



ИЗВЕШТАЈ ОД СЛЕДЕЊЕТО НА МЕДИУМСКИТЕ СОДРЖИНИ

16 април - 7 мај 2016



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

12. TV Nova

(1) First week (16 – 22 April 2016)

During the analyzed period, TV Nova broadcast a total of 88 news segments about current political events and entities. The most coverage went to: the protests (33 segments), the elections (22 segments), the suspension of the decisions of the ministers from the opposition (4 segments), the abolition (3 segments), government projects (3 segments), the work of the SPPO (2 segments) and the activities of Gruevski (2 segments). In 22 news segments a favourable and propagandist tone was observed, while in 17 it was a negative and demonizing tone of reporting. The favourable attitude was directed towards the politics of the Government and the ruling party, while the negative and on occasion offensive tone was clearly directed towards the opposition.

Commentary and opinions in the news: According to the number of segments during the monitored period, this TV station's news programme segments with positive and favourable contents for the Government and VMRO-DPMNE (22 segments) prevailed over those stating a negative and demonizing attitude towards SDSM (17 segments). One of them included commentary contents, (April 22nd: 'The Albanian emigration had a meeting with Zaev') where the leader of the opposition was attacked for alleged conspiracy for destabilizing the country.

Most of the segments that contain a journalistic opinion referred to the political crisis and the protests that were organized by the civil initiative 'Protestiram' on one hand, and by GDOM on the other.

It was clear that the TV station expressed through journalist comments their support of the thesis of the ruling VMRO DPMNE that it is possible to have fair elections on June 5th, and that the opposition are doing everything in their power to postpone them.

In this context, a demonizing attitude was expressed against SDSM's leader Zaev, who was accused of standing behind alleged scenarios against the state (April 16th: 'Zaev is proud of Crvenkovski for changing the flag and the name', April 22nd: 'The Albanian emigration had a meeting with Zaev'). While covering the protests, the segments with an accusatory content were directed against the protesters who were called 'vandals' and 'hooligans' and they were direct, without any distance, and with a clearly chosen side (April 16th: 'SDSM's violent protesters desecrated the Gate Macedonia', April 19th: 'The rampage continues'), and in the interview with a member of GDOM



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Bratislav Dimitrov from April 16th, the journalist's final words were 'let us hope that this madness will end soon'.

At the same time, there was no distancing from and there were direct inclinations and support for the protest of GDOM, which stand-points were similar to those of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE and on whose gatherings party and government officials were present: (April 19th: 'GDOM organized new protests, thousands of people attended this sports and musical happening titled 'Prilep with love for Macedonia', a nice manifestation and as the organizers said, these events should be used to channel all of the negative energy and instead of destruction, which we have seen in the past several days, we should socialize through sports activities', April 20th, GDOM in Ohrid: The people are demanding for this crisis imposed by SDSM to stop', (April 18th: 'GDOM protests in Shtip': It is obvious that you have the support from the people – journalist's opinion).

The most typical example of this type of apologetic, propagandist behavior was on April 21st, when the two protests took place in Skopje, and this television had as many as 4 instance of a reporter coming in live from the gathering of GDOM that lasted a total of 1 hour and 30 minutes, while the news overall lasted 1 hour and 50 minutes.

Using sources: In most of the segments (44 segments) there was only one source. Then followed the segments with three or more sources whose opinions do not collide (11 segments), while in all of the segments (5) that had two sources, their attitudes were supportive or complementary of each other. In 8 segments information was presented without clearly stating the source.

Direct addresses: One statement each from the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski and the leader of SDSM Zoran Zaev were the only direct addresses broadcast in this period.

Audiovisual presentation: During the analyzed period, 38 segments had elements of audio or visual manipulation.

Monitoring the activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE and presenting the projects promoted by him is one type of manipulation (April 19th: 'Gruevski promoting a new agriculture project'), and the journalist talked about the project in superlatives, keeping no distance.

Manipulation was observed in the segments from the 16th and the 21st of April 'The boycott does not benefit Macedonia, or EU or the USA', where the opinion of the lobbyist Ariel Cohen was presented as fact.

The poles with only a one-sided opinion (positive for the ruling party) were also a manipulative element meant to show the public a certain planned image (April 16th: 'Violent protests are not a solution for the crisis', April 17th: 'Once again rampage, Gate Macedonia destroyed' – the same pole from the previous segment, April 19th: 'The rampage does not stop', April 21st: 'Ivanov: There are no legal grounds for revoking the decision', April 21st: 'The Association of Fighters reacts to the desecration').

The TV station also aired segments referring to sources that were undefined: April 17th: 'Remenski: I will not abide by the Governments decision', April 18th: 'SEC announced the schedule for the June 5th elections'.

Visual manipulation was present in the segments covering the protests (April 21st: 'A massive people's gathering of GDOM, rivers of people').

Instances of favourizing or demonizing audiovisual contents:

- (April 16th, journalist's opinion) Macedonia is facing a destabilization from its own socialist opposition... these days we were witnesses of violent protests organized by the opposition, who according to those who are well informed, leave a dark stain on the countries Euro-Atlantic integrations and have a negative impact on foreign investments and the economy overall
- (April 16th, journalist's opinion) The violent people of SDSM have desecrated Gate Macedonia. Zaev showed on his Facebook profile that not only is he directly behind the ruination of the gate, but he is also behind the violent protests where some 20 police officers were injured and the People's Office of Ivanov was destroyed
- (April 19th, journalist's opinion) GDOM started spontaneously gathering people from Bitola in one place. As the name of this organization says, they are all gathered here with one thought...
- (April 20th, journalist's opinion) And speaking of the political crisis, today there was mayhem in both ministries
- (April 21st, journalist's opinion) A massive river of people is currently headed towards the Parliament of RM where a massive gathering was announced to start at 19:00h, of the people of all of Macedonia, where they will express their dissatisfaction with the possibility and the causing of destructive scenarios by the leader of the opposition.
- (April 21st, headline) ...in long lines, they are headed towards the Parliament of RM... to tell the domestic and the international community that there must be elections on June 5th since that is the only way for Macedonia to come out of the deep political crisis it is in, and this people's gathering is also intended to send a message to the opposition and to the people who protest in other protests to do so in a peaceful and dignified manner, without the use of violence and without demolishing some of the objects and the monuments in the city center... we can confirm that there really is a lot of people present
- (April 22nd, headline) And the violent protests of Protestiram, as well as the massive protests organized by GDOM that called for elections on June 5th are the topics of discussion tonight with Aleksandar Pandov.

(2) Second week (23 – 28 April 2016)

During the reporting period from the 23rd to the 28th of April, TV Nova television published a total of 82 news segments that referred to political actors, events or situations. The TV station focused most of its attention to the protests (31 segments), the early elections (14), the projects and measures of the Government and of the public institution led by VMRO-DPMNE (7 segments), SPPO and the Krpach case (5 segments), the activities of the president of VMRO DPMNE Nikola Gruevski (3 segments), the theses for possible economic problems caused by the political crisis (3 segments), the theses for possible federalization of Macedonia (3 segments), the abolition of President Ivanov (1 segment) and other topics.

In most of the reports on these topics (23 segments) the TV station expressed a positive and favourable attitude towards VMRO-DPMNE and towards the association GDOM, whose gatherings were followed extensively and to a much higher extent, as compared to other TV stations. A negative and demonizing attitude was present in 19 segments, and it was towards SDSM and the Special Public Prosecutor's Office, Soros and Protestiram.

Commentary and opinions in the news: Reporting on all current topics of this TV station was with an extremely expressive favourizing, commendatory tone for the government and the ruling VMRO-DPMNE. Propagandist reporting was most obvious in the segments that refer to government projects (April 23rd: '5 years after the opening of the memorial-house for Toshe', April 24th: 'High-yielding cattle for more meat and milk', April 24th: 'The expansion of Boulevard Hristijan Todorovski Karposh has started', April 28th: 'Dimitriev: Investments in modernization of

the Army of RM) and of the activities of VMRO DPMNE leader Gruevski (April 23rd: ‘Subsidies for cattle’ and April 28th, Gruevski: A new measure – returning from the city to the village for a new beginning).

Evident favourizing was also present in the segments about the gathering of the association GDOM, their activities were reported comprehensively and extensively in the news, with several live calls from the cities where the protests were (on April 27th there were 5 segments about GDOM’s gatherings throughout Macedonia and one segment about the protest of the ‘Protestiram’ platform in Skopje). The narrative that was used was completely opposite: ... the gathering of the Civil Movement for Defending Macedonia went peacefully, without any incidents... The protest of the civil movement Protestiram once again went out of control (April 27th ‘GDOM in Ohrdi)... while on one hand there are peaceful, massive protests of the people, on the other the situation is completely the opposite... (April 27th ‘GDOM in Kavadarci’). At the same time, unsupported and arbitrary parallels are made between Protestiram and SDSM and Soros, and between GDOM and the people. In the reporting the favourizing of June 5th as the date for the early elections continued, while at the same time a thesis was presented that the opposition is trying to federalize the country (April 26th: ‘Zaev agreed to federalization of Macedonia?!’) just to avoid the elections. A demonizing attitude was presented towards the SPPO too, and in the case of the dying of Kosta Krpach this institution was pointed out as the culprit without arguments, due to the alleged pressures made on this witness in one of the investigations. The negative attitude towards the opposition was also observed in the segments that refer to the impact of the political crisis on the state of the economy in the country, especially in the part of finance, and an analysis with commentary elements points out that this is a tactic of SDSM (April 27th: ‘Before every election there are speculations about a devaluation’).

Using sources: In 41 segments only one source was used. In 13 three of more were mentioned, however in 10 of these cases they had a like-minded opinion. In 8 segments there were two sources, however their opinions conflicted in only one segment.

Direct addresses: The TV station aired in the news a total of 5 direct addresses from a leader of a political party, and they were all from the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Nikola Gruevski.

Audiovisual manipulation: In 30 segments there were manipulative elements in the reporting. The method of reporting about the activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE – Gruevski is one of the manipulations, and the segment from April 23rd: ‘Subsidies for cattle’, along with the cue, the live call and the recorded material lasted for 6 and a half minutes. Gruevski’s speech for promoting the measure for returning from the city to the village for a new beginning was aired twice in the same news.

Another type of manipulation is through not having clearly defined sources in the segments (April 24th: ‘Macedonian diaspora are asking for elections on June 5th’), publishing a denouncement of information that was never even published on that TV station (April 25th: ‘A denouncement from the Ministry regarding Remenski’s claims’) or by framing old statements in a new context (April 26th: ‘Zaev agreed to a federalization of Macedonia?!’).

Elements of visual manipulation were found in several segments:

- April 23rd ‘Best and worst paid professions’, the guest speaker is recorded in front of the new building of VMRO DPMNE, although it was not a segment regarding party activities;
- April 27th ‘I Protest in Skopje’, and from a visual point of view, shots were shown to who few people, unlike the shots of ‘massiveness’ from the gatherings of GDOM;
- Unlike the reports on GDOM, here the shot is set far from the participants at the protest and a large gap among the people can be seen
- April 27th ‘The people against the federalization of Macedonia’, where footage from Macedonian and Albanian flags waved together, are shown in the context of federalization of Macedonia;
- April 28th ‘Today and during the holiday there will be no protests in Skopje’, and although the

spoke of both movements, throughout the entire segments the video footage was from GDOM's gatherings.

Instances of favourizing or demonizing audiovisual contents:

- (April 23rd, headline) One more measure was announced today by the leader of VMRO-DPMNE in support of agriculture...80% is no small amount... Aleksandra, please remind me what else is planned for the farmers
- (April 24th, journalist's opinion) Macedonian immigrants express their support to GDOM every day. They condemn the events and violence from recent days in the country
- (April 24th, journalist's opinion) The new measures in agriculture who aim at supporting farmers will bring a new era and a new chapter in the development of agriculture
- (April 24th, journalist's opinion) The protests organized by SDSM and Soros's NGOs continued with the incidents, violence and destruction of the objects around Skopje. The protesters had a new target to desecrate
- (April 25th, analysis / commentary) It was said that a lot of high officials of SDSM are taking part, and they also participated in other violent protests organized by Soros's NGOs and the opposition.. then Stojanche Angelov from Dostoinstvo and other SDSM activists and representatives of the Helsinki Committee and Greeks who support the protests
- (April 25th, journalist's opinion) GDOM's one and only objective is, and of course this is shared with a large number of citizens from Bitola who are here tonight, is that they want elections on June 5th, of course, so the political crisis can be finalized
- (April 27th, journalist's opinion) For the second day in row Kichevo is on its feet, I can freely say that thousands of citizens are present at the city square there two days, where they are massively asking for elections on June 5th to put an end to the political crisis
- (April 27th, analysis / commentary) The alleged devaluation of the denar these past years has constantly been one of SDSM pre-election manipulations. The largest opposition party is constantly announcing the devaluation of the denar through their so called economic experts, and in the meanwhile the national currency is stable
- (April 28th, journalist's opinion) 'From the city to the village for a new beginning' is the name of the new mega-measure promoted today by VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski. This measure, as Gruevski put it, will not only provide an added value to agriculture, it will also have social and economic advantage
- (April 28th, journalist's opinion) These days, the question asked by the public is how long will vandalism destroy the public objects in Skopje and wider in the country
- (April 28th, journalist's opinion) Was Kosta Krpach a victim of torture from the Special Public Prosecutor's Office? This is the question that some media raised. Among other things, it was pointed out that the Technical Minister Spasovski and the Special Public Prosecutor's Office constantly sent police officers to his home and abused him in front of his wife and child late at night

(3) Third week (2 – 7 May 2016)

During the analyzed period, TV Nova published a total of 58 segments concerning political topics over the course of five days. Most of them were about the protests and GDOM's gathering (14 segments), the early parliamentary elections and the political crisis (13 segments), government projects (5 segments), the work of the SPPO (4 segments), the activities of the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Gruevski (3 segments), the impact of the political crisis on the economy (3 segments), the abolition (1 segment) and on other topics. 35 of the segments included an emphasized journalistic opinion, and in 20 of them that opinion was exclusively propagandist and in favour of the government and the ruling VMRO-DPMNE, while in 15 segments it had a negative, demonizing

and offensive tone towards the opposition, SPPO and the participants of the anti-abolition protests. Three analyses and/or headlines with commentary elements were also aired.

Commentary and opinions in the news: The TV station's reporting was extremely partial towards the policy of the government and the ruling party. All segments pertaining to some Governmental policy were favourable and promotional and there was no distance kept, nor was there a critical approach taken (May 2nd: '20 million euro increase of foreign investments in February', May 3rd: 'EC forecast: Macedonia in the top 5 countries with the biggest growth in Europe', May 6th: 'Export from the free economic zones is growing', May 7th: 'The construction of the factories in the business zones is finalized').

The same promotional approach was present in the segments pertaining to the activities of the leader of VMRO DPMNE Gruevski, whose promotional visits were conveyed without making any distinction between state and party (May 2nd: 'A whole set of measures for profitable agriculture is rounded up', May 4th: 'Macedonian villages will come to life again').

The supportive, commending reporting could also be found in the segments that refer to the gathering of the association GDOM, which were twice as many as the number of segments for the protests of the platform 'Protestiram' (on May 4th and 5th, there were two live calls from GDOM's gathering in Bitola, and only one segment, most often with no sources, from Skopje). The protesters that protested against Ivanov's abolition were the subject of utterly demonizing and offensive reporting, and the epithets Soros's hired people and hooligans continued to be used.

(May 6th: 'Millions from Soros for propaganda-spreading media').

Negative reporting was also encountered in the segments about the Special Public Prosecutor's office, which was once again placed in a context of being the cause for the death of Kosta Krpach, owner of the Netpress agency, who committed suicide (May 5th: 'Still no accountability for the death of Kosta Krpach').

In two segments the journalist reported negatively and in a demonizing fashion about the work of the Minister of Interior Oliver Spasovski, who he accused of blocking the work of the MoI (May 7th: 'Spasovski refuses to sign the decisions for hiring police officers'), and without any arguments, calling on anonymous statements, in an analysis with commentary elements, his absence from the memorial ceremony for the police officers who died in Divo Naselje was criticized (May 7th: 'Spasovski did not show up at the memorial ceremony for the police officers who died in Kumanovo').

Using sources: Most of the segments had only one source of information (32). In 8 segments there were two or more interlocutors, however for the most part they had identical opinions. In 3 segments there was no specific source named.

Direct addresses: 3 statements in total were aired from leaders of political parties, two of which were from the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Gruevski, and one from the leader of SDSM Zaev.

Audiovisual manipulation: 32 segments this week included elements of audiovisual manipulation. In two segments old statements were aired from the leader of VMRO-DPMNE Gruevski where he promoted measures in agriculture as part of a government policy, although he holds no state function (May 2nd: 'A whole set of measures for more profitable agriculture was rounded up', May 6th: 'Farmers are the focus of government policies')

Another type of manipulation is by selective statements (May 3rd: 'SEC scheduled a meeting'), and only the statements of representatives of the ruling party were aired, while those of the opposition's representatives were interpreted, or the opinion of the opposition was not mentioned at all (May 4th: 'So far in SEC there were no applications for independent MPs').

Old statements were also used and they were framed in a different context (May 3rd: 'Zaev insists on being tried for 'Coup').

Also manipulative was the use of unconfirmed information that were presented as facts (May 3rd:



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‘Only one gunshot wound was found in the body of Krpach’).

Stating anonymous or undefined sources or interlocutors (May 6th: ‘Soros’s millions for media which spread propaganda’), or avoiding mentioning the name of the institution, such as the case with the segment from May 6th: ‘PPO: SPPO did not submit evidence for the pressure put on Krpach, Janeva’s prosecution did not submit any data to the PPO’, where for SPPO, only the phrase ‘prosecution’ is used.

During the analyzed period, several opinions of foreign politicians or experts were also published (May 2nd: ‘Luka Volonte: The elections should take place.

May 4th: ‘Daul: The opposition is making a theatre - there must be elections’, May 7th: ‘Habsburg: Changing the date of the elections in unacceptable’, there are all supportive of the policy of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE and they also appear in the same context on other TV stations that are known as being pro-government.

Instances of favourizing or demonizing political entities:

- (May 2nd, journalist’s opinion) With the last project – From the City to the Village, for a New Beginning, announced by VMRO-DPMNE leader Nikola Gruevski, a whole set of measures is rounded up, aimed at making agricultural production even more profitable
- (May 3rd, journalist’s opinion) The media would like to make a reminder of the recently filed criminal charges for abuse in the line of work, against prosecutors and investigators from Katica Janeva’s team. Back then, mentioned publically as the most impudent were Lile Stefanova, Gavril Bubevski and Fatime Fetai
- (May 4th, journalist’s opinion) The project – From the City to the Village, for a New Beginning comprises a set of measure that are an incentive for bringing back the population from the cities to the villages. The benefits are huge
- (May 5th, journalist’s question) Do you think that the people’s patience will come to where they will grow tired of sending the message that Macedonia should be one whole?
- (May 6th, journalist’s opinion) Free economy zones got yet another recognition from the well-renowned agency.
- (May 6th, journalist’s opinion) The measures for young farmers and 50:50 instigated a lot of interest with the farmers; these measures provide a non-refundable financial aid of up to 10 thousand euro.
- (May 6th, journalist’s opinion) Each year the millions from the Soros foundation, i.e. from the Open Society Institute aimed at financing the media are growing bigger. As some media analyzed today, NGOs, foreigners and the media are financed in order to create tensions and to spread negative propaganda.
- (May 7th, cue/ commentary) Today, marking one year since the death of the police in Kumanovo, Deputy Minister Chavkov and Gorancho Savovski made an appearance, as well as the commanders of the special task forces; however there was no appearance of the Technical Minister Oliver Spasovski... He caused anger with the relatives and friends of the ones who died in Kumanovo, when he also failed to appear the post-humous ceremony for awarding the medals with President Ivanov, and he also did not allow for them to be published on the official website of MoI.