

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

Report No.6
November 15-21, 2010

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1. General Data

1.1 Goal of the project: to assess the way, in which mass media covers the campaign for early elections in Moldova in order to establish whether the electoral candidates have fair access to the media and whether voters are provided with sufficient information about the candidates and their electoral platforms.

1.2 Monitoring timeframe: 28 September – 28 November 2010

1.3 Criteria for selection of 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: Moldova Suverană, Nezaavisimaia Moldova, Flux, Jurnal de Chişinău, Timpul de dimineaţă, Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove, Evenimentul Zilei, Panorama, Golos Bălţi (Bălţi), Vesti Gagauzii (Comrat), Cuvântul (Rezina), Gazeta de Sud (Cimişlia).

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

11.5 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, Chisinau.

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, 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 whether it favors or disfavors a party or a political entity. The negative or positive content and/or context of news do 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, we can say that we are dealing with an imbalance.

Case studies: A content analysis of the materials on the most important subjects broadcast by the 10 radio and TV stations have been made. Given the major impact of broadcast media on the development of public opinion and on its high credibility among the population, the analysis aimed at identifying 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, 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 = Alianţa Moldova Noastră (Our Moldova Alliance Party)

AV= "Alianţa Verde" (Green Alliance) Party

MAE = Acțiunea Europeană (European Action) Movement
MFN = “Forța Nouă” (New Force) Movement
MRRM = Movement of the Roma of Moldova
PAM = Agrarian Party of Moldova
PC = Conservatory Party
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
PM = Labor Party
PMUEM = “Moldova Unită – Edinaia Moldova” (Unified Moldova) Party
PNL = National Liberal Party
PNȚ = Party for the Country and the People
PPCD = Christian Democratic People’s Party
PPM = Moldovan Patriots’ 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
RAVN = “Ravnopravie” (Equal Rights) Movement
UCM = Centrist Union of Moldova

APL = Local Public Administration
BIS = Church
BUS = Business
CCA= Broadcast Coordinating Council
CEC = Central Election Commission, electoral bureaus, and polling stations
CET = Citizens
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
JUD = Judges, lawyers, Prosecution Body, Constitutional Court
MED = Mass media
MIN = Prime Minister, Ministers
PA = Police/Army/CCECC (Centre for Combating Economic Crimes and Corruption)/Customs/ SIS (Intelligence Service)
PARL = Parliament
PRES = President, president’s office
SIN = Trade unions
SOC = Civil society
AB= Afanasie Bârlădeanu
AD =Alexandru Demian
EN=Eugen Nazarenco
GR= Gheorghe Rusu
GS = Gabriel Stati
LB = Elena Burghilă-Leonte
ML= Maia Laguta
NA= Natalia Axenova
OB =Oleg Bolotnicovss
OC = Oleg Cazac
RC= Romeo Cereteu
SB = Sergiu Banari
SI=Sergiu Iachim

TT= Tatiana Țâmbalist
VC- Valentina Cușnir
VL = Vasile Lupașcu
VP = Valeriu Pleșca
VS = Victor Stepaniuc
VT = Vitalie Țaulean

Topics on the Public Agenda during November 15-21, 2010

During the reporting period, a series of events with direct or indirect electoral connotation took place.

- The Prime Minister, Vlad Filat, visited Italy.
- The Prime Minister, Vlad Filat, participated in the CIS Summit for Heads of Government.
- The leader of the Unified Moldova Party, Vladimir Turcan, had an accident.
- CBS AXA presented the results of an opinion poll, according to which four parties were going to accede to the Parliament.
- The Institute for Public Policy announced the results of the Barometer of Public Opinion.
- The electoral candidates introduced final modifications to their electoral lists.
- The commissioning of houses for flood victims continued; the Premier Filat also took part.
- The Civic Initiative for Clean Parliament presented “the black list” of the candidates who did not comply with the integrity criteria required to be on the electoral lists.
- The civil society presented a number of reports on the monitoring of the electoral process.

3. General Trends

3.1 Broadcast Media

During 15-21 November 2010, the 10 monitored TV and radio stations broadcast a total number of 4,088 items and programs falling under this study. This was 24% higher than the number of items aired in the previous monitoring period. Most items were special electoral programs, including debates, in which representatives of the contestants had the possibility to present their electoral platforms and discuss the platforms of other candidates. The amount of electoral advertisements, and that of news items with direct or indirect electoral impact, increased.

Within the reporting period, the public stations Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova ensured a pluralism of opinion in their newscasts and other items falling under this monitoring. In most cases, the relevant issues were covered in a neutral context. At the same time, certain electoral contestants were featured in either a positive or a negative light. From the frequency, and the context, of their appearances on the news, Moldova 1 was noted to favor PLDM and PL, while Radio Moldova favored PLDM. The parties were favored by appearances by their leaders as the Prime Minister and the Acting President.

The private station NIT continued to largely favor PCRM as a candidate featuring the party in a large number of positive news items. During the reporting period, NIT failed to ensure a pluralism of opinion in its news bulletins, broadcasting primarily items concerning the AIE parties and PCRM. Some of the electoral contestants appeared on NIT in debates or when they were given free air time.

Private TV stations with national coverage, Prime TV, 2 Plus, and the radio station Prime FM covered the campaign mainly in the news bulletins. Judging by the frequency of quotes and the context of appearances by the candidates on the news, as well as in other types of programs, Prime TV was noted to favor PDM. The same tendency was evident on 2 Plus and Prime FM.

The station with regional coverage, N4, ensured a pluralism of opinion by quoting a number of contestants, including independent candidates. Judging by the high frequency of its appearance in news items, and the positive context of the coverage, it is possible to say that N4 favors PLDM.

On the news station Publika TV, there was no clear trend of favoring any electoral contestant.

On Jurnal TV, another news station, the electoral candidates were portrayed primarily in a neutral context, but also in a positive and a negative light, depending on the context of events. Given the high frequency of PNT's appearances in a positive and negative context in news and programs, one can say that Jurnal TV favors PNT and disfavors PCRM.

On Vocea Basarabiei, a disfavoring for PCRM and a slight favoring for PL and PLDM could be noticed, particularly demonstrated by the positive context and the length of speaking time given to the party representatives, and the Acting President along with the Prime Minister.

3.2 Print Press/Press Agencies/Online Publications

During the week of 15-21 November 2010, the number of items covering the election campaign published by the print press, including the press agencies and online publications, increased by over 15%, reaching 698 articles compared with 605 published in the previous week.

The 12 monitored newspapers published 337 pieces of relevant information (news reports, opinion articles, and other items) about the elections and the electoral contestants. The highest number of articles was published by *Timpul de dimineață*, *Moldova Suverană*, *Nezavisimaia Moldova*, and *Jurnal de Chișinău*. *Golos Bălți* did not publish any items about the elections, while *Vesti Gagauzii* (Comrat) placed only two electoral advertisements. The two monitored news agencies published 84 news articles in the space of a week, 75% of which were published by *Infotag*. The online publications posted 277 pieces of information, most of which were posted by www.unimedia.md; however, news items on www.omg.md were larger by the number of characters.

Opinion articles in the newspapers occupied a record surface of 60,833 squared centimeters, while the space taken by news items, and that allotted to electoral education pieces, decreased by 10% on average. Election education articles during this week were again one of the last thematic priorities related to the election campaign.

In six of the monitored newspapers (*Evenimentul Zilei*, *Flux*, *Moldova Suverană*, *Nezavisimaia Moldova*, *Timpul de dimineață*, and *Cuvântul*) the ratio between opinion and news items was unfavorable to news; these publications preferred covering the campaign more in opinion pieces.

The editorial behavior of the website www.omg.md and the newspapers *Nezavisimaia Moldova* and *Moldova Suverană* resembled that of the party press. They demonstrated political partisanship in favor of PCRM as a candidate, which was massively favored in news items and opinion articles. The political opponents of PCRM, the Alliance for European Integration (AIE) and its member parties, particularly PLDM and PL, were discredited in all the texts about them, often in an obscene language and with violations of journalism ethics.

Timpul de dimineață and *Jurnal de Chișinău* disfavored the electoral candidate PCRM in the majority of their journalistic items, favoring the non-communist parties in general. The regional newspaper *Cuvântul* also showed the same editorial behavior.

The newspapers *Panorama* and *Gazeta de Sud* (Cimișlia) disfavored PCRM without showing any clear tendency of favoring a certain electoral candidate.

The newspaper *Flux* criticized AIE, PL and PLDM and favored PPCD as a candidate. *Evenimentul Zilei* presented PCRM, as well as partially PLDM in a negative context, and favored PDM.

The news agencies *Infotag* and *Moldpres*, as well as the online publication www.unimedia.md presented opinions and different positions of the parties in the context of the election campaign. However the ratio between the number of positive and negative news items showed a slight tendency to favor the non-communist election candidates.

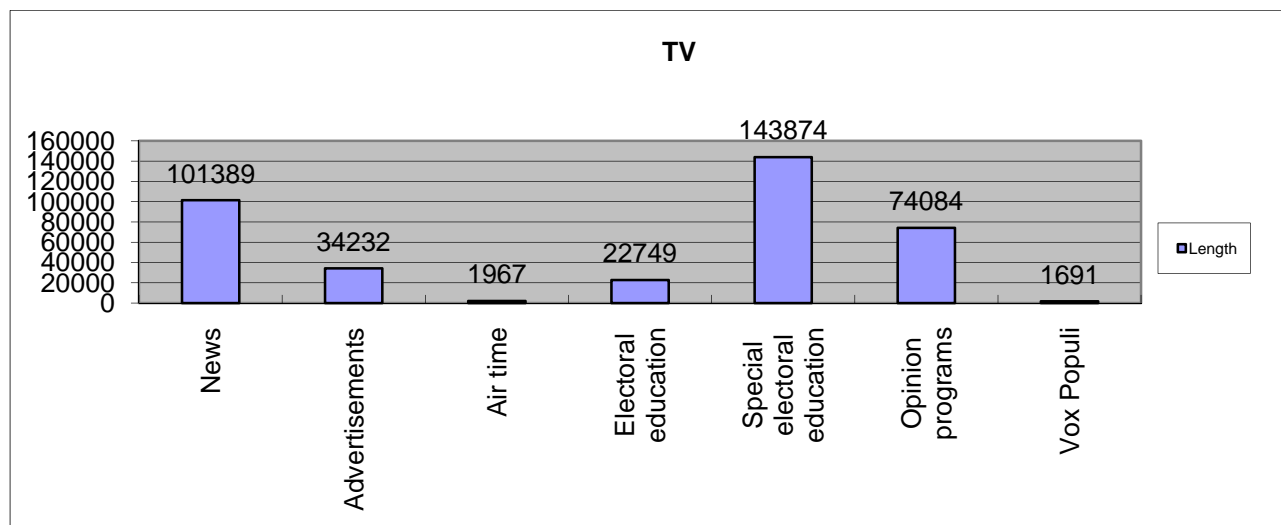
4. Broadcast Monitoring Data

4.1 Involvement in the Election Campaign

4.1.1 TV

During 15-21 November 2010, the seven monitored TV stations broadcast a total number of 2,589 items with direct and indirect electoral impact, an increase (33%) in comparison with the previous monitoring week. Their total length was 105.5 hours, compared to 85 hours in the period of November 8-14 (an increase by 24%). In terms of frequency, electoral advertising came first in the list (1,097 advertisements), while in terms of length it was special electoral programs (45). The 7 TV stations allotted a total of 40 hours to such programs. The number of news items with direct or indirect electoral impact increased from 684 to 920, with a length of 28.1 hours. During the reporting period, opinion programs and electoral education items were also aired, and free air time was allotted (see Diagram 1). The time allotted to Vox Populi was still short.

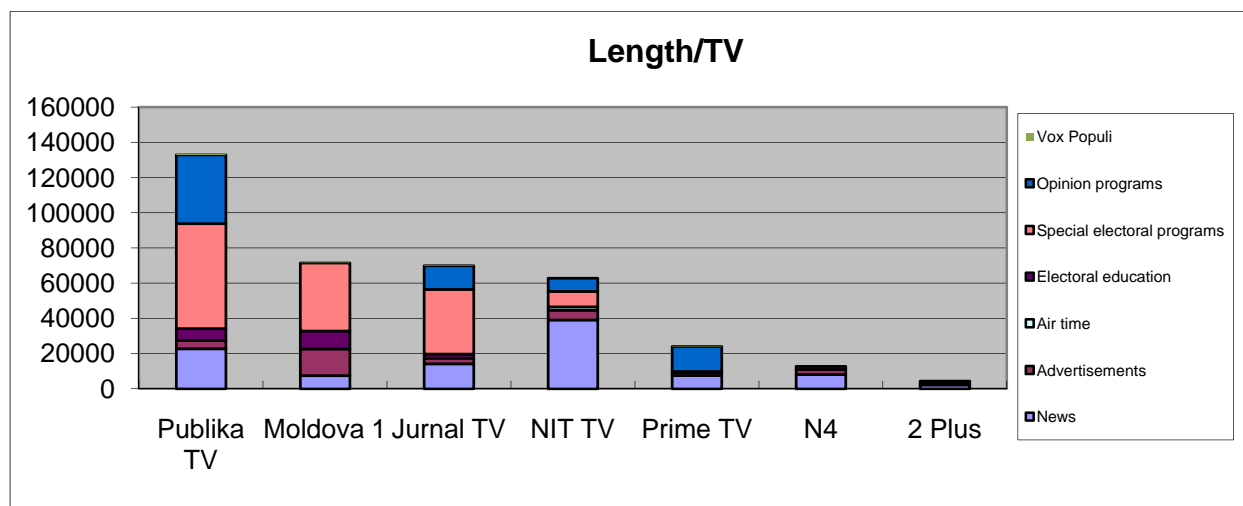
Diagram 1. Length of items with electoral connotation broadcast by the 7 TV stations during November 15-21, in seconds



During the reporting period, the largest amount of relevant items was aired by Publika TV, followed by the public station Moldova 1 and the news channel Jurnal TV. These three TV stations allotted the largest amount of airtime to special electoral programs, including programs with the participation of the candidates, interviews, and election debates. On NIT there was a high frequency and length of direct or indirect electoral news items. Prime TV and 2 Plus were less active in covering the election campaign; the 2 stations with national coverage had a relatively small amount of items falling under this monitoring (Diagram 1.1).

Politics and the electoral process were the prevailing topics in the news bulletins on the 7 monitored stations.

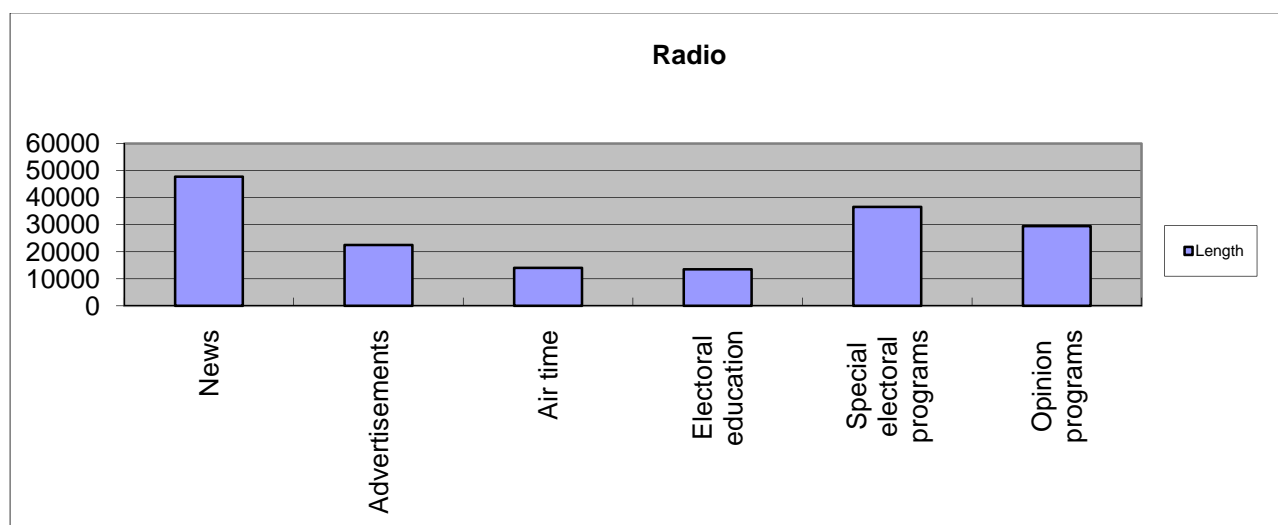
Diagram 1.1. Length and type of electoral items broadcast by the TV stations during November 15-21, in seconds



4.1.2 Radio

During 15-21 November 2010, the number of items with electoral impact on the three radio stations increased by 11%, increasing from 1,350 to 1,499. The length thereof was slightly reduced, amounting to approximately 45.5 hours in comparison with 50 hours in the previous monitoring week. As in the case of TV stations, advertising prevailed in terms of frequency (737), and news bulletins in terms of length (466 with the total length of 13.2 hours), followed by special electoral programs and opinion items. Also, electoral education items were broadcast, particularly on the public station Radio Moldova, and free airtime was allotted. No Vox Populi was aired by the monitored stations during the reporting period (see Diagram 2).

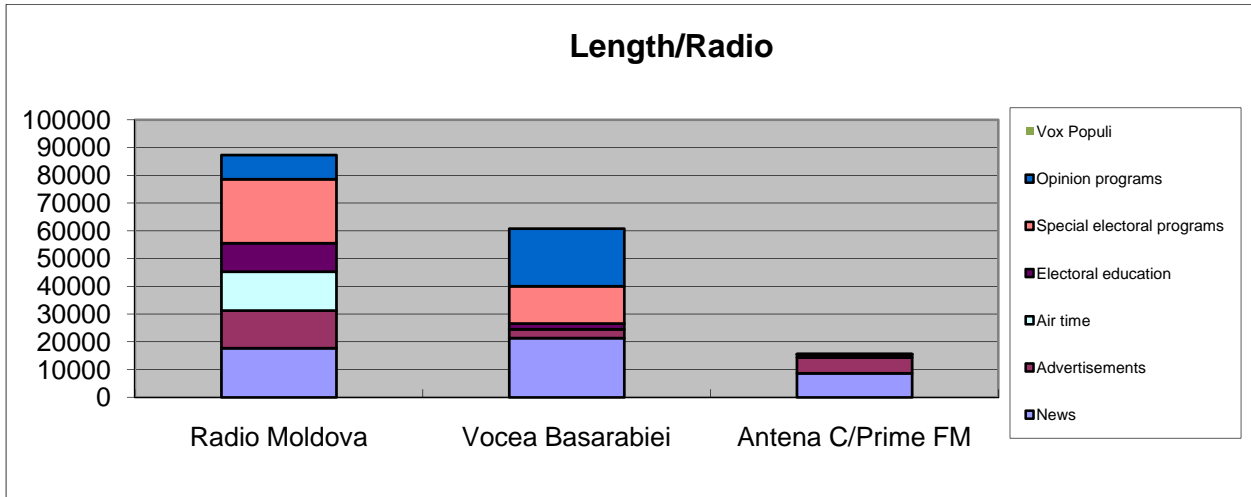
Diagram 2. Length of items with electoral connotation broadcast by the 3 radio stations during November 15-21, in seconds



Radio Moldova broadcast the largest number of relevant items, which were also the most varied. The station aired 766 news pieces, opinion programs, electoral education items, special electoral programs, and advertisements during the reporting period. At the same time, Radio Moldova offered free airtime to the electoral contestants. Vocea

Basarabiei had the largest amount of news pieces and opinion programs. Similar to the TV stations, the prevailing topics in the electoral news broadcast on the radio were politics and the electoral process.

Diagram 2.2. Length and type of electoral items broadcast by the radio stations during November 15-21, 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



During the monitoring period, the public station Moldova 1 aired 79 news items with direct or indirect electoral impact, based on information from 163 sources. The most airtime was allotted to ordinary citizens and experts. Of the electoral candidates, those who appeared on screen the most often were representatives of PL and PLDM. The leaders of these two parties benefited from airtime also, in their roles as Prime Minister and Acting President in news items indirectly referring to the elections. Thus the Prime Minister, and other ministers suspended during the campaign, were quoted directly or indirectly 17 times, for a total length of 270 seconds of appearance on screen. The Acting President appeared as a source 12 times, for 343 seconds. Individually, the AIE member parties were referred to as follows: AMN – 4 times (26 seconds), PLDM - 11 times (133 seconds), PL - 7 times (153 seconds), and PD - 4 times (42 sec). The main opposition party, PCRM, was quoted directly or indirectly 6 times, for a length of 55 seconds. The other candidates served as news sources 18 times, their representatives appearing on screen for 323 seconds. The items other than newscasts primarily featured electoral candidates as sources (see Diagrams 3 and 3.1).

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

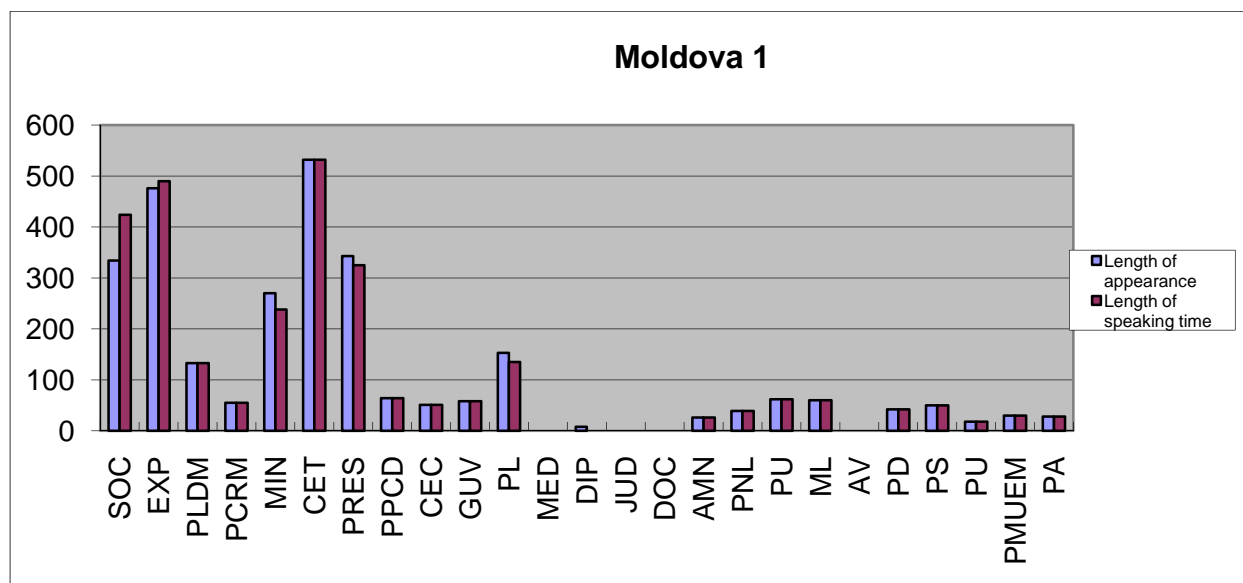
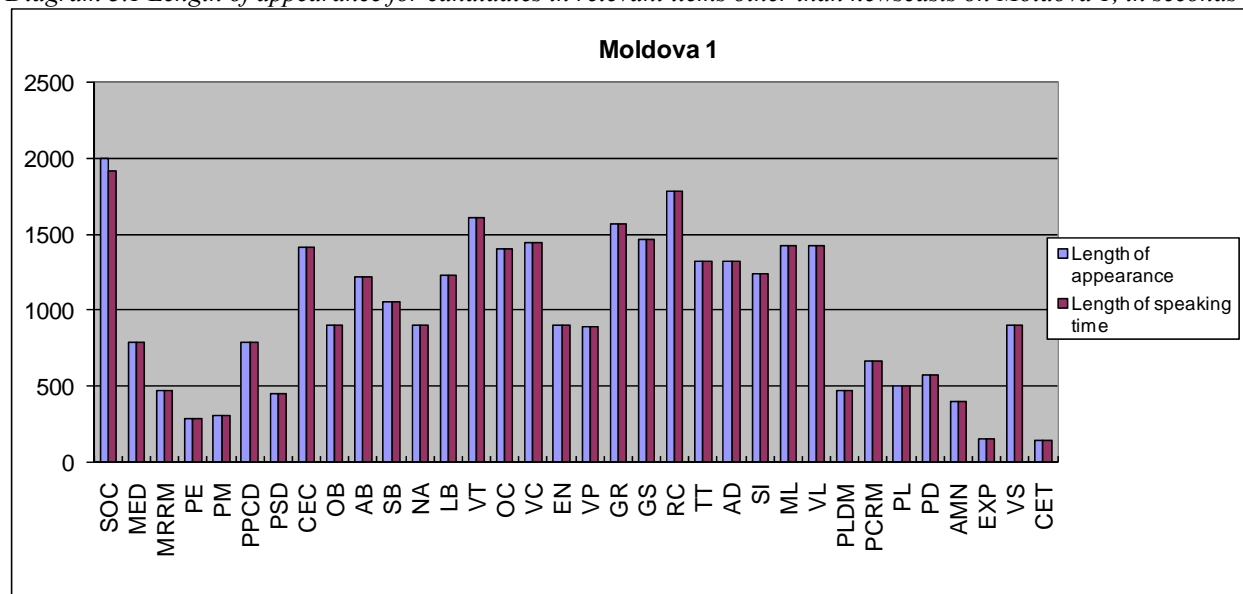
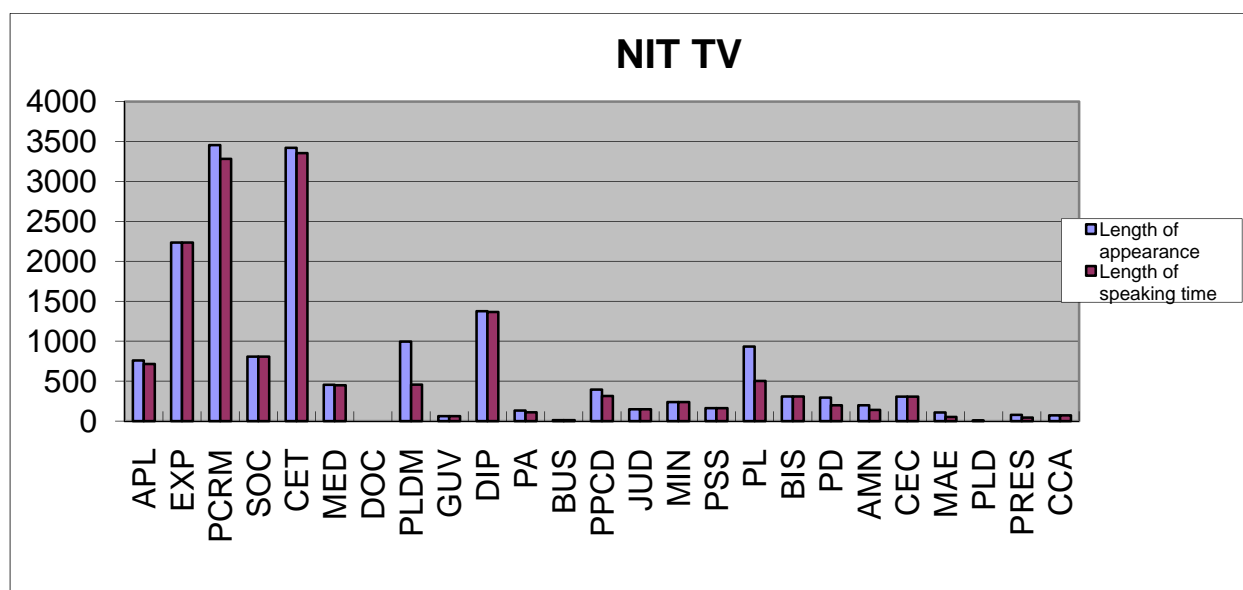


Diagram 3.1 Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on Moldova 1, in seconds



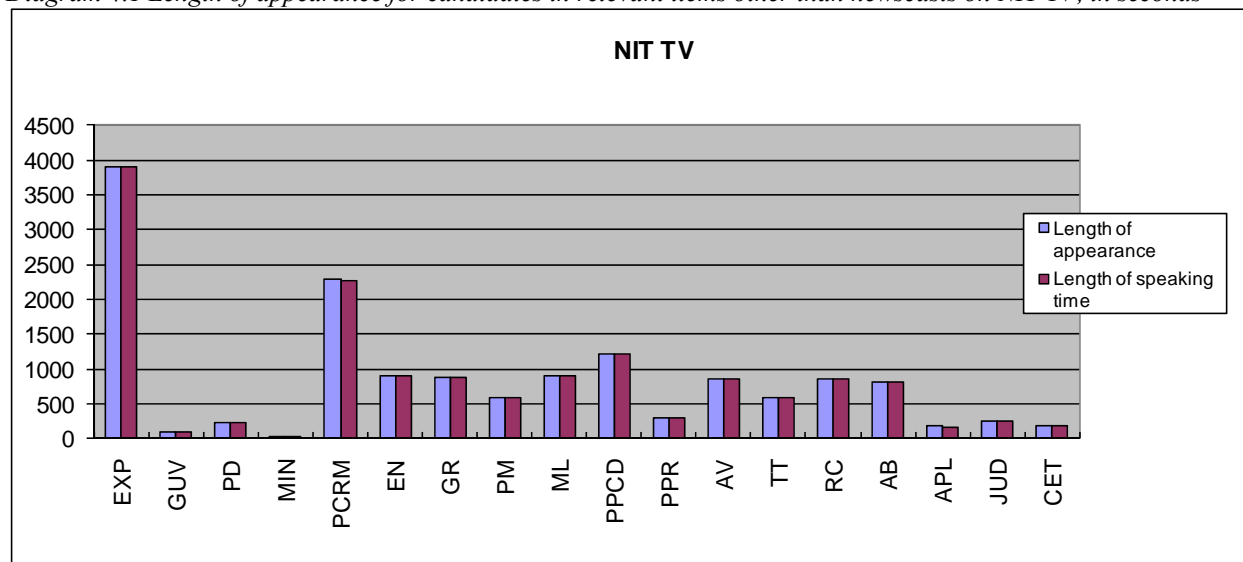
On NIT, a private station with national coverage, there was a reduction in the frequency of quotes from PCRM representatives. They were referred to 89 times in the space of a week, in comparison with 125 times in the previous monitoring period. The length of PCRM's appearance on TV decreased by almost half: from 1.77 hours (6,381 sec) to 0.95 hours (3,453 seconds). The AIE member parties were also frequently quoted: PLDM – 72 times, for 994 seconds of appearance on screen and 455 seconds of speaking time, PDM – 24 times (293 seconds of appearance and 198 of speaking), PL – 48 times (932 seconds of appearance and 502 seconds of speaking), and AMN – 13 times (193 seconds of appearance and 140 of speaking). Among the other candidates, the following were quoted as sources in the relevant news on NIT – MAE, PPCD, and PSS. Citizens continued to be largely featured in the news, quoted as sources 115 times for 3,420 seconds, primarily in items of the campaign supporting the PCRM leader (Diagram 4).

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



Besides the electoral candidates, experts and ordinary citizens also appeared as sources in opinion programs, special electoral programs, Vox Populi and during free airtime (see Diagram 4.1).

Diagram 4.1 Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on NIT TV, in seconds



In its 90 relevant news pieces, Prime TV used 182 information sources. Among the electoral candidates, the most frequently quoted sources in the newscast on this TV were representatives of PDM – 20 times (452 seconds), followed by PL – 6 times (166 seconds). PL also benefited from appearances on screen of the Acting President – 10 times (338 seconds). AMN appeared 7 times (81 seconds) as a source, while PLDM – 5 times (36 seconds). PCRM was quoted 10 times, for 174 seconds. Citizens and experts were frequently quoted in news. The other electoral contestants appeared on Prime TV as sources 17 times, for a total of 382 seconds. In the programs broadcast by

Prime TV during the reporting period, the representatives of PD had the longest speaking time (see *Diagrams 5 and 5.1*)

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

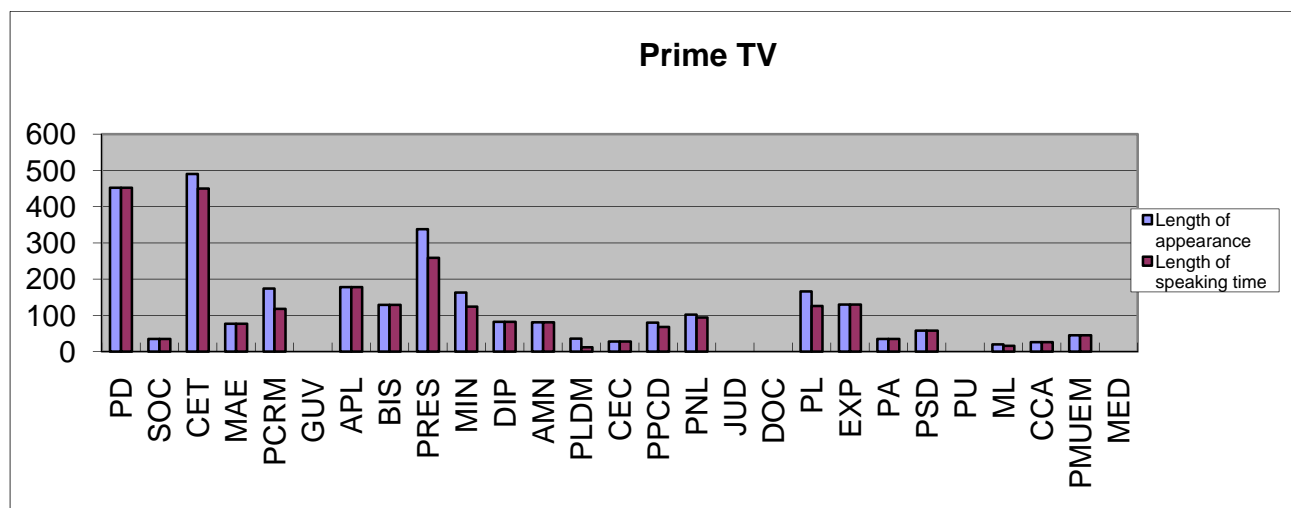
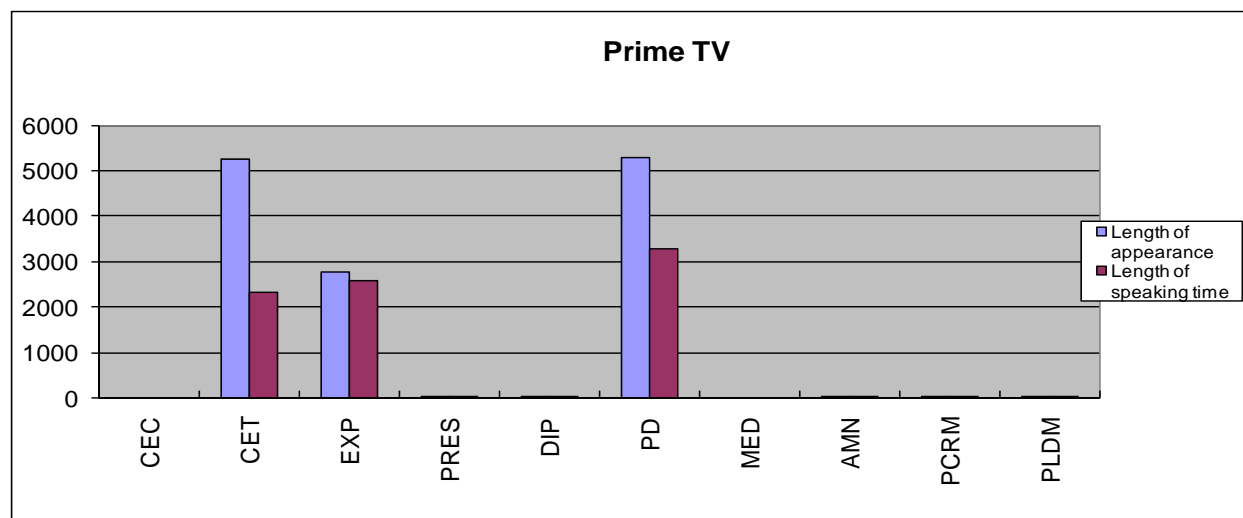
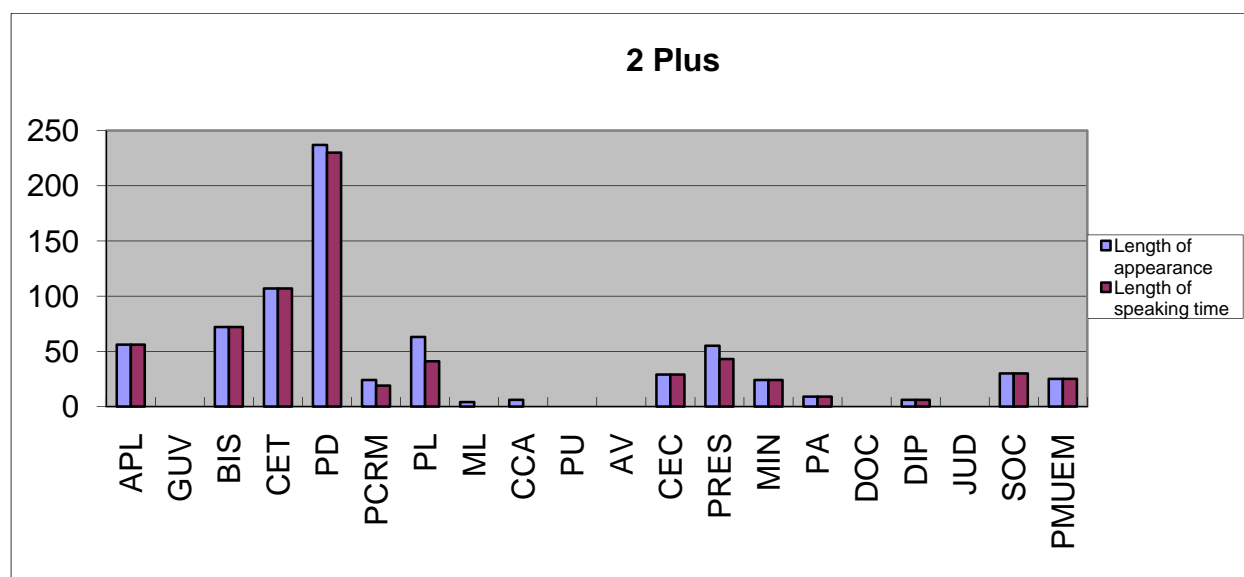


Diagram 5.1 Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on Prime TV, in seconds



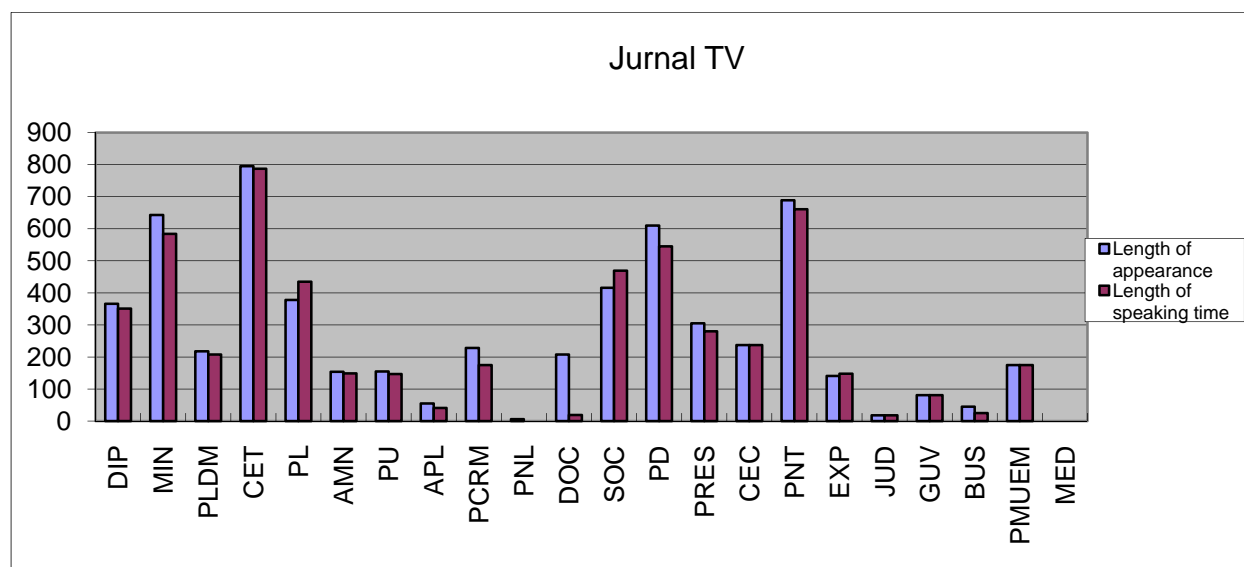
Similar to Prime TV, 2 Plus most frequently featured representatives of PDM as sources – 7 times (237 seconds), followed by PL – 2 times (63 seconds). The Acting President and his office appeared as sources 2 times (55 seconds). PCRM was quoted as a source once (24 seconds), while the other non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were quoted more indirectly 3 times, for a total length of 25 seconds. 2 Plus did not have any relevant programs falling under this monitoring during the reporting period.

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



On the news station Jurnal TV, among the electoral candidates the representatives of PNTJ spoke for the largest amount of time on the news directly or indirectly referring to the election campaign. They appeared on screen for 689 seconds in 31 quotes. The Prime Minister, and the high government officials who have not been suspended from office along with the Acting President, appeared on screen for 948 seconds in total, quoted as sources 42 times. Individually, PLDM was quoted 15 times (218 seconds), PL – 13 times (378 seconds), PDM - 41 times (610 seconds), while AMN – 6 times (154 seconds). The representatives of PCRM were quoted as sources 15 times, for a total of 228 seconds. The station allotted frequent airtime to citizens and CEC members.

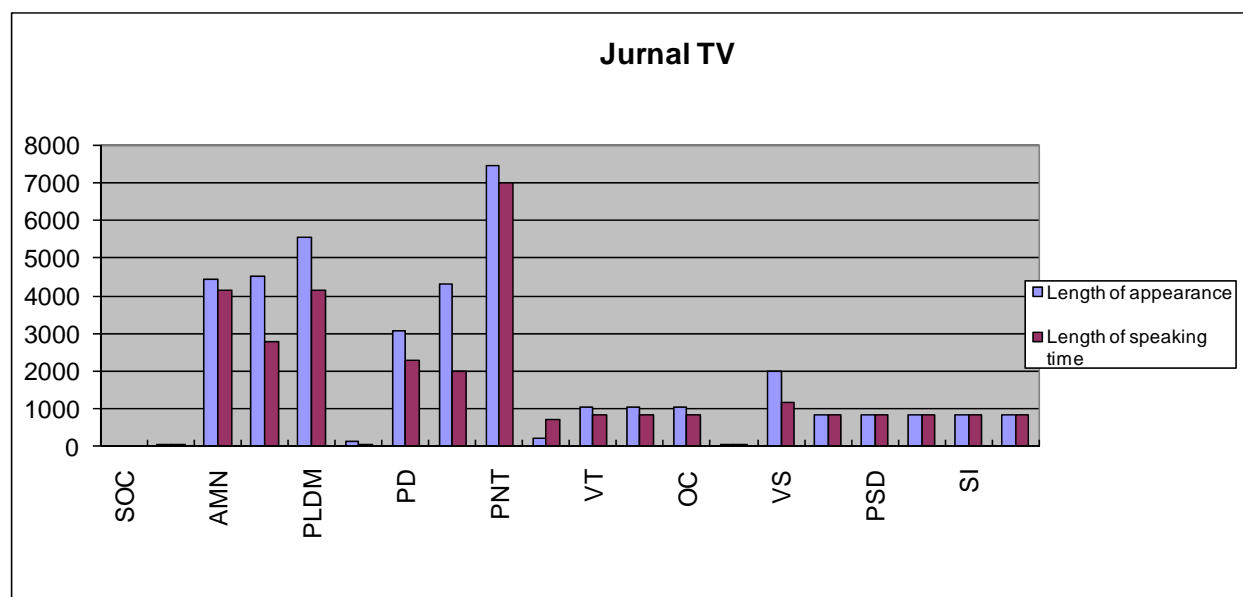
Diagram 7. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on Jurnal TV, in seconds



In the items other than news, Jurnal TV allotted the highest amount of airtime to local and foreign experts. Among the electoral contestants, the representatives of PNTJ appeared as sources for the longest period of airtime – 16,700

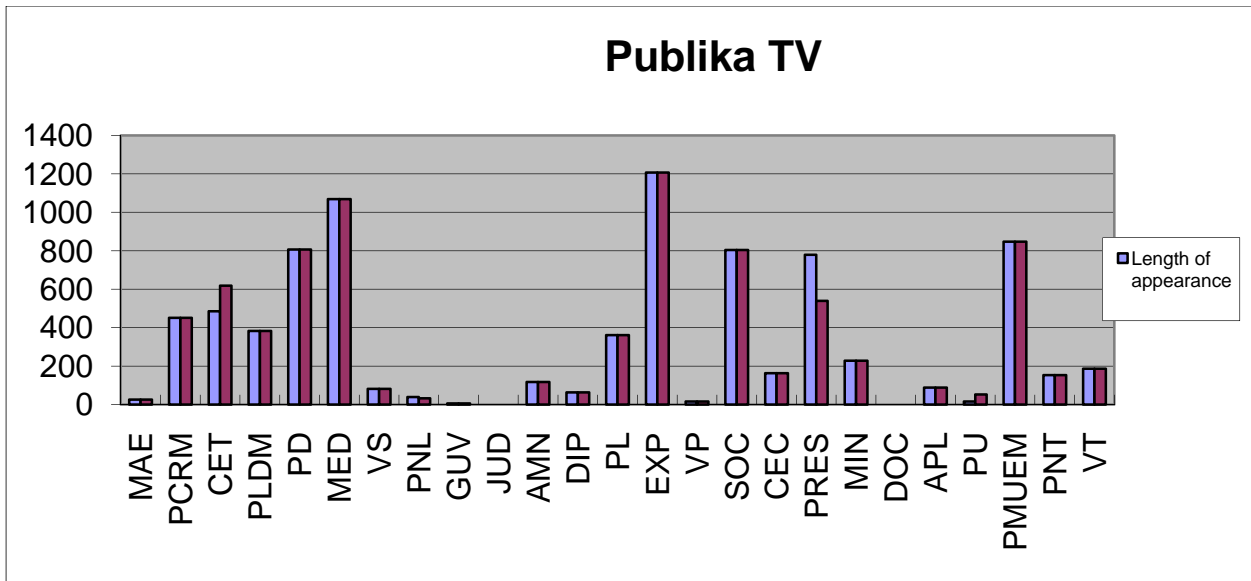
seconds (4,6 hours), taking part in 4 programs – “Chestiunea Zilei” (The Issue of the Day), “Votează Moldova” (Vote Moldova), “Ediție specială” (Special Issue) and Electoral Debates.

Diagram 7.1. Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on Jurnal TV, in seconds



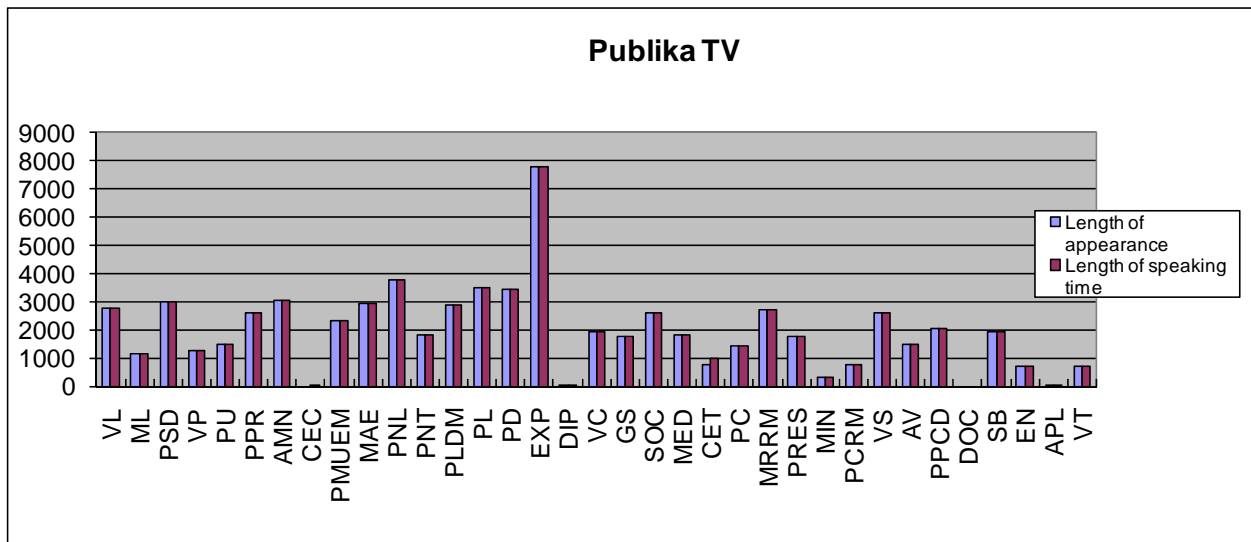
During the reporting period, Publika TV primarily offered access to local and foreign experts in its news; the latter were quoted 62 times (1,207 seconds). Among the electoral candidates, representatives of the governing parties and the main opposition party were most frequently quoted as sources. Individually, the AIE member parties appeared as sources as follows: PL – 18 times (361 seconds), AMN – 6 times (117 seconds), PDM – 41 times (806 seconds) and PLDM – 31 times (386 seconds). PCRM was quoted for 21 times in total; the party representatives appeared on the TV screen for 452 seconds. The frequency of quoting the other electoral contestants as news sources has considerably increased – 50 times (1,364 seconds). A large amount of this airtime was given to PMUEM in the context of the accident the leader of the party Vladimir Turcan had – 18 times (848 seconds).

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



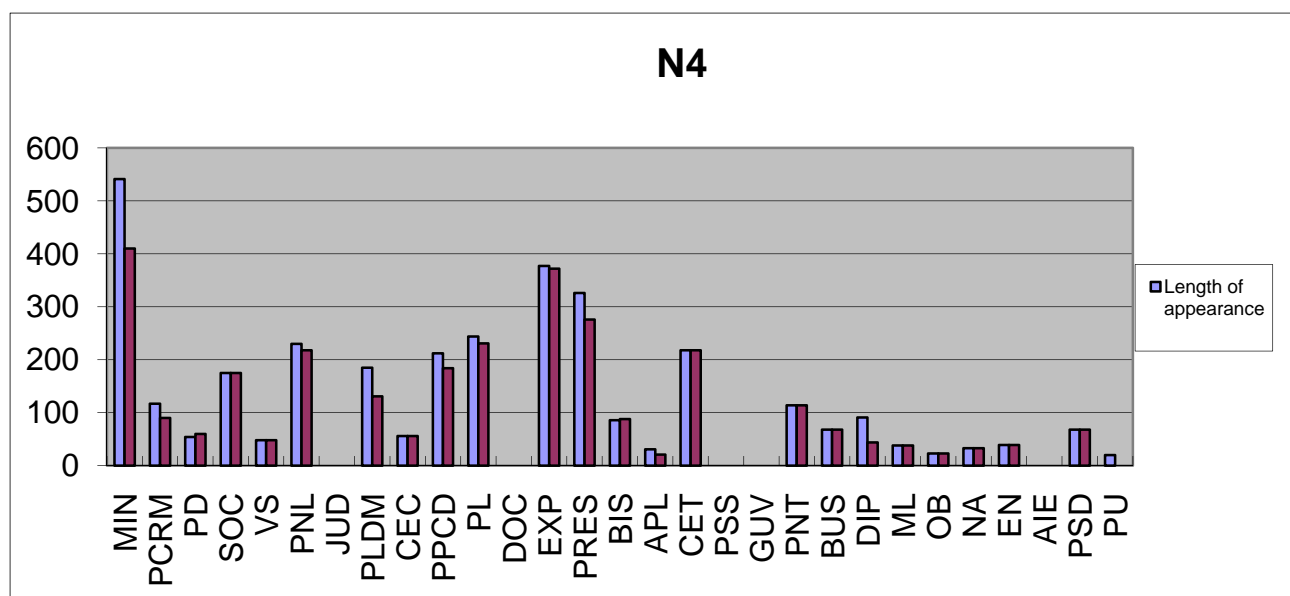
In the opinion programs and special electoral programs aired by Publika TV, different electoral contestants, both representatives of parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties, as well as independents MPs took part.

Diagram 8.1 Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on Publika TV, in seconds



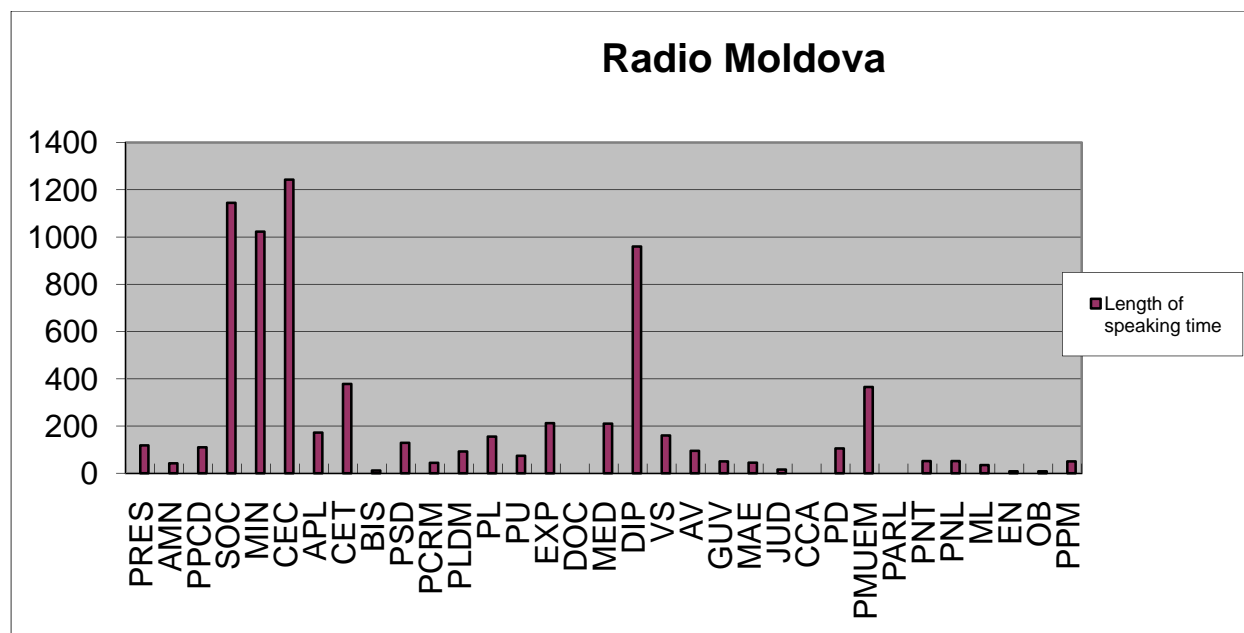
On N4, a station with regional coverage, topping the list of the sources quoted in news items with electoral connotation were the Prime Minister and other ministers who were not suspended during the election campaign. They were quoted 24 times during 541 seconds, and the representatives of the President's office were quoted 9 times (326 seconds). PLDM individually appeared as a news source in 9 cases (195 seconds); PL was quoted 7 times (244 seconds); PD – 2 times (54 seconds). PCRM representatives were quoted 9 times (117 seconds). The other electoral contestants appeared as sources in relevant news items as well. N4 did not have any programs or other opinion items during the reporting period.

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



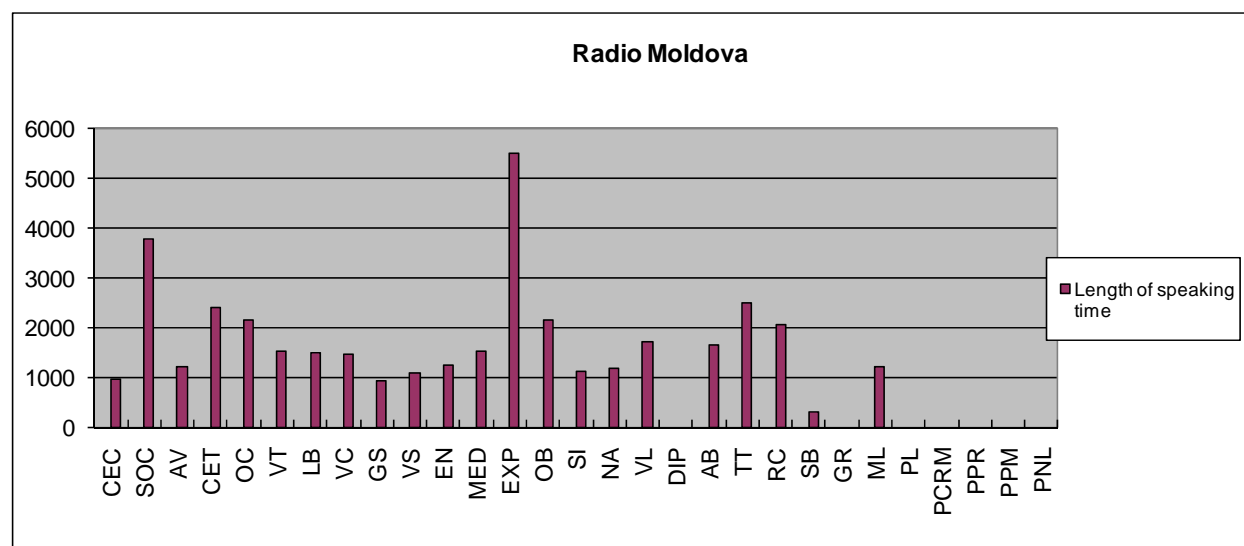
In its news with direct or indirect electoral impact, the public station Radio Moldova used 227 sources, giving preference to CEC representatives who spoke 39 times during 1,243 seconds, and to civil society representatives - 17 times (1,145 seconds). The Prime Minister and the other ministers in the government were referred to 38 times, for 1,024 seconds of speaking time in total. The Acting President appeared in news items 4 times (118 seconds). Among the governing parties, the representatives of PL, PLDM, PDM, and AMN appeared as news sources (for 155, 92, 105, and 42 seconds respectively). The representatives of the opposition party, PCRM, were quoted 2 times in total (44 seconds).

Diagram 10. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates in newscasts on Radio Moldova, in seconds.



In its non-news items, the representatives of the civil society and experts were most visible. Due to the free airtime offered by Radio Moldova, many electoral candidates had the possibility to present their electoral platforms.

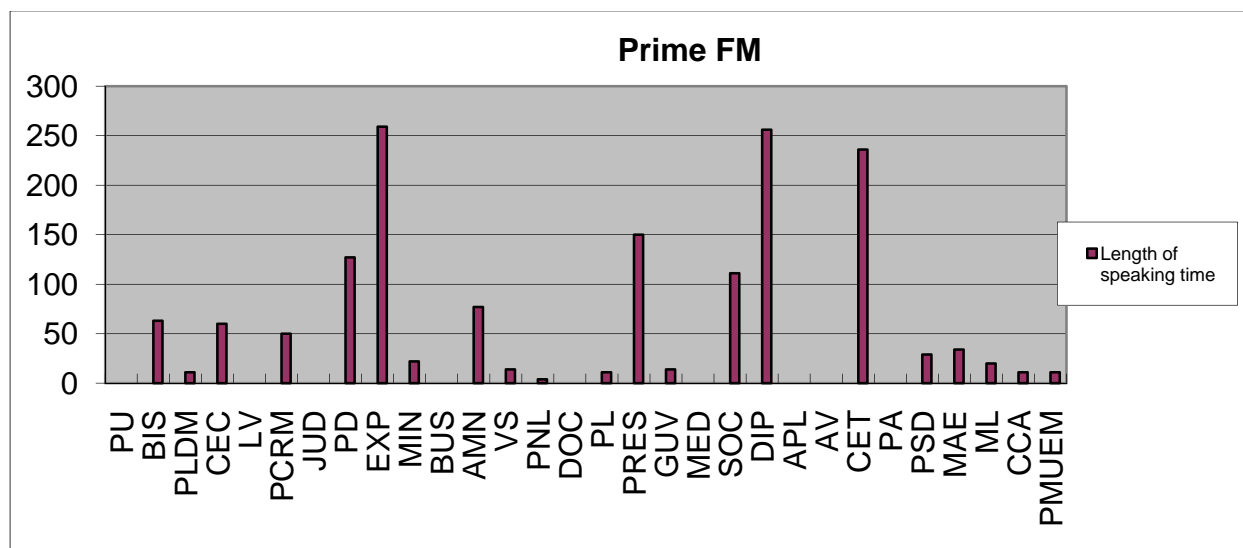
Diagram 10.1 Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on Radio Moldova, in seconds



In its news programs, the private radio station Prime FM quoted most frequently foreign and local experts, representatives of civil society and foreign diplomacy. It provided access to all AIE member parties: PD was quoted

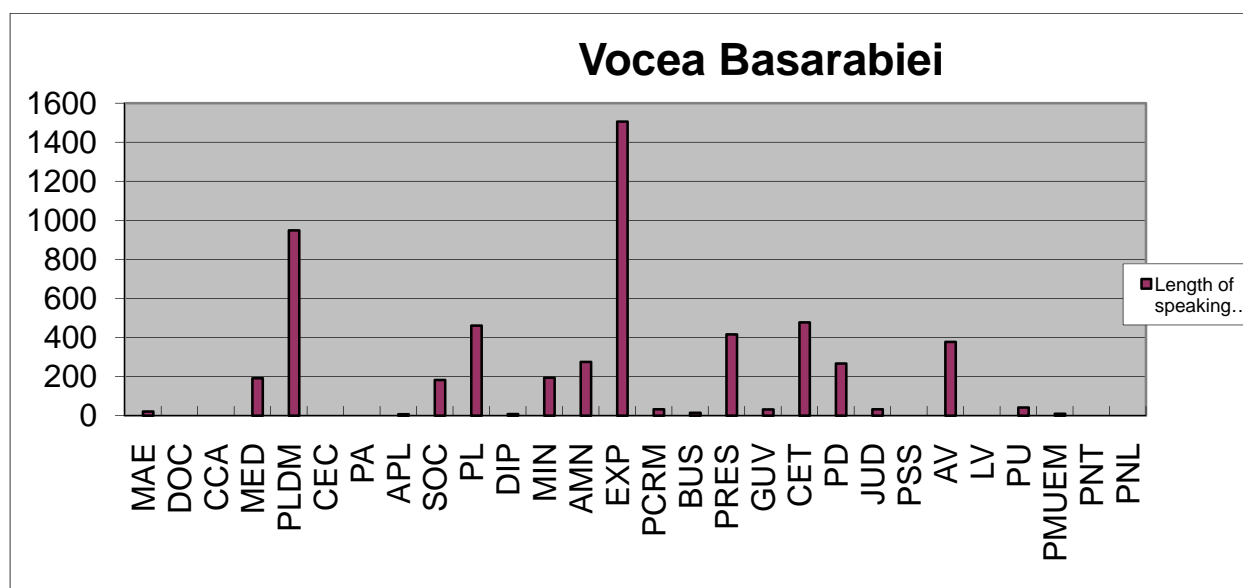
8 times for 127 seconds, PLDM – 4 times (11 seconds), PL – 3 times (11 seconds). AMN was quoted 7 times (77 seconds). On the other hand, PCRM was quoted in 10 items, being allotted 50 seconds of airtime in total, while the non-parliamentary parties – 30 times, mostly indirectly, for 112 seconds of total speaking time.

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



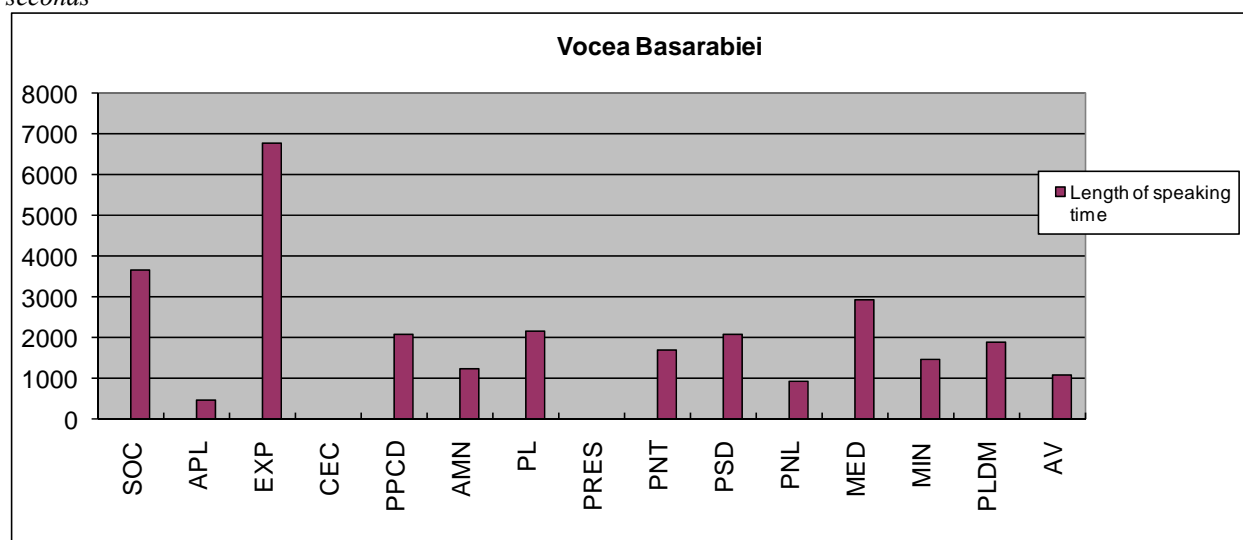
During the reporting period, the news broadcast by Vocea Basarabiei quoted most frequently civil society representatives who spoke 29 times for a total of 1,506 seconds. They were followed by PLDM with 949 seconds; representatives of this electoral candidate were quoted for 32 times. PL appeared 17 times (461 seconds), while the Acting President and the representatives of the President's office were quoted 17 times, for 416 seconds. AMN and PD were referred to directly or indirectly 10 times (33 seconds), and 15 times (267 seconds) respectively. On the other hand, PCRM was quoted directly or indirectly 10 times (33 seconds). The other non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were referred to in the newscasts on Vocea Basarabiei 40 times, speaking for 451 seconds.

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



Besides news broadcasts, Vocea Basarabiei aired opinion items, programs, interviews, and debates in which the electoral candidates had the possibility to speak, along with experts and citizens. First in the list of sources were experts, followed by civil society representatives.

Diagrama 12.1 Length of appearance for candidates in relevant items other than newscasts on Vocea Basarabiei, in seconds



4.3 Frequency of newscasts directly or indirectly favoring or disfavoring candidates

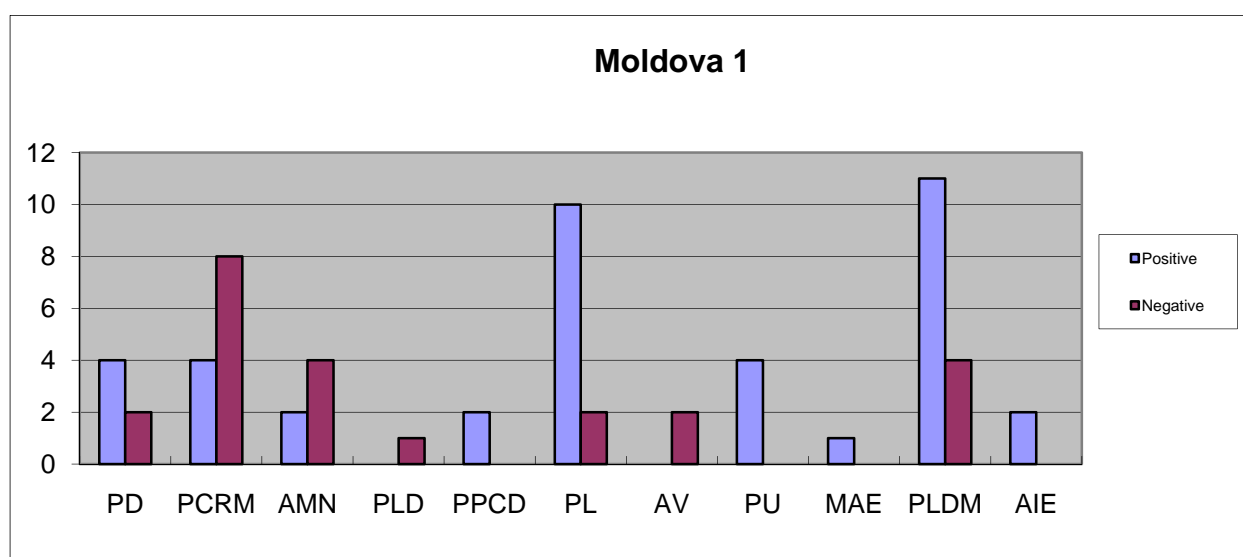
4.3.1 TV

Moldova 1

During 15-21 November 2010, PLDM appeared on Moldova 1 most frequently in a positive context - 11 times, in news reports about the *commissioning of 180 houses in Cotul Morii and Nemteni with participation of the Premier Filat, procurement by the state of a number of houses for the flood victims and the transfer of ownership papers by Vlad Filat, the news on the readiness of Italy to sign an agreement regarding migration, so that Moldovans in Italy*

could benefit from social protection, as well as, in the news items on the results of electoral opinion polls, according to which PLDM was going to enter the Parliament together with the other three parties. The share of news favorable to PLDM in the total number of news pieces aired by Moldova 1 was 13.9%. PLDM was also mentioned 4 times in a negative context (5%). PL appeared in a positive light 10 times, or in 12.6% of news (in news regarding Mihai Ghimpu's participation in awarding prizes to young people, participation of the Acting President in launching of the "Golgota Basarabiei" documentary, the news about the PL youth wing that organized a campaign to inform the population about the date of the elections, as well as pieces on the opinion poll results) and 2 times in a negative context, or 2.5%. AMN appeared primarily in a negative context – 4 cases, or 5% of the total, and 2 times in a positive context – 2.5%. PD appeared both positively (4 times) and negatively (2 times). PCRM was portrayed in a negative context in 7 cases, or 10.1% of the total number of news relevant for this monitoring, and 4 times in a positive context. The negative context was determined by the news on the accusations launched by Mihai Ghimpu in relation to the property of the Voronin family, that had allegedly been obtained illegally, the call of Petru Lucinschi not to vote for PCRM, the news on the list published by the Civic Initiative for Clean Parliament, in which PCRM had the largest number of corrupted candidates, etc.

Diagram 13. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Moldova 1, frequency

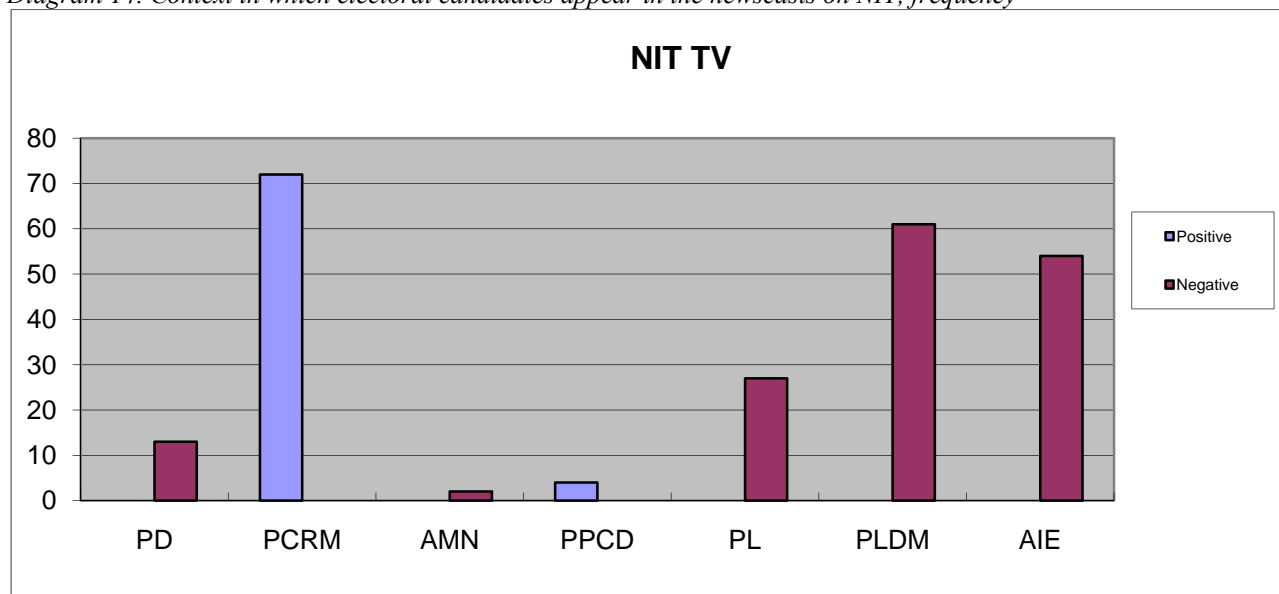


In the non-news programs, PCRM and AIE were mentioned most frequently in a negative context: 9 and 8 times respectively, in items about various charges made by other electoral contestants within electoral debates.

NIT

During the reporting period, NIT continued to favor PCRM, which appeared in a positive context in 72 news pieces; the share of news favorable to this electoral candidate in the total number of news items with electoral impact was 27.3%, a decrease compared with previous monitoring period. The representatives of PCRM appeared in a positive light in the news about the declarations to support PCRM, meetings of PCRM members with the voters, support for the PCRM town development project by a number of localities, expert appreciation of the foreign policy agenda proposed by Voronin, the concert organized by PCRM in Anenii Noi, the slogan „Moldova alege victoria!” (Moldova Chooses Victory!) also appearing on screen, an opinion poll carried out by *ava.md*, according to which PCRM could get 53-57 chairs in the Parliament, resolutions to support PCRM, etc. The amount that AIE was mentioned in a negative context decreased almost by half from 43.4% during the previous week to 20.5% of the items (54 times), most often in news about criticism to the address of the government at the numerous electoral meetings in different localities of the republic, the subject of “dam detonation in Nemteni” by the authorities and artificial provocation of floods, a possible fraud of the elections, a political order to liquidate NIT, “preparation of mass falsification of the elections”, etc. At the same time, the AIE member parties appeared in a negative light individually: PD – 13 times (4.9%), PL – 27 times (10.3%), AMN – 2 times (0.7%) and PLDM - 61 times or 20.5%.

Diagram 14. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on NIT, frequency

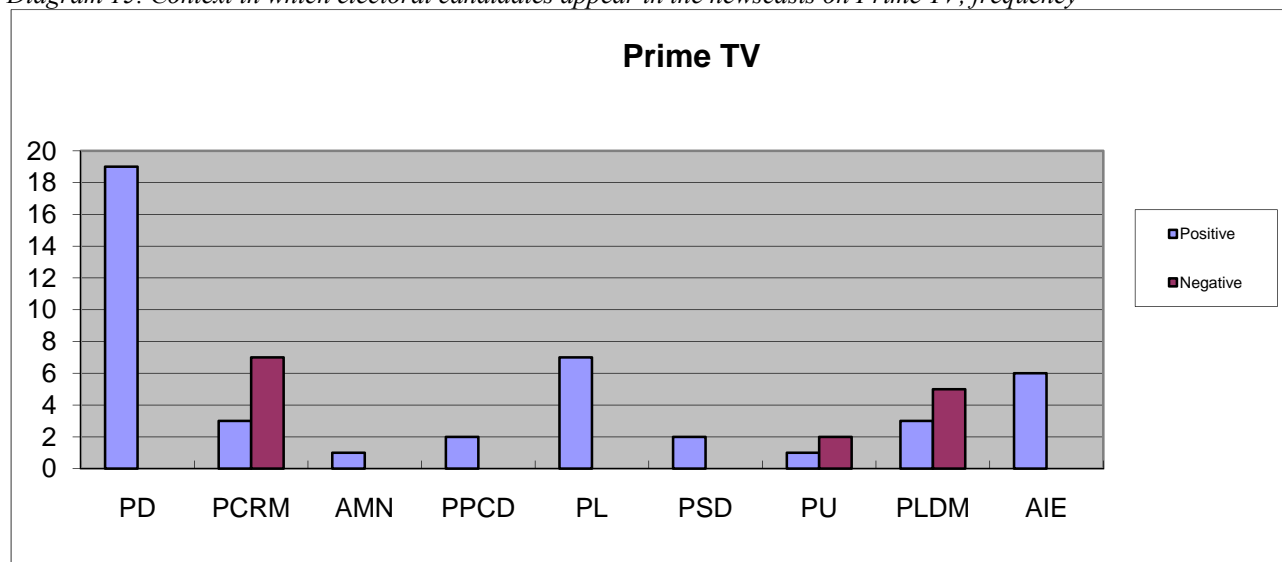


In items other than news broadcasts aired by NIT during the reporting period, no significant disfavoring of any electoral contestant was noticed. Only AIE appeared in a negative light 7 times (5.3% of the total number), while PCRM – 5 times (3.8%) in items regarding the accusations launched by the other contestants during the electoral debates.

Prime TV

The electoral candidate that appeared most often in a positive context on Prime TV was PD – 19 appearances, or 21.1% of the total number of news items with electoral connotation. The news in question referred primarily to *the trinity in Vasieni village, Ialoveni, planted with the support of PDM, the concert organized by PDM in Balti on the Students' Day, inclusion of Vlad Plahotniuc on the PDM lists, the concert in Chisinau organized by PDM, the news on the Metropolit Vladimir thanking Vlad Plahotniuc in the context of consecrating a church in Grozesti village, children from socially vulnerable families watched "The Nutcracker" thanks to the Edelweiss Foundation, the news on the participation of Vlad Plahotniuc together with three children from the St. Josef children's home in the "Da sau Nu" (Deal or Not Deal) Show, Plahotniuc making a promise to add 200 thousand lei to the amount.* The share of the news favorable and unfavorable to PCRM was 3.3% and 7.7% respectively (3 and 7 appearances in a positive and a negative context respectively). PLDM also appeared in a positive and a negative context: 3 times and 5 times respectively (3.3 and 5.5%), PL was featured 7 times positively (7.7%), while AMN was portrayed in a positive context once – 1.1% (Diagram 15). In the programs on Prime TV, PD appeared most frequently in a positive context – 4 times – 14.2%.

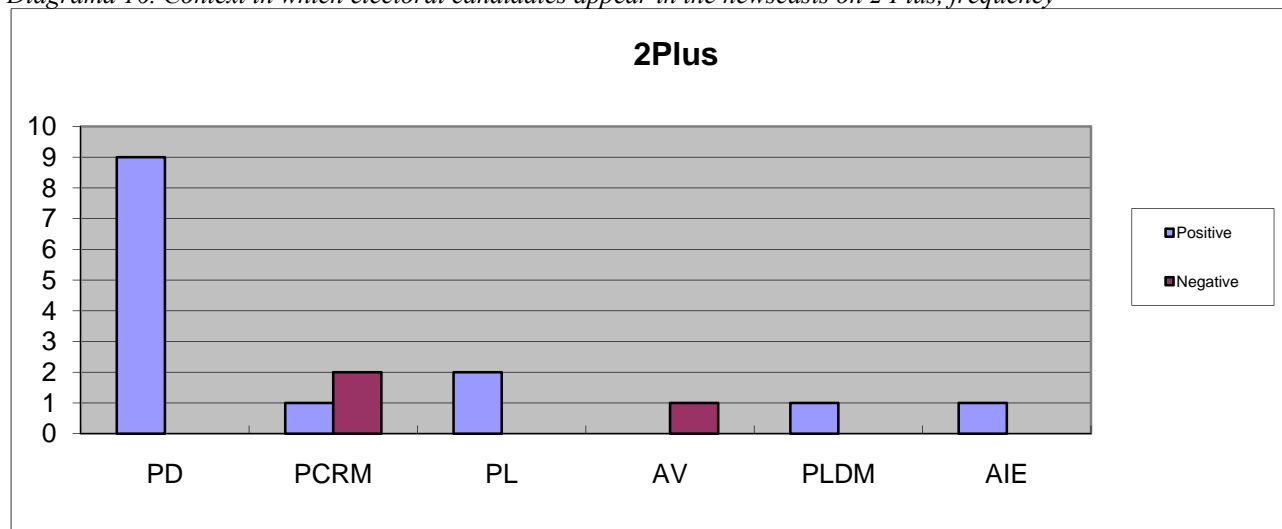
Diagram 15. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Prime TV, frequency



2 Plus

Almost one third of the 26 relevant news items on 2 Plus portrayed PDM in a positive context, the news repeating the subjects broadcast by Prime TV. Thus, this electoral candidate was favored 9 times (34.6%). PL appeared in a positive context 2 times – 7.6%, while PLDM – one time (3.8%). PCRM appeared in a negative and in a positive context, 2 times and 1 time respectively.

Diagrama 16. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on 2 Plus, frequency

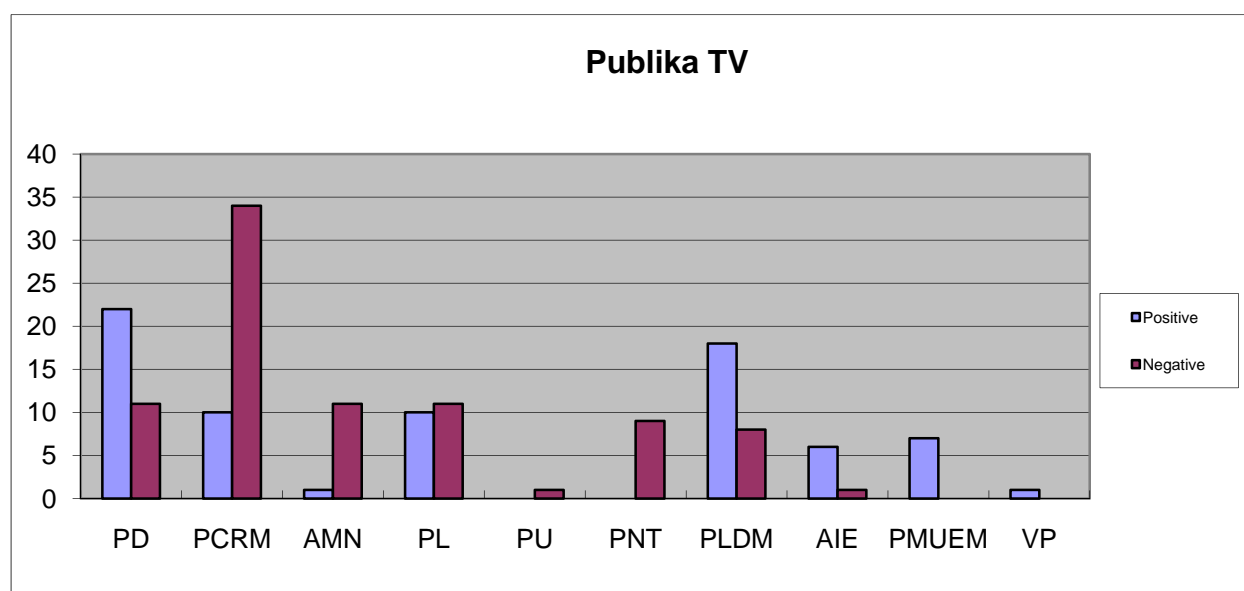


Publika TV

On Publika TV, the context in which the electoral contestants appeared was neutral in most cases. However, in some instances, the representatives of the competing parties and the independent candidates were featured in a positive or a negative light. Most frequently, PD appeared in a positive light – 22 times, or in 9.4% of the relevant news (the news items on the readiness of PDM to accept Vlad Plahotniuc as a member, the session held by PDM to make the final version of their electoral list that was to include Plahotniuc as well, filing the lists by PDM representatives with the CEC, as well as, in a number of news items on the results of opinion polls saying that PDM would enter the

Parliament). The same contestant appeared in a negative light 11 times. PLDM appeared in a positive light 18 times, or 6.8% of the news items (*Vlad Filat is the number one trusted by citizens, according to the BPO results, almost all opinion polls show that the PLDM trend is growing, that PLDM would enter the Parliament, etc.*) and in a negative light 8 times, which represented 3.4% of the total of relevant news. PL was featured in 10 news items with a positive connotation (4.3%) and 11 with a negative connotation (4.7%). AMN appeared primarily negatively in 11 news items, essentially in the news items on the opinion polls and the fact that AMN was not going to enter the Parliament. PCRM had the most appearances in a negative context – 34 times (14.6%), in the news items on *the action organized by Mihai Ghimpu for journalists to show the property of the Voronin family, the accusations of Formuzal that he was going to sue Voronin for having said the Gagauz people were idiots, the embargo from Publika TV because Voronin used indecent language during a live broadcast etc.* However, the party also appeared in a positive light 10 times (4.3%), primarily in the news about *the results of the opinion poll saying PCRM would accede to the Parliament*. The other electoral contestants appeared both in a positive and a negative light, in a smaller number of news items.

Diagram 17. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Publika TV, frequency



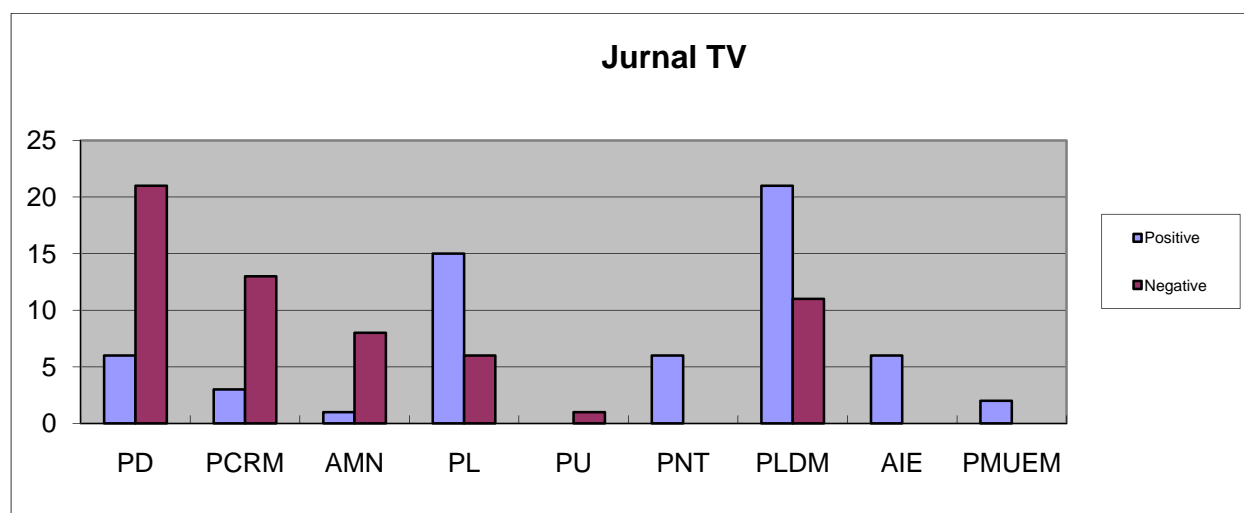
In the opinion items, Vox Populi, and electoral education items on Publika TV, PCRM and AIE were featured most frequently in a negative light – 33 and 19 times respectively. The other electoral players were portrayed both positively and negatively, depending on their participation in the electoral debates.

Jurnal TV

On Jurnal TV, PLDM and PL appeared most frequently in a positive light – 21 and 15 respectively, which represented 13.8% and 9.8% accordingly. The same candidates also appeared in a negative light 11 and 6 times respectively (7.2% and 3.9%). PL's and PLDM's appearance in a positive light was determined not only by the events and the electoral statements of their representatives, but also by the appearance of the party leaders, as Acting President and Prime Minister respectively, in news with indirect electoral connotation (e.g. *the handing of ownership papers for houses built for flood victims with participation of Filat, the visit of Vlad Filat to Italy and his meetings there, the birthday of President Ghimpu, the congratulations of the Premier on the occasion of the professional Day of Agricultural Workers, etc.*). PNT was featured only positively 6 times (3.9%), while PD had the largest number of appearances in a negative context – 21 (13.8%) and 6 in a positive context (3.9%). PCRM appeared 13 times in a negative context (*the news about the lists of the Civic Initiative for Clean Parliament, about the damage to the state made during the construction of the railway segment Cahul-Giurgiulesti under the communist government, accusation of Gagauzians, accusations of Mihai Ghimpu in the context of "Voronin's wealth" etc.*) and 3 times in a positive context, representing 13.8% and approximately 2% of the total number of news items falling under this monitoring (Diagram 18). In the opinion items on Jurnal TV, PCRM and PDM

appeared most frequently in a negative context – 9 times and 6 times respectively, or 9.4% and 6.5%, while PNT – in a positive context - 4 times (4.3%).

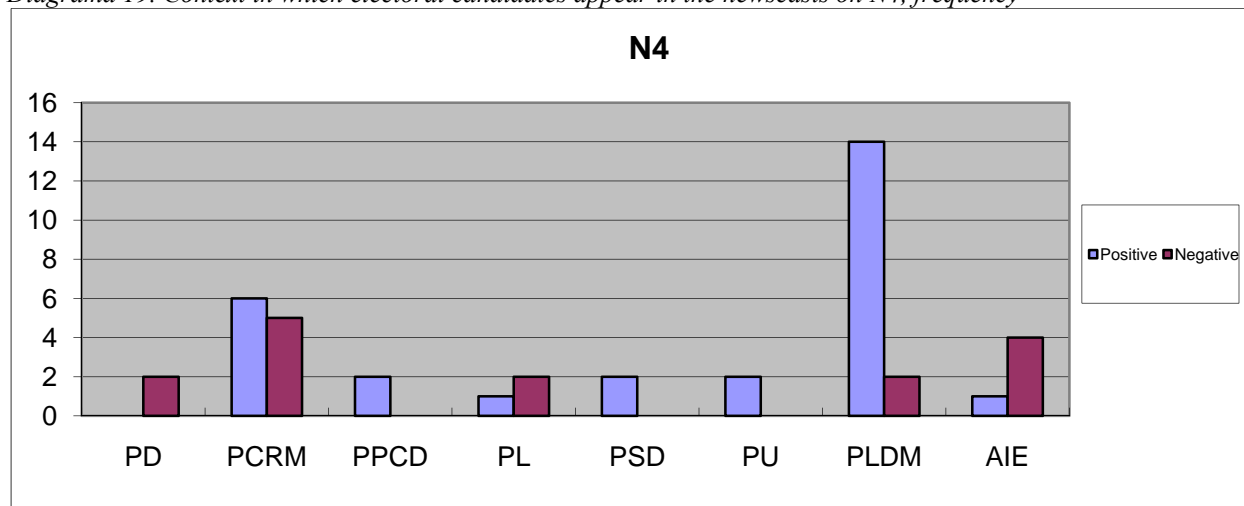
Diagram 18. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Jurnal TV, frequency



N4

On the station N4, which has a regional coverage, PLDM predominantly appeared in a positive light – 14 times or in 17.9% of the total number of 78 news pieces. These primarily covered *the visit of Vlad Filat to Italy and a number of meetings he had there, including with the Diaspora from the Republic of Moldova, the items on commissioning of houses in Nemteni and Cotul Morii, the invitation of Vlad Filat addressed to Vladimir Voronin to participate in debates, etc.* In a negative context, it was PCRM and AIE that appeared most frequently – 5 and 4 times each.

Diagrama 19. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on N4, frequency

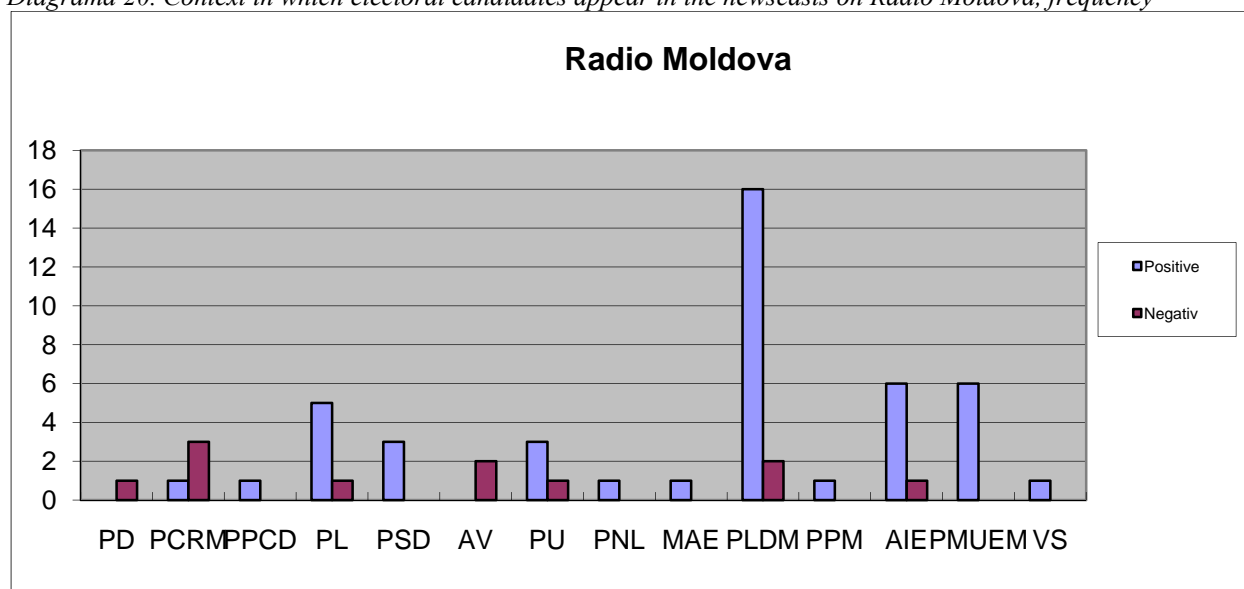


Radio Moldova

On Radio Moldova, during the monitoring period, most of the 144 news items covered the issues in a neutral context. In 45 cases the contestants appeared in a positive context, PLDM being presented in a favorable light the most frequently – 16 times, or 11.1% of the total number of relevant news items that covered *the working visit of Vlad Filat to the building sites in Obileni, Nemteni, Cotul Morii, handing of keys from the houses for the flood victims, the visit of the Premier Filat to Italy and his meetings there, the agreement on migration, the celebration on*

the occasion of the professional Day of Agricultural Worker. In 11 cases the context was negative, of which 3 items featured PCRM (Diagram 20). In non-news items, PCRM and AIE appeared most frequently in an unfavorable context – 7 and 4 times respectively - usually in relation to various accusations by the other electoral candidates.

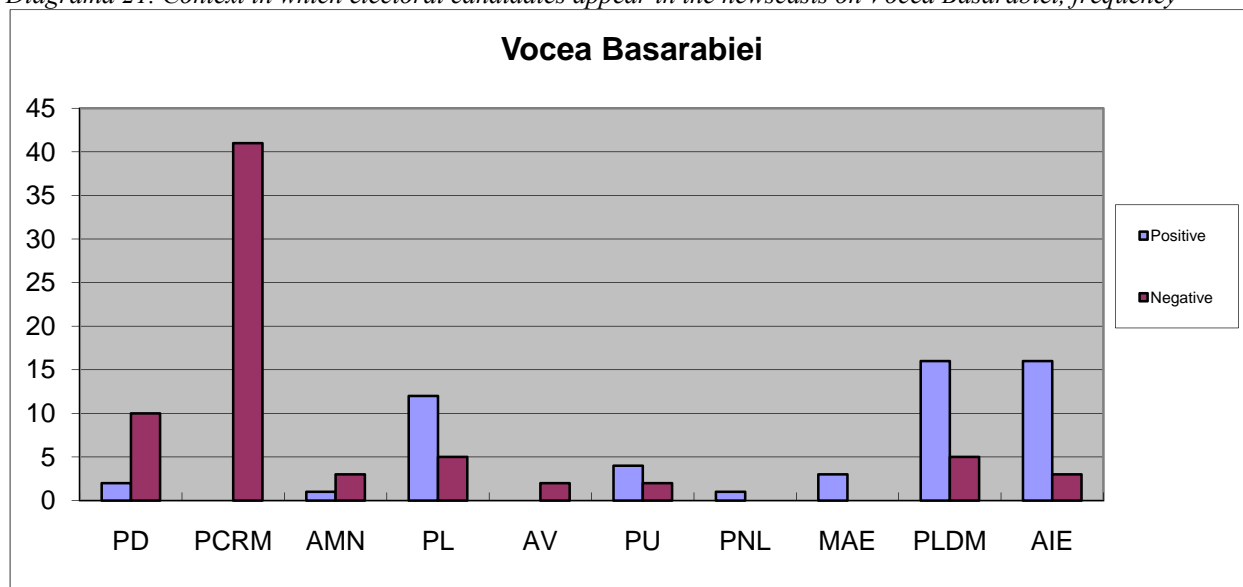
Diagrama 20. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Radio Moldova, frequency



Vocea Basarabiei

In the newscasts by Vocea Basarabiei, AIE, PLDM, and PL were portrayed most frequently in a positive context – 16, 16, and 12 times respectively, or 8.4%, 8.4%, and 6.3% accordingly. In particular, PLDM was favored in the news regarding *the houses for flood victims, the message of congratulations on the occasion of the Students' Day, the meetings of the Premier in Italy, the call of Petru Lucinschi to vote for PLDM, the opinion poll by CBS-Axa that showed increase in the popularity of PLDM, etc.* This candidate was also presented in a negative light – 5 times (2.9%). PL appeared only in favorable news items on *the participation of Mihai Ghimpu in awarding prizes at a national youth contest, disclosures made with regard to Voronin's plunders, the desire of Mihai Ghimpu to reestablish AIE after the elections, the campaign initiated by young liberals to inform citizens about the day of the elections, honoring of Mihai Ghimpu on the occasion of his birthday, etc.* Both PLDM and PL appeared in a negative context 5 times – 2.6%. PCRM appeared only in a negative light – 41 times (16%), in the items about the *verbal aggression of a Comrat inhabitant, the embargo from Publika TV for Voronin, opinions that PCRM would try to destabilize the situation after the elections, PCRM activists attacked a PLDM member, accusations of Formuzal that Voronin had allegedly insulted the Gagauz people, etc.* A series of non-parliamentary parties were covered either positively or negatively (Diagram 21). In the opinion items on Vocea Basarabiei, PCRM appeared 7 times in a negative context, while AIE – 4 times.

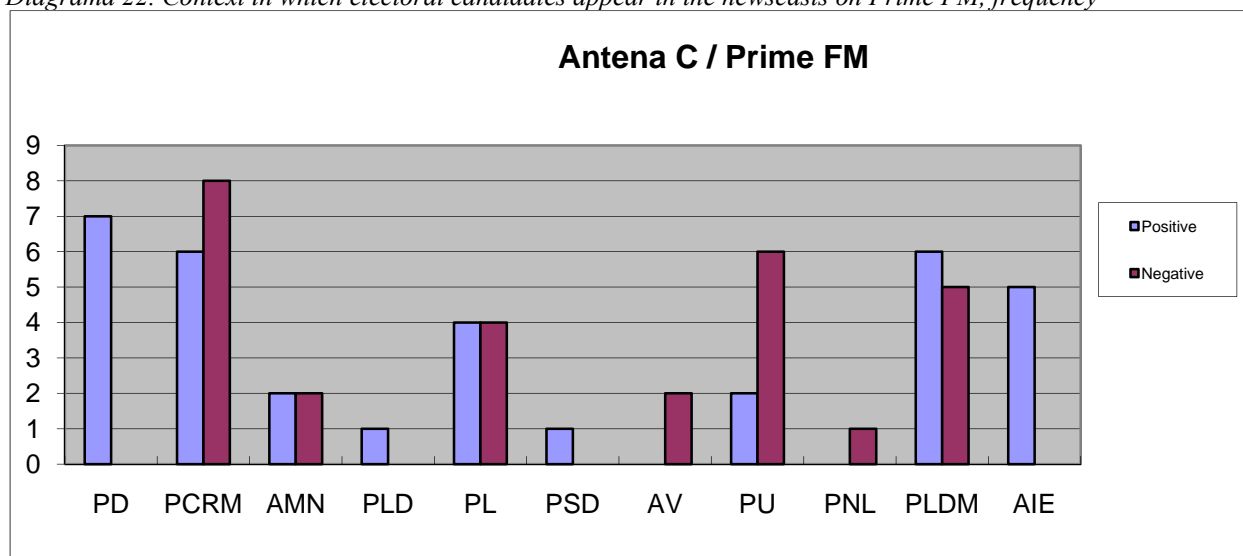
Diagrama 21. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Vocea Basarabiei, frequency



Prime FM

On Prime FM, PD appeared only in a positive context – 7 times, or 5.2% of the 103 relevant news items. These were items primarily on the opinion polls, according to which PDM would accede to the Parliament, and on the concert organized by PDM. PCRM and PLDM appeared in a positive light 6 times each; they were also mentioned negatively in another 8 and 5 news items respectively. PL appeared in an equal number of favorable and unfavorable news items – 4 (Diagram 22).

Diagrama 22. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Prime FM, frequency



5. Print Press, Online Publications

5.1 Involvement in the Election Campaign

5.1.1 Newspapers

During the penultimate week of the election campaign, the 12 monitored newspapers published 337 journalistic pieces on the early parliamentary elections, almost the same amount as during the previous period. The total newspaper surface area allotted to thematic pieces reached 154,862 squared centimeters, a decrease by approx 8 thousand squared centimeters compared with the previous monitoring period.

Opinion pieces, news items and electoral advertisements were the main types of articles, in which the newspapers covered the election campaign during the reporting week. Thus, opinion pieces occupied a record surface of 60,833 squared centimeters, an increase by 6% compared with the previous week. At the same time, the surface area allotted to news items, as well as, to electoral advertisements decreased by 10% on average, while the share of electoral education pieces was insignificant among the editorial priorities of the newspapers. In percentage, the distribution of the total surface of the thematic pieces looked as follows: 39.3% - opinion articles, 31.2% - news items, 27.4% - advertisements, 1.3% - special electoral programs, and 0.9% - electoral education.

Diagram 23. Frequency of pieces on the election campaign, published in 12 newspapers during 15-21 November, number

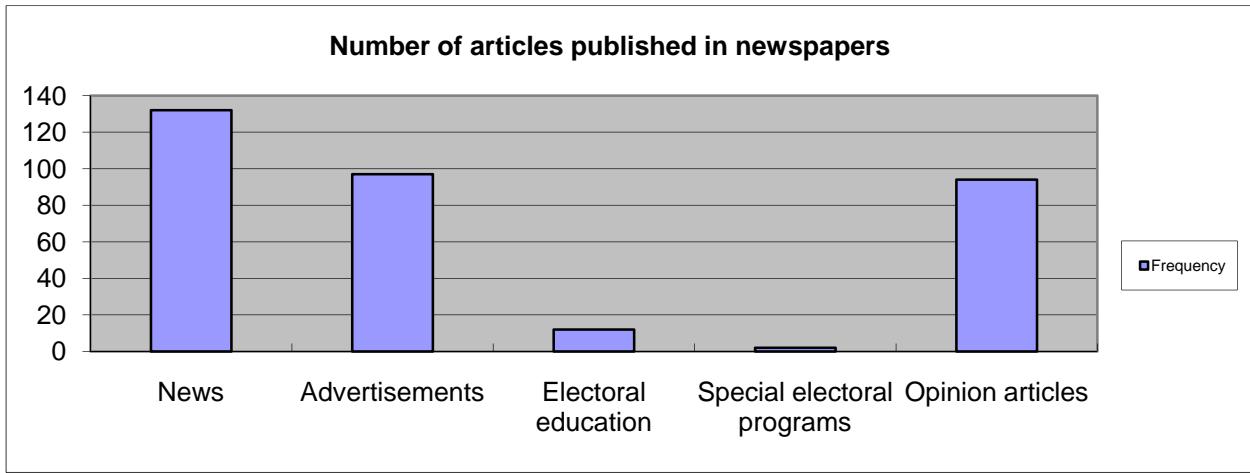
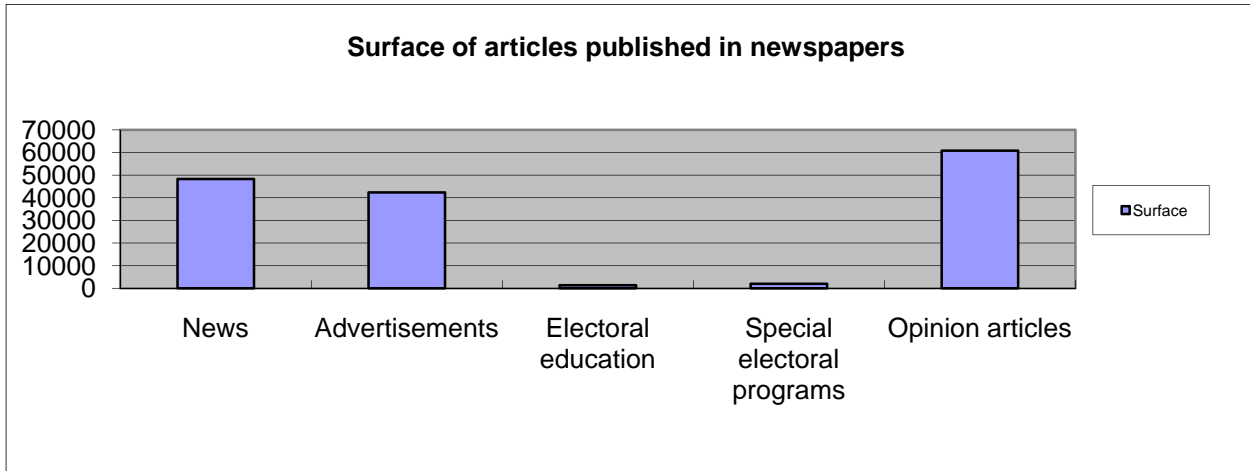


Diagram 24. Surface of pieces on the election campaign, published in 12 newspapers during 15-21 November, sq.cm



The largest number of pieces on the early parliamentary elections (80) were published by *Timpul de dimineață* daily, followed by the newspapers that appeared four times a week *Moldova Suverană* and *Nezavisimaia Moldova* with 49 and 41 relevant articles respectively, the newspaper with two issues per week *Jurnal de Chișinău* (33) and *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* daily with 38 texts on the elections. As for the surface area allotted to thematic articles, the following were the top five newspapers: *Timpul de dimineață* (27,859 sq.cm), *Nezavisimaia Moldova* (22,421 sq.cm), *Moldova suverană* (20,650 sq.cm), *Flux* (16,310 sq.cm), and *Jurnal de Chișinău* (15,907 sq.cm). **Note:** The analysis of this indicator has taken into account the format, volume and frequency, with which each separate publication appears.

In six of the monitored newspapers (*Evenimentul Zilei*, *Flux*, *Moldova Suverană*, *Nezavisimaia Moldova*, *Timpul de dimineață*, *Cuvântul*) the ratio between news reports and opinion pieces was unfavorable to news reports, meaning that those publications preferred in particular to transmit opinions about the electoral candidates to the readers. The weekly edited by the People's Assembly of UTA Gagauz Yeri *Vesti Gagauzii* seemed to have placed the early parliamentary elections under an information boycott and did not publish a single news report on the national elections, just advertisements for electoral candidates.

The volume of properly marked electoral advertisements decreased compared with the previous monitoring period, but still occupied a significant space in the newspapers. During the week of 15-21 November, *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* and *Timpul de dimineață*, together with the regional newspaper *Gazeta de Sud* published the largest number of advertisements. Contradicting the Election Coverage Regulations passed by the Central Electoral Commission, in some cases advertisements were not duly marked as paid for from the election fund of the corresponding electoral candidate.

Diagram 25. Frequency of relevant pieces published in newspapers during 15-21 November, number

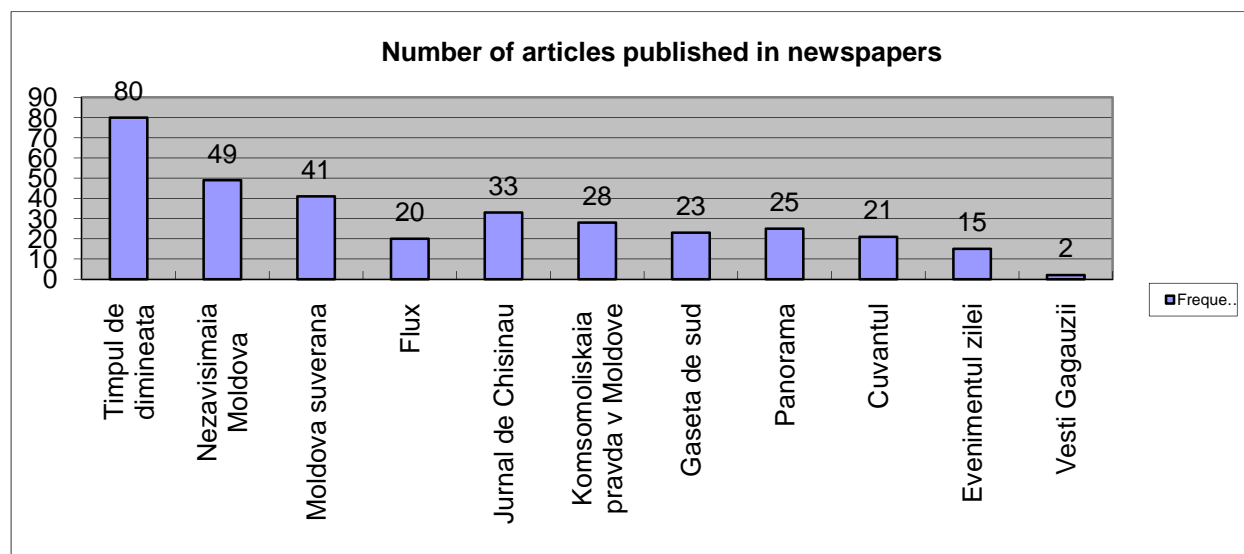
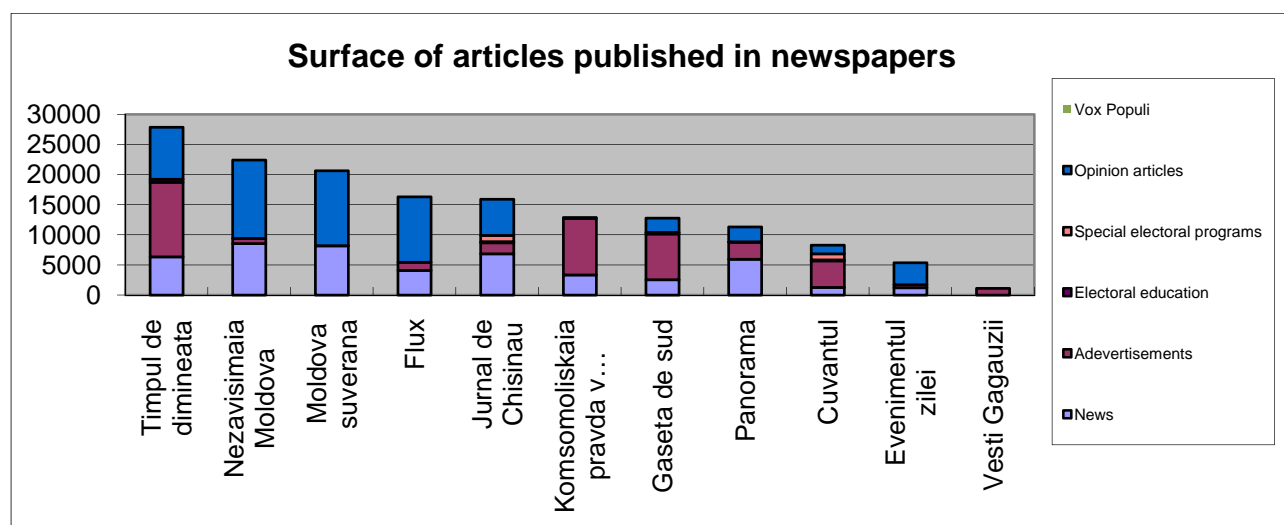


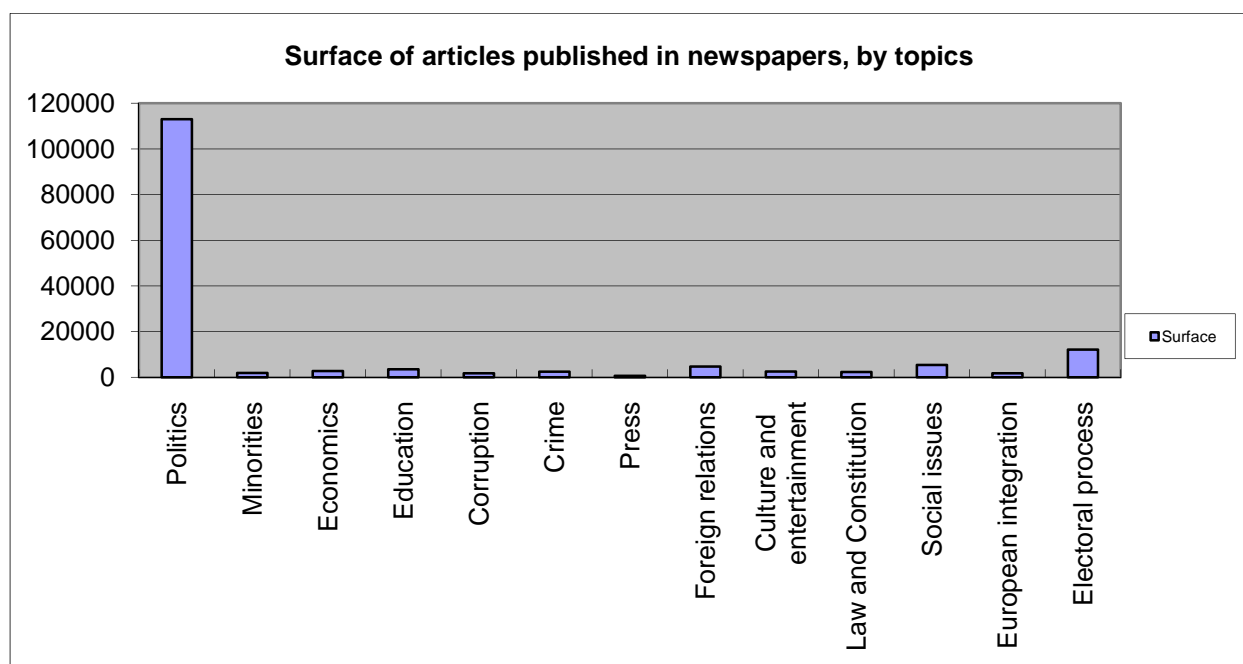
Diagram 26. Surface of pieces on the election campaign in newspapers during 15-21 November, sq.cm



From a thematic point of view, just like in the previous weeks, the monitored newspapers preferred to generally address the political process (69.4% of the total number and 73% of the total surface), without analyzing the positions of the electoral candidates and solutions proposed by them for specific problems, such as education, economic development, corruption combating, etc. 12.8% of the total number of pieces, published during the reporting week, were about the actual carrying out of the electoral process, including CEC decisions following the examination of contestations filed by the election candidates. However, the surface area occupied by these articles was still relatively small, only 7.8% (approx 12,000 sq.cm) of the total surface area allotted to pieces on the elections. The third editorial topic in the context of the early parliamentary elections were foreign relations of the Republic of Moldova, including accessions to the EU and NATO, consolidation of relations with Russia and within the CIS, etc. (4.7% of the total number and 3% of the total surface), as well as social problems, including the pension system reform, social assistance, and other (3.5% of the surface and 2% of the total number of relevant pieces).

None of the monitored newspapers published election debates conducted specifically for, or facilitated by, the print press.

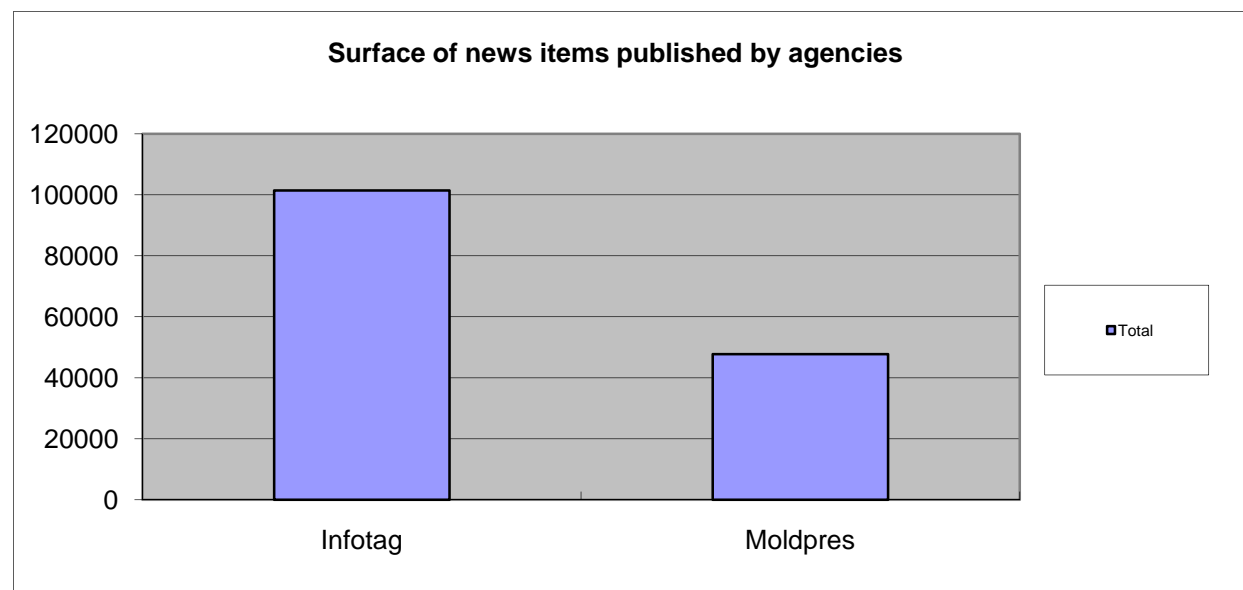
Diagram 27. Topics addressed by the newspapers during 15-21 November, surface, sq.cm



5.1.2 News Agencies and Online Publications

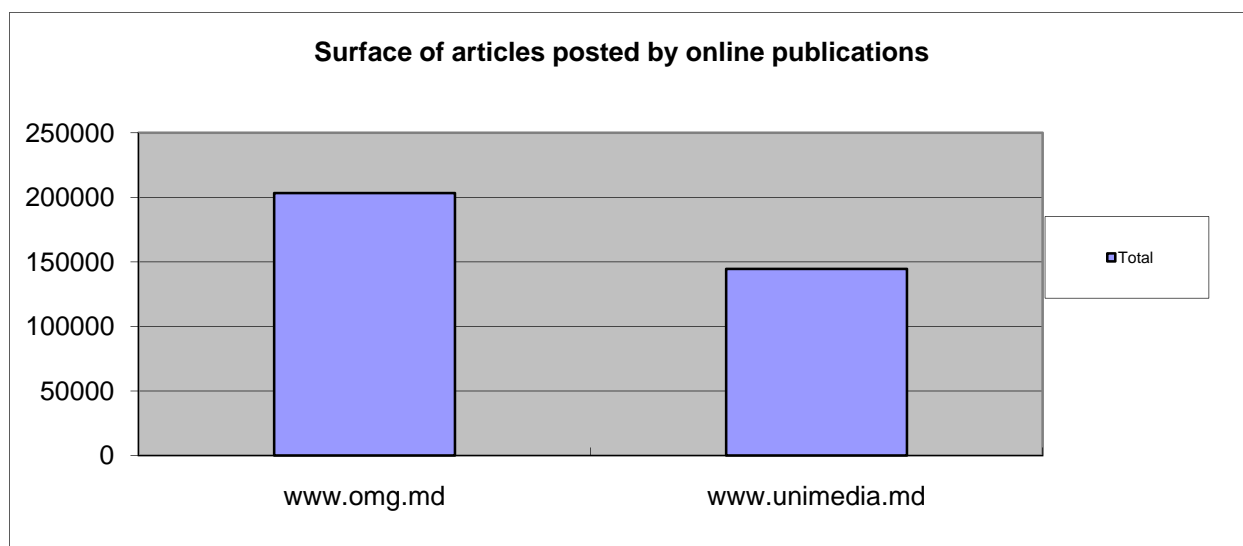
Compared with the previous week, the number of news reports published by the two monitored news agencies, *Moldpres* and *Infotag*, increased to 84 (an increase of 23.5%), thus a return to regular active coverage of the campaign. The published news reports had a total of over 149,212 characters (no spaces), an increase of over 30% of the surface area allotted to news items compared with the previous monitoring week. The *Infotag* agency was more consistent in covering the election campaign, publishing 75% of the broadcasted news and 68% of the occupied surface.

Diagram 28. Space (characters, no spaces) allotted to thematic pieces by news agencies during 15-21 November



The number of pieces on the elections that could be accessed by Internet users on www.unimedia.md and www.omg.md during 15-21 November grew remarkably. Thus, during 15-21 November the two websites posted 277 pieces of relevant information (news reports, political advertisements, electoral education items), an increase by 47.3% compared with the previous week. The total surface area of the thematic news reports also increased by 28.3%, up to 347,831 thousand characters. Just like in the previous weeks, some of pieces posted by the sites were accompanied by video sequences for an amplification effect of the information. For the first time during the monitoring period, www.unimedia.md was leading by the number of published pieces (156); however 58.4% of the total surface area of the news posted by the two monitored portals was accounted for by www.omg.md. The information portal www.unimedia.md placed a number of electoral advertisements for the election candidates (banners), as well as several electoral education pieces for the citizens with voting rights.

Diagram 29. Space (characters, no spaces) allotted to thematic pieces by online publications during 15-21 November



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

5.2.1 Newspapers

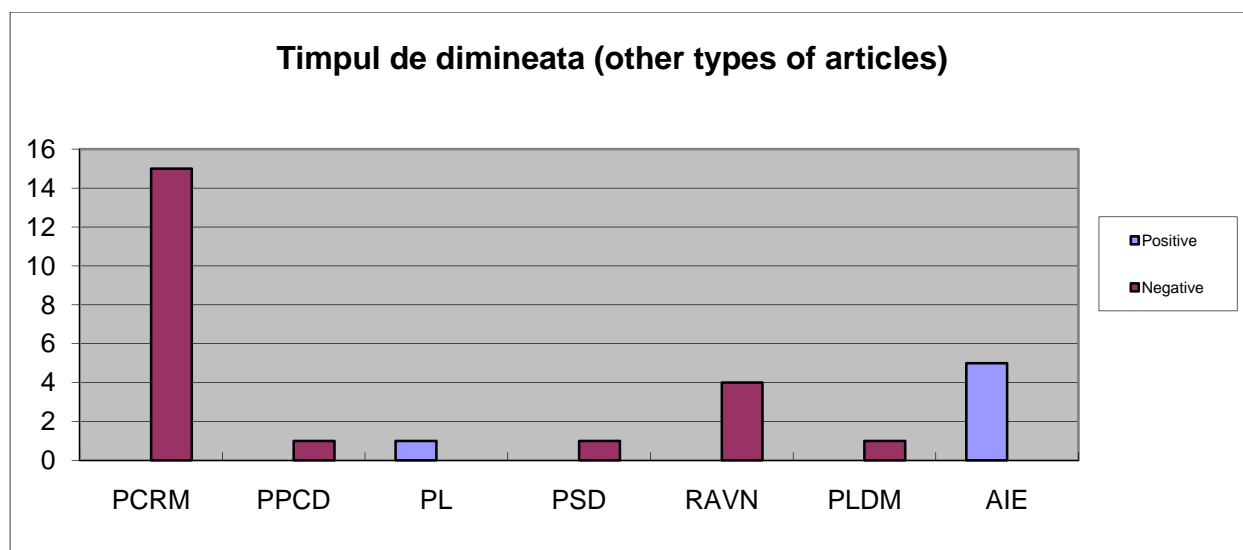
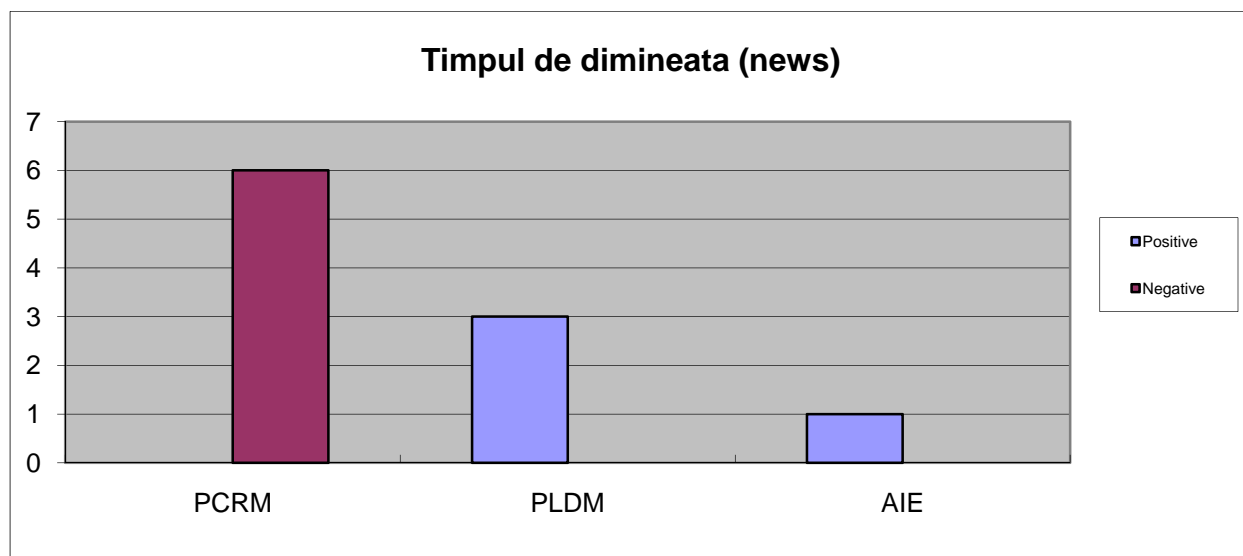
During the reporting period, *Timpul de dimineață* published a number of news reports on the election campaign, in which the election candidates were treated in a fair manner. At the same time, 6 of the 21 news reports (28.6% in total) disfavored PCRM. 3 news items (14.3%) were presented in a way which favored PLDM as a candidate.

During the same period, the newspaper published 23 opinion articles, 15 (65%) of which featured PCRM as an election candidate in a negative context. They were accused either for the political, economic and social crisis in the country or for fraudulent administration of public money under their government. Also there were opinion pieces claiming that if the Communists came back to power Moldovan democracy would be endangered („La sfârșit de lună: Voronin, noapte bună!” (At the end of the month, Voronin, good night!), 15 November; „Secera și ciocanul: blestem și teroare” (The sickle and the hammer: the curse and the terror), 19 November). Another electoral candidate disfavored this week by *Timpul de dimineață* was the „Ravnopravie” Social-Political Movement which was accused of promoting xenophobia and of inciting interethnic hatred (4 cases, 17.4% of the total of opinion pieces).

The overall analysis of the news items and opinion articles published in *Timpul de dimineață* indicated that the editorial policy of the newspaper was clearly anti-communist, instead favoring the democratically oriented parties forming the AIE.

During the reporting period, *Timpul de dimineață* published several electoral education pieces that presented the ways citizens of the Republic of Moldova could exercise their right to vote.

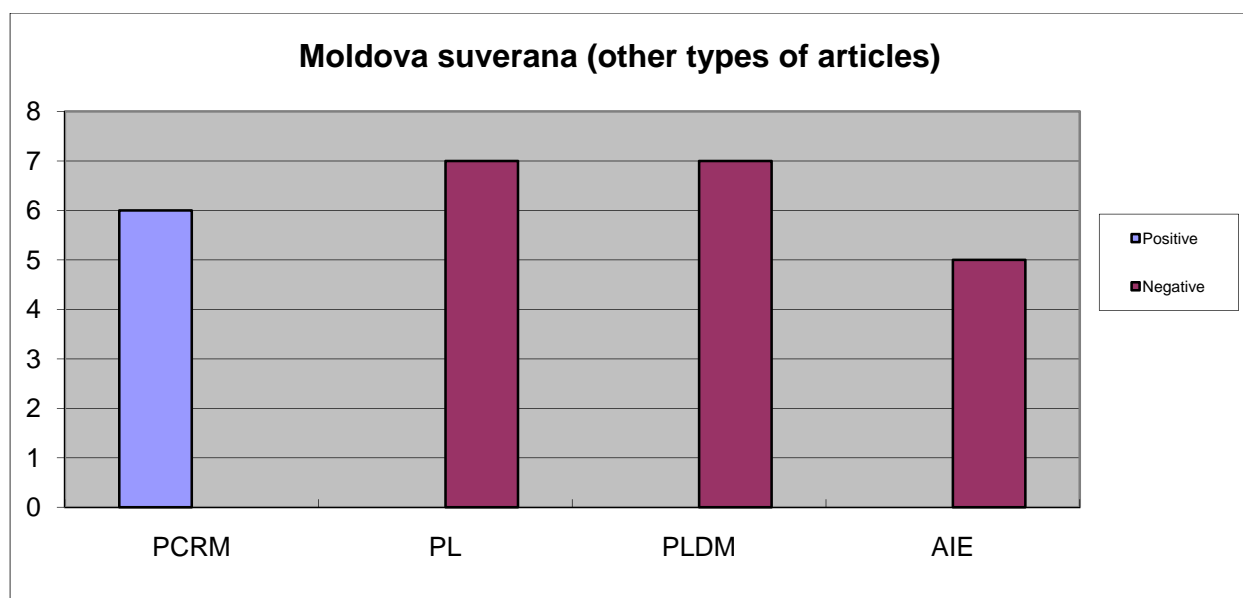
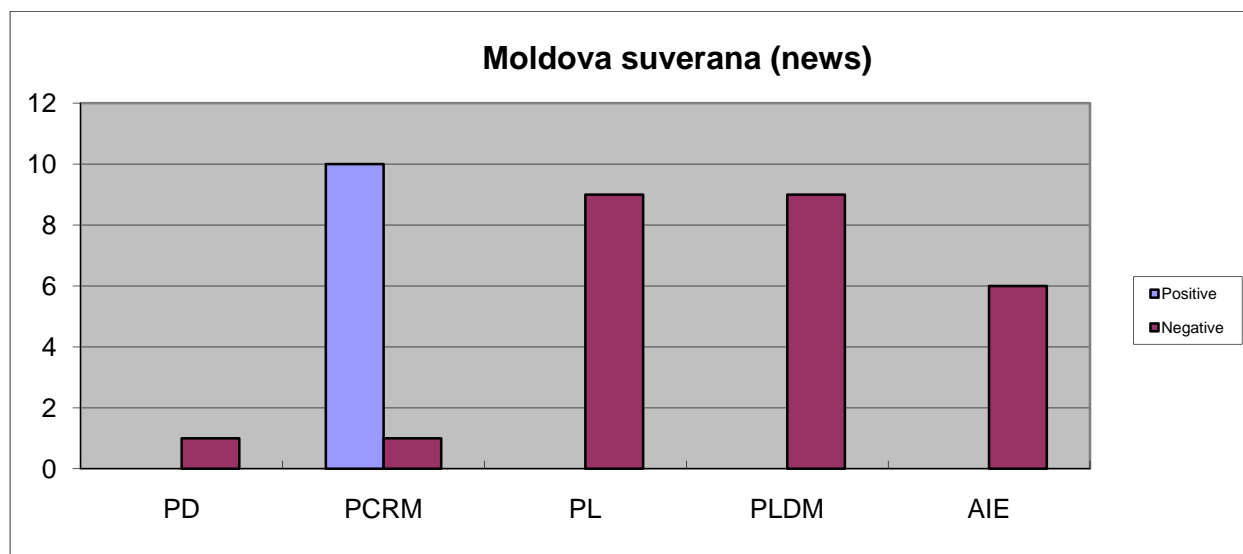
Diagrams 30 and 31. Favored or disfavored candidates by *Timpul de dimineață* during 15-21 November, frequency



The editorial objective of *Moldova Suverană* for the election campaign stayed unchanged and primarily focused on heavy criticism, of a pronounced denigrating nature with elements of insulting language, towards the AIE and liberal parties forming the governing alliance. Thus, 9 of the 24 news reports published during the reporting period (37.5%) and 7 of the 15 opinion pieces (46.7%) featured PLDM and PL as candidates in a pronounced negative context. The newspaper published a series of articles that contained attacks addressed at the UTM rector, Ion Bostan (a PLDM member), accusing him of bribe taking, ruining the university, of running a dictatorship at the education institution, etc. The leader of PLDM, Vlad Filat, was called “the contrabandist Premier who has transformed Moldova in a Mafia cartel” and accused of allegedly being a Romanian spy, using KGB methods, and pursuing a civil war if Communists came to power. The language used in the published texts was extremely vulgar and denigrating.

Conversely, PCR as a candidate was the only political force welcomed on the newspaper pages both in news reports and in opinion articles. Thus, PCR appeared positively in 41.7% of the total of news reports and in 40% of the opinion pieces published by *Moldova Suverană* during this period.

Diagrams 32 and 33. Favored or disfavored candidates by Moldova Suverană during 15-21 November, frequency

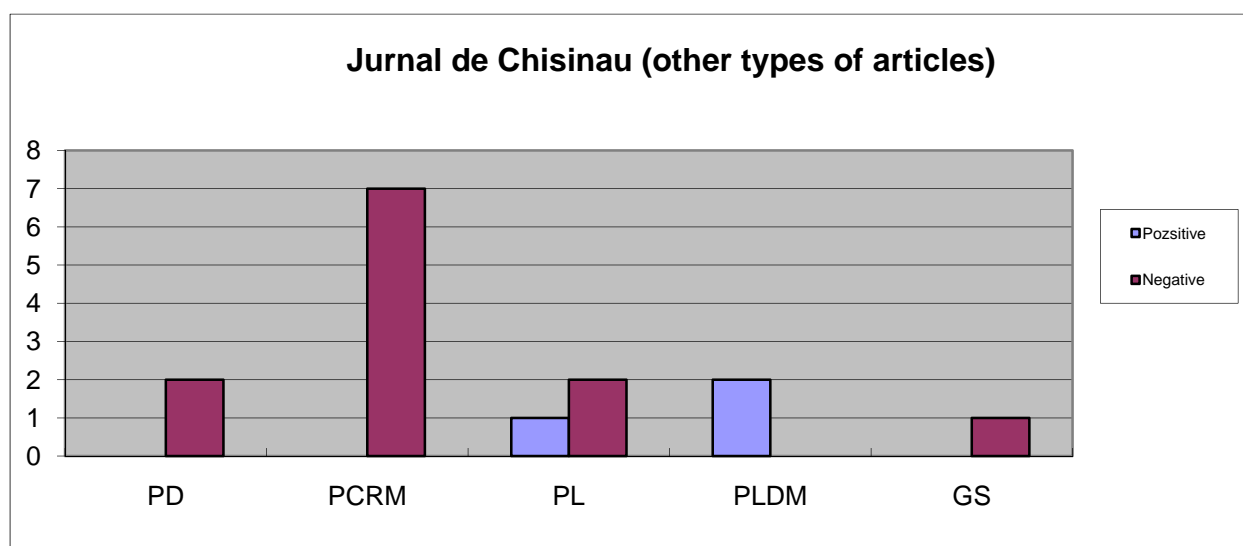
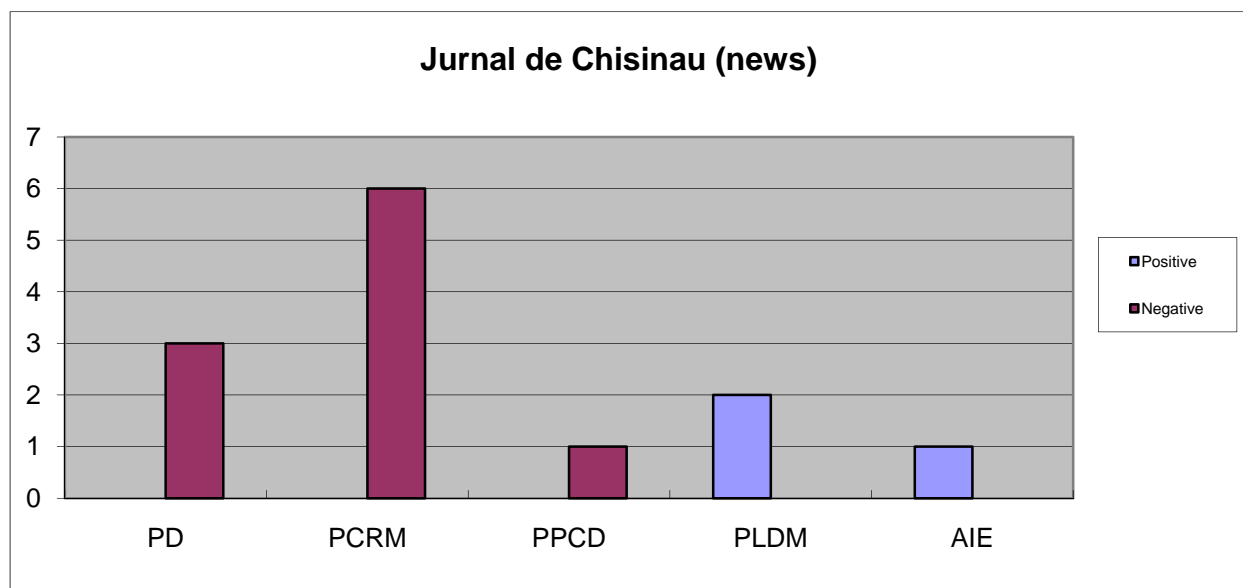


PCRM and PDM as candidates were disfavored by *Jurnal de Chişinău* both in news reports and opinion pieces published during this week. Thus, 6 news reports (50% of the total of published news items) and 7 opinion articles (46.7% of the total) portrayed PCRM in an unfavorable light. The Communists were accused of having spent the millions of lei allocated to the flood victims in 2008 for other purposes, conversely praising the efforts of the present government in the case of this year floods. Likewise, they gave examples of corruption and plunders committed by the former communist officials and civil servants. PD was criticized for its position on the issue of signing the Moldovan-Romanian Border Treaty; unfavorable suppositions were made in relation to the inclusion of the controversial businessman Vlad Plahotniuc on the list of PDM candidates, etc.

PLDM was the party which most frequently appeared in a positive light.

Jurnal de Chişinău also inserted a civic and election education supplement „Obiectiv” prepared and distributed by the Independent Press Association (API) within the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections. The supplement included a number of news reports and other electoral education pieces.

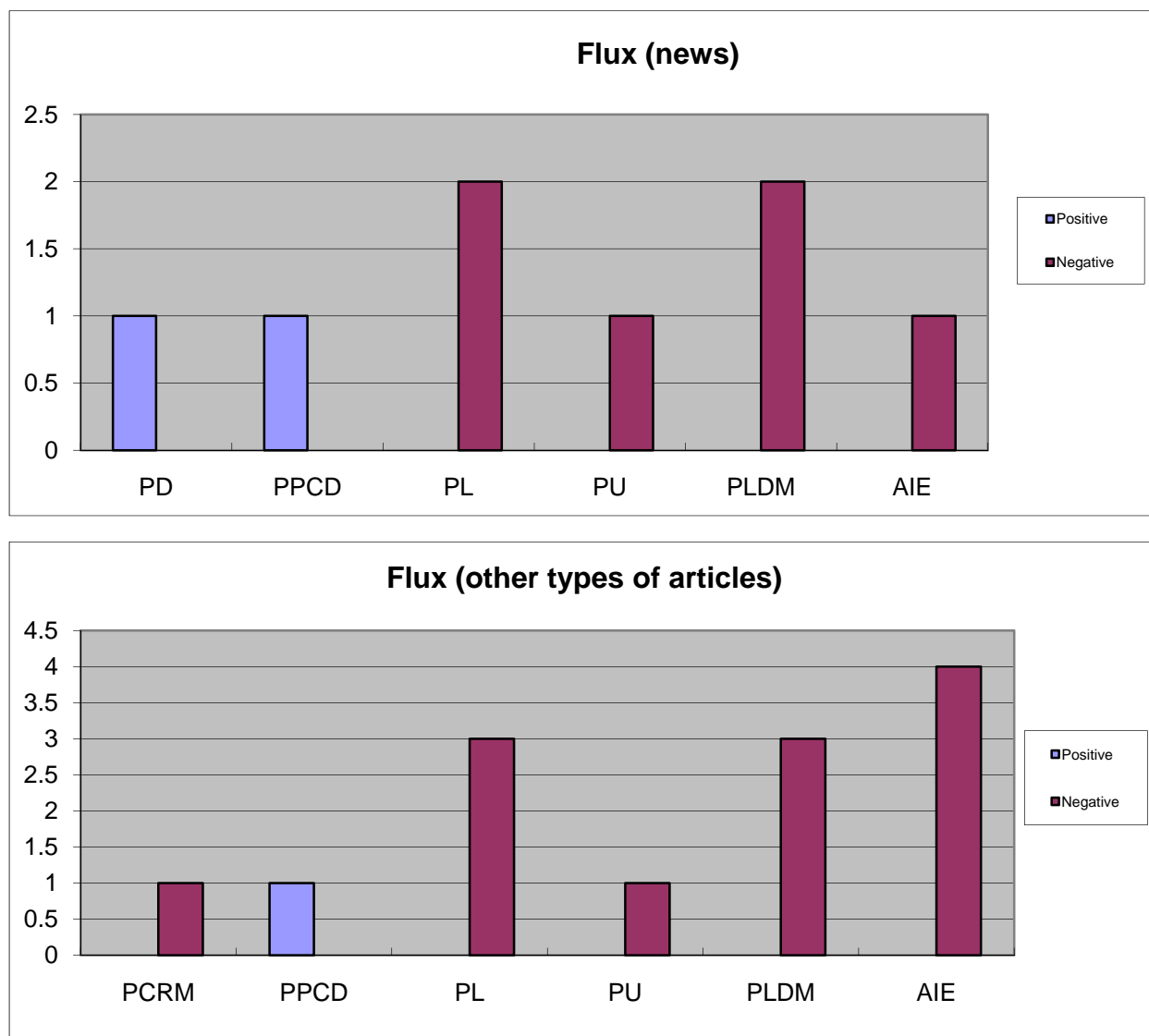
Diagrams 34 and 35. Favored or disfavored candidates by Jurnal de Chişinău during 15-21 November, frequency



2 of the 7 news reports (28.5%) and 3 of the 11 opinion articles (27.3%) published by *Flux* during the reporting week disfavored AIE, PLDM and PL as election candidates. The newspaper suggested that the present governing alliance was allegedly controlled from the shadows by the former president Petru Lucinschi („Filat+Lupu+Ghimpu+Urechian=Lucinschi”, 19 November), that the Premier Filat had allegedly been involved in cigarette smuggling etc. Several pieces were reproduced by *Flux* from the procommunist website www.omg.md.

PPCD appeared 2 times in a positive context in news reports and opinion articles, while PD – once in a news piece.

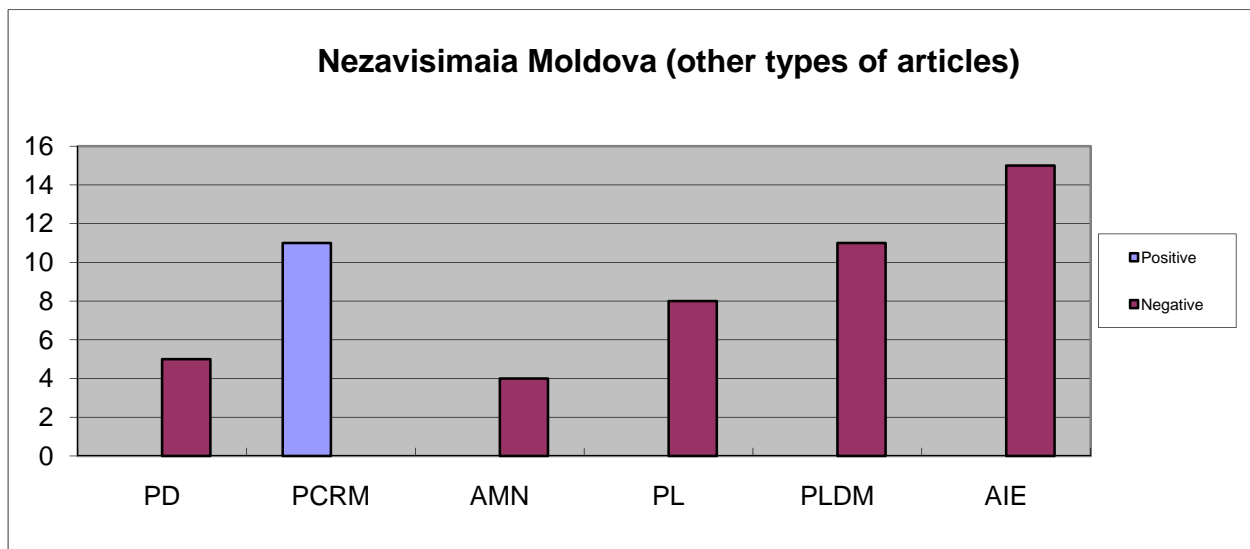
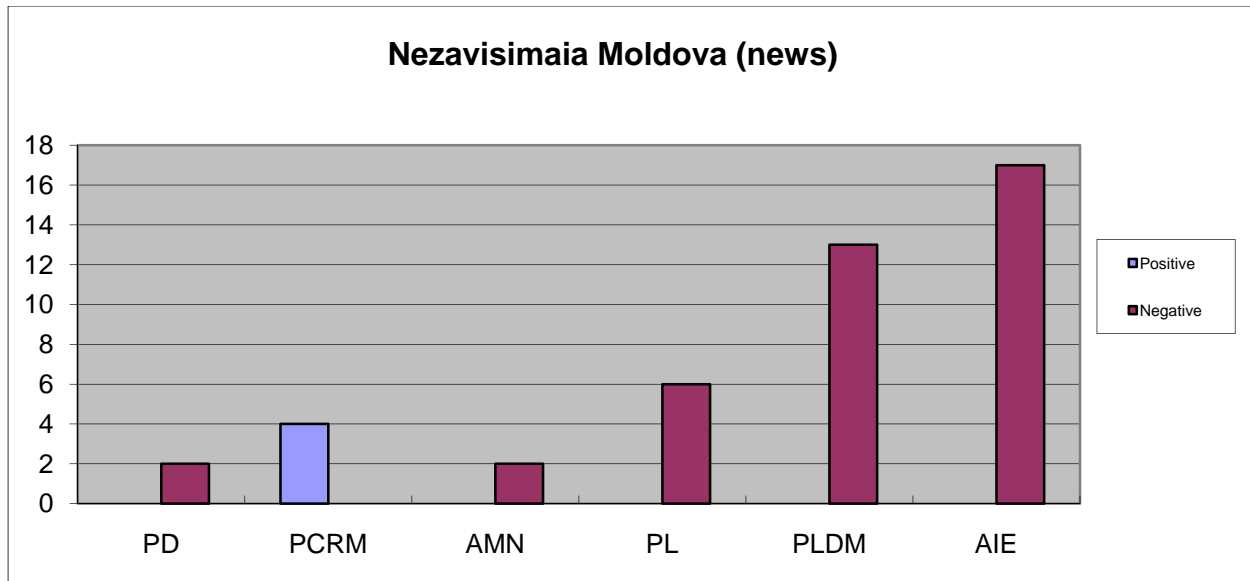
Diagrams 36 and 7. Favored or disfavored candidates by Flux during 15-21 November, frequency



The absolute majority of texts published by *Nezavisimaia Moldova* during the reporting week were heavily critical and discredited the present government, the AIE in general and PLDM and PL in particular. Thus, AIE appeared in a negative context in all of the 17 news reports referring to the party (63% of the total of 27 news items) and in all of the 15 opinion articles (71.4% of the total of 21). PLDM as a candidate was disfavored in 48.1% of news items and 52.4% of opinion articles; PL – in 22.2% of the news items and 38% of the opinion articles.

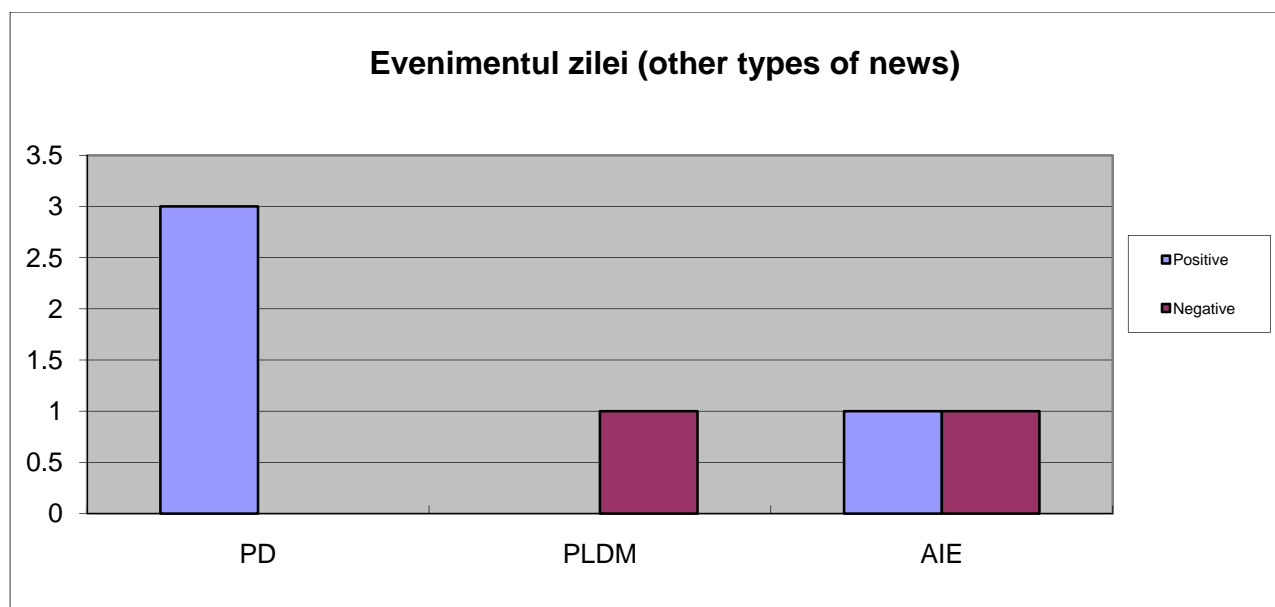
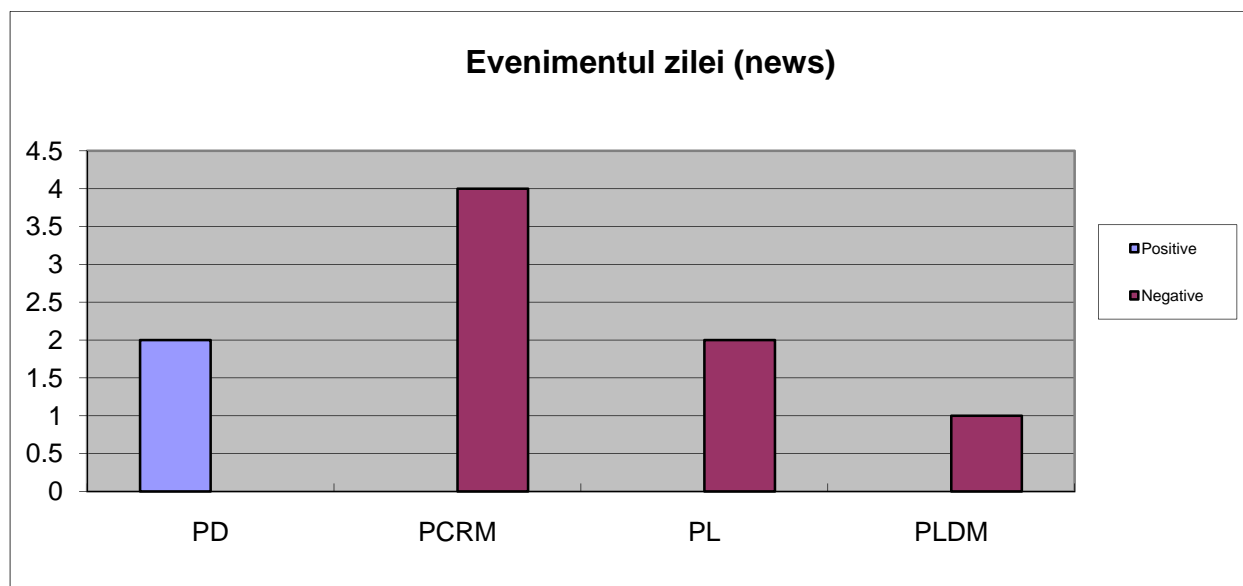
Conversely, PCRM as a candidate was promoted and praised in all of the texts referring to the party (4 news items and 11 opinion articles).

Diagrams 38 and 39. Favored or disfavored candidates by *Nezavisimaia Moldova* during 15-21 November, frequency



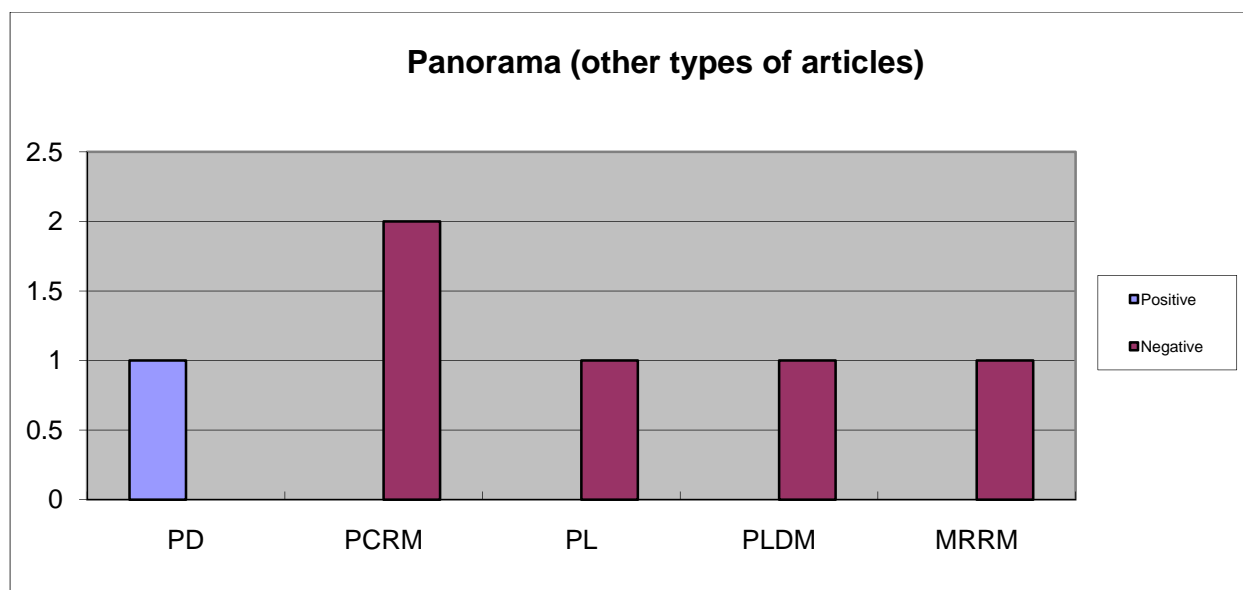
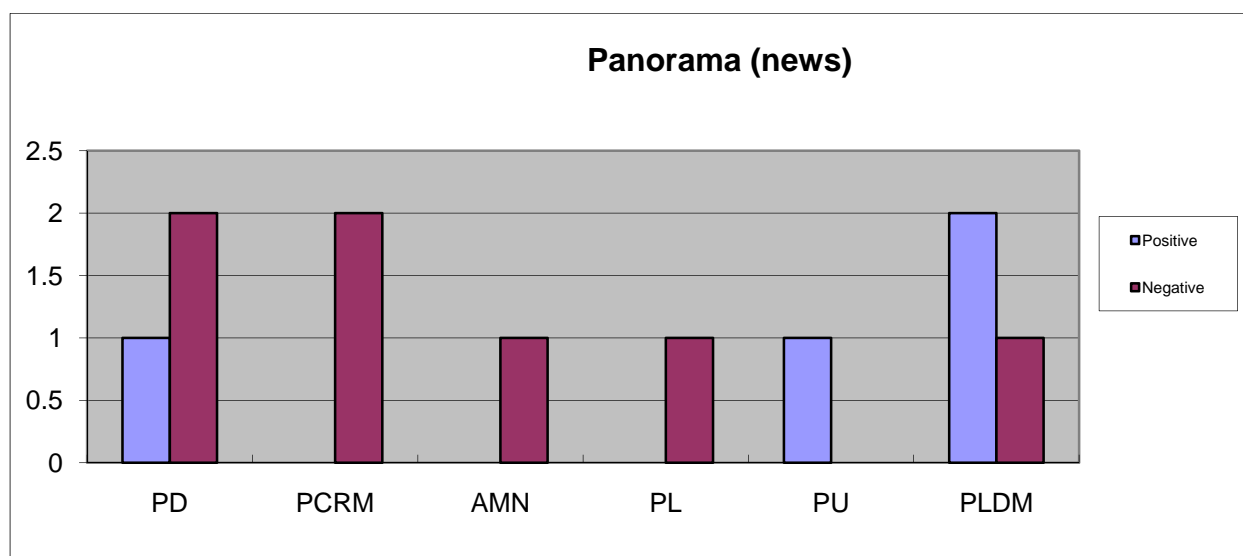
Evenimentul Zilei published both neutral news and news that presented the electoral candidates in either a positive or a negative light during the reporting week. The analysis indicates a tendency to favor PDM as a candidate.

Diagrams 40 and 41. Favored or disfavored candidates by Evenimentul Zilei during 15-21 November, frequency



During the reporting period, *Panorama* wrote only negatively about PCRM on its pages, but did not show a clear tendency of favoring any electoral candidate.

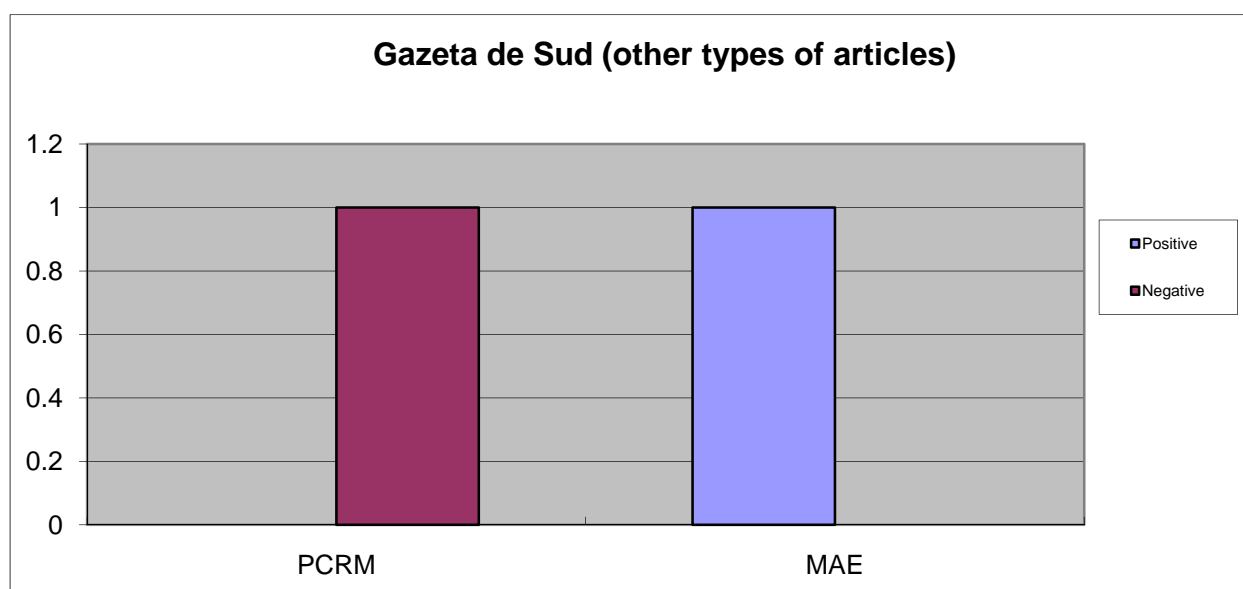
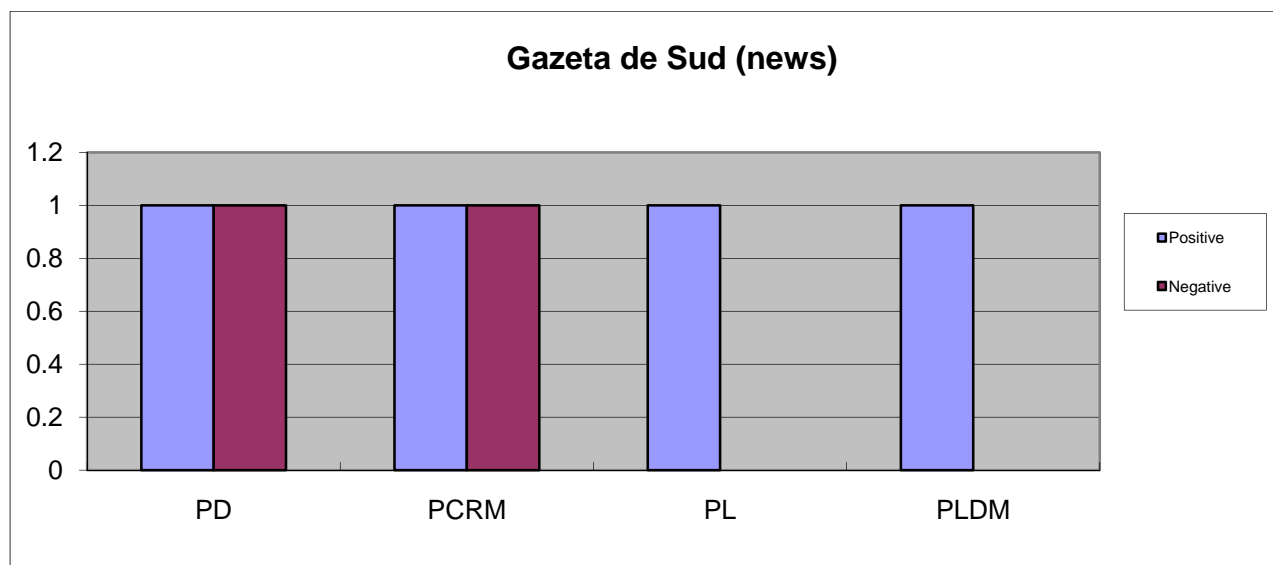
Diagrams 42 and 43. Favored or disfavored candidates by Panorama during 15-21 November, frequency



The analysis of the pieces published in *Gazeta de Sud* weekly (Cimişlia) showed that the newspaper presented PCRM as a candidate in a negative light, without a noticeable tendency to favor any electoral candidate in the early parliamentary elections.

Gazeta de Sud also inserted a civic and election education supplement „Obiectiv” prepared and distributed by the Independent Press Association (API) within the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections. The supplement included a number of news items and other electoral education pieces.

Diagrams 44 and 45. Favored or disfavored candidates by Gazeta de Sud during 15-21 November, frequency



Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove published several relatively neutral news items during the reporting week, a lot of electoral advertisements, and two electoral education pieces on the possibility that people could vote by presenting expired IDs/passports.

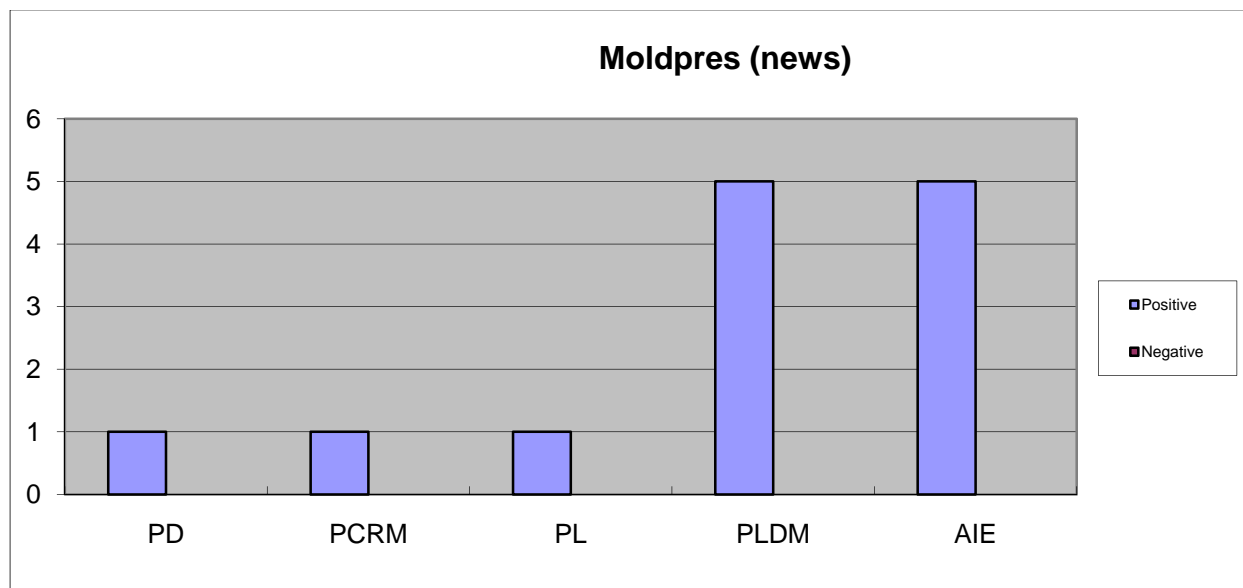
The news items on the early parliamentary elections published by *Cuvântul* (Rezina) during the reporting period were mostly neutral. In an opinion article, PCRM was criticized as a candidate for having launched the rumors about what was going to happen if the liberals were to win (unification of Moldova with Romania, the coming of gendarmes to make order, etc.). *Cuvântul* also inserted a civic and election education supplement „Obiectiv” prepared and distributed by the Independent Press Association (API) within the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections. The supplement included a number of news items and other electoral education pieces.

The public newspaper *Vesti Gagauzii* (Comrat) did not publish news reports or opinion articles on the early parliamentary elections during the reporting week, only two advertisements by PDM as an election candidate. The public newspaper *Golos Bălți* (Bălți) also did not publish any thematic news items.

5.2.2 News Agencies and Online Publications

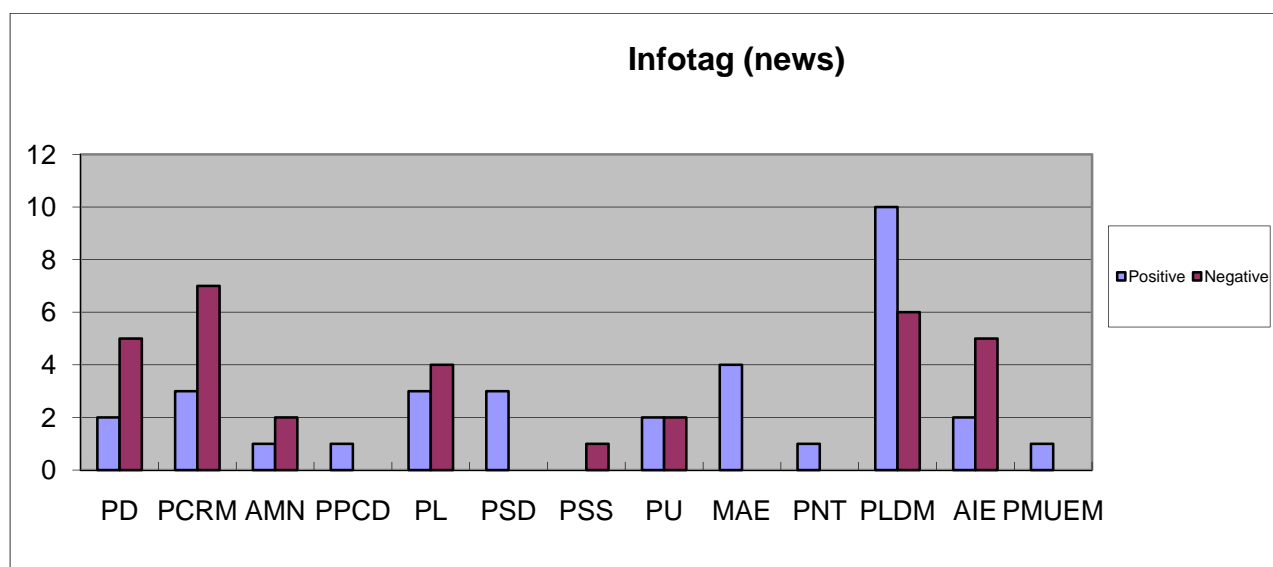
None of the 21 news items published during the reporting period by *Moldpres* State Information Agency disfavored any electoral candidate in the early election campaign; the news items were primarily neutral. In the context of news reports on high level meetings or events with the participation of the country's leaders, which referred to the achievements of the current government, AIE appeared in a positive light a number of times, as did PLDM as a candidate in the context of events which involved the participation of the Prime Minister Vlad Filat, who is concomitantly the chairman of PLDM. This was particularly true for the news items on the visits to the building sites, and distribution, of houses for the flood victims.

Diagram 46. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items by Moldpres during 15-21 November, frequency



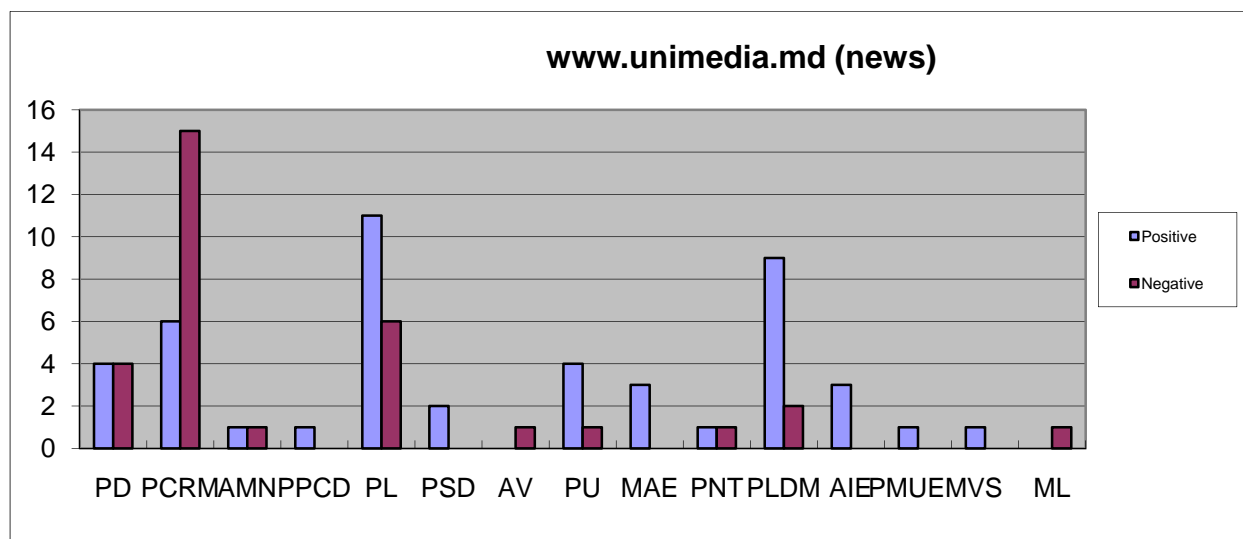
Infotag news agency maintained a relative balance in its editorial policy, covering the events and declarations of the political figures and election candidates both in a positive and a negative light. Nevertheless, the ratio between the number of positive and negative news items suggested a slight tendency to favor PLDM and MAE as election candidates.

Diagram 47. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items by Infotag during 15-21 November, frequency



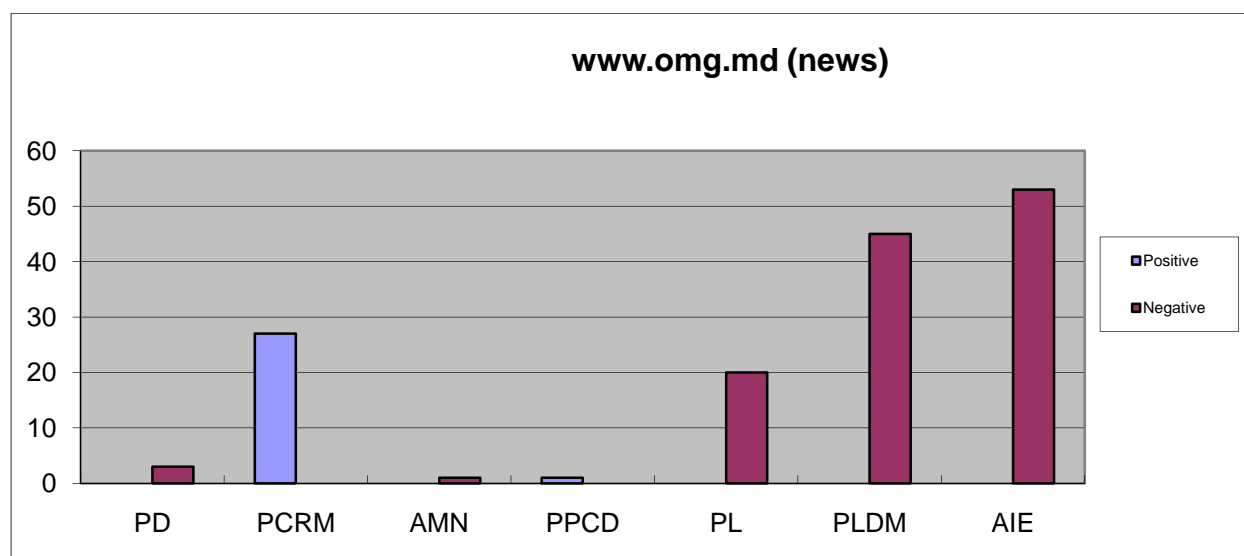
The information posted on www.unimedia.md presented the election candidates both in a positive and in a negative light depending on the events/declarations/opinions organized or expressed publicly by the candidates or about them. Nevertheless, the ratio of favoring and disfavoring news reports that referred to the election candidates showed a tendency to disfavor PCRM and favor PL and PLDM.

Diagram 48. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items on www.unimedia.md during 15-21 November, frequency



27 of the 120 relevant texts (22.5%) posted on www.omg.md during 15-21 November featured PCRM as a candidate in a positive context, conversely the AIE and the component parties of the governing alliance appeared entirely in a negative light, in texts which aimed at discrediting them. Thus, PLDM as a candidate and its leader, Vlad Filat, were disfavored in 45 texts (37.5% of the total), while PL – in 20 (16.7% of the total). Filat was accused of having betrayed the national interest, of protecting cigarette smuggling, using administrative resources and the personal data of citizens for electoral purposes, preparation of a mass falsification of the election results, provocation of a diplomatic war with Ukraine, etc. Often, the website referred to anonymous sources to convince the readers of the “lawlessness” of the present government.

Diagram 49. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items on www.omg.md during 15-21 November, frequency



ANNEX

The report analyzes items broadcast on **23 November 2010** by seven televisions and three radio stations in *prime time* news bulletins about the kidnapping of a PCRM candidate for an MP chair Artur Resetnicov. The study pays attention to the formulation of presentations, the accuracy of the news items, and the balance of sources.

Case Study No.1. Moldova 1, 21.00		
No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	The former director of SIS (Information and Security Service), Artur Resetnicov, a PCRM candidate for an MP chair, is at the hospital. He claims that last night he was kidnapped by unfamiliar people and tortured to sign documents compromising Voronin. Law enforcement officers say they have filed criminal charges over this case. The prosecutor's office investigates possible settling of accounts over property issues as well.	A fair, unbiased, and balanced item.
Conclusions Moldova 1 presented the information in an unbiased, fair, and balanced manner.		
Case Study No.2. N4, 19.30		
No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	The election campaign has become dirty, charges PCRM. The former SIS director has got to the hospital having been beaten and threatened with a gun. The PCRM candidate charges he has been tortured after being kidnapped yesterday right from the street. Resetnicov says he was taken to an	There is an emphasis on political interpretations with charges against the present government called a criminal alliance by a PCRM leader. The item is fair and unbiased, although there are certain accents made by the reporter in the text. The balance of sources is offset by the presence of two PCRM

	unfamiliar place and forced with a gun to offer information that could compromise Voronin. PCRM hailed the case as an action of the authorities.	leaders who make grave charges against the governing alliance. The reaction comes from Vlad Filat.
Conclusions N4 pays more attention to the electoral nature of the incident in the broadcast item. The report presents all the sources involved, but is not balanced due to unequal space allotted to the parties (the position of PCRM dominates to the disadvantage of accused from AIE) and the rough message on the part of some sources (Tcaciuc and Voronin) versus a reply on the part of the Premier Vlad Filat.		
Case Study No.3. Jurnal TV, 20.00		
No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	The former SIS head has got to the hospital in a grave condition. Resetnicov claims he has been beaten, tortured and threatened with death. It happened nowhere else but right in the center of the capital.	A fair and unbiased item.
2	It is the present regime that stays behind the kidnapping of Resetnicov, claim PCRM members. Communists do not hesitate to turn against AIE again calling it a criminal regime. In its turn, the government does not keep silent and says that the investigation agency is the one to say the last word when the case is elucidated.	A fair and unbiased item.
Conclusions Jurnal TV broadcasts two items about the Resetnicov case. Taken separately each item is fair and unbiased, and taken as a whole they are also balanced. The television allots the necessary space to inform the viewers about the kidnapping of Resetnicov, as well as for the main political figures to express their opinions on the case.		
Case Study No.4. 2 Plus, 20.30		
No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	A real kidnapping or an ordinary incident, it is just a matter of time. Artur Resetnicov was brought to the hospital with light injuries and a brain concussion. The former SIS head claims he has been kidnapped in broad daylight by several unfamiliar people who beat him and threatened with death. The law enforcement bodies investigate several versions, among which a staged kidnapping.	An unbiased, fair, and balanced item with a number of sources present: the victim, doctors, the police, and the prosecutor's office. The item also gives a lot of background information on the candidate for an MP chair Resetnicov.
Conclusions 2 Plus placed the item on the alleged kidnapping of Artur Resetnicov under the Elections 2010 rubric. The item is unbiased, fair, and balanced. In presenting the item, the authors rather make emphasis on the investigation and avoid breaking forth into explanations with political connotations.		

Case Study No.5. Prime TV, 21.00

N	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	Artur Resetnicov was brought to the neurology department of the Emergency hospital. The former SIS head declared he was kidnapped on Monday from the center of Chisinau, beaten and taken to an unfamiliar place, where he was tortured and threatened with death. The kidnappers allegedly requested him to present compromising information about Voronin. The police verify whether it could have been a staged kidnapping.	An unbiased, fair, and balanced news item with the following sources present: the victim, doctors, the police, and the prosecutor's office.
2	In the meanwhile, the kidnapping of a PCRM candidate has stirred up reactions from a number of political parties. MAE claims that PCRM desperately speculates on the kidnapping of Resetnicov who makes TV shows from the hospital bed. The Humanist Party claims that it is just another Cubreacov case. And the former security minister, Anatol Taranu, claims there has been no need to kidnap Resetnicov and the case is a provocation by the PR specialists of PCRM.	The item completes the previous report by interpretations of electoral candidates. Although unbiased and fair in terms of those featured in the item, the report lacks balance because no reaction of PCRM to the comments is presented.

Conclusions Prime TV broadcasts an item about the alleged kidnapping, in which they treat the case in a fair and unbiased manner. The second item comes to complete the previous report, lacking the position of PCRM aside the opinions of MAE, PUM and a former security minister. This omission makes the presented information imbalanced.

Case Study No.6. NIT, 22.00, http://nit.md/index_md.php?action=news&id_news_category=&id=2687

No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	An out-of-the-ordinary attack only five days before the elections. A PCRM candidate, Artur Resetnicov, has got to the hospital in a grave condition having been attacked by unfamiliar people. He was badly beaten, threatened with a gun, and tortured by different methods, as well as drugged with psychotropic substances and forced to sign compromising declarations against Voronin.	The item is biased, not fair, and neither balanced. The declarations of Voronin account for a half of the report's length (293 sec.), in which the PCRM leader brings a number of charges against AIE left without a reply.
2	MIA has filed criminal charges over the case of kidnapping and torturing of Resetnicov. The police hope to get more information on the incident, but at the moment they do not give too much detail. The General Prosecutor's Office has declared they will get involved in the elucidation of this case as well.	A fair and unbiased item.

3	<p>PCRM hailed the bandit attack on Resetnicov as an unprecedented one. They tried to obtain compromising information by torture. Moldovan communists call international structures to stop supporting „the criminal regime of the Republic of Moldova”. Conversely, continue communists, violence outbreaks in the country shall endanger Moldovan democracy.</p>	<p>The item is abundant in quotes from the declaration by PCRM, which is a rough attack against AIE and the Ministry of the Interior. Marc Tcaciuc is quoted for 154 out of 270 seconds of the report’s length and makes a number of charges against the governing alliance related to criminality spreading in the country. The way the item is structured makes it biased and imbalanced, while the author shows lack of good intentions in selecting the quotes, and there are no reactions on the part of the accused.</p>
4	<p>The criminal factor is scaling up. Suspect disappearances, ordered murders, torture, trafficking in drugs, intimidation of business people and journalists, thefts from cars and flats are just several examples. It is more serious that the criminal factor gets involved in the election campaign, supporting people from certain political forces. There are rumors among jailbirds and law enforcement bodies that a release of the thief in law Micu, the most feared criminal in Moldova imprisoned for life in 2004, has been arranged.</p>	<p>Right from the presentation of the item it is not clear what kind of a report is going to follow. The way they introduce the subject seems to be more of a comment, by which the author wants to claim that criminality is scaling up in the RM. He operates with a number of interpretations and rumors. The item is a mixture of comments and video images taken from a number of sources (sometimes even fiction movies) – often not mentioning when they were produced and the source they were taken from – that come to illustrate and support the idea of cooperation between the present government and the criminal world. The author resorts to appreciations several times (dubious forces and criminal leaders have got the power, etc.).</p> <p>The item is of a largely manipulative nature targeting the public opinion and does not fit any of the criteria applicable to journalistic pieces.</p>
5	<p>An out-of-the-ordinary case Resetnicov found himself in is commented by representatives of parties, who consider that an election campaign predisposes to this kind of incidents that in fact have a political tint.</p>	<p>Although they announce that leaders of certain political parties consider that „an election campaign predisposes to this kind of incidents”, the item shows that the majority of the interviewees do not share the idea. The author showed bias and tried to misinform the viewers.</p>
6	<p>The aggressiveness of this election campaign worries village people. The voters say they are in terror of their life and the life of their children, especially those of them who study and live in Chisinau. The attacks against public figures may continue and nobody can be sure they are safe. The inhabitants of Sangerei and Telenesti talked about their fears at the</p>	<p>In fact, all the observations made by the presenter belong rather to the PCRM leader than to the village people he met. The presenter cheated and showed bias and unfairness in the report.</p>

	meetings with the PCRM leader.	
7	<p>Ordinary people also seem to be concerned about the spreading crimes. In the last declarations to support PCRM, future MPs are called to ensure the security of citizens.</p> <p>Quotes form a number of declarations to support PCRM on the part of village inhabitants.</p>	The item is unbiased and fair.
<p>Conclusions NIT offers more than a half of the main news bulletin of the day to the incident related to the kidnapping of Artur Resetnicov. The television broadcasts seven items directly or indirectly referring to the subject. The majority of them are biased and unfair as they offer a privileged space to PCRM and avoid presenting other sources. Besides, NIT also broadcasts items of manipulative nature that contain only information from unverified sources based on rumors and use fabricated information. In case of subjects that have a tendency to be fair and unbiased, the authors try to misinform the public by presentations distorting the perception of the subject. We would like to mention that a number of reports use video images from different sources (sometimes even fiction movies) often without mentioning the source and date of archive images.</p>		
Case Study No.7. Publika TV, 19.00		
No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	Artur Resetnicov, the former SIS head, candidate on the PCRM list, has got to the hospital after being beaten by unfamiliar people. Resetnicov claims he was beaten and tortured to present compromising information about Voronin. Resetnicov was transferred from the Emergency hospital to the State Chancellery hospital.	A combination of a live broadcast, a report and interpretations of the Resetnicov case. An unbiased, fair, and balanced item.
2	Members of the governing alliance were allegedly involved in the incident, the victim of which was Resetnicov, while their purpose is to intimidate the communists. The charges come from the PCRM chairman, Vladimir Voronin. AIE leaders deny the charges and recommend Voronin to wait for the results of the investigation.	Reactions on the part of a number of political leaders on the Resetnicov case. The item is unbiased, fair, and balanced.
3	The patient: Artur Resetnicov. The diagnosis: brain concussion. The cause: aggression by unfamiliar people. The place of aggression: uncertain. The time of aggression: uncertain. How Resetnicov got home after the incident: is not clear. Who called the ambulance: nobody knows. Why declarations differ?	It is an attempt of a journalist investigation on the alleged kidnapping of the candidate Resetnicov. The position of the Ministry of the Interior dominates without clarifications on the part of the victim. The item is unbiased, but imbalanced.

	Is a mystery.	
4	We have called our viewers to comment on the incident involving Artur Resetnicov on the website of Publika TV. The majority think it has been organized by PCRM, the member of which the former SIS director is.	The item is unbiased, but imbalanced because out of the six messages from the viewers five claim that the kidnapping has been allegedly a farce organized by PCRM and only one thinks that the incident has been allegedly provoked by AIE.
Conclusions Publika TV broadcasts several items covering the incident. All the items are unbiased and fair, but two reports are imbalanced because they do not offer enough space for the other position. The first is dominated by the officials to the disadvantage of the victim, while in the other there is only one message versus five that mention that the kidnapping of Resetnicov is a „fabrication by PCRM”.		
Case Study No.8. Vocea Basarabiei, 18.00		
No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	PCRM has issued a press release announcing that the former SIS director has been subject to brutal attacks. On the night Monday to Tuesday, 24 November, Resetnicov was attacked by unfamiliar people. The candidate for an MP chair was badly beaten and found by his wife near their house with multiple wounds, including on the head. According to the first statements, the unfamiliar staged an assassin of Resetnicov, who was subject to torture with the help of psychotropic substances to sign some documents, says the declaration of the party to the press.	The item is written based on the press release by the PCRM and some declarations made for the press from different sources. The item is unbiased and fair.
2	The General Prosecutor’s Office investigates the case of bodily injuring a PCRM candidate for an MP chair, Artur Resetnicov. MIA claims that there are several versions to be analyzed, including the one of an alleged staging. Chiril Motpan declared that the hospital information did not conform to the declarations by the victim.	An unbiased and fair item.
3	The European Action Movement Party hails the attempt of PCRM to politically speculate on the so-called kidnapping of the communist candidate Resetnicov as irresponsible. This pathetic attempt to cover lack of solutions for the Moldovan society shows us once again how retrograded and morally damaging is this party, they say in a party release.	An unbiased item, however unfair and imbalanced.
Conclusions Radio Vocea Basarabiei presented the subject in an unbiased, but sometimes also in an unfair manner, as some of the reports on the Resetnicov case lack the second source. Generally, the station manages to be		

balanced by presenting all the parties involved in the subject, however not in each item taken separately.

Case Study No.9. Prime FM, 18.00

No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	MIA has filed criminal charges over the case of yesterday's attack on the former SIS director Artur Resetnicov. The head of the MIA public relation service, Chiril Motpan, declared that the police was investigating several versions, including the one of staging, as there were discrepancies between the declarations by Resetnicov and the information that the guard body had. Resetnicov is at the hospital, where he declared he had been kidnapped by unfamiliar people who threatened him with death if he did not give information compromising Voronin.	An unbiased and fair news item, but imbalanced. There are no reactions on the part of the electoral candidates on the speculations made over this case.

Conclusions The radio station offers space for the Resetnicov case in a single news item that is unbiased and fair. Prime FM avoids using diverse sources and quotes only the MIA sources, after which comes back with some background information on what has happened in the interpretation of the victim. This fact, as well as lack of other sources of information makes the item imbalanced.

Case Study No.10. Radio Moldova, 19.00

No.	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	A PCRM candidate for an MP chair and a former SIS head, Artur Resetnicov, got to the hospital after being aggressed by some people. According to the information offered by MIA, the case is under criminal investigation. Resetnicov is quoted; MIA retells the words of Resetnicov through the head of the press service. Doctor's observations. The journalist mentions that Resetnicov did not give information and did not want to talk to the press. His lawyer indirectly declared he was not making declarations.	The journalist indirectly quotes Artur Resetnicov. Official sources dominate, especially the one of the MIA. The subject is treated in an unbiased manner with a tendency towards fairness, but is not balanced because of a disproportional presence of the authorities compared with the other sources (the victim and his lawyer).
2	PCRM hails the Resetnicov case as crime against democracy. Communists say that the AIE stays behind the kidnapping of the candidate. Representatives of the governing alliance deny the charges.	A fair, unbiased, and balanced item.
3	The General Prosecutor's Office has filed criminal charges over the Resetnicov case based on Article 64 of the Criminal Code on kidnapping of a person for material interests. According to the Press Service of the GP, all the versions of the incident shall be	An unbiased and fair item.

	investigated, including settlement of accounts over property issues and staged kidnapping.	
4	PCRM speculates the politics. The so-called kidnapping of the communist candidate, a former SIS director, is a pathetic attempt to cover the lack of solutions for the Moldovan society, which shows once again how retrograded and morally damaging this party is. The European Action Movement supposes that PCRM has staged this incident to attenuate the electoral failure of their party, and request investigation bodies to act promptly regardless of whether this is a real or a staged case.	The item is unbiased but not fair and far from being balanced. The source in the person of a MAE candidate for an MP chair makes a number of appreciations and unsupported charges against PCRM. It is not clear why the authors of this bulletin did not include this item to the second report presenting the positions of a number of parties on the Resetnicov case.
Conclusions Radio Moldova presented the Resetnicov case in an unbiased and fair manner as a whole. We would like to mention that by the diversity of subjects broadcast by the station, Radio Moldova managed to produce a balance of sources, but not in each item taken separately. The imbalance of sources is very visible, especially in the fourth subject, where the charges of an electoral candidate are not replied to by PCRM.		