Detailed Methodology

• Interviews in Montenegro were conducted on behalf of the Center for Insights in Survey Research by Ipsos Strategic Marketing.

• Data was collected between October 6 and October 12, 2017 through face-to-face interviews.

• The total number of interviews was 1,218.

• Margin of error: plus or minus 3 percent with a 95 percent confidence level.

• The sample is comprised of residents of Montenegro aged 18 years and older.

• The sample included all regions/federal states in Montenegro and both urban and rural inhabitants. Inhabitants of poorly accessible, remote parts of the country were excluded from the sample.*

• The sample design was a three-stage random representative sample.

  • Stage One: PSU - sampling points
  • Stage Two: SSU - household (selected by random walk from starting point)
  • Stage Three: TSU - respondent aged 18+ years (random selection from the list of household members 18+)

• Data was weighted by gender, age, and region.

• Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding and/or multiple choice answers.

*Comprising approximately 1.4% of the total population of Montenegro.
Glossary of Montenegrin Political Parties

- BS - Bosniak Party
- AA - Albanian Alternative
- AK - Albanian Coalition
- URA - United Reform Action
- SDP - Social Democratic Party
- DF - Democratic Front
- PCG - Positive Montenegro
- DPS - Democratic Party of Socialists
- SNP - Socialist People's Party
- DUA - Democratic Union of Albanians
- DU - Democratic Union in Montenegro
- Forca
- HGI - Croatian Citizens' Initiative
- LP - Liberal Party
- Demos
- DCG - Democratic Montenegro
- SD - Social Democrats
- Alternative for Montenegro
General Issues
Generally speaking, would you say that Montenegro is heading...

- In the right direction: 54%
- In the wrong direction: 37%
- Don't know: 10%
Do you think that today's generation of young people has a good future in Montenegro?

- Yes: 29%
- No: 61%
- Don't know: 11%
In your opinion, what is the biggest problem facing the country? (Spontaneous answers; multiple answers accepted)

- Unemployment: 66%
- Low salaries/Pensions: 38%
- Crime: 33%
- Corruption and bribery: 28%
- Low standard of living: 26%
- Economy: 21%
- Emigration/Departure from MNG: 12%
- Health care system: 11%
- The gap between rich and poor: 10%
- Politicians and political parties: 8%
- Education system: 7%
- Declining moral values in society: 7%
- Poor infrastructure: 4%
- Social protection system: 4%
- Pollution of the natural environment: 4%
- Conflict between religious groups: 1%
- Conflict between ethnic groups: 1%
- Other: 1%
- Don't know: 0%
Did you vote in the 2016 parliamentary elections?

- Yes: 81%
- No: 16%
- No response/Refused to answer: 3%
If so, for which party did you vote?
(Open-ended, respondents who voted in the 2016 election: n=992)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DPS</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand coalition (Demos, SNP, URA)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Aleksa Becic (Leader of DCG)</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanians Decisively (AA, Forca, DUA)</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCG</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative for Montenegro</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HGI</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.*
How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next elections?

- **Very likely**: 63%
- **Somewhat likely**: 19%
- **Somewhat unlikely**: 3%
- **Very unlikely**: 11%
- **Don't know**: 4%
If elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party, if any, would you vote?

(Open-ended, respondents who said they are very likely or somewhat likely to vote: n=827)

- **DPS**: 40%
- **DCG**: 23%
- **DF**: 15%
- **SNP**: 5%
- **DEMOS**: 3%
- **SD**: 3%
- **URA**: 3%
- **SDP**: 3%
- **BS**: 3%
- **HGI**: 1%
- **AA**: 1%
- **PCG**: 1%
- **Forca**: 0%
- **DUA**: 0%

*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.
If there is a change of government after the next election, what would then happen in the country?

- The situation in the country would get worse: 18%
- The situation in the country would get better: 43%
- Things would remain the same: 31%
- Don't know: 8%
If there are two candidates running for office and they have the same qualifications aside from the fact that one is a man and one is a woman, which candidate are you more likely to support?
Trust in the Political System
What is needed most in the country now?

- Stability and continuity: 46%
- Change: 50%
- Don't know: 4%

[Pie chart showing the percentages]
What should change look like?
(Respondents who said that change is needed: n=607)

- Change of government from the current party to the opposition party: 59%
- Change of party leadership so that new faces are in control: 13%
- Constitutional or systemic change that would alter the way government business is conducted: 26%
- Don't know: 2%
If you could have only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of government or a prosperous economy?

- Democracy is definitely more important to me: 26%
- Democracy is somewhat more important to me: 15%
- Prosperity is somewhat more important to me: 31%
- Prosperity is definitely more important to me: 21%
- Don't know: 8%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

“Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women.”

- Agree: 62%
- Disagree: 28%
- Don't know: 10%

“Politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people.”

- Agree: 71%
- Disagree: 22%
- Don't know: 7%
Media Preferences
From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

- 32% Commercial television and radio broadcasters such as TV Prva, TV Vijesti, TV Pink, Antena
- 24% Public television and radio broadcasters such as RTCG, Radio Crne Gore
- 22% Online news sources (e.g. websites and blogs)
- 10% Major newspapers such as Dan, Vijesti, Pobeda
- 11% Do not follow news
- 1% Don't know
- 1% Don't know
How often do you use social media as a source of daily news?

- 61% Every day
- 22% Occasionally (once or twice per week)
- 5% Rarely (once or twice per month)
- 2% Never
- 10% Don't know
Which specific media outlet do you trust the most for your news? (Spontaneous answers; multiple answers accepted)

- Televizija Vijesti: 50%
- Televizija Crne Gore: 32%
- www.vijesti.me: 17%
- Televizija Prva: 15%
- Televizija Pink M: 13%
- Dan: 11%
- Vijesti (novine): 10%
- www.cdm.me: 7%
- www.portalanalitika.me: 5%
- Pobjeda: 4%
- www.rtcg.me: 3%
- www.kurir.rs: 3%
- Dnevne novine: 2%
- www.blic.rs: 2%
- www.antenam.net: 1%
- www.b92.net: 1%
- www.fosmedia.me: 1%
- www.mondo.me: 1%
- Radio Slobodna Evropa: 1%
- BBC: 1%
- www.dan.co.me: 1%
- Voice of America (Glas Amerike): 1%
- Sputnik: 1%
- www.in4s.net: 1%
- CNN: 0.3%
- Russia Today (Rusija danas): 0.3%
- Other: 1%
- None: 12%
- Don’t know: 3%
Some people say that some Montenegrin media outlets are funded by obscure sources, perhaps even the Russian government, and are engaged in efforts to mislead people. What is your response to this charge?

- I don’t believe that Russians fund these media outlets - it sounds like a conspiracy theory coming from anti-Russian interests (32%)
- I don’t care if Russians fund these media outlets - the main point is that they tell the truth (33%)
- I would be concerned if these media outlets were funded by the Russians, but I have seen no evidence that this is true (11%)
- I believe that the Russians or others are behind these media outlets, and that they are not always truthful. But I still read them because they are fun and interesting (6%)
- Don’t know (18%)
Values and Outlook
In your opinion, who is the biggest foreign donor to Montenegro?

- **EU**: 28%
- **U.S.**: 11%
- **Russia**: 9%
- **China**: 9%
- **Turkey**: 7%
- **Germany**: 6%
- **Serbia**: 4%
- **Other**: 1%
- **Don't know**: 25%
On a scale of 1 to 5 (where 1=strongly agree and 5=strongly disagree), how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Montenegro’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strongly agree (1)</th>
<th>Somewhat agree (2)</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree (4)</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (5)</th>
<th>Indifferent/Undecided (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why do you feel that Montenegro’s interests would be best served by maintaining strong relations with Russia?

(Respondents who strongly or somewhat agree that Montenegro’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with Russia: n=650)

- Russians are our Orthodox brothers: 20%
- Russia is our protector throughout history: 19%
- Russia is the only power that can stand up to the West: 19%
- Russia is a big export market: 18%
- We shouldn't poke the "Russian bear": 7%
- Russia is the biggest investor in Montenegro: 5%
- Russia is our main energy provider: 5%
- It is necessary to maintain good relations with all: 1% Other: 6%
- Don't know: 1% 1%
If you would have a chance to live, work, or study abroad, where would you rather go?

(Respondents who strongly or somewhat agree that Montenegro’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with Russia: n=650)
Opinions on foreign economic presence:
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- 51%: Foreign economic presence is positive because it boosts economy
- 29%: Foreign economic presence is negative because it exerts malign influence on developments in the country, including the state of democracy
- 9%: The benefit of foreign economic presence depends on where it is coming from
- 11%: Don't know
Name one country which should be the most preferable to invest in Montenegro, and one which is the least preferable. (Respondents who answered that it depends on where foreign economic presence is coming from: n=355)

Most preferable:
- Russia: 32%
- Germany: 12%
- China: 7%
- EU: 6%
- U.S.: 6%
- Scandinavian countries: 3%
- Arab countries (Emirati): 3%
- Serbia: 2%
- Azerbaijan: 1%
- Turkey: 1%
- Switzerland: 1%
- Other: 3%
- Don't know: 22%

Least preferable:
- U.S.: 15%
- Turkey: 12%
- Russia: 9%
- Albania: 8%
- Germany: 3%
- Serbia: 3%
- Arab countries (Emirati): 1%
- EU: 1%
- Great Britain: 1%
- Croatia: 1%
- North Korea: 1%
- Romania: 0%
- China: 0%
- Other: 1%
- None: 2%
- Don't know: 43%

(Respondents who answered that it depends on where foreign economic presence is coming from: n=355)
Who is the biggest foreign investor in Montenegro?

- EU: 28%
- China: 16%
- Russia: 14%
- Turkey: 7%
- U.S.: 7%
- Germany: 4%
- Serbia: 3%
- Other: 2%
- Don't know: 22%
How does Russian investment compare to investment from other countries, such as the EU member countries?

- Russian investment is more welcome: 45%
- EU countries' investment is more welcome: 23%
- Both Russian and EU investment are equally welcome: 7%
- Neither is welcome: 22%
- Don't know: 3%

Don't know
Do you view Russian investment as going hand-in-hand with Moscow’s political motivations or not?

- Russian investment is primarily about economics, delivering benefits to both sides (40%)
- Russian investment gives some economic benefits to Montenegro, but it always carries certain political expectations and conditions (21%)
- Russian investment is primarily about influence and control of Montenegro (17%)
- Don't know (22%)
Are you aware of any major Russian investment in Montenegro?

- Yes: 21%
- No: 72%
- Refused to answer: 7%
Which major Russian investment are you aware of?
(Respondents who said that they are aware of major Russian investment in Montenegro: n=256)

- Aluminijumski kombinat (KAP)-Aluminum smelter company: 28%
- Tourism/Hotel management: 20%
- Building/Investing in the coastal area: 15%
- Zeljezara Niksic (steel mill): 10%
- Investments in civil engineering: 7%
- Zavala (coastal city): 5%
- Investing in real estate/Buying flats, houses: 5%
- The bridge in Podgorica: 4%
- Investing in Budva (Dukley hotel/Aqua park): 2%
- Industry/Mines: 2%
- Investments in Boka (Lustica/Savina/Porto Montenegro): 2%
- Hotel Splendid: 2%
- Investing in Meljine (Lazaret): 2%
- Financial assistance/Donations: 2%
- Other: 2%
- Can’t remember the name: 4%
- Refused to answer: 11%
On a scale from 1 to 5, does Montenegro have more in common with Western Europe or with Russia in the following areas? (1=completely akin to Western Europe; 5=completely akin to Russia)

- **Culture and intellectual life**
  - Completely akin to Western Europe (1): 11%
  - Somewhat akin to Western Europe (2): 11%
  - Somewhere in between (3): 29%
  - Somewhat akin to Russian (4): 21%
  - Completely akin to Russian (5): 18%
  - Don’t know: 10%

- **Morality and values**
  - Completely akin to Western Europe (1): 10%
  - Somewhat akin to Western Europe (2): 14%
  - Somewhere in between (3): 27%
  - Somewhat akin to Russian (4): 19%
  - Completely akin to Russian (5): 19%
  - Don’t know: 11%

- **Healthcare, pensions, and other social benefits**
  - Completely akin to Western Europe (1): 7%
  - Somewhat akin to Western Europe (2): 10%
  - Somewhere in between (3): 36%
  - Somewhat akin to Russian (4): 14%
  - Completely akin to Russian (5): 8%
  - Don’t know: 26%

- **Employment and standard of living**
  - Completely akin to Western Europe (1): 6%
  - Somewhat akin to Western Europe (2): 9%
  - Somewhere in between (3): 38%
  - Somewhat akin to Russian (4): 17%
  - Completely akin to Russian (5): 10%
  - Don’t know: 21%
Vladimir Putin’s Russia has tried to portray itself as a defender of Christendom and traditional European values in areas ranging from the protection of the family unit to defending against Islamic and other non-European cultures. What is your opinion of this view of Russia?

- 42% It is true - on this issue at least, Russia has taken the side of traditional European values
- 29% It is not really true - Russia is just cynically pretending to stand up for traditional European values, while really pursuing its own geopolitical interests
- 11% It is not true at all - it demonstrates Russia’s rejection of modern Western values of tolerance and inclusiveness
- 18% Don't know
Do you support or oppose Montenegro’s accession to the European Union?

- Strongly support: 46%
- Somewhat support: 24%
- Somewhat oppose: 10%
- Strongly oppose: 17%
- Don't know: 3%
In your opinion, what is the greatest benefit Montenegro receives through its membership in the European Union?

- Freedom of movement and work: 20%
- Access to the common market and border-free travel: 18%
- Financial assistance from the EU: 17%
- No benefit: 16%
- Security and stability: 13%
- Support for democratic governance and rule of law: 8%
- Support for European culture and values: 4%
- Don’t know: 4%
In your opinion, what is the greatest cost Montenegro incurs because of its membership in the European Union?

- Rising prices and increased economic competition from other member states: 27%
- Loss of independence and sovereignty: 22%
- Undermining of traditional values and ways of life: 14%
- Being treated like "junior partners" in the European Project: 13%
- Current social benefits: 9%
- Don't know: 4%
To what extent do you support or oppose Montenegro’s membership in NATO?

- Strongly support: 28%
- Somewhat support: 15%
- Somewhat oppose: 10%
- Strongly oppose: 41%
- Don’t know: 6%
How do you view the role of NATO in the world?

- Mostly positive: 23%
- Somewhat positive: 17%
- Somewhat negative: 14%
- Mostly negative: 40%
- Don't know: 7%
Which statement best describes your understanding of NATO's plans in Montenegro?

- Montenegro’s membership in NATO requires foreign troops to be based in the country: 50%
- NATO has no plans to open new bases or station troops on Montenegro’s territory: 24%
- Don’t know: 26%
Membership in NATO is imposing membership fees upon Montenegro which are:

- Very expensive: 51%
- Moderate and affordable: 25%
- Negligible: 18%
- Don't know: 6%

Don't know: 44%
Which statement best describes your opinion of NATO’s impact on tourism to Montenegro?

- NATO membership is threatening Montenegro's tourism industry: 33%
- NATO membership is encouraging tourism: 32%
- NATO membership has no effect on tourism: 23%
- Don't know: 12%
Which statement best describes your opinion on Montenegro’s obligations to joint NATO actions?

- 30%: As a member of NATO, Montenegro would never be forced to take action contrary to its values. All decisions are made by consensus and Montenegro could refuse to participate in any action.
- 19%: In reality, the major powers control NATO and Montenegro would have to go along even if the action was contrary to our values.
- 51%: Don't know
Opinions of Russia’s role in Europe:
Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- Russia is a continuous, external threat to Europe, and must be countered by a strong security alliance. 24%
- Russia should be considered a partner in European security, and brought into European security structures. Keeping Russia out makes us less secure. 55%
- Don’t know 21%

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Opinions of U.S. partnership in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

- The United States is a natural partner for European security, and its presence in NATO contributes to the peace of Europe. (36%)
- The United States should not play a role in European security, and in fact its presence in Europe increases tensions and insecurity. (44%)
- Don't know (20%)
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Ukraine is a part of Russia’s sphere of influence, thus Russia has a right to have a role in decisions made in Ukraine.”

- Strongly agree: 14%
- Somewhat agree: 27%
- Somewhat disagree: 16%
- Strongly disagree: 20%
- Don't know: 23%
Do you have a very unfavorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the following world and regional leaders or have you not heard of him/her at all?

- **Vladimir Putin**
  - Very favorable: 42%
  - Somewhat favorable: 24%
  - Somewhat unfavorable: 15%
  - Very unfavorable: 14%
  - Never heard of him/her: 6%

- **Aleksandar Vucic**
  - Very favorable: 31%
  - Somewhat favorable: 32%
  - Somewhat unfavorable: 19%
  - Very unfavorable: 14%
  - Never heard of him/her: 1%

- **Angela Merkel**
  - Very favorable: 26%
  - Somewhat favorable: 26%
  - Somewhat unfavorable: 19%
  - Very unfavorable: 20%
  - Never heard of him/her: 4%

- **Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic**
  - Very favorable: 9%
  - Somewhat favorable: 17%
  - Somewhat unfavorable: 23%
  - Very unfavorable: 24%
  - Never heard of him/her: 16%

- **Edi Rama**
  - Very favorable: 8%
  - Somewhat favorable: 10%
  - Somewhat unfavorable: 16%
  - Very unfavorable: 36%
  - Never heard of him/her: 20%

Don't know: Not included in the chart.
Terrorism and Montenegrin Foreign Fighters
Have you heard of ISIL/ISIS/the Islamic State (IS)?

- Yes: 74%
- No: 26%
What is your opinion of ISIL/IS?
(Respondents who have heard of ISIL/IS: n=907)

- Mostly positive: 2%
- Somewhat positive: 2%
- Somewhat negative: 6%
- Mostly negative: 83%
- Don't know: 8%
To what extent do you agree or disagree that ISIL/IS represents a threat to Montenegro?
(Respondents who have heard of ISIL/IS: n=907)

- Strongly agree: 30%
- Somewhat agree: 33%
- Somewhat disagree: 12%
- Strongly disagree: 16%
- Don't know: 8%
What is your opinion of Montenegrin citizens who are leaving the country to participate in foreign conflicts, for example in Syria and Ukraine?

- Most positive: 2%
- Somewhat positive: 7%
- Somewhat negative: 20%
- Mostly negative: 61%
- Don't know: 10%
To what extent do you support or oppose legal consequences including prison terms for Montenegro’s citizens returning from participating in foreign conflicts?

- **Strongly support**: 33%
- **Somewhat support**: 23%
- **Somewhat oppose**: 13%
- **Strongly oppose**: 13%
- **Don't know**: 18%
Do you believe that Montenegrin citizens who are returning from fighting in foreign conflicts represent a security threat?

- Yes: 54%
- No: 30%
- Don't know: 16%
If someone close to you, such as a friend, relative or family member indicated an interest in leaving to fight in a foreign conflict, what would you do?

- I would try to talk him/her out of it: 61%
- I would not interfere: 25%
- I would report him/her to authorities: 6%
- I would support his/her decision: 4%
- Don't know: 5%
Demographics

- Gender: Male 48%, Female 52%
- Age: 18-29 23%, 30-44 27%, 45-60 27%, 60+ 23%
- Education: Elementary or less 20%, Secondary 60%, College or university 20%
- Region: North 28%, Center 48%, South 28%
- Type: Urban 64%, Rural 36%