



Centrul Independent de Jurnalism

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, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), the Dutch, British and U.S. Embassies in Moldova

**Report
1 – 30 November 2004**

Chișinău, 2004

SUMMARY

Methodological framework	3
Glossary of terms	4
Fundamental principles of a public broadcasting institution and degree of observance thereof by “Teleradio-Moldova”	6
I. Newscasts	9
1.1 General agenda of news	9
1.2 Typological register of internal socio-political news	14
1.3 Topic agenda	24
1.4 Agents and actors of newscasts	29
1.5 Coverage of parties and political pluralism in newscasts	35
1.6 Coverage circumstances, impartiality and diversity of sources in newscasts	37
1.7 Conclusions	38
II. Socio-political, political and economic programs	39
2.1 Program distribution	39
2.2 Program topics	41
2.3 Coverage of political and social actors	45
2.4 Impartiality of socio-political and economic programs	51
2.5 Coverage of political parties and political pluralism	52
2.6 Coverage of political and social actors	54
2.7 Participants in programs	56
2.8 Program pluralism	58
2.9 Conclusions	60

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The monitoring was carried out between 1-30 November 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 and opinions, 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 life and 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 and of parties

■ *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 or 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 Voronin and Tarlev’s opinions are presented, there is a single source – of the authorities.

Fundamental principles of a public broadcasting institution and degree of observance thereof by “Teleradio-Moldova”

The principles concordant with the activity of a public broadcasting institution must apply to each radio or TV program, whether it is created for the national or international audience, or by the institution's own departments or for the institution by an independent company. Any independent production made for the company must meet the same standards as the production made by the company and must conform with the company's policy. The company must assume the responsibility for the methods and content of any material broadcast thereby.

During the monitoring period, we noted severe deficiencies in the observance of two basic principles:

1. Principle of impartiality, which includes the following elements:

- Programs must cover all interests, thinking and aspirations of the audience;
- Coverage of events must be complete, accurate, balanced, objective and comprehensive;
- Presentation must be disinterested, and adverse opinions must be covered correspondingly throughout the controversy;
- Care must be taken that all existing points of view are covered in the program, and adverse opinions are not misunderstood;
- The informative character of programs must be of such nature as to encourage the audience to form its own view on the issues discussed;
- A reporter may express her/his professional, journalistic judgment, but not her/his personal opinion. Her/his judgment must be assessed as perceptible and correct;
- Audience should be unable to understand from the company's programs the personal views of the anchors and reporters on political matters;
- Programs should treat adequately and appropriately any subject, which in some cases could imply treatment of a conflicting subject from the perspective of more than two parties;
- When a program contains severe criticism, which harms an individual or an institution, the criticized parties must be offered the correct possibility of responding thereto;
- An interviewee asked to respond to a broader criticism must be offered the possibility of responding to each of the main points mentioned in the program. Increased attention should be paid to the reflection in the program of the substantial remarks made by the interviewee in the entire broadcast. It is incorrect to select only the weakest responses, preferring them to the pertinent ones. Overall, a reasonable person, while watching and/or listening to an interview in both forms (integral and shortened) must conclude that it has been edited correctly;
- Airtime granted to the government and parliamentary majority, on the one hand, and to the opposition, on the other, must be approximately equal during one month. This can mainly be ensured by implementing the following two practices: 1. Reports on the President's or Government's activity must include or be followed by the statements or commentaries of representatives of the opposition and of the institutions or organizations directly affected by those activities. 2. If the President, the Parliament Speaker or the Prime Minister offer an interview longer than three minutes on the public TV or radio, the leaders of opposition parliamentary factions must be offered the possibility of commenting on those remarks.

2. Principle of accuracy and honesty, which includes the following elements:

- Any information must be thoroughly checked. The sources of information must be as direct as possible. Mistakes that have been made must be corrected openly and in due time;
- Commentaries should always be truthful and never be used to offer the audience an erroneous impression about the events;
- Interviewer's tone must be free of passionate attitude; the interviewer can be challenging, but not aggressive or rude, no matter what the challenge is; the interviewer must work on behalf of the listeners/viewers;
- Interviewees must be offered the possibility of providing complete answers to the questions in a fair manner. Interruptions can be necessary, but they should occur at the right time and not be too frequent.

To conclude with, treating controversial subjects with the necessary accuracy and impartiality means granting airtime to all parties, including the opposition, so that an honest and informed debate on the events is made possible.

Unfortunately, upon analyzing the results of the five monitoring months, we must conclude that, although certain positive transformations were noted in this period (appearance of debate programs on public interest topics, increase in the number of neutral approaches to conflicting subjects etc.), which foster the values of a public broadcaster, however, the progressive elements did not evolve consistently, and the negative tendencies prevailed over the positive ones:

- "Teleradio-Moldova" Company did not ensure the necessary access of all political forces to airtime; the state authorities' view was omnipresent, to the detriment of opposite views. The agents and actors of power were covered with priority. In this way, the principle of opinion pluralism was not respected;
- Topic agendas of news and programs showed certain discordance between the real problems of people (what they discuss on a daily basis) and what the TV and radio broadcasters mainly covered (according to the Public Opinion Barometer of November 2004, we have the following list of people's main concerns: 1. poverty, 2. prices, 3. children's future, 4. unemployment, 5. corruption, diseases, 6. crimes and delinquencies). "Teleradio-Moldova" Company deviated from the scope of citizens' main concerns, highlighting the activity of state authorities, mainly its positive aspect;
- We noted a constant avoidance of certain events, of fundamental importance and of public interest (Teleradio journalists' protests, events organized by the opposition etc). The state authorities' image was being polished to the detriment of public interest;
- Numerous problems were covered with obvious partiality (Teleradio journalists' protests, the activity of Chişinău City Hall etc). In many cases, there was no adequate separation of opinions from facts, the opinions being imposed on the audience as established facts;
- In some cases, the political involvement led to the violation of basic human rights (for instance, the presumption of innocence principle);
- The necessary and adequate diversity of documentation sources was absent: a single source was used for the coverage of most events;
- We noted a multitude of reportages with pre-electoral propaganda character, which aimed at modeling the results of the next parliamentary elections into a certain direction.

We mainly noted the lack of a synthesis and analysis program developed by “Teleradio-Moldova” Company. The “Rezonans” program, broadcast by “Moldova 1” in Russian is the creation of “Mir” Company. This program is not developed in accordance with the principles of impartiality, accuracy and honesty, being an instrument for political manipulation.

As a result, we conclude that the current legislative basis is not able to guarantee the editorial independence of “Teleradio Moldova” Company and its effective functioning as a public broadcasting institution on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

I. NEWSCASTS

General observations

In November, Teleradio Moldova Company somehow reduced the socio-political broadcasting segment, as compared to the previous months. According to the data provided by CIVIS, such programs covered 218 hours in this period (as compared to 225.25 in October, 201.07 in September, and 196.4 in August). In other words, the share of these programs in the Company's general listings varied from 22.8 percent in August to 23.4 percent in September, 26.22 percent in October, and 25.39 percent in November). We would also mention that an obvious increase of socio-political broadcasting was noted both on TV Moldova 1 and on Radio Moldova, as soon as Teleradio Moldova Company was declared a public institution (8 August). Thus, if in June 2004, when the Company was formally still a state structure, the duration of socio-political programs on TV Moldova 1 made up 40.14 hours, then in November – 65.46 hours (in October – 74.05 hours, in September – 56.45 hours and in August – 54.43 hours), and on Radio Moldova – respectively, 112.18 and 152.13 hours (in October – 151.2 hours, in September – 144.22 hours, and in August – 141.57 hours).

The monitoring data also point out the interest of the public institution Teleradio Moldova in increasing opinion socio-political programs at the expense of newscasts. Thus, radio newscasts in November, as compared to June (when Radio Moldova still had the status of state institution), fell by 9.26 percent, making up 78.2 percent of the socio-political broadcasting segment (in October – 77.43 percent, in September – 79 percent and in August – 81.56 percent). The behavior of TV Moldova 1 in this respect was specific. After an over 12-percent reduction in duration of newscasts in August, as compared to June, and an increase in September up to the June share, of 74.7 percent, a new decline to the August share takes place, this basically being maintained in the latest monitoring months – 61.24 percent in October, and 62.9 percent in November.

A comparative analysis of June monitoring data, on the one hand, and of August-November data – on the other, almost entirely confirms the assumption formulated in the previous reports, and namely: *Teleradio Moldova Company, as public institution, strengthens the socio-political broadcasting segment and consolidates opinion socio-political programs at the expense of newscasts.*

1.1 General agenda of news

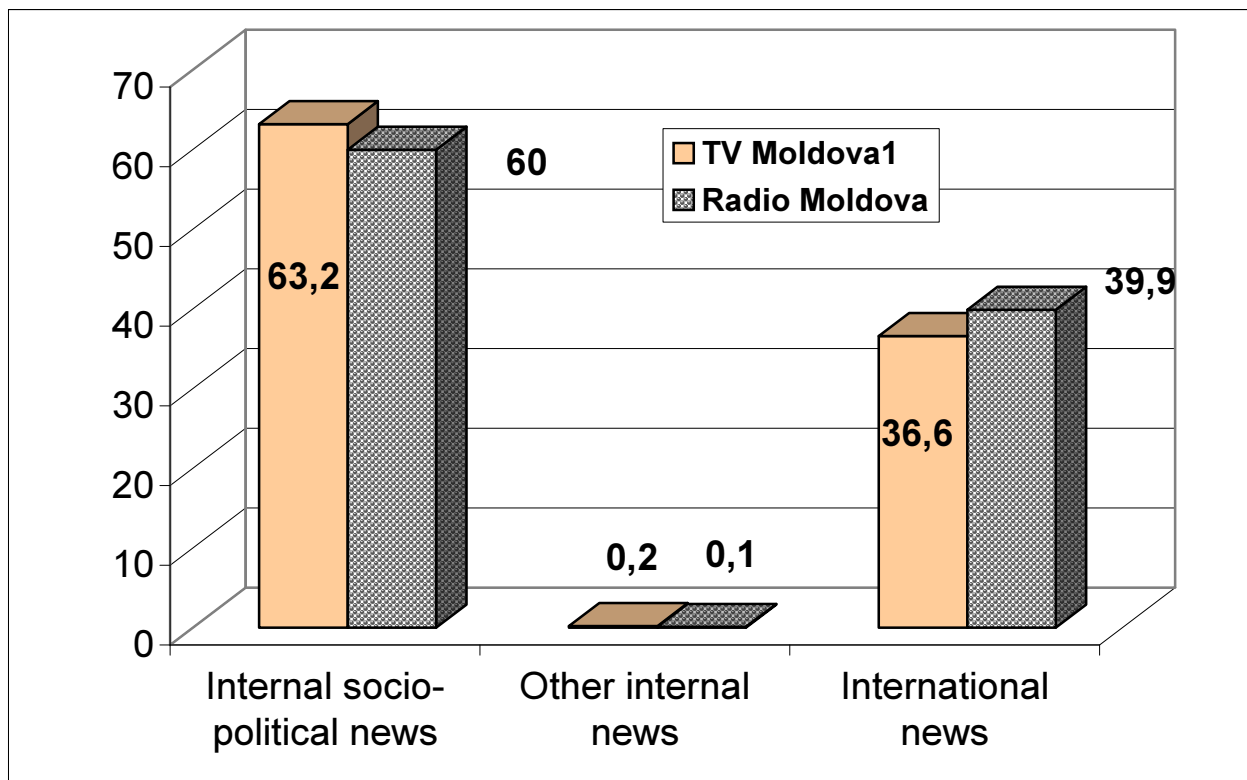
The general agenda of news in November confirms, as a whole, the structural-topical model applied by TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova throughout the monitoring period.

Thus, internal socio-political news, constituting the absolute priority both for Radio Moldova and for TV Moldova 1, were presented in November practically with the same frequency and duration as in the previous months. They accumulated 63.2 percent in frequency and 76.8 percent in duration on TV Moldova 1, and 60 and 75.5 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 (see graphs 1.2 and 2.2).

TABLE 1. General agenda - FREQUENCY

NEWS TYPE	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Internal socio-political	1195	63.2	3229	60.0
Other internal news	3	0.2	7	0.1
International	693	36.6	2146	39.9

Graph 1.1.
General agenda – Frequency (%)



Graph 1.2.

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

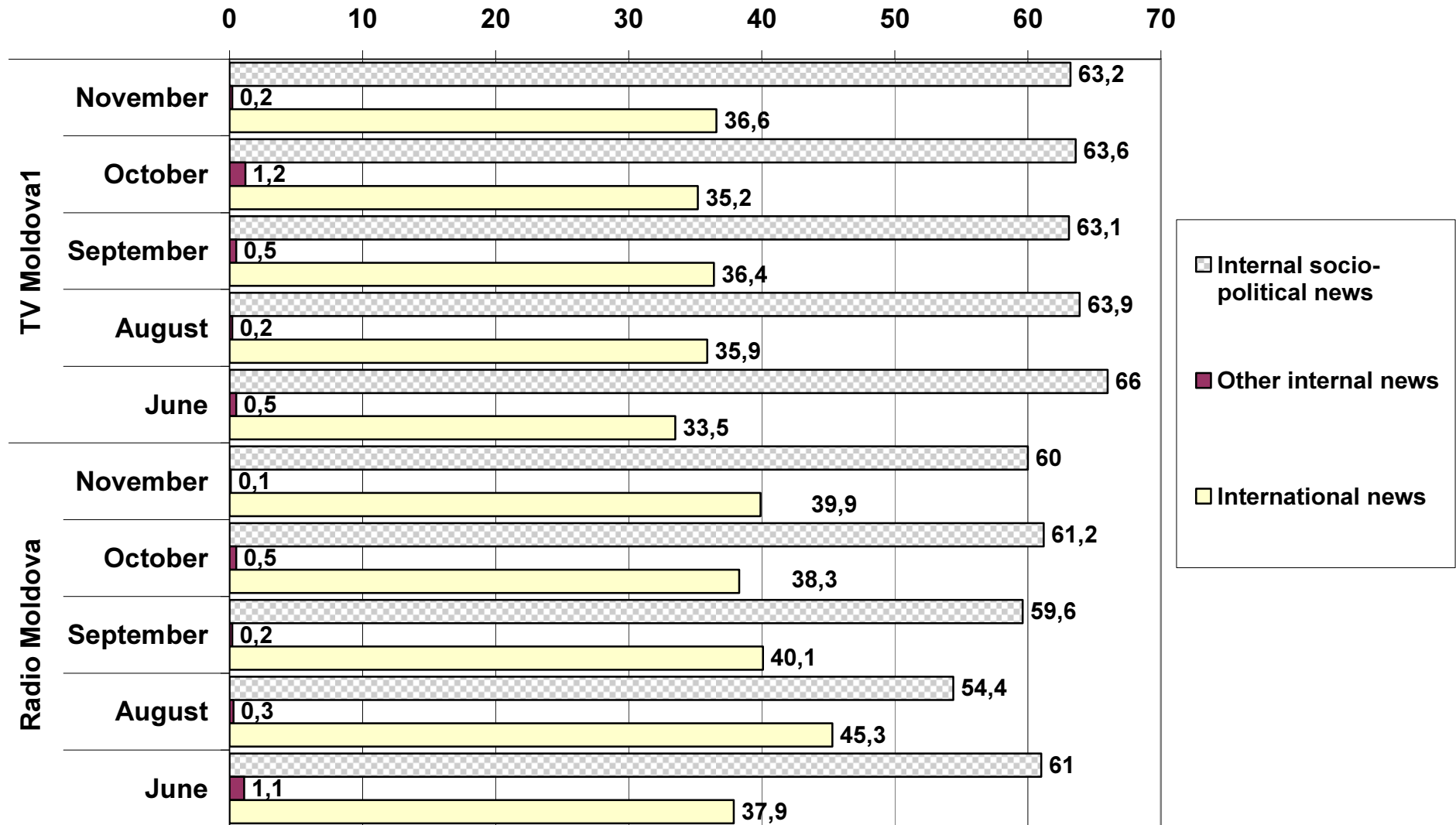
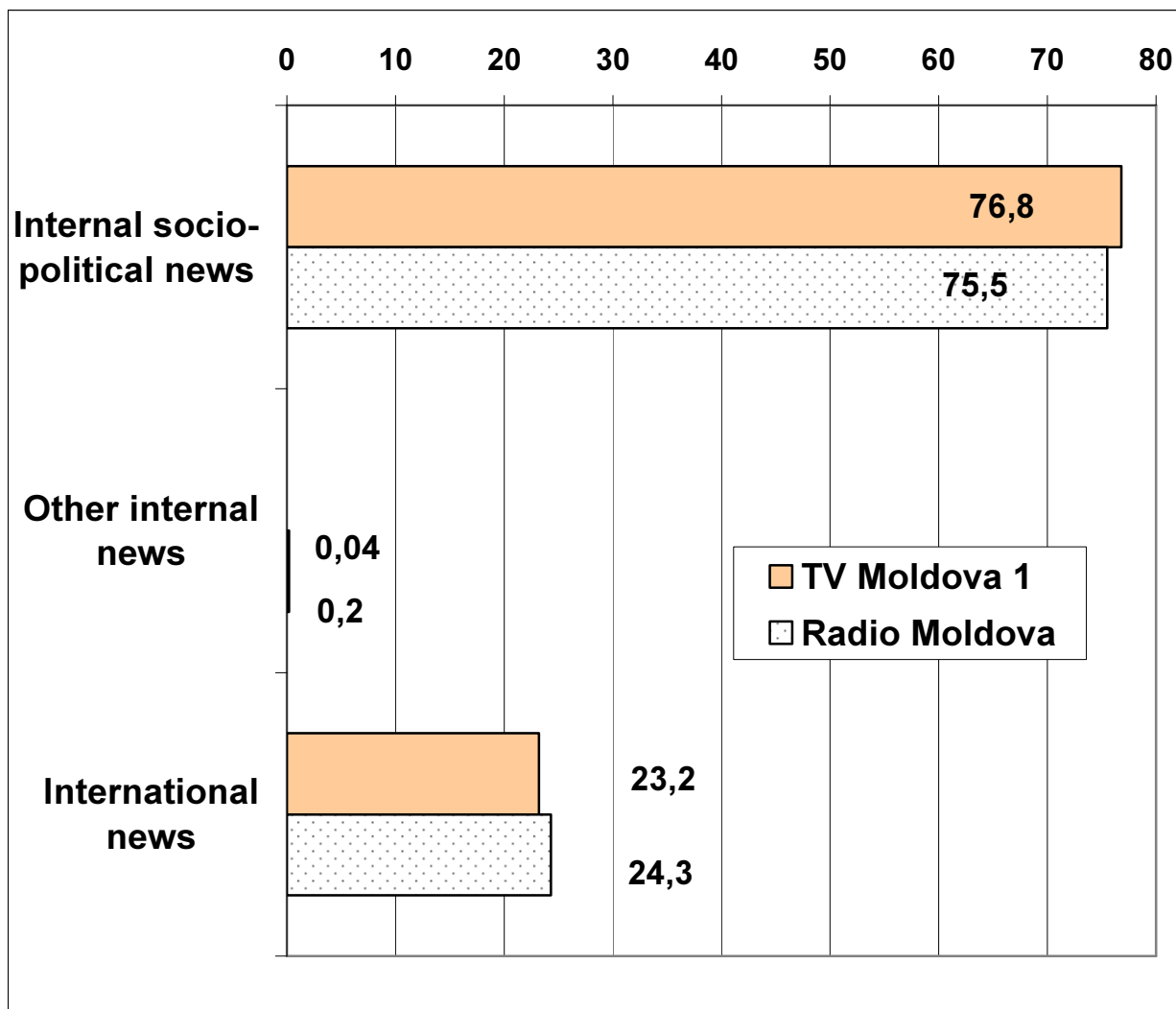


TABLE 2. General agenda - DURATION

NEWS TYPE	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	D*	%	D	%
Internal socio-political news	114023	76.8	322497	75.5
Other internal news	55	0.04	670	0.2
International news	34449	23.2	103825	24.3

Graph 2.1.
General agenda – Duration (%)

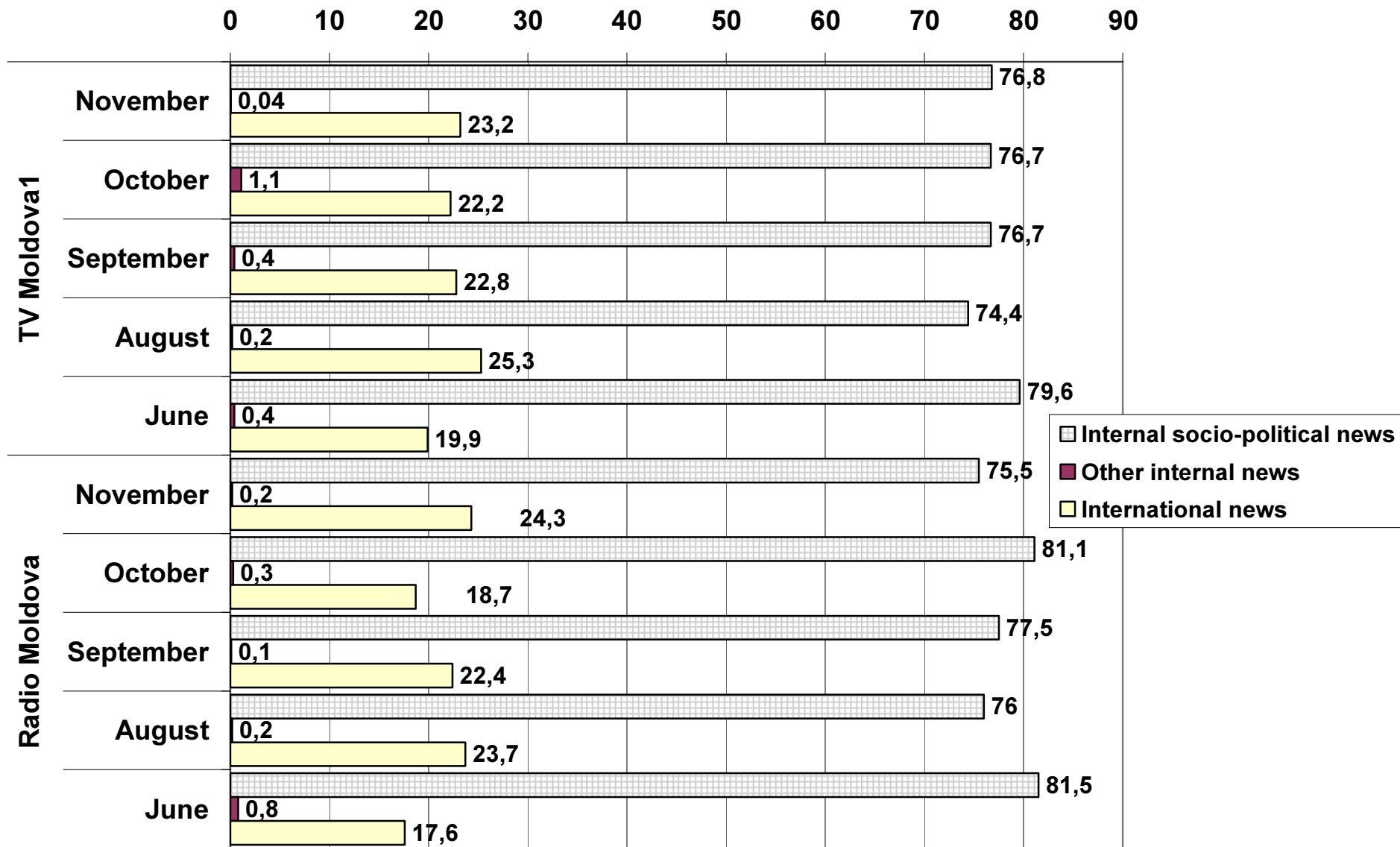


* Duration is presented in seconds

Graph 2.2.

General agenda – November/October/September/August/June compared Duration

(%)



1.2 Typological register of internal socio-political news

In November, as compared to October, a certain redistribution of airtime reserved to various types of news was attested. As a result, the presence of news on internal political relations and external relations was strengthened, while the appearance of social and economic news was restricted.

Thus, social news accumulated 39.5 percent in frequency on TV Moldova 1 (in October – 44.9 percent) and 43.6 percent in duration (in October – 50.7 percent), and on Radio Moldova – respectively, 30.9 (in October – 32.2) and 37.4 percent (in October – 38.7) of the total internal socio-political news. Economic news, as in the previous monitoring periods, were the least requested. In November, they also suffered a slight decrease. Thus, their frequency on TV Moldova 1 made up 9.1 percent, as compared to 10.3 percent in October, and on Radio Moldova this type of news accumulated 13.4 percent in November, as compared to 14.9 percent in October. From the duration perspective, economic news had the following characteristics: on TV Moldova 1 – 9.9 percent (in October – 11 percent), on Radio Moldova – 13.4 percent (in October – 14 percent). It should be mentioned that *similarly to the previous periods, both social and economic events continued to be presented mainly through the eyes of state authorities – which reduces the public substance of the Company.*

Argument. According to CIVIS estimations, in November TV Moldova 1 broadcast 87 pieces of news on rural topics or 7 percent of the total internal news, and Radio Moldova – 408 or 13 percent of this news category. 49 percent of the rural news broadcast by TV Moldova 1 were devoted to the visits of state dignitaries to the respective localities. On Radio Moldova, this indicator constituted 63 percent. The duration of this type of news is similar to their frequency – 51 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 63 percent on Radio Moldova.

News on internal political relations, after a constant decline in the period August-October, registered an increase. Thus, on TV Moldova 1, this category of news made up 23.8 percent in frequency and 23 percent in duration (in October, 21.8 percent and, respectively, 19.5 percent; in September – 27 percent in frequency and 26 percent in duration, and in August – 38 and, respectively, 35 percent). An increase, although less significant, was attested on Radio Moldova as well. In November, radio internal political news constituted 20.7 percent in frequency and 21.4 percent in duration (compared to 20.1 percent in frequency and 20.7 percent in October, 23 and 24 percent, respectively, in September, and 25 and 24 percent – in August). *As in the previous months, the November news on internal political relations, did not promote political pluralism and balanced representation of political agents and actors, despite the excessive coverage of some political agents and actors and negligent treatment of others, as we will show below.*

In November, as compared to October, foreign relation news increased both in frequency and duration. Their presence increased both on TV Moldova 1 and on Radio Moldova. Thus, their frequency on TV Moldova 1 constituted 27.5 percent, compared to 22.5 percent in October, and on Radio Moldova, 34.9 percent, compared to 32.9 percent, respectively. The duration of foreign relation news on TV Moldova 1 made up 23.5 percent (in October – 19.2 percent), and on Radio Moldova – 28.4 percent, compared to 26.4 percent in October.

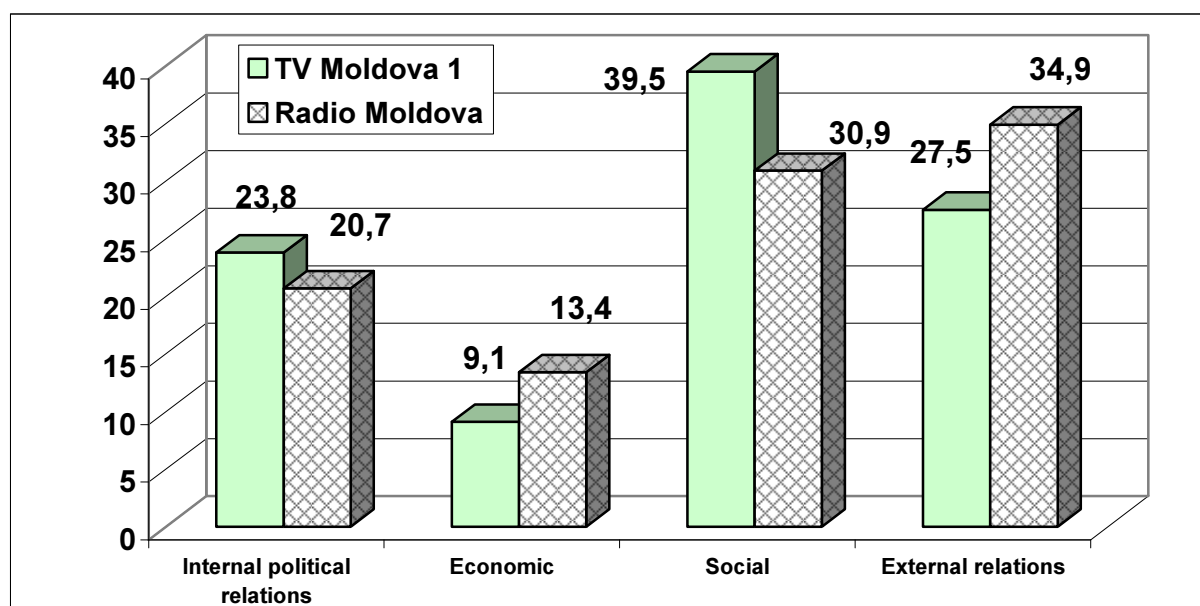
The tendency displayed in October with regards to the gradual decrease in the interest of news programs, especially on Radio Moldova, in the CIS countries, and, on the contrary, to its slight increase in the rest of the world, was also observed in November. Thus, while CIS presence in the newscasts on TV Moldova 1 remained at the October level – 19 percent, it decreased by 3 percent on Radio Moldova, constituting 23 percent. At the same time, the European space west of the Republic of Moldova was covered in November on Moldova 1 in proportion of 36 percent (in October – 35 percent), and on Radio Moldova – 35 and 38 percent, respectively. In November, the USA and the rest of the world benefited from 44 percent, as compared to 46 percent in October, of external news on TV Moldova 1, and from 42 percent and 37 percent, respectively, on Radio Moldova.

In November, Russia's presence in the newscasts was at the October level, making up 6 percent on TV Moldova 1, while on Radio Moldova it decreased by 2 percent as compared to October (11 percent). USA coverage registered a decrease on TV Moldova 1 – 15 percent to 18 percent in October and was maintained at the October level on Radio Moldova – 13 percent. The direct neighbors of the Republic of Moldova were covered in the newscasts of Teleradio Moldova Company as follows: Romania, as in the previous months – in proportion of 3 percent, and Ukraine – in proportion of 11 percent on TV Moldova 1 and of 9 percent on Radio Moldova, compared to 6 percent in October (see tables 3, 4, 5, graphs 3.1, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 4.1, 3-4.1, 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 5.1, 5.2.1, 5.2.2).

TABLE 3. Distribution of internal socio-political news FREQUENCY

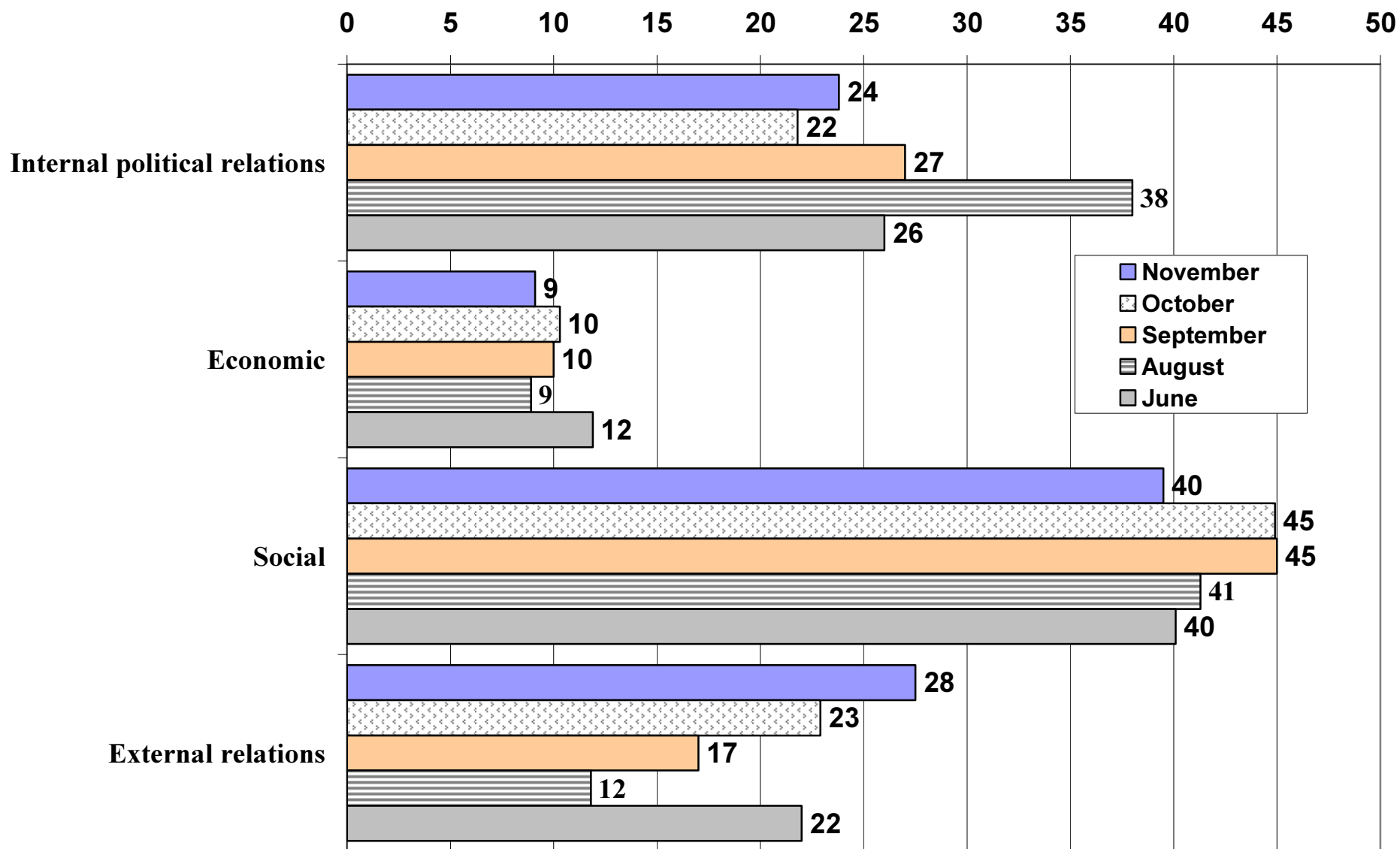
TOPICS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Internal political relations	285	23.8	670	20.7
Economic	109	9.1	433	13.4
Social	472	39.5	999	30.9
External relations	329	27.5	1127	34.9

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



Graph 3.2.1.

Internal socio-political – November/October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%) TV Moldova 1



Graph 3.2.2.

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

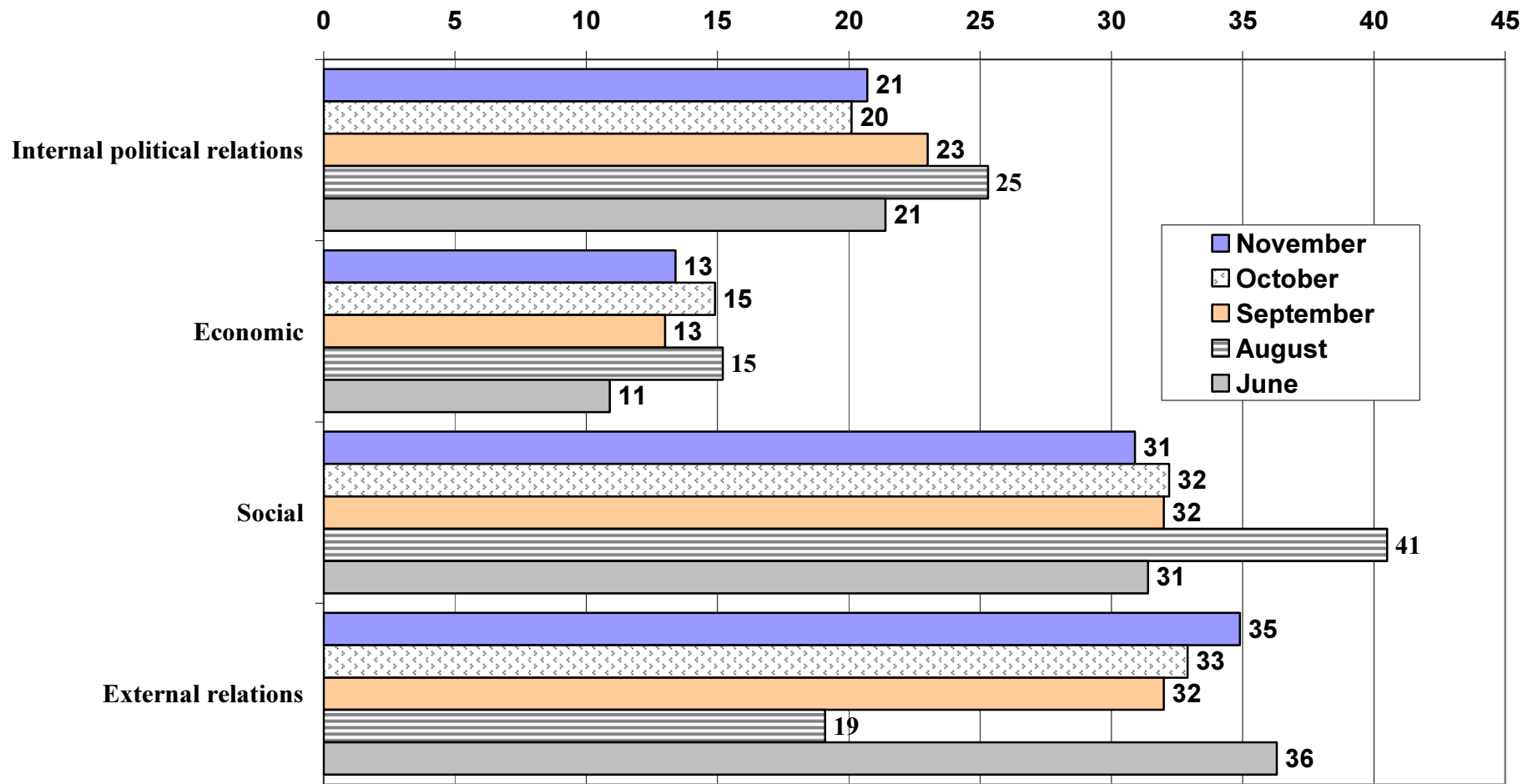
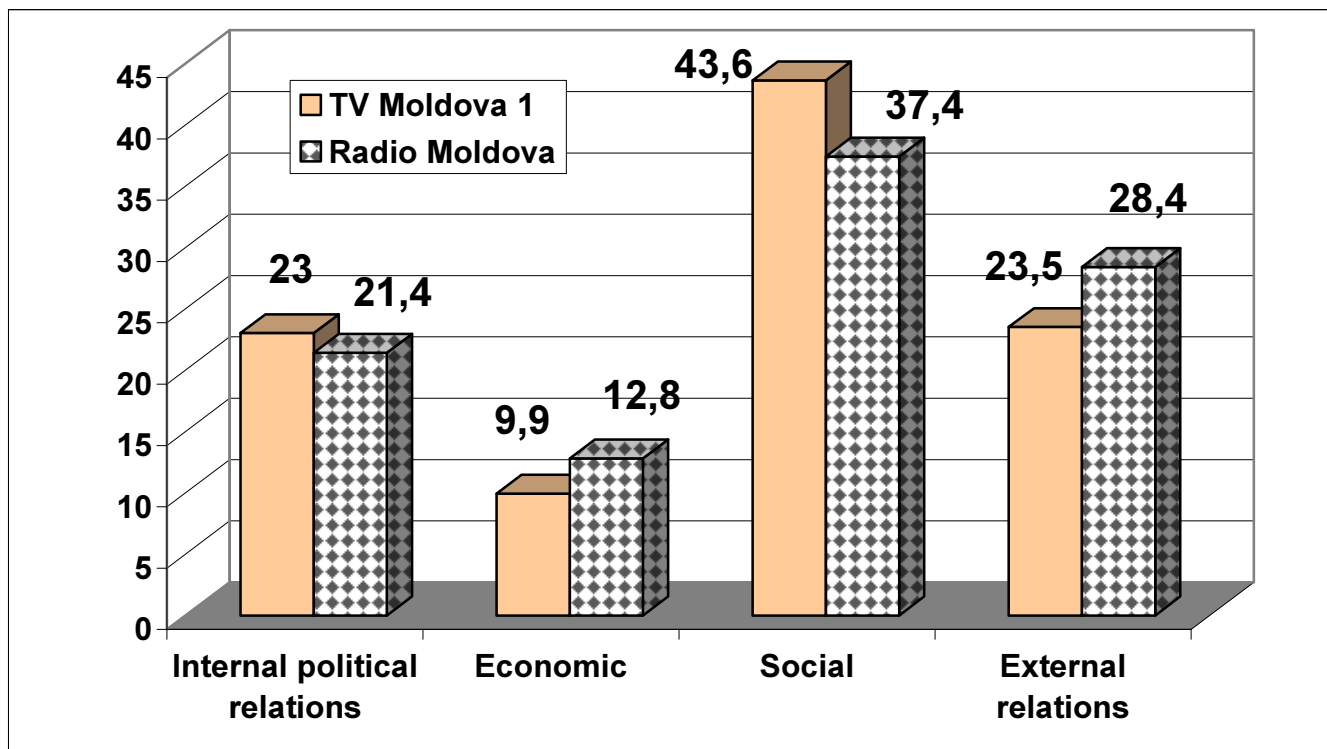


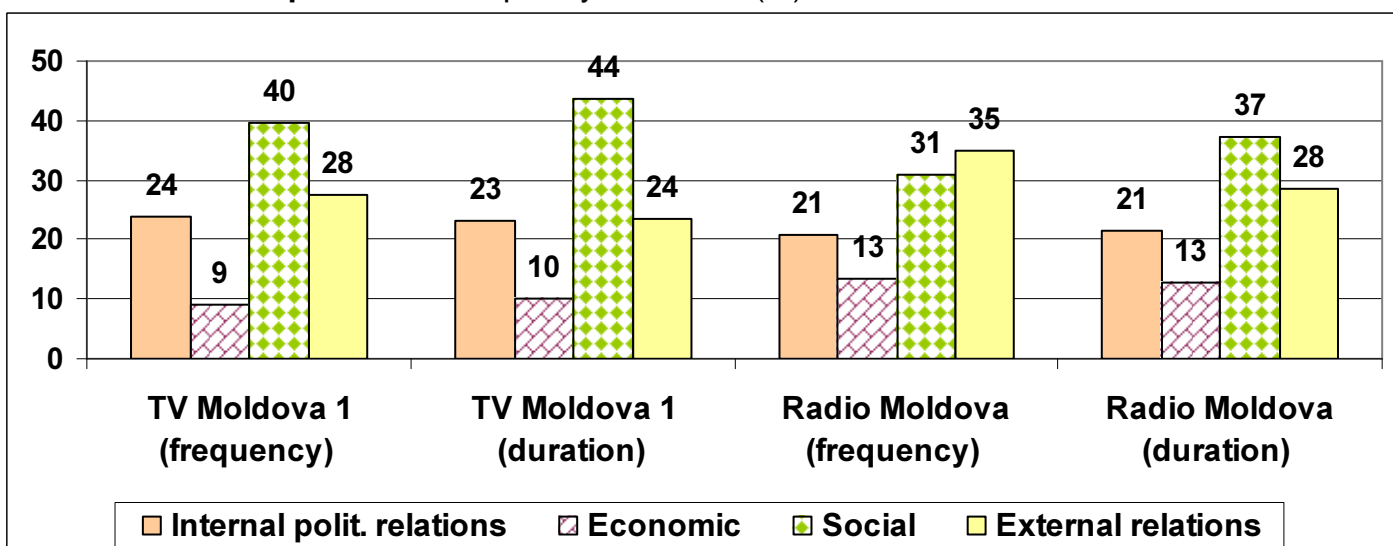
TABLE 4. Distribution of internal socio-political news DURATION

TOPICS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	D	%	D	%
Internal political relations	26278	23.0	68974	21.4
Economic	11276	9.9	41167	12.8
Social	49694	43.6	120741	37.4
External relations	26775	23.5	91615	28.4

Graph 4.1.
Internal socio-political – Duration (%)

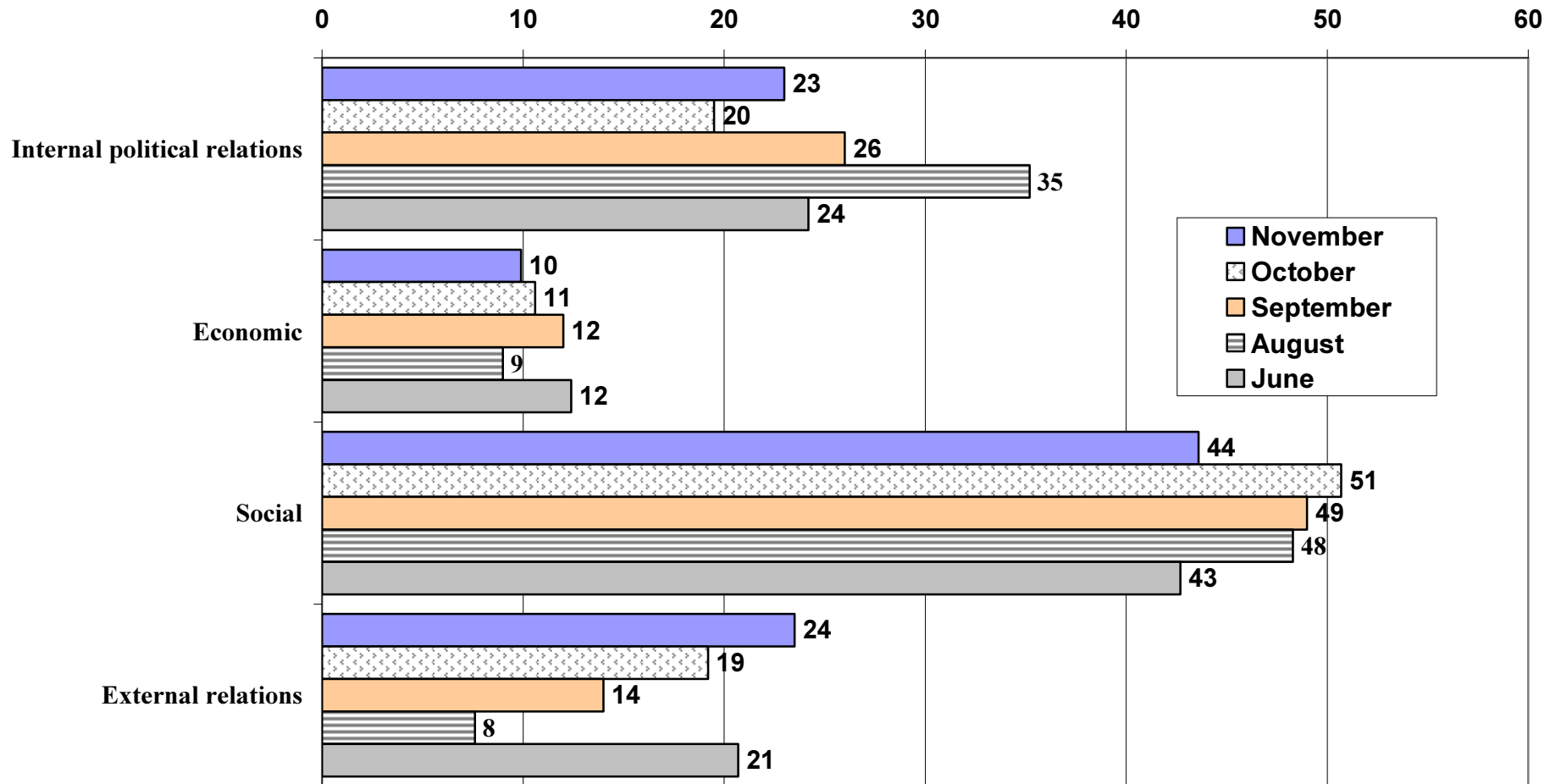


Graph 3-4.1.
Internal socio-political – Frequency - Duration (%)



Graph 4.2.1.

Internal socio-political – November/October/September/August/June compared Duration (%) TV Moldova 1



Graph 4.2.2.

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

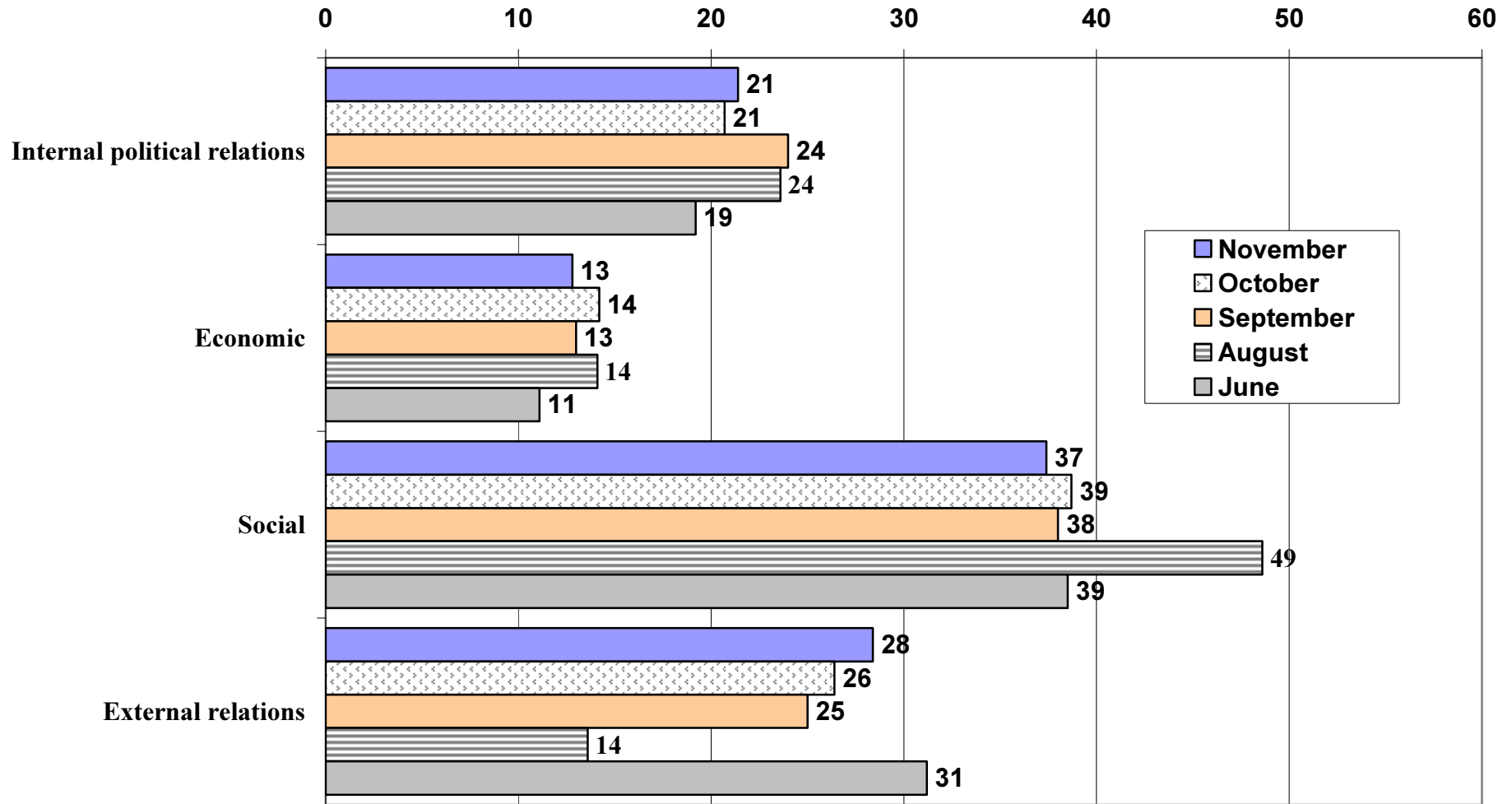
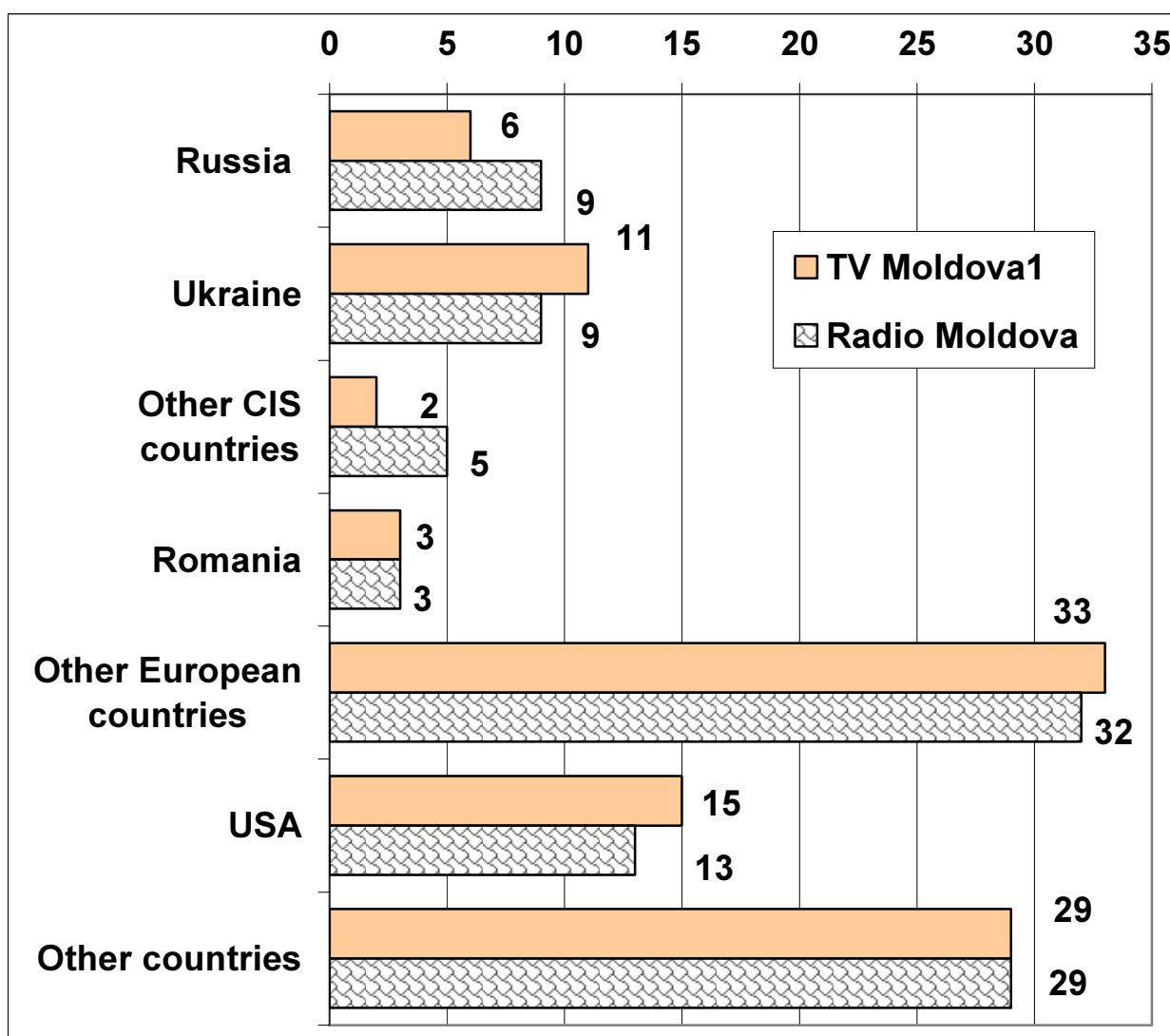


TABLE 5. Distribution of news on external and international relations Frequency (%)

COUNTRY	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Russia	6	9
Ukraine	11	9
Other CIS countries	2	5
Romania	3	3
Other European countries	33	32
USA	15	13
Other countries	29	29

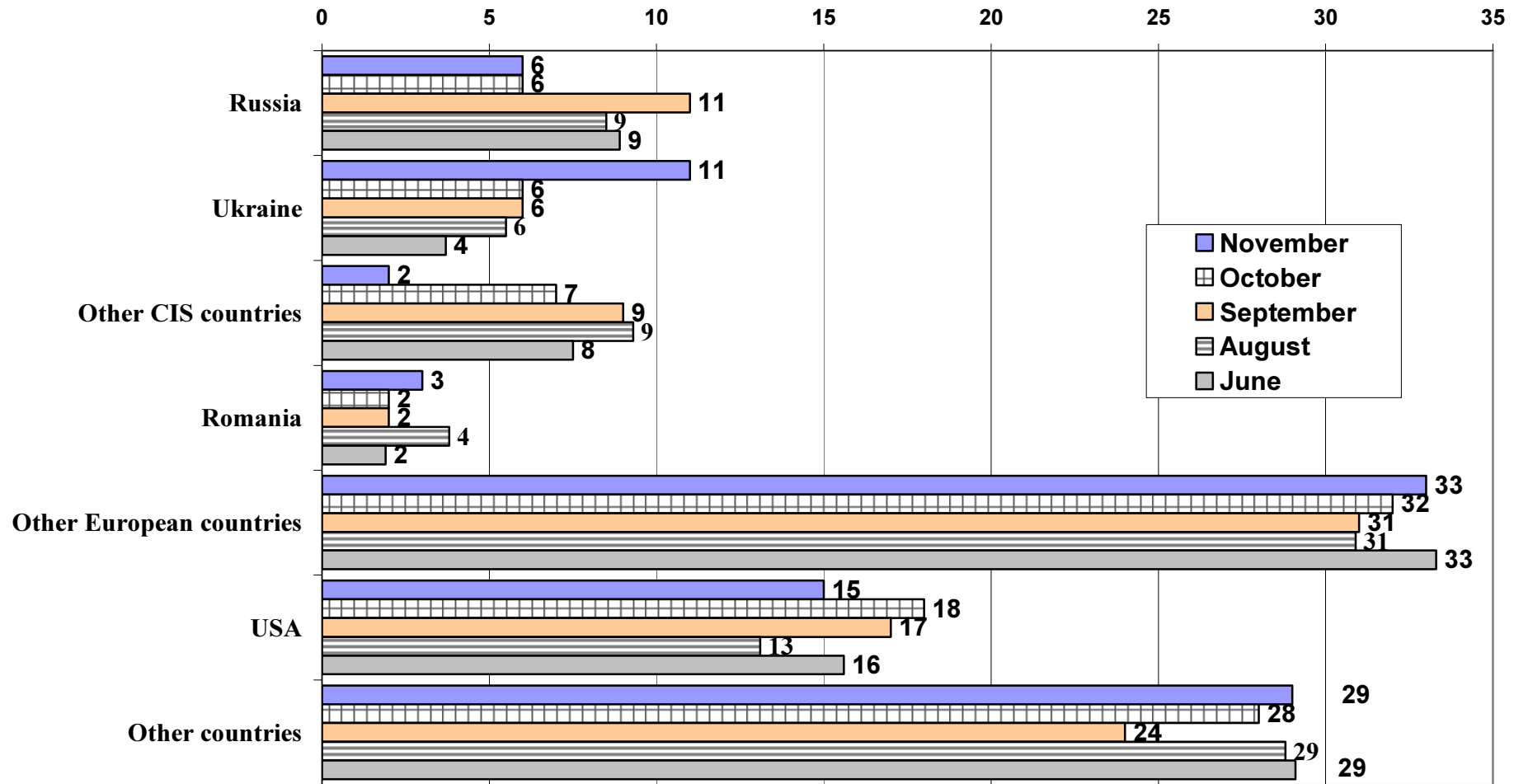
Graph 5.1.

External and international relations - Frequency (%)



Graph 5.2.1.

External and international relations – November/October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%) TV Moldova 1



Graph 5.2.2.

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

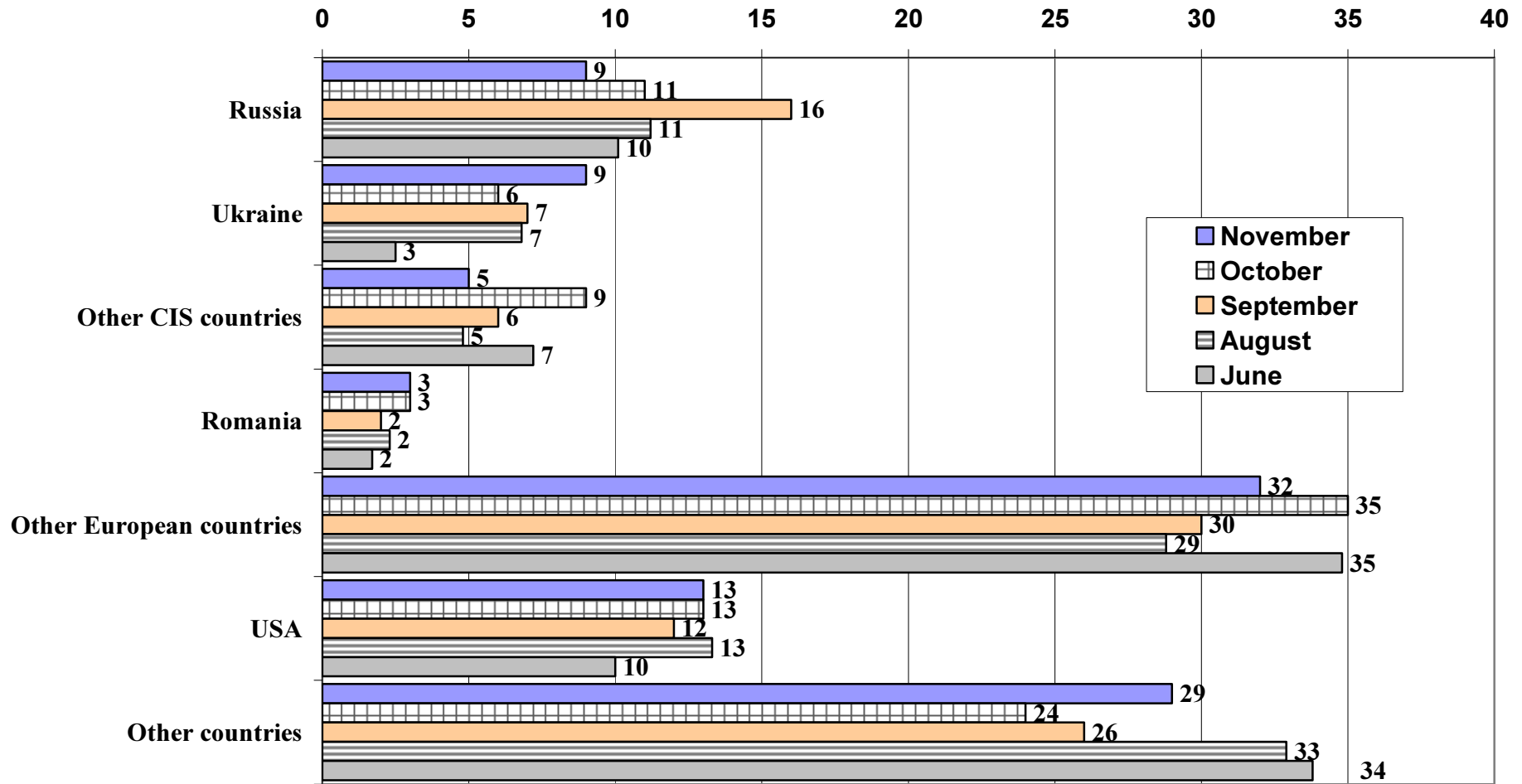


TABLE 6. Distribution of news with electoral implications (direct and indirect)
Frequency and Duration (sec.)

Political agents	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D
State authorities	28	3044	8	1545	54	5317	1	400
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)								
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	2	384			3	440		
Extra-parliamentary parties								

TABLE 7. Coverage circumstances - Frequency

Political agents	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	Ordinary	Conflicting	Formal	Ordinary	Conflicting	Formal
State authorities	593	150	12	1941	278	54
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	9			19	2	
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	8	4		23		
Extra-parliamentary parties		1		11	1	
Uninvolved	709	151	19	1974	243	77
Transnistrian authorities	7	15		29	119	
TOTAL	1326	321	31	3997	643	131

1.3 Topic agenda

The November topic agenda comprised between 60 and 75 topics (TV Moldova 1 had a more limited topic scope, while Radio Moldova – a more extended one). The list of ten most covered topics underwent changes, for the first time during the monitoring months, both as titles and ranking. Such developments took place to a greater extent on Radio Moldova than on TV Moldova 1. Thus, Radio Moldova added to the list of most covered topics *social protection, economy, foreign investments, legislative actions, health care and medical insurance*, and TV Moldova 1 – *government and parliament decisions, energy, crimes and car accidents, healthcare and medical insurance*. At the same time, the following topics remained on the topic agenda:

- Transnistria (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Education (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova);
- Culture (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);
- Sports (Radio Moldova).

These topics were tackled in 56.6 percent of the total news broadcast (in frequency) on TV Moldova 1 and in 44.49 percent – on Radio Moldova. Their duration constituted, respectively, 58.44 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 43.3 percent on Radio Moldova.

The other 50-65 topics were present in about 42-46 percent of the news, in frequency and duration.

The list of ten least covered topics by TV Moldova 1 in November includes *sports, local investments, civil society, calamities, employment situation, tourism, internal debts, industry, state security, external debts, consumers*, which were tackled 1-3 times. Radio Moldova covered the following topics least of all: *administrative-territorial division, governance's successes, housing issue, parliamentary opposition (PPCD), public order, extra-parliamentary parties, parliamentary opposition (MD), Communist Party, religion, government meetings, parliament, local public administration, internal debts, unemployment* (see tables 8.1 and 8.2).

The comparative analysis of news agendas on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova in August-November reconfirms the main assumption, which was previously formulated: *Teleradio Moldova Company continues to promote an editorial policy designed to divert citizens' attention from their primary concerns, focusing it on certain topics and limiting those of major public interest (compare with POB of November 2004).*

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

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Culture	138	8.6	Culture	13568	11.90
Diplomatic activities	134	8.3	Crimes, car accidents	9440	8.28
Government, parliament activities	128	8.0	Government, parliament activities	8341	7.32
External socio-economic collaborations	99	6.2	Diplomatic activities	8004	7.02
Education	95	5.9	External socio-economic collaborations	6856	6.01
Crimes, car accidents	95	5.9	Education	6533	5.73
Transnistria	75	4.7	Health care, medical insurance	4510	3.96
Health care, medical insurance	52	3.2	Energy	4080	3.58
Energy	50	3.1	Transnistria	3595	3.15
Government, parliament decisions	43	2.7	Mass media	2585	2.27
Local public administration	38	2.4	Local public administration	2397	2.10
Social protection	33	2.1	Agriculture	2101	1.84
Government, parliament meetings	33	2.1	Social protection	2072	1.82
Agriculture	32	2.0	Transportation, roads	1999	1.75
Ceremonies, anniversaries	32	2.0	Ceremonies, anniversaries	1950	1.71
Mass media	28	1.7	Conflicts	1924	1.69
Transportation, roads	27	1.7	Environment	1866	1.64

Legislative actions	25	1.6	Foreign assistance	1743	1.53
Environment	25	1.6	Government, parliament decisions	1694	1.49
Telecommunications and IT	22	1.4	Government, parliament meetings	1645	1.44
Human trafficking	21	1.3	Human trafficking	1632	1.43
Conflicts	21	1.3	Religion	1538	1.35
Minorities	19	1.2	Legislative actions	1482	1.30
Foreign assistance	19	1.2	Social protests	1085	0.95
EU integration	18	1.1	Governance's successes	1033	0.91
Social protests	17	1.1	Small business micro-financing	1031	0.90
Economy	17	1.1	Telecommunications and IT	1018	0.89
Religion	16	1.0	Minorities	970	0.85
State and local budget	16	1.0	State and local budget	906	0.79
Governance's successes	14	0.9	Economy	880	0.77
Science	12	0.7	Heat agent, heating issue	855	0.75
Corruption	11	0.7	EU integration	764	0.67
Communist Party	11	0.7	Salaries	751	0.66
Heat agent, heating issue	11	0.7	Science	747	0.66
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	10	0.6	Corruption	725	0.64
Prices	10	0.6	Army	632	0.55
Small business micro-financing	10	0.6	Communist Party	609	0.53
Salaries	9	0.6	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	595	0.52
Emigration	9	0.6	Prices	573	0.50
Elections	9	0.6	Factories, enterprises	553	0.48
Army	9	0.6	Fiscal issues, taxes	485	0.43
Factories, enterprises	8	0.5	Emigration	480	0.42
Public utility actions	7	0.4	Census	440	0.39
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	6	0.4	Elections	360	0.32
Fiscal issues, taxes	6	0.4	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	348	0.31
Census	6	0.4	Public utility actions	312	0.27
Foreign investments	5	0.3	Tourism	280	0.25
Economic successes	4	0.2	Consumers	277	0.24
Human rights protection	4	0.2	Human rights protection	252	0.22
Trade	4	0.2	Civil society	223	0.20
Consumers	3	0.2	Foreign investments	183	0.16
External debts	3	0.2	Employment situation	170	0.15
State security	3	0.2	External debts	169	0.15
Industry	3	0.2	Economic successes	117	0.10
Internal debts	2	0.1	Industry	95	0.08
Tourism	2	0.1	State security	86	0.08

Employment situation	2	0.1	Trade	86	0.08
Calamities	2	0.1	Internal debts	60	0.05
Civil society	2	0.1	Calamities	48	0.04
Local investments	1	0.1	Sports	28	0.02
Sports	1	0.1	Local investments	27	0.02
Others	41	2.5	Others	4215	3.70

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

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
External socio-economic collaborations	505	8.81	External socio-economic collaborations	19940	6.18
Legislative actions	388	6.77	Culture	18522	5.74
Transnistria	277	4.83	Transnistria	18414	5.71
Education	277	4.83	Education	16438	5.10
Social protection	208	3.63	Legislative actions	14492	4.49
Sports	190	3.31	Ceremonies, anniversaries	14168	4.39
Economy	186	3.24	Sports	14056	4.36
Foreign investments	177	3.09	Health care, medical insurance	12295	3.81
Culture	172	3.00	Social protection	11017	3.42
Health care, medical insurance	171	2.98	Agriculture	8750	2.71
Agriculture	153	2.67	Public utility actions	7664	2.38
EU integration	152	2.65	Science	7466	2.32
Ceremonies, anniversaries	143	2.49	Foreign investments	7348	2.28
Science	136	2.37	Economy	7113	2.21
Diplomatic activities	132	2.30	Local public administration	6653	2.06
Public utility actions	124	2.16	Energy	6639	2.06
Energy	122	2.13	Crimes, car accidents	6413	1.99
State and local budget	112	1.95	Diplomatic activities	6350	1.97
Transportation, roads	109	1.90	EU integration	6229	1.93
Local public administration	88	1.53	State and local budget	5906	1.83
Environment	87	1.52	Environment	5528	1.71
Human rights protection	83	1.45	Transportation, roads	5127	1.59
Export	81	1.41	Corruption	4258	1.32
Crimes, car accidents	78	1.36	Human rights protection	4131	1.28
Telecommunications and IT	73	1.27	Mass media	3665	1.14
Prices	72	1.26	Elections	3599	1.12
Fiscal issues, taxes	69	1.20	Heat agent, heating issue	3472	1.08
Government, parliament activities	68	1.19	Civil society	3449	1.07
Corruption	67	1.17	Telecommunications and IT	3386	1.05
Customs issues	65	1.13	Fiscal issues, taxes	3296	1.02
Heat agent, heating issue	64	1.12	Prices	3251	1.01
Government, parliament decisions	58	1.01	Small business micro-financing	3197	0.99

Elections	58	1.01	Export	3183	0.99
State security	56	0.98	Human trafficking	3152	0.98
Employment situation	55	0.96	Govern., parliam. activities	3128	0.97
Small business micro-financing	52	0.91	Employment situation	2855	0.89
Human trafficking	51	0.89	Factories, enterprises	2796	0.87
Foreign assistance	46	0.80	Customs issues	2733	0.85
Civil society	44	0.77	Army	2531	0.78
Mass media	41	0.72	State security	2504	0.78
Army	39	0.68	Govern., parliam. decisions	2325	0.72
Salaries	37	0.65	Foreign assistance	2192	0.68
Trade	37	0.65	Census	2134	0.66
Factories, enterprises	36	0.63	Agricultural producers' problems	2116	0.66
Tourism	36	0.63	Salaries	1772	0.55
Minorities	31	0.54	Quality of products	1706	0.53
Census	31	0.54	Social protests	1576	0.49
Industry	31	0.54	Livestock breeding	1512	0.47
Privatization	28	0.49	Tourism	1497	0.46
Emigration	27	0.47	Conflicts	1417	0.44
Consumers	26	0.45	Trade	1334	0.41
Agricultural producers' problems	22	0.38	Emigration	1240	0.38
Economic successes	21	0.37	Privatization	1106	0.34
Quality of products	19	0.33	External debts	1081	0.34
Calamities	19	0.33	Consumers	1065	0.33
Livestock breeding	19	0.33	Minorities	1026	0.32
Social protests	17	0.30	Economic successes	967	0.30
External debts	17	0.30	Industry	962	0.30
Local investments	12	0.21	Calamities	897	0.28
Conflicts	12	0.21	Local investments	722	0.22
Unemployment	11	0.19	Religion	639	0.20
Internal debts	11	0.19	Government, parliament, local administration meetings	538	0.17
Government, parliament, local administration meetings	9	0.16	Internal debts	501	0.16
Religion	8	0.14	Unemployment	484	0.15
Communist Party	7	0.12	Public order	459	0.14
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	7	0.12	Extra-parliamentary parties	410	0.13
Extra-parliamentary parties	6	0.10	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	347	0.11
Public order	5	0.09	Communist Party	280	0.09
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	5	0.09	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	217	0.07
Housing issue	5	0.09	Housing issue	129	0.04
Governance's successes	3	0.05	Governance's successes	72	0.02
Administrative-territorial division issue	1	0.02	Administrative-territorial division issue	29	0.01

Others	48	0.84	Others	4631	1.44
--------	----	------	--------	------	------

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

Topic agenda	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	F	%	D	%	F	%	D	%
Communist Party	11	0.7	609	0.53	7	0.12	280	0.09
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	6	0.4	348	0.31	5	0.09	217	0.07
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	10	0.6	595	0.52	7	0.12	347	0.11
Extra-parliamentary parties					6	0.10	410	0.13

1.4. Agents and actors of newscasts

In November, like in the previous monitoring months, Teleradio Moldova Company provided priority coverage of state agents and actors. This conclusion results from the data provided by CIVIS and inserted in tables 9,10,15 and graphs 10.1, 10.2.1 and 10.2.2.

Thus in November TV Moldova 1 covered 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) at the October rate – of 46.8 percent (in September – 43.1 percent, in August – 47.3 percent), and Radio Moldova increased their presences by 6.3 percent, as compared with October, when they accumulated 44.5 percent (in September – 40.9 percent, in August - 38.6 percent). The dedicated coverage caused **these political agents to obtain in November 975 appearances on TV Moldova 1 or a daily average of 32.5 appearances, and 3287 presences on Radio Moldova or a daily average of 109 presences.**

Other political agents (**parliamentary opposition and extra-parliamentary parties**) appeared 22 times (in October – 54 times) on TV Moldova 1 and 56 times (in October – 114 times) on Radio Moldova or **had daily averages of 0.7 appearances (in October - 1.7) on TV Moldova 1 and almost 2 appearances (in October – 3.7) on Radio Moldova.**

Social agents were covered in the following proportion. Civil society appeared in 1.2 percent of the news broadcast by TV Moldova 1 (in October – 1.5 percent, in September – 1.8 percent, in August – 2 percent) and in 4.39 percent of the news aired by Radio Moldova (in October – 4.2 percent, in September – 3.2 percent, in August – 2.4 percent). Trade unions were present in 1.06 percent of TV news (in October - August – between 0.1-0.6 percent) and in 0.54 percent of radio news (in October-September – between 0.3-0.6 percent). As in the previous months, employers' organization was absent from TV newscasts, and was covered in radio newscasts at the rate of 0.05 percent, or half as little as in October-September. The church was covered in 0.96 percent (in October and September – 0.6 percent, in August – 1.4 percent) on television, and in 0.23 percent (in October – 0.7 percent, in September – 0.4 percent, in August – 1 percent) on radio. **Overall, employers' organization, trade unions, the church, civil society, economic agents, mass media, educational-scientific and healthcare institutions were covered 327 times on TV (10.9 daily appearances) and 1257 times on radio (41.9 daily presences) (see table 9).**

The November monitoring, like the one conducted in the previous two months, highlighted 27 political and social actors that enjoyed at least five appearances in the newscasts of Teleradio Moldova Company (in August – 15). With 3 (in October – 6) exceptions, these were state representatives or their mouthpieces. In total, these were covered 1574 times (in October – 1644 times, in September – 1407 times, and in August – 1262 times). President Voronin was on top of the list, with 579 appearances (in October – 544, in September – 290, in August – 344), followed by Prime Minister Tarlev with 338 appearances (in October – 339, in September – 287, in August – 515), and Parliament Speaker Ostapciuc with 147 appearances (in October – 154, in September – 108, in August - 68). **On a daily basis, state actors were mentioned 52 times in newscasts.**

Political and social actors that do not represent the current central governance and that enjoyed at least 5 appearances on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova were covered 80 times (in October – 124). These included Chisinau Mayor Urecheanu, who accumulated 53 appearances (20 on TV Moldova 1 and 8 on Radio Moldova); PPCD leader Roșca with 14 appearances (6 on TV Moldova 1 and 8 on Radio Moldova) and the leader of Democratic Moldova parliamentary faction, Bragiș with 13 appearances (7 on TV Moldova 1 and 6 on Radio Moldova) (see table 15).

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

The presented data show that *the editorial policy of Teleradio Moldova Company is undoubtedly focused on the priority promotion of state agents and actors, which allows us to qualify it as one of political partisanship.*

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

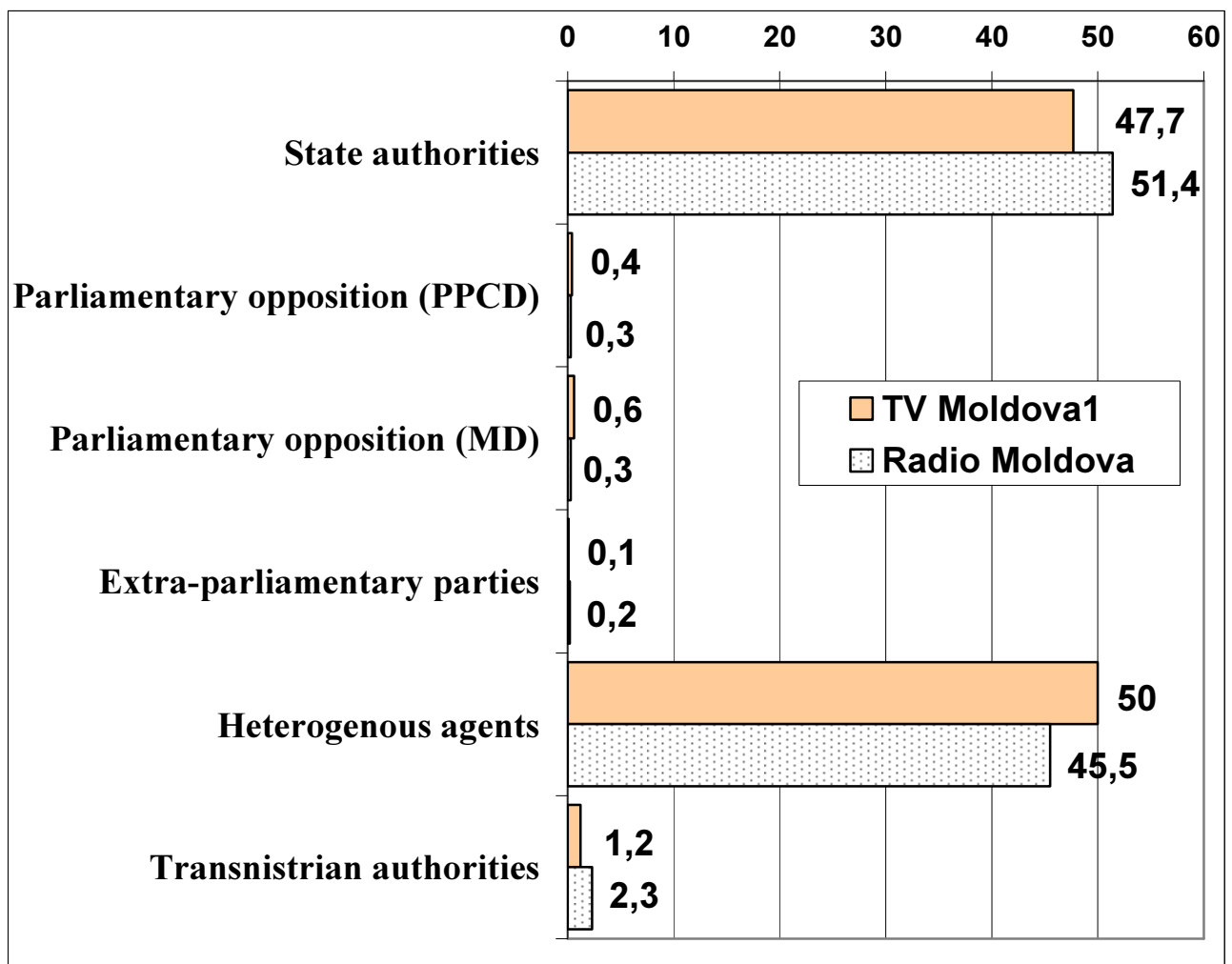
AGENTS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
President	198	9.51	384	5.94
Presidential Staff	1	0.05	9	0.14
Government	242	11.62	1097	16.96
Prime Minister	99	4.75	239	3.69
Parliament	46	2.21	160	2.47
Parliament Speaker	53	2.54	94	1.45
Justice, Constitutional Court	20	0.96	72	1.11
Police, Ministry of Security	81	3.88	77	1.19
Financial Guard, Economic Police	2	0.10	11	0.17
Local administration	100	4.80	402	6.21
Army	13	0.62	20	0.31
Communist Party	20	0.96	40	0.62
Other state institutions	120	5.76	722	11.16
<i>Parliamentary opposition PPCD</i>	9	0.43	21	0.32
<i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i>	12	0.58	23	0.36
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>	1	0.05	12	0.19
Employers' organization			3	0.05
Trade unions	22	1.06	35	0.54
Church	20	0.96	15	0.23
Civil society	25	1.20	284	4.39

Economic agents	90	4.32	376	5.81
Mass media	39	1.87	44	0.68
Educational & scientific institutions	104	4.99	403	6.23
Healthcare institutions	27	1.29	100	1.55
<i>Transnistrian authorities</i>	24	1.15	147	2.27
<i>Other internal agents</i>	363	17.41	461	7.13
<i>External agents</i>	352	16.88	1219	18.84

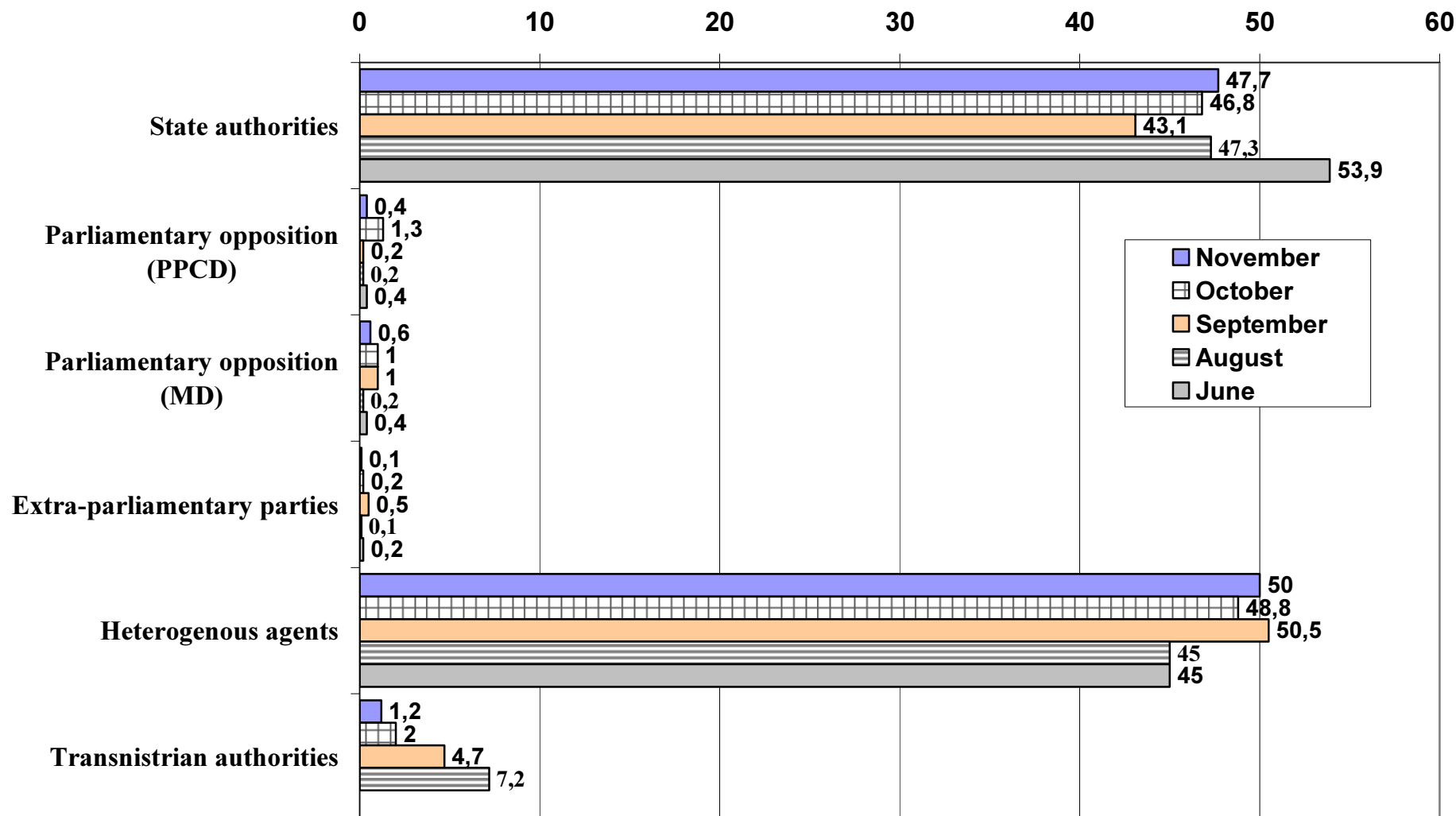
TABLE 10 Distribution of broadcast space among the five categories of agents - Frequency (%)

AGENT CATEGORIES	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
State authorities	47.7	51.4
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	0.4	0.3
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	0.6	0.3
Extra-parliamentary parties	0.1	0.2
Heterogenous agents	50.0	45.5
Transnistrian authorities	1.2	2.3

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



Graph 10.2.1. Distribution of broadcast space among agents – November/October/September/August/June compared
 Frequency (%) **Moldova 1**



Graph 10.2.2. Distribution of broadcast space among agents – November/October/September/August/June compared Frequency (%) Radio Moldova

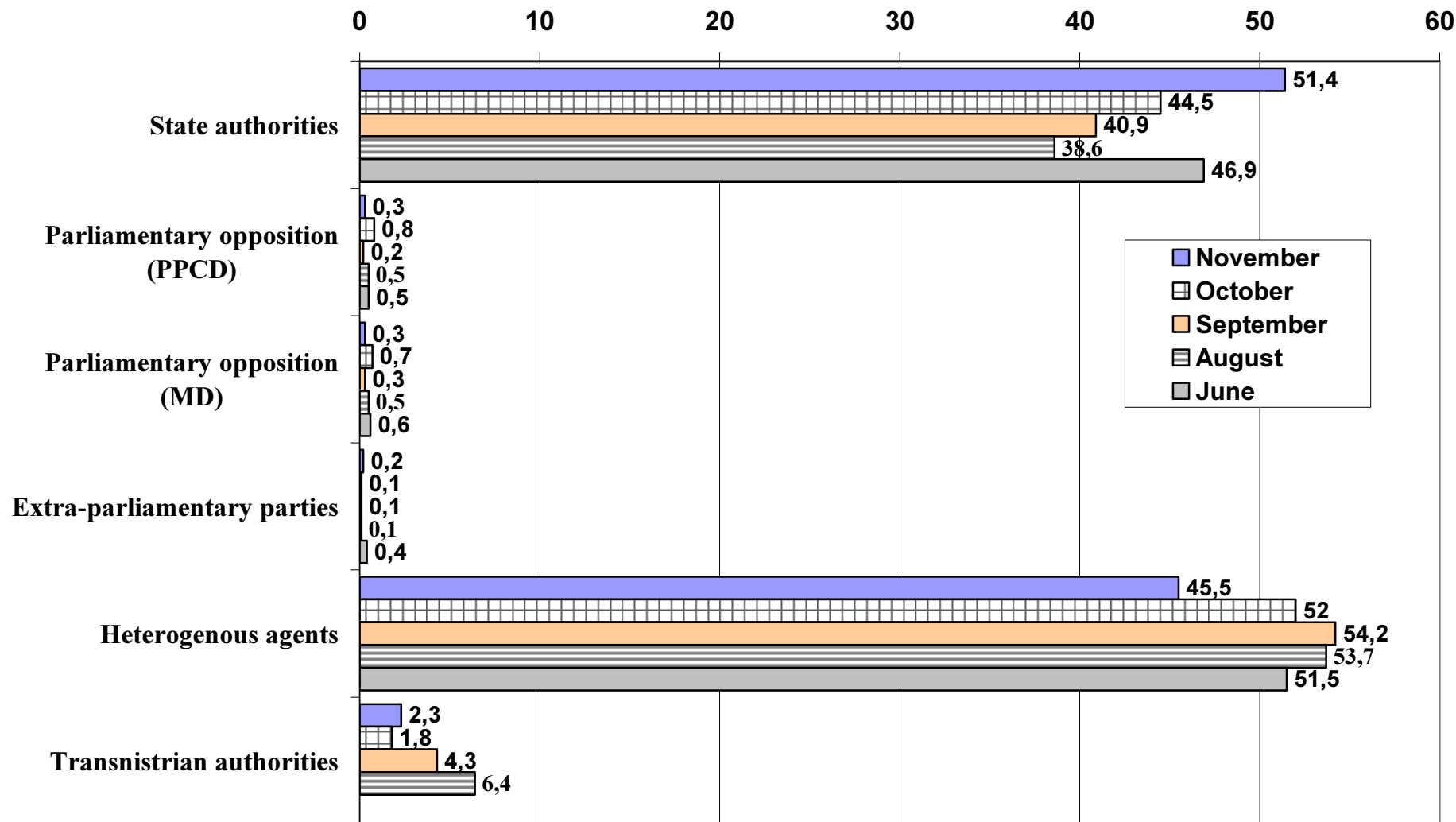


TABLE 11. Evaluation of political and social agents - Frequency

AGENTS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
President			198			384
Presidential Staff			1			9
Government	4		238			1097
Prime Minister	2		97			239
Parliament	3		43			160
Parliament Speaker	4		49			94
Justice, Constitut. Court			20			72
Police, Ministry of Security			81			77
Financial Guard, Economic Police			2			11
Local administration		7	93		1	401
Army			13			20
Communist Party	1		19			40
Other state institutions			120			722
<i>Parliam. opposition, PPCD</i>			9			21
<i>Parliam. opposition, MD</i>		2	10			23
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>			1			12
Employers' organization						3
Trade unions			22			35
Church			20			15
Civil society		2	23		2	282
Economic agents		3	87			376
Mass media			39			44
Education.&scientif. institut.			104			403
Healthcare institutions			27			100
Transnistrian authorities			24			147
Other internal agents			363			461
External agents			352			1219

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

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

AGENT CATEGORIES	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
State authorities	14	7	974		1	3326
Parliam. opposition (PPCD)			9			21
Parliam. opposition (MD)		2	10			23
Extra-parliamentary parties			1			12
Heterogenous agents		5	1037		2	2938
Transnistrian authorities			24			147
TOTAL	14	14	2055	0	3	6467

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

1.5 Coverage of parties and political pluralism in newscasts

In November, Teleradio Moldova Company covered the political parties 139 times (in October – 248, in September – 231 and in August – 72 times). During this monitoring period TV Moldova 1 made 42 references (in October – 79, in September – 143) to 4 political entities (in October – 5), and Radio Moldova – 97 references (in October – 169, in September – 88) to 9 political entities (in October – 10). TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova made most references to PCRM (Communist Party of Moldova) (20 and 40, respectively), followed by references to MD (Democratic Moldova) (12 and 23), and to PPCD (Christian-Democratic Popular Party) (9 and 21). The other 7 parties were covered between 1 and 5 times per month (see table 13). *These data, considered in the overall context, in which political and social agents and actors appear in the newscasts, show that the newscasts of Teleradio Moldova Company do not prove authentic political pluralism.*

TABLE 13. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage

PARTIES	Total	TV Moldova 1	Radio Moldova	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM)	60	20	40	48%	41%
Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL) Democratic Party (PDM))	35	12	23	29%	24%
Christian-Democratic Popular Party (PPCD)	30	9	21	21%	22%
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)	5		5		5%
Socialists' Party	4		4		4%
Agrarian Party of Moldova (PAM)	1		1		1%
Green Alliance of Moldova	1		1		1%
Labor Union	1		1		1%
Republican Party	1		1		1%
Public movement "Popular opposition"	1	1		2%	
TOTAL	139	42	97	100	100

TABLE 14. Evaluation of political parties - Frequency

PARTIES	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM)	1		19			40
Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL) Democratic Party (PDM))		2	10			23
Christian-Democratic			9			21

Popular Party (PPCD)						
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)						5
Socialists' Party						4
Agrarian Party of Moldova (PAM)						1
Green Alliance of Moldova						1
Labor Union						1
Republican Party						1
Public movement "Popular opposition"			1			
TOTAL	1	2	39			97

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

TABLE 15. Most widely covered political and social actors – Frequency

ACTORS	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Vladimir Voronin	579	198	381
Vasile Tarlev	338	99	239
Eugenia Ostapciuc	147	53	94
Vasile Şova	70	12	58
Andrei Stratan	60	11	49
Serafim Urecheanu	53	20	33
Zinaida Greceanîi	42	11	31
Vasile Iov	41	8	33
Marian Lupu	41	8	33
Iacob Timciuc	41	12	29
Valentin Beniuc	33	6	27
Dumitru Todoroglo	33	12	21
Valerian Cristea	30	7	23
Ion Leahu	24	6	18
Maria Durleşteanu	17		17
Veaceslav Madan	16	5	11
Victor Stepaniuc	14		14
Iurie Roşca	14	6	8
Dumitru Braghiş	13	7	6
Gheorghe Cucu	11		11
Constantin Mihailescu	11		11
Miron Gagauz	10		10
Valerian Revenco	9		9
Veaceslav Afanasiev	8		8
Vladimir Mişin	6		6
Vasile Zgardan	5		5
Victoria Iftodi	5		5

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

TABLE 16. Evaluation of political and social actors - Frequency

ACTORS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Vladimir Voronin			198			381
Vasile Tarlev	2		97			239
Eugenia Ostapciuc	4		49			94
Vasile Şova			12			58
Andrei Stratan			11			49
Serafim Urecheanu		7	13		1	32
Zinaida Greceanăi	1		10			31
Vasile Iov			8			33
Marian Lupu			8			33
Iacob Timciuc			12			29
Valentin Beniuc			6			27
Dumitru Todoroglo			12			21
Valerian Cristea			7			23
Ion Leahu			6			18
Maria Durleşteanu						17
Veaceslav Madan			5			11
Victor Stepaniuc						14
Iurie Roşca			6			8
Dumitru Bragiş			7			6
Gheorghe Cucu						11
Constantin Mihailescu						11
Miron Gagauz						10
Valerian Revenco						9
Veaceslav Afanasiev						8
Vladimir Mişin						6
Vasile Zgardan						5
Victoria Iftodi						5

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

1.6 Coverage circumstances, impartiality and diversity of sources

Teleradio Moldova Company prefers to make reference to ordinary or formal events. Their share in newscasts increased from circa 70 percent in August to 85 percent in November (in October – 94 percent). Conflicting and controversial events were covered the least by TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. Their share decreased from 30 percent in August to 15 percent in November (in October – 6 percent). This fact suggests that, *in November, the Company did not overcome its previously prefigured attempt to avoid delicate problems and transpose the public into a supposed conflict-free reality.*

In November, both TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova generally continued to cover events by applying one documentation source. The public TV did so in 91 percent of cases, and Radio Moldova – in 81 percent (in October, the share 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). Although certain positive changes have taken place in this respect – *diversification of*

sources, presentation of adverse or different viewpoints – the impartial approach to reality continues to remain an unfulfilled condition for the Company’s transformation into a public institution.

TABLE 17. Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage

	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
One source	1092	91	2627	81
Two or more sources	103	9	602	19

1.7 Conclusions:

According to the November newscast monitoring data, Teleradio Moldova Company continues to remain outside the value ground of a public broadcaster.

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. Diversity of sources has not become a standard for conceiving news on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.

II. SOCIO-POLITICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

General observations

In the present monitoring period, the duration of socio-political, political and economic programs on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova varied considerably. Despite some fluctuations, we noted a general tendency of increase in the duration of this type of programs, from 38,062 seconds in June to 87,105 seconds in November, in the case of TV Moldova 1, and from 45,005 seconds in June to 117,842 seconds in November, in the case of Radio Moldova.

Duration of programs – in seconds

	June	August	September	October	November
TV Moldova 1	38,062	76,264	50,035	101,880	87,105
Radio Moldova	45,005	45,005	106,812	122,912	117,842

It should be mentioned that daily airtime did not increase in this period with either institution.

2.1 Program distribution

In November, TV Moldova 1 reduced the duration of socio-political programs, and, to a lesser extent, of economic ones, while the duration of political programs practically remained at the October level – (see table 19).

TABLE 19. Program distribution – Frequency and Duration

PROGRAM TYPE	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	F	%	D	%	F	%	D	%
Socio-political	37	31	39,280	45	185	45	52,520	45
Political	52	44	28,013	32	76	19	33,615	29
Economic	30	25	19,812	23	146	36	31,707	27

As a result, the share of political programs increased from 28 to 32 percent, and that of socio-economic programs decreased from 49 to 45 percent. The share of economic programs remained at the October level, of 23 percent. We also noted an increase in the frequency of political programs, from 42 to 52 programs, whereas the frequency of other types of programs decreased – from 67 to 37 in the case of socio-political programs, and from 40 to 30, in the case of economic programs.

TV Moldova 1: Share of programs - %

Program type	June	August	September	October	November
Socio-political	46.0	50.4	49	49	45
Political	29.5	22.1	24	28	32
Economic	24.5	27.5	27	23	23

We note that in November the structuring by type of programs on TV Moldova 1 does not considerably differ from the June one.

Radio Moldova also registered an increase in the duration and share of political programs, from 29,690 sec. (24 percent) to 33,625 sec. (29 percent). The duration and share of socio-political programs fell from 61,887 sec. (50 percent) – to 52,520 sec. (45 percent), while the duration and share of economic programs remained at the October level.

Radio Moldova: **Share of programs - %**

Program type	June	August	September	October	November
Socio-political	46.9	49.1	60	50	45
Political	41.5	20.9	14	24	29
Economic	11.6	30.0	26	25	27

In November, as compared to June, there was noted a decrease in the share of political programs and a radical increase in that of economic programs, while the share of socio-political programs, after a sudden fall in September, reached the June level.

It should be noted that the distribution of programs by their types does not differ much from one institution to the other. The share of Radio Moldova programs registered a sudden fall in August and September, after which the distribution of broadcast space by program types became more balanced. A similar tendency, but less marked, was noted for TV Moldova 1 programs.

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

Political agents	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D
State authorities	13	1367	3	1160	5	1055	1	360
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)								
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)								
Extra-parliamentary parties								

TABLE 20.1. Airtime – Frequency and Duration (seconds)

Political agents	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	D	F	D
State authorities				
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)			1	420
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	1	600	1	600
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	600	2	1020

2.2 Program topics

In November, **the first 10 most covered topics** by TV Moldova 1 were the following: agriculture, local public administration, education, external socio-economic collaboration, parliamentary opposition, government and parliament activity, army, social protection, diplomatic relations, culture (see table 21.2). In relative figures, the frequency of coverage of these topics made up 49.3 percent.

It should be mentioned that it was for the first time in the monitoring period that the parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova) found itself among the most frequently covered topics. However, it remains to be seen whether this was done with the observance of all OSCE and Council of Europe recommendations on the public broadcasting institution.

By duration, the first ten issues covered were the following: education, agriculture, culture, social protection, EU integration, state and local budgets, human trafficking, collaborations with foreign countries, health care and medical insurance, government and parliament activity. These topics covered 54.3 percent of the total duration of socio-political, political and economic programs on TV Moldova 1. In October, this index was 55 percent, in September – 58.9 percent, in August – 78.4 percent, and in June – 80.1 percent.

The presence of ‘state and local budgets’ among the first ten topics is a positive indicator of the prompt reaction to the current events.

Agriculture, the Transnistrian issue, education, EU integration, culture, government and parliament activity, various anniversaries and formal events were permanent topics on the socio-political, political and economic agendas of TV Moldova 1 throughout the monitoring period.

The least covered topics in November were the following: salaries, social protests, science, consumers, foreign assistance, prices, quality of products, human trafficking, state security, industry, housing issue, conflicts.

On the other hand, the coverage of ‘economic successes’ and ‘governance’s successes’ increased, as compared to October, from 1 to 6, in frequency, and from 1800 sec. (1.8 percent) to 1971 sec. (2.26 percent), in duration.

TABLE 21.1. Agenda of socio-political, political and economic programs – frequency and duration (%) - TV Moldova1

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Agriculture	19	9.3	Education	12236	14.05
Local public administration	13	6.3	Agriculture	5583	6.41
Education	12	5.9	Culture	5533	6.35
External socio-economic collaborations	12	5.9	Social protection	4796	5.51
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	9	4.4	EU integration	4450	5.11
Government, parliament activities	9	4.4	State and local budget	3870	4.44

Army	9	4.4	Human trafficking	3000	3.44
Social protection	6	2.9	External socio-economic collaborations	2935	3.37
Diplomatic activities	6	2.9	Health care, medical insurance	2493	2.86
Culture	6	2.9	Government, parliament activities	2437	2.80
Health care, medical insurance	6	2.9	Agricultural producers' problems	2313	2.66
EU integration	6	2.9	Local public administration	2296	2.64
Environment	6	2.9	Heat agent, heating issue	2250	2.58
Transnistria	5	2.4	Crimes, car accidents	2155	2.47
Ceremonies, anniversaries	5	2.4	Public utility actions	2003	2.30
Agricultural producers' problems	5	2.4	Energy	2002	2.30
Public utility actions	4	2.0	Ceremonies, anniversaries	1820	2.09
Economic successes	4	2.0	Conflicts	1800	2.07
Emigration	4	2.0	Army	1608	1.85
Crimes, car accidents	4	2.0	Economy	1540	1.77
Economy	4	2.0	Environment	1475	1.69
Unemployment	3	1.5	Emigration	1459	1.67
Corruption	3	1.5	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	1450	1.66
Fiscal issues, taxes	3	1.5	Industry	1440	1.65
Factories, enterprises	3	1.5	Governance's successes	1185	1.36
State and local budget	3	1.5	Unemployment	1151	1.32
Governance's successes	2	1.0	Transnistria	1145	1.31
Minorities	2	1.0	Quality of products	1100	1.26
Legislative actions	2	1.0	Corruption	1050	1.21
Communist Party	2	1.0	Diplomatic activities	1025	1.18
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	2	1.0	Transportation, roads	905	1.04
Extra-parliamentary parties	2	1.0	Economic successes	786	0.90
Transportation, roads	2	1.0	Extra-parliamentary parties	750	0.86
Mass media	2	1.0	Fiscal issues, taxes	695	0.80
Foreign investments	2	1.0	Livestock breeding	580	0.67
Energy	2	1.0	Legislative actions	537	0.62
Livestock breeding	2	1.0	Factories, enterprises	477	0.55
Heat agent, heating issue	2	1.0	Minorities	410	0.47
Salaries	1	0.5	Foreign investments	355	0.41
Social protests	1	0.5	Consumers	349	0.40
Science	1	0.5	Mass media	240	0.28
Consumers	1	0.5	Foreign assistance	216	0.25
Foreign assistance	1	0.5	Science	212	0.24
Prices	1	0.5	Communist Party	210	0.24
Quality of products	1	0.5	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	200	0.23
Human trafficking	1	0.5	Social protests	190	0.22
State security	1	0.5	Salaries	135	0.15
Industry	1	0.5	Housing issue	105	0.12
Housing issue	1	0.5	Prices	100	0.11

Conflicts	1	0.5	State security	53	0.06
-----------	---	-----	----------------	----	------

On Radio Moldova, the first 10 most covered topics were the following: legislative actions, social protection, foreign collaborations, public utility activities, state and local budgets, national economy, foreign investments, health care and medical insurance. In relative figures, the frequency of coverage of these 10 topics made up 44.1 percent.

By duration, the first 10 most covered topics were the following: legislative actions, social protection, foreign collaborations, education, agriculture and agricultural producers' problems, state and local budgets, human rights, health care and medical insurance, environment, national economy.

The relative duration of the first ten topics decreased: 67.8 percent – in August, 57.2 percent - in September, 49.6 percent – in October, 44.75 percent – in November, which confirms, as in the case of TV Moldova 1, the positive tendency to diversify the topic agenda.

In the monitoring period, Radio Moldova gave priority in its programs to the following topics: agriculture and agricultural producers' problems, education, social protection and human rights, foreign collaborations, health care and medical insurance, etc.

The following topics were covered only once: public order, minorities, Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM), parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova and Christian-Democratic Popular Party), religion, administrative-territorial division issue, natural calamities, the army.

The frequency of coverage of civil society increased from 4 to 9 appearances, as compared to October. The duration of this topical segment increased from 890 sec. (0.7 percent) to 1513 sec. (1.28 percent). (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	%
Legislative actions	81	6.7	Legislative actions	9192	7.80
Social protection	76	6.3	Social protection	6294	5.34
External socio-economic collaborations	54	4.5	External socio-economic collaborations	6282	5.33
Education	51	4.2	Education	5128	4.35
Agricultural producers' problems	48	4.0	Agricultural producers' problems	4652	3.95
Public utility actions	46	3.8	State and local budgets	4366	3.70
Agriculture	39	3.2	Human rights protection	4085	3.47
State and local budgets	39	3.2	Health care, medical insurance	3333	2.83
Economy	34	2.8	Agriculture	3206	2.72
Foreign investments	33	2.7	Environment	3118	2.65
Health care, medical insurance	32	2.7	Economy	3080	2.61
Culture	28	2.3	Foreign investments	3079	2.61
Emigration	28	2.3	Science	2881	2.44
Science	27	2.2	Public utility actions	2769	2.35
Local public administration	27	2.2	Local public administration	2764	2.35
Environment	26	2.2	Culture	2678	2.27

Human rights protection	26	2.2	Prices	2641	2.24
Ceremonies, anniversaries	25	2.1	EU integration	2510	2.13
Heat agent, heating issue	24	2.0	Emigration	2353	2.00
Prices	23	1.9	Heat agent, heating issue	2279	1.93
Fiscal issues, taxes	22	1.8	Employment situation	2102	1.78
Employment situation	22	1.8	Fiscal issues, taxes	2035	1.73
Salaries	20	1.7	Transportation, roads	1947	1.65
EU integration	20	1.7	Ceremonies, anniversaries	1880	1.60
Transportation, roads	20	1.7	Salaries	1798	1.53
Small business micro-financing	19	1.6	Livestock breeding	1695	1.44
Export	19	1.6	Small business micro-financing	1675	1.42
Factories, enterprises	18	1.5	Factories, enterprises	1662	1.41
Livestock breeding	18	1.5	Civil society	1513	1.28
Economic successes	17	1.4	Export	1438	1.22
Telecommunications and IT	16	1.3	Privatization	1325	1.12
Government, parliament decisions	15	1.2	Economic successes	1289	1.09
Privatization	14	1.2	Local investments	1223	1.04
Internal debts	13	1.1	Energy	1218	1.03
Local investments	13	1.1	Telecommunications and IT	1208	1.03
Energy	12	1.0	Conflicts	1087	0.92
Civil society	12	1.0	Government, parliament decisions	1070	0.91
Mass media	10	0.8	Internal debts	1057	0.90
Transnistria	9	0.7	Crimes, car accidents	1057	0.90
Foreign assistance	9	0.7	Mass media	978	0.83
Tourism	9	0.7	Consumers	826	0.70
Government, parliament activities	8	0.7	Unemployment	818	0.69
Crimes, car accidents	8	0.7	Government, parliament activities	781	0.66
Conflicts	8	0.7	Transnistria	758	0.64
Human trafficking	7	0.6	Corruption	750	0.64
Trade	7	0.6	Tourism	738	0.63
Unemployment	6	0.5	Human trafficking	654	0.55
Consumers	6	0.5	Elections	654	0.55
Elections	6	0.5	Foreign assistance	650	0.55
Industry	6	0.5	Housing issue	592	0.50
Social protests	5	0.4	Industry	557	0.47
Diplomatic activities	5	0.4	Trade	457	0.39
Housing issue	5	0.4	Social protests	402	0.34
Corruption	4	0.3	Quality of products	355	0.30
Quality of products	4	0.3	External debts	326	0.28
Sports	4	0.3	Diplomatic activities	323	0.27
Extra-parliamentary parties	2	0.2	Government, parliament meetings	296	0.25
Government, parliament meetings	2	0.2	Sports	289	0.25
External debts	2	0.2	Census	268	0.23
Census	2	0.2	Calamities	225	0.19
State security	2	0.2	Extra-parliamentary parties	186	0.16
Customs issues	2	0.2	Administrative-territorial division issue	155	0.13

Public order	1	0.1	Customs issues	145	0.12
Minorities	1	0.1	Minorities	132	0.11
Communist Party	1	0.1	Public order	115	0.10
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	1	0.1	State security	113	0.10
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	1	0.1	Religion	100	0.08
Religion	1	0.1	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	60	0.05
Administrative-territorial division issue	1	0.1	Army	60	0.05
Calamities	1	0.1	Communist Party	55	0.05
Army	1	0.1	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	55	0.05

2.3 Coverage of political and social agents

In November, we attested a significant increase in the coverage of state authorities, from 43 percent to 50 percent, by TV Moldova 1, and from 46.8 percent to 56.3 percent, by Radio Moldova (see tables 22, 23 and graph 23.1).

The frequency of coverage of the parliamentary opposition increased, as compared to October, from 4.2 percent to 7.0 percent, on TV Moldova 1, and decreased, from 1.6 percent to 0.8 percent, on Radio Moldova.

(Nota bene: the opposition was present on the topic agenda when commentaries were being made, within the respective program, about the policy, actions and attitude of opposition factions to various issues. Such commentaries belonged both to members of the opposition and to journalists or other individuals outside the opposition. The coverage of opposition parties as agents also implies making reference to those parties within other topics – e.g. the position of Democratic Moldova or of Christian-Democratic Popular Party in the budget voting process, without actually commenting on the respective position. This explains the difference among the figures of graphs 21.1, 21.2 and tables 22, 23).

The difference between the frequency of coverage of state authorities and of parliamentary opposition was of 43 percent in TV Moldova 1 programs (38.2 percent in October), and of 55.2 percent in Radio Moldova programs (45.2 percent in October).

The general tendency noted during the five monitoring months, both on TV Moldova 1 and on Radio Moldova, is that the frequency of coverage of state authorities is increasing, while that of the parliamentary opposition is decreasing, as compared with June level (see graphs 23.2.1 and 23.2.2).

The same attitude is also maintained towards the extra-parliamentary parties.

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).

In November, both TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova increased the coverage in their programs of the Presidency and Government, but slightly decreased the coverage of the Prime Minister, Parliament and Parliament Speaker.

After a decrease in August and September, the share of coverage of top state institutions increased in TV Moldova 1 programs, and became stable in Radio Moldova programs (see the table below). Local administration enjoyed less attention in both institutions.

Coverage frequency, % - TV Moldova1

	June	August	September	October	November
Presidency	13.7	7.3	3.4	7.8	8.2
Government	10.7	11.0	8.2	7.0	13.7
Prime Minister	2.3	3.7	1.4	1.2	0.8
Parliament		1.1	2.7	2.7	2.0
Parliament Speaker	0.8	2.2	0.7	0.8	0.4
Total	27.5	25.3	16.4	19.5	25.1

Local administration	13.7	6.4	11.6	10.1	13.3
----------------------	------	-----	------	------	------

Radio Moldova

	June	August	September	October	November
Presidency	9.9	3.9	2.3	1.9	2.8
Government	21.6	11.8	11.4	12.7	13.0
Prime Minister	7.6	2.2	1.3	2.2	1.2
Parliament		1.5	1.2	2.7	1.8
Parliament Speaker	1.8	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.2
Total	40.9	20.1	16.4	19.8	19.0

Local administration	4.7	8.3	11.8	10.7	17.3
----------------------	-----	-----	------	------	------

It should be noted that, unlike top state institutions, which enjoyed neutral or positive evaluations, local administration received either neutral or negative evaluations.

References to the civil society (NGOs) remained at the same level, after a sudden fall in August: 9.2 percent in June, 4.4 percent in August, 4.8 percent in September, 4.3 percent in October, and 4.7 percent in November – on TV Moldova 1; 8.8 percent in June, 3.7 percent in August, 4.5 percent in September, 5.4 percent in October, and 5.5 percent in November – in Radio Moldova programs.

As in the previous months, employers' organization and trade unions were ignored in TV Moldova 1 programs.

TABLE 22. Coverage of political and social agents – Frequency

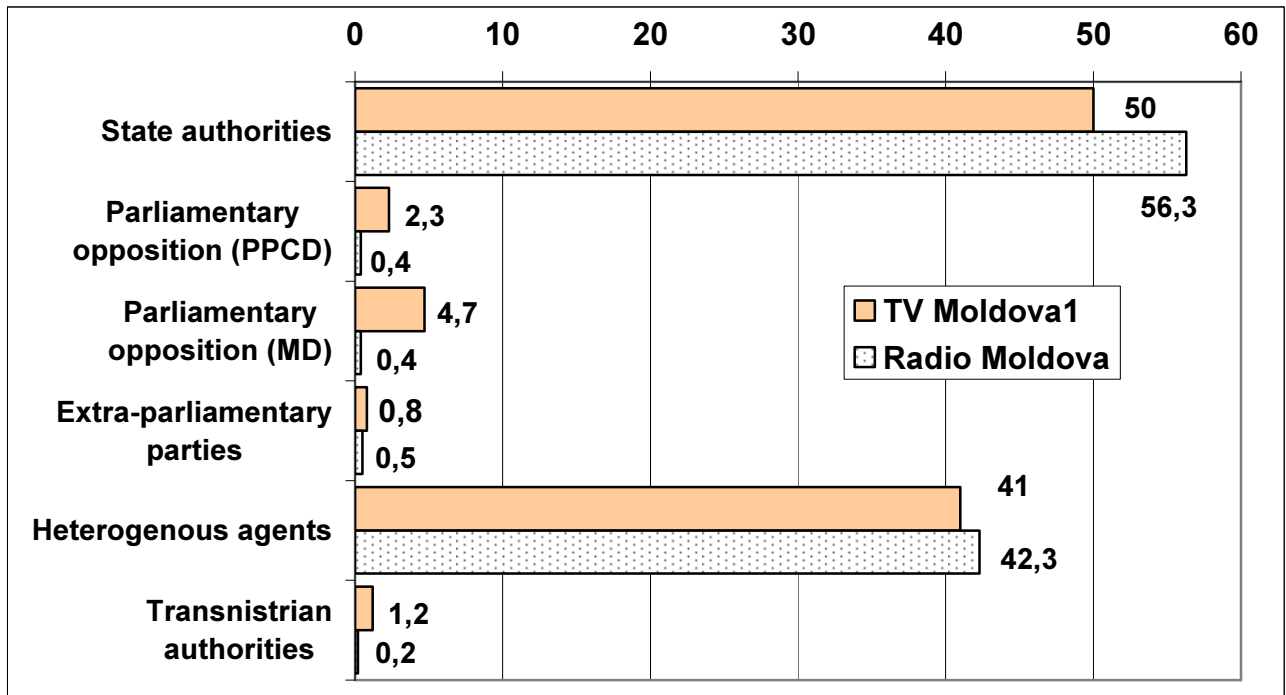
AGENTS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Presidency	21	8.2	24	2.8
Presidential Staff			3	0.4

Government	35	13.7	110	13.0
Prime Minister	2	0.8	10	1.2
Parliament	5	2.0	15	1.8
Parliament Speaker	1	0.4	2	0.2
Justice, Constitutional Court	1	0.4	7	0.8
Police, Ministry of Security	4	1.6	6	0.7
Financial Guard, Economic Police			7	0.8
Local administration	34	13.3	147	17.3
Army	8	3.1	2	0.2
Communist Party	6	2.3	3	0.4
Other state institutions	11	4.3	141	16.6
<i>Parliamentary opposition, PPCD</i>	6	2.3	3	0.4
<i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i>	12	4.7	3	0.4
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>	2	0.8	4	0.5
Employers' organization			1	0.1
Trade unions			6	0.7
Church	2	0.8	4	0.5
Civil society	12	4.7	47	5.5
Economic agents	24	9.4	77	9.1
Mass media	5	2.0	5	0.6
Educational-scientific institutions	9	3.5	71	8.4
Healthcare institutions	3	1.2	21	2.5
Transnistrian authorities	3	1.2	2	0.2
Other internal agents	28	10.9	74	8.7
External agents	22	8.6	53	6.3

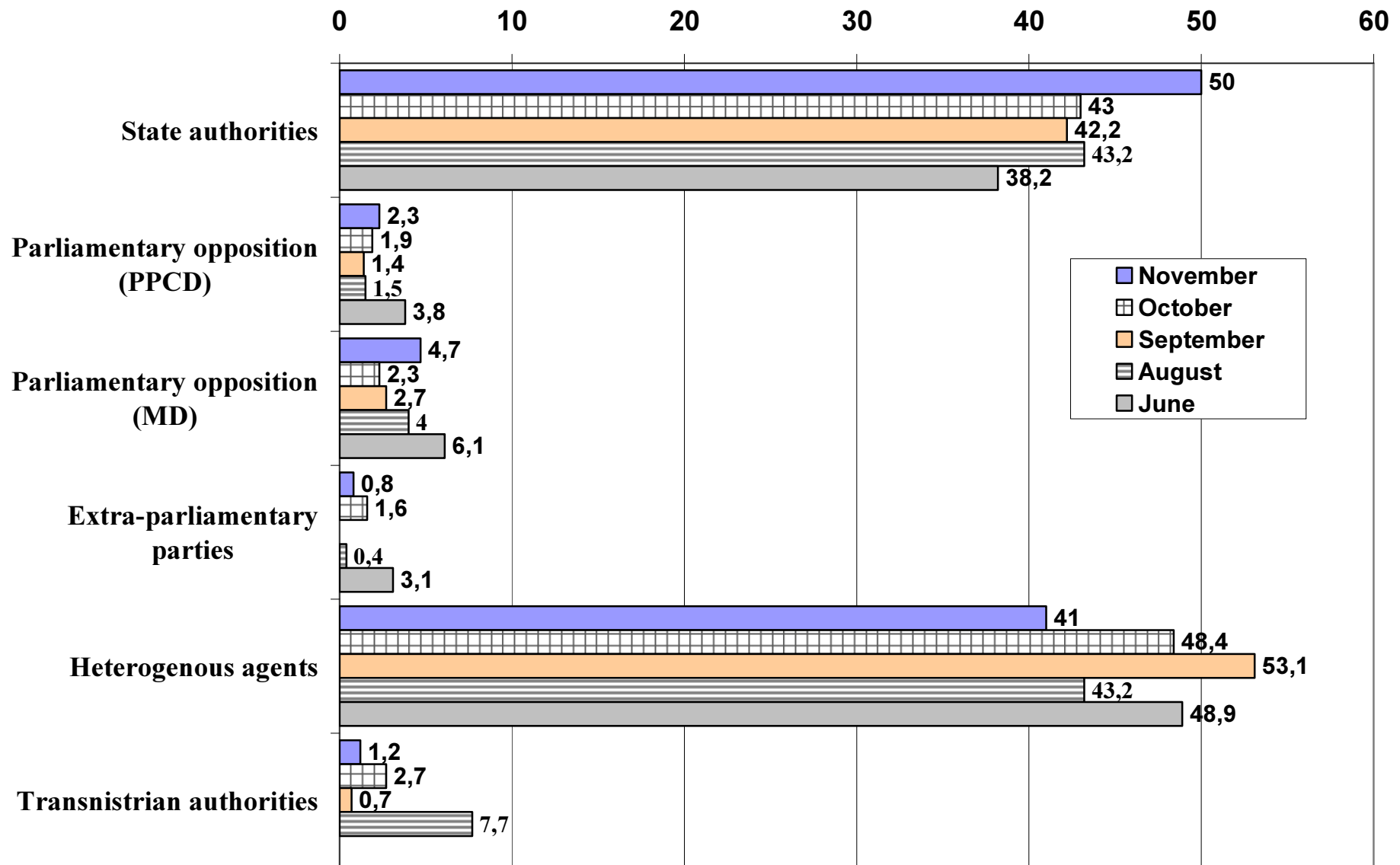
TABLE 23. Distribution of broadcast space among the five agent categories – Frequency (%)

AGENT CATEGORIES	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
State authorities	50.0	56.3
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	2.3	0.4
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	4.7	0.4
Extra-parliamentary parties	0.8	0.5
Heterogenous agents	41.0	42.3
Transnistrian agents	1.2	0.2

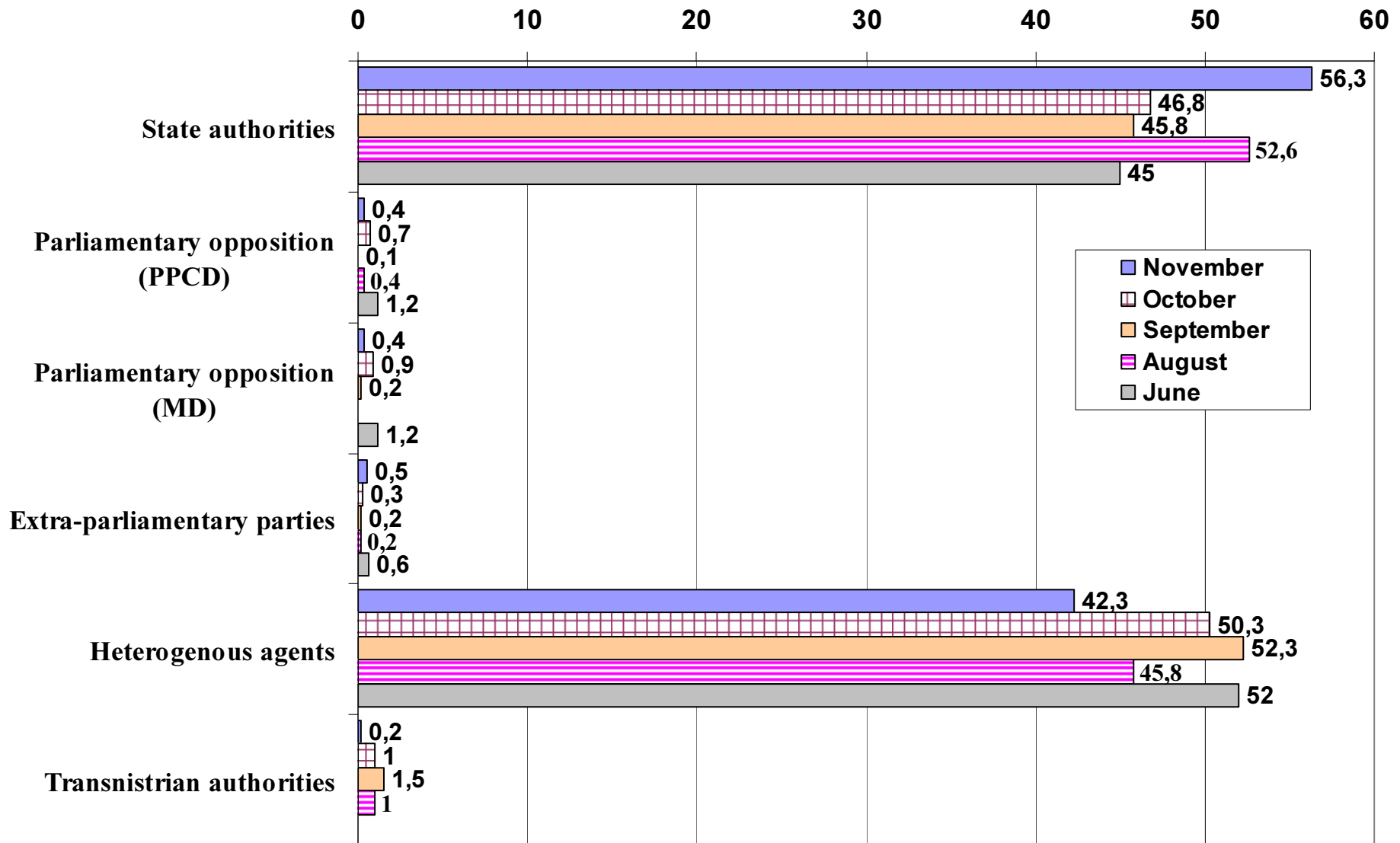
Graph 23.1 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - Frequency (%)



Graph 23.2.1. Distribution of broadcast space among agents – November/October/September/August/June compared
 Frequency (%) TV Moldova 1



Graph 23.2.2. Distribution of broadcast space among agents – November/October/September/August/June compared
 Frequency (%) **Radio Moldova**



2.4 Impartiality of socio-political and economic programs

In November, 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. Also, one economic agent received negative evaluation.

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 Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Presidency	1		20			24
Presidential Staff						3
Government	2		33			110
Prime Minister			2			10
Parliament			5			15
Parliament Speaker			1			2
Justice, Constitutional Court			1			7
Police, Ministry of Security			4			6
Financial Guard, Economic Police						7
Local administration		6	28			147
Army			8			2
Communist Party			6			3
Other state institutions			11			141
<i>Parliamentary opposition, PPCD</i>			6			3
<i>Parliamentary opposition, MD</i>		4	8			3
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>			2			4
Employers' organization						1
Trade unions						6
Church			2			4
Civil society			12			47
Economic agents		1	23			77
Mass media			5			5
Educational-scientific institutions			9			71
Healthcare institutions			3			21
Transnistrian authorities		1	2			2
Other internal agents			28			74
External agents			22			53

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

TABLE 25. Evaluation of the five agent categories - Frequency

AGENT CATEGORY	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
State authorities	3	6	119			477
Parliamentary opposition			6			3

(PPCD)						
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)		4	8			3
Extra-parliamentary parties			2			4
Heterogenous agents		1	104			359
Transnistrian agents		1	2			2
TOTAL	3	12	241	0	0	848

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

2.5. Coverage of political parties and political pluralism

“Democratic Moldova” was the most frequently covered political party, followed by the Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM) and Christian Democratic Popular Party (PPCD). (see table 26).

TABLE 26. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage

PARTIES	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL), Democratic Party (PDM))	15	12	3
Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM)	9	6	3
Christian-Democratic Popular Party (PPCD)	9	6	3
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)	2	1	1
Agrarian Party of Moldova (PAM)	1	1	
Reform Party	1		1
Social political movement “Hope”	1		1
Republican Party	1		1
TOTAL	39	26	13

TABLE 27. Evaluation of political parties - Frequency

PARTIES	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Democratic Moldova (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party (PSL), Democratic Party (PDM))		4	8			3
Communist Party of Moldova (PCRM)			6			3
Christian-Democratic Popular Party (PPCD)			6			3
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)			1			1
Agrarian Party of Moldova			1			

(PAM)						
Reform Party						1
Social political movement "Hope"						1
Republican Party						1

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

The frequency of programs with direct and indirect electoral implication was maintained at the October level. It should be mentioned that this index was much lower on Radio Moldova (see table 20).

Below are examples of programs with direct or indirect electoral implications:

TV Moldova 1

Date	Program	Hour	Content
4.11	Reflecții economice (<i>Economic reflections</i>)	19.45	Discussions about the increase in pensions, nominal allocations and compensations etc. – the program praises current governance (e.g.: the pension increase is presented as the governance's success).
6.11	Rezonans	19.00	Reportage on President Voronin's speech about the Government activity – Voronin is presented positively and everything the Government does is good.
7.11	Băștina (<i>Homeland</i>)	14.00	Discussions about livestock breeding in Hâncești – it is mentioned that the Moldovan President has put a lot of effort into the revival of this economic branch. Quality of waters in Moldova – President Voronin's initiative on cleaning water springs was mentioned.
14.11	Băștina (<i>Homeland</i>)	14.00	Presentation of President Voronin's initiative on the development of the national program "Moldovan Village". Reportage about youth's life in villages – mayors of several villages spoke and all of them mentioned and welcomed the President's initiative.
20.11	Univers educațional (<i>Educational universe</i>)	19.00	Reportage about the distribution of student places – Minister of Education mentioned the decision enabling students to travel home once a month free of charge.
21.11	Băștina (<i>Homeland</i>)	14.00	Sugar beet – guests–representatives of Parliament, Government and economic agents. It was specified that President Voronin pays attention to this branch.
28.11	(<i>Special edition dedicated to anniversary of the National Palace</i>)	12.10	It was specified that the National Palace was renovated thanks to the country's leadership.

	Başțina (Homeland)	14.00	Program dedicated to the Agricultural Producers' Day – it was stressed that President Voronin supports agricultural producers by amending the state budget.
29.11	Special reportage	21.35	President Voronin's speech at the 100 th anniversary of "Carmez" company.

Radio Moldova

Date	Program	Hour	Content
12.11	Radio matinal	6.15	President Voronin came up with the initiative of enabling students to travel home once a month free of charge.
16.11	Radio matinal	6.15	President Voronin's visit to the Chisinau Academy of Arts.
			Prime Minister Tarlev's working visit to Mândac – he gives away furniture sets as presents.
26.11	Radio matinal	6.15	President Voronin's visit to the opening of an old people asylum in Dondușeni.
28.11	Radio matinal	6.15	President Voronin participated in the meeting of farmers from the agro-industrial complex.

2.6 Coverage of political and social actors

In November, as in the previous monitoring months, Vladimir Voronin was the most widely covered political actor in TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova 1 programs – 44 times (in June – 36 times, in August – 51 times, in September – 27 times, in October – 30 times (see tables 28, 29). All references were neutral, except for one, with positive evaluation, in TV Moldova 1 programs.

Prime Minister Tarlev was covered ten times less than Voronin in TV Moldova 1 programs, and 2.4 times less in Radio Moldova programs. It should be noted that the references to Prime Minister Tarlev decreased, as compared to the previous month: 18 references in June, 26 in August, 16 in September, 22 in October and 12 in November.

Serafim Urecheanu was on the third position in the top of the most widely covered political and social actors, with 11 references, 4 of which with negative connotation, in TV Moldova 1 programs. Urecheanu and Braghiș were the only actors to receive negative evaluations by the anchors of TV Moldova 1 programs.

The list of most widely covered political and social actors includes Gheorghe Benderschi – 5 times. He is the Director of the Consumers' Protection Center, and his role generally is limited to attacking Mayor Serafim Urecheanu. Iurie Roșca, PPCD leader, benefited from less coverage – 3 times.

TABLE 28. Most widely covered political and social actors – Frequency

ACTORS	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Vladimir Voronin	44	20	24
Vasile Tarlev	12	2	10
Serafim Urecheanu	11	9	2
Valentin Beniuc	6	2	4
Constantin Mihailescu	5	1	4
Gheorghe Benderschi	5	1	4
Dumitru Todoroglo	5	2	3
Veaceslav Afanasiev	4	1	3
Dumitru Braghiș	4	3	1
Gheorghe Cucu	3		3
Eugenia Ostapciuc	3	1	2
Veaceslav Madan	3	2	1
Oleg Serebrian	3	2	1
Iurie Roșca	3	2	1
Valerian Cristea	2		2
Vasile Iov	2		2
Marian Lupu	2		2
Zinaida Greceanăi	2		2
Vasile Zgardan	2		2
Iacob Timciuc	2	1	1
Oazu Nantoi	2	1	1
Dumitru Diacov	2	1	1
Valerian Revenco	1		1
Veaceslav Untilă	1		1
Vasile Șova	1	1	
Vladimir Mișin	1	1	
Eduard Mușuc	1	1	
Eugen Roșcovan	1	1	
Ștefan Secăreanu	1	1	
Ion Leahu	1	1	
Miron Gagauz	1	1	
Alexei Tulbure	1	1	

TABLE 29. Evaluation of political and social actors – Frequency

ACTORS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Vladimir Voronin	1		19			24
Vasile Tarlev			2			10
Serafim Urecheanu		4	5			2
Valentin Beniuc			2			4
Constantin Mihailescu			1			4
Gheorghe Benderschi			1			4
Dumitru Todoroglo			2			3
Veaceslav Afanasiev			1			3
Dumitru Braghiș		1	2			1
Gheorghe Cucu						3

Eugenia Ostapciuc			1			2
Veaceslav Madan			2			1
Oleg Serebrian			2			1
Iurie Roșca			2			1
Valerian Cristea						2
Vasile Iov						2
Marian Lupu						2
Zinaida Greceanâi						2
Vasile Zgardan						2
Iacob Timciuc			1			1
Oazu Nantoi			1			1
Dumitru Diacov			1			1
Valerian Revenco						1
Veaceslav Untilă						1
Vasile Șova			1			
Vladimir Mișin			1			
Eduard Mușuc			1			
Eugen Roșcovan			1			
Ștefan Secăreanu			1			
Ion Leahu			1			
Miron Gagauz			1			
Alexei Tulbure			1			

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

2.7 Participants in socio-political, political and economic programs

The number of participants in TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs increased in November, too. In TV Moldova 1 programs 175 participations were attested, as compared to 162 in October, 80 in September, 98 in August, and 86 in June. Radio Moldova programs registered 503 participations, their number growing from 118 participants in June, to 305 in August, 336 in September, and 411 in October.

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

PARTICIPANT CATEGORIES	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
State authorities	64	37.4	234	46.5
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	5	2.9	1	0.2
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	8	4.7	2	0.4
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	0.6	3	0.6
Civil society – NGOs, associative sector	8	4.7	35	7.0
Individual participation (ordinary people)	19	11.1	65	12.9

Transnistrian representatives (authorities)	1	0.6	1	0.2
External representatives	14	8.2	20	4.0
Representatives of other institutions, enterprises	51	29.8	142	28.2

State authority representatives enjoyed preferential treatment in both public institutions. The frequency of their participation increased in November in TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs, reversing a decreasing trend in the latter case. However, it should be pointed out that the share of participation of state authority representatives is by circa 10 percent higher in Radio Moldova programs than in TV Moldova 1 ones.

Frequency of program participation in June and August-November (%) TV Moldova 1

	June	August	September	October	November
State authorities	43	30.6	30.0	30.9	37.4
Parliamentary opposition MD+PPCD	2.4	0.0	3.0	1.8	7.6
Extra-parliamentary parties	3.5	1.0	0.0	2.5	0.6
NGOs	15.1	8.2	10.0	7.4	4.7
Individual participation	12.8	22.4	19.0	14.2	11.1
Transnistrian representatives		0.0	0.0	1.9	0.6
External representatives		8.2	5.0	6.8	8.2
Other representatives	23.3	29.6	33.0	34.6	29.8

Radio Moldova

	June	August	September	October	November
State authorities	54.2	48.6	39.0	39.0	46.5
Parliamentary opposition MD+PPCD	3.4	0.0	0.3	2.7	0.6
Extra-parliamentary parties	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.6
NGOs	11.9	5.3	8.3	9.5	7.0
Individual participation	3.4	13.7	9.8	11.4	12.9
Transnistrian representatives		0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
External representatives		2.5	3.6	4.9	4.0
Other representatives	26.3	29.0	38.4	32.8	28.2

Also, in November, there increased the frequency of participation of parliamentary opposition in TV Moldova 1 programs to 7.6 percent, compared to 1.8 percent in October. The overall participation of the opposition was, however, insignificant during the monitoring period. In TV Moldova 1 programs the tendency to reduce the participation of civil society representatives (associative sector) is highlighted.

The frequency of individual participation oscillated insignificantly.

2.8 Program pluralism and equidistance

In November, TV Moldova 1 as well as Radio Moldova programs showed a slight tendency to use two or more documentation sources. The situation is almost identical in both institutions (see table 31).

TABLE 31. Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage

	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
One source	71	61	258	63
Two or more sources	45	39	149	37

Examples of programs containing negative evaluations of the opposition, without offering it the right to response:

TV Moldova 1

Date	Program	Hour	Content
4.11	Reflecții economice (<i>Economic reflections</i>)	19.45	Discussions about the increase in pensions, nominal allocations and compensations etc. – the program praises current governance (e.g.: the pension increase is presented as the governance's success).
6.11	Rezonans	19.00	Serafim Urecheanu's and Dumitru Braghiș's statement about the impossibility of imposing an economic blockade on Transnistria – anchor's ironic attitude is obvious.
			Situation of Moldovan railways (CFM) in Transnistria – Transnistrian authorities are criticized
			It is assumed that the City Hall uses fighters in various dirty actions.
			Press conference held by Serafim Urecheanu – anchor's ironic attitude is obvious.
			Moldovan delegation to Strasbourg –Serafim Urecheanu is also present – Starîș asks himself whether Urecheanu is present as General Mayor or leader of Democratic Moldova Bloc.
			City Hall's refusal to register Emergency Hospital under the Minister of Health. A boy's death during an earthquake due to the late arrival of the ambulance is presented ...

8.11	Obiectiv (Objective)	21.40	Electric power and relevant problems – the guests (Pavel Vasiliev – Deputy Minister of Energy and Gh. Benderschi) accuse Union Fenosa. The program bears a negative character.
13.11	Rezonans	19.00	About the monitoring conducted by CIVIS and IJC – Starîş shows his ironic attitude towards Democratic Moldova, as compared to Communist Party of Moldova.
			About Transnistrian fighters used by local public authorities (involvement of “Ratmir” company).
20.11	Rezonans	19.00	Reportage about Şarban’s arrest – anchor’s ironic attitude is obvious.
			Analysis of the article from “Vechernyi Kishinev” on Şarban’s arrest.
			Analysis of Serafim Urecheanu’s statement on the promotion of Democratic Moldova Bloc – anchor’s ironic attitude is obvious.

2.9. Conclusions

Both TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs covered many of the general interest problems and events, such as budget adoption, preparation for the winter season, energy system etc. but, at the same time, they avoided or covered only indirectly many other important topics, such as prices, housing space, salaries, unemployment, status of democracy, police behavior etc. The appearance of debates on general interest topics on TV Moldova 1 deserves encouragement. On the other hand, programs with direct and indirect electoral implications in favor of state authorities are still produced, although anchors on Radio Moldova avoid making positive or negative evaluations in respect to political and social agents and actors.

On TV Moldova I, the frequency of coverage of the parliamentary opposition has somewhat increased, especially of Democratic Moldova. However, the frequency of coverage of state authorities has increased even more. Overall, the disproportion between the frequency of coverage of the opposition and the frequency of coverage of state authorities continues to be enormous.

The practice of audience manipulation, running down of opposition and “polishing” the image of state authorities was further used. The share of programs that do not observe the right to response and that to information from two and more sources, although somehow decreased, continues to be very high on both TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.

State authority representatives enjoy preferential treatment also in the drafting of the list of participants in socio-political, political and economic programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. Although a significant increase in the participation of opposition representatives in TV Moldova 1 programs has been attested, this fact is accompanied by an even wider participation of state authority representatives. The share of opposition participation in Radio Moldova programs is negligible, of 0.6 percent, while the share of state authorities’ participation increased from 39 to 46.5 percent. “Rezonans” program treats opposition not as a necessary factor for the functioning of democracy, but as a hostile one, which ‘hinders’ the current governance from carrying out its duties.

Overall, the discriminatory treatment applied in respect to parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition, both with regard to their coverage and their participation in programs, ignoring the issues raised by the opposition, failure to grant them the right to response, broadcasting of programs with obvious electoral implications in favor of state authorities are the current main obstacles to the transformation of Teleradio Moldova Company into a real public institution.