



ИЗВЕШТАЈ ОД СЛЕДЕЊЕТО НА МЕДИУМСКИТЕ СОДРЖИНИ

16 април - 7 мај 2016



Detailed Analysis
based on the monitoring of media content through the Rapid Response Media Mechanism
of the Institute of Communication Studies
(time-frame: 16th April – 7th May 2016)

11. Kanal 5

(1) First week (16 – 22 April 2016)

During the reporting period from the 16th to the 22nd of April, Kanal 5 Television reported a total of 78 news segments that referred to political actors, events or situations. Most present topics were: the protests and the civil gatherings on the streets (19 segments), the failed negotiations for exiting the crisis (11 segments), the activities of the president of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski (8 segments, 5 of which were segments from an interview given for the TV station), the projects and measures of the Government and of other public institutions lead by staff from VMRO-DPMNE (6 segments), the new case of the SPPO (4 segments) and other topics.

In most of the reports on these topics, there was a favourable attitude noted towards VMRO-DPMNE and the supporters of the Government in general, and a negative and demonizing attitude towards SDSM and the opponents of the ruling party.

Commentary and opinions in the news: During the reporting period, there were more negative and demonizing segments against SDSM (25 segments), then the segments that were positive and favourable for VMRO-DPMNE (19 segments), which is in contrast to the previous monitored weeks, when the commending contents for the ruling party prevailed. The same applies for the segments with commentary contents, 9 of which were directed against SDSM and 2 in support of VMRO-DPMNE. Subjected to attack were also the Open Society Foundation (Soros) in 4 segments and the movement 'Protestiram' in 3 segments.

(1) The news of Kanal 5 during the week of monitoring were characterized by the fact that four interviews with high officials of VMRO-DPMNE were aired, and they got an open opportunity, even encouragement, to attack SDSM and other Government critics. The emphasis was placed on the leader of the party, Nikola Gruevski, who was a guest in the studio on April 16th. In the 21 minute interview, he was left for a whole of 16 minutes to attack the opposition leader Zoran Zaev, even with derogatory words ('We cannot accept to be placed in the same pot with a classic criminal such as Zaev, a notorious liar, a pathological liar, willing to sell his state and the state's interests for his personal gain. With a man with no backbone.') The questions were mainly apologetic, for example 'can the political crisis have a big impact on the economy?'. At the end he was given an opportunity to boast with new projects ('In your speeches for the people, you announce the biggest political program so far'), when he announced the introduction of agricultural advisors. Five segments were aired during the following days with excerpts from the interview, and out of



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everything that Gruevski said, which mainly referred to the current political situation, the most followed up topic was agricultural advisors. For this and for the other project for farmers announced by Gruevski (agro stock-market), the reports were made without making a distinction of him speaking on behalf of his party and making pre-elections promises or on behalf of the state and announcing new solutions.

The interview with Minister Nikola Todorov had a similar tone (April 19th), and he was even encouraged to attack the opposition, with questions such as ‘How do you comment on these violent protests and the desecration of the monuments in Skopje’, or with comments such as ‘SDSM are in power, they are in the Government, and still they work in non-compliance with the Law on Government. There is one theory that they wish to stay as long as possible in power without elections, the second theory is that the end goal is to change the name of Macedonia, i.e. to give way to Greece, the third scenario is the very grisly scenario of us going into a Ukrainian scenario.’

With Mayor Koce Trajanovski, the discussion took place in front of his office on April 21st, and once again there were numerous questions suggesting accusatory answers, such as ‘Why was there so much anger spilled on the monuments, is this a blow on the symbols of independent Macedonia’. The negative conclusions regarding SDSM from the journalists and the editors, on which the guests were expected to expand, continued in the interview with the Deputy Minister Mitko Chavkov on April 22nd (‘It was in this exact studio where Spasovski was sitting when he said that he will not abide by the decision of the Administrative Court, because he believed that the decisions were incorrect’, ‘These days, we are witnesses of what is happening on the streets in Skopje, where buildings and monuments are being demolished and desecrated, where the mass is attacking police officers. What is the MoI doing against all of these violent people’; ‘The news emerged in the media that a bodyguard who was close to Zaev and Spasovski, attacked a police officer. Do we know who did that and whether they have been sanctioned’).

During the past monitored weeks on Kanal 5, there were interviews with high officials of the opposition, and the attitude towards them was a complete opposite of this.

(2) There was intense reporting on the protests and the civil gatherings that took place during the week, and the main focus was on the protests of the movement ‘Protestiram’, instigated by the group abolition announced by President Ivanov, as well as the counter-protest of the association GDOM. However, the approach to these two subjects was completely different. The participants at the protests of ‘Protestiram’ were called hooligans, a direct link, even control, was insinuated between them and SDSM (April 16th: During the violent protests organized by the opposition, in the past several days several police officers were under serious attack with stones, flaming torches and other hard objects, and several of them were injured), and there were insinuations to a link with Albanian nationalism and plans for federalization of Macedonia (April 19th: ‘The desecration and destruction of the cultural monuments at yesterday’s protests of the opposition was harshly criticized today by the public. UCK will be joining SDSM on the protests on Friday’). The reports on the gatherings of GDOM, especially for the central one on April 21st, looked more like marketing than a reportage, with drone footage, with showing the anthem and with many commending words (April 22nd: ‘At the biggest gathering so far, in front of the Parliament, over 60 000 mouths shouted the messages: we will not allow dark scenarios to happen. ‘Yes’ to elections on June 5th, ‘no’ to destructions, were the messages from the mass of people organized by GDOM’). Although on Friday, April 22nd, there were two completely separate protests, one of which had an Albanian ethnic mark, and the other a civil one, the TV station continued to link the two (April 22nd: And opposite to what we saw previously, military veterans from UCK, the Association of Albanian political prisoners as well as the Movement for Reforms of DPA joined the protests of the opposition today. They asked for federalization of Macedonia and full rights for Albanians’).

(3) Regarding the negotiations for the political crisis, which were unsuccessful, as well as the new case opened by the Special Public Prosecutor’s Office, ‘TNT’, where VMRO-DPMNE president Nikola Gruevski is also a suspect, the reporting was comprehensive, correct and neutral and the opinions of different concerned parties were communicated.

(4) Although with fewer segments than usual, the reporting on new measures and projects of the



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institutions managed by staff from VMRO-DPMNE continued. Many of them were local (April 17th: ‘A new pathway is being built, benches are placed and the local self-government started landscaping the area surrounding lake Mladost’). Also shown were the regular obligations of public institutions, but as if they were achievements of the Government (April 20th: ‘After almost a decade, the village Nikolic is connected with new asphalt, from the village to the juncture with Dojran’).

Using sources: In most of the segments, one source was used (50 segments), and with a third of them (17 segments) that source was a representative of the Government or the party VMRO-DPMNE. Out of the segments that use two or more sources, they were more often congruent or at least had a neutral position towards each other (17 segments). The fewest segments that were shown (4 segments) had sources with different or opposing point of view. In 5 instances the TV station non-critically conveyed accusatory and defamatory contents against the opposition or against other entities, from web portals or from other media (April 17th, taken from Kurir: ‘ISIS destroyed monuments in Palmira, Zoran Zaev in Skopje’).

Direct addresses: The president of VMRO-DPMNE was most present with 7 addresses, followed by the leader of SDSM Zoran Zaev with 2. One address each was aired from the leaders of DUI – Ali Ahmeti, of GROM Stevcho Jakimovski and of DR-DPA Zijadin Sela.

Audiovisual presentation: Several instances of manipulative audiovisual presentation were observed:

- (1) It was said ‘The leader of SDSM gave his support for the Greek proposal for the name’, however this was not present in his statements (April 16th)
- (2) Political marketing where socially vulnerable persons were abused. A segment was aired (April 18th), where it was said that two families from Kratovo got welfare apartments just one month after asking for them from the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski.

Instances of favourizing or demonizing of political entities:

- (April 17th, cue): Gruevski promoted a new project for farmers – agricultural advisors.
- (April 18th, conveyed announcement): Do we wish to end up like Egypt, Syria and Ukraine? The Macedonian Manifesto insists for the state authorities of the Republic of Macedonia to discontinue Soros’s destructive activities, since it is more than obvious that for a long time now they have been directed against the sovereignty and identity
- (April 20th, report): Misajlovski said that with the biggest investments in the history of the railway, there will be drastic improvements of the conditions for transport of passengers and goods, and this was already proven by the commenced use of the trains that have already arrived

(2) Second week (23 – 28 April 2016)

During the reporting period from the 23rd to the 28th of April, Kanal 5 television published a total of 71 news segments that referred to political actors, events or situations. Most common topics were the early parliamentary elections (11 segments), the protests (10 segments), the projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions led by VMRO-DPMNE (9 segments), the activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski (6 segments), the Special Public Prosecutor’s Office and the death of Kosta Krpach (4 segments), the thesis for economic problems caused by the political crisis (3 segments), the theses for federalization of the state (2 segments) and other topics.



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In most of the reports on these topics, a favourable attitude was observed towards VMRO-DPMNE and towards the association GDOM, and a negative and demonizing one towards SDSM and towards other entities that have expressed anti-government opinions and positions.

Commentary and opinions in the news: During the reporting period the TV station took a partial stand towards VMRO-DPMNE and its officials in 27 segments and towards GDOM in 2 segments, and a negative, accusatory and demonizing one in 15 segments towards SDSM, in 10 segments towards the platform 'Protestiram', in 4 segments towards the SPPO, in 3 segments towards Soros, etc. As far as commentary contents are concerned, they were present in 6 segments attacking SDSM and in 3 segments commending VMRO-DPMNE. According to the number of segments, the TV station balanced out the political marketing for the benefit of the government and informing on current topic. However, according to the contents, they were completely negatively inclined towards the opposition and they strongly favoured the government.

(1) The negative speech is most often met in the reporting on the protests (April 24th: 'The hooligans struck on the reliefs and the monuments of the fighters in the Ilinden Revolution and the reformers'). They were accompanied by a manipulative video selection, where from the protests of the 'Protestiram' platform only footage of violence and throwing eggs and paint on the monuments was shown, and from the GDOM gatherings it was a birds eye perspective footage, with many people and flags. The anti-abolition protests, apart from being portrayed as violent, were also shown as being ordered by someone (April 24th, taken column from the Italian politician Luka Volonte: 'These days, when speaking about the Colourful Revolution in Macedonia, actually there are protest movements sponsored by the Open Society Institute of Soros, Radio Liberti, Balkan Insight, Prism and other NGOs, as well as the USAID'). They were also connected with a conspiracy theory published by the weekly newspaper Republika, and the TV station shared it in two consecutive segments, according to which behind the protests is an attempt to destabilize the country so that later on it can be redefined (April 26th: 'The black scenario for federalization of Macedonia started to come to life. Will be back bend for the name?'). Here too manipulation with audiovisual presentation was observed, so that waving the Macedonian and Albanian flag together at the protests is placed in the context of the federalization thesis.

(2) The topic of early parliamentary elections was most common. The thesis that the requirements are met was supported and that Macedonia needs to have the elections on June 5th, without further delays (April 27th: 'Dialogue should be used in order to finalize the crisis with the elections that are set for June 5th, stated the Minister of Finance Zoran Stavreski for TV Nova'). As support to this thesis, there were even manipulations with the opinions given by some international representatives, as the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, whose statement was selectively broadcast, only the statements concerning the boycott of the elections (April 28th: 'Boycotting the elections is opposing democracy, stated the delegation of the Council of Europe after their two-day assessment of the pre-elections atmosphere in our country'), however not their criticisms regarding the abolition, the media and other current situations.

(3) Reporting about the activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Gruevski has returned to its old format, where he is shown as a decision maker (April 28th: 'From the city to the village for a new beginning, VMRO-DPMNE leader promoted a new mega project for anyone who decides to move from the city to a village, regardless whether they had previously migrated from a village to a city'), an authority that is referred to (April 25th: 'Mayor Koce Trajanovski informed the president of VMRO-DPMNE that in all of the municipalities there at least capital projects under way'), and also someone who is ready to talk to the people directly, for their demands and needs, and seemingly spontaneous, although with a microphone clipped onto him and with TV cameras standing between the speakers. Equating the party and the state by covering the activities of Gruevski went so far that the measures he announces are treated as they were announced by the state and are certain to happen, exerts are consulted and effects are analyzed, although at this moment and under these circumstances they can only be seen as pre-election promises of a party leader. The reporting about government measures and projects returned and gained intensity, once again using promotional and

commendatory vocabulary (April 25th: ‘From the beginning of next week, the government’s free foreign language courses for young people up to 29 years of age will start. The benefits from the free courses are numerous’).

(4) There were no reports on the rumors for possible sanctions against the Republic of Macedonia if a solution to the political crisis is not found. A different aspect of the possible impacts of the political situation on the economy were reported, i.e. withdrawing savings deposits, purchasing foreign currencies and the risk of the denar devaluating. The messages sent out were mainly calming, however they were also accusatory towards the opposition for creating the panic (April 27th: ‘According to the portal ‘Kurir’, SDSM uses a tactic for devaluation of the denar before every election’).

Using sources: In most of the segments, only one source was used (34 segments), for almost half of which (16 segments) the source was a representative of the Government or the party VMRO-DPMNE. From the segments where two or more sources were used, they were more often in concordance or at least had a neutral stand towards each other (19 segments), and in slightly less than half of them (9 segments) it was two or more representatives of the Government or the ruling party complementing their stories. Only 6 segments were aired where the sources were opposed. In 3 segments the sources were texts from portals, with accusatory contents (April 23rd: ‘SDSM is ordering and dictating Katica Janeva’s press conferences, writes the portal Netpres’).

Direct addresses: The most represented, with direct addresses, was the leader of VMRO DPMNE, however 3 of them were repeats of his announcement of new measures for cattle breeders, and once and old statement was aired about measures for farmers. One address each was from the presidents of GROM – Stevcho Jakimovski and of PEI – Fijat Canoski. There was no address from the current period from Zoran Zaev, although an old statement of his about learning Albanian language was aired twice, and it was used against him.

Audiovisual presentation: Manipulative audiovisual presentation was present in several segments from all dominant topics covered by this TV station. The most common type was broadcasting promotional contents about officials from the party VMRO-DPMNE and their leader Gruevski as part of the news. However, manipulations were also made with the reports about the protests, through the selection of video footage (only violent for ‘Protestiram’ and massive for GDOM, then the abuse of shots from Macedonian and Albanian flags together), as well as the elections (selective reporting of statements).

Instances of favourizing or demonizing political entities:

- (April 23rd, cue): Did Zoran Zaev arrange for a tradeoff of the territory of Macedonia? What is his deal with the radical Albanian structures which conspire for federalization and binationality of the state? – was asked by members of Stevcho Jakimovski’s party
- (April 24th, commentary): Yesterday’s desecration is just one more in the series for the protesters from SDSM and Soros
- (April 26th, cue): Intense construction works for a new building of the Macedonian Philharmonics. The personnel are happy because starting from January 2017 they will be working in a representable building, it was 70 years overdue
- (April 28th, report): VMRO-DPMNE president – Nikola Gruevski promoted the mega project today, which is meant to drastically improve the socio-economical state of the country.

(3) Third week (2 – 7 May 2016)



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During the reporting period from the 2nd to the 7th of May 2016, Kanal 5 television published a total of 65 news segments referring to political actors, events or situations. Most common were the topics of the early elections (10 segments), the protests (7 segments), the projects and measures of the Government and of other institution led by VMRO-DPMNE (5 segments), the Special Public Prosecutor's Office and the investigation about Kosta Krpach (5 segments), reminders of the measures announced by VMRO-DPMNE's leader Nikola Gruevski (4 segments), the state of the economy (3 segments).

In most of the reports on these topics, a favourable attitude was observed towards VMRO-DPMNE and the association GDOM, and a negative and demonizing one towards SDSM, the Special Prosecutor's Office, the Soros Foundation, the 'Protestiram' platform, etc.

Commentary and opinions in the news: During the reporting period, the TV station took a favourable stand towards VMRO-DPMNE and their officials in 15 segments and towards GDOM in 1 segment, and a negative and demonizing one in 13 segments directed towards SDSM, in 4 segments towards SPPO, in 4 segments towards Soros, etc. As far as commentary contents are concerned, they were encountered on 9 occasions, in accusatory segments against SDSM and in 2 commending segments for VMRO-DPMNE (May 6th: 'The primary interest is to find a way out of the crisis through elections on which the people will decide who they will entrust with leading Macedonia. This is VMRO-DPMNE's priority').

(1) Strong elements of political marketing contents, for the benefit of VMRO-DPMNE's leader Nikola Gruevski were aired during a week in which he did not have a single public address. So, in the absence of new measures, the old ones were promoted once again. For the project 'From the City to the Village, for a New Beginning', statistical analyses were made pointing out why it was necessary and how useful it will be (May 4th: 'Improving the demographics in rural environments is expected to be provided by the project 'From the City to the Village, for a New Beginning', which was announced last week by the leader of the ruling party, which comprises a set of measures to entice the population to change their life surroundings from the city asphalt to the beauty of nature'). It is unclear why a media outlet would make such an analysis for a pre-election promise from a party leader. This is not a measure announced by the state. Nonetheless, not only were Gruevski's projects advertised (May 2nd: 'The mega project for improving the conditions of the agricultural sector was also analyzed in the show especially aimed at farmers, 'Brazdi', which is aired every Sunday morning on Kanal 5'. The approach is the same as before: the measures are treated as announcements made by a state authority and not as promises from a party leader.

(2) Reporting about the political crisis was consisted. in general. of conveying the opinions of European politicians who favour the positions of the government and which attack those of the oppositions, mostly regarding the elections. Among the involved individuals is Italian politician Luka Volonte (May 2nd: 'However, Zaev wants to postpone the elections, so that is why, according to Volonte, he supports the street manifestations'). An attempt was made to increase the credibility of these persons, as was the case with Marijana Petir (May 3rd: 'The elections in Macedonia on June 5th are the only democratic standard by which power can be obtained, says Marijana Petir, president of the informal group 'Friends of Macedonia' in the European Parliament, and one of the more influential MEPs from the party with the most members – the European People's Party'). This was even more emphasized in the case with Joseph Daul, who accused the opposition of creating theatrics (May 4th: 'Daul, who is president of the largest political party in Europe, whose member is the German Chancellor Merkel, European leaders Tusk and Jean Claude Juncker, as well as European Commissioner Hahn...'). Some of these politicians made no reservations in taking sides, like for instance the Austrian Karl von Habsburg, and this was all reported, (May 7th: 'He says that if they look at the political scene in Macedonia, and Nikola Gruevski and the President Gjorge Ivanov, they are paying a price for something that they are doing, and that is completely correct and for upholding the rule of law and the Constitution').

(3) Aside the contents dedicated to Gruevski, there was a relatively small number of segments about projects and measures of the government, and they were mainly about local endeavors (May 4th:

‘The tourist attractions of the villages below Belasica will be more accessible for tourists, via an asphalt road, Mokrino springs will be connected to the Smolari waterfalls with an asphalt road by the end of this summer, this road will connect 12 populated areas’). Some air time was also set aside for Government advertisements (May 5th: ‘The procedure to apply is simple. It consists of filing out and application to participate in the project, from the unemployed person the Employment Agency, after which the applicant shall go through a one-day training for filling out the questionnaire with listing a draft business plan for the business they intend to set up’).

(4) Also, there were few segments concerning the protests, which were informative to a certain extent, or were moderately accusatory (May 3rd: ‘Trial for two protesters who destroyed the office of the president. Will the hearings for all of the vandals be joined?’), as well as moderately favourable (May 4th: ‘The civil movement for defending Macedonia, at their people’s gatherings in nine cities, will send a clear message: the elections are the only solution for an end to the agony that Macedonia is currently experiencing’). Towards the end of the monitored week, the attacks gained momentum with segments in which the protests were portrayed as paid for and set up (May 6th: ‘Where did the Soros foundation spend the five million euro? Tensions, tearing down a democratically elected government, financing media’; May 7th: ‘The persons who are destroying the monuments in Skopje earn big sums of money. Thousands of euros for the hired activists.’).

(5) The work of the Special Public Prosecutor’s Office was observed primarily through the case of Kosta Krpach, and the tendency is mainly accusatory, and the SPPO are accused of being responsible for his death (May 2nd: ‘University professor Oliver Andonov points out in his column that the SPPO are accountable for the death of Krpach, because of, as he puts it, the torture to which he was exposed from the prosecution’; (May 5th: ‘The method of work of the special prosecutors these days has become an issue for the case of Kosta Krpach too, who committed suicide in his apartment in Skopje’).

Using sources: In most of the segments, only one source was used (33 segments). In the segments that had two or more sources, they were more often in agreement or at least had a neutral stand towards one another (13 segments), and more seldom they were opposed (8 segments). In only 11 segments representatives of VMRO-DPMNE and state institutions led by them were the only source. Nonetheless, conveying texts from internet portals with accusatory contents continued (4 segments) (May 2nd: ‘Hired people from foreign countries are directly helping SDSM and the opposition leader Zaev in vandalizing Macedonian monuments, writes the portal Zhurnal’).

Direct addresses: Only one direct address from the current period was aired, from the leader of SDSM Zoran Zaev, as well as one of his old statements. Three older statements were aired from the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski.

Audiovisual presentation: Instances of manipulative audiovisual presentation were observed.

(1) Hidden propaganda: through a story about a person who emigrated to Germany (May 5th) who came back to invest in his home village near Delchevo, the measures and the projects for rural environments announced by the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski were promoted, and his statement was also aired as a reminder.

(2) In the cue for a short, yet comprehensive and fair segment regarding the standpoints of the parties concerning the elections (May 6th), almost the entire announcement of VMRO-DPMNE was read, with all of the accusatory and negative elements included, and only a few words were said about the others.

Instances of favourizing or demonizing political entities:

- (May 2nd, analytical-reportage segment): The project ‘From the City to the Village, for a New Beginning’ comes as round-up of the previously announced projects by Gruevski, and it is similar to the measures of this kind that exist in EU countries.



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- (May 2nd, analysis / commentary): Meanwhile, in the two-week protests organized by the opposition and Soros organizations, a large number of significant Macedonian landmarks were desecrated.
- (May 6th, headline / commentary): Unfortunately, due to the panic and fear of SDSM from not having the support for their destructive policies, the early parliamentary elections were already cancelled once. Hence, SDSM promoted themselves as the only opposition party in the world that fears elections and runs away from them, was said by VMRO-DPMNE.
- (May 7th, headline / commentary): The reduced growth of the economy is caused by the political crisis. The crisis created by SDSM will cost the country 170 million euros, experts estimate.