

Centar za demokratiju
i ljudska prava

Center for Democracy
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NEWSLETTER

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democracy Index 2009¹

1. MEDIA

A role of media in contemporary democratic societies is irreplaceable. It may be pointed out that today 'politics' in the broadest sense, is adopted and forwarded by media, and in this respect, importance of media for democracy in general is more than significant. Synthesis of media-democracy relation can be seen through the attitude that media can exist without democracy, but today democracy without free and professional media is not possible.

Conceptually, democracy exists on a struggle of different opinions and it is necessary to create a social climate which improves and supports public discussion about different attitudes and opinions. Freedom of media and its constructive, key role in democratic processes is often hindered in different ways which are more often hidden rather than obvious. Fundamental mission of media is to be vox populi, voice of people, their right to know the truth and to be critical towards it. Nevertheless, it is impossible to provide mechanisms which will completely guarantee work of media in service of democracy, because the invisible hand of freedom is not a priori inviolable and untouchable, as it could be understood by analysing leading theoreticians of free speech, liberal ideology philosophers John Stuart Mill and John Milton. Practice teaches us differently, freedom of media is reduced even in the most democratic societies, to some extent, by economic, political, social and cultural limitations.

In contemporary democratic societies, media should have several functions in order to contribute properly to consolidation of a democratic

system. Thus, media should be the source of reliable information, they should tend to be a controller of the government, take a role of a guardian dog of democracy and democratic values in general. Further on, media are expected to be a mechanism by means of which the public controls how some elected representatives perform their duties in the name of people, to be a special forum for public discussion, to create the environment where different social ideas by different social subjects are presented and come into conflict in order to create general social consensus on them as a final product. In order to accept them as credible and useful for democraticity strengthening, media representations of reality should have bases in real social interests as well as in predominant norms and values. Media practice of reality interpretation neither happens in an empty space nor depends on the free will of journalists. It is determined by historical, social and cultural development of a community – media practice reflects dominant social, political and cultural norms and values. A problem appears when we meet with societies where there is no consensus of majority on norms and values, and then media often function as a means of struggle over establishing dominant norms and values. That is why there are efforts to make media political instruments, and that is how certain parts of the public think that some media are instrumentalised, even when their journalists think that they act completely professionally.

Media scene in Montenegro today is completely different from the one which characterised the period before transition. In the real-socialism period, media represented one of the important elements of ideological reproduction of a society. This media situation in this period was of a declarative character, whereas information had a role of preservation of a socialist regime and their truth and it cannot be qualified as censorship, but as a system based on a unique matrix.

¹ DEMOCRACY INDEX represents method of measuring the level of democratic process, achieved in one society. By the language of numbers and through the analyses of specific indicators, INDEX demonstrates to what level do citizen's percept the presence of democracy within their society. The complete report is available on the web page (www.cedem.me). The project is supported by NED.

On entering the process of social transformation, the situation on media scene changed daily. First of all, apart from state, predominant media, private media, which did not by their definition represent voice of the state and its politics, appeared. This applied both to electronic as well as to printed media. State media also changed their position and role. By disappearance of the Communist party from political scene and formation of a larger number of new parties, media, which still were under control of the governing structures, had to show a dose of elasticity and in that way reflect changes which had happened. It is of course true that state media favoured then, as they do today, political parties which came to power, but equally obvious is the effort to establish some kind of balance between the attitudes of governing structures and opposing opinions. Finally, it is very important to realise what effect in attitude of the citizens, transformation of a state television of Montenegro into a public service had, which is extremely important bearing in mind the epithet of the most powerful electronic media, that is how important it is for democratization in general.

On the other hand, appearance of private media additionally democratised social relationships and relaxed the overall political communication. Although individual and group interests of certain structures intervened in a process of creation of new media, this process was many-sided, so that today private media, led by different interest structures, favour opposing political options, which is certainly good from the viewpoint of democratization. By this statement we first of all have in mind the fact that existence of alternative information is one of the key conditions for formation of polyarchy (see R.Dal).

Dealing with this area we defined the following mechanisms which represented the object of a survey:

- Autonomy and independence of media
- Professionalism of media
- Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media
- Openness of media

1.1 Autonomy and independence of media

The first dimension which was the object of survey in this area is autonomy and independence of media. In this respect, we tried to measure the level of achieved autonomy separately for printed and electronic media. Before we start analysing the results, it is important to say that it is hard to assess an ideal situation in this area, because even in the most democratic societies some structures of power are de facto capable of influencing media. In other words, it is not advisable to imagine independence of media of an ideal-type in any society, and also in Montenegro, because interest structures almost as a rule find a way to influence media.

Results of this dimension research point to three indicators for which we can say they have positive trends (table 1). Those three indicators are absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations (2.61 versus 2.54), absence of pressure from national and religious communities (3.07 versus 2.93) and absence of pressure from organizations and institutions from

Table 1.1 Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	56,3612
95% Confidence interval TO	FROM 55,0239
Median	57,1429
Variance	322,443
Standard deviation	17,95670
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 1. Autonomy and independence of media

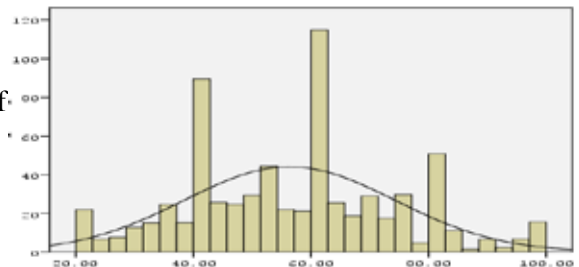


Table 1. Autonomy and independence of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Absence of pressure on media from authorities and state institutions	2.54	2,53	2,60	2,65	1,171
Absence of pressure on media from parties and political organizations	2.57	2,50	2,54	2,61	1,124
Absence of pressure on media from rich individuals and groups	2.68	2,57	2,52	2,54	1,085
Absence of pressure on media from religious and national communities	3.07	3,08	2,93	3,07	1,101
Absence of pressure on media from organizations and institutions from Serbia	3.22	3,35	3,09	3,25	1,102
Autonomy of printed media	2.56	2,68	2,82	2,87	1,077
Autonomy of radio stations	2.74	2,80	2,92	2,93	1,056
Autonomy of TV stations	2.54	2,64	2,85	2,82	1,086

Serbia (3.25 versus 3.09). All other indicators which measure autonomy and independence of media are on the last year's level. When we compare the aspects, the biggest problem, when we talk about autonomy of media, still is pressure on media from wealthy individuals and groupings (2.54).

1.2. Professionalism of media

For media to fulfill their role in a democratic society, they have to be independent from one side, but from the other they have to respect professional standards relevant for media scene. This was the object of survey for this dimension. Results of the research show that in the previous year there were almost no changes when we talk about aspects which represent this dimension (table 2). If we compare indicators mutually, it can be seen that the situation is the best when we talk about timely informing of the public (3.17),

and comparatively it is the worst when we talk about objective informing of the public (2.95).

1.3 Non existence of monopoly and equality of media

Existence of monopoly in any segment of a democratic society represents a serious obstacle from the viewpoint of democratic principles realisation. When we talk about media, this problem is especially emphasised, simply because in a situation like that in the overall political communication only one political discourse can be dominant, and it's the one responsible for monopoly in media.

In Montenegro this issue is especially interesting. Namely, although once a state medium, RTCG was officially transformed into public service, there is an open doubt t in the public that it is still a state medium which works for the

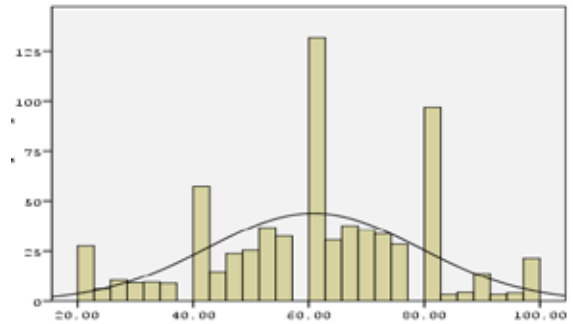
Table 2. Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Professional informing of the public	2.91	2,97	3,10	3,07	1,093
Objective informing of the public	2.81	2,85	2,95	2,95	1,094
Timely informing of the public	3.16	3,16	3,15	3,17	1,049
Professionalism of printed media	2.78	2,86	3,01	3,01	1,032
Professionalism of radio stations	2.99	3,02	3,17	3,11	1,028
Professionalism of TV stations	2,90	2,93	3,10	3,05	1,055

Table 2.1 Professionalism of media - survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	60,8206
95% Confidence interval TO	59,4664
Median	62,1749
Variance	60,0000
Standard deviation	335,785
Minimum	18,32444
Maximum	20,00
Range	100,00

Graph. 2. Professionalism of media



interest of the government and ruling political circles. On the other hand, new media appeared on the media scene in the meantime, precisely TV VIJESTI, which are not allowed by the Government to distribute TV signal throughout whole Montenegro, and they are equally not allowed to distribute their signal via most influential cable operator. Different administrative and technical reasons are stated as reasons, and there are few doubts that it's a kind of political discrimination of TV VIJESTI since political discourse of this TV station is extremely oppositionally oriented

and very critical towards this government.

When we talk about measuring indicators for this dimension (table 3), we can say that we have a negative trend only for one single aspect and it is equality of radio stations (2.66 versus 2.75). All other indicators point out that there were no changes in the last year. Further on, and it is an indicative datum, mean values are very close, which indicates that the situation is either very good or very bad in all aspects comprising this dimension.

Table 3.1. Non existence of monopoly and equality of media – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	53,0473
95% Confidence interval TO	51,5144
Median	54,5801
Variance	53,3333
Standard deviation	410,199
Minimum	20,25336
Maximum	20,00
Range	100,00

1.4. Openness of media

Graph. 3. Non existence of monopoly and equality of media

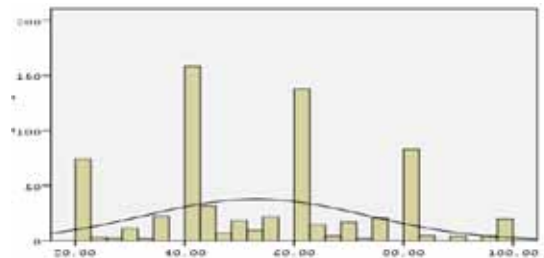


Table 3. Non existence of monopoly and equality of media – survey by indicators

Indikatori	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Equality of printed media	2.57	2,54	2,71	2,66	1,060
Equality of radio stations	2.62	2,59	2,75	2,66	1,080
Equality of TV stations	2.55	2,53	2,67	2,63	1,104
Absence of monopoly of some media in relation to the rest of media	3.13	2,57	2,70	2,66	1,121

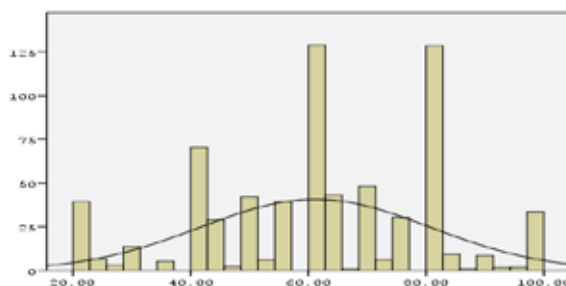
Table 4. Openness of media – survey by indicators

Indicators	2006	2007	2008	2009	SD
Media openness to different political opinions and different ideologies	2.59	2,56	3,05	3,20	1,091
Media openness to different religious and national groupings who live in Montenegro	3.16	3,32	3,14	3,21	1,052
Media openness to opinions of the citizens, civil organizations and respectable citizens	2.94	3,08	3,08	3,12	1,067
Openness and freedom to criticise authorities and other institutions and individuals	2.63	2,77	2,79	2,82	1,140

Table 4.1. Openness of media – survey by indicators

Parameters	Statistic
Arithmetic mean	61,1747
95% Confidence interval TO	59,7215
Median	60,0000
Variance	381,828
Standard deviation	19,54043
Minimum	20,00
Maximum	100,00
Range	80,00

Graph. 26. Openness of media



In a society which is politically plural and nationally heterogeneous, media have to be able to reflect, in accordance with democratic principles, different opinions and attitudes and to immanently integrate all differences in a unique political and social space. This demand is more than a partial political interest of any grouping and it has to be in accordance with demands for the achievement of general consensus, which is very important for functioning of a social system. Tolerance and openness to various opinions and attitudes of media editorial policies towards certain themes and social groups, especially when we talk about the themes which are outside a dominant milieu, are a key component of democratic culture without which no institutional progress will achieve long-term results.

Surveying this dimension by means of indicators, we can see significant progress in two aspects (table 4). More precisely, last year there was significant progress for openness of media to different political opinions and different ideologies (3.20 versus 3.05), then openness of media to different religious and national

groupings who live in Montenegro (3.21 versus 3.14). Also when we talk about remaining two aspects of openness of media to free criticism of authorities and openness of media to the opinion of the citizens, civil organizations and respectable individuals, progressive numerical values can be seen, but on the level which is not statistically significant. Comparatively, the aspect which has the smallest numerical value is openness of media to free criticism of authorities and other institutions and individuals (2.82).

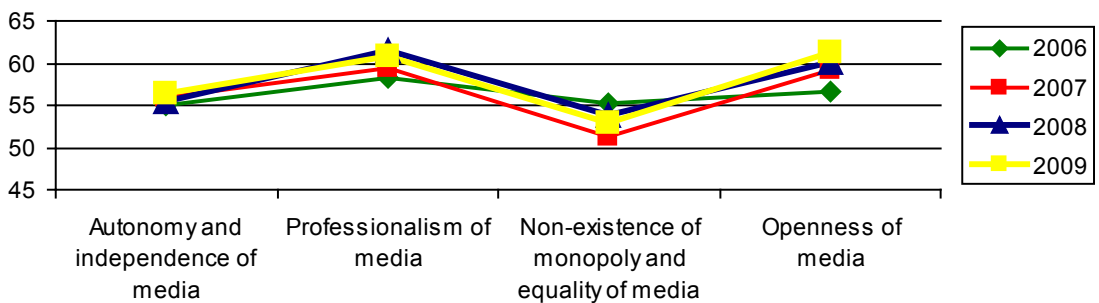
5.5 Summary indices for media area

Analysis of all dimensions involved in media area points out that there was improvement in only one segment and it is openness of media (61.2 versus 60.1) Therefore, the only thing we can be sure of, on the basis of measuring, is that media has been more open since a year ago than they were before. All other dimensions, when we talk about media, record neither positive nor negative trend, thus the situation is on the level of 2008.

Table 5. Democraticity of media- summary by dimensions

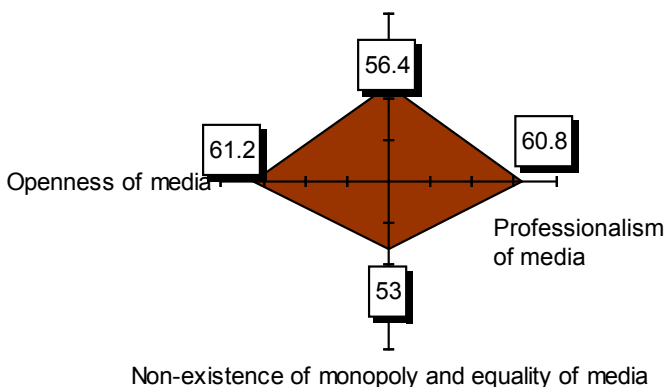
Dimensions	2006	2007	2008	2009	Z STAT
Autonomy and independence of media	54,9	55,9	55,5	56,4	1,32 p > 0,05
Professionalism of media	58,3	59,5	61,4	60,8	-0,87 p > 0,05
Non-existence of monopoly and equality of media	55,2	51,2	53,8	53,0	1,03 p > 0,05
Media openness	56,7	59,2	60,1	61,2	1,61 p = 0,054

Graph.5. Democraticity of media - TREND



Graph. 5.1 Democraticity of media

Autonomy and independence of media



In summary, although situation in all areas which embody media practice is satisfactory, situation of monopoly and equality of media is worrying. The value of this dimension (53.0) is by far behind all other dimensions and it points out that when we talk about monopolies, we have a problem with democraticity in media area. The most probable reason for this datum is prevalent perception of RTCG as a dominant state medium (disregarding its public service status), then a fact that there are serious indications that private media, which are aimed at criticism of the government, are silenced by governing structures and their oligarchies. Here TV VIJESTI is a flagrant example. It seems that those two aspects are crucial and that they should be corrected in order to raise democratic capacity of Montenegrin society in the area of media.

CEDEM Activities

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

”CEDEM ranked among 25 top Think-Tanks
in Central and Eastern Europe ”

February 2011

Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) ranked among 25 top Think-Tanks in Central and Eastern Europe for 2010, according to the research The Think Thanks and Civil Society Program, conducted by the University of Pennsylvania, USA.

Research entitled «Global Think-Tank Index » for 2010, lasted eight months and included 5491 Think-Tank organizations from 169 countries worldwide. These organizations were nominated in 29 categories; and in the category concerning the organizations from the region of Central and Eastern Europe (total of 535 organizations), CEDEM is highly ranked among them, at 20th position. Our positioning among 25 Think-Tanks in the region of Central and Eastern Europe we hold for an international recognition for the 14 years work of researches and analysis of political processes in Montenegro.

PROJECT:

Active Monitoring
for Human Rights

Project Active Monitoring for Human Rights is supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro, for a period of 18 months starting from February 2011.

The overall objective of the action is to improve the ability of Montenegrin civil society to influence development and implementation of human rights policies.

The specific objectives are:

1. To improve capacities of Montenegrin CSOs to engage in human rights monitoring and advocacy;
2. To provide strong evidence base for human rights advocacy and responses to human rights issues in the country;
3. To facilitate cooperation between CSOs and Government stakeholders;
4. To raise public awareness on the importance of human rights and public understanding of problems in this area.

PROJECT:

Justice System Monitoring Project

Justice System Monitoring Project is supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro, for a period of 18 months starting from February 2011.

The overall objective of the action is to foster a more accountable, professional, effective and transparent judiciary in Montenegro which will be able to respond to the needs of the citizens.

The specific objectives are to:

1. To strengthen the capacity within civil society organisations to monitor administration of criminal justice and advocate changes;
2. To influence judicial policy and practices and in this view to compile, analyse and disseminate high quality, up-to-date, consistent and reliable information related to dispensation of criminal justice in order to identify areas where reform is needed and make appropriate recommendations;
3. To support smooth transition to the new system of criminal proceedings to be introduced by the 2009 Criminal Procedure Code by analysing preparations made so far and monitoring their progress in the upcoming period;
4. To serve as a platform for development of cooperation between government and civil society with the aim of facilitating judicial reform.

Seminar on the topic:

”Security Transitions in the Western Balkans - from Conflict Zone to Security Community?”

Milocer, February 20-23, 2011

The Introductory Research Workshop within the project: Security Transitions in the Western Balkans - from Conflict Zone to Security Community? was organized by CEDEM, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), and Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (BCSP). Participants were the representatives of partner organizations from the region: Institute for democracy and mediation (IDM), Tirana; ANALYTICA, Skoplje; Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS), Pristina; Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb and Centre for Security Studies (CSS), Sarajevo.



Participants were the representatives of partner organizations from the region: Institute for democracy and mediation (IDM), Tirana; ANALYTICA, Skoplje; Kosovar Centre for Security Studies (KCSS), Pristina; Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb and Centre for Security Studies (CSS), Sarajevo.

Seminar on the topic:

”Montenegro in the Process of European and Euro-Atlantic Integrations”

Milocer, March 3-5, 2011

Seminar on the topic: Montenegro in the Process of European and Euro-Atlantic Integrations, organized by CEDEM and Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Lecturers on the seminar were: Clive Rumbold, Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro; Vanja Grgurovic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration; professor Gordana Djurovic, PhD, Faculty of Economy, Podgorica; professor Predrag Simic, PhD, Faculty of Political Science, Belgrade and Mehmedin Tahirovic, Colonel, Ministry of Defense, Montenegro.

The participants at the seminar were students from Faculty of Political Science, Law, Economy and KAS Fellows.



Training:

"Justice System Monitoring Project"

Budva, April 11-13, 2011

The first training within the Justice System Monitoring Project was organized by CEDEM and AIRE Centre from London. The training aimed at improving capacities of CSOs for the effective monitoring of judicial system. It covered the following topics: administration of the justice system, particularly to procedural and substantive laws, the international legal framework and standards, as well as specific skills required to appropriately and successfully carry out a monitoring role and writing a report on the trial observation. The lecturers were: Nuala Mole, executive director of AIRE Centre; Zoran Pazin, the Representative of Montenegro before the European Court for Human Rights; Nikola Martinovic, Lawyer; Milorad Markovic, Law



Faculty in Podgorica; Paul Richmond, legal expert of AIRE Centre; Vladan Đuranović, Lawyer and Team Leader; Aleksa Ivanović and Rade Bojović, local legal experts.

The training was attended by the representatives of CSOs from all three regions of Montenegro, as well as team monitors that will be involved in the implementation of this project.

This project is funded by European Union and managed by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro.

Training:

"Active Monitoring for Human Rights"

Budva, April 13-14, 2011

The first training within the project „Active monitoring for Human Rights in Montenegro“, was organized by CEDEM and AIRE Centre from London, United Kingdom, supported by the Delegation of the European Union to Montenegro.

The lecturers were: Srđan Dizdarević, Executive Director of Human Rights House in Sarajevo, Siniša Bjeković, Centre for Human Rights, Faculty of Law in Podgorica, Saadya Chaudry, Legal Consultant at AIRE Centre, Nuala Mole, Executive Director at AIRE Centre, Aleksandar Zeković, Researcher of



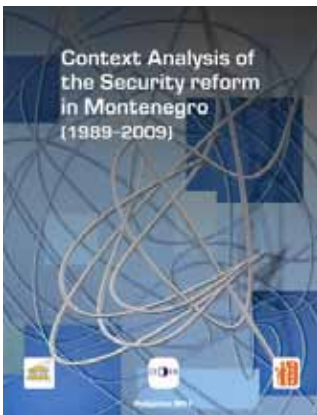
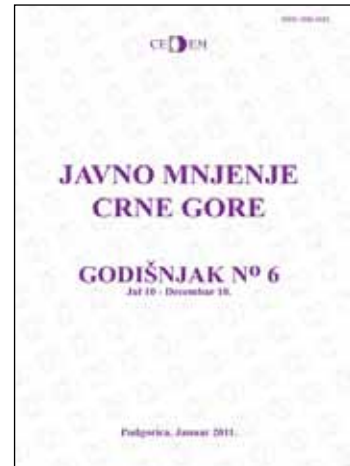
violations of Human Rights in Montenegro and Maja Velimirovic, local expert.

Participants were the representatives from CSO from Montenegro as well as CSO Human Rights monitors involved in this project.

PUBLICATIONS

Annual compilation No 6 "Public opinion in Montenegro 2010"

The Publication is a review of the researches carried out by Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) during 2010. It should be mentioned that during 2010 CEDEM carried out three public research surveys in total, with the results to be presented and analysed on pages of this Annual report, for the period of 2010 year. Integral version of the text can be seen on the website www.cedem.me Project Annual Compilation No. 6: "Public opinion in Montenegro 2010", supported by the Royal Norwegian Embassy.



Context Analysis of the Security Sector Reform in Montenegro (1989-2009)

This publication is as a product of "Civil Society Capacity Building to Map and Monitor Security Sector Reform in the Western Balkans" project which is financially supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway. This is regional project involving 7 regional think-tank organizations from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia and it is being developed in cooperation with the DCAF (www.dcaf.ch)

The Journalists' Guide to Criminal Proceedings

The Project The Journalists' Guide to Criminal Proceedings is realized by CEDEM and OSCE, in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice of Montenegro and the Montenegro Media Institute. This Guide was prepared by the following group of authors: Branka Lakocevic, Assistant Minister of Justice of Montenegro; Zoran Pazin, the representative of Montenegro in the European Court of Human Rights; Radojica Bulatovic, Head of the Montenegro Media Institute; Vladan Micunovic, editor in chief of the TV "VIJESTI"; Dragoljub Vukovic (journalist), and Aleksa Ivanovic, a member of the Council of the Personal Data Protection Agency of Montenegro.



International conferences CEDEM's representatives

SEMINAR ON THE TOPIC: The role of media and civil society in the process of European integration

Danilovgrad, March 15-16, 2011

This meeting was organised by the People 2 People Programme (P2P), Civil Society Facility, DG Enlargement, in the organizational framework of the Technical Assistance Information Exchange Instrument – TAIEX, of the European Commission. The main aim of this event was to give participants the opportunity to discuss the potential role of Montenegrin civil society and media in the process of EU accession and to learn about past or current examples in this regard. The participants were: representatives of Montenegrin CSOs, media and public administration. Besides, CEDEMs representatives took part in this conference.

WORKSHOP: Civil Society Capacity Building to Map and Monitor SSR in the Western Balkans

Sarajevo, March 21-23, 2011

The Seventh Workshop within the project: Civil Society Capacity Building to Map and Monitor SSR in the Western Balkans, organized by CSS from Sarajevo, DCAF from Geneva and BCSP from Belgrade. Participants were the representatives of partner organizations from the region: IDM, Tirana; ANALYTICA, Skoplje; KCSS, Pristina; IMO, Zagreb and CEDEM, Montenegro.

CEDEM - Empirical Research Department

“NATO and Montenegro” - Policy Brief & Policy Paper December 2010

Since the beginning of 2010, CEDEM is engaged in a research project that aims to observe the NATO integration of Montenegro, during which it regularly publishes semi-annual surveys of activities in this area. In December 2010, CEDEM published Policy Brief & Policy Paper on Euro-Atlantic integration of Montenegro, for the period July-December 2010, which can be viewed on the website www.cedem.me. It should be mentioned that the drafting of “NATO and Montenegro” Policy Brief & Policy Paper is ongoing for the current half-year period. This project has been carried out with the support of the Open Society Institute from Budapest.

Political Public Opinion December 2010

This research survey was realized in December 2010. We applied CEDEM's standard double-stratified sample, with a random choice of examinees in final units. The sample included 1033 respondents, from 16 Montenegrin municipalities. Standard statistical error ranges from +/- 3.05% with 95% confidence interval. The project Political Public Opinion of Montenegro - 2010 was supported by the Embassy of Kingdom of Norway.

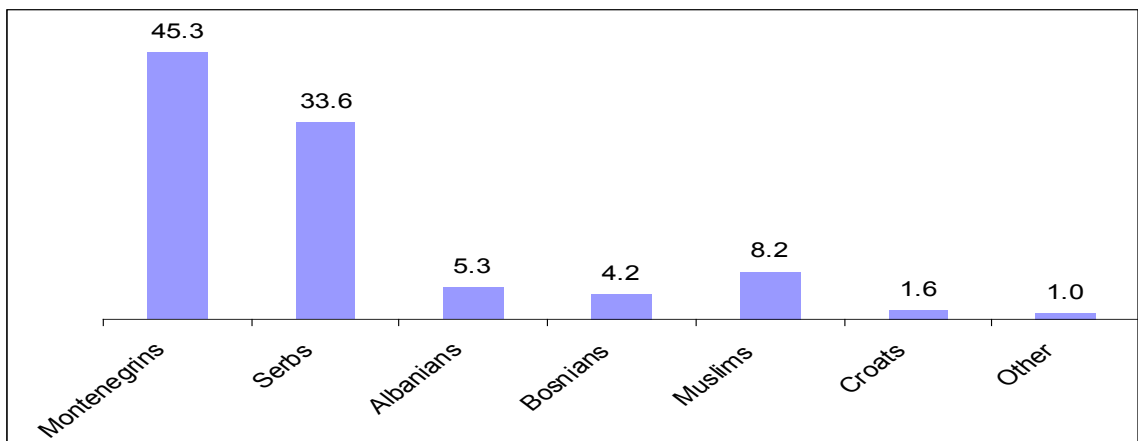
The sample

- The sample is representative for all the citizens over 18 years. It was realized in 18 municipalities: Bijelo Polje, Berane, Pljevlja, Podgorica, Niksic, Cetinje, Herceg Novi, Ulcinj, Bar, Tivat, Kotor, Rozaje, Plav, Zabljak, Kolasin, Mojkovac, Danilovgrad, Pluzine
- The number of interviewees was 1033
- Standard statistical error is +/- 3.05% for the appearances with incidence of 50% with interval of trust of 95%
- Post stratification was performed by gender, age and national affiliation

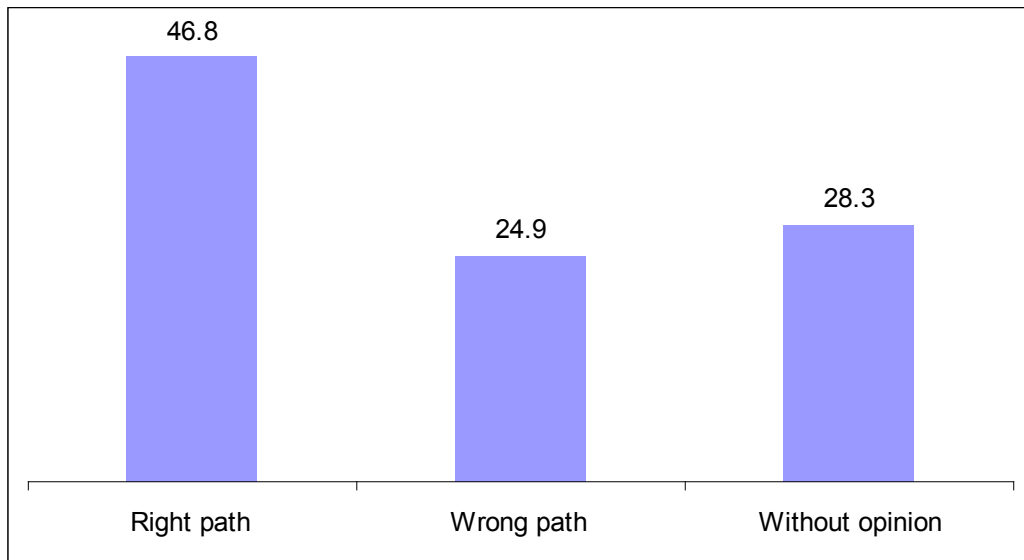
Sample – Basic Characteristics

- 50.3% female and 49.7% male respondents
- Age, (18-34); 34.9%, (35-54); 36.5% and (over 50 years); 28.6%

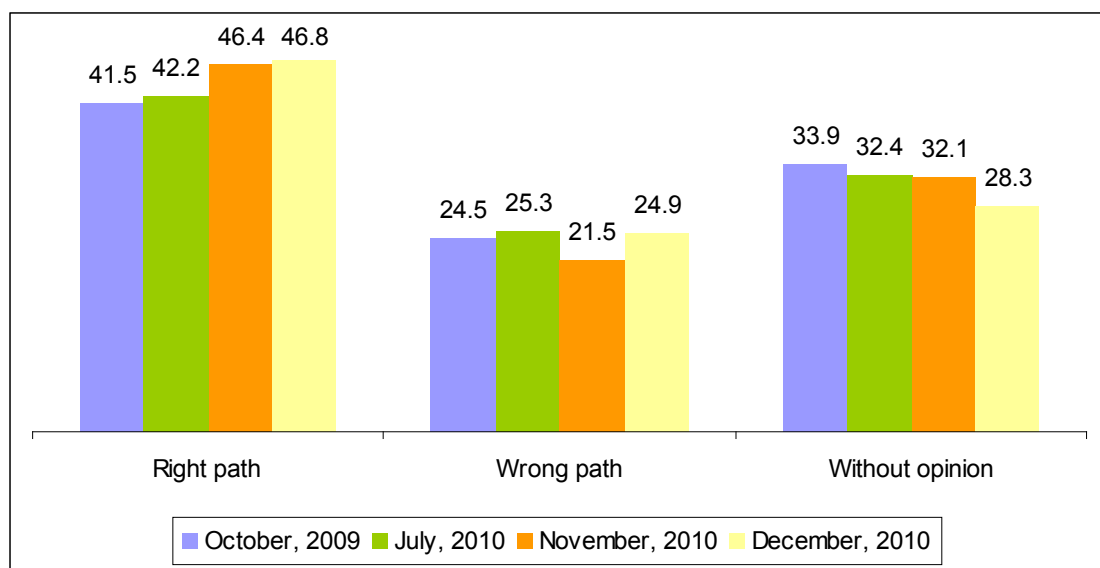
Nationality of interviewees:



In general, would you say that Montenegro is on the? %



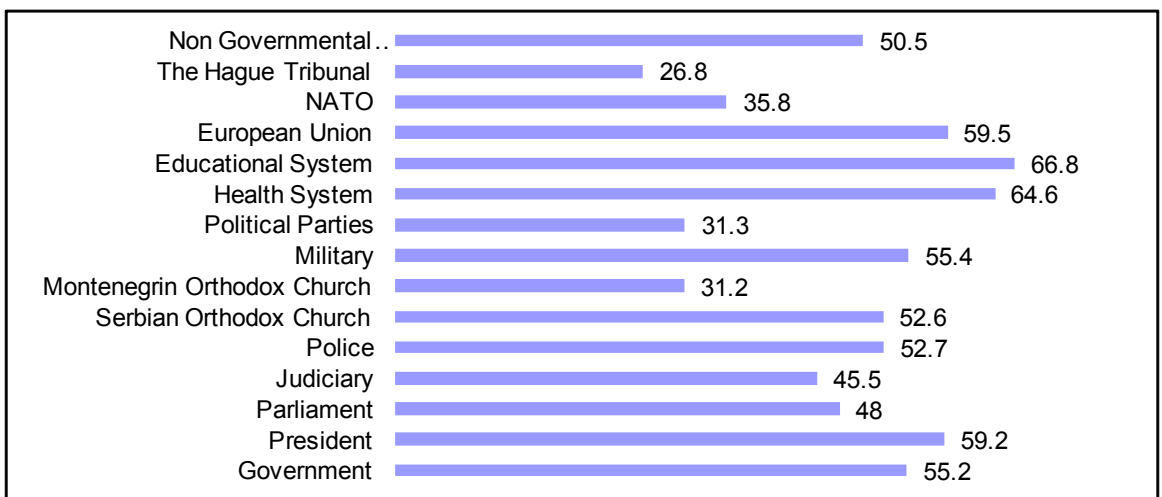
Montenegro is on the... Trend %



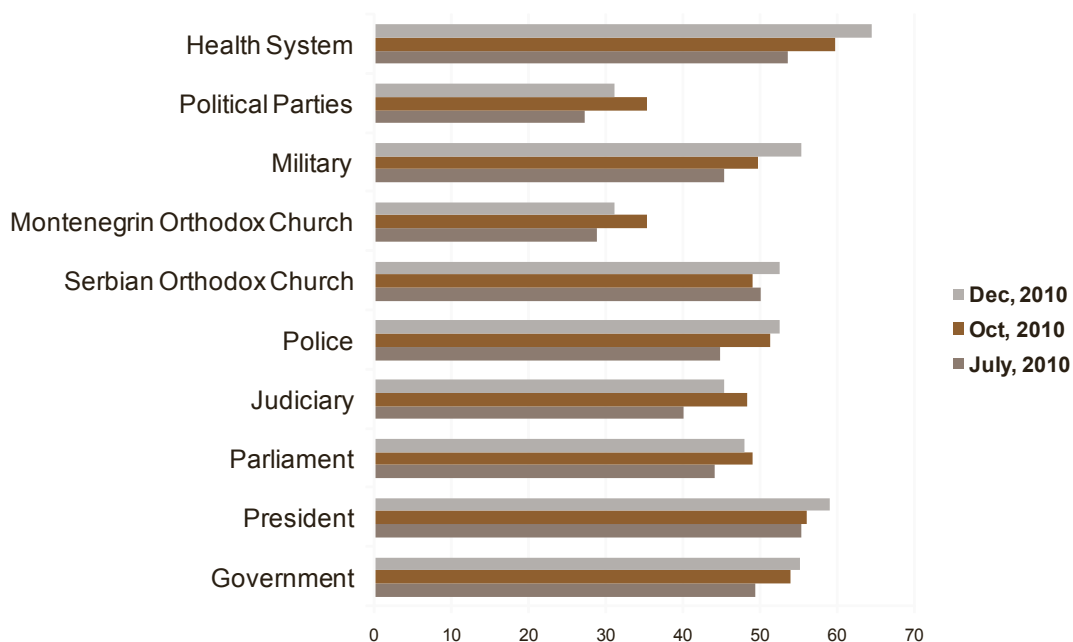
Confidence in institutions – %

INSTITUTIONS	High confidence	I have confidence mostly	Mostly do not have confidence	No confidence at all	Without Opinion
Government	23.4	31.8	17.6	18.5	8.7
President	28.9	30.3	15.4	16.6	8.8
Parliament	18.7	29.3	21.8	18.8	11.3
Judiciary	17.0	28.5	23.3	18.2	13.0
Police	20.8	31.9	21.0	15.5	10.8
Serbian Orthodox Church	35.1	17.5	9.0	16.9	21.5
Montenegrin Orthodox Church	16.1	15.1	10.7	29.6	28.5
Military	17.0	38.4	15.7	10.9	18.0
Political Parties	7.5	23.8	33.7	19.8	15.2
Health System	20.3	44.3	15.5	12.4	7.4
Educational System	24.6	42.2	13.2	9.0	11.1
European Union	24.7	34.8	12.3	13.2	15.0
NATO	17.0	18.8	16.0	29.9	18.2
The Hague Tribunal	8.8	18.0	16.3	35.8	21.2
Non Governmental Organizations	13.8	36.7	16.5	11.7	21.3

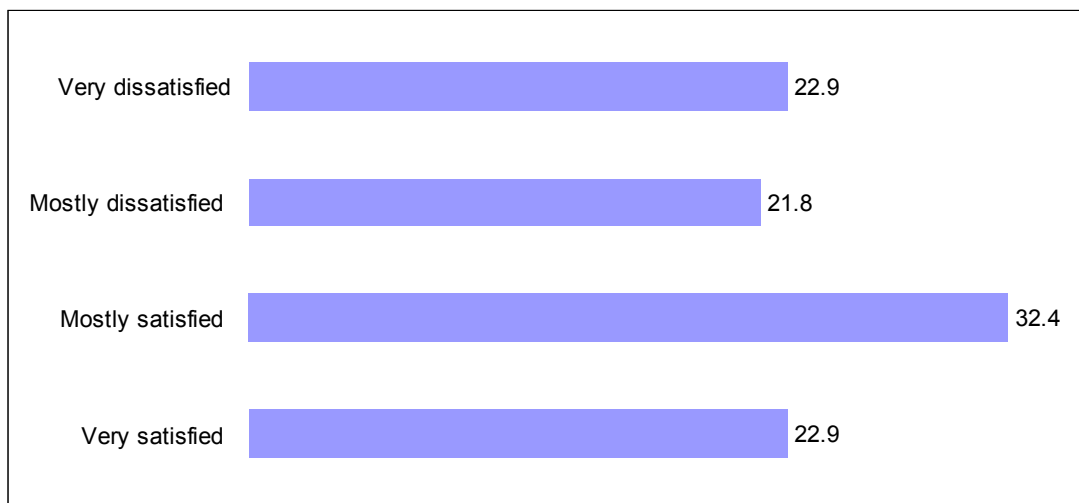
Confidence in institutions: Cumulative – %



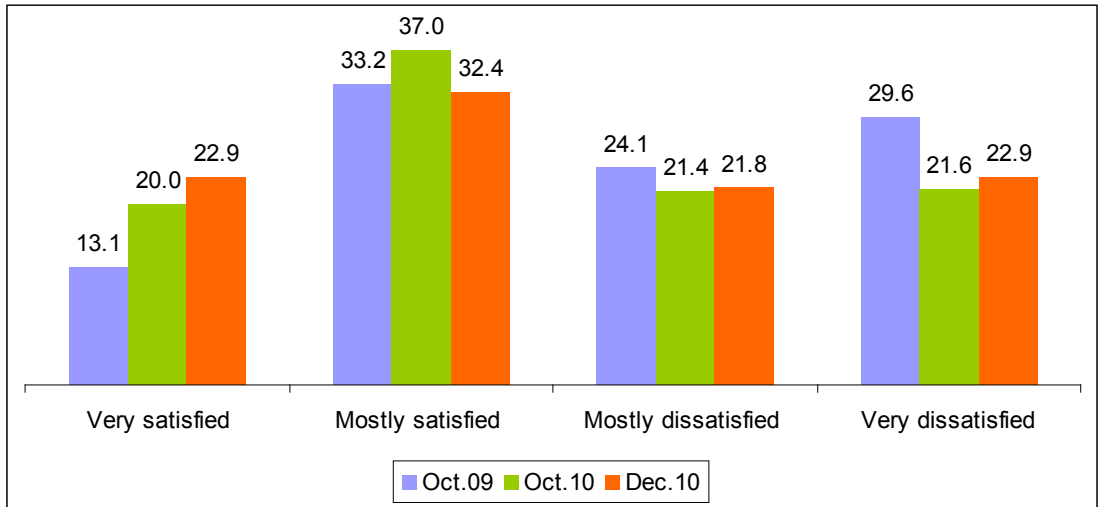
Confidence in institutions comparison 2009 – 2010 – %



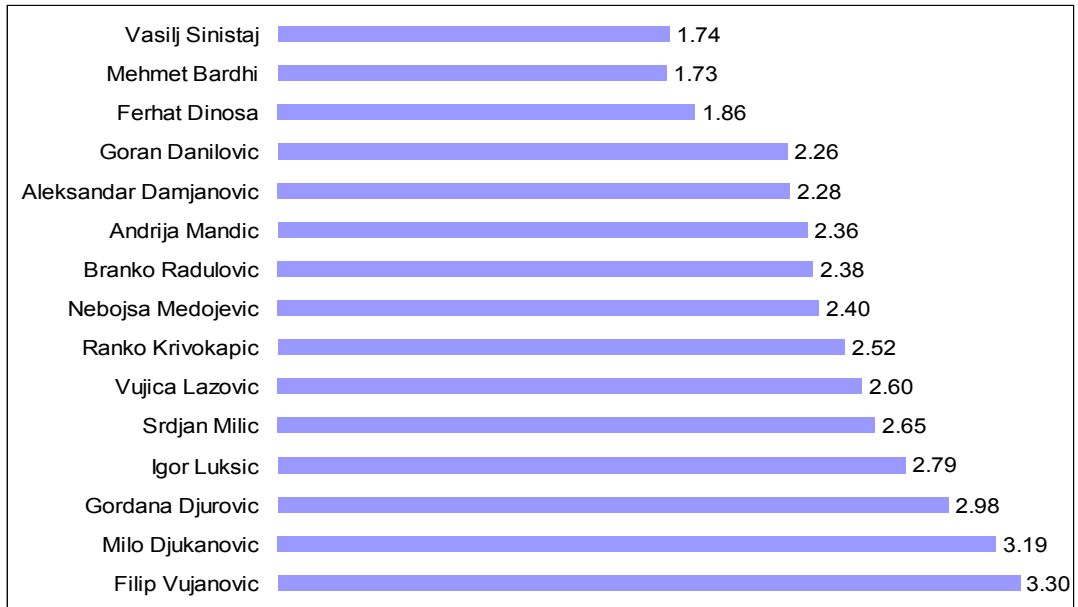
Are you satisfied with performance of the Government of Milo Djukanovic, so far? – %

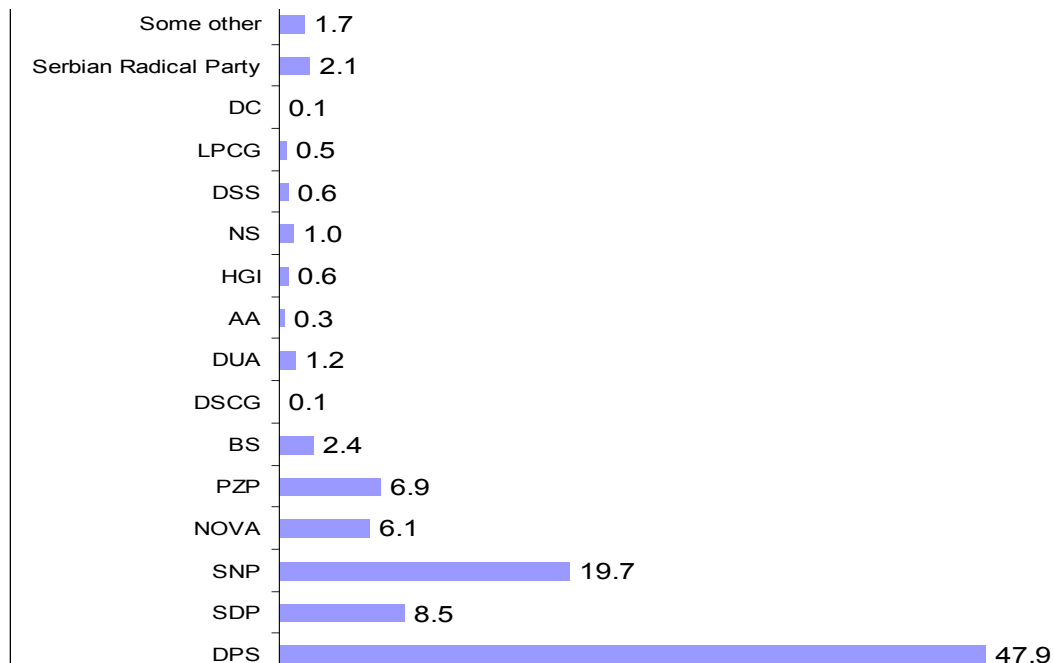


SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF GOVERNMENT 2009-2010 – % so far? – %



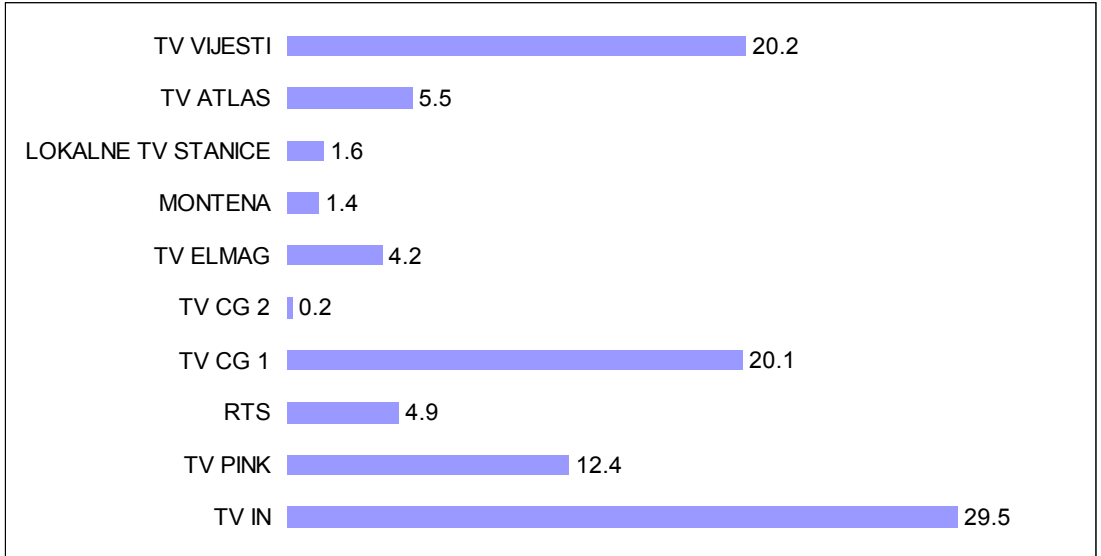
Politicians popularity



Rating of political parties:*Trend %*

	Nov 08	Oct 09	Jul 10	Oct 10	Dec 10
DPS	48.7	48.7	44.4	48.1	47.9
SDP	4.7	4.2	8.8	8.8	8.5
SNP	9	18.7	18.6	17.8	19.7
NOVA	15	8.3	8.1	9.2	6.1
PZP	12.2	5.5	4.9	4.7	6.9
OTHER	10.4	14.6	15.2	11.3	10.7

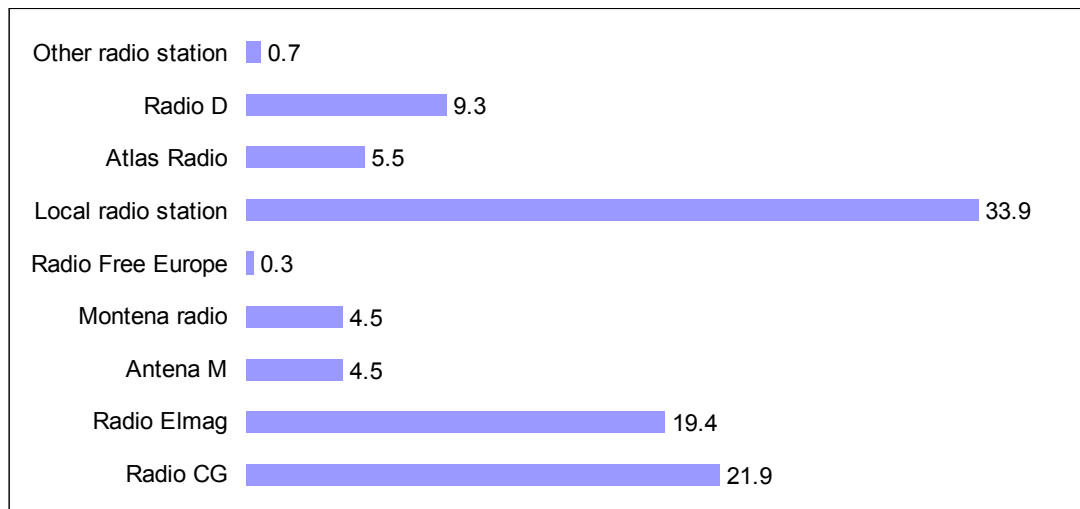
Confidence in television – %



Confidence in television – TREND

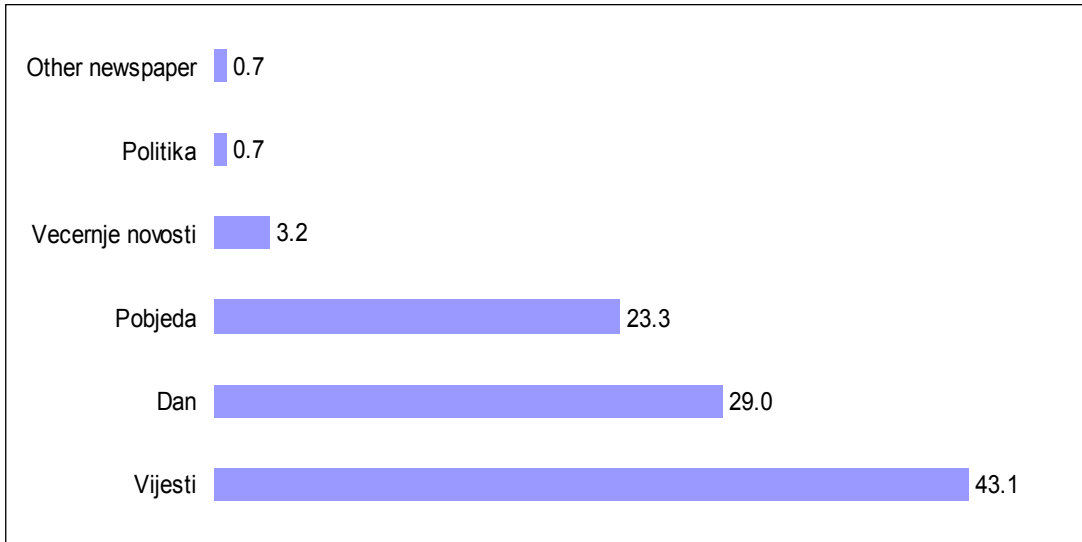
	June 08	Nov 08	March 09	Oct 09	Oct 10	Dec 10
TV CG 1	21	20.6	26.7	21.3	23.2	20.1
TV CG 2	0	0	0.2	0	0.6	0.2
TV ELMAG	10.9	9.2	8.8	4.9	3.6	4.2
TV MONTENA	1.8	1.7	2.2	1.4	1.1	1.4
TV MBC	2.3	1.1	1	1.2	0	0.0
TV PINK	15.8	11.8	13	13.2	9.7	12.4
TV IN	26.7	28.4	27.3	27.1	26.4	29.5
ATLAS TV	6.1	7	5	6	4.9	5.5
TV VIJESTI	1.4	2.8	4	9.8	19.8	20.2
RTS	5.8	8.1	4.7	6.8	6.7	4.9

Confidence in radio – %



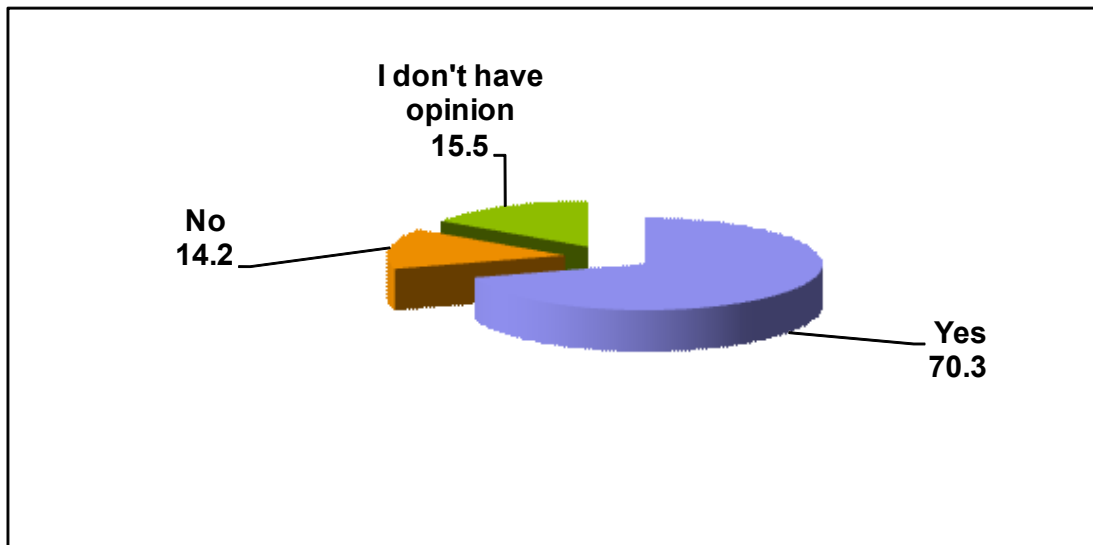
Confidence in radio: TREND – %

	June 08	Nov 08	March 09	Oct 09	Oct 10	Dec 10
Radio CG	13.4	17.8	22.6	17.3	19.3	21.9
Radio Elmag	25.3	24.4	20.6	22.4	21.4	19.4
Radio D	9.4	4.5	7.1	8.9	9.2	9.3
Antena M	4.9	4.7	2	2.1	2.1	4.5
Radio Montena	1.1	1.7	1	2.1	2	4.5
Atlas Radio	6.3	7.9	6	8.2	8	5.5
Lokal radio station	21	26.2	23.6	27.2	36.2	33.9
Other radio station	16.5	11.7	15.6	11.2	1.8	0.7

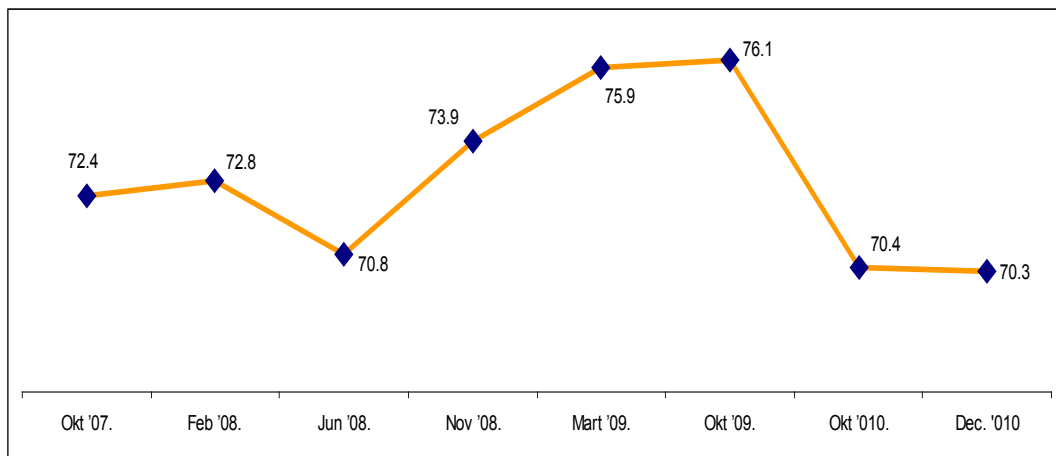
Confidence in: daily newspapers – %*Daily newspapers: TREND– %*

	June 08	Nov 08	March 09	Oct. 09	Oct. 10	Dec. 10
Pobjeda	13.3	12.1	15.7	18.2	22.6	23.3
Vijesti	44.9	47.8	44.3	45.6	45.7	43.1
Dan	34.1	32.2	31.5	31.6	25.9	29.0
Politika	1.1	0.6	1.5	0.1	0.4	0.7
Vecernje novosti	4.4	5.4	3.7	2.7	3.0	3.2
Other newspaper	1.3	1.2	3.2	1.7	2.4	0.7

In your opinion, should Montenegro be a member of the EU? - %



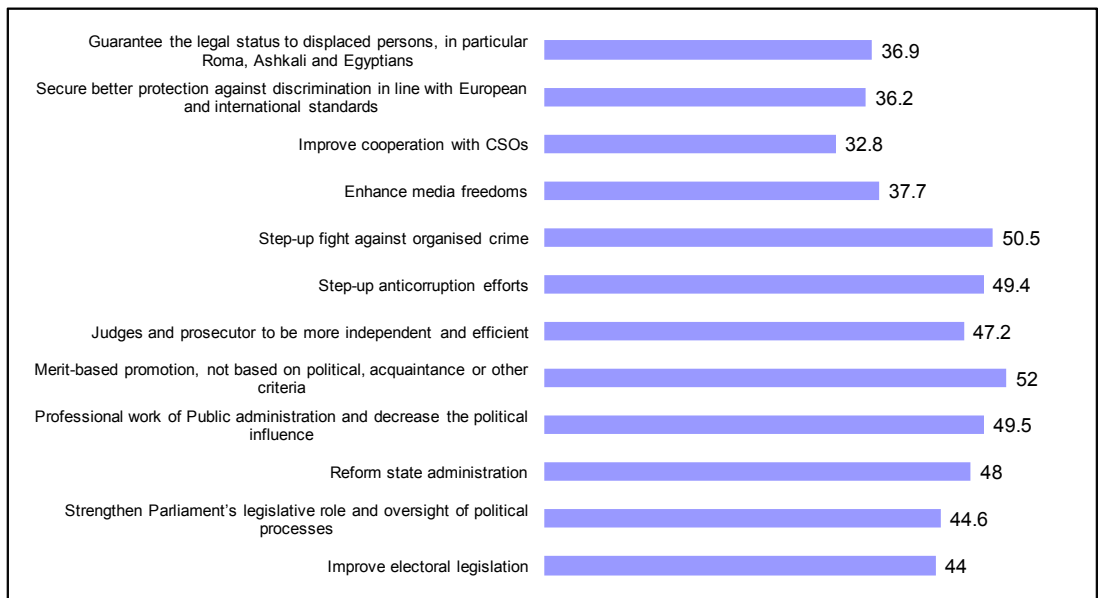
EU SUPPORT: TREND



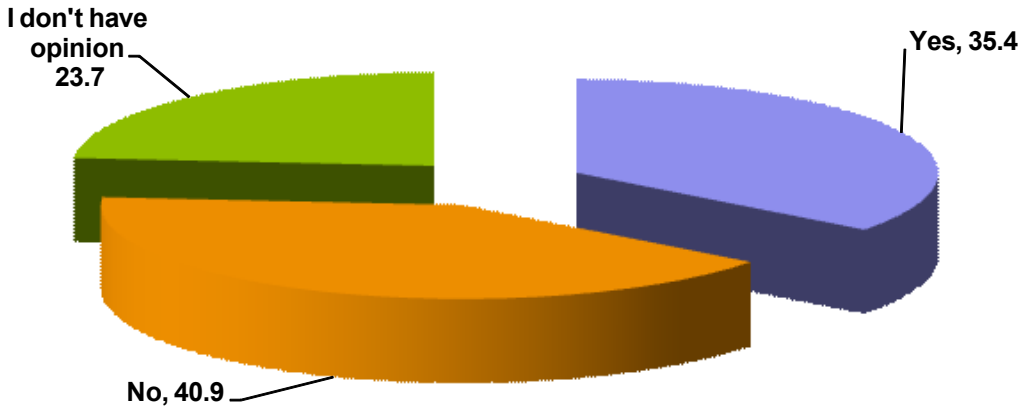
Attainability of conditions set in the EC Report %

CONDITIONS	Very difficult to be attained	Difficult to be attained	More easy than difficult	Very easy to be attained	Don't know, can't assess
Improve electoral legislation	18.6	25.4	25.8	11.6	18.7
Strengthen Parliament's legislative role and oversight of political processes	16.0	28.6	24.4	11.7	19.2
Reform state administration	17.5	30.5	22.2	10.6	19.2
Professional work of Public administration and decrease the political influence	21.6	27.9	21.1	10.5	18.8
Merit-based promotion, not based on political, acquaintance or other criteria	26.2	25.8	20.2	11.7	16.2
Judges and prosecutor to be more independent and efficient	20.7	26.5	23.2	10.7	18.8
Step-up anticorruption efforts	24.9	24.5	23.6	10.9	16.2
Step-up fight against organised crime	25.7	24.8	22.4	10.9	16.1
Enhance media freedoms	14.2	23.5	28.1	16.0	18.2
Improve cooperation with CSOs	12.4	20.4	29.4	16.5	21.3
Secure better protection against discrimination in line with European and international standards	14.7	21.5	27.0	14.6	22.2
Guarantee the legal status to displaced persons, in particular Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians	14.7	22.2	23.3	13.9	25.9

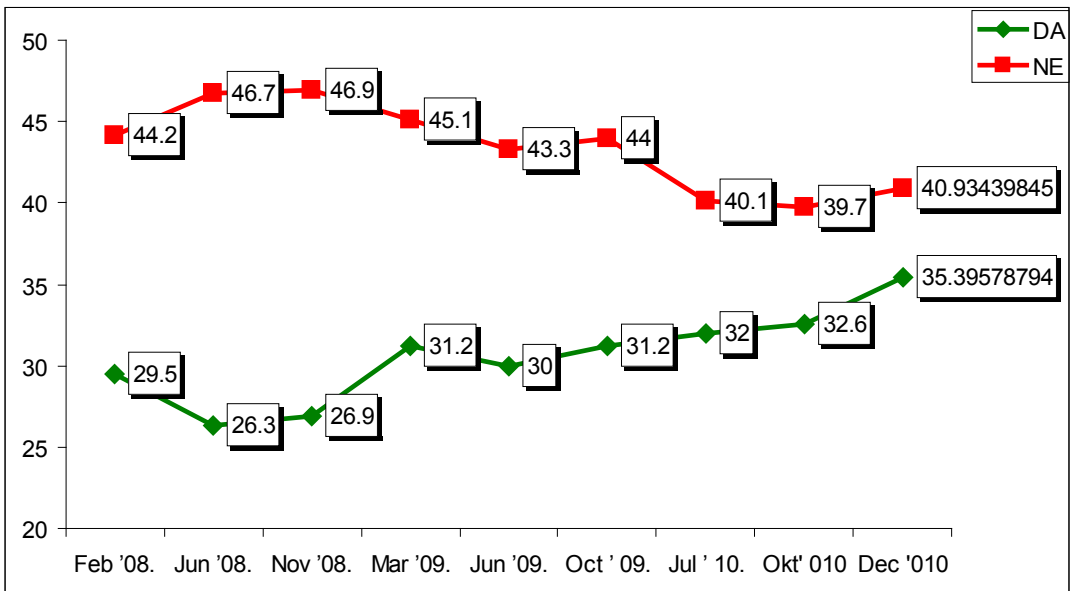
Conditions: cumulative %



If you would vote about Montenegrin membership in NATO tomorrow, your answer would be...?



**TREND: Yes (answers) – REFERENDUM
PRO and AGAINST NATO %**



Comment:

Completed opinion poll results could be found on
CEDEM's website: www.cedem.me