

Monitoring of the 2022 local elections in Montenegro from the gender perspective



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Gender equality in political life is one of the mechanisms for achieving general gender equality. Current practice in the world, including Montenegro, testifies to the fact that there is still a significant difference between men and women when it comes to participation in political life. Montenegro has never had a female president of the state or Government, and the number of women who have been at the head of some of the 25 municipalities is extremely small. Lower representation of women in political life, starting from candidate lists to different levels of political decision-making, remains a feature of electoral processes in Montenegro.

Nevertheless, small progress is recorded at the local level¹, which can largely be attributed to the provision of the Law on the Election of Councillors and Members of Parliament, which prescribes at least 30% of candidates from the underrepresented sex, while among each four candidates in the candidate list order there shall be at least one candidate who is a member of the underrepresented sex, and if the term of a female councillor or MP terminates, the successive candidate on the candidate list shall not be elected unless s/he is from among the underrepresented sex, which narrows the scope for potential abuses. This affirmative measure gives certain results, although the findings indicate that it is not implemented consistently, which is also stated in the relevant international reports concerning elections before the fall of 2022².

In October 2022, elections were held in 14 municipalities - in Bijelo Polje, Bar, Budva, Danilovgrad, Žabljak, Zeta, Kolašin, Pljevlja, Plav, Plužine, Podgorica, Rožaje, Tivat and Šavnik. For the purposes of this study, 100 lists in those 14 municipalities were analyzed. Irregularities were noted in seven municipalities (Rožaje, Plužine, Kolašin, Bar, Žabljak, Plav and Danilovgrad), that is, in 21 lists³, which is more than a fifth of the lists that were confirmed by the Municipal Election Commission (MEC) against the law, enabling them to continue their participation in the electoral race.”

In these elections, 3,320 candidates of both sexes participated, of which 1,138 were women, or 34.27% of the total number. When this is compared with the figures of the previous local elections in these municipalities⁴, where according to the available lists were a total of 2921 candidates of both sexes, with the number of women being 995 or 34.06%, the progress is measured in nuances.

¹ From 11% in 2008 to 30% in 2019, while in the last two election cycles, the largest increase in female participation was recorded in the Municipal Assemblies in Montenegro, Kvinna Kvinna, Women's Rights in Western Balkans, 2020. https://kvinnatillkvinna.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/The-KvinnatillKvinna-Foundation-report-WRWB_2020.pdf

² The EC 2022 Report on Montenegro from October 2022 notes that in the last local elections in Berane, two lists that did not meet the minimum quota of 30% of women were accepted and confirmed as complete by the MEC

³ Initially, irregularities were noted on 22 lists, and after receiving comments and checks, with the aim of eliminating potential shortcomings, they were also found on a total of 21 lists. Namely, previously there was an error due to the specificity of the name of one of the female candidates and a typographical error in the “Bosniak Party - Correct for Bijelo Polje” list (a female name was incorrectly considered male)

⁴ Note: the candidate list for Kolašin from 2018 is not available

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Also, by comparing earlier candidate lists at the local level with those from 2022, it is noted that there is a significant fluctuation of women, i.e., that parties at the local level do not tend to repeat their female candidates on the candidate lists, with rare exceptions.

In the local elections held in the autumn of 2022, the previously established and never sanctioned practice of violating the precise legal provision regarding the fulfilment of the minimum quota was continued. It remains to be seen whether other abuses of prescribed quotas will continue, for example, through replacing female candidates with their male counterparts in the post-election process.

It is important to emphasize that the parties are not the only bearers of responsibility for violating the law in this regard; the primary responsibility lies with the Municipal Election Commission (MEC), which illegally validated such lists, and this goes unpunished. This was timely pointed out by civil society organizations, as well as some members of the State Election Commission (SEC), which does not have the legal authority to annul those lists, highlighting the inadequacy of legal solutions in this segment and the urgent need for their improvement.

Therefore, the use of certain legal loopholes or deliberate violation of the law begins in political parties, whose women's clubs or forums are insufficiently influential, but continues with institutional support through the MEC, while SEC remains powerless to intervene. This nullifies the point of this legal provision, thus limiting its impact.

Monitoring of media content, with an additional assessment of visualization and marketing pre-election messages, indicates that the overall narrative during the pre-election campaigns was dominated by the male voice (80%), that is, the views that came from men (whether they were political participants in the pre-election campaign or other entities commenting on the elections and thereby influencing the overall narrative (representatives of state institutions, non-governmental organizations, individuals, analysts, etc)).

The findings indicate that women are targeted as a vulnerable category in a low percentage of announcements, i.e. indexes, while gender equality issues remained almost invisible in the overall narrative, although present and correctly addressed. Gender equality was not recognized as a topic that could influence the electoral will of citizens by political parties in the three focal municipalities – Podgorica, Pljevlja, and Budva. There were only 71 media announcements in which gender-sensitive topics appear as (primary) dominant. This means that the overall share of gender-sensitive topics (primarily present) in the general narrative is only 2.98% (2385 media indexes). Additionally, gender issues were almost exclusively addressed by women, and positive sentiments were made by female, not male actors (affirmative action even in such a low-present theme of “gender equality” was given by women).

It is positive that there is no direct misogyny in official announcements recorded in traditional media (TV, print media and web portals), and there is a relatively low number of announcements in which stereotypical treatment of women is recorded (only 0.92%). The use of gender-sensitive language remains at an unsatisfactory level, and the responsibility for this lies not only with the media, but also with the participants of the election race who did not utilize it.

When it comes to cases of violation of the Law and the issue of quotas, 26 media announcements are considered as positive, these primarily focused on pointing out violations of the Law on the Election of Councilors and



Members of Parliament rather than the broader narrative on gender equality.

As an interesting yet informative note, it is worth mentioning that not a single announcement that dealt with the issue of gender from the perspective of sexual and reproductive rights was recorded. This issue was pointed out as a specific research task due the growing importance of this topic at the global level (abortion bans).

Unlike other content, an essential fact highlighted by the analysis is that during the local elections was an effort not to portray women in sexualized and stereotypical roles. This should be emphasized and supported in order to spread to all other participants in the public space.

On one hand, political marketing is a reflection of reality, and it's expected that smaller number of women appear in the media and public space during the campaign before the elections if a smaller number of women are in important positions, such as party leaders or list leaders during those elections. In this regard, a vicious circle is created - a small number of women in real politics leads to the fact that, fewer women are seen in the public, and consequently the smaller number of women seen in the political public space conditions the expectations of politicians, candidates and voters in the real political space. Consequently, a large number of political ads, whether in the form of billboards or political video clips, show both male and female figures, but there are no women in 56% of billboards and 29% of video clips. When looking at other criteria, such as the one related to what role the portrayed male or female actors have in the specific content, the differences become much more pronounced. Namely, women are still much less presented as active political actors than men. For example, although 45.1% of the figures on the billboards were female, only 20% of those figures were women who are list leaders i.e. the main protagonist of the image. In other cases, women are mostly in the background. Although women are present in 70% of political video clips, they say something in only 45.5% of them.

The analysed material suggests that women generally do not only talk about topics that are stereotypically considered feminine, they act confidently and competently, which can be attributed to the growing number of active women in positions with decision-making potential in politics.

Also, women, as creators of a (meta) content, were slightly more present on social media than in traditional media, although the content that was the subject of analysis mostly coincided with that appearing in traditional media, with a predominance of male voices. Namely, the parties gave more space to their candidates on social media - through announcements, short content, photos and similar formats, promoting them in this way.

Issues of importance for achieving gender equality were not the focus of narratives on social media, and women did not use this space to communicate to and about women. Instead, they addressed local issues and problems, and led the general campaign of the party they were competing for or were advertised by the parties, which involved sharing their biographies and referring to their work, presenting them as professional, capable, dedicated, etc.

The majority of the received content related to comments directed at female candidates and list leaders, and it can be stated that when women are candidates for political positions, they are almost always criticized on a personal level rather than based on their achievements. In other words, social media record extensive dealing with the personal lives of female candidates (romantic partners, family status), comments about physical appearance, etc.

Also, part of the monitoring included the analysis of party financing and their advertising on social media, for which

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CCE used the Meta Ad Library Report. The analysis examined the extent to which and how political parties and their actors addressed women, how much of the total allocated funds were directed towards advertising women, i.e. how many women were the target group of paid advertisements and how much of that content reached them. The parties that competed in Podgorica had 15 pages, out of which nine allocated certain funds to sponsored content.

The analysis showed that women were definitely not the focus of the campaign on social media, even when it comes to sponsored content. This means that the parties mostly marginalized or even ignored this category, except for two pages: - Jelena Borovinić Bojović, Aleksa Bečić - Democrats and Movement Europe now! - which showed some efforts to reach out to women as the electorate, with the note that first one did it incomparably more than the other two, but still insufficiently strong and inadequate, lacking gender-sensitive language and demonstrating a certain misunderstanding of the potential contribution of women in society.

Finally, it is worth noting that the generally underdeveloped awareness of the importance of political participation is not supportive for more effective involvement of women in politics in Montenegro. Findings of a recently conducted research by CCE and the Damar⁵, agency further corroborate this, indicating that the public is divided when it comes to the attitude towards this issue. In response to the direct question of whether women were represented equally or at the minimum legal percentage of 30% on the candidate lists in 14 municipalities where elections were held, more than a third (36.7%) claimed that they were, and less than a third (31.6%) that they were not, and there is a similar number of those who cannot decide on this issue (31.7%). As expected, men predominantly have the perception that the current political representation of women is satisfactory, and this perception is also common among those with lower levels of education. Also, there is a similar perception when it comes to the representation of women in the campaign for local elections during October 2022 – two-fifths of respondents (38%) are of the opinion that women were equally or sufficiently represented in the campaign. On the other hand, there is slightly less than a third of those who do not share that opinion (32%), while 30% of them cannot appraise that representation. In this case as well, gender and education significantly influence the perception of this issue, with men and those with lower levels of education more likely to believe that women were equally represented.

Representatives of institutions, political parties, civil society and all stakeholders participating in shaping public discourse should pay special attention to the messages they send to citizens and the narrative they create. Namely, due to the potential for influence they possess on various grounds, messages originating from them have a significant meaning. Therefore, it is important for them to refrain from rhetoric that can be the basis for unequal gender treatment. Also, all stakeholders should recognize and emphasize more often in their public appearances the importance of full inclusion and equality of women and men in order to democratize society.

Recommendations for decision-makers at all levels (from institutions, political parties):

- as part of the package of electoral reforms, it is necessary to improve legal solutions that prescribe affirmative action for the less represented gender in terms of keeping accurate and transparent records of their representation on candidate lists, but also prescribing sanctions for members of municipal election commissions if they violate that

⁵ Research for the needs of MNE Pulse was conducted from 10 to 18 November 2022, and MNE Pulse was presented on 24 November, with a note that questions about gender equality were presented separately - <https://cgo-cce.org/2022/11/24/gradani-imaju-sve-vise-problema-a-politicari-manjak-odgovornosti/>



legal norm, enhanced authority granted to the SEC in this regard;

- all stakeholders should recognize and emphasize more often in their public appearances the importance of the full inclusion and equality of women and men in the democratization of society. Within the parties, more work should be done on gender awareness, starting with the significance of portraying women in a non-stereotypical manner in the public sphere to obstacles hindering women's equal participation in political decision-making;
- the female actors of the election campaign, primarily candidates and list leaders, should make better utilize the media and public space at their disposal for spreading their own political or general messages that can strengthen the awareness of citizens regarding gender equality, especially women's political participation. There is also need for educating members of political parties on the importance of using gender-sensitive language in media appearances, as well as on effective manners for utilizing those public appearances;
- it is essential to work on the education of journalism students on gender equality and the need to deconstruct ingrained stereotypes about the role of women in society;
- improvements in media legislation should also address misogyny in the media in order to sanction it and encourage the media to prioritize strengthening professional standards;
- Adequate positioning of civic education and media literacy in primary and secondary education is necessary in order to build the attitude towards gender and gender equality in a timely manner with an understanding of the modern concept of human rights, to deconstruct manipulations, and differentiate quality and poor quality information, identify prejudices, stereotypes, misogyny and hate speech.

Recommendations for civil society (non-governmental organizations, media, academic community):

- non-governmental organizations should continue to closely monitor the representation of women on candidate lists and react when irregularities are detected, but also investigate the reasons for the pronounced fluctuation of women on candidate lists at the local level and accordingly give recommendations to change that trend;
- non-governmental organizations should monitor media coverage and activities on social media, in order to contribute to the education and professionalization of journalists, but also to limit misogynistic statements on social media through establishing communication with the moderators of those platforms (Facebook, Twitter, etc.);
- the media should demonstrate greater sensitivity to gender equality themes during the elections, insist on using gender-sensitive language, avoid affirming the traditional role of women through their narrative, editorial policies, content they disseminate, as well as the manner in which they do so. The media should have a corrective function processing information, which also requires additional education in order to recognize the harmful consequences of misogyny and the importance of affirming gender equality for the further development of society;
- self-regulatory bodies and media associations need to be more proactive in monitoring media and encouraging them to correct omissions in this area;
- the academic community (universities, professors, students...) need to be significantly more involved in the overall affairs of the country, at least in the form of commentators and creators of narratives or alternatives to existing narratives.

Candidate lists - between marginalization and “minimalism”

During the analysis of the party candidate lists for the 2022 local elections, the CCE research team primarily monitored compliance **with the provisions of the Law on the Election of Councillors and Members of the Parliament**, which prescribes a quota of **30% for the underrepresented sex, as well as the list order of female candidates** (1 woman among each 4 candidates on the list order). The goal of this activity was to **determine the number and percentage of representation of women on candidate lists in 14 Montenegrin municipalities where elections were held in October 2022, which were further compared with the previous local elections in the same municipalities held in 2018 and 2020**, aiming to identify trends in the implementation of legal solutions and women’s participation in political life. Also, the CCE team tried to determine whether the representation of women on the lists was formal and minimal in order to comply with the Law, that is, whether the parties exceeded that number or conversely, violated the law.

The initial intention was also to analyse the post-election process, specifically the percentage of elected women who ultimately obtained councillor positions, whether there were cases of women resigning in favour of men, which is contrary to the law, although it had been recorded in earlier practices. However, due to the prolonged post-election process and the fact that not all results were announced or the process of constituting local authorities was finalized by the completion⁶ of the study, it was not possible to determine this aspect. These elections were marked by the **dysfunctionality of the Constitutional Court**, which did not have sufficient number of judges to decide on election appeals. This was a consequence of the ongoing political crisis and the lack of agreement between **political** actors at the national level to reach certain solutions, thus opening the legal path for declaring the results of local elections and preventing new tensions recorded at the local level regarding this issue.

For the purposes of this study, **100 lists were analysed in 14 municipalities where local elections were held. Irregularities were noted in seven municipalities, specifically on 21 lists**, which constitutes more than a fifth of the total number of the lists.⁷ This represents a flagrant violation of the Law, for which the municipal electoral

⁶ The study was completed on 25 November 2022

⁷ Initially, irregularities were noted on 22 lists, and after receiving comments and checks, with the aim of eliminating potential shortcomings, they were also found on a total of 21 lists. Namely, a mistake previously occurred due to the specificity of the name of one of the female candidates and a typographical error in the “Bosniak Party - Correct for Bijelo Polje” list (a female name was incorrectly considered male).



commissions (MECs) in the municipalities that illegally published these lists should be held accountable. It should also be noted that there is a legal option, that in case of incomplete lists, allows for the lists to be returned to the parties for revision to eliminate shortcomings within 48 hours, and this did occur in several cases. CCE did not have the possibility to monitor the lists that were sent back for revision, but the fact is that 21 lists contained shortcomings, which the municipal election commissions in **Rožaje, Plužine, Kolašin, Bar, Žabljak, Plav and Danilovgrad** ignored.

Municipality	Number of illegally published lists
Rožaje	3
Plužine	2
Kolašin	5
Bar	4
Žabljak	1
Plav	4
Danilovgrad	2

Graph: Number of unlawfully published lists

More precisely, **out of 21 illegally published lists, 15 did not adhere to the 30% gender representation quota** for candidates of the under-represented sex, **while on six, the order of candidates was not applied** (one woman among each 4 candidates).

Name of the list	Percentage representation of women on the list	Order of candidates on the list (1 in 4)
Rožaje		
Europe now! for Rožaje	26.66%	order applied
dr Dritan Abazović - Rožaje can do it! Montenegro can do it! - Civic movement URA	29.41%	order applied
Aleksa Bečić - Let's go people - Democrats	29.41%	order applied
Plužine		
Piva can! Montenegro can! dr Dritan Abazović	29.16%	order applied
The real deal - The Coalition Progress for Plužine/ DPS, SD	30.00%	order not applied
Kolašin		
SNP - Thoroughly for Kolašin	29.03%	order applied
DF - For the future of Kolašin	29.03%	order applied
Group of voters - For our Kolašin - Dr. Momčilo Vukčević	29.03%	order applied
Vladimir Martinović - Let's go people - Democrats - United Montenegro	29.03%	order applied
Movement "Together we BUILD Kolašin!"	29.03%	order applied

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Bar		
Bosniak party - CORRECT for BAR	32.43 %	order not applied
Vukan Golubović - True Montenegro - Marko Milačić	37.83%	order not applied
For the future of Bar - Maja Vukićević	37.83%	order not applied
SNP – Thoroughly for Bar	29.72%	order applied
Žabljak		
Democratic Front - For the future of Žabljak	30.00 %	order not applied
Plav		
Bosniak Party - Properly for Plav	29.03 %	order applied
Europe now! for Plav	25.00 %	order applied
SNP – Thoroughly for Plav	33.33 %	order not applied
For our future - Democratic People's Party, New Serbian Democracy, True Montenegro	25.80 %	order applied
Danilovgrad		
GI 21 May - Branko Baletić	21.73%	order applied
Democratic Front - For the future of Danilovgrad	27.27%	order applied

Graph: cross-section of illegality in 21 lists

MEC in Kolašin (5), Bar (4) and Plav (4) have confirmed the largest number of incomplete lists, followed by MEC in Rožaje (3), Plužine (2), Danilovgrad (2) and Žabljak (1).

The lowest percentage of women representation had *the list GI 21 May - Branko Baletić* in Danilovgrad (21.73%), as well as two lists in Plav - *For our future - Democratic People's Party, New Serbian Democracy, True Montenegro* (25.80%) and *Europe now! for Plav* (25 %). In contrast, for comparison purposes, we have some of the legally published lists that have exceeded the prescribed minimum representation of women, such as *People of Danilovgrad our strength* and *Milo Božović - Budva in first place* (with 51.51% each); *Radomir Novaković Cakan - I choose Bar* (48.64%); *Boka Forum - Let's go for Tivat, let's go for Boka* (46.87%); *Movement Europe now - Podgorica* (46.55%), *Dr. Dritan Abazović - Bar can do it! Montenegro can do it!* (43.24%); *SNP - Thoroughly for Budva* (42.42%), and *Zeta SNP - Thoroughly for Zeta - Slađana Kaluđerović* (41.93%).

Furthermore, most of the parties that violated the legal provision on meeting 30% quota were very close to complying with the legal minimum. They lacked mostly just one more woman on the list to comply with legal requirements. Of course, this does not diminish the fact that the Law was violated, regardless of the percentage and whether it was an (un)intentional omission by the parties. One gets the impression that most parties still only formally strive to get closer or reach the minimum quota, thus simulating a commitment to women's empowerment. This limits the scope of this affirmative action measure, while still remaining within the domain of predominantly male politics and the marginalization of women in political life.

In general, **there is no uniformity in the attitude of the parties to this issue in all municipalities**, so it is noted that a certain party or coalition in some municipalities significantly exceeded the quota



of 30%, while in other cities it violated the law by submitting incomplete lists.. It's important to note that a slightly higher representation of women was on those lists that had women as leaders. There were eight lists with the following percentages of women's representation:

1. Zeta - Slađana Kaluđerović - SNP – Thoroughly for Zeta - 41.93%;
2. Bijelo Polje - Suada Zoronjić - Bijelo Polje can do it! Montenegro can do it! dr Dritan Abazović - 37.83%;
3. Bar - Maja Vukićević – For the future of Bar - 37.83%, but they did not apply the order, so the list is incomplete, and it is declared as such
4. Tivat - Dubravka Nikčević – Right think for Tivat - DPS, SD, SDP, LP - 37.5%;
5. Rožaje - Anđela Beloica – For the future of Rožaje - 37.5 %;
6. Budva - Dragana Mitrović – United for Budva - 36.36%;
7. Bar - Edina Dešić – Bosniak party – Correct for Bar - 32.43%, but they did not apply the order, so the list is incomplete;
8. Podgorica - Jelena Borovinić Bojović – For the future of Podgorica - 31.03%.

On the other hand, two lists with women as leading candidates were among those that did not meet the legal minimum of 30%:

1. Plužine - Natalija Dobrilović Dondić – Piva can! Montenegro can! dr Dritan Abazović - 29.16%;
2. Kolašin - Marta Šćepanović - Together we build Kolašin - 29.03%.

A total of four lists with women leaders were illegally published, including two that did not have the prescribed quota and two that did not meet the legally prescribed order.

When it comes to (dis)respecting the order of male and female candidates on the lists, irregularities were noted within six lists, which adhered to the 30% quota. For example, lists *Vukan Golubović - True Montenegro - Marko Milačić* or *For the future of Bar - Maja Vukićević*, had percentage of women's representation of 37.83%, but were still considered incomplete due to non-compliance with this legal provision. Adhering to quotas exceeding the prescribed percentage leaves the possibility that these parties did not intend to disregard the order on the list, indicating an unintentional oversight. However, these oversights should not have gone unnoticed by the municipal election commissions in those municipalities.

Furthermore, the analysis of the names of male and female candidates for local elections from **all 100 lists in all 14 municipalities** indicates that a total of **3,320 candidates of both sexes** took part in those elections, **while the total number of women on those lists was 1,138, or 34.27% of the total number.**

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CCE also made a **comparison with the figures of previous local elections held in 2018 in 12 municipalities⁸ and 2020. (in two municipalities).** At that time, there were **a total of 2921 candidates of both sexes on the lists, while the number of women was 995, or 34.06% of the total number**, which is slightly less than the percentage from the 2022 election. Municipality of Rožaje, Šavnik and Danilovgrad stand out as examples of municipalities where the percentage of women's representation increased by about two to three percent in the 2022 elections compared to the previous cycle.

It is also important to emphasize that the total number of women who were on candidate lists in all mentioned municipalities is not as relevant as the number of women on specific party lists, but it gives a good general picture of the political participation of women in cities where local elections were organized.

Municipality – elections 2022	Total number of candidates of both sexes on all lists in the municipality	Total number of female candidates on all lists in the municipality	% žena u odnosu na muškarce	Municipality – elections 2018. (2020)	Total number of candidates of both sexes on all lists in the municipality	Total number of female candidates on all lists in the municipality	% of women compared to men
Rožaje	224	70	31.25 %	Rožaje	305	89	29.18%
Plužine	144	47	32.64 %	Plužine	143	48	33.57%
Kolašin	212	67	31.60 %	Kolašin ⁹			
Bar	358	133	37.15 %	Bar	357	129	36.13%
Šavnik	90	31	34.44 %	Šavnik	90	28	31.11%
Žabljak	173	56	32.37 %	Žabljak	93	29	31.18%
Plav	169	52	30.77 %	Plav	255	77	30.20%
Bijelo Polje	386	131	33.94 %	Bijelo Polje	333	115	34.53%
Zeta	127	43	33.86 %	N/P			
Danilovgrad	342	121	35.38 %	Danilovgrad	212	69	32.55%
Pljevlja	191	62	32.46 %	Pljevlja	168	55	32.74%
Tivat	287	106	36.93 %	Tivat	213	81	38.03%

⁸ It was not possible to make a comparison with the lists from Kolašin in 2018, since the MEC did not have publicly published lists in that period, nor were they submitted to the CCE, although there were several requests. Also, during that period, Zeta did not exist as an independent local self-government, but was treated as a part of Podgorica.

⁹ The list was not available



Budva	209	81	38.76 %	Budva	220	83	37.73%
Podgorica	408	138	33.82 %	Podgorica (+ Zeta)	532	192	36.09%
TOTAL	3320	1138	34.27 %	TOTAL	2921	995	34.06%

Graph: The comparison of lists in 2018 (2020) and 2022 and the representation of female compared to male candidates

Additionally, taking into account the established practice at the national level, where it is evident that the same candidates are almost always on the party lists, the CCE tried to determine **whether the same approach is applied at the local level, i.e. the percentage of women who appeared on the lists of their respective parties during the last two electoral cycles.**

It is important to emphasize that **the statistics from 2018, i.e. 2020 and 2022 are not fully comparable**, since the parties were part of different pre-election coalitions. However, an effort was made to disaggregate these coalitions and provide a rough analysis of the tendency of women to re-enter the electoral race. Another challenge was the fact that some women changed their party or changed their surname when got married, among other factors. Additionally, the number of women who were on candidate lists during the two cycles of local elections was over 2,000, posing a quantitative burden during the analysis. Therefore, in this part, **the focus is on three municipalities from three regions - Danilovgrad, Plav and Tivat.** The research team noted a different trend at the local level, through these three examples compared to the national level, indicating greater fluctuation of women's participation.

2018 – Name of candidate list	Number of women on the list	2022 – Name of candidate list	Number of women on the list	Number of repeated women
Aleksa Bečić - Dritan Abazović		Aleksa Bečić- Demokrate	11	5
Aleksa Bečić - Dritan Abazović	10	dr Dritan Abazović - URA	12	0
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajović	10	Real thing- DPS, SD i LP		1
Coalition DPS-LP	11	Real thing - DPS, SD i LP	10 ukupno	1
SDP	9	SDP	11	0
New Serbian Democracy - PzP - For a Serbian - Montenegrin agreement	11	DF (New Serbian Democracy, DNP, PzP, Workers' Party)		1
People's coalition - DNP, SNP and Yugoslav Communist party of Montenegro		DF - (New Serbian Democracy, DNP, PzP, Workers' Party)	9 ukupno	1
People's coalition - DNP, SNP and Yugoslav Communist party of Montenegro	11	SNP	12	1
Marko Milačić- True Montenegro	7	United for a right city	13	1

Table: comparison of the 2018 and 2022 candidate lists in Danilovgrad in the context of repeated female candidates

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The findings indicate that there is a small number of women on these lists who reappear, or even that none were from the previous elections. For example, in Danilovgrad, the Democrats and the URA had a joint list in the 2018 elections, called *Aleksa Bečić - Dritan Abazović*, which included a total of 10 women's names, while in the 2022 elections these two parties ran separately, where they had 11 and 12 women respectively. Out of the total number of women in the 2018 elections (10), the list of Aleksa Bečić – Democrats repeated five, while the female candidates from the new URA list were not on the previous list.

2018 – Name of candidate list	Number of women on the list	2022 – Name of candidate list	Number of women on the list	Number of repeated women
Social Democrats	10	Coalition- SD, DPS, SDP	11	2
SDP	9	Coalition- SD, DPS, SDP		1
For the good of the citizens of Plav, victorious!- DPS	10	Coalition- SD, DPS, SDP		0
Albanian alternative	5	GP URA - AA	11	2
Bosniak party	9	Bosniak party	9	2
Coalition DF - SNP	9	SNP	7	1
Aleksa Bečić - Democrats	10	N/P		
Party of Justice and Reconciliation	6	N/P		
Voter group I choose Plav	9	N/P		

Graph: comparison of the candidate lists from 2018 and 2022 in Plav in context of repeating female candidates

2020 – Name of candidate list	Number of women on the list	2022 – Name of candidate list	Number of women on the list	Number of repeated women
Social Democrats - Ivan Brajović!	16	The right thing for Tivat from all of us in the Coalition DPS, SD, SDP, LP	12 ukupno	1
DPS - Milo Đukanović!	13	The right thing for Tivat from all of us in the Coalition DPS, SD, SDP, LP		2
SDP - Let's defend the city!	8	The right thing for Tivat from all of us in the Coalition DPS, SD, SDP, LP		0
Goran Božović - Honorable and responsible for a better Tivat!	8	Tivat action and Goran Božović	12	2
Boka forum - The people of Boka know	12	Boka forum - Let's go to Tivat, let's go to Boka!	15	10
HGI. Wholeheartedly for Tivat!	11	HGI Tivat - our place under the sun!	13	8
Coalition candidate list – People win!	10	Željko Komnenović - The people are winning, Democrats, DSS, Europe now!	10	2

Chart: comparison of the candidate lists from 2020. i 2022. in Tivat in context of repeating female candidates



The cross-section for Danilovgrad and Tivat indicates a similar situation, as the same women generally did not reappear on the lists as in the previous elections. Exceptions are two lists - *Boka forum - People of Boka know* and *HGI. Wholeheartedly for Tivat!*, which repeated 10 (out of 15) and eight (out of 13) women compared to the previous elections.

Examples from the three sampled municipalities indicates that, at the local level, parties do not tend to repeat their female candidates on candidate lists, with rare exceptions. Furthermore, for the next analysis, it would be interesting to consider all the municipalities in Montenegro in order to systematically track this trend and determine the reasons for this significant fluctuation at the local level. It would be important to know whether this induces the disappointment of women who were previously on these lists, leading them to withdraw, or whether the parties replaced them with other female candidates.

Finally, **generally underdeveloped awareness of the importance of political participation is not conducive to more effective involvement of women in politics in Montenegro.** This is supported by recent research conducted by CCE and the Damar agency¹⁰, which indicate that the public is divided on this issue. When asked directly whether women were represented equally or at the minimum legal quota of 30% on candidate lists in 14 municipalities where elections were held, more than a third (36.7%) believed they were, less than a third (31.6%) that they were not, and there is a similar number of those who cannot decide on this issue (31.7%). As expected, men predominantly perceive the existing political representation of women as satisfactory, but also those with a lower educational level. Also, there is a similar perception when it comes to the representation of women in the campaign for the local elections held in October 2022. Nearly two-fifths of respondents (38%) believe that women were represented equally or sufficiently in the campaign, while slightly less than a third do not share this belief (32%), and 30% of them cannot assess that representation. In this case as well, gender and education significantly determine the assessment of this issue, i.e. men and those with a lower educational level are consider that women are equally represented.

¹⁰ Research for the MNE Pulse was conducted from 10 to 18 November 2022, and MNE Pulse was presented on 24 November, with a note that questions about gender equality were presented separately - <https://cgo-cce.org/2022/11/24/gradani-imaju-sve-vise-problema-a-politicari-manjak-odgovornosti/>

Gender equality in the narrative of the pre-election campaign

Conceptual framework

For a clear understanding of the concept of gender equality, the legal definition has been taken into account in this section, which defines gender equality as the equal participation of women and men in all areas of the public and private sector, equal position and equal opportunities to exercise of all rights and freedoms, the use of personal knowledge and abilities for development of society, as well as achieving equal benefits from the results of work.¹¹

Furthermore, guidelines have been established to understand and define stereotypes in the context of gender and gender roles. This is important considering that the media has significant power in shaping opinions and determining normative behaviour, but also in perpetuating stereotypes and prejudices by sending messages to consumers (active or passive) of media content regarding the position of women, their role, life and status in society.

The first problem with representing women in the media is that there is almost a complete absence of representation where it is needed. In cases where representation does exist, it is often generalized in a way that portrays women mainly in their traditional roles - as mothers, housewives, attractive and of questionable intelligences, while they are significantly less represented in political or public interest issues. The interlocutors are usually men and they are mostly the key actors of media content. This analysis also shows how much the role of women and their perception in reality was reflected through the narrative that was created during the election campaign (in the media content) and the participation of women in the electoral process itself.

Sociological aspect

The gender character of local elections in Montenegro is an additional confirmation of the mismatch between the formal legal framework and the real state in the domain of gender equality at the national level. Local elections, therefore, in the context of gender, indicated several important tendencies.

¹¹ Law on Gender Equality, Article 2



First of all, the marginalization of women in the pre-election period is one of the indicators of the connection between private and public patriarchy. Public patriarchy, visible in local elections in Montenegro, uses (in)direct mechanisms of women's subordination. Direct mechanisms referred to the violation of legal norms that imply the political participation of the underrepresented sex, while implicit techniques mainly focused on public discourse in which forms of private patriarchy or the invisibility of women are recorded. Isolation from leadership and a position of power returns a woman to the private sphere of patriarchy, where her professional capacities are unimportant. Consequently, **the media authentically reflected the imbalance of political power in Montenegro, with female politicians continuously being underrepresented as interlocutors.** This fact can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, **the media cannot show a more balanced distribution of political power if there is none.** However, **the media should highlight and analytically address the issue of gender imbalance in politics to avoid contributing to the reproduction of patriarchal beliefs, which keep women trapped in the private sphere.**

Second, **irregular media monitoring of self-regulatory bodies in Montenegro, from the gender perspective, sends a clear message that media (re)construction of gender roles is not important.** This contributes to uneven application of the Code of Journalists in Montenegro and legal regulations, but also leaves room for the media not to deal with the gender characteristics of the media discourse. **Self-regulatory bodies and other mechanisms of self-regulation in Montenegro should have clearly defined and publicly available guidelines for journalistic reporting on gender issues.** This way, the media are provided with instructions on what is expected of them in the context of gender-sensitive reporting, but also contribute to their education and prevention of negative examples of media practice.

Third, **despite the fact that the media should play a proactive role and critically approach the gender imbalance in the domain of power in Montenegro, they are limited in their capabilities. Pre-election campaigns affirm traditionalist gender patterns** that the media, in fulfilling their function of informing, must convey to the audience, and these patterns are not independently created by the media. In the pre-election campaign for the local elections in Montenegro, we had examples of the naturalization of women's identity, that is, the insistence on the roles that women have in their private lives and their reduction to the role of mother. Woman in the campaign is often portrayed in a family context, surrounded by children, while in the narratives she is mentioned as a "mother". It is equally important to note that male candidates in local elections also used the family environment to communicate a political message. The representation of the heterosexual family and the typical male and female gender roles in it is a tool of the election campaign. This reaches the electorate which can identify with these depictions of the family. Messages about ideal leadership are projected through the "ideal" parenting. Gender issues, therefore, in a significant part of the pre-election campaign for local elections, are exclusively used as a means to achieve political goals.

At the same time, **although local authorities cannot modify the systemic policy of gender equality, they have numerous opportunities to include gender issues in their pre-election**

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narratives, that is, in their post-election activities. The European Charter for Equality of Women and Men at the Local level is one in a series of relevant for local self-governments in Montenegro. In the majority of pre-election narratives, there was no talk of strengthening female entrepreneurship, improving the health care system at the local level, encouraging local media to run gender-responsive programmes, establishing a unique database on the representation of women in the bodies and services of local administration, and the like.

Finally, **the continuous marginalization of gender issues in pre-election discourse and stereotyping of female politicians has multiple consequences.** First of all, the combination of invisibility and stereotypical visibility in the online space amplifies hate speech, discrimination, condemnation, and blaming, as audience reactions that female politicians in Montenegro are increasingly facing. Simultaneously, **this environment seems discouraging for women who might potentially want to engage in politics.** Female politicians in Montenegro, who do not have the same power as male politicians, do not have equal representation in the public discourse, and rarely have the opportunity to deconstruct their own virtual image. Therefore, consistent efforts should be made to highlight the responsible actors and practices that can be improved, especially considering that a significant number of women in Montenegro, despite numerous obstacles, still believe that participating in political life can bring about real societal changes¹².

Methodological framework

Analysis of media content represents a methodological approach that **includes monitoring of media content and analysis of selected media content based on previously determined criteria and parameters.** It can be conducted concerning an institution, personality, event, as well as everything else that may be the centre of media attention in order to determine a realistic media image of a subject or topic within a chosen time frame and in the context of the overall media scene or its selected part. The goals can vary, but most often it involves assessing the quantity and quality of the media presence of the observed subject, that is, improving the media visibility and quality of representation of a certain subject or theme in the public.

Therefore, in order to confirm or refute the initial assumption, the analysts positioned the gender agenda during the election campaign through the following **research questions:**

- the overall narrative created during the election campaigns regarding gender equality;
- the treatment that women generally had in that narrative;
- who is responsible for such a narrative (media, women, men, other subjects...);
- the way women presented themselves;
- the presence of stereotypes in the election campaign.

¹² Westminster Foundation in Montenegro 2021, 34



In this framework, all media announcements that were placed in the media in Montenegro, and which either contain the key word “local elections” or in any other way indicated the presence of information or the topic “local elections” in the media, were selected and analyzed. In order to deepen the analysis, even though elections for local parliaments were held in 14 municipalities on 23 October 2022, media announcements related to local elections **in three geographic regions - in Podgorica, Pljevlja and Budva** - were monitored and analysed.

Dodatno, sljedećim institucijama/organizacija su dodjeljivani analitički parametri:

- LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA 2022
- LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA 2022
- LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA 2022

- SNP-THOROUGHLY FOR PODGORICU-PODGORICA 2022
- SVETOSAVSKA SERBIAN LIST-PODGORICA 2022
- EUROPE NOW-PODGORICA 2022
- LET’S GO PEOPLE -DEMOCRATS-UNITED-DEMOS-PODGORICA 2022
- FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA-DF-REAL-FREE-JKP-PODGORICA 2022
- PODGORICA CAN-URA-CIVIS-AA-PODGORICA 2022
- THE TURNOVER -2022
- ALL FOR OUR CITY -DPS-SD-SDP-21.MAJ-LP-BS-PODGORICA 2022

- BUDVA IN THE FIRST PLACE -DF-BUDVA 2022
- UNITED FOR BUDVA -DPS-SD-SDP-21.MAJ-LP-BUDVA 2022
- MONTENEGRO-BUDVA 2022
- SNP- THOROUGHLY FOR BUDVA-BUDVA 2022
- LET’S GO PEOPLE -DECRATS-DEMOS-BUDVA 2022
- CITIZEN ACTION - FOR A BETTER BUDVA -BUDVA 2022
- BUDVA CAN-GP URA-BUDVA 2022

- PLJEVLJA TO WIN-DPS-SD-SDP-BS-PLJEVLJA 2022
- EUROPE NOW-PLJEVLJA 2022
- LET’S GO PEOPLE -DECRATS-UNITED – MOVEMENT FOR PLJEVLJA-PLJEVLJA 2022
- THE FOUNDATION FOR BETTER PLJEVLJA-SNP-GP URA-PLJEVLJA 2022
- FOR THE FUTURE OF PLJEVALJA-DF-PLJEVLJA 2022
- SPP PARTY OF RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE – PLJEVLJA 2022

Monitoring of media content was conducted from 29 September, the day when the MEC concluded the submission of candidate lists, **until 21 October 2022**, the day when pre-election silence started.

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Media from all three categories (TV, print media and online/news portals) were monitored. When choosing the media, the starting point was the impact on information consumers, considering viewership estimation (TV), circulation (print media), or the number of visits¹³ (portals). Considering that the media content was observed from the perspective of local parliament elections and in the light of the primary theme “gender equality,” regardless of their actual influence at the level of Montenegro or the local community, the content of six local media outlets was included (three TVs that are also local public media services and three local portals). This way, all relevant media in terms of their influence on shaping public opinion, informativeness, corrective function as one of the basic functions of the media, as well as media polarization in Montenegro resulting from socio-political polarization, were covered. Specifically, the following **television stations** were **selected**: *TVCG, TV Vijesti, PRVA, Nova TV, Adria TV, as local public broadcasters Gradiska TV, RTV Pljevlja and TV Budva*. Also, **three print media were selected**: *Vijesti, Dan and Pobjeda*, as well as **12 online media** - *Portal Vijesti, CdM, Analitika, rtcg.me, AntenaM, IN4S, Pobjeda, Borba.me, Aktuelno, Gradski.me, rtvbudva.me. and pvportal.me*.

After selecting the primary subjects of monitoring (topics of local elections, candidate lists, candidate lists leaders, candidates of candidate lists, other persons, institutions and entities involved in the electoral process...), **analytical parameters** were determined in a manner that would provide analysts with sufficiently concise data necessary to draw conclusions or answer the research questions, with most analytical parameters being assigned to all selected monitored subjects.

In this context, a dominant position regarding gender was set: men (dominant); women (dominant); equal representation; gender unspecified posts. This parameter was simple and informative. Specifically, the index was assigned based on the representation of gender-related attitudes, where the dominant male or female attitude implies the media publication in which the attitude expressed by a man or a woman predominates. When determining the dominance of attitude by gender, the position of the statement is observed, i.e., whether a specific statement is highlighted in the title of the publication, subtitle, introduction of a TV report, or illustration. Then, the relationship between the information originating from men and women is observed and determined to assess whose attitude predominates in a specific media announcement. Ultimately, this all leads to assessing the potential perception of the information consumer, i.e., whether they will perceive, after reviewing the announcement (and its content), that it has predominantly arisen due to the statements of women or men.

Actors were determined for each selected media announcement according to the principle of primary representation. This analytical parameter is important from several aspects. Firstly, it provides a stratification of the media material regarding who, among the actors, is responsible for creating the overall narrative and what the individual narratives were like. Secondly, by cross-referencing the data with other analytical parameters, additional data is obtained regarding the level of representation of the female or male dominant position in the specific

¹³ <https://www.similarweb.com/>



announcement and in total. Within this framework, the following categorization of actors was established: position/mention of female and male list leaders (planned and unplanned); the position/mention of the list candidates (planned and unplanned); position (other political actors/subjects) (planned only); others (NGOs, individuals, analysts...) (planned only).

Note: In the case of list leaders and candidates from the list, both their planned (statements, appearances, comments or statements they sign...) and unplanned presence (mentions by other subjects) were recorded, in order to avoid stereotypes or any other negative influences directed towards a specific actor or by a specific actor. For other subjects, only planned media appearances/presence were recorded.

To further stratify the media material, i.e. to determine whether a specific political subject or actor had a planned or unplanned media presence, the usual analytical parameter “publicity planning” was used. Indexes for **planned** publicity are entered in relation to the assessment of the presence of candidate lists, list leaders, or candidates from the list, as well as other actors. Therefore, planned media presence for candidate lists encompasses (in)direct planned appearances (through candidates, leaders, announcements, representatives of the party leadership constituting the lists, etc.), i.e. communication that can be claimed to have originated from the observed subject and conveyed political messages. In the case of persons who are at leaders of the list or are on the list, only their personal media appearances (statements, interviews, quotes, signed announcements, etc.) are considered as planned media presence. Namely, regardless of the fact that the list to which a specific person belongs is planned, the presence of information about the candidate is considered unplanned if the publication does not directly contain his or her position (quote, interview, statement, signed statement, etc.).

Thematic divisions are sorted into two parts: primary and secondary present. Primary themes are those to which the monitored posts are dedicated entirely or to a greater extent, or those that dominate over other present themes. Secondary themes are those topics identified based on secondary dominance compared to other present themes.

The selected themes are:

1. GENDER EQUALITY - GENERAL
2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS
3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS
5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN
6. ECONOMY - GENERAL
7. EDUCATION - GENERAL

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8. HEALTH - GENERAL

9. SOCIAL POLICIES - GENERAL (POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT...)

10. ECOLOGY

11. OTHER THEMES

12. LOCAL ISSUES

13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES

14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES

15. SECURITY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS, CRIME, CORRUPTION...)

16. CULTURE

One media announcement can contain several observed themes (as was the case), and the analysts selected the primary and secondary ones through content examination. Additionally, the themes are structured in line with the assumed narrative; more specifically, general themes that dominated in previous monitored electoral cycles were identified. However, in accordance with the research question, several themes specifically related to “gender equality” were also identified.

The sentiment of the theme was determined exclusively in relation to the primarily present theme and overall, i.e. in relation to the assumption of perception of consumers of media content. Additionally, it was determined in relation to the observed subjects (candidate lists and persons). Thus, the obtained data reflect the sentiment of the theme in relation to the overall narrative and in relation to the narrative or potential “guilt/responsibility” of a specific political subject (candidate list or person). Further, crossing the data in relation to the representation of the position (male - female position) provides informative and detailed data that in some way addresses the initiators of the theme sentiments.

All themes are observed in relation to the research question, i.e. the main theme of analysis (gender equality). This means that regardless of the fact that, for example, one of the subjects talked affirmatively about the economy, education or healthcare, if they do not address “gender equality” in any way in their public communication, a neutral index (zero) is assigned to the theme. Polarized sentiments (minus one - 1 (negative/non-affirmative) or one - 1 (affirmative) were assigned exclusively if the topic was coloured from the perspective of “gender equality”.

The presence of stereotypes was determined based on the content of the overall post, regardless of who made it. Also, the focus was exclusively on stereotypes whose presence negatively affects gender equality. For the purposes of this analysis, it was necessary to determine whether there is a stereotype directed towards a specific person (women) in the media announcement. Triggers have been determined in the case of the presence of stereotypes created by the individual (both men and women), i.e. in the case of the presence of stereotypes endured by individuals (by anyone: other political entities, media, etc.)

The tone of the announcement is determined in regard to the list or persons who are at the head of the list or in the actual pre-election list, i.e. how it is presented in the specific announcement according to the assessment of analysts or potential perception of consumers of information, using a three-step scale of



positive/negative/neutral.

The visibility column for the topic is used to define the visualization: there is a visualization (image, video, other type of illustration) - header; that is, in case of absence of visualization, no index is entered.

For each “local elections” topic, list and person, **a focus** was determined, that is, an assessment of the representation of information about the specific subject in relation to other information contained in the observed announcement. In this regard, one of the basic analytical parameters was used - division into primary, secondary and tertiary media presence.

Part of the analysis refers to the **visual representation** of women in media content related to local elections in Podgorica, Budva, and Pljevlja. In relation to the selected media content, it was observed whether there are women in the reports or photographs and how they are depicted - whether they occupy a central position or are peripheral in relation to key actors and men, and what their role is in visual content.

SUBJECT	THE PRESENCE OF STEREOTYPES	SECONDARY REPRESENTED THEME	PRIMARY PRESENT THEME	SENTIMENT TEME	ACTORS	FOCUS OF THE THEME	DOMINANT ATTITUDE IN RELATION TO GENDER	VISIBILITY
THEME: LOCAL ELECTIONS	If present, enter	1. GENDER EQUALITY (OVERVIEW)	1. GENDER EQUALITY (OVERVIEW)	1	ATTIUTDE/ MENTION OF LIST LEADER		MEN	
	YES	2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS	2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS	0		PRIMARY	WOMEN	
PODGORICA 2022	If absent, enter	3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	-1	ATTITUDE/ MENTION OF LIST CANDIDATES	SECONDARY	EQUAL representation	IF A WOMAN IS PRESENT IN THE ILLUSTRATION, VIDEO, IMAGE, ETC.)
PLJEVLJA 2022	NO	4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS	4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS			TERTIARY	GENDER unspecified posts	
BUDVA 2022		5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN	5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN		ATTITUDE (OTHER POLITICAL ACTORS/ SUBJECTS)			
		6. ECONOMY	6. ECONOMY		OTHERS (NGOs, INDIVIDUALS, ANALYSTS ...)			
		7. EDUCATION	7. EDUCATION					
		8. HEALTH	8. HEALTH					
		9. SOCIAL POLICIES	9. SOCIAL POLICIES					
		10. ECOLOGY	10. ECOLOGY					
		11. OTHERS	11. OTHERS					
		12. LOCAL ISSUES	12. LOCAL ISSUES					
		13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES	13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES					
		14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES	14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES					
		15. SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS)	15. SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS)					
		16. CULTURE	16. CULTURE					

Table: example with data - local elections

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SUBJECT	SENTIMENT OF THE THEM	THE REPRESENTATION OF STEREOTYPES	SECONDARY REPRESENTED THEME	PRIMARY REPRESENTED THEME	THE TONE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN RELATION TO THE LIST	ACTORS	PLANNING OF MEDIA PRESENCE OF CANDIDATE LISTS	FOCUS OF THE LIST	DOMINANT ATTITUDE IN RELATION TO GENDER
CANDIDATE LISTS	DETERMINED IN RELATION TO THE SENTIMENT THAT THE OBSERVED LIST CREATED REGARDING THE SUBJECT: 1 0 -1	If stereotypes are present, enter YES If stereotypes are absent, enter NO	1. GENDER EQUALITY (OVERVIEW)	1. GENDER EQUALITY (OVERVIEW)	1	ATTITUDE/ MENTION OF LIST LEADER	PLANNED	PRIMARY	MEN
			2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS	2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS	0	ATTITUDE/ MENTION OF LIST CANDIDATES	UNPLANNED	SECONDARY	WOMEN
			3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	-1			TERTIARY	EQUAL representation
			4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS	4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS		ATTITUDE (OTHER POLITICAL ACTORS/ SUBJECTS) OTHERS (NGOs, INDIVIDUALS, ANALYSTS...)			GENDER unspecified posts
			5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN	5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN					
			6. ECONOMY	6. ECONOMY					
			7. EDUCATION	7. EDUCATION					
			8. HEALTH	8. HEALTH					
			9. SOCIAL POLICIES	9. SOCIAL POLICIES					
			10. ECOLOGY	10. ECOLOGY					
			11. OTHERS	11. OTHERS					
			12. LOCAL ISSUES	12. LOCAL ISSUES					
			13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES	13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES					
			14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES	14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES					
			15. SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS)	15. SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS)					
			16. CULTURE	16. CULTURE					

Table: example with data - selection lists



SUBJECT	SENTIMENT OF THE THEM	THE PRESENCE OF STEREOTYPES	SECONDARY REPRESENTED THEME	PRIMARY REPRESENT THEME	1 0 -1	ACTORS	PLANNING OF MEDIA PRESENCE OF CANDIDATE LISTS	FOCUS OF THE LIST
PERSON	IT IS DETERMINED IN RELATION TO THE SENTIMENT THAT THE OBSERVED PERSON CREATED REGARDING THE SUBJECT: 1 0 -1	If stereotype made by the person himself (both male and female) is present, enter 1 If stereotypes suffered by a person (by anyone: other political subjects, media, etc.) is present, enter number 2 In case of absence, do not enter numerical values	1. GENDER EQUALITY (OVERVIEW) 2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS 3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN 4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS 5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN 6. ECONOMY 7. EDUCATION 8. HEALTH 9. SOCIAL POLICIES 10. ECOLOGY 11. OTHERS 12. LOCAL ISSUES 13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES 14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES 15. SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS) 16. CULTURE	1. GENDER EQUALITY (OVERVIEW) 2. SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS 3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN 4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS 5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN 6. ECONOMY 7. EDUCATION 8. HEALTH 9. SOCIAL POLICIES 10. ECOLOGY 11. OTHERS 12. LOCAL ISSUES 13. GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES 14. IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES 15. SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS) 16. CULTURE	1 0 -1	POSITION/ MENTION OF LIST LEADER POSITION/ MENTION OF LIST CANDIDATES POSITION (OTHER POLITICAL ACTORS/ SUBJECTS) OTHERS (NGOs, INDIVIDUALS, ANALYSTS...)	PLANNED	PRIMARY
							UNPLANNED	SECONDARY
								TERTIARY

Table: example with data - candidates from the list

Analysis of billboards and TV videos clips in terms of gender balance is conducted through two dimensions - presence and quality of presence. By presence is meant the ratio of the number of men or women appearing **on the billboard and in the TV video clip, with the hypothesis that seeing men or women** in certain context reinforces the stereotype that we expect to see them in that place in the future.

The presence dimension alone is insufficient to measure gender balance. For example, if women are present but in the supporting role, this reinforces stereotypes about their supporting role in politics. Therefore, the dimension “quality of presence” was introduced, observed through three sub-indicators -

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sexualization, stereotyping and role. The first indicator refers to whether men or women presented on the billboard/in the TV spot are sexualized in any way - if their sexuality is communicated. Another term for the same concept would be sexual objectification - treating or valuing a person as an object of sexual desire.¹⁴ The second indicator referred to the stereotypical portrayal of the male or female gender on a billboard or in a TV video clips, i.e. whether men or women are depicted in stereotypical roles - at work, in the household, etc. In the end, it's important to consider who plays the main and supporting roles in a specific political advertisement, whether it's a billboard or a TV spot. Additionally, it was analysed whether the text on the billboards or the dialogue in the video clips complies with the guidelines of gender-sensitive language.

CRITERION	INDICATOR
Presence	Percentage of men and women on the billboard/in the video clips.
Quality	Is the attire, appearance, or some other way sexualizing a character of male or female gender?
	Is a character of either male or female gender portrayed in a gender-stereotypical manner through their role, speech, appearance, or in any other manner?
	Percentage of men and women in the role of main protagonists.

Table: analysis criteria

A total of 436 individual billboards from 14 municipalities where local elections were held were analyzed. In the municipality of Šavnik, political parties did not advertise through billboards.

MUNICIPALITY	NUMBER OF ANALYZED BILLBOARDS
Bar	101
Bijelo Polje	24
Budva	136
Danilovgrad	5
Kolašin	5
Plav	6
Pljevlja	15
Plužine	2
Podgorica	101
Rožaje	5
Tivat	18
Žabljak	7
Zeta	11
TOTAL	436

Table: Number of analyzed billboards by municipality

¹⁴ More information with examples of sexualization and sexual objectification in the media is available on the internet presentation: <https://shequal.com.au/get-real/sexualisation-objectification/>



Furthermore, 169 political video clips were analyzed. Considering the amount of video material, it was not possible to analyze all the spots that were broadcast on all TV stations during the entire election campaign, but sampling was done instead. As a sample, all the video clips aired on private and public TV stations on one day – 21 October 2022 were observed, because it was the last day of the campaign before the election silence when marketing activity is at its peak.

TV STATION	NUMBER OF VIDEO CLIPS
Vijesti TV	32
Pink M	33
TV Adria	8
TV Srpska	5
Prva	1
RTCG 2	90
Total	169

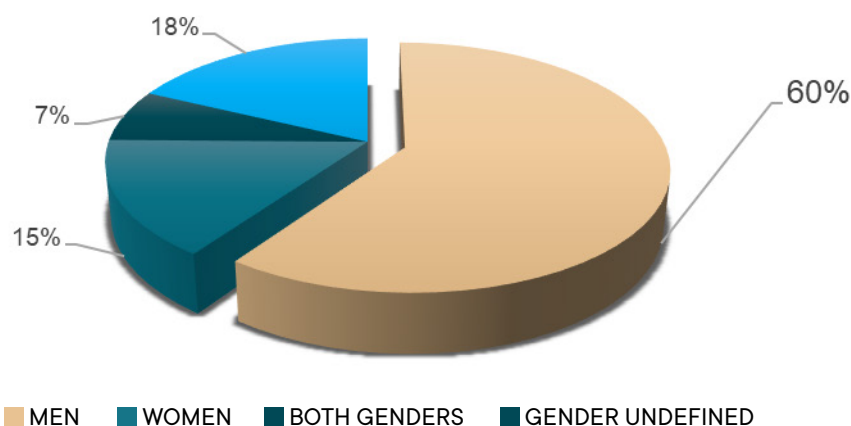
Table: number of political video clips included in the analysis by station

Main findings

During the media content monitoring from 29 September to 21 October 2022, **dominant media presence of the male gender's perspective was observed during the pre-election campaign**, both overall and in all three electoral units (Capital City, Budva, Pljevlja). Women are targeted as a vulnerable category in a low percentage of announcements, and issues of importance for achieving gender equality remain almost invisible in the overall narrative, although it is noted that they were present and appropriately addressed. Simply, gender equality is not recognized by political parties as part of the societal issues that could influence the voters' will. Regarding the media presence of women and men during the pre-election campaign, it is important to note that it's not just about the individuals on the lists or at their helm, but all participants who were in some way part of the pre-election campaign (politicians/ , analysts, experts, citizens, etc.). In the observed period, in all three observed municipalities, men were mentioned or appeared as the only gender in as many as 60% of the index¹⁵. On the other hand, the woman, as the sole actor of the announcement, was mentioned in 15% of the index. Both genders were represented in 7% of the index, while 18% of the index was gender undefined. This implies that women were mentioned or spoke in a total of 22%, while men were involved in 67% of the documented indexes. Therefore, **men were the dominant subjects even three times more frequently than women.**

¹⁵ The conceptual difference between media announcements and indexes lies in the fact that one media announcement can contain several indexes (mentions of all three municipalities in relation to which the analytical parameters were determined) Therefore, the percentage share of analytical parameters and findings was determined on the total number of indexes, and not media announcements.

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Graph: percentage ratio of indexes in relation to work (number of indexes)

Monitoring of media content, along with additional evaluation of visualization and marketing pre-election messages, leads to the conclusion that the overall narrative during the pre-election campaign was *dominated by a male voice*. More precisely, if we exclude gender-balanced and gender-undefined media announcements and look exclusively at announcements dominated by the attitude of one gender (in the following, polarized), it can be concluded that out of the total corpus of **2,232 media announcements** dealing with the topic of “local elections”, or more precisely out of **a total of 2,385 indexes, the male attitude dominates in 1,427 indexes, while the female perspective dominates in 369 indexes**. In the content of 164 media announcements, the equal presence of men and women was recorded. Therefore, **the female attitude was present in only 20.55% of the indexes**, while the rest of the media space belonged to men.¹⁶

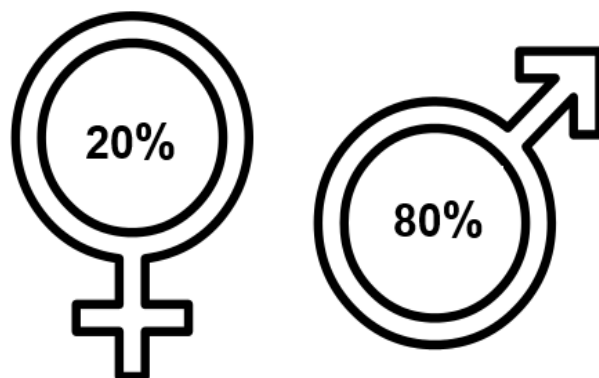


Chart: percentage of polarized announcements (all actors)

¹⁶ Note: When the term attitude is used (whether referring to men or women), it exclusively pertains to the planned media appearances of the subjects, i.e. those in which the representatives of one or another gender had the opportunity to communicate messages to the public.



Given that the legal minimum representation of women on candidate lists is 30%, the equivalent of media presence of women's position should be at least that much, which is not the case, as women are less present in that equivalent by 9%. This is even more significant considering that two lists **were led by women and that it was expected that their voice would be dominant, thus raising the overall percentage** of the predominantly present female perspective in the media content - the narrative. This can be "mitigated" to some extent **by the fact that leader of the list** "FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA-DF-TRUE-FREE- JKP" Dr Jelena Borovinić Bojović, who was very active, the holder of the list "UNITED FOR BUDVA-DPS-SD-SDP -21 MAY-LP" prof Dragana Mitrović, was significantly less active.

DOMINANT ATTITUDE IN RELATION TO GENDER (ALL MALE AND FEMALE ACTORS)				
2022 LOCAL ELECTION				
	TELEVISIONS	PRINT MEDIA	PORTALS	TOTAL
WOMEN	78	15	276	369
MEN	241	86	1100	1427

INDEX NUMBER

Table: representation of attitudes in relation to gender by type of media and overall (all actors)

The data in the previous table accurately show the ratio of the number of indexes (posts) with a dominant male or female perspective, involving all actors. For the purposes of this analysis, a database was created specifically in relation to the actors, and the focus was on the dominant male and female attitude in the overall narrative, regarding the female and male candidates from the lists and the individuals who led those lists.

CANDIDATES				
2022 LOCAL ELECTION				
	TELEVISIONS	PRINT MEDIA	PORTALS	TOTAL
WOMEN	73	8	194	275
MEN	203	48	780	1031

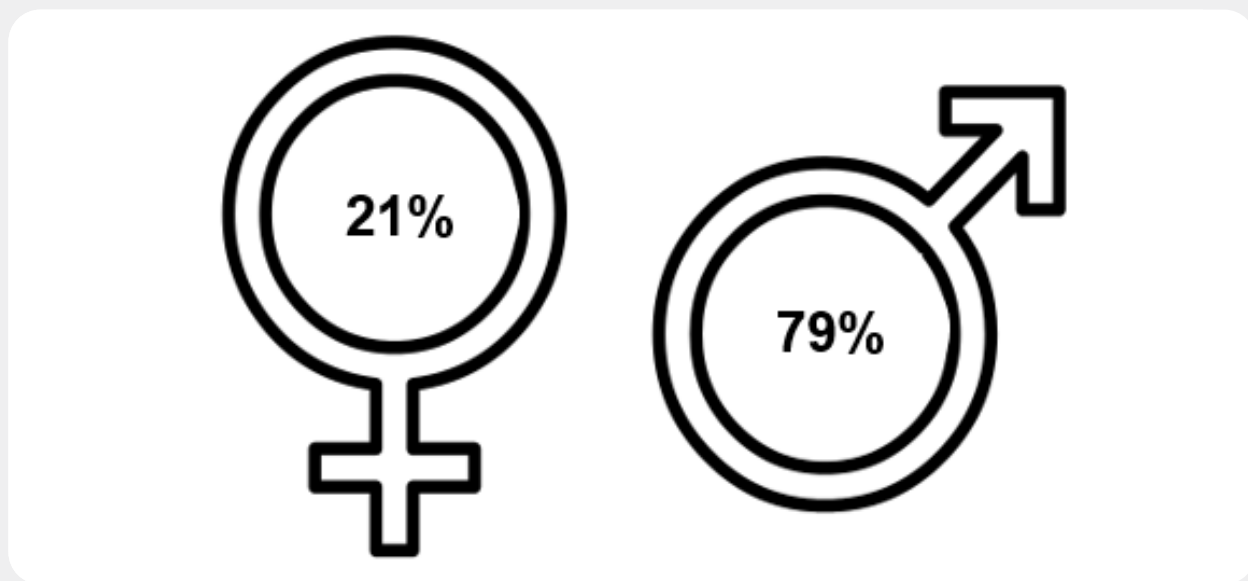
INDEX NUMBER

Table: Representation of attitudes in relation to gender by type of media and overall (male and female candidates)

Therefore, the share of the female position (all female actors) in the total narrative created during the pre-election campaign is only 20%, while the data obtained by selecting only the position of female candidates from the list or list leaders compared to male candidates and list leaders in a polarized manner (excluding gender-neutral and gender-balanced indexes), amounts to 21%. This indicates that

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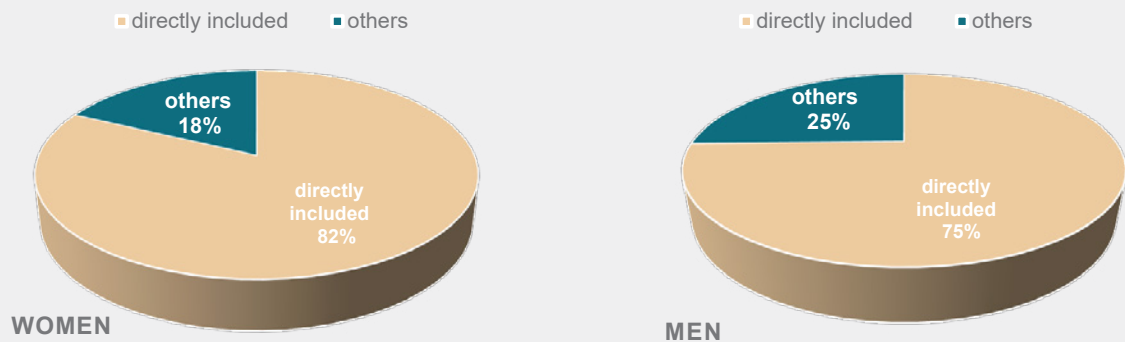
female narrative in the pre-election campaign was created by direct female participants in the pre-election race. However, both data indicate a low representation of the female perspective.



Graph: Percentage ratio of announcements with a dominant male and a dominant female perspective (only female candidates (leaders) and male candidates (leaders))

More precisely, among the female perspectives, the dominant position of female list leaders was recorded in 121 indexes, while the position of female candidates from the lists was recorded as dominant in 154 indexes (a slight advantage of female candidates despite the fact that two lists were led by women). When it comes to men, the dominant position among male list leaders was recorded in 596 indexes, while the position of male candidates from the lists as dominant was recorded in 435 indexes.

By cross-referencing the parameters of dominant gender and actor, data shows that when discussing information from the perspective of those who are not directly involved (other political and other actors), predominance of the male voice is also noted. Out of the total appearance of women related to these actors - 18% of the posts are attributed to them, whereas for men, it's 25% of the posts. This comparison indicates that even when they are recorded in the media, in relation to the electoral process, women are more often representatives of the political party rather than independent actors. Although the presidents of political parties, who were not direct participants in the campaign (they were not candidates on the lists or leaders of the list), participated in the campaign, their position remained "in the shadow" of what was said by the direct participants in the local elections (candidates - leaders). For example, Milo Đukanović generated 128 planned media appearances related to local elections, Dritan Abazović 192, Aleksa Bečić 87, and Andrija Mandić 29 announcements.



Graph: dominant gender - actors (direct participants in local elections/other politicians-actors)

A smaller share of women’s attitudes in media content and the overall narrative in the election campaign can be “justified” by the fact that lists led by men allowed less space for media and public exposure of women from those lists. For example, viewed from the aspect of media appearances, Dr. Ivan Vuković almost entirely conducted the pre-election campaign, while female candidates from other lists appeared sporadically. Determined lower representation of women compared to men in the observed media space reflects their lower representation on the pre-election lists. In order to be effective, the structure of an election campaign must be linked to the interests of voters and directed towards the target group to gain as much support as possible. If certain issue (in this case, gender policy) is not included in the parties’ election programs, party representatives are less likely to come out with messages of on that issue extensively, because that would be a “deviation” from the proclaimed strategy. In all three observed municipalities, and regarding all observed lists, the pre-election campaign did not significantly gender issues and gender equality. The absence of these issues is not necessarily a matter of how political parties on the list address gender-related issues, but can also be seen as a result of a large number of unresolved or disputable issues that have inundated the public sphere, narrowing visibility for many important issues. In summary, **gender equality is not recognized by political parties as part of the societal issues that could influence the electoral will of citizens.**

Stereotypes and misogyny

A relatively low number of announcements with stereotypical treatment of women was recorded in the media - 22 announcements (1 in print media and 21 on portals) out of a total of 2385 indexes, which is 0.92% of the total material. However, these announcements are not a direct attack on women, rather, they involve attributing predetermined attributes or roles to women with the intention of praise, emphasizing their personal “qualities”. Among these announcements, mentions of women as ladies,

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the fairer or more tender sex, wives, mothers, etc., were also noted.¹⁷ The direct disparagement of the female gender was noted in an anonymous post on Borba.me portal, supposedly mocking women's enjoyment of pop culture (Zdravko Čolić's music).¹⁸ In the controlled public discourse, specifically in the announcements monitored in traditional media (TV, print media and web portals), there were no recorded publications containing direct misogyny.

Presence of information on gender equality (thematic aspect)

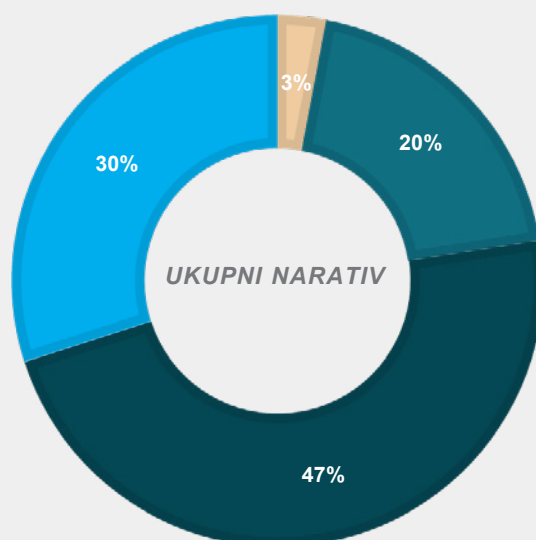
The pre-election campaign, in all three observed municipalities and lists, did not significantly address gender issues, moreover, it can be said that this theme is present to a statistically insignificant extent, as it was featured as the primary theme in only 11 media announcements (3 in TV contents and 8 on the portals). "Political participation of women" as a thematic unit generated 44 media announcements (7 on TV, 4 in print media and 33 on portals). Women were often present at pre-election conventions, but they rarely directly addressed the electorate, so they are sporadically mentioned in media posts as being present or speakers, and their key messages are rarely published. Only 71 media announcements were identified in which gender-sensitive topics appear as dominant. **The total share of gender-sensitive topics (primarily present) in the general narrative (2385 media announcements), i.e. the number of media announcements dedicated to local elections is only 2.98%.**

LOCAL ISSUES

- spatial plans
- devastation of nature
- infrastructure
- issues of the MH
- health care
- tourism
- culture

POLITICAL ISSUES

- general political issues
- organized crime
- identity issues
- security
- corruption



GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES

- gender equality
- political participation of women
- violence against women
- economic, social and cultural rights
- sexual and reproductive rights

ECONOMIC SOCIAL ISSUES

- economy - general
- social policies - general
- education - general
- healthcare - general
- ecology - general
- culture - general

Graph: percentage share of primarily present issues

¹⁷ Eg: Dajković welcomed Borovinička with fireworks and flowers: Mayoress, welcome!, PORTAL VIJESTI, 08 October 2022 LATEST Is Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović the right person? For the future of Podgorica, IN4S PORTAL, 29 September 2022 CULTURE Former minister forced solution: Mandić and Slaven "Rozi" are hiding behind Zdravko's apostles, AKTUELNO.ME, 29 September 2022. OTHER

¹⁸ The fiasco of the all-powerful DPS: They are no longer allowed to even mention the name of their party and have hidden behind the song of Zdravko Čolić! BORBA.ME, 05. 10. 2022. MONTENEGRO



An exception in terms of specific mention of gender equality issues in the observed part of the campaign is the address of the candidate for the mayor of Podgorica, Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović, and the candidate for the president of the municipality of Budva, Dragana Mitrović. Forum dedicated to the position of women in Montenegro and their participation in political life was organized by the coalition “For the Future of Podgorica”. However, the media mainly highlighted the establishment of the Social Fund for Women as the main message, emphasizing the position of the traditional woman/mother, which is not the issue related to the political participation of women.¹⁹ In the campaign of this coalition, even though it was led by a woman, the highest number of stereotypes was recorded. Vladislav Dajković, a candidate for councillor, stood out in making these stereotypes. For example, the candidate was sung a song, brought flowers, or talked about as a family woman, which goes beyond the personal and is not necessarily relevant to the campaign. Moreover, despite the fact that a woman led this list, it is paradoxical that the MEC returned the list for revision due to the insufficient representation of female candidates on that list.

The coalition “The right thing, United for Budva - Dragana Mitrović” organized a forum called “United for her”, with an emphasis on the position of women in the society and on the political scene. This panel promoted the need to achieve full participation of women in politics, although concrete steps to achieve this goal were not announced, except for the fact that the candidate for the president of the municipality is a woman. From the same coalition, the need for support for women and young people when starting a business was highlighted (separate media appearances of female candidates from that list), which is considered positive in terms of the economic, cultural, and social rights of women.

Since creating public policies concerning violence against women, political participation, and sexual and reproductive rights are not within the competence of local authorities, it can be partially understood why the focus of the campaign was not on them.

Addressing workplace mobbing, while tying the importance of this issue to gender equality, was recorded in the address of Radmila Milošević, a candidate for councillor in the Capital City Assembly from the list Reversal,²⁰ and it represents a good example of addressing ways to achieve gender equality.

As an interesting but informative note, we single out the fact that not a single announcement addressed the issue of gender from the perspective of sexual and reproductive rights. This issue was also set as a specific research task due to the increasing importance of this topic at the European and global levels, specifically because of the abortion ban. Additionally, violence against women was

¹⁹ Available at: <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/625720/borovinic-bojovic-jedna-od-programskih-tacaka-je-socijalni-fond-koji-ce-se-baviti-problemima-samohranih-majki-i-zena>

²⁰ Available at: <https://gradski.me/milosevic-svaka-institucija-mora-definisati-sopstvene-postupke-prijavljivanja-mobinga-na-radnom-mjestu/>

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not addressed as a theme in the observed part of the campaign, except for workplace mobbing as one form of violence. This topic can be categorized as one whose significance is growing but has not found its place in the campaign of electoral lists for the 2022 local elections.

THEMATIC DIVISION				
	LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.			
	TELEVISIONS	PRINTED MEDIA	PORTALS	TOTAL
GENDER EQUALITY - GENERAL	3	0	8	11
SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS	0	0	0	0
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	0	0	4	4
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS	1	0	11	12
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN	7	4	33	44
ECONOMY - GENERAL	42	10	148	200
EDUCATION - GENERAL	7	3	23	33
HEALTHCARE - GENERAL	4	0	17	21
SOCIAL POLICIES - GENERAL (POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT...)	15	8	105	128
ECOLOGY	9	3	35	47
OTHER ISSUES	16	28	182	226
LOCAL ISSUES	132	45	537	714
GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES	69	45	340	454
IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES	15	7	165	187
SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS, CRIME, CORRUPTION...)	28	18	220	266
CULTURE	10	1	27	38
NUMBER OF POSTS	358	172	1855	2385

Table: thematic division by type of media - primarily present themes (number of publications)

For the purposes of this analysis, secondarily present themes were also observed and indexed to ensure that the presence of gender-sensitive themes was not missed even in such a media focus. Similar to the primary, the secondary representation of gender-sensitive topics is at a low level. Also, "gender equality - general" and some gender-sensitive topics were most frequently combined as primary and secondary topics. This further



indicates that, when gender-sensitive topics were discussed, it was done intentionally and purposefully (the entire or a significant part of the announcement was dedicated to a gender-sensitive topic). On the other hand, when it comes to other themes, “general political issues” are most often (primarily/secondarily) combined with security, ideological or religious issues, while probably the most common combination in the overall cross-section is “local issues” and “economy - general”. Therefore, the cross-referencing of data, i.e., indexes of primary and secondary present themes, indicates that the overall narrative of these elections has shifted from the field of general political stories, debates about identity or religious issues to topics that affect the public more, such as the local economy, local social policies, spatial planning, local ecology, and so on.

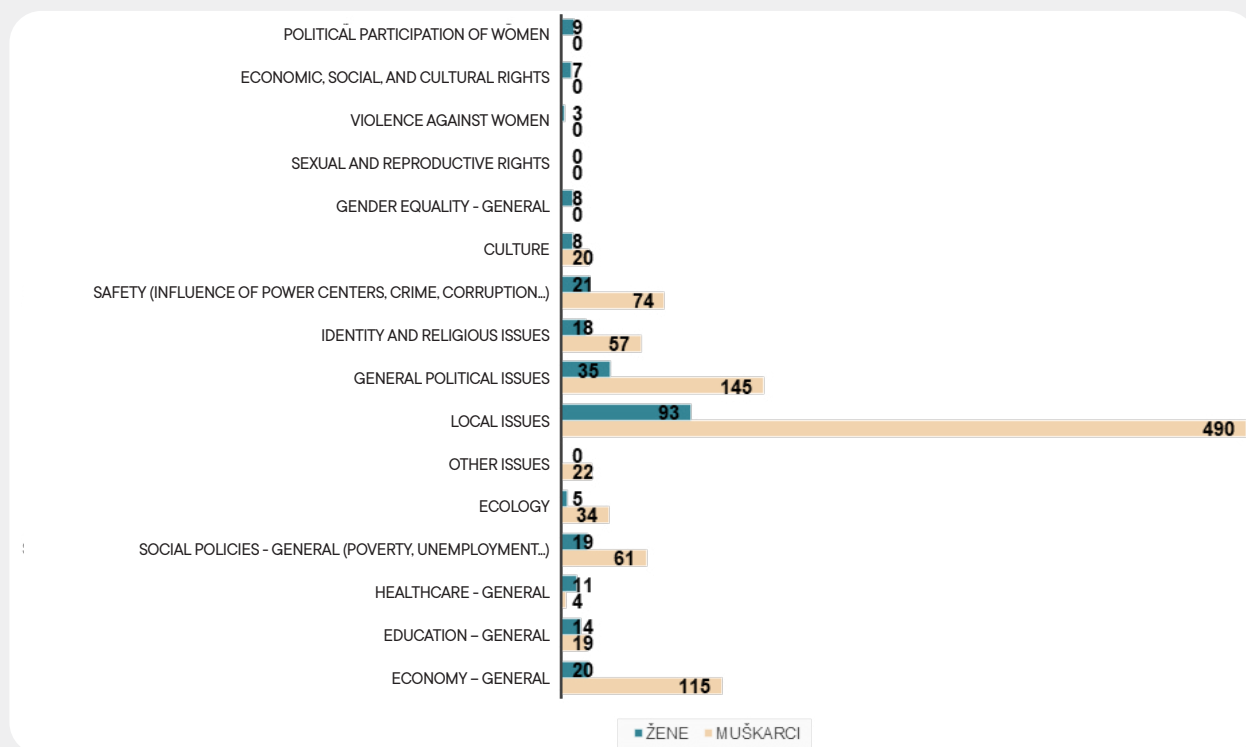
THEMATIC DIVISION									
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.									
	TELEVISION		PRINTED MEDIA		PORTALS		TOTAL		
	PRIM.	SEC.	PRIM.	SEC.	PRIM.	SEC.	PRIM.	SEC.	
GENDER EQUALITY - GENERAL	3	7	0	0	8	37	11	44	
SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS	1	3	0	0	11	5	12	8	
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN	7	2	4	0	33	12	44	14	
ECONOMY - GENERAL	42	52	10	13	148	143	200	208	
EDUCATION - GENERAL	7	3	3	1	23	22	33	26	
HEALTHCARE - GENERAL	4	2	0	0	17	9	21	11	
SOCIAL POLICIES - GENERAL (POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT...)	15	18	8	10	105	69	128	97	
ECOLOGY	9	29	3	2	35	58	47	89	
OTHER ISSUES	16	16	28	29	182	184	226	229	
LOCAL ISSUES	132	118	45	36	537	491	714	645	
GENERAL POLITICAL ISSUES	69	71	45	72	340	575	454	718	
IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS ISSUES	15	21	7	8	165	143	187	172	
SAFETY (INFLUENCE OF POWER CENTERS, CRIME, CORRUPTION...)	28	14	18	0	220	98	266	112	
CULTURE	10	2	1	1	27	9	38	12	
NUMBER OF POSTS	358	358	172	172	1855	1855	2385	2385	

Table: thematic division by type of media - primary and secondary presence of themes

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For example, “women’s political participation” as a thematic unit generated 44 media announcements (7 on television, 4 in print media and 33 in portals). During the election campaign period, there was a notable increase in the number of posts mentioning gender in connection with compliance with legally prescribed standards. This was evident in records of lists being returned for revision and observations that some lists were declared valid despite not meeting the stipulated criteria. Representatives of NGOs, among them Damir Suljević, who is also a member of the State Election Commission (SEC) on behalf of NGOs and the academic community, pointed out that the lists are not in accordance with the Law on the Election of Councilors and Members of Parliament. Although it was a violation of one of the systemic laws, discussions on this were initiated solely by the civil sector.

The selection of issues addressed by women (female candidates for councilor positions) on occasions when they had the opportunity to express their position can also be informative, with the note that women almost exclusively addressed gender-related issues. The following graph illustrates the cross-section of the parameters of the dominant gender of the announcements (only men and only women) with the dominant theme of the announcement. Themes concerning gender equality, either as general or as specific issues (violence, women’s political participation, sexual rights) were not recorded in the addresses of male candidates (incumbents). These issues were mentioned in an extremely low number and almost always by women (female candidates-leaders). In all other observed issues, there is a dominance of the male voice, with a slightly higher percentage of comments that came from women related to the education theme (41% of the total number of announcements related to this theme). Health and social policies are topics where women were identified as the dominant subject in about 30% of posts. The share of the female voice in all other topics is approximately 10%. Ecology and economy were topics predominantly discussed by men.



Graph: male candidates (leaders)/female candidates (leaders) - share of male and female dominant position in topics (index number)



The following graph shows the percentage of topics represented in the overall narrative created by the candidate-leaders and female candidates-leaders.

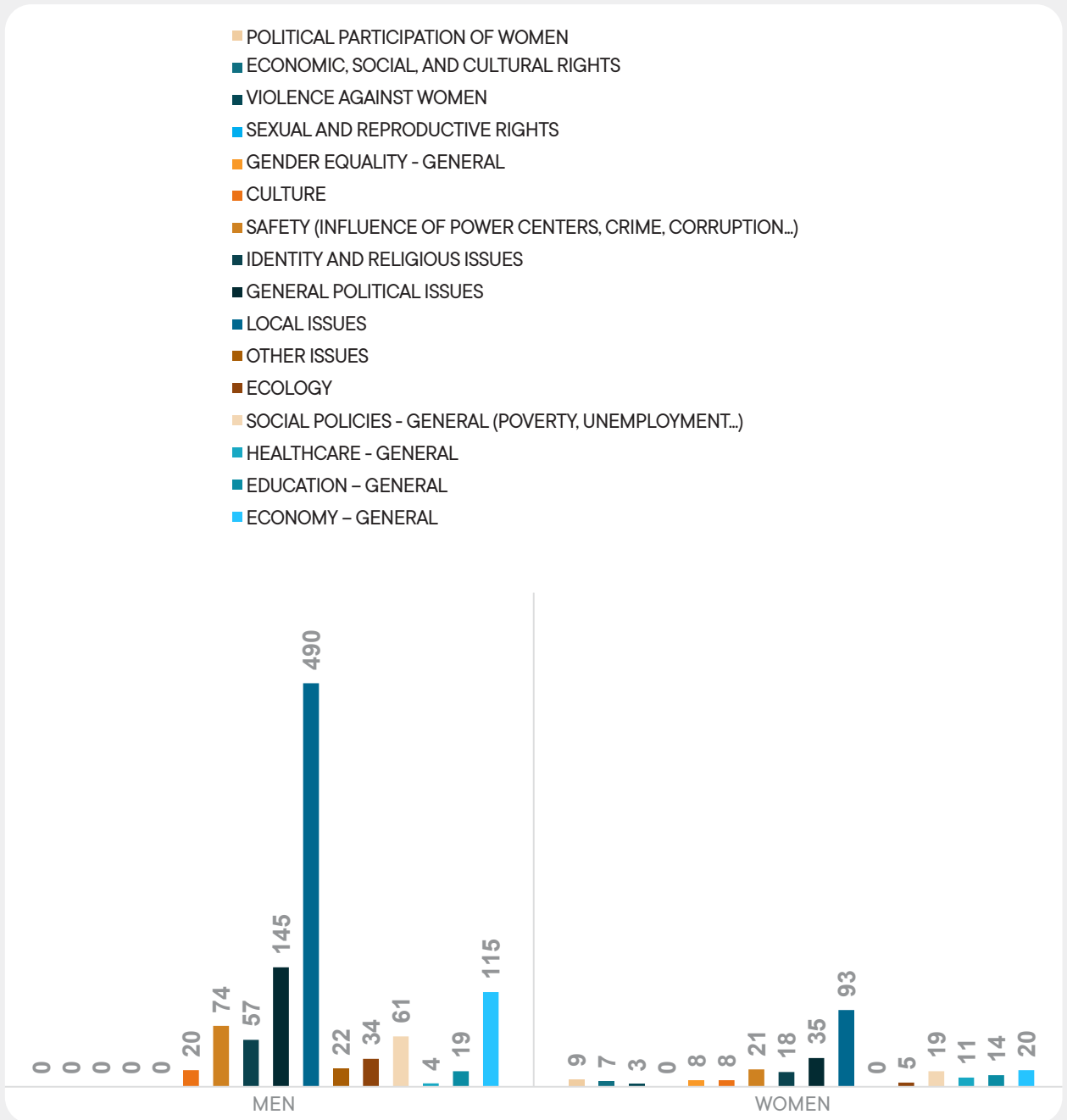
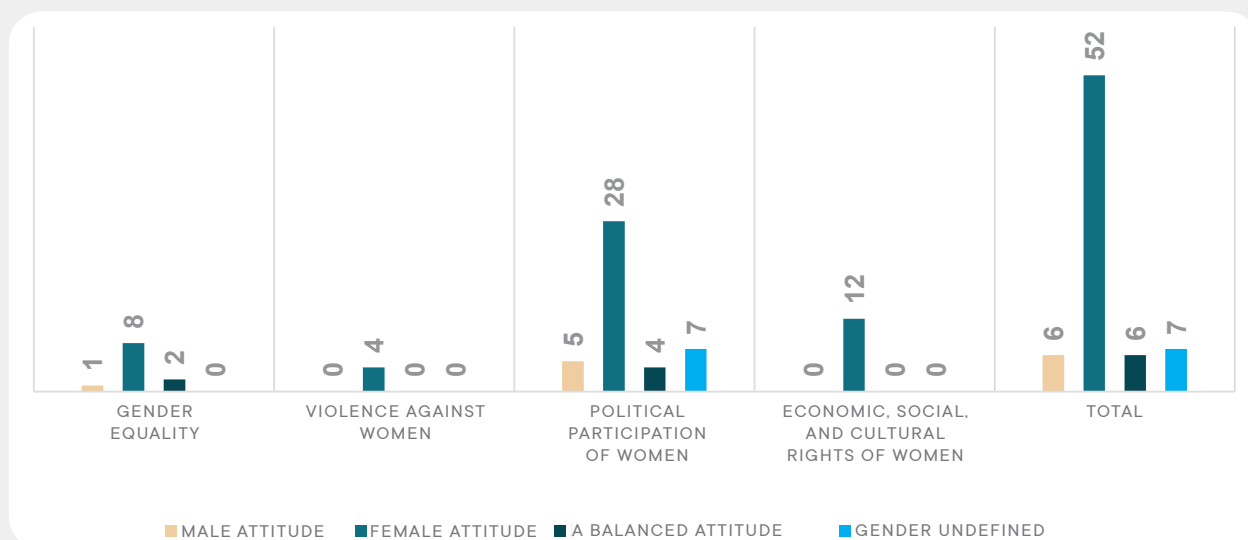


Chart: number of indexes in the total female or male narrative (candidates and leaders)

The primary themes addressed or mentioned by female and male candidates for councilors or municipal presidents indicate several differences. The first and most important is that the men

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from the candidate positions did not address gender equality issues at all. *Gender equality and women's political participation* constitute 3% of the total number of announcements in which female candidates/leaders are dominant, while violence against women makes up 1%, and economic, social and cultural rights constitutes 4%. Announcements in which female candidates' addresses fell under category "other" were not recorded, while male candidates/leaders did so in 2% of announcements, which is another confirmation that when women speak, they are always directly involved in the process and deal with a specific issue, while this is not a necessary condition for men. The *healthcare* theme was reserved only for the statements of the female candidates/leaders, while the male candidates/leaders did not deal with these issues. Common to both genders in this election cycle is the great attention given to *specific local issues* (female candidates – 35%, male candidates – 45%). The *safety* theme garnered a significant 11% of the total number of appearances by both genders. *General political issues, economy and identity issues* also earned a high share of female and male candidates' appearances



Graph: distribution of indexes by gender – primary gender-sensitive topics

Therefore, out of the four observed themes, women predominantly spoke about the political participation of women (index 31), and the majority of this was due to the media appearances of representatives from the NGO sector (CCE and CDT, Milica Zindović and Milena Gvozdenović), with a smaller portion being a reaction from other political entities (Women's Club of the Parliament of Montenegro, Tamara Vujović). When it comes to the female candidates and leaders, the gender-sensitive theme was addressed by the leader of the list "For the future of Podgorica", Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović, in an interview, and the leader of the list "United for Budva, Dragana Mitrović" through the organization of a conference dedicated to gender equality (in these media reports, "political participation of women" was a secondary theme while the primary theme was gender equality in general).



When it comes to gender-sensitive topics related to “women’s political participation,” a predominantly male perspective is highlighted. However, only two positive indexes have been observed, both coming from representatives of NGOs, as a result of the media appearance of the CCE representative, Damir Suljević, who spoke about the problem of insufficient representation of women on candidate lists. This suggests, in general, that female candidates, male candidates, as well as other political entities, rather poorly addressed this specific topic, and the two positive male-dominant indexes related to this topic (solely by NGOs) confirm the thesis that this topic is low on the priority agenda, especially for male politicians in Montenegro.

The economic, social and cultural rights of women were mentioned exclusively by women themselves, and the same applies to the topic of violence against women (discussions on workplace mobbing against women). The general story about gender equality was found in 11 indexes, of which 8 originated from women or had a dominant female attitude. Therefore, **gender-sensitive topics were mostly discussed by women themselves** (52 media announcements or 73% of the total gender-sensitive narrative created during the pre-election campaign).

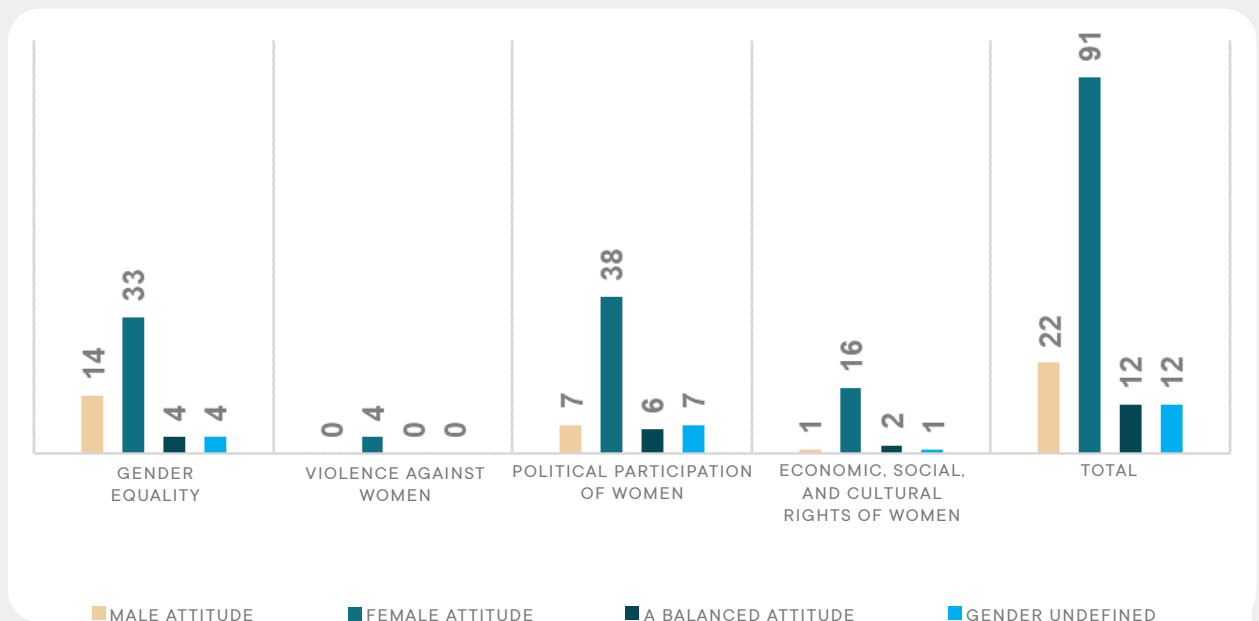


Chart: distribution of indexes by gender - primary and secondary gender-sensitive topics (dominantly present attitudes by gender)

In order to correctly interpret the distribution of media content related to gender-sensitive topics, this graph contains both primary and secondarily present gender-sensitive topics, with a total of 137 announcements. Of that number, 66% originated from women or exhibited a dominance of the female perspective. The presence of gender-sensitive topics in the primary ones was most often accompanied by another, a secondary gender-sensitive topic. For example, when discussing the political participation of women, the secondary focus was mostly on the topic of gender equality in a general term. In general, the overall narrative on these topics was created by women, while men, when addressing these topic typically stayed within general frameworks (in 14 media indexes), and partly in the domain of women’s

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political participation (7 announcements - representatives of the NGO sector).

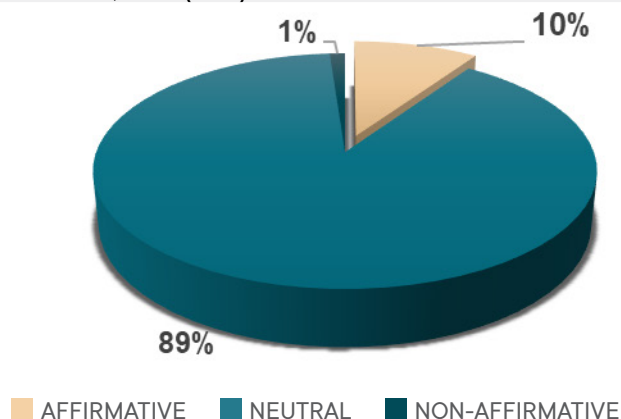
Gender-neutral and gender-undefined media announcements about women's political participation were primarily generated by lists being sent back for revision due to violations of the law regarding the mandatory representation of women on the lists, as well as reactions from the civil sector in response to specific cases (public statements from relevant institutions and NGOs).

Sentiment of themes

Sentiment or tone is determined solely in relation to the primary present theme. It is important to emphasize the fact that the positive tones were primarily generated through the use of gender-sensitive language by actors in the pre-election campaign, as well as through positive sentiments in the theme "general political issues" and reactions from relevant state authorities and the NGO sector, regarding the insufficient representation of women on candidate lists (categorized as "other topics"). Only a small portion of affirmative announcements was created through concrete and essential treatment of topics related to gender equality, i.e. gender sensitive topics.

Chart: percentage share of sentiment related to gender equality

Out of a total of 2,385 indexes, 227 (10%) were affirmative in the context of gender equality. The



largest part of media announcements was neutral regarding gender equality, and 1% or specifically 27 media announcements are considered non-affirmative in this context. It is precisely in these posts that the presence of stereotypes was observed, mainly related to the use of the term "fairer sex" when referring to women, the absence of the use of gender-sensitive language by women themselves, instances of singing songs and bringing flowers to Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović, and highlighting her family role, which is not necessarily relevant to the campaign.²¹

²¹ Available at: <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/625033/dajkovic-uz-vatromet-i-cvijece-docekao-borovinicku-gradonacelnice-dobro-dosla>

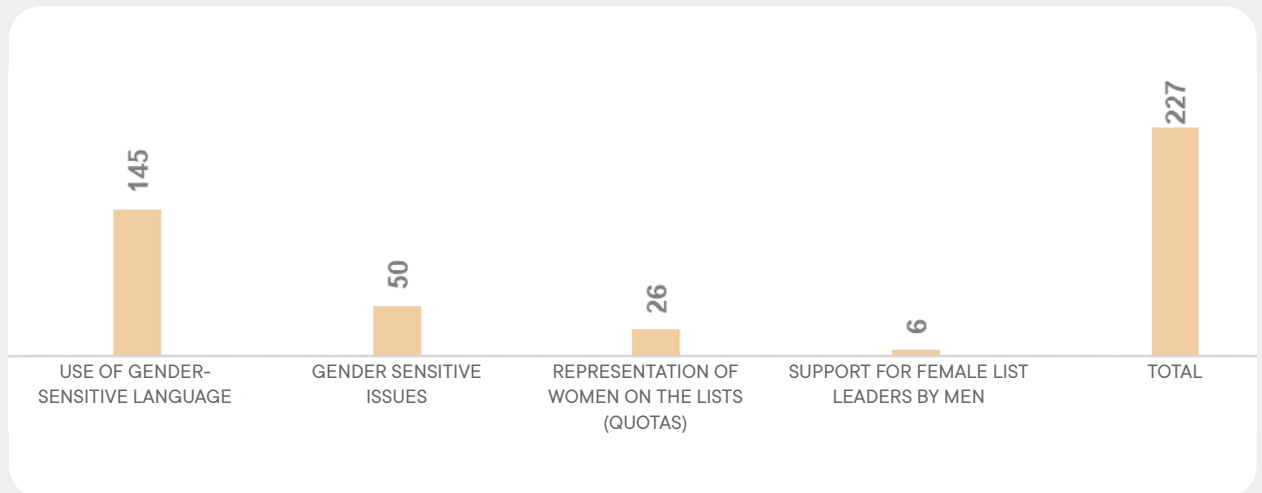
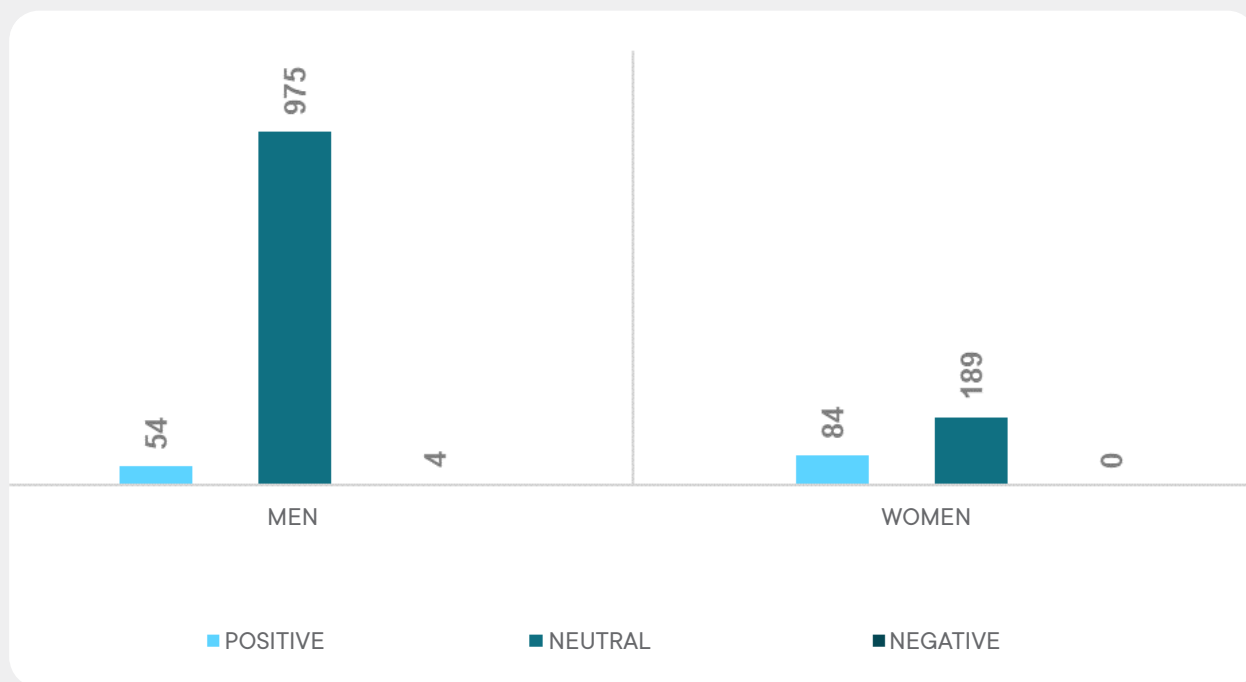


Chart: structure of positive sentiments (number of indexes)

From the perspective of gender equality, a cumulative total of 227 affirmative media announcements were recorded. A detailed insight into the structure of affirmative announcements indicates that most of them, more precisely 145, were generated by the use of gender-sensitive language by the actors. There were 50 media announcements related to defined topics on gender equality which created a positive sentiment about it. Concerning cases of Law violations regarding quotas, 26 media announcements are considered positive, specifically addressing the violations. Support for women is a category that refers to isolated cases of support for the mayoral candidate Dr Jelena Borovinić Bojović by male political actors (Vladislav Dajković, Dragan Koprivica..).

Crossing data with respect to the representation of perspectives (male - female attitude), provides informative and detailed data that, in a way, address the initiators of the topic's sentiments. For example, the positive sentiment of the topic, that is, the affirmative approach to gender equality was recorded in a small number of announcements. Even this degree of affirmative sentiment towards the topic at the center of this research (gender equality), is attributed to women (whether they were political actors or representatives of the civil sector, state or local institutions, etc.). Although the dominance of the male voice was observed in the overall narrative, a greater number of positive sentiment announcements are related to those announcements in which women are the dominant subject, **thus positive sentiments were made by female actors rather than male actors**. Positive sentiment of the topic was recorded in 83 announcements in which woman is the main subject, while in those where a man is the main subject, 79 positive posts were found. Percentage-wise, only 6% of the total number of posts in which a man is the dominant subject (male voice is either the only one or predominant) were positive towards gender equality, whereas in posts with a dominant female voice, this percentage was 25%.

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Graph: topic sentiment in relation to gender (female candidates-holders/candidates-holders)

Out of a total of 277 affirmative indexes from gender equality perspective, 84 were created by female candidates/leaders and 54 by male candidates/leaders. The remaining 89 positive sentiments were created as a result of media appearances by other actors (other politicians, representatives of NGOs...). Therefore, even the little affirmative discussion about gender-sensitive topics during the election campaign was launched by women, whether they were candidates/list leaders or representatives of NGOs or other political actors.

It is also noted that the use of gender-sensitive language is not at a satisfactory level, and this also applies to announcements in which nouns of the female gender are used to denote professions, even for the essential ones for which candidates applied. For example, the majority of positive announcements were related to the use of gender-sensitive language. The media are not the only ones to blame for this, but also those whose views and narratives were reported by the media.

For instance, there were recorded announcements in which Jelena Borovinić Bojović, Ph.D. is “candidate (male noun) for mayor (male noun)”, but a much larger number of announcements had both terms. It is problematic that the female candidates themselves often used gender-insensitive language. Let’s say, the holder of the list “*The real thing, the coalition United for Budva - Dragana Mitrović*”, states that she “*didn’t get into this story to become a politician (male noun)...*”.

Characteristic of the *Borba.me* portal is the publication of texts that are not signed, making it impossible to determine whose opinion is being expressed. In one of these texts, an example of stereotypes is



noted, with using constructions such as “the fairer sex.” In *Analitika*, under the *Attitude* section, the title “Departing wimp in pyrotechnic mandate”, by Milorad Pustahija, which was reposted from *Pobjeda*, contains a stereotypical and offensive statement from the perspective of women and gender equality. Although the title as such is not not exclusively related to local elections but sporadically mentioned in the broader context of the current political situation in the country, it represented a part of the media material. Inter alia, it states that the current Prime Minister-designate, Dritan Abazović, “dismissed the director of National Security Agency as a maid in half an hour...”. This can be considered controversial from several aspects of gender equality. Namely, someone’s profession in this case was used as a kind of insult addressed to the other party. The problematic aspect here is the gender assignment of this profession, as “maid” automatically refers to a person of the female gender. The stance of author Danilo Marunović for the *Analitika portal* also contains insults against women. Namely, it is said that “the problem is that cash is sent secretly stuffed in the underwear of priests and wife of the priest”.

Vladislav Dajković has already been mentioned, who directed stereotypes towards the candidate who was leading the list he belonged to, including through a video in which he intended to portray political opponents in an extremely negative light by sending offensive messages to women. In the aforementioned video, the “secretary” is depicted with a multitude of stereotypes directed towards women, such as lack of eloquence, style of dressing, interests (reading fashion magazines), and even the way she addresses her superior and vice versa, ect.

In the article titled “The Fiasco of the All-Powerful DPS: They are no longer allowed to even mention the name of their party and have hidden behind the song of Zdravko Čolić!” the following is stated: “And it is obvious that Čolić stole the hearts of the fairer sex from the media team of the Democratic Party of Socialists, and thus we see them today running in local elections in all municipalities (except Podgorica) under the slogan - The Right Thing.” The use of established phrases like “fairer sex,” “weaker sex,” “gentler sex,” and so on, represents a common example of labeling women, which only reinforces existing stereotypical roles.

When it comes to visual representation, the presence of women has been noted. They are visible in photographs/videos of events or when their specific addresses are being covered. It can be said that in a significant portion of posts, they served as “decoration” (being positioned on stage, behind counters where flyers are being distributed, etc.).

General narrative

When it comes to the general narrative, statistics obtained through monitoring indicate that it predominantly revolves around the local elections in Podgorica. Out of the total number of mentions of local elections in the three cities, which amounts to 2,385 (not equivalent to the number of media articles, as there were cases where the elections in all three cities were mentioned in a single article, but those were exceptions), Podgorica alone accounts for 1,540 mentions, which is 65% of the total recorded indexes or mentions of local elections in the three municipalities.

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CONSTITUENCIES				
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.				
	TELEVISION	PRINT MEDIA	PORTALS	TOTAL
LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA 2022	214	113	1213	1540
LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA 2022	84	32	413	529
LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA 2022	60	27	229	316
INDEX NUMBER	358	172	1855	2385

Table: the share of cities in the creation of the overall narrative (index number)

When creating the framework for election campaigns, consideration is given to the circumstances in which the elections are held, the level of political culture, economic development, social well-being, and so on. Therefore, the dominant themes in pre-election campaigns are those that are assessed to provoke specific reactions among citizens. In election campaigns held during times of crisis, identity issues often come to the forefront, which is a constant in the Montenegrin context. After the pandemic and the so-called “corona crisis,” which is still ongoing but receives less public attention, the focus has shifted to the war in Ukraine, which has implications for Montenegro in various aspects.

However, in the overall content of the observed three municipalities, there is a dominance of “local issues” in contrast to many earlier observed election cycles when theme such as identity and general political issues prevailed²². In 520 indexes related to local elections in the capital, primary issues in the publications were local topics. In Budva, this topic generated 139 indexes, while in Pljevlja, there were 55 indexes. The thematic category of “economy” was the primary focus in the overall corpus (all three municipalities) with 200 indexes, while “social policies (poverty, unemployment, etc.)” were the primary in 128 indexes.

The following table shows data by electoral units, in relation to the media content that, whether in terms of quantity, focus of information, or sentiment, had a stronger impact on the domestic audience, or consumers of information in the observed media.

²² CCE and the Archimed agency conducted monitoring of several earlier election cycles (parliamentary and local elections) in which one of the analytical parameters was the thematic division of the overall narrative, which allows us to make general comparative conclusions.



CONSTITUENCIES					
	NUMBER OF PRIMARY ANNOUNCEMENTS	DOMINANT LIST	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	NUMBER OF POSITIVE SENTIMENTS (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE THEMES
LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA 2022	1386	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (382) / FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICE (214)	Local issues (520) / General political issues (304) / Security (182)	145	40
LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA 2022	529	UNITED FOR BUDVA (115) / BUDVA CAN (91) / BUDVA IN THE FIRST PLACE (36)	Local issues (139) / General political issues (91)	60	10
LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA 2022	470	FOUNDATION FOR BETTER PLJEVLJA (52) / LET'S GO PEOPLE – PLJEVLJA (49) / PLJEVLJA TO WIN (32)	General political issues (59) / Local issues (55)	22	21
INDEX NUMBER	2 385			227	71

Table: analytical parameters by electoral units (number of indexes)

Therefore, the overall narrative of the local election campaign held in October 2022 in 14 electoral units differs from previous observed periods. There has been a noticeable shift from identity, religious, and issues regarding Montenegro's international status to internal, primarily economic, and then other issues of importance to the daily lives of citizens. However, there is still a high number of announcements addressing country's identity or sovereignty, considering that these were local elections, generating 187 media announcements. Additionally, right from slogans such as "It is ours," it is clear that the narrative has shifted from the national to the construction of local identity, emphasizing and portraying a desirable image of a citizen rather than offering concrete solutions to vital issues. However, one must be cautious in drawing conclusions here because the mentioned slogan is ambiguous. On one hand, it indicates pride and the highlighting of the qualities of the list's leader, and on the other hand, it sends a message of political "conquest" or appropriation of the capital city - Podgorica.

The following three tables show analytical parameters by candidate lists (all three types of media):

- Column I (from left to right) represents the total number of generated announcements;
- Column II shows the number of announcements of different tone in relation to a specific list;
- Column III represents the number of planned media announcements, i.e. those announcements in which representatives of the lists (candidates - leaders) had the opportunity to send a political message or position to the public;
- Column IV represents the selection of media that were singled out for a specific candidate list in

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terms of the space for disseminating political messages/stances (planned);

- Column V contains the name of the theme that appears as dominant in the narrative of the specific list (i.e., planned appearances).
- Column VI contains the number of gender-sensitive topics whose media presence is linked to specific list (initiated by that specific list):
- the last column represents the ratio of the number of dominant male and dominant female stances for each list individually (candidates and list leaders only).

LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA							
							LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.
	TOTAL NUMBER OF INDEXES	POs/NEUT/ NEG	NUMBER OF PLANNED POSTS	MEDIA (PLANNED)	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES (primary -index number)	MALE/FEMALE (dominant attitude - candidates)
SNP-Thoroughly for PODGORICA-PODGORICA 2022	106	70/27/9	73	Vijesti.me Rtcg.me Borba.me Gradski.me Blago Dan	Highly local issues	0	57/11
SVETOSAVSKA SERBIAN LIST-PODGORICA 2022	77	45/24/8	52	CdM Blago Dan Blago TV Adria	Identity and religious issues	0	47/0
EUROPE NOW! PODGORICA 2022	140	100/30/10	101	Blago rtcg.me Blago Dan Blago TV Vijesti	Local issues	1	87/0
LET'S GO PEOPLE- DEMOCRATS-UNITED- DEMOS- PODGORICA 2022	162	117/32/13	113	Blago Vijesti.me Blago Dan Blago Adria TV	Local issues (general political issues)	0	67/10
FOR THE FUTURE PODGORICA-DF- RIGHT-FREE-JKP-PODGORICA 2022	311	221/44/46	214	Borba, IN4S i Vijesti.me TV Adria i TV Prva Blago Dan	Local issues and Security (influence of power centers, crime, corruption...)	10	52/130
PODGORICA CAN-URA- CIVIS-AA-PODGORICA 2022	230	144/28/58	147	Blago CdM i Vijesti.me Blago Dan Blago TV Vijesti i TV Adria	Highly local issues	0	87/6
REVERSAL-2022	67	64/21/0	47	Portal Vijesti Rtcg.me Blago Dan	Local issues	6	32/13
EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY- DPS-SD-SDP-MAJ 21- MAY- LP-BS- PODGORICA 2022	837	457/80/300	382	Analitika CdM i Gradski.me TV Vijesti i Gradska TV Pobjeda i Dan	Local issues	0	302/13
INDEX NUMBER							

Table: analytical parameters by candidatde lists - PODGORICA (index number)

When it comes to the lists in Podgorica, both in terms of the cumulative number of announcements and the



number of planned media appearances, the list EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY -DPS-SD-SDP-21.MAY-LP-BS dominates. The overall pre-election narrative in Podgorica has been shaped by the media appearances of this list and the list FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA-DF-TRUE-FREE-JKP-PODGORICA 2022, while other lists have been less active. For most lists' narrative, "local issues" emerge as the dominant (with the exception of the list For the future of Podgorica, which also focused significantly on the "security" theme with an emphasis on organized crime and corruption). Gender-sensitive issues are statistically negligible across all lists, with significant disproportion in the number of dominant male versus dominant female stances (except for the list For the future of Podgorica whose list leader was Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović).

LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA							
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.							
	TOTAL NUMBER OF INDEXES	POS/NEUT/NEG	NUMBER OF PLANNED POSTS	MEDIA (PLANNED)	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES (primary - index number)	MALE/FEMALE (dominant attitude – male and female candidates)
BUDVA IN THE FIRST PLACE -DF-BUDVA 2022	104	33/12/59	36	Borba.me TV Budva i blago TV Adria	Local and general political issues	0	32/0
UNITED FOR BUDVA-DPS-SD-SDP-21.MAY-LP- BUDVA 2022	159	119/14/26	117	Analitika CdM rtvbudva.me TV Budva	Local and Security issues (influence of power centers, crime, corruption...)	13	41/34
TRUE MONTENEGRO - BUDVA 2022	25	16/9/0	17	rtvbudva.me TV Budva	Economics (General)	0	12/4
SNP- THOROUGHLY FOR BUDVA-BUDVA 2022	19	7/10/2	8	TV Budva	General political, identity issues	0	7/0
LET'S GO PEOPLE-DEMOCRATS-DEMOS-BUDVA 2022	93	63/12/18	63	rtvbudva.me TV Budva	Local issues	1	41/10
CIVIC ACTION-FOR THE BETTER BUDVA-BUDVA 2022	41	27/11/3	31	rtvbudva.me i Portal Vijesti TV Budva	Local issues and Security (corruption)	0	26/0
BUDVA CAN-GP URA-BUDVA 2022	112	90/11/11	91	rtcg.me rtvbudva.me Vijesti.me TV Budva	Local issues	0	62/19

Table: analytical parameters by candidate lists - BUDVA (index number)

The list "UNITED FOR BUDVA-DPS-SD-SDP-21.MAY-LP" had the largest share (in terms of the number of planned generated posts) in shaping the overall narrative in the pre-election campaign in Budva. Other lists that had a significant impact on the overall narrative were "BUDVA CAN-GP URA" and "LET'S GO PEOPLE -DEMOCRATS-DEMOS," while the other political entities generated much smaller

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number of planned media appearances. For most lists in Budva, “local issues” dominate the narrative, and the presence of gender-sensitive themes is statistically negligible. In this regard, the list UNITED FOR BUDVA-DPS-SD-SDP-21.MAY-LP slightly stood out, but despite being led by a woman, there were numerically more dominant male stances in the announcements than female ones.

LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA							
							LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.
	TOTAL NUMBER OF INDEXES	POS/NEUT/NEG	NUMBER OF PLANNED POSTS	MEDIA (PLANNED)	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES (primary - index number)	MALE/FEMALE (dominant attitude-Cmale and female andidates)
PLJEVLJA TO WIN-DPS-SD-SDP-BS-PLJEVLJA 2022	60	27/11/22	31	pvportal.me TV Pljevlja	Local issues and Ecology	0	16/4
EUROPE NOW-PLJEVLJA 2022	21	13/7/1	17	TV Pljevlje pvportal.me	Local and social issues	0	9/1
LET'S GO PEOPLE -DEMOCRATS- UNITED-MOVEMENT FOR PLJEVLJA-PLJEVLJA 2022	54	45/9/0	49	pvportal.me TV Pljevlja	Local issues	0	36/7
FOUNDATION FOR BETTER PLJEVLJA -SNP-GP URA-PLJEVLJA 2022	56	46/9/1	52	pvportal.me TV Pljevlja	Local, economy and ecology	2	34/7
FOR THE FUTURE OF PLJEVLJA- DF-PLJEVLJA 2022	47	41/6/0	38	pvportal.me TV Pljevlja	Local and social issues and general economy	0	27/4
SPP PARTY OF RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE - PLJEVLJA 2022	4	4/0/0	4	None stood out	Local issues	0	2/0

Table: analytical parameters by candidate lists - PLJEVLJA (index number)

In shaping the overall narrative of the pre-election campaign in Pljevlja, most lists that were part of the electoral cycle had an participated evenly (with the exception of the lists Europe now and Party of Justice and Reconciliation, which generated a smaller number of planned announcements). The dominant narrative revolves around “local issues,” social issues, and the economy, while the list “PLJEVLJA TO WIN-DPS-SD-SDP-BS” put significant emphasis on environmental issues. In terms of gender equality, no statistically significant content was recorded, indicating that this issue was largely ignored by all political entities. There is also a significant disproportion in the number of dominant male and dominant female perspectives across all lists. The following three tables show analytical parameters by media (all three types of media):

- Column I (from left to right) represents the total number of generated announcements for local elections in Podgorica;
- Column II represents the total number of generated announcements for local elections in Budva;
- Column III represents the total number of generated announcements for local elections in Pljevlja;
- Column IV contains the name of the candidate list that stood out in the content of the specific media



by the number of planned announcements, i.e. announcements in which the list had the opportunity to send a political message

- Column V contains the name of the theme that appears as dominant in the narrative of pre-election campaigns of all three electoral units (cumulative);
- Column VI contains the number of gender-sensitive issues whose media presence was observed in the content of the specific media;
- the last column represents the ratio of the number of positive sentiments in relation to the research theme, i.e. gender equality.

LOCAL ELECTIONS (ALL THREE ELECTORAL UNITS) - TELEVISION							
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.							
	LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA	LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA	LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA	DOMINANT LIST (planned publicity)	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES (index number)	NUMBER OF POSITIVE SENTIMENTS (THEME)
TVCG 1	2	2	2	/	Balanced Local issues (3) / Other (3)	0	0
TV VIJESTI	61	2	3	FOR THE FUTURE PODGORICA (14) / EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (13) / EUROPE NOW - PODGORICA (10) / LET'S GO PEOPLE - PODGORICA (10)	Local issues (24) / General political issues (16)	3	11
NOVA M	5	0	0	FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICE (2) / EUROPE NOW (2) / POGORICA CAN (2)	Balanced General political issues (3) / Local issues (2)	0	1
TV PRVA	51	0	1	FOT THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA (20)	Local issues (21) / General political issues (10)	3	11
Adria TV	63	6	0	FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA (19)	Local issues (25) / General political issues (18)	1	9
GRADSKA TV	30	0	0	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (10)	Local issues (11) / General political issues (7)	1	2
RTV BUDVA	1	74	0	LET'S GO PEOPLE - BUDVA (17) / UNITED FOR BUDVA (12) / CIVIC ACTION-FOR BETTER BUDVA (10)	Local issues (27) / Economy (12)	2	7
RTV PLJEVLJA	1	0	54	LET'S GO PEOPLE - PLJEVLJA (14) / FOUNDATION FOR BETTER PLJEVLJA (12) / EUROPE NOW - PLJEVLJA (11)	Local issues (19) / Economy (11)	1	2
INDEX NUMBER							

Table: analytical parameters by televisions - all three electoral units (index number)

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LOCAL ELECTIONS (ALL THREE ELECTORAL UNITS) – PRINT MEDIA							
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.							
	LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA	LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA	LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA	DOMINANT LIST (planned publicity)	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES (number index)	NUMBER OF POSITIVE SENTIMENTS (THEME)
ND VIJESTI	20	6	6	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (2) / LET'S GO PEOPLE PODGORICA (2) / OTHER LISTS EACH WITH 1	Local issues (8) / General political issues (5) / Social policy (4)	0	2
DAN	63	16	15	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (11)	General political issues (28) / Local issues (26)	1	1
POBJEDA	30	10	6	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (12)	General political issues (12) / Local issues (11)	3	2
INDEX NUMBER							

Table: analytical parameters by print media - ALL THREE ELECTORAL UNITS (index number)

LOCAL ELECTIONS (ALL THREE ELECTORAL UNITS) – WEB PORTALS							
LOCAL ELECTIONS 2022.							
	LOCAL ELECTIONS PODGORICA	LOCAL ELECTIONS BUDVA	LOCAL ELECTIONS PLJEVLJA	DOMINANT LIST (planned publicity)	DOMINANT NARRATIVE (THEME)	GENDER SENSITIVE ISSUES (index number)	NUMBER OF POSITIVE SENTIMENTS (THEME)
VIJESTI.ME	158	58	25	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (26) / FOR THE FUTURE OF POGORICA (25) / PODGORICA CAN (20) / LETS GO PEOPLE PODGORICA (18)	Local issues (95) / General political issues (42)/Economy (22)	7	19
CdM	201	43	16	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (65)	Local issues (93)/Identity and religious issues (27) / Security (26)	6	24
ANALITIKA	139	38	14	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (64) / UNITED FOR BUDVA (17)	Local issues (57) / General political issues (46) / Identity issues (30)	9	20



RTCG.ME	132	46	21	FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA (21) / EUROPE NOW PODGORICA (16) / EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (16) / LET'S GO PEOPLE POGORICA (15)	Local issues (68) / General political issues (32)	6	24
ANTENA M	74	14	9	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (25)	Local issues (19) / General political issues (19) / Security (10)	2	7
AKTUELNO.ME	25	2	0	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (16)	Local issues(14)	1	2
IN4S	98	23	13	FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA (37)	General political issues (32) / Local issues (30) / Security (23)	4	13
BORBA.ME	121	36	16	FOR THE FUTURE OF PODGORICA (39) / BUDVA FIRST - DF (12)	Security (42) / General political issues (38) / local issues (35)	2	18
POBJEDA.ME	98	24	13	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (33)	Local issues (27) / general political issues (26) / Security (23)	5	14
GRADSKI.ME	164	33	16	EVERYBODY FOR OUR CITY (61)	Local issues (55) / Identity and religious issues (35) / General political issues (34)	9	24
PVPORTAL.ME	1	1	84	LET'S GO PEOPLE OF PLJEVLA (21) / FOUNDATION FOR BETTER PLJEVLJA (19) / FOR THE FUTURE OF PLJEVLJA (16) / PLJEVALJA TO WIN (15)	Local issues (20) / Economics (18)	1	6
RTVBUDVA.ME	2	2	96	LET'S GO PEOPLE - BUDVA (18) / UNIQUE FOR BUDVA (17) / BUDVA CAN (15)	Local issues (24) / General political issues (19) / Security (11)	4	9
INDEX NUMBER							

Table: analytical parameters by web portals ALL THREE ELECTORAL UNITS (index number)

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Qualitative review of visualizations of media announcements

Gender equality means more than the equal presence of women and men, therefore, it is important to ensure fair and equal representation and visibility in communications. Photos, graphics, video and audio materials are powerful communication tools that influence perceptions, attitudes and ultimately social change. When preparing written, audio and visual materials, including voiceovers, it is necessary to ensure the inclusion of women, whether as interviewers, interviewees, or speakers at events, as well as the combination of female and male voices in voiceovers. Although it may not be possible to have an equal number of women and men in every photo, illustration, drawing or video segment, it is important that the overall media presentation demonstrates the presence of women in society as balanced rather than exceptional or sporadic. The tone in which we address public discourse will also indicate how we position women or men, and the way in which the body is shown is important, as well as the location or the environment in which a woman or man is placed. Additionally, colours used, especially in visual content, should not support gender stereotypes. This part of the analysis refers to the visual representation of women in media content about local elections in Podgorica, Budva and Pljevlja. In relation to the selected media content, special attention is given to identifying the presence of women in the articles or in the photos, and how they are portrayed - whether they occupy a central position or are peripheral in relation to the key actors and men, and what their role is in the visual content.

The monitoring has identified a low presence of women in the content. All parties were dominantly concentrated on the list leaders, and everyone else, including women, had fewer opportunities to be presented to the public through the media, especially television. More space was given to others and women in print media and online portals. In most cases, women are shown in the audience, listening to the speakers and applauding. In situations where women were leaders of the list, they were portrayed as dominant, while other women, like in other political parties, were in the audience.

What is important is that the media dominantly published material prepared by the parties. Not all parties had access to, primarily video, and often not even quality photo coverage of their party events, which posed a challenge for TV stations in presenting the necessary content. Namely, when they wanted to report on an information, they used earlier recordings of the speaker, event photos, or location footage relevant to the discussion (neighbourhood, city, etc.), and this is part of the reason why men are shown more dominantly compared to women. Also, one of the problems was the decision of the list "For the future of Podgorica - DF - True - Free - JKP - Podgorica 2022" to boycott Gradska Television, so they did not provide their content to them, so this TV station covered their information with previously recorded footage, not from the campaign, which affected the visualization of content on this television. The representatives of this list refused the invitation to participate in the shows on this TV, often expressing disagreement with the editorial policy of that media and criticism of their working manner.

As shown in the previous chapters, the media primarily covered the local elections in Podgorica, to a lesser extent the elections in Budva, while the local elections in Pljevlja received the least media coverage. In the overall observed content, men were predominantly featured, making up almost 80% compared to 20%



for women. This figure does not show a significant deviation from the general presence of women in the media. According to data from the analysis presented in October 2022 - "Media in Montenegro through gender lenses"²³, only every fifth interviewee in Montenegrin media is a woman, accounting for 26% compared to 74% men, which is significantly below the global average. In the politics and economy sections, according to the UNDP research, around 15% of the voices are female. When considering the visual representation of media content, it should be noted that television is the most influential medium in Montenegro, and those with national coverage predominantly reported on the elections in Podgorica, followed by the elections in Budva and Pljevlja. Local media from these two cities logically gave significant coverage to pre-election content from the local communities to which they are primarily intended.

On television, men also predominantly had speaking roles. It has already been mentioned that campaigns primarily focused on the list leaders, so other voices were rarely heard in the media. On gatherings, based on what could be seen in certain photographs/videos, it can be concluded that there were other male and female speakers, but the parties that provided material to the media decided where the focus would be. It is a fact that one list in Podgorica was led by a woman, and therefore, she was prominently featured in the publications. However, there were media reports and segments in which men spoke alongside her or took precedence in media coverage compared to her. In a certain number of reports, it was noticed that when the leader of this list in Podgorica was speaking, being photographed, or otherwise directly interacting with the gathered citizens, predominantly men were involved, which can also be interpreted as a message conveyed by this female politician. Considering that there was a significant number of reports where both men and women were represented in these segments, it can be assumed that it was either an oversight or simply a situation on the ground where men took the lead.

It is characteristic that list leaders were often shown addressing the gathered citizens (having an active role), while women who appeared as candidates on the list or supporters of a certain list were predominantly shown standing, looking into the camera, and speaking. This sends a subtle message about the power of men, indicating that they have an active role (they speak, address the audience, receive applause, and are listened to), while women are alone and address an unknown audience, looking into the camera.

Women who were not list leaders were shown on TV without video, and their photos were used for illustration, often depicting them in a static portrait without reflecting their actual role in the party/society... An additional problem, particularly observed in local media, is that press releases signed by women were read by a male voice. This shows that the media are not sufficiently gender-sensitive to consider these aspects.

23 "Media in Montenegro through gender lenses", author Dušanka Pejović, made through the project Communicating Gender Equality in Public Administration, implemented by UNDP and the Directorate for Gender Equality at the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights of Montenegro, with the financial support of the EU

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More space for women who were not list leaders was given on websites and in newspapers, which is expected due to the nature of these media. television, in particular, has the most space constraints, followed by newspapers, while websites have unlimited space, allowing for a greater presence of political actors in the pre-election campaign.

In newspapers and on websites, the same characteristics as those seen on television were prevalent - men were dominant, depicted in positions of power, and portrayed as active, while women (except for list leaders) were often portrayed as passive, standing behind men, applauding in the audience, or listening to men addressing them. Additionally, portals published pre-election campaign videos of political actors, participants in the electoral race, which influenced the creation of the public image and opinion (covered in a separate chapter on promotional videos). Moreover, in newspapers, portraits of women were often more represented compared to portraits of men, and the presence of men on newspaper covers was dominant. Therefore, in the most crucial aspect - the newspaper covers - men were dominant.

Another message regarding the dominance of men, especially in important contexts, is evident in the media reports from the final party conventions, particularly those in Budva and Pljevlja. Men, party leaders, or other prominent party officials, including officials from neighbouring countries, were the ones speaking at these conventions, while women were absent. Even the female leader of a list in Budva appeared at the end of media reports on the final convention or was completely omitted by certain media outlets.

In the reviewed content, there was no particularly noticeable stereotypical use of colors, and in most cases, women were not depicted in an inappropriate manner. However, in a small number of articles on certain portals, there were photographs of women intended to demean them. One such example refers to the former president of the Supreme Court, Vesna Medenica, who was not part of this election campaign, and which was published on the Borba portal.²⁴

Additionally, the same photo is used in an article on the IN4S portal²⁵, which also features a photograph of another woman - former executive director of Plantaže, Verica Maraš, who, in the context of the overall announcement, is portrayed in a negative light, even though she was not a participant, or was her involvement noticed during these local elections. Maraš



²⁴ Available at: <https://borba.me/koga-ce-glasati-vesna-medenica/>

²⁵ Available at: <https://www.in4s.net/u-najavi-debati-dps-a-sirom-crne-gore-odrekli-se-imena-partije-i-mila-djukanovica-u-nazivu-izbornih-listi-kriju-su-iza-laznih-koalicija-pokreta-i-slogana/>



and Medenica were linked publicly with the DPS, and during the pre-election campaign, they were used in a negative context by these two portals. An additional context added to this is the reminder of ongoing investigative processes conducted by the relevant law enforcement authorities regarding both of them. Furthermore, an inappropriate photograph of Jelena Borovinić Bojović, the list leader of “For the future of Podgorica,” was posted alongside the article on the Aktuelno portal.²⁶

Therefore, in both the media and reality, men dominate in Montenegro. While according to the data from the UNDP video “A Woman Born in Montenegro”²⁷ it will take 95 and 257 years, respectively, to bridge the gender gap in politics and the economy, it will require almost seven decades to close the gender gap in the media. The analysis states: “The GMMP research from 2020 indicates that the media is currently halfway to



achieving gender parity in representation of women and men appearing in the media. It is noted that if things remain the same as they have been, it will take at least another 67 years to close the average gender equality gap in the media.²⁸

A qualitative analysis of pre-election marketing messages from the perspective of gender equality

Presence in the public, and especially in the media space, plays a key role in “representing, empowering, but also introducing cultural concepts, attitudes, behaviour and norms in a society”.²⁹ Through content in the media and public space, society “learns” what is normal and acceptable. On the example of a specific topic if we mostly encounter men in positions of political decision-making in the public sphere, it becomes or remains “normal” to expect men in such positions. Conversely, if we do not see women making decisions in the public sphere, it becomes, or remains “normal”

26 Available at: <https://www.aktuelno.me/politika/bivsa-ministarka-iznudjeno-rjesenje-mandic-i-slaven-rozi-se-kriju-iza-zdravkovih-apostola/>

27 Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FZOReJoJ9ag>

28 Available at: <https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/2022-10/UNDP%20%20Rodno%20ogledalo%20medija%20u%20Crnoj%20Gori%20WEB.pdf>

29 UN Women, 2018

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not to expect women in such positions in real life. Consequently the path to a position of political decision-making for a woman becomes more challenging because her candidacy is consciously and unconsciously devalued by voters and political colleagues based on her gender. Through the media and public space, we unconsciously absorb gender roles and stereotypes, which is why it is important to understand and bring to light this mechanism of creating and reinforcing stereotypes. Although this applies to all areas of activity, the field of political engagement is of particular importance to us.

The Gender Equality Index, prepared by the National Statistical Office of Montenegro in collaboration with UNDP in 2019, highlights an unbalanced power relationship between men and women in the sphere of decision-making, particularly in political decision-making³⁰. Specifically, the index revealed that in Montenegro, women are least equal on a national level in the sphere of power. The domain of power in the index is operationalized through three dimensions - economic, political, and social power, with a set of indicators measuring the gender balance in power relations within each specific sphere. Among the three dimensions, women are least equal in the domain of economic power, but significant disparities are also observed in the domain of political power. The situation regarding political power significantly improved after 2014 when gender quotas for participation in the legislative branch of government were made more effective. However, during the local elections in 2022, for the first time since the introduction of effective gender quotas, violations occurred without any sanctions so far. Specifically, the Municipal Election Commission in Gusinje approved five, and the Municipal Election Commission in Budva included two candidate lists that do not meet the obligation of the Law on the Election of Councillors and Members of Parliament in Montenegro, which states that the list must include at least 30% candidates of the underrepresented sex.³¹ Although quotas initially improved the situation, the number of women participating in political decision-making, particularly in high-level and executive positions, significantly lags behind the average of European Union countries. Considering that the National Sustainable Development Strategy, aligned with the UN Sustainable Development Agenda, defined the national goal of having at least 40% of female members of parliament elected to the Parliament of Montenegro by 2030, it is clear that progress in achieving that goal is delayed.³²

In this report, the gender balance in part of the public space was observed during the election campaign for the elections in 14 Montenegrin municipalities on 23 October 2022. Specifically, we focused on how women and men were portrayed through billboards and political video clips during these elections. Finally, we were interested in whether gender-sensitive language was used during the election campaign through billboards and political video clips.

30 Directorate for Statistics Monstat & UNDP, 2019

31 More information is available at the following address: <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/111497/cdt-oik-gusinje-i-budva-proglasile-nezakonite-izborne-liste>

32 Government of Montenegro, 2016.



Analysis of the presence of men and women on billboards

This chapter presents **the results of the analysis of 436 billboards observed in 14 municipalities where elections were held**. The findings are divided into two parts: the first part analyzes the presence, while the, second part assesses the quality of representation of male and female figures on the billboards. Billboards are an important instrument of political marketing, and are believed to have a positive impact on voter turnout, among other factors³³.

The main findings regarding the **presence** of male and female figures on billboards are presented in the table below, providing a quantitative overview of their representation across municipalities. At the end, all municipalities where the elections are held are treated as a whole, revealing that there were almost 10% fewer female figures than male figures on all billboards used for electoral purposes. Specifically, a total of 583 men and 480 women in various roles were depicted on the billboards. The balance is also shown for each municipality, indicating the least balanced situation in Danilovgrad, Plužine, and Žabljak, where voters could not see any female figures on the election billboards. In Budva, the balance was shifted in favour of women, with female figures being more prevalent (62.3%). The best gender balance was achieved in Zeta, where the number of male and female figures was equal.

MUNICIPALITY	NUMBER OF MALE FIGURES	%	NUMBER OF FEMALE FIGURES	%
Bar	102	59.6	69	40.3
Bijelo Polje	47	63.5	27	36.4
Budva	131	37.6	217	62.3
Danilovgrad	2	100	0	0
Kolašin	17	62.9	10	37.04
Plav	8	72.7	3	27.2
Pljevlja	41	67.2	20	32.7
Plužine	2	100	0	0
Podgorica	187	63.6	107	36.3
Rožaje	2	66.6	1	33.3
Tivat	29	67.4	14	32.5
Žabljak	3	100	0	0
Zeta	12	50	12	50
TOTAL	583	54.8	480	45.1

Table: balance in the number of female and male figures on billboards

Another criterion that measures the balance in the presence of female and male figures on billboards could be the % of billboards where they are not present at all. Those statistics are given in the following table. In eight municipalities, more than half of the billboards have no female figures at all. On a broader level, we have a percentage of over half of all billboards used for the purpose of local elections that do not have any female figures on them (56.6%). For male figures, that percentage is significantly lower – 29.1%.

33 Minkoff & Mann, 2020

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Image: An example of a billboard with a large number of figures, none of which are female

MUNICIPALITY	NUMBER OF BILLBOARDS WITH NO MALE FIGURES	%	NUMBER OF BILLBOARDS WITH NO FEMALE FIGURES	%
Bar	38	37.6	63	62.3
Bijelo Polje	4	16.6	11	45.8
Budva	44	32.3	86	63.2
Danilovgrad	3	60	5	100
Kolašin	0	0	1	20
Plav	1	16.6	4	66.6
Pljevlja	1	6.6	8	53.3
Plužine	0	0	2	100
Podgorica	22	21.7	48	47.5
Rožaje	2	40	3	60
Tivat	3	16.6	4	22.2
Žabljak	4	57.1	7	100
Zeta	5	45.4	5	45.4
TOTAL	127	29.1	247	56.6

Table: number and percentage of billboards without male and female figures



When it comes to **the quality of the presence** of male and female figures on billboards, we monitored three indicators: sexualization, stereotyping and role. No examples of sexualization or stereotyping of men or women were identified on the billboards. Namely, both men and women on the billboards are mostly shown in elegant, conservative business attire dominated by jackets and shirts.



Also, the dominance of stereotypical roles was not noticed on the billboards. There is an example where a man is in the foreground and a woman is the one who observes him from the background, but there is also an example in the reverse direction.

Image: male and female "roles"

Namely, there are also examples where the division of roles was the opposite and where a man is the one who observes "from the background." In both cases, the main figure is the male or female leader of the list, which indicates the importance of balance in that position.

Picture: one of the lists in the local elections in Podgorica – all actors are dressed in business attire



Picture: male and female "roles"

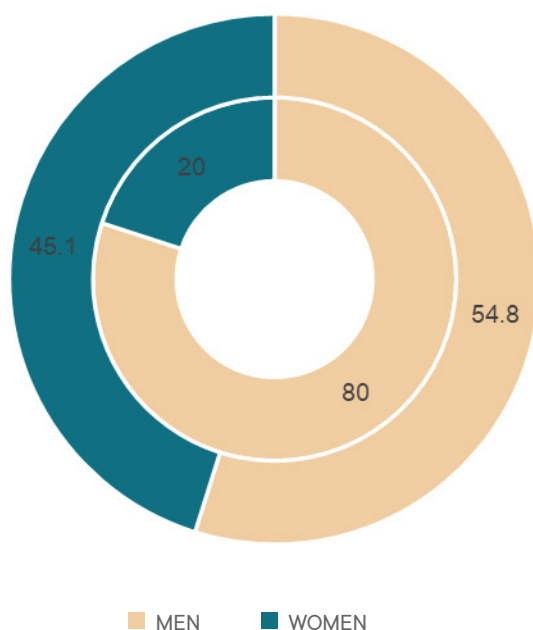


Image: male and female "roles"

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However, the picture of gender balance changes when we consider the “role” indicator because it matters whether a man or a woman appears in the foreground as the main protagonist or in the background and supporting roles. Out of 265 billboards (60.8%), the list leaders were depicted, with 80% being men (212) and only 20% being women (53). These percentages correlate with the significantly lower number of lists led by women in local elections.

The data regarding the percentage of women and men in the position of the main protagonist on billboards is interesting to compare with the data on the overall number of male and female figures on billboards. It is worth noting that the overall ratio of female to male figures on billboards was 45.1% compared to 54.8% for men. Comparing these two data points, we could assume that political parties made an effort to include more women on billboards but still placed them in supporting roles. The lower number of women in leadership positions in both reality and political marketing further reinforces the stereotype that politics is not a place for women.



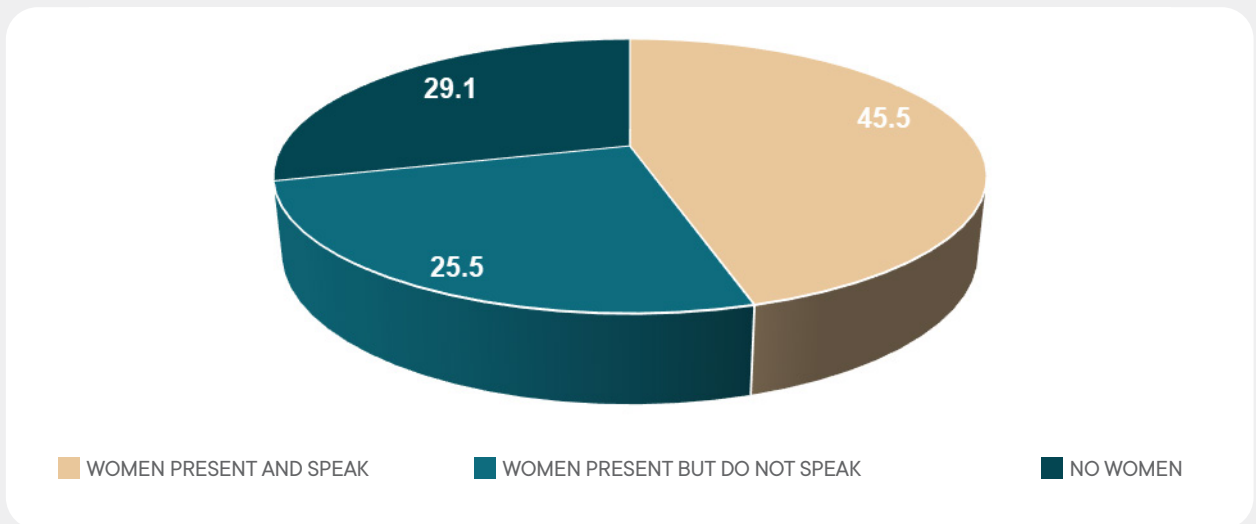
Graph: presence (outer circle) and main roles (inner circle) in relation to gender

Analysis of the presence of men and women in TV video clips

The political video clip is highly popular instrument of the political marketer, with their primary function to inform, but also to convince the electorate. In political videos, candidates present themselves to potential voters in controlled and pre-staged circumstances. It is precisely this element - planning - that is crucial. Namely, parties consciously convey specific messages through political commercials, making them interesting for intentions analysis. In terms of political video clips, women appear in some

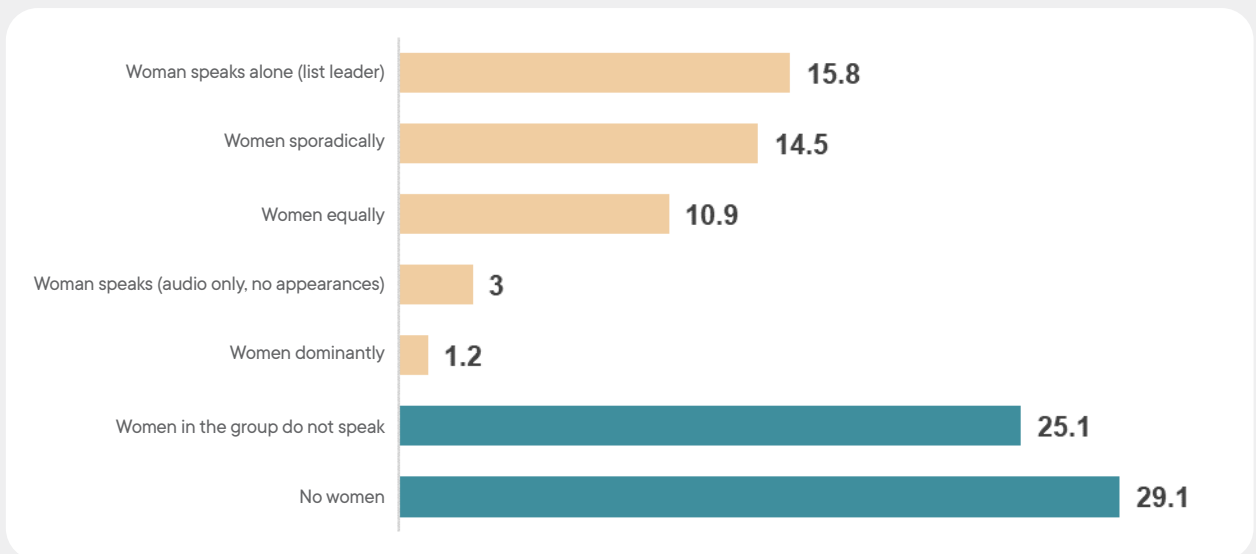


role in 117 out of 169 analysed clips (71%). In 29.1% of the video clips, there are no women present at all. Besides the criterion of presence, it is important to consider whether their presence is active, meaning whether men and women are speaking in the videos. In 45.5% of the videos, a woman speaks, while in 15.6% of the videos, the female list leader speaks alone. In 10.8% of the videos, multiple women speak equally, in 3% a female voice is heard in the background without a visible figure, and in 14.4% both men and women speak, with women speaking sporadically, and in 1.2% dominantly. In a quarter of the videos, women appear in supporting roles, meaning they are seen but do not speak.



Graphic: the presence of women in political video clips

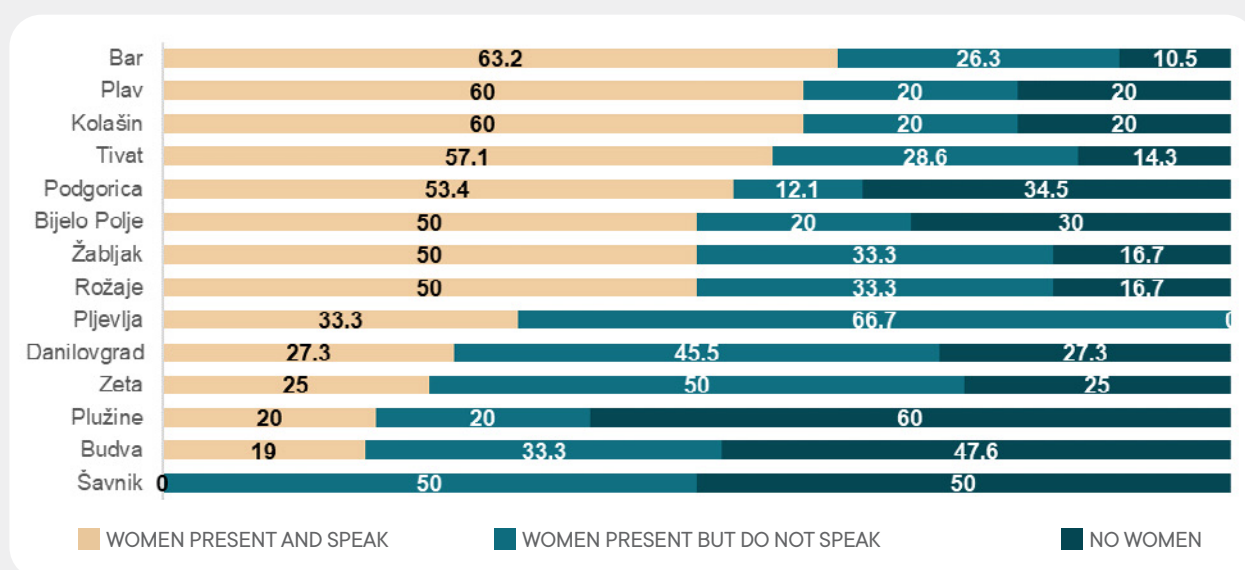
The ways in which women are present in the observed political videos are given in the following graph.



Graph: forms of presence of women in observed political video clips

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The data can also be analyzed in relation to the specific elections to which the videos refer. An overview of the analyzed video clips pertaining to individual municipalities where elections were held, in relation to the criteria of how women are present in the commercials, is provided in Graph 8. Women are depicted as active political actors who speak the most in commercials produced for elections in the municipalities of Bar, Plav, Kolašin, Tivat, Podgorica, Bijelo Polje, Žabljak, and Rožaje. Women speak the least in political video clips for the elections in Šavnik, Budva, Plužine, and Zeta.



Graphic: overview of the presence of women in relation to the elections to which the videos refer

Therefore, the mere presence is not enough to evaluate how men and women are presented in political videos, so the videos were analyzed through the three criteria mentioned above - sexualization, stereotyping and role.

The female list leaders in the video clips appear confident and competent, and the same applies to most of the women who speak, even though they are not list leaders themselves. They are usually dressed in a business and conservative attire. Also, women in the commercials are addressed by titles, academic or medical qualifications, or in relation to the roles they currently hold or plan to hold. It is interesting and somewhat new for the region that some list leaders appear without makeup in the commercials. In one of the commercials, we can see a list leader in casual attire (wearing tracksuit) participating in the voting at the Parliament of Montenegro via Zoom or a similar platform. In another commercial, a list leader appears in a worker's uniform and wearing a helmet. In the observed commercials, sexualization of female characters was generally not noticed. However, a partial exception to this is the use of a female character in the video clip of the coalition "Citizens of Danilovgrad Our Strength." The woman in the commercial is portrayed as a background character walking through certain parts of the city to illustrate what the speaker in the commercial is saying. The woman is dressed in a long green dress with a deep neckline.



When it comes to video clips where the list leaders are in the main role, we have observed the topics they address and how they are portrayed. These include commercials featuring list leader Maja Vukićević for the For the future of Bar list, Jelena Borovinić Bojović for the For the future of Podgorica list, Slađana Kaluđerović as the list leader for the SNP's Thoroughly for Zeta list, Dragana Mitrović as the list leader for the Coalition Unique for Budva list, and Danijela Dobrilović Dondić as the list leader for the Piva can list. The same applies to commercials where the only speakers are female politicians who are not list leaders, such as Teodora Ostojić from the For the future of Bar list, Edina Dešić from the Bosniak Party in Bar, or Anđela Beloica from the For the future of Rožaje list, as well as Marta Šćepanović from the Together we build Kolašin list.

In the monitored videos, list leaders generally do not discuss topics that are stereotypically associated with women. On the contrary, they address issues related to specific political issues in line with the campaign theme they represent. Some of the topics they discuss relate to local governance, such as the condition of parks, youth employment in the municipality, tourism development, and similar matters. Additionally, some campaigns focus on national issues and the fight against other political parties at the national level. However, while the thematic content does not exhibit a stereotypical division of gender roles, this does not necessarily apply to the video clips as a whole. For instance, some roles in the commercials are stereotypically assigned, such as the role of a secretary played by a woman or instances where only women carry banners and signs, even though there may be both men and women on the stage.

It is interesting to note the representation within the context of the family. Depicting candidates in the context of their families is a common practice in political marketing worldwide. However, despite two candidates referring to their family status in the observed commercials, only one woman is shown in the context of her family. Specifically, in one of the video clips, the female candidate appears with her children, portraying her role as a mother. Apart from her, one candidate presents himself as a parent in his speech ("today, I am here as a formed individual, as a professional, as a parent"). The other candidate mentions his children by name ("because I want to read fairytales to Sara and David in our language").

The use of gender-sensitive language

The authors of the texts on billboards have mostly avoided using expressions that require the application of gender-sensitive language principles, such as "Let's go people" or "Hospital for Budva." In that sense, no violations of gender-sensitive language rules have been noted.

When it comes to video clips, the actors often use gender-sensitive language, for example, "Podgoričani i Podgoričanke" (male and female residents of Podgorica) or "građani i građanke" (male and female citizens), "sugrađani" i "sugrađanke" (male and female fellow citizens), "prijatelji i prijateljice" (male and female friends). However, there are exceptions, such as "We also have a qualified candidate for mayor (male noun), a doctor (female noun)..."

Principles of gender-sensitive language entail agreement between nouns and verbs in gender.

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However, when it comes to plurals, there are two correct approaches. The first approach is to use the grammatically masculine form when the plural includes both men and women, for example, “građani” (citizens), or to specifically address both men and women in the plural form, such as “građanke i građani” (female citizens and male citizens). While the first form is grammatically correct, the second form increases the visibility of women. We can illustrate these options with examples of two slogans that appeared in the plural form. Namely, the slogans “Everybody for our City” or “United for Budva” fully adhere to grammatical rules by using the common plural form in the masculine gender - “everybody” or “united”. However, considering the importance of using gender-sensitive expressions to increase visibility and the presence of women in political decision-making³⁴ while not grammatically necessary, it would be beneficial for the expressions to appear in both the feminine and masculine forms, such as “Svi/e” (male and female form of everybody) or “Jedinstveni/e” (male and female form of the united).

In political video clips as well, plural forms are mostly used in the common masculine gender, such as “junaci” (heroes), “radnici” (workers), and “penzioneri” (pensioners). However, in one of the videos, we have an example of separating the plural forms using a stereotypical phrase - ladies and gentlemen.

34 Cvetinčanin Knežević & Lalatović



Social media and shifting boundaries

Social media today have a growing influence on election campaigns and outcomes, shaping public opinion with the intention of changing or solidifying voter preferences. **In addition to promoting the content of candidates, they are often used for negative campaigns**, attempts at discrediting individuals, or putting certain subjects in unfavorable positions.

When it comes to the general population, **Montenegro is a leader in the region in terms of internet and social media usage**. According to the latest DataReportal report for 2021, 76% of the population had access to the internet, and the number of active social media users reached 430,000 (68.5% of the population), with a growing trend (a growth rate of 10.3% was recorded in a one-year period from January 2020 to January 2021). **There are no significant differences among users in terms of gender breakdown, and the most commonly used platforms are Facebook and Instagram.**³⁵ **This provides an incentive for political actors that increasingly utilize social media during election campaigns.**

However, social media platforms have not only been an interesting communication channel for political actors, but also for other actors who have addressed important issues on these platforms and supported the parties they belong to, weather through the affirmation of their lists and programmes or through criticism of opponents. This space has also been utilized by news portals and so-called meme pages, which have played a significant role in promoting specific lists, coalitions, parties, and their candidates.

However, unlike political actors who publicly appear and bear responsibility for creating narratives on social media, as well as other entities such as NGOs, analysts. etc, meme page administrators mostly hide behind the page names, and their identities are not known to the public. On the other hand, they are often the generators of negative content, personal insults, the spread of hate speech, misogynistic comments, and other forms of attempts to discredit those whose views they disagree with. This was evident in the local election campaign in October 2022.

Due to the aforementioned reasons and considering the importance of the local elections in October 2022 for the broader political climate, CCE conducted **social media monitoring** as a pilot activity, using

35 <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-montenegro?rq=montenegro>

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a methodology adopted from regional experiences in this field. This research focused on the **capital city of Podgorica**, excluding the remaining 13 municipalities where elections were also organized.

The aim of this monitoring was to attempt to deconstruct the themes and narratives generated during the local elections in Podgorica in October 2022 from a gender perspective and to identify the patterns by which these narratives are formed, to what extent, and by whom. Additionally, this activity helped to better understand how political parties, media, and other actors reported on women and women-related issues. It also provided insights into misogynistic comments, stereotypes against women, hate speech, etc.

Methodology

For the purposes of this monitoring, **10 researchers were hired** and **they daily followed the pre-election campaign** of the parties that competed in the local elections in Podgorica. More precisely, **they worked on collecting, and the CCE team analyzed data** on the communication of various actors towards and about women, which were dominantly political actors, but also representatives of the NGO sector, analysts, meme pages, etc.

The most commonly used social media in Montenegro - **YouTube, Instagram, Facebook and Twitter** - were taken into account, depending on the individual researcher and their preferences for a certain type of the mentioned platforms. Therefore, monitoring was carried out on a daily basis, in the period from **7 to 23 October 2022**, by 10 researchers, and each of them monitored at least two platforms, which they also use for their own needs in everyday life, and to the same extent in which they usually do it.

The monitoring **included three different categories of content:**

- 1. sponsored content** and content with clear political profiling, which came directly from political parties, their members and officials, candidates from the list, or list leaders, and which related to women, gender issues, gender equality issues, women's rights etc. Therefore, in this part, the subject of analysis was direct communication, that is, speaking, addressing and sending messages of political and electoral actors, which concerned women or came from women themselves;
- 2. content that came dominantly from other actors** (other politicians and officials who did not participate in local elections and whose names were not on the lists of parties, ministers, state officials, but also NGO representatives, meme pages, political analysts, etc.), and which also referred to women, gender issues, issues of gender equality, women's rights, etc.;
- 3. content that included comments under posts on these platforms**, which came from the general public, which made it possible to monitor and identify examples of hate speech, misogyny, stereotypes, and the like, and gave a broader picture of how not only politicians and the media communicate about these questions, but what are the reactions of the interested public towards this topic.



During the monitoring period, CCE received **1,235** posts in which women were active or passive actors, that is, they were content creators, but they were also the target of posts by other actors, as well as the target of hate speech, negative comments, etc. Out of a total of **1235**, the number of received *screenshots* created by political parties, candidates and list leaders was **539**, or **43.64%**, while the number of received screenshots generated by other actors (NGOs, media, meme pages, etc.) was **505**, or **40.89%**. The rest of the **191 posts**, or **15.47%**, referred to comments below the posts.

What do social media indicate?

Analysing all the material, emerges the conclusion that women, as creators of content or as targets of content, were somewhat more present on social media than on traditional media, although the content that was the subject of analysis largely overlapped with what appeared in traditional media.

The fact that women were more present can partly be explained by the fact that the parties on social media gave more space through their announcements, short content, photos and similar formats to female candidates from their lists, thus promoting them. However, this did not affect the fact that even with a greater number of posts in which women were present, the percentage of posts in which they dealt in depth with women's and related issues, issues of gender equality, women's rights, etc., did not increase. Simply, women did not use this space to communicate to and about women, but even when sponsored by parties, they dealt with local issues and problems and led the general campaign of the party for which they competed or, in other cases, the parties advertised their female candidates, sharing their biographies and referring to their work, presenting them as professional, capable, dedicated, etc. This last point, therefore, without directly targeting gender equality issues, can be considered neutral.

Also, another part of the explanation for why women were more present on social media lies in the fact that they were widely discussed, which often included examples of hate speech, stereotypical and misogynistic comments, etc. By far the most frequent target of these attacks was Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović, leader of the list "For the future of Podgorica -DF-True -Free-JKP".

So, in the overall narrative that emerged in the pre-election campaign on social media, as was the case with traditional media, the male voice dominated, i.e. attitudes that came predominantly from male actors (political and electoral, but also other actors). This can also be attributed to the fact that only one woman was the leader of the list in the local elections in Podgorica. Even though she was quite active on social media and to the greatest extent the target of comments, this did not lead to a situation in which the female perspective is dominant and in which women's problems are discussed.

Therefore, issues of importance for achieving gender equality were not in the focus of narratives on social media, and the parties directly dealt with this topic only on a few occasions, primarily the list "For the future of Podgorica -DF-True -Free- JPK".

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Also, in this case, it can be assumed that the parties and their candidates did not intentionally marginalize gender issues and put them on the background, but rather decided to focus on numerous local issues and unresolved problems.

When looking at the period from 7 to 23 October and the structure of received content, it can be concluded that **political and electoral actors communicated slightly more about women and women's issues than other actors (meme pages, portals, NGOs, etc.)** The exception was five days in this period, when the level of communication by other actors was significantly higher than that of political and electoral actors, and this was the period before the elections themselves, when criticism of the parties intensified, especially from NGOs criticizing the lack of compliance with the 30% quota for women's representation on the lists. In relation to the monitoring of traditional media, it is similar in that it was women who spoke about topics related to the achievement of gender equality and related issues, and mostly in an affirmative manner. Most of this content related to general themes and reactions of the NGO sector, pointing to violations of the law when it comes to publishing candidate lists, but only a minimal number of posts by political actors substantially engaged with issues related to gender equality.

However, the largest part of the received content, was related to comments addressed to female candidates and list leaders, and it can be stated that, when women are candidates for political positions, they are almost always criticized as individuals and for their personal choices, rather than on the basis of their work. In other words, extensive dealings with the personal lives of female candidates (partners, family status), comments on physical appearance, etc. are recorded on social networks.

Analysis by categories of received content

When it comes to the first category, i.e. **the content generated by political and electoral actors** related to communication about women, it mainly revolved around the **sponsoring of posts featuring female candidates from party lists, but without their further dealing with issues related to gender equality.** Parties have promoted them on social media as the face of the campaign, without going into the core of the problems women face in efforts to achieve gender equality. They are presented as professionals in the business they are engaged in, as someone who knows the city, who is dedicated to it, and **neither they themselves nor the parties they come from have used this space on social media to more deeply address important topics from a gender perspective.** Here are a few illustrative examples.



Demokrati front 2 h · 🌐

#DraganKoprivica: Rođena Podgoričanka i buduća gradonačelnica Podgorice, dr Jelena Borovinić Bojović, porijeklom iz ugledne ljebarske familije, izliječiće Podgoricu od odrođenog režima. (Promotivni skup, 6. oktobar, Blok 5.)

POKRET EVROPA SADI!

prof. dr Olivera Injac

Pokret Evropa sad 1 d. 🌐

Da li znate ko je pod brojem dva na listi EVROPA SADI za Podgoricu?

Čast nam je što se ime Prof. dr Olivera Injac nalazi odmah nakon Jakova Mijatovića, kandidata za gradonačelnika Podgorice. Olivera je rođena u Podgorici, diplomirala je na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta Crne Gore, a magistrirala i doktorirala na Fakultetu političkih nauka. Izabrana je u zvanje vanrednog profesora 2016. godine na Univerzitetu Donja Gorica, a bila je i predavač na Pravnom fakultetu u Podgo...
Prikaži više

— u gradu Podgorica.

👍 373 32 komentara 3 dijenja

Svidi mi se 🗨️ Komentar 📄 Podijeli

Najrelevantnije

Milena Zoranovic
Svidi mi se · Odgovor 21 h

Branka Markovic
Srećno, draga Olivera!

Napišite koment...

SV! Svi za naš grad @svizanasgrad

Upoznajte Žaklinu, našu čuvenu glumicu koja voli svoj grad i govori o tome na čemu treba raditi u sljedeće četiri godine. 🎭 #SviZaNasGrad

0:50 🔊

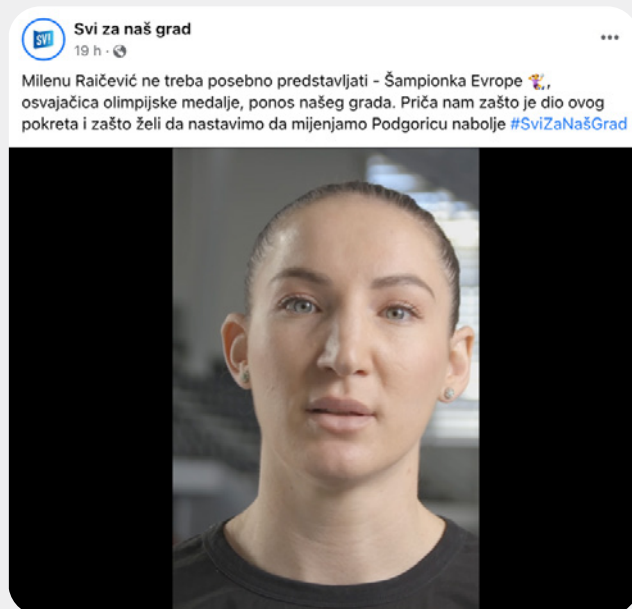
1,296 views

Luka Rakčević Paid for by Građanski pokret URA · 🌐

Sa Anom Novaković u timu,svaka borba je bar duplo lakša! Pobjedićemo! 😊

254 21 comments 2 shares 6.4k views

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Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović, whose views and messages were advertised by her official page, by the DF page, but also by her coalition colleagues, such as Vladislav Dajković, who spoke of that candidate as “a family woman who saves people’s lives, but also an exemplary wife who knows our Podgorica to the core” **received the most space in politically profiled content (by electoral actors).**



Apart from the leader of the list, which occupied the most media space, the list “For the future of Podgorica -DF-True-Free-JKP” also promoted other candidates from its list, such as Anika Bajić, but to a negligible extent.

Also, as evident from the given examples, other parties also promoted their female candidates through sponsored content, but equally in the context of their occupation, leaving no room for dealing with issues of importance to women. In this way, the Movement *Europe Now* promoted prof. Dr. Anđela Jakšić Stojanović, Maida Gorčević, Jevrosim Pejović, Dr. Oliver Injac and others, while *URA* did the same with Nina Vukčević, Ana Novaković Đurović, Milena Vuković Sekulović, and others. When it comes to women, the *All for our City* coalition presented Žaklina Oštir, Danka Kovinić, Nela Tatar, Sonja Milatović, Slađana Vujačić, Milena Raičević, Dr. Elma Kurtagić, etc. The *SNP*, on the other hand, focused on Marija Radinović and Sandra Adžić, while Sanja Krkeljić could be seen on the posts of the *Workers’ Party*.

However, as already mentioned, although female candidates of these parties appeared on their posts, issues of importance to women were not discussed further. The exception is the only event organized in Podgorica that directly concerned women, i.e. the forum organized by the coalition „For the Future of Podgorica -DF-True-Free- JKP“, which was already discussed in the chapter on monitoring of traditional media. At the same time, instead of communicating the position of women in Montenegro and their political participation, most of the discussion was about the establishment of a Social Fund “which will address the problems of single mothers, women, and children with special needs”.³⁶ These messages were conveyed to the

Vladislav Dajković is in Podgorica. 1 d · 🌐

ГРАДОНАЧЕЛНИЦЕ, ДОБРО ДОШЛА! ❤️

Baklje, cvijeće, vatrometi, osmijesi - sve je sinoć bilo u znaku **POBJEDE** koji iščekujemo za 15 dana u Podgorici. Dočekali smo doktorku Jelenu Borovinić Bojović u kancelarijama Slobodne Crne Gore.

Kako vrijeme odmiče siguran sam da je doktorka pravi izbor: porodična žena koja spašava ljudske živote, ali i uzorna supruga koja našu Podgoricu poznaje u dušu.

Doktorka, naša partija je i vaša kuća. Zajedno pobjeđujemo Đukanovića i oslobađamo Podgoricu nakon trideset godina mraka.

ПОБЈЕДА ЈЕ НАША! 💙👊

Jelena Borovinić Bojović - zva... · Follow 8 h · 🌐

НАШИМ ПОЛИТИЧКИМ ПРОТИВНИЦИМА СМЕТАЈУ ХРАБРЕ ЖЕНЕ КОЈЕ СЕ НИЧЕГА НЕ ПЛАШЕ! - НАША ЈЕ! - ЈЕЛЕНА БОРОВИНИЋ БОЈОВИЋ - БРОЈ 5!

#zabuducnostpodgorice #jelenaborovinicbojovic #nasaje5 #nasaje

Наша је!

СИГУРНА САМ ДА МЕЂУ ВАМА ПОСТОЈЕ ЖЕНЕ КОЈЕ ЋЕ ОБИЉЕЖИТИ БУДУЋНОСТ ЦРНЕ ГОРЕ

37 1 share 829 views

³⁶ <https://www.vijesti.me/vijesti/politika/625720/borovinic-bojovic-jedna-od-programskih-tacaka-je-socijalni-fond-koji-ce-se-baviti-problemima-samohranih-majki-i-zena>

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public through several posts by female candidates from the same event (Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović, Simonida Kordić, Anika Bajić). When monitoring other electoral actors, no communication was noticed on issues that at least partially target women, especially not in a gender-sensitive and aware manner. The Democrats singled out mothers as an important category in several announcements, and the Movement Europe Now emphasized that almost 47% of women are on their list.

Therefore, when it comes to the perception of political actors regarding the issues women face, there was almost no clear recognition of the existence of any challenge in this area, with the exception of the coalition *For the Future of Podgorica*, which problematized, albeit limitedly, certain issues.

When it comes to the **second category, communication about women and gender-profiled issues generated by other actors**, other politicians who are not part of the electoral process, political analysts, NGOs, meme pages, portals, etc. the results of the monitoring coincide to a large extent with the findings of the monitoring of traditional media, since a large part of the space was occupied by NGOs and activists who mainly dealt with the illegality of publishing candidate lists that did not adhere to the quota for underrepresented sex. Only in these posts was there talk about the political participation of women (if we exclude the posts by Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović and the DF from the meeting dedicated to women). Also, a number of twitter profiles and meme pages targeted Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović in their communication, often making jokes about the campaign she ran, the messages she sent, the work she performed as a minister, etc.



Other actors known to the public have been active as well, but they were not direct participants in the **local election campaign**.



Petar Ivanovic
@IvanovicPetar

Licemjer - čovjek koji savjetuje druge, a sam se ne pridržava, niti primjenjuje te savjete na sebe i svoju djecu.

U velikoj konkurenciji za “Licemjera godine” nagradu za 2021. osvaja Jelena Borovinić Bojović.

Vesna Bratic @vesna_bratic · 1d

Не могу да схватим...али не могу. Ево, сада и овдје стајем уз моје бивше колегинице које су одлучиле да се политички ангажују јер их нападате и пишете мизогине гадости. Нападате их јер су жене. На начин који ће жену највише да заболи. Зашто? Осудићу једнако и сваки напад

7 1 83

Vesna Bratic @vesna_bratic · 1d

на било коју политичарку из мени потпуно далеких опција. Да ово што пишете за Ољу и Јелену напише неко за Драгињу или Александру, или Прибиловић, исто бих реаговала. Побогу, имајте грам достојанства. Живјеће се и после избора...

1 46

The **third category** gave the most interesting conclusions. The first two largely correspond to the results of traditional media monitoring, and in this category the goal was to get an assessment **of the extent to which women were the target of hate speech and negative comments, and on what basis.** As already mentioned, among all the female candidates on the lists competing in Podgorica, the public targeted Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović the most in comments, which can partly be explained by the fact that she was the only list leader in Podgorica and received the most media coverage, making her more exposed to such comments.

Centar za demokratsku tranziciju - CDT

1 d ·

Ustavom je propisano da država jamči ravnopravnost žena i muškaraca, a „kvote“ su mehanizam za implementaciju ove ustavne garancije. OIK su se opredijelile da pogaze Ustav, zakone i demokratske principe 🇲🇪🇲🇪

<https://www.cdtmn.org/.../trinaest-lista-nije-u-skladu.../>

Čak 13 izbornih lista u 5 opština nije proglašeno u skladu sa zakonom. Bezobzirno je **pogaženo pravo žena na učešće u politici.**

MILENA GVOZDRENOVIĆ
zamjenica programskog direktora CDT-a

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However, other candidates (if we exclude Draginja Vuksanović, who was talked about a lot, and who is not the subject of analysis because she is not a direct participant in the election process), did not generate significant public attention in the comments. However, Ana Novaković Đurović, Žaklina Oštir, Olivera Injac and others were also targeted by the public. It is important to note that there was a considerable number of positive comments, mainly related to their expertise, directed towards Maida Gorčević, Nela Tatar, Žana Blagojević, Nina Vukčević and others, but also to Dr. Jelena Borovinić Bojović herself.

However, the share of received material in which positive discussions about women were present is incomparably smaller compared to the instances of hate speech, misogyny, and sexist attitudes, comments in which women are treated as sexual object, comments on their dressing style, physical appearance, etc. Below are examples of such content that were identified in the period from 7 to 23 October 2022.



Алберт Нани Плетикосић

Je li ovo ona што је блокирала сву Црну Гору да се није могло отићи од Петњице до Берана и од Андријевице до Плава уз образложење да је то борба против грипа ? Је ли ово онај бидон од жене што је наћерала полицију да кажњава сиротињу по улици што не носи маске ? Је ли ово она што је забранила да се иде на сахране ? Пих



Branka Raicevic

Kako umrije Mitropolit Amfilohije,ko nam je prijetio djeci,ko nam je uzeo buducnost,ko je najgora svastocina u vladi Zdravkovej, koga nam ponovo podmece DF - JJB !!!



Issmeta lika

A nista, gdje joj je ona cipkana bluza? Mnogo joj je lijepo stajala



Nena

@Nena_mne

Odgovor korisnicima/cama @fuhilip i @DPSCrmeGore

Slično, odmah me je blokirala. Nikakva šteta

[#JelenaBorovinicBojovic](#) je svetosavska zmija, koja se ne stidi popova pedofila, lopova, ratnih huškača, svoje sekte SPC, koja bi stavila svemu kamu pod grlo što nije srpsko!



Michell Milovansson

Poklanjam joj ovaj formular (samo ime nek promijeni), kao pomagalo do mjesta gradonacelnika PG.



1 h Свиђа ми се Одговори 1



Tobin Frost @dark_room · 20. kol


Odgovor korisnicima/cama @Nena_mne @fuhilip i @DPSCrmeGore

Mene je blokirala kad sam je pitao zasto je zovu "bazdulja" kroz KBC, vele ostat se ne može od smrada kako uništava žena..a vidi joj se da nije čista nikako..



 **Dragana del Montenegro** 🇷🇺 @del... · 27m
Replying to @revakcinisan
Grdna iznutra i nebitna spolja


 **Čevljanka** 🇷🇺 🇷🇪 🇷🇺 @cevljanka · 22h
Njoj će se nos sastaviti sa bradom za koju godinu, ali on je kompletno "uzet" 😂😂 Stari čoek!

 **Slaviša-Bato Živaljević**
Pazi joj botoks, 1200€ godišnje a penzije 160€, a onaj postavio Bidone na žaropek od 65 stepeni..
Zato samo, Evropa Sad!

 **H. Begović** @HaBegovic
Je li JBB radila usne kod njenog glasača nekog? Zna li se što?
23:42 · 10 Oct 22 · Twitter for iPhone

 **Danijela Brajović**
Grdulja

 **O'Brien** 🇷🇺 @zabranjen2021 · 22. ruj
Odgovor korisniku/ci @BorovinicJelena
Kakvo si ti dno, u ljudskom, moralnom i svakom smislu. Kravo botoksirana !

 **Bojan Pejovic**
kreten, koji je htio da nas zakljucava...od toliko botoksa i silikona ne umije normalno da se nasmije..ali ce dozivjeti krah jer se narod sjeca njene arogancije i prijjetnji, zatvaranja

BOROVINIĆ BOJOVIĆ:
Moguće da će bolovanje biti plaćeno samo vakcinisanima

By ADMIN - 30. juna 2021. -
Updated: 30. juna 2021.

Новости конкурса Мило Рад

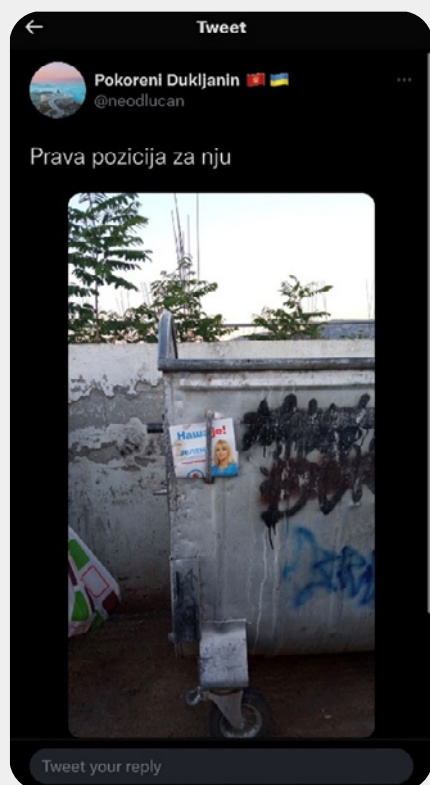


1 tj. Sviđa mi se Odgovori

 **Čevljanka** 🇷🇺 🇷🇪 🇷🇺 @cevljanka
"NAŠA JE" je upoznala budućeg muža na otvaranju Parohijskog doma u NK 2008. 😂 Uzeli su se 2011. Popovi kad spajaju to se beZkastiga ne razdvaja vele.
Dragane "brate" brzo te je đavolu dala! Ako si ovakav bio 2017.a sad takav kakav si, za tebe važi ona - UZMA te uzela! 😂😂



Monitoring of the 2022 local elections in Montenegro from the gender perspective





Bojan Pejovic
ne glasaj ovu botoksiranu spodobu koja je sprovodila medicinski fasizam

4 h Like Reply 1

Why Even Bother
@sarcastico007

Ovaj je jos dobro prosao u odnosu na zdravstveni sistem CG

SFO @SFO_1919_ · 4h

Kad je ovo od muža uradila za 4.godine, zamisli šta bi od grada i države učinjela. Propast!

Dragana del Montenegro @del_d... · 1h

Replying to @jelenasavojska

Koliko je puna mrznje i koliko je glupa i koliko je samo Ivan nervira jer je smiren, pribiran i zna posao.

1 7

215 >

Gordana Bošković

Ja se izvinjavam ona je najgori kandidat .Grozna je i vidjet ,stara je za to mjesto, botoksirana i folirant .Nikad je glasala ne bih u životu.

Šćer Crnogorska @ScerCrnogors... · 8h

Ministarka smrti
Ne vidi sebe u politici nakon mandata
Nosilac DF liste u PG
Ministarka smrti

neza "Skandal" u Podgorici:
Ministarka Borovinić Bojović ne priznaje kosovsku nezavisnost

PODGORICA - Ministarka zdravlja u novoj crnogorskoj vladi Jelena Borovinić Bojović danas je u dokumentu o novim merama protiv širenja korona virusa Kosovo označila sa zvezdicom, bez fusnote, što podgorički portal CdM smatra skandaloznim, jer je Crna Gora "priznala Kosovo kao nezavisnu državu".

1:29

Crnogorka @CrnogorkaS

ISTE 🤔

20:28 · 20.10.22 · Twitter for iPhone

19 Likes

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Most relevant ▾



Mladen Maki

Kakva METLA izopacena ,ovo je ona nesposobna sto je zdravstvo procvjetalo od kad je ona dosla uhhhh

1 h Like Reply

16 🍌👍



Stanica Vujošević

Bila si lepša bez te plastike. Sad ne znam da li si to ti. Kako da te glasam.

6 h Like Reply

1 🍌

Examples of stereotypical treatment of women were also recorded (including attributing to a woman preconceived characteristic or a role with the intention of praising her, i.e. to emphasize her personal “qualities”).



Ranko Dragnić

Imala je m... kada mnoge delije nisu da pošalje helikopter na Cetinje radi ustoličenja Mitropolita Joanikija i spreči bruku koju su organizovali i učestvovali Milo, TRanjo, Veljović i drugi. Čo'ek-žena. Izuzetno pametna, obrazovana, odgovorna, vredna, snažna i sposobna pripadnica lepšeg pola, za koju se komotno može reći da je čak jači pol.



Mladen Maki

Gospodjo ti ne umijes ni ručak spremit a ne grad vodit,shedi doma duse ti ,srusili ste skolu umjesto drugu da sagradite vi ulazete MILION za vjerske skole koje ne postoje nego perete pare,otimate i placate glasace pa vi ste tuga a jos veca su oni sto vas glasaju nesposobne bagre

Sviđa mi se Odoovor 2 h

4 🍌



AmbasadorsaSela

@AmbasadorsaS

A sto je uzela od muža pantalone?



Hemičarka @pozvoz · 4h

“Tamo desno će da bude sada manastir”? Je l' ova do kraja pukla?



19:41 · 12.10.22. · Twitter for Android



Dragan Bajic

DJE SI ,PAMETNE ZENE' ?! PAMETNA ZENA JE JEDINO ONA ZTO RODI 3, 4, 5-TORO DJECE OVE STO SE BAVE POLITIKOM, „BIZNISOM' A DJECU(AKO IH IMAJU) DAJU BABAMA I DEDAMA A CESTO I ULICI, ,,,, I TO ,PAMETNE ZENE',,,,, !!!!



Meta Ad Library Report

CCE used **the Meta Ad Library Report** to analyze the financing of parties and their advertising on social media for the local elections campaign in October 2022. The Meta Ad Library Report is a free and publicly available database that includes data on all activities conducted on the Meta platform, including the social media platforms Facebook and Instagram. This tool, introduced by Facebook (now Meta) in the second half of 2020 to provide transparent insight into advertising on social and political issues, provided access to data on the overall financial expenditures of parties competing in the Podgorica elections, particularly regarding the sponsorship of content. It also provided insights into the expenditures of these parties on issues related to women and their participation in political life, as well as related topics.

Since this activity is part of a pilot monitoring research on social media during the local elections in October 2022 in **the Capital City of Podgorica**, the focus was only on the official pages of political parties and their actors, tracking the content they advertised in October 2022, prior to the elections. This was done based on expenditure by location, which in this specific case included expenditure in Podgorica.

Therefore, using this tool and tracking **paid promotions on social issues, elections, and politics, we analysed to what extent and how political parties and their actors addressed women, how much of the total expenditure was allocated towards advertising targeting women, and to what extent women were the target audience of these paid promotions and how effectively the messages reached them.** This **assessment** was made solely based on available data relating to categories such as age, gender, and location of platform users (Podgorica), as well as the allocated amounts during the observed period.

Total costs of all parties during October 2022 ³⁷	14.983 EUR
Total number of sponsored posts	673
An estimate of the number of posts concerning women	11
An estimate of the number of posts concerning women	1.63 %

Table: cross-section of costs, number of sponsored posts, number of posts concerning women and share of advertising towards women

The analysis included the financial expenditures of the parties one month prior to the elections. **The parties competing in Podgorica had a total of 15 pages**, including official party pages, pages of their leaders or representatives, **with nine of them** allocating funds for sponsored content. These nine pages include: three pages related to the Movement Europe Now - the official page of **Milojko Spajić, Jakov Milatović**, and the page of the party **Movement Europe Now**, as well as the pages of:

³⁷ Without the page *Naglas*

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Aleksa Bečić- Democrats – Democratic Montenegro, Jelena Borovinić Bojović, Everybody for our city, Civic movement URA, Luka Rakčević i SNP MNE.

During the research, a page called “**Naglasī**” was noticed, which was created on 4 October 2022, and individually had the highest financial expenditure on advertising posts compared to all actors (political and others) in Podgorica. The page does not officially belong to any political party, but the analysis of content suggests a connection to the Civic Movement URA, indicated by a large number of funded posts in favor of that political party.

Name of the page	Costs in euros	Number of sponsored ads
Luka Rakčević	4.020	66
Jelena Borovinić Bojović	3.083	150
Milojko Spajić	2.955	13
Jakov Milatović	2.420	53
Aleksa Bečić – Democrats - Democratic Montenegro	1.762	110
Movement Europe Now	1.512	41
Everybody for our city	1.489	37
SNP MNE	1.082	63
Civic Movement URA ³⁸	680	140
Naglasī	7.808	136

Table: financial allocations and number of promoted advertisements per page in the period 23.09 - 23.10.2022.

The data shows that the page *Naglasī* invested nearly double the amount compared to Luka Rakčević’s page, who is the first on the list, with a total expenditure of 4,020 EUR for advertisements on these social media platforms. Closely following is Jelena Borovinić Bojović’s page with a spending of 3,083 EUR, followed by Milojko Spajić and Jakov Milatović with slightly less, around 3,000 EUR and 2,500 EUR. **The Movement Europe Now**, together with the pages of its leaders, Spajić and Milatović, invested a total of **6,887 EUR, which is the highest overall amount among the lists in Podgorica, excluding the page Naglasī that promoted content in favour of the Civic movement URA.** Without considering the Naglasī page, Luka Rakčević’s page and the Civic movement URA spent a total of 4,700 EUR.

Additionally, the **number of advertisements** funded by these pages was also observed, leading to the conclusion that some pages invested more financial resources in a smaller number of ads, while others invested fewer financial resources in a larger number of ads. The approach varied from page to page. For

³⁸ It should be borne in mind that the pages of *Aleksa Bečić - Democrats - Democratic Montenegro*, the *Civic Movement URA*, and the *Movement of Europe* are now the main pages of parties at the national level, and not only the pages of individuals or candidates at the local level, as is the case, for example, with the *Jakov Milatović* web site, which could be the reason that these sites had a large number of advertisements, the content of which could refer not only to Podgorica, but also to other municipalities. However, the spending category refers exclusively to spending in Podgorica (spending by location)



example, it was noticeable that the page *Milojko Spajić* allocated larger amounts for a smaller number of ads, while the *Aleksa Bečić - Democrats - Democratic Montenegro* page spent nearly half the amount for an incomparably larger number of ads. Moreover, in terms of the average visibility of ads, Luka Rakčević was the most prominent among the three, followed by Milojko Spajić, and finally Jelena Borovinić Bojović.

In addition, the CCE team analysed not only the allocated financial resources but also the content of paid promotions, assessing the representation related to gender equality in these advertisements. Moreover, the Meta Ad Library Report allows for a breakdown based on gender, indicating the percentage of women and men who viewed the sponsored content. This enabled us to assess to what extent the parties intended to target one gender or the other during the sponsorship of specific posts.

Therefore, using this tool, we were able to access each individual advertisement from all nine pages and estimate the amount of financial resources allocated to each of these posts, as well as the content and target audiences of each specific post, determining whether they were targeted towards both men and women or if any of these posts were specifically intended for women. Through this detailed analysis of each post, we concluded that the only three pages that had posts related to women and related issues³⁹ were *Jelena Borovinić Bojović's* page, *Aleksa Bečić - Democrats - Democratic Montenegro* page, with the latter focusing on *mothers* rather than women in a general sense, and *Jakov Milatović's* page, which emphasized in one post⁴⁰ that “our list consists of 47% women.”

Name of the page	Costs in euros	Total number of advertisements	The number of advertisements related to women	Estimating the share of advertising towards women
Luka Rakčević	4.020	66	0	0 %
Jelena Borovinić Bojović	3.083	150	8	5.33 %
Milojko Spajić	2.955	13	0	0 %
Jakov Milatović	2.420	53	1	1.89 %
Aleksa Bečić - Democrats - Democratic Montenegro	1.762	110	2	1.82 %
Europe Now Movement	1.512	41	0	0%
Everybody for our city	1.489	37	0	0 %
SNP MNE	1.082	63	0	0 %
Civic Movement URA	680	140	0	0 %

Table: Financial Expenditures by Pages in the Period from 23 September to 23 October 2022, with a Cross-Section in Relation to Women

³⁹ In cases where there were female candidates or list leaders on the sponsored advertisements, but when they talked about general topics, local elections, other parties, etc., those announcements were not taken into consideration, but the announcements were considered relevant only when the parties or their candidates on the lists actively talked about women and women's issues, empowerment, political participation, social and reproductive rights, economic, cultural and other rights of women, etc. For example, the page Luka Rakčević, SNP MNE, Movement Europe Now and the page Everybody for our city also had several posts featuring their female candidates, but these posts were not analyzed because these women spoke about other, general topics, or the party advertised them in the context of their expertise, biographies, previous contributions, etc.

⁴⁰ This post has been sponsored twice

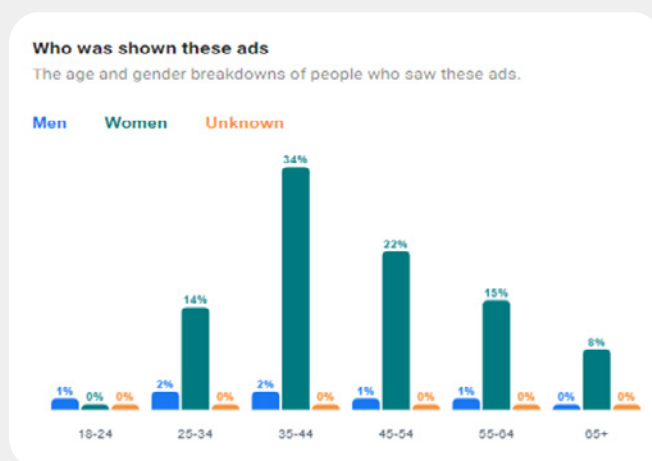
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Through a more detailed analysis of Jelena Borovinić Bojović’s page, eight sponsored posts related to women were selected. Out of these eight posts, two were directed towards both women and men, although the percentage of men reached by the advertisements, across all age groups, was significantly lower compared to the percentage of women reached. The first advertisement had the following content: “Our political opponents are bothered by brave women who are afraid of nothing!” The second advertisement stated: “Podgorica has elected its first female mayor!” More specific data can be seen in the illustrations below:

Jelena Borovinić Bojović - zvanična stranica
Sponsored • Paid for by Miloš Petrović

НАШИМ ПОЛИТИЧКИМ ПРОТИВНИЦИМА СМЕТАЈУ ХРАБРЕ ЖЕНЕ КОЈЕ СЕ НИЧЕГА НЕ ПЛАШЕ! - НАША ЈЕ! - ЈЕЛЕНА БОРОВИНИЋ БОЈОВИЋ - БРОЈ 5!

#zabuducnostpodgorice #jelenaborovinicbojovic #nasaje5 #našaje



The other advertisements from this page that were related to women and exclusively targeted women (mainly those aged 18 to 54) had the following content: “We are fearless women...”, “We promise that no single mother will go to bed hungry because institutions remain silent on the injustice that is happening”, “The fact that Jelena is our list leader shows in the brightest way possible how one woman with potential can contribute to society”, “...the victory on 23 October will be the culmination of a genuine, women’s fight!” and similar messages.

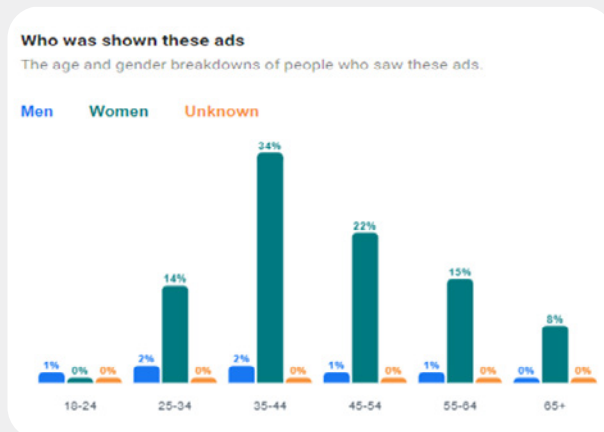
How many women were targeted by advertising compared to men, how many women received the messages, which age groups of women are predominantly involved, and so on can be seen from the examples below:

Jelena Borovinić Bojović - zvanična stranica
Sponsored • Paid for by Miloš Petrović

#JelenaBorovinicBojovic: МИ СМО ЖЕНЕ КОЈЕ СЕ НИЧЕГА НЕ ПЛАШЕ, СИГУРНО ПОБЕЂУЈЕМО 23. ОКТОБРА!

НАША ЈЕ! - ЈЕЛЕНА БОРОВИНИЋ БОЈОВИЋ - БРОЈ 5!

#zabuducnostpodgorice #jelenaborovinicbojovic #nasaje5 #našaje

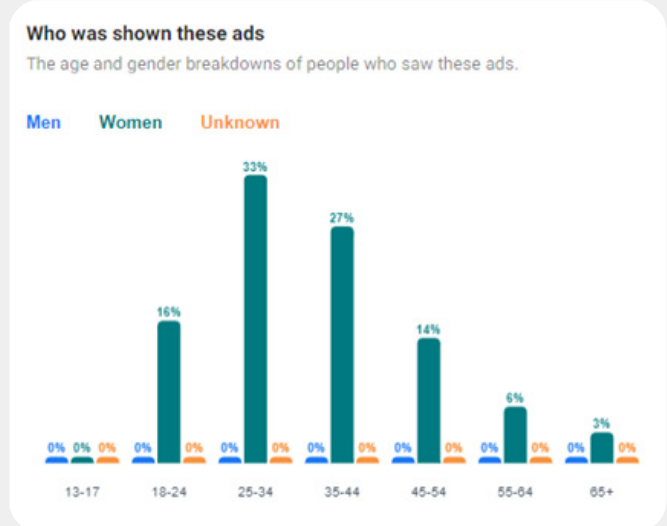




Jelena Borovinić Bojović - zvanična stranica
Sponsored · Paid for by Miloš Petrović

#SimonidaKordic: ЧИЊЕНИЦА ДА ЈЕ ЈЕЛЕНА НАШ НОСИЛАЦ ЛИСТЕ УПРАВО НА НАЈСВЈЕТЛИЈИ НАЧИН ПОКАЗУЈЕ КАКО ЈЕДНА ЖЕНА КОЈА ИМА ПОТЕНЦИЈАЛ МОЖЕ ДА ДОПРИНЕСЕ ДРУШТВУ

НАША ЈЕ! - ЈЕЛЕНА БОРОВИНИЋ БОЈОВИЋ - БРОЈ 5!

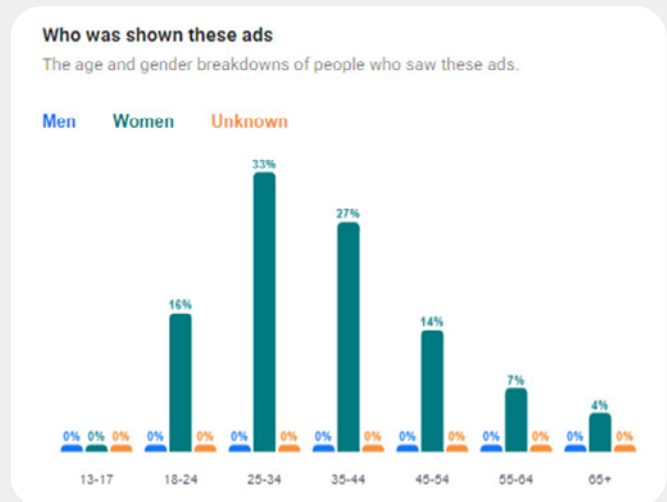


Jelena Borovinić Bojović - zvanična stranica
Sponsored · Paid for by Miloš Petrović

#AnikaBajic: САДА КАДА ЈЕ НА ЧЕЛУ ЛИСТЕ ЈЕЛЕНА БОРОВИНИЋ БОЈОВИЋ, ПОБЈЕДА 23. ОКТОБРА БИЋЕ КРУНА ИСТИНСКЕ, ЖЕНСКЕ БОРБЕ!

НАША ЈЕ! - ЈЕЛЕНА БОРОВИНИЋ БОЈОВИЋ - БРОЈ 5!

#zabuducnostpodgorice #jelenaborovinicbojovic #nasaje5 #našaje



Each of these eight advertisements, targeting primarily women, was funded with less than 100 EUR. Out of the eight ads, six were visible to residents of Podgorica, while the remaining two were predominantly visible to residents of Podgorica, as well as Budva, Bar, Danilovgrad, and Cetinje.

Except for two advertisements whose content reached both women and men, the remaining six ads had a clear focus exclusively on women, particularly women aged 25-54. Additionally, it was impossible not to notice that in the posts where there was room for it, gender-sensitive language was not used, despite the intention to communicate about female empowerment to women.

When it comes to the two advertisements about mothers, promoted by the Aleksa Bečić - Democrats -Democratic Montenegro page, they were not exclusively directed towards mothers but rather towards young people, students, teachers, and retirees, with mothers being just one of the categories. However, we decided to include these posts as relevant since, unlike the other pages, except for

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Jelena Borovinić Bojović's page, there was no addressing of women in general or any specific category of women.

When it comes to the two advertisements about mothers, promoted by the Aleksa Bečić - Democrats -Democratic Montenegro page, they were not exclusively directed towards mothers but rather towards young people, students, teachers, and retirees, with mothers being just one of the categories. However, we decided to include these posts as relevant since, unlike the other pages, except for Jelena Borovinić Bojović's page, there was no addressing of women in general or any specific category of women.

Aleksa Becic - Demokrate - Demokratska Crna Gora
 Sponsored · Paid for by Aleksa Becic - Demokrate - Demokratska Crna Gora

- 👤 Idemo studenti, idemo profesori! 🙌
- 👤 Idemo radnice, idemo radnici! 🙌
- 👤 Idemo majke, idemo penzioneri! 🙌
- 👤 IDEMO LJUDI! 🙌

#idemoljudi



Amount spent
 <€100 (EUR)

Impressions
 The number of times an ad was on a screen. May include multiple views by the same people. [Learn more](#)

Impressions
 70K - 80K

Who was shown this ad
 The age and gender breakdowns of people who saw this ad.

Age Group	Men	Women	Unknown
18-24	5%	4%	0%
25-34	17%	12%	0%
35-44	15%	13%	0%
45-54	10%	8%	0%
55-64	5%	5%	0%
65+	3%	2%	0%

Aleksa Becic - Demokrate - Demokratska Crna Gora
 Sponsored · Paid for by Aleksa Becic - Demokrate - Demokratska Crna Gora

👤 Na izbore? Mi idemo!
 Jer znamo za šta se borimo. Jer znamo za koga se borimo. Za bolji život ljudi. Od djece, đaka, preko majki, radnika i penzionera. Za sve. Za njih. 🙌

IDEMO LJUDI!



Amount spent
 The estimated total money this advertiser spent on these ads. [Learn more](#)

Amount spent
 €100 - €199 (EUR)

Impressions
 The number of times these ads were seen on a screen. This may include multiple views by the same people. [Learn more](#)

Impressions
 175K - 200K

Who was shown these ads
 The age and gender breakdowns of people who saw these ads.

Age Group	Men	Women	Unknown
18-24	5%	4%	0%
25-34	17%	13%	0%
35-44	15%	14%	0%
45-54	10%	8%	0%
55-64	5%	5%	0%
65+	2%	2%	0%



As mentioned before, the only post promoted by the *Jakov Milatović* page emphasized the high representation of women on the party's candidate list in Podgorica. The data indicates that both men and women were equally consumers of this content, primarily young individuals up to the age of 34.

Jakov Milatović
Sponsored • Paid for by Jakov Milatovic
ID: 848249812871687

Imamo sjajne ljude i ideje za razvoj Podgorice!

Okupili smo sposobne i poštene ljude kojima su namjere da učine ovaj grad boljim – ispred ličnih interesa.

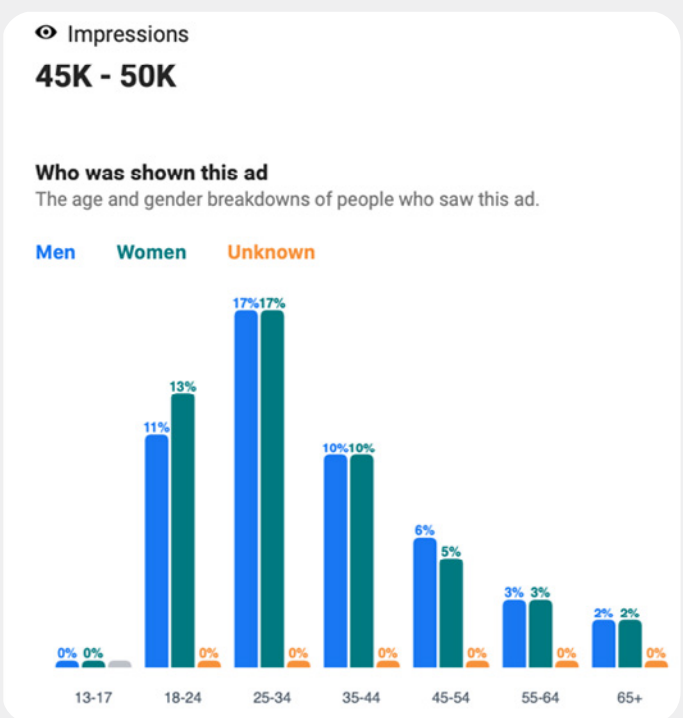
*Našu listu čine mladi ljudi i skoro pola njih ima manje od 35 godina.

*Našu listu čini 47% žena!

*Našu listu obogatilo je 10 magistara, četiri doktora nauka i tri doktora medicine!

Ako ovi ljudi ne mogu da promijene Podgoricu ne može niko!

@pokretevropasad
@milojko_spajic



Indeed, women were not the focus of the social media campaigns, at least when it comes to sponsored content. This means that parties have largely marginalized and ignored this category, except for three pages (Jelena Borovinić Bojović, Aleksa Bečić - Democrats, and Europe Now) that attempted to reach out to female voters. Among them, the first page made significantly more efforts compared to the other two, but still not strong enough and inadequate, as they did not utilize gender-sensitive language and demonstrated a certain lack of understanding regarding the potential contributions of women in society.

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Other

Genetal candidate lists of all parties that competed in the 2022, 2018, and 2020 elections.

Materials from the Meta platform (10 Facebook and Instagram pages): official pages of Milojko Spajić, Jakov Milatović, *Movement Europe Now*, *Aleksa Bečić- Demorats - Democratic Montenegro*, *Jelena Borovinić Bojović*; *Everybody for our city*; *Civic movements URA*; *Luka Rakčević*; *SNP MNE*; *Naglas*

Materials from television stations: TVCG, TV Vijesti, PRVA, Nova TV, Adria TV, as well as local public broadcasters GradskaTV, RTV Pljevlja i TV Budva; Materials from print media: *Vijesti*, *Dan i Pobjeda*, as well as 12 online media outlets

- Portal *Vijesti*, *CdM*, *Analitika*, *rtcg.me*, *AntenaM*, *IN4S*, *Pobjeda*, *Borba.me*, *Aktuelno*, *Gradski.me*, *rtvbudva.me* and *pvportal.me*.





