



EMIGRATIONS FROM MONTENEGRO

150,000 FOR THREE DECADES, ONLY TO GERMANY
OVER 3,000 LEFT LEGALLY IN LAST THREE YEARS

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COMMENTARY

**See you
after
2025**

SEE YOU AFTER 2025



Photo: Vijesti



By: Vladan Žugić

Zoran Jelic needs no special introduction. A man called - one employee (Democratic party of socialists (DPS) member), four votes (for DPS). Synonym of the 'Recording' affair.

Instead of a potential judicial and, in the specific case, certainly political responsibility, because in a decent world the resignation is submitted if the misuse of public money for party purposes is even just mentioned, Jelic has advanced. From director and adviser at the Employment Agency, which he was when an audio recording was made at the meeting of the DPS Council, via MP, to the membership in the Senate of the State Audit Institution (SAI).

Let us make a rough assessment when we could conclude accession negotiations with the EU after the new European Commission Report on Montenegro, on the example of aforementioned Zoran Jelic.

Anyone who has even slightly seriously dealt with negotiations with the EU knows that it is difficult to enter the EC reports, but it is also difficult to get out as well. The Commission monitors the case which it notes in its reports on candidates and potential candidates to the very end. For example, since 2014, the affair 'Audio-recording' is noted in every report and stated that judicial and political responsibility have not been determined for it. And it will continue to be so until it is completed in an adequate, European manner. And the European manner would be for Zoran Jelic to resign, because he has planned, perhaps even employed, members of the DPS using the money of all citizens. This is the first and as it seems also an unrealistic solution.

The second solution is for Zoran Jelic to be dismissed. That could happen if he performs the function negligently or unprofessionally - as foreseen by the Law on the SAI, or if the opposition comes to power, which then again is politically sensitive, given that the senator's function is permanent. Hence, this solution is also seemingly unrealistic.

The third option is of biological nature. Waiting for Zoran Jelic to reach the age of 67, which is a condition *ex lege* for the retirement. And Brussels will give us a check mark for a job done. And this possibility is perhaps the most realistic one. That could happen in seven years from now.

Anyway, let us leave Zoran Jelic aside. Let us give an explanation why accession negotiations will certainly not be completed during this Government's mandate, and the chances are that it is also hardly feasible during the next government's mandate as well.

The fact is that Montenegro has failed to meet interim benchmarks for chapters 23 and 24, although Prime Minister **Dusko Markovic** expected their fulfilment by the end of the previous year. Or, although in the mid-2016, the then Chief Negotiator **Aleksandar Andrija**

Pejovic, supposedly due to facing the elections, said that Montenegro fulfilled 80 percent of the total of 83 interim benchmarks for two key chapters.

The last EC Report on Montenegro, apart from the stricter tone and depth, does not differ much from the previous one. The novelty is that affair 'Envelope' is included, and that focus is on the issues such as trust in the electoral system, the second attack on Olivera Lakic, then political control over the public service RTCG, the conduct of the Agency for Anti-Corruption in cases of dismissal of the members of the Council of RTCG and the affair 'Envelope'. Part of the interim benchmarks that should be met refers precisely to the fight against corruption, with special review of Agency for Prevention of Corruption (APC), and media freedom, while the issue of trust in the electoral system will follow Montenegro as a shadow during the negotiation process.

By returning the RTCG under the auspices of the party overcoat, wherein significant role has had the APC as well, which, with the reluctant and weak reaction in the affair 'Envelope' is under even more negative spotlight, Montenegro made more steps backwards in meeting the interim benchmarks during previous year. We returned somewhere to 2015, when changes began to occur in the RTCG and when APC was established. Maybe even to those 80 percent that Pejovic has mentioned.

The Government counts the open and rarely temporarily closed chapters in the vain. The speed of negotiations with the EU is conditioned by the progress in two key chapters - 23 and 24. The opening and interim benchmarks are mainly legislative activities and institution-establishment, in some cases an initial balance of results, while the final ones mean sustainable results. After seven years of negotiation, we did not run even half of the demanding sections. And when we run all of the chapters with the speed of a snail, ratification in parliaments or on referendums in EU member states ensues until the finish-line, which can last even up to two years.

After things changed in the elections for the European Parliament, meaning that the European forces will be strengthened by the Greens and Liberals, who are supporters of the enlargement, and that the EC has recommended opening of the negotiations with Albania and Northern Macedonia, the Union's lack of interest in enlargement can no longer be an excuse for heads of APC, prosecution, judiciary, Government, state and others from the DPS.

And in the end, to paraphrase Zoran Jelic - one year of this system and captured institutions, four years further away from the EU. That 2025 - sounds desirable even now.

**MONTENEGRO IS THREATENED BY A
DEMOGRAPHIC CATASTROPHE AS THE
EU OPENS ITS LABOR MARKET**



Hard working and educated are already going, we will import waiters and drivers



Photo: Private archive



By: Vesna Rajković Nenadić

Although there are no official data on how many citizens of Montenegro have migrated abroad, rough calculations indicate that in the last 30 years about 150,000 inhabitants or every fourth citizen have left Montenegro.

European Pulse interlocutors point out that, as we approach the EU, the number of citizens of Montenegro who will emigrate will be increased, which will inevitably have an effect on the economic and social environment. The examples of Croatia and Romania and regional trends point to this problem which is only occasionally mentioned within the Montenegrin public.

The latest official data on Montenegrins abroad were published after the 2003 census, according to which 53,433 citizens were then abroad - mostly in USA, 18,700, and in Germany 11,344. Monstat records only internal migrations, while the Ministry of Interior does not own such data. According to Ministry of Interior data, in the last ten years, by 2018, the number of citizens who have signed out their residence is 1.806, but this data is not relevant. According to the law, citizens have to sign out, but they do not do that, although some of them have been living abroad for decades. There are many reasons for that, from keeping their rights in Montenegro, starting with the

voting one, to the fact that part of them works on the black market.

The demographer and professor at the University of Montenegro, **Miroslav Doderović**, says for the *European pulse* that, since the beginning of the wars and sanctions in the 1990s, we have had a constant tendency of population migration towards Western Europe and United States. Even after Montenegro became independent in 2006, he points out, this trend has not been stopped, but rather intensified.



Photo: www.ucgac.me

He explains how he came to the calculation of about 150 thousand people who have left Montenegro since 1993: "The one should collect the number of those who moved in and those who were born, i.e., died and it turns out that about 145 thousand have moved out."

Doderović indicates the continuation of the emigration in recent years: "It's like when you have one family with five members, one moved out and the other is preparing for moving out."

In the non-governmental organization KOD, they explain that according to their numbers, from 1992 to 2012, about 150,000 people have emigrated.



"In the period from 1991 to 2018, the natural increase, or the difference between the number of birth and dead, was over 75,000. In the period from 1990 to 2012, at least 74,000 current residents of Montenegro moved in. The precise sum of these two figures gives over 150,000 inhabitants.

These are all official data", says **Mirza Krnić** from this organization for the *European pulse*.

Pointing out that there are no precise data on how many people have settled Montenegro after 2012, Krnić states that if we assumed that this figure was at the level of the average from 1990/91 until this point, we would have reached the number of 173,000 people who left Montenegro: "However, I am underlining, that this is just a prediction for which we do not have data, but we deal exclusively with mathematical calculations in that part (referring to the number 173,000)."

Doderović, who is also professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, says that the process of a neo-liberal economy and its uncritical application created high unemployment, which is the reason for emigration, especially in the case of youth.

"Since 1993, the authority has not statistically monitored the number of people who emigrate abroad, so for the beginning there should be statistics on how many people actually left," he says.

Asked if the state "hides" the number of people who moved out, he says that the neoliberal market implies that a number of foreigners are coming to work in Montenegro, and that on the other hand a number of our citizens are going abroad. "You have constant fluctuations and you cannot determine the exact number. But the state must seriously begin to take into account the labor market in order to reach some balance. I do not think they are doing it on purpose, but the labor market implies a serious approach, professional staff and responsible position", he said.

Mirza Krnić from KOD says that we should be very worried about the structure of people who leave Montenegro. "Those are, first of all, young people and the most capable ones for work, and the huge problem is that the most productive and most competent are going more and more. When a society allows those with the most knowledge to leave, then it is the long-term problem - because it will somehow have to make up for this probably most problematic deficit", he stated.

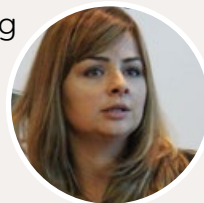
The Youth Study, conducted within the framework of the Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung (FES) regional project, presented by the FES and the Centre for Civic Education (CCE), indicated that a half of the Montenegrin youth has very strong or moderate desire to emigrate from Montenegro and those are the most educated ones.

In the "The Youth Study Montenegro 2018/2019" it is stated, for example, that one third of students (34%) on master or doctoral studies claim to have a strong or very strong desire to emigrate. Amongst those who are not in the education process, almost one fifth or 19.5% of young people have a strong or very strong desire to emigrate.

Also, the level of life satisfaction affects the readiness of young people to emigrate, as well as job satisfaction. Those who show a

greater level of satisfaction concerning these aspects of life have less desire to emigrate. The material position of the household is also linked with the desire to emigrate. Hence, those who consider themselves the poorest are more inclined to think about emigration than those who consider their living standard as good one.

Daliborka Uljarević, CCE Executive director, during the presentation of the research, pointed to the concerning number of young people who less and less see their personal and professional perspective in Montenegro. She linked such a stance with the perception of the society in which they live. "Young people in Montenegro consider that, when it comes to employment, knowledge is much less important than relationships with powerful persons, personal relationships and party affiliations. They consider even luck as more important than education during employment. This all points to the need to take urgent and meaningful actions in order to improve the current state of affairs" concluded Uljarević.



For three years, Germany approved over three thousand work permits for Montenegrin citizens

The Head of the EURES Department and the international mediation in employment at the Employment Agency of Montenegro, **Gordana Vukčević**, says for the *European pulse* that they do not have precise data on the total number of Montenegrin citizens working abroad.



She also states that the Agency does not search for a job abroad for interested citizens. As she added, the task of the Employment Agency, when mediating in employment abroad, is primarily to inform our citizens about the possibilities, as well as to minimize irregularities and deceits of our citizens in finding job in another state and preventing illegal migration.

"Very often, through social networks, which is impossible to control, individuals, companies or organizations incorrectly inform citizens of the possibilities of employment abroad and promise their employment and 'paperwork' for financial compensation. Citizens are either deceived for this money or they became victims of 'black labor,' financial or labor exploitation in that country," explains Vukčević.

According to the official data of the Federal Employment Agency of the Federal Republic of Germany (German Employment Service), which they submit to them, in last three years (from 1 January 2017 to 31 March 2019), 3,226 approvals have been issued for Montenegrin citizens to work in Germany.

"I note, this refers to the number of consents, not to the number of citizens, because within this number there are consents that are granted to the same persons several times. In the same period, 984 requests for this consent were rejected," she said.

The fact that the number of citizens leaving Montenegro is constantly increasing, primarily in the search for a better life, is confirmed by the data of the Central Bank of Montenegro. The inflow of money from remittances from abroad increases every year. In 2006, remittances accounted for 7.5 percent of the GDP, which in recent years has been more than 10 percent.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Srdan Darmanović**, recently said that it is estimated that about half a billion euros is sent to the citizens of Montenegro annually from the diaspora.

So far, the Government is only dealing declaratively with emigration issue. The Government's National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2030 shows that in 2050 Montenegro could have 542,000 inhabitants, or 78,000 less (12.6% less) than in the 2011 census.

The Government's Strategy foresees that migration will be significantly influenced by EU integration. It is expected that young people from Montenegro will go to EU countries that will provide them with better living conditions and professional advancement, while Montenegro will attract labor, mainly from the region, largely lower educational structures for easier occupations.

Examples of new EU member illustrate that they are experiencing real demographic catastrophe and that should be warning for the state to seriously address this issue. An analysis published in the Journal *Public Sector Economics* shows that the Croatian statistics from 2013 to 2016 notes that around 100,000 Croats moved out, while foreign sources say that the number of emigrants reaches up to 230,000. This means that 247 people are moving out daily from Croatia, i.e. that every single year the city of Osijek size 'leaves' the country. The analysis showed that the citizens of this country went forever, with entire families, especially from the less developed parts of Croatia. In recent years, the younger population is moving away, so

Half of the male workforce moved out in period of Nikola Petrović

Professor Doderović points out that Montenegro has a historical negative inheritance of emigration.

"It is interesting that from 1878 to 1912, so, prior to the Balkan Wars, there were 20,000 emigrants from Montenegro just to United States, which was half of the male workforce. Even the military authorities at one time banned emigration," he said.

Doderović recalled that the former Yugoslavia, since 1965, had agreements with West Germany on departure of the workforce, but that the number decreased after 1974 until the beginning of the wars of the 1990s, when mass exodus was launched not only from the countries affected war.

in the period from 2001 to 2013, the average Croatian emigrant was 41.5 years old, while in 2016 he was 33.6 years old. It is forecasted that the first large wave of departure has reached its end, and that, although emigration will continue, its intensity is weakening. Since entering the EU, hundreds of thousands of workers have migrated from Romania and Bulgaria, among them a large number of highly educated, especially doctors and health care workers. According to a study by the American *Gallup*, analytical-research center, published at the end of last year, 22 percent of citizens have left Romania, 16 percent Hungary, and 12 percent Bulgaria. From Romania, 43,000 doctors and pharmacists have left since joining the EU. In order to counter the "brain drain", these countries have decided to find ways to increase salaries. Thus, according to the data of their national statistical offices and according to agency reports, salaries are advanced at rates of eight to 15 percent per year.

EDUCATION AND COOPERATION WITH FARMERS ARE ESSENTIAL



Photo: Private archive



By: Radana Damjanović

The author is the Director General of the Directorate of Agriculture and Negotiator for Chapter 11



Montenegro has opened negotiations on Chapter 11 – Agriculture and Rural Development on 13 December 2016. The *acquis communautaire* in this chapter is complex and encompasses regulations that, as a whole, constitute the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

CAP is one of the oldest, most important and expensive common EU policies, created with the aim to provide consumers with stable supply of safe and quality food at affordable prices, and to provide agricultural producers with a decent standard of living.

The accession requirements in Chapter 11 are numerous and relate to the adoption and application of rules: direct payments policy, which implies also the establishment of an Administrative and Control System - IACS, as the main implementation tool; common market organisation; state aid; rural development; organic production and quality policies; as well as establishing a network of accounting data in agricultural holdings. Our obligation is to harmonize CAP with the agricultural policy by the date of accession and to establish the appropriate administrative structures for its implementation.

Since the opening of the Chapter, the implementation of activities on fulfillment of the commitments from the negotiating process is conducted mainly by the planned dynamics and in accordance with the Action Plan for alignment with EU *acquis*. Numerous regulations have been adopted and we can say that national legislation is aligned with the European one to a large extent. A more complex part of the job represents the application of regulations and the establishment of administrative structures for the implementation of CAP. Closing benchmark for closing the negotiations on Chapter 11 precisely refers to the establishment of the IACS and the Agency for Payments, which will be fully operational by the date of accession. Nowadays, we have a functional IPARD Agency, which implements rural development measures from the Programme for Development

of Agriculture and Rural Areas of Montenegro under IPARD II 2014-2020 (IPARD II programme). IACS components, as a necessary instrument for managing and controlling payments in agriculture, are being gradually developed.

For a successful course of the negotiation process, I would highlight cooperation with agricultural producers as crucial.

We have given special attention to education and informing of the producers in order to inform them about the benefits of future membership, European standards, new regulations and to prepare them for the use of the available support. In order to improve competitiveness through modernization of production and achievement of EU standards in terms of food safety, health and animal welfare, plant health and environmental protection, funds from the national budget and Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) are available. Through the IPARD II programme, 52 million EUR of non-refundable support for investments in the production and processing of agricultural products, diversification and development of economic activities in rural areas are available to our producers. Implementation of the IPARD programme represents a kind of preparation of our administration and producers for application of demanding procedures and the use of the European Structural and Investment Funds intended for agriculture and rural development.

Intensive work on meeting the closing benchmark remains to be done, and as the CAP reform is expected, the administration will have more work to adapt to the new rules.

Although demanding, the process of harmonization with EU's common agricultural policy provides opportunities for building a sustainable and competitive Montenegrin agricultural sector, enabling thus the greatest benefits for food producers and rural residents.

MOBILITY AT EUROPEAN MANNER



Photo: Private archive



By: Nikola Bošković

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When I recently spoke with several German colleagues about my experience with paperwork and hours of waiting for a student residence permit here in Berlin they were surprised. This prompted them to reflect how well they, the European Union (EU) citizens, were privileged in terms of mobility within the EU, and that they are often unaware of it. Unlike them, as a third-country citizen in the EU, I am very well aware of these advantages, and hence I will reflect on some of these.

The place of residence is a matter of choice: All EU citizens have the right and the freedom to choose the EU Member State in which they want to study, work or retire. There are no administrative complications and it is sufficient that the EU citizen briefly report a stay in the relevant municipality of the city of relocation. For example, my friend from France spontaneously decided to officially move to Germany several weeks after arriving in Berlin, and she did it in less than five minutes of formalities in the local Berlin municipality. Moreover, mobility is being encouraged by the EU. A good example is the European job mobility portal (EURES), a network that offers job search support in another EU Member State.

One health insurance everywhere: The EU has allowed citizens of all 28 members to have health insurance, wherever they are within the EU borders, and even wider. By showing the blue card (the size of the ID card), the so-called European Health Insurance Card, one can exercise the right to use health services under the same conditions as for the EU citizens of the EU Member State where they are being served. Therefore, as far as health care is in focus, there is no concern in case of medical accident during travel or any other stay in an EU country.

Travel "without borders" - literally: Ten years after signing of the Schengen Agreement, more precisely since 1995, the dream of free movement, without crossing borders, has become a reality for the vast majority of EU member states. Also, travelers cross borders without showing passports and usual border checks and searches. The importance of this achievement is also supported with the fact that more than 1.25 billion crossings of the borders within the Schengen area are achieved each year. The realized saving of money, time and labor is a story for itself.

Unique emergency number: Although at first it sounds insignificant, the existing unique emergency number for emergency cases across the EU saves lives. Previously, each EU member state had its police and fire brigade numbers, and therefore it often happened that tourists, including those who had recently moved into the country, did not know the emergency number in the case of an accident, which delayed and avoided rapidly responsiveness of the competent services. Since 2008, Emergency Number 112 is unique to the entire EU area. In addition, call centres accept calls and work in multiple languages. So 112, remember?

No roaming - no extra costs: Since 2017, EU citizens have no additional costs when using mobile phone services in another EU Member State. To simplify - internet, calls and messages cost as at home.

Finally, I leave you to imagine for a moment how the citizens of our country and neighboring countries would enjoy the abovementioned advantages by being a part of the family of EU societies. It would probably be so much easier for us to quickly forget our current situation, right?



The grass is not always greener on the other side of the fence



Photo: Private archive



By: Siniša Gazivoda

The author is a lawyer



I
The research of comparative legislations is a very useful method when drafting laws or other regulations, and it allows to implement into domestic legal system legal institutes or provisions for which it was seen that they produced good effect on society as a whole.

Of course, this does not refer to a mere and uncritical transcription of the regulations of other states, and such treatment generates at least two questions. Firstly, are the individuals, who constitute commissions and working groups, that resort to such an 'approach' at all professionally and morally up to a serious task such as drafting laws and other regulations? Secondly, and much more important, whether such a regulation will be at all applicable when it is 'transferred' from one system to another, i.e. from another social environment.

However, even when this method is enforced in good faith and conscientiously, there is a possibility of getting to what we call the 'the grass on the other side of the fence' syndrome, which, as we know, always looks greener. We often hear that the argument for a certain change in the legal system is something that is prescribed in some EU Member State or in the countries of the region. Although it seems that such an argument in our society has a special power, it does not mean much for me personally, regardless the fact that I am quite oriented towards European values. Still, it is clear that there

is no sign of equality between them and each regulation of each Member State of the Union. In addition, the even more important question is whether, as a country in transition, we are matured for some legal implant from developed legal systems, especially when it comes to the introduction of certain sanctions.

II

For example, when amendments to the Labor Legislation were proposed, in the manner that instead of the present provision that labor claims do not become obsolete, a deadline of four years is prescribed, which is, among other things, justified as a harmonization with the comparative practice of countries in the neighborhood!? I consider that in the state, which is Constitutionally defined as a state of social justice, the introduction of the statute of limitation for labor claims and labor cannot be adequately explained by harmonization with the countries in the region. Why would a country generally rule out legislative changes to the detriment of workers in order to make harmonization for countries in the neighborhood!?

A more drastic example was the intention, which fortunately for now has been dropped, that Criminal Code foresees a new form of enforcement of a criminal offense - the disturbance of justice, by providing criminal justice protection of judiciary against the exposure to the ridicule. This is explained from the highest addresses of the

proposers as something recognized by the criminal systems of exemplary Western democracies. It is not disputed that the protection of the reputation of the judiciary, under the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, is a legitimate goal to limit the freedom of expression. However, it is clear that in "systems of exemplary Western democracies" there is an incomparably lower risk of such a restriction being abused.

For this reason, I think that as a transition society, we should first look up to the freedoms achieved in developed countries rather than repressive measures.

III

In Germany, in the autumn of 2017, *Netzwerkdurchsetzungsgesetz* came into force. Approximate translation would be the Act/Law on the Improvement of the Enforcement of the Law in Social Networks, and the colloquial name in Germany is - The Law on Facebook.

In short, this regulation was introduced in order to protect users of social networks from hate speech, fake news and similar phenomena, by providing the obligation of networks to respond to users' complaints / applications and to erase "illegal content". The Law stipulates the obligation of social networks to erase obviously illegal content within 24 hours of receiving the application, and other illegal content within seven days. Furthermore, this Law stipulates the obligation of social networks to make semi-annual reports on how they have acted upon complaints, to adequately report those reports, and to make procedures on acting upon applications by users, etc.

IV

Germany is without a doubt an exemplary Western democracy, and initiatives to adopt the Law to improve the application of rights for social networks are quite understandable, as both hate speech and fake news represent great challenges that the modern world is facing. Therefore, it seems at first glance that it would be wise to take this regulation and incorporate it into our legal system.

Nevertheless, it is difficult for social networks to accept the obligation to handle reporting and other administrative procedures in a country that, compared to, for example, Germany has an incomparably smaller number of social network users.

In the months preceding the adoption of this Law in Germany, a grieving debate between expert and scientific public took place on

whether this regulation threatens freedom of expression. Finally, a Special Rapporteur for the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression of the United Nations has reacted.

All critics of this regulation agreed that the state should not delegate censorship mechanisms to the private sector, which in this case happens because the social networks themselves filter what is legal and what is illegal content. It is then objected that the illegal content is too vague and ambiguous, so in specific cases it will not be easy to distinguish whether any expression on social networks is allowed. In addition, short deadlines for deciding on complaints could cause the fact that social networks, due to facing the serious sanctions provided by the Law, erase the reported content in all border situations that would require additional time to assess whether it is a legitimate content. The same effect on them could have threatening sanctions because in certain cases the Law provides that a fine of up to five million euros may be imposed.

For this reason, critics consider that there is a danger that the Law on the Improvement of the Enforcement of the Law in Social Networks is contrary to international legal instruments such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, etc. If so, the time will show.

V

Hence, regardless of the fact that some regulation has been passed in a respectable EU member state, a country of developed democracy and legal tradition, its compliance with international legal sources may be questionable.

Also, such a regulation may be inappropriate for "embedding" in a different social environment, and once again I emphasize that it is important to consider that Montenegro is a society in a transition and that, in particular, the introduction of restrictions on certain rights and freedoms should be cautioned.

Of course, the abuse of rights is not a desirable phenomenon, but it is more acceptable that sporadic abuse of freedom occurs than the abuse of sanction.



THE YOUTH STUDY MONTENEGRO 2018/19

YOUNG PEOPLE MUST RECEIVE MORE ATTENTION FROM EVERYBODY



Prepared by: Milica Zindović
Project Assistant

Young people are not essentially in the focus of decision-makers, which reflects in a certain sense of alienation of young people from political and social engagements, as well as in the growing trend of their desire to leave Montenegro, as concluded at the conference *What politics and society can do for youth in Montenegro?* organised by the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, who presented a research on youth.

The research shows that the concerning number of young people sees less and less their personal and professional perspective in Montenegro, and amongst the ten surveyed countries, Montenegro and Albania are leading in their potential for brain drain. Also, among young people who want to leave Montenegro, those with the highest level of education are dominant, which should spark a red alarm for the state structure of Montenegro. Furthermore, young people in Montenegro consider that knowledge is less important during employment than influential connections, personal relations and party affiliations.

Concerns are also caused by the fact that young people, although they have positive thoughts about democracy and European values, still demonstrate affection towards strong leadership and authoritarianism. It is a worrying fact that young people, instead of fighting corruption that they perceive themselves, would rather adapt to the rules of the game or leave the country. A very strong, strong or moderate desire to emigrate from Montenegro is expressed by 50.7% of the young people, those who are also the most highly educated ones.

The survey indicated that young people are partially satisfied with the quality of the education system, and that most of them are

completely aware of the existence of cases of corruption in education. The data point to the existence of significant inequalities in approach regarding education and achieving educational attainment.

Young people think that the state should address the problem of unemployment – even as much as 89.1% respondents, while in the part of trust in institutions, young people most trust the church, followed by the army and the police while they have the least trust in political parties, unions, the media, the Parliament and the Government.

The existence of ethnic distances was also expressed – young people would not associate with the Roma and Albanian population, while for even two thirds of the respondents, marriage with Roma population is unacceptable, and it is the similar case with the Albanians. One-third opposes the idea of marrying Croats, Bosniaks and Macedonians, and every twentieth respondent with Serbs as well.

Findings essentially suggest that comprehensive efforts are needed in order to democratize and strengthen youth activism at all levels – civic education in schools, youth programmes through civil society organisations, unions, parties, student organisations.

The Youth Study Montenegro 2018/19 is part of a wider research initiated and supported by the FES within the *Youth in South Eastern Europe 2018* project. The field research was conducted by the CeSID organisation and was conducted in Montenegro on a random, stratified, representative sample of 711 of respondents between the age of 14 and 29, with a direct questionnaire method between 10/2/2018 and 6/3/2018 in 15 Montenegrin municipalities. Analyses was performed by **Petar Djukanovic**, the CCE Human Rights Programme Coordinator.

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