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CIVIS

CENTRU DE ANALIZĂ ȘI INVESTIGAȚII SOCIOLOGICE,
POLITOLOGICE ȘI PSIHOLOGICE

**Monitoring of programs on
Radio Moldova and TV Moldova 1**

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**Report
August 1 – 31, 2004**

Chisinau 2004

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METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The monitoring was carried out between August 1-31, 2004 according to the following timetable:

Channel	Days of the week	Hours
TV Moldova 1	Monday – Friday	07.00-09.00; 17.00 – 23.30
	Saturday, Sunday	07.00- 23.30
Radio Moldova	Monday-Sunday	06.00 – 24.00

The schedule of programs includes the entire broadcasting time of the channels which were subjected to monitoring.

Goal: the degree of observance of the Law on the national public broadcaster, in the part which establishes the main objectives of the company (art 2):

- a) granting society free access to information;
- b) objective and comprehensive coverage of all aspects of social-political, economic and cultural life of the country;
- c) safeguarding the right of a person to free expression of political, religious, national, social and other ideas and opinions, respecting the general interests of the society ;
- d) reflecting interests of all social strata, promoting peace, humanity and other democratic values.

Units of analysis:

1. News
2. Socio-political, political and economic programs

Team and responsibilities:

CIVIS: quantitative monitoring, factual monitoring report .

IJC experts: comments, analytical report, conclusions.

Glossary

News classification

■ *Internal socio-political news*

- **News regarding internal political relations** – news about the activities of state institutions, military, public and local administration bodies
- **economic news** – news on economic relations and internal economic issues
- **social news** – news about social and cultural events
- **external relations news** – news about the relationships between political, economic and social agents from Moldova and other countries

■ *Other internal news* – domestic issues without any socio-political and economic implications

■ *International news* – current international issues and events with or without political implications

Program typology

■ *Socio-political programs* – programs on social issues involving political agents/actors

■ *Political programs* – programs about the activities of state institutions

■ *Economic programs* – programs about economic relations and domestic economic problems

Electoral implications

■ *News/programs with direct electoral implications* – referring to the electoral implications before the election campaign; news/programs with obvious electoral messages (e.g. Eugenia Ostapciuc's visit to the Oncological Institute where she gives presents/sweets to the patients)

■ *News/programs with indirect electoral implications* – news/programs that do not focus directly on electoral issues (e.g. Tarlev initiated the contest for the cleanest well)

Method of coverage

■ *Ordinary coverage circumstances*– coverage of daily events

■ *Conflicting coverage circumstances*– coverage of events initiated by different conflicting sides

■ *Formal coverage circumstances* – coverage of ceremonies and festive events

Categories of agents

■ *Political and social authority agents* – presidency, presidential administration, government, prime-minister, parliament speaker, justice, constitutional court, police, ministry of security, financial guard, economic police, communist party, parliament, local administration, army

■ *Uninvolved social and political agents* – employers' organization, trade unions, the church, civil society, and other domestic and foreign agents

Categories of actors

■ *Political and social authority actors* (president, prime-minister, parliament speaker, other presidential employees, government; leaders or members of the communist party and other persons affiliated to authorities)

■ *Uninvolved political and social actors* (actors other than state and opposition party actors)

Evaluation methods

■ *Positive evaluation* –presenters praise or use other types of positive evaluation with regard to agents and actors

■ *Negative evaluation* –presenters level their criticism or make unfavorable/partial presentations with regard to agents and actors

- *Neutral evaluation* – presenters make unbiased/equidistant presentations with regard to agents and actors

Categories of participants in the socio-political, political and economic programs

- *Individual participation* – ordinary people

Differences between „agent”, „actor”, and „participant”

- *Agent* is an institution, organization etc.
- *Actor* is a specific person whose name is mentioned in the news and programs
- *Participant* is the actor who participates directly in the program, not the one, who is only mentioned in the program

The rule of two sources : any event or issue must be presented by two sources independent from each other. Example: if Voronin and Tarlev’s opinions are presented, there is a single source i.e. the authorities’ source.

I. NEWSCASTS

General observations

The program listings of Teleradio Moldova from August, the second monitoring month, mostly maintained the same time parameters as the listings from June 2004, covering 859 hours (319 hours on TV Moldova 1 and 540 hours on Radio Moldova). Nevertheless, the listings have suffered a series of structural modifications. Firstly, the share of socio-political programs rose by 29 percent. In August, these programs covered 196.4 hours (54.43 hours on TV Moldova 1 and 141.57 hours on Radio Moldova), whereas in June, their duration was of 152.32 hours (40.14 hours on television, and 112.18 hours on radio). Secondly, one can distinguish the changes in the structure of socio-political programs that, on the one hand, reduced the share of newscasts, and on the other hand, increased the share of socio-political programs. Thus, in August the share of newscasts represented 61.08 percent of the socio-political broadcasts (by comparison: in June this indicator represented 73.67 percent), while the radio newscasts made up 81.56 percent (as opposed to 87.46 percent in June). Accordingly, the duration of socio-political programs on TV Moldova 1 rose from 26.33 percent to 38.92 percent, and on Radio Moldova – from 12.54 to 18.44 percent.

1.1. General agenda

General news agenda. The newscasts, which were offered to the public in August, contained, similarly to the previous monitoring period, traditional categories of news: internal socio-political news, other internal news and international news.

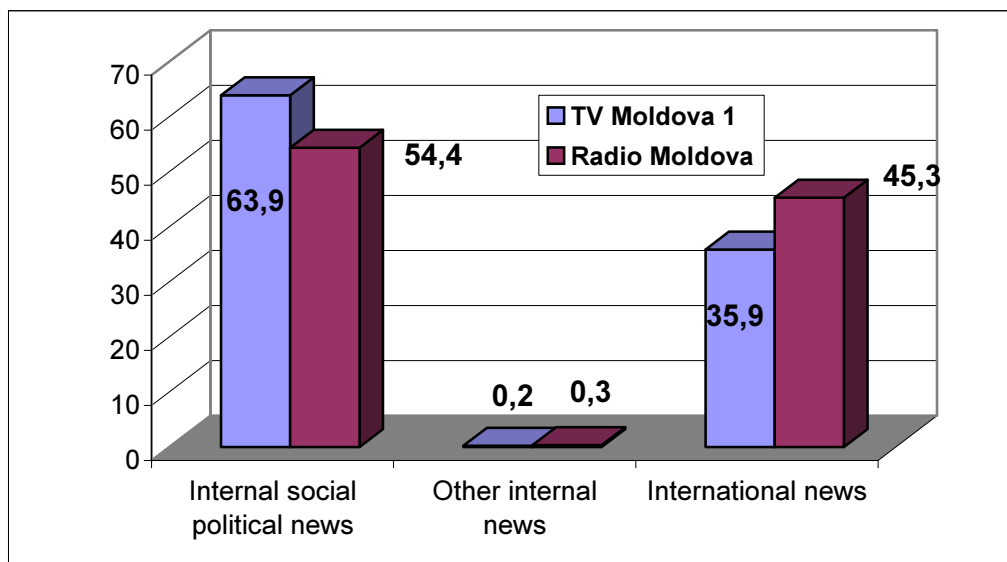
In August, news broadcast by Teleradio Moldova were basically systematized in the same manner as in June. Priority in frequency and duration was given to internal socio-political news, followed by international and other internal news (Tables 1 and 2, Graphs 1.1 and 2.1). We will point out the evolution of their correlation. Thus, the share of international news was increasing in frequency as well as in duration. International news on TV Moldova 1 made up 25.3 percent in duration (17.6 percent in June) and 35.9 percent in frequency (33.5 percent in June). On Radio Moldova, international news represented 23.7 percent in duration (17.6 percent in June) and 45.3 percent in frequency (37.9 percent in June). Meanwhile, the coverage of other categories of news decreased. The frequency of internal socio-political news on TV Moldova 1 dropped from 66 percent in June to 63.9 percent in August, and their duration from 79.6 to 74.4 percent accordingly. A similar tendency was observed on Radio Moldova. The frequency of internal socio-political news here decreased from 61 to 54.4 percent and their duration – from 81.5 to 76 percent. Other news, except socio-political news, had a scarce and shorter distribution (on TV Moldova 1 their frequency fell from 0.5 to 0.2 percent, and their duration - from 0.4 to 0.2 percent), though in June, they had an insignificant share (about 1 percent). On Radio Moldova their frequency in August was 0.3 percent (1.1 percent in June), and their duration - 0.2 percent (0.8 percent in June) (graphs 1.2 and 2.2).

In case they will continue to proliferate in the next months, the registered developments could be interpreted as a vicious attempt to drive the audience of the Moldovan public TV and radio away from internal socio-political and cultural reality.

TABLE 1. General agenda - Frequency (%)

NEWS TYPE	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Internal social political news	1008	63.9	2824	54.4
Other internal news	3	0.2	14	0.3
International news	567	35.9	2349	45.3

Graph 1.1.
General agenda – Frequency (%)



Graph 1.2.
General agenda – August compared with June Frequency (%)

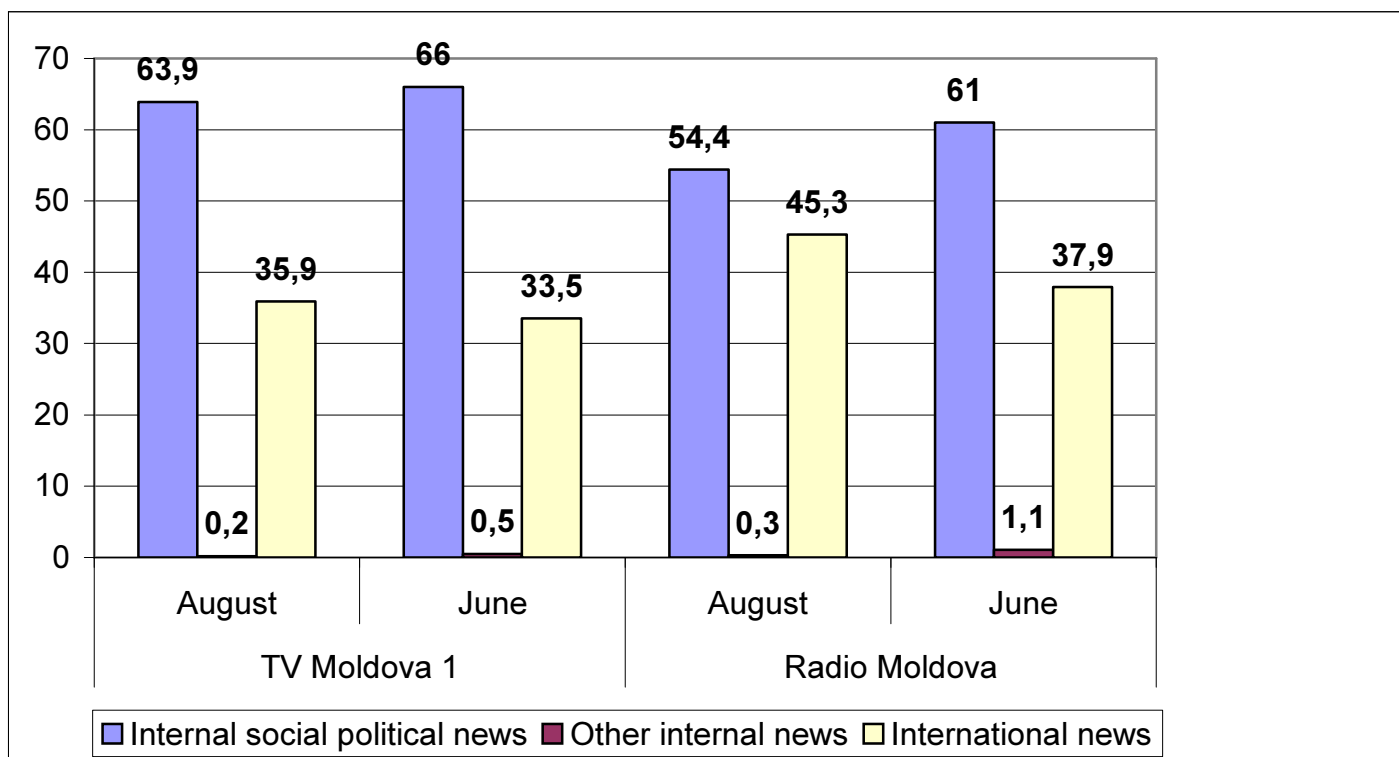
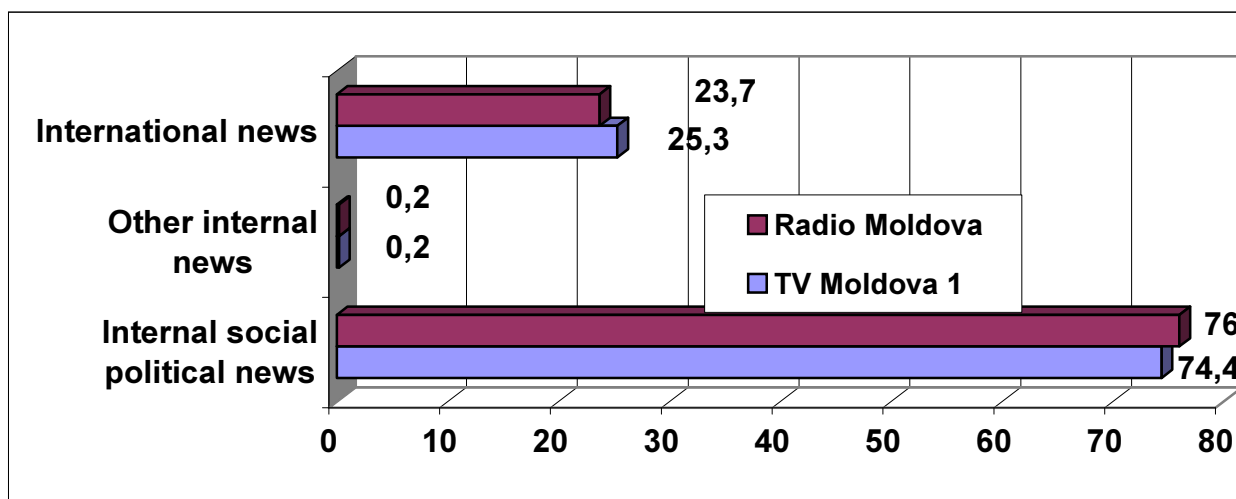


TABLE 2. General agenda - DURATION

NEWS TYPE	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	D*	%	D	%
Internal socio-political news	89161	74.4	316070	76.0
Other internal news	265	0.2	1029	0.2
International news	30346	25.3	98589	23.7

Graph 2.1.

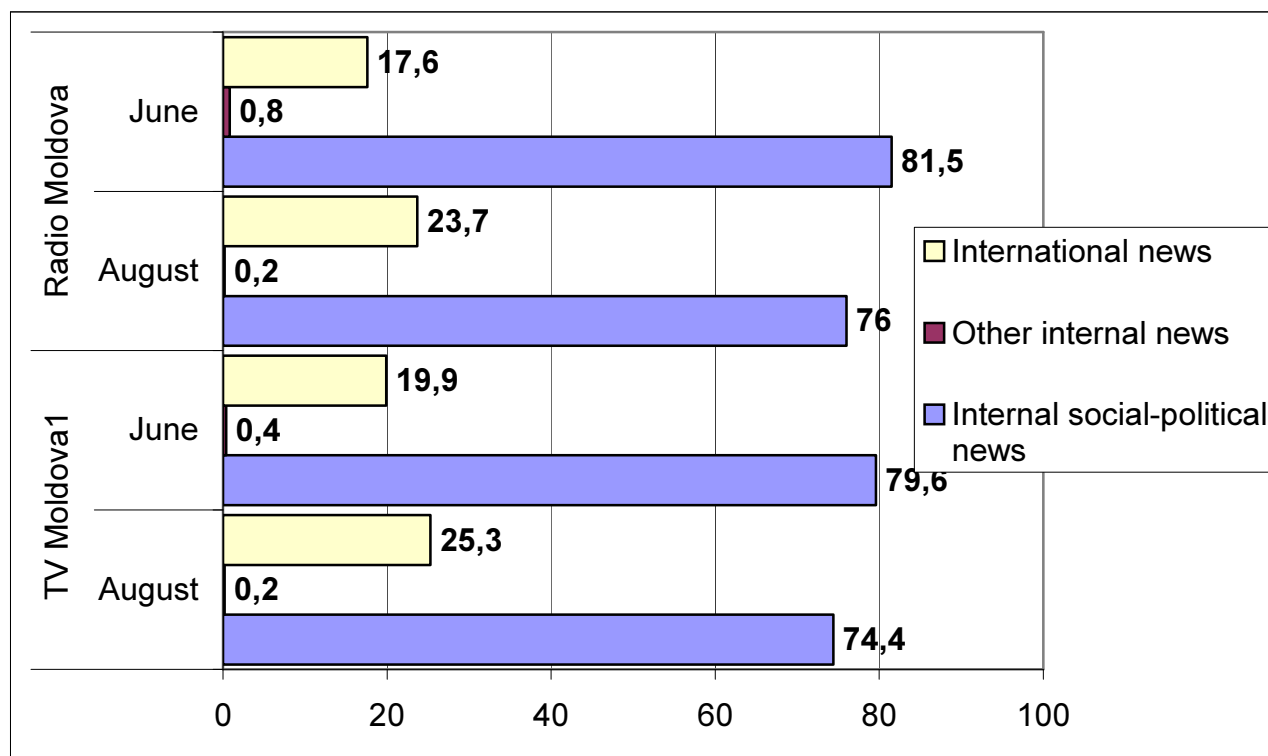
General agenda – Duration (%)



* All durations are represented in seconds

Graph 2.2.

General agenda – August compared with June (%)



1.2. Typological register of internal socio-political news

Just as in the previous monitoring period, the August internal socio-political news of Teleradio Moldova covered foreign, economic, social, and international relations issues. As for frequency and duration, a high priority was given to *social issues* both on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. In August, TV Moldova 1 aired 416 social news items (41.3 percent), their combined duration being 43.055 seconds or 48.3 percent of the time reserved for internal socio-political news. On Radio Moldova, social issues were covered 1143 times (40.5 percent), including news with a duration of 153,716 or 48.6 percent of the internal socio-political news segment (Tables 3 and 4). The share of social news rose in August compared to June. The frequency of social news rose by 1.2 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 9.1 % on Radio Moldova while their duration represented 5.6 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 10.1 percent on Radio Moldova (see graphs 3.2 and 4.2). In our opinion, the growth of social news share is welcome and corresponds to public radio television spirit.

News on internal political relations come second in the classification of internal socio-political news from August. In August, they were broadcast 383 times on TV Moldova 1 (38 percent) and 712 times on Radio Moldova (25.3 percent). The duration of internal political news was of 31.371 seconds (35.2 percent) on TV Moldova 1 and 74.591 seconds on Radio Moldova, or 23.6 percent of the time reserved for internal socio-political news.

Programs on international relations of Moldova and international events come third in the classification of internal socio-political news by to their frequencies, and rank last by their duration.

In August, news on Teleradio Moldova continued to focus on these issues from the perspective of traditional geographic vectors, namely CIS, Western Europe, the rest of the world, including the USA.

The CIS was covered in 23.3 percent of the total share of international news programs on TV Moldova 1 and 22.8 percent on Radio Moldova. This frequency rose in comparison with June, when the reference indicators were 20.1 percent and 19.8 percent, accordingly.

Western countries were covered in 34.7 percent of news on TV Moldova 1 and 31.1 percent on Radio Moldova. The USA and the rest of the world had a coverage of 41.7 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 46.2 percent on Radio Moldova. Except for the last indicator the rest decreased in August in comparison with June.

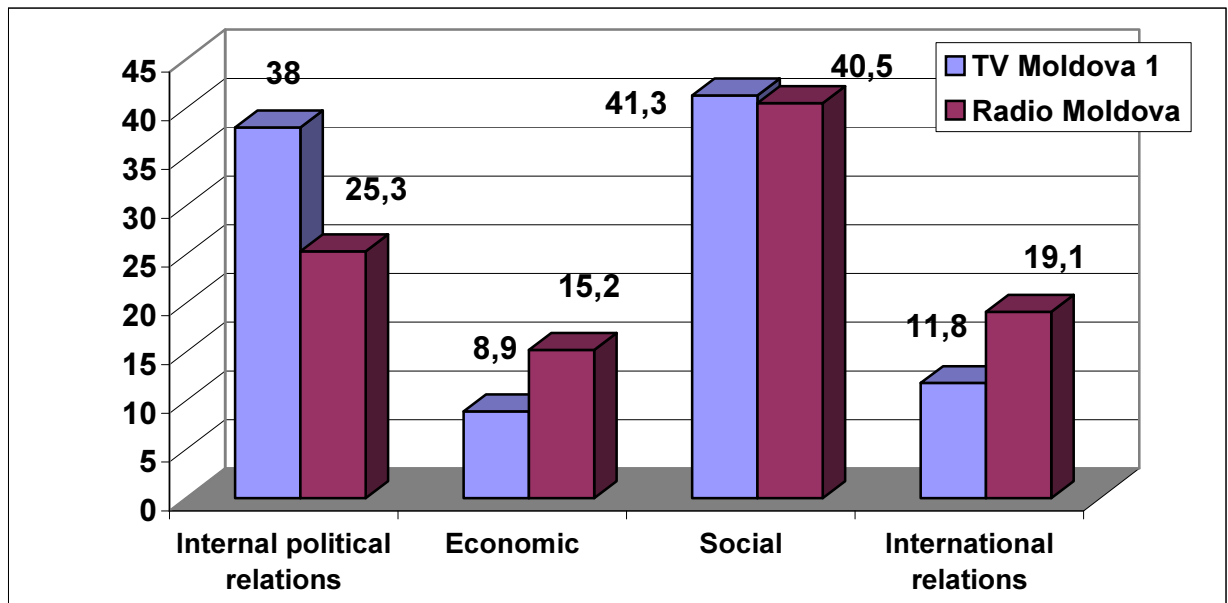
The most publicized countries continued to be, just as in June, the USA - 13.1 percent of the total share of international newscasts on TV Moldova 1 and 13.3 percent on Radio Moldova, and Russia- 8.5 percent and 11.2 percent, accordingly. The immediate neighbors of Moldova were the focus of news programs from Teleradio Moldova in the following proportion: Romania – 3.8 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 2.3 percent on Radio Moldova (with a 1.9 percent and 0.5 percent increase in comparison with June). The Ukraine was mentioned in 5.5 percent of news on TV Moldova 1 and 6.8 percent on Radio Moldova (with a 1.8 percent and 4.3 percent increase in comparison with June) of the total number of international news (see Table 5, Graph 5.1 and 5.2).

In August, news on economic issues were the last on the classification scale of internal socio-political news. However, coverage of these issues on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova was different from that in June. The share of economic news decreased on TV Moldova 1 and increased on Radio Moldova. Thus, economic news were broadcast 90 times (8.9 percent) on TV Moldova 1, with a 2 percent increase compared to June. Their duration fell by 3.4 percent. Radio Moldova aired economic news 429 times (15.2 percent) with 4.3 percent increase. The duration of economic news rose by 3 percent on Radio Moldova (Tables 3 and 4, Graphs 3.2 and 4.2).

TABLE 3. Distribution of internal socio-political news FREQUENCY

TOPICS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Internal political relations	383	38.0	714	25.3
Economic	90	8.9	429	15.2
Social	416	41.3	1143	40.5
International relations	119	11.8	538	19.1

Graph 3.1.
Internal socio-political – Frequency (%)



Graph 3.2.
Internal socio-political – August compared with June Frequency (%)

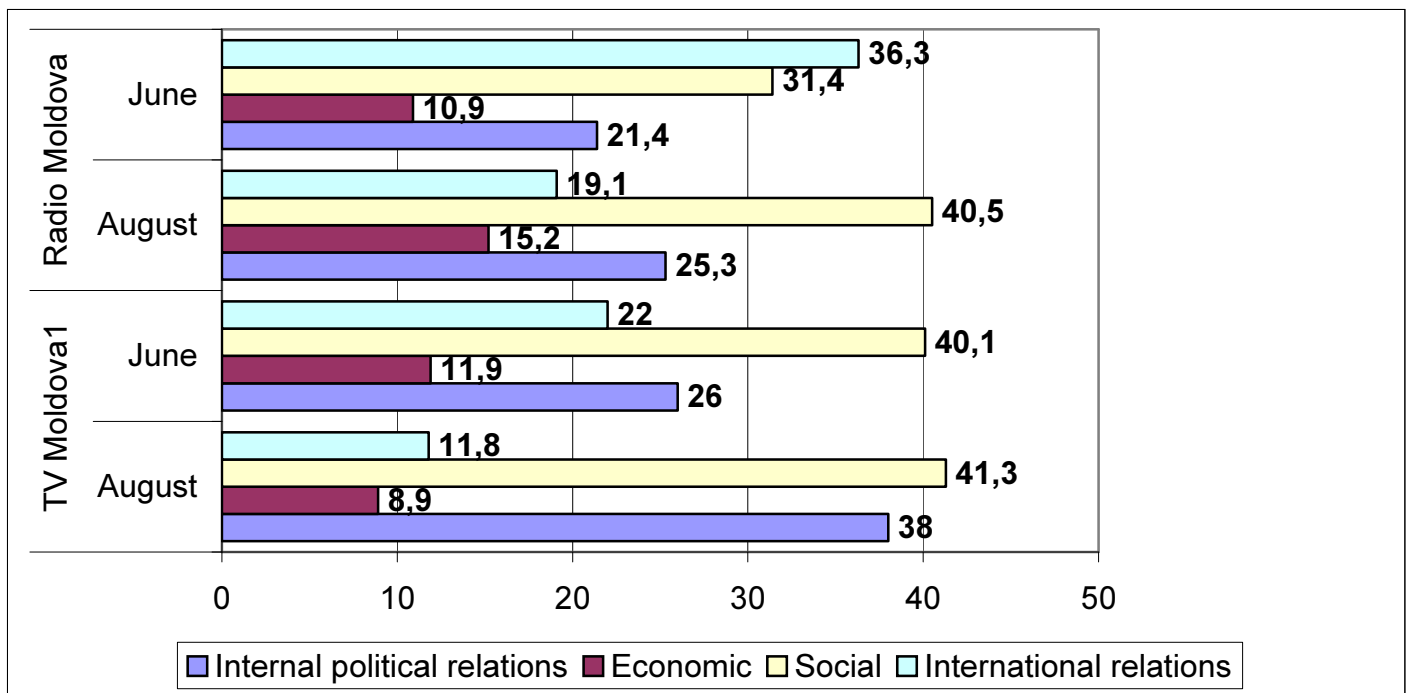
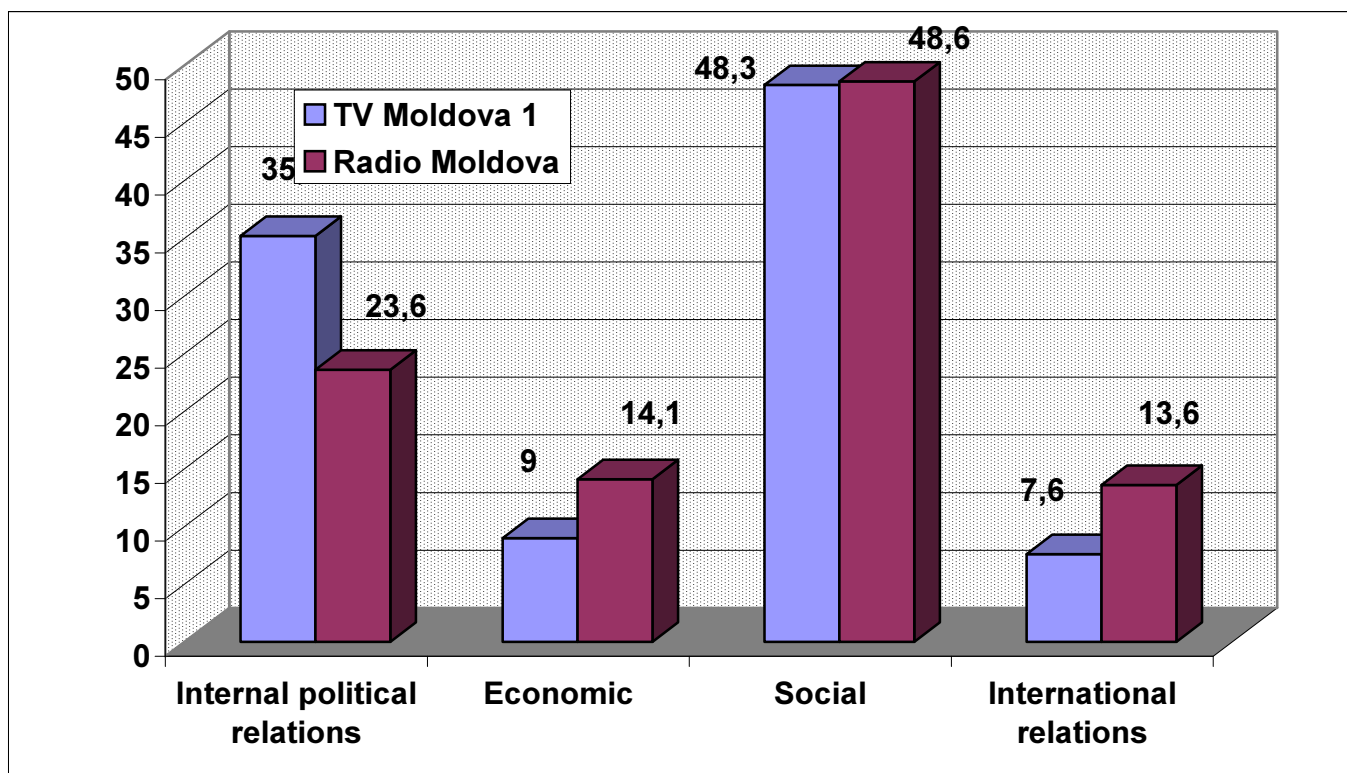


TABLE 4. Distribution of internal socio-political news DURATION

TOPICS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	D	%	D	%
Internal political relations	31371	35.2	74591	23.6
Economic	7983	9.0	44642	14.1
Social	43055	4.3	153716	48.6
International relations	6752	7.6	43121	13.6

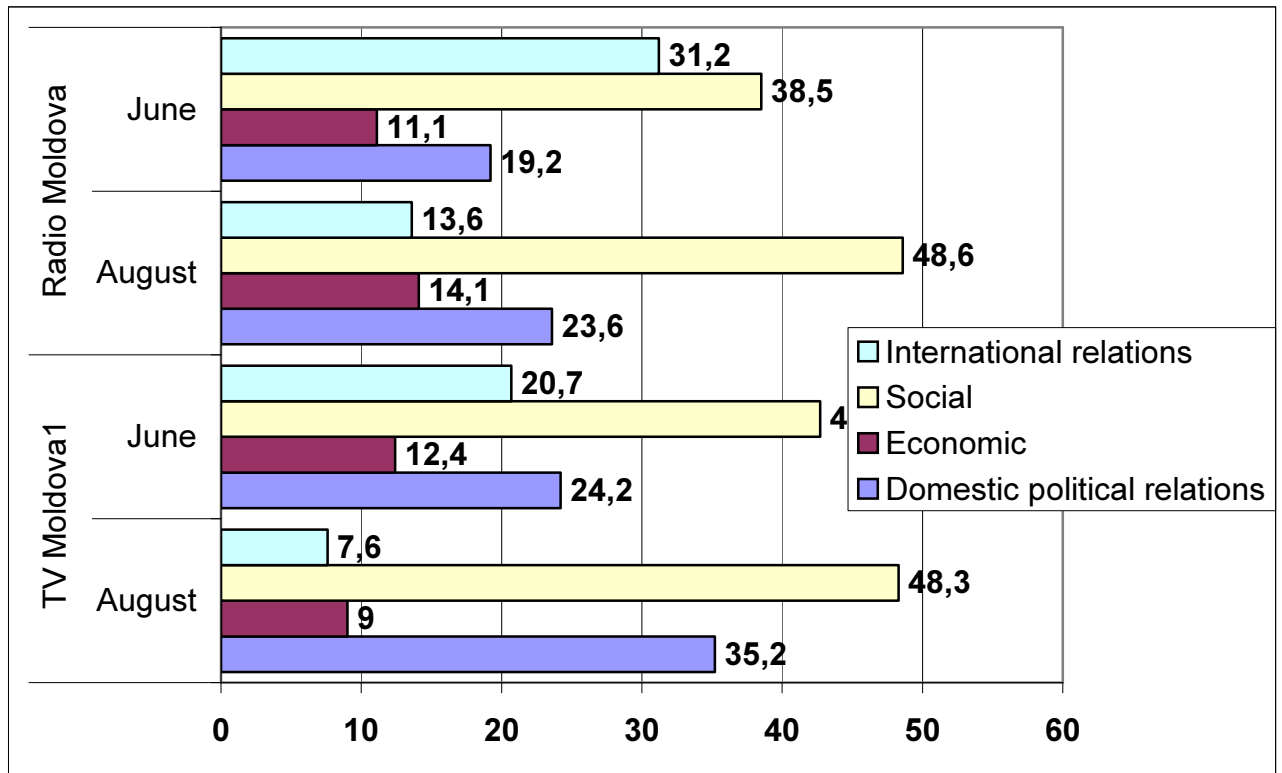
Graph 4.1.

Internal socio-political Duration (%)



Graph 4.2.

Internal socio-political – August compared with June Duration (%)



Graph 3-4.1.

Internal socio-political – Frequency - Duration (%)

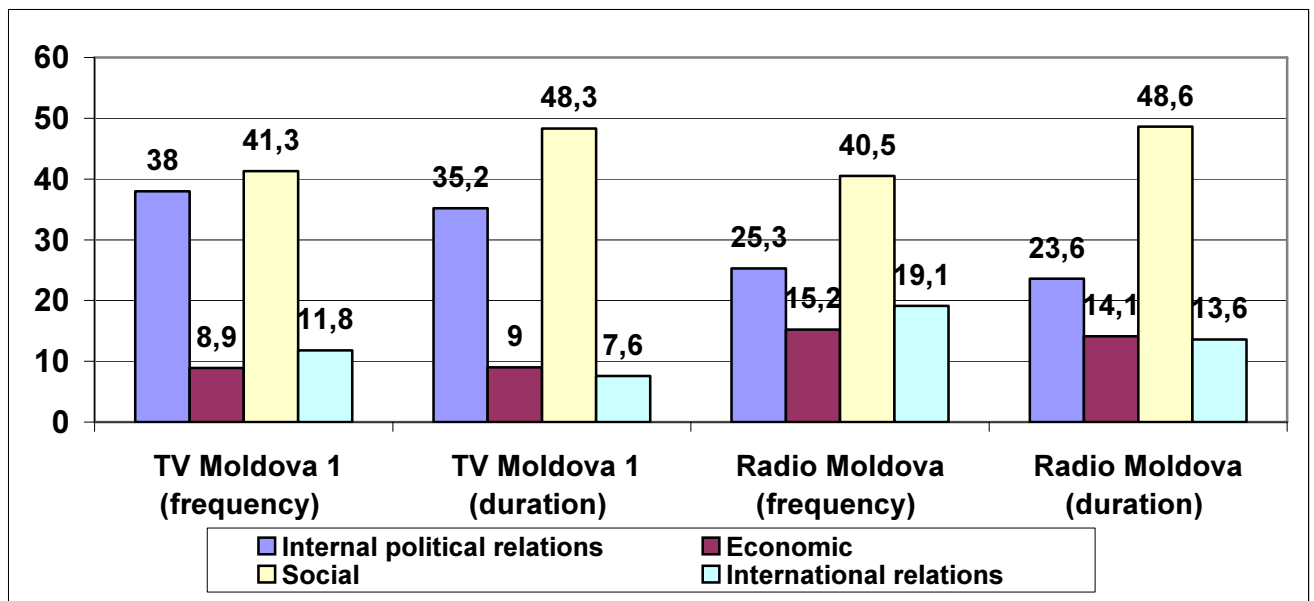
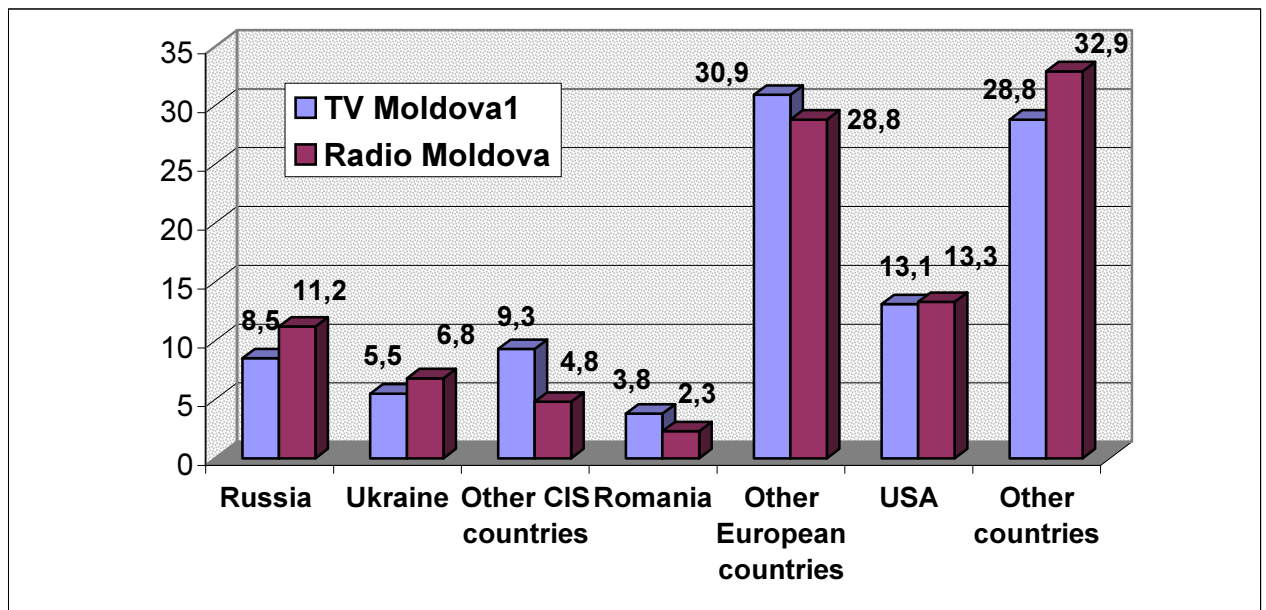


TABLE 5. Distribution of news on external and international relations Frequency (%)

COUNTRY	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Russia	8.5	11.2
Ukraine	5.5	6.8
Other CIS	9.3	4.8
Romania	3.8	2.3
Other European countries	30.9	28.8
USA	13.1	13.3
Other countries	28.8	32.9

Graph 5.1.

External and international relations - Frequency (%)



Graph 5.2.

External and international relations – comparing August to June Frequency (%)

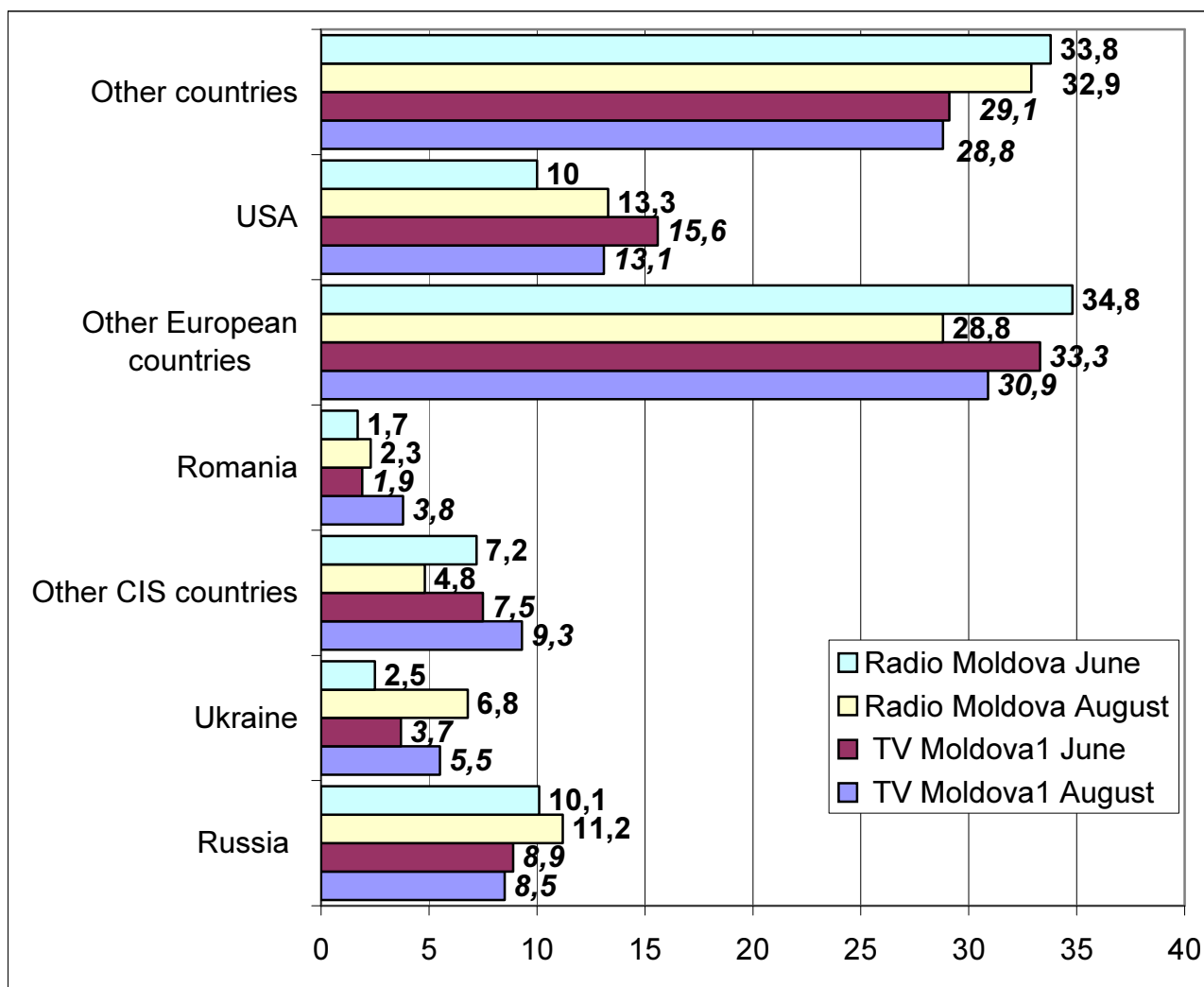


TABLE 6. Distribution of news with electoral implications (direct and indirect)

Frequency and Duration (seconds)

Political agents	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D
State authorities	7	889	16	1967	40	4672	19	1416
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)			3	25	21	1339	1	80
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	2	95	4	60	22	1487	5	260
Extra-parliamentary parties			3	50	6	577		

TABLE 7. Coverage circumstances – Frequency

Political agents	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	Usual	Conflicting	Festive	Usual	Conflicting	Festive
State authorities	245	145	115	996	331	279
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)		3		4	28	
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	2	8		3	32	
Extra-parliamentary parties		2		1	7	
Uninvolved	338	216	113	1438	504	332
Transnistrian authorities	19	95			358	10
TOTAL	604	145	228	2442	1260	621

1.3. Topic agenda

The August news agenda comprised 50 (TV Moldova 1) and 60 (Radio Moldova) topic areas. They are mainly similar to those covered in June. Below are the ten most popular issues:

- Transnistria (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Ceremonies, anniversaries (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Education (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Culture (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Transportation, roads (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Governmental and parliamentary decisions (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Crimes, car accidents (TV Moldova 1)
- Government and Parliament activities (TV Moldova 1)
- Diplomatic activities (TV Moldova 1)
- Governmental and parliamentary meetings (TV Moldova 1);
- Sports (Radio Moldova);
- Municipal activities (Radio Moldova);
- Foreign socio-economic cooperation (Radio Moldova);
- Agriculture (Radio Moldova);

Out of these topics, 66.75 percent (of the total share of news by frequency) was covered by TV Moldova 1 and 58.7 percent by Radio Moldova. Their duration comprised 63.78 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 62.02 percent on Radio Moldova, accordingly.

The other 40-50 themes were present in less than 35 percent of news by frequency and about 38 percent by duration. Elections, telecommunications and information technologies, privatization, customs issues, emigration, factories and enterprises, foreign investments, domestic debts, parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) and micro-financing of small businesses are among the ten least publicized topics on TV Moldova 1. Radio Moldova gave the least importance to the following issues: products quality, corruption, privatization, trafficking in human beings, parliamentary opposition (PPCD), economy, parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova), employment, government success, customs issues (see tables 8.1 and 8.2).

A comparative analysis of the August news agenda of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova confirms the hypotheses formulated based on monitoring materials of Teleradio Moldova collected in June, and namely:

- although there are two distinct news departments functioning within Teleradio Moldova Company, their editorial policy is quasi-identical, this fact being proved by the well-marked similarities of the events and also by the quantification of their frequency and duration;
- through their thematic agendas, the news programs show the deliberate tendency to focus the public attention on certain fields, and to marginalize a series of problems of social interest (human rights, social protection, health, medical insurance, social protests, prices etc. – their coverage making up about 1 percent in frequency and duration);
- In this way, Teleradio Moldova Company is either trying to avoid the citizens' primary concerns or is promoting an editorial policy designed to divert citizens' attention from their primary concerns;

TABLE 8.1. Topic agenda– Frequency and Duration – TV Moldova1

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Transnistria	241	20.5	Education	8587	9.60
Ceremonies, anniversaries	145	12.3	Culture	5167	5.78
Education	111	9.4	Transportation, roads	3836	4.29
Culture	54	4.6	Crimes and car accidents	2949	3.30
Transportation, roads	51	4.3	Government and Parliament activities	2887	3.23
Government and parliament activities	49	4.2	Disasters	2704	3.02
Government and parliament meetings	42	3.6	Mass media	2505	2.80
Crimes and car accidents	32	2.7	Municipal activities (public utilities)	2184	2.44
Diplomatic activities	31	2.6	Government and parliament meetings	2123	2.37
Governmental and parliamentary decisions	29	2.5	Science	2075	2.32
Municipal activities (public utilities)	28	2.4	Environment – water, soil, air, forestry etc.	1948	2.18
Disasters	24	2.0	Transnistria	16332	18.26
Social protests	22	1.9	Ceremonies, anniversaries	12254	13.70
Agriculture	21	1.8	Government and parliament decisions	1610	1.80
Science	21	1.8	Sports	1595	1.78
Environment – water, soil, air, forestry etc.	20	1.7	Healthcare, medical insurance	1480	1.65
Mass media	20	1.7	Agriculture	1474	1.65
Economic success	18	1.5	Consumers	1454	1.63
Sports	18	1.5	Diplomatic activities	1295	1.45
Consumers	16	1.4	Economic success	1298	1.45
Healthcare, medical insurance	14	1.2	Social protests	1215	1.36
Public order	12	1.0	Religion	1206	1.35
Religion	12	1.0	Public order	932	1.04
Energy	12	1.0	Corruption	835	0.93
Corruption	10	0.9	Foreign assistance	830	0.93
Prices	10	0.9	Energy	701	0.78

Protection of human rights	10	0.9	Prices	674	0.75
Foreign socio-economic cooperation	8	0,7	Local public administration	670	0.75
Foreign assistance	8	0.7	Protection of human rights	603	0.67
Social protection	7	0.6	External debts	491	0.55
Minorities	7	0.6	Government success	450	0.50
External debts	7	0.6	Minorities	437	0.49
Public local administration	6	0.5	Products quality	380	0.42
Government success	5	0.4	Social protection	356	0.40
Products quality	4	0.3	Foreign socio-economic cooperation	293	0.33
Census	4	0.3	Small business micro-financing	285	0.32
State security	3	0.3	Trade	280	0.31
Trade	3	0.3	Domestic debt	240	0.27
Small business micro-financing	3	0.3	Factories and enterprises	230	0.26
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	2	0.2	Census	135	0.15
Domestic debts	2	0.2	State security	130	0.15
Foreign investments	2	0.2	Customs issues	130	0.15
Factories and enterprises	2	0.2	Foreign investments	110	0.12
Emigration	2	0.2	Parliamentary opposition (MD)	95	0.11
Customs issues	2	0.2	Privatization	60	0,07
Privatization	1	0.1	Emigration	50	0.06
Telecommunications and information technology	1	0.1	Telecommunications and information technology	17	0.02
Elections	1	0.1	Elections	17	0.02
Others	23	2.0	Others	1817	2.03

TABLE 8.2. Topic agenda – Frequency and Duration (%) - Radio Moldova

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Transnistria	473	12.3	Ceremonies, anniversaries	41773	13.17
Education	418	10.9	Education	34790	10.97
Ceremonies, anniversaries	289	7.5	Transnistria	28382	8.95
Sports	192	5.0	Culture	20767	6.55
Municipal activities (public utilities)	189	4.9	Agriculture	17631	5.56
Culture	165	4.3	Sports	14848	4.68
Agriculture	160	4.2	Municipal activities (public utilities)	14759	4.65
Transportation, roads	153	4.0	Transportation, roads	10194	3.21
Foreign socio-economic cooperation	111	2.9	Social protection	8083	2.55
Government and parliament decisions	103	2.7	Mass media	6416	2.02
Social protection	96	2.5	Government and parliament decisions	5848	1.84
Trade	86	2.2	Foreign socio-economic cooperation	5828	1.84

Protection of human rights	83	2.2	Crimes, car accidents	5446	1.72
Government and parliamentary activities	76	2.0	Environment – water, soil, air, forestry etc.	5177	1.63
Social protests	70	1.8	Healthcare, medical insurance	5110	1.61
Foreign investments	70	1.8	Social protests	5043	1.59
Healthcare, medical insurance	59	1.5	Foreign investments	5023	1.58
Factories and enterprises	56	1.5	Trade	4814	1.52
Mass media	55	1.4	Protection of human rights	4705	1.48
Government and parliament meetings	54	1.4	Government and parliament activities	4605	1.45
Diplomatic activities	50	1.3	Factories and enterprises	4161	1.31
Consumers	49	1.3	Religion	3984	1.26
Prices	48	1.2	Science	3937	1.24
Economic success	46	1.2	Diplomatic activities	3351	1.06
Energy	45	1.2	Consumers	3269	1.03
Ecology – water, soil, air, forestry etc.	43	1.1	Energy	2982	0.94
Science	40	1.0	Economic success	2899	0.91
Legislative actions	36	0.9	Prices	2850	0.90
Crimes, car accidents	36	0.9	Government, parliament and local administration meetings	2817	0.89
State and local budget	35	0.9	Disasters	2747	0.87
State security	32	0.8	Legislative actions	2365	0.75
Tourism	30	0.8	Tourism	2073	0.65
Foreign assistance	25	0.6	State and local budget	1982	0.63
Elections	25	0.6	State security	1825	0.58
Local investments	23	0.6	Local public administration	1785	0.56
Religion	23	0.6	Local investments	1678	0.53
Fiscal issues, taxes	21	0.5	Public order	1383	0.44
Calamities	21	0.5	Foreign assistance	1369	0.43
Local public administration	18	0.5	Salaries	1353	0.43
Salaries	16	0.4	Emigration	1208	0.38
Public order	15	0.4	External debts	1181	0.37
External debts	15	0.4	Census	1040	0.33
Emigration	15	0.4	Elections	1037	0.33
Census	14	0.4	Minorities	1006	0.32
Minorities	12	0.3	Fiscal issues, taxes	951	0.30
European Integration	12	0.3	Unemployment	761	0.24
Domestic debts	11	0.3	Trafficking in human beings	727	0.23
Unemployment	10	0.3	European integration	694	0.22
Small business micro-financing	9	0.2	Domestic debts	662	0.21
Telecommunications and information technologies	8	0.2	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	562	0.18
Customs issues	8	0.2	Employment situation	530	0.17
Government success	7	0.2	Small business micro-financing	495	0.16
Employment situation	7	0.2	Telecommunications and information technologies	478	0.15
Parliamentary opposition	6	0.2	Customs issues	442	0.14

(Democratic Moldova)					
Economy	6	0.2	Products quality	358	0.11
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	5	0.1	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	342	0.11
Trafficking in human beings	5	0.1	Government success	194	0.06
Privatization	3	0.1	Privatization	183	0.06
Corruption	2	0.1	Economy	140	0.04
Products quality	2	0.1	Corruption	100	0.03
Others	56	1.5	Others	5956	1.88

TABLE 8.1. Taken from table *topic agenda* – Frequency and Duration (%)

Topic agenda	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	F	%	D	%	F	%	D	%
Communist Party								
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)					5	0.1	342	0.11
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	2	0.2	95	0.11	6	0.2	562	0.18
Extra-parliamentary parties								

1.4 Agents and actors of newscasts

During the monitoring period, 27 political and social agents (21 in June) were in the focus of newscasts from Teleradio Moldova. In August, the institutions of central and local administration (president, presidential administration, government, prime-minister, parliament, parliament speaker, justice, constitutional court, police, security, financial guard, economic police, army, local public administration) had a coverage of 47.3 percent (53.9 percent in June) on TV Moldova 1, and 38.6 percent (46.9 percent in June) on Radio Moldova. Just as in June, in August the most frequent references were made to the government and the prime-minister – 23.5 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 17.6 percent on Radio Moldova (in June the relevant indicators represented 21.1 percent and 20.9 percent, accordingly); presidency of Moldova – 7 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 5 percent on Radio Moldova (in June: 10 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 8.9 percent on Radio Moldova); Parliament and its speaker were present in 2.7 percent of news on TV Moldova 1 and 1.1 percent on Radio Moldova (in June the relevant indicators represented 5.3 and 7.1 percent, accordingly); local public administration accumulated 6.4 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 8.3 on Radio Moldova (in June: 6.9 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 5.4 percent on Radio Moldova) (see tables 9 and 10). There could be two reasons for the relevant decrease of the share of state authorities' presence in news programs: either it was due to modification of editorial policy or it was the consequence of vacation. Which of these is false and which is true? The answer will be found in the monitoring materials from September.

In the meantime, the available statistical data show the decrease of other social agents' share in the newscasts. Therefore, civil society was present in 2 percent of newscasts on TV Moldova 1 (6.6 percent in June) and 2.4 percent of news aired on Radio Moldova (5.8 percent in June). The trade unions were present in 0.3 percent of television news and 0.5 percent of radio news (in June: 0.6 percent of radio and TV news). Similarly to June, employers organizations were absent from TV news and reached the quota of 0.1 percent in radio news programs (1.7 percent in June). Church was present in 1.4 percent on television (0.8 percent in June) and 1 percent on radio (0.1 percent in June) (see tables 9 and 10). In our opinion, summer vacation could be the least important cause for the symbolic reflection of these social agents.

Political parties were practically absent from newscasts. TV Moldova 1 did not present any news on PCM, while Radio Moldova aired only three (0.1 percent). Parliamentary opposition parties were in the focus of 0.2 percent of television news (0.4 percent in June) and 0.5 percent of radio news, accordingly (just as in June). Extra-parliamentary parties were covered in 0.1 percent of television and radio news (in June: 0.2 percent of TV news and 0.4 percent of radio news) (see graphs 10.1 and 10.2).

In August, Teleradio Moldova largely maintained the same distribution of broadcast space among the main categories of social and political agents as in June. Thus, in August state actors held 47.3 percent (given 49 percent in June) of news space on TV Moldova 1. Parliamentary opposition had a coverage of 0.4 percent as opposed to 1.2 percent in June, extra-parliamentary parties –0.1 percent compared with 0.3 percent in June, politically uninvolved actors –45 percent (49.6 percent in June), and Transnistrian authorities – 7.2 percent. On Radio Moldova, state representatives were present in 38.6 percent of news (42 percent in June), opposition –1 percent compared with 1.5 percent in June, extra-parliamentary parties – 0.1 percent (0.5 percent in June), politically uninvolved actors –53.7 percent compared with 56.1 percent of news in June. Transnistrian authorities were covered in 6.4 percent of August news (see tables 10 and graphs 10.1 and 10.2).

The provided statistical data, despite showing certain changes in the methods of covering political and social agents applied in June, also show that in August, Teleradio Moldova remained faithful to the policy applied June regarding the distribution of news space among political and social actors. It acted in a similar manner when treating the social and political actors.

The monitoring carried out in August pointed out 15 political and social actors (in June there were 21) who enjoyed at least five appearances in news programs on Teleradio Moldova. They are, except four persons (Urecheanu, Braghiș, Roșca and Cubreacov), state representatives. Overall, they appeared 1,262 times (in June – 1,802 times). On top of the list are Vasile Tarlev (515 appearances, compared with 420 in June), Vladimir Voronin (344 appearances, compared with 645 in June), and Eugenia Ostapciuc (68 appearances, compared with 204 in June). The Mayor of Chisinau benefited from 41 appearances (compared with 17 in June), the leader of parliamentary faction Democratic Moldova –24 appearances (compared with 11 in June), leaders of parliamentary faction PPCD I. Roșca and V. Cubreacov – 20 and 12 appearances, accordingly (see table 15).

TABLE 9. Publicizing of social and political agents – Frequency and percentage

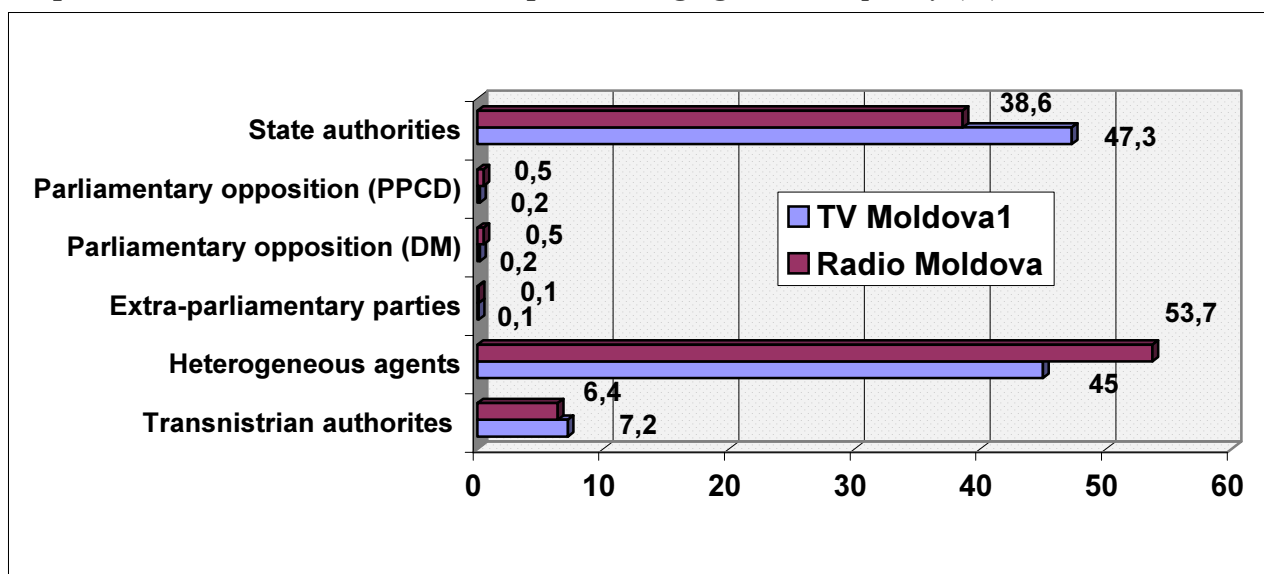
AGENTS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
President	95	6.1	273	4.7
Presidential administration	15	0.9	15	0.3
Government	223	14.7	662	11.3
Prime-minister	142	9.2	363	6.3
Parliament	8	0.5	28	0.5
Parliament speaker	33	2.2	38	0.6
Justice, Constitutional Court	7	0.4	16	0.3
Police, Minister of Security	54	3.4	96	1.7
Financial guard, Economic police	1	0.1	15	0.3
Local administration	96	6.4	474	8.3
Army	20	1.3	72	1.2

Communist Party	0	0.0	3	0.1
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	3	0.2	18	0.5
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	3	0.2	16	0.5
Extra-parliamentary parties	2	0.1	2	0.1
Employers' organization	0	0.0	8	0.1
Trade Union	5	0.3	28	0.5
Church	22	1.4	58	1.0
Civil society	31	2.0	139	2.4
Transnistrian authorities	110	7.2	370	6.4
Other domestic agents	275	17.4	965	16.5
External agents	179	11.3	865	14.7
Economic agents	67	4.2	494	8.4
Mass media	26	1.6	158	2.7
Educational and scientific institutions	97	6.1	374	6.4
Healthcare institutions	9	0.6	60	1.0
Other state institutions	34	2.2	188	3.2

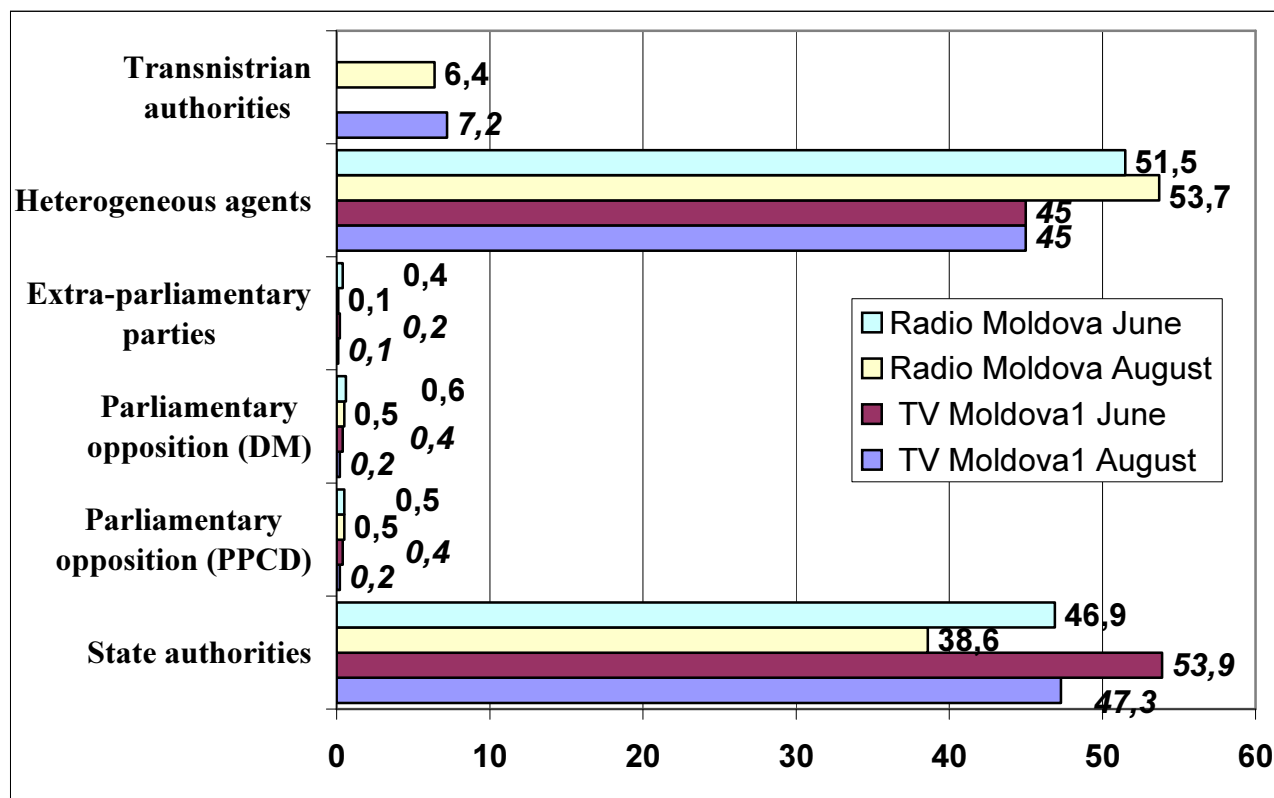
TABLE 10. Distribution of broadcast space among the five categories of agents - Frequency (%)

CATEGORY OF AGENTS	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
State authorities	47.3	38.6
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	0.2	0.5
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	0.2	0.5
Extra-parliamentary parties	0.1	0.1
Heterogeneous agents	45.0	53.7
Transnistrian authorities	7.2	6.4

Graph 10.1 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - Frequency (%)



Graph 10.2 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - comparing August with June
Frequency (%)



1.5 Impartiality of news

Just as in June, the August news from TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova gave differentiated estimations to political agents and actors. Agents and actors representing central authority were treated in a positive or neutral way (see tables 11 and 16). Thus, TV Moldova 1 gave them 25 positive estimations (in June – 61) and made a neutral evaluation 963 times (in June– 655), while Radio Moldova gave them 18 positive estimations (in June – 8) and treated them in a neutral way 2,470 times (in June – 1966). Other political and social agents were evaluated in a neutral or negative way. Thus, local public administration was given five critical estimations on TV Moldova 1 and 12 on Radio Moldova, and enjoyed a neutral evaluation 96 and 474 times, respectively. Civil society was treated in a neutral way 159 times, and in a negative way - only once. Transnistrian authorities received nine negative estimations out of 480 appearances on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. Parliamentary opposition PPCD and their representatives were treated negatively 32 times out of 67 appearances on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova, and neutrally - 35 times. Democratic Moldova and its representatives were estimated neutrally 55 times and negatively –35 times (out of 90 appearances on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova). The few extra-parliamentary parties (Social-Democratic Party of Moldova, Socialist Party, and National Christian-Democratic Peasants’ Party (PNȚCD)) benefited from nine appearances, three of which were given critical estimations and the rest of them were estimated in a neutral way. Trade unions, church, foreign agents, economic bodies, educational and scientific institutions, healthcare institutions were treated only in a neutral way (see tables 11, 14, 16).

TABLE 11 Evaluation of social and political agents - Frequency

AGENTS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Presidency	1		95	3		273
Presidential administration			15			15
Government	9		223	2		662
Prime-minister	3		142	4		363
Parliament			8			28
Parliament speaker	1		33			38
Justice, Constitutional Court			7			16
Police, Ministry of Security			54	2		96
Financial guard, Economic police			1			15
Local administration		5	96		12	474
Army			20			72
Communist Party						3
<i>Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)</i>			3		14	18
<i>Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)</i>			3		16	16
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>			2		6	2
Employers' organization						8
Trade Union			5			28
Church			22			58
Civil society			31		1	139
Transnistrian authorities		3	110		6	370
Other domestic agents			275		2	965
External agents			179			865
Economic agents			67			494
Mass media			26		2	158
Educational and scientific institutions			97			374
Healthcare institutions			9			60
Other state institutions			34			188

Key: + *positive evaluation*
 - *negative evaluation*
 0 *neutral evaluation*

TABLE 12 Evaluation of the five categories of agents - Frequency

CATEGORIES OF AGENTS	TV Moldova 1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
State authorities	14	5	728	11	12	2243
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)			3		14	18
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)			3		16	16
Extra-parliamentary parties			2		6	2
Heterogeneous agents			711		5	3149
Transnistrian authorities		3	110		6	370
TOTAL	14	8	1557	11	59	5798

Key: + *positive evaluation*

- *negative evaluation*

0 *neutral evaluation*

1.6 Coverage of parties and political pluralism in newscasts

In August, one could notice a significant decrease of the interest of Teleradio Moldova towards political entities. During this period, they benefited from only 72 direct references, 123 appearances less than in June (195). The majority of these appearances were on Radio Moldova (66) and only six were on TV Moldova 1.

Impressive changes were noticed in the top of publicized political parties. Whereas in June the Communist Party (PCM) was present in 84.9 percent of news on TV Moldova 1, in August this party was absent from TV news programs. As a consequence, the Christian Democratic Party (PPCD) and Democratic Moldova (MD) ratios increased (see table 13). The increase of news covering political parties is rather the result of various events than of a new editorial policy of Teleradio Moldova. Our statement is based on evidence offered by Teleradio Moldova. We already stated one of them, namely the internal structure of social and political actors covered by TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. The second piece of evidence is offered by Radio Moldova, which presented the political entities in an estimative manner. Therefore, in comparison with CPM that benefited from a neutral evaluation in all news (6), PPCD received negative evaluations in 11 out of 18 news, MD was treated negatively in 11 out of 13 cases, and the Social-Democratic Party (PSDM) was assessed negatively in 2 out of the 3 appearances (see Table 14).

Another fact that confirms the unchanged editorial policy of Teleradio Moldova in what concerns political pluralism is the selective-preferential broadcasting of news with direct or indirect electoral implications. Thus, TV Moldova 1 included in its August programs 27 news items of this kind, out of which 85 percent were in favor of the current power, i.e. the Communist Party. In the same period, more than 50 percent of similar news aired on Radio Moldova focused on electoral advantages of the power, and the rest included representatives of PPCD, MD and several extra-parliamentary parties (see Table 6). Even though the number of these news dropped in August in comparison with June, perseverance in broadcasting them suggests a political partisanship of Teleradio Moldova.

TABLE 13. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage

PARTIES	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Communist Party of Moldova (PCM)	4		4		6.8
Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD)	28	6	22	30%	37.3
Democratic Moldova (MD) (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party, Democratic Party)	33	6	27	30%	45.8
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)	6	2	4	10%	6.8
Socialist party (PS)	3	3		15%	
National Christian-Democratic Peasants' Party (PNȚCD)	5	3	2	15%	3.4
TOTAL	79	20	59	100%	100%

TABLE 14. Evaluation of political parties - Frequency

PARTIES	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
PCM						4
PPCD			6		19	3
MD			6		18	9
PSDM			2		4	
PS			3			
PNȚCD			3		2	
TOTAL	0	0	20	0	43	16

Key: + *positive evaluation*
 - *negative evaluation*
 0 *neutral evaluation*

2.3. Social and political actors

TABLE 15. The most publicized social and political actors - Frequency

ACTORS	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Tarlev	515	145	370
Voronin	344	87	257
Ostapciuc	68	32	36
Leahu	64	20	44
Șova	55	23	32
Urecheanu	41	9	32
Gagauz	31	13	18
Gaiciuc	29	10	19
Todoroglo	28	10	18

Timciuc	25	9	16
Braghiș	24	-	24
Stratan	22	-	22
Roșca	20	-	20
Greceanâi	18	12	6
Cristea	16	5	11
Teleşcu	12	5	7
Cubriacov	12	-	12
Iov	11	-	11
Mișin	10	-	10
Madan	10	-	10
Prijmireanu	8	-	8
Lupu	7	-	7
Zgardan	7	-	7
Batog	7	-	7
Beniuc	5	5	-

Note: only actors that had at least five appearances on one outlet were considered

TABLE 16. Evaluation of social and political actors - Frequency

ACTORS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Tarlev	3		142	4		366
Voronin	1		86	3		254
Ostapciuc	1		31			36
Leahu			20			44
Șova			23			32
Urecheanu			9		12	20
Gagauz			13			18
Gaiiciuc			10			19
Todoroglo	3		7			18
Timciuc	2		7			16
Braghiș					12	12
Stratan						22
Roșca					11	9
Greceanâi			12			6
Cristea			5			11
Teleşcu			5			7
Cubriacov					7	5
Iov						11
Mișin						10
Madan						10
Prijmireanu						8
Lupu						7
Zgardan						7
Batog						7
Beniuc	1		4			-

Key + *positive evaluation*
- *negative evaluation*
0 *neutral evaluation*

1.7 Coverage circumstances and diversity of sources for newscasts

The August news on TV Moldova 1 were generated in 604 ordinary, 469 conflicting and 228 formal circumstances. News broadcasts on Radio Moldova were based on 2,442 ordinary, 1,260 conflicting and 661 formal circumstances (see Table 7).

Most of the news had a single source. A significant number of news items based on conflicting circumstances reflected the perspective of only one side involved in the controversy.

TABLE 18.1 Coverage languages – Frequency and percentage

CATEGORIES OF ACTORS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
Romanian	698	<i>69.4</i>	1,939	<i>68.3</i>
Russian	308	<i>30.6</i>	899	<i>31.7</i>

TABLE 18.2 Coverage languages – Duration and percentage

CATEGORIES OF ACTORS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
Romanian	60040	<i>67.1</i>	212115	<i>66.9</i>
Russian	29386	<i>32.9</i>	104984	<i>33.1</i>

1.8 Individual conclusions

News monitoring data from August leave unchanged the individual conclusions based on the results of the monitoring carried out in June.

1. The news agenda shows that TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova cover daily life through the power's perspective to the detriment of the public interest.
2. News programs cover social events in a selective way ignoring the balance and complexity principles.
3. In their news programs, TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova publicize and give priority to the agents and actors of the ruling party.
4. News programs do not promote the values of impartiality and political pluralism when reflecting the social events from Moldova
5. News programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova promote political partisanship, the tendentious approach of the political forces that do not hold power.
6. The diversity of sources has not yet become a standard of news conception for TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.
7. The newscasts of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova reveal early implications in the election campaign.

II. SOCIO-POLITICAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

General observations

Compared with June, August shows a significant growth in the duration of socio-political and economic programs, - from 38,062 seconds to 76,264 seconds in the case of TV Moldova 1, and from 45,005 seconds to 93,994 seconds in the case of Radio Moldova. Changes were made in the program listings, increasing the duration of this kind of programs on an average by about 30 minutes per day, at the expense of entertainment.

2.1 Program distribution

Both TV Moldova 1, and Radio Moldova, increased the duration of socio-political programs (from 46 percent to 50.4 percent on TV Moldova 1; from 46.9 percent to 49.1 percent on Radio Moldova) and economic programs (+ 3 percent on TV Moldova 1 and +18.4 percent on Radio Moldova) to the detriment of political programs on parties' activities and current political issues. This phenomenon is more prominent on Radio Moldova, where the duration of these programs fell from 41.5 percent to 20.9 percent. In general, a similarity between editorial policy from Radio Moldova and editorial policy from TV Moldova 1 could be noticed in what concerns program type (see table 19).

TABLE 19. Program distribution – Frequency and Duration

PROGRAM TYPE	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	F	%	D	%	F	%	D	%
Socio-political	24	24.2	38422	50.4	132	45.4	46116	49.1
Political	42	42.4	16875	22.1	43	14.8	19658	20.9
Economic	33	33.3	20947	27.5	116	39.9	28220	30.0

2.2 Program topics

The topic range of socio-political and economic programs did not suffer any essential changes. One can notice the emergence of some themes that bear an obvious electoral nuance, such as "the government success" or "the government results".

The first 10 issues most widely covered in more than 30 programs were Transnistrian issue, agriculture, prices, anniversaries, economic success, enterprises, government results, social protests, diplomatic activity.

By their duration, the following issues take up the first ten places: education, anniversaries, Transnistrian issue, agriculture, prices, transportation and roads, European integration, culture, economic success, public utilities, migration. These topics made up 78.4 percent of total duration of socio-political and economic programs broadcast on TV Moldova 1.

The least publicized 10 issues are extra-parliamentary parties, consumers' issues, healthcare and medical insurance, religion, European integration, foreign assistance, prices, state security, trade etc. The coverage of salary- and price-related issues is significantly low compared to the strong focus on „government success” and „anniversaries” (5.9 percent and 15.6 percent accordingly, of total programs duration). Commendable is the fact that broadcasting of

government meetings was reduced in favor of education (17.2 percent). Programs dedicated to the development of civil society are still missing. Representatives of PPCD and CPM were absent from the programs of TV Moldova 1, the fact which is a disadvantage for PPCD because the ruling party was publicized indirectly by government representatives.

TABLE 21.1. Agenda of socio-political and economic programs – Frequency and Duration (%) - TV Moldova1

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Transnistria	31	21.1	Education	13113	17.2
Agriculture	24	16.3	Ceremonies, anniversaries	11901	15.6
Ceremonies, anniversaries	12	8.2	Transnistria	9234	12.1
Education	9	6.1	Agriculture	7711	10.1
Economic success	8	5.4	Transportation, roads	4085	5.4
Culture	5	3.4	European integration	3600	4.7
Factories and enterprises	5	3.4	Culture	3240	4.2
Government success	4	2.7	Economic success	2942	3.9
Social protests	4	2.7	Municipal activities (public utilities)	2085	2.7
Diplomatic actions	4	2.7	Emigration	1935	2.5
Governmental and parliamentary decisions	4	2.7	Consumers	1800	2.4
Salaries	3	2.0	Healthcare, medical insurance	1800	2.4
Municipal activities (public utilities)	3	2.0	Religion	1800	2.4
Transportation, roads	3	2.0	Government success	1530	2.0
Mass media	3	2.0	Factories and enterprises	1219	1.6
Science	2	1.4	Tourism	1097	1.4
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	2	1.4	Minorities	1000	1.3
Foreign socio-economic cooperation	2	1.4	Governmental and parliamentary decisions	920	1.2
Product quality	2	1.4	Social protests	661	0.9
Emigration	2	1.4	Extra-parliamentary parties	600	0.8
Tourism	2	1.4	Mass media	450	0.6
Social protection	1	0.7	Science	410	0.5
Minorities	1	0.7	Salaries	405	0.5
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	0.7	Foreign socio-economic cooperation	400	0.5
Consumers	1	0.7	Social protection	376	0.5
Healthcare, medical insurance	1	0.7	Diplomatic activities	345	0.5
Religion	1	0.7	Product quality	318	0.4
European integration	1	0.7	Parliamentary opposition (MD)	215	0.3
Foreign assistance	1	0.7	State security	210	0.3
Prices	1	0.7	Foreign assistance	122	0.2
State security	1	0.7	Trade	120	0.2
Trade	1	0.7	Prices	60	0.1
Others	2	1.4	Others	540	0.7

The topic range of Radio Moldova programs did not suffer any significant structural adjustments either, including about 50 issues (45 in June). Among the new topics are „economic success”, „mass media”, „tourism” etc. The most frequently publicized issues are:

- agriculture
- public utilities
- anniversaries
- education
- environment
- prices
- culture
- transportation, roads
- government and parliament activities
- enterprises

The total share of these issues is 64.7 percent in frequency, and 62.6 percent in duration.

Programs dedicated to different anniversaries and ceremonies had the longest duration, 16.2 percent of total program duration. Education remains one of the most dominant issues on Radio Moldova. Transnistrian conflict (one of the most widely discussed issues in June) is on the 12th place by frequency and 20th place by duration (1.5 percent of total program length), even though August was full of important events concerning this subject.

The least covered subjects by frequency were foreign assistance, products' quality, external debts, foreign investments, small business, sports, trade union, and disasters. Programs dedicated to the European integration were absent in August, whereas, in the previous monitoring period, this issue was among the first ten topics by frequency, as well as by duration. In addition, in comparison with June, corruption issues were not covered and programs that included the participation of parliamentary political parties, including the ruling party, were removed from program listings (the latter could be explained by parliament vacation) (see Table 21.2).

TABLE 21.2. Agenda of socio-political and economic programs – Frequency and Duration (%) - Radio Moldova

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Agriculture	54	16.4	Ceremonies, anniversaries	15270	16.2
Municipal activities (public utilities)	35	10.6	Agriculture	11676	12.4
Ceremonies, anniversaries	34	10.3	Municipal activities (public utilities)	7865	8.4
Education	33	10.0	Education	7225	7.7
Environment– water, soil, air, forestry etc.	12	3.6	Environment– water, soil, air, forestry etc.	4601	4.9
Prices	12	3.6	Government and parliamentary activities	3902	4.2
Culture	10	3.0	Protection of human rights	3092	3.3
Transportation, roads	8	2.4	Transportation, roads	2938	3.1
Government and parliamentary activities	8	2.4	Healthcare, medical insurance	2550	2.7
Factories and enterprises	8	2.4	Foreign socio-economic collaboration	2328	2.5

Social protection	7	2.1	Legislative actions	2230	2.4
Transnistria	7	2.1	Prices	1988	2.1
Foreign socio-economic collaboration	7	2.1	Social protection	1868	2.0
Healthcare, medical insurance	6	1.8	Minorities	1840	2.0
Economic success	6	1.8	Culture	1810	1.9
State and local budget	6	1.8	Mass media	1822	1.9
Mass media	5	1.5	Economic success	1718	1.8
Trade	5	1.5	Factories and enterprises	1568	1.7
Minorities	4	1.2	State and local budget	1569	1.7
Crimes, car accidents	4	1.2	Transnistria	1370	1.5
Tourism	4	1.2	Elections	1450	1.5
Unemployment	3	0.9	Crimes, car accidents	1223	1.3
Fiscal issues, taxes	3	0.9	Fiscal issues, taxes	1160	1.2
Protection of human rights	3	0.9	Tourism	1145	1.2
Elections	3	0.9	Economy	830	0.9
Government success	2	0.6	Trade	776	0.8
Social protests	2	0.6	Unemployment	635	0.7
Science	2	0.6	Government success	595	0.6
Legislative actions	2	0.6	Local public administration	520	0.6
Government and Parliament meetings	2	0.6	Census	480	0.5
Religion	2	0.6	Government and Parliament meetings	390	0.4
Government and parliament decisions	2	0.6	Religion	330	0.4
Census	2	0.6	Energy	335	0.4
Local public administration	2	0.6	Social protests	275	0.3
Energy	2	0.6	Public order	305	0.3
Economy	2	0.6	Telecommunications and information technologies	305	0.3
Privatization	1	0.3	External debts	325	0.3
Salaries	1	0.3	Small business micro-financing	270	0.3
Public order	1	0.3	Salaries	225	0.2
Diplomatic activities	1	0.3	Diplomatic activities	190	0.2
Telecommunications and information technologies	1	0.3	Science	215	0.2
Foreign assistance	1	0.3	Foreign assistance	145	0.2
Products quality	1	0.3	Government and parliament decisions	224	0.2
External debts	1	0.3	Products quality	152	0.2
Domestic debts	1	0.3	Domestic debts	223	0.2
Foreign investments	1	0.3	Foreign investments	193	0.2
Small business micro-financing	1	0.3	Sports	188	0.2
Sports	1	0.3	Employment situation	210	0.2
Employment situation	1	0.3	Privatization	75	0.1
Disasters	1	0.3	Disasters	105	0.1
Others	6	1.8	Others	1270	1.4

2.3 Social and political agents

Similarly to the previous monitoring period, the most publicized political and social agents both on TV Moldova 1, and on Radio Moldova were the presidency, government, local administration, Transnistrian authorities, civil society representatives, different business entities, different foreign and domestic agents.

The President of Moldova was mentioned 20 times (18 times in June) in the programs of TV Moldova 1, and 32 times in the programs aired by Radio Moldova (17 times in June). Although the frequency of President's coverage in absolute numbers increased compared with June, the relative numbers decreased from 13 percent to 7.3 percent on TV Moldova 1 and from 9.8 percent to 3.9 percent on Radio Moldova. This fact indicates an increase in the number of social and political agents publicized in the programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. For the same reason, Radio Moldova programs register a decrease, in relative numbers, in the frequency of participation or involvement of Government representatives - from 21.6 percent in June to 11.8 percent in August, whereas the absolute numbers of coverage frequency rose from 37 to 96.

Compared to the coverage of the President of Moldova, parliament speaker and prime-minister benefited from a smaller coverage: 2.2 percent and 3.7 percent accordingly on TV Moldova 1; 0.7 percent and 22.2 percent on Radio Moldova. Nevertheless, in comparison with June, the parliament speaker enjoyed more attention in the programs of TV Moldova 1, as well as in those of Radio Moldova.

The presence of representatives of local public administration within the programs of TV Moldova 1, and especially within those broadcast by Radio Moldova, should be mentioned as a positive moment. Their broadcast frequency on Radio Moldova grew from 4.7 percent to 16 percent, compared with June. The interest for civil society issues remained unchanged on TV Moldova 1 with a relative decrease in their frequency. Accordingly, the absolute numbers doubled on Radio Moldova, whereas the relative numbers decreased from 8.8 percent to 3.7 percent.

Transnistrian authorities were covered in TV Moldova 1 programs more frequently than the President of Moldova – 7.7 percent, and were practically ignored on Radio TV Moldova 1 – 1.0 percent.

The parliamentary opposition, „Democratic Moldova” and PPCD were covered in programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova on the same numerical level – modest compared with June. The Communist Party was entirely absent from the programs of TV Moldova 1 and had a single appearance on Radio Moldova.

The following topics were not covered at all by TV Moldova 1: justice, constitutional court, employers' organization, trade unions. Radio Moldova programs ignored the „Democratic Moldova” Alliance.

With regard to journalists' protests from Teleradio Moldova, mass media from Moldova, in its capacity of a social and political agent, appeared in 2.2 percent of programs of TV Moldova 1 and 1.8 percent of programs aired by Radio Moldova (see Table 22).

In general, just as in June, the power was most frequently in the focus of program anchors from TV Moldova 1 (43.2 percent), and from Radio Moldova (52.6 percent). The frequency of

appearance of parliamentary opposition was only 6.5 percent on TV Moldova 1, compared with 9.9 percent in June, and 0.4 percent (!!!) on Radio Moldova, compared with 2.4 percent in June. Parliamentary parties were practically absent from TV Moldova 1 programs (0.4 percent), as well as from Radio Moldova programs (0.2 percent). Other agents were present in 43.2 percent and 45.8 percent of cases accordingly (see table 23).

TABLE 22. Coverage of social and political agents – Frequency and percentage

AGENTS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
President	20	7.3	32	3.9
Presidential administration	7	2.6	1	0.1
Government	30	11.0	96	11.8
Prime-minister	10	3.7	18	2.2
Parliament	3	1.1	12	1.5
Parliament speaker	6	2.2	6	0.7
Justice, Constitutional court	0	0.0	9	1.1
Police, Ministry of Security	6	2.2	17	2.1
Financial guard, Economic Police	1	0.4	5	0.6
Local administration	20	7.3	130	16.0
Army	6	2.2	15	1.8
Communist Party	0	0.0	1	0.1
<i>Parliamentary opposition PPCD</i>	4	1.5	3	0.4
<i>Parliamentary opposition (MD)</i>	11	4.0	0	0.0
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>	1	0.4	2	0.2
Employers organization	0	0.0	2	0.2
Trade Union	0	0.0	2	0.2
Church	5	1.8	10	1.2
Civil society	12	4.4	30	3.7
Transnistrian authorities	21	7.7	8	1.0
Other domestic agents	30	11.0	69	8.5
External agents	24	8.8	67	8.2
Economic agents	28	10.3	90	11.1
Mass media	6	2.2	15	1.8
Educational and scientific institutions	11	4.0	72	8.9
Healthcare institutions	2	0.7	15	1.8
Other state institutions	9	3.3	86	10.6

TABLE 23. Distribution of broadcast space among the five categories of agents - Frequency (%)

CATEGORIES OF AGENTS	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
State authorities	43.2	52.6
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	1.5	0.4
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	4.0	0.0
Extra-parliamentary parties	0.4	0.2
Heterogeneous agents	43.2	45.8
Transnistrian authorities	7.7	1.0

2.4 Impartiality of social-political and economic programs

Differential attitude regarding social and political agents persisted in August, especially in the programs of TV Moldova 1 (see tables 24 and 25). While the presidency, government, prime minister, parliament speaker, and some local public administration representatives benefited from positive or neutral evaluations, the parliamentary opposition and mass media were appreciated in a negative or neutral way. Out of 20 references to the President of Moldova, 10 were positive and 10 neutral, and of 11 references to Democratic Moldova (MD), nine were negative and two neutral. All four references to PPCD had a negative connotation. Mass media was assessed neutrally only in two out of six cases, the rest of the evaluations were negative.

Similarly to June, Radio Moldova programs consisted only of neutral evaluations, the sole exception being the President of Moldova. Transnistrian authorities were not an exception either.

Generally, 21 out of 118 references to the state authorities made on TV Moldova 1, were positive and three of them - negative (public administration of Chisinau Municipality). **Here are some examples of programs, in which positive evaluations were given:**

Date	Program	Hour	Summary
8.08	<i>Cuibul părintesc</i>	17.30	Report on Soroca town. Only positive things were expressed on this subject, as if there were no negative aspects to be discussed.
14.08	<i>Rezonans</i>	19.00	Comments on „economic blockade” approving government actions.
15.08	<i>Baștina</i>	14.00	Discussions on issues and achievements in the field of viticulture – the anchor emphasizes the interest of country leadership in the development of this sector and its financial support through different governmental decisions.
27.08	<i>Cu credință în ziua de mâine</i>	18.25	Economic situation of Orhei district – interview with chairman of the district – only praises and nice words on district life and activities.

TABLE 24. Evaluation of social and political agents - Frequency

AGENTS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
President	10		10	1		31
Presidential administration	2		5			1
Government	4		26			96
Prime-minister	1		9			18
Parliament			3			12
Parliament speaker	1		5			6
Justice, Constitutional Court						9
Police, Ministry of Security			6			17
Financial guard, Economic police			1			5
Local administration	3	3	14			130
Army			6			15
Communist party						1
<i>Parliamentary opposition PPCD</i>		4				3
<i>Parliamentary opposition MD</i>		9	2			
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>			1			2
Employers organization						2
Trade Unions						2
Church			5			10
Civil society			12			30
Transnistrian authorities		8	13			8
Other domestic agents			30			69
External agents	2	1	21			67
Economic agents		1	27			90
Mass media		4	2			15
Educational and scientific institutions			11			72
Medical institutions			2			15
Other state institutions			9			86

Legend: + *positive evaluation*
 - *negative evaluation*
 0 *neutral evaluation*

TABLE 25. Evaluation of five categories of agents - Frequency

CATEGORIES OF AGENTS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
State authorities	21	3	94	1		427
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)		4				3
Parliamentary opposition (MD)		9	2			
Extra-parliamentary parties			1			2
Heterogeneous agents	2	6	110			372
Transnistrian authorities		8	13			8
TOTAL	23	30	220	1	0	812

Legend: + *positive evaluation*
 - *negative evaluation*
 0 *neutral evaluations*

2.5 Coverage of political parties

The frequency of coverage of political parties was insignificant, so one can say that they were almost neglected in the programs on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova (see table 25).

The parties had a 15-minute slot within the program *Tribuna Partidelor Politice* on TV Moldova 1 as well as on Radio Moldova (see table 26).

The reduction of length of political programs caused the reduction of duration of programs with direct and indirect electoral implications in favor of power from 17,922 seconds down to 9,205 seconds on TV Moldova 1 and from 7,585 seconds down to 3,070 on Radio Moldova. Nevertheless, the degree of discrimination of the opposition in programs with electoral implications in terms of frequency as well as in duration remains very high. If in programs with direct electoral implication on TV Moldova 1, the frequency ratio of the state authorities to opposition was 6:4, and in indirect programs - 8:6, the duration of coverage of state authorities was 7 times bigger in programs with direct electoral implications and almost 15 times in those with indirect electoral implications. The parliamentary opposition did not have any access to Radio Moldova, while the extra-parliamentary opposition appeared only in three cases out of 10 with a total duration of 1650 seconds, in comparison with 3070 seconds available to state authorities.

The preference for extra-parliamentary parties in programs with direct electoral implications on TV Moldova 1 are worth mentioning (see table 20).

TABLE 26. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage

PARTIES	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Christian-Democratic Party	3	3	
Democratic Moldova (“Our Moldova” Alliance , Social-Liberal Party, Democratic Party)	7	7	
National Christian Democratic Peasants’ Party (PNTCD)	2	1	1
Green Alliance of Moldova	1		1
Social-republican movement „Ravnopravie”	1		1
TOTAL	9	5	4

TABLE 20. Distribution of programs with electoral implications (direct and indirect)
Frequency and duration (seconds)

Political agents	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D
State authorities	6	4750	8	4455	7	2087	5	983
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)			3	150				
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	4	675	3	150				
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	600			3	1650		

Here are examples of programs mentioned above.

TV Moldova 1

1.1. Direct electoral implications

Date	Program	Hour	Summary
1.08	<i>Baștina</i>	14.00	Report on zootechnical sector. Discussions about Voronin's measures for the development of this sector that has been neglected by previous governments.
7.08	<i>Rezonans</i>	19.00	Comments on Putin's invitation to Voronin to participate in the celebration of Victory Day on May 9, 2005. It was mentioned that Putin „has no doubts about who the next president of Moldova will be after the parliamentary elections”.
28.08		9.10	Celebration at Căpriana Monastery – only representatives of the ruling party were present. The priest who attends the ceremony mentions that the President, Prime-minister and other officials contributed greatly to the reconstruction of the monastery. Bishop Vladimir also thanked Voronin (and other participants) for their initiative to renovate the monastery.
	<i>Rezonans</i>	19.00	A comment on Voronin's speech on Independence Day of Moldova –economic, political, social and cultural success of government is mentioned.

1.2. Indirect electoral implications

Date	Program	Hour	Summary
15.08	<i>Baștina</i>	14.00	Reportage of SRL „Sauron”; Voronin is present in this reportage. The journalist states that Government supports viticulture.
22.08	<i>Inauguration of Serpeni memorial</i>	16.40	Veterans express their gratitude to Voronin for building the memorial.
23.08	<i>Art-club</i>	18.25	President Voronin speaks about Alexandr Malinin.
28.08	<i>Rezonans</i>	19.00	Opening of Serpeni Memorial – only the state authorities are present.

			Inauguration of the alley of Moldovan rulers – only the state authorities are present
			Renovation of Căpriana Monastery, building of the road and gas pipe, all presented as successful initiatives of president Voronin.

Radio Moldova

1.1. Direct electoral implications

Date	Program	Hour	Summary
19.08	Radio matinal	7.18	State of education: the Minister of Education is invited to this program and he states that the former government promised a 50-percent increase of teachers' salaries, and the present government had to deal with the problem and double the salaries.
24.08		9.15	Voronin's opening remarks at the Victory Memorial from Chişinău – „no matter how hard the revisionists try to make us forget the names of the liberating heroes...no matter how much they try to present some fascist executioners as national heroes, the memory and truth proved to be stronger than the momentary political reasons...” Although the speech was delivered in both Romanian and Russian, the electoral implications were presented only in Russian.
27.08	Radio matinal	7.30	Flash-interviews with state officials – „... in the last 3 years measures were taken for economic revival ...”
28.08	Radio matinal	6.14	Large discounts for school supplies were made at MoldExpo exhibition with– 40-60 percent discounts ordered by the Government.
		7.18	Inauguration of the Alley of Moldovan rulers– Voronin tends to restore the integrity of our country by political and diplomatic ways, to create a harmonious multinational society.
29.08	Radio matinal	7.14	Voronin's visit to Leova – he donated classroom furniture and equipment to lyceum and gymnasium from Leova, including a set of 8 volumes of Eminescu's works.

1.2. Indirect electoral implications

Date	Program	Hour	Summary
2.08	Radio matinal	6.10	Reconstruction of Căpriană Monastery– Voronin promises to renovate the Curchi Monastery complex.
8.08	Radio matinal	8.10	Voronin promised help to a veteran from Șerpeni in publishing his books.
21.08	Radio matinal	7.10	A historical moment of Iași-Chișinău operation – the anchor reminds the listeners that year 2005 is declared the year of victory over fascism on Voronin’s initiative.
28.08	Radio matinal	7.18	Contribution of Popești and Drochia villages to the renovation of Căpriană Monastery– the program reminds the listeners that reconstruction was done on Voronin’s initiative.
30.08	Radio matinal	7.20	The Water Festival in Căușeni –Voronin’s initiative to reinforce water resources.

2.6 Coverage of socio-political actors

Similarly to June, the most publicized political actor on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs was Vladimir Voronin, who was mentioned 51 times (36 times in June), including 11 times of positive evaluation, and 40 times of neutral, formal context (see tables 28, 29).

Compared to June, Tarlev got more attention – 26 mentions, while Ostapciuc, got half that coverage amount– mentioned 13 times. Other actors received the following amount of coverage: Urecheanu -6, Șova – 6, Braghiș – 5, Gaiciuc – 5, Beniuc – 5, (...) Roșca -1(...).

It should be mentioned that references to Urecheanu and Braghiș were negative on TV Moldova 1 programs and were absent from Radio Moldova programs.

Roșca’s name was never pronounced in the programs of TV Moldova 1. State representatives benefited only from positive (Voronin) or neutral (the others) evaluations.

TABLE 28. The most publicized socio-political actors– Frequency

ACTORS	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Voronin	51	20	31
Tarlev	26	8	18
Ostapciuc	13	7	6
Urecheanu	6	6	
Șova	6	4	2
Braghiș	5	5	
Gaiciuc	5	3	2
Beniuc	5	2	3
Todoroglo	5		5
Leahu	4	3	1
Iov	4	1	3
Afanasiev	4	1	3
Mișin	3	3	
Iovv	3		3
Greceanâi	3		3
Madan	3		3

Stratan	2		2
Gagauz	2	2	
Stepaniuc	1	1	
Mișin	1		1
Papuc	1		1
Zgardan	1		1
Roșca	1		1
Cubreacov	1		1
Chirtoacă	1		1
Leahu	1		1
Teleşcu	1		1
Batog	1		1

TABLE 29 Evaluation of socio-political actors – Frequency

ACTORS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Voronin	10		10	1		30
Tarlev			8			18
Ostapciuc			7			6
Urecheanu		6				
Șova			4			2
Braghiș		5				
Gaiiciuc			3			2
Beniuc			2			3
Todoroglo						5
Leahu			3			1
Iov			1			3
Afanasiev			1			3
Mișin			3			
Iovv						3
Greceanâi						3
Madan						3
Stratan						2
Gagauz			2			
Stepaniuc			1			
Mișin						1
Papuc						1
Zgardan						1
Roșca						1
Cubriacov						1
Chirtoacă						1
Leahu						1
Teleşcu						1
Batog						1

Legend: + *positive evaluation*
- *negative evaluation*
0 *neutral evaluation*

2.7 Participants in socio-political and economic programs

The increase of program duration caused a certain growth in the number of participants in the programs of TV Moldova 1, - from 86 participants in June to 98 participants in August, and a significant growth from 118 participants up to 305 participants (2.6 times) in programs of Radio Moldova.

However, just as in June, their selection revealed an obvious discrimination of parliamentary opposition. Still, by frequency, participation of state representatives in programs dropped from 43 percent to 30.6 percent on TV Moldova 1, and from 54.2 percent to 48.6 percent on Radio Moldova. The number of participants increased 2.4 times, from 64 to 156 in the programs of Radio Moldova, and decreased a little, from 37 down to 30, in the programs of TV Moldova 1. At the same time, parliamentary opposition factions were absent from TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. (In June, the frequency of coverage of parliamentary opposition was 2.4 percent on TV TV Moldova 1 and 3.4 percent on Radio Moldova.)

The participation of extra-parliamentary parties was minimal: a single participation (1 percent) on TV Moldova 1 and 3 participations (0.9 percent) on Radio Moldova, although, similarly to June, they had some prominence compared with the parliamentary parties.

In August, the participation of civil society representatives was reduced, both in relative and absolute numbers, from 13 participations (15.1 percent) to 8 participations (8.2 percent) in the case of TV Moldova 1, and rose from 14 participations (11.9 percent) to 17 participations (5.3 percent) in case of Radio Moldova.

The participation of representatives from institutions and enterprises increased, representing 29.6 percent on TV Moldova 1, compared with 23.3 percent in June, and 29 percent on Radio Moldova, compared to 26.3 percent in June. In addition, a positive phenomenon is the significant growth of the participation of “ordinary citizens” - from 12.8 percent to 22.4 percent in programs of TV Moldova 1, and from 3.4 percent to 13.7 percent in programs of Radio Moldova (see table 30).

TABLE 30 Distribution of broadcast space among participants – Frequency and percentage

CATEGORIES OF ACTORS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
State authorities	30	30.6	156	48.6
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Parliamentary opposition (MD)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	1.0	3	0.9
Civil society – nongovernmental sector	8	8.2	17	5.3
Individual participation (ordinary people)	22	22.4	44	13.7
Transnistrian representatives (authorities)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Foreign representatives	8	8.2	8	2.5
Representatives of other institutions and enterprises	29	29.6	93	29.0

2.8 Program pluralism

Frequently, in conflicting circumstances, the presenter does not offer space for the right of response or does not get informed from diverse sources. Only in 30.3 percent of cases, the TV Moldova 1 anchors use two or more sources. The relevant number for Radio Moldova is 39.2 percent (see table 31).

TABLE 31 Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage

CATEGORIES OF ACTORS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
One source	69	69.7	175	60.8
Two or more sources	30	30.3	113	39.2

Below are some examples of these programs.

TV Moldova 1

Date	Program	Hour	Summary
7.08	Rezonans	19.00	Starâş makes comments on declarations made by Our Moldova Alliance concerning the new export rules from Transnistria and mentions Braghis' economic interests in Transnistrian region.
13.08	Problema la zi	19.35	Transnistrian issue. Only state representatives are participating.
14.08	Rezonans	19.00	The declaration of Democratic Moldova regarding the situation from Transnistria is criticized and the leadership actions are praised.
			Comments on I. Savolski's visit (a Russian representative). The opposition and opposition newspapers are criticized.
			Ukraine is criticized for violating the agreement with Moldova (its attitude towards Transnistria).
			Discussions about the relations among leaders from Tiraspol and opposition leaders from Chişinău, it is mentioned that Urecheanu supports Belkovski's plan and Braghiş has economic interests in Transnistria.
			Comments on real estate conflict between Moldpresa and Interactiv, only the perspective of Moldpresa is presented.
28.08	Rezonans	19.00	Comments on Urecheanu's statement that he will negotiate with Smirnov and not confront him in case he comes to power.
			Reportage concerning the neglect of military monuments by mayor Urecheanu.
			Reportage entitled „Scandal” regarding the authorization by the Mayor's Office of the meeting against Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.
			Comments on Mayor's decision not to organize the fireworks show on Independence Day. Only Gaiciuc's opinion is presented.

2.9 Coverage language

Duration of programs in Russian represents 22.8 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 0.9 percent on Radio Moldova.

TABLE 32.1 Coverage languages – Frequency and percentage

CATEGORIES OF ACTORS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
Romanian	50	50.5	286	99.3
Russian	49	49.5	2	0.7

TABLE 32.2 Coverage languages – Duration and percentage

CATEGORIES OF ACTORS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
Romanian	58829	77.2	93154	99.1
Russian	17415	22.8	840	0.9

2.10 Individual conclusions

1. In August, the topics of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs did not suffer any significant structural adjustments. The chosen subjects, as well as program scenarios reveal mainly the concern for the power's interests, for the result of the next election campaign, rather than the interests of the audience. The fact that the above-mentioned program did not cover the topic of the journalists' protests is very eloquent.
2. Political debates are missing. The coverage of the opposition and its access to TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova was reduced, so that its quasi-absence can be noticed within the programs of these public outlets. The fact that CPM is treated in the same way is more a stratagem designed to disguise the discrimination of opposition parties, since an excessive and biased advertisement of the authorities is an electoral service done to the Communist Party.
3. A positive phenomenon is the increase in the number of "uninvolved" participants from the category of "ordinary citizens", but the restriction of access for civil society and NGO representatives seems to be framed again in the stratagem for limiting the opinions that could be displeasing to the authorities.
4. The main weekly political program in Russian broadcast by TV Moldova 1, *Rezonans*, remains a mouthpiece and an "advertising weapon" of the power that hits mercilessly (and without the right for response) its real and virtual opponents. The lack of a weekly political program in Romanian is suggestive.

III. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

3.1 *Factual argumentation*

Monitoring allows us to claim that:

- censorship **continues to be applied**, Teleradio Moldova being the object of some political intervention;
- there is an **unbalanced** representation of society interests.
- editorial independence during the conception and production of socio-political programs as well as in editing and broadcasting of information programs and newscasts **is lacking** ;

Example: The pluralism of opinions is compromised. The power is intensively and massively publicized, whereas the parliamentary opposition is almost missing from the news (see table 6, table 7, table 9, and table 10). Moreover, the state agents are presented exclusively in a positive or neutral way, except for the local administration, which gets only negative or neutral evaluations. Other state representatives were never evaluated negatively in news programs. By comparison, opposition parties are evaluated exclusively in a negative or neutral way, and on the Radio the frequency of their negative evaluation is as high as the frequency of their neutral evaluation (see table 11, table 12). If some representatives of the opposition are mentioned on the Radio (very seldom compared with power's representatives), then on Television they are practically invisible (see table 15), Urecheanu being an exception. Moreover, the number of negative estimates is, generally, larger than the number of neutral estimates (see table 16). The quality of news raises concern, especially their impartiality and objectivity: only one source has been used in 98 percent of news on Television and in 90 percent of news on the Radio.

Another question is to what degree the news and programs treat the most stringent problems of society, in other words, how strong do they correlate with the general interests of the population. Tables 8.1, 8.2, 21.1 and 21.2 show that burning and conflicting issues such as social protests, corruption, prices, protection of human rights etc. are treated much less than certain non-conflicting or less conflicting issues: ceremonies, anniversaries, education, culture, government success.

The same fundamental problems mentioned in reference to newscasts are valid for the programs. The pluralism of opinions is completely neglected: broadcast space granted to opposition and extra-parliamentary parties is so small that it is difficult to determine what share it represents from the space granted to the state authorities (table 23). The evaluation of the opponents of central power is mostly negative; however, none of the agents of central public administration ever receive a negative evaluation (table 24, table 25). For every 30 appearances of state authorities on Television and 156 on Radio, there is no appearance of the opposition (table 30). Only 30 percent of programs on Television and 40 percent on Radio use more than one source (table 31).

Along with the disturbing nature of relevant quantitative data, the quality of reportages and programs, news messages with direct and indirect electoral implications raise concern. Whether it is about the renovation of wells, computers for schools or other donations – everything takes place on the initiative of the president of the country, Tarlev and Ostapciuc being also involved in this kind of actions. Everything has been advancing since they came to power. On the other hand, the local public administration from Chişinău is presented as responsible for the problem

of rats and homeless dogs, PPCD is blamed for extremism, PPCD and Democratic Moldova leaders are accused for suspicious relations with Smirnov etc. In case the objective presentation of an event could have any negative influence upon power, the reportage is confused and distorted so that it is impossible to understand its message (E.g. broadcast of the electoral program of Democratic Moldova within the news from 25.08.04, or the reportage about the journalists' protests). During the week of celebration of the so-called liberation of Moldova from fascists, this issue dominated the news at the expense of important issues, such as Transnistrian crisis or Teleradio crisis, the latter being almost neglected. On certain days (for example, August 27-28) President Voronin was mentioned in all the news subjects except "International news", "Sports" and "Weather Forecast".

The rule is that the news should be presented through the perspective of a single approach – the officials' position.

The way the journalists' protests and strike were covered on Teleradio Moldova is simply shocking. The violent attack of police on journalists, an event of greatest significance, was ignored. While the journalists were declaring hunger strike, Television was silent, as if no real problem existed. Journalists wrote many statements, resolutions, notifications but none of these were publicized on television that is supposed to be public. Most of the protesting journalists are well-known individuals and their fate and perspectives represent much interest for the public, therefore some objective reportages could have increased the audience of the public outlet. The few reportages that were broadcast were obviously biased, emphasis being laid on doubtful ideas like "political manipulation", "destabilization of situation before the elections", "misinformation" etc.

3.2 Legal argumentation

The factual monitoring report of the (declared) radio and television public outlets shows the **violation** by Radio Moldova and TV Moldova 1 of their commitments, established by the Law of the Republic of Moldova on the national public broadcaster "Teleradio Moldova."

In particular, **the Company did not observe its obligations stipulated** in article 4, paragraph (2) "(a) to safeguard citizens' right to information by an **objective and impartial presentation** of socio-political, internal and international events, by **free expression** of ideas and opinions and by free flow of information") and article 5, paragraph (2) ("the Company will offer a **large variety of programs that would be in the interests of different social, national, religious, political groups etc.**), paragraph (3) ("The Company will observe **the principles of impartiality and objectivity** while broadcasting information programs, documentaries and some current events magazines), paragraph (4) (The Company programs should: a) meet **professional quality standards; b) serve the society's interests; c) actively contribute to the formation of a free public opinion; (...)** e) **cultivate the respect for other opinions and convictions**"), and paragraph (7) ("**News programs shall bear an impartial, independent and truthful character.** Commentary must be separated from news.")

3.3 OSCE and CoE recommendations

The OSCE Mission to Moldova and the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe elaborated an act called *Benchmarks for the operation of public broadcasters in Moldova*. Although this act offers many details concerning the functioning principles of a public radio-television company, the current monitoring proves that it is ignored. For example, principles 9-12 of the Benchmarks are frequently infringed upon by TV Moldova 1, in spite of the fact that they are very clearly formulated: "9. The programs regarding the President's and

Government's activities must include or must be followed by statements or comments of opposition representatives and representatives of institutions or organizations directly affected by these activities. 10. In case the program includes sharp criticism or accusation of injustice or incompetence against a person or organization, or, in case the accusations made by third parties are stated in a program, the persons subject to criticism must be given the opportunity to answer. Generally, the answer or balancing information must be included in the first broadcast of the news or program that includes the material. The institution of audiovisual must announce when the answer or the balancing information cannot be promptly obtained, or when the object of the accusations refuses to make comments. The answer or balancing information will be publicized immediately when it appears. In particular, when a government representative or a member of the parliamentary majority criticizes an individual or an organization directly, the individual's reaction or the reaction of the organization must be included in the program or must follow immediately. Generally, the time given for the answer must be the same as the time used for criticism. 11. In case the President of the country or the Prime minister gives an interview longer than 3 minutes on public television or radio, the leaders of parliamentary factions must be granted the possibility to comment on it. 12. Representatives of nongovernmental organizations shall have access to public television and radio in order to express their opinions regarding the situation or government actions in their field of activity."

Monitoring proves the violation of all the stipulations of the Benchmarks: lack of accuracy, objectivity and impartiality, lack of two (verified) independent sources, lack of equal broadcast time for government representatives and parliamentary majority on the one hand, and opposition on the other hand, etc.

3.4 The role of the Council of Observers

The Council of Observers is the body responsible for the supervision of the compliance of Teleradio-Moldova with its public service mission. CO, in accordance with the provisions of its Regulation dated 07.07.2003, has the task to assure the accomplishment of citizens' and society rights to get informed, to receive complete and timely information, being qualified, for this purpose, to monitor the Company's observance of its legal and statutory provisions. In accordance with paragraphs 10 and 11 of its Regulation, the main tasks of CO are "observance of public interest, promotion and protection of independence and universality of the Company's editorial policy. CO ensures the observance by the Company's employees of ethical norms, contributes to the implementation of high professional standards, and maintenance of balance and variety in the content of broadcast programs". We hope that the present monitoring will be a sufficient basis for the Council of Observers and leadership of the Company to adopt/apply the necessary measures for correcting the deficiencies in the activity of Teleradio-Moldova, establishing a balance in representing all perspectives on Moldovan political trends and social categories. Otherwise, we cannot consider that Teleradio-Moldova and its Council of Observers are in the public service as a whole.

3.5 The issue of broadcast hours

The public character of Teleradio-Moldova is diminished by the reduced number of broadcast hours in general (for television) that do not allow a sufficient coverage of all issues existing in the society and do not allow everybody to feel that the public television is their own television, since society's interests are not always met. At the same time these programs should be nationwide by their content to a greater extent than other services, thus, the company should prioritize the problems from Moldova.

In August, the number of broadcast hours, in general, was below any standards: it is inadmissible for a public outlet to broadcast for only about 5 hours per day. We have a country full of people who spend their time at home: pensioners, the disabled, unemployed, mothers with small children, peasants who have less work to do during the cold season. These people expect from the public television programs about them and for them or, at least, some programs. They are disillusioned when they turn on the TV. These people have to invest in things, which are too expensive for them, such as, the cable or satellite antenna or, remain with nothing because the public television does not fulfil its role stipulated by the law.

3.6 Final conclusion

It has been more than two years since the law that created the legal framework for the transformation of Teleradio-Moldova State Company into a public service broadcaster was adopted. However, this process has been and is still being used to simulate the transformation. The “public” programs aired on radio and television show clearly their political bias and censorship in favor of the power. Public opinion continues to be manipulated with the help of Teleradio-Moldova and monitoring data prove to us that this manipulation is not done in a subtle way but in an obvious, ostentatious way.

Although on August 8, TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova were declared public institutions through their socio-political, political and economic news and programs, they continue to be state structures that give priority to the political interest over the public interest.

Annex

CASE STUDY:

Coverage of protests and strike from Teleradio Moldova in the news and programs of this company (August 1-31, 2004)

Statistical data. News programs from August 2004 on TV Moldova 1 covered the issue of transformation of Teleradio Moldova into a public institution and journalists' strike from this company 20 times. Their duration was 2,505 seconds.

Radio Moldova covered this issue in 55 news items with a total duration of 6,416 seconds.

After August 20, TV Moldova 1, as well as Radio Moldova, without any reason, ceased to present news about this problem in their information programs. A possible justification could exist: execution of a confidential order.

"TV Moldova 1": The sole reportage that presented this problem was broadcast on August 1. However, the violent attack by the police, an event of great interest, was completely ignored; neither the event nor the consequences were mentioned. No interview was taken from the protesters or other people who were supporting them. On August 2-3, only reportages on receiving licenses and concluding agreements were broadcast, but nothing about protesters. The problem was neglected for several days, and was discussed again on August 7-8 with direct and indirect accusations brought by the president of the Company, Ilie Teleşcu. On August 10, a short statement appeared about problems related to the protesters in the six o'clock news. Only the Company's perspective regarding the signing of agreements was presented in the news from August 11. On August 12, a program was broadcast, in which only Teleşcu appeared and only his opinion was expressed: it seems that he reacted to some accusations brought against him during the press conference of APEL. However, the conference itself is not mentioned and there is no reportage about it. On August 15, a few images from the protesters' meeting were broadcast but the emphasis was laid on the fact that there are only few persons protesting and even together with the opposition they cannot represent even a quarter of the number of the Company employees. The number of protesters was not mentioned and no interview was taken from them. Compelled by the circumstances, the television returned to the problem on August 19, on the occasion of a Round Table organized on the issue of the radio-television crisis by the "2005 Coalition for Free and Fair Elections", under the auspices of the OSCE. The reportage in Russian was lower in quality than the one in Romanian because in the latter there appeared at least an overall image from the round table and an interview with one of the protesters. An interview with Radio director S. Batog, was broadcast exclusively in the Romanian reportage. However, both in the first and in the second reportage the emphasis was laid on the speech of S. Batog who spoke about misinformation, destabilization and political affiliation.

On August 20, another vague reportage on this issue emphasizing the Company position was broadcast. It is the last reportage from August that mentioned the protesters. During the period August 20 - 31 nothing was mentioned about this. While several journalists were declaring hunger strike, the Television kept silent, as if no problem existed. Journalists wrote a series of press releases, resolutions, notifications, but none of them were publicized on the television that is called public.

Radio Moldova: The news was obviously partial and revealed political affiliation with the Communist Party, since the protests were treated with cynicism in 90 percent of cases. The radio was always emphasizing the fact that the protests were guided by the opposition parties. No interviews had been taken from the protesters and their opinion was very rarely presented. Nevertheless, Batog and Teleșcu's positions were intensely publicized. The number of misinforming news was astonishing. In the news from August 1 nothing was mentioned about the police attack on protesters and, to our surprise, we found out that "reactionary demonstrators attacked the police from Radio Moldova building but the police resisted the attack."

Only two reportages respected the principle of objectivity and impartiality during the whole month: the first was on August 2, when the issue of re-employment and protests was presented both from the perspective of a protester (A. Aramă) and the administration of the Company (S. Batog). The second reportage of this kind was broadcast on August 12, at 23.10 and re-broadcast on August 13 at 6:00, on the occasion of APEL press conference, with footage from findings of experts from APEL. It should be noticed that the latter reportage was broadcast during hours of minimum audience.

Practically every news item contained serious accusations against the opposition but its position was never presented and none of those accused was interviewed. On August 4, a large misinformation campaign started with extremely doubtful news and serious accusations without any references to a credible source (ex. August 4: "we have been informed by a protester who preferred to keep his anonymity"), without granting the right of response to the accused. There was no reference to any press agency; it is obvious that the news was composed at Teleradio. Roșca, Braghiș, Urecheanu, Susarenco were always presented in negative context, and their presumed relation with Smirnov was stressed. Thus, the news program from August 7 claimed, with no concrete reference that „the town hall employees are obliged, under the threat of losing their job, to participate in the journalists' protests”.

The news programs from August 8 mentioned, presumptively, the „synchronization” of journalists' protests with the closing of Romanian schools in Transnistria, blocking of the railway and seizure of electric power supply there. Protesters were mentioned only from the perspective of their political involvement and as being manipulated by the opposition parties. Moldpres was being rarely cited as an information source, whereas other press agencies were never quoted. The period of August 4-15 was full of grave accusations, then a break followed, and on August 20 the last news item from August about protests was broadcast. No news about the hunger strike was aired afterwards either on TV Moldova 1 or on Radio Moldova. Moreover, the biased reportages were broadcast often or extremely often, whereas the reportages that bore a more neutral character were not only very scarce but were also covered once or, at most, twice.

Most protesting journalists are well-known individuals and their fate and opinions present interest for the public. In this case some objective reportages could have increased the audience of the public outlet. The few reportages that were produced were obviously biased, emphasizing the doubtful ideas like "political manipulation", "destabilization of situation before the elections", "misinformation" etc.

Partiality of news. Both the process of transformation of the State Company Teleradio Moldova into a public institution and the journalists' protests against the unfolding of this process, which have advocates as well as adversaries, represent events of conflicting nature. From this perspective, in order to provide a comprehensive and fair information of the public, it

was necessary to present the news in an balanced manner, i.e. providing a large variety of opinions, using a diversity of sources, balance of social actors, etc.

The transformation of the state company into a public institution was evaluated in an exclusively positive way, the news being presented in a pathetically triumphant manner. The abundance of news about the company receiving a broadcasting license, the completion of the contest, the hiring of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova staff aimed to convince the public of the quasi-total correctness of the process, by which the new public audiovisual institution was established.

On the contrary, journalists' protests against the way the whole process of transformation of the state Television and Radio Company into a public institution was organized were interpreted in an exclusively negative way, the news being presented in a denigrating, sarcastic or ironic manner, particularly in the case of the news aired on Radio Moldova. The news were conceived in such a way so that the public could be persuaded that the actions of the protesters are ungrounded, are totally guided by the rightist political forces (PPCD, MD, PSDM), by the Chisinau Mayor's Office, and even by the separatist leader Smirnov. The news also focused on the split among the protesters and the discord among the civil society.

TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova proved their partiality also by developing their news agenda in a selective and preferential way. Thus, the programs avoided the hunger strike, the police intervention from August 1, and the night of August 6-7, the attitudes of some domestic and international bodies with regard to the transformation process of Teleradio Moldova into a public institution. Meanwhile, the programs emphasized the incorrectness in the behavior of the protesters with regard to some employees, etc.

The lack of diversity of sources in mass media-related news. Both TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova covered the above-mentioned contradictory events mainly from one perspective. With insignificant exceptions (two news items on TV Moldova 1 and four on Radio Moldova), the vast majority of the news (69 or more than 90 percent) offered mainly one perspective on the events covered. The news and reportages almost failed to include the opinions of the members of the Council of Observers, independent experts, protesters, representatives of Moldovan civil society, etc. The political and social agents and actors targeted or accused of implication in the protests did not benefit from the right to defense.

For example, during three days, August 12, 13, 15, Radio Moldova aired news from Moldpres, which questioned the legality of the authorization of the protests in front of the Radio and Television granted by the deputy-mayor of Chisinau, Gheorghe Susarenco. However, his opinion was not solicited.

Conclusions. The mass media-related news broadcast on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova in August prove that these outlets remain tributary to the obsolete standards, inherent to the state audiovisual institutions from the communist regime. The events were not reflected in an objective, comprehensive and impartial manner; the general interest of the society was not respected, and the right of the public to complete, truthful and timely information was ignored. The news failed not meet professional quality standards.

The Teleradio Moldova Company has not achieved its objectives established in Articles 1 and 2 of the Law on the national public service broadcaster from 26.07.2002 and did not respect the duties stipulated in Article 4 of this Law. Consequently, we cannot speak about the real existence of a public broadcaster in Moldova.