



MEDIA REPORTING ON NATO RESULTS OF THE MONITORING

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MONTENEGRO

NATO

IN MEDIA

December 2013

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Methodology of monitoring

Monitoring of electronic, print and online media in Montenegro was conducted during September 2013. The corpus consisted of 5 editions of daily papers, 1 edition of weekly papers, 4 online portals and 5 television stations. The monitored dailies were Pobjeda, Vijesti, Dan, Dnevne novine and Blic Montenegro. The monitored weekly paper was Monitor, while the monitored online portals include the following: Analitika, Vijesti, Cafe Del Montenegro and the portal of Montenegro Public Service (RTCG). When it comes to television stations, news programmes of the following television stations were monitored: RTCG1, RTCG2, TV Pink, TV Vijesti, RTV Atlas, and TV Prva.

Media monitoring began on September 9th 2013 and closed on September 30th 2013. Due to a necessity to observe the real state of the treatment of NATO topic in Montenegrin media, the monitoring report includes a qualitative pre-monitoring analysis (during August and the first nine days of September), as well as a post-monitoring analysis (in October), while the monitoring period itself is presented in the form of a quantitative-qualitative analysis (from September 9th to 30th).

When it comes to the TV stations, the corpus covered the following news programmes: Dnevnik 2 at 7.30 PM on RTCG1 and RTCG2, Info monte at 6 PM on Pink TV, Vijesti at 6.30 PM on Vijesti TV, Forum at 6 PM on RTV Atlas and Vijesti Prve at 7 PM on TV Prva. Bearing in mind the very particular topic and the aim of the monitoring, the corpus entails those texts and articles related to the security sector, with a special accent on the amount of reporting on the subject of NATO and, most of all, the quality of adequate media treatment of the most relevant topics that concern Montenegro's accession into NATO. The report also covers the period before the monitoring, with a critical view of situation in 2012 and 2013. The data used originates from different sources, all of which are cited in the text.

The aim of the monitoring was to identify what extent and in what way the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) was presented in Montenegrin media, placing special attention to the critical, informative and substantial treatment of the NATO integrations topic, in the course of one average month in 2013, a year prior to that in which Montenegro should receive the official invitation for NATO membership.

One of the most important criteria, which will have a crucial influence on extending this invitation to Montenegro, is public opinion support, and this support largely depends on the media coverage of the issue. The aim of the monitoring was also to gain insight into the evaluative context in which the media place NATO, taking into account that the membership in this international organization is one of the pillars of foreign policy conducted by the State of Montenegro.

The monitoring also took into account whether the media are contributing to the deconstruction of the stereotypes and prejudice towards Montenegro's membership in NATO, as well as the role of the media in (de)securitization of the topic of the very membership.

The material is coded based on the previously defined codex, which entailed the following categories:

ELECTRONIC MEDIA (television stations)

1. Media in question
2. Title of the news programme
3. Ordinal number of the TV report - in order to evaluate the editorial policy of the media during the assembly of news, based on the priority given to the topic of NATO.
4. Length of the TV report - to evaluate the amount of attention dedicated to the topic.
5. Genre
6. Audio-visual presentation - whether the news programme has a male or female host, whether they adopt a personalized approach, whether slide, map, graph, archive footage, current footage or audio recording are being used.
7. Cause of the report - in order to gain insight into whether the report is based on a current event, pseudo-event or a media initiative.
8. Location - whether the news applies to the international level (world), the capital of Montenegro, Montenegro as a whole, or the region.
9. Topic - the goal here was to note which topics are most often associated to NATO, whether they were world events (Syria, Afghanistan etc.), Montenegro integration in NATO, negotiations with the EU, political and economic relations between Montenegro and the international community, regional cooperation, the issue of Kosovo, economy, social issues etc.
10. Subject - identifying social actors dealing with the topic most frequently. In fact, this is the largest area of freedom of the press

because even when the topics have, according to some criteria, a special importance (“objective importance”), the media have the power to choose subjects that will discuss them, and more specifically, be the source of information and opinion.

11. Cause of reporting, which is especially important since it shows the positioning of the topic on the social, political and media agenda, but is also an indicator as to how much initiative there is among the journalists to report on the issue.
12. Personalization of the subject – first and last name, function held.
13. Audio-visual presentation of the subject
14. Object-actor of whom the subject is speaking, the one who is valued. These could be international or foreign political subjects, subjects in the region, state authority of function holder, member of the police or military, political party, experts, civil society organizations, citizens, journalists etc.
15. Evaluative context – the identification of constructions rendered either by the subject or by the author of the TV report, where special attention is placed on the tone of the media product – whether it is positive, negative or neutral.
16. Scope of reporting – if the evaluative attitude is transparent – whether it is informative, critical, or points to the problematization of the topic.
17. Provoking prejudice or stereotype – whether it is existent in the report.
18. Other notes

PRINT AND ONLINE MEDIA

1. Media in question
2. Text length
3. Genre
4. Text authorship – the aim is to see whether the author is signed or not, if it is just a broadcast of agency news, another media, if it is the editorial, an outside factor or something different.
5. Cause of report – same as with the electronic media (TV)
6. Visual presentation – same as with the electronic media (TV)
7. Location - same as with the electronic media (TV)
8. Topic - same as with the electronic media (TV)
9. Subject - same as with the electronic media (TV)
10. Subject personalization - same as with the electronic media (TV)
11. Actor - same as with the electronic media (TV)

12. Actor personalization - same as with the electronic media (TV)
13. The evaluative context within which the actor is placed
14. The type of headline – whether the headline is realistic or metaphorical
15. Securitization in the text – whether it is present or not
16. Securitization in the photograph (caricature) – whether it is present or not
17. Securitization in the headline – whether it is present or not
18. Readers' comment – judgment/ consent/ neutrality/ hate speech
19. Notes

After the selection of material, the corpus contained a total of 40 newspaper articles, 29 texts published on portals and 12 reports broadcasted on major national television stations in the duration of 21 day.

The print media differ in the number of texts published during the monitoring period – most of the reports were published in Pobjeda (14), and the lowest number of published reports was in Dnevne Novine (3) and Monitor, which is a weekly paper (1). When it comes to portals, Portal Analitika takes the first place in reporting about NATO, while amongst television stations, Montenegro Public Service was the one to dedicate the most attention to NATO.

The data will be presented for each and every media individually, as well as for the corpus as a whole.

The number of reports/texts in the corpus for each media individually, for print, online and electronic media (TV) is shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1. PRINT MEDIA

MEDIJ	BROJ TEKSTOVA
Pobjeda	14
Dan	7
Vijesti	6
Dnevne novine	3
Blic CG	9
Monitor	1
Total	40

Table 2. ONLINE PORTALS

THE MEDIA IN QUESTION	NUMBER OF TEXT
Portal Analitika	14
Portal Vijesti	5
Portal RTCG	1
Portal Cafe Del Montenegro	9
Total	29

Table 3. TELEVISION STATIONS

THE MEDIA IN QUESTION	NUMBER OF REPORTS
RTCG 1, 2	5
TV Vijesti	2
TV PRVA	3
TV PINK	2
Total	12

Several topics dominated during the monitoring period: State Budget Rebalance; the relations in the government coalition; preparation of the Pride parade; epidemics in Berane; as well as regular topics such as the negotiations with the European Union, more specifically the adoption of an action plan for Chapters 23 and 24; the “Snimak” affair; the KAP situation. Taking into account that September should abound in reports on the Euro-Atlantic integration (the adoption of action plans for Chapters 23 and 24, upcoming campaign for NATO membership support), the amount of attention dedicated to analytical and substantial coverage of the NATO subject can be assessed as insufficient, with just over 20% presence, in comparison to 80% of media space dedicated to domestic politics, economic topics and political affairs.

Pre-monitoring period was similar to the monitoring period and it was mainly marked by different public and individual reactions towards the potential intervention in Syria, again with no essential turn back on a profound analysis of Syrian conflict, distinction of USA and NATO, and mainly focusing on the interpretation of political messages of domestic officials.

It is peculiar that topics and content usually differ from media to media, while during the actual monitoring period, all dailies and weeklies followed the same topics and posted them on cover pages.

It is indicative that the media treated the same event either entirely positively or entirely negatively (“Lukšić to show evidence against Asad” (Dan), “Lukšić to punish the monstrosity in Syria” (Vijesti), and then “Lukšić: We are giving a contribution to stability” (Dnevne novine)). The interpretations of messages sent by Brussels within the same month, with only a ten-day difference, were also quite interesting: “It is too early for NATO” (Dnevne novine), and “Brussels message a sign that we are the next NATO member” (Pobjeda).

The experience of the countries that have gone through the same steps in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration shows that an average reader/viewer (citizen) is most likely to have a negative reaction to these contradictory messages sent to press.

The quantitative-qualitative analysis of the entire monitoring of the media has shown that the evaluative context in which the subject of NATO is placed in Montenegro media is mainly neutral-negative.

Additionally, one of the major findings of the research is the fact that media coverage on the subject of NATO completely excludes any educational component and in-depth analysis of events and news when it comes to NATO integrations. Moreover, in the majority of the examples, common stereotypes and securitized topics are exploited, topics that cross over to a domain of cliché, with a visible lack of any efforts to desecuritize these issues and deconstruct the stereotypes (example: the identification of NATO with the USA, influencing the emotional reception by the subject’s audience by repeating the issue of NATO bombing in 1999).

The results of monitoring

A total of 69 texts in the print and online media were analyzed, and a total of 12 reports broadcasted on major national television stations.

Five percent of the reports covered the topic of NATO directly – the international level (Syria, Afghanistan), the regional level (The Balkan six G6, relations with Croatia in the field of defense, Serbia and Kosovo) the national level (NGO activity, bilateral meetings of the officials). Texts which belong to a genre, analytical and authorial texts were very few, (only 6 out of the total number of texts analyzed) and it can therefore be concluded that the press is covering the subject of NATO arbitrarily.



1

Print media

- **POBJEDA**
- **VIJESTI**
- **DAN**
- **DNEVNE NOVINE**
- **BLIC MONTENEGRO**
- **MONITOR (WEEKLY)**



POBJEDA

In Pobjeda, 14 similar in content texts were selected, which address the topic of NATO. In nine out of fourteen texts NATO is the direct subject. The general impression is that the information on the activities of state officials, institutions and the civil sector, concerning North Atlantic integrations, are represented to a greater extent than is the case with other print media. Out of 14 texts, 8 are concerned with the activities of the Prime Minister, the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defense and the President of the Parliament of Montenegro, while 1 text covers the statements given by foreign officials, 2 cover the viewpoint of another state and 3 observe activities of the civil sector.

When it comes to genre, the most frequent are news of current events, followed by one interview with a civil sector representative and one report.

The author is signed in 12 out of 14 texts.

As previously stated, the texts are thematically similar. Those texts that cover the activities of state representatives are mainly directed towards broadcasting information from bilateral meetings and gaining international support in the Euro-Atlantic integrations, and the evaluative context of these news is neutral to positive. One piece of news that was presenting another state's attitude was estimated as negative, while the news of civil sector cover their projects and have a positive tone. The actors addressing the public are most often representatives of the government and different authorities as well as civil sector representatives.

The headlines in all the news correspond with reality, while securitization is present in none of the headlines or photographs.

The post-monitoring period includes a far greater number of texts that hold a distinctly positive tone, with headlines that point to direct support towards the country's membership in NATO, and have influence on the public opinion.

Analytic and educational texts were not found, and neither was a critical valorization of current events with the aim of educating the public. Hate speech was also not present in the texts.

VIJESTI

In this paper, when it comes to reporting on NATO, there was also reporting on current events, mainly through broadcast of Parliament and Government activities, which, in terms of genre, were mainly presented through news and reports. However, this paper also includes rubrics in which reporters, in the form of comments, columns and authorial texts bring forth their opinions and analysis on the socio-political events, where several of these rubrics were indi-

rectly covering the topic of North Atlantic integrations within the monitoring process. (“Stav” rubric).

The evaluative context of the news headlines, as well as of the reports, is neutral or presenting a simple or automatic broadcast of information from the parliament board, public announcements by the ministry in charge or NGO activity, in all 6 news articles. The texts do not provide any additional clarification of cause and context, neither they provide any kind of interpretation of information given in the text.

When speaking of “Stav” rubric, the pre-monitoring and post-monitoring period mark the bringing forth of opinions of different actors on the issue of current Syrian crisis. One of these is an example of correspondence between two journalists that hold completely different stands on the issue, and was presented as a strident conflict of opinions regarding an open letter to the American ambassador, which had a distinctly negative and offensive tone. The democratic principle of freedom of speech was the primary goal here, but what the post-monitoring period noted was a column that was critical of the attitude the Church had taken toward the Pride parade, and the text in question opens with the following: “What kind of stench has poisoned and polluted the capital Belgrade. Poison – a more horrible than uranium left from the NATO bombs.”

Knowing the way of information placement in the media and the principle of concealed advertisement (introductory paragraph, a lead, announcement etc.), the application of this method in public space results in a psychological impression with the audience, one that, in this case, identifies the subject of NATO and the Parade, placing them both in a distinctly negative context, with special emphasis on their positioning on the security agenda as two, security-wise, most sensitive topics and next to two entirely different contexts in two different states, practically announcing that the experience of one is the announcement of the experience of the other.

The conclusion of “Stav” rubric analysis is that, in a small number of cases the democratic principles in journalism are reached (such as an intellectual discussion of opposed stands, which includes a broad spectrum of historical events, theoreticians and political figures), without a basis which would provide a neutral, educational, informative and critical foundation for the reader, one that should aim towards the readers’ essential understanding of the issue.

DAN

During the monitoring period, daily paper Dan published 7 articles that directly addressed the topic of NATO and Euro-Atlantic integrations, but pre-monitoring and post-monitoring period noted a far greater amount of at-

tention directed towards the subject, and when it comes to content, the reports do not differ greatly.

The general impression is that the information on the activities of the Government regarding NATO is mostly placed in a negative context. In one of the texts presenting the analysis of the Government's decision that Croatian planes will be protecting Montenegro sky, the author places an assumption: "Perhaps planes from some of the surrounding NATO countries will take off in order to attach a residential building on Gorica."

Additionally, there was a text that presents a personal opinion of the journalist, titled "Che is alive" – a metaphorical title, which does not introduce the subject of NATO until the very end of the article, where it states: "instead of shouting NO PASARAN and preventing Montenegro from entering the fascist NATO pact, you wait for some other generation to take the responsibility. I raise my voice against the new Reich that goes under the name of NATO pact." The two articles also take to a distinctly negative analysis of the stand of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and European integrations and places them in a context of dual opinions on the issue of supporting either Russian, or American suggestion for the intervention in Syria.

Post-monitoring period included a larger number of texts, of a very negative character, with headlines of emotional-psychological character that can be found in examples stated in rules of propaganda. The "Stav" rubric again analyses the decision of the Government on cooperation with NATO, with an extremely negative discourse which calls upon the psychological-historical-cultural component with the reader: "From now on Montenegro can forget about the coombs and put itself in NATO chains", thus severely offending all the forms of ethical reporting through this form of hate speech; "Instead of the blue Montenegro flag, under which "the sons of your rocks" guarded freedom, Montenegro sky will, according to some plans, be wired by Croatian MIG aircrafts, those YUGO 21 cars repainted in red-white chessboard that made the Lord start hating chess. If up to now, the First family, the mafia, the NATO and European mud were Lords on Earth, at least the sky was free. From now on, it will no longer be the place for beautiful girls to reflect their eyes in, but a place for Croatian chess patterns to rumble around." Further headlines are of the same evaluative context: "They Are Clearing the Sea of NATO Propaganda", "They Cleaned the Sea of Propaganda" – a piece of news that repeated twice; "NATO Kills Five Civilians", a framing information; "Who Doesn't Like NATO is Regressive" a shifting of context, a completely inaccurate quoting of the President of Youth of the Atlantic Association of Montenegro; "Lukšić Refuses to Condemn NATO For Bombing Montenegro" evoking an emotional relation towards the past with the public; then there was "NATO Pollutes the Sea And

Endangers People”, as a flagrant example of securitization by the sector of ecology.

Analysis and texts of educational character are none, and the critical valorization of current affairs with the aim to educate the public is also missing.

DNEVNE NOVINE

Only 3 texts were selected from Dnevne novine in the monitoring period, but two out of three were author reports and analytical in genre, which indicates that the journalists in this media choose to follow the issue on their own. Author reports are present, which again shows that the journalists have chosen to follow the topic.

Except for the activities of Minister Lukšić, the texts do not differ greatly in content. One text has a positive evaluative context, the second is neutral and the third is negative, presenting the reaction of a political party to the position Lukšić holds on the issue of American intervention in Syria. The photographs and headlines hold no elements of securitization and metaphorical twisting of the context, but they do hold an evaluative marker “It is too early for NATO.”

Hate speech is not present.

BLIC MONTENEGRO

As a daily, Blic places substantial emphasis on the activities of authorities and topics that are dominant in the media agenda, and in that respect 6 out of 9 texts address the topics of NATO. The 3 remaining texts refer to the awarding of this daily by an NGO that focuses on NATO activities, the opening of Clinton’s library and the Syria initiative.

The evaluative context of the texts is mostly neutral, while in genre it is mostly news. The pre and post-monitoring period also entered the corpus and they record no greater changes when it comes to context, cause of reporting, actors and topics. The frame of reporting in Blic is of a mainly informative-neutral character, only with more active coverage of the activities of NGO sector.

MONITOR (WEEKLY)

The weekly paper Monitor published only 1 text that represents a journalistic review of Montenegro’s participation in the Syria initiative. The evaluative context of this text is extremely negative.

Elements of hate speech are present in the lexicon.



2

Online portals

- ANALITIKA PORTAL
- RTCG PORTAL
- PORTAL CAFÉ DEL MONTENEGRO
- PORTAL VIJESTI



ANALITIKA PORTAL

Analitika portal published a total of 16 texts addressing the NATO topic, which is the highest number per medium (print or online) during the monitoring period.

In terms of genre, Analitika portal mostly contained news and reports of factual reporting form. Audio-visual presentation of the text is based on text and photography. All the texts cover current affairs and no media initiative is present. The topics reported on are mostly international, public authorities and NGO sector, and so are the actors.

The actors are mainly placed in a positive context.

Hate speech in the texts is non-existent. The readers' comments contain no hate speech either.

RTCG PORTAL

The Public Service of Montenegro portal published only one text during the monitoring period. It was a short news item on a current event, a broadcast of a meeting of public officials and a foreign diplomat, with a realistic headline, of a neutral character, with no educational component.

RTCG portal does not contain texts representing a media initiative, nor does it incorporate analytical journalistic form (article, introductory, commentary, column), when it comes to the subject matter of this monitoring.

Hate speech in the texts is non-existent.

The readers' comments contain no hate speech either.

PORTAL CAFÉ DEL MONTENEGRO

CDM portal published a total of 9 texts, which in genre are mostly factual journalistic forms of news and short reports. All the texts address current affairs, but exclusively those from the sphere of public authorities' activities or broadcasts of announcements made by international officials. Only one of the texts reported on a current affair – NGO activities. Media initiative is lacking, all the texts fall short of any educational component, and hate speech is not present.

The readers' comments contain no hate speech either.

PORTAL VIJESTI

Portal Vijesti published a total of 5 texts that place NATO as the central topic. Regarding genre, the texts are mainly reports as factual forms, with analytical elements.

The texts are notably longer than is the case with other portals. The topics in two of them are NGOs, and in the remaining three the topics are public authorities. The evaluative context is predominantly neutral and positive, with the exception of one, which had a negative context.

Hate speech in the texts is non-existent.



3

Electronic medija – television stations

- **THE PUBLIC SERVICE
OF MONTENEGRO - RTCG**
- **TV PINK**
- **TV PRVA**
- **TV ATLAS**
- **TV VIJESTI**



THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF MONTENEGRO - RTCG

The Public Service of Montenegro aired a total of 5 reports on NATO during the monitoring period. The reports were mainly amongst the first in the News show. All the reports predominantly focus on public officials and international actors. None of the reports covered the NATO topic in the context of advantages and disadvantages of the accession of Montenegro to NATO, but were rather of an informative character, broadcasting meetings and sessions. The evaluative context of all reports is neutral. The Public Service has the highest level of obligation towards the public, to educate, inform and provide the public with details of political processes run by the Government. It is notable that the Service covers such complex topics of high interest to the public mainly through factual news.

PINK TV

Pink TV aired 2 reports on the NATO topic during the monitoring period, both in their central news program "Info Monte". In terms of order, they come first and second respectively, which indicates that this subject is of high priority in the editorial policy of the news program. Current audio recording is used for news coverage. The cause of reporting in both cases was a current event, while the subjects were representatives of the government in both cases, and the actors were international representatives. The evaluative context was positive in both cases.

No educational or research elements of news were present.

TV PRVA

Prva TV aired 3 reports during the monitoring period. In cases where the state officials were the topic, the news were amongst the first in the program and in the case where an NGO was the topic, the report came fifth.

In all three cases the report was covered with a current audio recording. As stated, in 2 of the reports the topics were state officials and international actors, while one of the reports had an NGO as its topic.

Prva TV is the only television station to report on NGO activities related to the NATO topic.

All the reports have a positive evaluative context.

RTV ATLAS

RTV Atlas aired only one report during the monitoring period, and it was placed first, with a topic that was not directly related to NATO but rather to the presence of the Prime Minister at the 68th UN assembly broadcasting his statement that Montenegro strives toward joining the Alliance. RTV Atlas had no other, educational or informative reports on the subject of Montenegro's membership in NATO.

TV VIJESTI

TV Vijesti aired 2 reports during the monitoring period. The reports were positioned second and third respectively. The actors in both cases were state officials and international actors, whose statements were inspired by current affairs. Both reports had a neutral evaluative context.

Focus groups with editors and journalists, November 2013

Methodology

Focus group was the most suitable qualitative research instrument for gaining valid information that would complete the previously conducted media monitoring. The research team believed that the main advantage of the focus group as a technique lies in the fact that the results would represent the opinions of people relevant to the subject, of similar features and experience, who would express their opinion on the subject and the challenges within the subject.

A questionnaire consisting of 12 questions for journalists and 17 questions for editors of the media was used as the research instrument within the focus groups.

All Editors at the media included in the monitoring were invited to take part in the focus group and to, with their or the presence of their representatives, contribute to creating a better picture of the research topic. Those who responded to the invitation were RTCG1, RTCG2, portal RTCG, Portal Analitika, daily paper Pobjeda, TV Pink, TV Prva, TV Atlas.

The representatives of the following media did not respond to the invitation: TV Vijesti, ND Vijesti, portal Vijesti, portal CDM, daily paper Blic CG, weekly paper Monitor, papers Dnevne novine and Dan.

The media assigned the following representatives: Adnan Prekić (Editor of the News Program “Dnevnik 2” RTCG), Isidora Sekulić Šoć, (journalist, Editor of News Program on NATO integrations, RTCG), Maja Lalić, (Editor, RTCG portal), Filip Rakonjac (journalist, portal RTCG), Milica Minić (Editor of the informative News Program “Forum”, and journalist, Atlas TV), Milica Pavićević (Editor of the News Program “Vijesti Prve” and journalist, Prva TV), Dragana Novaković (Editor of the News Program “Info Monte” and journalist, Pink TV), Bojan Vučinić (journalist, Pink TV), Predrag Zečević (Editor, journalist, Analitika portal), Zoran Darmanović (Political Editor for daily paper Pobjeda) and Maja Đurđić (journalist, daily paper Pobjeda).

A report was made, based on the results of conversations with the listed participants, as well as on the questionnaire they filled. Valid and representative conclusions were reached considering that the focus group was attended by representatives of at least one portal, one daily paper and one television station.

For editors, as well as for the journalists, a set of similar questions was fashioned in order to make the responses comparative.

The questions designed for the participants of the focus group were divided into three segments:

1. Analysis of the public opinion and the media;
2. Analysis of problems identified in the process of media monitoring
3. Conclusions

4

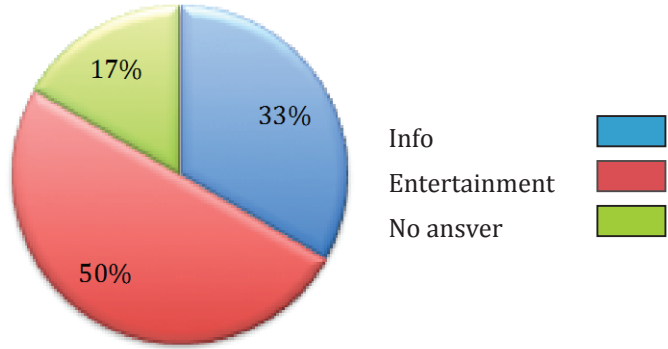
The Focus Groups Results

- THE RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE - JOURNALISTS
- THE RESULTS OF FOCUS GROUP - JOURNALISTS
- THE RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE - EDITORS
- THE RESULTS OF FOCUS GROUP - EDITORS

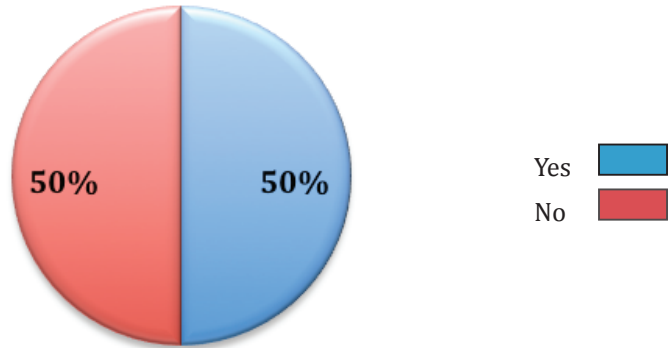


Novinari

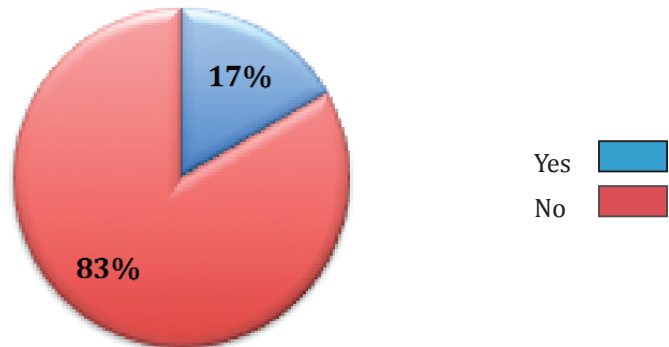
1. Which shows are most popular/ most read in your media?



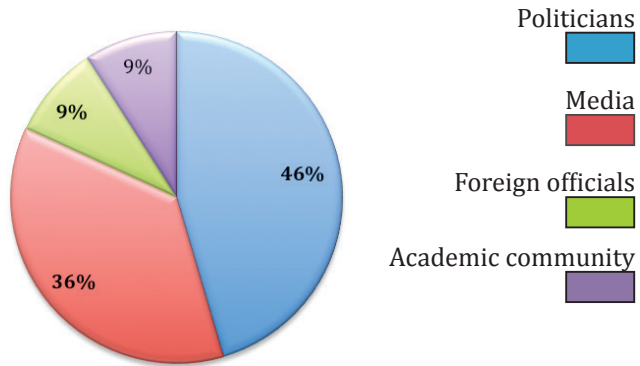
2. Do you think your media can create the public opinion?



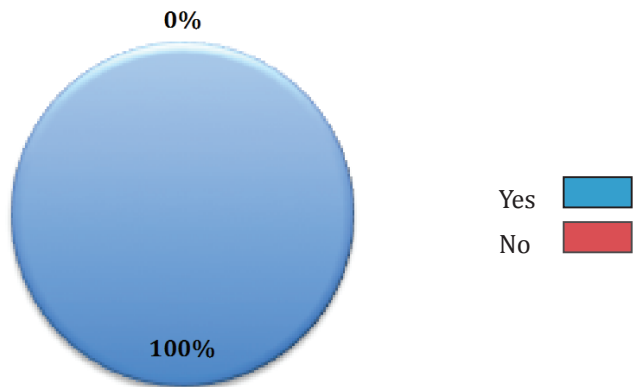
3. Do you think the topics of NATO integrations are interesting to citizens?



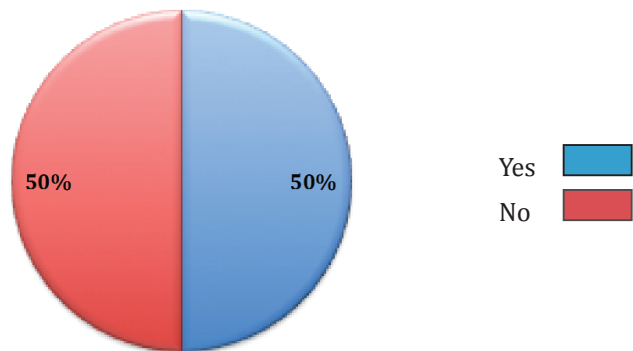
4. Can you list, according to importance, which actors influence the public opinion most?



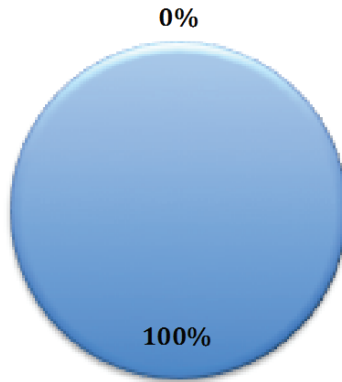
5. Are you neutral as a reporter, independent from your editor?



6. Do you think the reporters in your media house are specialised in specific rubrics?

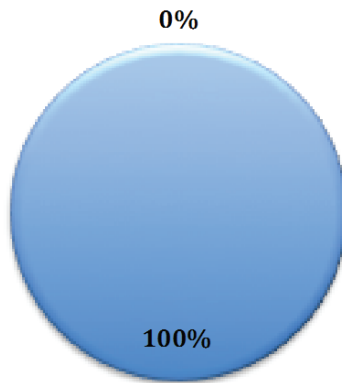


7. Do you think further specialisation of reporters is needed when it comes to reporting on security sectors, NATO specifically?



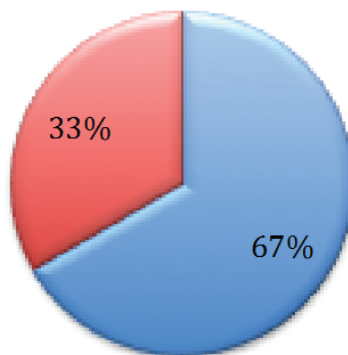
Yes 
No 

8. Do you think the topics of NATO integration can be covered in a way that would make them interesting to the public?



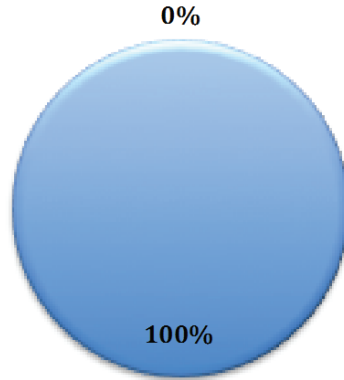
Yes 
No 

9. According to your opinion, why is it that certain media have certain information on NATO and others don't? Do you think the problem lies in different editorial policies?



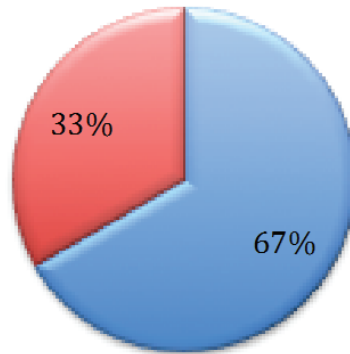
Yes 
No 

10.
Do you think that current news put aside the news on the Alliance?



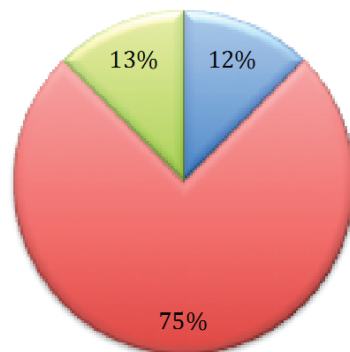
Yes 
No 

11.
11. In some media particular news give greater media attention to NATO topics, while in others it is significantly lesser or none. Do you think editorial policy is the reason?



Yes 
No 

12.
In your opinion, what needs to be done in order to make NATO topics more interesting and relevant to the public, to keep their attention and educate them about the alliance?



Editorial policy 
Reporting method 
Something else 

The results of focus group – JOURNALISTS

PHASE I – Analysis of public opinion and the media

During phase one, conversation with the journalists focused on their respective media, the material state, number of employees, problems they encounter and the influence they have on the public.

Most of the participants considered the entertainment program to have a larger audience/readership than the news program. Still, most of the participants of the focus group agreed that it is the news program that can create the public opinion. All the participants considered that their medium cannot create the public opinion, unless they present a certain content that another medium does not (an interview, a topic covered in a way that has not been done before etc.).

It was mentioned, more than once, that a collaborative media action can bring the solution to this challenge. Entertainment program is, according to the media representatives, more interesting because more people are included in its creation and more people are in visual contact with the audience, but also because they cover topics which are every-day, social topics.

Private televisions pay more attention to the entertainment program. More people are involved, and this, on the other hand, is the issue when it comes to the news program.

When it comes to private televisions, there are 5 to 10 reporters in charge of following events and covering topics related to the news program. Therefore, the duration of these programs is considerably shortened, one reporter is in charge of covering several topics per day (up to 4 reports by one reporter within one news program). The participants estimated that duration of news programs does not affect their quality. The main factors are actually finances. Private media are experiencing financial difficulties in the time of the economic crisis, and the number of employees has been drastically cut. The reporters are not specialised in certain areas, so they cover the topics from different areas, from politics to chronicles, economy and people's stories.

According to participants' opinion, news program would have a far better quality if more people were hired and if reporters were specialised in particular areas.

At the Public Service, on the other hand, the informative program is something to which a lot more attention is paid and something that enjoys the greatest reputation with the public, and has for years. Although „Dnevnik“ is the most watched show on RTCG, the latest goal is to attract the younger audience, and

for that purpose, several new entertainment shows have been created recently. According to the RTCG representative, this station has the power to influence public opinion.

The press mainly covers topics which are of informational character, political topics above all else, but as all media, the press is also turning to the younger population, aiming towards creating new informative content that will generate new readership.

Regarding portals, news topics are the ones most read, and ones that generate the most public attention, plus have the biggest number of comments. In most cases these are current socio-political topics (church issues, identity issues, KAP etc). Portals largely attract the attention of the public by publishing texts on social networks and those are usually the most read topics.

The issue of staff is less visible in newspapers and portals, and so the reporters, even though they're not specifically assigned to specific topics (NATO exclusively or only the events taking place in the Parliament, the Government), are assigned according to areas (politics, society, economy).

PHASE II - Analysis of problems identified in the process of media monitoring

The viewpoint of the journalists is that all media treat the stories and topics related to NATO integrations in the same way. Press conferences, visits by officials, the support Montenegro is receiving from international partners – these are the stories most often covered by the media. There is very little media initiative when it comes to NATO integrations, and besides that, the journalists consider that there are very few possibilities to cover the subject of NATO integrations in a way that citizens of Montenegro would find interesting. What the reporters think is that the information regarding NATO is not interesting to the public, which is the main reason why some of the media ignore this type of information. They also expressed an opinion that the kind of information the media have access to and which is rendered by the actors in charge of the process of Montenegro's accession into NATO are neither educational nor interesting to the public.

While covering the topic of NATO integrations, the reporters are objective, non-bias and are not enduring any form of pressure by their editors.

The participants also held the opinion that the media do not have the power to access Montenegro into NATO, but that they can only provide citizens with relevant information, and among those pieces of information a very small number are interesting, educational stories that concern any citizen in particular and that would explain how Montenegro's accession into NATO

would improve the quality of life of an individual. The issue of NATO is, according to the opinion of participants of the focus group, still at the level of political debate between parties, diplomats and the academia, and in the past few years nothing has been done to bring the issue of NATO integrations to the level of a common citizen.

When it comes to the Government's communication strategy on the North Atlantic integrations, the journalists consider it not good enough, which came to show during conduction of the action plan. One of the major issues brought out by the press is the inability to report on the NATO integrations outside the borders of Montenegro. There have been a number of seminars, workshops and meetings with NATO as the main topic, but the participants feel that the sheer reporting of these events cannot contribute to better communication, and therefore to better understanding of NATO. The participants' main argument was the fact that these "seminars of similar minds" are unnecessary because they gather people already in favor of the accession, who then exchange their positive experiences, instead of organizing these events for those of still unformed opinion or those who stand against the accession. The focus group also emphasized the major issue of an insufficient number of experts who would discuss the topic using the speech of a "common man", translating the expert terminology to an understandable level.

The journalists pointed out the need for the Government to, instead of an inadequately organized debate, put forward more means of providing reporters with the possibility to organize cooperative projects with relevant organizations in Montenegro and other experts, projects of NATO base visits, visits to centers and places where good stories could be shot and relevant speakers interviewed so that the citizens could see for themselves what NATO actually means and what this accession can bring.

RTCG is so far the only medium with a show dedicated to NATO integrations, which has been running for 4 years (NATO info "Izazov"). As the editor of this show took part in this focus group, this opinion is selected from the rest.

The stand of this editor is that the situation regarding NATO has substantially changed in comparison to the period when the show started airing. At the very beginning, the show was taken as "hostile", with deprecation in the public. Today, this topic is discussed, and that is what is most important. However, maintaining the attention of the public is an evident problem. There is an insufficient number of expert speakers, too little quality coverage, video footage that would be interesting, too few specific examples from other countries and their everyday life, examples that could be the basis of grounding a for or against opinion when it comes to NATO. According to the editor's opinion, the versatility of the content and stories relatable to people and their

everyday existence is the key prerequisite for overcoming the emotional and psychological barriers that still dominate in this post-conflict Balkan context.

As one of the most important conditions for a closer familiarization with the NATO topic, the journalists listed a personalized approach in reporting. Speaking from experience, the viewers regard the subject with a higher level of trust when they trust the reporter tied to the story in their minds. That is when a certain sense that the reporter is reporting truthfully is formed, because the reporter is dedicated to the subject professionally and in terms of time.

PHASE III – Conclusions and Recommendations

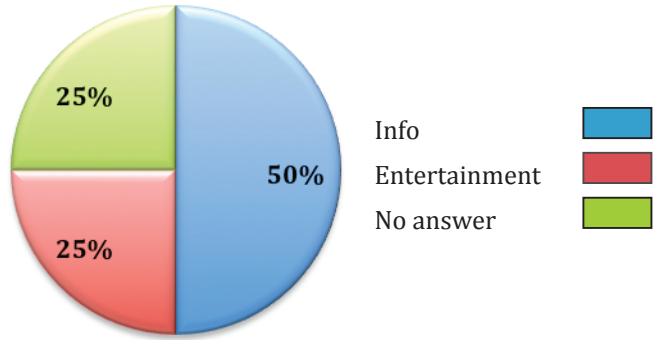
Subsequently to the conversation with the journalists, some of the problems came to the front and appeared as essential in reporting about NATO. The main conclusion was that journalists and press could not report to the public about something or someone if they were not there locally (quote of one of the participants, “How can I give a report from the Assembly when I’m not there, how can I give reports about NATO when I can’t even see it.”).

The journalists concluded that reporting about NATO could be done in a more interesting way, and in order to provide high-quality reporting to the public, they suggested the following:

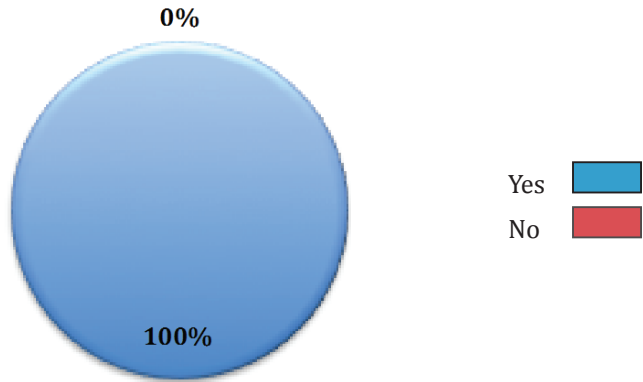
1. Above all, it is necessary to organize a training, specialization or a course for the journalists who will be reporting about NATO, which will educate them on how to report on this complex subject.
2. It is necessary to have new individuals who will talk about NATO, either interlocutors for the television program or the reporting press. The public should connect that person with that topic.
3. Furthermore, there should be a better Government engagement, so instead of seminars for NGOs, representatives of the Ministries, Assembly, and Government, representatives of all media should be sent to places where NATO is in the spotlight (whether it is a visit to our forces in Afghanistan or certain locations where reports could be made about the equipment that NATO forces use, etc.).
4. The journalists think that operations of the Montenegrin Army in the field could also contribute to the public support, and those activities would be covered by the media. The issue related to this, which needs to be solved, ensurance of a higher level of openness of the Ministry of Defense to such activities.
5. Finally, the local governments need to be involved on a higher level.

Editors

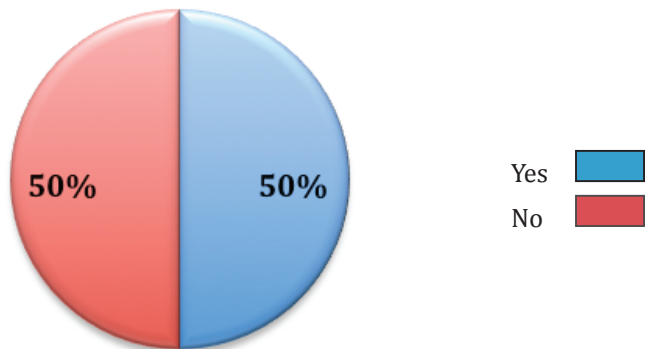
1. Which shows are the most popular or read in your media?



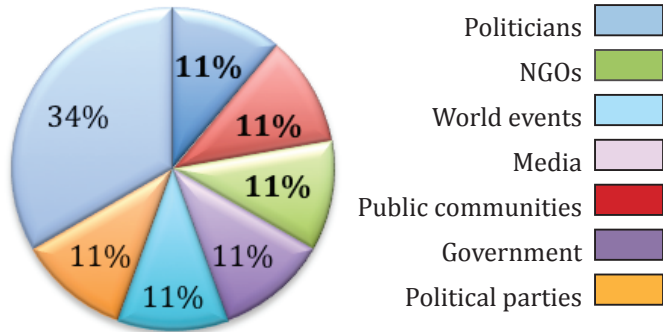
2. Do you consider your media being able to create public opinion?



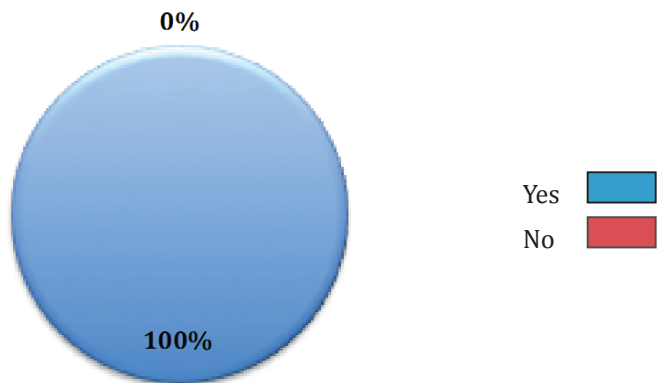
3. Do you think NATO integration topics are interesting to citizens?



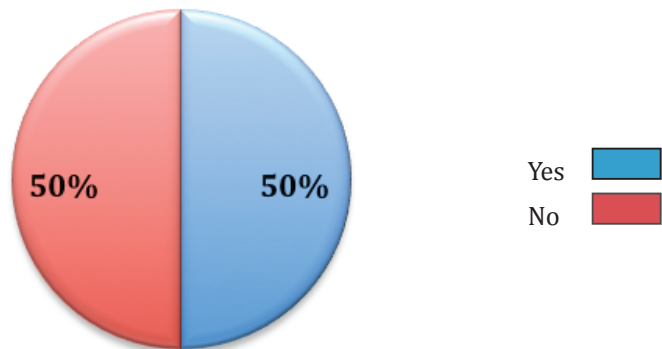
4. Can you list, according to importance, which actors have the most influence public opinion the most?



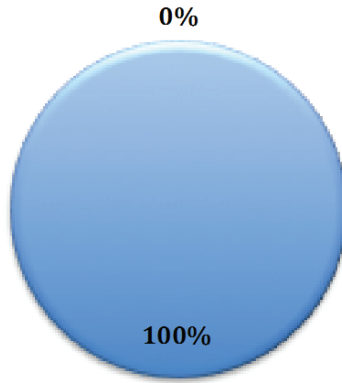
5. Are you, as an editor, impartial and independent of any influence?




6. Are the reporters in your media house specialized in particular topics?

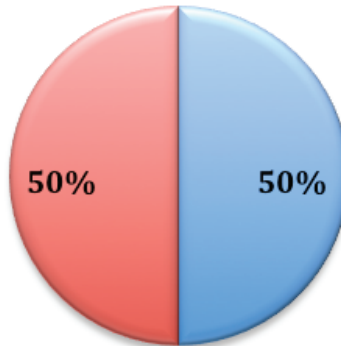


7. Do you think that journalists need additional specialization on covering the security sector, more precisely NATO?



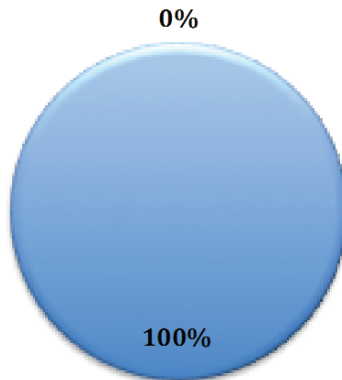
Yes 
No 

8. Are there journalist in your newsroom which are sufficiently familiar with the NATO related issues?



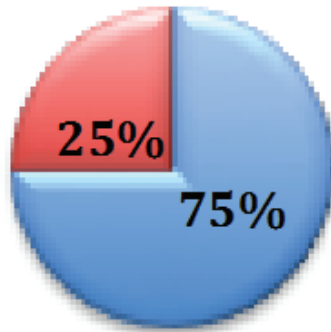
Yes 
No 

9. Could the security topics (NATO integration in particular) be covered in such a manner to be more interesting to the general public?



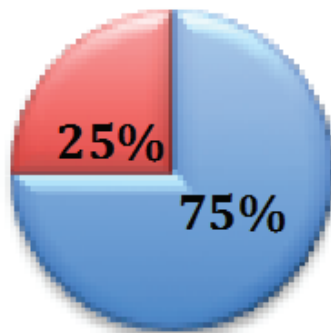
Yes 
No 

10.
Why some media publish certain news concerning NATO and others do not? Is it the problem of different editorial policies?



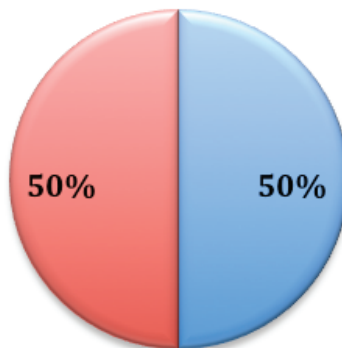
Yes 
No 

11.
In your opinion, does the material component influence reporting on NATO related topics?



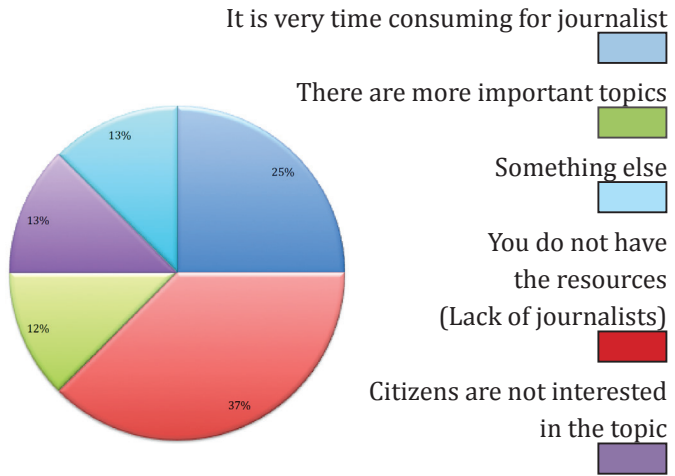
Yes 
No 

12.
Do you think that citizens currently understand what is NATO and what Montenegro will gain from the membership?

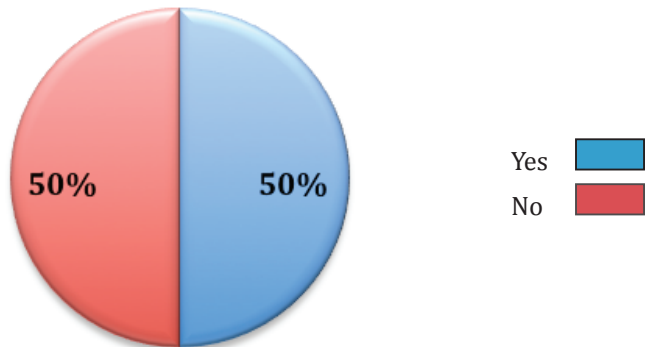


Yes 
No 

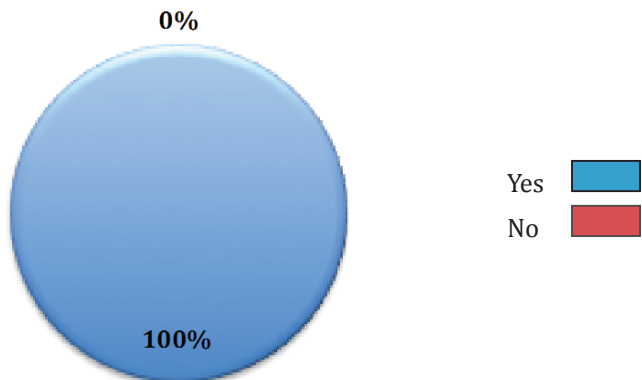
13.
Monitoring shows a low level of media initiative, what do you think are the main reasons?



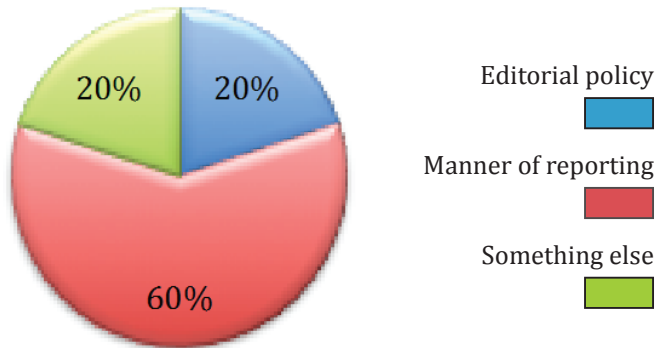
14.
Do you think that current topics suppress the Alliance related topics?



15.
Do you consider impartiality and objectivity as plausible categories when reporting on NATO related topics?



16.
What needs to be changed in order for NATO related topics to become more appealing and understandable?



The results of focus group - EDITORS

PHASE I – Public opinion and media analysis

Similarly to the conversation with the journalist, the conversation with the editors focused on the question whether they thought their media could create public opinion.

The editors held the same opinion about the fact that no media possessed such social impact to create public opinion on its own, however, they added that the media had one of the most important roles in creating the system of values among the citizens. Also, the main news programs in their media were said to play one of the main roles in this process, primarily those related to domestic politics and daily political issues.

The media editors also thought that the citizens could be better informed about specific topics if journalists were specialized in certain areas. However, except certain financial challenges, journalists also face challenges regarding lack of knowledge, skills and techniques in order to tackle professional topics. Seminars they attended were not effective enough in helping them overcome these problems, because they did not consist of authentic engagement of journalists in the tasks.

PHASE II – Analysis of problems raised by media monitoring

The editors hold the same opinion about the fact that the NATO related information accessible to the media is not considered interesting by the public. Furthermore, the editors emphasize that the information that can be read/seen/heard in the media cannot impact the opinion of the people regarding that issue by any means.

According to them, the main reason for this are the institutions in charge of the NATO integration process. The editors believe that the Government has not set NATO accession as the main priority yet, or else that would be the main topic in all the media. The focus group participants believe that media's interests equal to the interests of the Government. The editors also believe that the campaign for the NATO support within the borders of Montenegro has not started yet, or it has followed the wrong path. Forums organized in the municipalities are, according to their opinion, conceived in a wrong way, unsuccessful and pro forma. Due to that, the media do not emphasize its importance.

The editors of Montenegrin media also believe that the authorities are still focused on what foreign officials and international community think about our accession. This is the reason why the information sent to the media is frequently about a certain country supporting Montenegro on its way to NATO, bilateral meetings on an international level, speeches at the meetings in foreign countries, and similar events, all of which are insignificant to an average citizen.

The editors' assessment supports the idea that the present media in Montenegro do not consist of programs, which would show all the advantages and disadvantages of the accession, as well as educate citizens and develop the topic in an interesting, effective way. They add the argument which emphasizes the quality, not the quantity of presenting the information to the public, followed by examples: a foreign member country report, officials' debates, but also opinion exchange between citizens, students, youth, local population, representatives of different professions, etc. They believe that a well conceived project created with an organization with relevant experience belonging to a network of a large number of organizations and individuals in the region (e.g. NATO and young entrepreneurs, NATO and agriculture, NATO and ecology companies etc.), could contribute to the diversity. They also believe that it is necessary for the campaign to include all media - newspapers, radio stations, television and Internet portals. Only then will it be possible to progress when it comes to public support. The focus group participants also mentioned that the Government itself should establish better two-way communication with the media.

According to the editors, the main goal, which should be accomplished by the Government through the cooperation with the media, is to disrupt the traditional attitude towards 'friends' and 'enemies'. This is only possible through communication with the citizens, say the editors.

The editors also highlight the challenge the political elite has to face, and that is the lack of possibility to separate everyday goals from the long-term ones.

In that sense, there is a lack of a political initiative of the Government for those who are pro NATO accession to talk to their supporters on a local level. Apart from the protocol visits, there are no activities which could be interesting to the citizens, who could follow and process them.

Finally, the editors agreed that media, although independent of public institutions, are only a channel for delivering information, and rarely creating it. All additional engagements require resources and expert opinion, but without financial support and partner organizations/ contributors/ other media, there is no solution for the current challenges on the reporting about NATO accession.

PHASE III – Recommendations and Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, the editors believe that the country has not yet started an adequate campaign for NATO and that the public support for NATO has not been set as its priority. The moment it takes place, the editors state that all the media together and individually should do their part of job - put NATO in the spotlight. Prior to this, it is necessary for the authorities to unite and coordinate their activities regarding this issue. Without united and coordinated activities of the political elite cooperating, officials, it is impossible for the media to influence the public on their own.

The task of the media is to deliver information and nothing else. Therefore, the only recommendation coming from the editors is to put the accession topic on the top of the priority list and launch the campaign in Montenegro.

Monitoring Team Conclusions

Media play a significant role in forming public opinion about the visibility of NATO in public. As stated in the action plan for the implementation of communication strategy of Euro-Atlantic integrations, achieving necessary public support is one of the most significant questions not only for the formal accession of Montenegro into NATO, but also for 'gaining legitimacy for the implementation of all Montenegrin activities as a credible member of NATO'. According to the last research of the Center for Democracy and Human Rights, 45 % of the citizens do not support the NATO accession, 38 % are pro, while 17 % do not even have an opinion about the NATO integrations. According to the data given by the national coordinator of NATO Nebojša Kaluđerović on November 21st, 40 % of the citizens support the accession, 30 % are against, and the rest do not have an opinion about it, which he says is 'a concern which is not related to the numbers, but to the lack of information given to citizens, which produces this percentage'. Also, according to the Center for Democracy and Human Rights, the public support for the NATO integrations has decreased since 2010.

As the main communications channel, media have a moral and professional obligation to inform the public on time, correctly and coherently about the activities carried out by the Government on their behalf. This lawful and natural right to be informed should not be a product of the media free will because the consequence of the arbitrary media attitude towards key issues is inadequate, insufficient and often a wrong interpretation of facts and social processes.

After the monitoring team monitored the media and discussions in the form of focus groups with the media representatives who were the monitoring subject took place, the team came to the following conclusions:

- The media still do not have clear instructions regarding the reporting on such complex issues as Euro-Atlantic integrations. The solution for this are better organized, purpose-oriented, longer lasting trainings and specialized classes which would have the profiling of journalists who would report on NATO as a condition and obligation. Therefore, not training for the sake of training, with journalists who would be

given other tasks afterwards. Learning techniques and skills for topic analysis, a personalized approach, contact with the citizens, finding and nurturing interlocutors, diversity of reporting forms, networking and constant professional directing, and developing awareness of journalists in order to help them understand that their task is not only to follow the political agenda but also to set topics significant for the social-political agenda and development of the public debate.

- The Government has not yet included the NATO topic in its priority list. The solution for this is a selected team, experience in the region, constant contributions of individuals from the region who already went through the process (Croatia, Slovenia), working groups, development of a new communicative strategy, guided activities of the action plan.
- The civil sector, media and Government do not seem coordinated in this area. The solution for this are joint projects, export and exchange of expert opinion, dialogue and debate, getting the citizens involved in each activity. No sector can have a monopoly over the NATO topic, because it is something concerning the whole society.
- Working with young people is the key prerequisite for sustainability of the motivation and support as a part of the further reform of the system and leading the entire society to establishing democracy. Door-to-door activities, subsidiary principle. Setting the public debate in the following direction: what NATO accession means for everyday life, economy, protection, education, implementation of the rule of law and other priorities which are prerequisites for the country's transition from a transitional and post-conflict context to a democratic one.

