



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

Report III October 25-31, 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, Nezavisimaia Moldova, Flux, Jurnal de Chişinău, Timpul de dimineață, Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove, Evenimentul Zilei, Panorama, Golos Bălți (Bălți), Vesti Gagauzii (Comrat), Cuvântul (Rezina), Gazeta de Sud (Cimislia).

News 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, Chişinău.

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 whether it favors or disfavors a party or a political entity. The negative or positive content and/or context of 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 an imbalance.

Case studies: A content analysis of the materials on the most important subjects broadcast by the 10 radio and TV stations has 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 = Alianța Moldova Noastră (Our Moldova Alliance Party)

AV= "Alianța Verde" (Green Alliance) Party

MAE = Acțiunea Europeană (European Action) Movement

MFN = "Forța Nouă" (New Force) Movement

MR = "Ravnopravie" (Equal Rights) 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

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

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

UCM = Centrist Union of Moldova

UM = Labor Party

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

AD = Alexandru Demian

EN=Eugen Nazarenco

GR = Galina Rusu

GR= Gheorghe Rusu

GS = Gabriel Stati

LB = Lenuţa Burghilă

ML= Maia Laguta

SB = Sergiu Banari

VP = Valeriu Pleşca

VS = Victor Stepaniuc

Topics on the Public Agenda during October 11-24

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

- Registration of candidates for the elections by the Central Election Commission continued.
- The Central Election Commission reported possible fraudulant activities by PCRM, which was accused of money laundering and of falsifyingthe list of persons who made donations to the party during the campaign. Consequently, the financial reports of all parties have been examined by the Centre for Combating Economic Crimes and Corruption.
- The web portal "Omega" published an article called "journalistic investigation", bringing serious charges against the government, which has allegedly provoked the summer floods artificially in order to save the Romanian town Galati from floods.
- The Romanian Government responded through its Ambassador to Moldova, who asked the political parties to not involve Romania in election scandals.
- The civil society publicized a number of reports on the conduct of campaign.
- The Republic of Moldova was visited by a delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), which is interested in monitoring the run of elections.
- Moldova was visited by the Hungarian Prime Minister, who announced Hungary's support for promoting reforms and European integration.
- 150 members of the Buiucani branch of the Democratic Party announced their withdrawal from the party, alleging that the party has been sold to Vlad Plahotniuc.
- The TV station NIT was sanctioned by the Broadcast Coordinating Council for having failed to ensure pluralism of opinion in its newcasts.

3. General Trends

3.1 Broadcast media

Between October 25-31, 2010, the 10 monitored TV and radio stations broadcast a total of 1,965 items with direct or indirect electoral impact. The items referred to the registration of electoral candidates, the organization of elections, the monitoring of campaign by local and international institutions, the alledged falsification of the financial report by PCRM, and the accusations against the Government for having allegedly provoked the floods artificially.

Most items were news and opinion programs in which the representatives of electoral contestants appeared as sources, quoted directly or indirectly. At the same time, electoral advertisements and special electoral programs were broadcast, especially debates, and public stations provided free air time. Jurnal TV, followed by Publika TV and NIT, among the TV stations, and Radio Moldova among the radio stations broadcast the most news and programs relevant for this monitoring; the latter also allotted free airtime besides news, opinion programs, and special electoral programs. Most stations have succedeed in ensuring pluralism of opinion in their items relevant for this monitoring.

The public stations Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova continued to provide access to a number of electoral contestants, including non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates, in its news and programs. Representatives of the AIE member parties and the main opposition party – PCRM – were quoted most often as sources. The acting President and the Prime Minister were quoted less often as sources in items with direct electoral impact. In most cases, the subjects were presented in a neutral context; however, certain electoral contestants appeared also in either a positive or a negative light, depending on the issue.

The private station with national coverage, Prime TV, presented primarily subjects with a direct electoral connotation, providing access to a number of contestants. Most often the news and programs of this station quoted representatives of PCRM, who appeared primarily in a negative context. Among the members of the Alliance for European Integration, the representatives of AMN, PL, and PD were featured mainly in a neutral and/or positive context in the relevant materials.

The private station NIT continued its campaign in support of the PCRM leader, demonstrating open political partisanship for this electoral contestant. PCRM was widely protrayed both in news and programs, primarily in a positive light. The ruling alliance and its memebr parties were disfavored in most cases. NIT failed to ensure pluralism of opinion; the non-parliamentary parties and independent contestants had limited access to this TV station with national coverage.

Another private station with national coverage, 2 Plus, continued to provide passive coverage of the campaign, offering the public little information about the contestants and their electoral platforms. Thus, the station did not fully achieve its role of informing the public about different electoral contestants. 2 Plus, similarly to N4 (which has regional coverage) did not have opinion programs to address the elections. However, N4 was more active in covering electoral issues in

its newscasts. N4 ensured a relative pluralism of opinion, giving air time to a number of contestants, including independent candidates. Still, most of the time, the station provided access to PCRM representatives, who were presented primarily in a neutral context.

The news stations Publika TV and Jurnal TV continued to actively cover the events with electoral connotation, broadcasting various news items which presented many of the electoral contestants, as well as numerous opinion programs in which the elections were addressed. The electoral contestants were presented primarily in a neutral light, but also in a positive and a negative light, depending on the context. No clear trend of favoring any contestants was noticed. Judging by the length of candidates' appearances in both positive and negative contexts on Jurnal TV and Publika TV, a slight disfavoring of PCRM could be noticed.

The private radio station Vocea Basarabiei provided active coverage of the issues with a direct or indirect electoral impact, particularly in newscasts, opinion programs, and special electoral programs, while Prime FM broadcast only news bulletins. Vocea Basarbiei and Prime FM disfavored PRCM, and Vocea Basarabiei also favored PL, PLDM, and AMN.

3.2 Print press/press agencies/online publications

During the week of October 25-31, 2010, more active coverage of the election campaign was noticed; the number of journalistic items – news/reports, opinion articles, electoral education articles, and presentation of electoral programs of candidates increased in comparison with the previous monitoring period. In the last week of October, the 16 newspapers, news agencies and online publications published 508 items, in comparison to the previous **two weeks**, when they published 806 relevant items about the electoral campaign and the candidates.

In newspapers, the election campaign featured more in opinion items than in news, which shows a trend of filling the newspaper page with opinions about candidates, and interpretations of their actions, rather than by objectively covering the facts/events. The amount of electoral advertising increased significantly in newspapers. During the reporting week, advertisements covered 28% of the area allotted to items about the election campaign. The number of electoral education items was still very small; some of the media outlets neglected this straightforward way of informing citizens about the way they may exercise their right to vote.

Media outlets continue to be divided based on the political preferences of their editors.

Certain media (the website <u>www.omg.md</u>, the newspapers *Nezavisimaia Moldova, Moldova Suverană*) had biased editorial behavior, focused on promoting PCRM on the one hand, and on discrediting the political opponents of this party – the Alliance for European Integration (AIE) in general and PLDM and PL individually - on the other hand. Sometimes, the items selected by these outlets for publication were speculative, misrepresenting facts and failing to give the right to reply.

The newspapers *Timpul de dimineață* and *Jurnal de Chişinău* either criticized PCRM or presented it in a primarily negative context. The non-communist candidates, especially PLDM and PL were favored, particularly in opinion articles.

The information portal <u>www.unimedia.md</u> disfavored PCRM and presented the non-communist parties in a primarily positive context, particularly those from the liberal wing.

The newspaper *Flux* criticized all the electoral contestants, except PPCD, which was favored particularly in opinion articles, but also in news items. The newspapers *Evenimentul Zilei* and *Panorama* also had a predominantly critical editorial approach in relation to most of the electoral contestants. Both publications primarily disfavored the electoral candidate PCRM; *Evenimentul Zilei* also disfavored PL or PLDM, without demonstrating any trend of favoring other electoral contestants.

The local independent newspapers *Cuvântul* and *Gazeta de Sud* published mostly neutral news articles, while its opinion items presented PCRM rather more negatively than positively; slight trends of favoring PLDM were notable.

It appears that the public newspapers *Vesti Gagauzii* and *Golos Bălți* have stopped covering the election campaign as neither published any item on this topic during the reporting week, only advertisements of candidates. *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* also was not particularly involved in covering the campaign; it provided the readers with scarce information but a lot of electoral advertising. The opinion items published by this newspaper in a small amount seemed to slightly favor PCRM.

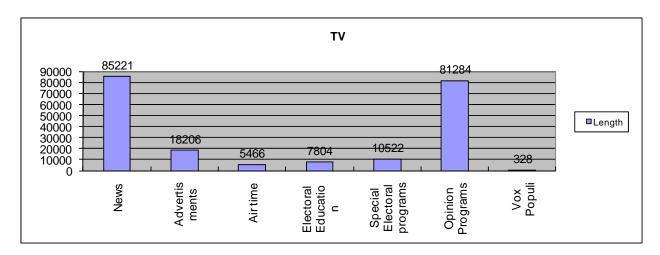
The news agency *Moldpres* favored the ruling alliance, while the news agency *Infotag* maintained a relative fairness in relation to AIE. The electoral contestants were presented in both a positive and a negative light. PCRM was primarily disfavored.

4. Broadcast Monitoring Data

4.1 Involvement in the election campaign 4.1.1 TV

During October 25-31, 2010, the seven monitored TV stations broadcast a total number of 1330 items and programs with electoral impact, with a total length of approximately 58 hours. The highest amount was that of the newscasts, followed by the opinion programs and the electoral advertising. At the same time, the TV stations broadcast electoral education programs, special electoral programs and free air time (see Diagram 1). The amount of time alloted to Vox Populi was relatively small.

Diagram 1. Length of items with electoral connotation broadcast by the 7 TV stations during October 25-31, in seconds



The largest amount of relevant items was broadcast by *Jurnal TV* and *Publika TV*, explained by the specifics of these two niche stations, which broadcast the full 24 hours a day. The public station Moldova 1 had the largest diversity of relevant items; the station covered the election campaign both in its news and its opinion programs, providing also free air time and electoral education programs. Some stations included in their program listing special electoral programs (Jurnal TV and Publika TV) (see Diagram 1.1). The political issues and the electoral process, followed by European integration prevailed among the topics of newscasts.

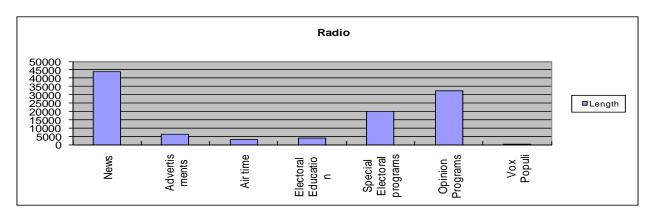
Length/TV ■ Vox Populi 60000 50000 Opinion Programs 40000 ■ Air Time 30000 ■ Special Electoral Programs 20000 10000 □ Electoral Education 0 Advertisments Jurnal TV Publika TV NIT TV Moldova 1 Prime TV 2 Plus N4 ■ News

Diagram 1.1. Length and type of electoral items broadcast by the TV stations during October 25-31, in seconds

4.1.2 Radio

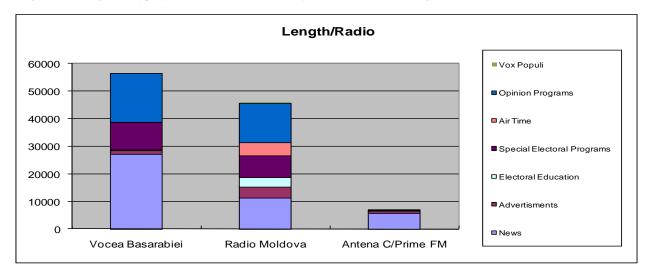
Between October 25-31, the number of items with electoral impact on the three radio stations increased to 635 (during the previous 2-week period, the number of such items was 456). The total length of items relevant for this monitoring was 30.3 hours. News prevailed, but opinion programs and electoral education items were also broadcast and free air time was provided. In addition, special electoral programs and electoral advertisements were aired (see Diagram 2).

Diagram 2. Length of items with electoral connotation broadcast by the 3 radio stations during October 25-31, in seconds



Radio Moldova broadcast the biggest number of relevant items; it covered the campaign in newscasts, opinion programs, and electoral education programs. At the same time, the public station provided free air time to electoral candidates, broadcast special electoral programs and advertisments. Vocea Basarabiei also stood out with a high amount of news, opinion programs and advertising. Prime FM broadcast primarily news bulletins (see Diagram 2.2.). Similarly to the TV stations, the prevailing topics of electoral news on radio were politics and the electoral process, followed by European integration (to a smaller extent).

Diagram 2.2. Length and type of electoral items broadcast by the radio stations during October 25 – 31, 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



Between October 25-31, 2010, the public station Moldova 1 addressed most of the topics included on the public agenda. Moldova 1 broadcast a total of 79 news items with electoral connotation.

The Prime Minister and other ministers who have not been suspended for the campaign period, appeared 9 times as sources for 168 seconds. The acting President was quoted as a source 6 times for 93 seconds. Individually, the AIE member parties were quoted in news as follows: AMN – 6 times (100 seconds), PDM - 4 times (82 seconds), PLDM - 7 times (29 seconds) and PL - 10 times (208 seconds). The main opposition party, PCRM, was quoted 18 times directly or indirectly, for 166 seconds of total air time. The other parties and independent candidates together served as news sources 19 times; their representatives appeared on screen for 166 seconds. One of the sources frequently quoted during the reporting period was CEC – 19 times (198 seconds). Ordinary citizens were presented as sources 5 times (125 seconds), and experts – 4 times (102 seconds) (see Diagram 3).

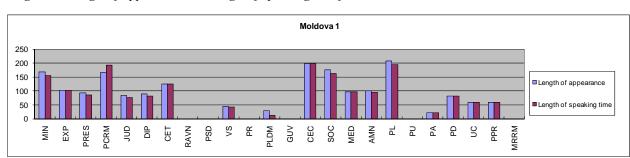


Diagram 3. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates in newscasts on Moldova 1, in seconds

In the relevant programs aired by Moldova 1 it was primarily representatives of the civil society who appeared - 2833 seconds, of CEC - 2202 seconds, of the local public administration - 2063 seconds, and national and international experts – 1244 seconds. During the reporting period, 4 electoral contestants benefited of free air time, 20 minutes each, having the possibility to make their electoral platforms known and answer citizens' questions.

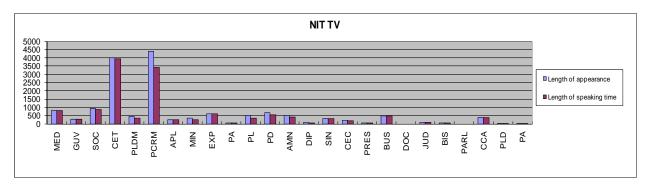


On NIT, a private station with national coverage, PCRM was first in the top of most frequent appearances on screen; it was quoted 133 times during the week, for 4400 seconds. The President's office, the Prime Minister and the high governemnt officials were quoted directly or indirectly 18 times, for a total of 394 seconds. The AIE member parties were quoted many times: PLDM - 26 times, for 453 seconds, PDM - 41 times (673 seconds), PL - 29 times (511 seconds), and AMN – 17 times (502 seconds). The other non-parliamentary parties appeared as sources for only 66 seconds; most often they were quoted indirectly (8 times in total). During the relevant period, a high presence of citizens was notable; they were quoted as sources 144 times for 3999 seconds, primarily in items of the campaign supporting the PCRM leader. Notably, during the reporting period, NIT provided wide coverage on the issues surrounding the accusations against the government, that they allegedly ordered the detonation of the dam in Nemteni, thus provoking the floods which led to several deaths. The items were taken from the Omega agency, but NIT also broadcastits own news and opinion programs every day, being alloted a large amount of airtime (see Diagram 4). From 27 to 30 October, NIT broadcast news on this topic for about 1 hour. At the same time, the station aired the program "Impact" with a total length of 3110 seconds, which was attended by the director of Omega agency, who produced the movie

"Betrayed Alive" (and who is a candidate on the PCRM lists), and a political analyst. No experts or decision makers were invited who could throw light on the accusations.

It was primarily experts and PCRM representatives, but also ordinary citizens who appeared in opinion items for 1752 seconds, 1433 seconds and 576 seconds respectively.

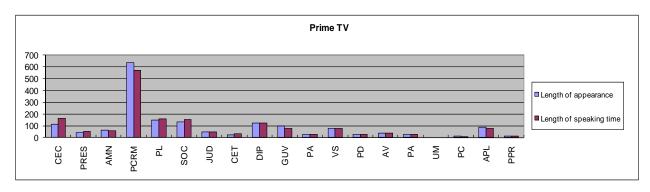
Diagram 4. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates in newscasts on NIT TV, in seconds





Prime TV, a private station with national coverage, addressed issues with a direct or indirect electoral impact, often giving air time to both electoral candidates and civil society, ordinary people, local and international experts, the Central Election Commission, etc. The acting president and representatives from the President's office were used as informational sources directly or indirectly in 4 instances, appearing on screen for 45 seconds. Individually, PL was quoted in news 6 times (150 seconds), AMN – 5 times (63 seconds), and PD – 2 times (30 seconds). PLDM, as well as the Prime Minister and other ministers who have not been suspended from office, did not have any appearance on Prime TV, while PCRM was referred to 21 times (639 seconds), particularly in newscasts that launched accusations against the government or presented replies to the accusations brought by PCRM. The CEC representatives were quoted 18 times (115 seconds), while the civil scoiety was reffered to 7 times (134 seconds). The other electoral contestants appeared on Prime TV as sources 9 times with 171 seconds length of appearance on screen in total.

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

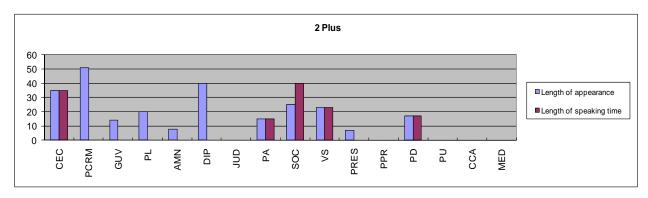


In the programs aired by Prime TV during the reporting period, most speaking time was allotted to civil society representatives – 4089 seconds, followed by CEC - 3146 seconds, and the President's office representatives – 1501 seconds. Besides PDM advertisments, PLDM's electoral ads were also aired during the said period.



Trends similar to those of Prime TV could be noticed on 2 Plus. The Prime Minister and the ministers who have not been suspended did not appear in items with direct or indirect electoral impact. The acting president appeared only once in electoral news for 7 seconds. Among the AIE member parties, PD, AMN and PL were quoted 5 times in total, for 45 seconds. PCRM was referred to 8 times for 51 seconds of appearance on screen in total. The other non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were quoted less frequently – only 3 times for 27 seconds. To note that in certain cases electoral candidates only appeared on screen, without being provided any speaking time. 2 Plus did not have any programs relevant for this monitoring during the reporting period. PDM was the only candidate to place electoral advertising with 2 Plus.

Diagrama 6. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates on Prime TV, in seconds.

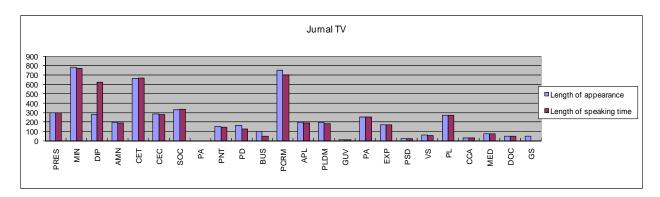




On the news station Jurnal TV, the Prime Minister, the high government officials and the President were quoted directly or indirectly in the newscast 35 times, appearing on screen for a total of 1082 seconds. Individually, PLDM was reffered to 7 times for 195 seconds, PL - 15 times (273 seconds), PD - 15 times (163 seconds) and AMN - 11 times (195 seconds). The representatives of PCRM were quoted as sources 29 times for 753 seconds.

The non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were quoted 11 times directly and indirectly on Jurnal TV, for a total of 284 seconds, of which about half were allotted to PNŢ, which was quoted 6 times (147 seconds). This station also frequently provided air time to citizens, civil society and foreign and local experts.

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



In the items other than news, the biggest amount of time was allotted to foreign and local experts - 7848 seconds, the Prime Minister and other ministers - 3162 seconds, and to ordinary citizens - 2028 seconds and civil society representatives - 4287 seconds. Among the non-parliamentary parties, only PNT appeared in the programs on Jurnal TV (for 1860 seconds).

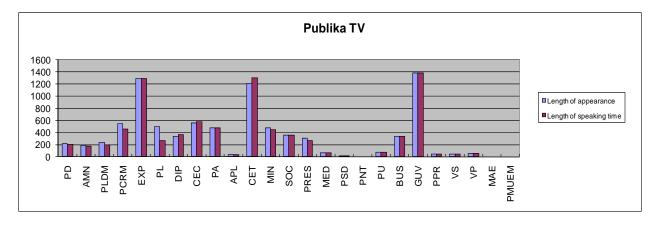


Publika TV is a leader in terms of the diversity and pluralism of opinions in its newscasts, giving air time to various sources, of which in 51 cases (783 seconds) to the acting President, the Prime Minister, and other ministers who have not been suspended during the campaign.

Individually, the ruling parties appeared as sources as follows: PL -23 times (496 seconds), AMN -21 times (188 seconds), PDM -23 times (220 seconds) and PLDM -17 times (233 seconds).

PCRM was quoted 47 times in total; the party representatives appeared on screen for 551 seconds. A high number of quotes from the other electoral candidates was also particularly notable; the latter appeared 25 times as news sources (236 seconds). Publika TV allotted a lot of air time to national and international experts in various fields, who were quoted 43 times for 1298 seconds, ordinary citizens – 55 times (1214 seconds), and CEC - 98 times (1068 seconds).

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



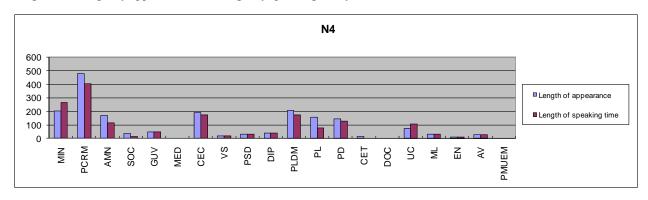
In the programs and opinion items aired by Publika TV, primarily it was experts who participated, and had the chance to speak for 5152 seconds, followed by PDM, PLDM, and

PCRM representatives who were speaking for 1794, 1482 and respectively 1085 seconds. The electoral candidates from non-parliamentary parties and the independent candiates were quoted in items, other than news, for a total of 2181 seconds.



On N4, a station with regional coverage, first in the list of sources quoted most frequently in news with electoral connotation was PCRM – 19 times (481 seconds), followed by PLDM – 8 times (208 seconds). The Prime Minister and other ministers who still hold their position in the government were quoted 6 times for 202 seconds. The other 3 AIE member parties were allotted an even amount of air time: AMN - 171 seconds, PL – 157 seconds, and PD - 146 seconds. The non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were quoted directly or indirectly 11 times for a total of 197 seconds. N4 did not have any programs or other opinion items during the reporting period.

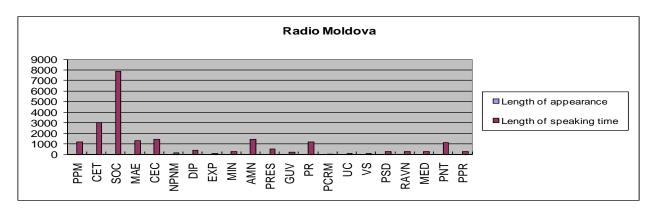
Diagram 9. Length of appearance and length of speaking time for candidates in newscasts on N4, in seconds.





In its news with direct or indirect electoral connotations, the public station Radio Moldova frequently quoted experts from nongovernmental organisations, ordinary citizens, and CEC. However, officials representing high level government entities had priority. Therefore, the president, the Prime Minister, and other ministers who have not been suspended appeared on Radio Moldova as news sources 30 times (1062 seconds). Of the AIE member parties, only representatives of AMN, PD, and PL appeared as news sources – for 90, 76, and 34 seconds respectively. PCRM representatives were quoted 5 times in total (87 seconds). Civil society representatives appeared as sources 16 times (485 seconds), and ordinary citizens – 8 times for 150 seconds. The other non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were jointly allotted 117 seconds, being quoted 4 times directly or indirectly.

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

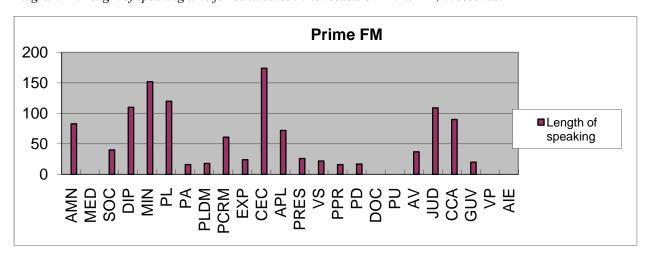


In its opinion items, the most visible continued to be the civil society representatives -7899 seconds, followed by ordinary citizens -2992 seconds, and CEC -1448 seconds. Due to the free airtime given by Radio Moldova, four electoral contestants had the possibility to present their electoral platforms.



In its news programs, the private radio station Prime FM provided the most access to CEC representatives, diplomats and representatives of internatinal organsiations and of the local public administration. The station broadcast several items with electoral connotation, where the acting president, the Prime Minister and other ministers appeared as sources 8 times for 60 seconds in total. PLDM was quoted directly or indirectly 3 times, with 18 seconds of speaking time, PL – 6 times (120 seconds), AMN – 4 times (93 seconds) and PD – 3 times (34 seconds). On the other hand, PCRM was quoted in 16 items, being allotted a total of 61 seconds, while the non-parliamentary parties – 8 times, mostly indirectly, with 75 seconds of speaking time. During the reporting period, Prime FM did not have any opinion programs. Besides PDM, PLDM also placed electoral advertisments on Prime FM.

Diagram 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 primarily civil society representatives, who spoke 20 times in total for 2304 seconds; PLDM followed with 1917 seconds, being quoted 14 times. PL, AMN, and PD were quoted as direct or indirect sources 14 times. PL, AMN, and PD were quoted directly or indirectly 9 times (275 seconds), 12 times (192 seconds) and 15 times respectively (396 seconds). The representatives of the President's office, the Prime Minister, and other ministers appeared on screen 40 times as sources, for a total of 715 seconds. On the other hand, PCRM was quoted directly or indirectly 14 times (288 seconds). The other non-parliamentary parties and independent candidates were quoted in the newscasts on Vocea Basarabiei 21 times, with 547 seconds of speaking time. Notably, the station often quoted in its news the representatives of CEC, civil society, and foreign diplomacy.

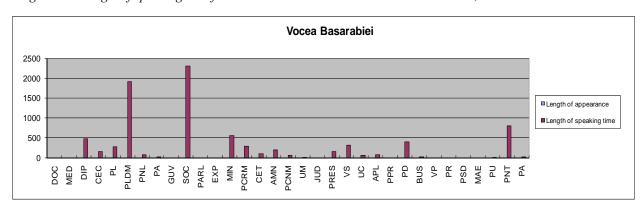


Diagram 12. Length of speaking time for candidates in newscasts on Vocea Basarabiei, in seconds.

Besides the news, Vocea Basarabiei aired a significant number of opinion items, programs, interviews, and debates in which the electoral candidates, as well as, experts and citizens had the possibility to speak. The representatives of the President's office were first on the list of sources, with 3811 seconds, followed by experts, with 3592 seconds, PNT – 3001 seconds, AMN – 2440 seconds, PLDM - 1896 seconds, PL – 1777 seconds, and PD - 1432 seconds.

4.3 Frequency of newscasts directly or indirectly favoring or disfavoring candidates

4.3.1 TV

Between October 25-31, 2010 from the total of 79 news items on Moldova 1 relevant for this monitoring, 18.9% presented certain electoral players in a positive light, while 10.1% - in a negative light. The share of news favorable to PLDM was 5%, PL appeared in a positive context in 6.3%, while AMN – in 2.5% of the news. PD appeared both, in a positive and a negative light, once each (1.1%). AIE appeared only in a negative light – in 5% of the news. A non-parliaemtnary party, PPR, appeared in a positive light – 2.5%. PCRM was portrayed in a favorable context in 1.1%, and in an unfavorable context – in 2.5% of the total number of news with electoral connotation.

Moldova 1 7 6 5 4 ■ Positive 3 ■ Negative 2 1 0 **PCRM** PSD PPR PNL AIE

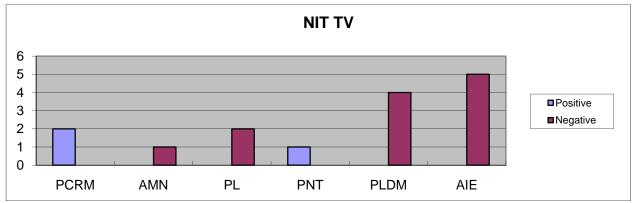
Diagrama 13. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Moldova 1, frequency

During the reporting period, the public station Moldova 1 aired a total amount of 6208 seconds of electoral advertising, and electoral education items, with a total length of 2162 seconds. At the same time, Moldova 1 gave free airtime to four candidates. In its programs, other than news, PCRM and AIE were mentioned most often in a negative context – 6 and 5 times respectively.

NIT

Within the reporting period, electoral contestants appeared in a positive context on the private station NIT in approximately 37% of the total number of news items (183), and in a negative context – in 69% of the news. The share of news favorable to PCRM in the total amount of electoral news was 35.5%. This party appeared in a positive light 65 times, mostly in items supporting PCRM in the context of discussions about the removal of Vladimir Voronin's legislative immunity. Besides the letters, statements, and speeches supporting PCRM and condemning the acts of AIE, NIT also broadcast many news items covering widely the electoral meetings of PCRM representatives with the voters in various localities of Moldova. By contrasts, AIE was mentioned in a negative context in 41% of the items (75 times). At the same time, the AIE member parties appeared in a negative light individually as follows: PD –13 times or 7,15%, AMN - 8 times or 4,3%, PL – 9 times or 4,9%, and PLDM – 34 times or 18.5%.

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



During the reporting period, NIT aired electoral advertisements, but also a series of items in its campaign "NIT Targeted by the Power", in which the AIE member parties appear in a negative light. In the opinion programs broadcast by NIT during the reporting period, PCRM was favored in two cases, while AMN, PL, PLDM, and AIE were disfavored in 12 cases.

Prime TV

About 13% of the news aired on Prime TV featured a number of electoral contestants in a positive light, and 15% - in a negative light. The share of news unfavorable to AIE was 5%. PDM, AMN and PL appeared in a favorable context in 3%, 3% and 5% of the news respectively. PCRM appeared only in a negative context (8%). In the opinion programs on Prime TV just PCRM appeared in a unfavorable light, only once.

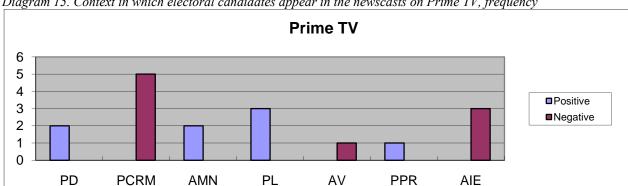
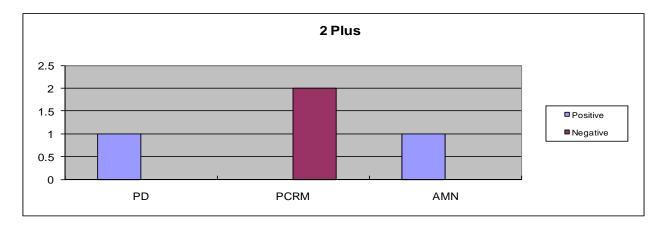


Diagram 15. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Prime TV, frequency

2 Plus

In most of its 24 news items broadcast by 2 Plus, the subjects were presented in a neutral context. Only in a few cases were the candidates were presented negatively or positively. Therefore, PD and AMN were favored once or in 4% of the total number of news itmes, and PCRM appeared in a negative context twice (8%).

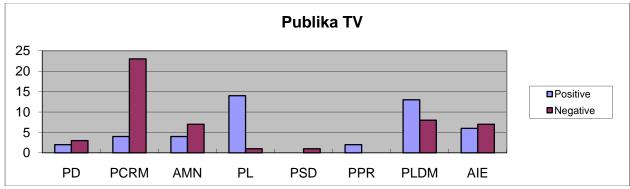
Diagram 16. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on 2 Plus, frequency



Publika TV

On Publika TV, the candidates were presented primarily in a neutral context, but also in a negative and a positive context, in 22% and 25% respectively of the 200 relevant news items. Therefore, AIE was featured in favorable and unfavorable news an even number of times, which represented 3% of the total amount of news. Individually, PLDM appeared in a favorable context in 6.5% (13 appearances) and in an unfavorable context – in 4% of the news (8 appearances); PL was mentioned positively in 7% and negatively – in 0.5% of the news; PDM appeared both in a positive and a negative light, in an approximately even number of news items - 1%, while AMN was mentioned positively in 2%, and negatively – in 3.5% of the news. PCRM appeared in a positive context in 2% of the total number of news on Publika TV and in a negative context – in 11.5% (4 and respectively 23 times).

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 was portrayed rather more negatively than positively, appearing in an unfavorable light 5 times and in a favorable light – once. PL was both favored and disfavored (once in a positive context and twice in a negative context), PLDM appeared two times in a positive light and 3 times in a negative light, while AMN was featured positively only once. PD was favored and disfavored once each, while AIE appeared in a negative context 3 times.

Jurnal TV

On Jurnal TV, from the total number of 95 news items falling under this monitoring, about 26% presented the various contestants in a positive light, while 22% portrayed candidates in a negative light. PCRM appeared 13 times in a negative context and once in a positive context. which is 13.6% and approximately 1% of the total numebr of news broadcast by Jurnal TV. By contrast, PL was portrayed 8 times positively (8.4%), and 1 time negatively (1%). PLDM appeared 4 times in a positive light (4%). AMN was featured 4 times in a positive light and 1 time in a negative light (approximately 4% and 1% respectively). PD appeared in a negative context 4 times - 4% of the total amount of relevant news. AIE was portrayed 8 times in a positive light (8%) and 2 times in a negative light (2%).

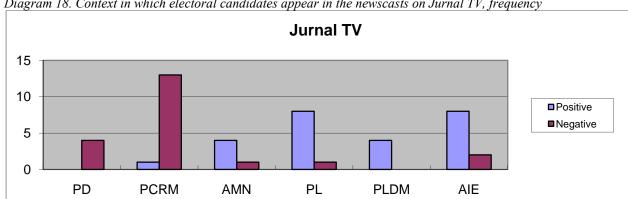


Diagram 18. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Jurnal TV, frequency

In the opinion items on Jurnal TV, PCRM appeared most frequently in a negative context – 6 times, and to a lesser extent PD – twice.

N4

On the station N4, which has a regional coverage, the share of news favorable to certain electoral candidates was 18%, and that of unfavorable news – 16%. The share of positive news for PCRM was 5.2%, and that of negative news - also 5.2% of the total amount of relevant news. PLDM appeared in a positive and a negative light in an even number of times -5.2% of the news; AMN appeared in a positive light also in 5.2% of the news; and PDM – in a negative light in 5.2% of the news.

N4

2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
PD PCRM AMN PLDM PMUEM

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

Radio Moldova

About 13% of the relevant news (102 items) on the public station Radio Moldova portrayed the electoral contestants in a positive light, and 9% - in a negative light. During the reporting period, the share of news favorable to AIE was 6.8%. PLDM appeared in a positive context in about 3% of the news, PL - in approximately 1%, and AMN - once in a positive and once in a negative light - about 1% of the total number of news. PD was featured in a negative context 2 times - 2%, and PCRM - in approximately 6% of the news with electoral connotation broadcast by Radio Moldova during the reporting period. In items other than the news, PCRM and AIE appeared most frequently in an unfavorable context - 4 times and 3 times each.

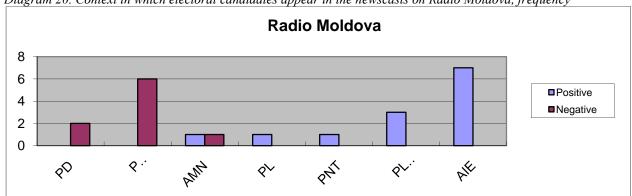


Diagram 20. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Radio Moldova, frequency

Vocea Basarabiei

In 36% of the total number of news pieces (180) on Vocea Basarabiei, the electoral contestants appeared mostly in a positive light, the share of unfavorable news being lower - 33%. AIE appeared in news primarily in a positive context - 17 times, or 9.4%, but also in a negative context - 5 times, or in 2.7% of the news. PLDM was featured in a positive light 16 times (8.8%) and in a negative light - 4 times (2.2%), PL - 11 times in a positive context (6.1%) and one time in a negative context (0.5%), AMN also had 7 appearances in a positive light and 1 - in a negative light (3.8% and 0.5% respectively). PDM and PCRM appeared primarily in a negative context - 2.7% and 17.2% respectively; PCRM was also featured 4 times in a positive conetxt - (2.2%). A number of non-parliamentary parties were covered either positively or negatively.

Vocea Basarabiei 35 30 25 20 Positive 15 ■ Negative 10 5 PD PCRMAMNPPCD PL PSD PPR PR UM PU PNL MAE PNTPLDM AIEPMUEM

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

In the opinion programs broadcast on Vocea Basarabiei, PCRM appeared 16 times, while PPCD - 3 times in a negative context. At the same time, AIE and PL were portrayed 8 times and 4 times respectively in a positive light.

Prime FM

Prime FM broadcast a total of 77 news pieces with direct or indirect electoral connotation, of which 13% presented certain candidates in a positive light and 31% - in a negative light. AIE appeared in a positive context 4 and 5 times respectively (5.1% and 6.4%). PD was featured once in a positive context (1.2%), AMN – twice in a positive context (2,5%), PLDM was portrayed negatively once (1.2%), and PL appeared once in a positive and once in a negative light (1.2%) each). PCRM appeared in a positive context once and in a negative context – 16 times (1.2% and 20% respectively).

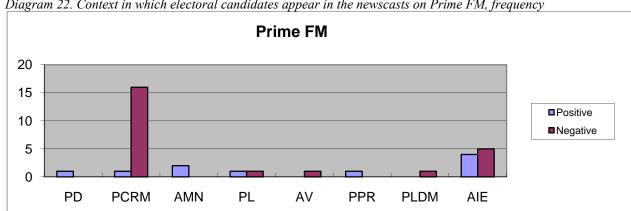


Diagram 22. Context in which electoral candidates appear in the newscasts on Prime FM, frequency

5. Print Press, Online Publications

5.1 Involvement in the Election Campaign

5.1.1 Newspapers

During 25-31 October 2010, the monitored newspapers intensified their efforts in covering the election campaign. Thus, in the space of a week the 12 newspapers published 311 pieces that directly or indirectly referred to the anticipated parliamentary elections compared with 456 pieces during the preceding *two* weeks. In other words, the weekly average of pieces on the election campaign has grown by over 36%. The total newspaper surface allotted to thematic pieces has also grown exceeding 145 thou sq.cm during the reporting week compared with 220 thou sq.cm during the preceding *two* weeks.

The campaign was mainly covered in opinion articles, news reports and electoral advertisements. Thus, 50,856 sq.cm, or approx 35% of the total newspaper surface occupied by relevant pieces, accounted for editorials and other opinion articles, 44,397 sq.cm, or 30.5%, was allotted to news reports, while 40,771 sq.cm, or 28%, referred to electoral advertisements of the election candidates. The newspaper surface paid for by the election candidates to place their electoral advertisements has continued to grow. The volume of duly marked advertisements during the reporting week increased by over 7 thou sq.cm more than the preceding *two* weeks combined. The number of election education pieces was very small, some newspapers neglecting this straightforward form of informing the citizens about the way they can exercise their right to vote and preferring to allot the newspaper space to opinions about the candidates and interpretations of their actions. Only three newspapers published pieces from the category of special election agenda, that is, interviews and other texts presenting the platforms of political parties during this period, while opinion polls of the "Vox populi" format from citizens were not published at all.

Diagram 23. Frequency (number) of pieces on the election campaign, published in 12 newspapers

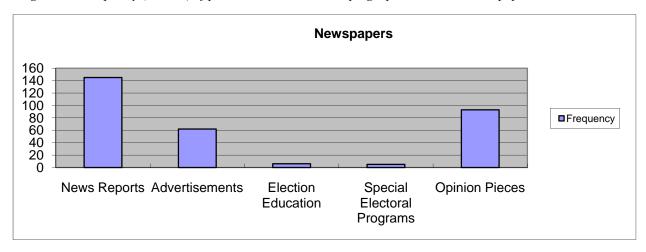
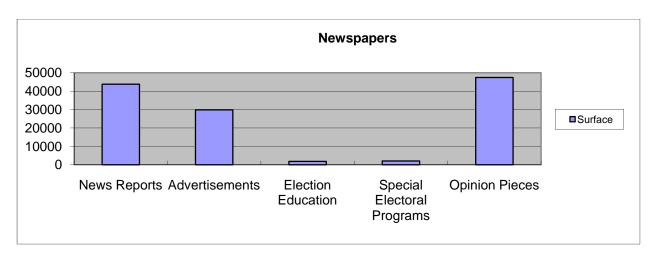


Diagram 24. Surface of pieces on the election campaign, published in 12 newspapers, sq.cm



The greatest number of pieces on the anticipated parliamentary elections (80) were published by the daily, *Timpul de dimineață*, which had the largest surface space compared with the other monitored newspapers (32,706 sq.cm). In terms of the editorial share, the surface space allotted by the newspaper to the topic of the elections was distributed as follows: 44% were news reports, 27% each – opinion pieces and electoral advertisements, slightly over 1% of the surface space was occupied by election education pieces. According to the number of thematic pieces, *Timpul de dimineață* was followed by *Nezavisimaia Moldova* (40 articles), *Moldova Suverană* (38), *Jurnal de Chişinău* (34), *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* (32), *Panorama* (26), *Cuvântul* (19), *Gazeta de Sud* (17), *Flux* (13), *Evenimentul Zilei* (10), *Vesti Gagauzii* (2), while *Golos Bălți* did not publish any relevant pieces in the reporting week. According to the surface, *Timpul de dimineață* was followed by *Flux* (21,200 sq.cm), *Nezavisimaia Moldova* (19,756 sq.cm), *Jurnal de Chişinău* (17,151 sq.cm), *Moldova Suverană* (16,059 sq.cm), *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* (11,277 sq.cm). **Note:** *The analysis of this indicator has to take into account the frequency, with which each separate publication appears*.

The ratio between news reports and opinion pieces was unfavorable to news reports in several monitored newspapers. For instance, ³/₄ of the total relevant surface space in *Moldova Suverană* and *Evenimentul Zilei* was occupied primarily by opinion pieces. Each news report on the election campaign in *Nezavisimaia Moldova* accounted for 1.4 opinion pieces, while over a half of the surface space in *Flux* was allotted to electoral advertisements and some pieces presenting details of the election agenda of one of the election candidates. The surface space allotted to news reports in *Jurnal de Chişinău, Panorama, Gazeta de Sud (Cimişlia), Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* and *Cuvântul (Rezina)* was larger or equal to the one dedicated to opinion pieces.

The newspaper surface allotted to electoral advertisements in the 12 monitored newspapers continued to grow; the biggest number of marked advertisements was published in *Timpul de dimineață*, *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove*, *Flux* and *Jurnal de Chişinău*. *Vesti Gagauzii* published only electoral advertisements during the reporting week.

Diagram 25. Frequency (number) of relevant pieces published in newspapers

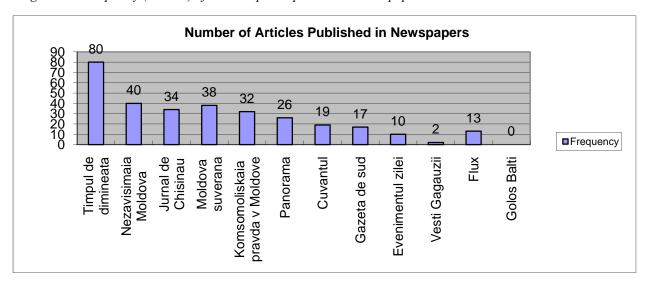
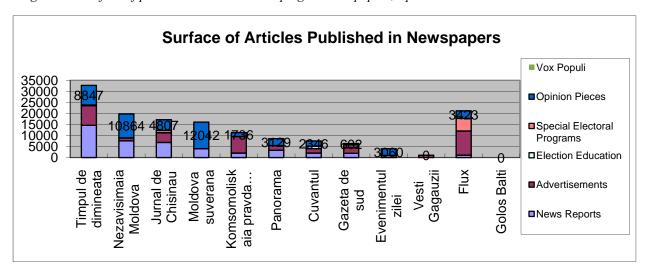
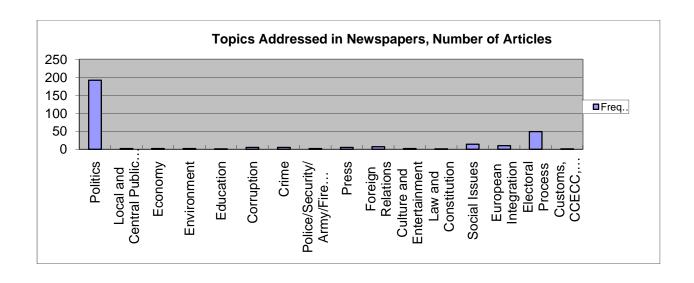


Diagram 26. Surface of pieces on the election campaign in newspapers, sq.cm



From a thematic point of view, approx 60% of journalistic pieces directly or indirectly referring to the election campaign addressed general politics, with the topic of the electoral process falling far behind, onlydetailed in 15.8% of relevant pieces. Social issues and the European integration of our country were the topics most frequently discussed in the context of the election campaign, although the share of pieces on these topics is still insignificant. Country reintegration and corruption combating are rarely addressed in the campaign, while topics such as the environment or education issues almost do not appear in articles on the campaign and the election candidates at all. The subjects of news reports and sources of information varied; still their choice indicated the political and electoral preferences of the particular media outlet.

Diagram 27. Topics addressed by the newspapers, frequency, sq.cm



5.1.2 News Agencies and Online Publications

The monitored news agencies, *Moldpres* and *Infotag*, started to present more news reports about the election campaign in their daily content as well, publishing 74 news reports relevant to the subject of this monitoring during the reporting week (compared with 108 news reports during the preceding *two* weeks). The published news reports had a total of 149 thousand characters (no spaces). Both monitored agencies were equally active in covering the campaign – 38 of news reports (51% of the total number) were published by *Infotag* private agency, and the other 36 news reports (49%) accounted for the *Moldpres* State Information Agency.

Characters/Agencies 100000 90000 80000 ■News Reports 70000 ■ Advertisements 60000 ■ Election Educations 50000 40000 Special Electoral Agenda 30000 Opinion Pieces 20000 ■ Vox Populi 10000 0 Moldpres Infotag

Diagram 28. Space (characters, no spaces) allotted to thematic pieces by news agencies

During this week, Internet users could access 123 produced or reproduced news items posted on www.unimedia.md and www.omg.md, with a total of over 202 thousand characters. Comparing this data with the that given in the last monitoring report, we see that the interest of the online information sources to the election campaign has stayed the same, both in terms of the number and surface space of the posted items. Often, the items posted on the websites were also

accompanied by video sequences that could be watched by the users, thus, amplifying the information effect. It has to be noted that especially www.unimedia.md places electoral advertisements; its surface is not included in the below diagrams.

Approx 70% of the number and total surface of news items posted by the two monitored publications was provided by www.omg.md.

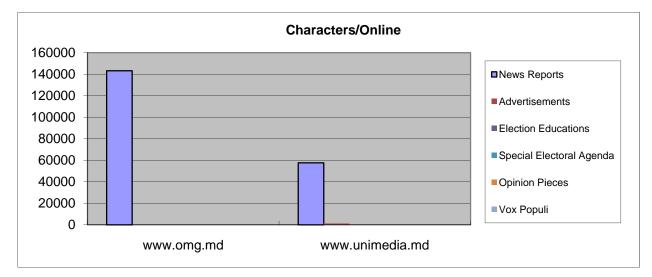


Diagram 29. Space (characters, no spaces) allotted to thematic pieces by websites

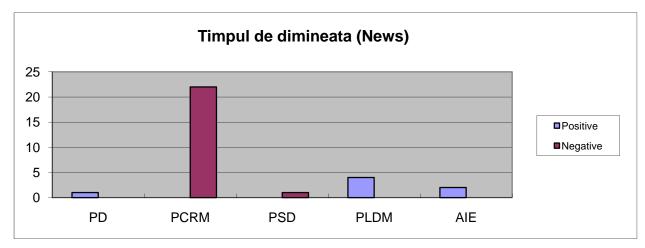
5.2 Candidates, parties directly or indirectly favored or disfavored in news reports and opinion pieces – frequency

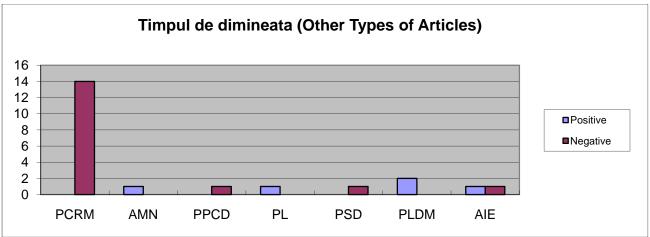
5.2.1 Newspapers

The news items published in *Timpul de dimineață* during the monitoring week, covered by this report, featured PDM, PCRM, PSD, and PLDM as election candidates. The Party of Communists appeared in a negative context every time (22 cases, 56.4% of the total of 39 news items). The Alliance for European Integration (AIE), both as the government alliance and as the component parties, especially PLDM and PDM, were featured in either favorable or neutral news reports.

The tendency to disfavor PCRM was also noted in the opinion pieces published in the newspaper during the reporting period in all the 14 cases (66.7% of the total of pieces) directly or indirectly referring to PCRM and presenting it in a negative context.

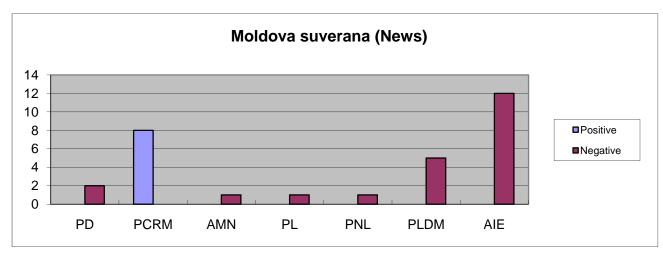
Diagrams 30 and 31. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Timpul de dimineață – frequency

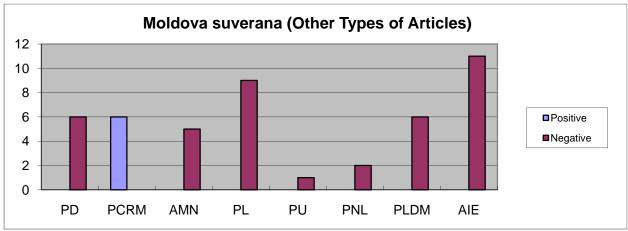




Moldova Suverană built its editorial policy, on the one hand, on the criticism of any initiative of AIE and PLDM, PDM and in general of all non-communist parties (AIE appeared in a negative context in 60% of the 20 thematic news reports, PLDM – in 25%, while PDM – in 10% of the total of news items), and on the other hand, on the praise for PCRM and the leaders of this party, as well as on detailed presentation of the election agenda of PCRM (PCRM appeared in a positive context in 40% of the news items on the election campaign). The other articles published in the newspaper (editorials, opinion pieces, etc.) featured all the other candidates, except for PCRM, solely in an unfavorable, often denigrating, context. AIE appeared in an unfavorable context in 61% of the total of opinion pieces, PL – in each second opinion piece, PLDM and PDM – in 33% each, AMN – in approx 28% of the total of these pieces.

Diagrams 32 and 33. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Moldova Suverană – frequency

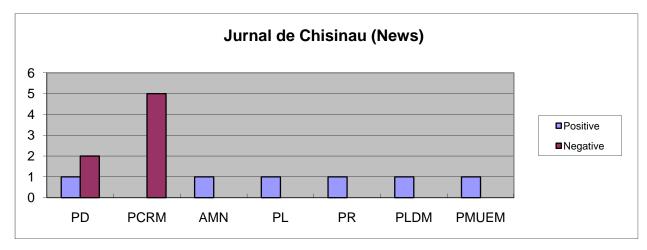


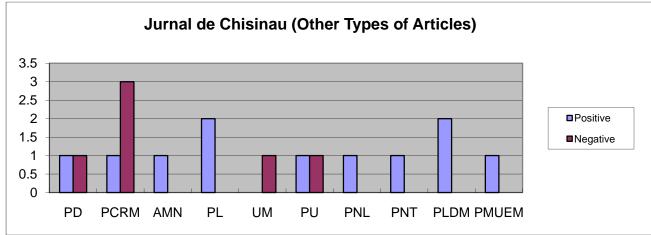


The news reports in *Jurnal de Chişinău* published during this week featured two election candidates in an unfavorable context: PCRM each time when written about (5 cases, 31.25% of the total of news reports published during this period), while PDM in two cases. All the other election candidates the newspaper wrote about appeared on its pages one time each, either in a neutral or a positive context.

The opinion pieces in *Jurnal de Chişinău* portrayed PCRM in a negative light in three of the four cases they wrote about it (27.3% of the total of such articles). The Democratic Party, the Humanist Party and the Labor Party appeared in a negative context as well. Among the election candidates which appeared more often in a positive context, were PLDM and PL.

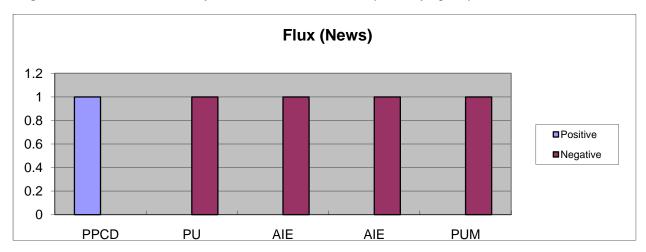
Diagrams 34 and 35. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Jurnal de Chişinău – frequency

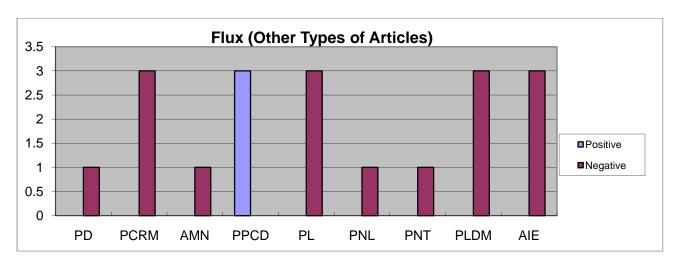




Articles published in *Flux* (opinion pieces and news reports) portrayed all the election candidates in a negative light apart from PPCD which, on the contrary, was praised and promoted.

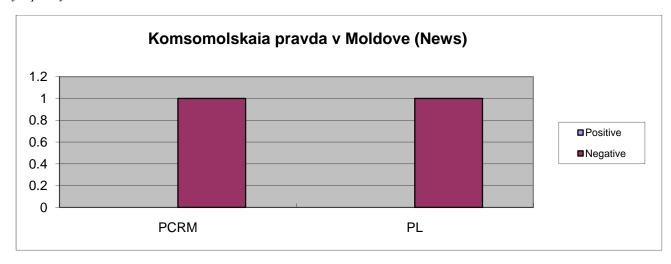
Diagrams 36 and 37. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Flux – frequency

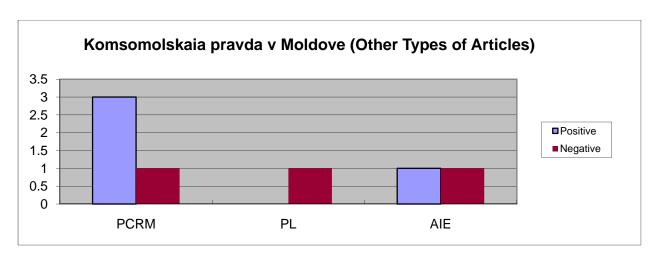




During the reporting week, *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* published just six news reports on the election campaign, most of which were neutral, but nevertheless presented PL and PCRM as election candidates in a negative context in one case each. The opinion pieces that appeared during this period portrayed the government alliance both in a negative and a positive light. PL was disfavored in one piece, while PCRM was favored in three of the four pieces referring to that election candidate directly or indirectly.

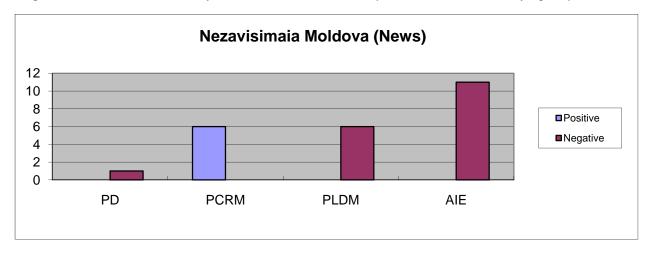
Diagrams 38 and 39. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove – frequency

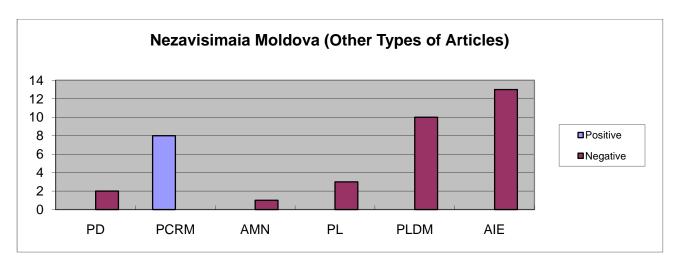




Nezavisimaia Moldova intensely disfavors AIE and parties that form the government alliance, especially PLDM, and to a lesser extent PDM. Thus, during the reporting week, AIE appeared in a negative context in all the 11 news reports referring to it directly or indirectly (55% of the 20 news items) and in all the 13 opinion pieces (72% of the 18 opinion pieces), while PLDM – in 6 news reports (30% of the total) and 10 opinion pieces (55.5% of the total). Instead, PCRM appears in news reports and in opinion pieces published on the newspaper pages only in a praising context: 6 news reports (30% of the total) and 8 opinion pieces (44.4% of the total).

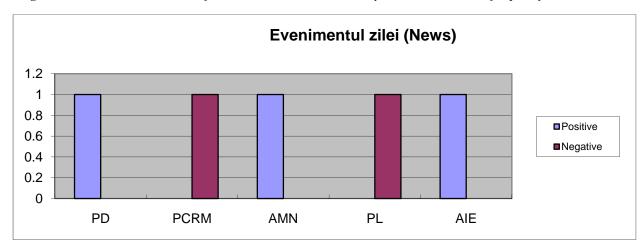
Diagrams 40 and 41. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Nezavisimaia Moldova – frequency

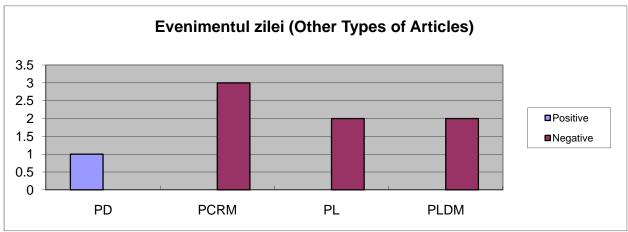




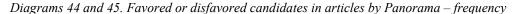
The articles published in *Evenimentul Zilei* (news reports and opinion pieces) showed a tendency to present PCRM, PL and PLDM in a negative context as election candidates and to favor PDM as a candidate.

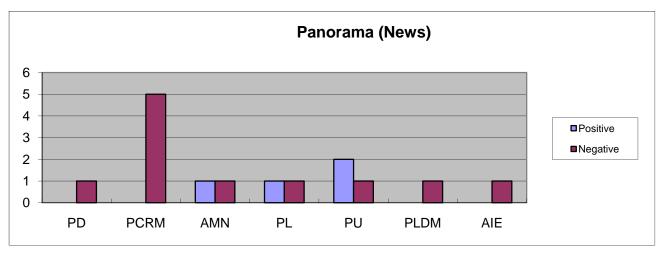
Diagrams 42 and 43. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Evenimentul Zilei – frequency

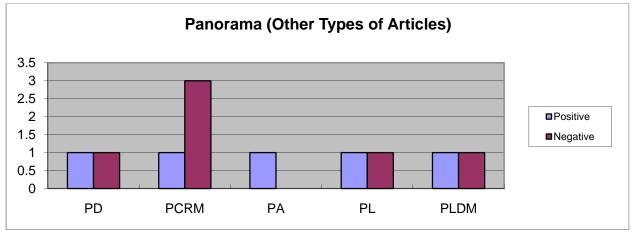




Panorama portrayed the majority of the election candidates in a negative light, especially PCRM (29.4% of the total of 17 news reports and 50% of the 6 opinion pieces). There is a slight tendency to favor PUM as a candidate.

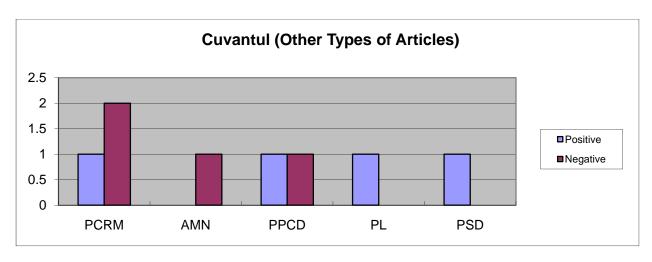






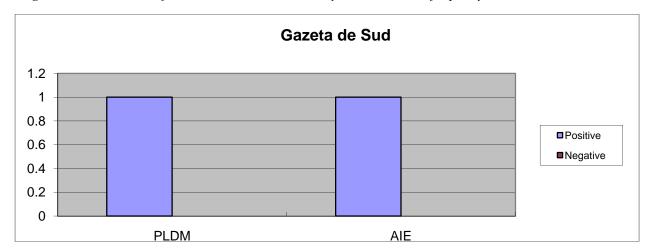
The thematic news reports published in *Cuvântul* (Rezina) during the reporting period were neutral, while opinion pieces showed a tendency to portray PCRM in an unfavorable light.

Diagram 46. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Cuvântul – frequency



Gazeta de Sud weekly (Cimislia) did not publish opinion pieces during the reporting period, just news reports, advertisements and election education pieces. The news reports were mainly neutral, the government alliance and PLDM as a candidate being favored in one case each.

Diagram 47. Favored or disfavored candidates in articles by Gazeta de Sud – frequency

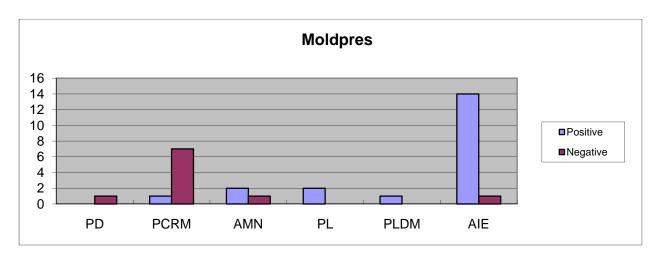


Vesti Gagauzii (Comrat) published only electoral advertisements during the reporting period, while Golos Bălţi (Bălţi) did not publish anything on the election campaign at all.

5.2.2 News Agencies and Online Publications

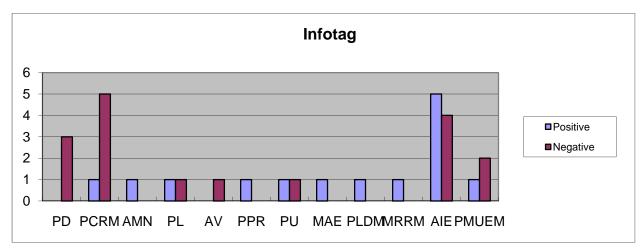
With news reports on different official events and meetings of state officials with citizens and foreign officials, the news items by *Moldpres* favored the governing alliance presenting it mainly in a positive or neutral context (14 of the 36 relevant news items). PCRM as a candidate appeared in a negative light more frequently (7 news reports, or 19.4% of the total).

Diagram 48. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items by Moldpres – frequency



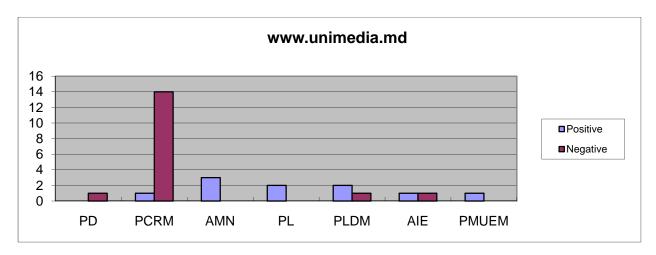
Infotag news agency continued to maintain a relative fairness in relation to the governing alliance presenting it both in a positive and negative context. By selecting news items, and by not following the principle of "the two sources" in case of some controversial issues, the agency presented PCRM (in 5 of the 6 relevant cases) and PDM (3 cases) as election candidates in a negative context.

Diagram 49. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items by Infotag – frequency



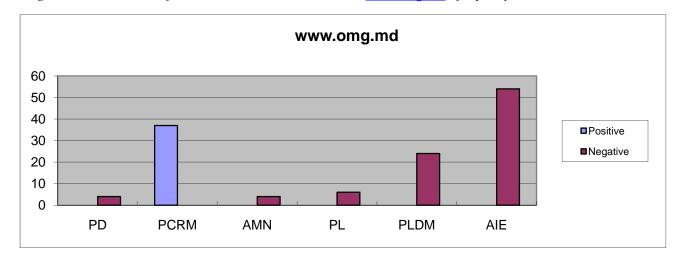
During the reporting period, the majority of pieces posted on <u>www.unimedia.md</u> disfavored PCRM as a candidate (14 news reports, or approx 36% of the total of 39 news items). The other election candidates were presented in a more or less fair manner.

Diagram 50. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items on www.unimedia.md - frequency



Over 64% of the information posted on www.omg.md disfavored and in some cases discredited AIE as the governing alliance, presenting the parties that form the alliance in a negative context as election candidates separately as well: PLDM (24 of pieces, or 28.5% of the total of 84 relevant news reports), PL (6 news items, 7% of the total), PDM and AMN (4 reports each, 4.8% of the total). Instead, the website intensely promoted PCRM as a candidate, this party being the only one featured in a positive context during the reporting period (37 of pieces, or 44% of the total).

Diagram 51. Favored or disfavored candidates in news items on www.omg.md – frequency



ANNEX

The report analyzes the correctness of news items and the balance of sources in subjects about the way of drawing up financial reports presented to the Central Election Commission by the political parties involved in the election campaign for the anticipated elections on 28 November.

Case	Case Study No.1. Moldova 1		
No.	Date	Media Coverage	Remarks

1	25.10.2010	Parties that are not transparent in relation to their incomes and expenditure for the election campaign shall be sanctioned by CEC.	The news item is balanced, unbiased and fair.
2	26.10.2010	About 5 mil lei have been spent by the first 12 parties registered for the election race. This is how the reports presented by the candidates to CEC look like. Communists have spent the most until now, over 2 mil lei. The report states that the money has come from donations mentioning the major donors.	The news item is unbiased and fair.
3	27.10.2010		
4	28.10.2010	CEC requested CCECC to analyze the report of PCRM about the source and the application of the money for the election campaign.	The news item is unbiased and fair.
5	29.10.2010	Investigations related to the reliability of the financial data in the communists' reports go on. CCECC together with the General Prosecutor's Office and State Tax Authority have not decided what institution has authority to elucidate the case. PD also has problems with fake donors. They deny the accusations.	The news item is fair and unbiased, but not balanced. The position of PCRM is not presented, in contrast to the PDM case, the party's12` reply being quoted by the presenter.
6	30.10.2010		
	•		

Conclusions: Moldova 1 television manages to stay fair and unbiased by presenting summarized and neutral news items on the incomes and expenditures of the parties in the election campaign. The audience finds out about the irregularities committed in drawing up the lists of the parties' donors, but we cannot say that they also know details about what has happened given the limited number of documentation sources. In order to stay correct, Moldova 1 avoids confrontations between different sources involved in the scandal and limits only to a reserved and short text without running the risk of giving details that could outbalance the presentation in one or another direction.

Case	Case Study No. 2			
No.	Date	Media Coverage	Remarks	
1	25.10.2010			
2	26.10.2010	19.30 CEC warns the election candidates to report the money that they use in the campaign correctly, otherwise they risk being excluded from the race for the anticipated elections.	The news item is unbiased and fair. The subject is presented in general outlines without giving names of election candidates.	
3	27.10.2010	06.00 The news item is reproduced from the bulletin of 26.10.2010.		
4	28.10.2010	19.30 Tomorrow morning all the parties that have filed their reports with CEC shall be verified by CCECC and the Tax Authority. The decision was made following some information in the press that two of the donors for the election campaign of PCRM who have donated several hundreds of thousand lei have not had any incomes within the last two years in the reality. In reply, PCRM has declared in a press release that the party strictly complies with all the legal provisions without a single deviation.	The news item is unbiased, fair and balanced.	
5	29.10.2010	06.00 The news item is reproduced from the bulletin of 28.10.2010.		
6	30.10.2010			

Conclusions N4 television covers the situation with detection of certain irregularities in financing of several election candidates superficially in a fair and unbiased manner. Sometimes, the exaggerated correctness of journalists even creates confusion as far as informing of TV viewers is concerned. The news item from the bulletin on 26 November that does not give any name of election candidates mentioned by CEC is an example.

Case	Study No.3	Jurnal TV	
No.	Date	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010		
2	26.10.2010		
3	27.10.2010	1. They swear to have tightened the belt. The leader of communists V. Voronin swears that PCRM is carrying out the most economical election campaign because the party's people are quite well-known and do not need promotion. Nevertheless the financial reports presented to CEC indicate another thing. The communists are champions in expenditure for the elections.	The broadcast, at least in its presentation, has a number of artistic expressions that lead to a dose of bias in the report. This is also emphasized by the contrast of declarations by the PCRM leader with the financial reports of the party. As for the rest, the information is presented in a fair and unbiased manner.
		2. Fake donors in the financial reports presented by PCRM. In the last financial report presented by PCRM to CEC, under individual donors there are at least two inexistent people who allegedly have sponsored the party with 250 thousand lei each. Jurnal TV called those people on the phone and it turned out that they can you imagine! come from socially vulnerable families. CEC Secretary has declared that the party risked being excluded from the election list. What parents of the young people say. The communists went mad and threatened us they would go to court. They claim the act is legal. The subjects are reproduced in	The investigation presents all the sources. The only little flaws are interpretations and the emphasis made by the presenter and the reporter that undermine fairness on their part. Generally, the report tends to be fair and unbiased.
		parents of the young people say. The communists went mad and threatened us they would go to court. They claim the act is legal.	

4	28.10.2010	The communists risk being subject to criminal investigation for faked documents or abuse of authority. At least CCECC says so. They have examined the request of CEC on the donations made to PCRM by certain individuals. All the parties that have filed financial reports shall be verified. PCRM denies the accusations. The news item is reproduced in the morning on the following day.	The broadcast is unbiased and fair.
5	29.10.2010	Clear as a tear. This is how communists present themselves. They deny the fact that fake donors have appeared in the financial reports they have filed with CEC. The leader of PCRM swears he has no idea where those people discrediting the party have come from. This was the reaction of PCRM after Jurnal TV had identified two inexistent people in the financial reports. The news item is reproduced in the morning on the following day.	The broadcast starts with a reaction of the communists' leader to the investigation by Jurnal TV. As for the rest, the subjects from 27 and 28 October are reproduced.
6	30.10.2010	The scandal of fake donations has revealed a new scheme, by which parties have been financed by oligarchs who have been leading the hostilities in the RM from the shadow. This is the opinion of political experts who explain the reports of PCRM to CEC. Jurnal TV has got hold of declarations made by the donors. Investigation reproduced several times.	The item satisfies the conditions of a journalist investigation. The subject is fair, unbiased and balanced.

Conclusions: Jurnal TV is the only television that carries out an investigation of the case of fake donors for PCRM. Nevertheless, the channel avoids talking about the problems of the other parties related to drawing up the lists of donors. Presentations of the material contain artistic

expressions and interpretations, while the emphasis made on the difference between the reports and declarations by PCRM lead to a certain dose of bias. This cannot be applied to the actual investigations that tend to be fair and unbiased.

Case Study No.4. 2 Plus

No.	Date	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010	The civil society watches the parties. The expenditure of each political party shall be carefully monitored to avoid their involvement in actions of propaganda or favors by the electorate.	The news item is neutral.
2	26.10.2010	CEC presented the financial report for the two first weeks of the election campaign. According to the report, the champions in expenditure are PCRM with over 2 mil lei followed by PDM	A neutral news item based only on CEC data.
3	27.10.2010		
4	28.10.2010	CCECC has drawn attention to the case following certain articles appeared in the press, according to which some donors on the list of PCRM are fake. On the other hand, PCRM qualifies the articles in the press as manipulation on the part of journalists. In this context, CEC requested CCECC and the Tax Authority to verify the financial reports of the 12 parties on the election list. PCRM has found itself in the center of a scandal having included two young people in the donors' list who have allegedly made donations but have not declared their incomes. CCECC says that two component elements of crime	The news item is unbiased and fair.

		are possible here: faked public documents and abuse of authority. But they cannot start investigations because these come under the authority of some other state institutions. PCRM claims that they have all the documents and declare that these are electoral manipulations.	
6	30.10.2010		

Conclusions: 2 Plus stays fair and unbiased towards all the political figures involved in the scandal with drawing up lists of donors presented to the Central Election Commission.

Case study No. 5. Prime TV

No	Date	Media coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010	The civil society keeps an eye on the parties. The civil initiative for financial transparency in early elections will oversee the financial resources used by the parties in the election campaign for favors or advertising.	The news is fair and unbiased, but not balanced. Only one source was used – an NGO representative.
2	26.10.2010	PCRM has already spent the highest amount of money in this campaign. During two weeks, the party members used 2 mln, lei. According to CEC, most electoral candidates spent up to 500 thousand lei, however, there are candidates who are doing well without any money.	The item is fair and unbiased.
3	27.10.2010		
4	28.10.2010	CCCEC took action <i>ex-officio</i> following some information disseminated by the media, according to which, certain donors in the list of PCRM are allegedly factious. Tomorrow the inspectors will start to conduct audit of 12 parties out of	The news is fair and unbiased.

		the 18 registered in the election campaign. PCRM qualified the articles about the factitious donors as cynical manipulations by journalists.	
5	29.10.2010	Keeping an eye on the political parties. Groups of officers from CCCEC and the Tax Inspectorate conducted audits at 9 of the 12 parties that submitted financial reports to CEC. The representatives of the control bodies have not provided any additional information. The audits began after the newspapers had written that PCRM allegedly received donations in hundreds of thousands lei from persons who did not report their incomes to the Tax Service. Communists assert that all their papers are alright and that the government tries to eliminate them form the election campaign.	A fair and unbiased news piece.
6	30.10.2010		

Conclusions: Prime TV covered in a fair and unbiased way the issue about the fictitious donors in the lists of PCRM. The language was accurate and well balanced and did not leave any room for interpretations and comments. This does not make it totally clear for the viewers what lays behind the scandal with the fictitious donors of certain parties.

Case Study No. 6. NIT

N	Date	Media coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010		
2	26.10.2010		
3	27.10.2010		
4	28.10.2010	The media and the political experts who support the current government ask CEC to eliminate PCRM from the electoral race. They allege that	The news was conceived rather as a response to the issue subjected to discussions by the society and is far from providing fair and unbiased information to viewers about the inconsistencies in

		there are inconsistencies in the financial reports of the party. CEC states that the party may only be excluded after it is proved that irregularities have been committed during the fundraising for the election campaign. Communists think this is a new media attack against them. The new was rebroadcast the morning of the following day.	the donors' lists submitted to CEC by the parties. The item is totally unbalanced since it provides an exaggeratedly large amount of airtime to PCRM, either by quoting from its statement, or by presenting an interview with one of the party leaders. Except the CEC secretary, no other sources appear. The other sources are quoted only for providing a response to them.
5	29.10.2010	The officers of the Tax Service and those of CCCEC conducted an audit at PCRM's office. The audit was undertaken immediately after the press supporting the government published the statement of the CEC secretary regarding the so-called exclusion of PCRM from the electoral race due to certain inconsistencies in the financial report submitted by the party. The representative of PCRM says that such audits should be carried out more often in order to respond to the insinuations in the press, which we consider to be manipulations and instigations to discredit the most powerful party in Moldova. The PCRM staff appeared confused about the officers' questions, which, according to them, had nothing to do with the audit itself. In PCRM's opinion, all this fuss has been engendered by the fact that the ruling parties are aware of the fact that they are losing popularity and that the trust for PCRM is increasingly higher.	The item is incomplete since it provides a wide space for presenting the position of PCRM about this issue. The journalist is biased, using comments and quotes to disfavor another source. The news is not balanced either, since it does not present the opinions of those who are assaulted by PCRM (i.e. those who make accusations against the way PCRM is funded).

6	30.10.2010	The main news piece of this	Charges against certain media outlets,
		week was the funding of	alleging that their publishers were offered
		political parties in the election	positions in the Government.
		campaign. Just one party raised a particular interest – PCRM, particularly the statement of CEC secretary about the possible elimination of PCRM, actually the most important opposition party, from the electoral race. The affiliated media, the publishers of which were given positions in the Government. The item presents a summary of the events that took place during the week.	The news lacks fairness and is biased. The authors provide comments and interpretations about the issue. It is not balanced since it does not provide the right to reply to the persons who have been assaulted. Video with Ghimpu and Lupu was broadcast on the background of charges brought against the fraudulent funding of other parties.

Conclusions: Most of the items broadcast were conceived as a response from PCRM to the events happening or being discussed rather than as news about what is happening or is being discussed within the society. This approach causes the broadcast reports to lack balance and fairness. The journalist comments and interprets the information to the detriment of other sources, which he even does not try to ask for confirmation or rejection of the presented information. The situation is different in the case of representatives of the Communist Party, who dominate the items of NIT newscasts. Journalists often hide behind talking images. They use comments and interpretations about the fraudulent funding of other parties, while images with Ghimpu and Lupu are shown as a background.

Case Study No. 7. Publika TV

No.	Date	Media coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010	The Communist Party has spent so far the biggest amount of money for its election campaign, while the Liberal Party – the smallest amount. 11 of the 12 electoral candidates registered two weeks ago by the Central Election Commission submitted today their financial reports. The Party "Moldova's Patriots" has not submitted its report to CEC.	The news is fair and unbiased. Political experts provide interpretations of figures.
2	26.10.2010	4.8 million lei – this is the amount spent by 11 electoral candidates registered so far for the early elections of November	The news is fair, unbiased and balanced. Political experts provide interpretations of the figures.

		28, during the first two weeks of campaign. CEC has approved today the financial reports of the latter. PCRM alone spent over 2 mln. lei. Experts have misgivings about the origin of the money donated in support of parties within the election campaign. According to them, a person who has incomes of hundreds of lei cannot donate thousands of lei.	
3	27.10.2010	During two campaign weeks, PD and PLDM installed the biggest number of street billboards, followed by AMN, while PL has not appeared in any electoral billboard in the country. In addition, at the beginning of the campaign there are no rich businesspersons among the official donors of parties. So far, jobless persons, teachers and ordinary members have funded the parties.	The news item is fair, unbiased and balanced.
4	28.10.2010	The financial reports of the electoral candidates arrived at CCCEC. The Centre admits the existence of criminal components in the reports submitted by PCRM. If is establishes that communists have been illegally funded during the campaign for the early elections, CEC may ask the Supreme Court of Justice to exclude them from the electoral race. On the other hand, PCRM asserts this is an intimidation against its donors and an attempt to eliminate the party form the electoral race.	The report is fair, unbiased and balanced, containing elements of a journalistic investigation.
5	29.10.2010	1. The communists criticize the democrats, accusing them of	Covers the events that took place during the week in relation to the correctness of

		having created some scenarios to eliminate PCRM from the electoral race. At the same time, upon PCRM's request, a news agency has published news and movies discrediting the current government. 2. The financial reports of the electoral candidates arrived at CCCEC. The Centre admits the existence of criminal components in the reports submitted by PCRM. On the other hand, PCRM asserts this is an intimidation against its donors and an attempt of eliminating the party form the electoral race.	certain electoral lists with donors submitted to CEC by the parties participating in elections of November 28.
6	30.10.2010		

Conclusions: Publika TV is the only station that, besides being fair and unbiased, has provided the public with interpretations by political players and by well-known political experts about the scandal related to the deficient drafting of the lists of parties' donors. The station covered the issue from different points of view and tried to provide equal air time to all sources who were asked to comment on the subject.

Case study No. 8. Vocea Basarabiei

N	Date	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010	The civil initiative for financial transparency in the early elections will monitor the incomes and expenses of political parties in the elections.	The report is fair and unbiased.
2	26.10.2010	1. Only 11 parties submitted their financial reports yesterday to CEC. According to the data, PCRM, PDM, and AMN spent the biggest amount of money 2. A reportage about the incomes and expenditures of political parties and about their donors, based on the reports submitted to	The news and reports are fair and unbiased.

		CEC	
	27.10.2016	CEC. 3. PCRM is a champion in spending money within the election campaign. According to its financial report, the party has spent over 2 mln lei for electoral advertising	
3	27.10.2010	The news piece about the financial reports submitted to CEC has been rebroadcast.	
4	28.10.2010	1. A quote of the young donor's father. Information taken over from Unimedia, according to which, the Tax Inspectorate confirmed that the young man did not receive any income during the last three years. Another young donor belongs to a socially vulnerable family, jurnal.md writes. The PCRM's lawyer told Unimedia that their reports are truthful and that the donors of PCRM are intimidated.	The news is fair and unbiased.
		2. (11.15) They've thought nobody would find out anything, but the PCRM's list of donors was striking. The abovementioned information has been rebroadcast, after which, the anchor said: "Thus, a genuine Moldovan paradox - the young donor asserts that it is for the first time he hears this". "And before reaching 20 years he certainly did not have more money". CEC has sent the financial reports of the parties running in the elections to CCCEC and the Tax Inspectorate. 3. (18.00) CEC has sent the	The information is accompanied by several comments and interpretations of the anchor, which makes it unclear whether the item is a piece of news or a comment. At the same time, the information is read against a musical background containing some notes that leave room to interpretations disfavoring PCRM. The news item does not refer to other parties that had inconsistencies in terms of the registration of certain funding from individuals.
		financial reports of the parties	The news is taken over from Unimedia.

		running in the elections to CCCEC and the Tax Inspectorate in order to check whether or not they are truthful. CEC referred to the PCRM reports that include amounts about which the donors themselves know nothing. 4. (18.00) CCCEC has convened several meetings with the participation of prosecutors and responsible persons from the Tax Inspectorate to address the staring of audits of PCRM incomes and expenditures within the current election campaign. A news piece about the CCCEC	Although several charges are brought against PCRM in relation to some data falsification in the financial report, the radio station does not present any response by this party. The news item is unfair, biased and unbalanced. The news is fair and unbiased.
		response to the articles in newspapers.	
5	29.10.2010	The news items are taken over from the newscast at 18:00 of the previous day.	
6	30.10.2010		

Conclusions: Vocea Basarabiei provided the public with detailed information about the incomes and expenditures of political parties involved in the election campaign. Most of them are accurate and neutral. However, the issue was covered unfairly and with bias in several newscasts, either because of some journalist's comments and the way he read the information (28.10.2010, 11.15), or because of the lack of a response from the parties accused of having falsified their financial reports. (28.10.2010, 18.00, N3).

Case study No. 9. Prime FM

N	Data	Media Coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010		
2	26.10.2010	06.00 (The newscast from Prime TV has been rebroadcast) The civil society keeps an eye on the parties. The civil initiative for financial transparency in early elections will oversee the financial resources used by the parties in the election campaign.	The news is fair and unbiased, but not balanced. Only one source was used – an NGO representative.

3	27.10.2010	06.00 (The newscast from Prime TV has been rebroadcast) PCRM has already spent the highest amount of money in this campaign. During two weeks, the party members used 2 mln, lei. According to CEC, most electoral candidates spent up to 500 thousand lei, however, there are candidates who are doing well without any money.	The news is fair and unbiased.
4	28.10.2010	PCRM is being subjected to a control by the CCCEC and the Tax Inspectorate. The party runs the risk of being eliminated from the electoral campaign, Iurie Ciocan said. CEC asked the two institutions to audit the financial reports in order to find whether or not they are truthful. There are donations about which the donors themselves know nothing. (12.00, 17.00)	The news was taken over from Unimedia. The station does not present the position of PCRM.
5	29.10.2010	06.00 (The newscast from Prime TV has been rebroadcast) CCCEC took action ex-officio following some information disseminated by the media, according to which certain donors in the list of PCRM are factious. Tomorrow the inspectors will start to conduct audits at 12 parties out of the 18 registered in the election campaign. PCRM qualified the articles about the factitious donors as cynical manipulations by journalists.	The news piece is fair and unbiased.
6	30.10.2010	06.00 (The newscast from Prime TV has been rebroadcast) 40 seconds.	

Conclusions: The radio station covered the event in a fair and unbiased manner, although it has not always managed to be balanced. Even though it quoted a news site where the balance of

sources is observed, it is not clear why Prime FM avoided providing airtime to the accused party as well.

Case study No. 10. Radio Moldova

No.	Date	Media coverage	Remarks
1	25.10.2010		
2	26.10.2010	The electoral contestants put on display their incomes and expenditures made during the campaign. The most <i>wasteful</i> electoral candidate has been PCRM; second in the top of candidates having spent most money are the democrats of Marian Lupu	The news is fair and unbiased. However, it contains only the official source of CEC. There are no representatives of parties.
3	27.10.2010		
4	28.10.2010	In the morning (09.00), two days after the launch of this subject, the news about the presentation by CEC of the financial reports for the first two weeks of election campaign has been rebroadcast.	The news is fair and unbiased.
5	29.10.2010	CEC has sent to CCCEC and the Tax Inspectorate the financial reports of all political parties in order for their truthfulness to be checked. CEC said that this has been undertaken as a consequence of the news disseminated by the media, which address the donations to the PCRM's election fund, about which the donors themselves do not know anything.	The news is taken over from Unimedia. The item is fair and unbiased. However, it lacks the opinions of representatives of parties and the civil society, which would make the report more interesting and balanced.
6	30.10.2010		

Conclusions: The issue of electoral reports is covered in short and neutral news. The radio station addresses this issue with maximum caution and relies only upon official data provided by the Central Election Commission. There are no political players and experts in the field, nor representatives of other government agencies, such as the Centre for Combating Economic Crimes and Corruption, the Tax Inspectorate, and the Prosecutor's Body in the news. The

overcautiousness with which Radio Moldova addresses this subject leaves the listeners uninformed about the electoral scandals related to the establishment of election funds of certain electoral contestants. Therefore, the news on the responses of some government institutions about the way the financial reports of political parties are drafted, have not been fully understood, since the substance of the issue – the violations admitted by the parties while drafting the lists of donors - has not been presented.