


DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST



TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE THROUGH THE EYES OF CITIZENS OF MONTENEGRO

 Centar za gradansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education



DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE DEALING WITH THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE THROUGH THE EYES OF CITIZENS OF MONTENEGRO

Publisher:

Centre for Civic Education (CCE)



Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education

Editor:

Daliborka Uljarević

Author:

Miloš Vukanović

Publication associates:

Tamara Milaš

Damir Suljević

Design and production:

Centre for Civic Education (CCE)

*The publication “**Transitional justice through the eyes of citizens of Montenegro**” is part of the project “Dealing with the Past for the Future”, implemented by the CCE with the support of the US Government, through the State Department’s Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL).*

The content of this publication is the sole responsibility of the CCE and can in no way be interpreted as an official position of the Government of the United States of America.

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE THROUGH THE EYES OF CITIZENS OF MONTENEGRO



Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education



Podgorica, 2021

Content

Introduction

5

Methodology

6

Historical knowledge

7

Attitudes towards transitional justice

13

Value positions and perceptions of current affairs

16

Conclusion

20

Introduction

A public opinion poll on the knowledge and attitudes of Montenegrin citizens about war crimes and transitional justice was conducted in order to obtain annual cross-sectional data. The data were compared, in the part of the same questions, with last year's similar survey conducted by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE). Additionally, for the first time, questions were introduced that shed light on the perceptions of citizens about the attitude of the judiciary and certain state institutions towards war crimes.

Such regular monitoring of the public's knowledge and attitudes also provides useful insight into the effects of the work of various social actors in the process of dealing with the past. Also, in this manner, an empirical base is obtained concerning key issues that marked the political and social life in the past year, concerning this process, and the impact it had on society.

For example, the issue of attitudes towards the genocide in Srebrenica marked the second quarter of the political life in Montenegro in 2021 and led to the first dismissal of a minister in the new Montenegrin Government, which was formed in December 2020. However, it is only this research that indicated that the dominant majority of Montenegrin citizens state that they know what happened in Srebrenica in 1995 (86%), than that two-thirds of them define it as genocide, while the rest believe that it is a great war crime, but not genocide, or that there was a war in which people were killed on all sides. It is also interesting that with the controversial position of the former Minister of Justice, Human and Minority Rights, Vladimir Leposavić, that he is "*ready to admit that the crime of genocide was committed in Srebrenica once it is unequivocally established*", more than half of the citizens did not agree, which could have been instructive for political decision-makers as well.

However, on the other hand, the research indicated the overall complexity of Montenegrin society. Hence, the opposition parties, which initiated the impeachment of this minister due to his position on Srebrenica, are not significantly recognized by the citizens as political entities that advocate transitional justice. That points that their inadequate relation towards the issues of facing with past from the period when they had power has not been forgotten.

The research is part of the "*Dealing with the Past for the Future*" project, which the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) is implementing with financial support from the U.S. Government, through the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL).

Methodology

The research was conducted from 15 to 20 April 2021, on a random stratified sample of 828 adult respondents from 17 cities in Montenegro, with the expert support of the Ipsos Strategic Marketing agency.

The questions from the research are divided into three areas.

The first set of questions was focused on historical knowledge, in order to get a cross-section of the historical knowledge of citizens about the '90s, it was compared to last year's research in the part where the questions coincided. This set referred to Montenegro's participation in the war events of the 1990s, the attack on Dubrovnik, the war crimes in Montenegro, then Srebrenica, Storm, Lora, NATO bombing, etc. The questions were formulated to check the knowledge, as well as the positions, on those events.

The second part referred to the attitudes of citizens towards key aspects of transitional justice in Montenegro. These questions covered areas from the process of dealing with the past of Montenegrin society to the capacity of the judiciary and the knowledge on war crime trials in Montenegro, but also on regional cooperation and extradition of Montenegrin citizens.

Finally, the focus was on value attitudes about the events of the '90s and how they shape the perception of today. Through the assessment of agreements with certain statements, as well as assessments of the commitment of key social and political entities to the process of transitional justice, interesting data were obtained on certain value-identity currents.

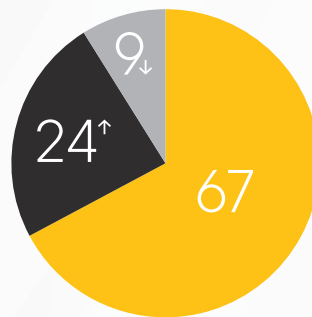
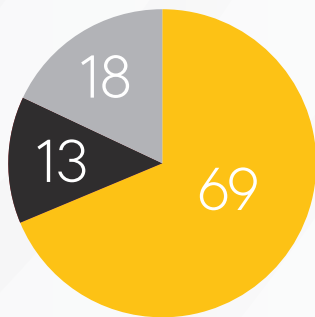
The legacy of the 1990s and the issue of transitional justice continue to weigh heavily on Montenegrin society. Monitoring of key parameters, through this and similar research, provides insight into the knowledge and values that citizens hold. These parameters are also indicators of the success of the transitional justice process, but also indicators of the challenges that Montenegrin society is facing or will face.

Historical knowledge

Two-thirds of citizens believe that Montenegro participated in the wars of the '90s at the territory of the former SFRY, while a quarter does not think so, which is a significant increase compared to the survey from 2020, when only 13% of respondents had a negative answer to this the question. Interestingly, that there is an increase with the undecided, i.e. that there is a greater number of more decisive citizens concerning this question.

February 2020

April 2021



Yes

No

Do not know / Refuse to answer



Statistically significantly more compared to the previous wave



Statistically significantly less compared to the previous wave

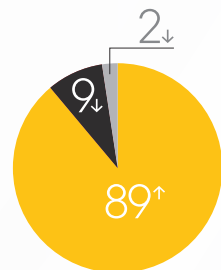
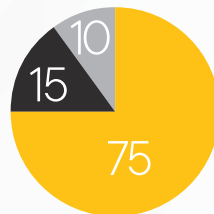
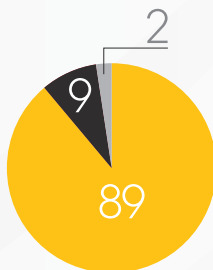
Chart 1. Did Montenegro take part in the wars of the 1990s in the former SFRY?

There is an increase among those who heard about the attack on Dubrovnik, i.e. now it is 89% compared to 75% from the previous survey.

Total target population

February 2020

April 2021



Yes

No

Do not know / Refuse to answer



Statistically significantly more compared the previous wave



Statistically significantly less compared the previous wave

Chart 2. Have you heard about the attack on Dubrovnik in October 1991?

Among those who know about the attack on Dubrovnik, close to two-thirds (65%) believe that this action was not justified, while 16% are of the opposite view. Furthermore, among those who believe that the mentioned military action was justified, members of Serbian nationality stand out to a large extent (30%), as well as those with secondary education (21%), while at the same time the share of Montenegrins is significantly lower.

Half of those surveyed cannot estimate the number of Montenegrin citizens who died in the attack on Dubrovnik in 1991, while more than a fifth state that there were over 100 dead. Compared to the previous wave, the share of those who state that the number of Montenegrin citizens who died in the attack on Dubrovnik is over 100¹ has increased significantly, which indicates the raise of knowledge of the Montenegrin public about these events. However, it should be noted that there is a significant number of citizens who still cannot give concrete data on such important events, which is a consequence of the systematic suppression of this event in the Montenegrin official narrative.

When it comes to war crimes in Montenegro, there is also an increase within those who heard about them, compared to last year's survey, i.e. now it is almost half of those surveyed. The number of those who do not have an opinion on this question is significantly decreasing, but it is worrying that in this recomposition of the previously undecided, the number of citizens who still believe that there were no war crimes in Montenegro is growing (increase from 33% to 35%), although there is a higher growth of those who acknowledge this fact (growth from 42% to 49%).

Total target population

February 2020

April 2021

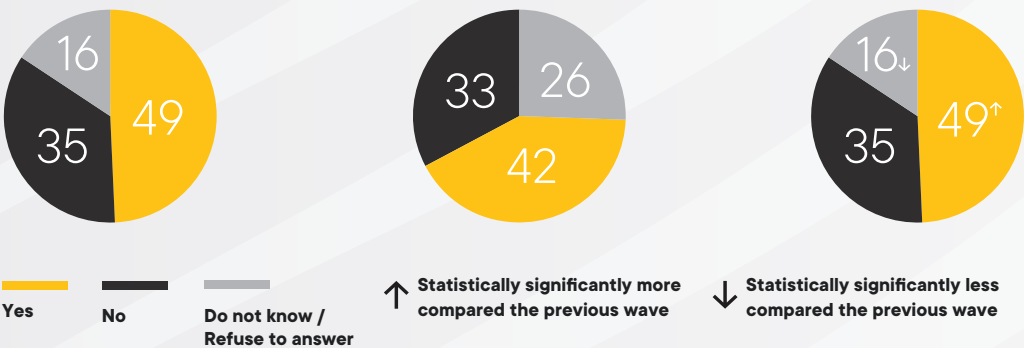


Chart 3. Were there any war crimes on the territory of Montenegro?

As crimes they have heard about, they most often spontaneously mention Bukovica and Pljevlja, Štrpce, NATO bombing, and Kaluđerski laz, whereas there are fewer of those who mention Deportations, Morinj, Velika and Piva.

¹ 165 Montenegrin citizens were killed in the attack on Dubrovnik.

The dominant majority of Montenegrin citizens state that they know what happened in Srebrenica in 1995 (86%), and two-thirds of them define it as genocide, while others believe that it was a major war crime but not genocide, or that it was a war in which people were killed on all sides, and some assess that it is a set-up of foreign forces and a plot against the Serbian people. The position that no genocide was committed is most present among citizens of Serbian nationality (55%).

It is important to note that this wave of research conducted in April 2021 in comparison to the previous wave from February 2020, caused the increase in the number of citizens who state that they are familiar with the Srebrenica case, which is 86% compared to the previous 70%. At the same time, the number of citizens who state that they do not know what happened in Srebrenica has significantly decreased.

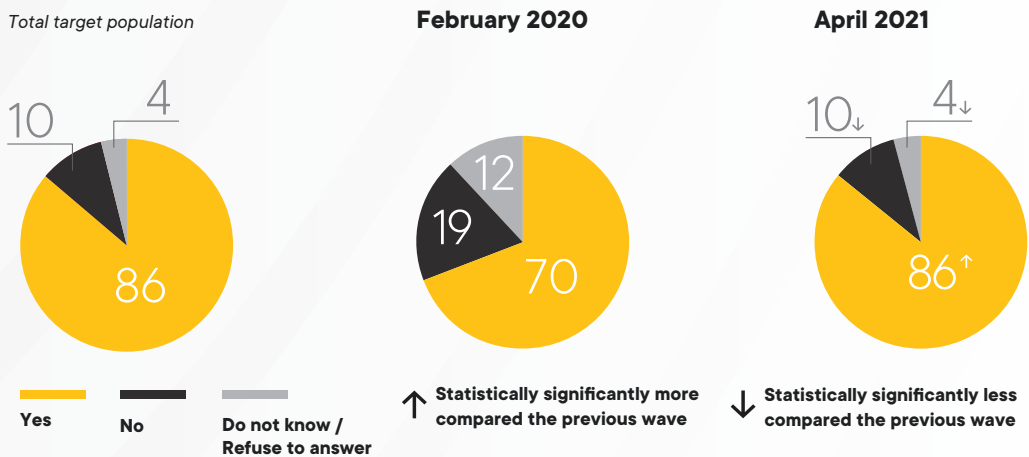


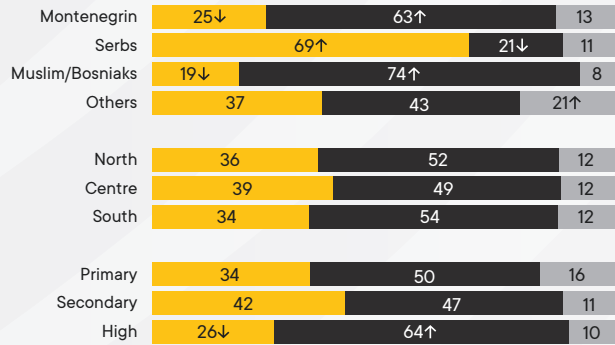
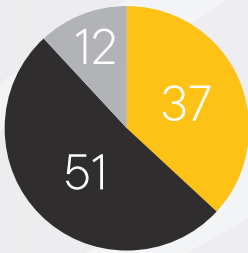
Chart 4. Do you know what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995?

This dispersion of findings raises objective concerns, because in nominally civil society, shaping attitudes towards a general civilizational issue based on national affiliation is noted. Nevertheless, this half-represented negative attitude among citizens of Serbian nationality indicates that, in that part, there is a certain maturation. In this context, the fact that approximately two-fifths of those who consider that genocide was not committed in Srebrenica still state that it was a horrific war crime is encouraging.

The position towards Srebrenica, in the period of the survey, has been in the public spotlight due to the statement of the Minister of Justice, Human and Minority Rights, Vladimir Lepasavić, who claimed that he was “ready to acknowledge the crime of genocide in Srebrenica when it is unequivocally established”. More than half of the citizens did not agree with that statement of Minister Lepasavić, and among them is a significant share of those of Montenegrin (63%) and Bosniak nationality (74%), as well as citizens with higher education (64%). On the other hand, two-fifths of citizens in Montenegro agree

with this position, primarily those of Serbian nationality (69%). Therefore, the formation of an attitude towards a court-established fact based on national affiliation is worryingly pronounced as well, but there are also variations related to the educational level, which emphasizes the role of education in understanding such issues and resistance to unscientific and out-of-court interpretations. Namely, it should be reminded that in nine cases before the Hague Tribunal, 15 people were convicted of genocide in Srebrenica, which is why many demanded the minister's resignation, including the Centre for Civic Education (CGO)².

Total target population



█ Yes
 █ No
 █ Do not know /

↑ Statistically significantly more compared the previous wave
 ↓ Statistically significantly less compared the previous wave

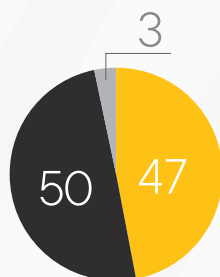
Chart 5. Do you agree with the position of the Minister of Justice, Human and Minority Rights, Vladimir Leposavić, who claimed that he was “ready to acknowledge the crime of genocide in Srebrenica when it is unequivocally established”, although in nine cases before the Hague Tribunal, 15 people were convicted of genocide in Srebrenica?

The research also included the attitudes of Montenegrin citizens about some key events of the 90s, whose legacy burdens Montenegrin society, but which are not present in the Montenegrin media, such as the Srebrenica case.

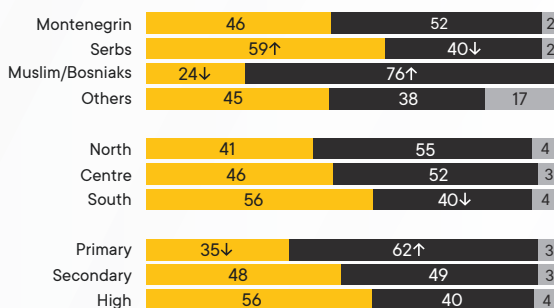
Thus, the vast majority of citizens heard about the action ‘Oluja’ [‘Storm’] (86%), while 13% stated that they have not heard of the action, and they are mostly those of Bosniak nationality (23%) and with primary education (26%). Out of those who know about action ‘Oluja’, three-quarters of them agree with the verdict of the Hague Tribunal that it is a “joint criminal act”. In this case, an almost homogeneous value judgment and condemnation of this event are noted.

² “Leposavic must resign or be dismissed”, CCE, 29 March 2021, <http://cgo-cce.org/en/2021/03/29/leposavic-da-podne-se-ostavku-ili-da-bude-smijenjen/#.YWXNRPBw2w>

Total target population



Yes No Do not know / Refuse to answer

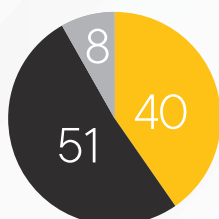


↑ Statistically significantly more compared the previous wave ↓ Statistically significantly less compared the previous wave

Chart 6. Graph 6. In your opinion, what is action 'Storm'?

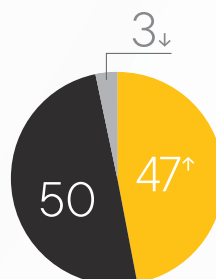
However, it is also indicative that half of the respondents have not heard of the Lora case, but it should be noted that this share is growing in comparison to the previous research (47% of informed respondents in 2021 compared to 40% in 2020). Of those who are not familiar with this case, Bosniaks (76%) and those with primary education (62%) are prevailing, while respondents of Serbian nationality dominate among those familiar with the case (59%).

February 2020



Yes No Do not know / Refuse to answer

April 2021



↑ Statistically significantly more compared the previous wave ↓ Statistically significantly less compared the previous wave

Chart 7. Have you heard of the Lora case?

Furthermore, out of those familiar with the Lora case, close to a third (30%) consider that the victims were Serbs, a fifth state soldiers of Yugoslav People's Army and reservists, and only 14% point out that the victims were Montenegrins.

On the other hand, almost all Montenegrin citizens have heard of the NATO intervention in the FRY in 1999 (94%), but still do not know the exact number of victims, that is, just over a fifth (22%) state that there were up to nine victims, while other estimates are

higher. During the NATO bombing in Montenegro, seven people were killed - six from Montenegro, in Murino, and one Serbian citizen in the Danilovgrad barracks.

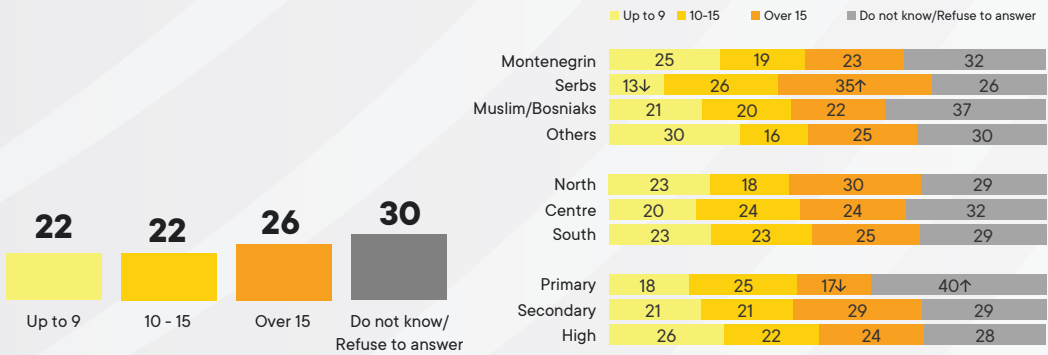


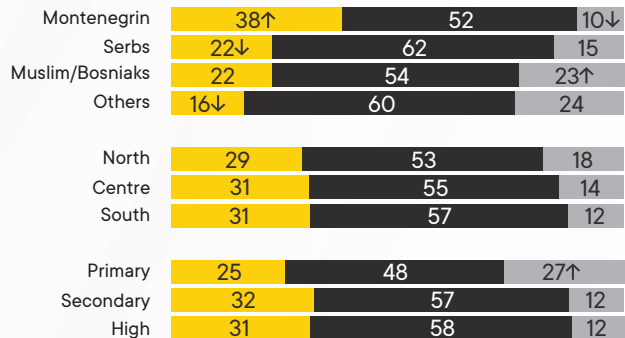
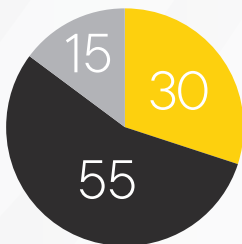
Chart 8. How many people died in Montenegro during the NATO bombing?

These results, having in mind those from the previous research, indicate a tendency of a higher assessment of the number of victims than the actual one, which can be partially explained by the generally negative attitude towards the NATO intervention and the prevailing opinion that it was an unjustified attack and crime. Such framework is strengthening, among a certain part of the population, inclination to increase the number of victims of crime conducted under their national and religious group.

Attitudes towards transitional justice

More than half of the citizens (55%) believe that Montenegro has not dealt with the war past from the 90s, while a third is of the opposite view, and this opinion is more dominant among those of Montenegrin nationality (38%).

Total target population



█ Yes
 █ No
 █ Do not know /

↑ Statistically significantly more compared the previous wave

↓ Statistically significantly less compared the previous wave

Chart 9. In your opinion, has the state of Montenegro dealt with its war past from the 90s?

The process of dealing with the past is supported by three-fifths of citizens (61%), while just over a quarter (28%) are among the opponents of this process, with no significant differences in relation to ethnicity. However, there is significantly lower support among citizens with primary education compared to secondary and higher education, which is an additional indicator of the influence of education and the need to communicate this issue in the education system at all levels.

It is worrying that only a third of citizens believe that the Montenegrin judiciary has the capacity to prosecute war crimes, with growing distrust in the judiciary compared to an earlier survey from 2020 (60% versus 44% in the last wave). This opinion is, above all, of Bosniak respondents (45%) and those with primary education (42%), while the opposite attitude is present in three out of five citizens (60%), predominantly those of Serbian ethnicity (76%).

February 2020

April 2021

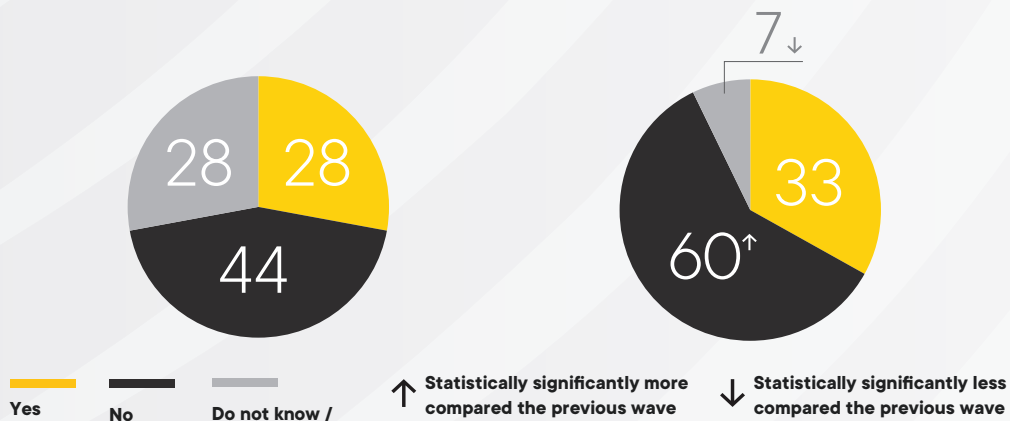


Chart 10. In your opinion, does the Montenegrin judiciary have the capacity to prosecute war crimes?

Such a negative public perception of the judiciary, when it comes to prosecuting these crimes, can have several causes. The increasing public interest in issues of dealing with the past and transitional justice may be one of the reasons, but the general tendencies in Montenegrin society in the last year should also be taken into account, as well as a lower level of trust in public institutions. This second one is confirmed by the relatively poor knowledge of Montenegrin citizens about the war crimes trials themselves. Namely, half of the respondents do not know whether any of the Montenegrin citizens are accused of war crimes in Montenegro or outside Montenegro in the '90s, only slightly less than a third (31%) say they know about it, while a fifth do not have an opinion (19%).

In addition, over half of the citizens (54%) do not know that the Montenegrin Prosecutor's Office was or is investigating war crimes, or that there have been war crimes trials.

Total target population

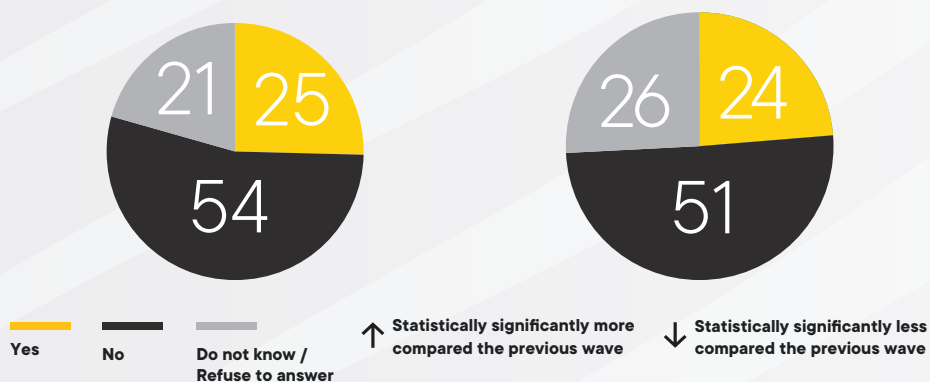


Chart 11: According to the information available to you, has the Montenegrin Prosecutor's Office investigated or is investigating war crimes cases?

Chart 12: According to the information available to you, have there been any war crimes trials in Montenegrin courts?

Among a third of those who know that there were war crimes trials, the most recognizable are the cases of abduction of passengers from the train in Štrpci and the Morinj camp.

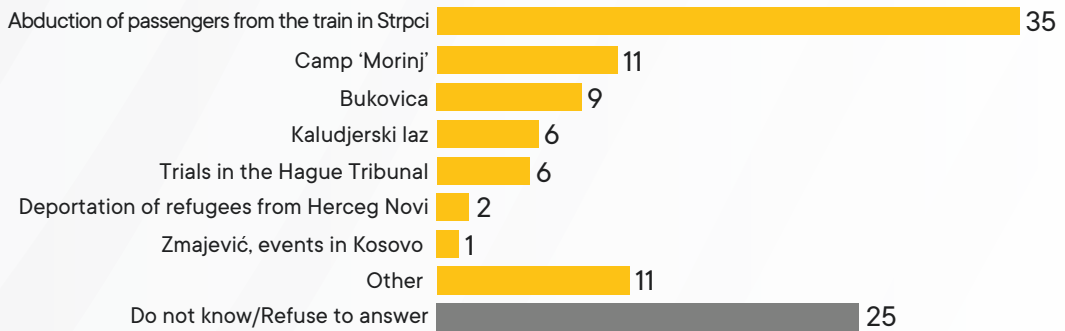


Chart 13: What trials have you heard of? (spontaneous responses of those who stated that there were proceedings for war crimes)

On the other hand, the attitude towards some key aspects of transitional justice is quite encouraging.

For example, if the victims of crime are established by the court, seven out of 10 citizens believe that compensation should be paid to victims of crime, while one-fifth disagrees.

Furthermore, the vast majority (81%) of the public in Montenegro support regional cooperation in the investigation and prosecution of war crimes in the '90s. This is accompanied by strong support (84%) for the establishment of RECOM (Regional Commission for the Establishment of Facts about War Crimes and Other Serious Violations of Human Rights Committed in the Former Yugoslavia from 1 January 1991 until 31 December 2001).

More importantly, close to three-fifths (57%) of citizens support the extradition of Montenegrin citizens to other countries in the case of war crimes trials in the '90s. Among those who support it, the majority are highly educated (72%) and members of the Bosniak nationality (72%). Extradition in the case of war crimes trials is not supported by more than a third of respondents (35%), with a significant share of Serbs (51%) and those with a basic level of education (47%). It should be noted that this issue was not represented in public, but also that the experiences of countries in the region and beyond indicate that it has the potential to provoke certain social controversies.

There is a similar position towards witness protection in war crimes trials in the '90s, where 69% of citizens believe that a special system of protection of these persons is needed, while a fifth is of the opposite opinion.

Missing persons, as one of the segments of transitional justice, continue to burden the region. However, this topic is not particularly present in Montenegrin society. Consequently, seven out of 10 respondents (69%) do not know how to estimate how many citizens of Montenegro are still listed as missing during the wars of the '90s, whereas only 13% say over 60 people.

Value positions and perceptions of current affairs

The last segment of the research focused on value positions towards key events and processes related to the 90s, then on the influences in forming these positions, but also on assessing the work of the most important social and political actors in Montenegro in relation to transitional justice.

There are various and fragmented factors that influence the shaping of opinion about the events of the 90s. Considering the offered options, the citizens of Montenegro, to a large extent, state that the formation of their views on the events of the 90s were not influenced by religious communities, NGOs, political parties and political leaders. In addition, about half underline that they were not influenced by formal education or their environment (friends and relatives). Furthermore, they are polarized in terms of the impact of non-formal education, although this factor stood out as the most influential (39%).

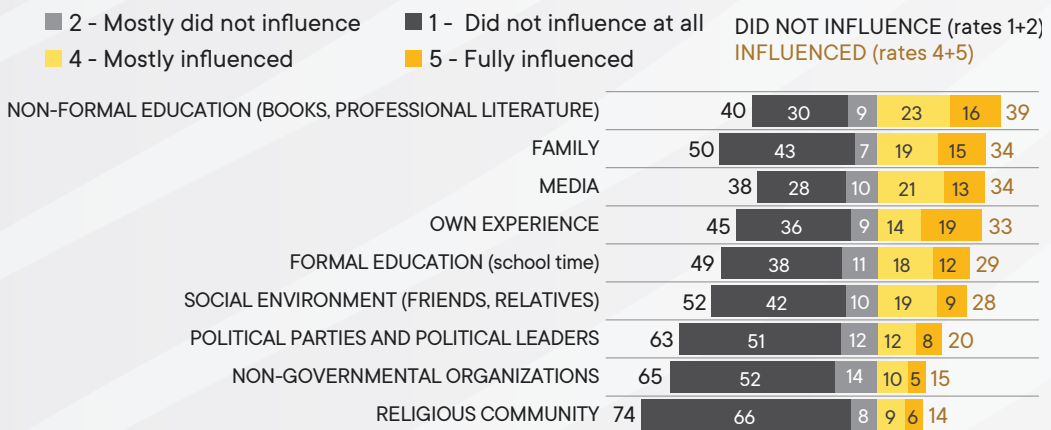


Chart 14: How much did the following factors influence the formation of your opinion about the events of the 90s?

This could lead to the conclusion that there is no primary source of information about the events of the 90s, but, non-formal education stands out by its influence. This situation in a post-conflict society, such as Montenegrin, can be a good basis for creating a populist and extremist narrative

about these events, and therefore requires more attention and analysis due to potentially detrimental impact on future generations of dealing with the past and reconciliation.

It is indicative that the majority of Montenegrin citizens believe that individuals and not nations are responsible for crimes (85%), but almost three-fifths of them believe that all sides are equally responsible for the wars of the 90s in the former Yugoslavia (58%), while half agree that all parties have committed equally most serious crimes. Additionally, over two-fifths (44%) of respondents believe that members of their nation suffered the most during the wars of the 90s. On the other hand, the majority (79%) of Montenegrin citizens do not agree with the claim that members of their nation committed the heaviest crimes during the wars of the 90s.

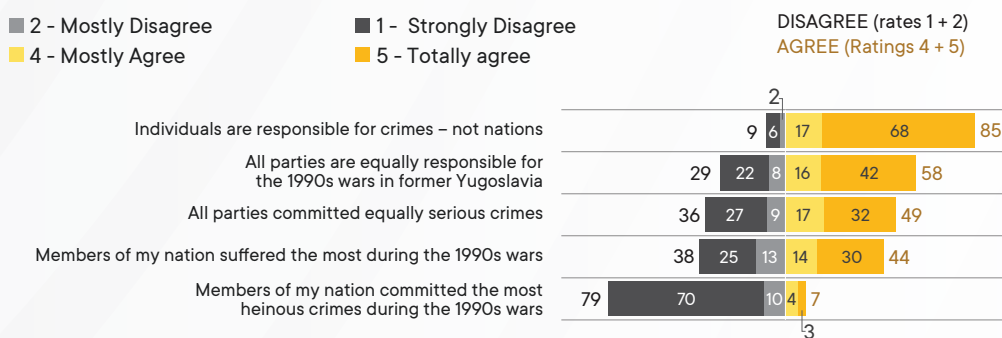
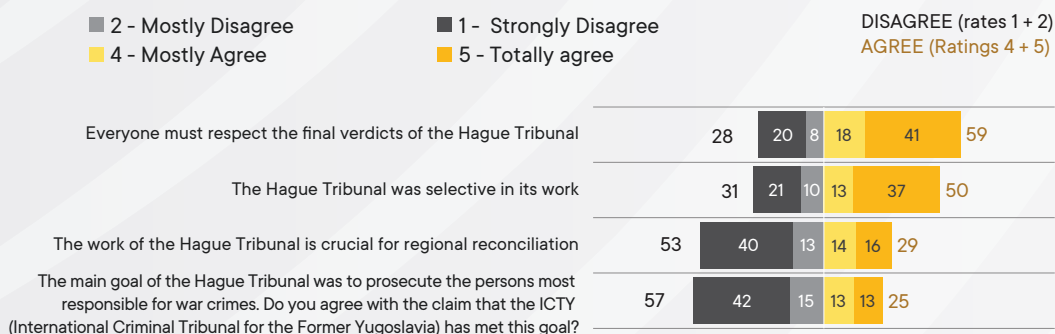


Chart 15: To what extent do you agree with the listed statements?

These data highlight the first symptoms of an inadequate educational approach to the topic of the 90s and the lack of development of critical awareness. Apparently positive agreement with the view that individuals are responsible for crimes and not nations, gets a different tone when analyzing other answers. Namely, supporting the attitude that everyone is responsible for crimes, with a position on the suffering of their own nation and a very negative attitude towards the fact or possibility that members of their own nation committed the worst crimes, indicates the historical concept of “pride and suffering” where priority is given to success and victims of their own nation. Although the interpretation of these results may vary, due to the inactivity of Bosniak citizens of Montenegro in the conflicts of the 90s, but also less activity of Montenegrin citizens, these should still be taken with due care.

The attitude towards Hague Tribunal is critical, as half of the respondents assess that the Hague Tribunal was selective in its work, but also that everyone must respect the final judgments of that court. Only a third consider that the Hague tribunal’s contribution to regional reconciliation is significant, while more than half of Montenegrin citizens oppose it. Only a quarter believe that this court has fulfilled the basic goal of prosecuting the most responsible persons for war crimes, and over half have the opposite standpoint.



Graphic 16: To what extent do you agree with the above statements?

Although at first sight, these findings may seem worrying, they are essentially not, and above all due to the great agreement with the claim that the final judgments of the Hague Tribunal must be respected. Other claims can be interpreted as critical, even negative, concerning the work of the Hague tribunal, but do not deviate too much from the regional assessment of the work of this court. Finally, the Hague Tribunal stated that its work was mostly either misunderstood or misinterpreted in the states that emerged from the disintegration of Yugoslavia. If we add to that selective and sensationalist media reporting during most of the work of this Tribunal, these data are not surprising. Aware of the perception, the Tribunal, i.e. its successor - the Residual Mechanism - has launched a major programme aimed at better communicating the legacy of the Hague tribunal.

The findings of the research indicate that three-quarters of citizens believe that NATO intervention in the FRY was not justified, and that NATO committed crimes during the bombing of Montenegro, but also almost half appreciate that NATO membership is good for Montenegro.

The majority of respondents (84%) share the opinion that every Montenegrin citizen who has committed a war crime must be sanctioned. If this is taken in correlation with the issue of extradition of war crimes, it is obvious that there is a clear majority that wants to prosecute war criminals. Also, almost two-thirds (63%) of respondents think that there are still ideologies and policies in Montenegro that led to war conflicts and crimes during the 90s.

In this context, the attitude that over three-quarters believe that young people should learn about the war in the 90s through formal education is important. It is also interesting that 80% of respondents state that they did not learn about the events of the 90s during their formal education. Among those who learned about the events of the 90s during their formal education, two-fifths were satisfied with how this learning was implemented in schools. On the other hand, more than half are dissatisfied, while over a quarter of them point out that they are very dissatisfied. All this confirms the need for these topics to get their adequate place in the Montenegrin educational system.

Regarding positive achievements of the 90s and building a culture of remembrance, more than half of the citizens have not heard of the anti-war movement of the 90s (53%), compared to 43% of those familiar with this movement, whereby among those who are

familiar is a small part of those who live in the north of Montenegro.

Slightly more than half of the citizens have heard about some of the monuments to the victims of the wars of the 90s, while over a third have not heard of it. Among those who have heard of the monument to these victims, 14% cite the monument dedicated to the victims of Strbac, and 11% the Srebrenica memorial complex. Yet nearly two-fifths did not know spontaneously to cite a concrete monument to the victims of the wars of the 90s. Also, among those who have some knowledge on this issue, there is a significantly lower share of those who have a basic level of education (39%).

For the majority of social subjects, the citizens of Montenegro believe that they are not advocating in favour of transitional justice and dealing with the past. It is worrying that they see the judiciary, the prosecution, the police, but also the opposition and the President of Montenegro. Citizens mostly single out non-governmental organizations as social subjects that advocate for transitional justice and dealing with the past (37%), followed by religious communities (35%).

2 - Mostly do not advocate
 1 - Do not advocate at all
 DO NOT ADVOCATE (Ratings 1 + 2)

4 - Mostly advocate
 5 - Fully Advocate
 ADVOCATE (Ratings 4 + 5)

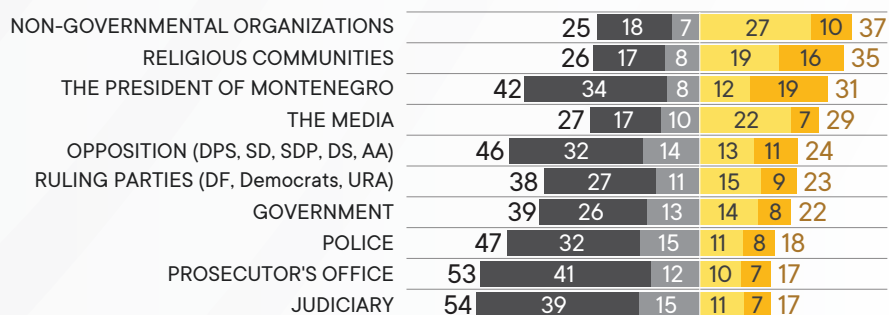


Chart 17: In your opinion, do these social subjects advocate transitional justice and dealing with the past?

When it comes to advocating political parties and coalitions for transitional justice and dealing with the past, citizens single out the Bosniak Party, followed by the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Civic Movement URA and the Democrats. The negative assessment of the primary political factors of the former and this government is worrying. SDP, although until recently the only party that actively advocated for dealing with the past, has a slight minus, while that minus is somewhat more pronounced in Democratic Party of Socialists-Liberal Party and Social Democrats. However, parties that have built their political image on civil society and reconciliation have failed to profile themselves as proponents of transitional justice. On the other hand, the backbone of the new government, ie. the Democratic Front coalition, as well as the Socialist People's Party and even the Movement for Changes, have been identified as extremely apathetic about transitional justice.

Conclusion

The research conducted in spring 2021, and a comparative analysis with similar research from 2020, indicate several interesting conclusions.

Findings indicating that the attitudes of Montenegrin citizens are developing in a positive direction when it comes to dealing with the past are encouraging, although it is a process that requires a lot more time and effort. The fact that citizens perceive non-governmental organizations as the most dedicated should be an incentive for the NGO sector to continue developing initiatives in this area.

There is an increase in the share of those who heard about the crucial historical events, such as the attack on Dubrovnik, but also for war crimes committed in Montenegro. There are good trends towards the achievements of modern civilization, such as the recognition of the genocide in Srebrenica, respect for the decisions of the Hague Tribunal and perceiving the benefits of NATO membership. Also, the existence of a critical attitude towards all these processes is objectively understandable.

Nevertheless, it is worrying that only one-third of citizens believe that the Montenegrin judiciary has the capacity to prosecute war crimes, which indicates a significant increase in that distrust in the judiciary. Also, half of the respondents do not know whether any of the Montenegrin citizens have been charged with war crimes in Montenegro, while over half of respondents do not know that the Montenegrin prosecution is investigating war crimes, nor that there have been war crimes trials. Amongst the one-third of those who know that there were trials for war crimes, the most famous are the cases of abduction of passengers from the train in Strpci and the camp 'Morinj'. This warns that the results of the work of judicial bodies are modest, but also that these institutions need to better inform the public about these processes.

Citizens strongly support regional cooperation, as well as the establishment of RECOM.

There are various and fragmented factors that influence the shaping opinions about the 90s events, whereby the predominant influence is non-formal education, followed by family, media, etc. The incredibly small influence of formal education represents a dangerous space for the development of unscientific and socially harmful interpretations of the events of the 90s. It is good that over three-quarters of citizens consider that young people should learn about the war events of the 1990s through formal education, because there is an objective need for these issues to get their adequate place within the education system.

The desire for reconciliation exists, as well as the potential, because the majority of citizens believe that individuals are responsible for crimes - not nations. However, there

are also burdens of the history of 'pride and suffering' that have shaped generations of citizens by using the narrative that we should mention our heroes and our victims.

The limitations of the educational system, as well as social activism, are indicated by the fact that more than half of the citizens have not heard of the Anti-War Movement of the 90s, and there are not enough people who know of some erected monuments dedicated to the victims of the 1990s wars.

There is evident progress in Montenegrin society when it comes to transitional justice. Still, limitations of the formal education system, underdeveloped communication of the competent institutions with the public on this issue, and the role of political entities that are not recognized as supporters of the transitional justice process, can slow down or shake up these trends. Therefore, the priority must be the encouragement of lectures and discussions on this issue, as well as a well-argued social discourse to reach a broader consensus. Not until then will citizens feel the importance and benefits of the transitional justice process.

