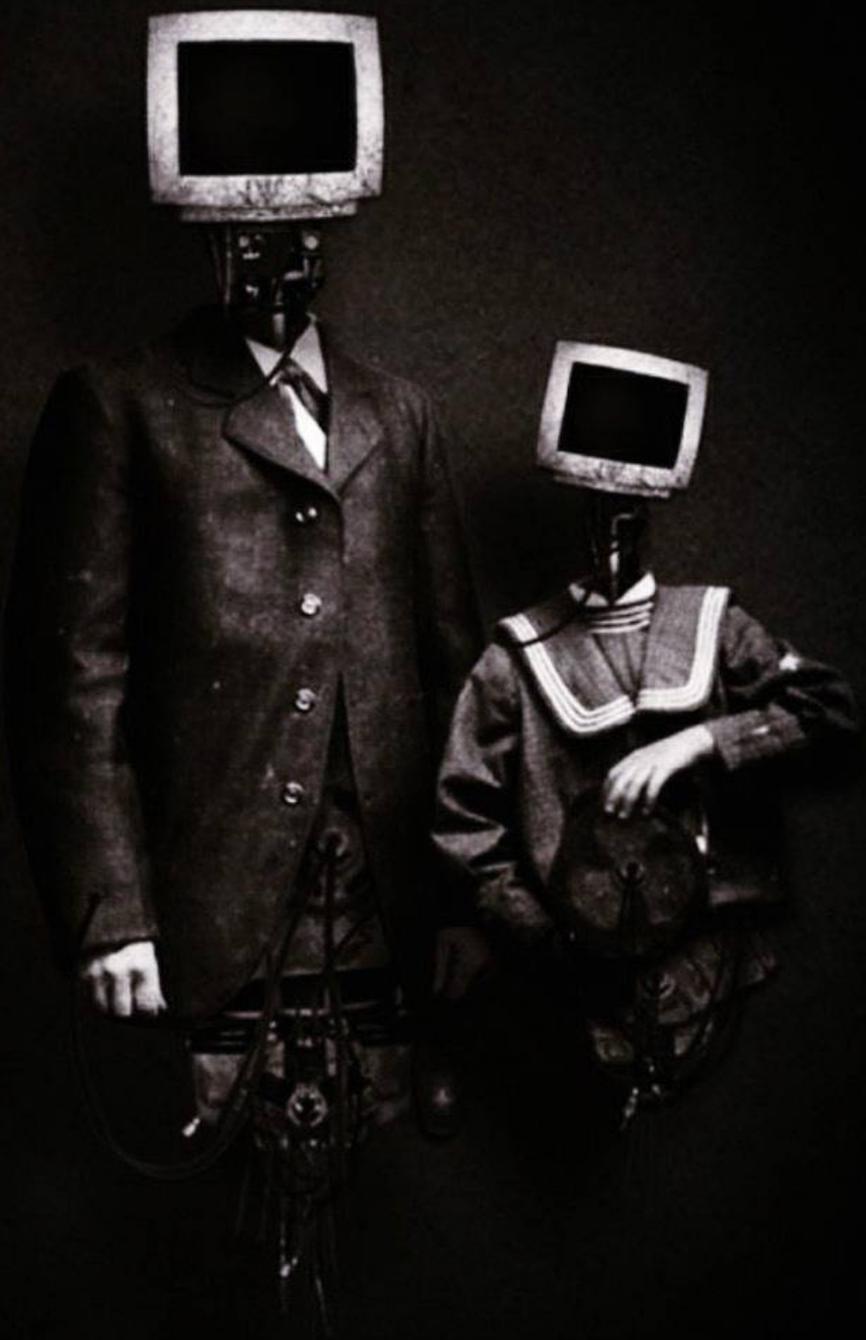


# REPORT

**BASED ON THE MONITORING  
OF TV NEWS PROGRAMMES,  
CONDUCTED BY THE INSTITUTE  
OF COMMUNICATION STUDIES**



**TIME FRAME** **OCTOBER 3RD – 14TH, 2016**



# REPORT

## BASED ON THE MONITORING OF TV NEWS PROGRAMMES

## SUMMARY

- The results provided in this report were obtained from the analysis of TV news programmes<sup>1</sup> broadcast in the periods from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> and from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> of October, i.e. for a total of 10 days. The goal of the analysis was to establish how national TV stations are reporting on the democratic processes in the county and whether they present a balanced overview of the differing political standpoints. The news programmes of 12 TV stations were analysed: MTV1, MTV2, Sitel, Telma, 24 Vesti, Kanal 5, Alfa, Alsat M (in Macedonian and in Albanian), TV 21 (in Macedonian and in Albanian) and TV Nova.
- As the start of the electoral campaign approaches, the number of news stories that refer to pre-election activities of political parties increases. This topic was prevalent in the 10 days of monitoring and it was mostly visible in the news in Kanal 5, Sitel, TV Nova and Alfa. In that process, these TV stations also showed a misbalance in the quantity and the quality of representing political entities, in favour of VMRO-DPMNE, and at the expense of the oppositional party SDSM. These four TV stations and MTV 1 published a total of 90 news stories about Government measures and activities, promoted by Ministers from VMRO-DPMNE, as well as 36



reports where VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski promoted Government measures. Thus, once again they blurred the line between party and state institutions.

The Macedonian Radio Television informed about all current-political events, without going into analyses and without taking an affirmative, negative or criticizing journalistic stand. About the activities of major political entities, the Public service informed in a balanced manner, however if one adds the number of published reports on the activities of officials in the Government, a significantly higher number of reports was published about VMRO-DPMNE and their officials (128), as compared to SDSM and their officials (68).

The second programme service - MTV2 informed about all significant political events in the country, although a mild inclination could be observed towards the topics that are of interest for the Albanian ethnic community (the activities of DUI officials, pre-election shifts in the Albanian political block as well as local events related to the Albanian community).

- Several neutrally-critical TV stations (Telma, 24 Vesti, Alsat M, TV 21) continued monitoring the regular activities of state and of public institutions, their potential shortcomings in performing their obligations (in areas such as education, public finance, local self-government, etc.), without providing a political tone, which continued to be the prevalent topic in this stage of the pre-elections period.

In the news on Telma the topics that dominated continued to be of civil interest, and they were treated with an argument supported critical attitude from the journalists, by consulting all involved parties in the issue. Telma often raised topics that other media outlets did not cover. TV station 24 Vesti actively followed current events in the country and they made persistent efforts to present different political opinions and views about the issues. The TV station not

only communicated criticisms for political actors, including state institutions, but also took an argument supported approach to deriving their own critical conclusions.

Alsat M allotted time in their news programmes for different political entities to present their opinions and views. For the most part, the media outlet performed their informative function by revealing and protecting public interest and they provided a comprehensive overview of the events and processes that were the topic of reporting. TV 21's contribution to media space comes from the daily analyses and debates with experts who mostly have opposed opinions, and which cover daily current topics. The TV station has also raised topics that were not in the focus of the other TV stations and were partially connected to ethnic issues.

Unlike these TV stations, what was typical for pro-Government private TV stations (Kanal 5, Sitel, TV Nova and Alfa) was that they reported very little on the work of state institutions, critically addressing the topics that concern the people. On the contrary, commonly present on these TV stations were news packages with positive reports on the work of the institutions, i.e. the achievement of officials from the ruling party.

- The general conclusion may be that the media image on political pluralism in Macedonia remains the same as in the September analysis. What was remarkable in this period is that 7 of 12 TV stations showed reports where only one source of information was consulted (with the exception of MTV 2, Alsat M and TV 21), regardless of the fact that in most cases the report was followed by another report that was a reaction to it, for counter-balance. This may not have impacted the overall image of balance in the news, however it did reflect on the journalistic rule for consulting 'both parties' in the report and it also pointed to the fact that the news are being reduced down to only communicating the events, without any engagement on part of the journalists.

# GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In the ten day period, the media outlets that were subjected to analysis published a total of 1,309 reports related to political life and to democratic reforms, and the most common topics, according to the number of reports, were the following: pre-election activities of political parties (233 reports), the work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (218 reports), other activities of Government officials, including the issue of unemployed candidates for police officers, as well as their protocol activities and meetings (162), regular activities of state and public institutions (150), organizing early parliamentary elections (145), events in education (130), etc.

(1) The main conclusion from the analysis of the topics covered during the monitored period was that as the electoral campaign approaches, the number of reports on *pre-election activities of political parties* increases, since this is the topic that was most commonly covered during this ten day period - with 233 reports. Although almost all 12 TV stations showed several reports on this topic, the ones that covered the topic the most were Kanal 5, Sitel, TV Nova and Alfa. Precisely these TV stations showed a lack of balance in representing political entities, and the highest number of reports were dedicated to the activities of the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE, at the expense on the oppositional party SDSM. While doing so, these four TV stations presented VMRO-DPMNE's promotional activities as 'projects' whose implementation is 'agreed on and achievable', while the pre-election activities of the opposition were announced as 'the party's programme'. These four TV stations and MTV 1 (and one report on TV21 in Albanian), also published a total of 90 reports about Government measures and activities, promoted by ministers from VMRO-DPMNE. These

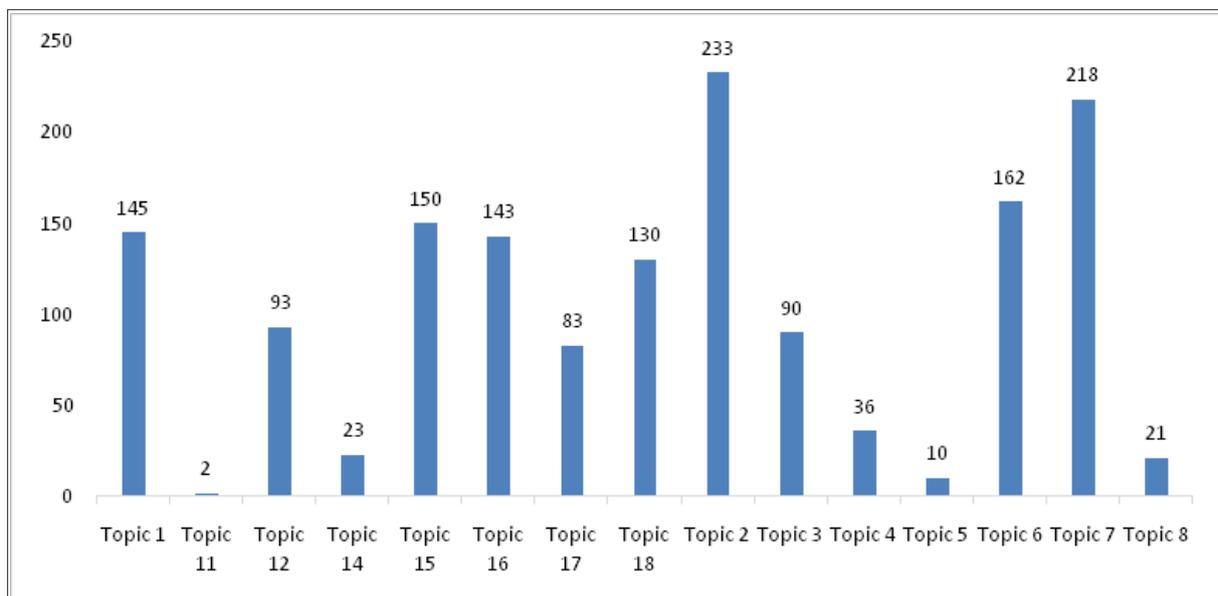
reports create an impression of concealed political pre-election marketing, behind the projects of state institutions. Despite this, the following five TV stations (MTV1, Sitel, Kanal5, Alfa and TV Nova), also published 36 other reports where the promoter of Government measures and projects was VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski, which once again equates 'party and state'.

Monitoring pre-election political party activities on the other TV stations Telma, 24 Vesti, TV 21 in Macedonian and in Albanian, Alsat M in Macedonian and in Albanian and MTV 2 came down to broadcasting statements from these party promotions, however there was not a single report to promote a Government project.

(2) *The Special Public Prosecutor's Office*, with 218 reports in this ten day period of monitoring was the second topic that was most commonly covered. The debate in Parliament regarding the requests of the SPPO for amending the law on SPPO and for protected witnesses was the main topic that almost all media outlets covered. 'Block' reporting was clearly visible with this topic as well, the TV stations that are closer to the opinions of the Government (Sitel, Kanal 5, Alfa, TV Nova), published a significantly lower number of reports about this institution, some of them (Alfa) even displayed a negative tone, while the TV stations that are considered as criticizing (24 Vesti, Telma, Alsat M in Macedonian and in Albanian, TV 21 in Macedonian and in Albanian) published a higher number of reports that were informative and analytical (TV 21 in Macedonian and in Albanian), without presuming a certain attitude. With the public service MTV1 (19) and MTV2 (15), the representation of this topic was mainly informative.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).



Number of reports shown in TV news, shown in regards to the different topics (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)

- (3) The third topic according to the frequency of reporting (162 reports) were various *other activities of Government officials*, such as the issue of unemployed police officer candidates, the Constitutional Court about Ivanov's abolition, the protocol meetings and activities of Government representatives and the international conferences they attended. All TV stations, without exception, followed these events, airing statements from political actors mainly informatively, not going into more in-depth analyses.
- (4) *The regular activities of state public institutions*, more precisely their shortcomings or improper functioning and the issues that concern the citizens were the fourth topic in the focus of reporting (150 reports). These were reports that referred to problems in the court system, in the health system, in local self-government etc. These topics were more commonly presented on TV stations 24 Vesti, Telma and Alsat M. In them, the TV stations called on the accountability of the institutions, not linking their managing staff with any party affiliation, thus respecting the line between state and party. This topic was also partly covered by MTV1 (13) and MTV 2 (3), while TV stations of the 'group of four', with similar editorial policy published an insignificant number of reports on this topic (TV Nova - 1, Sitel - 3, Kanal 5 - 6, Alfa - 14).
- (5) *Organizing early parliamentary elections* with 145 reports was the fifth topic that was in the focus of reporting in this period with the analysed TV stations. The reporting mostly focused on the dissolution of Parliament, OSCE's stand on the voters' registry and pre-elections party regrouping. Some TV stations, such as Sitel, Kanal 5, Alfa and TV Nova presented the thesis that 'the conditions for elections have been met, there is progress in regulating the voters' registry and the media' (Sitel), while critically inclined media like Telma and 24 Vesti confronted the opinions of the Government and of the opposition, as to who is for and who is against the dissolution of Parliament ('Who is to blame for the delay of the dissolution of Parliament, this was an issue of collision between the Government and the opposition', 'SDSM is requesting dissolution of Parliament. VMRO is conditioning the dissolution with the budget'). The public service MTV 1 and MTV 2 broadcast the debate on the dissolution of Parliament, without going into deeper analysis ('Elections are a solution for the political crisis', 'Who is trying to avoid elections in December?'). Apart from covering daily events related to this topic, TV 21 and Alsat M published reports on pre-elections regrouping in the Albanian political block, and they raised debates on topics related to the elections, such as the situation with the sixth electoral unit ('The dissolution of Parliament is approaching, no solution for the electoral units', TV 21).
- (6) Other topics that were covered were *education*, from the aspect of the case of the private university MIT, the new university Mother Teresa and the protests of the SEE university (130 reports), *the state of the economy* through the options for investing and the budget (93 reports) etc. During this analysed period, according to the number of aired reports (143), TV stations initiated topics from the immediate surroundings, not related to the main political streams, and they were imposed by specific civil problems (Agoli's statue in Skopje, pressures on the local administration). This was evident with TV stations Telma, 24 Vesti, Alsat M and TV 21.

## 2. APPROACH TO REPORTING

In the ten day reporting period, stating comments and opinions that favour or attack some political view was more rare than in the first half of 2016. The TV stations did not quote Internet portals at all, which was the main source of offensive, accusatory, slandering and demonizing contents in the first months of this year. Nonetheless, favouring one stand and disregarding, i.e. ignoring others, was not left out, although expressing a positive or negative attitude has lost a large portion of its intensity and sharpness.

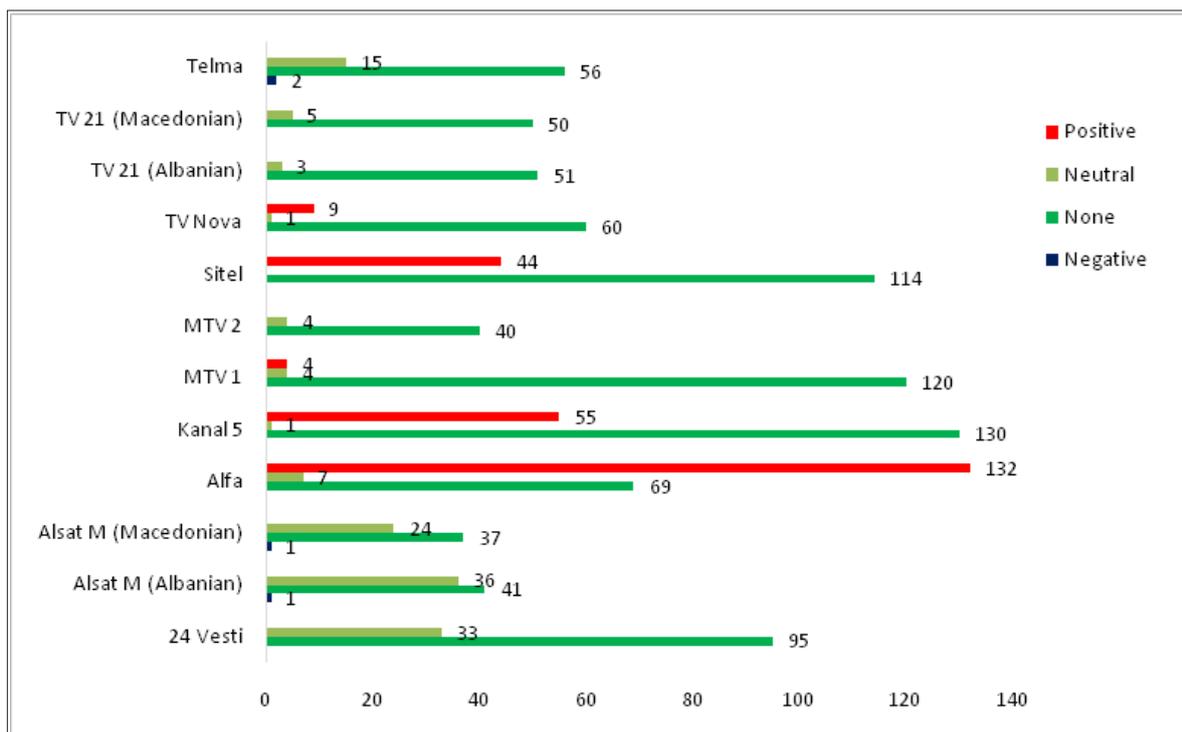
### 2.1. Approach to reporting on pre-election activities of VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM

The division in ‘block’ reporting to pro-Government and neutrally-criticizing TV stations was especially visible when reporting about *pre-election activities of the parties* (Topic 2), about *projects and measures promoted by Government representatives* (Topic 3) or *by the leader of VMRO-DPMNE* (Topic 4). With TV stations like Sitel, Kanal 5, TV Nova and Alfa, a severe lack of balance was present in the number of reports whose subject were the two major political parties. The news on these four TV stations still resemble a political tool of the ruling party, which is evident in the fact that in most of the reports the topic was VMRO-DPMNE (598 reports in total about VMRO-DPMNE and 262 reports about SDSM). In all of these reports, what was visible was a favourizing attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE politics, while a negative atti-

tude was taken in terms of the politics of the opposition, although, unlike the reporting at the end of 2015 and the first half of 2016, now it is much more toned down. A positive image about everything the ruling party does was not only presented by the reports on Government measures, but it also continued to be presented through propagandist reports about the leader of VMRO-DPMNE in which he promoted Government projects.

MTV 1 and MTV 2 showed balanced reporting about the two largest political parties, in separate reports, without taking any favourable, negative or criticizing journalistic attitudes. However, in the case of MTV 1, if you add the number of published reports about the activities of the officials of these parties, the number of reports about VMRO-DPMNE and their officials (128) by far exceeds the reports about SDSM and their officials (68). MTV 1 followed the regular activities of the officials (20), as well as the promotional reports about the projects and measures of Government institutions (12), in two of which Gruevski had the role of promoter of Government projects.

TV stations 24 Vesti, Telma and Alsat M (in both languages) also published a number of reports about VMRO-DPMNE’s activities. In terms of reporting about political actors and their views, it can be concluded that there was relative balance: 24 Vesti - in 63 reports the subject was VMRO-DPMNE and in 49 reports it was SDSM, Telma - 51 about VMRO-DPMNE and 30 about SDSM; Alsat M (Albanian) - 79 about



Approach to reporting on pre-election activities of VMRO-DPMNE, Coalition of VMRO-DPMNE, Ministers of VMRO-DPMNE and Nikola Gruevski (October 3-7 and 10-14)

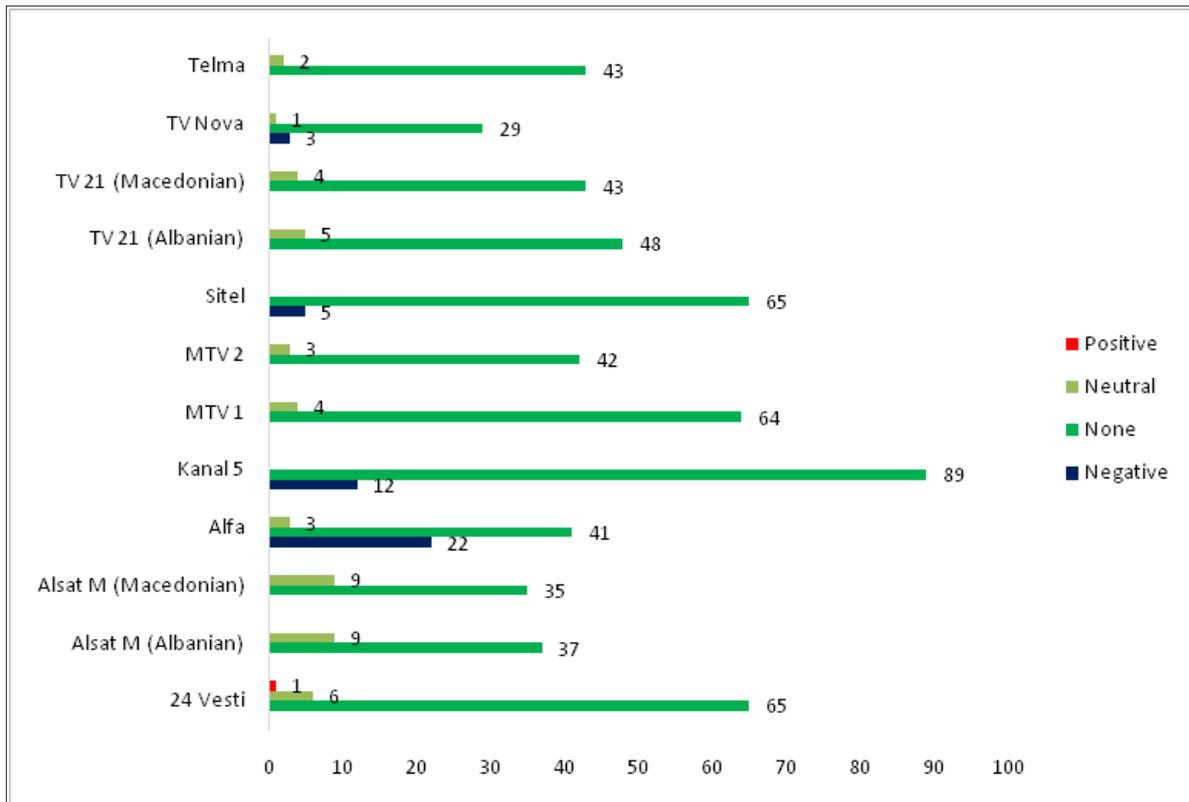
VMRO-DPMNE and 48 about SDSM, Alsat M (Macedonian) – 78 about VMRO-DPMNE and 38 about SDSM. The difference, however, increases in favour of the ruling party if you add to this the reports where party officials or the institutions they manage were mentioned, which is explained by the fact that the officials of the ruling party are more numerous and thus are a more common topic of media interest.

TV 21 in Macedonian (VMRO-DPMNE 35, SDSM 30) and in Albanian (VMRO-DPMNE 32, SDSM 33) did not exceedingly follow the electoral activities of both major political entities, and they were more focused on the Albanian political block and regrouping before the elections.

Although, despite the lack of balance in terms of quantity, with TV stations like Sitel, Kanal 5, TV Nova and Alfa, differences were also visible in the manner of reporting. The activities of oppositional SDSM were presented as ‘party promises’, while the ones promoted by VMRO-DPMNE and their officials and representatives were presented as ‘finalized projects that are simply waiting to be implemented’. (‘SONK (Edu-

cation, Science and Culture Trade Union) greet the building of 140 kindergartens’, ‘Instead of projects and a programme, they wish to escape the elections, are the reactions of disappointed members of SDSM’, ‘VMRO-DPMNE president Nikola Gruevski, whose party is at the head of the Government, announced a project and declared another project as finished’, ‘Strengthening and developing small businesses will be the priority of SDSM if they win the trust of the people, was the message of social democrats at today’s visit to Veles’).

TV stations 24 Vesti, Telma, Alsat M and TV 21 met their informative function in terms of the approach, by showing the standpoints of both subjects, however journalistic engagement by taking a critical stand to some topics discussed by the political parties was lacking. These TV stations dedicated significant space in the news for other smaller entities (Demokratski Sojuz, Levica), while Alsat M and TV 21 in both languages allotted plenty of time for the parties from the Albanian political block and their promotion (Besa, Uniteti, DR DPA, etc.).



Approach to reporting on pre-election activities of SDSM, Coalition of SDSM, ministers of SDSM in the Government (October 3 -7 and 10 - 14)

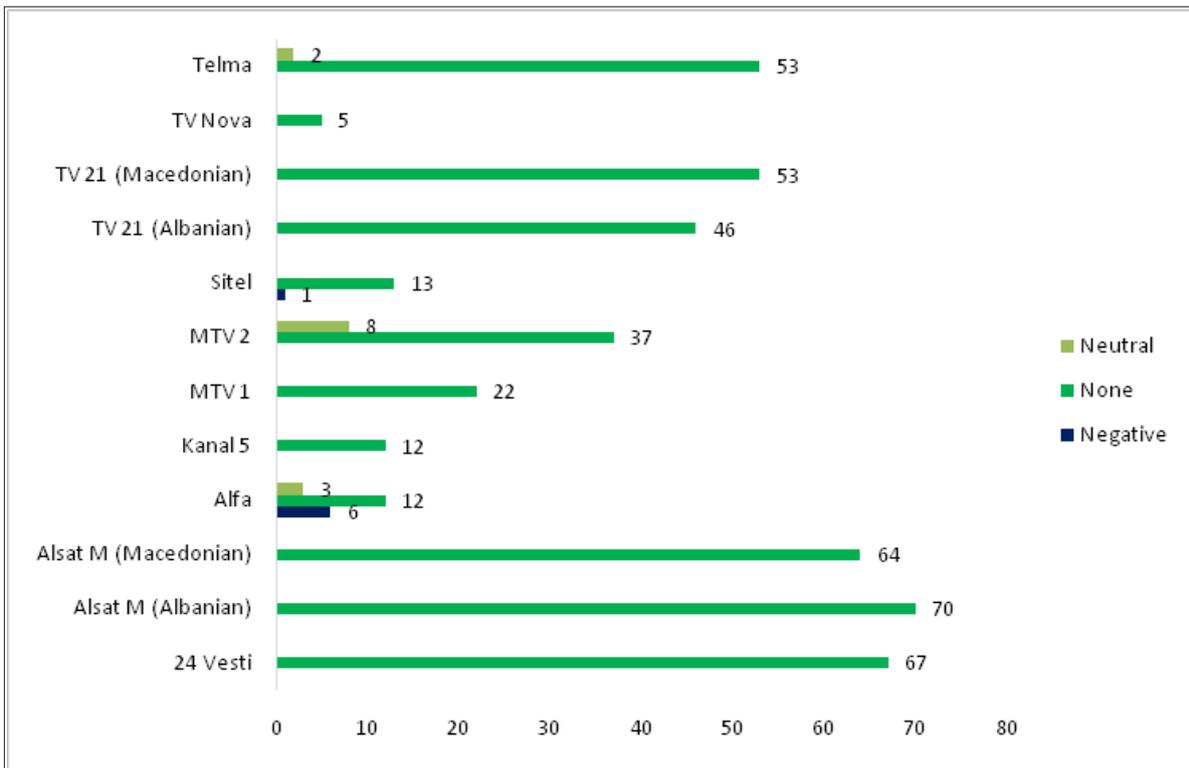
**2.2. Approach in the reporting on the work of SPPO**

The second topic where the different approach to reporting of TV stations was visible, was the work of the *Special Public Prosecutor's Office*. The reports where SPPO was the subject referred to the request from this institution for amendments of the laws on SPPO, which would allow for the duration of the operations of the institution to be prolonged, and the Law on Protected Witnesses, which were debated in Parliament right before it was dissolved.

Except for TV stations Alfa and Sitel, where there were a few reports with a negative attitude towards this institution (A new display of illiteracy from Katica Janeva) and 24 Vesti showed an affirmative attitude towards the requests, the rest of the reports were mainly lacking in any kind of attitude, or potentially presented a neutrally-critical attitude.

During the analysed period, a different strategy of reporting about the work of the SPPO was observed with TV stations Sitel (15 reports), Kanal 5 (12 reports), Alfa (21 reports) and TV Nova (6 reports). Unlike the previous situation, they used much less instances of direct attacks and insults towards this institution; however they now marginalize it, by displaying an ignorant attitude towards its work. Although the topic was very present during the analysed period, these TV stations published significantly fewer reports on it as compared to other media.

Other TV stations, including the public service MTV 1 (21 reports) and MTV 2 (44 reports), regularly reported on the events about SPPO, underlining the public interest and going deeper in analysing different scenarios related to this institution, depending on the outcome of the elections.



**Approach to reporting on the activities of SPPO (October 3 -7 and 14 - 16)**





# **ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL TV STATIONS**



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# MACEDONIAN TELEVISION FIRST SERVICE

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The general conclusion about MTV1's reporting, obtained from the ten analysed editions of the news, is that they actively follow all current events in the country and they provide space for different political actors to state their standpoints and views. However, despite some improvement, it can be concluded that MTV1 still do not perform their informative function in a way in which they will discover and protect public interest, since the topics were covered in a superficial way, without any critical-journalistic involvement through analysing the events. Although the TV station did air critical views towards various actors, including state institutions, these were still criticisms from other actors, instead of in-depth analyses coming from the media outlet itself.

In terms of reporting about political actors and their views, it can be concluded that MTV1 has shown relative balance regarding the number of reports about the bigger political actors, with a mild quantitative advantage of information about VMRO-DPMNE and their coalition partners (52) as compared to information

about SDSM and their coalition partners (44). Nevertheless, if to this we add the number of published information about the activities of officials from these parties in Government; a different assessment may be made about the balance provided by MTV1: they have published a significantly higher number of reports about VMRO-DPMNE and their officials (128), as compared to SDSM and their officials (68). What could also be observed was that MTV1's agenda often included reports about the regular activities of the officials (20), as well as promotional reports about the projects and measures of Government institutions (12), in two of which Gruevski appeared in the role of promoter of Government projects.

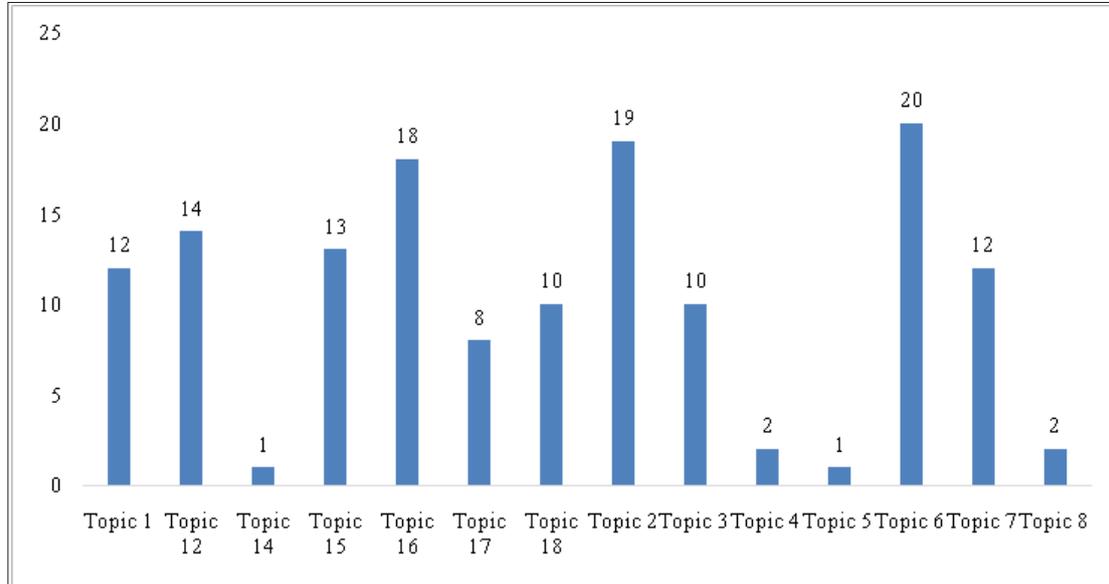
Almost half of the reports broadcast during the monitored period on MTV1 (55) considered only one source. There were cases when the differing standpoints for one topic were presented in two consecutive news reports, with one source each. Only 20 of the reports included sources with opposed views within the same report.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, the Macedonian Television broadcast 130 news reports on its first programme service, regarding political actors, situations and processes. The central journal on MTV1 represented a wider reper-

toire of topics and none of them exceeded 20 percent of the total number of reports.

Most of the reports (20) that were broadcast were about the activities of Government representatives, which are not related to the



Number of reports on MTV, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

elections, like for instance their meetings with foreign ministers, reactions to some acute problem, etc. Then followed the reports about pre-election activities of the parties (19), then the state of the economy (14), the work of the institutions (13), the work of the SPPO (12), the

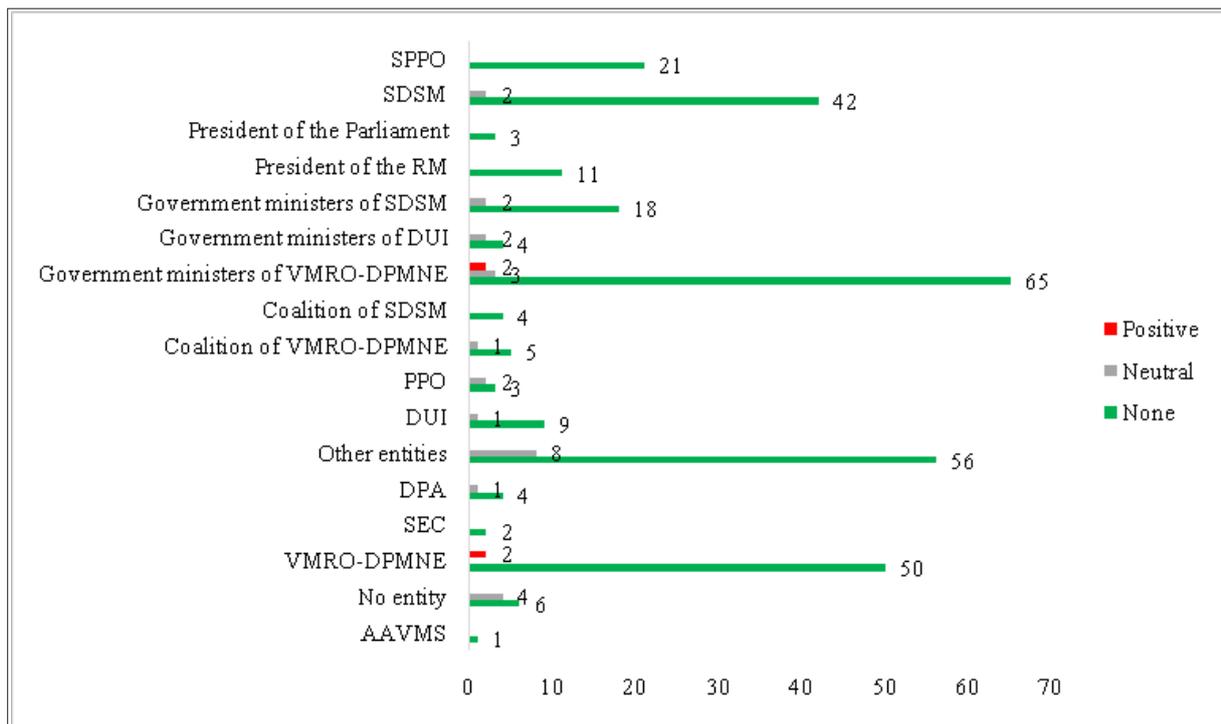
preparation of the elections (12), and other topics. The TV station showed 10 reports about Government projects and measures and 2 more reports in which such projects and measures were presented by VMRO-DPMNE President, Nikola Gruevski.

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

The most common entity in the news was the political party VMRO-DPMNE, in 52 reports (128 with the ministers and the coalition). SDSM were presented in 44 news reports, or 68 in total, along with the ones including party officials and coalition partners. This also includes the reports in which public institutions led by representatives of political actors appear as a general subject, without mentioning the person at the head of the institution (ministry, administration, municipality, etc.). Other actors were presented in 89 reports, including civil organizations, smaller political parties (*Levica*,

*Dostoinstvo, DS*), the European Union, as well as the trade unions, the chambers of commerce, court authorities, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (MANU) and other institutions and organizations included in topics that concern the political environment. This also includes the reports where the state is called upon, as the most general entity (October 12: Greco on Macedonia – poor implementation of anti-corruption recommendations). The Special Public Prosecutor’s office was represented in 21 reports, and their activities were reported at the beginning of the news.

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Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

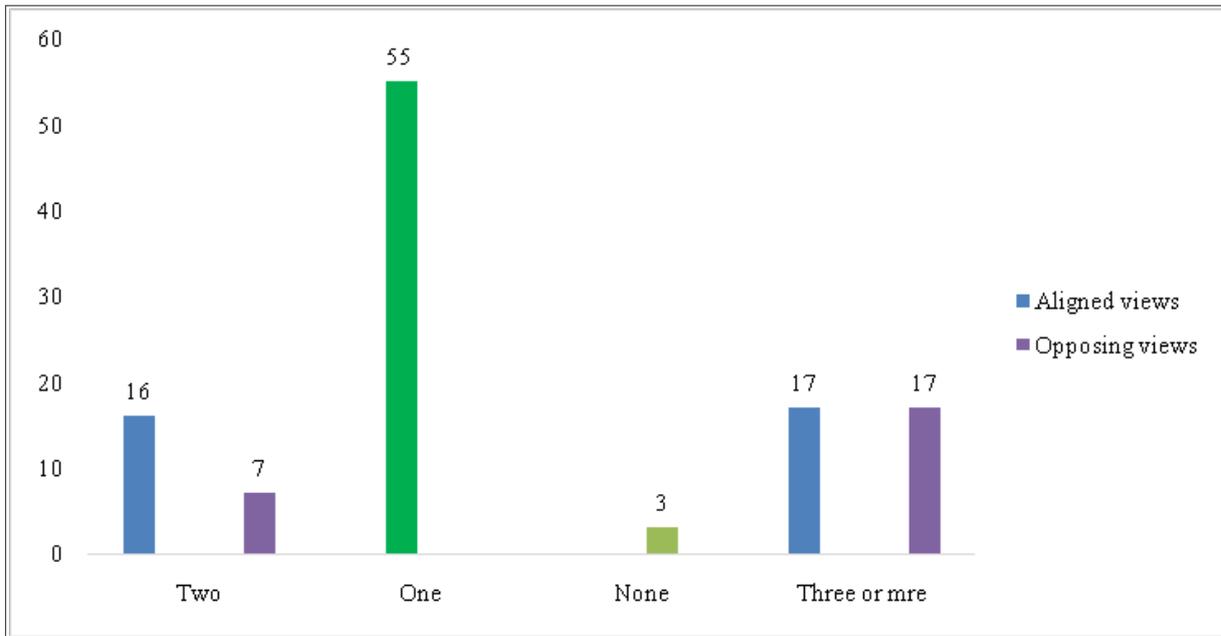
In the news on their first programme service, MTV1 extremely rarely took a stand towards political actors that were covered. One of the few examples of stating a criticizing stand was the report on celebrating the holiday on the 11th of October, when it was said that ‘the politicians took a bow in two separate protocols’, and the criticism was directed both towards the Government and the opposition. No instances were observed where there were more detailed analyses or criticism of the policies

of public office holders’ or of the authorities. Also very rare were the examples of expressing a positive attitude, like the one when the President of VMRO-DPMNE, Nikola Gruevski, was shown speaking in the capacity of public office holder, although he did not occupy such a position during the period of monitoring (October 13: ‘VMRO-DPMNE leader announced that the municipalities will be able to apply for funds from the World Bank intended for infrastructural facilities, latest by November 7<sup>th</sup>’).

### 3. USING SOURCES

In almost half of the reports (55) on MTV1, only one source was consulted. In some cases, differing views were presented in subsequent reports on the same topic. Such was the case of reporting about appearances from the opposition and reactions from the Government or the public institutions, or reactions of the opposi-

tion to activities undertaken by the ruling party. Seven of the 22 reports that included two sources showed opposing views, and in the reports that included three or more sources, there was an equal number of reports that showed aligned and that showed opposing views. Three of the reports did not have a defined source.



Using sources in the news on MTV1 (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# MACEDONIAN TELEVISION SECOND SERVICE

The news on MTV2 informed about all significant political events in the country, although a mild inclination could be observed towards the topics that are of interest of the Albanian ethnic community (the activities of DUI officials, pre-election shifts in the Albanian political block as well as local events related to the Albanian community). The general assessment is that the TV station merely follows (covers) the events and very rarely initiates public interest topics ('The people appeal to the SPPO: Open the cases that are of interest to the Albanians').

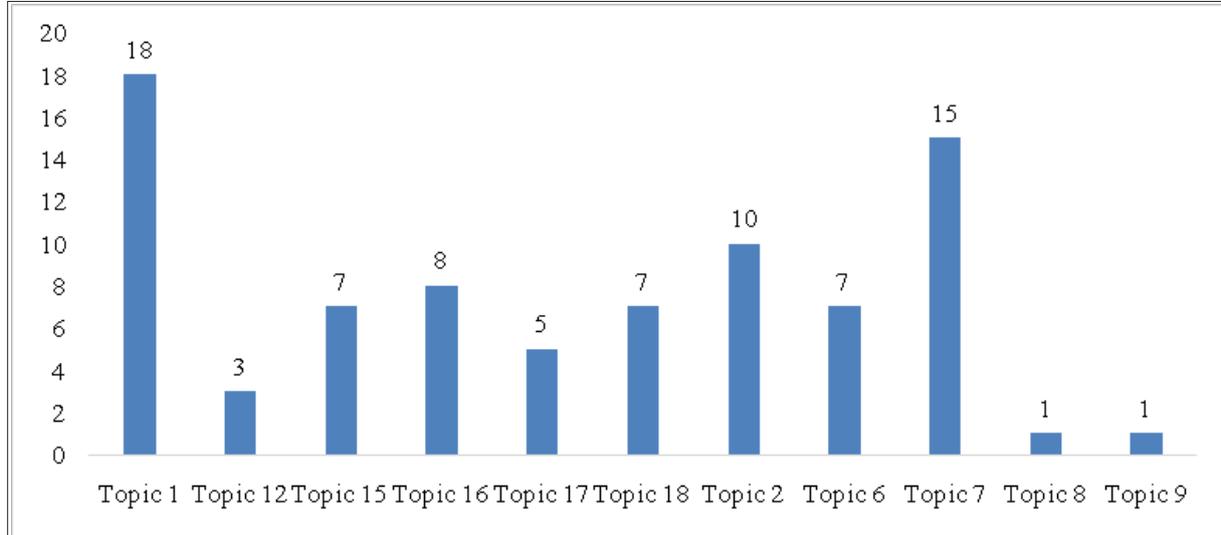
The TV station took a neutral and critical stand when reporting on the events concerning

the preparation of the elections, mainly in regards to the Albanian political block ('Kasami's and Zeneli's initiative is failing, DR-DPA, Uniteti and PDP did not attend a meeting', 'Law on Witness Protection, Kasami: The approach of the Albanian parties is disconcerting'). There is practically an absence of a favourable stand towards the Government, except in two reports that referred to the work of DUI ministers, however they were not linked to political events (Protection of the biodiversity on Shar Mountain, 'Diaspora Invest', a bridge between the diaspora and the homeland), while a negative attitude was not observed in a single report.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The second programme service of MTV, MTV2, which broadcasts news in Albanian, aired a total of 75 stories during the analysed period. Most of the reports (18) were focused

on the organization and the early parliamentary elections, like for instance the debate for the dismissal of Parliament and inter-party groups formed in the Albanian political block.



Number of reports on MTV2, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

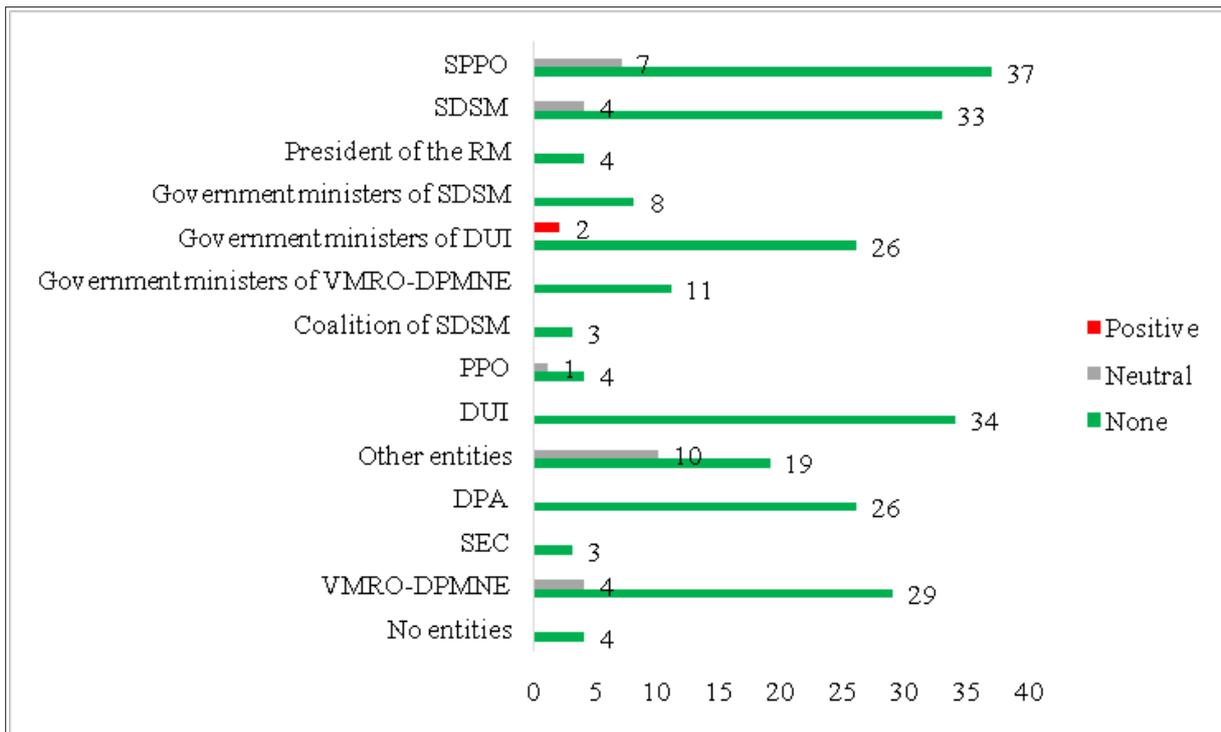
The second topic was the SPPO (15 reports), since the Parliament debated two laws regarding their work. Then followed the pre-election activities of the parties (10 reports), the local topics that concern the Albanian ethnic community (8 reports), the work of the institutions from a problem aspect – 7 reports (protest of Mol employees), education (7 re-

ports) like for instance the action undertaken in MIT, the announcement for opening the ‘Mother Teresa’ University and the students’ protest at the SEE University, the visit from European Commissioner Hahn (5 reports), and three reports about the state of the economy in the country from an aspect of new investments and other topics.

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

In the reports from the analysed period, the most common entity was the SPPO (44 reports), then followed SDSM (37 reports), DUI (34), VMRO DPMNE (33), other actors – such as smaller political parties, EU, the Constitutional Court, etc. (29), ministers from DUI (28), DPA (26). The news on MTV2 only showed 2 reports that contained a mildly positive stand towards DUI ministers (‘Protection of the Bio-diversity on Shar Mountain’, ‘Diaspora Invest’, A bridge between the diaspora and the homeland’), while for the most part the reports did not display any stands. A neutral criticism was ob-

served in 26 reports (in 10 of the reports it was addressed to some aspect of the work of the state institutions, in 7 it was directed towards the SPPO and in 4 it was directed towards SDSM) where a certain aspect of the work of the state institutions was pointed out (‘The people appeal to the SPPO: Open the cases that are of interest for the Albanians’, ‘Cross accusations from VMRO DPMNE and SDSM are an attempt to suspend the elections’, ‘Cooperation of non-parliamentary Albanian parties seems to remain just as an idea, since the initiatives are failing one after another’).

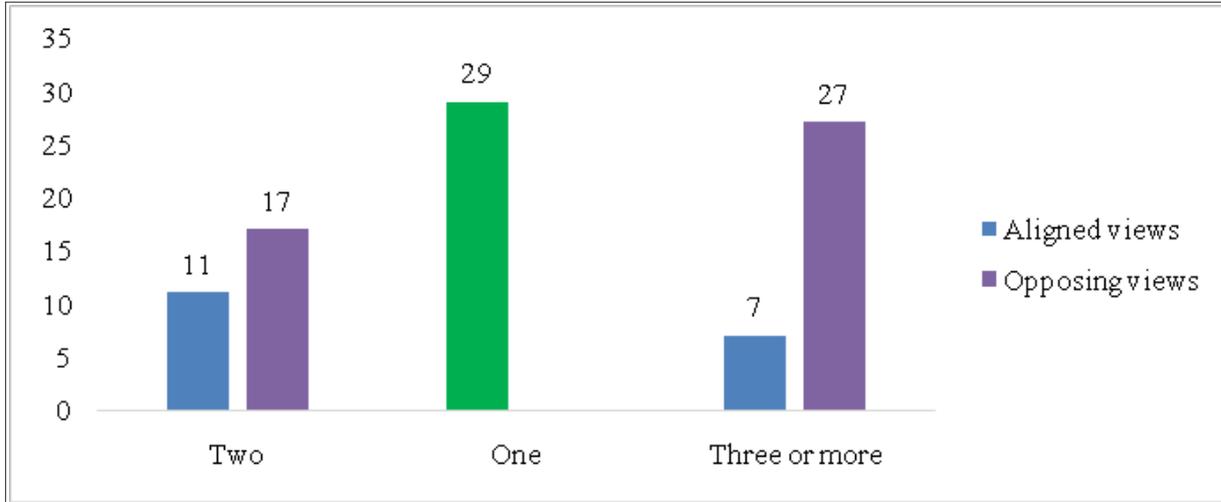


Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

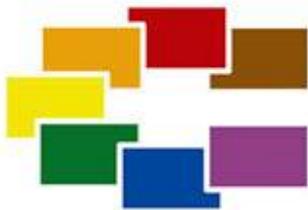
### 3. USING SOURCES

Three or more sources were most often consulted in the reports (34), most of which (27) showed opposing views, while in 7 the views were aligned. Then followed the reports with only one

source of information (29). 28 reports consulted two sources of information, and in 17 of them the interlocutors expressed differing views, while in 11 their views were in congruence.



Using sources in the news on MTV2 (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)



## SITEL

According to the contents, the news on Sitel continue to resemble a political machinery for the ruling party, which may be concluded from the fact that in most of the reports published during the analysed period, the subject was VMRO-DPMNE (92) and the ministers from this party (56). In all of these reports, what was visible was a favourable attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE politics, while a negative attitude was taken in terms of the politics of the opposition, although, unlike the reporting at the end of 2015 and the first half of 2016, now it is much more toned-down.

A positive image of everything the ruling party does continued to be presented through the reports on Government measures, and besides these, there were also propagandist reports about the leader of VMRO-DPMNE, in which he promoted Government projects ('Gruevski in a column for a German newspaper presented the

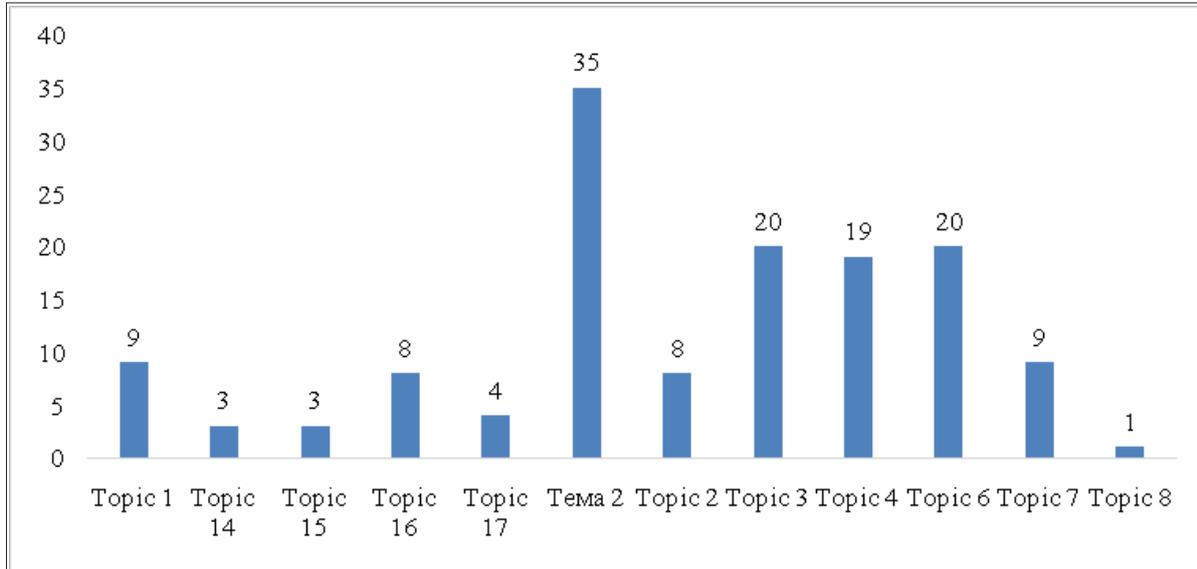
economic results from the past decade', 'The context in which he is meeting these people is to provide better positions for Macedonia and also to strengthen the relations between Macedonia and USA', "VMRO-DPMNE leader - Nikola Gruevski greeted the opening of the new factory. He said that this is yet another accomplishment of his party and another contribution to reducing unemployment', 'VMRO-DPMNE President - Nikola Gruevski, whose party is at the helm of the Government, announced a new project and declared the finish of another one').

However, most of the reports, unlike in the previous period, did not contain journalistic qualifications concerning the actors. What must also be mentioned is the fact that most of the reports did not include involvement from the journalists, and they merely presented daily-political events.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

In the news during the analysed period, October 3-14, Sitel aired a total of 125 reports, which referred to political events and actors. Most of the reports were dedicated to pre-election activities of the parties (35 reports),

then followed the measures and projects of the Government (20), the activities of the Ministers in the Government (20 reports), as well as the promotion of Government measures made by the leaders of political parties and



Number of reports on Sitel, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

their representatives (19 reports), mostly dedicated to the leader of VMRO-DPMNE – Nikola Gruevski. 9 reports were focused on the SPPO, i.e. the debate in Parliament for amending the relevant laws, as many reports focused on the preparation of the elections, i.e. the back-and-forth between the parties about who is

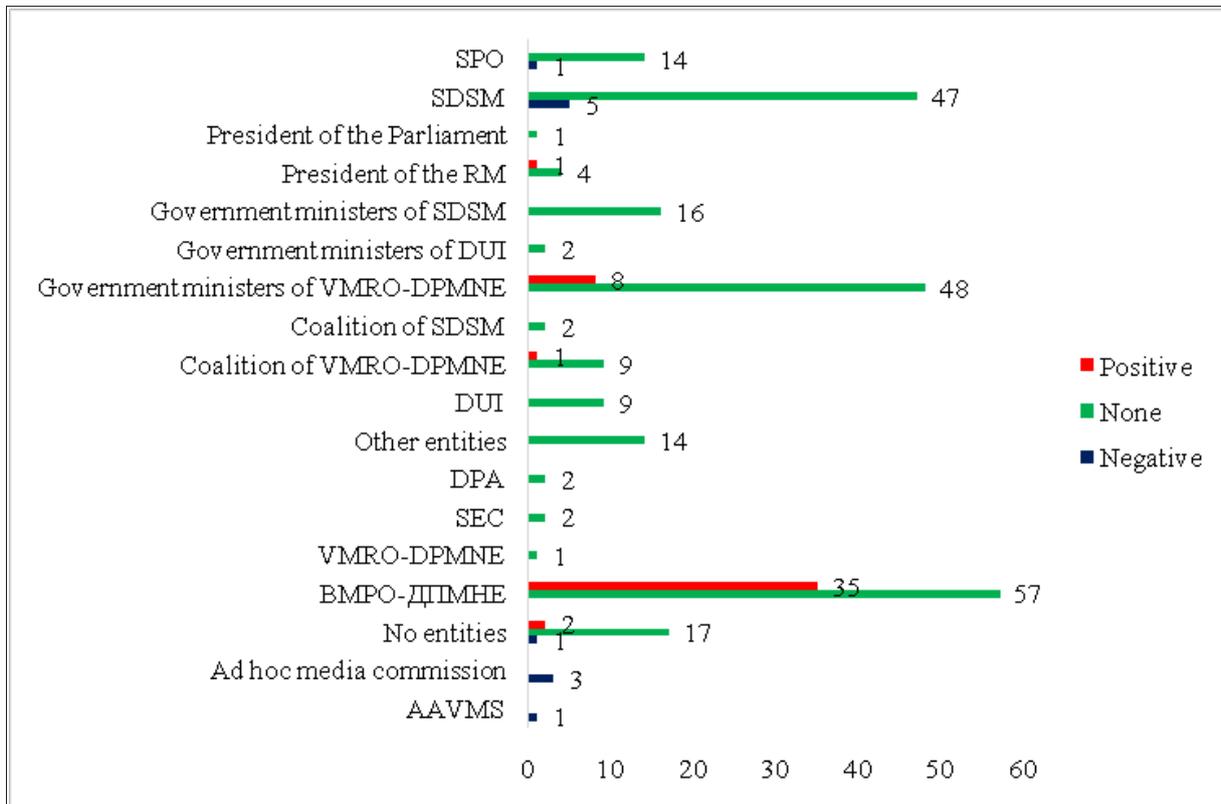
requesting the dissolution of Parliament. Regarding the investments and the state of the economy there were 8 reports, while the visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn was covered in 4 reports, and the activities of the Agency for Audio-visual Media Services were covered in 3 reports.

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

In the reports aired during the analysed period, the most common subject was the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE (92), then followed the ministers of the Government coming from VMRO (56), the oppositional party SDSM (52), and after them came the reports where no specific political entity is mentioned, however such actors are linked to current political events in the country, such as international conferences, donations from foreign embassies (Donation from the Embassy of USA), reactions from NGOs (The Alliance of Fighters in the National Liberation War on October 11th) (20), ministers from SDSM (16), SPPO (15) and a very low percentage of reports was focused on DUI (9) and DPA (2).

A positive or affirmative stand from the journalist was expressed in 35 reports whose subject was VMRO-DPMNE ('We expect Macedonia's friends to take a firm stand on December 11<sup>th</sup>: Nikola Gruevski's column for the German Der Hauptstadtbrief', 'The association of kindergarten teachers commended the mega-project of VMRO-DPMNE for building 140 kindergartens', 'At the initiative of VMRO-DPMNE submitted yesterday, SDSM has requested the dissolution of Parliament today', 'VMRO-DPMNE is organizing a weekend of providing account for their performed activities, and for realistic projects and acts').

A favourable stand was expressed in the 8 reports about the ministers from VMRO-



Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

DPMNE ('The mega-project for building of 140 new kindergartens will solve a problem that has been present for decades and will reduce the waiting lists for enrolling children in pre-school facilities', 'The additional deputy Minister of Mol – Oliver Andonov stated that the new orders from Minister Oliver Spasovski forbidding public appearances without his prior approval was, in his opinion, illegal', 'Mizo revealed that several other companies are expected to announce their decisions to invest in the country in the final quarter of the year.')

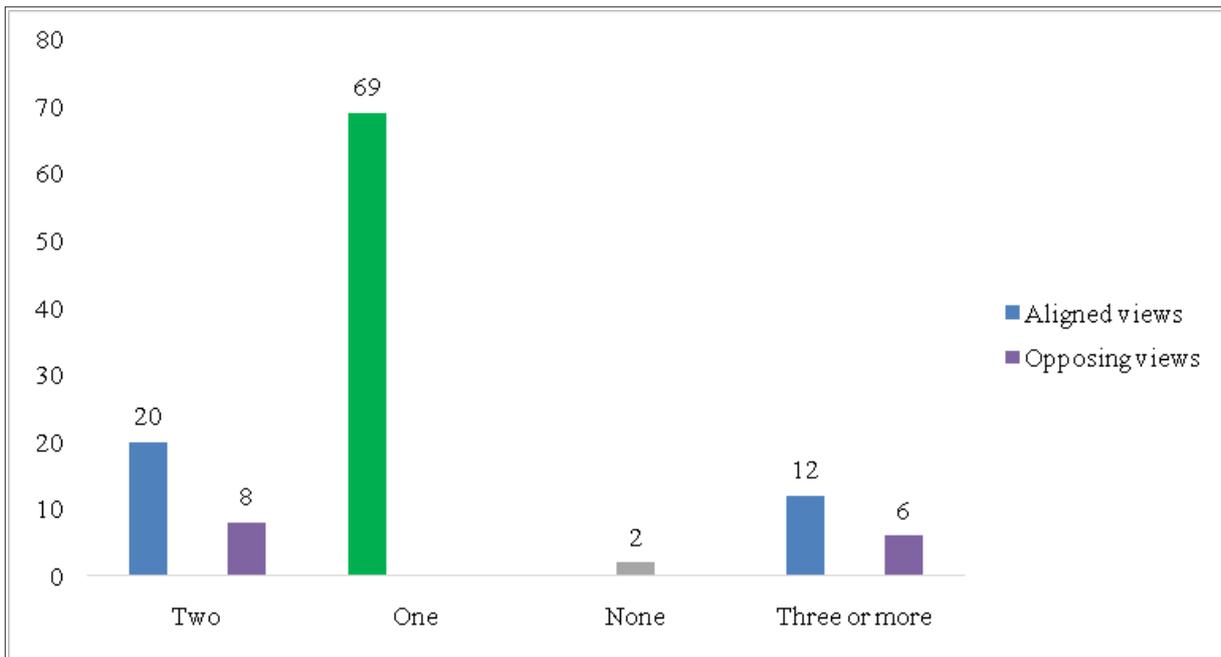
A negative or demonizing attitude was most visible towards the oppositional party SDSM, in 5 reports ('SDSM's request for amendments of the Law on Special Prosecutor's Office that were aimed at prolonging the deadline for filing charges is proof that the people at 'Bihacka'

Street are aware of what lies ahead for them - a defeat at the elections in December, political analysts say', 'The next step of SDSM's spokesperson - Petre Shilegov, after everything he has done, is the announcement that his party will be altering and fitting history, and for that purpose he announced that they will make a revision of the Museum for the National Struggle'). A negative attitude was also expressed against the Ad Hoc media body – in 3 reports ('The Ad Hoc body is penalizing without even looking at the materials provided in the arbitrary reports of the Agency for Media. Two members share a different opinion about the latest misdemeanor charges', 'The Ad Hoc body is 'blindly' penalizing'). A negative remark was also given for the Agency for Audio and Audio-visual Media Services and against SPPO (in one report each).

### 3. USING SOURCES

In 69 reports on this TV station, the journalist stated a single source for the information they reported. Then followed the reports that contained two sources (28), in 20 of which reports the interlocutors shared the same standpoint, while in 8

reports their opinions were contrary. 18 of the reports provided three or more sources, in 12 of them the sources stood the same ground, while in 6 their opinions were opposed. In 2 of the reports no source of information was provided.



Using sources in the news on Sital (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# TELMA

In the news on Telma the topics that dominated continued to be of civil interest, and an argument supported critical attitude was taken towards them by the journalists, by consulting all involved parties in the issue. Telma often opened topics that other media outlets did not cover. The central news were partially based on covering current events, while the other part was focused on reports that included journal-

istic efforts that covered topics of wider civil interest (the search conducted at the MIT University, new employment in MoI, etc.)

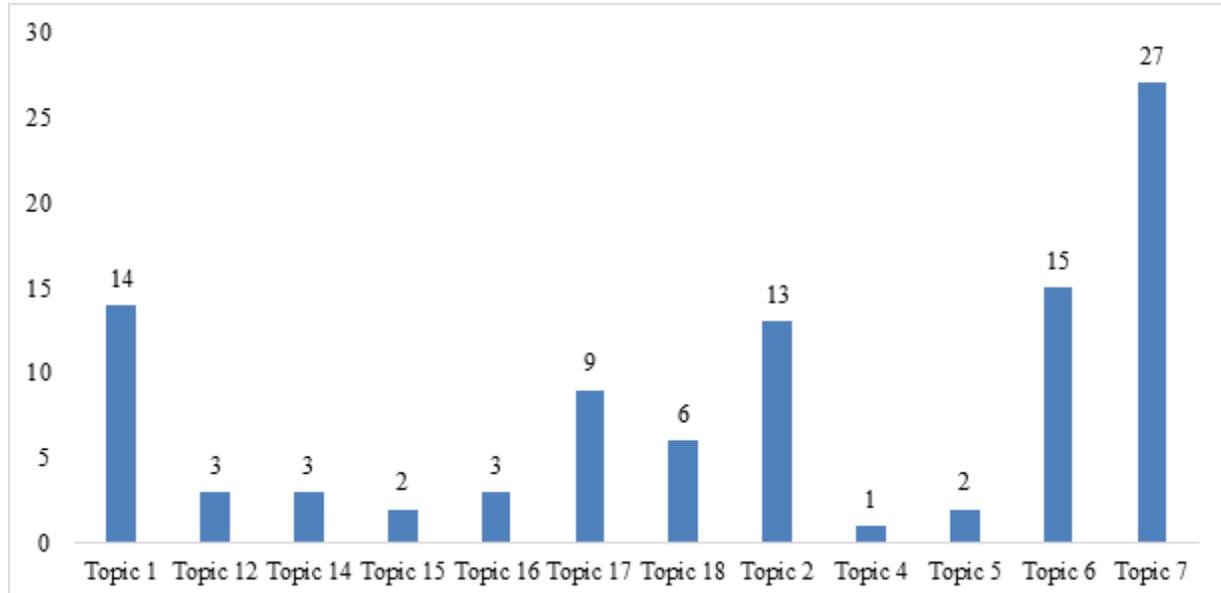
According to the representation of political actors, VMRO-DPMNE (51) and the ministers from this party (18) were represented in the highest number of reports, however there were no comments provided from the journalists and it was a matter-of-fact report on daily-current events.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

In the news during the analysed period, Telma aired a total of 83 reports that referred to current political events. Most of the reports from these two weeks were focused on the SPPO (27 reports) that requested the amend-

ment of two laws in order to provide conditions for unobstructed operations.

In 15 news reports the TV station analysed the work of the public institutions, while 14 reports were dedicated to the preparation of the



Number of reports on Telma, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

elections, i.e. the dissolution of Parliament. The pre-election activities of political parties were covered in 13 reports, while the visit from European Commissioner Hahn was covered in 9. On the topic of education, especially related

to the action conducted at the MIT University and other issues, Telma published 6 stories in the central news. Three of the reports were about the state of the economy and three reports were about the media.

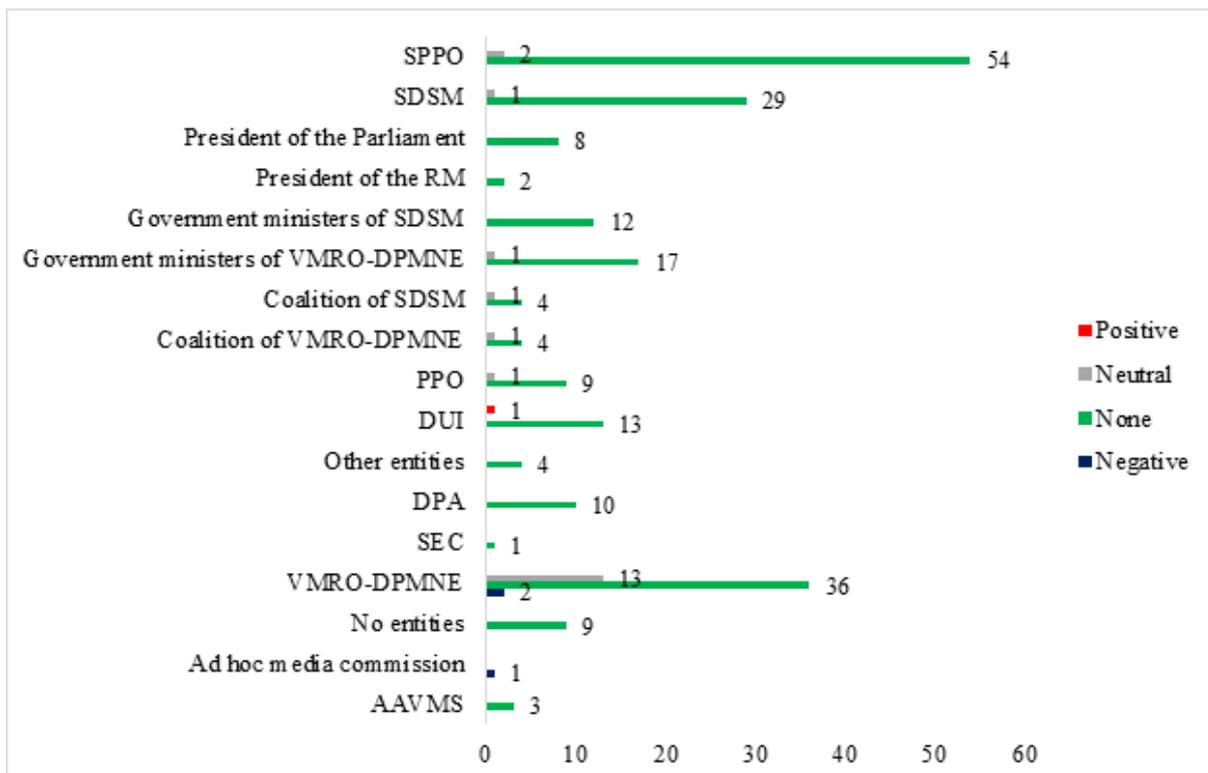
## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

During the analysed period, most of the reports (56) covered the work of SPPO. In 51 reports, the subject was the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE, while in 30 reports it was the oppositional party SDSM. In 18 reports the work of ministers from VMRO-DPMNE was observed, while in 14 reports it was DUI. In 10 of the reports the topics was linked to the Public Prosecutor's Office and the activities during the analysed period (MIT University), and the same number of reports referred to DPA. In 9 reports, the subjects were civic organizations, trade unions, etc.

In general, the TV station did not take any attitude in its reports pertaining to any entity. 20 reports contained a neutrally critical attitude

towards SPPO ('In that procedure, the Prosecutor's Office did not invite journalists to the stand at all, rather they just took statements from some of the so-called sure-bet voters') and VMRO-DPMNE ('New reports of pressures put on employees in the state service to provide voters for VMRO-DPMNE', 'How did VMRO-DPMNE go from being a political party with a blocked account at the time of their first elections win in 2006, to being the wealthiest party in Europe?').

In two reports there was a mildly negative attitude, where the subject was the ruling party ('For experts, one thing is clear: Gruevski is attempting to gain back his lost credibility in the



Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)

relations with the international community, however it is obvious that this trip is intended primarily for the domestic public’) and in one report towards the Ad Hoc body on media (‘Besides the fact that it is outside the jurisdiction of the Interim Commission, the Announcement lacks arguments, it is untrue, it is not based on facts and it is tentatively formulated with a probable purpose, despite the positive re-

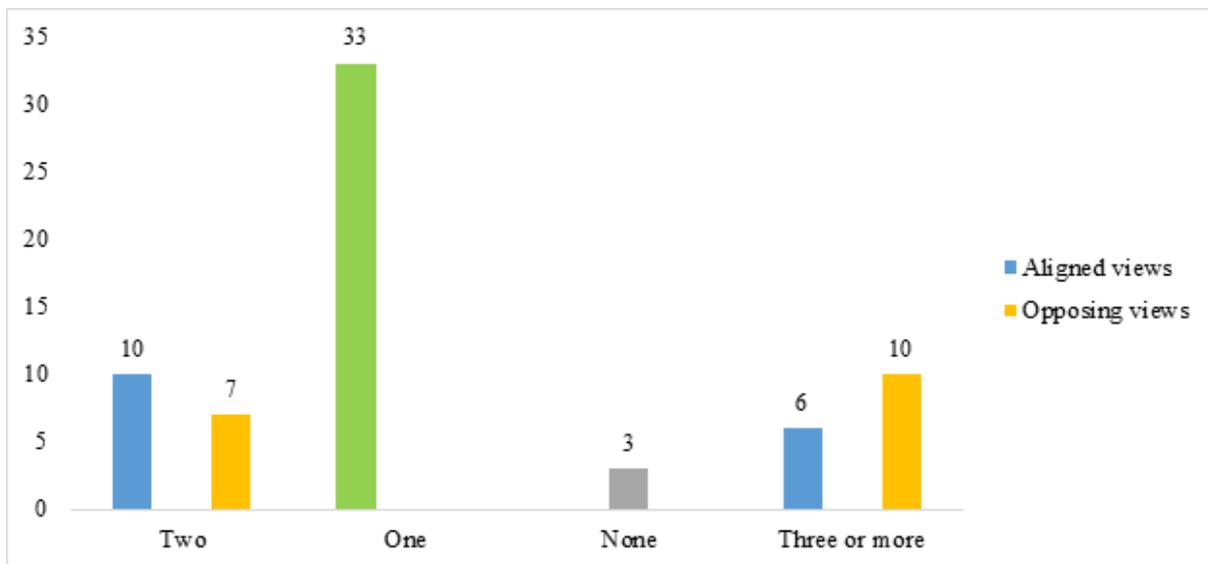
ports from the monitoring, and from the Interim Commission itself, to harm the reputation and the professional work of Telma Television’), which referred to a case that directly concerns this TV station.

One report contained an expressed mild positive stand towards DUI (‘DUI and DPA are looking for a consensus on the laws about SPPO’).

### 3. USING SOURCES

In 69 reports on this TV station, the journalist stated a source for the information they reported. Most of them had one source (33), then followed reports with two sources - 17 and 16 were with three or more sources.

In 10 of the reports with two sources, the interlocutor had aligned positions, while in 7 reports the views were contrary. In the reports with more than two sources (3 and more), the ones that consulted sources with differing views prevailed (10). In three reports a source was not provided.



Using sources in the news on Telma (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)



## 24 VESTI

TV station 24 Vesti actively followed current events in the country and they made persistent efforts to present different political opinions and views about the issues. For the most part, the media outlet provided information by revealing and underlining public interest and they provided a wider and more detailed overview of the events and processes that were the topic of reporting. The TV station not only communicated criticisms for political actors, including state institutions criticized by other actors, but also took an argument supported approach to deriving their own critical conclusions.

In terms of reporting about political actors and their views, it can be concluded that there was relative balance, in 63 reports the subject was VMRO-DPMNE and in 49 reports it was

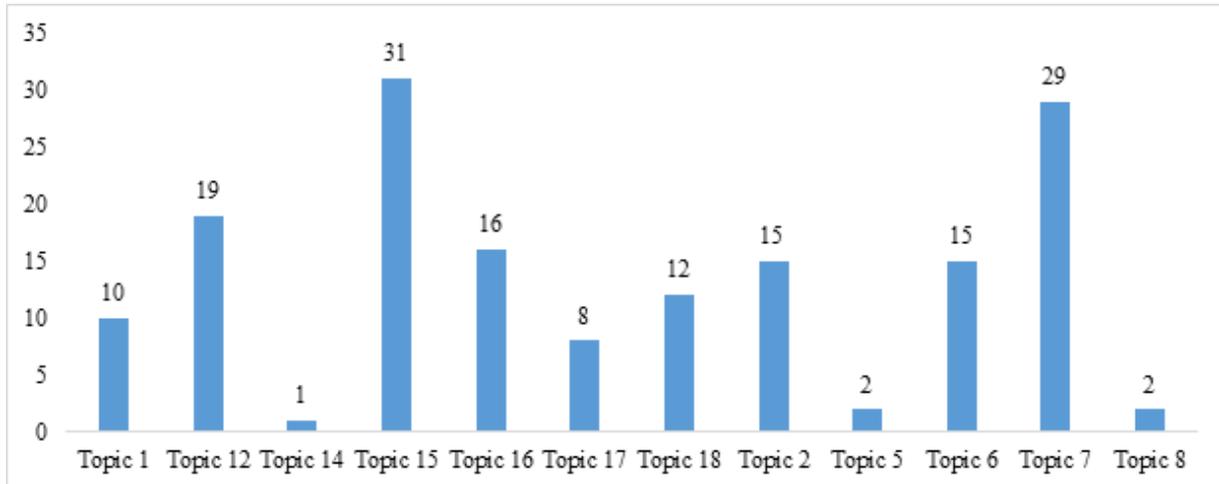
SDSM. The difference grows larger if you add to this the reports where party officials or the institutions they manage were mentioned (129 as opposed to 71 in favour of VMRO-DPMNE), which is explained by the fact that the officials of the ruling party are more numerous and thus are a more common topic of media interest. The centre of the media outlet's attention were not only political actors, but also many other actors (104) that appeared in topics with a political context. Especially intense was the reporting about the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (66 appearances).

In terms of using sources, in almost half of the reports (56) there was only one source provided. In only one quarter of the reports (33), there were different or opposed opinions presented within one report.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

TV station 24 Vesti aired a total of 137 reports during the monitored period, which referred to political actors, processes and situations. The media focused most of its attention to the topics concerning the work of state and other institutions (31 reports), as well as the topics related

to the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (29 reports). Concerning other topics, the state of the economy was reported in 19 reports; the parties' pre-election activities were covered in 15, the regular activities of Government representatives in 15, the preparation for the elections in 10, etc.



Number of reports on 24 Vesti, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
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<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
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<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

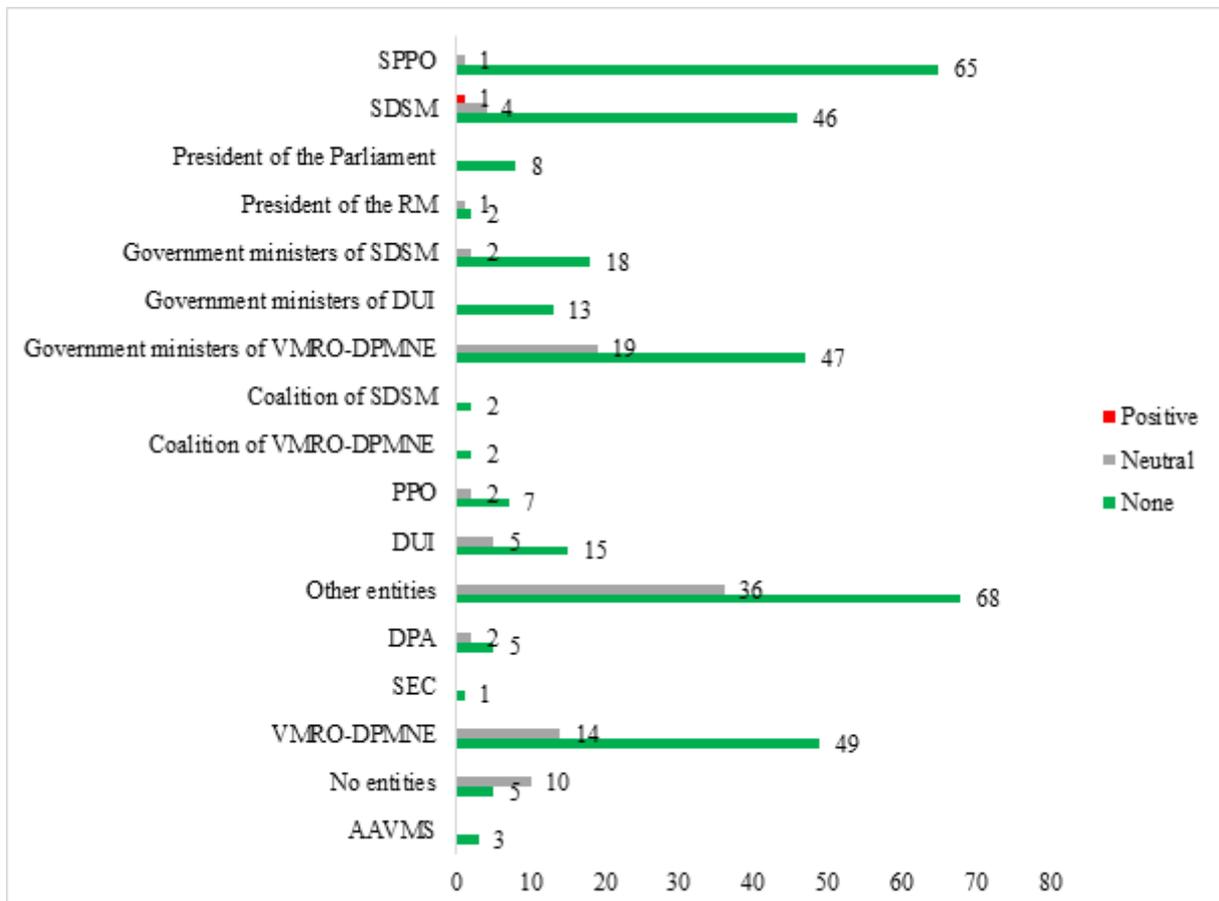
## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

In most of the cases (104), the reports of the TV station did not present political parties, rather they focused on 'other actors'. These were most often institutions and organizations included in topics that concern the political environment, and which cannot be attributed to a direct link to a political party, like for instance the Constitutional Court, other court institutions, the European Union the its representatives, the chambers of commerce, MANU, Parliament, the Colourful Revolution, the National Bank, students' organizations, other civil organizations, etc. In 36 of these reports, a neutrally criticizing attitude was expressed towards the following actors (October 4: the Constitutional Court, the sword of Damocles over SPPO). In some of these cases, the criticisms were pointed to the state as well, as the most general subject (October 10: the state is creating an unfair competition with the benefits they offer to investors in the zones). These reports, which do not concern political actors

directly, reflect the editorial policy of the media outlet to a large extent, according to which policy they opt for independent revealing of topics that concern the people and for a critical perception of the state of affairs.

Apart from this, reports were also aired regarding the smaller political parties (Levica, the right-winged coalition, etc.), that were also included in this category. VMRO-DPMNE was presented in 63 reports (129 along with the coalition and with the ministers), and SDSM was presented in 49 reports (71 along with the coalition and the ministers), one of which displayed an expressive positive attitude. The special prosecutor's office was presented in 64 reports. All other actors were presented to a smaller extent.

The media outlet regularly followed current events of public interest, they reported them and analysed them in accordance with their importance, often expressing a critical attitude (October 12: 'Is politics more important than



Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)

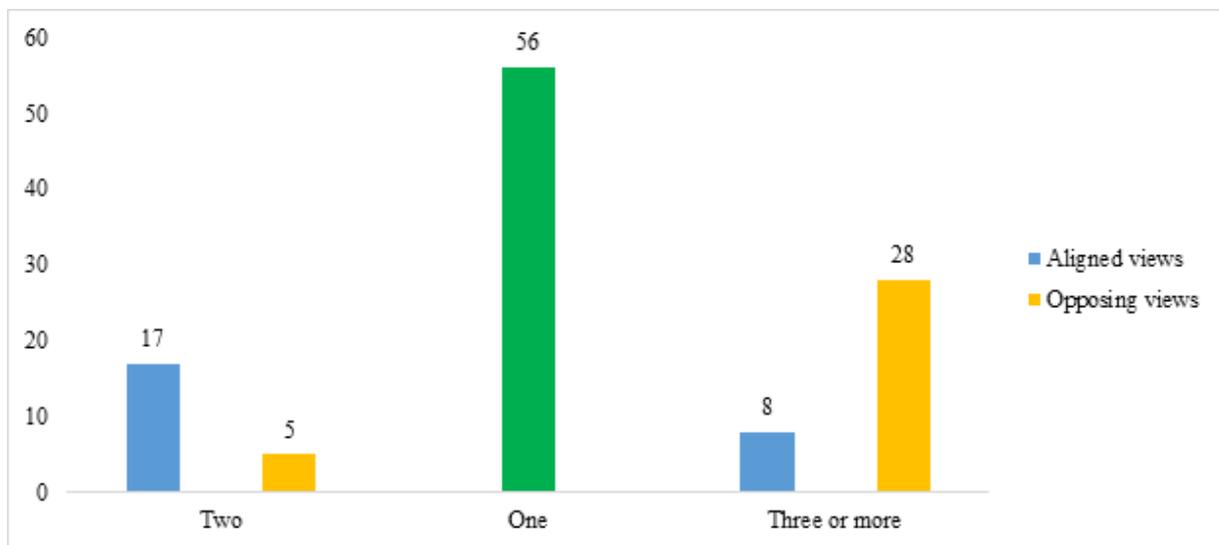
law in the Court of Strasbourg?). There were also regular reports on the criticizing opinions toward public office holders (October 13: 'The Government is securing votes before the elections through new hirings in state institutions, according to analysts'). In 14 cases, the ruling party or their representatives were the object of criticism (October 5: 'Cavkov does not answer about his capacity at the faculty'), and in four it was the oppositional party, although

primarily in reports where other parties are also criticized (October 13: 'Protest of rejected police officers, the competent authorities are shifting blame to others'). A certain positive attitude towards the opposition could be observed in the extensiveness of the reporting on the march on the 11th of October, led by the opposition. There were no other instances observed of more explicit expressions of a positive or a negative attitude.

### 3. USING SOURCES

The number of reports with one source (56) was almost equal to the number of reports with several sources (58). In reports with two sources, they were

more often aligned than opposed (17 as opposed to 5, and in reports with three or more sources, they were most often opposed (28 versus 8).



Using sources in the news on 24 Vesti (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)



## KANAL 5

The general conclusion about the reporting of TV station Kanal 5 is that during the ten analysed editions, the TV station mostly focused on reporting on pre-election activities of the political parties and on promoting measures and projects of the Government and of other institutions. This was done at the expense of reporting about public interest topics, i.e. most of the topics came down to the pre-elections struggle between opposed political groups. In this context, the media outlet reported in favour of the party VMRO-DPMNE, with a lead that was small in terms of quantity, however significant in terms of quality. Expressing a positive or negative stand on political actors was a common characteristic of Kanal 5 news during the monitored period.

The different stand towards political actors was also reflected in the total number of appearances of the political parties, their of-

ficials, the coalitions or the institutions managed by them (175 as opposed to 104 reports to the favour of VMRO-DPMNE), as well as in the expressed attitude towards them (54 positive reports for VMRO-DPMNE, and 11 negative ones for SDSM). It can also be observed that the medium took an ignorant stand towards SPPO (albeit not a negative one), by showing only 12 reports on this prosecutor's office, although during the monitored period there were numerous events related to it.

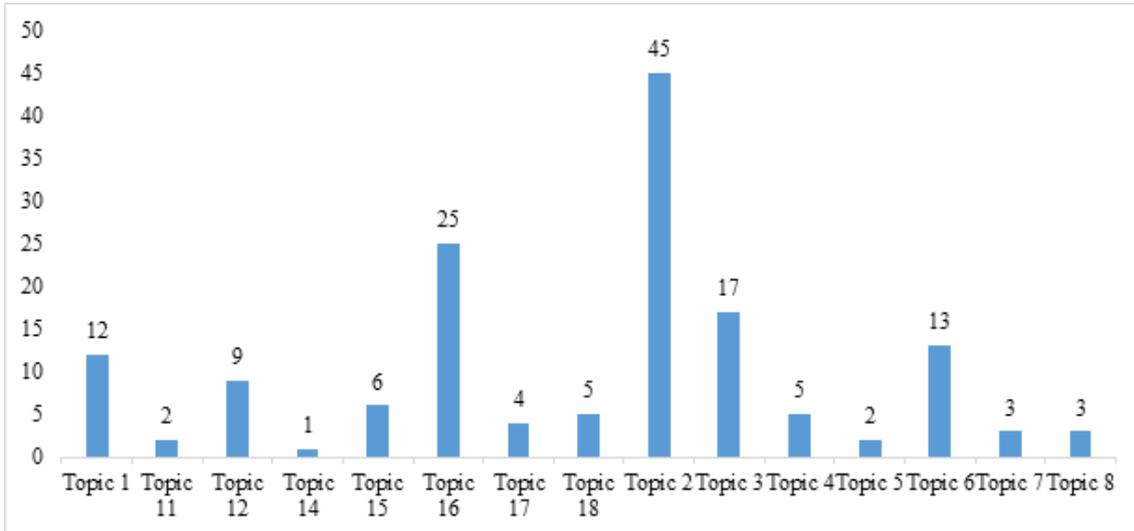
Regarding the sources, 68 reports provided only one source, 30 of them had two sources and 19 had three or more. 6 of the reports with two sources and 7 of the reports that included three or more sources showed opposing views. The different opinions were also presented in consecutive reports with one source each (statement, followed by a reaction).

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

During the reporting period, TV station Kanal 5 aired a total of 133 reports related to the political actors, processes or situations. Almost a third of them (45 reports) referred to the pre-election activities of the political parties.

Among other topics, more common were the promotional activities of the Govern-

ment (17 reports), regular activities of ministers (13 reports), preparation of the elections (12 reports), the state of the economy (12 reports), the president of VMRO-DPMNE – Nikola Gruevski promoting government measures and projects (5 reports) and other topics.



Number of reports on Kanal 5, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
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<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
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<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

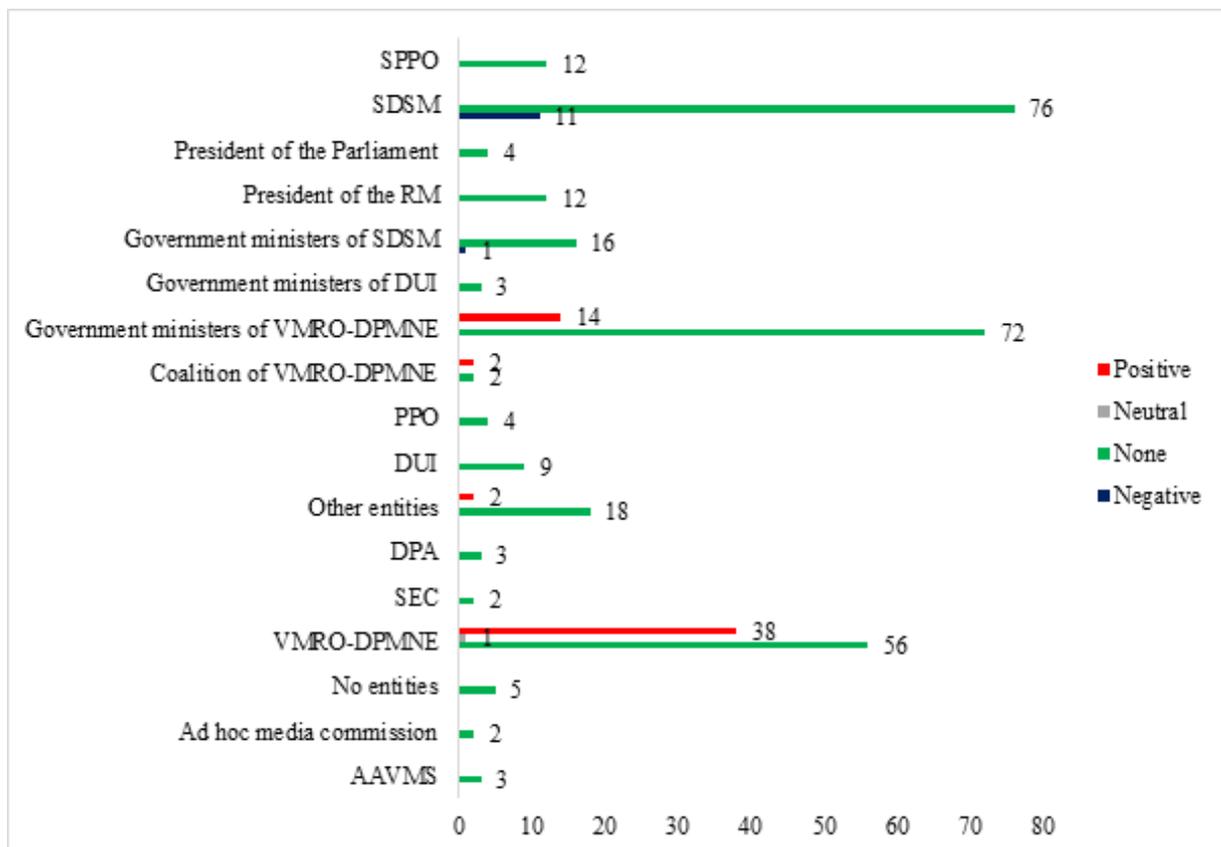
## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

The representation of VMRO-DPMNE (present in 95 reports) and of SDSM (in 87 reports) was almost equal. This was not the case when reporting about officials from these two parties and the institutions they manage (86 as opposed to 17 reports, for the benefit of representatives of VMRO-DPMNE).

Expressing a positive or a negative attitude towards the actors, albeit not explicit, was still visible. In reports regarding pre-election activities, promises from VMRO-DPMNE are called ‘measures and projects’ thus suggesting that their implementation is certain (and the outcome of the elections) and comprehensive reports were made about them, positive reactions from associations of citizens were shown, etc. (October 5: ‘SONK greeted the building of

140 kindergartens’). Promises from SDSM were reported just as a statement from the politician presenting them, in some cases the quality of image and sound were with a more poor quality. They were most often followed up by reactions from the ruling party or from public institutions. 11 reports contained a supportive tone against the opposition (October 13: ‘Some analysts believe that there is no doubt that SDSM will lose the elections’).

In a period with intense activities related to the Special Public Prosecutor’s Office, Kanal 5 covered this with only 12 reports. In 20 reports, different actors such as the EU, the Anti-Corruption Commission, court authorities were presented, and smaller political parties were very rarely reported on.

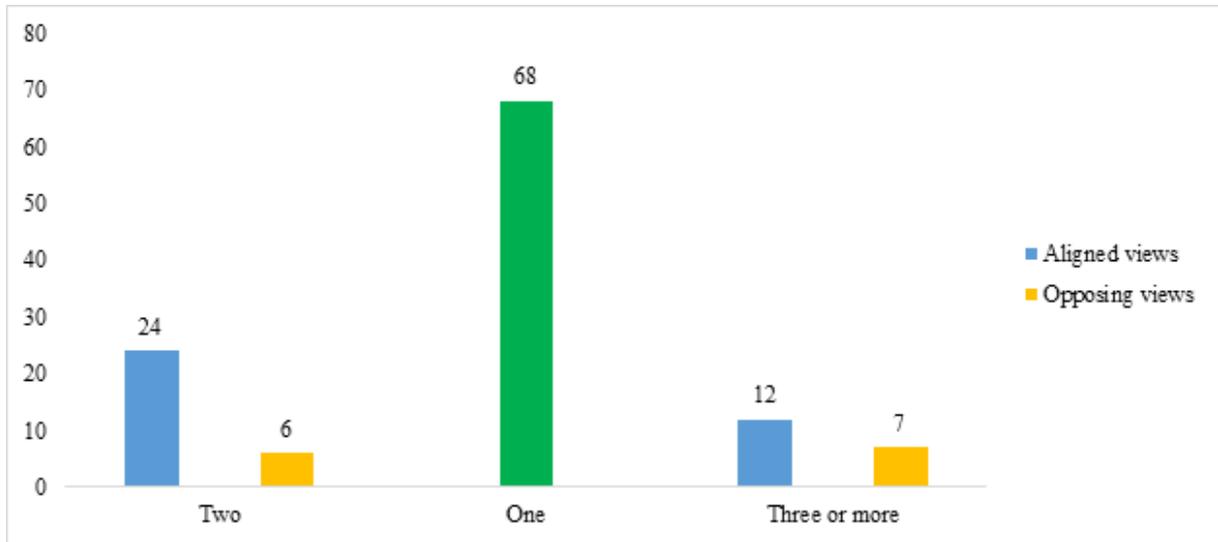


Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

# 3. USING SOURCES

In more than half of the reports (68), only one source was consulted. In some of these reports the different positions were presented consecutively. This mostly happened when informing about the activities of the opposition,

and immediately after that came a new report with a reaction from an institution or a representative of the ruling majority. In only 13 instances there were different or opposed views as part of the same report.



Using sources in the news on Kanal 5 (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



## ALFA

The general conclusion about the reporting of the TV station during the ten analysed editions of the news is that they focused most of their attention on promoting the projects and measures of the Government and of the institutions managed by staff from the ruling party, and the president of VMRO-DPMNE - Nikola Gruevski was shown on several occasions announcing measures and projects on behalf of the state. Some of the most common topics were the economic processes, mostly new foreign investments, as well as pre-election activities of the parties. Reporting on these topics had a tone of political marketing and it did not serve public interest.

The TV station regularly expressed a positive attitude towards the party VMRO-DPMNE, and often showed a negative attitude towards SDSM. The difference in the relation towards these two major political actors was reflected both in terms of quantity and in terms of qual-

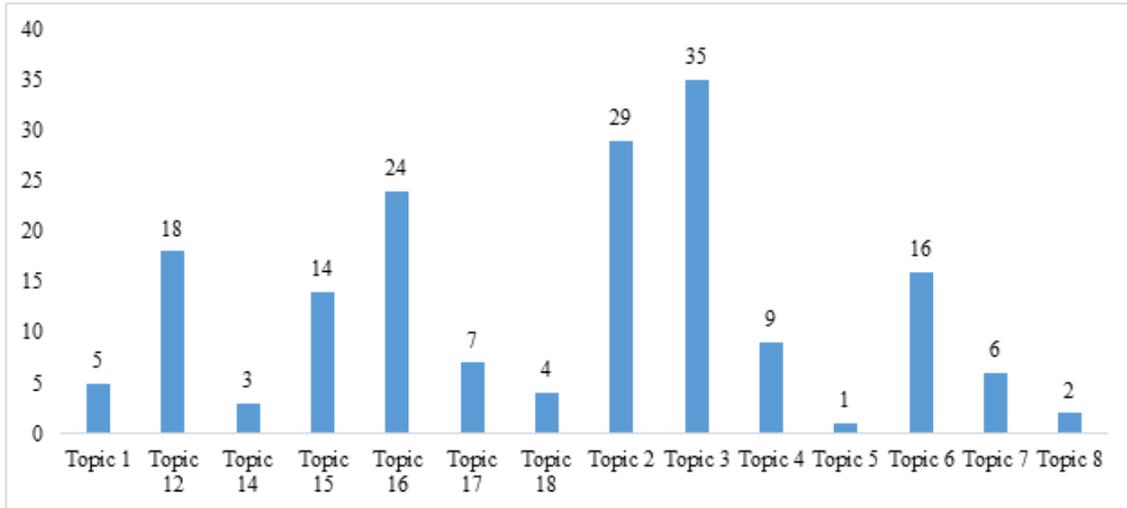
ity. The ratio of appearances was three to one for the benefit of VMRO-DPMNE (209 as opposed to 69). Especially characteristic was the fact that the measures and projects announced by representatives of the ruling party, which having in mind the current period can only be in the form of pre-election promises, were presented as final decision, in that way suggesting that their proposers will remain on the political functions they occupy. The Special Public Prosecutor's Office was ignored (only 21 reports during the entire period) or it was attacked (6 negative reports).

One-sided reporting was predominant when it comes to the standpoints of the sources that were used, since only 10 reports included opposing sources, as part of one report. In some cases, differing views could be found among the 72 reports with one source, which consecutively showed the statement from one and the reaction from another political entity.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

During the monitored period, Alfa Television aired a total of 142 reports that refer to the state of politics in the country. The most common topic were Government projects and measures with 35 reports, and in 9 of those reports the projects and measures were presented by VMRO-DPMNE president – Nikola Gruevski. 29 reports covered pre-election activities of the

parties, 18 covered the state of the economy (primarily new foreign investments), 16 were on the regular activities of Government representatives, and so forth. Six reports were broadcast on the topics related to the Special Public Prosecutor’s Office, although there were numerous activities regarding this institution during the monitored period.



Number of reports on Alfa, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor’s Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

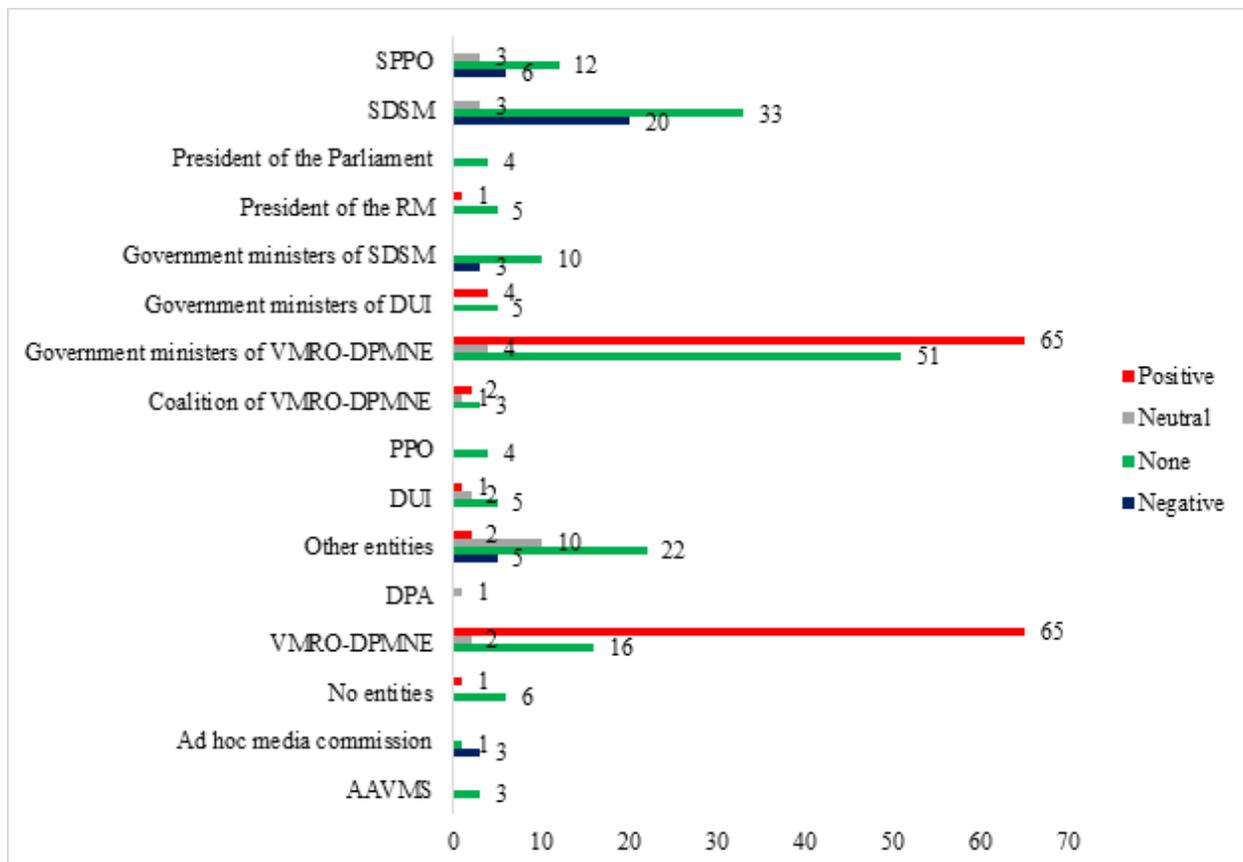
## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

The most commonly presented entity on this TV station was VMRO-DPMNE, with 83 appearances or mentions, 65 of which were in a positive connotation. SDSM was presented with 56 appearances, 20 of which were in a negative connotation. However, when it comes to officials from both parties and the institutions managed by them, the difference grows much higher, VMRO-DPMNE were presented in 120 reports (65 with a positive opinion), and SDSM were presented in only 13 (3 with a negative opinion).

The TV station reported extensively and with a tone of praise about Government projects and measures (October 4: 'The autumn tour of free tourist weekends for pensioners is starting'). Also, when reporting on pre-election activities, the promises of VMRO-DPMNE were called 'measures' and 'projects', while the ones

of SDSM were clearly labelled as pre-election activities, and these were most often followed by reactions from the government or from the institutions. The opposition party was occasionally presented in a negative context (October 13: 'Instead of projects and programmes, they wish to evade the elections, are the reactions from disappointed members of SDSM'). The negative stand towards this party was also reflected in the manipulative audio-visual presentation (in the report on the march on October 11th, led by the opposition, the flags that were almost constantly in frame were Albanian flags, which can be seen as suggestive of 'anti-Macedonian' positions).

A negative attitude was also expressed towards the SPPO in 6 out of 21 reports on this prosecutor's office (October 6: 'New legal illiteracy of Katica Janeva'). The TV station showed VM-



Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)

RO-DPMNE president - Nikola Gruevski acting on behalf of the state (October 6: '18 thousand children will receive care with the project announced by VMRO-DPMNE leader – Nikola Gruevski').

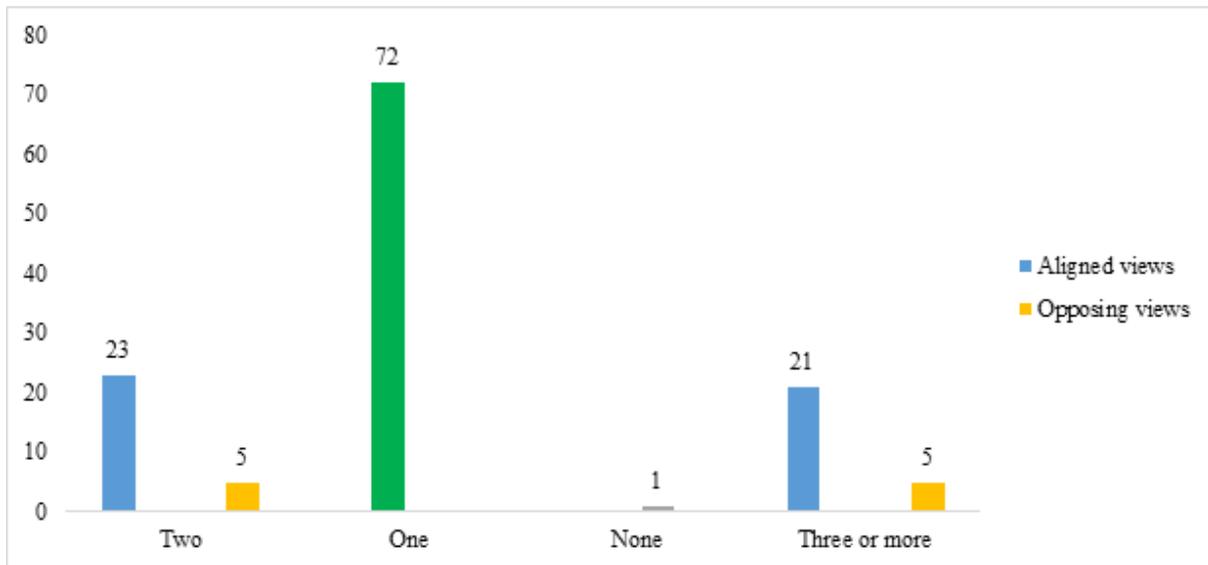
In 39 cases, the actors in the reports were other actors such as the parties Demokratski Sojuz and Levica, then the European Union,

Parliament, universities, chambers of commerce, civic associations and others. These reports also contained expressed positive and negative attitudes towards the actors (October 13: SDSM and Soros will receive the punishment from the people, say representatives from GDOM).

### 3. USING SOURCES

In more than half of the reports (72), one source was consulted. However, differing views were often presented in consecutive reports.

28 of the reports had two sources and 26 of the reports included three or more sources. Only 10 reports presented different standpoints.



Using sources in the news on Alfa (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# ALSAT M

## ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

The general conclusion about Alsat M's reporting in the news in Albanian, is that they actively follow all current events in the country and they provide space for different political actors to state their standpoints and views. For the most part, the media outlet performed their informative function by revealing and underlining public interest and they provided a comprehensive overview of the events and processes that were the topic of reporting. Although all topics that are of interest for the public were covered, the TV station paid special attention to the topics that concern ethnic Albanians.

In terms of the reporting about political actors and their views, VMRO-DPMNE and DUI,

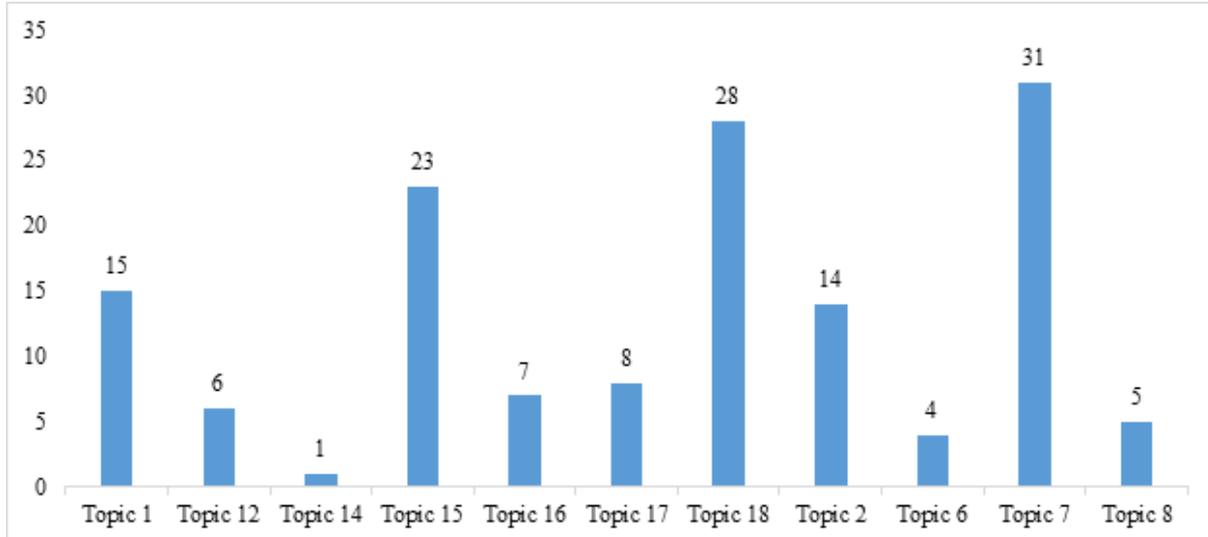
along with their officials and institutions they manage, were more often presented (92 appearances of DUI, 79 of VMRO-DPMNE), as compared to SDSM (48) and DPA (29). However, this is primarily because these actors have a higher percentage of representation within public institutions. Correspondent to the number and intensity of activities related to the Special Public Prosecutor's Office, the media outlet published 70 reports on that topic.

The TV station mostly used two, three or more sources for the reports they showed (73), which mostly had different or opposing views (46), and more seldom they used one source (26).

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

In the news in Albanian, Alsat M television published a total of 109 reports pertaining to political actors, processes and situations. Mostly the reports were on the topics pertaining to the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (31 report), the events in the educational sec-

tor (29 reports) and the work of state and public organs (23 reports). Regarding the preparation of the parliamentary elections, Alsat M in Albanian aired 15 reports, and regarding the pre-election activities of political parties - 14 reports.



Number of reports on Alsat M in Albanian, in relation to the different topics (September 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

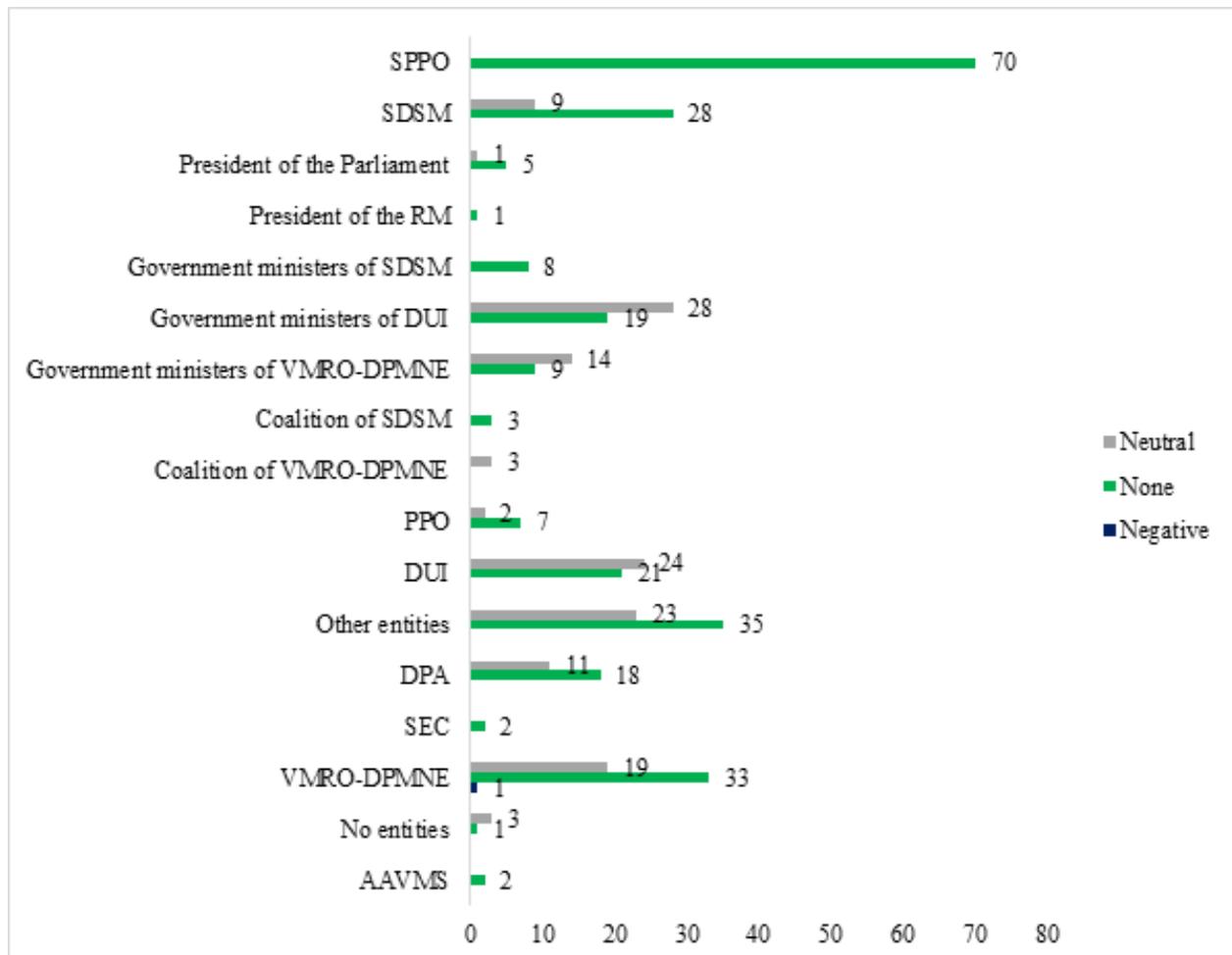
## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

The Special Public Prosecutor’s Office was the most common topic, with 70 appearances. All events related to their activities and the parliamentary debates on this institution were followed regularly. The most frequently mentioned political party was VMRO-DPMNE, in 53 instances, i.e. 79 along with the coalition and the ministers. Then followed DUI with 45 appearance (92 along with the ministers), then SDSM with 37 appearance (48 along with the coalition and the ministers). DPA was mentioned in 29 reports.

The TV stations covered the current events that are of public interest and communicated them appropriately, stating an argument supported attitude in their reports towards all actors (October 14: ‘Ismet Ramadani: Gruevski is spending the people’s money on promotion’;

October 13: ‘The opposition is entrapped by the government’, October 11: ‘Empty promises from DUI for restarting a mine’). In an extremely rare case, a negative attitude was observed towards VMRO-DPMNE (October 3: ‘Experts say that VMRO-DPMNE’s government may destabilize the country’).

The news also included smaller political actors such as Levica and Demokratski Sojuz, as well as many other actors that are not political parties, which are involved in topics that concern the political environment, such as the Colourful Revolution, court authorities, the Constitutional Court, the European union or the state as a general entity. In some of these cases a critical attitude was also expressed (October 3: ‘Macedonia is fighting corruption only declaratively’).

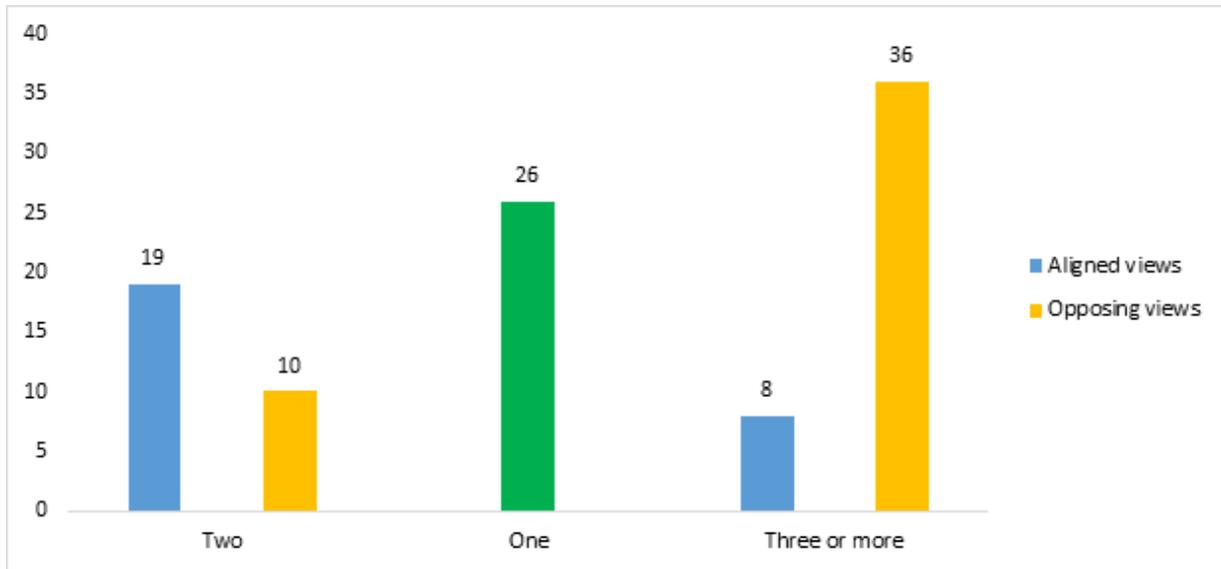


Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

### 3. USING SOURCES

Several sources with different or opposing views were mostly used in the reports. As many as 44 reports used three or more sources, and in 36 of them they represented differ-

ent positions. Out of the 29 reports with two sources, they were more commonly with the same position (19). 26 of the reports provided one source.



Using sources in the news on Alsat M in Albanian (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)



MACEDONIA DEMOCRACY WATCH



# ALSAT M MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

Similar to the news in Albanian, the general conclusion about Alsat M's reporting in the news in Macedonian in the ten analysed editions, is that they actively follow all current events in the country and they provide space for different political actors to state their standpoints and views. For the most part, the media outlet performed their informative function by revealing and underlining public interest and they provided a wider and more in-depth overview of the events and processes that were the topic of reporting. Although all topics that are of interest for the public were covered, the TV station paid special attention to the topics that concern ethnic Albanians.

In terms of the reporting about political actors and their views, VMRO-DPMNE and DUI,

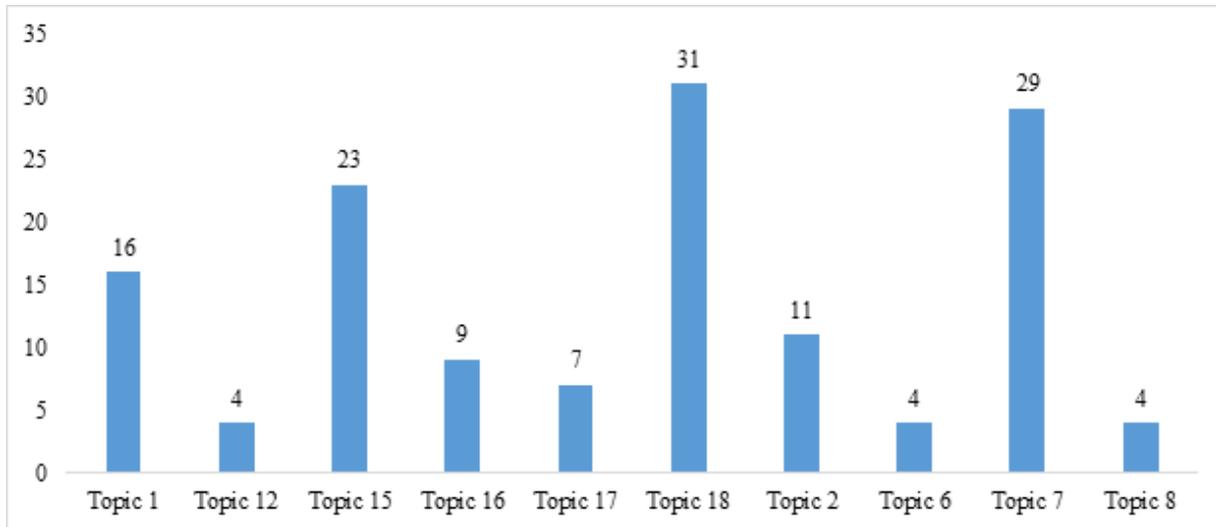
along with their officials and institutions they manage, were more often presented (94 appearances of DUI, 73 of VMRO-DPMNE), as compared to SDSM (38) and DPA (26), due to the fact that these actors have a higher percentage of representation within public institutions. The media outlet published 63 reports about the Special Public Prosecution, as well as 62 reports on smaller parties (Levica, DS, DR DPA, Besa) and actors that are not political parties and are involved in topics that concern the political environment.

The TV station mostly used two, three or more sources for the reports they showed (71), which mostly had different or opposing views (49), and more seldom they used one source (29).

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

The news programmes in Macedonian on Alsat M Television contained 110 reports referring to political actors, processes and situations. Mostly the reports were on the topics pertaining to the events in the educational sector (31 report), the Special Public Prosecu-

tor's Office (29 reports) and the work of state and public organs (23 reports). Regarding the preparation of the parliamentary elections, Alsat M in Macedonian aired 16 reports, and regarding the pre-election activities of political parties - 11 reports.



Number of reports on Alsat M in Macedonian, in relation to the different topics (September 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

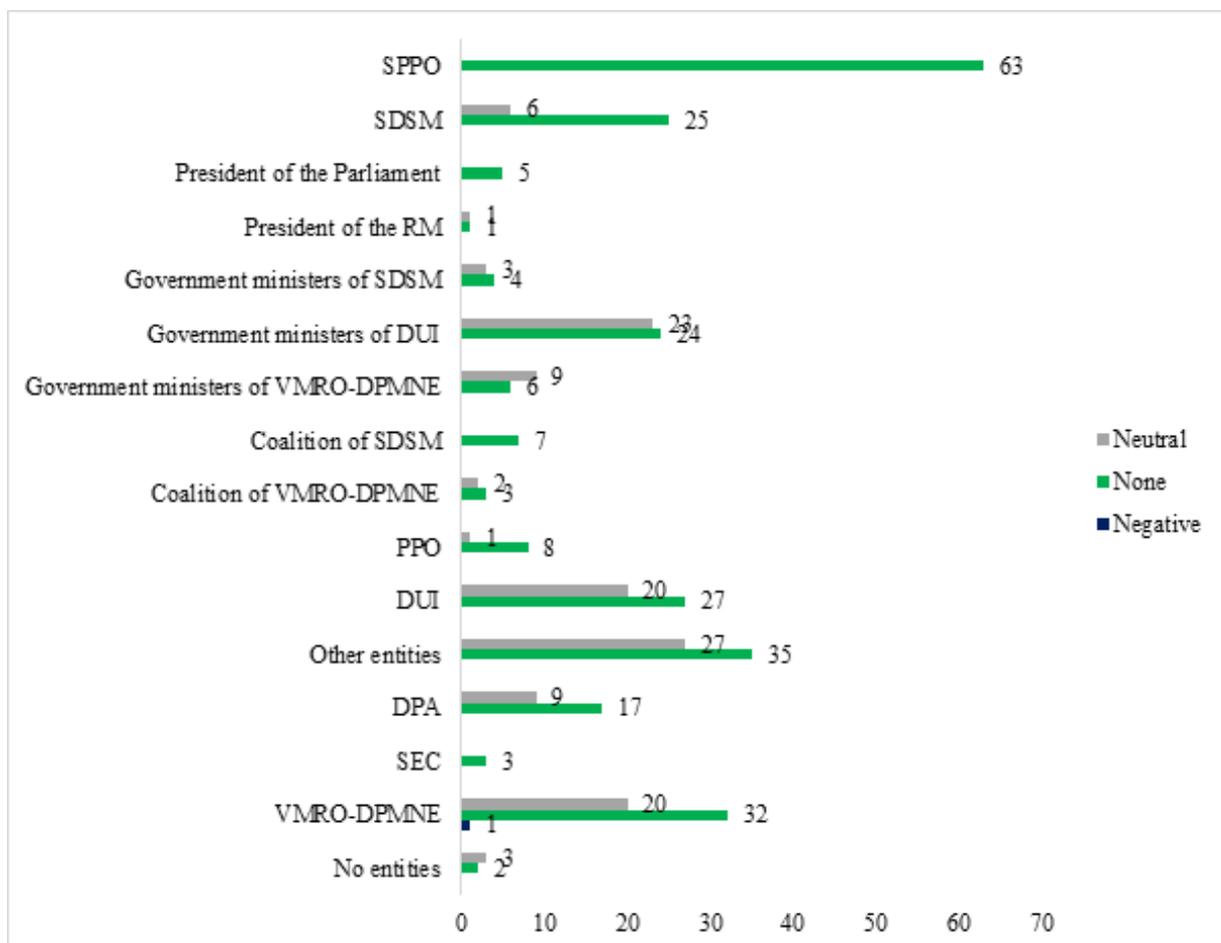
<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
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<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

The most common entity in the news was DUI, with 47 appearances, i.e. 94 appearances along with the ministers from the party. The attitude towards this party was criticizing in 27 instances (October 3: millions of euros are spent for employees who are sitting at home). The second most common entity in the news on Alsat M in Macedonia was the party VMRO-DPMNE with 53 appearances, or 73 along with the ministers from this party and with the coalition. In 38 instances a criticizing attitude was observed towards this entity (October 10: Minister Jolevski avoided answering about the strike) and in three instances there was a negative attitude (October 3: 'experts say that VMRO-DPMNE's government may destabilize the country'). SDSM was present in 38 reports, and DPA in 26. In a total of 64 reports, the Special Public Prosecutor's Office was mentioned.

Almost identical to the news in Albanian, the news in Macedonian also included smaller political actors such as Levica and Demokratski Sojuz, as well as many other actors that are not political parties, which are involved in topic that concern the political environment, such as the Colourful Revolution, court authorities, the Constitutional Court, the European Union or the state as a general entity. In some of these cases a critical attitude was also expressed (October 7: while WB, MMF and the domestic expert public are warning about a collapse of the pension fund, this institution is saying that everything is in order).

In addition, in its edition in Macedonian, the TV station covered current events that are of public interest and communicated them appropriately, stating an argument supported critical attitude in their reports, and they mainstreamed various problems with which the people are faced.

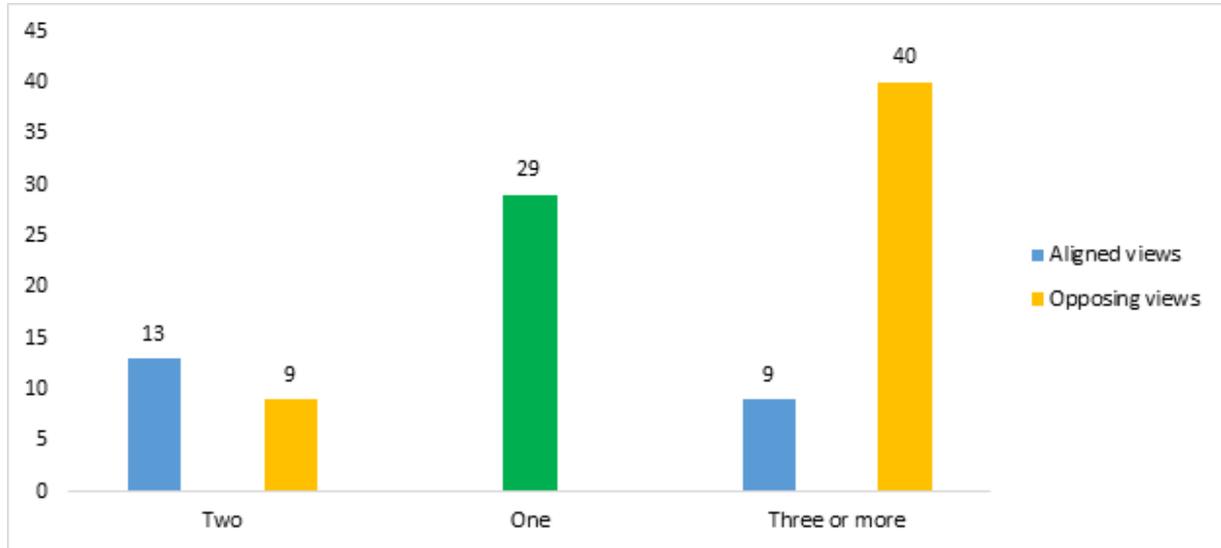


Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

# 3. USING SOURCES

Several sources with different or opposing views were most often used in the reports of the TV station. A total of 49 reports used three or more sources, and as many as 40 of them they represented different positions.

Out of the reports with two sources (22), in slightly more than half (13) the sources had an aligned point of view, and in the rest the views were opposed. One source was used for 29 reports.



Using sources in the news on Alsat M in Macedonian (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)



# TV 21

## MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE

The TV station mainly followed main political events. None of the reports included an opinion from the journalist or the editorial staff. Generally, the news did not include any positive or negative attitude towards any entity, except in several reports, where a criticizing, although neutral stand was taken towards a problem of public interest, and where the ministers from all three parties were mentioned: VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM and DUI. However, TV 21's contribution to media space comes from

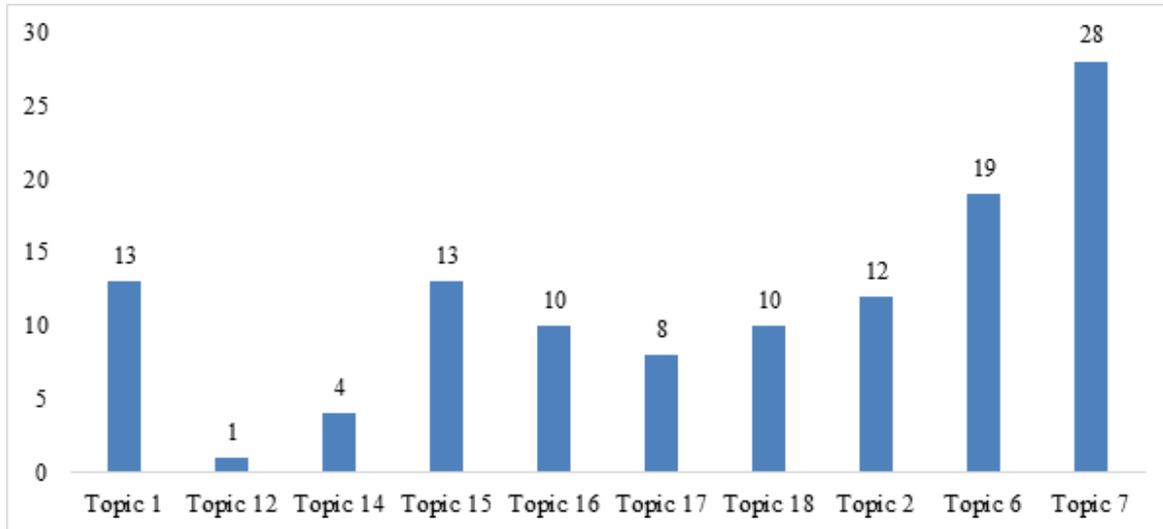
the daily analyses and debates with experts who mostly have opposed opinions, and which cover daily current topics. The TV station has also raised topics that were not in the focus of the other TV stations and were partially connected to ethnic issues.

In regards to the balanced approach in reporting, this TV station devoted almost an equal number of reports for all actors of greater significance: VMRO-DPMNE (35), SDSM (30), DUI (21), DPA (9).

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

In the news in Macedonian, TV 21 aired 101 reports during the analysed period. Most of them (28 reports) were about events related to SPPO and the laws that they requested in Parliament. The TV station continued to follow events related to the work of state institutions (19 reports), pre-election party activities (12 reports), they followed the issues they involved (strike of the sol-

diers, protest of police officer candidates) - 13 reports, the preparations for elections such as the dismissal of Parliament (13 reports), topics from the education sector (MIT, protest of the SEEU in Tetovo), or topics outside current events (Agoli's monument, pressures put on municipal administrations, etc.) – 10 reports, as well as the visit from European Commissioner Hahn (8 reports).



Number of reports on TV 21 in Macedonian, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

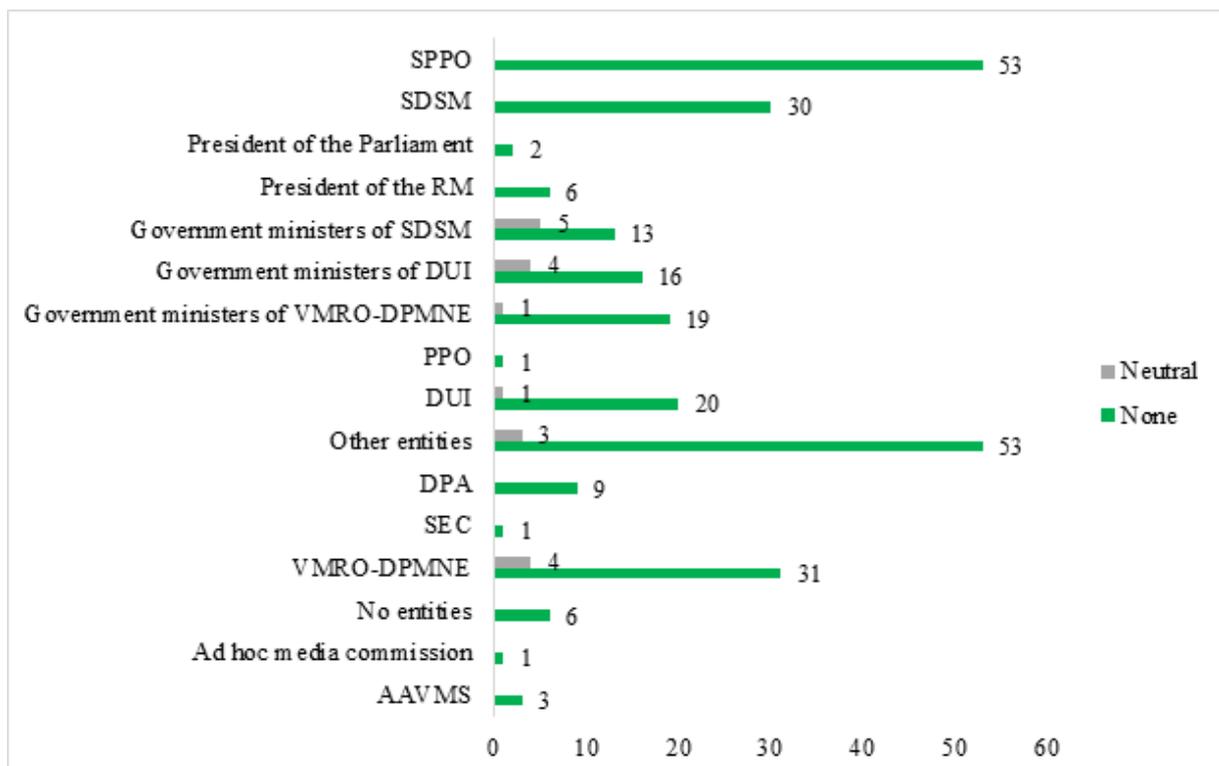
<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
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<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

In most of the reports from this analysed period, the actors were smaller political parties, and other institutions such as Parliament, courts, reactions from EU, etc. (56 reports). Then followed VMRO-DPMNE (35), SDSM (30), DUI (21), ministers from VMRO-DPMNE (20), ministers from SDSM (18) and from DUI with 20 reports and DPA with 9, which provides a relative balance in terms of reporting about the main political actors. The TV station focused a lot of attention during this period on the events surrounding the work of the SPPO (53 reports).

None of the reports included an opinion from the journalist or the editorial staff. In general, the reports in the news in Macedonian did not include any positive or negative attitude towards any entity. Except in several reports, where a criticizing, although neutral stand was taken towards a problem of public interest, and where

the ministers from all three parties were mentioned: VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM and DUI ('Nedzat Agoli's monument, an Albanian politician and a lawyer in the time of former Yugoslavia still stands on the Skopje city square, surrounded by a net of construction materials and a pile of waste'; '5 years ago, the authorities of Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia and from the Preshevo valley in Serbia agreed on a unified primer. This agreement, despite the fact that it is implemented by the neighbours, is not implemented in Macedonia, where Albanian students are learning to read and write from other books', '660 candidates for police officers went back home, 200 candidates without medical verifications were called', 'Two days after it was cancelled, the training for the November class of police officer candidates is not mentioned... according to our sources, some of the candidates had criminal records.')

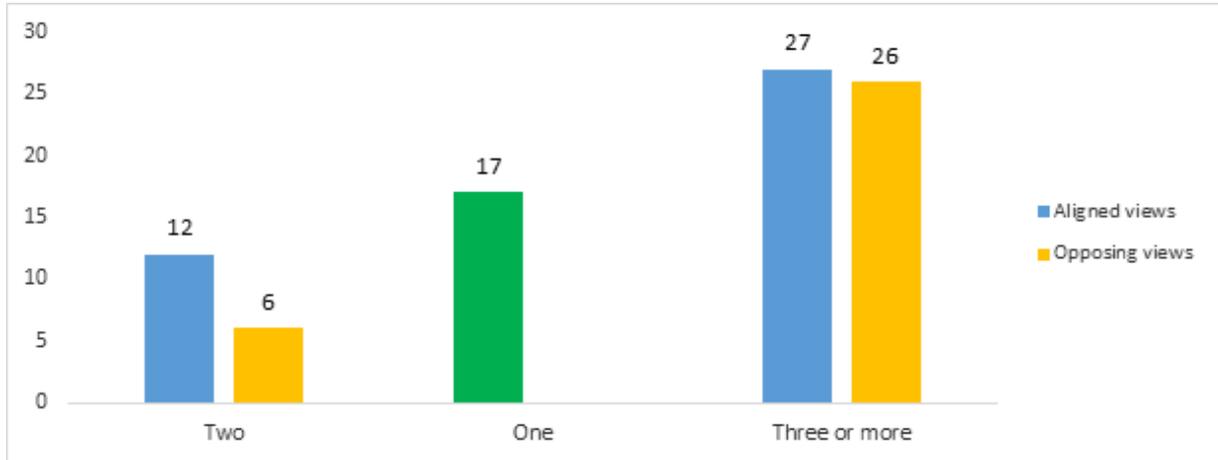


Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

# 3. USING SOURCES

In a total of 88 reports, there was a source that was cited by the journalist during the reporting. In most of them (53), there were three or more sources, and in more than half of these (27) the opinions were aligned, while

in 26 the opinions were contrary. 18 of the reports had two sources, in 12 of them the sources were like-minded, while in 6 they were opposed. 17 reports had only one source of the information.



Using sources in the news on TV 21 in Macedonian (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)



# TV 21

## ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

Information in these news was provided in more depth about political and every day events of the Albanian ethnic community, by treating public interest issues in the places where this community is the majority of the population, without favouring any opinions, of the community or of any political entity. It is a matter of topics that the TV station has initiated itself: Agoli's monument, eco concert for Tetovo, extradition for the four Italians, the primer in Albanian language, etc.

Except in 3 instances when a mild affirmative tone could be observed (towards DUI officials), the others mainly do not contain explicit

opinions from the journalist, or if they do then it is critical and neutral, and it refers to topics of civil interest.

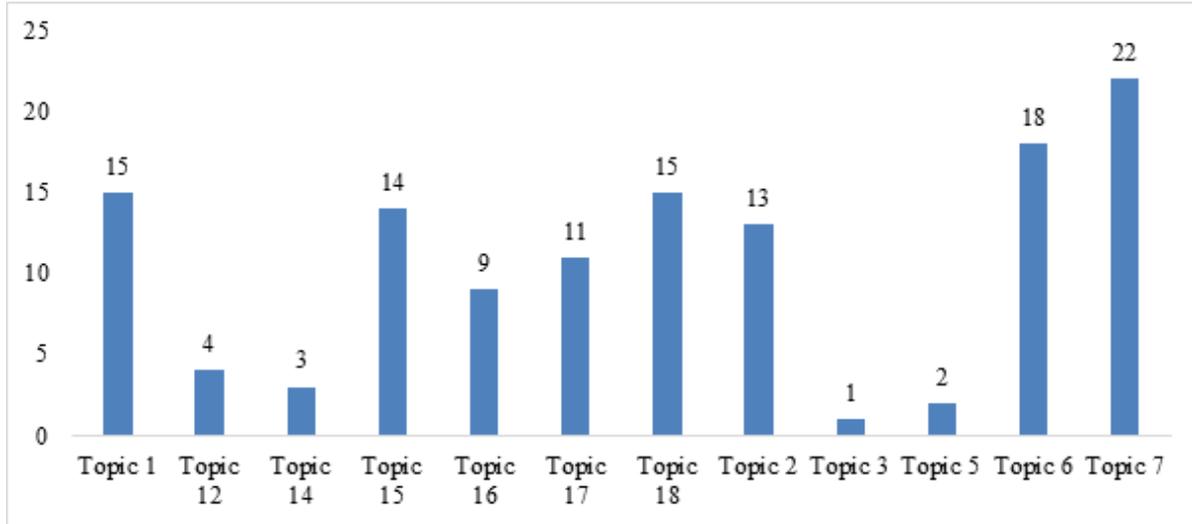
Just like in the news in Macedonian, the TV station on this edition also broadcast daily analyses and debates where daily current events are presented from the aspect of several different viewpoints. According to the representation of the actors in the reports, a balanced approach is provided: SDSM 33, VMRO-DPMNE 32, DUI 28, DPA 13, and media space is also provided for smaller political parties, especially from the Albanian political block.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

TV 21 aired 99 reports in their news in Albanian. Most of them were about SPPO (22), then the work of public institutions (the conditions in the schools, regional cooperation) - 18, which were followed by topics on education, and organization of the elections (15 each).

The problems in the institutions, such as the hunger strike of the soldiers or the protest of

the candidates for police officers and similar topics were presented in the news with 14 reports. The pre-election activities of the parties were covered in 13 reports, the visit from European Commissioner Hahn in 11, and the topics from everyday life (such as the placement of the statue of the Albanian activist, problems in the rural areas etc.) in 9 reports.



Number of reports on TV 21 in Albanian, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

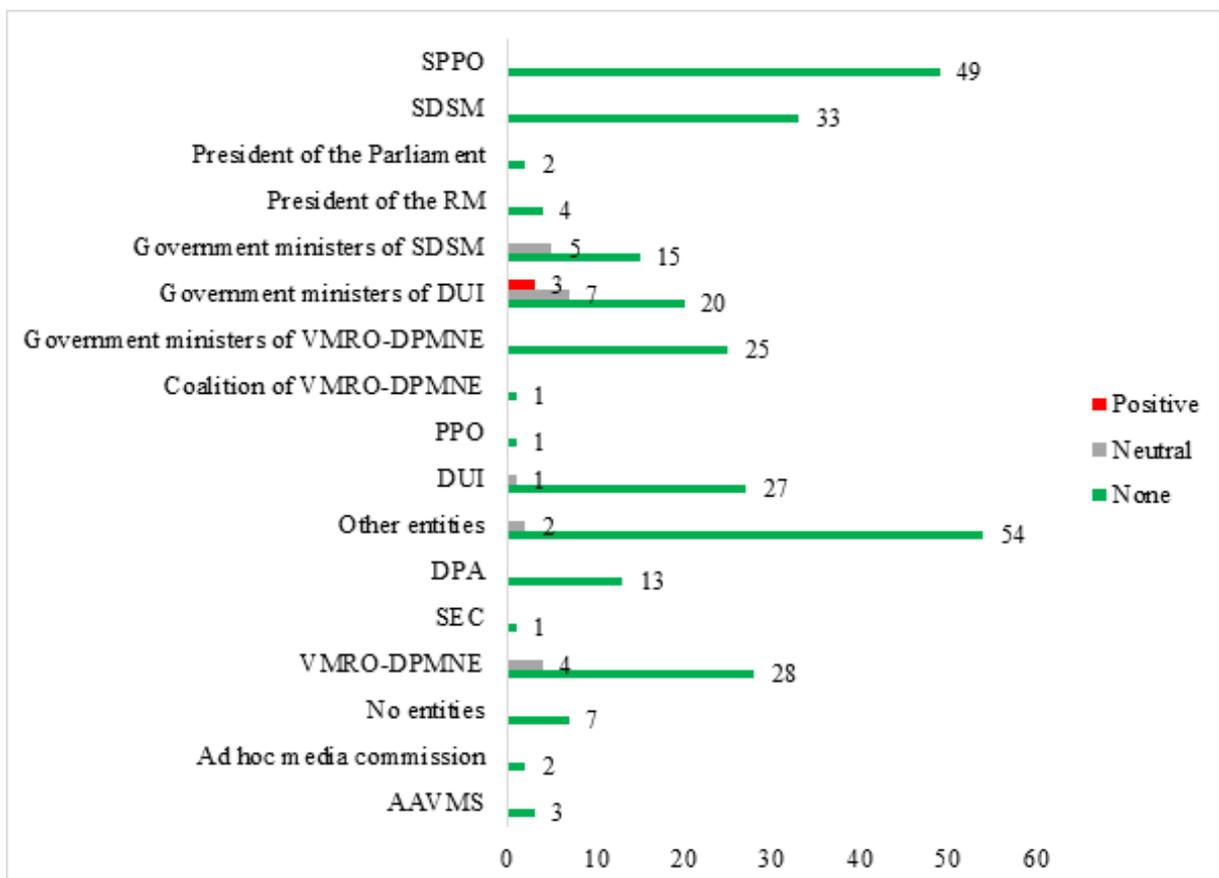
<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
<b>Topic 11</b>	The announcement from Zoran Zaev for extended use of Albanian language
<b>Topic 12</b>	The state of the economy (preparations of the budget, foreign investments, issues with the economic sector, external trade)
<b>Topic 14</b>	The media and their work
<b>Topic 15</b>	Regular activities of state institutions, courts, local self-government (reports where the media did not report about political parties, rather about various problems and issues of public interest)
<b>Topic 16</b>	Other topics (75 years since the National Liberation War, the election of Judge Ilievski in the ECHP in Strasbourg, reports against representatives of the Colourful Revolution, report from the Helsinki Committee against the police, etc.).
<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

Most of the reports published in the news in Albanian on TV 21 referred to other actors that were not the main carriers of political events (the smaller political parties, EU, Parliament) (56), then the SPPO (49), SDSM (33), then VMRO-DPMNE (32), ministers from DUI (30), DUI (27), ministers from VMRO-DPMNE (25), ministers from SDSM (20), DPA (13), etc.

An affirmative attitude towards the work of officials from DUI was observed in three reports ('Macedonia in CEFTA for 10 years, Kuchi: there is space for improvement of the cooperation'), while in the other reports there is no clear expression of commending or demonising attitudes towards any entity. More expressive was the well-argued critical approach (19 reports), through neutral criticism of the work

of the ministers from DUI (6), of SDSM (5) and of VMRO-DPMNE (4): 'for over a month and a half, the pupils of the school 'Panajot Ginoovski' are left without teachers for study subjects history, mathematics and natural sciences'; '5 years since the unified Albanian primer, and pupils from Macedonia are still waiting'; 'Debris and construction materials thrown around the monument of the Albanian Nedzat Agoli, surrounded by net on Macedonia square. There is no postament nor is there a name board'; 'After two days nothing is said in Mol about the return of the candidates that were supposed to start their training yesterday... According to this source, there is a number of them who did not receive security certificates who are doubted to have a criminal record.)

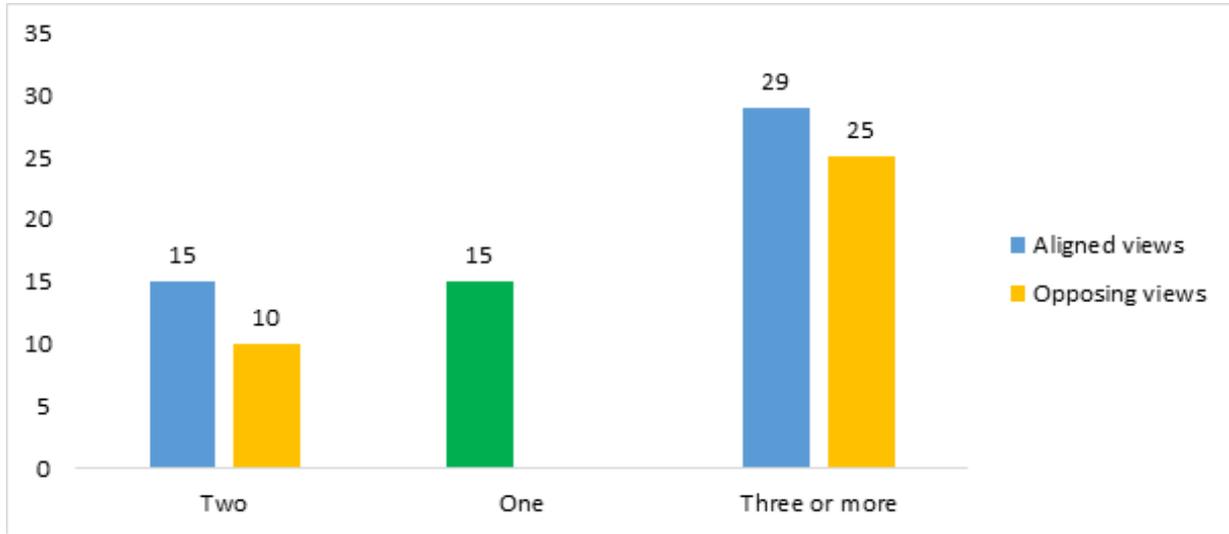


Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

### 3. USING SOURCES

In most of the reports (54) the standpoints of three of more interlocutors are faced, 25 of which are with contrary standpoints, while 29 have the same stands. In 25 reports two sour-

es were used, 10 of which were opposed and in 15 they were in line. 15 reports had only one source of the transferred information.



Using sources in the news on TB 21 in Albanian (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)



## TV NOVA

The TV station reported in a supportive manner and in favour of the politics of the ruling party and their representatives in the Government. Although for the most part of the reports there were no explicit opinions of the journalist, such a conclusion can still be drawn from the fact that the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE and its ministers were mostly presented in the news on this TV station (65 pieces of information about VMRO-DPMNE, as opposed to 27 for SDSM).

The promotional and favouring approach was especially present in the reports that referred to some Government measures, the activities of VMRO-DPMNE officials and the leader Nikola Gruevski whose promotional visits were communicating without making a distinction between state and party ('Macedonia is successfully dealing with the challenges, even better than some EU Members'; 'The German company SGS Textile will invest 7 million

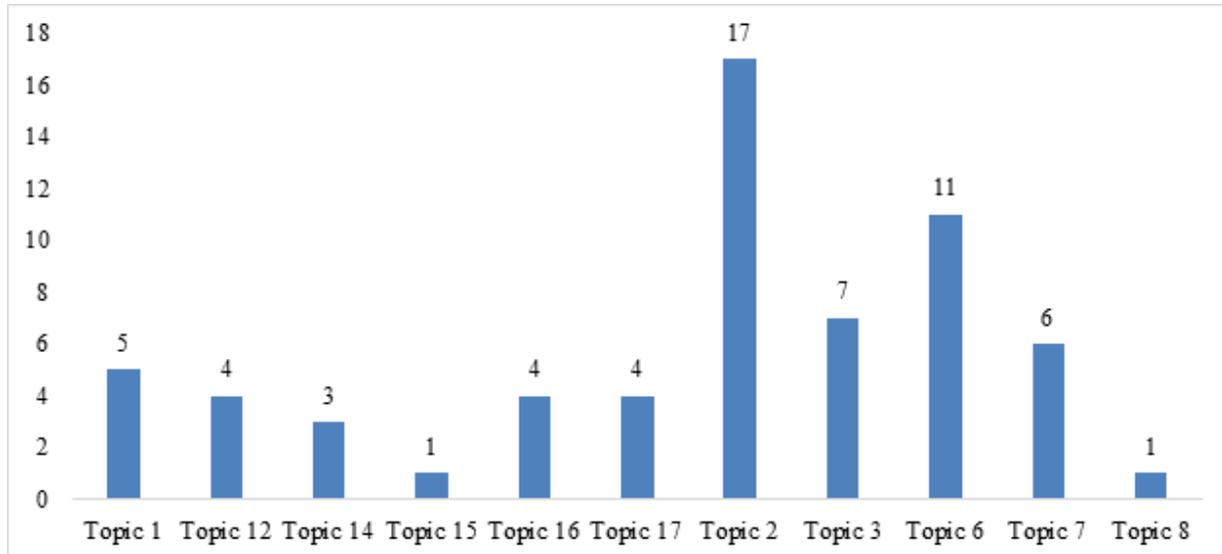
euro in Veles and will hire 1000 persons. The Company Costap has started production in the plants of former EMO in Ohrid and they will invest 30 million euros, and will open 1000 new job positions'; 'Three new investments in three days. Competent authorities are announcing new 2600 job positions opened'; 'The project announced by VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski on Sunday foresees the construction of 100 brand new kindergartens and 40 that will be opened at already existing state facilities. The construction will provide care for 18,000 children').

Unlike the previous period, this attitude is present to a smaller extent, just as the negative attitude towards the oppositional party SDSM. The number of reports that serve to inform about events, without taking sides, has increased at the expense of the number of reports where commentator opinions are expressed.

# 1. COVERED TOPICS

In the period from October 3-14, TV Nova broadcast 65 reports about current political events. Most of the news were devoted to election activities of the parties (17).

Seven (7) reports were devoted to promoting Government measures and projects, while in 6 reports information was given about other activities of the Government and public insti-



Number of reports on TV Nova, in relation to the different topics (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

<b>Topic 1</b>	Organizing early parliamentary elections (including the dissolution of Parliament).
<b>Topic 2</b>	Pre-election activities of political parties (all activities including announcements, promises and reactions to them).
<b>Topic 3</b>	Promoting Government projects and measures (in infrastructure, social protection, cultural facilities, etc.)
<b>Topic 4</b>	Government projects and measures promoted with participation of political parties and leaders (most often Gruevski)
<b>Topic 5</b>	Pre-election promises of Government representatives of SDSM
<b>Topic 6</b>	Other activities of Government officials (e.g. the issue of the unemployed police officer candidates, protocol activities and meetings, conferences, etc.).
<b>Topic 7</b>	The work of the Special Public Prosecutor's Office (including other topics related to SPPO, such as voting on the law related to this body in Parliament).
<b>Topic 8</b>	Handling the consequences from the floods in August (compensation for flooded households).
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<b>Topic 17</b>	The visit from European Commissioner Johannes Hahn.
<b>Topic 18</b>	Events in education (the search conducted at the MIT University, protests at the SEE University, students' referendum at Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, etc.).

tutions. The preparations for elections (5 reports), as well as the visit from European Commissioner Hahn (4 reports), problematic topics from the work of state institutions (4 reports)

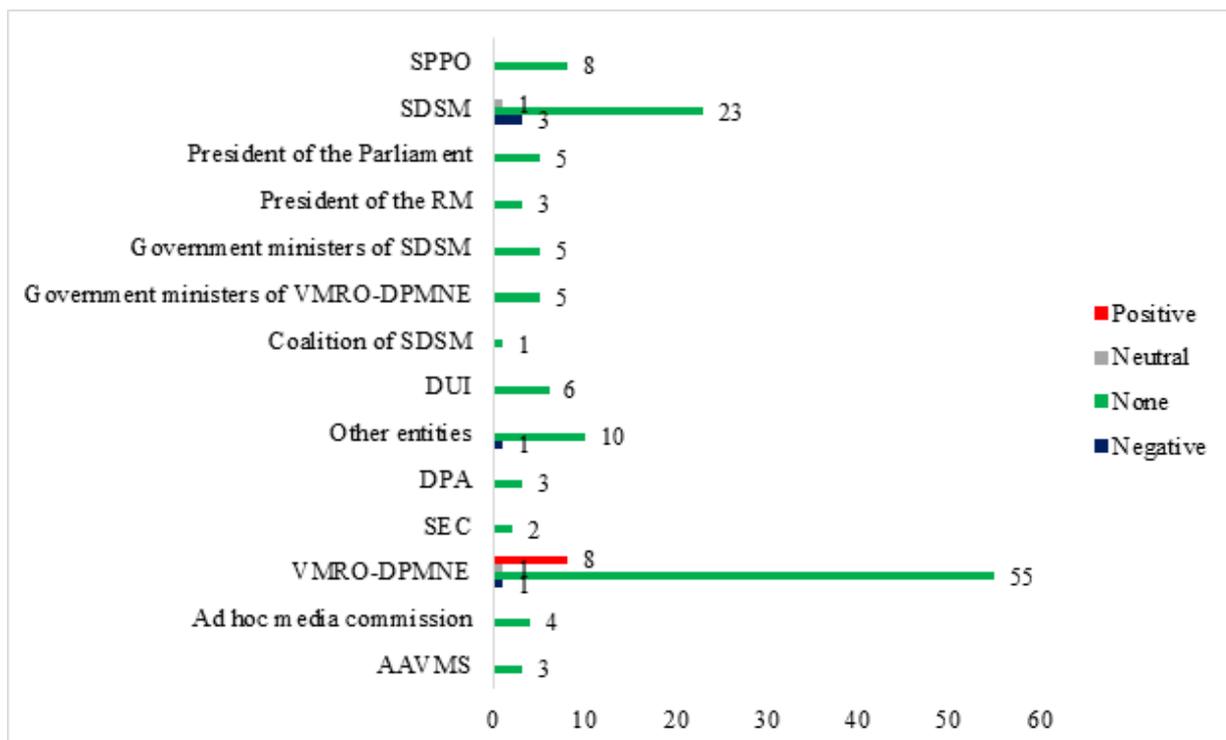
and the state of the economy (4 reports), such as new factories or new job openings, are the other topics that were covered by this TV stations reporting.

## 2. POLITICAL ACTORS

In most of the reports, the subject is the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE (65), while SDSM is mentioned in 27. Reports with other actors that refer to the Constitutional Court, EU, Parliament, etc. (1), and 8 reports on SPPO. Then followed DUI (6 reports) and the work of the ministers from VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM with 5 reports each and DPA with 3. Based on the number of reports, this TV station informed very scarcely about the work of other political parties, apart from the two major ones. The actors presented in the reports show evident imbalance to the benefit of the ruling party and their ministers.

Judging by the method of reporting, the journalist and the editorial staff mostly did not express their personal opinion in reports. Nonetheless, 8 reports include an explicit fa-

vourable attitude towards the ruling party VMRO-DPMNE and towards the Government ('Analysts also confirm that the Government is continuously maintaining this difference in the ratings', ;The project announced by VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski on Sunday foresees the construction of 100 brand new kindergartens and 40 that will be opened at already existing state facilities. The construction will enable care for 18,000 children'; 'Except for direct investments, a large number of foreign companies are opting for 'Brownfield' investments in Macedonia. Abandoned facilities are being restarted and investments are made in factories that have been locked. Employees are going back to work'; 'Three new investments in three days. Relevant authorities are announcing that 2600 new jobs will be opened'), while



Number of reports about political actors (shown as part of the total number of reports) and the manner in which they were framed (October 3 – 7 and 10 – 14)

a negative attitude was present in 3 reports that referred to SDSM ('What is it that VMRO-DPMNE is doing, and SDSM is failing at, so the number showing support for VMRO have been higher for years'.

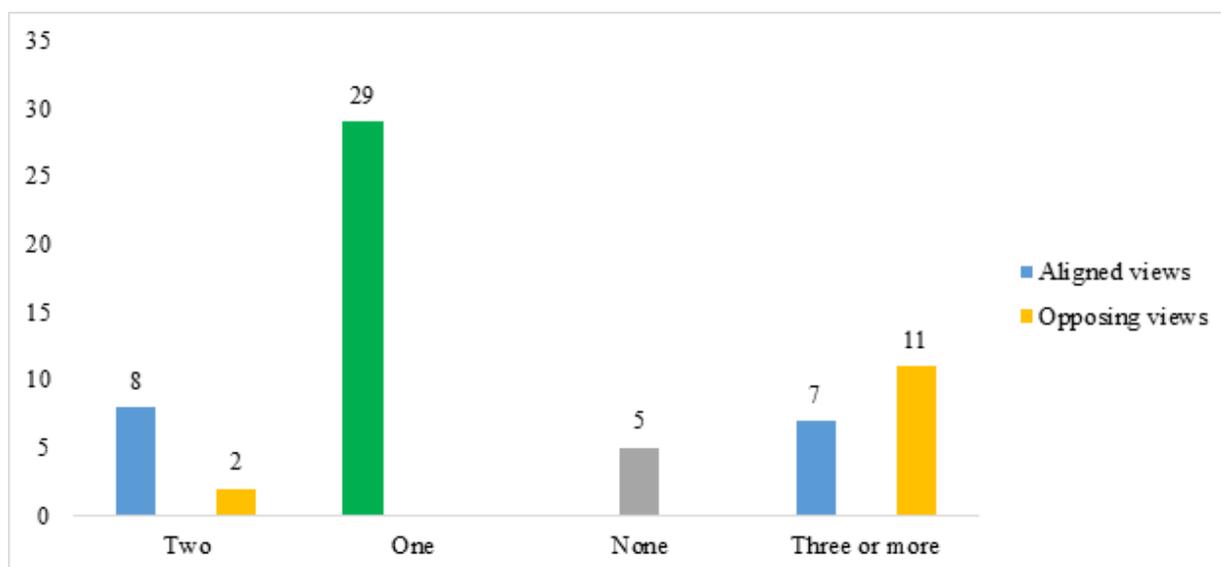
In two reports the TV station used manipulative elements, one in the caption that read 'Macedonia is successfully handling the challenges, even better than some EU Members', which

was not supported by facts in the report, and one was in the incorrect interpretation of the statement of one interlocutor ('Analyst Petar Arsovski believes that the wiretapped conversations and the investigations of SPPO are not beneficial for the opposition...', and what Arsovski actually says is: 'The public opinion in Macedonia in recent years has been relatively static. I expect that to change before the elections...').

### 3. USING SOURCES

62 reports had a source on which the journalist based the information. Most of the reports provided only one source of information (29). In situations when three or more sources

were used (18 reports), most of them (11) had contrary views. The reports that referred to two sources (10) were mostly with the same standpoints (8).



Using sources in the news on TV Nova (October 3 - 7 and 10 - 14)



British Embassy  
Skopje

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