

SPINoFACT 2

political advertising

between spin and facts

Presidential elections 2018

Monitoring of media

15 March 2018 – 15 April 2018



Methodology



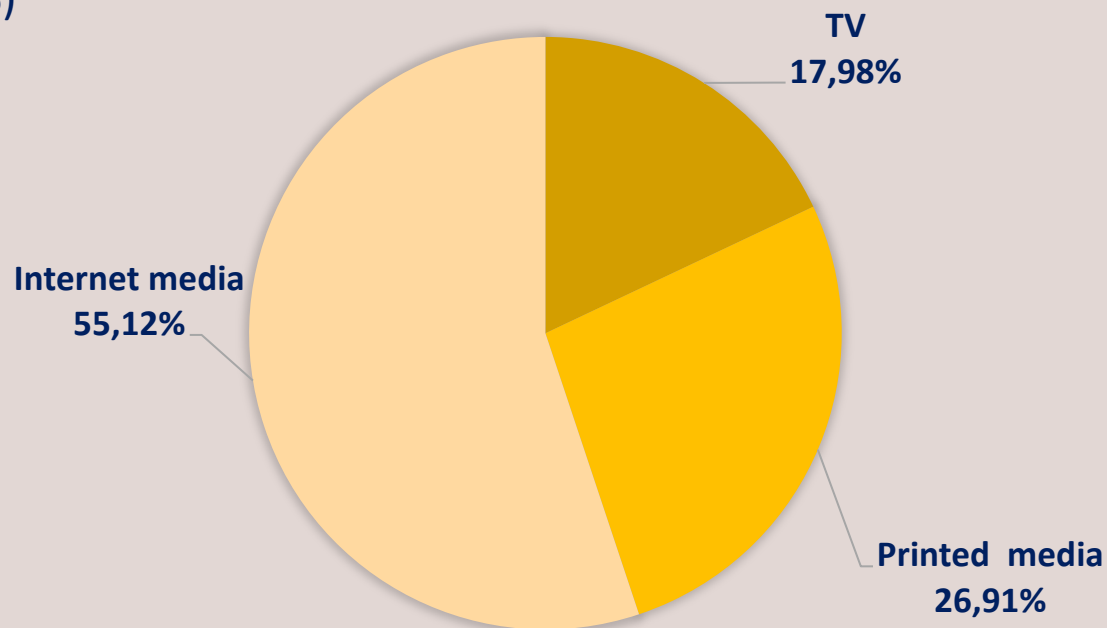
- Monitoring encompasses **qualitative and quantitative** research
 - Total number of media releases of candidates as per type of media and per candidates
 - Representation of candidates in media
 - Planning and non-planning of releases
 - Tone of campaign of candidates
 - Topics that dominated the campaign
 - Mutual attacks and criticism of presidential candidates
- **Period:** 15 March – 15 April 2018 (until 20h)
- **17 media were monitored:**
 - **Televisions:** *TVCG1, TV Vijesti, TV Prva and TV Pink M* – main evening informative shows
 - **Daily newspapers:** *Vijesti, Dan, Pobjeda, Dnevne novine and Sloboda*
 - **Portals:** *Vijesti, CdM, Analitika, Antena M, IN4S, RTCG, Standard and FOS media*
- **Advertising** – special segment of research



Presidential elections 2018: Number of releases

Total number of releases for topic **Presidential elections 2018** with all three type of media is **4534**, of which the most was on portals **55,12%**

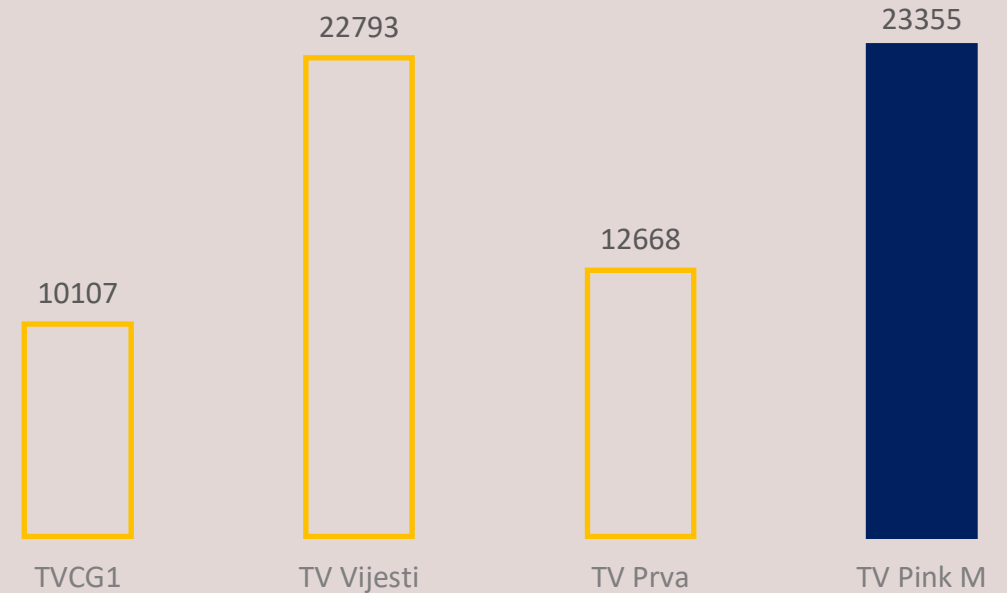
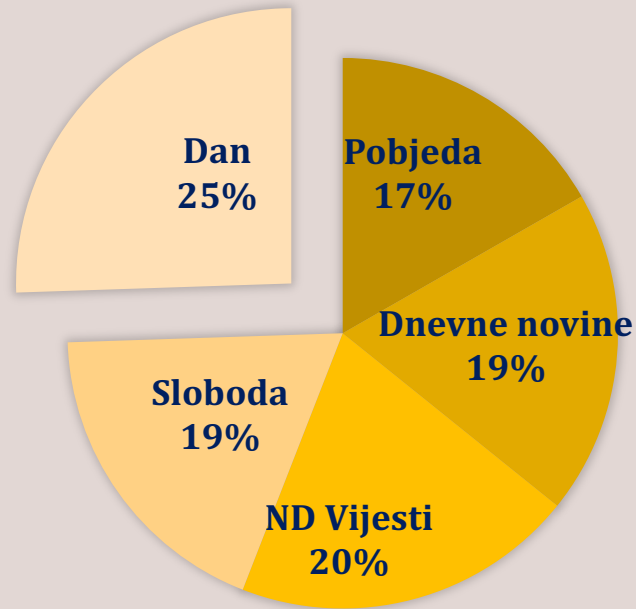
Election campaign was found in the focus of 55,4% releases. Negative campaign (30,4%) was somewhat more present in relation to positive one (25%)





Presidential elections 2018: space/time

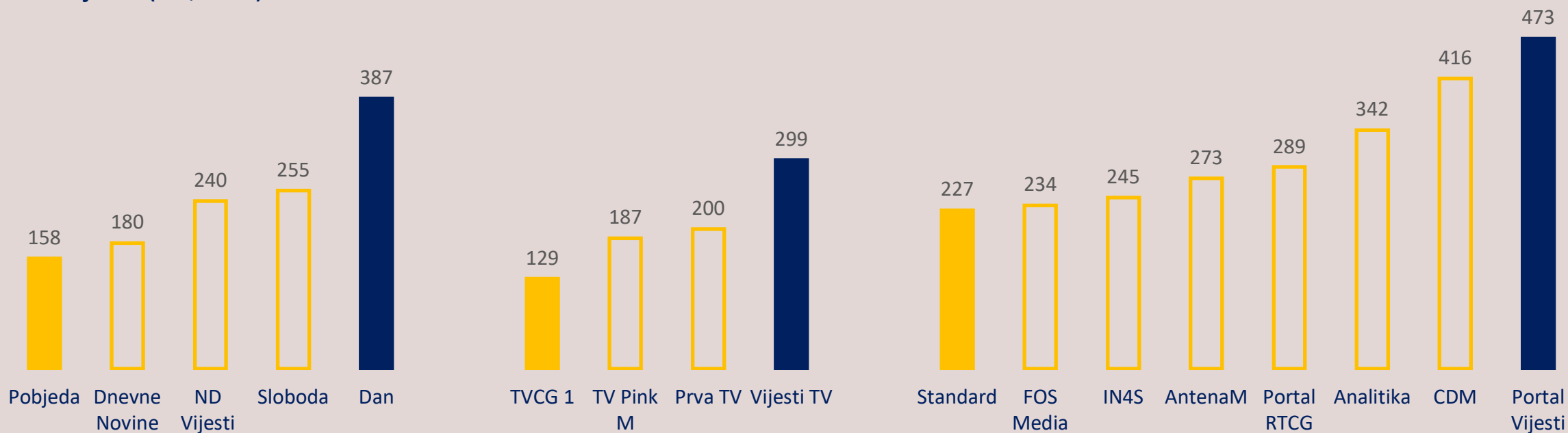
Total of 2 091 563 mm2 relates to coverage of topic in newspapers, i.e. 68 923 seconds on TV stations. The topic was given the most space by daily newspaper *Dan* (in average 1379 mm2 as per article) and TV *Pink M* (in average 124 seconds as per release).





Presidential elections 2018: Number of releases as per media

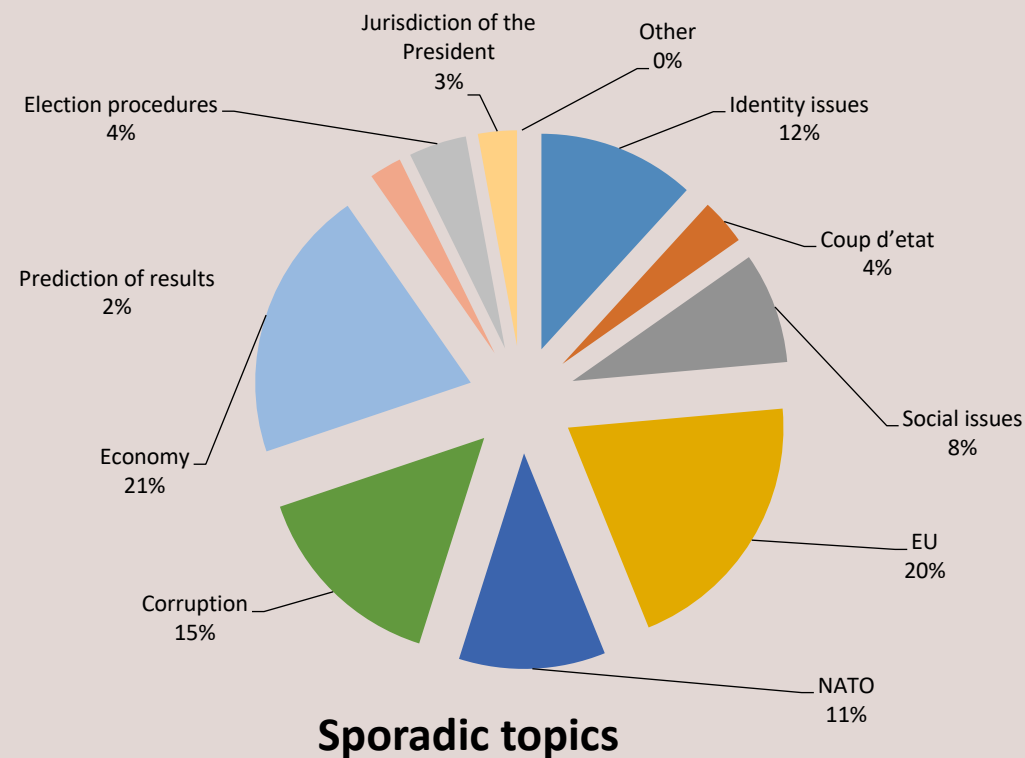
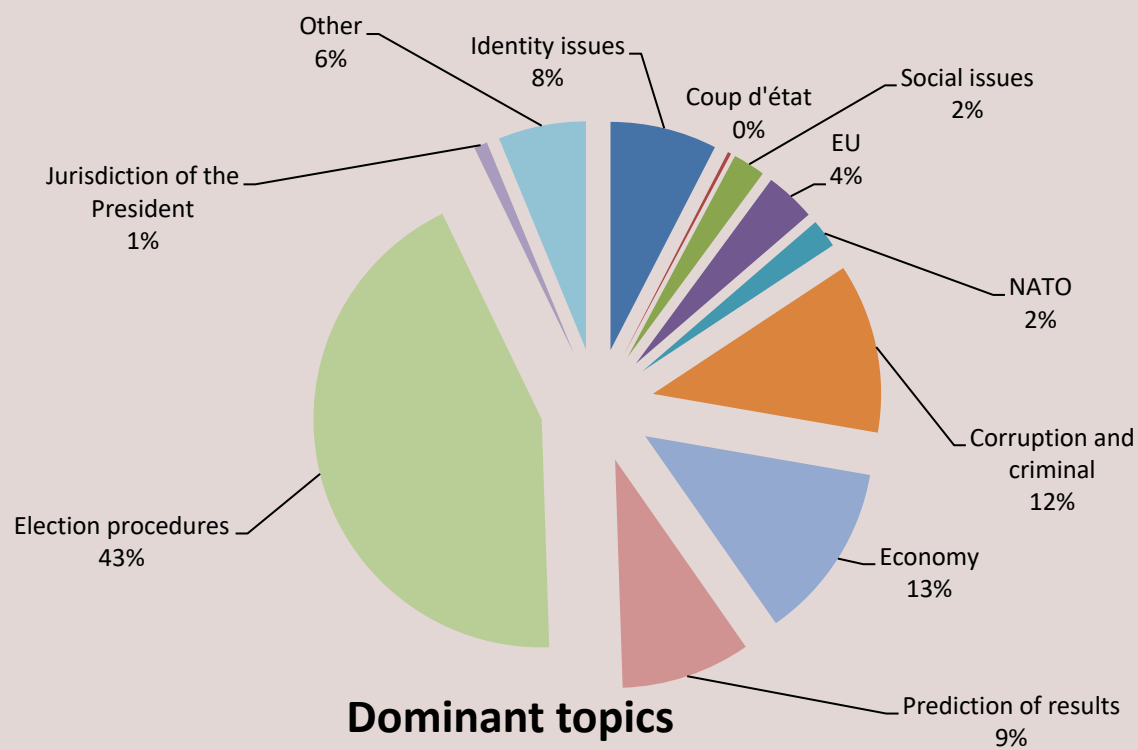
Most releases on topic Presidential elections 2018 was in daily newspaper *Dan*, on television *Vijesti* and portal *Vijesti*. The least number of releases on elections is noted on public service RTCG1, portal *Standard* and daily newspaper *Pobjeda*. Perceiving the overall number of releases, RTCG1 (2,85%) and Pobjeda (3,48%) have reported the least on elections and portal *Vijesti* (10,43%) the most





Presidential elections 2018: Number of releases as per topic

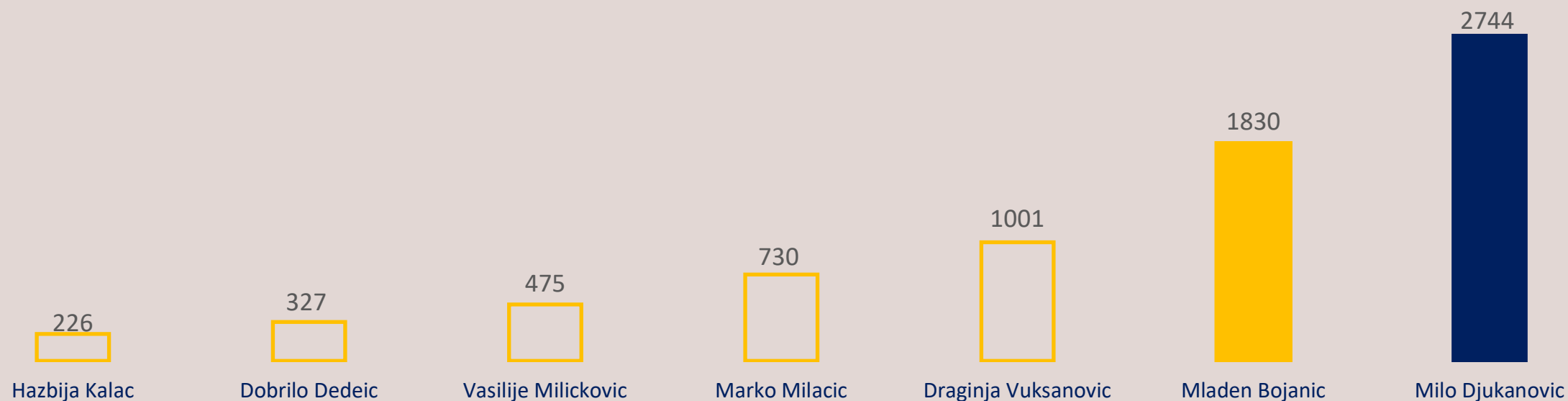
Even as much as 43% of releases predominantly related to *election procedures*. Above 10% are only *economic issues* and *issues of corruption and criminal*. Social and identity issues in somewhat larger percent are present with sporadic mentioning.





Presidential candidates 2018: Number of releases

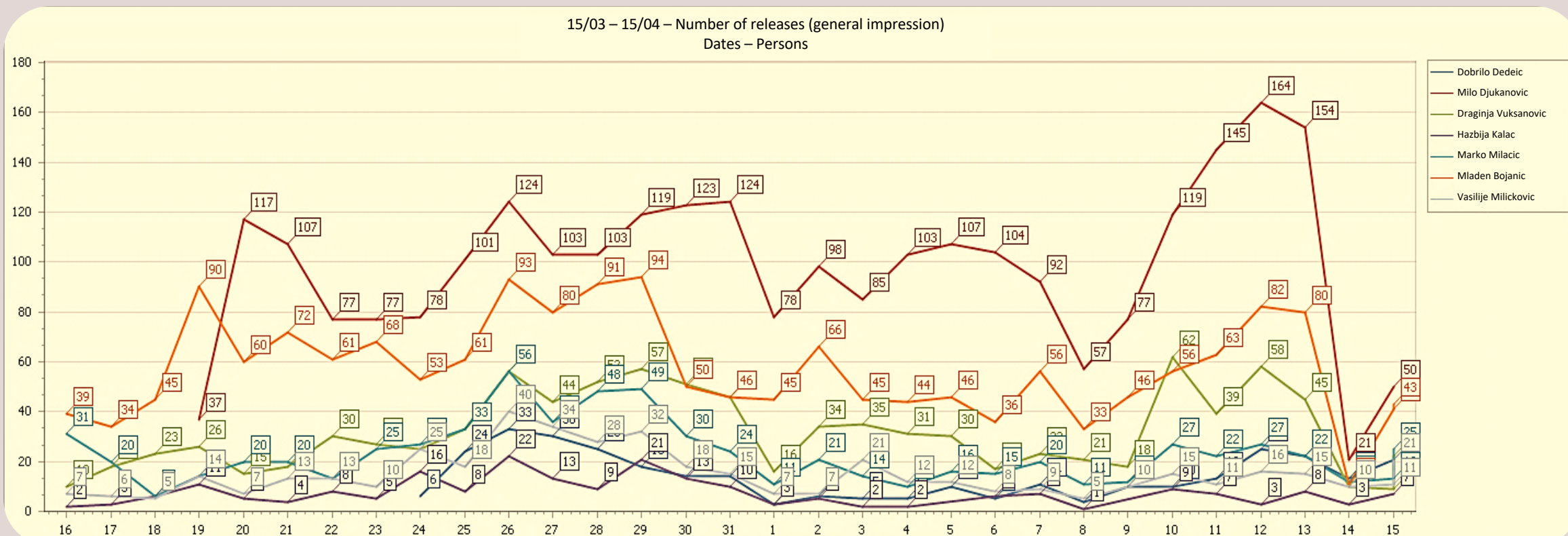
Presidential candidate Milo Djukanovic stood out as per number of releases, since he was mentioned in the content of 2744 releases, whereby monitoring for Djukanovic started on day of his official candidacy 19/20 March 2018. Mladen Bojanic follows with 1830 releases and Draginja Vuksanovic with 1001 releases.





Presidential candidates 2018: trend of number of releases

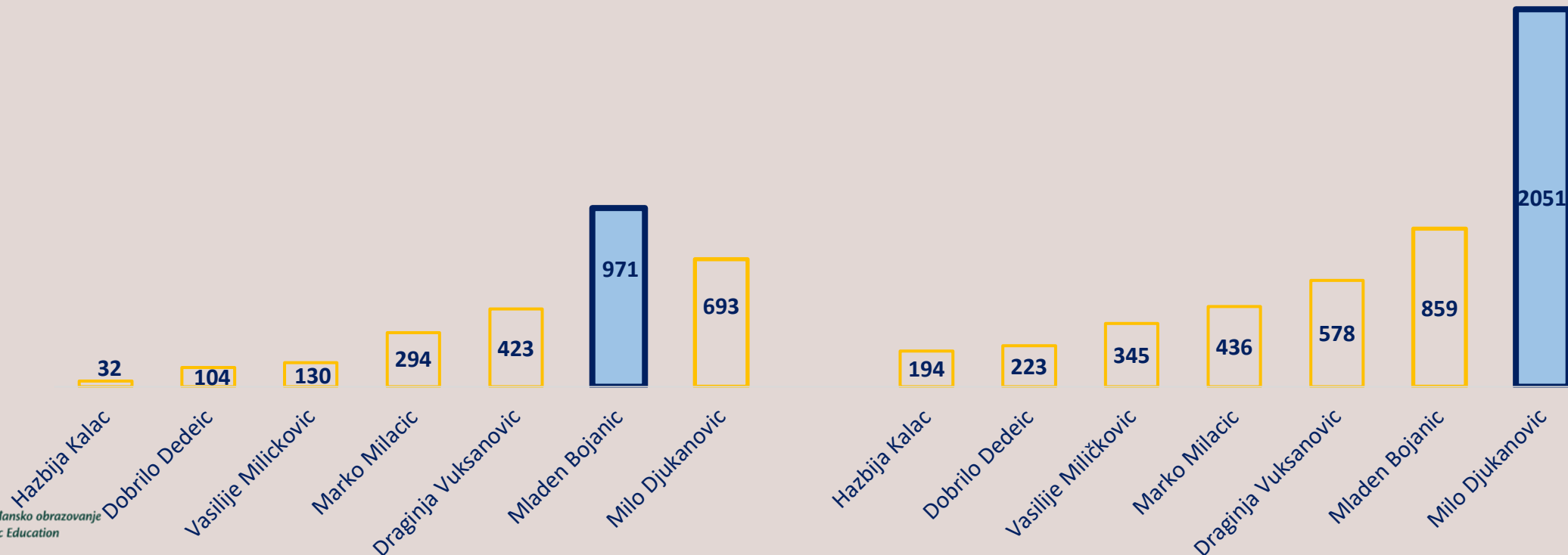
In relation to other candidates, the largest number of releases was daily placed about candidate Milo Djukanovic. Candidate had the most releases on 12 April, candidate Mladen Bojanic on 29 March, and candidate Draginja Vuksanovic on 10 April.





Presidential candidates 2018: planning

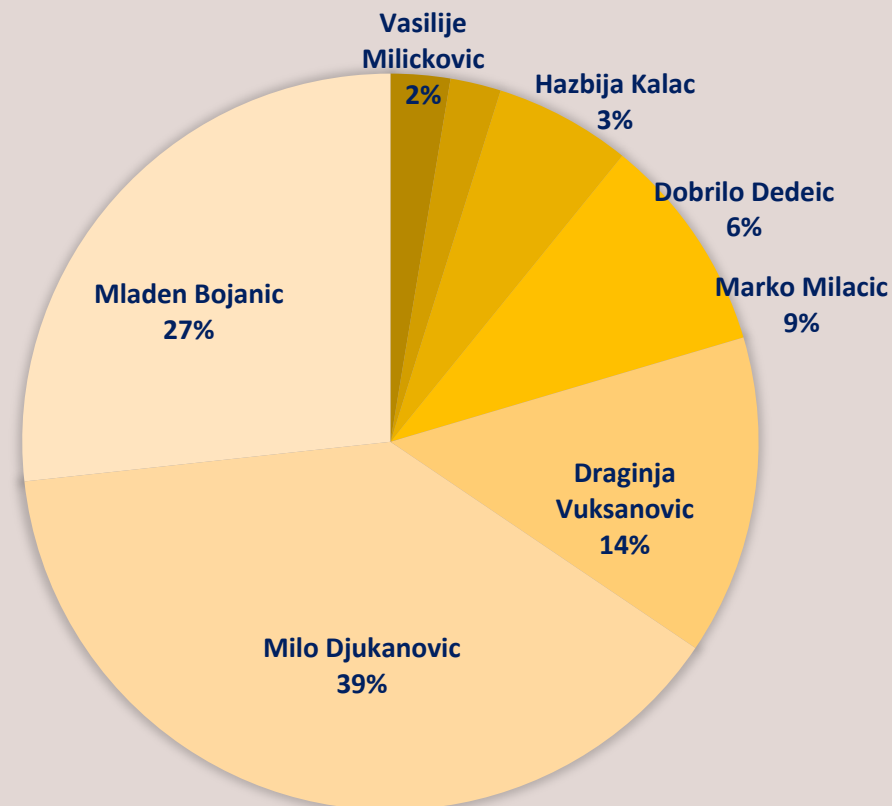
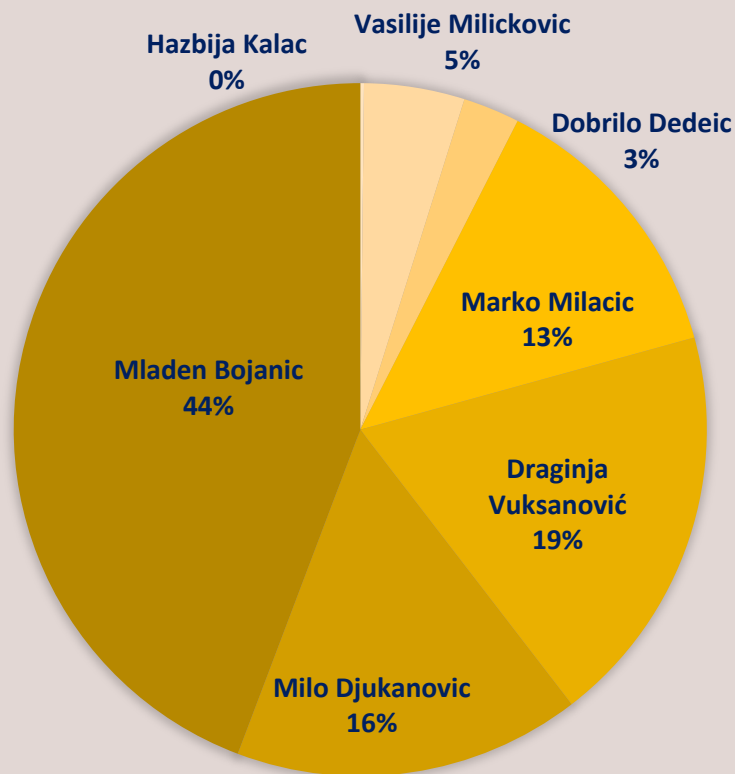
The most planned appearances, his own and party ones, had Mladen Bojanic in the observed period, on portals CdM, IN4S and Vijesti, and the least on TVCG1. Presidential candidate Milo Djukanovic was mentioned the most **by other subjects** in the same period on portal Vijesti and daily newspaper Dan, and the least on TVCG1 and TV Prva.





Presidential candidates 2018: Criticism/Offer

The most active in planned media appearances in promotion of his own election programme (in the entire release or in the larger part of it) was presidential candidate Milo Djukanovic, while in criticism the most active was Mladen Bojanic.

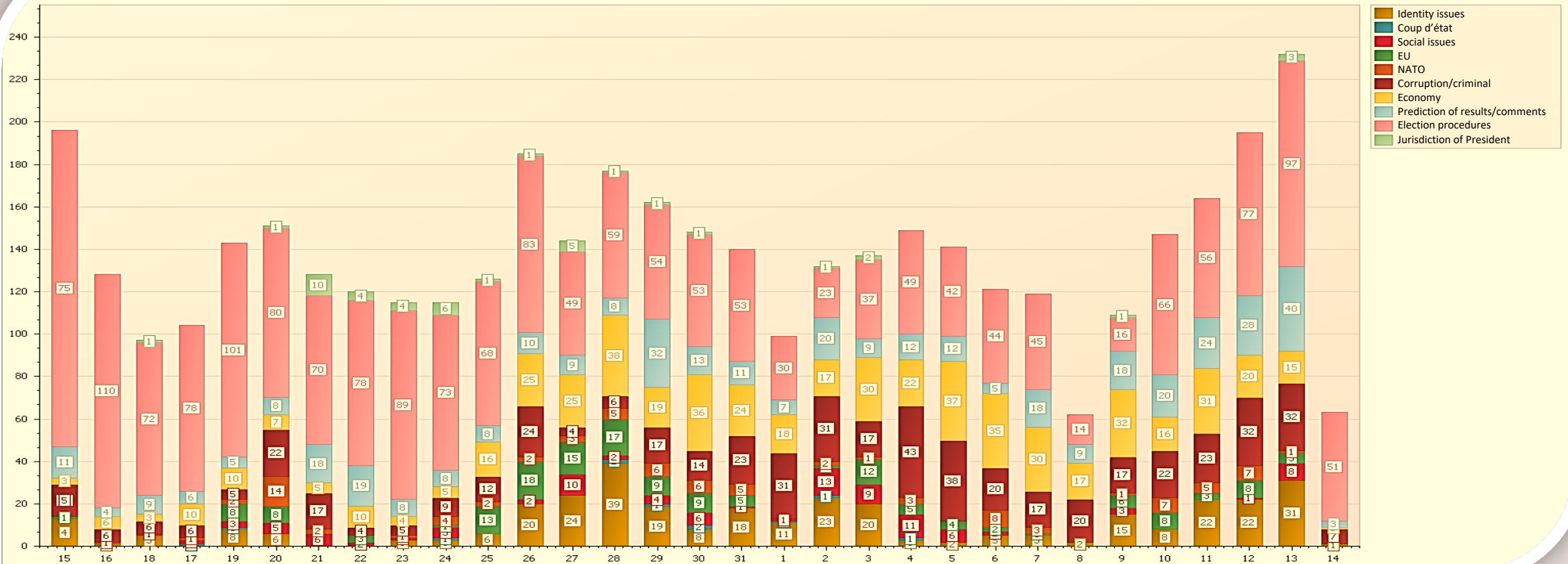




Presidential candidates 2018: key topics as per date

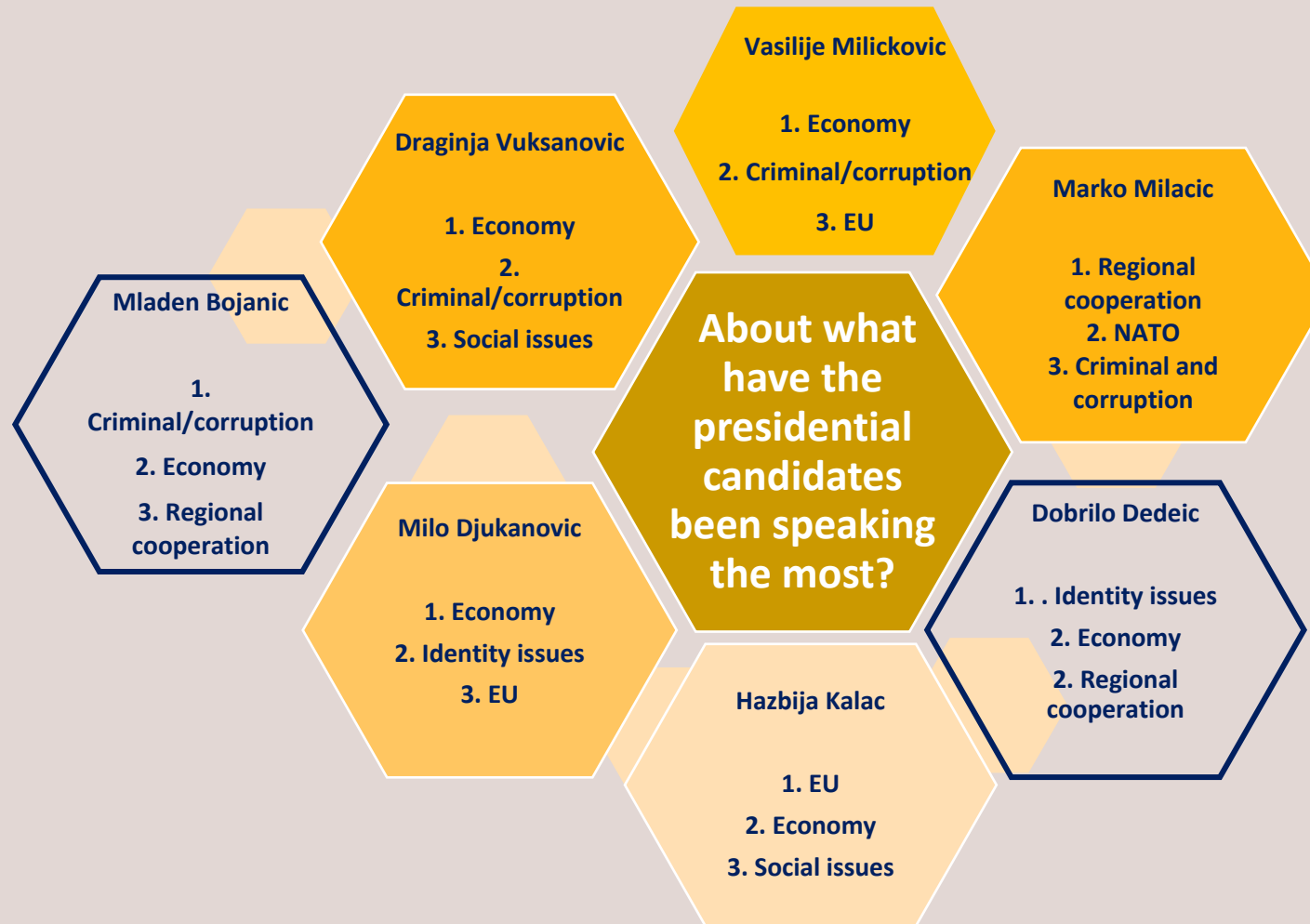
In the second part of campaign, closer to the election day, there was more discussion about corruption/criminal, as well as economic and identity issues.

15/03 – 15/04 – Number of releases
Dates – Activities





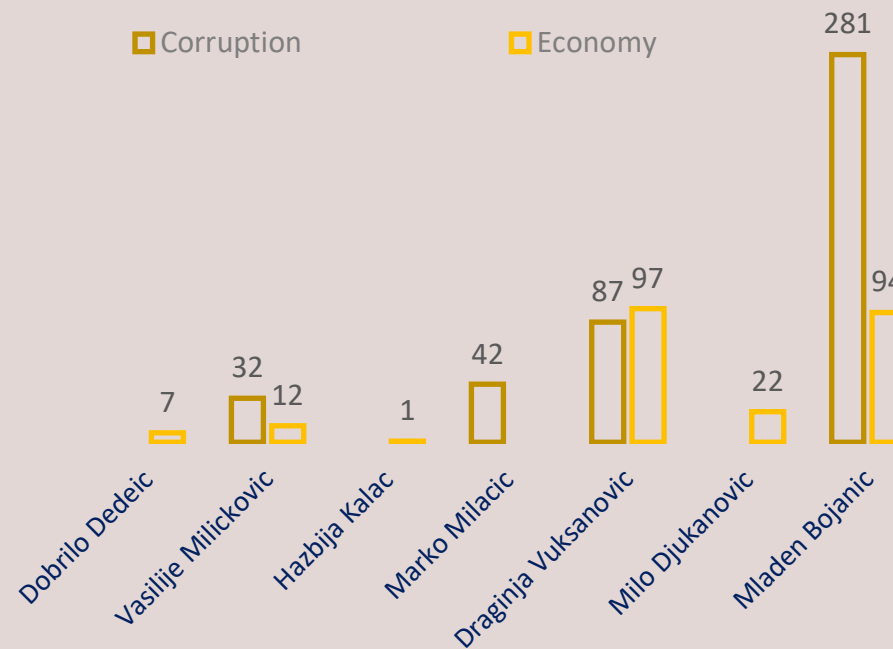
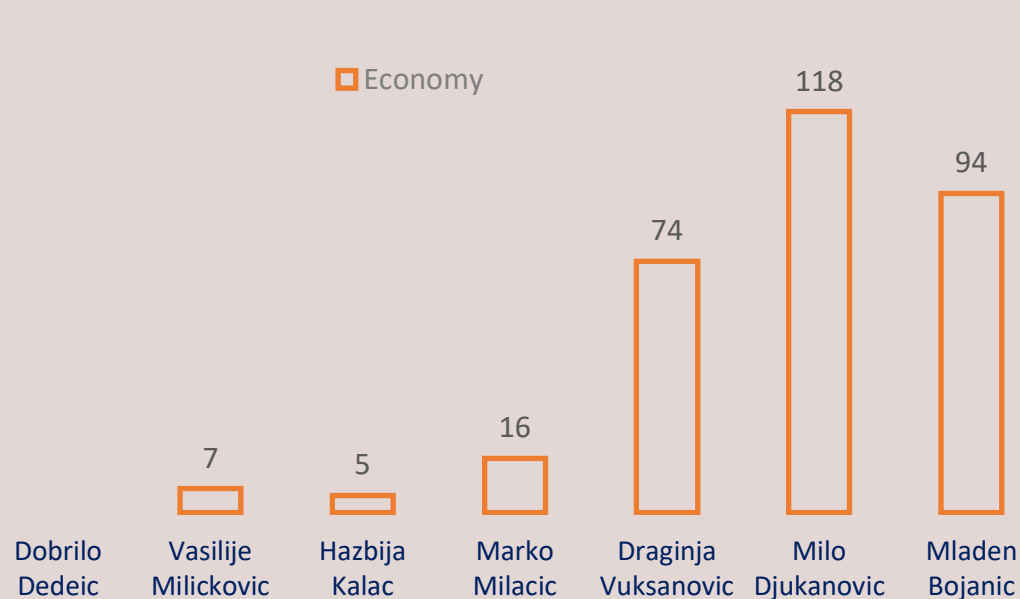
Presidential candidates 2018: key topics





Presidential candidates 2018: election programme/criticism

Presidential candidates have in their appearances focused themselves the most on improvement of economic situation. Mentioning of topics relating to the youth, social issues, poverty, healthcare, NGO was noted as well, but these topics were treated sporadically in media releases. In mutual criticism, candidates have focused themselves the most on corruption/criminal and economic issues.





Presidential candidates 2018: less present topics



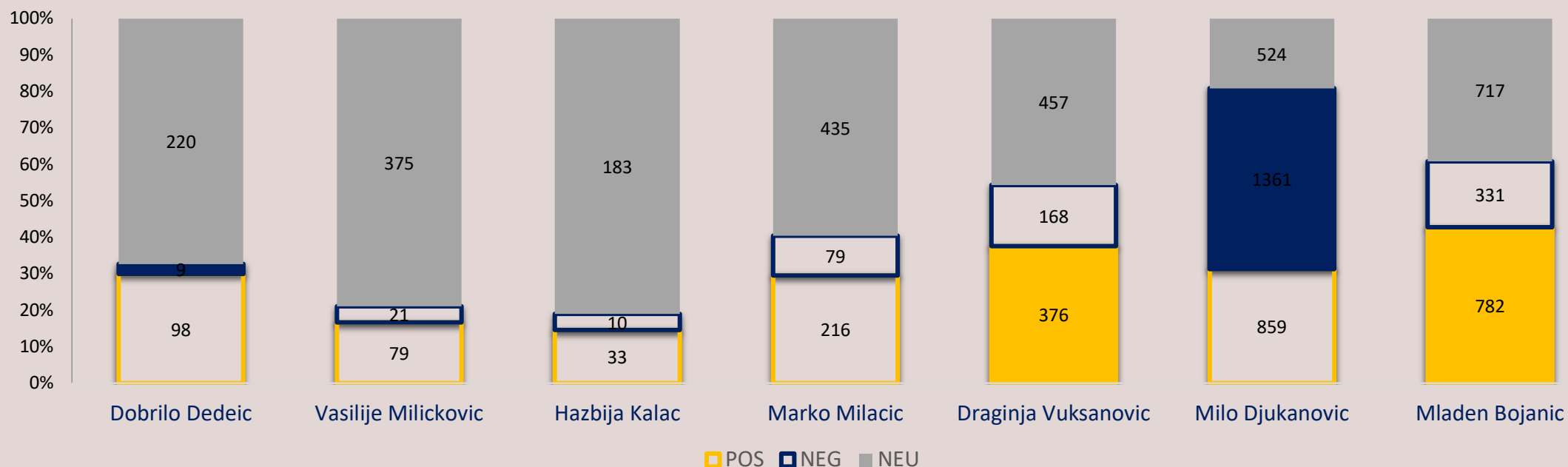
As dominant topic, jurisdiction of the President is found in merely 1% of releases

Candidates have almost not been talking about presidential jurisdiction prescribed by Article 95 of Constitution of Montenegro



Presidential candidates 2018: tone of releases

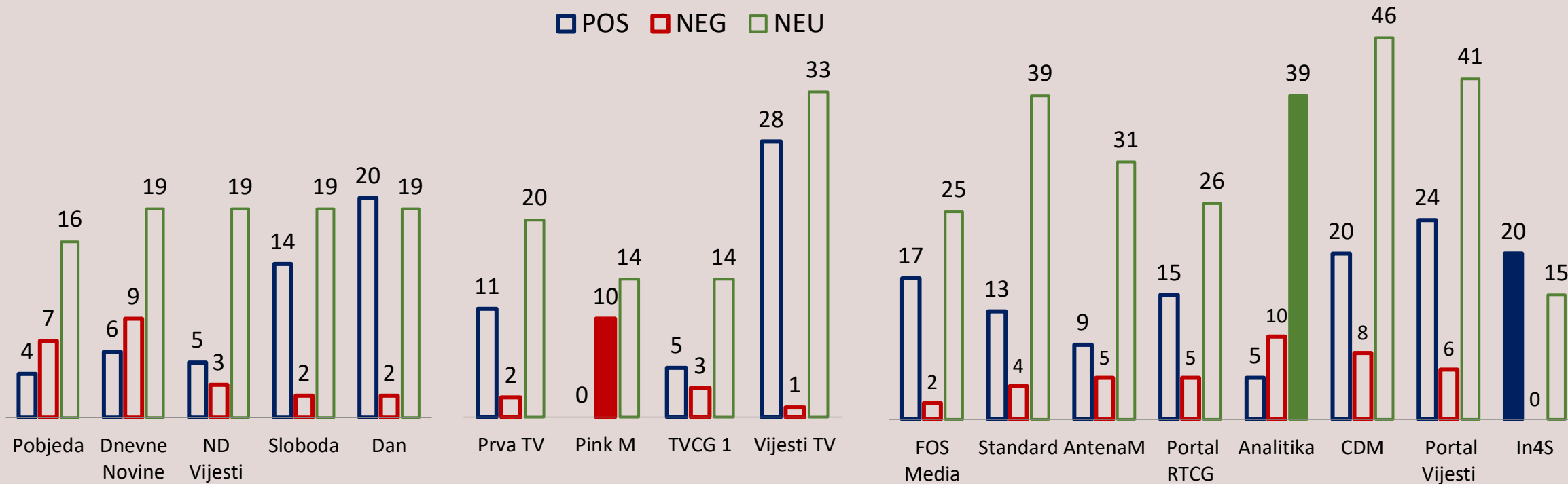
When the overall picture is analysed, the most negative media releases were about presidential candidate Milo Djukanovic i.e. 49,6% while he had 31,3% positive ones. There was 42,7% positive media mentionings of presidential candidate Mladen Bojanic and 18,08% negative ones. Neutral tone dominated with the remainder of candidates, whereby presidential candidate Draginja Vuksanovic had double more positive than negative releases.





Presidential candidates 2018: Marko Milacic

Tone of releases as per media – the largest percentage of positive in relation to overall number of releases placed in media, candidate had on portal In4S (57,14%), negative ones on TV PinkM (41,67%). By percentage, the most neutral releases candidate has on portal Analitika (72,22%).

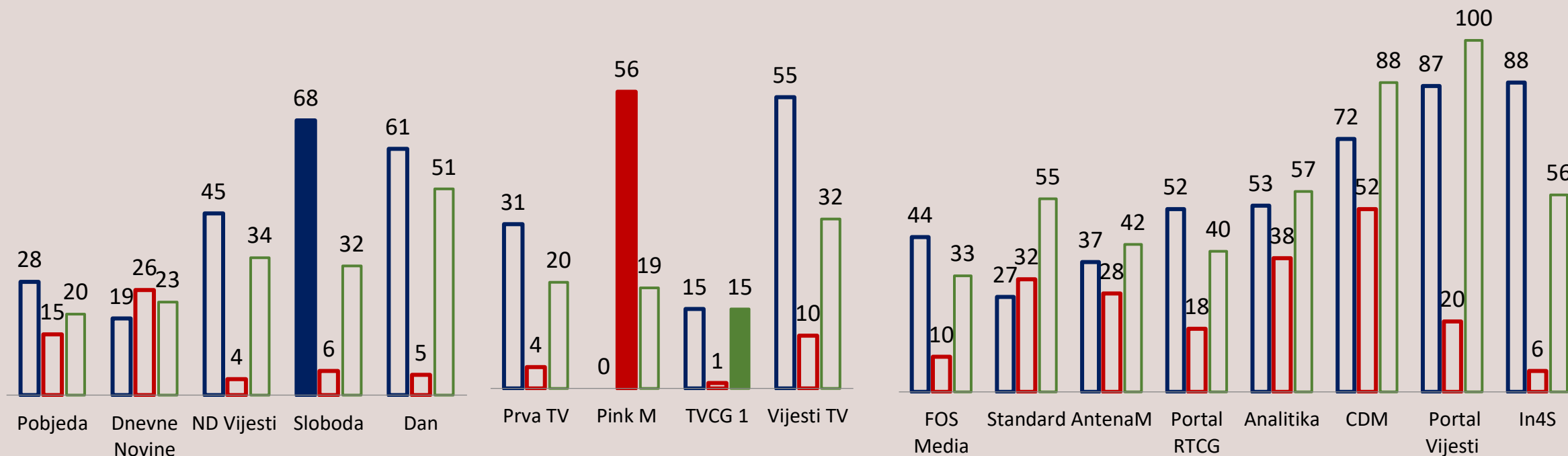




Presidential candidates 2018: Mladen Bojanic

Tone of releases as per media – the largest percentage of negative in relation to overall number of releases placed in media individually, candidate Bojanic had on TV Pink M (74,67%), and positive in daily newspaper Sloboda (64,15%), while neutral on TVCG1 (48,39%).

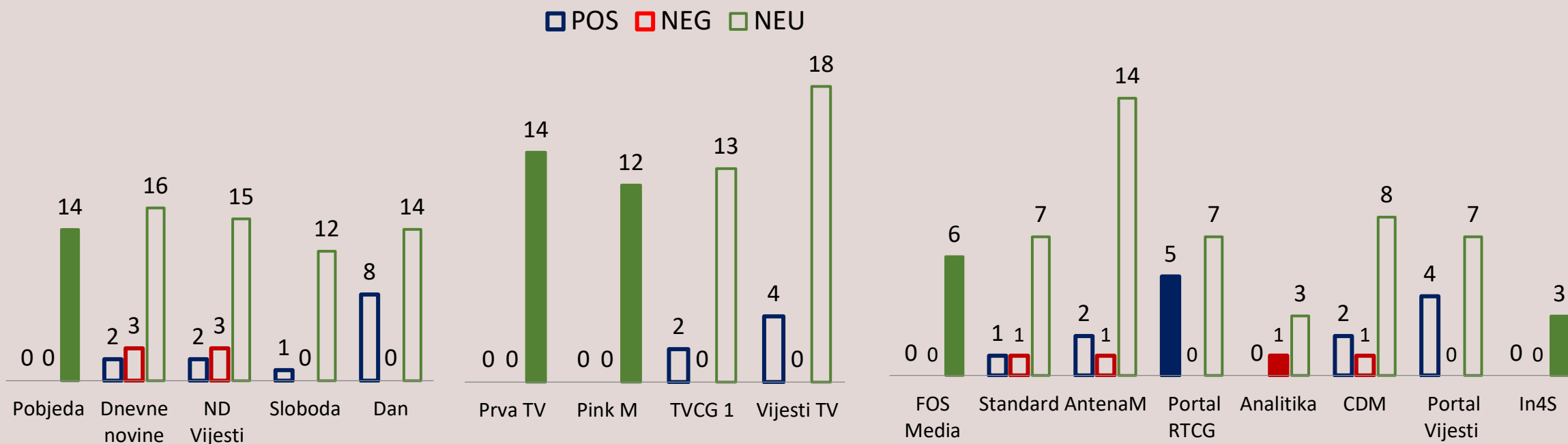
■ POS ■ NEG ■ NEU





Presidential candidates 2018: Hazbija Kalac

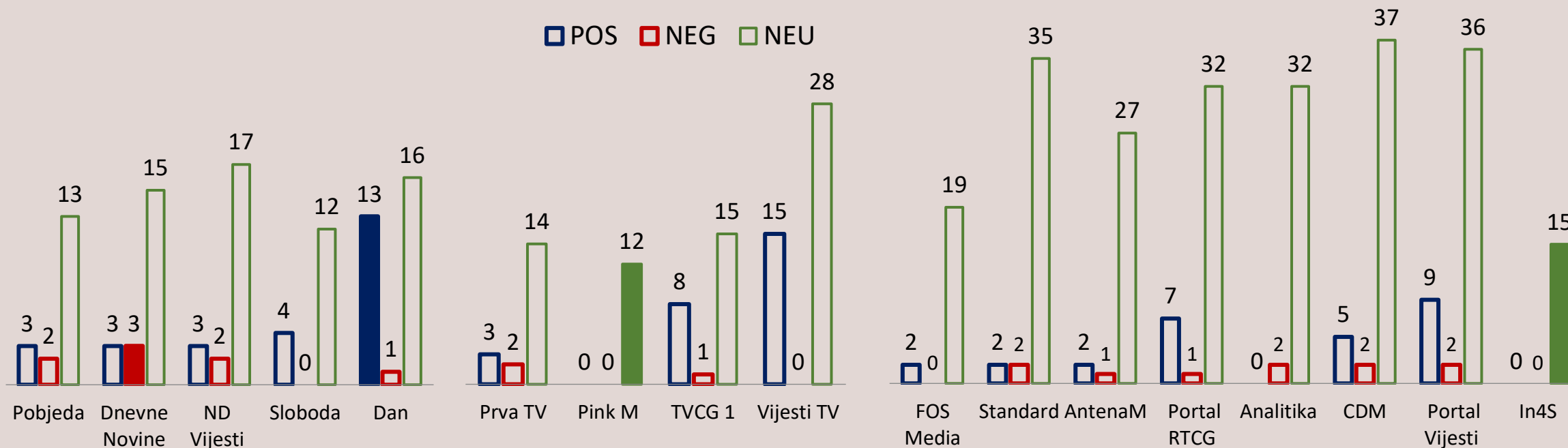
Tone of releases as per media – releases of neutral tone are predominant. The largest percentage of positive in relation to overall number of releases placed in media individually, candidate Bojanic had on portal RTCG (41,67%), and negative ones on portal Analitika (25%). Releases of only neutral tone (100%) candidate had in Pobjeda, on television Prva/PinkM and portals FOS/In4S.





Presidential candidates 2018: Vasilije Milickovic

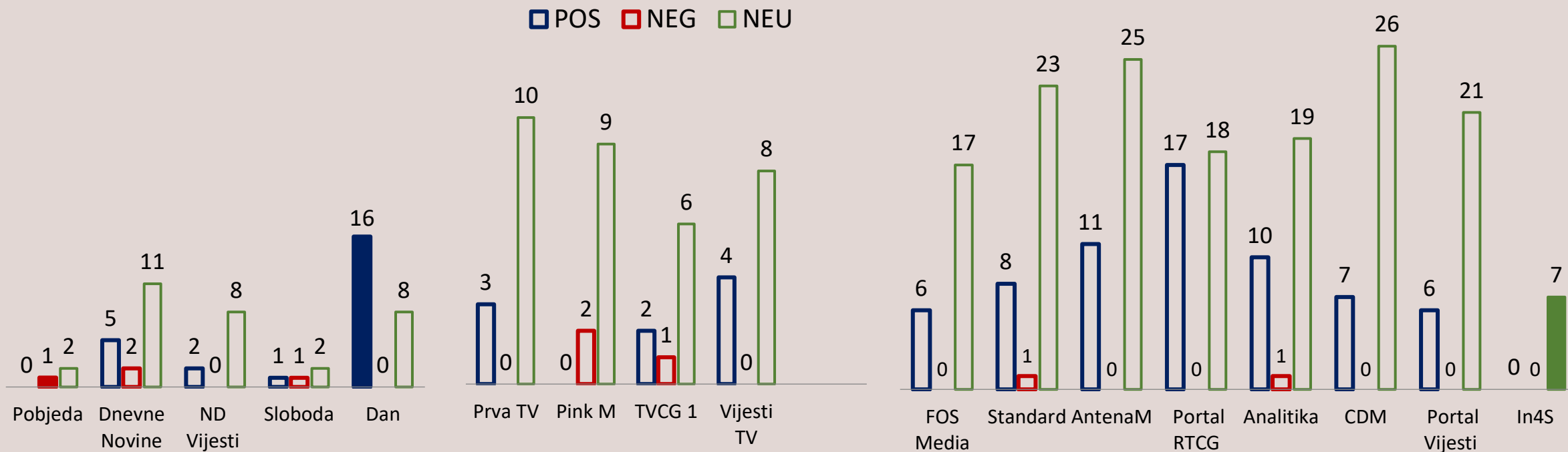
Tone of releases as per media – releases of neutral tone are predominant. The largest percentage of positive in relation to overall number of releases placed in media individually, candidate has in Dan (43,33%), and negative ones in Dnevne novine (14,29%). Candidate was the most neutral on television PinkM and In4S (100%).





Presidential candidates 2018: Dobrilo Dedeic

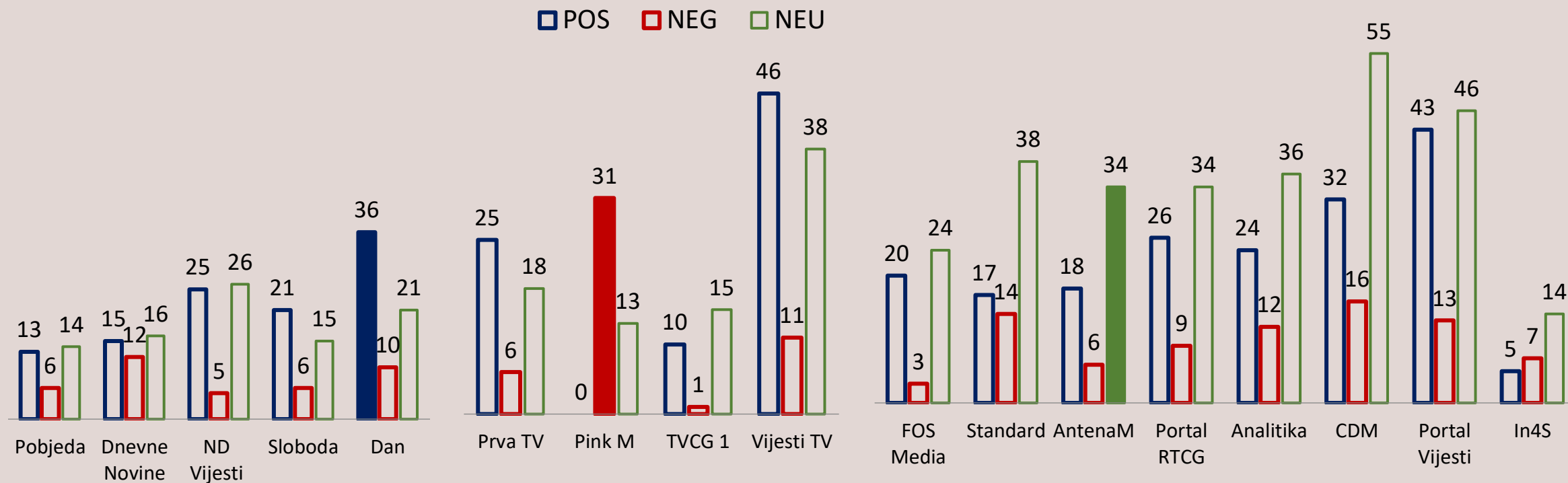
Tone of releases as per media – releases of neutral tone are predominant. The largest percentage of positive in relation to overall number of releases placed in media individually, candidate has in daily newspaper Dan (66,67%), and negative ones in Pobjeda (33,33%), and neutral ones in portal In4S (100%).





Presidential candidates 2018: Draginja Vuksanovic

The largest percentage of positive in relation to overall number of releases placed in media individually, candidate had in daily newspaper Dan (53,73%), and negative ones on TV Pink M (70,45%), while neutral ones on portal AntenaM (58,62%).

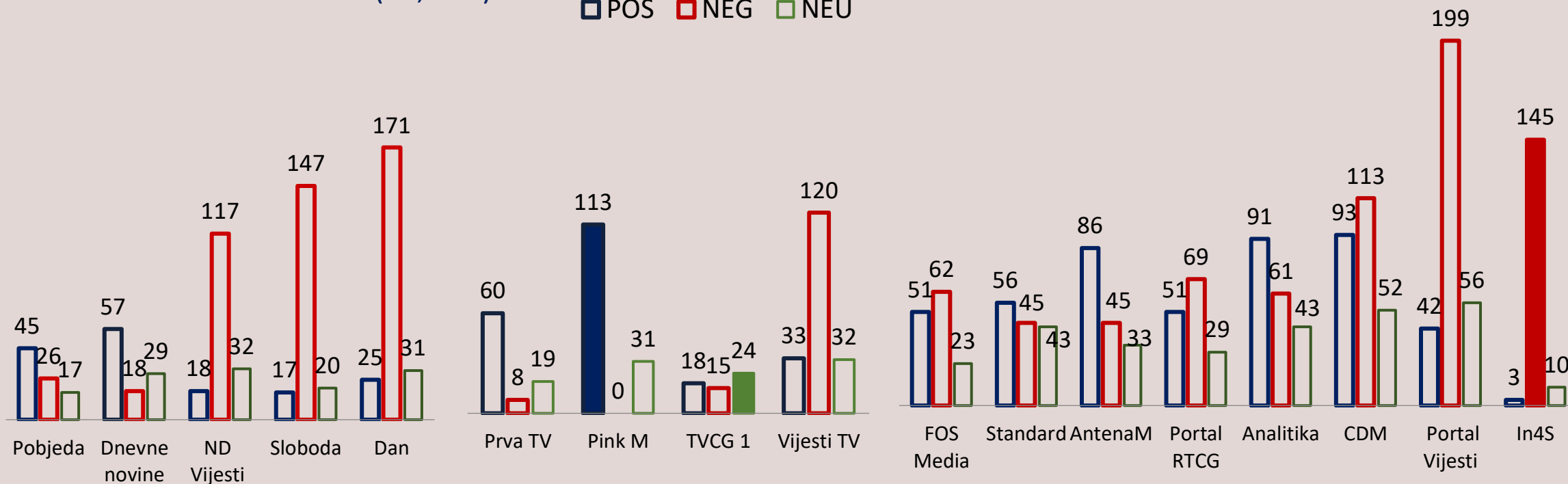




Presidential candidates 2018: Milo Djukanovic

The largest percentage of negative in relation to overall number of releases placed in media individually, candidate Djukanovic had in portal In4S (91,77%). The largest percentage of positive releases was found in TV Pink M (78,47%), and neutral ones on TVCG1 (42,11%).

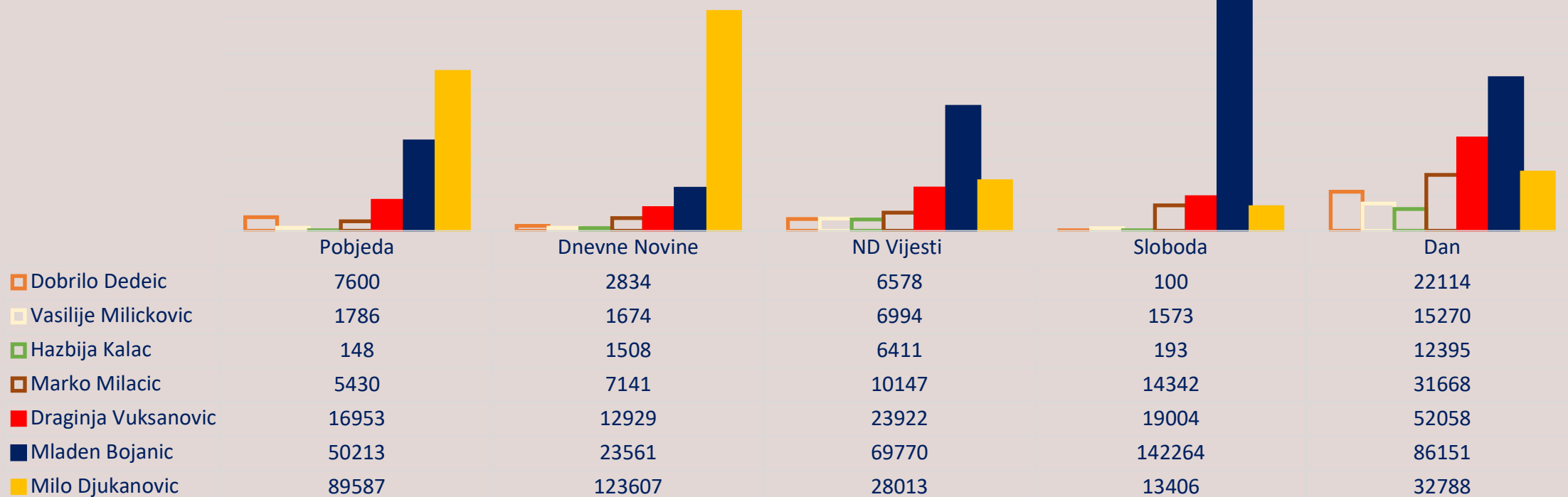
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Presidential candidates 2018: media and space

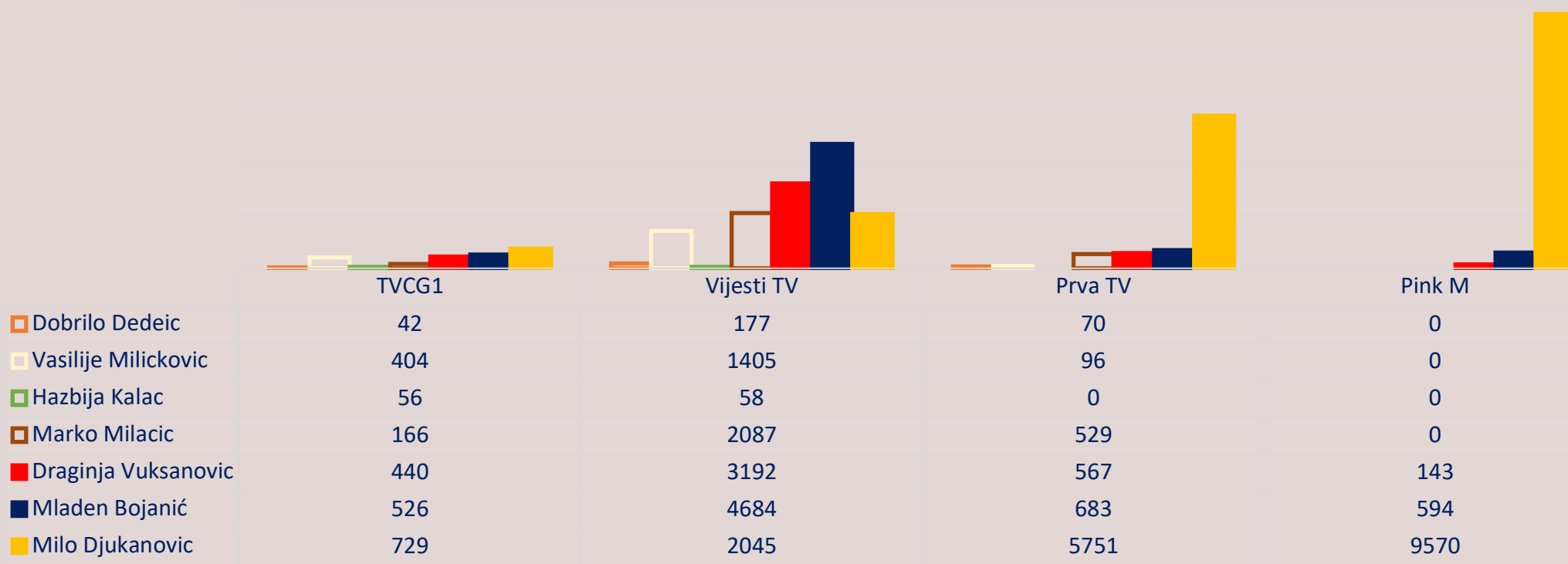
Individually, as per printed media, the largest space (mm2) **for planned appearances** has given daily newspaper *Sloboda* to candidate Mladen Bojanić, *Dnevne novine* to candidate Milo Djukanovic, while candidate Draginja Vuksanovic gained the most space in *Dan*.





Presidential candidates 2018: media and time

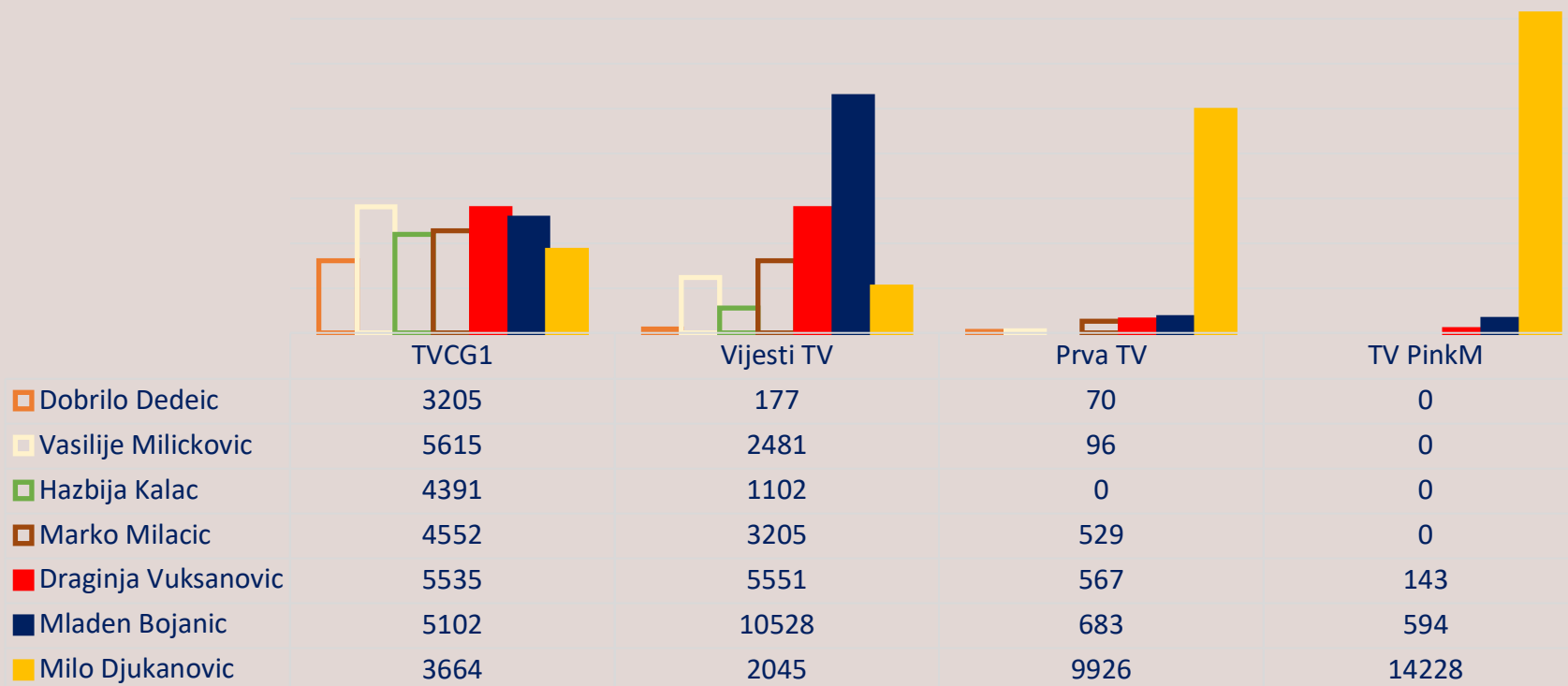
Individually, the most seconds **for planned** appearances in TV gained Milo Djukanovic on television Pink M, and Mladen Bojanić on TV Vijesti.





Presidential candidates 2018: media and time

Individually, the most seconds for **planned appearances in informative and out-informative shows** gained candidates Milo Djukanovic on TV Pink M (14228 sec) and Mladen Bojanic on TV Vijesti (10528 sec).

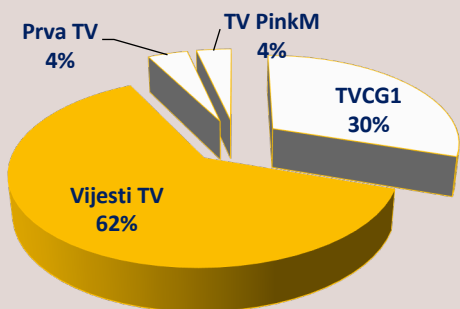




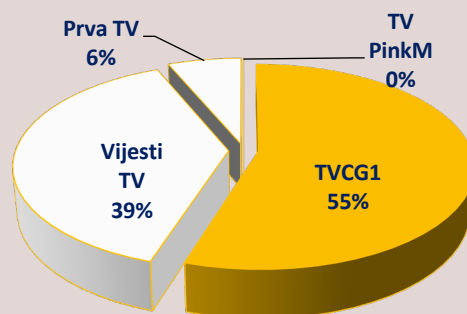
Presidential candidates 2018: media and time

The largest percentage of planned appearances (in informative and out-informative shows) candidate Mladen Bojanic had in TV Vijesti, Milo Djukanovic on TV PinkM, and Draginja Vuksanovic was equally represented on TV Vijesti and RTCG1, whereby it should be noted that Djukanovic was did not come to debate shows organized by public service RTCG and TV Vijesti.

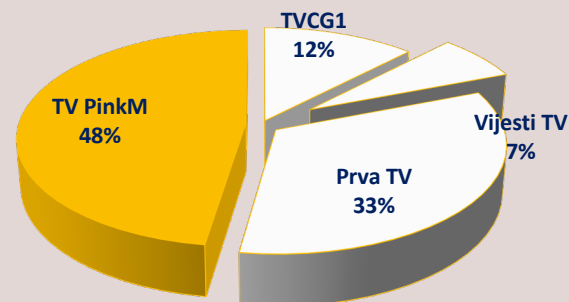
Mladen Bojanic



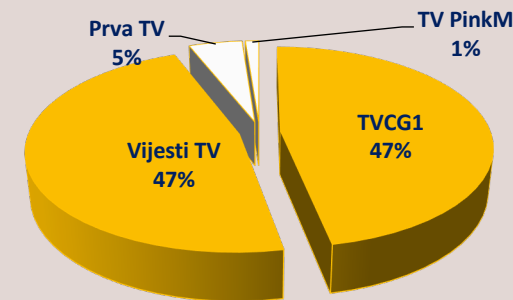
Marko Milacic



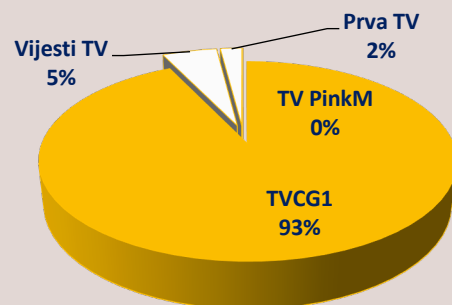
Milo Djukanovic



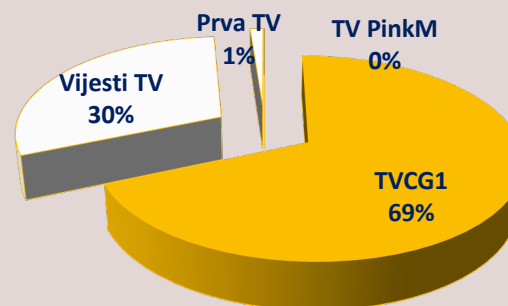
Draginja Vuksanovic



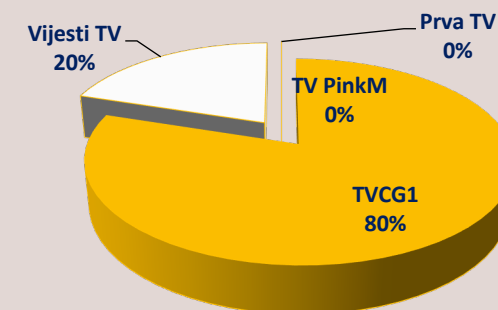
Dobriilo Dedeic



Vasilije Milickovic



Hazbija Kalac



SPINoFACT 2

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Presidential elections 2018: Prime time shows



Confrontation/Debate



TV Vijesti: **Nacisto**
Date: **15 March 2018**
Duration of show: **6374**

Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Vasilije Milickovic	1076 /6374sec
Marko Milacic	1118 /6374sec
Hazbija Kalac	1044 /6374sec
Djordjije Blazic	1117 /6374sec

TV Vijesti: **Nacisto**
Date: **12 April 2018**
Guests in the studio

	Time (in seconds)
Draginja Vuksanovic	2359/6898sec
Mladen Bojanic	2430/6898sec

RTCG : **Debate**

Date: **30 March 2018**

Duration of show: **5407s**

Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Marko Milacic	792/5407sec
Mladen Bojanic	754/5407sec
Hazbija Kalac	716/5407sec
Vasilije Milickovic	1022/5407sec
Dobriilo Dedeic	125/5407sec
Draginja Vuksanovic	1105/5407sec

RTCG : **Debate**

Date: **13 April 2018**

Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Marko Milacic	767/5034sec
Mladen Bojanic	786/5034sec
Hazbija Kalac	739/5034sec
Vasilije Milickovic	976/5034sec
Draginja Vuksanovic	989/5034sec

Presentation of
candidate



TV PinkM: **Interview**

Date: **29 March 2018**

Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Milo Djukanovic	4658/6474sec

TV Vijesti: **Nacisto**

Date: **29 March 2018**

Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Mladen Bojanic	3414/5603sec

RTCG : **Interview**

Date: **2/10 April 2018**

Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Marko Milacic	2827/3381sec
Mladen Bojanic	3036/3524sec
Hazbija Kalac	2880/3232sec
Vasilije Milickovic	3213/3423sec
Dobriilo Dedeic	3038/3229sec
Draginja Vuksanovic	3001/3266sec
Milo Djukanovic	2935/3349sec

Prva TV: **Ziva istina**

Date: **11 April, 2018**

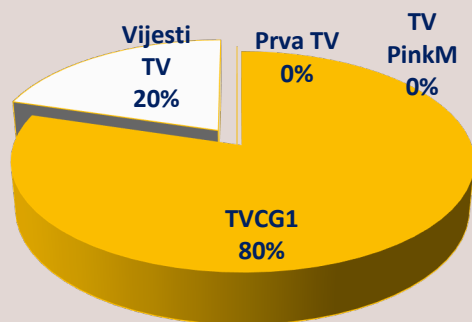
Guests in the studio	Time (in seconds)
Milo Djukanovic	4175/7245sec



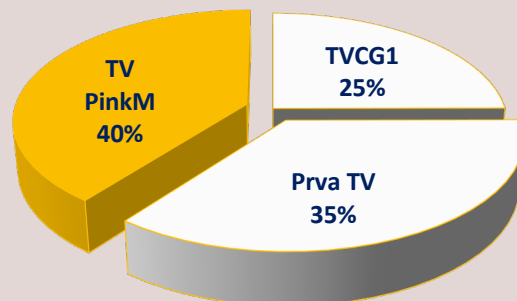
Presidential candidates 2018: media and time in prime time

All presidential candidates used the possibility of representing **in out-informative shows** on Public Service. Except candidate Milo Djukanovic, the other candidates did not have planned appearances in out-informative shows on televisions PinkM and TV Prva. Candidate Djukanovic, unlike other candidates had no planned appearances in out-informative shows in TV Vijesti.

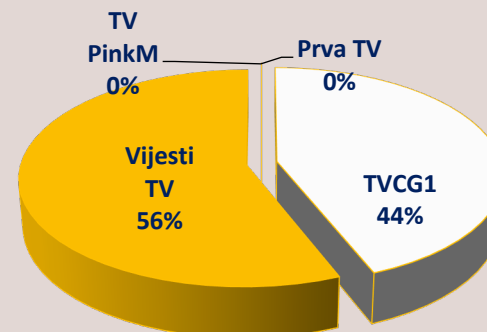
Marko Milacic



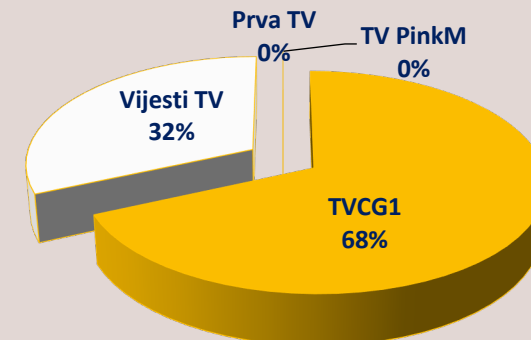
Milo Djukanovic



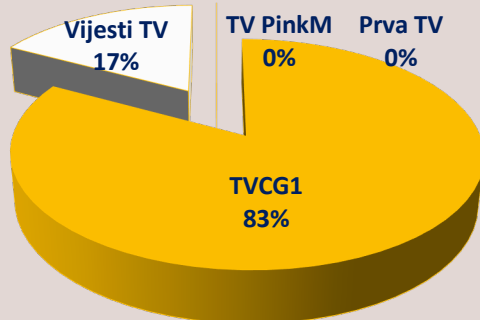
Mladen Bojanic



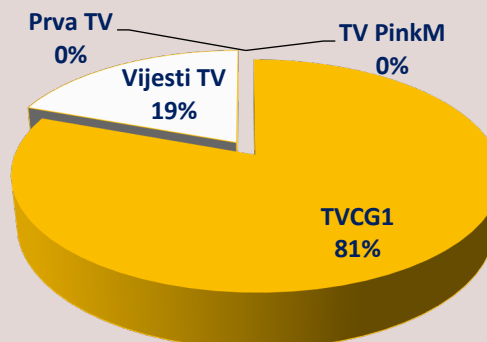
Draginja Vuksanovic



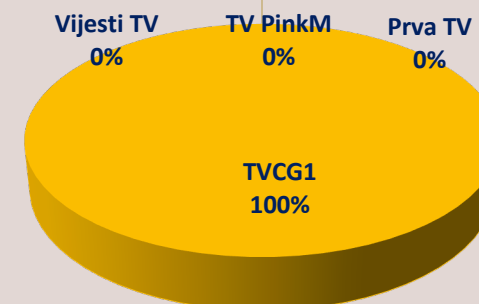
Vasilije Milickovic



Hazbija Kalac



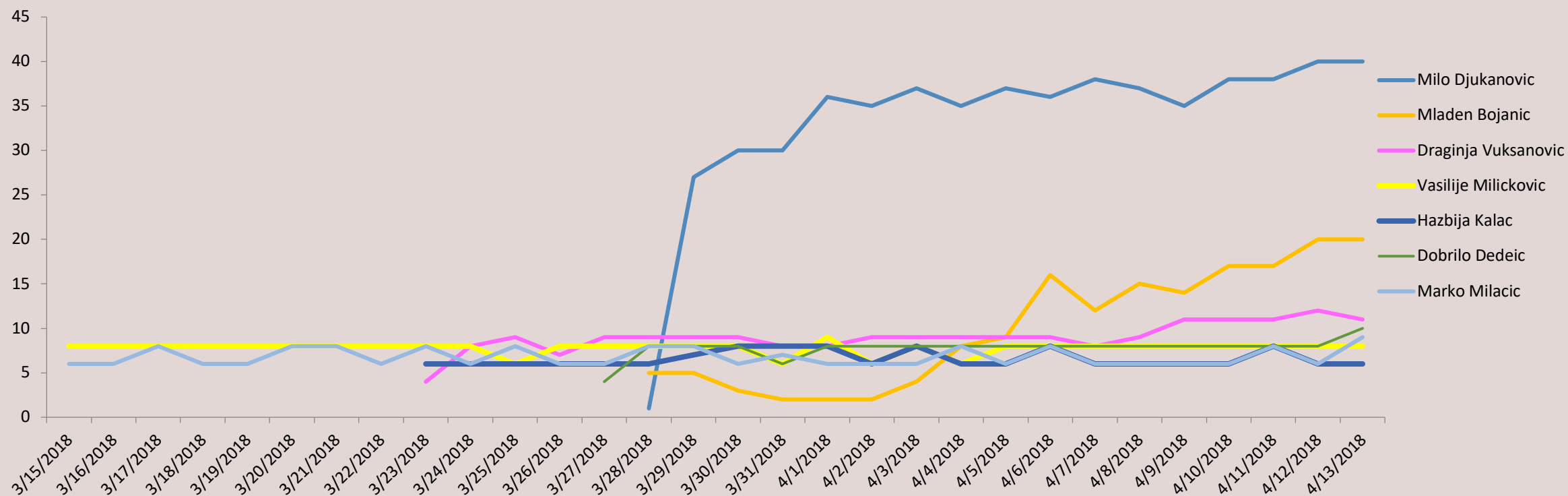
Dobrolo Dedeic





Presidential elections 2018: Political marketing

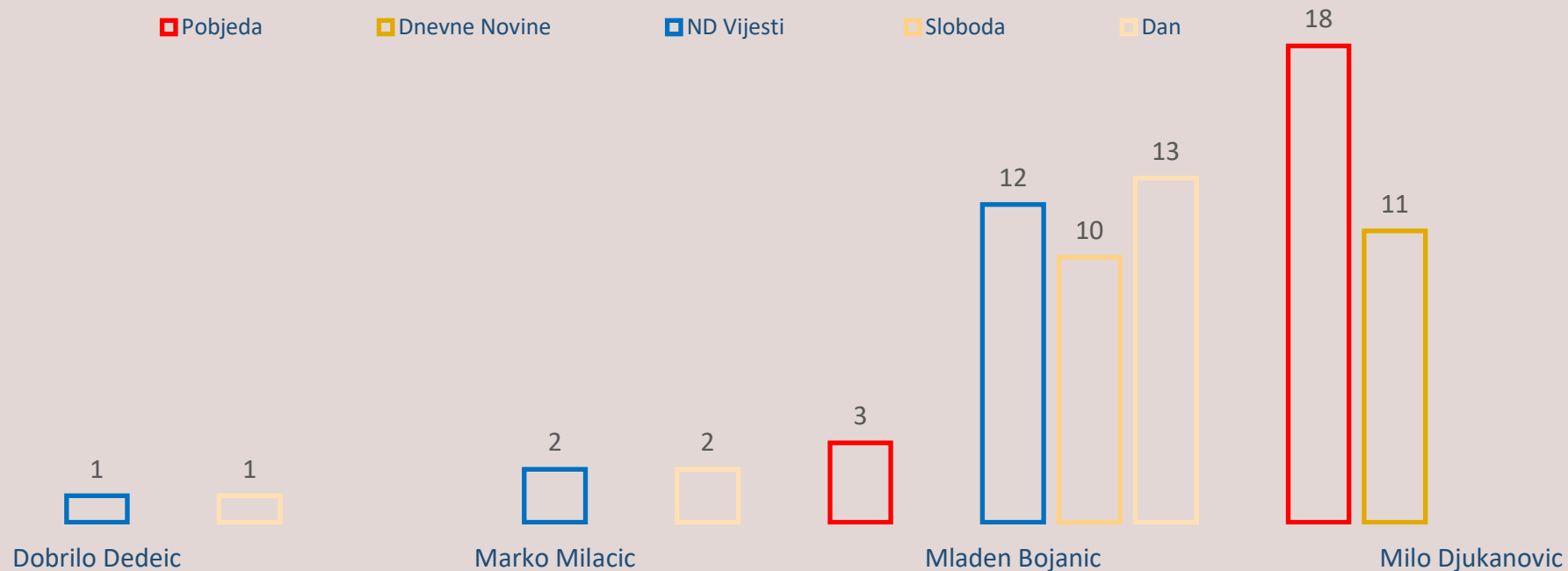
Vasilije Milickovic and Marko Milacic have started advertising first and had no significant oscillations during the observed period. Presidential candidate Milo Djukanovic started advertising only on 28 March, but he stood out significantly by number of advertising clips/reports until the very end of campaign





Presidential elections 2018: Political marketing in printed media

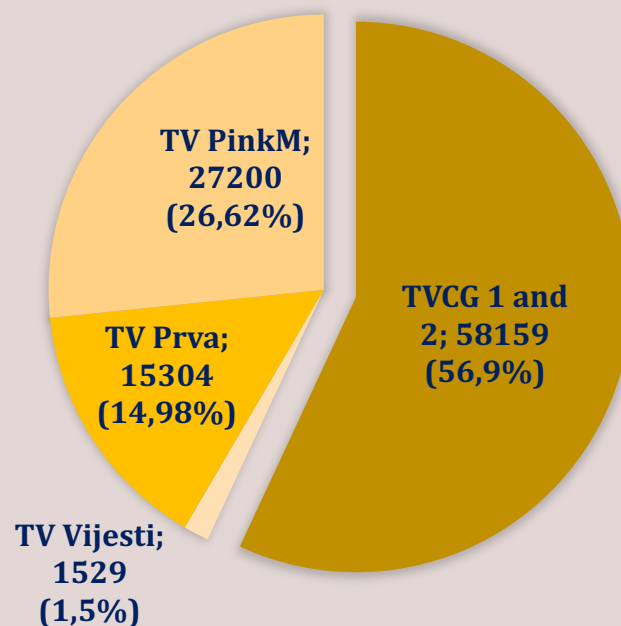
Presidential candidate Mladen Bojanic had the most advertisements in daily newspapers Dan, Vijesti and Sloboda, while presidential candidate Milo Djukanovic represented himself in Pobjeda and Dnevne novine. Draginja Vuksanovic, Hazbija Kalac and Vasilije Milickovic did not advertise in printed media.





Presidential elections 2018: Political marketing on TV

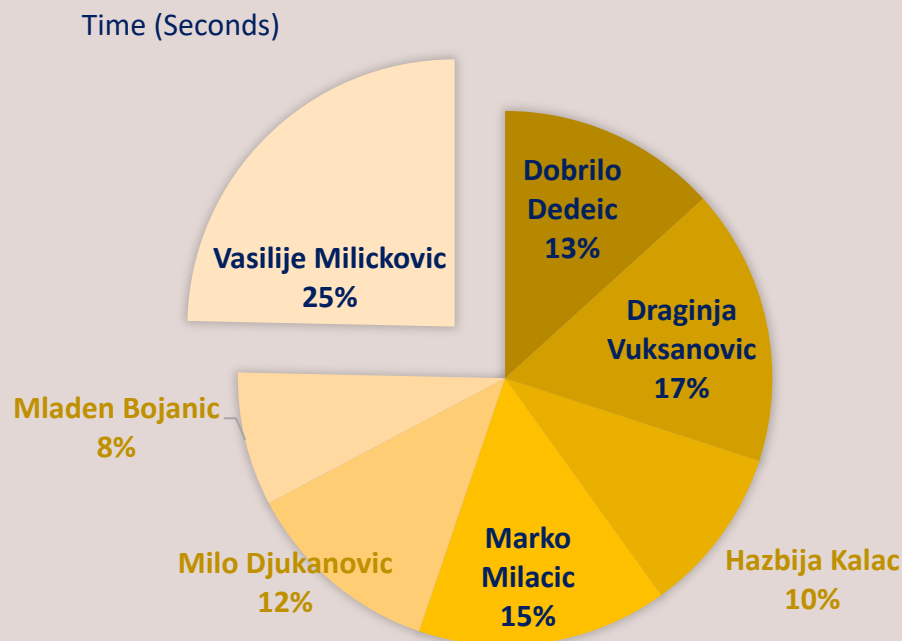
RADIO TELEVISION OF MONTENEGRO AND THREE COMMERCIAL TELEVISIONS: For 30 observed pre-election days, citizens could see **28.38h** of presentations of presidential candidates, via political-propaganda TV clips, as well as reports/broadcasts from promotional rallies. Presidential candidates have used their right to free presentation on TVCG, whereon even almost 57% clips/reports has been broadcasted (i.e. 58 159 seconds).





Presidential elections 2018: Political marketing

RADIO TELEVISION OF MONTENEGRO: Of total of 16,15 hours provided free for political marketing (TVCG1 and TVCG2), Vasilije Milickovic used the most, even quarter of total seconds, and Mladen Bojanic the least. Political-propaganda TV clips and reports from promotional rallies are included in this time.





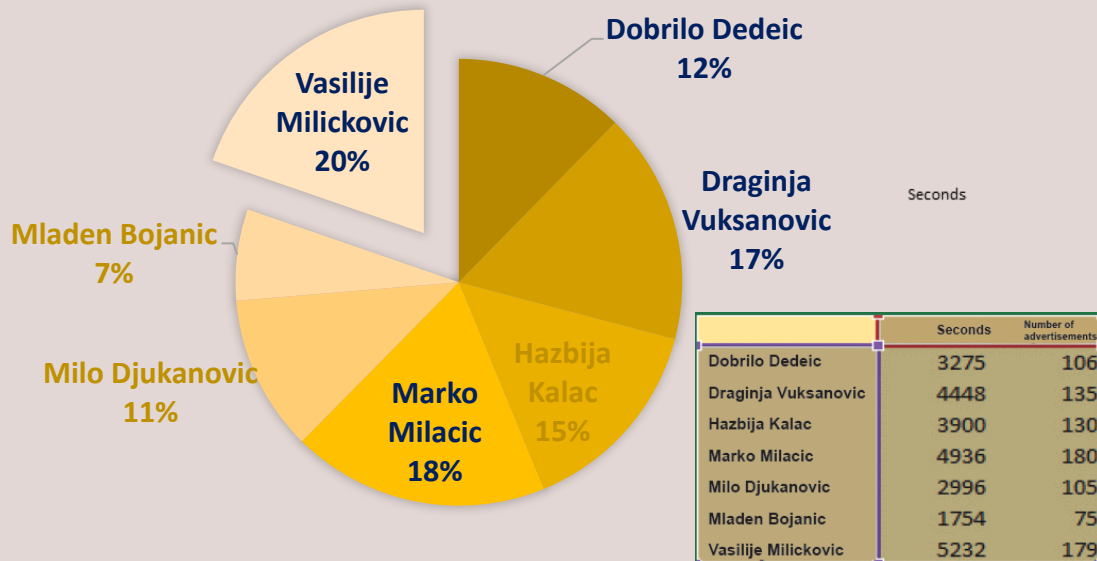
Presidential elections 2018: Political marketing

'Article 53a

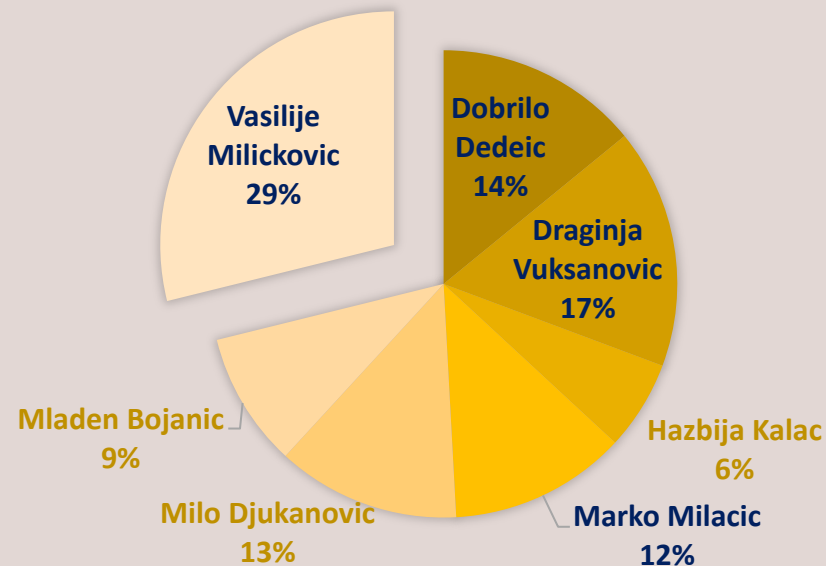
During the election campaign, Television of Montenegro and Radio of Montenegro shall ensure to validated candidate list submitting entities free of charge broadcasting time in an equal and daily manner, within the appropriate commercial marketing blocks on the TV channel or radio channel whose audibility and visibility are ensured in the entire territory of Montenegro, for:

- political advertising TV and audio video clips in all political marketing blocks, to the extent not less than 200 seconds per day, depending on the planned number of political marketing advertising blocks;
- 3 minute reports from promotional rallies twice a day, in timeslots following the central evening news on TV and radio channels.
- **Production of contents referred to in para.1 indent 1 of this Article shall be an obligation of the candidate list submitting entity which is being promoted.'**

Political-propaganda clips TVCG 1 and 2
Number and duration (sec)



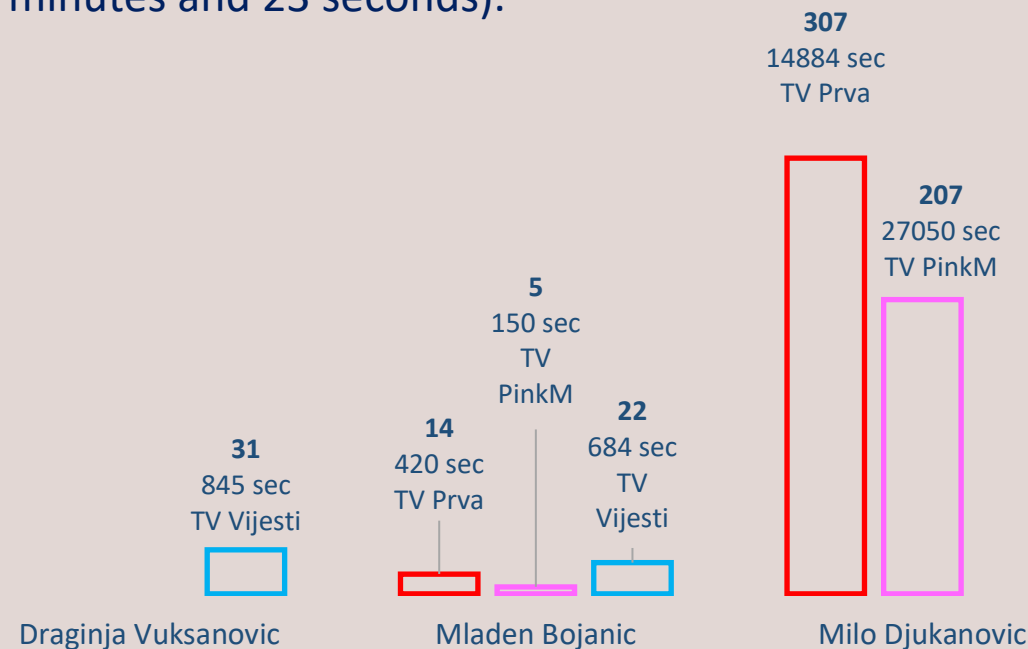
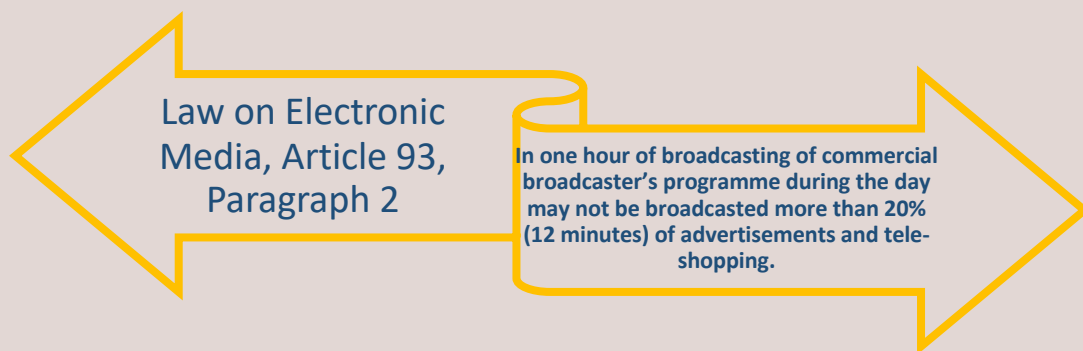
Reports from promotional rallies TVCG1
Number and duration (sec)





Presidential elections 2018: Political marketing

Presidential candidate Mladen Bojanic advertised himself on TV Vijesti, TV Prva, TV PinkM in the total duration of 1254 seconds (20 minutes and 9 seconds), while Milo Djukanovic bought **even as much as 33 times more** seconds on TV PinkM and TV Prva, i.e. 41894 seconds (698 minutes and 23 seconds).





Presidential candidates 2018: election silence

According to Article 6 of the Law on Election of Councillors and Members of Parliament propaganda via media and public gatherings shall cease 24 hours prior to the election day.

In the period of election silence it is not permitted broadcasting of:

- Political-propaganda videos/clips
- Advertisements of election lists' submitters
- Programme content dedicated to representation or confrontation of election lists' submitters
- Publishing results of public opinion researches, other researches and analysis in relation to affiliation of voters in regards to election results assessment

Printed
media

- 14 April 2018, *ND Vijesti*, **Fascist**
- 14 April 2018, *Sloboda*, **They come to vote so it would not be better**
- 14 April 2018, *Sloboda*, **Millions of Euros in the safe of DPS**
- 14/15 April 2018, weekend edition of *Dnevne novine*, **New referendum**, headline **and** graphic design of the front page
- 15 April 2018, *Sloboda*, **Already seen or beginning of changes**

Violation of election silence?

Internet

- 14 April 2018, *Portal Vijesti*, **Fascist**
- 15 April 2018, *IN4S*, **Milacic: Do not allow others to decide in Your name**
- *Portal IN4S* has also published statements coming from opposition headquarters, relating to irregularities in polling places and the alleged buying of votes

During election silence media placed **165 releases** of which **126** about election procedures. **24** releases were found in television content, **40** in printed media, and **101** releases on portals.



Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education

SPINoFACT 2

political advertising

between spin and facts



Centar za građansko obrazovanje (CGO)
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