MEDIATION IN MONTENEGRO AND SPECIFICITIES OF THE MONTENEGRIN MENTALITY

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Abstract: The Montenegrin society is characterised by numerous grounds for conflict: stereotypes, prejudices, established patterns of behaviour, accentuated masculinity, the cult of motherhood, multi-ethnic and multiconfessional tensions, most of which are due to cultural patterns, but also the breakup of the SFRY, wars in the environment, economic crisis, external influences and transition. Society in the decades-long period of active awaiting, insecurity and uncertainty is largely impoverished and divided between the elite and others. The paper outlines the principles of mediation in Montenegro within the framework of marital mediation and emphasises the issue of gender relations.

Keywords: Mediation, marital mediation, Montenegrin mentality

1 INTRODUCTION

The initial idea for the research stems from the fact that the process of mediation, the resolution of disputes by the actors of the dispute with the help of mediators is neither empirically investigated, nor theoretically rooted in the perspective of sociology, psychology and anthropology in Montenegro.

The values of the modern world intensively change their orientation, which points to the change of a man as the subject and source of value. Modern anthropogenesis develops under the conditions of disintegration of traditional family, language, communication, in conditions of transition from real to virtual world and persistent transformation of cultural background. In this situation, the main trends in value dynamics lead to the development of new types of social values, adapted to the quality of life as a determinative value. However,
the vital value that is imposed is of socially-economic nature, because it is associated with high income, significant free time and the acquisition of different goods (from property to extreme entertainment). The change of value paradigms is carried out in a transition from sociocentrism to individualism, which implies the dismantling of the status of social values (within ethnic groups, states, civic associations) and the elevation of individual values (personal life, feelings, health, security, comfort, etc.) - values of freedom, but not as we are used to (moral, politics, philosophy), but sexual, interpersonal, educational. The value of hedonism has increased, especially hedonism as a fusion of the information society and consumer social values.

2 THE PARADIGM OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY

The paradigm of material prosperity, as the highest form of human self-actualisation, is violated by the liberation under the conditions of computerisation of work, significant free time and the quality of life (Baeva, 2012).

Modern society not only proclaims these values but also lives according to them. Risks that are increasingly mentioned about this fundamental change can be summarised as follows:

- These tendencies are very likely leading to a loss of traditional culture and a vital masculinity world that has existed for thousands of years and are now disappearing under the influence of globalisation and computerisation of culture. The annihilation of traditional values, models and norms of behaviour formed at the level of ethnic groups, states and societies lead to the change of lifestyle within eclectic, informationally open cultural conditions that create greater openness and instability of individual personality. Culture by itself, a heritage created by people, is no longer an absolute value; it is neglected, innovated or simply dismissed.

- Destruction of the family as an institution poses a serious danger to the survival of traditional cultural patterns. The process of family destruction in Montenegro began in the 1990s, accompanied by an increase in the rate of divorce and non-traditional marriages. By subtracting gender demarcations, not only a new reproduction system is formed, but also a different type of man capable of living alone or changing his natural essence.

- Serious risks are also associated with the transfer of values into the virtual world (social networks), which complicates real communication and the ability to solve vital problems, developing a destructive mindset and autodestructive behaviour. Interpersonal communication is replaced by virtual imitation, as well as important spheres of relationships such as love and friendship.

- The spiritual sphere is shown as a new zone of risk, introduced under the influence of consumer society and hedonism. Fundamental sciences, education and art in their traditional forms, lose the leading position in postmodern culture. Commercialisation and pragmatisation of these spheres in the postindustrial society eliminate their humanistic and educational content as well as their developmental influence on man. In spite of the rapid development of scientific technologies and the active expansion of the scientific impact on civilisation, it should be noted that theoretical science is poorly linked to application results, on the periphery of the development of the soci-
ety of consumption and entertainment. The consequences of the crisis of humanistic knowledge are: the liberalisation of morality and spiritual imperatives; education is replaced by the formation of inapplicable skills and abilities; Art does not satisfy, but entertains a man, elevating his lowest needs to the highest level.

In the era of information some risks are caused by the development of the value of freedom, which in some situations is interpreted as information freedom. The term “information freedom” refers to the possibility that an individual is a source, a barrier, or the transmitter of information without being responsible for its content and the consequences that can be caused by mass media. Anyone can be a source of unverified (or even false) information that can have a significant impact not only on social, but also on political stability. It is primarily aimed at destabilising the system of individual and social values through advertising and mass media, information and the film industry, whose availability grows with instability and the crisis of social relations. The openness of information and the dependence of their content on each subject multiply the risk for modern culture and create new types of the lack of freedom, such as public opinion manipulation, disinformation of social groups, interference with the privacy of citizens, etc. The loss of the essential basis of existence associated with the biological and social nature of man, his bodily nature, belonging to ethnic groups, the sex, the nation and the family forms a kind of simulacrum, changing its appearance without a constant substance. Freedom is replaced by multiplied roles in the space created by moderators; feelings get virtual forms, losing the essence that connects them with the meaning of life.

2.1 Specificities of Montenegrin mentality

Talking about the mentality of Montenegrin citizens, Cerović explains that this is an unclear category, and that it may be better to talk about the culture of the nation (as a set of implicit and explicit systems of values and beliefs that are widely spread in a nation). Some researchs (which do not cover Montenegro) deal with the notion of "relation to positive emotions". Undoubtedly, convictions that make people flee from "positive experiences / emotions", considering them to be illegitimate and dangerous, cannot by themselves lead to collective depression, but they can establish a general imbalance in favour of negative feelings, which also suits development of depressive and anxiety states, Cerović explains, adding that many other factors that are also represented in Montenegro’s social culture are favourable to what theoreticians like Seligman call “learned helplessness.”

Individualism, loneliness and feeling of isolation are considered to be one of the important factors that favour the development of mood disorders. On the other hand, a research of UNDP (United Nations Development Fund) was carried out in Montenegro, which shows that an average Montenegrin, excluding the immediate family, has trust in only two people (on average), which is well below the average in the region and the EU. The latest research of Gallup agency confirms these findings. As part of the research, in 138 countries around the world, a survey was conducted on whether the respondents had experienced "positive emotions" on the previous day. They were asked whether they enjoyed anything, whether they laughed, whether they were resting, whether they treated others with respect and whether they had learned something new and interesting. In Montenegro, the percentage of positive answers was 57%, which leads to the sixteenth place from the bottom of the scale.
The aforementioned research, the fear that the patriarchal cult of a man-warrior will be violated, and the fear of seeing their own urges and desires that are socially unacceptable, can also bring us closer to the center milieu in which a mediator works in Montenegro. Changes in this domain, as Cerović says, "require deep interventions in the structure of cultural norms".

Widely present in population, depression is also defined as “learned helplessness” that directly translates into frustration, a sense of neglect, and emotional hurt. In men (especially in Montenegrin culture), it turns into anger and aggression, as well as rage. Hatred is nothing but the consequence of this helplessness, the feeling that it is impossible to change anything and affect events.

Hatred does not contribute to changes in society, as well as indignation is not a relevant source of social change. The “right” on hatred in Montenegro is perceived as a kind of basic human rights, and in essence it creates only more hatred. It is similar to aggressive gossiping, some type of malicious surveillance and criticism, which only contributes to the need for adapting (conforming) to the existing and the majority opinion and cliche. Certainly neither independence, nor creativity and social engagement are developing, except on the mostly accepted cliche initiatives. As interesting, Cerović also states the studies that countries with some genetic predispositions for depression (such as the “s” version of the 5-HTTLPR gene) essentially have a relatively low level of that disorder, which is mostly attributed to “collective consciousness and nonindividualistic thinking.”

Knowing the culture of the place in which disputes occur and in which a mediator works, with all of the previously stated facts, allows him/her to approach the job in a way that will enable him/her to get to know the actors of the procedure more easily, their problem i.e, approach to the problem, and thus recognise the paths to the solution.

### 2.2 Mediation in Montenegro

If we look at the mediation in Montenegro in the period from 2009 to 2014, we can conclude that in that period there were a total of 5286 mediations, involving at least 2 people, which amounts to around 12 thousand people directly involved in this process and certainly as many indirectly involved. Most of the actors had characteristics that indicate the lack of communication, the lack of understanding and the ignorance of differences in both people and attitudes.

The consequence of the lack of adequate communication is that in Montenegro, on average, in a year, Montenegrin courts have an influx of over one hundred thousand disputes involving at least two hundred thousand people, or about a third of the entire population. In all these cases, through legal communication, a decision is made by someone else (a court), which produces discontent of at least half of the participants, sometimes more than half. Mediation gives a chance for communication, gives a chance to a man (taking into account everything stated above) that through his values, taking into account the same with his counterparts, he finds the power to resolve his disputes without anyone to impose a solution upon him, thereby obtaining the satisfaction of all. About 15,000 of citizens took up such an opportunity in Montenegro in the period 2008-2014. Nevertheless, in 2013, 114,128 requests were received to settle disputes through the court.

As we have already mentioned, according to the opinion of communicologist and psychologist Radoje Cerović, the basic problem of the citizens of Montenegro is the burden of
social hierarchies and statuses, as well as the consistent adherence to one’s own cultural pattern, which includes a huge amount of aggression and the inability to integrate into different cultures and their rules. Apart from the already mentioned Cerović discourse, everything fits into a worrying assumption that Montenegro is one of the countries with the highest level of depression and anxiety, i.e. so-called mood disorder in the world, Cerovic believes.

2.3 Marital mediation in Montenegro and issues of gender relations

The special type of mediation, which we deal with in this paper, belongs to the corpus of marital mediation. By investigating mediation, we came to the conclusion that it is precisely the field of marital relations that is the issue of the anthropological and cultural patterns in Montenegro, reflects the current system of social values and, ultimately, a kind of social pathology. According to the data of the Statistical Office of Montenegro (MONSTAT), every sixth marriage in Montenegro ends with divorce, while the number of marriages is decreasing year after year. The table below shows the number of realised and divorced marriages in the period 2009-2012:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of couples married</th>
<th>Number of couples divorced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3,829</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>3,675</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>3,528</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>3,305</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: MONSTAT

In the first 11 months of 2013, there were 388 divorces. Geographically, the most frequently divorces happen in Podgorica, Bar, Herceg Novi and Nikšić. It is interesting that in traditional environments such as Šavnik, Mojkovac, Žabljak and Plužine divorce still presents an exception.

According to MONSTAT data, the number of children born in the same period also declined in Montenegro. In 2009 there were 8,642 born children and 7,459 in 2012, which causes a decrease in population growth from 2,780 to 1,537. According to the forecasts of the US Demographic Institute, in 2050 Montenegro will have 10% of the population (about 62,000) less.

According to the data, 60 to 80% of divorce requests are initiated by women. The most common cause is cheating and domestic violence. In the third place is the rivalry between spouses, that is, the conflict over domination in the family, which is a consequence of the shift of cultural patterns. Namely, in the traditional Montenegrin culture there was no rivalry between husband and wife, because the social roles were firmly fixed: the man worked, earned and the wife did housework and raised children. In the situation of economic and mental emancipation of women, family responsibilities are rearranged, leading a large number of marriages directly into crisis.
2.3.1. Male principle

When it comes to gender relations in Montenegro, the question of the traditional behavioural model, that is, masculinity as a general place and form, is fostered, rarely considering the fact that such models, regardless of their firmness, do not take into account individuals who often violate them. This, however, does not diminish the functional potential of the given model in determining contemporary social relationships, Banović (2011) believes. Nedeljković (2010) makes an effort to explore how traditional performances are currently functional at all (considering that the masculine pattern is important for understanding the culture of Montenegro), what role it plays in ethnic, interethnic and personal relations, and how it is most often manifested (through adapted forms of aggression, heterosexuality, authoritarianism, laziness, homophobia, domination, etc.). We are certainly interested in masculinity in two aspects: as an ethnical signal / stigma and as a model of identification with narrower national groups (and intra-group classification).

Masculinisation of the public sphere, political map of society and social relations in theory implies masculinity as a social, political and educational strategy, but can we consider it as a public discourse? The anthropology of the 21st century appears to be breaking up the traditional concept of culture as a stable and homogeneous system of values and beliefs of groups and communities, ceasing to be the theoretical science and losing authority on the basis of which in general it gets the opportunity to influence the process of negotiating and deciding how to organise our collective life (Milenković, 2007: 122). Masculinity is a kind of identity policy in which one social group (men) struggles to be recognised as undoubtedly dominant and basic to recognising national identity. Within society, masculinity is imposed in several contexts: politics (which excludes other groups - women, minority groups, etc.); culture (history, literature, science); economy (denying rights of women and children to work outside the household); religion (denying equality in front of God). Cultural relativism, brought by anthropology at the end of the 20th century, destroys standards as truths and emphasises individual assumptions, following social tendencies for reviewing cultural patterns and internal social standards. In Montenegro, we witness the process of revision of traditional gender models through the number of divorces, social position, power, culture, etc., i.e. through civil (human rights, duties, roles and identities), tribal (traditionalist, collectivist, masculine). Moving the power locus from the male principle of a social organisation weakens its legitimacy, authority and integrative capacity in a social sense. Globalistic trends that come to Montenegro, through the tendency for European integrations, the weakening of the traditional family and economic emancipation of women, are in great contradiction with the existence of “the relation of oppression, domination, marginalisation and exploitation” (Benhabib, 1999: 401). Group rights (such as masculinity) include leaders from the dominant group (in this case men), and they are an instrument of subordinating women (Spinner-Haley, 2001: 84). Thus, cultural identity becomes the arena in which the struggle for supremacy and self-determination takes place.

When he speaks about tradition, Handler divides it into scientific and colloquial. The scientific concept sees tradition as an unlimited entity that is not actually an objective feature of the phenomenon, but rather a process of continuous interpretation - attributing the meaning to the present (Handler, 1984: 273-290). The colloquial concept defines categories of constraints, data and essences, authentically (original, traditional, intact) (Handler, 1986). With these views of tradition, a false dichotomy between tradition and modernity is
connected, as fixed and mutually excluded states. However, the tradition is fluid, its content is redefined and constructed within each generation, which implies that tradition also includes elements of discontinuity (Linnekin, 1983: 242). It is an association to the past with the moral weight of culture.

Montenegrin masculinity is based on the primary value of the one who continues the lineage and lights the candle for Slava (family patron saint’s day). The daughters are traditionally “God’s punishment”, “somebody else’s dinner”, and an “accident in the house”. For a man it is impolite to bear the burden, “to work like a woman”, and even to touch a cradle with the edge of his robe. “The normal reaction of the man would be this: the priest, the supervisor of the guard of Prince Nikola, will not take up the Prince’s screaming child from the ground, because he does not take up his own children at home either,” says Banović (2011). A man is a master who rules, a woman serves and obeys. Love is a nonmale, non-heroic element of life; ancestors and descendants - it is male and heroic because it serves to maintain fraternity, tribe and people. If we try to put this model in this time, in today’s policies of identity and human rights, we will get the very source of the social paradox of Montenegrin society - the redefinition of gender roles while they are still being actively played.

Banovic (2011) thinks that the biggest problem for a Montenegrin man is actually his invisibility, because, although the narratives of this area are full of stories about heroes and daredevils, we will never find the man himself and his real position in everyday life. One should not forget that playing gender roles implies certain standards / norms that an individual must fulfill, and this is what we see by considering the tradition of this area. However, through the model we do not see whether men succeeded in meeting expectations at all and even how the deformation of a gender role occurred. And what happens when a man fails to fit into gender stereotypes? Sociologists say - he suffers from the condemnation of the society, which inevitably leads to psychological consequences, low self-esteem (effort to achieve, ideal power) and the so-called “trauma of a gender role” that happens when the role is eventually fulfilled, but this fulfilment leaves traumatic consequences. Here, in fact, we are talking about what kind of a person somebody is and what he should be, about the idealised person’s form, which is practically impossible in reality.

The traditional Montenegrin aspiration to heroic roles can be explained by the number of wars that were conducted in the past (historical reasons), even in terms of discrimination against women (women cannot carry weapons, therefore – they are not worthy as men). Furthermore, the situations of public interest are those that create heroes (struggles, crises), but also antiheroes, negative examples that show what “masculinity” is not. Let’s just take the traditional pattern of heroism of Njegoš’s “The Mountain Wreath”, which contains all the elements of heroism in it: we have a hero (bishop Rade), antihero (the Turkicised), a venture (“into the hands of Mandušić Vuk, every rifle will be deadly”), a test (hard decision to investigate the Turkicised), the pursue (for the freedom of Montenegro). The idea of the masculine role conceived in this way is concentrated on serving a group that includes personal sacrifice. In the Montenegrin tradition, the masculine role of sacrifice can be called: the role of a defender, the role of the liberator, the role of the martyr and the role of the benefactor. Let’s emphasise that the personal characteristics of the hero and his private life are completely irrelevant because he is not a living man, but a model. Let us go back to a modern Montenegrin man who has to play a heroic role without a common enemy and fight, in a situation in which his economic power is weakening, as well as a social influence, the authority is
questioned both in the family and in front of himself and there is a favourable ground for frustration, because Montenegrin men do not define their masculinity in relation to women, but in relation to one another.

The modern study of masculinity is in a good part based on two scales: BMS and MRNS. Kimel (Kimmel, 2005) lists the Brannon Masculinity Scale of Brenon and Junian from 1984 (Brannon, Juni, 1984) as a measure of an individual assessment of masculinity through four components and seven sub-scales. In general, Kimel says that in most of his studies, 60 to 70% of respondents agree that masculinity is based on emotional stoicism - never show fear and never show pain!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Sub-scales</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Without girly activities”</td>
<td>(а) Avoiding femininity: a man can not deal with women’s activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) Emotional disguise: men conceal emotions, which means that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men should never reveal feelings and emotions that show them as sensitive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mr. Big / wheel”</td>
<td>(а) Family nurturer, that says that a man should provide for his family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by his work;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) adored and respected, that says that a man should be adored and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>respected by others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Powerful oak”</td>
<td>(а) endurance / resistance - by which men should be physically strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and insensitive to pain and suffering and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) a man - machine - by which men should be efficient workers, safe,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>confident, determined, serious, persistent and problem-solvers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Give them hell”</td>
<td>(а) violence and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) adventure – men should be daring, capable of taking the risk and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>practicing violence without hesitation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MRNS scale (King, 2000) of Tompson and Pleyk shortens the number of components to three:
- standard of status and rationality (a man as a nurturer of a family, successful at work, confident and independent);
- standard of endurance (a man must not show emotional or physical pain, but may be violent and prone to dangerous situations);
- the rule of avoiding femininity (a man must not engage in traditional female activities).

Applied to the relation of the traditional and modern models of Montenegrin masculinity, the mentioned scales can show a deep gap between them and a transition to a form of masculinity that is not culturally typical for this region. The basic points of the gap are changes in the basic criteria of masculinity. Perhaps the norms of status and rationality are most likely to change (a successful, independent, self-confident man who provides for his family), in the sense that the focus of masculinity is transferred from courage to capability. Namely, in the Montenegrin tradition, the reputation of a man depends on two basic conditions: reputation and personal acts that cause respect, and not wealth and earnings, even if
the family has to starve due to it. The muscular model in development measures the power and reputation by material value, not caring for honour and honesty. Providing for family is monitored by monetary parameters, while in the tradition it implied physical protection from offense or physical assault.

The standard of endurance / rudeness was fulfilled in the past by military capabilities and heroism in struggle, and any tenderness was inadequate, as well as the expression of any personal feelings, especially love (except for the tenderness between a brother and a sister). Today, a man is asked to express emotions, which leads many to anxiety and the loss of self-confidence.

The standard of avoiding femininity, as the belief that a man should not engage in traditionally female activities, has also been subjected to a serious rehearsal. Namely, there are few societies that have so drastically separated “male” and “female” affairs as Montenegrin. According to Vukašin Pešić’s records (Pešić, 1996), everything related to children is “shameful,” “impure”, “nasty”; even the male child (who is for a Montenegrin a sacred child) will not see his father lift him up or hug him; the real man is giving his best not to touch the cradle; a man will not bring a glass of water to a sick woman because he is afraid someone will see him; To bear the burden on the back is indecent.

Montenegrin masculinity is a socially and historically formed construction of gender relations, which has its own historical dynamics. Gutman (Guttman, 2007). believes that masculinity can be studied in four ways: as a male identity (everything that men think and do); masculinity (everything that men think and do to be men); manliness (some men are bigger men than others); male roles (a man is everything that is not a woman). However, Kimel believes that the use of the terms masculinity in the singular is wrong and that it should be quoted in the plural (masculinities) because the variations for its determination are variable over time, cultures and societies. In that way, we will talk about the traditional and contemporary Montenegrin masculinity, without putting them through the same theoretical matrix. Therefore, traditional masculinity is considered a narrative as a form of representation, and not social ontology, because apart from the narrative, there is no other pattern of traditional gender roles.

The current patterns of masculinity seek to maintain cultural continuity with the ancestors (or narratives), but, as all patterns do not depict a real life, but a model, the disintegration of reality and narrative is inevitable. Namely, the tendency towards accepting European values limits the manifestation of elements of traditional masculinity: aggressiveness, violence, heterosexuality, authoritarianism, patriarchal ideology and hedonistic ethos, as well as the principle of honour and reputation, which in some situations still determine social relations, especially among rural Montenegrins. The number of individuals who violate them (young urban population) reaches the critical mass needed to change the cultural pattern. However, as our research will show, the replacement of the ideal masculine model with the average one (which reflects the real state) is not painless and often leads to confusion, anxiety, disorientation, and the like.

2.3.2. Female principle

Women in the traditional Montenegrin society were discriminated from birth, were not counted as children, they were mocked against their will, worked to death, they gave
birth outside the house or proclaimed to be “virdžine”\textsuperscript{1} if there was no male heirs. Roy Trevor, a British travel writer from the beginning of the 20th century, in his book “Montenegro – the country of warriors”, among other things, states the following: “The centuries of war turned men into combat units, and women, unfortunately, into martyrs. They are treated with much less importance and value than men. Let us say that no woman, if she is not from a higher social rank, should ever sit at the table while her husband is eating, or even sit in his presence at all. In far-off places of the country, when a woman leaves the room full of men, she does it backwards ... Girls, say, 12 year olds, and old women - they all work to exhaustion. You will also see tall, pretty ladies-warriors climbing the same road, passing by those tired women without looking at them, even if they were their mother or sister. ... The father will explain to his friends the birth of his daughter with the words: “Forgive, my friends! It is a girl!” (Roy Trevor, Montenegro – the country of warriors, 2009)

So who is the ideal Montenegrin? The best picture of the traditional model of the ideal Montenegrin is given by Marko Miljanov in the article “Examples of honour and heroism”, citing, inter alia, that one mother went with her sons to battle, and when one died and three others cried after him at the funeral, she said: Why are you crying? Did you think that all of you would come back home to me safe and sound? I swear, if noone else dies, it will be better for me not to have you at all. That is what I want, they should be called sons and to be killed, because if they do not die, they will be called daughters” (Miljanov, 1964: 75). Such a woman, with the courage of a man, was called respectfully “a woman-man” in everyday communication.

In the essence of this view of women is patriarchal moral, which, as a powerful social regulatory agent, determines the position and behaviour of individuals from the foundation, acts as a regulator of social behaviour and the division of social roles. The turbulent and burdensome history of Montenegro made a man the key figure in which the social power is concentrated and who always has the first place in everything as a pater familias. Such patriarchal relations are founded on the stereotype of male and female gender roles, as well as the interpretation of information and communication in a gender-specific manner. Therefore, gender roles are formed at the social level, but the decision on their acceptance is personal. Distribution of gender roles and their assimilation in Montenegro are almost equally distributed: mothers with strong gender stereotypes do not expect anything from their daughters and raise them with the belief that they are not capable of responding to the demands placed on men. In this sense, they develop sociality, selflessness, empathy, sensitivity and suppress sexuality, which are all characteristics oriented towards society (not towards themselves, personally), while male children are forced to practice independence, determination, aggression, control of emotions and open expression of sexual needs (elements of personal development and progress). If we add to this the traditional element of male importance for the survival of a home and the family name, the female principle is suppressed, which is also transmitted to the future family life, ambitions, working ability, that is, to personally and professionally adapt to the gender role. On the belief that a man is facing “the outside”, and a woman is turned “towards the home”, is also the view of family life, that is, marriage.

Legally, women are totally equal with men, both in terms of education, as well as in aspects of business, property, contracts and signatures, but according to the tradition a household property is registered on the male head of the family (father, brother, husband, even

\textsuperscript{1} A female person brought up as a male
son) regardless of who possesses it. Let us also add here the customary tradition that women often renounce their property in favour of a son or brother. According to the data from the Survey on Income and Expenditures of Households, 19% of households in Montenegro are headed by women (in the status of a widow, a single or divorced woman, aged 57 in average). The rate of unemployment among women is almost twice as high as among men (35% women and 20.6% men), and those who work rarely run their businesses and have lower income than men (CEED Center for Entrepreneurship and Economic Development: Discrimination against women in the employment process and at the workplace, 2002).

All this is the basis for essential, economic inequality that reflects on relationships in marriage. The list of negative impacts on the social and family positions of women includes: organisation of Montenegrin society, unfair distribution of unpaid work in the family, patriarchal inheritance and a sensitive social balance in society.

CONCLUSIONS

In the research of Radoje Cerović, it is pointed out that small societies offer very few social hierarchies in which an individual can “test” himself and in Montenegro it mostly comes down to questions of physical strength and aggressiveness on one or the wealth / power on the other hand. Social hierarchies in women are burdened with a number of traditionalist ways of thinking about the role of women in society, their right to express their own opinions, and the right to express their sexuality, which additionally complicates the social picture. Let us add that, according to the research, the degree of altruism and solidarity in Montenegro is among the ten worst in the world (WorldGivingIndex) and we will get a complete picture of the community - a picture of the focus on oneself (on their own pain and suffering), the feeling of hopelessness and exclusion from society. According to the research, men in Montenegro have the lowest level of initiative in the region. The author of the aforementioned researches emphasises that non-communication between the sexes present something that would also be valuable for further research, I would say that the initiative of the men is very low and that everything is in connection with fear / anxiety of failure and rejection. Women, on the other hand, are culturally deprived of initiatives, which something that is rooted in traditional values. “

In the overall social system, the awareness should still be developed that it is necessary to restore the dispute where it originated, among the participants who, by certain communicational and cultural values that they possess have a direct influence both on the emergence and on the solution of the dispute, with the help of the mediators.

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