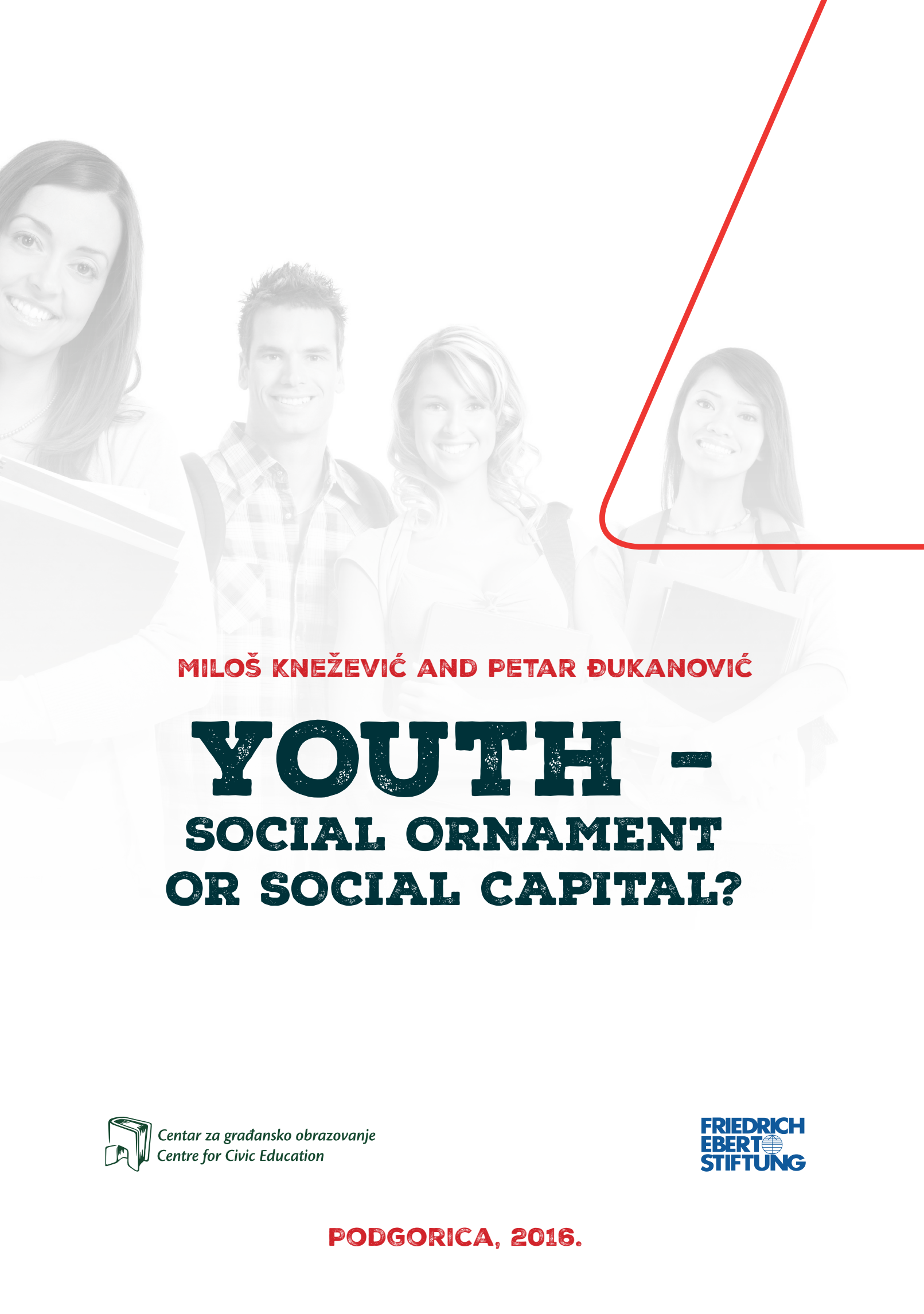# YOUTH -
SOCIAL ORNAMENT OR SOCIAL CAPITAL?

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YOUTH - SOCIAL ORNAMENT OR SOCIAL CAPITAL?

Centar za građansko obrazovanje
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YOUTH - SOCIAL ORNAMENT OR SOCIAL CAPITAL?

Content

Introduction

The project *"Young people in Montenegro – social ornament or social capital?"* seeks to contribute to the empowerment of young people in Montenegro and to their active participation in the promotion of democratic values that also lie at the foundation of the European Union. More specifically, the objective of this project is to raise the awareness of the public and the interested parties about the issues, problems and the prospects of young people in Montenegro, as well as to strengthen the capacities of young people for active participation in social and political processes.

The importance of this project is reflected in the fact that it provides a comprehensive insight into one of the most marginalised social groups in the Montenegrin society – a group that is often talked about, but whose needs, opinions, views and potential have never been adequately recognised or assessed. Consequently, the young people lack the tools to confront the challenge of carving a place for themselves in the society and exerting influence on the current affairs.

The period of growing up is difficult in itself, even in the more stable countries. In the transition societies like Montenegro, drastic changes in the social reality add another layer of complexity. The years of social turmoil in which the younger generations grew up left a mark on them. They face great expectations, but nobody asks what the society as a whole, or its individual parts, did to enable the young people to voice their opinions and apply their knowledge. Do we know anything about the attitudes, values and concerns of the young people? Do we ask their opinion? Do we even care about what they want? Even the politicians whose speeches, especially during campaigns, frequently remind the public that "the young will inherit the world", rarely include them in the development of party policies or decision-making processes within their parties. And yet the future of the country will depend on the young people's trust in the state and their readiness to give themselves to the building of a better and more prosperous society.

According to the last general census (2011) the young people in Montenegro, aged 15 to 29, made up 21.4% of the population. Nonetheless, they remain practically invisible, neglected and marginalised. For example, in the last two rounds of parliamentary election campaigns (2009 and 2012), Centre for Civic Education (CCE) analysed newspaper reports on the statements of leading party officials and failed to identify a single proposal that would address which the needs of the young people. The latest election campaign in October 2016 paid equally little attention to the youth: the parties offered no specific and

clear solutions to their problems, and set no realistic goals for improving the status of the young people in the Montenegrin society. Meanwhile, research to date has shown that the young people's involvement in political parties represents one of the main forms of their political engagement. Young people joined the political parties for various reasons: some were guided by the desire for change and by the ideology of their chosen party; others merely saw an opportunity for (faster and better) employment and the accompanying personal benefits.

Montenegro has certain legislative and institutional solutions that are meant to respond to the needs of the young people. However, there is no clear image of what the young people can actually do to contribute to the overall improvement of the society. In Montenegro, the young people's voice on the current social issues, as well as on other matters that are of importance to them, is rarely heard and yet more rarely heeded.

The purpose of this project is thus to provide empirical material that can serve to better understand the needs of the young people in Montenegro. The research itself offered an opportunity to the young people to express their personal views on different matters that influence their lives and their future. The results of the research turn the lights on the young people as a fundamental social capital and resource for the future development of the Montenegrin society.

The study itself is a contribution to an otherwise sparse literature on the young people. It is also a way of taking stock of the previous efforts to understand the needs of the young people, improve their social status, promote and stimulate development of their potential through social activism. In the past 15 years there was not a single attempt to turn the spotlight on the young people in this way despite the obvious need for such research in the society. We trust that our own study can provide an excellent starting point for the future, deeper and more encompassing, comparative analyses of youth. In view of the rapid societal change that also affects the attitudes of the young people and quickly renders any such analysis obsolete, we also recommend that such research should be conducted more frequently.

In brief, the project "*Young people in Montenegro – social ornament or social capital?*" calls for a different approach to the young people. Instead of treating them as a "social problem to be solved", young people should be treated as social capital in which to invest.

Note on methodology

Data collection for the purposes of the research "*Young people in Montenegro – social ornament or social capital?*" was conducted in October 2016 in 17 municipalities of Montenegro - urban, suburban and rural communities, on a sample of 600 respondents.

As for the structure of sample, 28.8% of respondents were from northern part of Montenegro, 48.6% from central, while 22.6% of respondents were from the south.

Out of the total number of respondents covered by this research, 52% were male and 48% were female.

The respondents were split into two groups by age, i.e.:

- young people aged 16 to 21 (49.1%)
- young people aged 21 to 27 (50.9%)

The structure of the sample by employment status was as follows:

- 51.5% of respondents were in education;
- 34.4% of respondents finished their education and were employed;
- 14.2% of respondents finished their education but were not employed.

The survey was conducted via CATI method, with individual sessions averaging 25 minutes. The preparation and implementation of the survey for the purposes of project was done by the *Ipsos Strategic Marketing* agency.

Leisure time and the use of the Internet

Definitions of leisure time are numerous. Some sociologists and pedagogues link the phenomenon of leisure to the post-industrial period, and the term itself became especially popular in the studies of the 1960s. Leisure time is often defined as *the time that an individual spends and shapes in accordance with his or her needs, without any obligation or necessity*.[1]

In the course of growing up the young people are expected to develop certain social skills and competencies in almost every field of human activity, before they assume permanent social roles. In this period we are most likely to change our opinions and question them, adopt certain behavioural codes, as well as model ways of thinking about individual social events as well as about the society as a whole. Leisure time activities allow young people to socialise. Lately, they are also ever more frequently reminded that the choice of their leisure time activities can greatly affect the choice of their future profession.

The choice of the young people's leisure activities is influenced by a number of factors: from their position in the society, their parents' status, level of education, their skills, habits, interests, and other. Broadly speaking, all of the said factors can be affected by the environment in which the young people live - the social conditions, culture of living, media, as well as the supply of available leisure activities. Activities that develop the young people's mental, cognitive and social capabilities are considered imperative in the contemporary societies. It is, of course, understood that such activities cannot be imposed, or be considered an obligations. They must be the product of one's free choice. Also, activities offered to the young people should not exclude them from other aspects of the social life.

Activities that fill the young people's leisure time should help them develop into the next generation that will be in charge of social changes. Those activities ought to be free of pressures or constraints imposed by their parents, schools, and the society in general, i.e. they must be the outcome of their own free will, choice and satisfaction. Meaningful activities carried out by the young people in their leisure time reduce the scope for undesirable forms of behaviour in this generation, and prevent various forms of addiction that have been linked to too much inadequately spent free time, as well as other social anomalies that affect the young people in transitional societies such as the

1 Pedagogical Encyclopedia 2, p. 353, Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Aids, Belgrade, 1989

Montenegrin one.

In addition to rest, relaxation, entertainment and similar, one of the most important functions of leisure is the development of young people's personalities. This is also the hardest function of leisure. Personality development in the young people is often neglected, above all by the rather anodyne education system whose excessively crammed but poor-quality programmes offer few concrete opportunities for development of one's personality, except for the most fundamental ones such as offering the basic information for education. This is in fact the most important task for the future, as educational institutions of all levels must understand the leisure time of their students as an opportunity to undertake activities that would develop the creative spirit of each individual and help them realise their potential. Naturally, each person has different preferences, and not all young people will take to the same activities, not to mention that their interests and needs might often change due to the complexity of the periods they are going through. Some young people will prefer more active forms of leisure, such as sports, outings, or spending time with peers in community-oriented activities. Others will want to watch the TV, surf the internet, or engage in other more passive forms of leisure.

Unfortunately, such passive forms of leisure are becoming ever more widespread. The young people alone cannot be blamed for this – we must also take into account the availability of alternatives that would enable them to spend their time in a more active and meaningful way.

In the past decades, the Internet has become an important source of information, and has greatly shaped the way in which the people, especially young people who are the primary consumers of the Internet, learn, communicate, work, but also entertain themselves and thus engage in passive leisure. The use of the Internet affects life satisfaction and can also influence the growth and development of young individuals.

Part of our research *"Young people in Montenegro – social ornament or social capital?"* was therefore focused on analysing the ways in which the Montenegrin youth spends its leisure time, the activities they engage in, and the extent and ways of the way they use the Internet.

The first question asked for the type of activities in which the young people engaged in the past week.
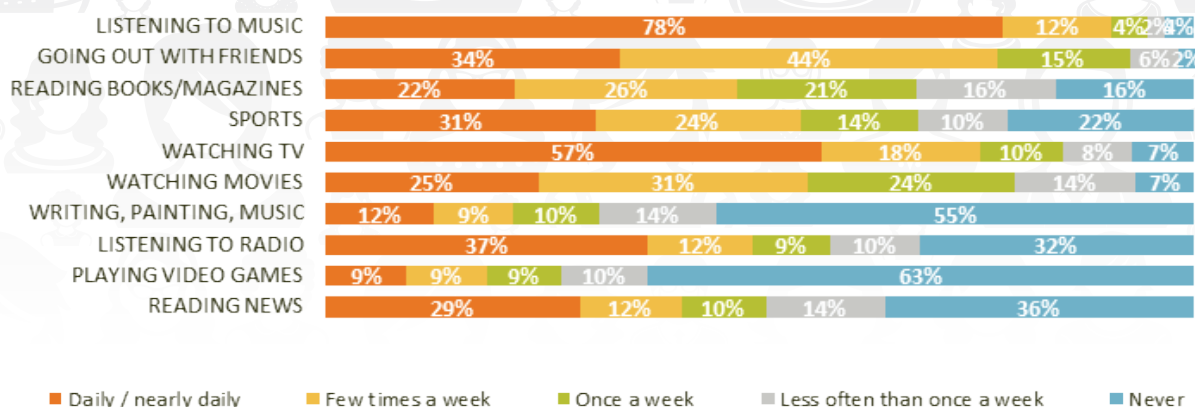
| | LISTENING TO MUSIC | GOING OUT WITH FRIENDS | READING BOOKS/MAGAZINES | SPORTS | WATCHING TV | WATCHING MOVIES | WRITING, PAINTING, MUSIC | LISTENING TO RADIO | PLAYING VIDEO GAMES | READING NEWS |

Figure data:

- LISTENING TO MUSIC: 78%, 12%, 4%, 2%, 4%
- GOING OUT WITH FRIENDS: 34%, 44%, 15%, 6%, 2%
- READING BOOKS/MAGAZINES: 22%, 26%, 21%, 16%, 16%
- SPORTS: 31%, 24%, 14%, 10%, 22%
- WATCHING TV: 57%, 18%, 10%, 8%, 7%
- WATCHING MOVIES: 25%, 31%, 24%, 14%, 7%
- WRITING, PAINTING, MUSIC: 12%, 9%, 10%, 14%, 55%
- LISTENING TO RADIO: 37%, 12%, 9%, 10%, 32%
- PLAYING VIDEO GAMES: 9%, 9%, 9%, 10%, 63%
- READING NEWS: 29%, 12%, 10%, 14%, 36%

■ Daily / nearly daily   ■ Few times a week   ■ Once a week   ▥ Less often than once a week   ■ Never

Figure 1: How often did you practice the following activities in the past week?[2]

Passive activities turned out to be the most popular among the youth: 78% reported spending most of their time listening to music, and up to 57% spend their leisure time watching TV. It is somewhat worrying that the young people report practicing these two activities nearly daily. Going out with friends, sports, reading newspapers, and listening to the radio are reported to be daily activities by a third of the respondents. A large majority said they never play video games (63%), which was something of a surprise considering the frequent media reports on the addiction of young people to video games.

Over half of the young people in Montenegro never practice the more creative forms of leisure - writing, painting or playing music. Such findings should sound the alarm bells to those working with the young people and motivate them to develop more creative alternatives for this population. Young people are the creative force that should be shaping the future of our society, but if they remain passive even in their leisure activities, their potential will remain untapped.

Significant gender differences were found in relation to sports: 45% of the men reported doing sports almost daily, whereas this was true of only 17% of women.

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2 Based on full sample

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16–21	22–27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
sig		0.00		0.04		0.07			0.66			0.50			0.52	
Daily / almost daily	31.1	45	17	37	26	33	32	23	33	29	36	30	33	30	32	29
Few times per week	23.5	25	22	23	24	25	23	20	22	23	27	24	20	30	22	26
Once a week	13.6	12	15	13	14	14	10	21	12	15	10	17	14	10	12	16
Less often than once a week	10.2	8	13	8	12	10	12	6	8	12	8	10	11	9	11	8
Never	21.6	10	34	19	24	18	23	29	25	21	19	20	23	21	22	21
Total	100%															

Table 1: How often did you practice the following activities during the past week? – Sports

Reasons for such a "distorted" picture in terms of gender differences can be found in the broader attitudes of a society that still believes that the men are meant to be sporty, while women should choose "gentler" activities. Thus, 17% of young women said that they practiced writing, painting, or music on daily basis, whereas only 8% of the young men said the same.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16–21	22–27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
sig		0.01		0.01		0.05			0.18			0.25			0.76	
Daily / almost daily	12.4	8	17	16	9	16	10	6	14	12	11	11	12	15	12	12
Couple of times a week	9.1	9	10	12	6	12	7	6	8	10	7	13	7	10	9	9
Once a week	10.0	8	12	11	9	10	9	12	10	11	2	7	13	8	11	9
Less often than once a week	13.5	14	13	12	15	12	14	16	10	15	14	13	14	13	15	11
I don't practice that activity at all	55.0	61	48	49	61	50	60	59	57	52	66	57	54	54	53	58
Total	100%															

Table 2: How often did you practice the following activities during the past week? – Writing, painting, playing music

According to the International Telecommunications Unit of the United Nations the number of people in the world with access to the Internet rose to 3.2 billion in 2015, or slightly less than half of the world's population.[3] Montenegro also recorded a growing trend in the

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3 UN: By the end of 2016 half the world will be on-line: http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/un-do-kraja-2016-polovina-svijeta-bit-ce-online

Internet use. A study by Monstat showed that 69.8% of the interviewed households had access to the Internet at home, regardless of whether they used it or not. The percentage of households with access to the Internet increased by 2.3% compared to the previous year.[4]

In our study, 99% of the young people in Montenegro reported having access to the Internet.
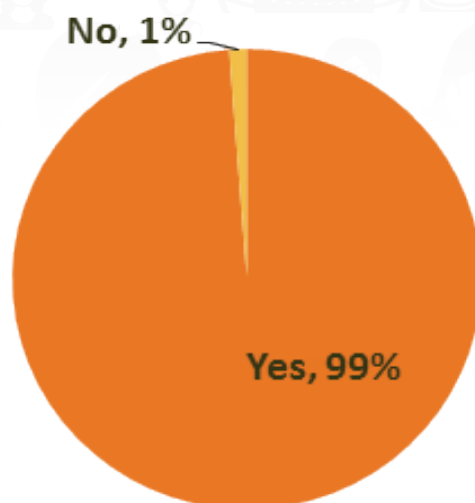

No, 1%

Yes, 99%

Figure 2: Do you have access to the Internet (any kind of access: Wi-Fi, smartphone, aDSl, cable, dial-up, on public PC)? [5]

It is noteworthy that all categories of young people in Montenegro reported having access to the Internet, with no differences between groups based on age, economic status, employment, or type of residence.

| | Total | Sex | | Age | | Status | | | Economic status | | | Region | | | Type | |
		Male	Female	16–21	22–27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Average	Prosječna	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
sig		0.91		0.97		0.99			1.00			0.98			0.83	
Yes	98.8	98	99	99	99	99	99	98	98	99	99	98	99	100	99	98
No	1.2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1		1	2
Total	100%															

Table 3: Do you have access to the Internet (any kind of access: Wi-Fi, smartphone, aDSl, cable, dial-up, on public PC)?

This was partly to be expected, given what we know about the access to the Internet of the overall population. This is why our following question asked the young people, about the amount of time spent on the Internet daily.

4 The use of information and communication technologies in Montenegro in 2016 – Households: http://www.monstat.org/cg/novosti.php?id=2246
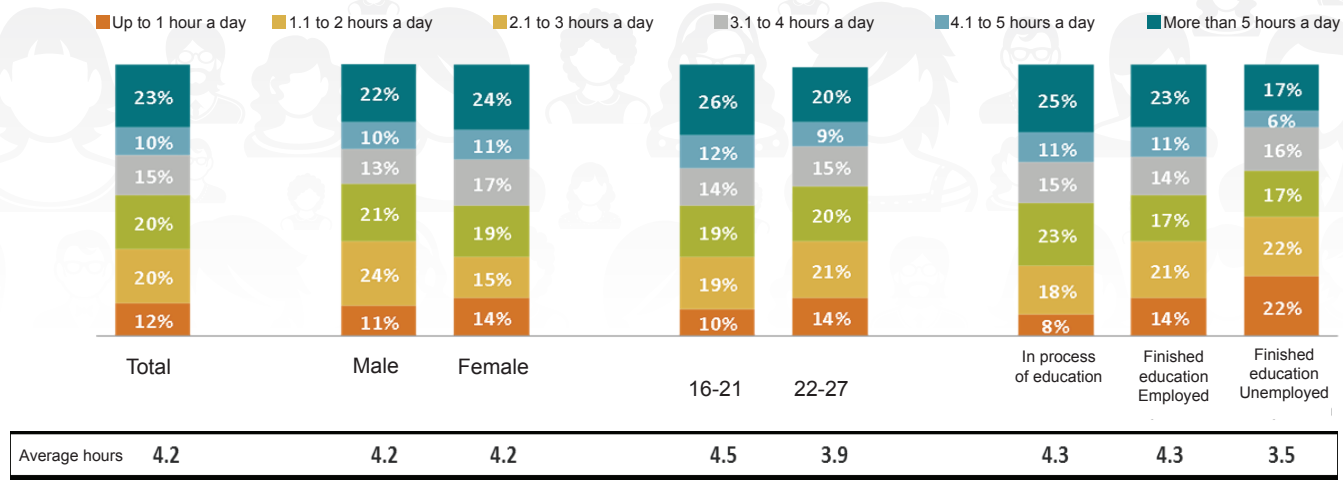5 Total sample

Figure 3: How much time (in hours) do you spend daily on the Internet?[6]

The analysis of their responses showed that the young people in Montenegro spend on average 4.2 hours per day on the Internet! There are no significant gender differences in the intensity of the Internet usage, but there is a difference between the two age groups we analysed. Young people aged 22 to 27 spend on average almost four hours of their leisure time using the Internet every day. The average is somewhat lower among the unemployed (3.5 hours) and somewhat higher among those still in education (4.3 hours). Slightly worrying is the finding that almost a quarter of young people in Montenegro spend more than 5 hours on the Internet every day.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	576	295	281	282	294	297	198	81	161	342	73	164	280	132	382	194
sig		0.11		0.34		0.09			0.77			0.51			0.22	
Up to 1 hour a day	12.2	11	14	10	14	8	14	22	14	12	8	15	11	11	10	17
1.1 to 2 hours a day	19.8	24	15	19	21	18	21	22	20	20	18	22	21	16	20	20
2.1 to 3 hours a day	19.9	21	19	19	20	23	17	17	17	20	23	18	22	19	21	18
3.1 to 4 hours a day	14.8	13	17	14	15	15	14	16	16	15	11	13	14	18	15	14
4.1 to 5 hours a day	10.4	10	11	12	9	11	11	6	9	10	17	9	9	15	11	9
More than 5 hours a day	23.0	22	24	26	20	25	23	17	24	22	24	23	23	21	24	21
Total								100%								
Average hours	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.5	3.9	4.3	4.3	3.5	4.2	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.3	4.3	3.9

Table 3: How much time (in hours) do you spend daily on the Internet?

6 Of those with access to the Internet (99% of the sample)

We also asked the young people about the purposes of their internet use. The figure below shows that the young people in Montenegro use the Internet mostly for entertainment, to access social media, communicate with relatives and friends, but also to look up information.

Although the young people spend on average four hours of their leisure time on the Internet, and about a quarter of them even more than that, the real concern is that they spend the majority of that time on social communication and entertainment – the kind of passive activities discussed before. As there are no unambiguous conclusions on the effect of the extensive Internet use, this may not in itself be a problem, but it certainly presents the challenge of finding ways to motivate young people to use social networks and other online content for the purposes of their personal development and social activism.
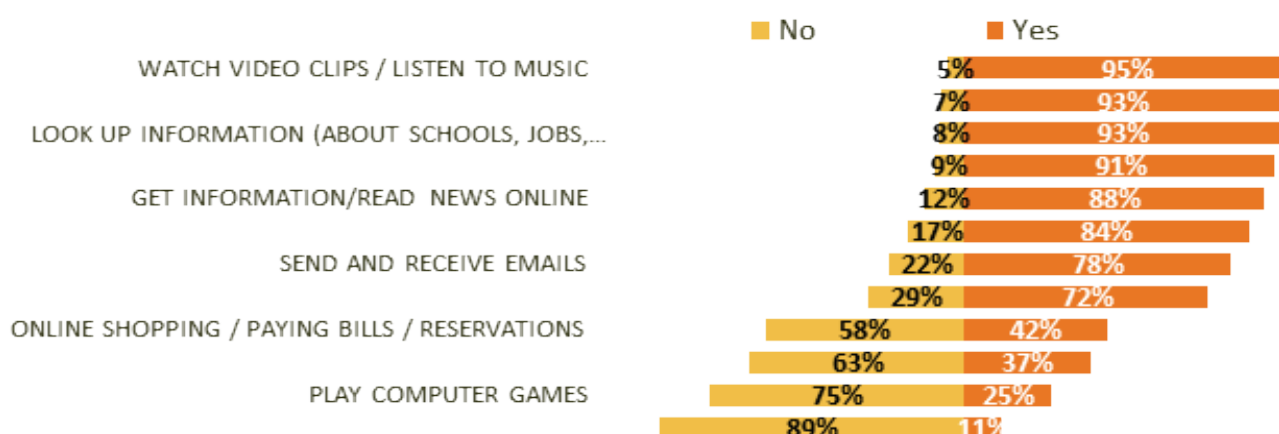

Figure 4: Do you use Internet for following purposes?[7]

Another finding is that the young people in Montenegro do not use the Internet to perform daily tasks that have been enormously facilitated by recent technological developments, e.g. to pay bills, do shopping and similar. This could potentially become a problem, as these skills constitute what is today considered to be functional literacy of every citizen in the contemporary digital society.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status		
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average
N	576	295	281	282	294	297	198	81	161	342	73
Watch video clips / listen to music	94.9	95	95	96	94	96	95	90	91	96	97
Access social networks such as Facebook/Myspace/Hi5/G+	93.0	95	91	96	91	94	93	89	92	94	92
Look up information (about school, job, travels, entertainment, etc.)	92.5	90	96	90	95	93	90	99	89	94	94
Communicate with relatives and friends via messenger	91.1	91	91	92	90	92	91	89	90	91	95
Get informed / read news online	87.9	90	86	85	91	87	87	92	91	86	91
For work / study	83.5	81	86	88	79	92	75	71	75	86	92
Send and receive email	78.0	75	81	73	83	79	77	76	73	79	84
Watch movies	71.5	79	64	75	68	73	74	61	66	72	80
Online shopping / pay bills / reservations	41.7	46	37	39	44	39	48	37	40	40	53
Read books	37.0	33	41	42	32	43	28	38	36	37	37
Play computer games	25.3	36	14	30	21	30	20	19	28	22	35
Online banking	10.7	13	08	09	12	08	16	08	09	10	18

Table 4: Do you use the Internet to...?

When it comes to use of the Internet, gender differences are practically invisible. The only notable difference is that the men are slightly less likely to use the Internet to look up information on schools, jobs, travel, entertainment, etc. At the same time, they are somewhat more likely than women to use the Internet for playing computer games (36% vs. 14%).

Even more interesting was to see for which activities the young people use the Internet most.
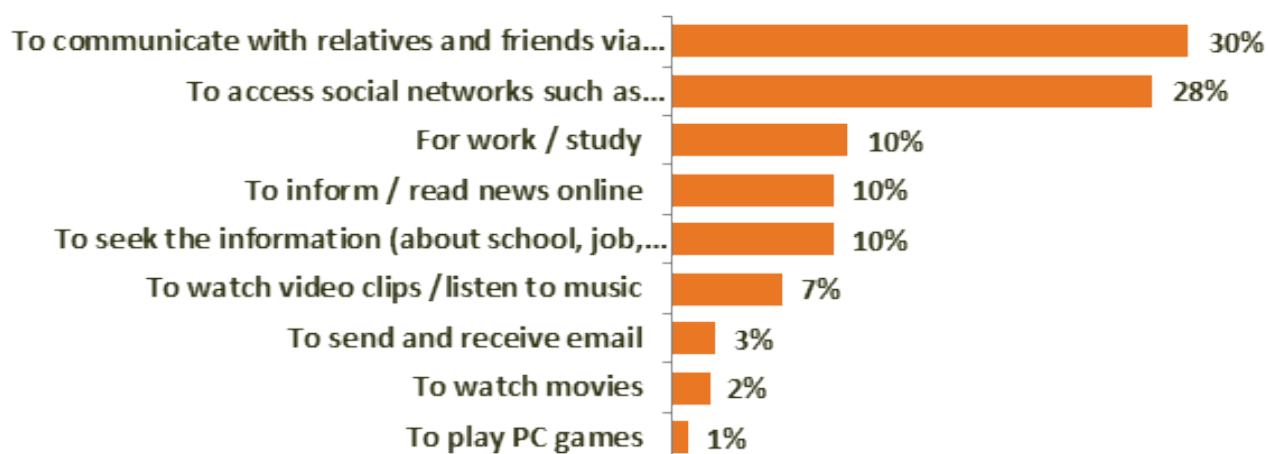

Figure 5: For which of the listed purposes you are most frequently using Internet?[8]

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8 Of those with access to the Internet (99% of the sample)

Young people in Montenegro use the Internet mostly to communicate with relatives and friends via messenger (30%), and slightly less to access other social networks (28%). The fact that only 10% of them use the Internet for work, study, or to search for information or read news online is concerning. The young people should be made aware that the Internet can be used to find plenty of information to advance their knowledge in various areas of interest, as well as to devise activities that would allow them to make better use of their leisure time. Also, more should be done to educate the young people about more effective use of the Internet, especially of the social networks, which have become ever more popular among the young people. Social networks are among the quickest contemporary media, and are practically impossible to control, but the young people should also be aware that social networks are a fertile ground for the growth of cyber-bulling, and be taught about the ways to avoid such behaviours.

Overall, the Internet enables faster communication and can be a way to connect people. However, the Internet should not be a substitute for face-to-face exchanges, as this would restrict the development of young people's communication skills. Communication via social networks is not immediate and allows for false presentations and impersonations. Such false images can become internalized with time and negatively affect the development of the personality.

The data we collected about the issues that affect the way young people use the Internet and spend their leisure time require further analysis. Given the availability of media content today, the impact of the different forms of media should be carefully examines, as they are likely to exert both positive and negative effects on development of the young people.

Values and life satisfaction

Values and value orientations are the most frequently studied concept in the domain of social sciences. They are not easy to define, as they are conceptualized differently by sociologists, philosophers, anthropologists and psychologists. From the point of view of sociology, values can be understood as rules, especially social rules, moral norms and ideals specific to certain social groups and systems. Values and value orientations cannot be linked only to a narrow set of issues in an individual's environment, because they overlap with a much broader set of issues. The question is what exactly are these values and value orientations that that define a person. Are they the result of an individual's education and life-long learning, formed by various cultural, social, religious, and historical factors? In any case, we can be certain that individuals derive their values from the society itself, as such values are formed in the course of social learning and can best reveal the objectives that a given society deems valuable.

Simply put, values represent those standards that allow us to tell good from bad in particular situations, both in our close communities and in the society at large. Values should be distinguished from attitudes, as the former are deeply rooted in the character of an individual. They develop over the course of our entire lives and are influenced by various factors, such as family, community and peer groups, education, as well as by ideologies and ideological beliefs.

Values and value orientations of the young people are a particularly interesting research subject. They allow us to understand the continuities, or discontinuities of an entire generation, and that generation in turns gives us the picture of the entire society. Growing up means that the process of socialization among the young people is always ongoing. Unlike the older citizens who already completed this process of socialisation, younger people are much more susceptible to various societal influences, and the changes in values and value orientations are easier to identify. By examining young people's values we can get a clearer picture of the current processes and relationships in the society, as well as of the trends that will shape up its future development.

Value orientations of the young people also shape expectations of towards them. On one hand, they are expected to continue carrying out the entrenched social mores, while on the other hand they are expected to produce a new wave of changes

and uphold the most current social norms, which are ever more rapidly changing. It is no wonder that the young people rarely live up to such demands. The fear of failure caused by such great expectations prompts them instead to retreat into conformism, at which point they usually encounter harsh criticism towards their generation. The mechanism should run the other way: first, the young people should have good role models from whom they can adopt sound values and use them to develop own value orientations, because the process of growing up and joining the world of adulthood and of work is always difficult and stressful, all the more so in a society like the Montenegrin one.

During the period of growing up, values represent an important element for the formation of the young people's identity. Through the formation of values and value orientations and attitudes, young people ask themselves some very important questions about their identities, and the answers to such questions often determine their life satisfaction.

When we speak of life satisfaction there is no use to talk about a general model, a scheme that would be universally valid for each man and woman. On the contrary, these models vary from person to person. The factors that affect the life satisfaction of each individual can be the circumstances of growing up, family, upbringing, education, value orientation of their closer and wider communities, culture, tradition, etc.

Life satisfaction varies depending on these factors. It can also be affected by the individual's system of values, as well as by the system of values of the society at large. Another crucial influence on the quality of life is the belonging to a certain group or community, as well as age. In other words, life satisfaction varies with the phases of an individual's life.

In our research we tried to understand which values and value orientations the young people in Montenegro respect and appreciate in others, and to consequently gauge their satisfaction with their own life in Montenegro.

Aware that all people, and especially young people, are different and appreciate different things, including the characteristics they value in others, we asked the young people in Montenegro to select from a list the values they consider important.
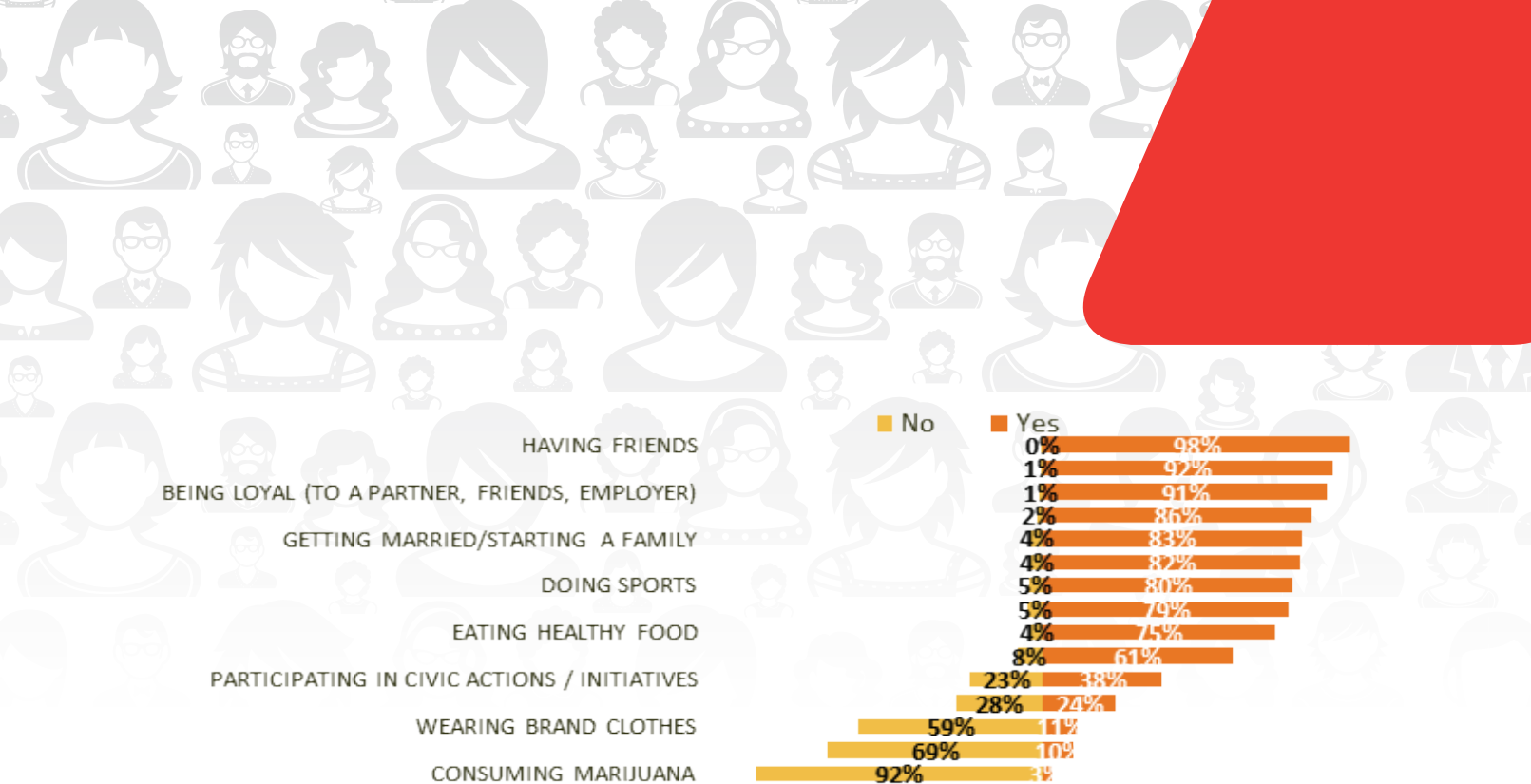
Figure 6: Different people value different things. Do you find the following things important?[9]
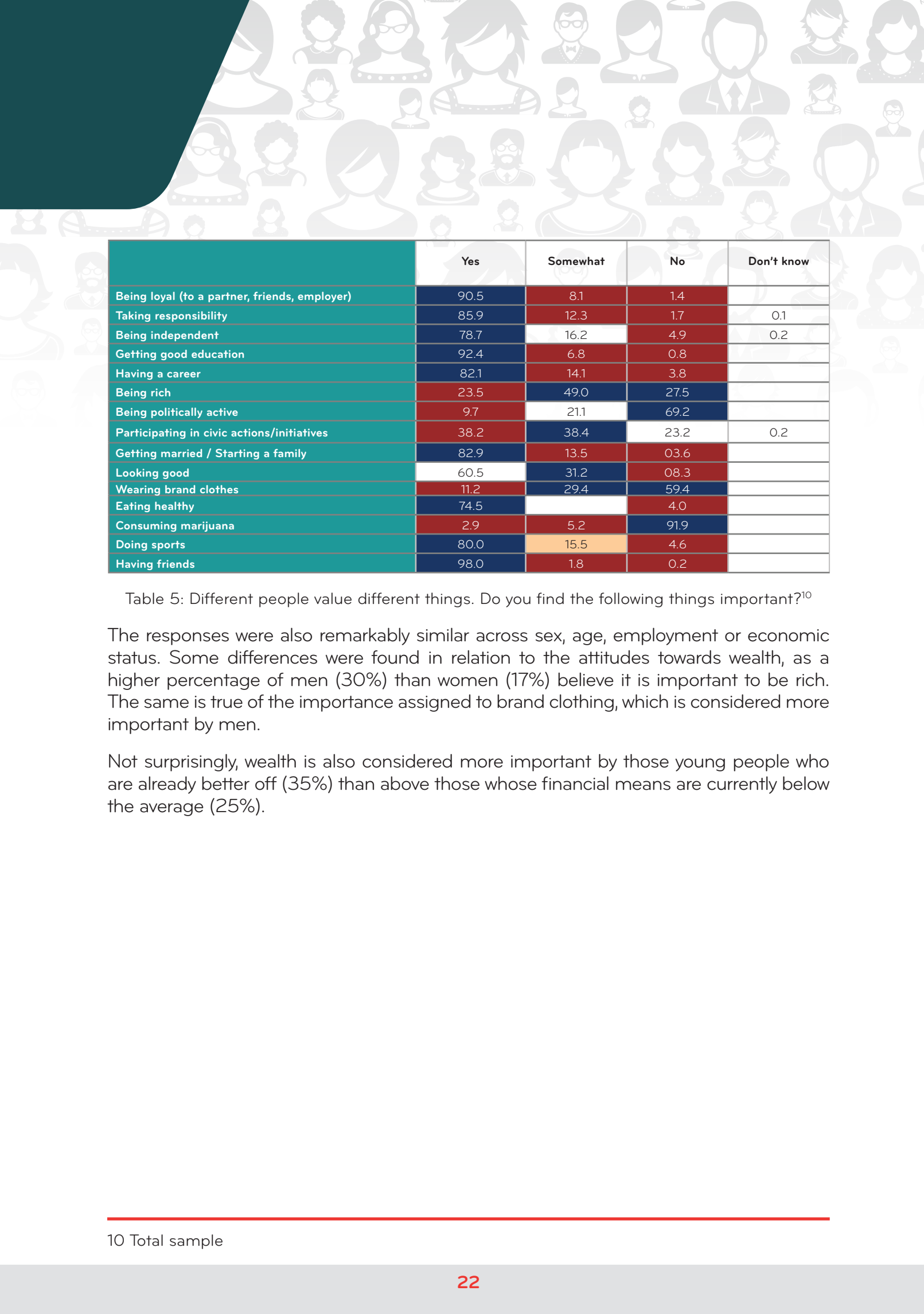
The young people in Montenegro consider important having friends (98%), getting good education (92%), and being loyal (91%). It is notable that taking responsibility is ranked as important by the overwhelming majority of respondents (86%). On the other hand, participation in civic initiatives, including political activism, is considered important by very few young people in Montenegro. Almost a quarter of respondents stated that they do not find important participation in civic initiatives or activities, and more than two thirds (69%) thinks it is not important to be politically active.

In the long term, this constitutes a serious problem. If the interest in civic activism and political engagement continues to decline (and here "political" is understood in the broadest terms), it will be impossible to expect the young people to be the bearers of positive social changes, or to fight for changes that would improve their own status in the Montenegrin society. Young people should always bear in mind that they are not only the future of our society, but also its present, and that their engagement in the present moment will be of crucial importance for themselves and for the future generations.

This lack of interest is also dangerous for the democratic sustainability of the society, and with it for the general prospects and position of the young people. We could say that the young people do not see the society they live in as a community in which they belong, and this is a worrying tendency, because it is hard to see how they can realise their personal aspirations if they have no interest in improving the society through political and social activism. These findings should worry the most those who have direct links with the world of politics, but also those in charge of designing and implementing youth and education policies.

As values and value orientations are important for development of a young person's identity, it is remarkable that our respondents had very strong opinions on the values they appreciate in others, and in the society at large – asked to rate the importance of a value, none of them answered that they "don't know" (Table 5).

9 Total sample

	Yes	Somewhat	No	Don't know
Being loyal (to a partner, friends, employer)	90.5	8.1	1.4	
Taking responsibility	85.9	12.3	1.7	0.1
Being independent	78.7	16.2	4.9	0.2
Getting good education	92.4	6.8	0.8	
Having a career	82.1	14.1	3.8	
Being rich	23.5	49.0	27.5	
Being politically active	9.7	21.1	69.2	
Participating in civic actions/initiatives	38.2	38.4	23.2	0.2
Getting married / Starting a family	82.9	13.5	03.6	
Looking good	60.5	31.2	08.3	
Wearing brand clothes	11.2	29.4	59.4	
Eating healthy	74.5		4.0	
Consuming marijuana	2.9	5.2	91.9	
Doing sports	80.0	15.5	4.6	
Having friends	98.0	1.8	0.2	

Table 5: Different people value different things. Do you find the following things important?[10]

The responses were also remarkably similar across sex, age, employment or economic status. Some differences were found in relation to the attitudes towards wealth, as a higher percentage of men (30%) than women (17%) believe it is important to be rich. The same is true of the importance assigned to brand clothing, which is considered more important by men.

Not surprisingly, wealth is also considered more important by those young people who are already better off (35%) than above those whose financial means are currently below the average (25%).

10 Total sample

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16–21	22–27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
Having friends	98.0	99	97	97	99	98	99	96	98	98	97	96	99	98	98	98
Getting good education	92.4	90	95	94	91	96	89	89	93	93	89	95	93	87	92	92
Being loyal (to a partner, friends, employer)	90.5	87	94	90	91	91	90	91	86	92	93	88	92	90	92	88
Taking responsibility	85.9	87	84	84	87	85	88	85	83	86	91	84	87	85	88	81
Getting married / Starting a family	82.9	87	79	79	87	79	86	89	85	82	81	88	82	78	81	86
Having a career	82.1	83	81	85	80	85	81	74	82	82	83	81	84	80	82	82
Doing sports	80.0	87	73	79	81	80	77	88	82	80	74	76	82	80	79	82
Being independent	78.7	78	79	70	87	74	84	81	83	76	79	73	82	78	81	74
Eating healthy	74.5	76	73	74	75	72	74	83	83	72	65	78	73	73	73	78
Looking good	60.5	63	58	58	63	57	63	66	68	58	58	64	61	54	59	63
Participating in civic actions/ initiatives	38.2	43	33	35	41	31	46	47	43	35	42	45	35	38	36	43
Being rich	23.5	30	17	26	21	25	23	19	25	20	35	23	25	20	23	24
Wearing brand clothing	11.2	15	7	11	11	11	13	6	13	10	13	14	11	7	9	16
Being politically active	9.7	11	8	9	10	9	12	7	9	8	19	12	8	11	11	8
Consuming marijuana	2.9	4	2	3	3	3	4	1	4	2	6	2	3	4	3	2

Table 6: Different people value different things. Do you find the following things important?[11]

The percentage of respondents who thought it was important to be socially active and participate in civic initiatives was especially low among the young people who are still in education (31%). This could be related to our findings about the way in which the young people spend their leisure time, as the same group reported the most intensive use of the Internet and spend the largest amount of time in passive forms of leisure. This is further aggravated y poor education and badly designed education programmes that give the young people few positive examples and little motivation to think about the importance of becoming socially engaged early on, both for themselves and for the society at large.

Despite the fact that Montenegro is currently undergoing intensive social reforms and the process of Euro-Atlantic integration, our findings indicate a low level of political literacy among the young people. This should stand as a warning to all those who are involved in advancing the system of political and civic education.

We also sought to identify the values that the young people in Montenegro appreciate in others.

Here too the young people seemed to have very similar preferences. Not a single respondent failed to single out fairness as something to be appreciated in others. Other highly ranked

11 Based on "Yes" answers

values include tolerance (99%), personal dignity (99%), altruism (99%), innovativeness (98%), fighting spirit (96%) and resourcefulness (96%). Social reputation, i.e. status, is low on their list of values, and material wealth is not greatly appreciated. Indeed, over two thirds of respondents, or 71%, said they did not value material wealth in others.

Some of these values might have been over-selected because of their socially desirable formulation, but the results nevertheless confirm previous conclusions, i.e. value orientations that could be gleaned from other aspects of their attitudes.

	■ Ne	■ Da
FAIRNESS	0%	100%
TOLERANCE (ACCEPTANCE AND RESPECT OF DIVERSITY)	1%	99%
PERSONAL DIGNITY	1%	99%
ALTRUISM (HELPING OTHERS)	1%	99%
INOVATIVENESS, SPIRITIUAL CREATIVITY (CREATION...	2%	98%
FIGHTING SPIRIT (FIGHT TO ACHIEVE SOME GOAL)	4%	96%
RESOURCEFULNESS	4%	96%
SOCIAL REPUTATION - STATUS	30%	70%
MATERIAL WEALTH	71%	29%

Figure 7: Do you value the following traits in other people?[12]

We also wanted to know which values or traits are most appreciated by the young people.

The most commonly cited were personal dignity (29%), altruism (23%), fighting spirit (15%), tolerance (12%) and fairness (12%). Slightly less valued were innovativeness (5%), resourcefulness (3%) and social reputation (1%). Young people in Montenegro are consistent in their assessment of material wealth – not a single respondent ranked this trait above others.

It should be noted that the traits most appreciated by the young people - fairness, tolerance, altruism – are also the ones most at risk from the erosion of the societal system of values, and from the young people's lack of interest in political and social engagement.

The fighting spirit and goal-orientedness, as well innovativeness – all of which are considered desirable by a broad majority of the young people, are also characteristic of propensity to political and social activism, for which however the young people express little inclination.

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12 Total sample

Personal dignity	29%
Altruism (helping others)	23%
Fighting spirit (fight to achieve certain goal)	15%
Tolerance (acceptance and respect of diversity)	12%
Correctness	12%
Innovativeness, spiritual creativity (creation and acceptance of new ideas)	5%
Resourcefulness	3%
Social reputation - status	1%
Material wealth	0%

Figure 8: Which of the following do you value the most?[13]

All of these responses are socially acceptable, i.e. they represent the best values a society can foster. We can thus also interpret the responses as an attempt on the part of the respondents to overstate their commitment to the socially acceptable traits. This form of conformism can be driven by a number of factors. It can be the result of the lack of interest in a certain subject, the respondent's mood, or of high levels of confidence in their choices or in themselves in general. It can be unintentional as well as consciously manipulative, and often creates a better image of oneself, especially if the environment does not show enough appreciation of such traits, but continues to declare their high importance, especially to the young people.

The socially desirable formulation of the survey answers may have resulted in the relative uniformity of answers across various sub-groups.

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13 Total sample

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Below average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
sig		0.12		0.67		0.32			0.67			0.93			0.64	
Personal dignity	29.3	33	25	29	30	29	27	35	32	29	26	30	31	26	29	31
Altruism (helping others)	22.8	19	27	21	24	20	23	34	24	22	23	24	22	22	22	25
Fighting spirit (fight to achieve certain goal)	14.6	16	13	17	13	16	14	11	15	15	12	16	14	14	14	15
Tolerance (acceptance and respect of diversity)	12.1	11	14	12	12	13	12	8	15	11	9	11	11	16	12	12
Fairness	11.9	10	13	11	12	13	12	7	5	14	18	11	13	10	14	7
Innovativeness, spiritual creativity (creation and acceptance of new ideas)	5.3	6	5	6	5	6	6	1	6	5	8	3	6	6	5	6
Resourcefulness	2.7	3	2	1	4	1	5	4	1	3	4	3	1	6	3	3
Social reputation - status	1.0	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		2	0	1	1	2
Material wealth	0.2	0		0		0			1				0		0	
Total	100%															

Table 7: Which of the following do you value the most?[14]

Life satisfaction can stem from the values and value orientations of individuals, as well as from the society. The notion of *life satisfaction* itself can be defined as a report on how the individual values and assesses his or her existence. It can be an expression of satisfaction with various aspects of life, such as health, family and social relations, education, job and similar. To assess the life satisfaction individuals sometimes assess each of these aspects separately, sometimes altogether, and quite often the overall sense of life satisfaction comes from just one of these aspects, depending on its significance for that individual.

Several studies lately have shown that the life satisfaction is higher among the older population than among the youth, because their emotional and life experience allows them to strike a balance in life. Young people, on the other hand, have often been called the *generation of the dissatisfied,* due to the upheavals of growing up, but also to their position in the society and the manner in which the society treats them.

This is why, in addition to the assessment of their value judgement, our survey also included evaluation of the satisfaction of the young people in Montenegro with various areas of their life.

■ Not at all/Very little (1+2)

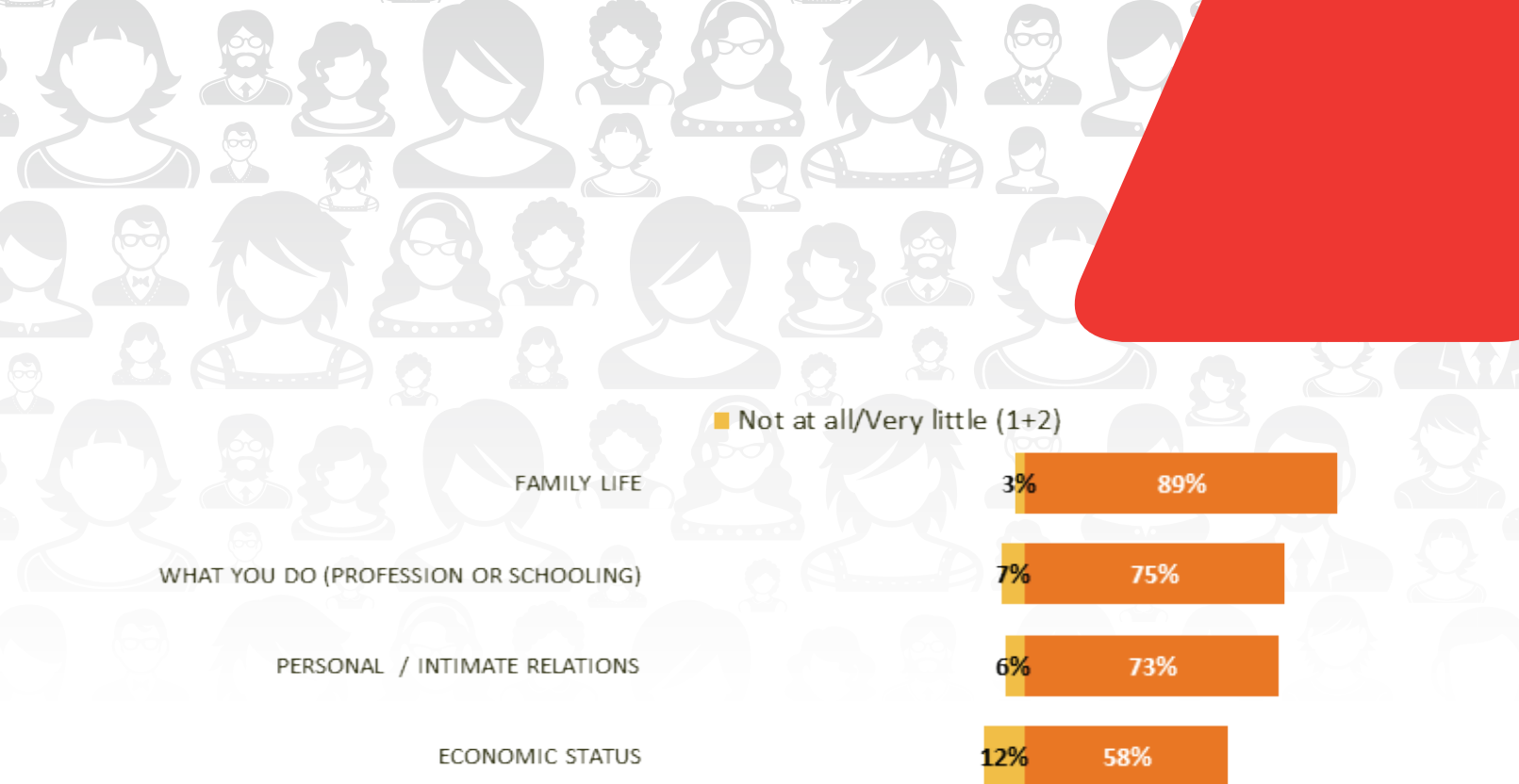|		
FAMILY LIFE	3%	89%
WHAT YOU DO (PROFESSION OR SCHOOLING)	7%	75%
PERSONAL / INTIMATE RELATIONS	6%	73%
ECONOMIC STATUS	12%	58%

Figure 9: How satisfied are you with your life at present with regard to …?[15]

The answers suggest that young people in Montenegro are quite satisfied with nearly every aspect of their lives (personal, family, educational, professional and economic), and are thus far from being a *"generation of the unsatisfied"*. However, if we link this to the previous discovery of the lack of interest in social changes and in the social and political engagement among the young people, the finding that the young people are happy with what they have and how they live is actually a cause for worry, given the current state of the Montenegrin society and very low levels of the quality and standard of life among the young people.

More detailed analysis confirms that serious or complete dissatisfaction among the young people in Montenegro is rare. Even with regard to their economic status, which is highly precarious given the rate of youth unemployment in Montenegro, slightly less than 1/3 of the young people said they were fairly satisfied, and more than 40% of them even quite satisfied with their life in Montenegro.

	Not at all	Very little	To certain extent	Quite	Very	Doesn't know	Not at all/ Very little(1+2)	Quite/ Very (4+5)
Personal / intimate relations	0.9	5.1	21.2	43.1	29.6	0.2	5.9	72.7
Family life	1.3	1.6	7.7	28.8	60.5	0.2	2.8	89.3
That what you do (profession or schooling)	3.1	3.8	18.2	35.1	39.3	0.4	7.0	74.5
Economic status	3.8	7.8	30.5	40.7	17.2		11.6	57.9

Table 9: How satisfied are you with your life at present with regard to …?

Overall, 40% of the young people satisfied with their economic situation is a fairly low percentage – in a well-functioning society the share of the young people who are satisfied with their lives in their country and have no need to go abroad in search of something better should be much higher. At the same time, this figure could suggest that a number of young people in Montenegro are satisfied with the current state of affairs, apathetic and uninterested in investing even the minimum effort to bring some change, as suggested by our previous findings. Meanwhile, the majority of them would leave at the first available opportunity.

15 Total sample

Social distance and discrimination

In the recent years, terms like *democracy, human rights, tolerance, discrimination* have become part of the public discourse in Montenegro. We often hear and read in the media that respect for human rights facilitates and accelerates Montenegro's path to the European Union, and that the EU membership will improve respect for human rights and freedoms. One thing is certain, however: human rights do not exist to maintain the EU, nor are they the EU's raison d'être. They are universal principles that ought to guide every society and every individual within it.

All people, whether they live within the EU or outside of it, strive to secure a decent life for themselves, and to live without fear of being humiliated, harassed or mistreated. Human rights are acquired by birth and are inalienable regardless of one's sex or age, their national, religious or political believes, their sexual orientation or skin colour.

Knowing what the rights of each individual are, what they really mean, and how to protect them, is the prerequisite for active participation in the contemporary democratic society. However, knowing about human rights is not enough – we should also develop a sensitivity for them, and for the responsibilities we have in respecting each others' human rights. A democratic society cannot function without solidarity, or without individual citizens taking up causes on behalf of others.

Social distance defines the degree of intimacy that an individual deems acceptable in his or her interactions with other individuals or social groups. The degree to which a respondent deems acceptable relations with a member of a certain social group reflect his or her overall attitude towards that group. Social distance measures the extent of understanding, or the lack thereof, and of compassion expressed by one individual towards another. In short, social distance in many ways reflects the nature of social relations.

Pojam *socijalne distance* podrazumijeva određeni nivo prisnosti do kojeg neka osoba pristaje da uđe u odnose sa ostalim pojedncima/kama odnosno društvenim grupama. Prihvatanje tj. bilo koji odnosi sa pripadnikom/com određene grupe predstavljaju sliku opšteg stava te osobe prema toj grupi. Ona predstavlja stepen razumijevanja, odnosno nerazumijevanja, ali i osjećanja koje pojedinci/ke ispoljavaju jedni/e prema drugima. Ukratko, socijalna distanca umnogome odražava karakter društvenih odnosa.

Montenegro's Anti-discrimination Law[16] defines discrimination as every unjustified, legal or factual, direct or indirect differentiation or unequal treatment, or failure to treat a person, or group

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16 Anti-discrimination law, ,,Official Gazette of Montenegro", no. 46/10

of people, as well as exclusion, restriction or preference to some person compared to other, based on race, skin colour, nationality, social or ethical origin, any unjustified, legal or actual, direct or indirect distinction or unequal treatment, or failure to treat a person or a group of persons in comparison to other persons, as well as exclusion, restriction or preferential treatment of a person in comparison to other persons, based on race, colour of skin, national affiliation, social or ethnic origin, affiliation to the minority nation or minority national community, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, health conditions, disability, age, material status, marital or family status, membership in a group or assumed membership in a group, political party or other organisation as well as other personal characteristics. The same law stipulates that the right to protection from discrimination belongs to all natural and legal persons to which the Montenegrin legislation is applicable.

Stereotypes, prejudices, social distance and discrimination are just some of the reasons behind the failure to fully guarantee enjoyment of human rights in Montenegro. Recently there has been growing discussion about social distance and discrimination by the young people against some marginalised groups in Montenegro. This is also why we included these issues in our research, in the hope of acquiring a more accurate picture about the extent to which young people in Montenegro feel distance toward certain social groups and consequently about their inclination to discriminate against those groups.
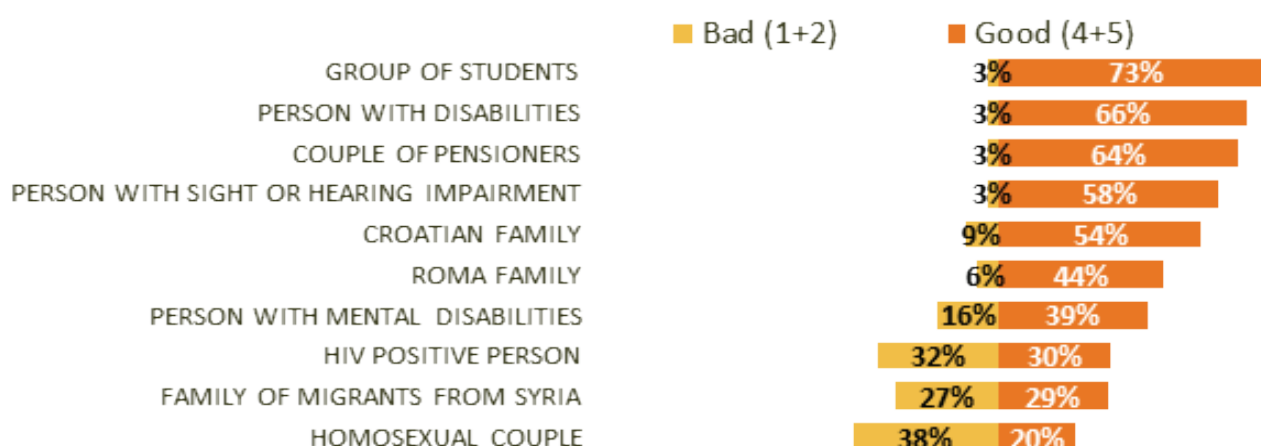
Figure 10: How would you feel if one of the following persons and families would come to live in your neighbourhood?[17]

Young people in Montenegro expressed the greatest social distance towards homosexual persons (38%), HIV positive persons (32%), migrants (27%) but also towards persons with mental disabilities (16%). The lowest level of social distance was found in relation to students, persons with physical disabilities, pensioners and persons with hearing and sight impairment (3%). Such marked distance towards persons of different sexual orientation was not something that we expected in a survey of attitudes of the young generations in Montenegro, but it was also not a complete surprise. Recent surveys done

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17 Total sample

on the general adult population show that sexual orientation is the most pronounced dimension of social distance and stigma in Montenegro, so it is to be expected that such attitudes are to some extent widespread among the youth. Moreover, as one's views are formed from the earliest age precisely by adopting the established opinions of one's community, such results do not come as a surprise. Moreover, the pronounced social distance towards migrants from the war-engulfed parts of the Middle East should be seen in the light of the predominantly negative media reporting and the repercussions of broader developments on the regional and global political scene.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
Homosexual couple	38.3	48	28	41	36	38	41	35	47	34	39	52	34	31	33	48
HIV positive person	31.7	36	27	31	32	31	31	36	38	27	40	42	29	24	29	37
Family of migrants from Syria	27.0	33	21	29	25	26	27	30	29	24	39	28	28	23	25	31
Person with mental disabilities	16.0	14	18	19	14	15	18	15	18	15	16	21	15	12	13	22
Croatian family	8.5	11	6	10	7	7	11	7	10	7	14	16	7	3	7	10
Roma family	5.8	8	3	7	5	6	7	2	5	5	9	7	7	2	5	7
Person with sight or hearing impairment	3.0	4	2	4	2	3	3	1	5	3	1	6	2	1	1	6
Couple of pensioners	2.9	2	4	5	1	4	2	1	4	3	1	5	3	1	2	4
Person with disabilities	2.8	3	2	4	1	4	2	2	4	2	4	7	1		2	5
Group of students	2.7	4	2	4	2	3	2	1	4	2	4	5	1	3	3	3

Table 9: How would you feel if the following persons or families were to move to your neighbourhood?[18]

The findings show that men (48%) are more considerably likely to express social distance towards persons of different sexual orientation than women (28%). Young people from the northern region of Montenegro (52%) also expressed much higher social distance towards that same marginalised group than the young people from other regions. Young people from the north also expressed greater social distance towards HIV positive persons (42%), and to families of Croatian origin (16%).

18 Total sample

On the other hand, young people in Montenegro said that they rarely, almost never, experience discrimination by others.
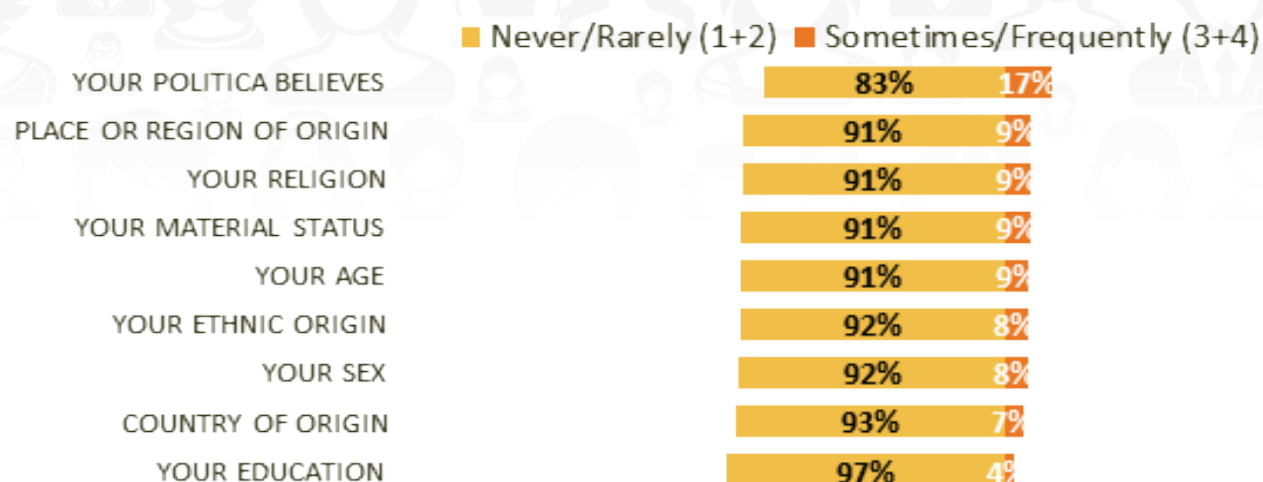

Never/Rarely (1+2) ■ **Sometimes/Frequently (3+4)**

	Never/Rarely (1+2)	Sometimes/Frequently (3+4)
YOUR POLITICA BELIEVES	83%	17%
PLACE OR REGION OF ORIGIN	91%	9%
YOUR RELIGION	91%	9%
YOUR MATERIAL STATUS	91%	9%
YOUR AGE	91%	9%
YOUR ETHNIC ORIGIN	92%	8%
YOUR SEX	92%	8%
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	93%	7%
YOUR EDUCATION	97%	4%

Figure 11: Have you ever felt discriminated against because of …? [19]

Overall, the most prevalent form of discrimination encountered by the young people in Montenegro is the discrimination on grounds of political beliefs (17%), followed by discrimination based on origin, religion, economic status and age (9%), though the prevalence of such experiences is very low.

More detailed analysis shows that young people from the north of the country experienced more frequently discrimination on grounds of place of origin (18%) than young people from other parts of Montenegro.

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19 Total sample

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education/ Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
Their political believes	16.6	16	17	13	20	14	21	15	20	13	24	23	13	16	18	15
Place or region of origin	9.4	8	11	9	10	10	7	14	7	10	10	18	6	7	9	10
Your religion	9.3	9	10	10	9	8	13	6	12	7	15	12	7	10	9	10
Your material status	8.9	8	10	8	10	6	11	12	16	6	4	10	10	6	8	11
Your age	8.7	7	11	12	6	11	7	4	8	8	11	7	8	13	10	6
Your ethnic origin	8.4	9	8	7	10	6	13	5	11	6	15	9	6	13	8	9
Your sex	8.2	3	14	8	8	7	9	12	9	8	6	6	10	7	8	8
Place of origin	6.8	6	8	7	6	8	6	6	12	4	8	10	3	11	6	9
Your education	3.5	4	4	2	5	2	4	6	7	2	4	5	3	3	3	5

Table 10: Have you ever felt discriminated against because of ...? [20]

It is unsurprising that those young people whose economic situation is below the average experience discrimination more frequently than those whose situation is at or above the average. This is true not only of the young people, but of the country as a whole, probably due to the fact that the devastation of the entire economic system has given rise to the levels of inequality never seen before.

There are also notable differences with regard to discrimination on grounds of sex: the percentage of women who felt discriminated on the basis of their sex (14%) far outweighs the proportion of men who felt the same (3%). This is not particularly surprising in light of the fact that women are among the most disadvantaged groups in Montenegro on all accounts, but it is a strong warning to the institutions to act urgently, especially through education, to change such attitudes among the young people in order to change the attitudes of the entire society.
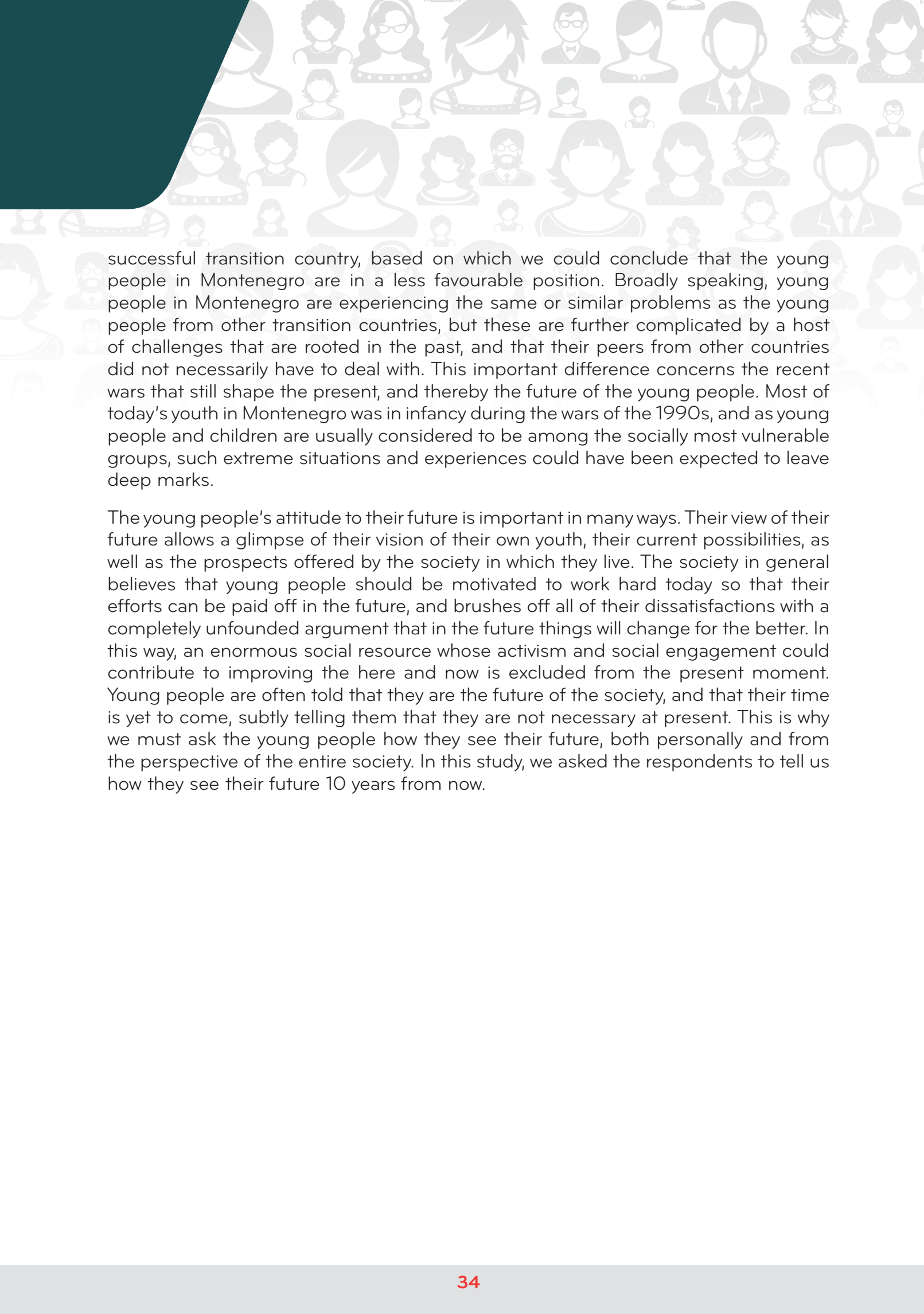
Future

Growing up and entering the stage of adulthood is becoming increasingly complicated for young people in Montenegro, for several reasons. Formal education lasts longer, rapid technological changes require a more qualified and flexible workforce, while the unemployment rate is relentlessly growing, especially among the young. All of this results in protracted socio-economic dependence of the young people, which undermines their autonomy and capacity to make important decisions that have a direct impact on their lives.

Another problem the young people are facing is the unfinished transition of the society. Sudden changes – from warmongering to the shift towards European values – appear to affect the young people the most. We get the impression that young people from transitional societies are in a less favourable position than their peers from developed countries or even than the older generations to whom they are often being compared. Nevertheless, one thing that all young people have in common, whether they come from a country of functional democracy or from a society that is still fighting for the establishment of democratic values and standards, is that they represent an irreplaceable political, economic and social resource. Growing up in a transition society, such as the Montenegrin one, means that the young people have to navigate a double upheaval. On the one hand, they struggle with their personal transition from adolescence to the world of grown-ups, in which they are expected to assume their social roles as quickly as possible. On the other hand, the entire society around them is experiencing a complex and uncertain process of transition.

Yet, one advantage of the young people living in transition societies is precisely that the transition can bring them to the fore as the bearers of social change. This is because the young people are the least encumbered by past ideologies, and are often considered to be the most creative group due to their flexibility, vitality, and various educational possibilities they enjoy in the contemporary society. These characteristics make the young people the group with the highest potential for change in transition societies.

Previous experiences of countries that have undergone transition reflect similar problems, especially with regard to the young people, but they all addressed these problems in different ways, and with different outcomes. Considering the young people and the progress of the transition overall, Montenegro appears as a less

successful transition country, based on which we could conclude that the young people in Montenegro are in a less favourable position. Broadly speaking, young people in Montenegro are experiencing the same or similar problems as the young people from other transition countries, but these are further complicated by a host of challenges that are rooted in the past, and that their peers from other countries did not necessarily have to deal with. This important difference concerns the recent wars that still shape the present, and thereby the future of the young people. Most of today's youth in Montenegro was in infancy during the wars of the 1990s, and as young people and children are usually considered to be among the socially most vulnerable groups, such extreme situations and experiences could have been expected to leave deep marks.

The young people's attitude to their future is important in many ways. Their view of their future allows a glimpse of their vision of their own youth, their current possibilities, as well as the prospects offered by the society in which they live. The society in general believes that young people should be motivated to work hard today so that their efforts can be paid off in the future, and brushes off all of their dissatisfactions with a completely unfounded argument that in the future things will change for the better. In this way, an enormous social resource whose activism and social engagement could contribute to improving the here and now is excluded from the present moment. Young people are often told that they are the future of the society, and that their time is yet to come, subtly telling them that they are not necessary at present. This is why we must ask the young people how they see their future, both personally and from the perspective of the entire society. In this study, we asked the respondents to tell us how they see their future 10 years from now.
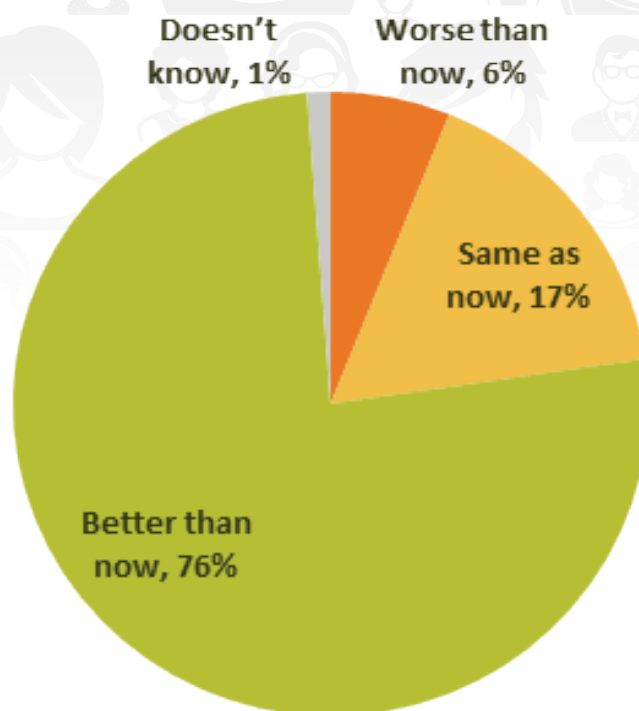
Figure 12: How do you see your situation in 10 years?[21]

Young people in Montenegro are pretty optimistic about their future 10 years down the line. More than three quarters believe that in 10 years their situation will be better than now. There are certain differences according to the economic status: young people whose economic situation is below the average are more likely to think that their situation in 10 years will be even worse.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
sig		0.03		0.90		0.17			0.00			0.73			0.09	
Worse than now	6.1	7	5	6	7	4	10	7	15	3	2	7	6	5	4	10
Same as now	16.6	12	21	16	17	16	16	19	18	15	19	17	14	21	16	17
Better than now	76.1	79	73	78	74	80	74	68	67	81	77	75	78	73	78	72
Doesn't know	1.2	2	0	1	2	0	1	6	1	1	2	0	2	1	2	1
Total	100%															

Table 11: How do you see your situation in 10 years?[22]

Women, on the other hand, are more likely to think that their situation will remain the same. Broadly speaking, this result is no surprise. Even though more than a century has passed since the women obtained their right to vote in Montenegro, the fight for the realisation of their basic rights is still in its infancy. Women in Montenegro still occupy the top of the list of the most discriminated groups in Montenegrin society. Social, and subsequently political marginalisation of women is reflected in the number of decision-making positions they occupy in the highest political arena, i.e. the Parliament and the Government of Montenegro. Moreover, we are witnessing the rise of misogyny in the media, as evidenced by the smear campaigns against civil society activists, which has only helped to normalise such attitudes in the everyday life. All of this affects the young women in Montenegro and discourages them from thinking that the situation will improve in the next 10 years.

Young people in Montenegro are also optimistic about the economic developments in the country. More than a half of them (51%) believes that the economic situation will improve for the whole society, while 20% think that it will deteriorate. Young people of below-the-average economic means, as expected, are less optimistic than the average.
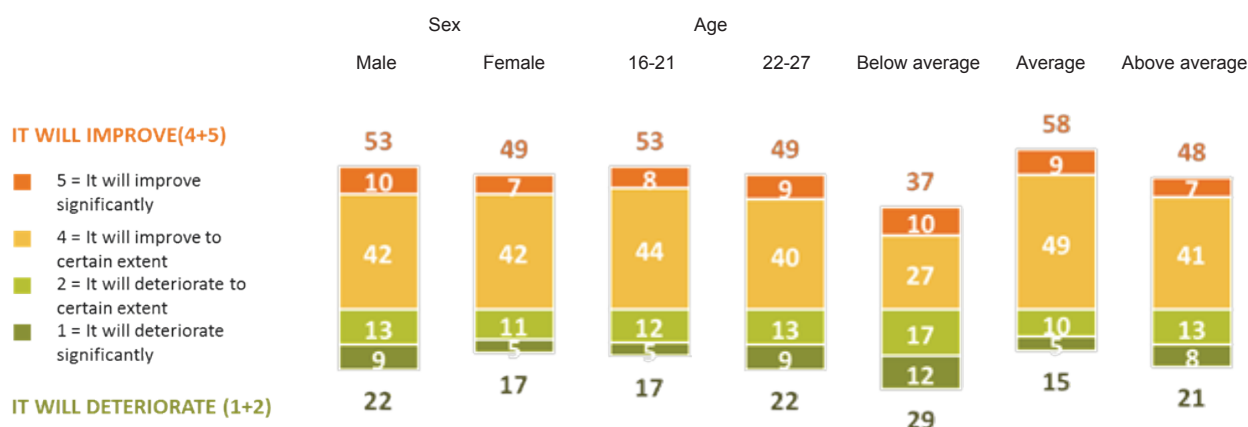
Figure 13: What do you think will happen to the economic situation of people in Montenegro in the next 10 years?[23]

A frequent feature accompanying the lives of the young people in transition societies is migration. Young people who grow up in such societies often wonder *"To stay or to go abroad?"* Sometimes this is just a temporary solution, an escape from their reality, but at other times it happens that the young people, often independently and without their families, choose this path in order to once and for all solve the issues they could not solve in their home country. We therefore asked young people whether they have a desire to leave Montenegro.

23 Total sample

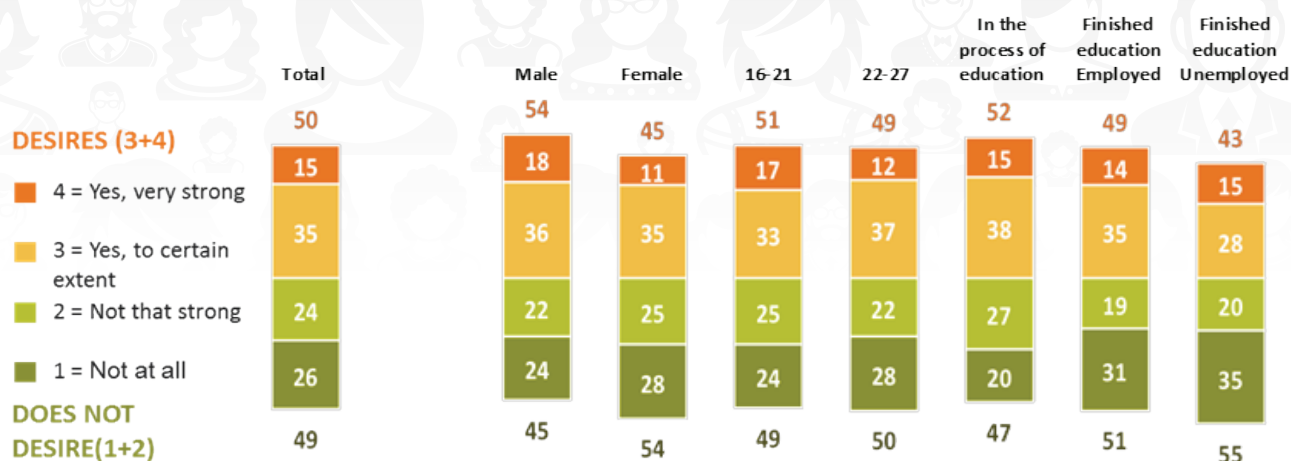|	Total	Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed
DESIRES (3+4)	50	54	45	51	49	52	49	43
4 = Yes, very strong	15	18	11	17	12	15	14	15
3 = Yes, to certain extent	35	36	35	33	37	38	35	28
2 = Not that strong	24	22	25	25	22	27	19	20
1 = Not at all	26	24	28	24	28	20	31	35
DOES NOT DESIRE(1+2)	49	45	54	49	50	47	51	55

Figure 14: Do you have a desire to leave Montenegro?[24]

When asked whether they would like to leave Montenegro, the young people are strongly divided – half of them would like to leave the country, while the other half would not. Desire for leaving is somewhat stronger in the younger people who are still in the process of education (52%), and in those of the male sex (54%). It is somewhat surprising that the majority of those who expressed their desire to leave Montenegro is at the same time highly satisfied with all the key aspects of their life (education/job; family relations; intimate relations; economic status).

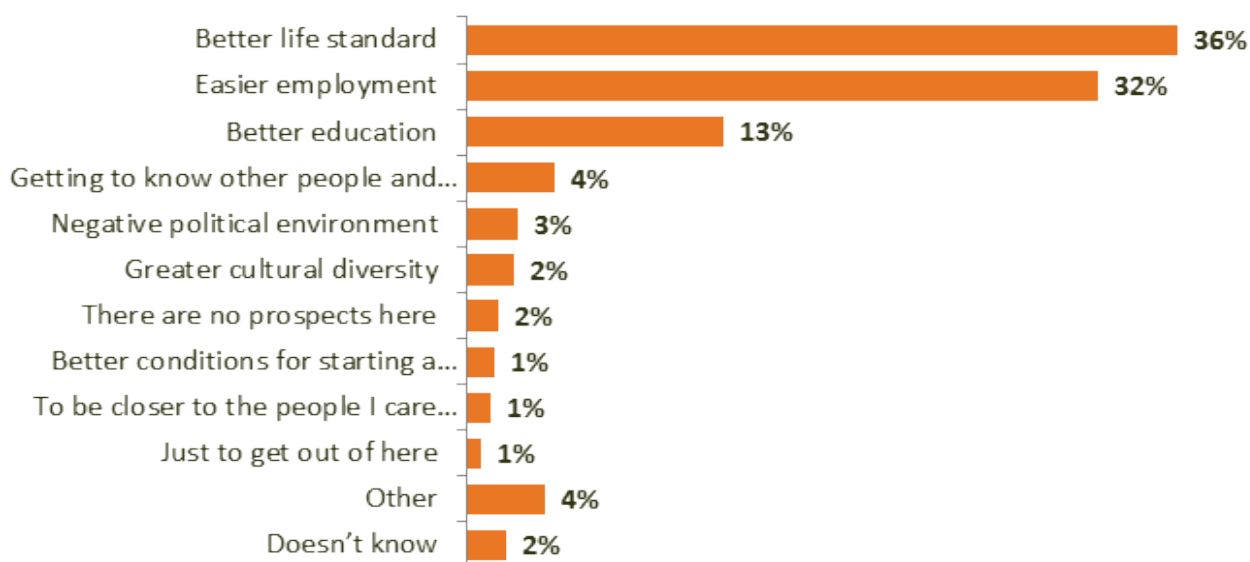| Reason	%
Better life standard	36%
Easier employment	32%
Better education	13%
Getting to know other people and...	4%
Negative political environment	3%
Greater cultural diversity	2%
There are no prospects here	2%
Better conditions for starting a...	1%
To be closer to the people I care...	1%
Just to get out of here	1%
Other	4%
Doesn't know	2%

Figure 15: What would be your main reason to leave Montenegro?[25]

24 Total sample
25 Of those who said they would like to leave Montenegro

The finding that 50% of young people want to leave Montenegro is unfortunately not a surprising one. When we consider the information that the youth unemployment rate in Montenegro amounted to 37.6% of all the young people in 2015, or twice as high as the overall unemployment rate in the country in the same period (17.5%), it is obvious that the young people have limited options to build their future in Montenegro. This is further aggravated by the poor quality of education, undermined by ubiquitous corruption, which leaves the young people unfit for the labour market. In the meantime, we are witnessing unplanned production or, in many cases, overproduction of certain educational profiles whose job market prospects are very narrow. This might explain why the desire to leave Montenegro is stronger among the environments where they could do better.

The reasons for leaving are multiple. The main ones refer to the expectations of better living standards and easier employment in other countries. Hence, motives such employment opportunities, as well as educational and living standards account for the majority of the stated desire to emigrate. Young people who wish to leave Montenegro have a clear idea of why they want to do so and only 1% of said that they would leave Montenegro "just to get away from here".

There are statistically significant differences between sexes with respect to their stated reasons for leaving. Men are more likely to emphasise better living conditions (44%), while women cite better education (19%), as well as better employment opportunities (38%). Younger people, (aged 16 to 21) are more likely than the older group to cite better education opportunities as a reason to leave (21%). The unemployed were most likely to mention better employment opportunities (52%), which is only to be expected.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Muški	Ženski	16-21	22-27	U procesu obrazovanja	Završio školovanje zaposlen	Završio školovanje nezaposlen	Ispod prosjeka	Prosječna	Iznad prosjeka	Sever	Centar	Jug	Urban	Ostalo
N	428	228	200	217	210	238	137	52	119	250	58	121	209	98	287	141
sig		0.00		0.00		0.00			0.99			1.00			0.59	
Better living standard	35.5	44	26	30	41	29	49	27	41	32	41	39	34	35	32	43
Better employment opportunities	31.5	26	38	27	37	27	32	52	31	35	17	31	31	33	32	30
Better education	12.8	7	19	21	4	22	1	2	11	14	9	9	15	13	14	10
Familiarising with other people and communities	4.4	5	3	5	4	5	3	6	4	4	5	4	6	1	5	3
Negative political environment	2.6	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	4	2	2	2	4
Higher cultural diversity	2.4	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	2	5	3	2
There is no perspective here	1.6	3	0	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	4	2	1	1	1	2
Better conditions to start business	1.4	2	1	1	1	2	1		1	2	2		2	1	2	1
To be closer to people whom I care about	1.2	1	1	1	1	1		4	1	1	4	2	0	2	1	1
Just to get out of here	0.7	0	1	1	0	1		2	1	0	2		1	1	1	
Other	3.9	4	3	5	3	5	4		1	4	12	4	3	6	5	2
Doesn't know	2.0	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	2		4	2		2	2
Total	100%															

Table 12: What is your main reason to leave Montenegro?[26]

26 Base: those who wish to leave Montenegro

Education and employment

Education is that part of the social life that essentially shapes young people as individial actors in the society, and gives them an opportunity to build up a personal resource, i.e. personal capital. High quality education gives a young persont he opportunity to obtain skills and capabilities necessary to realise certain professional goals, and thereby to achieve a certain living standard. However, not everyone has the same opportunities for education, and this presents an increasing problem for the young people, as the current labour market makes it practically impossible to find work without adequate qualifications. Formal education, although still highly valued, turns out to be insufficient for the acquisition of skills that can help a young person in the labour market. This is why the period between formal education and employment should include knowledge and skills obtained via informal education, which also have a growing importance on the market.

Transition from school to work is considered one of the key transitions in the lives of the young people. Increasingly, the young people encounter drastic changes when entering professional work. The impact of globalisation, technological innovation and rapid changes in the occupational structure further complicates this process. The traditional division of life stages into education as preparation for employment, work and retirement no longer applies. Turbulent technological changes that give rise to frequent occupational shifts force the employees to follow several paths when building up their careers. The young people are therefore compelled to often change jobs, and take on different professions, all in order to acquire additional qualifications and skills, and remain comitted to life-long-learning in order to preserve their position and remain visible in an increasingly competitive labour market.

Many previous studies of the opinions and attitudes of the young people towards work and employment show that these are highly important issues for them and rank high on their system of values. At the same time, such attitudes collide with a harsh reality of the position in which the young people find themselves on the labour market. Inability to achieve work and professional aspirations in current social context of the rising youth unemployment turns young people into one of the largest vulnerable groups. Precisely this inability to assume the role of a working member of the society produces, among other consequences, social exclusion, sidelining the young people and placing them in an unfavorable position. All of this ultimately limits their opportunity to have their voice heard and to make decisions about things which are of immediate importance to them.

How do the young people in Montenegro perceieve the process of education? How do they evaluate it? What are their desires with regard to employment and which factors in the Montenegrin society decide whether a young person finds a job and thereby solves a major issue in his or her life? These are some of the questions explored by this chapter.

Regarding satisfaction with the quality of education, the young people's opinions are quite divided, although just over a half of them maintain that they are essentially satisfied with the quality of education they get. Men are somewhat more satisfied than women, whereas the young people of less than average economic means, as well as those of above-average means are less satisfied than the average.
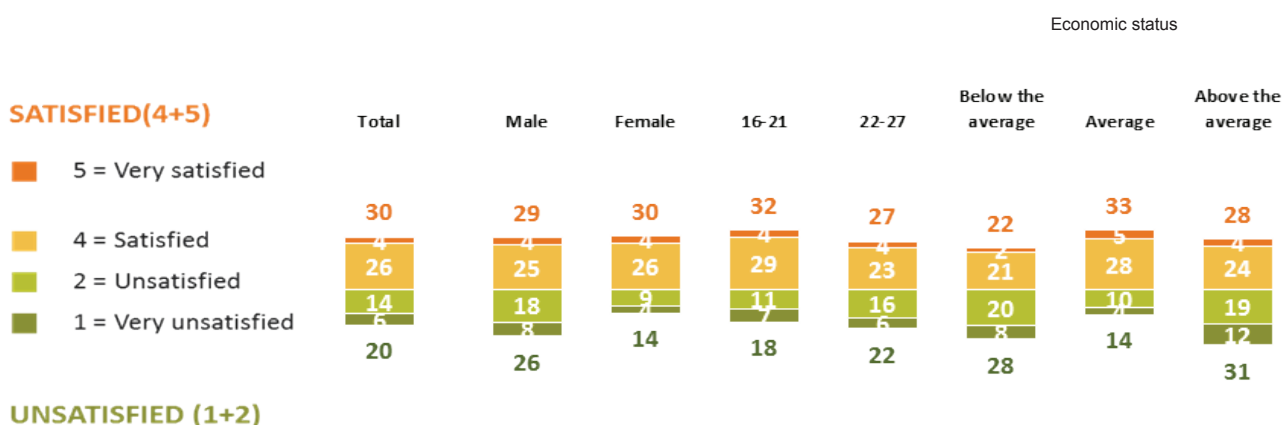
Economic status

	Total	Male	Female	16-21	22-27	Below the average	Average	Above the average
SATISFIED(4+5)	30	29	30	32	27	22	33	28
5 = Very satisfied	4	4	4	4	4	2	5	4
4 = Satisfied	26	25	26	29	23	21	28	24
2 = Unsatisfied	14	18	9	11	16	20	10	19
1 = Very unsatisfied	6	8	7	7	6	8	14	12
UNSATISFIED (1+2)	20	26	14	18	22	28		31

Figure 16: How satisfied are you with the quality of education in Montenegro?[27]

In the past three years none of the universities in Montenegro ranked among the first 800 universities in the world[28]. They are also plagued by numerous problems including endemic corruption. And yet, the majority of young people who are in the process of education (51%) say that they are somewhat satisfied with the system of education.

27 Total sample
28 http://www.webometrics.info/en/Europe/Montenegro

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education/ Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
Very unsatisfied	6.3	8	4	7	6	5	8	6	8	4	12	7	5	9	7	6
Unsatisfied	13.6	18	9	11	16	14	14	10	20	10	19	14	12	18	13	15
Sum -	19.9	26	14	18	22	20	22	16	28	14	31	20	16	27	20	20
Partially satisfied	49.9	44	56	49	50	51	51	46	49	52	41	51	52	44	50	49
Sum +	29.6	29	30	32	27	30	26	37	22	33	28	29	31	28	29	31
Satisfied	25.6	25	26	29	23	26	20	36	21	28	24	25	27	23	25	26
Very satisfied	3.9	4	4	4	4	4	5	1	2	5	4	4	4	4	4	4
Doesn't know	0.6	1	0		1		1	1	1	0			0	2	1	
Total	100%															

Table 13: How satisfied are you with the quality of education in Montenegro?[29]

Youth activism *represents social engagement of young people who are gathered around a common idea and who work through joint networking and implementation of specific projects to improve the quality of life of young people, acquire competencies, solve relevant issues and thus contribute to the society, both at the level of the local communities and at the national level.*[30]

Volunteering is the basis for such activism, which is why we asked the young people in Montenegro whether they participated in any form of voluntary work in the past 12 months (Figure 17). The majority of them did not take part in any form of voluntary or philanthropic, but we should also note that 1/3 of the young people in Montenegro, or 38%, has had some kind of experience with this form of social engagement.
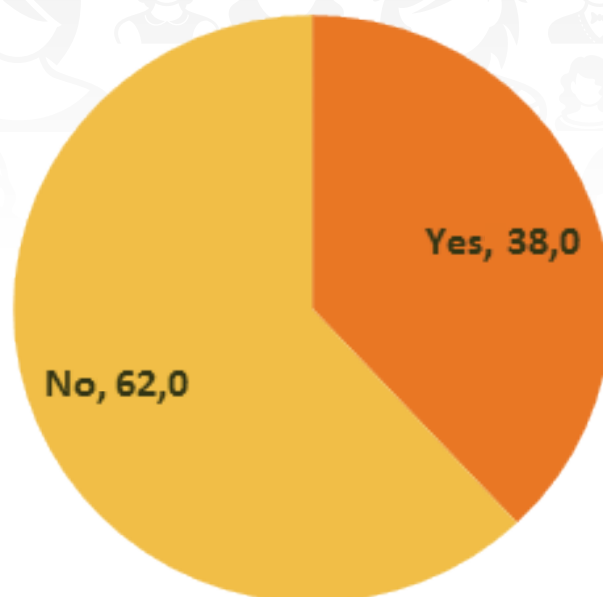
Figure 17: Have you participated in any form of voluntary work in the past 12 months?[31]

Nonetheless, the fact that 62% the respondents did not participate in any volunteering activity in past year remains a surprise. It is obvious that the young people in Montenegro still do not recognise the importance of volunteering for personal and social development. Apart from the fact that they receive practically no guidance on this at school, and in the formal education process in general, it is possible that such low level of interest in volunteering stems from a broader social climate in which the laws that were meant to promote volunteering still not operational. More work is needed to remove the broader social obstacles, such as the widespread notion that volunteering or unpaid work is useless, which is bound to influence the young people's attitudes to this issue.

Asked about their employment preferences, over a half of the young people in Montenegro said they would prefer to work in the public sector (51%), and slightly less than one quarter said that they would prefer the private sector (22%). International organisations are also considered attractive destinations for employment (19%), while the NGO sector does not seem to be considered an attractive choice by the young people in Montenegro - only 6% of respondents stated that they would like to work for an NGO.
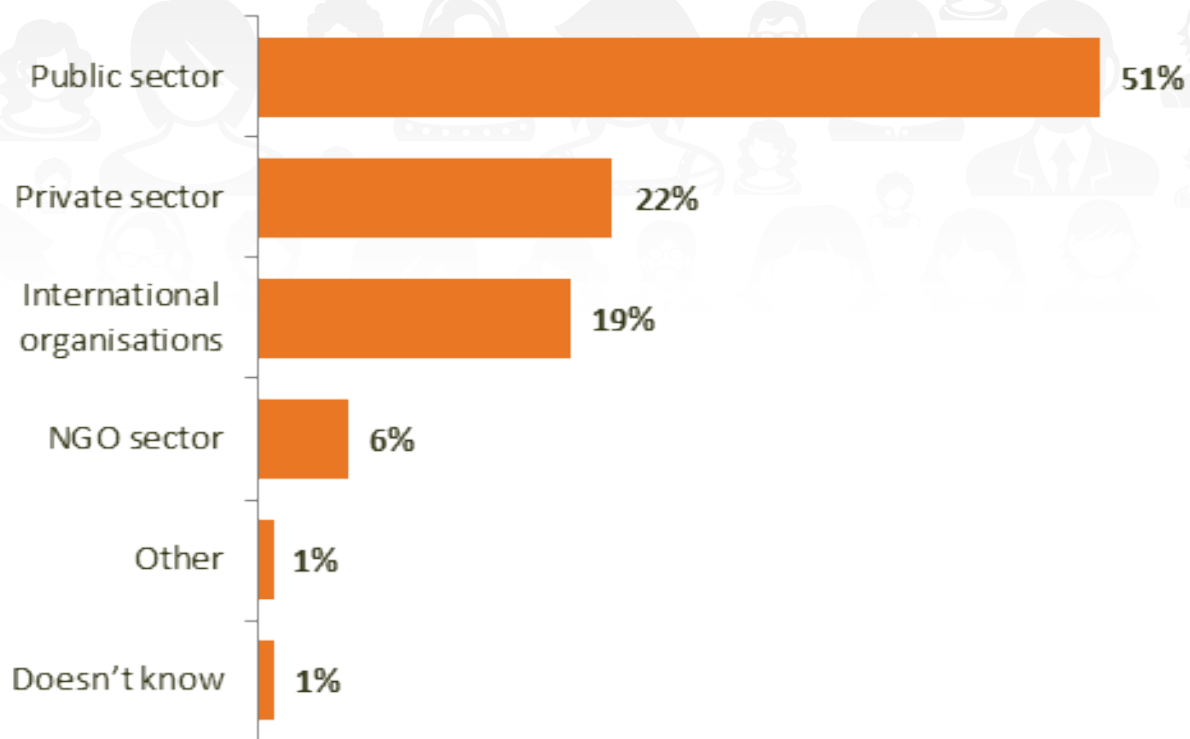
31 Total sample

Figure 18: In which of the following sectors would you like to work the most?[32]

Young people are obviously attracted by some degree of security that is still offered by public employment, including less exposure to risks and constant pressure to make decisions that can make or break one's job and career. In the public sector, the mistakes are more easily depreciated. On the other hand, without the private initiative there can be no improvement in economic and business terms, and it is important to develop the entrepreneurial spirit that the young people still appear to lack. Education system that is traditionally focused on the reproduction of material and mere memorization, instead of development of creativity and critical thought, takes its toll on the future of the young people. This is further strengthened by the ingrained attitudes, inherited from state socialism, that the public sector is the safest haven.

According to the young people, the most important factors for finding a job are personal acquaintances and connections (28%), professionalism (28%) and education (23%). Political connections are only in the fourth place, with just over 10% of the respondents choosing this option.
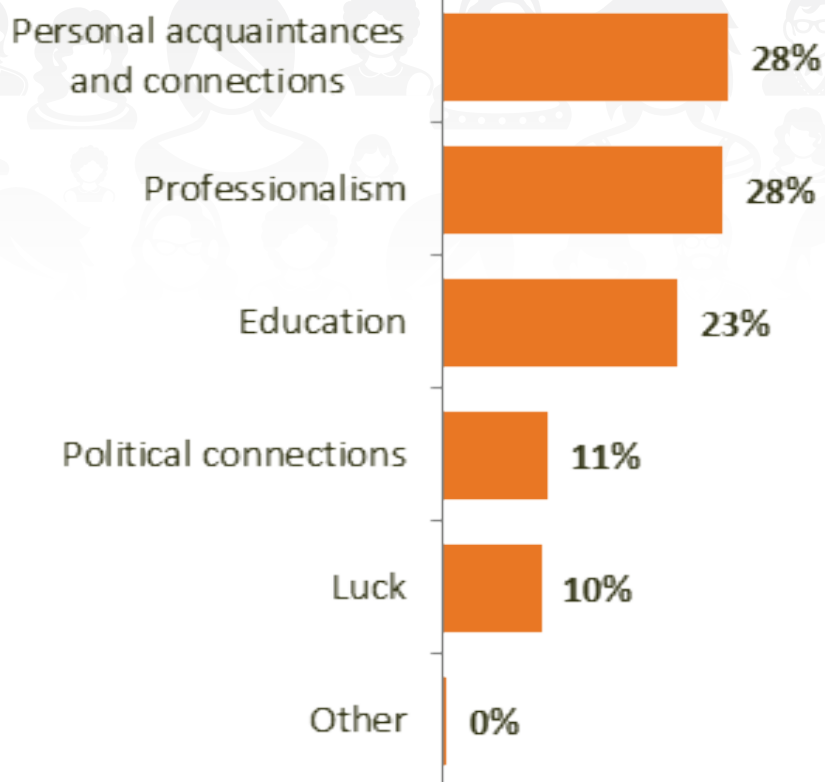
32 Total sample

Figure 19: We will read you a list of 5 factors that other people in Montenegro deemed important for employment. Which would you say is the most important?[33]

Personal acquaintances and political connections are highly ranked by the young people as channels for faster employment or promotion in one of the basic areas of social mobility. This is hardly surprising, given the all pervasiveness of corruption, nepotism, and political influences in the Montenegrin society, and especially in the context of employment. The broader social context has strong a influence on the employment process in real time and space, as well as on the perception that personal and political ties play a key part in the solving of most important existential matters which enable further social mobility. It is heartening, however, that over 50% of the young people still believe that professionalism and education are key to employment. It is possible that the percentage of those who truly think so is somewhat lower, as some respondents may have simply chosen the socially desirable and expected answers. The emphasis of luck as a factor testifies to an important share of young people with a fatalistic, possibly even apathetic, view of the future.

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33 Total sample

Politics

Man's interest in politics dates far back in time. As the society evolved, it changed its views on politics, and the definition of politics itself changed. In the ancient times politics was seen as a *form of practical art that, at least according to Socrates, should (because it can) be practiced only by those who were trained for it and who possesses the necessary knowledge.*[34]

Broadly put, politics is the art of dealing with the social and public affairs that are aimed at a general good, or the good of the whole society. It represents activities through which all members of the society create, protect, exercise or change the rules by which they live. It permeates all areas of our everyday lives, and considering its scope and level of organisation, can be divided into:

- general politics, which includes: local, national and international politics
- special politics, or policy, that can include social, executive policy, science policy etc..

Politics is among the most important human activities. It is defined by rational action aimed at regulating the community by deciding on issues of common importance. Exclusion from politics equals exclusion from all decision-making processes. This connection is best illustrated in the connection between the young people and politics. In Montenegro, this relationship has not been properly articulated or adequately promoted, and the young people's interests only make a sporadic appearance on the political stage. This attitude can drive the young people away from politics, which is bad for the society as a whole. Absence of young people from politics can to some extent endanger all every democratic processes in the contemporary society, for multiple reasons. Young people distance themselves from politics, especially from the more formalized engagement, because they have little interest in this form of social activity, or because they do not yet understand the meaning of it and often ask themselves: "What do I get from it?" When they do choose to be politically active, however, the young people are more likely to stay out of the official political party structures and rather join organisations of a less formal character (youth groups, student organisations, NGOs, etc.). Because of their limited experience in politics, the young people are also more likely to take up the more radical political positions, or to become more

34 Political doctrines, Prof. Radovan Radonjic PhD, p. 58 OBOD ad Cetinje, CCE, CRNVO, Cetinje, 2010.

susceptible to various forms of political manipulation, which usually ends badly and can distance its victims even further from political engagement.
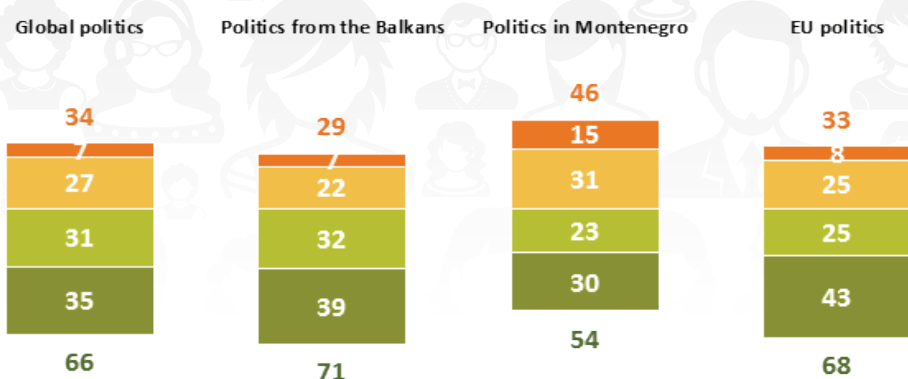
The overall political, as well as social context, affects the formation of political opinion of each individual, and thereby the formation of political views of the young people. Young people's political attitudes are also affected by their life cycle, as well as by the specific generational experiences. By combining all of these influences we get well established models of political behaviour in the young people, which are comparable to the models of political behaviour in adults.

Understanding the importance of political engagement among the young people, we tried to assess the extent of the young people's interest in politics and political issues, both at the national level and in the region. This included asking them about where they get their information on politics and how they see the influence of the young people on the social and political developments in Montenegro today.

The data reveal that the young people are generally not interested in political issues. More than half of the respondents said they were not interest in either of the four thematic areas (global politics, politics in the Balkans, politics in Montenegro, EU politics). Those who are interested professed their interest above all in the issues and topics of Montenegrin politics (46%), followed by those of the global politics (34%) – a choice probably partly shaped by the media - and EU politics (33%). Political issues in the Balkans attracted the least interest (29%).

INTERESTED (3+4)

- 4 = Very interested
- 3 = Mostly interested
- 2 = Mostly not interested
- 1 = Not interested at all

	Global politics	Politics from the Balkans	Politics in Montenegro	EU politics
4 = Very interested	34 / 7	29 / 7	46 / 15	33 / 8
3 = Mostly interested	27	22	31	25
2 = Mostly not interested	31	32	23	25
1 = Not interested at all	35	39	30	43
NOT INTERESTED (1+2)	66	71	54	68

NOT INTERESTED (1+2)

Figure 20: How interested are you in the political issues and themes of…?[35]

It is notable that interested in the Balkan politics is more common among the young people aged 22 – 27, while global politics is of disproportionate interest to those of above-average economic means.

	Total	Sex		Age		Status			Economic status			Region			Type	
		Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed	Below average	Average	Above average	North	Centre	South	Urban	Other
N	583	300	283	286	297	300	200	83	164	345	74	168	283	132	384	199
Politics in Montenegro	46.3	46	46	45	48	47	43	52	40	46	60	50	47	41	49	42
Global politics	34.1	38	30	30	38	35	32	36	29	33	49	37	35	28	36	31
EU politics	32.5	35	30	30	35	33	29	38	28	31	48	33	35	26	34	29
Politics from the Balkans	28.7	31	26	22	35	28	28	35	22	29	41	28	32	23	32	22

Figure 14: How much are you personally interested in political issues and political topics in the field of:[36]

The young people are also rather pessimistic about their own impact on the performance of institutions at both the local and the national level. Only 35% of the young believe that their voice has an impact at the national level, although this percentage is somewhat higher when asked about the local level (44%).
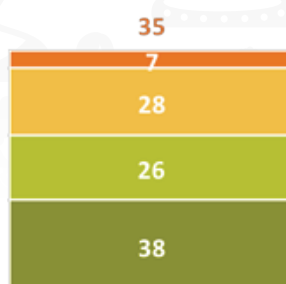
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35 Total sample
36 Base: Overall target population

TO A CERTAIN EXTENT/A LOT (3+4)

- ■ 4 = A lot
- ■ 3 = To a certain extent
- ■ 2 = A little
- ■ 1 = Not at all

NOT AT ALL/A LITTLE (1+2)

On national level (Parliament and Government)

35

7	
28	
26	
38	

64

On local level (city, municipality, local parliament)

44

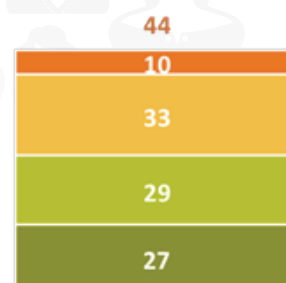|	
10	
33	
29	
27	

56

Chart 21: How much do you think your voice has an impact (or could have an impact) on the functioning of institutions?[37]

A large majority of the young people professed no interest in politics, nor any confidence in the power of their own voices at the local or national levels. Political literacy of the young people is extremely low. This could be the result of inadequate political education, but also of a certain revulsion towards politics and what they understand politics to be, based on the behaviour and actions of the political actors. Lack of interest in political developments, scepticism of their own voice and a sense of impotence, as well as the feeling of inferiority and lack of identification with the system pose a threat to the society and to the sustainability of the democratic system, and should be urgently addressed by all elements of the political system and political actors in the broadest sense of the word.

Regarding sources of informing on the current political events, the Internet emerges as the main source of information on politics for the young people. As the young people spend most of their time off on the Internet, this finding does not come as a surprise.

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37 Total sample
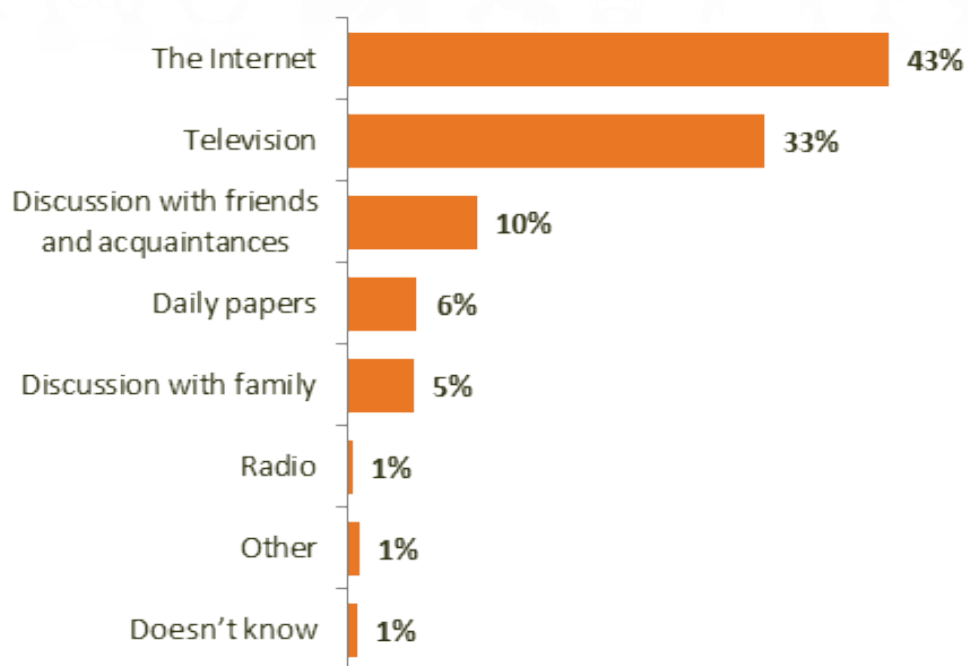
Figure 22: What is your main source of information about the current political events?[38]

Second are the traditional media, or television, with a significant percentage share (33%). The fact that 10% of the young people said that they get information on the current political events from discussion with friends and acquaintances indicates that even though uninterested in current developments in politics, the young people still discuss politics among themselves. We found that men are somewhat more likely to get their information about politics from the Internet, whereas the women are more likely to use TV.
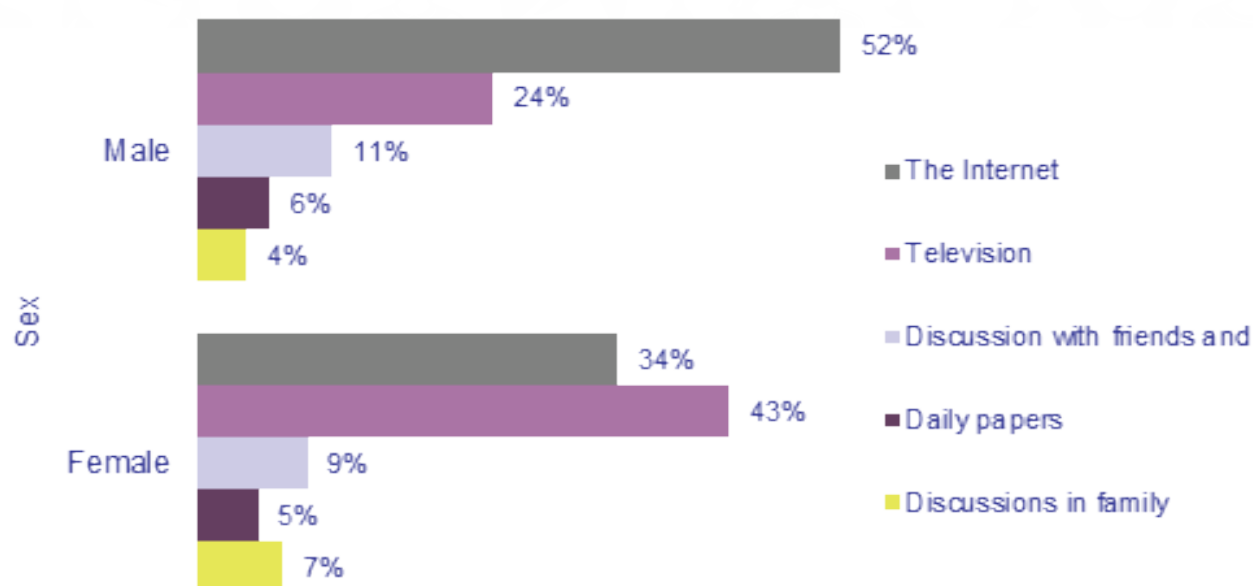
Figure 23: What is the main source from which you receive information about current events?[39]

CCE's research team was a little surprised by the results of the poll on the young people's trust in institutions. The trusted institutions in Montenegro, according to the young people, are the church (72%), NGOs (63%), army (61%), police (59%) and judiciary (55%). Somewhat less trustworthy according to them are the prosecution (49%), media (44%) and trade unions (44%). According to 64% of the young people, institutions with considerably lesser amount of trust and far more negative attitude are: the local government, Government of Montenegro, Parliament of Montenegro, and political parties. What is particularly interesting is that young people from other countries of region, where similar researches have been conducted, had similar, if not the same order of preferences.

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39 Base: Overall target population

■ Not at all/A bit (1+2)

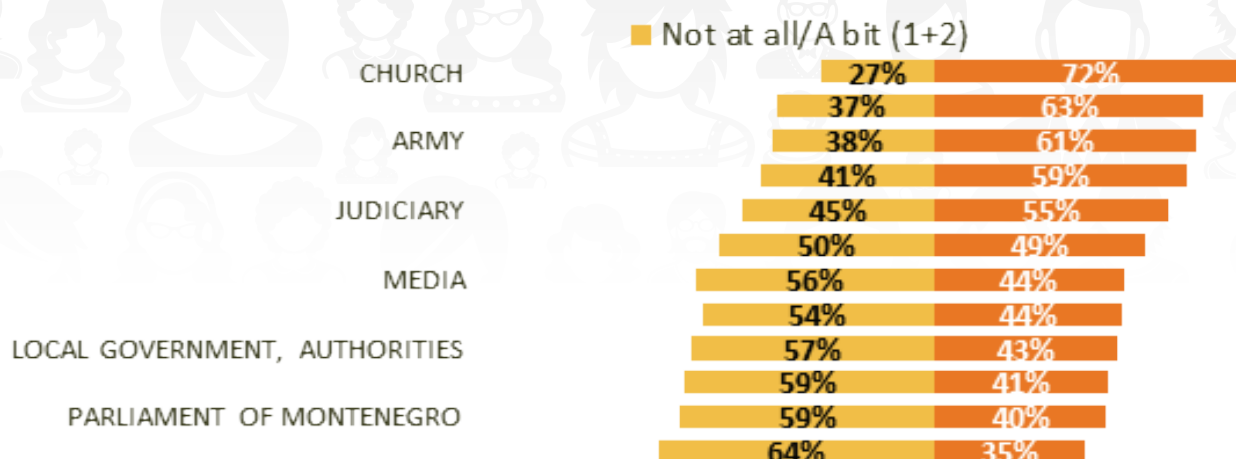|		
CHURCH	27%	72%
	37%	63%
ARMY	38%	61%
	41%	59%
JUDICIARY	45%	55%
	50%	49%
MEDIA	56%	44%
	54%	44%
LOCAL GOVERNMENT, AUTHORITIES	57%	43%
	59%	41%
PARLIAMENT OF MONTENEGRO	59%	40%
	64%	35%

Figure 24: To what extent do you trust the following institutions?[40]

All of the "popular" institutions have pronouncedly hierarchical and authoritarian nature, with the exception of non-governmental organisations, which are distinguished precisely by the heterogeneity of opinions and flexible and democratic governance structures. This finding is interesting also from point of view of employment that was addressed in the previous chapter. Young people in Montenegro see public service as the most desirable professional destination, but have little trust in it. At the same time, the organisations they trust the most are not perceived to be attractive as employers.

The young people who completed their education and the unemployed are more likely (48%) to trust political parties. Considering that the most important pre-election promise to this group is always employment, whereas the actual level of youth unemployment in Montenegro is at its historical record, it is not easy to explain what prompts this confidence in political structures that have let them down so many times before.

40 Base: Overall target population

	Total	Status		
		In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed
N	583	300	200	83
Church	72.4	70	73	78
NGO (Non-governmental organisations)	62.7	59	67	65
Army	61.1	65	56	59
Police	59.1	61	56	60
Judiciary	54.8	57	49	62
Prosecution	49.2	51	44	54
Media	44.2	45	43	44
Trade unions	44.0	41	47	47
Local governments	42.9	45	41	40
Government of Montenegro	40.6	42	36	46
Parliament of Montenegro	40.2	41	38	42
Political parties in Montenegro in general	35.2	34	32	48

Table 15: To what extent do you trust the following institutions?[41]

When asked to identify goals on which the Montenegrin government should focus in the upcoming period from a previously drawn list, the young people ranked almost all of them as high importance. This suggests that the young people have opinions about where the general social interests of Montenegro lie, and are thus interested in politics in the broader sense, despite their resistance towards the political scene as such.

■ Not at all/A bit (1+2)

	Not at all/A bit (1+2)	
ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT	3%	97%
ENSURING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS	4%	96%
SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SAFETY FOR EVERYONE	3%	96%
IMPROVEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S POSITION	4%	96%
PRESERVATION OF ENVIRONMENT	4%	96%
REDUCTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT	5%	95%
FIGHT AGAINST CRIME AND CORRUPTION	5%	95%
IMPROVEMENT OF WOMEN'S POSITION	5%	94%
IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURING...	9%	91%
ENCOURAGING THE GROWTH OF POPULATION, BIRTH	9%	90%
STRENGHTENING OF MILITARY FORCE AND SECURITY	14%	86%
SPIRITUAL REJUVENATION	13%	85%
DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP	15%	84%
PREPARATION FOR THE ACCESSION OF MONTENEGRO ...	30%	69%

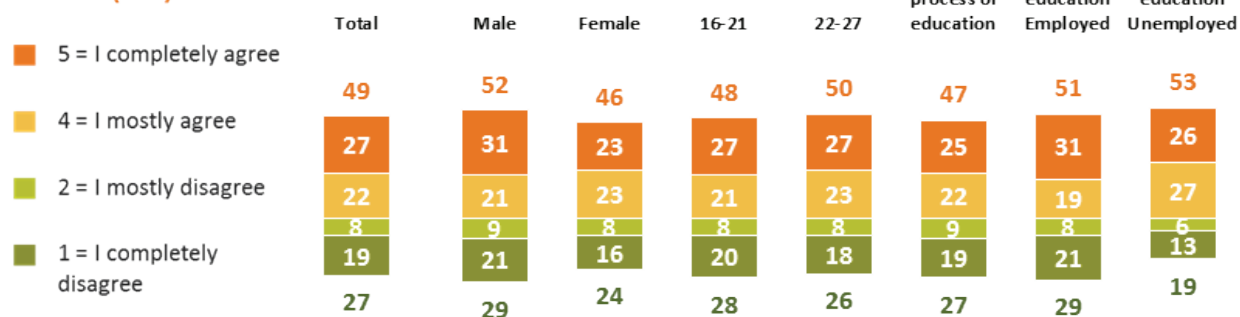Figure 25: How much effort should the Montenegrin government put in achieving the following goals?[42]

41 Total sample
42 Total sample (based on status)

If there is anything that the young people definitely consider to be of secondary importance, those would be the issues of military and security, spiritual rejuvenation of the nation and development of private entrepreneurship. Although we hear a lot in the everyday discourse about the integration of Montenegro into the EU, the young people still do not perceive this issue as an important goal of the Government in the near future.

At the same time, when asked about their opinion on this key issue for the strategic development of Montenegro, a significant, but not overwhelming majority of the young people agree with the accession of Montenegro to the European Union. Male representatives of this generation are slightly more in favour of the accession, as well as those who have finished their of education but are still unemployed.

AGREES (4+5)	Total	Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed
	49	52	46	48	50	47	51	53
5 = I completely agree	27	31	23	27	27	25	31	26
4 = I mostly agree	22	21	23	21	23	22	19	27
2 = I mostly disagree	8	9	8	8	8	9	8	6
1 = I completely disagree	19	21	16	20	18	19	21	13
DOES NOT AGREE (1+2)	27	29	24	28	26	27	29	19

Figure 26: Do you agree with the accession of Montenegro to the EU?[43]

This contradiction in responses should not come as a surprise. Young people tend to change their opinion very often, form attitudes without questioning them much, and adopt some existing societal stance and present it as their own. More than ever, the Montenegrin society has been overcome with Euro-scepticism, which is further reinforced by the current state of affairs in the EU itself, as well as by the insistence that Montenegro is the leader in the region in terms of European integration, even though the European Commission evaluates the situation in the country as merely average, while the living standards of some citizens are steadily declining. This, together with the lack of research on this topic in the formal education system, prejudices and stereotypes, as well as the lack of comprehensible information on the benefits of EU accession, influence the opinions of the young people, giving rise to contradictory views on this issue.

The results also show that the issue of youth unemployment is a burning issue for most young people - 96% of the respondents think the situation on this front is alarming. This is quite understandable from their point of view because they suffer the greatest consequences of this problem. Other than that, the growth of poverty (90%), employment insecurity (89%), increase in the cancer rates in the population (87%), as well as the criminal activities and smuggling (85%) and pollution (84%) are judged to be the issues of highest significance for the Montenegrin society that
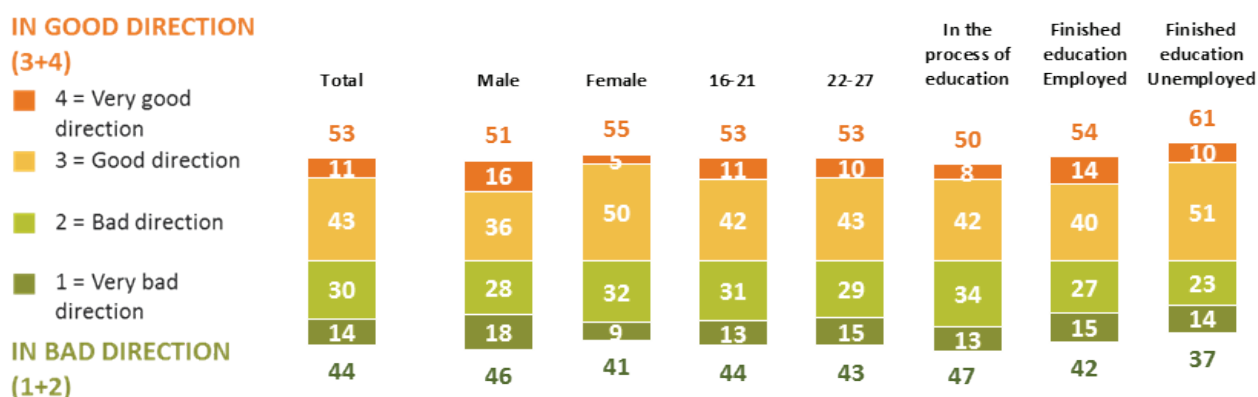
43 Total sample

require urgent action. Also high on the list are the ineffectiveness of the fight against corruption (83%), drugs (83%), street crime (82%) and poor implementation of the existing legal norms and regulations (81%).

	Not at all/Slightly alarming (1+2)	Alarming
UNEMPLOYMENT	4%	96%
INCREASE IN POVERTY	10%	90%
EMPLOYMENT INSECURITY	11%	89%
FREQUENCY OF ILLNESSES (CANCER, HEART DISEASE,...	13%	87%
VARIOUS CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES AND SMUGGLING	14%	85%
POLLUTION	15%	84%
INEFFECTIVE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION	16%	83%
DRUGS	17%	83%
NON-IMPLEMENTATION OR IRREGULAR AND...	18%	82%
STREET CRIME	19%	81%
WORKPLACE SAFETY, DANGEROUS JOBS	27%	72%
EMIGRATION OF MONTENEGRIN CITIZENS	31%	68%
CLIMATE CHANGE	43%	56%
THREAT OF HIV/AIDS	50%	49%
TERRORISM	53%	47%

Figure 27: In your opinion, how urgent are the following problems for the Montenegrin society?[44]

Asked about the overall strategic direction of Montenegro as a country and as a society, the young people in Montenegro were quite divided. More than a half of young people (53%), believe that Montenegro and its society are headed in the right direction, whereas 44% of people from same generation said that the state and society were heading in the wrong direction. Women are slightly more positive in this regard, as are - unexpectedly – those who finished their education but remain unemployed.

IN GOOD DIRECTION (3+4)

		Total	Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed
4 = Very good direction		53	51	55	53	53	50	54	61
3 = Good direction		11	16	5	11	10	8	14	10
2 = Bad direction		43	36	50	42	43	42	40	51
1 = Very bad direction		30	28	32	31	29	34	27	23
		14	18	9	13	15	13	15	14

IN BAD DIRECTION (1+2)

	Total	Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed
	44	46	41	44	43	47	42	37

According to your opinion, Montenegro is currently heading to...[45]

44 Total sample
45 Total sample

Similar divisions are apparent with regard to the representation of interests of the young people in the political life of Montenegro. Slightly more than 1/3 of the young people, or 36%, believes that the interests of the young people are poorly, or not at all, represented in the political life. Meanwhile, slightly less than 1/3, or 30%, believes that those interests are quite well or very well represented in the political life of the country. More specifically, male representatives of the young generation (32%) are somewhat more positive in their estimates, as are those who are employed, while those who are unemployed have a negative opinion (42%).

QUITE/VERY (4+5)

- 5 = Very
- 4 = Quite
- 2 = Very little
- 1 = Not at all

NOT AT ALL/VERY LITTLE (1+2)

	Total	Male	Female	16-21	22-27	In the process of education	Finished education Employed	Finished education Unemployed
Quite/Very (4+5)	30	32	27	31	28	29	32	24
5 = Very	7	6	7	9	5	6	8	5
4 = Quite	23	26	19	22	24	23	24	19
2 = Very little	29	30	28	29	29	30	27	28
1 = Not at all	7	8	7	5	9	3	11	14
Not at all/Very little (1+2)	36	38	35	35	38	33	38	42
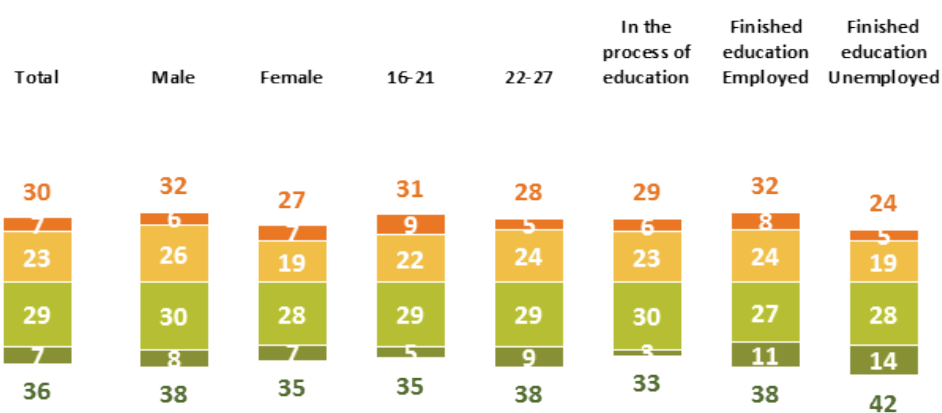
Figure 29: To what extent are the interests of young people represented in the Montenegrin politics today?[46]

Conclusions

The results of the study "***Young people in Montenegro – social ornament of social capital?***" paint a sociological profile of today's youth in Montenegro – a demographic that is undergoing a period of significant changes.

In overall, young people in Montenegro are not completely satisfied with their place in the Montenegrin society, as a result of which over a half of them said they would be willing to leave the country. On the other hand, young people in Montenegro are optimistic about their situation ten years from now: more than three quarters believe that the situation will then be better for the entire society.

Though they hope for a better tomorrow, a very small number of them is actually willing to make the effort - either through social engagement, or through youth activism, volunteering or similar activities - to contribute to changes for the better. Instead of actively spending of their leisure time on such activities, the young people in Montenegro mostly use their time passively: they spend 4.2 hours a day on average on the Internet. The majority of them use the Internet mainly for social communication, entertainment, i.e. for passive use of their leisure time in the virtual space. Among the more concerning findings was also the discovery that only 10% of young people use the Internet for work, study or to keep themselves informed and read the news online. The young people would do better to realise that the Internet can be used to find up to date educational content and advance their knowledge in various areas of their interest, as well as to identify activities that would allow them to make better use of their free time and improve their skills.

The analysis also leads us to conclude that the young people in Montenegro are not interested in politics, even though they should be the generators and pillars of social changes. One of the reasons for the widespread avoidance of political activism is the current political situation in Montenegro. For more than twenty years one and the same political structure has been holding power, and the concept of political change is completely absent from both the personal and the political memory of the young people. This in turn leads them to believe that their involvement would have no impact on the current situation. Similarly, when they do decide to act politically in any form or context, they quickly become

disappointed by their impotence to advance changes in any area, which ultimately results in withdrawal and passiveness.

Our research also suggests that one of the causes for the lack of interest of the young people in political engagement stems from a narrow understanding of politics, and unfortunately the Montenegrin political practice offers few good and stimulating examples. This is exactly why they would rather reject the idea of politics in its entirety than develop a genuine interest in it. This rejection of politics is practised by both those young people who are well situated in life through their family and economic status, and by those whose life circumstances give them plenty of reason to be bitter about the existing system. Further, the young people live in a social context that is highly authoritarian and traditionally perpetuated by family relations that offer very little scope for democracy, autonomous decision-making and equal participation. The same is true of schools and the broader social relations and norms, and all of this together fosters passivity and paralises the realisation of the true potential of the young people.

If this manner of thinking and lack of interest in civic and political activism continues, in the long term we cannot expect today's youth to be the initiators of positive social changes, or to successfully fight for a better position of young people in the Montenegrin society. These findings should thus serve as a warning to all those who are involved in the improvement of political and civic education.

The research also showed that young people in Montenegro express the greatest social distance towards homosexual persons (38%), HIV positive persons (32%), migrants (27%) and persons with mental disabilities (16%). The pronounced distance towards persons of different sexual orientation was perhaps unexpected in the younger population, but it was not a complete surprise. Recent surveys done on the general adult population show that sexual orientation is the most pronounced dimension of social distance and stigma in Montenegro, so it is to be expected that such attitudes are to some extent widespread among the youth. Given that we have recently witnessed a veritable flourishing of all forms of intolerance towards everything that stands out from the majority view, we could hardly blame the young people for their lack of tolerance in understanding those differences, because their views often uncritically reflect those of the adults. Our study also shows that the media plays a major role in the moulding of the young people's opinions. Thus more attention should be paid to those who direct the public opinion and transmit them their views to the public via various channels, in both the media and in politics. This includes above all the politicians, media, educational institutions, as well as the representatives of religious institutions who are often radical in their statements, and whose messages are often broadcasted by the sensationalist media without any attempt to punish the hate speech or educate the young people about its harmfulness.

Finally, it is impossible not to ask: what can we expect from this youth, based on the opinions and attitudes revealed in this study? If such negative trends in

their attitudes and their understanding of the world around them continues, the answer is grim, both for their personal and for the broader social prospects. The young people's negative aspirations and attitues towards important life issues should frighten them most of all. If they are not sufficiently interested, willing or motivated to initiate healthy changes in the society, and to thereby improve their own position; if they are not ready to question their negative views, which the majority appears to share, they will limit their own chances to be part of the contemporary contemporary European values to which we as a society strive.

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YOUTH -
SOCIAL ORNAMENT
OR SOCIAL CAPITAL?