

# SPINoFACT

political advertising

between spin and facts

Overview of political advertising  
in local elections in  
Mojkovac, Cetinje and Petnjica





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# Introduction

Political advertising is as any other advertising – based on good presentation of election offer and has persuasive character towards targeted public. Consequences of influencing the voters are visible, especially in the election campaign.

Political decision represents a summary of individual decisions with collective consequences. We choose what is the most important for us by voting, with conviction it is also right for others. Therefore, elections are of also general importance and are subject of interweaving of interests and attention of party structures, business, media, many other social actors, but also citizens.

Various subjects of political communication act in this field, and prof. PhD Miroljub Radojkovic from the Faculty of Political Sciences of University in Belgrade states the following<sup>1</sup>:


- 1) *Political establishment* (government, opposition, parties, interest associations, administration organs);
- 2) *Media* (press, radio-broadcasting, digital media and media of civic self-expression/journalism);
- 3) *Outsiders* (everyone who does not have access to decision-making arena) and social movements.

On the waves of half-century of one-party system, large part of new-formed Montenegrin political structure has entered unprepared in multiparty system, insufficiently aware of importance of political competition for development of a society, with a surplus of political appetites, and shortage of democratic capacities. In the expansion of politics determined by foreign war factors – the first multiparty elections were organised. In time, historical and situational conditions have affected many political actors to start adopting technics of election and media presentation as per model of examples from developed democratic countries, while the election campaigns themselves started resembling more modern and more meaningful entirety.

Party and media pluralism create assumptions also for greater effective participation of citizens. In contemporary society, which is characterised by new digital tools and technological achievements, role of media remains predominant for establishment

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<sup>1</sup> Zerfaß, Ansgar, Radojkovic, Miroljub; Management of Political Communication – Basics and Concepts, Foundation Konrad Adenauer, Belgrade, 2011, page 29



of equal treatment and dialogue between various social actors. In the entire context, action of authorised institutions is of great importance, as well as of agencies and vocational associations, and the media themselves in providing objective information, contributing to transparency of the process and responsibility of all actors, and in evading situations in which amidst financial dependency they turn into noticeboard of election actors which occupy the space via advertisements and sometimes they also create news instead of journalists. Deep division of media community in Montenegro, also, has negative impact on quality of informing in election campaigns and often has diametrically different informing of media about one same event as a consequence.

Project '**SPINoFACT – Political advertising between spin and facts**', which part is this publication, *has an objective* to contribute to promotion of good practices and improvement of legislative framework when it comes to political advertising in media in Montenegro. *Specific objective* of the project is improvement of cooperation between media, relevant institutions, political parties and non-governmental organisations, as well as to raise awareness of the public about importance of political advertising and more quality informing of citizens during election campaign. This pilot project relates to local elections in Mojkovac, Petnjica and Cetinje in November 2017<sup>2</sup>, and was supported by the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands.

*How much, in what manner and in which media have the election lists been advertising? How have media been reporting during election campaign? What does the legislative framework provide? What is the role of self-regulatory bodies? What is the role of media in election campaigns? How do media affect the election campaign?* These are only some of the questions to which we attempted to respond through realisation of activities in this project, which included: *analysis of legislative framework* relating to political advertising, qualitative and quantitative monitoring of media during election campaign for local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje, Petnjica, *production, presentation and publishment of reports* encompassing results of findings. Special part relates to raising awareness of the public on importance of political advertising and networking of interested parties, which was addressed through a series of *infographics on social networks and on website* of Centre for Civic Education (CCE), via which findings of research are additionally presented in a simplified and receptive manner.

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<sup>2</sup> City Municipality Tuzi in which elections were also conducted on 26/11/2017 was not encompassed by analysis since it still does not have a status of Municipality, but is a part of the Capital City of Podgorica.



# 1. Political advertising in Montenegro - advantages and limitations

Election campaigns are complex processes, and their key chain represent political parties or candidates. The weight is borne also by media as the most important mediator between subjects and objects of campaign – citizens. Thus, the role of media is crucial since media have considerable power to influence attitudes of citizens, and ultimately – the election result.

Law on Election of MPs and Councillors defines the right of voters in the Article 6: *'Voters have the right to be informed via media on election programmes and activities of submitters of election lists, as well as of candidates from the election lists. In order to achieve rights of voters from the Paragraph 1 of this Article, the media are obliged to consistently apply principles of equality of all submitters of election lists and candidates from those lists. Election propaganda through media and public gatherings shall cease 24 hour prior to election day.'*<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it is important for media to be impartial during reporting, to provide equal treatment to all and give realistic overview of situation during the election campaign. Favouring one of the sides in the election race disrupts the credibility of media and reduces the level of trust of citizens in the same, which can negatively affect the election process itself.


When it comes to content of election campaign of political parties, an impression is made that they are not focused in sufficient extent on citizens, who are often remaining in the shadow of political spin, worn-out platitudes, unrealistic promises, but also the ever more frequent negative campaigns which include direct and personal discreditation of contra-candidates.

Although negative campaign is a manner for someone to reach the wished election result, this kind of trend is becoming worrisome since it limits communication of topics of importance for citizens. Constantly pointing out the bad sides of opponents creates impression that political parties do not have anything new to offer. Finally, negative campaign encourages also pessimism of citizens and may reduce their interest to even participate in such election process at all.

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<sup>3</sup> Law on Election of Councilors and MPs, Off. Gazette of RMNE, No. 16/2000 – consolidated text, 9/2001, 41/2002, 46/2002, 45/2004 – decision of CC, 48/2006 and 56/2006 – decision of CC and 'Off. Gazette of MNE', No. 46/2011, 14/2014, 47/2014 - decision of CC and 12/2016 - decision of CC





In a small market of Montenegro there is a great number of media houses. According to official data of Agency for Electronic Media, 18 TV channels are registered in Montenegro (3 local public ones and 15 commercial TV broadcasters, of which 4 with national coverage), 56 radio stations (2 public national ones, 14 public local ones, 38 commercial ones and 2 non-profit radio broadcasters) and 18 portals, i.e. electronic publications. The only news agency is MINA, while there are four daily newspapers and two weeklies<sup>4</sup>.


Information is a basis for media houses' conduct because, on the basis of information, they can be more competitive in relation to the remainder of media community. All media have the right to their editorial policies and to, according to them, create their programme scheme. However, we are witnesses that certain media sometimes put themselves into the service of certain party and business elites which use them as a mean to exercise their influence, and often the political reporting and advertising are channels for achieving influence on public opinion.

Media presentation of political parties or candidates is described in the Law on Election of MPs and Councillors from the Article 50 to the Article 64. Political advertising represents an aspect of political advertisements, by which is sought to present political programme of a party or candidate, to direct a political message, idea or attitudes with an aim to obtain as much as number of votes as possible and accomplish success on elections. It may be paid and free of charge. Free advertising is related to public broadcasters, through legislative framework, and in the case of Montenegro it is Radio Television of Montenegro – RTCG. Namely, public service is obliged to, during 'allocation of space' for political advertising, enable equal treatment and access to all participants of election race. Article 53 of the Law on Election of MPs and Councillors defines what is implied under obligations of public service RTCG when it comes to broadcasting of political video spots, rallies, as well as time of duration of the said promotional forms envisaged for each subjects equally and free of charge. Further on, Article 53 states: *'During election campaign, Radio Television of Montenegro is obliged to enable to each holder of a confirmed list a free of charge, equal and daily broadcasting of the following relevant commercial marketing blocks, on TV channel, but also on radio programme which can be seen and heard throughout the entire territory of Montenegro: political and propaganda TV spots and audio spots in all political marketing blocks, which duration is not shorter than 200 seconds per day, depending on planned number of advertisement blocks of political marketing; three minutes of broadcasting of promotional rallies, two times per day, following the time right after central evening informative TV and radio show'*<sup>5</sup>. Thereby, it was clearly defined the

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4 <http://media.cgo-cce.org/2017/06/Jednake-sanse-za-sve-medije.pdf>

5 Law on Election of Councilors and MPs, Off. Gazette of RMNE, No. 16/2000 – consolidated text, 9/2001, 41/2002, 46/2002, 45/2004 – decision of CC, 48/2006 and 56/2006 - decision of CC and 'Off. Gazette of MNE', No. 46/2011, 14/2014, 47/2014 - decision of CC and 12/2016 - decision of CC



minimum time which each participant in the election race should obtain, but maximum time was not precised, which opens up a possibility of discriminatory treatment in the manner that certain candidates or parties could obtain only the minimum envisaged by the Law, while others could be indirectly favoured by sending too long reports from their rallies, promotions and field activities, to which content RTCG has no influence. In this context it is necessary to provide legal proportionality and representation of all election actors.

On the other hand, a paid political advertising often favours those candidates or parties who have larger financial means at their disposal in relation to those who are only for the first time appearing on elections or those who do not have money. Simultaneously, it is important also that private media who enable paid political advertising do the same in a manner that they provide identical conditions of paid space to all election lists, although they can retain the right not to cooperate in the marketing sense with certain political subjects. One of the recommendations of OSCE study on political advertising<sup>6</sup> emphasizes that it is important that certain political subject has limited time space for political marketing (in the sense of its maximum) in one private media. Such regulation must be passed on national level and be obligatory for all private media, in order to prevent abuse of public TV space by those parties and candidates who have more financial means.

It is important to emphasize that such formal promotion is allowed only in pre-election campaign. This recently published study of OSCE states limitations in the current legislation: *'The Law does not precise the beginning of a period of campaign, but only states the right to free of charge direct transmtion on public service (RTCG) which begins on the day of submission of a list of candidates to State Election Commission (SEC). It is necessary for the law to be much more precise and less ambiguous (Article 50 of the Law on Election of MPs and Councillors should be amended by stating that formal election campaign begins<sup>7</sup> '30 days prior to elections and ends 24 hours after opening of the polling stations)'<sup>8</sup>*. However, in terms of duration of campaign the Law might be additionally modified. For the purpose of citizens receiving as realistic picture of all options at their disposal as possible, it would be preferable for political campaign to last longer, despite it implying larger expenditure for parties. In this manner, the voters would have time to form clear attitudes on their political choice. As the matters are now, a month of election campaign is turned in intensive *blitzkrieg* battle, with insufficient number of debates, and informative value of campaign is small which ultimately brings

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<sup>6</sup> Davor Glavas, *Political advertising and media campaign during pre-election period*, OESCE, Montenegro, 2017

<sup>7</sup> Law on Election of Councilors and MPs, Off. Gazette of RMNE, No. 16/2000 – consolidated text, 9/2001, 41/2002, 46/2002, 45/2004 – decision of CC, 48/2006 and 56/2006 – decision of CC and 'Off. Gazette of MNE', No. 46/2011, 14/2014, 47/2014 - decision of CC and 12/2016 - decision of CC

<sup>8</sup> Davor Glavas, *Political advertising and media campaign during pre-election period*, OESCE, Montenegro, 2017



voters in a marginalized position.

Article 6 of the Law on Election of MPs and Councillors<sup>9</sup>, also creates possibility for different interpretation of 'election silence' (election promotion via media and public gathering stops 24 hours prior day of the voters turnout). It is not precisely defined also what exactly does 'gatherings and other election activities' imply, which has different interpretations as a consequence. Additionally, 'election silence' is not defined on social networks as the ever more important channel of communication in which more and more party resources are being invested, i.e. election silence on social networks does not exist in practice. Campaigns on social networks are not defined also in most countries of participatory democracy with tradition of election competitiveness. Uncontrollable content behind which often stand anonymous sources, which are hard to identify, leaves space for potential strong and personal discreditation of election actors, as it was the case with last elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje and Petnjica.

By their reporting, media influence the public opinion and creation of democratic social climate, thus it is also important what will their expression be. With the purpose of conducting monitoring, as independent regulatory body in the area of audio-visual media services in Montenegro, Agency for Electronic Media (AEM) was established, as *'autonomous legal subject functionally independent from any state organ and from all legal and physical persons dealing with activity of production and broadcasting of radio and television programme or provision of other AVM services.'*<sup>10</sup> Agency, whose founder is the state, and its Council have special role to control messages and content which media place during election campaign. Taking into account the importance of Agency as regulatory body, extent of its jurisdiction and influence which it can exert on quality of media services is extensive. Thus, independence and impartiality of this institution is of huge importance, as well as clearer criteria for sanctioning of non-compliance with provisions, which will be deprived of any arbitrary decisions of heads of the Agency.

CCE estimates that AEM, as regulatory body, must be more dedicated to monitoring of media, which also includes respect for the legal provisions on reporting in the election campaign, as well as timely proactive acting if a reason for it is determined, in order to influence reduction of tensions that campaign often causes and provide objective informing of citizens. It would be especially important for AEM to do the monitoring of media with emphasis on election presentations and political advertising, by which it would be institutionally contributed to transparency of the entire process and creation of credible information, and all for the purpose of putting the public and general interest

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<sup>9</sup> Law on Election of Councilors and MPs, Off. Gazette of RMNE, No. 16/2000 – consolidated text, 9/2001, 41/2002, 46/2002, 45/2004 – decision of CC, 48/2006 and 56/2006 - decision of CC and 'Off. Gazette of MNE', No. 46/2011, 14/2014, 47/2014 - decision of CC and 12/2016 - decision of CC

<sup>10</sup> [http://www.ardcg.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=132](http://www.ardcg.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=132)



## 2. Monitoring of media during campaign for local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje and Petnjica

before the individual and particular one.

Monitoring of media represents detailed monitoring of media content on the basis of previously determined criteria and objectives. Monitoring of media content is possible to be conducted in relation to institution, personality, event, i.e. in relation to everything what is an object of media attention. Basic function of monitoring of media content is improvement of media presentation of a certain subject (occurrence), namely, determination of a real picture/position of a subject in the entire media scene via overview of situation and creation of recommendation.

Company Arhimed LLC has, for the needs of CCE, conducted monitoring of media content from 00h (midnight) of 1 until 20h of 26 November 2017, and in relation to activities of political subjects related to local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica, which were conducted on 26 November 2017. Monitoring encompassed pre-election activities, as well as occurrences during election day. Concealed campaign, i.e. releases which contain concealed pre-election political messages are not part of this analysis. Additionally, monitoring of advertising is conducted with the aim to show which extent of media space was leased by political subjects individually for needs of placing pre-election messages, i.e., how much of media space have received individually on public service RTCG according to the Law.

### Methodology

The following topics were monitored depending on their media presence:


*Topic: Local elections Cetinje 2017*

*Topic: Local elections Mojkovac 2017*

*Topic: Local elections Petnjica 2017*

This segment relates solely to releases which do not fall within marketing lease of media programme (monitoring of advertising of political subjects is conducted independently from the monitoring of stated topics).

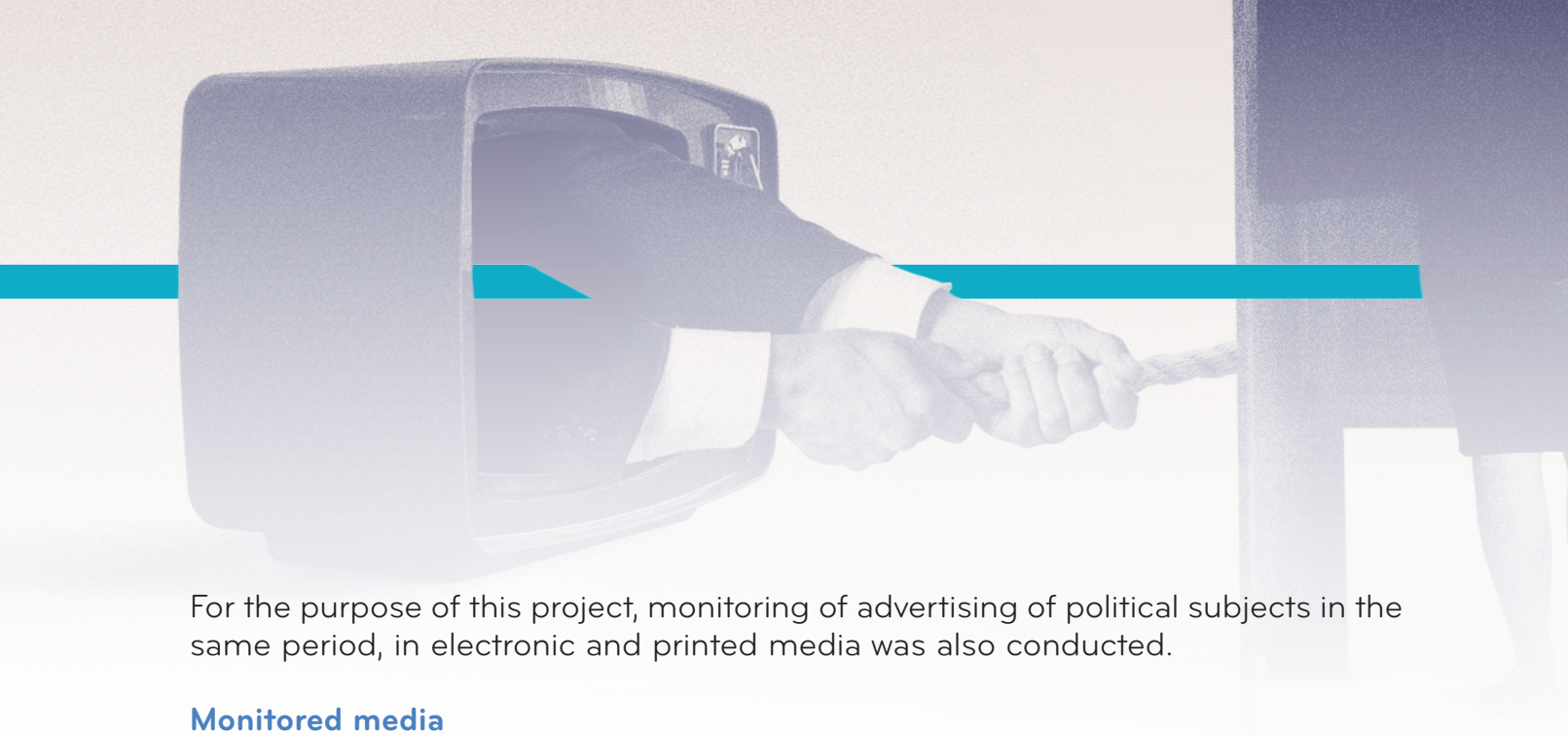
Representation of topics in a concrete release is observed with the help of the

A hand in a white sleeve is pulling a rope that is attached to a television set. The television is a vintage style with a dark screen and a light-colored frame. The background is a light, neutral color. A thick blue horizontal bar is positioned across the middle of the image, partially overlapping the hand and the television.

FOCUS parameter. Three-step division of media presence of observed subjects was utilized: primary, secondary and tertiary media presence. **Primary appearance** is deemed presence of a topic in larger part of release (when the 80% of release is dedicated to observed topic); **secondary presence** is deemed mentioning of a topic more or less equally with other observed topics and subjects (mentioning in one or more places in a release but connected to the context and content of larger part of the release); and **tertiary presence** is deemed sporadic mentioning in one place in a release without more significant bringing in a connection with dominant information of the observed release.

Afterwards, measuring of space and time dedicated to each of observed topics individually commenced, as well as each of political subjects who participated in pre-election campaign whose media presence was spotted in the observed media content. In primary presence of a topic, space/time which the complete release occupies were registered, while in secondary and tertiary mentioning, only those parts of a release relating to observed topics/subjects were measured. In this manner, a real picture of *quantity of media presence* of observed topics was obtained. *Space was measured in square millimetres, while time in seconds. Only number of releases was monitored in the content of online media.* In addition to monitoring of stated topics, monitoring of presence of political subjects who participated in local elections in municipalities Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica was also conducted. This implies political parties (independent appearances) or pre-election coalitions.

Except for the entry of value for parameter **FOCUS** and measurement of allocated time/space for each political subject individually (identical principle as with monitoring of topics), as we previously determined rules, planning of media presence of each political subject individually was also observed. Namely, each mentioning of some political subject who participated in elections has been previously entered into database after which he/she was awarded parameter planned or unplanned. **Planned media presence** is deemed to be every appearance of the observed political subject (press releases, statement of a representative of political subject, press conferences, interviews, comments etc.) for which could be assumed that it is authentic. **Unplanned media presence** is deemed to be mentioning of the observed subject without his/her knowledge or consent (mentioning by the media or by other subjects). When it comes to measurement of time and space which media allocated to political subjects (individually) who participated in elections we note that solely time and space of planned media presence were measured. In this manner, a realistic picture is acquired of media space (time/space) which political subjects had on their disposal to express their political attitudes and pre-election messages.

A person in a dark suit and white shirt is shaking hands with a large, dark-colored television set. The television is positioned as if it were a person, with the person's hand reaching out to shake the TV's hand. A thick blue horizontal bar is overlaid across the middle of the image, passing through the handshake. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

For the purpose of this project, monitoring of advertising of political subjects in the same period, in electronic and printed media was also conducted.

### **Monitored media**

The following media were encompassed by monitoring of media content:

*Informative and out-informative shows of televisions:* RTCG1, Vijesti, Pink M and Prva

*Daily newspapers:* Vijesti, Dan, Pobjeda and Dnevne novine

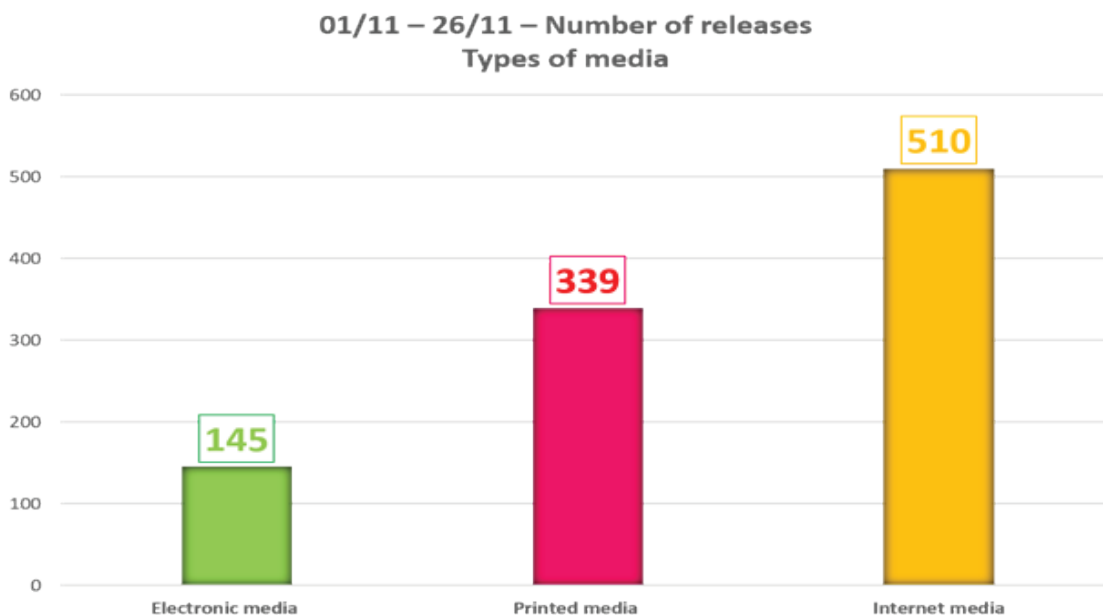
*Online media:* Cafe del Montenegro (CdM), Portal Analitika and Portal Vijesti

### **Parameters that were monitored**

- Number of releases*
- Planning*
- Focus*
- Time/space*

## 2.1. Total number of releases on all three topics as per type of media

In the observed period, media placed **994 releases** with mentioning of at least one of the observed topics (Local Elections Cetinje 2017, Local Elections Mojkovac 2017, Local Elections Petnjica 2017). The largest number of posts was generated by online media, i.e. 51.31% of the total number of releases was placed in the content of this type of media. The analysis of releases by type of media is not technically comparable because the online media do not have time and space restrictions to the extent that is present with televisions and printed media. Televisions have placed a total of 128 releases on observed topics, and this relates exclusively to releases that have been placed in informative shows (central and rerun of informative shows). In out-informative shows, i.e. in talk show programmes, 17 releases were placed. Despite the fact that televisions have placed the least releases about local elections, their share in the overall publicity of the observed topics is significant because it is the most influential type of media.

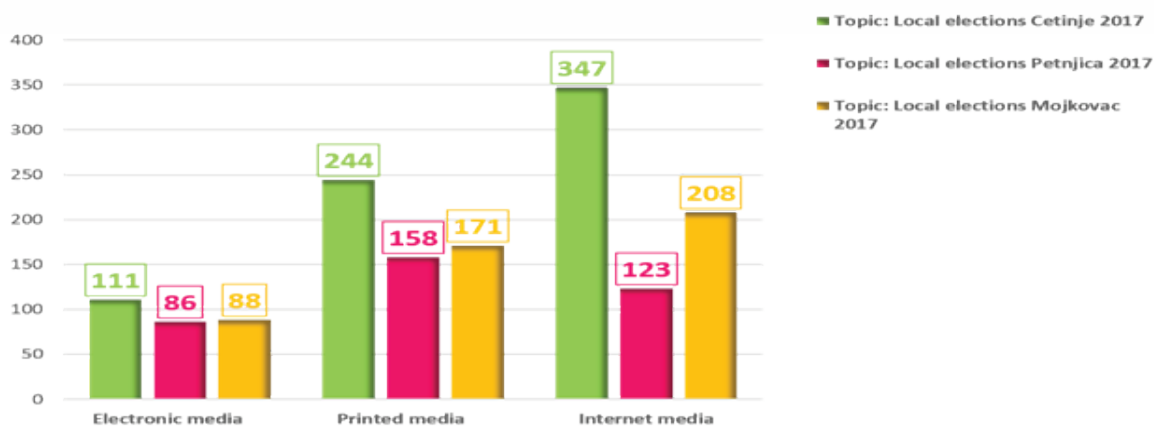


Graphic 1 – Total number of releases on all three topics as per type of media

Monitoring of media content indicates that all three types of media devoted considerable attention to local elections, and the total entirety was dominated by primary releases on election in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica. A significant number of releases in which all three topics are mentioned has been recorded. *The largest number of releases in all three types of media was placed on topic of the Local elections Cetinje 2017.* Namely, 111 releases were

recorded on elections in Cetinje in TV content, 244 in printed media, and 347 in online media. Based on the published data, it can be concluded that political subjects which participated in local elections in three observed municipalities received the most attention in Cetinje.

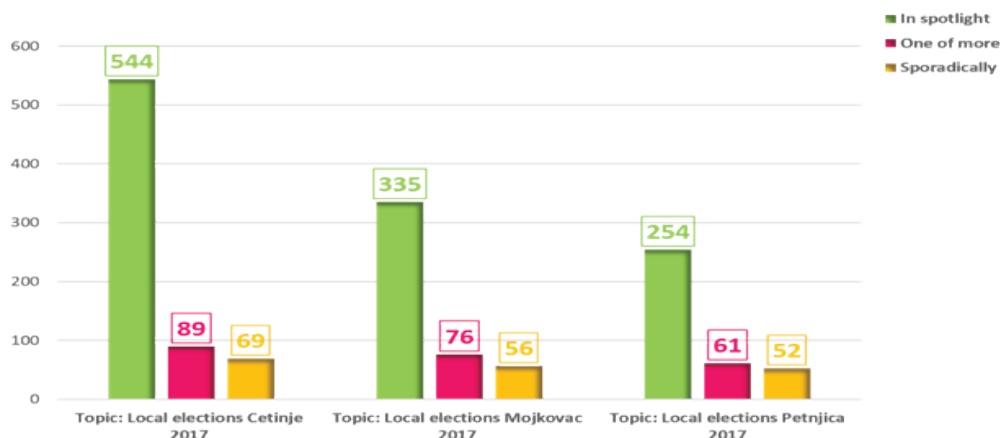
1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Types of media – Institutions



Graphic 2 - Number of releases on each topic as per type of media

With all three types of media as primary subject (in the spotlight) have dominated topics about local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica dominated. The number of releases in which the topic of elections in the Old Royal Capital has been primary was 544. The topic of elections in Mojkovac was in spotlight of 335 releases, while in Petnjica it was in 254 releases. Hence, the general interest of the media for local elections in three aforementioned municipalities was highly expressed.

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Institutions – Focus



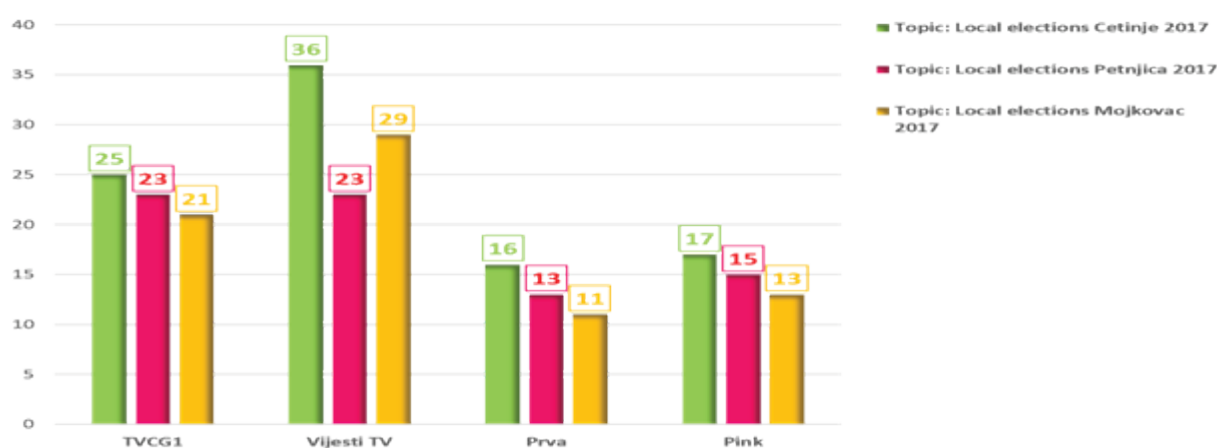
Graphic 3 - FOCUS – Number of releases as per topic individually



## TELEVISIONS

Televisions have, in the informative and out-informative shows placed a total of 145 releases about local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica. The local elections in Cetinje have generated the most releases in informative shows.

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Media – institutions



Graphic 4 - Number of releases on all three topics as per television individually in informative shows

The local elections in Cetinje have been dedicated a total of 150 minutes in informative shows of the observed televisions, which is 1,36 minutes per release, local elections in Mojkovac 122 minutes i.e. 1,39 minutes per release, and local elections in Petnjica 104 minutes or 1,24 minutes per release.

TOPIC	TVCG1	TV Vijesti	PinkM	Prva TV	Total
Local elections Cetinje	2119	3785	1751	1343	8998
Local elections Mojkovac	2125	2509	1494	1215	7343
Local elections Petnjica	2145	1358	1518	1215	6236

Table 1 – Total time in seconds on each topic as per television (expressed in sec)


**TVCG1** dedicated 35,30 minutes to local elections in Cetinje in its informative shows, which is 1,25 minutes per release (25 releases in total duration of 2119 seconds), then to local elections in Mojkovac 35,40 minutes or on average 1,41 minutes per release (21 releases in total duration of 2125 seconds), while the local elections in Petnjica received 35,75 minutes, or 1.33 minutes on average per release (23 releases in total duration of 2145 seconds). It is important to note that the releases were of different lengths, and that fewer number of releases does



not mean also lesser minutes. Individually as per topic, **TV Vijesti** dedicated 63 minutes or 1,45 minutes per release to local elections in Cetinje in its informative programme, 42 minutes or 1,27 minutes per release to local elections in Mojkovac, while elections in Petnjica were dedicated 23 minutes, i.e. 59 seconds per release. **Pink M** television devoted 29 minutes to local elections in Cetinje in its informative content, which is 1,43 minutes per release, 25 minutes to elections in Mojkovac or 1,55 minutes per release, and 25,30 minutes to elections in Petnjica ie 1,41 minutes per release. **Prva** devoted 22,40 minutes to elections in Cetinje or 1,24 minutes per release, 20,25 minutes each for local elections in Mojkovac and Petnjica, which is 1,50 minutes per release for elections in Mojkovac, and 1,33 minutes per release for elections in Petnjica.

Following is a table with every out-informative show that was placed in the content of observed televisions during the monitoring period, in which the mentioning of observed topics was noticed (local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica).

Date	Media	Show	Begginig	Duration	Heading	Autor	Topic	Time (sec)	Focus
3 Nov	Vijesti TV	Boje jutra	<u>07:34:20</u>	0:14:26	Overview of daily newspapers comments Zoran Radulovic, weekly Monitor	Mileva Kostic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	32	SECONDARY
6 Nov	Vijesti TV	Bez granica	<u>20:00:27</u>	0:17:23	TOPIC: Problem of residents of the village Stitarica with construction of mini hydro power plant and deforestation	Sead Sadikovic	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	24	TERTIARY
6 Nov	Prva	Ukrštene riječi	<u>21:01:04</u>	1:13:35	CROSSWORDS	Vesna Rajkovic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	1328	SECONDARY
6 Nov	Prva	Ukrštene riječi	<u>21:01:04</u>	1:13:35	CROSSWORDS	Vesna Rajkovic	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	1328	SECONDARY
6 Nov	Prva	Ukrštene riječi	<u>21:01:04</u>	1:13:35	CROSSWORDS	Vesna Rajkovic	Local elections Petnjica 2017	1328	SECONDARY
7 Nov	Vijesti TV	Reflektor	<u>20:00:31</u>	1:22:36	REFLEKTOR	Aleksandra Mudresa	Local elections Cetinje 2017	5	TERTIARY
7 Nov	Vijesti TV	Reflektor	<u>20:00:31</u>	1:22:36	REFLEKTOR	Aleksandra Mudresa	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	5	TERTIARY
7 Nov	Vijesti TV	Reflektor	<u>20:00:31</u>	1:22:36	REFLEKTOR	Aleksandra Mudresa	Local elections Petnjica 2017	23	TERTIARY
8 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:08:26</u>	1:13:16	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	72	TERTIARY
8 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:08:26</u>	1:13:16	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	72	TERTIARY
8 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:08:26</u>	1:13:16	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Petnjica 2017	72	TERTIARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:43</u>	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Petnjica 2017	5613	PRIMARY



15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:43</u>	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 – Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Cetinje 2017	2	TERTIARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:43</u>	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 – Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Cetinje 2017	2	TERTIARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:15:25</u>	1:08:30	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	15	TERTIARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:15:25</u>	1:08:30	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Lokalni izbori Mojkovac 2017	15	TERTIARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:15:25</u>	1:08:30	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Petnjica 2017	15	TERTIARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:35</u>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Cetinje 2017	4912	PRIMARY
19 Nov	Vijesti TV	Direktno	<u>20:00:26</u>	1:15:41	DIREKTNO	Milena Korac Perovic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	2	TERTIARY
19 Nov	Vijesti TV	Direktno	<u>20:00:26</u>	1:15:41	DIREKTNO	Milena Korac Perovic	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	2	TERTIARY
19 Nov	Vijesti TV	Direktno	<u>20:00:26</u>	1:15:41	DIREKTNO	Milena Korac Perovic	Local elections Petnjica 2017	2	TERTIARY
20 Nov	Vijesti TV	Bez granica	<u>20:05:27</u>	0:22:08	Pre-election debate in LC Jakovice	Sead Sadikovic	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	1328	PRIMARY
21 Nov	Vijesti TV	Reflektor	<u>19:59:49</u>	1:16:45	REFLEKTOR	Aleksandra Mudresa	Local elections Cetinje 2017	11	TERTIARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:38</u>	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 – Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Petnjica 2017	5801	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:16:07</u>	1:11:14	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	646	SECONDARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:16:07</u>	1:11:14	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duška Pejović	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	646	SECONDARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:16:07</u>	1:11:14	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Local elections Petnjica 2017	5	TERTIARY
22 Nov	Pink	Special show	<u>21:00:30</u>	1:30:11	ARGUMENT	Nepoznat Pink	Local elections Cetinje 2017	477	SECONDARY
22 Nov	Pink	Special show	<u>21:00:30</u>	1:30:11	ARGUMENT	Nepoznat Pink	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	477	SECONDARY
22 Nov	Pink	Special show	<u>21:00:30</u>	1:30:11	ARGUMENT	Nepoznat Pink	Local elections Petnjica 2017	477	SECONDARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 – Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Mojkovac 2017	5609	PRIMARY
23 Nov	Vijesti TV	Načisto	<u>20:01:05</u>	1:30:50	NAČISTO	Petar Komnencic	Local elections Cetinje 2017	5450	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:42</u>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Local elections Cetinje 2017	5688	PRIMARY

**Table 2 – Out-informative shows on all televisions**

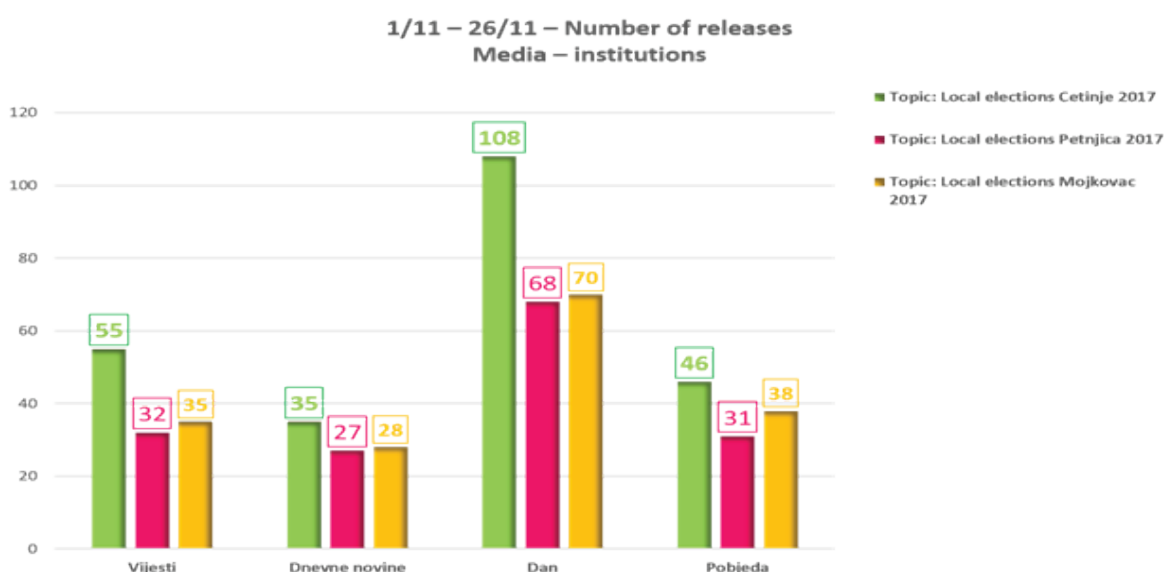
Also in the out-informative show, televisions have dedicated the most time to local elections in Cetinje. The out-informative shows which broadcasted on programmes TVCG1 and TV Vijesti made the difference in terms of dedicated time as per topic individually. The Pink M and Prva televisions have dedicated the equal time to observed topics.

Topic	TVCG1	TV Vijesti	Pink M	Prva TV	Total
<i>Local elections Cetinje</i>	11335	5500	477	1328	18640
<i>Local elections Mojkovac</i>	6344	1359	477	1328	9508
<i>Local elections Petnjica</i>	11506	25	477	1328	13336

Table 3 – Total time in seconds on each topic in out-informative shows


## PRINTED MEDIA

Printed media have placed the total of 339 releases about local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica. The most of releases was placed by daily **Dan** 159, which is 46,90% of the total number of releases. Approximately equal number of releases was placed by **ND Vijesti** (70 i.e. 20,65%) and **Pobjeda** (65 i.e. 19,17%), while the least number of releases could be found in **Dnevne novine** (45 which is 13,27% of total number of releases). Printed media have also placed the most releases about elections in Cetinje (244 releases), followed by local elections in Mojkovac (171 releases) and the least in Petnjica (158 releases).



Graphic 5 - Number of releases on all three topics individually in printed media

Printed media have dedicated 41358,90 cm<sup>2</sup> to local elections in Cetinje i.e. on average 169,50 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, 26142,73 cm<sup>2</sup> to Mojkovac or 152,88 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, and 23312,00 cm<sup>2</sup> to Petnjica or 147,54 cm<sup>2</sup> per release.



Topic	ND Vijesti	Dnevne novine	Dan	Pobjeda	Total
Local elections Cetinje	7008,36	9043,12	18645,26	6662,16	41358,90
Local elections Mojkovac	3777,28	5769,52	11388,26	5207,67v	26142,73
Local elections Petnjica	2840,25	5874,29	11131,02	3466,44	23312,00

**Table 4 – Space dedicated to observed topics in printed media (cm<sup>2</sup>)**

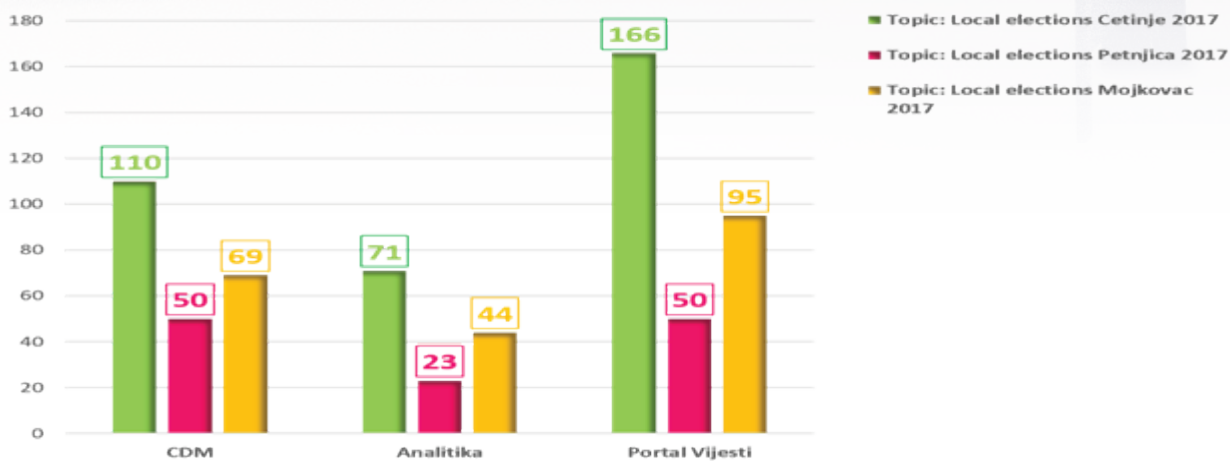
**ND Vijesti** have dedicated 7008,36 cm<sup>2</sup> to elections in Cetinje, i.e. 127,42cm<sup>2</sup> per release, 3777,28 cm<sup>2</sup> to local elections in Mojkovac, i.e. on average 107,92 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, and 2840,25 cm<sup>2</sup> to local elections in Petnjica, which is 88,76 cm<sup>2</sup> per release. Topic on elections in Cetinje has occupied 18645,26 cm<sup>2</sup> in **Dan**, which is 172,64 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, 11388,26 cm<sup>2</sup> for Mojkovac ie 162,70 cm<sup>2</sup>, while the topic on elections in Petnjica occupied 11131,02 cm<sup>2</sup> or 163,69 cm<sup>2</sup> per release. **Pobjeda** has also been writing the most about elections in Cetinje, i.e. those releases occupied 6662,16 cm<sup>2</sup> which is 144,83 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, while local elections in Mojkovac have had 5207,67 cm<sup>2</sup>, i.e. 137,04 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, and elections in Petnjica had 3466,44 cm<sup>2</sup> or 111,82 cm<sup>2</sup> per release. Releases relating to elections in Old Royal Capital have occupied 9043,12 cm<sup>2</sup> in **Dnevne novine**, i.e. 258,37 cm<sup>2</sup> per release, while those about elections in Mojkovac occupied 5769,52 cm<sup>2</sup> or 206,05 cm<sup>2</sup> and 5874,29 cm<sup>2</sup> in Petnjica which is 217,57 cm<sup>2</sup> per release.

## ONLINE MEDIA

Online media have also placed the most releases about elections in Cetinje (347 which is 51,18% of total number of releases dedicated to releases on local elections in three stated municipalities). Mojkovac follows with 208 (30,68%), and Petnjica with 123 (18,14%).



1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Media – institutions

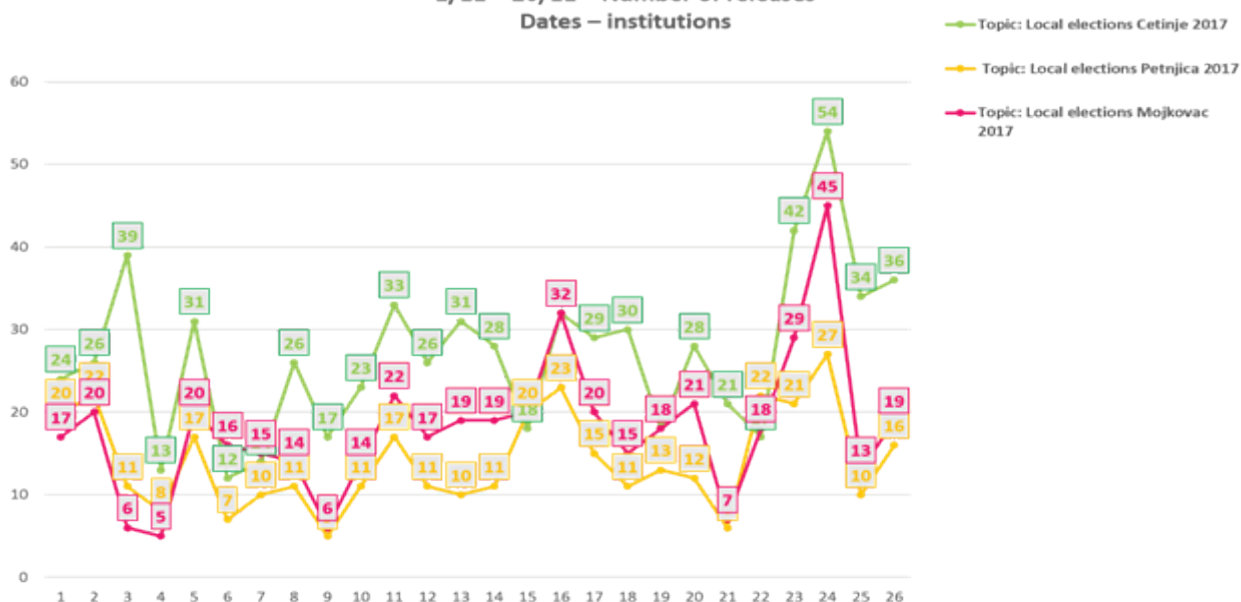


Graphic 6 – Number of releases on all three topics individually in online media

## TREND

In pre-election period none of the observed topics had constant path in regards to number of releases, but the number of releases per day depended on concrete actuality/event or media appearances of political subjects and institutions. The most releases were placed on 24 November (day prior to pre-election silence).

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Dates – institutions



Graphic 7 – Daily trend of number of releases as per observed media

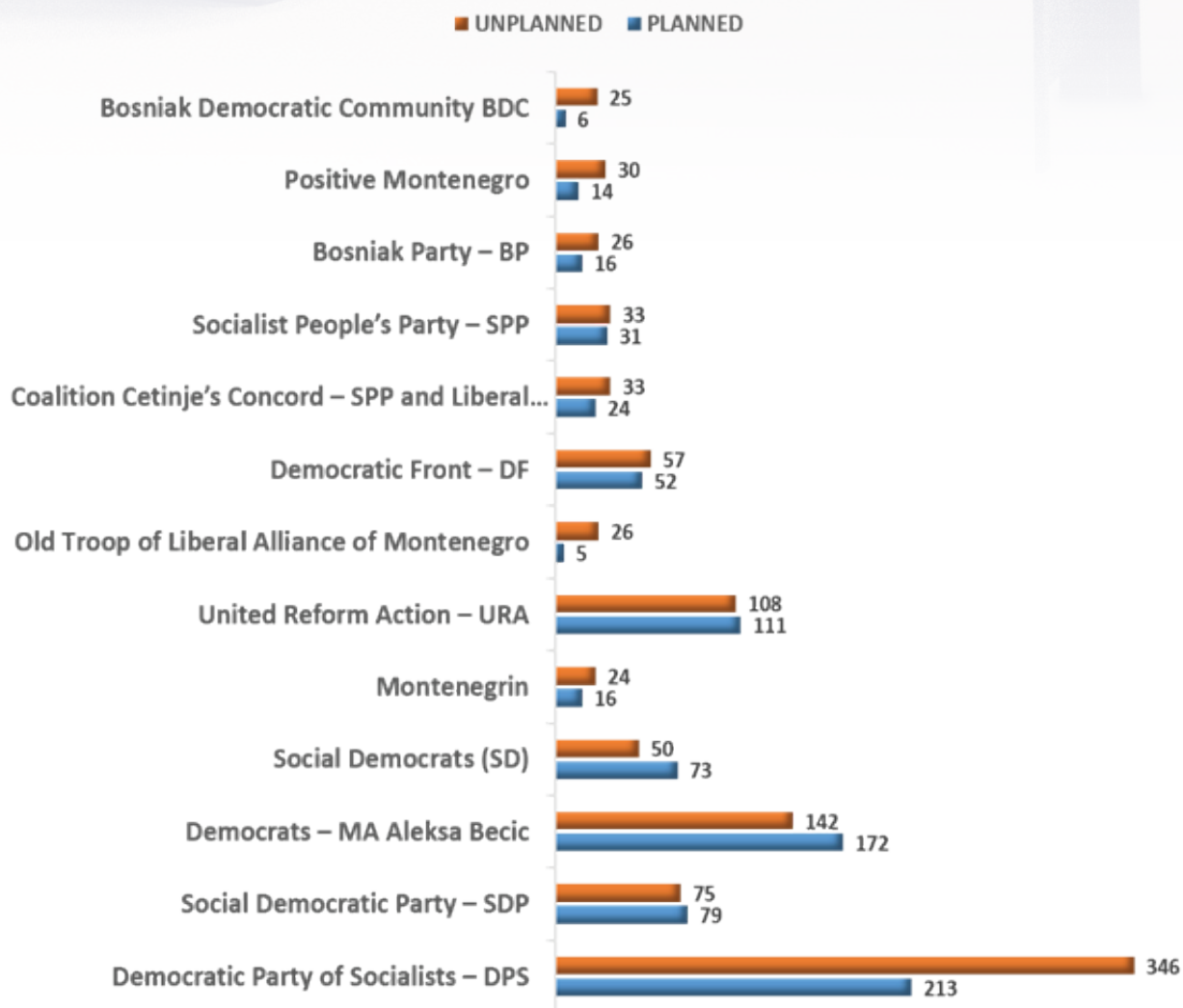
## 2.2. Media presence of political subjects

### 2.2.1. MEDIA PRESENCE OF POLITICAL SUBJECTS (summary for all three municipalities)

For the purpose of this research, the monitoring of selected media content was also conducted in relation to all political entities that participated in pre-election campaign in local elections. **Since not all political subjects participated in elections in all three mentioned municipalities, the summary statistical data obtained through monitoring of media content are not comparable (except for political subjects that participated in elections in all three municipalities).** The table below lists the numerical values (number of releases) in relation to whether it is planned or unplanned media presence, as well as their summary expression per electoral list individually. The Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) has generated the largest number of releases, both planned and unplanned.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF UNPLANNED RELEASES	NUMBER OF PLANNED RELEASES	TOTAL NUMBER OF RELEASES
<i>Democratic Party of Socialist - DPS</i>	346	213	559
<i>Social Democratic Party – SDP</i>	75	79	154
<i>Democrats - MA Aleksa Becic</i>	142	172	314
<i>Social Democrats (SD)</i>	50	73	123
<i>Montenegrin</i>	24	16	40
<i>United Reform Action – URA</i>	108	111	219
<i>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</i>	26	5	31
<i>Democratic Front – DF</i>	57	52	109
<i>Coalition of Cetinje's Concord – SPP and Liberal Party</i>	33	24	57
<i>Socialist People's Party – SPP</i>	33	31	64
<i>Bosniak Party – BP</i>	26	16	42
<i>Positive Montenegro</i>	30	14	44
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community BDC</i>	25	6	31

Table 5 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – planned and unplanned)



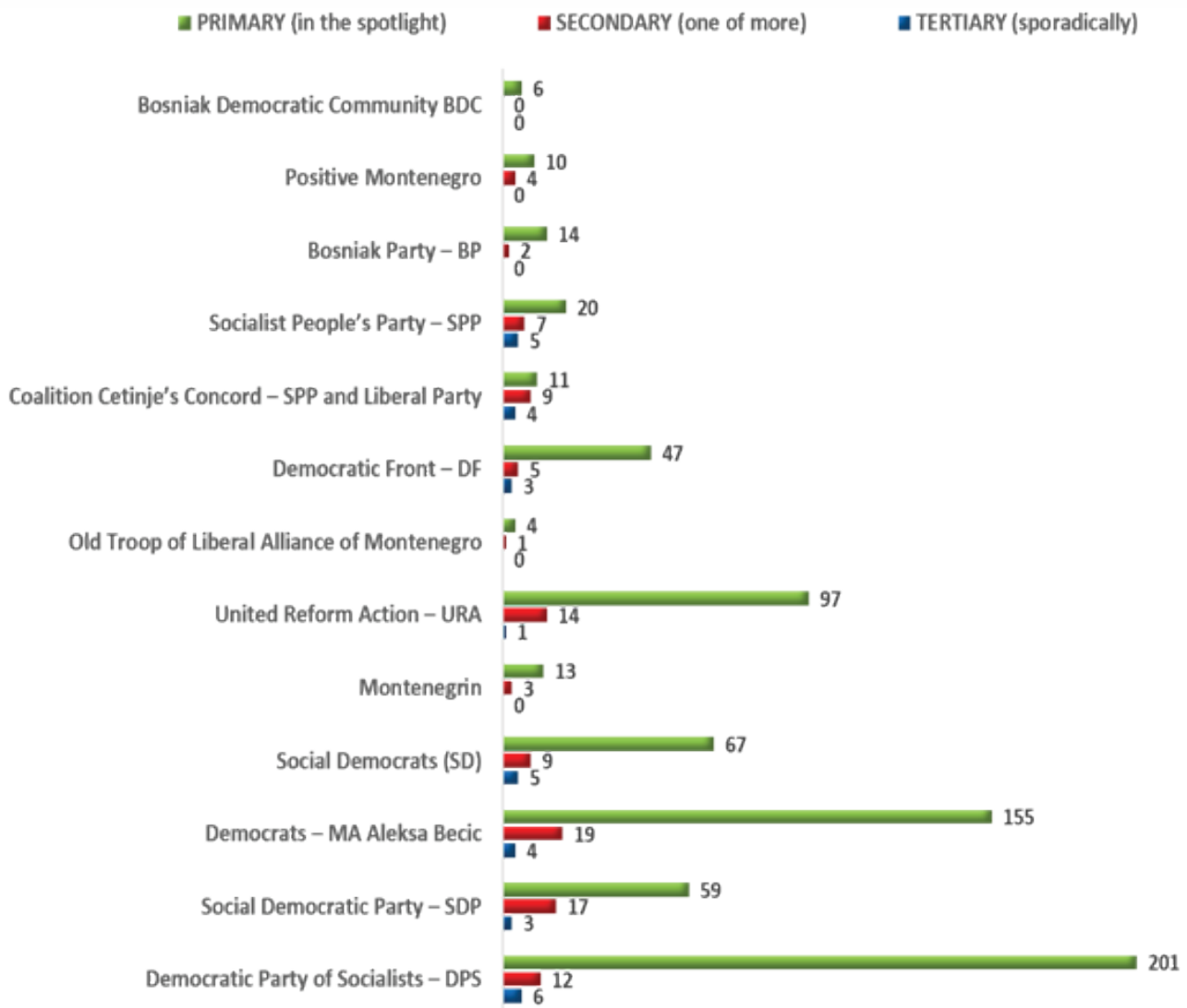
*Graphic 8 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – planned and unplanned)*

The graphic above shows that most political subjects have more releases in which they are appearing unplanned, than those in which they planned their presence, i.e. in which political subjects had the opportunity to place pre-election and post-election messages (of total of 13 political subjects, 9 of political subjects had more unplanned releases in relation to the planned ones). The exceptions are the political party URA, Democratic Montenegro, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Social Democrats (SD), in which the number of planned releases is slightly higher than unplanned ones. The largest disproportion between the number of planned and unplanned releases was observed in the media presence of the DPS, which suggests an assumption that other political subjects (political opponents) frequently mentioned this party in their media appearances.





A part of the unplanned mentions of DPS, but also of all other political subjects, can be attributed to the media themselves. Namely, at the very beginning of pre-election campaign, media frequently named the lists that participated in local elections in three municipalities (Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica), referring to the data of relevant institutions (Municipal Election Commission and the State Election Commission).



Graphic 9 – Number of releases FOCUS – political subjects individually (all media – both planned and unplanned media presence)



The graphic above contains FOCUS of planned media appearances of all political subjects individually. At first glance, the dominance of primary releases is noticeable (releases in which the observed subject appears as predominant/in spotlight) in all political subjects individually. Number of secondary and tertiary planned releases (releases in which more than one observed subjects communicate their political views) is negligible in relation to number of primary planned releases (releases in which political attitude of a particular political subject dominates in relation to other political attitudes that the observed releases contains).

### 2.2.2. LOCAL ELECTIONS - CETINJE

Ten political subjects (political parties and political coalitions) participated in local elections in Cetinje<sup>11</sup>:

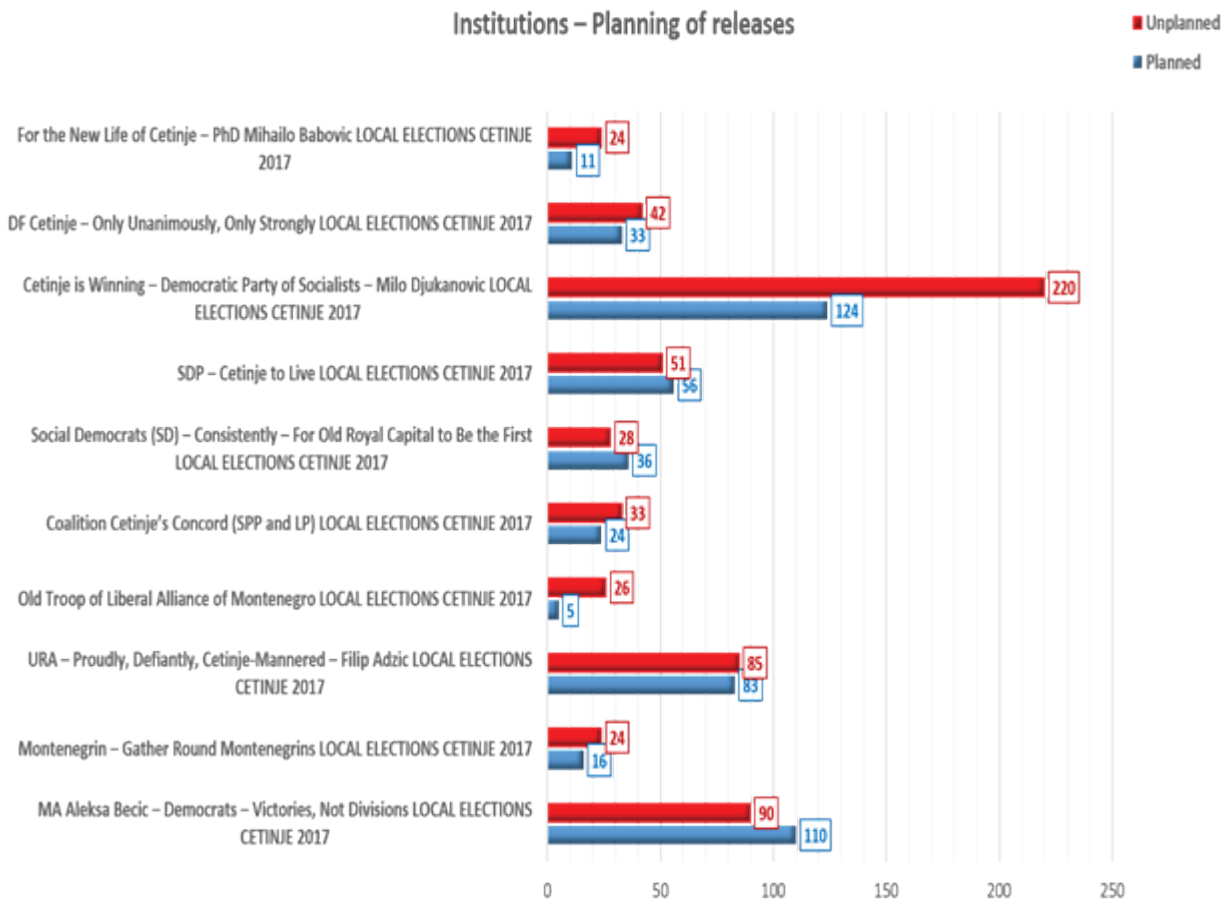
POLITICAL SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF UNPLANNED RELEASES	NUMBER OF PLANNED RELEASES	TOTAL NUMBER OF RELEASES
<b>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialist – Milo Djukanovic</b>	220	<b>124</b>	344
<b>SDP – Cetinje To Live</b>	51	<b>56</b>	107
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	90	<b>110</b>	200
<b>Social Democrats (SD) – Consistently – For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</b>	28	<b>36</b>	64
<b>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</b>	24	<b>16</b>	40
<b>URA – Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered – Filip Adzic</b>	85	<b>83</b>	168
<b>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</b>	26	<b>5</b>	31
<b>DF Cetinje- Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</b>	42	<b>33</b>	75
<b>Coalition Cetinje’s Concord – SPP and Liberal Party</b>	33	<b>24</b>	57
<b>For New Life of Cetinje- PhD Mihailo Babovic- Positive Montenegro</b>	24	<b>11</b>	35

*Table 6 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – planned and unplanned)*

<sup>11</sup> 'Cetinje is Winning – DPS – Milo Djukanovic', 'Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions', 'Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins', 'Social Democrats – Consistently – For Old Royal Capital To Be The First', 'Cetinje’s Concord – Social People’s Party and Liberals Together', 'Democratic Front Cetinje – Only Unanimously, Only Strongly', 'URA – Proudly, Defiantly, CETINJE-MANNERED – Filip Adzic', 'Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro', 'Positive Montenegro – For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babic', 'Social Democratic Party – Cetinje To Live'.

The largest number of releases (both planned and unplanned media presence) was generated by the list of DPS (Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialist – Milo Djukanovic), which was present in 344 releases. In the second place, as per number of releases in which was noted presence of political subjects, is list MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions with 200 releases, while URA – Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered – Filip Adzic is in third place with 168 releases.

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Institutions – Planning of releases



Graphic 10 – Number of Releases – political subjects individually (all media – both planned and unplanned)

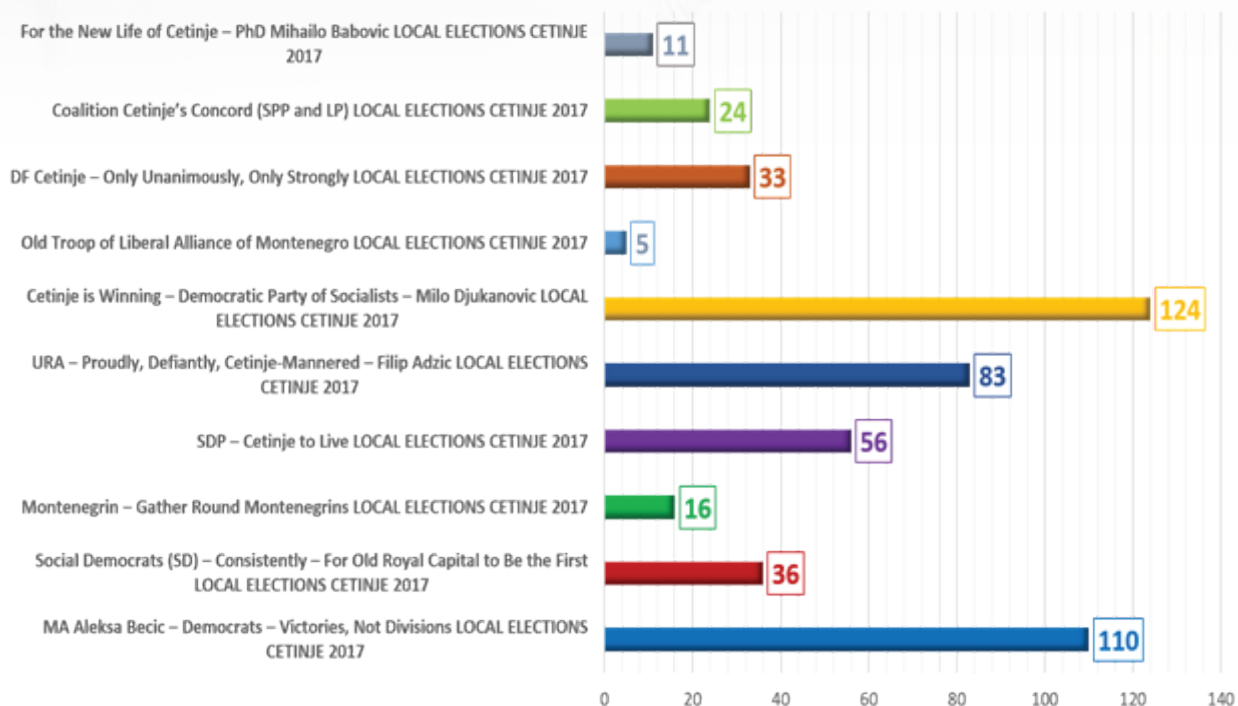


POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG		TV VIJESTI		PRVA		PINK		ND VIJESTI		DAN		POBJEDA		DNEVNE NOVINE		CdM		PVIJESTI		ANALITIKA	
	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U
<b>PLANNED/ UNPLANNED</b>	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U
<i>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</i>	0	3	2	3	3	0	4	0	4	14	8	49	13	8	10	6	26	36	28	76	26	25
<i>SDP–Cetinje To Live</i>	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	15	5	3	4	0	4	8	6	13	18	7	7
<i>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats-Victories, Not Divisions</i>	2	3	7	0	0	0	0	2	9	3	20	9	4	7	2	8	18	11	36	28	12	19
<i>Social Democrats (SD) – Consistently – For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</i>	0	3	2	0	1	1	2	0	3	2	8	4	3	2	2	2	8	2	6	9	1	3
<i>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</i>	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	6	4	0	2	0	2	3	2	5	5	0	3
<i>URA–Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered – Filip Adzic</i>	0	3	6	0	1	0	0	1	5	5	16	9	2	9	2	5	14	12	35	25	2	16
<i>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</i>	0	3	0	4	0	1	0	1	1	2	4	3	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	3
<i>DF Cetinje-Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</i>	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	2	10	5	3	6	1	3	7	6	8	8	2	6
<i>Coalition Cetinje's Concord – SPP and Liberal Party</i>	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	0	3	4	6	5	3	4	2	2	3	3	4	7	1	3
<i>For the New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</i>	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	4	2	2	0	2	3	2	0	6	0	4

**Table 7 – Overview of number of planned and unplanned releases as per media individually**

Data for political subjects which follow are related exclusively to planned media presence, which provides an overview of number of releases and dedicated time/ space which political subjects had on their disposal for placement of their political attitudes and pre-election messages. When it comes to the number of releases in which the observed subjects had a possibility to convey pre-election messages, thus, DPS had 124 releases on their disposal, which 14 releases more than Democrats with 110 posts. The relatively high number of planned media appearances/releases have had URA and SDP.

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Institutions

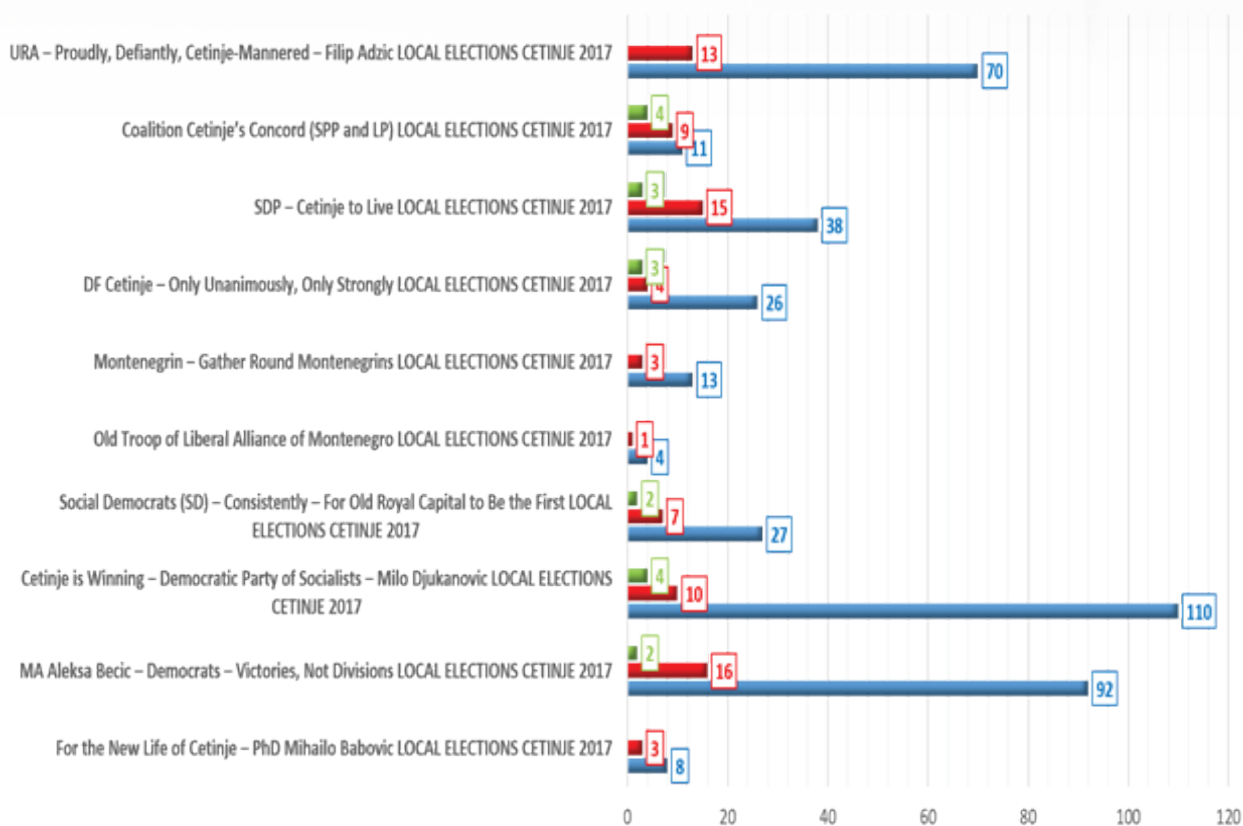


**Graphic 11 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (planned media presence)**

As stated in the methodology, for the needs of this analysis, the focus was also checked, i.e. the representation of information in the release for all observed political subjects individually. A three-step scale was applied: primary releases (in the spotlight), secondary mentioning (as one of several) and tertiary presence (sporadic mentioning).



1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Institutions – Focuses



Graphic 12 – Number of releases FOCUS – political subjects individually (planned media presence)

## TELEVISIONS

The most planned releases in the content of televisions (informative shows) have had DPS and Democratic Montenegro – 9 releases each. Of those, DPS have had the most releases on *TV PINK M* (4), *PRVA TV* (3), *TV Vijesti* (2), while there were no planned releases on *RTCG*. When it comes to Democrats, they were the most represented on *TV Vijesti* (7 releases) and on *RTCG* (2 releases). Democrats were not represented on *TV PINK M* and *PRVA TV* when it comes to planned releases. Public service has organised special media debates (shows) within which representatives of political subjects had an opportunity to convey their pre-election messages. Debates were organised also by other televisions, but without including all electoral lists. We note that, for the purpose of comparability of data per media individually, data related to out-informative shows (media debates) will

be presented by special table. Of 10 electoral lists, 4 of them did not have planned media appearances which were broadcasted in informative shows of observed televisions.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK	TOTAL
<i>Cetinje Is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</i>	0	2	3	4	9
<i>SDP – Cetinje To Live</i>	0	5	0	0	5
<i>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	2	7	0	0	9
<i>Social Democrats (SD)–Consistently – For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</i>	0	2	1	2	5
<i>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>URA–Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered – Filip Adzic</i>	0	6	1	0	7
<i>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>DF Cetinje-Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Coalition Cetinje’s Concord – SPP and Liberal Party</i>	0	0	0	2	2
<i>For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</i>	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 8 – Overview of number of planned releases – televisions individually**

When it comes to time that was at disposal of political subjects for placement of political messages, DPS had been singled out with 450 seconds in informative programme (central informative shows and their reruns – midnight broadcasting). Democratic Montenegro is on second place with 282 seconds. Observed as per number of releases, *TV Vijesti* have given the most media space to Democrats and URA, while *TV Pink M* and *Prva TV* have given the most space to DPS.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK	TOTAL
<i>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</i>	0	54	147	249	450
<i>SDP–Cetinje To Live</i>	0	91	0	0	91
<i>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	167	115	0	0	282
<i>Social Democrats (SD) – Consistently – For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</i>	0	24	22	54	100
<i>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>URA–Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered – Filip Adzic</i>	0	175	13	0	188
<i>Stara garda Liberalnog saveza Crne Gore</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>DF Cetinje-Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Coalition Cetinje’s Concord – SPP and Liberal Party</i>	0	0	0	53	53
<i>For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</i>	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 9 – Time dedicated to political subjects – televisions individually (expressed in seconds)**



Average duration of releases as per political party individually, also, points out to the conclusion that DPS had a 'privileged' position in *Prva* and *Pink M* in relation to other political subjects. Democrats have had two releases on RTCG which makes them an exception in this part, but these are concrete cases. Namely, TV piece from 12 November relates to submission of decision on termination of employment of Nenad Zicer from PE Utilities of Cetinje which Democrats understood as political pressure considering that Zicer is on councillor's list of this party, and the second TV piece from 25 November on physical attack on their representatives in Cetinje.


Finally, it is important to emphasize that releases were of different length of duration, and that smaller number of releases does not imply smaller minutes-calculation.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK
<b>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</b>	0	27	49	62
<b>SDP–Cetinje To Live</b>	0	18	0	0
<b>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	83	16	0	0
<b>Social Democrats (SD) – Consistently – For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</b>	0	12	7	13
<b>URA–Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered – Filip Adzic</b>	0	29	13	0
<b>Coalition Cetinje's Concord – SPP and Liberal Party</b>	0	0	26,5	0

**Table 10 – Average duration of release – televisions individually (expressed in seconds)**

Date	Media	Show	Beginning	Duration	Headline	Author	Subject	Time (SEC)	Focus
8 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<a href="#">20:08:26</a>	1:13:16	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Social Democrats Consistently For Old Royal Capital To Be The First LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	34	TERTIARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party Socialists – Milo Djukanovic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	939	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	MA Aleksa Becic Democrats Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	475	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOKALNI IZBORI 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	414	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOKALNI IZBORI 2017 - Cetinje	Saša Klikovac	Social Democrats Consistently For Old Royal Capital To Be The First LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	645	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Coalition Cetinje's Concord (SPP and LP) LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	405	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	DF Cetinje Only Unanimously, Only Strongly LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	426	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	URA Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered Filip Adzic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	724	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	437	PRIMARY





17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	476	PRIMARY
17 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:35</a>	1:22:35	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	SDP – Cetinje To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	484	PRIMARY
23 Nov	Vijesti TV	Načisto	<a href="#">20:01:05</a>	1:30:50	NAČISTO	Petar Komnenic	MA Aleksa Becic Democrats Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	680	PRIMARY
23 Nov	Vijesti TV	Načisto	<a href="#">20:01:05</a>	1:30:50	NAČISTO	Petar Komnenic	Social Democrats Consistently For Old Royal Capital To Be The First LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	952	PRIMARY
23 Nov	Vijesti TV	Načisto	<a href="#">20:01:05</a>	1:30:50	NAČISTO	Petar Komnenic	SDP – Cetinje To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	1167	PRIMARY
23 Nov	Vijesti TV	Načisto	<a href="#">20:01:05</a>	1:30:50	NAČISTO	Petar Komnenic	URA Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered Filip Adzic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	1246	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	950	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	MA Aleksa Becic Democrats Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	508	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	307	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Social Democrats Consistently For Old Royal Capital To Be The First LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	373	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Saša Klikovac	Coalition Cetinje's Concord (SPP and LP) LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	451	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	DF Cetinje Only Unanimously, Only Strongly LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	384	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	URA Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered Filip Adzic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	443	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	465	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	438	PRIMARY
24 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<a href="#">17:00:42</a>	1:34:48	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Cetinje	Sasa Klikovac	SDP – Cetinje To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS CETINJE 2017	582	PRIMARY

Table 11 – Overview of out-informative shows (expressed in seconds)

POLITICAL SUBJECT	TVCG1	TV Vijesti	Total
<b>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</b>	1889	0	1889
<b>SDP–Cetinje To Live</b>	1066	1167	2233
<b>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats - Victories, Not Divisions</b>	983	680	1663
<b>Social Democrats (SD) - Consistently - For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</b>	1052	952	2004
<b>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</b>	721	0	721
<b>URA - Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered - Filip Adzic</b>	1167	1246	2413
<b>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</b>	902	0	902
<b>DF Cetinje - Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</b>	810	0	810
<b>Coalition Cetinje's Concord - SPP and Liberal Party</b>	856	0	856
<b>For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</b>	914	0	914

Table 12 – Time dedicated to political subjects in out-informative shows (expressed in sec)



When it comes to out-informative shows, most of the space on *RTCG* was provided to DPS, then to URA, SDP and SD. Also, it is important to point out that all actors in local elections in Cetinje gained the opportunity to convey their views in such format. Simultaneously, *TV Vijesti* in the out-informative shows, provided the most space to URA, followed by SDP, SD and finally Democrats, and all exclusively in the show 'Načisto' by Petar Komnencic on 17 November. Author of the show often indicates that appearances in this show are refused by representatives of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS).

**Note:** There was no planned media presence of political subjects in out-informative shows which were broadcasted on programme *TV Prva* and *TV Pink M*.

## PRINTED MEDIA

When it comes to pre-election campaign for local elections in Cetinje, the political parties DPS and Democrats have had cumulatively the most releases in the content of printed media (35 and 31 releases). Polarisation of media is noted with these two political subjects, as well as with televisions but more expressed. Namely, Democrats have conducted communication with the public in relation to pre-election campaign mostly via daily newspapers *Dan* and *Vijesti*, while DPS communicated with the public mostly via daily newspapers *Pobjeda* and *Dnevne novine*. On the basis of previously arranged parameters it is not possible to claim with certainty whether the media themselves are accountable for such state of matter, i.e., whether 'favourisation' or 'ignoring' of political subjects occurred due to attitude (editorial policy) of the media themselves. In order to be able to determine, it is necessary to know the accurate number of press releases or invitations for reporting that political subjects directed to media to which media responded by publishing them (reporting) or by ignoring them

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE	TOTAL
<i>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</i>	4	8	13	10	35
<i>SDP–Cetinje To Live</i>	9	15	3	0	27
<i>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats - Victories, Not Divisions</i>	5	20	4	2	31
<i>Social Democrats (SD) - Consistently - For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</i>	3	8	3	2	16
<i>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</i>	2	6	0	0	8
<i>URA - Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered - Filip Adzic</i>	5	16	2	2	25
<i>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</i>	1	4	0	0	5
<i>DF Cetinje - Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</i>	2	10	3	1	16
<i>Coalition Cetinje's Concord - SPP and Liberal Party</i>	3	6	3	2	14
<i>For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</i>	2	4	2	0	8

**Table 13 – Overview of number of planned releases – printed media individually**

DPS has received the most space in total (8139,45 cm<sup>2</sup>), followed by Democrats with 5148,67 cm<sup>2</sup>.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE	TOTAL
<i>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</i>	259,80	1021,70	2628,95	4229,00	8139,45
<i>SDP–Cetinje To Live</i>	361,68	1456,86	225,00	0	2043,54
<i>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats - Victories, Not Divisions</i>	714,00	3602,55	308,12	524,00	5148,67
<i>Social Democrats (SD) - Consistently - For Old Royal Capital To Be The First Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</i>	29,93	841,18	625,00	405,00	2043,54
<i>URA - Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered - Filip Adzic</i>	28,94	562,49	0	0	591,43
<i>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</i>	446,70	2230,65	45,00	319,00	3041,35
<i>DF Cetinje - Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</i>	10,11	451,30	0	0	461,41
<i>Coalition Cetinje's Concord - SPP and Liberal Party</i>	36,26	1020,53	89,00	226,00	1371,79
<i>Za novi život Cetinja- dr Mihailo Babović-Pozitivna Crna Gora</i>	32,60	273,13	185,00	310,00	461,41
	29,34	440,25	231,00	0	700,59

Table 14 – Space dedicated to political subjects – printed media individually (expressed in cm<sup>2</sup>)

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE
<i>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</i>	64,95	127,71	202,22	422,90
<i>SDP–Cetinje To Live</i>	40,18	97,12	75,00	0
<i>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats - Victories, Not Divisions</i>	142,80	180,12	77,03	262,00
<i>Socijaldemokrate (SD)– Dosljedno- Da Prijestonica bude prva</i>	9,97	105,14	208,33	202,50
<i>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</i>	14,47	93,74	0	0
<i>URA - Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered - Filip Adzic</i>	89,34	139,41	22,50	159,50
<i>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</i>	10,11	112,82	0	0
<i>DF Cetinje - Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</i>	18,13	102,05	29,66	226,00
<i>Coalition Cetinje's Concord - SPP and Liberal Party</i>	10,86	45,52	61,66	155,00
<i>For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</i>	14,67	110,06	115,50	0

Table 15 – Average space in printed media – individually (expressed in cm<sup>2</sup>)

## ONLINE MEDIA

The most planned releases in the content of online media has had cumulatively DPS (80 releases) – almost equally on portal Vijesti, CdM and Analitika. Following are Democrats with 66 releases, then URA with 51 releases, and both parties had the dominant number of planned releases on the Vijesti portal. All other political subjects had significantly less planned releases than the three mentioned.

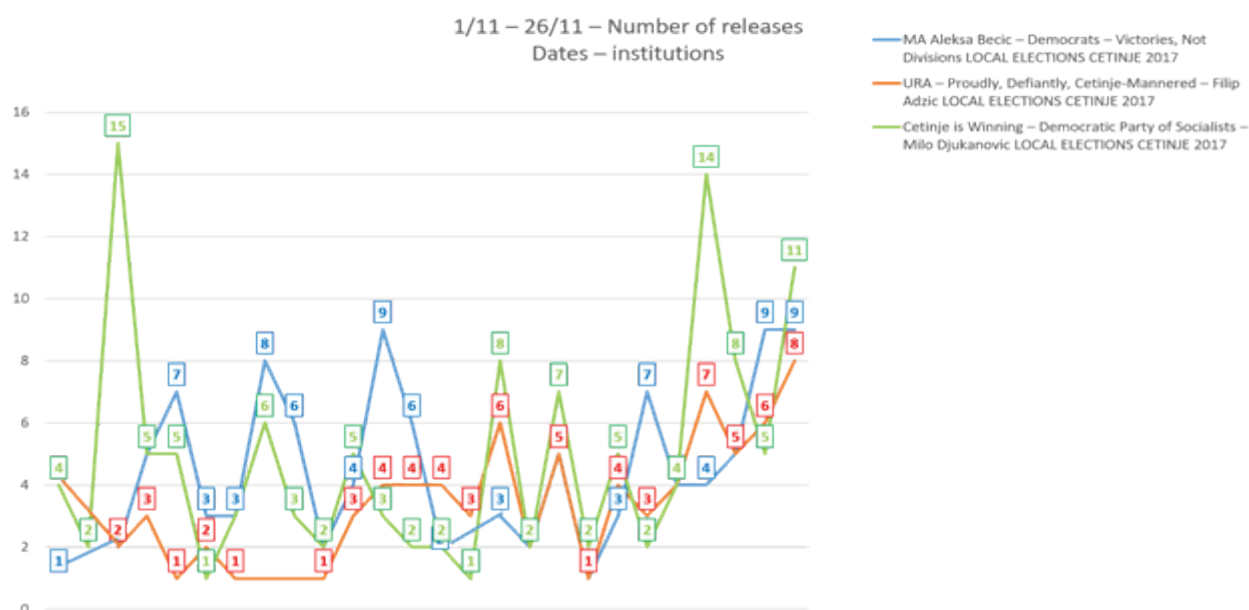


POLITICAL SUBJECTS	P. VIJESTI	CdM	ANALITIKA	TOTAL
<b>Cetinje is Winning – Democratic Party of Socialists – Milo Djukanovic</b>	28	26	26	80
<b>SDP–Cetinje To Live</b>	13	8	7	28
<b>MA Aleksa Becic-Democrats - Victories, Not Divisions</b>	36	18	12	66
<b>Social Democrats (SD) - Consistently - For Old Royal Capital To Be The First</b>	6	8	1	15
<b>Montenegrin – Gather Round Montenegrins</b>	5	3	0	8
<b>URA - Proudly, Defiantly, Cetinje-Mannered - Filip Adzic</b>	35	14	2	51
<b>Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>DF Cetinje - Only Unanimously, Only Strongly</b>	8	7	2	17
<b>Coalition Cetinje's Concord - SPP and Liberal Party</b>	4	3	1	8
<b>For New Life of Cetinje – PhD Mihailo Babovic – Positive Montenegro</b>	0	3	0	3

Table 16 – Overview of number of planned releases – online media individually

## TREND

The following graphic shows daily trend of number of planned media releases for political subjects: DPS, URA and Democrats, since these three political subjects individually generated the largest number of releases, namely, significantly more than other surveyed political subjects.



Graphic 13 - Trend of number planned media releases on daily level/all media (DPS, URA and Democrats)

### 2.2.3 LOCAL ELECTIONS - MOJKOVAC

Seven political subjects<sup>12</sup> have participated on local elections in Mojkovac. Political subject which accomplished the largest media presence is DPS (For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic) with 222 releases of which majority is unplanned, thus releases in which other subjects mention DPS. However, this political party, comparing to others, has had significantly more planned releases (releases in which political messages were placed). Democratic Montenegro (MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions – 42 planned releases) has had by half less planned releases than DPS did, but more than other political subjects.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF UNPLANNED RELEASES	NUMBER OF PLANNED RELEASES	TOTAL NUMBER OF RELEASES
<i>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</i>	136	<b>86</b>	222
<i>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro – For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</i>	29	<b>27</b>	56
<i>SDP Mojkovac To Live</i>	34	<b>20</b>	54
<i>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Mojkovac</i>	27	<b>24</b>	51
<i>URA – MA Ivan Asanin – Work is Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</i>	44	<b>33</b>	77
<i>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	63	<b>42</b>	105
<i>Democratic Front – Mojkovac to Work</i>	32	<b>25</b>	57

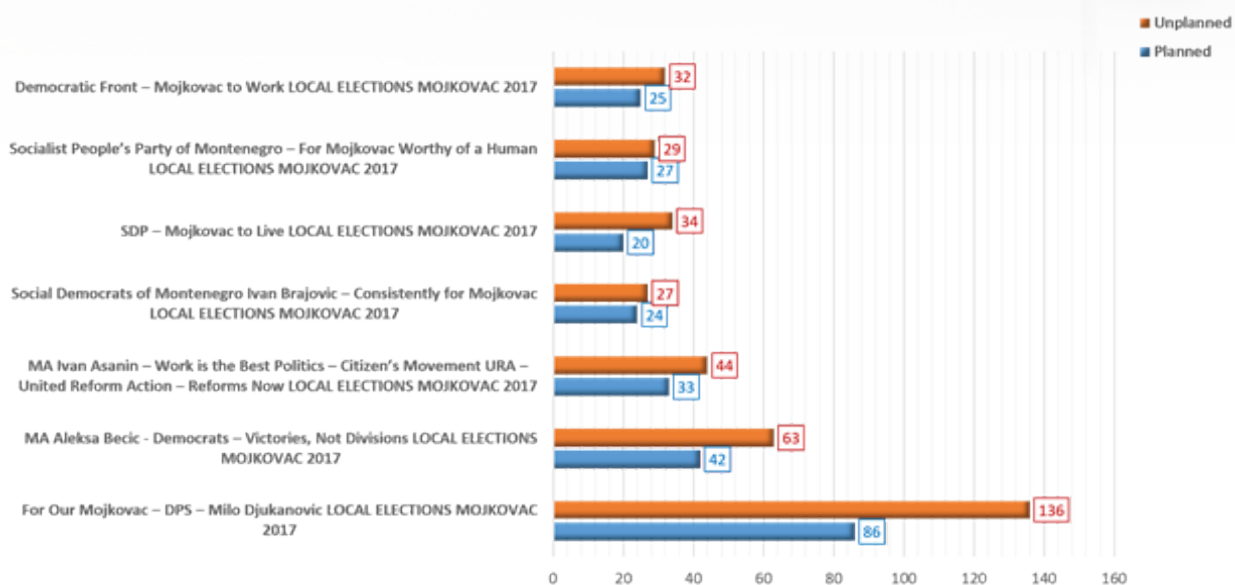
*Table 17 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – both planned and unplanned)*

Observed by media individually, DPS has had the most planned releases in the content of the daily newspaper *Pobjeda* and portals *CdM* and *Analitika*. The most unplanned releases (potentially negative ones) DPS had in the content of daily *Dan* and the *Vijesti* and *CdM* portals (see Table 18). Thereby, the number of planned and unplanned releases is equalised with the *CdM* portal, while with daily *Dan* and *Vijesti* portal there is a difference between number of planned and unplanned ones for the benefit of those unplanned. Similar disproportion (less pronounced) between the number of planned and unplanned releases for Democratic Montenegro was noticed in the *Analitika* portal and *Dnevne novine* newspaper, in which no release was made containing the planned media coverage of the stated list. Next, it is similar with electoral list of URA, with the fact that the number of unplanned releases for Democrats in *Dnevne novine* is higher in

<sup>12</sup> 'For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic'; 'Socialist People's Party of Montenegro – For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human'; 'Social Democratic Party – Mojkovac To Live'; 'Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Mojkovac'; 'URA – MA Ivan Asanin – Work is Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now!'; 'Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions'; 'Democratic Front – Mojkovac to Work (New Serbian Democracy, Movement for Changes, Democratic People's Party, Labour Party, Party of associated pensioners and disabled people of Montenegro and Democratic Serbian Party)'

relation to number of unplanned releases for URA in terms of this medium.

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Institutions – planning of releases



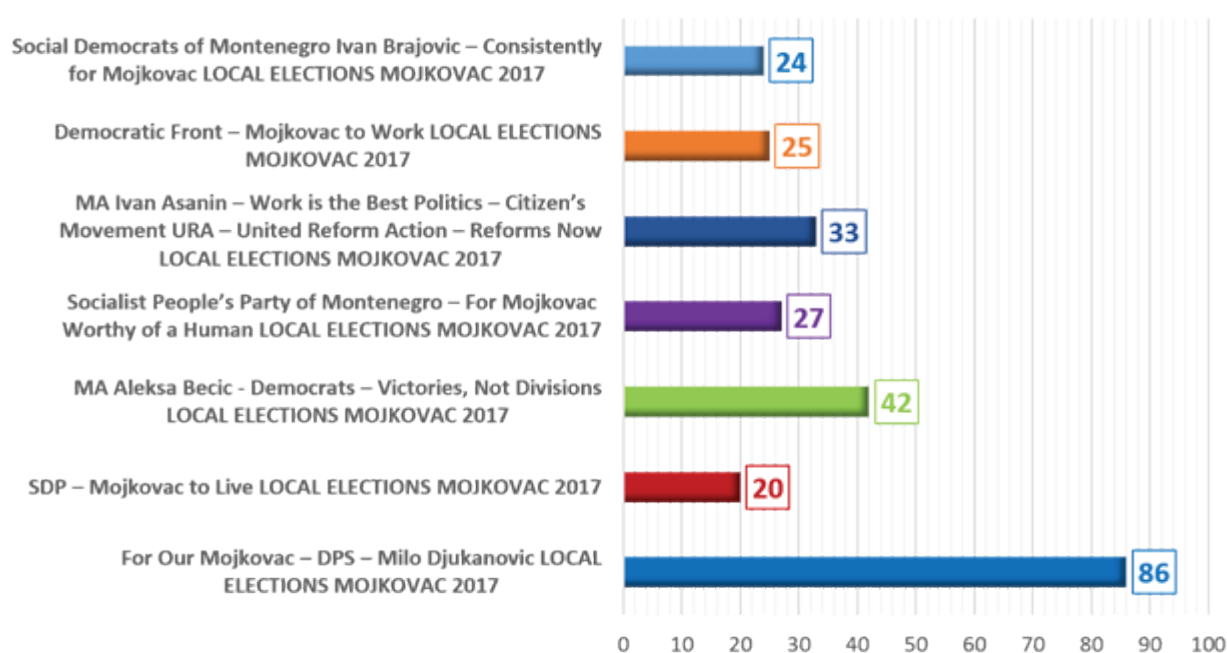
Graphic 14 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – both planned and unplanned)

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG		TV VIJESTI		PRVA		PINK		VIJESTI		DAN		POBJEDA		DNEVNE NOVINE		CdM		PVIJESTI		ANALITIKA		
	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	
<b>PLANNED/ UNPLANNED</b>	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	
<i>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</i>	2	6	2	3	1	0	2	1	3	7	6	24	12	8	7	3	18	27	14	43	16	14	
<i>Socialist People-s Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</i>	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	7	3	4	4	1	2	5	5	3	4	1	3
<i>SDP Mojkovac to Live</i>	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	7	3	2	5	1	3	3	5	6	6	0	4
<i>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</i>	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	7	4	2	4	1	2	7	2	4	5	1	3	
<i>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics CM URA – Reforms Now</i>	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	10	7	2	5	0	3	7	6	9	10	1	4	

<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	2	5	2	2	0	0	0	2	2	1	7	4	2	9	0	6	9	11	11	9	7	14
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	4	4	1	4	1	3	4	3	8	4	2	5

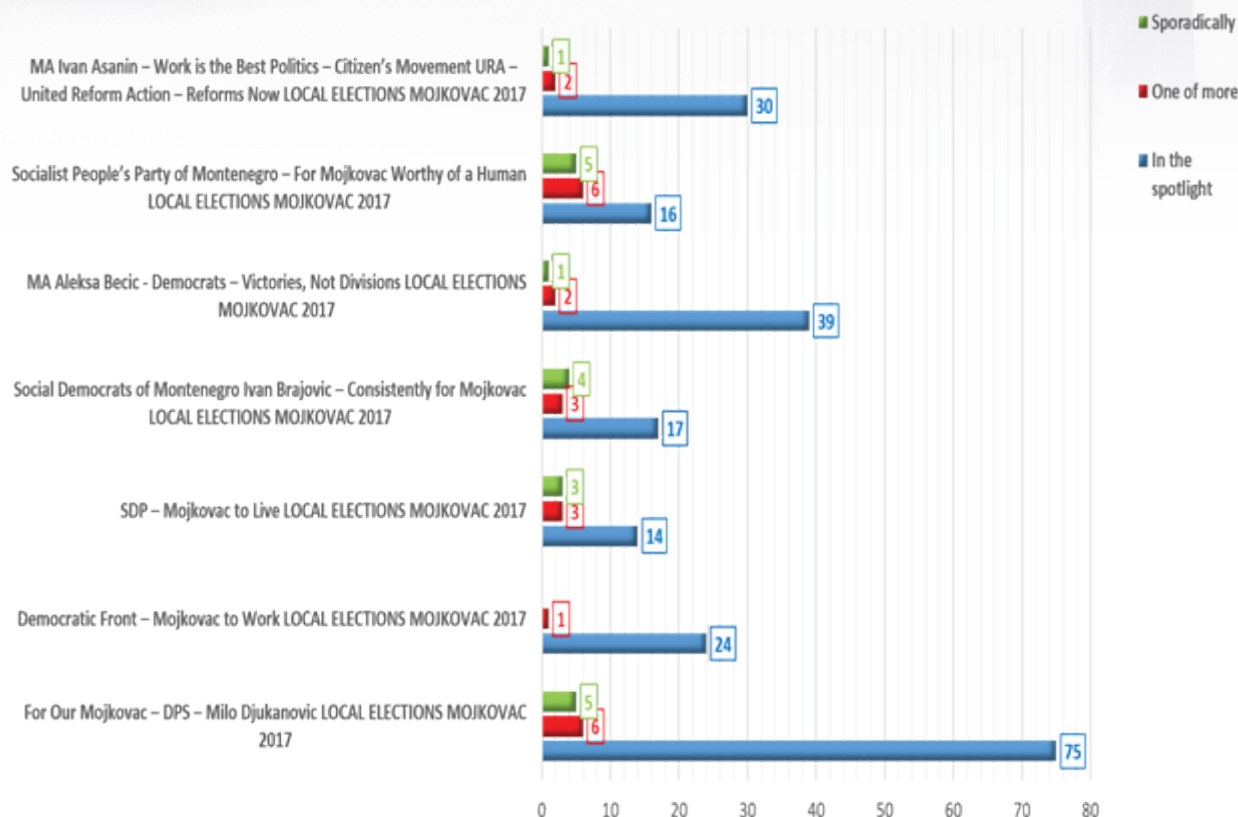
**Table 18 - Overview of number of planned and unplanned releases as per media individually**

### 1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases Institutions



**Graphic 15 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (planned media presence)**

For the purpose of this analysis, focus was also checked, i.e. representation of information in the release for each observed political subject individually. Three-stage scale was utilised: primary releases (in the spotlight), secondary mentioning (as one of more) and tertiary (sporadic mentioning).



Graphic 16 – Number of releases FOCUS – political subjects individually (planned media presence)

## TELEVISIONS

The most planned publications in the content of televisions has had the electoral list DPS (For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic), or 7 planned releases, followed by Democratic Montenegro with 4 planned releases. DF and SPP had 2 planned releases each, SD 1 planned release, while the electoral lists of URA and SDP did not have planned presence in the content of the central and rerun of informative shows of observed televisions.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK	TOTAL
<i>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</i>	2	2	1	2	7
<i>Socialist People’s Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</i>	0	2	0	0	2
<i>SDP Mojkovac To Live</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</i>	0	0	0	1	1





<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	2	2	0	0	4
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	0	2	0	0	2

**Table 19 – Overview of number of planned releases – televisions individually**

The most total time for placing their political attitudes has had DPS - 412 sec – of which more than half in the content of *TV Pink M* (255 seconds). On the other hand, most political subjects were not present in a planned manner in the content of informative shows of the *Pink M*, more precisely, only DPS and SD received the media space to communicate their political attitudes in the content of this television, which indicates a clear editorial policy of this media. In the content of *TV Prva*, media space for the placement of political attitudes was received or used by DPS only. Only DPS, Democrats and DF received or used the space on *TV Vijesti* to communicate their attitudes, while the space on TVCG1 was provided to or used only by DPS and Democrats.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK M	TOTAL
<b>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</b>	34	56	67	255	412
<b>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</b>	0	44	0	0	44
<b>SDP Mojkovac To Live</b>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</b>	0	0	0	13	13
<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	0	0	0	0	0
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	30	54	0	0	84
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	0	40	0	0	40

**Table 20 – Time dedicated to political subjects – televisions individually (expressed in seconds)**

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK M
<b>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</b>	17	28	67	127
<b>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</b>	0	22	0	0
<b>SDP Mojkovac To Live</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</b>	0	0	0	13
<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	15	27	0	0
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	0	20	0	0

**Table 21 – Average duration of releases – televisions individually (expressed in seconds)**



Date	Media	Show	Beginning	Duration	Headline	Author	Subject	Total	Focus
8 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	<u>20:08:26</u>	1:13:16	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	34	TERTIARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	For Our Mojkovac! - DPS Milo Djukanovic LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	867	PRIMARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	Socialist People's Party of Montenegro - For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	400	PRIMARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	SDP - Mojkovac To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	465	PRIMARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	483	PRIMARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	MA Ivan Asanin - Work is the Best Politics – Citizens' Movement URA – United Reform Action – Reforms Now LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	842	PRIMARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	818	PRIMARY
16 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:00:36</u>	1:33:56	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Aleksandra Karadzic	Democratic Front – Mojkovac To Work LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	571	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	For Our Mojkovac - DPS Milo Djukanovic LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	966	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	699	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	SDP - Mojkovac To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	419	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	501	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	MA Ivan Asanin - Work is the Best Politics – Citizens' Movement URA – United Reform Action – Reforms Now LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	906	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	844	PRIMARY
23 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	<u>17:02:52</u>	1:33:29	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Mojkovac	Sasa Klikovac	Democratic Front – Mojkovac To Work LOCAL ELECTIONS MOJKOVAC 2017	735	PRIMARY

Table 22 – Overview of out-informative shows (expressed in seconds)

POLITICAL SUBJECT	TVCG1
<b>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</b>	1833
<b>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</b>	1099
<b>SDP Mojkovac To Live</b>	884
<b>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</b>	1018
<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	1748
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	1662
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	1306

Table 23 – Time dedicated to political subjects in out-informative shows (expressed in seconds)

When it comes to out-informative shows, DPS, followed by URA and Democrats have received the most space on *RTCG*, while the least of that space was received or used by SDP. Also, it is significant to note that all actors in local elections in Mojkovac have received the opportunity to express attitudes in such format.

**Note:** There was no planned media presence of political subjects in relation to local elections in Mojkovac in out-informative shows broadcasted on programme of *TV Vijesti*, *Prva TV* and *TV Pink M*.

## PRINTED MEDIA

The most planned media releases in the content of printed media cumulatively has had DPS (For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic - 28 releases), of which the most is in daily newspaper *Pobjeda* (12 releases). Electoral lists Socialist People's Party of Montenegro 'For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human' and MA Ivan Asanin 'Work is the Best Politics' CM URA - Reforms Now, have had 16 planned media releases (the most in daily newspaper *Dan*). In the content of daily newspaper *Dnevne novine*, the planned media presence of electoral lists CM URA and Democrats was not observed.

POLITICAL SUBJECT	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE	TOTAL
<i>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</i>	3	6	12	7	28
<i>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</i>	4	7	4	1	16
<i>SDP Mojkovac To Live</i>	1	7	2	1	11
<i>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</i>	1	7	2	1	11
<i>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</i>	4	10	2	0	16
<i>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	2	7	2	0	11
<i>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</i>	3	4	1	1	9

**Table 24 – Overview of number of planned releases – printed media individually**

Most of the space in the content of printed media has had DPS, which, according both to number of releases and occupied space, has mostly placed its political attitudes via daily newspapers *Pobjeda* and *Dnevne novine*. Although they occupy a noticeably smaller space, political attitudes also of other political subjects are represented in the content of *Pobjeda*, while only DPS list is more significantly present in the content of *Dnevne novine*.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE	TOTAL
<i>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</i>	247,39	419,66	1816,93	2883,00	5366,98
<i>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</i>	110,00	348,47	376,86	2,00	839,15
<i>SDP Mojkovac To Live</i>	11,21	392,99	77,76	8,40	490,36



<b>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</b>	42,40	590,12	273,00	2,00	907,52
<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	356,86	1657,59	220,68	0	2235,13
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	133,31	1555,61	277,00	0	1965,92
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	163,22	534,60	209,00	187,00	1093,82

**Table 25 – Space dedicated to political subjects – printed media individually (expressed in cm<sup>2</sup>)**

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE
<b>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</b>	82,46	69,94	151,41	411,85
<b>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</b>	27,50	49,78	94,21	2,00
<b>SDP Mojkovac To Live</b>	11,21	56,14	38,88	8,40
<b>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</b>	42,40	84,30	136,50	2,00
<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	89,21	165,75	110,34	0
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	66,65	222,23	138,50	0
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	54,40	133,65	209,00	187,00

**Table 26 – Average size of release – printed media individually (expressed in cm<sup>2</sup>)**

## ONLINE MEDIA

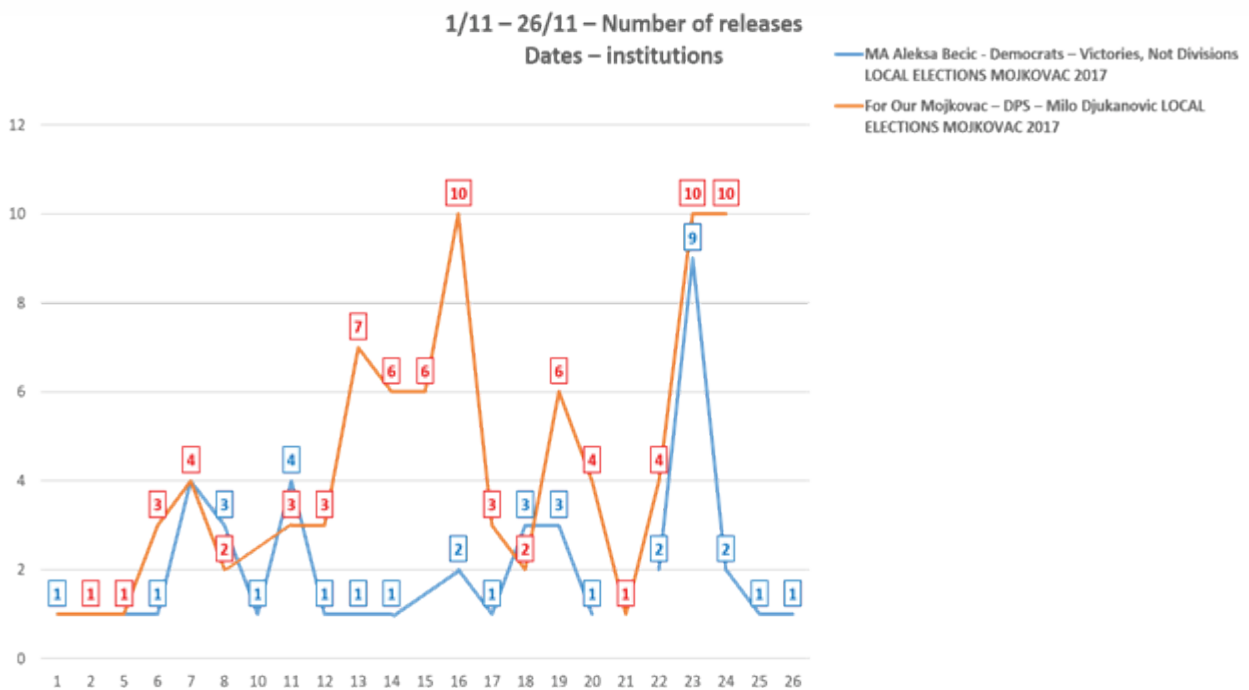
In the content of online media as well, the most extensive planned media presence has had DPS electoral list (51 releases). Publicity of this electoral list is evenly distributed in the content of three observed portals. According to the number of noted planned media releases, the electoral list Democrats (27 releases) follows with almost twice the less planned presence than DPS.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	P. VIJESTI	CdM	ANALITIKA	TOTAL
<b>For Our Mojkovac! DPS Milo Djukanovic</b>	17	18	16	51
<b>Socialist People's Party of Montenegro For Mojkovac Worthy of a Human</b>	3	5	1	9
<b>SDP Mojkovac To Live</b>	6	3	0	9
<b>Social Democrats of Montenegro – Ivan Brajovic Consistently for Mojkovac</b>	4	7	1	12
<b>URA MA Ivan Asanin Work is the Best Politics – CM URA – Reforms Now</b>	9	7	1	17
<b>MA Aleksa Becic – Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</b>	11	9	7	27
<b>Democratic Front Mojkovac To Work</b>	8	4	2	14

**Table 27 – Overview of number of planned releases – online media individually**

## TREND

The following graphic shows the daily trend of number of planned media releases for political subjects: DPS and Democrats. These two political subjects have been singled out because they have individually generated the largest number of releases, namely, significantly more in relation to all observed political subjects.



Graphic 17 - Trend of number of planned media releases on daily level/all media (DPS and Democrats)

## 2.2.4 LOCAL ELECTIONS – PETNJICA

Ten political subjects have participated on local elections in Petnjica.<sup>13</sup>

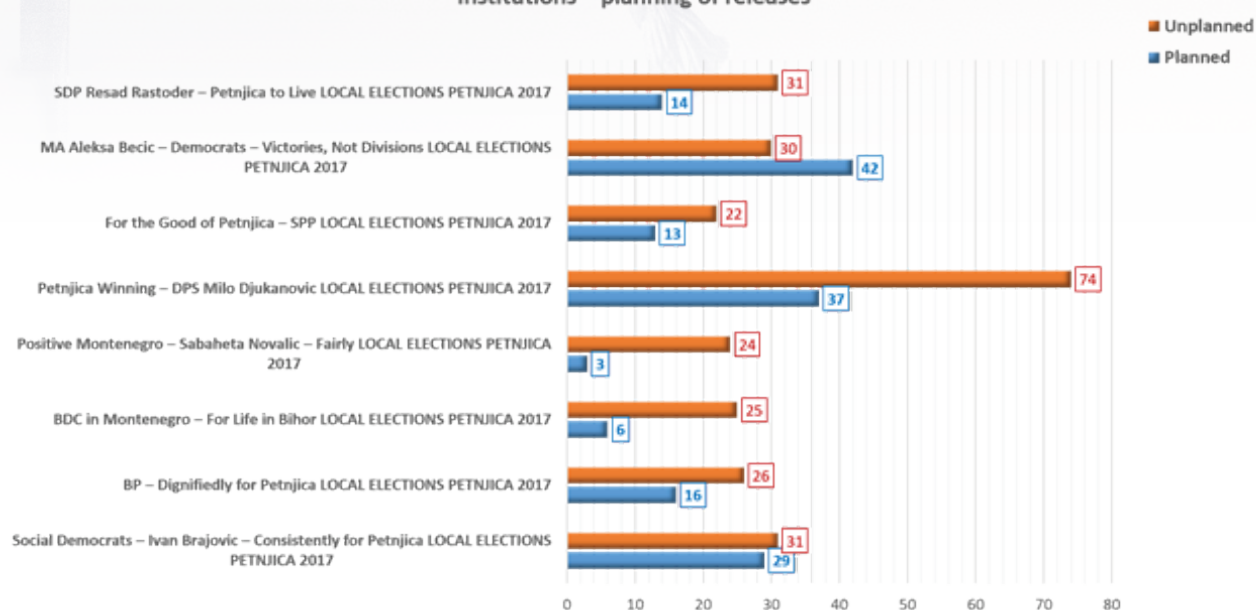
POLITICAL SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF UNPLANNED RELEASES	NUMBER OF PLANNED RELEASES	TOTAL NUMBER OF RELEASES
<i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i>	31	14	45
<i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i>	74	37	111
<i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i>	26	16	42
<i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i>	31	29	60
<i>Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i>	22	13	35
<i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	30	42	72
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i>	25	6	31
<i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly</i>	24	3	27

**Table 28 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – both planned and unplanned)**

Media have placed the largest number of releases (both planned and unplanned) about DPS (Petnjica Winning-DPS-Milo Djukanovic-111 releases). Democrats are on the second place (MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions) with 72 releases. Significant number of releases was generated also by SD (Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica), i.e. 60. Media have placed lesser number of releases about other lists which have participated on local elections in Petnjica, thus 45 releases have been placed about SDP, 42 about BP, 35 about SPP, 31 about BDC and 27 about Positive Montenegro.

<sup>13</sup> 'SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica to Live', 'Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic', 'Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica', 'Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica', 'Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica', 'Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions', 'Bosniak Democratic Community – For Life in Bihor', 'Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly'

1/11 – 26/11 – Number of releases  
Institutions – planning of releases

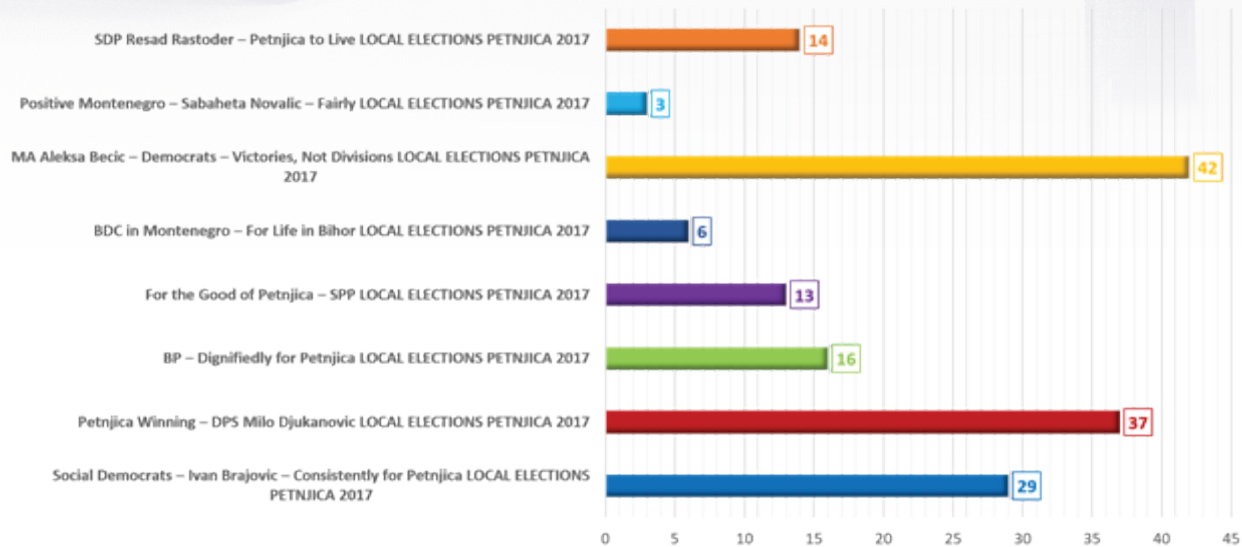


Graphic 18 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (all media – both planned and unplanned)

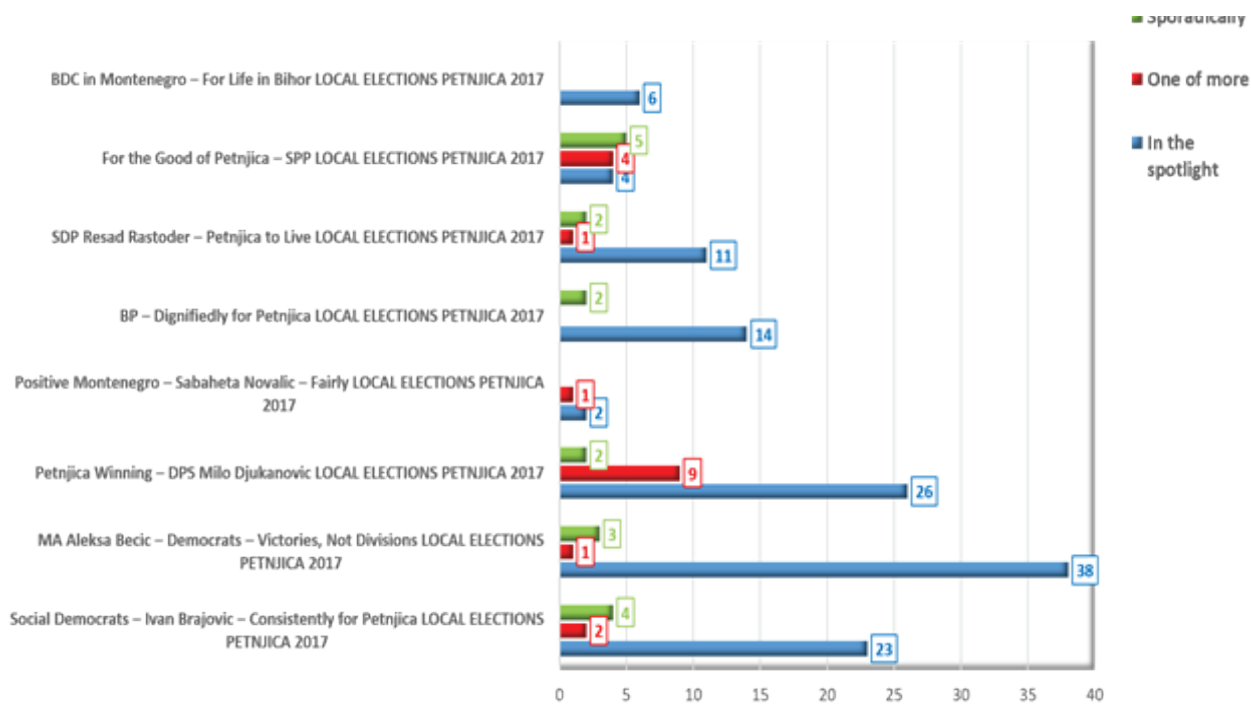
POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG		TV VIJESTI		PRVA		PINK		ND VIJESTI		DAN		POBJEDA		DNEVNE NOVINE		CdM		PVIJESTI		ANALITIKA	
	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U
PLANNED/UNPLANNED	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U	P	U
SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	2	6	4	1	2	0	3	3	3	3	7	0	3
Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic	0	5	0	0	2	0	1	3	3	4	3	19	7	5	5	3	9	13	4	15	3	7
Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	5	3	2	3	1	2	4	3	0	3	2	3
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica	0	5	0	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	8	4	1	4	1	2	9	3	5	5	1	4
MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	5	3	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	1	2
MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	10	5	2	3	1	3	9	4	13	5	1	2
Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	4	4	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	3	0	3
Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	3	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	4

Table 29 – Overview of number of planned and unplanned releases as per media individually

When it comes to number of releases in which the observed subjects have had opportunity of conveying pre-election messages, thus, in a planned manner, Democratic Montenegro has had 42 releases, which is for 5 releases more than DPS with 37 releases. Relatively high number of planned media appearances/releases has had also SD i.e. 29 releases.



Graphic 19 – Number of releases – political subjects individually (planned media presence)



Graphic 20 – Number of releases FOCUS – political subjects individually (planned media presence)



## TELEVISIONS

Political subjects which have participated in local elections in Petnjica generally did not have representation in informative shows of observed televisions. The most planned releases in informative programme of televisions have had DPS and Democrats with 3, and SD with 2. TVCG1 and TV Vijesti have placed planned releases only about Democrats, while Prva TV and Pink M only about DPS and SD. Other lists were not present in planned manner on this television.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA TV	PINK M	TOTAL
<i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i>	0	0	2	1	3
<i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i>	0	0	1	1	2
<i>Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	2	1	0	0	3
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly</i>	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 30 – Overview of number of planned releases – televisions individually**

When it comes to time dedicated to political subjects which have participated on elections in Petnjica, the most of it has been allocated to Democrats in informative shows of the observed televisions – 111 seconds. Televisions have dedicated 67 seconds to DPS, and 29 to SD. Other political subjects did not have planned releases in informative content of televisions.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA TV	PINK M	TOTAL
<i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i>	0	0	51	16	67
<i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i>	0	0	16	13	29
<i>Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	32	79	0	0	111
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly</i>	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 31 – Time dedicated to political subjects – televisions individually (expressed in seconds)**



Average duration of a release shows that *TV Vijesti* dedicated 79 seconds to Democrats, and *RTCG* to 16 seconds. A piece about DPS on *Prva TV* has on average amounted to 25,5 seconds and 16 seconds on *Pink M*. These data indicate that Democrats have had the most space on *RTCG*, and especially on *TV Vijesti*, in relation to other political subjects which have participated on local elections in Petnjica. Contrary to that, *Prva TV* and *Pink M* have in pre-election campaign for elections in Petnjica dedicated the time exclusively to the ruling DPS and SD.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG	TV VIJESTI	PRVA TV	PINK M
<b><i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i></b>	0	0	0	0
<b><i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i></b>	0	0	25,5	16
<b><i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i></b>	0	0	0	0
<b><i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i></b>	0	0	16	13
<b><i>Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i></b>	0	0	0	0
<b><i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i></b>	16	79	0	0
<b><i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i></b>	0	0	0	0
<b><i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly</i></b>	0	0	0	0

**Table 32 – Average duration of a release – televisions individually (expressed in seconds)**

Date	Media	Show	Beginning	Duration	Headline	Author	Subject	Time (sec)	Focus
8 Nov	TVCG1	Iz pravog ugla	20:08:26	1:13:16	IZ PRAVOG UGLA	Duska Pejovic	Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	34	TERTIARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	SDP - Resad Rastoder - Petnjica To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	731	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	1080	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	BP – Dignifiedly for Petnjica LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	841	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	602	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	For the Good of Petnjica – SPP LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	393	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	431	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	BDC in Montenegro - For Life in Bihor LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	588	PRIMARY
15 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:43	1:33:33	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	351	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	SDP - Resad Rastoder - Petnjica To Live LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	761	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	840	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	BP – Dignifiedly for Petnjica LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	563	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	727	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	For the Good of Petnjica – SPP LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	483	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	569	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	BDC in Montenegro - For Life in Bihor LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	625	PRIMARY
22 Nov	TVCG1	Special show	17:00:38	1:36:41	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2017 - Petnjica	Sasa Klikovac	Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly LOCAL ELECTIONS PETNJICA 2017	385	PRIMARY

**Table 33 – Overview of out-informative shows (expressed in seconds)**



POLITICAL SUBJECTS	TVCG1
<i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i>	1492
<i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i>	1920
<i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i>	1404
<i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i>	1363
<i>Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i>	876
<i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	1000
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i>	1213
<i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairlyww</i>	736

**Table 34 – Time dedicated to political subjects in out-informative shows (expressed in seconds)**

When it comes to out-informative shows, convincingly the largest space of RTCG has received DPS, followed by SDP and Bosniak Party, while the least of that space has received or used Positive Montenegro. Also, it is important to emphasize that all actors on local elections in Petnjica received opportunity to express attitudes in such format.

**Note:** There was no planned media presence of political subjects in relation to local elections in Petnjica in out-informative shows broadcasted on programme of TV Vijesti, TV Prva and TV Pink M.

## PRINTED MEDIA

Printed media have placed 18 planned releases about activities of DPS in Petnjica in pre-election campaign, of which the most was noted in the content of *Pobjeda* and *Dnevne novine*. As per number of planned releases in printed media, Democrats are on second place with 16 releases, and the mostly in daily newspapers *Dan*. As per number of planned releases, SD follows with 12 and BP with 10 releases.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE	TOTAL
<i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i>	1	6	1	0	8
<i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i>	3	3	7	5	18
<i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i>	2	5	2	1	10
<i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i>	2	8	1	1	12
<i>Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i>	2	5	1	1	9
<i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	3	10	2	1	16
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i>	1	4	0	0	5
<i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly</i>	1	2	0	0	3

**Table 35 – Overview of number of planned releases – printed media individually**



When it comes to space of planned releases which has been allocated to political subjects which have participated in elections in Petnjica in printed media, DPS is leading. Hence, this party has occupied 3560,10 cm<sup>2</sup> in printed media, of which it has received the most space in *Dnevne novine* - 1949,75 cm<sup>2</sup>. Democrats have occupied 1955,83 cm<sup>2</sup> in this kind of media, while the most has been allocated by daily newspaper *Dan* 1493,83 cm<sup>2</sup>. Bosniak Party and SD were allocated approximately the same space in printed media 1473,59 cm<sup>2</sup>, i.e. 1227,81cm<sup>2</sup>. Other political subjects were allocated significantly less space in printed media.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE	TOTAL
SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live	29,18	655,66	4,00	0	688,84
Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic	134,66	476,20	999,49	1949,75	3560,10
Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica	246,85	734,74	18,00	474,00	1473,59
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica	94,27	819,54	312,00	2,00	1227,81
Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica	30,01	231,79	2,00	2,00	265,80
MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions	203,00	1493,83	49,00	210,00	1955,83
Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor	9,83	720,67	0	0	730,50
Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly	15,78	161,57	0	0	177,35

Table 36 – Space dedicated to political subjects – printed media individually (expressed in cm<sup>2</sup>)

Averagely the most space as per releases has been allocated to DPS, namely in *Dnevne novine* 389,75 cm<sup>2</sup>, *Dan* 158,73 cm<sup>2</sup> and *Pobjeda* 142,78cm<sup>2</sup>.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	VIJESTI	DAN	POBJEDA	DNEVNE
SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live	29,18	109,30	4,00	0
Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic	44,89	158,73	142,78	389,75
Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica	123,42	146,95	9,00	474,00
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica	23,57	102,44	312,00	2,00
Socialist People's Party – For the Good of Petnjica	15,00	46,36	2,00	2,00
MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions	67,67	149,34	24,50	210,00
Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor	9,83	180,17	0	0
Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly	15,78	80,78	0	0

Table 37 – Average duration of release – printed media individually (expressed in cm<sup>2</sup>)

## ONLINE MEDIA

The most planned releases in the content of online media was recorded about activities of Democratic Montenegro, DPS and SD. Individually, the most releases were noted on portal Vijesti about activities of Democrats – 13. In the content

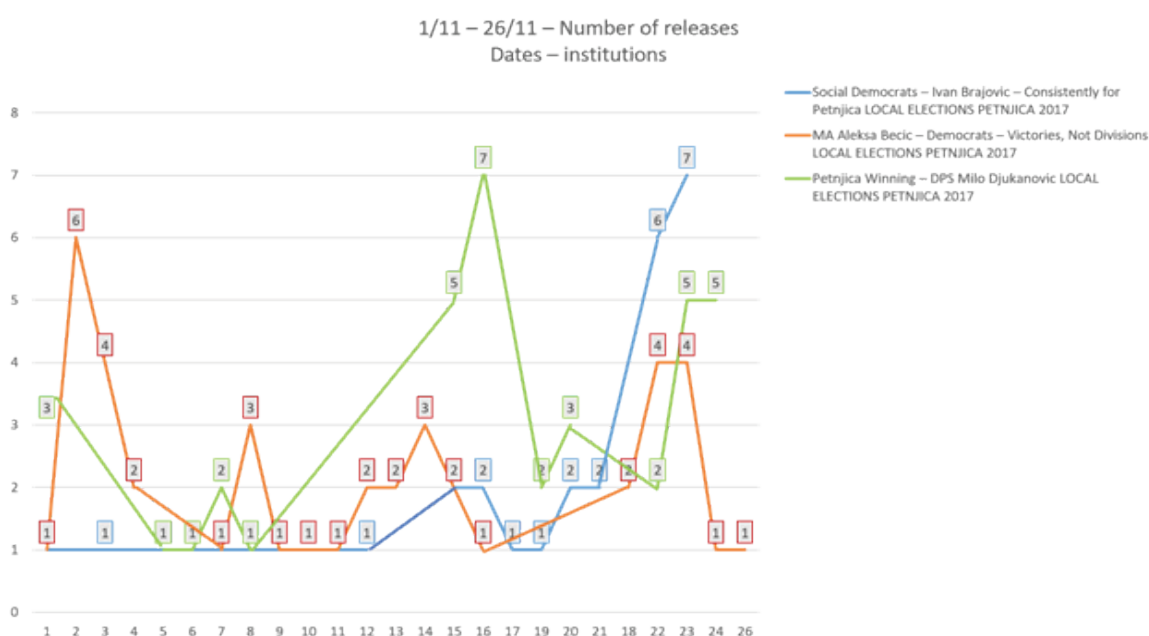
of portal CdM, 9 planned releases about pre-election activities of DPS, SD and Democrats in Petnjica were recorded. Portals were not placing any planned releases about activities of Positive Montenegro in this municipality.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS	P. VIJESTI	CdM	ANALITIKA	TOTAL
<i>SDP Resad Rastoder – Petnjica To Live</i>	3	3	0	6
<i>Petnjica Winning – DPS - Milo Djukanovic</i>	4	9	3	16
<i>Bosniak Party – Dignifiedly for Petnjica</i>	0	4	2	6
<i>Social Democrats - Ivan Brajovic – Consistently for Petnjica</i>	5	9	1	15
<i>Socialist People’s Party – For the Good of Petnjica</i>	1	2	1	4
<i>MA Aleksa Becic - Democrats – Victories, Not Divisions</i>	13	9	1	23
<i>Bosniak Democratic Community – BDC – For Life in Bihor</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Positive Montenegro - Sabaheta Novalic – Fairly</i>	0	0	0	0

*Table 38 – Overview of number of planned releases – online media individually*

## TREND

Daily trend of number of planned media releases for political subjects DPS, SD and Democrats is shown in the following graphic. These three political subjects are singled out because they have jointly generated the largest number of releases, i.e., significantly more in relation to observed political subjects.



*Graphic 21 - Trend of number of planned media releases on daily level/all media (DPS, SD and Democrats)*



## 2.3. Monitoring of advertising - local elections 2017

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Company Arhimed has, for the needs of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) conducted a monitoring of advertising of political parties for local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica. Monitoring was conducted in the period of 1/11/2017 – 24/11/2017, i.e., from the day that submission of lists of political subjects participating on elections was noted, until the period of initiation of the institute of pre-election silence. Monitoring was conducted in the content of televisions, printed media, which are placed on the territory of Montenegro. These are televisions **777, Prva TV, Pink M, TVCG1, TVCG2, Vijesti**, as well as printed media **Dan, Dnevne novine, Pobjeda and Vijesti**. Beside televisions and portals, the monitoring was conducted also in the content of portals: **Antena M, Analitika, CdM, Dan and Vijesti**. Monitoring encompasses broadcasting and publishing of advertisements of all political subjects (lists) which have participated in local elections in 2017 in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica.

By monitoring of contents, by quantitative method, of televisions and daily newspapers a number of broadcasted and published advertisements was determined, while the qualitative method was used to check duration, i.e. space, which advertisements have occupied as well as term, i.e. page on which the advertisements were published.

RTCG is, as a public service, obliged to, in accordance with the Article 53a of the Law on Election of Councillors and MPs, provide equal and daily free-of-charge space for broadcasting to submitters of confirmed electoral lists.

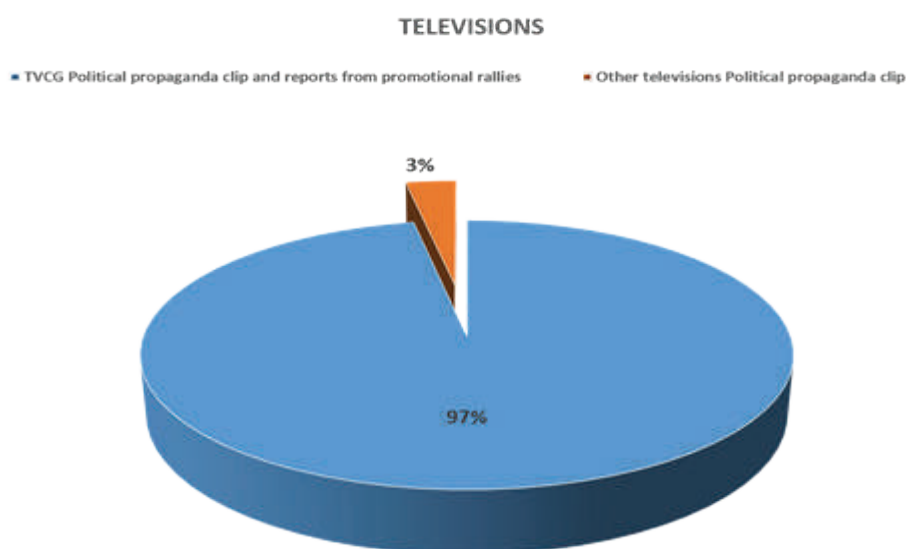
#### *'Article 53a*

*During the election campaign, Television of Montenegro and Radio of Montenegro shall ensure to validated candidate list submitting entities free of charge broadcasting time in an equal and daily manner, within the appropriate commercial marketing blocks on the TV channel or radio channel whose audibility and visibility are ensured in the entire territory of Montenegro, for: - political advertising TV and audio video clips in all political marketing blocks, to the extent not less than 200 seconds per day, depending on the planned number of political marketing advertising blocks; - 3 minute reports from promotional rallies twice a day, in timeslots following the central evening news on TV and radio channels. Production of contents referred to in para. 1 indent 1 of this Article shall be an obligation of the candidate list submitting entity which is being promoted.'*

This monitoring indicates also the extent of exercise of the right to free advertising by the political subjects.

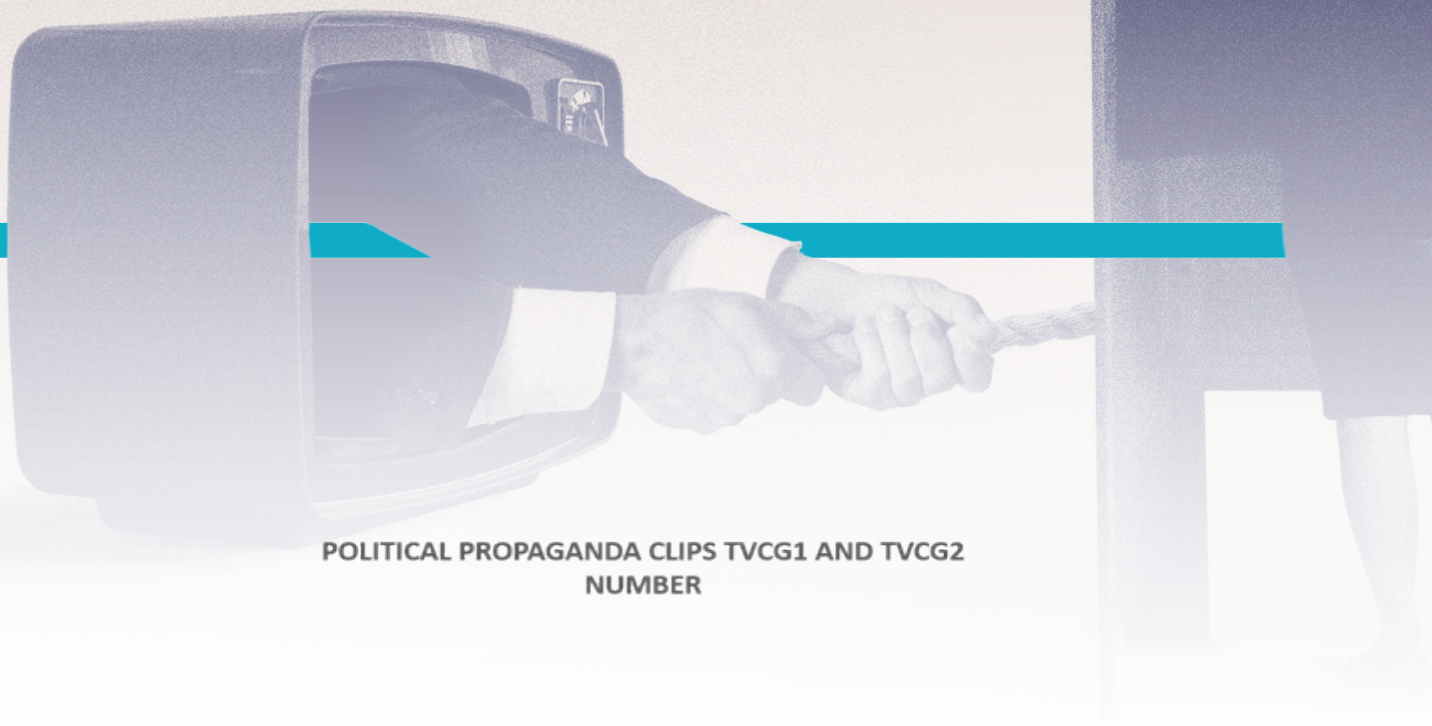
### GENERAL DATA (TV and printed media)

In the observed period from 1/11/2017 until 24/11/2017, citizens have had the opportunity to see a total of 1,770 political propaganda clips and reports from promotional rallies on televisions, as well as 12 advertisements of two political subjects in printed media (*Democrats* in daily newspapers *Dan* and *URA* in *Vijesti* – see graphic 28), which relate to local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica.

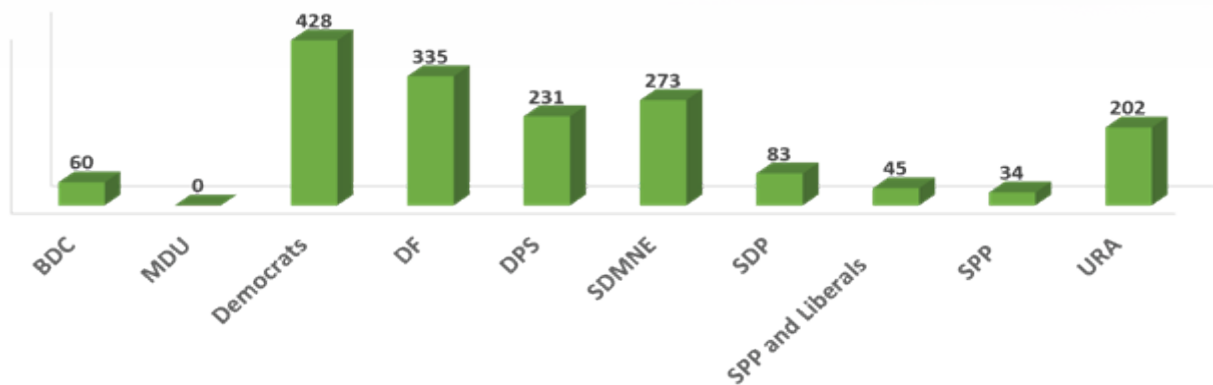


**Graphic 22 – Number of political propaganda clips and reports broadcasted on all televisions from 1/11 until 24/11/2017 (%)**

Of total of 1,770 clips broadcasted on televisions, the largest percentage, even as much as 97% is related to broadcasting on public service RTCG, to which RTCG is obliged in accordance with the Law on Election of Councillors and MPs, i.e., that it must provide equal and daily free-of-charge space for broadcasting to submitters of confirmed electoral lists. Only 3%, or 56 political propaganda clips were noted on other televisions. It is the same with duration, namely, citizens could see a total of 53,925 seconds of political promotional programme for 24 days, almost 15 hours for 24 days, of which 97% was on two programmes of public service RTCG.



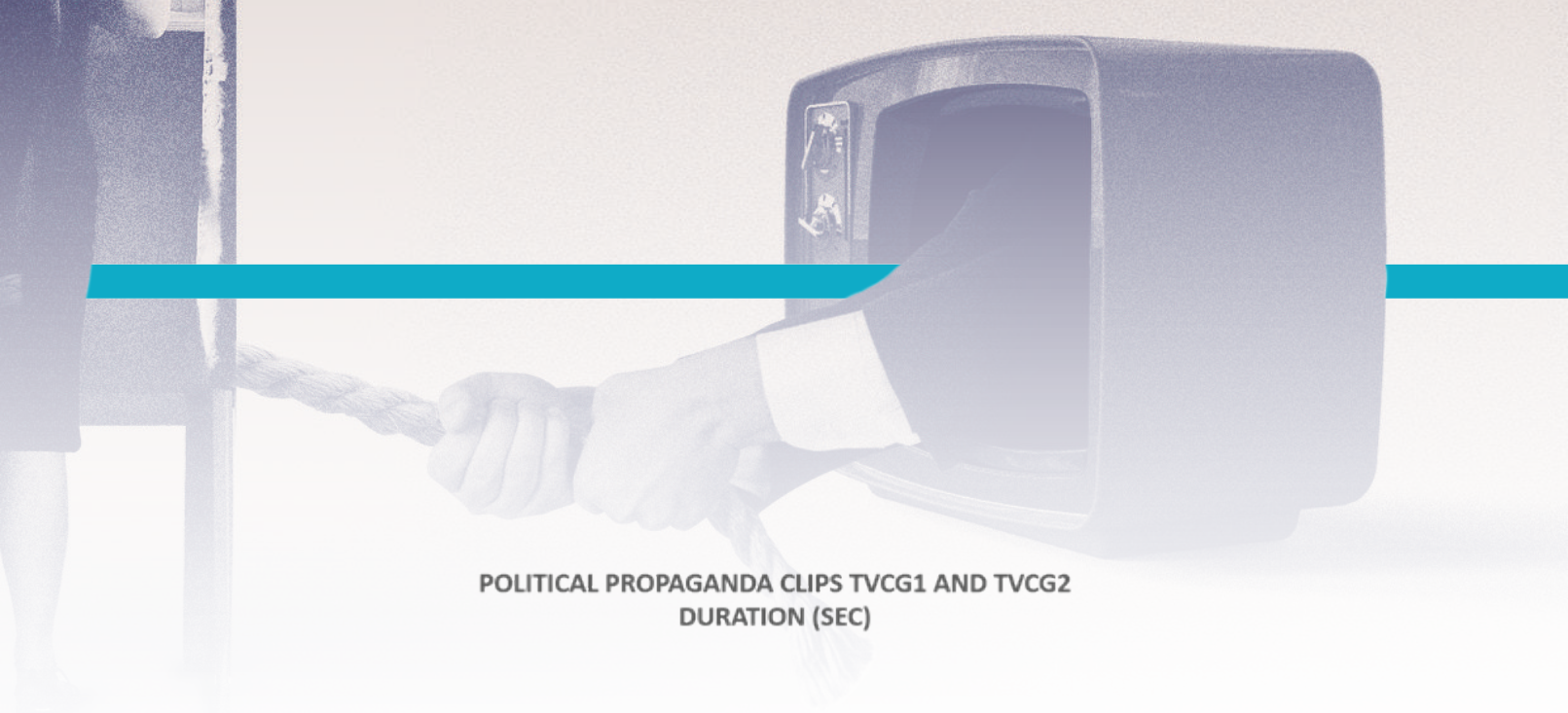
**POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS TVCG1 AND TVCG2  
NUMBER**



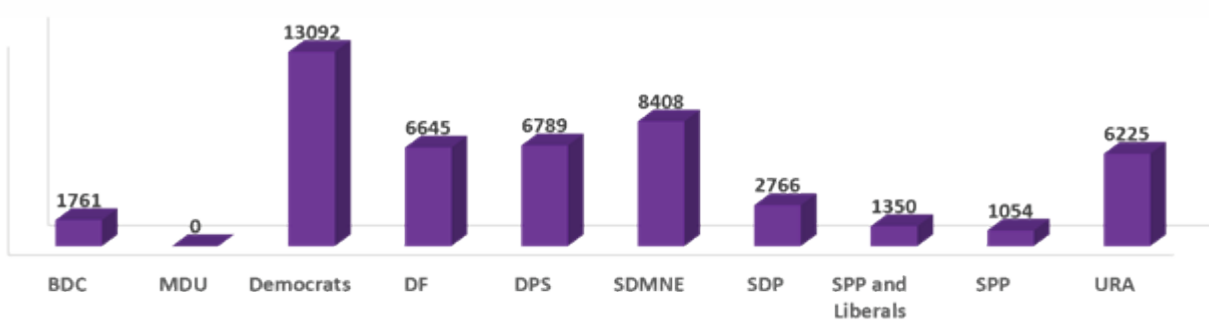
*Graphic 23 – Number of political propaganda clips broadcasted on TVCG1 and TVCG2 from 1/11 until 24/11/2017*

Public service has broadcasted a total of 1,691 political propaganda clips in duration of 48,090 seconds, i.e. viewers of RTCG could follow more than 13h of political content of subjects which participated in local elections in Cetinje, Mojkovac and Petnjica. Democrats have used the best their right to free broadcasting on public service RTCG, which begun their broadcasting on 7/11/2017 and had on average 23 political propaganda clips daily, i.e. 727 seconds, which amounts to more than 25% of total number of broadcasting. DPS has used its right much less, and has almost 50% less advertisements than Democrats, which could be explained also by much later submission of their videos, since they started broadcasting on public service RTCG on 13/11/2017.





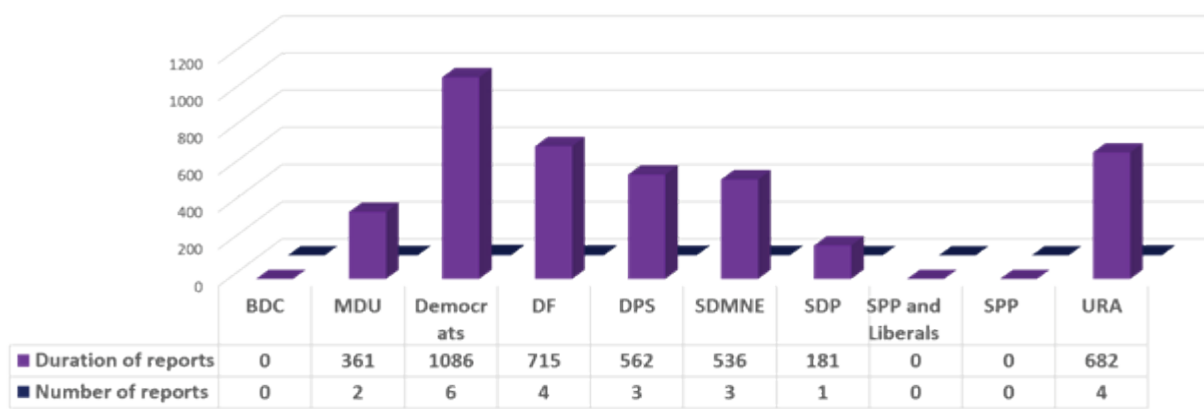
**POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS TVCG1 AND TVCG2  
DURATION (SEC)**



*Graphic 24 – Duration of political propaganda clips broadcasted on TVCG1 and TVCG2 from 1/11 until 24/11/2017 (seconds)*

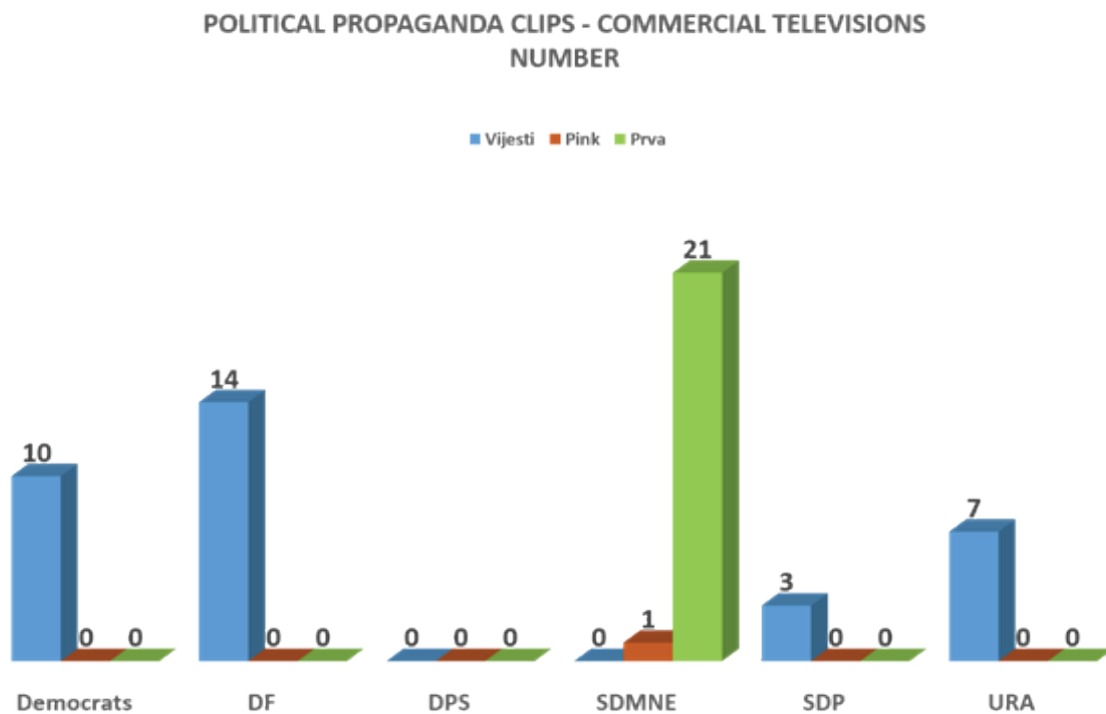
Montenegrin, Old Troop of Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, and Positive Montenegro did not use their right to broadcast political propaganda clips.

**Reports from promotional rallies TVCG1  
Number and duration (sec)**



*Graphic 25 – Number and duration of reports from promotional rallies broadcasted on TVCG1 from 1/11 until 24/11/2017 (number and seconds)*

TVCG 1 has in the observed period published a total of 23 reports from promotional rallies, in the total duration of 4,122 seconds. As it was prescribed by the Law for reports to last 3 minutes, the Law is respected in that part (negligible deviations). Montenegrin exercised its right to publish the report from the promotional rally in the prime-time after News 2 on RTCG. Viewers of RTCG were able to see the promotional rally of Democrats 6 times, starting from 14 November until 24 November, on the eve of election silence. Reports from promotional rallies were broadcasted in the prime-time after the central news at 19:30h. It is important to note that RTCG does not influence the content of this material (either qualitatively or quantitatively) but rather relies on what is submitted to them by electoral lists.

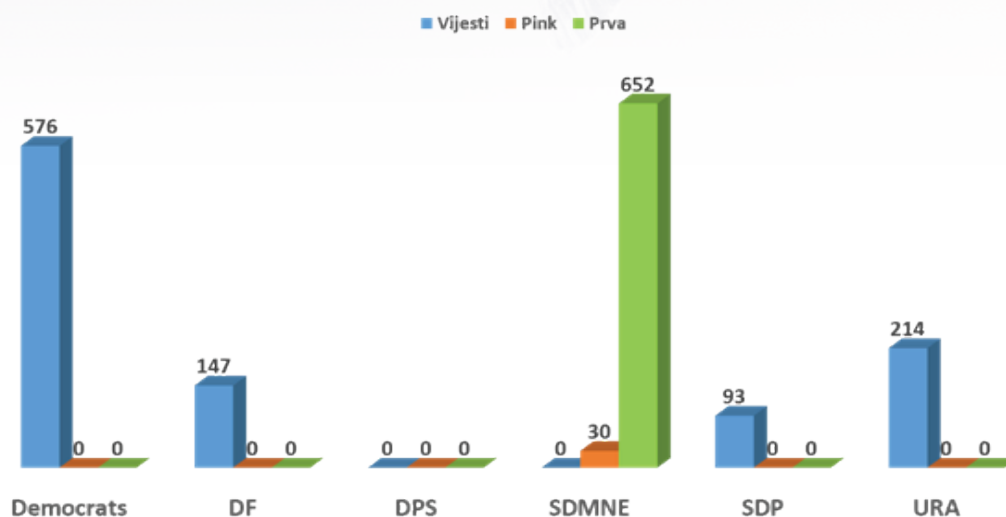


**Graphic 26 – Number of political propaganda clips broadcasted on commercial televisions from 1/11 until 24/11/2017**

Political subjects paid their political propaganda clips in significantly low number, namely, a total of 55 advertisements were noted, in the total duration of 1,681 seconds. Democrats, DF, SDP and URA have had paid political marketing on TV Vijesti, while SD chose TV Prva and Pink M to influence their voters.



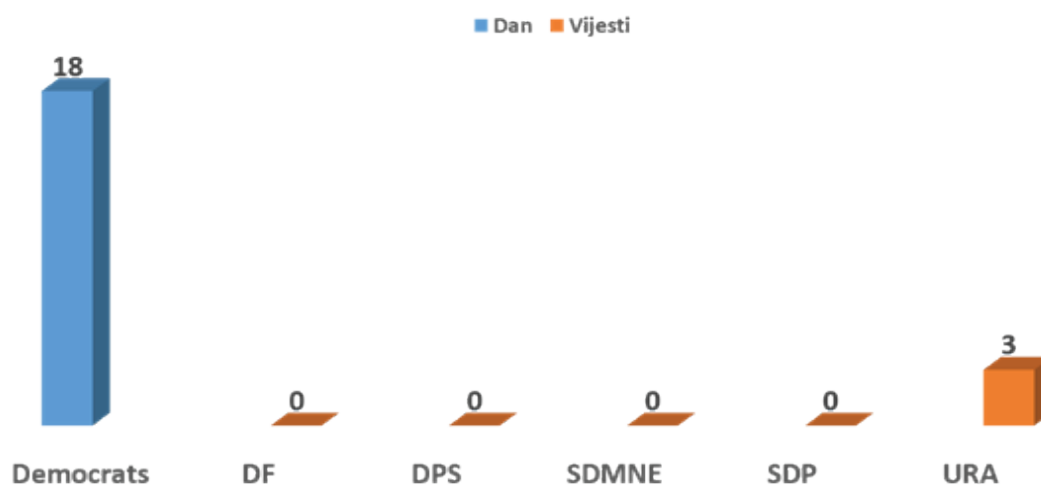
**POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS  
DURATION**



**Graphic 27 – Duration of political propaganda clips broadcasted on commercial televisions from 1/11 until 24/11/2017**

The highest number of seconds broadcasted by the single political subject was on TV Prva, and DPS. DPS decided 'not to pay' advertising on televisions which speaks also about their change when it comes to election marketing strategy.

**ADVERTISEMENTS PRINTED MEDIA  
NUMBER**



**Graphic 28 – Number of advertisements in printed media from 1/11 until 24/11/2017**



Only Democrats have been placing themselves in the printed media, in duration of 10 days publishing their advertisement on the cover of daily newspaper Dan. Additionally, the statistics include newspaper insertions and liners (covers of newspapers) of which there were 8 (three liners for Mojkovac and Cetinje - a total of 6, and one insertion for Mojkovac and Cetinje - a total of 2). News liners and covers are placed only in targeted local environments, and are not part of circulation in other municipalities.<sup>14</sup>

The advertisement of CM URA was in the ND Vijesti on front page in the upper right corner on 23 and 24 November. According to data provided to CCE by the Agency for Prevention of Corruption, CM URA placed a local advertisement (insertion) in the daily newspaper Dan on 24 November for the area of Municipality of Mojkovac. Ultimately, CM URA has had a total of three advertisements in printed media for local elections held on 26 November.

When it comes to web portals, there is no developed methodology for monitoring of advertising on the same in Montenegro. It was concluded by daily monitoring that political subjects URA and DF advertised on portal Vijesti, whereon they had a banner on the front page, as well as a pop-up, 10 days prior to elections, while DPS used Google AdWords.<sup>15</sup>

Utilising the Law on Free Access to Information, CCE addressed the Agency for Prevention of Corruption (APC) with a request for submission of all reports that media (electronic, printed, online) have submitted to the APC, which contain data on achieved incomes regarding campaign for local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje, Petnjica. Additionally, CCE requested also all reports on expenses of election campaign that political parties are obliged to submit to APC after completion of local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje, Petnjica.

APC has provided a part of contracts of the media houses with the electoral lists, mainly as regards the contracts of *Dan*, *TV Vijesti* and the *Daily Press* (newspaper and portal Vijesti), but did not submit contracts of TV stations PRVA and PINK M with SD (which were the only ones who advertised there), stating that amounts are placed on the APC website. CCE team found information on amounts of money, but without the accompanying contracts that were delivered in other cases (e.g.

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<sup>14</sup> According to the data of the Agency for Prevention of Corruption, one insertion of Democrats in Dan for City Municipality Tuzi is also noted, as well as three liners – a total of 4 localised advertisements of Democrats for elections in Tuzi. City Municipality Tuzi was not included in this analysis, thus these numbers are not a part of the final statistics.

<sup>15</sup> There could be repetitions of displaying banners on Google AdWords to same users, but it could be estimated that a 1,6 million of displays of banners could be shown to several hundreds of thousands different users.

for Dan, TV Vijesti, newspaper and portal Vijesti). Media are not required to submit contracts that they have had on advertising to the APC, but political parties are, which APC has submitted, but only when it comes to opposition parties and part of the treaty that applies to the ruling parties.

It is important to emphasize that political parties have advertised also in local media and on less visited informative portals, but they are not part of this analysis. Below is a table of analysed media and spending of parties as per media for local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje and Petnjica.


	Dnevne novine		Televisions			Portals	Total expenses of media presentation of electoral lists for stated media
	DAN	ND VIJESTI	TV VIJESTI	PRVA	PINK	PORTAL VIJESTI	
CM URA	149.18	476	6426			6045.2	13096.38
DEMOCRATIC FRONT (DF)			3332			7157.85	10489.85
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP)		2142	1428				3570
DEMOCRATIC MONTENEGRO	5780.08		7235.2			2677.5	15692.78
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (SD)				2796.5	1428		4224.5
<i>Total incomes of observed media during election campaign</i>	5929.26	2618	18421.2	2796.5	1428	15880.55	
	47073.51						

Table 39 – Expenses of political parties for media representation as per analyzed media (source: APC)



### 3. Conclusions and recommendations

- Research of Centre for Civic Education (CCE) has shown that additional efforts are needed in order to formulate and shape the Law on Election of Councillors and MPs in the part of legal restriction of maximum of representation of election offer on public service. Namely, the existing framework gives minimum but not maximum, thus this significantly burdens the informative programme of RTCG during election campaigns, and affects also the entire programme scheme;
- Current forms of debates, lacking any kind of editorial interventions, are often tiring and monotonous from the aspect of viewers, considering the strict keeping within the time frame prescribed by earlier passed rules of RTCG, without the possibility for hosts themselves to add on through additional questions that are opened by debate. CCE, in this direction, recommends a model applied by some public services in the region during media coverage of parliamentary elections in Serbia. This implies that all legal and all internally adopted rules are realized in programme in the other channel of public service, while the interactive debates, with holders of the most relevant electoral lists are broadcasted on first channel whereon it is emphasized that all rules are implemented on the second channel, and that such manner of informing of the public is an editorial decision. Thereby the viewership would increase, and the interested public could also, in a dynamic discussion, truly perceive what are programme offers of relevant political subjects. This requires also strengthening of capacities of informative redaction of RTCG in order to assure a professional and balanced relation towards key actors;
- The research findings confirm deep polarisation and politisation of Montenegrin media, which does not contribute to objective informing of citizens which is of key importance for development of political culture and greater citizens' participation but also to choices of voters determined on the strength of arguments. Unfortunately, even via these campaigns for local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje and Petnjica, we were witnesses of diametrically different informing of media about one identical event which is not in a public interest;
- CCE recommends that campaign is extended in formal legislative manner. In this manner, citizens would be enabled to acquire a more realistic image of all options that are at their disposal, and would thus have more time to form clear attitudes on their political choice. As the matters are now, a month of election campaign is turned into intensive *blitzkrieg* battle, without contentful debates, while the informative value of campaigns is small which ultimately brings voters in a marginalized position;

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- Article 6 of the Law on Election of Councillors and MPs opens up a possibility for different interpretation of 'election silence' (election promotion via media and public gathering ceases 24 hours prior to election day). The Law requires certain supplement – it is not precisely defined what can be considered under 'gatherings and other election activities', which creates space for different interpretations;
  - These elections have strengthened a tendency of intensifying of using the Internet space as a significant for influence on voters, in which there are practically no legal restrictions. Campaigns on social networks are not defined even in most of the countries of participatory democracy, but the uncontrolled content behind which often stand anonymous sources leaves space for potentially strong and personal discreditation of election actors, as well as it was the case on last local elections in Mojkovac, Cetinje, Petnjica.
  - The new Law on Media, which is due to be adopted during 2018, must be regulating also the responsibility of owner/editor for content of comments on informative Internet portals, considering that anonymous comments are becoming 'weapon' for slandering of different-opinionated persons, while there is currently no manner of protection of dignity of a person against it;
  - CCE estimates that AEM, as a regulatory body, must be more dedicated to monitoring of media, which also includes respect for the legal provisions on reporting about election campaign, as well as timely proactive reaction if a reason for it is determined in order to influence reduction of tensions that campaign often cause and provide objective informing of citizens. It would be especially important that AEM conducts monitoring of media with an emphasis on election representations and political advertising, thereby contributing institutionally to improvement of transparency of the entire process and creation of credible information, for the purpose of placing the public and general interest before the individual and particular one.



# Literature

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- Law on Media ('Off. Gazette of RMNE', No. 51/02, 62/02 and 'Off. Gazette of Montenegro', No. 46/10, 73/10, 40/11)
- Law on Public Radio-Broadcasting Services of Montenegro ('Off. Gazette of Montenegro', No. 79/08 and 45/12)
- Davor Glavas; Political advertising and media campaign during pre-election period, OESCE, Montenegro, 2017;
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- [http://www.ardcg.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=132](http://www.ardcg.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=132)





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