

# REPORT

## THE MEDIA, MEDIA FREEDOMS AND DEMOCRACY IN MONTENEGRO

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The views herein expressed are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the OSCE Mission to Montenegro.

**Podgorica, October 2011**

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## MEDIA, MEDIA FREEDOMS AND DEMOCRACY IN MONTENEGRO

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### ABOUT THE SURVEY

The document at hand presents an analysis of a survey on the media and freedom of the media in Montenegro today. The survey was executed in May and June 2011. Its uniqueness lies in its design. Namely, the respondents in this survey were media professionals themselves. Our aim was to study their views and experiences regarding media freedoms. Accordingly, the basic design of the survey in thematic terms covers the following:

- Views of media professionals about laws and the newly proposed legislation
- An analysis of key problems that limit the freedom of the media based on media professionals' opinions
- The forms and types of threats to freedom of the media and identification of the oppressors
- Political activism of media representatives aimed at protection of media rights and freedoms
- Analysis of equality between the public and privately-owned media

In addition to the above, the design of the survey also demanded that we analyze the following categories of respondents/media separately:

- Public/private-owned media
- Electronic/print media
- Journalist/editors

A special tool/questionnaire was developed for the needs of this survey and the sample was made so as to cover in stratified proportions all the media operating in Montenegro that are seated in the country. The survey included 147 respondents/media professionals, and the basic distribution of respondents/representatives of the media can be seen in the Fig1-Fig6.

Fig1 Name of the media

	N
Adriatic Radio	1
Agency MINA	3
Antena M	4
DAN	10
Elmag Radio	2
Glas Plava	2
Vijesti	21
Pink Montenegro	4
Plus Radio	2
Pobjeda	18
Portal analitika	5
Radio Andrijevic	2
Radio Bar	3
Radio Bijelo Polje	2
Radio D	1
Radio D+	2
Radio Elita	2
Radio F	1

Radio Herceg Novi	2
Radio Jadran	1
Radio Kotor	2
Radio Rozaje	2
Radio Free Europe	1
Radio Tivat	4
Radio Ulcinj	1
RTCG	13
RTNK	6
RTV Corona	2
RTV Mojkovac	1
RTV Pljevlja	4
RTV Vijesti	12
Skala Radio	2
TV IN	4
TV Mojkovac	1
TV Teuta	3
Vijesti - portal	1
Total	147

Fig2 The seat of the media

	N
Andrijevic	2
Bar	6
Bijelo Polje	5
Herceg Novi	3
Kotor	4
Mojkovac	2
Niksic	6
Plav	2
Pljevlja	4
Podgorica	101
Rozaje	2
Tivat	4
Ulcinj	6
Total	147

Fig3 Type of the media

	N
News agency	3
Daily press	49
Radio	38
Television	37
Internet	6
Radio and television	14
Total	147

Fig4 Territorial coverage of the media

	N
Local	36
Regional	24
National	86
No answer	1
Total	147

Fig5 Ownership of the media

	N
Public/state-owned	59
Privately-owned	88
Total	147

Fig6 Respondent in the media: journalist or editor

	N
Journalist	104
Editor	43
Total	147

Furthermore, the basic social and demographic characteristics of the respondents who are media professionals can be seen in Fig7 – Fig12.

Fig7 Sex/Gender

	N
Male	79
Female	68
Total	147

Fig9 Education

	N	%
3 <sup>rd</sup> level high school education	1	.7
4 <sup>th</sup> level high school education	45	30.6
University and higher	99	67.3
No answer	2	1.4
Total	147	100.0

Fig8 Monthly personal income

	N
Less than €400	50
€401 - €500	35
Over €501	37
Did not want to say	25
Total	147

Fig10 Employment status

	N	%
Permanent employment	86	58.5
Fixed-term employment	36	24.5
Part-time employment	20	13.6
Undefined status	3	2.0
No answer	2	1.4
Total	147	100.0

Fig11 How long have you worked in the media (in years)

	N	%
1	5	3.4
2	10	6.8
3	12	8.2
4	12	8.2
5	11	7.5
6	2	1.4
7	4	2.7
8	6	4.1
9	5	3.4
10	18	12.2
11	4	2.7
12	7	4.8
13	8	5.4
14	3	2.0
15	7	4.8
16	3	2.0
17	4	2.7
18	4	2.7
19	2	1.4
20	4	2.7
21	2	1.4
24	2	1.4
25	4	2.7
26	3	2.0
30	1	.7
36	1	.7
40	1	.7
No answer	2	1.4
Total	147	100,0
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Arithmetic average		10.6
Median		10

Fig12 How long have you worked for the media outlet you are now employed at (in years)

	N	%
1	13	8.8
2	17	11.6
3	22	15.0
4	15	10.2
5	12	8.2
6	4	2.7
7	8	5.4
8	6	4.1
9	6	4.1
10	13	8.8
11	4	2.7
12	2	1.4
13	7	4.8
14	1	.7
15	2	1.4
16	3	2.0
17	3	2.0
18	1	.7
20	1	.7
22	1	.7
24	1	.7
25	2	1.4
26	1	.7
36	2	1.4
Total	147	100,0
<hr/>		
Arithmetic average		7,34
Median		5

# KEY ANALYTICAL RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

Our primary goal was to measure general satisfaction with the level of democracy in Montenegro today (Fig13 – Fig15). **The results suggest that at the level of the total variance (all respondents) there is a majority of those who are 'mostly satisfied'.** A total of 53.4% of respondents were very or mostly satisfied. However, there are almost twice as many those who are 'very unsatisfied' than those who are 'very satisfied'. The results suggest that editors are significantly more satisfied than journalists. The biggest discrepancy has been measured with regards to the media ownership. Namely, the privately-owned media's dissatisfaction with democracy is twice as large as that of the public/state-owned media. The difference is also very visible when it comes to electronic or print media. More precisely, the satisfaction of employees of the electronic media is on a significantly higher level than that of employees of the privately-owned media.

Fig13 Generally speaking, how satisfied are you with the state of democracy in Montenegro? (in %)

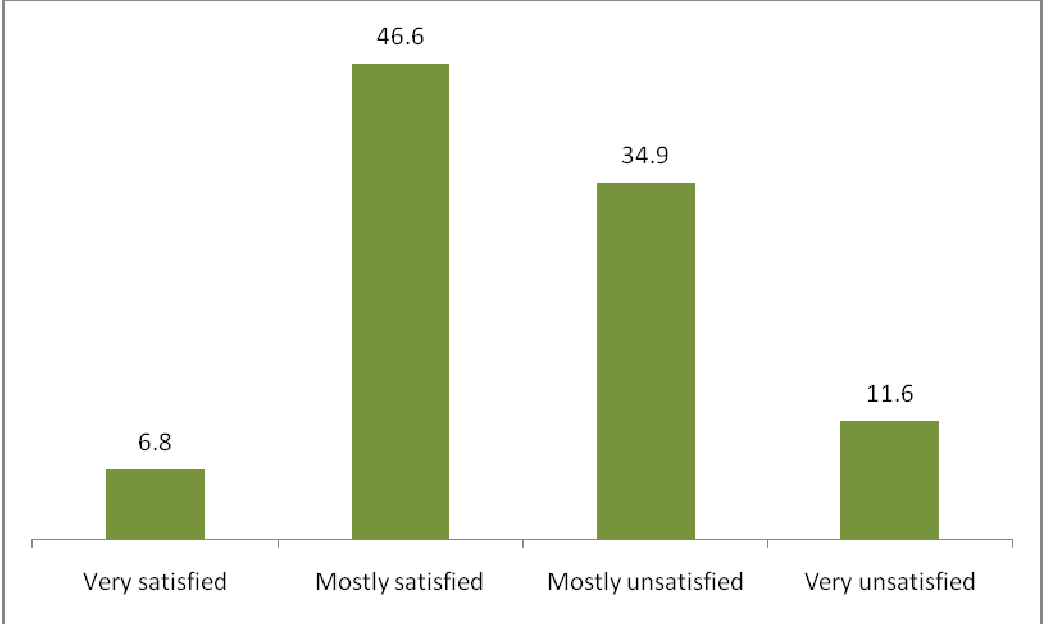
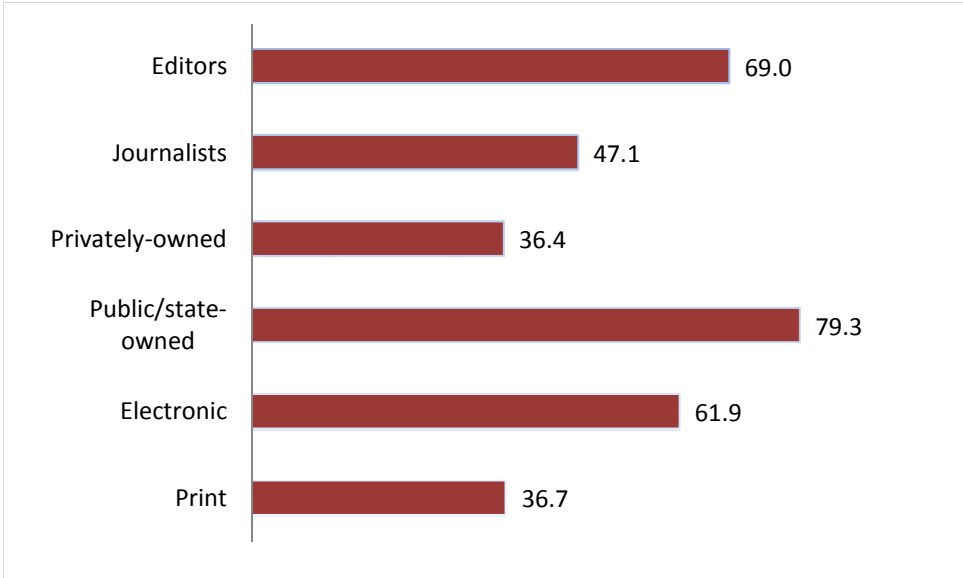


Fig14 Satisfaction with the state of democracy by categories (in %)

	Printed	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Privately-owned	Journalists	Editors
<b>Very satisfied</b>	6.1	7.2	10.3	4.5	5.8	9.5
<b>Mostly satisfied</b>	30.6	54.6	69.0	31.8	41.3	59.5
<b>Mostly unsatisfied</b>	38.8	33.0	19.0	45.5	39.4	23.8
<b>Very unsatisfied</b>	24.5	5.2	1.7	18.2	13.5	7.1
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fig15 Sum of mostly and very satisfied with democracy by categories (in %)



When asked to compare the general state of democracy today with the situation before the referendum, significantly more respondents said they thought the situation was better (Fig16 - Fig18). More precisely, at the level of the total variance, almost 80% of respondents believe that the situation today is better than it was before the referendum. If we look by categories, in each separate case the number of those who believe that the situation today is more or less better than before the referendum is higher than the number of those who believe that the situation is worse. However, there are some significant differences between the categories. The number of editors who believe that the situation today is better than before the referendum is significantly higher the number of journalists who believe so. This difference is even larger in favor of employees of the public/state-owned media compared to those working in the private media. Lastly, employees of the electronic media give much higher score than employees of the privately-owned media.

Fig16 If you compare the state of democracy in Montenegro today with the situation before the referendum, would you say that the situation now is: (in %)

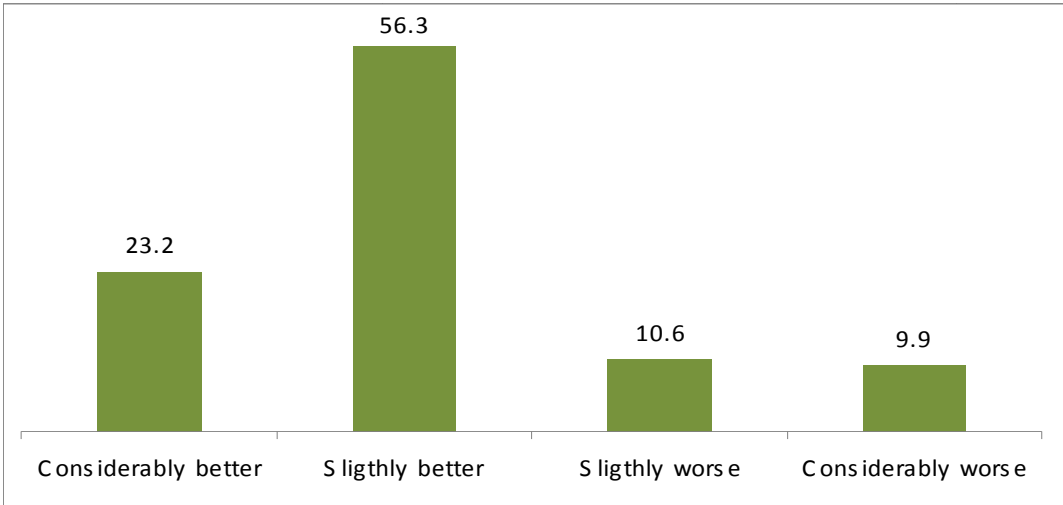
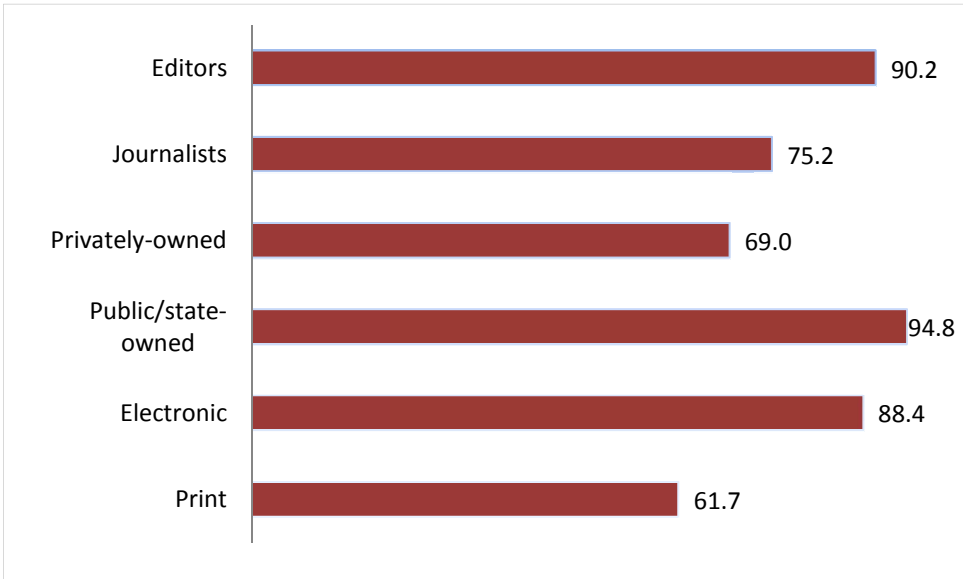


Fig17 The state of democracy today compared to the situation before the referendum - by categories (in %)

	Print	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Privately-owned	Journalists	Editors
Considerably better	25.5	22.1	43.1	9.5	16.8	39.0
Slightly better	36.2	66.3	51.7	59.5	58.4	51.2
Slightly worse	17.0	7.4	3.4	15.5	12.9	4.9
Considerably worse	21.3	4.2	1.7	15.5	11.9	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fig18 The state of democracy today compared to the situation before the referendum - by categories: SUM considerably and slightly better (in %)



In order to assess the current situation, the survey also relied on a projecting technique whereby the respondents were asked to share their expectations for the five years (Fig19 – Fig21). In this context, **almost ¾ of respondents on the level of the total variance expect improvement, which suggests they believe things are moving in the right direction.** The differences in this context are less pronounced even when broken down by categories, although they are visible. Namely, as in the previous cases, editors are more optimistic than journalists, employees of the public/state-owned media are more optimistic than those employed at the privately-owned media and representatives of the electronic media are more optimistic than to those of the print media.



Fig19 In your opinion, the state of democracy in Montenegro over the next five years will be (in %):

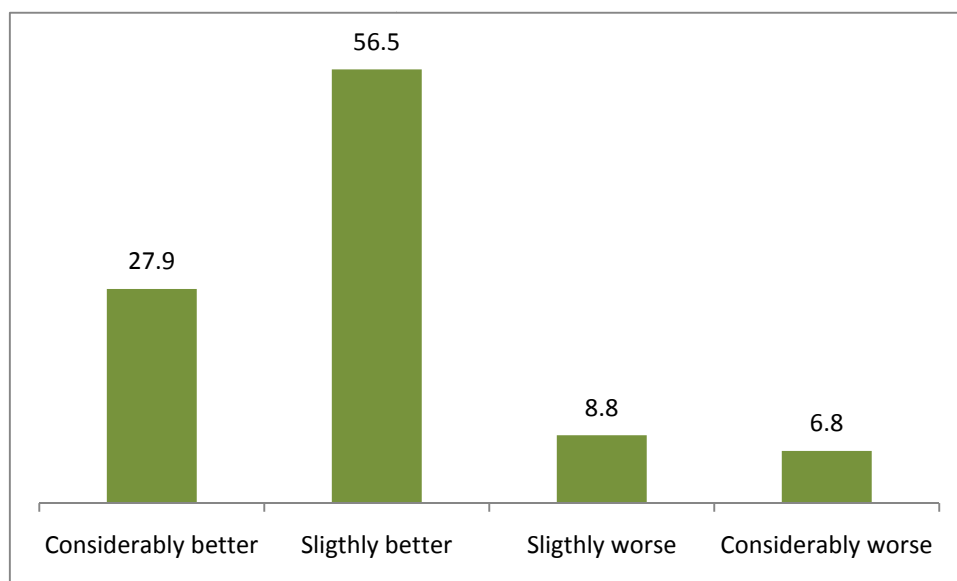
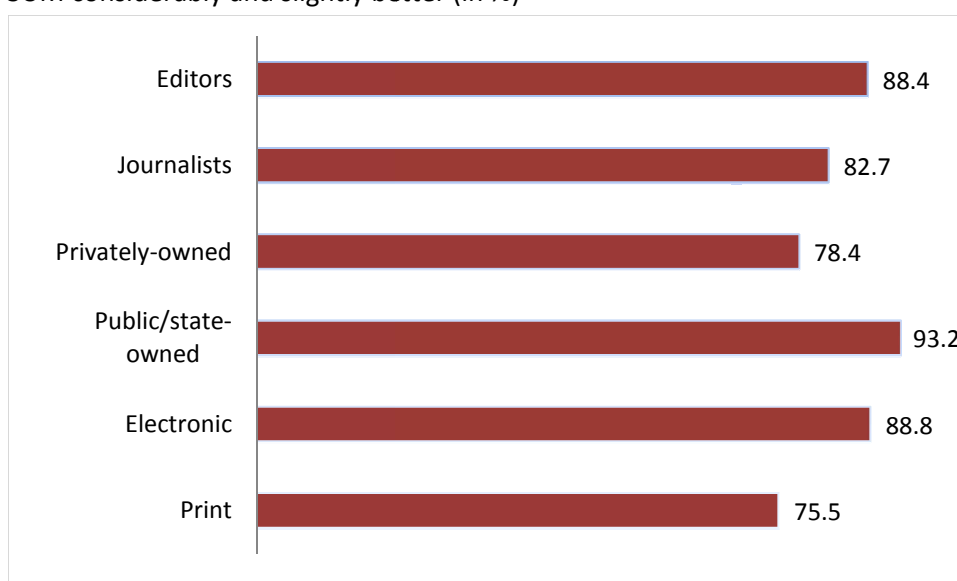


Fig20 In your opinion, the state of democracy in Montenegro over the next five years will be – by categories: (in %)

	Printed	Electronic	Public/ state-owned	Privately- owned	Journalists	Editors
<b>Considerably better</b>	18.4	32.7	52.5	11.4	23.1	39.5
<b>Slightly better</b>	57.1	56.1	40.7	67.0	59.6	48.8
<b>Slightly worse</b>	6.1	10.2	5.1	11.4	9.6	7.0
<b>Considerably worse</b>	18.4	1.0	1.7	10.2	7.7	4.7
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fig21 In your opinion, the state of democracy in Montenegro over the next five years will be – by categories: SUM considerably and slightly better (in %)



When asked to assess the state of media freedoms (Fig22- Fig24), **a majority of respondents give a negative evaluation.** Namely, compared to the nearly 45% of those who assess media freedom as to a greater or lesser extent positive, there are over 55% of those who more or less give a negative score. By categories, editors again give higher scores than journalists. However, this difference is drastic when we compare employees of public/state-owned media and employees of the privately-owned media – there is a much higher number of those unsatisfied with media freedoms in the privately-owned media than in the public media. Finally, employees of the electronic media assessed media freedoms more positively than employees of the print media.

Fig22 At which level are media freedoms in Montenegro today (in %)

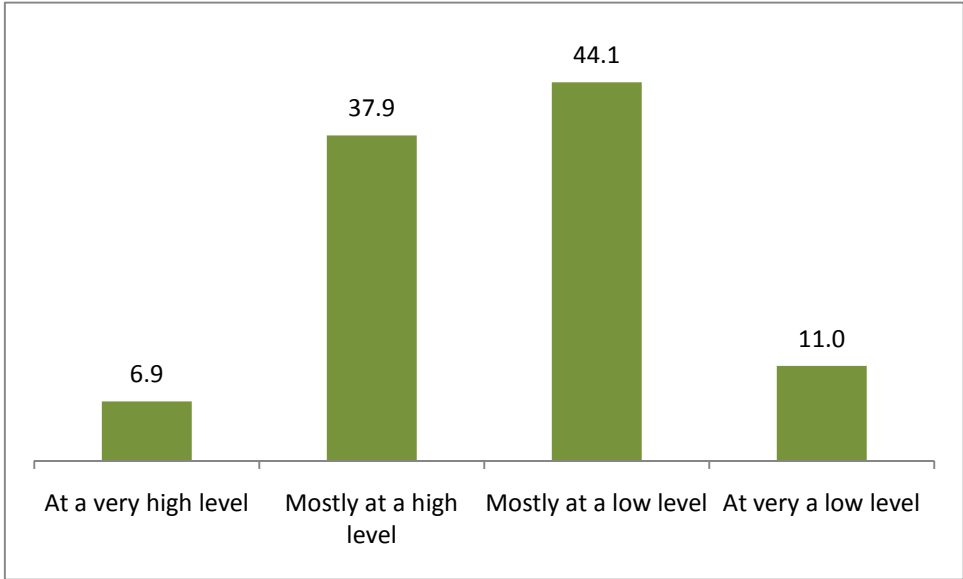
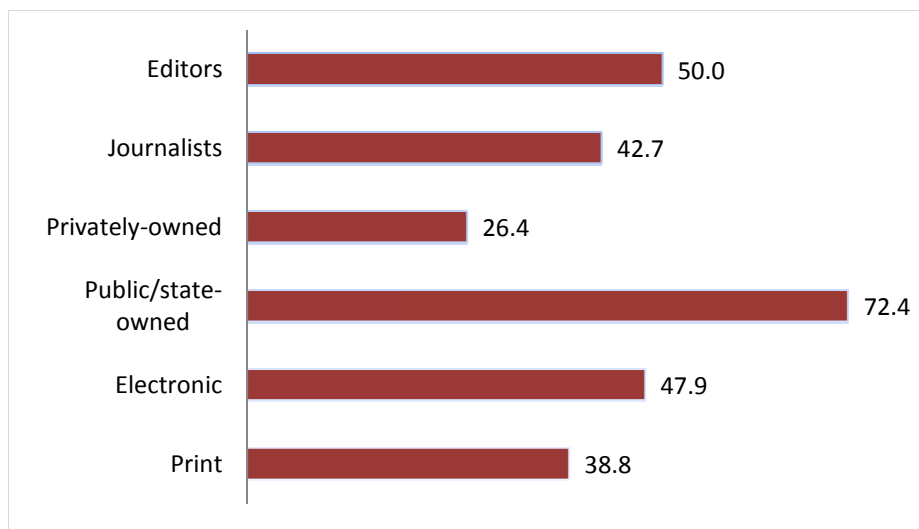


Fig23 At which level are media freedoms in Montenegro today by categories (in %)

	Printed	Electronic	Public/ state-owned	Privately- owned	Journalists	Editors
<b>At a very high level</b>	12,2	4,2	10,3	4,6	4,9	11,9
<b>Mostly at a high level</b>	26,5	43,8	62,1	21,8	37,9	38,1
<b>Mostly at a low level</b>	36,7	47,9	25,9	56,3	43,7	45,2
<b>At a very low level</b>	24,5	4,2	1,7	17,2	13,6	4,8
<b>Total</b>	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Fig24 At which level are media freedoms in Montenegro today by categories: SUM very and mostly high level (in %)

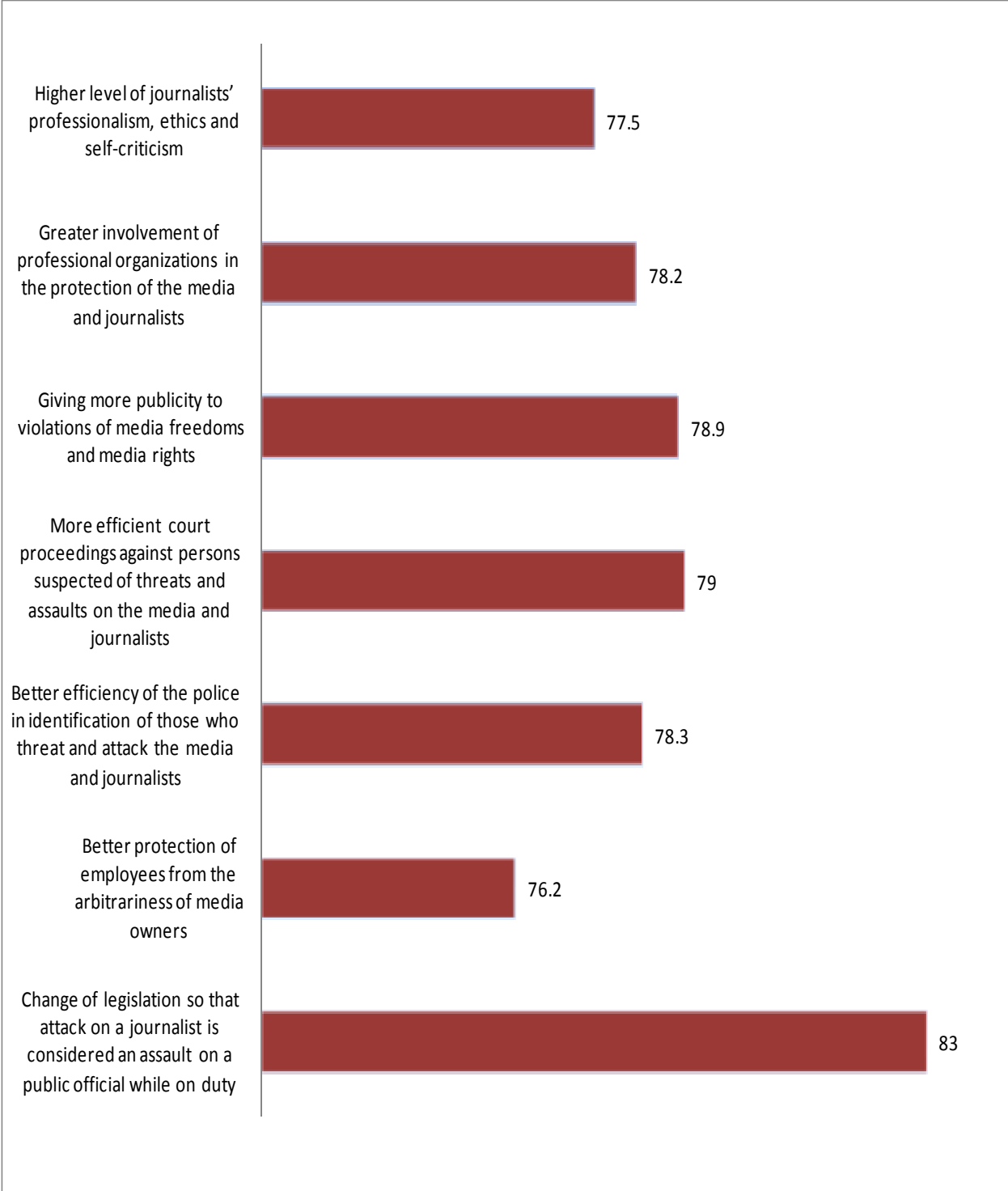


The survey was aimed at identifying possible measures for which media professionals believed could improve the level of media freedoms (Fig25 i Fig26). First and foremost it is noticeable that respondents have rated all the proposed measures as very and mostly efficient if they were to be implemented in practice. Comparatively speaking, **the highest rated prospective measure is the one which would attack on a journalist to be legally considered an attack on an official while on duty.**

Fig25 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures (in %)

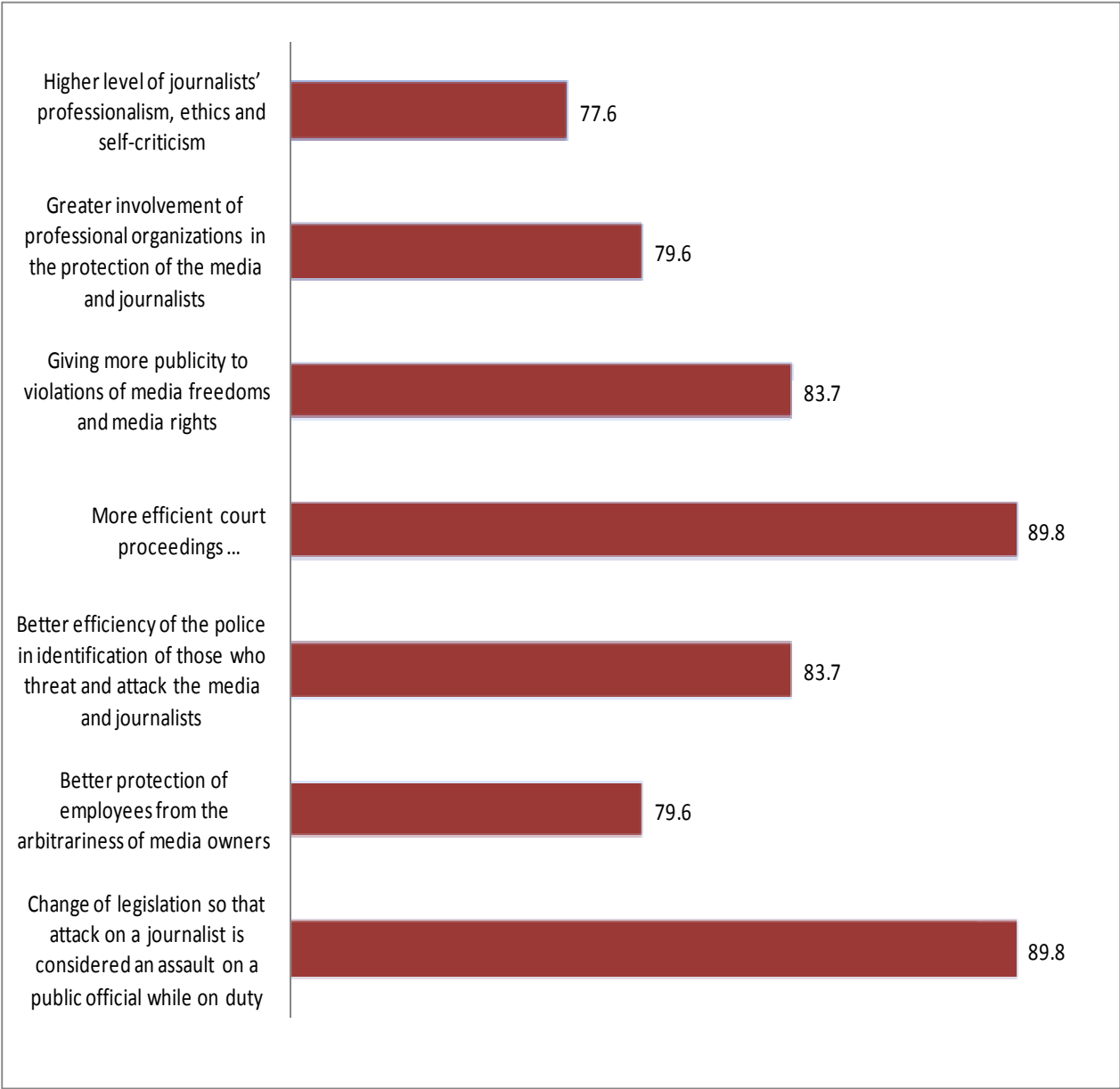
	Very efficient	Mostly efficient	Mostly inefficient	Very inefficient	Do not know, cannot make an assessment
<b>Change of legislation so that attack on a journalist is considered an assault on a public official while on duty</b>	49.0	34.0	6.1	.7	10.2
<b>Better protection of employees from the arbitrariness of media owners</b>	34.7	41.5	10.2	1.4	12.2
<b>Better efficiency of the police in identification of those who threat and attack the media and journalists</b>	46.3	32.0	8.8	4.8	8.2
<b>More efficient court proceedings against persons suspected of threats and assaults against the media and journalists</b>	49.7	29.3	10.2	1.4	9.5
<b>Giving more publicity to violations of media freedoms and media rights</b>	35.4	43.5	10.9	1.4	8.8
<b>Greater involvement of professional organizations in the protection of the media and journalists</b>	34.0	44.2	8.8	4.8	8.2
<b>Higher level of journalists' professionalism, ethics and self-criticism</b>	50.3	27.2	10.9	2.0	9.5

Fig26 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures: SUM very and mostly efficient measures (in %)



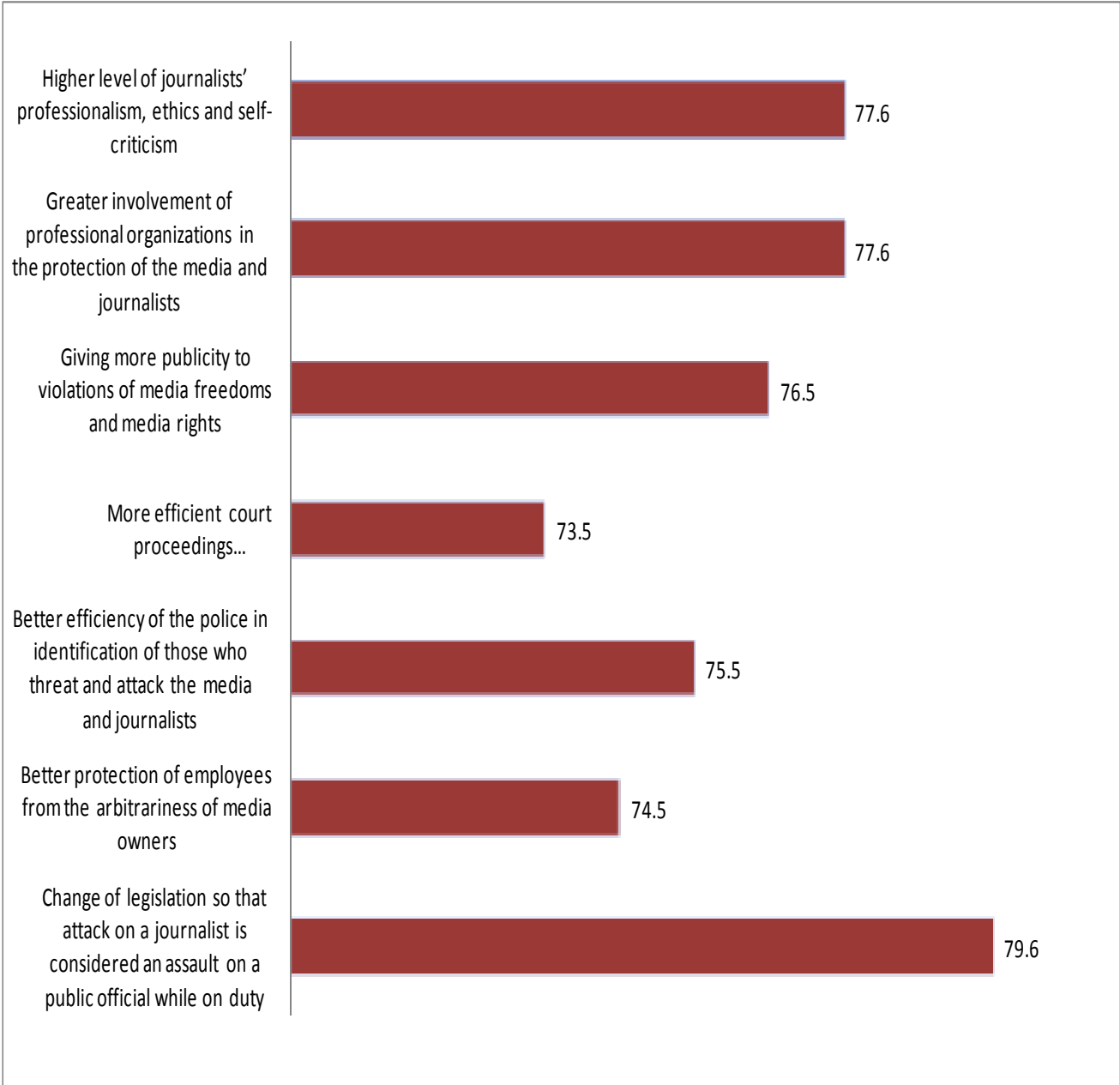
In addition to supporting change of legislation that would make attack on a journalist an assault on a public official while on duty, employees of the print media particularly insist on the efficiency of court proceedings for the purpose of protecting journalists (Fig27).

Fig27 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures – PRINT MEDIA %



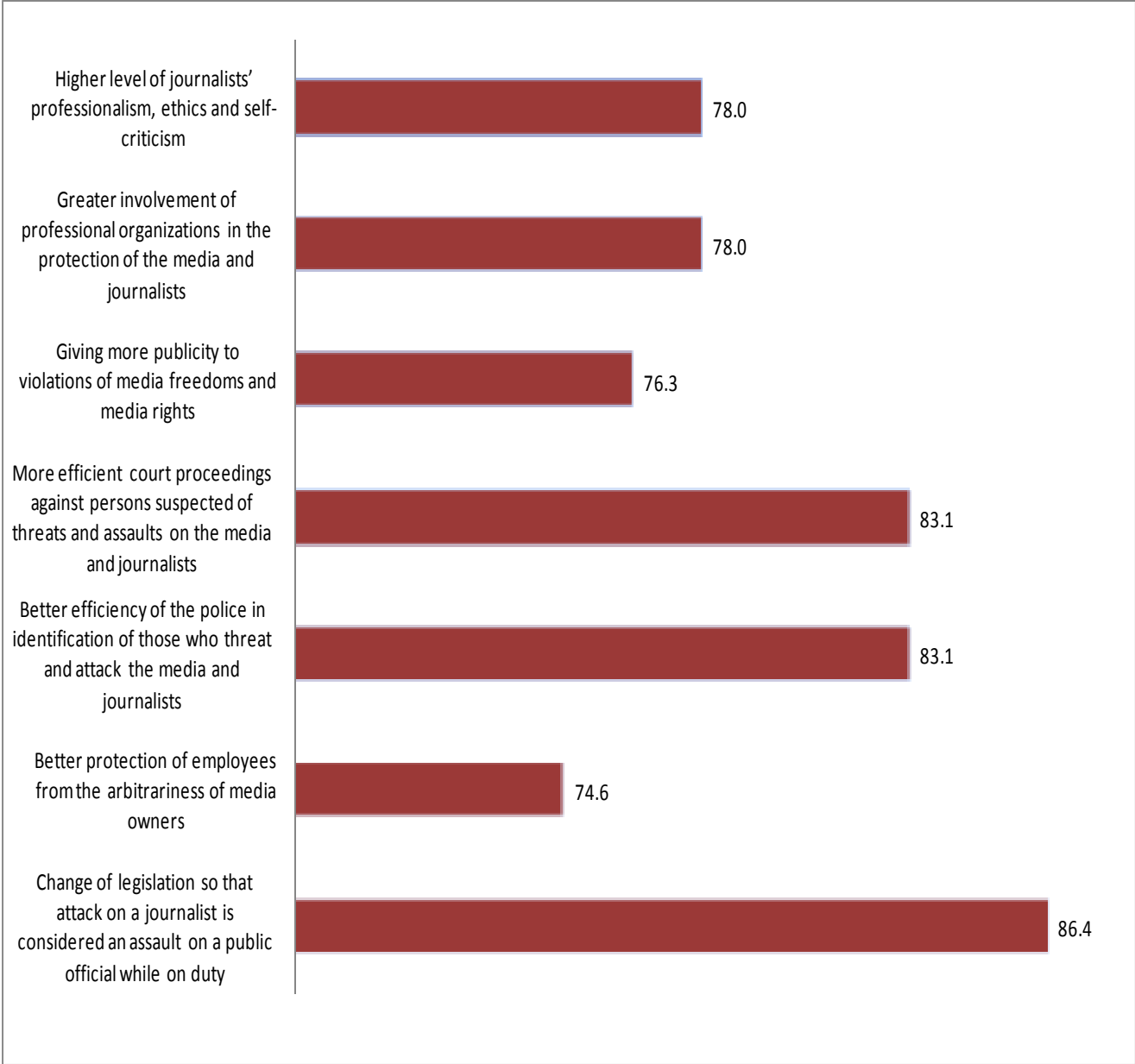
In addition to supporting change of legislation that would make attack on journalist an assault on a public official while on duty, employees of the electronic media particularly insists on professionalization of the journalistic profession and on greater involvement of journalists' associations in the protection of journalists. (Fig28)

Fig28 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures – ELECTRONIC MEDIA (in %)



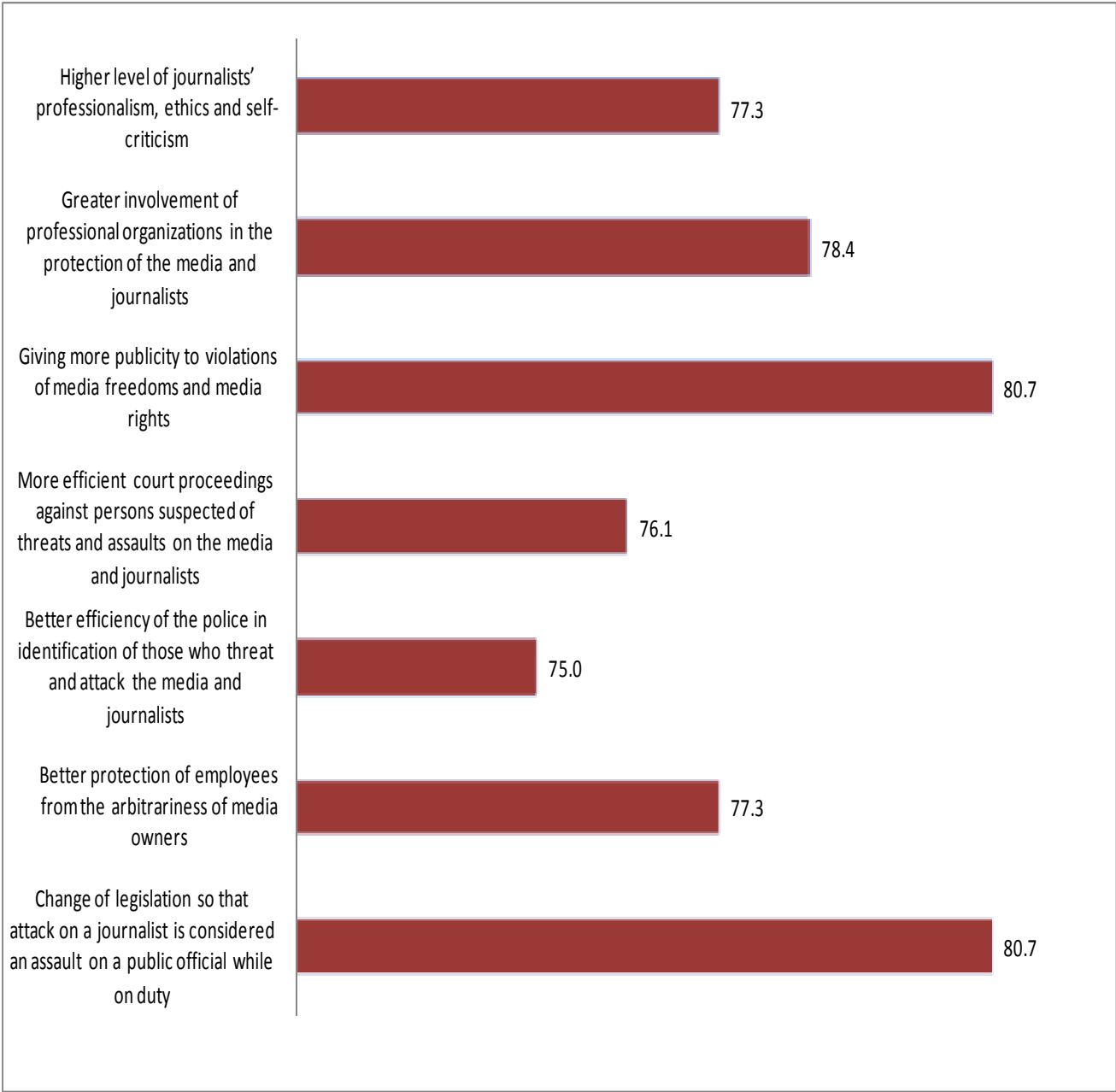
In addition to supporting change of legislation that would make attack on journalist an assault on a public official while on duty, employees of the public/state-owned media particularly highlight the efficiency of court proceedings in situations of alleged assaults on journalists and more efficient work of the police in protecting journalists (Fig29)

Fig29 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures – PUBLIC/STATE-OWNED MEDIA %



Employees of the privately-owned media also insist that assault on a journalist should be considered an assault on a public official while on duty while also highlighting that more publicity should be given to violations of media freedoms. (Fig30)

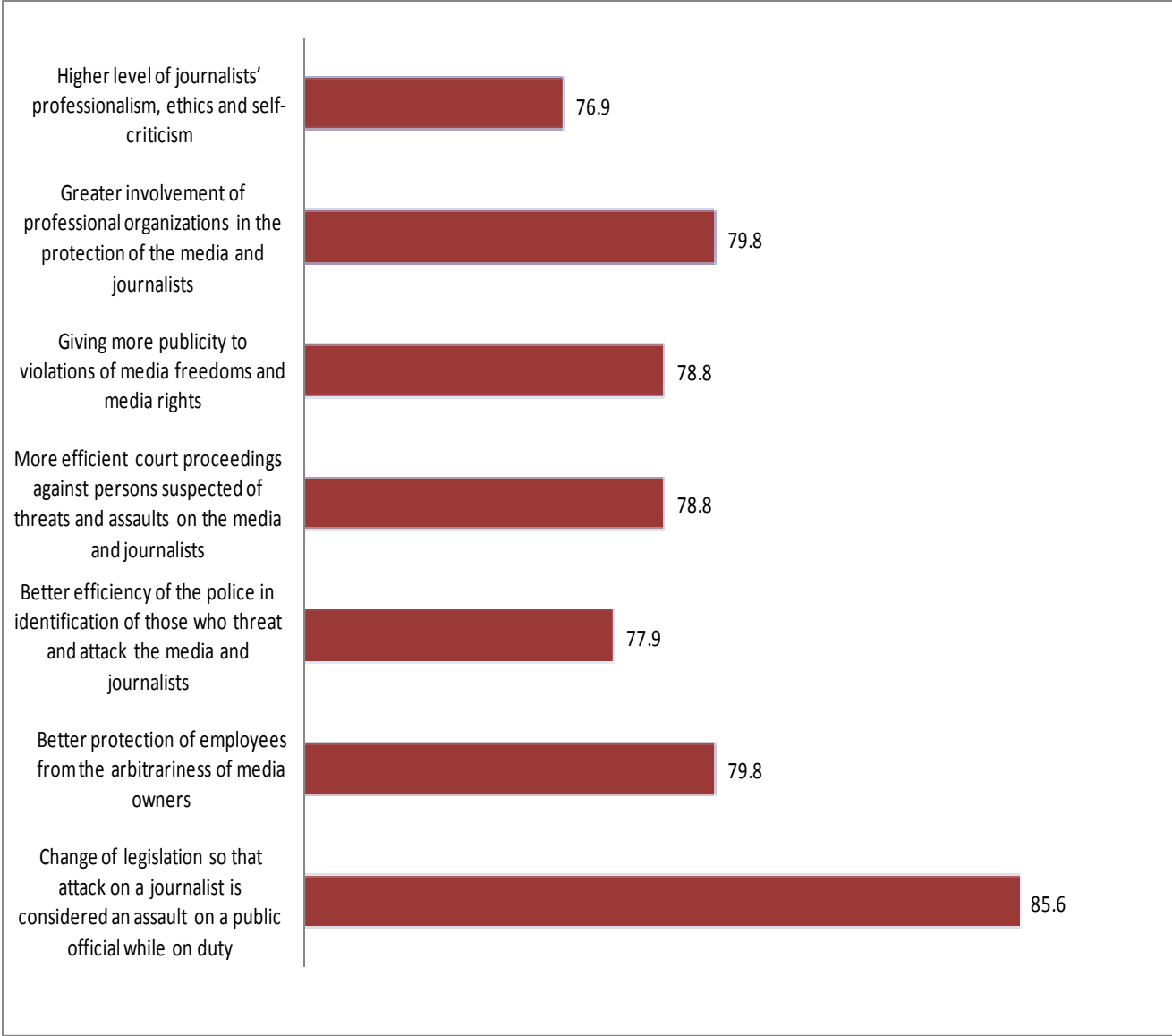
Fig30 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures – PRIVATELY-OWNED MEDIA %





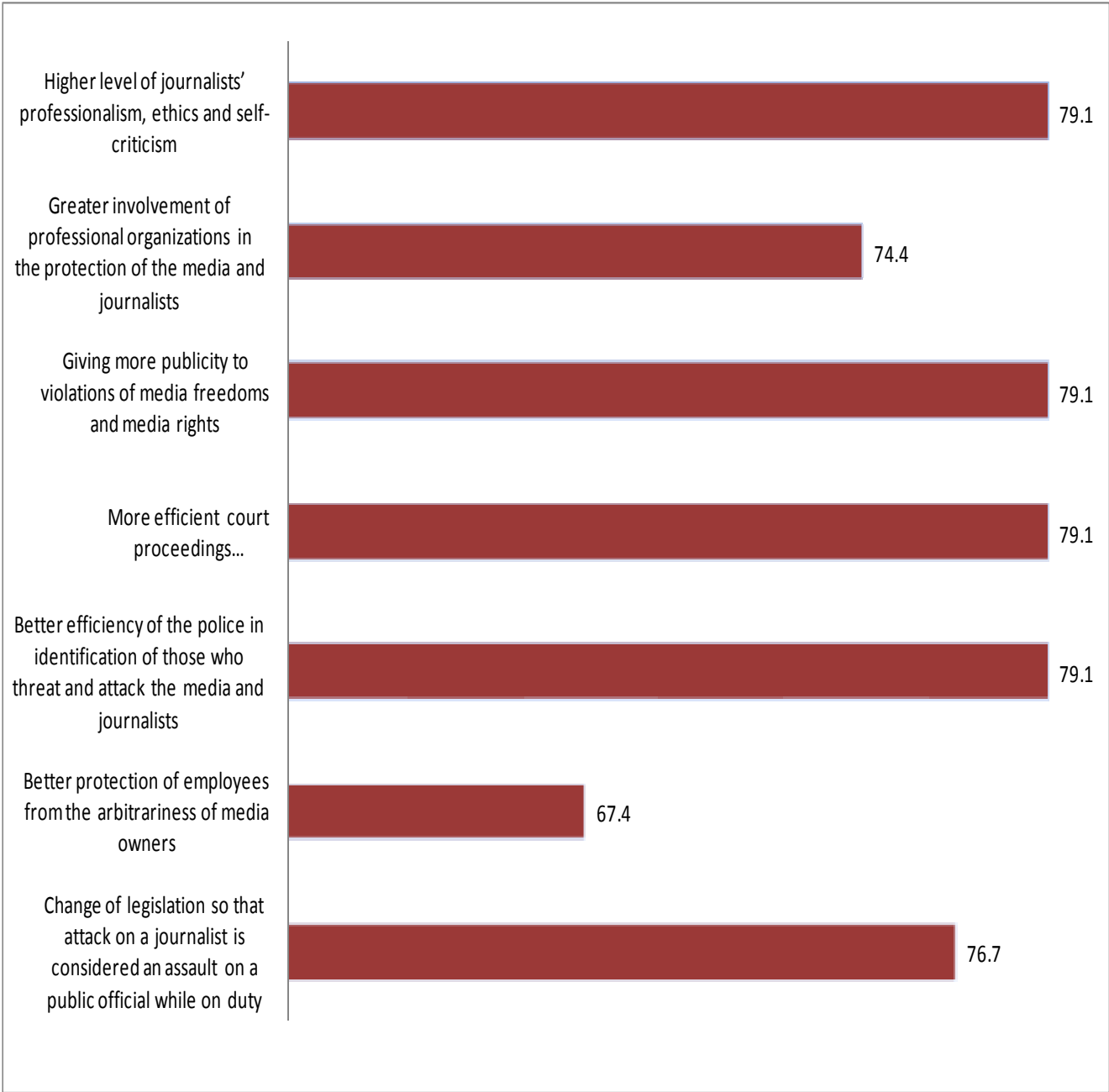
As for the journalists themselves, in addition to supporting change of legislation that would make attack on a journalist an assault on a public official while on duty, they highlight as positive those measures that are aimed at improving the work of professional journalists' associations and better protection of media employees from arbitrariness of media owners. (Fig31)

Fig31 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures – JOURNALISTS %



According to the editors, all the measures are equally positive, except the one aimed at better protection of journalists from arbitrariness of media owners. (Fig32)

Fig32 Evaluation of the efficiency of the suggested measures – EDITORS %

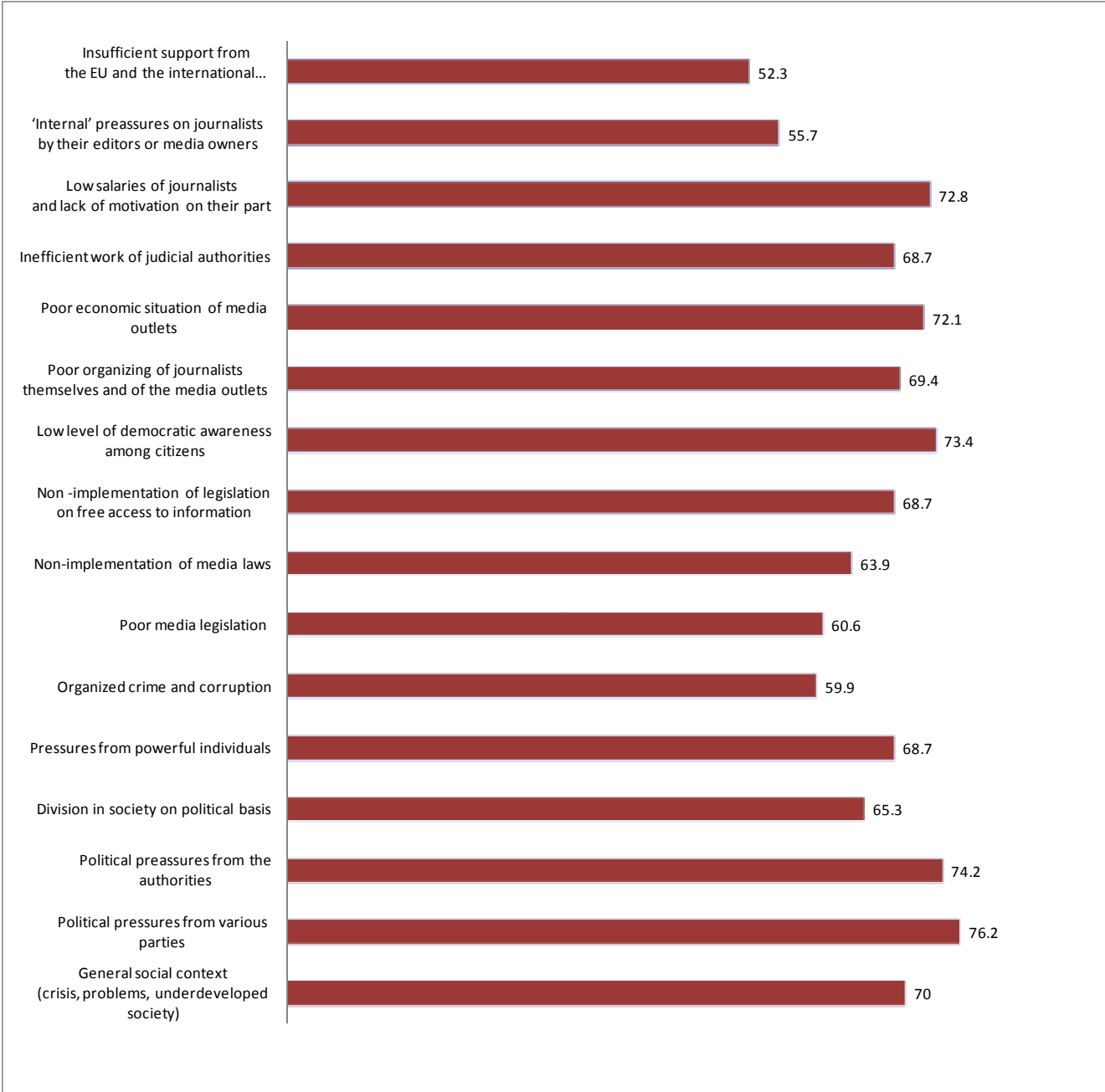


One of the segments of the survey was devoted to examining the reasons which limit media freedoms (Fig33 and Fig34). The results suggest that all the presented reasons play a very significant role in limiting freedom of the media. Comparatively speaking, **the most important reasons can be identified as political pressures from the authorities, but also from a range of other parties, low level of democratic awareness among citizens and also poor economic situation of the media and low salaries of journalists themselves.**

Fig33 Reasons which limit media freedoms (in %)

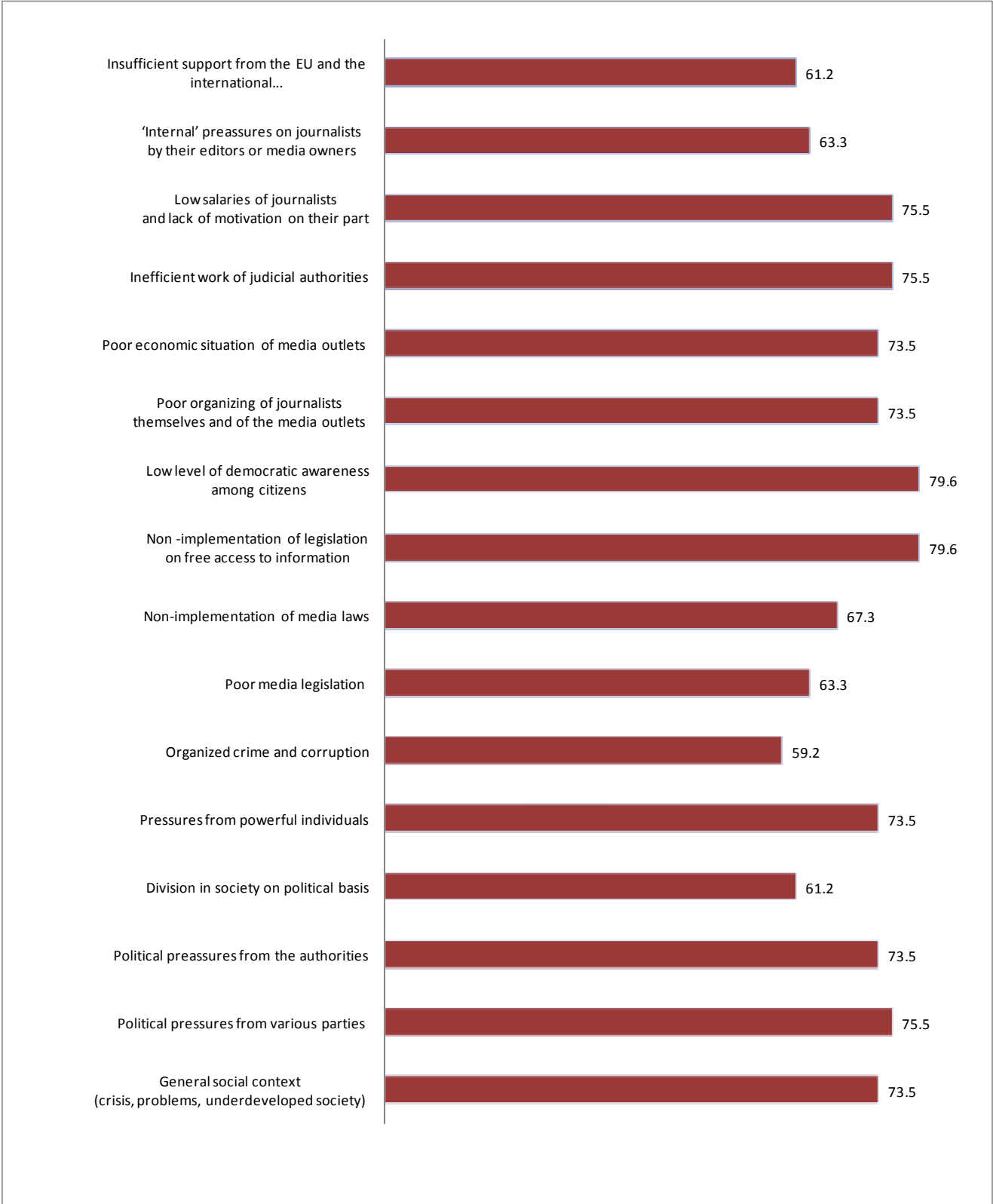
	Key reason	Important reason	More NO than a YES	Not a reason	No answer
<b>General social context (crisis, problems, underdeveloped society)</b>	26.5	43.5	15.6	6.8	7.5
<b>Political pressures from various parties</b>	34.0	42.2	11.6	6.1	6.1
<b>Political pressures from the authorities</b>	32.0	42.2	12.2	5.4	8.2
<b>Division in society on political basis</b>	19.7	45.6	19.0	6.8	8.8
<b>Pressures from powerful individuals</b>	32.0	36.7	16.3	4.8	10.2
<b>Organized crime and corruption</b>	27.9	32.0	21.8	8.8	9.5
<b>Poor media legislation</b>	25.9	34.7	23.8	6.8	8.8
<b>Non-implementation of media laws</b>	23.8	40.1	20.4	5.4	10.2
<b>Non-implementation of free access to information legislation</b>	31.3	37.4	17.7	4.8	8.8
<b>Low level of democratic awareness among citizens</b>	33.3	40.1	14.3	5.4	6.8
<b>Poor organizing of journalists themselves and of the media</b>	23.8	45.6	19.7	4.8	6.1
<b>Poor economic situation of the media</b>	27.9	44.2	13.6	6.8	7.5
<b>Inefficient work of judicial authorities</b>	27.9	40.8	15.6	7.5	8.2
<b>Low salaries of journalists and lack of motivation on their part</b>	27.9	44.9	14.3	5.4	7.5
<b>'Internal' pressures on journalists from their editors or media owners</b>	15.6	40.1	25.2	11.6	7.5
<b>Insufficient support from the EU and the international community regarding the protection of media freedoms in Montenegro</b>	15.6	36.7	25.2	15.0	7.5

Fig34 Reasons which limit media freedoms – SUM key and important reason %



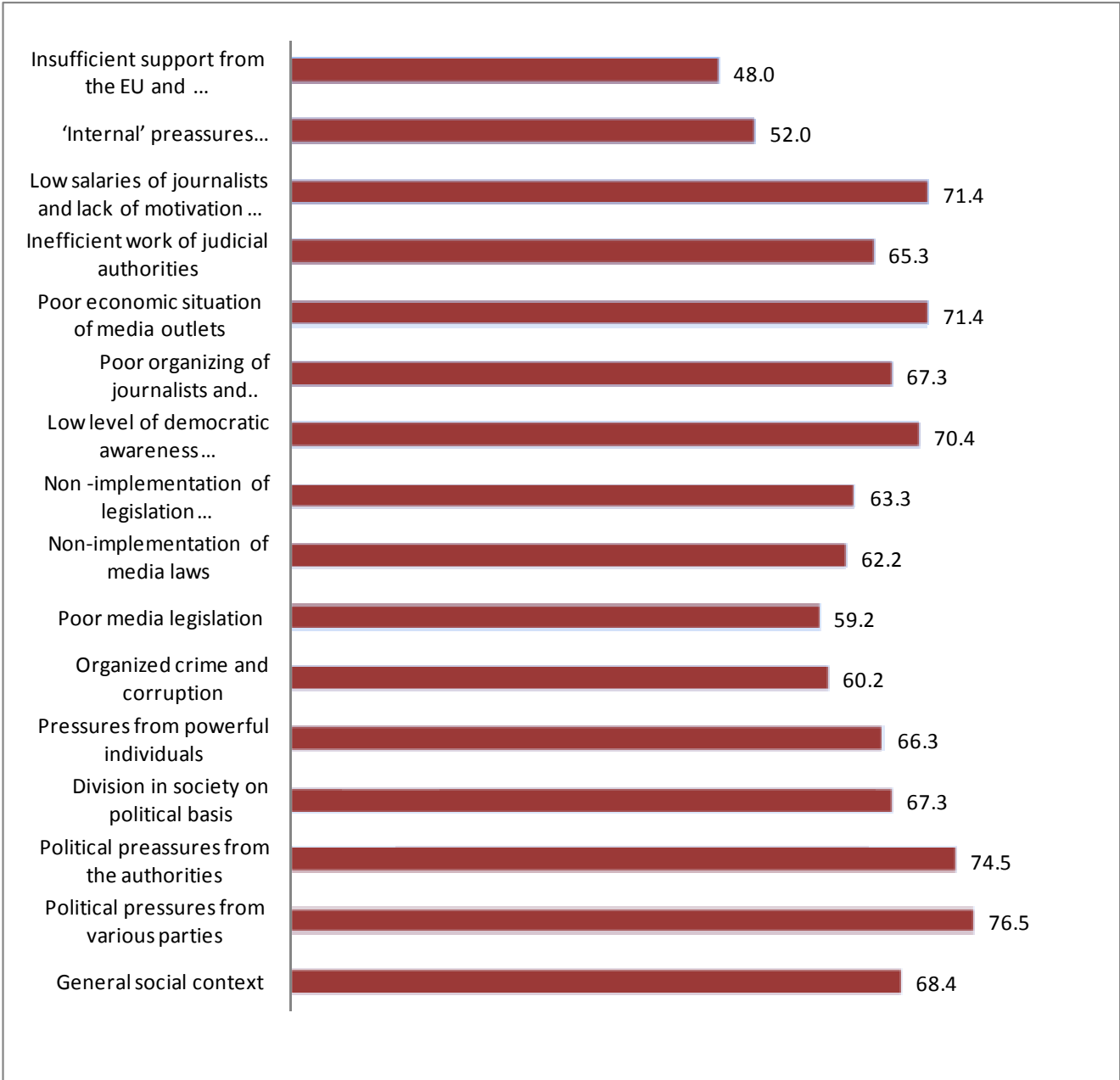
Print media employees identify low level of democratic awareness among citizens and non -implementation of laws on free access to information as two key reasons (Fig35).

Fig35 Reasons which limit media freedoms: PRINT MEDIA - SUM key and important reason %



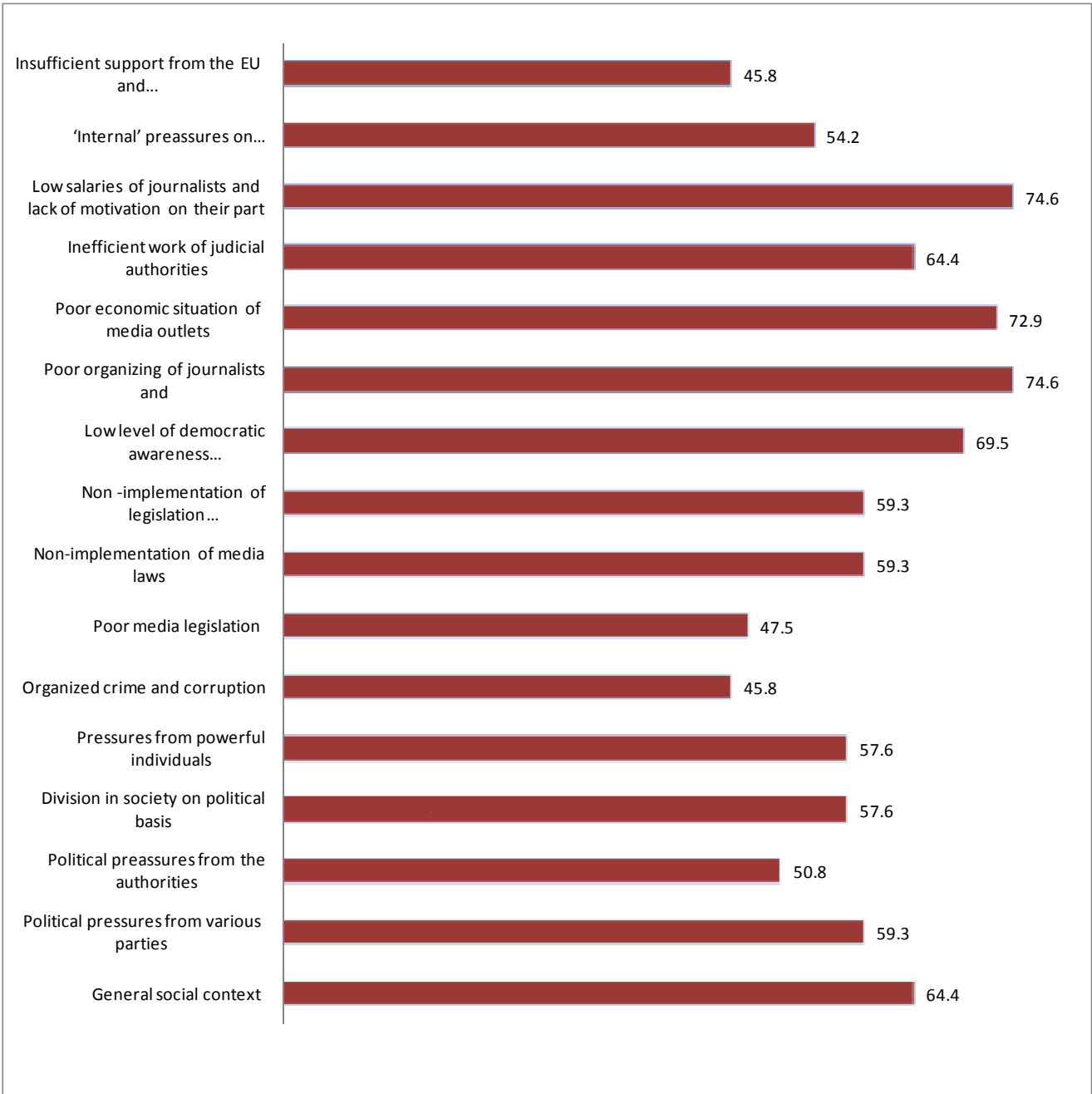
Electronic media employees mostly insists on problems involving political pressures, both from the authorities and from various parties (Fig36)

Fig36 Reasons which limit media freedoms: ELECTRONIC MEDIA- SUM key and important reason %



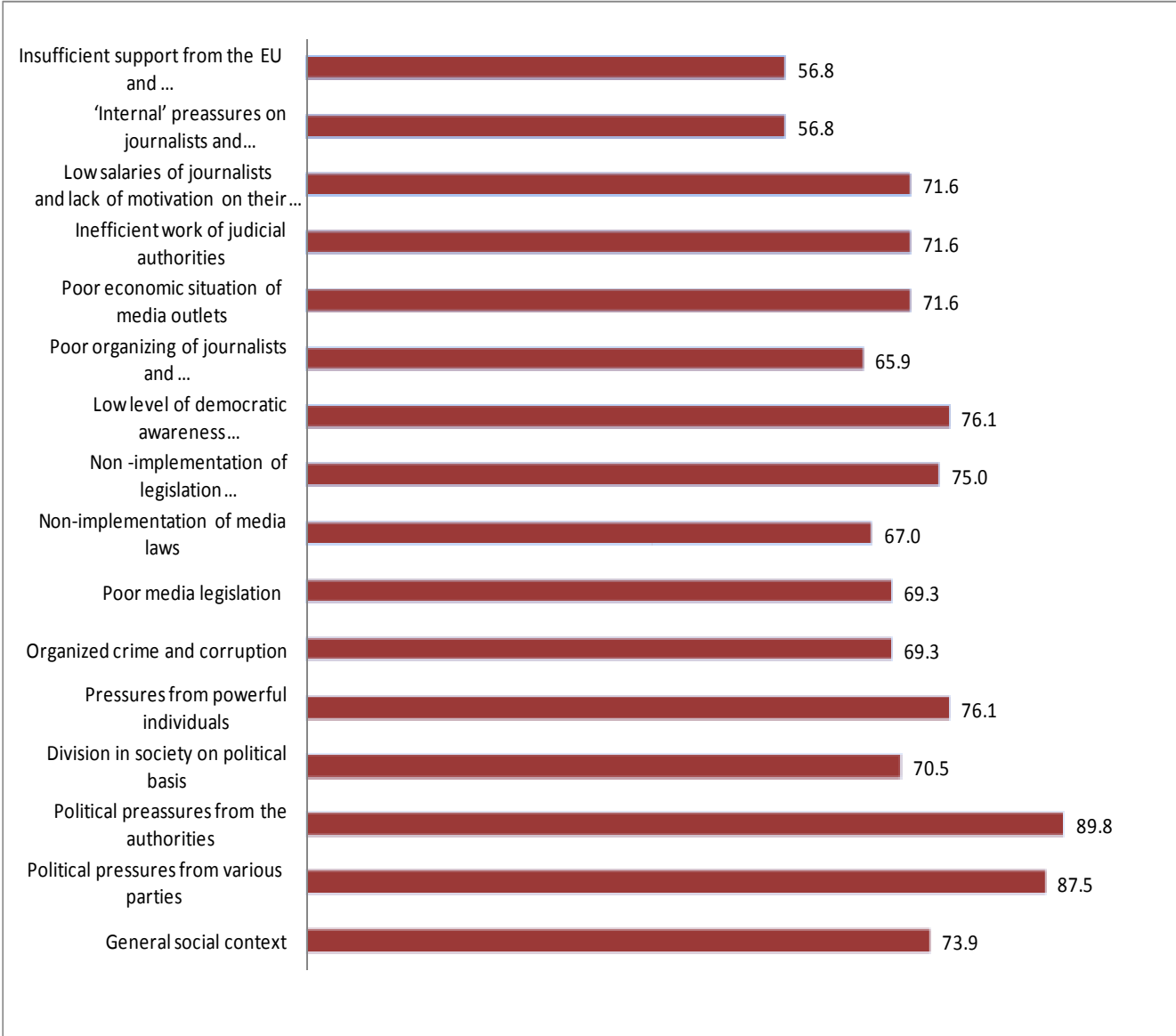
On the other side, employees of the public/state-owned media believe that the key obstacles to media freedoms are bad organizing of journalists and media themselves and the poor economic position of the media and journalists (Fig37)

Fig37 Reasons which limit media freedoms: PUBLIC/STATE-OWNED - SUM key and important reason (in %)



Representatives of the privately-owned media consider political pressures from the authorities and political pressures from various parties as the key obstacles to media freedoms (Fig38).

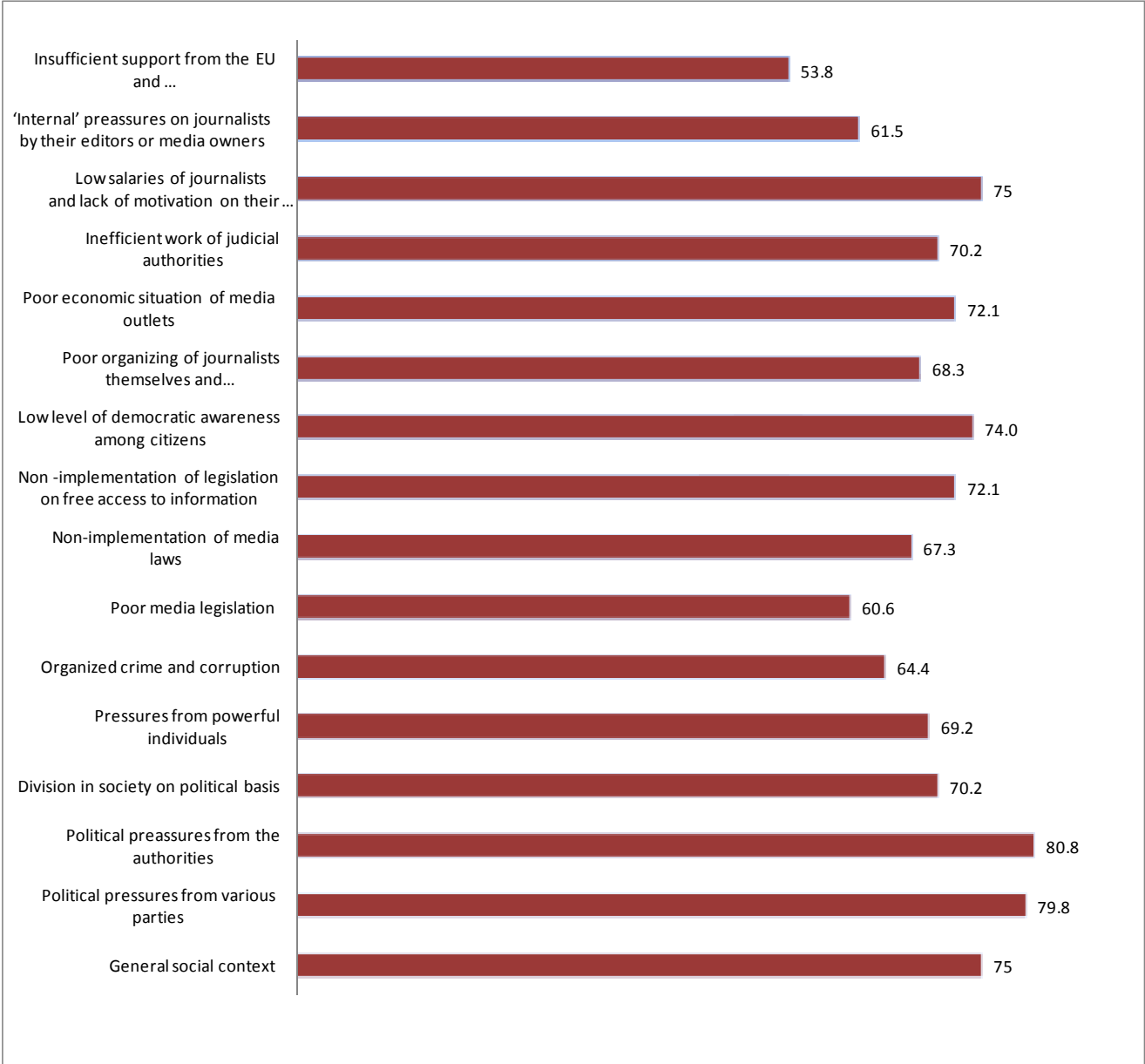
Fig38 Reasons which limit media freedoms: PRIVATE MEDIA- SUM key and important reason (in %)





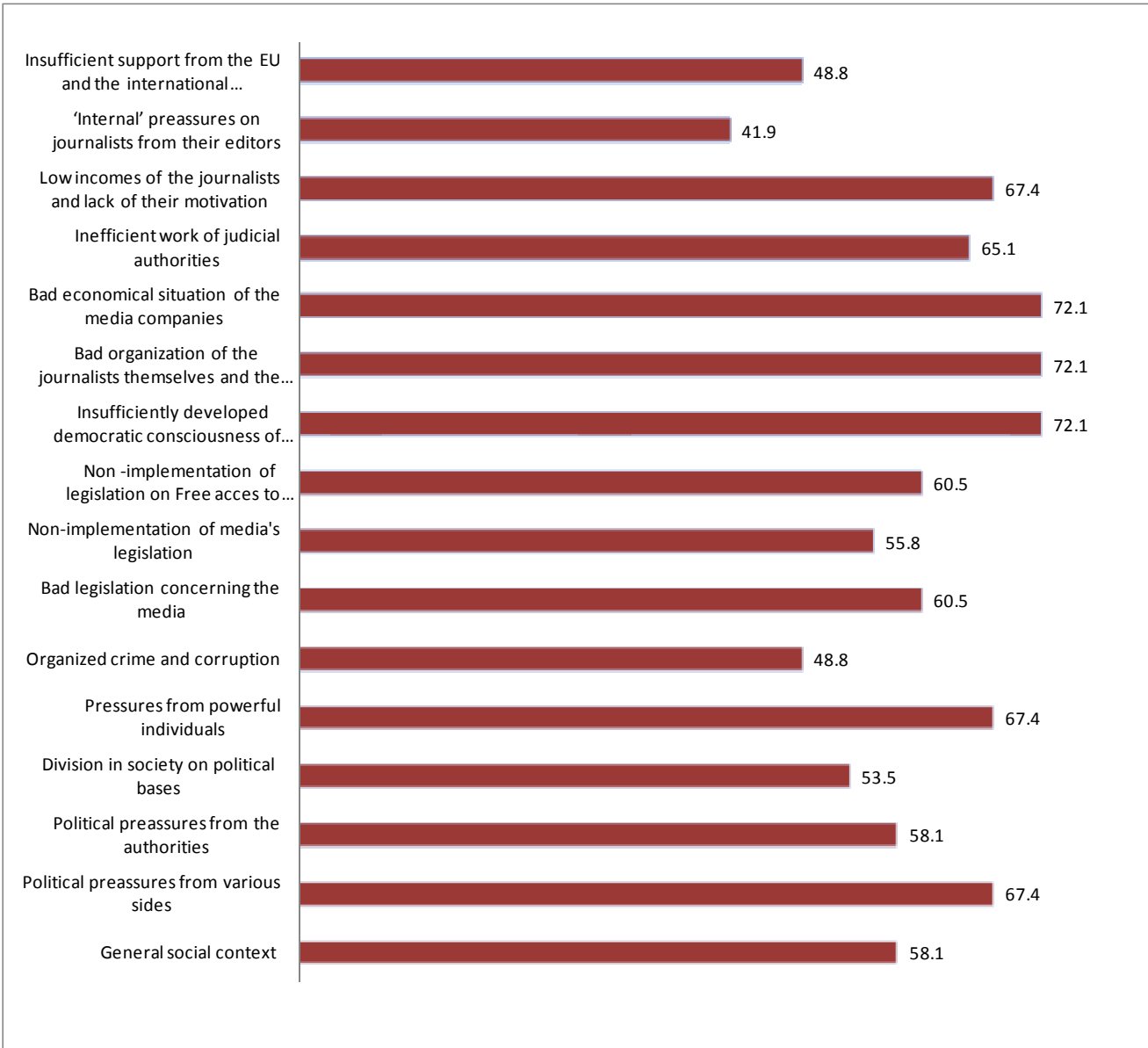
Journalists also consider political pressures, both from the authorities and from various parties as the key obstacles to media freedoms (Fig39)

Fig39 Reasons which limit media freedoms: JOURNALISTS - SUM key and important reason %



Editors believe that the main obstacles to media freedoms include the poor economic situation of the media, bad organizing of the journalists and the media and low level of democratic awareness among citizens (Fig40).

Fig40 Reasons which limit media freedoms: EDITORS- SUM key and important reason (in %)



**The issue of threats to and assaults on journalists is a very serious problem for media professionals** (Fig41 – Fig43). It is a very important issue for all the categories which were covered by our survey. Comparatively speaking, journalists consider this problem more important than editors do, whereas private sector media professionals consider this issue much more serious than their counterparts from the state-owned media. Also, employees of the print media consider this problem more important than employees of the electronic media.

Fig41 How serious of a problem are threats and assaults on the media and journalists in Montenegro today? in %

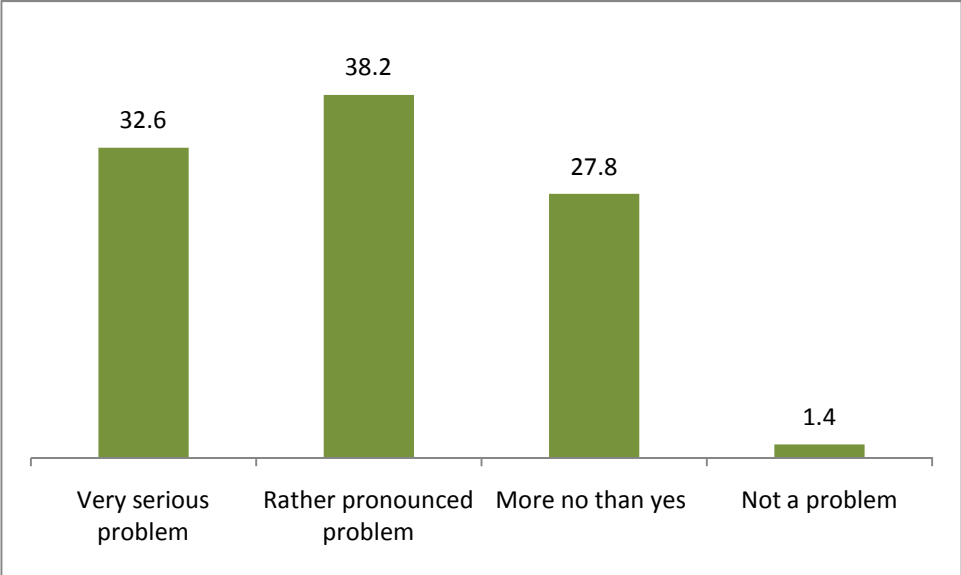
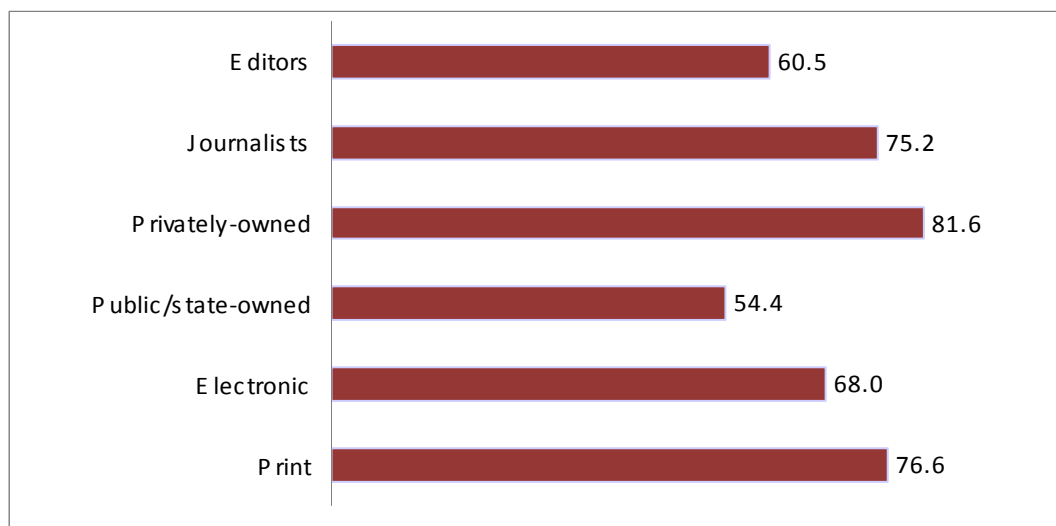


Fig42 How serious of a problem are treats and assaults on the media and journalists in Montenegro today by categories %

	Print	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Privately-owned	Journalists	Editors
<b>Very serious problem</b>	46.8	25.8	19.3	41.4	38.6	18.6
<b>Rather pronounced problem</b>	29.8	42.3	35.1	40.2	36.6	41.9
<b>More no than yes</b>	21.3	30.9	43.9	17.2	24.8	34.9
<b>Not a problem</b>	2.1	1.0	1.8	1.1	0.0	4.7
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fig43 How serious of a problem are treats and assaults on the media and journalists in Montenegro today by categories: SUM very and rather important problem %



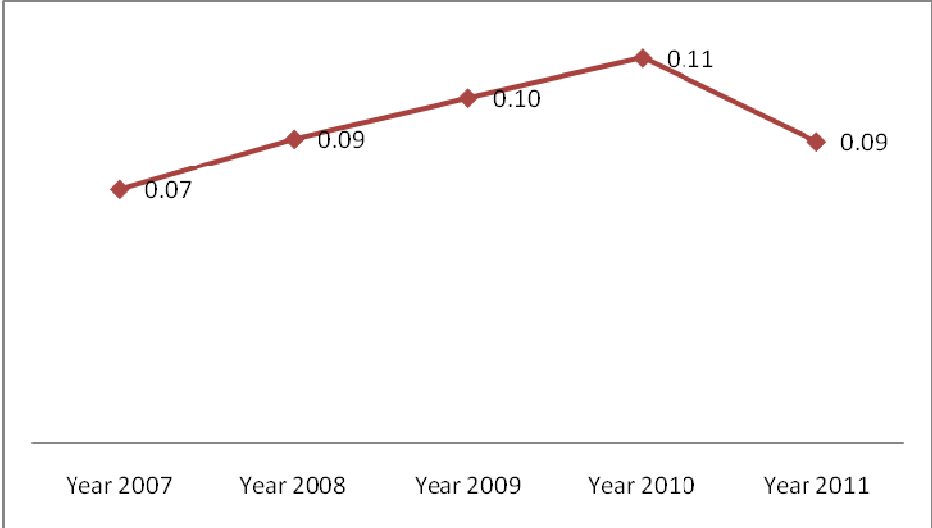
One of the most important segments of the survey was devoted to the forms in which violations of media freedoms take place. This aspect was explored by way of asking media professionals to name specific types of pressures they had personally experienced over the previous 5 years (Fig44). A special INDEX of threats to media freedoms and media rights was developed for this purpose. The INDEX ranged from 0 to 1, 0 being the lowest and 1 being the highest level of threat. It was developed in order to allow us to measure, comparatively and accurately, differences by years and by forms.

Fig44 Forms of threats to media freedoms by year %

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
<b>Physical assault on buildings and property</b>	6.8	6.1	6.1	4.8	2.0
<b>Physical assault on employees</b>	6.8	6.1	8.2	8.2	4.1
<b>Threats with physical assault and to personal security</b>	8.8	10.2	10.9	9.5	10.2
<b>Interfering with distribution or frequency</b>	4.8	9.5	10.9	10.2	10.2
<b>Seizure of work tools</b>	4.1	3.4	6.1	3.4	2.7
<b>Denying accreditation (working permit)</b>	6.8	9.5	6.8	6.1	5.4
<b>Preventing journalists from attending an event</b>	8.2	8.2	8.2	12.9	9.5
<b>Withholding information of public importance</b>	12.2	15.6	18.4	21.8	17.0
<b>Frequent inspections</b>	9.5	12.9	14.3	12.9	12.2
<b>Threat of dismissal</b>	4.1	4.8	4.8	5.4	4.8
<b>Imposing financial penalties on journalists</b>	6.8	7.5	9.5	10.2	11.6
<b>Violation of employees' labor-related rights</b>	7.5	8.8	9.5	10.2	9.5
<b>Modification of articles and reports so that they are rendered 'politically correct'</b>	2.0	4.1	4.1	6.1	4.1
<b>Prohibition of publication of specific information</b>	4.1	3.4	4.1	4.8	3.4
<b>Imposing certain topics or information</b>	4.8	4.8	4.8	6.1	3.4
<b>Ungrounded lawsuits against journalists</b>	6.8	8.8	10.9	12.2	8.8
<b>Accusing and 'name calling' in other media outlets</b>	7.5	9.5	13.6	22.4	17.0
<b>Accusing and 'name calling' by the authorities</b>	12.2	15.0	17.0	20.4	17.0
<b>Accusing and 'name calling' by representatives of political parties</b>	16.3	19.7	22.4	24.5	19.0

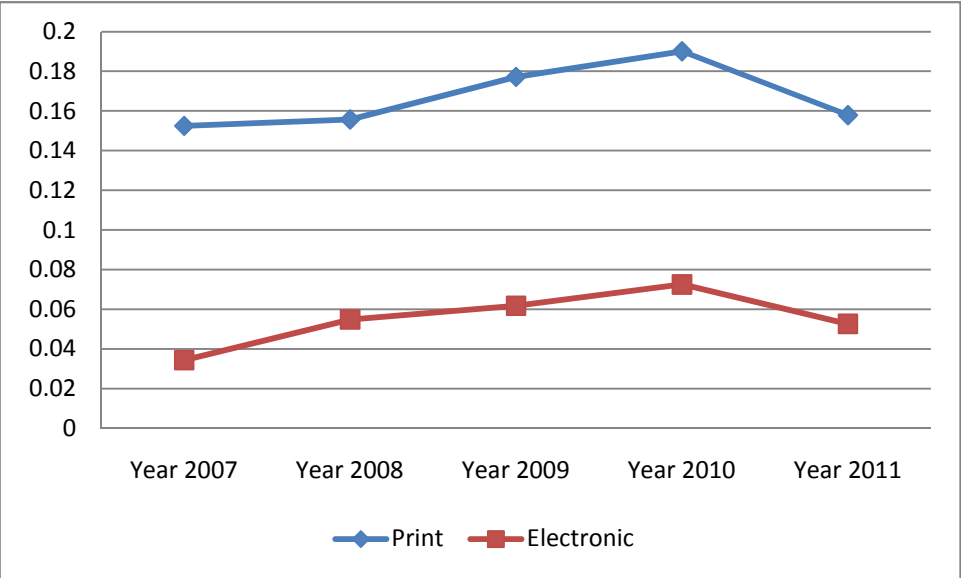
Firstly, if we take a look at the situation by years (Fig45), we can identify a negative trend. Namely, **according to the experiences of media professionals from 2007 onwards, violations of media freedoms have been on the increase** (cumulatively for all forms of violations). It should be noted that the lower value for the year 2011 is not fully representative as the year is not over yet.

Fig45 Threats to media freedoms by year - INDEX



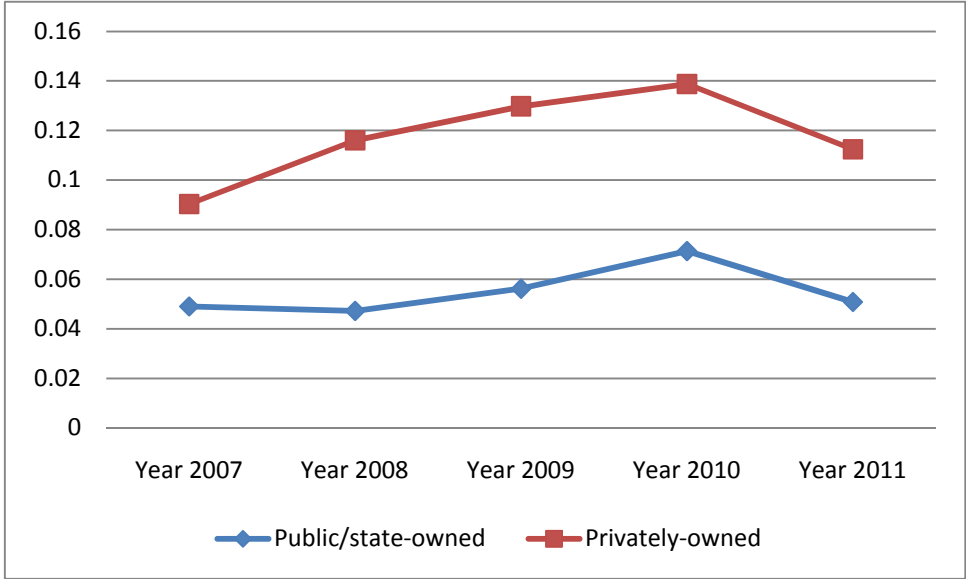
If we analyze the INDEX by year separately for the print and separately for the electronic media (Fig46), the conclusion is that the trend is almost identical – there is an increase in violations of media freedoms and media rights, with the exception of the year 2011. It is also important to note that the values of the INDEX are significantly higher for the print than for the electronic media. This means that violations of media freedoms are more pronounced in relation to the print media.

Fig46 Threats to media freedoms by year - INDEX: Print and electronic media



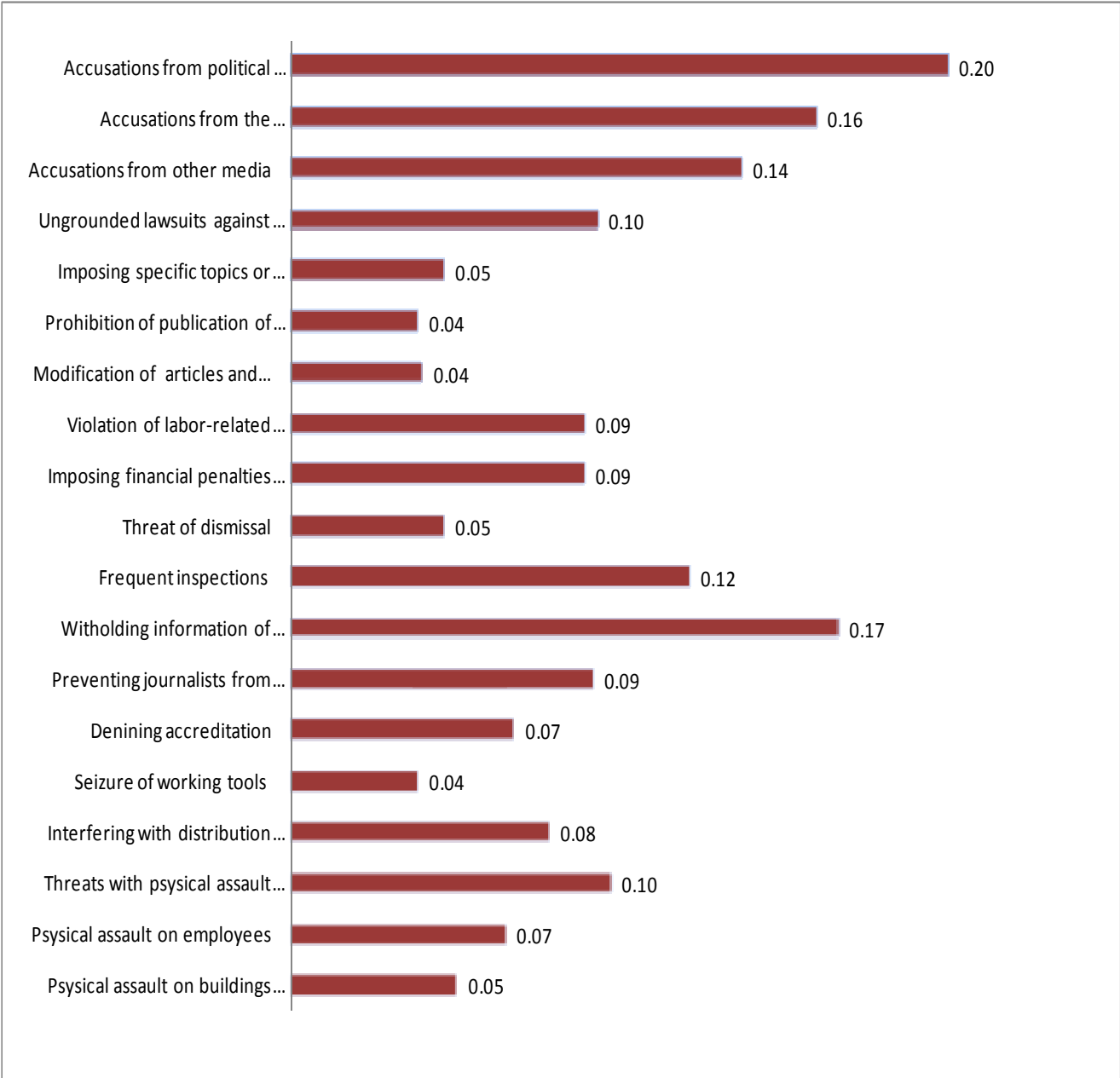
If we compare the state-owned and privately-owned media (Fig47) by each year, we can also identify a negative trend from the year 2007 onwards with the exception of 2011. Also, the INDEX of violations of media freedoms is significantly higher for the privately-owned than for the state-owned media.

Fig47 Threats to media freedoms by year - INDEX: State-owned and privately-owned media



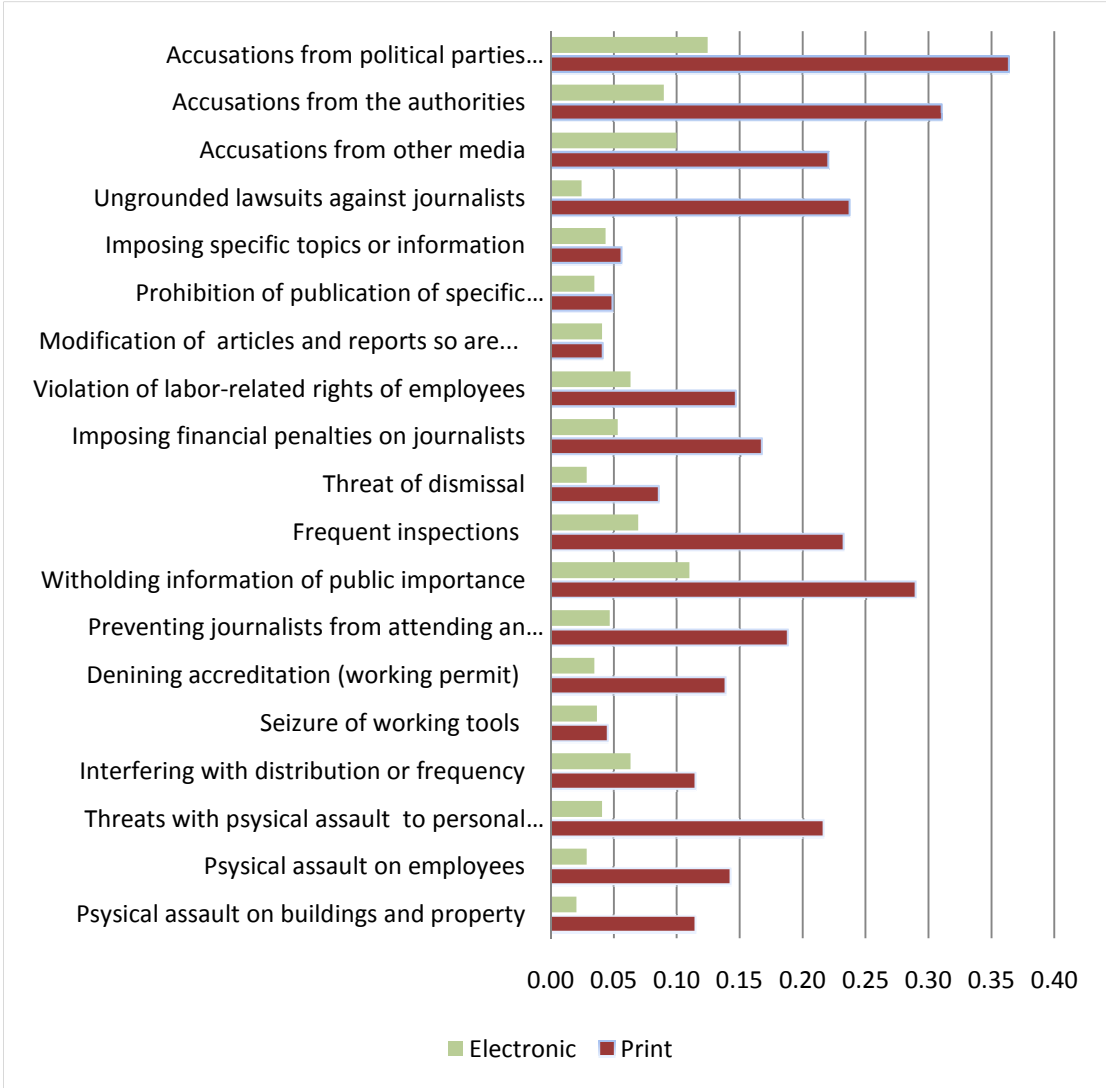
On the other hand, if we cumulatively index the values by forms of violations of media freedoms over the five-year period (Fig48), we can see **that the most frequent form of violation of media freedoms is accusations and pressures exerted on the media by political parties. This is followed by withholding of information of public importance, accusations and pressures from the authorities and accusations from other media.**

Fig48 Threats to media freedoms by forms of threat 2007-2011 - INDEX:



If we analyze the INDEX of threats to media freedoms over the five-year period by forms separately for the electronic and the print media (Fig49), we can conclude that all forms of threats are far more visible in the private media than in the state-owned ones. The differences are most visible when pressures from various parties, withholding information of public importance and threats of physical assault on journalists are concerned.

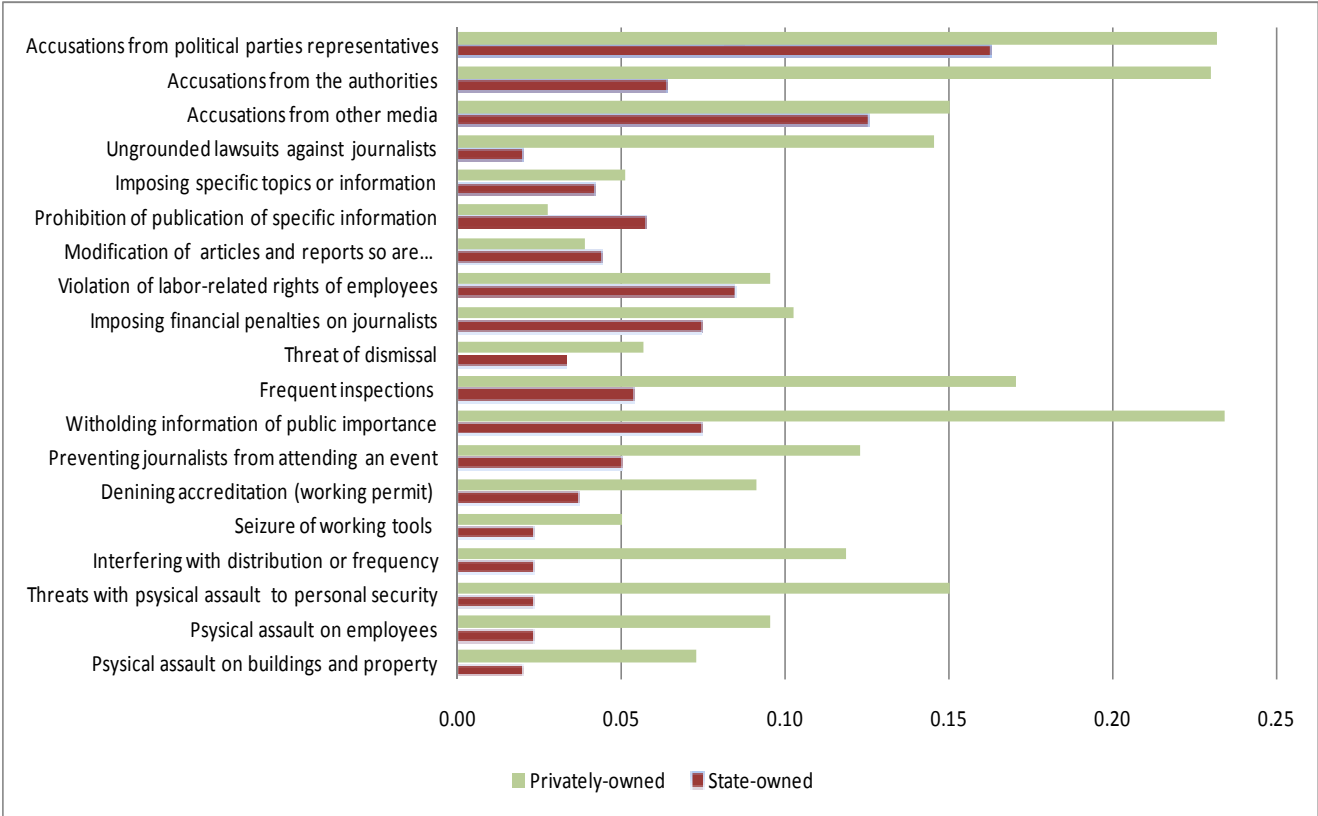
Fig49 Threats to media freedoms by forms of threat 2007-2011 - INDEX: Electronic and print media





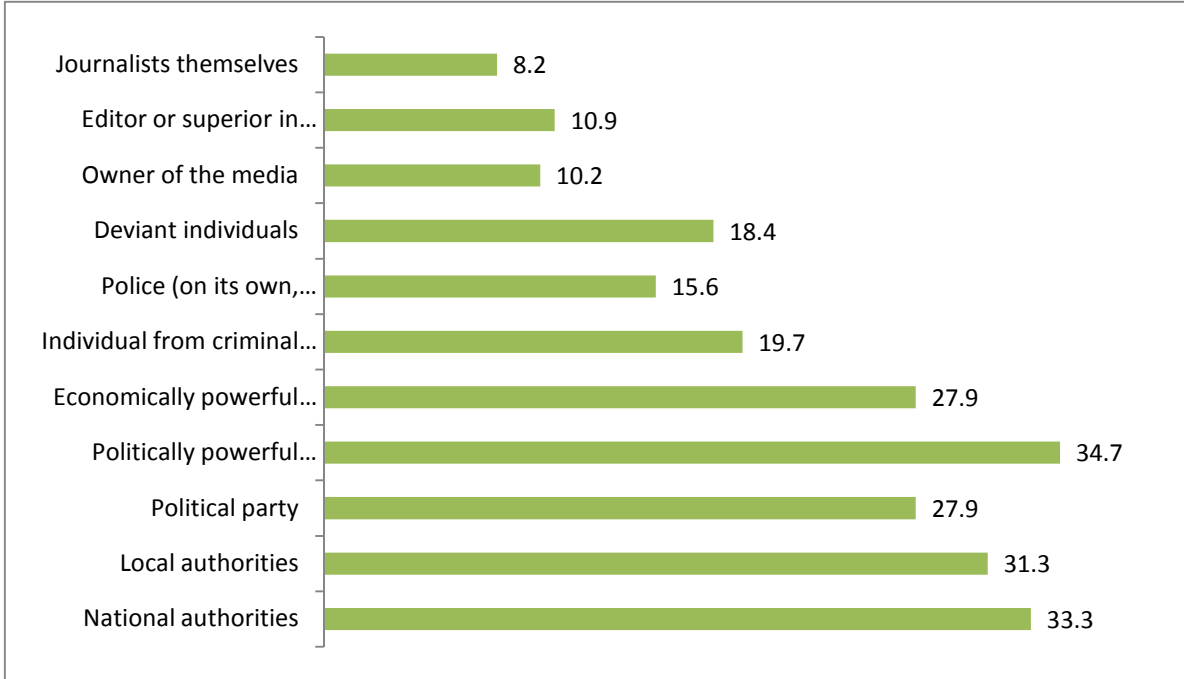
Finally, if we compare the INDEX of threats to media freedoms by forms over the five-year period separately for the public/state-owned and privately-owned media (Fig50), we can again conclude that the situation is significantly worse in the privately-owned media than in the state-owned ones. The difference is most visible when withholding information of public importance, threats of physical assault, frequent inspections and pressures from all parties are concerned.

Fig50 Threats to media freedoms by forms of threat 2007-2011 - INDEX: Private and public/state-owned media



Furthermore, with regards to violations of media freedoms which occurred in the media, our survey has identified those who are responsible for these violations (Fig51). The results show that **politically powerful individuals, national and local authorities, economically powerful individuals and political parties are most responsible for violations of media freedoms**. Therefore, the seriousness of the problem is reflected in the fact that pressures are concentrated around institutional structures of political power.

Fig51 Who is responsible for violations of media freedoms and media rights? % of YES answers



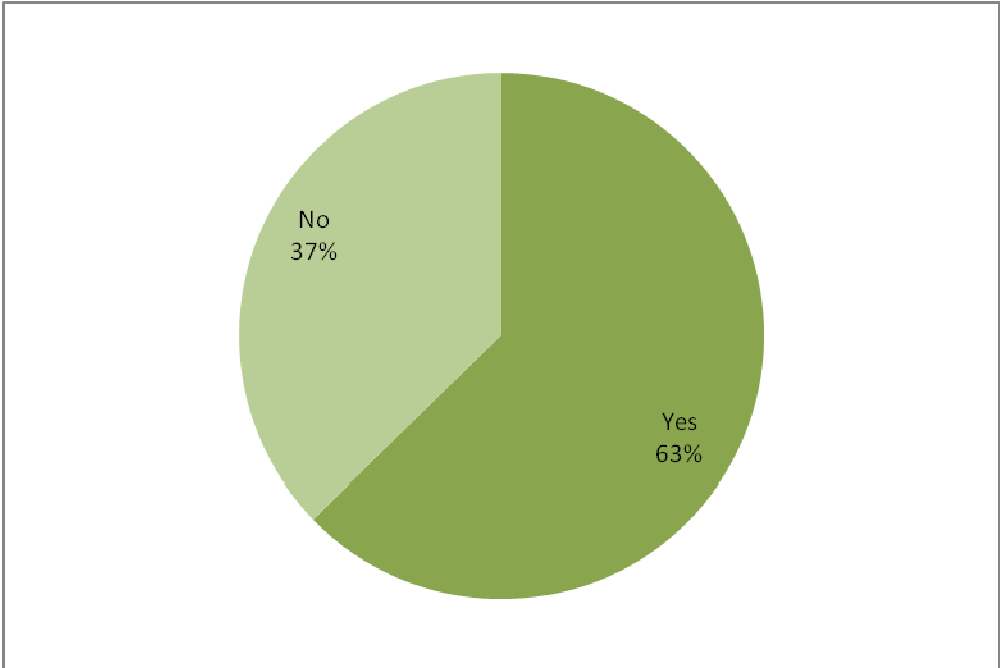
In we analyze the data by categories (Fig52), it is clear that in every single case (except for the journalists themselves) the violation is considerably more pronounced in the print than in the electronic media, and in the privately-owned media compared to the public/state-owned ones.

Fig52 Who is responsible for violations of media freedoms and media rights by categories? % of YES answers

	Print	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Privately-owned
<b>National authorities</b>	55.1	22.4	8.5	50.0
<b>Local authorities</b>	40.8	26.5	11.9	44.3
<b>Political party</b>	36.7	23.5	16.9	35.2
<b>Politically powerful individual</b>	46.9	28.6	15.3	47.7
<b>Economically powerful individual</b>	40.8	21.4	13.6	37.5
<b>Individual from criminal circles</b>	36.7	11.2	1.7	31.8
<b>Police (on its own, independently from the state and the authorities)</b>	28.6	9.2	0.0	26.1
<b>Deviant individuals</b>	30.6	12.2	8.5	25.0
<b>Owner of the media</b>	18.4	6.1	5.1	13.6
<b>Editor or superior in your media</b>	18.4	7.1	8.5	12.5
<b>Journalists themselves</b>	11.5	9.3	10.2	7.1

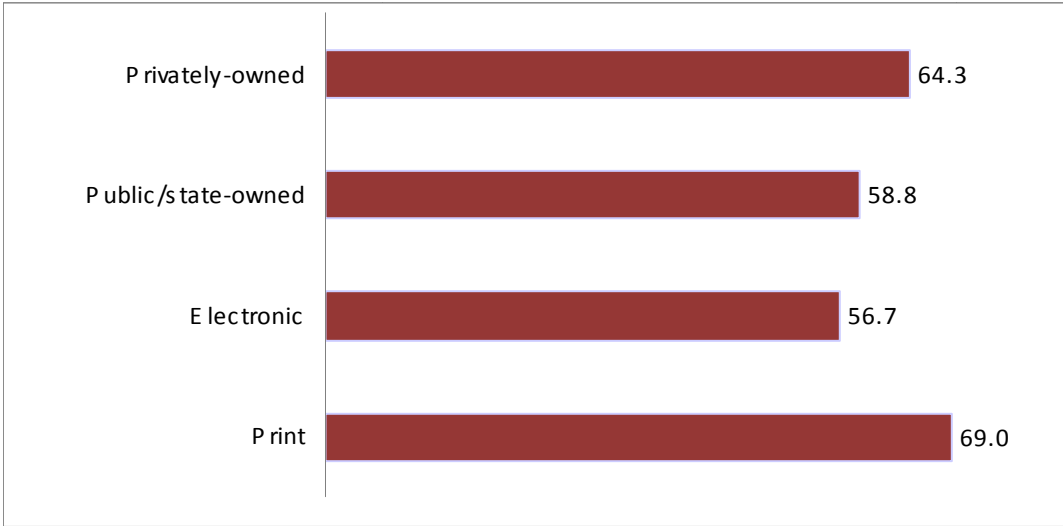
When it comes to the action potential in the media themselves, we asked if the individuals whose media freedoms and rights had been violated took any action, and if yes, what type of action (Fig53). The results show that cumulatively in 40% of the cases there were violations, and in 60% no violations occurred. Furthermore, **of those who reported violations of media freedoms, 63% have taken some action and 37% have not.**

Fig53 If media freedoms and/or journalists' rights have been violated, have you taken any action in that regard?



As was the case in the previously presented analyses, if we look by categories (Fig54), the higher level of activism is seen in the private media than in the public/state-owned ones. Also, employees of the print media show a higher level of activism than those of the electronic media.

Fig54 If media freedoms and/or journalists' rights have been violated, have you taken any action in that regard – by categories % of those who have



**In almost all cases of violations of media freedoms and media rights, the first protective measure media took was to report in their own media outlet about what had happened (Fig55).** This fact suggests that the public is informed of almost all cases of violations of media freedoms and media rights. Therefore, there are very few cases of violations of media freedoms and rights that the media themselves have not reported to the public. Further on, the second most frequent action is reporting the violation to the responsible authorities,

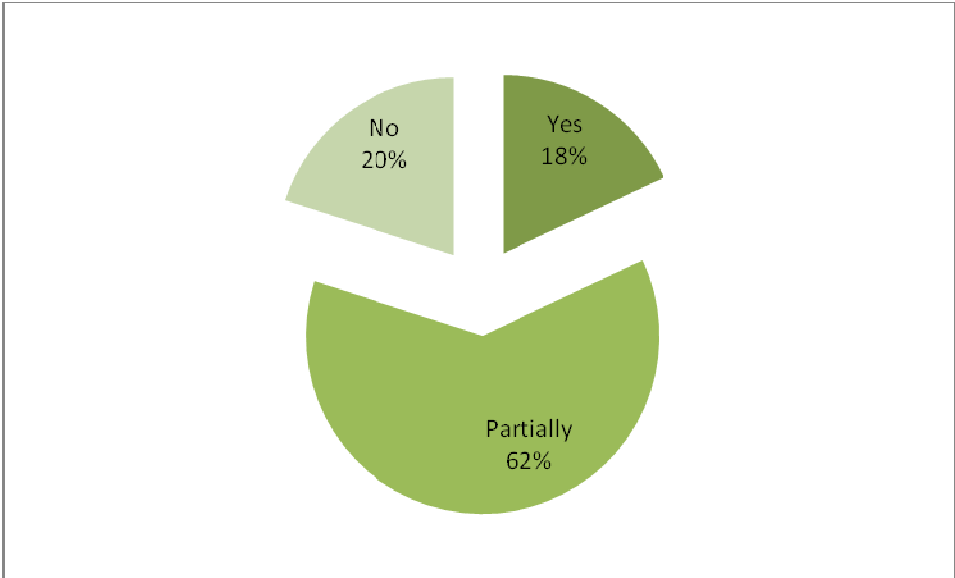
followed by informing of professional organizations and associations. Only after those actions the media seek help and protection from international bodies. Protests are organized in the fewest numbers of cases.

Fig55 What type of action was taken by those who took action in order to protect media freedoms and media rights % of those who did



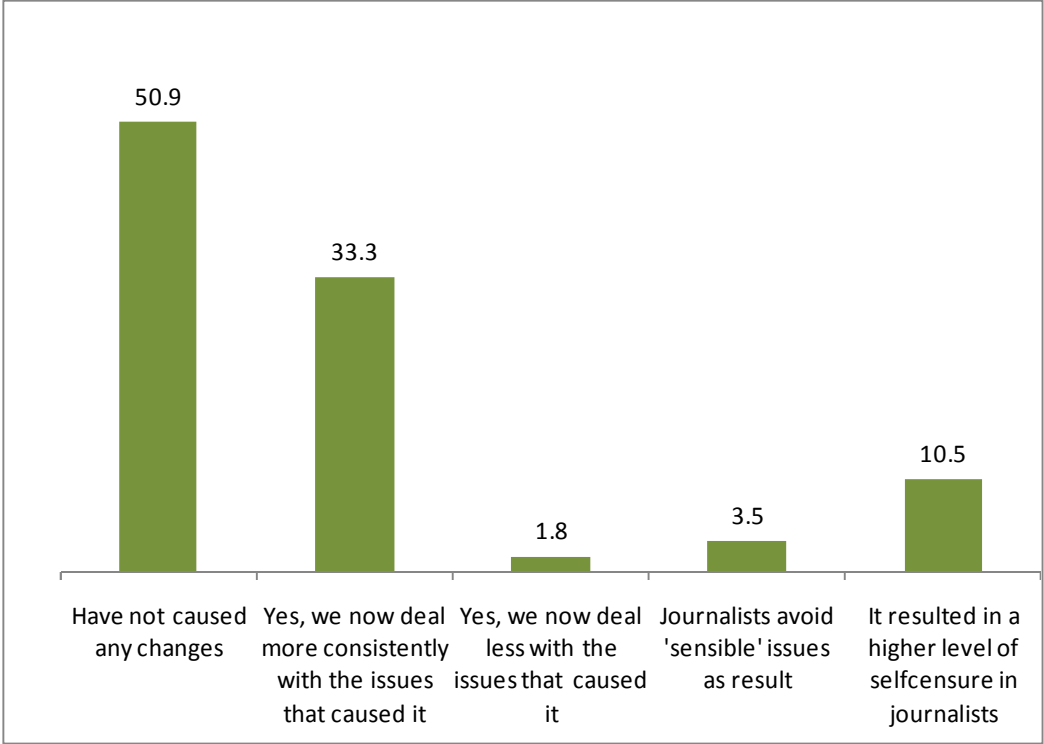
In a majority of cases, **the actions taken in order to remedy violations of media freedoms gave partial results.**

Fig56 Did the actions you take give a positive result? (in %)



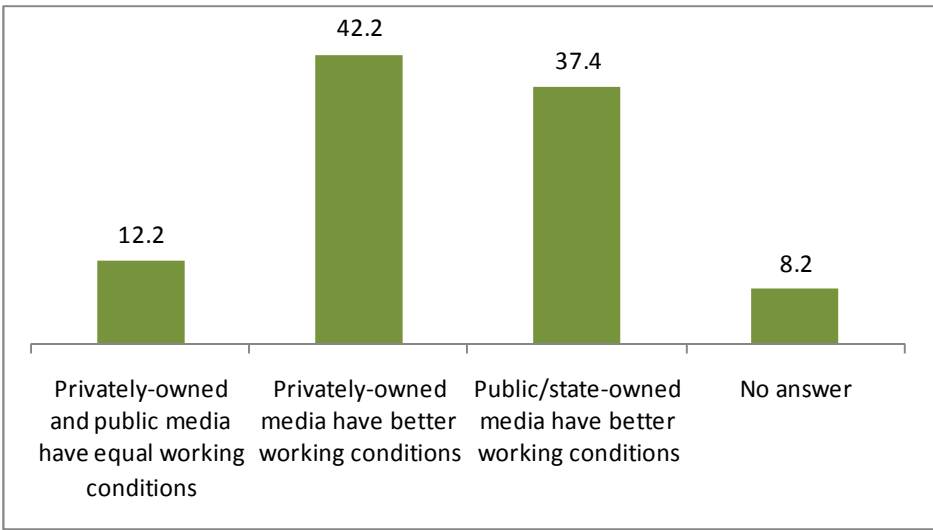
Furthermore, **the threats and pressures on the media either do not result in any change in the way the media concerned reports** or result in even more determined, frequent and consistent media reporting about the event that caused these threats and assaults (Fig57).

Fig57 Have the pressures and treats or assaults on media and/or journalists caused any changes in journalists' reporting or behavior - % of those who reported threats and assaults



The next segment of the survey dealt with the issue of equality between the privately-owned and the public media. Firstly, **with regards to equal working conditions, a majority of respondents believe that privately-owned media have better working conditions, although the views about this specific issue are rather divided as there are a large number of those who think that the public/state-owned media have better working conditions.** Only 12.2% of all respondents believe that the privately-owned and the public media have equal working conditions.

Fig58 Do the privately-owned and public/state-owned media have equal working conditions? %



From the analytical point of view, the most interesting result is the one that suggests that the employees of the privately-owned media think that the public media have better working conditions, whereas employees of the public/state-owned media believe that the privately-owned media have better working conditions

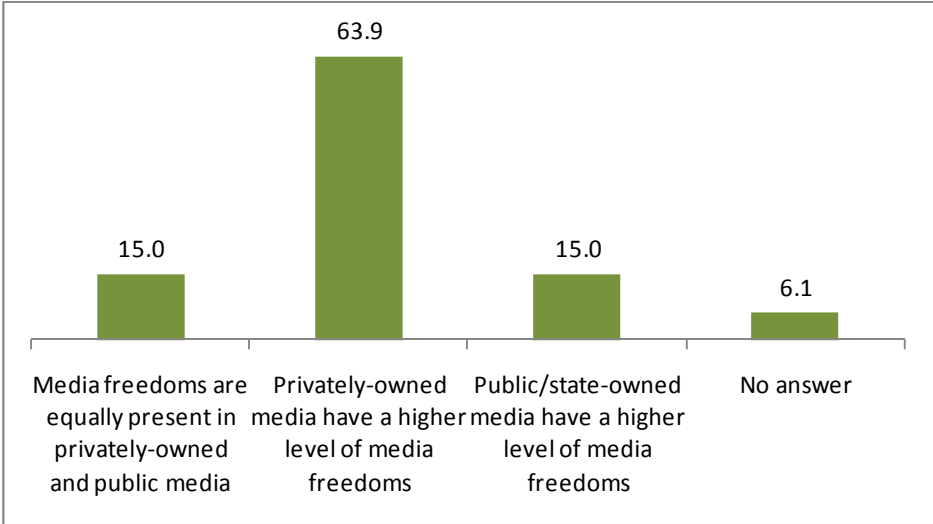
(Fig59). In addition to this, representatives of the print media are more inclined to think that the private media have better working conditions, whereas employees of the electronic media believe that the state-owned media have better working conditions. Lastly, journalists mostly believe that privately-owned media have better working conditions, contrary to the editors who are of the opinion that state-owned media have better conditions to perform their work.

Fig59 Do privately-owned and public/state-owned media have equal working conditions– by category (in %)

	Printed	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Private	Journalists	Editors
<b>Privately-owned and public/state-owned media have equal work conditions</b>	10.2	13.3	27.1	2.3	8.7	20.9
<b>Privately-owned media have better work conditions</b>	53.1	36.7	50.8	36.4	49.0	25.6
<b>Public/state-owned media have better work conditions</b>	30.6	40.8	10.2	55.7	33.7	46.5
<b>No answer</b>	6.1	9.2	11.9	5.7	8.7	7.0
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

With regards to media freedoms (Fig60), **the number of those who believe that there is a higher level of media freedoms in the privately-owned media is significantly greater than the number of those who believe this level is higher in the public media.**

Fig60 Are the public/state-owned and privately-owned equal with regards to media freedoms? (in %)



Representatives of the print and the electronic media more or less agree that the level of media freedoms is higher in the privately-owned than in the public media, and the situation is similar when editors and journalists are compared (Fig61). However, there are some differences on this issue between employees of the privately-owned and employees of the public media. Namely, whereas employees of the privately-owned media unequivocally believe that the level of media freedoms is higher in the privately-owned media, the opinion of employees of the state-owned media is very balanced and comparatively speaking the number of those who work in the public services and believe that media freedoms are on the same or a higher level in the state-owned media is somewhat

larger than the number of those who claim that media freedoms are on a higher level in the private media.

Fig61 Are the public/state-owned and private media equal with regards to media freedoms – by categories? %

	Printed	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Privately-owned	Journalists	Editors
<b>Freedom of the media is equally present in private and public media</b>	6.1	19.4	30.5	4.5	13.5	18.6
<b>Privately-owned media have a higher level of media freedom</b>	71.4	60.2	27.1	88.6	69.2	51.2
<b>Public/state-owned media have a higher level of media freedom</b>	18.4	13.3	35.6	1.1	10.6	25.6
<b>No answer</b>	4.1	7.1	6.8	5.7	6.7	4.7
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The issue of improving media freedoms is a crucial one, and in this context it is very important to know who media professionals think should make the main contribution in this field (Fig62). At the level of the total variant, the respondents **primarily identify the media themselves, journalists and the state as stakeholders that should make a key contribution to the improvement of media freedoms.**

Fig62 In your opinion, to what extent the below listed stakeholders should make a contribution to the improvement of media freedoms? (in %)

	Key contribution	Important contribution	Small contribution	Without contribution	No answer
<b>The media</b>	61.2	29.9	2.7	6.1	61.2
<b>Journalists</b>	58.5	29.9	2.7	8.8	58.5
<b>Professional associations and organizations</b>	38.1	41.5	9.5	1.4	9.5
<b>Media owners</b>	46.9	36.1	4.1	.7	12.2
<b>Advertisers</b>	17.0	40.8	19.0	5.4	17.7
<b>The state</b>	61.9	25.9	4.8	1.4	6.1
<b>NGOs</b>	22.4	40.1	19.7	6.8	10.9
<b>Universities</b>	23.8	33.3	23.1	7.5	12.2
<b>Representatives of the international community</b>	33.3	32.7	19.7	6.1	8.2

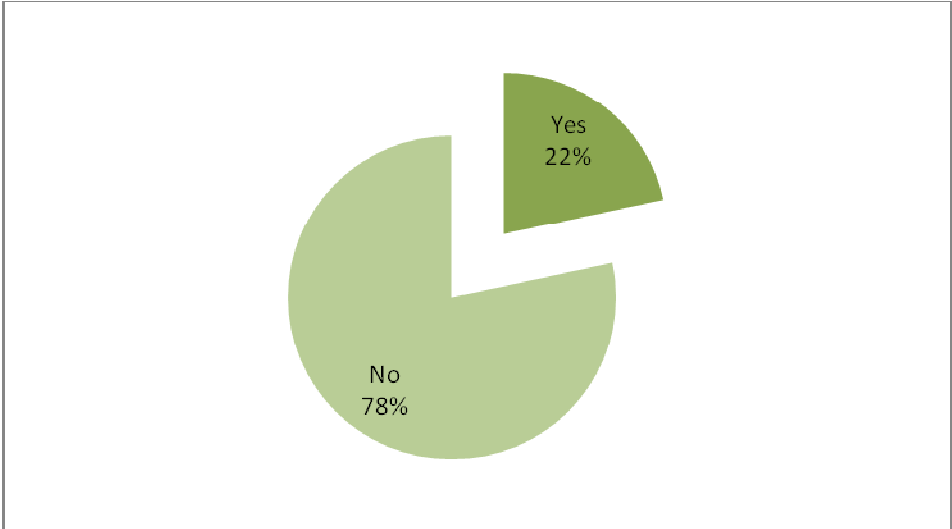
If we analyze the data by categories of respondents (Fig63), we can see that the key contribution should be made by the media themselves, by journalists and by the state. However, the employees of some categories of the media in some aspects insist on the importance of some other stakeholders. For example, employees of the print media insist on the contribution of media owners significantly more than others.

Fig63 Who should give a key contribution – by categories (in%)

	Print	Electronic	Public/state-owned	Privately-owned	Journalists	Editors
<b>The media</b>	77.6	53.1	61.0	61.4	62.5	58.1
<b>Journalists</b>	69.4	53.1	57.6	59.1	55.8	65.1
<b>Professional associations and organizations</b>	53.1	30.6	35.6	39.8	44.2	23.3
<b>Media owners</b>	65.3	37.8	44.1	48.9	49.0	41.9
<b>Advertisers</b>	16.3	17.3	10.2	21.6	20.2	9.3
<b>The state</b>	73.5	56.1	54.2	67.0	59.6	67.4
<b>NGOs</b>	22.4	22.4	18.6	25	24.0	18.6
<b>Universities</b>	24.5	23.5	20.3	26.1	23.1	25.6
<b>Representatives of the international community</b>	38.8	30.6	20.3	42.0	30.8	39.5

The following set of questions was targeted only at journalists and consequently this segment of the survey covers only opinions of the journalists.

Fig64 Are you a member of an association of journalists?



With regards to information about membership in a specific organization, Fig65 gives an overview of authentic answers given by the respondents.

Fig65 Which association are you a member of?

	N
<b>No member</b>	85
<b>Association of Journalists</b>	1
<b>Associations of Young Journalists</b>	1
<b>International Federation of Journalists</b>	1
<b>MFN</b>	1
<b>Association of Journalists of</b>	9



<b>Montenegro</b>	
<b>Association of Journalists of Serbia and Montenegro</b>	1
<b>Association of Sports Journalists</b>	5
<b>Total</b>	104

Fig66 gives an overview of the reasons the journalists cited for not being a member of an association.

Fig66 Why are you not a member of journalists' associations (those who are not)?

Because there was the association split in two, but the new ones have not been organized
Because there is no association that could represent me as a professional and as an employee
Because there is no adequate association
Because I believe they are not organized in a proper way
Because I think that they have no effect and do not provide help to journalists
I do not trust any association
I do not know
No organization is properly organized
I have no trust in them
No organization has credibility
I am not a member because I think they have no importance
I am not interested
I have never received an offer to join one
Experience has shown that journalists' associations do not provide professional or any other kind of support to journalists
The president of the organization I was a member of has privatized it. There are more sports journalists in Bijelo Polje than in all other municipalities combined
These are more political than professional associations
Because I do not think I should be a member of an association. More precisely, there is no real association in Montenegro
Because there is no serious organization
Because no association protects media professionals well enough
Because I have not noticed that they raise real problems faced by journalists. They deal more with self-promotion and then with the things they were established for
Because they are politicized
Because there is no real association in Montenegro
Because of the divisions within the sports journalists' association

The level of satisfaction with the work of associations and the assistance they provide is shown in Fig67 and Fig68.

Fig67 If you are a member, are you satisfied with the work of that association? (in %)

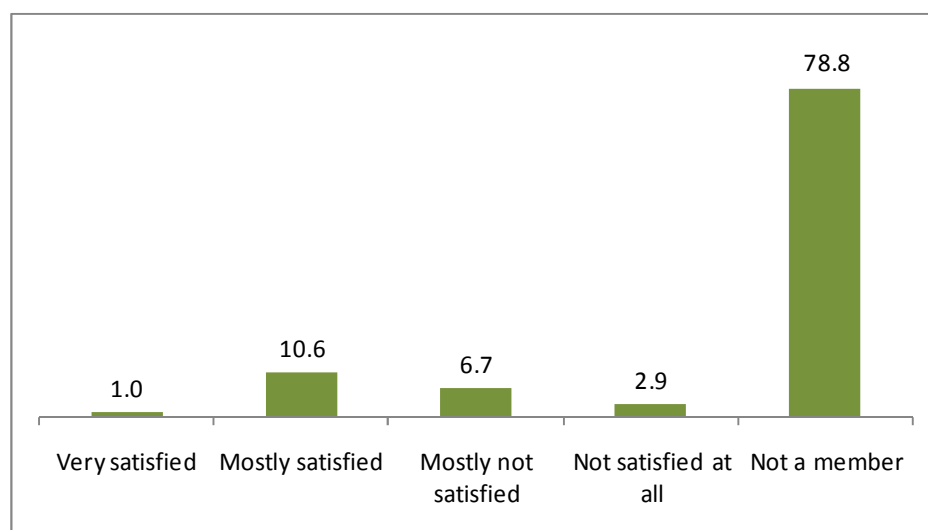
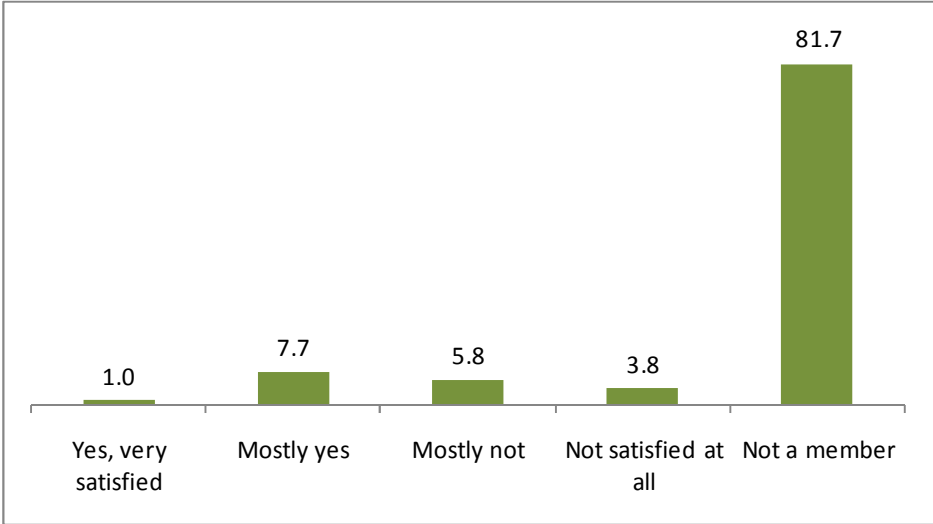


Fig68 Are you satisfied with the protection provided to you by that association? (in %)



Authentic proposals of the respondents with regards to measures that should be taken in order to improve the protection of journalists are presented in Fig69.

Fig69 What measures should be taken in order to ensure better protection of journalists?

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ensure proper implementation of the media laws</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>more active associations</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the state and government should secure both financial resources for the media and absolute freedom of the media</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>better implementation of the laws, existence of an efficient self-regulatory body of all journalists, impartiality of the judicial system</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>better cooperation between editors-citizens-police-journalists</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>better laws, stronger professional associations and impartial judicial system</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>better salaries would reduce opportunities for influencing journalists</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>to change overall climate in the country</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>democratization of the society as a whole, change of the governing structure and awakening of citizens' awareness will lead to better protection of journalists. Isolated individual attempts can not give results, at least not significant ones</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the state must be a state in the full meaning of the word. We need a better climate for journalists, openness of state institutions to the media, calming of political tensions and reduced politicization of media operations, and also complete solving of the case of Dusko Jovanovic's murder</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>efficient work of the prosecution service and the police leads to better protection of journalists</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>more young people</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>law enforcement authorities to sever the links between organized crime and government</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>make journalists equal with public officials so that every assault on them is considered an assault on a public official. Ensure in-depth investigation of all assaults on journalists, and especially of the murder of Dusko Jovanovic</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>imposing penalties on those who assault journalists</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>financial status, better legislative framework and greater professionalism and ethics among journalists themselves</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>there has to be a journalists' trade union that would fight for journalists' rights because there is no respect for the working hours or the right to higher per diems, salary increases, etc</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>I already gave an answer to this question when I completed the questionnaire on decriminalization of defamation</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>establish a strong trade union so that we would firstly be protected under our own roof and get better working conditions and only then we would fight for our rights externally. Educate politicians and other stakeholders about the importance and the role of the media</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>establish an umbrella association which would do its job</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>observance of the rules of the journalist's profession</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>observance of the laws and implementation of European norms and standards regarding access to information and working procedures</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>observance of the laws at all levels. Choose editors and directors among the ranks of professionals and not among those who protect interests of political parties</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the state needs to make a decision that journalists must be protected. Therefore, the laws are insufficient because journalists are put at risk, especially those who practice investigating journalism. There are only a small number of such journalists, but this is exactly the reason why it is necessary to protect them</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>increase media freedoms and pay professionals properly</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>timely actions by responsible authorities</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>implementation of laws and observance of regulations concerning free dissemination of information. All forms of pressures on the media should be banned</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>implementation of laws, independent judiciary, better financial status, professionals and fair work inspection – there are many journalists that have been working as much as 12 hours a day for many years without having a status at all</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>change the culture among people</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>change the laws so that they offer better protection to journalists, secure financial stability, establish a body that would monitor the work of journalists</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>changes must happen within the system, in other words – adoption of new laws, change of the existing ones and better efficiency of the courts</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>efforts should begin with the editor's office. The editor does not know, and he is not even interested in knowing whether a journalist will experience an unpleasant situation in the field</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education of journalists must be improved</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>establish a self-regulative journalists' body</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>larger freedom and protection of the media</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>stronger unity and solidarity between journalists and media companies</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>bigger salaries</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>protect journalists as public officials by law</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>legislation</li> </ul>

The last set of questions was targeted at editors, but the information obtained is very modest in quantitative terms, and there is no need to display it graphically or in a table. The main findings of this part of the survey can be summarized as follows:

- Of the 43 editors included in our sample, 3 reported that a politician or a prominent official had sued their media
- When asked how many times this has happened, only one editor said that it had happened 15 times, while the other two did not say what was the exact number of times
- Speaking about the total compensation claims against their media after the lawsuit of the official, one editor reported that the total amount was EUR 20,000, the other editor reported it was EUR 1,500,000, and the third said that the total amount was as high as EUR 11,000, 000.
- Three editors also reported that final and enforceable court verdicts had been made against their media in the previous five years
- Out of this, one editor reported that one verdict had been made, and the other two said that there had been as much as 10 final and enforceable verdicts. However, none of the editors stated how big the total amount of money awarded by these verdicts was.
- In only one of these cases has the media outlet concerned complained to the European Court for Human Rights.

## THE MAIN ANALYTICAL RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

- When asked we compare the general state of democracy today with the situation before the referendum, significantly more respondents said the situation was better
- Almost ¾ of media professionals expect improvement in the next five years, which suggests that things are moving in the right direction in their opinion
- Asked to evaluate the level of media freedoms, a majority of respondents painted it in negative terms. Number of those describing state of media freedoms in negative terms is higher among employees in private media (73%). Most of the employees in state owned media or public services also negatively assess state of media freedoms, but in somewhat smaller percentage (57%).
- The best rated prospective measure that would improve media freedoms is the measure of changing the law in order to make assault on a journalist an assault on a public official while on duty
- As the main reasons which limit media freedoms we identified political pressures from the authorities and from various parties, low democratic awareness among citizens, but also the poor economic situation of the media companies and low salaries of journalists
- 70% of media professionals consider the threats and assaults against journalists a serious problem
- If we analyze violations of media freedoms by year, we can clearly identify a negative trend. Experiences of media professionals from 2007 onwards suggest that each year there was a cumulative increase in violations of media freedoms
- The most common form of violation of media freedoms are accusations and pressures by political parties, followed by withholding of the right to access information of public importance, accusations and pressures by the authorities and accusations by other media
- The most responsible for violations of media freedoms are politically powerful individuals, national and local authorities, economically powerful individuals and political parties
- A total of 63% of those who reported a violation of media freedoms had taken an action as result of it and 37% had done nothing about it
- In almost all cases of violations of media freedoms and media rights, the first protective measure media took was to report in their own media outlet about what had happened. The second most frequent action is reporting the violation to the responsible authorities, followed by informing of professional organizations and associations. Only after those actions the

media seek help and protection from international bodies. Protests are organized in the fewest numbers of cases.

- In a majority of cases, the actions taken in order to remedy violations of media freedoms gave partial results.
- Threats and pressures on the media do not in themselves result in any changes in the reporting of the media concerned. On the other side, they can result in even more determined, more frequent and more consistent reporting of the media about the events that caused the threats and assaults
- With regards to the issue of equal working conditions, a majority of respondents believe that the privately-owned media have better conditions, although the opinions about this topic are rather divided because there is a significant number of those who claim that the public/state-owned media have better working conditions
- With regards to the level of media freedoms, a significantly higher number of respondents believe that this level is higher in the privately-owned media than in the state-owned ones
- In the context of improvement of media freedoms, media professionals primarily identify the media themselves, journalists and the state as the main stakeholders who are expected to make a key contribution
- A majority of journalists are not members of journalists' associations, and the most cited reasons for this include poor organization of such associations and their low professional credibility
- A small number of associations' members are partially satisfied with the work of associations and the protection that they provide
- Only three media (ND Vijesti, daily Dan and weekly Monitor) reported cases of lawsuits against their media by political officials and powerful individuals. Only the same three editors also reported that final and enforceable court verdicts had been made against their media in the previous five years.

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