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CIVIS

CENTRU DE ANALIZĂ ȘI INVESTIGAȚII SOCIOLOGICE,
POLITOLOGICE ȘI PSIHOLOGICE

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

Project funded by the OSCE Mission to Moldova, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), the Dutch, British and U.S. Embassies in Moldova

**Report
1-31 October 2004**

Chișinău, 2004

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METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The monitoring was carried out between 1-30 October 2004 according to the following *timetable*:

| Channel | Weekdays | 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 subject to monitoring.

Unit of analysis:

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

Objective: the degree of observance of the Law on the national public broadcaster, in the part that establishes the main objectives of the company (Article 2):

- a) Granting the society free access to information;
- b) Objective and comprehensive coverage of all aspects of socio-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, respecting the general interests of the society;
- d) Reflecting the interests of all social strata, promoting peace, humanism, and other democratic values.

Team and responsibilities:

CIVIS: quantity monitoring, factual monitoring report.

IJC experts: comments, analytical report, and conclusions.

Glossary of terms

News classification

- *Internal socio-political news*
 - **news on internal political relations** – news about the activity of state and public institutions, local administration, the army
 - **economic news** – news on economic relations and internal economic issues
 - **social news** – news on social and cultural subjects
 - **external relations news** – news about the relationships between political, economic and social agents from Moldova and from other countries
- *Other internal news* – domestic issues without socio-political and economic implications
- *International news* – current international issues with or without political implications

Program classification

- *Socio-political programs* – programs on social issues involving political agents/actors
- *Political programs* – programs about the life and activity of state institutions
- *Economic programs* – programs about economic relations and internal economic problems

Electoral implications

- *News/programs with direct electoral implications* – referring to the electoral implications on the eve of 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 launching a contest for the cleanest well)

Method of coverage

- *Ordinary coverage circumstances* – coverage of daily events
- *Conflicting coverage circumstances* – coverage of events initiated by various conflicting parties
- *Formal coverage circumstances* – coverage of ceremonies and festive events

Categories of agents

- *Political and social state agents* – Presidency, Presidential Staff, 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' organizations, trade unions, the church, civil society, other domestic or foreign agents

Categories of actors

- *Political and social state actors* (President, Prime Minister, Parliament Speaker, other presidential staff, Government; leaders or members of the Communist Party and other state-affiliated persons)
- *Uninvolved social and political actors* (actors other than state and opposition party actors)

Evaluation methods

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

- *Negative evaluation* – anchors criticize or make unfavorable/partial presentations with regard to agents and actors
- *Neutral evaluation* – anchors make equidistant presentations with regard to agents and actors

Categories of participants in 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 newscasts 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. For instance, if the opinions of President Voronin and Prime Minister Tarlev are presented, there is a single source – that of the authorities.

General conclusions

Although the data of the October monitoring of newscasts show some positive transformations that foster the values of a public broadcaster, they are not enough to state that Teleradio Moldova has achieved the status of a public company.

1. The newscast agenda shows that TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova continue to cover daily life through the eyes of state authorities, to the detriment of public interest.
2. Newscasts continue to cover social events selectively, without observing the principles of balance and complexity.
3. TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova continue to give priority to state agents and actors in the newscasts.
4. Newscasts fail to adhere strictly to the principles of impartiality and political pluralism in the coverage of developments in the Moldovan society.
5. Newscasts on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova are continuously marked by political partisanship, offer limited access of opposition political forces, as well as of the civil society to the public broadcaster.
6. The diversity of sources has not become a standard for conceiving news on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.

The monitoring of socio-political, political and economic programs shows that not all the positive tendencies observed in September – diversification of topic agenda, reduction in the number and duration of programs with direct and indirect electoral implication, a certain decrease in the frequency of covering state representatives, of positive evaluations in case of authorities and of negative ones in case of the opposition – were confirmed in October. An increase in the number of programs with electoral implication, especially on TV Moldova 1, is again attested, and the frequency and duration of broadcasting of authorities has not decreased.

The neutral attitude of the anchors, especially on Radio Moldova, does not have the proper effect if the program is about the 'governance's successes' or if the right to response and presentation of two and more sources is not observed within it. We note the still important weight of such programs both on TV Moldova 1 and on Radio Moldova.

In the case of TV Moldova 1, the appearance of debates on general interest subjects deserves encouragement.

The participation in programs and coverage of the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition continues to remain a desideratum obstinately ignored on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova, which undermines the status of public institution of Teleradio Moldova Company.

The general conclusion is that the positive tendencies did not prevail over the negative ones – there was preponderance of the voice of state authorities, lack of objectivity, impartiality, and of political pluralism. As a result Teleradio-Moldova Company did not manage to honor its mission of public broadcaster.

This conclusion is also confirmed by the case study on the coverage in the newscasts of “Teleradio Moldova” Company of the cases of (presumably illegal) allotment by the Chisinau City Hall of land plots in the city’s green and historical zones.

The way this subject was covered, especially the approaches within the analytical program “Rezonans”, denotes anticipated implications in the electoral campaign, which, according to the status of public broadcaster, is not admissible.

The press is entitled to inform not only about facts, but also about opinions, but opinions should never be presented as facts, as they are on TV Moldova 1. At the same time, the freedom of speech should not infringe on the presumption of innocence principle. These standards resulting from the national legislation, as well as from the jurisprudence of the European Court for Human Rights, were not observed.

I. NEWSCASTS

General observations

In October, Teleradio Moldova Company continued to strengthen the socio-political broadcasting segment. According to the data provided by CIVIS, such programs covered 225.25 hours in this period (as compared to 201.07 in September and 196.4 in August). In other words, the share of these programs in the Company's general listings rose from 22.8 percent in August to 23.4 percent in September, up to 26.22 percent in October. This vector was common both for TV Moldova 1 and for Radio Moldova. Thus, the television broadcast 74.05 hours of such programs in October (as compared to 56.45 hours in September and 54.43 hours in August), and the radio – 151.2 hours (144.22 hours in September and 141.57 hours in August).

We would also note that the tendency of increasing the share of opinion socio-political programs at the expense of newscasts, attested in September, strengthened in October. This tendency was more strongly noted on Radio Moldova, where the news made up 77.43 percent of the duration of socio-political broadcasts (in September - 79 percent, August – 81.56 percent). The behavior of TV Moldova 1 in this respect was oscillatory. After an over 12-percent reduction in duration of newscasts in August and return to the June share in September (74.7 percent), a new decline in the newscasts – to 61.24 percent of the socio-political broadcasts – takes places in October.

The data of the monitoring conducted in October almost entirely confirm the assumption formulated in the previous reports, and namely: *Teleradio Moldova Company strengthens the socio-political segment and consolidates opinion socio-political programs at the expense of newscasts.*

1.1 General agenda of news

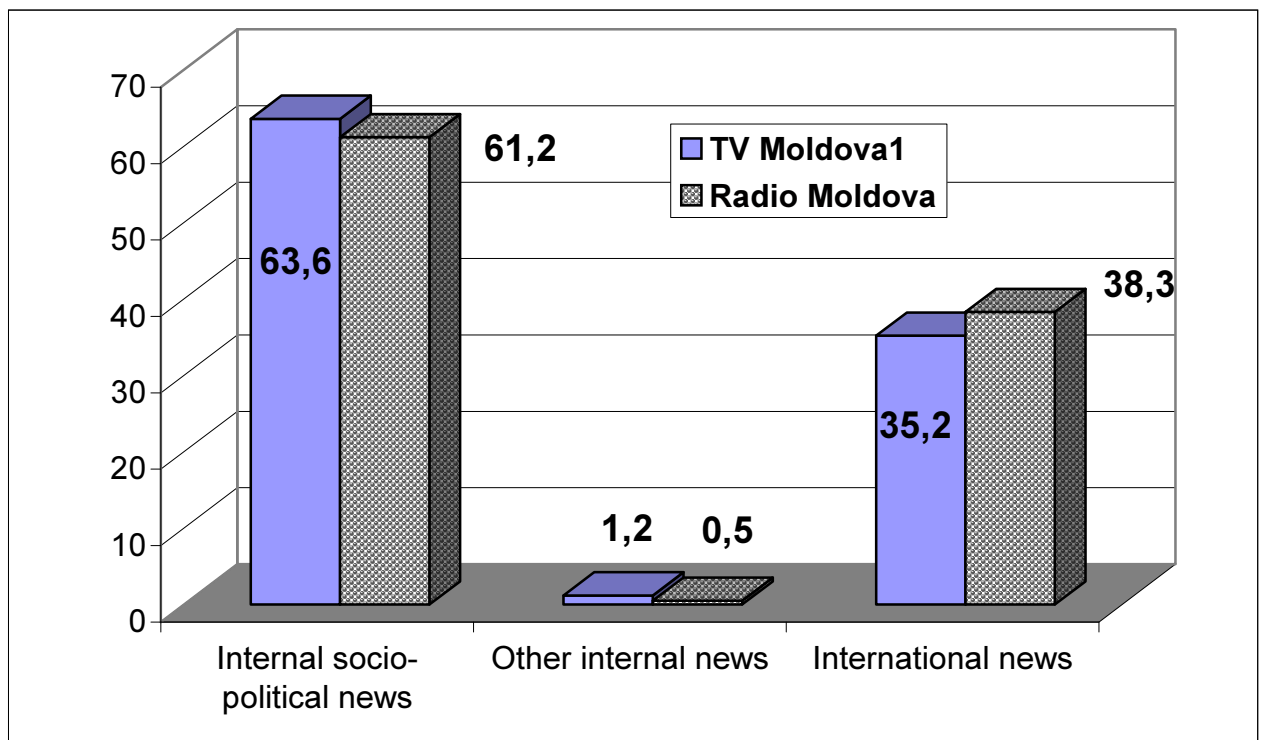
The general agenda of news presented by TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova was almost fully maintained at the level noted in the preceding monitoring months.

Thus, internal socio-political news, continuing to remain a priority both for Radio Moldova and Moldova 1, were practically presented with the same frequency and duration as in the previous months. They accumulated 63.6 percent in frequency and 76.7 % in duration on TV Moldova 1, and 61.2 and 81.1 percent, respectively, on Radio Moldova. A nearly similar picture was noted for international news, classified second, and for other internal news, which continue to have an insignificant presence (between 1.2 and 0.3 percent in frequency and duration) (see tables 1 and 2, graphs 1.2 and 2.2.). It looks like this co-relation is the model that Teleradio Moldova Company will continue to promote.

TABLE 1. General agenda - FREQUENCY

| NEWS TYPE | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|--------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Internal socio-political | 1316 | 63.6 | 3231 | 61.2 |
| Other internal news | 25 | 1.2 | 29 | 0.5 |
| International | 727 | 35.2 | 2023 | 38.3 |

Graph 1.1.
General agenda – Frequency (%)



Graph 1.2.
General agenda – October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%)

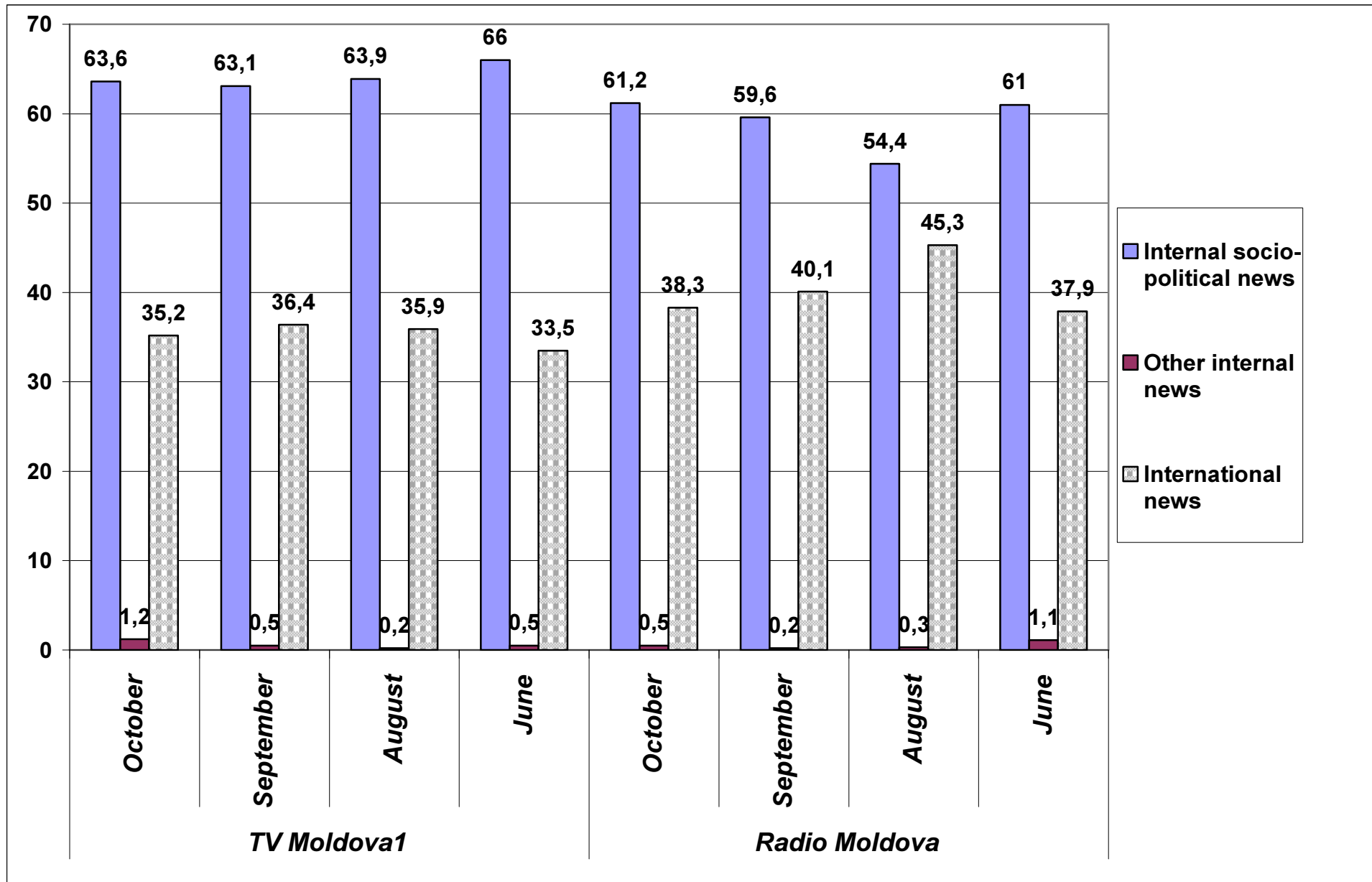
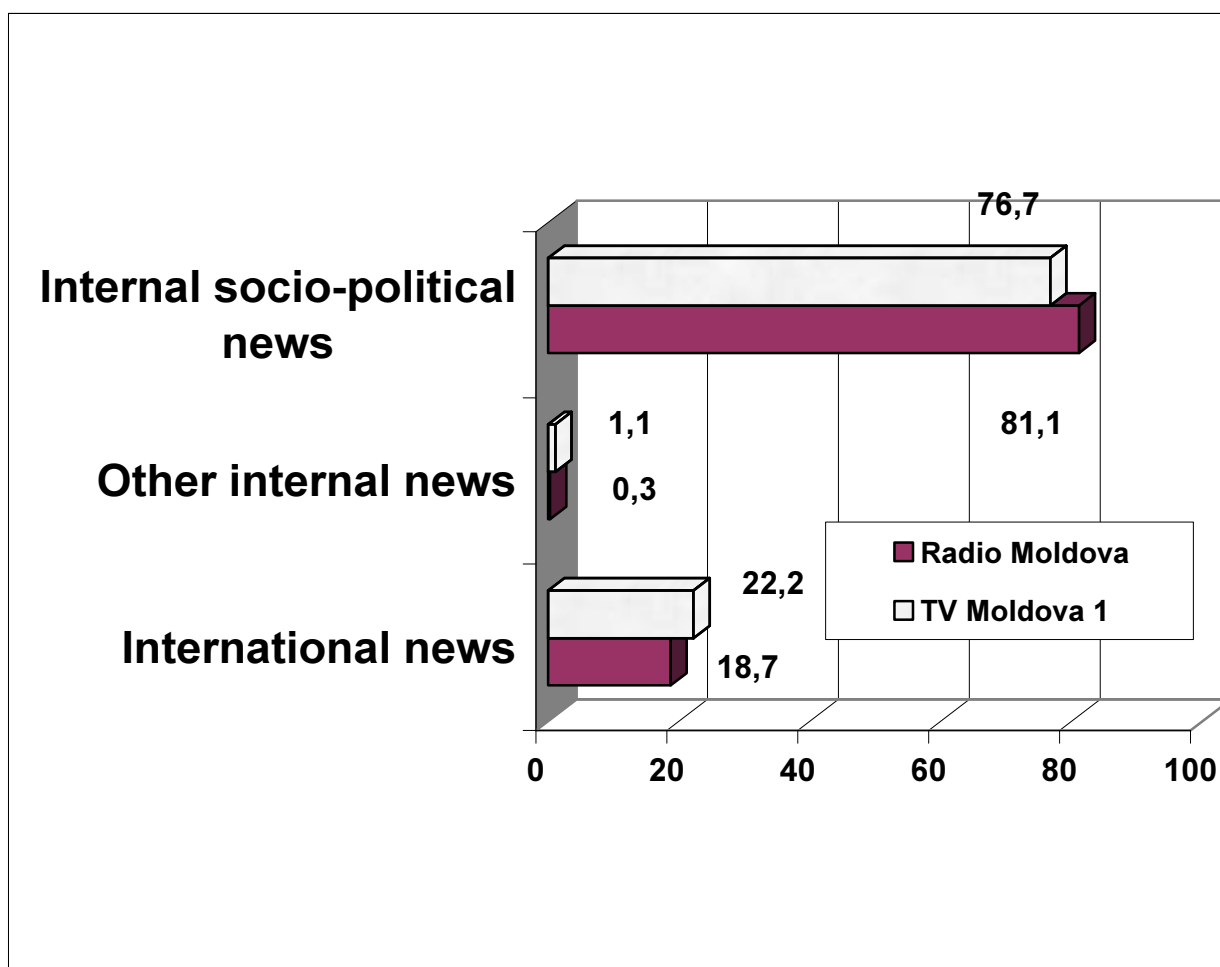


TABLE 2. General agenda - DURATION

| NEWS TYPE | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | D* | % | D | % |
| Internal socio-political news | 125280 | 76.7 | 340528 | 81.1 |
| Other internal news | 1753 | 1.1 | 1144 | 0.3 |
| International news | 36260 | 22.2 | 78392 | 18.7 |

Graph 2.1.

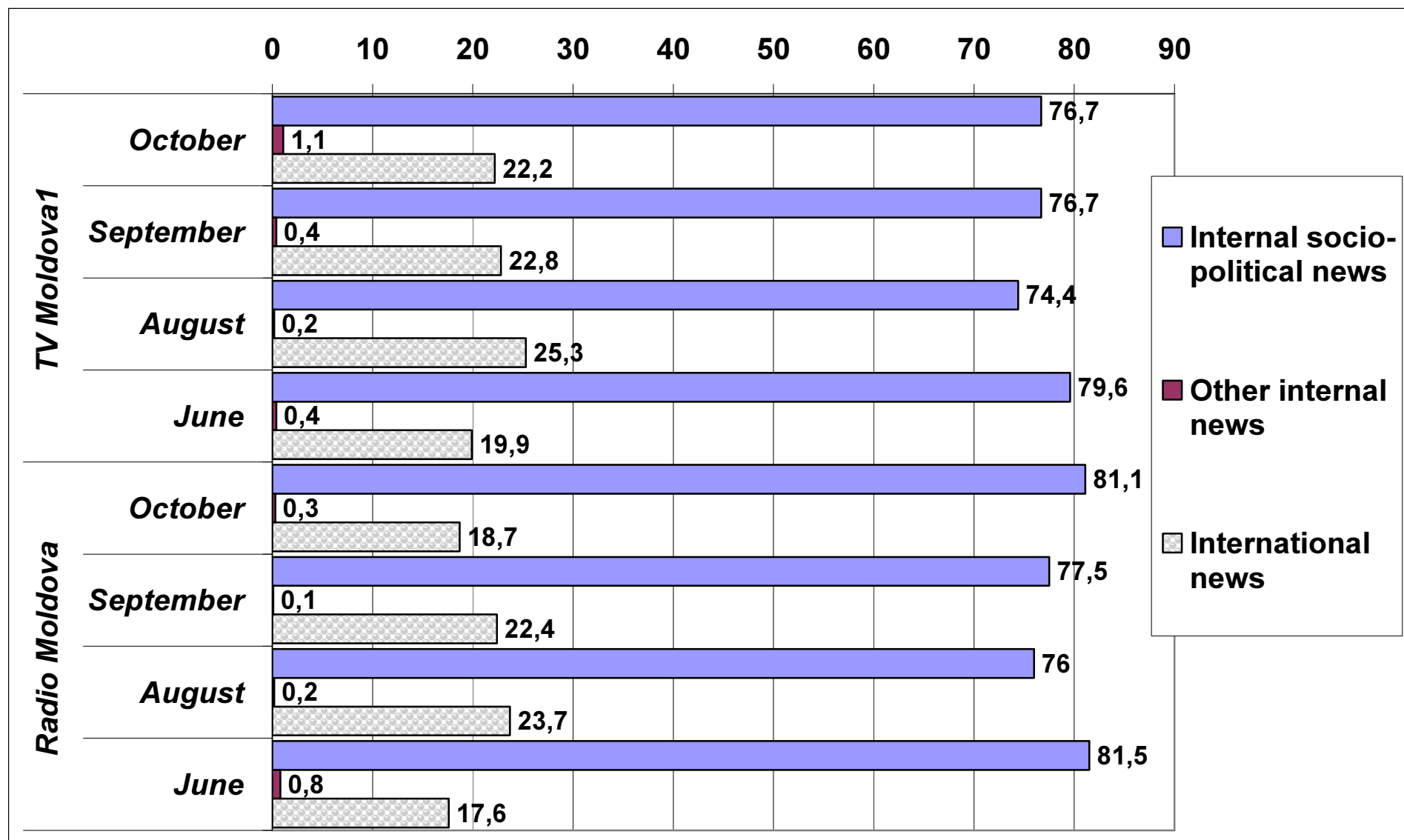
General agenda – Duration (%)



* Duration is presented in seconds

Graph 2.2.

General agenda – October/September/August/June compared Duration (%)



1.2 Typological register of internal socio-political news

In October, Teleradio Moldova Company continued to give priority to social news in comparison with other types of internal socio-political news. Thus, of the total amount of internal socio-political news, they accumulated 44.9 percent in frequency and 50.7 percent in duration on TV Moldova 1, and 32.2 and 38.7 percent, respectively, on Radio Moldova. These indices mark a tendency and are comparable with the ones attested in the previous monitoring months (see tables 3 and 4, and graphs 3.2 and 4.2). In our opinion, such a ranking of social news is justified and represents a quality of a public broadcasting service. At the same time, as the subsequent statistics show, social events continue to be mainly presented through the eyes of the authorities, and not of the citizens, which diminishes the public character of the Company.

News on internal political relations declined in quantity in the period August-October. Thus, this category of news registered 21.8 percent in frequency and 19.5 percent in duration of the total socio-political news broadcast in October on TV Moldova 1 (as compared to 27 percent in frequency and 26 percent in duration in September, and 38 and 35 percent, respectively, in August). A similar situation was also attested on Radio Moldova. Radio internal political news constituted in October 20.1 percent in frequency and 20.7 percent in duration (compared to 23 percent in frequency and 24 percent in duration in September, and 25 and 24 percent, respectively, in August). The respective dosage of internal political news seems to be reasonable. Now it only remains for it to observe political pluralism and represent political agents and actors in a balanced way. However, this, as we will further show, does not happen.

In October, foreign relation news had practically the same presence as in the previous months (this is the case of Radio Moldova, where in October they accumulated 32.9 percent in frequency and 26.4 percent in duration, something similar to September, with 32 and 25 percent respectively), or registered a certain increase (the case of TV Moldova 1, which increased the foreign relation news in frequency from 17 in September to 22.9 percent in October, and in duration – from 14 in September to 19.2 percent in October).

This category of news reviewed by countries of reference shows a certain decrease in the interest for CIS countries, and, on the contrary, a slight increase thereof for the rest of the world. Thus, CIS presence in the newscasts on TV Moldova 1 made up 19 percent in October, 7 percent less than in September and 5 percent less than in August. Radio Moldova reserved 26 percent of the total of foreign relation news to CIS topics in October, 3 percent less than in September and 3 percent more than in August. The European space west of Moldova was covered in October on TV Moldova 1 in proportion of 35 percent (in September – 33 percent and 35 percent – in August), and on Radio Moldova - in October – in proportion of 38 percent (in September – 38 percent and August – 32 percent). USA and the rest of the world benefited in October from 46 percent of the foreign news on TV Moldova 1 (in September – 41 percent and in August – 42 percent), and on Radio Moldova – 37 percent in October and, respectively, 38 percent in September, and 36 percent in August.

In October, Russia's presence in the newscasts decreased, making up 6 percent on TV Moldova 1 (compared to 11 percent in September and 9 percent in August) and 11 percent on Radio Moldova (compared to 16 percent in September and 11 percent in August). At the same time, USA coverage registered a slight increase (18 percent in October compared with 17 percent in September and 13 percent in August, on Moldova

1, and 13 percent in October compared with 12 percent in September and 9.7 percent in August, on Radio Moldova). The immediate neighbors of Moldova were the focus of news programs of Teleradio Moldova Company in the following proportion: Romania, like in the previous months – 2-3 percent, and Ukraine – around 6 percent of the total amount of international news (see table 5, graphs 5.1 and 5.2).

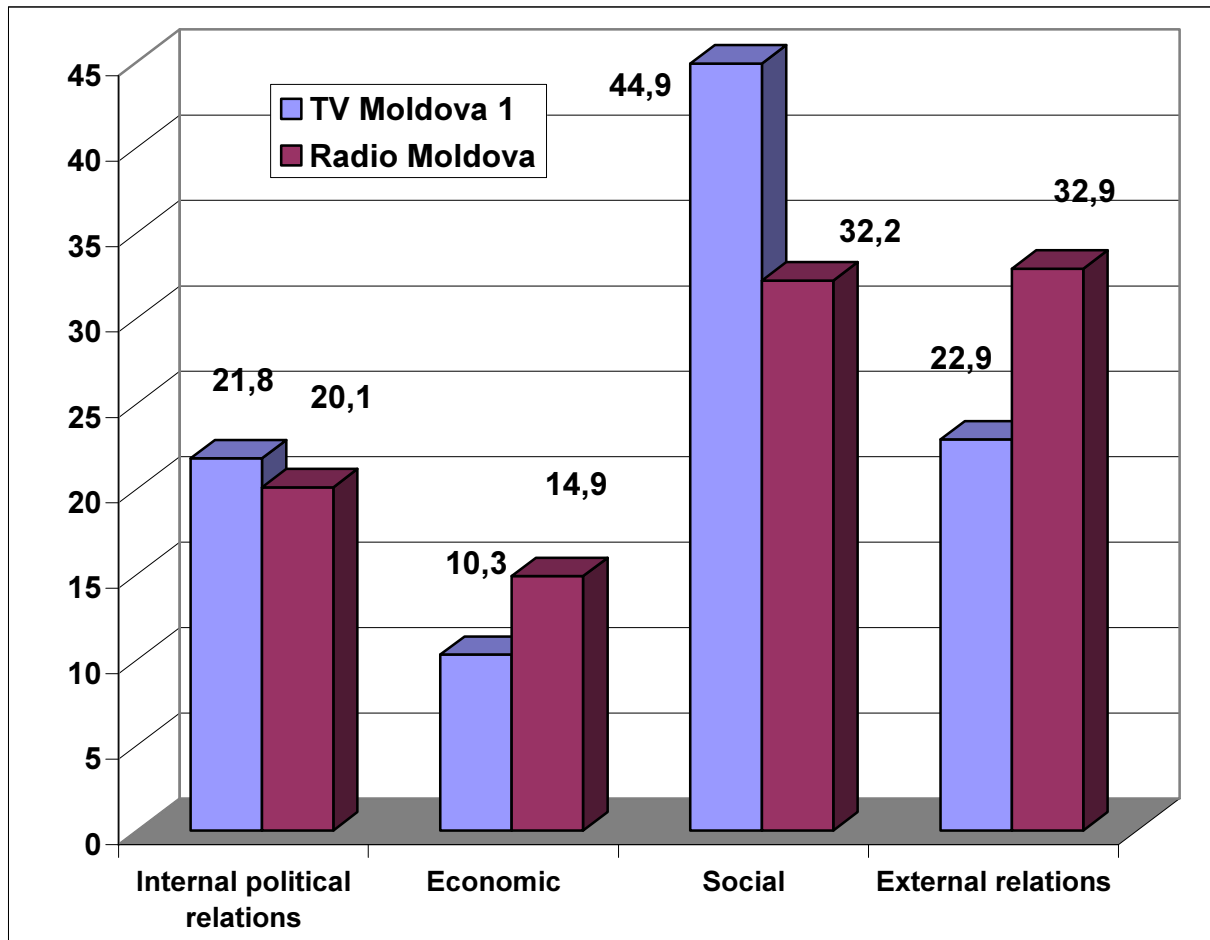
In October, like in the previous monitoring months, economic news were the least requested. Their frequency on TV Moldova 1 made up 10.3 percent, like in September, one percent more than in August, and on Radio Moldova this type of news accumulated in October 14.9 percent, as in August, 2 percent more than in September. From the duration perspective, economic news had the following characteristics: on TV Moldova 1 – 11 percent in October (in September – 12 percent, and in August – 9 percent), on Radio Moldova – 14 percent in October, as in August, and 13 percent – in September (see graphs 3.2 and 4.2).

The typological register, the ranking, as well as the established quantity parameters show in a conclusive way the editorial policy promoted by the Company with regards to internal socio-political news aired in August – October 2004.

TABLE 3. Distribution of internal socio-political news FREQUENCY

| TOPICS | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|------------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Internal political relations | 287 | 21.8 | 648 | 20.1 |
| Economic | 136 | 10.3 | 480 | 14.9 |
| Social | 591 | 44.9 | 1041 | 32.2 |
| External relations | 302 | 22.9 | 1062 | 32.9 |

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



Graph 3.2.

Internal socio-political – October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%)

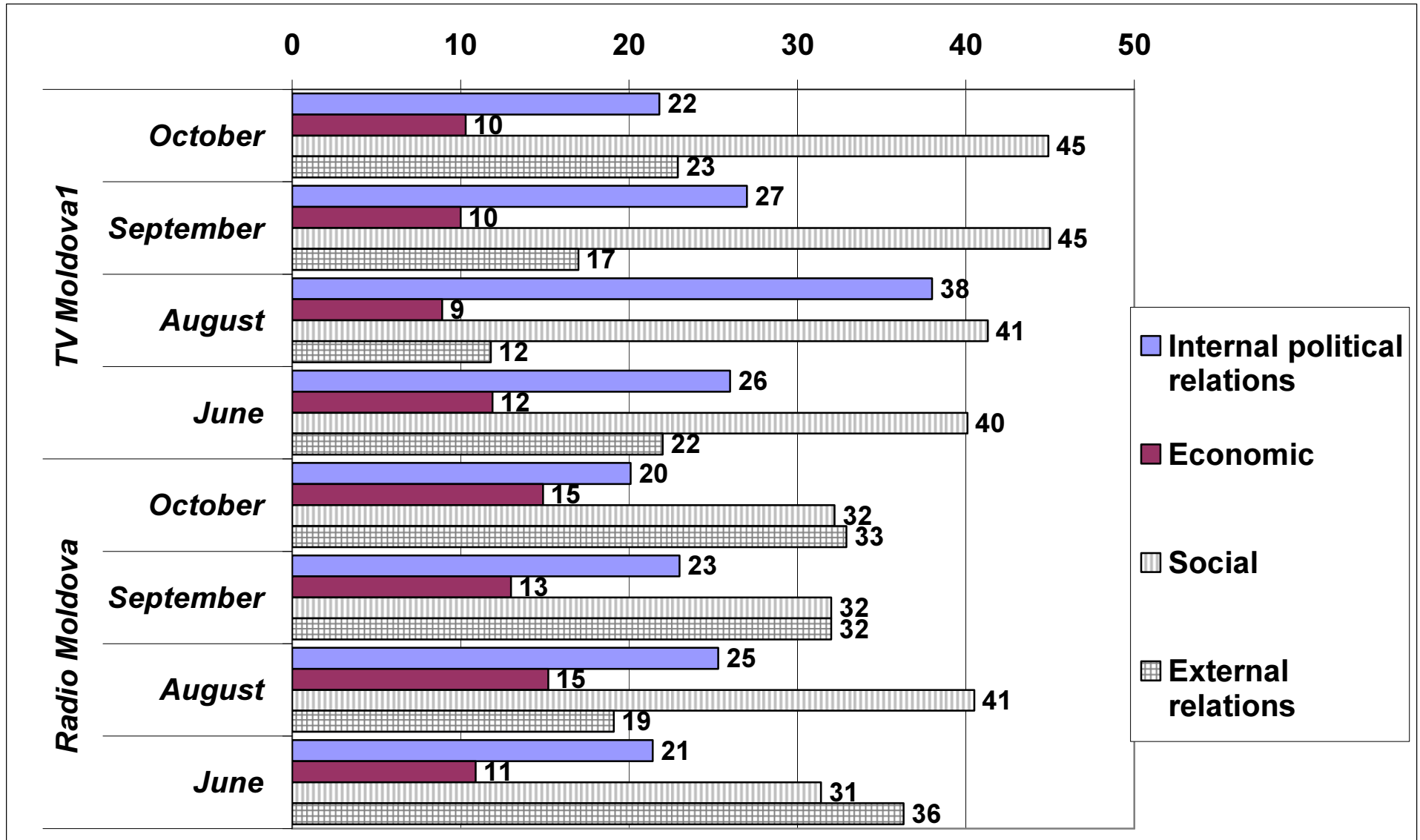
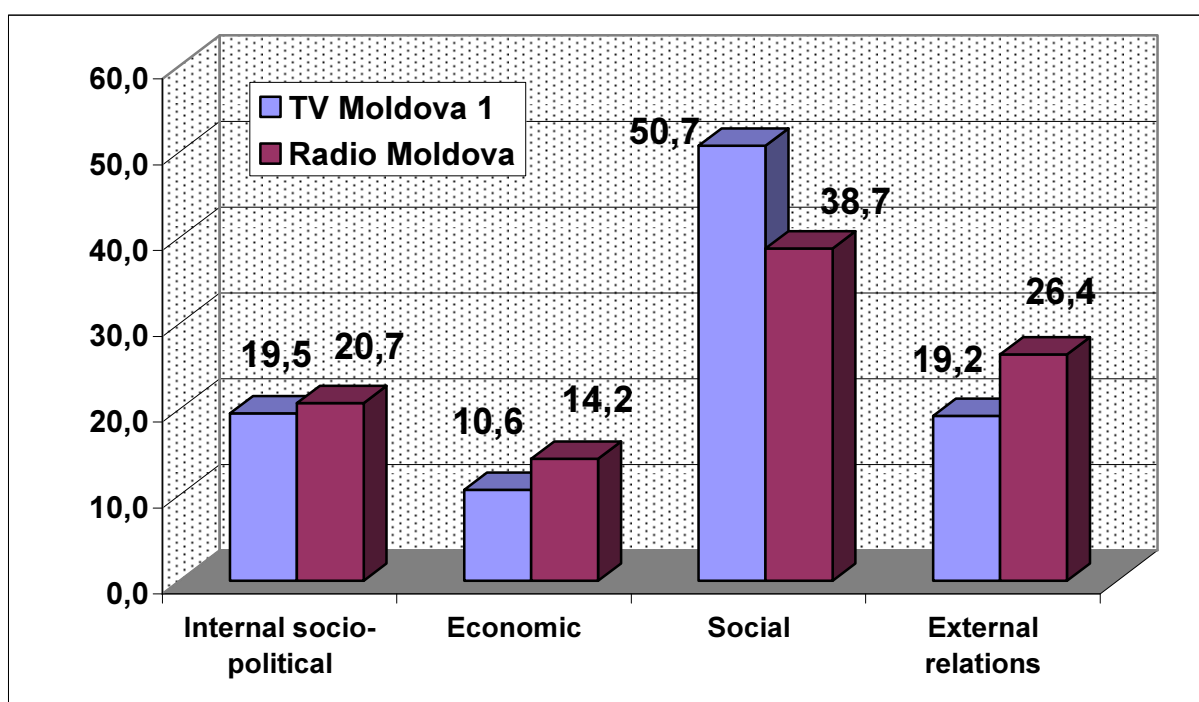


TABLE 4. Distribution of internal socio-political news DURATION

| TOPICS | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|------------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | D | % | D | % |
| Internal political relations | 24430 | 19.5 | 70628 | 20.7 |
| Economic | 13295 | 10.6 | 48208 | 14.2 |
| Social | 63554 | 50.7 | 131662 | 38.7 |
| External relations | 24001 | 19.2 | 90030 | 26.4 |

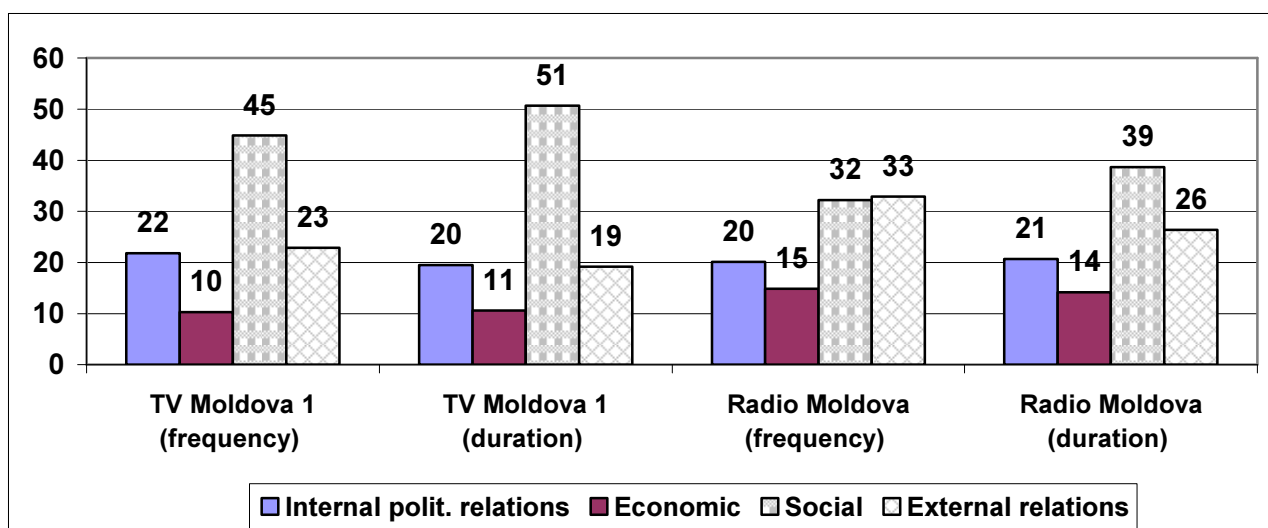
Graph 4.1.

Internal socio-political – Duration (%)



Graph 3-4.1.

Internal socio-political – Frequency - Duration (%)



Graph 4.2.

Internal socio-political – October/September/August/June compared Duration (%)

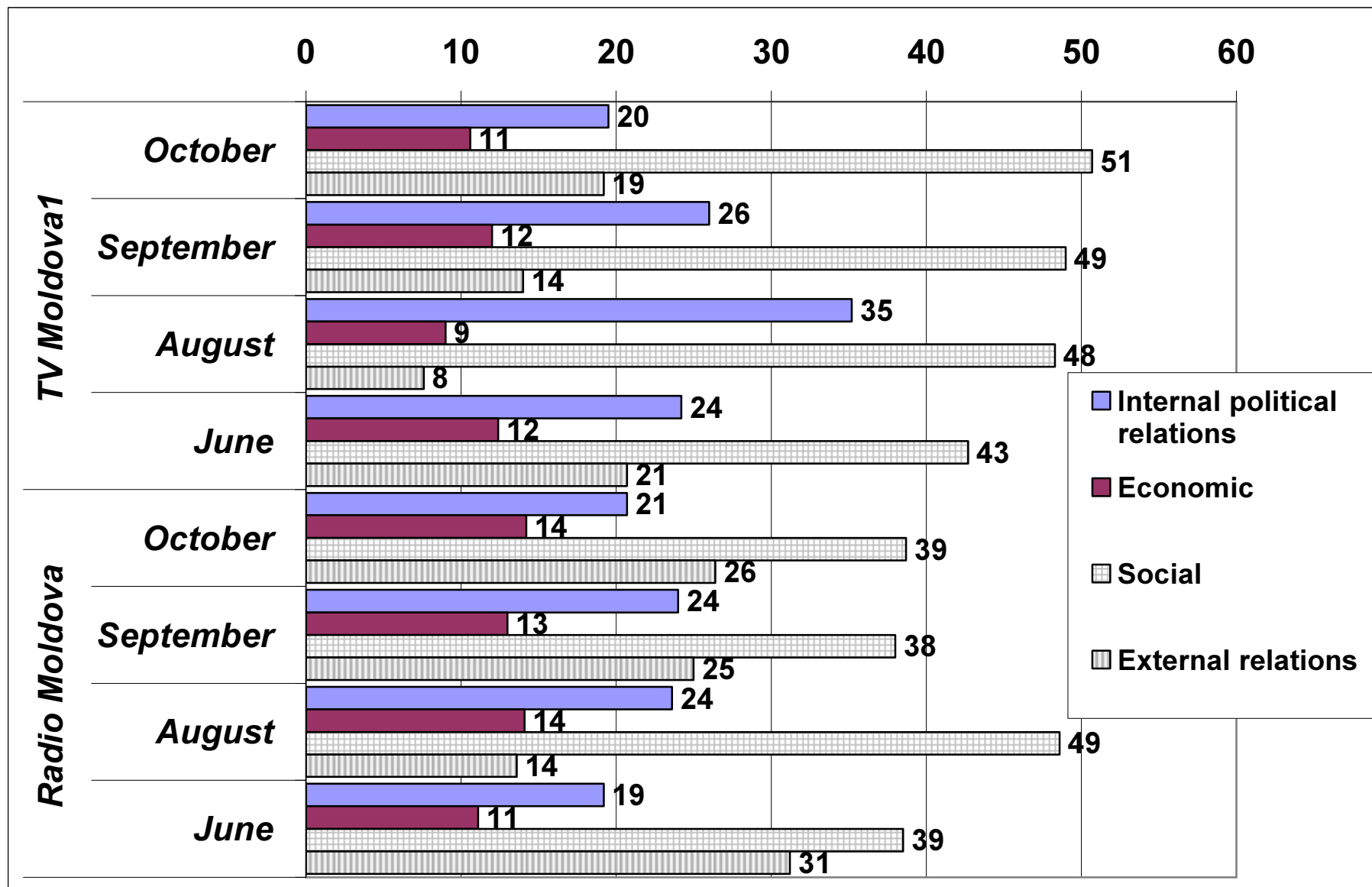
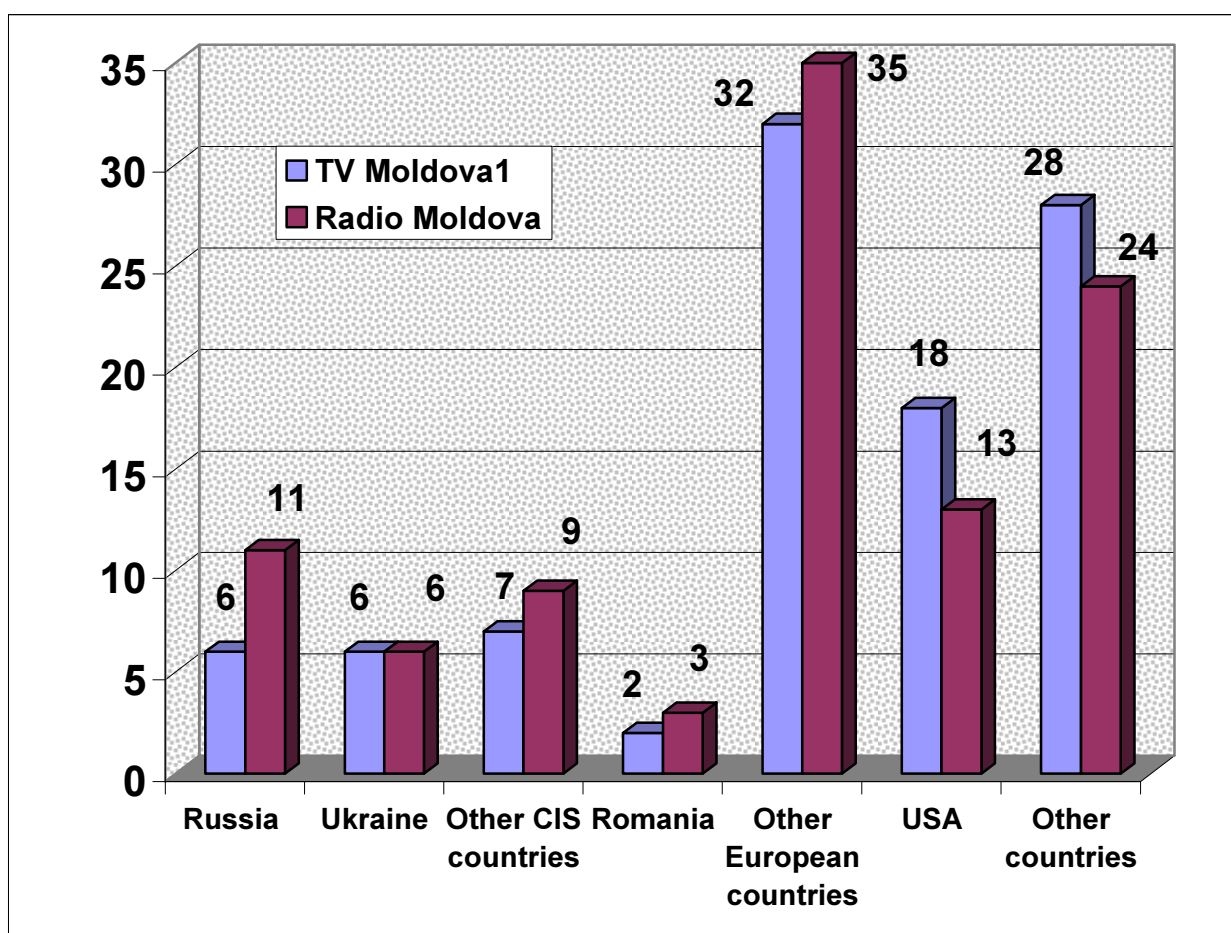


TABLE 5. Distribution of news on external and international relations Frequency (%)

| COUNTRY | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Russia | 6 | 11 |
| Ukraine | 6 | 6 |
| Other CIS countries | 7 | 9 |
| Romania | 2 | 3 |
| Other European countries | 32 | 35 |
| USA | 18 | 13 |
| Other countries | 28 | 24 |

Graph 5.1.

External and international relations - Frequency (%)



Graph 5.2.

External and international relations – October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%)

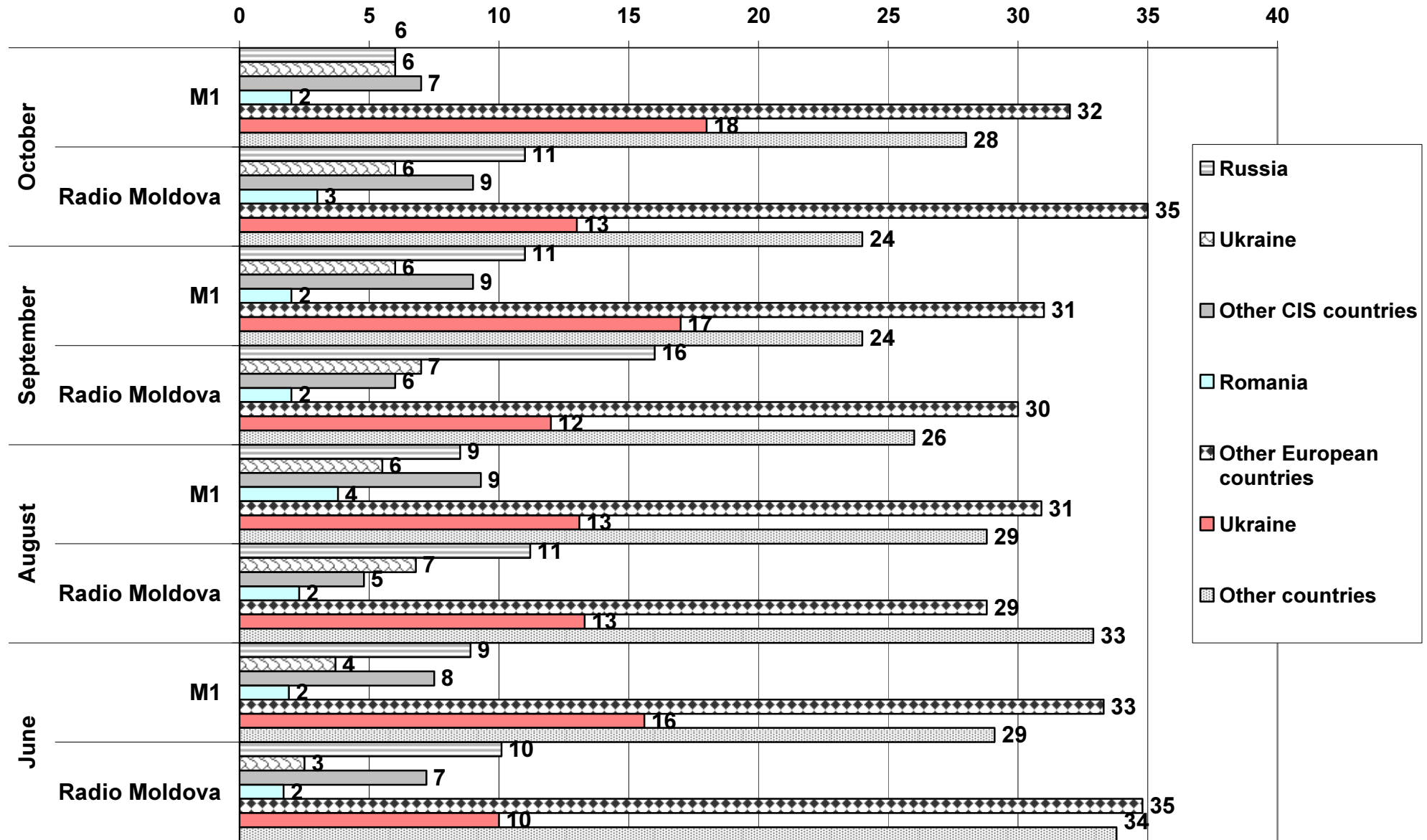


TABLE 6. Distribution of news with electoral implications (direct and indirect)
Frequency and Duration (seconds)

| Political agents | TV Moldova 1 | | | | Radio Moldova | | | |
|---|--------------|------|----------|-----|---------------|------|----------|-----|
| | Direct | | Indirect | | Direct | | Indirect | |
| | F | D | F | D | F | D | F | D |
| State authorities | 13 | 1049 | 5 | 473 | 51 | 7095 | 5 | 310 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 2 | 95 | 1 | 33 | 4 | 153 | | |
| Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) | | | | | 3 | 165 | | |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | | | | | 3 | 296 | | |

TABLE 7. Coverage circumstances - Frequency

| Political agents | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|---|--------------|-------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| | Ordinary | Conflicting | Formal | Ordinary | Conflicting | Formal |
| State authorities | 623 | 95 | 58 | 1938 | 76 | 127 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 19 | 10 | | 47 | 10 | |
| Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) | 20 | 1 | | 44 | 5 | |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | 3 | 1 | | 8 | | |
| Uninvolved | 780 | 81 | 82 | 2285 | 73 | 161 |
| Transnistrian authorities | 15 | 29 | | 123 | 42 | |
| TOTAL | 1460 | 217 | 140 | 4445 | 206 | 288 |

1.3 Topic agenda

The October topic agenda, like in September, continued to diversify, comprising between 65 and 72 topics (by comparison: between 50 and 60 topics were covered in August). Despite this diversification, the list of ten most covered topics remained almost intact as compared with September and August:

- Transnistria (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Education (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Culture (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Ceremonies, anniversaries (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- External socio-economic collaborations (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Governmental and parliamentary activities (TV Moldova 1);
- Diplomatic activities (TV Moldova 1);
- Agriculture (TV Moldova 1);
- Sports (Radio Moldova).

These topics were tackled in 46.3 percent (in September in 50.8 percent) of the total news broadcast (in frequency) on TV Moldova 1 and in 38.54 percent (in September – 42.7 percent) – on Radio Moldova. Their duration constituted, respectively, 47.58 percent (in September – 51.65 percent) on TV Moldova 1 and 37.82 percent (in September – 47.66 percent) on Radio Moldova.

We would like to mention that in October the following topics disappeared from the traditional list of the first ten topics: *crimes, car accidents, governmental and parliamentary meetings* (TV Moldova 1) and *public utility activities, transportation, roads* (Radio Moldova). At the same time, the list included for the first time in the last three months such topics as *social protection* (3.2% in frequency on TV Moldova 1), and *foreign investments* on Radio Moldova (2.91%). This fact, although small in terms of frequency and duration at present, deserves to be noted.

The other 55-60 topics were present in about 53-61 percent of the news in frequency and duration.

The list of 10 least covered topics by TV Moldova 1 in October includes *calamities, external debts, public order, salaries, agricultural producers' problems, export, customs issues, quality of products and the housing issue* – each of them appeared 1-3 times. Radio Moldova covered least the following topics: *administrative-territorial division, civil society, parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova), governance's successes, quality of products, Communist Party, public order, local investments and parliamentary opposition (PPCD)* (see tables 8.1 and 8.2).

The comparative analysis of October news agendas on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova reconfirms the assumptions formulated based on the materials of monitoring of Teleradio Moldova Company, conducted in September and August, and namely:

- *News Departments of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova do not promote independent editorial policies;*
- *Through their topic agendas, news programs continue to focus the public attention on certain areas, marginalizing many issues of social interest;*
- *Teleradio Moldova Company continues to promote an editorial policy designed to divert citizens' attention from their primary concerns.*

TABLE 8.1. Topic agenda – Frequency and Duration – TV Moldova 1

| Topic agenda | F | % | Topic agenda | D | % |
|--|----------|----------|--|----------|----------|
| Education | 135 | 7.7 | Culture | 14922 | 11.91 |
| Culture | 132 | 7.6 | Ceremonies, anniversaries | 8816 | 7.04 |
| Transnistria | 117 | 6.7 | Education | 8809 | 7.03 |
| Ceremonies, anniversaries | 101 | 5.8 | Diplomatic actions | 6836 | 5.46 |
| Diplomatic activities | 99 | 5.7 | Transnistria | 6755 | 5.39 |
| Government, parliament activities | 87 | 5.0 | Government, parliament activities | 5451 | 4.35 |
| External socio-economic collaborations | 82 | 4.7 | Census | 4614 | 3.68 |
| Mass media | 67 | 3.8 | Mass media | 4594 | 3.67 |
| Social protection | 56 | 3.2 | Health care, medical insurance | 4321 | 3.45 |
| Agriculture | 54 | 3.1 | Agriculture | 4146 | 3.31 |
| Healthcare, medical insurance | 51 | 2.9 | External socio-economic collaborations | 3881 | 3.10 |
| Transportation, roads | 50 | 2.9 | Social protection | 3761 | 3.00 |
| Census | 47 | 2.7 | Transportation, roads | 3123 | 2.49 |
| Crimes, car accidents | 41 | 2.4 | Crimes, car accidents | 2568 | 2.05 |
| Governmental and parliamentary decisions | 37 | 2.1 | Environment | 2274 | 1.82 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|-----|----------------------------------|------|------|
| Parliament, government meetings | 30 | 1.7 | State and local budget | 2113 | 1.69 |
| Foreign assistance | 28 | 1.6 | Heating problem | 1995 | 1.6 |
| Minorities | 25 | 1.4 | Economy | 1934 | 1.54 |
| Economy | 24 | 1.4 | Government, parliament decisions | 1734 | 1.38 |
| Heating problem | 23 | 1.3 | Minorities | 1727 | 1.38 |
| Human rights protection | 22 | 1.3 | Foreign assistance | 1708 | 1.36 |
| Environment | 21 | 1.2 | Human rights protection | 1670 | 1.33 |
| Foreign investments | 21 | 1.2 | Science | 1631 | 1.30 |
| State and local budget | 21 | 1.2 | Religion | 1456 | 1.16 |
| Local public administration | 20 | 1.1 | Prices | 1259 | 1.00 |
| Privatization | 18 | 1.0 | Government, parliament meetings | 1249 | 1.00 |
| Prices | 18 | 1.0 | Industry | 1172 | 0.94 |
| Legislative actions | 17 | 1.0 | Emigration | 1129 | 0.90 |
| Emigration | 17 | 1.0 | Telecommunications and IT | 1127 | 0.90 |
| State security | 17 | 1.0 | Conflicts | 1123 | 0.9 |
| Industry | 17 | 1.0 | Legislative actions | 1115 | 0.89 |
| Science | 15 | 0.9 | Local public administration | 1068 | 0.85 |
| Social protests | 14 | 0.8 | Foreign investments | 1043 | 0.83 |
| Telecommunications and IT | 14 | 0.8 | Governance's successes | 1036 | 0.83 |
| Factories and enterprises | 14 | 0.8 | Small business micro-financing | 1021 | 0.81 |
| Conflicts | 14 | 0.8 | State security | 954 | 0.76 |
| Governance's successes | 12 | 0.7 | Privatization | 794 | 0.63 |
| Public utility actions | 12 | 0.7 | Factories and enterprises | 770 | 0.61 |
| Religion | 12 | 0.7 | Public utility actions | 763 | 0.61 |
| Small business micro-financing | 12 | 0.7 | Corruption | 751 | 0.60 |
| Corruption | 11 | 0.6 | Social protests | 588 | 0.47 |
| Fiscal issues, taxes | 9 | 0.5 | Employment situation | 493 | 0.39 |
| Energy | 9 | 0.5 | Human trafficking | 484 | 0.39 |
| Human trafficking | 8 | 0.5 | Fiscal issues, taxes | 462 | 0.37 |
| Elections | 8 | 0.5 | Consumers | 421 | 0.34 |
| Consumers | 7 | 0.4 | EU integration | 396 | 0.32 |
| Parliamentary opposition(PPCD) | 6 | 0.3 | Energy | 333 | 0.27 |
| EU integration | 6 | 0.3 | Housing issue | 315 | 0.25 |
| Communist Party | 5 | 0.3 | Army | 300 | 0.24 |
| Sports | 5 | 0.3 | Elections | 293 | 0.23 |
| Employment situation | 5 | 0.3 | Quality of products | 285 | 0.23 |
| Army | 4 | 0.2 | Parliamentary opposition(PPCD) | 251 | 0.20 |
| Economic successes | 3 | 0.2 | Communist Party | 248 | 0.20 |
| Local investments | 3 | 0.2 | Economic successes | 225 | 0.18 |
| Trade | 3 | 0.2 | Sports | 151 | 0.12 |
| Housing issue | 3 | 0.2 | Internal debts | 145 | 0.12 |
| Quality of products | 2 | 0.1 | Agricultural producers' problems | 110 | 0.09 |
| Internal debts | 2 | 0.1 | Local investments | 100 | 0.08 |
| Customs issues | 2 | 0.1 | Customs issues | 100 | 0.08 |
| Export | 2 | 0.1 | Export | 60 | 0.05 |
| Agricultural producers' problems | 2 | 0.1 | Trade | 56 | 0.04 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|----|-----|----------------|------|------|
| Salaries | 1 | 0.1 | Salaries | 55 | 0.04 |
| Public order | 1 | 0.1 | Public order | 30 | 0.02 |
| External debts | 1 | 0.1 | External debts | 22 | 0.02 |
| Calamities | 1 | 0.1 | Calamities | 8 | 0.01 |
| Others | 19 | 1.1 | Others | 2136 | 1.70 |

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

| Topic agenda | F | % | Topic agenda | D | % |
|--|----------|----------|--|----------|----------|
| External socio-economic collaborations | 409 | 8.56 | Ceremonies, anniversaries | 24465 | 7.18 |
| Education | 240 | 5.02 | External socio-economic collaborations | 22434 | 6.59 |
| Ceremonies, anniversaries | 239 | 5.00 | Culture | 18852 | 5.54 |
| Transnistria | 237 | 4.96 | Education | 18146 | 5.33 |
| Sports | 217 | 4.54 | Sports | 16557 | 4.86 |
| Legislative actions | 178 | 3.72 | Transnistria | 15220 | 4.47 |
| Culture | 175 | 3.66 | Census | 11900 | 3.49 |
| Social protection | 158 | 3.31 | State and local budgets | 11625 | 3.41 |
| Healthcare, medical insurance | 147 | 3.08 | Social protection | 10865 | 3.19 |
| Foreign investments | 139 | 2.91 | Healthcare, medical insurance | 10191 | 2.99 |
| State and local budgets | 125 | 2.62 | Legislative actions | 9203 | 2.70 |
| Diplomatic actions | 117 | 2.45 | Foreign investments | 8977 | 2.64 |
| Public utility actions | 108 | 2.26 | Mass media | 8815 | 2.59 |
| Census | 105 | 2.20 | Science | 7397 | 2.17 |
| Agriculture | 103 | 2.15 | Agriculture | 7280 | 2.14 |
| Economy | 90 | 1.88 | Public utility actions | 6798 | 2.00 |
| Human rights protection | 88 | 1.84 | Corruption | 6381 | 1.87 |
| Transportation, roads | 87 | 1.82 | Environment | 6224 | 1.83 |
| Mass media | 87 | 1.82 | Diplomatic activities | 5761 | 1.69 |
| Science | 83 | 1.74 | Human rights protection | 5665 | 1.66 |
| Heating problem | 78 | 1.63 | Economy | 5656 | 1.66 |
| Prices | 77 | 1.61 | Heating problem | 4960 | 1.46 |
| Environment | 75 | 1.57 | Agricultural producers' problems | 4297 | 1.26 |
| Corruption | 70 | 1.46 | Crimes and car accidents | 4218 | 1.24 |
| Government, parliament decisions | 69 | 1.44 | Prices | 4016 | 1.18 |
| EU integration | 63 | 1.32 | Local public administration | 3971 | 1.17 |
| State security | 63 | 1.32 | Transportation, roads | 3877 | 1.14 |
| Export | 61 | 1.28 | EU integration | 3700 | 1.09 |
| Factories, enterprises | 60 | 1.26 | Factories, enterprises | 3600 | 1.06 |
| Privatization | 59 | 1.23 | Religion | 3471 | 1.02 |
| Local public administration | 58 | 1.21 | State security | 3466 | 1.02 |
| Customs issues | 57 | 1.19 | Export | 3389 | 1.00 |
| Energy | 51 | 1.07 | Government, parliament decisions | 3349 | 0.98 |
| Trade | 46 | 0.96 | Customs issues | 3133 | 0.92 |
| Fiscal issues, taxes | 44 | 0.92 | Employment situation | 3124 | 0.92 |
| Crimes and car accidents | 44 | 0.92 | Privatization | 2834 | 0.83 |
| Agricultural producers' problems | 42 | 0.88 | Trade | 2591 | 0.76 |
| Employment situation | 41 | 0.86 | Energy | 2469 | 0.73 |

| | | | | | |
|---|----|------|---|------|------|
| Telecommunications and IT | 37 | 0.77 | Small business micro-financing | 2462 | 0.72 |
| Tourism | 34 | 0.71 | Fiscal issues, taxes | 2225 | 0.65 |
| Government, parliament activities | 31 | 0.65 | Telecommunications and IT | 2110 | 0.62 |
| Government, parliament, local administration meetings | 30 | 0.63 | Government, parliament activities | 2080 | 0.61 |
| Minorities | 28 | 0.59 | Conflicts | 1969 | 0.58 |
| Foreign assistance | 28 | 0.59 | Government, parliament, local administration meetings | 1867 | 0.55 |
| Small business micro-financing | 28 | 0.59 | Human trafficking | 1755 | 0.52 |
| Industry | 26 | 0.54 | Minorities | 1747 | 0.51 |
| Emigration | 24 | 0.50 | Foreign assistance | 1585 | 0.47 |
| Salaries | 23 | 0.48 | Tourism | 1557 | 0.46 |
| Elections | 22 | 0.46 | Social protests | 1531 | 0.45 |
| Social protests | 21 | 0.44 | Industry | 1440 | 0.42 |
| Religion | 21 | 0.44 | Livestock breeding | 1420 | 0.42 |
| Consumers | 18 | 0.38 | Army | 1354 | 0.40 |
| Human trafficking | 18 | 0.38 | Salaries | 1289 | 0.38 |
| Economic successes | 15 | 0.31 | Elections | 1144 | 0.34 |
| Internal debts | 15 | 0.31 | Emigration | 1141 | 0.34 |
| Livestock breeding | 14 | 0.29 | Calamities | 1109 | 0.33 |
| Army | 14 | 0.29 | Consumers | 987 | 0.29 |
| Conflicts | 14 | 0.29 | External debts | 939 | 0.28 |
| Unemployment | 11 | 0.23 | Economic successes | 908 | 0.27 |
| Calamities | 11 | 0.23 | Internal debts | 906 | 0.27 |
| Housing issue | 11 | 0.23 | Unemployment | 693 | 0.20 |
| External debts | 10 | 0.21 | Local investments | 684 | 0.20 |
| Parliamentary opposition(PPCD) | 9 | 0.19 | Housing issue | 637 | 0.19 |
| Local investments | 8 | 0.17 | Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 511 | 0.15 |
| Public order | 6 | 0.13 | Civil society | 427 | 0.13 |
| Communist Party | 6 | 0.13 | Public order | 421 | 0.12 |
| Quality of products | 4 | 0.08 | Communist Party | 375 | 0.11 |
| Governance's successes | 3 | 0.06 | Governance's successes | 227 | 0.07 |
| Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 3 | 0.06 | Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 221 | 0.06 |
| Civil society | 3 | 0.06 | Quality of products | 163 | 0.05 |
| Administrative-territorial division issue | 1 | 0.02 | Administrative-territorial division issue | 39 | 0.01 |
| Others | 43 | 0.90 | Others | 3728 | 1.09 |

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

| Topic agenda | TV Moldova1 | | | | Radio Moldova | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------|------|-----|------|
| | F | % | D | % | F | % | D | % |
| Communist Party | 5 | 0.3 | 248 | 0.2 | 6 | 0.13 | 375 | 0.11 |
| Parliament.opposition (PPCD) | 6 | 0.3 | 251 | 0.2 | 9 | 0.19 | 511 | 0.15 |
| Parliament. opposition (MD) | | | | | 3 | 0.06 | 221 | 0.06 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | | | | | | | | |

1.4 Agents and actors of newscasts

In October, like in the previous monitoring months, Teleradio Moldova Company publicized with priority state agents and actors. At the same time, we would note that TV

Moldova 1, after restricting the presence of state agents and actors in the newscasts, as attested in September in comparison with August, resumed in October their increased coverage, while Radio Moldova continued to intensify their monthly appearances in the newscasts. The conclusion results from the data provided by CIVIIS and inserted in tables 9,10,15 and graphs 10.1, 10.2.

Thus, TV Moldova 1 publicized in October the institutions of central and local administration (President, presidential staff, Government, Prime Minister, Parliament, Parliament Speaker, Justice, Constitutional Court, Police, Security, Financial Guard, Economic Police, Army, local public administration) in proportion of 46.8 percent (in September – 43.1 percent, in August – 47.3 percent), and Radio Moldova increased in October their presence by 3.6 percent, as compared with September, when they accumulated 40.9 percent, and by 5.9 percent as compared with August (38.6 percent). The dedicated coverage caused these political agents to obtain in October 1011 appearances on TV Moldova 1 or a daily average of 32 appearances, and 3032 presences on Radio Moldova or a daily average of 97 presences.

Other political agents (parliamentary opposition and extra-parliamentary parties) appeared 54 times on TV Moldova 1 and 114 times on Radio Moldova or had daily averages of 1.7 appearances on TV Moldova 1 and 3.7 appearances on Radio Moldova.

Social agents were publicized differently. The civil society appeared in 1.5 percent of the news broadcast by TV Moldova 1 (in September – 1.8 percent, in August – 2 percent) and in 4.2 percent of the news aired by Radio Moldova (in September – 3.2 percent, in August – 2.4 percent). Trade unions were present in 0.3 percent of TV news (in September-August – between 0.1-0.6 percent) and in 0.3 percent of radio news (in September – between 0.5-0.6 percent). As in the previous months, employers' organization was absent from TV newscasts, and was covered at the September rate, of 0.1 percent, in radio newscasts. The church was covered in 0.6 percent on television, as in September (in August – 1.4 percent), and in 0.7 percent on radio (in September – 0.4 percent, in August – 1 percent) (see table 9).

The October monitoring, like the September one, highlighted 27 political and social actors that enjoyed at least five appearances in the newscasts of Teleradio Moldova Company (in August – 15). With six exceptions, these were state representatives or their mouthpieces. In total, they were covered 1644 times (in September – 1407 times, in August - 1262 times). President Voronin is on top of the list, with 544 appearances (in September – 290, in August – 344), Prime Minister Tarlev with 339 appearances (in September – 287, in August – 515), Parliament Speaker Ostapciuc with 154 appearances (in September – 108, in August - 68).

Political and social actors that do not represent the current central governance were covered by TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova 124 times (Chisinau mayor continued to be absent from the newscasts on TV Moldova 1 and enjoyed only 38, as compared to 12, appearances in September and 41 in August on Radio Moldova; PPCD members Iu. Roșca, V. Cubreacov, Șt. Secăreanu had 69 appearances in the TV and radio newscasts; the member of Democratic Moldova, D. Braghiș was mentioned 11 times, and former President M. Snegur – 6 times on Radio Moldova (see table 15).

We conclude that in August-October 2004, none of the civil society leaders benefited from 5 appearances in the newscasts of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.

The presented data allow us draw the following conclusion: *priority coverage of state agents and actors, on the one hand, and insignificant coverage of other political agents and actors – on the other, as well as of social agents and actors, in our opinion, is a proof of an editorial policy that significantly reduces the Company’s credibility in its strife for the values of a public broadcaster.*

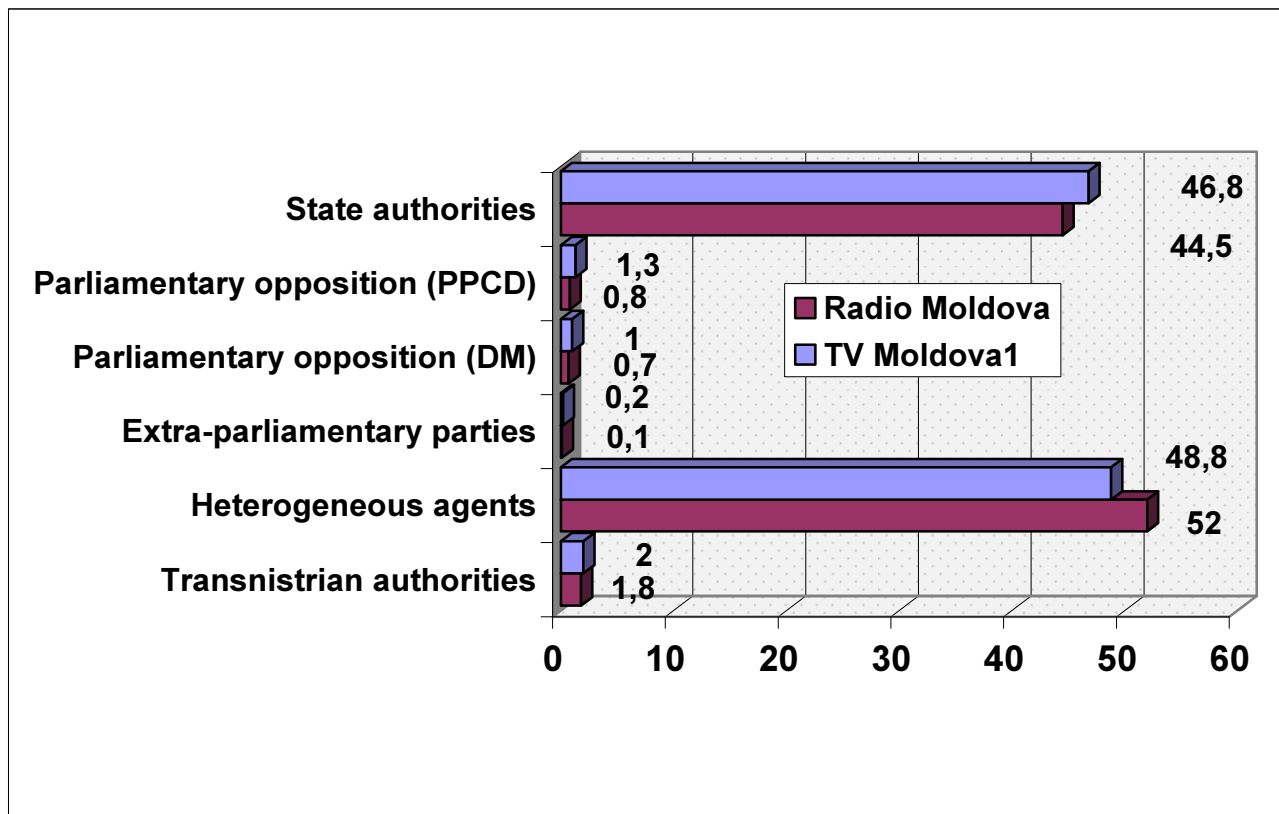
TABLE 9. Coverage of political and social agents – Frequency and percentage

| AGENTS | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | F | % | F | % |
| President | 180 | 8.2 | 421 | 6.1 |
| Presidential staff | 1 | 0.05 | 11 | 0.2 |
| Government | 279 | 12.7 | 1012 | 14.6 |
| Prime Minister | 91 | 4.1 | 274 | 4.0 |
| Parliament | 67 | 3.0 | 254 | 3.7 |
| Parliament Speaker | 40 | 1.8 | 120 | 1.7 |
| Justice, Constitutional Court | 24 | 1.1 | 68 | 1.0 |
| Police, Ministry of Security | 71 | 3.2 | 64 | 0.9 |
| Financial Guard, Economic Police | 5 | 0.2 | 8 | 0.1 |
| Local administration | 100 | 4.5 | 393 | 5.7 |
| Army | 12 | 0.5 | 23 | 0.3 |
| Communist Party | 21 | 1.0 | 52 | 0.8 |
| Other state institutions | 141 | 6.4 | 384 | 5.5 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition PPCD</i> | 29 | 1.3 | 57 | 0.8 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i> | 21 | 1.0 | 49 | 0.7 |
| <i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i> | 4 | 0.2 | 8 | 0.1 |
| Employers’ organization | | | 7 | 0.1 |
| Trade unions | 7 | 0.3 | 20 | 0.3 |
| Church | 13 | 0.6 | 46 | 0.7 |
| Civil society | 34 | 1.5 | 294 | 4.2 |
| Economic agents | 66 | 3.0 | 484 | 7.0 |
| Mass media | 51 | 2.3 | 148 | 2.1 |
| Educational & scientific institutions | 120 | 5.4 | 490 | 7.1 |
| Healthcare institutions | 38 | 1.7 | 88 | 1.3 |
| Transnistrian authorities | 43 | 2.0 | 126 | 1.8 |
| Other internal agents | 418 | 19.0 | 795 | 11.5 |
| External agents | 326 | 14.8 | 1230 | 17.8 |

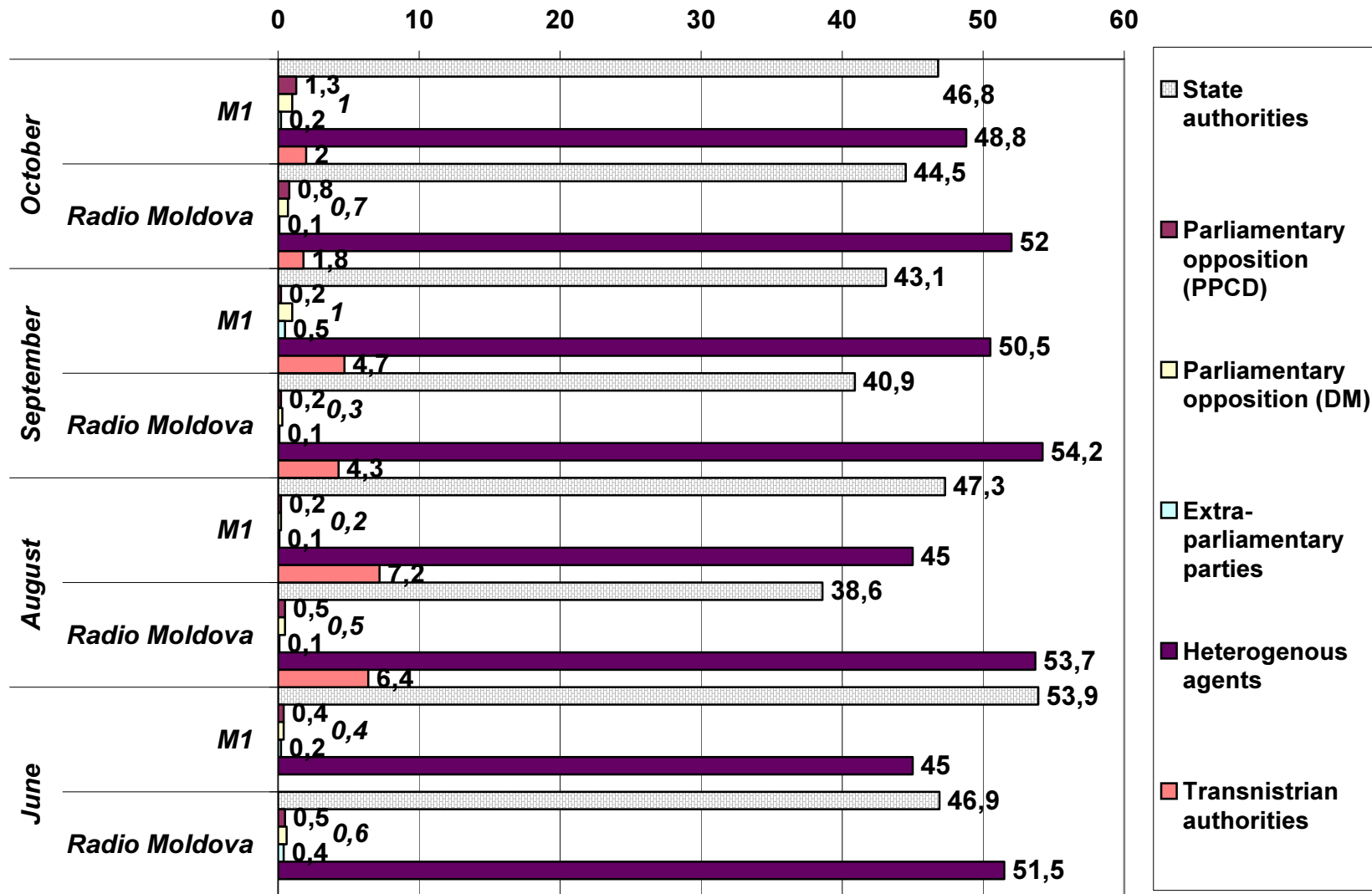
TABLE 10 Distribution of broadcast space among the five categories of agents - Frequency (%)

| AGENT CATEGORIES | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| State authorities | 46.8 | 44.5 |
| Parliament. opposition(PPCD) | 1.3 | 0.8 |
| Parliament. opposition (DM) | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Heterogeneous agents | 48.8 | 52.0 |
| Transnistrian authorities | 2.0 | 1.8 |

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



Graph 10.2 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%)



1.5 Coverage circumstances, impartiality and diversity of sources in newscasts

Almost 94 percent of the total amount of news broadcast in October on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova tackled ordinary or formal events, and the conflict-related ones made up about 6 percent (in September, this co-relation constituted circa 80 to 20 percent, and in August – approximately 70 to 30) (see table 7). This fact suggests *the Company's attempt to avoid all delicate problems in order to transpose the public into a supposed conflict-free reality, which, in our opinion, is equal to distorting it.*

In October, like in September, Teleradio Company applied almost entirely a neutral manner in presenting political and social agents and actors in newscasts. Statistical data reveal that out of 10896 appearances thereof on TV Moldova 1 and on Radio Moldova only 19 cases were evaluated positively (the case of state authorities) and 28 cases received a negative evaluation (this is how local administration, parliamentary oppositions MD and PPCD, Transnistrian authorities as well as Chisinau General Mayor and the Member of Parliament Cubreacov were “graded”).

The neutral approach, although generally welcome, does not confer impartiality to the newscasts from Teleradio Moldova Company, because Teleradio Company generally continues to approach reality by mainly applying one view and one documentation source. Although certain positive changes have taken place in this respect (in October, the ratio of news based on two and more sources made up 10 percent, compared to 4 percent in September on TV Moldova 1, and 17 percent compared to 7 percent in September on Radio Moldova), *diversification of sources, presentation of adverse or different viewpoints continues to be an unfulfilled condition for the Company's transformation into a public institution.*

TABLE 11. Evaluation of political and social agents - Frequency

| AGENTS | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|---|-----|---------------|---|------|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| President | 5 | | 175 | 1 | | 420 |
| Presidential staff | | | 1 | | | 11 |
| Government | 3 | | 276 | | | 1012 |
| Prime Minister | | | 91 | | | 274 |
| Parliament | 1 | | 66 | | | 254 |
| Parliament Speaker | | | 40 | | | 120 |
| Justice, Constitutional Court | | | 24 | | | 68 |
| Police, Ministry of Security | | | 71 | | | 64 |
| Financial Guard, Economic Police | | | 5 | | | 8 |
| Local administration | | 8 | 92 | | 4 | 389 |
| Army | | | 12 | | | 23 |
| Communist Party | | | 21 | | | 52 |
| Other state institutions | | | 141 | | | 384 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, PPCD</i> | | 2 | 27 | | | 57 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i> | | | 21 | | 4 | 45 |
| <i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i> | | | 4 | | | 8 |
| Employers' organization | | | | | | 7 |
| Trade unions | | | 7 | | | 20 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|-----|--|--|------|
| Church | | | 13 | | | 46 |
| Civil society | | | 34 | | | 294 |
| Economic agents | | | 66 | | | 484 |
| Mass media | | | 51 | | | 148 |
| Educational and scientific institutions | | | 120 | | | 490 |
| Healthcare institutions | | | 38 | | | 88 |
| Transnistrian authorities | | 3 | 40 | | | 126 |
| Other internal agents | | | 418 | | | 795 |
| External agents | | | 326 | | | 1230 |

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

TABLE 12. Evaluation of the five categories of agents - Frequency

| AGENT CATEGORIES | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| State authorities | 9 | 8 | 1015 | 1 | 4 | 3079 |
| Parliam. opposition (PPCD) | | 2 | 27 | | | 57 |
| Parliam. opposition (MD) | | | 21 | | 4 | 45 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | | | 4 | | | 8 |
| Heterogeneous agents | | | 1073 | | | 126 |
| Transnistrian authorities | | 3 | 40 | | | 3602 |
| TOTAL | 9 | 13 | 2180 | 1 | 8 | 6917 |

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

1.6 Coverage of parties and political pluralism in newscasts

In October, Teleradio Moldova Company covered the political parties 248 times (in September – 231 times and in August – 72 times). TV Moldova 1 made in October 79 references (in September – 143) to 5 political entities, and Radio Moldova – 169 references (in September – 88) to 10 political entities. The Company's TV service made 29 references to PPCD (Christian-Democratic Party), 21 references each to PCRM (Communist Party of Moldova) and MD (Democratic Moldova), and 2 references each to PSDM (Social-Democratic Party) and Ravnopravie. Radio Moldova covered the political parties in the following order: PPCD (57 times), PCRM (52), MD (49), PSDM (4), twice each – PAM (Agrarian Party of Moldova), Party of Reforms, Patria-Rodina Union and PNȚCD (National Christian-Democratic Peasants' Party) and once each – the Socialists' Party and the Labor Union (see table 13).

In October, the Company diversified the political spectrum of the mentioned parties, which is welcome in the promotion of political pluralism. Thus, if newscasts mentioned 5 parties in August, 7 in September, then in October the number was 11. We would also note that Radio Moldova diversified to a greater extent the covered political spectrum (10 parties) in comparison with TV Moldova 1 (5 parties). At the same time, we point out that the presence of parties in the newscasts is disproportionate; they accumulated 86 (PPCD), 73 (PCRM), 70 (MD) and 1 presence (Socialists' Party, Labor Union).

Even though we welcome certain new elements in the coverage by Teleradio of Moldovan parties, the general conclusion is that the overall context, in which political and social agents and actors appear in the newscasts, does not mean authentic political pluralism.

TABLE 13. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage

| PARTIES | Total | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova | TV Moldova 1 (%) | Radio Moldova (%) |
|--|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM) | 73 | 21 | 52 | 28 | 30 |
| Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD) | 86 | 29 | 57 | 39 | 33 |
| Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL) Democratic Party (PDM)) | 70 | 21 | 49 | 28 | 28 |
| Agrarian Party of Moldova (PAM) | 2 | | 2 | | 1 |
| Social-Democratic Party (PSDM) | 6 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Reform Party | 2 | | 2 | | 1 |
| „Patria-Rodina” Social-Political Union | 2 | | 2 | | 1 |
| Socialists’ Party | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| National Christian-Democratic Peasants’ Party (PNȚCD) | 2 | | 2 | | 1 |
| Labor Union | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| Ravnopraviye | 2 | 2 | | 3 | |
| TOTAL | 247 | 75 | 172 | 100 | 100 |

TABLE 14. Evaluation of political parties - Frequency

| PARTIES | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|--|---------------------|----------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM) | | | 21 | | | 52 |
| Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD) | | 2 | 27 | | 2 | 55 |
| Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL) Democratic Party (PDM)) | | | 21 | | 6 | 43 |
| Agrarian Party of Moldova (PAM) | | | | | | 2 |
| Social-Democratic Party (PSDM) | | | 2 | | | 4 |
| Reform Party | | | | | | 2 |
| „Patria-Rodina” Social-Political Union | | | | | | 2 |
| Socialists’ Party | | | | | | 1 |
| National Christian-Democratic Peasants’ Party (PNȚCD) | | | | | | 2 |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|------------|
| Labor Union | | | | | | 1 |
| Ravnopraviye | | | 2 | | | |
| TOTAL | 0 | 2 | 73 | 0 | 8 | 164 |

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

TABELE 15. Most publicized political and social actors – Frequency

| ACTORS | Total | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Vladimir Voronin | 544 | 125 | 419 |
| Vasile Tarlev | 339 | 72 | 267 |
| Eugenia Ostapciuc | 154 | 32 | 122 |
| Andrei Stratan | 97 | 18 | 79 |
| Marian Lupu | 76 | 15 | 61 |
| Valerian Cristea | 59 | 11 | 48 |
| Zinaida Greceanâi | 57 | | 57 |
| Dumitru Prijmireanu | 44 | 7 | 37 |
| Vasile Șova | 44 | 11 | 33 |
| Iacob Timciuc | 41 | 8 | 33 |
| Serafim Urecheanu | 38 | | 38 |
| Victor Stepaniuc | 35 | 11 | 24 |
| Vlad Cubreacov | 34 | | 34 |
| Vasile Iov | 32 | 5 | 27 |
| Valentin Beniuc | 24 | 12 | 12 |
| Iurie Roșca | 22 | 5 | 17 |
| Veaceslav Madan | 21 | | 21 |
| Gheorghe Cucu | 19 | | 19 |
| Constantin Mihailescu | 13 | | 13 |
| Ștefan Secăreanu | 13 | 5 | 8 |
| Vasile Zgardan | 12 | 5 | 7 |
| Vladimir Mișin | 11 | | 11 |
| Dumitru Braghiș | 11 | | 11 |
| Ion Leahu | 9 | | 9 |
| Dumitru Todoroglo | 8 | | 8 |
| Mircea Snegur | 6 | | 6 |
| Victoria Iftodi | 5 | | 5 |

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

TABELE 16. Evaluation of political and social actors - Frequency

| ACTORS | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| Vladimir Voronin | 4 | | 121 | 1 | | 418 |
| Vasile Tarlev | | | 72 | | | 267 |
| Eugenia Ostapciuc | | | 32 | | | 122 |
| Andrei Stratan | | | 18 | | | 79 |
| Marian Lupu | | | 15 | | | 61 |
| Valerian Cristea | 3 | | 8 | | | 48 |
| Zinaida Greceanâi | | | | | | 57 |
| Dumitru Prijmireanu | 1 | | 6 | | | 37 |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--|----|--|---|----|
| Vasile Şova | | | 11 | | | 33 |
| Iacob Timciuc | | | 8 | | | 33 |
| Serafim Urecheanu | | | | | 4 | 34 |
| Victor Stepaniuc | | | 11 | | | 24 |
| Vlad Cubreacov | | | | | 2 | 32 |
| Vasile Iov | | | 5 | | | 27 |
| Valentin Beniuc | | | 12 | | | 12 |
| Iurie Roşca | | | 5 | | | 17 |
| Veaceslav Madan | | | | | | 21 |
| Gheorghe Cucu | | | | | | 19 |
| Constantin Mihailescu | | | | | | 13 |
| Ştefan Secăreanu | | | 5 | | | 8 |
| Vasile Zgardan | | | 5 | | | 7 |
| Vladimir Mişin | | | | | | 11 |
| Dumitru Braghiş | | | | | | 11 |
| Ion Leahu | | | | | | 9 |
| Dumitru Todoroglo | | | | | | 8 |
| Mircea Snegur | | | | | | 6 |
| Victoria Iftodi | | | | | | 5 |

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

TABLE 17. Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage

| | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|---------------------|--------------|----|---------------|----|
| | F | % | F | % |
| One source | 1190 | 90 | 2685 | 83 |
| Two or more sources | 126 | 10 | 545 | 17 |

TABLE 18.1 Coverage language – Frequency and percentage

| | TV Moldova1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|----------|-------------|----|---------------|----|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Romanian | 927 | 70 | 2211 | 68 |
| Russian | 389 | 30 | 1019 | 32 |

TABLE 18.2. Coverage language – Duration and percentage

| | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|----------|--------------|----|---------------|----|
| | D | % | D | % |
| Romanian | 84231 | 67 | 230381 | 68 |
| Russian | 41049 | 33 | 110147 | 32 |

II. SOCIO-POLITICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

General observations

In October, the duration of socio-political, political and economic programs on TV Moldova 1 doubled in comparison with September, from 50035 seconds to 101 880 seconds. In general, the duration of these categories of programs on TV Moldova 1 evolves in a sinusoidal way: after an increase in August, as compared to June, from 38062 seconds to 76264 seconds, a significant reduction is registered in September, to 50035 seconds (- 34.4 percent), and then there is an increase to 101 880 seconds (see table 19).

Radio Moldova maintains the tendency of increase: 45 005 sec. in June, 93 994 sec. in August, 106 812 sec. in September, and 122 912 sec. in October.

The significant growth of the duration of socio-political and economic programs in October was at the expense of entertainment.

2.1. Program distribution

In October, the increase in the duration and frequency of programs on TV Moldova 1 is the most noticeable in political shows – by 2.4 and 2.5 times, respectively. The duration of socio-political programs doubled, and of economic programs increased by 1.7 times. However, the share of socio-political programs was maintained in October at the September level, both in frequency and duration (see table 19).

The share of political programs increased both in duration and frequency, from 24 percent in September to 28 percent in October. Despite a growth in absolute figures, the share of economic programs decreased from 27 to 23 percent in duration, and from 30 to 27 percent in frequency. Thus, the share of political and economic programs in October reaches, in duration and frequency, almost the June level, after a sudden decrease in August in the share of political programs to the benefit of economic and socio-political ones.

The duration of political programs on Radio Moldova doubled, as compared to September, from 14 732 sec. to 29 690 sec., by 10.8 percent – of economic ones, and the duration of political programs decreased a little (-4 percent).

In relative figures, the duration of socio-political programs also registered a marked increase, from 14 to 24 percent, while the share of socio-political programs decreased, from 60 to 50 percent, and of economic ones – from 26 to 25 percent.

Thus, both on TV Moldova and on Radio Moldova the „tendency of avoiding ‚purely‘ political issues”, mentioned in the preceding reports is no longer demonstrated. The extension of broadcasting space responds to the need for covering current political issues. It remains to be seen if this becomes an objective and equidistant approach, with the presentation of all points of view.

TABLE 19. Program distribution – Frequency and Duration

| PROGRAM TYPE | TV Moldova 1 | | | | Radio Moldova | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|----|-------|----|---------------|----|-------|----|
| | F | % | D | % | F | % | D | % |
| Socio-political | 67 | 45 | 49896 | 49 | 145 | 46 | 61887 | 50 |
| Political | 42 | 28 | 28906 | 28 | 53 | 17 | 29690 | 24 |
| Economic | 40 | 27 | 23078 | 23 | 120 | 38 | 31335 | 25 |

TABLE 20. Distribution of news with electoral implications (direct and indirect)
Frequency and Duration (seconds)

| Political agents | TV Moldova 1 | | | | Radio Moldova | | | |
|---|--------------|------|----------|------|---------------|-----|----------|-----|
| | Direct | | Indirect | | Direct | | Indirect | |
| | F | D | F | D | F | D | F | D |
| State authorities | 10 | 5419 | 3 | 1229 | 2 | 970 | 3 | 305 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | - | - | - | - | | | | |
| Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) | - | - | - | - | | | | |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | - | - | - | - | | | | |

TABLE 20.1. Distribution of election-related programs (airtime)
Frequency and Duration (seconds)

| Political agents | TV Moldova1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|---|-------------|------|---------------|------|
| | F | D | F | D |
| State authorities | 1 | 1200 | | |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 2 | 1800 | | |
| Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) | 1 | 1200 | 1 | 600 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | 2 | 1200 | 2 | 1440 |

2.2 Program topics

In October, TV Moldova 1 continued the diversification of the topic agenda of socio-political and economic programs. At the same time, it should be mentioned, as a positive element, that the programs dedicated to the current governance's 'successes' decreased in frequency and duration (see table 21.2).

The first 10 most covered topics in October were the following: ceremonies and anniversaries, agriculture, industry, the Transnistrian issue, education, army, local public administration, social protection, governmental and parliamentary activity, diplomatic relations.

By duration, the first ten issues covered were the following: ceremonies and anniversaries, the Transnistrian issue, industry, education, migration, agriculture, EU integration, government and parliament activity, foreign investments, collaborations with

foreign countries. These topics covered 55.0 percent of the total duration of socio-political, political and economic programs on TV Moldova 1. In September, this index was 58.9 percent, in August – 78.4 percent, and in June – 80.1 percent. The investment issue received 3.1 percent of the total duration of socio-political and economic programs, as compared to 0.4 percent in September.

Agriculture and the Transnistrian issue were included in the first ten topics in all four monitoring months. Starting with August, such topics as education and EU integration were never absent from the topic agenda of TV Moldova 1 programs. The governmental and parliamentary activities were not covered only in August.

Such topics as governance's successes, unemployment, social protests, religion, mass media, human rights, state security, small business, elections, crimes, energy, conflicts etc. were covered in October only in one program.

The duration of programs dedicated to „governance's successes” increased, as compared to September, from 0.9 percent to 1.8 percent, reaching the August level – 2.0 percent. Instead, the programs on „economic successes”, which made up 1.2 and 3.9 percent in August and September, respectively, from the duration of socio-political, political and economic programs, were absent in October.

As in the previous months, parties, especially PPCD, and civil society entities, were undercovered.

TABLE 21.1. Agenda of socio-political and economic programs – frequency and duration (%) - TV Moldova 1

| Topic agenda | F | % | Topic agenda | D | % |
|--|----|-----|--|-------|------|
| Ceremonies, anniversaries | 25 | 9.2 | Ceremonies, anniversaries | 11692 | 11.5 |
| Agriculture | 23 | 8.4 | Transnistria | 6483 | 6.4 |
| Factories, enterprises | 19 | 7.0 | Factories, enterprises | 5820 | 5.7 |
| Transnistria | 16 | 5.9 | Education | 5174 | 5.1 |
| Education | 16 | 5.9 | Industry | 4720 | 4.6 |
| Army | 13 | 4.8 | Emigration | 4406 | 4.3 |
| Local public administration | 10 | 3.7 | Agriculture | 4238 | 4.2 |
| Social protection | 9 | 3.3 | EU integration | 3840 | 3.8 |
| Government, parliament activities | 9 | 3.3 | Government, parliament activities | 3475 | 3.4 |
| Diplomatic activities | 8 | 2.9 | Foreign investments | 3200 | 3.1 |
| Corruption | 6 | 2.2 | External socio-economic collaborations | 2961 | 2.9 |
| Industry | 6 | 2.2 | Religion | 2700 | 2.7 |
| External socio-economic collaborations | 5 | 1.8 | Social protection | 2564 | 2.5 |
| Foreign investments | 5 | 1.8 | Local public administration | 2315 | 2.3 |
| Emigration | 5 | 1.8 | Economy | 2206 | 2.2 |
| Tourism | 5 | 1.8 | Thermal agent, heating issue | 2180 | 2.1 |
| Economy | 5 | 1.8 | Corruption | 2038 | 2.0 |
| Export | 5 | 1.8 | Army | 2013 | 2.0 |
| Agricultural producers' problems | 5 | 1.8 | Tourism | 1939 | 1.9 |
| Thermal agent, heating issue | 5 | 1.8 | Governance's successes | 1800 | 1.8 |
| Minorities | 4 | 1.5 | Social protests | 1800 | 1.8 |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-----|----------------------------------|------|-----|
| EU integration | 4 | 1.5 | Mass media | 1800 | 1.8 |
| Transportation, roads | 4 | 1.5 | Environment | 1730 | 1.7 |
| Employment situation | 4 | 1.5 | Employment situation | 1480 | 1.5 |
| Privatization | 3 | 1.1 | Salaries | 1386 | 1.4 |
| Science | 3 | 1.1 | Agricultural producers' problems | 1349 | 1.3 |
| Legislative actions | 3 | 1.1 | Communist Party | 1300 | 1.3 |
| Communist Party | 3 | 1.1 | Diplomatic activities | 1296 | 1.3 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 3 | 1.1 | Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 1276 | 1.3 |
| Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 3 | 1.1 | Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 1210 | 1.2 |
| Healthcare, medical insurance | 3 | 1.1 | Export | 1091 | 1.1 |
| Trade | 3 | 1.1 | Science | 940 | 0.9 |
| Salaries | 2 | 0.7 | Transportation, roads | 777 | 0.8 |
| Public utility activities | 2 | 0.7 | Consumers | 760 | 0.7 |
| Culture | 2 | 0.7 | Healthcare, medical insurance | 715 | 0.7 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | 2 | 0.7 | Privatization | 650 | 0.6 |
| Consumers | 2 | 0.7 | Trade | 601 | 0.6 |
| Environment | 2 | 0.7 | Minorities | 539 | 0.5 |
| Census | 2 | 0.7 | State and local budget | 515 | 0.5 |
| State and local budget | 2 | 0.7 | Unemployment | 486 | 0.5 |
| Sports | 2 | 0.7 | Culture | 473 | 0.5 |
| Livestock breeding | 2 | 0.7 | Census | 440 | 0.4 |
| Governance's successes | 1 | 0.4 | Legislative actions | 417 | 0.4 |
| Unemployment | 1 | 0.4 | Extra-parliamentary parties | 400 | 0.4 |
| Social protests | 1 | 0.4 | Livestock breeding | 400 | 0.4 |
| Religion | 1 | 0.4 | Sports | 395 | 0.4 |
| Mass media | 1 | 0.4 | Public utility actions | 336 | 0.3 |
| Human rights protection | 1 | 0.4 | Small business micro-financing | 280 | 0.3 |
| State security | 1 | 0.4 | Human rights protection | 270 | 0.3 |
| Small business micro-financing | 1 | 0.4 | Crimes, car accidents | 240 | 0.2 |
| Elections | 1 | 0.4 | Elections | 200 | 0.2 |
| Crimes, car accidents | 1 | 0.4 | Energy | 200 | 0.2 |
| Energy | 1 | 0.4 | Conflicts | 79 | 0.1 |
| Conflicts | 1 | 0.4 | State security | 75 | 0.1 |
| Others | 1 | 0.4 | Others | 210 | 0.2 |

On Radio Moldova, the 10 most frequently covered topics were the following: agriculture, education, social protection, ceremonies and anniversaries, human rights, healthcare and medical insurance, agricultural producers' problems, culture, public utility activities.

Programs on human rights, agriculture, education, ceremonies and anniversaries, social protection, heating problem, external cooperation, army, environment, census had the longest duration.

The relative duration of the first 10 topics is decreasing: 67.8 percent in August, 57.2 percent in September, 49.6 percent in October.

Besides agriculture and education, social protection and human rights also became priority topics in Radio Moldova programs.

The following topics were covered only once: unemployment, social protests, public order, diplomatic activities, parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova), extra-parliamentary parties, consumers' issues, economic successes, foreign assistance, external debts, state security, elections, housing etc.

Parliamentary parties were, as usual, discriminated against, PPCD being always absent. As a positive fact, the appearance of civil society in the topic agenda should be mentioned(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 | 43 | 9.2 | Human rights protection | 9801 | 8.0 |
| Education | 32 | 6.9 | Agriculture | 9777 | 8.0 |
| Social protection | 27 | 5.8 | Education | 9086 | 7.4 |
| Ceremonies, anniversaries | 25 | 5.4 | Ceremonies, anniversaries | 8267 | 6.7 |
| External socio-economic collaborations | 24 | 5.2 | Social protection | 5689 | 4.6 |
| Human rights protection | 20 | 4.3 | Heating issue | 5289 | 4.3 |
| Healthcare, medical insurance | 15 | 3.2 | External socio-economic collaborations | 4534 | 3.7 |
| Agricultural producers' problems | 15 | 3.2 | Army | 4495 | 3.7 |
| Culture | 14 | 3.0 | Environment | 3967 | 3.2 |
| Public utility activities | 13 | 2.8 | Census | 3684 | 3.0 |
| Legislative actions | 13 | 2.8 | Economy | 3605 | 2.9 |
| Environment | 13 | 2.8 | State and local budget | 3359 | 2.7 |
| State and local budget | 12 | 2.6 | Healthcare, medical insurance | 3322 | 2.7 |
| Factories, enterprises | 11 | 2.4 | Tourism | 3292 | 2.7 |
| Economy | 11 | 2.4 | Legislative actions | 3145 | 2.6 |
| Heating problem | 11 | 2.4 | Culture | 2785 | 2.3 |
| Census | 9 | 1.9 | Agricultural producers' problems | 2544 | 2.1 |
| Local public administration | 8 | 1.7 | Factories, enterprises | 2348 | 1.9 |
| Tourism | 8 | 1.7 | Public utility actions | 1912 | 1.6 |
| Government, parliament activities | 7 | 1.5 | Science | 1844 | 1.5 |
| Prices | 7 | 1.5 | Prices | 1759 | 1.4 |
| Livestock breeding | 7 | 1.5 | Telecommunications and IT | 1567 | 1.3 |
| Army | 7 | 1.5 | Energy | 1555 | 1.3 |
| Science | 6 | 1.3 | Employment situation | 1471 | 1.2 |
| Transportation, roads | 6 | 1.3 | Local public administration | 1465 | 1.2 |
| Fiscal issues, taxes | 6 | 1.3 | Government, parliament activities | 1301 | 1.1 |
| Telecommunication and IT | 5 | 1.1 | Mass media | 1201 | 1.0 |
| Mass media | 5 | 1.1 | Livestock breeding | 1200 | 1.0 |
| Emigration | 5 | 1.1 | Transportation, roads | 1156 | 0.9 |
| Privatization | 4 | 0.9 | Crimes, car accidents | 1135 | 0.9 |
| EU integration | 4 | 0.9 | Emigration | 1070 | 0.9 |
| Government, parliament decisions | 4 | 0.9 | Transnistria | 1017 | 0.8 |
| Foreign investments | 4 | 0.9 | Civil society | 890 | 0.7 |
| Trade | 4 | 0.9 | Fiscal issues, taxes | 886 | 0.7 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---|-----|-----|
| Crimes, car accidents | 4 | 0.9 | EU integration | 828 | 0.7 |
| Energy | 4 | 0.9 | Government, parliament decisions | 777 | 0.6 |
| Employment situation | 4 | 0.9 | External debts | 765 | 0.6 |
| Export | 4 | 0.9 | Foreign investments | 725 | 0.6 |
| Civil society | 4 | 0.9 | Corruption | 620 | 0.5 |
| Salaries | 3 | 0.6 | Human trafficking | 617 | 0.5 |
| Corruption | 3 | 0.6 | Small business micro-financing | 615 | 0.5 |
| Transnistria | 3 | 0.6 | Export | 582 | 0.5 |
| Communist Party | 2 | 0.4 | Religion | 520 | 0.4 |
| Religion | 2 | 0.4 | Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 500 | 0.4 |
| Quality of products | 2 | 0.4 | Trade | 467 | 0.4 |
| Local investments | 2 | 0.4 | Diplomatic activities | 450 | 0.4 |
| Human trafficking | 2 | 0.4 | Conflicts | 420 | 0.3 |
| Small business micro-financing | 2 | 0.4 | Consumers | 400 | 0.3 |
| Industry | 2 | 0.4 | Industry | 395 | 0.3 |
| Conflicts | 2 | 0.4 | Privatization | 394 | 0.3 |
| Unemployment | 1 | 0.2 | Local investments | 375 | 0.3 |
| Social protests | 1 | 0.2 | Salaries | 351 | 0.3 |
| Public order | 1 | 0.2 | Quality of products | 280 | 0.2 |
| Diplomatic actions | 1 | 0.2 | Public order | 270 | 0.2 |
| Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 1 | 0.2 | Extra-parliamentary parties | 270 | 0.2 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | 1 | 0.2 | Elections | 270 | 0.2 |
| Consumers | 1 | 0.2 | Government, parliament, local administration meetings | 260 | 0.2 |
| Government, parliament, local administration meetings | 1 | 0.2 | Communist Party | 228 | 0.2 |
| Economic successes | 1 | 0.2 | State security | 171 | 0.1 |
| Foreign assistance | 1 | 0.2 | Housing issue | 171 | 0.1 |
| External debts | 1 | 0.2 | Social protests | 165 | 0.1 |
| State security | 1 | 0.2 | Foreign assistance | 90 | 0.1 |
| Elections | 1 | 0.2 | Unemployment | 83 | 0.1 |
| Housing issue | 1 | 0.2 | Economic successes | 75 | 0.1 |
| Others | 2 | 0.4 | Others | 360 | 0.3 |

2.3 Political and social agents

Both on TV Moldova 1 and on Radio Moldova the category of state authorities not only remains the most publicized among political and social agents, but it also registers a slight increase, as compared to September. But overall, the index of coverage of state authorities oscillated insignificantly in the past three months on TV Moldova 1 – 43.2 percent in August, 42.2 percent in September and 43 percent in October. On Radio Moldova, a ‘stabilization’ was noted in the past two months – 45.8 percent in September, 46.8 percent in October, after an obvious increase in August – 52.6 percent.

The coverage of parliamentary opposition continues to remain insignificant, the June level being unattained either by TV Moldova 1, or by Radio Moldova.

TV Moldova 1: 9.8 percent – in June, 5.5 percent – in August, 4.1 percent – in September, 4.2 percent – in October.

Radio Moldova: 2.4 percent – in June, 0.4 percent – in August, 0.3 percent – in September, 1.6 percent – in October.

Extra-parliamentary parties enjoyed even less attention (see table 23 and graph 23.2).

As in the previous months, the most widely covered political and social agents were the Presidency (except Radio Moldova), the Government, local administration, various economic agents, various external and internal agents, civil society representatives (see table 22).

The frequency of coverage of the presidential institution in TV Moldova 1 programs increased again, as compared to September. The presidential institution was mentioned 18 times in June (13.7 percent), 20 times in August (7.3 percent), 5 times in September (3.4 percent), and 20 times in October (7.8%). In Radio Moldova programs, the Moldovan presidency was mentioned 17 times in June (9.9 percent), 32 times in August (3.9 percent), 25 times in September (2.3 percent) and 19 times in October (1.9 percent).

In June programs on TV Moldova 1, the Government and Prime Minister were mentioned 17 times (13.0 percent), in August – 40 times (14.7 percent), in September – 14 times (9.6 percent), and in October ones – 21 times (8.2 percent). In Radio Moldova programs – 50 times in June (29.2 percent), 114 times in August (14.0 percent), 137 times in September (12.7 percent) and 149 times in October (14.9 percent).

As in the previous months, the frequency of coverage of Parliament and Parliament Speaker in TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs is more reduced than the frequency of coverage of the presidential institution. In TV Moldova 1 programs, the Parliament and Parliament Speaker were mentioned once in June (0.8 percent), 9 times in August (3.3 percent), 5 times in September (3.4 percent) and 9 times in October (3.5 percent); in Radio Moldova programs – 3 times in June (1.8 percent), 18 times in August (2.2 percent), 15 times in September (1.4 percent) and 30 times in October (3.0 percent).

The frequency of coverage of local administration increased, compared to September, in TV Moldova 1 programs, from 17 to 26 times, while the relative figures decreased – from 11.6 to 10.1 percent, which indicates an increase in the total number of political and social agents covered by this institution. The frequency of coverage of local administration on Radio Moldova decreased, compared to September, from 127 (11.8 percent) to 107 times (10.7 percent).

The level of interest for civil society remained almost unchanged in both institutions, after a sudden reduction in August: 9.2 percent in June, 4.4 percent in August, 4.8 percent in September and 4.3 percent in October – on TV Moldova 1; 8.8 percent in June, 3.7 percent in August, 4.5 percent in September and 5.4 percent in October – on Radio Moldova.

The references to opposition, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, as well as to the governing party were rare in the programs of both institutions.

The following issues were not covered at all in TV Moldova 1 programs: employers' organization, trade unions, financial guard, economic police, and in Radio Moldova programs – the employers' organization (see table 22).

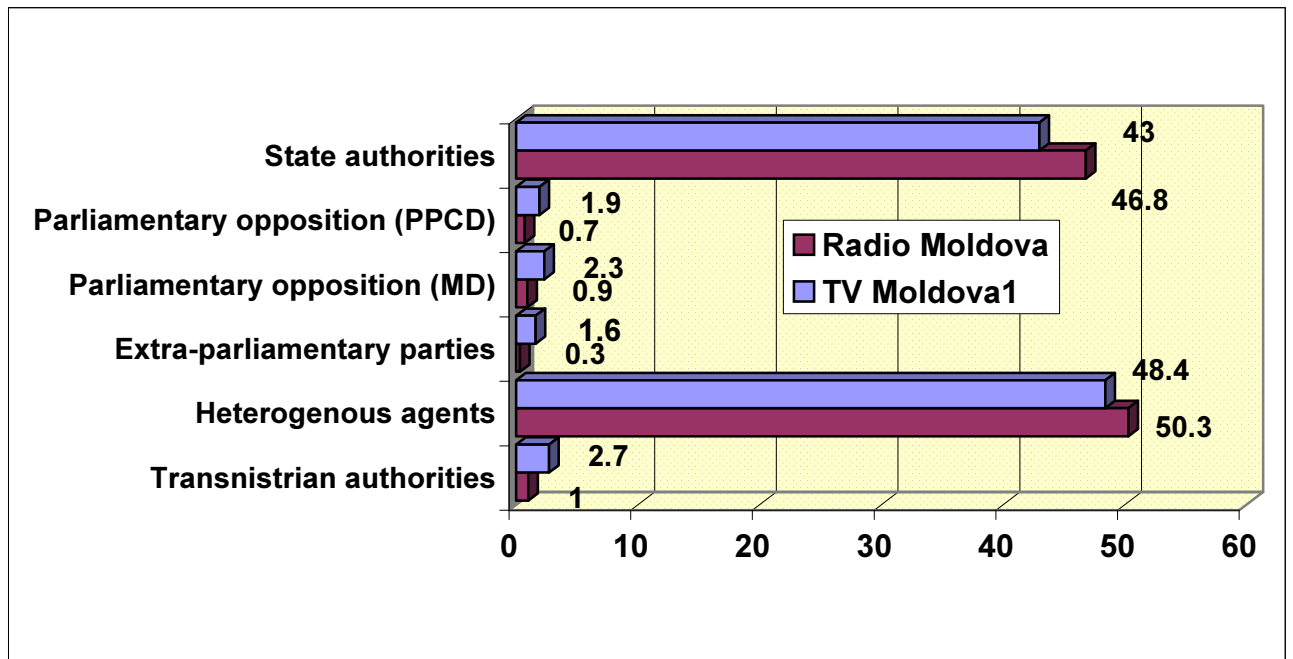
TABLE 22. Coverage of political and social agents - Frequency

| AGENTS | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | F | % | F | % |
| Presidency | 20 | 7.8 | 19 | 1.9 |
| Presidential staff | 1 | 0.4 | 1 | 0.1 |
| Government | 18 | 7.0 | 127 | 12.7 |
| Prime Minister | 3 | 1.2 | 22 | 2.2 |
| Parliament | 7 | 2.7 | 27 | 2.7 |
| Parliament Speaker | 2 | 0.8 | 3 | 0.3 |
| Justice, Constitutional Court | 1 | 0.4 | 11 | 1.1 |
| Police, Ministry of Security | 2 | 0.8 | 9 | 0.9 |
| Financial Guard, Economic Police | | | 1 | 0.1 |
| Local administration | 26 | 10.1 | 107 | 10.7 |
| Army | 8 | 3.1 | 10 | 1.0 |
| Communist Party | 4 | 1.6 | 8 | 0.8 |
| Other state institutions | 19 | 7.4 | 124 | 12.4 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, PPCD</i> | 5 | 1.9 | 7 | 0.7 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i> | 6 | 2.3 | 9 | 0.9 |
| <i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i> | 4 | 1.6 | 2 | 0.2 |
| Employers' organization | | | | |
| Trade unions | | | 5 | 0.5 |
| Church | 2 | 0.8 | 6 | 0.6 |
| Civil society | 11 | 4.3 | 54 | 5.4 |
| Economic agents | 24 | 9.3 | 124 | 12.4 |
| Mass media | 5 | 1.9 | 18 | 1.8 |
| Educational-scientific institutions | 12 | 4.7 | 88 | 8.8 |
| Healthcare institutions | 1 | 0.4 | 19 | 1.9 |
| Transnistrian authorities | 7 | 2.7 | 10 | 1.0 |
| Other internal agents | 40 | 15.6 | 75 | 7.5 |
| External agents | 30 | 11.7 | 115 | 11.5 |

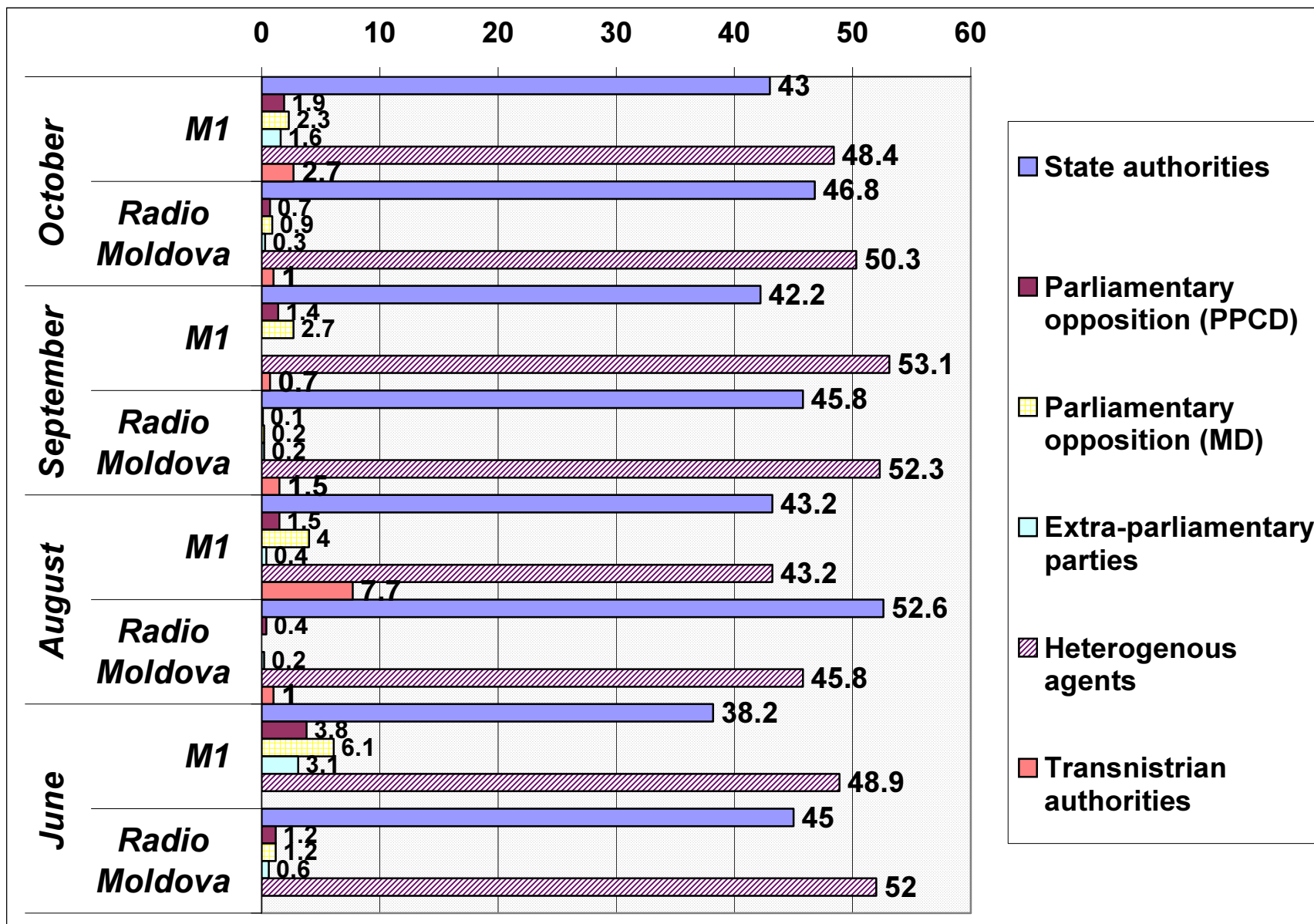
TABLE 23. Distribution of broadcast space among the five agent categories - Frequency (%)

| AGENT CATEGORIES | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova |
|---|--------------|---------------|
| State authorities | 43.0 | 46.8 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 1.9 | 0.7 |
| Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) | 2.3 | 0.9 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | 1.6 | 0.3 |
| Heterogeneous agents | 48.4 | 50.3 |
| Transnistrian agents | 2.7 | 1.0 |

Graph 23.1 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - Frequency (%)



Graph 23.2 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%)



2.4. Impartiality of socio-political and economic programs

In October, as compared to August and September, TV Moldova 1 resumed in its programs the „practice” of positive evaluations with regards to state authorities and of negative ones regarding the opposition, local public administration (Chisinau) and separatist authorities.

Radio Moldova programs maintained the neutral attitude of anchors to social and political agents (see tables 24 and 25).

TABLE 24. Evaluation of political and social agents - Frequency

| AGENTS | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|---|----|---------------|---|-----|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| Presidency | 5 | | 15 | | | 19 |
| Presidential staff | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Government | 3 | | 15 | | | 127 |
| Prime Minister | 1 | | 2 | | | 22 |
| Parliament | | | 7 | | | 27 |
| Parliament Speaker | | | 2 | | | 3 |
| Justice, Constitutional Court | | | 1 | | | 11 |
| Police, Ministry of Security | | | 2 | | | 9 |
| Financial Guard, Economic Police | | | | | | 1 |
| Local administration | | 8 | 18 | | | 107 |
| Army | | | 8 | | | 10 |
| Communist Party | | | 4 | | | 8 |
| Other state institutions | | | 19 | | | 124 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, PPCD</i> | | 3 | 2 | | | 7 |
| <i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i> | | 5 | 1 | | | 9 |
| <i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i> | | | 4 | | | 2 |
| Employers' organization | | | | | | |
| Trade unions | | | | | | 5 |
| Church | | | 2 | | | 6 |
| Civil society | | | 11 | | | 54 |
| Economic agents | | | 24 | | | 124 |
| Mass media | | | 5 | | | 18 |
| Educational-scientific institutions | | | 12 | | | 88 |
| Healthcare institutions | | | 1 | | | 19 |
| Transnistrian authorities | | 4 | 3 | | | 10 |
| Other internal agents | | | 40 | | | 75 |
| External agents | | | 30 | | | 115 |

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

Examples of programs, in which anchors make positive evaluations

TV Moldova 1

| Date | Program | Hour | Content |
|-------|--|-------|--|
| 2.10 | Rezonans | 19.00 | President Voronin's initiative regarding the privatization of an institution on the left bank of Nistru river is praised. |
| 10.10 | Sărbătoarea vinului (<i>Wine Holiday</i>) | 12.10 | The anchor speaks about Voronin's speech at the opening ceremony, eulogizes the President's actions, underlines the support the leadership intends to provide to the wine-making branch. |
| 17.10 | Baștina | 14.00 | Topic – preparation for the cold season. The anchor emphasizes the leadership's actions in this direction and praises them. |

TABLE 25. Evaluation of the five agent categories - Frequency

| AGENT CATEGORIES | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|---|--------------|-----------|------------|---------------|---|-------------|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| State authorities | 9 | 8 | 94 | | | 469 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | | 3 | 2 | | | 7 |
| Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) | | 5 | 1 | | | 9 |
| Extra-parliamentary parties | | | 4 | | | 2 |
| Heterogeneous agents | | | 125 | | | 504 |
| Transnistrian authorities | | 4 | 3 | | | 10 |
| TOTAL | 9 | 20 | 229 | | | 1001 |

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

2.5. Coverage of political parties

In comparison with September, one witnessed a radical increase in the programs with direct and indirect electoral implications in favor of state authorities, from 160 to 6648 seconds on TV Moldova 1, and from 1180 to 1275 seconds, on Radio Moldova (see table 20).

TABLE 26. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage

| PARTIES | Total | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova |
|---------|-------|--------------|---------------|
|---------|-------|--------------|---------------|

| | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM) | 12 | 4 | 8 |
| Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD) | 12 | 5 | 7 |
| Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL), Democratic Party (PDM)) | 15 | 6 | 9 |
| Agrarian Party of Moldova (PAM) | 1 | | 1 |
| Social-Democratic Party (PSDM) | 1 | 1 | |
| Reform Party | 1 | 1 | |
| Socialists' Party | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Ravnopraviye | 1 | 1 | |
| TOTAL | 45 | 19 | 26 |

Below are examples of such programs.

Direct and indirect electoral implications

TV Moldova 1

| Date | Program | Hour | Content |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|---|
| 19.10 | Obiectiv | 19.40 | Preparation for the cold season – guests: G. Persan (representative of Ministry of Energy), V. Morii (Economic Director of „Termocom”) and Gh. Benderschi. Mayor Urecheanu is accused of delaying the signing of the decision on heat agent supply. |
| 25.10 | Viața publică | 21.45 | Guest: E. Ostapciuc – made an overview of the 4 years of governing, positively presenting her activity as Speaker of Parliament and the PCRM activity in general. |
| 31.10 | Baștina | 14.00 | Agricultural machinery exhibition – a snapshot with President Voronin, who visited the exhibition. |
| | | | Voronin spoke about the support of agricultural producers. |

Radio Moldova

| Date | Program | Hour | Content |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|--|
| 2.10 | Noi și societatea | 10.05 | Draft law on increasing pensions and some allowances – interview with President Voronin, where everything that had been done for disabled people is recalled and emphasis is made on the social policy of current leadership, which focuses on specific individuals. |
| 11.10 | Radio matinal | 6.15 | Late harvests in Florești raion – Prime Minister Tarlev mentions import balance of agricultural machinery, stressing that 2650 devices have been imported only in the past 2 years, as compared to 180 devices imported during 10 years before the current government came to power. |
| 17.10 | Radio matinal | 7.15 | E. Ostapciuc’s visit to Vadul lui Isac, to the inauguration of the gas pipe. |
| 21.10 | Radio matinal | 7.15 | V. Madan’s visit to Fălești – situation of culture – it is made clear to culture workers that their situation will improve and salaries will increase. |

2.6 Coverage of political and social actors

In October, as in the previous monitoring months, Vladimir Voronin was the most publicized political actor in TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs – 30 times, (in June – 36 times, in August – 51 times, in September – 27 times) (see tables 28, 29). Out of 10 references to the Moldovan President in TV Moldova 1 programs, 3 had a positive connotation, and 7 - neutral. No critical assessments were made about the President in Radio Moldova programs, all references were neutral.

After the President, Prime Minister Tarlev is the most widely covered political actor in the programs of both public institutions: 18 references – in June, 26 - in August, 16 – in September and 22 – in October, including 1 with positive connotation on TV Moldova 1.

Serafim Urecheanu is on the third position, with 11 references, 6 of which with negative connotation, in TV Moldova 1 programs, and on the fourth position – Dumitru Braghiș, with 6 neutral references.

Urecheanu is the only political and social actor that received a negative evaluation by the anchors of TV Moldova 1 programs.

Besides Voronin and Tarlev, the Minister of Energy, Iacob Timciuc, also enjoyed positive evaluation.

TABLE 28. Most publicized political and social actors – Frequency

| ACTORS | Total | TV Moldova 1 | Radio Moldova |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Vladimir Voronin | 30 | 13 | 17 |
| Vasile Tarlev | 22 | 3 | 19 |
| Serafim Urecheanu | 11 | 8 | 3 |
| Dumitru Braghiș | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| Constantin Mihailescu | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| Zinaida Greceanăi | 5 | | 5 |
| Veaceslav Madan | 5 | | 5 |
| Valentin Beniuc | 5 | | 5 |
| Iacob Timciuc | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| Eugenia Ostapciuc | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Valerian Cristea | 4 | | 4 |
| Victor Stepaniuc | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Vladimir Mișin | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Marian Lupu | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Iurie Roșca | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Andrei Stratan | 2 | | 2 |
| Vitalie Valcov | 2 | | 2 |
| Vasile Zgardan | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Victor Morev | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Dumitru Todoroglo | 1 | | 1 |
| Vasile Iov | 1 | | 1 |
| Veaceslav Untilă | 1 | | 1 |
| Vlad Cubriacov | 1 | | 1 |
| Anatol Popușoi | 1 | | 1 |
| Ion Leahu | 1 | | 1 |
| Victoria Iftodi | 1 | | 1 |

| | | | |
|----------------|---|---|--|
| Vasile Şova | 1 | 1 | |
| Miron Gagauz | 1 | 1 | |
| Oazu Nantoi | 1 | 1 | |
| Victor Gaiciuc | 1 | 1 | |

TABLE 29. Evaluation of political and social actors – Frequency

| ACTORS | TV Moldova 1 | | | Radio Moldova | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|---|----|---------------|---|----|
| | + | - | 0 | + | - | 0 |
| Vladimir Voronin | 3 | | 10 | | | 17 |
| Vasile Tarlev | 1 | | 2 | | | 19 |
| Serafim Urecheanu | | 6 | 2 | | | 3 |
| Dumitru Braghiş | | | 1 | | | 5 |
| Constantin Mihailescu | | | 1 | | | 5 |
| Zinaida Greceanâi | | | | | | 5 |
| Veaceslav Madan | | | | | | 5 |
| Valentin Beniuc | | | | | | 5 |
| Iacob Timciuc | 1 | | | | | 4 |
| Eugenia Ostapciuc | | | 2 | | | 3 |
| Valerian Cristea | | | | | | 4 |
| Victor Stepaniuc | | | 1 | | | 2 |
| Vladimir Mişin | | | 2 | | | 1 |
| Marian Lupu | | | 2 | | | 1 |
| Iurie Roşca | | | 2 | | | 1 |
| Andrei Stratan | | | | | | 2 |
| Vitalie Valcov | | | | | | 2 |
| Vasile Zgardan | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Victor Morev | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Dumitru Todoroglo | | | | | | 1 |
| Vasile Iov | | | | | | 1 |
| Veaceslav Untilă | | | | | | 1 |
| Vlad Cubriacov | | | | | | 1 |
| Anatol Popuşoi | | | | | | 1 |
| Ion Leahu | | | | | | 1 |
| Victoria Iftodi | | | | | | 1 |
| Vasile Şova | | | 1 | | | |
| Miron Gagauz | | | 1 | | | |
| Oazu Nantoi | | | 1 | | | |
| Victor Gaiciuc | | | 1 | | | |

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

2.7 Participants in socio-political and economic programs

The growth of the duration of socio-political, political and economic programs determined an increase in the number of participants. In TV Moldova 1 programs there were attested 162 participations, as compared to 80 in September, 98 in August, and 86 in June. The number of participants in Radio Moldova programs has been

continuously growing, from 118 participants in June, to 305 in August, 336 participants in September, and 411 in October.

State authority representatives were the favorites of the producers of socio-political and economic programs in both public institutions. The frequency of their participation in TV Moldova 1 programs made up 43 percent in June, 30.6 percent in August, 30 percent in September, and 30.9 percent in October. Although registering a decreasing tendency, the participation of state authority representatives in Radio Moldova programs is even more significant: of 54.2 percent in June, 48.6 percent in August, 39.0 percent in September, and 38 percent in October.

The attitude towards inviting parliamentary opposition representatives did not change. TV Moldova 1: 2 participations in June (2.4 percent), no participations in August, 2 – in September (2.5 percent), 3 – in October (1.8 percent). Radio Moldova: 4 participations in June (3.4 percent), no participations in August, 1 – in September (0.3 percent) and 11 in October (2.7 percent).

Nor in October did the frequency of participation of civil society (NGOs) representatives reach the June level, of 15.1 percent on TV Moldova 1, and 11.9 percent on Radio Moldova; it reached 7.4 percent and 9.5 percent, respectively.

Compared with September, the share of individual participation in TV Moldova 1 programs decreased from 19.0 percent to 14.2 percent, and increased in Radio Moldova programs from 9.8 percent to 11.4 percent. Also, the participation of representatives of various institutions and enterprises increased in absolute figures (and in relative figures on Radio Moldova) (see table 30).

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

| PARTICIPANT CATEGORIES | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|--|--------------|------|---------------|------|
| | F | % | F | % |
| State authorities | 50 | 30,9 | 156 | 38,0 |
| Parliamentary opposition (PPCD) | 2 | 1,2 | 5 | 1,2 |
| Parliamentary opposition (MD) | 1 | 0,6 | 6 | 1,5 |
| Extra-parliamentary party | 4 | 2,5 | 2 | 0,5 |
| Civil society – NGOs, associative sector | 12 | 7,4 | 39 | 9,5 |
| Individual participation (ordinary people) | 23 | 14,2 | 47 | 11,4 |
| Transnistrian representatives (authorities) | 3 | 1,9 | 1 | 0,2 |
| External representatives | 11 | 6,8 | 20 | 4,9 |
| Representatives of other institutions, enterprises | 56 | 34,6 | 135 | 32,8 |

2.8 Program pluralism

The right to response and presentation of two or more sources continued to be ignored in October, too, both in TV Moldova 1 and in Radio Moldova programs. In this

respect, the situation worsened, compared to September, on TV Moldova 1, and somewhat improved on Radio Moldova, so that the frequency of cases of presentation of one source is almost the same in both broadcasters (see table 31). Please find below examples of such programs.

TV Moldova 1

| Date | Program | Hour | Content |
|-------|----------|-------|--|
| 2.10 | Rezonans | 19.00 | About the arrest of 3 City Hall officers – the activity of capital’s mayor is criticized |
| 9.10 | Rezonans | 19.00 | About the illegally allotted land plots – the capital’s mayor is accused |
| | | | Moldova’s delegation to PACE – situation of Transnistrian schools (the opposition is criticized) |
| 16.10 | Rezonans | 19.00 | Situation of Transnistrian schools and its impact on the relations between Moldova and Transnistria – Transnistrian authorities are accused |
| | | | In his speech at the Conference dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the creation of the Autonomous Moldovan Republic, President Voronin speaks about a supposed coalition Roșca-Urecheanu-Smirnov |
| | | | Illegally allotted land plots by the City Hall |
| 23.10 | Rezonans | 19.00 | Constitution of Save Chisinau Committee. This organization demands S.Urecheanu’s resignation. Accusations are made about the illegal allotment of land plots |
| | | | Reportage about the unfinished București street and Sângera Bridge – the journalist becomes ironic, S.Urecheanu is accused. |
| | | | Adoption of 2005 Budget Law – ironic attitude towards the abstention of Braghis Alliance and PPCD from voting. The journalist accuses the opposition of the lack of cooperation with the Government. |
| | | | Reportage about the blocking of Varnița-Bender road – Transnistrian authorities are accused |
| | | | Accusations are brought against V. Balan – mayor of village of Teleșeu (Orhei raion), Chairman of Mayors Association |
| 30.10 | Rezonans | 19.00 | Biased reportage about S. Urecheanu who, on the eve of the elections, claims to be threatened by somebody |

TABLE 31. Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage

| | TV Moldova 1 | | Radio Moldova | |
|---------------------|--------------|----|---------------|----|
| | F | % | F | % |
| One source | 99 | 66 | 220 | 69 |
| Two or more sources | 50 | 34 | 97 | 31 |

CASE STUDY: Coverage within the newscasts and programs of “Teleradio Moldova” Company of the cases of (presumably illegal) allotment by the Chisinau City Hall of land plots in the city’s green and historical zones.

Case study focus: the following reportages from *Moldova 1* and *Radio Moldova* referring to 2 cases of major public importance were selected:

1) on the (presumably illegal) allotment by the Chisinau City Hall of 600 land plots in the city’s green and historical zones;

2) on the arrest of three City Hall officers who were charged with committing offences in connection with the exercise of their authority (regarding the allotment of a plot of land in the center of Chisinau), which is supposed to be the main reason for the neglect of the state of the National Arts Museum located on Stefan cel Mare blvd.

Reason for selecting this issue: these are conflicting cases, which arouse public interest, but which, due to the nature of the subjects involved, could be treated with bias and unobjectively transformed into an electoral „battlefield”. These cases, due to their relation with the illegal allotment of land plots by the local public administration, could be treated as one issue. At the same time, it is an issue, which enjoys long-term coverage.

Case study purpose: to assess, from the angle of a specific conflicting subject, the manner in which “Teleradio Moldova” Company adheres the standards necessary for the existence of a veritable public broadcaster in the Republic of Moldova.

Reportages on the issue:

Moldova 1:

20.09.2004, 19.00; 21.00 and 23.00: in-depth reportage on the „illegal” assignment into ownership of 600 land plots in the capital’s parks and green zones, with details about the character of the illegal actions, damage caused, initiated criminal lawsuits etc. Interviewee – Igor Semenovcher, Head of the Constructions and Territorial Development Department. The reportage did not reveal opinions that would question the illegal character of the incriminated actions.

24.09.2004, 19.00; 21.00 and 23.00: reportage on the arrest of three City Hall officers, who were charged with committing offences in connection with the exercise of their authority, which led to the signing of a contract that was not advantageous for the state. Breach of the contract is the main reason why the National Arts Museum, located on Stefan cel Mare blvd, is in a run-down state. A representative of law-enforcement bodies, who characterized the nature of the incriminated facts, was interviewed. The position of the accused parties was not made known to the public.

24.09.2004, 19.00 (“Rezonans”). The program included a succession of several in-depth reportages with acid coverage tone, which focused on the following issues: the first one referred to the 600-land-plot scandal – the reportage had an accusing character and tonality (interviews were presented with the Director of the

Constructions and Territorial Development Department and with a municipal counselor, but not with the accused individuals). The second reportage referred to the arrest of three City Hall officers, whose actions had allegedly caused enormous damage to the state. In the second case, there was footage, including from the detention center, in which the accused were treated with irony. There was a staged interview with deputy mayor Paladi, and his statement that he would not speak without an attorney was again treated with irony. There was a single real interviewee: an officer of the Anti-Organized Crime and Corruption Center (CCCOC). The entire reportage had a tough tone, the presumption of innocence principle was not observed, the suspected individuals were presented as criminals, the presumed damages and offences – as established facts. The anchor's tonality was identical to that of a prosecutor, but attorneys did not appear in the reportage. Also, an attack on the CCCOC was mentioned, and without there being any plausible proof, allusions were made, logically seeming unjustified, that attempts had been made to steal exactly those documents that were related to the investigations of the actions committed by the City Hall officers. The reportages had the character of electoral campaign against S. Urecheanu, and began with quotes from the questions addressed to him on the site *Moldova azi* and Urecheanu's answers.

27.09.2004, 19.00; 21.00: information about the investigation of the three City Hall officers under arrest. Mayor Urecheanu's position and the position of the General Prosecutor's Office were also mentioned. The interviewee was Octavian Bejan, CCCOC officer, who mentioned, among other things, that it had been decided to keep suspects under arrest while investigations were conducted due to the existence of a precedent involving Deputy Mayor Țurcanu "who has been avoiding criminal accountability".

01.10.2004, 08.30: Information on the exclusion of the Member of Parliament Ciugureanu from the Communist Party list (he said that the reason for his exclusion was his presence on the list of beneficiaries of landplots offered by the City Hall), as well as on the dismissal of Pintelei, Chairman of the Court of Accounts. It was mentioned that the presumed reason for the dismissal would be the fact that the City Hall list included six employees of the Court of Accounts but it was not clear who assumed that.

02.10.2004, 19.00 hours ("Rezonans"): the reportage started with some explanations of the presumption of innocence principle (was it an unstated excuse for the reportages from the previous program, which had totally ignored this principle?). The case was further covered. The anchor called it "Chișinău Gate", and spoke about Ciugureanu's exclusion from the Communist Party list. Through opinions voiced, the anchor made electoral propaganda in favor of the party of the Country's President. In fact, the latter also appeared in the reportage. In the statements made, facts were not separated from opinions, and only one opinion was convincingly publicized.

09.10.2004, 19.00 ("Rezonans"): back to the 600-land-plot issue through an in-depth, manipulating reportage – a piece of propaganda. A snapshot was aired repeatedly (as an ad), in which Urecheanu stated that he had not signed any documents. The clip

had a negative impact on the brain, because in the following seconds attempts were made to demonstrate that Urecheanu had signed a document, and a piece of paper signed by Urecheanu was shown many times. However, it was not shown in its entirety – but only in the part with the signature. Its content was not readable. The reportage was directed against S. Urecheanu. References were made to some rumors of 5-6 years ago, and images of people holding posters “we want light”, “we demand annulment of decisions”, as well as those with the Ismail street were shown. However, it was not explained what, in fact, was being shown and what happened in those cases. Gh.Benderschi and a communist counselor were interviewed. The reportage had an accusing character, all aspects of the accusations were being argued, but the principles of presumption of innocence and of separation of facts from opinions were not observed. The arrest of the three officers was also covered, from the CCCOC’s viewpoint, but the perspective of the accused’ attorneys was not presented. Other insinuations were also made.

15.10.2004, 19.00; 21.00: information about the initiation of criminal investigations by the General Prosecutor’s Office on several grounds related to the allotment of land plots. The character of the accusations of the Prosecutor’s Office was clarified, but not the position of those, who were to be placed in the position of defendants (the attorneys’ positions should have been presented for counter-balance).

16.10.2004, 19.00 (“Rezonans”): several reportages with electoral implications, in which Urecheanu comes out, were presented. These included the case called “Chişinău Gate”, which was again explored in-depth. Excerpts from the statements of Chisinau Mayor were used, but the anchor’s obvious purpose was to demonstrate through these quotations that Urecheanu is guilty. There were multiple repetitions of some snapshots, which had a psychological impact. The reportage tendentiously used snapshots from a feature film with Urecheanu (but without mentioning that the snapshots were from a movie). These were inserted into real-life footage.

21.10.2004, 19.00; 21.00: reportage from the press conference of the Save Chisinau Committee, recently created, headed by Gh. Benderschi, which highlighted the City Hall’s violations, which it had discovered and stated as its goal obtaining Urecheanu’s resignation. The reportage had an electoral character and was directed against the Chisinau Mayor.

23.10.2004, 19.00 (“Rezonans”): again there was a series of propaganda reportages, in which a hostile tone towards Mayor Urecheanu was adopted. The effect was produced by slowly passing from one reportage to another: from the multitude of actions of corruption and violations at Chisinau City Hall (which the anchor called “Chişinău Gate”) – to the creation of the Save Chisinau Committee and its press conference. A transition was then made to the history of Urecheanu’s appointment as mayor, which was built on the statements of Nicolae Andronic. These essentially did not bear an unmasking character, but the tone with which the anchor read them and his attitude could give the impression of “unmasking” to the viewer. Subsequently, the “Chişinău Gate” case was brought back into discussion, things that had been mentioned more than once in the past programs were again reviewed. This was

followed by a review of the precarious situation of Sangera Bridge and of the asphaltting of Bucuresti street. Then Flux newspaper was mentioned in a negative context, followed by an acerbically critical reportage on Teleșeu village mayor (whose main guilt, in comparison with other mayors, seems to be the fact that he is a politician on the list of Democratic Moldova Party). The ironic finale was an Odessa movie featuring Mayor Urecheanu. This was the film, from which snapshots had been used in the previous program.

Radio Moldova:

The study focus were the news from the newscasts of 20.09.2004 (18.00; 19.15; 21.00); 25.09.2004 (6.00; 8.00; 9.00; 15.00); 27.09.2004 (19.15); 28.09.2004 (7.00; 9.00; 11.00; 12.15; 19.15; 21.00; 23.00); 29.09.2004 (6.00; 9.00); 01.10.2004 (6.30; 23.10); 07.10.2004 (14.00; 15.00); 08.10.2004 (8.00; 11.00); 12.10.2004 (15.00); 13.10.2004 (7.00); 15.10.2004 (19.15; 23.10); 28.10.2004 (9.00).

The reportages were mainly informative, the tone was moderate, unbiased. The information was basically the same as on television, but broadcast only within newscasts, and not within programs. In order to clarify the essence of the presumed violations, the floor was usually given to I. Semenovcher, Head of Constructions and Territorial Development Department, Gh. Benderschi, Center for Consumer Rights Protection, to CCCOC officers, seldom to S. Urecheanu, never to the defense of the accused officers.

There were some positive examples of reports produced impartially, objectively, when facts were covered in full, observing the presumption of innocence, and the floor was also given to actors with opposite views: 28.09.2004, 23.10 (unfortunately, minimal audience hour).

The main drawback was that, although facts were presented in a moderate tone, they were, as a rule, presented from the angle of the accusing party, and actions were qualified as „illegal”, and not „presumably illegal”. The absolute majority of reportages presented only the essence of the accusation, whereas the view of the defense was practically absent. One of the reportages (07.10.2004, 15.00), although invoking Urecheanu’s response, immediately continued, either by the anchor’s mistake, or intentionally, with a comment of the Center for Consumer Rights Protection, which made Urecheanu’s response unclear and valueless. Another reportage (12.10.2004, 15.00 and 13.10.2004, 19.00), although essentially tackling another topic, whose main actor was Presidential Counselor M. Tkaciuk, passed on to accusing S. Urecheanu for destroying the green zones, accusations that were left without response.

Special remarks:

Moldova 1

- ☒ The coverage of events was neither complete (the position of the accused parties was not covered entirely), nor balanced (the tone of “Rezonans” reportages was biased, accusing). We cannot speak either about accuracy (as only certain suspicions that were not supported by sound arguments to be

qualified as facts, were covered in full) or about objectivity (because the attempt to discredit local public administration was obvious)¹.

- ☐ Analytical programs did not encourage the viewers to form their own opinions freely, but were practically imposing the approach that they had to adopt².
- ☐ Certain images from the detention center and the comments made thereon were directed towards humiliating the respective individuals and harming their dignity³.
- ☐ Programs based on real facts must be unbiased, which means that they must be honest, accurate, and must maintain a corresponding respect for truthfulness. However, “Rezonans” used without forewarning, snapshots from a feature film or images whose context was not explained, which does not correspond to this principle⁴.
- ☐ The presentation must be disinterested, broad and well-informed: the description of the events must be comprehensive, reporting facts truthfully and impartially. Opposite positions must be covered adequately throughout the controversy. However, “Rezonans” comments do not seem to be disinterested but to follow certain political goals. Only the accused party is adequately covered, but not the defending one⁵.
- ☐ Impartiality is of special importance in controversies. It is necessary to ensure that all significant viewpoints and perspectives are presented during the controversy. *Moldova 1* ensured only the coverage of one viewpoint in full⁶.
- ☐ If the program includes serious criticism or accusations of injustice or incompetence brought to a person or organization, or when a program expresses accusations made by third parties, then the accused parties must be offered an opportunity to respond. As a rule, the time offered for the response must be equal to the time offered for criticism. *Moldova 1* did not observe this principle⁷.
- ☐ Not only facts should be covered correctly, but the language, too, must be adequate. Exaggerations and use of incorrect language that suggests subjective opinions or lack of objectivity, must be avoided. Opinions should not be presented as facts. This principle was not observed in “Rezonans”⁸.
- ☐ An adequate exercise of the freedom of speech implies observance of the right to presumption of innocence of the suspected or accused party, which is an essential condition for the responsible exercise of journalism – a principle ignored by *Moldova 1*⁹.

¹ Which comes in contradiction with Art. 1, 2 and 5 of the Law on the National Public Broadcaster “Teleradio-Moldova” Company of 26 July 2002 (hereinafter “the Law”) and p. 1 of the Benchmarks for the Activity of the Public Broadcasters in the Republic of Moldova, developed by OSCE Mission to Moldova and the Special Representative of the General Secretary of the Council of Europe (hereinafter “the Benchmarks”)

² Which contradicts Art. 2, 4 and 5 of the Law and p. 1 of the Benchmarks

³ Which contradicts p. 17 of the Benchmarks

⁴ Which contradicts Art. 4 and 5 of the Law and p. 2 of the Benchmarks

⁵ Which contradicts Art. 4 and 5 of the Law and p. 4 of the Benchmarks

⁶ Which contradicts Art. 2, 4 and 5 of the Law and p. 6 of the Benchmarks

⁷ Which contradicts p. 10 of the Benchmarks and principle 9 of the Appendix to the Recommendation of the Ministerial Committee of EC Rec(2003)13 on the provision of information through the media in relation to criminal proceedings

⁸ Which contradicts Art. 5 of the Law and p. 16 of the Benchmarks

⁹ Which contradicts Art. 21 of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and principle 2 of the Appendix to the Recommendation of the Ministerial Committee of EC Rec(2003)13 on the provision of information through the media in relation to criminal proceedings, as well as p. 3 of the Declaration of the Ministerial Committee of EC on the provision of information through the media in relation to criminal proceedings

Radio Moldova

- ☞ Unlike the television, attempts were made to observe the standards of informative, unbiased journalism. However, the following drawbacks were noted:
- only the position of the accusation, and not of the defense, was broadly covered¹⁰
 - some reportages did not completely safeguard the right to the presumption of innocence of the suspected and accused parties¹¹
 - a piece of news represented the opposite view in such a manner, that it could have been misunderstood¹².

Conclusions

The way, in which the case on the (presumably illegal) allotment of land plots by the Chisinau City Hall, covered within the newscasts and programs of “Teleradio Moldova” Company, especially within the analytical program “Rezonans”, indicates anticipated implications in the electoral campaign, which, according to the status of public broadcaster, is not admissible.

Although the media must inform and comment not only on facts, but also on opinions, as long as they are aired by the public broadcaster, the fundamental principles of its functioning must be observed. Opinions should never be presented as facts. At the same time, freedom of speech must not infringe upon the presumption of innocence principle. These standards, which result both from the national legislation, and the jurisprudence of the European Court for Human Rights, were not observed.

We attest the fact that the analytical program “Rezonans” is not unbiased in its approach of issues. At the same time, *Moldova 1* does not produce an analytical program in Romanian, and the opinions expressed in “Rezonans” are not counter-argued with balanced information or responses.

In this way, TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova are not yet attaining the objectives and meeting the obligations established by the Law on the National Public Broadcaster “Teleradio-Moldova” Company of 26 July 2002 and are not implementing the principles indicated in the Benchmarks for the Activity of the Public Broadcasters of the Republic of Moldova, developed by the OSCE Mission to Moldova and the Special Representative of the General Secretary of the Council of Europe. As a result, we cannot speak about the existence of a real public broadcaster in the Republic of Moldova.

¹⁰ Which contradicts Art. 2, 4 and 5 of the Law and p. 4 and 6 of the Benchmarks

¹¹ Which contradicts Art. 21 of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and principle 2 of the Appendix to the Recommendation of the Ministerial Committee of EC Rec(2003)13 on the provision of information through the media in relation to criminal proceedings, as well as p. 3 of the Declaration of the Ministerial Committee of EC on the provision of information through the media in relation to criminal proceedings

¹² Which contradicts Art. 2, 4 and 5 of the Law and p. 1, 2, 4 and 6 of the Benchmarks