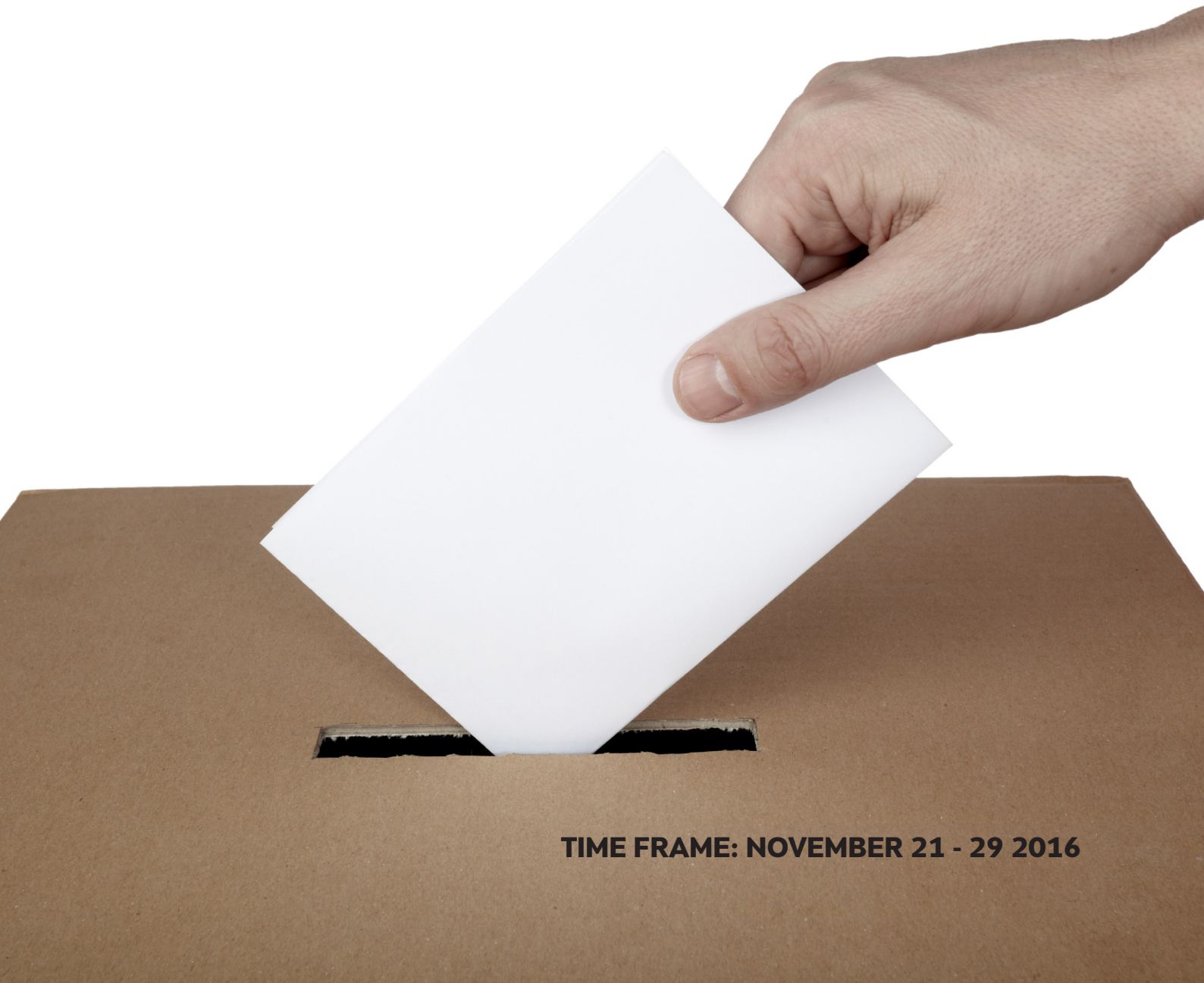


# REPORT

**BASED ON THE MONITORING OF ELECTION  
CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN TV NEWS**

**INSTITUTE OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES**



**TIME FRAME: NOVEMBER 21 - 29 2016**



# GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

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### 1. TOPICS COVERED BY THE MEDIA

The topics covered by elections, the election campaign, the separate topics coming from it, the organization and monitoring of the elections and the party rating polls were prevalent in the central news of all media during the monitored period. In the central informative programmes of some TV stations, such as Sitel (80 reports), TV Nova (73), Kanal 5 (96), and MTV1 (96), the coverage of party activities in the campaign (reports from rallies and meetings with citizens) reached up to three quarters of the total number of published reports that referred to political actors, processes and states.

Most media paid special attention to the topic of state bilingualism, which was imposed during the campaign, however all of them analysed it from a different angle and framed it differently. Some TV stations (24 Vesti) confronted the opinions of political entities and raised the issue of whether this topic is realistic or fictional, other, on the other hand (Alsat M) particularly followed opinions on this matter from Albanian parties,

criticizing them for not having solved this issue so far, and others (Alfa, Sitel, Kanal 5, TV Nova) represented the thesis that the solutions for use of languages announced by the oppositional party SDSM are an introduction to federalization, a hazard to safety, even a disintegration of the state, which is in line with the campaign of the ruling party VMRO DPMNE.

From other topics brought about in the pre-election period, not related to the elections, what stood out was the monitoring of the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office, i.e. the court process 'Fortress' of SPPO. This topic was presented on 24 Vesti (15), Telma (11), TV 21 (10) and on Alsat M (27), who also reported on the obstacles for SPPO to take over the case 'Sopot'.

Out of the topics that were not linked to the elections, with TV stations Sitel, TV Nova, Alfa, Kanal 5 and MTV1 the most common ones were reports that referred to the regular activities of state officials (the visit of President Gjorge Ivanov to Bulgaria, etc.).

## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

All major political entities were presented in the central news of the TV stations, with a different ratio, and some TV stations disregarded smaller entities.

TV stations Sitel and Alfa made more frequent mentions of SDSM (Sitel, 123 reports about SDSM, 98 about VMRO-DPMNE; Alfa: SDSM 123 mentions, VMRO DPMNE 110), and on Kanal 5 and Nova the two major parties were nearly identical (Kanal 5: SDSM 127, VMRO DPMNE 133, Nova: SDSM 79, VMRO DPMNE 80). In the sense of quality, however, towards SDSM there was mainly a negative attitude stated, even a demonizing one (Alfa in 44 reports, Nova in 20 reports, Kanal 5 in 19), and a positive attitude towards VMRO DPMNE (Alfa: 43 reports,

Nova: 24, Kanal 5: 19). On 24 Vesti (111-86), Alsat M (67 – 37), Telma (54 – 49) and TV 21 (59 – 54), the higher representation numbers were for the ruling party compared to the opposition and a neutrally critical attitude was expressed towards them more often as well. The public service, MTV1 and MTV2, did not express an explicit attitude towards political entities and represented them equally. The national television set aside the most time for representing the smaller parties.

The political entities of Albanians (DUI, DPA, Besa, etc.) were more significantly presented only on TV stations: Alsat M and TV 21, as well as on MTV 1 and 2, while on other TV stations they were rarely mentioned.

## 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The first programme service of the Macedonian Television achieved the widest balance in terms of quantity among political entities, and they reported about the campaigns of all election participants. MTV1 however, did not provide an analytical approach; rather they only conveyed what happened at the events.

TV stations 24 Vesti, Alsat M and TV 21 had an analytical approach to monitoring the campaign, raising topics about its quality, rhetoric (especially nationalistic), feasibility or potential manipulations with pre-election promises and programmes, etc. TV stations Sitel, Alfa, TV Nova and

Kanal 5 while reporting about the campaign, favoured the party VMRO DPMNE in several ways. The activities of this party were covered in a block of reports in the first part of the news, and the opposition was presented in the second part, sometimes right before the end, with news on other topics in between. The reports about the activities of VMRO DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski were reportage packages and had a higher production quality (greeting people, speeches from several locations) as compared to the reports of the activities of the opposition's leader Zoran Zaev, who was mostly presented with a single statement

## 4. MOST TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE OR POSITIVE FRAMING

The most frequent topic for negative framing of the party SDSM was the topic of state bilingualism. TV stations Sitel, TV Nova, Kanal 5 and Alfa reported on this topic only in the context that the announcement of the opposition's leader for solving the issue of use of languages, was in the direction of federalization of the county, which coincides with the standpoints of VMRO DPMNE. In these reports, the opposition did not get an opportunity to present their side, rather statements from their members were simply used, which were linked to the specific context (Sitel: 'The messages are that the people at these elections will decide in what kind of country they wish to live – is it a unitary Macedonia or a federalized Macedonia that is conspired by SDSM leader Zoran Zaev', TV Nova: 'The future federalization or cantonization of the country whose name will be decided further on, has three stages that will be gradually deter-

mined in the next several years. State bilingualism is just the first stage of federalization, along with cantonization as an interim path to separating parts of Macedonia, was the analysis of the weekly paper Republika', Alfa: 'The rhetoric for re-defining, changing the Constitution, state bilingualism was not used by Zaev only at rallies in the election campaign, SDSM have continuously played the card of bargaining with national interests; Kanal 5: 'Experts fear that Zaev's announcements for expanding the Framework Agreement can push Macedonia into a new ethnic crisis').

The partiality towards VMRO-DPMNE from these TV stations was made by different approaches to covering the pre-election campaign and in several cases by non-critically conveying messages where the party interferes with the state, when party leader Nikola Gruevski reported about new foreign investments.





**ANALYSIS OF  
INDIVIDUAL TV STATIONS**



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# MACEDONIAN TELEVISION FIRST SERVICE

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## GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF MACEDONIAN TELEVISION (FIRST SERVICE)

- On its first programme service, the Macedonian Television showed 128 reports about political actors, processes and situations in the country. Three quarters of them (96) were dedicated to covering the pre-election campaign, and as far as the others are concerned, the topics that stood out were the regular activities of state officials (11) and the organization of the elections (10).
- Most commonly mentioned in the news overall were SDSM (in 43 reports) then VMRO-DPMNE (42), and the least mentioned were the Coalition Alliance for Albanians (12), Besa (10), the Liberal Party (8) and PDP (2).
- Covering the election campaign was done solely by reporting about candidates' activities and without raising any specific topic. MTV1 published information about all 11 parties and coalitions that submitted lists of candidates for the parliamentary elections.

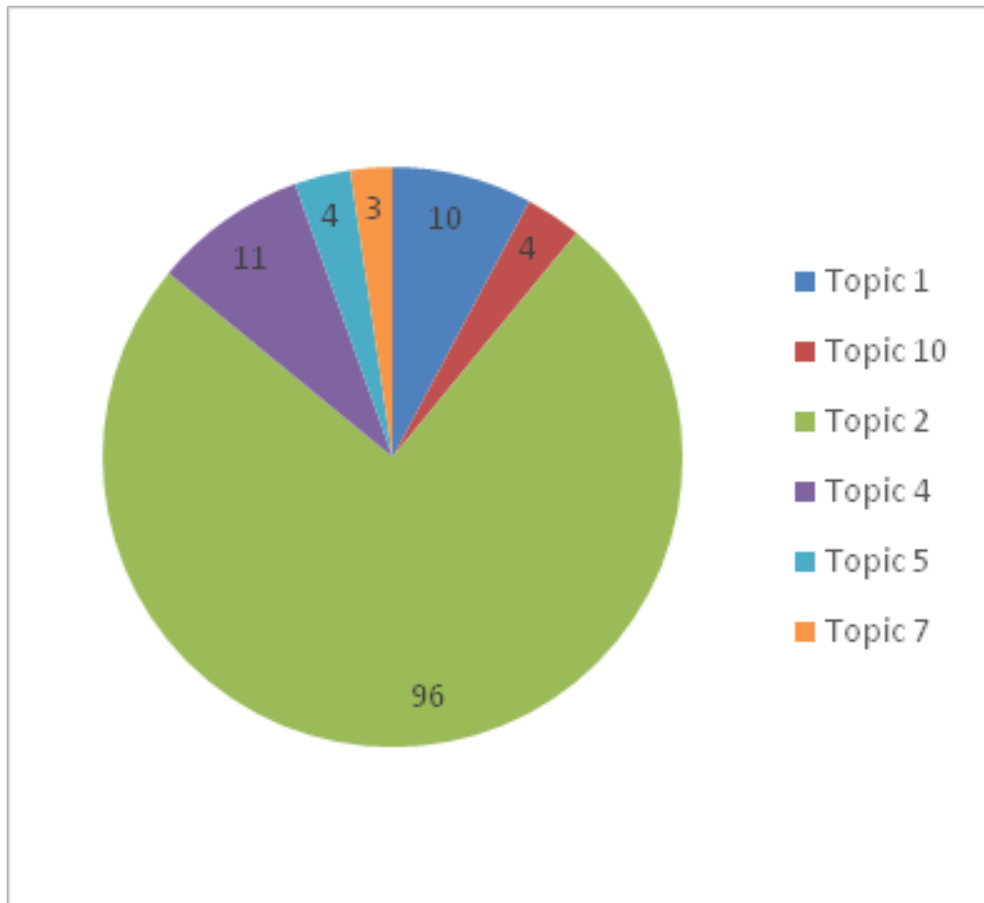


# 1. COVERED TOPICS

During the pre-election period, campaign reports completely dominated the news on the first channel of the national service. Without an analytical or critical approach, the news on MTV1 during the monitored period served as a platform for presenting the participants at the early elections.

Regarding the organization of the elections, the pleas from international representatives for fair and democratic elections were published,

as well as reports from the work of non-governmental observers and the announcement of the final version of the voters' registry. When it came to the regular activities of officials, reports were shown about the visit of President Gjorge Ivanov to Sofia, the Italian donation to the military museum which was received by Minister Zoran Jolevski, the dispute between Minister Frosina Remenski and the trade union, etc.



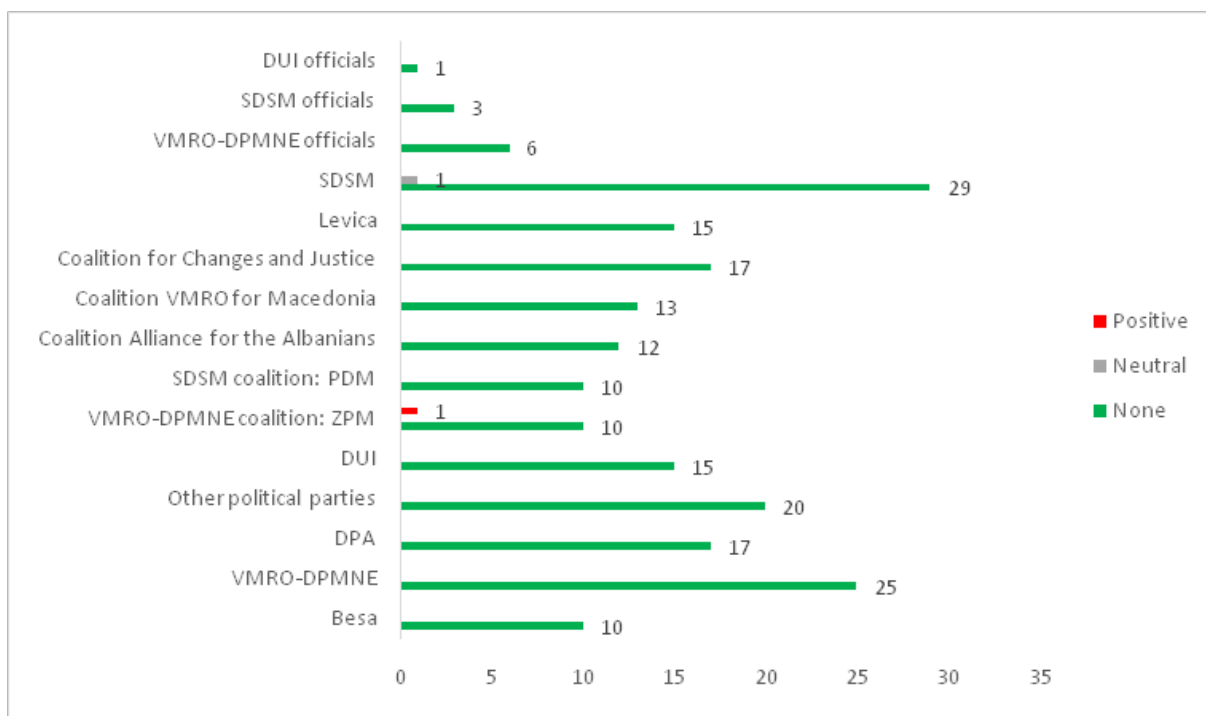
Number of reports on MTV1, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)

## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

If we analyse the number of published reports about political entities in the context of all reports referring to domestic events, it can be said that the public service has achieved an equality for all participants at the elections in terms of quantity. None of the actors was disregarded during the monitored period. Still, the ones that were most commonly present were the two major parties and their coalitions, VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM, although reports were also shown about the smaller political entities, much more than on most of the private TV stations that broadcast nationally. In topics other than the campaign, the reports were mainly about VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM and DUI, or about other entities (such as institutions, NGOs, etc.), because smaller entities do not have their own officials.

On MTV1 there were only rare expressions of explicit attitudes towards a political entity, in one case a positive attitude was expressed towards VMRO-DPMNE, because a statement of Gruevski was non-critically conveyed on behalf of the Government (November 24: 'Nikola Gruevski said that the Government has made a decision to pay 20 thousand MKD to winegrowers who are cultivating half a hectare of land') and once there was a neutrally-critical stand towards SDSM for the attack of a crew from MTV at a rally of the party (November 25: 'We would like to mention that on several occasions since the beginning of the campaign, at rallies organized by SDSM at which our journalists and cameramen are subjected to inappropriate pressures and verbal provocations and they are prevented from doing their job').



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

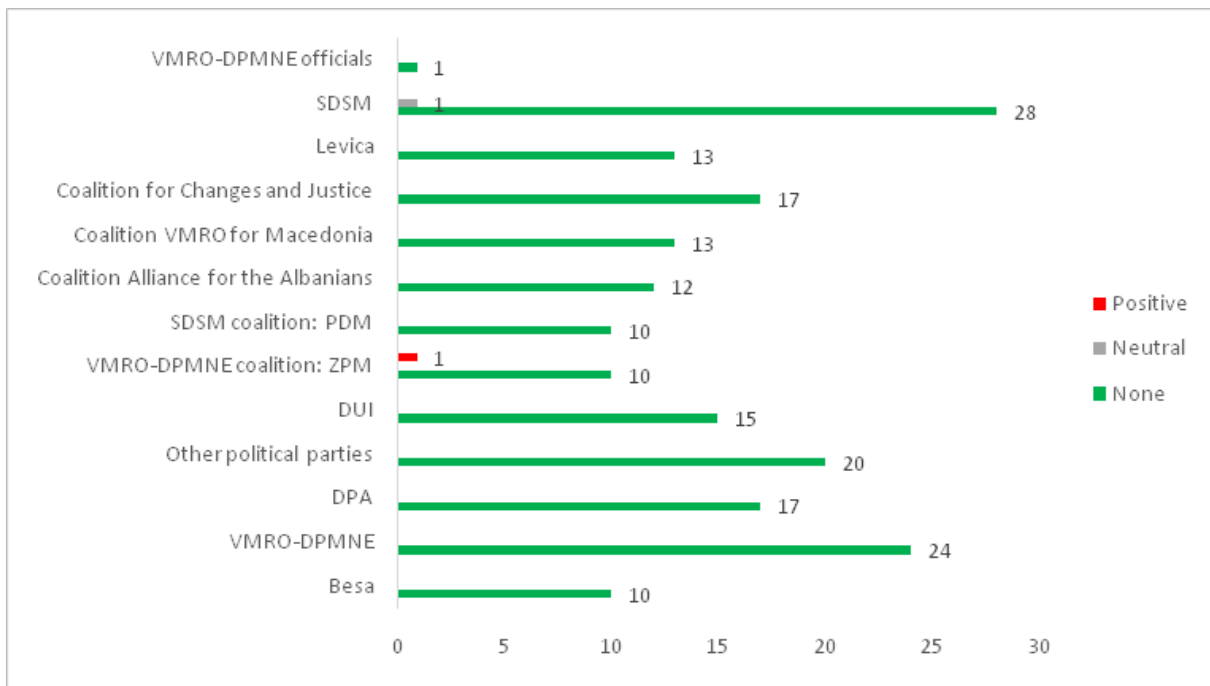


### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

In reporting about the election campaign, most of the reports informed about SDSM's activities (39) and VMRO-DPMNE's activities (35), however the difference between them and the other participants at the elections was significantly smaller in comparison to the private media. The third most common subjects were the Coalition for Changes and Justice and DPA with information in 17 reports, DUI with 15, Levisa and the Coalition 'VMRO for Macedonia', 13 each.

The balanced approach of the public broadcasting service was not only reflected in the number of reports published about the different candidate lists, but also in the varying lineup in air time. The block of reports from the campaign started with different political parties, not only with VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM, and more often the reports about them followed those about smaller parties, such as LP, Levisa, DPA, etc.

The reporting was informative, without going more in-depth in the campaign or the topics that arose from it.



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

The Macedonian Radio Television did not raise a single characteristic topic from the campaign or from other events during the period of monitoring. The attitudes of political parties

regarding state bilingualism and federalization, as a topic that came as a result from the campaign, were communicated in reports from the rallies and from meetings with the people.



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# MACEDONIAN TELEVISION SECOND SERVICE

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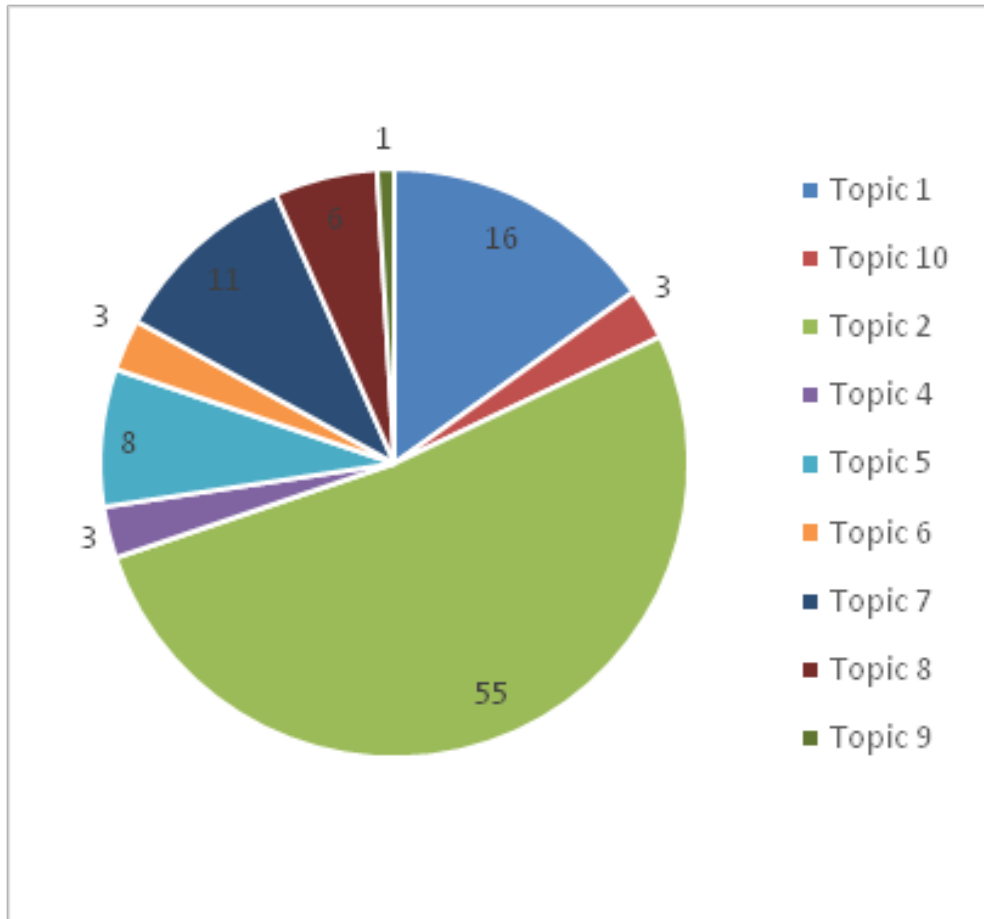
## GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF MTV2

- The second programme of the Macedonian Television, in the news in Albanian, published a total of 106 reports, during the monitored period, about political entities, pre-election campaign activities and other political events and actors. Most of them (55) focused on pre-election activities of the parties, then came the reports about preparations of the elections (16), the regular work of national and local institutions (11), the work of the SPPO (8), the accusations about the state bilingualism and federalization concept (6), and three reports each about the work of the officials and topics that fall under the category Miscellaneous in this monitoring period (the Day of the Albanian Flag).
- Reports were made about all current events of the monitored period. The number of reports that covered the activities of the ruling and the oppositional parties pointed to reporting that favours DUI and their party officials (53), then came VMRO-DPMNE and their coalition and officials (49) as well as SDSM, their coalition and officials were the subjects of 40 reports. DPA were mentioned as a subject in 20 reports. In terms of quality, reports on MTV 2 almost never contained a positive or negative journalist attitude towards any participant in the political process.
- In terms of quantity, when reporting about the pre-election campaign of political entities, DUI and their officials were most commonly present (34), VMRO DPMNE, their coalition and officials were present in 33 reports, SDSM in 26, while the other smaller oppositional parties and coalitions were presented substantially less often. In terms of quality, the reporting was anachronous, without any engagement from the journalists and without any critical or neutral approach.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

What prevailed in the first ten days of the election campaign, on the news in Albanian of the second programme service were the activities (gatherings, rallies, meetings with citizens) of political party representatives. Nonetheless, the TV station set aside a significant portion of their time in the journal to cover other topics, such as the work of

the SPPO and the problems of the Criminal Court, and several reports focused on the issue of accusations coming from the Government towards the opposition about state bilingualism and federalization, the celebration of Albanian Flag Day and the commendations of Kosovo's Prime Minister to 118 Macedonian nationals.



Number of reports on MTV2, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

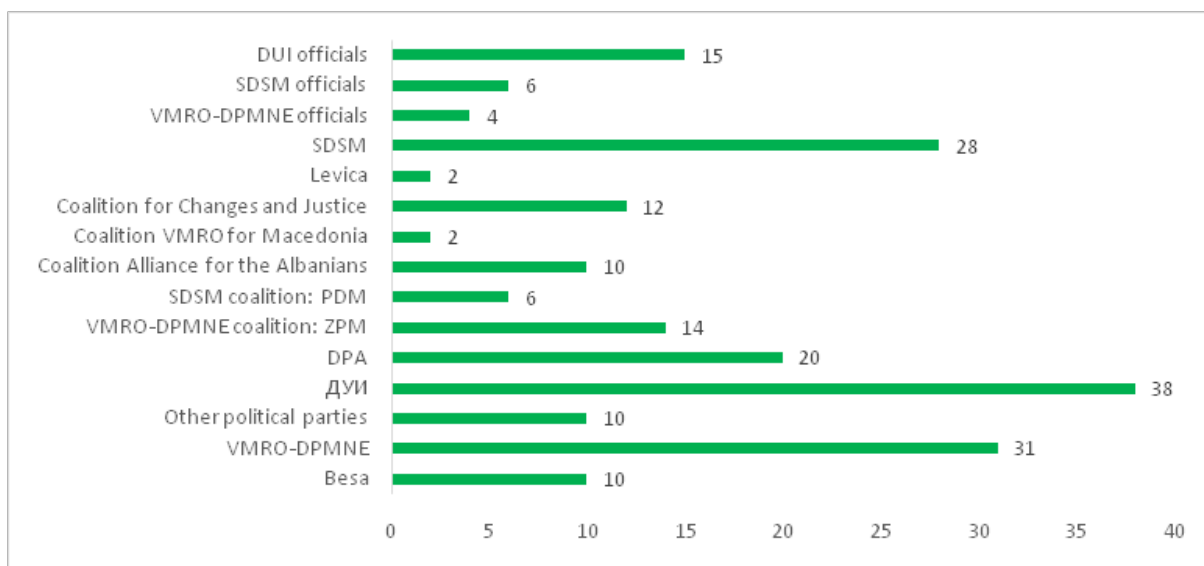
Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)

## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

In the news in Albanian, MTV's second service, reported about all events that were current during the period of monitoring. The number of reports that focused on the activities of the ruling and oppositional parties points to a visible lack of balance, since 53 were about DUI and their officials, 49 about VMRO-DPMNE, their coalition and officials, while the subject of 40 reports were SDSM, their officials and coalition while in 20 reports it was DPA.

None of the reports contained an expressed journalist opinion. Also absent were well-argued

critical observations for the journalists, although public services in particular should play the role of critics of policies on behalf of public interest. In 12 reports, the topic was the activities of the Coalition for Justice and Changes, 10 reports each were dedicated to the parties Besa, the Coalition Alliance for Albanians and other political parties, in 2 it was Levica and also in 2 it was the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia. The reports anachronously followed the events, without journalistic engagement, through consistent conveyance of the statements of political actors.



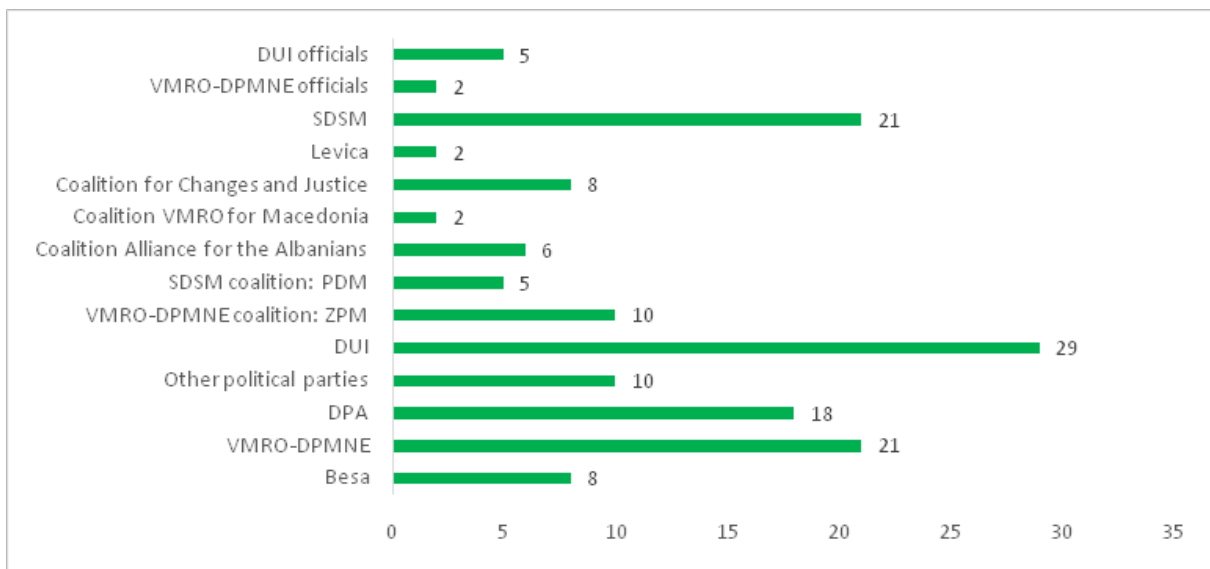
Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

When speaking specifically about the topic ‘Party activities for the political campaign’, in terms of quantity there is a visible advantage in the reporting for the pre-election campaign of DUI and the officials (34 reports). Then followed VMRO-DPMNE and their coalition and officials, in 33 reports, and SDSM in 26. The other smaller oppositional parties and coalitions were much less present: 18 for DPA, 8 reports for the

activities of Besa and the Coalition for Change and Justice, while in 6 reports it was the Coalition Alliance for Albanians, 2 for Levica and also 2 for the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia.

In terms of quality, these reports, as well as all others simply denoted the messages, statements, events from pre-election appearances of representatives of the political parties and coalitions.



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

In 6 reports the TV stations reported about the topic of federalization and state bilingualism. Then, the statements of politicians from the ruling party were conveyed as accusations

against the opposition, however a journalistic opinion was not identified in the framing of these reports (23.11. Elections 2016. Gruevski: We support coexistence, not federalization’).



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## SITEL

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### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF SITEL

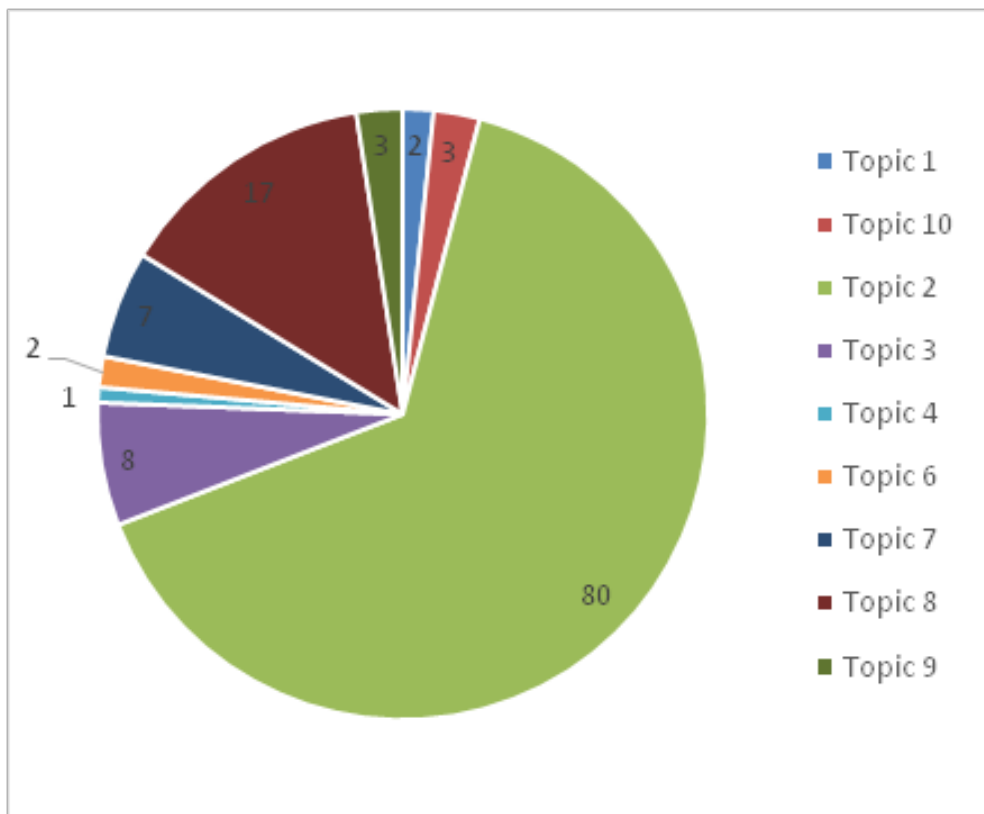
- During the analysed period, Sitel published a total of 123 reports in its central journal that were related to topics of current political events. The pre-election campaign was most present in the news programme, with 80 reports, and then came state bilingualism and federalization with 17, the promotion of Government projects and investments (8), the regular work of institutions (7), etc.
- The focus of reporting was directed to the two major political parties, their officials and the coalitions they lead, smaller entities had very little space left for them in the news. In terms of quantity, Sitel published a slightly higher number of reports whose subject was the oppositional SDSM, the Coalition they lead and their officials (123), compared to VMRO DPMNE, the Coalition for a Better Macedonia and Government officials (98). However, in terms of quality, the reports about the government were favourable and supportive, while the ones for the opposition (SDSM and their officials) were demonizing. The TV station took a negative stand while reporting about the work of the SPPO and the Ad Hoc body for monitoring the elections.
- An explicitly favourable attitude was focused towards the ruling party VMRO DPMNE and a demonizing one towards SDSM and their leader Zoran Zaev, not only in the reports about pre-election activities, but also in commentary headlines and editorial comments, through the thesis imposed by the ruling party in the pre-election campaign about state bilingualism and federalization.



# 1. COVERED TOPICS

According to the selection of topics and according to the narratives in the reports, the news on Sitel in the first ten days of the pre-election campaign aimed at promotion and propaganda to the benefit of the ruling party VMRO DPMNE,

their officials and coalition. In the few reports that did not refer to pre-election activities, such as the court process for SPPO's case 'Fortress', the Ad Hoc body on media, the approach to reporting about these subjects is negative.



**Number of reports on Sitel, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)**

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics

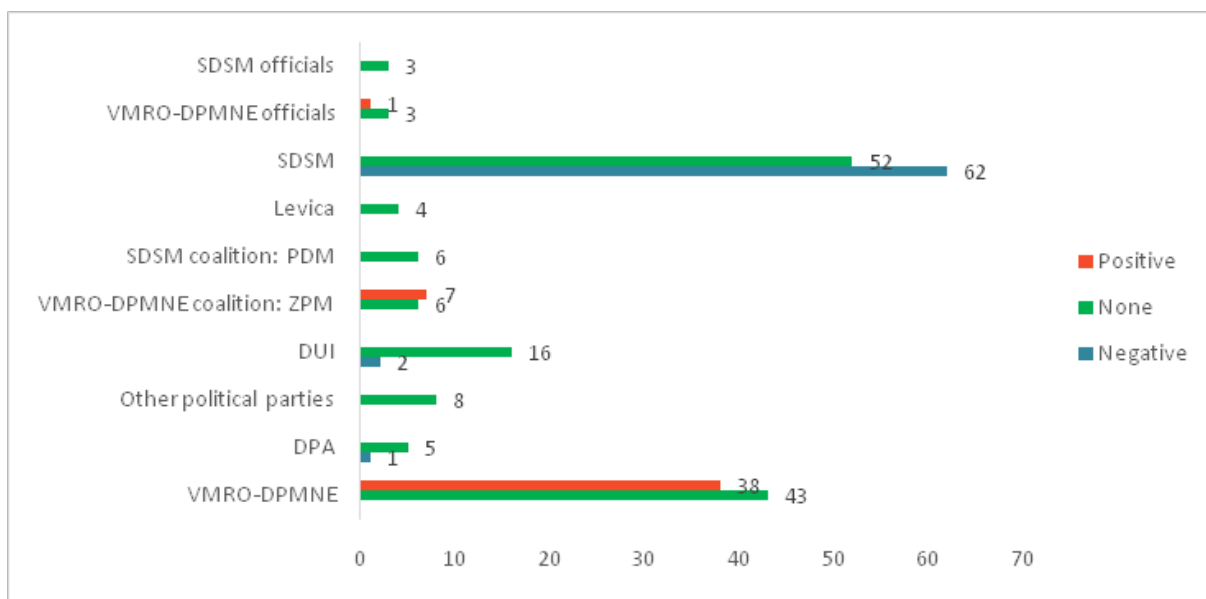


## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

The focus of reporting of this TV station was placed on the two major political parties, their officials and the coalitions they lead; the news rarely left space for smaller entities and for other topics besides pre-election activities. In terms of quantity, Sitel showed more reports where the subject was the oppositional SDSM, the coalition led by them and SDSM officials (123), while the reports about VMRO DPMNE and their coalition and officials were 98. DUI was the subject of 18 reports, which was followed by DPA with 6,

then reports for other political parties – 8 and Levica 4.

However, according to the manner of reporting, 46 reports about VMRO DPMNE, the Coalition for a Better Macedonia and VMRO DPMNE officials were favourable and supportive, while 62 reports demonized SDSM. DUI in 2 and DPA in one reports were mentioned in a negative context. The TV station also manifested a demonizing attitude in their reports about the work of SPPO (Fortress) and the Ad Hoc body for monitoring the elections.



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

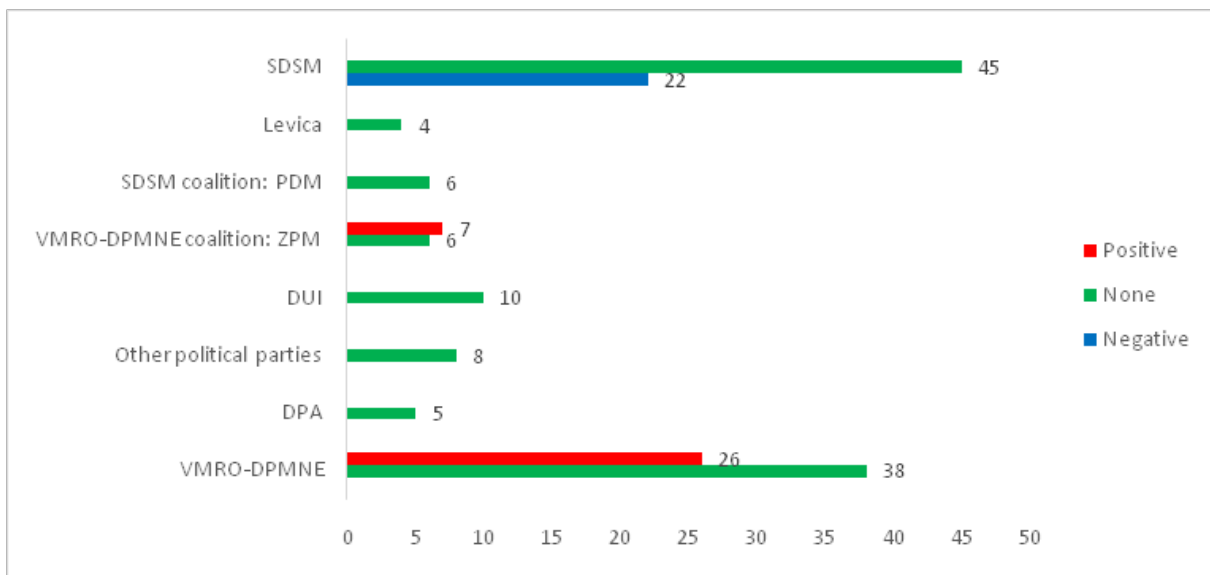
When we look only at the topic of party activities specifically for the election campaign, then out of the total number of reports, Sitel published an almost identical number of reports for the two major political parties - VMRO DPMNE with their coalition and officials in 77 reports, and 67 reports for SDSM and their coalition and officials. Having in mind that there are 11 parties and coalitions at the elections, this TV station informed very little about the pre-election programmes of the others – in ten days of monitoring there were 10 reports mentioning DUI, 5 for DPA and 4 for Levica.

An explicitly favourable journalist opinion was present only in reports about the pre-election activities of VMRO DPMNE, the officials and the coalition they lead – this subject was favoured in 33 reports total. (21.11. ‘VMRO DPMNE has the largest programme at these elections, presented on 500 pages’, 21.11 ‘A specific programme that is most elaborate so far, most detailed and realistic and coming from the citizens and is intended for them’, 29.11. ‘Before thousands of people Gruevski presented some of the projects foreseen in the largest election programme of VMRO-DPMNE, presented on 500 pages’), and some of them were commentator headlines and analyses (28.11 headline/comment ‘VMRO organized a rally, where Foreign Minister of Austria - Kurz spoke, which was one of the surprises, because I cannot remember that anyone at such a high European level has spoken at a political or election rally in the Republic of Macedonia’, ‘Although the rally in Veles comes after that grand

central rally which was organized by the ruling coalition in Skopje yesterday...’) and editorial comments (on 28.11. as many as three editorial comments were made: ‘You could see from the video footage why more than 80,000 people gathered yesterday in Skopje, since the topic is a very important one. The topic is whether Macedonia will be federalized, whether state bilingualism will be introduced and an irreversible process be commenced’, ‘Someone wanted a crisis so the Social-Democrats can offer cantonization and bilingualism for the whole state, thus the Macedonian lose what they have in the only country in which they have something’).

Is the election campaign titled ‘For Life in Macedonia’ an authentic election platform of SDSM, is the slogan theirs, or has their slogan, the entire programme and everything else been crudely stolen from Serbian ultra-nationalists Dveri’).

One of the editorial comments (28.11) with an emphasized personal negative opinion of the editor/presenter was aimed at the Ad Hoc body for monitoring the media in the pre-election period, he calls it an ‘illegitimate institution’ (‘The fifth member of the Ad Hoc body, and in this body the votes are consistently divided three to two, three are from SDSM, two from VMRO, the fifth member in this threesome was voted outside the legal deadline, which means that his mandate there is illegitimate. We will survive one SPPO, with their partisan tasks to consistently aim at one chosen, select group of people, although one more SPPO that persistently aims at the same selected group is tough to handle’).



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)



## 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

In the two topics specific for the analyzed period - state bilingualism and federalization and the rating polls of the parties, other than conveying the statements from Government representatives in the pre-election campaign and the editorial comments, the TV station also published opinions of associations. (22.11 'Sharp reactions from the defenders to the announcements from oppositional leader to re-define the Constitution of the state and introduce bilingualism on the entire territory. They believe that Zaev is directly insulting them and the victims made for Macedonia'), polls with citizens (25.11 'The messages are that the citizens will decide at these elections in what kind of country they wish to live - in a unitary Macedonia or in a federalized Macedonia conspired

by SDSM leader Zoran Zaev') and experts (25.11 'Zaev's statements about changing the Constitution and introducing bilingualism are dangerous and they gradually lead to federalization of the country, according to Boshko Stankovski, MBA in Cambridge International Law').

Brima Gallup's poll published in the pro-Government weekly paper *Republika*, was shown by Sitel on two consecutive days (25.11 'Poll two weeks before the elections: Huge advantage for VMRO-DPMNE and Nikola Gruevski', 26.11 'Brima Gallup Poll, part two: Gruevski is the choice of the people when it comes to the position of Prime Minister. They believe that the leader of the ruling party is a better choice, rather than having to choose between him and the president of the oppositional SDSM, Zaev').





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



## TELMA

### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF TELMA

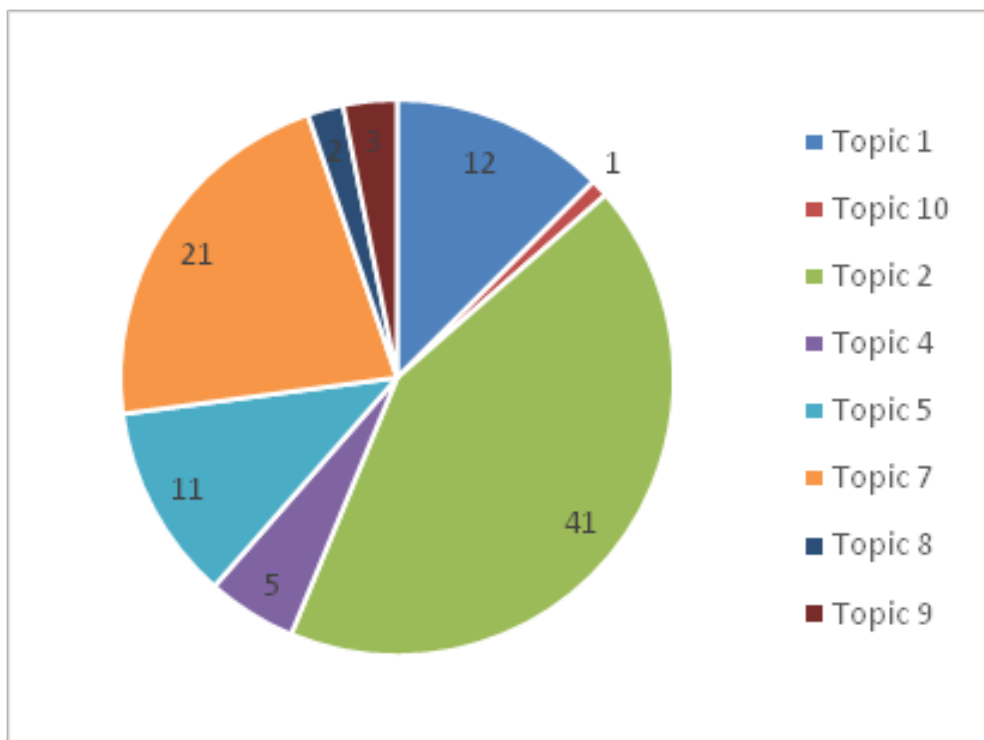
- Telma published 96 reports on all current topics and events related to political entities that participate in the election race in the country. Most of them (41) were about segments that refer to pre-election activities in the closer sense of the word, 21 report about the regular work of institutions, 12 were about the preparations for the elections, 11 about the work of SPPO, in 4 the topic was the activities of officials, and 3 reports were about the polls measuring public opinion and 2 were about topics linked to state bilingualism or federalization.
- The TV station's reports in their central journal were balanced both in terms of the number of reports and in terms of the argued critical stand towards political entities in all current events. Most reports did not include an evident journalistic opinion, and few of them (total of 8) provided a neutrally-critical observation of the activities of political entities and institutions.
- It can be concluded that there is also balance in Telma's reporting about the campaign of political parties in the stricter sense of the word – the ruling VMRO-DPMNE, the coalition they lead and their officials were presented in nearly an identical number of reports as SDSM. Nevertheless, VMRO-DPMNE were observed with argument supported criticism in 6 reports.



# 1. COVERED TOPICS

Telma's focus in reporting during the analysed period was placed on the pre-election activities of the parties. The TV station continued to inform about the regular work of the institutions, through reporting about issues in the judiciary system and in local self-gov-

ernment, through topics that refer to public interest. Also current was the work of SPPO, through a court process related to the case 'Fortress', and the TV station also conducted a poll for the rating of parties in the pre-election period (26.11)



Number of reports on Telma, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics



## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

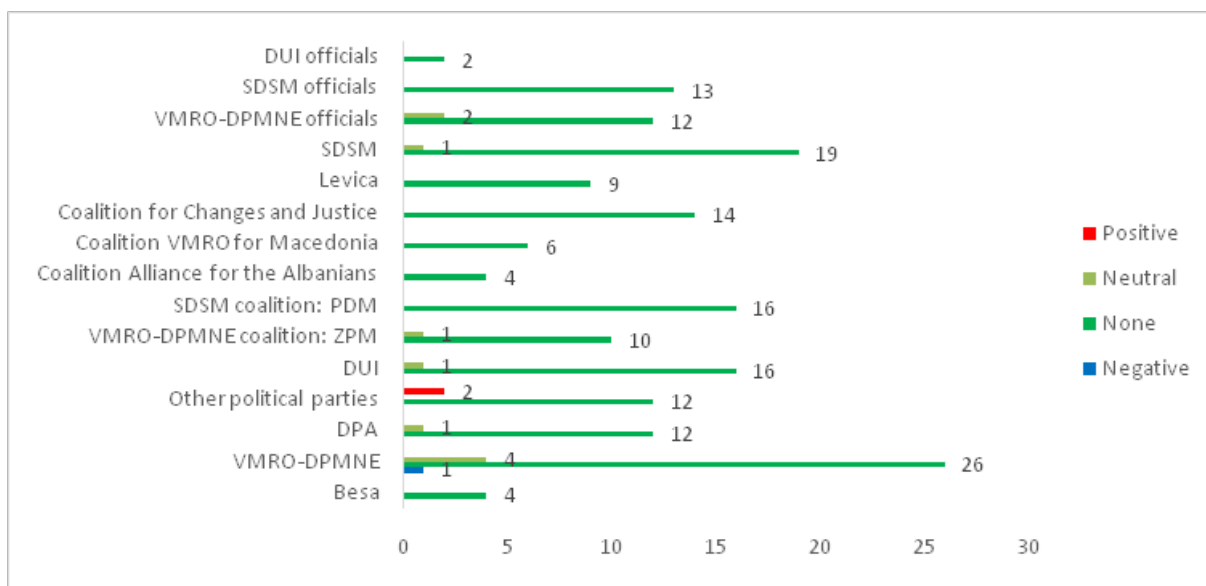
The TV station's reports in their central journal were relatively balanced both in terms of the number of reports and in terms of the critical stand towards political entities in all current events from the analysed period.

In most of the reports (54), the subject was VMRO DPMNE, the Coalition for a Better Macedonia and the officials from this party, while in 49 it was SDSM, the coalition they lead and the officials from the opposition, while the ruling DUI and the officials from this party - 19. DPA were presented in 12 reports, while the Coalition for Change and Justice as a Third block was present in 13 reports. 8 reports were about Levica, the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia were present in 6, the Coalition Alliance for Albanians in 4, that same number was for Besa and in 14 reports it was other political parties.

In most of the reports there was no biased journalist opinion. 8 reports (4 about VMRO DPMNE and their officials, one for DUI, for SDSM and for other parties) contained neutrally - critical reporting: About the vocabulary used by politicians in the campaign 23.11 ('Sharp rhetoric is led by both major parties of Albanians

in Macedonia, DUI and DPA. They compete to see which party will get more chants for the Liberation Army of Kosovo', 'The trial for destroying documents in the CISA (Counter Intelligence and Safety Administration) has been delayed, the case 'Fort' of SPPO from 28.11 ('Judge Lidija Petrovska, whose name was heard being mentioned in the 'bombs' as a judge that was elected for her position for wearing jewelry from the 'Swarovski' brand).

Two of the reports had a mild tone of praise (26.11 'As part of the conference for making Balkan economies greener, DOM's election programme was promoted. It was supplemented, shaped up, following several months of consultations with the people in Macedonia') and in one there was framing that can be interpreted as negative, aimed at VMRO DPMNE leader and at the head of the CISA Sasho Mijalkov in a header in the middle of the news on 29.11 ('What I want is Gruevski and Mijalkov to pay that amount out their pockets, not out of national money, although I know that bottom-line that money is part of stolen national money')

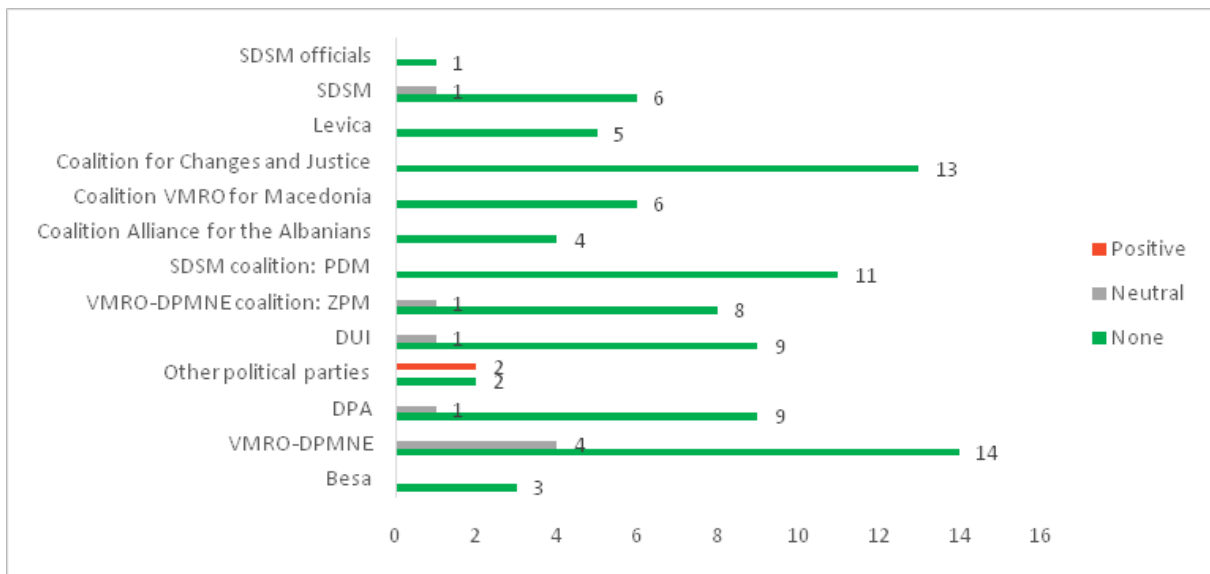


Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

In reports about pre-election activities in the campaign, the TV station assigned room not only for bigger political parties, but also for the new coalitions and for the smaller entities. A common subject of the reports was VMRO DPMNE, their coalition and officials (27), then SDSM, the oppositional coalition and their officials (19), the Coalition for Change and Justice (13), while 10 were about DUI and another 10 about DPA. Levica was presented in 8, the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia (6), the Coalition Alliance for Albanians and other parties (4).

Here too, most of the reports did not include a positive or negative approach from the journalist, the reporter or the media outlet. 6 of them included a neutral criticism (from the rally of the Coalition for a Better Macedonia and VMRO-DPMNE in Skopje on 27.11. 'Andrijana Janevska, understandably and already as tradition started her performance with the song 'May God Kill the Spies', Nikola Poposki's (from VMRO DPMNE) interview on 27.11 'How can we expect someone suspected of committing a crime to fight crime?') and in two cases it was positive about DOM's programme, from 26.11



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

Except by conveying statements of politicians, Telma did not cover in detail the specific topic that were imposed during this period.

One of them was the poll implemented by this TV station in collaboration with a specialized agency, published on 26.11



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



## 24 VESTI

24

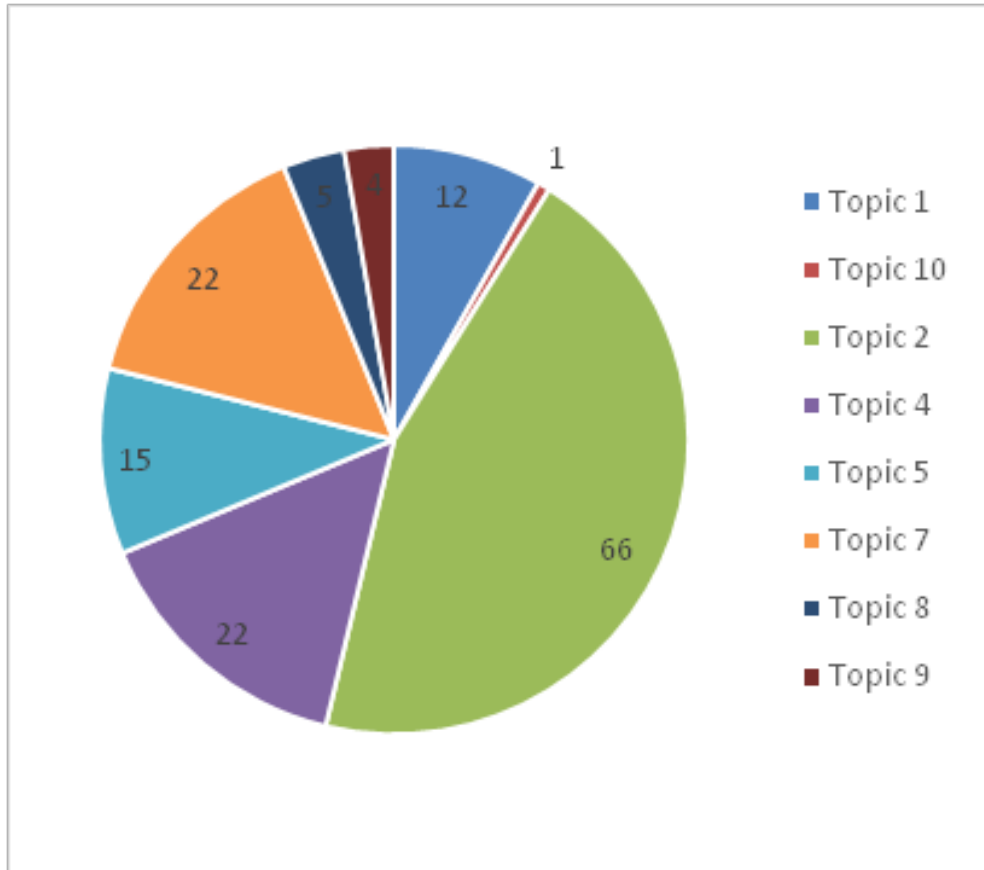
### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF 24 VESTI

- During the monitored period, TV station 24 Vesti broadcast a total of 147 news reports concerning political actors, processes or states in the country. Almost half of them (66) were focused on covering the pre-election campaign, and out of the other topics, the ones that stood out were the work of public institutions (22), regular activities of state officials (22) and the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (15).
- In general, in the news reports concerning domestic events, TV 24 Vesti reflected the various political views on current events and processes: the standpoints of VMRO-DPMNE, their coalition and Government officials were reported in 111 news reports, while in 86 news reports it was the standpoints of SDSM, their coalition and officials. Mentions of other political parties were significantly fewer. In a small number of instances, a neutrally critical stand was observed towards VMRO-DPMNE and towards DUI.
- The media outlet's coverage of the election campaign was balanced, both in terms of quantity and in quality, including reports on the activities of participants in the election process, and also by providing an overview of the course of the campaign, the rhetoric, comparison of the programmes and especially the introduction of bilingualism, which appeared to be the topic for this period of the campaign.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

While covering the pre-election campaign, reports were made not only about activities of political parties, but also about political party programmes, musicians hired in the campaign, comparisons were published between the economical promises made by both major parties, comparisons of their energy projects, about the lack of debates, the participation of Austrian Minister Kurz, and especially about the case with Sedat Asanovski, who was killed on

his way to the first rally of VMRO-DPMNE in Ohrid and was left lying roadside. The organization and preparation for the elections was monitored, with an emphasis of the information for abuse of official duty and of national resources, as well as pressures made on public sector employees, coming from NGOs. Reports were made about court proceedings related to the cases of SPPO, turbulences in the judiciary system, the national debt and other topics.



Number of reports on 24 Vesti, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)

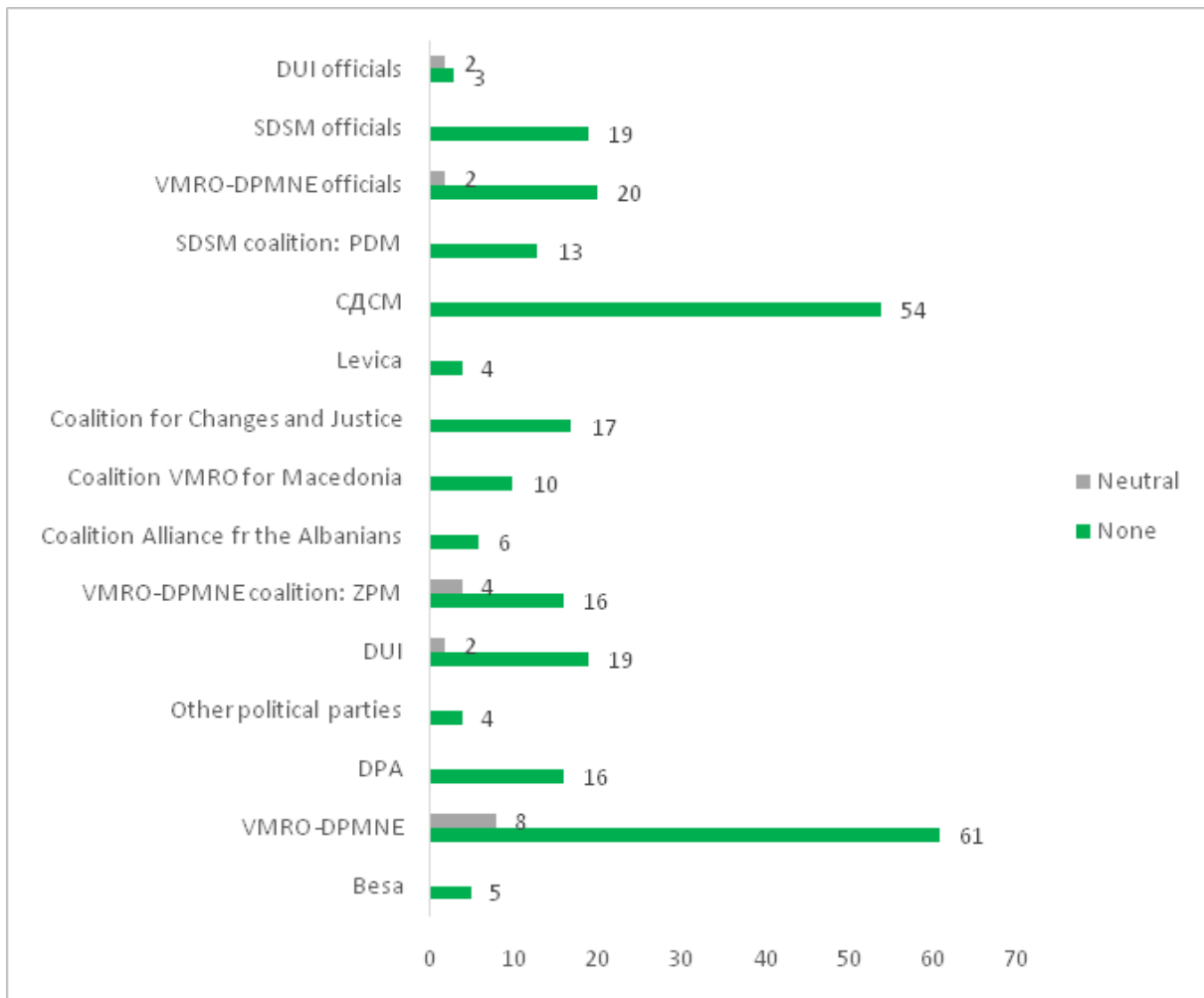


## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

If we are to analyse the quantity of information published about political entities in the context of all reports that refer to domestic events, a conclusion can be made that, in their news programme, the TV station has mainly reported the political standpoints and views of the two major political entities in the country. 111 reports about domestic events informed about VMRO-DPMNE, their coalition and Government officials, and 86 such reports informed about SDSM, their coalition and officials.

In most cases, the TV station merely conveyed the messages of political entities, without any journalist opinions. A neutrally-critical stand

was expressed in 17 instances overall, towards DUI officials (November 24: 'Apart from giving recommendations, the Ministry will not be able to undertake any measures for reducing air pollution'), towards VMRO-DPMNE (November 21: 'Public administration workers are faced once again with pressures and threats to attend political rallies of the Government', November 25: 'The scandalous thing is that while rushing to get to a rally, fellow party members left Sedat Asanovski's dead body by the road'), towards DUI (November 28: 'With nationalistic iconography and a song depicting Ali Ahmeti, Albanian Flag Day was celebrated'), i.e. towards entities that comprise parliamentary majority.



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

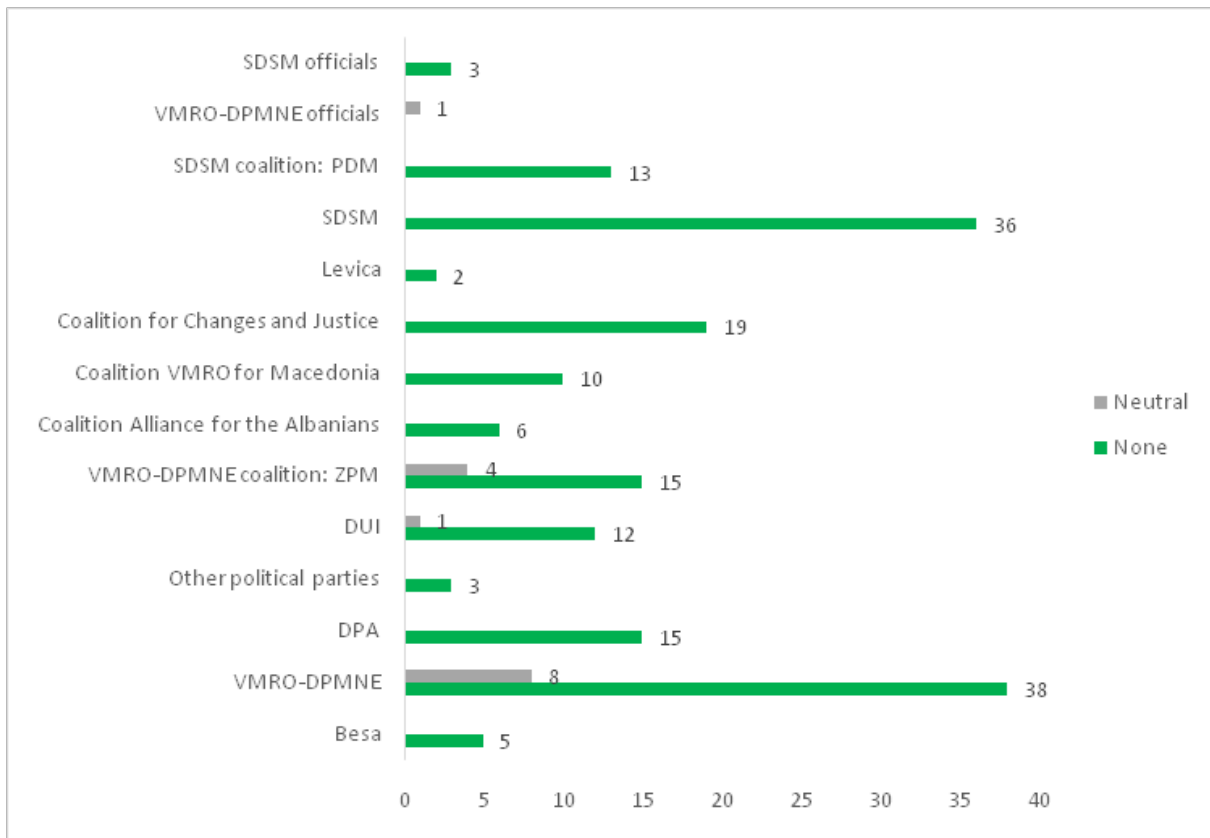


### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

In a quantitative sense, TV 24 provided balanced coverage of the campaign of the two major political parties, at the same time publishing a certain (although significantly lower) number of reports about smaller political entities that participate in the campaign. Most of the reports referred to classic campaign reporting, by conveying key messages sent by the candidates and this was in single blocks covering several parties (November 26: The election campaign continues – the parties are presenting their political programmes at rallies), and in some cases there were separate reports (November 26: Gruevski from Rosoman: Another 600 million

euro for farmers, November 25: The Coalition for Change and Justice assures that they will provide a unitary state, etc.).

The TV station also took an analytical approach to reporting about the campaign, by comparing the programmes of the parties (November 21: What are the parties offering in their election programmes) or segments from them (November 23: Economy in the party programmes). A critical stand was observed towards the ruling coalition regarding the case of the deceased party follower which they themselves uncovered (November 26: The body was laid on the asphalt for three hours)



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

Apart from conveying the statements from politicians from their public appearances in the campaign, the TV station also made special reports focusing on the topic of state bilingualism and its interpretation as an introduction to federalization, which was one of the main ele-

ments in the first nine days of the campaign. Nonetheless, when covering this topic, there were no instances of stands taken towards political entities, rather it showed opposing views on this issue (November 24: ‘Federalization – fake or real topic?’).



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



## KANAL 5

28

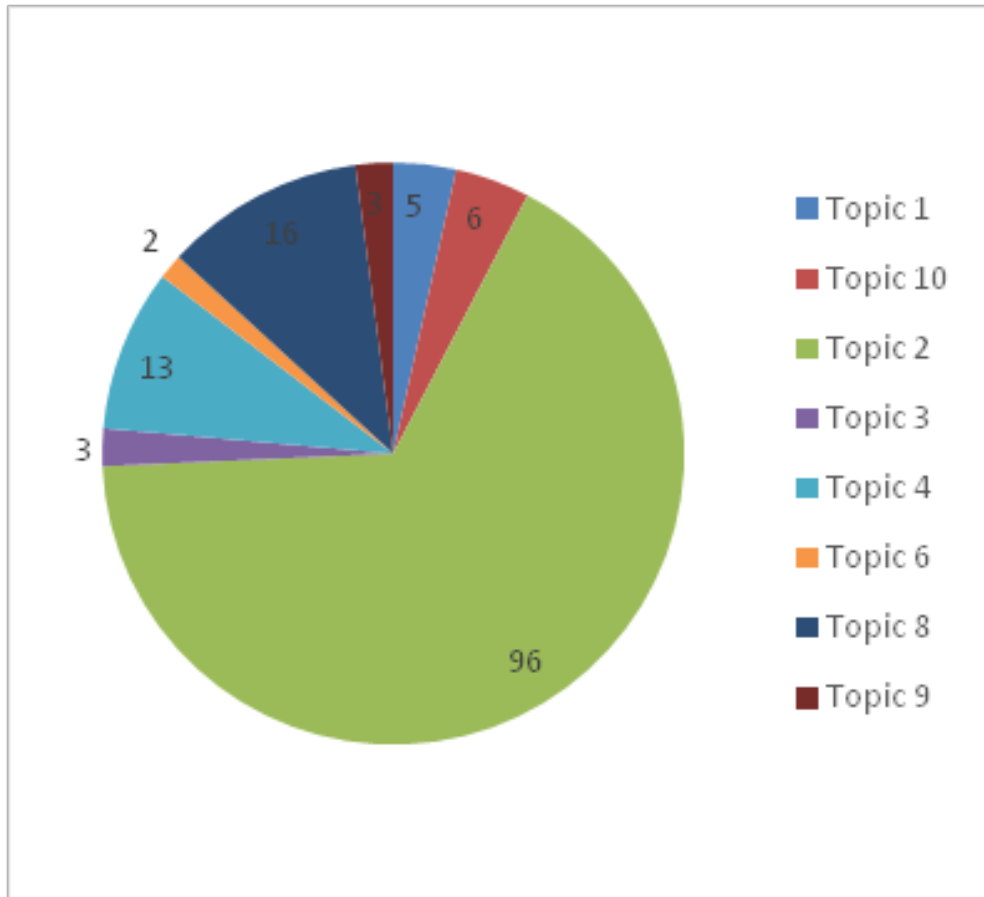
### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF KANAL 5

- TV station Kanal 5 aired a total of 144 reports during the monitored period, which referred to political actors, processes and situations in the country. Two thirds of them (96) were dedicated to covering the pre-election campaign, and out of the others the only ones that stand out are reports related to 'state bilingualism' and 'federalization' which was imposed as a separate topic in this period of the campaign (16) and the regular activities of state officials (13).
- In terms of quantity, in all reports about domestic events, Kanal 5 reflected the political views on current events and processes: 133 of the reports inform about VMRO-DPMNE, their coalition and Government officials, and 127 reports inform about SDSM, their coalition and officials. Reports about other political parties were significantly fewer. However, in terms of quality, there was an expressed negative attitude towards the opposition in 19 reports, and a positive attitude was evident towards the ruling party in that same number of reports.
- In the reports about the election campaign there was a balance in terms of quantity, however in some of them a positive attitude was expressed towards VMRO-DPMNE. State bilingualism was the most common topic where a negative stand was shown towards SDSM.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

During the monitored period, the news on Kanal 5 television were almost completely dedicated to covering the pre-election campaign, this was mostly done by simply conveying the statements, messages and promises from rallies and from meetings with citizens to the two major political entities – VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM. Other participants at the election were much less represented. The topic of state bilingualism was especially underlined, as a result of the pre-

election campaign, with an emphasis on the claim that it is an introduction to federalization. On other topics, the only other topic to receive a double digit number of reports (13) was the regular activities of state and other officials, like for instance the visit from President Gjorgje Ivanov to Sofia, the dispute between Minister Remenski and the Trade Union Alliance, etc. There were no reports observed on the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office.



**Number of reports on Kanal 5, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)**

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)

## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

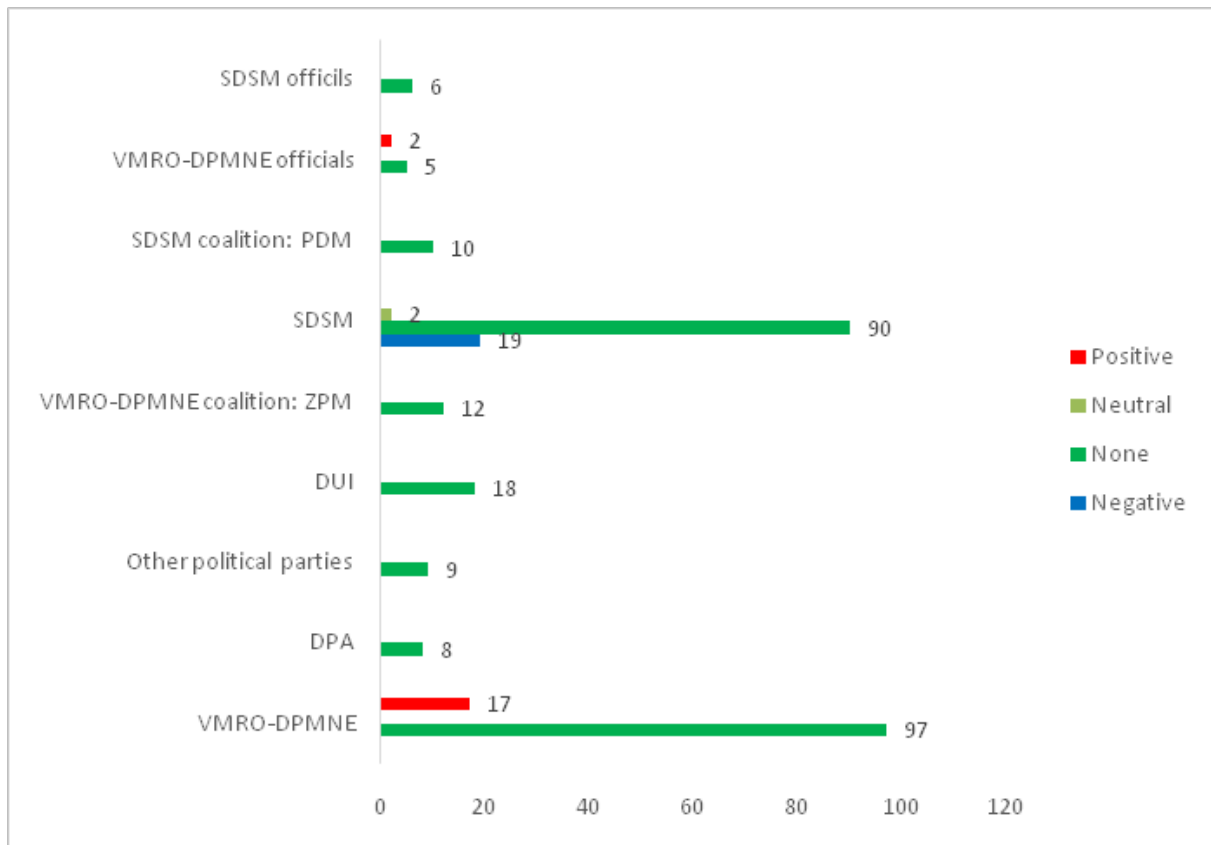
If we analyse the reports published about political entities as part of all published reports referring to domestic events, it may be said that the TV station's news programme showed an equal number of reports discussing the political standpoints and views of the two major political parties in the country - SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE. In almost the same number of cases, mentions were made about the Government and the opposition, along with their coalitions and officials (133 reports mentioned VMRO-DPMNE and 127 discussed SDSM). Nevertheless, in 19 instances SDSM were portrayed in a negative context, and in that same number of reports there was an expressive positive attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE.

The positive representation of VMRO-DPMNE was mainly linked to their activities in the pre-election campaign, among other things they used glorification in their cues (November 27: 'The programme Realistically will also be presented, it includes a huge number of projects that should improve the life of the people'). In one of the cases, there was notice of direct interference of state and party, so Government ac-

tivities for attracting foreign investments were shown in the context of VMRO-DPMNE's campaign (November 23: 'A thousand employees in the TIDZ in Prilep – the German company WIG will build a factory for household appliances').

Most of the reports that contained a negative stand towards SDSM referred to state bilingualism (November 23: 'The public condemns Zaev's announcement for federalization. Zaev is giving conflicting statements'), with the exception of the reports related to the alleged plagiarism of their campaign, in which the TV station did not make a distinction in presenting the opinions of VMRO-DPMNE on this matter, or they are presenting their own (November 27: 'Same catch phrases, same motto. SDSM's pamphlet is a copy of Serbia's ultra-right wing Dveri').

A neutrally-critical stand was observed towards SDSM in communicating the news about an attack on a crew from MTV on a party rally (November 25: 'MTV's crew was attacked at SDSM's rally in Tetovo') and such a stand was not observed in any cases towards VMRO-DPMNE, DUI or other political entities.



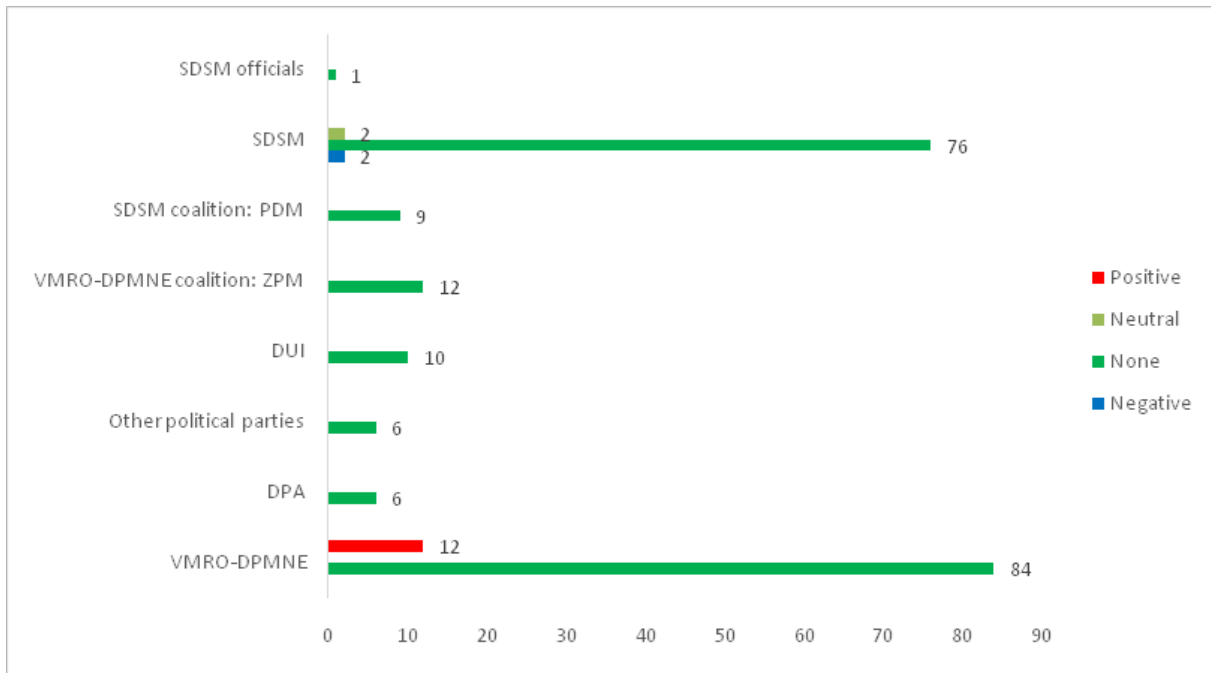
Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

In terms of the number of reports about political party activities for the campaign, more reports were aired about VMRO-DPMNE (108) than about SDSM (90). On the other hand, only 26 reports were aired about all other participants in the elections together. Regular practice was first to broadcast a block about the rallies and meetings with the people of candidates from VMRO-DPMNE and then followed a block about SDSM. A positive attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE in the campaign was most often expressed through the different quality in production in reporting about leaders Nikola Gruevski and Zoran Zaev. Reportage packages were shown about the activities of Nikola Gruevski from his meetings with the people (November 22: 'Gruevski announced

600 million euros in subsidies for farmers from the villages Novaci and Mogila', November 25: 'Gruevski: 10 new mines and 2200 direct employments', November 26: 'Gruevski announces in Demir Kapija several projects for the people'), and only statements in front of cameras were published from SDSM leader (November 25: 'In the next Government, Zaev will be a services for the people', November 26: 'Zaev: Our measures will improve the state of farmers').

In several cases there were also more direct expressions of a positive attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE (November 28: 'Let us hear the messages on togetherness, reforms and dedicated work, given by party leader Gruevski and the Germany and Austria').



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

In 16 reports, especially dedicated to state bilingualism and federalization, as topics that arose from the election campaign, Kanal 5 expressed a negative attitude towards SDSM (in 15 reports), which made this topic was the main basis on which a demonizing stand was built towards the opposition (November 22: 'The defenders do not accept SDSM's proposals to federalize Macedonia', November 23: 'A historical grand treason of Macedonia', November 25:

'Some experts believe that Kasapi's theses are an official recognition of Albanian language and redefining the state according to the instructions from the Albanian electorate', November 26: 'Experts fear that Zaev's announcements for expanding the Framework Agreement may push Macedonia into another ethnic crisis).

There were no special analysis of any other topic opened by the participants at the elections during the campaign.



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



ALFA

#### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF ALFA

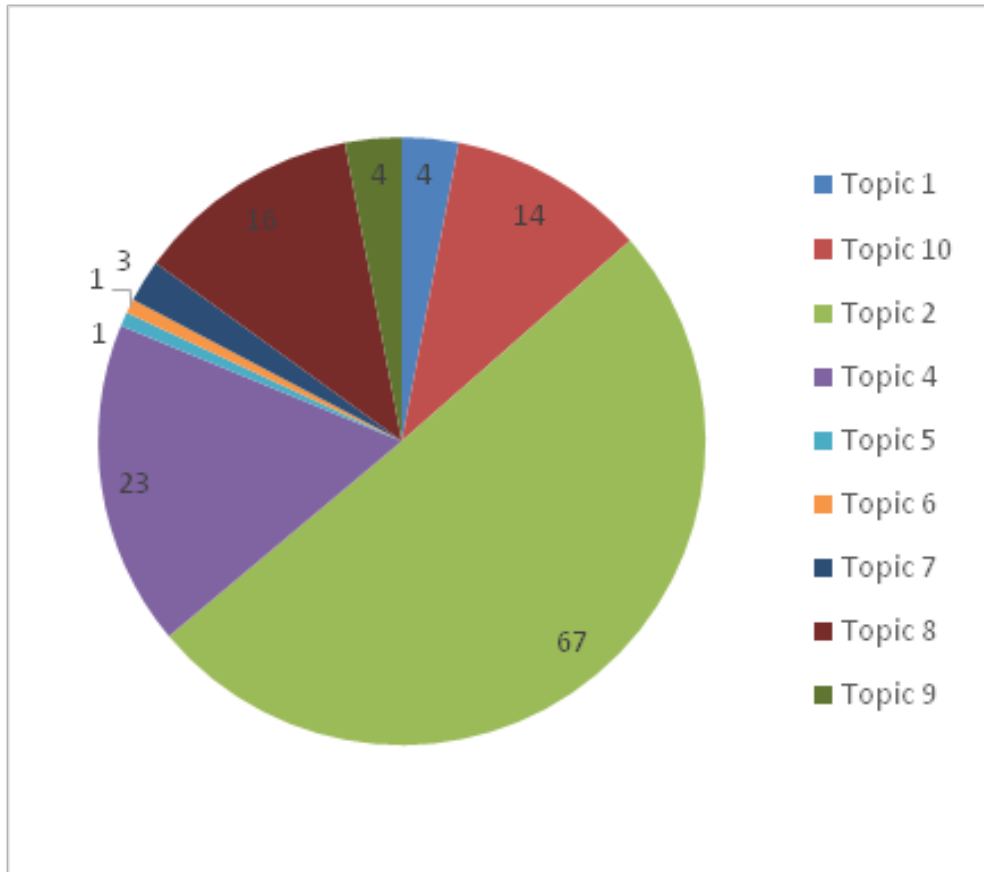
- TV station Alfa aired a total of 133 reports during the monitored period, which referred to political actors, processes and situations in the country. Half of them (67) were focused on covering the pre-election campaign. Alfa dedicated a significant portion of their time to reports about regular activities of state officials (22). The TV station frequently published reports linked to 'federalization' or 'state bilingualism' of Macedonia as a special topic in this campaign.
- In terms of quantity, in all reports about domestic events, Alfa reflected the political views on current events and processes linked to the major political parties: 110 reports informed about VMRO-DPMNE, their coalition and Government officials, 124 reports informed about SDSM, their coalition and officials. Reports about other political parties were significantly fewer. Despite the fact that the opposition is mentioned in more reports, there was an expressive negative attitude towards them in 44 reports, and a positive attitude was evident towards the ruling party in 43 reports.
- Also, in covering the election campaign, the media outlet expressed a positive attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE, and in some cases a negative one towards SDSM, although there was a quantitative balance between them



# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The campaign was mainly followed by simply conveying the statements, messages and promises from rallies and meetings with the people of the two major political entities, VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM, with a small number of reports about other participants in the elections. Special attention was paid only for the topic of state bilingualism (in which reports the framing pushed the thesis that it is an introduction to federalization) and the accusations that SDSM's campaign

is, as they put it, a 'plagiarism'. In respect to other topics, reports were more frequent only when it came to the regular activities of state and other officials (President Ivanov's visit to Sofia, the dispute between Minister Remenski and the trade union, the presence of officials and public forums and debates, the meeting in the MoE between Nikola Poposki and Sebastian Kurz, etc.) Reports were very few on topics such as the work of the SPPO, organization of the elections etc.



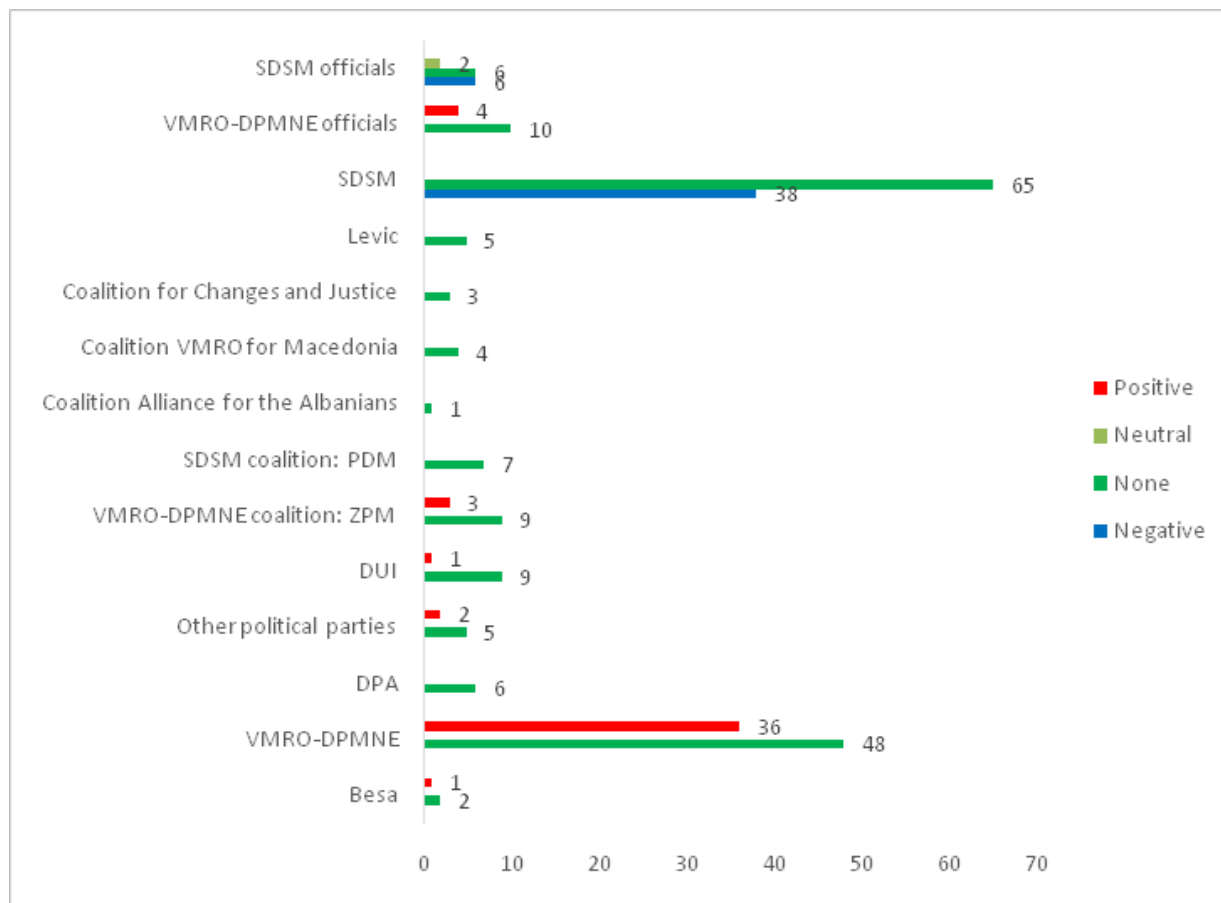
Number of reports on Alfa, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)

## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

According to the number of reports about political entities in the overall number of reports referring to domestic events, it can be said that, in their news programme, the TV station reported mostly about VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM, with a quantitative emphasis on the second party. There was little representation of the opinions and views of other political parties. Despite the fact that the opposition, their coalition and officials were mentioned in a higher number of reports as compared to the ruling party (124 as opposed to 110 reports), the attitude towards them is completely opposite (in 44 instances SDSM were placed in a negative context, and VMRO-DPMNE in a positive one).

The positive representation of VMRO-DPMNE was mainly linked to their activities in the pre-election campaign, and non-critical reporting was provided in that context even when there were cases of party interference in state matters (November 23: 'Gruevski on FG: Wig are opening a factory in Prilep'). Besides the topics of state bilingualism, negative reports about SDSM, were also present in the reports of the alleged plagiarism of the campaign of the oppositional part (November 28: 'Nogo for 'Dnevnik': We will see if we can press charges about the campaign that SDSM have copied') and the revision of the voters' registry (November 29: 'In the last two years, SDSM leader Zoran Zaev has falsely presented the number of phantoms which was completely rebutted by the State Election Commission').



Број на информативна политичките субјекти (емитувани во вкупниот број прилози)  
и начин на нивно вградување (21-29 ноември)

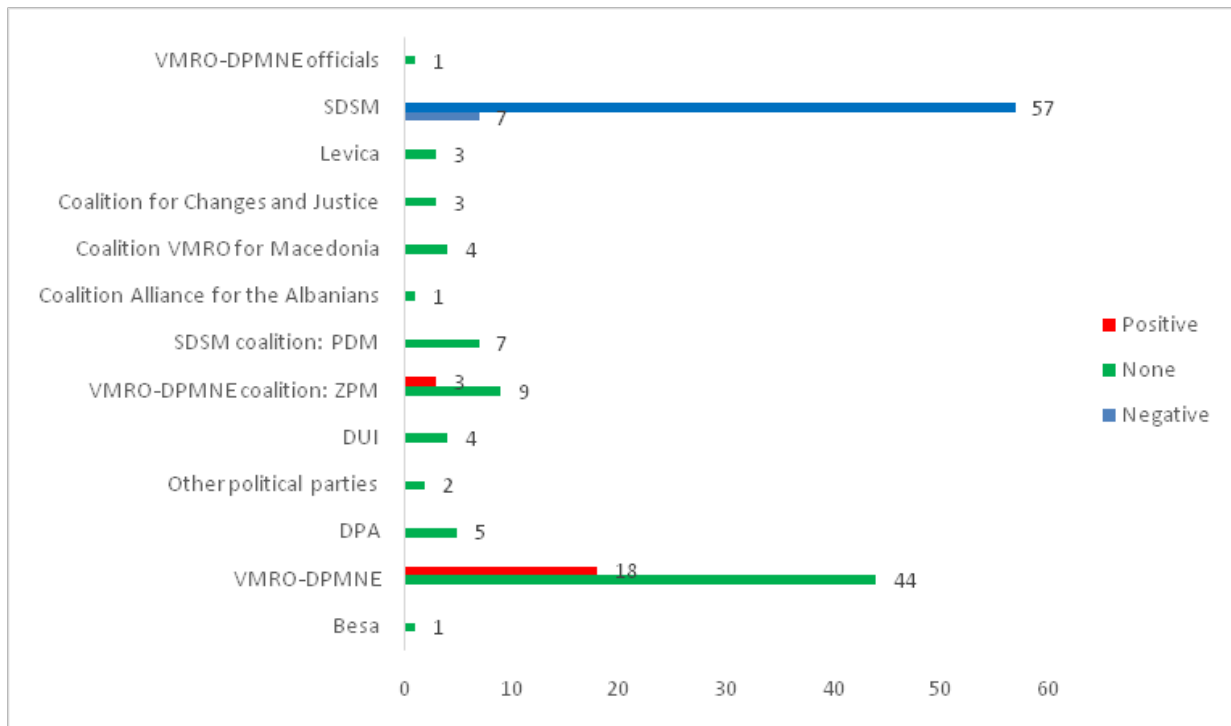
### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

When it comes to reporting about party activities in the election campaign, Alfa paid almost equal attention to VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM in terms of quantity. The same cannot be said about the number of reports about other parties. 75 of the reports informed about VMRO-DPMNE and their coalition, 71 about SDSM and their coalition. Opposite to this, only 23 reports informed about other participants at the elections.

More of the reports were classic campaign reporting, by conveying key messages sent by the candidates, in separate news reports. Regular practice during the news was to first report about VMRO-DPMNE's activities, and then about SDSM's activities. Major differences were also visible in the production quality of

these reports. Reportage packages were shown about the activities of VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski from his meetings with the people (November 23: Gruevski: '600 million euro for agricultural subsidies and rural development zones'), and only statements in front of cameras were shown of the leader of SDSM (November 26: 'Zaev from Strumica: Farmers are complaining, we are announcing changes').

In several cases there were also more direct expressions of a positive attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE (November 21: 'This is only a part of Realistically, the largest, most detailed and most comprehensive programme so far of VMRO-DPMNE'), and negative towards SDSM (November 25: 'SDSM's leader declared himself as Prime Minister speaking in Tetovo').



Број на информатива политичките субјекти (емитувани во прилозите за предизборната кампања) и начин на нивно врамување (21-29 ноември)



## 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

The main topic on which the media outlet based their demonizing stand towards SDSM was the issue of state bilingualism in Macedonia and the interpretation of it as Zaev's attempt to introduce federalization in the country. This was the third most common topic on the TV station during the monitored period, with 16 reports. In these reports, there were 21 instances of expressing a negative attitude towards SDSM (November 22: 'The idea of state bilingualism and creating a bi-national state that SDSM's leader Zoran Zaev is using for months to promise more rights for the Albanians in the country, is also the main topic of the first rallies of the political opponents', November 25: 'In this cacophony, while Zaev claimed in Tetovo that the Constitution will not be revised at any cost, in Kumanovo, Spasovski was talking about revising it, however not because of bilingualism', November 27: 'The rhetoric of re-defining,

changing the Constitution, bilingualism is not used by Zaev only at election rallies, SDSM has continuously played the card of bargaining national interests', November 28: 'SDSM leader has opened Pandora's box', in Tirana a Great Albania was formed inconspicuously, a model very similar to Zaev's ideas'). There were eight cases of showing a positive stand towards VMRO-DPMNE (November 21: SDSM is pushing the bilingualism project on full throttle. VMRO-DPMNE is engaging the hand brake'). The media outlet did not convey the different opinions on this issue equally, especially when it came to the concerned parties, rather what prevailed was the federalization narrative, which is in line with VMRO-DPMNE's opinions expressed during the campaign.

Not a single other topic raised by the political entities during the election campaign was analysed by the media outlet.





MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# ALSAT M

## ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

38

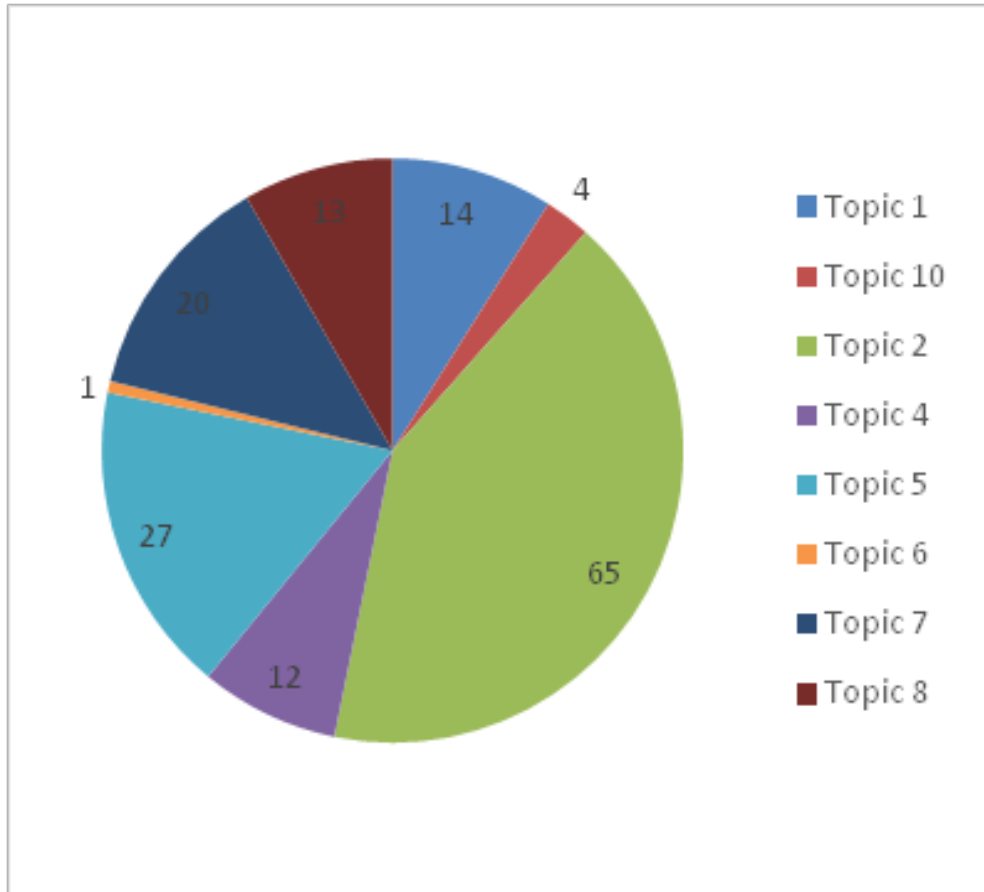
### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF ALSAT M (ALBANIAN LANGUAGE)

- During the monitored period, the news on Alsat M TV in Albanian and in Macedonian were identical for the most part, except in covering the election campaign, where the Albanian language news programme published more reports about the daily activities of the candidates. In their news programme in Albanian, the media outlet published a total of 15 reports, which referred to political actors, processes and situations in the country. 65 of them pertained to the pre-election campaign, 27 to the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office, 20 to the regular work of state institutions, etc.
- The most commonly mentioned political entities in the news in Alsat M in Albanian, during this period, were VMRO-DPMNE with their coalition and officials (82), then followed SDSM with their coalition and officials (61) and DUI and their officials (56), and DPA were present in 25 reports. A neutrally-critical stand was most often expressed towards DUI and VMRO-DPMNE as public policy creators of many years.
- The election campaign, although it was represented in almost half of the reports, was not prevalent in the news in this media outlet, unlike others. The daily activities of candidates (rallies and meetings with the people) were shown near the end of the news, and in the rest of the space allotted for the campaign, the media outlet raised numerous topics, such as the quality of the campaign, how realistic the promises are, what parts of the programme are disputable, etc.
- These news also focused more attention, as compared to other media, on the work of SPPO and their cases, also by providing an analytical and not only an informative approach.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The TV station focused on a relatively low number of topics, the pre-election activities in the political parties' campaign, the work of SPPO, the work of the institutions, organizing the elections, regular activities of state officials and state bilingualism. They all featured an analytical approach with well-argued criticisms. Special focus was paid to the relationship of institutions with SPPO, which was

shown to be inappropriate and tendentious, then the claims from observers of the election process that pressure is put onto voters, the pollution and the lack of adequate measures (as part of the work of institutions and public officials), and state bilingualism which was portrayed, first and foremost, as a pre-election manipulation, as is suggested by Albanian parties.



Number of reports on Alsat M in Albanian, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)



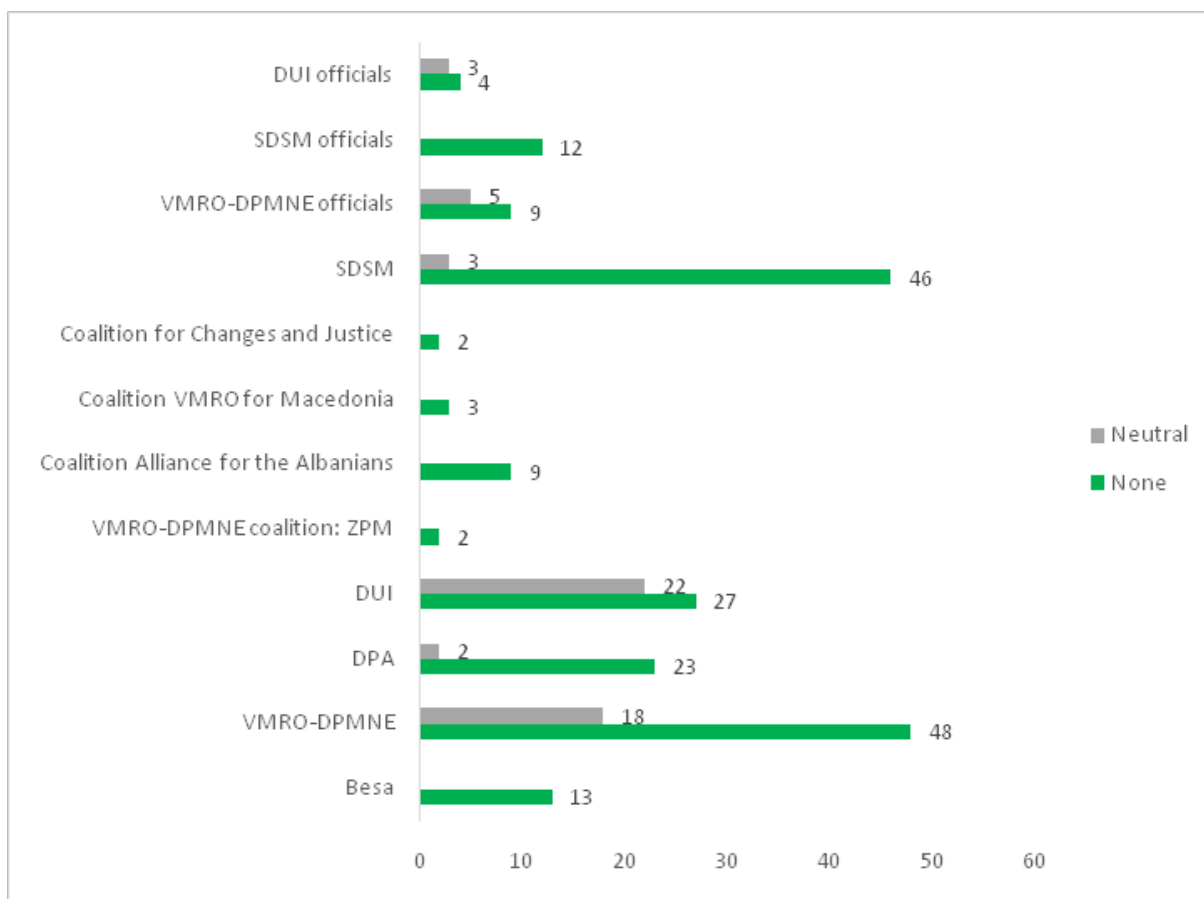


## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

If we are to analyse the information published about political entities in the light of all reports that refer to domestic events, it can be said that, in its news in Albanian, the TV station reported about VMRO-DPMNE, their coalition and officials in more reports (82) as compared to SDSM with their coalition and officials (61). They also dedicated much more reports to DUI (56) than to DPA (25).

However, if you analyse the approach to these political entities in a qualitative sense, the news in Albanian on Alsat M showed an expressive neutrally-critical attitude in 25 cases towards DUI (November 25: 'Ecology Minister Ahmeti does not join in the measures against pollutions') and in 23 cases towards VMRO-DPMNE

(November 22: 'The ruling party VMRO-DPMNE is ordering texts from lobbyists in foreign media, and are presenting them to the local public as the opinions of experts from those countries'), and in some of the cases towards both parties at the same time (November 25: 'This project has been presented for years in the pre-election campaigns of Ahmeti's and of Gruevski's party'). A critical stand was observed towards SDSM and DPA in reports that also include other political entities in the report (November 27: 'In the pre-election period, the parties are promising pension increases, although the state fund is swallowing up hundreds of millions of euros'; November 29: 'Albanian parties are promising consensus, are they willing to make it happen').

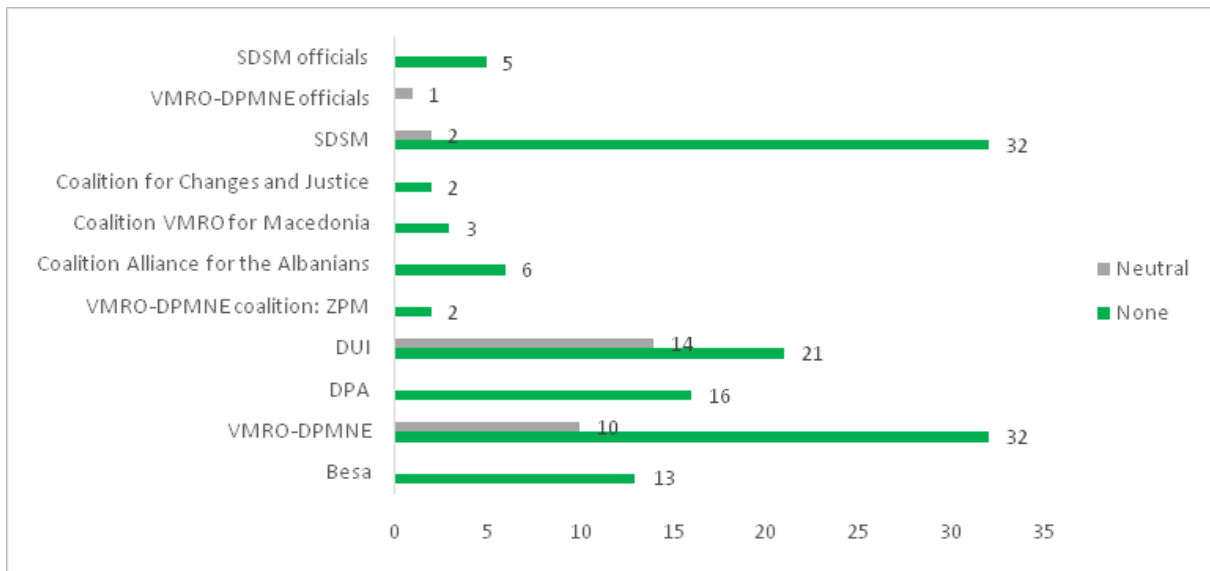


Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

Alsats M in Albanian had a specific approach to covering the pre-election campaign – analytical as opposed to merely reporting packages were prevalent and there was no balance in terms of quantity in reporting on these topics. VMRO-DPMNE were presented in 31 reports, DUI in 24, SDSM in 14, DPA in 7 and all other participants at the elections in 9 reports. In this topic too, the strongest neutrally-critical stand was expressed towards DUI and VMRO-DPMNE (November 22: ‘VMRO and DUI are using nationalistic rhetoric in order to avoid suspicions about their crimes’, November 27: ‘VM-

RO-DPMNE and DUI are running the election race with some identical projects’, November 27: ‘DUI is promising tens of millions of euros in investments in Popova Shapka, however the party does not have an answer about the irregular systemization of workers’, etc.). There were no specifically intended criticisms towards other entities, only if they are covered in reports that report on a general critical stand towards all parties, for instance in reports that not a single party is offering solutions about pollution in the pre-election period (November 26: ‘Polluted air, the people demand a solution’)



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

In reports about state bilingualism as a separate topic brought about by the election campaign, Alsats M in Albanian once again focused most of their criticisms on DUI, by creating a frame that supports that the party is failing to implement legal solutions that guarantee state bilingualism (November 23: ‘Even after 15 years DUI are still promising Albanian language at all levels’) and towards VMRO-DPMNE (November 24: ‘Although having spoken in Albanian, Gruevski still finds state bilingualism to be a threat’).

The work of SPPO was one of the most common topics on the TV station and the obstructions that this institution faces in taking over cases were criticized (November 27: ‘Resistance from some institutions to hand over the case ‘Sopot’ to Katica Janeva only goes to show how much the state was involved in this and in other court cases, analysis of professor Biljali’), in implementing court procedures (November 28: ‘The court has requested that SPPO provide a license for the materials from the Counter-intelligence and Safety Administration’) and in other cases.



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# ALSAT M MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

42

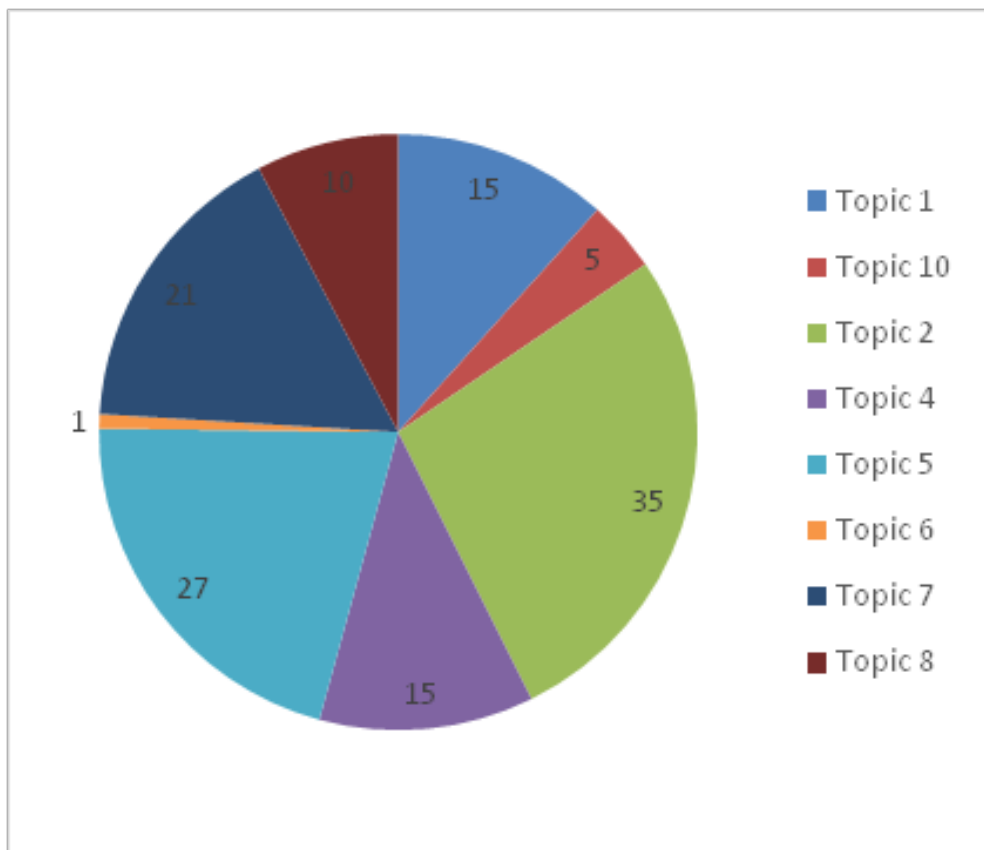
## GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF ALSAT M (MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE)

- In their news in Macedonian, TV station Alsat M aired a total of 129 reports during the monitored period, which referred to political actors, processes and situations in the country. The most common topics were the election campaign (35 reports) and the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (27 reports), after then followed the work of state institutions (21).
- The most commonly mentioned political entities in the news of Alsat M in Macedonian, in this period, were the partners in the latest Government coalition (before the Technical Government), VMRO-DPMNE with their coalition and officials (67) and DUI with their officials (45), before SDSM with their coalition and officials (37), DPA (15) and other parties. A neutrally-critical stand was most often expressed towards DUI and VMRO-DPMNE as public policy creators of many years.
- In the news programmes in Macedonian on Alsat M, the activities of parties in the elections campaign, albeit as most commonly present topic, did not dominate the news. In the space allotted for the campaign, the media outlet did not focus only of communicating the activities of participants at the elections, rather it raised several topics, for instance about the quality of the campaign, how realistic the promises are, that parts of the programmes are disputable, etc.
- These news also focused more attention, as compared to other media, on the work of SPPO and their cases, also by providing an analytical and not only an informative approach

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The TV station focused on a relatively low number of topics, the pre-election activities in the political parties' campaign, the work of SPPO, the work of the institutions, organizing the elections, regular activities of state officials and state bilingualism. They all featured an analytical approach with well-argued criticisms. Special focus was paid to the relationship of institutions

with SPPO, which was shown to be inappropriate and tendentious, then the claims from observers of the election process that pressure is put onto voters, the pollution and the lack of adequate measures (as part of the work of institutions and public officials), and state bilingualism portrayed, first and foremost, as a pre-election manipulation, as is suggested by Albanian parties.



Number of reports on Alsat M (Macedonian language), in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

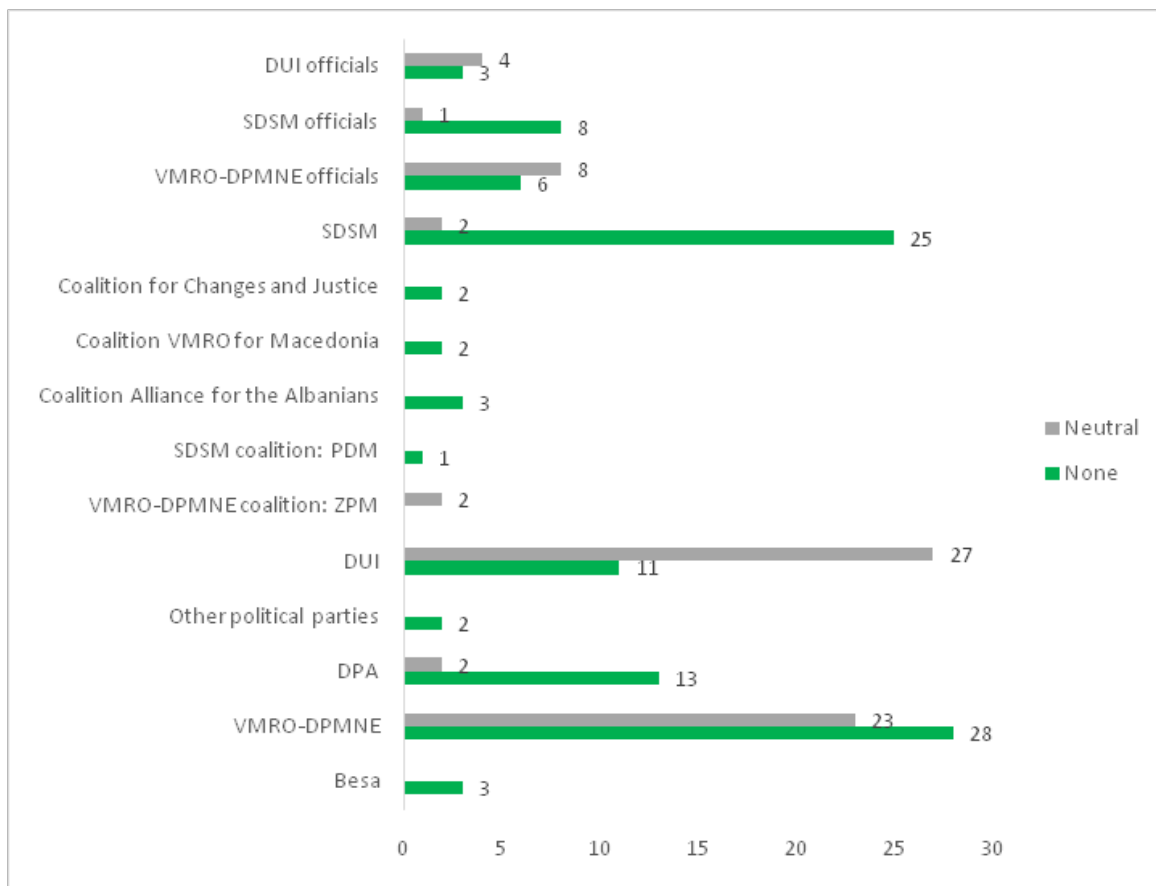
Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)

## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

If we are to analyse the information published about political entities in the light of all reports that refer to domestic events, it can be said that, in its news in Macedonian, the TV station focused more on VMRO-DPMNE and DUI and the parties in power. The coalition partners were mentioned 112 times in the reports, and their political competitors SDSM and DPA 52 times. These numbers include the mentions of coalitions and officials of these parties.

If you analyse the approach to these political entities in a qualitative sense, the news in Albanian on Alsat M showed an expressive neutrally-critical attitude in 31 cases towards DUI (November 25: 'Ecology Minister Ahmeti does not join in the measures against pollutions') and in 33 cases towards VMRO-DPMNE (No-

vember 22: 'The ruling party VMRO-DPMNE is ordering texts from lobbyists in foreign media, and are presenting them to the local public as the opinions of experts from those countries'), and in some of the cases towards both parties at the same time (November 25: 'This project has been presented for years in the pre-election campaigns of Ahmeti's and of Gruevski's party'). A critical stand was observed towards SDSM and DPA in two reports that also include other political entities in the report (November 27: 'In the pre-election period, the parties are promising pension increases, although the state fund is swallowing up hundreds of millions of euros'; November 29: 'Albanian parties are promising consensus, are they willing to make it happen').

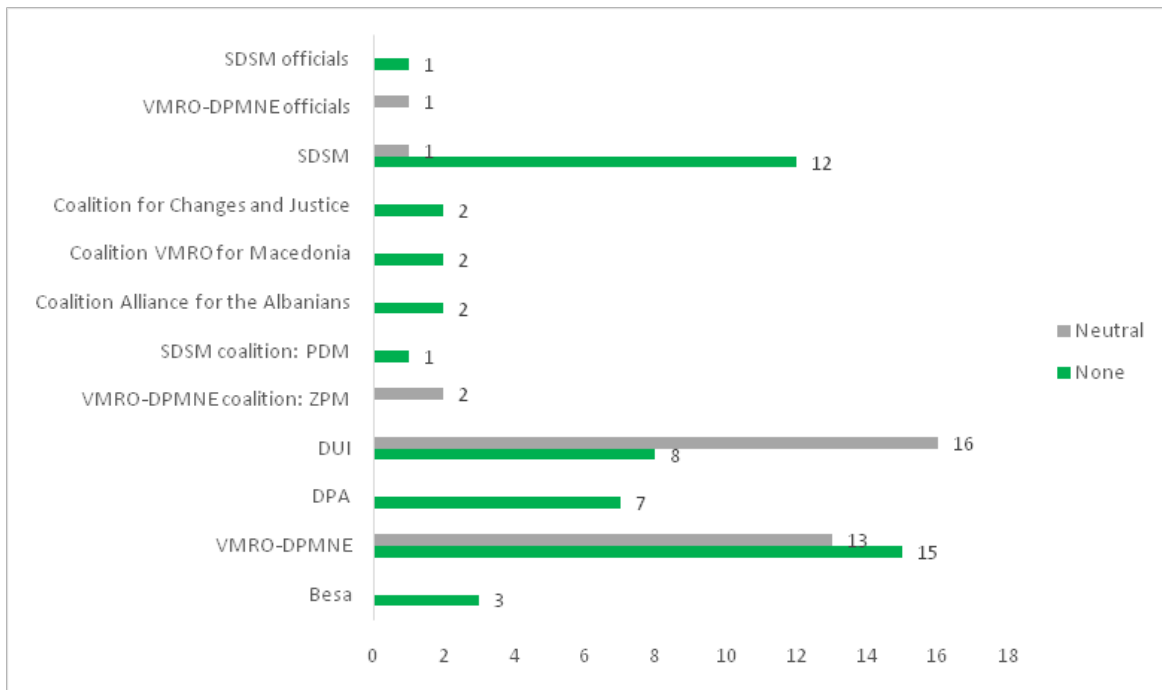


Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

Alsat M in Macedonian had a specific approach to covering the pre-election campaign as compared to the other media – the specificity being that analytical and not merely reporting packages were prevalent in the news. Nonetheless, the news did not provide a quantitative balance in covering these topics. VMRO-DPMNE were presented in 31 reports, DUI in 24, SDSM in 14, DPA in 7 and all other participants at the elections in 9 reports. In this topic too, the strongest neutrally-critical stand was expressed towards DUI and VMRO-DPMNE (November 22: ‘VMRO and DUI are using nationalistic rhetoric in order to avoid suspicions about

their crimes’, November 27: ‘VMRO-DPMNE and DUI are running the election race with some identical projects’, November 27: ‘DUI is promising tens of millions of euros in investments in Popova Shapka, however the party does not have an answer about the irregular systemization of workers’, etc.). There were no specifically intended criticisms towards other entities, only if they are covered in reports that report on a general critical stand towards all parties, for instance in reports that not a single party is offering solutions about pollution in the pre-election period (November 26: ‘Polluted air, the people demand a solution’).



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

In reports about state bilingualism as a separate topic brought about by the election campaign, Alsat M in Albanian once again focused most of their criticisms towards DUI, by creating the frame to present that the party is failing to implement legal solutions that guarantee state bilingualism (November 23: ‘Even after 15 years DUI are still promising Albanian language at all levels’) and towards VMRO-DPMNE (November 24: ‘Although having spoken in Albanian, Gruevski still finds state bilingualism to be a threat’).

The work of SPPO was one of the most common topics on the TV station and the obstructions that this institution faces in taking over cases were criticized (November 27: ‘Resistance from some institutions to hand over the case ‘Sopot’ to Katica Janeva only goes to show how

much the state was involved in this and in other court cases, analysis of professor Biljali’), in implementing court procedures (November 29: ‘Experts are criticizing the decision of the court that the SPPO should ask for authorization from the Counter-intelligence and Safety Administration in order to confirm the charges. According to them the court is trying to conceal a crime of the secret police’) and in other cases.

In the period of the pre-election campaign, the TV station did not deviate from their standard editorial policy of critical observation of the work of state officials (November 29: ‘If trees had been planted around the ring road 8 years ago, there would not have been the erosion that caused the death of 20 persons) and the institutions (November 29: ‘The Ministry of Health remains silent on infant mortality’).



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# TV 21

## MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

46

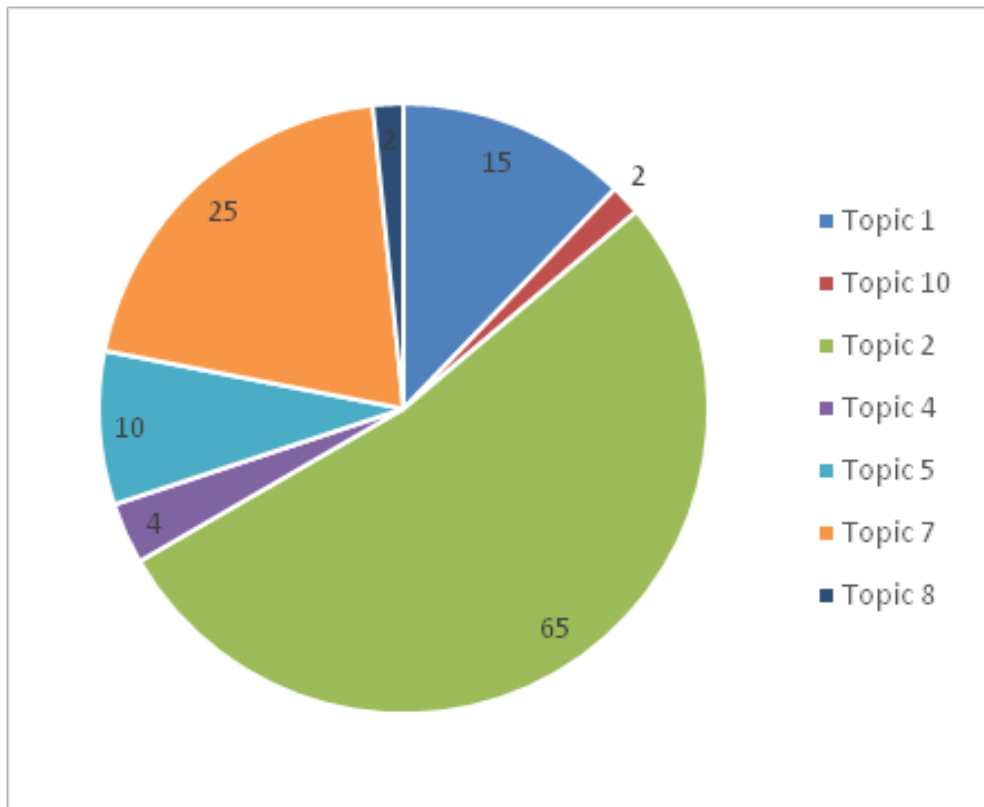
### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF TV 21 IN MACEDONIAN

- In their news in Macedonian, TV 21 published a total of 123 reports concerning current political events. More than half of the reports (65) were about the pre-election activities of the parties, then followed the reports about state and local institutions (25), the activities around the preparation of elections (15), the work of the SPPO (10), the regular activities of ministers and deputies (4), state bilingualism and federalization (2) and Albanian Flag Day.
- Also judging by the number of reports and the manner of reporting about the role of Government and opposition representatives in daily political events, this TV station showed a balanced approach. Most of the reports were conveyances of the opinions of actors in daily political events, however there were also reports that were argument supported criticisms for political entities (9 in total).
- Linked to the topic of 'activities of the political parties in the campaign', except for the major political parties and coalitions, for which there was balanced reporting, this TV station allotted space in their news programme for all new pre-election coalitions and smaller entities. In none of the reports a favourizing or demonizing attitude was observed.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The TV station followed all current events related to the elections, as well as the work of the institutions such as SPPO, courts, regular statements from officials, as well as events that are of interest for the Albanian community. They analysed current issues through debates, where

they confronted different opinions of experts and political party representatives. The reporting was mostly communication of entities' messages, and in rare cases the journalist made critical observations of an issue, however there was no favourizing or demonizing overtone.



Number of reports on TV 21 Macedonian language, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics (celebrating Albanian Flag Day)



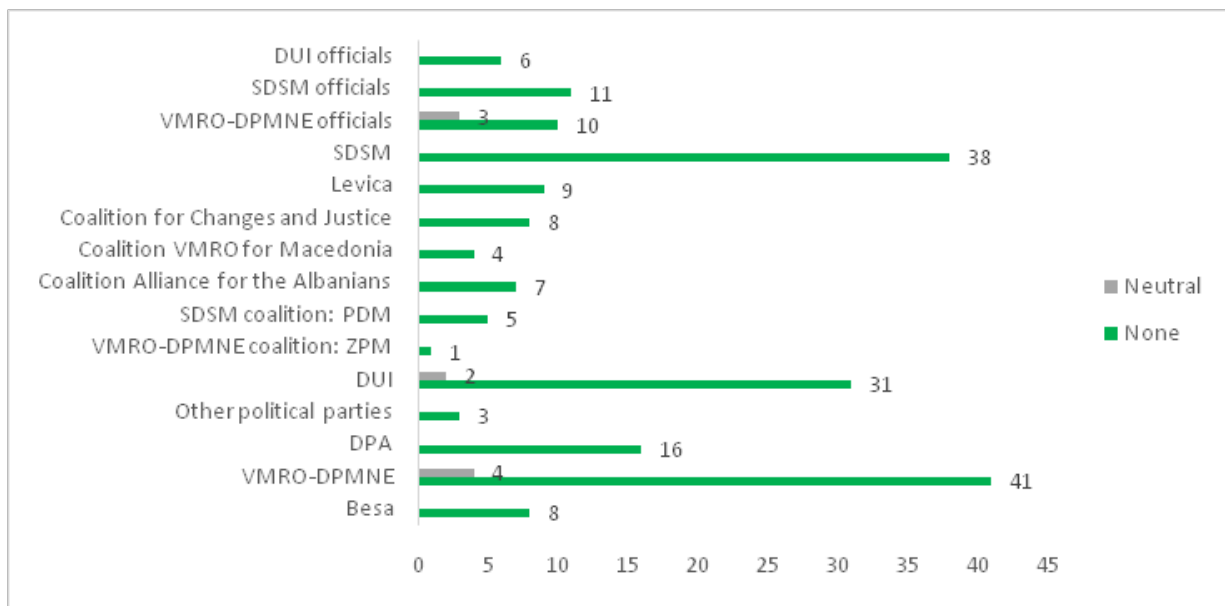


## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

Also judging by the number of reports and the manner of reporting about the role of Government and opposition representatives in daily political events, this TV station showed a balanced approach. This TV station also allotted space in their news programme to all new pre-election coalitions and smaller entities. The most commonly mentioned subject in the reports was VMRO DPMNE, their coalition and officials (59), then followed SDSM, their coalition and officials (54), DUI and their party officials (47) and DPA (16), Levica (9), Besa 8, the Coalition for Change and Justice 8 reports, the Coalition for Alliance of Albanians 7, the Coali-

tion VMRO for Macedonia 4 and other parties were subjects of 3 reports.

In 9 of the published reports, the TV station made neutrally critical observations (21.11 'TV 21's camera noted a huge poster of DUI leader – Ali Ahmeti as a young man in uniform from the days of his service in ONA..., the list of candidates from VMRO DPMNE also included Johan Tarculovski who was convicted of war crimes in the Hague Tribune', 24.11. 'The residents on 'Partizanska' boulevard are angry because cars are being towed away for VMRO DPMNE's rally'), most of the reports had the ruling party VMRO DPMNE and their officials as subjects (5 reports)



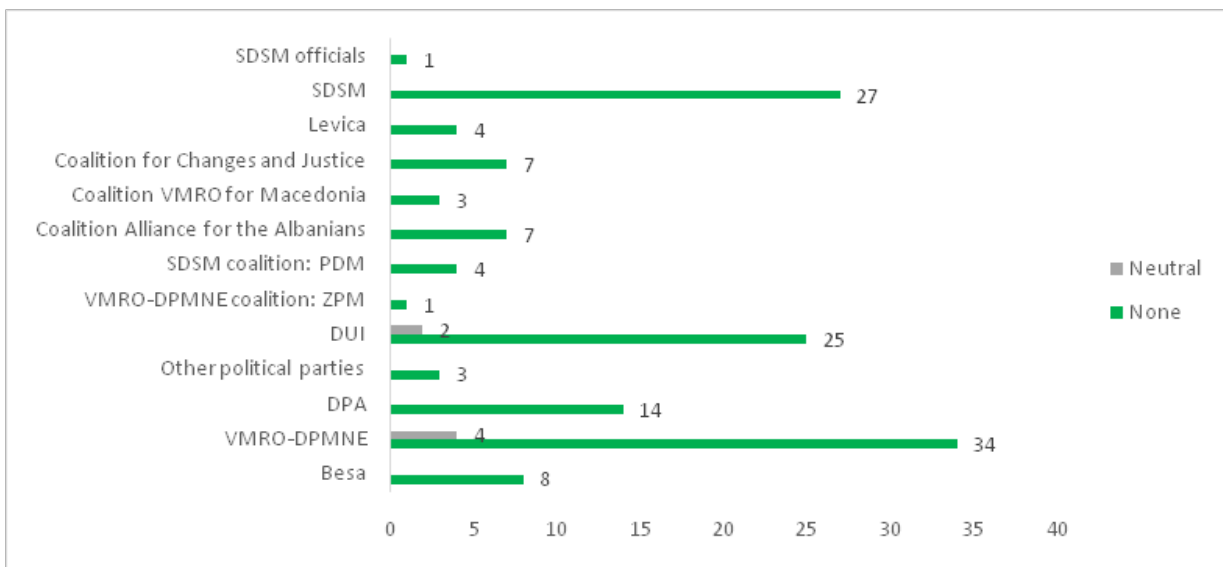
**Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)**

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

When it comes to reports shown specifically about political party campaign activities, it can be concluded that TV 21 in Macedonian showed a balanced approach during the analysed period. The ruling VMRO DPMNE, the coalition and officials (39), then SDSM, their coalition and officials (32), DUI (27), DPA (14), Besa (8), the Coalition Alliance for Albanians (7), the Coalition for Change and Justice (7), Levica 4, the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia (3).

The journalists from this TV stations published 6 reports in total on the topic of campaign elections that were neutrally criticizing (4 of them observed VMRO DPMNE, while 2 were about DUI), while the rest of the reports were mere conveyances of the messages from

pre-election events of party representatives. The only 'opinion' was contained in the on-screen captions that announce the reports (23.11. 'Electoral caravan for VMRO DPMNE, Gruevski is 'realistically' envisaging numerous investments', 'Electoral caravan of SDSM, Zaev's plan for life and justice for all in Macedonia'), while the reports did not contain any journalist opinions. The questions that discuss dilemmas about current issues were contained in the topics of the debates organized by this TV station, and afterwards they publish a resume from these debates in the news (23.11. "Why nationalism in election rhetoric, analysts are saying that people are interested in economy, not nationalism).



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

Of the characteristic topics discussed during the period of analysis, the TV station published in their news only two reports about federalization and state bilingualism that referred to accusations of the Government to the opposition,

however a journalist opinion was not present in either one. An expert debate was also organized on this topic (23.11. 'Why nationalism in the election rhetoric, analysts are saying that people are interested in economy, not nationalism).



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# TV 21

## ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

50

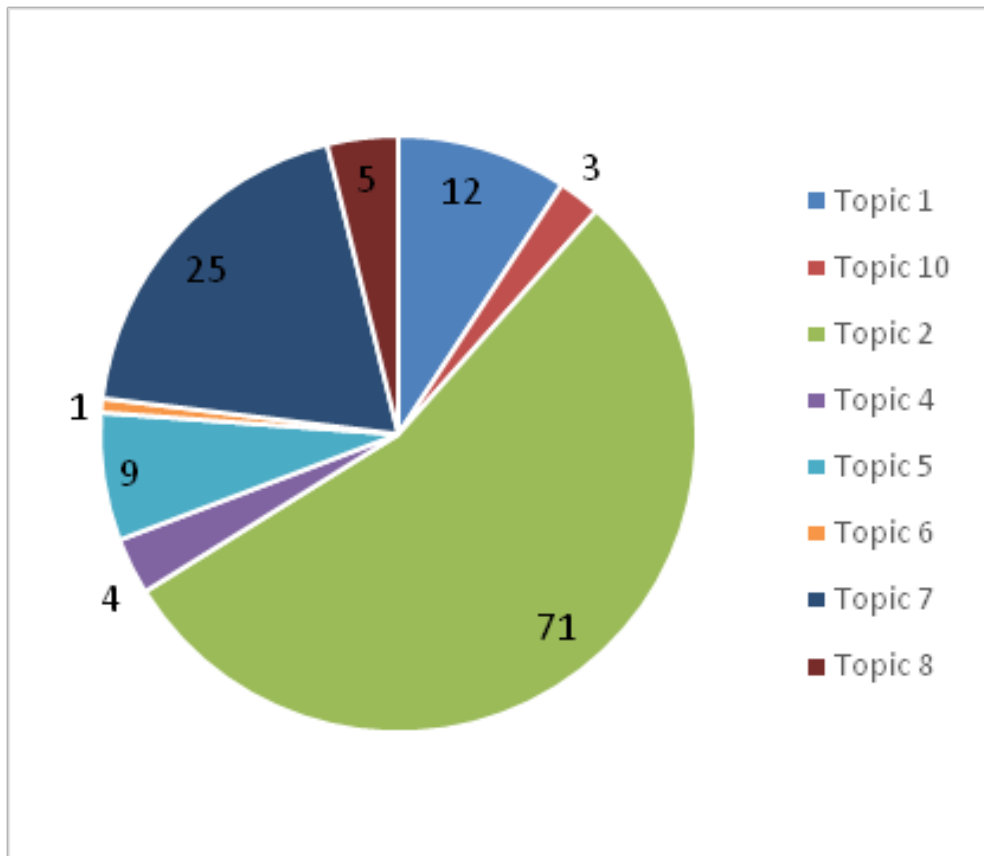
### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF TV 21 IN ALBANIAN

- In their news in Albanian, TV 21 published a total of 131 reports concerning political events. More than half of the reports (71) were about the pre-election activities of the parties, then followed the reports about state and local institutions (25), the activities around the preparation of elections (12), the SPPO (9), state bilingualism and federalization (5), the regular activities of ministers and deputies (4).
- In general, the reports about daily political events and topics did not include an explicit journalist opinion. Also judging by the number of reports and the manner of reporting about the role of Government and opposition representatives in daily political events, this TV station showed a balanced approach.
- Relative balance both in a quantitative and qualitative aspect was also present in reports about pre-election activities of political entities. The ruling VMRO DPMNE and the Coalition for a Better Macedonia (40), then SDSM, their coalition and officials (32), DUI in 26 reports. The party activities of DPA were the subject of 15 reports, for Besa (11), the Coalition Alliance for Albanians (7), Levica 4, as many reports focused on other political parties and in 3 it was the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

TV 21 in Albanian reported about all current topics from the pre-election activities, the court process of SPPO for the case 'Fortress', the expectations of the international represen-

tatives for the upcoming elections and topics of interest for the Albanian community, and about the commendations from Kosovo's Prime Minister to Macedonian nationals.



Number of reports on TV 21 Macedonian language, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics

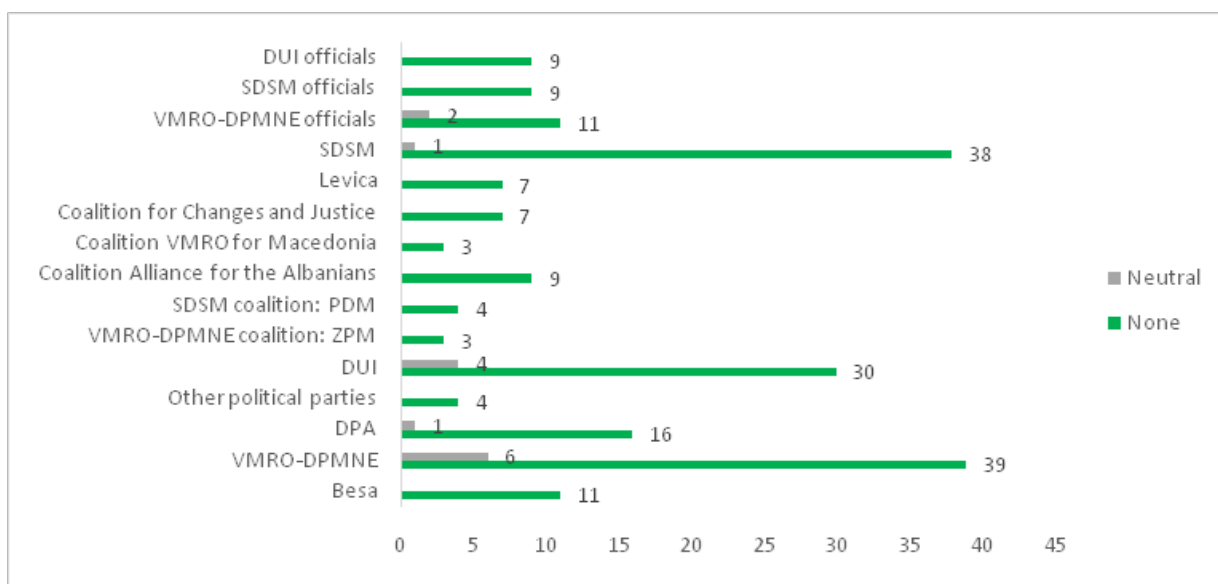


## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

In their news in Albanian, TV 21 in general presented reports without an explicit journalist opinion. Also judging by the number of reports and the manner of reporting about the role of Government and opposition representatives in daily political events, this TV station showed a balanced approach. The TV station also allotted space in their news programme to all new pre-election coalitions and smaller entities. The most commonly mentioned subject in the reports was VMRO DPMNE, their coalition and officials (61), then followed SDSM, their coalition and officials (52), DUI and their party officials (43) and DPA (17). The TV station aired 11 reports about Besa, 9 about the Coalition Alliance for Albanians, 7 each for the Coalition

for Change and Justice and for Levica, while 4 reports were about other political parties and 3 reports were about the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia.

In 14 of the published reports, the TV station made neutrally-critical observations, in 8 of these reports the subject was VMRO DPMNE or their officials and in 4 it was DUI (21.11. 'The last thing TV 21's cameras recorded was a poster featuring DUI leader Ali Ahmeti back when he was a member of ONA', 24.11 'Cars are being towed away because of the protest of VMRO DPMNE, the people are angered'). The other reports were mere conveyances of statements of politicians and government representatives, without any journalist observations.



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

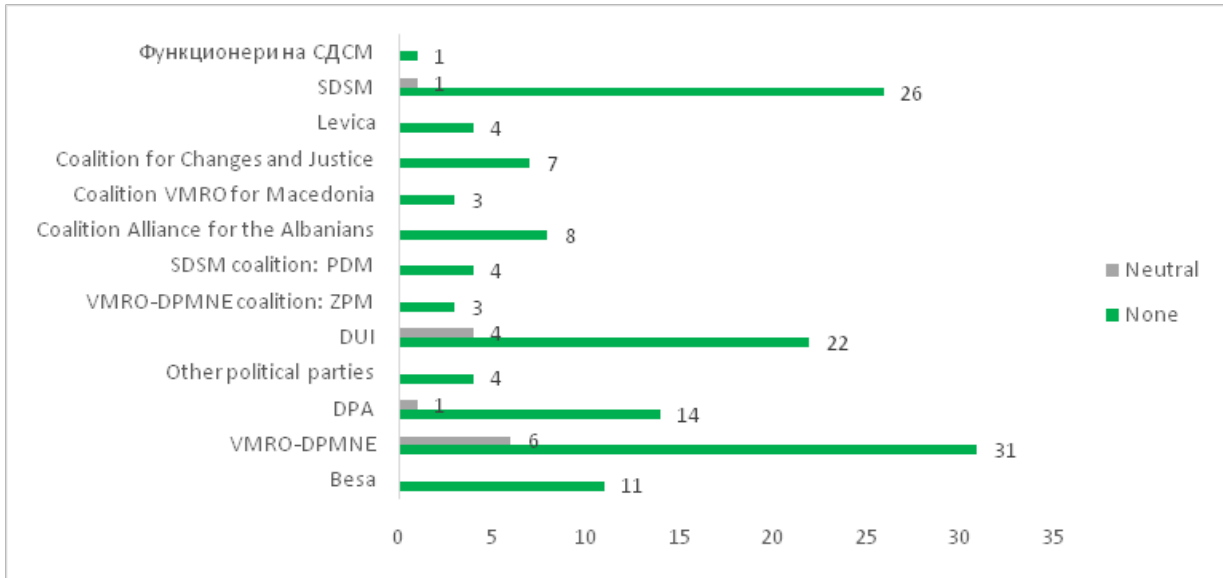
### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

Relative balance both in a quantitative and qualitative aspect was also present in reports about pre-election activities of the parties. The ruling VMRO DPMNE and the Coalition for a Better Macedonia were mentioned in 40 reports, then followed SDSM, their coalition and officials (32), DUI in 26 reports.

The party activities of DPA were the subject of 15 reports, for Besa (11), the Coalition Alliance for Albanians (8), the Coalition for Change

and Justice (7), Levica 4, as many reports focused on other political parties and in 3 it was the Coalition VMRO for Macedonia.

A neutrally argument supported criticism was present in 11 reports (6 for VMRO DPMNE, 4 about DUI, one each for DPA and Levica), while the rest of the reports were just communicating the messages from pre-election events of party representatives.



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

In reporting on topics imposed during the analysed period, in the news in Albanian, apart from conveying statements from Government and opposition parties about federalization and state bilingualism, TV 21 also published reports (8) what expressed the position of the ruling DUI, but only as part of their election platform,

through statements from high party representatives at the pre-election gatherings (22.11. 'DUI are presenting their platform, Albanian language is once again a 'top' theme', 23.11. 'DUI is promising equality of Albanian language, Grubi: after December 11 there will be a new law on language use')



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



## TV NOVA

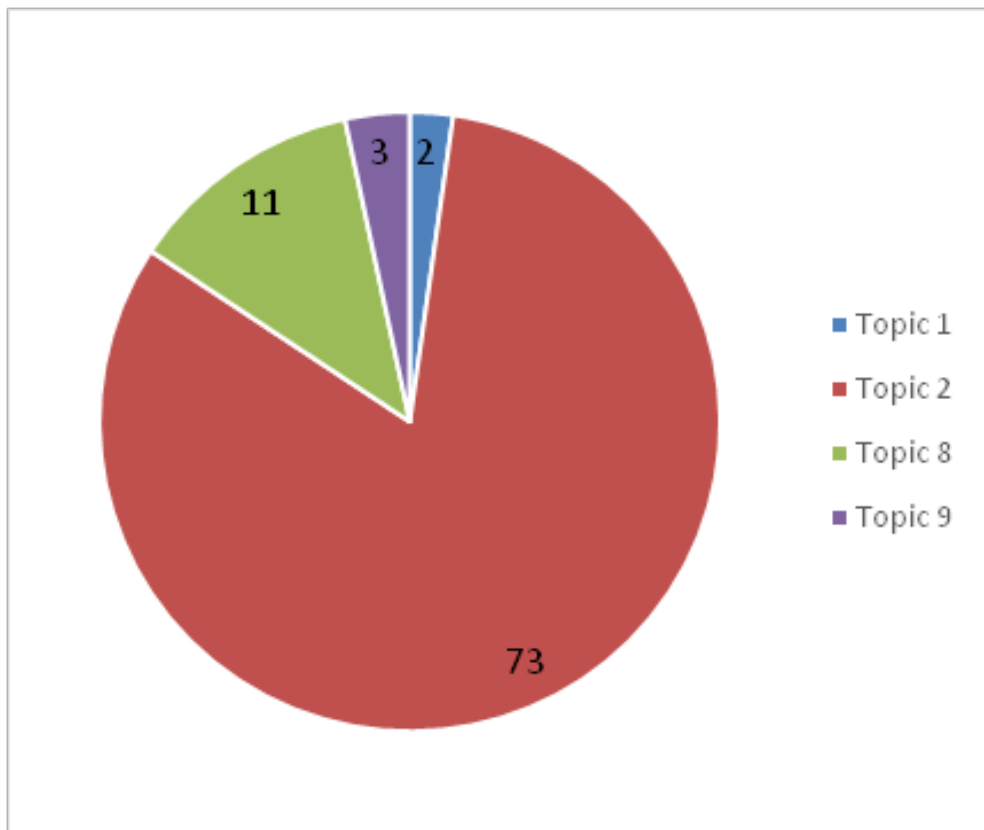
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### GENERAL CONCLUSION ABOUT THE REPORTING OF TV NOVA

- During the analyzed period, TV NOVA published a total of 87 reports on current political events. Most of the reports (73) were about pre-election activities of the parties, then followed state bilingualism and federalization that came from pre-election accusations between the Government and the opposition (11), the poll from Brima Gallup about party ratings before the elections (3) and two reports about the preparations of the institutions for the upcoming elections.
- When it comes to covering events whose subjects are political parties, regardless whether it is their activities for the campaign in particular, this TV station's news published an almost identical number of reports for the two major political parties: 87 report were about VMRO DPMNE (with the coalition and officials), and in 80 reports the subject was the oppositional SDSM (and their coalition) However, if you make a qualitative analysis of the framing, in 34 report there was a positive, commendatory, often propagandist attitude present towards VMRO DPMNE (coalition and officials), while in 20 reports there was a negative approach to reporting, all of which were about SDSM.
- State bilingualism and federalization, that the government has attributed to the opposition during the pre-election campaign, were prevalent as topics in the negative reports towards SDSM. In the favourable reports about the Government, VMRO DPMNE's programme was presented as 'realistic', and the thesis that they are surely to win was supported by polls published by pro-Government newspapers

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The news on TV Nova in the first ten days of the pre-election campaign resembled electoral marketing, since all of the reports were related to the elections and pre-election party activities.



**Number of reports on TV NOVA, in relation to the different topics (November 21 - 29)**

Topic 1	Organization of early parliamentary elections (voters' registry, issues with the number of voters, following up on potential irregularities, etc).
Topic 2	Pre-election campaigns of political parties (all activities including rallies, announcements for rallies, meetings with the people, promises, press releases, reactions, etc.).
Topic 3	Promotion of Government projects and measures
Topic 4	Other activities of Government officials (protocol meetings, statements and other regular activities)
Topic 5	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office
Topic 6	The work of the Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (AAMS) and the Ad Hoc body
Topic 7	Regular operations of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports in which the media do not report about political parties, rather they report of various public interest problems and issues)
Topic 8	State bilingualism and federalization
Topic 9	Public opinion polls
Topic 10	Other topics



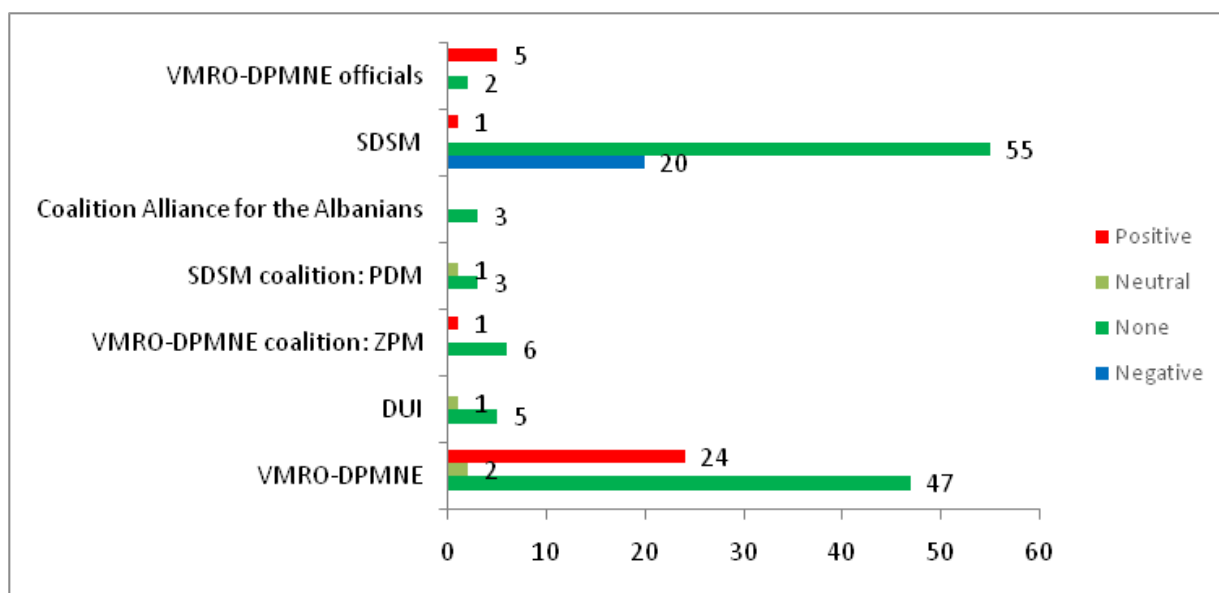


## 2. POLITICAL PLURALISM IN THE OVERALL REPORTING ON DOMESTIC EVENTS

When it comes to quantity, the coverage of events whose subjects are political entities, regardless whether its activities specifically for the campaign, this TV's stations news showed 87 reports whose subject is VMRO DPMNE, the Coalition for a Better Macedonia and their officials, while in 80 reports the subject was SDSM, their oppositional coalition and the officials. 6 reports were about DUI, and the Coalition Alliance for Albanians had 3 reports focused on them. This means that in terms of quantity, there was an approximately identical number of reports representing the major parties, and at the same time there was serious neglect for representing other political parties that participate at the elections.

The analysis of the framing (qualitative analysis) shows, on the other hand, that in 34

reports there was a positive, commending and often propagandist attitude towards VMRO DPMNE (24 for the party, 5 for the officials and one for the Coalition): 21.11. "At the moment I am listening to VMRO-DPMNE's anthem, which means that VMRO-DPMNE leader, Nikola Gruevski is arriving. The square is crowded with people who came to hear the messages', while in 20 reports there was a negative and demonizing attitude towards SDSM (21.11. journalist: 'SDSM leader has announced on several occasions a re-defining of the state if he comes to power, for the introduction of the so called 'civil concept'). In 4 reports there was a neutral observation of the activities of political entities (2 for VMRO DPMNE, one for DUI and 1 for SDSM's coalition)



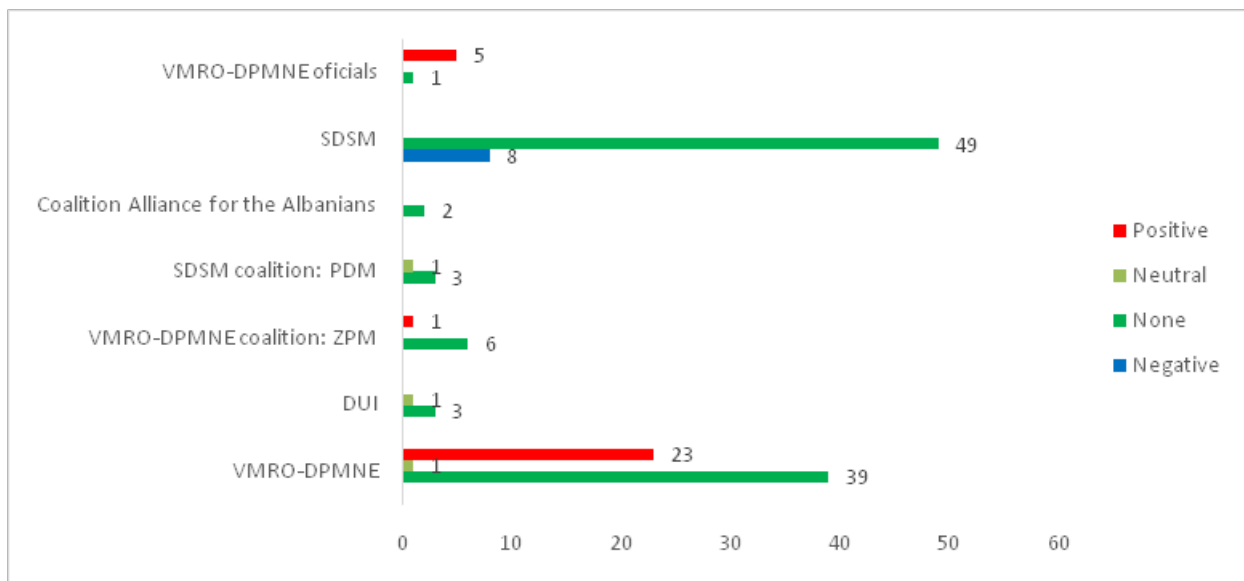
Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

### 3. BALANCE IN REPORTING ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL ENTITIES

Most of the reports on party activities during the election campaign referred to activities of VMRO DPMNE, the Coalition for a Better Macedonia and officials from the ruling party (70 reports), while for SDSM and coalition they lead there were 61 reports, 4 were about DUI and 2 for the Coalition for Alliance of Albanians. 29 of these reports were positive (for VMRO DPMNE, their coalition and VMRO DPMNE officials), while 8 negative framings were directed towards SDSM. The promotional approach in the reports about the ruling party was also visible in the level of discursive construction. VMRO DPMNE's programme was announced as 'comprehensive', and as 'envisaging an increase of pensions and salaries in the public sector, 600 million euros in agricultural subsidies, new highways, railroads and new energy capacities... many new business benefits and benefits for unemployment reduction' (21.11), while in the reports about the pre-election gathering of the oppositional SDSM, the journalist used the following sentence constructs: 'We expect to hear and see what they be-

lieve that the people deserve, so they give them their vote on December 11' (22.11). In the favourable reports about VMRO DPMNE, the journalist did not make a distinction between party and state projects (27.11 'Employment measures and infrastructural projects are announced by the list carriers of the Electoral Units of VMRO-DPMNE').

The negative approach in reporting about the appearances, especially about opposition leader Zoran Zaev focused on state bilingualism and federalization (22.11 'Zaev is manipulating the Albanians in Macedonia and in the diaspora, by making promises to deepen the Framework Agreement and extend the use of Albanian language'), and allegations about plagiarism of the programme and the electoral décor of SDSM from the Serbian party Dveri (27.11. 'Besides the slogan, the colours, as well as whole parts of the programme of DVERI from Serbia, which were completely copied by SDSM, the sign boards that young members are holding up while Zaev is speaking, they are also copied from the campaign of the Serbian nationalist party')



Number of reports about political entities (shown as part of the reports on the pre-election campaign) and the manner in which they were framed (November 21 - 29)

## 4. APPROACH TO REPORTING ON SPECIFIC TOPICS

The demonizing attitude against the opposition was most evident in the topics that stood out as characteristic during the analysed period. In nearly all of the reports in which the subject was the leader of SDSM – Zaev, the Government's thesis that he is conspiring for state bilingualism and federalization (23.11 'The future federalization or cantonization of the state, whose name is to be determined further on, has three stages that will be gradually determined in the next several years. State bilingualism is just the first stage of federalization, along with cantonization as an interim path to separating parts of Macedonia, was the analysis of the weekly paper Republika', 23.11 'Veljanovski: Zaev's statements from Switzerland are a confirmation of his intentions to change the

Constitution'. 27.11 'Dashtevski: SDSM have continuously played the card of bargaining with national interests, 29.11 'Elections 2016: Ljamalari: Zaev is the Messiah for Albanians').

In the context of favourable reporting about the ruling party VMRO DPMNE, for several days in a row, results from the Brima Gallup poll were published in the news, where superlative words were used to present the ruling party VMRO DPMNE as the absolute favourite and a sure winner of the elections (26.11 'Nikola Gruevski cares more about national interests than Zoran Zaev. He is a better option for a Prime Minister in Macedonia, and SDSM will not contribute to a greater democracy and they are not a better replacement than VMRO-DPMNE for governing').



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