



REPORT

BASED ON THE MONITORING
OF TV NEWS PROGRAMMES

TIME FRAME JANUARY 16 - 27, 2017

SUMMARY

- The results in this report were obtained from the analysis of TV news programmes¹ broadcast in the period from the 16th to the 20th and from the 23rd to the 27th of January, 2017, or a total of 10 days. The objective of the analysis was to establish how national TV stations are reporting about the democratic processes in the country and whether they present differing political views in a balanced way. The news programmes of 12 TV stations were analysed: MTV 1, MTV 2, Sitel, Telma, 24 Vesti, Kanal 5, Alfa, Alsat M (in Macedonian and in Albanian), TV 21 (in Macedonian and in Albanian) and TV Nova.
- The analysis referred to the news that were aired in a period of high political uncertainty, concerning the formation of a government, after the parliamentary elections held on December 11, 2016; constituting the Parliament on December 30, 2016 and assigning the mandate for composing a new government to the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski on January 9, 2017. Looking at the overall picture, this topic was prevalent during the 10 days of observation; however there were differences between the individual TV stations. In the news on MTV 2, Alsat M and Telma, most of the published reports were on this topic, while on TV stations 24 Vesti and TV 21, the monitoring of the work of public institutions had an approximately equal representation. The topic that was most frequently presented on MTV 1 was the regular activities of public officials. In the news on Kanal 5, Alfa and Sitel, the topic of forming a new government was equally or less represented as was the promotion of projects and measures of the still current Government and of other public institutions, such as municipal administrations. Regardless of the fact that a new government was not elected during the monitoring period, and the old government only had a mandate to technically perform the function, and regardless of the fact that the mandate of local self-government is also about to expire, these three TV stations published a total of 90 reports about projects and measures, presenting them as something that will be implemented with certainty. Thus, it was suggested that the officials announcing these projects and measures, mainly coming from VMRO-DPMNE, will certainly stay in their functions, which objectively could not be guaranteed in this period. Having in mind the realistic political circumstances, the announcements from these officials can only be featured as party promises. According to that, with these TV stations there was a notable misbalance in terms of quantity and quality in the representation of political entities, to the benefit of VMRO-DPMNE, and at the expense of SDSM.
- The Macedonian Radio Television informed on all current political events, without going into any analysis, and without taking an affirmative, negative or critical journalistic approach. When speaking about the activities of the main political entities, the Public Service reported in balance, with 33 reports

¹ More details about the methodology for implementing the monitoring are available at: <http://respublica.edu.mk/metodologija-b>

about SDSM and 25 about VMRO-DPMNE. If we add to this the reports of officials from VMRO-DPMNE (36), it can be concluded that this party had significantly higher representation. However, most of the holders of public functions do come from the lines of that party, and they were mainly presented in that role. Several rare instances of favouritism were observed for the party VMRO-DPMNE, and it could not be concluded from the reports whether the reason was an oversight or if it was intentional affirmative reporting.

The Second Programme Service - MTV 2, informed about all of the more significant political events in the country, although a mild inclination could be observed towards the topics that are of interest to the Albanian ethnic community (post-election platform signed by the parties of Albanians, as well as their roles in the establishment of a government).

- A significant difference could be noted in observing non-party entities with an impact on political life and on democratic processes. Such an entity that was most frequently presented in the news on these TV stations was the Special Public Prosecutor's Office. The work of this institution and the reactions caused by its work were correctly covered by TV stations Telma, 24 Vesti, Alsat M, TV 21 and MTV 1 and 2, while TV stations Kanal 5, Alfa, Sitel and TV Nova reported about this prosecutor's office through the prism of the party VMRO-DPMNE, which considers the prosecutor's office as its political opponent.

Other non-party subjects that were frequently present on TV stations Telma, 24 Vesti, Alsat M, TV 21 and MTV 1 and 2 were state and local institutions, whose work was often critically observed about whether they are succeeding or failing at performing their obligations to the citizens, (in the current period, the dominant topics were the

issue with air pollution, dealing with the snow, reports on corruption, etc.), without assigning them a partisan connotation.

On TV stations Alfa, Sitel, Kanal 5 and TV Nova, NGOs and foundations were among the most frequently presented non-party entities, as part of covering the so called De-Sorosoziation process, which was announced by VMRO-DPMNE, and which entails the battle against civil associations which criticize the government or states of the government, and which have foreign or international financial support. They reported very rarely about the work of state institutions, critically addressing the topics that are of concern for the citizens. On the contrary, reports were often shown that positively present the work of the institutions, i.e. about the accomplishments of the officials of the ruling party.

- In general, it can be concluded that the media image about political pluralism in Macedonia remains the same as before the early parliamentary elections. A characteristic feature was the fact that after the 100 day pre-election period, which entailed special rules for the media, including the ad-hoc body for media which was a result from the inter-party agreement in Przino, most TV stations returned to their editorial policy. This implies that TV stations 24 Vesti, Telma, Alsat M and TV 21 continued to monitor political events from a neutral position and critically observed them, with a special emphasis on the work of public institutions, while for TV stations Sitel, Alfa, TV Nova and Kanal 5 once again the standpoints of the political party VMRO-DPMNE were prevalent, as well as the reports about projects and achievements of its officials. An exception is the Macedonian Television, in which case, even despite the termination of the mandate of the editor assigned by the opposition (yet another provision from the Przino Agreement), the impartial reporting continued about the main political and social events.



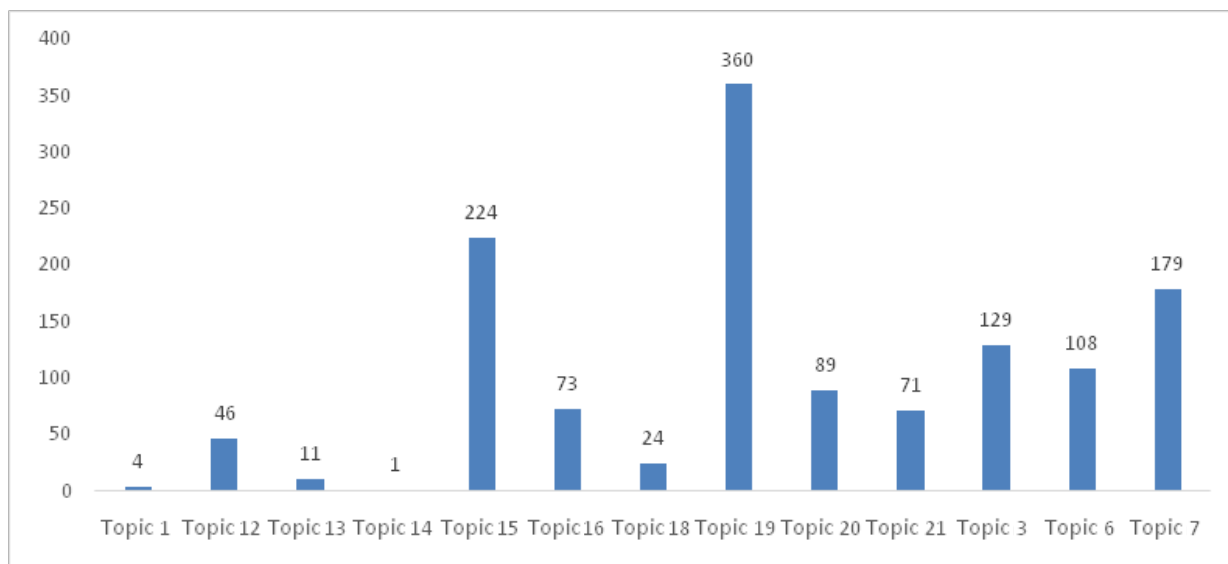
MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. TOPICS THAT WERE COVERED

During the ten-day period in the media which were the object of analysis, a total of 1,319 reports were published, connected to political life and the democratic reforms, and according to the number of reports, the following topics were most frequently presented: post-election negotiations for forming a government (360 reports), the regular work of state and public institutions (224 reports), the work of the Special

Public Prosecutor's Office (179), promoting projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions (129), activities about public officials, including protocol activities and resolving on-going questions (108), the so-called De-Sorosization process (89), covering addresses from political parties regarding various events in society such as clearing up the snow, the flu epidemic or pollution (71), etc.



Number of reports published in the TV news, regarding various topics(January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organizing the early parliamentary elections (assessments from the PSSE on the elections)
Topic 2	Pre-election activities of political parties
Topic 3	Promotion of projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions (promotions or announcements from ministers, representatives of local self-government units and from other officials).
Topic 4	Projects and measures of the Government that are promoted by political parties and leaders (most often by Gruevski)
Topic 5	Pre-election promises of government representatives from SDSM
Topic 6	Other activities of public officials (protocol activities, resolving current issues, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's office (and other topics related to SPPO).
Topic 8	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensating the flooded households)
Topic 11	Zoran Zaev's announcement for expanded use of Albanian language.
Topic 12	The state of the economy (unemployment, business tribunes, foreign investments, competitiveness, statistics)
Topic 13	Borrowings and the state of public debt
Topic 14	The media and media operations
Topic 15	The regular work of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather about various problems and matters of public interest)
Topic 16	Other topics
Topic 17	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn
Topic 18	Events in education (school that were not ready for the start of the second semester, the terminated agreement with Turkey for recognition of the diplomas)
Topic 19	Post-election negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	'De-Sorosozation' and the work of the NGOs
Topic 21	Addresses of political parties regarding the various events in society (clearing up the snow, the flu epidemic, pollution, etc.)



1. The main conclusion from the analysis of the topics that were reported during the monitored period, was that the topic of highest interest for that period was – the attempts to form a new government after the parliamentary elections, which was prevalent in terms of the total number of reports published on this topic on all TV stations - 360. The political circumstances were specific, because the elections that were held after the two year political crisis did not result in a clear winner, however President Gjorge Ivanov had assigned the mandate for forming a government of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski, although he was missing ten MP positions in order to compile a parliamentary majority which will support a Government Cabinet. The monitoring was performed in the middle and at the end of the term that VMRO-DPMNE had, in accordance with the Constitution, to assemble a government, a process that was accompanied with much uncertainty. The TV stations provided daily reports on the latest events, the statements from political representatives about their expectations from the process and the formation of a government, the messages from the international community, inter-party meetings, and before the end, the party meetings of DUI at which it was resolved whether a new government coalition will be made with VMRO-DPMNE. This topic was the most frequent ones or the most represented topics on all TV stations. The most reports were published by TV 21 (47) and Alsat M (45), and the least by MTV 1 (13). TV stations Alfa and Sitel showed a significantly higher number of reports related to the promotion of projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions, and Kanal 5 showed an equally high number of reports about the negotiations for a government.

In respect to differences in the contents, TV stations Telma and 24 Vesti followed all events regularly and objectively, and 24 gave a special overview of the inspection controls that were conducted in the municipal administration of Gostivar, after the Mayor of Gostivar - Nevzat Bejta declared himself as opposed to a coalition between his party DUI and Gruevski. This aspect was also covered by Alsat M and TV 21. Alsat M published analytical reports that disputed the arguments that VMRO-DPMNE and DUI are obligated to constitute a government as winners from the so called Macedonian and Albanian block. TV 21, as well as MTV 2 presented a special emphasis on the so called Albanian platform as a prerequisite for establishing a government, as well as the letter from a group of Albanians that appealed for DUI not to accept a coalition with VMRO-DPMNE. Sitel, Kanal 5, Alfa and TV Nova attacked that letter, accusing SDSM of being prepared to accept the Albanian platform just so they can take over the power (the platform foresees complete state bilingualism, a change of national symbols and other requests), they underlined VMRO-DPMNE's positions that they will not be creating a government at all costs, and they also reported this party's optimistic expectations of certainty that they will comprise a government coalition with them at the helm. MTV 1 only conveyed the basic information for inter-party and intra-party meetings, they also conveyed messages from domestic and international representatives.
2. The monitoring of the work of state and public institutions, with 224 broadcast reports, was the second topic according to total representation. It was once again the most frequent or one of the most frequent topics on TV stations TV 21 (43 reports), Alsat M (27), 24 Vesti (26) and Telma (17). The highest number of reports addressed the problems with pollution, the failures in handling the snow, the work of judicial bodies, the reports about the level of corruption in Macedonia, and with Alsat M and with TV 21 and about cases of potential ethnic discrimination of Albanians who are employed in public institutions. When covering these topics, the centre of attention were the issues and needs of citizens and safeguarding public interests, which was the reason why critical observations of the work of state institutions was common, it was presented in 28 reports on 24 Vesti and in 26 on Alsat M (24 Vesti, January 18, in regards to the announced measures against pollution: 'The citizens are saying that they cannot see the benefits from the short-term measures, and they are not expecting much from long-term measures either, because each of them is either very expensive or it is a future promise'). TV stations Alfa and TV Nova have published only 3 reports regarding the work of public institutions, Sitel published 6, MTV on their first programme service - 9, on their second programme - 11, and Kanal 5 published 17, however they were mainly non-critical conveyance of the information.
3. Several events related to the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office were relevant during the reporting period, although the court case for the case 'Fort' (regarding the destruction of equipment for communication interception), the rescinding of the case 'Coup' (in which SDSM leader - Zoran Zaev was one of the defendants), and the new investigations 'Tariff' (regarding the procurement of software in the state company ELEM) and 'Tank' (regarding the

purchase of a new vehicle type ‚Mercedes‘ for the Government). Because of that, this topic was third in terms of representation, with 179 reports. Regarding this topic, once again the so-called reporting in blocks was observed. TV stations Alsat M, Telma,, 24 Vesti and TV 21 regularly reported about the activities on the prosecution and they conveyed the reactions from the party VMRO-DPMNE. Furthermore, 24 Vesti and Telma raised the question whether the party is waging a political battle with the prosecution, while Alsat M and TV 21 analysed the obstacles with which SPPO was confronted during the performance of their work. When reporting about SPPO, TV stations Sitel, Alfa, Kanal 5 and TV Nova published the viewpoints of VMRO-DPMNE as the dominant ones, considering the withdrawal from the case ‚Coup‘, and Alfa and Sitel published their own analytical reports with claims that the oppositional leader – Zoran Zaev is guilty in the case and that he cannot be released from guilt in this manner.

4. During the reporting period, the Republic of Macedonia still did not have a legitimate government resulting from the early parliamentary elections on December 11, 2016. The functions of the central government were performed by the previous government cabinet composed of VMRO-DPMNE and DUI, and the results from the elections did not guarantee that this coalition will continue in the future. Except for the fact that the central government had a limited legitimacy and the mandate of the local government, according to the Law on Local Self-government, ends in March, which means that the representatives of none of these types of government were in a position to announce new or long-term measures and projects, except in the form of party promises. However, this did not prevent some TV stations to report numerous reports about the promotion of projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions, thus making this the fourth topic in regards to the number of published reports - 129. Most of the reports on this topic were published by TV stations Alfa (35), Sitel (31) and Kanal 5 (24). In the process, they avoided to mention that the mandate of the political representatives is limited and they presented the announcements as if they are given on behalf of the state and as something that will be implemented with certainty. Precisely the issue of the mandate was one of the main aspects of critical reporting on 24 Vesti, regarding government projects and measures, mostly related to the project for building of a new clinical centre in the yard of the current one.
 5. Special emphasis was placed on one of the typical new topics of the monitored period, and this was the reporting about the so called De-Sorosoization process, on which topic 89 reports were published. This is a process that the leader of VMRO-DPMNE – Nikola Gruevski announced when reading a party proclamation at a party gathering in front of the office of the State Election Commission on December 17, 2016, and he elaborated in subsequent interviews. The process was perceived by the public as dealing with (in the widest and not completely clear sense) the civil organizations and media that are critically inclined towards the governance of this party, and which are financially aided by the Open Society Foundation of the American businessman George Soros or by other foreign and international sources.
- Sitel and Alfa were the TV stations who published the most reports on this topic (20 each), along with Kanal 5 (16) and TV Nova (10). Their reports had a favourable tone for the activities of the newly formed association ‚Stop Operation Soros‘ (Sitel, January 27 „Stop Operation Soros: NGOs abused funds from USAID“), as well as the positions of representatives of VMRO-DPMNE regarding this topic (Kanal 5, January 17: ‚De-Sorosoization means giving democracy back to the people, was written by VMRO-DPMNE MP - Ilija Dimovski on his Facebook profile‘). Other TV stations published few reports on this topic. Some only reported that an association was established, and some criticized this process (24 Vesti, January 27: ‚De-Sorosoization: a distraction of a battle with the traitors‘).
6. The second new topic was the coverage of the addresses of political parties regarding various events in society, such as clearing up the snow, dealing with the flu, the annual cultural programme and other topics. Most often, this was simple conveyance of segments from speeches of politicians, without any intervention, with or without showing the other side. Overall, 71 reports were published on this topic. All TV stations published a small number of reports on the topic, except for Kanal 5, where 21 reports were published, mostly about the comments that the group of counsellors of VMRO-DPMNE published in the Municipality of Centar about the work of Andrej Zhernovski.
 7. One more topic that was typical for reporting in blocks was informing about the state of the economy, with a total of 46 published reports. At the same time, 24 Vesti, Alsat M, Telma and TV21 informed about the research of the Balkan’s Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) regarding the shortcomings of the amount of foreign investments, comparing how many were announced, and how many were realized. These TV stations also criticized the behaviour of the competent officials, like the Minister of Finance – Kiril Minovski and the Director of the TIDZ – Viktor Mizo, who refused to comment on the research. On TV stations Kanal 5, Alfa, Sitel and MTV 1, when on the topic of the state of the economy, reports were published about the increase of the number of companies in the group of major tax payers.

2. APPROACH TO REPORTING

During the ten-day reporting period, expressing comments and opinions to favour or to attack a certain political view once again gained intensity, compared to the hundred day period prior to the elections, during which period the media were placed under monitoring of the ad-hoc body for media. Nonetheless, this form of

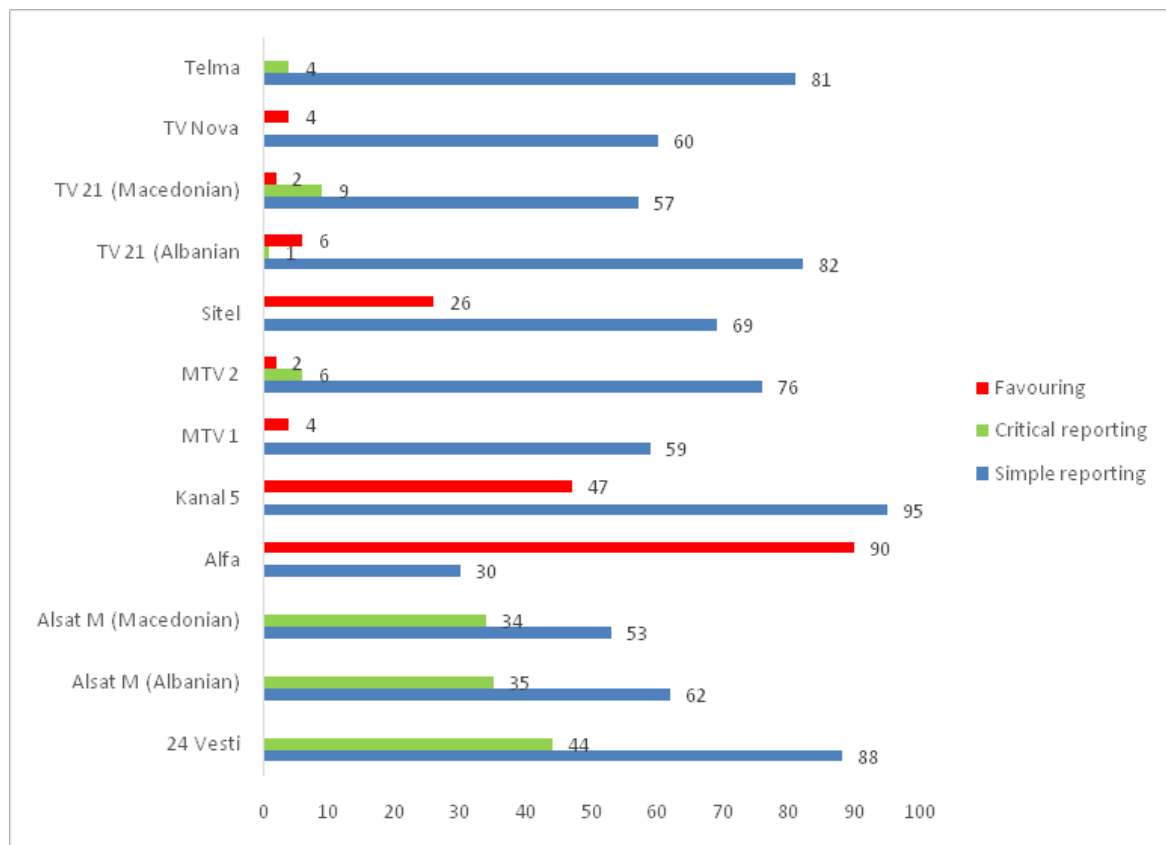
reporting still has not returned to its characteristic fierceness as it had during the first half of 2016. The reason for that was that still absent for the most part was quoting Internet portals as the main source of offensive, accusatory, defaming and demonizing contents, although several such cases were observed.

2.1. Approach to reporting on the activities of VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM

The division of the reporting 'in blocks' between pro-government and neutrally-critical TV stations was especially evident when reporting on the post-election negotiations for forming a new government (Topic 19) and the projects and measures promoted by representatives of the Government and of local authorities (Topic 3). With TV stations such as Sitel, Kanal 5, TV Nova and Alfa, a misbalance was also visible in the number of reports where the subjects were the two largest political parties. The news on these four TV stations once again resembles newsletter whose main goal is to promote the positions and activities of the party VMRO-DPMNE on various matters. This could be concluded from

the fact that in most of the reports the subject was VMRO-DPMNE (421 reports total for VMRO-DPMNE and 266 reports for SDSM). In most of these reports, a favourable stand towards VMRO-DPMNE was visible, while a negative stand was taken towards the policy of the opposition.

MTV 1 and MTV 2 provided balanced reporting about the two largest political parties, without taking any favouring, negative or critical journalistic approaches to reporting. However, if you add the number of published reports about the activities of the officials from these parties, in the case of both programme services VMRO-DPMNE had significantly higher representation (63 reports for VMRO-DPMNE as opposed to 35 for SDSM on MTV

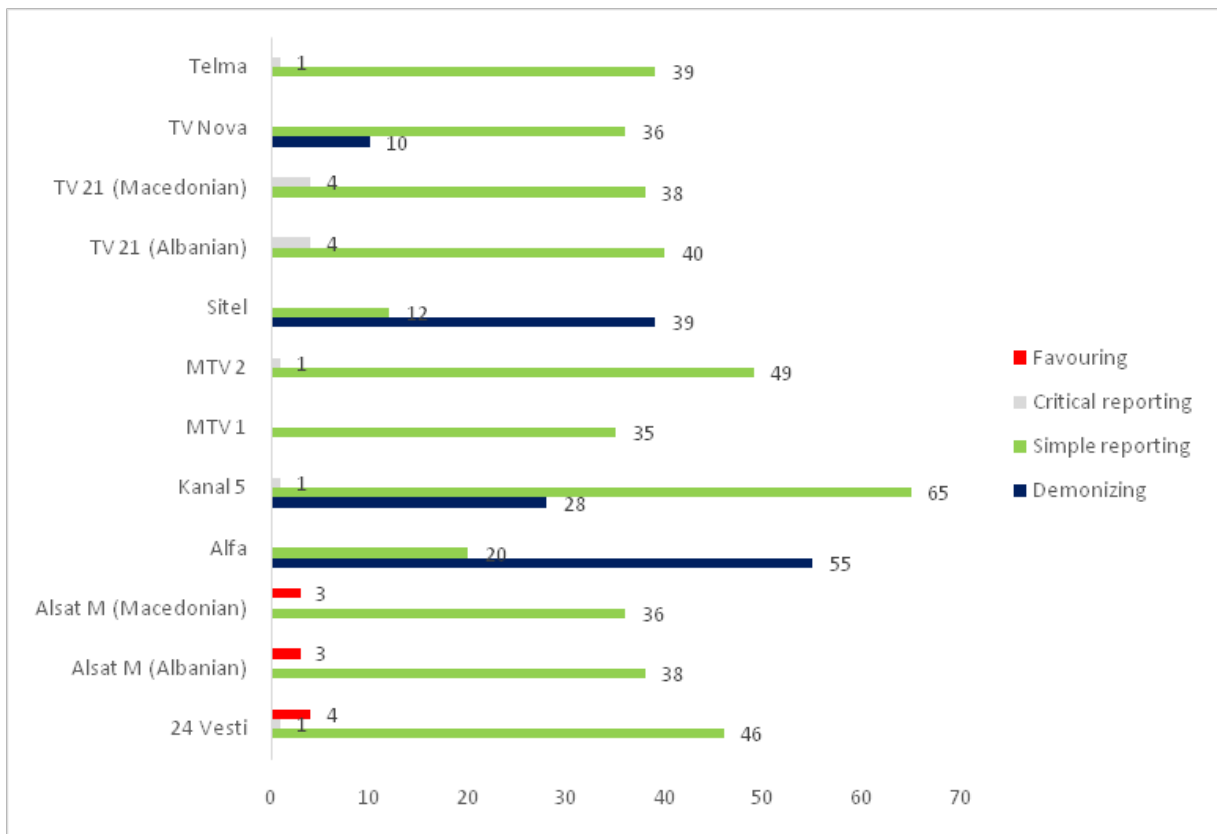


Approach to reporting about the party VMRO-DPMNE, the officials from their lines and the coalition partners (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

1 and 84 about the ruling party as opposed to 50 for the opposition on MTV 2). Both programme services of the Macedonian Television monitored the regular activities of the officials and they conveyed the latest information about the negotiations for forming a government.

Reporting about the ruling party as opposed to the opposition was also dominant on TV stations 24 Vesti (132 reports about VMRO-DPMNE as opposed to 51 about SDSM), Telma (85 about VMRO-DPMNE and 40 about SDSM), Alsat M (87 for VMRO-DPMNE and 39 for SDSM in the news in Macedonian) and TV 21 (89 about VMRO-DPMNE and 44 about SDSM in the news in Albanian). This was further enhanced by the fact that Nikola Gruevski's party was much more present in the public focus as a political party with the mandate to form a new government, and besides this, its Government officials were still active, and their work was subjected to critical observation.

According to this, the main difference between the two media 'blocks', when it comes to reporting about the two largest competitive political blocks, was not presented in the quantitative ratio of the reports published about VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM. Although VMRO-DPMNE was the most present political entity for both the critical and pro-government media, the approach in reporting about this party was quite different. With TV stations 24 Vesti, Alsat M, Telma and TV 21, there were a total of 127 reports that were critically observed, related to the policies of this party (Alsat M, January 20: 'No state institution has condemned them by now, nor have they initiated a procedure against the hate speech that could be heard around the end of last year at the protests in front of the SEC, from members and affiliates of VMRO-DPMNE'; 24 Vesti, January 24: 'The 'bombs' from the opposition showed shocking attitudes of high officials of VMRO-DPMNE about the Albanian ethnic community').



Approach to reporting about the party SDSM, the officials from their lines and the coalition partners (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

On the other hand, with TV stations Alfa, Sitel, Kanal 5 and TV Nova, the reporting in most cases was propagandist and favourable. More precisely, a total of 167 reports were published of that type (Alfa, January 24: 'The government with VMRO-DPMNE at the head invested over 1 billion euro in agriculture in the past 10 years. This money provided assistance, modernization and raising of the quality of the sector, the party says; Sitel, January 25: 'In the past ten years, VMRO-DPMNE has made serious investments in the railway system, the ruling party says'). As far

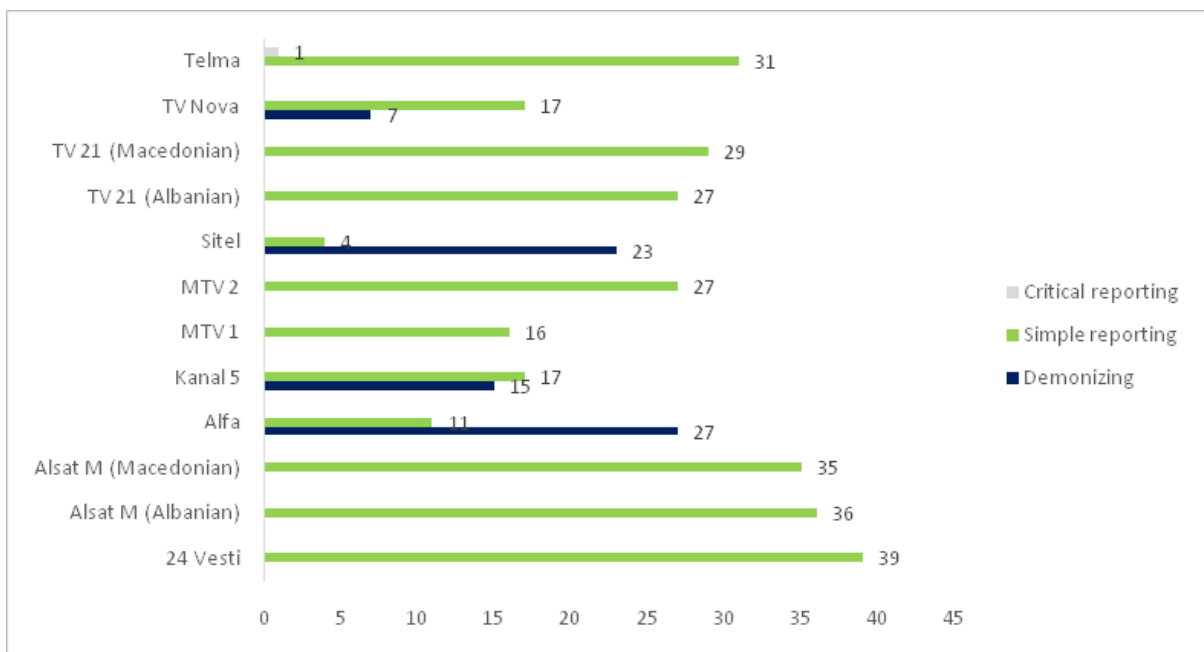
as the approach towards SDSM is concerned, it was mainly informative with TV stations Alsat M, 24 Vesti, Telma and TV 21, and on the other hand it was negative with TV Nova, Sitel, Kanal 5 and Alfa, which published 132 reports with accusatory contents about the opposition (Sitel, January 19: 'The platform of the Albanian parties is completely acceptable for SDSM, says analyst Sasho Ordanovski, who is known as a close person to the leadership at Bihacka Street'; TV Nova, January 25: 'Dnevnik: SDSM's members fear that Zaev is prepared to accept the Albanian platform').

2.2. Approach to reporting about non-party entities (SPPO, NGOs, institutions)

The approach to reporting about so called non-party entities, which have a direct or indirect impact on the political processes, was also one of the key elements in determining the editorial policy of various TV stations, as well as in establishing their 'block' division. In this context, the most important entities that are not part of the political parties were the Special Public Prosecutor's Office, civil organizations and foundations, as well as state and local institutions.

The attitude towards the Special Public Prosecutor's Office remain unaltered in the media, compared to the period before the elections. This institution was most frequently mentioned in reports linked to its operations and in reports related to the attempts to form a government, as one of the points on which the parties VMRO-DPMNE and DUI cannot come to an agreement. All TV stations published numerous reports regarding SPPO and they most often did not contain a factor of evaluation in terms of the prosecutor's office itself. On the contrary, some TV sta-

tions criticized other state and judicial bodies about the obstructions to the work of the SPPO (Alsats M, TV 21), and some critically reported about the accusatory attitude of the party VMRO-DPMNE towards this institution. Emphasizing and promoting precisely this accusatory stand was the main feature of the reporting on TV Nova, Sitel, Kanal 5 and Alfa, which broadcast a total of 72 reports with demonizing contents about SPPO (Alfa, January 18: 'New scandal from SPPO. The accusation for 'Coup' is withdrawn. Where is the justice that the Special Prosecutors mention. Is that the same justice that Katica Janeva used to save Zaev today. Social networks are angry at SPPO'; Sitel, January 18: 'Harsh and strong reactions in the public about the decision of SPPO to pardon Zaev: You are a disgrace to justice'). MTV on their first programme service published significantly less reports about this prosecution (16), compared to other media, and reporting about it simply came down to conveying information, without any journalistic engagement.



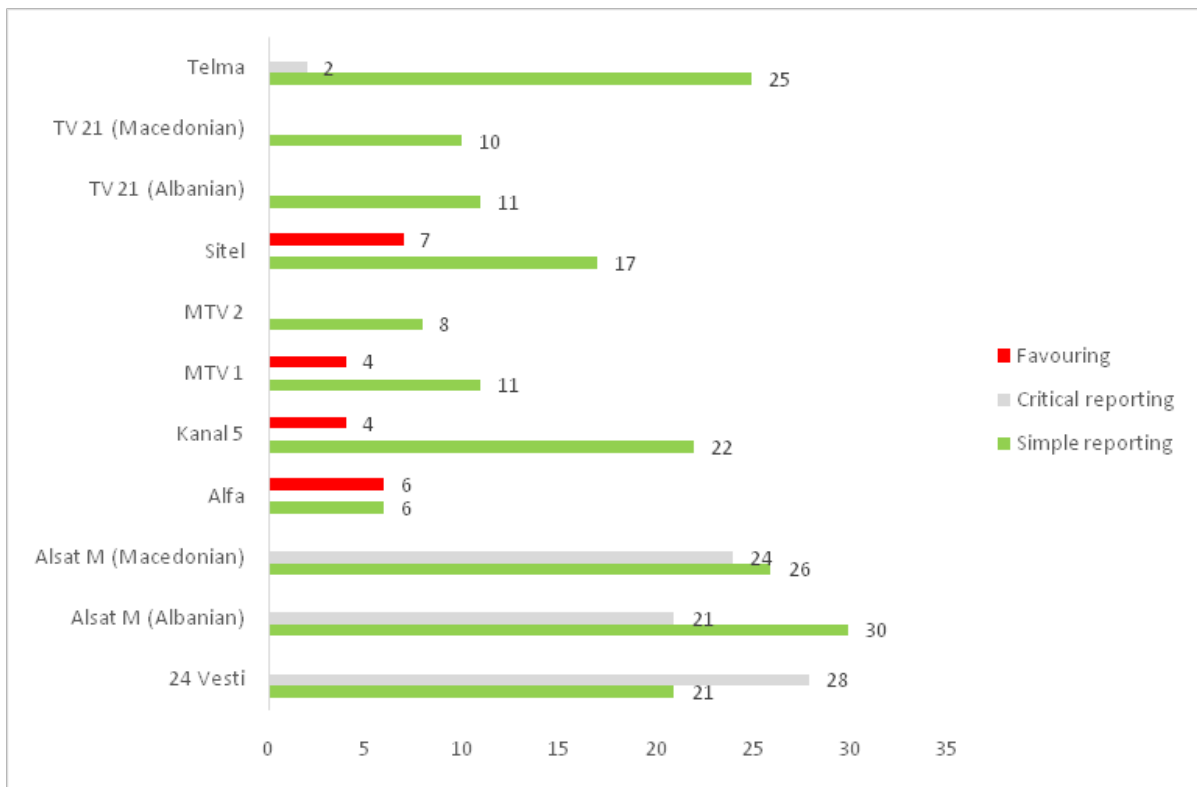
Approach to reporting about SPPO (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

TV stations 24 Vesti and Alsat M, fulfilling their function of safeguarding public interest, reported to a large extent about the work of state and local institutions, viewing them through a prism of criticism, in terms of whether they are meeting their obligations towards the citizens. These two TV stations published a total of 66 reports with critical content about public institution (counting the news in Macedonian and in Albanian with Alsat M). As part of the reports on the work of the institutions, topics were covered such as the problems with electrical power supply, air pollution, variable success in handling the heavy snowfall, the issues with the pension system, reports about corruption in the country and about many other topics (24 Vesti, January 27: 'Intentional fraud or a poorly implemented reform in the pension system, which caused hundreds of insured persons to end up with a drastically lower pension than what they have earned'; Alsat M, January 25: 'It is precisely that the government and AEK have permitted the merger of two out of the total of three mobile operators at the time, opposed to the

recommendations for a potential monopoly'). At the same time, they called for accountability of different competent authorities without assigning them any party labels, thus making a distinction between the state and the political parties.

Other TV stations published a significantly smaller number of reports regarding the work of the state and local institutions, and it was mostly non-critical reporting on their activities, even with favourable reports from time to time (Sitel, January 23: 'The Ministry of Culture will allocate 900 000 000 MKD this year to support and enrich the cultural offer of our country').

Civil organizations and foundations attracted the attention of TV stations in the pre-election period and before that, while still seeking for a resolution for the political crisis. Their information, analyses and opinions were reported in the media, also in the past, analyses were also recorded with NGOs that have become the target of media attacks, if their standpoints were opposed to the positions of the ruling party (e.g. The civil association Most in the first half of 2016).



Approach to reporting about state and local institutions (January 16 – 20 and 23 – 27)

During this period of monitoring, all of this got a systemized approach, thanks to a so called process of De-Sorosization, which was announced by VMRO-DPMNE. As part of the reports on this process, the demonization of the civil sector became more frequent and stronger on TV stations TV Nova, Alfa, Kanal 5 and Sitel, and all of them combined, published a total of 101 accusatory reports about NGOs (Kanal 5,

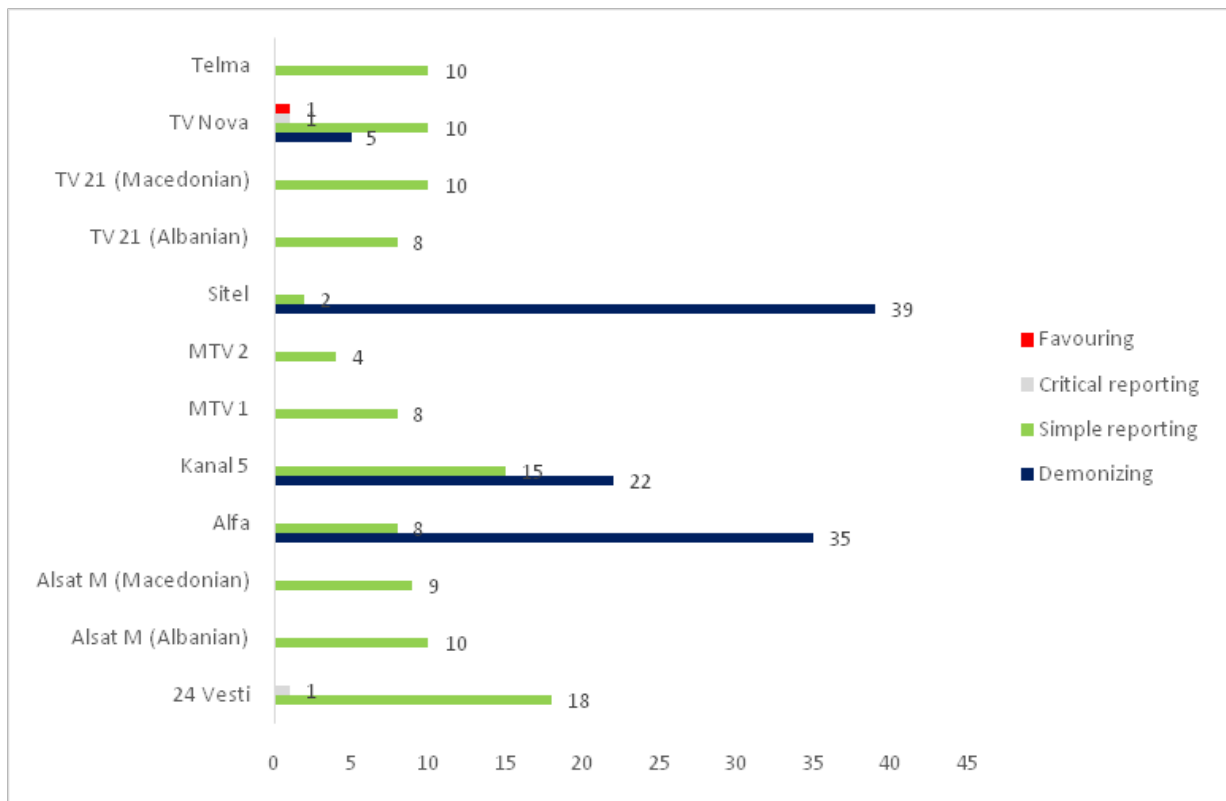
January 17: 'The people witnessed a crude undermining of the institutions. The work of the Soros Foundations should be investigated'; Alfa, January 17, about the establishment of the association 'Stop Operation Soros': 'They addressed a call to all citizens with clearly expressed democratic values, to join them, as they said, in the fight against the single-mindedness of the civil sector envisaged and led by George



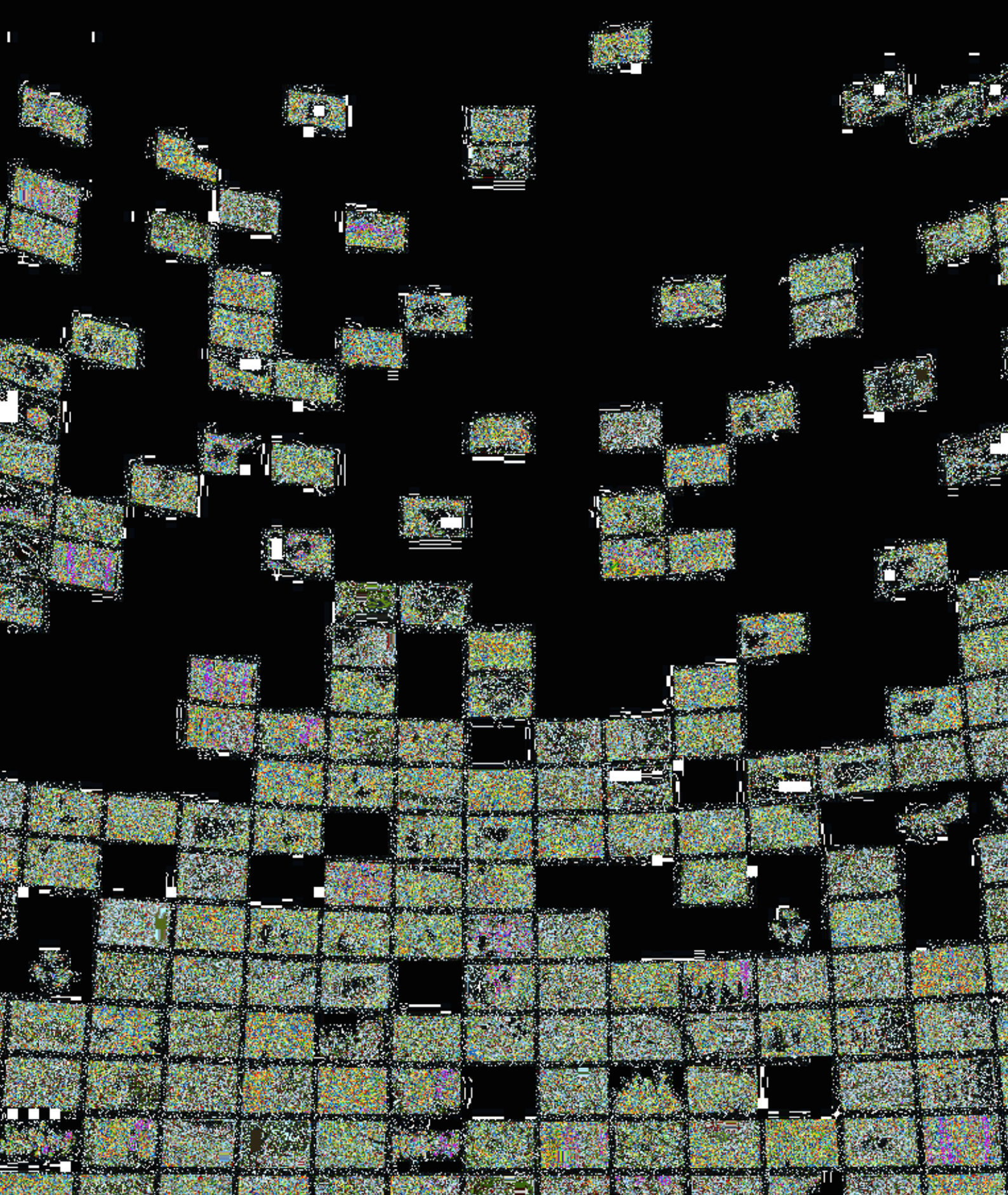
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Soros'). In the demonizing reports on the NGO sector, Sitel television were especially vocal, they used the terms 'Sorosoids' or 'Soros's mercenaries' for the civil activists (January 24, Victoria Nuland went down, George Soros fell to the lack of mercy of the new American Government, 'Sorosoids' went down, however they remain active, they are trying to impose a coalition for government between SDSM and DUI').

Neutrally-critical TV stations, except for publishing a small number of reports about the so called De-Sorosization, more often criticized and made relevant as a problem this process (24 Vesti, January 18: 'The proclamation was followed by inspections made by the Tax Authority (Public Revenue Office) in approximately twenty NGOs').



Approach to reporting about civil organizations and foundations (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)



ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL TV STATIONS



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

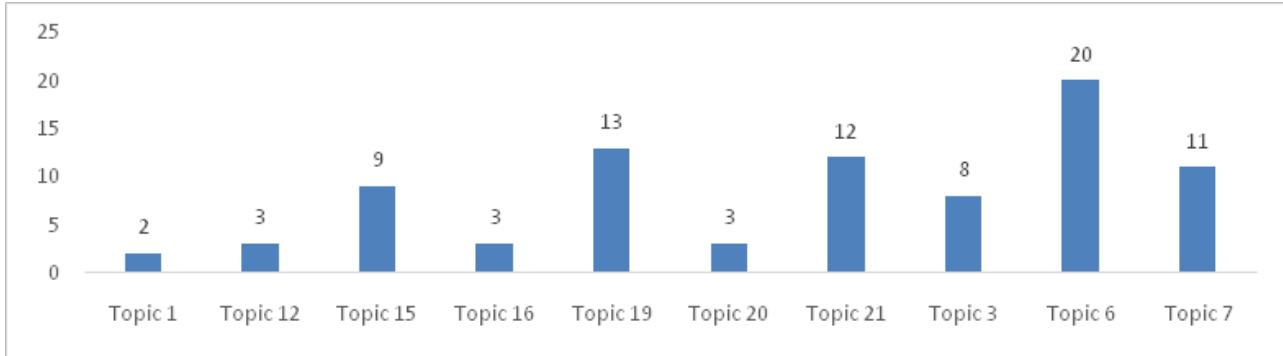


MACEDONIAN TELEVISION FIRST SERVICE

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, the first programme service of the Macedonian Television published 84 reports related to the democratic reforms and the political life in the country. The most frequently reported topics were the regular activities of public officials (20 reports),

the negotiations for constituting the new government (13 reports), public appearances of representatives of political parties for various social issues (12 reports), the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (11 reports) and other topics.



Number of reports related to the various topics on MTV 1 (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosization
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

When reporting on the regular activities of public officials, the visit of President Gjorge Ivanov to Egypt was covered, the activities of the Mayors in clearing up the snow, monitoring the state of the flu by Health Minister - Nikola Todorov, the address of Minister of Culture – Elizabeta Kancheska Mileska at the commemoration of the deceased music conductor Sasha Nikolovski Gjuumar, the attendance of the Minister of Exterior – Nikola Poposki at the Holocaust commemoration, etc. Regarding the negotiations for forming a government, reports were published about party meetings and sessions and the messages from political actors and from representatives of the international community. In most of the reports about the activities of political parties, the statements from SDSM were shown in which they are saying that the roads are not properly maintained, about the shortages in handling the

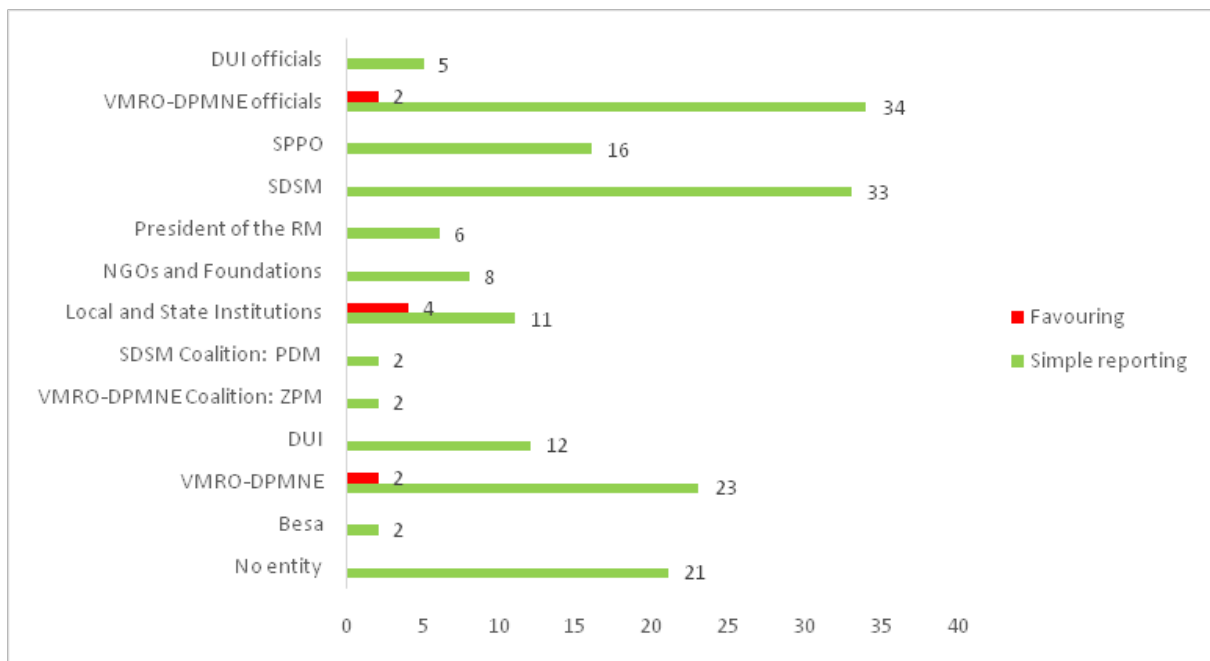
situation with the flu, the annual programme for culture and other topics, as well as the reactions from concerned institutions and from the party VMRO-DPMNE. Regular reports were shown about all of the information surrounding the work of SPPO, i.e. the hearing about the case 'Fort', rescinding the case 'Coup', the two new investigations called 'Tariff' and 'Tank', as well as some of the reactions from VMRO-DPMNE to these cases. Regarding the topic of De-Sorosization, MTV 1 showed a small number of reports, they also informed that an association titled 'Stop Operation Soros' was established, they reported on one of their addresses and conveyed a report from Washington according to which the protests against the new President of the USA – Donald Trump were organized by billionaire George Soros, however they did not connect that directly to the domestic political context.

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most frequently presented political entity in the central news programmes on MTV 1 during the monitored period was VMRO-DPMNE. The party and their officials were present in 61 reports, and in two more reports their coalition partners were presented. SDSM were present in 33 reports, and their coalition was presented in two other reports, DUI in 17 and reports about the other parties were fewer. When it comes to non-party entities, SPPO was presented in 16 reports, state and local institutions in 15 and NGOs in 8. From a contents perspective, the standpoints of neither party were presented as dominant over others.

The basic feature of the first programme service of the Macedonian Television was straightforward and non-critical reporting about current events from political and social life, without any attempts to delve deeper in topics of public interest and to provide a well-argued, critical observation about them. Biased reporting was extremely rare. Nonetheless, during the monitored period, the Television published announcements from VMRO-DPMNE officials about new projects that will be implemented in the future, without taking into consideration the fact that the state is in an uncertain transition period in which it cannot be known whether the mentioned ministers will remain in

their functions and whether their policies will be implemented. The examples were about the Deputy Minister for Agriculture - Vancho Kostadinovski (January 17: 'The Ministry of Agriculture has announced new investments worth 140 million euro in the water economy sector by 2020'), a statement was shown from Health Minister Nikola Todorov in which he says that their party programme foresees the introduction of free influenza vaccinations (January 23: 'Healthcare: monitoring the state of the flu'), as well as a report in which the Deputy Minister of Education - Spiro Ristovski announced new construction in student housing facilities (January 26: 'Education: Reconstruction and new equipment for student dormitories'). A report was also published in which there was no mention of a political entity, however the caption showed a claim regarding the success of state policies, without providing any source (January 2: 'Employment: The employment measures are yielding results'). The reports do not provide sufficient insight as to whether this is intentional favouring or an omission, however the public service is under no obligation to show headlines that may merely resemble party promises in the current political circumstances and to present them as policies that will be implemented by the state.



Approach to reporting about political entities, taken by MTV 1 (January 16-20 and 23-37)





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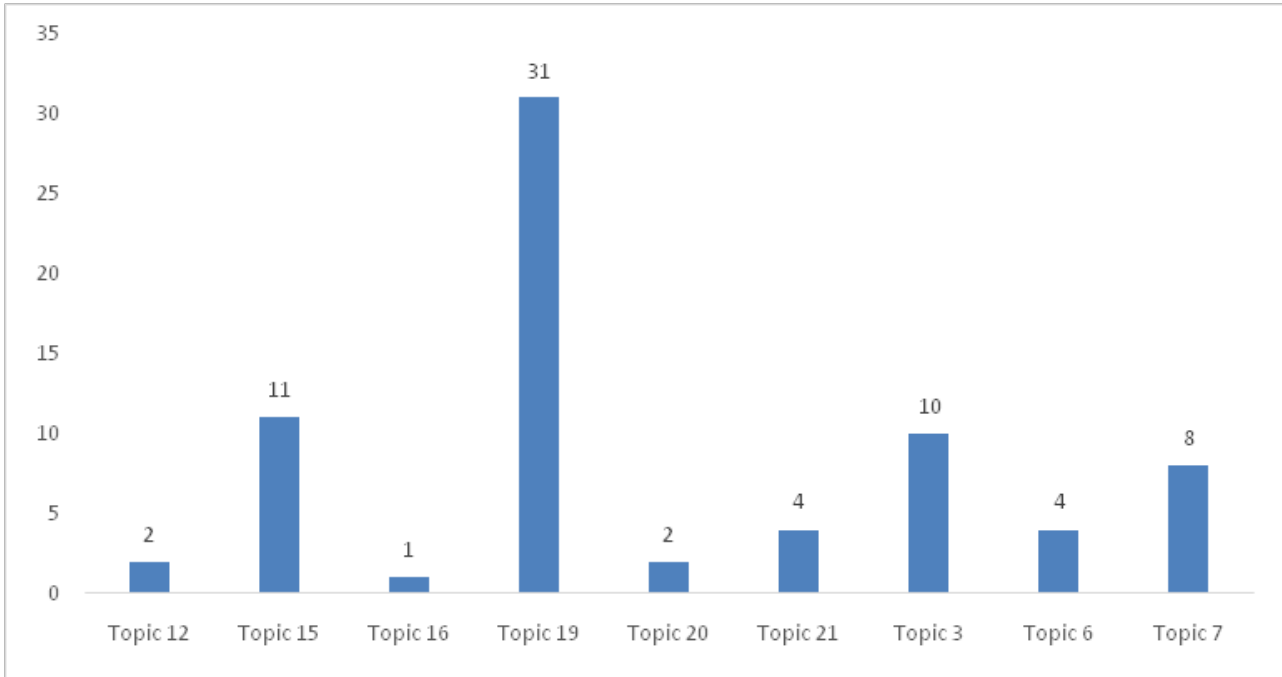


MACEDONIAN TELEVISION SECOND SERVICE

1. COVERED TOPICS

In the news in Albanian, MTV2 published 73 reports on current events, mainly related to the political crisis in the country, following the elections. The most commonly reported topics were: the negotiations for forming a government (31), the work of the public institutions (11), the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (8).

When analysing other topics, the regular activities of government officials and authorities and the back-and-forth between the parties debating on two current topics were covered – the pollution of the environment and the problem with the piled up snow (4 reports each), and 2 reports on the so called 'De-Sorosozation' process.



Number of reports related to the various topics on MTV 2 television (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 3	Government projects and measures
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 13	Borrowings and the state of public debt
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosozation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

In the context of forming a new government, the Second Channel of the Public Service, in the news in Albanian, mostly informed about the conversations between VMRO DPMNE and DUI for forming the government, with an emphasis on the role of the platform that was signed by the Albanian parties in Macedonia and with a stronger focus on the role of the Albanian parties in these negotiations. Regarding

the work of the state and local institutions, the TV station informed about the changes that are introduced in relation to social welfare and the Real Estate Cadastre, the reports on corruption, the situation of the police through the reaction of the Independent Trade Union, the issues with the snowfall in the rural parts of the country, the impact of the decision for importing electrical power on general population, etc.



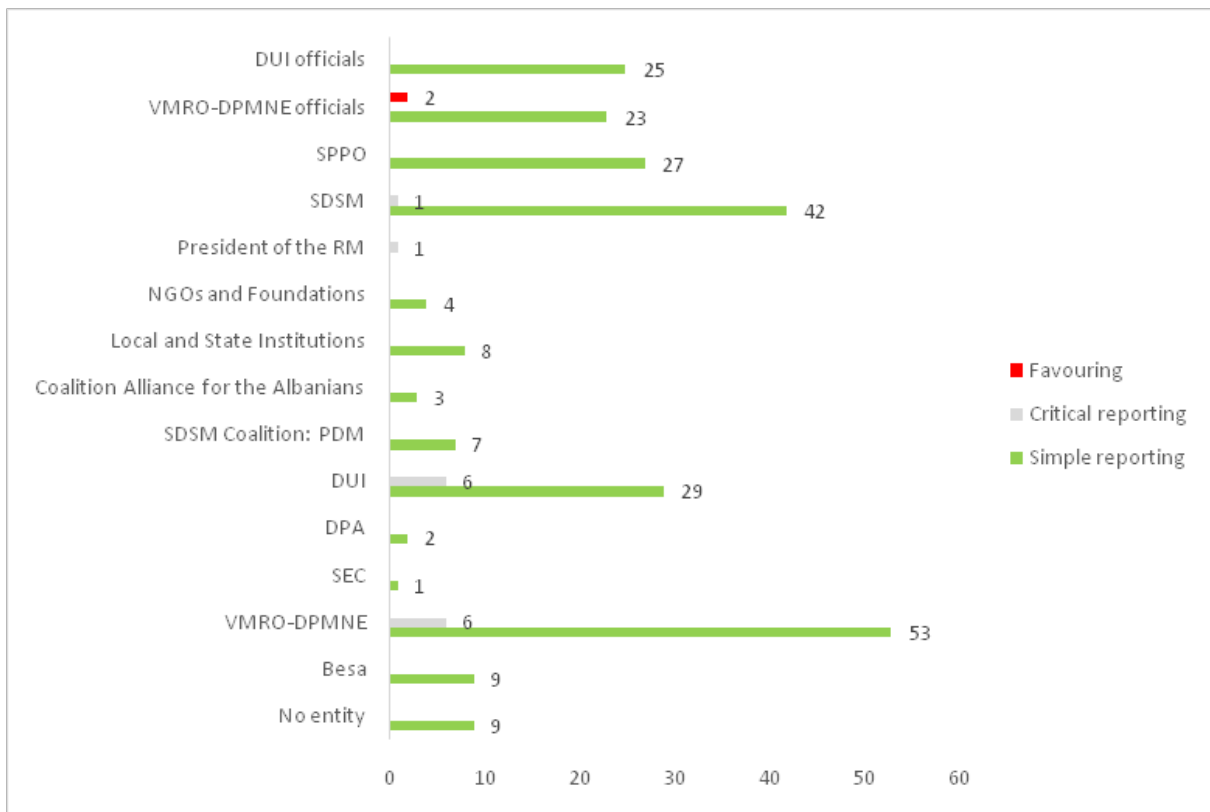
The TV station also published several reports that promote a governmental (or local) project, such as the new equipment at the Optical Clinic, expanding the capacity for sheltering homeless persons, the projects for pensioners. When it comes to the work of the SPPO, the TV station informed about the rescinding of the case 'Coup' and the two new investigations

'Tariff' and 'Tank' and about the reactions from the parties. In regards to economical topics, although they were less present, reports were published about the growth of the number of tax payers and the companies, which has an impact on economic growth. On the topic of 'De-Sorosozation', two reports were published about the forming of the NGO 'SOS'.

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most common political entity in the TV station's reports was the party VMRO-DPMNE, which was mentioned in 59 reports, while the officials from this party were mentioned in 25 reports. DUI and their officials were present in 60 reports (just DUI was mentioned in 35 reports), while SDSM was mentioned in 43. When speaking of other entities, the highest number of reports were about the work of the SPPO (27), and the state and local institutions were presented in 7 reports. In the news in Albanian in MTV 2, no favourable or demonizing attitudes were expressed for any entity. There were very few reports that contained a critical stand towards the work of the institutions.

A critical approach was observed in the reports about the negotiations between VMRO-DPMNE and DUI about the new government, and the attitude of the mandate holder towards DUI was criticized (January 16: 'The new government. Deadlines are approaching, the mandate holder is in a standstill', January 17: 'The new government. VMRO still has not invited DUI to have a discussion.') Although not explicitly, the reports tended to be inclined towards the stand-points of the Albanian block, by often informing about the role of the platform that these parties signed, which platform was given as a prerequisite for negotiations (January 18: Musliu: There is no crisis, the Alba-



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station MTV 2 (January 16-20 and 23-37)

nians have raised tensions in the lines of VMRO; Selmani: No movement since the points of the platform; Bakiu: new moves by the political parties are awaited', January 26: 'The Government – the Albanian platform. SDSM: The platform is partially compatible'). Several reports were about the inspection of the Mayor of Gostivar - Nevzat Bejta, which were shown in the context of pressure put on him - since he is one of the opponents of the coalition between VMRO-DPMNE and DUI (January 19: 'The visit from the inspectors to the Municipal administration. Bejta: VMRO are acting out their revenge because of the political declarations').

The TV station expressed a mildly favourable attitude in the reports about government projects and new developments (January 16 'Toxicology Clinic: New equipment

available for patients', January 18 'Shelters for the homeless. The capacity of the shelter 'Momin Potok' to be expanded, January 20: MLSA: Pensioners – spa recreation free of charge').

Regarding the work of the SPPO, which was the most frequently mentioned non-partisan entity in the reports published during the analysed period, the news on MTV 2 informed about the repeal of the case 'Coup', the announcement of the two new investigations 'Tariff' and 'Tank', through expressing the opinions of all subjects, through their announcements and statements, without providing an assessment or an opinion (January 18: 'The 'Coup' case. The Special Public Prosecutor withdrew the accusations; SDSM: gone are the days when court cases were staged; VMRO: SPPO delegitimized themselves').





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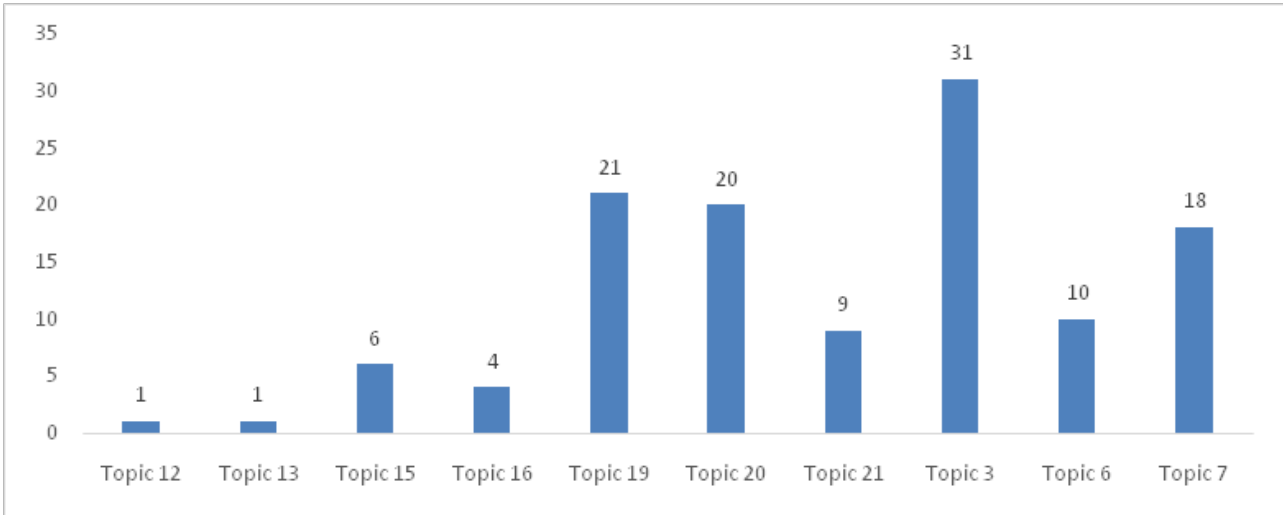


SITEL

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the monitored period, TV station Sitel published a total of 121 reports regarding the political crisis and other current events. Most of them referred to promoting the projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions (31), the negotiations for forming a new government (21 reports), De-

Sorosozation (20 reports), the work of SPPO (18), coverage of regular activities of officials (10), the opinions of the political parties about various issues such as the pollution, snow, procurement of electrical energy (9), the work of state and local institutions (6) and other topics.



Number of reports related to the various topics on Sitel television (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosozation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Regarding the most common topic, the TV station published reports on on-going projects (January 16 'The Toxicology Clinic got new intensive care equipment, this is an investment worth approximately 180 000 EUR', January 20 'The registrations for free spa treatments and tourist weekends for pensioners have started'), they also reminded about what they called 'success stories' from the recent years of governance from VMRO DPMNE (January 17 'The state Cardio-surgical Clinic is successfully developing, since it was first established until

today they have increased the number of surgeries 15 fold') and they announced new ones (January 16: 'This year the gasification project will be completed for Negotino, as part of the gas line along the magistral road Shtip'), mostly through the accounts of accomplishments given by Mayors from VMRO DPMNE from several municipalities. In their reports, the TV station neglected to mention the fact that some of the current ministers may not be occupying these positions in the next government, and the approach of the Mayors was presented as if they



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were in their pre-election campaigns.

The negotiations about the composition of the new government were reported, by providing coverage of the meetings and statements of party representatives, they communicated the messages from the international community, the writings of foreign media which contained the opinion that it is necessary for the next government to be comprised of VMRO and DUI (January 20 'Gruevski for Express: Ahmeti and I have made a lot of significant accomplishments for the people of Macedonia', January 26 'Ten reasons for a coalition with Gruevski. In their editorial commentary, Albanian City News are requesting for DUI to extend their hand to VMRO-DPMNE') and they criticized the letter of the Albanian intellectuals that requested DUI not to make a coalition with VMRO DPMNE (January 18 'In politics, Albanians voters have one set of rules, while Macedonian voters have another'). When it comes to the regular activities of public officials, reports were shown about the visit of President Gjorge Ivanov to Egypt, and the reactions that he caused with the use of the Constitutional name of the country (January 20 'Greece is reacting to Egypt's referral to Macedonia by its Constitutional name'), the reaction of the Ministry of Exterior to Serbia for putting up traffic signs with the acronym FYROM, the activities of the local authorities for handling the snow, etc.

When covering the work of the SPPO, reports were shown for the cases 'Coup' and the new investigations titled 'Tank' and 'Tariff', and when reporting about the withdrawal of the case 'Coup' the TV station accused the institution for working in favour of SDSM and for protecting their president – Zoran Zaev, which was a thesis promoted by VMRO DPMNE (January 19 'By abolishing Zaev and Verushevski, the Special Prosecution showed their guilt in the case of interception of communication and the case 'Coup'), they also showed party reac-

tions from the Government coalition (January 23 'The withdrawal of the accusations from the case 'Coup' by the Special Public Prosecutor's Office is yet another abolition of Zoran Zaev and Verushevski, this was the message sent today by GROM', January 27 'The Party for Roma Integration also issued a reaction to Katica Janeva's decision to withdraw the case 'Coup', expert opinions (January 18 'In an interview given for Sitel last year, professor d-r Savo Klimovski criticized the behaviour of the competent authorities in the case 'Coup'. On several occasions he pointed out that Zoran Zaev should have been arrested the very first time he started making threats to the Prime Minister of that time – Nikola Gruevski') and announcements posted by citizens on social networks, which were presented as reactions of the public (January 18 'Harsh and strong reactions of the public about the decision of SPPO to pardon Zaev: 'You are a disgrace to justice').

When reporting on the topic of De-Soroization, the tone was favourable for this process announced by VMRO-DPMNE and there were detailed accounts of the activities of the Association Stop Operation Soros (January 27 'Stop Operation Soros: NGOs have misappropriated funds from USAID'), the protest of Macedonians in New York against Soros influence in Macedonia (January 16 'Macedonians from USA are asking from their new President Donald Trump to protect our country from the harmful policies of the Soros Foundation'), and reports in which the supporters and civil organizations that are funded by the Soros Organization were presented as problematic in other countries too (January 20 'SOROS activists attacked US police forces', January 24 'Similar as the situation in Macedonia – Slovakia is facing manipulations from Soros', January 26 'Soros organizations present tampered reports against all states that oppose them').

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most commonly present political entity in the news, during this period, was the party VMRO-DPMNE, 69 reports were about this party. SDSM were present in 51 reports, DUI in 25. Among other entities, the most represented were the NGOs and foundations, in 41 reports, SPPO in 27, and national and local institutions were presented in 24 reports. In terms of content, the opinions of VMRO DPMNE were prevalent, favourable attitude towards them was shown in 26 reports. A demonizing attitude

was expressed by journalists and editors in 103 reports, in 39 of which it was directed towards SDSM and NGOs and foundations, and in 23 it was towards SPPO.

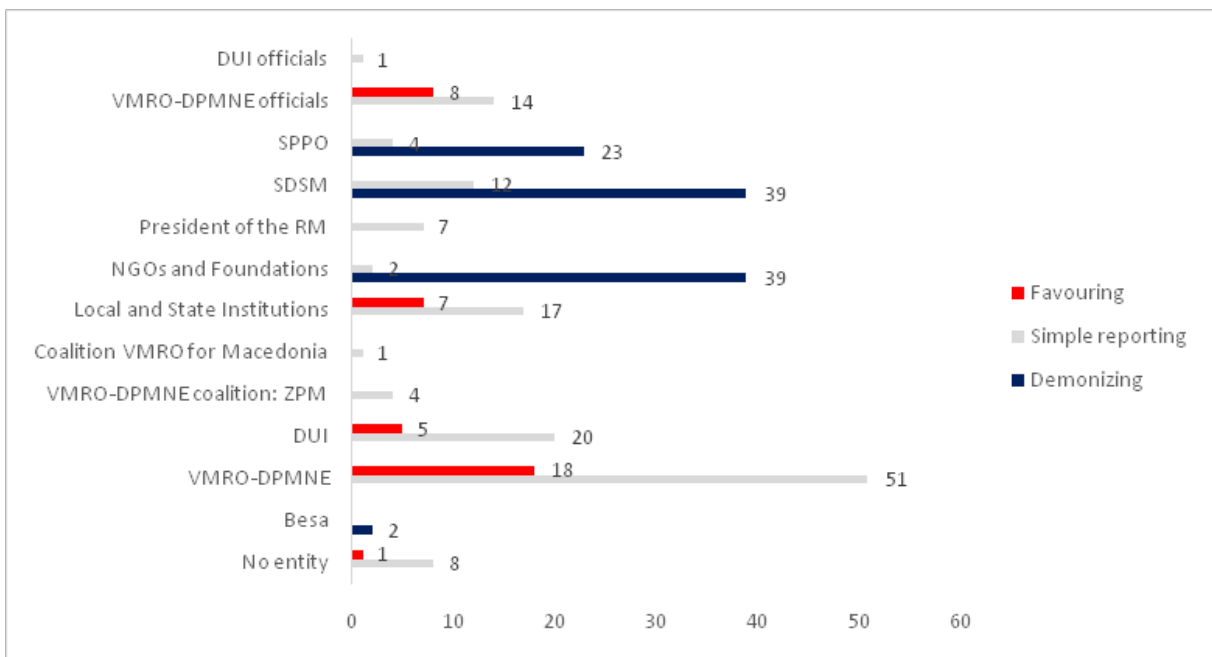
The TV station non-critically conveyed the opinions of the party VMRO-DPMNE, and while presenting the announcements of projects, they did not differentiate between party and state (January 24 'VMRO-DPMNE's Government invested over one billion euros in agriculture in the past ten years', January 25 'VMRO DPMNE seri-

ously invested in rail traffic in the past ten years, the ruling party says'). This type of favourizing was also present when reporting about the work of state officials from the lines of VMRO DPMNE (January 17 ,Minister Todorov appeals were for no pressures to be made regarding the offers that have arrived in response to the tender for construction of a new clinical center', January 17 ,Minoski in Vienna: The benefits from the entry of foreign companies are shown in various aspects', January 23 ,Kancheska appealed - personal interests should not be allowed to harm national and cultural interests').

The same accusatory tone was used to non-critically communicate the opinions of VMRO DPMNE about the work of SPPO (January 19 ,VMRO DPMNE: SPPO showed that Zaev and Verushevski are guilty for 'Coup', January 20 'Executive Committee of VMRO DPMNE: SPPO's decision to withdraw 'Coup' is a scandalous precedent', January 23 ,Miloshoski: Katica Janeva lacks professional capacity and expert integrity'), without providing space for the mentioned entities to present their side of things. Following the same principle of favourizing, without presenting the 'other side of things', the TV station also reported about the report of 'Transparency International' about the corruption index in the country, and in the news they showed a reaction from VMRO DPMNE to the findings in the report (January 25 ,VMRO DPMNE reacted to the report from Transparency International'), and one day later a commentary analysis was shown (January 26 , Soros's organizations present tampered reports against all states that oppose them'), however nothing was reported about the report of Transparency itself.

Opposite to the aforementioned, a strong accusatory tone was used in the reports about SDSM. The party was accused of being prepared to accept state bilingualism and federalization foreseen in the platform of Albanian parties (January 19 'The platform of Albanian parties is fully acceptable for SDSM, says analyst Sasho Ordanovski who is known to be close to the management at ,Bihacka' street'), and there were reports that lacked arguments about alleged dissatisfaction within party lines (January 25, Dnevnik: SDSM's members are opposed to Zaev's intention to accept the platform of Albanian parties).

On the topic of De-Sorosization, the TV station used the term ,Sorosoids', thus labelling public personas for which they claim are working against state interests (January 17 ,Termination of the monopoly of Soros in the civil sector, the violence towards institutions and stepping over the will of the majority of the population in Macedonia. This is the goal of the civic movement ,Stop Operation Soros', January 23 ,Soros's mercenaries are making scandalous announcements to imprison and prosecute all 455,000 Macedonians who oppose Soros' January 24 'Victoria Nuland went down, George Soros has fallen to the lack of mercy of the new American government, the Sorosoids went down, however they are still active... they are trying to impose a government coalition between SDSM and DUI'), which is in alignment with the standpoints promoted by VMRO DPMNE. (January 24, headline: 'And it is time to say that Sorosoids are once again the topic, the topic once again is also SDSM and their actions in cooperation with SPPO').



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station Sital (January 16-20 and 23-37)



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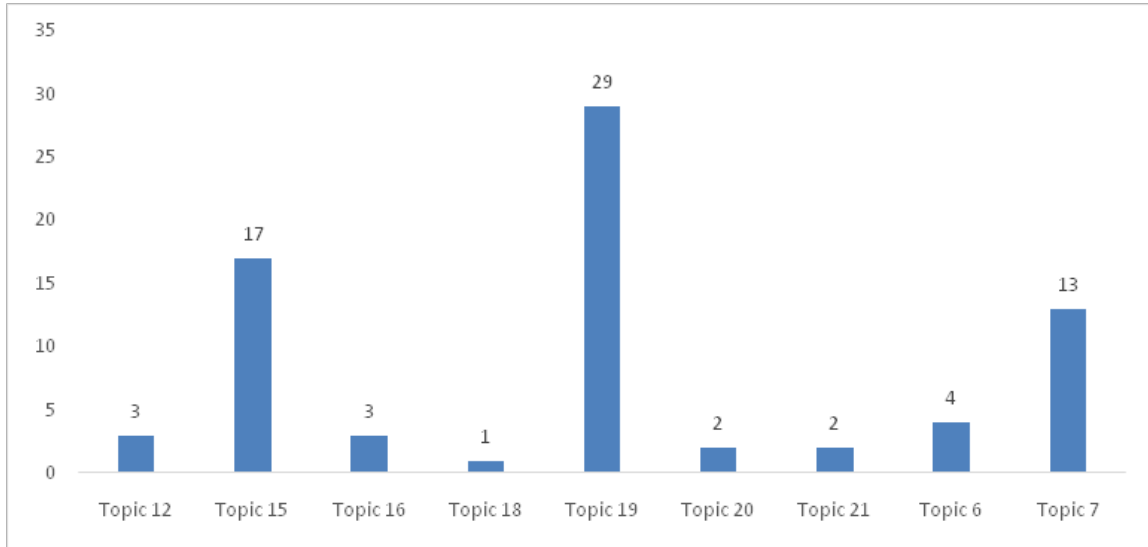


TELMA

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, Telma Television published 74 reports related to the political life and the democratic reforms in the country. The most commonly presented topics were: the negotiations for forming a govern-

ment (29), the work of the state and local institutions (17), the work of the SPPO (13) and to a lesser extent - the state of the economy (3) and the topic of the so called 'De-Sorosoziation', the pollution and snow (2 reports each).



Number of reports related to the various topics on Telma television (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Government Projects and Measures
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoziation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Regarding the most common topic, the TV station reported about all activities regarding the negotiations for forming a government. Except the regular meetings of the leaders of political parties, the TV station also reported on details that are the points of conflict in the negotiations (January 20: 'Telma learns that, most probably, state bilingualism will be resolved through amendments to the Law on Languages, coming from the teams involved in the negotiations for the composition of the new government'). The construction of a new clinical centre and the doubts concerning the legality of the tendering procedure, the decision to prolong the prohibition for work of the factory 'Jugohrom' and the import of electrical power from abroad, the regress of Macedonia in

the fight against corruption and the tender for the landfill Drisla were the topics through which this TV station analysed the work of state and local institutions. Regarding the work of the SPPO, the deadlock of the case 'Fort' was reported, after both the Mol and the Counter Intelligence and Security Administration refused to declassify the evidence; the opinions of the party VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM about the withdrawal of the case 'Coup' and the two investigations initiated by the Prosecution - 'Tank' and 'Tariff'. When it comes to economic situations, this TV station informed on several occasions about the research of BIRN about the decline of investments in the country and the reaction from the leading people of the Ministry of Finance and the Development Zones (January 25:



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‘The Minister of Finance Kiril Minovski and the Director of the Development Zones Viktor Mizo have no answer to the question about the failed foreign investments investigated by BIRN’), and through their own analysis of the budget (January 26: ‘The data from the Ministry of Finance show even lower incomes and expenditures.

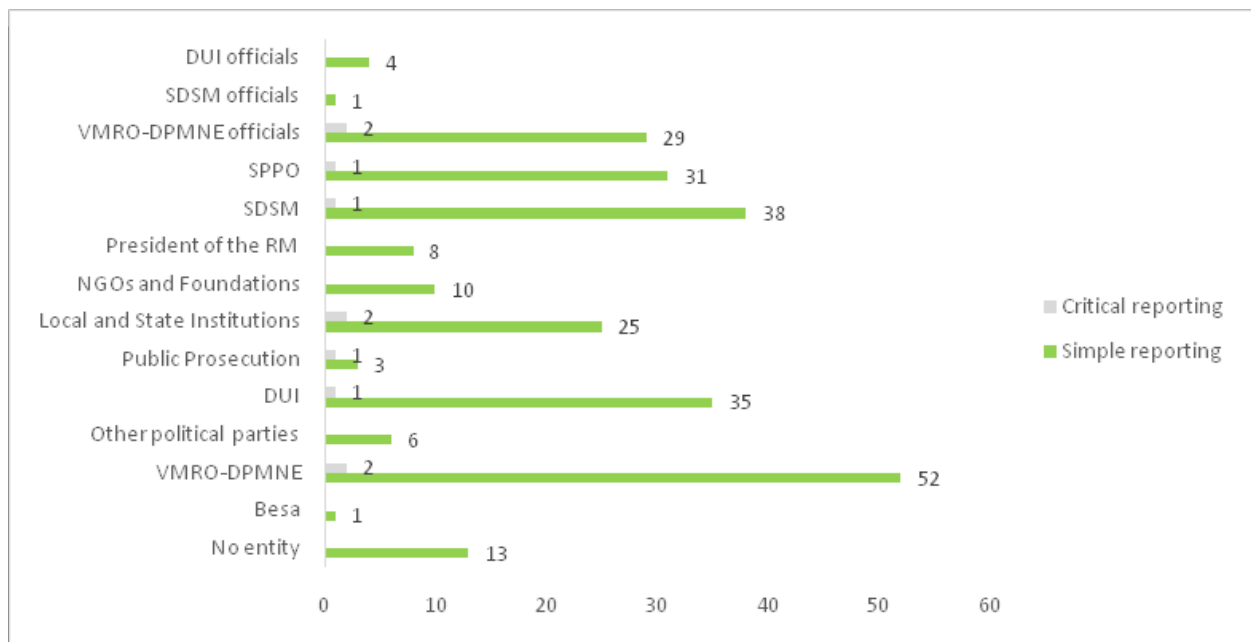
Competent authorities state that the reason for that are the elections, and economists are blaming the uneconomical operations of the government’). The reports on the topic imposed by VMRO-DPMNE – on the ‘De-Sorosoziation’, were covered in the context of the gatherings of Macedonian nationals in the USA

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most commonly presented entity in the report of Telma was VMRO-DPMNE (54), and the officials from this party were mentioned in 31 reports. SDSM were mentioned in 40 reports (their official was mentioned in only one report) and DUI was present in 36 reports (the work of their officials was presented in 4 additional reports). When it comes to other entities, the most commonly mentioned ones were the SPPO (32 reports), state and local institutions (27), in 10 reports it was NGO and foundations and in 9 it was the President of state.

In most of the reports on Telma there was no opinion expressed about an activity or attitude of a political entity. In 10 reports there was a critical stand taken when reporting about the work of VMRO-DPMNE officials, local and state institutions led by VMRO-DPMNE (January 23, a leader in the middle of the news – neutral: ‘Withdrawal of the ‘Coup’ case, the sharp rhetoric that followed and is still provided almost every day by VMRO-DPMNE - which is a party

that is a contender for forming the new government, and everything that happened today in the context of the relationship between the judiciary system and the prosecution, were the reasons to open a debate on the following question: Will the SPPO do their work, and in what way?’, January 23: ‘The former President of the Criminal Court - Skopje, Vladimir Panchevski, avoided trial against him’, January 25: ‘The data from the analysis of the research network BIRN silenced the competent authorities. Neither the Minister of Finance in resignation – Kiril Minovski, nor the Director of the Agency for TIDZ – Viktor Mizo wished to comment on the numbers that show that the investment boom that was the topic of many praises from the government led by VMRO-DPMNE, is actually very small in reality, the number of jobs that was promised is actually three times lower’, January 27 (‘Tonight we will touch upon the current issues surrounding the investigation of SPPO about procurements in ELEM, and also



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by TV station Telma (January 16-20 and 23-27)

in general - whether ELEM's motto - Energy for Macedonia is the true motto, or is ELEM the hen that lays golden eggs for political business interests, as is the informal opinion.)

A critical stand in informing was also present when talking about government projects that were promoted during the analysed period

(January 16 'The State will pay much more than planned for building the new clinical center in Skopje'), and about the incidental importing of electrical power (January 17 'Electrical power to be imported once again. This is the 6th time this year, and the price and the exact quantity of imported electrical power will be known on Friday').





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

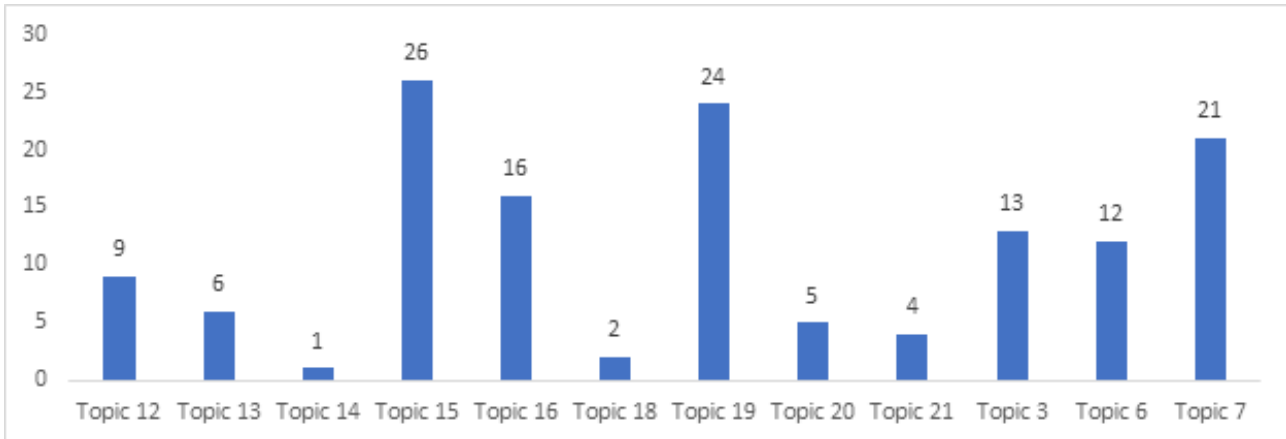


24 VESTI

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, 24 Vesti Television published 139 reports related to the political life and the democratic reforms in the country. The most frequently presented topics were the work of the public institutions (26 reports), negotiations about forming a gov-

ernment (24) and the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (21). Among the more significant topics that the TV station covered were Government projects and measures (13), the state of the economy and investments (9) and borrowings and public debt (6).



Number of reports related to the various topics on 24 Vesti (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 3	Projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 13	Borrowings and the state of public debt
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoziation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

In regards to the work of the institutions, the work of judicial bodies was covered, as well as the problem with pollutions, the reports on corruption, electrical power supply, handling the snow, the reactions of the MoE to Serbia and other topics. There was regular monitoring of all events related to forming a government, including party meetings and sessions, the messages from the international community as well as inspection controls in municipal administrations managed by Mayors from DUI, which were interpreted as a reaction of the gov-

ernment caused by their stand opposed to the forming of a coalition with VMRO-DPMNE. The rescinding of the case 'Coup' and the two new investigations 'Tariff' and 'Tank' were the topics that were covered in relation to the work of the SPPO. Regarding government projects, the media outlet mostly reported about the controversies surrounding the construction of a new clinical centre. Five reports were published on the topic of 'De-Sorosoziation' in which the thesis was represented that this is an attempt to defocus the public from the existing problems.



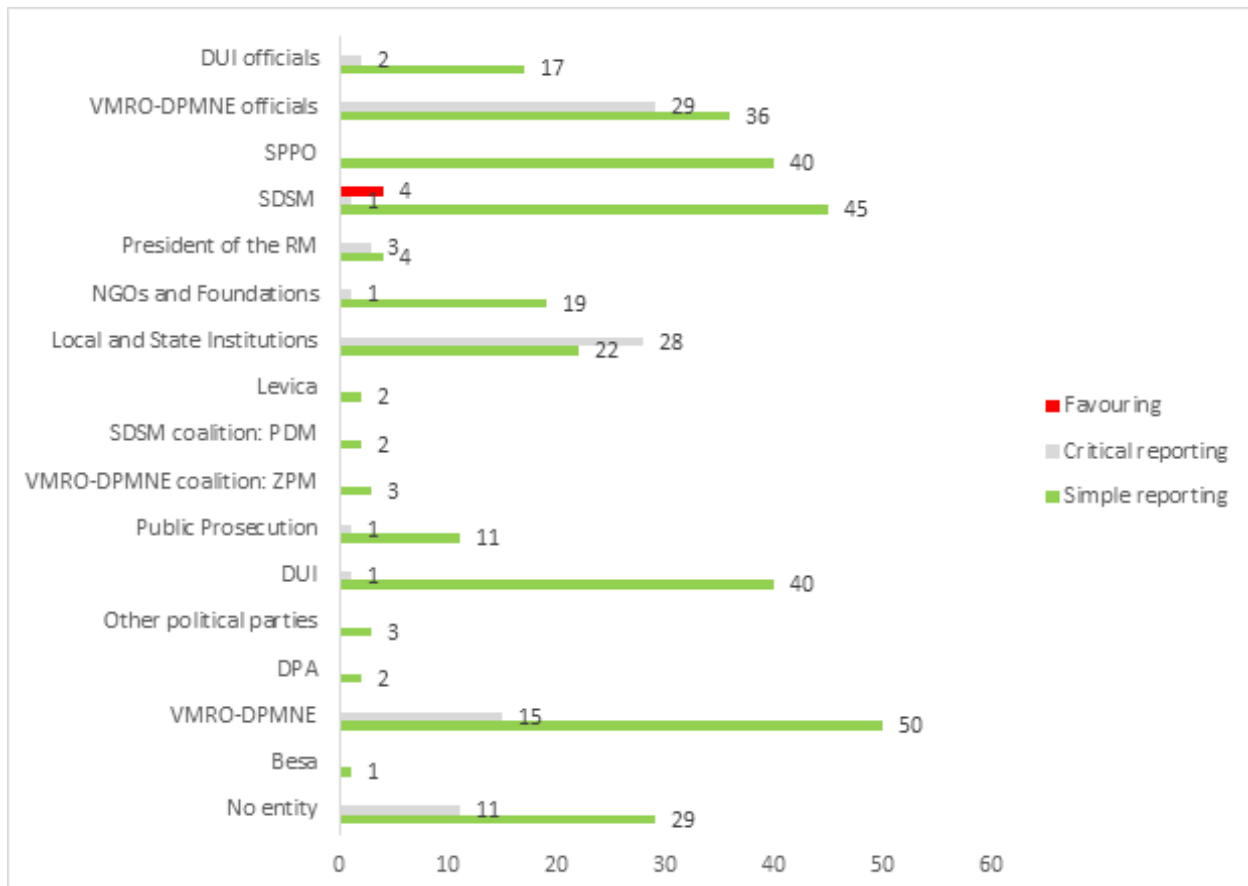
2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most frequently mentioned entity in the reports on the TV station was the party VMRO-DPMNE. The party itself or public officials who are its members were observed in 130 reports, and in 3 other reports the party's coalition partners were presented. DUI and its officials were presented in 60 reports, SDSM in 52, and other parties were seldom mentioned. When analysing non-partisan entities, SPPO was mentioned in 40 reports, and state and local institutions were mentioned in 50. In terms of content, no political opinions were presented as predominant over others, nor were any comments and opinions presented, which favour some political standpoints.

The critical stand expressed by the journalists and editors from this TV station was expressed towards various entities, first and foremost towards the institutions and public office holders and it was argument supported, coming from a politically neutral position. Criticisms were expressed towards the party VMRO-DPMNE regarding the process of 'De-Sorosoization' that was announced by the party leadership with a pro-

clamation (January 18: 'The proclamation was followed by inspections made by the Tax Authority (Public Revenue Office) in approximately twenty NGOs'; January 27: 'De-Sorosoization: a distraction or a battle with traitors?'), or regarding the political negotiations for which it was said that the attitude the party showed towards Albanians was an obstacle to form a government (January 24: 'The 'bombs' from the opposition showed shocking attitudes of high officials of VMRO-DPMNE about the Albanian ethnic community'). The attacks made on SPPO were also criticized after this institution decided to step back from the case 'Coup' (January 19: 'Did Veljanoski swing the sword of Damocles for SPPO once again').

The actions of the officials from this party were more often the subject of critical observation, more specifically the Minister of Health —Nikola Todorov about the price, location and other disputable aspects of the project for a new clinical centre (January 20: 'A technical government is not authorized to conduct such grandiose projects. The Clinical Centre is surrounded



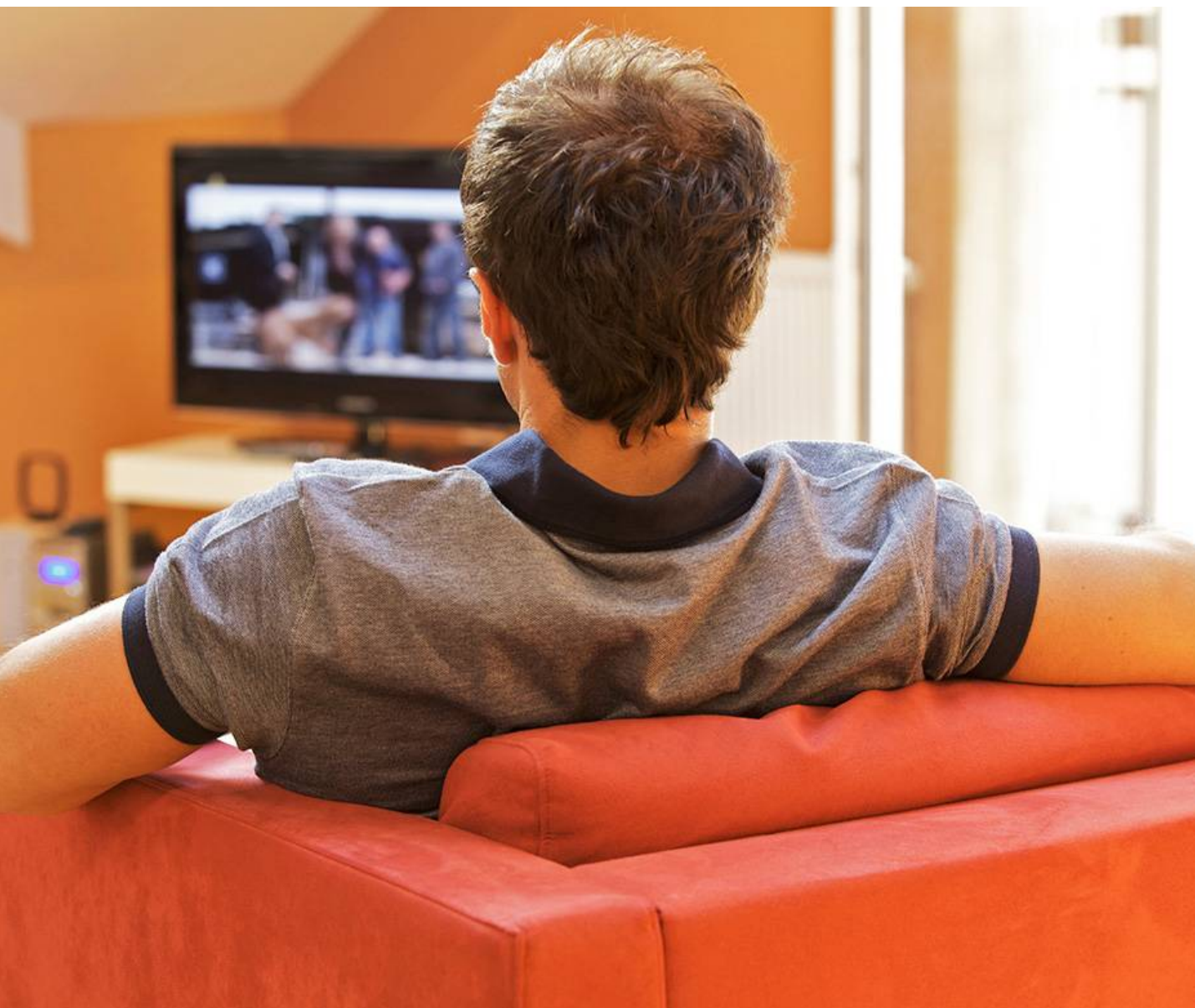
Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station 24 Vesti (January 16-20 and 23-37)

by controversies. Todorov will not step down'), the Mayor of Skopje - Koce Trajanovski, about the way in which the City of Skopje is dealing with the situation of the polluted air (January 18: 'The citizens are saying that they cannot see the benefits from the short-term measures, and they do not expect much from the long-term measures as well, since each of them is either very expensive or it is a future promise'), the Minister of Exterior - Nikola Popovski who is still occupying that function, despite the fact that he already verified his mandate for MP, which cannot be combined (January 18: 'Articles 63 of the Constitutions, 5 and 9 of the Law on Members of Parliament, as well as 8 of the Electoral Code, unequivocally point to the fact that MP Popovski cannot perform the function of Minister, those are the statements from the Trade Union of the Diplomatic Service'), the Minister of Finance - Kiril Minovski, after avoiding to comment about the information that the amount of investments that came into the country is seven times lower than what was announced by the Government (January 25: 'An investment boom or a collapse? The duo of officials Minovski-Mizo did not wish to comment about the promised, yet unrealized

investments'), etc. Officials from DUI were also included in the reports with criticisms, to a lesser extent (January 23: 'Today's walk of the Governmental and municipal delegation to the newly constructed kindergarten lasted almost an hour, during which time the parents were waiting for their children outside in the cold').

Local and state institutions were also placed under the critical magnifying glass (January 19: 'Despite the millions spent on clearing up the snow, most of the streets and roads are barely transitive'). This tone was also present in reporting about the new borrowings and the level of public debt.

Rare examples of favouring political views were two reports in which stand points were shared of the party SDSM on the current state of affairs, without asking for an opinion from the other side (January 20: 'SDSM: The municipal administration of Karposh should clear up the streets of snow'; January 27: 'SDSM: The soldiers are wearing worn-out uniforms and have no heating'). The reports do not show whether this is intentional partiality or it is an omission, nonetheless these two party addresses were communicated by just showing one side.





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

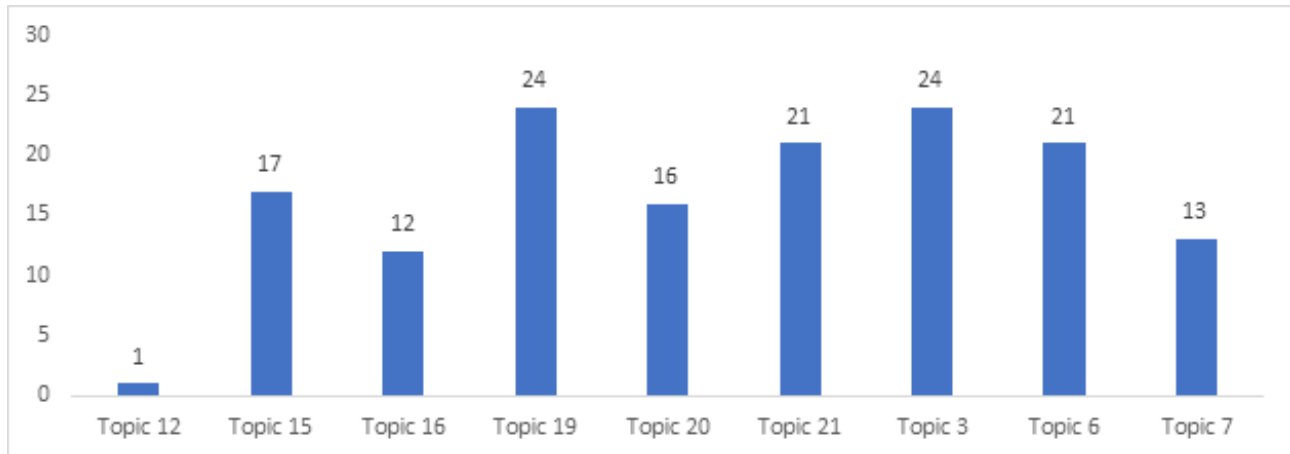


KANAL 5

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, Kanal 5 Television published 149 reports related to the political life and the democratic reforms in the country. Most of them referred to promoting the projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions, as well as the nego-

tiations for forming a new government (24 reports each), then coverage of regular activities of officials and addresses of political parties on various issues (21 report each), De-Sorosoization (16 reports), the work of SPPO (13 reports), and other topics.



Number of reports related to the various topics on Kanal 5 television (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoization
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Regarding the negotiations for forming a new government, reports were shown about the meetings between party representatives and their opinions, the messages of the international community, as well as the letter with which a group of intellectuals – Albanians requested from DUI not to make a coalition with VMRO-DPMNE. Reports were also shown about the current projects of the Government (January 16: 'The Toxicology Clinic received new equipment'), and also projects that are announced (January 17: '140 million EUR will be invested in capital projects for water supply'), as well as the

accounts for accomplishments given by many Mayors from the lines of VMRO-DPMNE, along with announcements for new projects (January 24: 'In Trajanovski's opinion, 2016 was a successful year for the city, with projects implemented in all 10 municipalities on the territory of Skopje, which will significantly improve the life of the people'). When reporting about the projects and measures, the fact that the country was in a transitional period in which it cannot be known for certain that the ministers will stay in their positions in order to implement the announced policies was disregarded, as was the fact that



the mandate of local self-government is coming to an end, which is why the Mayors cannot make announcements for the whole year, unless they make them as pre-election promises. On the contrary, the announcements were presented as something that will be implemented with certainty.

When speaking of the activities of public officials, reports were published about the visit of President Gjorge Ivanov to Egypt, the activities of the Mayors in clearing up the snow, the information from the Minister of Health - Nikola Todorov about the management of the situation with the flu, congratulations from the state leaders for the religious holiday Vodici, etc. Among the more frequently reported topics was also informing about the addresses of political parties. However, reports were shown mostly about the press conferences of VMRO-DPMNE at which they presented the projects from their pre-election campaign (once again

without distinguishing the fact that this is something that may be realized if the party constitutes a government), then about numerous remarks given by the group of counsellors from VMRO-DPMNE in the Municipal administration of Centar about the work of Mayor - Andrej Zhernovski (most often this was accompanied by a reaction from the municipality), and several addresses from SDSM were also shown about the problems with winter maintenance of the streets, the conditions in which the army is operating and other topics.

In the reports on the topic of De-Sorosozation, this process announced by VMRO-DPMNE was favoured. Most of the reports that referred to the work of SPPO were reaction of VMRO-DPMNE or its coalition partners to the decision of this prosecutor's office to withdraw from the case 'Coup', in which the leader of SDSM - Zoran Zaev was accused for attempting to take over the government illegally.

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most commonly present political entity in the news on Kanal 5, during this period, was the party VMRO-DPMNE, 142 reports were shown about this party. SDSM was present in 93, DUI in 42, and the other parties were less presented. When it comes to non-party entities, the most frequently mentioned ones were the NGOs and foundations in 37 reports, SPPO in 32, and state and local institutions in 26. From the aspect of content, the political standpoints of VMRO-DPMNE were dominant above the others. The positions of the ruling party were favoured in 47 reports, and the opposition's standpoints were criticized in 26 reports. An expressive demonizing attitude was also present against SPPO in 15 reports, and against civil organizations and foundations in 22.

One of the most expressive forms of favourizing political entities was the non-critical conveyance of the announcements of the party VMRO-DPMNE for implementing various projects, which were presented as something that is certain to happen, without considering the political uncertainty, often even without drawing a line between party and state (January 16: 'VMRO-DPMNE is implementing the projects from the programme 'Realistically'. They are announcing a gasification for Negotino', VMRO-DPMNE are announcing projects in infrastructure: construction of several highways', January 20: 'VMRO-DPMNE: by the year 2020, pensions will have

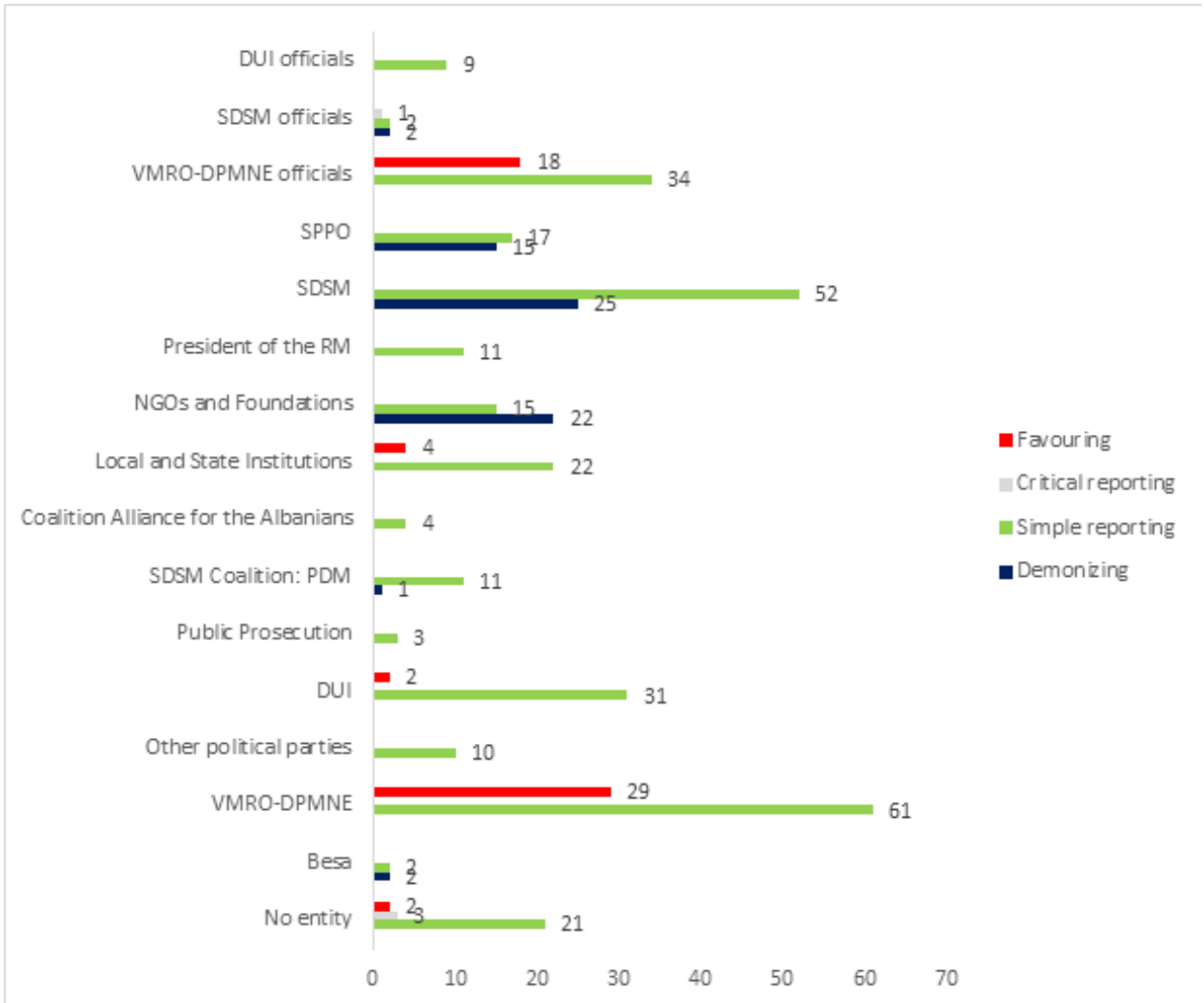
increased by 10.25%). This type of favouring was also characteristic with the announcements of state officials from the party (January 17: 'Deputy Minister for Agriculture - Vancho Kostadinovski says that this year the implementation of three more serious projects will start, which will cost 90 million euro'), as well as of the Mayors, who gave their reports on accomplishments and announced projects for this year.

The positions of the party about the so called De-Sorosozation were also favoured (January 17: 'De-Sorosozation means giving democracy back to the people, VMRO-DPMNE MP - Ilija Dimovski wrote on his Facebook profile'), as well as about the forming of a government and the possible coalition with the parties of Albanians in exchange for accepting their platform (January 19: 'Contrary to the clear positions of VMRO-DPMNE, the oppositional party is now silent about the requests from the Albanian parties'). The opinions of the party were also dominant when reporting about the work of SPPO.

The negative attitude towards SDSM, except through unsupported accusations that the party is willing to accept the so-called Albanian platform, which foresees state bilingualism of Macedonia and redefining the country, was also expressed through communicating most of the accusatory opinions of VMRO-DPMNE about the cancelation of the case 'Coup' by SPPO, when the prosecutor's office itself was part of

the accusations (January 19: 'Miloshoski: Zaev and Verushevski are neck deep in crime and it is documented and proven crime'; January 20: 'Gjorchev: A disgraceful decision with which SPPO have promoted themselves as a party body of SDSM and Soros'). Similar opinions from coalition partners of the largest ruling party were also conveyed (January 24: 'GROM: Cancelling the court prosecution of Zaev in 'Coup' is an abolition performed by SPPO', January 26: 'PODEM: SPPO have delegitimized themselves with their decision on 'Coup'). The TV station reported about the new investigations 'Tariff' and 'Tank' as their attempt to distract from the case 'Coup' (January 24: 'SPPO announced two new investigations on Facebook, VMRO-DPMNE consider them to be ordered by SDSM and a to present distraction from 'Coup').

Civil organizations, primarily the ones funded by the Open Society Foundation, were demonized through promotional reports about the new association 'Stop Operation Soros', (January 17: 'The people witnessed a crude undermining of the institutions. The operations of the Soros Foundations should be investigated'), non-critical sharing of information from other media outlets (January 23: 'Nine million EUR for Soros's organizations in Macedonia, hidden behind the curtain of the term 'NGO', Dnevnik reports'), conveying the opinions of American article authors which were presented as a general attitude of the media in which they were published (January 25: 'Macedonia and USA must defeat their enemies, starting from George Soros. This is the title used by the Daily Caller to address the situation with Macedonia) and in other ways.)



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station Kanal 5 (January 16-20 and 23-37)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

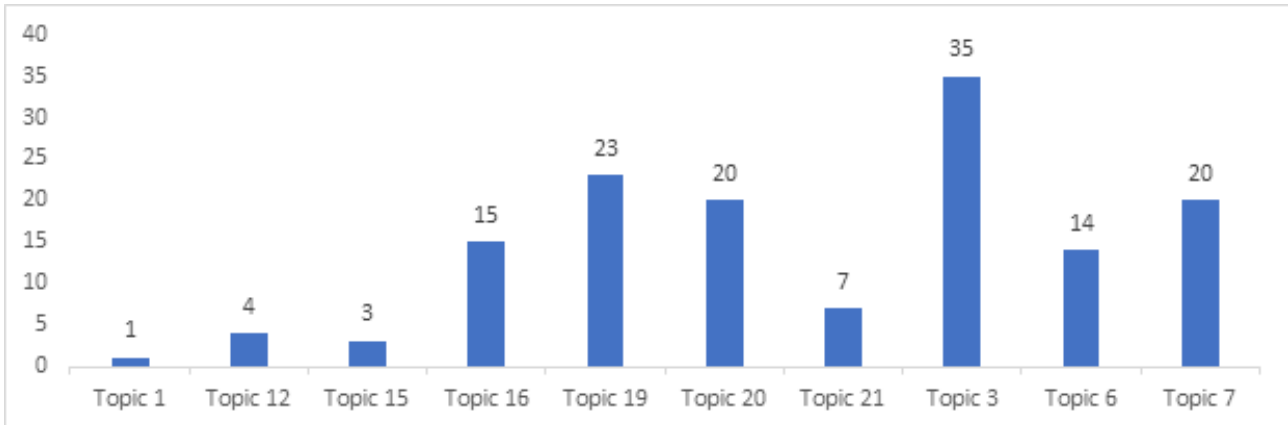


ALFA

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, Alfa Television published 142 reports related to the political life and the democratic reforms in the country. The most frequently presented topics were the projects and

measures of the Government and of other institutions (35 reports), the negotiations for constituting a government (23 reports), 'De-Sorosoziation' (20), the work of SPPO (20) and other topics.



Number of reports related to the various topics on Alfa television (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Government Projects and Measures
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoziation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Regarding the most frequently presented topic, the TV station reported about projects that are currently implemented (January 16: 'The Toxicology Clinic received new equipment that is worth 180 000 EUR'), and also projects that are announced (January 17: 'By 2020, 140 million EUR will be spent for investments in agriculture'). Most of these reports were about the accounts of what has been

achieved from the Mayors of the party VMRO-DPMNE, who also announced the projects for this year (January 24: 'New investments, and new streets and sidewalks, water supply networks are announced for this year by the Mayor of Municipality of Petrovec - Borche Mitevski'). The media outlet did not take into account the circumstances that the country is in a period of political transitioning and it is not certain



whether the Ministers who are announcing the projects will remain at those functions so they can implement them, and that the mandate of the local self-government units is approaching its end, so the Mayors too cannot be making announcements for the whole year, unless they are making pre-election promises.

Regarding the negotiations for constituting a government, most of the reports referred to covering party sessions and meetings, and in most of them attacks were made against the open

letter of the group of intellectuals – Albanians, who appealed to DUI not to make a coalition with VMRO-DPMNE. Most of the reports related to the work of SPPO came down to conveying reactions from VMRO-DPMNE or their coalition partners or from other media regarding the withdrawal of Prosecutor Katica Janeva from the case 'Coup'. The TV station paid exceptional attention to the topic of 'De-Sorosization', in the process they strongly advocated for this process announced by the party VMRO-DPMNE.

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

The most frequently mentioned political entity in the reports on the TV stations was the party VMRO-DPMNE. This party and its officials was mentioned in 117 reports, and its coalition partners were mentioned in 3 other reports. SDSM were presented in 7 reports, DUI and its officials in 22, and other parties were rarely mentioned. When analysing non-party entities, in 38 reports the subject was SPPO, and the civil sector, i.e. NGOs and foundations were present in 50 reports. In terms of content, the political opinions of VMRO-DPMNE prevailed over the others' (in 90 of the reports, the tone was favourable for them), and a particularly negative attitude was shown towards SDSM (55 reports in a negative context), towards NGOs (35) and towards SPPO (27).

The TV station non-critically conveyed the information from the party VMRO-DPMNE in which the party speaks about how successful its policies are (January 24: 'The government with VMRO-DPMNE at the forefront, invested over 1 billion euro in agriculture in the past 10 years. These funds assisted, modernized and raised the quality of that sector, are the statements from the party'), as well as announcements from the party for new projects, regardless of the fact that it is unclear whether it will be leading the country (January 16: 'The beginning of 2017 also marks the beginning of the project for gasification of Negotino, which is part of the programme 'Realistically', and which started last year with the construction of the gas line Shtip - Negotino').

The same occurred when covering the activities of its officials, such as the Minister of Health - Nikola Todorov with the announcement for free influenza vaccines (January 23: 'According to the new government programme, the vaccine will be free of charge for citizens over 65 years of age, and for anyone over 60 who is not using pension benefits'). Words of

praise were also observed about local officials from VMRO-DPMNE (January 19: 'Mayor Koce Trajanovski spent the entire night with the winter services out on field, monitoring the activities'). Special emphasis was placed on the standpoints of this party regarding the forming of a government, primarily the ones referring to the platform of the parties of Albanians or part of the platform such as state bilingualism or re-defining the state (January 17: 'VMRO-DPMNE pointed out at the beginning that they will not succumb to such requirements and that they would not be forming a majority at all costs').

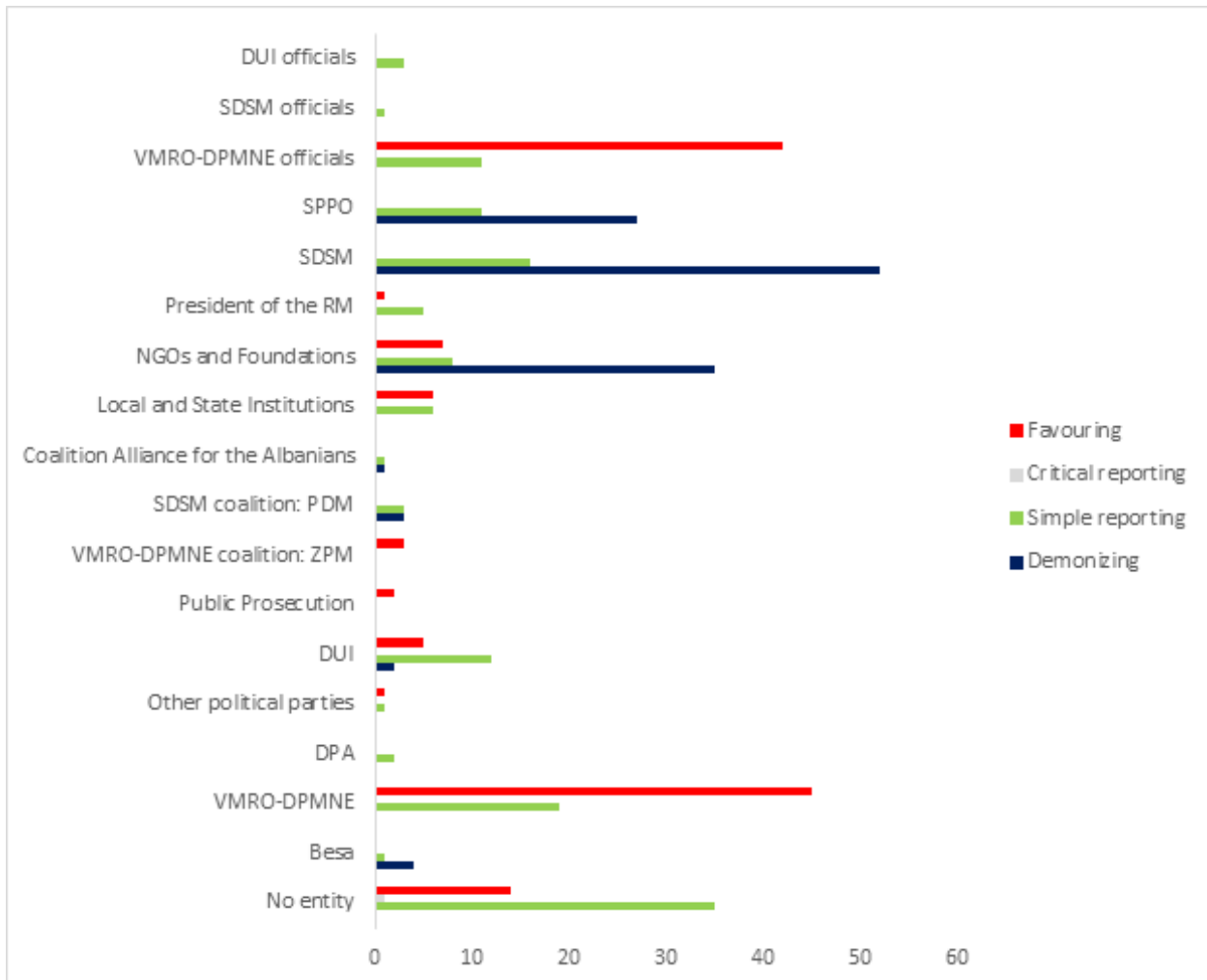
The negative and accusatory stand towards the party SDSM was present in the topics concerning the negotiations about forming a government; the party was accused, without argumentation, of accepting the political requests of the Albanians, which was interpreted as state treason (January 16: 'It is visible from a plane that BESA, SDSM and SOROS acted as god-parents in the process of creating the appeal as well, since almost all of them are employees of the coalition partner of SDSM - Fijat Canovski'; January 19: 'Gruevski and Ahmeti have started with negotiations. The Executive Committee is residing tonight. SDSM is officially quiet, however its satellites are accepting with open arms anything the Albanians ask for'). This approach was also evident in several criticisms from VMRO-DPMNE directed towards the Mayor of Centar – Andrej Zhernovski, reported only from one side. The oppositional party was also mentioned in a negative context in most of the reports related to SPPO, which referred to the reactions from VMRO-DPMNE after this prosecutor's office withdrew from the case 'Coup' in which the leader of SDSM – Zoran Zaev was accused (January 18: 'New scandal from SPPO. The accusation for 'Coup' is withdrawn. Where is the justice that the Special Prosecutors mention. Is that the same justice that Katica Janeva

used to save Zaev today. Social networks are angry at SPPO'; January 19: 'Piles of evidence about the coup of Zaev and Verushevski, which were seen by the entire public were not enough for Janeva and the SPPO to prosecute them. The masks are off, justice is not sought, rather SDSM and Zaev are protected').

'De-Sorosoization' was also monitored almost daily, by transferring the standpoints of the newly established association 'Stop Operation Soros' (January 17: 'They addressed a call to all citizens with clearly expressed democratic values, to join them, as they said, in the fight against the single-mindedness of the civil sector envisaged and led by George Soros'), as well as by communicating information from abroad which were interpreted through the prism of domestic political events (January 23: 'The former wife of Albanian Primer Minister Edi Rama

will be assigning 9.5 million euros to NGOs in Macedonia'. After the platform written in Tirana, now come the money to implement it'). The reports about civil organizations funded by the Open Society Foundation were first and foremost in the form of attacks, however no attempts were noted to find a response to the expressed attacks.

Regarding the topics on the state of the economy, the TV station published reports about an increase of the number of tax payers and that the average salary has increased, however they avoided the information about the growth of the public debt and about the research showing that the amount of actual foreign investments is seven times smaller than what the Government announced, thus once again expressing a favouring attitude towards government representatives.



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station Alfa (January 16-20 and 23-37)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

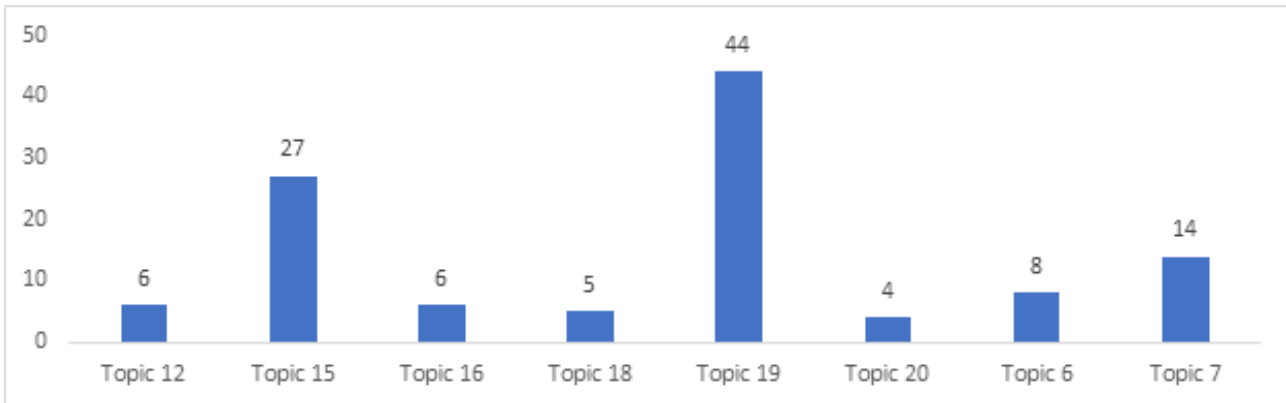


ALSAT M MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, in its news in Macedonian, Alsat M Television published overall 114 reports related to the political life and the democratic reforms in the country. The topic on negotiations for constituting a new

government had a drastic lead in frequency (44 reports), after which came the work of the public institutions (27 reports), the activities of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (14 reports) and other topics.



Number of reports related to the various topics on Alsat M television, news in Macedonian (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosozation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)
Тема 21	Активности на политичките партии поврзани со тековни случувања (загадување, чистење снег, здравство)

Regarding the negotiations for forming a government, the TV station informed about meetings between the parties, the messages from the international community, as well as inspection controls in municipal administrations managed by Mayors from DUI who have expressed a negative opinion about a coalition with VMRO-DPMNE. Analytical reports were also published, which viewed the possibilities for VMRO-DPMNE and DUI to form a new government coalition. Concerning the work of the institutions, the most frequent reports were about the problems in the judiciary bodies, and there were also reports about discrimination

of Albanians working in the Public Revenue Office, the lack of action from the Prosecution in cases of hate speech from members of the ruling party, the growth of corruption, etc. As far as the work of SPPO is concerned, reports were shown about the court case 'Fort', the rescinding of the case 'Coup', the new investigations 'Tariff' and 'Tank' and special emphasis was placed on the obstacles from judicial bodies and from other authorities that this prosecution is facing. On the topic of 'De-Sorosozation', few reports were shown, which criticized this process and it was communicated that DUI does not support it.

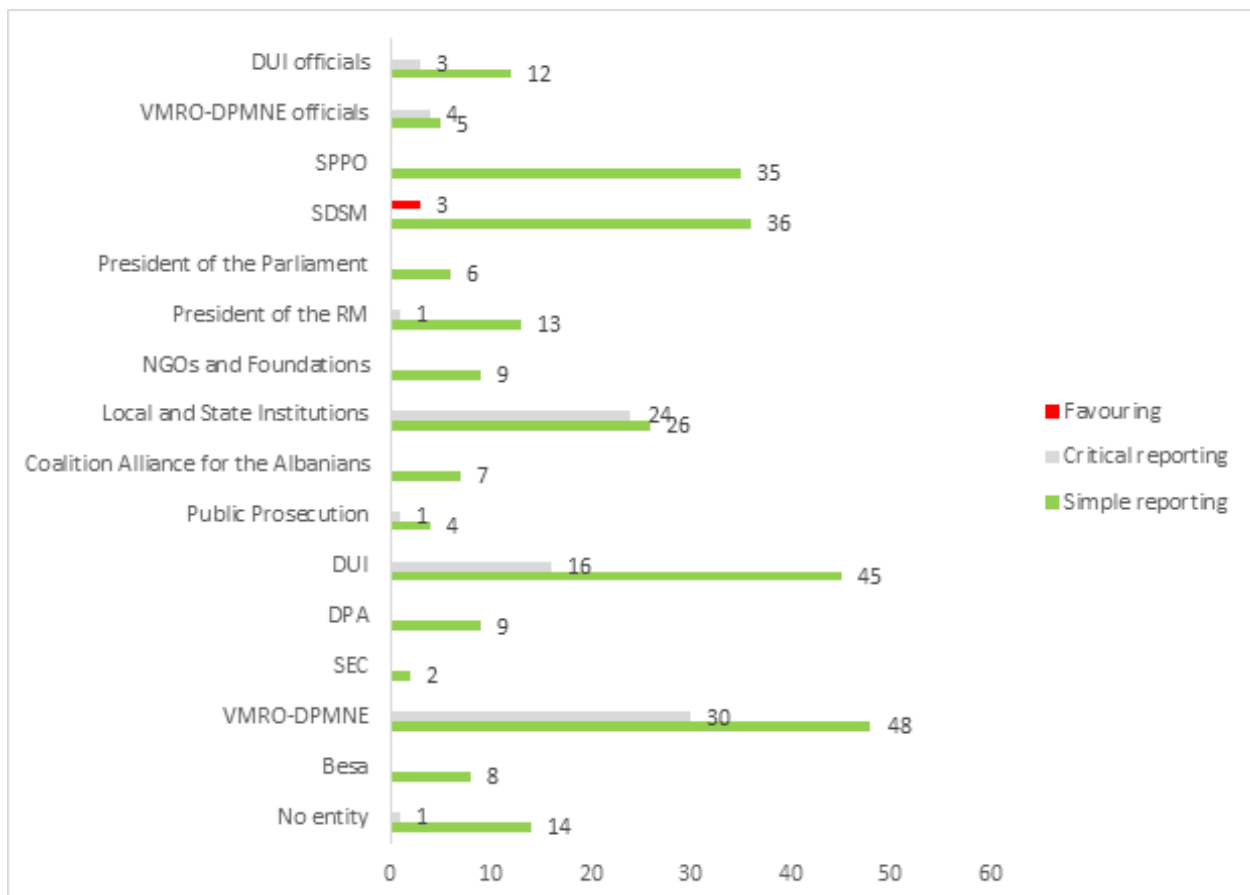


2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

As main protagonists in the negotiations for forming a government during the reporting period and as current holders of public functions, the parties VMRO-DPMNE (87) and DUI (76) were the most frequently presented ones on the TV station. The party SDSM was present in 39 reports, and when it comes to non-party entities, the local and state institutions were presented in 50 and SPPO in 35 reports. From an aspect of contents, no party's political views were presented as dominant.

Favouring and demonizing political entities in the news on this TV station was extremely rare. Elements of favouring were present in the reports on how the party SDSM helped clear up the snow in the village Arachinovo (January 17: 'SDSM came to the aid of the people from Arachinovo, who seemed to be forgotten by the municipal administration. The party provided the machinery for clearing up the snow'), and although the municipality was criticized, it was never questioned how come a political party is providing machinery and performing public works.

VMRO-DPMNE was also the most frequently mentioned entity in the critical reports of the TV station that were argument-supported, about the process of De-Sorosization, which was announced by the party (January 16: 'For any activity against the Government so far, VMRO and the leader of this party Nikola Gruevski assigned the blame to George Soros and some foreign services'), as well as about the attempts to form a government, in which reports DUI were also criticized (January 17: 'Analysis: the opposed initial positions between VMRO-DPMNE and DUI are a political game used to stop the forming of a government'). The ruling party was also criticized about the hate speech expressed at their gatherings in front of the State Electoral Commission in December, while the complaints about the elections were being resolved, and the institutions were reprimanded for showing no reactions, a full month later (January 20: 'No state institution has condemned them by now, nor have they initiated a procedure against the hate speech that could be heard around the end



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station Alsat M, news in Macedonian (January 16-20 and 23-37)

of last year at the protests in front of the SEC, from members and affiliates of VMRO-DPMNE'). Also, the data from the research conducted by the Balkan's Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN), which showed that foreign investments in Macedonia are significantly lower than what was announced, were used to criticize the ruling party, to which attracting foreign investments is one of the main highlights in the electoral campaigns (January 23: 'In the course of 10 years, the Government of VMRO-DPMNE boasted with investments of 3.8 billion euro. Only 580 million were invested in reality. In Western Macedonia, only 1.4 million').

The second most criticized entities were state and local institutions. Complaints of ethnic discrimination were published about the Public Revenue Office (January 16: 'Albanians working in PRO are complaining about being discriminated by the management, through the Secretariat for Implementation of the Ohrid

Agreement'). The Ministry of Interior was said to be insufficiently engaged in clearing up the information that the people arrested after the armed incident in Kumanovo in May 2015 were abused (January 23: 'Although the investigation of the Mol was one-sided, without the participation of the defense of the defendants, the competent minister Agim Nuhiu believes that no violence has been performed over the persons accused of terrorism in the case of Kumanovo (January 25: 'Macedonia is 90th in the world in terms of corruption Transparency International blame the Government for that situation'). The obstacles that SPPO are facing from judiciary bodies were also the subject of critical observation (January 18: 'The Criminal Court in Skopje has not provided an answer so far about the existence of an instance in which a judge refused to accept evidence in a case, because they were classified. It is too early to tell if the case 'Fort' of SPPO be the first such case').





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

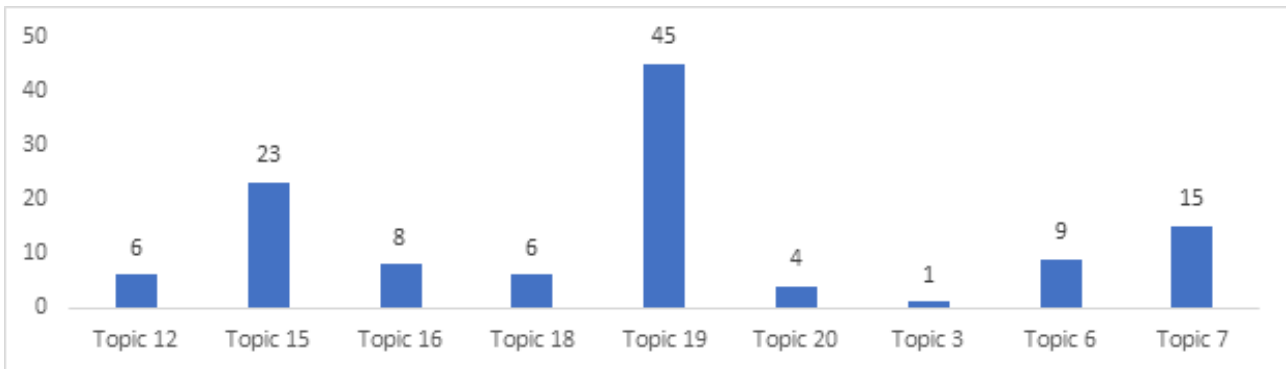


ALSAT M ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

1. COVERED TOPICS

The news in Albanian on Alsat M television were almost identical to the edition in Macedonian. The only differences are due to the three hour difference in the time slot for broadcasting and the option for new information to arise that is relevant to political events in between the two news editions. During the reporting period, in its news in Albanian, Alsat M Televi-

sion published overall 11 reports related to the political life and the democratic reforms in the country. The topic on negotiations for constituting a new government had a drastic lead in frequency (45 reports), after which came the work of the public institutions (23 reports), the activities of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (15 reports) and other topics.



Number of reports related to the various topics on Alsat M television, news in Albanian (January 16 - 20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 3	Projects and measures of the Government and of other institutions
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoziation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Except for the minimal differences in the number of published reports regarding these topics, Alsat M does not show any differences in the editorial policy between the news programmes in Macedonian and in Albanian language. According to that, regarding the negotiations for forming a government, the TV station informed about meetings between the parties, the messages from the international community, as well as inspection controls in municipal administrations managed by Mayors from DUI who have expressed a negative opinion about a coalition with VMRO-DPMNE, and analytical reports were also shown about the possibilities for VMRO-DPMNE and DUI to form a new government coalition. Concerning the work of the institutions, the

most frequent reports were about the problems in the judiciary bodies, and there were also reports about discrimination of Albanians working in the Public Revenue Office, the lack of action from the Prosecution in cases of hate speech from members of the ruling party, the growth of corruption, etc. The work of SPPO was also one of the topics presented the most, reports were shown about the court case 'Fort', the rescinding of the case 'Coup', the new investigations 'Tariff' and 'Tank' and special emphasis was placed on the obstacles from judicial bodies and from other authorities, that this prosecution is facing. On the topic of 'De-Sorosoziation', few reports were shown, which criticized this process and it was communicated that DUI does not support it.



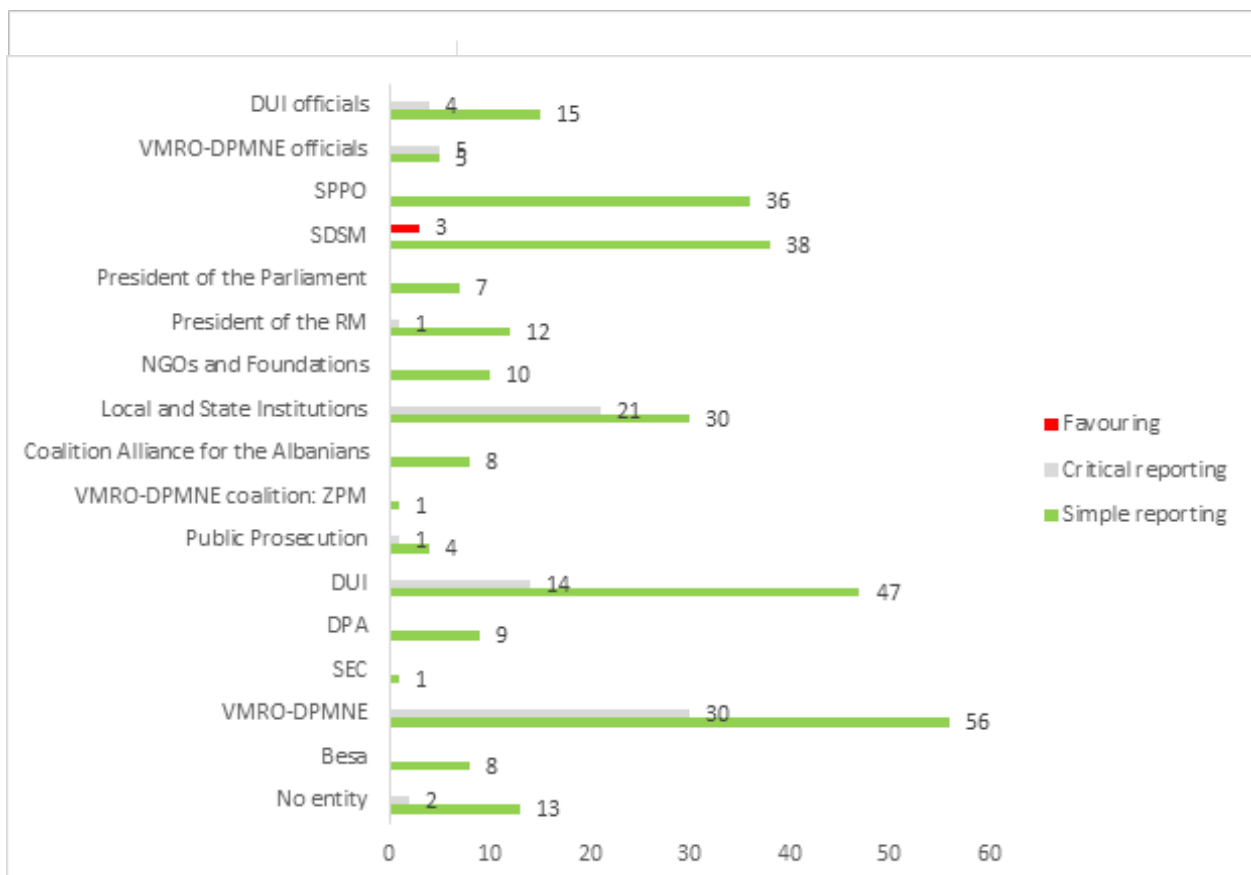
2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

As main protagonists in the negotiations for forming a government during the reporting period and as current holders of public functions, the parties VMRO-DPMNE (97) and DUI (80) were the most frequently presented ones on the TV station. The party SDSM was present in 41 reports, and when it comes to non-party entities, the local and state institutions were presented in 51 and SPPO in 35 reports. In this news programme too, from an aspect of contents, no party's political views were presented as dominant.

In the news in Albanian on this TV station also, favouring and demonizing political entities was extremely rare. Elements of favouring were present in the reports on how the party SDSM helped clear up the snow in the village Arachinovo (January 17: 'SDSM came to the aid of the people from Arachinovo, who seemed to be forgotten by the municipal administration. The

party provided the machinery for clearing up the snow'), also without seeking to find answers how a political party can perform public works.

VMRO-DPMNE was also the most frequently mentioned entity in the critical reports of the TV station that were argument-supported, about the process of De-Sorosoization, which was announced by the party (January 17: 'NGOs believe that Gruevski, with the so-called 'De-Sorosoization' is attempting to create false reality for the people and the members of his party'), as well as about the attempts to form a government, in which reports DUI were criticized as well (January 17: 'Analysis: the opposed initial positions between VMRO-DPMNE and DUI are a political game used to stop the forming of a government'). The ruling party was also criticized about the hate speech expressed at their gatherings in front of the State Electoral Commission in Decem-



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station Alsat M, news in Albanian (January 16-20 and 23-37)

ber, while the complaints about the elections were being resolved, and the institutions were reprimanded for showing no reactions, a full month later (January 20: 'No state institution has condemned them by now, nor have they initiated a procedure against the hate speech that could be heard around the end of last year at the protests in front of the SEC, from members and affiliates of VMRO-DPMNE'). Then, the failure to provide money for capital investments in the country was criticized (January 17: 'With each budget, the governments of VMRO-DPMNE and DUI boasted about having set aside the most money for capital investments. It is however true that last year alone, capital investments have come in short by almost 30 per cent')

Having in mind that most of the reports were identical, the second most criticized entities were state and local institutions. Complaints of ethnic discrimination were published about the Public Revenue Office (January 16: 'Albanians working in PRO are complaining about being discriminated by the

management, through the Secretariat for Implementation of the Ohrid Agreement'). The Ministry of Interior was said to be insufficiently engaged in clearing up the information that the people arrested after the armed incident in Kumanovo in May 2015 were abused (January 23: 'Although the investigation of the MoI was one-sided, without the participation of the defence of the defendants, the relevant minister Agim Nuhui believes that no violence has been performed over the persons accused of terrorism in the case of Kumanovo (January 25: 'Macedonia is 90th in the world in terms of corruption Transparency International blame the Government for that situation'). The obstacles that SPPO are facing from judiciary bodies were also the subject of critical observation (January 18: 'The Criminal Court in Skopje has not provided an answer so far about the existence of an instance in which a judge refused to accept evidence in a case, because they were classified. It is too early to tell if the case 'Fort' of SPPO will be the first such case').





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



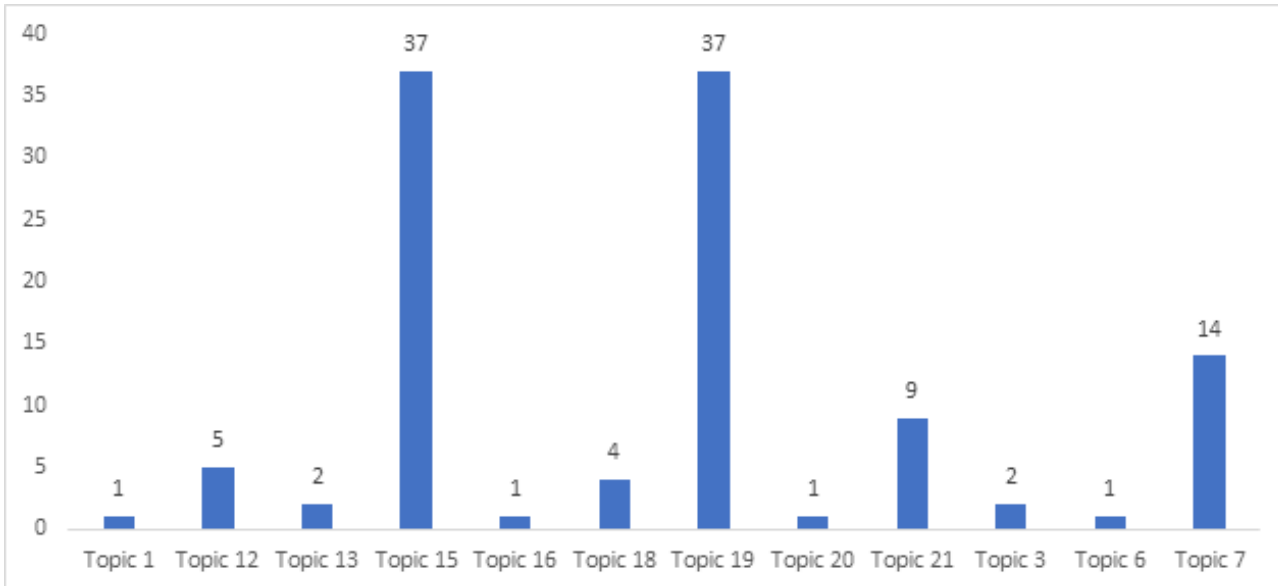
TV 21

MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

1. COVERED TOPICS

In their news in Macedonian, TV 21 published 114 reports related to current political events and political life in the country. The most commonly presented topics were: the work of the public institutions (37 reports), the same number of reports were shown about the forming

of a government (37), (7) about the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office. Among the more significant topics that the TV station covered were the problems caused by pollution and the snow (9), the state of the economy and investments (5) and the problems in education (4).



Number of reports related to the various topics on TV 21 television (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 3	Government Projects and Measures
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 13	Borrowings and the state of public debt
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 18	Education
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoziation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Regarding the work of the institutions, the problem with pollution was covered ('Jugohrom'), the reports on corruption ('Transparency'), provision of electrical power, electronic tickets for public bus transportation, etc. The events regarding the formation of a government were regularly followed: party meetings and sessions, the messages from the international community and the inspection controls performed in municipal administrations led by Mayors of DUI. The work of the SPPO was monitored through the events regarding the

withdrawal of the case 'Coup' (January 18, Davidovic and Dimovski for TV 21: The Counter Intelligence and Security Administration and the Mol are creating 'obstacles' for SPPO), about the two new investigations 'Tank' and 'Tariff' and about the blocking of the videos from the intercepted communications on the Youtube Channel (January 24 'Some of the 'bombs' were blocked on Youtube, their copyrights are protected?'). On the topic of 'De-Sorosoziation', the TV station reported about the formation of the Association called 'SOS'.

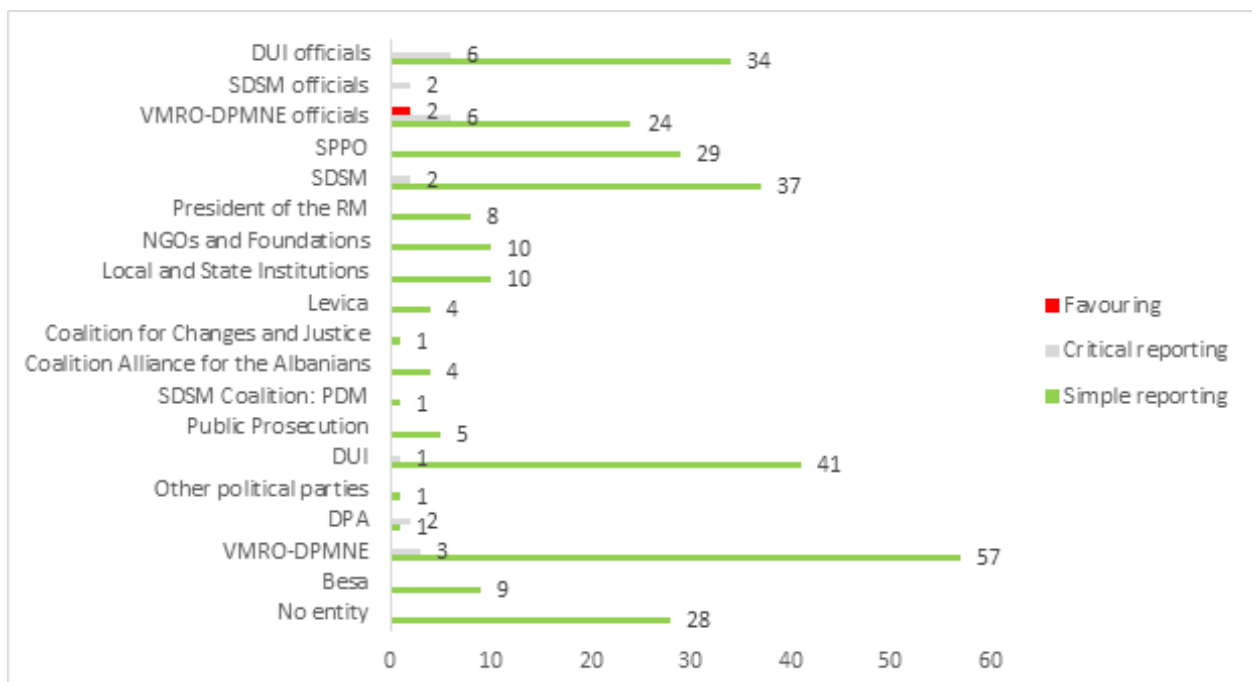


2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

VMRO DPMNE was the most commonly observed subject in the reports shown during this period (60 reports), while in 32 reports the work of the officials from this party was analysed. Then followed DUI (in 42 reports) and their officials (40), while SDSM were presented in 39 reports. Among the other entities whose work was analysed during this period was the SPPO (29), NGOs and foundations (10), local and state institutions (10) and the Public Prosecutor's Office (5).

A critical attitude was mostly present in the reports that covered the work of the state

and local institutions related to the pollution (January 18 'Skopje is one of the most polluted cities, every third death is caused by air pollution'), the problem with paying for public bus transportation in Skopje (January 17, 'There are no electronic tickets for public transportation, 150 thousand e-tickets spent in 5 days!?'), the methods for handling the snow of the local authorities (January 20 'Tanushevci, Malino and Brest are cut off, Centre for Crisis Management: There is no electrical power supplied to these villages') and the problem with the debt and the decline of investments (January 16



Approach to reporting about political entities taken by the TV station TV 21 in Macedonian (January 16-20 and 23-37)

'New borrowings in the amount of 6.5 million EUR, the economic chambers are opposed to the unproductive spending', January 24 'Where did the foreign investments fall behind?', VMRO-DPMNE: Zaev can be blamed for the unrealized investments'). Through debates and confrontations of opposed opinions, the TV station gave a critical review of the funds that were re-allocated from the New Year's celebrations, which were supposed to be spent for assistance for people under the poverty line (January 17 'After cancelling New Year's celebrations, where did the funds intended for welfare case end up?'), and the representation of different ethnicities in the institutions (January 19 'Equal representation of Albanians in Mol, Besa claims that equal representation does not exist, Nuhiu denies such allegations').

The TV station expressed a mild critical tone when reporting about the negotiations for forming a government. This tone was mainly directed towards the two main negotiators VMRO DPMNE and DUI (January 16 'Week two

after the assigned mandate for forming a government, who will be the first to fold, VMRO or DUI?'), and it was present when reporting about the financial inspection in the municipal administration in Gostivar, which was interpreted as pressure from VMRO DPMNE put on the block of DUI that opposes the coalition (January 18 'Finance police in the municipal administration in Gostivar, Bejta: VMRO-DPMNE sent the police to my office'). When reporting on this topic, the TV station often mentioned the platform of the Albanian political parties as one of the prerequisites for negotiations, and it organized debates for analysing the work of the President of stat (January 26 'Did Ivanov violate the Constitution?, some analysts believe he acted against the Constitution, others claim he did not!').

In the news in Macedonian on TV 21, reports were also published for promoting government measures, in which the journalist was neither favourably nor critically inclined (January 20 '27 finished projects for the farmers, IPARD21: free blueprints for building farms and plantations').





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



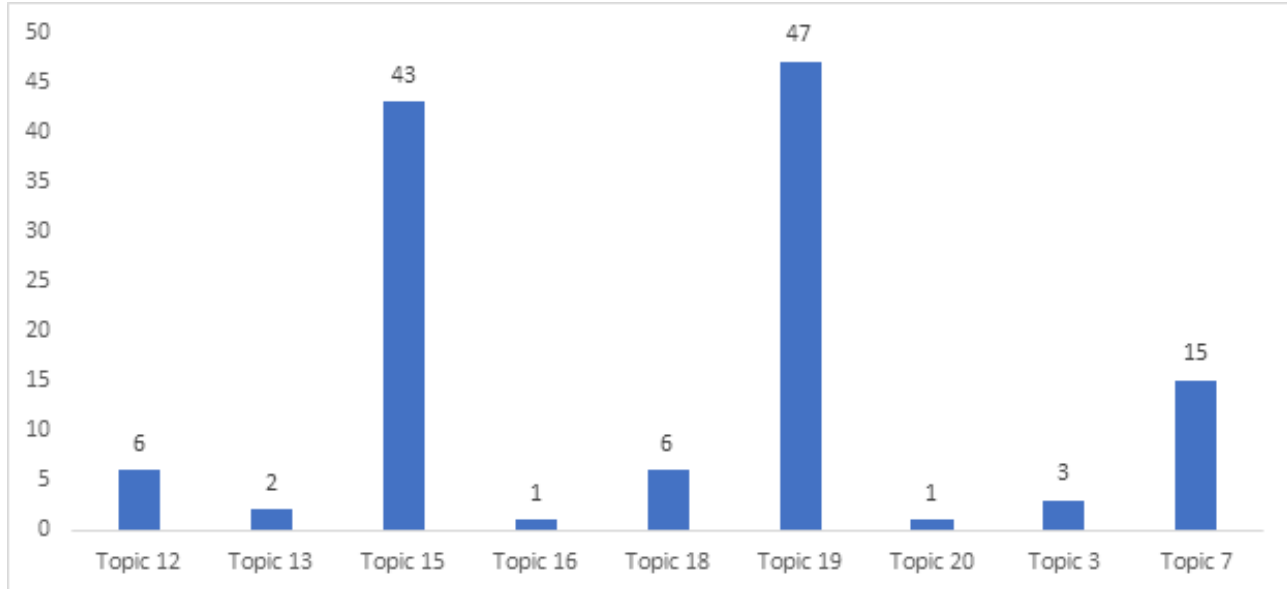
TV 21

ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

1. COVERED TOPICS

In their news in Albanian, TV 21 published 124 reports on political events in the country. Most of them were about the negotiations for the composition of the Government (47), the work of the institutions (43), the work of the

SPPO (15), and in 6 reports the states of the economy and education were analysed. There were also three reports about government measures and 2 reports about the state of the national debt.



Number of reports related to the various topics on TV 21 in Albanian (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Government Projects and Measures
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoziation
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

Regarding the most presented topic, during the analysed period, the TV station reported about daily activities in the negotiations for a new government: the meetings and conversations, the reactions from international representatives (European Commissioner Hahn), the platform of the Albanian political parties, the principle of 'winner with winner', etc. The observation of the work of state and local institutions was mainly presented through the topics of handling the heavy snowfalls (January 20 'Tanushevci, Malino and Brest are blocked, Crisis Management Center: These villages were also left without electrical power supply'), pol-

lution (January 19 '35% of diseases are caused by pollution, Skopje is one of the most polluted cities') and through individual cases of citizens that point to abuse of power (January 18 'The family Ismaili had their social welfare cut off, after winning a lottery, without having yet collected the winnings', January 20 'Pensioners are complaining, they are doubtful of manipulations in private pensions funds'). The TV station also covered the work of the SPPO by reporting about the cases 'Fort', 'Coup' and the new investigations 'Tank' and 'Tariff', and they analysed the behaviour of the government towards this institution.



2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

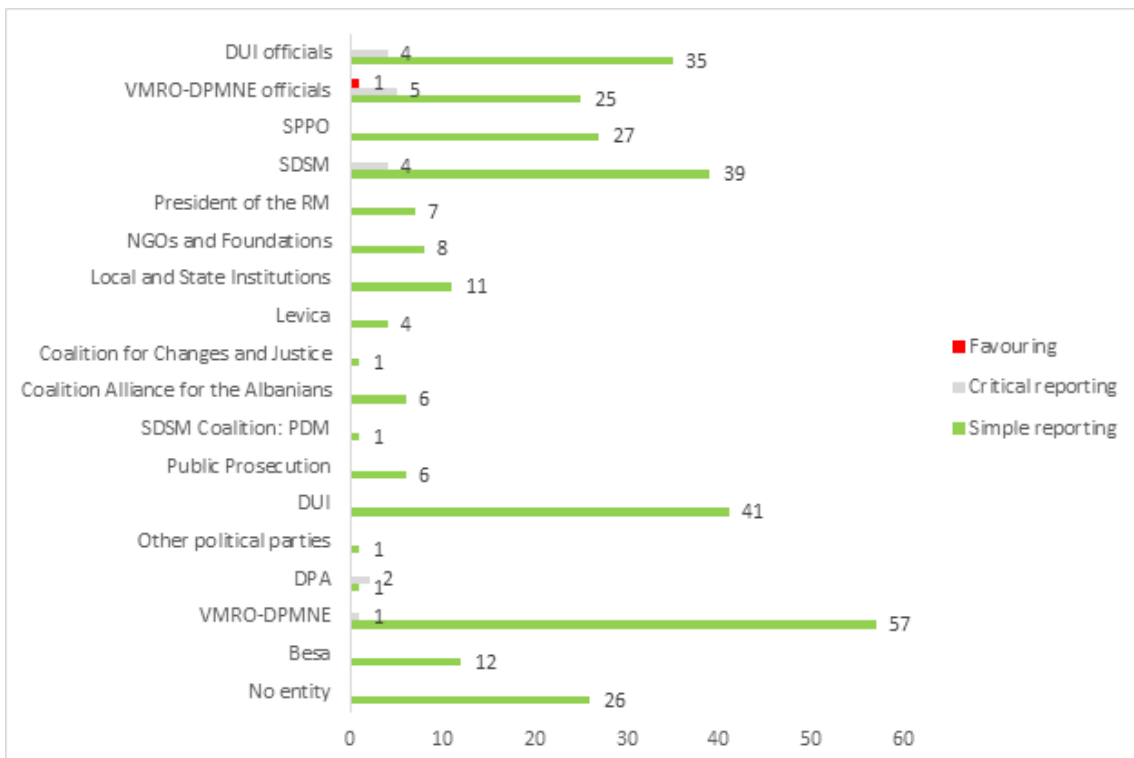
The most commonly present political entity in the TV station's reports was the party VMRO-DPMNE (58 reports) and 31 other reports mentioned officials from this party. SDSM were presented in 43 reports, while DUI were mentioned in 41 reports while their officials were mentioned in 29 reports. Other parties appeared on rare occasions. When talking about other entities, SPPO appeared in 27 reports, local and state institutions appeared in 11, NGOs and foundations appeared in 8 and the Public Prosecutor's Office in 6 reports.

In terms of the most commonly presented topic, in the news on TV 21 in Albanian, there was critical reporting about the negotiations between the parties VMRO DPMNE and DUI regarding the information being kept secret from the public (January 18 'Silence surrounds the negotiations for forming a government, Veljanovski is not informed about the meetings'), and also the action of the finance police in the municipal administration in Gostivar, where the Mayor is one of DUI's vice-presidents who is opposed to the intention for coalition between VMRO DPMNE and DUI (January 18 'Is VMRO pressuring DUI?, Bejta: VMRO sent the police to my office').

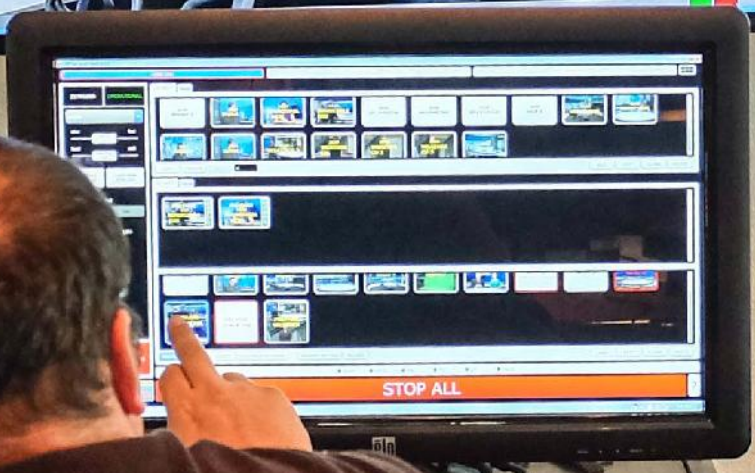
There were critical observations of the work of state and local institutions through reports

on stories of citizens (January 17 'An administrative officer was attacked at her workplace, a homeless man 'lost his temper' because he did not get breakfast?'), as well as fair ethnical representation (January 19 'Equal representation of Albanians in Mol, Besa: there is no fair representation, Nuhiu') and the conditions at their workplace (January 23: 'The cold has also 'paralyzed' the Mol, offices are left with no heating, administrative officers are sent home'). The TV stations used the same tone when reporting about the problems that are of wider public interest, such as the belated measures of state and local institutions for handling the snow and pollution (January 19 '35% of diseases caused by pollution, Skopje is one of the most polluted cities', January 23 'Schools are unprepared for the second semester, snow and ice in front of schoolyards').

The TV station also published several reports about Government measures and projects (January 20 'Free vacations for pensioners, some pensioners do not wish to travel', January 26 'Employment of young people, effective measures are sought', January '20 '27 finished projects for farmers, free blueprints for building farms'), the reports did not contain any explicit favouritism.



Approach to reporting about political entities, taken by TV 21 in Albanian (January 16-20 and 23-37)





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

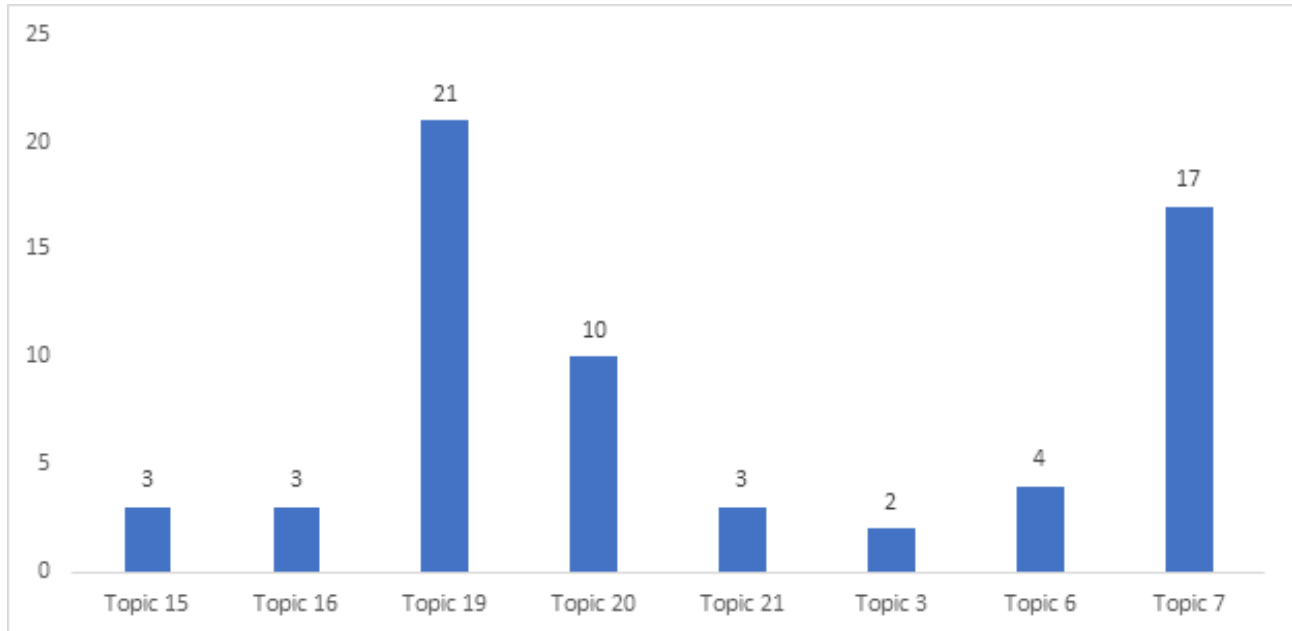


TV NOVA

1. COVERED TOPICS

TV station NOVA published 64 reports during the monitored period, which were linked to political events that were significant during the analysed period. Most of the reports (21) were about the forming of a new government, the work of the SPPO (17), 10 reports were on the

topic of ,De-Sorosoization' and 4 were about the work of state officials. 3 of the reports were dedicated to the work of the state and local institutions and handling the snow and pollution, and 2 of the reports were about Government projects or measures.



Number of reports related to the various topics on TV NOVA (January 16-20 and 23 - 27)

Topic 1	Organization of the early parliamentary elections
Topic 3	Government Projects and Measures
Topic 6	Regular activities of Government and institutional representatives (resolving current issues, protocol activities, etc.)
Topic 7	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 12	Economy and investments (foreign investments, budget investments, employment)
Topic 15	The regular work of the public institutions, fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligations
Topic 16	Miscellaneous
Topic 19	Negotiations for forming a government
Topic 20	De-Sorosoization
Topic 21	Activities of the political parties related to current events (pollution, cleaning up snow, health sector)

The TV station focused a lot of its coverage on the negotiations for the composition of a new government between VMRO DPMNE and DUI, through publishing announcements and statements from the direct participants and from analysts that justify the coalition between these parties (January 19: ,Dashtevski: 'I expect a government between VMRO DPMNE and DUI') and they quoted foreign media that reported in alignment with this stand-point (January 26 ,Editorial comment from City News: 10 reasons

why the Albanians should go with Gruevski'). The topic of federalization which was often brought up during the election period, was once again brought up by the TV station in the context of negotiations for a government, through statements of analysts that justify this type of state governance, who were labelled by the TV station as 'close to the opposition' (January 19 'Ordanovski: I am not against federalization'). The reports on the work of the SPPO referred to the case 'Coup', ,Tank' and



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH

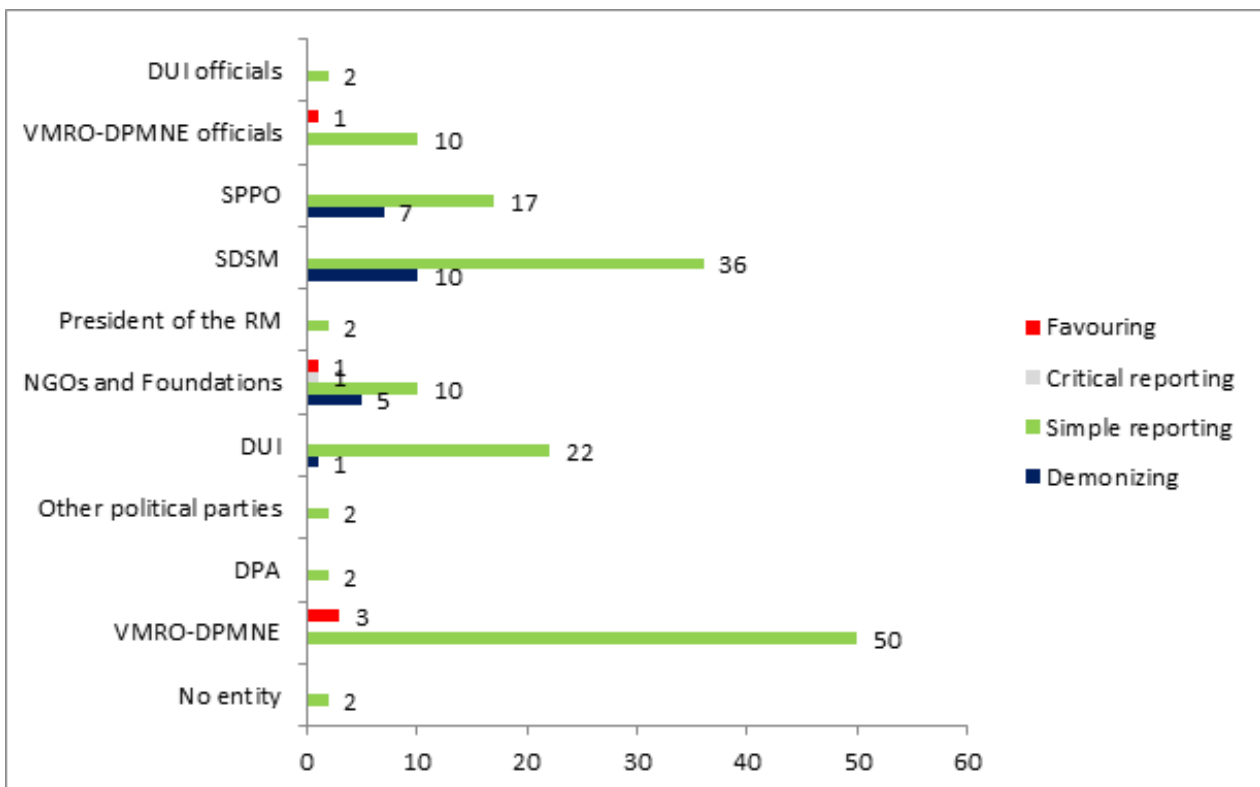
‘Tariff’, and VMRO DPMNE’s opinions were communicated (January 23 ‘Miloshovski: SPPO have placed themselves in the position of a court in the case ‘Coup’), as well as the opinions of analysts who are in close connection with the party (January 25: ‘Mucunski: Janeva has denigrated the basic reason behind the establishment of the SPPO) and they reported about alleged dissatisfaction shared on social networks from the work of the SPPO (January 18 ‘Harsh and strong reactions from the public regarding SPPO’s decision: You are an embarrassment to justice’, January 20 ‘Legal professionals react – SPPO’s move is unprecedented’). The TV station dedi-

cated a lot of its coverage on the topic of ‘De-Sorosization’ through the reports on the formation and the activities of the organization ‘SOS’ (Stop Operation Soros), the protests of a group of Macedonians in New York and they showed commentary reports in which the TV station favoured this process initiated by the party VMRO-DPMNE. Although few, there were also several promotional reports about government measures and projects (January 16 ‘Last year the state cardio-surgical clinic performed 150 vascular operations’, January 25 ‘Promotion of new books from the field of literature and publishing’).

2. POLITICAL ENTITIES

In most of the reports, the subject was VMRO DPMNE (53), and in 11 more the subjects were officials from this party. 46 reports mentioned SDSM, 23 reports were about DUI, while the other parties were mentioned to a much smaller extent. When it comes to non-party entities, the most frequently mentioned one was SPPO (in 24 reports) and NGOs and foundations in 17.

In most of the reports, the TV station conveyed the opinions of the entities in a non-critical fashion. However, there were instances in which the journalist (or the editor) gave his/her personal comment (in 31 reports), which was demonizing in 25 reports, focused on: SDSM and the leader of that party – Zoran Zaev (January 25 ‘VMRO-DPMNE: CIA documents confirm



Approach to reporting about political entities, taken by TV NOVA (January 16-20 and 23-37)

SDSM's involvement in illegal import/export of oil and cigarettes', January 18, 'VMRO-DPMNE: Zaev made the people from Strumica second class citizens', January 25: 'Dnevnik: SDSM's members fear that Zaev is prepared to accept the Albanian platform'), towards SPPO (January 18 'Macedonia's political scene is boiling, especially after the announcement from SPPO... with this move, SPPO practically provided amnesty for Zaev, Verushevski and the other accused persons in the case 'Coup') and towards the civil organizations and foundations, for which they present the opinion that they are influenced by SDSM (January 23 'A black campaign of Soros's activists', January 26 'Doubts

surrounding the possibility for political influence over the ranking of 'Transparency')).

The TV station provided non-critical coverage of the information from the party VMRO-DPMNE, favouring their position in the negotiations for the composition of the government, representing them as a party with international support (January 18 'Tajani is the new President of the European Parliament, a big friend of Macedonia. Tajani visited Skopje not so long ago, in order to show support for the sister party VMRO DPMNE), as well as the President Nikola Gruevski, who they call 'leader of the winning party from December 11' (January 17 'Negotiations for a Government').





British Embassy
Skopje

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