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**YOUTH RESILIENCE TO  
RADICAL AND EXTREME  
BEHAVIOURS IN MONTENEGRO**

**PUBLISHER**

Forum mladi i neformalna edukacija (Forum MNE)

**PUBLISHED BY**

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**DESIGN**

Defacto Consultancy

Podgorica, January 2017.



This project was funded, in part, through a U.S. Embassy grant. The opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed herein are those of the Author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of State."

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## ON RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

The analysis of stands and value orientations of Montenegrin high school students is the result of the research which was conducted in the period from November 2016 to January 2017. Forum MNE and Agency DeFacto, with the support of the Directorate for Youth (Ministry of Sport), defined several topics which were covered by the research. The research is, as well, a part of the project *Preventing Youth Radicalisation in Northern Montenegro through Youth Work* supported by the American Embassy from Podgorica.

We were interested in:

- What are the main agents of youth socialisation in Montenegro?
- How much are young people tolerant of various kinds of diversities?
- Are young people, and in which situations, permissive to violence?
- How much are young people religious and what is their attitude towards other religions?

Methodology of research covered two qualitative techniques which are especially convenient for collecting value stands of individuals or groups from whom we want to find out something.

Qualitative methods included:

- **14** focus groups with high school students wherein the aim of this method was to encourage an open conversation among participants in form of half-structured group interviews;
- **17** deep, half-structured interviews with representatives of institutions, religious organisations and organisations of civil sector with a view to understanding what selected public figures think about young people and how they assess their influence on behaviours and forming of value of the peer group.

Research was conducted in seven Montenegrin towns (Plav, Rožaje, Berane, Ulcinj, Herceg Novi, Nikšić and Podgorica), which were assessed as especially interesting for the nature of research because of their socio-demographic characteristics. In order to obtain more reliable findings and determine whether there are differences in stands of younger and older high school students, two focus groups were held in each of mentioned towns.





# MAIN AGENTS OF SOCIALISATION

When we talk about young people, we inevitably must pay attention to different social factors which have impact on their whole life. Since agents of socialization first represent family, and then school and peer group, in the very beginning we were interested in the way in which Montenegrin high school students identify and what they think about school and who has an influence on forming their decisions related to different life situations.

## AGENTS OF SOCIALISATION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Positive associations of school is mainly related to friendships and activities which are organized within extracurricular content. Participants in focus groups have almost unique stand that they primarily associate school with the company and things related to friendship – like getting new acquaintances, friends and crushes. Only in the second place, it is a general impression with all groups, is that they associate school with learning, new knowledge, success at school. Apart from that, among the above mentioned associations, acquiring new working habits or time spent at school in general was also stated.

**In that sense, the school appears as a main factor of socialization, especially in smaller environments in which there are no too many contents intended for young people.**

Negative associations may be divided into those which concern the relation between teacher/ professor and students, which they find negative; then the volume of material and examination and unequal treatment of all students; the third category of negative associations is inappropriate behaviour of their peers which goes even to delinquency; there are also additional associations for both psychological and physical violence.

**When we talk about the influence exercised on them, expectedly, almost all participants said that they listened to advice of their parents when the choice of school, friends and profession is concerned.** However, how high actually the degree of freedom of school choice is and to which extent parents succeed to introduce their advice skilfully and to convince their child that it is their own independent decision, it is hard to say. In that part, an example of a participant in focus group from Podgorica is illustrative:

- **Moderator:** „So your mother told you (what to enroll)?“
- **Participant:** „No, she proposed the school for cooks and then when you see the whole image, perspective, future and all that, the only future I have is through cookery, whatever I enrolled is not much of a future.“
- **Moderator:** „And did you get to love it?“
- **Participant:** „A little bit.“ (#G1, Podgorica)

Furthermore, it was mentioned that older brother or sister has an important influence on them. What is interesting is that there are only few of those who say that they decide on something because of their friends. **Impression is gained that students on the north of Montenegro are somewhat more conservative in the manner of making decisions and choices and that parents influence them significantly more in relation to other environments.**

Family is, as it was shown, at the same time place of primary creation of political stands both for younger and older groups of participants in all focus groups. Although they are prone to say that they are not interested in political topics, they claim that their peers very often discuss it and that during previous elections it was „the main topic on the break“.

When choice and respect of religion is concerned, high school students from Herceg Novi and Berane show more independence when it comes to the decision on how often they will go to religious facilities and which ceremonies they will perform in relation to other groups. Children from all environments, except Podgorica and Herceg Novi, in comparison with their parents, are today bigger initiators of respect of certain aspects from religious life and they themselves are involved in activities organised by church.

When it comes to findings from the interview, interlocutors see the greatest problem in politization of the overall society, which is transferred to overall life of young people – their stands, values, manner of functioning and system of education. Problems are divided into those which concern functioning of the overall system, such as lack of job, and those which concern young people, such as apathy, too much time spent on social networks, etc.

**It is noted from the civil sector that young people are left to chance to a great extent in the environment where they live and it affects them dominantly – which can be very dangerous because of great number of bad role models. Moreover, they emphasise that we live in an environment where politics has too big influence, which can be seen in the life of young people.** This was especially related to the election campaign, which, according to their opinion, was too aggressive: *„You turn on YouTube to watch something, video immediately pops up”*, and then it is not strange that young people are so much into it, because they are the most frequent users of YouTube and Internet in general.

One of our interlocutors, who deals with peer education, stresses that there are young people who are politically oriented and they sometimes have political discussions at school. All that, she thinks, shows that young people are prone to discuss values but also to compete among themselves – *„Politics, as a topic, government versus opposition: This is their way to compete, like Đoković vs. Nadal or Partizan vs. Zvezda.”*

Regardless of unwilling making statements on political topics, this finding is confirmed to a great extent through statements of high school students in focus groups.

## **SOCIAL NETWORKS**

When means of communication are concerned, it is expected that all participants are at the same time users of different kinds of social networks. From the conversation during focus groups we can see that in that part Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat lead, which is also a finding which should not be much of a surprise.

As for the manner of use, most participants say that they do not accept as a friend on social networks someone they do not know or someone from abroad. Minority had a positive examples of connecting with people they do not know in „a real life”, accepting friends from abroad on social networks.

Fear of misuse of social networks is justifiably present, having in mind serious attempts of misuse which happened on the north of Montenegro.

Almost all of them notice that there is a certain spamming, i.e. that some people are quite pushy in their attempts to become friends or achieve communication on social networks.

Participants also say that they understand how social networks can be misused in the most different ways, but the impression is that no one of the participants is particularly concerned for themselves in that part.

# TOLERANCE FOR DIVERSITIES

Since no detailed research on a degree of tolerance and justification of certain stands of young people has been done up to now – we wanted to determine by the set of questions on ethnical and social distance for which social category participants show lowest tolerance. Also, in this part of research we tended to determine whether there is a significant difference between certain towns in which focus groups were held.

Distance was measured by adapted Bogardus scale, in a way that participants of focus groups noted with whom it would be acceptable for them to:

- Socialize intensively
- Date/be in a relationship
- Live in the same street/building
- Sit at the same desk
- Share room
- Become friends on social networks.

During the assessment of acceptability of mentioned actions, students made statements in their behalf and in behalf of their peers. Idea was to show to which extent they personally, but also at the level of the peer group, assess tolerance for the following categories of population:

- Bad students
- Immigrants
- Roma people
- People of different nationality
- Foreign people
- Homosexuals
- People of different religion

## SOCIALISE INTENSIVELY

Students show the greatest distance concerning achievements of friendly relationships to Roma people and homosexuals. The distance to those social categories is visibly reduced with persons who had personal experience of getting to know them. Thus, their hostility is greatly influenced by the fact that they had never had chance earlier to make friendship with Roma or homosexual people. Additionally, they are aware of limiting factor of the environment they live in and they are afraid of judgement: „*environment is the only problem in our country.*“

To a question whether they think that something could change, some of them answer affirmatively but claim that it is a very slow and difficult process: „*Well, I can see with my generation that we have started to accept it a little bit and the next generations will accept it even more than us. So, I would say, it is changing*“ (#G2, **Berane**). They say that they are daily informed on „that culture“ via media, it becomes acceptable for them and they claim that they do not see that thing as their parents.

Although participants mainly do not show distance to people of different nationality, in environments such as Berane, most of students think that their peers are significantly less tolerant for this category. Making difference between them and peers indirectly suggests the existence of discrimination problem in terms of nationality in that environment.

Most high school students do not have a problem to socialise intensively with people of other religion. Only somewhere there are examples that their peers are not benevolently disposed towards people of different religion. Furthermore, the impression is that those are only sporadic cases.

### **DATE/BE IN A RELATIONSHIP**

With intimate relationship the distance is expectedly bigger to all categories. Roma people and homosexuals are repeated but also people of other religion as well as immigrants come to the fore. Judgement of the environment plays a significant role – therefore dating Roma people both for them and for majority of peers is not acceptable.

” *No one would date them because of society, they would say around – look, he is going out with a Gipsy. (#G2, Ulcinj)*

Reasons for existence of distance towards people of different religion are partly traditional, partly practical. Yet, most of them agree that they would date people of different religion by the age of eighteen, but later, when they „*thought about life*“ and „*when it became more serious*“ – they would however search for someone „*similar to themselves*“. These are some quotes:

” *My religion does not allow me to date people of other religions. (#G2, Plav)*

” *When I think about future life, then somehow I would like that person to be from my religion. But something optional like this, why not. (#G2, Berane)*

” *I think it's all the same. It's easier for men anyhow. When a woman marries someone from another religion, she is expected to change it. (#G1, Berane)*

” *For example, I am Christian, he is Muslim – his parents will go for that... (#G2, Berane)*

” *I am not afraid, but simply, if I got married, I wouldn't like to change religion. (#G1, Podgorica)*

” *It would be limited to dating. It's OK to be my girlfriend, but not to come to my house. (#G2, Ulcinj)*

Moreover, a number of participants claim that parents have a great influence on children even regarding the choice of marital partners. As they explain, they would feel that things in their life happen out of their will, which is, as they claim, unacceptable.

### **LIVE IN THE SAME STREET/BUILDING**

When living in the same street or building is concerned, there are no particular problems with acceptance of stated social categories. It is important to them that someone is „*a good neighbour*“ and „*does not cause any trouble*“. As they say: „*What they do behind their four walls, I don't mind.*“

Also, this is at the same time the segment in which the distance is least expressed, because participants are aware of the fact that neighbouring relations do not have to mean personal or any other more intimate contact.

## SIT IN THE SAME DESK

Regarding acceptance of sitting at the desk with different social categories – students claim that each category has good and bad examples of behaviour. Therefore, most of them would sit with Roma people, if they took care of hygiene and behaved decently. Likewise, as good students, they are concerned that their success would be threatened if a bad or naughty student from the desk constantly impeded them.

Presented distance related to this is mainly based on practical reasons and it may be linked with the origin of the distance with intensive friendship. As students, they spend most of the time at school, so the choice of friends and classmates partially matches.

## SHARE A ROOM

With sharing a space a degree of distance is expressed almost everywhere. This is partly expected in relation to their former stands, having in mind that it implies significantly more intimate relationships with the given social groups.

Thus we have a finding that students again would not want to share their room with homosexuals and Roma, but also with foreigners they have a certain caution.

## BECOME FRIENDS ON SOCIAL NETWORKS

With choice of friends on social networks, there is a consensus in caution during making friends with foreigners or people with whom they do not have too many mutual friends. Homosexuals are still unwanted category, while certain groups in this respect are restrictive also to Roma people. It is interesting to single out a few illustrations relating to their attitude towards homosexuals:

”You can tell by photos and statuses. I wouldn't, I would feel embarrassed. (#G2, **Berane**)

”I would with homosexuals, because I would be interested in what they post. (#G2, **Berane**)

”Homosexuals can like everything. (#G1, **Plav**)

”Those are all rapists! (#G1, **Herceg Novi**)

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

They explain the source of distance to national categories by the influence of parents and environment. Thus one participant admits: *„There are people of other nationality that I can't really stand and I couldn't even see them, let alone communicate with them. But it is not because I know too much about them, a history – but just because I grew up in such environment where nobody can stand Croatians, Albanians, etc. I get sick of only a though of them.”*

Even with high school students a form of national passion can be felt, which is clearly formed in the early childhood through education within the circle of family, and it was approved in the context of the environment they live in. Thus one of participants openly admits: *„We hate Croatian people because of wars that happened here.”* They add that: *„already from early age*

*children listen to those kinds of stories. Since early age they have been teaching them nationality and that is a big mistake." (#G1 i G2, **Berane**).*

To a question whether a personal experience such as getting to know a person of different nationality would influence a change of their attitude, one of the students says: *"It would towards that person, but not towards the nation." (#G2, **Berane**).*

## PERMISSIVENESS OF VIOLENCE

The following segment concerns justification of violence. In this part we examined permissiveness of high school students to different types of violence. Additionally, we tried to determine the origin of their stands and identify possible examples of violent behaviour of their peers.

Almost all participants recognise certain situations when violence is justifiable. In the beginning, everyone justified violence when it has a purpose of self-defence or defence of the closest ones, especially family. Also, verbal violence in relation to physical one is considered justifiable in all towns.

However, when put in specific situations by a moderator, it was shown that in part of justification of violence some students show quite radical stands.

Participants of focus groups in Podgorica showed an extraordinary degree of permissiveness of violence in service of religion defence. Almost all agreed that violence is then justifiable and the weight of stands went to that „*someone should be shot*“ if they insulted another religion.

Only few participants think that violence is not justifiable when religion should be defended, and in that part a comment of a participant in focus group in Ulcinj who was the only one in his group who said that violence is not justifiable in case of religion defence was particularly illustrative:

” *Religion says that we should love each other.* (#G1, **Ulcinj**)

When we compare this finding with other groups, we come to a conclusion that regarding protection of religion students from Podgorica, Nikšić and Berane are the most rigorous. One of the students from Nikšić explains it with a claim that „*people are very sensitive to religion*“. (#G2, **Nikšić**)

However, it appears that the violence is the most acceptable in cases when violator should be punished (e.g. when a guy beats a girl on the street). An example of extreme necessity, i.e. „*if an issue cannot be solved by conversation*“ is stated. (#G2, **Nikšić**).

The following recommendations for combating violence or conflicts could be singled out from the conversation with participants. High school students suggest:

- More gatherings, to hold some lectures about all of us – about how we are all equal.
- Workshops are useful if we are mixed, so that we could see that our opinions match opinions of others different from us.
- More information on other side – to get to know the other side, to see that in a different way in order to understand.





# RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

The last part of report refers to the topic of religiousness, religious tolerance and extreme behaviours. This is very important segment in the analysis and it somehow represents a good indicator of assessment of risk from extreme behaviours in different environments.

Although there have been only speculations on social profiles or groups which could influence radicalization of religious movements in the country up to now, in the conversation with high school students and representatives of social and religious institutions, we came to certain findings which could be very useful in revealing factors which cause or contribute to spreading extreme behaviours in young people.

## RELIGIOUSNESS

Religiousness has proved to be a particularly interesting topic for high school students. Most participants, on the north as well as on the south of Montenegro, consider themselves religious and see themselves as members of certain religions. However, there are only few of those who essentially practice religion, go to church or mosque. Their religiousness, according to their own confession, is mostly reflected in celebrating „*Slavas<sup>1</sup>, Christmas, Bayrami, Easter...*“ and the rest is considered kind of *démodé*, having in mind that it could be heard: „*Nevertheless, this is 21st century.*“

Understanding of religion by those who consider themselves religious basically comes down to ethical categories. However, there are those among them who claim that religion gives them peace, that it is important because of sense of belonging, that „life is hard and that it is easier like this“, even that they are afraid of not believing. Apart from that, they admit that a great influence on performing religious ceremonies from an early childhood is exerted by their parents but also that there are those who exaggerate with that.

Additionally, they explain that today people „*run more towards religion, trying to find themselves in a religious sense and that they think that in that way they will accomplish more in society*“ (#G1, **Berane**). Apart from this, they say that „*people try to be in religion, although they do not really believe in that – it's some kind of illness*“. (#G1, **Berane**).

## SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN MONTENEGRO

In research of public opinion conducted in Montenegro, religious communities traditionally enjoy the biggest confidence of population. Their influence originates from the historic role they had through the centuries, and it is based on indisputable authority possessed by religious leaders. Unfortunately, among our interlocutors there is an agreement that not enough attention is paid to socially responsible acting of religious communities, but that only negative sides are very often emphasised in media.

When it comes to quality of religious life, we obtained findings which match findings from focus groups to a great extent. Major attitude of our interlocutors from religious organisations is that young people are nominally somewhat more religious than generation of their parents:

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<sup>1</sup> In Orthodox Church, the Slava is the family's annual ceremony and veneration of their patron saint, a social event in which the family is together at the house of the patriarch. The Slava also brings friends to the house, regardless if they have the same Slava

However, interlocutors at the same time notice that form misses content – very often religiousness comes down only to respect of tradition of ancestors and participation in mass ceremonies. Nevertheless, religious communities see a great potential in young people and try to direct their behaviour in compliance with religious values. A great number of activities are organised for young people in almost all towns, so that they could approach to religious communities they nominally belong to through non-formal education and extracurricular activities.

## TOLERANCE FOR OTHER RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Speaking at the level of Montenegro, a degree of religious tolerance of high school students is often related to specificities of environment they come from. Thus in Berane one of high school students claims that if he dared to „yell around town” that he was atheist – „it would be like – burn him!” (#G2, **Berane**). This supports conservative environment, where it is better to be any believer than „non-believer”.

Identifying religion with national identity is considered a problem and they say that reason for that is politics „which interfered in every sphere of life”. „ And people do not understand that as soon as someone enters politics, he/she is no longer cleric – that he/she mustn't do it any more”. (#G2, **Berane**).

Here it was also shown that small number of students was thrilled by the idea that in the future their child could be of different religion in relation to them. This finding entirely matches main conclusions from the part of social distance, which illustratively shows all the reasons for which high school students „do not want to interfere”, when intimate relations are concerned.

As main reasons for which people make differences between members of different confessions, students state jealousy, disrespect or the very characters of people who always „want to agitate.” One of participants admits that religion and family may be two most sensitive topics and that when someone wants to hurt another person „you know that you're going to shoot for that” (#G1, **Plav**). As they say „especially in this region – religion is very important.” (#G1, **Plav**) (#G2, **Nikšić**)

Being asked to explain why divisions appear, one of participants says: „We and our ancestors create division. No religion says that we should be separated.” (#G2, **Rožaje**)

## EXTREME BEHAVIOURS

When manners of extreme practicing of religion are concerned, participants agree with a stand that they are „witnesses that it happens every day.” One of high school students from Rožaje notices that „it has really taken hold for last 10 years” (#G2, **Rožaje**). They also add that „there are extremes in both religions”, and they often say that they only heard about it but there are no such behaviours in their neighbourhood.

It is interesting that Orthodox people who origin from environment of Berane are not able to identify any form of extreme behaviour with members of their confession, which indicates total absence of sensitivity to bad examples of practicing religion within this confession. They identify forms of religious extremism also as sects. They treat those phenomena fearfully and attach values of magic to them.

They say that ISIS represents false image of Muslim population. Also, regarding Syria, they think that innocent people who live in that country suffer for them and that they are practically „condemned because of environment” (#G2, **Berane**). They say that members of ISIS forces are terrorists and that they use religion as an excuse for achieving their own interests.

Also, they think that recent events in the world influence the increase of islamophobia, but that in Montenegro this is not the case. It is interesting that most of participants who know something about this claim that this topic is not discussed almost at all. Additionally, mentioning cases of persons from Montenegro who went to Syria to join ISIS, they explain that „no one talks about that either.”

Although asked whether the reason for that was sensitivity of topic and whether they considered it a taboo – students dissociate and say that „people are not interested in that” or that they are not in touch with these people. **This attitude is worrying, having in mind that it indicates that high school students, especially on the north of Montenegro, know details regarding extreme practicing of religion – but at the same time they ignore this and do not show initiative for its suppression.**

Being asked to identify which profiles it is about, they clearly identify „vehabias” and say that „they go there and fight for them, do all kinds of stuff, and then come here and spread that extremism” (#G1, **Plav**). Their value attitude is very negative towards this social group, which reflects in extremely negative comments, judgement and identification with psychological disorders:

” I cannot imagine that this could be my inspiration, to go and fight for someone and blow myself up in the air. (#G1, **Plav**)

” The one who thinks that all those who don't think the same as them should be killed is really a sick mind. (#G2, **Plav**)

” All the people who go there are already ready to die – their aim is not to help those people, but to die there. (#G2, **Berane**)

” Those people have rooms of their own, they do not bow there, but talk about what and how they are supposed to act – they destroy religion. (#G1, **Plav**)

” Organisers remain with their pockets full of money, and those people get killed and do not know why they are down there. (#G2, **Plav**)

A number of students speculate that behaviour of extremists is motivated by money:

” I heard that they get paid for that, a lot of money, you know... (#G1, **Plav**)

” If they get killed there, money is left to the family. (#G1, **Plav**)

” You get money when you go and while you are there, we talk about extremely high figures, and if you are a bit deranged in the head, it is a reason good enough to go. (#G1, **Plav**)

” I heard it also and I heard that it depends on beard – the longer the beard the more money you get. (#G2, **Rožaje**)

” Vehabias whose wives are covered, and this is so in most cases, take money; if that man gets killed on the battlefield there, then his family has some kind of insurance. That means that they will never lose a house and will always have some contribution, will always receive something. (#G2, **Rožaje**)

When it comes to recruitment of people for ISIS, a stand of one of participants of Orthodox religion seems devastating: „our people would do the same, if for example it (war) happened in Serbia – I think that our people would recruit too”. (#G1, **Berane**).

**Regarding the manner of recruitment of our citizens for ISIS, participants state the following channels, profiles and target groups:**

- Channels
  - Over social networks
  - Over friends
  - Marriages of convenience
- Profiles
  - People from Montenegro, because as they say, those who want to go to Syria are always looking for someone who they can trust, who has a power of persuasion and who will convince them that it is the right thing to do.
  - Elderly people
  - Mercenaries who do not respect religion
  - Persons sent from other place, Bosnia and Herzegovina maybe, but those are mercenaries
  - I heard that some people from France do that, pay some people to be like that (#G2, Rožaje)
- Target groups
  - Use younger children because they still do not have formed opinion. It is mostly about children aged 17 or 18.
  - Unstable persons

They usually state as a motive different kinds of emotional blackmails, threats and promises of sin forgiveness and universal gentleness for them and their families. It is very interesting that students from Plav drew a parallel between a modern recruitment for „Islamic state” and „toll in blood.”

Graduates from Plav say that they know that there is a garage in town where vehabias gather and that they use different versions of Quran. To a question whether they have ever tried to reach those materials and see what it is about, they show superstition and fear: „I wanted to, but they told me that if I read it, I would turn on their side.” They explain that extremists are different in many ways and that they have different terms of bowing and different dates of holidays. (#G2, Plav)

On the other hand, from the conversation with high school students in Podgorica, Ulcinj, Nikšić and Herceg Novi, it can be concluded that at this age they are not too much informed on topics such as islamophobia, or acting of ISIS, and they are not particularly interested in them.

**RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES**

Representative of social and religious communities interpret in a different way representation of extreme religious attitudes with young people in Montenegro. It is interesting that most of them do not deny their existence, at least to a certain extent, and with a specific profile of believers – but they agree that official religious communities in Montenegro do not inspire and influence such behaviours.

Almost all representatives of religious communities claim that „Montenegro is the most secular from all neighbouring countries” and that comparing with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo, situation is much different.

Concerning radicalization of Islam, they say that among Montenegrin imams there are no radical ones.

From Islamic religious community they add that that situation is symptomatic: *„the state wants me to find extremists and I do not have their support“*. In general, this problem of cooperation and communication does not appear only in one conversation, but represents a fundamental problem of all religious communities in their relation with the state. Talking about insufficient communication, an impression is made that activities regarding decrease of radicalism and religious extremism are not carried out in a coordinated and planned way.

Although the state of Montenegro recognized the importance of treatment of religious extremism and for that purpose it drew up the strategy of its suppression for the period 2016-2018 – neither agency, nor Forum MNE succeeded to get in touch in several occasions with competent authorities in charge of implementation. Moreover, from the conversation with competent institutions, it was not clear who performs supervision and monitors planned activities in the strategic documents.

A representative of religious community from Rožaje says that different forms of religious behaviours are especially dangerous in young people: *„because they do not have knowledge or maturity to resist something like that“*. He thinks that religious schools are good in that sense, because they teach children religion and virtues, while those who do not have the knowledge may fall under different influences.

In Rožaje and Plav the situation is specific, having in mind that two streams of Islam are clearly singled out now. In Rožaje they object that Islamic Community (IC) due to current situation does not have control over Islamic institutions which are illegal and under the influence of Sandžak, while in Plav they say that official Islamic community condemns groups of vehabias, does not greet them in the street and does not do business with them.

A representative of Orthodox religious community in Nikšić has a very similar attitude and to a question of existence of religious behaviours, he says: *„They are not majority, but such examples may be visible because exactly those persons are somewhat more aggressive and noticeable. There are people who go (to church) for national reasons. Those are just individuals or smaller groups who take liberties to represent a church, nation etc.“*

**Regarding the cause of phenomenon of extreme behaviours in this sense, we may single out three major points from the conversation with representatives of religious communities:**

- Lack of information
- Social and economic situation, poverty
- Internet, influence of mass media

**Finally, to a question what religious communities and institutions can do to prevent these behaviours, we obtained the following answers:**

- Education of cultural rather than metaphysical type is necessary
- Control over use of social media
- Better conditions for imams
- Education and religious studies





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