

Media Monitoring of the Election Campaign for the Early Parliamentary Elections of November 28, 2010

Report I September 28 – October 10, 2010

This Report has been developed within the Project “Media Monitoring in the Election Campaign”, with the financial support of the United Kingdom Embassy to Chisinau, the Council of Europe and the East Europe Foundation, the resources provided by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida/Asdi), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through Eurasia Foundation. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the donors.



1. General Data

1.1 Goal of the project: to monitor and inform public opinion on mass media performance during the campaign for early elections in the Republic of Moldova

1.2 Monitoring timeframe: September 28 – November 28, 2010

1.3 Selection criteria for media outlets subject to monitoring:

- ownership (public/private)
- audience/impact
- language

1.4 Media outlets monitored:

TV: Moldova 1, Prime TV, 2 Plus, NIT, N4, Jurnal TV, Publika TV

Radio: Radio Moldova, Prime FM, Vocea Basarabiei

Print Press: *Timpul de dimineață, Moldova Suverană, Nezașisimaia Moldova, Flux, Jurnal de Chișinău, Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove, Evenimentul Zilei, Panorama, Golos Bălți (Bălți), Vesti Gagauzii (Comrat), Cuvântul (Rezina), Gazeta de Sud (Cimișlia).*

Press agencies and online publications: Moldpres, Infotag, www.omg.md, www.unimedia.md

1.5 Monitoring schedule

TV: Monday – Friday, from 6:00 to 9:00 and from 18:00 to 23:00

Saturday and Sunday, from 8:00 to 22:00

Radio : daily, from 6:00 to 13:00 and from 17:00 to 20:00

Print press/Press agencies and online publications: all content, daily.

1.6. The team

The project is being implemented by the Independent Journalism Centre in partnership with the Independent Press Association and the IMAS-INC Institute for Marketing and Survey, Chișinău.

2. Methodology

Statistics: The monitoring methodology has been developed by Oxford Media Research for the monitoring projects of the international organization Global Campaign for Free Expression ARTICLE 19. The characteristics of the methodology are the following: the use of 1) quantity indicators, including the type, duration, topic of coverage, news sources and frequency and length of candidates' appearance in newscasts, and 2) quality indicators, which can detect biased reporting during the coverage of events. Each news article or opinion is subject to a content and context assessment to determine if it favors or disfavors a party or a political entity. The negative or positive content and/or context of the news does not necessarily indicate the bias or partisanship of the station or publication. It is possible that a news item that is favorable or unfavorable to a subject can nonetheless be balanced and professionally correct. If, however, there is a tendency to favor or disfavor one subject for a certain period of time can we say that we are dealing with imbalance.

Case studies: Given the major impact of broadcast media on the development of public opinion and on its credibility among the population, a content analysis of the materials on the most important subjects broadcast by the 10 radio and TV stations has been made. The purpose of this

was to identify the approach and the way of covering relevant issues. The items have been analyzed both from the perspective of observance of the quality journalism principles (objectivity, fairness, pluralism of information sources, separation of facts from opinions), and, under technical aspect – from the perspective of using technical procedures in order to amplify or diminish certain messages.

Abbreviations used in this report:

AIE – Alliance for European Integration

AMN – Alianța Moldova Noastră (Our Moldova Alliance Party)

BCC – Broadcast Coordinating Council

CEC – Central Election Commission, electoral bureaus, and polling stations

MAE – Acțiunea Europeană (European Action) Movement

MFN – “Forța Nouă” (New Force) Movement

MIN – Prime Minister, Ministers

MR – “Ravnopravie” (Equal Rights) Movement

PAM – Agrarian Party of Moldova

PCRM – Communist Party of Moldova

PDM – Democratic Party of Moldova

PL – Liberal Party of Moldova

PLD – Party of Law and Justice

PLDM – Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova

PMUEM – “Moldova Unită – Edinaia Moldova” (Unified Moldova) Party

PNL – National Liberal Party

PNT – Party for the Country and the People

PPCD – Christian Democratic People’s Party

PPR – Republican People’s Party

PRM – Republican Party of Moldova

PSD – Social Democratic Party

PSM – Socialist Party of Moldova

PUM – Humanist Party of Moldova

UCM – Centrist Union of Moldova

APL = Local public administration

BUS = Business

CET = Citizens

BIS = Church

DIP = Diplomats, high rank foreign officials and observers

Doc = Documents (reports, the Constitution, surveys, etc).

EXP = (Foreign and local) experts, observers, sociologists, analysts, etc.

GUV = Government representatives

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JUD = Judges, lawyers, Prosecution Body, Constitutional Court

MED = Mass media

PA = Police/Army/CCECC (Centre for Combating Economic Crimes and Corruption)/Customs

PARL = Parliament

PRES = President, president’s office

SIN = Trade unions

SOC = Civil society

3. General Trends

3.1 Broadcast media

From September 28 to October 10, 2010, the 10 monitored TV and radio stations broadcast quite a large amount of items with direct or indirect electoral impact. Besides the items related directly to the electoral process (dissolution of the parliament, setting the election date, registration of parties at the Central Election Commission (CEC), voters' lists), most of the stations provided a wide coverage of the political process, particularly of the dissensions within the ruling Alliance. Such materials had an indirect electoral connotation. This explains the large number of programs broadcast by all stations, in which the Acting President and the Prime Minister, but also the other members of the ruling Alliance appeared in controversial news related to the amendment of the Budget Law by the Government without consultation of the Parliament.

Most items were opinion news and programs where the representatives of different political parties appeared as sources, quoted directly or indirectly. No electoral advertisements or electoral debates were broadcast. Jurnal TV, followed by Publika TV and NIT, among the TV stations and Vocea Basarabiei, among the radio stations allotted most space for opinion news and programs.

The AIE parties, but also PCRM representatives and some non-parliament political parties as well as independent experts, expressed their opinions on the public stations Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. Note that the public stations have given up their practice of starting the newscasts with items favorable to the ruling parties, which they used to do in previous years. Most news programs on M1 and Radio Moldova started with items on community issues. The coverage of candidates was neutral in most cases, but there were also situations when the electoral candidates appeared in either a positive or a negative light.

Compared with previous campaigns, Prime TV - , a private station with national coverage, has provided wide coverage of the electoral issues, presenting both the members of the Alliance for European Integration and those of PCRM most often in neutral contexts. By contrast, another private station with national coverage – NIT – showed clear partisanship, making campaigns for PCRM, which was presented only in a positive and neutral light. At the same time, the ruling Alliance and its member parties were criticized and disfavored by this station in most cases.

The 2 Plus station, which has national coverage and launched its first newscasts this autumn, behaved passively during this reporting period, providing the public with very little information about the election campaign. This station, as well as N4 (with regional coverage) did not have opinion programs to address the upcoming elections. However, N4 was active in covering this issue in its newscasts. Compared to the previous election campaigns where the editorial policy of N4 was clearly pro-PCRM and against the liberal parties, during the first two campaign weeks of this year, N4 had a relatively more balanced coverage, providing information from different perspectives.

The news stations Publika TV and Jurnal TV provided an active coverage of the electoral events during the reporting period, broadcasting various news items in which most of the candidates were presented, and many opinion programs on the upcoming elections. The candidates were

featured most often neutrally, but also positively and negatively, with no clear trend of favoring certain candidates.

Prime FM and Vocea Basarabiei radio stations provided an active coverage of the issues with direct or indirect electoral connotations, particularly in the newscasts and the opinion programs. Disfavoring of PCRM and favoring of AIE could be noticed on Vocea Basarabiei, particularly in the opinion programs, while Prime had a more balanced coverage in this regard.

3.2 Print press/press agencies/online publications

Print press, including press agencies and online publications started to actively cover the electoral period immediately after the date of the early parliamentary elections had been announced. This did not require additional editorial efforts since the press was already reflecting the political and parliamentary crisis in Moldova. During the first two weeks of this monitoring, the number of articles published by newspapers, agencies and online publications was quite high. For some newspapers (*Nezavisimaia Moldova, Jurnal de Chişinău, Evenimentul Zilei, Moldova Suverană, Panorama, Timpul de dimineaţă*) the average number of items on the elections and the candidates registered or who were to be registered by the Central Election Commission was 8-13 per issue.

Similar to in previous election campaigns, the press continues to be divided based on the likes and dislikes of editors and journalists. Most media outlets that had actively promoted the Communist Party within the previous elections (*Nezavisimaia Moldova, Moldova Suverană, www.omg.md*) have done the same within this campaign, PCRM being featured only in a positive context in their news and opinion articles. At the same time, the political opponents of the communists – the Alliance for European Integration (AIE) in general and PLDM and PL parties individually were presented almost exclusively in a dark light, being accused of misadministration, conflicts of interest, nepotism and even violation of the legislation in force. Disobeying the ethical norms, most of the items containing such accusations did not present the opinion of the accused party. These media outlets often quoted anonymous sources, used libelous language and calumny.

Other media outlets (*Timpul de dimineaţă, Jurnal de Chişinău, Cuvântul, Gazeta de Sud*), as in previous election campaigns, featured PCRM in a primarily negative context. At the same time, AIE as the ruling alliance was featured, most of the time, in a favorable light. Therefore, these media outlets tried to analyze the problems faced by the ruling parties and justify their failures. The news agency *Moldpres* also falls into this category.

The third category of monitored outlets (*Evenimentul Zilei, Panorama, Komsomolskaia Pravda v Moldove* partly) by their editorial policy show a more or less critical attitude to AIE and to some Alliance parties, but so far have not directly favored any of the other candidates. *Flux* featured all the main candidates in a negative context and favored the Christian Democratic People's Party.

During the first monitoring period, the news agency *Infotag* and the online publication www.unimedia.md had a relatively balanced editorial behavior, presenting the different positions and opinions of parties in the context of the election campaign.

The number of electoral education items, that is articles presenting ways of exercising the constitutional right to vote, and the number of articles in the category “Special electoral programs” (debates with the participation of candidates, interviews with the latter on the content of their electoral programs) is still very small.

4. Broadcast Monitoring Data

4.1 Involvement in the election campaign

4.1.1 TV

From September 28 to October 10, the seven monitored TV stations broadcast a total number of 1617 items with electoral impact, covering an overall of 101.2 hours.

The largest amount of relevant items was broadcast by *Jurnal TV* and *Publika TV*, which is explained by the specifics of these two niche stations which broadcast the full 24 hours a day. (see Diagram 1). The political issues and the electoral process were the prevailing topics of newscasts, with economic and social topics being covered less frequently. (Diagram 1.1)

Diagram 1. Length and type of electoral programs broadcast by the TV stations from September 28 to October 10, in seconds

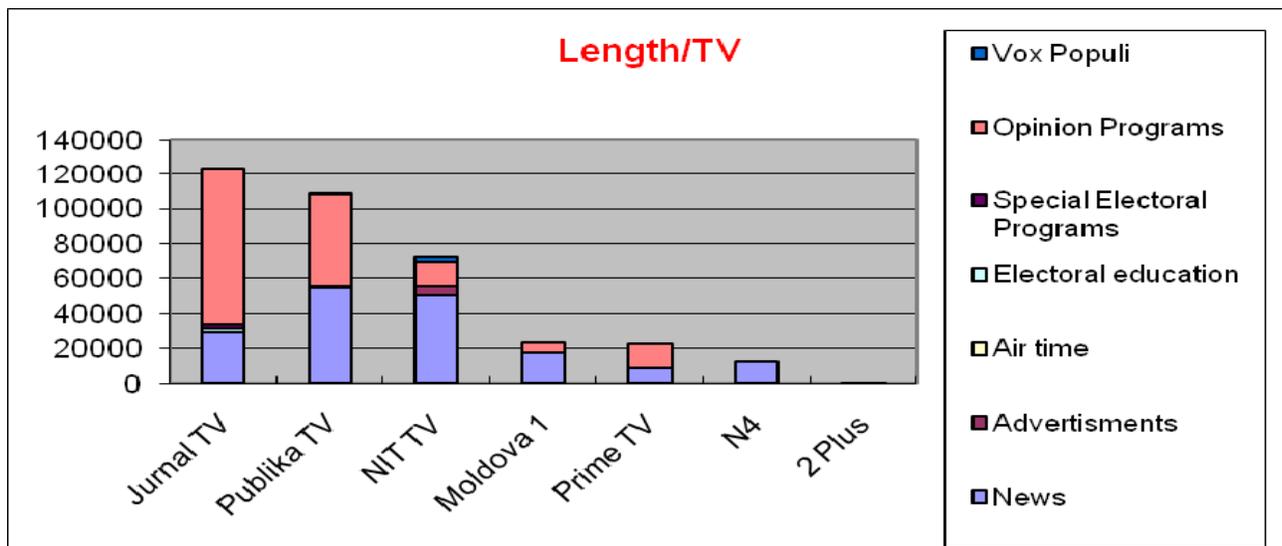
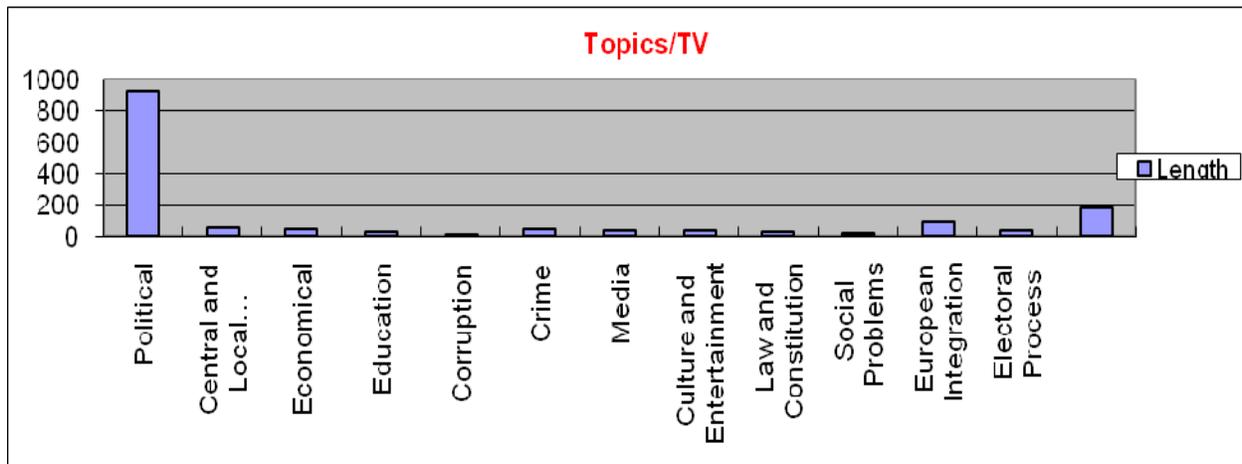


Diagram 1.1. Topics broadcast on TV stations from September 28 to October 10, in seconds



4.1.2 Radio

From September 28 to October 10, the three monitored radio stations broadcast 630 items with electoral impact with a total length of 38.7 hours.

Vocea Basarabiei stood out by the high amount of news and opinion programs, being also the only station which broadcast electoral education items. *Radio Moldova* and *Prime FM* broadcast mostly newscasts and opinion programs (Diagram 2). Similarly to the TV stations, most of the topics of electoral news aired by the radio stations related to political issues and the electoral process (Diagram 2.1).

Diagram 2. Length and type of electoral programs broadcast on radio from September 28 to October 10, in seconds

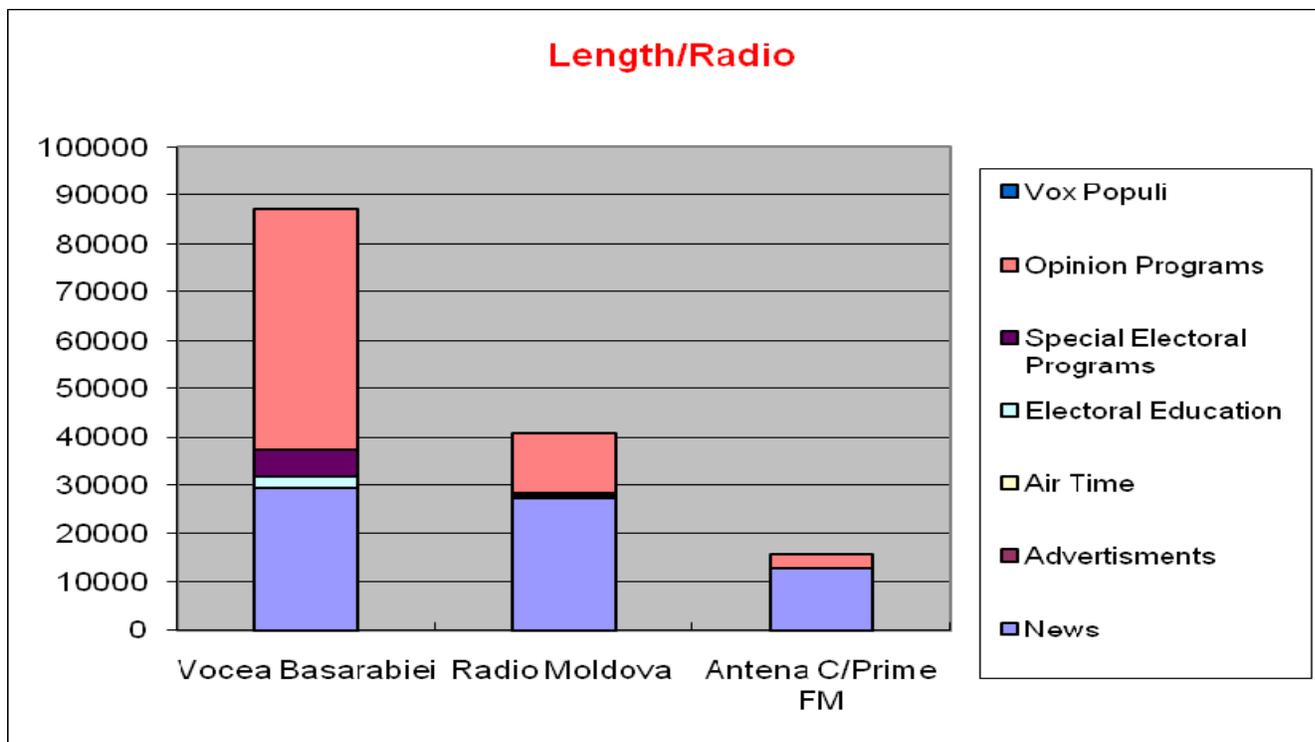
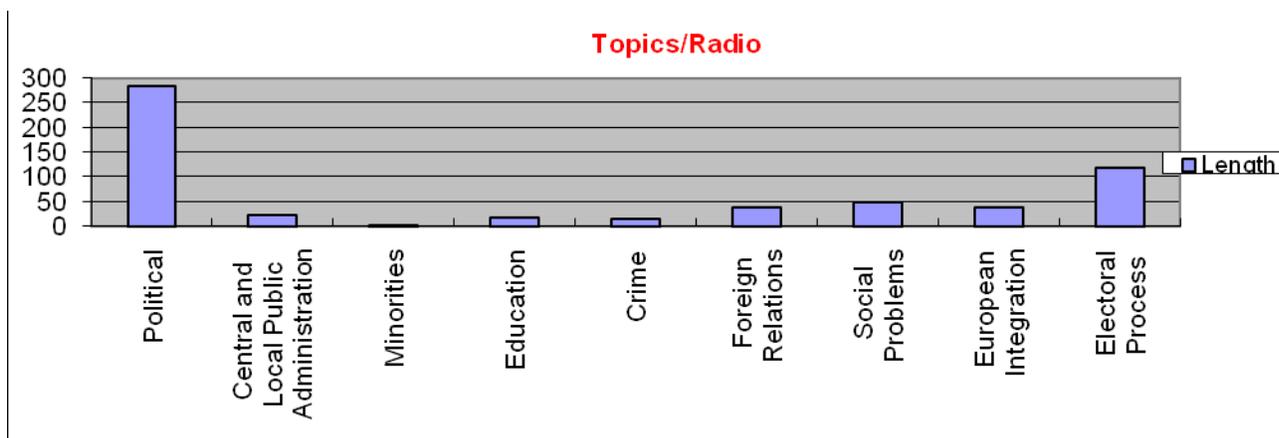


Diagram 2.1. Topics broadcast on radio stations from September 28 to October 10, in seconds



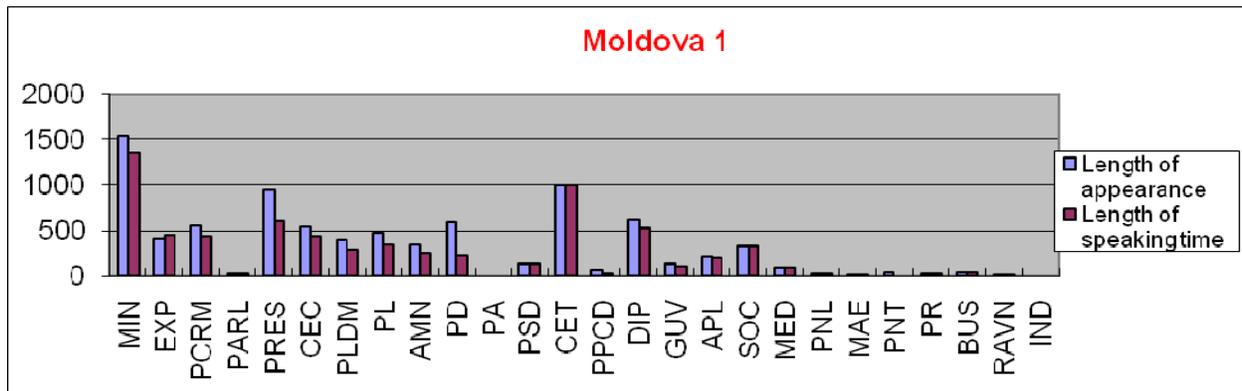
4.2 Frequency of quoting candidates as sources, the length of TV appearances and the length of time party representatives spoke during election newscasts

From September 28 to October 10, 2010, the Prime Minister, the Acting President of Moldova, the leaders or the representatives of the 4 Alliance parties were quoted 149 times as sources in the newscasts on Moldova 1. They appeared on screen for 4292 seconds. The Communist Party was quoted directly or indirectly 36 times, with a length of 524 seconds of appearance on screen. The other parties and independent candidates were quoted 18 times, their representatives

appearing on screen for 324 seconds. Note that the public station aired many news bulletins in which the sources were ordinary citizens – 48 quotes with a total length of 1004 seconds, but also representatives of the civil society, local and foreign experts, as well as representatives of the international community.

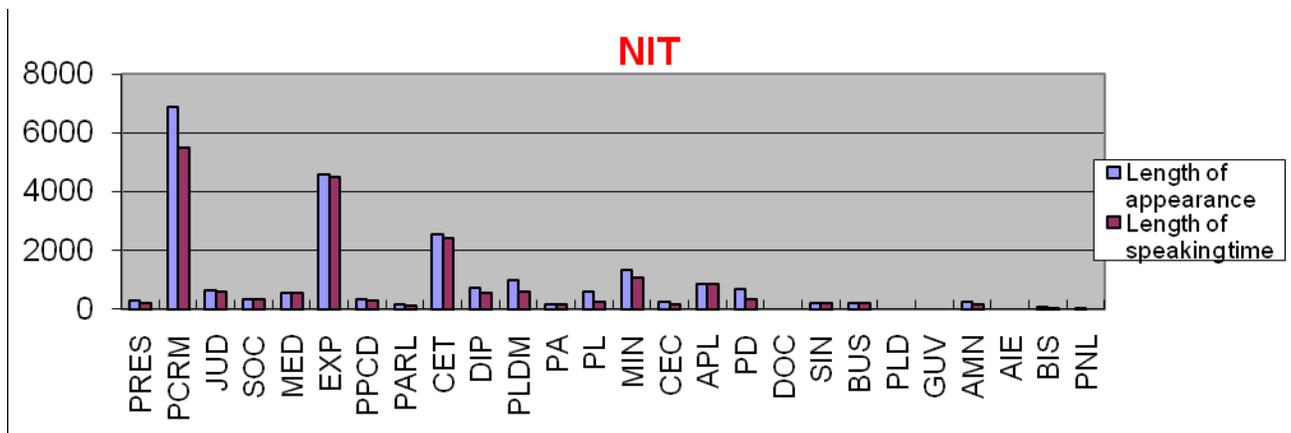
The longest appearance in the relevant programs broadcast by Moldova 1 within the reference period was that of the civil society representatives, experts and diplomats (2248 seconds) and the acting president (1643 seconds).

Diagram 3. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on Moldova 1, in seconds



On NIT, a private station with national coverage, the Acting President, the Prime Minister and the four AIE parties were quoted directly or indirectly 294 times, while PCRM – 218 times. The length of appearance on screen was 4318 seconds for the former and respectively 6887 seconds for PCRM. The other non-parliamentary parties were quoted as sources 20 times for a total of 348 seconds, of which 16 times (337 seconds) PPCD appeared as a sources. In the opinion programs, mostly the PCRM representatives appeared, but also the AIE members with 5374 seconds and respectively 2254 seconds.

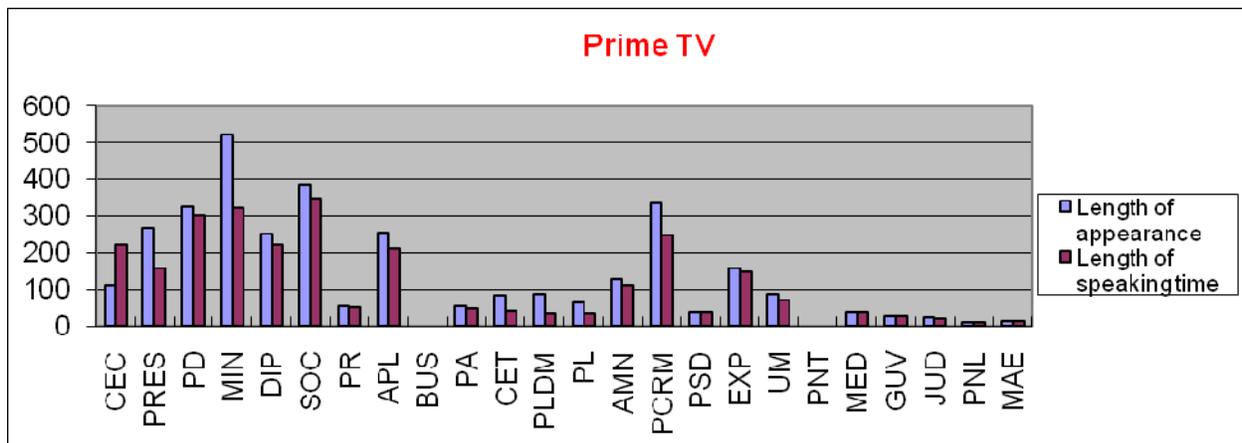
Diagram 4. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on NIT, in seconds



Prime TV, a private station with national coverage, quoted various sources whenever it covered issues with direct or indirect electoral impact, often giving air time to both the representatives of the candidates and civil society, as well as ordinary people, local and international experts, the Central Election Commission, etc. Government members, representatives of the president's office and the parliament, but also those of the AIE parties, served as direct or indirect sources of information in 66 cases, appearing on screen for 1394 seconds. Approximately a quarter of this amount of time (330 seconds) was allotted to the Democrat Party, which was quoted 15 times. The main opposition party – PCRM - was quoted 19 times/335 seconds. Note that Prime TV also gave air time to a series of non-parliamentary parties – PR, PSD, UM, PNT, PNL, and MAE.

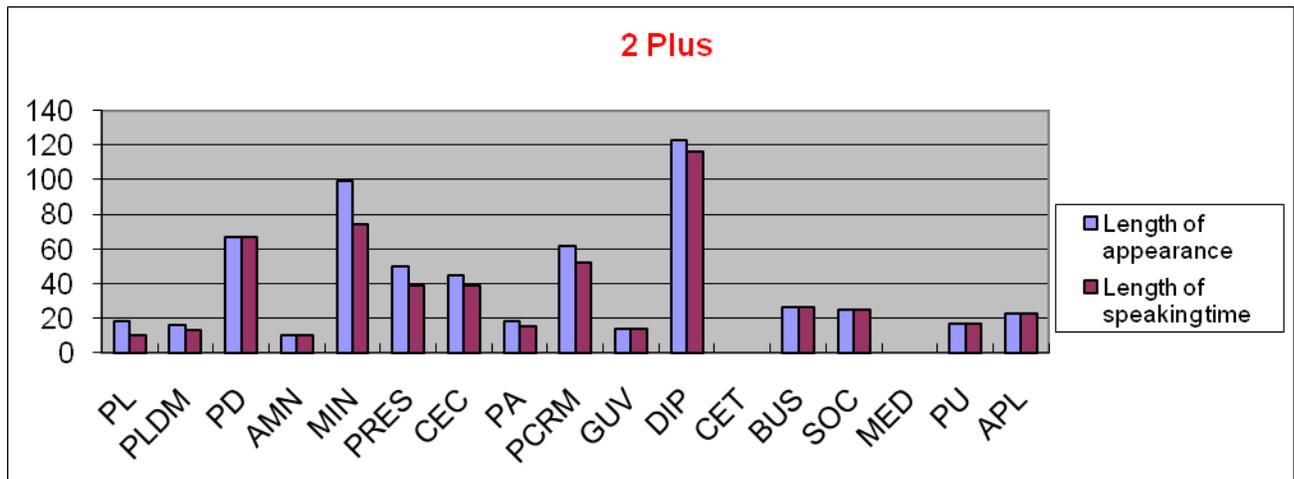
In terms of the length of appearances on the screen, PDM ranked first in the programs broadcast by Prime TV during the reporting period. It appeared as a source for 5394 seconds, the representatives of the party being usually invited in the weekly program “Prima sursă” (First Source). The other AIE parties and PCRM were seldom quoted. The latter appeared in separate items included in the program.

Diagram 5. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on Prime TV, in seconds



2 Plus, a private station with national coverage, had less pluralism in its sources, giving air time to mostly AIE representatives and government members, which were quoted 17 times, with a total length of 274 seconds of appearance on screen. About a quarter of the air time was provided to the PDM representatives – 4 appearances/67 seconds. PL, PLDM and AMN appeared sporadically, under approximately equal conditions. PCRM was quoted 3 times, with a length of 62 seconds of appearance on screen. 2 Plus did not have any program relevant for this monitoring in the period of September 28 - October 10.

Diagram 6. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on 2 Plus, in seconds

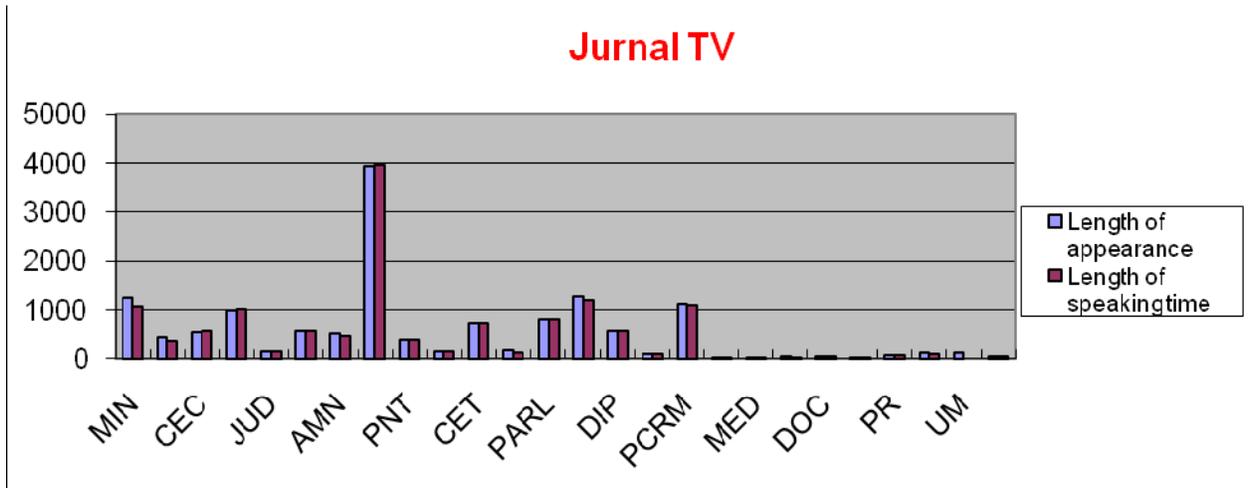


On Jurnal TV news station, the Prime Minister, the Parliament, the President’s Office and also the 4 AIE parties were directly or indirectly quoted in the newscasts 186 times, appearing on screen for a total of 5882 seconds. The PCRM representatives were quoted as sources 40 times for 1104 seconds.

Note the appearance of the non-parliamentary parties on Jurnal TV, which were quoted 37 times for 747 seconds, half of which were allotted to PNT, which was quoted 14 times (379 seconds). This station also let speak foreign and national experts, who rank first among the sources in terms of length of air time, appearing on screen for 3934 seconds.

Jurnal TV is a leader in terms of pluralism in its opinion items and programs, in which 14 parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties appeared. Most air space was allotted to the ruling parties, the Prime Minister and the Acting President – 29846 seconds. PCRM representatives were quoted as sources only for 449 seconds. Among the non-parliamentary parties quoted there were: PNL, MAE, PPCD, PMUEM, PR, PNT, and PUM.

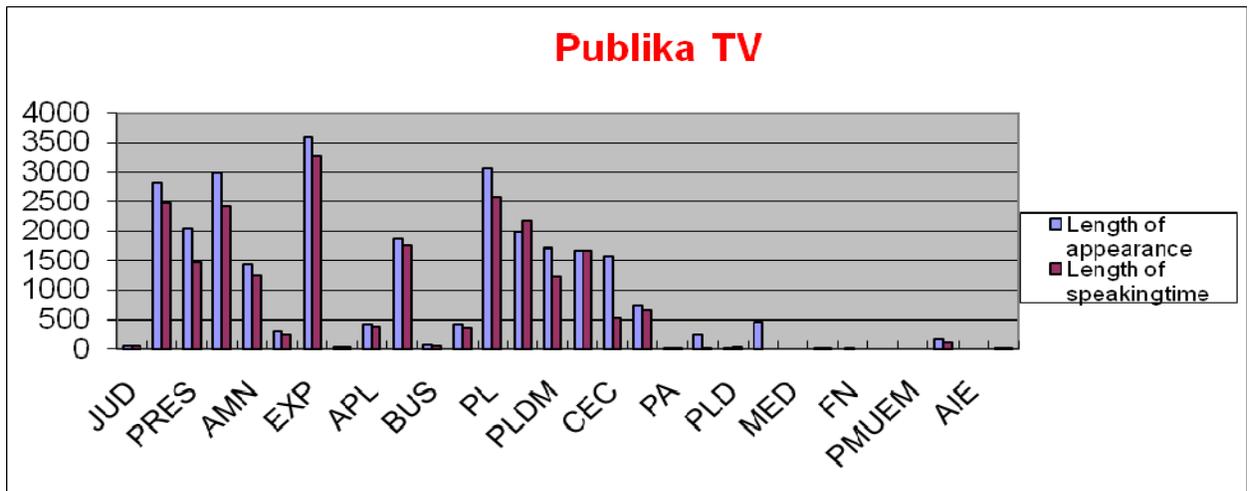
Diagram 7. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on Jurnal TV, in seconds



Publika TV is a leader in terms of diversity and pluralism of opinion in its newscasts, letting a large number of various sources speak in its news; in 716 cases (11509 seconds) these were the members of government and the president’s office, but also the AIE members. PCRM was quoted 155 times for 2830 seconds. Note also the large number of the other candidates and potential candidates which were quoted as sources 23 times (572 seconds) – PNT, PDAM, PR, FN, MAE, PMUEM, PU, and PLD. Publika TV also provided quite much air time to the civil society representatives, ordinary people, national and international experts in various fields.

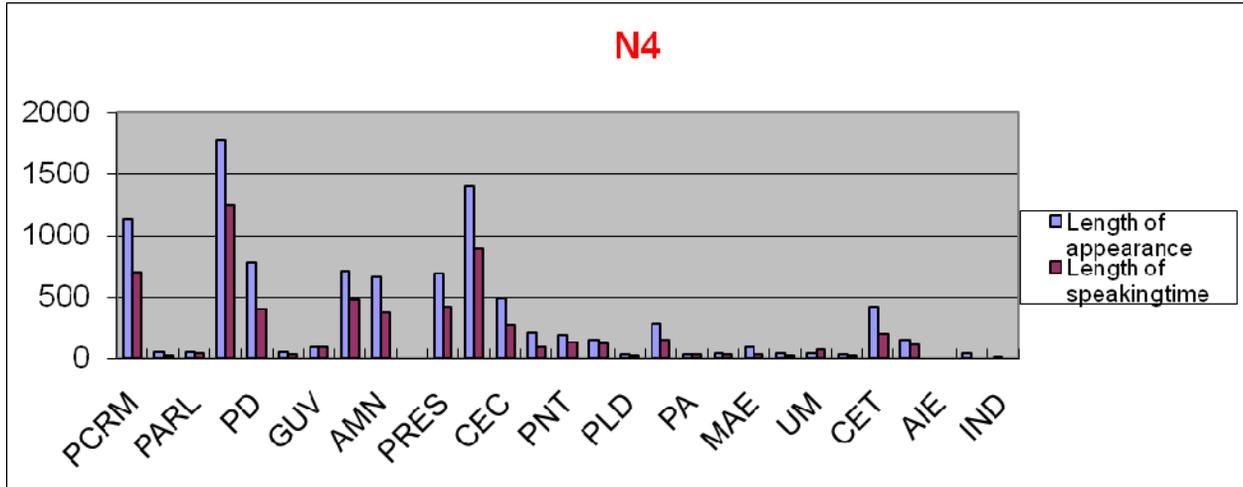
In the programs and opinion items broadcast by Publika TV, the AIE parties but also the President and the Prime Minister appeared for 17346 seconds, PCRM – for 3120 sec. Experts were also invited in the studio and had the chance to speak for 9154 seconds.

Diagram 8. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on Publika TV, in seconds



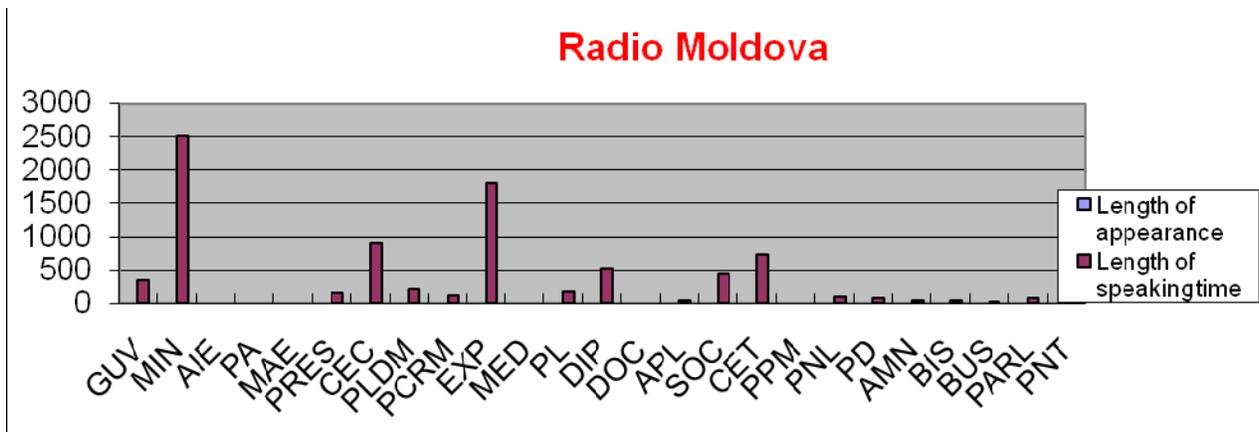
The station N4 with regional coverage had a large number of news sources during the reference period, representing both the main state institutions and the AIE parties (quoted 167 times for 6024 seconds in total), and PCRM (38 times for 1136 seconds), but also non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates (quoted 29 times for 614 seconds). N4 did not have any program or other opinion items during the reporting period.

Diagram 9. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on N4, in seconds



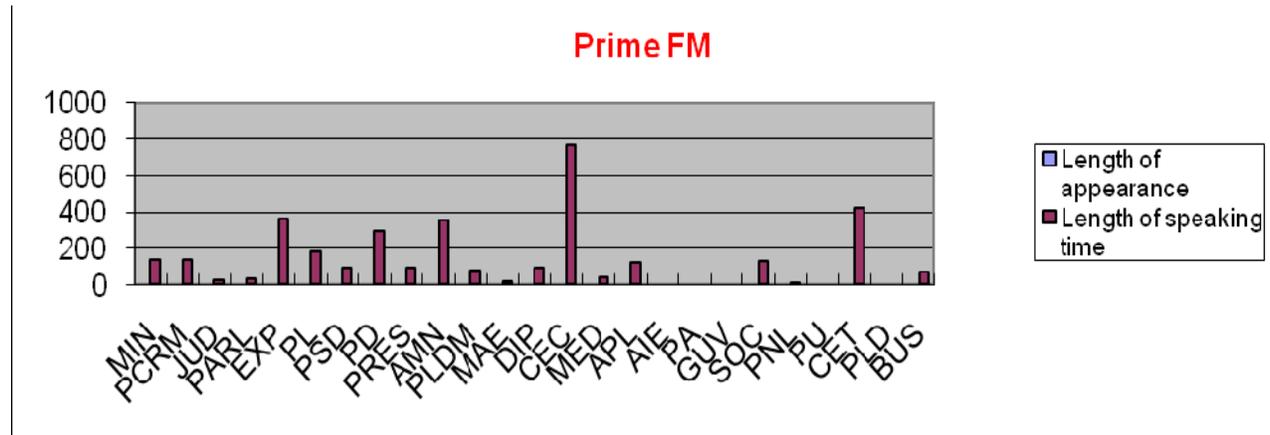
The public station Radio Moldova stood out in terms of the pluralism of sources when addressing electoral issues. Experts from NGOs, ordinary citizens, foreign experts and the CEC were often quoted in the newscasts. However, the high state officials and the AIE parties were given priority; they were referred to 129 times for 3272 seconds. PCRM representatives were quoted 8 times/117 seconds. In the opinion programs, most visibility was provided to national and foreign experts (1270 seconds). The representatives of the AIE parties, the Prime Minister, and the Acting President had the possibility to speak directly for 5064 seconds.

Diagram 10. Length of speaking time for candidates on Radio Moldova, in seconds



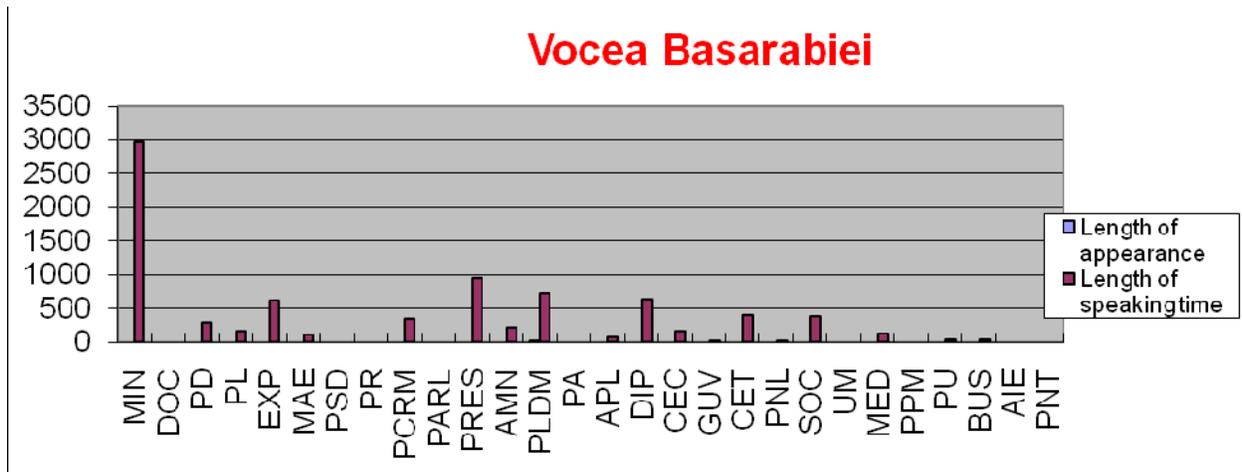
In its news programs, the private station Prime FM quoted frequently the main state institutions and also the AIE members – 132 times, with a total length of 1267 seconds of speaking time, and the non-parliamentary parties – 6 times/122 seconds. The opinion programs and items on Prime FM quoted only experts (1650 seconds) during the reporting period.

Diagram 11. Length of speaking time for candidates on Prime FM, in seconds



During the reporting period, Vocea Basarabiei used the AIE parties, the President, and the Prime Minister 149 times as sources, providing them a total of 5346 seconds of air time. On the other hand, PCRM was quoted directly or indirectly 19 times/356 seconds. The other non-parliamentary parties that were quoted in the newscasts on Vocea Basarabiei spoke directly for 155 seconds. Besides news, Vocea Basarabiei aired also an important number of opinion items, programs, and interviews in which the representatives of PLDM, PD and PL, as well as the experts and citizens were given the possibility to speak. Experts rank first among the sources in the programs and opinion items on Vocea Basarabiei, with 21359 seconds of air time, followed by representatives of the current government – 13964 seconds.

Diagram 12. Length of speaking time for candidates on Vocea Basarabiei, in seconds



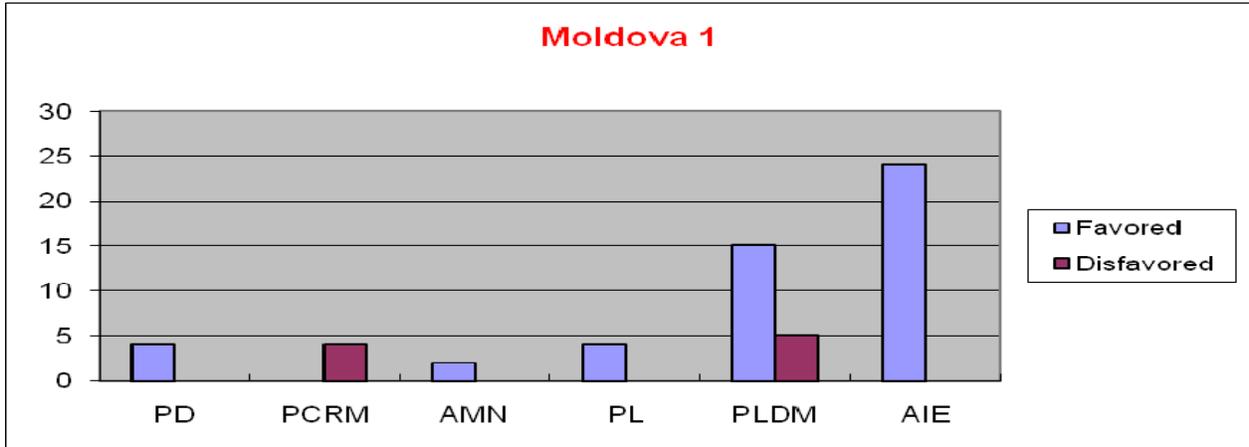
4.3 Frequency of newscasts directly or indirectly favoring or disfavoring candidates

4.3.1 TV

From September 28 to October 10, 2010, the public station *Moldova 1* informed its viewers about the dissolution of the parliament and the launch of the election campaign, the dissensions among the members of the ruling Alliance caused by the decision of Prime Minister Filat on amending the Law on Budget with a view to paying the indemnities to the retired persons and the socially vulnerable categories, about the high level meetings with different European delegations, the European integration, Vladimir Voronin's court hearing in the case "Ciocârlia", the increase of teachers' salary, the construction of houses for the persons in distress etc.

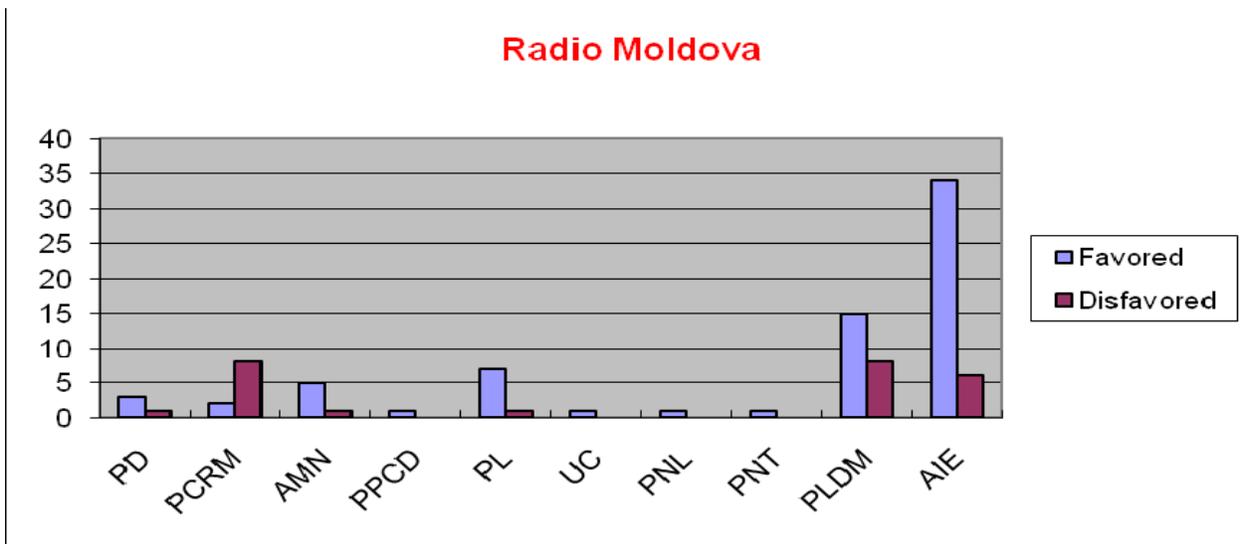
The candidates were treated neutrally in most of the relevant news and programs on *Moldova 1*. However, there were also items which favored or disfavored certain candidates. The share of news favorable to AIE was 14% of the total amount of news broadcast on the public TV station. Individually, PLDM was positively mentioned in 9%, PL - in 2%, PD – in 2% and AMN – in 1% of all the news. At the same time, PLDM appeared in an unfavorable context in 3% while PCRM – in 2% of the total amount of electoral news.

Diagram 13. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Moldova 1



The public radio station informed its listeners about the dissolution of the parliament, the launch of the election campaign, the intention of suspending Voronin’s parliamentary immunity, the aid to retired persons and socially vulnerable categories, the purchase of houses for the persons in distress, the hearing of Vladimir Voronin in the case “Ciocârlia”, the European integration etc. On Radio Moldova, the share of favorable news was 18% for AIE as compared to 3% of news in which AIE appears in a negative context. PLDM was favored in 8% and disfavored in 4% of the news. The other AIE parties were disfavored several times: PL- 4%, AMN - 3%, PD - 1%. PCRM was favored in 1% and disfavored in 4% of the total amount of news broadcast by Radio Moldova. Note that four non-parliamentary parties also appeared in a positive context one time each.

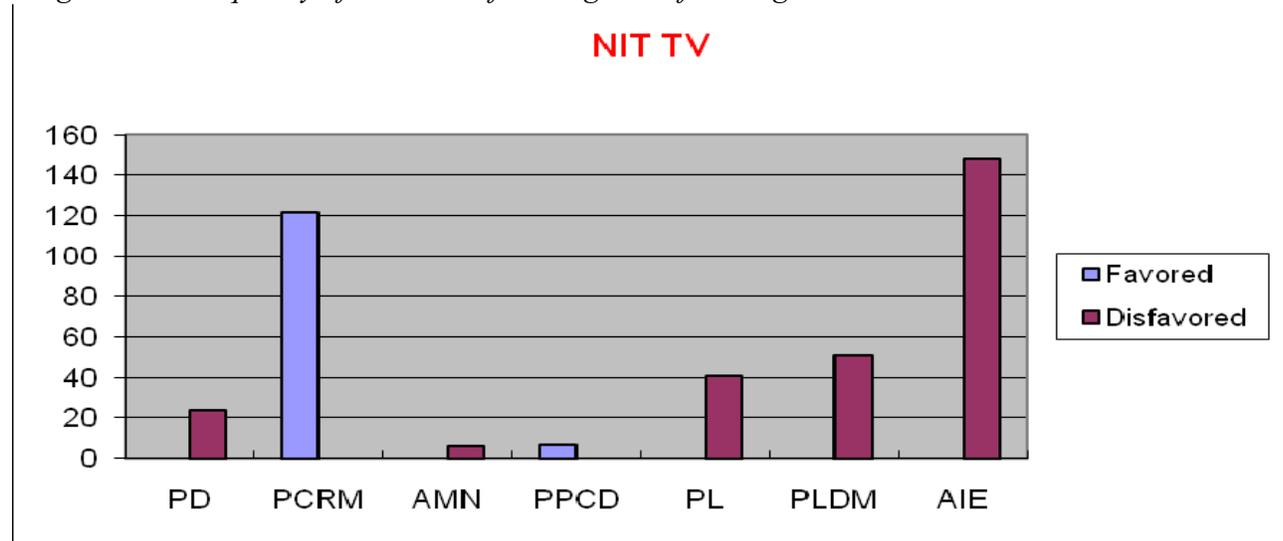
Diagram 14. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Radio Moldova



During the reference period, besides the topics with direct electoral impact, NIT also informed its viewers about the Parliament intention of withdrawing the parliamentary immunity of the PCRM president, Vladimir Voronin. It even launched a campaign in which the ordinary citizens could

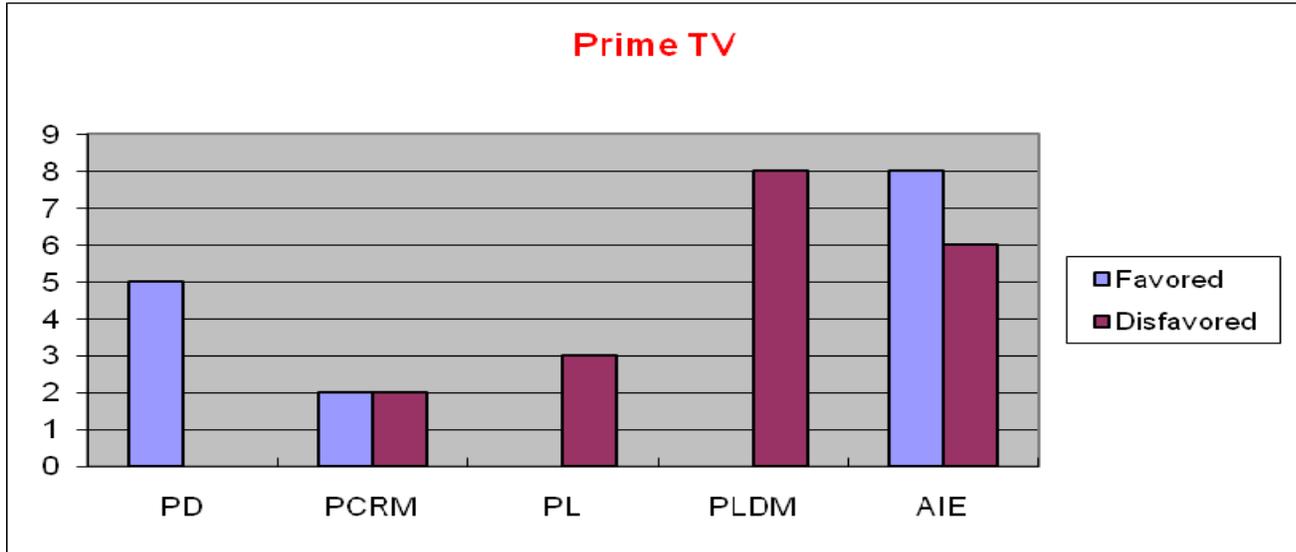
send supporting messages to the PCRM leader and broadcast the international responses to the situation. NIT provided details about Voronin’s participation and speech in the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (CEPA), followed the dissension within AIE, spoke about the closure of schools, the increase of prices for medicines; the campaign “NIT Targeted by the Power” continued. The share of news favorable to PCRM, aired during September 28 – October 10, was 35% of all the news with an electoral impact. This party appeared in a positive context 122 times. By contrast, AIE was mentioned in a negative context in 44% of the news (148 times). At the same time, the AIE parties appeared in a negative light individually: PD - 24 times or 7%, AMN - 6 times or 2 %, PL – 41 times or 12% and PLDM – 51 times or 15%. The non-parliamentary party PPCD was mentioned in a positive context 7 times or 2% of all relevant news broadcast by NIT.

Diagram 15. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on NIT TV



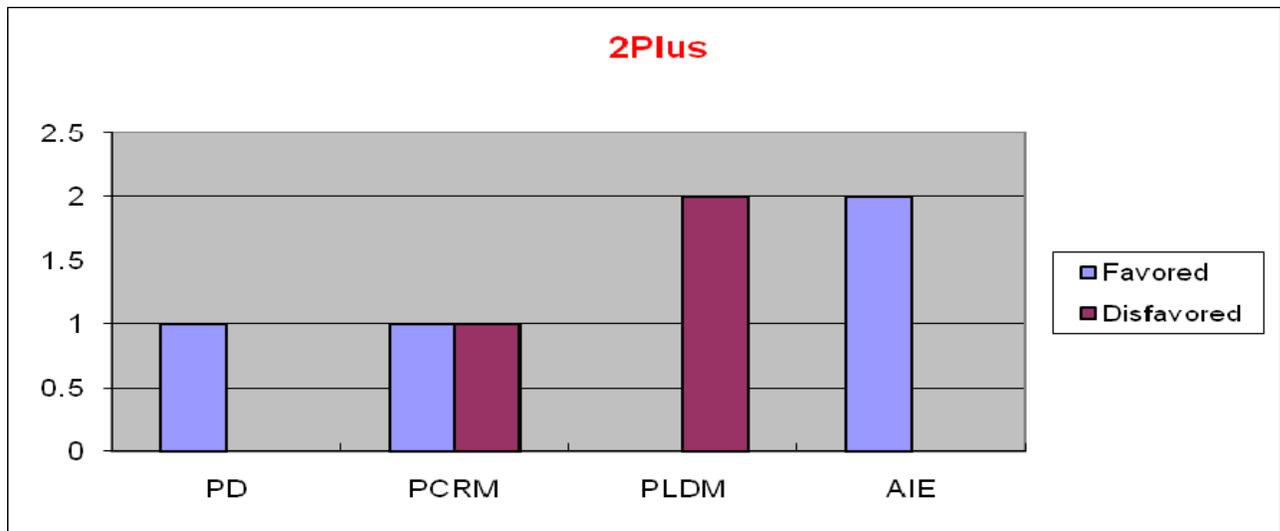
On Prime TV, these indicators were as follows: 8% of favoring and 5% of disfavoring news for AIE, 2% of favoring and 2% of disfavoring news for PCRM, 5% of favoring news for PDM, 3% of favoring news for PL and 5% f favoring news for PLDM. In the rest of cases, the electoral candidates were shown in neutral contexts.

Diagram 16. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Prime TV



In the 17 news on 2 Plus, in several cases the candidates were featured negatively or positively: PD was disfavored once (or in 5% of all the news), PCRМ appeared in a negative (6%) but also a positive (6%) context. PLDM was featured in a negative context twice (12%), while AIE – the same number of times - in a positive context (12%).

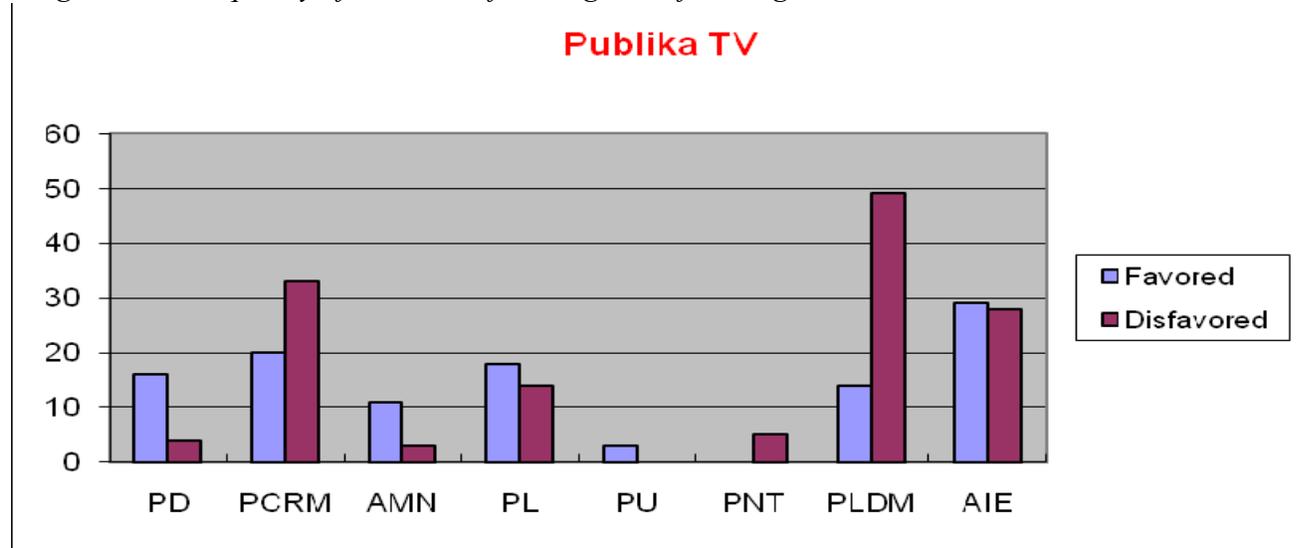
Diagram 17. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on 2 Plus



Publika TV had relatively balanced newscasts, featuring the candidates mostly in a neutral light, but also sometimes in a negative and positive light. Thus, AIE appeared both in disfavoring and

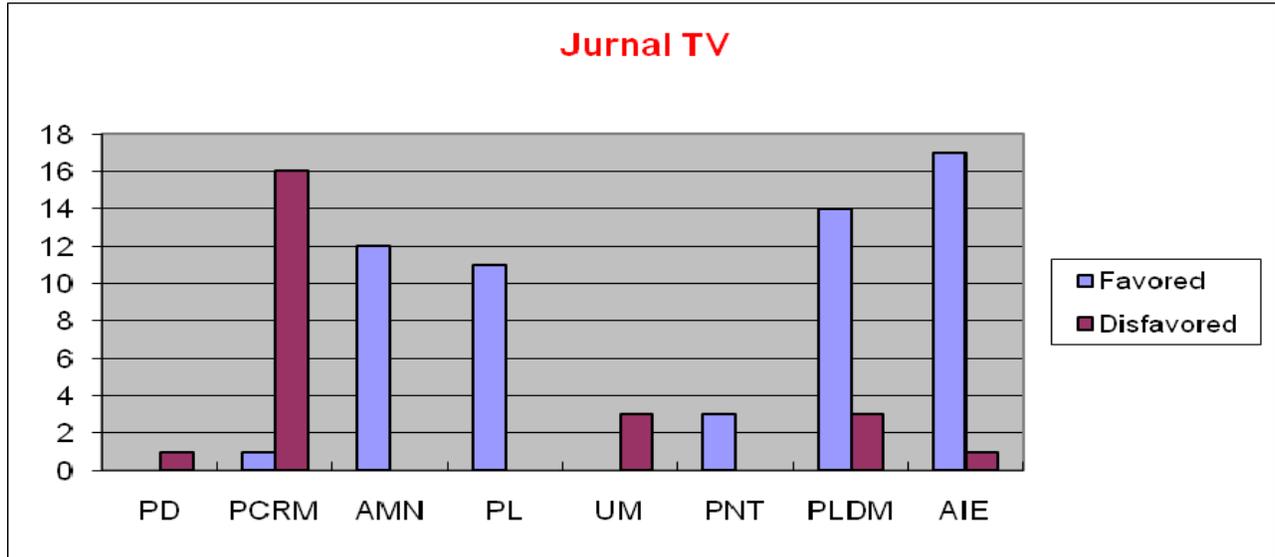
favoring news – 28 and respectively 29 times, or about 5% of all the news. As an individual party, PLDM was favored in 3% and disfavored in 9% of the news (14 appearances in a positive context and 49 – in a negative context). PL was mentioned in an even number of favorable and unfavorable news – about 3% each, PDM was favored in 3% and disfavored in about 1% of the newscasts, while AMN was positively mentioned in 2% and negatively – in 1% of the news. PCRМ appeared in a positive context in 4% and in a negative context – in 7% of all the news on Publika TV (20 and respectively 33 times).

Diagram 18. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Publika TV



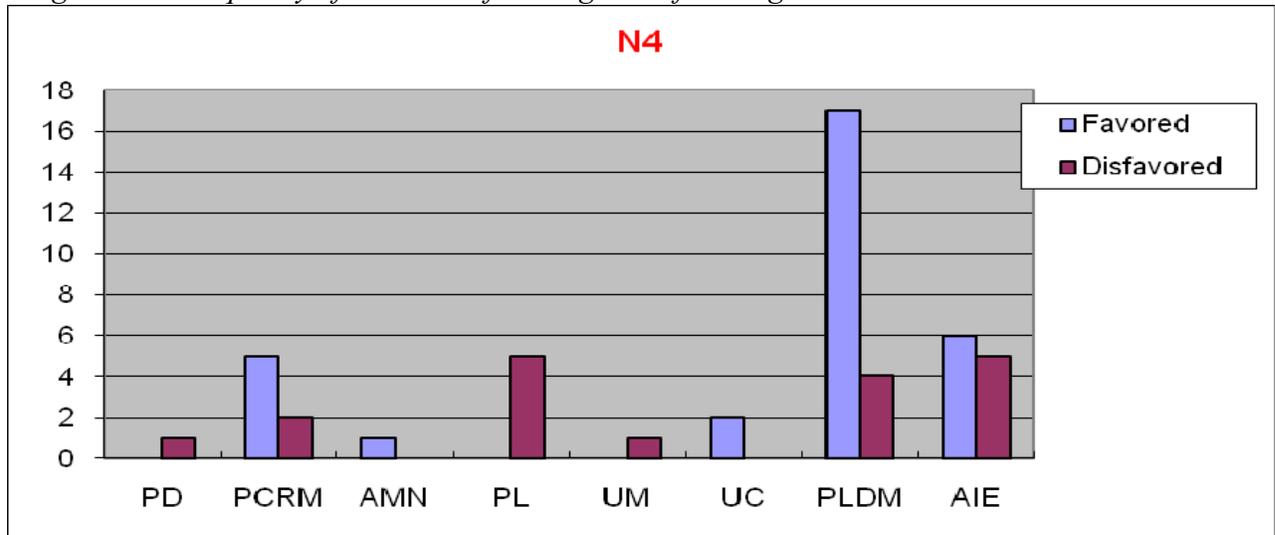
In the newscasts of Jurnal TV, PCRМ appeared 16 times in a negative context and once in a positive context, which represents 0.5% and respectively 8.5% of the total number of news. By contrast, AIE appeared 17 times in a positive light and once in a negative light. Individually, PLDM was mentioned positively 14 times (7%) and negatively – 3 times (15). PD appeared in a negative light in just one news – 0.5%. PL appeared in a positive context 11 times (6%). AMN was mentioned positively 12 times (6%). Among the non-parliamentary parties, PNT had 3 appearances in a positive context (1.5%).

Diagram 19. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Jurnal TV



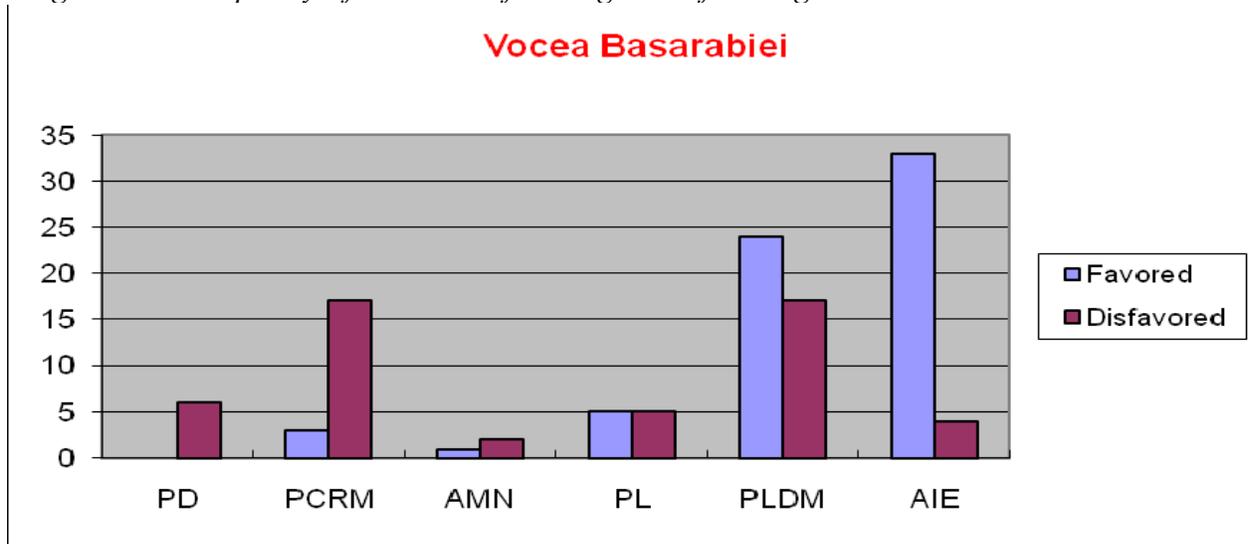
On N4, the station with regional coverage, for PCRM the share of positive news was 5%, and of negative news – 2% of all relevant news. AIE was both favored (5%) and disfavored (6%). PLDM appeared in a positive light in 17% and in a negative light in 4% of the news. PL was featured in a negative context in 5% of the news, while PD – in 1%.

Diagram 20. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on N4



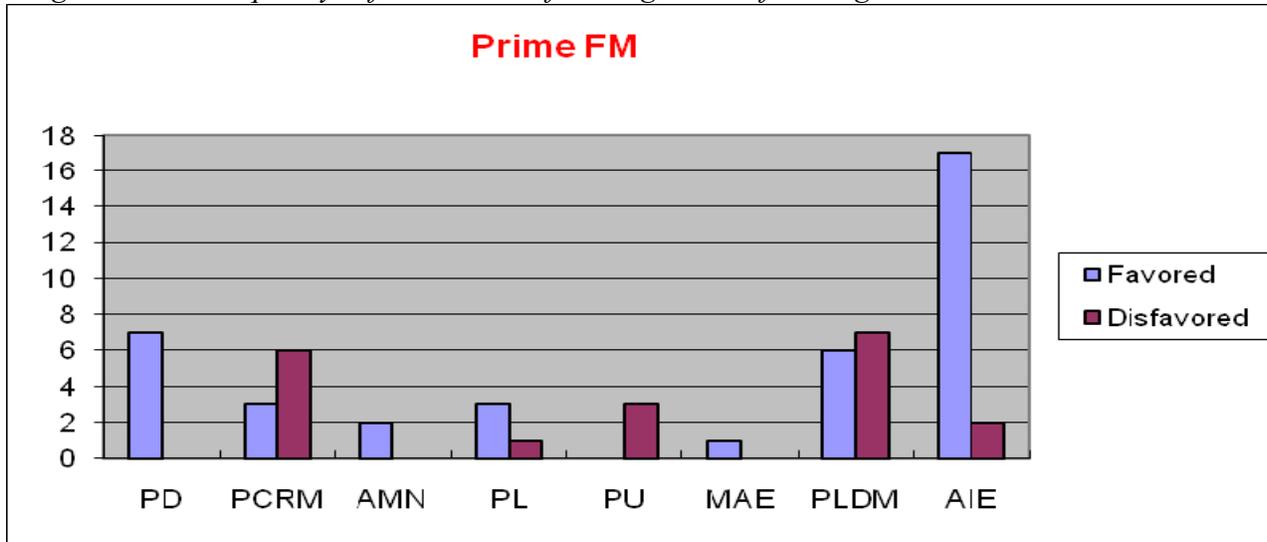
On Vocea Basarabiei, PCRM and PLDM appeared in a negative context most – 17 times each, which represents 12% of all the news. AIE appeared 33 times in a positive context (17%) and 4 times in a negative context (2%). The share of favorable news for PL and AMN was 3% and respectively 0.5%, while that of negative news for PL, AMN and PD – 3%, 1% and respectively 5%.

Diagram 21. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Vocea Basarabiei



A similar trend can be noticed for Prime FM, where AIE appeared in a positive context in 17% and in a negative context in 1% of all the news; PLDM – 4% in a positive context and 5% in a negative context; PD was featured only in a positive light – 5%; PL- 2% and 0.6% in a positive and respectively a negative light, while AMN was favored in only one news (1%). PCRM was shown in a positive (2%) and a negative (4%) light.

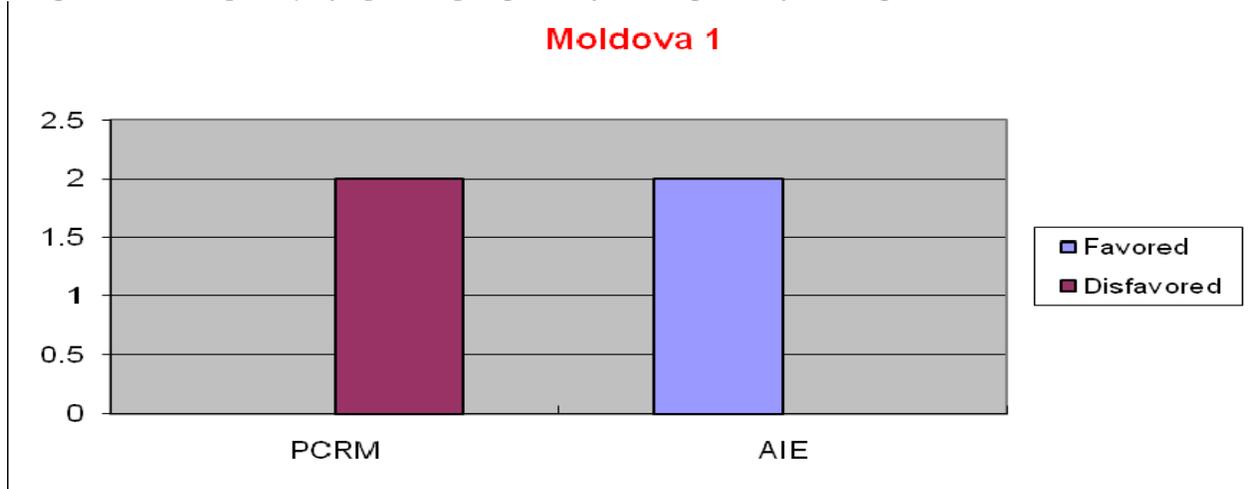
Diagram 22. Frequency of newscasts favoring or disfavoring candidates on Prime FM



4.4 Frequency of opinion programs, Vox Populi, interviews, and electoral education items directly or indirectly favoring or disfavoring candidates

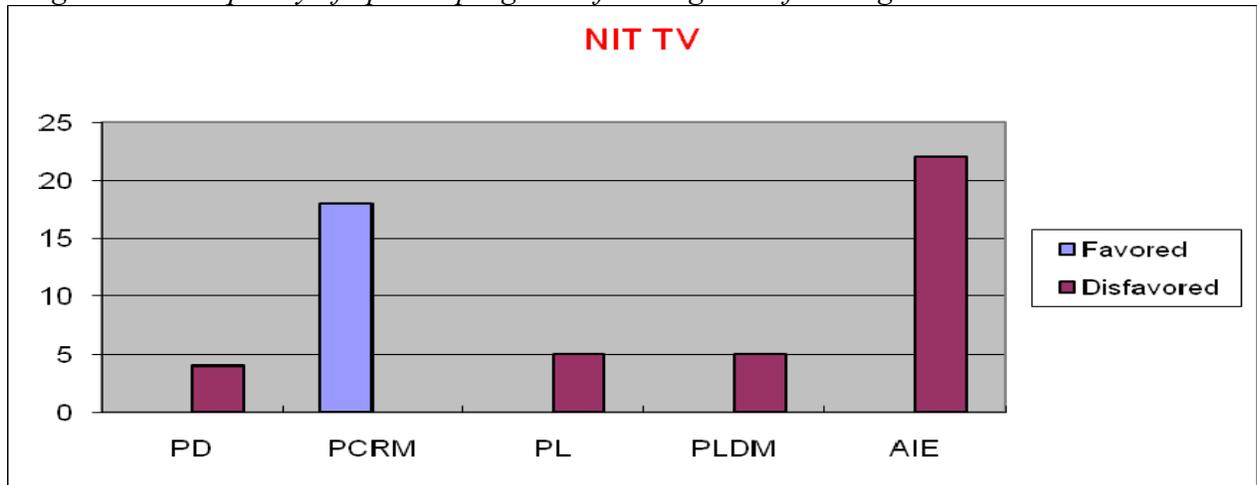
During the reference period, Moldova 1 public station broadcast only 4 opinion items in which the electoral candidates were mentioned either favorably or unfavorably. Therefore, AIE was favored twice, while PCRM was for the same number of times.

Diagram 23. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Moldova 1



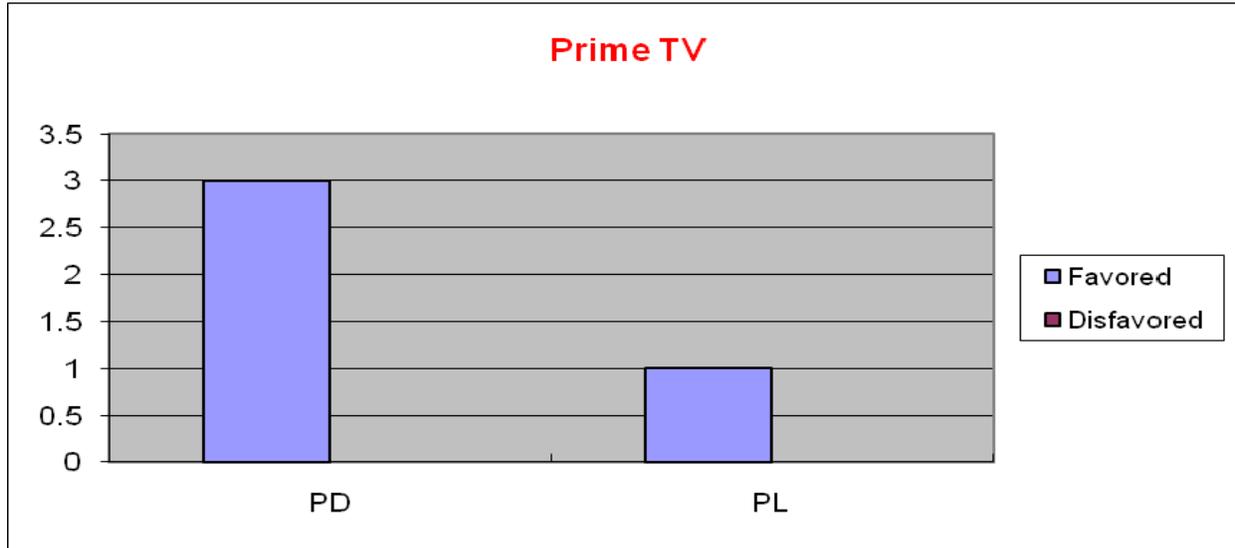
The opinion items and programs on NIT were directly favorable to PCR (the party appeared in a positive light 18 times or 60% of all programs), and clearly unfavorable to AIE, which appeared 22 times in a negative context (73%), and PD, which appeared 4 times (13%) also in a negative context.

Diagram 24. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on NIT



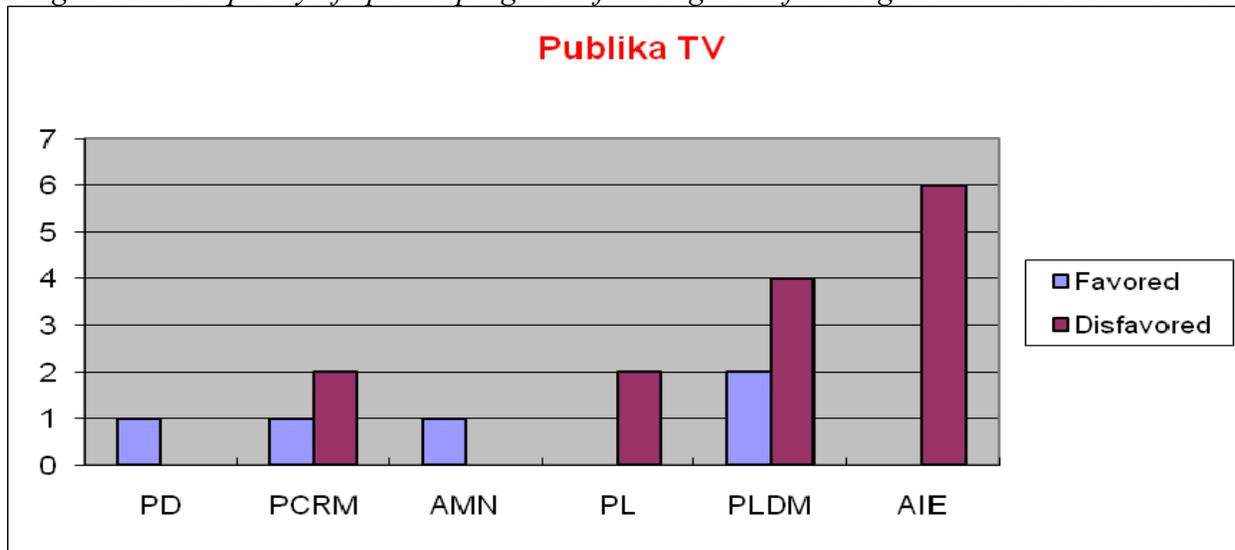
On Prime TV, 42% of the opinion items and programs favored PD – 3 times. PL was favored once, or in 14% of cases.

Diagram 25. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Prime TV



In the opinion programs and items on Publika TV, the share of news items which were unfavorable to AIE was 15% (6 times). PLDM was disfavored 4 times or in 9% of the cases, and appeared in a positive context twice (4.5%). PCRМ was featured in a negative context once (2%) and in a positive context twice (5%). PL was disfavored twice (5%) and PD and AMN were favored once each (2%).

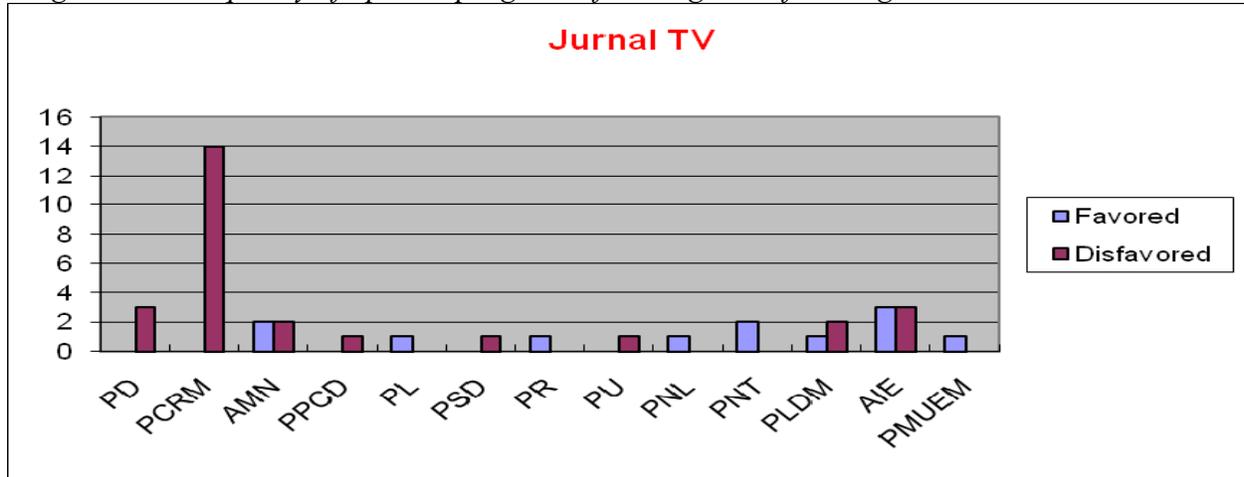
Diagram 26. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Publika TV



Jurnal TV broadcast a large number of items in which PCRМ appeared in a negative context – 14 times, or in 48% of all the items. AIE appeared both in a positive and a negative context (10% each), as well as AMN – twice in a negative light and twice in a positive light, or 7% each. PD was disfavored 3 times (10%), and PL was favored once (3%). PLDM appeared in an

unfavorable context twice and in a favorable context – once (7% and 3% respectively.) Note that the following non-parliamentary parties appeared in either a positive or a negative light: PNT, PSD, PPCD, PUM, PRM and PNM.

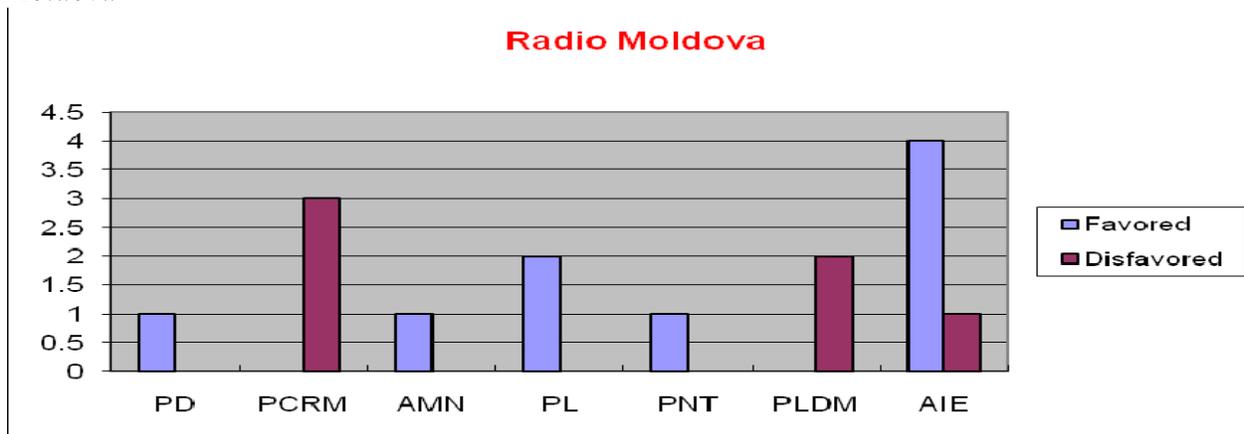
Diagram 27. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Jurnal TV



During the reporting period, the station 2 PLUS with national coverage, and N4 with regional coverage broadcast only news, not programs.

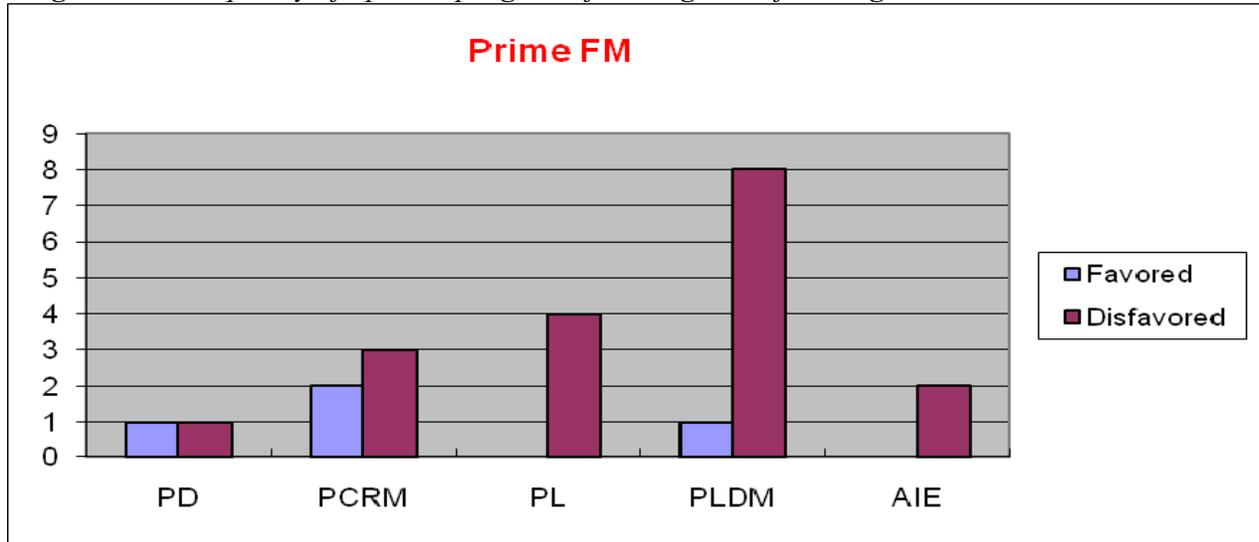
In the opinion programs on Radio Moldova, AIE appeared 4 times in a positive light and once in a negative light (30% and respectively 7% of the total number of programs). Individually, PLDM was disfavored twice (15%), PL was favored twice (15%), while AMN and PD appeared in a positive light once each (8%). PCRML was featured in a negative context 3 times (23%).

Diagram 28. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Radio Moldova



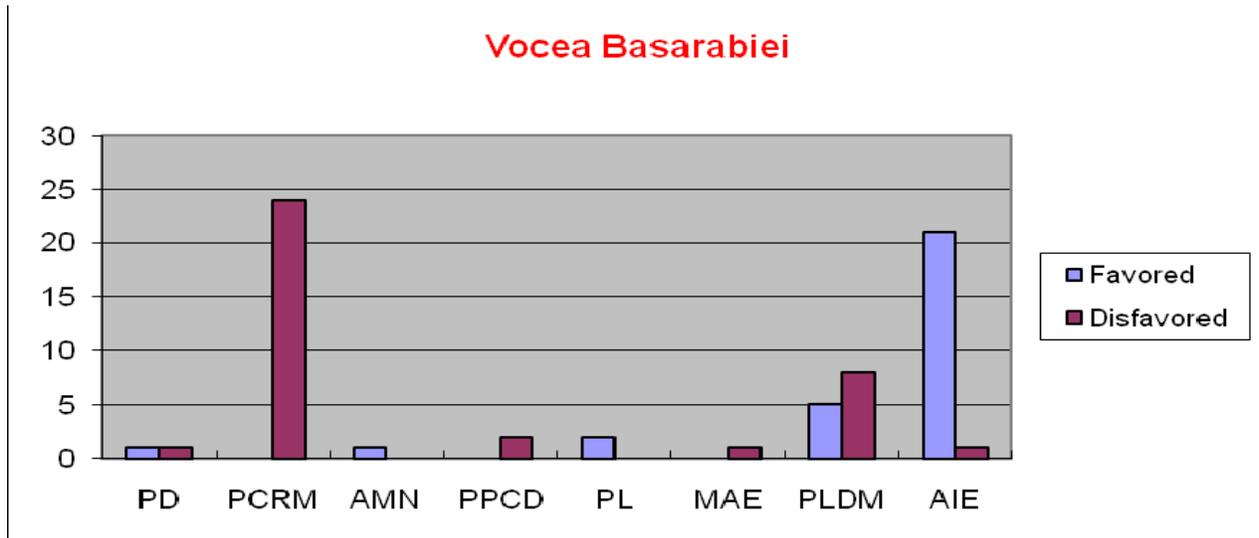
In the opinion items on Prime Fm, AIE appeared twice in a positive context. PLDM was mostly disfavored (8 times – in a negative context as compared to its appearance in a positive light), PL was disfavored 4 times, PCRML appeared both in a positive and a negative context (twice and three times respectively), as well as PD (once and once respectively).

Diagram 28. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Prime FM



In the opinion items and programs on Vocea Basarabiei, PCRM appeared in a unfavourable context 24 times (or in 80% of the total number of items), while AIE was featured 21 times in a positive light (70%). PLDM was both disfavored and favored, with 8 negative and 5 positive references (27% and respectively 17%). PL appeared twice positively (6%), PD and AMN appeared positively once each (3%) and PD appeared once negatively (3%).

Diagram 30. Frequency of opinion programs favoring or disfavoring candidates on Vocea Basarabiei



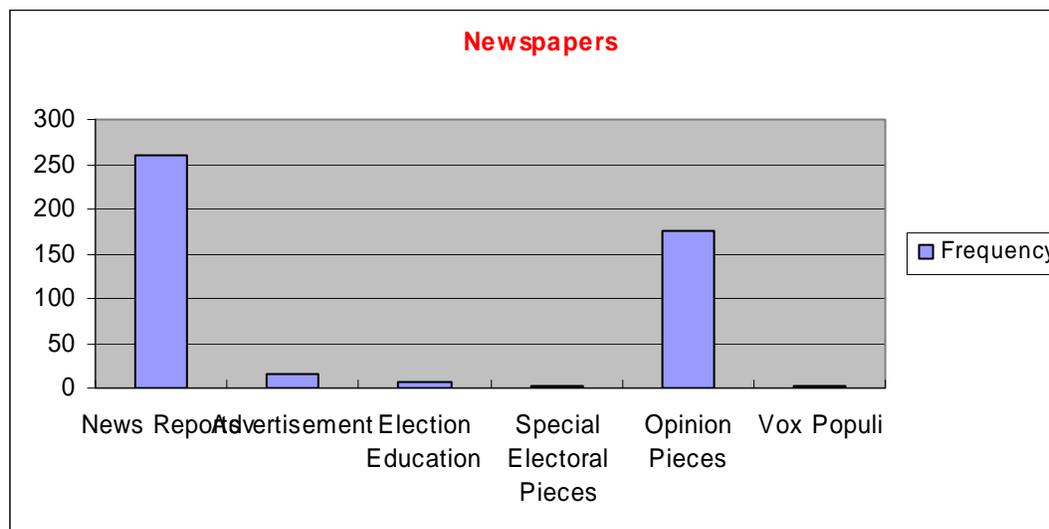
5. Print Press, Online Publications

5.1 Involvement in the Election Campaign

5.1.1 Newspapers

From 28 September to 10 October 2010, monitored newspapers quite actively covered the start of the election campaign, predominantly in opinion articles and news reports. Thus, the 12 newspapers published 462 pieces that directly or indirectly referred to the anticipated parliamentary elections on a total surface of 196 thou sq.cm. Almost one half of this surface (49.6%) was allotted to opinion articles, news reports occupied 43% of the total surface, while about 4.5% or 8,755 sq.cm. of the total surface were taken by political advertisement. Election education pieces published within this period by monitored newspapers were insignificant both in number and in occupied surface.

Chart 31. Number of pieces on the election campaign, published in 12 newspapers



Nezavisimaia Moldova newspaper published the greatest **number** of pieces on elections-related topics and allotted the largest **surface** to those (109 articles on a surface of over 47 thou sq.cm), followed by *Timpul de dimineață* (76 pieces on 34,620 sq.cm) and *Moldova Suverană* (67 pieces on 23,200 sq.cm). It has to be mentioned that most of the surface in these newspapers was allotted to opinion articles to the detriment of thematic news, which indicated the tendency to transmit opinions about the events taking place rather than actual facts. *Flux* and *Evenimentul Zilei* newspapers allotted larger surfaces to opinion articles vs. news items as well. In *Jurnal de Chișinău*, *Panorama*, *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* and *Gazeta de Sud* newspapers the ratio of the surface occupied by opinion articles and news items was favorable to news, while *Cuvântul*, *Vesti Gagauzii* and *Golos Bălți* did not publish opinion pieces on anticipated parliamentary elections within the first monitoring period at all.

The newspaper surface in monitored print press occupied by properly marked political and electoral advertisement made up 8,755 sq.cm, almost half of which accounted for *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* newspaper. Political advertisement also appeared within this

period in *Vesti Gagauzii*, *Timpul de dimineață*, *Panorama*, *Gazeta de Sud*, *Cuvântul* and *Flux* newspaper.

Chart 32. Number of relevant pieces published within 28 September – 10 October 2010

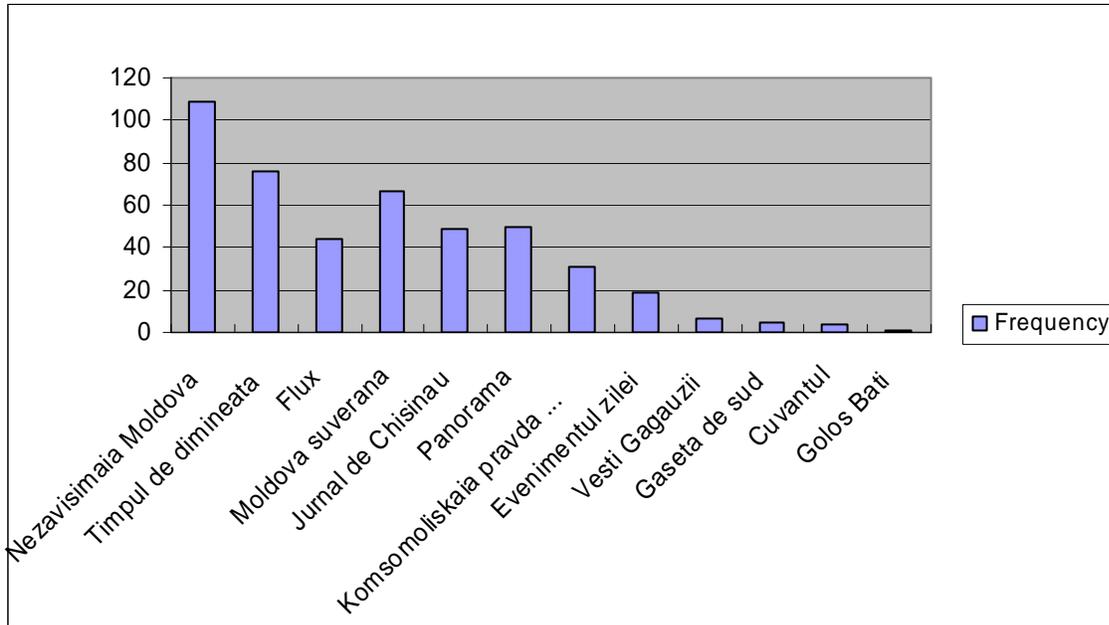
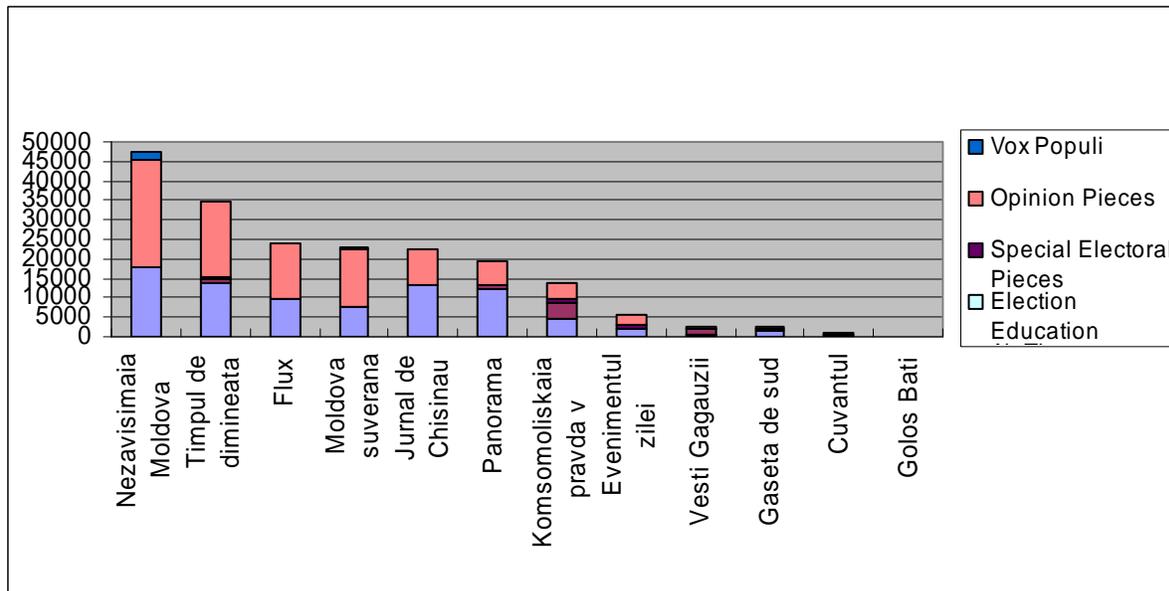


Chart 33. Surface (squared centimeters) allotted to pieces on the election campaign, sq.cm



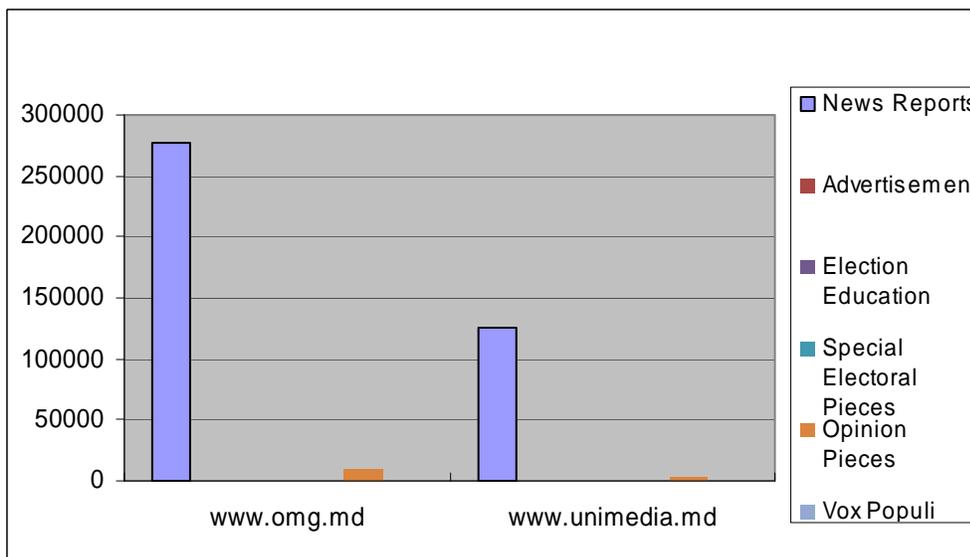
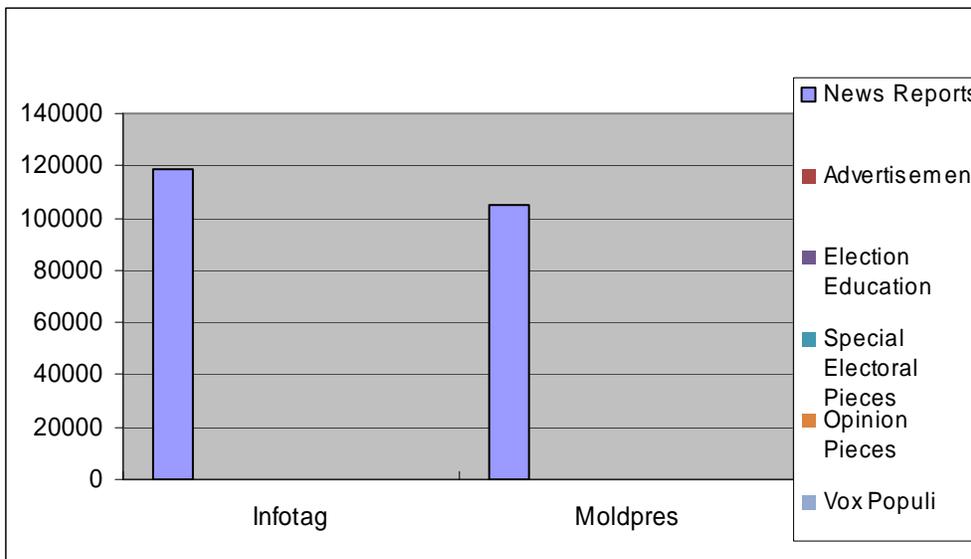
From the thematic viewpoint, during the first monitoring period most of the published journalistic pieces addressed public policies in general and just slightly touched upon some specific problems and situations in the economic or social area. News subjects and sources of information varied, nevertheless their choice indicated the political and electoral preferences of this or that media outlet.

5.1.2 News Agencies and Online Publications

The two monitored news agencies, *Moldpres* and *Infotag* presented in their daily content a total number of 118 pieces of news covering the subject of this monitoring with a total of over 223 characters (no spaces). 65% of the total number of news items and 53% of surface accounted for *Infotag* Agency.

Internet users could access 218 produced or reproduced news items posted on www.unimedia.md and www.omg.md within this period, with a total of over 415 thou characters. Often news reports were accompanied by video sequences that could be watched by those accessing the websites. Over 65% of the number and surface of those news items accounted for www.omg.md.

Charts 34 and 35. Space (characters, no spaces) allotted to pieces on the election campaign by press agencies and websites

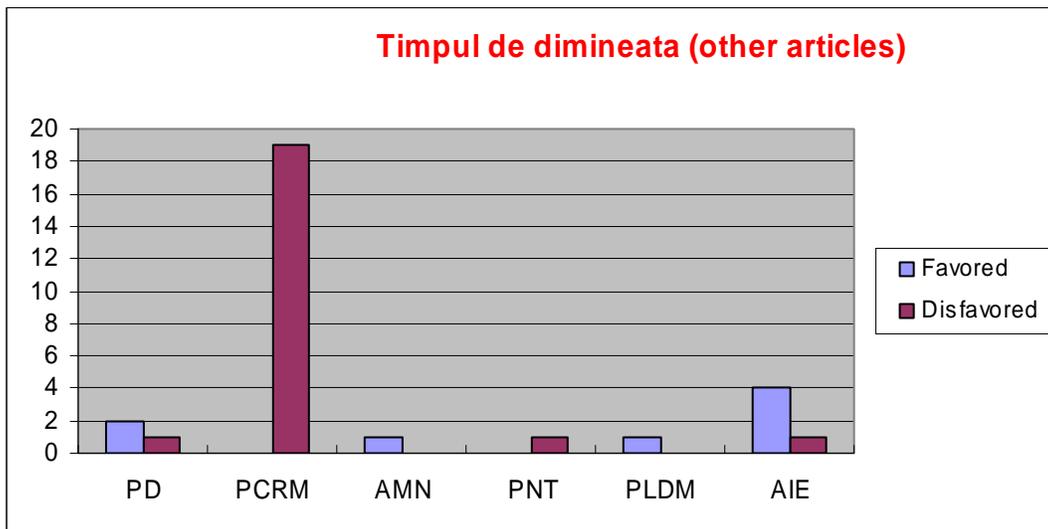
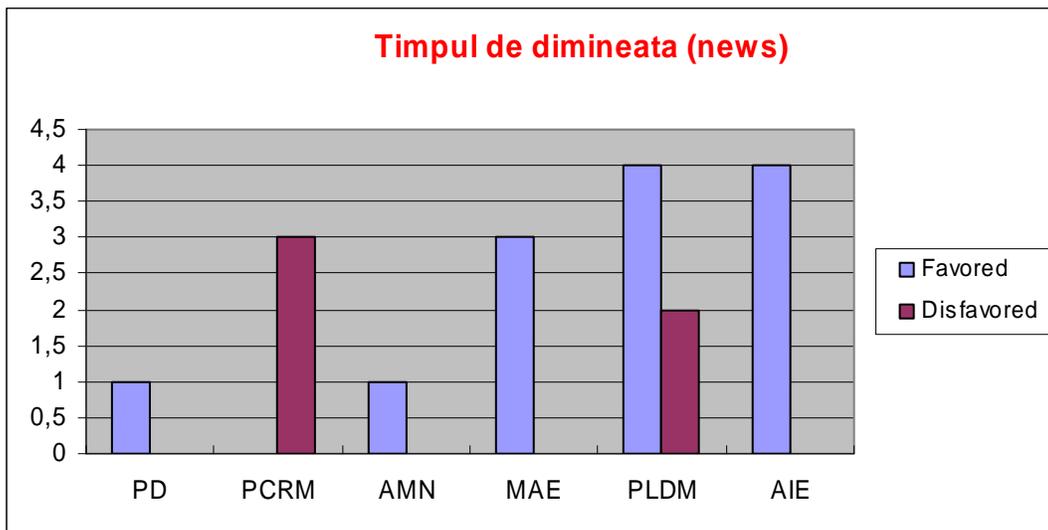


5.2 Candidates, parties directly or indirectly favored or disfavored in news reports and opinion pieces – frequency

5.2.1. Newspapers

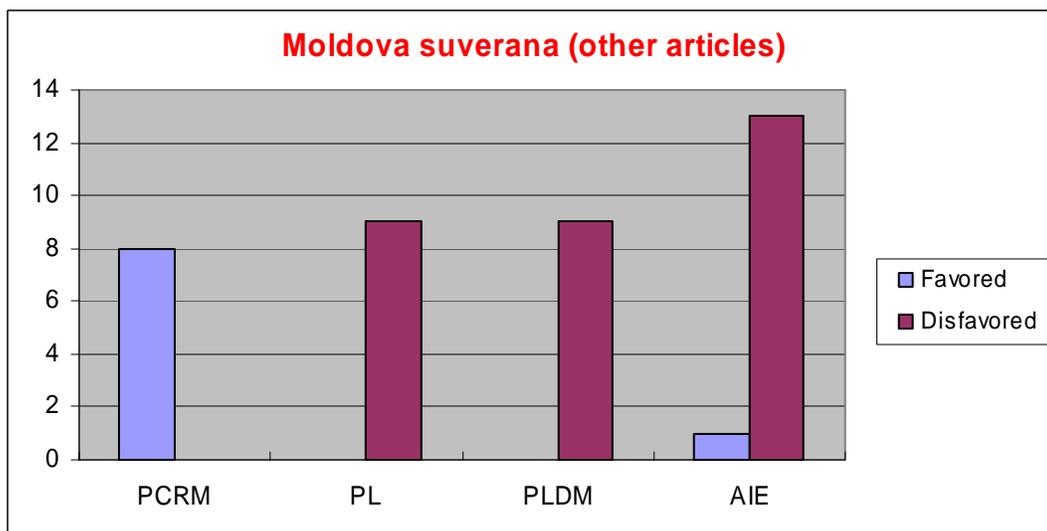
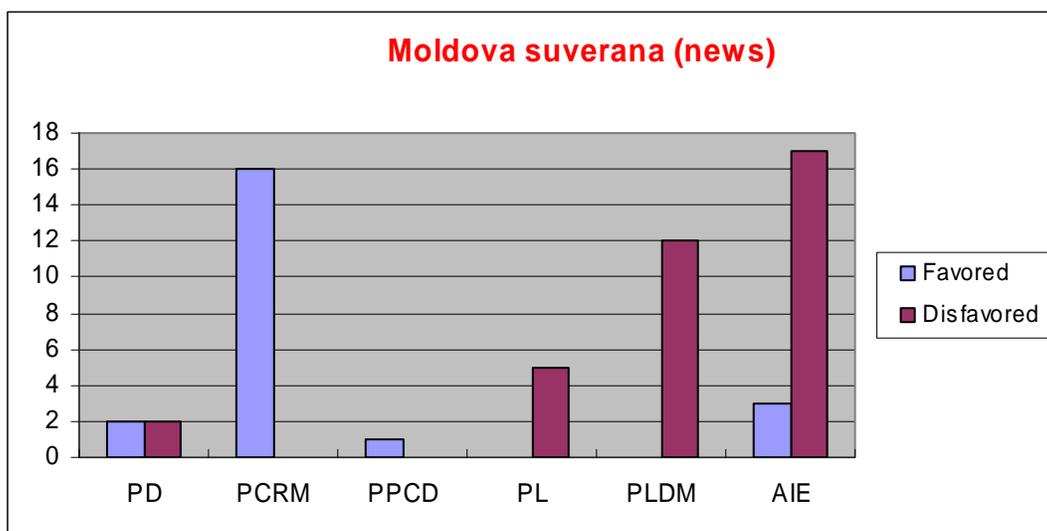
Within the first two weeks of monitoring, *Timpul de dimineață* presented the Alliance for European Integration (AIE) and its parties in neutral or predominantly favoring news. Likely, some extra-parliamentary parties were favored as well. All the news items about the Communist Party in *Timpul de dimineață* within this period featured this electoral candidate in a negative light. The same tendency persisted in opinion articles published in the newspaper. Thus, PCRM was portrayed in unfavorable light 19 times, Social and Political Movement „Pentru Neam și Țară” (For the Nation and the Country), Democratic Party and Our Moldova Alliance were disfavored in an article each. The other four pieces favored AIE as government alliance.

Charts 36 and 37. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Timpul de dimineață – frequency



Moldova Suverană newspaper exclusively portrayed the Communist Party in a favoring light, and in single cases the People’s Christian Democratic Party. In several pieces of news, the Democratic Party and AIE were featured in a neutral light. In general, the editorial policy of the newspaper is rather critical of the AIE and its component parties, especially the Liberal Democratic Party and the Liberal Party, which results in unfavourable features using denigrating language. This editorial tendency is emphasized in other types of articles published in *Moldova Suverană*.

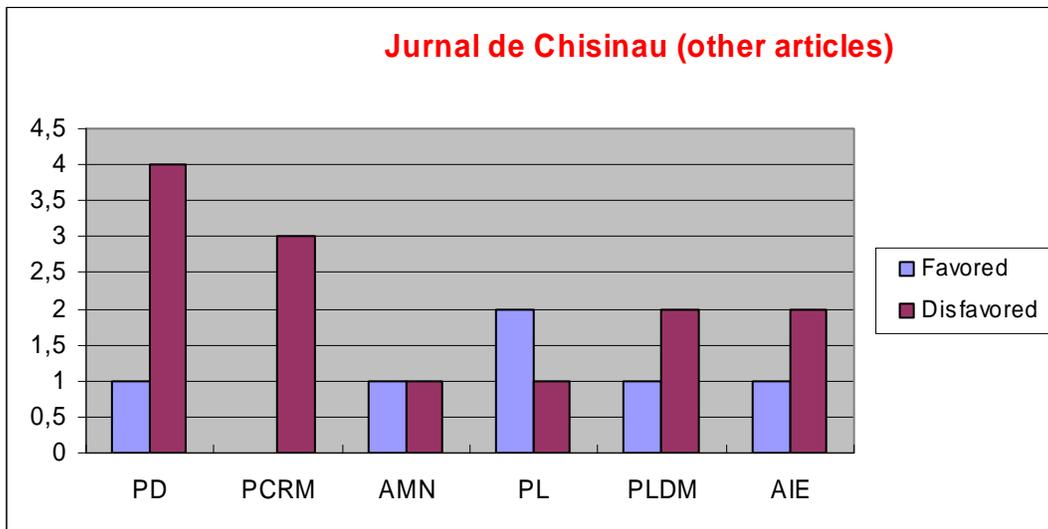
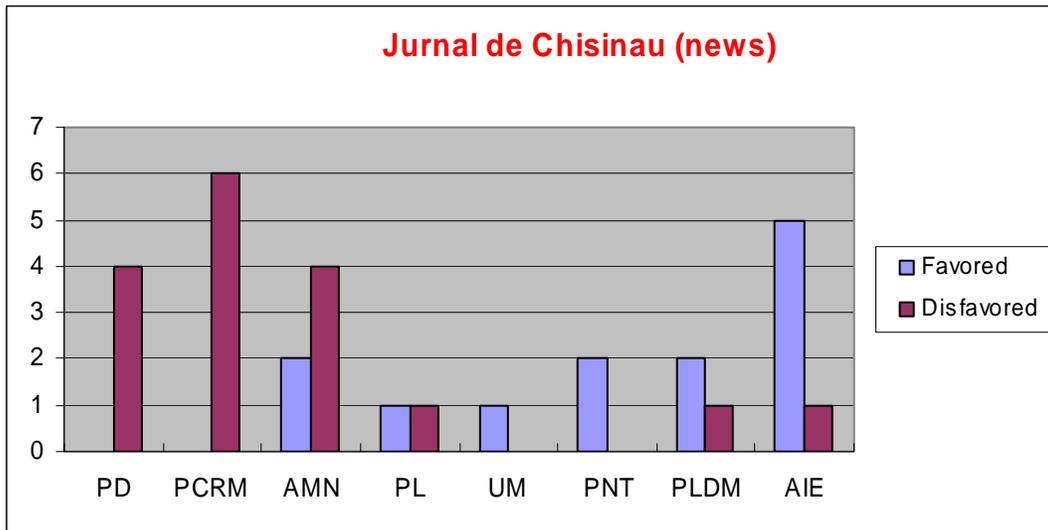
Charts 38 and 39. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by *Moldova Suverană* – frequency



The news in *Jurnal de Chişinău* featured AIE, PLDM, PNȚ and AMN in a favourable light, although the newspaper also published news featuring some of these candidates in a rather unfavourable light (except for PNȚ that was featured only in a positive context). Only PCRM (6 cases) and PDM (4 cases) were featured in a negative light. In most of the other types of articles (predominantly opinion pieces), PCRM and PD were likewise negatively portrayed, while the

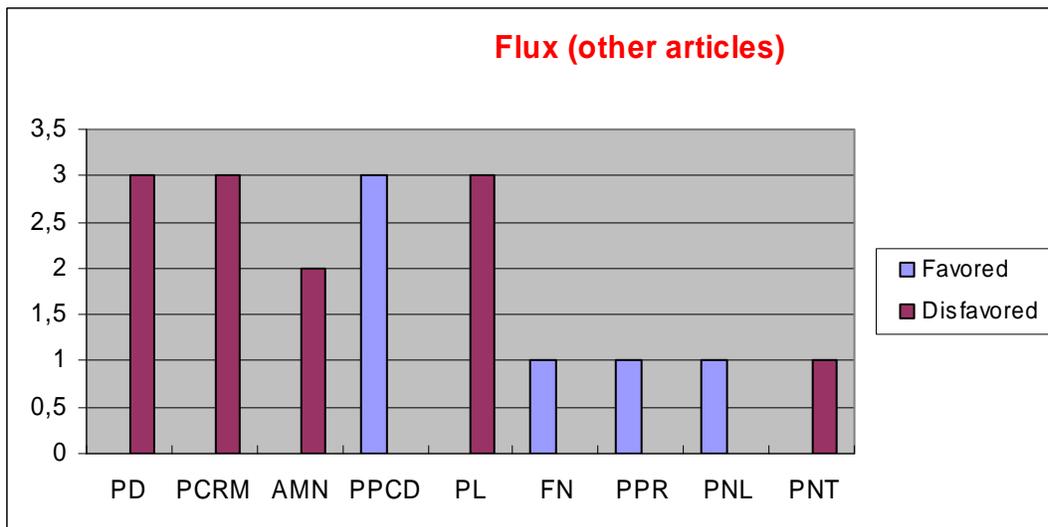
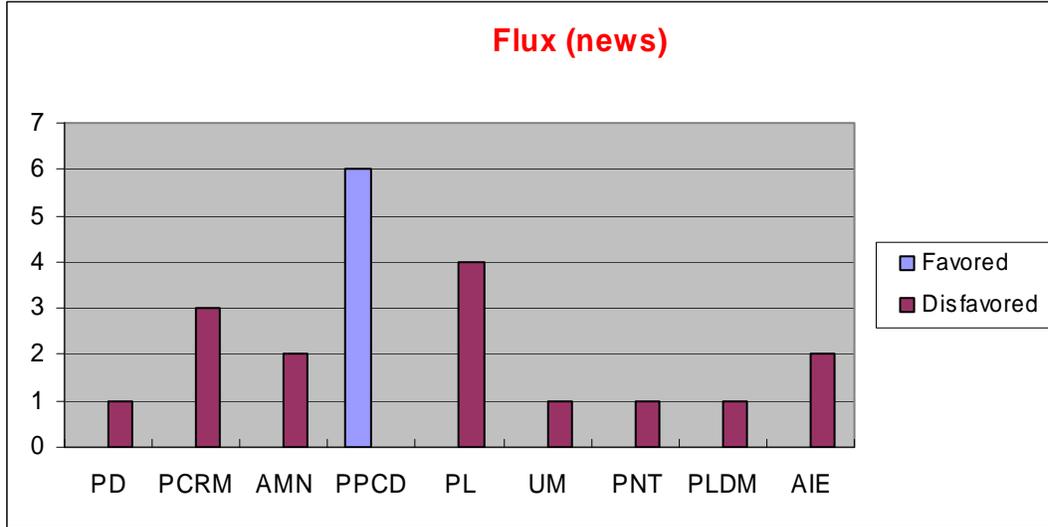
other candidates were featured in a positive light in some cases and in a negative light in the other.

Charts 40 and 41. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Jurnal de Chişinău – frequency



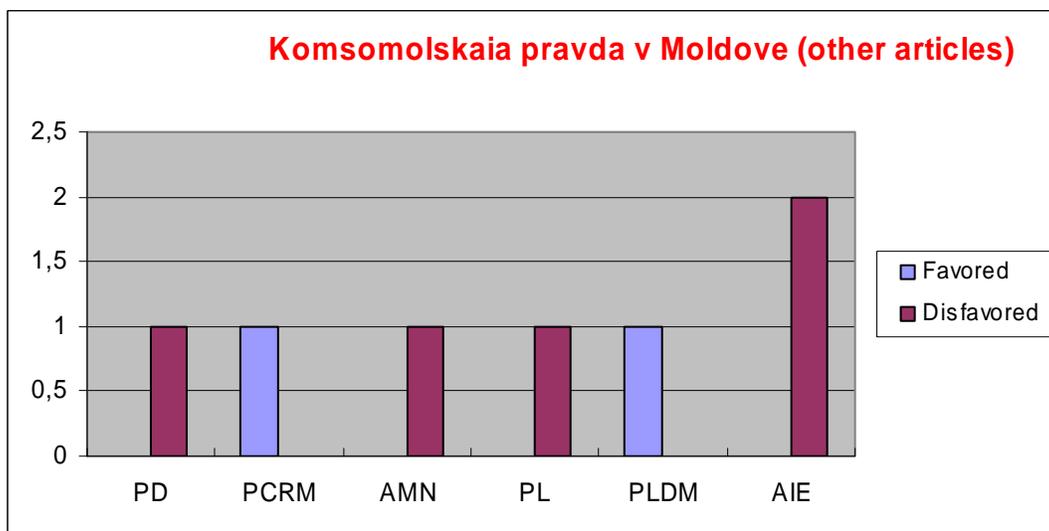
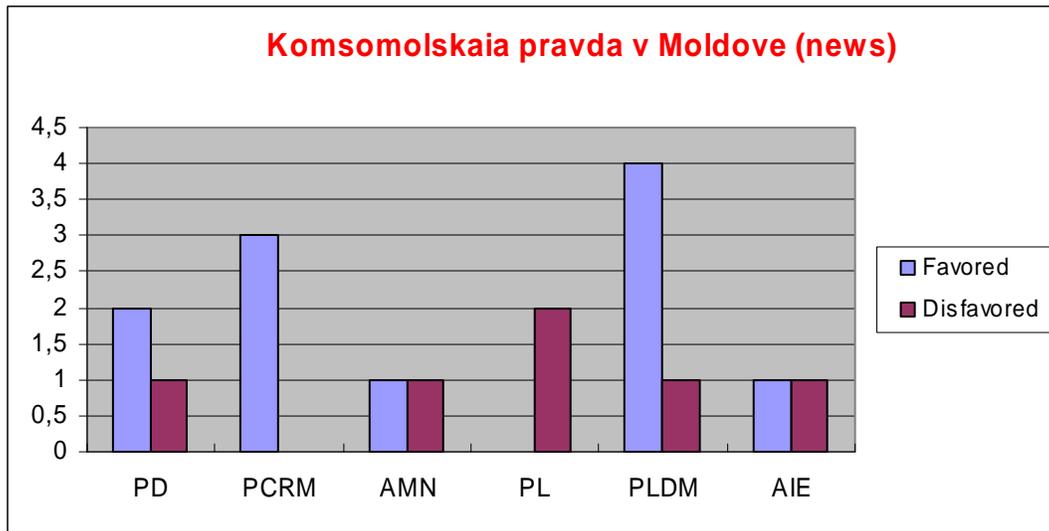
The news in *Flux* newspaper treated positively the only one candidate, the People’s Christian Democratic Party, while all the other parties were featured more often in negative light. The other articles in the newspaper sometimes treated some other candidates apart from PPCD in a neutral or favorable manner: People’s Republican Party, National Liberal Party, „Forţa Nouă” (The New Force) Movement.

Chart 42 and 43. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Flux – frequency



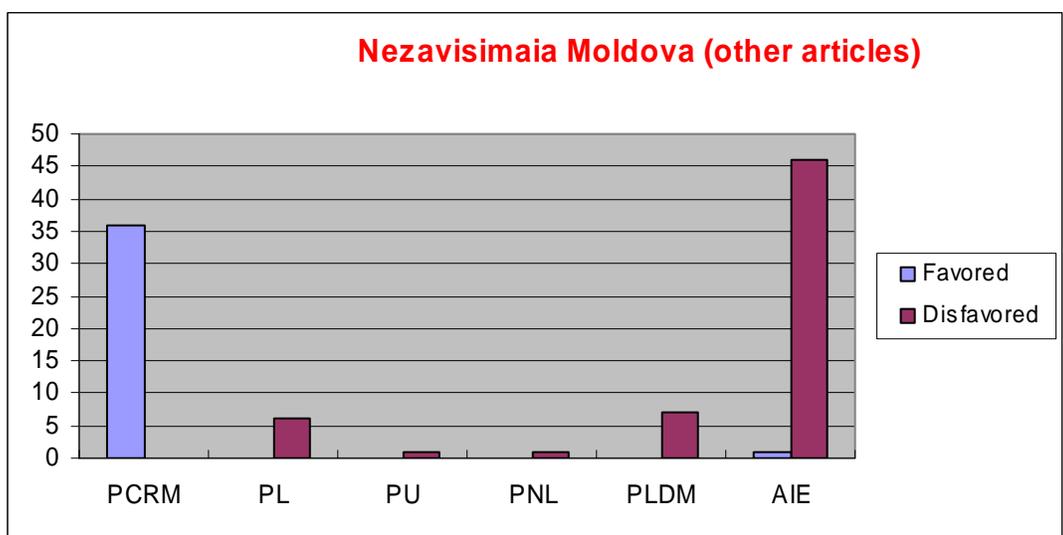
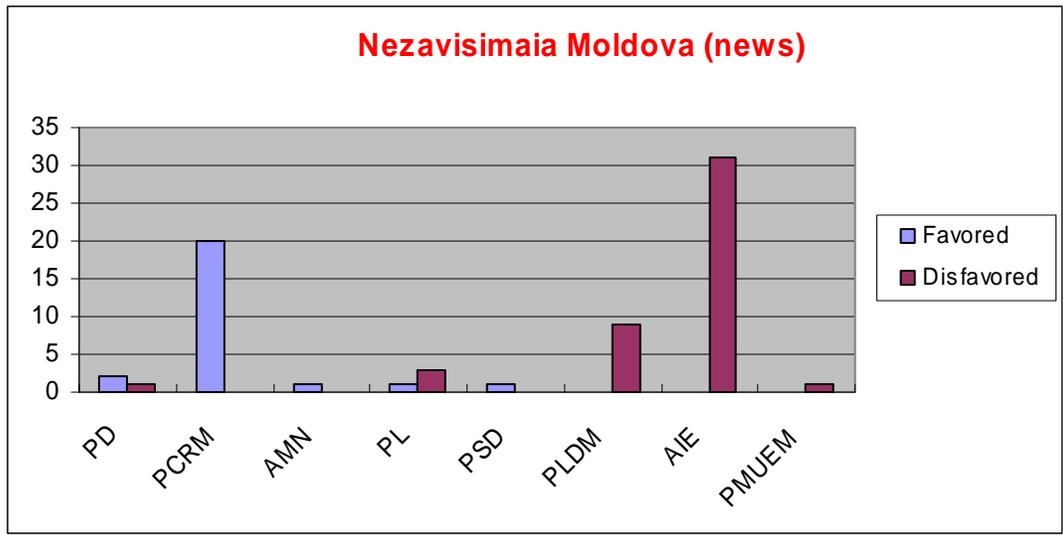
The news in *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* featured some candidates both in a negative and positive light (PLDM, PD, AMN), maintaining a certain editorial balance. Although we cannot say the same thing about the candidature of PCRM (featured in a favoring light both in the news and in the other types of articles) and PL (disfavored on the contrary).

Charts 44 and 45. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* – frequency



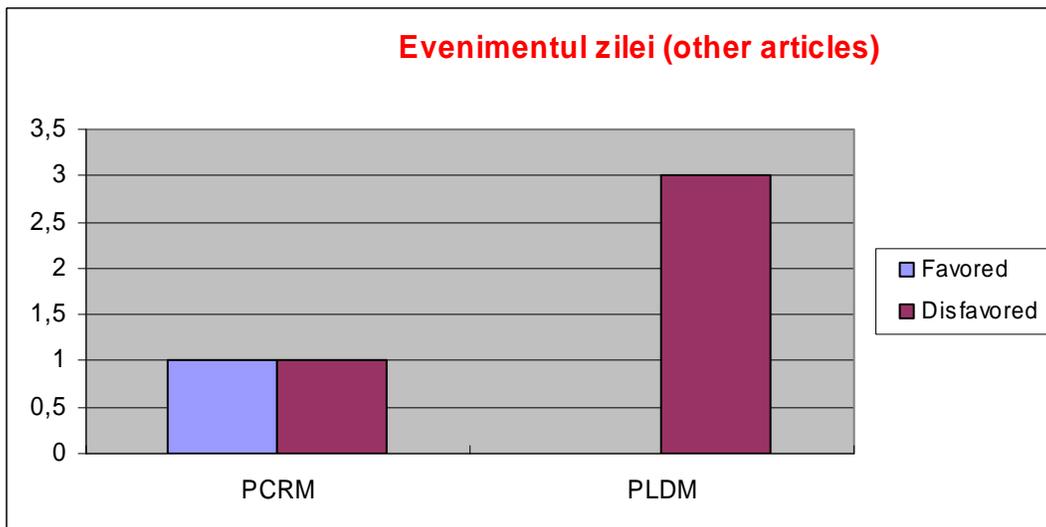
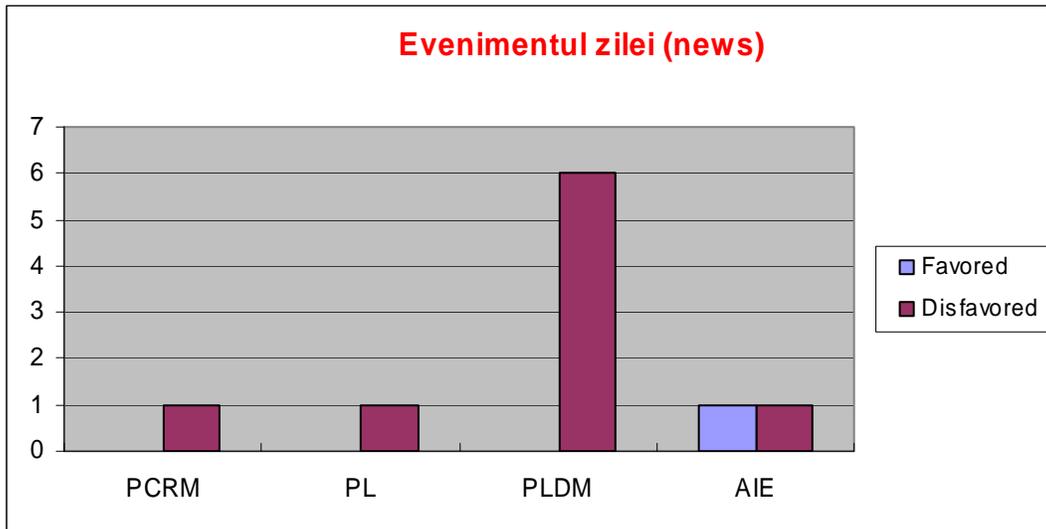
Nezavisimaia Moldova newspaper intensely favored PCRM both in the news and in the other types of published articles. At the same time, the newspaper heavily criticized AIE and some parties part of the Alliance, especially PLDM and PL. It has to be mentioned that the number of articles praising PCRM is really smaller than critical articles addressing the present government. Thus, *Nezavisimaia Moldova* demonstrates engagement of its editorial policy to the electoral interest of PCRM.

Charts 46 and 47. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by *Nezavisimaia Moldova* – frequency



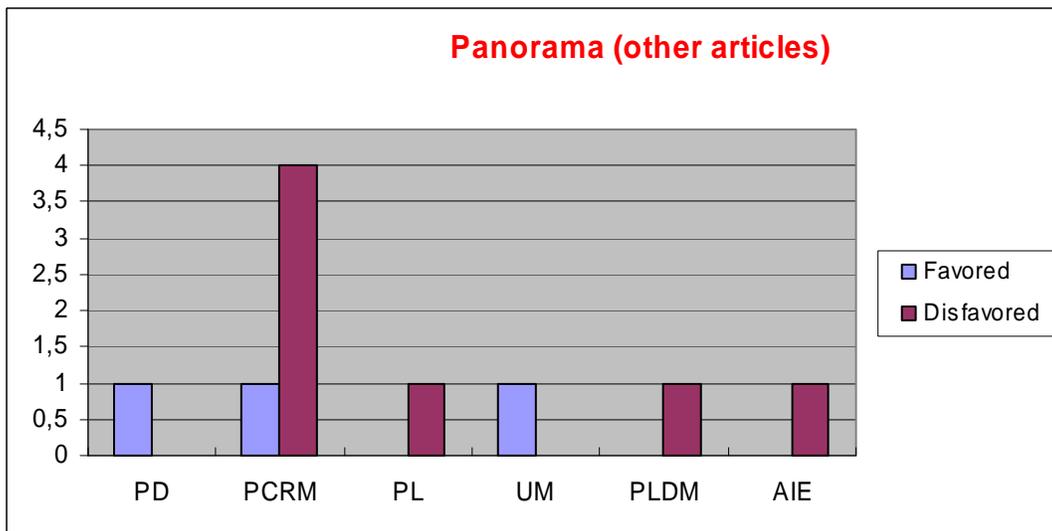
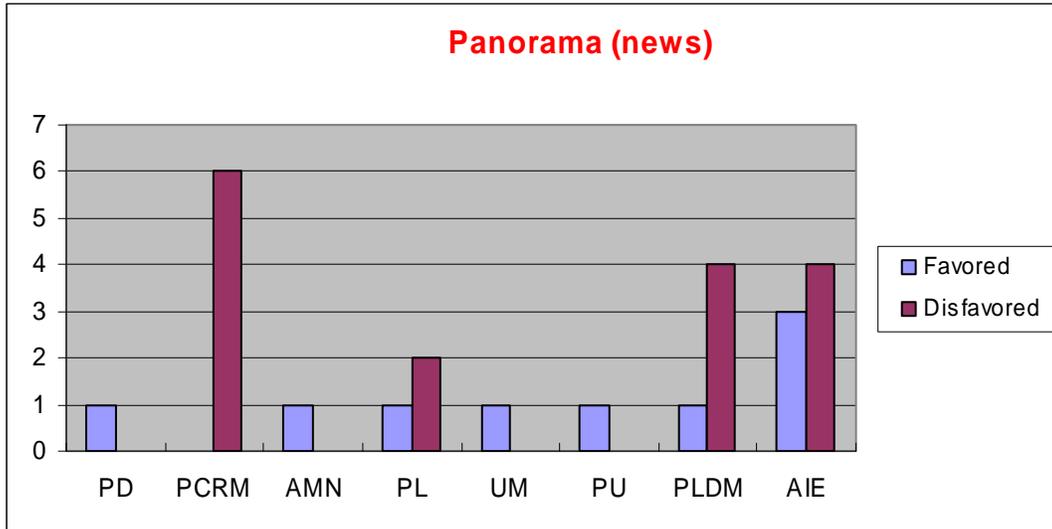
Articles published by *Evenimentul Zilei* have a tendency towards unfavourable features of mainly PLDM, rarer PCRM and PL. The other candidates practically do not appear on pages of the newspaper.

Charts 48 and 49. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Evenimentul Zilei – frequency



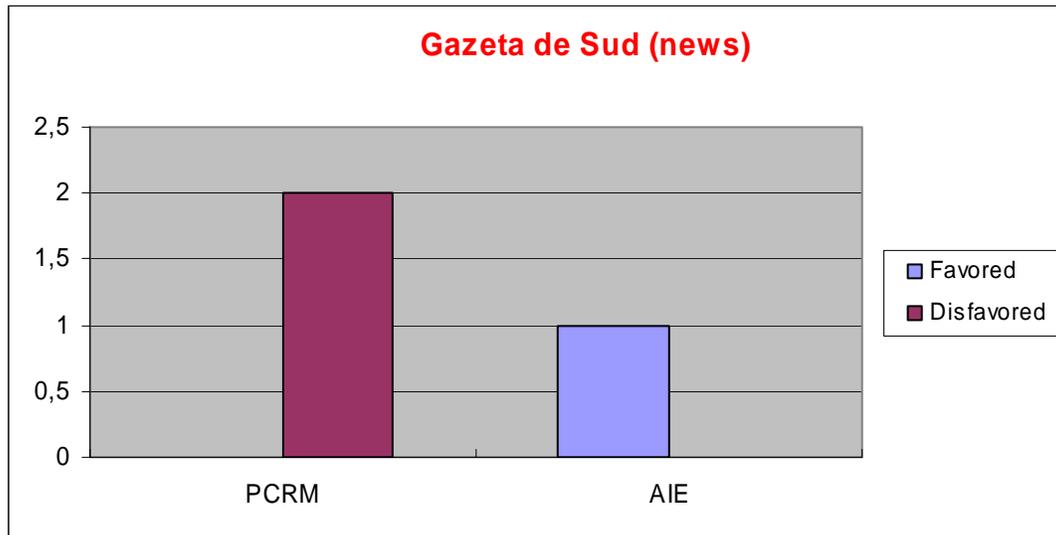
Panorama newspaper features the candidature of PCRM in a negative light in all the news and is criticised in most of the other types of articles. Sometimes, AIE or its components, PLDM and PL, appear in a negative light as well. The other candidates have been seen less on the pages of the newspaper within the first monitoring period.

Charts 50 and 51. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Panorama – frequency



In the course of the first two weeks of the electoral process, *Gazeta de Sud* weekly published only news featuring PCRM in a negative light, and AIE in a positive light.

Chart 52. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Gazeta de Sud – frequency

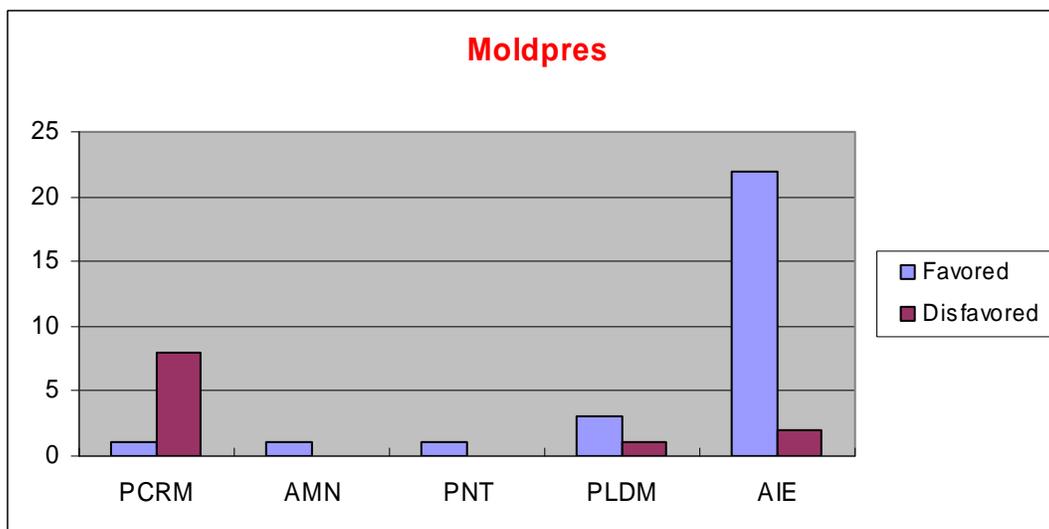


Within 28 September – 10 October, *Golos Bălți* (Bălți) and *Vesti Gagauzii* (Comrat) public newspapers, as well as *Cuvântul* (Rezina) independent newspaper published only neutral articles on the electoral process.

5.2.2. News Agencies and Online Publications

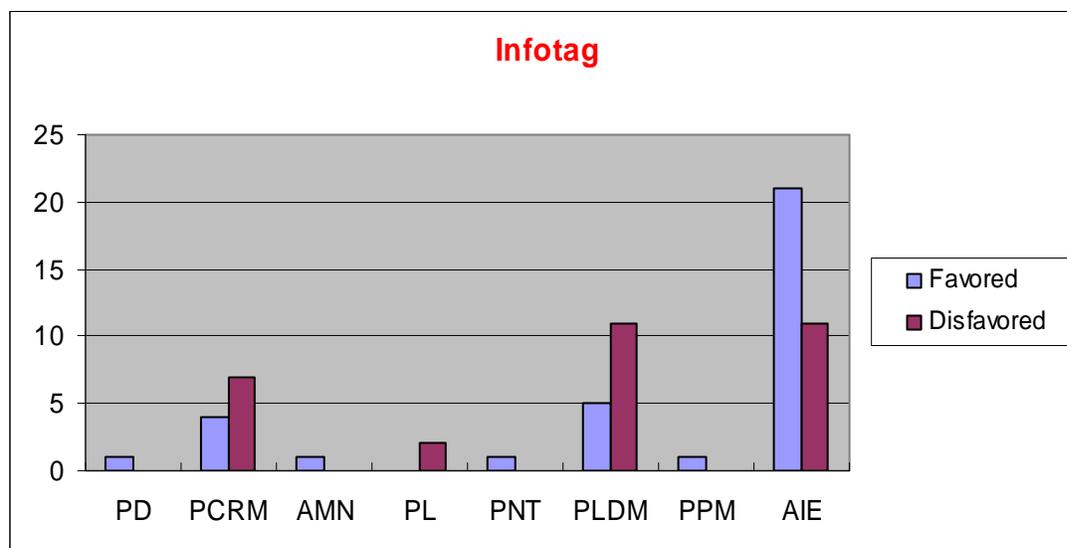
Moldpres press agency published news that predominantly favored government alliance (meetings of Moldovan officials with foreign diplomats, participation of the country’s leaders in different events, etc.). In some news, PCRM was featured in a negative light, while the other candidates appeared rarer, in news items of a neutral nature.

Chart 53. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items by Moldpres – frequency



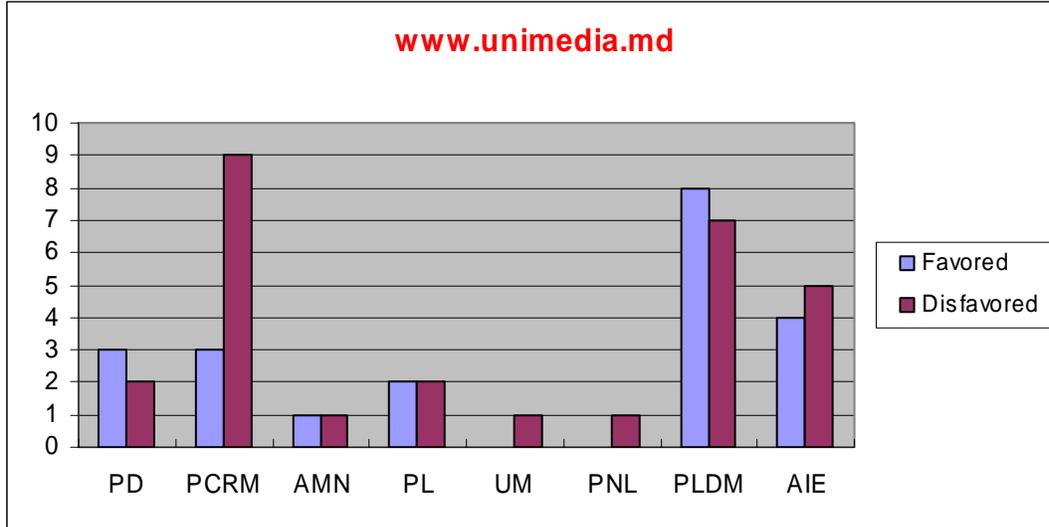
Infotag press agency covers the election campaign in a more or less balanced manner presenting events organized by the candidates or with their participation. In case of accusations launched publicly by some candidates towards others, the agency did not always request the opinion of the injured party. Generally, the main political figures are presented by *Infotag* both in a positive and a negative light.

Chart 54. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items by *Infotag* – frequency



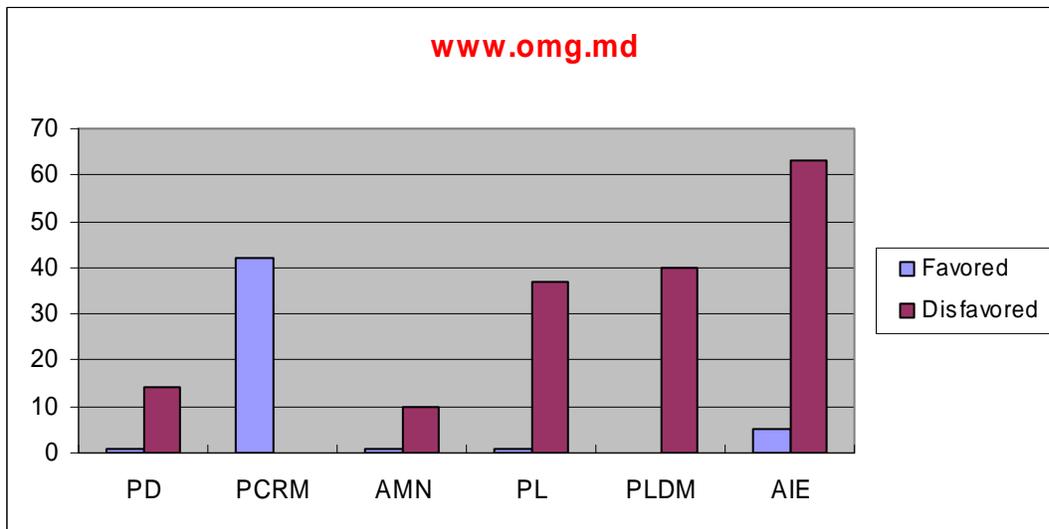
In the news posted on www.unimedia.md, candidates are presented differently, often through declarations made by party leaders in comparison with their political opponents, usually featuring the reaction of the opposite party. From the editorial point of view, the publication pays more attention to PCRM that appears more often in a negative light and PLDM that appears both in a favoring and disfavoring light.

Chart 55. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items on www.unimedia.md – frequency



The news items posted on www.omg.md within the reporting period indicate that the website is a campaigning resource favoring PCRM and heavily criticizing their political opponents, especially PLDM and PL, with no right of reply and in a denigrating manner.

Chart 56. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items on www.omg.md – frequency



ANNEX

Case Study No.1

Context 28.09.2010 The Acting President Mihai Ghimpu signed the decree on dissolution of Parliament and set the date of anticipated parliamentary elections for 28 November.		
Media	Media Presentation	Remarks
Publika TV, 19.00	The Acting President Mihai Ghimpu has signed the decree on dissolution of the current Legislative. He announced that anticipated parliamentary elections would take place on 28 November this year. Thus, political parties will be engaged in an election campaign within the following two months.	Publika TV has two items on decree signing. The first one is a stand-up from the President's declaration. The second is a live broadcast from the Parliament Chamber. Publika TV does not offer explanations on the issue.
N4, 19.30	The Parliament has been dissolved. The President has signed a decree before the press. „Thus, MG has been left without a card up his sleeve, as he used to say, to prevent anticipated parliamentary elections”. „Ghimpu himself recognizes that he is unsatisfied with his activity as head of state and Parliament”. „Despite a number of opinions expressed by lawyers and politicians, Ghimpu says he will stay head of state until new Parliament is elected.”	During the entire report, there is negative emphasis made by the reporter presenting the acting head of state not quite in a positive light. Right from the beginning, the reporter comes with a remark of his own and then continues with the other statements lacking equidistance and fairness. In order to make it seem less criticizing to the address of the president, the author makes reference to „opinions expressed by lawyers and politicians” without giving a name, which makes the statements not sound credible.
Jurnal TV, 20.00	The acting president Mihai Ghimpu has signed the decree on dissolution of the Legislative. At the same time Mihai Ghimpu clarified that until new Parliament comes into authority, MPs would sit to adopt just organic laws. The	The report is simple, consists of an intro and a stand-up with the acting president. The news item is unbiased and objective, but does not offer expert explanations to help the viewer better understand what is

	<p>head of state also specified the date of anticipated parliamentary elections that would take place on 28 November this year.</p>	<p>happening.</p>
<p>Moldova 1, 21.00</p>	<p>The channel broadcast the declaration of Mihai Ghimpu about the signing of the decree on dissolution of Parliament. The journalist says that he „regretted” he had to sign the document and mentions, citing the president, what Parliament is to do after announcement of dissolution.</p> <p>In another separate news piece, Eugen Stirbu, CEC chairman, announced that the election campaign would start the next day.</p>	<p>The news is presented in an objective and unbiased manner. The journalist did not try to find out and offer more explanations from other political figures on the issue. The related news item based on a declaration by CEC chairman elaborates on the issue, but does not help the viewer understand why the Parliament has been dissolved.</p>
<p>NIT, 22.00</p>	<p>„It is a historic moment for RM. Mihai Ghimpu has signed the last decree, the one on dissolution of Parliament.” „The head of state expressed his regret that the current government had ended...” „One could see with the naked eye that the hand of the alliance leader trembled when he signed the end of his government.”</p> <p>Iurie Munteanu, PCRM secretary: „Today Ghimpu confirmed once again that neither he nor his accomplices... had the intention of dissolving the Parliament... Today Ghimpu was purple with rage when signed the decree, trembling he recognized once again...” Reporter: „At the end of the mandate, Ghimpu recognized that he was not satisfied with the results of the government and felt very tired”.</p>	<p>„The historic moment” presented by NIT abounds in appreciations and caustic remarks to the address of the acting president and government alliance either given by the reporter or by their sources (the current government has ended, Ghimpu purple with rage and trembling).</p> <p>The report is dominated by comments and interpretations of the reporter on the way the decree has been signed. He says that the president’s hand trembled when he signed the decree, however one cannot see this in the gross plan presented in the report. The source enquired by the reporter rather comes with a ham note instead of appreciating or commenting on the event. The report cannot be considered unbiased and equidistant, while pluralism of opinions ends with a statement</p>

		favoring PCRM.
Prime TV, 21.00	The acting president has signed the decree on dissolution of Parliament. According to the document, on 28 November, Moldovan nationals will be called to ballot boxes to elect a new Parliament. Until the elections, MPs can sit, however they will adopt only simple decisions and laws. Dissolution of Parliament takes place exactly 60 days before anticipated parliamentary elections. The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova has been dissolved after the failure of the two attempts to elect the head of state, as well as the failure to amend article 78 of the Constitution by Referendum for the president to be elected by people.	The issue is treated in an unbiased and equidistant manner. Unlike other TV channels, Prime TV also offers a more informative background that explains the context of dissolution and consequences. The news piece does not offer room for other sources, only images from the press conference where the president signed the decree.
2 Plus, 20.00	The president Mihai Ghimpu has signed the decree on dissolution of the legislative today in front of journalists.	The news item is objective and unbiased, but there is no diversification of sources to offer more explanations on the matter.
Vocea Basarabiei, 18.00	The acting president Mihai Ghimpu has signed the decree on dissolution of Parliament. The moment that also signals the start of the election campaign for anticipated elections. „The day has come to show that I will conform to the Constitution and soon you will get convinced that all those who have claimed that Ghimpu would not dissolve the Parliament, that Ghimpu is like that, have played poor politics and lied to the citizens”.	The selected insert makes reference to „all those who have played poor politics”, but does not give room for an expert or politician to explain why their politics has been poor or how correct this decision of Mihai Ghimpu is.
Radio Moldova, 19.00	The acting president has signed the decree on dissolution of Parliament of XVIIIth legislature. He expressed his regret that he had to sign the document, nevertheless Mihai Ghimpu also mentioned the good	The fact that information about dissolution of the Parliament is part of a report from an AIE briefing makes it harder to perceive the information and creates an

	side of things, expressing his confidence that citizens who had voted for change shall fight for it till the end. The issue is elaborated upon in <i>Panorama Zilei</i> show as a continuation of the report from an AIE briefing.	unnatural link between the two issues. The more so, since there is no tangency between those. In the first item, Mihai Ghimpu appeared as one of AIE leaders, while in the second one as the acting head of state. The subject is confusing.
<p>Conclusions: Most of the news reports on the issue lack context, in which the document has been signed and comments of some independent commentators that would help citizens to understand the signing of this decree. The only channel that gives details is NIT, but they exaggerate with caustic comments of the source and ungrounded observations of the reporter, which makes the subject biased and not objective.</p>		

Case Study No.2

<p>Context 28.09.2010 The last sitting of the Parliament was canceled by the decision of the three AIE leaders who declared that there was no more need in it, since the Government had taken on personal responsibility for the draft law on certain compensations.</p>		
Media	Media Presentation	Remarks
Moldova 1, 21.00	PD, PL and AMN got angry with the decision of the prime minister to take on the responsibility before the Parliament. They accused him of populism because such a law had to be voted in Parliament. In response, the premier reminded that the Government was of coalition and therefore was of AIE.	The subject is presented in an unbiased, equidistant and balanced manner.
Publika TV, 19.00	The Alliance for European Integration is on the razor's edge. Today, dissatisfaction has stirred up again. The Parliament's sitting was cancelled, while Mihai Ghimpu, Marian Lupu and Serafim Urechean jointly attacked Vlad Filat. Each of them declared their discontent with the manner the premier had chosen to announce rectifications to the Budget	The subject consists of two parts. Information about the situation within the alliance is broadcast live. It is followed by declarations made by the leaders of the four parties. The item is unbiased and equidistant.

	Law.	
NIT, 22.00	<p>„AIE MPs hid in a closed sitting”. „The sitting was demonstratively ignored by the premier, AIE leaders did not hide their emotions on the stairs, the three of them competing in declarations”.</p> <p>Reporter: „If there were people who thought AIE still existed, yesterday’s event demonstrated the decease. Partners still try to show that they are not drowning at the shore.”</p> <p>„Vladimir Filat gave to understand his colleagues that they were going different ways and that electoral bonuses would not be shared. De facto, AIE does not exist anymore. It has to be mentioned that a single initiative on pension indexation registered with the Parliament Chamber was filed by PCRM.”</p>	<p>The subject draws attention by a relatively long duration for a bulletin – 5.15 minutes.</p> <p>Misunderstandings between AIE leaders inspire NIT reporter to give a number of comments on the event. In this context, the report seems more of a commentary than a news piece or narration. Even if the reporter refers to the reaction of the prime-minister Filat, the piece lacks his position, which raises a number of question marks whether the premier has really said so or has given to understand those claimed by the reporter.</p> <p>The authors of the subject use images from the archives not mentioning it, which creates a great contradiction between the news subjects. (E.g. while Mihai Ghimpu talks about Vladimir Filat, the latter is featured in an armchair smiling).</p>
N4, 19.30	<p>An unprecedented scandal in AIE. Filat is accused of populism and of striking a blow to the alliance, as well as of manipulating ministers who come from the other parties.</p> <p>In another subject, Vlad Filat calls AIE leaders to calm down.</p>	<p>The TV channel offered large space to this subject. The first item features the three leaders who have given a number of appreciations to the gesture of the prime minister, while the second features Vlad Filat who responds to those. Taken as a whole, these news pieces create a balance, only the first subject is larger and features more attacks to the address of the prime minister.</p>
Jurnal TV, 20.00	<p>On the eve of elections, the quarrel from within the Alliance for European Integration is unfolding. At the alliance</p>	<p>The subject is balanced by presenting all the parties involved. They all have equal time to present</p>

	<p>sitting, PL, AMN and PD called the Government to account for budget rectifications operated by the executive yesterday. PLDM faction members left the Alliance sitting in protest. Alliance members criticized the decision of the premier Vlad Filat and accused him of political egoism and electoral interests. The premier Vlad Filat defends himself. Because of misunderstandings within AIE, the last sitting of the current Parliament was cancelled.</p>	<p>their position. The language is appropriate, while the message of the news item is equidistant and unbiased.</p>
2 Plus	<p>AIE cannot arrive to the finish line without a scandal. AIE leaders decided to sanction Vlad Filat for taking on the responsibility for amendments to the budget and cancelled the Parliament sitting.</p>	<p>The news item emphasizes the discontent of the three AIE members (M.Lupu, S.Urechean and M.Ghimpu) of the premier's decision to take on responsibility before the Parliament with relation to amendment of the Law on the State Budget. The news report does not feature a response of the premier to the accusations of the three leaders; it is given by a PLDM representative.</p> <p>Vlad Filat appears in another news report that makes reference to the observations of the Alliance leaders.</p> <p>Fairness and equidistance is offered by the two pieces taken as a whole, and not by the subject covering misunderstandings from within the Alliance.</p>
Prime TV, 20.00	<p>A big scandal on the last hundred of meters within the governing alliance. The concrete, as well as the patience of AIE leaders cracked after their colleague, premier Vlad Filat, decided yesterday to</p>	<p>The news is presented in a balanced manner, with presence of all the sources. The reporter gave evidence of fairness and equidistance. Nevertheless, there are some</p>

	<p>amend the budget for 2010 without having consulted the Parliamentary majority. However, the premier's gesture was otherwise interpreted by the leaders of the government alliance. Filat declared that he „felt a threat that the draft would not be voted in Parliament and did not want citizens who were to benefit from those aids to run a risk”.</p>	<p>expressions that leave room for interpretations, but they are minor and do not affect the subject in terms of equidistance and fairness.</p>
<p>Vocea Basarabiei, 18.00</p>	<p>The last sitting of the Parliament was cancelled by the decision of the three AIE leaders who declared that the sitting was no longer necessary since the Government had taken on responsibility for the draft law on allocation of certain compensations. The three AIE leaders declared they were disturbed by the gesture of the premier Vlad Filat.</p>	<p>The three leaders make a number of declarations on the situation within AIE and criticize the Government for the responsibility undertaken beyond the Parliament.</p> <p>The position of Vlad Filat is presented in a separate news piece. The two subjects together offer a balance. The items are unbiased and equidistant.</p>
<p>Radio Moldova, 19.00</p>	<p>The three AIE leaders heavily criticized Vlad Filat for the yesterday's decision of the Executive. According to them, he ignored the understanding within the Alliance, as well as the draft by the Parliament to amend the budget. Ghimpu looked disturbed by the decision of the prime minister. Lupu accused Filat of political egoism and that his actions had been guided by electoral pursues. Urechean said that expectations had been too high. Mihai Godea was calmer in his statements.</p>	<p>The journalist allows themselves some appreciations with regard to the attitude towards the positions of political leaders.</p>
<p>Conclusions: A number of the media did not give explanations, but just referred to what had happened. Some televisions gave their own observations on the matter, which made it difficult to understand the message of the political leaders, while other TV channels presented the subject in two different pieces, which lead to even more confusion on the misunderstanding within the Alliance.</p>		

Case Study No. 3

<p>Context 05-06.10.2010 The premier Vlad Filat, PLDM leader, called members of the Executive who were on electoral lists for the elections of 28 November to withdraw their candidacy and to continue working in the Government.</p>		
Media	Media Presentation	Remarks
Prime TV, 20.00	<p>The premier considers that Alliance parties have to delegate other ministers who were to be appointed by a presidential decree for the period of the election campaign. The leader of Our Moldova Alliance qualified this proposal as an electoral trick. The chairman of the Democratic Party, Marian Lupu, says that the activity of the Executive cannot be affected by the fact that a good part of ministers would be dismissed, since they can be substituted by vice-ministers. And members of the Political Bureau of the Liberal Party looked bewildered by the fact that Vlad Filat had not consulted his colleagues from the Alliance on the activity of ministers.</p>	<p>They start by a declaration by premier Filat who is only cited against the background of the Government building. The other leaders appear in the picture, except for the Liberal Party. The position of this party is presented by a release posted on PL's website. Proceeding from this, as well as from the space offered to each source, the news piece is not equidistant and biased and does not respect the balance of sources.</p>
NIT, 22.00	<p>Spirits keep stirring in AIE. Filat accuses his colleagues from the coalition of having got down to the campaign, because of which the Government has been left non-operational. The other three have accused Filat of not complying with the Constitution and exceeding his authority of the prime minister.</p> <p>Today, the government got together in full force, <u>most likely</u> for the last time. Discussions with the ministers from PL, AMN, and PD suggest that Filat makes heavy weather of it.</p>	<p>Although the majority of sources are presented, the piece is confusing. It features a number of accusations that refer to different subjects. The three leaders of the government, although cited several times, do not get to say anything without the reporter's mediation.</p> <p>The unfairness of the journalist is evident from the use of a number of idiomatic verbs and conclusions belonging to certain personalities in Moldovan politics.</p>
Jurnal TV,	They fight for... ministers. While the	Although the author starts with a

20.00	<p>Liberal Party has decided to withdraw heads of ministries from electoral lists, representatives of the Democratic Party say they are not going to give their... ministers back to Filat. On the other hand, Our Moldova Alliance says that has not made any decision in this regard yet. The reaction of PL, AMN and PD followed after the premier Vlad Filat, PLD leader, requested the members of the Executive who were on electoral lists for elections of 28 November to withdraw their candidacies and to continue their work in the Government.</p>	<p>comparison – the four were making the bazaar – she comes back to the classic form of presenting a narration that has several sources and viewpoints. Except for the premier Vlad Filat, who is just cited repeatedly. The item is unbiased and equidistant but less balanced.</p>
Publika TV	<p>Vlad Filat wants ministers back in the Executive. The premier has addressed to his colleague in the Alliance through press and requested a part of the members of Government to be delegated back to the Government or to be substituted on electoral lists. Reactions from his partners in the Alliance followed.</p>	<p>The subject is divided in two. The first part has a stand-up from the press conference of Filat; the second part features reactions of Alliance leaders. The piece is composed solely of reactions without comments or interpretations.</p>
N4, 19.30	<p>The Government was left without ministers. 11 heads of ministries were included on electoral lists, and now the government does not have quorum to sit in the Cabinet. In response, M. Lupu tells the premier to solve problems with the help of deputy ministers.</p>	<p>The news report dominates by the premier Vlad Filat through his interventions at a press conference. The other parties are not present or just cited. The news is biased and not equidistant and does not quite respect pluralism of ideas.</p>
2 Plus	<p>Did not cover the subject.</p>	
Moldova 1, 21.00	<p>PLDM leader, premier Vlad Filat, calls ministers registered for the election campaign to come back to the Government to ensure functioning of the Executive. Some Alliance colleagues declare that deputy ministers could act as substitutes.</p>	<p>A balanced subject with declarations of all the parties involved.</p>

Radio Moldova, 19.00	RM Government cannot make decisions anymore after 11 ministers have been included on the electoral lists of political parties for the elections of 28 November, declared the premier Vlad Filat at a press conference. PLDM appeals to their AIE colleagues to delegate their colleagues back to the Government.	From the subject of electoral lists the reporter goes on to other political declarations on anticipated elections. The radio station gives the opinion of some experts on the ministers on electoral lists, but does not present the opinion of those concerned, that is of the other parties from the government alliance. In such conditions, the piece does not meet the criteria of a balanced and unbiased subject.
Vocea Basarabiei, 18.00	A number of ministers of Filat's Cabinet will have to resign from their positions after being included in electoral lists.	A general piece of news, quotations from the law and enlisting those who have to resign from their positions if they are present on electoral lists. Unbiased and equidistant.
Vocea Basarabiei, 18.00	The premier Vlad Filat requests ministers to come back to the Government or to delegate other people to ensure functioning of the Executive.	The news is unbiased, equidistant and balanced. It presents all the viewpoints.
<p>Conclusions: The request of the premier Filat was largely covered in the monitored press. Some even came back to it on the following day to present some delayed reactions that could not be covered on the day when the premier made the announcement. The majority of subjects were equidistant and unbiased, with exception of NIT that used rather expressive language to present the leaders of government alliance.</p>		

Case Study No. 4

<p>Context 06.10.2010 The acting president Mihai Ghimpu signed a draft law approved by the Government, by which he takes on responsibility for having amended the budget for the year of 2010.</p>		
Media	Media Presentation	Remarks
Prime TV,	Today, the current legislative was signed by the acting president Mihai Ghimpu,	At the first sight, the subject is treated in an equidistant and

21.00	<p>however not without mutual blames enounced by both parties. Mihai Ghimpu says that the premier has violated the Constitution when issued the ordinance of the government to amend the budget law. In his turn, the premier rejects the accusations. In response, the premier rejects the accusation and suggests Mihai Ghimpu to address to the Constitutional Court.</p>	<p>unbiased manner, but if we are more attentive, it offers much less space for reaction to the premier in comparison with the other political figures. It has to be mentioned that the premier Vlad Filat is just cited and does not appear live as Mihai Ghimpu.</p>
NIT	<p>Ghimpu accuses Filat of having violated the Constitution.</p>	<p>NIT present the news as a simple news report reproduced from Basa Press agency.</p>
Jurnal TV	<p>Mihai Ghimpu has signed the Law on amendment of the state budget for 2010 and promised to promulgate it by the end of the day. It happened after he declared to journalists that Vlad Filat had violated the Constitution when approved the Decision not having consulted the Legislative. The premier objects to the head of state and claims having acted in compliance with the current legislation.</p>	<p>The news is equidistant and unbiased.</p>
Publika TV, 19.00	<p>Another episode of the war between Mihai Ghimpu and Vlad Filat took place today. The acting president accused the premier of having violated the provisions of the Constitution when announcing that the Government took on the responsibility to amend the budget law. However he declared again that the dice had been thrown and the same Constitution obligated him to promulgate the regulatory act. The response of Filat was short to follow. The premier said that by signing the law, the president did nothing but committed the same sin.</p>	<p>The subject is treated in an unbiased and equidistant manner consisting just of stand-ups of the two. At the end a reporter tells how the decree has been signed.</p>

<p>N4, 19.30 (05.10.2010)</p>	<p>Nevertheless, misunderstandings between Alliance leaders continue. The draft law approved two weeks ago that had launched a scandal in AIE was not published today in the Official Monitor. Declarations of the premier and the acting president on why the document has not been signed.</p>	<p>The subject is not balanced. The premier has more space for explanations disfavoring the acting president. We cannot talk about fairness either, since the piece starts with a conclusion.</p>
<p>N4, 19.30 (06.10.2010)</p>	<p>And when everybody thought the Alliance leaders had made up, misunderstandings aggravated today. The acting president Mihai Ghimpu accuses the premier of having violated the Constitution. Ghimpu declared at a press conference organized just by three of the four members of the coalition... that the premier had violated the supreme law of the country. In response, Filat encourages Ghimpu to go to the Constitutional Court if he thinks so.</p>	<p>The Subject is not balanced in space offered to the two parties involved. The premier has more space and manages to make himself clearer in his declarations compared to the other sources requested in the piece.</p>
<p>2 Plus</p>	<p>Did not cover the subject.</p>	
<p>Moldova 1</p>	<p>Filat violated the Constitution, but I shall sign amendments to the Budget law for the good of the country, declared the Parliament chairman, the acting president Mihai Ghimpu. In his turn, the premier Vladimir Filat says that the president must not have signed documents he considered illegal.</p>	<p>The piece is simple in approach. The reporter just features the duel of responses between the two state officials. There is fairness and equidistance, but no pluralism of opinions that would help the viewer to understand who is right in the end.</p>
<p>Radio Moldova 19.00</p>	<p>The prime minister has violated the Constitution when amended the budget law for 2010 and avoided passing it through the Parliament, declared the acting president Mihai Ghimpu. The premier claims that he has not violated the Constitution, while those who make such declarations should address to the Constitutional Court.</p>	<p>The subject is covered in an unbiased and equidistant manner.</p>

Conclusions: In situation of a conflict between the premier and the acting president, it is not clear in the end who has violated the Constitution – the one who has presented the document or the one who has signed it. Not a single television introduces explanations of constitutional experts in their news reports, just reproduces the responses of the two parties involved in accusations.

Case Study No. 5

Context 05.10.2010 The chairman of the Communist Party participated in the autumn session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg where he made strong statements addressed to CoE.

Media	Media presentation	Remarks
Prime TV, (04.10.2010)	Vladimir Voronin criticizes the Council of Europe. Within his speech delivered in the autumn session of PACE, the former head of state accused the European commissioners of having tarnished their reputation for the sake of political likes. In the new session of PACE, Vladimir Voronin, a member of the Moldovan delegation stated that “The CoE’s reputation of an equidistant arbiter was sacrificed in favor of its political likes...”, and the amendments of the Electoral Code made by the leaders of the ruling Alliance for the referendum held in September were possible “... just because they (the AIE leaders) got a clear message of support from the leaders of the Council of Europe”. The communist leader asked for a more careful monitoring of the elections of November 28.	The news was based on quotes and information about the meetings of the former president with the officials from Strasbourg. Archive video was used. The news was not balanced in terms of the pluralism of sources, which made it biased and lacking equidistance.
NIT, 22.00 (05.10.2010)	The leader of the Moldovan opposition, Vladimir Voronin met a number of officials in Strasbourg. The climate of meetings was warm. The official met	The author of the report from Strasbourg quoted the European authorities without letting them speak directly. This questions

	<p>Voronin at the door of his office, he noted the sequence and accuracy showed by the PCRM leader in fulfilling the obligations related to the implementation of the recommendations made by the European legal institutions. He gave a positive appreciation to PCRM's intention of amending the Constitution. Highly appreciating the proposal of PCRM, he stated that the party which Voronin represented could be the most constructive political force.</p>	<p>seriously the correctness and truthfulness of the facts mentioned in the report. The news was highly appreciative of PCRM and its leader. All these made of this report a news which polished the image of the Communist Party and its chairman. The journalist did not observe the norms of equidistance and impartiality, and the absence of a voice other than that of the communist leader made this item totally unbalanced.</p> <p>The item contained only video from protocol meetings.</p>
<p>NIT, 22.00 (04.10.2010)</p>	<p>Voronin accused the Council of Europe of showing favoritism to AIE. The government used a series of deceits, being supported by CoE.</p>	<p>Four minutes of charges brought to AIE for the amendments made to a series of laws. Direct and indirect quotes from the statements of the communist leader. Neither of the charges brought to CoE representatives or to the Moldovan government observed the right to reply. The news was biased, did not observe the principles of equidistance and balance of sources.</p>
<p>Jurnal TV, (05.10.2010)</p>	<p>Vladimir Voronin pays a visit to Strasbourg. The chairman of the Communist Party takes part in the autumn session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. He is accompanied by the MPs Grigore Petrenco and Mark Tkaciuk. Voronin has a short speech within the discussions about the report on the constitutional referendum held in Moldova. The news provided a review of Voronin's agenda in Strasbourg.</p>	<p>The news was short and related to the previous statements of the communist leader rather than to those made in Strasbourg. The news was impartial and equidistant.</p>

Publika TV	Did not cover this issue in its main newscast	
N4	Did not cover this issue	
2 Plus	Did not cover this issue	
Moldova 1, 21.00	The head of the Moldovan delegation to PACE, Ana Guțu hopes that the future president would be elected by the Parliament. She made these statements to PACE. She also stated that the referendum had not been a failure, but a first experience for Moldova.	It was just a piece of news read against the background of archive video. No other source was quoted. The news was equidistant but not impartial as it provided only statements of the head of the Moldovan delegation and no statements of the opposition or of any other PACE representatives. Therefore, there was also no balance of sources.
Radio Moldova 19.00	Did not cover this issue in its main newscast	
<p>Conclusions: Apart from NIT, the other monitored media outlets did not pay much attention to the topic of Voronin’s visit to Strasburg. Three stations did not cover the event at all. Most news reflected the agenda or the statements made previously by Vladimir Voronin, or did not mention anything about the leader of PCRM, which was the case of TV Moldova 1. The only station to have broadcast details from Strasbourg was NIT. This TV channel provided details from various meetings, broadcasting video from protocol events and excerpts from Voronin’s speech.</p>		