sugerise najvažnija pitanja kojima treba posvetiti pažnju u procesu upravljanja i marketingom turizma u regionu, kao i praktične korake koje treba sprovesti kako bi se privuklo više stranih posjetilaca u Crnu Goru..

Izazovi:

- 1) Odlaganje čvrstog i ljudskog otpada
- 2) Zagađenje vode i vazduha
- 3) Loše definisani i slabo vrednovani kapaciteti za ekološku zaštitu
- 4) Slab putni i javni transportni sistem
- 5) Neodgovarajući razvoj, naročito u priobalnim zajednicama, koji odražava razlike i u filozofiji i u praksi ekološkog turizma.
- 6) Pogrešno dizajniran kvalitet novih smještajnih kapaciteta odražava nedostatak odgovarajućih standarda.
- 7) Nedovoljno promotivnog materijala na stranim jezicima, mapa i osoblja, kao i nedovoljno razvijena svijest o posledicama aktivnosti vlade i lokalnih zajednica u okruženju
- 8) Nekoliko relevantnih primjera o “najboljoj praksi“ prihvatljivih za obalni i planinski turizam.
- 9) Neslaganje u vezi sa uključivanjem članova zajednice u procese planiranja i razvoja, kao i u vezi sa načinom razmjene informacija između gostiju i rezidenata, vladinih predstavnika i planera, tur operatora i provajdera.
- 10) Nedostatak investicionog kapitala za kreiranje mogućnosti lokalnog turističkog preduzetništva.
- 11) Teškoće u postizanju saglasnosti između zainteresovanih strana o ciljevima konzerviranja i prihvatljivih principa čuvanja prirodnih i kulturnih resursa.
- 12) Politički konflikti i pravna pitanja u vezi sa atraktivnim destinacijama, kao i pitanja vlasništva nad zemljištem i upravljanje resursima.
- 13) Neadekvatno infrastrukturno planiranje (hoteli, vodovod..)
- 14) Naglasak na turistima i grupama koji duže borave u Crnoj Gori – “high end“, prije nego na nezavisnim putnicima i “izletnicima“ (posmatrani kao “low end“ zato što veoma malo troše u lokalnoj zajednici).
- 15) Nedostatak znanja hotelijera i turističkih radnika o zadovoljenju interesa gostiju
- 16) Mali ili nezadovoljavajući nivo obuke vođiča (samo 20% od 600 osoba trenutno kvalifikovanih da rade kao vođiči, smatra se adekvatno obučenim – u nekim slučajevima hoteli jednostavno zaposle nezaposlenog gradjanina koji obavlja posao vođiča ili domaćina grupama posjetilaca).
- 17) Neodgovarajuće tehnike upravljanja turistima, naročito kada su u pitanju “prihvatljive“ vrste i broj turista

- 18) Nedostatak novca za finansiranje razvoja interaktivnih web sajtova za posjetioce koji će omogućiti informisanje i direktne rezervacije.

Snage:

- 1) Direktni letovi iz zapadno-evropskih centara (uključujući Pariz, Frankfurt, Beč, Rim i Cirih)
- 2) Dostupnost viza prilikom dolaska, na graničnim prelazima i aerodromima.
- 3) Upotreba eura kao nacionalne valute.
- 4) Politička stabilnost.
- 5) Duga istorija internacionalnog turizma i kvalifikovano osoblje.
- 6) Različite istorijske, nacionalne i kulturne atrakcije.
- 7) Proglašenje Crne Gore kao za “ekološku državu“.

Prioriteti:

- 1) Razvoj modela proizvoda koje će nuditi NP Durmitor i primorske destinacije
- 2) Podizanje nivoa svijeti domaćeg stanovništva, turističkih operatora i vladinih donosilaca odluka o prednostima održivog turizma, kao i o socioekonomskim i ekološkim troškovima koji su posljedica neodgovarajućeg ili neodrživog razvoja.
- 3) Razvoj politike održivog turizma na svim nivoima Vlade
- 4) Jačanje boljeg prepoznavanja značaja povezanosti nedostatka vode, populacijskog rasta i neodgovarajućeg razvoja u primorskim opštinama (novi hoteli i drugi turistički smještajni kapaciteti)
- 5) Razjasniti ovlašćenja izmedju angažovanih turističkih agencija i zainteresovanih strana
- 6) Razvoj nacionalnih sertifikovanih nacionalnih standarda i specijalnih trening programa za obuku vodiča, hotelijera i turističkih radnika (strani jezici, obuka o prihvatnom servisu, kultura komunikacije, interpretacija istorije, kuvanje i pripremanje specijaliteta, websajt i dizajn opreme, poslovna administracija, marketing i mediji, znanje o okruženju).
- 7) Obezbjedjivanje treninga i podrška kulturnim festivalima, predstavama, poljoprivredi i sličnim događajima.
- 8) Dopuniti postojeće zakone i standarde po kojima se koristi zemljište u priobalnoj zoni (visina i dopušteni nivo korištenja morske obale, odgovornost za odnošenje otpada i čistoću plaža).

Preporuke:

Turizam je visoko dinamična privredna grana koja zavisi od sezonskih oscilacija i fokusa. Kao rezultat toga, odlazak u Crnu Goru može biti pod uticajem čitavog niza spoljašnjih faktora koji uključuju promjene u avionskom prevozu, političkoj klimi, pa čak i lični stav, predrasude ili ponašanje pojedinca.

Ipak, jasno je da ovdje postoji ogroman potencijal za održivi ekoturizam koji je zasnovan na jasnoj implementaciji i planiranju u lokalnoj zajednici. Naravno, raznovrsne crnogorske atrakcije i proglašavanje prve ekološke države u svijetu, trebalo bi da bude poziv za povećanje broja stranih turista koji označavaju sebe kao “zeleni“ (43% od ukupnog broja stranih posjetilaca u 2003. godini), kao i za strance iz gradova južne i istočne Evrope, koji za posebnu atrakciju smatraju posjetu zaštićenim područjima i nacionalnim parkovima (78%), istorijskim mjestima (69%) i lokalnim zajednicama (46%).

Da bi povećali priliv kapitala sa ovog tržišta, tur operatori i provajderi u Crnoj Gori moraju proširiti svoju ponudu tako što će uključiti i posjetioce koji su isključivo došli na Balkan samo iz jednog razloga – rekreacije. To bi zahtijevalo kreiranje i/ili marketing aktivnosti koje bi pored rekreacije uključivale i pokazivanje narodnih rukotvorina i tkanja, zdravstveni i banjski turizam, kao i pripremu organski zdrave hrane i vegeterijanskih jela u restoranima. Medjutim, neke gradske vlasti, turističke organizacije i vlasnici hotela omalovažavaju ovo alternativno tržište, pogrešno smatrajući da je to ekonomski neprofitabilno, iako podaci pokazuju suprotno.

Naprotiv, statistika dobijena iz američkih i evropskih nacionalnih turističkih organizacija pokazuje da je broj “održivih turista“ skoro udvostručen u periodu od 1994. godine na ovamo. Očekuje se da

se ova stopa rasta nastavi, kako turisti postaju sve više svjesni ekološke i socijalne komponente. Vrlo vjerovatno značajniji za crnogorski turizam, takozvani “eko turisti“ u 76% slučajeva potroše 4 do 8,000 eura za međunarodna putovanja tokom godine, dok preostalih 24% u ove svrhe godišnje potroši preko 8,000 eura.

Kao rezultat toga, bolje targetiranje “zelenih“ posjetilaca učiniće crnogorsku privredu raznolikijom, a etničke zajednice će imati benefite od povećanih kupovina na lokalnom nivou (posebno u poljoprivredi i ručnim radovima). Ovo pogotovo ako se turistima omogući širi asortiman proizvoda, destinacija i iskustava. Te promjene bi takodje pomogle odbacivanju izolacije Crne Gore od strane turista koja je povezana sa spoljašnjim uticajima, kao što su etnički i politički konflikti koji nastavljaju da karakterišu susjedne zemlje i Kosovo.

Drugo, potrebno je poboljšati koordinaciju između lokalne i državne uprave, privatnih turističkih organizacija i vlasnika hotela. Crnogorski vlasnici biznisa i radna snaga su jedan od najboljih resursa, ali je u velikoj mjeri prisutno neznanje o dopunskim atrakcijama, kao i neraspoloženje i nesposobnost da se, bez stranih investicija, iniciraju novi programi. Iz ovih razloga, veoma je važno da se i neformalni i organizovani forumi dešavaju što češće, tako da vlasnici biznisa i lideri turističke industrije budu mnogo bolje informisani preko promovisanja o aktivnostima i mogućnostima koje pružaju drugi.

Kao podršku ovom procesu, lično jako podržavam Ministarstvo turizma i Montenegro Biznis Alijansu u naporima da postanu mnogo aktivniji u saradnji sa lokalnim i regionalnim turističkim organizacijama i privatnim sektorom, u dijelu potrebnih vještina za dizajniranje i uspješnu implementaciju održivih turističkih atrakcija u lokalnim zajednicama. Tehnička obuka bi takodje trebala da pruži mogućnost preduzetnicima da se zainteresuju za kreiranje turistički srodnih aktivnosti i malih biznisa; lokalni univerzitet bi mogao podržati stvaranje specijalističkih kurseva uz sertifikaciju i stvaranje standarda za upravljanje i marketing malih biznisa; program vodiča, kulturnu interpretaciju, i upravljanje prirodnim resursima. Ukoliko se želi postići uspješan održivi turizam u Crnoj Gori, svaki novi korak mora otpočeti u saradnji i pod vodjstvom državnih vlasti i članova lokalne zajednice.

Treće, odgovarajuća uloga turizma u lokalnoj zajednici mora biti razjašnjena i uspostavljena specifična regulativa koja obezbjeđuje specifične smjernice koje uravnotežavaju očuvanje prirodnih resursa i ekonomski razvoj u Crnoj Gori. Iako bi poboljšanje puteva i smještajnih kapaciteta stimulisali veći turistički izbor u unutrašnjosti zemlje vezane za rekreativne aktivnosti na otvorenom, zimske sportske aktivnosti i razgledanje divljine, to bi, sa druge strane, moglo da utiče na ubranu degradaciju životne sredine i urbane migracije.

Pravila moraju biti donesena i primijenjena kako bi se očuvalo i zaštitilo značajno regionalno kulturno, historijsko i prirodno okruženje uporedo sa rastom potražnje za rekreacijom. Sveobuhvatna procjena uticaja na životnu sredinu bi bila neophodna za svaki novi hotel ili turistički sadržaj, kako bi se obezbijedio izostanak daljih deformacija u okolini vezano za upravljanje komunalnim otpadom ili sposobnosti biološkog očuvanja.

Medju najboljim primjerima i karakteristikama koje bi morale biti uključene u ponudu koje se nudi posjetiocima, a koje bi ujedno smanjile uticaj na ekologiju i povećale benefite od edukacije i ponašanja, su sledeće:

1. Instaliranje niskoprotočnih toaleta, solarnih panela za osvjtljenje, ili druge efikasne opreme za osvjtljenje (na primjer: kompjuteri iz klase Energy Star, sakupljanje kišnice ili korištenje prečišćene vode).
2. Korištenje neopasnog, reciklabilnog ili obnovljivog građevinskog materijala.
3. Uvodjenje ograničenja za visinu i zoniranje nove gradnje u cilju očuvanja lijepih vrijednosti prilikom izgradnje odmarališta u planinskom i morskom regionu. Idealna visina zgrada je 3-4 sprata. Plan zoniranja bi morao biti pojačan kako bi obezbijedio sprječavanje akcija koje vode daljem razvoju u osjetljivim djelovima zemlje, što je

najčešće slučaj sa vlasnicima hotela koji teže da obezbijede veći broj soba koristeći se gradnjom dodatnih spratova.

4. Hoteli bi morali biti podstaknuti na korištenje biorazgradivih sapuna i šampona, instaliranje "protočnih" bojlera u svakoj sobi, za razliku od pojedinačnih individualnih bojlera koji se sada koriste. Pored toga, hoteli bi trebali imati štampani materijal na različitim stranim jezicima koji bi upozoravao turiste na smanjenje količine vode za kupanje, i ponovno korištenje peškira i posteljine kako bi se smanjio uticaj njihove posjete na prirodne resurse.

Mada je ova praksa u širokoj upotrebi kao marketinški trik u nekim smještajnim kapacitetima, to ukazuje na lakše ekološko obavještanje. To smanjuje troškove hotela, ali i količine smeća i zagađujućih materija, stvarajući pobjedničku situaciju za sve učesnike u "igri": za vlasnike biznisa, turiste i lokalnu zajednicu.

Da bi finansirale ovakve programe, lokalne uprave će htjeti da razmotre alternativne izvore prihoda, uključujući boravišnu taksu. Pored toga, mnoge svjetske destinacije nametnule su sistem naplate za razvoj koji se odnosi na sve komercijalne i aktivnosti kje se odnose na turizam. Ta nadoknada obično iznosi 1-5% bruto profita svakog biznisa ili aktivnosti i usmjerava se na zaštitu životne sredine rezidenata i posjetilaca.

6. Zaključak

Preporučeni koraci su samo djelimična lista mogućih pristupa. Oni bi mogli da iniciraju diskusiju o sveobuhvatnom pristupu razvoju turizma širom Crne Gore. Ideje koje su prezetnovane imaju za cilj da podrže bolje vrednovanje resursa koji su raspoloživi kako domaćim, tako i stranim turistima. Takođe, cilj je da se istakne njihova osjetljivost i potreba za dodatnom zaštitom, koja će pratiti modernizaciju regiona.

Ako je moguće da društvene i biološke zajednice identifikovane u Crnoj Gori opstanu, uporedo sa povećanjem broja posjetilaca, tada se turizam može smatrati pogodnim i to je nastavak razvoja koji bi bio podržan kao održiv. Međutim, ukoliko kulturna praksa postane ozbiljno ugrožena, ili biljne i životinjske vrste budu u opasnosti ili ugrožene, turizam bi trebalo smanjiti ili čak eliminisati u osjetljivim oblastima, kao nekompatibilan sa socio-ekonomskim ciljevima zemlje. Samo na ovaj način, turizam u Crnoj Gori će stvarno biti samoodrživ– društveno, ekonomski i ekološki.

2.4 KONCEPT ODRŽIVOG NAČINA ŽIVOTA - VEZA IZMEĐU ŽIVOTNE SREDINE I SIROMAŠTVA¹⁰²

Britansko odjeljenje za međunarodni razvoj (DFID) definiše “održivi načini života” kao “sposobnost, imovinu i aktivnosti koje su potrebne za održavanje života”. Način života je održiv kada može da se nosi sa i da se oporavi od stresova i šokova, da održava i podstiče svoje “sposobnosti i sredstva kojima raspolaže, kako sada tako i u budućnosti, ne potkopavajući pritom bazu prirodnih resursa”.¹⁰³

1. Uvod

Ovaj tekst predstavlja osvrt na stanje životne sredine u Crnoj Gori i njenu eksploataciju poslednjih godina. Riječ je o prednostima koje daju prirodni resursi, ali i o posljedicama koje nastaju usljed nekontrolisane i nesavjesne upotrebe. Da li možemo reći da je način života prosječnog crnogorskog građanina održiv i otporan na sve uticaje koji pogađaju privredu i ekonomiju? Da li možemo reći da je prosječan građanin u Crnoj Gori svjestan značaja očuvanja prirodnih resursa?

Sprega između prirodnih resursa na jednoj, i životnog standarda na drugoj strani nesumnjivo postoji. U fokusu je uticaj gubitka resursa na pojavu siromaštva i siromaštva na eksploataciju prirodnih resursa, nerijetko destruktivnu.

U poslednjih deset godina, u Crnoj Gori se desilo propadanje velikih državnih sistema, smanjenje produktivnosti i pad kvaliteta proizvoda. To je doprinijelo da mnogi ostanu bez posla i upuste se u aktivnosti koje su u sferi sive ekonomije i eksploatacije prirodnih resursa. Pritisak na budžet domaćinstva je povećan i dovodi do kreiranja brojnih mehanizama za preživljavanje.

2. Siromaštvo, prirodni resursi i mehanizmi za preživljavanje

U uslovima kada industrija posustaje i veliki broj ljudi ostaje bez posla ili je posao koji obavlja slabo plaćen, čovjek se okreće prirodi iz koje je potekao. Sa ciljem popunjavanja budžeta domaćinstva i sticanja prihoda, čovjek koristi resurse za koje u kratkom roku smatra da ga ništa ne koštaju. Zaista, da li je to tako? Sa druge strane, da li prihodi zasnovani na zaradi od prirodnih resursa predstavljaju značajan doprinos primanjima siromašnih u kratkom, srednjem ili dugom roku? Da li se kao rizik za siromašne pokazuje i opadanje u kvalitetu i kvantitetu prirodnih resursa? Da li možemo pratiti uticaj degradacije prirodnih resursa na prihode siromašnih ljudi ili na varijabilnost tih prihoda? Za definisanje budućih ciljeva, veoma je važno razumjeti kako kvalitet životne sredine i prirodni resursi utiču na siromašne. Takođe je veoma važno znati da li je degradacija resursa značajan faktor koji ograničava izgled siromašnih ljudi, naročito onih koji se oslanjaju na prirodne resurse kako bi održali egzistenciju.

Ekološki uslovi imaju velikog uticaja na zdravlje, ekonomske mogućnosti i sigurnost siromašnih ljudi. Ekološke aktivnosti mogu predstavljati i efikasan način za osnaživanje siromašnih. Siromašni ljudi imaju tendenciju da u visokom stepenu svoju egzistenciju vežu za prirodne resurse. Taj stepen zavisnosti, tradicionalne analize prihoda ne mogu da utvrde. Imovinska prava, komunalna ili privatna, formalna ili neformalna, predstavljaju temelj za korišćenje prirodnih resursa.

Podsticaji putem regulacije cijena, poreza i subvencija šalju važne signale korisnicima resursa u vezi sa ekonomskim mogućnostima, a mogu poslužiti i za određivanje stepena održivosti.

Šta se dešava u Crnoj Gori?

Da bi preživjeli i obezbijedili dodatne prihode, domaćinstva u Crnoj Gori sama organizuju poljoprivrednu proizvodnju i tako ostvaruju prihode od poljoprivrednih proizvoda, ali ih koriste i za

¹⁰² Autor: Jelena Peruničić, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

¹⁰³ DFID 1999, prilagođeno iz Chambers i Conway 1992.

ličnu potrošnju¹⁰⁴. Sve češće, stanovništvo se okreće iznalaženju načina za eksploataciju prirodnih resursa u komercijalne svrhe. Time se obezbjeđuju prihodi u kratkom roku. U međuvremenu, država nema mehanizme za praćenje promjena i uticaja na okruženje. Reakcije na stanje počinju sa pojavom posljedica koje su sve vidljivije i koje postaju problem. Kako su mehanizmi za preživljavanje omogućili normalno funkcionisanje donekle siromašnog sloja stanovništva, to je smanjilo njihovo razmišljanje o vraćanju na predjašnje vidove zarade, ali i nezadovoljstvo trenutnim društvenim položajem.

Raspoloživost prirodnih resursa na više načina doprinosi mogućnostima zarade i ostvarivanja prihoda koje se pojavljuju pred ljudima i to posebno u seoskim područjima. Odnosi se mijenjaju prema konkretnoj situaciji i često ih je teško kvantifikovati. Step en erozije tla ne mora da ima direktni uticaj na standard života ljudi, ali može znatno da smanji njihove ekonomske mogućnosti. Institucije, politika, karakteristike zajednice, odnosi među polovima i drugi faktori, uticaće na ove efekte. Zbog toga je potrebno raspolagati detaljnim kvalitativnim informacijama pored kvantitativnih studija i pregleda, kako bi se ocijenilo ko su siromašni, kakav je karakter siromaštva u određenom kontekstu i do kog stepena raspoloživost prirodnih resursa povećavaju (ili smanjuju) standard života ljudi.

3. O mehanizmima za preživljavanje u Crnoj Gori

Stanje u Crnoj Gori je nemoguće pratiti klasičnim metodama analiziranja prihoda, jer su mehanizmi preživljavanja zasnovani na prihodima koji ne prolaze kroz poreske sisteme. Ti mehanizmi su, pored bavljenja sivom ekonomijom (prodajom cigareta, prodajom na otvorenim pijacama..) dijelom, zasnovani na nekontrolisanoj i zakonski nereguliranoj eksploataciji prirodnih resursa. Migracije stanovništva sa sela u gradove, mala i neuslovna poljoprivredna proizvodnja, pokrenuli su ruralno stanovništvo na eksploataciju prirodnih resursa. Najčešći vidovi eksploatacije prirodnih resursa sa ciljem popunjavanja budžeta domaćinstva su: nekontrolisana sječa šuma na sjeveru Republike¹⁰⁵, poljoprivredna proizvodnja, eksploatacija pijeska iz rječnih korita, eksploatacija kamena, ribolov i sl. Nerijetko, ovo prelazi u porodični biznis i dodatno narušava prirodnu ravnotežu. To je posebno slučaj sa nekontrolisanom eksploatacijom kamena i pijeska koje trajno mijenjaju životno okruženje. Istraživanjem o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava koje realizuje Institut za strateške studije i prognoze prvo je koje nudi kvantitativnu osnovu za procjenu značaja eksploatacije prirodnih resursa za domaćinstva u Crnoj Gori¹⁰⁶.

Poljoprivreda: Prema rezultatima istraživanja, 30% crnogorskih domaćinstava posjeduje poljoprivredno zemljište, a među njima 60% ga koristi za poljoprivrednu proizvodnju. Domaćinstava koja obrađuju zemljište, a ne posjeduju ga je 1,2%. Sa druge strane, 42,6% domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori posjeduje obradivo zemljište, ali se ne upušta u bavljenje poljoprivredom. Pretpostavlja se da ova domaćinstva imaju drugu alternativu i racionalne razloge za napravljeni izbor. Što se tiče stočarstava, 17% domaćinstava se bavi uzgojem stoke; 52,5% onih koji imaju poljoprivredno zemljište i obrađuju ga, uzgaja stoku, dok se 2,2% onih koji nemaju zemlju u vlasništvu bavi uzgojem stoke.

¹⁰⁴ Prema navodima Ministarstva za poljoprivredu, vodoprivredu i šumarstvo Vlade Republike Crne Gore, u prošloj godini, 60.000 domaćinstava, odnosno 250.000 pojedinaca u Crnoj Gori ostvarivalo je prihode od bavljenja poljoprivredom. Iako usitnjena poljoprivredna proizvodnja ne predstavlja pouzdan osnov za dugoročnu strategiju razvoja privrede, Vlada Crne Gore je raznim mehanizmima, od kreiranja politika do odobravanja kredita, u protekloj godini podržala razvoj poljoprivrede. Stopa učešća poljoprivrede u GDP-iju Crne Gore za 2002. godinu je iznosila oko 20% (Ministrstvo poljoprivrede, šumarstva i vodoprivrede - Dokument «Osnovne politike podsticaja i zaštite proizvodnje hrane u Crnoj Gori»2003.)

¹⁰⁵ Što zbog lakšeg dolaska do drva za ogrijev i nižih troškova grijanja, što zbog nemanja uslova za drugi oblik grijanja u stambenim objektima, preko 67% crnogorskih domaćinstava za zagrijavanje prostora koristi drvo, od čega 17 % koristi i struju. Izvor: Istraživanje prihoda i rashoda domaćinstava, april 2004.

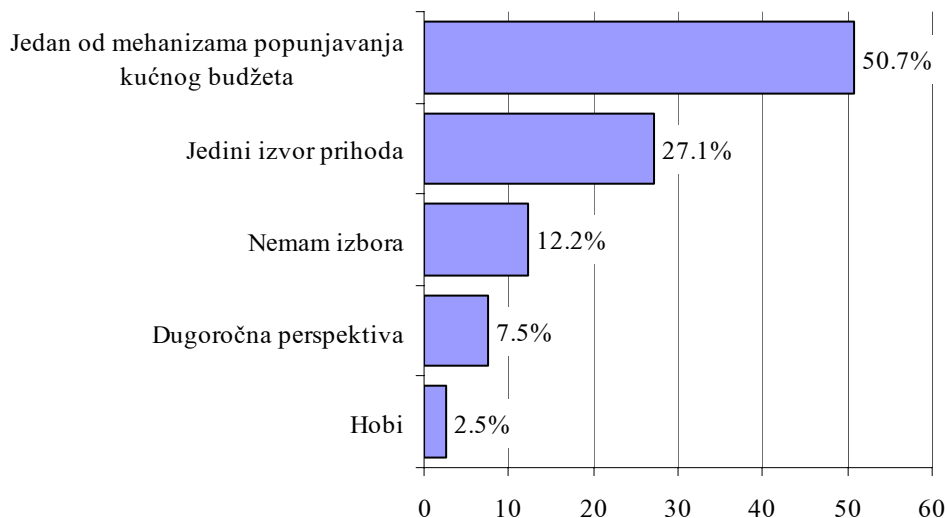
¹⁰⁶ Istraživanje je urađeno na uzorku od 1000 domaćinstava i odnosi se na april 2004. godine, sa posebnim uzorkom domaćinstava iz ugroženih oblasti Zete, Mojkovca i Pljevaljske opštine

Domaćinstava koja su u 2003. godini prodavala svježe životinjske proizvode (mlijeko, jaja, sir..) je 27%. To su uglavnom domaćinstva sa četiri i više članova porodice u centralnom i sjevernom regionu Republike. Njihova prosječna zarada u toku cijele godine bila je 1000 eura. Samo 5,7% domaćinstava je imalo prihode od poljoprivrednog dobra koji su iznosili 400 eura mjesečno u prosjeku. Manje od jedne petine (17%) sve proizvedeno iskorištava za ličnu upotrebu. Ovo je veoma mali procenat poljoprivredne proizvodnje skoncentrisan samo na centralni region Republike, što je i očekivano s obzirom na raspoloživost obradivog zemljišta i postojanje tržišta.

Kada su u pitanju budući planovi, nešto više od jedne desetine (11%) ispitanih domaćinstava planira da više vremena provede u obavljanju poljoprivrednih aktivnosti iz razloga navedenih na grafiku 1. Među njima, za 50,7% je to mehanizam popunjavanja kućnog budžeta, dok je za 27% domaćinstava bavljenje poljoprivredom jedini izvor prihoda. Samo 7,5% domaćinstava vidi poljoprivrednu proizvodnju kao perspektivnu djelatnost. Imajući ovo u vidu, postavlja se pitanje koliko je opravdana politika razvoja crnogorske privreda koja se oslanja na razvoj poljoprivrede? Po podacima koji se odnose na 2000, 2001 i 2002. godinu, učesće poljoprivrednih preduzeća u ukupnom broju preduzeća skoro da se nije mijenjao i iznosi 2,2%. Broj zaposlenih u ovom sektoru je prilično nizak (3,5% od ukupnog broja zaposlenih u Crnoj Gori).¹⁰⁷

Na osnovu prikazanih podataka može se zaključiti da je osnovni problem poljoprivredne proizvodnje usitnjenost poljoprivrednih proizvođača. Kao posljedica navedenog, poljoprivredna proizvodnja domaćinstava je niskog nivoa finalizacije, a time još uvijek usmjerena samo za zadovoljenje sopstvenih potreba. To potvrđuju i nalazi istraživanja: stanovništvo se okreće unosnijim djelatnostima, prije sivoj ekonomiji nego poljoprivredi.

Grafik 3.1 Razlozi bavljenja poljoprivredom u budućnosti



Izvor: Istraživanje prihoda i rashoda domaćinstava, ISSP, april 2004.

Šumski resursi: Na sjeveru Republike je izražena eksploatacija i prerada drvne mase u poluproizvode i njen izvoz u zemlje u susjedstvu. Prerada je organizovana u mini pilanama, koje ne plaćaju poreze i doprinose, drvna masa se obezbjeđuje dijelom iz legalne sječe, a većim dijelom iz aktivnosti lokalnog stanovništva koje nelegalno eksploatiše šumski fond. Prema zvaničnim podacima, ugrožavanje šumskog fonda ljudskom aktivnošću za 2002. godinu iznosi 0,1% ukupne šumske mase¹⁰⁸. Ovaj procenat se povećava iz godine u godinu, pojačan čestim požarima, ali i nezakonitom sječom, o kojoj nema podataka.

¹⁰⁷ Sektorska analiza Poljoprivrede, Centar za aplikativna istraživanja i analize

¹⁰⁸ Monstat, Statistički godišnjak, 2003.

U Ministarstvu šumarstva, poljoprivrede i vodoprivrede negiraju postojanje deforestacije uzrokovane ljudskom aktivnošću, i tvrde da se dešava obrnut proces - samopošumljavanje uzrokovano migracijom stanovništva iz tih područja i zapuštanjem obradivih površina. Stanovništvo koje je ostalo na selu okrenulo se lakšim vidovima zarade: samo 9% ispitivanih domaćinstava prijavilo je da se bavi sječom šume. Više od četvrtine (26%) ovih domaćinstava je prodalo posječenu šumu. U prosjeku su prodali 50m³ po cijeni od 22 eura u zimskoj sezoni za 2003. godinu. Na pitanje u čijem vlasništvu je šuma koju siječu, samo 1% je prijavilo da se bavi sječom javne šume, dok 8% siječe privatnu šumu. S druge strane, 51% ispitivanog stanovništva je kupilo drvo za ogrjev, po cijeni od 23 eura po m³.

Šumski plodovi: pečurke, šumsko voće i ljekovito bilje. Sakupljanje i izvoz šumskih plodova, prvenstveno pečuraka, ne ugrožava njihov opstanak i predstavlja značajan izvor prihoda za stanovništvo sjevernog regiona Republike. Problem predstavlja nekontrolisano sakupljanje i izvoz poluproizvoda, odnosno neprerađene sirovine. Čini se da se ne razmišlja dovoljno o mogućnosti investiranja u fabriku ili pogon koji bi izvezio gotov proizvod iz zemlje. Više od jedne desetine domaćinstava (11,8%) sjevernog regiona se bavi sakupljanjem i prodajom pečuraka. Sezonska zarada domaćinstava od prodaje pečuraka za prošlu godinu, koja traje u periodu od jula do kraja novembra mjeseca, kretala se od 250 do 1500 eura po domaćinstvu. Ovo je izvor prihoda za neka domaćinstva sa kojima oni uspiju da se pripreme za zimsku sezonu.

Isti slučaj se pojavljuje sa šumskim voćem koje sakuplja 4% ispitivanih domaćinstava koja su u 78% slučajeva nastanjena u sjevernom regionu Republike. Prosječna zarada za ovaj mali procenat domaćinstava je od 300 do 750 eura u sezoni. Ovo je sezonski posao koji traje dva mjeseca i najčešće ga obavljaju djeca koja prodaju sakupljeno voće uz auto put. Budućnost za sjeverni region leži u uzgajanju kultivisanog šumskog voća kao što su maline, ribizle, kupine, koje ne zahtijevaju složen tretman, a daju velike prinose. Sistem podjele sadnica i otkupa već je zaživio u nekim opštinama na sjeveru. Možda će upravo to biti budućnost veće poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Ipak, ne treba zaboraviti da, za razliku od Crne Gore gdje malinarstvo počinje tek da se razvija, u susjednoj Srbiji postoji istorija bavljenja ovom djelatnošću. Tako da treba razmišljati i o kvalitetu i o tržištu za ove proizvode.

Slična situacija je i sa sakupljanjem **ljekovitog bilja**. Sakupljanjem ljekovitog bilja bavi se samo 2% ispitivanih domaćinstava sa sjevera, koja su u prosjeku sakupila 5 kg u sezoni. Nijedno anketirano domaćinstvo nije prijavilo eventualni prihod od prodaje. Potencijala za sjetvu ljekovitog bilja ima, ali i samoniklo bilje je veliki prirodni obnovljivi resurs koji je u ovom slučaju neiskorišten. Teškoće postoje u malom i slabom otkupnom sistemu koji ne funkcioniše i koji nema razvijene dobre tržišne puteve.

Lovom **slatkovodne ribe** bavi se samo 3% domaćinstava pretežno u južnom regionu. Od toga samo 15% prodaje ulov i mjesečno zaradi od 250 do 450 eura. Samo 2% se bavi morskim ribolovom i ima maksimalnu zaradu od 300 eura mjesečno. U ovom slučaju evidentirani su problemi u prelovu ribe i u načinu lova (eksplozivom) koji nanosi velike štete cijelom ekosistemu. Pored djelovanja pojedinaca na riblji fond, uticaj imaju u veliki industrijski sistemi koji imaju najveći i pozitivni i negativni uticaj. U prošloj godini se desio veliki broj incidenata na koje se nije odmah reagovalo, i samo njihovo ponavljanje odražava brigu/nebrigu države i privrednih subjekata o takvim situacijama. Iz daljeg teksta se vidi da zagadjenja nijesu nimalo naivna u pogledu uticaja na ljudsko zdravlje.

Box 3.1 Slučaj pomora ribe u Tari¹⁰⁹

Izliv cijanida i drugih opasnih materija u Taru izazvalo je pomor ribe na dijelu mojkovačke opštine 29. decembra prošle godine. Nalazom je utvrđeno da je za izlivanje opasnih materija u rijeku odgovorna mojkovačka vojna fabrika «4. novembar». Trenutnih posledica nije bilo, međutim, posljedice su se javile prilikom mrijesta ribe.

¹⁰⁹ www.ekforum.org.yu, www.ozonradio.cg.yu,

Pomor ribe u Morači nizvodno od Kombinata aluminijuma desio se 16. juna 2004, a iz tog preduzeća su potvrdili da je došlo do izlivanja rastvora slabe lužine iz pogona glinice. Na osnovu nalaza uzoraka vode i ribe, koje je uradio Ekotoksikološki zavod, potvrđeno je postojanje kancerogenih PCB supstanci u uzorcima ribe i vode.

Pomor ribe u Morači, ispuštanje pepela iz termoelektrane, izgradnja silosa u Zelenici, nekontrolisana sječa šume u Tmorima, nasrtaji na šumu u Komarnici, gdje ljudi organizuju straže od gaterista koncesionara, samo su još neki od primjera koji treba da alarmiraju cjelokupno društvo.

Jedan od vidova ostvarivanja prihoda je eksploatacija pijeska iz rječnih korita što dovodi do poremećaja rječnog korita i povećavanja opasnosti od bujica i poplava. Ogoljavanje i nepošumljavanje tla dovodi do erozije i poplava. Prema istraživanju, trećina od 11% ugroženih poplavom i zemljotresom pretrpjela je štete od poplave u periodu od 1991. godine na ovamo. Pojava poplavljenih područja i klizišta svake godine u sezoni kiša može se objasniti i nebrigom o slivnom području ugroženih oblasti, kao i povećanjem broja kišnih dana na koje se ugroženo stanovništvo preventivno ne priprema nijedne sezone. Na pitanje da li je njihovo poljoprivredno zemljište bilo ugroženo poplavom, 3,2% domaćinstava je prijavilo pretrpljenu štetu; od toga, 60% ugroženih domaćinstava pretrpjelo je štetu u poslednje 4 godine.

Ovi podaci se poklapaju sa nalazima izvještaja Evropske agencije za životnu sredinu za 2003. godinu, u kojem se kaže da su: "dvije od tri katastrofe koje su se desile u toku 1980-tih godina, bile direktno povezane sa poplavom, olujom, sušom ili požarom. Prosječan broj nepogoda povezanih sa poplavama i klimatskim promjenama udvostručen je u toku 1990-ih, u odnosu na prethodnu dekadu. Ekonomski gubici za svaki od ovih slučajeva su se udvostručili u poslednjih dvadeset godina i prelaze više od 11 milijardi dolara godišnje na nivou Evrope."¹¹⁰

Kod stanovništva ne postoji izražena svijest o postojanju problema ugroženosti životne sredine, tako da se problem deforestacije svrstava među poslednjim problemima koji bi uticali na blagostanje. Primjer nestručnog odnosa prema okruženju je slučaj sela Mojdež kod Herceg Novog. U martu su se desile vodene bujice i pokrenule klizište koje je uništilo kuće, voćnjake, maslinjake, lokalni put koji povezuje selo sa gradom, i to sve ljudskom nepažnjom. Ispostavilo se da su problemi počeli poslije nestručnog rada na istraživanju vode u tom selu. Zaključujemo: posljedice su velike i uzrokovane prije svega ljudskom nepažnjom.

Svjest o povezanosti kvaliteta životne sredine i zdravlja ljudi je takodje na niskom nivou. Navedimo primjer da je u zemljama u razvoju oko 19% svih bolesti i uzroka smrti povezano sa životnom sredinom, odnosno kvalitetom vode i vazduha, sanitarne higijene i toksikološkim zagadjenjima.

Najveću zabrinutost kod ispitanika u Crnoj Gori predstavlja industrijsko zagadjenje, koje utiče na zdravlje stanovništva u blizini izvora zagadjenja, kao što je navedeno u gornjem tekstu (Zeta u blizini KAP-a, naselja oko termoelektarne Pljevlja, jalovište u Mojkovcu...)

Po rezultatima istraživanja¹¹¹, od 8% ispitanika koji boluju od hroničnih bolesti, 20% boluje od akutnih hroničnih oboljenja. Većina je nastanjena u centralnom regionu Republike, ali je samo 30% njih rodjeno u tom regionu. Možemo pretpostaviti da je jedan od razloga migracije pojava bolesti, mada pouzdanih podataka o tačnom vremenu preseljenja nema.

Prema nekim izvorima, uslovi stanovanja i vrste energija koje se koriste, takodje, mogu biti izvor bolesti. Navodimo rezultate istraživanja sprovedenih u Crnoj Gori i Srbiji: više od polovine stanovništva koristi ugaj ili drvo kao osnovni izvor energije za grijanje i kuvanje, stvarajući visoke nivoe unutrašnjeg i spoljašnjeg zagadjenja, što dovodi do hroničnih oboljenja.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ www.eea.eu.int

¹¹¹ Istraživanje prihoda i rashoda domaćinstava, april 2004. ISSP

¹¹² Izveštaj o energiji, životnoj sredini i siromaštvu u tranziciji, UNDP, 2004.

4. Ključni indikatori Siromaštvo – prirodni resursi

Veza siromaštvo - životna sredina je specifična i dinamična u konceptu - na oboje se odražava geografska lokacija i položaj, kao i ekonomske, socijalne i kulturne karakteristike pojedinca, domaćinstva i socijalne grupe. Različite socijalne grupe pridaju prioritet različitim oblastima životne sredine. U ruralnim dijelovima, siromašni ljudi su naročito zabrinuti za sigurno korištenje i kvalitet prirodnih resursa – obradivo zemljište, vodu, prinose i stoku, ribu, šumske plodove i biomasu za gorivo. Ovo se odnosi na globalno stanovništvo, jer to nije mišljenje ljudi u Crnoj Gori. Za urbano stanovništvo, najveći problem su: voda, energija, sanitarni problemi i odvoz smeća, kanalizacija.

Povezanost stanja životne sredine i životnog standarda odnosno siromaštva, najlakše je pratiti kroz indikatore. U daljem tekstu navodimo indikatore definisane i prihvaćene od strane eksperata Svjetske banke. Napomenimo da u Crnoj Gori ne postoje podaci vezani za ove indikatore, kao ni svijest o potrebi praćenja ovih podataka. Nadležne institucije kao što su neka ministarstva planiraju osnivanje Agencije za životnu sredinu i očekuju da će tada posjedovati sve relevantne podatke. Ipak, ovi planovi nisu dovoljni da bi nas ubijedili u shvatanje značaja da se vrši evaluacija i monitoring ovih indikatora u vremenu.

Prirodi sistemi su ekstremno kompleksni. Prevelika je cijena koštanja praćenja svih efekata koje siromašni ostavljaju na njihovo prirodno okruženje. Ponekad kružna veza između siromaštva i degradacije prirodnih resursa uslovljava promjene u listi indikatora koji prate ovu vezu. Neki od ovih indikatora su razmatrani kao indikatori koji imaju veliku korist u praćenju prirodnih resursa koji su u vezi sa faktorima koji utiču na prihode, bezbjednost i osjetljivost siromašnih domaćinstava u zemljama u razvoju.

Tabela 3.1 Primjer nekih indikatora povezanosti siromaštva i životnog okruženja kao posledica primanja, bezbjednosti i osjetljivosti siromašnih ljudi u siromašnim zemljama¹¹³

| | Problemi siromaštva | Indikatori povezanosti siromaštva i životnog okruženja ¹¹⁴ | Problemi prirodnih resursa koji bi mogli imati uticaja na indikatore |
|---|----------------------|---|--|
| 1 | Prihodi i mogućnosti | Procenat seoske populacije koja je ispod linije siromaštva* | Deforestacija Oskudica vode Prelov ribe Degradacija zemljišta |
| 2 | | Proizvodnja žitarica u ruralnom dijelu per capita | |
| 3 | | Vrijeme potrebno za skupljanje vode i drveta za ogrijev po članu domaćinstva* | |
| 4 | | Udaljenost mjesta sakupljanja drveta za ogrjev i vode za članove domaćinstva* | |
| 5 | | Kvantitet godišnjih prihoda domaćinstva koji potiče od korištenja zemljišta * | |
| 6 | | Kvantitet godišnjih prihoda domaćinstva koji potiče od prodaje drveta, ribolova* | |
| | | Procenat zemljišta koje se navodnjava u odnosu na ukupno kultivisano zemljište po bogatstvu/kategorijama prihoda* | Degradacija zemljišta Oskudica vode Prirodna katastrofa |
| 7 | | Procenat ruralnih domaćinstava koja imaju adekvatnu vodu za stoku u odnosu na bogatstvo/kategorije prihoda* | |
| 8 | | | |
| 9 | | Proizvodnja žitarica u ruralnom dijelu per capita | Deforestacija Prelov ribe |

¹¹³ The World Bank Environment Department, Poverty —Environment Indicators, Januar 2002.

¹¹⁴ Napomena: Zvezdicom * su označeni indikatori koji se mogu i trebali bi da se prate u Crnoj Gori

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 10 | Zdrava ishrana | Procenat poljoprivrednika čiji su usjevi smanjeni usjed suše po prihodima/bogastvu u kvartilima* | Oskudica vode Degradacija zemljišta Kvalitet vode |
| 11 | | Kvantitet potrošnje domaćinstva koja potiče od šumskih plodova i ribolova* | |
| 12 | | Procenat seoske djece koja imaju nedovoljnu težinu za svoj uzrast* | |
| 13 | Osjetljivost na prirodne katastrofe | Procenat seoske djece ispod pet godina koja su zaostala u razvoju* | Prirodna katastrofa Deforestacija |
| 14 | | Procenat seoske djece ispod pet godina koja su oslabila* | |
| 15 | | Domaćinstva koja su ostala bez kuće, stana uslijed poplave, klizišta zemljišta po godinama u odnosu na prihode/bogastvo po kvartilima* | |
| 16 | | Broj smrtnih slučajeva usled prirodnih katastrofa u odnosu na prihode* | |
| 17 | | Procenat poljoprivrednika sa zemljištem ugroženim močvarama po prihodima* | |
| 18 | | Procenat seoske djece ispod pet godina koja su oslabila* | |

Većina navedenih indikatora bi se mogla i trebala pratiti, na osnovu već postojećih, ali i sakupljanjem novih podataka. Za sada se može izračunati samo Procenat seoske populacije koja je ispod linije siromaštva, zahvaljujući postojanju podataka praćenjem prihoda i rashoda domaćinstava Crne Gore.

Nadležna ministarstva moraju biti svjesna značaja praćenja ovakvih indikatora kao stvarnih pokazatelja stanja kod siromašnih ljudi ali i upravljanja resursima. Siromašni zavise od prirodnih resursa koje mogu sami da posjeduju, koji mogu da budu u državnom vlasništvu, ili koji mogu da budu slobodni i dostupni svima za obavljanje poljoprivredne aktivnosti, napasanje stoke, uzgajanje ribe, prikupljanje ogrijevnog materijala, stočne hrane ili nečeg drugog. Ovi resursi mogu biti primarni izvor za preživljavanje ili predstavljati samo izvora za zadovoljenje dnevnih potreba porodice.

5. Problemi ili mogućnosti u budućnosti:

Ne treba zaboraviti da okolina ne predstavlja samo jedan niz problema, već i niz prilika i mogućnosti. Turizam zasnovan na prirodnom bogatstvu predstavlja danas glavnu ekonomsku aktivnost u mnogim zemljama. Za neke grupe siromašnih, čak i male grupe turista mogu donijeti znatnu zaradu prema lokalnim mjerilima. Crna Gora nudi jednu od posljednjih mogućnosti da se obidju možda još uvijek netaknuti ekosistemi i starinska sela. Da li su stanovnici svjesni da od njihovih aktivnosti umnogome zavisi izgled životne sredine u budućnosti? Sa druge strane, njihov opstanak zavisi od održivosti tih resursa.

Potreba "konzerviranja" ovakvih ekosistema nosi promjene u načinu života lokalnog stanovništva, promjene u zanimanjima koja moraju biti održiva i orjentisana na očuvanje okoline. Koliko je domicilno stanovništvo spremno da žrtvuje svoje navike u načinu življenja i sticanja prihoda za život, zarad budućnosti koja će nuditi većini svjetskog stanovništva utočište u zdravoj sredini?

Korišćenje prirodnih resursa ne treba posmatrati samo u kontekstu ograničavanja pristupa eksploataciji, već ga treba posmatrati iz perspektive mogućnosti koje ono pruža za održivi ekonomski razvoj. U Crnoj Gori, iskorištavanje prirodnih resursa u industrijske svrhe dovodi do smanjivanja njihovih zaliha, ali i do nekontrolisanih zagadjenja. Primjer za to je eksploatacija drvenog uglja u pljevaljskoj kotlini i permanentno zagadjenje vazduha kao i života ljudi u ovom regionu. Sve je okrenuto poznatim izvorima energije i njihovom iscrpljivanju.

Sa druge strane, veliki potencijal leži u obnovljivim izvorima energije (sunce, vjetar) koji su neiskorišteni i koji još dugo neće zamijeniti fosilna goriva i energiju vode. Primjer nebrige za budućnost prirodnih resursa i potencijala ogleda se i u najavi izgradnje hidrocentrale na Tari «Buk

Bijela» koje će ugroziti iskorištavanje ovog potencijala u turističke svrhe. Ekološka procjena bi trebala da potvrdi opravdanost ovog projekta.

Da ne govorimo o energetskom potencijalu otpada koji nam predstavlja jedan od velikih problema kako sa deponovanjem, tako i sa odlaganjem na divljim deponijama širom Republike. Ne postoji znanje o iskorišćavanju ovog potencijala.

Da li ovo govori o nepostojanju strategije upravljanja prirodnim resursima ili o nepostojanju dovoljno svijesti o potrebi takve strategije. U regionu je poznato postojanje “eko-fondova” koji su osmišljeni da kanališu resurse namenjene zaštiti životne sredine. Fondovi pružaju finansijsku podršku investicijama koje su u cilju sprovođenja ekološke politike – politike zaštite životne sredine. Njihova uloga u zemljama koje imaju nameru da postanu deo Evropske Unije je od posebnog značaja u kontekstu harmonizacije politika i prakse sa ekološkim standardima EU.

Namjera da se osnuje ekološki fond je potvrđena u crnogorskom zakonodavstvu (Zakon o zaštiti životne sredine, 1996) kao i u skorašnjim strateškim dokumentima (Agenda ekonomskih reformi, 2003). Do sada nije urađeno ništa u osnivanju ovog fonda.

Da li država ili pojedinci treba da razmisle o prioritetima i o činjenici da prirodni resursi neće trajati u ovom obliku vječno i da ne treba “sjeći granu na kojoj se sjedi”?

2.5 VIRTUELNA REALNOST ILI REALNA VIRTUELNOST? - TOKOVI I PERSPEKTIVE RAZVOJA INFORMATI^KOG DRU[TVIA U CRNOJ GORI¹¹⁵

*“Računarstvo nas više ne uči kako da koristimo računare, uči nas kako da živimo!”
Nicholas Negroponte*

Nešto poput talentovanog umjetnika koji konstantno obećava mnogo, a nikako da postigne zaista veliki uspjeh, savremene tehnologije se nameću kao realno odlična zamisao, ali je korisnika, barem kod nas, i dalje veoma malo. Prepreke, istina, postoje, no i mogućnosti su velike, a brojni izazovi su svuda oko nas. Ipak, opreznih je više nego odvažnih...

1. Uvod

Čini se da viziju savremenog društva - društva znanja (kako se često može čuti) u velikoj mjeri kreira ubrzani razvoj tehnike, komunikacionih sistema, automatike i informacionih tehnologija. Štaviše, globalizacija s jedne i informaciono-komunikacione tehnologije (ICT) s druge strane, postepeno iscrtavaju novu ekonomsku i društvenu sliku svijeta, pri čemu pojmovi organizacije i realizacije u svim sferama ljudske djelatnosti u potpunosti gube svoj raniji smisao. Opšta “informatizacija” u novoj tehnološkoj eri donijela je sa sobom brojne probleme prilagođavanja novim uslovima rada, značajno promijenila psiho-socijalnu strukturu društva, te snažno inicirala pojavu koju u razvijenim zemljama analitičari nazivaju “Digital Divide”¹¹⁶. Mi, sa nekih par godina zakašnjenja, uistinu nešto smireniji i pribraniji nego u vrijeme smjene vijekova, polako počinjemo da prihvatamo budućnost koja neumitno dolazi - budućnost, koja kroz ostatke naših želja, nada i strahova istovremeno obećava i prijeti. Kako joj se prilagoditi?

U nastavku teksta će, prije svega, biti riječi o razvoju informatičkog društva uopšte, primjeni savremenih računarskih tehnologija i Interneta kao medija koji je u usponu kod nas, sa osvrtom na reakcije koje prate pojavu ovakvih inovacija. Pažnju, potom, zadržavamo na analizi dostupnih podataka iz istraživanja o korišćenju računara i Interneta u crnogorskoj populaciji, i podataka o socio-demografskim karakteristikama korisnika (obrazovni nivo, materijalni položaj i generacijska pripadnost). Taj segment je propraćen neizbježnim poređenjem sa situacijom u ovoj oblasti u

¹¹⁵ Autor: Milica Perović, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

¹¹⁶ Digitalna podjela, detaljnije u nastavku teksta

zemljama u okruženju, kao i zemljama sa razvijenom privredom, sa posebnim akcentom na pojam i pokušaje suzbijanja trenda “digitalne podjele”. Na kraju, data je prognoza razvoja i upotrebe novih tehnologija i Interneta u Crnoj Gori, kao državi koja iz različitih razloga još uvijek ne može da “uhvati korak” sa svjetskim tehnološkim kretanjima.

2. “Informatičko društvo” - pojam

Smjena tehnoloških i kulturnih obrazaca na našim prostorima poslednjih nekoliko decenija, posebno poslednjih godina, i stroge kvalifikacije za opstanak u novim uslovima, uzrokovali su brojne nejasnoće u tumačenju i definisanju aktuelnog društvenog uređenja, nazvanog “informatičko društvo” ili “društvo znanja”. Nema sumnje da razni autori pod pojmom “informatičko društvo” podrazumijevaju veoma različite stvari. Zajednički imenitelj kod većine ipak ostaje činjenica da se radi o obliku postindustrijske ekonomije, koji je karakterističan, u prvom redu, za visokorazvijene države. Preciznije od toga: ono je uslovljeno “setom mjera i aktivnosti koje treba preduzeti u cilju izgradnje Globalne informatičke infrastrukture (GII), koja se definiše kao skup tehnologija, subjekata i organizacionih mogućnosti, čija je svrha da olakšaju proizvodnju i upotrebu IC tehnologija.”¹¹⁷

Još jedan od problema prilikom tumačenja ovog pojma nastaje zbog loše interpretacije fenomena “informatičke pismenosti”. Naime, *informatička pismenost* je nešto znatno šire od samog tehničkog znanja (od čega se računar sastoji, kako funkcioniše i kako se koriste osnovne funkcije pojedinih programa); ona je mnogo više od osnovne sposobnosti korišćenja računara. Moglo bi se, u krajnjem, reći da predstavlja skladnu sintezu određenih znanja, vještina i navika, koje se oslanjaju na savremene informacione tehnologije. Međutim, iako go informatičke pismenosti čini ICT oprema i ulaganje u njen razvoj, daleko od toga da se na taj način može kreirati potpuno *informatičko društvo*, koje je, treba naglasiti, mnogo kompleksniji pojam. Njegovo stvaranje podrazumijeva brojne druge aktivnosti (o čemu će biti riječi u dijelu 4.), za čije se uobličavanje može koristiti komparativni model digitalne ekonomije “8C”, nazvan tako po početnim slovima parametara koji se smatraju ključnim za procjenu nivoa ICT razvoja, posebno zemalja u procesu tranzicije. “8C” parametri su: Connectivity (Povezanost), Capacity (Kapacitet), Cooperation (Saradnja), Community (Zajednica), Culture (Kultura), Capital (Kapital), Commerce (Trgovina), Content (Sadržaj).

Krajnji rezultati tih aktivnosti bi trebali da budu veoma pozitivni, a u najkraćem bi se manifestovali kroz:

- Mnogo lakši pristup informacijama, zabavnim i edukativnim sadržajima;
- Bolju komunikaciju;
- Smanjene troškove komuniciranja;
- Mogućnost izbora između različitih mrežnih operatera, provajdera i sadržaja;
- Brži razvoj i veću dostupnost novih tehnologija.

3. Analiza postojećeg stanja u Crnoj Gori

Za područje Crne Gore, nažalost, ne postoje pouzdani statistički podaci o broju računara i procentu korisnika ICT opreme (u pripremi je istraživanje o tome, u organizaciji Instituta za strateške studije i prognoze iz Podgorice). Sredinom 2003. godine sprovedeno je parcijalno istraživanje¹¹⁸ koje je pokazalo zastupljenost računarske opreme u osnovnim i srednjim školama i studentskim domovima. Dobijeni podaci su prezentovani u nastavku teksta. Kada su u pitanju domaćinstva, analiza se oslanja na nalaze serija anketa Centra za politikološka istraživanja i javno mnjenje Instituta društvenih nauka iz Beograda, koje su sprovedene u februaru 2002. godine, a za područje Crne Gore su obuhvatile od 1000 do 1800 ispitanika.¹¹⁹ Konačno, podatke vezane za broj i procenat

¹¹⁷ Strategija razvoja informacionog društva, Vlada Republike Crne Gore, maj 2004

¹¹⁸ Savjet za informaciono društvo

¹¹⁹ Istraživanja su sprovedena ličnim intervjuisanjen, a baziraju se na kvotnim modelima uzoraka populacije starije od 18 godina.

korisnika Interneta smo dobili direktno od provajdera, i oni se odnose na period do oktobra 2003. godine.

- ICT u osnovnim školama

Istraživanje je obuhvatilo 149 od 162 škole (91,97%). Rezultati pokazuju da je u ispitanim školama od 4.520 nastavnika njih 417, odnosno 10,8%, a od 66184 učenika 4703, odnosno 14,07% obučeno za korišćenje računara. Anketirane škole raspolažu sa ukupno 381 računaram. Odnos računar–učenik u ispitanim školama je 1:174. Takođe, 36 škola ima kompjutersku učionicu i to sa 243 računara. Uprave anketiranih škola koriste 51 računar (direktor, pomoćnik, sekretar), 73 računara koriste nastavnici, 10 je u službi pedagoško-psiholoških službi i 4 koriste biblioteke. Kao najzastupljenija generacija računara javlja se Pentium I (36%). Osnovne škole imaju direktne telefonske linije koje se koriste kao telefon-fax uređaji i samo povremeno bivaju upotrebljene za pristup Internetu, preko analognog modema. Pristup Internetu ima 19 škola ili 11%. Web-sajt posjeduje samo njih 7 (4%).

- ICT u srednjim školama

Ispitivanje je obavljeno u svih 45 srednjih škola (100%) u Crnoj Gori. Nalazi pokazuju da je od 2.371 nastavnika 449 (18,9%), a od 32 426 učenika 9.476 (29,2%) obučeno za rad na računaru. Ukupni broj računara iznosi 595, a odnos računar–učenik je 1:72. Od 45 srednjih škola njih 34 imaju računarske učionice sa ukupno 452 kompjutera. Uprave srednjih škola (direktori, pomoćnici, sekretari) koriste 66 računara, 7 je u upotrebi u pedagoško-psihološkim službama, dok 5 računara koriste biblioteke. Nastavnici raspolažu sa ukupno 64 računara. Prema generaciji računara u upotrebi dominantan je Pentium I (52%). Pristup Internetu ima 18 škola ili 40%. Srednje škole raspolažu sa ukupno 93 direktne telefonske linije, koje se uglavnom koriste za telefon-fax uređaje i samo povremeno za konektovanje na Internet. Samo jedna škola u Herceg-Novom je na Internet povezana preko ISDN-a. Web prezentaciju ima 5 (11%) srednjih škola.

Ispitivanje je pokazalo da najbolji status ima osam Gimnazija u Crnoj Gori, jer od 382 nastavnika 76 (20%), a od 6051 učenika 2450 (40,5%) ima osnovno znanje za rad na računaru. Broj direktnih telefonskih linija je 22, dok je broj računara 111. Analiza pokazuje da je odnos računar–učenik 1:58. Svih 8 Gimnazija ima računarske učionice sa ukupno 105 računara. Pentium I je takođe dominantan (57%). Procenat gimnazija koje imaju mogućnost konektovanja na Internet je 50%. Samo dvije od osam imaju sopstveni web-sajt (25%).

- ICT u studentskim domovima

U Crnoj Gori postoji deset učeničkih i studentskih domova. Od 64 nastavnika 21 (32,8%) je obučen za rad na računaru. Ukupan broj studenata i učenika je 3.053. Domovi raspolažu sa 27 direktnih telefonskih linija i 35 računara. Istraživanje pokazuje da je odnos računar–student (učenik) 1:191. Samo jedan dom ima kompjutersku učionicu, opremljenu sa 16 računara. Pentium I je ponovo dominantan. Dva doma imaju mogućnost konektovanja na Internet, a takođe dva imaju i svoju web prezentaciju.

- Domaćinstva

Prema podacima iz poslednjeg istraživanja koje je obuhvatilo pojedince i domaćinstva u Crnoj Gori (februar 2002), svako deseto domaćinstvo posjeduje računar, dok je odnos računar–stanovnik u prosjeku 1:38. Uočene su, međutim, značajne razlike kada je u pitanju regionalna podjela. Tako domaćinstva iz regiona Jug (koji uključuje i Podgoricu) raspolažu većim brojem računara (14%), u odnosu na centralni dio (11%) ili Sjever, samo 6%.¹²⁰

Ispitivanja su, takođe, pokazala da je broj računara u domaćinstvu u korelaciji sa ekonomskom razvijenošću regiona, ali i sa finansijskom situacijom u samom domaćinstvu. Procenat onih čija ukupna primanja ne prelaze 100 € za mjesec dana je 7%; ankete pokazuju da ova domaćinstva

¹²⁰ Istraživanje je obuhvatilo uglavnom veće gradove, koji su zbog lakše analize podataka svrstani po regionima na sledeći način: Sjever - Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, Berane, Rožaje i Kolašin; centralni dio - Nikšić (uključujući Šavnik, Žabljak i Plužine) i Danilovgrad; Jug – Podgorica, Cetinje, Kotor, Herceg-Novi i Bar.

uglavnom ne posjeduju računar. Domaćinstva iz sledeće kategorije prihoda (od 100 do 200 €- 34%), posjeduju računar u 3% slučajeva, dok je 21% onih koja u vlasništvu imaju kompjuter, a raspolažu mjesečnim prihodima do 300 € (takvih domaćinstava je u Crnoj Gori 43%). Konačno, najveći broj računara posjeduju domaćinstva čija su ukupna primanja 300 € i više (24%) - čak 76% od ukupnog broja.

Da dobra finansijska situacija ipak ne mora da bude obavezan uslov stvaranja računarske populacije“, potvrđuju rezultati ankete po kojoj: 45% ispitanika ne koristi računar zbog lične nezainteresovanosti, 34% zbog nedovoljnog znanja, dok je za 17% njih razlog previsoka cijena opreme. Kad su Internet-korisnici u pitanju, zabrinjava podatak da 31% ispitanih ne pokazuje ni najmanje interesovanje za sadržaje na Mreži, 30% nekorisćenje opravdava visokom pretplatom, dok 29% razloge traži u slaboj obučenosti za rad. Nevjerovatno i obeshrabrujuće zvuči podatak da čak 17% ispitanika u Crnoj Gori uopšte i ne zna šta je to Internet!

Sa druge strane, za zaostajanje populacije u informatičkom “opismenjavanju”, posebno ako govorimo o pripadnicima mlađe generacije, dijelom je odgovorna i loša situacija u obrazovnim institucijama, o čemu svjedoče prethodno iznijeti podaci. Nastava iz informatike je, u organizacionom smislu, potpuno nezadovoljavajuća. Mahom se radi po programima starim po dvadeset i više godina, a nastavni kadar, nažalost, često usvaja znanja zajedno sa svojim učenicima. U takvoj situaciji, samostalna inicijativa i zainteresovanost mladih pojedinaca, kao i mogućnost da se obezbijede novčana sredstva za informatičko usavršavanje, koje u obliku kurseva za polaznike organizuje sve veći broj privatnih škola, ostaju usamljena prilika za bijeg od stvarnosti. A za tako nešto, u najvećem broju slučajeva pretpostavka su obrazovani i (za naše uslove) bogati roditelji.

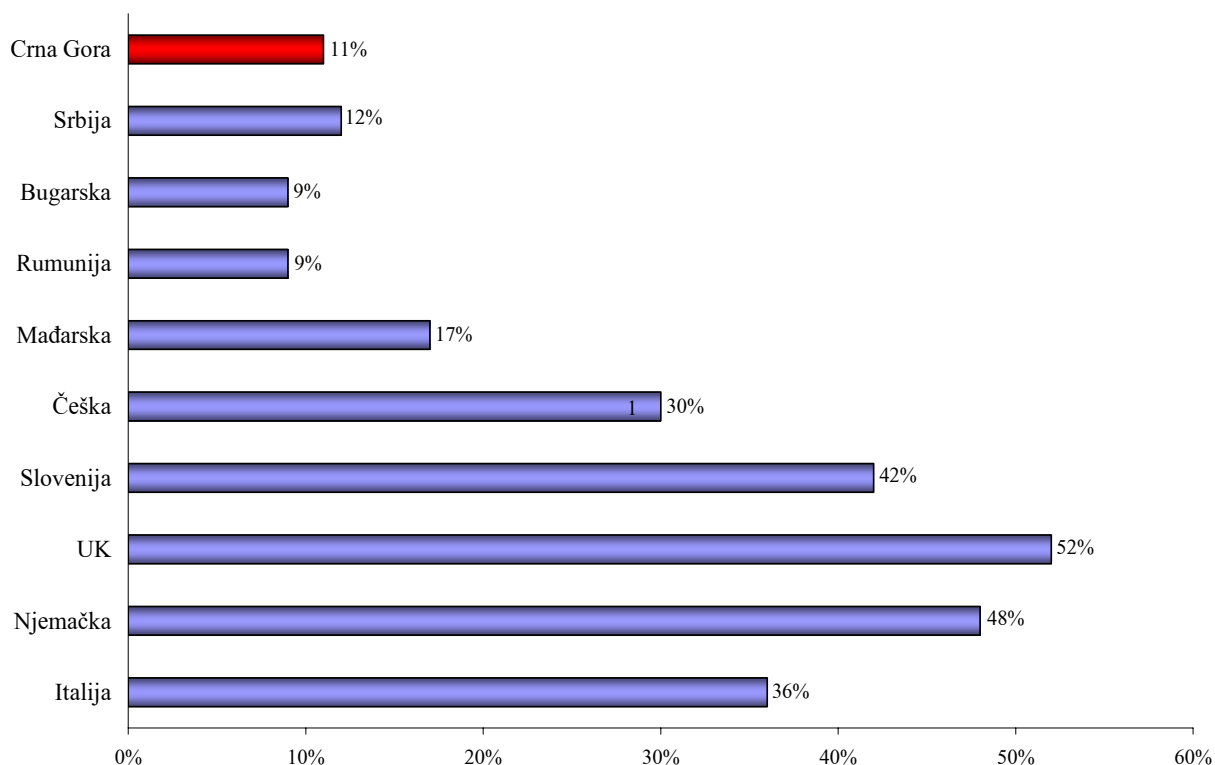
Gotovo je sigurno da je obrazovni nivo pojedinca u direktnoj vezi sa korišćenjem računara ili barem sa interesovanjem za nova tehnološka dostignuća. Međutim, šta je u toj situaciji uzrok a šta posledica, odnosno da li svijest visokoobrazovanih doprinosi tome da u većem broju koriste računare, ili pak upotreba računara pomaže sticanju visokog obrazovanja, ostaje pitanje za sebe. Istraživanja su pokazala da je u Crnoj Gori, prema obrazovnim kategorijama, situacija sledeća: korisnici sa završenom osnovnom školom čine 3% ukupnog broja punoljetnih korisnika računara, 10% njih ima završenu srednju školu, grupa sa nezavršenim fakultetom učestvuje sa 13%; čak 26% korisnika ima univerzitetsko obrazovanje. Broj korisnika računara koji su završili specijalistička usavršavanja, magistarske ili doktorske studije, ide do sasvim solidnih 39% (što je, okvirno, prosjek većine razvijenih zemalja na zapadu). Prema riječima Nenada Golčevskog, prvog sajber-psihologa na našim prostorima, poslednji popis je pokazao da je obrazovni nivo ICT korisnika nesrazmjerno veći od onog u opštoj populaciji: *“Obrazovanje i ekonomski status pokazuju da je to jedna posebna subgrupa korisnika. Ona je naročito interesantna zato što predstavlja neku vrstu društvene elite. To su uglavnom mladi ljudi koji će u godinama koje slede biti veoma uticajni u ovom društvu. Istraživanja su pokazala da se radi o vrlo specifičnom delu populacije, koji karakteristikama više odgovara nekoj zapadnoevropskoj zemlji, nego zemlji koja je tek u procesu pridruživanja Evropskoj Uniji. Naravno da ne može sa sigurnošću da se kaže da je Internet nečemu takvom uzrok, ali jeste znak da je razvoj i upotreba informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija, ne samo Interneta, kao i primena u različite društveno korisne svrhe, jedan od ključnih načina da se trenutna situacija u našem društvu u velikoj meri popravi.”*

- Internet

Na poslednjoj press-konferenciji najvećeg crnogorskog Internet provajdera (Internet CG), održanoj u oktobru 2003. godine, iznijeti su sledeći podaci: ukupan broj korisnika Interneta u Crnoj Gori je 70.000¹²¹ (približno 11% populacije). Od toga je 36.100 dial-up korisnika (onih koji se konektuju preko analognog modema), dok ostatak predstavljaju korisnici sa iznajmljenim linijama (velike firme, institucije, državni organi). Na serverima provajdera je u isto vrijeme bilo hostovano preko 700 web-sajtova. Prema internim analizama, za poslovne i edukativne svrhe procenat korišćenja Interneta je 58%, dok preostalih 42% odlazi na zabavne sadržaje.

¹²¹ Ovaj podatak uključuje i 583 korisnika, koliko je u vrijeme istraživanja imao novoosnovani provajder MontSky.

Grafik 4.1 Stopa penetracije korisnika Interneta u Crnoj Gori (broj korisnika na 100 stanovnika). Poređenje sa zemljama u okruženju.



Hotspot 1: Tehno-optimizam vs. oprez

Pojava inovacija u domenu novih tehnologija i medija, gotovo po pravilu generiše oprečne reakcije naučnih i, mnogo češće, moralnih autoriteta u svakom društvu. Pojedinci koji vjeruju u “elektronski raj”, popularno nazvani tehno-optimistima, konstantno osporavaju sve manjkavosti savremenih komunikacionih tehnologija i tako vode vječiti rat sa poštovaocima ideje o “digitalnoj apokalipsi” i “žrtvama” mističnog straha od dostignuća novog vremena; rat bez i najmanjeg nagovještaja pobjednika, jer obje strane imaju argumente vrijedne poštovanja. Da li je baš tako?

- *Nekoliko argumenata “za”*

Pojava Interneta, medija koji je uspješno objedinio pismo, riječ, zvuk i sliku, unaprijedivši na taj način komunikaciju na globalnom nivou, umnogome je promijenila ustaljena društvena shvatanja. Za početak, gotovo da nema potrebe naglašavati koliko je drugačiji odnos među ljudima koji, recimo, žive na različitim kontinentima, a svakodnevno mogu da komuniciraju i vizuelno i posredstvom glasa. Isto tako, zahvaljujući tehnološkom progresu, postepeno smo došli do slike koja obilježava novi milenijum - osobe na ulici koja razgovara mobilnim telefonom ili provjerava e-mail (GPRS, u posljednje vrijeme sve više i Wi-Fi). Ne treba pominjati koliko su tek različiti prenosivi uređaji učinili za efikasniju poslovnu komunikaciju.

Sa druge strane, ne treba zaboraviti da je do nedavno, u godinama opšte izolacije, jedini način da se dođe do saznanja o dešavanjima u savremenoj nauci, bio upravo Internet. Najraznovrsnije informacije su korsnicima bile dostupne brzo, lako i najčešće besplatno. Danas se već otišlo i korak dalje, tako da aktivni sistemi obrazovanja putem Interneta više nisu nepoznanica. Naprotiv, oni napreduju najvećom mogućom brzinom - brzinom napretka nauke. Potvrdu tog ubjeđenja nalazimo u veoma ilustrativnom primeru djevojke iz Japana, koja je nedavno završila četvorogodišnje studije istorije umjetnosti na renomiranom Univerzitetu Plattsburgh u Njujorku, a da se pritom nije ni pomjerala iz svog rodnog grada. Jedini put kad je Njujork vidjela uživo bilo je na svečanoj dodjeli diploma. Ovakvi primjeri u posljednje vrijeme uopšte nisu usamljeni. Ohrabruje činjenica da bi u

nekom razumnom roku sličan sistem obrazovanja mogao da zaživi i kod nas. Naime, u oktobru ove godine startuje prva generacija brucosa na Fakultetu za informacione sisteme i tehnologije (FIST) u Beogradu, prvoj visokoškolskoj ustanovi koja omogućava praćenje nastave, preuzimanje literature i polaganje ispita preko Interneta (to uključuje i real-time predavanja putem video-linka, kao i konsultacije sa profesorima “uživo”).

Doprinos visokih tehnologija u oblastima istraživanja medija, telemedicine, robotike, genetike i drugih nauka novog vremena se podrazumijeva, štaviše, nije neosnovano pretpostaviti da će njihova afirmacija i u ostalim naučnim sferama još više doći do izražaja u godinama koje su tek pred nama.

- Nekoliko argumenata “protiv”

Suština prigovora koje protivnici novih tehnologija upućuju Mreži i računarima uopšte, sadržana je otprilike u sledećem: korisnici provode sate i sate pred monitorom, gube vid, fizičku kondiciju, razvijaju opsesivnu potrebu za Internetom, postaju agorafobični i rastrojani, otuđuju se od okoline, itd. Da li su ovakve primedbe ipak pretjerane?¹²² Nisu li iste mogle i morale svojevremeno biti upućene i televiziji, kao jednosmjernom i krajnje pasivnom mediju?

Još veći protivnici Interneta i savremenih tehnoloških dostignuća mogu se pronaći među takozvanim antiglobalistima. Njihovi stavovi su okrenuti protiv Mreže, koja je navodno “proizvod centara globalne moći”, zamka u koju “zli globalisti hvataju nevine duše”, sa ciljem da obezbijede direktnu kontrolu nad tržištem.

Na posletku, tu su i zabrinuti zagovornici tehnološkog smaka svijeta, koji budućnost vide kroz krizu dimenzija – realne i virtuelne. Oni upozoravaju da je “Pandorina kutija” novih tehnologija nepovratno otvorena, istovremeno se pozivajući na tekst Bill Joya¹²³, objavljen u časopisu Wired u aprilu 2000. godine, pod naslovom “Why the Future Doesn't Need Us”. U svom objašnjenju, autor navodi pretpostavku po kojoj budućnost uopšte više ne zavisi toliko od čovjeka. Po njegovim riječima: “...dolazi takvo vrijeme u kojem čovjek više uopšte neće biti u centru pažnje, štaviše, vjerovatno neće biti ni potreban, a možda ni poželjan!”

Krajnji sud ostavljamo za neku drugu priliku. U uslovima koje imamo bilo bi potpuno pogrešno i, više od svega, nezahvalno, braniti stavove bilo tehno-optimista, bilo pristalica nekog nejasno definisanog humanizma. Za promjenu, pokušaćemo da odbranimo umjerenost, konstatacijom da tehnička i naučna dostignuća nikada nisu dobra ili loša sama po sebi - ona su onakva kakvim ih upotrebom sami učinimo.

Hotspot 2: Digital Divide

*“Budućnost je tu pored nas, samo još uvijek nije ravnomjerno raspoređena”
William Gibson¹²⁴*

Jedno od pitanja koje se ranije često postavljalo u krugovima alternativnih organizacija, a postalo je centrom svjetskog interesovanja na nedavnom Svjetskom samitu o informatičkom društvu, održanom u Ženevi od 10. do 12. decembra 2003. godine, je svakako - “Digital Divide”. U pitanju je veliki jaz u primjeni naprednih informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija između razvijenih i nerazvijenih zemalja svijeta. U svom uvodnom obraćanju, Yoshio Utsumi, generalni sekretar ITU-a (The International Telecommunication Union) je predstavio napore ove najstarije organizacije pri Ujedinjenim Nacijama¹²⁵ na suzbijanju problema “digitalne podjele”, i slikovito objasnio drastičnu razliku između razvijenih i nerazvijenih podatkom da grad Njujork ima više telefona nego cijeli

¹²² Prema istraživanju koje je nedavno sproveo Centar za proučavanje informacionih tehnologija (CePIT) iz Beograda, broj korisnika koji se mogu smatrati “zavisnicima” od Interneta (ljudi koji su on-line 12 i više sati neprekidno) je zanemarljivo mali u odnosu na ukupan broj korisnika računara.

¹²³ Ko-osnivač i vodeći inženjer kompanije Sun Microsystems.

¹²⁴ Pisac naučne fantastike (1948 -)

¹²⁵ Organizacija (ITU) je osnovana 1865. godine.

kontinent Afrika! “*Svjetski smo da su koristi od revolucije informacione tehnologije danas neravnomjerno raspoređene između razvijenih zemalja i zemalja u razvoju, u okviru društva. Veoma smo zainteresovani da preokrenemo ovu digitalnu podjelu u digitalnu mogućnost (Digital Opportunity) za sve, a posebno za one koji rizikuju da budu ostavljeni u prikrakju i još više marginalizovani*” - dodao je Utsumi.

Međutim, glavna pitanja digitalne podjele ovim nisu u potpunosti obuhvaćena. Sve što je rečeno svakako važi na globalnom nivou, ali deduktivnim uprošćavanjem dolazimo i do drugih podjela: značajne razlike u korišćenju ICT opreme između bogatih i siromašnih u jednom društvu, različitog nivoa informatičke pismenosti uslovljenog polnom diferencijacijom, različite mogućnosti pristupa informacijama za pojedince iz urbanih i ruralnih krajeva, slabih mogućnosti za zapostavljene društvene grupe: emigrante, izbjeglice, nezaposlene, nacionalne manjine, itd.

Da li će budućnost informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija donijeti blagostanje samo onima koji budu znali da ih na najbolji način iskoriste, ili će one postati realno dostupne svima? Da li će pored jaza između bogatih i siromašnih nastati i jaz između onih koji zbog svog opredjeljenja u bilo kojem smislu, mogu i onih koji ne mogu da dođu do potrebnih informacija (pojava poznata kao “information unabled”)? Izgleda da će ova i mnoga druga pitanja morati da sačekaju sledeću fazu Svjetskog samita o informacionom društvu, čije je održavanje planirano za novembar 2005. godine u Tunisu, a do tada...

4. Strategija razvoja informacionog društva: put u društvo znanja - kratak pregled

Saglasno dogovoru sa Svjetskog samita, na sjednici Savjeta za informaciono društvo, održanoj 20. maja, detaljno je razmotren Nacrt strategije razvoja informacionog društva, koji je pripremio Republički sekretarijat za razvoj. Ovaj dokument je nastao sa ciljem da objasni kako je primjenom informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija moguće ubrzati proces reformi u Crnoj Gori, a obuhvata više stručnih radova koji se iz različitih uglova osvrću na proces razvoja društva znanja. Nacrtom su definisani glavni ciljevi Strategije, kao i četvorogodišnji Akcioni plan, čija realizacija treba da omogući njihovo ostvarivanje. Kako se u dokumentu navodi, ulaganjem u razvoj informacionog društva, obezbijediće se:

- Brži ekonomski razvoj;
- Ubrzane reforme, prihvatanje standarda razvijenog svijeta, razvoj demokratije;
- Izgradnja jeftinije, efikasnije, odgovornije i transparentnije državne uprave;
- Olakšana komunikacija građana sa državom i okruženjem i eliminisanje biznis barijera;
- Jednake šanse svima za podizanje obrazovnog nivoa, cjeloživotno učenje, učenje sa distance u kombinaciji sa mogućnostima Interneta, kontinuirano ažuriranje edukativnih materijala, mogućnost brzog pristupa Internetu bilo kada i sa bilo kojeg mjesta, sticanje vještina, lakše zapošljavanje, smanjenje broja korisnika socijalnih davanja i njihovo punopravno uključivanje u društvo;
- Veća sigurnost građana i poštovanje ljudskih prava, kao i lakša borba protiv organizovanog kriminala i terorizma.

Takođe, Strategija sadrži i planirane aktivnosti za unapređenje “digitalne pismenosti”:

- Nastavne programe u institucijama osnovnog i srednjeg obrazovanja inovirati saglasno zahtjevima informacionog društva;
- Povećanje broja pristupnih tačaka Internetu i pomaganje građanima u sticanju digitalne pismenosti;
- Uključivanje edukativne komponente u e-Government projekte;
- Nastojanje da digitalni sadržaji budu i na jezicima manjina;
- Pripremu novinskih tekstova, radio i TV programa za obuku građana;
- Uključivanje žena, starijih osoba i raseljenih lica u proces edukacije;

Konačno, obuhvaćeno je i nezaobilazno pitanje “digitalne podjele” unutar društva, a predložene mjere za njeno ublažavanje su:

- Omogućavanje pristupa Internetu u ruralnim područjima i svim mjestima sa više od 500 stanovnika;
- Podsticanje privatnog sektora u pronalaženju interesa za davanje donacija u opremi;
- Poštovanje lokalnih specifičnosti, kao što je jezik manjina;
- Pružanje šanse svim članovima društva bez obzira na njihove fizičke mogućnosti;
- Oblikovanje programa na taj način da ih mogu koristiti hendikepirane osobe (priprema audio sadržaja za slijepe i sl.)

Umjesto zaključka

Razvoj ICT-a sadrži jasan pozitivan trend - sve veću dostupnost i interaktivnost, što se veoma pozitivno odražava na globalnu komunikaciju. Brzina kojom se širi Internet, na primjer, nepogrešivo svjedoči o njegovoj efikasnosti i mogućnosti da zadovolji potrebe miliona ljudi širom svijeta. On je brz, moderan, ponekad možda provokativan, ali kao takav veoma odgovara psihološkom profilu mahom pripadnika mlađe generacije, koje odlikuje otvorenost za nova iskustva, izražena imaginacija i kreativnost. Međutim, iako je upotreba kompjutera i Interneta u stalnom porastu, ne treba zaboraviti da je taj uzlazni trend direktno povezan sa ekonomskim indikatorima ukupnog razvoja, kako na opštem, tako i na individualnom planu. I to onda opet iznova stavlja akcenat na pitanje "digitalne podjele" u okviru društva, a IC tehnologije, protiv svih pravila, počinju da budu izraz i izvor jedne nove socijalne nejednakosti.

Ženevski Samit je nedvosmisleno pokazao da je svijest o tom problemu, kao i problemu opšteg zaostajanja velikog broja država u ICT razvoju, dostigao kritičan prag osjetljivosti. Ipak, ohrabruje činjenica da su mnoge od zemalja-učesnica Samita pokazale interesovanje da zajedničkim naporima prevaziđu trenutne poteškoće. Prvi koraci ka tome su, donošenjem Strategije razvoja i Akcionog plana (ne samo u Crnoj Gori, već i u zemljama u okruženju) već učinjeni. A za dalje, možemo samo da se nadamo doslednosti u ispunjavanju predviđenih aktivnosti i da vjerujemo da ćemo sporim ali sigurnim koracima jednom nesumljivo doći do ideala društva kojem težimo. A da će biti lako - neće.

Ako nam je za utjehu, biti na začelju tranzicionih kretanja, pored niza problema, gotovo uvijek znači i barem dvije "prednosti" - da tuđe greške ne moramo da ponavljamo, i da postoji dovoljno veliko okruženje koje nas samo po sebi vuče naprijed. Svjesni smo da je proces uključivanja Crne Gore u evropske ekonomske i kulturne tokove otpočeo i da je ubrzan razvoj u oblasti ICT-a jedan obavezan i logičan korak u toj sveopštoj modernizaciji. Globalizacija i vesternizacija možda jesu cijena tog procesa, ali je alternativa tome potpuni mrak. Ubijedjeni smo da u takvim okolnostima uopšte nije teško napraviti pravi izbor!

2.6. ELEKTRO – ENERGETSKA SITUACIJA U CRNOJ GORI I OSVRT NA ZEMLJE U REGIONU¹²⁶

1. Uvod

Nepotrebno je navoditi da svakodnevno, u svakoj situaciji, koristimo električnu energiju. Pri tome, nerijetko ne vodimo računa da energija ima svoju ekonomsku i ekološku cijenu, da su glavni izvori konačni i iscrpivi i da njihovo trajanje možemo produžiti štednjom. Isto tako, suvišno je naglašavati potrebu da gasimo svijetla i kućne aparate kada nijesu potrebni, te da se proizvodnjom iz recikliranog otpada troši manje energije nego proizvodnjom iz sirovina.

Ipak, potrošnja energije je srazmjerna povećanju broja stanovnika (koji se u svijetu u posljednjih trideset godina udvostručio)¹²⁷, povećanju standarda i načinu na koji trošimo energiju. Prije trideset godina rijetkost je bila imati frižider u kući. Danas je to jedan od osnovnih aparata i većina domaćinstava ih ima dva i više.

U prvom dijelu komentara je dat osvrt na trenutnu elektro – energetska situaciju u Crnoj Gori. U drugom dijelu su prezentirani podaci o potrošnji električne energije dobijeni najnovijim istraživanjem o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori¹²⁸. Posljednji dio komentara se bavi aktuelnim problemom izgradnje HE Buk Bijela i mogućnostima korišćenja obnovljivih izvora električne energije u Crnoj Gori i okruženju.

2. Trenutna elektro – energetska situacija u Crnoj Gori

Proizvodnja električne energije, gasa i vode čini 24,9% ukupne industrijske proizvodnje u Crnoj Gori. U prvom tromjesečju 2004. godine, prosječna proizvodnja u ovom sektoru se smanjila za 11,2% u odnosu na isti period prethodne godine. Godišnja stopa rasta ove proizvodnje je u martu 2004. godine bila negativna i iznosila -27,9%.¹²⁹

Elektroprivreda Crne Gore (EPCG), jedan od najvećih proizvođača u Crnoj Gori, je u prvom tromjesečju 2004. godine smanjila svoju proizvodnju za 10% u odnosu na isti period prošle godine. Naime, hidroelektrane "Perućica" i "Piva" su prema izvještaju Elektroprivrede proizvele 976.293.000 KWh električne energije, što je za 329.139.000 više nego u istom periodu prošle godine. Ukupna proizvodnja je ipak smanjena zbog nedovoljne proizvodnje termoelektrane "Pljevlja" koja nije bila u potpunosti angažovana u ovom periodu.

Dvije trećine proizvodnje električne energije u Crnoj Gori potiče iz dvije velike hidro-centrale, dok se preostala trećina proizvodi u termoelektrani. Ukupna ostvarena proizvodnja tri elektrane u prvom tromjesečju 2004. godine je bila 1,2% veća od planirane i to: termoelektrana Pljevlja je proizvela 38,9% manje od planiranog, hidroelektrana Piva je premašila plan za 30,1%, hidroelektrana Perućica za 24,4%.¹³⁰

Crnogorski uvoz električne energije za prva dva mjeseca ove godine je bio 1.400 GKWh ili 31% sopstvene proizvodnje. Tokom 2003. godine je iz energetskih sistema u zemlji i inostranstvu nabavljeno 2.718,7 GWh, što je za 14,1% više u odnosu na prethodnu godinu, a 0,6% u odnosu na plan. Skoro 48 miliona eura je utrošeno na uvoz tokom 2001. godine ili oko 4% bruto društvenog proizvoda. Ovo predstavlja velik odliv sredstava sa već ograničenog gotovinskog računa EPCG.

Ostvareni energetski gubici na prenosnoj mreži od 171,9GWh su u 2003. godini bili na planiranom nivou, a na distributivnoj mreži za 3,63% veći od planiranih.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Autor: Sanja Bečić, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

¹²⁷ www.geografija.hr/novosti.asp

¹²⁸ Istraživanje o prihodima i rashodima stanovništva, Institut za strateške studije i prognoze (ISSP), april 2004.

¹²⁹ Elektroprivreda Crne Gore – EPCG (jun 2004)

¹³⁰ Elektroprivreda Crne Gore – EPCG (jun 2004)

¹³¹ List Elektroprivrede Crne Gore, jul 2004

Gubici na električnoj mreži iznose preko 20% od čega su 10% tehnički, a ostalo je nelegalna potrošnja.

Tabela 6.1 Kapaciteti, proizvodnja i potrošnja električne energije u zemljama u regionu, 2001. god¹³²

| Električna energija 2001 | Gigavati | Milijarde kilovata | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | Instalirani kapaciteti | Proizvodnja | Potrošnja |
| Albanija | 1,68 | 5,289 | 5,89 |
| BiH | 3,94 | 9,979 | 8,12 |
| Hrvatska | 3,82 | 12,117 | 14,27 |
| Makedonija | 1,56 | 6,456 | 5,11 |
| Srbija i Crna Gora | 9,6 | 31,710 | 32,374 |
| Ukupno | 20,6 | 13,75 | 13,4 |

3. Rezultati istraživanja o domaćinstvima u Crnoj Gori

Trend rasta potrošnje električne energije u domaćinstvima u Crnoj Gori je povećan za preko 210% od 1981. godine. Ovo je uglavnom posljedica korišćenja uređaja za zagrijavanje prostora, klimama i ostalim elektronskim uređajima, ali i povećanjem broja stanovnika. Potrošnja električne energije u Crnoj Gori se povećala za 10% od 2000. do 2002. godine i pretpostavlja se da će rasti za 2,5% godišnje u periodu 2002 - 2005¹³³.

Istraživanje o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori, koje je spovedeno u maju¹³⁴ ove godine dalo je odgovore na slijedeća pitanja:

Da li u vašem domaćinstvu postoji priključak za struju (da li koristite struju) i da li je legalan?

Od ukupnog broja ispitanih domaćinstava, 99,7% ima u svom domu priključak za struju, dok ga 0,3% nema. Procenat domaćinstava koji imaju nelegalne priključke je 0,5%.

Da li za grijanje koristite električnu energiju i planirate li da je koristite iduće godine?

Električna energija predstavlja izvor grijanja za 49,7% ukupno ispitanih domaćinstavakoristi. Ostala domaćinstva za grijanje koriste neke druge izvore, od čega najviše drva (96,4%). Broj domaćinstava koja su koristila struju kao izvor grijanja, a planira da ga koristi i ove godine se smanjio za 2,5%.

Zanimljiv je podatak da 88,1% domaćinstava u južnom regionu koristi električnu energiju za grijanje, a 81% domaćinstava u sjevernom regionu je ne koristi za grijanje. Problem nepostojanja dimnjaka u stambenim zgradama sigurno utiče na značajno visok procenat domaćinstava koja se griju na struju. Na sjeveru je situacija drugačija, jer domaćinstva većinom stanuju u kućama. U centralnom regionu, 48,9% koristi, a 51,1% domaćinstava ne koristi električnu energiju za grijanje. Što se tiče planova za predstojeću grijnu sezonu, stanje je drugačije: procenat domaćinstava koja planiraju da se griju na struju u centralnom regionu se povećao na 54,1%, a u južnom se smanjio na 85,8%. U sjevernom regionu se 6% domaćinstava odlučilo da ponovo počne koristiti struju za grijanje.

Važno je napomenuti da 13,5% domaćinstava koristi kombinaciju drva i struje za grijanje. Najveći broj ovakvih slučajeva je zabilježeno u centralnom regionu (41,8%), zatim na jugu (34,3%), dok ih je najmanje na sjeveru (23,9%). Ovakva podjela je i za očekivati, jer rezultati dosadašnjih istraživanja pokazuju da svaki region u Crnoj Gori ima sebi svojstven način grijanja i to sjever – drva, jug – struju i centar – kombinaciju ova dva izvora.

¹³² www.eia.doe.gov

¹³³ UNECE Environmental Performance Review of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 2003

¹³⁴ Podaci se odnose na april 2004. godine

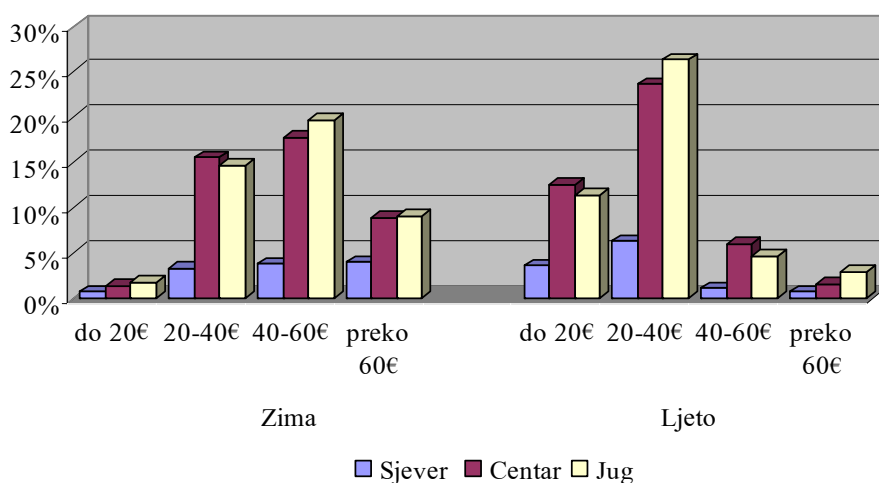
Najveći broj domaćinstava koja koriste struju kao izvor grijanja su vlasnici domova u kojima žive (83,7%), a posjeduju većinom kuće (41,9%) i dvosobne stanove (25,4%).

Visina računa za struju?

Prema rezultatima istraživanja, prosječan račun za potrošenu električnu energiju u crnogorskim domaćinstvima je ove zime iznosio €53,7. Očekivana prosječna vrijednost računa za ljeto 2004. godine je bila €32,8.

U slijedećoj tabeli je prikazana struktura računa za potrošenu električnu energiju u toku prethodne zime i očekivana vrijednost računa za ljeto 2004. godine.

Grafik 6.1: Visina računa po regionima u zimskom i ljetnjem periodu



Iz grafika se može vidjeti da su zimi i ljeti računi najvisočiji u južnom i centralnom regionu. S obzirom da se na jugu većina stanovništva zimi grije na struju, a ljeti je upotreba klima uređajava neminovna, to su i računi za struju najvisočiji. Slično je i u centralnom regionu, dok je na sjeveru potrošnja struje najniža zbog korišćenja drva za grijanje i nema potrebe za klima uređajima.

Box 6.1. Tarife

U skladu sa analizama troškova EPCG-a i postojeće tarifne strukture, smatra se da bi tarife domaće energije trebalo najmanje duplirati u odnosu na sadašnju cijenu od 0,049 €/kWh. Ovakav potez bi podstakao veću uštedu električne energije, posebno u investicionim oblastima sa niskim troškovima, kao što su osvjetljenje i izolacije. Bazirano na jednom istraživanju sprovedenom u domaćinstvima, procjenjuje se da je cjenovna elastičnost za struju u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori reda veličine 0,25, što ukazuje da bi svako povećanje od 10%, dovelo do smanjenja potrošnje od oko 2,5%.

Izvor: Sektor Dostupnosti Električne Energije u Sjevero-istočnoj Evropi, Finalni Izveštaj EBRD Novembar 2003

4. Dilema – Izgradnja HE Buk Bijela ili očuvanje prirodnih ljepota?

Poznato je da Crna Gora ne može udovoljiti zahtjevima potrošača električne energije i da uvozi jednu trećinu utrošene energije za šta izdvaja između 50 i 60 miliona eura godišnje. U cilju rješavanja ovog problema pojavljuje se nekoliko solucija: izgradnja hidroelektrane Buk Bijela na Tari, drugog bloka termoelektrane Pljevlja, malih hidroelektrana na Morači, Zeti i Pivi itd. Mora se priznati da je najveće interesovanje u posljednje vrijeme privukao projekat izgradnje hidroelektrane Buk Bijela, koja bi trajala 5 godina i pokrila deficit od oko 0,4 miliona kilovat časova električne energije. Energetičari su mišljenja da je ovaj projekat isplativiji od izgradnje malih hidroelektrana za koje je određeno 70 lokacija i da bi energija dobijena izgradnjom HE Buk Bijela bila jeftinija od energije dobijene iz malih hidroelektrana ili alternativnih izvora energije. Argument za koji se često

čuje je da Crna Gora nije u situaciji da bira već joj je potreban jak izvor električne energije. Na drugoj strani se javljaju ekolozi i energetičari koji smatraju da bi izgradnja HE Buk Bijela uništila kanjon Tare, jedne od najljepših rijeka u Crnoj Gori, koja je uz to pod zaštitom UNESCO-a. Turizam, kao glavna privredna grana Crne Gore se oslanja na "bisere prirode": šteta koja bi pritom bila nanešena kanjonu Tare za sada je neprocjenjiva. Smatra se da postoje drugi načini za proizvodnju energije kao što su sanacija postojećeg i izgradnja novih blokova TE Pljevlja, iskorišćavanje vodenih potencijala rijeka Zete i Pive i obnovljivih izvora energije. Sigurno je da obnovljivi izvori energije (vjetar, sunce, voda, biomasa) ne mogu riješiti deficit električne energije, ali ga mogu ublažiti. Rasprava o ovom rješenju je u toku, a očekuje se izrada studije koja treba da pokaže opravdanost pomenute investicije i njen uticaj na životnu sredinu.

Crna Gora ima veliki potencijal za solarno grijanje koje se koristi u primorskom pojasu i dolinama rijeka Zete i Morače. Koristi se za grijanje vode, klimatizaciju i zagrijavanje prostorija, ali bez značajnog uticaja na energetske bilans Crne Gore. Međutim, daljim razvojem tehnoloških performansi sunčevih kolektora, očekuje se značajan rast korišćenja sunčeve energije za zadovoljavanje dijela potreba privrede i domaćinstava. Po evropskim standardima, korišćenje solarnog grijanja je malo i uglavnom se svodi na zagrijavanje vode u hotelima na obali. Od ukupne proizvedene električne energije, samo 8% potiče od obnovljivih izvora energije, a ostalih 92% od fosilnih i nuklearnih izvora.¹³⁵

U Crnoj Gori postoji i veliki potencijal za proizvodnju biomase energije, jer je bogata šumama i taj se potencijal također u budućnosti može dobro iskoristiti. Što se tiče korišćenja energije vjetra, u Crnoj Gori ovaj način proizvodnje električne energije još nije zaživio, ali se smatra da ima potencijala za to. U junu ove godine je njemački koncern „Umwelt“ iz Dizeldorfa pokazao interesovanje da investira u Crnu Goru oko 550 miliona eura za postavljanje i instaliranje tri odgovarajuća postrojenja koja bi proizvodila 220 MW električne energije iz bioenergije i snage vjetra. Za 4 do 6 godina bi bili aktuelni i solarni elementi.¹³⁶ Ipak, odluka je pred nama jer se mora naći način za rješavanje problema visoke potrošnje i nedovoljne proizvodnje.

Kakva su iskustva u regionu? U Sloveniji praktično sva energija dobijena obnovljivim izvorima energije potiče od hidroenergije, a predstavlja jednu trećinu ukupne proizvodnje energije. Hidroenergija je daleko najznačajniji obnovljivi izvor energije, jedini koji danas ima komercijalno značenje. Mnogi ga smatraju idealnim izvorom energije koji ne koristi gorivo i zbog toga je jeftin. Ipak, realnost je drugačija. Ovaj oblik energije ima i svoja ograničenja, npr. u posljednje tri decenije je proizvodnja energije u hidroelektranama utrostručena, ali je time udio hidroenergije u svjetskoj energetske potrošnji povećan za samo 1,1%, dok je u istom razdoblju u nuklearnim elektranama proizvodnja povećana sto puta, a udio 80 puta¹³⁷. Isto tako, hidroenergija se ne može koristiti svuda i zahtijeva velike količine brzotekuće vode koje ima cijele godine, jer, kako je poznato, struja se ne može skladištiti (odn. može u akumulatorima koji su jako skupi i opasni po okolinu). Procjenjuje se da je danas iskorišćeno 25% svjetskog potencijala, a da bi potpuna iskorištenost zadovoljila samo 80% potreba. Najveći dio neiskorištenog potencijala se nalazi u zemljama u razvoju što je veoma povoljno, jer se u njima očekuje znatan porast potrošnje električne energije.

Hrvatska je na petom mjestu u Evropi prema učešću proizvodnje električne energije iz obnovljivih izvora (40-60% se proizvodi iz hidroelektrana).¹³⁸ Hrvatska elektroprivreda još od 1994. godine dobrovoljno podstiče razvoj malih obnovljivih izvora, prvenstveno podsticajem privatnih ulaganja i uz zaštitu okoline. Proizvodni kapaciteti instalirani u Hrvatskoj su sledeći: 50% termalni, 7% nuklearni i 43% hidro.¹³⁹

Nakon hidroenergije, značajan obnovljivi izvor energije je geotermalna energija, koja koristi toplinu zemljine unutrašnjosti za zagrijavanje vodene pare (sličan princip kao kod termoelektrana) pomoću

¹³⁵ www.earthdog.com

¹³⁶ www.vibilia.cg.yu

¹³⁷ www.geografija.hr/novosti.asp

¹³⁸ www.hep.hr

¹³⁹ www.eva.ac.at

koje se proizvodi energija i koristi se za grijanje kuća ili staklenika i neke postupke u industriji kao što je pasterizacija mlijeka. Najveći nedostatak ovog izvora je taj što postoji relativno malo mjesta na kojima se vrela voda nalazi na malim dubinama. Ovaj izvor se koristi u SAD, Filipinima, Meksiku i Japanu.

Grčka je lider u korišćenju solarnih sistema za dobijanje električne energije. Oko milion panela je instalirano uglavnom na krovovima zgrada ili kuća i koristi se za zagrijavanje vode u bojlerima i dr.

Isto tako, u zemljama u okruženju ne postoje značajni instalirani kapaciteti koji se koriste za proizvodnju struje pomoću vjetrova. Ovaj način proizvodnje energije je veoma popularan u Njemačkoj, koja je dominirala tržištem u korišćenju energije vjetrova na kraju 2003. godine sa proizvodnjom od 2.645MW, zatim Španija sa 1.337 MW, Austrija (276 MW), Danska (243 MW) i Holandija (226 MW). U svijetu je 39,29 MW kapaciteta generisano iz energije vjetrova.¹⁴⁰

Kapaciteti vjetrova su se povećali u EU (28440 MW na kraju 2003), što udovoljava potrebama 14 miliona prosječnih evropskih domaćinstava ili 35 miliona građana.

Tabela 6.2: Izvori električne energije u zemljama u okruženju¹⁴¹

| Energija | Proizvodnja (milijarda kwh) | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|----------|------------|--------|
| | Slovenija | Albanija | Hrvatska | Makedonija | Ukupno |
| Hidro | 3,741 | 3,519 | 6,519 | 0,620 | 14,399 |
| Nuklearna | 5,036 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5,036 |
| Geotermalna i ostale | 0,068 | 0 | 0,001 | 0 | 0,069 |
| Termalna | 4,815 | 0,129 | 5,255 | 5,391 | 15,590 |
| Ukupno | 13,66 | 3,65 | 11,78 | 6,01 | |

Zemlje iz okruženja proizvode najveći dio električne energije koristeći hidro i termalne izvore, izuzev Slovenije koja preferira nuklearne izvore. Od ukupnog broja kwh proizvedenih iz hidro izvora, Hrvatska ima najveći udio i to 45,27%. Što se tiče termalne energije Slovenija, Makedonija i Hrvatska imaju približan obim proizvodnje sa 30,89%, 33,71% i 34,58%.

U narednoj tabeli je dat pregled zemalja EU i troškovi proizvodnje električne energije iz svih izvora.

Tabela 6.3: Eksterni troškovi proizvodnje električne energije u EU (u EUROcent/kwh)**

| Zemlja | Ugalj i lignit | Treset | Ulje | Gas | Nuklearna | Biomasa | Hidro | Fotogalvanska | Vjetar |
|-------------|----------------|--------|------|-----|-----------|---------|-------|---------------|--------|
| Austrija | | | | 1-3 | | 2-3 | 0.1 | | |
| Belgija | 4-15 | | | 1-2 | 0.5 | | | | |
| Njemačka | 3-6 | | 5-8 | 1-2 | 0.2 | 3 | | 0.6 | 0.05 |
| Danska | 4-7 | | | 2-3 | | 1 | | | 0.01 |
| Španija | 5-8 | | | 1-2 | | 3-5* | | | 0.2 |
| Finska | 2-4 | 2-5 | | | | 1 | | | |
| Francuska | 7-10 | | 8-11 | 2-4 | 0.3 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Grčka | 5-8 | | 3-5 | 1 | | 0-0.8 | 1 | | 0.25 |
| Irska | 6-8 | 3-4 | | | | | | | |
| Italije | | | 3-6 | 2-3 | | | 0.3 | | |
| Norveška | 3-4 | | | 1-2 | 0.7 | 0.5 | | | |
| Portugalija | 4-7 | | | 1-2 | | 1-2 | 0.03 | | |
| V.Britanija | 4-7 | | 3-5 | 1-2 | 0.25 | 1 | | | 0.15 |

* - biomasa sa lignitom, ** - podzbir eksternalija koje se mogu kvantifikovati (kao globalno zagrijavanje, opšte zdravlje, materijalna šteta)

Izvor: Nova naučna otkrića stvarnih troškova električne energije u Evropi, Brisel 20. jul 2001

Primjećujemo da se najjeftinija električna energija dobija korišćenjem energije vjetrova, hidro i nuklearne energije, a najskuplja pri proizvodnji iz uglja, lignita i ulja. Ipak, od zemlje do zemlje

¹⁴⁰ www.ewea.org

¹⁴¹ www.eia.doe.gov

varira i cijena energije, bez obzira što se radi o proizvodnji iz istog izvora. Najbolji primjer za to je znatno niža cijena električne energije koja se dobija iz vjetra u Njemačkoj i Danskoj u poredjenju sa cijenama u Španiji, Grčkoj i Velikoj Britaniji.

5. Zaključak

Posmatrajući elektroenergetsku situaciju u Crnoj Gori u vremenu, ne može se reći da je bilo velikih pomaka. Ciljevi su i dalje isti, a malo se radi na njihovom ostvarenju. S vremena na vrijeme se rodi "genijalna" ideja ili se u razmatranje uzme neka stara 30 godina, kao što je slučaj sa izgradnjom HE Buk Bijela. Zatim se digne velika prašina i na red dodju duge rasprave. U takvim situacijama se može vidjeti koliko se na energetska situaciju gleda sa ekonomskog, odnosno ekološkog aspekta i kako ove tri perspektive u Crnoj Gori, najčešće ne idu jedna uz drugu.

Ipak, ono što je već poznato i što treba uraditi je prvenstveno racionalizacija potrošnje električne energije u većim energetska sektorima u Crnoj Gori (distribucija, domaćinstva i industrija) u cilju obustave sadašnje prakse neefikasne potrošnje. Racionalizacija potrošnje je bitna kako zbog trenutne elektro-energetske mreže tako i cjenovnih šokova povezanih sa ulaskom Crne Gore na balkansko tržište električne energije, i krajnji ulazak na tržište EU.

Sem toga, treba smanjiti zavisnost i troškove uvoza električne energije (trenutno, 1/3 ukupne potrošnje) unapređenjem cjelokupne efikasnosti u snabdijevanju energetska sistema.

Medjutim, krajnje je vrijeme da se počne razmišljati o korišćenju alternativnih i obnovljivih izvora energije, a ne o angažovanju velikog hidro/termo sistema koji u posljednjih desetak godina ne daje bitne rezultate i ne pokriva decifit koji je iz godine u godinu sve veći. Zašto ne omogućiti privatnim kompanijama investiranje u solarne sisteme ili vjetrenjače bez ikakve naknade prema državi?...Isplatilo bi se svima....

2.7 SISTEM MENADŽMENTA KVALITETOM I ISO STANDARDI - GLOBALNI FENOMENI DANAŠNJICE¹⁴²

Kvalitet danas nije izbor, on je osnov opstanka jedne firme.

Uključivanje Crne Gore u Evropsku Uniju jedan je od osnovnih razvojnih ciljeva. U procesu evropskih integracija, Crna Gora mora preduzeti niz koraka: formirati otvorenu, tržišnu privredu, obezbijediti uslove za nesmetano odvijanje medjunarodne razmjene, obezbijediti konkurentnost na medjunarodnom tržištu... Jasno je da je za izlazak crnogorskih preduzeća na medjunarodno tržište, neophodno ponuditi proizvod koji će biti primamljiv svojim kvalitetom i koji će zadovoljavati tražene evropske standarde.

U Crnoj Gori se još uvijek poklanja malo pažnje standardizaciji preduzeća. Da li preduzeća znaju šta znači poslovati po odredjenim standardima? Da li prepoznaju značaj usvojenih standarda? Da li uvidjaju koristi standardizacije za preduzeće, potrošače i cjelokupnu privredu?

Cilj ovog komentara je da se ukratko osvrne na sistem menadžmenta kvalitetom i standarde ISO 9000:2000 i ISO 14000. Komentar se sastoji iz dva dijela. U prvom dijelu je prikazan sistem upravljanja kvalitetom generalno: tumačenje, osnovni cilj, značaj ovog fenomena. Drugi dio akcenat stavlja na sistem menadžmenta kvalitetom i sistem zaštite životne sredine: značenje i tumačenje standarda, rezultati sertifikacije, benefiti koje donose usvojeni standardi.

¹⁴² Autor: Andrijana Kumburović, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

1. Sistem menadžmenta kvalitetom

Bitan uslov poslovanja i prosperiteta jednog preduzeća je uvođenje sistema menadžmenta kvalitetom (QMS)¹⁴³. Pod QMS-a se podrazumijeva stalno poboljšanje procesa u preduzeću koji utiču na kvalitet proizvoda/usluga, čime se postiže prestiž i tržišna konkurentnost.

Jedna od zabluda koja se često javlja je tumačenje vezano za QMS. Dosadašnje iskustvo je da se najčešće pod QMS podrazumijeva samo kvalitet proizvoda/usluga. Međutim, QMS je mnogo širi pojam jer ne obuhvata samo kvalitet proizvoda/usluge, već i kvalitet funkcionisanja cjelokupne organizacije.

Kada uvesti QMS? Najbolji odgovor na postavljeno pitanje su riječi predsjednika Philips-a: "Mi smo startovali sa borbom za QMS kada smo imali najviše problema. Što je više problema, to je veća potreba za njim".

2. Standardizacija - nužnost ili potreba?

Jedan od uslova pristupa i prestiža na međunarodnom tržištu predstavlja i posjedovanje sertifikata ISO standarda. Poštovanje ovih standarda podrazumijeva da preduzeće uvodi i održava QMS koji će osigurati da njegovi proizvodi/usluge zadovoljavaju potrebe i zahtjeve kupaca. "Kupac je najvažnija moguća osoba u firmi – lično ili preko pošte... Kupac ne zavisi od nas, mi zavisimo od njega"¹⁴⁴.

Brojne promjene koje se odvijaju u savremenom poslovnom okruženju nameću potrebu za inovacijama. Veći zahtjevi kupaca u pogledu kvaliteta i dizajna, tehničko-tehnološke promjene u preduzeću, jačanje konkurencije na domaćem i međunarodnom tržištu... Prethodno navedeni izazovi ukazuju na značaj primjene ISO standarda. Usvajanje standarda u preduzeću donosi niz benefita: olakšana međunarodna razmjena proizvoda/usluga, plasiranje proizvoda na tržištu, povezivanje sa potencijalnim kupcima, uspješniji poslovni rezultati, veća otvorenost i spremnost nastupa na domaćem i inostranom tržištu.

U dijelu koji slijedi akcenat će biti stavljen na standarde ISO 9000:2000 i ISO 14000. Serija ISO 9000:2000 predstavlja standard za upravljanje kvalitetom, dok se standard ISO 14000 odnosi na upravljanje zaštitom životne sredine. Standard ISO 9000:2000 je kompatibilan sa drugim standardima sistema upravljanja. Kako se on zasniva na sličnim principima sistema upravljanja kao i standard za upravljanje zaštitom životne sredine, preporučuje se preduzećima da istovremeno uvode i primjenjuju obje serije standarda.

2.2 Sistem menadžmenta kvalitetom - ISO 9000:2000

ISO 9000:2000¹⁴⁵ je prvi u nizu¹⁴⁶ iz ISO serije međunarodnih standarda za obezbjeđenje Sistema menadžmenta kvalitetom. Ova serija standarda u prvi plan stavlja kupca, njegove potrebe i zahtjeve. Njihovim usvajanjem preduzeće podiže nivo zadovoljavanja potreba kupaca na znatno veći nivo.

Na sledećem grafiku je prikazan model funkcionisanja i sprovođenja ISO 9000:2000. Kroz niz faza se vrši sertifikovanje cjelokupnog procesa, da bi se na kraju dobio sertifikovani proizvod koji zadovoljava kupčevu tražnju i povećava njegovu satisfakciju.

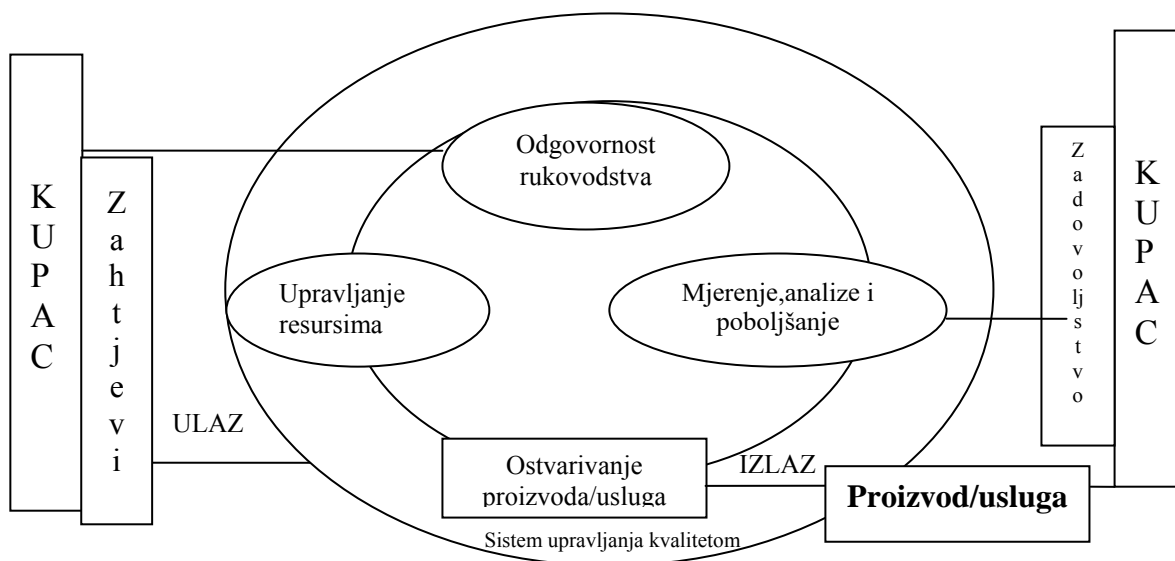
¹⁴³ Sistem menadžmenta kvalitetom čine organizaciona struktura, odgovornosti, procedure i resursi koji su neophodni za primjenu menadžmenta kvalitetom.

¹⁴⁴ Organizacija preduzeća, Bogoljub Bošković

¹⁴⁵ 9000:2001 – definiše potrebnu terminologiju za sisteme upravljanja kvalitetom.

¹⁴⁶ 9001:2001 – specificira zahtjeve QMS-a za preduzeća iz oblasti razvoja, proizvodnje, instalacije i održavanja sistema; 9002:2001 – obuhvata standarde vezane za proizvodnju i instalaciju; 9003:2001 – obuhvata standarde veza, kontrolu i testiranje finalnog proizvoda, 9004:2001 – specificira zahtjeve za stalno poboljšanje globalnih performansi, efikasnosti i efektivnosti organizacije.

Slika 7.1 Model funkcionisanja ISO 9000:2000



Serijski standard ISO 9000:2000 se odnosi na sve vrste organizacija (proizvodne, uslužne, neprofitne...), na sve djelatnosti i veličine preduzeća (mala, srednja i velika).

Šta se sa serijom standarda ISO 9000:2000 sertifikuje? Ovaj standard podrazumijeva standardizovanje cjelokupnog funkcionisanja organizacije, a ne samo sertifikaciju proizvoda kao što se često ističe.

Koliko vremenski traje proces sertifikacije ne može se precizno odrediti. On zavisi od organizovanosti i odnosa između zaposlenih i rukovodstva, organizovanja procesa proizvodnje, poštovanja principa i načela u preduzeću. Uredjenost i poštovanje prethodno navedenih elemenata određuju vrijeme neophodno za standardizaciju.

U Crnoj Gori, mali broj preduzeća posjeduje sistem standarda ISO 9000:2000. Oni su veoma bitan uslov da crnogorska preduzeća lakše uspostave kontakt sa potencijalnim dobavljačima i strateškim partnerima, da privuku i zadrže potencijalne kupce, zauzmu mjesto na međunarodnom tržištu. Standardi su uslov uredjenosti i poslovanja po evropskim standardima.

Box 7.1 Za bolje razumijevanje ISO standarda 9000:2001

Da bi se razumjela suština standarda uzećemo jedan primjer. Domaćice idu na pijacu kako bi kupile sir, kajmak, voće, povrće... Ne rijetko, kupovina se godinama odvija na istom mjestu, kod istog prodavca: uzrok je stečeno povjerenje koje je opravdano kvalitetom robe. Iskustvo nas opominje da među prodavcima ima i onih koji će nastojati da nas "prevare", da nam ponude dobru ili lošu robu... Na bazi izgrađenog povjerenja se obavlja razmjena uz obostrano zadovoljstvo i korist: prodavac koji je prodao robu sa jedne, i kupac koji je kupio provjerene namirnice, sa druge strane.

Prethodni primjer možemo poistovjetiti sa standardom ISO 9000:2000. Suština i cilj primjene ovog standarda je sticanje povjerenja kupaca, kroz pouzdanost dobavljača što doprinosi efikasnijem poslovanju preduzeća. Isto je i sa preduzećima koja su sertifikovana. Kupci znaju da proizvod zadovoljava predviđeni ISO standard, koji je dokaz kvaliteta.

Jedan od razloga uspjeha firmi je i strateška uloga koju standardi imaju za preduzeće. Oni ne donose korist samo onim preduzećima koja su standardizovana, već cjelokupnoj privredi. Danas se uvodi i niz novih pravila prema kojima, ne samo da je onemogućen izvoz "ne sertifikovanih" proizvoda, već i njihova prodaja na domaćem tržištu. Ovo ukazuje da preduzeća treba da zasnivaju svoje poslovanje na uspostavljanju odnosa sa inostranim partnerima i proizvodnji za evropsko tržište.

Prema podacima Centra za kvalitet, oko 50 preduzeća u Crnoj Gori posjeduje seriju standarda ISO 9000:2000. Asortiman ovih sertifikovanih preduzeća zasniva se na: proizvodnji (anode, namještaj od drveta, prerada vinskog i stonog groždja, vina i prirodnih rakija, prirodne mineralne vode), preradi (žitarice), uslugama (poslovi špedicije, javnog i carinskog skladištenja), transporta (domaćeg i međunarodnog), trgovine (spoljne i unutrašnje), itd.

Većina firmi koje u Crnoj Gori imaju usvojene međunarodne standarde serije ISO, predstavljaju preduzeća koja su izvozno orjentisana. Uvodjenje standarda je bilo “neophodno” jer su preduzeća: imala ambicije da izvoze; dobro su poslovala, ali su bili u “slabijoj poziciji” u odnosu na ona koja su sertifikovana; sa uvedenim standardizovanim proizvodima/uslugama bili su u mogućnosti da konkurišu ostatku ponude i da pridobiju kupce.

Dodatni razlozi posjedovanja standarda su i sledeći benefiti za preduzeće:

- Orjentacija na zadovoljenje kupca;
- Obezbeđuje se kvalitet radnog procesa, a samim tim i kvalitet samog proizvoda/usluge;
- Smanjuje se mogućnost pojave grešaka, čime se smanjuju troškovi poslovanja i cijene proizvoda/usluga, a povećava dobit;
- Smanjuje se škart i dorada, poboljšava se interna efikasnost, stalno unapredjenje svih funkcija preduzeća;
- Prilikom atestiranja proizvoda ili dodjele CE znaka preduzećima koja su sertifikovana omogućava se niz olakšica: proizvodi/usluge se provjeravaju rjeđe i po skraćenom postupku.

Poslednjih nekoliko godina preduzeća koja žele da uvedu standard su najčešće okrenuta ka zapadnim sertifikacionim kućama. Ali, uvođenju standarda prethodi “priprema” preduzeća: obavljanje niz pre-sertifikacionih procesa, interna revizija Sistema menadžmenta kvalitetom... Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj¹⁴⁷ je jedina konsalting kuća u Crnoj Gori koja se profesionalno bavi ovim procesima. Nakon obavljenih pre-sertifikacionih procesa i interne revizije QMS-a, preduzeće vrši sertifikaciju od strane neke sertifikacione kompanije.

2.2 Sistem upravljanja životnom sredinom – ISO 14000

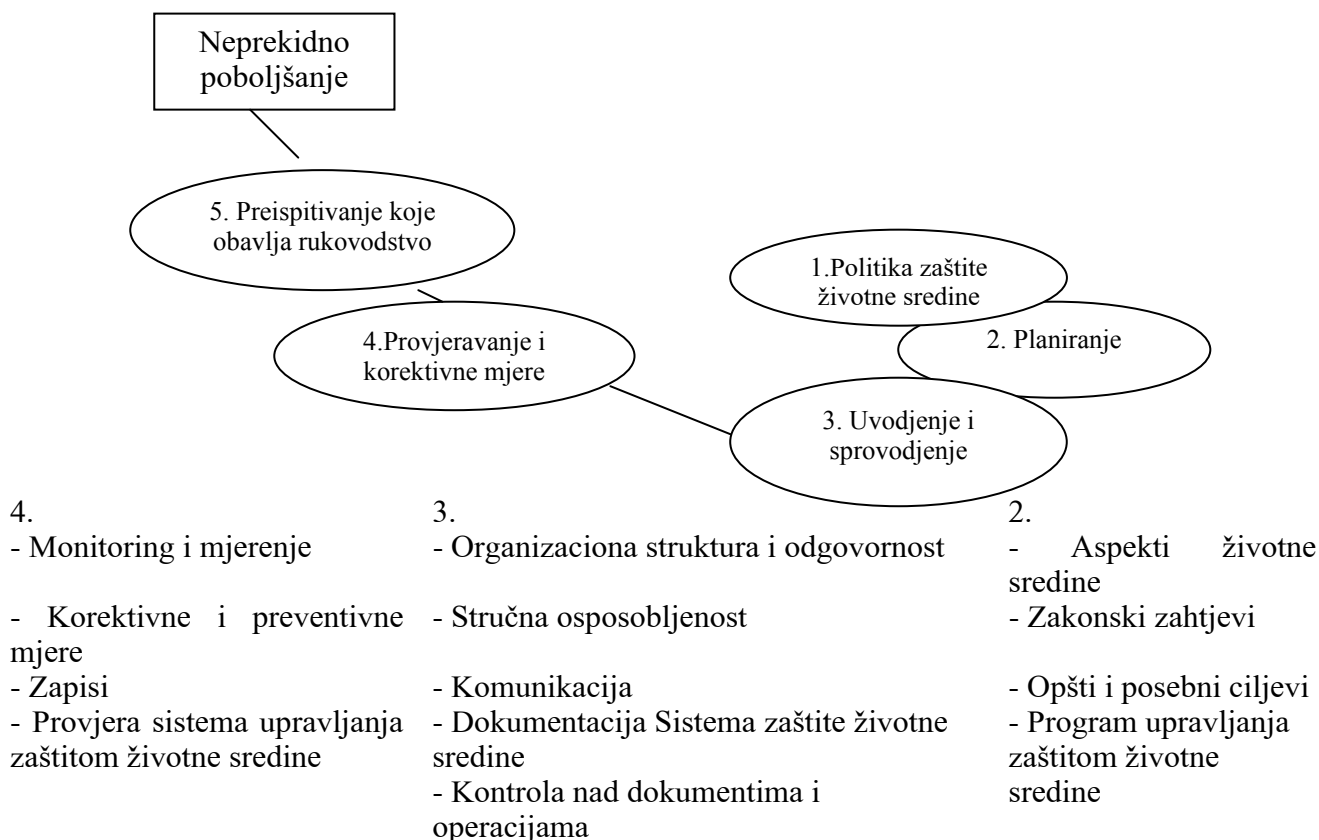
Stvaranje različitog otpada, emisija gasova u atmosferi, zagađivanje vode i zemljišta, neracionalno korišćenje prirodnih resursa... faktori su koji sve više ugrožavaju zdravlje i bezbjednost ljudi kao i kvalitet njihovog života.

Sve važniji faktor zadovoljstva savremenog čovjeka je kvalitet životne sredine u kojoj boravi i njena zaštita. Veći nivo svijesti čovjeka o potrebi očuvanja prirodnog okruženja, mnogobrojni zahtjevi današnjice, kao i niz donesenih zakona su usmjereni ka uspostavljanju sistema zaštite životne sredine.

ISO 14000 je standard upravljanja zaštitom životne sredine koji se primjenjuje na nivou preduzeća. Osnovni cilj ovog standarda je da pruži podršku zaštiti okruženja i spriječi njegovo dalje zagađivanje. Sa uvedenim standardom, preduzeće još u fazi razvoja proizvoda/usluga vrši analizu uticaja procesa proizvodnje na životnu sredinu, težeći da poštuje propise iz oblasti zaštite životne sredine.

¹⁴⁷ U Srbiji se nalazi nekoliko kuća koje su ovlašćene za sertifikaciju preduzeća: SGS (jedna od najvećih sertifikacionih kompanija u svijetu), JUQS (Društvo za sertifikaciju i nadzor Sistema kvaliteta), itd.

Slika 7.2 Model funkcionisanja ISO 14000



Serijski standard ISO 14000 se odnosi na sve vrste organizacija, različitih veličina koje posluju u različitim geografskim, kulturnim i socijalnim okruženjima.

Prema podacima Centra za kvalitet, samo tri preduzeća u Crnoj Gori posjeduju standard ISO 14000: MI-RAI (proizvodnja namještaja od drveta, izrada enterijera, inženjering), Vektra (proizvodnja, trgovina, transport, skladištenje) i Plantaže (prerada vinskog i stonog groždja, vina i prirodnih rakija). Preduzeća su izvozno orijentisana i svoje poslovanje zasnivaju na uspostavljanju poslovnog kontakta sa inostranim klijentima. Vektra je više od 90% svoje proizvodnje orijentisala ka evropskom i svjetskom tržištu.

Interesantno je napomenuti da Vektra, Plantaže i MI-RAI istovremeno posjeduju ISO 14000 i ISO 9000:2000. Kvalitet proizvoda u sistemu ISO 9000:2000 odgovara učinku na zaštiti životne sredine u sistemu ISO 14000. Ali za razliku od kvaliteta proizvoda, učinak na zaštiti životne sredine se ne može ocjenjivati ispitivanjem samog proizvoda, već na osnovu analize uticaja proizvoda na životnu sredinu još u toku procesa proizvodnje (od sirovine, preko proizvodnje, upotrebe, ambalaže).

Crna Gora, iako ekološka država, suočava se sa nizom problema vezanim za životno okruženje. Vazduh je "zagadjen" vidljivim oblacima dima koji dolaze iz dimnjaka Kombinata Aluminijuma (KAP) i sa zapaljenih deponija; rijeke su "obogaćene" sa olupinama auta, pokvarenim kućnim aparatima i raznovrsnim otpacima-smećem... Ovo ukazuje da je prijeko potrebno uvesti sisteme za prečišćavanje izduvnih gasova, smanjiti i izvršiti preradu otpada, podstaći industrijska preduzeća da uvedu ISO 14000 i da se ponašaju u skladu sa mjerama zaštite životne sredine. Uvodjenje i primjena standarda bi pokazala da se ozbiljno prihvata odgovornost za zaštitu životne sredine.

Prednosti posjedovanja ISO 14000 se posmatraju sa različitih aspekata:

- Stalna poboljšanja poslovanja preduzeća, kao i poboljšanje imidža;
- Bolja pozicija na tržištu u odnosu na konkurenciju;
- Sticanje povjerenja kupaca i dobavljača;

- Optimizacija internih procesa;
- Rano prepoznavanje problema životne sredine;
- Olakšan izvoz na međunarodnom tržištu.

Zaštita i unapređenje životne sredine predstavlja prioritet današnjice. Tvrdnja da “životnu sredinu nismo naslijedili od roditelja, nego samo pozajmili od naše djece” ukazuje na činjenicu da već treba krenuti, korak po korak.

3. Da li se kvalitet ipak mjeri svjetskim standardima?

Svi smo svjesni činjenice da preduzeće koje prestaje da bude bolje, ustvari prestaje da bude dobro. Cilj svakog preduzeća treba da bude poboljšanje internih procesa u preduzeću, stalno praćenje i prilagodjavanje promjenama u okruženju, kao i prilagodjavanje potrebama svojih klijenata.

Prethodno navedeno ukazuje na neminovnost posjedovanja ISO sertifikata, koji su “podloga” garancije kvaliteta. Oni bi crnogorskim preduzećima olakšali da: se otvore ka okruženju, u uslovima brzih promjena djeluju pravovremeno, zadobiju veće povjerenje i privrženost klijenata. Ono što je izvjesno je da firma neće riješiti probleme sa sertifikatom. Ipak, nerazvijenim zemljama, on može biti adut u pridobijanju klijenata, pronalaženju strateških partnera, većoj otvorenosti. Sa druge strane, na evropskom tržištu ISO standard je ulaznica!

Naši standardi se moraju prilagoditi međunarodnim, jer se na na tržište EU mogu plasirati samo oni proizvodi koji su bezbjedni za korišćenje. Kvalitet treba da bude opredjeljenje preduzeća, jer izvjesno je da “kvalitet ne košta, ali loš kvalitet sigurno košta”.

Ono što je izvjesno je da se sertifikacija vrši upravo zbog potrošača. Ona je dokaz da je sve što izadje iz preduzeća vrhunskog kvaliteta. Na taj način se potrošač štiti od lošeg proizvoda. Primjer iz Box-a 1 ukazuje da je međusobno izgrađeno povjerenje, između kupaca i prodavaca, osnov postojanja obostanog zadovoljstva. Na jednoj strani, prodavci lakše i brže prodaju robu, a sa druge kupci odlaze kući bez brige da li su kupili kvalitetan proizvod.

Svi želimo da živimo tako da život na zemlji bude moguć i za naše naslednike. Zato moramo da se trudimo da rezultati rada budu kvalitetni...

2.8 ZDRAVSTVENI SISTEM U CRNOJ GORI¹⁴⁸

*»Kada nema zdravlja, pamet ne znači ništa, umijeće se ne vidi, snaga se ne može iskazati, bogatstvo postaje beskorisno i inteligencija ne može biti primjenjena.«
-Herofilus 300 p.n.e.-*

1. Uvod

Zdravlje je riječ koju svi vrlo često i upotrebljavamo i čujemo u svakodnevnim razgovorima. Ali, šta je, ustvari zdravlje? Zdravlje se definiše kao »stanje kompletnog fizičkog, mentalnog i socijalnog blagostanja«.¹⁴⁹

Odgovore na sledeća pitanja:

- Kakvo je stanje zdravstvene infrastrukture u Crnoj Gori?
- Kakvo je zdravstveno stanje stanovništva u Crnoj Gori?
- Zadovoljnost pruženim uslugama u medicinskim ustanovama?
- Koji su razlozi reforme u zdravstvu i
- Plan zdravstvene politike u Crnoj Gori do 2020. godine, pružite vam komentar koji slijedi.

¹⁴⁸ Autor: Jelena Pavićević, Centar za aplikativna istraživanja i analize, CARA i Jelena Janjušević, Institut za strateške studije i prognoze, ISSP

¹⁴⁹ Definicija Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije (WHO)

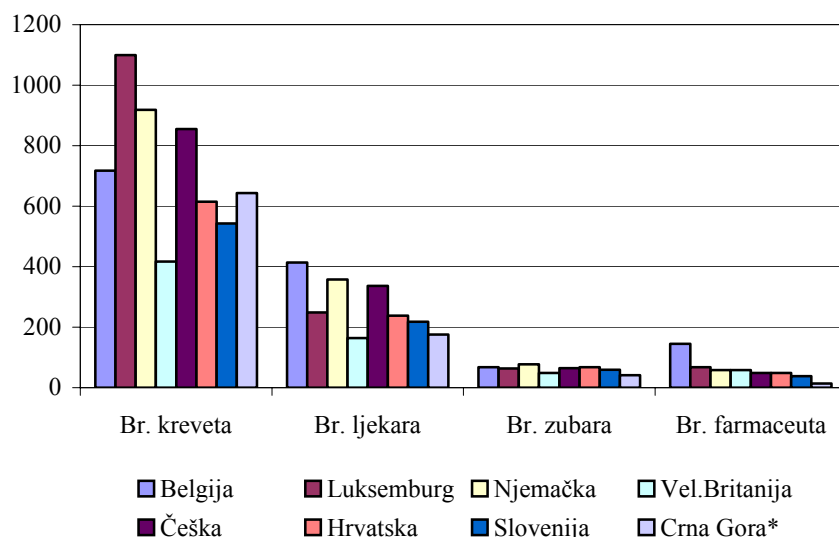
2. Analiza postojećeg stanja u zdravstvenom sistemu Crne Gore

2.1 Zdravstvena infrastruktura i kadrovi

Zdravstveni sistem u Crnoj Gori je organizovan kao jedinstveni zdravstveni region i zasniva se dominantno na javnom sektoru. Javne zdravstvene ustanove su organizovane kroz mrežu primarne, sekundarne i tercijerne zdravstvene zaštite, a čine ga: 18 domova zdravlja, 7 opštih bolnica, 3 specijalne bolnice, Klinički centar Crne Gore, Institut za zdravlje i Apotekarska ustanova Crne Gore. U privatnom sektoru, koji još uvijek nije integrisan u zdravstveni sistem, postoji veći broj ambulanti, stomatoloških ordinacija, veledrogerija i apoteka.¹⁵⁰

Postojeći zdravstveni resursi, u okviru javnog sektora, ukazuju da je dostupnost i razvijenost zdravstvene infrastrukture, posebno u pogledu broja kreveta i broja ljekara na nivou razvijenih zemalja. Sledeći grafik sadrži pokazatelje razvijenosti zdravstvenog sistema Crne Gore u poredjenju sa drugim zemljama u regionu i šire.

Grafik 8.1 Zdravstveni kapaciteti u Crnoj Gori i odabranim zemljama Evrope (na 100.000 stanovnika)



* Podaci za Crnu Goru se odnose samo na javni zdravstveni sektor.

Izvor: Ministarstvo zdravlja Crne Gore

Ukupan broj zaposlenih u javnim zdravstvenim ustanovama u 2001. godini je 7.123, od čega su 5.339 (74,9%) zdravstveni radnici i saradnici, a 1.784 (25,1%) su nemedicinski radnici.

Tabela 8.1 Kadrovi u JZU Crne Gore prema popisu 31.12.2001.godine

| Zaposleni | Vanbolnič-ke službe ¹⁵¹ | % | Bolničke službe | % | Ukupno | % |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Med.radnici i saradnici | 2817 | 78,38 | 2522 | 71,47 | 5339 | 74,95 |
| Nemedicinski radnici i saradnici | 777 | 21,62 | 1007 | 28,53 | 1784 | 25,05 |
| UKUPNO: | 3594 | 100,00 | 3529 | 100,00 | 7123 | 100,00 |

Izvor: Ministarstvo zdravlja Crne Gore

¹⁵⁰ "Strategija razvoja zdravstva CG", Ministarstvo zdravlja

¹⁵¹ Vanbolničke službe obuhvataju: domove zdravlja, lokalne ambulante, hitne pomoći

Od 5.339 zdravstvenih radnika i saradnika, 1.563 (29,27%) je sa visokom spremom, među kojima je 1.127 (21,1%) ljekara, 269 (5,0%) zubnih ljekara, 99 (1,9%) diplomiranih farmaceuta, a ostalih 68 (1,3%) su zdravstveni saradnici.

2.2 Zdravstveno stanje stanovništva

Zdravstveno stanje stanovništva je prikazano kroz pozitivne i negativne indikatore: natalitet, mortalitet, prirodni priraštaj i vitalni indeks.

Tabela 8.2 Osnovni vitalni pokazatelji u 1991., 2000. i 2001. godini

| Pokazatelj | 1991. godina | | 2000. godina | | 2001. godina | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| | Broj | Stopa | Broj | Stopa | Broj | Stopa |
| Živorodeni | 9606 | 15,50 | 9188 | 13,9 | 8829 | 13,3 |
| Ukupno umrli | 3970 | 6,40 | 5408 | 8,2 | 5436 | 8,2 |
| Umrli odojčad | 107 | 11,14 | 100 | 10,9 | 114 | 14,61 |
| Prirodni priraštaj | 5636 | 9,10 | 3780 | 5,7 | 3393 | 5,1 |
| Vitalni indeks | 9606/3970 | | 9188/5408 | | 8829/5436 | |
| | | 242 | | 169,9 | | 162,4 |

Izvor: Ministarstvo zdravlja Crne Gore

Natalitet se smanjio sa 15,5‰ u 1991. godini na 13,3‰ u 2001. godini. Opšta stopa mortaliteta u 2001. godini je 8,2‰ (na nivou prethodne godine). Promjene u natalitetu i mortalitetu u prethodnom periodu odrazile su se na prirodni priraštaj stanovništva (smanjenje sa 9,1‰ u 1991. godini na 5,1‰ u 2001.)

Stopa smrtnosti odojčadi u RCG kao indikator cjelokupnog socijalno-ekonomskog, obrazovnog, kulturnog i drugog razvoja društva, ima negativan trend – sa 10,90‰ u 2000. godini porasla je na 14,61‰ na 1.000 novorođene djece u 2001.

Očekivano trajanje života u Crnoj Gori je 75,2 godine (71,5 godina za muškarce i 78,7 godina za žene). Vitalni indeks, kao odnos boja živorodjenih na 100 umrlih, se smanjio sa 173,4 u 1998. na 154,2 u 2002. godini.

Zdravstveno stanje stanovništva u Crnoj Gori, mjereno zdravstvenim indikatorima, je na nivou zemalja Istočne i Centralne Evrope. Međutim, vrijednosti najčešće korištenih zdravstvenih indikatora, zaostaju za vrijednostima koje su u zapadnoevropskim zemljama.

3. Istraživanje o zdravlju među domaćinstvima u Crnoj Gori

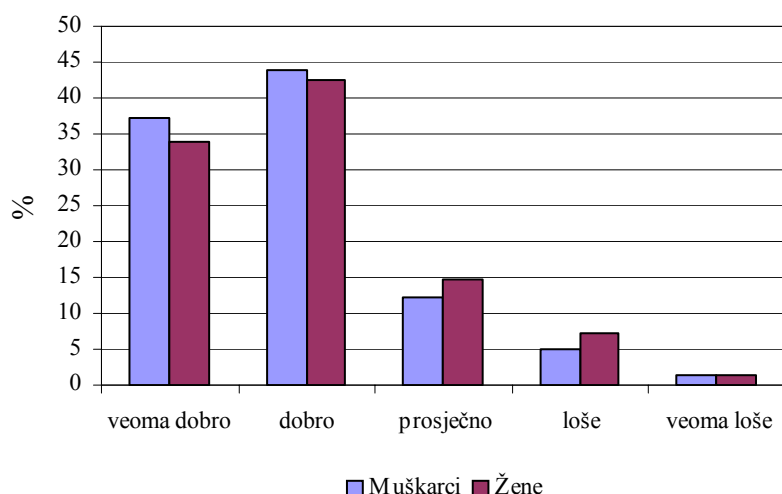
U maju 2004. godine, Institut za strateške studije i prognoze (ISSP) sproveo je istraživanje o domaćinstvima. Uzorak je obuhvatio 1000 domaćinstava iz 21 grada Crne Gore.¹⁵²

3.1 Zdravstveno stanje ispitanika

Upitani da ocijene sopstveno zdravstveno stanje 35,4% ispitanika obuhvaćenih istraživanjem smatra da im je zdravstveno stanje veoma dobro; 43,3% smatra da je dobro; 13,6% smatra da je prosječno, dok 8,8% smatra da im je zdravlje loše.

Ako poredimo subjektivnu ocjenu zdravstvenog stanja prema polu (vidi grafik 2), zaključujemo da više muškaraca smatra da im je zdravstveno stanje veoma dobro/dobro u odnosu na žene, dok su među onima koji smatraju da im je zdravstveno stanje prosječno/loše/veoma loše brojnije žene.

¹⁵² Od ukupnog uzorka, 600 je izabrano po principu slučajnog uzorka, 200 je obuhvatilo porodice koje su direktni primaoci materijalnog obezbjeđenja porodice kao oblika socijalne pomoći, dok je u uzorak uključeno i 200 porodica koje žive u oblasti sa problema zaštite životne sredine.

Grafik 8.2 Kako procjenjujete Vaše zdravstveno stanje?

Upoređujući sadašnje zdravstveno stanje sa zdravstvenim stanjem od prije godinu dana, 83,6% ispitanika smatra da je isto, dok 9,6% da je lošije. Najveći broj ispitanika koji je odgovorio da im je zdravstveno stanje isto u odnosu na prošlu godinu, imali su između 15 i 25 godina, dok najveći broj anketiranih koji smatra da im je zdravstveno stanje lošije ima preko 50 godina.

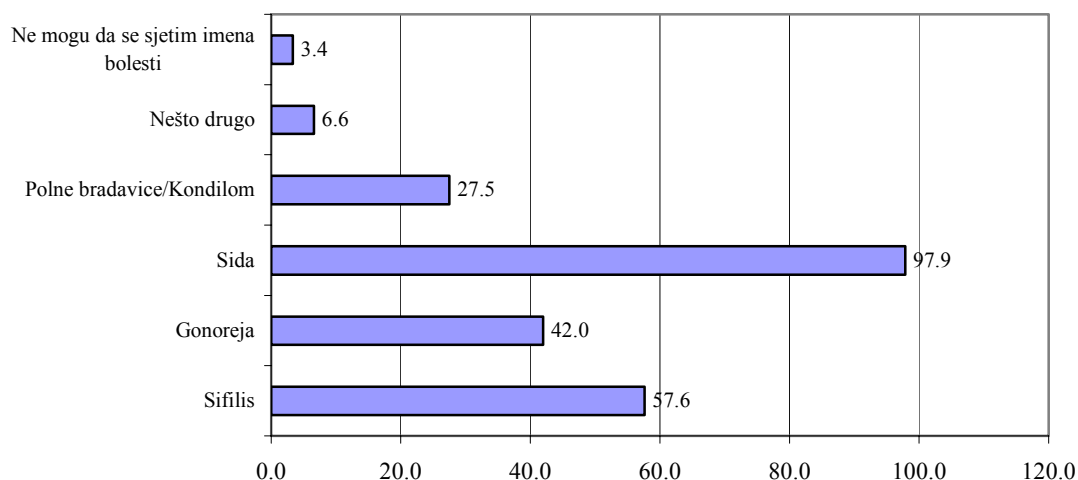
Od ukupnog broja ispitanika, 3,7% boluje od nekog vida invalidnosti. Od tog broja, 85,9% zbog problema invaliditeta ne može da obavlja bilo kakav posao.

Od nekog vida hronične bolesti boluje 7,1% od ukupnog broja anketiranih lica. U 1,4% domaćinstava ima djece sa specijalnim potrebama.

3.2 Informisanost ispitanika o polnim bolestima

S obzirom na aktuelnost problema i sve češće različite oblike edukacije koji se nude, jedan dio pitanja odnosio se na informisanost ispitanika o polnim bolestima. Od ukupnog broja anketiranih koji su dali odgovor na pitanje »Da li ste ikada čuli za polnu bolest koja se može prenijeti polnim putem?« 74,6% je dalo potvrđan odgovor, dok ostali nisu čuli.

Od ukupnog broja ispitanika, skoro svi su čuli za sidu, dok je najmanje njih čulo za kondilom.

Grafik 8.3 Za koje bolesti ste čuli?¹⁵³

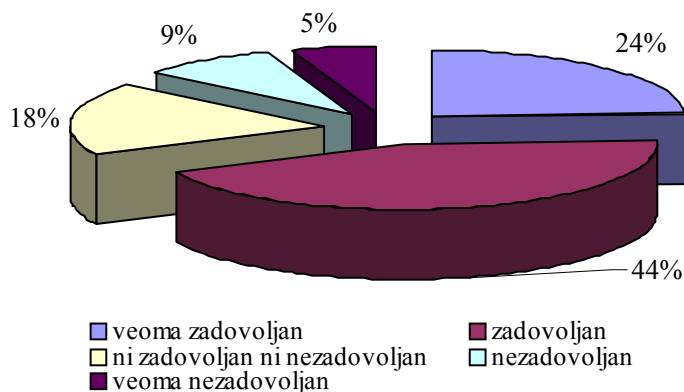
¹⁵³ Na pitanje »Za koje bolesti ste čuli?« bilo je moguće navesti više odgovora.

Od ukupnog broja ispitanika koji su odgovorili da su čuli za neku polnu bolest, najviše njih smatra da je najbolji način zaštite korišćenje kondoma (74,4%), imati samo jednog partnera (44,7%), izbjegavati odnose sa prostitutkama (26,6%) i tražiti medicinsko liječenje (22,6%)¹⁵⁴

3.3 Posjeta ljekaru

Od ukupnog broja anketiranih lica, njih 9,6% u posljednjih 30 dana koji su prethodili istraživanju je (odnosi se na april 2004. godine) posjetilo ljekara opšte prakse ili medicinsku ustanovu.

Grafik 8.4 Da li ste zadovoljni posjetom ljekaru?

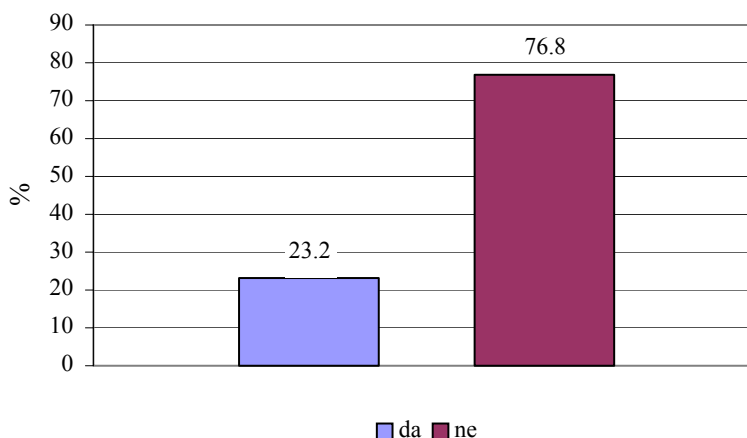


Od ukupnog broja ispitanika koji su posjetili ljekara (ili medicinsku ustanovu), na pitanje »Ko je platio pregled?«, nije odgovorilo njih 3,5%. S druge strane, od ukupnog broja lica koja su dala odgovor na ovo pitanje: u 88,9% slučajeva je pregled bio pokriven zdravstvenim osiguranjem; 8,5% njih su sami platili; dok je za 2,6% trošak izmirio neko drugi (prijatelj, rođak).

Na pitanje »Da li ste zadovoljni uslugom koju ste dobili u zdravstvenoj ustanovi?« (od ukupnog broja ispitanika koji su posjetili neku zdravstvenu ustanovu) njih 13,7% nije odgovorilo. Od ukupnog broja ispitanika koji su odgovorili: 33,2% je bilo veoma zadovoljno dobijenom uslugom; 46,1% srednje zadovoljno; 11,8% nedovoljno zadovoljni, dok je 8,9% bilo veoma nezadovoljno.

Kvalitet sistema zdravstva u jednoj zemlji bitno određuje i kvalitet zdravlja stanovništva te zemlje. Prema rezultatima istraživanja posjetilaca web sajta Ministarstva zdravlja Republike Crne Gore, svega jedna petina učesnika u istraživanju je zadovoljna radom Kliničkog centra, što govori i sledeći grafik.¹⁵⁵

Grafik 8.5 Da li ste zadovoljni radom Kliničkog centra Crne Gore?



¹⁵⁴ Na pitanje "Kako se čovjek može zaštititi od ovih bolesti?" bilo je moguće navesti više odgovora.

¹⁵⁵ Izvor: web sajt Ministarstva zdravlja (www.mzdravlja.vlada.cg.yu). Na sajtu je postojao upitnik na koji je mogao odgovoriti svaki posjetilac.

Ipak, ovo ne možemo uzeti kao pouzdan pokazatelj generalnog zadovoljstva građana radom ove institucije s obzirom da nije poznata struktura ispitanika, kao ni uzroci nezadovoljstva. U isto vrijeme, malo je vjerovatno da su bašoni koji najviše koriste usluge Kliničkog centa bili u prilici da učestvuju u ovom istraživanju i daju svoje mišljenje. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje: da li će reforma zdravstva uspijeti da promijeni mišljenje građana vezano za kvalitet usluge koja se dobija?

4. Reforma zdravstvenog sistema u Crnoj Gori

Razlozi za reformu zdravstvenog sistema leže u neefikasnom funkcionisanju zdravstvenog sistema i nizu identifikovanih problema: neadekvatna organizacija zdravstvene službe, način prikupljanja i raspodjele sredstava, nepostojanje adekvatnog sistema praćenja i kontrole u različitim segmentima sistema i nezadovoljavajući kvalitet pruženih zdravstvenih usluga. Ovi problemi postoje već dugi niz godina. Reforma sistema zdravstvene zaštite i zdravstvenog osiguranja zadire u sve segmente i ima krupne implikacije na dešavanja u ostalim segmentima društva.

4.1 Novi model primarne zdravstvene zaštite - Izabrani ljekar

Iskustva mnogih evropskih zemalja, kao i onih u našem okruženju, jasno su pokazala da svaka država mora primijeniti model reformi primjeren lokalnim uslovima. Dosadašnji sistem primarne zdravstvene zaštite u Crnoj Gori, iako je u pojedinim oblastima dao značajne rezultate, vremenom je postao neprimjeren potrebama stanovništva i savremene medicine. Nezadovoljni su pacijenti zbog kojih sistem postoji, kao i zdravstveni radnici, na kojima počiva važan dio sistema zdravstvene zaštite jedne države.

Problemi na koje se pacijenti najčešće žale su nemogućnost izbora svog ljekara, česta promjena i nemotivisanost ljekara za obavljanje posla, čekanje pred šalterima, nepostojanje sistema zakazivanja, neopremljene i neuslovne ambulante, male i pretrpane prijemne prostorije u kojima pacijenti čekaju, nedostatak vremena za pregled i razgovor, suviše utrošeno vrijeme za obimne administrativne poslove, kao i nedostatak lijekova u apotekama.

Zdravstveni radnici u primarnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti su takodje nezadovoljni svojim statusom i primanjima.

Uzimajući u obzir sve slabosti postojeće primarne i ukupne zdravstvene zaštite u Crnoj Gori, Ministarstvo zdravlja je, uz podršku i angažovanje kompetentnih domaćih i međunarodnih stručnjaka, prvenstveno Svjetske banke, pripremio program reforme koja obuhvata novi model primarne zdravstvene zaštite. Ovaj model će u sljedeće četiri godine biti primijenjen u Podgorici, a zatim i u cijeloj Republici.

Kako je planirano, primarna zdravstvena zaštita baziraće se na modelu izabranog ljekara ili tima ljekara. Svaki građanin će imati pravo da se opredijeli za jednog ljekara u primarnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti. Kao nosioci ovog modela identifikovani su sadašnji ljekari opšte medicine, specijalisti interne medicine, pedijatri i neki specijalisti medicine rada, ubuduće specijalisti primarne zdravstvene zaštite. Osim stručnog usavršavanja, ljekar će imati i konkretan stimulans kroz mogućnost da uveća svoja primanja, što će zavisiti od broja registrovanih pacijenata i pruženih usluga, odnosno od broja pacijenata koji ga izaberu za svog ljekara. Ovaj model garantuje konkurenciju i bolji kvalitet pruženih usluga, što je jedan od osnovnih ciljeva reforme.

Za svakog registrovanog pacijenta, ljekar će mjesečno primati određenu nadoknadu od budućeg Osiguravajućeg zdravstvenog fonda. To znači da će se pacijent kod svog izabranog ljekara liječiti na teret svog zdravstvenog osiguranja, odnosno odlaziće kod ljekara samo sa zdravstvenom knjižicom. Obim zdravstvenih usluga koje će se pacijentu pružati na ovaj način, biće određen paketom osnovnog, obaveznog zdravstvenog osiguranja. Pacijenti će se registrovati preko Osiguravajućeg zdravstvenog fonda, na period od godinu. U isti Fond će se slivati sredstva od

zdravstvenog osiguranja svih građana. Pacijent će takođe biti u mogućnosti da na lični zahtjev promijeni ljekara.

Nivo pruženih zdravstvenih usluga, kvalitet rada i sve aktivnosti vezane za funkcionisanje ovog sistema, biće pod nadzorom Ministarstva zdravlja, Asocijacije ljekara i Osiguravajućeg zdravstvenog fonda. To će ujedno dovesti do potpunog informatičkog umrežavanja svih komponenti primarne zdravstvene zaštite, koje je predviđeno još u ranoj fazi projekta.

Funkcionalno povezivanje i usklađivanje privatnog i javnog sektora u zdravstvenoj djelatnosti jedan je od ciljeva novog Zakona o zdravstvenoj zaštiti, kao i Strategije razvoja zdravstva Crne Gore.

Cilj reforme je da se, uz očuvanje svih dosadašnjih pozitivnih rezultata zdravstvene zaštite, uvede praktičniji, uspješniji, održiviji i racionalniji model primarne zdravstvene zaštite kojim će biti zadovoljni i pacijenti i zdravstveni radnici.

Prema rezultatima istraživanja¹⁵⁶, većina (oko 96,5%) je informisana o Vladinim reformama zdravstvenog sistema. Od tog broja, 6,4% njih je veoma zadovoljno načinom na koji Vlada sprovodi reformu; 26% je donekle zadovoljno; 32,2% smatra da bi moglo biti bolje; 8,8% nikako nije zadovoljno, dok 26,5% nije upoznato sa postignutim progresom ili nema mišljenje o tome.

5. Zdravstvena politika u Crnoj Gori do 2020. godine

Usvajanjem zdravstvene politike u Republici Crnoj Gori do 2020. godine, Crna Gora se uključila u jedinstveni međunarodni proces ostvarivanja ciljeva dokumenata Svjetske zdravstvene organizacije "Zdravlje za sve u XXI vijeku" i "21 cilj za 21. vijek". Strategija zdravstvene politike utvrštena ovim dokumentom zasniva se na podizanju kvaliteta zdravlja stanovništva, uz prilagođavanje i poboljšanje djelovanja zdravstvenog sistema u skladu sa finansijskim mogućnostima. Cilj Zdravstvene politike u Crnoj Gori do 2020. godine jeste da se zaštita učini efikasnijom i kvalitetnijom, a zdravstveni sistem Crne Gore postane dio evropskog i svjetskog procesa zdravstvenog razvoja.

Ciljevi Zdravstvene politike do 2020. godine su:

- Produženje trajanja života

Sprečavanje prerane smrti i na taj način produženje života je primarni cilj zdravstvene politike i osnovni zadatak zdravstvenog sistema koji se ostvaruje mjerama sprečavanja bolesti i liječenja bolesnih.

- Poboljšanje kvaliteta života u vezi sa zdravljem

Zdravstveni problemi utiču na kvalitet života građana i smanjuju njihovu radnu i funkcionalnu sposobnost, utiču i na funkcionisanje porodice, zajednice i cijeloga društva. Poboljšanje kvaliteta života i sprečavanje smanjenja kvaliteta života zbog zdravstvenih problema - drugi je osnovni cilj zdravstvene politike.

- Smanjenje razlika u zdravlju

Razlike u zdravstvenom stanju i pristupi zdravstvenom sistemu između socijalno-ekonomskih slojeva u društvu postoje u svim društvima. Cilj zdravstvene politike je da utiče da se ove razlike ne produbljuju, već da se smanje kroz aktivne mjere preraspodjele zdravstvenih dobara i resursa prema ugroženim djelovima društva.

- Osiguranje od finansijskog rizika

¹⁵⁶ Izvor: Istraživanje o domaćinstvima, maj 2004, ISSP

Zdravstveni problemi mogu prouzrokovati znatne negativne finansijske posljedice po građane i njihove porodice. Medicinska nauka, a uporedo sa njom i troškovi liječenja i prevencije, rastu brže od rasta ekonomske osnove društva. Stoga je neophodno uvesti adekvatne oblike finansiranja zdravstva koji će obezbijediti pristup potrebnoj zdravstvenoj zaštiti, a istovremeno raspodijeliti finansijski rizik, tako da građani ne budu znatno finansijski ugroženi u slučaju bolesti.

6. Zaključak

Komentaram se pokušalo odgovoriti na dio pitanja koja se tižu oblasti zdravstva u Crnoj Gori.

Možemo zaključiti da je stanje cjelokupnog sistema zdravstva i njegove organizovanosti u Crnoj Gori na relativno niskom nivou. Neki od najvažnijih problema u crnogorskom zdravstvu su:

- Preveliki javni i ukupni izdaci za zdravstvo,
- Nerazvijen sistem kontrole i unapredjenja kvaliteta zdravstvene zaštite,
- Nepostojanje kvalitetnog informacionog sistema zdravstva,
- Zaposleni u zdravstvu su veoma slabo plaćeni,
- Državne bolnice i mreža domova zdravlja su neefikasni,
- Cijene lijekova su daleko iznad međunarodnih standarda i sl.

Navedeni problemi uticali su na reformu zdravstva u Crnoj Gori. Ne možemo očekivati da će se sve promijeniti u kratkom periodu, ali je izvjesno da pozitivni pomaci već postoje. Svaka reforma iz korijena zahtijeva duže vrijeme i naporan rad, a reforma zdravstva možda čak i više jer zdravstveni sistem predstavlja jedan od najsloženijih sistema u bilo kojoj državi.

2.9 RAVNOPRAVNOST POLOVA U CRNOJ GORI¹⁵⁷

*“Ko kosi, a ko vodu nosi?!”
Narodna izreka*

Da li u Crnoj Gori postoji ravnopravnost medju polovima pitanje je na koje nije jednostavno dati pouzdan odgovor. Sigurno je da ravnopravnost medju polovima ne zavisi samo od oba pola i odnosa medju njima, nego i od cjelokupnog ambijenta u kome se nalaze, formalnih i neformalnih institucija koje ih spajaju i/ili razdvajaju. Podatak da crnogorsku populaciju čini 50,3% žena može da predstavlja dovoljnu osnovu za ravnopravnost polova u Crnoj Gori. Jedan od indikatora da ravnopravnost medju polovima ipak nije u potpunosti postignuta je postojanje organizacija koje se bave ovom problematikom, a njihova brojnost ukazuje da očigledno postoji nešto za šta treba da se bore. Pored toga, patrijarhalno društvo u Crnoj Gori je nasljedje koje dodatno otežava položaj žena čak i početkom XXI vijeka.

1. Domaćinstvo

Čini se da to ko predstavlja prvu osobu domaćinstva nije od suštinske važnosti. Medjutim, kada se članovi prosječnog crnogorskog domaćinstva upitaju ko je zapravo glava njihovog domaćinstva, ovo može da postane predmet diskusije i da izrodi neka nova pitanja. Da li glava domaćinstva odlučuje u ime ostalih članova domaćinstva, da li raspolaže prihodima, određuje nivo i strukturu rashoda domaćinstva, snosi odgovornosti za sve članove domaćinstva, ili pak brine o svim članovima domaćinstva, obezjedjuje prihode i predstavlja “stub kuće”? Prema istraživanju¹⁵⁸, u crnogorskim domaćinstvima žena je u 19% slučajeva na čelu domaćinstva. U tekstu koji slijedi, upoređićemo ova domaćinstva sa onima u kojima je muškarac u ulozi glave domaćinstva i njihove osnovne karakteristike.

¹⁵⁷ Autor: Budimka Mičković, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

¹⁵⁸ Institut za strateške studije i prognoze (ISSP): Istraživanje o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstva, april 2004.

Domaćinstva na čijem su čelu muškarci u prosjeku su brojnija (3,9 članova) u odnosu na ona gdje je žena glava domaćinstva gdje živi 2,6 članova. Žene koje predstavljaju glavu domaćinstva su uglavnom udovice (62%), razvedene, samice ili razdvojene (34%) i u prosjeku imaju oko 57 godina. Sa druge strane, muškarci koji predstavljaju glavu domaćinstva uglavnom žive u bračnoj zajednici ili žive sa nekim nevjenčano (91%) i u prosjeku imaju oko 53 godine.

U najvećem broju slučajeva (76%), žene na čelu domaćinstva imaju svoj prihod. Od toga, njih 54,5% prima penziju dok je 22,5% u radnom odnosu; 12% boravi kod kuće, 6% traži posao, oko 1% pohađja školu, dok je oko 4% žena koje vode domaćinstvo bilo bolesno, bez mogućnosti da radi. Ovakva struktura je u skladu sa pomenutim podatkom da su u najvećem broju žene na čelu domaćinstva udovice, kao i sa podatkom da su žene u ovoj ulozi starije od muškaraca.

Kada je u pitanju obrazovanje, istraživanje je pokazalo da su žene koje upravljaju domaćinstvima manje obrazovane od muškaraca u toj ulozi. Naredna tabela pokazuje nivo obrazovanja osoba koje predstavljaju glavu domaćinstva prema rodnoj strukturi uz prikaz ukupne obrazovne strukture ispitanika.

Tabela 9.1 Obrazovanje glave domaćinstva po rodnoj strukturi

| | Muškarci | Žene | Ukupno u odnosu na cijelu populaciju |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Bez škole | 29,85 | 70,15 | 4,01 |
| Predškolsko | 37,50 | 62,50 | 0,24 |
| Nezavršena osnovna škola | 46,30 | 53,70 | 4,40 |
| Osnovna škola | 46,06 | 53,94 | 17,88 |
| Srednja škola 1-2 godine | 50,00 | 50,00 | 0,96 |
| Srednja škola 3 godine | 56,27 | 43,73 | 16,24 |
| Srednja škola 4 godine | 51,43 | 48,57 | 30,29 |
| Gimnazija | 43,87 | 56,13 | 4,64 |
| Srednja umjetnička | 12,50 | 87,50 | 0,24 |
| Viša škola | 53,27 | 46,73 | 6,41 |
| Univerzitet | 48,51 | 51,49 | 14,08 |
| Postdiplomske studije | 58,82 | 41,18 | 0,51 |
| Doktorske studije | 100,00 | | 0,06 |
| Specijalna škola | 100,00 | | 0,03 |

Box 9.1 Uslovi ostvarivanja prava na materijalno obezbjeđenje porodice (MOP)¹⁵⁹

Materijalno obezbjeđenje porodice (MOP) je novčana naknada za pojedince ili porodice koji se nalaze u stanju socijalne potrebe ukoliko ispunjavaju zakonom utvrđene uslove. Pravo na MOP može ostvariti porodica odnosno članovi porodice ako su:

- nesposobni za rad i nemaju srodnika koji su po zakonu dužni dati izdržavaju ili imaju srodnike koji nijesu u mogućnosti da ih izdržavaju,
- sposobni za rad pod uslovom da se radi: o roditeljima koji izdržavaju maloljetnu djecu, odnosno punoljetnu djecu nesposobnu za rad i privredjivanje pod uslovom da je nesposobnost za rad nastala prije 18-te godine života,
- lica kojima je prestalo pravo na smještaj u ustanovu za smještaj djece bez roditeljskog staranja ili pravo na smještaj u drugu porodicu, a najduže dvije godine od dana prestanka smještaja,
- lica koja su završila školovanje u specijalnim školama ili specijalnim odjeljenjima redovnih škola.

Osnov za ostvarivanje prava na MOP je prosječna plata u Republici Crnoj Gori u prethodnom kvartalu u odgovarajućem procentu zavisno od broja članova porodice. Pored novčanih primanja porodice koje utiču na ostvarivanje prava na MOP, pravo se utvrđuje i na osnovu posjedovanja nepokretne i pokretne imovine. Parametri posjedovanja nepokretne imovine takodje su utvrđeni zakonom u odnosu na broj članova porodice.

¹⁵⁹ Institut za strateške studije i prognoze: Izveštaj o prihodima i rashodima domaćinstava #4

Jedan od pokazatelja materijalne i socijalne situacije u domaćinstvu je svakako i podatak da li je domaćinstvo korisnik programa materijalnog obezbjeđenja porodice (MOP). Istraživanje pokazuje da su domaćinstva sa ženom na čelu češći kandidati za primanje socijalne pomoći od domaćinstava kojima upravlja muškarac. Od ukupnog broja domaćinstava gdje je žena glava domaćinstva, 12% je uključeno u program MOP, dok je među domaćinstvima koja na čelu imaju muškarca taj procenat znatno niži i iznosi 4%.

Iz navedenog se može zaključiti da su kriterijumi za dobijanje MOP izuzetno restriktivni. Tako, oko 10.000 domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori prima MOP što predstavlja oko 5% ukupnog broja domaćinstava u Crnoj Gori. U ukupnim budžetskim rashodima, izdvajanja za MOP iznose 2,1%, odnosno 8,97 miliona eura za 2003. godinu. Prosječan iznos MOP-a je na nivou od 63 eura, a isplaćuje se sa zakašnjenjem od 6 mjeseci¹⁶⁰. Veća brojnost "ženskih" domaćinstava među primaocima MOPa ukazuje na znatno niži životni standard ovih domaćinstava.

2. Obrazovanje i (ne)zaposlenost

Nejednakost u obrazovanju je manje izražena kada se analiziraju svi pojedinci stariji od 6 godina, nego kada se uzimaju u obzir samo starješine domaćinstava.

Prema podacima dobijenim iz istraživanja, evidentna je razlika u obrazovanju muškog i ženskog dijela populacije. Ukoliko se posmatra dio populacije bez obrazovanja ili sa osnovnom školom, veći je broj žena u toj grupi, dok je više muškaraca koji su završili neku od srednjih škola osim gimnazije i škole za umjetnost. Sa druge strane, više je žena koje su završile gimnaziju, odnosno univerzitet. Iz ovoga se može zaključiti da u većini slučajeva djevojčice koje se opredijele za gimnaziju i planiraju završavanje fakulteta, uspješno realizuju svoje planove. No, bez obzira na činjenice da je više žena sa diplomom o završenom fakultetu, pitanje je da li i koliko su one u mogućnosti da primjene svoje sposobnosti jer je samo 20% žena na pozicijama donosioca odluka (menadžer ili vlasnik firme)¹⁶¹.

Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da je 48% žena trenutno uključeno u obrazovni proces, što predstavlja 25% ukupne ženske populacije. Ukoliko posmatramo školovanje žena u dobi od 19 do 25 godina, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da se 40% žena u toj dobi školuje. Navedeni podaci navode na zaključak da su žene veoma aktivne u obrazovnom procesu. Ovo je važno imajući u vidu da su na opštem nivou manje školovane od muškaraca. Ipak, radi se o investiciji koja će u srednjem i dugom roku imati efekta, pa možemo očekivati da se sadašnji naponi žena u sticanju boljeg obrazovanja efektuiraju u narednih 5 do 10 godina.

Kada je riječ o radno aktivnom stanovništvu (stariji od 15 godina i koji ne pohađaju školu), istraživanje je pokazalo da je 49% ove populacije prethodne sedmice radilo za novac ili neku nenovčanu kompenzaciju. Takodje je značajno napomenuti da je 41% žena, a 56% muškaraca iz ove grupe doprinosilo stvaranju prihoda. Sa druge strane, 47% radno aktivnog dijela populacije (stariji od 15 godina i koji ne pohađaju školu) je prethodne sedmice tražilo posao. U ovoj situaciji se nalazilo 39% žena i 57% muškaraca koji su radno aktivni. Može se reći da je ravnopravnost među polovima u Crnoj Gori postignuta kada govorimo o populaciji koja aktivno traži posao jer je gotovo jednak broj muškaraca i žena u potrazi za poslom (49% vs. 51% u korist muškaraca). Ovaj podatak ukazuje na to da proces zapošljavanja predstavlja poteškoću i za jedne i za druge, kao i da pol kandidata za posao nije od presudne važnosti i da je jednako teško doći do zaposlenja. Medjutim, podaci o broju žena koje traže posao u odnosu na cjelokupnu žensku radnu populaciju govore da manji procenat žena uopšte traži posao. Razlozi za ovakvu situaciju mogu biti obaveze u porodici, nedostatak samopouzdanja, nedovoljno obrazovanje itd.

Jedan od pokazatelja diskriminacije žena prilikom zapošljavanja svakako predstavlja i podatak koliko dugo žene, odnosno muškarci traže posao. Naime, kako broj godina traženja posla raste, tako

¹⁶⁰ Izvor: Ministarstvo rada i socijalnog staranja Vlade Republike Crne Gore

¹⁶¹ Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj: Diskriminacija žena u procesu zapošljavanja i na radnom mjestu, 2002

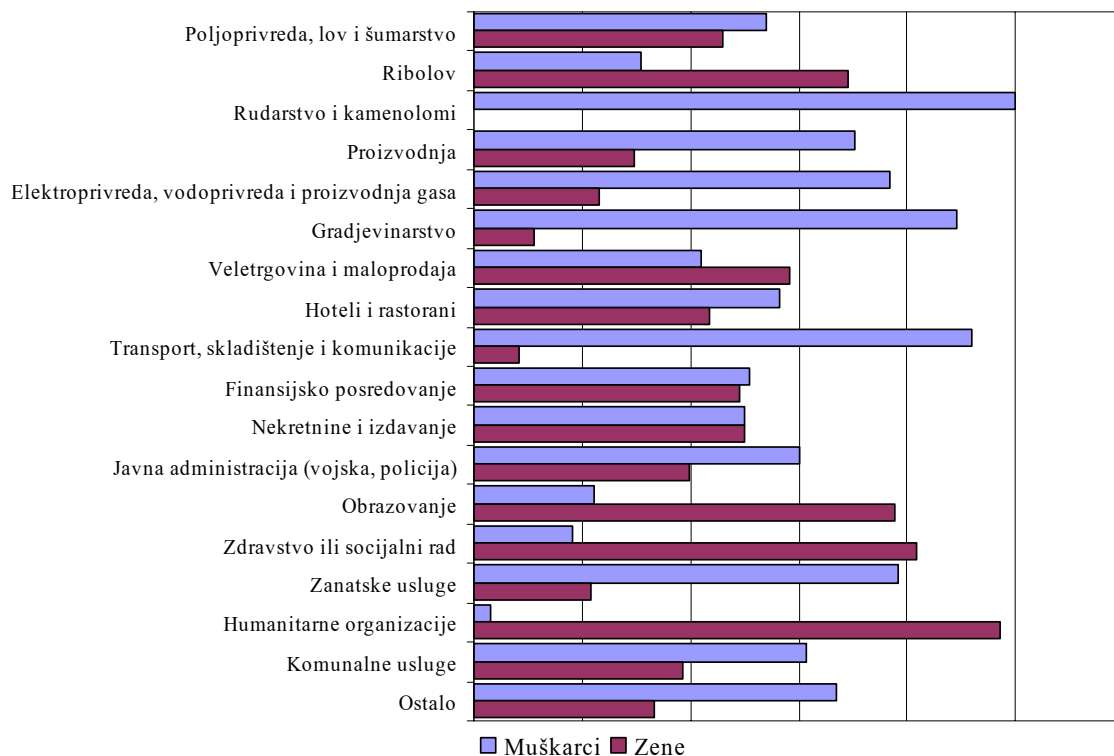
je i veći procenat žena koje se nalaze u toj grupaciji. Tako potraga za poslom traje kraće od jedne godine za 42% žena i 58% muškaraca, za 45% žena i 55% muškaraca potraga za poslom traje od 1 do 5 godina, od 5 do 10 godina posao traži 48% žena, dok više od 10 godina posao traži 77% žena i 23% muškaraca.

3. Glavni i sekundarni posao i prihod

Iako više od 51% stanovništva starijeg od 15 godina koje nije pohađalo školu nije radilo prethodne sedmice¹⁶², rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da 9% njih ipak ima posao, od čega je njih 59% ženskog pola. Najveći broj žena koje trenutno ne rade, a imaju posao, su na porodijskom odsustvu (27%). Značajan procenat njih nije radio zbog bolesti (25%). Sa druge strane, 21% žena bilo je na prinudnom odmoru, a 8% žena koje ne rade imaju novi posao. Na godišnjem odmoru je bilo 10% žena, na neplaćenom odmoru bilo je 6% žena, dok 3% žena zbog "ostalih" razloga nije radilo iako imaju posao.

Kada je riječ o dijelu populacije koji ima posao, bez obzira da li su prethodne sedmice radili, 44% su žene. Naredni grafikon ilustruje rodnu strukturu zaposlenih po djelatnostima u kojima su angažovani.

Grafik 9.1 Rodna struktura u pojedinim djelatnostima



Navedene djelatnosti u kojima su uočljive rodne razlike medju zaposlenima predstavljaju tradicionalne "ženske", odnosno "muške" djelatnosti. Drugim riječima, situacija na polju rodni razlika na radnim mjestima se nije bitnije promijenila imajući u vidu formalne jednakosti medju polovima koje deklarativno postoje i koje su već duže vremena tema brojnih diskusija. Tako, žene su i dalje više zastupljene u firmama ili organizacijama koje se bave obrazovanjem, zdravstvom i socijalnim radom, humanitarnim poslovima ili trgovinom.

Što se tiče statusa radne populacije na glavnom poslu koji obavljaju, većina su zaposleni plaćeni radnici: 84% muškaraca i 88% žena. Sa druge strane, žene čine 28% samozaposlenih, polovina vlasnika biznisa koji ne zapošljavaju radnike su ženskog pola, dok je 47% neplaćenih porodičnih

¹⁶² Odnosi se na sedmicu koja je prethodila prikupljanju podataka.

radnika ženskog pola. Prema rezultatima istraživanja, nijedna žena ne nalazi u ulozi vlasnika/suvlasnika preduzeća koje zapošljava radnike.

Prema rezultatima istraživanja, muškarci u prosjeku tokom radne sedmice provedu 7,96 sati dnevno na radnom mjestu, dok žene provode nešto manje vremena na glavnom poslu – 7,68 sati dnevno u toku radne sedmice (ponedjeljak do petka). Kada je u pitanju vrijeme provedeno na radnom mjestu tokom vikenda, 5,58 sati dnevno na poslu provode muškarci, dok žene provode 5,02 sati dnevno na poslu tokom vikenda. Kao što je već rečeno žene su uglavnom zaposlene u firmama ili organizacijama čija je priroda posla takva da ne zahtijeva rad vikendom (obrazovanje, socijalni rad, zdravstvo).

Registrovani prihodi koje pojedinci ostvaruju na osnovu angažovanja na osnovnom poslu u formi plate, kao i redovnost primanja plate ne zavise u značajnijoj mjeri od pola zaposlenih. Tako je plata koju zaradjuju muškarci na svom osnovnom poslu u većem broju slučajeva registrovana i redovna, ali je isto tako veći broj muškaraca kojima je plata djelimično registrovana ili nije registrovana uopšte, kao onih kojima plata nije redovna.

Što se tiče visine prosječnih neto prihoda zaradjenih po osnovu obavljanja glavne poslovne aktivnosti, ona je različita kod žena u odnosu na muškarce. S obzirom da više od 80% muškaraca i žena ima status zaposlenog na glavnom poslu, relevantno je upoređivanje prosječnih neto prihoda koje mjesečno zaradjuju osobe u ovoj grupi. Tako, zaposleni muškarci zaradjuju €68 više nego žene koje imaju status zaposlenog na glavnom poslu (€284 vs. €216).

Naredna tabela ilustruje podatke o prosječnim mjesečnim neto prihodima muškaraca i žena prema nivou njihovog obrazovanja, bez obzira koji je njihov status na glavnom poslu.

Tabela 9.2: Mjesečni prihodi zaposlenih prema nivou obrazovanja

| | Muškarci | Žene |
|--|----------|------|
| Niže obrazovanje (niže od srednjoškolskog obrazovanja) | €185 | €131 |
| Srednjoškolsko obrazovanje | €274 | €190 |
| Visoko obrazovanje | €329 | €263 |

Iz navedenog se može zaključiti da muškarci po pravilu zaradjuju više novca nego žene. U tom smislu je veoma teško govoriti o ravnopravnosti medju polovima, jer je bilo koju drugu vrstu ravnopravnosti teško zamisliti ukoliko ne postoji ekonomska ravnopravnost kao preduslov ekonomske nezavisnosti žene. Ipak, istraživanje ne daje podatke o nivou složenosti posla koji ispitanici obavljaju, kao ni o odgovornosti koju preuzimaju, tako da u ovim zaključcima ne možemo biti decidni.

Pored glavnog posla, drugi posao ima 6% žena i 8% muškaraca. Ukoliko se posmatraju sve osobe koje imaju drugi posao, gotovo dvije trećine su muškarci. Na svom drugom poslu, najveći broj i muškaraca i žena (77% i 78%, respektivno) imaju status “neplaćenog porodičnog radnika”. Kada je riječ o mjesečnim neto prihodima ostvarenim na sekundarnom poslu, razlika izmedju muškaraca i žena iznosi €128 u korist muškaraca (€266 vs. €138).

4. Zaključak

Na postavljeno pitanje “ko kosi, a ko vodu nosi?” u crnogorskim domaćinstvima, školama, firmama, institucijama, djelimično je dat odgovor podacima iz istraživanja. Naime, rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da su muškarci uglavnom na čelu domaćinstva, generalno su obrazovaniji od žena, više muškaraca je zaposleno, muškarci zaradjuju više novca i u većem broju slučajeva su vlasnici biznisa. Druga istraživanja su pokazala da je veći broj žena aktivan u sivoj ekonomiji i da,

kada su u pitanju prestrukturiranja preduzeća, žene prije dobijaju otkaze¹⁶³. Ovakav odnos medju polovima u Crnoj Gori svakako ne predstavlja dobru osnovu za ravnopravnost. U prošlosti je žena u Crnoj Gori važila za “stub porodice” bez obzira na to što se žene nisu školovale, nisu imale zaposlenje, niti bilo kakvu nezavisnost. Ukoliko uporedimo tadašnju situaciju sa ovom koju imamo danas, napredak je više nego očigledan. Sve više žena završava visoku školu, zapošljava se, napreduje u karijeri i/ili započinje sopstveni biznis. Praksa dokazuje da je sve više žena koje se odlučuju da samostalno započnu biznis. U prilog tome govore i druga istraživanja sprovedena u Crnoj Gori.

Biznisi kojima upravljaju žene uglavnom se bave “tipično ženskim” djelatnostima kao što su trgovina, frizersko-kozmatičarske usluge i slično, mada postoje i slučajevi preduzeća u “tipično muškim” djelatnostima kojima upravljaju žene i njih je sve više¹⁶⁴. Kada je riječ o sopstvenom biznisu, svjetski trend ujednačavanja i sve veće ravnopravnosti medju preduzećima kojima upravljaju muškarci i onima sa ženama na čelu se postepeno prenosi i na Crnu Goru. Naime, ovo je logična posljedica toga da sve više žena koriste šanse i mogućnosti koje im se pružaju u obrazovnom sistemu, na poslu, u porodici.

Medjutim, uzimajući u obzir da žene danas makar formalno imaju veće šanse i mogućnosti, nije se ostvario pomak u očekivanoj mjeri. Danas žena ostvaruje pravo na školovanje i zaposlenje, ostvaruje sopstveni prihod, ali porodične obaveze joj time nisu umanjene. Na ovaj način je žena u Crnoj Gori ostvarivanjem samostalnosti sebi dodatno uvećala svakodnevne obaveze. Ipak, evidentno je da se značajan broj žena prihvata svih svojih obaveza i da je stečena ili potencijalna samostalnost vrijedna žrtvovanja. U sadašnjim ekonomskim uslovima otežano je školovanje, broj raspoloživih radnih mjesta je ograničen, kao i mogućnosti za napredovanje u karijeri za oba pola.

Do sada postignuti rezultati u ostvarivanju ravnopravnosti polova svakako nisu zanemarljivi. Sa razvojem cjelokupnih društveno-ekonomskih prilika u Crnoj Gori, uz aktivnije učesće organizacija i asocijacija koje se bave problematikom ravnopravnosti polova i uz učesće svih formalnih i neformalnih institucija, konačna ravnopravnost medju polovima je realna i ostvariva. Ovo potkrepljuje i činjenica da je sve više primjera uspješnih žena u Crnoj Gori. One mogu poslužiti kao modeli za shvatanje žene kao ravnopravnog člana društva koji može dati izuzetan doprinos njegovom bržem razvoju.

2.10 CRNOGORSKA REGULATIVA – PODSTICAJ ILI BARIJERA RAZVOJU TURIZMA¹⁶⁵

1. Uvod

Turizam predstavlja stratešku privrednu granu Crne Gore. Kao takav, ima potencijal da obezbijedi veliki broj radnih mjesta, da pomogne razvoj malog i srednjeg preduzetništva i privuče strana ulaganja. Turistički nacionalni proizvod, kao strateški proizvod Crne Gore, predstavlja osnovnu pretpostavku ukupne stabilnosti i budućeg razvoja njene privrede. Sa druge strane, angažovanje mehanizama turističke politike će opravdati epitet “prioritetne djelatnosti”. To traži znatno ambicioznije aktivnosti države u oblasti donošenja i implementacije odgovarajućih zakonskih propisa koji bi doprinijeli daljem razvoju turizma u Crnoj Gori i potvrdili njegov značaj za cjelokupnu ekonomiju.

Ovaj komentar ima za cilj da predstavi trenutno stanje u oblasti zakonske regulative koja dominantno utiče na turizam u Crnoj Gori, njen doprinos razvoju turizma, efekte na turizam, kao i da ukaže na eventualne probleme koji se manifestuju kao barijere razvoju turizma. U nastavku

¹⁶³ Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj: Diskriminacija žena u procesu zapošljavanja i na radnom mjestu, 2002

¹⁶⁴ Centar za Preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj: Izazovi pred ženama preduzeticama u Crnoj Gori, 2002

¹⁶⁵ Autori: Darko Konjević, Montenegro Biznis Alijansa, MBA i Milena Lipovina, Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj, CEED

teksta osvrnućemo se, konkretno, na nekoliko zakona u oblasti turizma, koji su nedavno usvojeni u Skupštini Crne Gore. Nastojaćemo da ukažemo na pozitivne i negativne aspekte istih. Najveću pažnju posvetićemo Uredbi o buci, Zakonu o boravišnoj taksi i Zakonu o turističkim organizacijama.

2. Pozadina problema i rezultati istraživanja

Kao što je već gore rečeno, Crna Gora je država koja želi da razvija turizam kao jednu od primarnih grana na kojoj treba da počiva njen ekonomski razvoj. Država, kao jedan od tri ključna aktera turističkog razvojnog procesa (pored vlasnika i menadžera turističkih objekata), bi trebala da bude usredsređena na: (i) osiguranje osnovnih razvojnih uslova, (ii) stvaranje podsticajne preduzetničke klime i (iii) jačanje konkurentnosti donošenjem odgovarajućih mjera na upravljanje razvojem turizma. Koliko je država svojim aktivnostima u oblasti zakonske regulative doprinijela ostvarenju svoje zamisli?

U svojim dosadašnjim aktivnostima, Ministarstvo turizma Vlade Republike Crne Gore uradilo je dosta po pitanju rješavanja problema iz oblasti turizma. Urađen je Master plan, donijet niz zakona i uredbi (Zakon o turističkim organizacijama, Zakon o boravišnoj taksi, Uredba o buci, izvršena je kategorizacija u skladu sa svjetskim standardima, uveden sistem Nacionalnih turističkih radionica). Napravljen je progres u izgradnji turističke privrede.

I pored napora koje ulaže Ministarstvo turizma ponekad se dogodi da pojedine odluke negativno utiču na turističku privredu Crne Gore. Jedan od primjera je Uredba o zaštiti od buke, čiji je osnovni cilj zaštita kako domaćih i stranih gostiju, tako i lokalnog stanovništva od buke u barovima, kafićima, restoranima... Naime, ograničeno je puštanje muzike i izvođenje muzičkih programa i to u ljetnjim mjesecima do 1 sat poslije ponoći, dok je u zimskom periodu dozvoljeno do 23 sata, osim dana vikenda kada je produženo emitovanje za sat vremena.

Kao i uvijek, najmjerodavniji su sami turisti na čiji se kvalitet boravka u Crnoj Gori odnosi ova uredba. Prema istraživanjima Turističkih Ambasadora¹⁶⁶ na pitanje: *“Da ste u mogućnosti, šta bi promijenili u ponudi noćnog života?”*, čak 78% ispitanika je reklo da bi produžili dozvoljeno trajanje muzike nakon 1 sat poslije ponoći. Nešto manje od 9% ispitanika ne bi ovim promijenilo ništa, dok među ostalim odgovorima dominira: povećanje broja diskoteka, organizovanje više koncerata i kulturnih manifestacija. Turisti anketirani u ovom istraživanju takođe predlažu organizovanje žurki na plažama i noćnih krstarenja. S aspekta starosne strukture onih koji bi produžili dozvoljeno trajanje muzike i poslije 1 sat, najbrojniji su ispitanici starosne dobi između 20 i 30 godina (48%), anketirani koji imaju više od 30 i manje od 40 godina (24%) i mlađi od 20 godina (23%); dok je 4% ispitanika starosti od 40 do 50 godina i 1% onih koji su stariji od 50 godina. Samo da podsjetimo, u starosnoj strukturi turista najbrojniji su oni koji imaju između 20 i 30 godina (33%) i oni koji pripadaju starosnoj kategoriji “30-40 godina” (29%).

Iz Ministarstava naglašavaju da se gosti žale na buku. Međutim, da li je to stvarno tako? Rezultati istraživanja sprovedenih od strane Turističkih centara ukazuju na nešto drugo. Naime, na buku se uglavnom žali domicilno stanovništvo.

Podaci koje smo dobili iz Turističkog centra Herceg Novi pokazuju da strani gosti nemaju problema sa bukom. Naime, iz godine u godinu sve je manji broj pritužbi stranih gostiju na buku. Ono što je interesantno pomenuti je da je ova primjedba u prosjeku na petom mjestu po učestalosti među najčešćim primjedbama. Značajno je napomenuti da je od 2002. godine uočena nova vrsta buke, tj. veći broj primjedbi dat je na bučno reklamiranje iz barki raznih večernjih programa, posebno u popodnevnim časovima.

¹⁶⁶ Centar za preduzetništvo i ekonomski razvoj (CEED) u saradnji sa International Relief and Development (IRD) pokrenuo je u julu 2002. godine program pod nazivom Turistički Ambasadori koji je realizovan u pet opština: Bar, Ulcinj, Budva, Kotor i Herceg Novi. Dva osnovna cilja ovog programa su: pružanje upotrebljivih informacija turistima i sprovođenje istraživanja koja će omogućiti da se utvrde uzroci koji onemogućavaju brži razvoj biznisa u primorskim gradovima.

Ipak, 2003. godine, tip primjedbi koji se mogao svrstati u “primjedbe na buku” ostao je isti. Ovdje su u pitanju primjedbe na izvođenje muzike u kafićima, na opštu buku izazvanu velikom gužvom kako među mještanima i turistima tako i u saobraćaju, na buku prilikom reklamiranja raznih programa iz barki.

Da li je problem buke na crnogorskom primorju i izbliza tako velik i značajan kao što se to daje zaključiti po prostoru i načinu tretiranja ovog problema u medijima?

3. Uporedna analiza sa Hrvatskom i prijedlozi

Pogledajmo rješenja koja dolaze sa strane. Uzeli smo primjer susjedne Hrvatske i grada Dubrovnika koji predstavlja istorijsko jezgro, a uz to ostvaruje i velike prihode po osnovu turizma.

U Hrvatskoj je najprije usvojena Uredba o zaštiti od buke slična postojećoj u Crnoj Gori, ali je već naredne sezone (turističke 2003. godine) izmijenjena. Zašto? Zato što su ekonomski efekti Uredbe bili loši.

U dubrovačkoj regiji, radno vrijeme ugostiteljskih objekata, uređeno je na sledeći način: “Ugostiteljski objekti iz skupine barova: disko i noćni bar od 17.00 do 5.00 sati; pivnica, konoba, caffe-bar, kafana od 17.00 do 1.00 sat, a petkom i subotom jedan sat duže; pokretni objekti za pružanje ugostiteljskih usluga od 5.00 – 24.00”...

Na bazi prethodnog može se primijetiti da su izmjene u dužini trajanja muzike u Hrvatskoj doprinijele povećanju prihoda od turizma, jer se prema nekim istraživanjima, najveći prihodi u barovima i sličnim ugostiteljskim objektima ostvaruju upravo nakon ponoći.

Naše mišljenje je da zemlja, čija je osnovna razvojna strategija turizam, treba da se okrene turizmu i u svakom trenutku gostu pruži najbolju uslugu. Istraživanje Turističkih ambasadora (TA) je pokazalo da su gosti najčešće bili nezadovoljni noćnim životom koji je limitiran vremenom puštanja muzike i to što noćni klubovi nemaju dovoljan kapacitet da prime sve potencijalne goste. Preko 90% ugostiteljskih kapaciteta na Crnogorskom primorju predstavljaju mali ili srednji barovi, picerije i restorani čije je poslovanje jednim dijelom ugroženo primjenom ovakve uredbe. Naravno, ovim se ne želi reći da je uredba jedini razlog za lošije poslovanje, jer sigurno ima propusta i na strani vlasnika.

Uredbu ne treba primjenjivati linearno! Ne treba ravnopravno tretirati muziku s razglasa i akustičnu gitaru. Tamo gdje se narušava prirodna sredina ili ugrožava zdravlje ljudi buku u vidu muzike treba još više ograničiti. Bitno je i napomenuti da ima i zloupotreba od lokalnih vlasti. Pravila nijesu jednaka za sve. Naime, kod nekih vlasnika kontrole su veoma česte i napadne, dok kod drugih ih nema.

U svakom slučaju, mislimo da nivo buke treba ograničiti, odnosno da buku treba svesti na mjeru “dobrog ukusa”. Ostaje pitanje: da li zabrana emitovanja muzike doprinosi poboljšanju turističke ponude ili je ona možda barijera za njen razvoj?

4. Još neki zakonski propisi i uticaj na razvoj turizma

Ako šetate rivom nekog primorskog grada primijetićete veliki broj objekata sa natpisom “objekat u otvaranju”. Turista bi pomislio da se u Crnoj Gori otvara veliki broj novih objekata i da turizam cvjeta. Međutim, većina tih objekata se poslije završetka sezone zatvori neplaćajući poreze, neprijavljujući radnike. Mislimo da bi se što prije trebalo pozabaviti ovim pitanjem.

Drugi problem sa kojim se susrećemo je neprijavljivanje gostiju. Usvajanjem zakona o boravišnoj taksi oni su se pokušali riješiti. Međutim, da li su zaista riješeni? I dalje, naplate boravišne takse postoje u obimu koji je to bio ranije, ali dosadašnjim načinom ubiranja ostaju, iz godine u godinu neriješeni, isti problemi: neregistrovani smještajni kapaciteti, nekategorizovani smještaj, neubiranje

raznih poreza i brojni drugi vezani za rad inspeksijske službe. Registracija i legalizacija turističkog prometa treba da budu prioriteta u rješavanju postojećih problema, odnosno dio ukupnih aktivnosti koje sprovodi Vlada Republike Crne Gore na planu suzbijanja sive ekonomije.

U cilju povećanja registrovanja privatnog smještaja u zadovoljavajućoj mjeri predlažemo sledeće: (i) smanjenje troškova registracije privatnog smještaja kroz liberalizaciju uslova za registraciju; (ii) odobravanje određenih poreskih olakšica; (iii) podsticanje lokalne samouprave kroz preusmeravanje prihoda od boravišne takse iz republičkog u opštinske budžete.

Jedan u nizu zakona koji ima veliki uticaj na crnogorski turizam je Zakon o turističkim organizacijama. Njime je utvrđen glavni razlog postojanja Nacionalne i lokalnih turističkih organizacija. Osnovni cilj osnivanja Nacionalne turističke organizacije Crne Gore je kreiranje crnogorskog turističkog proizvoda, planiranje i realizacija strategije crnogorskog turizma, predlaganje i izvođenje promotivnih aktivnosti u zemlji i inostranstvu u cilju podizanja nivoa kvaliteta cjelokupne turističke ponude. Ovo bi prije svega trebalo da znači očuvanje i promociju prepoznatljive i privlačne turističke ponude, unapređenje opštih uslova boravka turista, podizanje kvaliteta turističkih i drugih komplementarnih usluga, razvijanje svijesti o važnosti i efektima turizma, potrebi očuvanja i unapređenja elemenata turističkog proizvoda. Koliko rad ovih organizacija opravdava cilj njihovog postojanja?

U lokalnoj turističkoj organizaciji obavezni članovi su sva pravna i fizička lica koja na teritoriji opštine, u kojoj se formira turistička organizacija, imaju sjedište i koja stvaraju prihod obavljanjem turističkih i ugostiteljskih, kao i sa turizmom povezanim djelatnostima. Koliko je pozitivno da se na ovaj način privredni subjekti "prisiljavaju" da budu članovi Turističke organizacije? Koji su to benefiti koje im donosi članstvo u NTO? Svako je slobodan da raspolaže svojim kapitalom onako kako on želi? Članstvo treba da bude dobrovoljno jer sloboda izbora je najveće dostignuće demokratije. Na kraju, u Crnoj Gori postoje i neke druge organizacije koje pružaju podršku privatnom sektoru u njihovim aktivnostima. Crnoj Gori je dosta monopola.

5. Zaključak

Zakonska regulativa turizma se razlikuje od zemlje do zemlje, stvarajući bitne i snažne efekte u odnosu na konkurentnost. Tamo gdje propisi podržavaju djelovanje komplementarnih i mikro pružalaca usluga, zapažen je i najveći broj kvalitetnih inicijativa kad je u pitanju dobar turistički proizvod, manje problema sa neregistrovanom ponudom i najkonkurentnije cijene. Tamo gdje takvi propisi još ne postoje, odgovorni moraju biti ubijeđeni, na osnovu empirijskih dokaza i konkretnih prijedloga, u dugoročnu održivost promjena.

TEKSTOVI ZA RAZMIŠLJANJE

3.1 PERSPEKTIVE SLOBODE¹⁶⁷

Nije neuobičajeno da dvoje raspravljaju o mogućnosti da se zaradi više novca, ali razgovor o ovom problemu negdje iz VIII vijeka prije n.e. je od sasvim posebnog interesa. Prema onome kako je ova rasprava zabilježena u sanskritskom tekstu *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, žena pod imenom Maitreje i njen suprug Džajnavalkija brzo prelaze na značajnije pitanje nego što su načini i sredstva za postizanje većeg bogatstva: *U kojoj mjeri bi im bogatstvo moglo pomoći da dobiju ono što žele?*¹⁶⁸ Maitreje se pita da li, u slučaju da čitava Zemlja puna bogatstva” pripadne samo njoj, ona time može postići besmrtnost. “Ne”, odgovara Džajnavalkija, “pošto će životi bogatih ljudi biti tvoj život. Baš nema nade za besmrtnost pomoću bogatstva.” Maitreje napominje: “Šta da uradim sa onim što me ne čini besmrtnom?”

Njeno retoričko pitanje je uvijek iznova citirano u religijskoj filozofiji Indije kako bi ilustriralo i prirodu ljudskih neprilika i ograničenja materijalnog svijeta. Imam previše skepse prema onostranim (nezemaljskim) pojavama da bi one bile pod uticajem svjetovne frustracije Maitreje, ali postoji i drugi aspekt ove razmjene koji je mnogo bliži interesovanju ekonomije i razumijevanje prirode razvoja. Riječ je o odnosu između prihoda i uspjeha, između roba i sposobnosti, između našeg ekonomskog bogatstva i naše sposobnosti da živimo onako kako želimo. I dok postoji veza između obilja i uspjeha, ova povezanost može ali i ne mora biti posebno jaka i osjetljiva na druge uslove. Ovdje nije u pitanju sposobnost da se vječno živi na koju se Maitreje – neka počiva u miru – koncentriše, već sposobnost da se živi veoma dugo (a da se ne bude uskraćen u sopstvenim željama) i da se ima dobar život (a ne život pun patnje i neslobode) – stvari koje se visoko cijene i koje želi svako od nas. Jaz između dvije perspektive (između isključive usmjerenosti na ekonomsko bogatstvo i šire usmjerenosti na život kakav možemo da vodimo) jeste glavno pitanje u konceptualizaciji razvoja. Kao što je Aristotel primijetio na samom početku *Nikomahove etike* (što se dobro slaže sa razgovorom između Maitreje i Džajnavalkija tri hiljade milja daleko), “bogatstvo očigledno nije ono dobro za kojim tragamo; ono je samo korisno i služi nečem drugom”.¹⁶⁹

Ukoliko imamo razloga da želimo više bogatstva moramo se zapitati: Koji su uistinu ti razlozi, kako oni djeluju, od čega zavise i šta je to što možemo “učiniti” sa više bogatstva? Zapravo, mi u cjelini imamo dobre razloge zbog kojih želimo više prihoda ili veće bogatstvo. Ne samo što su prihodi i bogatstvo potrebni radi njihove sopstvene svrhe, već zbog toga što su oni, uobičajeno, vrijedna sredstva opšte svrhe za posjedovanje više slobode za onakav život koji s razlogom cijenimo.

Korisnost bogatstva nalazi se u stvarima koje nam omogućavaju da djelamo – što nam pomažu da ostvarimo suštinske slobode. Ali ovaj odnos nije ni ekskluzivan (pošto postoje značajni uticaji na naše živote koji nijesu bogatstvo) ni jednoobrazan (pošto se uticaj bogatstva na naše živote miješa sa drugim uticajima). Značajno je priznati ključnu ulogu bogatstva u određivanju uslova i kvaliteta života kakav jeste kako bi se razumjela ograničenja i zavisna priroda ovog odnosa. Odgovarajuća koncepcija razvoja mora ići daleko izvan akumulacije bogatstva i rasta bruto nacionalnog proizvoda i drugih promjenljivih koje su povezane sa prihodom. Bez zanemarivanja značaja ekonomskog razvoja, moramo gledati daleko izvan njega.

Ciljevi i sredstva razvoja zahtijevaju istraživanje i pažljivo ispitivanje radi potpunog razumijevanja procesa razvoja: jednostavno, nije pogodno uzeti kao naš osnovni cilj samo maksimalizaciju prihoda ili bogatstva, koje je, kao što je Aristotel primijetio “korisno samo zbog nekih drugih potreba”. Iz istog razloga, ekonomski rast ne može se razumno posmatrati kao cilj sam za sebe. Razvoj mora biti mnogo više zaokupljen uređenjem života koji živimo i sloboda koje uživamo. Uvećanje sloboda, koje s razlogom cijenimo, ne samo da naše živote čini bogatijim i mnogo manje sputanim, već nam takođe omogućava da budemo potpunija društvena ličnost, koja ostvaruje

¹⁶⁷ Amartya Sen, Razvoj kao sloboda

¹⁶⁸ Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, 2.4, 2-3.

¹⁶⁹ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, prevod D. Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, revised edition, 1980), Book 1, section 5, p.7.

sopstvene želje i stupa u odnose sa svijetom u kome živimo i utiče na njega. U Poglavlju 3, ovaj opšti pristup je mnogo šire predstavljen i dublje ispitan, i ocjenjivan uporedo sa drugim pristupima koji se nameću našoj pažnji.¹⁷⁰

Oblici neslobode

Veoma mnogo ljudi u čitavom svijetu pati od različitih oblika neslobode. Glad se i dalje pojavljuje u pojedinim regionima negirajući milionima osnovnu slobodu da prežive. Čak i onim državama koje više nijesu ni sporadično opustošene glađu, neuhranjenost može uticati na veliki broj osjetljivih ljudskih bića. Takođe, veoma veliki broj ljudi ima slab pristup zdravstvenoj zaštiti, sanitarnim kapacitetima ili čistoj vodi i gube svoje živote u borbi protiv ne baš neizbježnih bolesti, često podliježući prevremenoj smrtnosti. I u bogatim državama nerijetko ima jako osiromašenih ljudi, kojima nedostaju osnovne mogućnosti zdravstvene zaštite, funkcionalnog obrazovanja, ili pravog zaposlenja i ekonomske i socijalne zaštite. Ponekad čak i u veoma bogatim državama prosječan životni određenih grupa nije duži od onog u mnogo siromašnijim privredama tzv. Trećeg svijeta. Štaviše, neravnopravnost među ženama i muškarcima utiče na živote miliona žena – a ponekad ih prerano okončava – i na različite načine ozbiljno ograničava suštinske slobode koje one uživaju.

Idući ka drugim ograničenjima slobode, vidi se da je veliki broj ljudi u različitim državama svijeta sistematski uskraćivan za političke slobode i osnovna građanska prava. Ponekad se tvrdi da negiranje ovih prava pomaže stimulisanju ekonomskog rasta i da je “dobro” za brz ekonomski rast. Neki čak daju prednost oštrijim političkim sistemima – koji negiraju osnovna građanska i politička prava- zbog njihove navodne prednosti u unapređenju ekonomskog razvoja. Ova teza (koja se često naziva “Liova teza” jer se u nekim njenim oblicima pripisuje bivšem premijeru Singapura Li Kvan Džuuć ponekad je podržana nekolikim veoma rudimentarnim činjenicama. U stvari, mnogo šira poređenja među državama nijesu pružila bilo kakvu potvrdu ove teze, i ima malo dokaza da autoritarna politička načela zaista pomažu ekonomski rast. Zapravo, empirijski podaci vrlo jasno pokazuju da je ekonomski rast mnogo više stvar otvorenije ekonomske klime nego oštrijih političkih sistema.

Štaviše, ekonomski razvoj ima druge dimenzije, uključujući i ekonomsku sigurnost. Veoma često, ekonomska nesigurnost može biti zasnovana na nedostatku demokratskih prava i sloboda. Zapravo, funkcionisanje demokratije i političkih prava može čak pomoći u prevenciji gladi i drugih ekonomskih nedaća. Autoritarnijim vladarima, koji su sami veoma rijetko pogođeni glađu (ili drugim sličnim ekonomskih nedaćama), često nedostaje osjećaj za potrebu da na vrijeme preduzmu preventivne mjere. Demokratske vlade, sasvim suprotno, moraju da osvoje izbore i suože se sa kritikom javnosti, i imaju jak osjećaj za preduzimanje mjera kako bi izbjegli glad i druge slične katastrofe. Nije iznenađujuće da nikada nije došlo do gladi u funkcionalnim demokratijama – bile one ekonomski bogate (kao u savremenoj Zapadnoj Evropi ili Sjevernoj Americi) ili relativno siromašne (kao što je Indija nakon oslobođenja ili Bocvana i Zimbabve). Glad se pojavljuje na kolonijalnim teritorijama kojima su gospodarili vladari iz daleka (kao u Britanskoj Indiji, ili u Irskoj, kojom su vladali mrski britanski vladari) ili u jednopartijskim državama (kao u Ukrajini 30-ih godina, Kini od 1958. do 1961. godine, Kambodži 70-ih godina) ili u vojnim diktatorskim režimima (kao u Etiopiji, Somaliji ili u nekim saharskim državama u nedavnoj prošlosti). Zapravo, kao što će ova knjiga predstaviti, dvije države koje prednjače u “ligi gladi” u svijetu su Sjeverna Koreja i Sudan – obje veoma dobri primjeri diktatorske vladavine. I dok prevencija gladi ilustruje

¹⁷⁰ U svojim ranijim radovima posmatrao sam različite aspekte gledišta koje je usmjereno na slobodu u odnosu na socijalnu procjenu; o tome vidjeti moj članak “Equality or What”, u *Tannere Lectures on Human Values*, volume 1, ed. S. McMurrin (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980); *Choice, Welfare and Measurement* (Oxford: Blackwell; Chambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982; republished, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); *Resources, Values and Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); “Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984”, *Journal of Philosophy* 82 (April 1985); *Inequality Reexamined* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Canbridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). Vidjeti takođe Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, eds., *The Quality of Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

prednosti podrške sa velikom jasnoćom i snagom, preimućstva demokratskog pluralizma imaju, zapravo, mnogo širi domet.

Međutim – mnogo bitnije – politička sloboda i građanska prava su i sami po sebi direktnije značajni i ne moraju biti indirektno opravdavani njihovim efektima na ekonomiju. Čak i kada ljudima bez političke slobode ili građanskih prava ne nedostaje odgovarajuća ekonomska sigurnost (kada zapravo uživaju povoljnije ekonomske uslove), oni su uskraćeni za značajne slobode u svom životu i nedostaje im mogućnost da učestvuju u bitnim odlukama koje se odnose na javni život. Ovi nedostaci ograničavaju socijalni i politički život, i moraju biti smatrani represivnim, čak i ako ne vode ka drugim nedaćama (kao što su ekjonomske katastrofe). Pošto političke i građanske slobode predstavljaju sastvane elemente ljudskih sloboda, njihovo je negiranje samo po sebi hendikep. U ispitivanju uloge ljudskih prava u razvoju, moramo uzeti u obzir konstitutivni kao i instrumentalni značaj građanskih prava i političkih sloboda.

Procesi i mogućnosti

Trebalo bi da je iz prethodnih rasprava jasno da pogledi na slobodu koji su ovdje zauzeti uključuju i procese koji omogućavaju slobodu aktivnosti i odluke i prave mogućnosti koje ljudi imaju, imajući na umu lične i društvene uslove. Nesloboda se može pojaviti bilo kroz neodgovarajuće procese (kao što su kršenje glasačkih privilegija ili drugih političkih ili građanskih pravać, ili kroz neadekvatne mogućnosti nekih ljudi za postizanje onoga što minimalno žele da ostvare (uključuju) i nedostatak takvih osnovnih mogućnosti kao što su sposobnost izbjegavanje privremene smrtnosti ili preventivne bolesti ili neželjenog izgladivanjać.

Razlika između aspekta procesa i aspekta mogućnosti slobode uključuje veoma suštinsku suprotnost. Oni mogu biti ostvareni na različitim nivoima. Na drugom mjestu sam raspravljao o posebnim ulogama i zahtjevima (kao i međusobnim vezama) aspekta procesa i mogućnosti slobode.¹⁷¹ I dok ovo možda nije prilika da uđem u složeno i suptilno pitanje koje se odnosi na ovu razliku, veoma je bitno posmatrati slobodu na dovoljno širok način. Neophodno je izbjeći ograničavanje pažnje samo na odgovarajuće procedure (što tzv.libertarijanci ponekad čine, ne vodeći računa o tome da li neki hendikepirani ljudi pate zbog sistematskog uskra)ivanja suštinskih mogućnosti) ili, s druge strane, na odgovarajuće mogućnosti (kao što tzv.konsekvencijalisti često čine, ne brinući o prirodi procesa koji ostvaruju mogu)nosti ili slobodu izbora koje ljudi imaju). I procesi i mogućnosti imaju sopstveni značaj, i svaki aspekt se odnosi na posmatranje razvoja kao slobode.

Dvije uloge slobode

Analiza razvoja koja je predstavljena u ovoj knjizi posmatra slobode pojedinca kao osnovne elemente na kojima se zasniva razvoj. Zbog toga je posebna pažnja usmjerena na uvećanje “sposobnosti” osoba da vode život koji cijene i koji imaju razloga da cijene. Ove sposobnosti mogu biti uvećane politikom države, ali, s druge strane, i pravac politike države može biti pod uticajem potrebe efikasne upotrebe participativnih sposobnosti javnosti. Ovaj dvosmjerni odnos je važan za analizu koju predstavljamo.

Postoje dva sasvim različita razloga za ključni značaj lične slobode u konceptu razvoja koji se posebno odnose na procjenu i efikasnost.¹⁷² Prije svega, u normativnom pristupu koji se ovdje koristi, suštinske slobode pojedinca se posmatraju kritički. Uspjeh društva mora biti procijenjen, prema ovakvom gledištu, prevashodno uz korišćenje suštinskih sloboda koje članovi tog društva uživaju. Ovaj položaj procjene razlikuje se od tradicionalnijeg normativnog pristupa usmjerenog na

¹⁷¹ U mojim Kenneth Arrow Lectures, koja su dio Freedom, Rationality and Social Choice: Arrow Lectures and Other Essays (Oxford: Clarendon Press, forthcoming). U ovoj analizi se takođe ispituje veliki broj tehničkih pitanja u ocjeni i procjeni slobode.

¹⁷² Procjenjivački i operativni razlozi su potpunije ispitani u mome radu “Rights and Agency”, *Philosophy and Public Affairs II* (1982), ponovo objavljeno u *Consequentialism and Its Critics*, ed. By Samuel Scheffler; “Well-Being, Agency and Freedom”; *On Ethics and Economics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

informacije, koji se usredsređuje na druge promjenljive kao što su korisnost, proceduralne slobode ili stvarni prihod.

Posjedovanje veće slobode da čini ono što ima razloga da cijeni je (1) samo po sebi značajno za opštu slobodu osobe i (2) od značaja za jačanje mogućnosti osobe da pruži značajne rezultate.¹⁷³ Oba su bitna za procjenu slobode članova društva a time i presudni za ocjenu razvoja društva. Razlog za ovakvu normativnu usmjerenost (a naročito za posmatranje pravde u smislu individualnih sloboda i njihovih socijalnih korelata) potpunije je istražen u Poglavlju 3.

Drugi razlog zbog koga su suštinske slobode toliko značajne jeste taj što je sloboda ne samo bitna za procjenu uspjeha i neuspjeha, već je i osnovna determinanta inicijativa pojedinca i društvene efikasnosti. Veća sloboda uvećava sposobnosti ljudi da sami sebi pomognu i da istovremeno utiču na svijet, a tu su pitanja ključna za proces razvoja. Ključno u ovom slučaju odnosi se na to što možemo smatrati (po cijeni djelimičnog pojednostavljenja) "aspektom djelovanja" pojedinca.

Upotreba pojma "djelovanje" (agency u originalu – prim.prev.) traži djelimično objašnjenje. Izraz "agent" u tom smislu, već u njegovom starijem – i "potpunijem" – smislu, za osobu koja djeluje i ostvaruje promjene i čiji uspjesi mogu biti cijenjени u svijetlu njenih sopstvenih vrijednosti i ciljeva, bez obzira na to da li ih procijenjujemo koristeći i neke spoljne kriterijume. Ovaj rad se posebno bavi ulogom djelovanja pojedinca kao pripadnika javnosti i kao učesnika u ekonomskim, socijanim i političkim aktivnostima (koji se razlikuje od uzimanja učešća na tržištu da bi se uključio, direktno ili indirektno, u posebne ili zajedničke aktivnosti u političkoj ili drugim sferama).

Ovo ima uticaja na veliki broj pitanja javne politike, koja su u rasponu od takvih strateških šefova da koriste precizno naštimentovano "ciljanje" (za "idealnu isporuku" navodno inertnom stanovništvu, do takvih ključnih pitanja kao što su nastojanja razdvajanja upravljanja od procesa demokratske kontrole i neslaganja (i participativno ostvarivanje političkih i građanskih prava).¹⁷⁴

3.2 EKONOMSKE SLOBODE I INTERVENCIONIZAM - AGONIJA DRŽAVE BLAGOSTANJA¹⁷⁵

Nekih stotinu godina, komunisti i intervencionisti bili su neumorni u predviđanju skorog kolapsa kapitalizma. Njihova pretskazanja se nisu obistinjala, ali se zato svijet današnjice suočava sa agonijom toliko glorifikovanih politika države blagostanja.

Država blagostanja

Osnovni principi države blagostanja su na najbolji način prikazani u djelima Ferdinand Lassalle-a (1825-1864), koji je u isto vrijeme bio i Marksov prijatelj i njegov rival. Lassalle je ismijavao liberalne doktrine. On je smatrao da liberalne doktrine državi dodjeljuju samo funkcije noćnog čuvara. U njegovim očima, država (sa velikim D) bila je u isto vrijeme i Bog i Deda Mraz. Država je na raspolaganju imala neiscrpna sredstva koje je mogla slobodno da koristi kako bi svoje građane učinila prosperitetnijima i srećnijima. Država je trebala da nacionalizuje veliki biznis, finansira projekte za čiji realizaciju nije bilo raspoloživog privatnog kapitala, redistribuirati nacionalni dohodak i svakom obezbijedi sigurnost od "kolijevke pa do groba".

¹⁷³ Elementi koji su odgovarajući pojedinačno (1) aspektima procesa i (2) aspektima mogućnosti slobode, koje su analizirane u mojim Kennet Arrow Lectures, uključene su u ranije citirano Freedom, Rationality and Social Choice.

¹⁷⁴ Pokušao sam da se bavim pitanjem "ciljanja" u "The Political Economy of Targeting", počasni govor na godišnjoj konferenciji Svjetske banke o ekonomiji razvoja, 1992, objavljeno u Public Spending and the Poor: Theory and Evidence, ed. By Dominique van de Walle and Kimberly Nea (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). Pitanje političkih sloboda kao dio razvoja razmatra se u mom radu "Freedoms and Needs", New Republic, January 10 and 17, 1994.

¹⁷⁵ Autor: Ludwig von Mises, Reprinted from The Freeman, May 4, 1953.

Za Bismarck-a i njegove profesorske pristalice, smrtne neprijatelje "anglo-saksonske" slobode, ovakva program države blagostanja bio je ništa drugo do izvršenje istorijske misije vladajuće njemačke dinastije Hohenzollern kao i socijalnog evanđelja novog hrišćanstva. Ovaj *Sozialpolitik* obezbijedio je plodno tle za saradnju crkvenih ljudi i ateista, rojalista i republikanaca, nacionalista i internacionalista. Kapitalizam je mnogostruko uvećao broj stanovnika i podigao prosječni životni standard rekordno visoko. Ipak, sve ove grupe bile su ujedinjene u borni protiv kapitalizma i njegove pretpostavljene nehumanosti.

Nova njemačka politika uskoro je sa velikim entuzijazmom podržana od strane britanskih fabijanista, da bi je kasnije prihvatile sve evropske nacije i Sjedinjene države.

škola države blagostanja prenosila je čovječanstvu poruku da je kamen filozofije konačno pronađen. Samozvani "novi ekonomisti" označili su nesumnjivom glupošću ono što je "ortodoksna" ekonomska nauka rekla o pretpostavljenom ograničenju korisnih dobara i resursa i posljedice potrebe za ušedom i progresivnom akumulacijom kapitala. Kako su govorili, postoji izobilje resursa; siromaštvo je čista posljedica loših politika koje su favorizovale sebične interese nekolicine na štetu i trošak ostalih.

Neka bogati plate

Ako intervencionista kaže da bi država trebala da uradi ovo ili ono (i da plati za to) on je u potpunosti svjestan činjenice da država nema sredstava izuzev onih koje prikuplja od građana preko poreza. Njegova polazna ideja je da vlada treba da preko poreza uzme što veći dio dohotka i kapitala bogatih građana i da ovaj prihod potroši u korist većine ljudi. Bogatstvo imućnih smatralo se neiscrpnim i kao posljedica toga, neiscrpnim su se smatrali i izvori vlade. Nije bilo potrebe štedjeti kada je u pitanju javna potrošnja. Ono što se može smatrati čistim gubitkom u poslovima pojedinačnih građana, imajući u vidu budžet nacije, bila su sredstva namijenjena za kreiranje novih poslova i promociju blagostanja.

Pod uticajem ovakvih doktrina, sistem progresivnog oporezivanja dostizao je ekstremne. Kao posljedica toga, mit o neiscrpnosti bogatstva imućnih morao je da se rasprsne. Političari su bili iznenađeni kada su shvatili da su došli do krajnjih granica. Prije nekoliko godina (tekst je pisan sredinom prošlog vijeka, primjedba prevodioca) Hugh Gaitskell Š1906-1963Ć, predsjednik Britanskog trezora u socijalističkom kabinetu Clement Attlee-a Š1883-1967Ć, morao je da prizna "da nema dovoljno novca koji bi se oduzeo od engleskih bogataša kako bi se dalje podizao životni standard." Isto se dešavalo i sa drugim nacijama. U ovoj zemlji, iako je sav prihod koji je podlijegao oporezivanju onih koji su zarađivali više od \$25,000 bio oduziman, dodatni prihod države ne bi dostizao nivo od \$1,000,000,000, kap u odnosu na Š1953Ć budžet koji je iznosio oko \$78,000,000,000 i prijetio deficitom od \$10,000,000,000. Kula od karata koju je sagradila "nova ekonomska škola" se rušila.

Tokom poslednjih dekada, stekao se utisak da je politika jednostavna stvar. Glavni zadatak političara bio je da učine da vlada troši više i više. Subvencije, javni radovi, nove kancelarije sa vojskom zaposlenih i mnoge druge skupe stvari obezbjeđivale su popularnost i glasove. Pustimo "njih", odnosno bogate, da plate! Međutim, njihovi fondovi su potrošeni. U buduću, izvori korisnika će morati da budu "odvrnuti" ukoliko postoji namjera da im se još daje.

Državnička filozofija preduzetnika posmatra kao beskorisnog besposličara koji skida kajmak u industriji, pritom neobezbjeđujući odgovarajuću ekonomsku uslugu. Nacionalizacija biznisa, kako je rečeno, jedva da ukida nepravedne privilegije parazitskih trutova. Plaćeni javni službenik obavlja posao prethodno dodijeljen biznismenu mnogo efikasnije i jeftinije. Oduzimanje privatnog vlasništva je posebno urgentno u oblasti javnih usluga.

Vođeni ovim principima, vlade različitih evropskih zemalja odavno su nacionalizovale željeznicu, telefon i telegraf, i mnoge grane biznisa. Rezultat je bio katastrofalan: skandalozno loša usluga,

visoke cijene, deficit koji je iz godine u godinu rastao i koji je trebalo pokriti iz budžetskih dodataka.

Iskakanje iz državnih šina

Finansijsko posrnuće vodećih evropskih država uglavnom je bilo izazvano stečajem nacionalizovanih javnih kompanija koje su pružale usluge. Deficit ovih preduzeća bio je neizlječiv. Dalji rast cijena njihovih usluga doveo bi do pada ukupnih neto profita. Saobraćaj to nije mogao da podnese. Svakodnevna iskustva su svima dokazivala, pa i zatvorenim fanaticima socijalizma, da je vladino upravljanje neefikasno i rasipno. Međutim, nije bilo moguće prodati ova preduzeća privatnicima zato što je prijetnja od nove eksproprijacije koju bi nametnula nova vlada plašila potencijalne kupce.

U kapitalističkim zemljama, željeznica, telegrafske i telefonske kompanije plaćaju značajne iznose poreza. U zemljama sa mješovitim vlasništvom, godišnji gubici ovih javnih kompanija su uveliko plaćani iz državne kase. Ove kompanije ne plaćaju poreze već se hrane od njih.

U današnjim uslovima, nacionalizovane javne usluge u zemljama Evrope ne da se goste samo porezima koje plaćaju građani njihovih država, već žive i o trošku američkih državljana. Značajan dio milijardi strane pomoći progutali su deficiti evropskih nacionalizovanih eksperimenata. Da su Sjedinjene Države nacionalizovale američke željeznice i ne samo zanemarile poreze koje ove kompanije plaćaju, već pored toga pokrile i deficit od nekoliko milijardi koje ove kompanije naprave svake godine, tada SAD ne bi bio u poziciji da pokrije zemlje Evrope u njihovoj gluposti sadržanoj u socijalizaciji sopstvenih politika. Dakle, ono što odlaže očigledan kolaps države blagostanja u Evropi je činjenica da su Sjedinjene Države spore i "nazadne" u prihvatanju principa države blagostanja "nove ekonomije": SAD nije nacionalizovao željeznicu, telefon i telegraf.

Ipak, Amerikanci koji žele da studiraju efekte državnog vlasništva na sistem prevoza, ne moraju da posjete Evropu. Neki od najvećih gradova – među njima i Detroit, Baltimore, Boston, San Francisco – daju im sasvim dovoljno materijala. Najzahvalniji za analizu je slučaj metroa u New York City.

New York City metro je lokalni prevozni sistem. U pogledu tehnologije i finansija, ovaj sistem prevazilazi nacionalnu željeznicu mnogih država. Kao što svi znaju, ovaj sistem svake godine bilježi izuzetno veliki deficit. Finansijski menadžment akumulira operativni deficit, i planira da ga finansira izdavanjem serije obveznica. Samo grad koji je velik, bogat i nadmen kao što je to New York može da se upusti u avanturu takve politike. Sa analitičarem privatne kompanije na čelu aktivnosti, bila bi upotrijebljena nepopularna riječ koja bi zamijenila sve procedure: stečaj. Nijedan normalan investitor ne bi kupio obveznice privatne korporacije koja funkcioniše na takav način.

Beznadežni socijalisti, naravno, ne shvataju alarmantnost situacije. "Zašto bi metro plaćao?" pitaju se oni. "škole, bolnice, policija ne plaća; nema razloga da to bude drugačije sa sistemom prevoza." Upravo zato je "zašto" veoma važno. Situacija bi bila drugačija kada bi se umjesto pitanja *zašto*, postavilo pitanje *odakle*.

Uvijek postoji ona pretpostavka socijalista koja se bazira na ideji da "bogati" mogu biti beskrajno cijedeći. Tužna činjenica je da nije ostalo dovoljno da bi se napunile bačve bez dna državnog trezora. Preciznije, zato što su škole, bolnice i policija jako skupe, grad ne može da podnese deficit metroa. Ukoliko želi da nametne poseban porez da bi subvencionisala metro, vlada će morati da oporezuje iste one ljude koji bi trebalo da imaju benefite od niske cijene prevoza.

Druga alternative je da se podigne cijena prevoza sa sadašnjeg [1953] nivoa od deset na petnaest centi¹⁷⁶. To će sigurno biti urađeno. I sigurno je da će se pokazati nedovoljnim. Ubrzo, uslijediće povećanje na nivo od dvadeset centi - sa istim nepoželjnim rezultatom. Nema lijeka za neefikasan javni menadžment! Takođe, postoji granica do koje povećanje cijene doprinosi povećanju prihoda. Iznad ove tačke, dalje povećanje je sopstvene poražavanje. Ovo je dilema sa kojom se suočava svako javno preduzeće.

¹⁷⁶ Januara 1, 1990, cijena prevoza New York City metroa dostigla je nivo od \$1.15.

Metro u slijepoj ulici

Koliko je malo menadžment New York City metroa upoznat sa duhom biznisa potvrđeno je nedavno kada je trijumfalno izvršeno smanjenje usluga koje se pružaju. Dok se sve privatne firme u zemlji međusobno takmiče da poboljšaju i ponude širi opseg usluga, New York je ponosan da vrši njihovo smanjivanje!

Kada su ekonomisti jasno ukazali na razloge zbog kojih socijalizam ne funkcioniše, državni činovnici i intervencionisti arogantno su proklamovali njihovo nepoštovanje prema čistoj teoriji. "neka činjenice govore za sebe; ne knjige o ekonomiji, samo iskustvo se računa." Sada su činjenice progovorile.

Istorijska je slučajnost da su transportni sistemi nacionalizovani, a da su automobilska industrija i pekare ostale u rukama privatnog sektora. Da je bilo drugačije, socijalisti bi govorili nadugačko i naširoko: "Očigledno je da pekare i fabrike za proizvodnju automobila ne mogu da plaćaju kao željeznica. One su javne usluge koje mase obezbjeđuju sa vitalnim proizvodima. One moraju da imaju deficit, a porezi koje plaćaju ekstremno profitabilne željeznice moraju vladi obezbjeđivati sredstva za pokrivanje ovih deficita."

Zaista je paradoksalno da je Washington spreman da potroši novac svojih poreskih obveznika kako bi pokrio deficite evropskih željeznica, a da se pritom ne opterećuje deficitom koji prevozni sistemi velikih američkih gradova prave u isto vrijeme. Maršalov plan pomoći¹⁷⁷ se čini različit od milostinje, makar u jednom dijelu: ne počinje od kuće.

Istorija je bila blagonaklona prema američkom glasaču. Pružila mu je objektivne lekcije o socijalizmu. Ako pogleda iza Gvozdene Zavjese, on može naučiti korisne stvari o jednopartijskom sistemu klasnih i besprofitnih "narodnih demokratija". Ako se pozabavi budžetom evropskih zemalja, naučiće dosta o "blagosiljanju" nacionalizacije. čak i ako ostane kod kuće, može proširiti svoje vidike tako što će pažljivo pročitati novinske izvještaje o finansijskom slomu New York City-ija, najvećeg i najbogatijeg svjetskog urbanog giganta, intelektualnog centra Zapadne civilizacije, doma Ujedinjenih Nacija. Dosta je iskustvenih stvari koje čovjek treba da analizira bez skrupula kako bi znao šta je poruka progresivne propagande i da dva put razmisli prije nego svoj glas pokloni reformatorima socijalizacije i zagovaračima javne potrošnje.

¹⁷⁷ Plan strane pomoći usvojen je 5. juna 1947. a predložio ga je general George C. Marshall, kasnije državni sekretar. Ovaj plan prerastao je u program oporavka Evrope.

3.3 PETICIJA

proizvođača svijeća, voštanica, svetiljki, žezala, uličnih svetiljki, makaza za fitilj, i gasila, i proizvođača loja, ulja, smole, alkohola, i uopšte svega što je vezano sa osvjetljenjem¹⁷⁸

Upućena članovima Vlade i Parlamenta Crne Gore koji se zalažu za povećanje carina i uvodjenje zaštitinih mehanizama

Dame i gospodo,

Vi ste na pravom putu! Vi odbacujete apstraktne teorije i ne obazirete se na bogatstvo i niske cijene. Uglavnom se brinete o sudbini proizvođača. Želite da ga oslobodite strane konkurencije, tj. da rezervišete *domaće tržište za domaću industriju!*

Mi vam nudimo izvanrednu šansu za vašu, kako ćemo je nazvati, vašu teoriju. Ne, ništa nije više varljivo od teorije. Vašu doktrinu? Vaš sistem? Vaš princip? Ali vi ne volite doktrine, užasavate se sistema, kao i što se tiče principa, poričete da postoji ijedan u političkoj ekonomiji. Stoga, zvaćemo je vašom praksom – vašu praksu bez teorije i bez principa.

Mi patimo od razorne konkurencije rivala koji očevidno radi pod uslovima daleko superiornijim od naših za proizvodnju svjetla, tako da *preplavljuje domaće tržište* po nevjerovatno niskoj cijeni. Čim se on pojavi, naše prodaje prestaju, svi potrošači se okreću njemu - konkurentu, i naša se proizvodnja smanjuje do kompletnog stagniranja. Naš rival nije niko drugi do sunce, vodi rat sa nama tako nemilosrdno da sumnjamo da nas izaziva podmuklim Albionom, naročito zato što ima poštovanje za to oholo ostrvo koje ne pokazuje za nas.

Molimo vas da budete tako dobri da usvojite ZAKON koji zahtijeva zatvaranje svih prozora, badža, nebeske svjetlosti, unutar i izvan kapaka, zavjesa, prozorskih okana, zaklona, ćorsokaka, i skrovišta, ukratko, svih otvora, rupa, pukotina i naprslina kroz koje svjetlost sunca ima običaj da ulazi u kuće, čineći pri tome štetu industriji kojom smo, ponosimo se da kažemo, obdarili Crnu Goru, zemlju koja ne može, bez nezahvalne izdaje, da nas napusti danas u ovako nejednakoj borbi.

Budite dovoljno dobri, časni poslanici, da prihvatite naš zahtjev ozbiljno i ne odbacujte ga, a da barem ne čujete razloge koje imamo da bi poboljšali njegovu podršku. Ako zaustavite koliko je moguće sav pristup prirodnoj svjetlosti, i time stvorite potrebu za vještačkom svjetlošću, koja industrija neće biti podstaknuta? Ako Crna Gora troši više loja, moraće da bude više stoke i ovaca, i sljedstveno tome, imaćemo porast stoke na našim poljima, porast mesa, vune, kože, i naročito đubriva, koji predstavljaju osnov bogatstva čitave poljoprivrede.

Ako Crna Gora troši više ulja, imaćemo ekspanziju u uzgajanju maslina i sjemena repe. Ove bogate biljke, koje već crpe tlo, doći će u pravo vrijeme da nam omoguće da unosno upotrijebimo rastuću plodnost koju će uzgajanje stoke pružiti zemlji. Naša močvarna tla biće pokrivena smolastim drvećem. Brojni rojevi pčela će prikupljati sa naših planina mirisne riznice koje danas troše svoj ugodan miris, kao cvijeće od kojih one proističu. Prema tome, nema jedne grane poljoprivrede koja ne bi pretrpjela veliku ekspanziju.

Isto važi za špediciju. Hiljade brodova će se angažovati u lovu na ribe, i za kratko vrijeme imaćemo flotu sposobnu da podrži čast Crne Gore i da zadovolji patriotske težnje nas molilaca, ali i na malo i veliko.

Ali šta reći o *posebnosti novog pakovanja?* Ubuđuce ćete posmatrati zlato, bronzu i kristal u svijećnjacima, lampama, lusterima, blistavim polilejima u prostranim radnjama u odnosu na koje su ove današnje tek obične tezge. Ne postoji nijedan oskudan sakupljač smole na vrhu svog pješčanog spruda, nijedan siromašan rudar u dubinama svog crnog okna, koji neće dobiti veće nadnice i uživati u poboljšanom prosperitetu. Treba samo malo razmisliti, dame i gospodo, da bi se ubijedili

¹⁷⁸Autor: Frederik Bastija, prilagodjeno

da ne postoji možda nijedan Crnogorac, od bogatog akcionara do najskromnijeg prodavca šibica, čiji uslovi ne bi bili poboljšani uspjehom naše peticije.

Mi predosjećamo Vaše prigovore, gospodo. Ali ne postoji nijedan novi do onih koje ste preuzeli iz budavih starih knjiga zagovornika slobodne trgovine. Izazivamo vas da izrazite jednu riječ protiv nas koja se neće odmah okrenuti protiv vas i principa cijele vaše politike. Hoćete li nam reći da, iako mi možemo da dobijemo ovom zaštitom, Crna Gora neće uopšte dobiti, zato što potrošač snosi trošak? Mi imamo spreman odgovor: vi više nemate pravo da se pozivate na interese potrošača. Žrtvovali ste ga kad god ste nalazili da su njegovi interesi oprečni interesima proizvođača. Postupali ste tako da bi *podstakli domaću proizvodnju i povećali zaposlenost*. Iz istog razloga ste dužni da uradite isto i ovaj put. Zaista, vi sami ste utrljali put za ovaj prigovor. Kada je rečeno da potrošač ima interes ako se obezbijedi slobodan ulazak gvožđa, uglja, susama, pšenice i tekstila, vi ste odgovorili: "Da, ali proizvođač ima interes u njihovom isključivanju." Vrlo dobro, sigurno ako potrošači imaju interes u pristupu prirodne svjetlosti, proizvođači imaju interes u njenoj zabrani.

"Ali", još možete reći, "proizvođač i potrošač su jedna te ista osoba. Ako proizvođač profitira od zaštite, on će poboljšati stanje seljaka. Obratno, ako napreduje poljoprivreda, ona će otvoriti tržišta za industrijske proizvode." Vrlo dobro, ako nam odobrite monopol nad proizvodnjom svjetlosti tokom dana, najprije ćemo kupiti ogromne količine loja, ćumura, ulja, smole, voska, alkohola, srebra, gvožđa, bronzne i kristala, da snabdijemo našu industriju. I, štaviše, mi i naši brojni dobavljači, postavši bogati, trošićemo velike količine i raširiti prosperitet na sve djelove domaće industrije.

Da li ćete reći da je svjetlost sunca dobrovoljan dar Prirode? Odbaciti takve darove bilo bi kao odbaciti samo bogatstvo pod izgovorom podsticanja načina njegovog postizanja. Ali zauzmete li ovo stanovište, zadajete ubistveni udarac vašoj sopstvenoj politici. Sjetite se da ste do sada uvijek isključivali strane proizvode *zato sto jesu i u razmjeri* u kojoj su bliski dobrovoljnim poklonima. Imate samo *upola* dobar razlog da se povinujete težnjama drugih monopolista kao što imate za odobravanje naše peticije, koja je u potpunom skladu sa vašom utvrđenom politikom, i odbaciti naše zahtjeve upravo zato što su *temeljniji* nego bilo čiji bilo bi iste vrijednosti kao prihvatanje jednakosti: $+x + = -$. Drugim riječima, to bi bilo nagomilati *apsurd na apsurd*. Rad i Priroda sarađuju u različitim razmjerama, zavisno od zemlje i klime, u proizvodnji robe. Dio koji Priroda daje je uvijek besplatan. Dio koji daje ljudski rad je taj koji sadrži vrijednost i za koji se plaća.

Ako se narandža iz Lisabona prodaje upola cijene narandže iz Bara, to je zato što prirodna toplota sunca, koja je, naravno, besplatna, radi za prvu ono što druga duguje vještačkoj toploti, koja se neminovno mora naplatiti na tržištu. Prema tome, kada narandža dođe do nas iz Lisabona, neko može reći da nam se daje upola besplatno, ili, drugim riječima, *upola cijene* u poređenju sa onom iz Bara. Sada, upravo na osnovu toga što je *polubesplatna* (izvinite na izrazu) vi držite da je treba zabraniti. Pitajte: "Kako crnogorski rad izdržava konkurenciju stranog rada kada ovaj prvi mora da obavi čitav posao, dok ovaj potonji mora da uradi samo pola toga, a sunce se brine za ostalo?" Ali ako vas činjenica da je proizvod *upola besplatan* vodi da ga isključite od konkurencije, kako to da ako je on *potpuno besplatan* vas navodi da ga pustite u konkurenciju? Ili niste dosljedni, ili bi trebalo da, nakon isključivanja onog što je upola besplatno kao štetno za domaću industriju, isključite ono što je potpuno besplatno sa maksimalno više razloga i sa dvostrukom revnošću.

Uzmimo drugi primjer. Kada proizvod – ugalj, gvožđe, pšenica ili tekstil – stigne do nas iz inostranstva, i ako ga možemo steći za manje rada nego ako bismo ga sami proizveli, razlika je besplatan poklon koji nam se dodjeljuje. Veličina ovog poklona proporcionalna je veličini ove razlike. Ona iznosi četvrtinu, polovinu, ili tri četvrtine vrijednosti proizvoda ako stranac traži od nas samo tri četvrtine, polovinu, ili četvrtinu visine cijene. To je isto kao kada darodavac, kao sunce snabdijevajući nas svjetlošću, ne traži ništa od nas. Pitanje, i mi ga postavljamo formalno, je da li je ono što vi želite za Crnu Goru korist besplatne potrošnje ili navodne prednosti tegobne proizvodnje. Izaberite, ali budite logični. Sve dok zabranjujete, što i radite, strani ugalj, gvožđe, pšenicu, tekstil, voće *u razmjeri* u kojoj se njihova cijena približava nuli, kako nedosljedno bi bilo pustiti svjetlost sunca, čija cijena je *nula* čitavog dana!