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CIVIS

CENTRU DE ANALIZĂ ȘI INVESTIGAȚII SOCIOLOGICE,  
POLITOLOGICE ȘI PSIHOLOGICE

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

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**Report  
September 1 – 30, 2004**

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## METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

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

<b>Channel</b>	<b>Weekdays</b>	<b>Hours</b>
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 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 ideas and opinions, respecting the general interests of the society;
- d) Reflecting the interests of all social strata, promoting peace, humanity, and other democratic values.

### **Team and responsibilities:**

**CIVIS:** quantitative monitoring, factual monitoring report

**IJC experts:** comments, analytical report, and conclusions.

## Glossary

### News classification

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

### Program typology

- *Socio-political programs* – programs on social issues involving political agents/actors
- *Political programs* – programs about the life and activities 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 the contest for the cleanest well) .

### Method of coverage

- *Ordinary coverage circumstances*– coverage of daily events
- *Conflicting coverage circumstances*– coverage of events initiated by different conflicting 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' organization, trade unions, the church, civil society, other domestic and foreign agents

### Categories of actors

- *Political and social state actors* (president, prime-minister, parliament speaker, other presidential personnel, government; leaders or members of the Communist Party and other state-affiliated persons)
- *Uninvolved political and social 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 the socio-political, political and economic programs**

■ *Individual participation* – ordinary people

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

- *Agent* is an institution, organization etc.
- *Actor* is a specific person whose name is mentioned in the 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. Example: if Voronin and Tarlev’s opinions are presented, there is a single source i.e. the authorities’ source.

## I. NEWSCASTS

### *General observations*

In September, the third monitoring month, the broadcasting schedule of Teleradio Moldova Company mostly maintained the quantitative parameters used in June and August (859 hours), and offered additional arguments that confirm the tendencies formulated in the previous reports, and namely:

- Consolidation of socio-political broadcasting segment;
- Consolidation of socio-political programs at the expense of newscasts (Radio Moldova).

The consolidation of the socio-political broadcasting segment results from the following statistical data. While the respective programs covered 152.32 hours in June and 196.4 hours in August, in September their total duration was 201.07 hours. In other words, the share of these programs in the general listings of Teleradio Moldova Company rose from 17.7 percent in June to 23.4 percent in September. This vector was common both for TV Moldova 1 and for Radio Moldova (throughout this period, the television increased the time for socio-political programs from 40.14 hours to 56.45 hours, and radio – from 112.8 hours to 144.22 hours).

Throughout the monitoring months, Radio Moldova increased the share of opinion socio-political programs at the expense of newscasts. If in June, newscasts made up 87.46 percent of the overall socio-political broadcasts, and 81.56 percent in August, then in September they made up 79 percent. The behavior of TV Moldova 1 in this respect was different. After a 12-percent reduction of duration of the newscasts in August, in September TV Moldova 1 returned to the initial share from June, reserving to newscasts 74.7 percent of socio-political broadcasts.

### *1.1. General agenda*

**General news agenda.** The newscasts, which were offered in September to the public by Teleradio Moldova Company, including the traditional categories of news (internal socio-political, other internal news, and international news), were generally systematized similarly to the previous monitoring periods. Priority in frequency and duration was given to internal socio-political news, followed by international and other internal news (tables 1 and 2, graphs 1.1 and 2.1).

Meanwhile, one should mention that in September the decline of internal socio-political news in favor of international news, (a tendency displayed in August), was not observed. For example, they represented 76.7 percent in duration on TV Moldova 1 (79.6 percent in June and 74.4 percent in August) and 77.5 percent of total duration of newscasts on Radio Moldova (76 percent in June and 81.5 percent in August) (see graph 2.2). News other than socio-political ones continued to be of insignificant duration similarly to the previous months (0.1 percent on Radio Moldova and 0.4 percent on TV Moldova 1). The international news, which grew spectacularly in frequency and duration in August, decreased in September returning to the average share of air time from previous monitoring periods (22.8 percent on TV Moldova 1, and 22.4 percent on Radio Moldova).

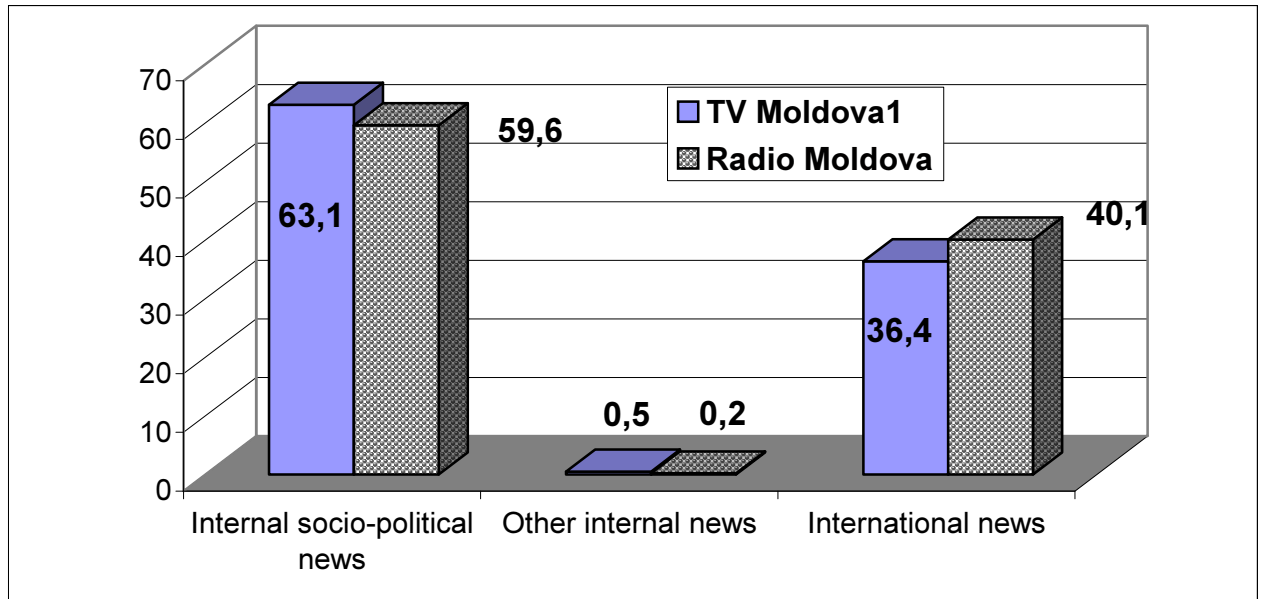
The developments from September make us believe that the influx of internal socio-political news from August was of seasonal nature and did not turn into a vector of editorial policy of Teleradio Moldova Company.

**TABLE 1. General agenda - Frequency (%)**

NEWS TYPE	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Internal socio-political news	1308	63.1	2917	59.6
Other internal news	10	0.5	11	0.2
International news	755	36.4	1964	40.1

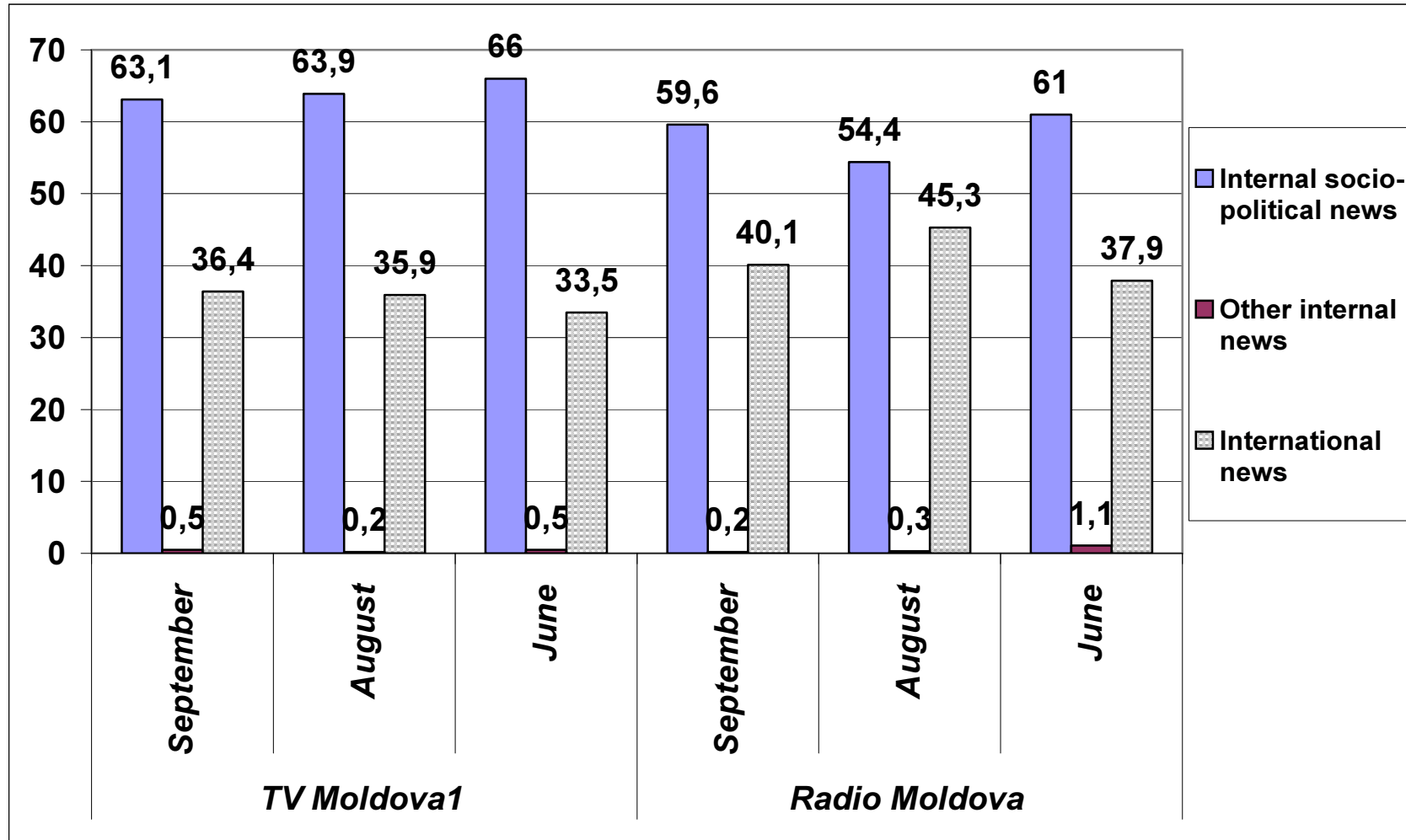
Graph 1.1.

**General agenda – Frequency (%)**



Graph 1.2.

General agenda– September /August/June compared Frequency



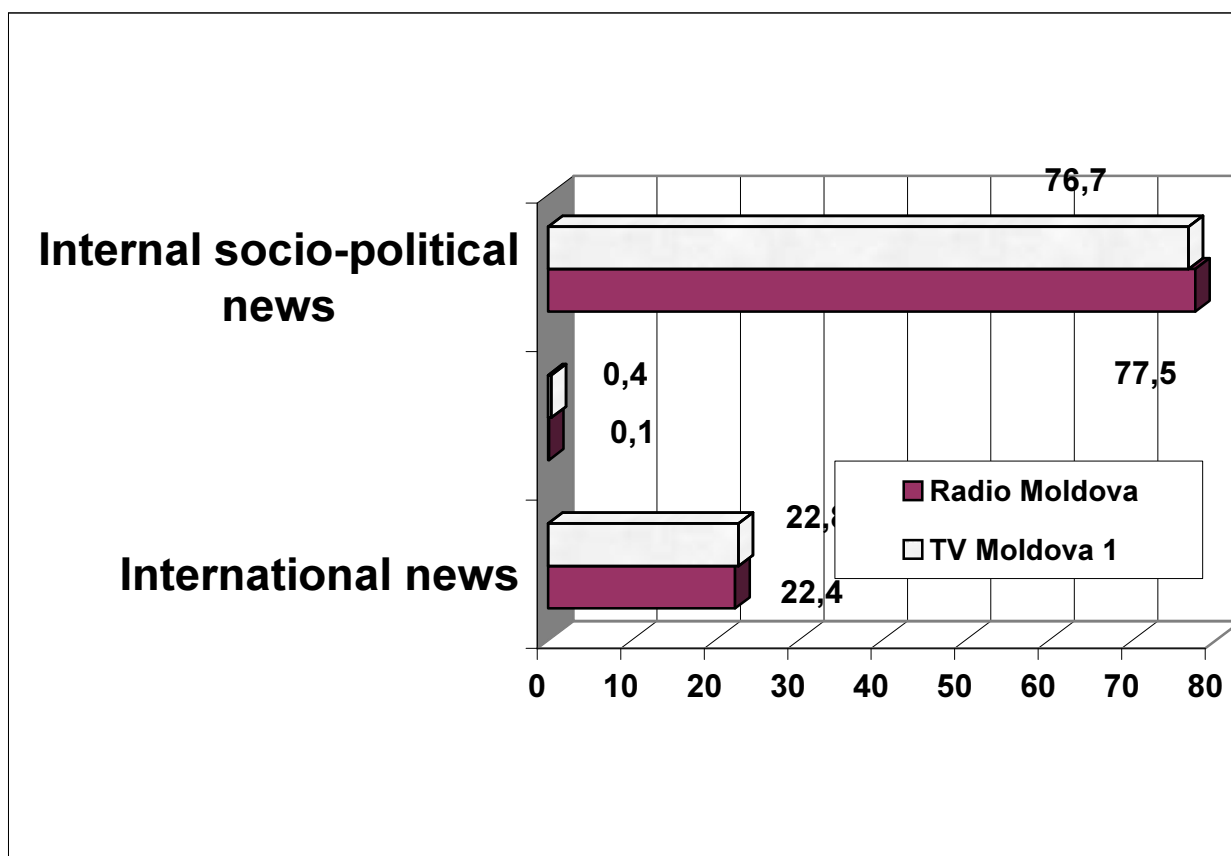


**TABLE 2. General agenda - DURATION**

NEWS TYPE	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	D*	%	D	%
Internal socio-political news	115335	76.7	318435	77.5
Other internal news	655	0.4	510	0.1
International news	34320	22.8	92003	22.4

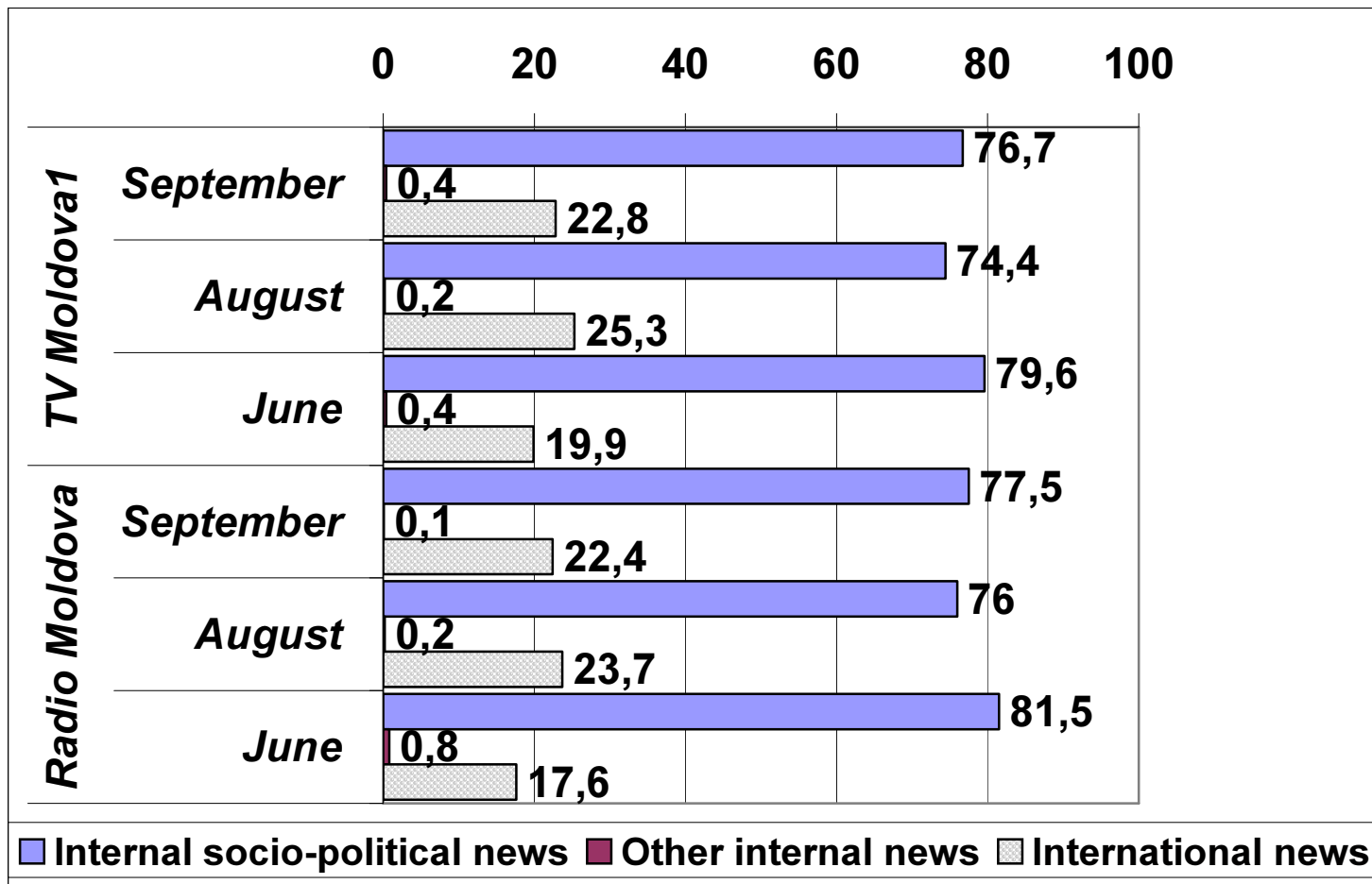
Graph 2.1.

**General agenda – Duration (%)**



\* All durations are presented in seconds

Graph 2.2.  
 General agenda– September/August/June compared Duration (%)



## **1.2 Typological register of internal socio-political news**

Just as in the previous monitoring period, the September internal socio-political news of Teleradio Moldova focused on internal policy, economic, social issues, and external relations. Their ranking was different.

TV Moldova 1 gave priority to social news (45 percent in frequency). The presence of social news in TV newscasts increased (40.1 percent in June and 41.3 percent in August) compared with the previous monitoring months. The duration of TV social news evolved in a similar manner (from 42.7 percent in June, to 48.3 percent in August, and to 49 percent in September). Out of the total amount of internal socio-political news broadcast by Radio Moldova, this type of news accumulated 32 percent in frequency and 38 percent in duration. In this way, compared with August (40.5 percent in frequency and 48.6 percent in duration), broadcasting of radio social news decreased, in fact, returning to the quota registered in June (31.4 percent in frequency and 38.5 in duration).

News on internal political relations aired on TV Moldova 1 (27 percent in frequency and 26 percent in duration) and news on external relations aired on Radio Moldova (32 percent in frequency and 25 percent in duration) come second in the September classification of internal socio-political news. News on external relations broadcast on TV Moldova 1 (17 percent in frequency and 14 percent in duration) and internal political news on Radio Moldova (23 percent in frequency and 24 percent in duration) come third in the above-mentioned classification. Just as in the previous months, TV Moldova 1 (10 percent in frequency and 12 percent in duration) and Radio Moldova (13 percent in both frequency and duration) gave the least importance to economic news (see tables 3,4, graphs 3.1, 4.1, 3-4.1, 4.2).

News on foreign relations of Moldova and international events were covered in newscasts from September in the same manner as in the previous months of monitoring. Thus, the coverage of CIS news continued to increase: they were covered in 26 percent of the total volume of international news on TV Moldova 1 (compared with 23.3 percent in August and 20.1 percent in June) and 29 percent on Radio Moldova (compared to 22.8 percent in August and 19.8 percent in June).

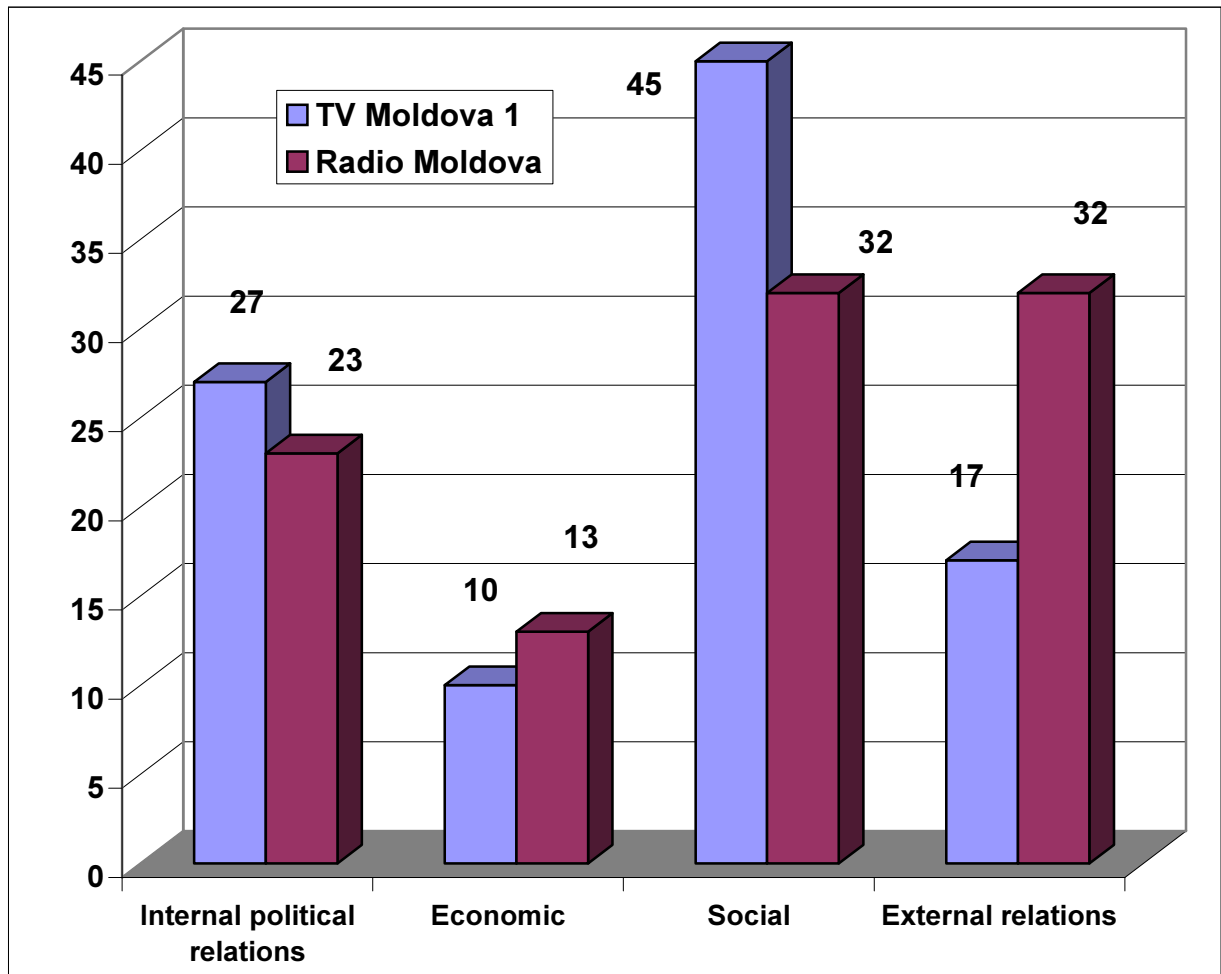
Western countries, as well as the USA and the rest of the world, had a smaller coverage compared with August and June (33 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 32 percent on Radio Moldova, 41 and 38 percent, accordingly). The most publicized countries, just as in June and August, continued to be the USA with 17 percent of the total share of international newscasts on TV Moldova 1 (with a 4 and 1 percent increase compared to August and June, accordingly) and 12 percent on Radio Moldova (with a 1.3 percent decrease compared with August and a 2 percent increase compared to June); and Russia, 11 percent on TV Moldova 1 (compared with 9 percent in August and June) and 16 percent on Radio Moldova (compared with 11.2 percent in August and 10 percent in June). The immediate neighbors of Moldova were the focus of news programs from Teleradio Moldova Company in the following proportion: Romania – 2 percent (compared to 3.8 percent in August and 1.9 percent in June on TV Moldova 1, and 2.3 percent and 1.8 percent, respectively, on Radio Moldova. The Ukraine was mentioned in 6 percent of news on TV Moldova 1 (compared to 5.5 percent in August and 3.7 percent in June) and 7 percent on Radio Moldova (compared with 6.8 percent in August and 2.5 percent in June) out of the total number of international news (see table 5, graph 5.1 and 5.2).

The typological register, the ranking, as well as the established quantitative parameters show in a conclusive way the editorial policy adopted by Teleradio Moldova Company with regards to the internal socio-political news aired in June – September 2004.

**TABLE 3. Distribution of internal socio-political news Frequency**

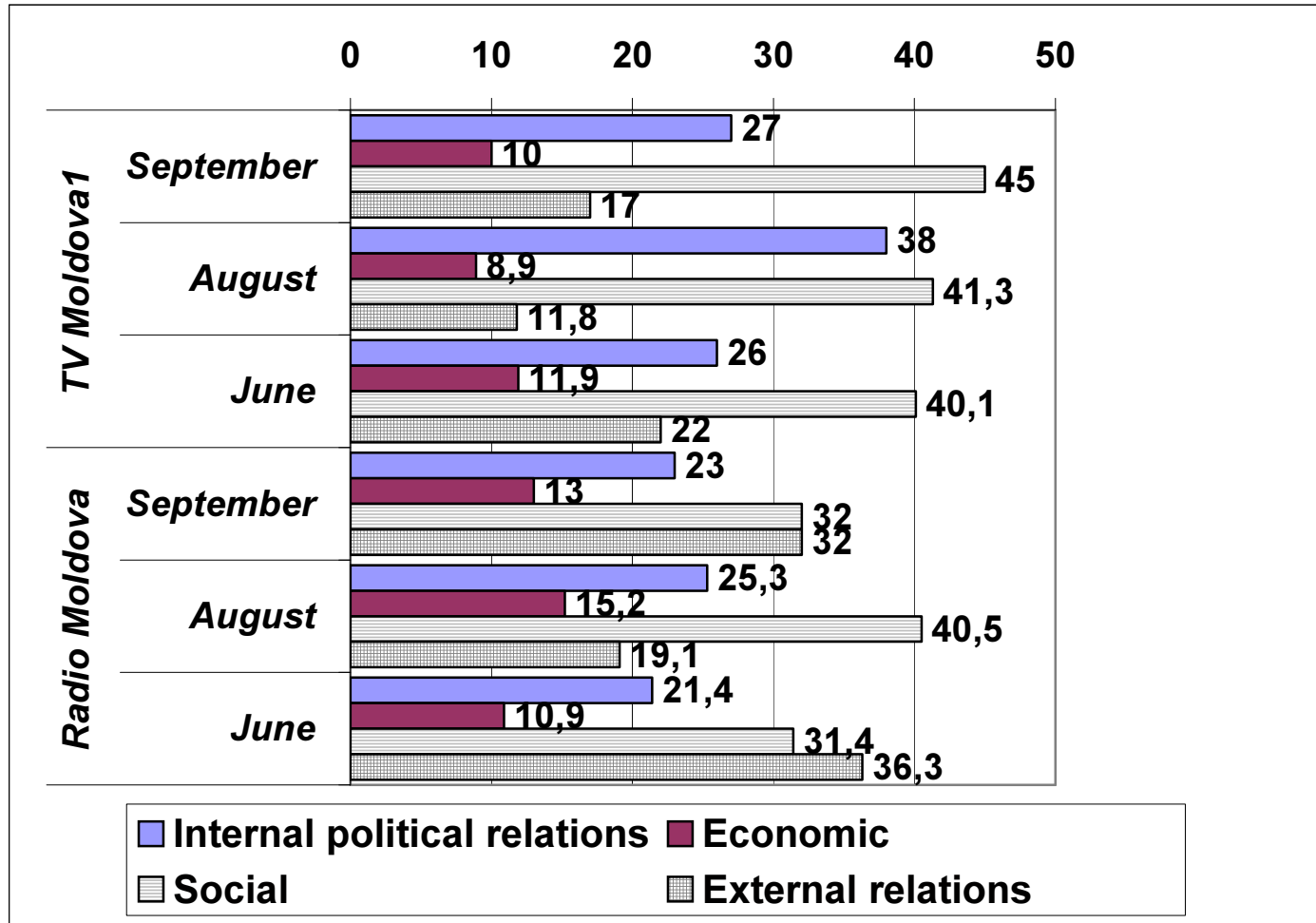
TOPICS	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Internal political relations	354	27	679	23
Economic	131	10	387	13
Social	595	45	922	32
External relations	228	17	929	32

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



Graph 3.2.

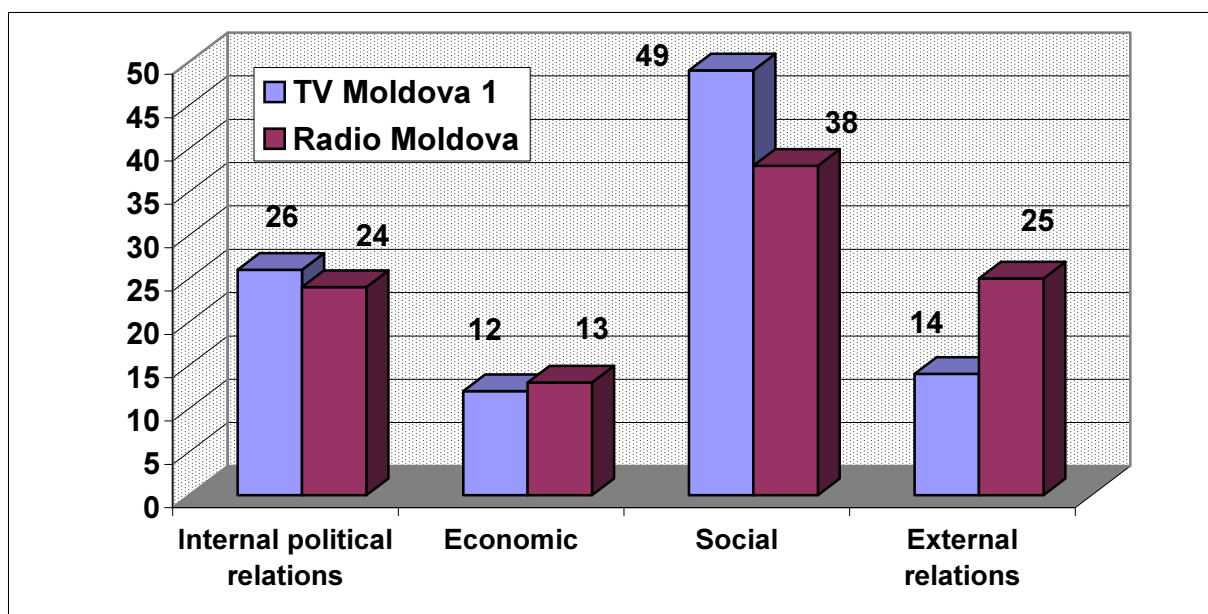
**Internal socio-political – September/August/June compared Frequency (%)**



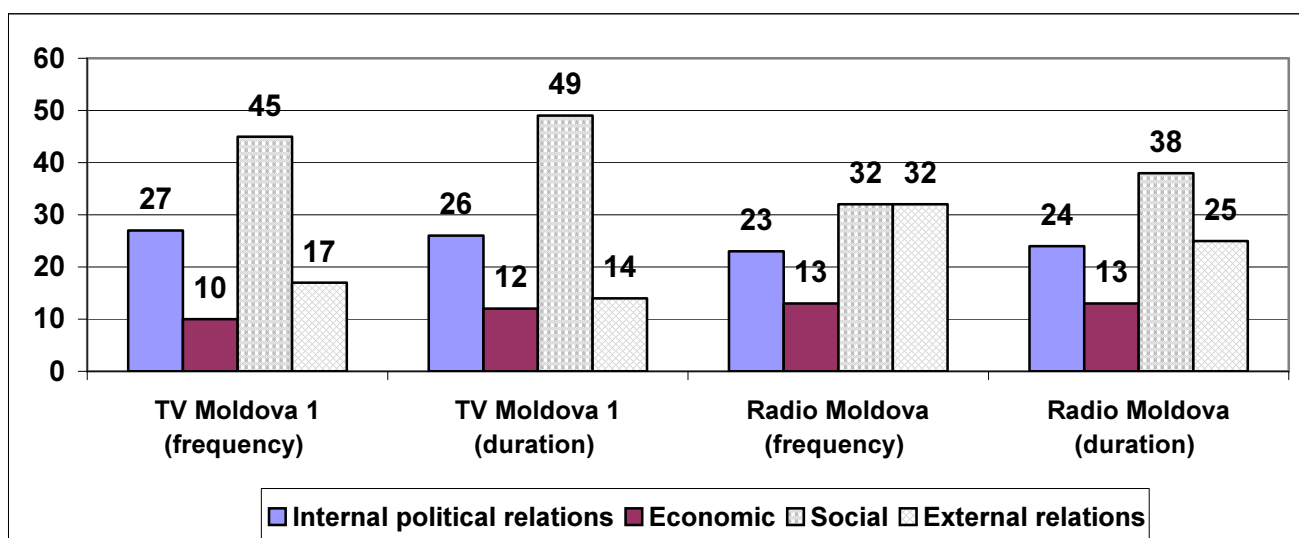
**TABLE 4. Distribution of internal socio-political news Duration (%)**

TOPICS	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	D	%	D	%
Internal political relations	29882	26	76045	24
Economic	13674	12	42000	13
Social	56148	49	119808	38
External relations	15631	14	80582	25

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

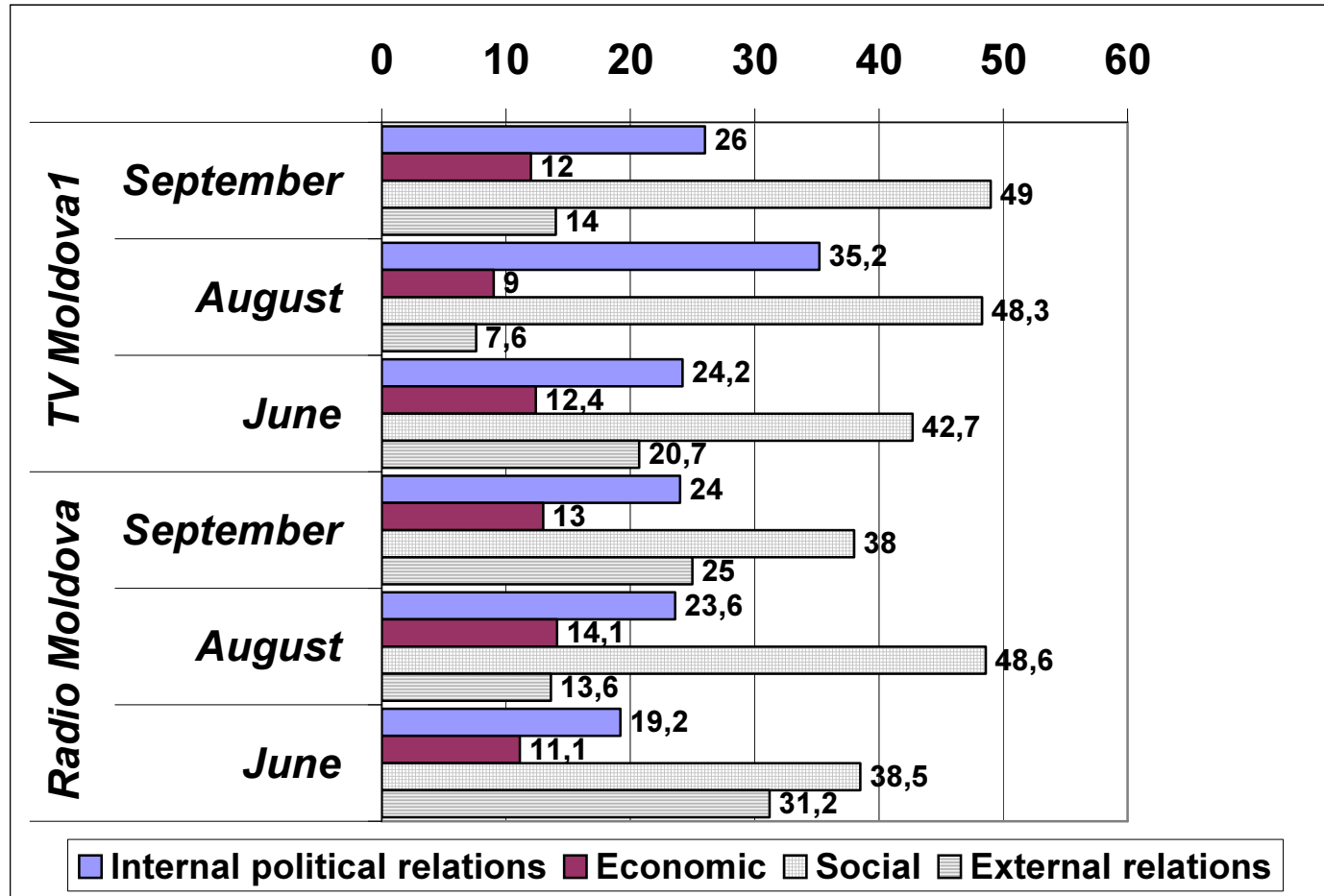


Graph 3-4.1.  
**Internal socio-political – Frequency – Duration (%)**



Graph 4.2.

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

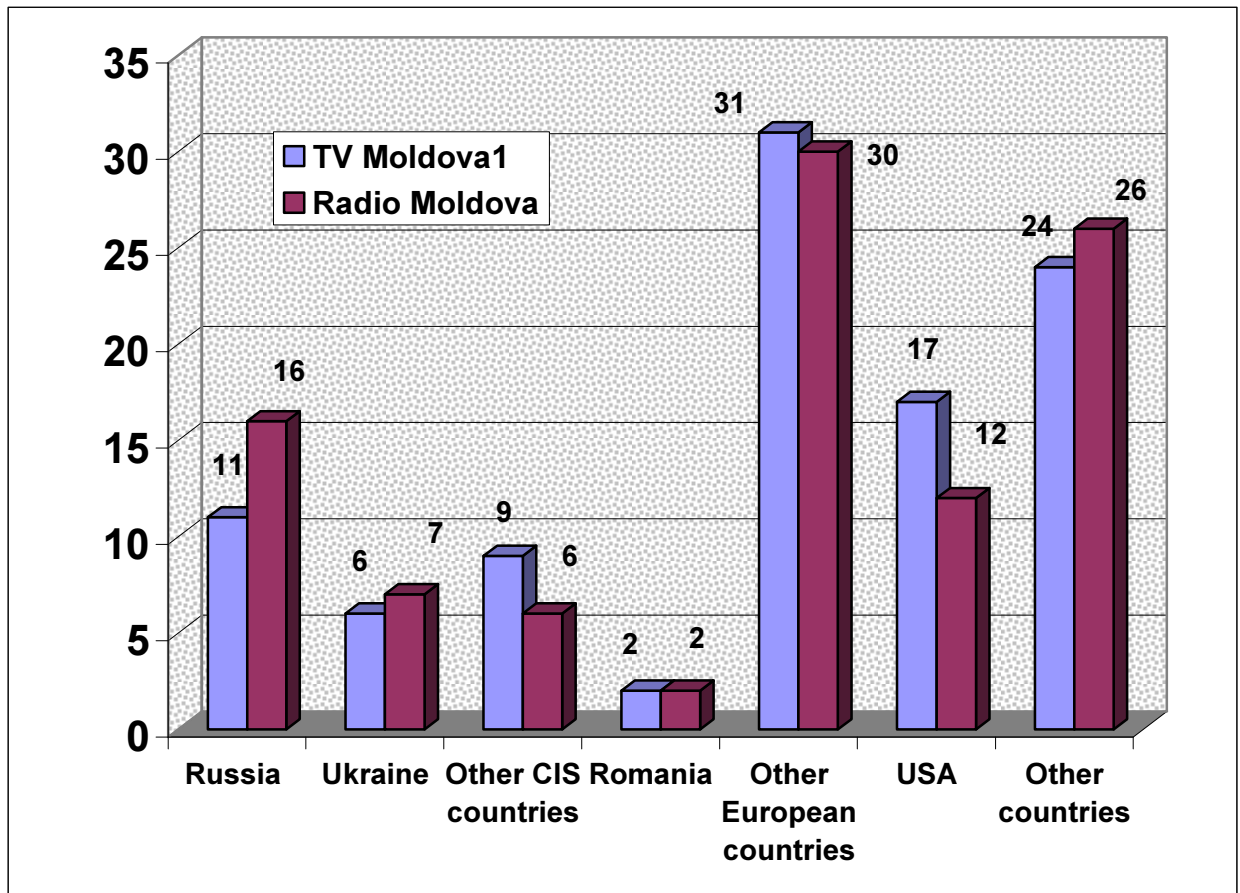


**TABLE 5. Distribution of news on external and international relations Frequency (%)**

COUNTRY	TV Moldova 1	Radio Moldova
Russia	11	16
Ukraine	6	7
Other CIS countries	9	6
Romania	2	2
Other European countries	31	30
USA	17	12
Other countries	24	26

Graph 5.1.

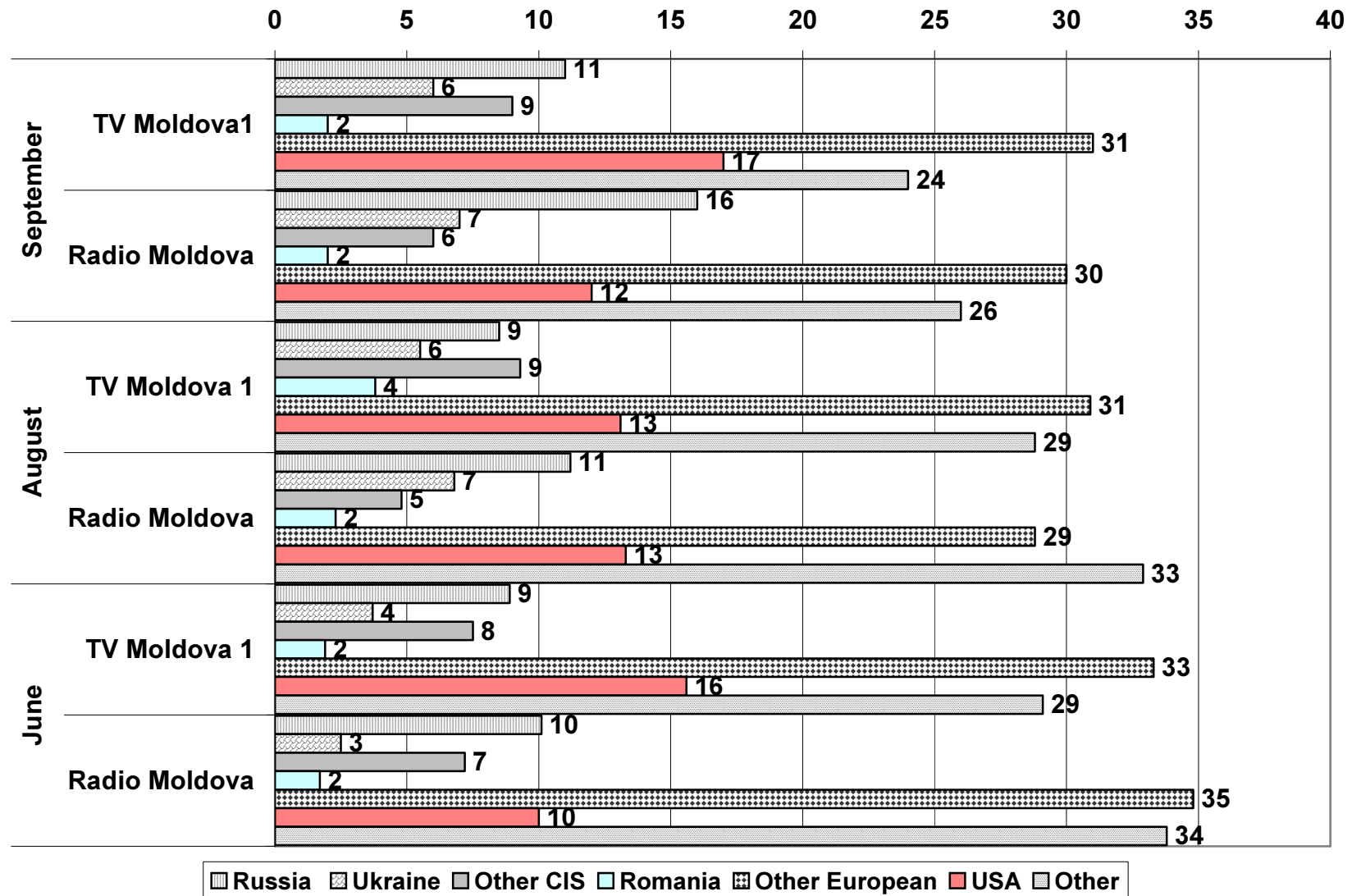
**External and international relations - Frequency (%)**





Graph 5.2.

External and international relations – 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	3	156	7	361	29	4592	10	686
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)					2	95	1	90
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)					1	55	3	371
Extra-parliamentary parties								

**TABLE 7. Coverage circumstances – Frequency**

Political agents	TV Moldova 1			Radio Moldova		
	Ordinary	Conflict	Formal	Ordinary	Conflict	Formal
State authorities	574	136	49	1575	269	134
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	4	5		10	6	
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	17	5		20	4	
Extra-parliamentary parties	7	4		4	2	
Uninvolved	676	218	71	1902	330	153
Transnistrian authorities	5	98		59	215	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1283</b>	<b>466</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>3570</b>	<b>826</b>	<b>288</b>

### 1.3 Topic agenda

In September, the topic agenda was more diverse comprising between 60 (on TV Moldova 1) and 70 (on Radio Moldova) topics (by comparison: between 50 and 60 topics were covered in August and approximately 50 topics were covered in June). Despite this diversification, the list of ten most covered topics remained almost intact compared with June and August: Transnistria (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova); education (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova); culture (TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova); crimes and car accidents (TV Moldova 1); governmental and parliamentary activities (TV Moldova 1); diplomatic activities (TV Moldova 1); governmental and parliamentary meetings (TV Moldova 1); ceremonies and anniversaries (TV Moldova 1); sports (Radio Moldova); municipal activities (Radio Moldova); international socio-economic collaborations (Radio Moldova); agriculture (Radio Moldova); transportation and roads (Radio Moldova).

These issues were tackled in 50.8 percent of the news (by frequency) on TV Moldova 1 and 47.2 percent on Radio Moldova. Their duration comprised 51.65 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 47.66 percent on Radio Moldova. One should note that the list of the first ten topics for September news agenda on TV Moldova 1 includes the mass media issue (6.5 percent in frequency and 5.34 in duration), as well as healthcare and medical assistance (3.3 percent in frequency and 4.56 percent in duration). On Radio Moldova, this includes protection of human rights (2.94 percent in frequency and 2.31 percent in duration) and social protection (2.92 percent in frequency and 3.27 percent in duration).

The other 50-60 topics were present in less than 45 percent of news in frequency and about 38 percent in duration. The list of 10 least covered topics on TV Moldova 1 includes foreign investments, tourism, customs issues, privatization, trafficking in human beings, zootechnics, legislative actions, conflicts, extra-parliamentary parties, and exports. The least covered topics on Radio Moldova are trafficking in human beings, zootechnics, unemployment, external debts, housing issue, problems of agricultural producers, activity of the Communist Party, parliamentary opposition PPCD and Democratic Moldova. (See tables 8.1 and 8.2).

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

- News Departments of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova do not promote independent editorial policies;
- Through their topic agenda, the news programs focus the public attention on certain fields 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	%
Transnistria	228	12.5	Culture	13144	11.40
Education	172	9.5	Transnistria	11790	10.22
Culture	151	8.3	Education	10780	9.35
Mass media	119	6.5	Mass media	6156	5.34
Crimes and car accidents	80	4.4	Crimes and car accidents	5821	5.05
Government and parliament meetings	78	4.3	Government and parliament activities	5314	4.61
Government and parliament activities	78	4.3	Healthcare, medical insurance	5258	4.56
Diplomatic activities	74	4.1	Ceremonies, anniversaries	4705	4.08
Ceremonies, anniversaries	61	3.4	Diplomatic activities	4019	3.48
Healthcare, medical insurance	60	3.3	Government and parliament meetings	3532	3.06
Transportation, roads	50	2.7	Agriculture	3423	2.97
Foreign socio-economic collaboration	48	2.6	Transportation, roads	3016	2.61
Agriculture	46	2.5	Foreign socio-economic collaboration	2979	2.58
Municipal activities	37	2.0	Social protection	2574	2.23
Social protection	35	1.9	Municipal activities	2467	2.14
Environment	32	1.8	Environment	2181	1.89
Governmental and parliamentary decisions	26	1.4	Energy	1892	1.64
Energy	24	1.3	Foreign assistance	1657	1.44
Economy	24	1.3	Census	1475	1.28
Prices	23	1.3	Prices	1377	1.19
Protection of human rights	23	1.3	Economy	1362	1.18
Foreign assistance	22	1.2	Government success	1265	1.10
Social protests	19	1.0	Religion	1255	1.09
Science	19	1.0	Governmental and	1149	1.00

			parliamentary decisions		
State and local budgets	18	1.0	Protection of human rights	1147	0.99
Government success	17	0.9	Social protests	1105	0.96
Census	15	0.8	Science	961	0.83
Minorities	14	0,8	State and local budgets	771	0.67
Religion	12	0.7	Emigration	705	0.61
State security	11	0.6	Minorities	684	0.59
Economic success	10	0.5	Consumers	670	0.58
Emigration	10	0.5	Economic success	661	0.57
Army	10	0.5	Fiscal issues, taxes	508	0.44
Consumers	9	0.5	Sports	475	0.41
Sports	9	0.5	Internal debts	465	0.40
Public order	7	0.4	Army	445	0.39
Elections	7	0.4	Factories and enterprises	435	0.38
Disasters	7	0.4	Problems of agricultural producers	426	0.37
Salaries	6	0.3	Disasters	405	0.35
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	6	0.3	State security	389	0.34
European integration	6	0.3	Tourism	385	0.33
Internal debts	6	0.3	Housing issue	377	0.33
Factories and enterprises	6	0.3	Industry	360	0.31
Local public administration	6	0.3	Communist Party	342	0.30
Trade	6	0.3	European integration	324	0.28
Housing issue	6	0.3	Conflicts	294	0.3
Problems of agricultural producers	6	0.3	Trade	289	0,25
Corruption	5	0.3	Public order	259	0.22
Communist Party	5	0.3	Telecommunications and information technologies	259	0.22
Telecommunications and information technologies	5	0.3	Trafficking in human beings	232	0.20
Fiscal issues, taxes	5	0.3	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	187	0.16
Industry	5	0.3	Elections	178	0.15
Foreign investments	4	0.2	Corruption	177	0.15
Tourism	4	0,2	Salaries	170	0.15
Customs issues	4	0.2	Customs issues	147	0.13
Privatization	3	0.2	Zootechnics	128	0.11
Trafficking in human beings	3	0.2	Privatization	120	0.10
Zootechnics	3	0.2	Local public administration	112	0.10
Legislative actions	2	0.1	Export	110	0.10
Conflicts	2	0.1	Foreign investments	98	0.08
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	0.1	Legislative actions	97	0.08
Export	1	0.1	Extra-parliamentary parties	60	0.05
Others	29	1.6	Others	1787	1.55

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

<b>Topic agenda</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Topic agenda</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>%</b>
Transnistria	423	8.87	Education	26446	8.30
Education	393	8.24	Culture	26347	8.27
Foreign socio-economic collaboration	326	6.84	Transnistria	25041	7.86
Culture	218	4.57	Foreign socio-economic collaboration	16459	5.17
Sports	204	4.28	Sports	14236	4.47
Agriculture	154	3.23	Ceremonies, anniversaries	12551	3.94
Municipal activities	147	3.08	Agriculture	12431	3.90
Transportation, roads	141	2.96	Municipal activities	10792	3.39
Protection of human rights	140	2.94	Social protection	10415	3.27
Social protection	139	2.92	Healthcare, medical insurance	8900	2.79
Ceremonies, anniversaries	128	2.68	Science	8548	2.68
Legislative actions	123	2.58	Transportation, roads	8378	2.63
Healthcare, medical insurance	110	2.31	Crimes and car accidents	7527	2.36
Diplomatic activities	107	2.24	Environment	7427	2.33
Governmental and parliamentary decisions	105	2.20	Protection of human rights	7366	2.31
European integration	96	2.01	Government and parliament activities	6367	2.00
Government and parliament activities	94	1.97	Legislative actions	6092	1.91
Trade	94	1.97	Diplomatic activities	5500	1.73
Science	87	1.82	Mass media	5361	1.68
State and local budget	82	1.72	Governmental and parliamentary decisions	5030	1.58
Environment	81	1.70	European integration	4991	1.57
Mass media	79	1.66	Trade	4799	1.51
Prices	79	1.66	Census	4793	1.50
Crimes and car accidents	76	1.59	State and local budget	4411	1.38
Foreign investments	70	1.47	State security	4152	1.30
Factories and enterprises	70	1.47	Factories and enterprises	3959	1.24
State security	63	1.32	Government and parliament meetings	3948	1.24
Energy	56	1.17	Prices	3768	1.18
Government, parliament and local administration meetings	54	1.13	Foreign investments	3343	1.05
Economy	50	1.05	Energy	2995	0.94
Social protests	49	1.03	Employment situation	2652	0.83
Census	49	1.03	Economy	2505	0.79
Disasters	43	0.90	Social protests	2222	0.70
Customs issues	42	0.88	Local public administration	2156	0.68
Fiscal issues, taxes	41	0.86	Fiscal issues, taxes	2145	0.67
Salaries	38	0.80	Foreign assistance	2098	0.66
Privatization	37	0.78	Minorities	1901	0.60
Employment situation	35	0.73	Disasters	1840	0.58
Emigration	32	0.67	Internal debts	1831	0.57

Foreign assistance	31	0.65	Privatization	1803	0.57
Local public administration	28	0.59	Emigration	1773	0.56
Internal debts	27	0.57	Salaries	1737	0.55
Export	26	0.55	Tourism	1534	0.48
Local investments	24	0.50	Export	1496	0.47
Minorities	23	0.48	Customs issues	1484	0.47
Public order	20	0.42	Religion	1340	0.42
Economic success	17	0.36	Consumers	1182	0.37
Telecommunications and information technologies	17	0.36	Local investments	1132	0.36
Consumers	16	0.34	Telecommunications and information technologies	1115	0.35
Small business micro-financing	16	0.34	Industry	1084	0.34
Elections	16	0.34	Government success	1082	0.34
Industry	15	0.31	Public order	917	0.29
Tourism	14	0.29	Economic success	886	0.28
Corruption	13	0.27	Zootechnics	882	0.28
Religion	13	0.27	Small business micro-financing	871	0.27
Government success	11	0.23	Corruption	802	0.25
Trafficking in human beings	10	0.21	Elections	740	0.23
Zootechnics	7	0.15	Unemployment	352	0.11
Unemployment	6	0.13	Trafficking in human beings	258	0.08
Foreign debt	5	0.10	Foreign debt	244	0.08
Housing issue	3	0.06	Communist Party	200	0.06
Communist Party	2	0.04	Housing issue	141	0.04
Army	2	0.04	Problems of agricultural producers	121	0.04
Problems of agricultural producers	2	0.04	Army	115	0.04
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	1	0.02	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	60	0.02
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	1	0.02	Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	60	0.02
Others	47	0.99	Others	3396	1.07

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

Topic agenda	TV Moldova 1				Radio Moldova			
	F	%	D	%	F	%	D	%
Communist Party	5	0.3	342	0.30	2	0.04	200	0.06
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)					1	0.02	60	0.02
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	6	0.3	187	0.16	1	0.02	60	0.02
Extra-parliamentary parties	1	0.1	60	0.05				

#### 1.4 Agents and actors of newscasts

As in the previous monitoring months, in September Teleradio Moldova Company preferred the state authorities to all other political and social agents. Nevertheless, one can notice a certain decrease of their coverage in the news programs. On the other hand, there is a difference in their coverage on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.

Thus, in September, the institutions of central and local administration (President, presidential administration, government, prime-minister, parliament, parliament speaker, justice, constitutional court, police, security, financial guard, economic police, army, local public administration) were covered in 43.1 percent of newscasts on TV Moldova 1 (compared with 53.9 percent in June and 47.3 percent in August), and in 40.9 percent of the news from Radio Moldova (compared with 46.9 percent in June and 38.6 percent in August).

As in other monitoring months, in September the most frequent references were made with regard to the Government and Prime-minister – 16.7 percent on TV Moldova 1 (compared with 23.5 percent in August and 21.1 percent in June) and 17.7 percent on Radio Moldova (17.6 in August and 20.9 percent in June); presidency of Moldova – 5.3 percent on TV Moldova 1 (7 percent in August and 10 percent in June) and 3.6 percent on Radio Moldova (5 percent in August and 8.9 percent in June); and the parliament and its speaker – 3.1 percent on TV Moldova 1 (2.7 percent in August and 5.3 percent in June) and 2.8 on Radio Moldova (1.1 percent in August and 7.1 percent in June). Local public administration accumulated 6.3 percent on TV Moldova 1 (compared with 6.4 percent in August and 6.9 percent in June) and 5.9 percent on Radio Moldova (8.3 percent in August and 5.4 percent in June). (See table 9)

Thus, the available statistical data show the restriction or preservation of the presence share of several social agents. Civil society was present in 1.8 percent of news aired on TV Moldova 1 (2 percent in August and 6.6 percent in June) and in 3.2 percent on Radio Moldova (2.4 percent in August and 5.8 percent in June). Trade unions were present in 0.1 percent of television news and 0.5 percent of radio news (in June and August they were covered in 0.3 and 0.6 percent of radio and TV news, accordingly). Similarly to August and June, employers' organizations were absent from TV news programs and reached the quota of 0.1 percent in radio news. Church was present in 0.6 percent on television (compared with 1.4 percent in August and 0.8 percent in June) and in 0.4 percent on radio (1 percent in August and 0.1 percent in June) (see table 9). In our opinion, the symbolic coverage of these social agents during several months reduces considerably the credibility of Teleradio Moldova Company in its intention to embrace the values of a public broadcaster.

The monitoring performed in September pointed out 27 political and social actors who enjoyed at least five appearances in newscasts on Teleradio Moldova Company (15 in August and 21 in June). With two exceptions (Urecheanu and Rosca) these were state representatives or their mouthpieces. In total they appeared 1407 times (1262 times in August and 1802 times in June). V. Voronin is on top of the list with 290 appearances (compared with 344 in August and 645 in June), V. Tarlev with 287 appearances (515 in August and 420 in June) and E. Ostapciuc with 108 appearances (68 in August and 204 in June). The mayor of Chisinau did not have any appearances on TV Moldova 1, and benefited from 12 appearances on Radio Moldova (compared with 41 appearances in August and 17 in June). I. Rosca, the leader of PPCD parliamentary faction, had 5 appearances only on Radio Moldova (compared with 20 in August) (see table 15).

The following conclusion can be drawn from the data presented: the coverage of state agents although decreasing in past two months, still remains a priority of the editorial policy of

Teleradio Moldova Company. In September, as in August and June, Teleradio Moldova Company continued its preferential treatment of political and social actors and agents.

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

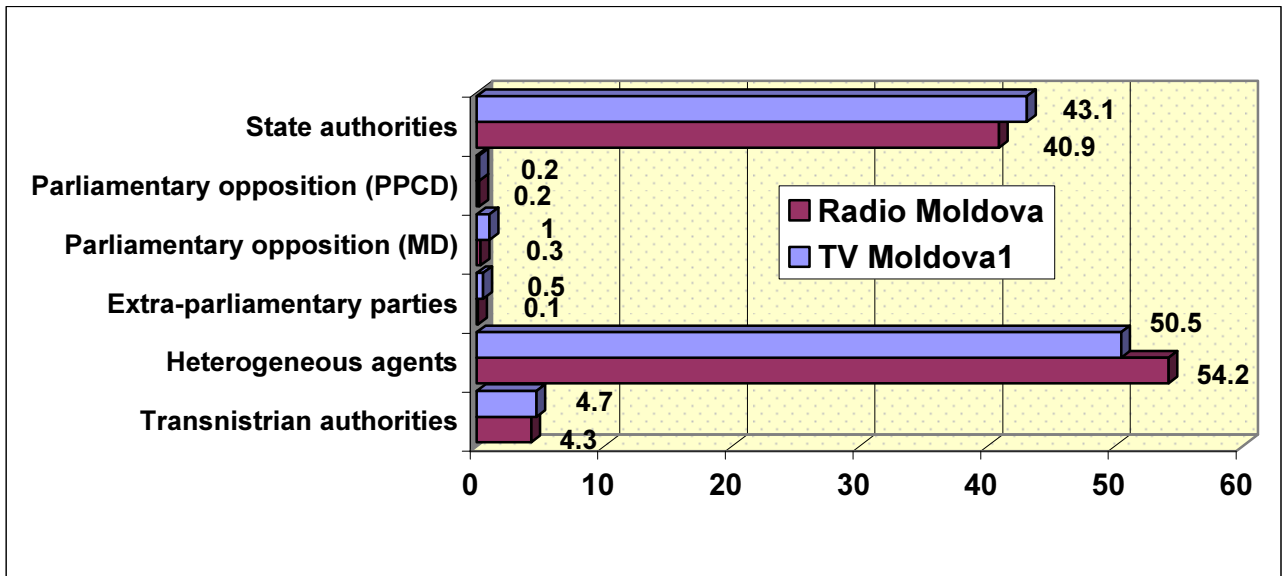
AGENTS	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
President	115	5.3	243	3.6
Presidential administration			24	0.4
Government	279	12.8	978	14.4
Prime-minister	85	3.9	227	3.3
Parliament	34	1.6	120	1.8
Parliament speaker	33	1.5	69	1.0
Justice, constitutional court	19	0.9	60	0.9
Police, ministry of security	74	3.4	81	1.2
Financial guard, economic police	5	0.2	10	0.1
Local administration	138	6.3	400	5.9
Army	29	1.3	79	1.2
Communist Party	17	0.8	43	0.6
<i>Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)</i>	5	0.2	14	0.2
<i>Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)</i>	22	1.0	22	0.3
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>	11	0.5	9	0.1
Employers' organization			10	0.1
Trade unions	3	0.1	37	0.5
Church	13	0.6	24	0.4
Civil society	39	1.8	220	3.2
Transnistrian authorities	102	4.7	295	4.3
Other domestic agents	351	16.0	866	12.7
External agents	276	12.6	1141	16.8
<i>Economic agents</i>	74	3.4	494	7.3
<i>Mass media</i>	92	4.2	205	3.0
<i>Educational and scientific institutions</i>	215	9.8	587	8.6
<i>Healthcare institutions</i>	42	1.9	97	1.4
Other state institutions	115	5.3	443	6.5

**TABLE 10 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - Frequency (%)**

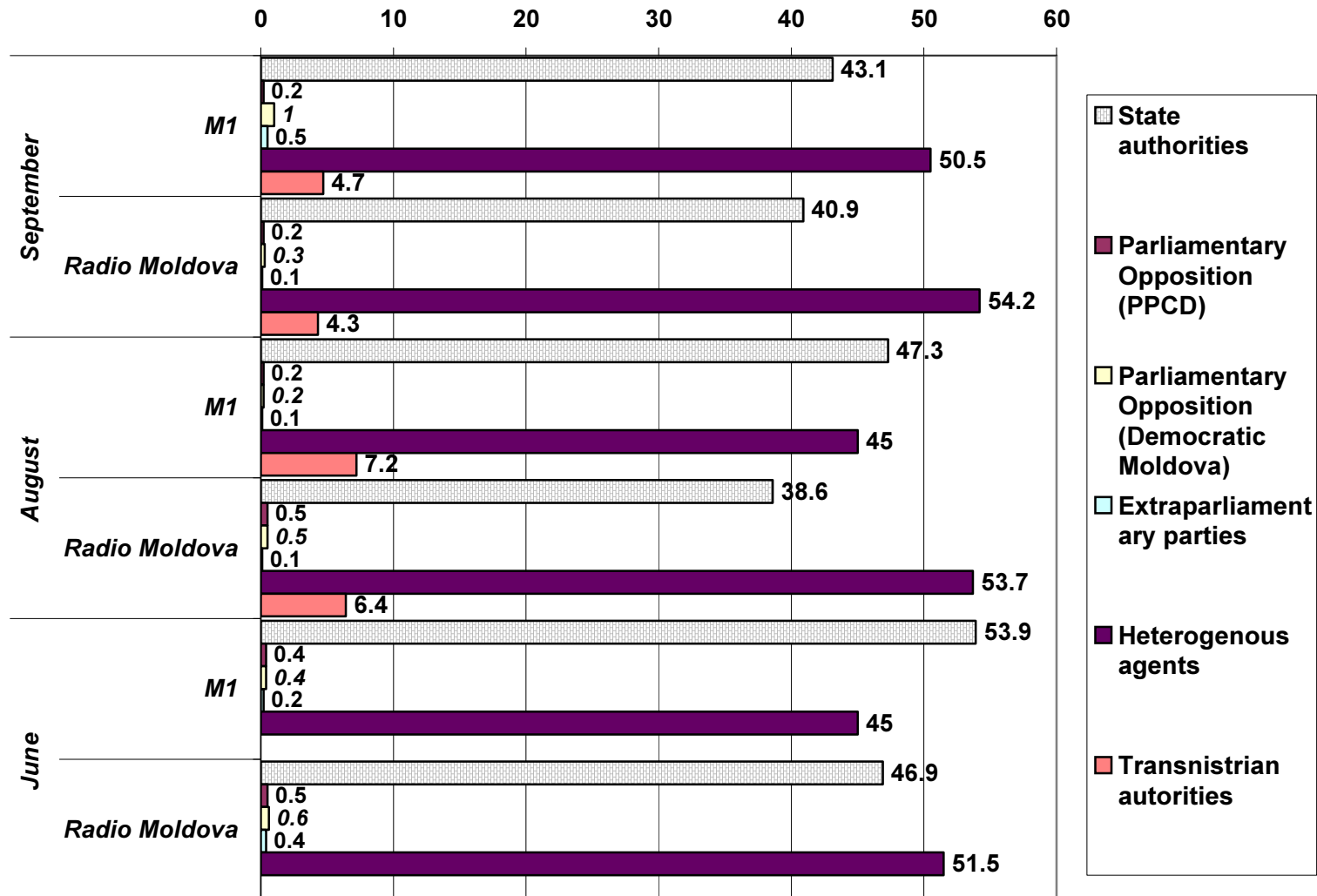
CATEGORIES OF AGENTS	TV Moldova 1	Radio Moldova
State authorities	43.1	40.9
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	0.2	0.2
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	1.0	0.3
Extra-parliamentary parties	0.5	0.1
Heterogeneous agents	50.5	54.2
Transnistrian authorities	4.7	4.3



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



**Graph 10.2. Distribution of broadcast space among agents – September /August/June compared Frequency (%)**



### 1.5 Impartiality of newscasts

In September, Teleradio Moldova Company applied almost entirely a neutral way in presenting the newscasts about the social and political actors and agents. The statistical data reveal that out of 2152 appearances of social and political agents and actors on TV Moldova 1, only 14 cases were evaluated positively (the case of state authorities) and 22 cases received a negative evaluation (local administration and Transnistrian authorities). In 6790 references to different social and political actors and agents, Radio Moldova did not make any positive appreciation and only in 8 cases (1 – state authorities, 6 – opposition and 1 - mass media) gave negative evaluations. The quasi-presence of neutral estimates was not typical for the newscasts from August and June. The respective developments are, in fact, welcome but they do not confer impartiality to the newscasts from Teleradio Moldova Company on the grounds that neutral evaluation is not an equivalent to impartiality.

**TABLE 11. Evaluation of social and political agents - Frequency**

AGENTS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
President	3		112			243
Presidential administration						24
Government	4		275			978
Prime-minister	2		83			227
Parliament			34			120
Parliament speaker			33			69
Justice, constitutional court			19			60
Police, ministry of security			74			81
Financial guard, economic police			5			10
Local administration	2	9	127		1	399
Army			29			79
Communist Party			17			43
<i>Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)</i>			5		3	11
<i>Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)</i>			22		3	19
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>			11			9
Employers' organization						10
Trade unions			3			37
Church			13			24
Civil society			39			220
Transnistrian authorities		12	90			295
Other domestic agents			351			866
External agents			276			1141
Economic agents			74			494
Mass media		1	91		1	204
Educational and scientific institutions			215			587
Healthcare institutions			42			97
Other state institutions	3		112			443

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

CATEGORIES OF AGENTS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
State authorities	14	9	920		1	2776
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)			5		3	11
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)			22		3	19
Extra-parliamentary parties			11			9
Heterogeneous agents		1	1104		1	3680
Transnistrian authorities		12	90			295
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2152</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6790</b>

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

### 1.6. Coverage of parties and political pluralism in newscasts

Political parties were covered 143 times on TV Moldova 1 and 88 times on Radio Moldova. TV Moldova 1 referred to Democratic Moldova in 40 percent of cases, PPCD (Christian-Democratic Party) and PSDM (Social-Democratic Party) - 9 percent, National Bolshevik Party - 7 percent and PDAM (Agrarian Democratic Party) – 4 percent. Radio Moldova covered PCM (Communist Party of Moldova) in 49 percent of newscasts, MD (Democratic Moldova) – in 25 percent, PPCD – in 16 percent, PDAM, PSDM, PNTCD (National Christian-Democratic Peasants' Party) - in 1-2 percent (see table 13).

The volume and ways of coverage used by Teleradio Moldova Company do not confer an authentic political pluralism to newscasts. There are many reasons for that: these parties are mentioned in the newscasts but they do not “speak” for themselves; the parties and their leaders are filtered; there is no balance in presenting the opinions about the events and phenomena, and the principle of political diversity is ignored; the coverage of political agents and actors is asymmetrical, etc.

**TABLE 13. Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage**

PARTIES	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Communist Party of Moldova (PCM)	<b>60</b>	17	43	31%	49%
Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD)	<b>19</b>	5	14	9%	16%
Democratic Moldova (MD) (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party, Democratic Party)	<b>44</b>	22	22	40%	25%
Agrarian Democratic Party (PDAM)	<b>4</b>	2	2	4%	2%
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)	<b>6</b>	5	1	9%	1%

National Christian-Democratic Peasants' Party (PNȚCD)	<b>1</b>		1		1%
National Bolshevik Party	<b>5</b>	4	1	7%	1%
Other parties	<b>4</b>		4		5%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**TABLE 14. Evaluation of political parties - Frequency**

PARTIES	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Communist Party of Moldova (PCM)			17			43
Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD)			5		2	12
Democratic Moldova (MD) (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party, Democratic Party)			22		3	19
Agrarian Democratic Party (PDAM)			2			2
Social-Democratic Party (PSDM)			5			1
National Christian-Democratic Peasants' Party (PNȚCD)						1
National Bolshevik Party			4			1
Other parties						4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>83</b>

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

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

ACTORS	Total	TV Moldova1	Radio Moldova
Voronin	<b>290</b>	59	231
Tarlev	<b>287</b>	49	238
Stratan	<b>120</b>	9	111
Ostapciuc	<b>108</b>	21	87
Șova	<b>71</b>	13	58
Beniuc	<b>64</b>	19	45
Iov	<b>49</b>	12	37
Gagauz	<b>40</b>	17	23
Todoroglo	<b>36</b>	6	30
Gaiciuc	<b>35</b>	11	24
Timciuc	<b>35</b>	9	26
Stepaniuc	<b>34</b>	8	26
Madan	<b>31</b>	8	23
Mișin	<b>30</b>	10	20
Greceanii	<b>29</b>		29
Cristea	<b>20</b>		20

Leahu	20		20
Tulbure	20	6	14
Braghiș	18	10	8
Lupu	18		18
Eftodie	17		17
Cucu	14		14
Papuc	12		12
Urecheanu	12		12
Cristea	5	5	
Roșca	5		5

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

**TABLE 16. Evaluation of social and political actors - Frequency**

ACTORS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Voronin	2		57			231
Tarlev			49			238
Stratan			9			111
Ostapciuc			21			87
Șova			13			58
Beniuc			19			45
Iov	2		10			37
Gagauz			17			23
Todoroglo			6			30
Gaiciuc			11			24
Timciuc			9			26
Stepaniuc			8			26
Madan			8			23
Mișin			10			20
Greceanii						29
Cristea						20
Leahu						20
Braghiș			10			8
Lupu						18
Eftodie						17
Tulbure						14
Cucu						14
Papuc						12
Urecheanu						12
Tulbure			6			
Cristea			5			
Roșca						5

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

### ***1.7 Coverage circumstances and diversity of sources in newscasts***

The September TV news were based on 1283 ordinary circumstances, 466 conflicting circumstances, and 120 formal circumstances. The news aired on Radio Moldova were generated by 3570 ordinary, 826 conflicting, and 288 formal circumstances (see Table 7). Most of the news, regardless of the event, had one source (96 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 93 percent on Radio Moldova) and only in a few cases (4 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 7 percent on Radio Moldova) were based on two or more sources. A significant number of news, broadcast in September and focusing on conflicting circumstances, reflected the perspective of only one side involved in the controversy.

**TABLE 17. Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage**

	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	<b>F</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>%</b>
One source	1257	96	2702	93
Two or more sources	51	4	217	7

**TABLE 18.1 Coverage languages – Frequency and percentage**

	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	<b>F</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>%</b>
Romanian	910	70	1997	68
Russian	398	30	922	32

**TABLE 18.2 Coverage languages – Duration and percentage**

	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	<b>F</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>%</b>
Romanian	76857	67	214435	67
Russian	38478	33	104000	33

## **1.8 Individual conclusions:**

*Although the data of newscast monitoring from September reveal certain changes that are in tune with the values of a public broadcaster, they cannot repeal the validity of the conclusions formulated based on the results of the monitoring carried out in the previous months:*

1. The news agenda proves that TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova reflect the daily life through the power's perspective to the detriment of the public interest.
2. Newscasts reflect social events in a selective way ignoring the balance and complexity principles.
3. In their newscasts, Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova publicize and give priority to the agents and actors of the ruling party.
4. The news programs do not promote the values of impartiality and political pluralism when reflecting the developments from Moldovan society.
5. The newscasts of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova reveal political bias, limited access of political forces that do not hold the power and of civil society to the public broadcaster.
6. The diversity of sources has not yet become a standard for news conception on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova.



## II. SOCIO-POLITICAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

### General observations

After the August increase in the duration of socio-political, political, and economic programs from 38,062 sec. to 76,264 sec., in September there was a significant decrease in the duration of these programs on TV Moldova 1 (down to 50,035 sec. or - 34.4 percent). Radio Moldova maintains the tendency of increase: from 45,005 sec. in June, to 93,994 sec. in August, and 106,812 sec in September (+ 13.6 percent).

### 2.1 Program distribution

The decrease in the duration of socio-political, political and economic programs broadcast on TV Moldova 1 was distributed quasi-proportionally among all kinds of programs. TV Moldova 1 maintained the August level of the distribution of its programs by duration, whereas the frequency of socio-political programs increased from 24.2 percent in August to 46 percent in September (in June, the respective indicator was 37.9 percent). The frequency of purely political programs reduced from 42.4 percent in August to 24 percent in September (34.5 percent in June). The share of economic programs reflected insignificant fluctuations both in duration - 24.5 percent in June, 27.5 percent in August, and 27 percent in September, as well as in frequency – 27.6 percent in June, 33.3 percent in August and 30 percent in September (see table 19).

The duration of economic programs on Radio Moldova was the same as in August, and the duration of socio-political programs grew continuously from 21,120 sec in June to 46,116 sec. in August (+118.4 percent) and to 63,820 sec in September (+40 percent); the duration of political programs decreased after a slight growth compared with June (18,665 sec), from 19,658 sec in August to 14,732 sec in September (-25.1 percent).

Thus, both TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova maintain the tendency of avoiding purely political issues, mentioned in June and August, to the detriment of the coverage of burning political issues and party life. Meanwhile, the extension of the airtime of socio-political issues is not supported by a complex, objective, and impartial approach that would present the opposition's opinions on the discussed issues.

**TABLE 19. Program distribution – Frequency and Duration**

PROGRAM TYPE	TV Moldova1				Radio Moldova			
	F	%	D	%	F	%	D	%
Socio-political	32	46	24490	49	177	56	63820	60
Political	17	24	12115	24	34	11	14732	14
Economic	21	30	13430	27	105	33	28260	26

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

Political agents	TV Moldova 1				Radio Moldova			
	Direct		Indirect		Direct		Indirect	
	F	D	F	D	F	D	F	D
State authorities	1	60	3	100	6	800	3	380
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)								
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)							1	1000
Extra-parliamentary parties								

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

Political agents	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	D	F	D
State authorities	1	600		
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)				
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	2	1200	1	540
Extra-parliamentary parties			2	1100

## 2.2 Program topics

In September, compared to July and August, one can notice that TV Moldova 1 diversified the topics of socio-political and economic programs adding more than ten new topics, which represent a range of interests and concerns of Moldovan citizens. These are: problems of agricultural producers, foreign investments, local investments, army, national census etc. At the same time, the broadcaster did not abandon programs with obvious electoral implications, the topic of which is limited to “economic success” and “government success”.

The first 10 most covered topics from more than 45 programs in August were: agriculture, Transnistrian issue, prices, trade, education, science, international economic collaborations, environment, culture, healthcare, and medical insurance. Topics of European integration and economic success had the same frequency coverage as the latter two.

By duration, the first ten issues covered in September are the following ones: minorities, agriculture, Transnistrian issue, census, education, European integration, mass media, prices, government and parliament activity, and environment. These topics made up 58.9 percent of total duration of socio-political and economic programs on TV Moldova 1. The first 10 topics represented 78.4 percent in August and 80.1 percent in June of the duration of socio-political and economic programs, a fact that confirms the thematic diversity of the above-mentioned programs.

The first topics included in the list of 10 most popular topics in all 3 months of monitoring were agriculture and the Transnistrian issue. In August and September they included education and European integration. The coverage of government and parliament meetings (3.7 percent) was resumed in September.

**In September the 10 least covered topics were:** social protection, social protests, municipal activities, parties, including the ruling party, consumers’ problems, religion, transportation and roads, emigration, tourism, etc.

Also, the coverage of foreign investments is low in duration, representing 0.4 percent of the duration of socio-political and economic programs. The “economic successes” and “government successes” made up 1.2 percent and 0.9 percent of duration of socio-political and economic programs with a decrease of 3.9 and 2.0 percent accordingly, compared with August.

As in the previous monitoring months, the parties and the civil society were practically absent from TV and radio programs.

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

Topic agenda	F	%	Topic agenda	D	%
Agriculture	17	10.6	Minorities	5400	10.8
Transnistria	15	9.3	Agriculture	3446	6.9
Prices	9	5.6	Transnistria	3170	6.3
Trade	8	5.0	Census	3170	6.3
Education	7	4.3	Education	3057	6.1
Science	7	4.3	European integration	3000	6.0
Foreign socio-economic collaboration	6	3.7	Mass media	2435	4.9
Environment	6	3.7	Prices	2122	4.2
Culture	5	3.1	Government and parliament activities	1852	3.7
Healthcare, medical insurance	5	3.1	Environment	1830	3.7
European integration	5	3.1	Social protests	1800	3.6
Economic success	5	3.1	Trade	1648	3.3
Corruption	4	2.5	Corruption	1210	2.4
Product quality	4	2.5	Protection of human rights	1010	2.0
Problems of agricultural producers	4	2.5	Product quality	960	1.9
Mass media	3	1.9	Elections	900	1.8
Foreign investments	3	1.9	Economy	900	1.8
Census	3	1.9	Army	890	1.8
Local public administration	3	1.9	Healthcare, medical insurance	881	1.8
Elections	3	1.9	Science	858	1.7
Crimes and car accidents	3	1.9	Foreign socio-economic collaboration	765	1.5
Army	3	1.9	Problems of agricultural producers	720	1.4
Minorities	2	1.2	Culture	713	1.4
Diplomatic activities	2	1.2	Diplomatic activities	690	1.4
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	2	1.2	Emigration	665	1.3
Government and parliament activities	2	1.2	Economic success	618	1.2
Local investments	2	1.2	Parliamentary opposition (MD)	600	1.2
Factories and enterprises	2	1.2	Crimes and car accidents	535	1.1
Protection of human rights	2	1.2	Factories and enterprises	470	0.9
Small business micro-financing	2	1.2	Local public administration	465	0.9
Ceremonies, anniversaries	2	1.2	Government success	450	0.9
Economy	2	1.2	Zootechnics	360	0.7
Government success	1	0.6	Ceremonies, anniversaries	315	0.6
Social protection	1	0.6	Communist Party	300	0.6
Social protests	1	0.6	Local investments	292	0.6
Municipal activities	1	0.6	Transportation, roads	250	0.5
Communist Party	1	0.6	Religion	220	0.4
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	1	0.6	Foreign investments	217	0.4
Consumers	1	0.6	Consumers	176	0.4
Religion	1	0.6	Tourism	155	0.3
Transportation, roads	1	0.6	Small business micro-financing	138	0.3
Emigration	1	0.6	Municipal activities	135	0.3
Tourism	1	0.6	Social protection	127	0.3
Zootechnics	1	0.6	Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	55	0.1
Others	1	0.6	Others	65	0.1

The topic range of Radio Moldova programs continued to increase from 45 topics in June to 50 in August and 60 topics in September. The diversification occurred mostly within socio-political programs and less within the economic ones. The political parties, as in the previous months,

were quasi-absent from the programs of Radio Moldova, which focused mostly on the Transnistrian issue and parliament activities.

The 10 most frequently covered topics were: agriculture, education, social protection, public utility works, protection of human rights, external socio-economic relations, ceremonies and anniversaries, healthcare and medical insurance, environment, tourism. These topics are also among the first by their duration, with the exception of healthcare and medical insurance situated on the 13th place (2.2 percent) and replaced by the employment problems (3.0 percent).

The European integration, which was classified among the most popular issues both by frequency (5.2 percent) and duration (4.7 percent) in June, was absent from the August listings and mentioned only once in September with a relative duration of 0.3 percent of the total duration of socio-political and economic programs.

Similarly to TV Moldova 1, there is a decrease in the relative duration of the first ten topics from 67.8 percent in August to 57.2 percent in September.

Radio Moldova continues to give priority to agricultural and educational issues. It is worth noting that compared with June, one can see the interest for the human rights issue, an interest that deserves encouragement.

The least covered topics by frequency were corruption, minorities, government and parliament meetings, religion, European integration, external debts, internal debts, emigration, trafficking in human beings, state security.

As in August, the programs dedicated to parliamentary political parties were absent (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	49	12.3	Education	11802	11.0
Education	49	12.3	Social protection	10946	10.2
Social protection	36	9.0	Agriculture	10343	9.7
Municipal activities	29	7.3	Municipal activities	5545	5.2
Protection of human rights	15	3.8	Environment	5180	4.8
Foreign socio-economic collaboration	13	3.3	Ceremonies, anniversaries	4275	4.0
Ceremonies, anniversaries	13	3.3	Tourism	4120	3.9
Healthcare, medical insurance	11	2.8	Foreign socio-economic collaboration	3227	3.0
Environment	10	2.5	Employment situation	3185	3.0
Tourism	10	2.5	Protection of human rights	2613	2.4
Transnistria	9	2.3	Fiscal issues, taxes	2535	2.4
Culture	9	2.3	Culture	2525	2.4
Prices	9	2.3	Healthcare, medical insurance	2398	2.2
Energy	8	2.0	Consumers	2350	2.2
Employment situation	8	2.0	Public order	2130	2.0
Economy	7	1.8	Transnistria	2068	1.9
Foreign investments	6	1.5	Foreign investments	1970	1.8

Science	5	1.3	Economy	1885	1.8
Transportation, roads	5	1.3	Government and parliament activities	1852	1.7
Government and parliament activities	5	1.3	Prices	1655	1.5
Local public administration	5	1.3	Census	1635	1.5
Zootechnics	5	1.3	Problems of agricultural producers	1480	1.4
Fiscal issues, taxes	4	1.0	Energy	1465	1.4
Trade	4	1.0	Small business micro-financing	1060	1.0
Industry	4	1.0	Unemployment	1050	1.0
Salaries	3	0.8	Zootechnics	1045	1.0
Public order	3	0.8	Transportation, roads	1030	1.0
Legislative actions	3	0.8	Trade	1005	0.9
Extra-parliamentary parties	3	0.8	Corruption	1000	0.9
Economic success	3	0.8	Science	925	0.9
Telecommunications and information technologies	3	0.8	Local public administration	835	0.8
Foreign assistance	3	0.8	Extra-parliamentary parties	820	0.8
Mass media	3	0.8	Elections	820	0.8
Census	3	0.8	Industry	790	0.7
Small business micro-financing	3	0.8	Government and parliament meetings	750	0.7
State and local budget	3	0.8	Telecommunications and information technologies	655	0.6
Elections	3	0.8	Economic success	615	0.6
Problems of agricultural producers	3	0.8	Crimes and car accidents	570	0.5
Privatization	3	0.8	Foreign assistance	550	0.5
Government success	2	0.5	Privatization	530	0.5
Diplomatic activities	2	0.5	State and local budget	510	0.5
Consumers	2	0.5	Salaries	500	0.5
Governmental and parliamentary decisions	2	0.5	Factories and enterprises	485	0.5
Factories and enterprises	2	0.5	Diplomatic activities	435	0.4
Crimes and car accidents	2	0.5	Mass media	431	0.4
Export	2	0.5	Legislative actions	372	0.3
Unemployment	1	0.3	Emigration	360	0.3
Social protests	1	0.3	European integration	310	0.3
Corruption	1	0.3	Calamities	310	0.3
Minorities	1	0.3	Government success	275	0.3
Government and parliament meetings	1	0.3	Export	275	0.3
Religion	1	0.3	Governmental and parliamentary decisions	235	0.2
European integration	1	0.3	State security	210	0.2
Foreign debt	1	0.3	Domestic debts	150	0.1
Domestic debts	1	0.3	Foreign debt	145	0.1
Emigration	1	0.3	Religion	100	0.1
Trafficking in human beings	1	0.3	Trafficking in human beings	90	0.1

State security	1	0.3	Minorities	85	0.1
Disasters	1	0.3	Social protests	60	0.1
Others	1	0.3	Others	240	0.2

### 2.3 Political and social agents

Similarly to the previous monitoring months, the most publicized political and social agents on TV Moldova 1, as well as on Radio Moldova were the presidency, government, local administration, civil society representatives, different economic agents, and different foreign and domestic agents. However, their place in the ranking is different from the June and August ones(see table 22).

It should be mentioned, first of all, that there was a decrease in the frequency of Presidency coverage in the programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. On TV Moldova 1, the Presidency was mentioned 18 times in June (13.7 percent), 20 times in August (7.3 percent) and 5 times in September (3.4 percent). In the programs of Radio Moldova, the President of Moldova was mentioned 17 times in June (9.9 percent), 32 times in August (3.9 percent) and 25 times in September (2.3 percent).

In addition, compared to June, one can notice a decrease in the frequency of coverage of the government and prime minister. On TV Moldova 1, the government and the prime minister were mentioned 17 times in June (13.0 percent), 40 times in August (14.7 percent) and 14 times in September (9.6 percent). In the programs of Radio Moldova, they were mentioned 50 times in June (29.2 percent), 114 times in August (14.0 percent) and 137 times in September (12.7 percent). The fact that the coverage frequency of the government and prime minister is growing in absolute numbers and is decreasing in relative numbers is a sign that the total number of political and social agents covered in the programs of Radio Moldova continues to grow.

On TV Moldova 1, as well as on Radio Moldova, the coverage frequency of the parliament and its speaker is more reduced than the coverage frequency of the presidency. In the programs of TV Moldova 1, the parliament and its speaker were mentioned 9 times in August (3.3 percent) and 5 times in September (3.4 percent). In the programs of Radio Moldova these were covered 18 times in August (2.2 percent) and 15 times in September (1.4 percent).

In September, as in the previous months, of the 3 persons that make up the leadership of Moldova, the president of the country was covered most often both on TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova (3.4 and 2.3 percent, respectively). He was followed by the prime minister (1.4 and 1.3 percent) and parliament speaker (0.7 and 0.2 percent).

Although the frequency of issues related to local administration covered in the programs of TV Moldova 1 decreased compared with August from 20 to 17, the relative numbers indicate an increase from 7.3 percent in August to 11.6 percent in September, a fact that shows the reduction of the total number of social and political agents covered by this institution. The decreased interest for the local public administration on Radio Moldova compared with August is quite significant in relative numbers - from 16 percent and 11.8 percent (compared with August), but insignificant in absolute numbers: 130 and 127.

There is a radical decrease of the references to the Transnistrian administration in the programs of TV Moldova 1. As in August, this issue did not even draw the attention of the participants in the programs of Radio Moldova. The interest for civil society was maintained on the August

level in the programs of TV Moldova 1, and slightly increased (from 3.7 to 4.5 percent) on Radio Moldova.

Of all opposition parties, the most frequently mentioned in the programs of TV Moldova 1 was the Democratic Moldova Bloc - 2.7 percent. As in the previous months, the coverage of parties was practically avoided in the programs of Radio Moldova, including the Communist Party that benefited only from 3 references (0.3 percent). The employers' organization, financial guard, and economic police **were not covered at all in the programs of TV Moldova 1.**

Generally, although the coverage of the presidential institution decreased, the state authorities remain the most frequently mentioned agent in the programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. In comparison with August, the decrease represents only 1 percent on TV Moldova 1, a drop from 43.2 percent to 42.2 percent, and from 52.6 percent to 45.8 percent on Radio Moldova (see graph 23.1). Anyway, this is the beginning of a positive tendency that should be encouraged and supported. Against the background of a growing frequency of coverage of heterogeneous agents, one can see the neglect of the parliamentary opposition: - 4.1 percent (compared with 5.5 percent in August) in the programs of TV Moldova 1, and 0.3 percent (compared with 0.4 percent in August) in the programs of Radio Moldova (see table 23.2).

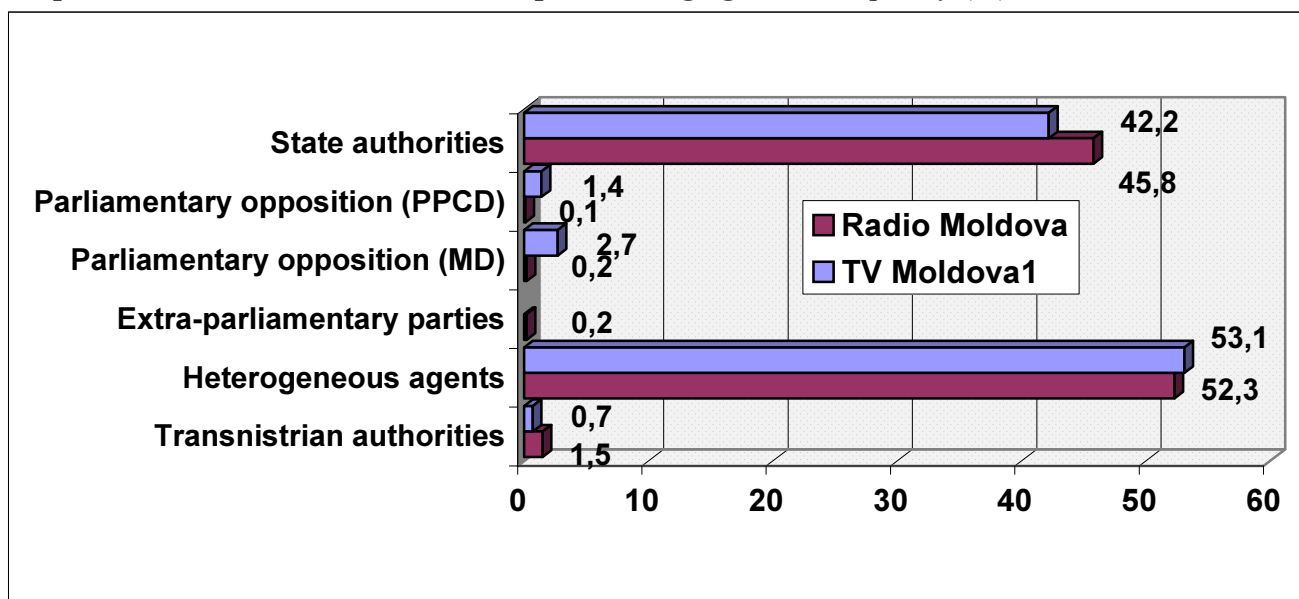
**TABLE 22. Coverage of social and political agents – Frequency and percentage**

AGENTS	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
President	5	3.4	25	2.3
Presidential administration				
Government	12	8.2	123	11.4
Prime-minister	2	1.4	14	1.3
Parliament	4	2.7	13	1.2
Parliament speaker	1	0.7	2	0.2
Justice, constitutional court	1	0.7	15	1.4
Police, ministry of security	2	1.4	18	1.7
Financial guard, economic police			7	0.7
Local administration	17	11.6	127	11.8
Army	5	3.4	9	0.8
Communist Party	3	2.0	3	0.3
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	2	1.4	1	0.1
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	4	2.7	2	0.2
Extra-parliamentary parties			2	0.2
Employers' organization			2	0.2
Trade unions			7	0.7
Church	2	1.4	13	1.2
Civil society	7	4.8	48	4.5
Transnistrian authorities	1	0.7	16	1.5
Other domestic agents	19	12.9	90	8.4
External agents	11	7.5	98	9.1
Economic agents	21	14.3	142	13.2
Mass media	3	2.0	16	1.5
Educational and scientific institutions	11	7.5	118	11.0
Healthcare institutions	4	2.7	28	2.6
Other state institutions	10	6.8	136	12.7

**TABLE 23 Distribution of broadcast space among agents - Frequency (%)**

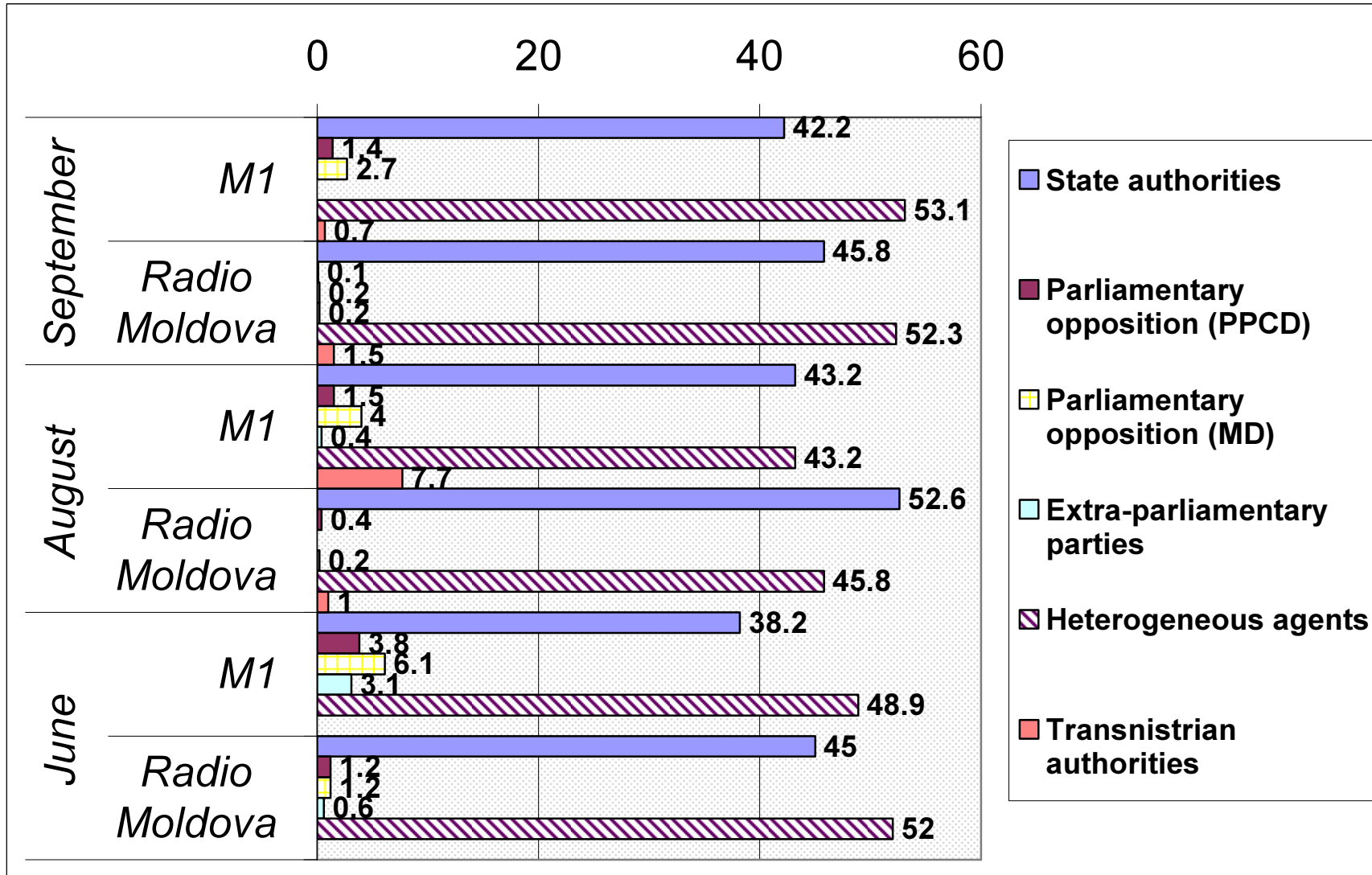
<b>CATEGORIES OF AGENTS</b>	<b>TV Moldova1</b>	<b>Radio Moldova</b>
State authorities	42.2	45.8
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)	1.4	0.1
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	2.7	0.2
Extra-parliamentary parties		0.2
Heterogeneous agents	53.1	52.3
Transnistrian authorities	0.7	1.5

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





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



## 2.4 Impartiality of socio-political and economic programs

Beginning with August, there is a tendency for neutral evaluations in the programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. Nevertheless, in September one can still notice the reflexes of a negative attitude towards the opposition (especially PPCD) and a positive attitude towards the state authorities (the presidency and government). The representatives of local administration (Chisinau) and mass media (the protesters) were also evaluated negatively (see tables 24 and 25).

**TABLE 24. Evaluation of social and political agents - Frequency**

AGENTS	TV Moldova 1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
President			5	1		24
Presidential administration						
Government			12	1		122
Prime-minister			2			14
Parliament			4			13
Parliament speaker			1			2
Justice, constitutional court			1			15
Police, ministry of security			2			18
Financial guard, economic police						7
Local administration		3	14	1	1	125
Army			5			9
Communist Party			3			3
<i>Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)</i>		2				1
<i>Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)</i>			4			2
<i>Extra-parliamentary parties</i>						2
Employers' organization						2
Trade unions						7
Church			2			13
Civil society			7			48
Transnistrian authorities			1			16
Other domestic agents			19			90
External agents			11			98
Economic agents			21			142
Mass media	1	1	1			16
Educational and scientific institutions			11			118
Healthcare institutions			4			28
Other state institutions			10			136

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

**Examples of programs, in which anchors make positive evaluations:**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Hour</b>	<b>Content</b>
3.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	7.10	The issue of renovation of public baths from Cuhnești. The reporter states “There is always discipline and responsibility where the village dwellers choose the right mayor”...
8.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.10	National Commodity Exchange: grain transactions. The anchor states that the Government insistence to carry out the external transactions through the Stock Exchange was beneficial.
13.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.20	The activity “Water – the spring of life”. The anchor, as well as the guest, emphasizes the fact that this activity is Voronin's initiative.
17.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.18	Cultural institutions from Donduseni. The person, who takes the interview, stresses that the cultural situation has improved since the creation of the raion.

**TABLE 25 Evaluation of the five categories of agents - Frequency**

<b>CATEGORIES OF AGENTS</b>	<b>TV Moldova1</b>			<b>Radio Moldova</b>		
	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>+</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0</b>
State authorities		3	59	3	1	488
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)		2				1
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)			4			2
Extra-parliamentary parties						2
Heterogeneous agents	1	1	76			562
Transnistrian authorities			1			16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1071</b>

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

## 2.5 Coverage of political parties

On TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova, within the program “*Political Parties’ Tribune*” PCM enjoyed 5 appearances of 15 minutes, PPCD - 3 appearances, Democratic Moldova - 5 appearances (see table 26).

**TABLE 26 Coverage of political parties – Frequency and percentage**

<b>PARTIES</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>TV Moldova 1</b>	<b>Radio Moldova</b>
Communist Party of Moldova (PCM)	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
Christian-Democratic Party (PPCD)	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
Democratic Moldova (MD) (Our Moldova Alliance, Social-Liberal Party, Democratic Party)	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
Labor Union	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
Centrist Union	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>

In September one witnesses a drastic reduction of programs with direct and indirect electoral implications, which favor state authorities, from 17,922 sec in June, to 9,205 sec in August, and 160 sec in September on TV Moldova 1; and from 7,585 sec in June, to 3,070 sec in August, and 1,180 sec in September on Radio Moldova (see table 20).

Here are some examples of these programs:

TV Moldova 1

### *Direct electoral implications*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Hour</b>	<b>Content</b>
19.09	<i>Baștina</i>	14.00	Report on vine seedbed. An interviewee declares: “In the last years a lot of things have been done for the rehabilitation of this branch”; “I was pleasantly surprised when I found out that the President of the country showed personal interest in the seed-bed industry and this fact proves that things are changing for the better.”

### *Indirect electoral implications*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Hour</b>	<b>Content</b>
5.09	<i>Baștina</i>	14.00	Report on a renovated school from Dubăsarii Vechi. The Mayor emphasizes that Ostapciuc responded to their request for financial support for the renovation of the school.
12.09	<i>Baștina</i>	14.00	Interview with the deputy-minister of Agriculture who declares: “Until the next year, until the new crop, we will have worked on the creation of farmers’ access to the market”.
23.09	<i>Bună dimineața</i>	7.10	The program guest, a gynecologist, says during the discussion that he is firmly convinced that the President of the country takes into account the problems of youth.

## Radio Moldova

### *Direct electoral implications*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Hour</b>	<b>Content</b>
1.09	<i>Național juridic</i>	8.15	Center for Consumers' Protection: Benderschi states that order has been established since communists came to power (statement regarding the investigation of some judges).
3.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.10	Tarlev donated a computer to the Youth Center from Chetrosu, that had asked for a computer during a radio program.
10.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	7.15	The National Day of social protection workers: Activity report: the chairman of the Main Office for Pensions, Indemnities and Allocations recalls that for the first time since 2001 indexation of pensions has become possible; the re-calculation of pensions was also done after 2001.
13.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.20	The activity "Water – the spring of life". The anchor, as well as the guest, emphasizes that this activity is Voronin's initiative.
23.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	7.15	The approval of draft law on the 2005 budget. Grecianii declares that taxes have been lowered and will continue to decrease; students' scholarships will be increased (by 25, 40 and 100 percent).
			Inauguration of a gas pipe in Găvănoasa (Cahul). Prijmireanu, who is present at the event, states: "... this fact proves that the current government cares about people's living conditions."

### *Indirect electoral implications*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Hour</b>	<b>Content</b>
2.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.30	Schools from Cimișlia. Mrs. Voronin with a group of women provided assistance to the needy families from Cimișlia.
		7.20	Tarlev inspects the commissioning of the gas pipe from Briceni -he ignites the gas stoves in people's homes.
8.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	7.10	Supplying manuals to schools. Interview with the Minister of Education Beniuc who states that the 2005 budget provides resources for free schoolbooks for primary grades.
29.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	7.15	Discussions on land distribution in the capital. The invitees were Benderschi (Center for Consumers' Rights) and Mayor Urecheanu (who did not show up).

## 2.6 Coverage of social and political actors

In September, just as in June and August, Vladimir Voronin was the most publicized political actor in the programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova: 27 times (compared to 36 times in June and 51 times in August) (see tables 28 and 29).

Prime-minister Tarlev comes second with 16 references compared with 26 references in August and 18 references in June. The other political and social actors were mentioned less than 10 times. The opposition leaders had the least coverage: Braghiș - 2, Urecheanu - 2 and Rosca - 2 times.

Voronin, Tarlev, Ostapciuc and other actors, with the exception of Rosca, were presented neutrally for the first time in September. Rosca is the only person evaluated negatively.

In September, the names of Braghiș and Rosca were not mentioned in the programs of Radio Moldova at all.

**TABLE 28 The most publicized social and political actors - Frequency**

<b>ACTORS</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>TV Moldova 1</b>	<b>Radio Moldova</b>
Voronin	<b>27</b>	4	23
Tarlev	<b>16</b>	2	14
Beniuc	<b>6</b>	1	5
Stratan	<b>4</b>	2	2
Cristea	<b>4</b>	1	3
Gaiciuc	<b>4</b>	1	3
Ostapciuc	<b>3</b>	1	2
Șova	<b>3</b>		3
Braghiș	<b>2</b>	2	
Roșca	<b>2</b>	2	
Todoroglo	<b>2</b>	1	1
Zgardan	<b>2</b>	1	1
Urecheanu	<b>2</b>	1	1
Diacov	<b>2</b>	1	1
Lupu	<b>2</b>		2
Timciuc	<b>2</b>		2
Leahu	<b>2</b>		2
Iov	<b>1</b>		1
Greceanii	<b>1</b>		1
Papuc	<b>1</b>		1
Prijmireanu	<b>1</b>		1
Madan	<b>1</b>		1
Gagauz	<b>1</b>		1
Eftodie	<b>1</b>		1

**TABLE 29 Evaluation of social and political actors - Frequency**

ACTORS	TV Moldova1			Radio Moldova		
	+	-	0	+	-	0
Voronin			4	1		22
Tarlev			2			14
Beniuc			1			5
Stratan			2			2
Cristea			1			3
Gaiciuc			1			3
Ostapciuc			1			2
Șova						3
Braghiș			2			
Roșca		2				
Todoroglo			1			1
Zgardan			1			1
Urecheanu			1			1
Diacov			1			1
Lupu						2
Timciuc						2
Leahu						2
Iov						1
Greceanii						1
Papuc						1
Prijmireanu						1
Madan						1
Gagauz						1
Eftodie						1

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

## 2.7 Participants in socio-political and economic programs

The number of participants in September socio-political and economic programs of TV Moldova 1 decreased to 76, even though in August their number increased from 86 to 98 participants. The number of participants in the programs of Radio Moldova continued to grow from 118 participants in June to 305 participants in August, and 336 participants in September.

Just as in the previous months, only the Transnistrian separatists were more discriminated against than the opposition representatives (see table 30). The presence of PPCD representatives in the programs of TV Moldova 1, as well as those of Radio Moldova was null. Democratic Moldova representatives enjoyed 2 participations in the programs of TV Moldova 1, and 1 participation on Radio Moldova.

Just as in the previous months, the representatives of state authorities were the clear favorites for the coordinators of socio-political and economic programs broadcast by TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. However, compared with August, there is a reduction both in absolute and in relative numbers of the frequency of their participation in programs: 24 participations compared

with 30 participations in August in TV Moldova 1 programs, and 131 participations compared with 56 participations in Radio Moldova programs.

The frequency of participation of civil society representatives (NGOs’) did not achieve the June level of 15.1 percent on TV Moldova 1 and 11.9 percent on Radio Moldova, even though it witnessed an increase in relation to August. In absolute numbers, the number of civil society participants was experiencing growth on Radio Moldova, from 14 in June, to 17 in August, and 28 in September.

Compared with August, the share of individual participation was somewhat reduced, whereas the share of representatives of institutions and enterprises increased from 29.6 percent to 34 percent on TV Moldova 1, and from 29 percent to 38.4 percent on Radio Moldova (see table 30).

However, this positive tendency cannot “neutralize” the negative effect of ostentatious discrimination of opposition representatives.

**TABLE 30 Distribution of broadcast space among participants - Frequency and percentage**

CATEGORIES OF PARTICIPANTS	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	D	%
State authorities	24	30	131	39.0
Parliamentary opposition (PPCD)				
Parliamentary opposition (Democratic Moldova)	2	3	1	0.3
Extra-parliamentary parties			2	0.6
Civil society	8	10	28	8.3
Individual participation – ordinary people	15	19	33	9,8
Transnistrian representatives (authorities)				
External representatives	4	5	12	3,6
Representatives of other institutions and enterprises	27	34	129	38,4



## 2.8 Program pluralism

Unfortunately, in September the right to response and the presentation of two or more sources did not become a rule for TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova programs either. Only in 43 percent of cases, the anchors of TV Moldova 1 programs used two or more sources. The respective number for Radio Moldova is 20 percent, registering a worsening in the situation in the same aspect compared with August (39.2 percent).

**TABLE 31 Coverage sources – Frequency and percentage**

	TV Moldova1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
One source	40	57	254	80
Two or more sources	30	43	62	20

Here are some examples of such programs:

### TV Moldova 1

Date	Program	Hour	Content
16.09	Program about the protest at Radio House	19.35	Guests: C. Fusu, D. Chirtoacă, I. Teleşcu, V. Tabunşic, St. Jurja, M. Scoarță. The moderator was obviously on the administration's side. Teleşcu mentioned Rosca's involvement in the protests several times.
25.09	<i>Rezonans</i>	19.00	Critical and biased report on Urecheanu's answers to the questions from Moldova Azi electronic magazine.
			Critical and biased report on the 600 land parcels distributed by the Chisinau Mayor's Office.
			Critical and biased report on the arrests of 3 City Hall employees.
			Critical and biased report on Rosca, who presumably owns two houses in the capital's central district and leases them to foreigners.

### Radio Moldova

8.09	<i>Radio matinal</i>	6.10	National Commodity Exchange: grain transactions. The anchor states that the Government insistence to carry out external transactions through the Stock Exchange was beneficial.
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**TABLE 32.1. Coverage language – Frequency and percentage**

	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	F	%	F	%
Romanian	58	83	301	95
Russian	12	17	15	5

**TABLE 32.2. Coverage language – Frequency and percentage**

	TV Moldova 1		Radio Moldova	
	D	%	D	%
Romanian	44170	88	101352	95
Russian	5865	12	5460	5

## 28 Individual conclusions

The positive trends highlighted in the programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova - the diversity of topic agenda; the reduction of the number and duration of programs with direct and indirect electoral implications; a relative reduction of the coverage frequency of state representatives, positive evaluations of state authorities and negative evaluations of opposition - are neutralized by persistent structural deficiencies in the classification of the programs by types as well as in the conception and production of socio-political, political and economic programs:

- Avoidance of politics and problems that require public debates and, implicitly, confrontation of different opinions (electoral system, relations with the neighboring countries, Transnistrian issue, freedom of the press, human rights, European integration, autonomy of local public administration and also many other economic and social issues, such as foreign investments, the future of Moldovan agriculture, ecologically pure products, medical insurance, etc).
- In many cases, programs of TV Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova are intended to justify, to promote, or to “illustrate” the activities and decisions of state authorities.
- The limitation of the access of the representatives of opposition and extra-parliamentary parties persists;
- Neglect for the right to response and offering information based only on one source.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

### 3.1 Legal aspects

The public character of Teleradio Moldova Company was proclaimed by the Law of the Republic of Moldova on the national public service broadcaster Teleradio Moldova Company No.1320-XV from 26.07.2002 (*Monitorul Oficial* of the Republic of Moldova no. 117-119/972 din 15.08.2002) modified by Law no. 107-XV from 13.03.03, effective 25.03.03 and Law no. 450-XV from 13.11.03, effective 05.12.03 (hereinafter referred to as the “Law”). Under this Law, the Company must ensure "in the spirit of pluralism of opinions, the safeguarding of the right to complete communication, truthful and timely information" (Article 1, paragraph (1)).

The Company objectives (Article 2) are:

- a) Granting 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 people’s right to free expression of their political, religious, national, social ideas and opinions, respecting the general interests of society;
- d) Reflecting the interests of all social strata, promoting peace, humanity and other democratic values;
- e) Facilitating spiritual and aesthetical development, preservation, and promotion of cultural values and historical traditions of Moldovan people.

Based on the above-mentioned articles, the Company programs shall maintain professional quality standards and cultivate respect for other opinions and convictions; newscasts shall bear an impartial, independent and truthful character; commentaries shall be separated from news. If any statements from a company broadcast are not truthful and mislead public opinion, injure a physical or legal person’s honor, dignity or personal or professional reputation, the company shall offer the right to response in line with current legislation.

The above-mentioned obligations are specified in the following acts regarding the functioning of the public broadcaster, which Moldova committed to observe, despite their nature of recommendation: Benchmarks for the activity of public broadcasters in Moldova (elaborated by the OSCE Mission in Moldova and Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe); Recommendation no.R(96)10 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to the member states on the guarantee of the independence of public service broadcasting and the Explanatory Memorandum for this Recommendation; Recommendation no.R(99)1 of the Committee of Ministers to the member states on measures to promote media pluralism and its Explanatory Memorandum.

### 3.2 Factual aspects

The monitoring results reveal failure to observe the main duties with relation to the character and ultimate goal of public service broadcaster.

The principle of pluralism of opinions is not respected, the number of appearances of state authorities in the newscasts is incomparable with that of opposition and extra-parliamentary parties (see table 7, table 9, table 10, table 10.1), broadcasting time granted to the Communist Party is much longer compared with that offered to Democratic Moldova, PPCD and extra-parliamentary parties (see table 8.1). Moreover, state authorities are presented almost exclusively in a positive or neutral way, with the exception of local administration that is evaluated mostly in a negative or neutral way. Other state representatives have never been given negative evaluations in newscasts (see table 11, table 12). On the contrary, the opposition parties are evaluated exclusively in a negative or neutral manner (see table 11, table 12, table 14). The coverage of opposition representatives is insufficient: Braghiș is on the 18th place, Urecheanu on the 24<sup>th</sup>, and Rosca on the 27th, the latter two appearing exclusively on radio (see table 15). An improvement in comparison with August is that their evaluation was mostly neutral (see table 16). An object of concern is lack of impartiality and objectivity. In 96 percent of newscasts on Television and 93 percent on Radio only one source was used and the state authorities appear very often in news with electoral implications (see table 6).

The same key problems, observed in newscasts, are also identified in the programs. The principle of the pluralism of opinions is ignored: just as in the previous month, broadcasting space offered to opposition parties continues to be insignificant compared with the space offered to state authorities (see table 23 and table 23.1). Evaluation of political and social agents improved compared with the previous month, neutral evaluations dominate, although there is still a biased evaluation of local administration, PPCD, and mass media (table 24, table 25). President Voronin and Prime Minister Tarlev are omnipresent (table 28), and so are the state representatives compared with the representatives of parliamentary opposition, extra-parliamentary parties and civil society (see table 30). The reports use, to a large extent, a single source, and this monitoring index raises more concerns on radio than on television (table 31).

Authorities appear in different events where their presence is not quite necessary, making different kinds of donations. The company deviates from the mission of a public service broadcaster by favoring some issues over other: sometimes issues important for the country are given less broadcasting time than international events; some events are avoided (an example is the press conference regarding the results of Teleradio Moldova Company program monitoring), especially if the opposition takes part in these events. the ratio between the presence of authorities and opposition is not balanced, speeches of state representatives are not followed by speeches of opposition representatives.

### *3.3 Conclusions*

**In September, there were serious deficiencies regarding objectivity, accuracy, and impartiality. Information was not presented in a comprehensive way and from different aspects; the information from two independent (verified) sources is missing; the principle of equal broadcasting time for government representatives and parliamentary majority on the one hand, and opposition on the other hand, is not respected.**

Political pluralism implies the necessity to represent, in the interest of democracy, many opinions and political options, whereas this monitoring shows an evident domination of state authorities' voice on Teleradio Moldova Company, political engagement of the Company, censorship of information, and selection of reports that would create a positive image of the state authorities.

Teleradio Moldova Company does not honor its mission of public service broadcaster and violates its obligations established by the Law of the Republic of Moldova on the national public service broadcaster Teleradio Moldova Company, Nr.1320-XV from 26.07.2002.

CASE STUDY:  
**Coverage of protests and strike from Teleradio Moldova in the company newscasts and programs (September 1-30, 2004)**

The monitoring carried out in August proved that the issue of protests and strike from Teleradio Moldova Company was covered in the newscasts and programs of the Company in a biased, incomplete and unbalanced manner. In the first half of August there was a tendency to attack protesters through media, whereas in the second half of August another tactic, the one of absolute silence, was observed. Beginning with August 20 no news of this kind was broadcast on television or radio. Under the veil of silence were also the events of major importance such as: the police attack from August 1 that ended up with victims, as well as the hunger strike declared by a journalist on August 22, joined by other three journalists on August 25, and by another journalist and a combatant, awardee of the Order Stefan cel Mare, on August 27.

In what follows, we refer to the way events were presented in September.

*TV Moldova 1:* Absolute silence regarding the issue of protests and strike from Teleradio Moldova Company in the newscasts and programs of this company lasted from August 20 until September 5, 2004, when few images about the meeting of the protesters with the radio listeners and TV viewers were broadcast, the focus being on usual criticisms: accusations regarding the manipulation of protesters by certain political forces.

Subsequently, on September 9, 8.30 AM an extremely short (20 seconds) and vague report, without images that would somehow explain the message, was broadcast announcing the press conference of the Democratic Moldova Bloc. On the same day, at 9.00 PM a long report on this issue was aired, inspired by the blocking of entrance to Radio House by a group of combatants, supporters of journalists-protesters. The report was produced with a certain degree of objectivity as the opinion of both sides had been elicited, but the time given to the president of the company, Ilie Teleșcu, who emphasized the traditional ideas of "political game", "beginning of the election campaign of certain political forces" etc, was longer than that offered to protesters. However, it was one of the rare cases when the key standards of presenting conflicting events were respected. This report was absent from the Russian program.

The next news was broadcast on September 14 between 7.00 PM and 9.00 PM and referred to the fact that the Police Commissariat from Chisinau disapproved of the decision of deputy mayor Susarenco to authorize actions of protest in front of the Parliament on the grounds that this could cause inconveniences. This was a suspicious news item that did not indicate whose decision the Police Commissariat disapproved and what was the origin of this information. None of the interviewees was present, and Susarenco was not asked for his opinion, even though he was the one criticized. It was not clear on what grounds a police commissariat (not even the Ministry of Internal Affairs) took it upon itself to discuss the ordinances of an authority of a different level. At 9.00 PM the news item was completed with the information, according to which the Court of Appeals temporarily suspended the decision to authorize the protests in front of the Radio House. The source of this information was not indicated. The information was denied by the members of the Committee for the Defence of Professional and Human Dignity (CADUP) within the debate program from September 16, and the existence of such a decision was also denied.

On September 16 at 7.00 PM and 9.00 PM, news regarding the work of the Parliamentary Commission, created with the purpose to solve the crisis from Teleradio Moldova Company, was broadcast. At 7.35 PM the first program on this issue was broadcast covering events from the moment the protests started (27 July). Unfortunately, the program was broadcast at the insistence of the Council of Europe and not because of the administration' good intention. There was no

civilized dialogue within this program. Nevertheless, the audience had the possibility to hear opinions that had not earlier been expressed on Television.

Six days later, in the newscasts from September 22, some commentaries were made with regards to the Parliamentary Commission, it was mentioned that two of the six members were absent (Roșca și Braghiș). After meeting the members of selection committee, the employees of the company and the protesters the Commission established that no irregularities had been committed during the staff selection competition. Absence of the two of six members was not explained, their opinion and the opinion of other participants regarding this news was not presented.

On September 23, within the program “Express TV” from 7.00 PM an ample report was presented on the session of the Council of Observers where, at the initiative of Val Butnaru, it was decided to form a special commission, which would examine the issue of protests at Teleradio Moldova Company. I. Tăbârță, the president of the Council of Observers, was the only interviewee, he commented on the results of the session, including the fact that the administration of the Company had been criticized for not implementing the principles stipulated in the Benchmarks for the operation of public broadcasters in the Republic of Moldova (elaborated by the OSCE Mission in Moldova and the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe). It was mentioned that the Council of Observers had obliged the administration to carry out, through the creation teams, a monitoring of the programs and to present monthly reports to the Council of Observers. It is obvious that the Council of Observers has delegated its main responsibility to the administration and the creation teams that were supposed to monitor their own activity! The opinion of the protesters regarding this meeting was not mentioned.

On September 24, at 7.00 PM, a short news item was broadcast regarding the suspension of picketing of the Radio House.

On September 26, at 7.00 PM and 9.00 PM, Teleradio Moldova broadcast some footage regarding the protesters' meeting in front of the monument of Stefan cel Mare and declared that the protesters had not agreed with the results of the competition, that they had stopped picketing the Radio House. The stance of the administration was mentioned, and namely that protesters had been led by the opposition that had already started its election campaign.

On September 29 at 9.00 PM the Declaration of the 400 employees of the Company was broadcast. They denounced protesters' actions and the “*zero option*” and suggested organizing trainings for professional re-qualification for the unemployed journalists and a competition for vacancies. In reply, Corina Fusu made a statement for Moldpres, saying that this declaration could have been inspired by the administration of the Company.

*Radio Moldova:* Even though the hunger strike was declared on August 22, radio listeners found out about it for the first time on September 3 at 7.00 PM and 11.00 PM, when, surprisingly, a report about the protesters' main claims was broadcast. Also, the radio announced the resignation of a member of the Council of Observers and provided a quote from the declaration of 5 CO members, who had condemned the situation on Teleradio.

On September 5, at 5.00 PM and 6.00 PM, the radio broadcast a news item from Moldpres, which included, in a mixed form, opinions of the protesters and administration, and presented separately the opinion of a combatant, who was not a striker and whose position was not very clear. Although members of CADUP were accused of blackmailing the administration of the Company, their opinion had not been asked (in a press release CADUP members declared that they felt blackmailed by the Company administration, which had conditioned granting them broadcasting space on radio and television with the registration of CADUP by the relevant bodies).

The following news item appeared only on September 16 and referred to the activity of the Parliamentary Commission, which had the task to solve Teleradio problems. It included footage

from a long speech by a commission member, a practicing doctor, who spoke in front of the protesters from his professional perspective. No other positions were expressed.

On September 18, in the newscasts from 7.00 PM, Teleradio offered airtime to the protesters. Corina Fusu was quoted and excerpts from Angela Aramă's speech were broadcast. At 11.00 PM an incomplete, dry message followed. It contained no interviews.

On September 21, 7.00 PM, the broadcaster mentioned the second monitoring report on programs of Teleradio Moldova Company, which had been carried out by IJC and CIVIS. The purpose of this broadcast was to misinform the population. It contained information, which taken out of context, appeared as non-conflicting and irrelevant. The broadcast did not include conclusions, experts' comments, or footage from the press conference.

On September 23, at 6.00 PM, 7.00 PM and 9.00 PM, Teleradio broadcast segments from the meeting of the Observers Council (CO). I. Tăbârță, CO chairman, gave the same speech as on television.

The protest issue was mentioned again on September 29 (5.00 PM and 7.00 PM), and on September 30 (7.00 AM) when the Declaration of the employees of the Company was broadcast. The programs from 7.00 PM and 7.00 AM, presented, with the exception of the Declaration, the position of the protesters and of the Company administration.

## **Conclusions**

- ▣ Whenever possible, radio and television try to ignore discussions regarding the protests and the strike.
- ▣ The issues are not discussed fully, objectively and from a pluralist perspective but in a selective and twisted manner. A series of events were ignored (e.g. picketing of the Parliament by protesters; the hunger strike and its circumstances; forced prosecution of the protesters in the absence of a legal notice; the evolution of the trial; the administrative sanctions applied against some journalists; strikers' health conditions; the reasons for the Transnistrian war combatants' protest – and the rally organized by them on August 27, which was filmed but not aired by TV Moldova 1; the meeting between the protesters and the parliament speaker; the stance of the protesters with regard to the CO session; the monitoring carried out by IJC and CIVIS of the programs broadcast in August on TV Moldova 1). While the Declaration of the employees was read several times and almost in full, the Press Releases and the Resolutions issued by CADUP were not read in a similar manner.
- ▣ Frequently news about the protests were broadcast only in the newscast in one language (usually Romanian); and were absent from the Russian version.
- ▣ Even though in line with a scenario adopted in August, the company broadcasts continued to state that the opposition was leading those protests from backstage, the opposition was not given the right to response either in August or in September.
- ▣ The September reports were more moderate than those from August in the sense of attacks and condemnation of the protesters' position; the tone was less hostile. The first debate program on this issue was produced.



Just as in August, in September the monitoring of the coverage of protests and strikes from Teleradio Moldova within the newscasts and programs of this company leads us to the following conclusions:

1. The events have not been covered in an objective, comprehensive and impartial manner
2. The principle of pluralism of opinions has not been observed
3. The general interest of the society was not respected, ignoring the right of the public to a complete, truthful and timely information
4. The programs of the Company did not meet professional quality standards

Thus, Teleradio Moldova Company has not met the objectives established by Article 1 and 2 of the Law on the national public service broadcaster from 26.07.02 and did not respect the duties stipulated in Articles 4 and 5 of this Law. The principles stipulated in the Benchmarks for the activity of public broadcasters in Moldova, developed by the OSCE Mission in Moldova and the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe are not being implemented.