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i ljudska prava

Center for Democracy  
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# NEWSLETTER

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# democracy<sup>1</sup> Index

## 1. MEDIA

It is difficult, almost impossible to imagine the domain of politics, in modern countries and mass societies without the media component. The importance of media in modern societies is best reflected in statements, claiming that media represent the fourth 'power' within the country. In any case, we can say that today, the politics is adopted and transferred through media, thus making the role of media extremely important for the democracy in general. Specific synthesis of relation media-democracy can be seen through position that media can exist without the democracy, but democracy of today is not possible without free and professional media.

Conceptually, democracy is based on fight of different opinions, and it needs to create social climate, in all segments of social life, which enhance and support public debate on different positions and opinions. Freedom of media, and its constructive, crucial role in democratic processes is often restricted in ways that more often hidden than not. The mission of media in principle is to be vox populi, the voice of the people, to represent the people's right to find out the truth and to have critical relation toward it; still it is impossible to provide fully, the mechanisms

that would guarantee the work of media to the service of democracy. Because the invisible hand of freedom is not a priori inviolable or untouchable as the one may get impression when analyzing leading theoreticians of free word, philosophers of liberal ideology John Stewart Mill and John Milton. The practice is teaching us otherwise; freedom of media, even in the most democratic of societies is reduced, to a certain degree, by economic, political, social, and cultural limitations.

We should point out that media arena in Montenegro, during its development, has underwent several stages. Media community in Montenegro is today quite different from the one that was characteristic for the pre-transition period. During the period of real-socialism the media represented one of the important elements for the ideological reproduction of the society. This kind of state in media, during this period, is of declarative character, and the informing of citizens that was in service of maintaining the socialist society and its truths cannot be characterized as censorship but as a system that rests on a unique matrix.

During the social transformation, situation in media industry was changing day 'in, day 'out. First of all, along the existing state media, we witnessed the creation of private media, which by definition haven't represented the long arm of the government and its policies. This goes both for electronic and printed media. Furthermore, the state media have changed in respect to their place and role. With the disappearance of communist party from political scene, and formation of large

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<sup>1</sup> *Democracy index represents method of measuring the level of democratic process, achieved in one society. By the language of figures and through the analyses of specific indicators, INDEX demonstrates to what level do citizens percept the presence of democracy within their society. The Media is one of five areas which were the subject of our measurement. The complete report is available on the web page ([www.cedem.co.me](http://www.cedem.co.me)). The project is supported by NED.*

number of new parties, the media that were still under control of ruling structures had to demonstrate certain degree of flexibility, and in that respect reflect the changes that have occurred. Truth be known, state media than and even today are promoting the ruling political parties, but is also obvious their effort to strike certain balance between the positions of the ruling structures and opposition opinions. Finally, it is very important to see what effect did the transformation of the state run TV Montenegro into the public service, had on citizens; this is very important as this media company is recognized as the most powerful electronic media, and also to see the impact of this transformation on democratization of the society as a whole.

On the other hand, establishment of private media has additionally democratized social relations and relaxed overall political communication. Although individual and group interests of certain structures have played their role during the establishment of new

media, this process was still versatile, so today, private media, guided by different interest structures, are promoting opposite political options, what is good from the aspect of development of democratic society.

Maybe the most accurate statement would be that media today represent amalgam of different influences, starting from political interests, financial interests of media owners, and mass audience that has its own demands regarding the things it wants to find out.

Therefore, regarding this area we have defined the following dimensions:

- Autonomy and independence of media
- Professionalism of media
- No monopolies and equality of media
- Openness of media

Looking from methodological aspect, we have applied the same procedure as in previous cases, and cumulatively, based on all

*Table 1 Autonomy and independence of media – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
There are no pressures of government and state institutions on media	891	2.53	1.286	0.484
There are no pressures of political parties and political organizations on media	872	2.50	1.227	0.510
There are no pressures of wealthy individuals and groups on media	858	2.57	1.229	0.412
There are no pressures of religious and national communities on media	811	3.08	1.198	-0.129
There are no pressures of organizations and institutions from Serbia	768	3.35	1.237	-0.358
Autonomy of printed media	898	2.68	1.444	0.307
Autonomy of radio stations	897	2.80	1.180	0.139
Autonomy of TV stations	896	2.64	1.197	0.272

dimensions it was possible to synthesize unique score for the entire area.

### 1.1 Autonomy and independence of media

Measuring the autonomy of media in Montenegro, we focused primarily on measuring the influence of key factors that eventually can endanger media independence. In addition, we intended to measure separately, the level of autonomy for printed and electronic media. Before we move to the analysis of scores, it is important to say that it is very difficult to assess the ideal state in this area, because even in the most democratic of countries certain power structures are de facto capable of influencing media. In other words, it would be unreasonable to expect full independence of media in Montenegro, not so much because of socialist heritage, but because of the fact that in every society, interest structures find their way to influence the media.

Speaking of pressures on media, judging by the survey results, there are mainly no pressures coming from organizations and institutions from Serbia (3.35), and this is a consequence of resolved statehood issue. Similar goes for religious and national communities where we recorded the score of (3.08). However, media are definitely under

the influence of wealthy individuals and groups (2.57), and even to a greater degree under the influence of government institutions (2.53), as well as parties and political organizations (2.50). Speaking of autonomy of media, the highest level of autonomy was achieved at radio stations (2.80), followed by printed media with score (2.68), and finally TV stations (2.64).

Results regarding democratization of media can be evaluated differently, depending on selected criteria. If we take for criteria, the situation from the previous period of real-socialism, media scene has improved in every aspect. However, if we treat the issues of autonomy and independence as strict variables, we can say that results are halfway and there is still a lot of space for improvements in this area.

### 1.2 Professionalism of media

When measuring this dimension, we have applied all the standard criteria, such as, professionalism, objectivity, and timeliness. In addition, we have measured both printed and electronic media. According to recorded scores, we have just halfway results in this dimension. From the viewpoint of professionalism, although the differences are not

*Table 2 Professionalism of media – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Professional reporting public	938	2.97	1.204	-0.060
Objective reporting to public	936	2.85	1.180	0.079
Timelines in reporting to public	929	3.16	1.125	-0.302
Professionalism of printed media	928	2.86	1.100	0.095
Professionalism of radio stations	914	3.02	1.116	-0.116
Professionalism of TV stations	928	2.93	1.156	-0.050

*Table 3 No monopolies and equality of media – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Equality of printed media	862	2.54	1.172	0.484
Equality of radio stations	855	2.59	1.166	0.516
Equality of TV stations	862	2.53	1.156	0.537
Absence of monopolies of certain media in respect to others	911	2.57	1.210	0.400

significant, on the first place we find radio stations (3.02), followed by TV stations (2.93) and at the end we have printed media (2.86). This ranking is understandable if we keep in mind that, unlike electronic media, printed media in Montenegro are, more or less openly, supporting some of the political options. Speaking of criteria, the best rated s timelines (3.16), followed by professionals (2.97) and at the end we have objectivity (2.85).

Bearing in mind the scores that range from 2.85 do 3.16, we can say in general that media scene in Montenegro, from the aspect of professionalism is obviously improving, and if compared with pre-transition period we can be satisfy with achieved results. Of course, it is clear that there is still a lot of space for improvements in that regard, and special efforts should be focused primarily on the aspect of objective reporting, with intention to increase the professionalism of printed media.

### 1.3 No monopolies and equality of media

Existence of monopolies, in any segment of the society is contrary to principles of democracy. In that regard, media scene in one democratic society should be characterized by equality of media and absence of preferential media on the expense of others. Results, which are ranging from 2.53 to 2.59, are dis-

satisfying and indicate the need to implement fundamental changes in this area. Obtained scores are showing that TV stations enjoy unequal status (2.53), followed by printed media (2.54). Regarding possibility for some media to own another media, the results are showing that this situation can be accepted as quite realistic (2.57), although we have to say that the score is not at the highest level; as the ‘most equal’ among media, we find radio stations (2.59).

### 1.4 Openness of media

The issue of media openness is of special importance for democracy in this area. In one politically pluralistic and nationally heterogeneous society, the media must be able, in line with democratic principles, to reflect different opinions and positions, and immanently integrate all diversities in unique political and social space. This request goes beyond politics, and must be in line with demands for reaching overall social consensus, which is important for the functioning of social system.

Regarding this dimension, we have identified four key indicators that relate to different aspects of media openness. It is evident that different religious and national groups have the ‘easiest’ access to media, thus confirming thesis that media are adequately responding to challenges of cultural heterogeneousness of

*Table 4 Openness of media – per indicators*

Indicators	N	K	SD	Skewness
Openness of media for different political opinions and different ideologies	819	2.56	1.220	0.400
Openness of media for different religious and national groups living in Montenegro	905	3.32	1.173	-0.439
Openness of media for opinions of citizens, civic organizations and respectable individuals	915	3.08	1.160	-0.119
Readiness and freedom to criticize the government and other institutions and individuals	919	2.77	1.243	0.269

Montenegrin society (3,32). Scores of other indicators are significantly lagging behind; still, solid score was recorded regarding openness of media for opinions of citizens, civic organizations, and respectable individuals (3,08). However, when it comes to readiness and freedom to criticize the government, and other institutions and individuals, the situation is much worse and score obtained is (2,77), while the lowest score is given for openness of media to different political opinions and different ideologies (2,56). Our conclusion regarding openness of media in Montenegro is as follows; it is necessary to continue working to increase the level of democracy in this dimension, and the biggest efforts should be directed in increasing the openness of media in respect to political and ideological differences.

### 1.5 Summary indicators regarding media

Now, by summarizing the results obtained in different dimensions, presented in table 5 and subsequent graphic presentation, we shall review the situation as a whole when it comes to issue of media in Montenegrin society, i.e. the level of achieved democracy in this area. Through comparison with previous survey we shall see the degree of progress in this area.

Summary indicators regarding democracy of media, comparatively looking, are indicating that the best score was recorded regarding professionalism of media (59,5), followed by openness of media with also very good score (59,2). However, the issue of autonomy and independence of media received far lower score (55.9), while the lowest score

*Table 5 Democracy of media – summary per dimensions*

Dimensions	N	K	SD	Skewness
Autonomy and independence of media	969	55.9	18,80392	0.277
Professionalism of media	976	59.5	19,68441	-0.064
No monopolies and equality of media	898	51.2	22,52482	0.495
Openness of media	967	59.2	20,33243	0.041

was recorded regarding non-existence of monopolies and equality of media (51,2). The range of obtained results is from 51.2 to 59.5 and we can describe them as relatively satisfactory.

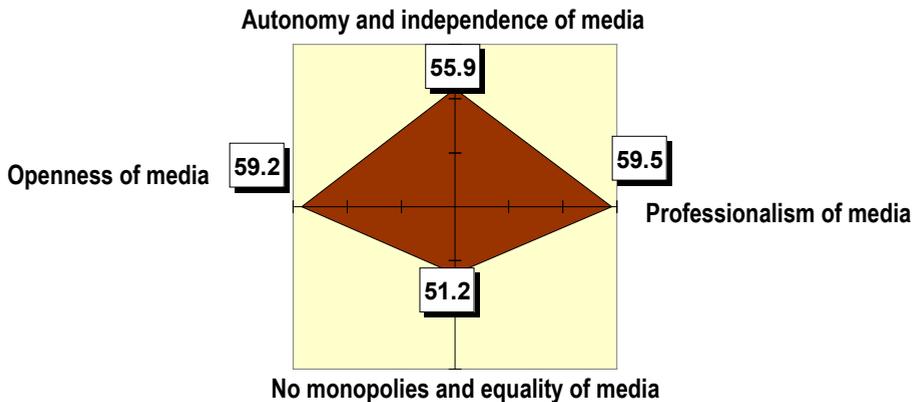
It is particularly interesting to look at the trend of indicators regarding democracy of media, having in mind the fact that position of media, during referendum period, was very specific and complex, because this process has left its mark even on today's state of media.

Comparing the results with the ones from the previous survey, we have recorded significant growth in area of openness of media, than to somewhat lesser degree we also have growth trend in area of professionalism of media, where the score regarding autonomy and independence of media is very high. However, the discouraging result is the significant trend of decrease when it comes to non-existence of monopolies and equality of media. This indicates that urgent actions should be taken in this

regard, because the existence of monopolies is in direct collision with the very notion of democracy.

If we look at summary of results per indicators, the range from 51.2 to 59.5 can be characterized as satisfactory, but we have to say that difference between certain indicators is quite big. Having in mind the trend of results regarding this issue and from the viewpoint of improving the situation, the attention must be directed, primarily at achieving equality among media and elimination of 'monopoly' position of certain media, as much as possible. In addition, activities should also be directed at improving the things in area of autonomy and independence of media, primarily on eliminating influence coming from political parties and ruling structure. However, we should be aware of the fact that media, in democratic systems, are not immune to influence of ruling structures, and Montenegrin society cannot be exception in that regard.

### Democracy of media



• We were visited by... • We were visited by... • We were visited by...

• by *Bertelsmann Foundation* representatives

**Hauke Hartmann**, BTI Project Manager; **Petra Blass-Rafajlovski**, High Counselor Berlin; **Armando García Schmidt**, Bertelsmann Foundation

• by representatives of *International Republican Institute (IRI)*

**Lindsay Lloyd**, Regional Director, Europe; **Borislav Spasojevic**, Assistant Program Officer; **Rhet W. Skiles**, Program Officer; **David E. Williams**, Consultant

# CEDEM Activities

## *Seminar:*

”The New Montenegrin Criminal Procedure Code and the European Convention on Human Rights”

### ***Becici, Hotel Iberostar, October 3-4, 2008***

Seminar for Montenegrin judges, prosecutors and attorneys on the following topic: ***The New Montenegrin Criminal Procedure Code and the European Convention on Human Rights*** was organized by CEDEM, AIRE Centre from London, OSCE and supported by Center for Education of Carriers of Judicial Function in Montenegro and UK Foreign Office.

The seminar was opened by: Minister of Justice, Miras Radovic, the Head of OSCE Mission to Montenegro, Paraschiva Badescu, Deputy State Prosecutor, Tatjana Markovic and Supreme Court judge, Stanka Vucinic.

Lecturers were: Supreme Court judges: Radule Kojovic and Petar Stojanovic; PhD Drago Radulovic, Law Faculty in Podgorica; PhD Milan Skulic, Law Faculty in Belgrade; Deputy of Special Prosecutm Sucko Bakovic; Vladimir Cejovic, attorney; Ben Cooper, attorney, Doughty Street Chambers – London; Toby Cadman the representative of EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.



## *Seminar:*

”Media and Judiciary – Freedom of Expression, Journalistic Investigation and the Right to a Fair Trial”

### ***Milocer, Hotel Maestral, 17-18 November, 2008***

Seminar for Montenegrin judges, prosecutors and representatives of Media on the following topic: ***Media and Judiciary - Freedom of expression, journalistic investigation and the right to a fair trial***, was organized by CEDEM, AIRE Centre from London, OSCE and Center for Education of Carriers of Judicial Function in Montenegro. Lecturers on seminar were: PhD Vladimir Vodinelic, Law Faculty, Belgrade; Nuala Mole, Director, AIRE Center, London; Zoran Pažin, President of Basic Court in Podgorica; Dragoljub Dusko Vukovic, Instructor of Journalism; Saša Lekovic, Journalist; Sinisa Bjekovic, Center for Human Rights, Law Faculty Podgorica. Journalists and representatives of the judiciary had an opportunity to discuss about models of improving co-operation and observing human rights during criminal proceedings. The purpose of the seminar was to deepen professional understanding between journalists and representatives of the judiciary.



*Round table:*

”Montenegro in Transformation  
Political Management – Achievements and Challenges”

*Podgorica, November 04, 2008*



With this workshop, the CEDEM and the German-based Bertelsmann Foundation intended to engage experts and actors involved in national processes of opinion formation and political decision making in an open dialogue on the status and the forthcoming challenges and risks of transformation in Montenegro and in the entire region. This workshop is part of a series of seven one day workshops in seven Southeast-European countries organized the Bertelsmann Foundation

and local partners. The initiative will conclude with a regional conference in cooperation with the Regional Cooperation Council in 2009. Participants were representatives of diplomatic core in Montenegro, Government officials, domestic and foreign NGO's and representatives of media. Facilitators were: PhD Srdjan Darmanovic, President of CEDEM; Armando García Schmidt, Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh; H.E. Peter Platte, German Ambassador to Montenegro; Franz-Lothar Altmann, University of Bucharest; Petra Blass-Rafajlovski, High Counselor Berlin; Hauke Hartmann, BTI Project Manager, Bertelsmann Foundation; Maja Drakic, BTI country expert, Faculty for International Economics, Finance and Business – UDG, Institute for Strategic Studies and Prognoses, Podgorica; PhD Milos Besic, CEDEM's main methodologist; Faculty for Political Sciences, Podgorica.

*Round table:*

”Ban of discrimination – Condition for joining the EU”

*Miločer, Hotel Maestral, December 05, 2008*



Round table organized by CEDEM, with the support of Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights on following topic: **Ban of Discrimination – Condition for joining the EU**. Representatives of NGO's, Ministry of Justice and Media participated in the Round table.

## Public Opinion in Montenegro November 2008

This research was conducted in period **21 – 28 November 2008**, using standard CEDEM's twofold stratified sample with random selection of interviewees in final units applied, at the level of 1029 interviewees from 9 municipalities ( Pljevlja, Berane, Bijelo Polje, Podgorica, Niksic, Cetinje, Herceg Novi, Bar i Ulcinj). Project Political Public Opinion is supported by **Foundation Open Society Institute**, representative office in Montenegro (OSIM).

### Basic characteristics of the sample

Educational struct. of interviewees%	
No education	0.5
Primary	11.1
Secondary	58.3
Higher	15.6
High	14.5
Nationality of interviewees	%
Montenegrians	43.2
Srbs	32.6
Bosnians	3.7
Albanians	5.5
Muslims	8.3
Other	6.7

### Confidence in Institutions (trend)

Institution	Koef. povjerenja		
	Feb '08	June '08	Nov '08
Serbian Orthodox Church	3.38	3.40	3.50
President of Montenegro	2.90	2.93	2.97
Government of Montenegro	2.72	2.80	2.84
Montenegrin Police	2.60	2.66	2.70
Montenegrin Parliament	2.59	2.64	2.71
Montenegrin Judiciary	2.31	2.46	2.54
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	2.41	2.45	2.51
Political Parties in Montenegro	2.28	2.27	2.38

*Comment: Completed opinion poll results could be found on CEDEM's website: [www.cedem.co.me](http://www.cedem.co.me)*

### Satisfaction With The Government Of Montenegro (trend)

	Sep/Oct '07	Feb '08	Jun '08	Nov '08
Very dissatisfied	16.7	16.0	26.6	24.4
Mostly dissatisfied	14.2	15.4	15.4	18.0
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	38.7	40.6	28.8	28.5
Mostly satisfied	2.8	21.3	18.7	21.0
Very satisfied	7.6	6.7	9.5	8.0

### Recognition of Kosovo's independence

Supports Governments decision	20.8
Does not support	43.0
Government acted in interests of state and citizens	12.9
Does not have an opinion	23.3

### Attitudes in relation to eventually boycott of parliament by opposition

Supports	16.6
Does not support	37.2
Does not have an opinion	46.2

**Confidence in Politicians/Public figures**

Rating of the politician/ public figure	Average score
1. Vanja ČALOVIĆ	3.06
2. Filip VUJANOVIĆ	3.03
3. Milo ĐUKANOVIĆ	2.95
4. Gordana ĐUROVIĆ	2.84
5. Srđan MILIĆ	2.67
6. Andrija MANDIĆ	2.43
7. Vujica LAZOVIĆ	2.36
8. Ranko KRIVOKAPIĆ	2.31
9. Nebojša MEDOJEVIĆ	2.31
10. Ranko KADIĆ	2.19
11. Predrag POPOVIĆ	2.08
12. Zoran ŽIŽIĆ	1.97
13. Miodrag ŽIVKOVIĆ	1.97
14. Emilo LABUDOVIĆ	1.95
15. Ferhat DINOŠA	1.81
16. Mehmet BARDHI	1.72
17. Rafet HUSOVIĆ	1.67
18. Vasilj SINIŠTAJ	1.60

**Membership in the European Union (trend)**

	Sep 07	Feb 08	Mar 08	Jun 08	Nov 08
Yes	72.4	72.8	78.2	70.8	73.9
No	9.4	9.2	9.1	12.1	11.5
Doesn't know	18.2	18.0	12.7	17.1	14.6

**Membership in NATO (trend)**

	Sep 07	Feb 08	Mar 08	Jun 08	Nov 08
Yes	32.4	29.5	33.1	26.3	26.9
No	40.7	44.2	43.1	46.7	46.9
Doesn't know	26.9	26.3	23.8	27.0	26.1

**How often do you read daily newspapers?**

	Jun 08	Nov 08
POBJEDA	0,31	0,33
VIJESTI	0,50	0,50
DAN	0,45	0,43
REPUBLIKA	0,18	0,16
POLITIKA	0,18	0,17
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI	0,27	0,25
BLIC	0,23	0,21

**Confidence in daily newspapers**

	Jun 08	Nov 08
POBJEDA	0,44	0,46
VIJESTI	0,56	0,56
DAN	0,50	0,52
REPUBLIKA	0,33	0,34
POLITIKA	0,35	0,37
VECERNJE NOVOSTI	0,41	0,43
BLIC	0,37	0,39

**Electoral preference – Committed voters - trend**

Political party	Sep/Oct '07	Feb. '08	June '08	Nov '08
DPS	43.5	44.5	47.4	48.7
SDP	5.0	3.0	4.2	4.7
PzP	19.4	18.1	10.8	9.0
SNS	12.7	11.2	14.4	15.0
SNP	7.1	9.7	11.1	12.2
LPCG	2.5	2.0	1.7	1.6
Srpski radikali	1.6	2.0	2.4	1.6

**How often do you watch informative program  
- TV Stations -**

	Jun 08	Nov 08
TV CG 1	0,55	0,53
TV CG 2	0,46	0,44
TV IN	0,59	0,58
TV ATLAS	0,45	0,43
TV ELMAG	0,34	0,32
TV MONTENA	0,24	0,28
TV MBC	0,31	0,30
TV VIJESTI	0,17	0,29
TV PINK	0,50	0,45
LOCAL TV	0,36	0,33
TV RTS	0,36	0,39

**Confidence in Informative program  
- TV Stations -**

	Jun 08	Nov 08
TV CG 1	0,55	0,54
TV CG 2	0,53	0,53
TV IN	0,61	0,59
TV ATLAS	0,53	0,53
TV ELMAG	0,49	0,50
TV MONTENA	0,42	0,46
TV MBC	0,46	0,47
TV VIJESTI	0,38	0,47
TV PINK	0,55	0,53
LOKALNA TV	0,50	0,49
TV RTS	0,49	0,52

**Montenegrin allies in area of foreign policy**

	Attitudes				
	Absolute-ly not	A little	Yes significantly	Yes, absolutely	Can not tell
EU	10.9	15.0	23.6	21.7	28.8
USA	28.1	17.3	13.5	6.5	34.6
RUSSIA	16.1	21.6	16.4	11.6	34.3
SERBIA	14.0	17.6	14.4	19.4	34.6

**NOTE:** 17.1% of interviewees think that Montenegro should not rely on nobody in area of foreign policy.



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## International conferences CEDEM's representatives took part

### **Nikola Đjurović**

*23-25 November, Zagreb*

Participation in regional conference "**Impact of EU integration on Human rights issues**" organized by Center For Human Rights, Zagreb.

*1 – 7 December, Krakov, Warshav, Gdanjsk*

Participation in international conference "**Youth Forum**", organized by European Center for Solidarity, Poland.

### **Rajko Radević**

*6 - 7 November, Belgrade*

Participation in the international "**Business and Security' conference**", organized by Center for Civil-Military Relations, Belgrade

*15 October – 15 December, Belgrade*

Participation in the internship program "**Security of Western Balkans Countries and European Union Security**" as regional Research Fellow at Centre for Civil Military Relations, Belgrade

### **Phd Milos Bešić, Rajko Radević**

*4 - 5 December, Belgrade*

Participated on the international conference "**How Can Independent Research Centers (Think-Tanks) Be Successfully Involved in Security Politics**" organized by Centre for Civil-Military Relations.

### **MA Nenad Koprivica**

*October 15 – 16, London*

Activities within the project realized with EUCLID Network, London

*October 17 – 19, Prague*

Participation at the Annual PASOS Conference

*November 20 – 23, Dubrovnik*

Participation at the regional seminar on **Universal Periodic Review (UPR)**, organized by Human Rights House, Sarajevo