![WFD Westminster Foundation for Democracy logo]

Youth perceptions and attitudes towards politics in Montenegro

Contents

INTRODUCTION

The main goal of the survey was to explore youth perceptions and attitudes towards politics in Montenegro. Additionally, emphasize was also put on the way young people form their political attitudes. Preliminary findings point out strong influences that parents have at the way young people in Montenegro form and develop their political attitudes and values. The parents' influence has always taken large part of political socialization research. The field itself was "born" in the 50s when political science shifted from studying institutions to studying behavior. The political socialization research inspired programs for political learning in educational systems worldwide with the goal to "create" active citizenship. Adolescents between age 16 till late-20s are identified as the main target group for the research for the two main reasons: it is the time of "extraordinary psychological and social change" and it is the time when "our society traditionally attempts to educate youth for citizen participation" (Adelson, 1966). The field of political socialization and main factors and agents of influence became especially significant during and after the third wave of democratization when number of studies focused on political learning and the question how "new" citizens are formed.

This included studying how young people form their cognitive competencies (knowledge about the system, rules of collective life, citizens' responsibilities, etc.), ethical competencies (understanding relationships among people, social identification and recognizing self as a part of society) and capacities for action (to live and cooperate with others, to resolve conflict and take part in deliberation) (Sapiro, 2004).

In the context of the traditional Montenegrin society, the role of the parents in the process of political socialization is expected to be higher. This by itself should not necessarily be seen as a negative thing, as long as it does not obstruct the development of active citizenship and acts as an agent of enforcing political, ethnic and other prejudices.

The purpose of this research will therefore be to use empirical evidence to outline different political profiles of young people in Montenegro and identify the main factors and agents of influence when it comes to their formation.

In order to interpret data regarding youth attitudes and perceptions in a proper manner, we needed a reference point. Therefore, for the purposes of comparison, very similar questions were asked to adult population older than 55 years[1]. Additionally, a focus group with young people was organized with the purpose of validating the results and collecting more in depth understanding of the findings.

Report itself has three main parts. First one, situated after the description of research methods, is the sample description. Main demographic characteristics of the respondents that were included in the both samples are described there. Additionally, demographic background of the focus group participants was included.

Next chapter is devoted to the analysis of the basic data gathered during the fieldworks. Frequencies for the responses were listed for every question and, where possible, data for youth and older population were compared in order to create a more accurate review of the findings. At the end, third chapter consists of more complexed analysis and discussion based on the acquired results. It is centered on few topics such as level of political activism of the youth, creating profiles of those who are more prone to leave Montenegro due to economic and/or other reasons, political decision-making and political preferences of young people.

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[1] Questionnaire for the population over 55 years of age was created by selecting specific items from the youth questionnaire

RESEARCH METHODS

Quantitative survey

- **Fieldwork:** Data was collected between July 16th and August 1st (population 16-28) and between July 17th and 31st 2019 (population 55+)
- **Data collection technique:** *Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing*, face to face (population 16-28); *Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing* (population 55+)
- **Survey instrument:** Questionnaires consisting of 74 (population 16-28) and 45 (population 55+) questions
- **Populations:** 16-28 and 55+ years of age
- **Sample size:** 900 (population 16-28) and 500 (population 55+) respondents
- **Confidence interval:** +/- 3,25% (population 16-28) and +/- 4,38% (population 55+) for occurrences with expected incidence of 50%

Qualitative research

- **Fieldwork:** *Data collection on August 15th, 2019*
- **Method of data collection:** *Focus group*
- **Survey instrument:** Focus group guide based on quantitative survey questionnaire
- **Number of participants:** *8*

Sample description

Youth (16-28 years of age)

- **Age:** Average age of the respondents is 22
- **Sex:** A total of 48.0% women and 52.0% men were interviewed
- **Regions:** Percentage of respondents by regions

Northern Montenegro	30.0%
Central Montenegro	46.0%
Southern Montenegro	24.0%

- **Type of settlement:**

Urban	53.4%
Suburban	29.2%
Rural	17.4%

- **Education level:**

Completed primary school or less	4.5%
Attending high school	16.8%
Completed high school	45.1%
University student	18.8%
Graduated	10.1%
Post-graduate student (master or PhD)	3.1%
Completed master/doctoral studies	1.6%

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- **Employment:**

Full-time employment – public sector	5.0%
Full-time employment – private sector	35.8%
Full-time employment – self-employed	2.7%
Part-time employment	5.6%
Unemployed (active job-seeker)	18.2%
Unemployed (not active job-seeker)	8.4%
Dependent person (high school/university student)	24.2%

- **Financial status**

It is very hard to make our ends meet with the current income	11.2%
We get by, but it's very far from any sort of stability	39.5%
The situation is not bad, we've got enough money to meet our needs	42.4%
The situation is great, we've got enough money not to worry about it at all	6.8%

- **When you take into consideration family's experience from the past ten years or so, would you say your family are transition winners or losers?**

We are absolute transition losers	12.3%
We are mainly transition losers	16.7%
We are neither winners nor losers	58.1%
We are mainly transition winners	9.6%
We are absolute transition winners	3.3%

Older population (55+ years of age)

- **Age:** Average age of the respondents is 66
- **Sex:** A total of 52.9% women and 47.1% men were interviewed
- **Regions:** Percentage of respondents by regions
- **Type of settlement:**

Urban	49.4%
Suburban	28.6%
Rural	22.0%

- **Education level:**

Completed primary school or less	18.6%
Completed high school	50.5%
College	13.8%
Graduated	14.3%
Completed master/doctoral studies	2.9%

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- **Employment:**

Full-time employment – public sector	11.9%
Full-time employment – private sector	9.8%
Full-time employment – self-employed	2.2%
Part-time employment	1.5%
Unemployed (active job-seeker)	3.3%
Unemployed (not active job-seeker)	2.7%
Retired person	61.6%
Housewife	7.0%

- **Financial status**

It is very hard to make our ends meet with the current income	22.0%
We get by, but it's very far from any sort of stability	35.2%
The situation is not bad, we've got enough money to meet our needs	38.2%
The situation is great, we've got enough money not to worry about it at all	4.6%

- **When you take into consideration family's experience from the past ten years or so, would you say your family are transition winners or losers?**

We are absolute transition losers	16.0%
We are mainly transition losers	15.7%
We are neither winners nor losers	47.7%
We are mainly transition winners	14.8%
We are absolute transition winners	5.7%

Focus group participants

- **Number of participants:** 8
- **Age:** under 20 years of age (3), 20 to 28 years of age (5)
- **Sex:** boys (4) and girls (4)
- **Type of settlement:** living in urban (4), suburban (2) and rural (2) settlements
- **Education level:** attending high school (3), finished high school (2), student (1), graduated (2)
- **Employment status:** dependent person (3), unemployed (2) employed – private sector (2), employed – public sector (1)

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SURVEY RESULTS

The following chapter contains the main frequencies of the answers. Where possible the figure show comparison between two datasets – younger and older people.

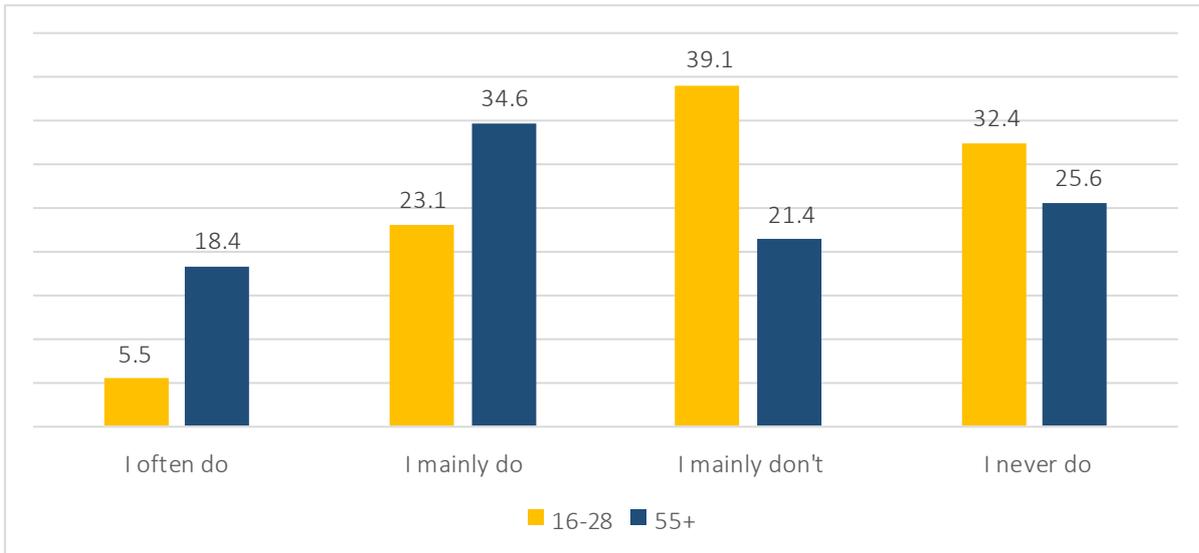## *General attitudes towards politics*

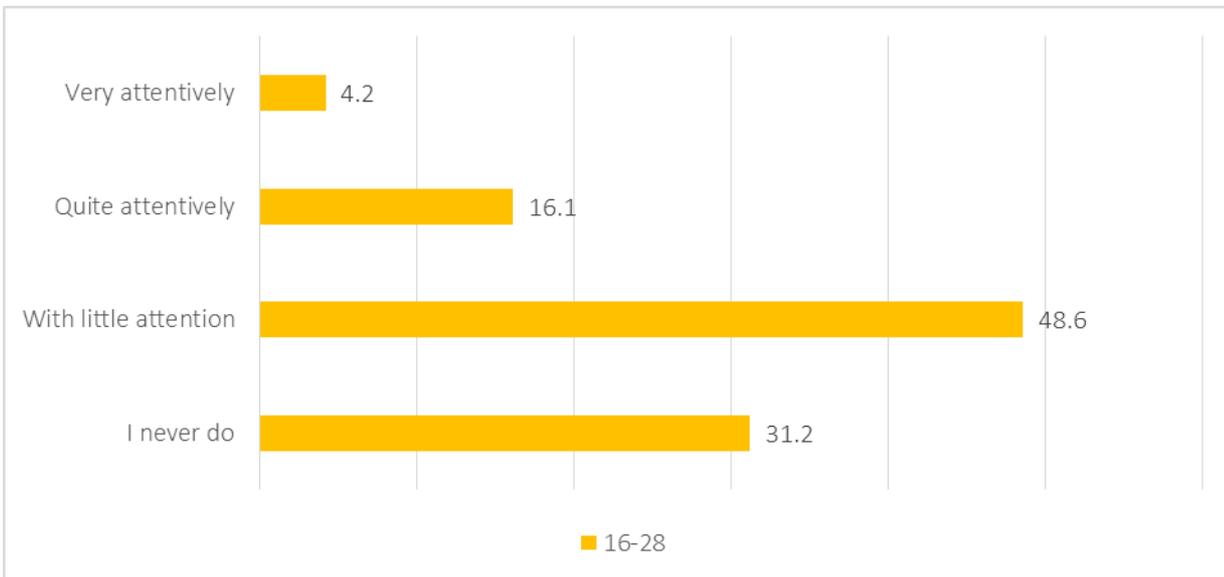*Figure 1: How often do you follow political affairs?*

Figure 2: How attentively do you follow political affairs via TV, radio, newspapers or the internet?
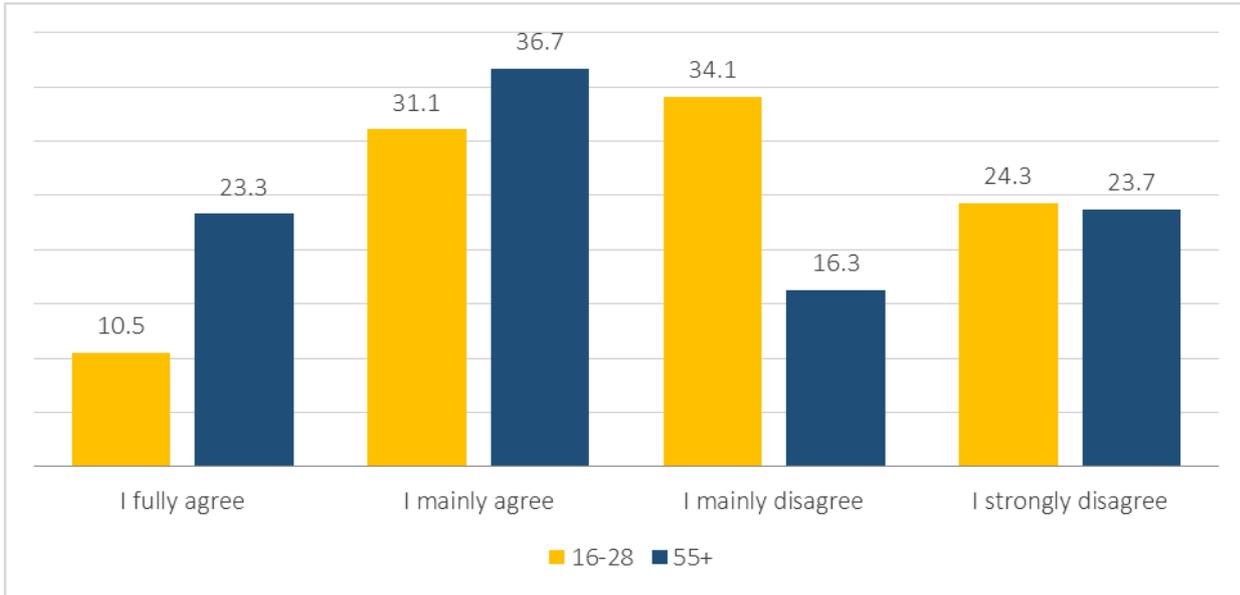
Figure 3: To what extent could you agree with the following statement: "I think I understand the most important political issues in the society"?
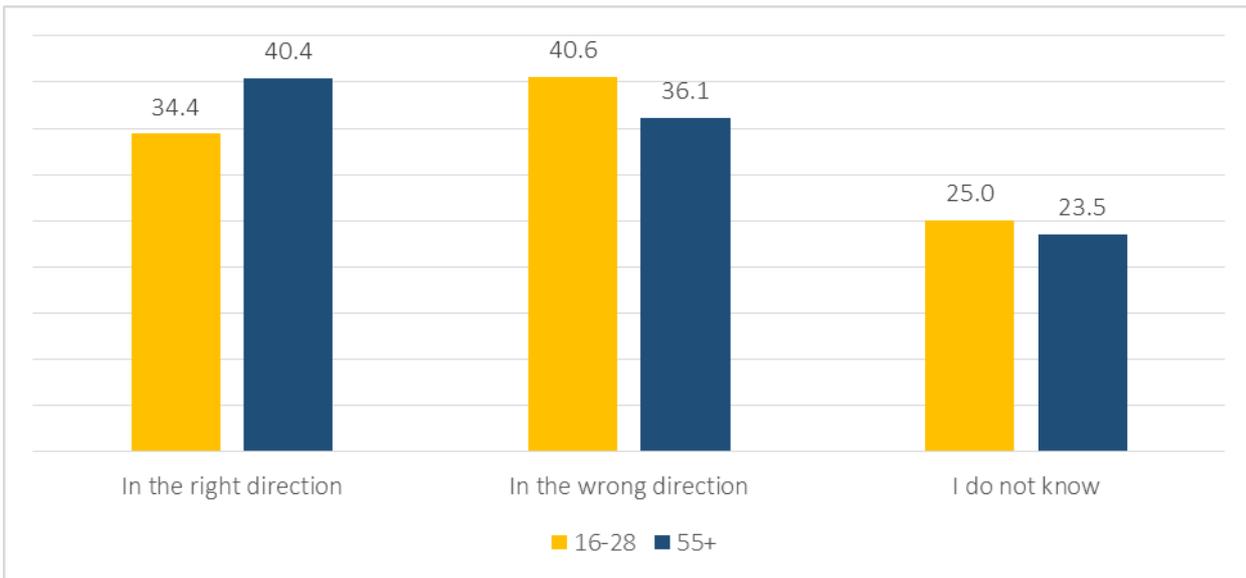

Figure 4: In general, would you say that Montenegro is moving in the right or wrong direction?
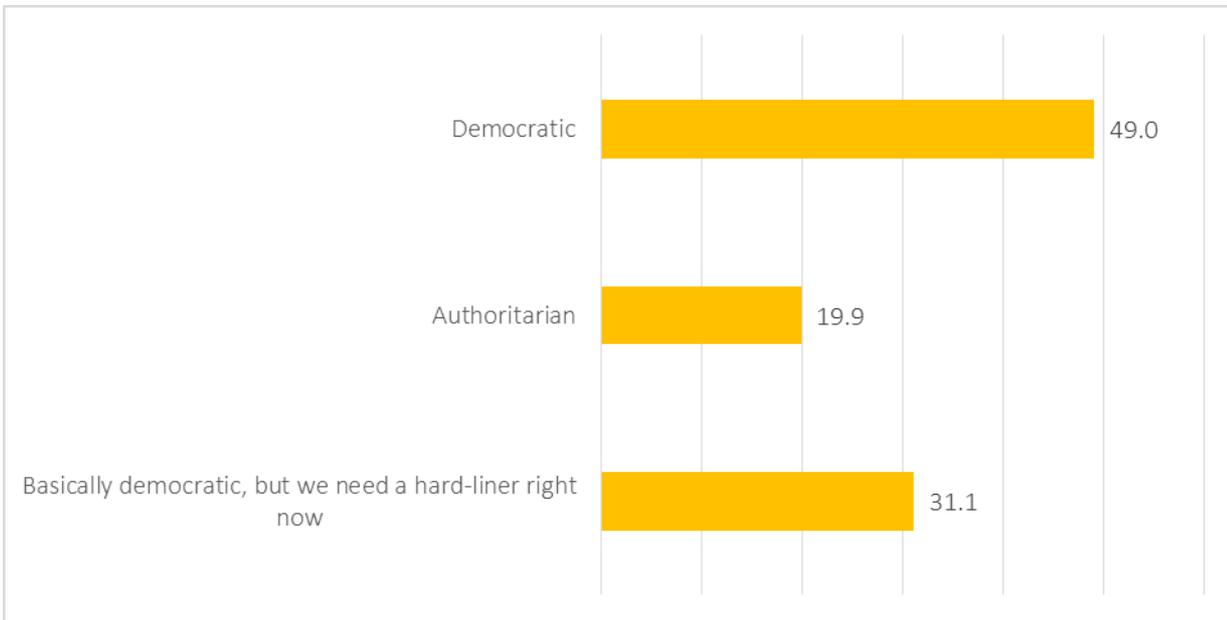
General attitudes towards political system

Figure 5: What type of rule is the most suitable for Montenegro?
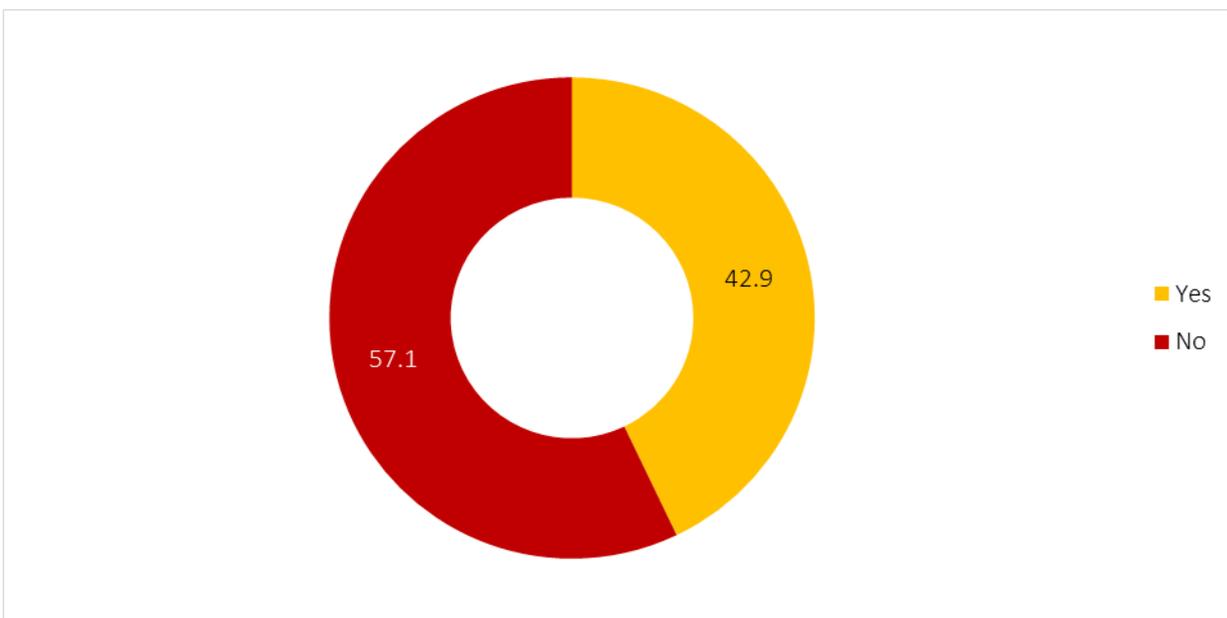

Figure 6: Are there any politicians in Montenegro that you trust?
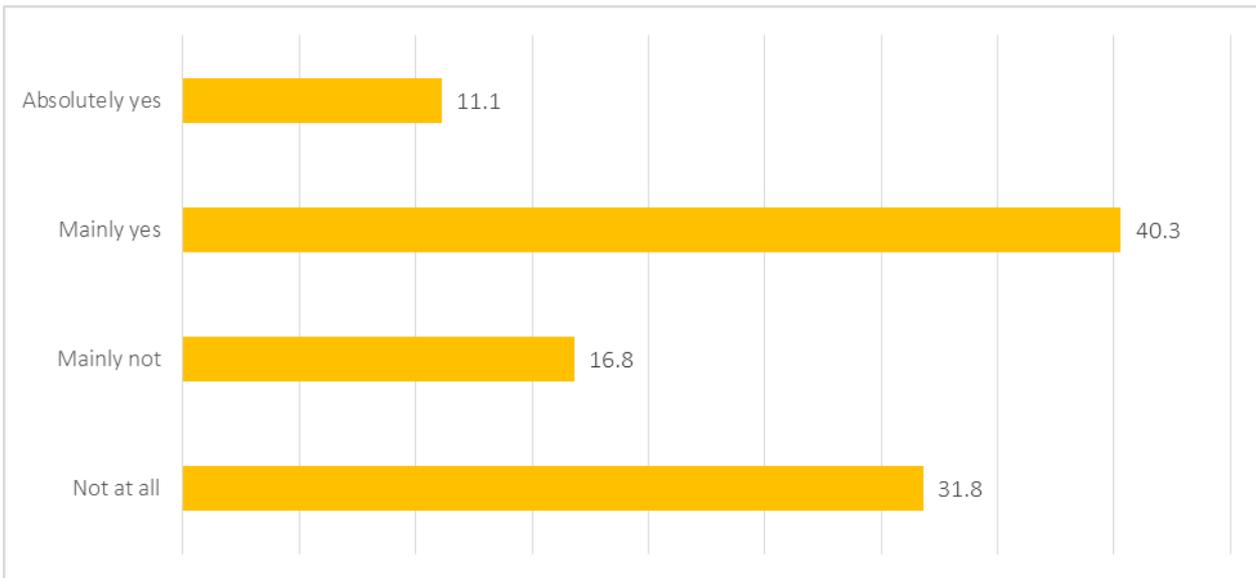
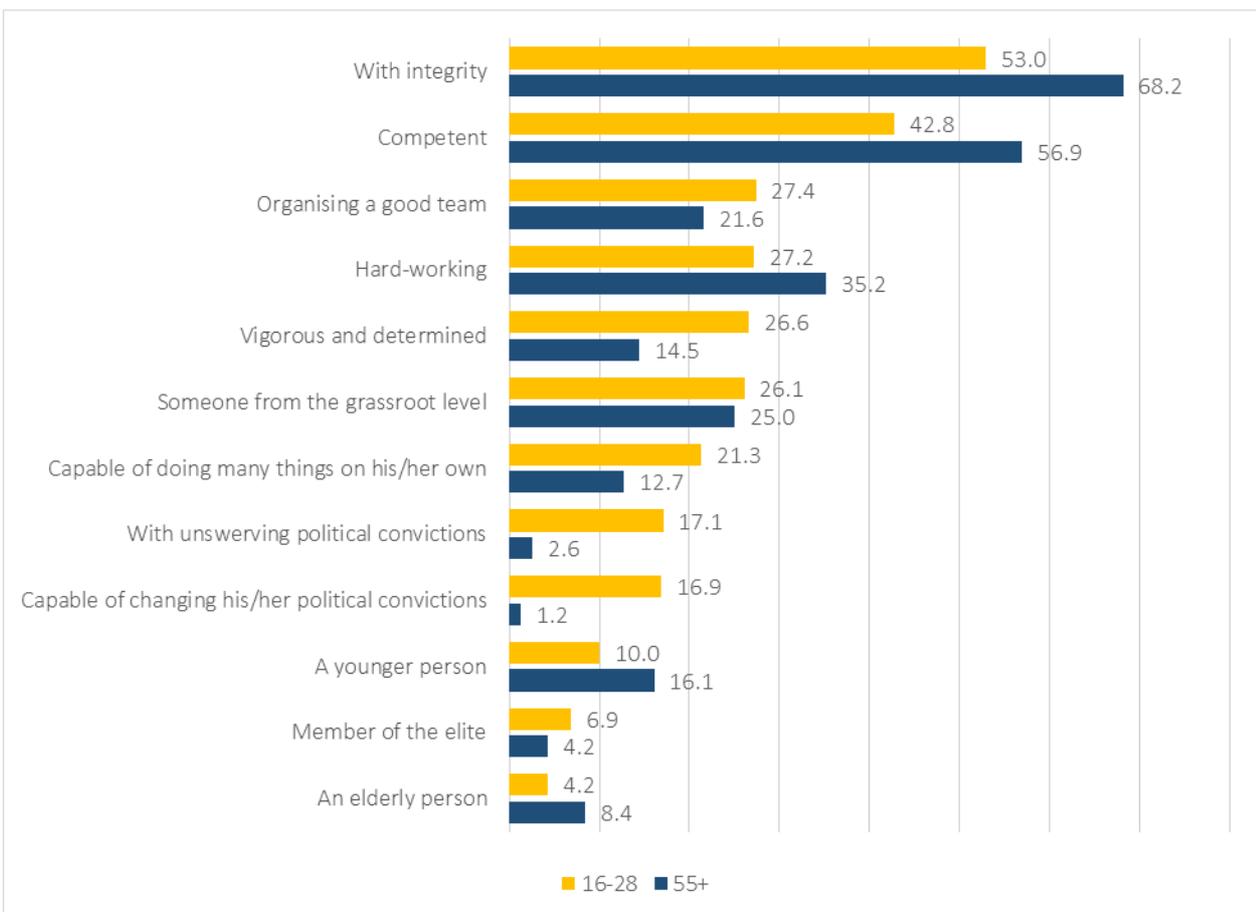*Figure 7: Do you feel that the politicians are addressing you personally?*

Figure 8: What qualities do you expect in a politician you would vote for?

Type of leadership	Age	
	16-28	55+
Authoritarian type: I would like Montenegro to be governed the way generals do in the Army. To have a strict order, to respect the hierarchy, not allow everyone to do what they want, but to have the authority that takes adequate decisions and is held accountable for them.	20.7	9.2
Populist type: I would like Montenegro to be governed by a man from the people, who is one of us. Just because most population is not the elite few, I find it important for Montenegro to be ruled by someone who knows the people and their interests the best. Such a leader would say what the people think, feel and want, without hesitation, and would be able to feel when the people are ready for a decision to be made, even without asking them about it.	33.6	28.9
Paternalistic type: I would like Montenegro to be ruled the way fathers do in families. Respect us, take care of us and take decisions that matter to us, but, when necessary, also take decisions that we disagree with, sometimes even being hard on us.	21.3	10.1
Democratic type: I would like Montenegro to be governed by someone who will respect the institutions and be accountable for the decision he takes. Such a leader would consult the citizens on important matters and take decisions taking into consideration the citizens' attitudes and own knowledge. Although it is him who takes the decisions in the end and has a great responsibility, I still think it is very important for citizens to take part in that too.	24.4	51.7

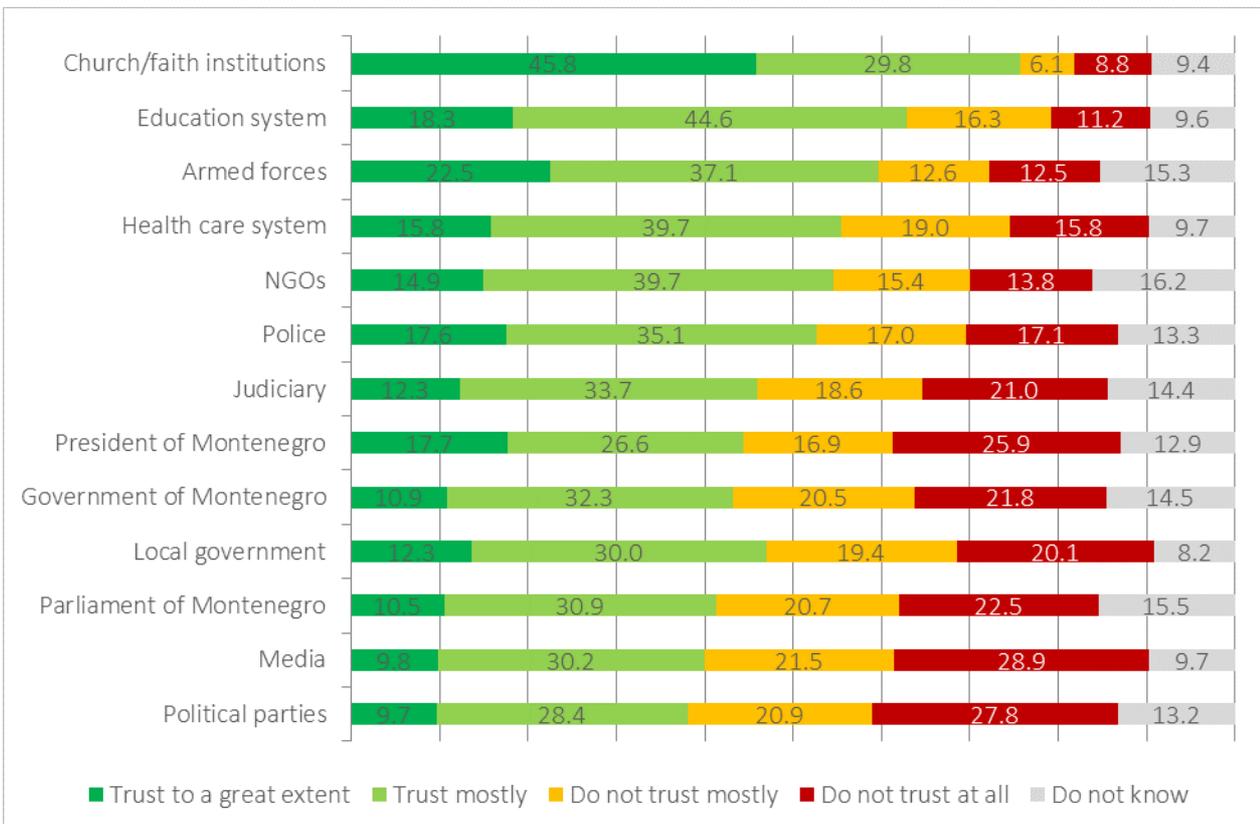*Table 1: What type of a leader would you like Montenegro to have?*

Figure 9: To what extent do you trust the following institutions?

Attitudes	Age	
	16-28	55+
How important is it to you to live in a democratically governed country?	7.52	9.32
To what extent is our country democratically governed today?	5.61	6.41
Some people say it doesn't matter at all who is in power. Others say it matters very much who is in power. How much do you think it matters who is in power?	7.88	7.99
Some say that who people vote for does not affect the affairs in the country at all. Others say that who people vote for could significantly affect the affairs in the country. How much can that who people vote for affect the affairs in the country, in your opinion?	7.51	7.82

Table 2: Questions about democracy and the importance of representative aspects of democracy – average scores on scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means absolute disagreement and 10 absolute agreement with the statement
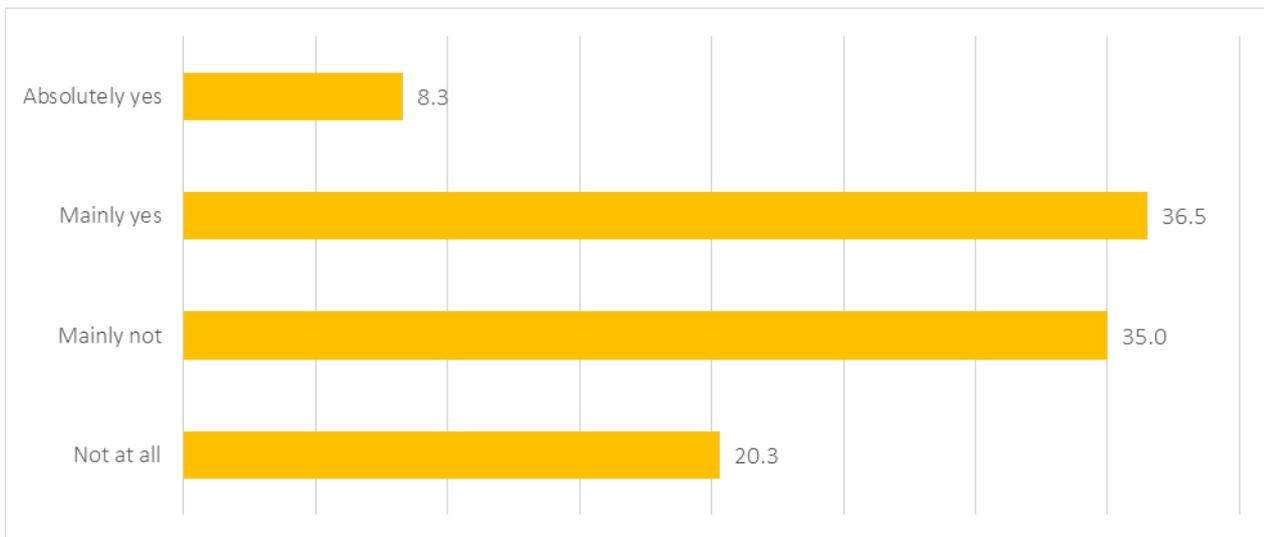

Figure 10: To what extent are individual human rights and liberties respected in Montenegro today?
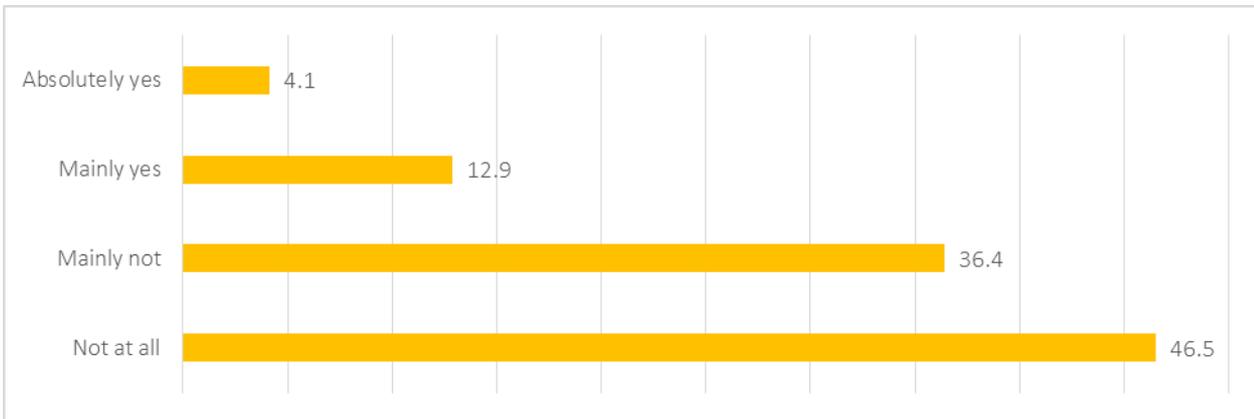
Political participation

Figure 11: Would you describe yourself as a socially/politically active citizen?
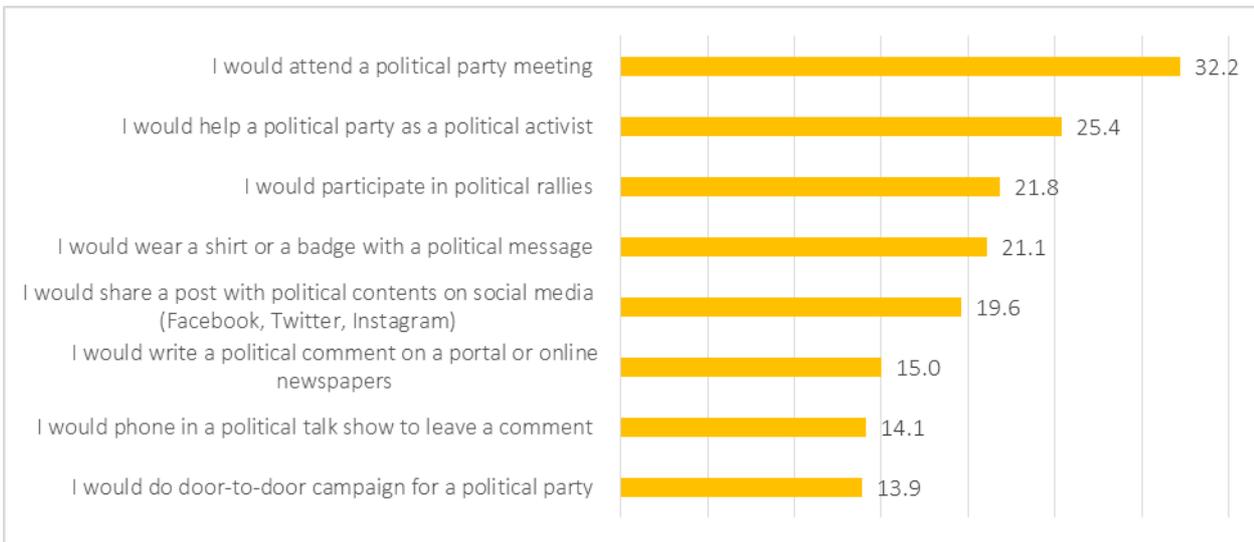
Figure 12: Would you participate in one of the following activities?
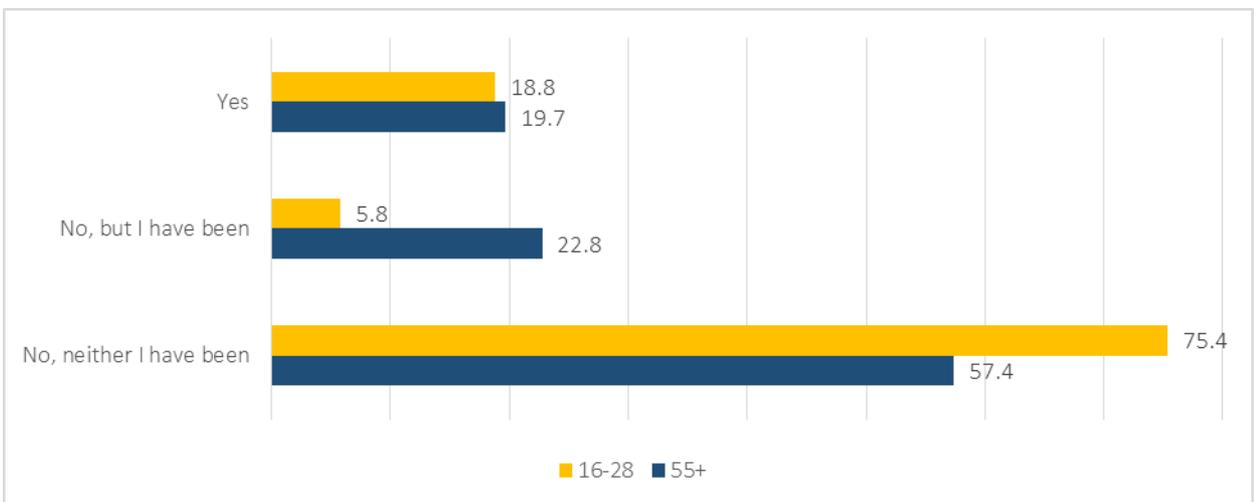
Figure 13: Are you a member of a political party?
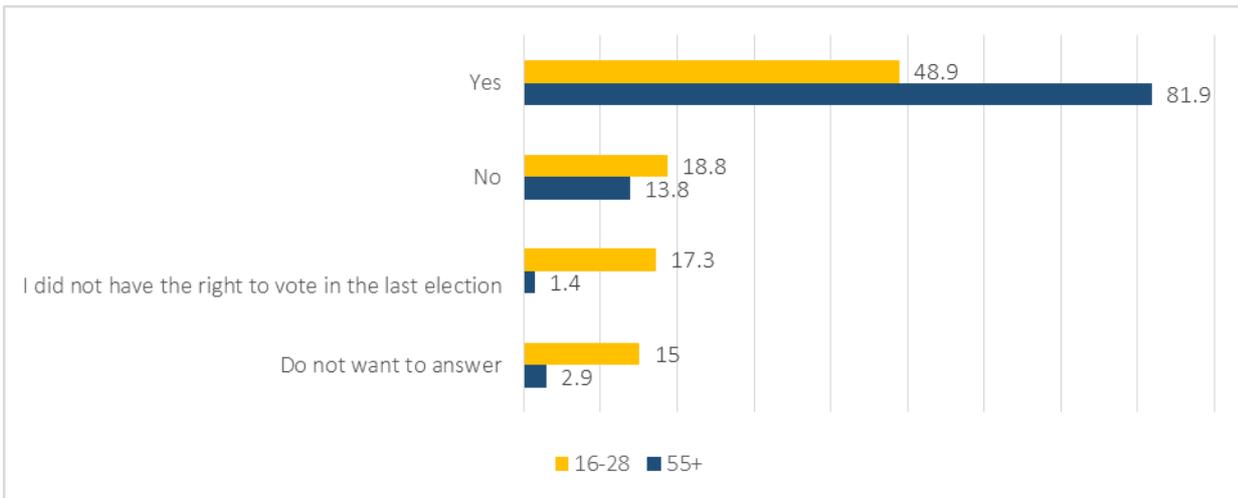
Figure 14: Do you vote on a regular basis?
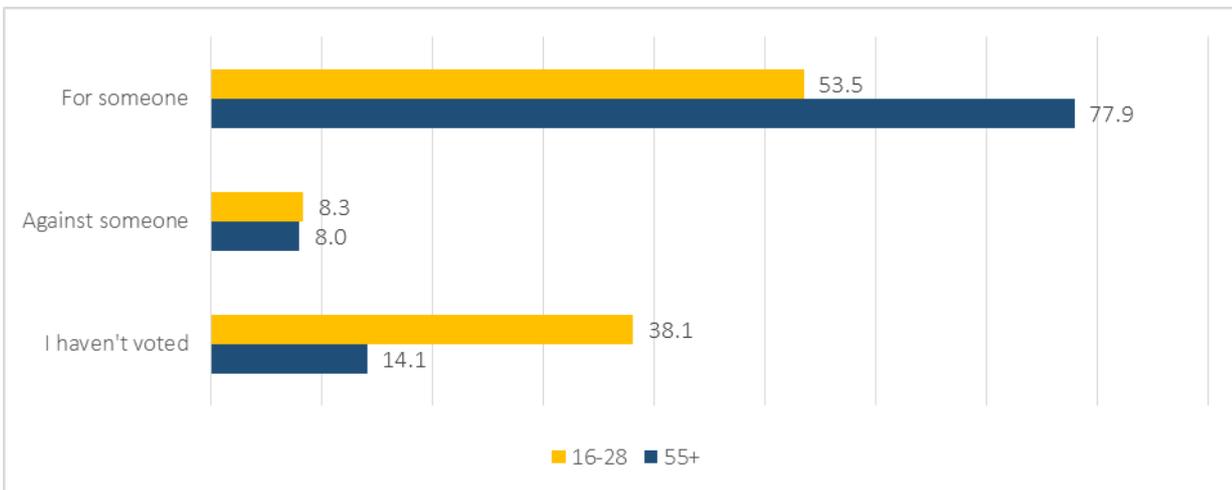
Figure 15: At the elections in Montenegro people often vote against a candidate, following the logic of „lesser evil" (i.e. to prevent the other ones from coming into power). Have you voted for or against someone at the elections more often?
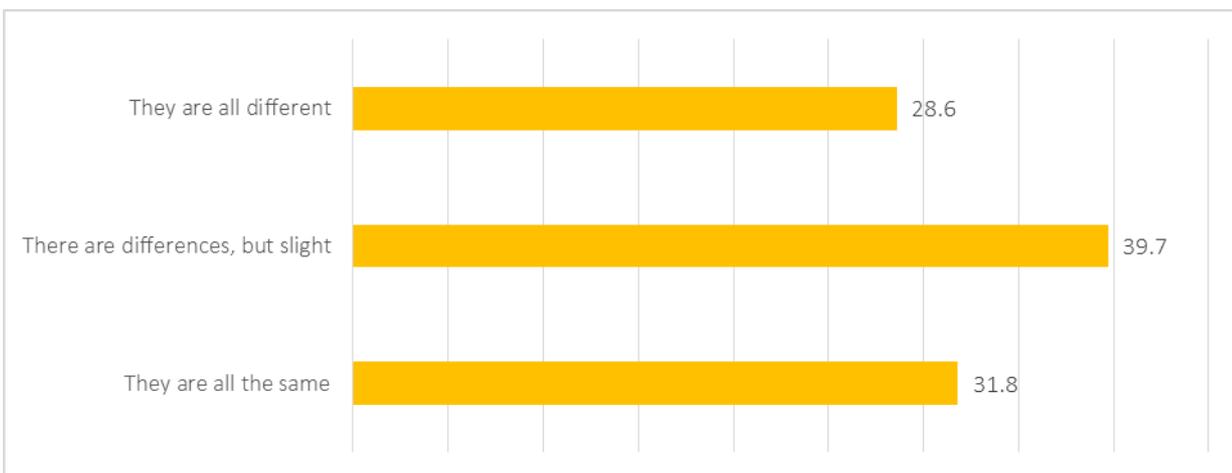
Figure 16: How different are politicians and political parties in Montenegro among themselves?
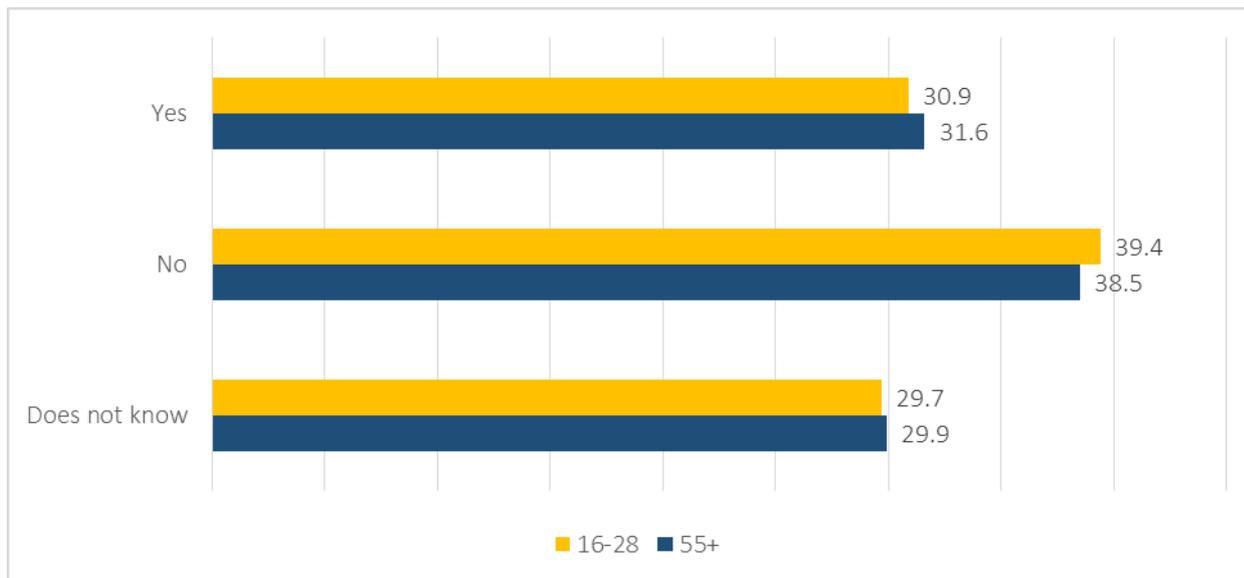
Figure 17: Would you say that any of the parties in Montenegro represents your views adequately?

Voting
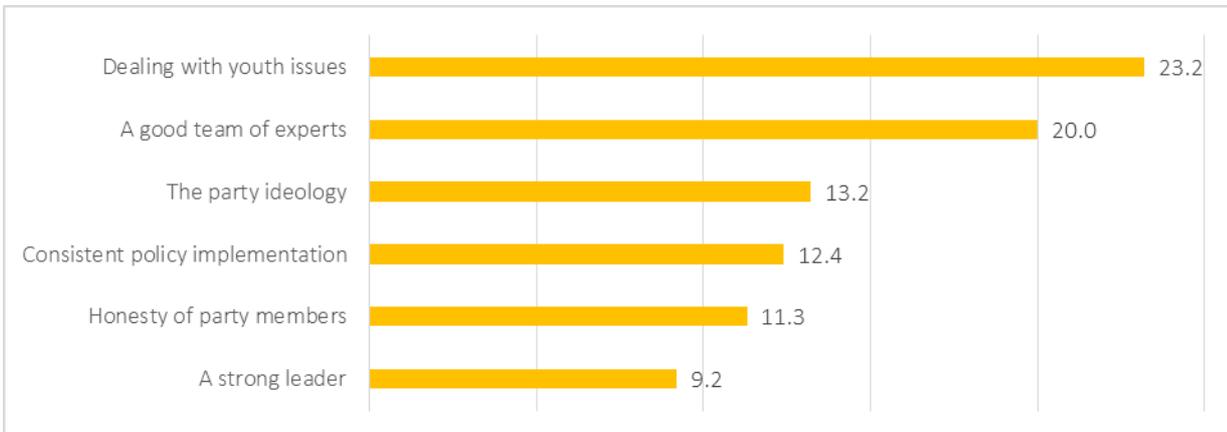
Figure 18: What is a decisive factor of your choice whom to vote for?
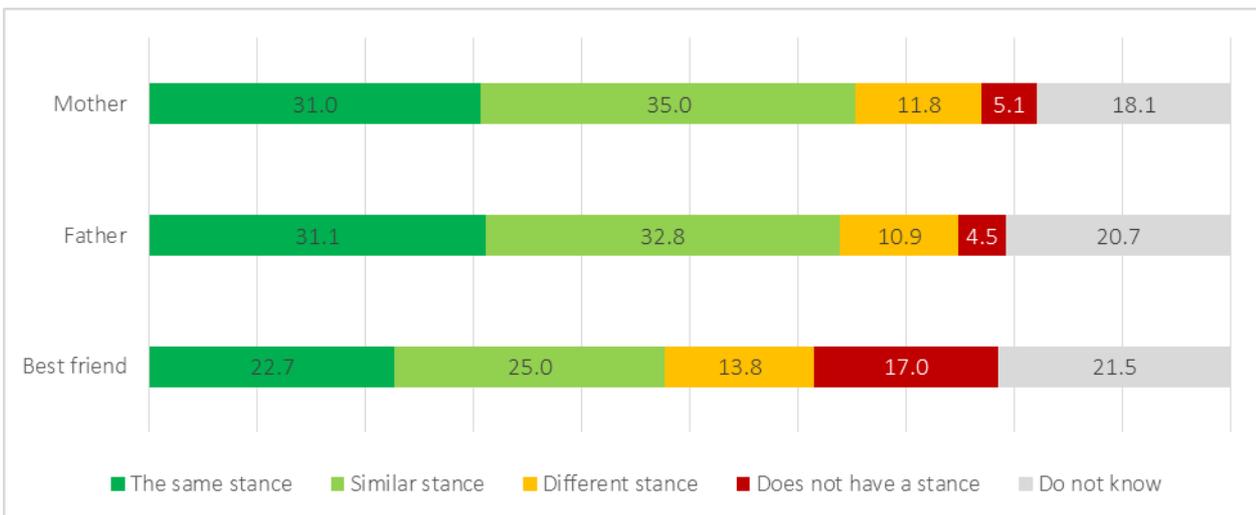
Figure 19: Do the following persons have the same or similar political opinion as you?
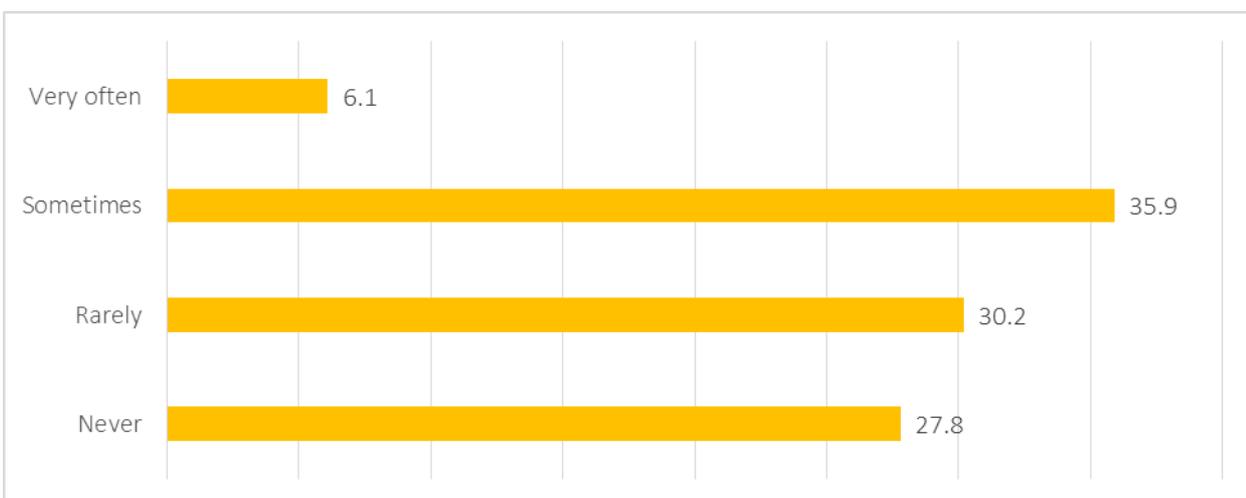
Figure 20: How often do you talk with your parents about politics?
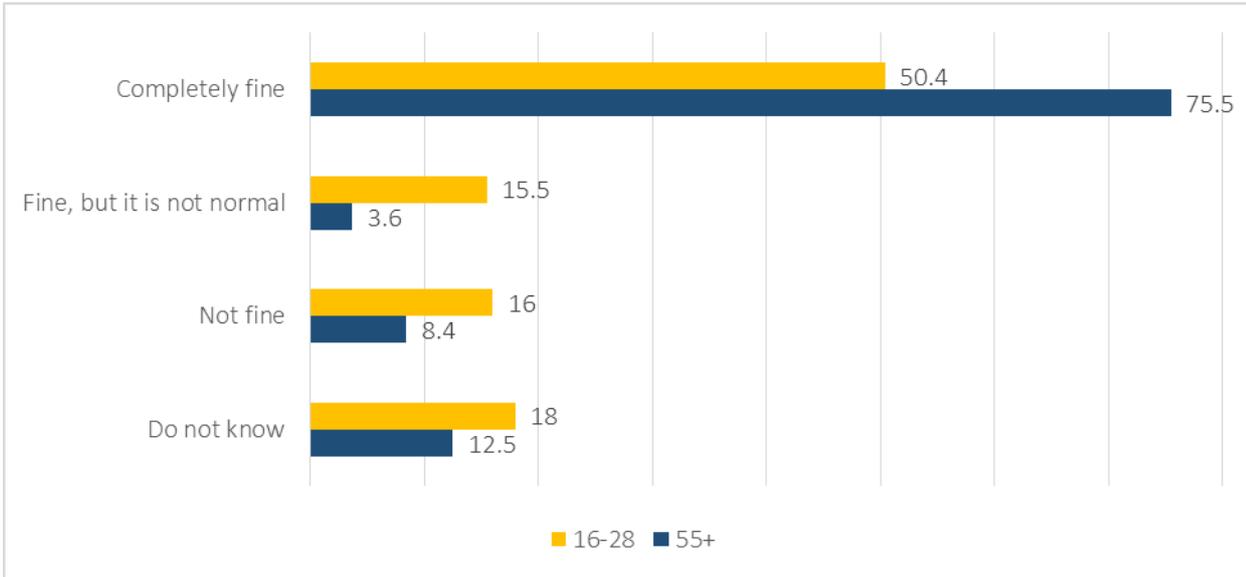
Figure 21: Do you think it is acceptable for children to have different political views from their parents?
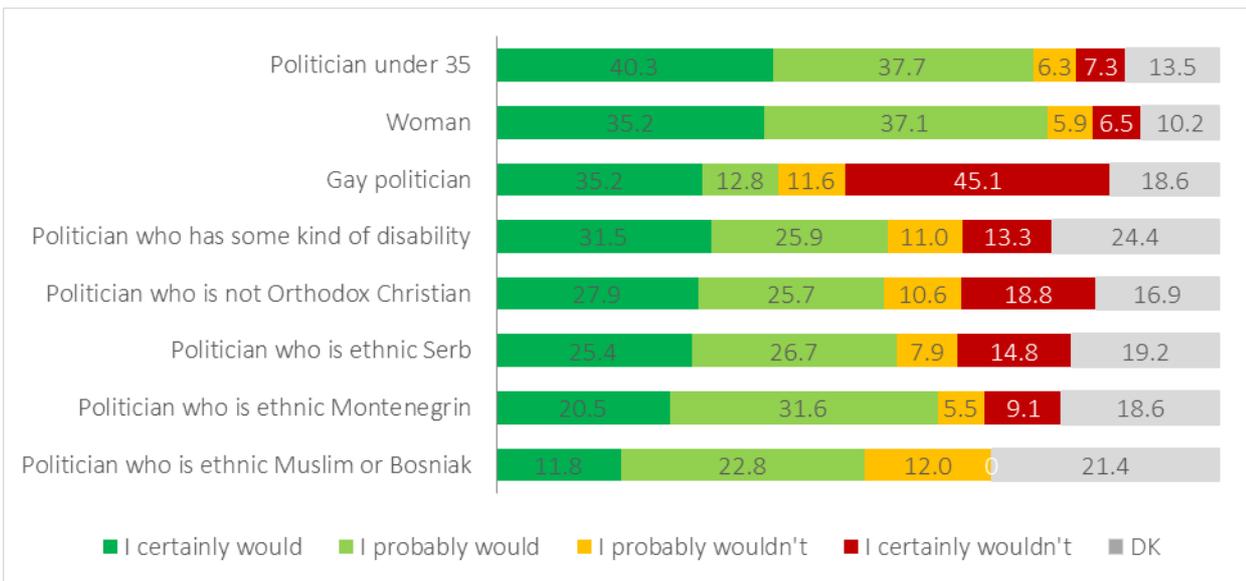
Figure 22: At the following elections, would you vote for a…?
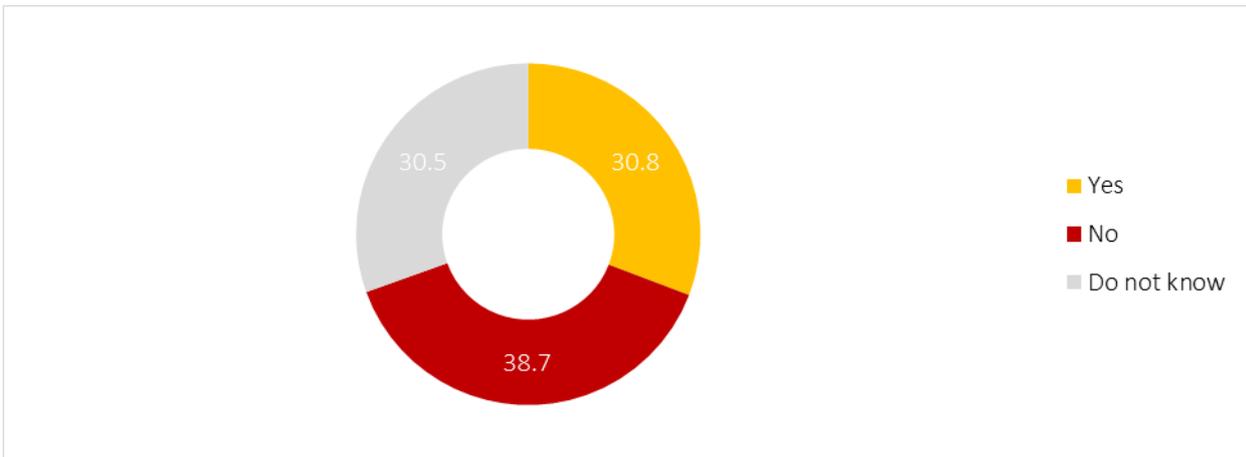
Figure 23: Would you vote for a political party whose positions you disagree with, if this provided employment for you or your family member?
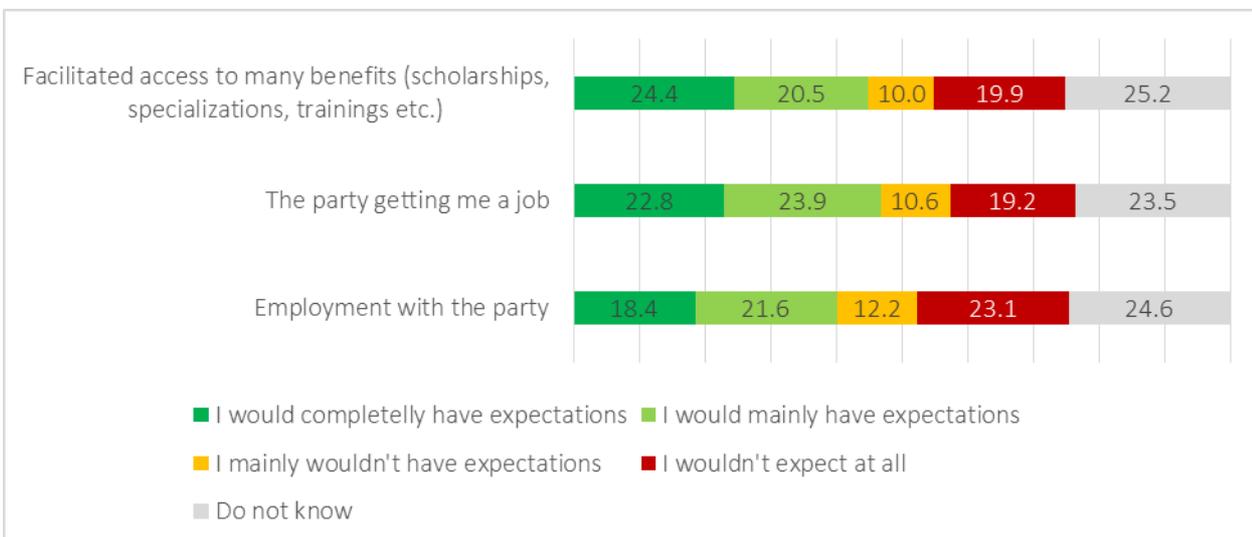
Figure 24: If you would have joined a political party or movement, what would you expect from that engagement?

Figure 25: What would be decisive for you to join a political party?
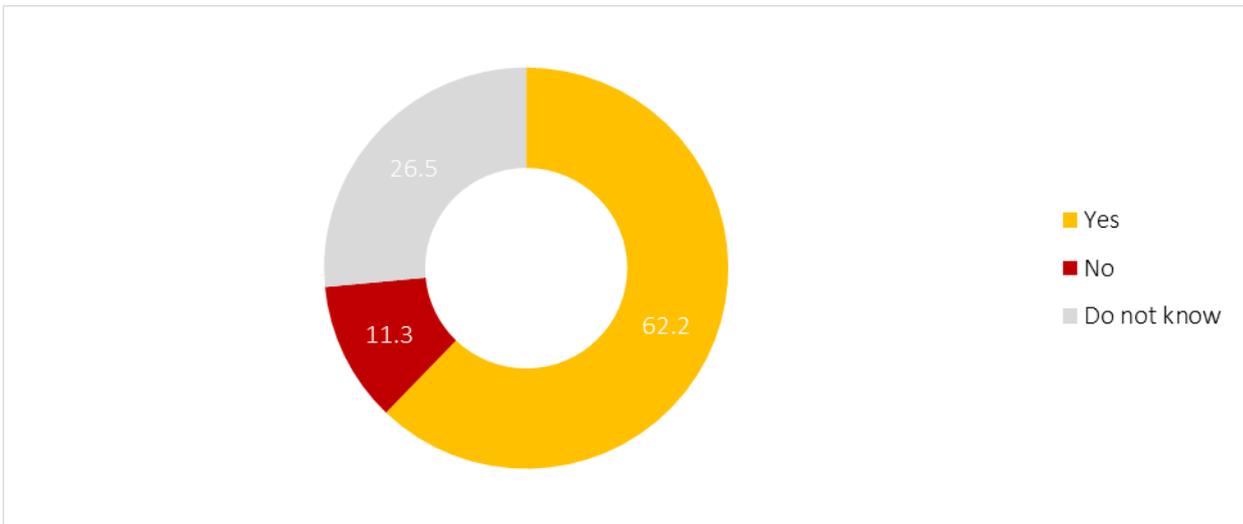
Figure 26: Is membership in a political party the key to promotion in one's career in Montenegro, especially in civil service?
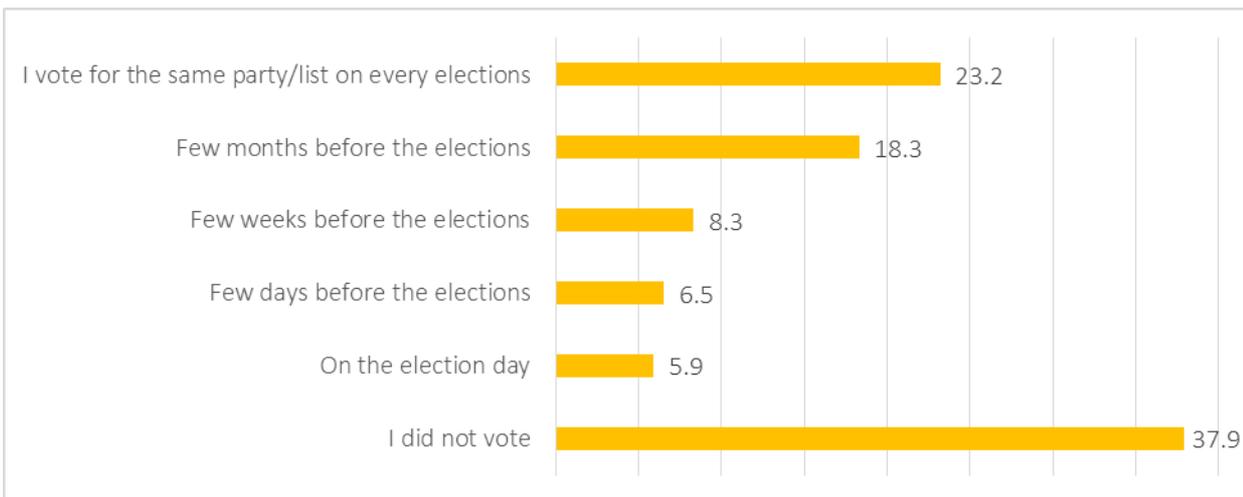
Figure 18: If you remember, can you tell us at what exact point of time you decided which political party you would vote for in the last election?
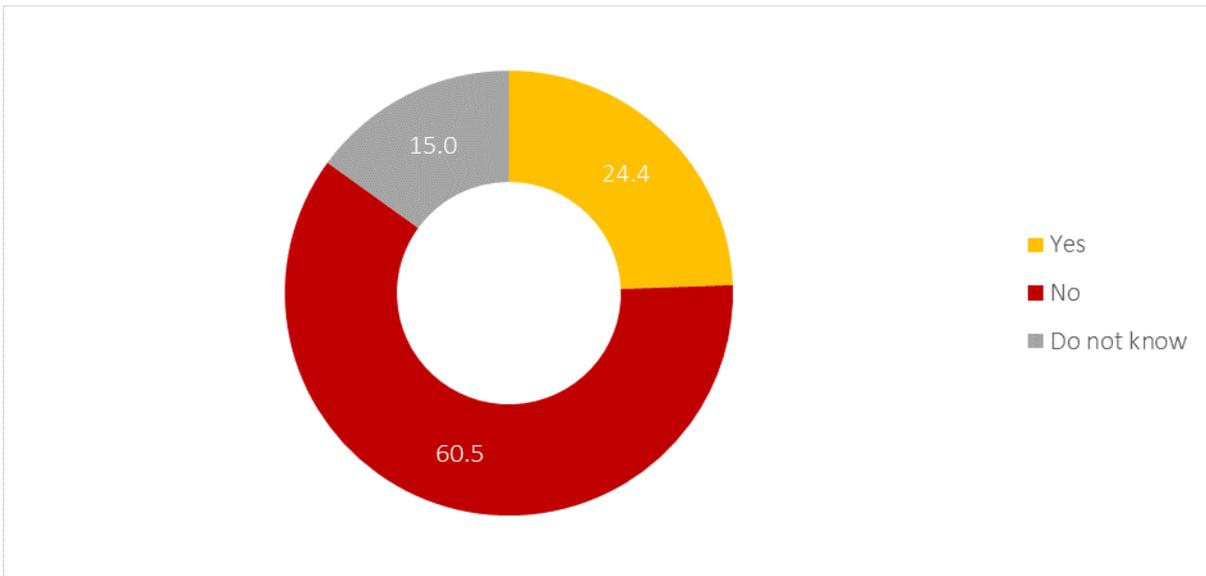
Figure28: During the campaign, did any party or candidate contact you in person or in any other way?
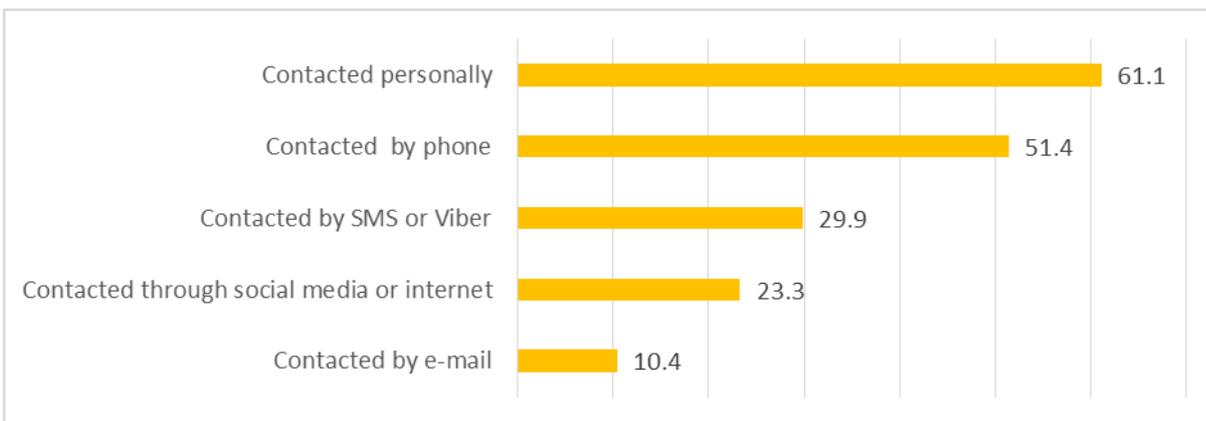
Figure 29: If contacted, how did it happen? (% of those young respondents who have answered "Yes" on the previous question)
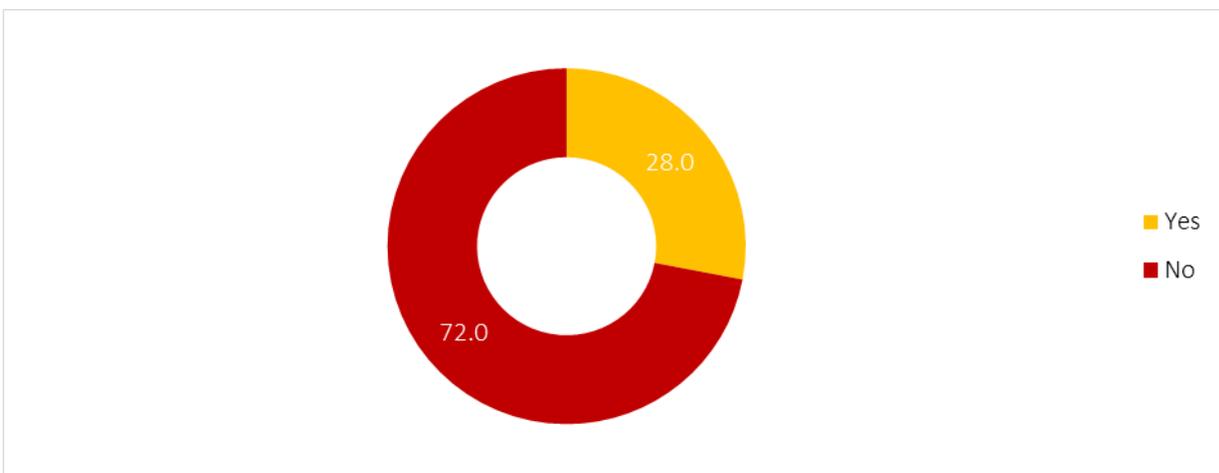
Figure 30: Have you ever volunteered or been a member of an association or NGO?
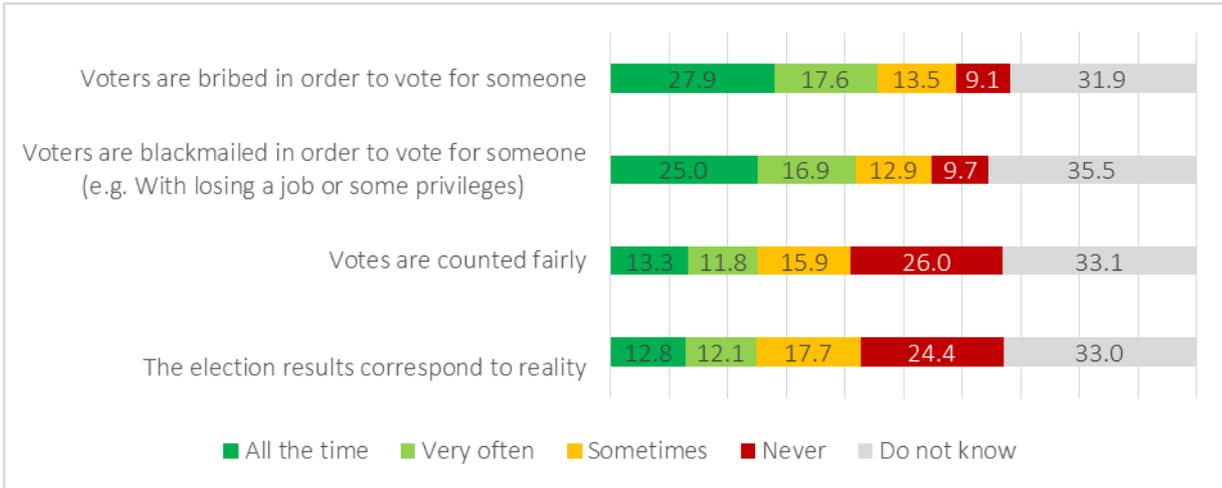
Figure 31: In your view, how often do the following things occur in Montenegro's elections?
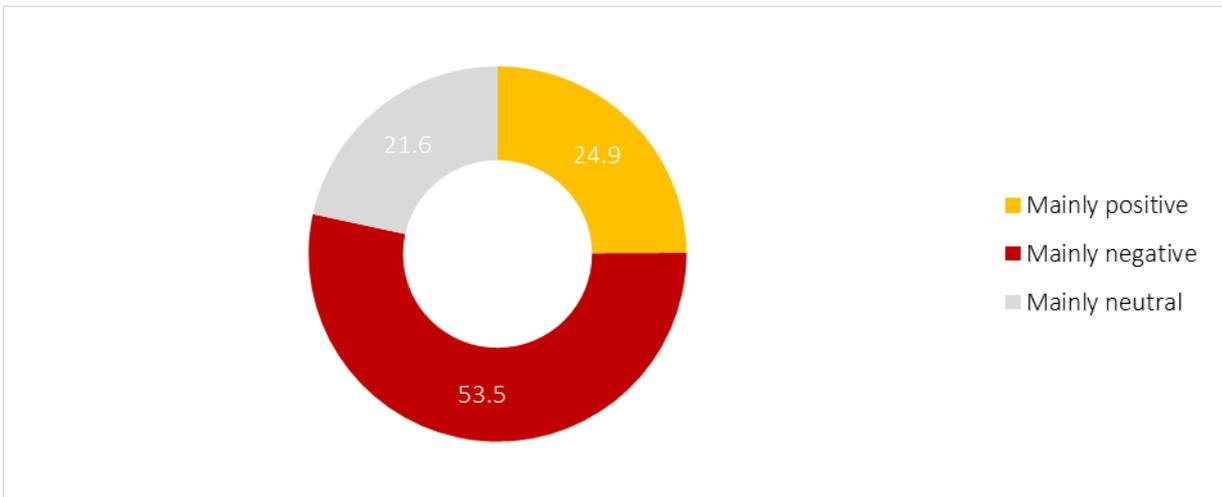
Figure 32: How would you assess political news in domestic media?
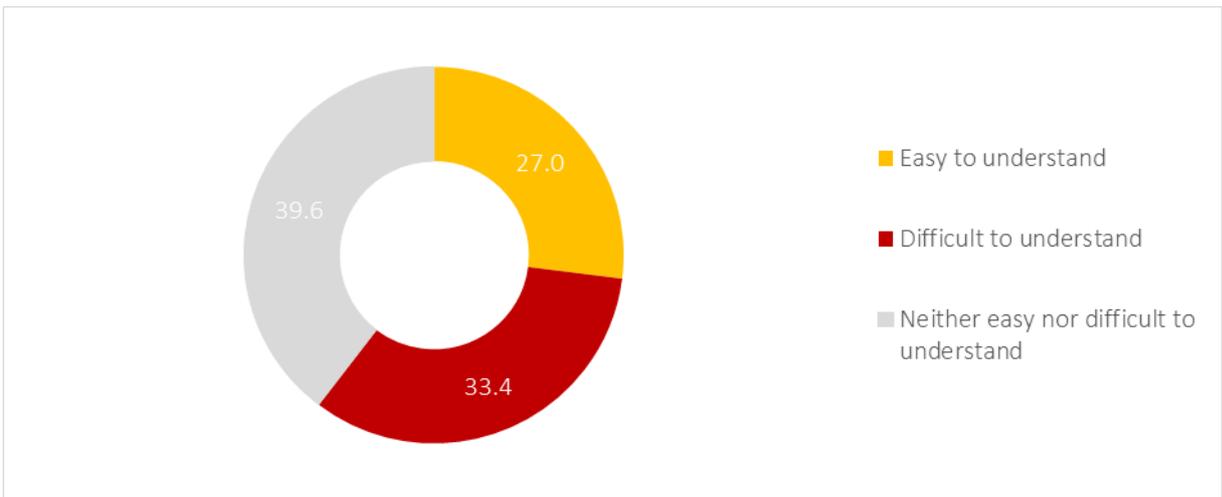
Figure 33: How would you assess political news in domestic media?
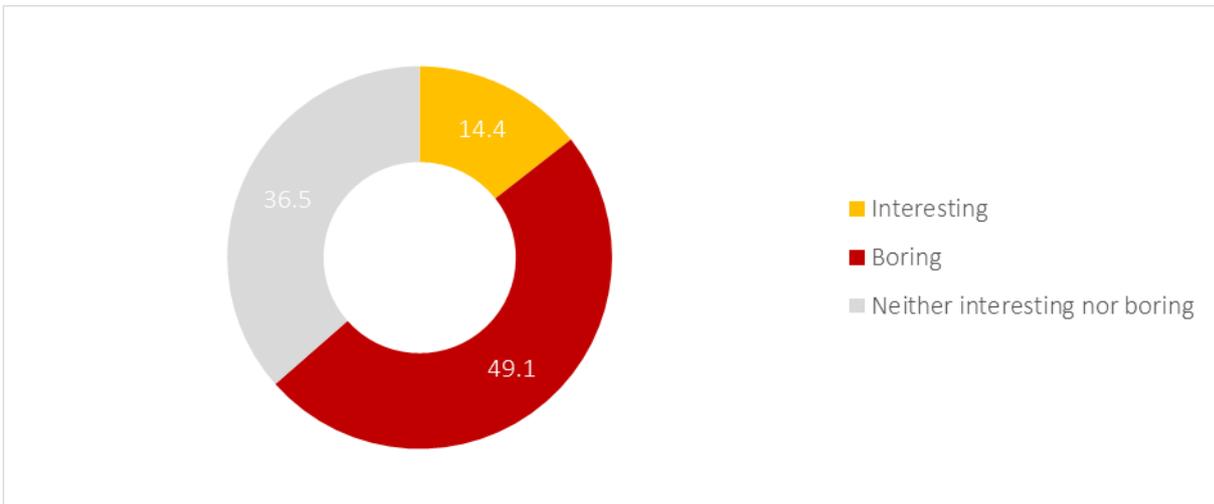
Figure 34: How would you assess political news in domestic media?
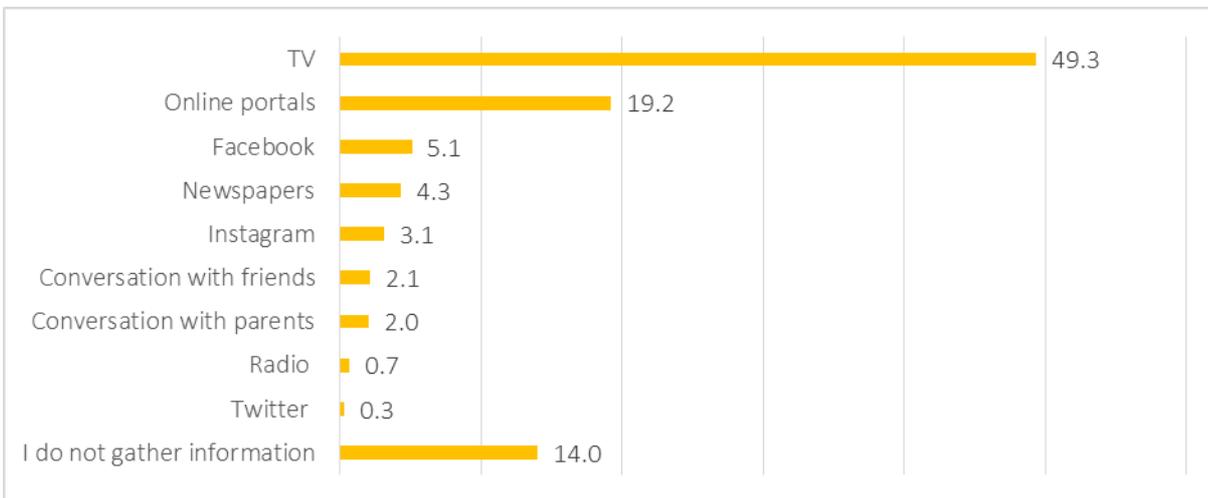
Figure 35: When it comes to political developments, which media do you primarily use for information gathering?
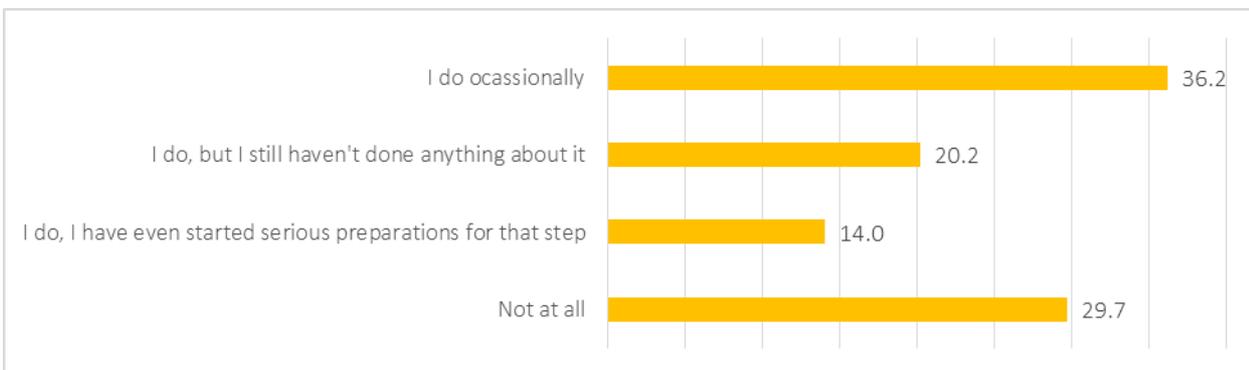
Figure 36: Do you actively consider leaving Montenegro?
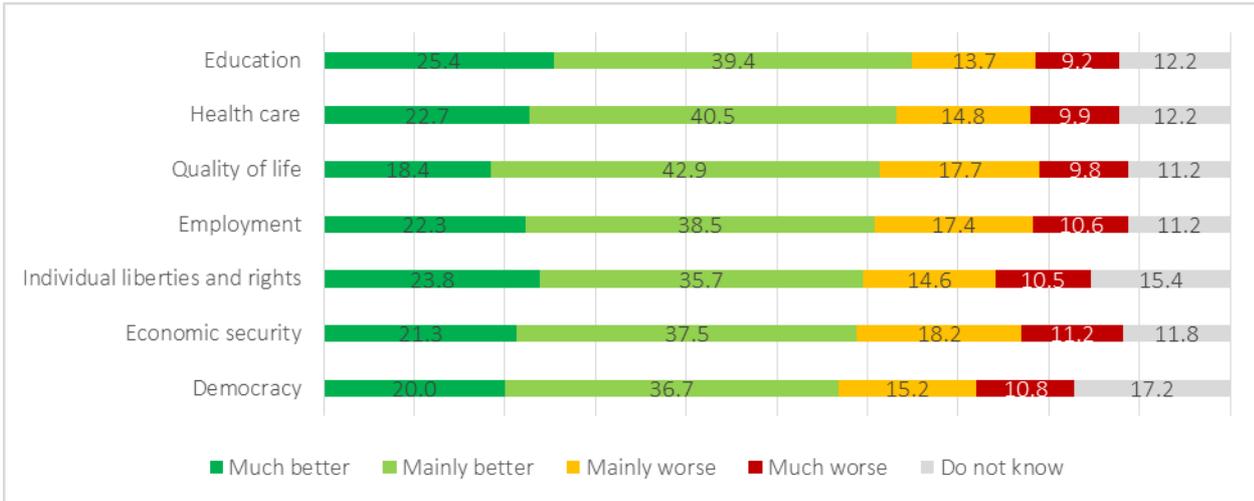
Figure 37: When you think about the future, how do you see the condition of the following aspects of life in the next 10 years? – five options
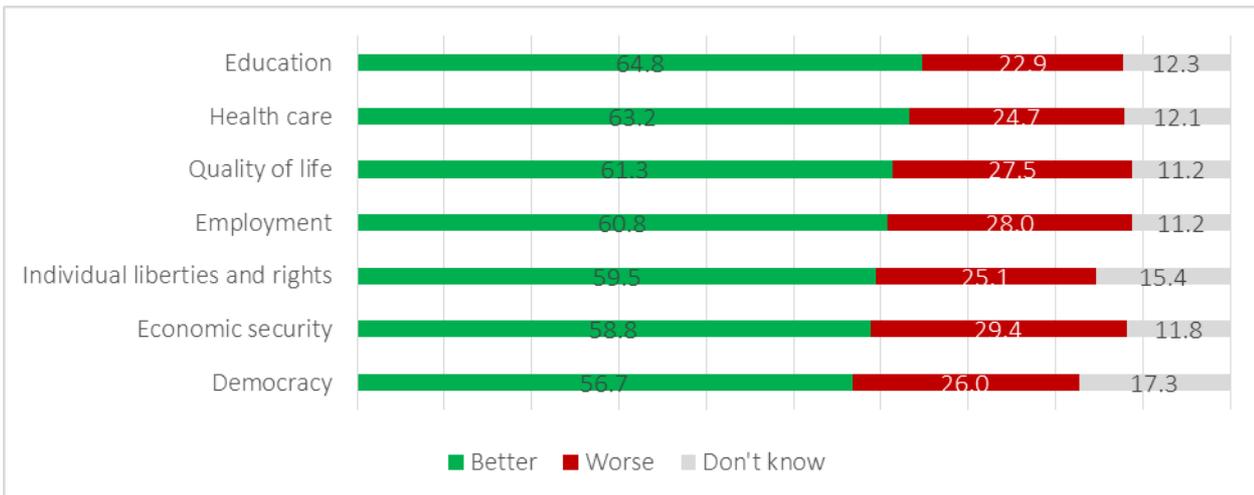
Figure 38: When you think about the future, how do you see the condition of the following aspects of life in the next 10 years? – reduced to three options
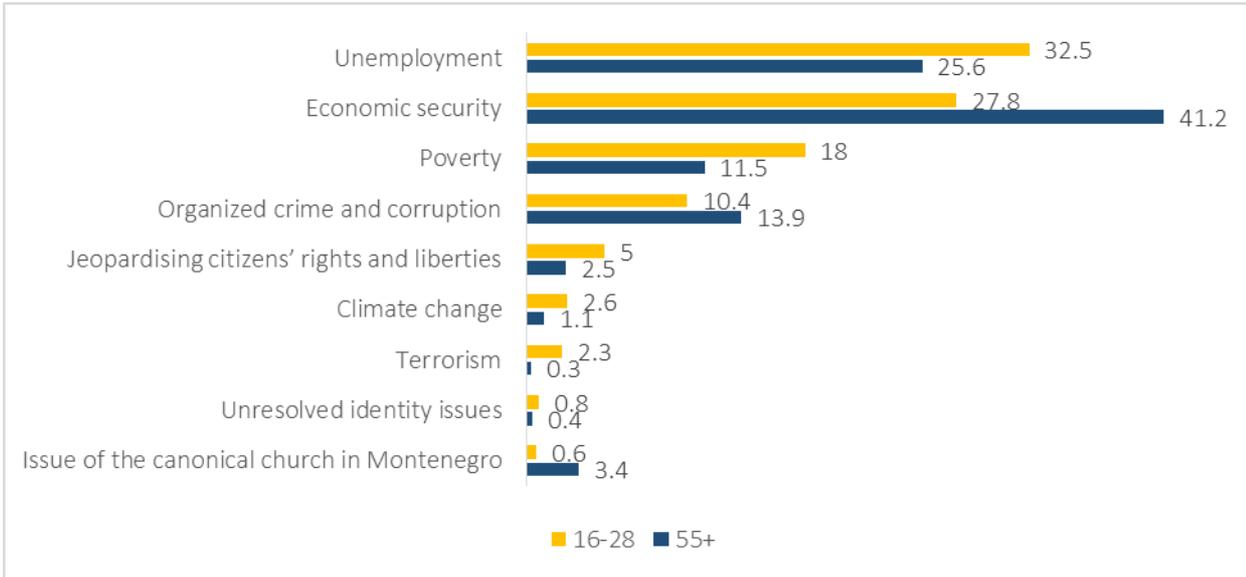
Figure 39: Which of the following topics do you consider to be the most important for Montenegro's future?
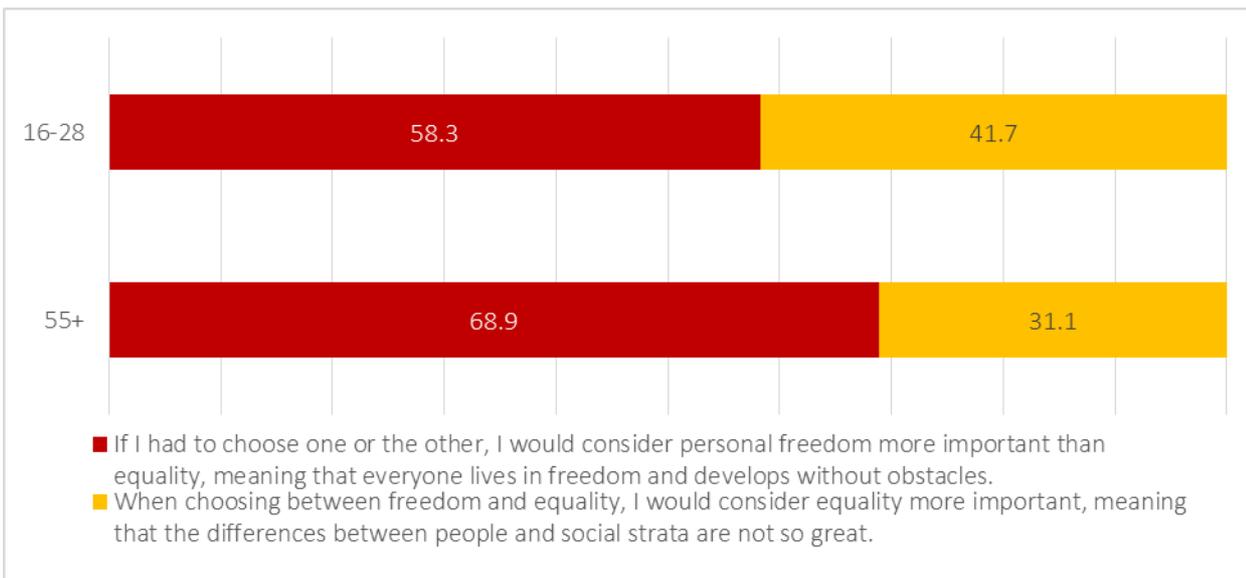
Figure 40: Which of these two statements is closer to your opinion?
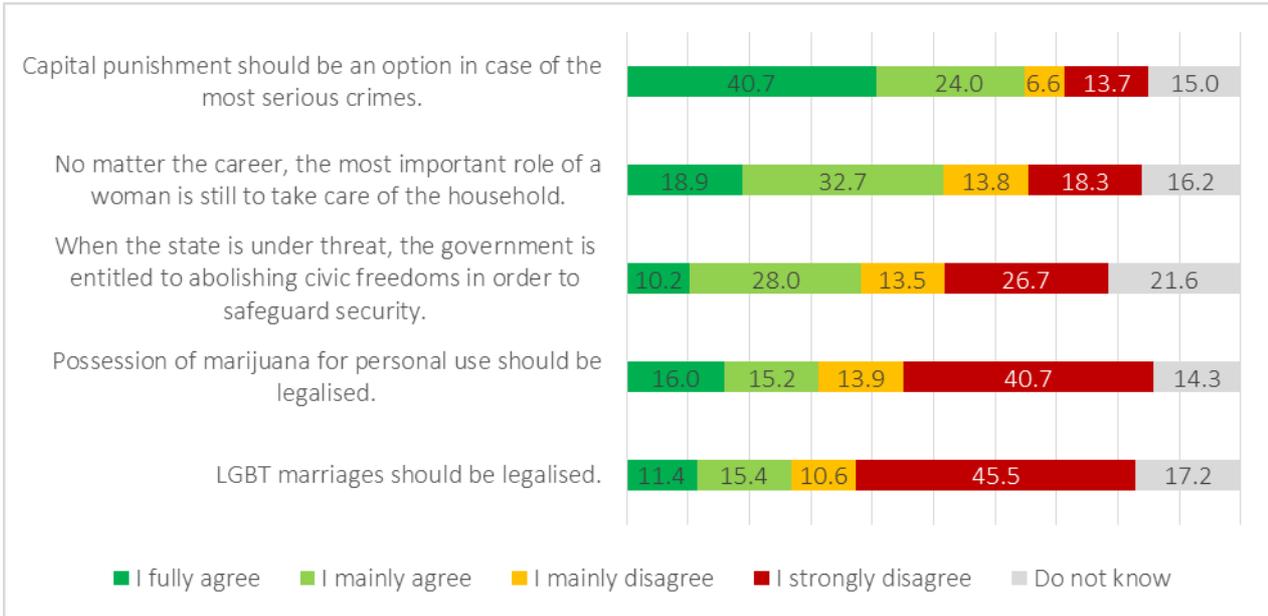
Figure 41: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – population 16-28
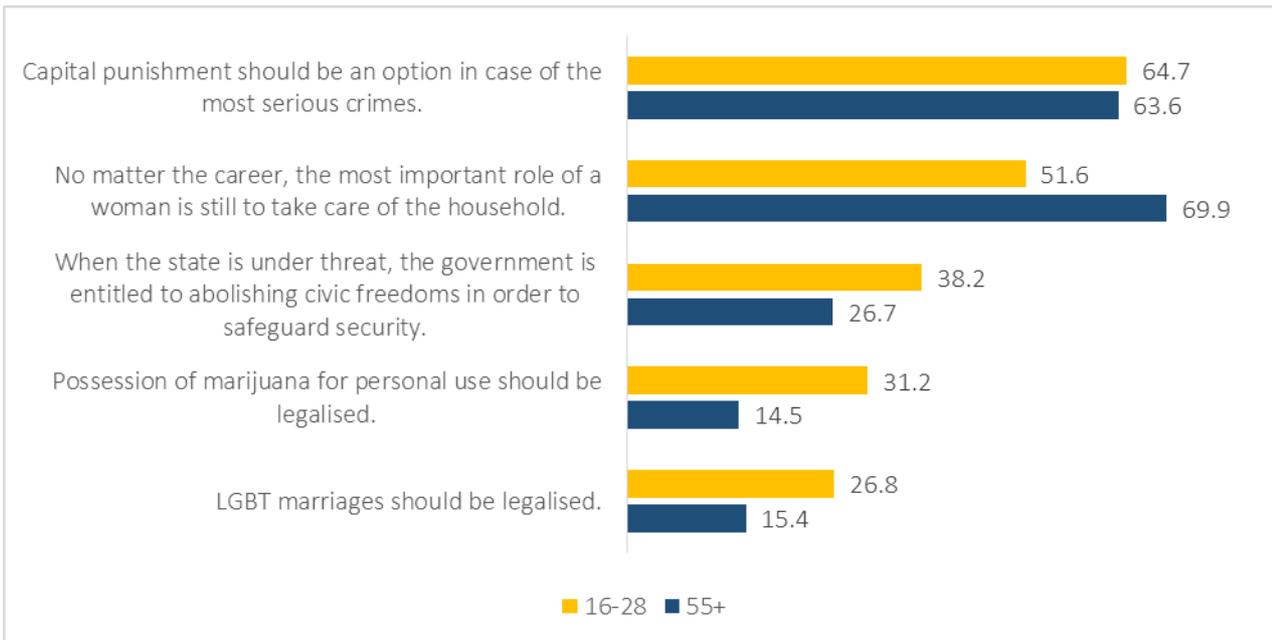
Figure 42: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – mainly/fully agree
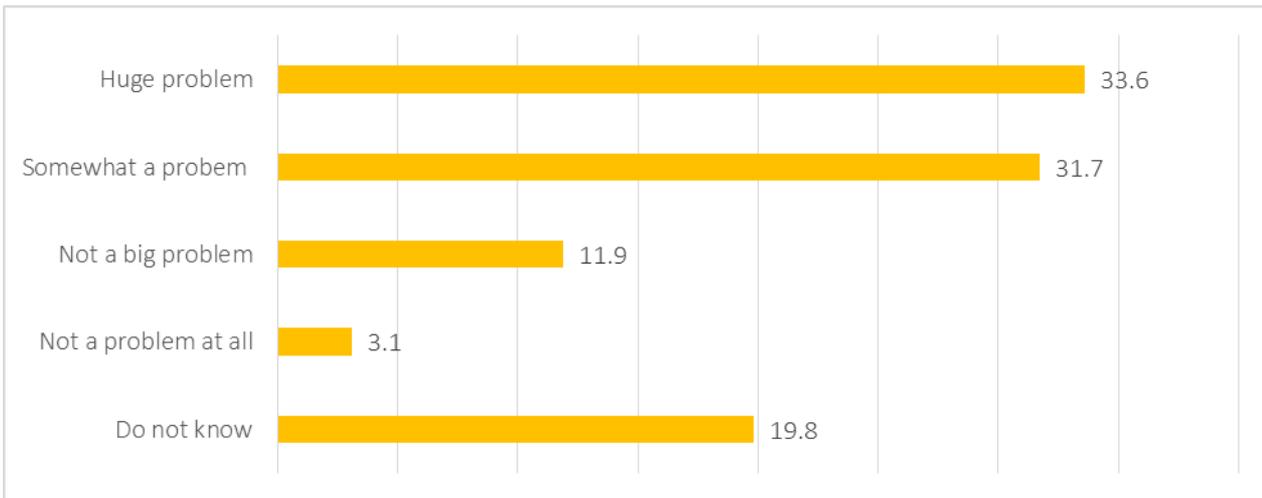
Figure 43: To what extent do you consider selective abortions a problem in Montenegro? (when is an abortion performed because of the unwanted sex of the unborn child)?
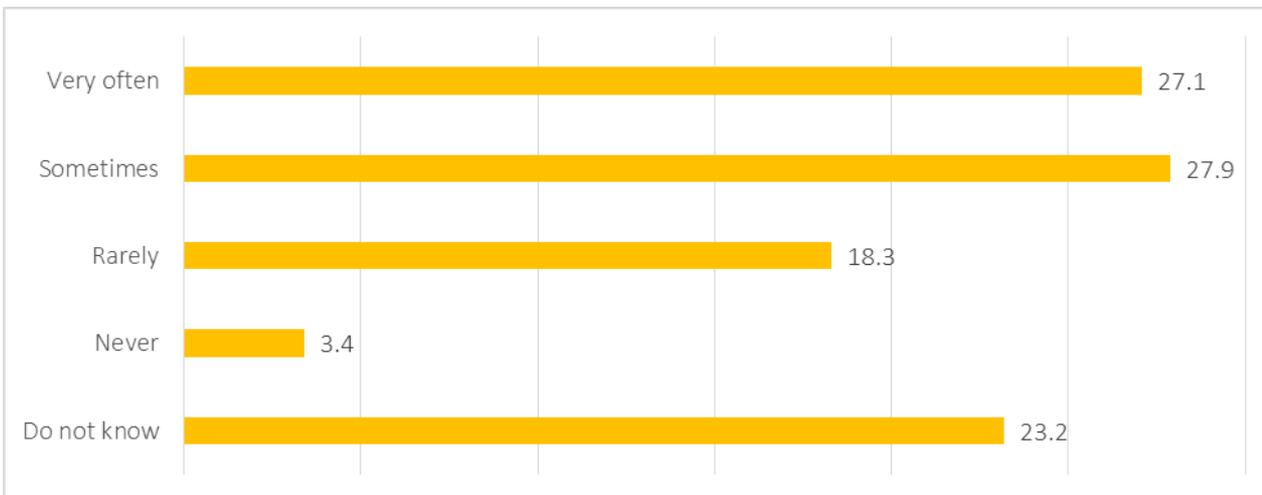
Figure 44: How often do you think selective abortions happen in Montenegro?
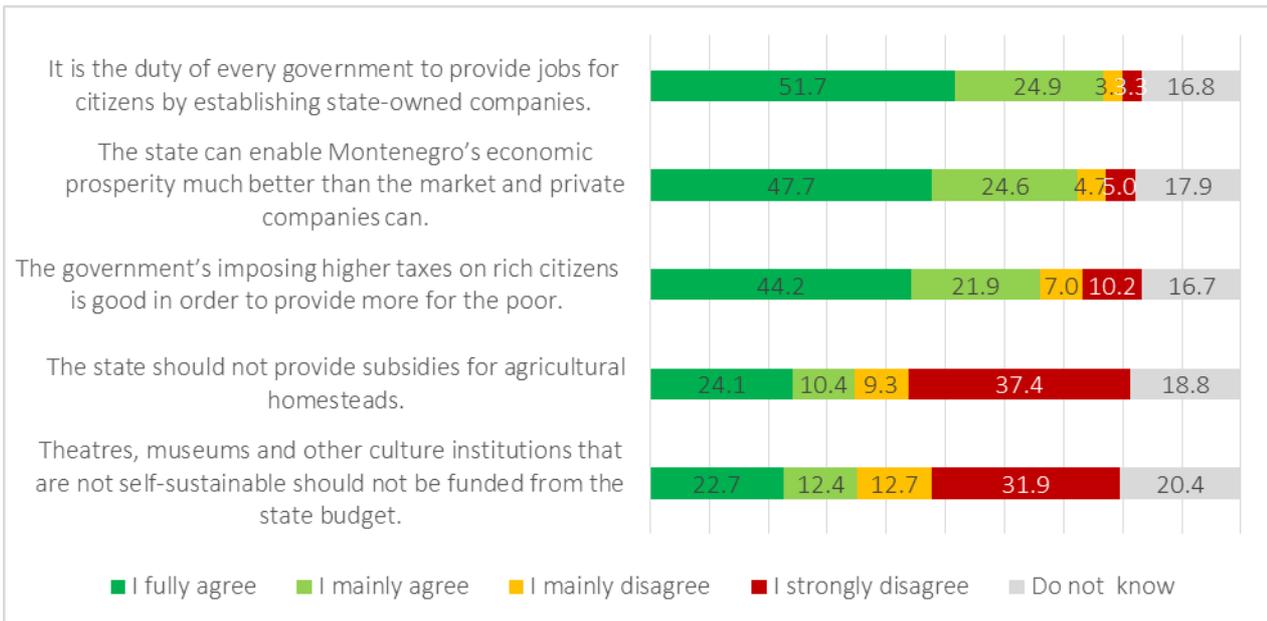
Figure 45: To what extent would you agree with the following statement? - population 16-28
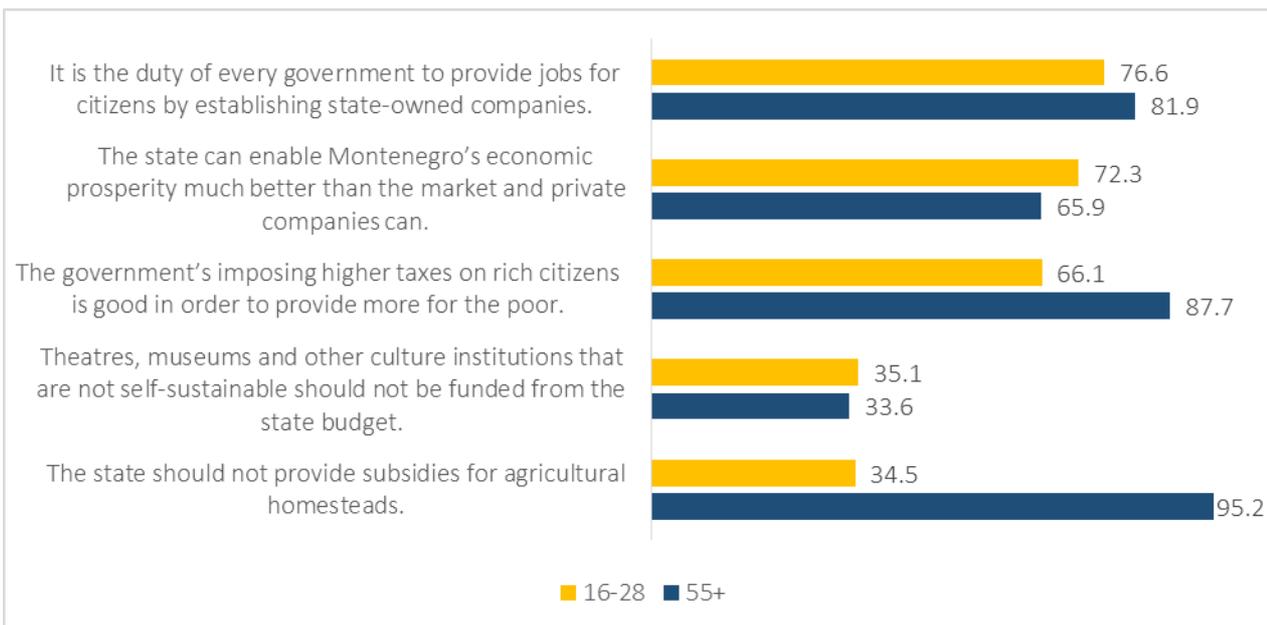
Figure 46: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – mainly/fully agree
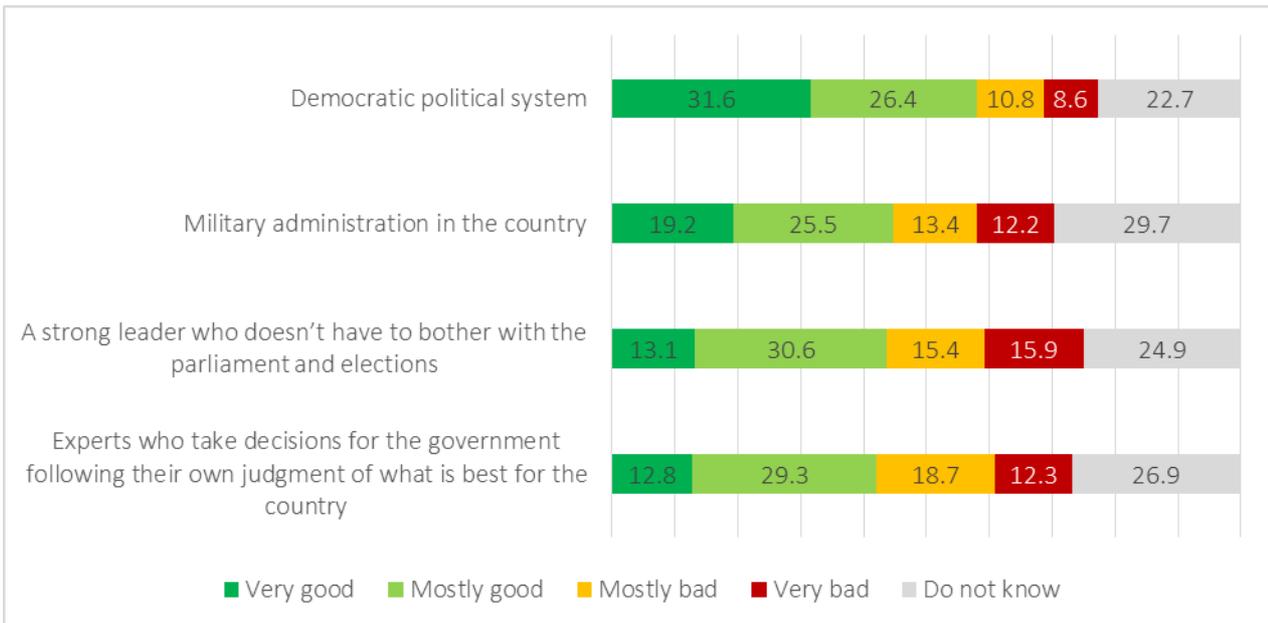
Figure 47: How would you assess the following modes of rule? - population 16-28
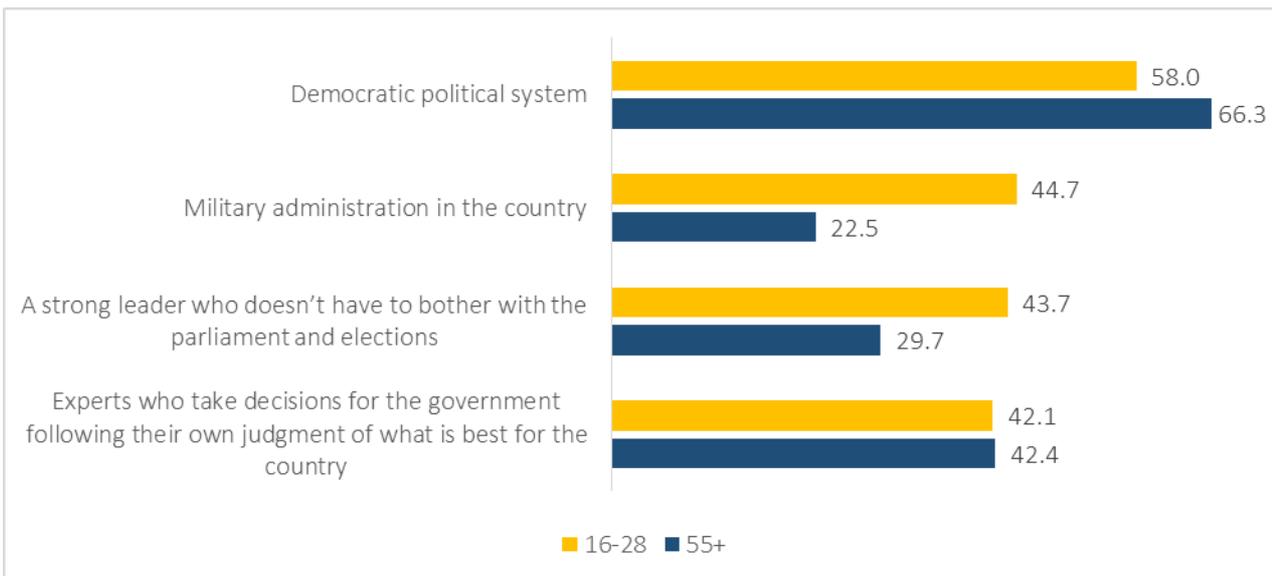
Figure 48: How would you assess the following modes of rule? – mostly/very good
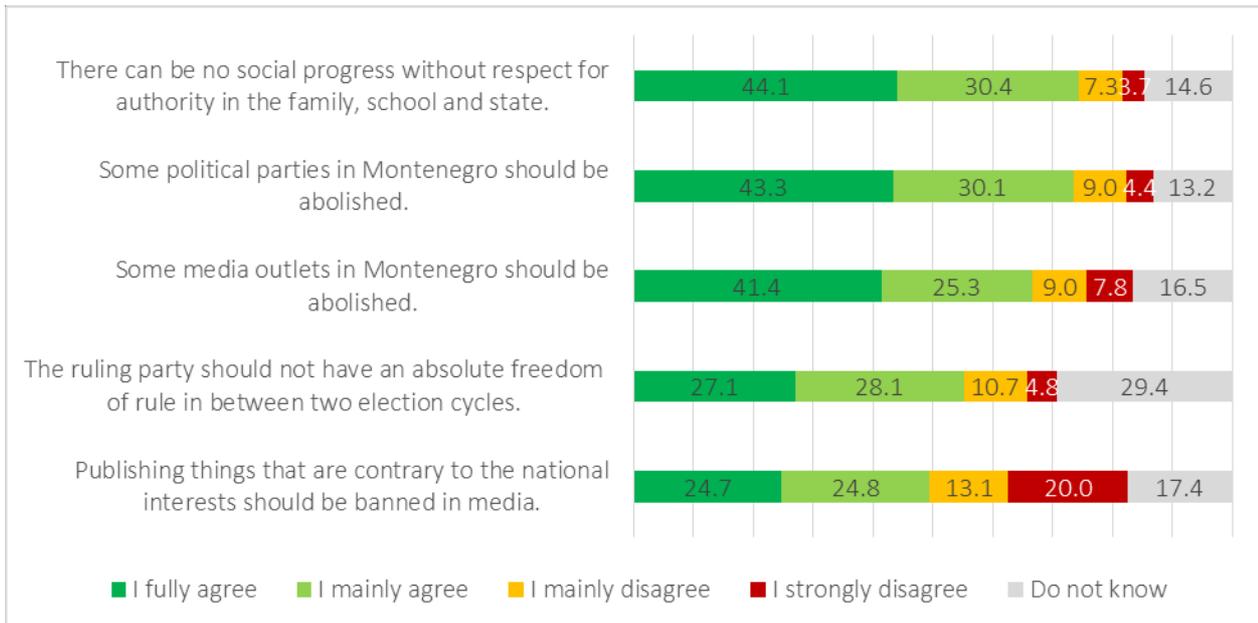
Figure 49: To what extent would you agree with the following statement? - population 16-28
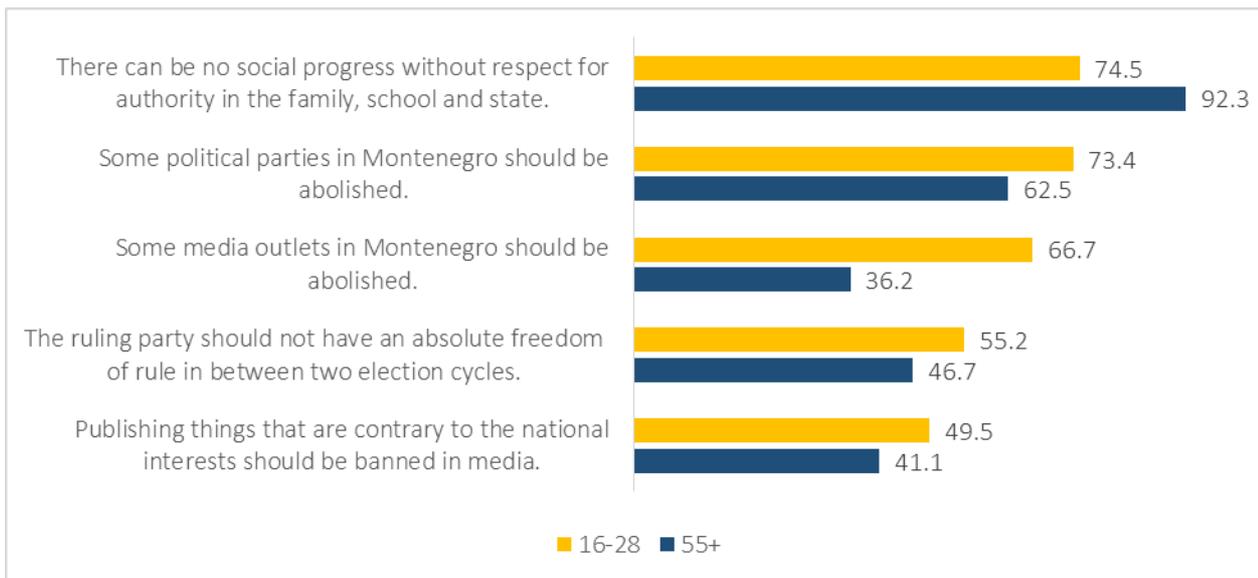
Figure 50: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – mainly/fully agree
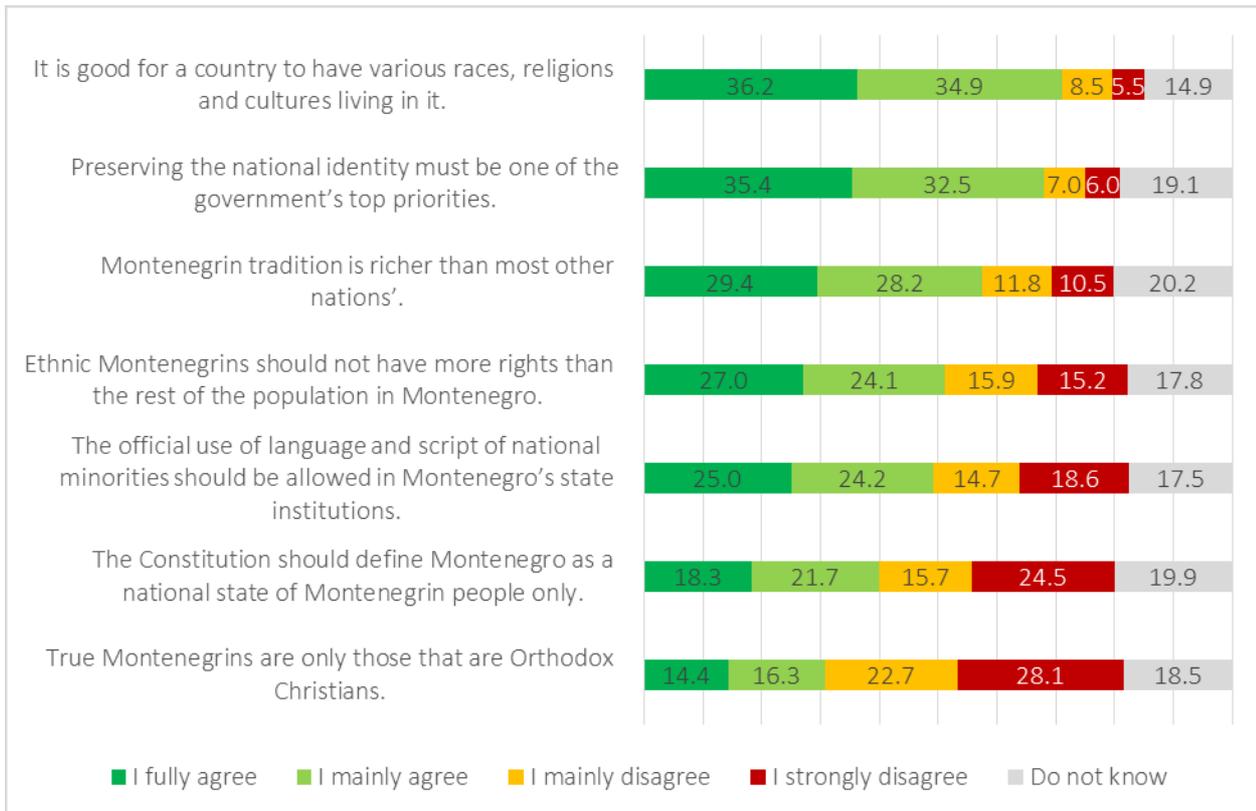
Figure 51: To what extent would you agree with the following statement? - population 16-28
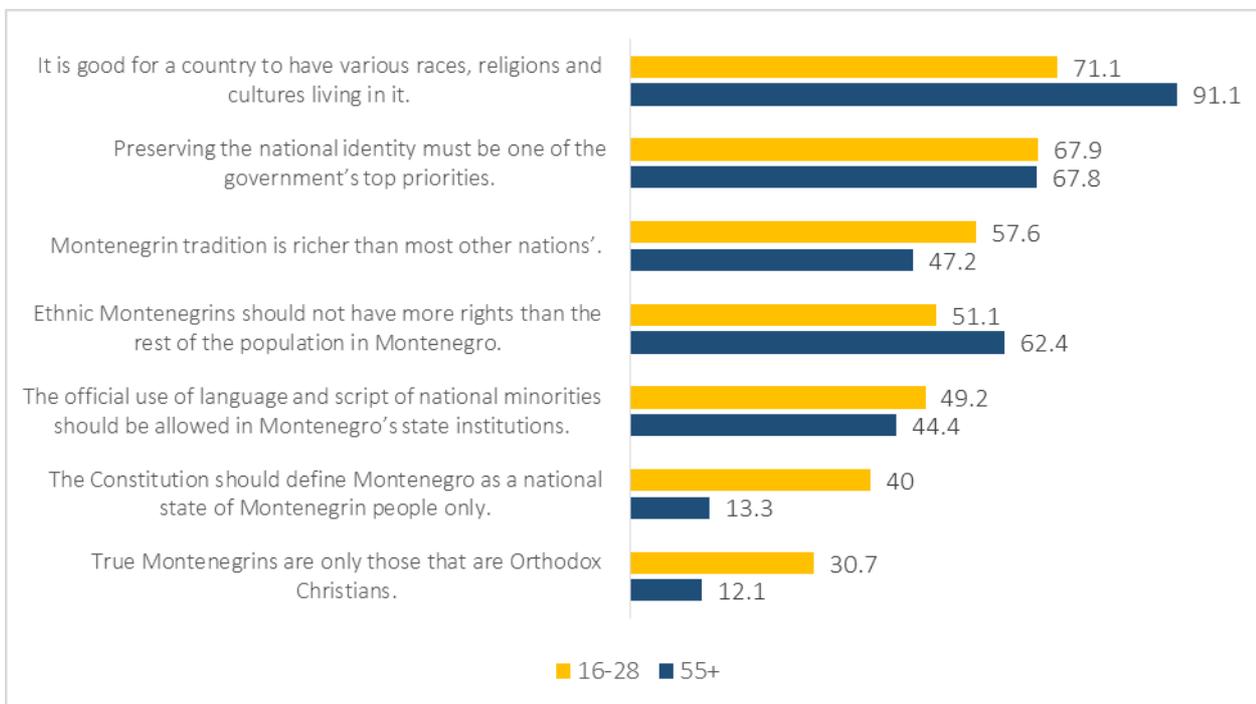
Figure 52: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – mainly/fully agree

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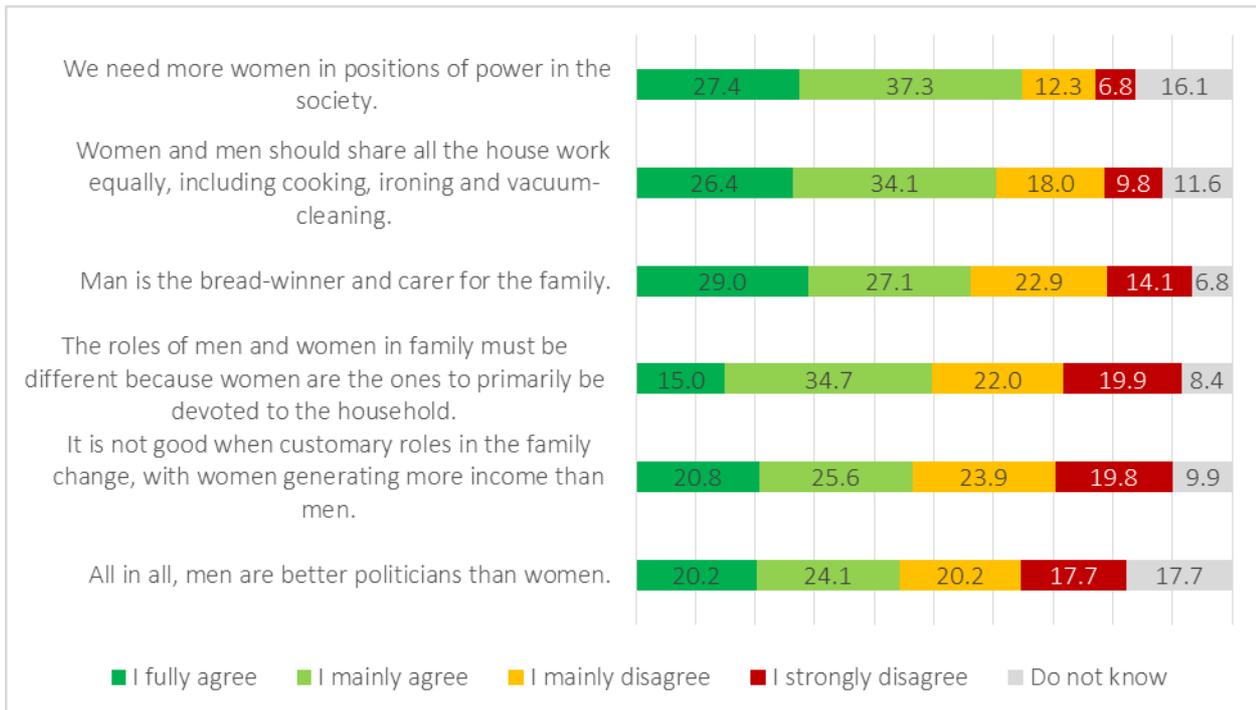
Figure 53: To what extent would you agree with the following statement? - population 16-28
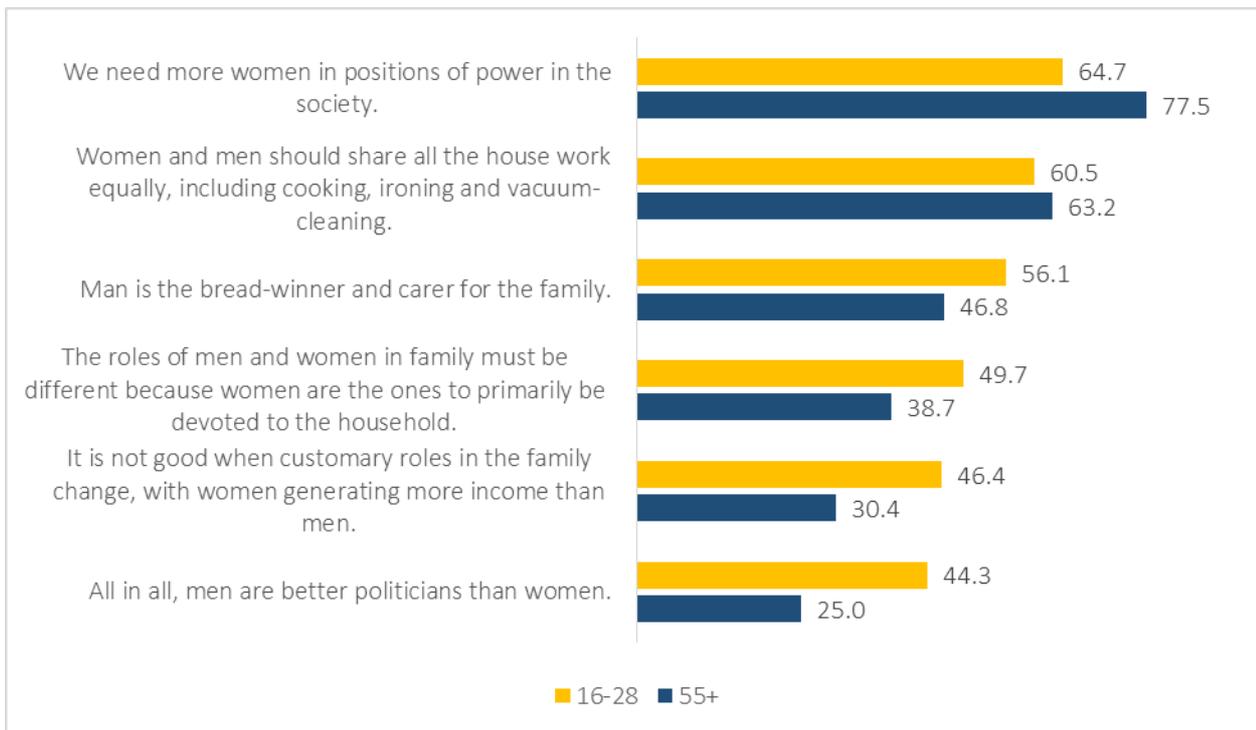
Figure 54: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – mainly/fully agree
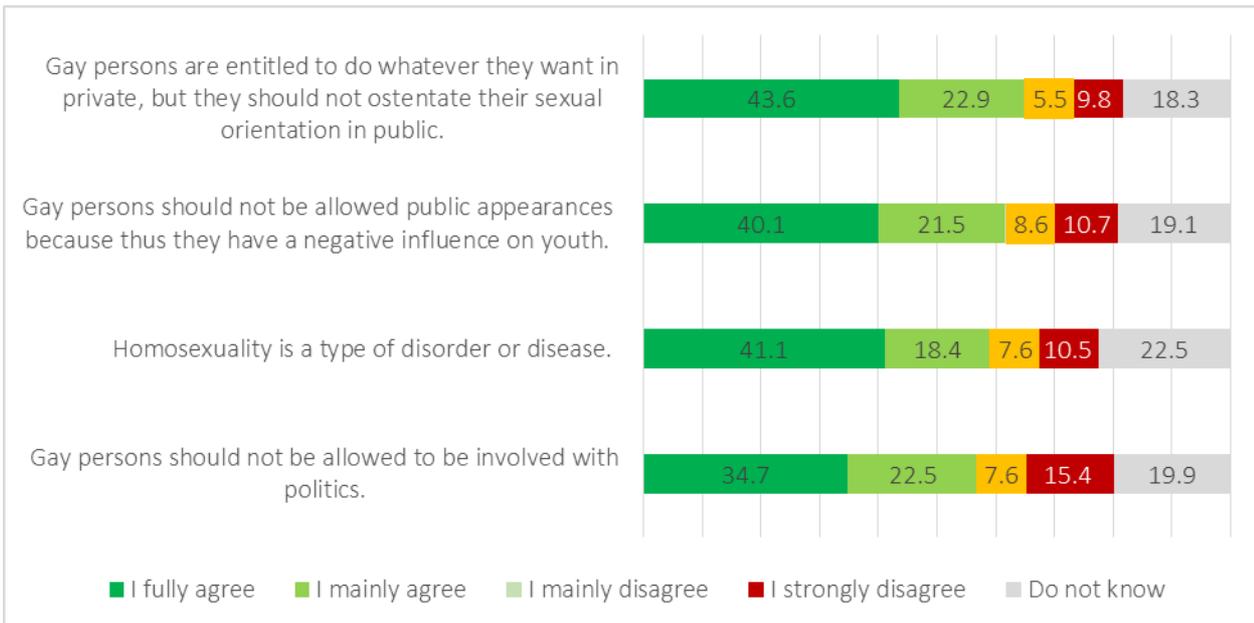
Figure 55: To what extent would you agree with the following statement? - population 16-28
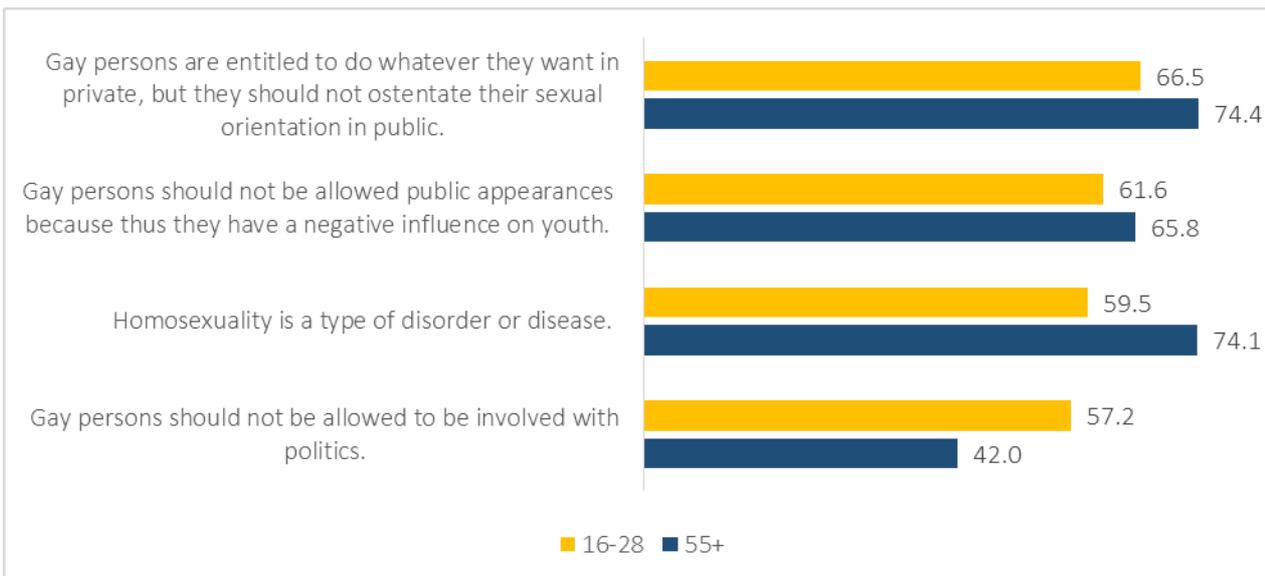
Figure 56: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – mainly/fully agree
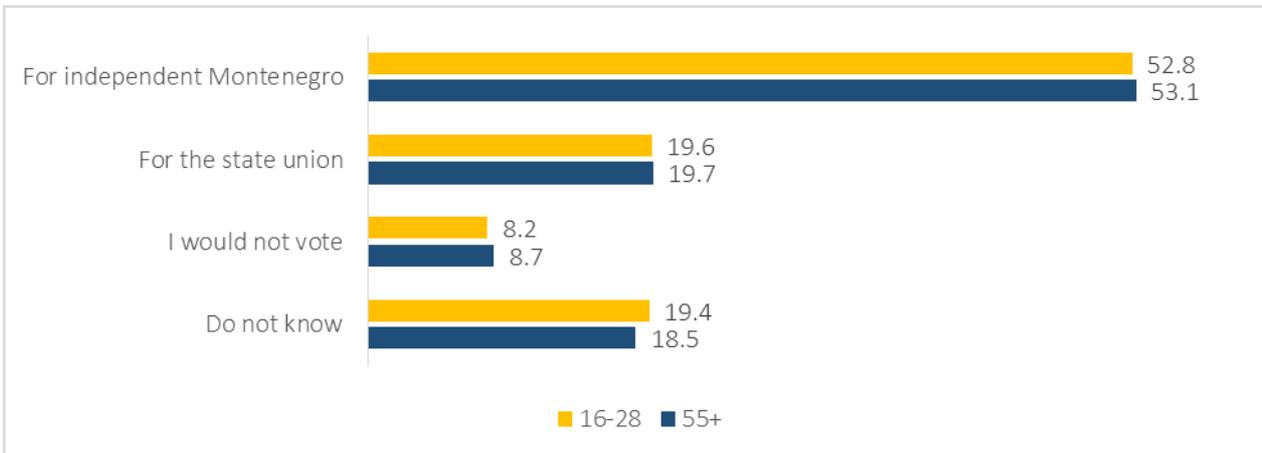
Figure 57: Montenegro marked 10 years of restoration of independence in 2016. If, by any chance, a referendum on state status were called again, how would you vote?
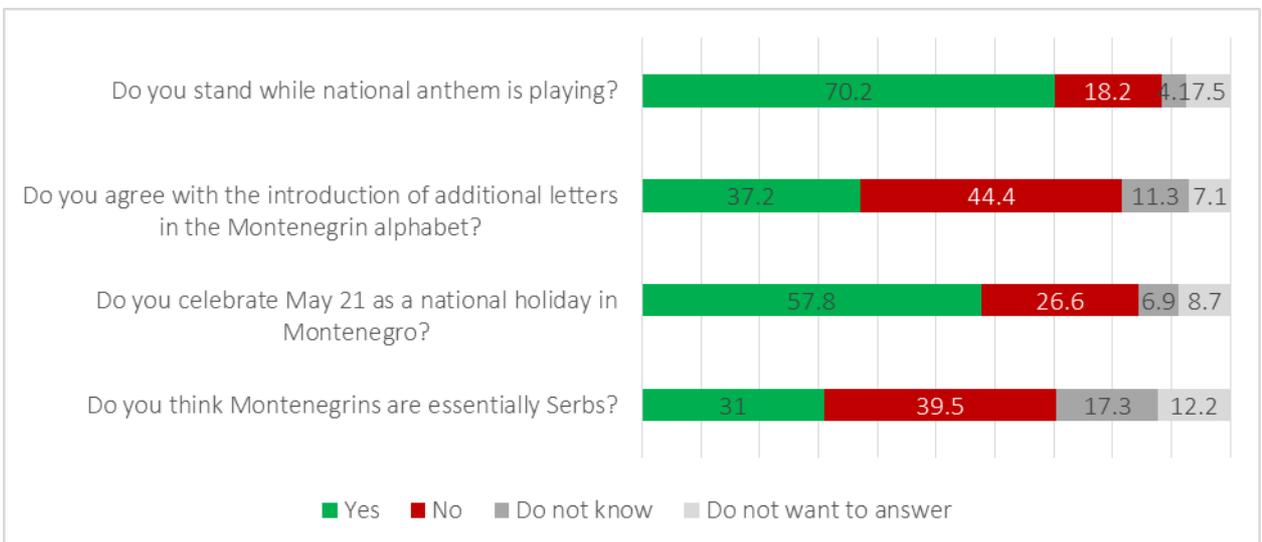
Figure 58: What are you attitudes and behaviors in the following situations:
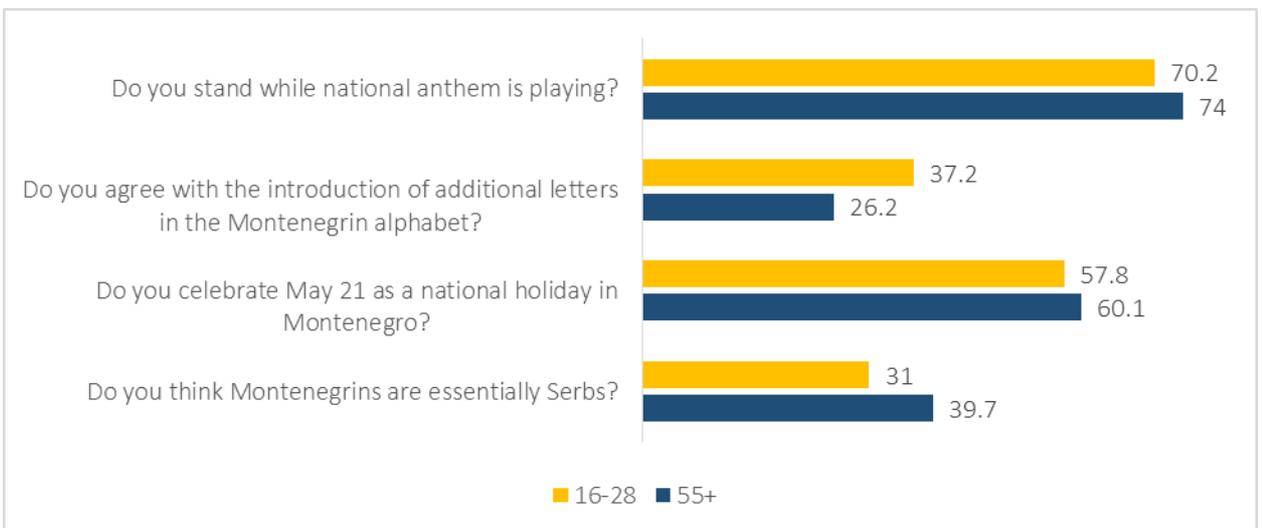
Figure 59: Do you... – Answered with "Yes"
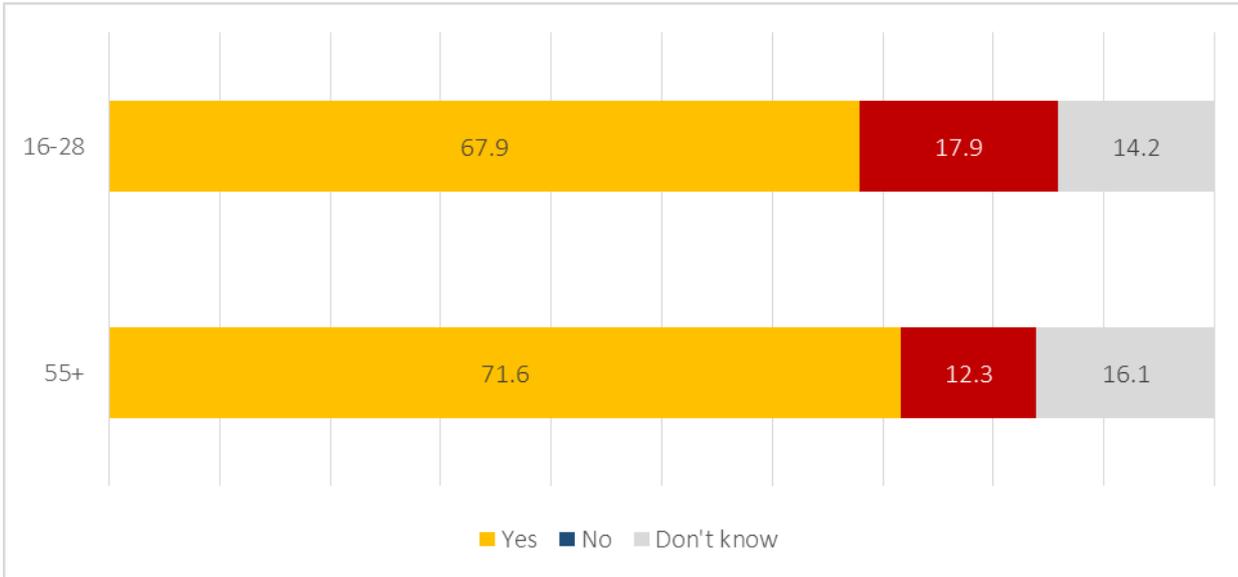
Figure 60: In your opinion, should Montenegro be an EU member?
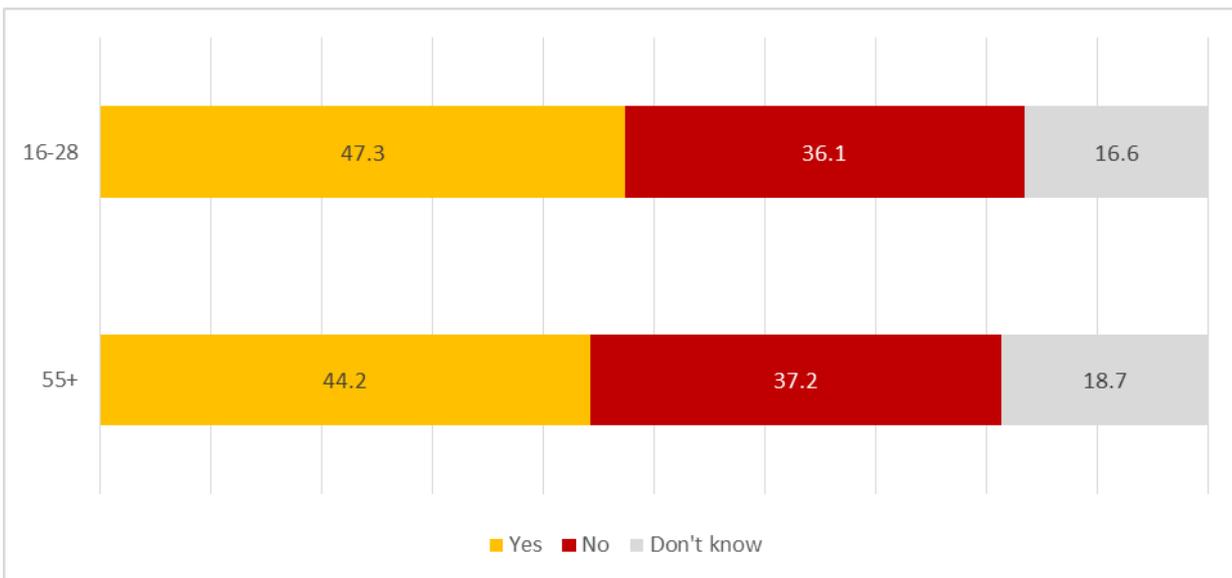
Figure 61: In your opinion, should Montenegro be a NATO member?

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction: composite variables – what are they and how to interpret them

In the "Introduction" section of the report we have mentioned that different political profiles of young people in Montenegro will be mapped, alongside main factors of influence that facilitate creation of those profiles. In order to grasp the matter in a better way, we have decided to use composite variables.

Composite variables are usually good way to present complicated ideas and concepts into single measures. Since they are derived from individual indicators (variables), they can provide new, richer insight into the data, and respondents thinking, than just uni-dimensional variables.

A composite variable is a variable created by combining two or more individual variables into one, new single variable. Each variable alone provides insight into respondents' view on certain attitudes and topics. Furthermore, some variables, grouped, are designed in a way that they tackle and measure more complex, multidimensional concepts, e.g. value orientations such as liberalism/conservativism in social sphere, state intervention/market orientation in economy etc.

We will describe the process of composite variable creation by using data presented in Figure 62[2].
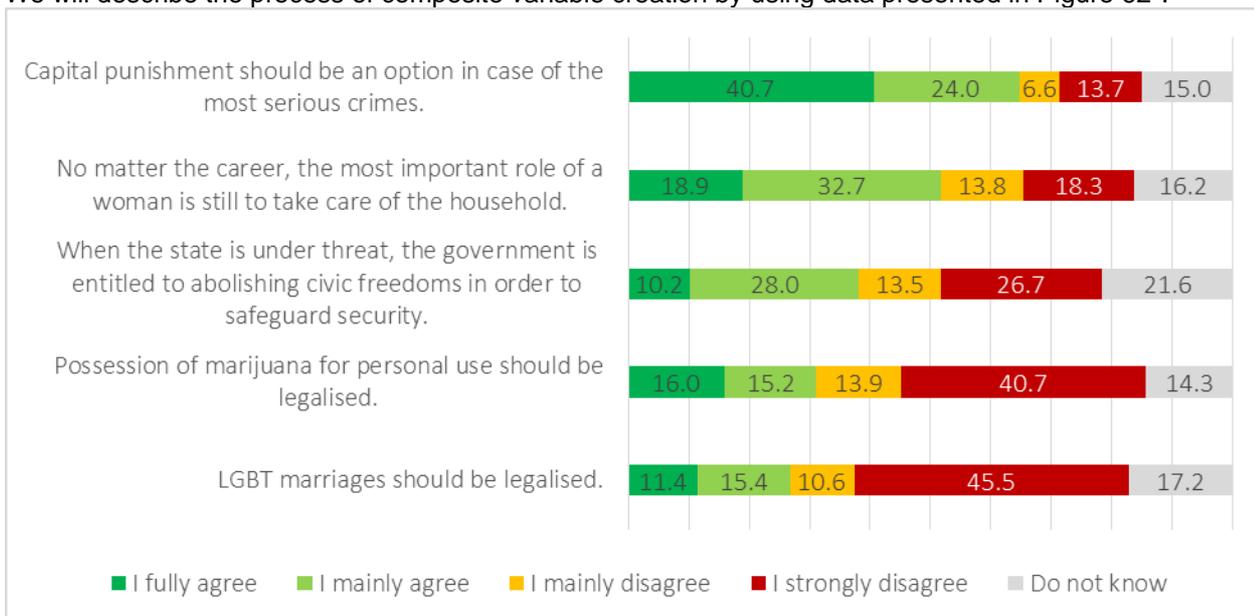
Figure 62: To what extent would you agree with the following statements? – population 16-28

As we can see, figure consists out of five statements all of which are related to social values. Depending on one's attitude towards these statements, respondent can be described as a person more inclined toward liberal or conservative views.

In order to create a composite variable, we need to "merge" all the 5 variables shown on the figure above. First of all, we have decided that value "0" will be labeled as "liberal orientation", while "1" will represent "conservative orientation"[3].

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[2] Figure already exists in the report, as a Figure 41

[3] This is, of course, a matter of a convention, and authors' decision. We could assume the opposite situation – conservative orientation could be labeled as "0" and liberal as "1." This would yield the same results in opposite direction.

After that, we need to examine the observed statements. First of them is the statement "Capital punishment should be an option in case of the most serious crimes." Agreement with it is considered as a conservative view. Earlier, we have decided that conservative orientation will be marked with "1", which means that options on the scale given in the figure will have the following values:

- I fully agree – 1.00 (conservative)
- I mainly agree – 0.66 (somewhat conservative)
- I mainly disagree – 0.33 (somewhat liberal)
- I strongly disagree – 0.00 (liberal)

Nevertheless, we need to be careful because some of the statements need to be rescaled. For example, agreeing with the statement ""LGBT marriages should be legalized" is not considered as a conservative orientation, like in the previous case. That means that for the latter statements scale need to be reversed, and have the following values:

- I fully agree – 0.00 (liberal)
- I mainly agree – 0.33 (somewhat liberal)
- I mainly disagree – 0.66 (somewhat conservative)
- I strongly disagree – .00 (conservative)

After adjusting the scale for all of the statements that will be included in a composite variable, we calculate an average score. We do that by aggregating the scores for all of the individual statements, by summarizing all scores and then dividing it with the number of statements (in this case, five).

The drawback of this method is that it has the underlying assumption that all statements equally contribute (are equally important) for the created index – composite measure. Thus, one has to be aware of that, and cautious when interpreting results. However, this is the most used way to create these kind of measures (Algina & Swaminanthan, 2015). Additionally, the data is recoded to a 0-1 scale, so that it is easier to interpret and understand. This kind of measures are also nicely suited for further analysis, cross-tabulation with other variables, or use of composite variables in more complex methods.

The detailed presentation of each variable that was used in building composite indexes is presented in the annex of this report.

Youth activism and political participation

From the descriptive statistical findings listed above, it is visible that Montenegrin youth follows contemporary trends. Young persons in Montenegro (16-28 years of age) are less involved with politics than their older counterparts (55+ years of age) - they follow political affairs (28.6% against 53.0%) and understand the most important political issues in the society (41.6% against 60.0%) less often than older population. Majority of the focus group participants do not follow the politics. Numerous reasons were named – the main is unchanging, almost frozen, political scene and issues covered on it, as well as disappointment with the political system. Image of invincibility of the ruling party was also mentioned as a one of the potential factors.

"It is the same story, since I have gained the right to vote it's the same story. Older people, my parents, have told me that it is the same story in the last 40 years. For me, it is all moving in one big circle. No one talks about important topics, from time to time someone pops out but those votes are channeled again towards the ruling parties and that's it" (28 years old man working in a private sector)

"I do not want to listen to false promises anymore" (High school girl thinking to leave Montenegro)

"I have worked in Italy for 3 months. You know, in 2 months they have experienced 3 changes – prime minister, minister of foreign affairs and something more, I cannot remember. And what about Montenegro?" (28 years old man working in a private sector)

"Long rule of the same party resulted in disinterest – people think that cannot change the system, cannot affect it" (Young man who has finished BA studies in Turkey)

Those who follow it claim that they mostly do that unwillingly.

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"It does not interest me, but it attacks you from all the sides. It literally pops out of the fridge." (Boy attending music high school)

However, it should be noticed that self-proclaimed level of party membership is almost the same when we compare young and old population – 18.8% of young and 19.7% of old respondents claims that they are members of a political party. This could explain young people's higher readiness for political engagement regarding *formal* (in comparison to other) *modes* of political activism. Every third young person claims to be ready to attend a political party meeting and every fourth replied that they would help a political party as political activists. Also, 21.8% of respondents is ready to take part in *informal forms* of political participation, such as participation in rallies. On the other hand, *online forms* of political activism are apparently less popular – less than each fifth respondent would share a post with political contents on social media (19.6%), while only 14.1% of respondents would leave a political comment on a portal or in online newspapers.

Nevertheless, an average survey respondent scores only 0.20 on the political activism scale[4], in all of the eight activities, with 1 standing for participation and 0 for non-participation. Participants in the focus group that have lived abroad claimed that such a low result is the consequence of Montenegrin mentality and laziness, which is not only a commonly mentioned prejudice, but a true state of mind.

"I was studying in Turkey in a very, let's say, critical period in context of politics, bomb attacks etc. Believe me, you do not want to know what do their protest rallies like. They are not moving from the streets until their demands are not fulfilled. And here? Mothers were protesting, they were lying in front of the building of the Government, I don't know, and what happened? Nothing happened. Why? Because we are lazy, we are lazy as a nation and that is not a myth. We like more to drink a coffee that to protest. And in that way, we will not change anything" (Young man who has finished BA studies in Turkey)
"They have risen the price of bread for 3%, you know what the protest have exploded? It was unbelievable. I have never seen something like that and that was the moment when I have understood that we are not like them (Italians), we do not have the will to do something like that and that is the reason why we will not be able to change anything" (28 years old man working in a private sector)

As shown in the Figure 65, more than a half of respondents (50.4%) claim they would not participate in any activity, while the rate of those who would take part in all of them is only 3.3%.
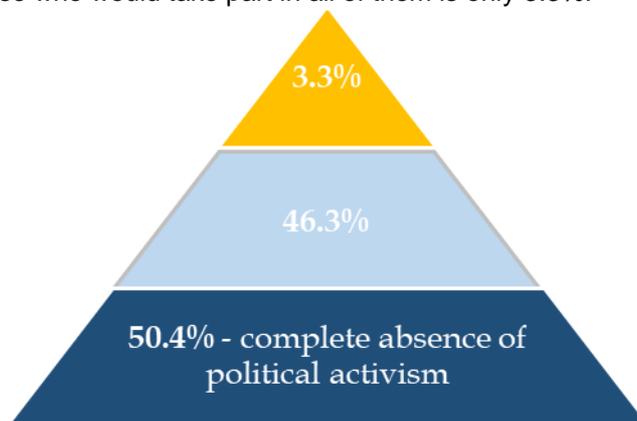
Figure 63: Readiness for political activism

Many factors were tested in the analysis process in order to find which of them affect the youth's readiness to get politically engaged in Montenegro. For example, there are no statistically relevant differences, vis-à-vis activism, between respondents of different gender; those living in urban/rural settlements; those with bad/good financial status; those who perceive themselves as transition losers/winners; those who are

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[4] This composite variable was created in a way described in the previous chapter. List of eight individual activities (presented as variables in the questionnaire) was given to the respondents. They could pick all those activities that they are ready to conduct – if a respondent has chosen none of them, score would be 0, if chosen all eight, his score would be 1. Individual variables out of which this composite variable was created can be found in Annex section

employed/unemployed; those who believe that politicians and political parties in Montenegro are different; with regards to the most suitable type of rule (democratic, basically democratic or authoritarian), attitude on whether Montenegro is moving in a good or bad direction, stance towards NATO membership or respondents' religiosity level etc. Political opinion of parents and best friends also is not related to level of activism – there are no statistically relevant differences regarding activism between those who share the political opinion with parents/friends and those who think differently.

On the other hand, one of the biggest differences in the level of political activism is related to regional division of the country.

Of the three Montenegrin regions where the survey was conducted, the least ready for activism is the young population of southern, coastal part of Montenegro. At the other hand, it means that in this region political stakeholders have the most room for their work with young population.
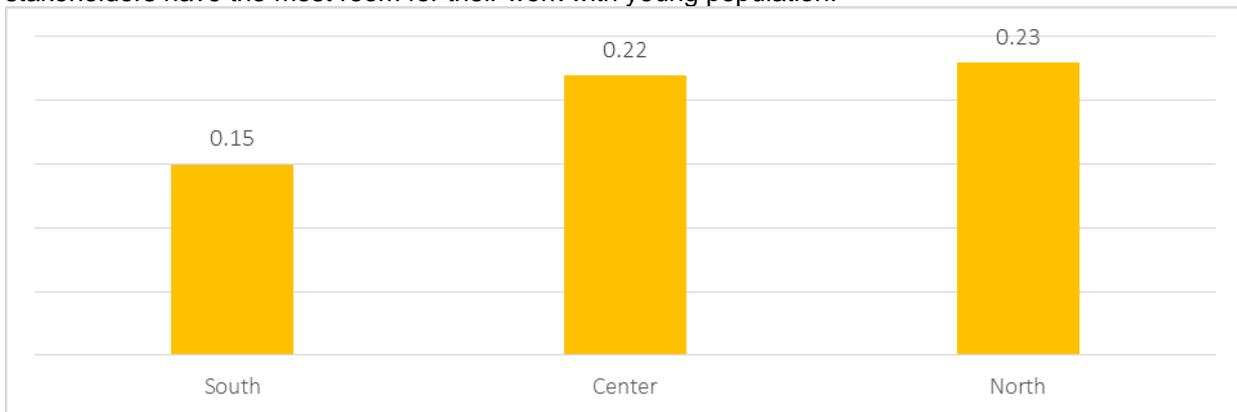
Figure 64: Youth activism and region of Montenegro

Regarding the level of education, the readiness for activism is rather odd. Activism index of those who gained only primary school degree is the lowest (0.16). It rises among those with high school degree that do not want to pursue higher degrees (0.19) and those who are currently going to high school (0.21). Highest level (0.23) is reached among young people that are BA students or have already acquired BA degree, while it starts to decline when speaking about MA and PhD candidates and those that have already acquired those degrees (0.21 and 0.20, respectively).

Additionally, it is very interesting that young respondents most prone to political activism emphasize the role of the strong leader as the most decisive reason to join a political party – those who claim that strong leader would be decisive for them to join a political party have scored 0.31 on political activity index scale. One of the focus group participants has also mentioned that leaders have prominent role.

They say "party, party", we vote for the party, but when they voted for party X (anonymized) they actually voted for Y (leader of the party, anonymized), not for the party" (Girl with a BA degree working in telecommunication company)

When speaking about voting for a party, one more reason besides strong leader emerged among respondents more inclined to be politically active – party ideology.

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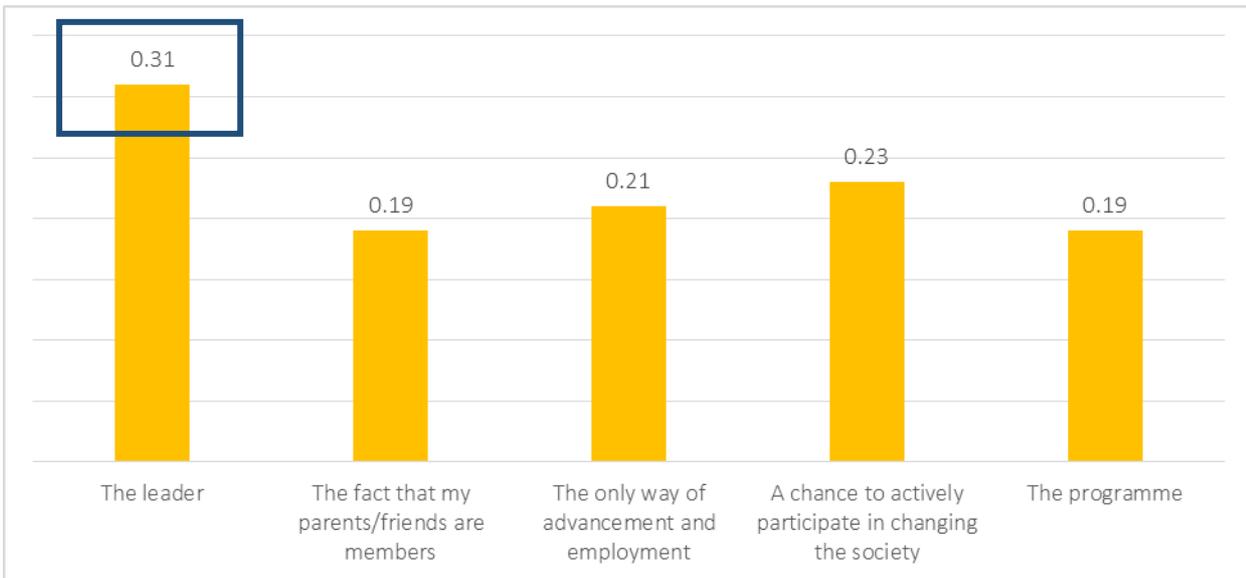
Figure 65: Youth activism and the decisive reason for joining a political party
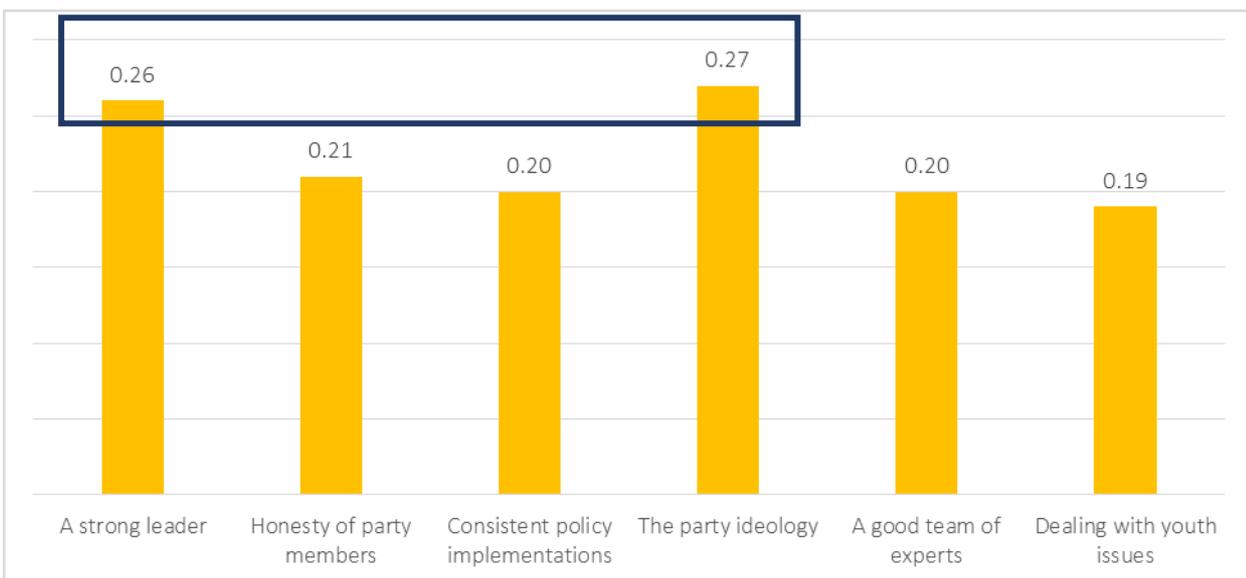
Figure 19: Youth activism and the decisive reason for voting a political party

Regarding value orientations, there are few statistically significant, but very weak correlations between them and activism level. The strongest one, but nevertheless still weak, is negative correlation between activism and authoritarianism (r = -.11) – i.e., the less authoritarian individuals are, they are more ready for social and political engagement and vice versa. Additionally, there are statistically relevant but weak correlations with economic compass (positive – market oriented), as well as with the negative attitude towards LGBT persons and future in Montenegro (negative).

Expectedly, direct link exists between readiness to get politically engaged and following the political affairs - those who follow it often scored 0.45, while those who never do that scored only 0.13. Additionally, those who understand the most important political issues in the society are more prone to be politically active (0.34) compared to those who oppose this statement (0.11).

Respondents who talk about politics with their parents very often are as well more inclined to activism (0.37) than their counterparts who never do that (0.17).

Young respondents who claim that there are politicians in Montenegro that they trust are also readier to become more active (0.25).

Furthermore, current (0.34) and former (0.32) political party members demonstrate a higher readiness to become politically active than young non-members. The same applies to those who regularly cast a ballot (0.26) in comparison to non-voters (0.15).

Young persons that do not agree with the statement that in Montenegro a membership in a political party is the key to promotion in one's career are more prone to activism (0.28) than those who agree with it (0.22). Also, those who think that political news in domestic media outlets are easy to understand and interesting are much readier for activism than those who find political news difficult to understand and boring.

At the end, one more issue related to youth political activism needs to be clarified – relationship with desire to leave Montenegro. Differences between those who actively consider leaving Montenegro and those who do not do it are statistically significant, but not very large. Although unexpected at the first glance, those who started serious preparations for leaving Montenegro show the highest average level of readiness to activism (0.25), while those who do not consider this move show the lowest level of readiness to social/political engagement (0.18). It is our assumption that first group is aware of all the shortcomings in Montenegrin society, nevertheless, is actively trying to overcome them. Leaving the country is considered by them as a last resort for solving problems they face. Correlations mentioned earlier solidify this assumption – young people who feel that in 10 years' period situation in Montenegro will be worse than today are more prone to political activism. This brings us to an important question – what is the "profile" of those who consider leaving Montenegro?

Young people leaving Montenegro

Montenegrin institutions do not have any exact data on number of citizens who have left Montenegro since the beginning of economic and social transition which started in the 1990s. Data collected by Eurostat[5] show that on 31st December 2018 more than 30 thousand Montenegrin citizens were in possession of valid EU residence permit. This makes nearly 5% of Montenegrin population, based on results from last population census conducted in 2011. In order to understand the true scale of emigration, we need to take into account legal emigration to other European countries (neighboring non-EU countries, Switzerland etc.), USA, Canada, Australia… At the same time, illegal emigration towards EU countries should not be underestimated. All this data confirms that Montenegrin citizens living abroad comprise a very large part of the population.

Furthermore, it seems plausible that joining the EU will not solve the problem but will exacerbate it additionally. Although government officials look favorably on remittances sent by Montenegrin citizens living and working abroad, on the long run it can cause serious problems related to, so-called, brain drain – young, educated and highly skilled labor force leaving the country. The scale of the problem can be well illustrated by the figures visible in the descriptive part of this report. Only 29.7% of the respondents claim that he/she never considered leaving the country. At the same time, 36.2% pointed out that they think occasionally about leaving, 20.2% thinks about it often, but still haven't done anything about it, while every seventh respondent is already making serious preparations for that step.

Focus group participants name financial reasons as the most important.

"I think that out of those 70% that you have mentioned (focus group moderator asked about the opinion on data stating that around 70% of the survey respondents consider leaving Montenegro), at least 67% wants to leave due to financial reasons because, you know, we all have someone who went to the USA via "Work and travel" program and in 4 months they can earn the amount that cannot be earned in 5-year period in Montenegro"
(Young man who has finished BA studies in Turkey)

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[5] URL: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do (accessed on 17th August 2019)

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Nevertheless, it is not all about the money – some of them that have already left Montenegro on a period of time, feel disappointed with the system itself and feel that they have better chances in pursuit of success as an individuals abroad.

"I do not want to leave because I do not have the will to fight the system, but because I thought that some like you, I respect people, respect students, but I think that you have made a mistake somewhere, you were not present when something was needed to be changed" (28 years old man working in a private sector)
"My brother went to Alaska; he is there now. What forced him to go to the other side if the world? This economic situation, all of you have mentioned, we cannot do anything if we are not, let's say, close to this political elite or if we are not children of people that have inherited something" (High school boy – customs department)
"I say to those younger than me, leave this place, you will be respected more abroad than here" (28 years old man working in a private sector)

A number of factors that could influence the readiness to leave Montenegro, tested in the survey, do not belong to the factors that could be related to the migration level. In this group we include variables such as the region where respondents live, their employment status, religiosity level, the type of preferred leader (democratic, populist, paternalistic, authoritarian), political party membership status, as well as opinion on whether is membership in a political party the key to promotion in one's career and are the politicians and political parties in Montenegro all the same.

It is interesting that education also belongs to this group – there are no statistically significant differences between respondents with different education levels achieved.

On the other hand, there are numerous variables strongly related to migration level – i.e. they show significant differences between the respondents who do not even consider leaving Montenegro and those who have already taken steps towards that. The latter, for example, do not believe that the situation in Montenegro will change for better in the next 10 years. In order to measure that, we have created a composite variable "*Future in Montenegro*", based on a set of questions including "*When you think about the future, how do you see the condition of the following aspects of life in the next 10 years*?", ", which cover the areas like the education, health care, quality of life, employment, individual liberties and rights, economic security and democracy. Respondents who are getting ready to leave the country think that there will be no change for better (0.44), unlike those who never consider leaving the country (0.69).

Intuitively, cross-tabulations with the "*In general, would you say that Montenegro is moving in the right or wrong direction?*" gave us the same result as above. Of the respondents who believe that Montenegro is moving in the right direction more than a third (37.6%) do not think about moving abroad, while the share of those who do not think about leaving Montenegro is reduced to less than every fifth person (18.5%) among those who believe it is moving in the wrong direction.

Additionally, we can define few more variable groups which show statistically relevant differences when cross-tabulated with question on readiness to leave Montenegro.

First of all, we have variables related to respondents' perceptions of political system. Young respondents who absolutely feel the politicians are addressing them are less prone to start preparations for leaving Montenegro (9.0%), than those who do not feel it at all (22.0%). The same stands for those who claim that in Montenegro parties that can represent their views exist, unlike those who think that it is not so (10.0% and 18.3%, respectively). Although we have stated that political party membership status does not affect decision to leave, casting a ballot does – 34.0% of regular voters do not even think about leaving Montenegro, while we can state the same for only 24.7% of respondents that do not vote.

Furthermore, those who show higher level of clientelism are less inclined to consider moving from Montenegro – respondents who would cast a vote for a party they disagree with, in exchange for provided employment, are undertaking steps towards leaving less often (11.6%), than those who would reject such a deal (20.1%). The same applies to those who would completely expect employment or facilitated access to other benefits (trainings, specializations etc.) from party membership, in comparison with their counterparts who would not expect such a favor at all. At the end, speaking about the reasons for voting for a specific politician or party, we

have discovered interesting discrepancy – respondents who claim that identity issues (37.0%) or a strong leader (38.1) were decisive for their voting preference are less inclined to leave Montenegro that those who used more "objective" parameters such as dealing with young issues (26.7%), a good team of experts (26.0%) or honesty of party members (22.5%) while deciding.

Second group of variables is related to the financial situation of the respondents and the perception of their gain from the transition process. Those who do not even think about leaving are in better financial situation than young people who are already planning and taking steps towards leaving. Also, transition winners think about leaving less often than those describing themselves as transition losers.

Third variable group is related to ethnic background of the respondents. In the literature, Montenegro is often described as a country with "strong national/ethnic division" (Komar & Živković, 2016) or "frozen ethno-cultural cleavage" (Džankić, 2013), meaning that belonging to a particular ethnic group can be a strong predictor of voting preferences (and perceptions and attitudes towards politics). During data analysis we have discovered that Serbs are the ethnic group most inclined to leave Montenegro – 21.6% of them stated that they consider leaving the country and started serious preparations for that step. Bosniaks and Muslims follow them with result higher than the sample average (17.1%), while ethnic Montenegrins are far less ready to move from Montenegro – only 9.9% of them stated that they have undertook activities related to moving. This ethnic cleavage affects few more issues – young people who would vote for the state union if, by chance, a referendum was called again and those who think that Montenegro should not be an EU or NATO member have started preparations to leave the country more often than their counterparts who would cast opposing vote (26.7%, 27.3% and 20.3% against 9.3%, 10.3% and 10.3%, respectively).

In addition, we have analyzed value orientations in order to give more accurate profiles of respondents staying in and leaving Montenegro. Few of them gave us statistically significant differences - the respondents who have already taken steps towards leaving the country are less authoritarian (0.61), they believe less in Montenegrin institutions (0.39) and election process (0.25) than the respondents who never consider leaving Montenegro (authoritarianism – 0.66; trust in institutions – 0.57; trust in election process – 0.49). By the same token, those who do not think about leaving believe that the current rule in Montenegro is more democratic (average score = 6.19) than those who are already preparing for leaving (average score = 4.20). Interestingly, importance of living in a democratically governed country is more valued by the former (average score = 8.40) than by the latter group (average score = 7.34).

Taking into account above-mentioned findings, we can provide simplified profiles of two average persons belonging to two categories: the respondents who never think about leaving abroad and the respondents who are thinking about leaving abroad and taking steps to that end. We are not suggesting that every person who belongs to one or the other category shares the same attitudes and value orientations, but that there are statistically relevant differences between those categories. Also, the data do not indicate that the person who is staying is authoritarian and the one who is leaving is not, because both groups have scored more than 0.50 on authoritarianism scale, but only that the average respondent who is preparing for departure is less authoritarian than the one who does not even think about leaving.

Stay   /   Leave

✓ Women	✓ Men
✓ More authoritarian	✓ Less authoritarian
✓ Trust institutions	✓ Distrust institutions
✓ Trust election process	✓ Distrust election process
✓ Montenegro is being ruled democratically	✓ Montenegro is not being ruled democratically
✓ Situation in Montenegro will improve in next 10 years	✓ Situation in Montenegro will deteriorate in next 10 years
✓ Country is moving in the right direction	✓ Country is moving in the wrong direction
✓ Casts a ballot regularly	✓ Does not cast a ballot
✓ Party that represents their views exists	✓ Party that represents their views does not exist
✓ Higher level of clientelism	✓ Lower level of clientelism
✓ Leader and ideology are decisive for voting	✓ Young issues, good team of experts and honesty of party members are decisive for voting
✓ Better financial status	✓ Worse financial status
✓ Transition winners	✓ Transition loosers
✓ Pro-EU and pro-NATO	✓ Anti-EU and anti-NATO

Figure 67: Simplified profile of respondents staying in Montenegro and leaving it

Value orientations of young population

So far, we have mentioned values orientations through the prism of activism and a propensity to leave. This chapter is dedicated to analysis of value orientations of young people per se.

At the beginning, we will list average scores for whole sampled population in order to acquire general picture on attitudes and values of Montenegrin young people. We can see that Montenegrin youth shows great surprisingly negative attitude towards LGBT population (0.70). At the same time, larger portion of them is authoritarian and conservative. Average respondent shows lack of confidence in election process, while he/she is more inclined towards left-oriented economy concepts emphasizing greater role of the state in the economy. Most of the focus group participants also feel not only lack of confidence oriented on election process, but also on politics in general.

"There are exceptions of course, but politics is not an honest profession, it can be everything but it is not honest" (Girl with a BA degree working in telecommunication company)
"When I was 18, my father said to me: "My son, you better get some job or learn some craft, give up on politics and stuff." But no, I have lived to be an opposition and all my life I will be an opposition but I haven't done anything. Learning some craft would be better" (28 years old man working in a private sector)

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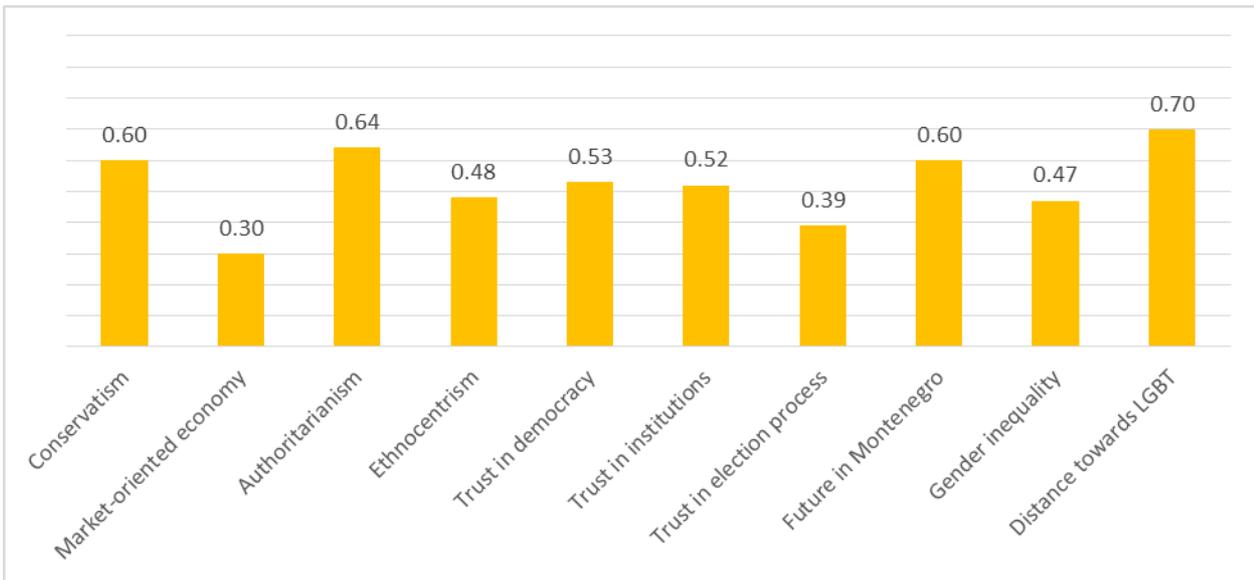
Figure 68: Value orientation of Montenegrin population (16-28 years of age)

One of the most interesting issues that we dealt with is whether and how young respondents from various regions of Montenegro differ. We saw that those from the south of the country show the least level of readiness for political engagement.

Now, we will analyze what are their value orientations. Statistically significant differences exist in social and economic compass scores, level of ethnocentrism, gender inequality, trust in institutions and election process, while the same difference was measured regarding opinions about the future in Montenegro. As reported in Figure below, young respondents from the central region of Montenegro are the most market oriented. Additionally, they are more ethnocentric than their peers from other regions. Explanation may lay in the fact that southern and northern part of the country are more ethnically diversified than the central region. Southerners are more prone to gender equality (0.43) than others (0.46 in the north and 0.49 in the central region), while they believe the institutions the least (0.45, while young people from the north of the country scored 0.55). Northerners have the greatest level of trust in the election process (0.45), but at the same time they agree the least with the statement that in 10 years Montenegro will be a better place for living.
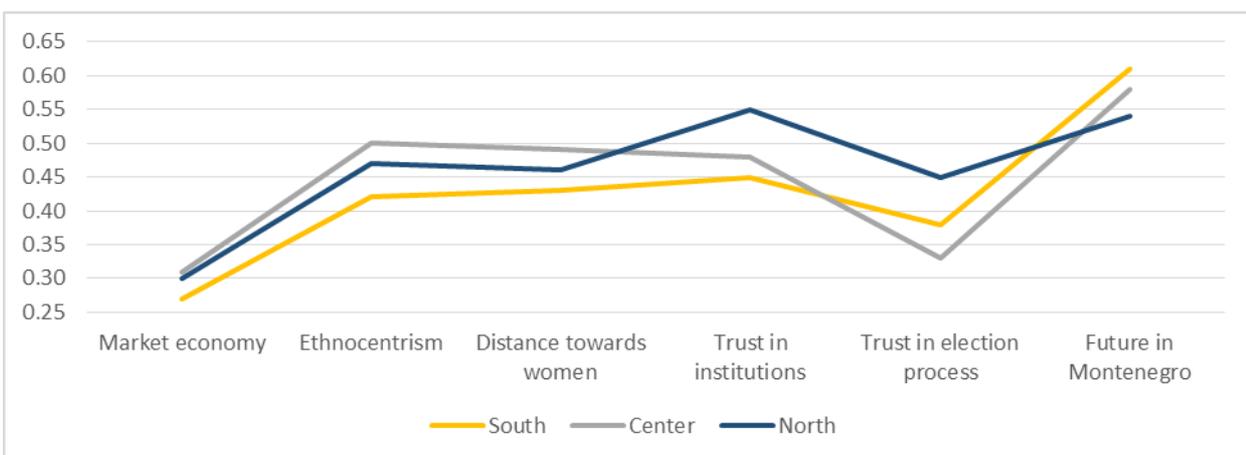
Figure 69: Value orientations and region of Montenegro

Furthermore, we analyzed potential differences between young women and their male peers. While the findings suggest that there are no statistically significant differences in terms of level of conservativism, economic orientation, level of political activism or trust in democracy, four of the other indexes are of .05-level

significance, while two more are significant on .01-level. Generally speaking, men are more authoritarian, ethnocentric and have greater level of negative attitude towards LGBT population than women. At the same time, they have lower level of trust in institutions and election process and are more pessimistic when asked about predictions related to future in Montenegro.
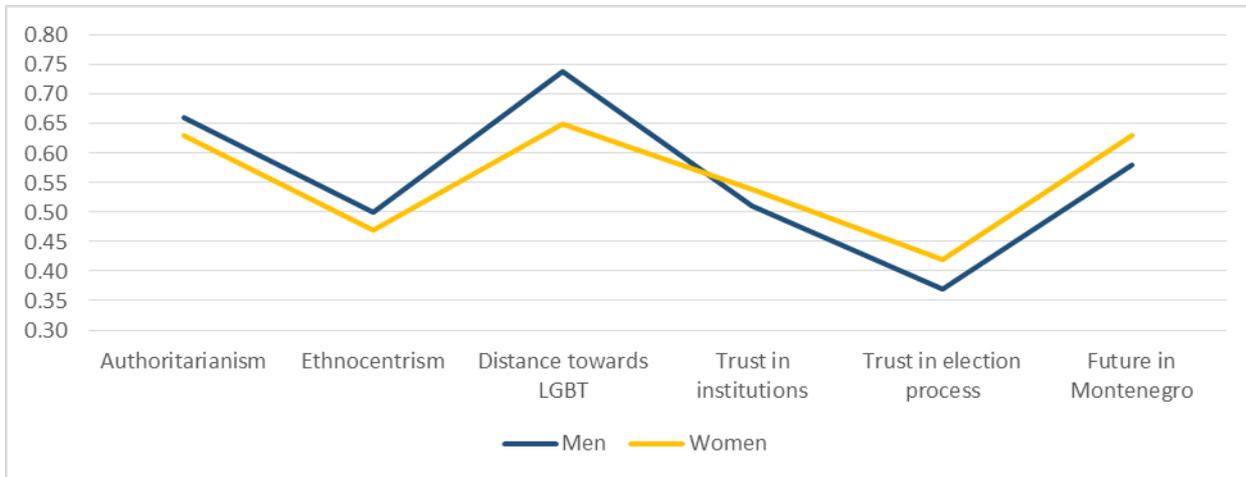
Figure 70: Value orientations and gender of the respondents

The degree of interest in politics can be described as strongly related to some of the value orientations – statistically significant differences exist only in relation to market-oriented economy, gender inequality and negative attitude towards LGBT. Young persons that are more inclined to politics tend to have more market-oriented stance towards economy (0.33), are more prone to treat women as equal to men (0.48) and have significantly lower negative attitude towards LGBT population (0.65) than those who do not follow politics (0.29, 0.44 and 0.72 respectively).

Moreover, we have compared question *"Would you describe yourself as a socially/politically active citizen?"* with available value orientations. Interestingly, it does not show strong and statistically relevant differences – we have found that respondents claiming that they are socially/politically active differ from those who are not only in terms of two variables – level of authoritarianism and negative attitude towards LGBT population.

At the end, as an overture for the next chapter, we have analyzed value orientations of those who would (not) say that Montenegrin party representing their views adequately exists. Here we find a very strong difference – young population members claiming that there is a party representing them adequately are more prone to market-oriented economic system, more gender tolerant, shows less negative attitude towards LGBT population, are more politically active, have a greater degree of trust towards the institutions and election process and claim that numerous living aspects would improve in Montenegro in next 10 years. All of the aforementioned differences are statistically significant. There are two more significant connections, but they are rather counter-intuitive – youth claiming that party representing their views exists is more prone to authoritarianism and has lower degree of trust in democracy than their counterparts.
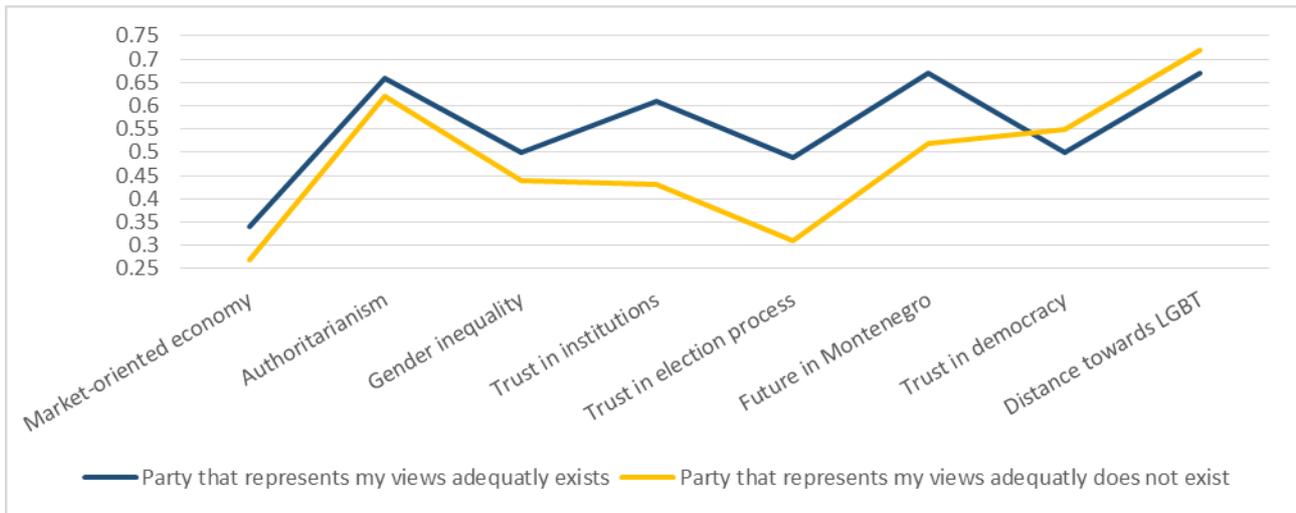
Figure 71: Value orientations and existence of party that represents respondents' views adequately

Political decision-making

In the descriptive part of the report we have already stated that 57.1% of the young population claim that there are no politicians in Montenegro they trust. Additionally, 48.6% of them feel that the politicians are not addressing them, while 55.3% agree that individual human rights and liberties are not respected in Montenegro today. Seven out of ten respondents feel that there are no differences between political parties in Montenegro or that differences are very slight. Furthermore, only 30.9% of them claim that party representing their views adequately exists[6].

> *"I do not know when they (politicians) have mentioned something important for the young people. They speak about totally unimportant topics. Something related to youth empowerment or youth progress, I do not remember it. They cannot hold our attention" (Female student not interested in current political affairs)*

All those findings are not positive ones – it is obvious that Montenegrin youth feels disenfranchised in a way. At the same time, political preferences of Montenegrin youth are rather sturdy – out of those who have voted in the last elections (62.1% of all respondents), more than 2/3 decided for whom will they vote a long before the elections – 23.2% stated that they vote for the same party/list on every election, while additional 18.3% claimed that they have decided few months before the elections.

This brings up the question – how and under what influences Montenegrin youth creates its own political preferences?

Although young persons emphasize the role of the political program (26.8%) and the chance to actively participate in changing the society (21.3%) as a decisive reason for joining a political party, participants of the focus group do not agree with this claim. They state that leader (and his charisma) is the most important.

> *"Program? Maybe 0.1% will vote because they like program, 10 young people in Montenegro. They (young people) do not know, excuse me if I am spreading disinformation now, but I have read somewhere that 80% of the citizens of Montenegro does not now a program of any political party. We organize political meetings in order to sing, jump around and chant, not to hear plans and programs." (Young man who has finished BA studies in Turkey)*
>
> *"I know that this sound funny, but X (politician, anonymized) has the best methods to penetrate our community. He is charismatic. It does not matter how much does he lie to you, he always looks you in the eyes" (Girl with a BA degree working in telecommunication company)*

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[6] Interestingly, percentage among the 55+ population is almost the same – 31.6%

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"Yes, charisma, it is one of the most important factors for every politician. I think that citizen's attention is always turned towards someone with charisma." (Female student not interested in current political affairs)
"We vote for a party, which mean for the leader of a party. He makes an impression and majority votes for him, a party only covers it a little (Girl with a BA degree working in telecommunication company)

Both survey respondents and focus group' participants emphasize the role of the parents in the process of political socialization. 66.0% of the interviewed sample stated that they have the same or similar political stance as their mother, while 63.9% claimed the same regarding father's political stance.

"It is not only because they told us, but because we grew up in such an environment. It does not make difference did they tell us to vote for someone or not, family opinion always prevails. Parents, brother, sister, people we live with, they pressure us and we create opinion similar to theirs. It is not objective opinion for sure, it is very, very subjective and it affects our decisions." (Girl with a BA degree working in telecommunication company)
"I have an opinion, but those things that we carry out from home, those beliefs, we create it through repetitiveness, you hear something at home and it becomes a part of you. It is not crucial, but it matters." (High school girl thinking to leave Montenegro)

Nevertheless, focus group participants claim that they do not talk abouth the politics with their parents very often. One of the participants has explained it:

„I have never spoke about that with my parents. I do not want to divide, for example, mother takes one side, father takes another one and I do not want to find myself in the middle and be forced to choose between them ". (High school girl thinking to leave Montenegro)

Peer group, although influential, has achieved lower score than parents – 47.7% of the respondents claims that their best friend has the same or similar political stance.

"You know, it is not appropriate to talk about it, I do not choose my friends on that basis, but I have greater freedom to speak about it with friends than with parents. I do not speak about it with family, why should I? It is my thing. Friends also should not know who you vote for. It is more a joke when we speak about it" (Young man who has finished BA studies in Turkey)

Similarity of political views with parents is achieved through conversation – those respondents who have the same political stance as their parents tend to talk about politics with them very often or sometimes in 55.0% (with mother) and 53.4% (with father) of cases. At the same time, those who do not share political views with their parents talk with them about politics in 38.8% (with mother) and 35.1% (with father) of cases.

Nevertheless, data can be interpreted in one more way – similarity of views facilitates conversation on a common topic. Those respondents who do not share the political views of their parents, tend to talk with them about politics less in order to evade potential conflict. On focus group we have repeated one of the questions from the survey. Namely, we have asked participants is it fine for them that children have different political stances than the parents. 50.4% responded that it is completely fine, 15.5% that it is fine but not normal, while 16.0% stated that it is not fine. Participants in the focus groups are even more in favor of "completely fine" answer. Commenting survey results, one of them stated that:

"We are a primitive, closed society, it would be a disgrace ("pukla bi bruka" in Montenegrin) if someone would hear a quarrel, an argue between father and son related to their political views" (Girl with a BA degree working in telecommunication company)

Although parental influence cannot be denied, we have mapped other factors that could affect voter's decision-making.

One of them is political campaigning. In order to find an empirical confirmation for this hypothesis, we have cross-tabulated data for question *"During the campaign, did any party or candidate contact you in person or in any other way?* with the last election's voting habits of the respondents. The result is plausible - more likely a candidate or a party is to contact a respondent, the more likely he/she will cast a ballot. Namely, out of all the

respondents that were contacted by a candidate/ a party, 70.9% have voted on the last elections. On the other hand, out of those who were not contacted, only 47.5% have cast a ballot.

Furthermore, we have explored possible congruence between the type of media one primarily uses for information gathering related to politics and his/her voting habits. The most inclined to vote are those respondents that primarily use online portals as primary sources of information – 61.5% of them voted on the last elections. They are followed by those who talk about the politics with parents (61.1%) or friends (57.9%) and those who use printed media outlets as primary source of information (53.8%). Respondents who use Facebook as a main source of information are the least inclined to vote – only 43.5% of them stated that they voted on the last election.

To summarize, parental political views influence their children in a great deal. Political campaigning (through direct, "door-to-door" campaign or other, less direct ways) also influences an individual to become more involved in political process. At the end, type of media used as a primary source of information also influences the political participation and political decision-making.

CONCLUSION

The most important conclusions of the research are the following:

- Young persons in Montenegro (16-28 years of age) are less involved with politics than their older counterparts (55+ years of age) - they follow political affairs (28.6% against 53.0%) and understand the most important political issues in the society (41.6% against 60.0%) less often than older population. Additionally, only small portion of them (20.3%) follows political affairs via media outlets very or quite attentively. Unchanging political scene and main issues covered on it, disappointment with the political system and image of invincibility of the ruling party are some of the reasons for the current situation,

- Those findings are backed up with a low average score obtained on political activism scale – an average young survey respondent scored only 0.20, with 1 standing for participation and 0 for non-participation. Nevertheless, Montenegrin youth is more inclined to *formal* (e.g. attending party meeting) and *informal* (e.g. attending political rallies), than to *online* modes of political activism (e.g. commenting on politics via online portals). Of the three Montenegrin regions where the survey was conducted, the least ready for activism is the young population of southern, coastal part of Montenegro,

- 70.3% of Montenegrin youth thinks about leaving the country. While 36.2% do it occasionally, 14.0% if them already started serious preparations for that step. The following social groups are more inclined to leave Montenegro: men, those who are less authoritarian, trust in the institutions and election process less, think that Montenegro is not being ruled democratically and the situation in it will be worse in the 10 year's period, who state that are not voting regularly and party that represents their views does not exist, transition losers and those who are anti-EU and anti-NATO,

- Montenegrin youth feels somewhat disenfranchised - 57.1% of them claim that there are no politicians in Montenegro they trust. Additionally, 48.6% of them feel that the politicians are not addressing them, while 55.3% agree that individual human rights and liberties are not respected in Montenegro today. Seven out of ten respondents feel that there are no differences between political parties in Montenegro or that differences are very slight. Furthermore, only 30.9% of them claim that party representing their views adequately, exists.

- Regarding value orientations, Montenegrin youth shows a high negative attitude towards LGBT population. At the same time, larger portion of them is authoritarian and conservative. Average respondent shows lack of confidence in election process, while he/she is more inclined towards left-oriented economy concepts emphasizing greater role of the state in the economy. Also, mostly they think that situation in Montenegro in the next ten years will improve. Speaking about gender

differences, men are generally more authoritarian, ethnocentric and have greater level of negative attitude towards LGBT population than women. At the same time, they have lower level of trust in institutions and election process and are more pessimistic when asked about predictions related to future in Montenegro.

▪ Although young persons emphasize the role of the political program (26.8%) and the chance to actively participate in changing the society (21.3%) as a decisive reason for joining a political party, participants of the focus group do not agree with this claim. They state that leader (and his charisma) is the most important.

▪ Parental political views influence their children in a great deal - 66.0% of the interviewed sample stated that they have the same or similar political stance as their mother, while 63.9% claimed the same regarding father's political stance. Peer group, although influential, has achieved lower score than parents – 47.7% of the respondents claims that their best friend has the same or similar political stance. Political campaigning (through direct, "door-to-door" campaign or other, less direct ways) also influences an individual to become more involved in political process. At the end, type of media used as a primary source of information also influences the political participation and political decision-making.

ANNEX

Composite variables used in the report are presented in this section. First of all, average score for the sampled young population is given for every composite variable. Additionally, individual variables used for creation of composite variables, as well as scores (rescaled when needed) for every one of them are listed.

Trust in democracy

On the "trust in democracy" scale from 0 to 1, with 0 being complete distrust and 1 being complete trust, the average score for young population is 0.53.

How would you assess the following modes of rule?	Very bad	Very good
A strong leader who doesn't have to bother with the parliament and elections	1 (completely trustful)	0 (completely distrustful)
Experts who take decisions for the government following their own judgment of what is best for the country	1 (completely trustful)	0 (completely distrustful)
Military administration in the country	1 (completely trustful)	0 (completely distrustful)
Democratic political system	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)

Trust in institutions

On the 'trust in institutions' scale from 0 to 1, with 0 being complete distrustful and 1 being complete trustful, the average score for young population is 0.52.

To what extent do you trust the following institutions?	Do not trust at all	Trust to a great extent
Government of Montenegro	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
President of Montenegro	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Parliament of Montenegro	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Judiciary	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)

NGOs	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Education system	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Health care system	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Armed forces	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Police	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Church/faith institutions	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Media	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Political parties	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)
Local authorities	0 (completely distrustful)	1 (completely trustful)

Trust in election process

On the "trust in election process" scale from 0 to 1, with 0 complete distrust and 1 complete trust, the average score for young population is 0.39.

In your view, how often do the following things occur in Montenegro's elections?	All the time	Never
Votes are counted fairly	0 (completely trustful)	1 (completely distrustful)
The election results correspond to reality	0 (completely trustful)	1 (completely distrustful)
Voters are bribed in order to vote for someone	1 (completely distrustful)	0 (completely trustful)
Voters are blackmailed in order to vote for someone (e.g. With losing a job or some privileges)	1 (completely distrustful)	0 (completely trustful)

Social compass

On the "social compass" scale from 0 to 1, with 0 being liberal and 1 being conservative, the average score for young population is 0.60.

To what extent would you agree with the following statement?	I strongly disagree	I strongly agree
When the state is under threat, the government is entitled to abolishing civic freedoms in order to safeguard security	0 (liberal)	1 (conservative)
LGBT marriages should be legalized	1 (conservative)	0 (liberal)
No matter the career, the most important role of a woman is still to take care of the household	0 (liberal)	1 (conservative)
Possession of marijuana for personal use should be legalized	1 (conservative)	0 (liberal)
Capital punishment should be an option in case of the most serious crimes	0 (liberal)	1 (conservative)

Economic compass

On the "economic compass" scale from 0 to 1, with 0 being left and 1 being market-oriented, the average score for young population is 0.30.

To what extent would you agree with the following statement?	I strongly disagree	I strongly agree
It is the duty of every government to provide jobs for citizens by establishing state-owned companies	1 (market-oriented)	0 (left-oriented)
The state can enable Montenegro's economic prosperity much better than the market and private companies can	1 (market-oriented)	0 (left-oriented)
The state should not provide subsidies for agricultural homesteads	0 (left-oriented)	1 (market-oriented)
The government's imposing higher taxes on rich citizens is good in order to provide more for the poor	1 (market-oriented)	0 (left-oriented)
Theatres, museums and other culture institutions that are not self-sustainable should not be funded from the state budget	0 (left-oriented)	1 (market-oriented)

Authoritarianism

On the authoritarianism scale from 0 to 1, with 0 meaning lack of authoritarianism and 1 a high level of authoritarianism, the average score for young population is 0.64.

To what extent would you agree with the following statement?	I strongly disagree	I fully agree
Some political parties in Montenegro should be abolished	0 (non-authoritarian)	1 (authoritarian)
Publishing things that are contrary to the national interests should be banned in media	0 (non-authoritarian)	1 (authoritarian)
There can be no social progress without respect for authority in the family, school and state	0 (non-authoritarian)	1 (authoritarian)
The ruling party should not have an absolute freedom of rule in between two election cycles	1 (authoritarian)	0 (non-authoritarian)
Some media outlets in Montenegro should be abolished	0 (non-authoritarian)	1 (authoritarian)

Ethnocentrism

On the ethnocentrism scale from 0 to 1, with 0 being lack of ethnocentrism and 1 being a high degree of ethnocentrism, the average score for young population is 0.48.

To what extent would you agree with the following statement?	I strongly disagree	I fully agree
True Montenegrins are only those that are Orthodox Christians.	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)
Ethnic Montenegrins should not have more rights than the rest of the population in Montenegro.	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)
It is good for a country to have various races, religions and cultures living in it.	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)
The Constitution should define Montenegro as a national state of Montenegrin people only.	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)
The official use of language and script of national minorities should be allowed in Montenegro's state institutions.	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)
Montenegrin tradition is richer than most other nations'.	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)
Preserving the national identity must be one of the government's top priorities.	0 (lack of ethnocentrism)	1 (high degree of ethnocentrism)

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Gender inequality

On the scale measuring the attitudes relative to gender inequality from 0 to 1, with 0 being lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality and 1 a high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality, the average score for young population is 0.47.

To what extent would you agree with the following statements?	I strongly disagree	I fully agree
The roles of men and women in family must be different because women are the ones to primarily be devoted to the household.	1 (high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality)	0 (lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality)
Man is the bread-winner and carer for the family.	0 (lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality)	1 (high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality)
We need more women in positions of power in the society.	1 (high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality)	0 (lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality)
It is not good when customary roles in the family change, with women generating more income than men.	0 (lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality)	1 (high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality)
Women and men should share all the house work equally, including cooking, ironing and vacuum-cleaning.	1 (high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality)	0 (lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality)
All in all, men are better politicians than women.	0 (lack of attitudes relative to gender inequality)	1 (high presence of attitudes relative to gender inequality)

Negative attitudes towards LGBT population

On the scale measuring the negative attitude towards LGBT population from 0 to 1, with 0 being lack of negative attitude towards LGBT population and 1 a high degree of negative attitude towards LGBT population, the average score for young population is 0.70.

To what extent would you agree with the following statements?	I strongly disagree	I fully agree
Homosexuality is a type of disorder or disease.	0 (lack of Neg. Att.)	1 (high degree of Neg. Att.)
Gay persons should not be allowed public appearances because thus they have a negative influence on youth.	0 (lack of Neg. Att.))	1 (high degree of Neg. Att.)
Gay persons are entitled to do whatever they want in private, but they should not potentate their sexual orientation in public.	0 (lack of Neg. Att.))	1 (high degree of Neg. Att.)
Gay persons should not be allowed to be involved with politics.	0 (lack of Neg. Att.))	1 (high degree of Neg. Att.)

Future in Montenegro

On the "Future in Montenegro" scale from 0 to 1, with 0 meaning that the situation in 10-year period will be worse and 1 meaning that situation will be better, the average score for young population is 0.60.

When you think about the future, how do you see the condition of the following aspects of life in the next 10 years?	Much worse	Much better
Quality of life	0 (worse)	1 (better)
Employment	0 (worse)	1 (better)
Economic security	0 (worse)	1 (better)
Education	0 (worse)	1 (better)
Health care	0 (worse)	1 (better)
Democracy	0 (worse)	1 (better)
Individual liberties and rights	0 (worse)	1 (better)

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Political activism

On the political activism scale from 0 to 1, with 0 being total lack of activity and 1 being high degree of activity, the average score for young population was 0.20

Would you participate in one of the following activities?	No	Yes
I would share a post with political contents on social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram)	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would wear a shirt or a badge with a political message	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would attend a political party meeting	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would participate in political rallies	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would help a political party as a political activist	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would do door-to-door campaign for a political party	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would phone in a political talk show to leave a comment	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)
I would write a political comment on a portal or online newspapers	0 (lack of activism)	1 (high degree of activism)

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