



# SPINoFACT

2020

Monitoring of media, social networks and comments  
on online media during parliamentary elections in  
Montenegro in 2020



Centar za građansko obrazovanje  
Centre for Civic Education



British Embassy  
Podgorica

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The content of this report is the sole responsibility of CCE and can in no manner be interpreted as an official stance of the Embassy of the United Kingdom in Montenegro.



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Podgorica, 2020

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## 01 INTRODUCTION

The recently concluded parliamentary elections in Montenegro have brought a series of specificities to the election campaign. Instead of party rallies and door-to-door campaigns, the election race has largely shifted to traditional and new media. Thus, *share* and *like* have become a dominant feature of that competition, which was coloured by identity issues and emotional charge. In such an environment, the electoral lists marginalized specific economic programmes, issues of living standard of citizens, specific measures to combat corruption and fight against organized crime, and many other important topics. The two opposing narratives of “endangerment of the state” and “defence of the shrines” have suppressed also both the global threat of the COVID 19 virus pandemic and the worrying economic perspective.

The media scene in Montenegro is deeply polarized and this rift is reflected in media coverage of the activities of political entities. Perhaps the most noticeable one daily was via front pages of the printed media, which were almost fan-edited. There was almost no media that reported neutrally and objectively on a certain electoral list, excluding the minority parties towards which a special kind of sensibility was expressed.

The list „Decisively for Montenegro – DPS“ was represented in the media more than the three thus far opposition lists together („For the Future of Montenegro“, „Peace Is Our Nation“ and „Black On White“). At the same time, the DPS was the most attacked party, which is logical having in mind that it acted from the position of the government.

Once again, the strong involvement of state officials in the campaign was not lacking, which the OSCE Monitoring Mission stated in its preliminary report as an „institutional advantage“. This was supported by the research of the Centre for Civic Education(CCE) through the analysis of media appearances of state officials who used these positions to promote the programmes of their parties and lists.

Instead of changing the channel, the citizens of Montenegro preferred to click and scroll, and this is supported by the fact that over 65% of announcements about the elections were on online media, and the remainder on television and in printed media. However, the power of television as a still influential medium among the middle and older generation should not be neglected. Worrying, however, is the trend that approximately 50% of the analysed articles on online portals has had readers’ comments of controversial content, and there were examples that all comments on a certain text contained controversial content - from severe insults to hate speech. The comments comprise of insults to persons on national and gender grounds, but also insulting insinuations on personal grounds. Recently adopted legal solutions, following the initiative of the CCE, concerning comments on online media, must come to life in order to decontaminate the space of online comments from inappropriate content.

In this election, Facebook has become perhaps a key arena where the battle for votes is taking place. Announcements have become more creative compared to all previous statements, and there is a visible greater investment in this form of political marketing. In particular, the growing influence of MEME pages is visible, which have openly classified themselves politically and have become agitators of certain political options.

CCE has been monitoring election campaigns in the media for several election cycles, and this time on social networks as well and through comments from readers on portals. The objective of the project “SPINoFACT - monitoring of parliamentary elections in Montenegro 2020” is to contribute to the democratization and Europeanization of Montenegro by strengthening professional and independent media coverage. More precisely, the objective is to contribute to the fact-based informative value of media coverage of political campaigns and better informing citizens about the election offer for the 2020 parliamentary elections.

We owe a special gratitude to the Embassy of the United Kingdom in Montenegro, which recognized the importance of this topic and supported it through the implementation of this project.

## 02 ANALYSIS OF APPEARANCES IN THE MEDIA (TV, online media, printed media)

### METHODOLOGY

The media presence of electoral lists of political parties, coalitions of political parties or groups of voters during the election campaign for the parliamentary elections in Montenegro in 2020 was monitored from 5 to 30 August, 2020<sup>1</sup>. Three types of media were monitored - *televisions* TVCG, TV Vijesti, PRVA, TV 7, TV A1 and Nova TV<sup>2</sup>; *printed media* Vijesti, Dan, Dnevne novine, Pobjeda<sup>3</sup>; and *portals* VIJESTI, CdM, ANALITIKA, RTCG, ANTENA M, IN4S, POBJEDA and BORBA.

During the monitoring, the following *parameters* were used: announcement tone - general impression (three-point scale); planning (whether the information in the announcement came from the observed or from another subject with the prior consent of the observed subject, and whether the observed subject is present in the media without their knowledge); focus (primary / secondary / tertiary); topics in the content of media announcements, dominant in electoral lists; time / space dedicated to the planned appearances of electoral lists and their representatives; and the time / space of planned media appearances of candidates performing public functions.

It should be noted that the appearance of public officials on behalf of the institution they are a head of or belong to was not assigned to the electoral lists of the political parties which they belong to, i.e. their media appearance on behalf of the party which they belong to was not treated as a part of an active pre-election campaign of the parties they belong to. Thus, the activities of persons in public office, candidates of political parties, are not defined as a covert campaign, and are not presented in summary with the election activities of political parties. Only planned media appearances of candidates covering public functions were monitored, but not the activities of the institutions themselves without mentioning the candidate himself. Hence, Milo Đukanović, Duško Marković, Milutin Simović, Zoran Pažin, Mevludin

<sup>1</sup> Until the beginning of the pre-election silence, with the monitoring of the day of the election silence due to potential irregularities.

<sup>2</sup> When it comes to monitoring of TV content, the main programme segment that was covered were central news programmes broadcasted in prime time, but also additional non-news programmes, i.e. shows in which representatives of political parties confronted their views on various issues. Their appearance on the Public Service is specially noted.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of printed media, monitoring covers all sections except sections dedicated to sports, entertainment, culture, the world and special additions.



Nuhodžić, Predrag Bošković, Suzana Pribilović, Dragica Sekulić, Sanja Damjanović, Nikola Janović and Ivan Vuković were officials from the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) whose appearances were monitored. Furthermore, the appearances of Rafet Husović, Osman Nurković, Kemal Purišić and Suljo Mustafić from the Bosniak Party (BS) were monitored and Ivan Brajović, Damir Šehović, Kenan Hrapović and Danilo Orlandić from the Social Democrats (SD).

*TagCloud* represents a visual presentation of the most frequently used words, both in the complete election process and for each of the electoral lists separately (planned appearances of electoral lists).

Mention of electoral lists on the front pages of monitored printed media refers to the mention in the title on the front page, picture or illustration, as well as the tone of the front page itself in relation to a specific list, the tone of the announced announcement and the position on the front page (dominant position YES or NO).

For the purposes of this analysis, monitoring of political marketing of electoral lists was conducted, on TV, press, online media, radio stations, and other media (billboards, boards etc.)

## ABSTRACT

- The election campaign took place predominantly in the virtual space and online media because there was no possibility of touring the field and organizing large election rallies given the epidemiological situation and the prescribed measures<sup>4</sup>.
- Compared to the previous elections, the campaign has had a calmer tone, i.e. the negative campaign was not as expressed as before. Opposition parties practically had a non-aggression pact, and in the absence of harsh rhetoric amongst them, all negative energy was directed towards the DPS. Therefore, it is not surprising that precisely the list „Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović“ has generated the largest number of unplanned mentions. During this campaign as well, the established language constructions in relation to the government have dominated, without much innovation and focusing the attention on concrete solutions. Also, the leaders of the Democratic Front (DF), who are known to the public for their harsh rhetoric - Milan Knežević, president of the Democratic Peoples Party of Montenegro (DPP), Nebojša Medojević, president of the Movement for Change (MfC) and Andrija Mandić, president of the New Serbian Democracy (NSD) – have not exposed themselves during this campaign.
- The pre-election campaign was initially neutral, general, dominated by media announcements presenting lists and parts of the programme. As time went on, most of the monitored lists switched from the presentation of the programme to the so-called offense-campaign (negative one) which was undoubtedly contributed by chauvinistic graffiti drawn on the facades of Muslim houses in Berane’s settlement of Talum. This has significantly directed the campaign to attacks and defences, but it has also put the topic of vulnerable groups / minorities high on the agenda, which would definitely not be the case if the incident had not occurred, because until that moment this topic was

4 It was allowed to have a gathering of maximum of 50 persons in closed and 100 in open space

only represented in presentation of the minority lists. High on the agenda, due to the mentioned incident, as well as the “Chetnik” gathering in the village of Zastro near Berane, came also the topic of “identity issues (national and religious)”.

- In the later course, regardless of the aforementioned cases and incidents, the offense-campaign has dominated, i.e. a small number of subjects were focused on presenting their political programme, and identity issues have thematically dominated. Statistics indicate that the campaigns of electoral lists „SD -Ivan Brajović - We Are Deciding Consistently“, „SDP - Strong Montenegro“ and „Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović“ were aimed at promoting the programme (identity issues, economy, improvement of living standards, rule of law...). On the other hand, a negative or offensive campaign was identified to a somewhat greater extent in the electoral lists „For the Future of Montenegro“, „Peace Is Our Nation“ and „Black On White“.
- It should be emphasized that in the discourse of the representatives of the DPS list, wrapped around the presentation of the party’s programme, there was also rhetoric about the threat to sovereignty, integrity and the civil state. In most cases, the subject who allegedly is endangering the abovementioned is not explicitly mentioned, but according to the rhetoric (Greater Serbian hegemony, etc.), it can be concluded that it meant the representatives of certain opposition parties, and above all the coalition „For the Future of Montenegro“. Therefore, part of a positive campaign (defence of contemporary values nurtured by Montenegro) can be considered a negative / offense campaign.
- Announcements related to the promotion of the party’s programme and plan make up a high 90% of the planned content of the list „SD - Ivan Brajović - We Are Deciding Consistently“, 71% in the list „SDP - Strong Montenegro“ and 62% in the list „Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović“. On the other hand, the negative campaign has had the largest share in the planned appearances of the list „For the Future of Montenegro“ (68,4%), then the list „Peace Is Our Nation“ (61,5%) and „Black On White“ (58%). The only pre-election list that has dedicated the entire planned publicity to the promotion of its own programme is „Albanian Coalition - Unanimously“.
- Thus, monitoring of the overall political discourse indicates that identity issues and the judiciary/rule of law, i.e. the fight against corruption and crime, stand out as dominant narratives, while numerous real problems and remedying the economic consequences caused by the coronavirus crisis have almost not been spoken about (with the exception of the list „Black On White“ and to a somewhat lesser extent the list „Peace Is Our Nation“ which on several occasions have mentioned the bad decisions of the Government and their reflection on the increasingly bad tourist season).
- It seems that in the pre-election campaign it was more important to “preserve the state” or “defend the shrines” than to talk about specific problems that citizens are facing (bad tourist season, unpaid wages, dismissals / unemployment, closing the economy, delaying the start of the school year...). Namely, political subjects mostly spoke about economic development in platitudes and already established narrative without a concrete offer and guidelines for remediation of the consequences caused by the crisis (the exception is the list „SDP - Strong Montenegro“ whose programme was predominantly based on strengthening the economy). However, even when concrete offers existed they often remained in the shadow of identity issues.
- Also, one gets the impression that in the midst of the elections, all measures prescribed by the National Coordination Body for Infectious Diseases (NCB) were forgotten, such as maintaining physical distance, wearing masks, etc. which were clearly violated both



during the campaign, on the day of the elections (especially at the polling stations), as well as after the announcement of the results (street celebrations and various gatherings). Also, no list has included its attitude towards the current global coronavirus virus pandemic in the campaign, nor has it offered its solutions to this problem.

- The time dedicated to the presentation of electoral lists in debate programmes on the Public Service of Montenegro (TVCG1) was more or less uniform by lists, while the disproportion in favour of opposition lists was evident in TV A1.
- The media television space has been used the most for its presentation by the coalition „For the Future of Montenegro“ (DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro), followed by coalition „Peace Is Our Nation“ (Democrats, DEMOS, The New Left...) and the coalition „Black On White“ and „SDP - Strong Montenegro“. Representatives of the DPS took stand to refuse to participate in debate shows on the TV Vijesti programme, which is one of the reasons why this list was among those with less used television space.
- In the content of the printed media the coalition „For the Future of Montenegro“ has got the most space in Dan, the list „Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović“ in Pobjeda and in Dnevne novine, while the opposition lists „Peace Is Our Nation“, „For the Future of Montenegro“ and „Black On White“ received the most planned space in ND Vijesti.
- Review of the quality of media presentation of electoral lists per media individually indicates their polarization, i.e. different approaches to reporting on the key “players” of the election, which is especially noticeable with the portals IN4S and Borba.me. On the one hand, a group of media outlets was defined that strongly supported the lists of position parties, with frequent and unfounded (without sources) criticism of opposition lists (Dnevne novine, Pobjeda, Analitika, CdM, Antena M, TV Nova M...). On the other side was a group of media (IN4S, Borba, TV A1, and to some extent the Portal Vijesti and daily newspapers Dan) which openly and dominantly supported opposition lists (especially the Coalition „For the Future of Montenegro“) and harshly and often unfoundedly (without sources) criticized the electoral lists of position political parties (minority lists were spared significant criticism).
- The most numerous violations of the election silence were recorded on the IN4S portal - as many as 44 media announcements in two days. Violations of this magnitude cannot be considered an omission, ignorance or attributed to the ignorance of the editorial board, but one can speak of intent at the level of an indication.

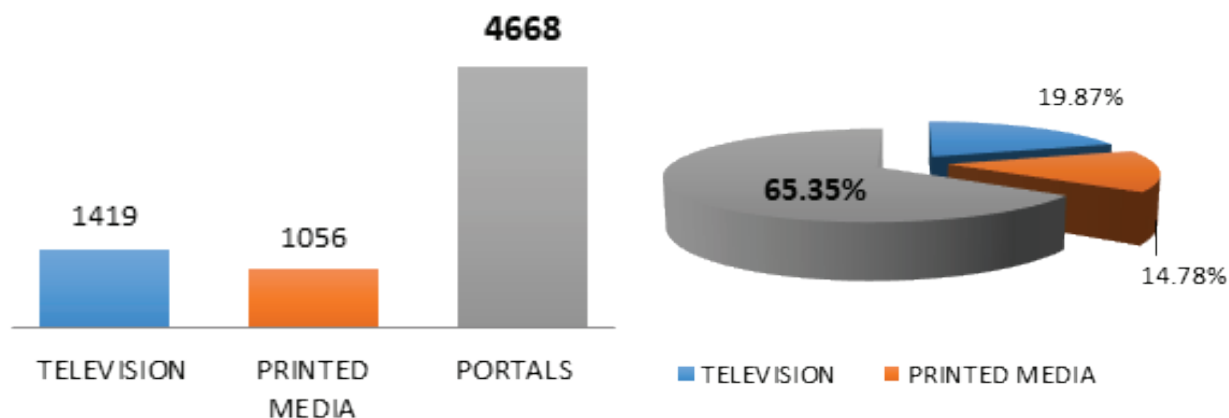
The analysis of the media content related to the parliamentary elections in Montenegro indicates how much the electoral lists were represented in the content of these media, as well as the ratio of planned and unplanned media announcements. Specifically, the analysis indicates whether any of the electoral lists was more represented in the content of a particular media, as well as to what extent electoral topics were present.

Monitoring has also created a unique database. All texts that contain a mention of one or more of the electoral lists, or just a mention of the parliamentary elections, have been selected and processed. Monitoring also includes any appearance or mention of a candidate on the electoral list, during which the “general impression” method was used. Regardless of how many times the institution was mentioned in one announcement, only the so-called umbrella institution or general impression is valued. Also, monitoring covers another segment - monitoring candidates on the electoral list who perform public functions, because during the pre-election process, the issue of creating equal conditions is often raised for everyone,

for the media, journalists, and the actors of the election process. Media appearances of public officials, i.e. data obtained on the basis of their planned media appearances during the election campaign, were identified and presented in a separate section and were not assigned to the electoral lists of political parties which they belong to, i.e. they were not treated as part of active election campaigns of political parties they belong to. Therefore, the activities of persons in public offices, candidates of political parties, in this study are not defined as a covert campaign and are not summarized with the election activities of political parties, because it would require the introduction of a number of additional parameters and data which this monitoring did not have in its framework. Therefore, it can be only spoken about potential campaign in favour of the parties which they belong to at the level of an indication. Of course, the users of the analysis can conclude for themselves whether the media appearance of the officials was in the service of the pre-election campaign of the political party (list) which they belong to or not. Only candidates covering public functions were monitored, not the activities of institutions without mentioning the candidate himself.

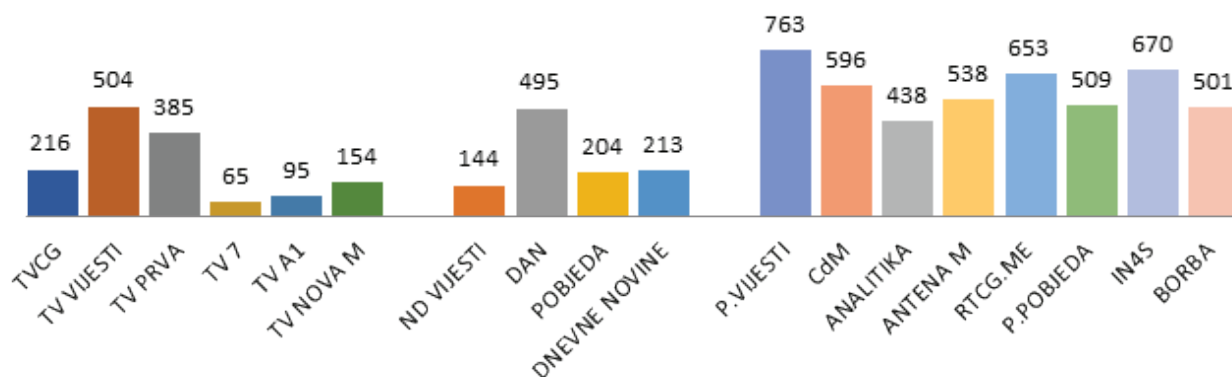
## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020.

By monitoring the media content from 5 to 30 August, the total of **7143 media releases** was identified, of which the most was found on portals (65%). This is not surprising since this type of media has unlimited space for placing information, while in TV and printed media, due to limited media space, there is a more rigorous selection of information that is published.



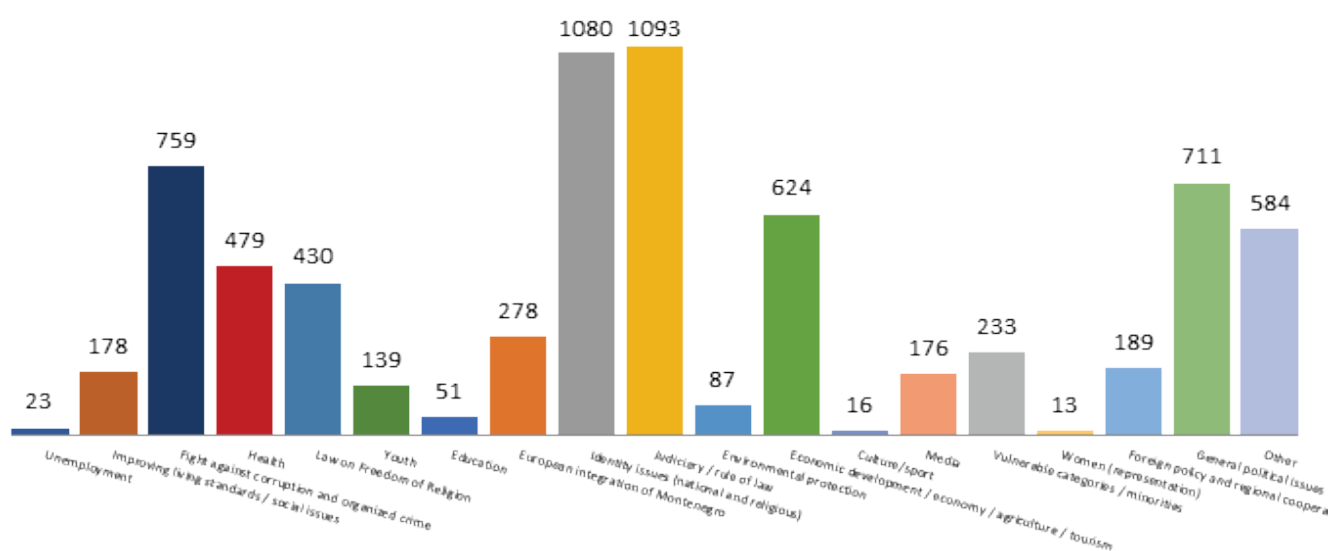
Graph 1. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE TOPIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS PER TYPE OF MEDIA (CUMULATIVE AND PERCENTAGE)

Observed by the media individually, with the most media space (according to the number of placed media announcements containing information on the 2020 parliamentary elections), the Vijesti portal stands out with 763 media announcements, followed by IN4S with 670, and the rtcg.me portal with 653 media announcements. In the printed media, the daily Dan wrote the most about these parliamentary elections - 495 media announcements, while amongst televisions the TV Vijesti stands out with 504 media announcements. Public media service RTCG is in third place, after TV Prva.

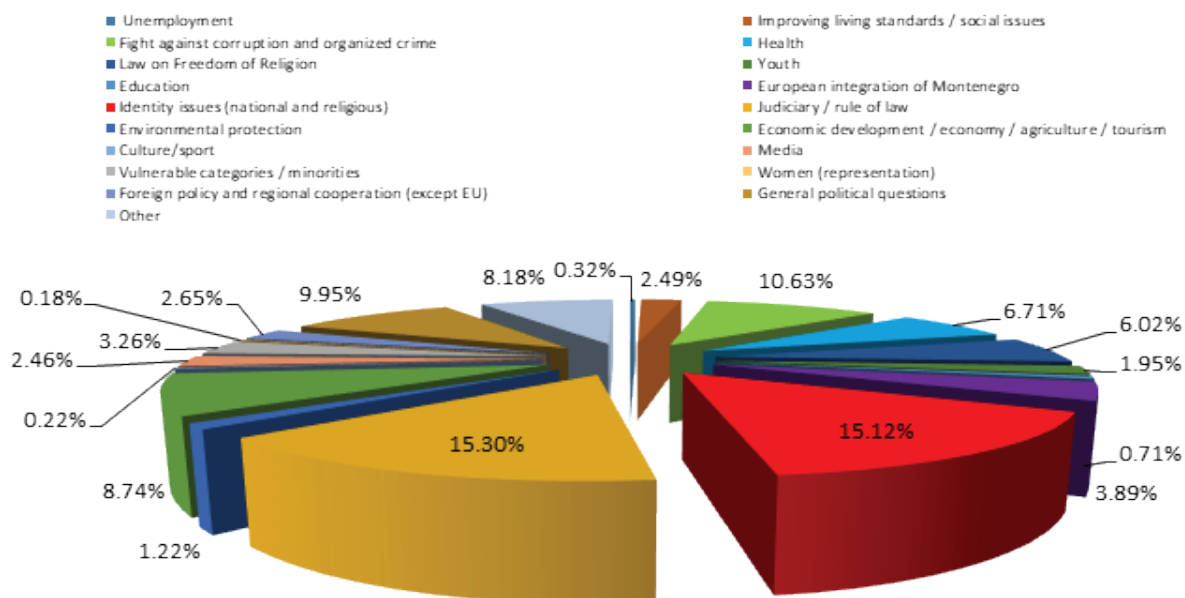


Graph 2. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE TOPIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS BY MEDIA INDIVIDUALLY

In the thematic division, i.e. the narrative that dominated the election campaign, the topics concerning identity issues were clearly singled out, more precisely general identity issues (national and religious) as well as the Law on Freedom of Religion. The total number of media announcements therein is 1510 or 21% of the total number of announcements placed in relation to the 2020 parliamentary elections. In short, these four topics have marked the narrative of the election campaign. Other topics are represented to a much lesser extent, especially some of the most important ones such as education, foreign policy (except the EU), European integration of Montenegro, women’s rights, improvement of living standards, environmental protection and similar. The number of media announcements on minority issues would have been incomparably smaller (i.e. it would have been reduced to the media appearance of the lists of national minorities in Montenegro), if there was no case of chauvinist graffiti in the Berane’s settlement Talum (directed against members of the Islamic religion)..



Graph 3. THEMATIC DIVISION IN RELATION TO THE TOPIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020

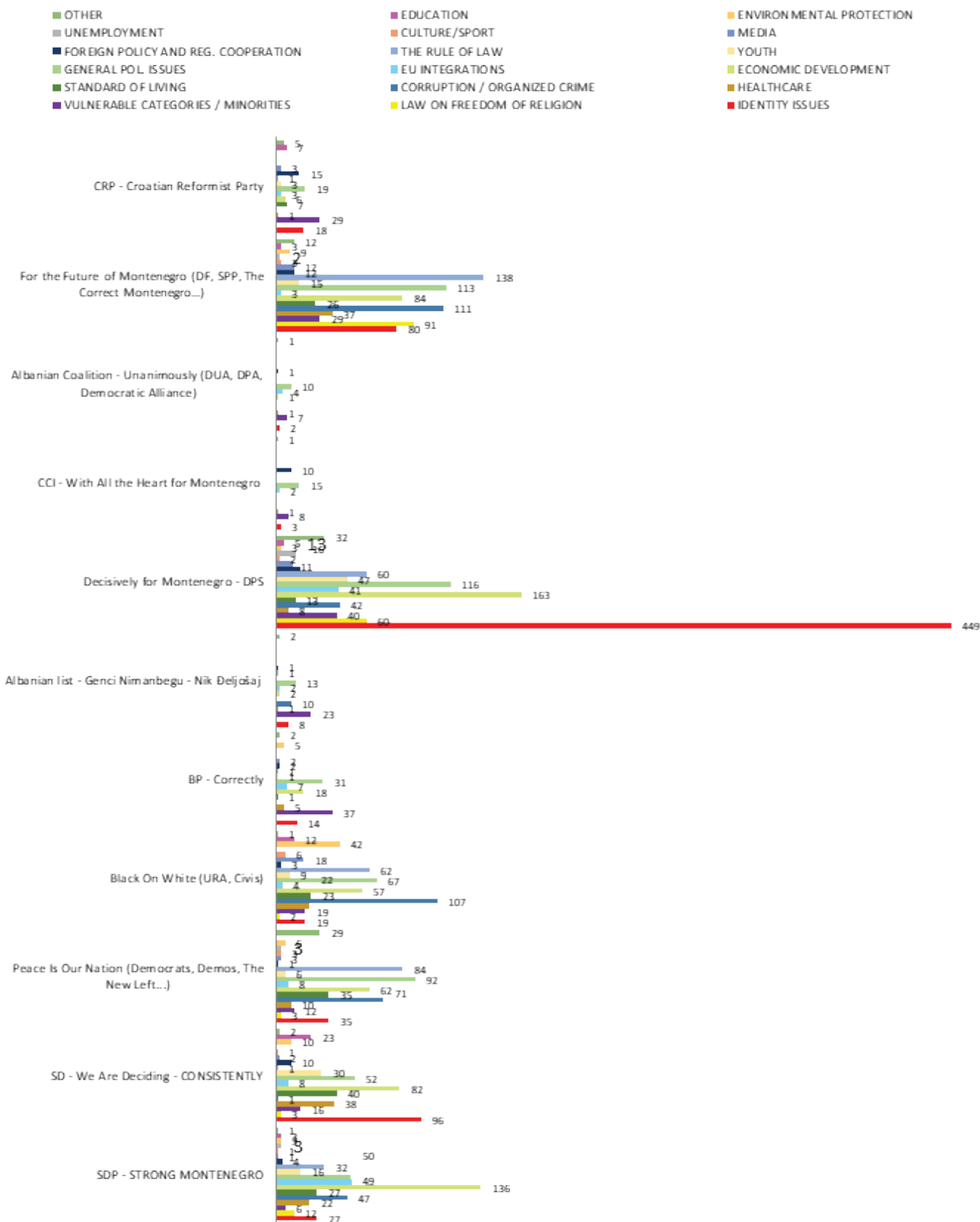


Graph 4. THEMATIC DIVISION IN RELATION TO THE TOPIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 - PERCENTAGE

Among the “most unpopular” i.e. the least represented topics, the issues of unemployment, representation and rights of women, development of culture and sports, as well as the improvement of education have been singled out. Observing the presence of “unpopular topics” by lists individually, it was identified that the issue of unemployment, although on a small scale, was most often mentioned in the list „Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović“. Representatives of the list „Social Democrats – Ivan Brajović – We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY“ spoke the most about education, while environmental protection, cultural and sports development were the most represented with the list „Black On White“, and women as a topic had the most space with the list „Bosniak Party – Correctly – Rafet Husović“.

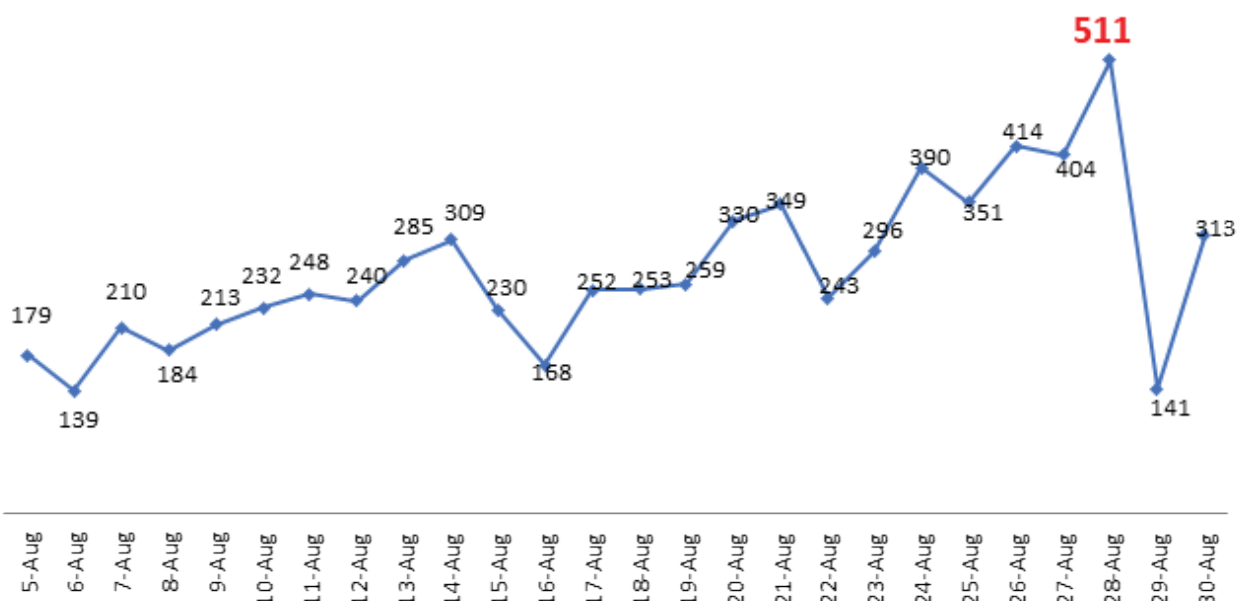
The topics of healthcare and youth had somewhat less publicity, and they got the most space within promotion of programmes of the list „Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović“ and list „Social Democrats – Ivan Brajović – We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY“. Although other parties, within their programmes, had a section dedicated to young people, the impression is that young people have served more to criticize the government for poor youth policy (unemployment, migration abroad) than to truly offer solutions to improve their position in Montenegrin society.

Minority parties and coalitions have been mostly addressing their national communities, and the struggle for a better status and position of minority peoples in Montenegrin society was the focus of their election programmes. In all other parties, minority issues and minorities were mostly mentioned within the framework of already known and established phrases.



Graph 5. DOMINANT REPRESENTATION OF TOPICS IN PLANNED APPEARANCES OF ELECTORAL LISTS

The daily trend of announcements indicates uniformity, i.e. slight oscillations in the number of announcements on daily basis, depending on the specific event or topicality. In general, the number of media announcements dedicated to the parliamentary elections, however, increased as the campaign progressed, hence the most media announcements were expectedly placed on the last day of the campaign (August 28). Also, in most identified media announcements containing information on parliamentary elections, the media have mentioned elections very little secondarily or tertiary.



Grafikon 6. TREND BROJA OBJAVA ZA TEMU PARLAMENTARNI IZBORI 2020.

## TAG CLOUD – PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020.

Tag cloud was created by copying all the transcripts (texts) of media announcements about the parliamentary elections and via a special software, a list of the most frequently mentioned words was made (frequency of words sorted by font size). Selected texts for the tag cloud for the topic of the parliamentary elections are from the period from 5 to 30 August (00h).

Tag clouds for electoral lists were created based on software review and sorting of the most frequently mentioned words, but only planned media announcements in order to present in yet another visual manner what has dominated the narrative in the election campaign of the lists individually.





Graph 7. TAG CLOUD ON THE TOPIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020



DECISIVELY FOR MONTENEGRO - DPS



FOR THE FUTURE OF MONTENEGRO



BLACK ON WHITE



PEACE IS OUR NATION



SDP – STRONG MONTENEGRO



SD – WE ARE DECIDING- CONSISTENTLY



BP – CORRECTLY



AL – GENCI NIMANBEGU - NIK ĐELJOŠAJ



AC – UNANIMOUSLY



CCI – WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO





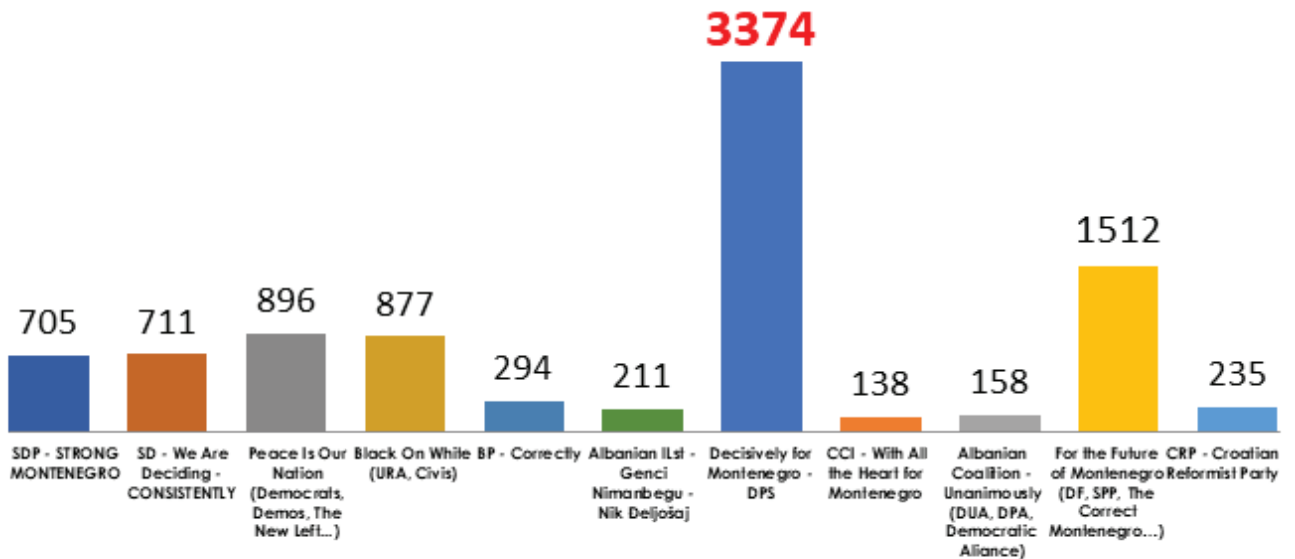
CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY - CRP

Grafikon 8. TAG CLOUD ZA LISTE POJEDINAČNO

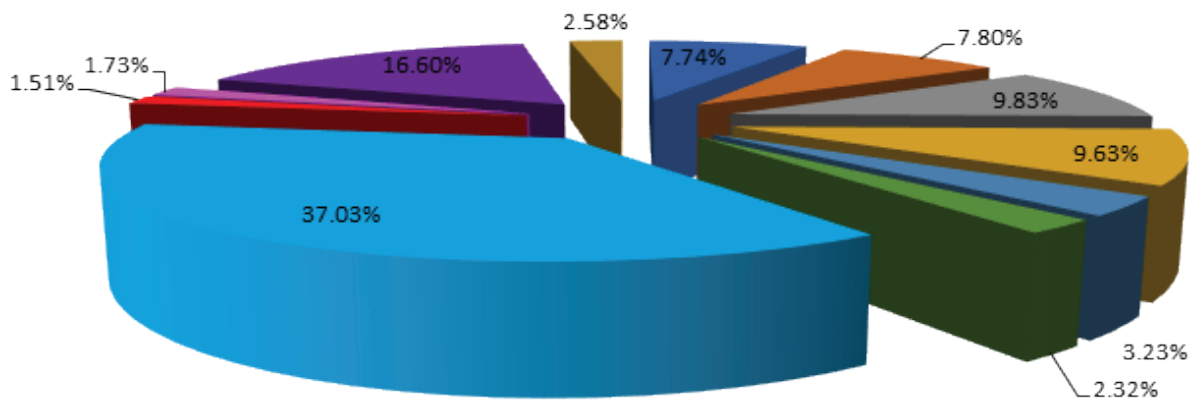
## MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE ELECTORAL LISTS

The general impression is that, in relation to the previous elections, the campaign was conducted in a calmer tone, i.e. that the negative campaign was not expressed to the extent that it was the case before. One of the reasons can be found in the fact that the opposition parties have practically made a non-aggression pact, hence in the absence of harsh rhetoric among them, all the negative energy was directed in one direction - towards the DPS. Therefore, it is not surprising that precisely the list “Decisively for Montenegro DPS Milo Đukanović” has generated the largest number of unplanned mentions. However, the established language constructions in relation to the government, without much innovation and focusing on concrete solutions, dominated the political discourse of this pre-election process as well. An additional reason for a calmer campaign can be found in the fact that the leaders of the Democratic Front (DF) - president of the Democratic National Party of Montenegro (DNP), Milan Knežević, president of the New Serbian Democracy (NSD), Andrija Mandić and president of the Movement for Change (PzP), Nebojša Medojević - known to the public for their harsh and inflammatory rhetoric, did not expose themselves during the campaign.

When it comes to electoral lists, the list of the Democratic Party of Socialists “Decisively for Montenegro” dominates with a total of 3374 generated media announcements, i.e. 37.03% of the total media space dedicated to electoral lists. This includes both planned and unplanned (mentions by other entities) media releases. As it was a key ruling party, it was expected for it to be mentioned, i.e. criticized by other subjects, especially by political opponents. This is also noted in the number of generated negative announcements (expected because they come from several political opponents).



Graph 9. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS PER LIST INDIVIDUALLY - PERCENTAGE

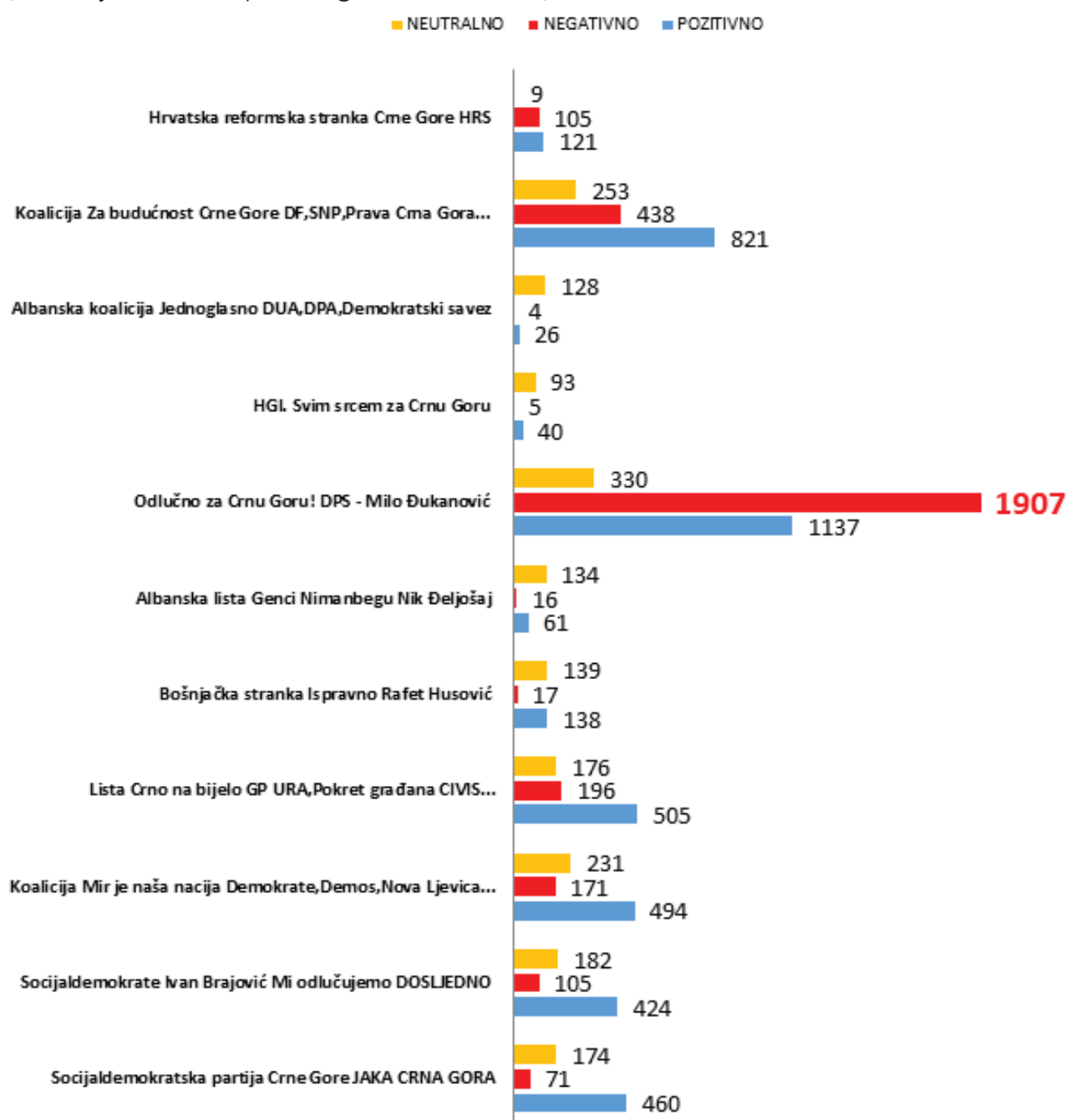


Graph 10. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS PER LIST INDIVIDUALLY - PERCENTAGE

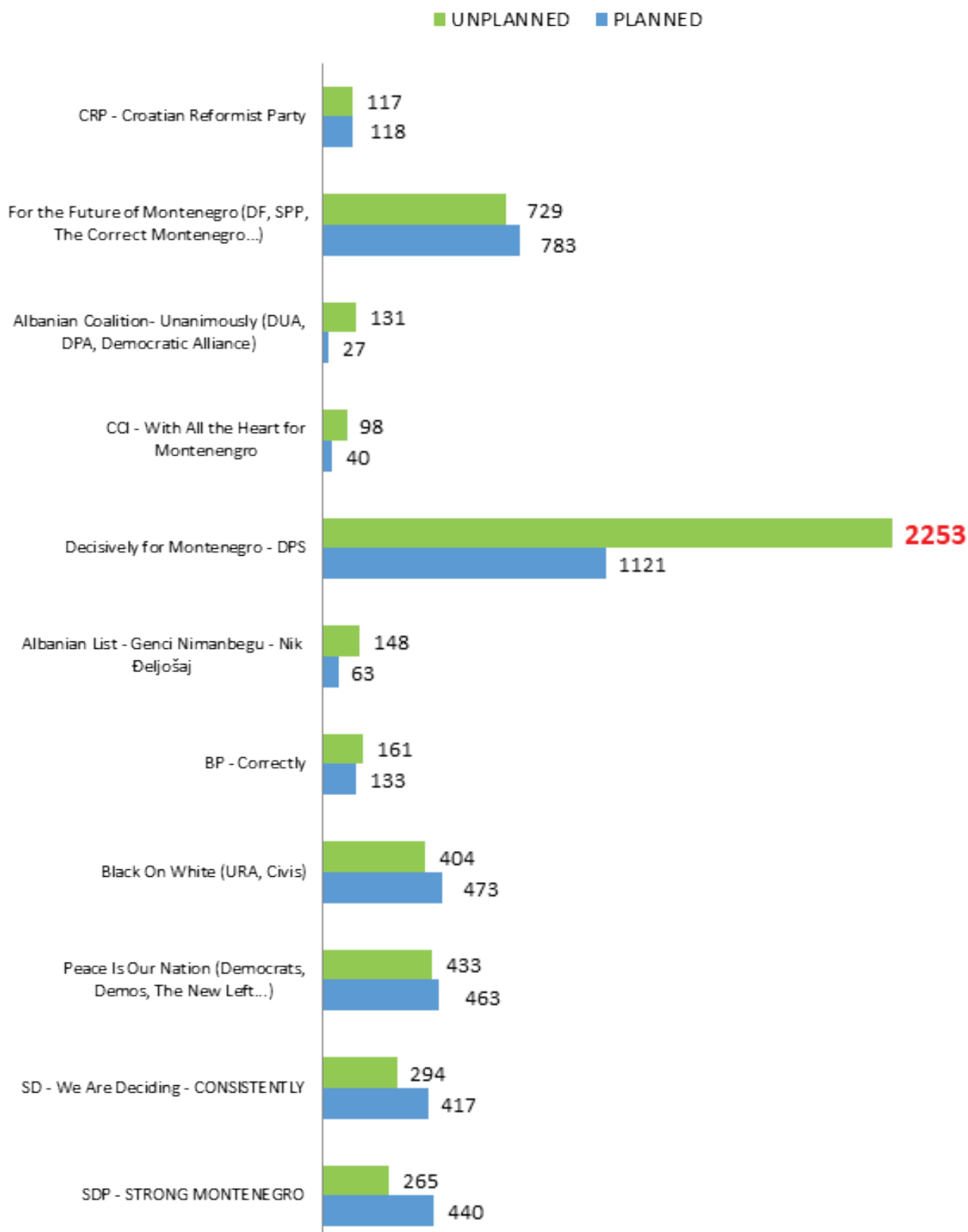
One gets the impression that the opposition lists did not have a significant media polemic among themselves, which would generate negative publicity for one or the other. This is in a direct causal relation with the ratio of the number of planned and unplanned publications, i.e. the higher the number of unplanned announcements, the more negative the media image of a specific observed subject is (list), and vice versa.

An overview of the quality of the media presentation of electoral lists per media individually indicates the polarization of the media, i.e. different approaches to reporting on the key

“players” of the 2020 parliamentary elections, which is especially noticeable with the portals IN4S and Borba.me. On the one hand, a group of media was defined that strongly supported the lists of positional parties with frequent and unfounded (without sources) statements of criticism of opposition lists (Dnevne novine, Pobjeda, Analitika, CdM, Antena M, TV Nova M...). On the other side is a group of media (IN4S, Borba, TV A1, and to some extent Portal Vijesti and daily newspapers Dan) which openly and dominantly supported opposition lists, especially the coalition „For the Future of Montenegro”, with severe and often unfounded (without sources) expression of criticism of the electoral lists of positional political parties (minority lists were spared significant criticism).



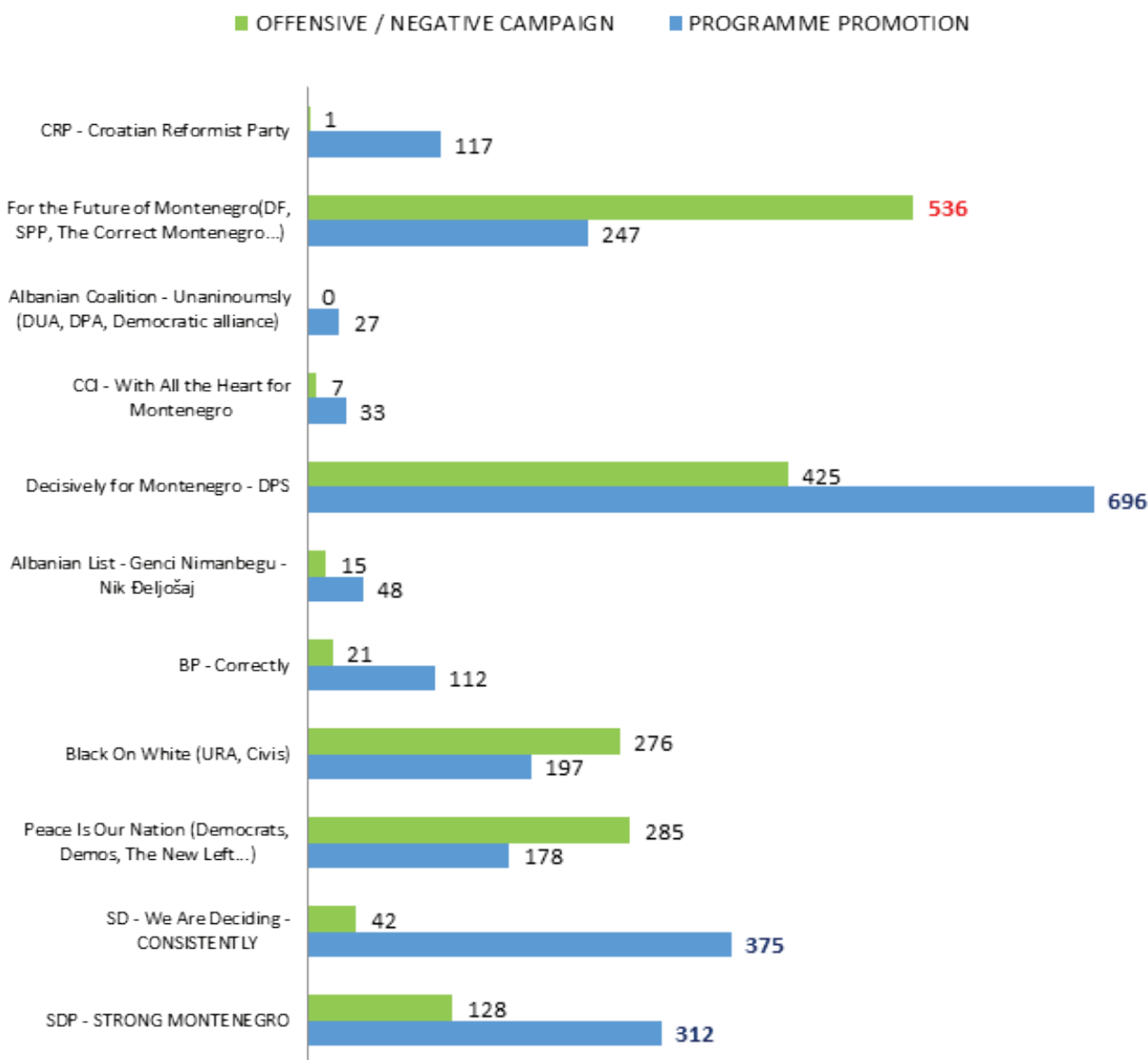
Graph 11. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS PER LIST INDIVIDUALLY IN RELATION TO TONE



Graph 12. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS PER LIST INDIVIDUALLY IN RELATION TO PLANNING OF ANNOUNCEMENTS



In the pre-election campaign, the party narrative was expected, generalized and without innovation. The impression is that during the campaign, the DPS mentioned the EU less than in previous election campaigns. Statistics show that, although the DPS campaign was predominantly focused on identity issues, it was not predominantly offensive, but national and identity issues are placed in the context of party achievements or promises (keep the achieved status, etc. wherein the subject of a possible attack is not clearly defined - one who endangers the identity and national issue of Montenegro). On the other hand, the opposition lists were mostly predominantly focused on the offensive campaign, and the pre-election programme remained in the background. The exceptions are the SDP and minority lists, as well as the Social Democrats. During the campaign, the narrative was constant, i.e. changes in the narrative during the campaign were almost not identified.



Grafikon 13. PROMOCIJA PROGRAMA ILI NAPADAČKA/NEGATIVNA KAMPANJA

LIST NAME	CAMPAIGN TONE	MOST REPRESENTED TOPIC - PLANNED
1 SD – WE ARE DECIDING CONSISTENTLY	POSITIVE	IDENTITETSKA PITANJA
2 BP - CORRECTLY- RAFET HUSOVIĆ	POSITIVE	RANJIVE KATEGORIJA/MANJINE
3 CCI –WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO	POSITIVE	OPŠTA POLITIČKA PITANJA
4 SDP – STRONG MONTENEGRO	POSITIVE	RAZVOJ EKONOMIJE/ PRIVREDA/ POLJOPRIVREDA/ TURIZAM
5 CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO - CRP	POSITIVE	RANJIVE KATEGORIJA/MANJINE
6 BLACK ON WHITE	NEGATIVE	BORBA PROTIV KORUPCIJE I ORGANIZOVANOG KRIMINLA
7 AC - UNANIMOUSLY	POSITIVE	OPŠTA POLITIČKA PITANJA
8 DPS - DECISIVELY FOR MONTENEGRO	POSITIVE	IDENTITETSKA PITANJA
9 FOR THE FUTURE OF MONTENEGRO	NEGATIVE	PRAVOSUĐE/VLADAVINA PRAVA
10 AL - GENCI NIMANBEGU, NIK GJELOSHAJ	POSITIVE	RANJIVE KATEGORIJA/MANJINE
11 PEACE IS OUR NATION	NEGATIVE	OPŠTA POLITIČKA PITANJA

Table 1. TONE OF THE CAMPAIGN PER LIST AND REPRESENTATION OF THE DOMINANT TOPIC IN THE NARRATIVE OF THE ELECTORAL LISTS

In general, the election campaign was coloured by the topics of rule of law and the state of the judiciary, as well as identity issues, and no party remained immune to these issues.

Thus, the fight against corruption and organized crime, as well as the development of the economy, found a place in the campaign of most parties and lists, with a high number of announcements. Also, the Law on Freedom of Religion was mentioned in a high percentage in the campaign.

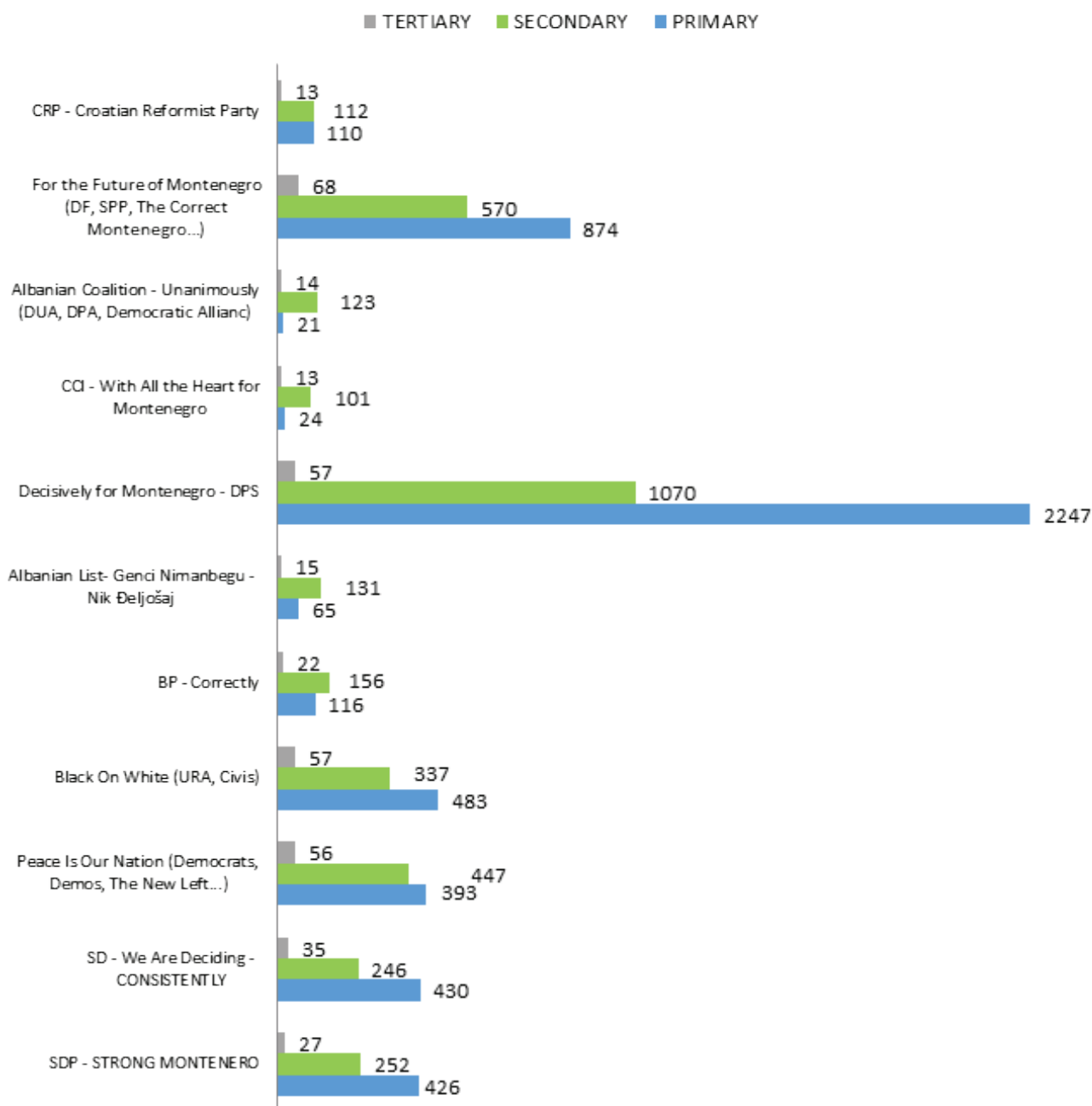
The issue of health was absent in the narrative of the parties, but this topic was discussed in the context of preparing and holding elections in accordance with the current situation with the corona virus. Vulnerable categories/minorities, European integration and the improvement of living standards were not equally interesting for all parties, but were thematically present in the campaign. Young people were the focus of part of the electoral campaign „SD-We Are Deciding Consistently“ and „DPS-Decisively for Montenegro“. Education and environmental protection emerged through a small part of the Black On White campaign (environmental protection) and SD-We Are Deciding Consistently (education) campaign. Both topics earned a smaller part of the announcement through the negative campaign of other lists.

Unemployment, women, culture and sports are almost left out of the campaign. The Bosniak Party, i.e the list “Bosniak Party - Correctly”, dealt with the issue of women, but this is a low number of announcements.

The media, as well as foreign policy, were not the focus of any party, but they were sporadically mentioned through procedural issues and in the narrative of some parties.

In short, the campaign was identity-based on the one hand and focused on corruption and organized crime on the other.

Only in the media presentation of the DPS list can it be said that primary mentions dominate. The DPS has slightly more primary unplanned mentions, i.e. primary negative announcements. In other lists, the values are mostly divided between primary and secondary announcements/mentions.



Graph 14. NUMBER OF MEDIA ANNOUNCEMENTS PER LIST INDIVIDUALLY IN RELATION TO FOCUS

## APPEARANCE OF ELECTORAL LISTS ON THE COVER PAGES OF THE PRINTED MEDIA

For the purposes of this analysis, the front pages of all observed printed media were monitored. It was checked whether any of the lists were on the front page, what is the tone of the cover in relation to a specific list, whether the cover contains a picture, a mention of the list or the holder of the list in the title. Thus, a total of 96 front pages were reviewed (8 days x 4 printed media). On the front pages, every mention of electoral lists (planned/unplanned) is recorded, whether it is a dominant position in the front pages or not.

MEDIA	DOMINANT POSITION NEGATIVE	DOMINANT POSITION POSITIVE
DAN	DPS – 9 DOMINANT - NEG	WITHOUT DOMINANT POSITIVE ONES
VIJESTI	DPS - 12 DOMINANT - NEG	FOR THE FUTURE OF MNE - 1 DOMINANT - POS PEACE IS OUR NATION - 1 DOMINANT - POS
POBJEDA	FOR THE FUTURE OF MNE – 4 DOMINANT -NEG PEACE IS OUR NATION – 2 DOMINANT - NEG BLACK ON WHITE – 1 DOMINANT - NEG	DPS – 1 DOMINANT - POS
DNEVNE NOVINE	FOR THE FUTURE OF MNE – 7 DOMINANT - NEG PEACE IS OUR NATION – 1 DOMINANT - NEG BLACK ON WHITE – 2 DOMINANT - NEG	DPS - 10 DOMINANT - POS SD – WE ARE DECIDING - 1 DOMINANT - POS

Table 2. OVERVIEW OF COVER PAGES WITH MONITORED PARAMETERS (POS AND NEG DOMINANTLY) PER LIST INDIVIDUALLY

**Note:** Whether it is a dominant position or not is determined in accordance with the generally accepted methodological approach that refers to the visual approach of the consumer of the cover, i.e. (what he/she sees first on a particular cover. There are central positions with accentuated font, picture, illustration (in cases where there are multiple announcements on the cover page) or if this is only one text announcement on the entire cover page. In case when there are multiple texts on cover page (announcements) it will be deemed dominant the one which per any grounds is visually singled out (regardless of the size of the dedicated space).

MEDIA	ELECTORAL LIST
	DPS – DECISIVELY FOR MONTENEGRO
DAN	A total of 14 negative appearances on the cover pages of Dan • 9 dominant negative ones • 5 negative secondary ones
POBJEDA	A total of 7 appearances on the cover pages of Pobjeda • 1 dominant positive one • 4 secondary positive ones • 1 dominant neutral one • 1 secondary neutral one

<b>ND VIJESTI</b>	A total of 19 appearances on the cover pages of ND Vijesti <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 dominant negative ones</li> <li>• 5 secondary negative ones</li> <li>• 1 dominant neutral one</li> <li>• 1 secondary neutral one</li> </ul>
<b>DNEVNE NOVINE</b>	A total of 13 appearances on the cover pages of Dnevne novine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10 dominant positive ones</li> <li>• 3 secondary positive ones</li> </ul>
<b>COALITION FOR THE FUTURE OF MONTENEGRO</b>	
<b>DAN</b>	A total of two appearances on the cover pages of Dan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 secondary – positive one</li> <li>• 1 secondary – negative one</li> </ul>
<b>POBJEDA</b>	A total of 9 appearances on the cover pages of Pobjeda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 dominant negative ones</li> <li>• 4 secondary negative ones</li> <li>• 1 dominant neutral one</li> </ul>
<b>ND VIJESTI</b>	A total of 2 appearances on the cover pages of ND Vijesti <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 dominant positive one</li> <li>• 1 dominant neutral one</li> </ul>
<b>DNEVNE NOVINE</b>	A total of 11 appearances on the cover pages of Dnevne novine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 dominant negative ones</li> <li>• 3 secondary negative ones</li> <li>• 1 secondary positive one</li> </ul>
<b>PEACE IS OUR NATION</b>	
<b>DAN</b>	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of Dan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 secondary-neutral one</li> </ul>
<b>POBJEDA</b>	A total of 3 appearances on the cover pages of NS Pobjeda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 dominant negative ones</li> <li>• 1 secondary negative one</li> </ul>
<b>ND VIJESTI</b>	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of ND Vijesti <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 dominant positive one</li> </ul>
<b>DNEVNE NOVINE</b>	A total of two appearances on the cover pages of Dnevne novine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 dominant negative one</li> <li>• 1 secondary negative one</li> </ul>
<b>BLACK ON WHITE</b>	
<b>DAN</b>	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of Dan <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 secondary-neutral one</li> </ul>
<b>POBJEDA</b>	A total of two appearances on the cover pages of Pobjeda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 dominant negative one</li> <li>• 1 secondary negative one</li> </ul>
<b>ND VIJESTI</b>	Without appearing on the cover pages of ND Vijesti
<b>DNEVNE NOVINE</b>	A total of 4 appearances on the cover pages of Dnevne novine <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 dominant negative ones</li> <li>• 2 secondary negative ones</li> </ul>
<b>SD - WE ARE DECIDING - CONSISTENTLY</b>	
<b>DAN</b>	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dan
<b>POBJEDA</b>	A total of 1 appearance on the cover pages of Pobjeda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 secondary positive one</li> </ul>
<b>ND VIJESTI</b>	A total of two appearances on the cover pages of ND Vijesti <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 secondary negative one</li> <li>• 1 secondary neutral one</li> </ul>

DNEVNE NOVINE	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of Dnevne novine • 1 dominant positive one
<b>SDP – STRONG MONTENEGRO</b>	
DAN	A total of 4 appearances on the cover pages of Dan • 3 secondary neutral ones • 1 secondary positive one
POBJEDA	Without appearing on the cover pages of Pobjeda
ND VIJESTI	A total of two appearances on the cover pages of ND Vijesti • 1 secondary negative one • 1 secondary neutral one
DNEVNE NOVINE	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dnevne novine
<b>BOSNIAK PARTY - CORRECTLY</b>	
DAN	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of Dan • 1 secondary – positive one
POBJEDA	A total of two appearances on the cover pages of Pobjeda • 2 secondary positive ones
ND VIJESTI	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of ND Vijesti • 1 secondary negative one
DNEVNE NOVINE	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of Dnevne novine • 1 secondary neutral one
<b>ALBANIAN COALITION - GENCI NIMANBEGU - NIK ĐELJOŠAJ</b>	
DAN	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of Dan • 1 secondary – positive one
POBJEDA	Without appearing on the cover pages of Pobjeda
ND VIJESTI	A total of one appearance on the cover pages of ND Vijesti • 1 secondary positive one
DNEVNE NOVINE	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dnevne novine
<b>ALBANIAN COALITION -UNANIMOUSLY</b>	
DAN	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dan
POBJEDA	Without appearing on the cover pages of Pobjeda
ND VIJESTI	Without appearing on the cover pages of Vijesti
DNEVNE NOVINE	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dnevne novine
<b>CCI -WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO</b>	
DAN	A total of 1 appearance on the cover pages of Dan • 1 secondary - positive one
POBJEDA	Without appearing on the cover pages of Pobjede
ND VIJESTI	Without appearing on the cover pages of Vijesti
DNEVNE NOVINE	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dnevne novine
<b>CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO</b>	
DAN	A total of 1 appearance on the cover pages of Dan • 1 secondary- positive one
POBJEDA	Without appearing on the cover pages of Pobjeda
ND VIJESTI	Without appearing on the cover pages of Vijesti
DNEVNE NOVINE	Without appearing on the cover pages of Dnevne novine

Table 3. OVERVIEW OF COVER PAGES WITH MONITORED PARAMETERS









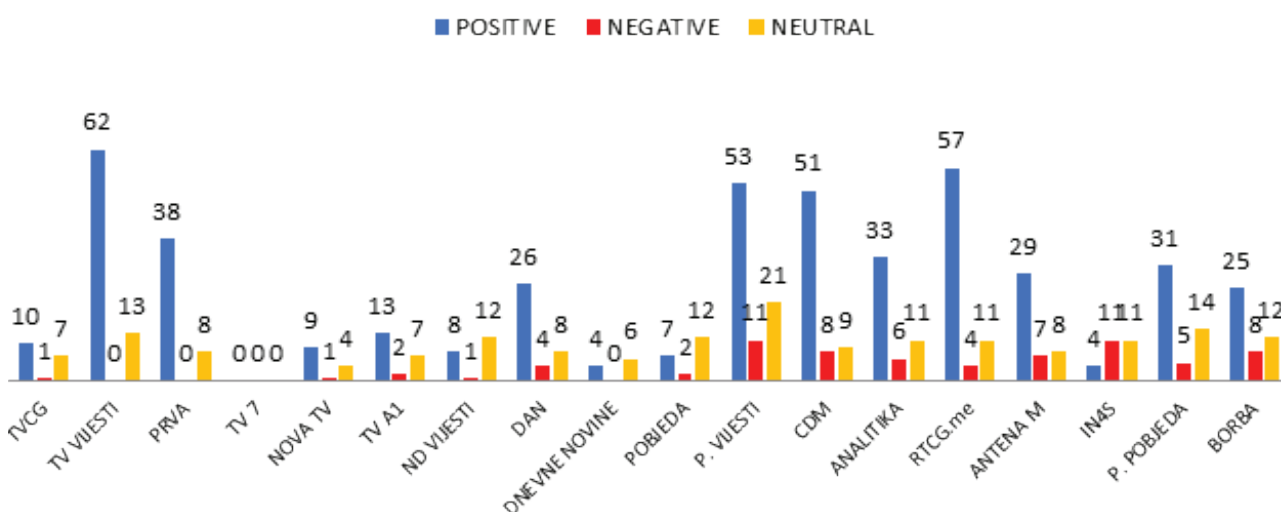
## MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF ELECTORAL LISTS INDIVIDUALLY

The next 11 graphs represent an overview of the quality of media presentation of electoral lists per media individually, but also depict the polarization of the media, i.e. different approaches to reporting on the key “players” of the 2020 parliamentary elections. This is particularly noticeable with the portal IN4S and Borba.me.

**SDP – STRONG MONTENEGRO** was the slogan of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), which focused its campaign on explaining its vision of the strong Montenegro. The party was mentioned in 705 announcements, which is 7.74% of the total number of announcements dedicated to electoral lists. This also means that the party was mentioned daily in approximately 28 posts, which is moderately high publicity. Of that number, 37% of announcements were unplanned and related to procedural issues, but also condemnations directed to the party by other participants in the elections regarding general political issues, and the activities of this party in general in the previous period. The party’s campaign, i.e. the planned addressing of the media was recorded in 440 announcements.

The party’s campaign was mostly positive, i.e. in 71% of the total number of planned announcements. When it comes to the theme of the campaign, it was mostly focused on economic issues. With its campaign, the SDP spoke that a strong Montenegro is one that is economically stable and successful. Also, the SDP singled out the issue of European integration (SDP dedicated a significant space to this issue in its campaign with a clear pro-European stance), the fight against corruption and organized crime, as well as the rule of law and justice as important issues. Identity issues have not been neglected, but the focus has shifted from purely identity issues to the issue of love for the country through development of its economy and strengthening of institutions.

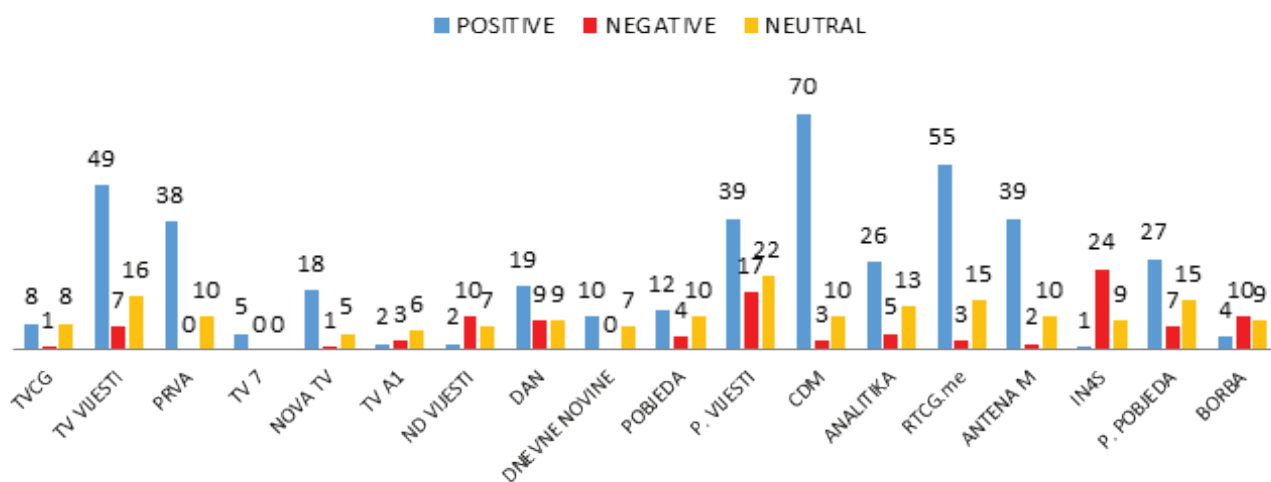
**RESUME:** For the most part it was a positive campaign, focused primarily on economic issues. Specific in relation to other campaigns is that less space was devoted to identity issues, while a significant part of the campaign is focused on European integration.



Graph 15. SDP - STRONG MONTENEGRO (number of announcements of different tones per media)

**We are deciding - CONSISTENTLY** had the pronoun WE in the name of the campaign, which could be considered negative because it indicates the division of society into "us and them", but in general the campaign did not provoke such reactions. The Social Democrats (SD) were mentioned in 711 announcements or 7.8% of the total number, i.e. they had approximately 28 announcements per day. The list was present in 59% of planned announcements. The media campaign of this list was positive and substantial because 90% of the planned content consists of announcements related to the promotion of the election programme, while 10% of announcements were allocated for negative campaign. The largest and equal number of announcements was allocated for identity issues and development of the economy/agriculture/tourism. General policy issues, improvement of living standards/social issues and healthcare are at the second level of representation. In third place were issues of youth and education, although at first they seemed to be the backbone of the campaign. However, the campaign of other parties dictated the SD narrative over time, thus identity issues became the most common. The party has made a clear statement on the Law on Freedom of Religion, as well as the issue of European integration, but has not dedicated significant space in the campaign for them. Issues of media, culture and sports, corruption and organized crime, as well as the judiciary and the rule of law, were not given special space in the campaign. SD was negatively mentioned by other participants of elections, i.e. accused of negligent work in the context of corruption and organized crime, as well as identity issues. With a smaller number of announcements, but with clearly directed criticism, the issue of healthcare was also present. Criticisms of this department were partly transferred to the topic - the fight against corruption.

**RESUME:** Positive and substantial campaign focused on issues of identity, economy, youth and education. Criticism from other participants directed at accusations of corruption and crime, as well as poor management of the healthcare sector.

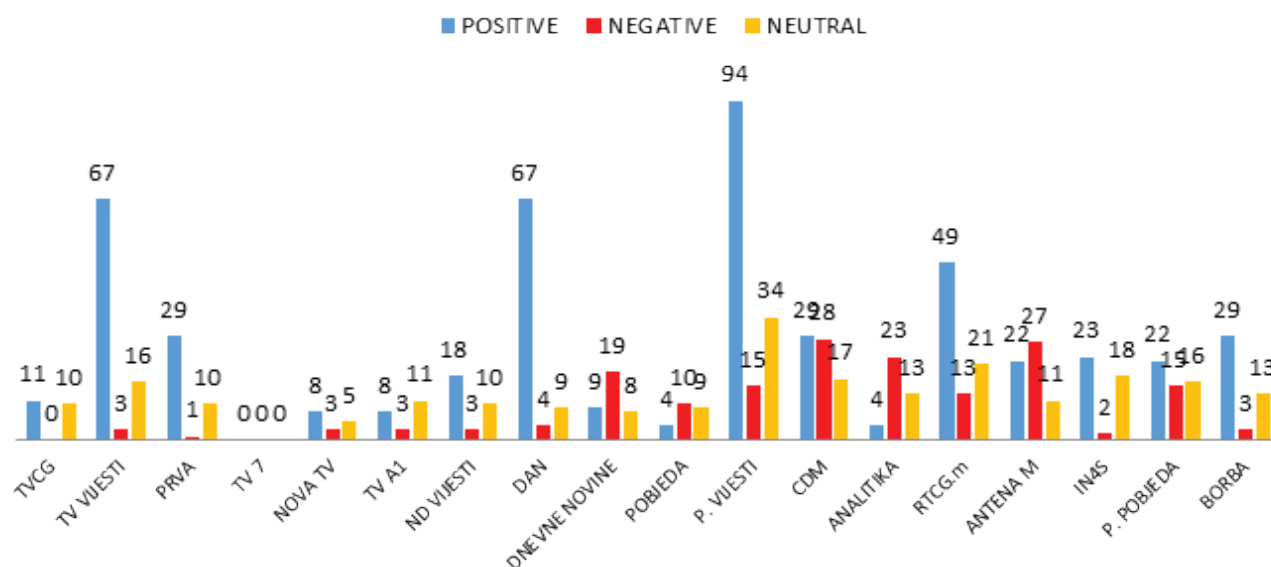


Graph 16. SD - WE ARE DECIDING - CONSISTENTLY (number of announcements of different tones per media)

Coalition **PEACE IS OUR NATION** (Democrats, Demos, The New Left...) appeared in 9.63% of media announcements i.e. 896 announcements, of which 463 i.e. 51.6% of announcements were planned and this can be considered an active campaign of the list. The campaign of that coalition was negative in 61.5% announcements, and dominantly focused on issues of justice and the rule of law, as well as the fight against corruption and organized crime.

When it comes to the positive campaign of the list, i.e. the presentation of the programme, general political issues, economic development and improvement of living standards were spoken about. The narrative of this list was dominated by “overcoming of divisions” and the largest number of announcements found itself in the thematic section of general political issues. The coalition also had, as they stated “superior solutions to overcome citizens’ problems” especially when it comes to economic recovery - reducing VAT from 21% to 7% for catering services and increasing the current 7% to 21% for services in 5-star hotels, progressive taxation, additional taxes on luxury, as well as taxes on extra profit monopolists. It was precisely within the development of the economy, business, agriculture and tourism that criticism was directed at the DPS. Unplanned announcements, i.e. mentions of the list by other passive or active participants of elections, were focused on identity and general political issues. Under the general political issues in the case of this list, a large number of comments on the account of the campaign itself, which was commented as weird was identified, while there were also those who considered the campaign to be of good quality. Criticism was dominant in the area of justice/rule of law, but also in the fight against corruption and crime (IRF lending, political discrimination in the Army, threats against the Democratic via the Viber Group). The coalition was mentioned unplanned the most when identity issues were in the thematic focus.

**RESUME:** The negative campaign (61.5%) was focused on issues of justice and the rule of law, as well as the fight against corruption and organized crime. The positive part of the campaign was focused on economic issues. The campaign was substantial while a number of comments at the expense of the campaign itself was identified.

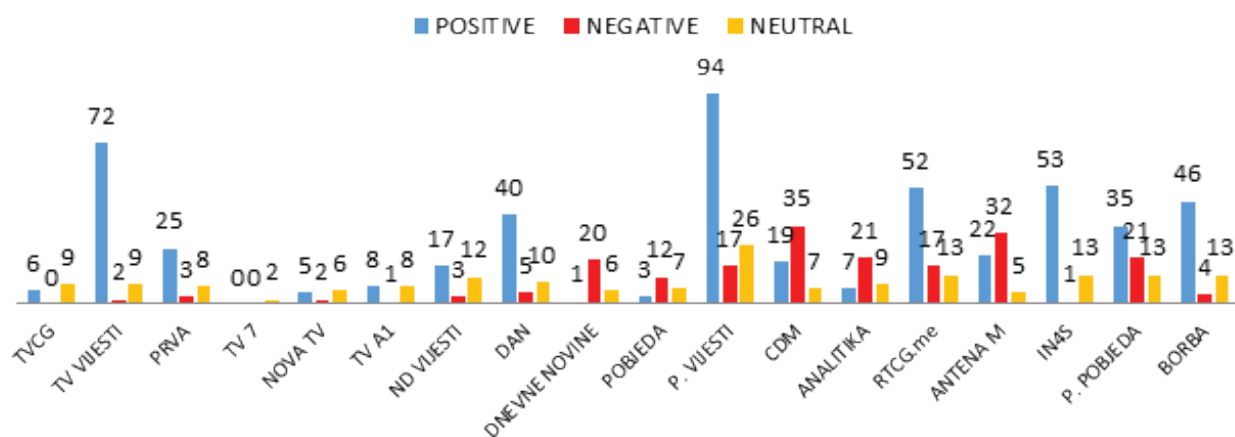


Graph 17. PEACE IS OUR NATION (DEMOCRATS, DEMOS, THE NEW LEFT) - number of announcements of different tone per media)

Coalition **BLACK ON WHITE** (URA, Civis...) had 877 announcements i.e. 9.63% of the total number of announcements. This coalition presented itself as a platform with proposals for all spheres of activity, and in the campaign it directed the blade towards the ruling coalition. The civic pre-sign of the list opened the space for a post-election coalition with all participants in the election race, but the list used the campaign to make it known who it could and could

not form a coalition with, pointing to the opposition’s unity in the mission to remove Milo Đukanović’s “regime”. Planned announcements comprise 54% i.e. 473 announcements. The campaign of this list is one of the most offensive ones with 58% negative announcements of their representatives towards the government of that time, mainly through the topics of the fight against corruption and organized crime. They also criticized the situation in the economy, the judiciary and the rule of law. To a lesser extent, criticism was identified at the expense of all monitored topics. The positive campaign of the list covered all topics, but most of the announcements dealt with general political issues. Somewhat more space was allocated for issues of improving living standards, environmental protection, the rule of law, the economy and the fight against corruption. The coalition did not pay much attention to issues of foreign policy, European integration, culture, sports and education. In the programme, it announced the formation of an “expert government”, the introduction of the principle of “open treasury”, and the adoption of two systemic laws - on the origin of property and on lustration and the opening of secret files. Unplanned announcements, as with all lists, related in part to procedural issues. However, when it comes to this coalition and the unplanned part of the publicity, there has been significant criticism of identity issues, minority issues, and even general political issues. In a negative campaign, the URA was accused of denying the genocide in Srebrenica, betrayal of Montenegrin identity and due to future plans for a coalition.

**RESUME:** The negative campaign had a 58% share. Although the campaign was substantial with a clear stance to most issues, the focus was on criticism of the government of that time. The list focused most of the negative campaign on the issue of organized crime, and the positive part on general political issues. A smaller, but concrete space, focused on environmental protection (planned ban on the construction of MHE).



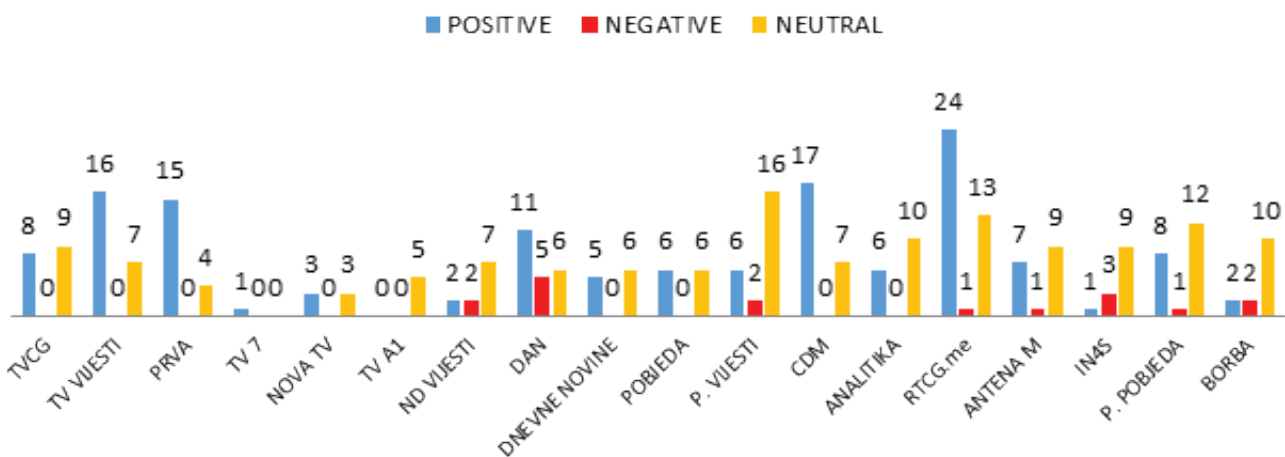
Graph 18. BLACK ON WHITE (URA, CIVIS ...- number of announcements of different tones in the media)

**BOSNIAK PARTY**, represented by the slogan Correctly, was identified in 294 publications. Out of the total publicity of parties and lists, this party took 3.23%. It is a moderate publicity of approximately 12 announcements per day. However, it is characteristic that in a large number of identified announcements, the party was passive and not active, i.e. mentioned by other entities. Planned publicity, i.e. placed content was identified in 133 announcements (45% of the total realized publicity of this party). The campaign can be characterized as positive, as 85% of announcements were aimed at promoting the programme, while in 15% of announcements negative campaign was identified. As expected, most of the announcements were focused on minority issues. This topic was also the focus of criticism



directed at other election participants, and it was mostly a reaction to the announcement of the Black On White coalition and the alleged denial of the genocide in Srebrenica by the Black On White list. In the campaign, the Bosniak Party also dedicated space to issues of economy, identity and general political issues. They provided space, albeit with a low number of announcements, to mention the issues of women’s representation, environmental protection and media pluralism. Most of the unplanned mentions were related to procedural issues (submission of lists, enumeration of political actors by the media and other entities, lottery, etc.).

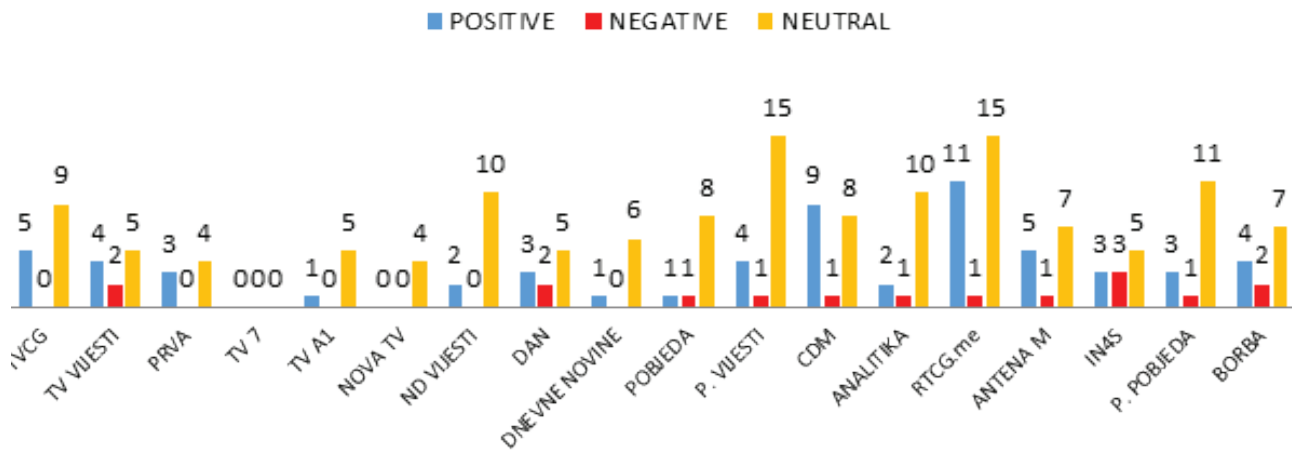
**RESUME:** A small number of announcements, but a positive and substantial campaign. The issues of minority rights are the most common, but they also dealt with issues of gender equality and the media.



Graph 19. BS - CORRECTLY (number of announcements of different tones per media)

**ALBANIAN LIST GENCI NIMANBEGU - NIK ĐELJOŠAJ** appeared in only 2.32% of the total number of announcements dedicated to electoral lists. It should be noted that this is a percentage related to the media space devoted cumulatively to electoral lists, while the space dedicated to the topic of parliamentary elections in general is significantly higher (mentioning elections without mentioning lists, which was the case in a significant number of media announcements). Thus, the list generated a total of 211 announcements, of which 30% were planned i.e. 63 announcements. Promotion of the election programme was identified in 77% of the planned announcements of this list and it mostly related to the promotion of minority rights (protection of interests and rights of Albanians), while criticism of other entities/political actors or neutral protocol procedural mentions of the list was identified in 24% of planned appearances. The party has dedicated its narrative to minority and general political issues, and to a lesser extent to the fight against corruption and organized crime. These announcements represented a negative campaign and referred to the accusation that the DPS was buying votes in Ulcinj by promising jobs and employing citizens. In total, the larger part of the campaign was positive, i.e. 76.19% of announcements were identified which represent a positive campaign.

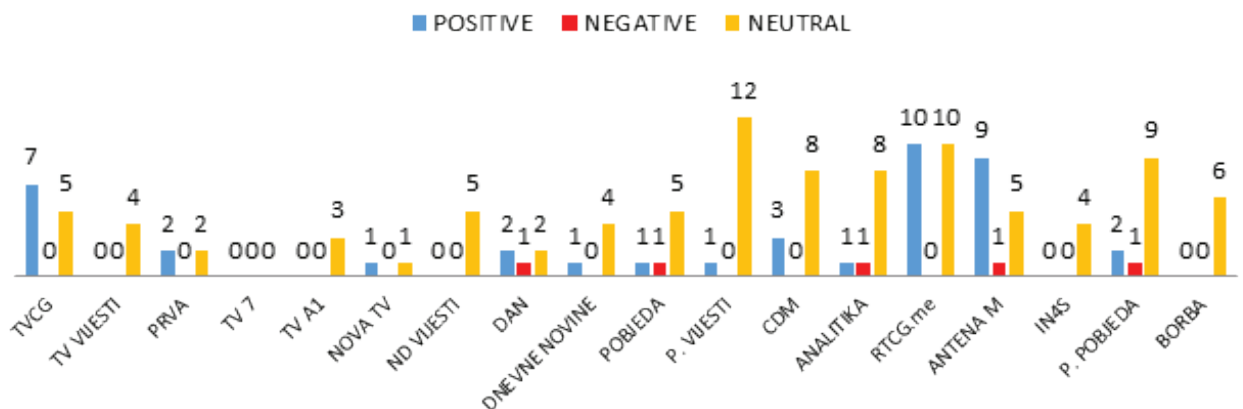
**RESUME:** Positive campaign. The focus is on minority issues. A small number of announcements was focused on issues of organized crime and corruption (mostly confrontation with the DPS over alleged vote buying).



Graph 20. AL - GENCI NIMANBEGU NIK ĐELJOŠAJ (number of announcements of different tones per media)

**CCI - WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO** has generated by far the lowest number of announcements in the election campaign. Mention of CCI, which has presented itself with the slogan WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO, was identified in 138 media announcements, i.e. in only 1.51% of the total number of announcements dedicated to electoral lists. When unplanned mentions are excluded from the total number of announcements in which CCI is mentioned, which refer to procedural issues, or to incidental mentions of this party as one of the minority ones or one of the participants in the election match, the party's campaign was identified in only 40 announcements, whereby 82% of the 40 planned announcements represent a positive campaign and mostly relate to general political issues. Thus, this list dominantly promoted its programme, while criticism of other political entities/ other actors was represented by 18%. The list was mentioned unplanned the most in the Other category (submission and proclamation of the list, determining the order on the ballots), while the promotion of the programme and key ideas of this list was identified within the thematic division dealing with general political issues, as well as foreign policy and regional cooperation. Also, identity and minority issues were noted as key points of the CCI election programme.

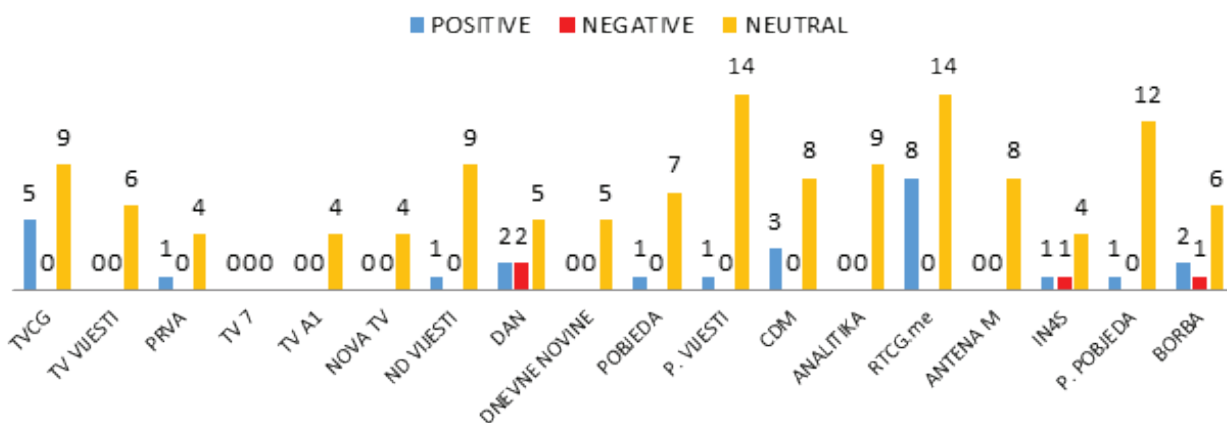
**RESUME:** The least number of posts. Positive, but poorly substantial campaign during which the issue of good neighbourly relations (cooperation with the region) was especially highlighted.



Graph 21. CCI - WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO (number of announcements of different tones per media)

**ALBANIAN COALITION – UNANIMOUSLY** (The Democratic Party, the Democratic Union of Albanians and the Democratic Alliance in Montenegro) achieved low publicity during the observed period, and during the election campaign. Mention of this list was identified in 158 announcements, which is only 1.73% of the total identified announcements in the campaign (dedicated to lists). A special problem is the fact that this list was mentioned unplanned in most of the cumulative publicity, that is, the list’s campaign was identified in only 27 announcements, i.e. 17% of the total number of announcements, which indicates a relatively weak promotion of this party’s programme. All identified announcements in the campaign of this list are positive - 100% positive campaign. Thus, this is the only pre-election list that has dedicated the entire planned publicity to the promotion of its own programme, i.e. the only list that has not generated negative campaign. This list used its space in the media to promote general political issues, as well as minority issues. The list had the most unplanned mentions within the category of other (submission and proclamation of the list, determining the order on the ballots).

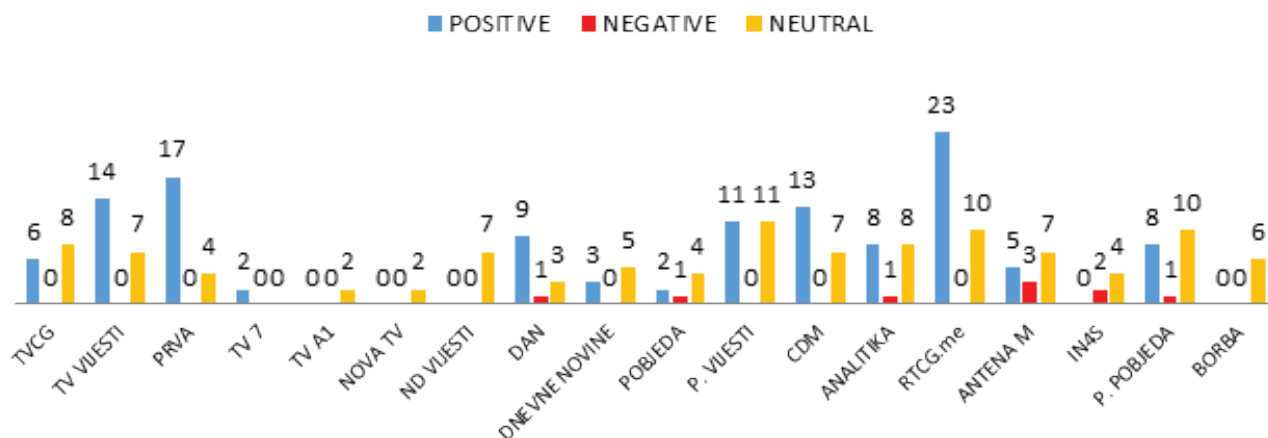
**RESUME:** 100% positive campaign, with an extremely low number of announcements that can be considered a campaign - only 27 announcements.



Graph 22. AC - UNANIMOUSLY (DUA, DPA, DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE - NUMBER OF ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DIFFERENT TONS PER MEDIA)

**CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO – CRP** has generated 235 media announcements or 2.58% of the total number of announcements dedicated to electoral lists. Half of those announcements, i.e. 118, were planned and represent the campaign of this party. Most of the unplanned announcements refer to procedural issues, while the campaign dominantly focused on minority issues, i.e. identity and minority issues (improvement of the position of the Croatian national community), but also on issues of external and regional cooperation. Through a small number of announcements but with a clear intention, this party has sent messages regarding issues of education, media literacy, youth and the economy. The most important feature of this campaign is the fact that it is extremely positive - as many as 99% of the identified appearances of the party were positive. The list was mentioned unplanned the most times in the category Other (submission and proclamation of the list, determining the order on the ballots).

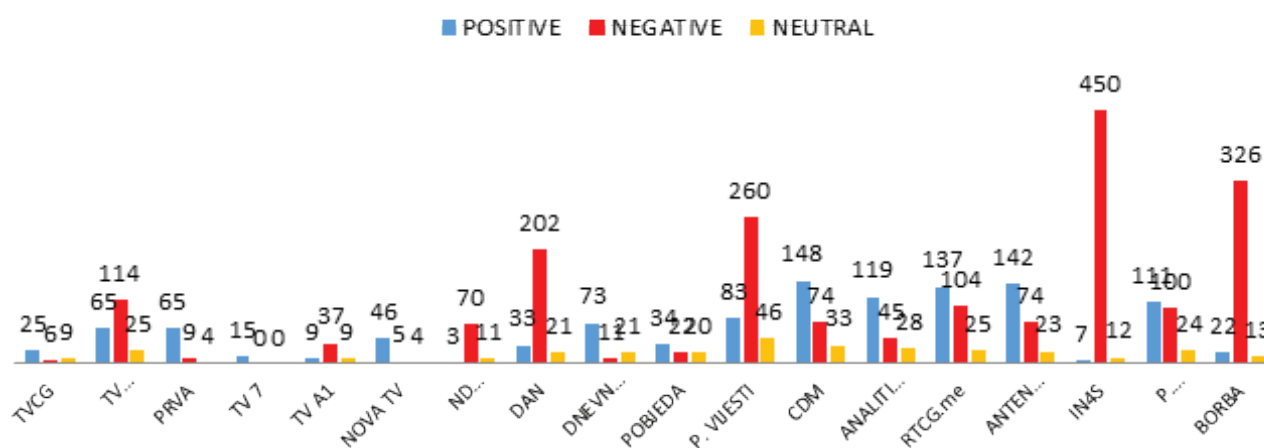
**RESUME:** Extremely positive campaign - 99% of announcements were aimed at promoting the programme. The focus of the campaign was on minority issues, the importance of media literacy, education, the position of young people and strengthening the economy.



Graph 23. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO (number of announcements of different tones per media)

**Electoral list DECISIVELY FOR MONTENEGRO! DPS – MILO ĐUKANOVIĆ** has generated by far the largest number of announcements - 37% of the total number of media announcements dedicated to all electoral lists. It introduced itself with the slogan Decisively for Montenegro. The DPS was mentioned in 3374 announcements in the election campaign, of which as many as 2255 were unplanned. More precisely, the DPS campaign fitted in 1121 announcements, which is 33.2% of the total number of announcements in which the party is mentioned. Given the approach of opposition parties not to attack each other, the DPS list generated also the highest percentage of unplanned mentions (67%). The campaign contained a significant number of announcements that can be characterized as a negative campaign, but overall the campaign was positive (programme promotion had a 62% share and criticism of other political entities 38% of the share). In the negative part of the campaign, the DPS dealt mostly with the issue of identity. In a large number of announcements related to the topics of the fight against corruption, the judiciary and the rule of law, and the foreign policy, the negative campaign came as a response to the comments of other parties on the account of the DPS action. On the subject of the positive campaign, most of the announcements were related to identity issues. However, within the positive campaign, economic development issues as well as general political issues were often discussed. Although in a small percentage, all topics were represented in this list, and a slightly larger space was set aside for young people, European integration, the rule of law and minority issues. On the other hand, there is almost no mention of the environment, culture and sports, healthcare and education. There were not many innovations in the programme and the list continued to follow a well-trodden path whilst promising the European quality of life, state stability, economic and social security, multi-ethnic and interfaith harmony and stability. Burning economic issues were found within the framework of the Third Package of Measures, which was invoked by the ruling party during the campaign. The emotionally coloured narrative was dominated by calls for a “historic moment”, “thirty years of governing the state”, the fight against “anti-Montenegrin and anti-state forces” and calling out those who want to “change the course of state policy”. When it comes to unplanned announcements, these are the dominant negative mentions of the DPS - 82.6% of unplanned content is negative one by other lists on the topic of the fight against corruption and organized crime. In second place in terms of the number of negative mentions of the DPS, the topic of justice and the rule of law stood out, followed by the development of the economy, identity issues, the Law on Freedom of Religion and general political issues.

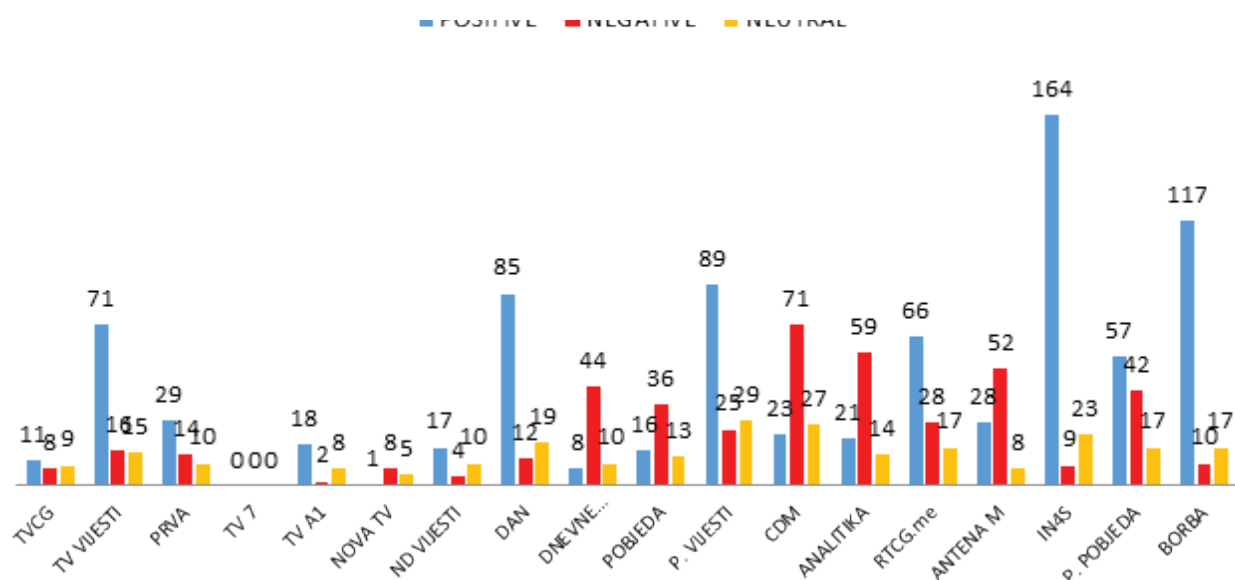
**RESUME:** By far the most extensive and positive campaign, but with a significant 38% negative campaign. The main messages and most of the campaign was focused on identity issues. The party i.e. the list with convincingly the most negative mentions by other parties (other parties accused the DPS by far the most, i.e. it was negatively mentioned in connection with organized crime and corruption).



Graph 34. DPS - DECISEVELY FOR MONTENEGRO (number of announcements of different tones per media)

Coalition FOR THE FUTURE OF MONTENEGRO was mentioned in 1512 announcements or 16.6% of the total number of announcements, of which 783 (52%) were planned and represent a campaign, while in the remaining 730 this coalition was mentioned by other entities. The campaign of this coalition was negative - 68.4% of the total number of planned announcements were negative/offensive. The largest part of its negative campaign, the list focused on justice and the rule of law, as well as the fight against corruption and organized crime. In regards to thematic units, the fight against corruption and crime and the judiciary/rule of law have been dominated by negatives/offensive campaign primarily directed at the DPS (accusations against pre-election employment practices, voter list manipulation, enrolment of "phantom" voters and vote purchase). A small, but also a significant number of announcements in the negative part of the campaign, dealt with issues of the Law on Freedom of Religion, identity and economic development. Thus, the dominant chosen strategy was the negative campaign/criticism of other political actors (with a 68% share of planned appearances). The promotion of the programme has had a 32% share, and the most common topics during the election campaign were identity issues and the closely related Law on Freedom of Religion, as well as the fight against corruption and crime. Simply put, the positive part of the campaign focused on general political issues, and a significantly smaller but visible number of positive announcements addressed issues of identity and economic development, the Law on Freedom of Religion and the judiciary. When it comes to the unplanned mention of this coalition, by far the largest number, primarily negative mentions, were related to the topic of identity issues, while the topic of the Law on Freedom of Religion was in second place. The dominance of unplanned mentions of the list was identified within the framework of identity issues, which is to be expected given that the both-sided offensive campaign against the list „For the Future of Montenegro“- „Decisively for Montenegro DPS - Milo Đukanović“ was led precisely around identity issues. During the election campaign, the coalition announced the defence of the property of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the narrative was dominated by "the defence of shrines and Orthodoxy" and "sending into the past those who attacked the shrines."

**RESUME:** Negative campaign through 68.4% of announcements, focused on issues of corruption and organized crime. The positive part of the campaign dealt with general political issues. The negatives mentioning of the list have arisen from narratives about identity and the law on freedom of religion.



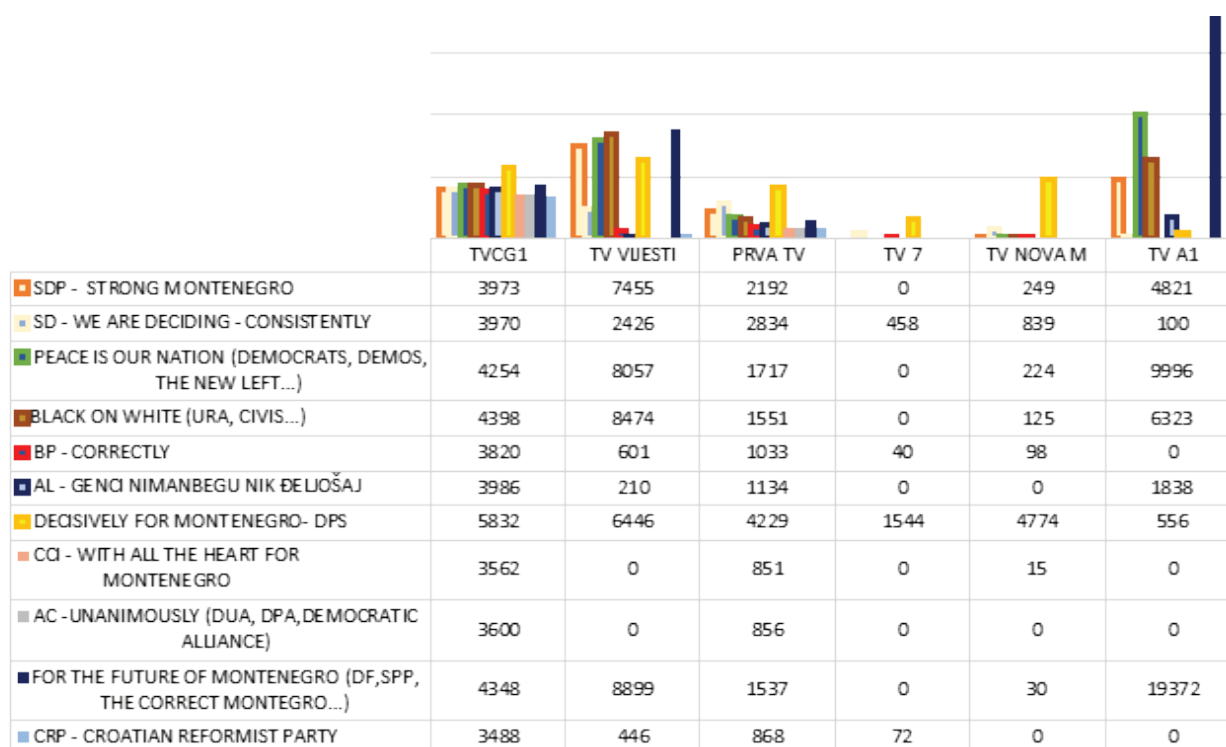
Graph 35. FOR THE FUTURE OF MONTENEGRO (DF, SPP, CORRECT MONTENEGRO ... - number of announcements of different tones per media)

## TIME AND SPACE DEDICATED TO THE NARRATIVE OF ELECTORAL LISTS

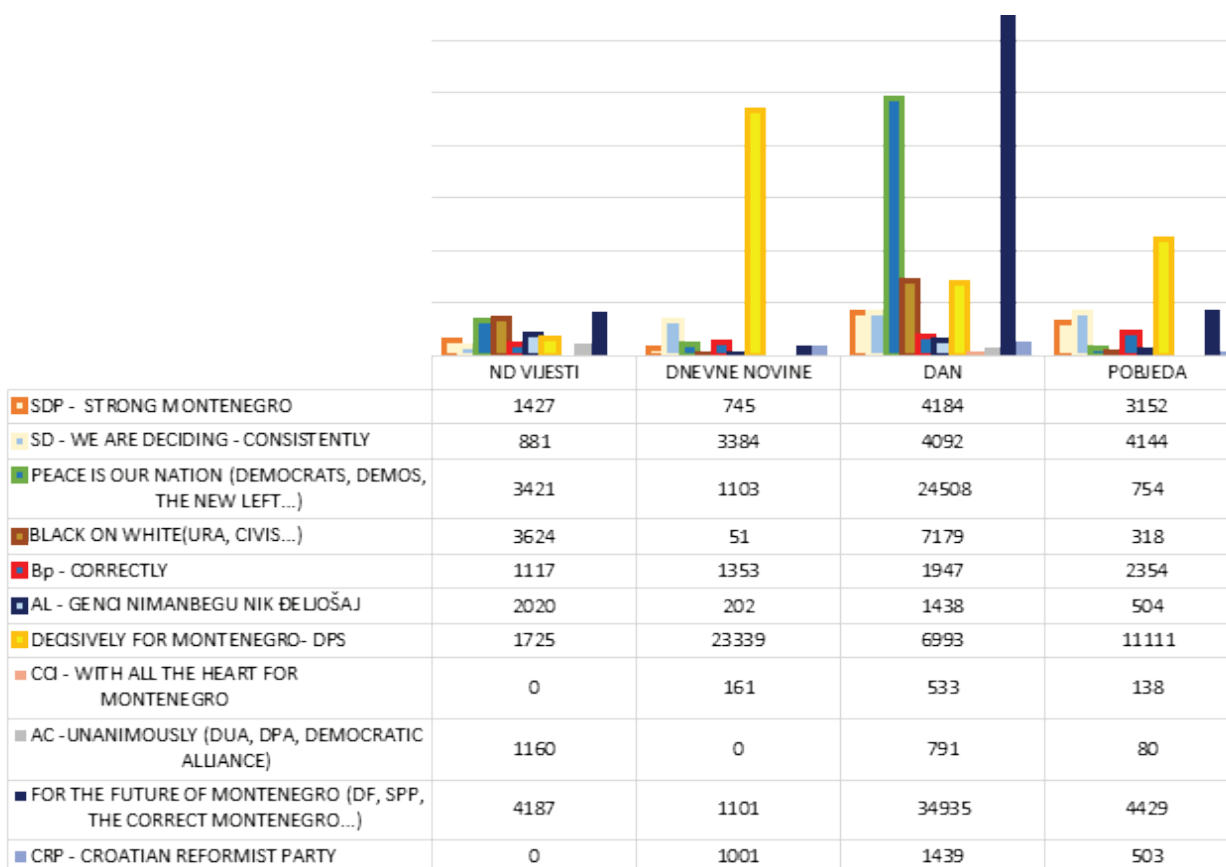
For the purposes of this analysis, the time and space that the electoral lists had available within all monitored media individually to communicate their views were monitored in detail. Although the Code of Journalists and journalistic ethics imply equal media representation of all political actors, it is not binding when it comes to commercial media, and as it turned out in this pre-election cycle, how much of media space a particular electoral list will receive depended on media editorial policy. On the other hand, the Public Media Service RTCG (TVCG1 and TVCG2) has a legal obligation to provide all political actors with equal treatment and uniform time (media space) for the placement of views, which, based on available statistics, has been done. However, it should be noted that the time that the media, especially the Public Service, devoted to the activities of state officials on the electoral lists of the DPS, SD and the Bosniak Party was not attributed to, at that time, the position parties.

The graphs show the time and space dedicated to the planned appearances of electoral lists per individual media (television and printed media). These graphs encompass cumulative time, i.e. time for placing the views of the list (therefore, planned), both in informative shows and in debate shows on television, i.e. in the complete content of the printed media (except for paid space and sports and world sections).





Graph 36. TIME DEDICATED TO PLANNED APPEARANCE OF ELECTORAL LISTS PER MEDIA INDIVIDUALLY (TV - expressed in seconds)



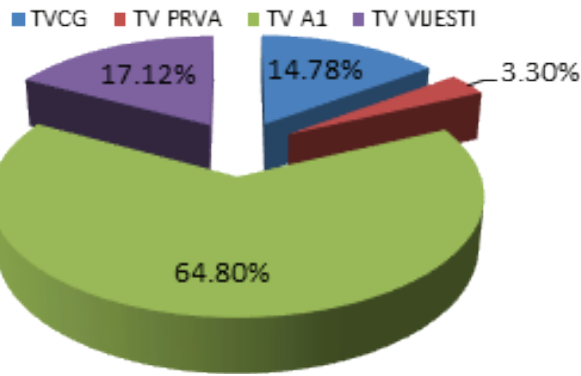
Graph 37. SPACE DEDICATED TO PLANNED APPEARANCE OF ELECTORAL LISTS PER MEDIA INDIVIDUALLY (PRINTED MEDIA - expressed in cm2)

The following data represent the dedicated time that the election lists, that is, the participants in the election campaign, had at their disposal to place their views (planned), whether it was a programme promotion or a negative or so-called offensive campaign, but also in debate shows or shows dedicated to the parliamentary elections, which were broadcasted in prime time (from 19:00 to 00:00). A total of 36 so-called non-informative shows, debates, presentations and interviews on the programmes of four televisions (TV 7 did not broadcast the mentioned content). The television space was mostly used by the coalition For the Future of Montenegro (DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro), with a total time of 29076 seconds, followed by a coalition Peace Is Our Nation (Democrats, Demos, The New Left...) with 19833 s, then coalition Black On White (URA, CIVIS...) with 16279 s, and SDP- Strong Montenegro with 14170 s. Other political entities used/received the television space of monitored televisions to a significantly lesser extent. For example, the political party that individually won the most votes in the last parliamentary elections DPS – Decisively for Montenegro used 7134 seconds of television space. This was also influenced by the position of this list to refuse to participate in debate shows organized on TV Vijesti. However, this list used certain time on TV Vijesti, which is exclusively a consequence of the guest appearance of the representatives of the Liberal Party (on two occasions), who are on the DPS list, hence that time was attributed to that list. However, both representatives of the Liberal Party emphasized that they were not speaking on behalf of the DPS but on behalf of the Liberal Party. In addition to the abovementioned, it can be said that the time dedicated to the presentation of electoral lists in debate shows on the Public Media Service of Montenegro (TVCG1) was more or less uniform by lists. On the other hand, an obvious disproportion in favour of opposition lists on TV A1 was identified.

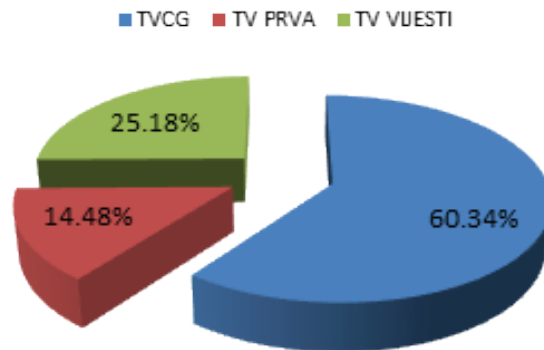
LIST	TVCG1	TV VIJESTI	TV A1	TV PRVA	UKUPNO (sekunde)
SDP STRONG MONTENEGRO	<b>3861</b> 27,25%	<b>4858</b> 32,28%	<b>4401</b> 31,06%	<b>1051</b> 7,42%	<b>14170</b>
SD WE ARE DECIDING CONSISTENTLY	<b>3862</b> 77,46%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>1124</b> 22,54%	<b>4986</b>
PEACE IS OUR NATION DEMOCRATS, DEMOS, THE NEW LEFT...	<b>4118</b> 25,18%	<b>4993</b> 20,76%	<b>9723</b> 49,02%	<b>999</b> 5,04%	<b>19833</b>
BLACK ON WHITE CM URA, CIVIS CITIZENS MOVEMENT ...	<b>2320</b> 26,54%	<b>5020</b> 30,84%	<b>5958</b> 36,61%	<b>978</b> 6,01%	<b>16279</b>
BP CORRECTLY	<b>3715</b> 82,52	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>787</b> 17,48%	<b>4502</b>
ALBANIAN LIST GENCI NIMANBEGU NIK ĐELJOSAJ	<b>3986</b> 58,13%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>1838</b> 26,82%	<b>1032</b> 15,06%	<b>6854</b>
DPS – DECISIVELY FOR MONTENEGRO!	<b>4305</b> 60,34%	<b>1796</b> 21,18%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>1033</b> 14,48%	<b>7134</b>
CCI -WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO	<b>3532</b> 81,03%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>827</b> 18,97%	<b>4359</b>
ALBANIAN COALITON UNANIMOUSLY DUA, DPA, DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	<b>3600</b> 80,79%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>856</b> 19,21%	<b>4456</b>
FOR THE FUTURE OF MONTENEGRO - DF, SPP, THE CORRECT MONTENEGRO...	<b>4297</b> 14,78%	<b>4979</b> 17,12%	<b>18840</b> 64,80%	<b>960</b> 3,30%	<b>29076</b>
CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO	<b>3488</b> 85,57%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>0</b> 0%	<b>588</b> 14,43%	<b>4076</b>

Table 4. TIME DEDICATED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF ELECTORAL LISTS IN DEBATE SHOWS ON TELEVISIONS (expressed in seconds))

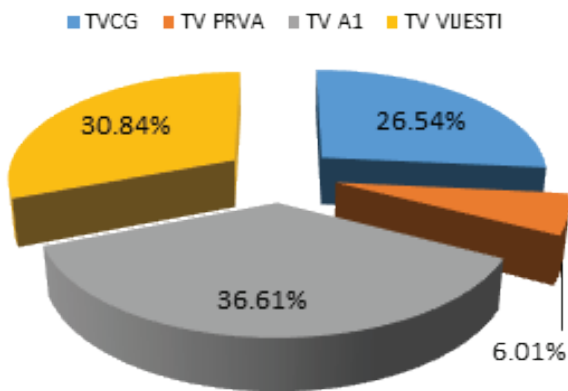
**For the Future of Montenegro - DF, SPP, The Correct MNE...**



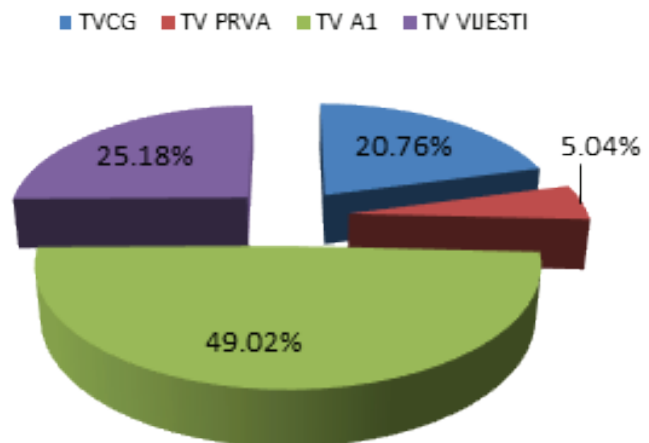
**DPS - Decisively for Montenegro**



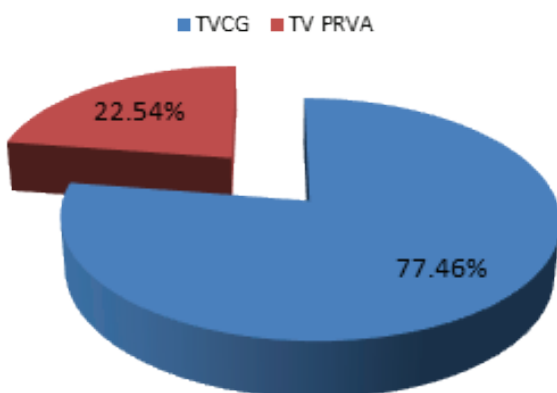
**Black On White - URA, CIVIS...**



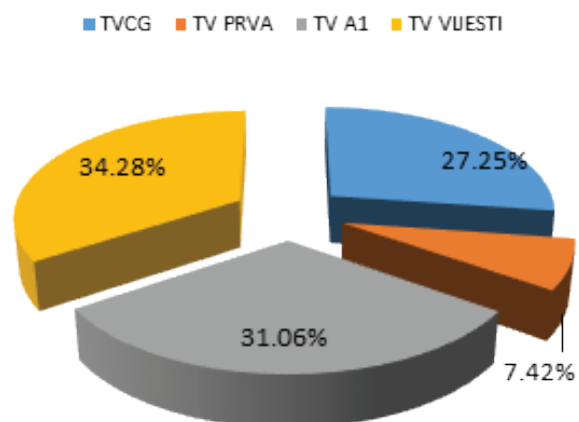
**Peace Is Our Nation**

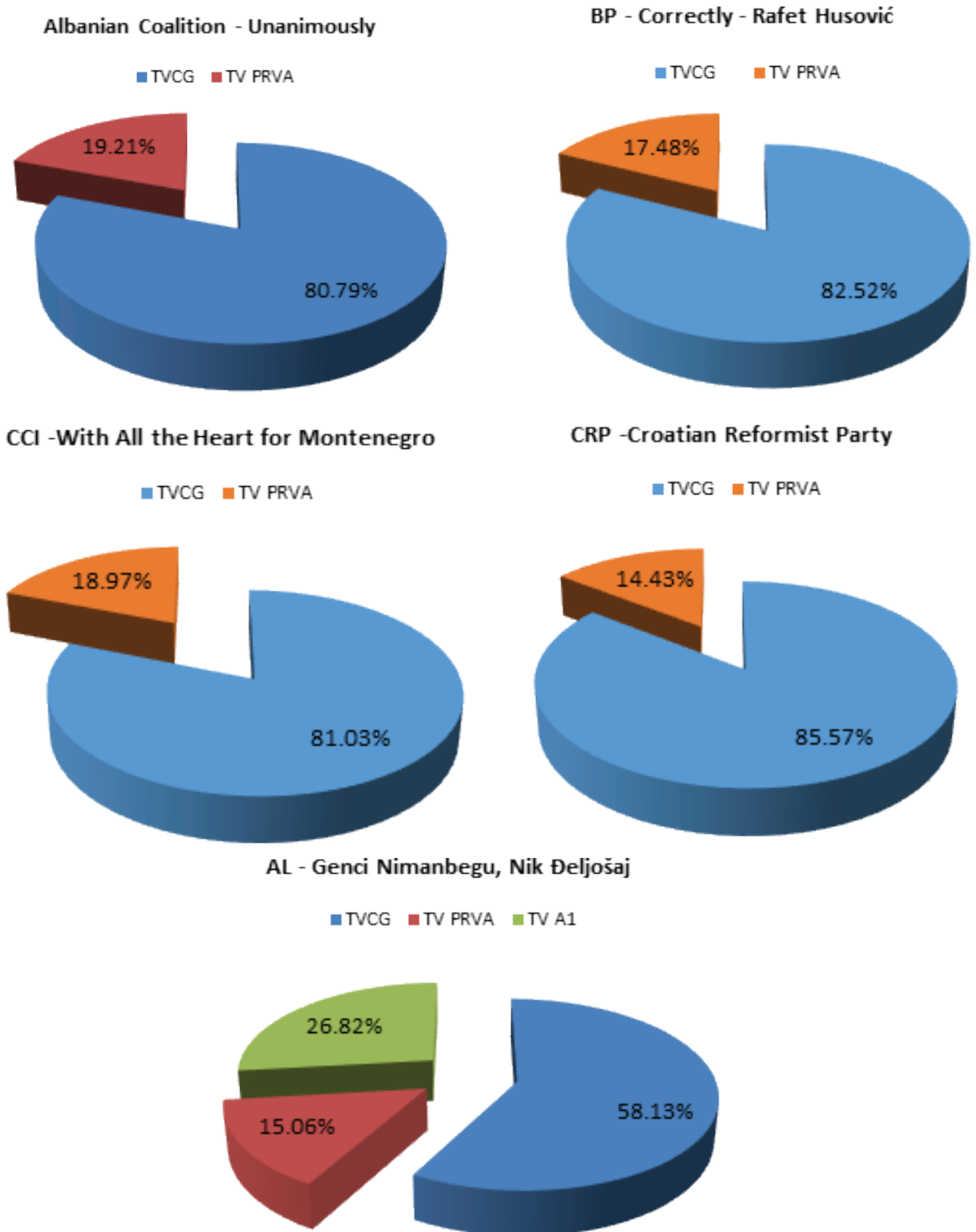


**SD - We Are Deciding - CONSISTENTLY**



**SDP - Strong Montenegro**





Graph 38. PERCENTAGE REPRESENTATION OF ELECTORAL LISTS IN DEBATE SHOWS (in relation to the obtained media space)

MONITORING OF MEDIA, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND  
COMMENTS ON ONLINE MEDIA DURING PARLIAMENTARY  
ELECTIONS IN MONTENEGRO IN 2020

DATE	MEDIA	BEGINNING	DURATION	SHOW	AUTHOR OF THE SHOW	LIST	TOTAL SECONDS
6 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:25:11</a>	1:25:08	Club A Special - guest: Andrija Mandić, Democratic Front DF	Irena Tatar	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	5090
7 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:15:40</a>	1:30:33	SUNDAY IN FRIDAY (NEDELJA U PETAK)	Prešeter/ Editor	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj	2639 1838
13 Aug	Vijesti TV	<a href="#">20:01:10</a>	1:57:00	Special show - Debate, parliamentary elections 2020	Petar Komnenić	8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović 9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left... 6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement... 4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO	930 979 1038 1068 932
13 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:16:37</a>	2:04:09	CLUB A	Irena Tatar	6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...	3559
14 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:15:42</a>	1:19:15	Sunday In Friday - guest: Aleksa Bečić, Democratic Montenegro Democrats	Milica Minić	11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	4755
17 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:05</a>	0:29:37	Presentation of the SD Social Democrats electoral list	Dragan Sjekloća	1. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović We Are Deciding	1735
17 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">20:22:10</a>	1:46:22	Debate – Parliamentary elections 2020	Bojan Terzić	1. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 2. Bosniak Party CORRECTLY Rafet Husović PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 3. CCI. WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 5. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO CRP PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement... PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 7. Albanian Coalition Unanimously DUA, DPA, Democratic Alliance PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left... 9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	429 470 495 562 428 509 425 775 543 524 662
17 Aug	Vijesti TV	<a href="#">20:00:31</a>	1:51:16	Debate - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Petar Komnenić	4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left... 9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 6. List Black On White GP URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...	1003 995 979 1007

DATE	MEDIA	BEGINNING	DURATION	SHOW	AUTHOR OF THE SHOW	LIST	TOTAL SECONDS
18 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:14</a>	0:29:03	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS presentation - Bosniak Party BP	Snežana Mirković	2. Bosniak Party CORRECTLY Rafet Husović	1709
19 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:01:30</a>	0:27:28	Special show - presentation: CCI Croatian Citizens' Initiative	Dragana Mrkić	3. CCI. WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO	1631
20 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:21</a>	0:28:17	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS presentation SDP Social Democratic Party	Jelena Otašević	4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO	1662
20 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">20:19:44</a>	2:08:31	Debate - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Nevenka Jovović	1. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY	868
						2. Bosniak Party CORRECTLY Rafet Husović	598
						3. CCI. WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO	300
						4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO	663
						5. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO	443
						6. List Black On White GP URA,CIVIS Citizens Movement...	644
						7. Albanian Coalition Unanimously DUA, DPA, Democratic Alliance	597
						8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović	670
						9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	732
						10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj	667
						11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	517
20 Aug	Vijesti TV	<a href="#">20:00:35</a>	1:52:06	DEBATE - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Petar Komnenić	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	1011
						11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	1057
						6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...	994
						4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO	1006
20 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:27:24</a>	1:51:07	Club A Special	Irena Tatar	6. List Black On White GP URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...	2399
						11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	2249
21 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:25</a>	0:26:30	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - presentation: CRP Croatian Reformist Party	Snežana Mirković	5. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO	1580
20 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:27:24</a>	1:51:07	Club A Special	Irena Tatar	6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...	2399
						11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	2249
21 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:25</a>	0:26:30	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - presentation: CRP Croatian Reformist Party	Snežana Mirković	5. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO	1580



MONITORING OF MEDIA, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND  
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ELECTIONS IN MONTENEGRO IN 2020

DATE	MEDIA	BEGINNING	DURATION	SHOW	AUTHOR OF THE SHOW	LIST	TOTAL SECONDS
21 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:20:12</a>	1:25:22	Club A - guest: Milan Knežević, Democratic National Party DNP	Milica Minić	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	5090
22 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:29</a>	0:29:33	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - presentation: Coalition Black On White	Dragana Mrkić	6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...	1773
23 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:10</a>	0:28:29	Parliamentary elections presentation:	Presenter/ Editor	7. Albanian Coalition Unanimously DUA, DPA, Democratic Alliance	1699
23 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:07:44</a>	0:24:32	First topic - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS Montenegro	Andela Šestović	3. CCI. WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO 5. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO	827 588
24 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:01:15</a>	0:26:22	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - presentation: Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović	Presenter/ Editor	8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	1580
24 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">20:19:21</a>	1:58:16	Debate - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Isidora Sekulić	1. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović WE ARE DECIDING CONSISTENTLY 2. Bosniak Party CORRECTLY Rafet Husović 3. CCI. WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO 4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO 5. CROATIAN REFORMIST PARTY OF MONTENEGRO 6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement... 7. Albanian Coalition Unanimously DUA, DPA, Democratic Alliance 8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović 9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	459 518 584 506 644 843 488 603 548 532 578
24 Aug	Vijesti TV	<a href="#">20:00:45</a>	1:48:20	Debate - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Petar Komnenić	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left... 6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement... 4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO 2. Bosniak Party CORRECTLY Rafet Husović	1084 1068 1067 1045 787
25 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:09</a>	0:29:36	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - presentation: For the Future of Montenegro	Snežana Mirković	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	1771
25 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:12:11</a>	0:32:52	Topic - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 Montenegro	Andela Šestović	7. Albanian Coalition Unanimously DUA, DPA, Democratic Alliance 10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj	856 1032

DATE	MEDIA	BEGINNING	DURATION	SHOW	AUTHOR OF THE SHOW	LIST	TOTAL SECONDS
26 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">14:21:47</a>	0:29:41	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - presentation: Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj	Prezenter/ Urednik	10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj	1778
26 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:10:13</a>	0:18:48	Topic - presentation: Social Democrats Ivan Brajović We Are Deciding	Andela Šestović	1. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020 8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović	1124
27 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">16:00:19</a>	0:31:10	PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - List: Peace Is Our Nation	Bojan Terzić	11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	1868
27 Aug	TVCG1	<a href="#">20:35:00</a>	1:50:37	Debate - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Biljana Stanković	1. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović We Are Deciding 2. Bosniak Party CORRECTLY Rafet Husović 3. CCI. WITH ALL THE HEART FOR MONTENEGRO 4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO 5. Croatian Reformist Party of Montenegro 6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement.. 7. Albanian Coalition Unanimously DUA, DPA, Democratic Alliance 8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović 9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 10. Albanian list Now Is the Time Genci Nimanbegu Nik Đeljošaj 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	371 420 522 468 393 551 391 677 584 466 631
27 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:00:49</a>	0:17:33	Topic - Presentation: Social Democratic Party of Montenegro: STRONG MONTENEGRO	Andela Šestović	4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO	1051
27 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:18:46</a>	0:16:04	Topic - presentation: For the Future of Montenegro	Andela Šestović	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro...	960
27 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:15:26</a>	1:59:36	CLUB A	Irena Tatar	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...	2294 2719
28 Aug	Vijesti TV	<a href="#">20:01:03</a>	1:54:17	Debate - PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	Petar Komnenić	8. Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović 9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... 4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	866 926 872 835
28 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:10:35</a>	0:16:46	Topic - presentation: Coalition Peace Is Our Nation	Andela Šestović	6. List Black On White CM URA,CIVIS Citizens Movement.. 11. Coalition Peace Is Our Nation Democrats, Demos, The New Left...PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	884 999

28 Aug	Prva	<a href="#">21:27:40</a>	0:16:19	Topic - presentation: List Black On White	Andela Šestović	6. List Black On White CM URA, CIVIS Citizens Movement...PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	978
28 Aug	A1	<a href="#">22:34:20</a>	1:02:07	Special show - guest: Andrija Mandić,DF	Irena Tatar	9. Coalition For the Future of Montenegro DF, SPP, The Correct Montenegro... PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	3727
28 Aug	A1	<a href="#">20:16:21</a>	1:13:20	SUNDAY IN FRIDAY (NEDELJA U PETAK)	Milica Minić	4. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro STRONG MONTENEGRO PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2020	4400

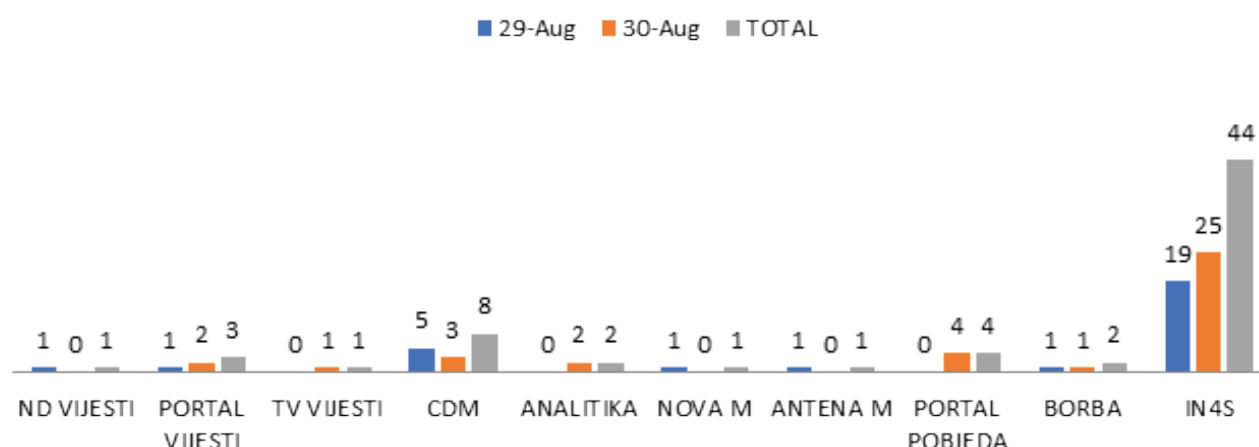
Table 5. TIME DEDICATED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF ELECTORAL LISTS IN DEBATE SHOWS ON TELEVISIONS (expressed in seconds)

## VIOLATION OF ELECTORAL SILENCE

Electoral silence, as a legal institute, is briefly defined in the Rulebook on the Rights and Obligations of Broadcasters Parliamentary Elections - August 2020<sup>5</sup>. In essence, only Article 14 of the said Rulebook speaks of electoral silence.

According to the regulations of the Agency for Electronic Media (AEM), election silence means: the period of time beginning on the day before the election and on election day until the closing of polling stations at 8 pm, during which election promotion or publication of provisional results or evaluation of results of choice is not allowed. During the period of pre-election silence, it is not allowed to broadcast media presentations of the submitters of the electoral lists and the candidates from the electoral lists. During the pre-election silence, political advertising, publication of estimates of voting results, slogans or symbols of candidates are not allowed. It is also not allowed to publish the results of public opinion polls, other surveys and analyses related to the choice of voters regarding the evaluation of election results.

The most numerous violations of the election silence were identified on the IN4S portal - as many as 44 media announcements in 2 days. Violations of this magnitude cannot be considered an omission, ignorance or be attributed to the ignorance of the editorial office, but at the level of an indication one can speak of intent or even a targeted campaign.



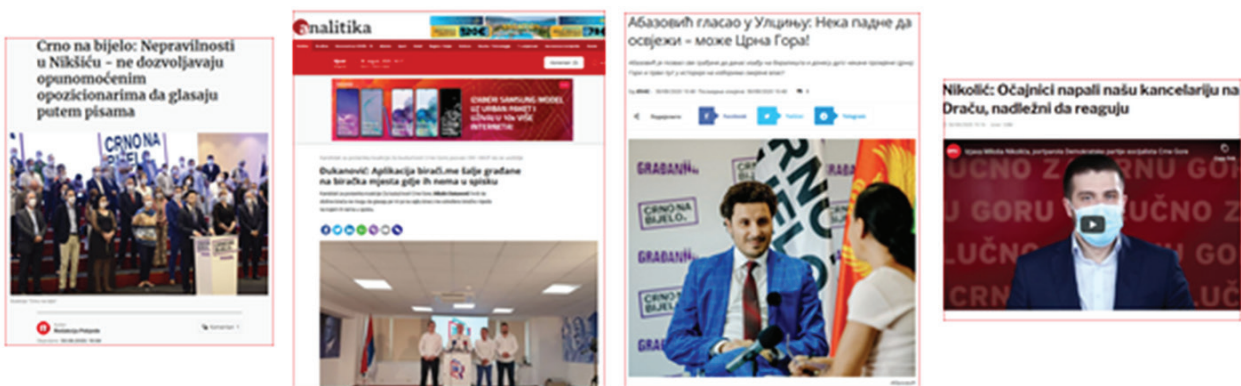
Graph 40. NUMBER OF ANNOUNCEMENTS PER MEDIA INDIVIDUALLY CONSIDERED AS VIOLATION OF ELECTION SILENCE

<sup>5</sup> <https://aemcg.org/obavjestenja/pravilnik-o-pravima-i-obavezama-emitera-parlamentarni-izbori-avgust-2020/>

In most other cases, when it comes to violating the election silence, it can be assumed that it is the negligence of the editorial offices. Namely, in most cases, it is about placing information about alleged irregularities that were identified during the election day, which were announced by the representative of the DF, Milutin Đukanović. The information itself is not disputable, that is, its placement as such has the so-called public interest, however, what is disputable and why these media announcements are considered a violation of the election silence is the accompanying photo of Đukanović, among others, behind the podium with the logo used in the election campaign, or the logo and slogan are displayed on the monitor behind him.

The second case concerns the placement of the statement of the DPS spokesman, Miloš Nikolić, who spoke about the attack on the party premises in the Podgorica settlement of Drač. Even that information does not represent a violation of the election silence, but an accompanying photo of Nikolić in front of the billboard with a clearly marked slogan that was used in the pre-election campaign is.

Another media announcement that was placed on the Vijesti portal was registered as a violation of the election silence, and it has a controversial time of publication. Namely, it was placed immediately after taking a statement from Duško Marković at 9:42, after he exercised his right to vote. However, the announcement was withdrawn from the website and placed again after 8 p.m. It is obvious that this is a mistake, but it is not known how long the specific media announcement was on the platform, that is, how many users had insight into it. Therefore, this case is also taken as a violation of electoral silence<sup>6</sup>. The link to this media release is not active, so a screenshot of the media release is submitted.



<sup>6</sup> Link to this media release is <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/464851/markovic-ne-ocekujem-bezbjednosne-rizike>, but the researchers have kept the screenshot of the media release.



MEDIA

VIOLATION OF ELECTORAL SILENCE

IN4S

- <https://www.in4s.net/sad-ili-nikad/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/puknu-nam-milo-dijagnozu/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/godina-pacova/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/video-srpski-svijet-prof-dr-vesko-draskovic-ustanimo-u-odbranu-jezika-i-svetinja/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/o-igor-gracun-pozvao-da-se-olovkom-dps-posalje-u-istoriju-ne-bojmo-se-u-nedjelju-kao-sto-se-nisu-bojali-lazar-milos-karadjordje-bez-kojih-danas-spc-ne-bi-bilo/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/sin-starice-koja-je-vrijedjala-slobodne-gradjane-primate-moje-ponizno-izvinjenje-moja-majka-nam-je-priredila-sramotu-ne-damo-svetinje/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/pljevljaci-cvijovic-pivljanin-i-zindovic-napustili-dps-izabrali-smo-crkvu-i-vjeru-izabrali-smo-hrista/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/ostrascenu-komitkinju-angazovali-za-volontera-u-hercegovskom-katastru-dubravka-perovic-spremna-da-otima-svetinje/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/euronews-korupmirani-djukanovic-radi-na-jos-jednoj-izbornoj-kradji-moguca-i-represija-nad-narodom-zapad-hitno-i-efikasno-da-reaguje/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/in4s-otkriva-tokom-noci-i-sjutra-policija-u-akciji-pretresa-i-zastrasivanja-biraca/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/nastavak-represije-rezima-na-slobodu-medija-urednik-borbe-drazen-zivkovic-opet-na-meti-policije/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/video-autolitija-sa-bubanj-potoka-barjaci-sa-likom-njegosa-kao-podrška-srpskom-narodu-u-crnoj-gori/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/sjutra-blokada-granica-i-zaustavljanje-milovih-glasaca/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/video-crnogorski-studenti-u-srbiji-za-in4s-hocemo-da-zivimo-u-crnoj-gori-mozemo-da-doprinesemo-svojoj-drzavi-jedno-zaokruzivanje-sve-rjesava/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/telegraf-crnogorski-tajkun-bori-se-za-okoncanje-29-godisnje-vladavine-mila-cara-iz-londonskog-izgnanstva/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/glas-javnosti-blizi-se-kraj-policija-masovno-otkazuje-poslusnost-crnogorskom-rezimu/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/advokat-goran-petronijevic-djukanovic-ima-spreme-helikoptere-za-bijeg-ukoliko-izgubi-na-izborima/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/glas-javnosti-skandalozno-tradicija-se-nastavlja-poznati-nutricionista-se-prodao-dps-u-za-100-evra/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/poslednje-procjene-milo-na-35-opozicija-bolja-za-6-do-10-neka-pada-da-osvjezi/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/ko-je-napravio-ovoliku-dijasporu-cetvrtu-deceniju-su-naceli-skakavci-vrijeme-je-da-ih-zaustavimo/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/crnogorci-na-bokeljskom-primorju/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/spiegel-djukanovic-najduze-vladajuci-autokrata-evrope-dopustio-da-se-bira-novi-parlament/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/nemacki-ard-o-izborima-u-crnoj-gori-smena-vlasti-uz-pomoc-crkve/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/abazovic-glasao-u-ulcinju-neka-padne-da-osvjezi-moze-crna-gora/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/medjunarodna-demokratska-unija-vrijeme-je-za-promjene-u-jedinoj-postkomunistickoj-drzavi-koja-nikad-nije-promijenila-vladu/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/jokovic-danasnji-izbori-su-svojevrsan-referendum-narodu-je-dosta-prodisacemo-punim-plucima/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/za-buducnost-crne-gore-nije-predvidjeno-nikakvo-okupljanje-ispred-hrama-hristovog-vaskrsenja/>
- <https://www.in4s.net/koalicija-za-buducnost-cg-zadovoljna-velikom-izlaznoscu-molimo-sve-gradjane-da-mirno-u-svojim-domovima-docekaju-prebrojavanje-glasova/>

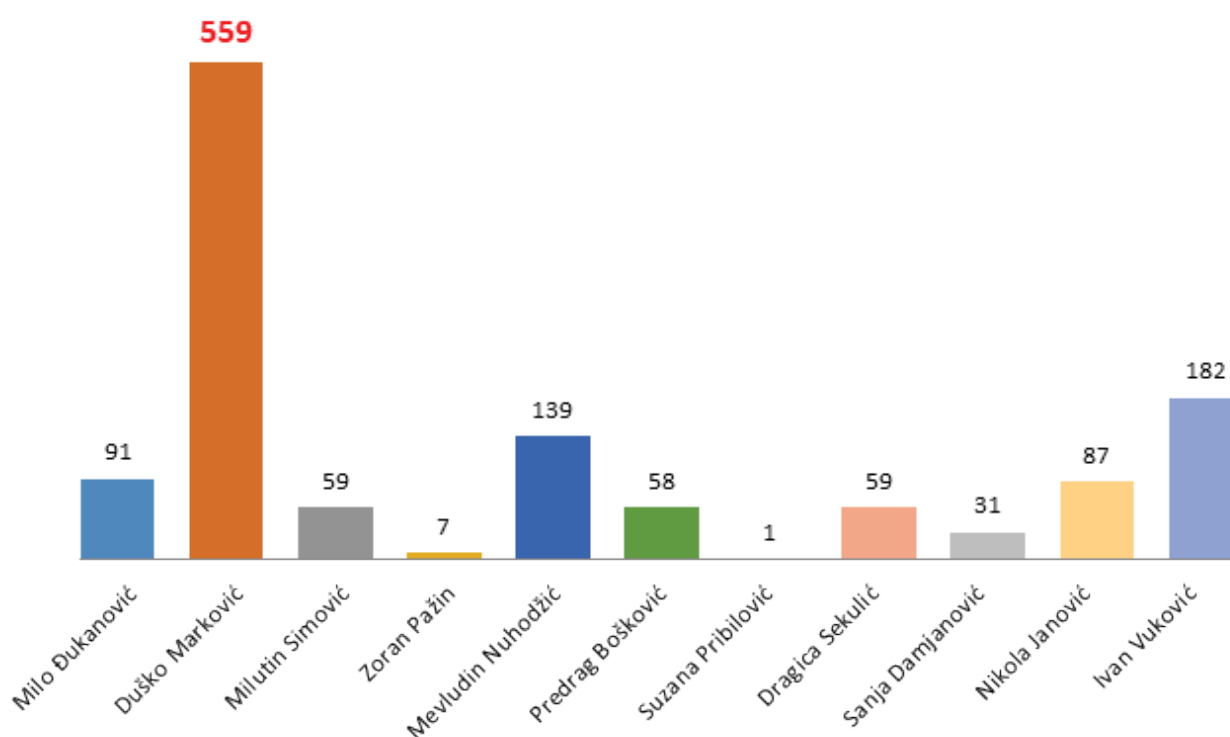


	<p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/video-izadjimo-ponosno-i-hrabro-kao-na-litiju-ne-bojte-se-neka-se-boje-oni-koji-su-udarili-na-boga/">https://www.in4s.net/video-izadjimo-ponosno-i-hrabro-kao-na-litiju-ne-bojte-se-neka-se-boje-oni-koji-su-udarili-na-boga/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/fidelity-consulting-pozvao-gradjane-da-masovno-izadju-na-izbore-danas-investirajte-u-svoju-slobodu-to-je-najbolja-investicija-koja-ne-kosta-nista/">https://www.in4s.net/fidelity-consulting-pozvao-gradjane-da-masovno-izadju-na-izbore-danas-investirajte-u-svoju-slobodu-to-je-najbolja-investicija-koja-ne-kosta-nista/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/budite-vrijedni-kao-senad-iz-luksemburga-i-izadjite-na-izbore-izvedite-svskog-koga-mozete-na-glasanje-gotovi-su/">https://www.in4s.net/budite-vrijedni-kao-senad-iz-luksemburga-i-izadjite-na-izbore-izvedite-svskog-koga-mozete-na-glasanje-gotovi-su/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/nezapamceno-visoka-izlaznost-prestravila-rezim-pokusace-ponegdje-da-prekinu-glasanje-molimo-gradjane-za-disciplinu/">https://www.in4s.net/nezapamceno-visoka-izlaznost-prestravila-rezim-pokusace-ponegdje-da-prekinu-glasanje-molimo-gradjane-za-disciplinu/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/rezimski-mediji-lazirali-izjavu-americke-ambasadorke-rajinke-pozdravila-posmatrace-iz-inostranstva-a-ne-glasace/">https://www.in4s.net/rezimski-mediji-lazirali-izjavu-americke-ambasadorke-rajinke-pozdravila-posmatrace-iz-inostranstva-a-ne-glasace/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/video-vladika-joanikije-glasao-u-beranselu-nadam-se-da-ce-vec-od-sjutra-biti-bolje-za-sve-gradjane-crne-gore/">https://www.in4s.net/video-vladika-joanikije-glasao-u-beranselu-nadam-se-da-ce-vec-od-sjutra-biti-bolje-za-sve-gradjane-crne-gore/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/video-prof-dr-vladimir-bozovic-incidenti-na-dan-izbora-odgovaraju-iskljucivo-rezimu-u-cmoj-gori/">https://www.in4s.net/video-prof-dr-vladimir-bozovic-incidenti-na-dan-izbora-odgovaraju-iskljucivo-rezimu-u-cmoj-gori/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/prelomni-izbori/">https://www.in4s.net/prelomni-izbori/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/koja-je-vremenska-prognoza-za-danas-da-li-ce-konacno-osvjeziti-i-provedriti-vise-crne-gore/">https://www.in4s.net/koja-je-vremenska-prognoza-za-danas-da-li-ce-konacno-osvjeziti-i-provedriti-vise-crne-gore/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/dr-aleksis-trude-litije-su-ziva-demonstracija-da-su-srpstvo-i-opstanak-crne-gore-neraskidivo-povezani/">https://www.in4s.net/dr-aleksis-trude-litije-su-ziva-demonstracija-da-su-srpstvo-i-opstanak-crne-gore-neraskidivo-povezani/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/video-jocic-nezapamcena-mrznja-koju-djukanovic-isijava-ovih-dana-a-i-onaj-drugi-njegov-drug-sjedih-vlasi-i-mlake-pameti-ne-treba-da-brine-nikoga-sem-njegove-politicke-saizvrsoce/">https://www.in4s.net/video-jocic-nezapamcena-mrznja-koju-djukanovic-isijava-ovih-dana-a-i-onaj-drugi-njegov-drug-sjedih-vlasi-i-mlake-pameti-ne-treba-da-brine-nikoga-sem-njegove-politicke-saizvrsoce/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/vazno-dps-spremio-poseban-scenario-za-veceras-mole-se-gradjani-da-pobjedu-proslave-u-svojim-domovima/">https://www.in4s.net/vazno-dps-spremio-poseban-scenario-za-veceras-mole-se-gradjani-da-pobjedu-proslave-u-svojim-domovima/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/video-necemo-po-starom-nego-po-novom-zdravko-krivokapic-nije-zelio-preko-reda-da-glasa-cekao-sa-gradjanima-da-dodje-na-red/">https://www.in4s.net/video-necemo-po-starom-nego-po-novom-zdravko-krivokapic-nije-zelio-preko-reda-da-glasa-cekao-sa-gradjanima-da-dodje-na-red/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/video-svice-svice-rujna-zora/">https://www.in4s.net/video-svice-svice-rujna-zora/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/hitna-pres-konferencija-koalicije-za-buducnost-crne-gore/">https://www.in4s.net/hitna-pres-konferencija-koalicije-za-buducnost-crne-gore/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.in4s.net/glas-javnosti-haos-u-cb-podgorica-veliki-razdor-staresine-se-posvadjale/">https://www.in4s.net/glas-javnosti-haos-u-cb-podgorica-veliki-razdor-staresine-se-posvadjale/</a></p>
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<b>PORTAL VIJESTI</b>	<p><a href="https://www.vijesti.me/kolumne/464591/ukazanje">https://www.vijesti.me/kolumne/464591/ukazanje</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/464965/nikolic-napadnuta-kancelarija-dps-a-u-podgorici">https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/464965/nikolic-napadnuta-kancelarija-dps-a-u-podgorici</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/464851/markovic-ne-ocekujem-bezbjednosne-rizike">https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/464851/markovic-ne-ocekujem-bezbjednosne-rizike</a></p>
<b>ANALITIKA</b>	<p><a href="https://www.portalanalitika.me/clanak/dukanovic-aplikacija-biracime-salje-gradane-na-biracka-mjesta-gdje-ih-nema-u-spisku">https://www.portalanalitika.me/clanak/dukanovic-aplikacija-biracime-salje-gradane-na-biracka-mjesta-gdje-ih-nema-u-spisku</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.portalanalitika.me/clanak/nikolic-napadnuta-kancelarija-dps-a-na-dracu-necemo-nasijedati-na-provokacije">https://www.portalanalitika.me/clanak/nikolic-napadnuta-kancelarija-dps-a-na-dracu-necemo-nasijedati-na-provokacije</a></p>
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<b>PORTAL POBJEDA</b>	<p><a href="https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/crno-na-bijelo-dps-zeli-da-onemoguće-pristup-opunomocenim-predstavnicima-opozicionih-lista-da-glasaju-putem-pisama?page=1">https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/crno-na-bijelo-dps-zeli-da-onemoguće-pristup-opunomocenim-predstavnicima-opozicionih-lista-da-glasaju-putem-pisama?page=1</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/df-biracima-onemoguceno-da-glasaju-aplikacija-ih-salje-na-biracko-mjesto-gdje-ih-nema-u-spisku?page=1">https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/df-biracima-onemoguceno-da-glasaju-aplikacija-ih-salje-na-biracko-mjesto-gdje-ih-nema-u-spisku?page=1</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/nikolic-izborni-dan-protice-u-najboljem-redu-nepripravnosti-ne-mogu-uticati-na-ishod-izbora?page=1">https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/nikolic-izborni-dan-protice-u-najboljem-redu-nepripravnosti-ne-mogu-uticati-na-ishod-izbora?page=1</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/nikolic-napadnuta-kancelarija-dps-na-dracu-ocekujemo-reakciju-nadleznih?page=1">https://www.pobjeda.me/clanak/nikolic-napadnuta-kancelarija-dps-na-dracu-ocekujemo-reakciju-nadleznih?page=1</a></p>
<b>ND VIJESTI</b>	<p><a href="http://arhiva.me//naslov.prikaz.php?ID=9704185">http://arhiva.me//naslov.prikaz.php?ID=9704185</a></p>
<b>TV VIJESTI</b>	<p><a href="http://arhiva.me//naslov.prikaz.php?ID=9713983">http://arhiva.me//naslov.prikaz.php?ID=9713983</a></p>
<b>TV NOVA M</b>	<p><a href="http://arhiva.me//naslov.prikaz.php?ID=9707955">http://arhiva.me//naslov.prikaz.php?ID=9707955</a></p>

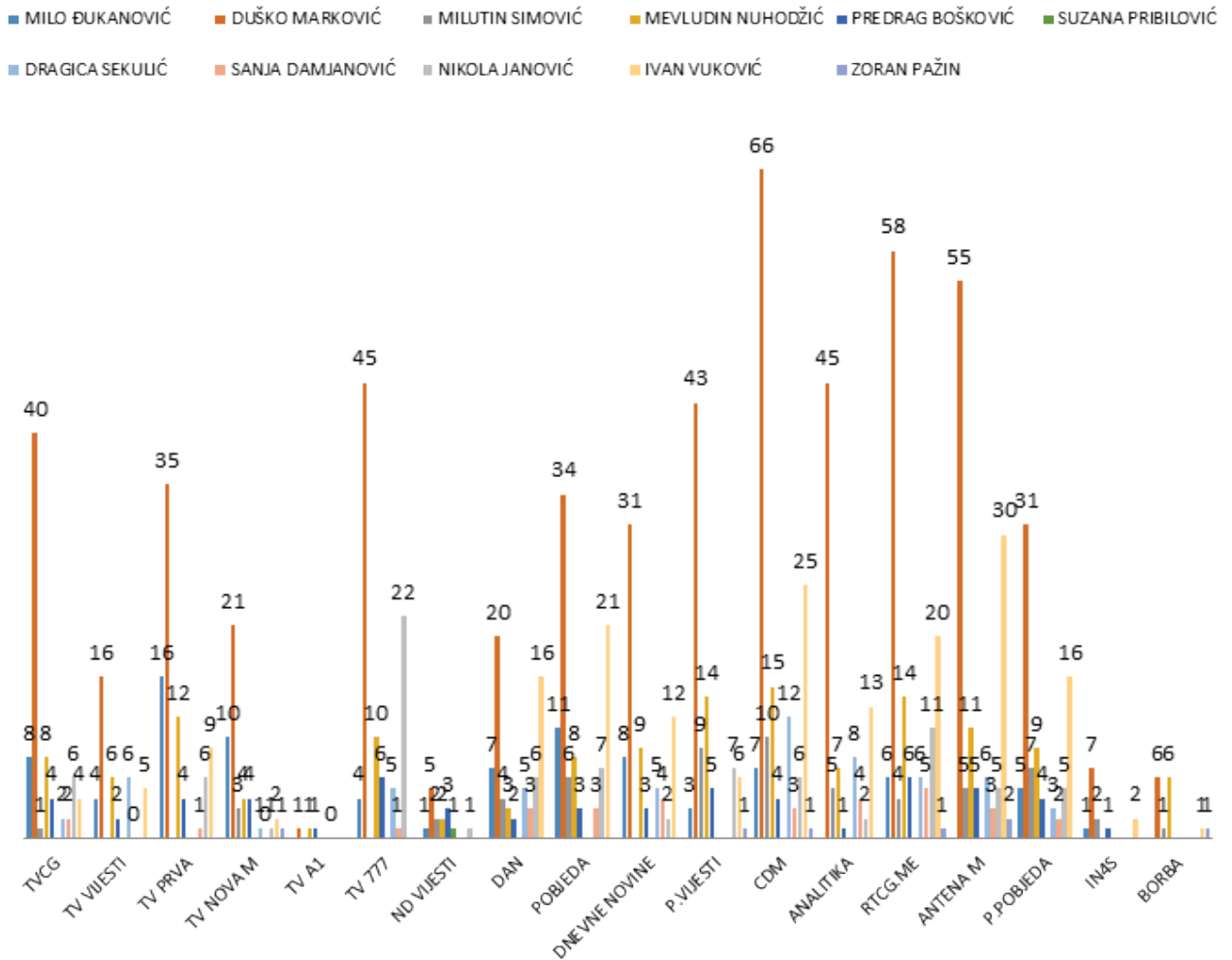
Table 6. VIOLATION OF ELECTION SILENCE PER MEDIA INDIVIDUALLY

## PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS

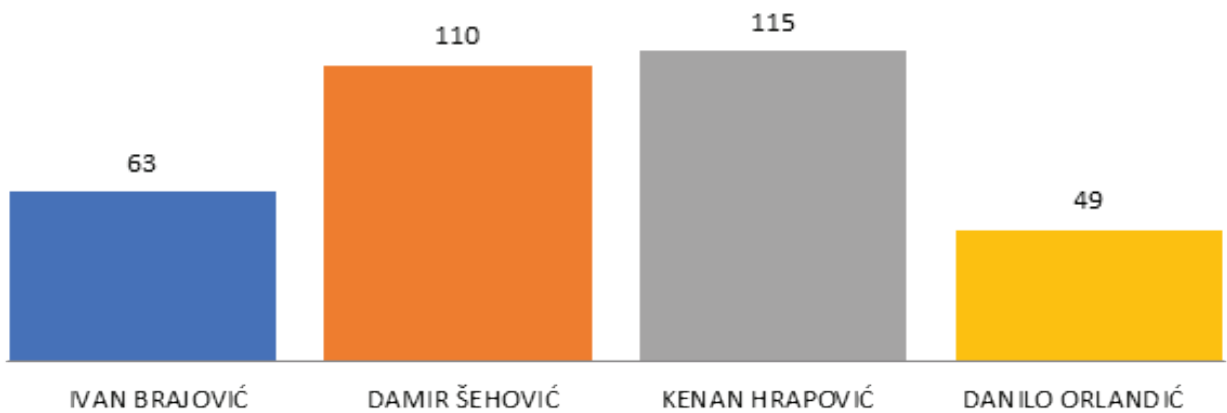
The graphs show the planned media activity of state officials who are on the electoral lists of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), the Social Democrats (SD) and the Bosniak Party (BP). The data show that Duško Marković (DPS) was highly and planned active in the media in the observed period, and Marković's intention to visit the municipalities in Montenegro before the end of his four-year term was additionally announced. In order to be able to talk about a covert campaign in favour of the parties to which the monitored state officials belong, more data is needed that the researchers of this monitoring did not collect and process, so that the state officials' campaign, based on available research data, can be discussed only at the level of indications.



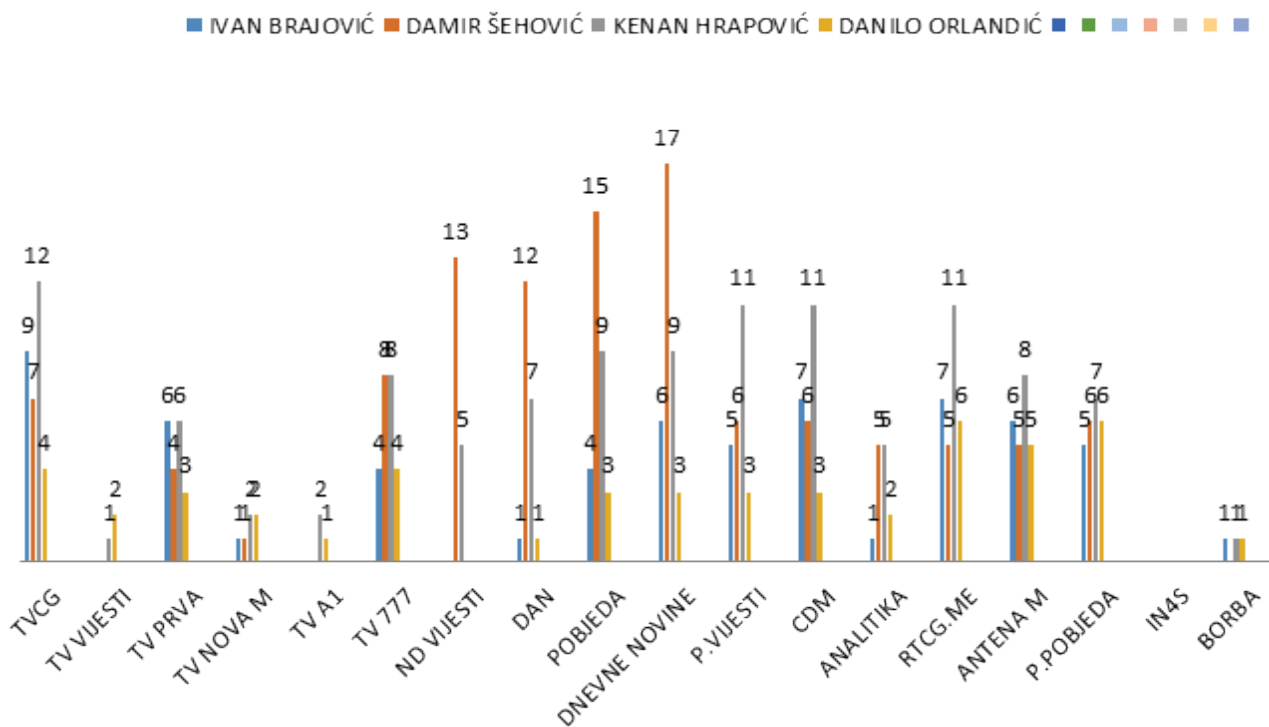
Graph 41. PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS FROM THE DPS LIST (number of announcements)



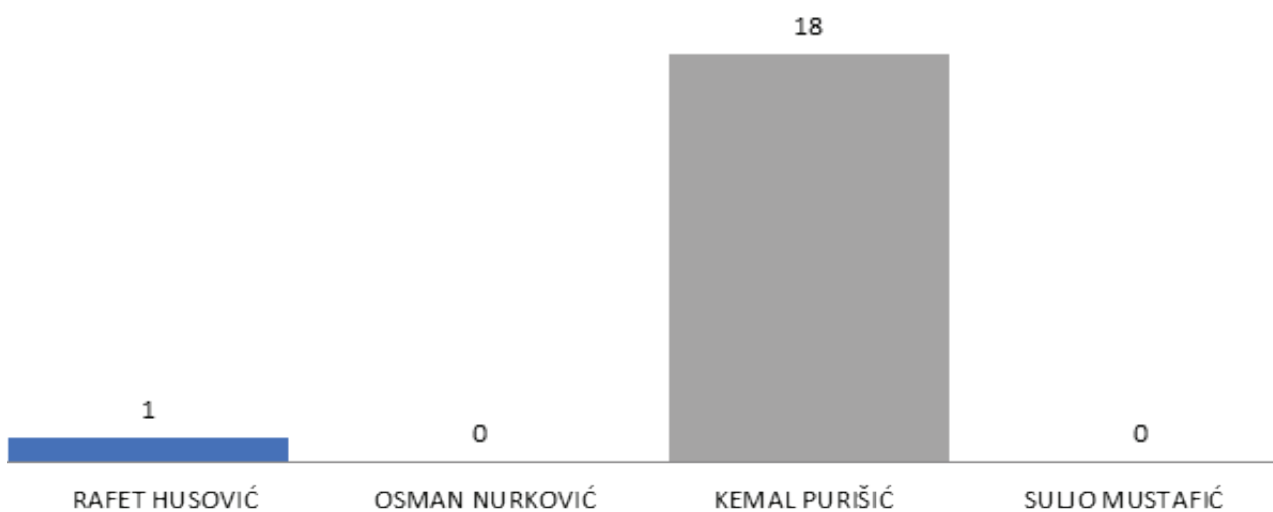
Graph 42. PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS FROM THE DPS LIST (number of announcements per media individually)



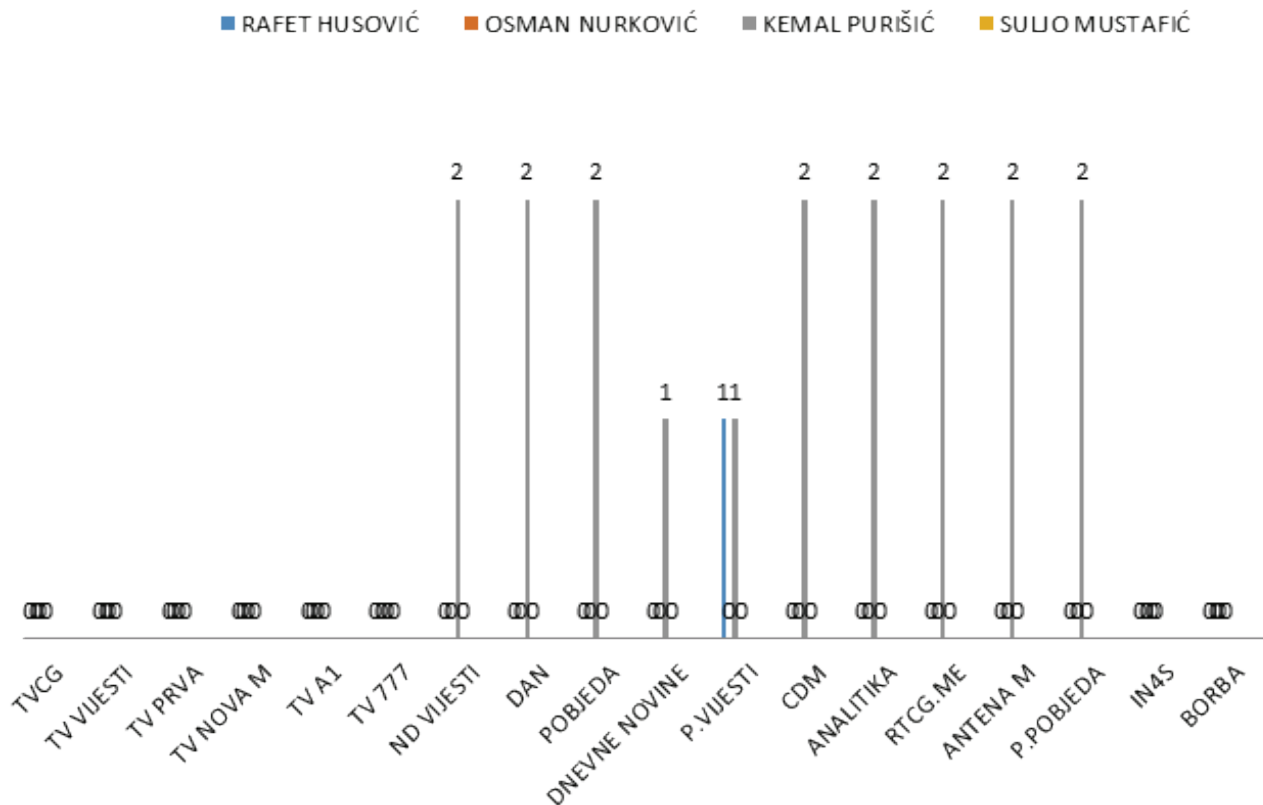
Graph 44. PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS FROM SD LIST (number of announcements)



Graph 45. PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS FROM THE SD LIST (number of announcements per media individually)



Graph 46. PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS FROM THE LIST BP (number of announcements)



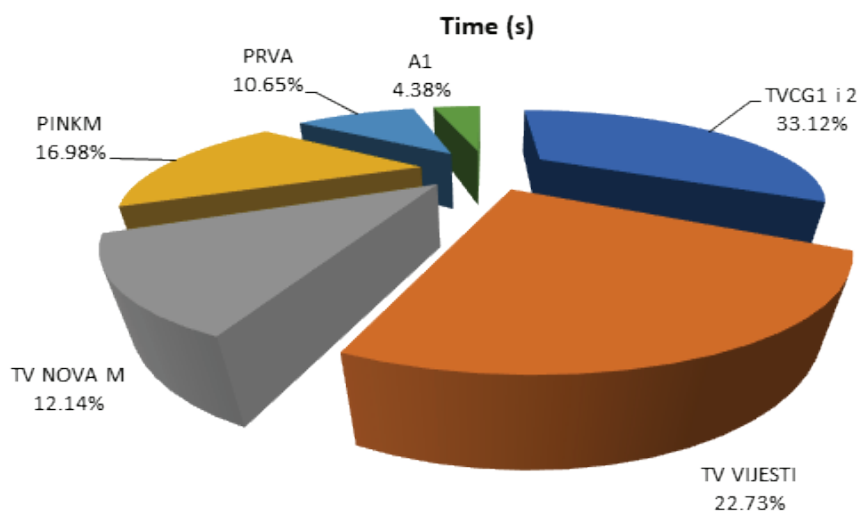
Graph 47 PLANNED MEDIA ACTIVITY OF STATE OFFICIALS FROM THE BP LIST (number of announcements per media individually)

## POLITICAL MARKETING

For the purposes of this analysis, monitoring of political marketing of election lists (TV, press, online media), other media: billboards, boards, etc. was conducted. The following graphs present the data obtained by monitoring of marketing of election lists in the content of the observed media from 30 July until 28 August, 2020.

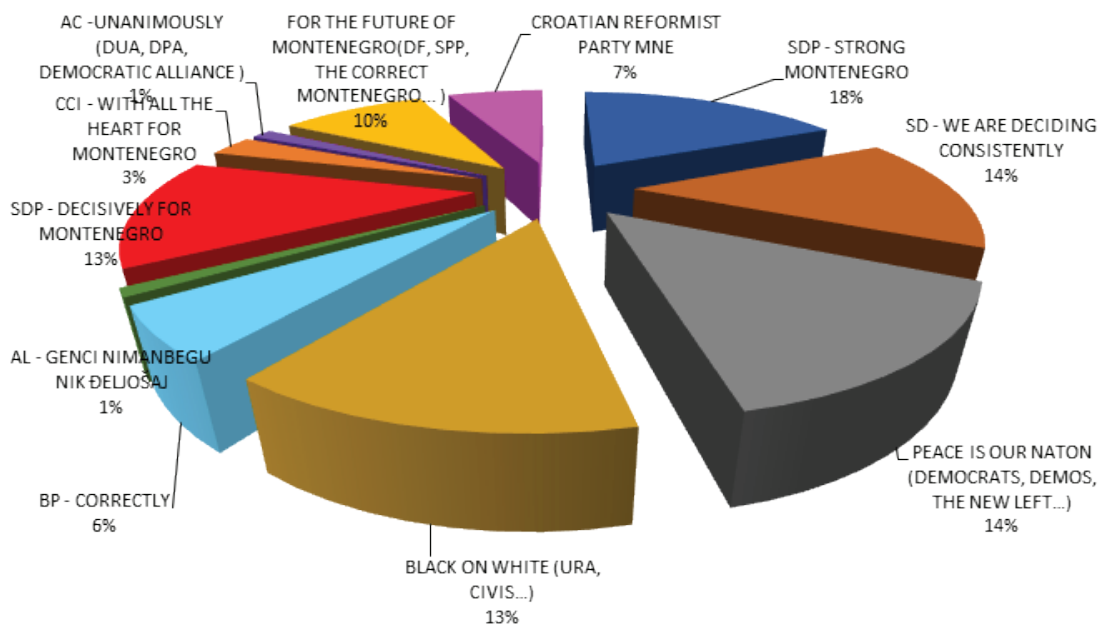
All televisions have allocated a total of more than 73h for the presentation of electoral lists in marketing blocks (265 289 sec = 73.69h), including public service and commercial televisions. At the same time, 33% of the total time allocated for the presentation in marketing blocks was on the public service RTCG, where each election list was presented free of charge, followed by TV Vijesti, where the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, Social Democrats Ivan Brajović, Coalition Peace Is Our Nation, Black On White and For the Future of Montenegro advertised. Social Democrats Ivan Brajović, Coalition Black On White, DPS – Milo Đukanović, and Coalition For the Future of Montenegro have allocated money for time on TV PINK M.





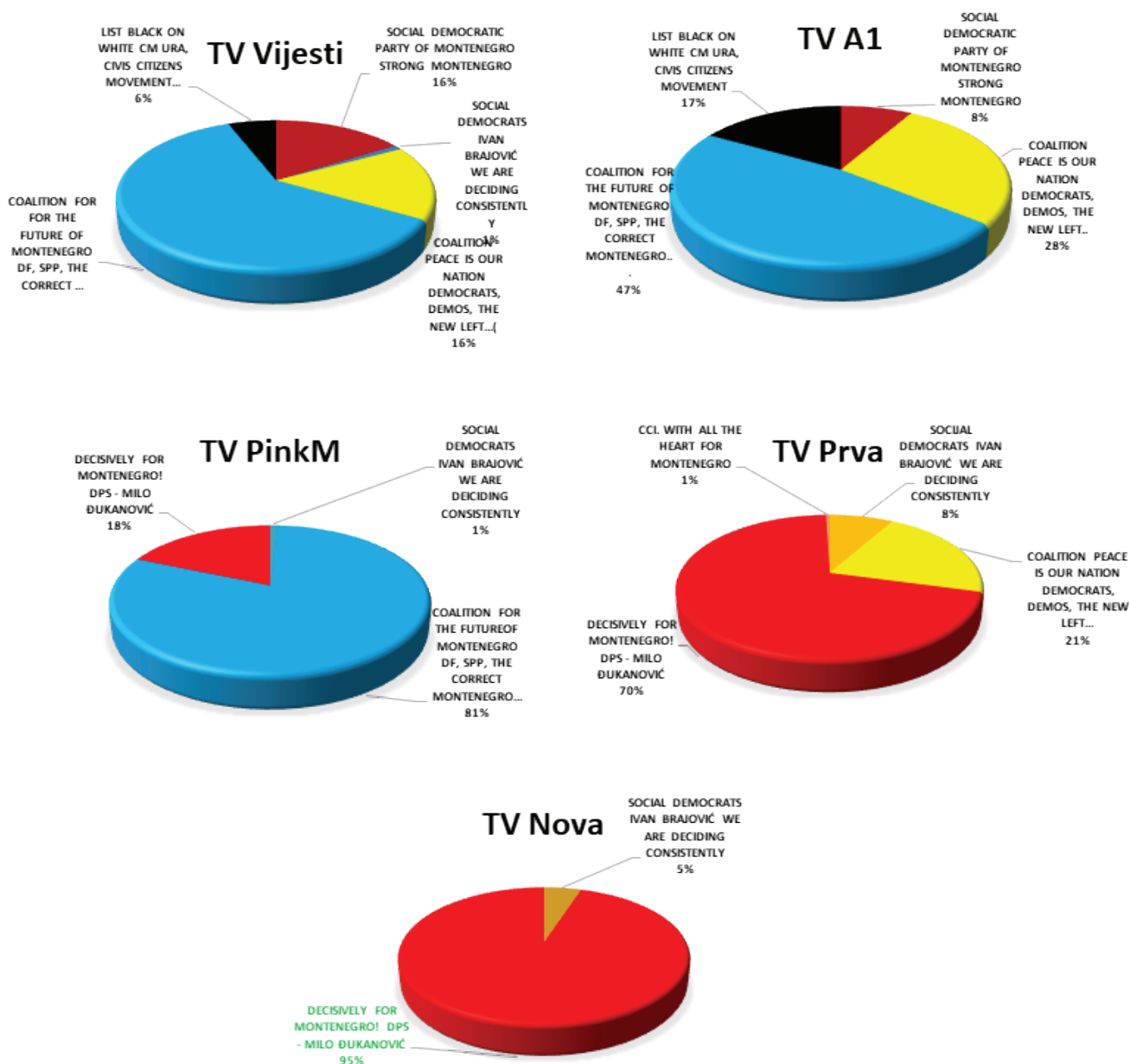
Graph 48. TIME OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS AND REPORTS BROADCASTED ON ALL TELEVISIONS EXPRESSED IN SECONDS

The Coalition Peace Is Our Nation, as well as the Social Democrats of Montenegro, had the most time for the presentation of electoral lists on the public service, while two Albanian electoral lists have had the least amount of time.



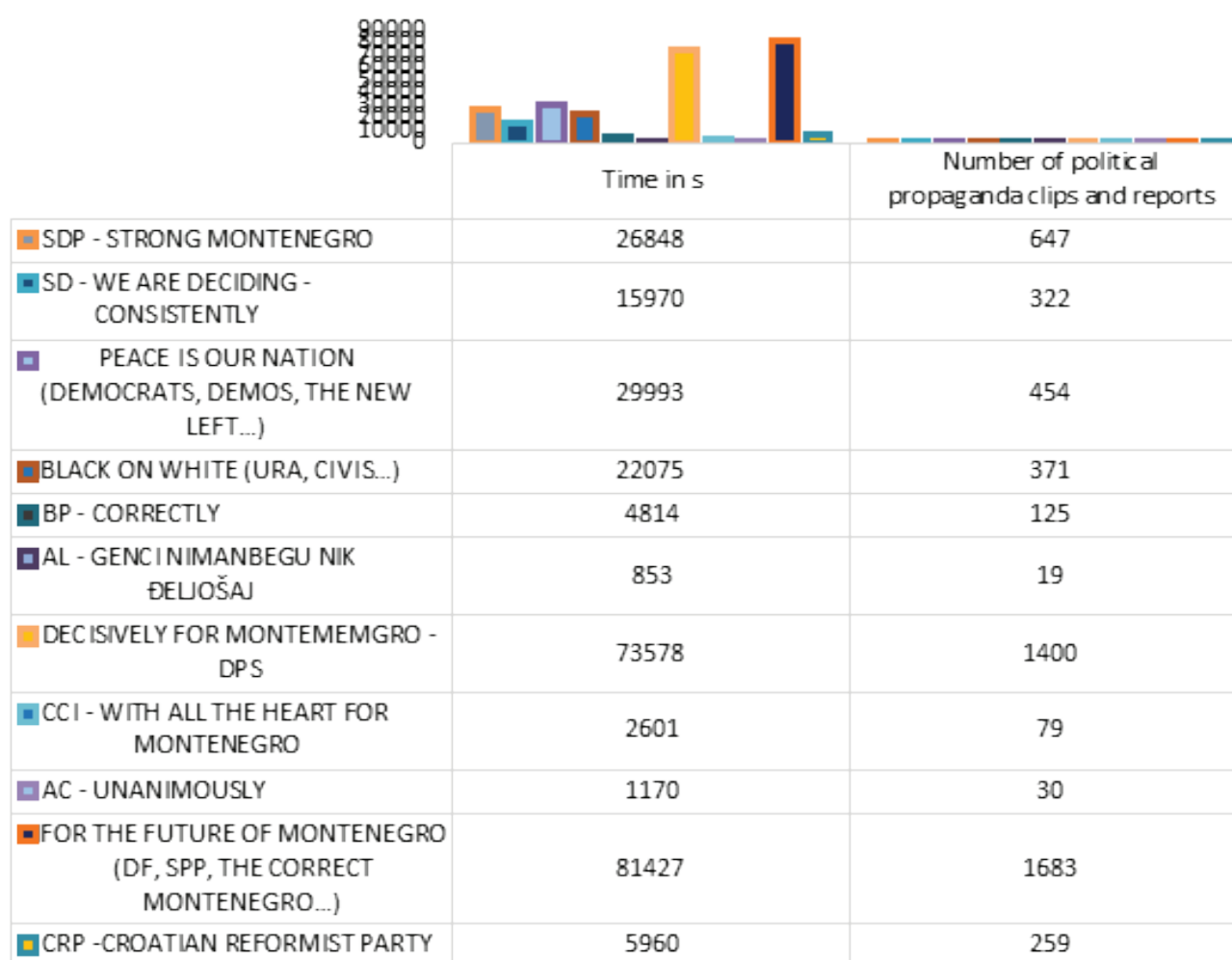
Graph 49. TIME OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS AND REPORTS BROADCASTED ON TVCG1 AND TVCG2, PER ELECTORAL LIST, IN SECONDS

When it comes to funds spent on private televisions, as much as 61% of the total political marketing on TV Vijesti has had the Coalition For the Future of Montenegro, which realized almost half (47%) from the political marketing on TV A1. The DF-led coalition was also dominant on Pink M TV, where its share in the television's overall political marketing was as high as 81%. On the other hand, Coalition Decisively for Montenegro - DPS was predominantly advertised on TV PRVA (70% of the total political marketing of that television) and TV NOVA (as much as 95% of the total political marketing of that television).



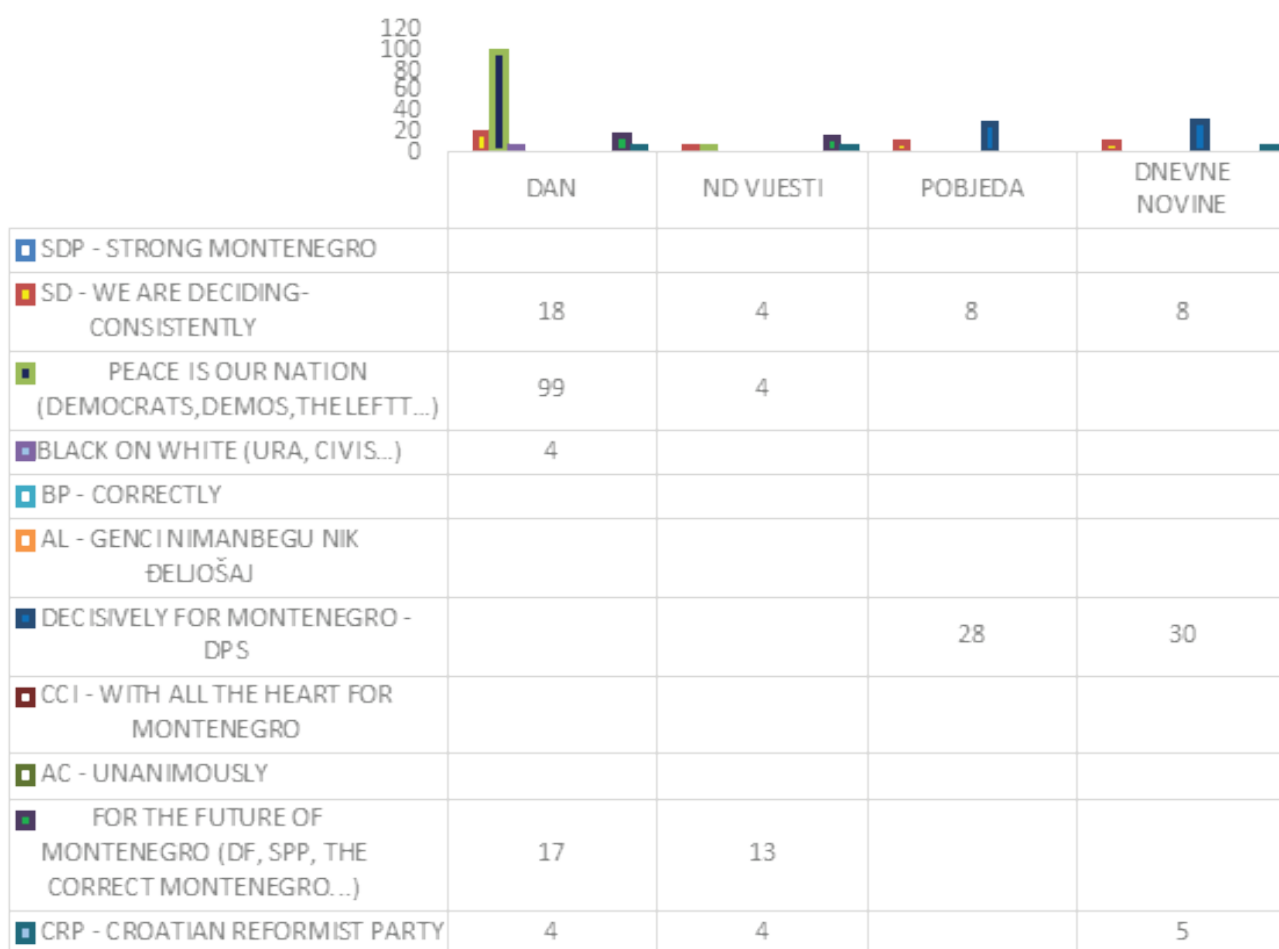
Graph 50. TIME OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS AND REPORTS BROADCASTED ON TV VIJESTI, TV A1, PINK M, TV PRVA, TV NOVA, PER ELECTORAL LIST, IN SECONDS

Observed by the Electoral Lists in relation to the number of seconds, the citizens of Montenegro had the most opportunity to see the political propaganda clip or report of the coalition For the Future of Montenegro, which was a total of 81,427 seconds on all televisions, amounting to 22.61h, representing the electoral list for the parliamentary elections, and not including the presentation for the local elections. They were present on the Public Service RTCG, and TV Vijesti, TV Pink M and A1, of which as much as 45% of the total number of seconds was on TV Vijesti. They are followed by Decisively for Montenegro, DPS - Milo Đukanović, who chose the Public Service RTCG, Nova TV, Pink M and Prva TV as televisions on which they will present themselves to the citizens of Montenegro, of which they invested the most in Nova TV, 43%.



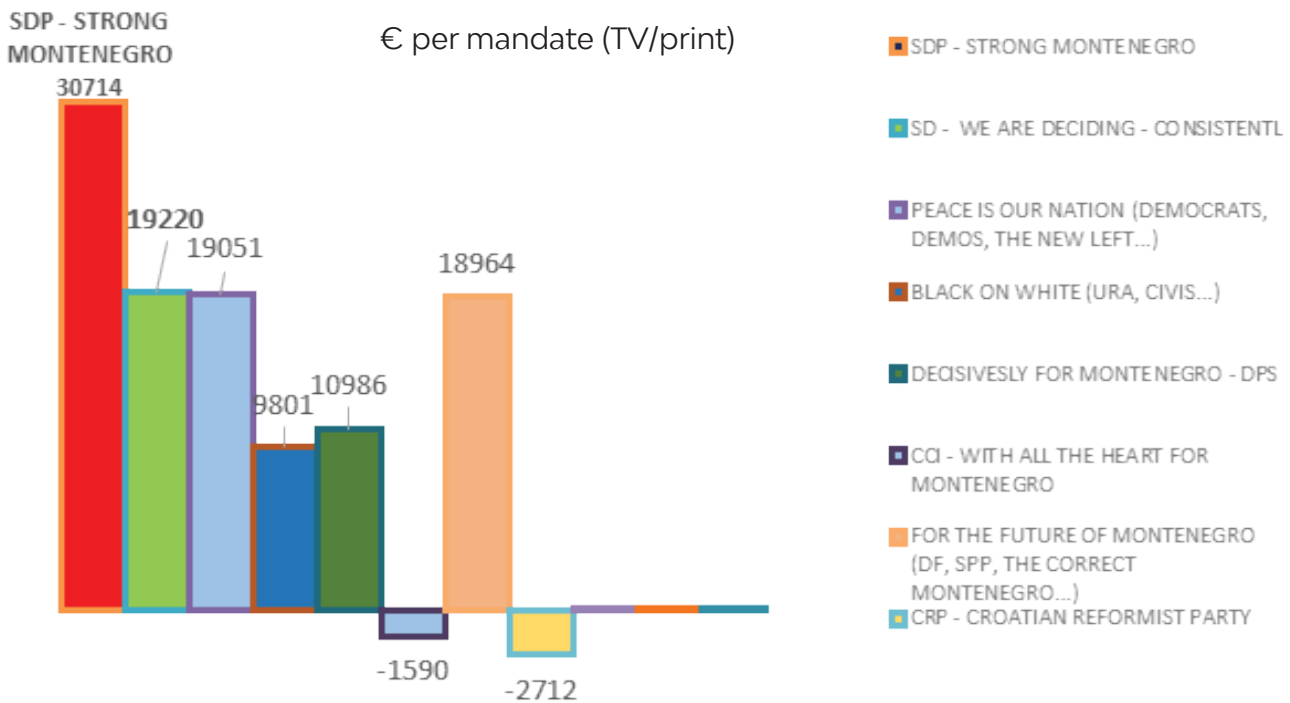
Graph 51. DURATION (S) AND NUMBER OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA CLIPS AND REPORTS ON TELEVISIONS (INCLUDING TVCG1 AND TVCG2)

The daily newspaper Dan was the most interesting for advertising of the electoral lists, wherein the Social Democrats Ivan Brajović, the coalitions Peace Is Our Nation, Black On White and For the Future of Montenegro, as well as the Croatian Reformist Party were advertised. The largest number of advertisements in that daily newspaper had the Coalition Peace Is Our Nation, which was advertised from July 15, 2020 in various forms (insertion, shirt, cover page, doubler ...)

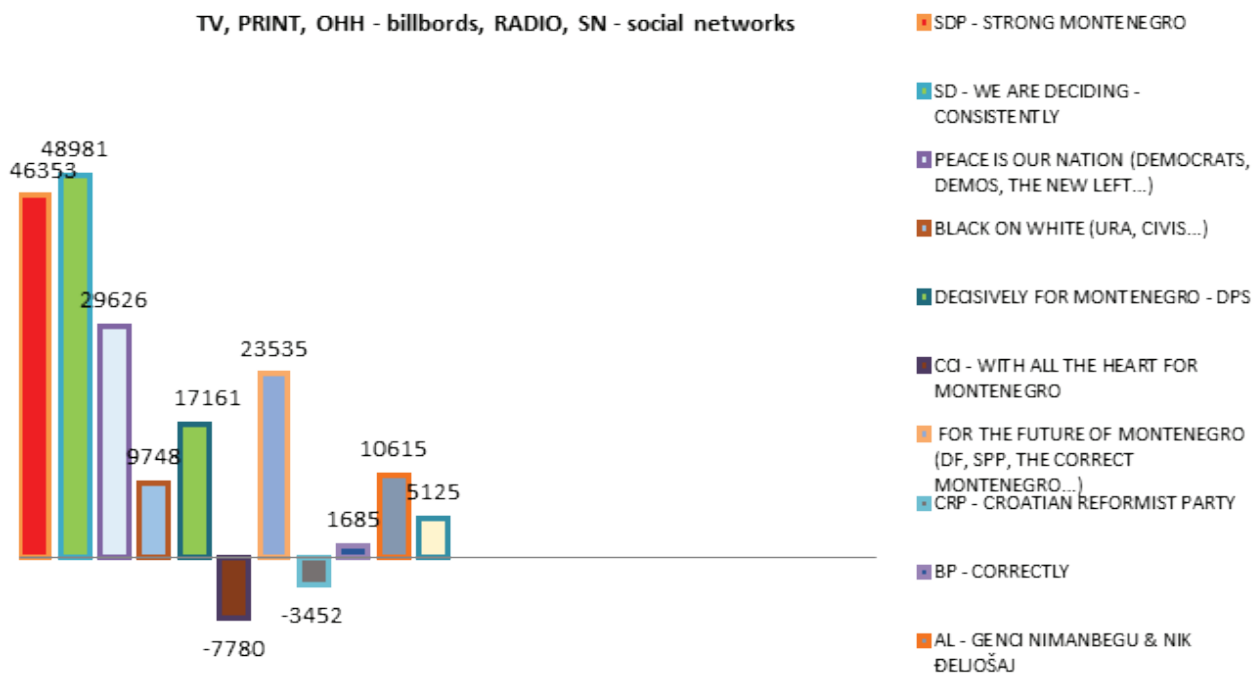


Graph 52. NUMBER OF ADVERTISEMENTS PER PARTY - PRINTED MEDIA

When the funds spent on television and in the printed media (excluding free presentations on the Public Service RTCG) are divided by the number of mandates won, it follows that the Social Democrats of Montenegro spent the most funds per obtained mandate - as much as EUR 30,714, and the least Bosniak Party and two election lists made up of Albanian Parties that did not spend money on televisions and in the printed media. If social networks, billboards, radios are added to the printed media and televisions, the Social Democrats of Montenegro has spent the most funds per obtained mandate.



Graph 53. FUNDS SPENT PER OBTAINED MANDATE ON TELEVISIONS AND IN THE PRINTED MEDIA, IN EUROS



Graph 54. FUNDS SPENT PER MANDATE (TV, PRINT, billboards, RADIO, social networks), IN EUROS



## 03 ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ONLINE MEDIA: HATE SPEECH AND INSULTS IN COMMENTS OF THE READERS

The space for comments of readers in online media has played an important role in recent years, especially in pre-election campaigns when it becomes a training ground for disseminating various information, some of which contain controversial content - hate speech, insults, swearing, etc. In the situation of the coronavirus epidemic, the role of online media was further emphasized. In an environment where measures to prevent the spread of infectious diseases, due to the coronavirus, allowed gatherings of a maximum of 50 people indoors and 100 supporters in the open space, the campaign was predominantly moved to the virtual space and electronic media.

In addition to the media receiving feedback from readers through online comments, controversial comments and disputations attract the attention of users, increase the number of visits and ultimately contribute to the popularity and often the financial situation of the media itself.

The conducted research aimed to determine how much controversial and illegal content was in the comments on the online media in Montenegro during the election campaign, and how much these media were a platform for argumentative discussion that could contribute to the democratization of society.

Online media in Montenegro are regulated by the new Law on Media, but also by the Code of Journalists of Montenegro. Among other things, the new Montenegrin Law on Media stipulates that the founder of an online publication is obliged to remove a comment that represents an obviously illegal content, without delay, and no later than 60 minutes from learning or receiving a report from another person that it is illegal content. Otherwise, he/she can be fined from 1,000 to 8,000 euros.

The Law (article 36) prohibits the publication of information in the media expressing ideas, claims and opinions that provoke, spread, encourage or justify discrimination, hatred or violence against a person or group of persons because of their personal characteristics, political, religious and other beliefs, xenophobia, racial hatred, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed in the form of nationalism, discrimination and hostility against the minority people and other minority national communities. Also, article 39 prescribes that it is not allowed to publish information that exerts a violations of honour and reputation.

The Code of Journalists of Montenegro, in the guidelines for principle 2, stipulates the obligation of online media to define their internal rules for third party comments in order to avoid illegal and unethical content, while fully respecting freedom of expression. This document obliges online media that commentators must be familiar with these rules and that comments on portals are moderated by an administrator, according to established rules.

For the purpose of this research, eight portals were analysed: *vijesti.me*, *cdm.me*, *rtcg.me*, *pobjeda.me*, *portalanalitika.me*, *antenam.net*, *in4s.net* and *borba.me*.

When selecting the portal, the criteria of reach/readability were crucial and in that sense the similarweb platform was used as a source. One of the criteria was also the influence of the portal. Local portals were not monitored, although some were highly read.

On a daily basis, two articles of electoral topic were selected, which were published in these media, according to the criterion of the most read/commented (where there are counters on the portals themselves) or the most relevant according to analysts (where there are no counters on the portals themselves)

For the period from 5 to 30 August, a total of 24,286 comments were analysed on 418 texts published on eight portals.

PORTAL NAME	NUMBER OF TEXTS	NUMBER OF COMMENTS
CDM	52	8928
VIJESTI	52	8526
RTCG	52	3433
IN4S	54	1553
ANALITIKA	52	682
BORBA	52	642
ANTENA M	52	312
POBJEDA	52	210

TABLE 7. Number of analysed online texts and number of analysed comments per media

The following was monitored in the generated comments: whether they spread and incite hatred or violence against persons due to their personal characteristics, political, religious and other beliefs, intolerance, etc. and in particular hate speech based on ethnicity, as well as towards women and LGBT people; whether they have other illegal content, in accordance with the Law on Media (Articles 34-39, except for advertising), and especially insults, threats, swearing.

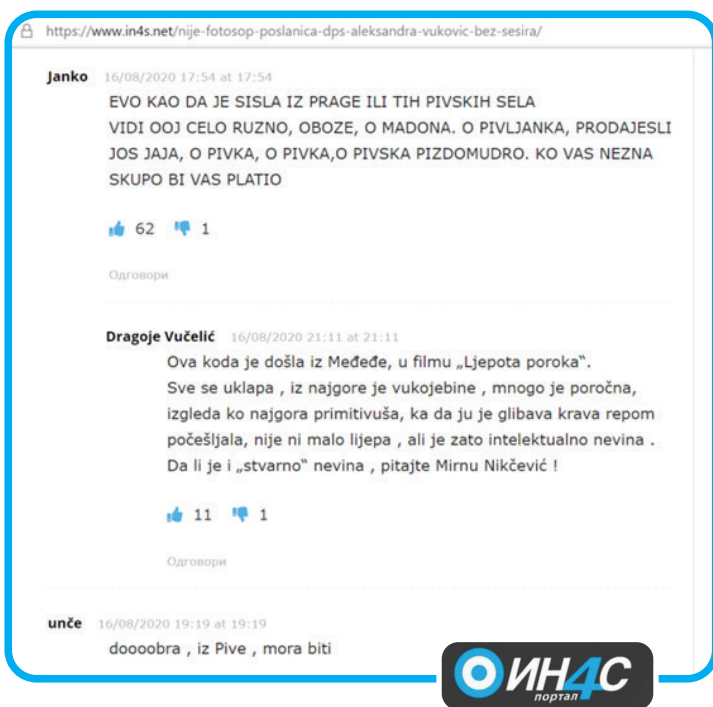
## RESULTS

The research determined that most comments are dominated by a narrative of support or criticism of a particular political option. All analysed portals had comments with elements of illegal content, although in different volumes (the number of comments varies per portal, and this affects the percentage of comments on the disputed content). About 50% of the analysed articles had comments of controversial content, and there were examples that all comments on a certain text contain controversial content - from severe insults to hate speech.

The comments contain insults to persons on national/gender grounds, but also insulting insinuations on personal grounds. The problematic content (insults and swearing) does not refer only to the persons mentioned in the published texts, there is a bitter discussion being

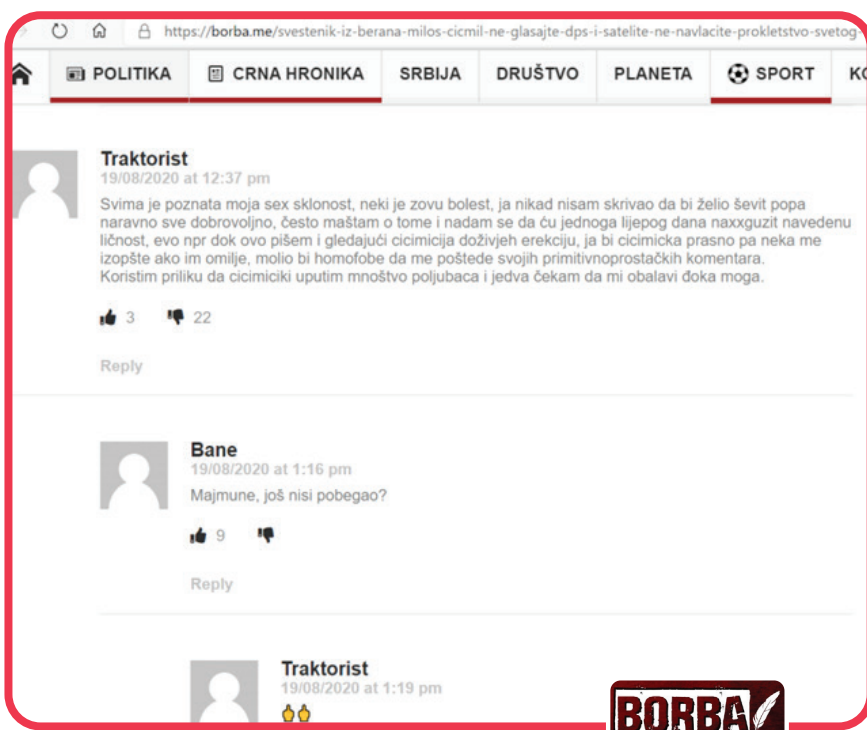
led, insults and accusations between the commentators themselves, and other persons are also mentioned.

Most comments were published on the Vijesti and CdM portals (sometimes even up to 500 comments per text). In relation to the total number of comments, there is a small number of comments that contain hate speech, i.e. the controversial narrative has less than 5% of the total published comments.



On the other hand, *IN4S* and *Borba* do not have a large number of comments, but the dominant narrative consists of severe insults and swearing, as well as hate speech on a national basis and on the basis of gender.

There are texts on the *IN4S* portal in which there are up to 80% of comments that contain hate speech, severe insults on a personal and national basis and especially on a sexual basis. Women are targeted with the worst names and swear words, and a large number of comments containing sexist narratives have been published. Comments are not deleted, suggesting a conclusion that publishing the problematic narrative is in line with editorial policy.

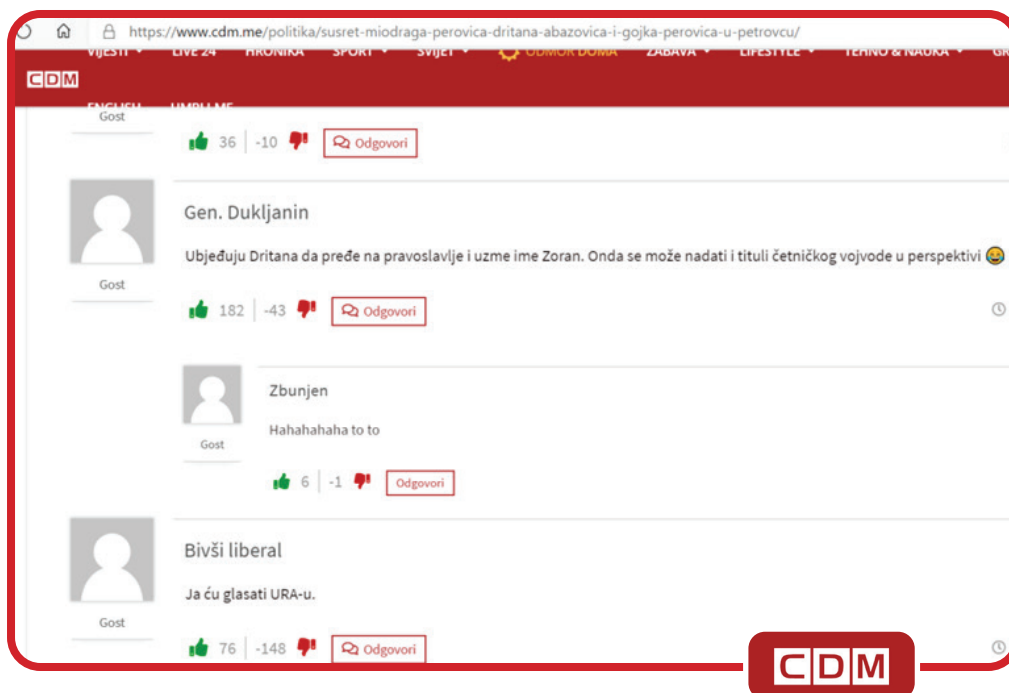


The *Borba* portal is also dominated by comments with controversial content, but there are fewer published ones, i.e. there are often less than ten of them. On that portal, the most problematic comments are published almost daily by a commentator who signs himself as *Traktorist*, and those comments contain hate speech and severe insults. Comments are also not deleted, suggesting a conclusion that publishing the problematic narrative is in line with editorial policy.

The Vijesti portal is dominated by comments for or against certain political entity mentioned in the text, which leads to indications that the comments are published in an organized manner by activists of political parties. Also, cases are noted that in some highly read tests there are no comments or that there are none for several hours after the publication, which indicates the possible complete or periodic blocking of comments on certain texts.



One of the texts in which the most controversial comments were published on that portal refers to the conflicts over the takeover of power in Budva - <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/460933/budva-umalo-probijen-kordon-privatnog-obezbjedjenja-na-ulazu-u-opstinu>. The content in the comments published on the Vijesti portal is significantly milder than that on the IN4S and Borba portals, even though it is illegal content. Within the broader assessment, it is obvious that these are omissions by the administrator.



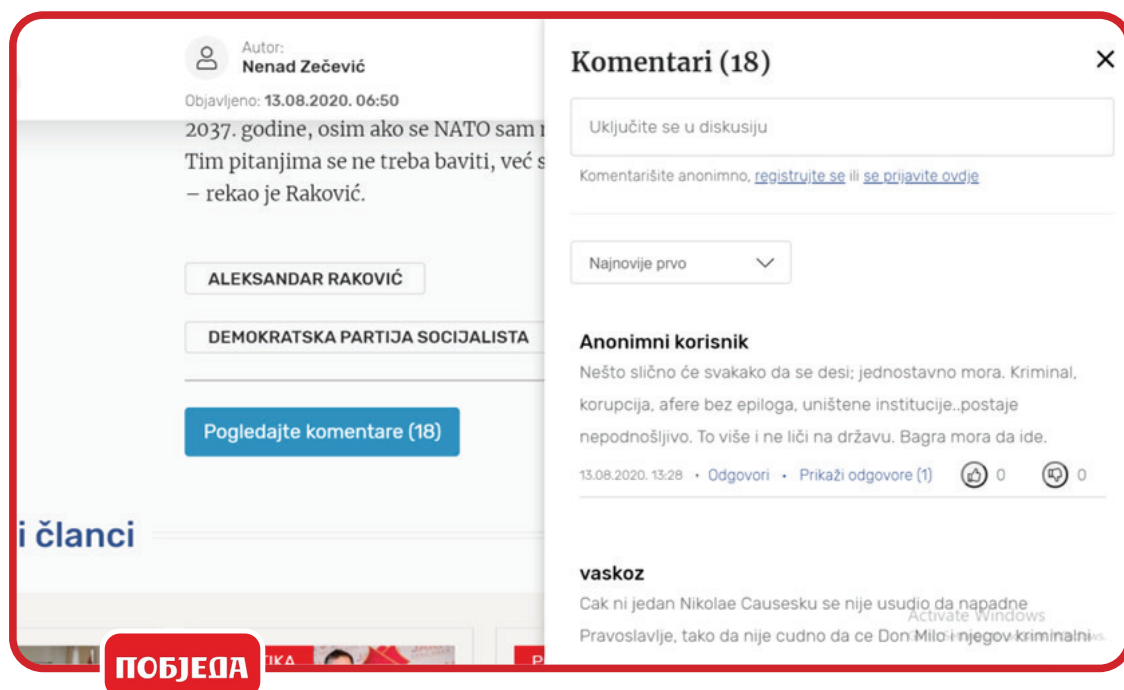
The analysis also showed that the CDM portal is dominated by comments of support for the DPS, which leads to indications that the comments on those parties are published in

an organized manner by the activists of that party. These comments are similar and short, with the same keywords, and were published mostly in the same time frame. For example, the CdM portal has a news that has 177 comments at the time of processing, of which 176 are comments in support of the ruling party. In one of the analysed texts on that portal (<https://www.cdm.me/politika/kako-je-clanica-predsjednistva-gp-ura-negirala-genocid-u-srebrenici/>) a significant number of comments denying the Srebrenica genocide have been published. Also, the remarks of the commentators that their comments are not allowed. On election day on August 30, however, there was a fairly well-argued discussion of supporters of both sides on the two news items that were analysed. The narrative in the comments published on the CDM portal is also significantly milder than the one on the IN4S and Borba portals, although it is illegal content. The bigger picture indicates that these are administrators' omissions.

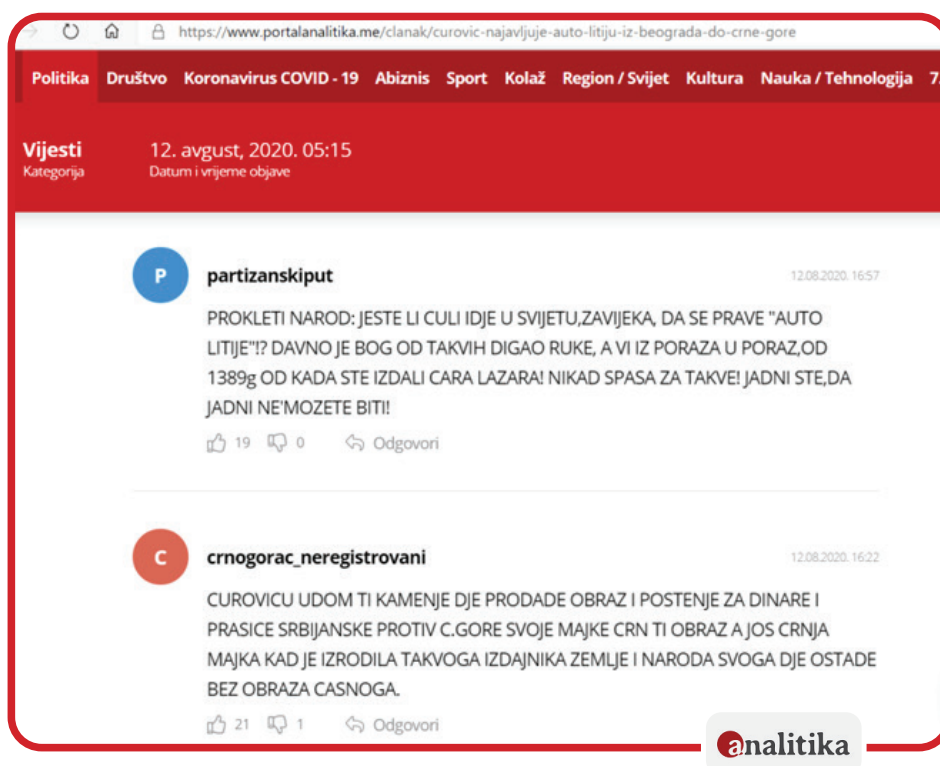


The RTCG portal is dominated by comments in support of the DPS. The analysis showed that there are the least controversial comments on that portal, and there are more comments on the most two news items per day, while the others have a negligible number. In most cases, dozens of comments are published on one of the news related to the activities of DPS officials and contain only comments in support of that policy. Another piece of news that contains a large number of comments refers to the activities of the opposition. The narrative of criticism dominates the comments on the news of such content. This points to the conclusion that the comments are published by organized groups of DPS supporters who opt for two news items on that portal on a daily basis.

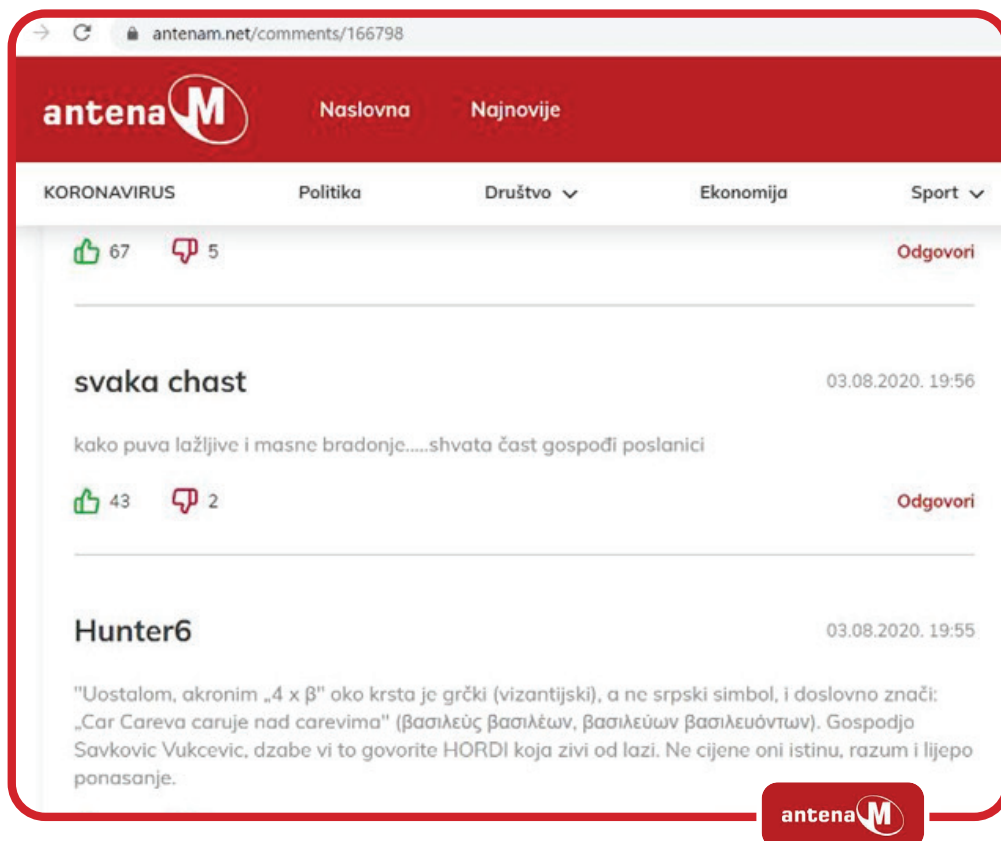




Portal *Pobjeda* has almost no comments in the observed period, and only a couple of controversial comments were found in the analysed period.



Portal *Analitika* also has few comments, but comments containing insults are noted on that portal, especially on several texts of the election topic that refer to the issue of the church.



There are also few comments published on the *Antena M* portal, but among them there are those that contain severe insults and swearing.

During the monitoring period, it was established that the comments on most portals, which were defined by the researchers as disputable, were dominated by assessments that "URA is a Chetnik party" and that "Dritan sold himself", followed by insults against President Milo Djukanovic and Metropolitan of Serbian Orthodox Church Amfilohije, and there were often severe insults between organized groups supporting the Social Democrats and the Social Democratic Party.

It is interesting to note that the largest number of comments was published in the first days after the announcement of the electoral list and sporadically after some of the events that marked the campaign. For example, when a video was published on the *IN4S* portal about employment in the army, whose main actor was Dušica Vulić.

At the end of the election campaign, a significantly smaller number of comments were noted, hence we have an example that 180 comments were published on the portal *Vijesti* about the election results on 30 September, which had about 750,000 views..

## CONCLUSION

Comment space on Montenegrin portals during the election campaign was largely a training ground for propaganda by organized political groups and the spread of insults, swearing, and hate speech (albeit to a lesser extent). The level of argumentative discussion was extremely low. Leading in this were the portals IN4s and Borba, on whose platforms a large number of comments were noted in which hatred is spreading on national, religious and gender grounds. Women were specifically targeted and called the most derogatory names in the comments, and this was often accompanied by sexist content. A large number of comments published on these portals, which contain hate speech, severe insults, swearing, labelling (in some cases up to 80%), indicate that the responsible persons in these media do not see anything controversial in this and that publishing these comments is in accordance with their editorial policy. These two portals were not registered with the Agency for Electronic Media, which was in charge before the adoption of the new Law on Media. The founders and editors, however, are known to the general public and they do not hide their identity.

The number of comments containing hate speech in the established media is not large, having in mind the number of published comments, especially on the Vijesti and CdM portals, where there are sometimes up to 500 per news item. The fact that it is present indicates that the moderation of the comments is not effective and that additional efforts are needed to remove such content.

In addition to sporadic hate speech, illegal content was noted in the comments in the established media - insults, swearing, curses that refer to national minorities, but also women.

The media must therefore work on capacity building and ensure that there is a specialized moderator in each editorial office who will deal exclusively with filtering comments.

The new Montenegrin Law on Media, which stipulates the obligation to delete controversial comments 60 minutes after learning about them, came into force on 14 August, hence a part of the controversial analysed comments was published after its implementation began, which may indicate that the media were not aware of these provisions.

The results of this research warn of a very bad trend, and it is a serious challenge for the authorised state bodies to sanction these negative phenomena, without, on the other hand, endangering freedom of expression on the Internet. It will have a special challenge when it comes to portals that are not registered as electronic publications in accordance with the new Law on Media, which have a great reach and influence, which opens a wide space for abuse without sanctions.

# 04 SOCIAL NETWORKS CAMPAIGN

## INTRODUCTION

Montenegro leads the region in the use of the Internet and social networks among the general population. In 2020, over 74% of the population had access to the Internet while the number of social network users reached 390,000, with a growth trend (from April 2019 to January 2020, a growth of 5.8% was recorded). Social networks are mostly used via mobile phones, and about 98% of smartphone users with internet connection have access to social networks. Also, the number of mobile connections in the previous year increased by 5.6% i.e. 65,000 new connections, thus in January 2020 the number of mobile phone users was equivalent to 191% in relation to the total number of users, which means that every citizen of Montenegro possesses at least two cell phones. When it comes to gender cross-section, there are no significant differences in the number of users (men 55.2% and women 44.8%). This number is the same on Instagram, while on Twitter the number of men is almost twice the number of women and the scale is 65:34. When it comes to advertising, Facebook ads reach 300,000 Montenegrin citizens, Instagram 260,000, and Twitter 57,600.7

Although Montenegro is behind the countries of the European Union when it comes to many digital services, it is clear that the penetration of the Internet and mobile phones in Montenegro is at a high level. Therefore, it was not unexpected that the election actors, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and restrictions related to the implementation of traditional activities in the campaign (large gatherings, field campaigns, etc.), significantly directed resources and energy to promotion through social networks.

Monitoring data indicate that political parties and coalitions have only intensified their activities on social networks since the second part of the campaign, i.e. in the last two weeks. This has resulted in a huge number of posts that sometimes, instead of approaching the principles, messages and ideas of these actors, led to an oversaturation of information. However, given the lack of information about the programmes, as well as the nature of the negative campaigns conducted in the second part of the campaign, it can be concluded that the goal of political actors on social networks was not to bring their programme or ideas closer but to show themselves different from opponents or to portray these opponents in a bad light.

In addition to political parties and electoral lists, informal groups and individuals through the so-called MEME pages, which often use sarcasm and humour to convey their messages, have played an important role in promoting certain electoral lists and individuals. Unlike the pages of political parties for whose content administrators who are known to the public and party officials can be held responsible for using offensive or hate speech, the

administrators of these pages are not known and use more direct and often speech that is on the verge of offensive which further induces random user comments. However, it should not be overlooked that these pages often raise issues and topics that are important for the daily life of citizens and that their intensive politicization by administrators, users and their critics has led to the situation that they now, and especially in time election campaigns, are viewed as political actors and promoters of certain parties and coalitions. The question remains whether these pages will have the opportunity to deal with everyday issues in the future or whether their strong involvement in political events will mean that they will become a microphone for certain political ideas or groups.

Therefore, taking into account the importance of social networks for the development of political culture in Montenegro, but also for the election cycle itself, the SpinoFACT project team has monitored the activities of political parties and MEME pages on social networks and monitored the comments of their followers.

Social media monitoring included the use of Twitter and Instagram to promote political campaigns. The results in this section are not encouraging, mainly because political parties have not yet recognized the strength of these platforms. The reasons are different, but the lack of creativity and the inability to simply share links and long texts provided by Facebook, as well as the need for two-way communication (Twitter) may be some of the reasons why the focus of this campaign was on Facebook.

## METHODOLOGY

The monitoring included the monitoring of social networks from 5 to 30 August 2020, namely the three platforms that users in Montenegro use the most - Facebook, Twitter, Instagram.

When it comes to Facebook, the accounts of independent parties were used, i.e. the leading constituents in coalitions, noting that some groups created special FB pages for this election campaign - a total of 9 + 3 accounts on Facebook (three lists have separate FB pages for this election - We Are Deciding, Peace Is Our Nation, and For the Future of Montenegro). In addition, the activities of electoral lists were monitored through Facebook pages that were created outside the "main" Facebook pages of their constituents, which presented most of the campaign on the networks. In the MEME pages' section, the selection criteria were the level of activity, number of followers, intensity of activity, growth rate of posts and followers, and estimated political affiliation. A total of seven MEME pages were followed.

On Twitter, the monitoring was done using the hashtag #izboriCG (#electionsMNE) by the users of this platform, but also the activities of political parties/lists and their leaders on the same.

Also, the use of the hashtag #izboriCG (#electionsMNE) was followed on Instagram, as well as the posts of political actors and the number of their followers.

The focus of the monitoring, in addition to the main messages sent by the above-

mentioned actors, was the tone i.e. the narrative that was created, identification of hate speech towards national groups, women, LGBTQ persons. Additionally, the intensity of the negative campaign and the main target in creating the negative narrative was monitored.

## ACTIVITIES OF ELECTION LISTS/PARTIES - FACEBOOK

The number of total interactions on Facebook on the pages of political parties and lists, in the period of the campaign that was monitored, is over 1.1 million. This means that social network users commented, liked or reacted to certain account posts that were tracked through this survey 1.1 million times from 5 to 30 August, 2020. On average, over 30,000 individual interactions are identified on a weekly basis.

The largest number of interactions was realized by the pages of the coalition For the Future of Montenegro - 436 990 and Peace Is Our Nation - 422 991, followed by significantly fewer interactions of the list of DPS Decisively for Montenegro! with 179,496.

On the other hand, the largest number of posts and comments from the pages themselves has had the Coalition Peace Is Our Nation - 485, followed by the DPS List Decisively for Montenegro! - 332, and the Coalition For the Future of Montenegro - 319. Thus, the page of the coalition For the Future of Montenegro, despite a smaller number of posts than the first and second ranked page in this category, managed to attract the largest number of individual interactions - 436,990.

LIST NAME	NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS	NUMBER OF POSTS	NUMBER OF COMMENTS	NUMBER OF OTHER REACTIONS	TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajović - We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY	11 934	164	1031	40 286	<b>41 317</b>
Bosniak Party- CORRECTLY - Rafet Husović	9 791	144	1 418	29 720	<b>31 138</b>
CCI. With All the Heart for Montenegro!	1197	82	287	5581	<b>5 868</b>
SDP - JAKA CRNA GORA!	12 723	237	3 337	67 926	<b>71 263</b>
Croatian Reformist Party of Montenegro - CRP	311	77	171	2056	<b>2 227</b>
Black On White (URA+CIVIS+ independent intellectuals)	49 011	230	12 379	125 835	<b>138 214</b>
Decisively for Montenegro! DPS - Milo Đukanović	33,121	332	5 567	173 929	<b>179 496</b>
For the Future of Montenegro	77 361	319	19 400	417 590	<b>436 990</b>
ALEKSA BEČIĆ - MIODRAG LEKIĆ - "Peace Is Our Nation"	66 608	485	13 791	409 200	<b>422 991</b>

Table 8. OVERVIEW OF FACEBOOK STATISTICS BY ELECTORAL LISTS AND PARTIES

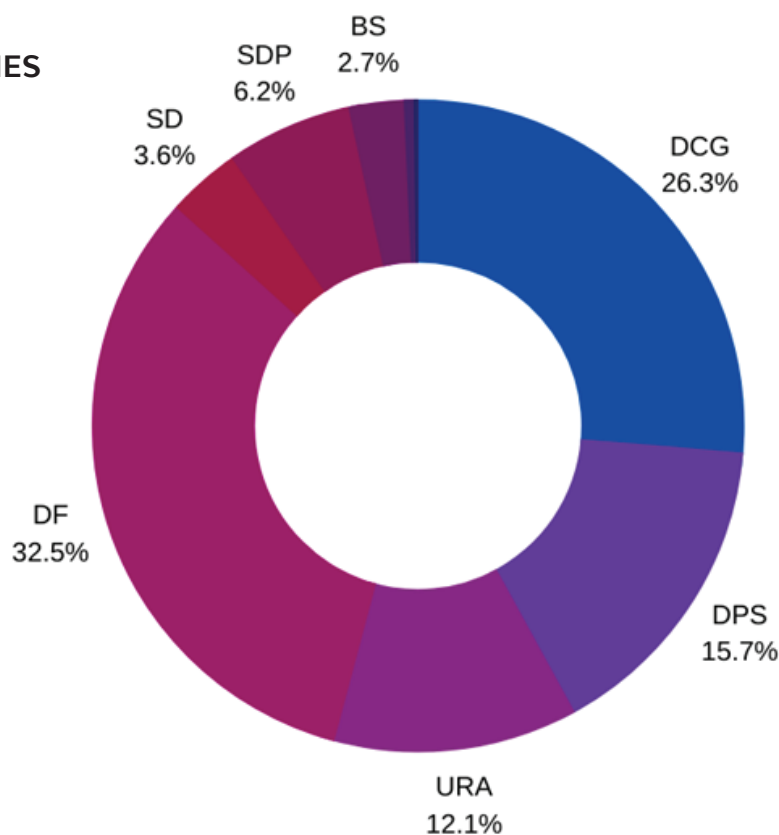


LIST NAME	NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS	NUMBER OF POSTS	NUMBER OF COMMENTS	NUMBER OF OTHER REACTIONS
National Coalition – For the Future of Montenegro	4 107	305	502	36 613
WE ARE DECIDING	1,023	2	/	30
PEACE IS OUR NATION	694	3	5	224

Table 9. OVERVIEW OF FACEBOOK STATISTICS BY SUPPLEMENTARY PAGES OF ELECTORAL LISTS AND PARTIES

**Number of interactions on social networks**

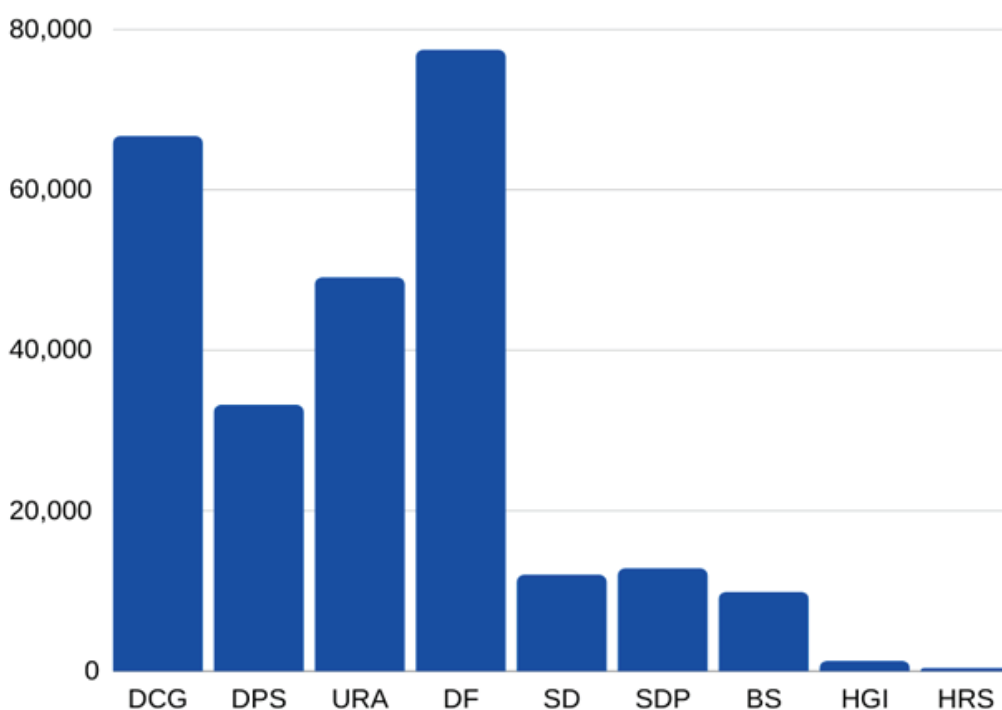
**POLITICAL PARTIES**



Graph 55. DISPLAY IN % OF INTERACTIONS ON FACEBOOK IN THE PERIOD 05-30 AUGUST

When it comes to followers on social networks, this number changed frequently in August and the number of followers of certain pages grew in the last week of the campaign, and a total increase of 12,400 new followers of political parties during the election campaign was recorded.

**Number of followers on social networks  
POLITICAL PARTIES**



Graph 56. NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS OF PAGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THOUSANDS

**WITHOUT SILENCE ON SOCIAL NETWORKS**

Opposition parties have invested more energy and money in Facebook than the ruling parties of late. This also resulted in a larger number of followers and interactions on the side of the opposition. Over 70% of all Facebook user interactions were dedicated to posts of the opposition coalitions. The dominance of the DF-led coalition over the DPS in the number of followers and the number of interactions was visible, which indicates that the DPS did not recognize or used sufficiently the potential of social networks. The DPS stepped up its promotional activities on Facebook in the second half of August, when the number of posts and comments began to rise sharply. However, the DPS had a problem on Facebook with a limited number of followers, which was half the size of any of the three opposition coalitions. Unlike the DPS, the opposition Facebook pages were in a state of constant campaigning and only intensified that dynamic on Facebook as the election approached.

Communication with Facebook users is mostly one-way, with rare exceptions of the exchange of views between administrators and followers (SDP, and to a lesser extent the Democratic Front). With this communication, the SDP gained an advantage over parties of similar affiliations and a similar number of supporters. This can be seen in the number

of interactions, which is higher in SDP than in SD, for example, although they have an approximate number of followers. The page administrators responded to Facebook users with positive and negative comments, shared links and additional posts, and let followers know that their comments were being appreciated.

Electoral lists dominantly used their pages for promotion. Thus, those who had field activities in the posts gave announcements or accents from these activities along with a presentation of a programme (lists led by Democrats, DPS, DF), while those who did not have field activities have thus limited themselves in a more effective promotion of election programme (pages SD, SDP, URA, BP). Incidentally, a small number of political parties/lists have dedicated most of their campaign to promoting their programme online. In the second part of the campaign, Democrats on Facebook emphasized the presentation of programme priorities as well. Different programming principles were shared through graphical solutions that were posted every few days. These posts have, on average, the lowest number of interactions on their page, which may lead to the conclusion that programme goals were not a priority for social media users or that another way needed to be found to interest voters.

The campaign of certain political entities can also be characterized as negative, which includes attacks on political competitors, and this mainly refers to opposition parties that criticize the government and the consequences of its decisions (DF, Democrats, SDP, URA). Some opposition entities also attacked the SDP (URA). In the second part of the campaign, DPS dedicated a large part of comments and posts to the Black On White coalition, leading for more than two weeks a very negative campaign against this list with, in some days, up to 4 posts a day dedicated to "attack on URA".

Coalitions are made up of several constituents and sometimes the messages of these lists were confusing. For example, the leader of the coalition For the Future of Montenegro led a positive campaign, while the posts on the Facebook pages of the DF, as the main constituent, were more coloured by a negative campaign.

Comments on posts of electoral lists mostly came from their voters/sympathizers. However, it is also noted that sympathizers of ideologically opposed political options sometimes leave comments questioning previous political decisions/principles of leaders (e.g. Aleksa Becic's views on identity issues, NATO; the possibility of SDP joining the DPS government, etc.). Most of the comments related to identity issues, and a smaller number to socio-economic issues or the rule of law.

The number of comments containing hate speech increased as election day approached with an average of every tenth comment on the DF and DPS page with some problematic vocabulary or admixture of hate speech (the last 7 days of the election campaign).

All political parties were active on social networks during the election silence, which raises the question of its purpose at a time when social networks and similar platforms were mostly used to promote lists and parties.

## MEME ACTIVITIES ON FACEBOOK PAGES

PAGE NAME	Number of followers	Number of posts	Number of comments	Number of other reactions	Affiliation
Do you sleep peacefully Real Side of History? (Spavaš li mirno Prava strano istorije?)	48 340	118	9069	81 329	Oppositional
Montenegro Transparently (Crna Gora Transparentno)	20 027	19	1860	9 903	Pro-ruling
It was very unpleasant / Psalm 118	21 341	349	4,211	183,911	Oppositional
Daily dose of Montenegrin dubiousities (Dnevna doza crnogorskih dubioza)	16,478	5	335	2865	Oppositional
MEMEistry of Otherworldly Affairs (MIMistarstvo onostranih poslova)	16 748	234	1907	92 359	Oppositional
Let's not politicize the protests (Nemojmo politizovati proteste)	9 100	244	912	123 777	Oppositional
Politics Montenegro (Politika Crna Gora)	7,292	7	663	1656	Pro-ruling

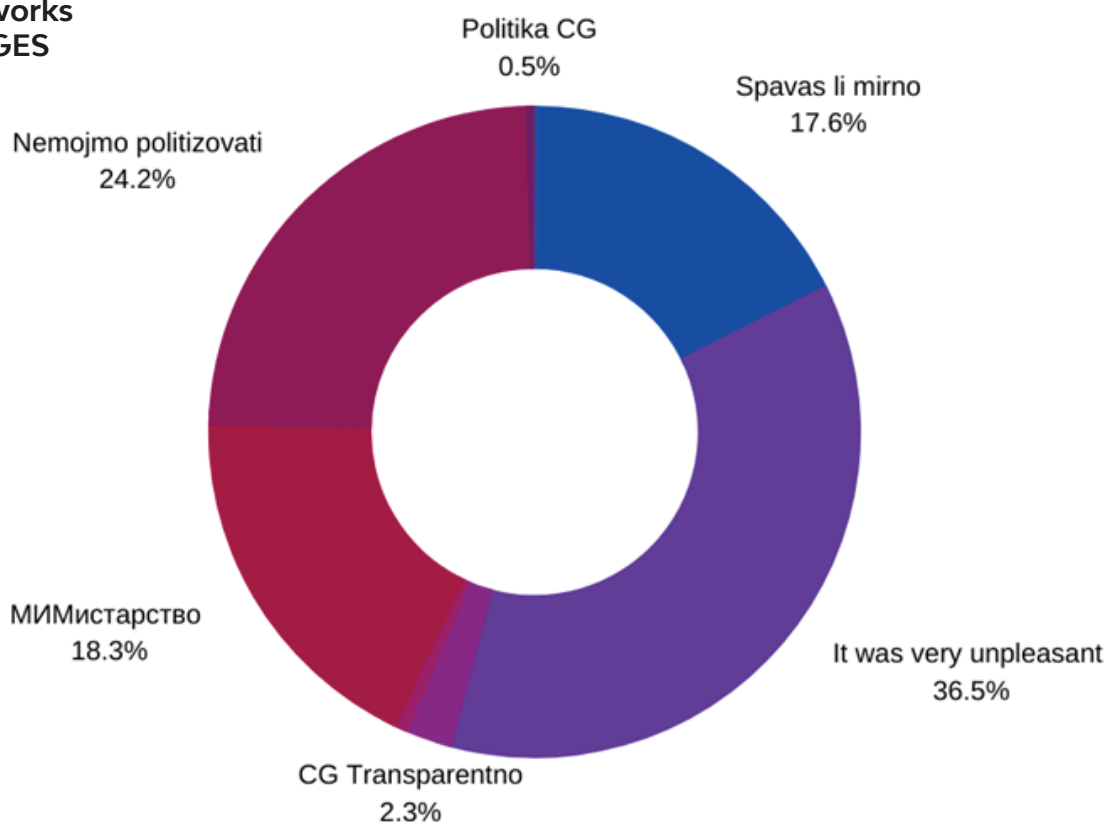
Table 10. OVERVIEW OF MEME PAGE STATISTICS ON FACEBOOK

The average number of posts on these pages was 85 on a weekly basis, with the largest number of posts on three opposition-oriented MEME pages: *It was very unpleasant / Psalm 118* - 349, *Let's Not Politicize Protests (Nemojmo politizovati proteste)* - 244 and the *MEMEistry of Otherworldly Affairs (MIMistarstvo onostranih poslova)* - 234.

MEME pages shared over 240 videos in this period, with *It was very unpleasant / Psalm 118* leading the way (87 clips). The number of likes grew during the monitoring and reached over 19% of new followers in the period from 5 to 30 August, which is an indicator of interest of Facebook users for the activities of MEME pages in the month of parliamentary elections, but also an indicator of their possible impact.

When it comes to the division based on the number of interactions of social network users, the situation is identical - 36.5% of the total interactions have *It was very unpleasant / Psalm 118*, then 24.2% *Let's not politicize the protests (Nemojmo politizovati proteste)*, and the *MEMEistry of Otherworldly Affairs (MIMistarstvo onostranih poslova)* with 18.3% of total interactions during monitoring. At the same time, the average number of weekly interactions was over 26,000.

**Number of interactions on social networks MEME PAGES**



Graph 57. NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS - MEME PAGES

## THE GROWING POPULARITY OF MEMER SERDARS - FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM OR POLITICAL GOALS?

The topics of the posts and the comments that follow them are diverse, and in short, they refer to current social and political issues that have the potential to provoke discussion, and unlike the pages of parties, discussions are often led on them. Also, unlike the administrators of political party pages, the administrators of MEME pages nurtured two-way communication. This means that followers of these pages could count on their comment being noticed and receiving a response. Within political parties, this approach was used by the SDP, which allowed them twice as many interactions compared to, for example, the SD, which has a similar number of followers on Facebook but did not enable two-way communication.

Other dominant topics in the observed period relate to freedom of expression (especially after the case of the arrest of the administrator of one of the MEME pages), the relationship between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Government of Montenegro, the use of state resources and the campaign of the state officials. Unlike political parties, MEME pages have tied themselves to several topics that were important to them and had the luxury of processing the same topic for days, which allowed the followers of their pages to be more interested in that topic.

It is positive that more than half of the monitored MEME pages actively worked on reducing abstinence in the elections and informing the followers that the voting was secret. Only a few political parties have worked to break the narrative that voting is not secret, which is often used to discourage a certain group of voters from going to the polls. MEME pages have, at the beginning of the campaign, most often generally promoted the secrecy of the ballot-casting, without participating in election campaign of electoral lists.

However, a certain number of MEME pages publicly expressed support for certain electoral lists (the *Let's Not Politicize Protests* page provided support to the DF and the coalition around it). Also, in the second part of the campaign, MEME pages have increasingly promoted individual policy options. Thus, the pages *It was very unpleasant / Psalm 118* and the *MEMEistry of Otherworldly Affairs* have openly supported the coalition around the DF as well. On the other hand, MEME pages that were visibly anti-oppositional never directly supported the DPS.

Although most meme pages are clearly ideological and sometimes party-oriented, there have been cases of information sharing of other parties/pages (pages close to the DF would sometimes promote the work of Democratic Montenegro and the like).

In general, based on the number of interactions, comments and followers, it is visible that MEME pages that supported opposition actors (primarily the DF and the coalition around it) had a greater impact on social network users in Montenegro. The DPS and informal groups close to it, and administrators of certain pages, such as *Montenegro Transparently*, were not able in this case to reach a large number of social network users with the same intensity and posts.

However, the freedom in communicating the messages, which political parties do not have, MEME pages at some points turns into addresses for spreading hate speech, insulting dissidents and a number of conspiracy theories related to COVID-19 were noticeable (in user comments). During the monitoring, hate speech was noted in the comments of the followers of MEME pages to a much greater extent than in the pages of political parties or lists. It should also be noted that the administrators of certain pages, in certain cases, appealed followers not to use hate speech, but that was not often enough. However, in the most intensive part of the campaign, i.e. in the last week, a larger number of posts and comments were noticed that aim to insult individuals or groups on the basis of national, religious, political affiliation and gender identity. Over 552 comments were noted, which can be classified as comments that are hate speech or border on hate speech.

The most common cases of discrimination and hate speech were against citizens of the Islamic faith, members of the LGBTQ population, as well as members of the Roma population. Both the pages close to the DPS and to the opposition have used such narratives. Also, pages close to the DPS often presented Serbs as backward, while pages close to the oppositional DF ridiculed everyone with a Montenegrin pre-sign.

Additionally, there is a noticeable increase in misogyny under posts featuring politicians or women who were in the public spotlight at the time. The administrators of MEME pages have often, through ironic and sarcastic posts, allowed the spread of misogyny, reducing women to the level of a sexual object, which later contributed to their followers feeling a greater level of freedom when commenting on women. This is the case with both pages close to the DPS and pages close to the opposition.



The following two examples were posted on the same day (19 August) on pages that are ideologically different and support different actors.

- Example 1 - Page *Montenegro Transparently* presents the position of the female MP of Democratic Front, Marina Jočić, after the elections. The picture is a continuation of her comment in which she announces that she will “trample the heathens with her heels”. Nevertheless, the picture clearly reduces the MP to the level of a sexual object. Her attitude or statement is not criticized, but she is mocked as a woman.
- Example 2 – Photo-shopped picture on the page *Do You Sleep Peacefully Right Side of History*, of a female DPS activist and Defense Ministry employee Dušica Vulić, involved in the affair “Terrain”, reminiscent of the pornographic website Pornhub using the word game DPS HUB and derogatory term MILF. In this case, too, the affair or the “Terrain” case is not criticized, but the actor of the same is reduced to the level of a sexual object.

## 19. avgust



Example 1



Example 2

Similar posts lead to a sense of freedom among social media users, and below them are a number of misogynistic comments, such as the following:



**Filip Buskovic** Plus ova dobija bonuse za sex



**Dusko Gvozdencovic** Grobu jedan crkni kravo dps



**Национални Демагог** Njoj se ni vibrator ne bi upalio.



**Vukomir Djalovic** Sta ce ova baba devojka tu. Sta njoj jos treba



**Dežurni Provokator** Predstaviti se kao bošnjak je, samo po sebi, lažno predstavljanje. Nemaju istoriju, nemaju matičnu zemlju, koriste naš jezik tako da bi potpuno ispravno bilo ukinuti taj pojam.



**Aleksandar Alkatraz Djurdjevic**  
Pocrkali dabogda govna šiptarska!



**Andjela Arsic**  
Када видим шиптаре и милогорце кад показују двоглаву свраку а не орла јер орао је наш, заличеми на једног мајмуна Жику из јагодинског Зоо врта ког сам видела на екскурзију у 3 разреду основне школе.



**Bot Srbija** OVO SU TI POBOŽNI ŠUPAKMERAKLIJE



In addition, the most common cases of hate speech are against citizens of the Islamic faith, members of the LGBTQ and the Roma population.

MEME pages are often very clear when it comes to the ideology they propagate. Despite their ideological coloration, they often draw attention to hate speech on social networks, especially when hate speech is directed towards the national group to which they belong. However, their legitimacy is questionable because they themselves tend to share fake news and controversial content.

The following example shows how one page ironically warned of obvious hate speech and an indirect threat, but immediately shared fake news in the next post.

The MEME page identified hate speech / threat



MEME page shared fake news

## ACTIVITIES - TWITTER

Twitter is the least used social network in this election campaign, and the activity was mostly reduced to sharing links from Facebook pages of electoral lists/parties.

Twitter has remained a place where analysts and the "Twitter team" present their views or try to get in touch with political parties. As Twitter requires two-way communication, and political parties in Montenegro communicate one-way through pre-prepared messages without online discussion, the main reason for the low level of activity on this platform is clear.

Despite the small number of political entities that used #izboriCG, several electoral lists/parties, as well as political leaders, actively use Twitter.

Duško Marković (DPS) and Milo Đukanović (DPS) have accounts that they use in order to present the work of the Prime Minister and the President of Montenegro, respectively. These accounts were generally not used for election campaign purposes. The main Twitter account of the DPS is the most active account through which the DPS promotes its campaign on this network, in addition to the account of the Minister of Defence, Predrag Bošković, who is very active on Twitter. DPS account tweeted/retweeted 412 election-related tweets during this time period.

The holder of the list For the Future of Montenegro is active on Twitter (@ZdravkoKrivokcg), but he tweeted only 6 times during the monitoring period. The coalition For the Future of Montenegro and the largest structure within this list, the Democratic Front, were noticeably absent from this network. However, the account of the Movement for Change (MfC) and the personal account of the president of MfC and one of the leaders of the DF, Nebojša Medojević, were active.

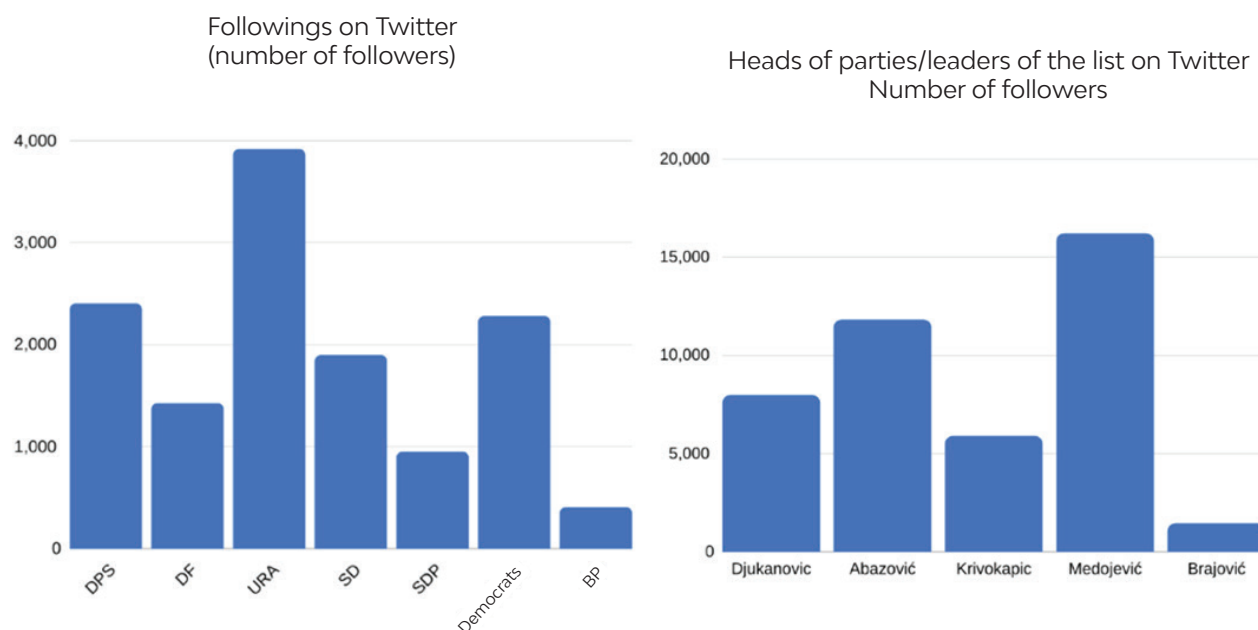
The thus far President of the Assembly and the holder of the SD electoral list, Ivan Brajović, used Twitter, but to a limited extent and only tweeted eight times during the monitoring period. On the other hand, 93 tweets were posted from the main Twitter account of the Social Democrats.

Among former opposition politicians, Dritan Abazović (URA) was active on Twitter but to a lesser extent during the monitoring period. The main account of the URA movement had 34 tweets concerning the elections in that time period.

Democratic Montenegro has increased its Twitter presence and most of the posts that can be found on the Facebook page of their electoral list were copied on their Twitter account, which positioned them as the party that tweets the most.

However, the largest number of followers on Twitter has URA with almost twice as many followers as the second-ranked DPS. When it comes to politicians, the largest number of followers has had the leader of the Movement for Change (DF), Nebojša Medojević, who has been actively using Twitter for years, and is followed by leader of URA Dritan Abazović





Graph 58. STATISTICS ON TWITTER - ACCOUNTS OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY LEADERS

## ACTIVITIES - INSTAGRAM

Instagram has not been used enough by political actors in Montenegro. The very fact that the hashtag #izboriCG (#electionsMNE) was used a total of 653 times shows that political parties do not use the hashtag system on Instagram as they did not use them on Twitter. The number of interactions made by users on these posts is 3600. Considering that the interactions on Facebook have exceeded one million, it is clear that Instagram has not been used enough in this campaign. However, although most political parties do not use #izboricg and the number of posts is much lower than on other networks, they use their Instagram accounts to send messages to their voters.

In addition, in the second part of the campaign, MEME pages started creating their Instagram accounts and sharing a large number of photos and videos via that network. But their number of followers on Instagram is negligible when compared to the number on Facebook.

When it comes to political parties, it was noticed that the Democratic Front in front of the coalition For the Future of Montenegro, in addition to the DPS, used Instagram the most. DPS used Instagram to promote its videos and video interviews of its members and used #izboriCG the most. Democrats promoted video forms via Instagram and used this network more in the second part of the election campaign. The Social Democrats (SD) actively use Instagram, while the SDP, BP and CCI use Instagram, but their reach is currently limited.



LIST NAME	FINAL NUMBER OF FOLLOWERS
Decisively for Montenegro! DPS – Milo Đukanović	13 800
ALEKSA BEČIĆ - MIODRAG LEKIĆ - "Peace Is Our Nation" (Democrats' account)	9 552
Black On White – (URA's account)	9 337
For the Future of Montenegro (DF's account)	8 146
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajović – We Are Deciding CONSISTENTLY	6082
Bosniak Party - CORRECTLY - Rafet Husović	1364
SDP - STRONG MONTENEGRO	953
Croatian Citizens' Initiative CCI	71

Tabela 11. PREGLED INSTAGRAM STATISTIKE PO IZBORNIM LISTAMA I PARTIJAMA





