DETERMINING POLITICAL HARMFUL NARRATIVES

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

The research [Determining Political Harmful Narratives](#) (HARM-TIVE) begun in September 2023 with the aim of determining whether and how political actors in Macedonia produce, use and share harmful narratives, as well as as well as what is the role of the media in reporting on these narratives, i.e. whether they apply the professional and ethical journalistic values and standards.

The established research methodology includes monitoring and analysis of two segments:

» monitoring and analysis of the narratives produced and shared by political actors in Macedonia

» monitoring and analysing media coverage of political actors and the narratives they create and share through the media.

The main variable in both segments of the analysis is [the harmful narrative](#). Additional variables refer to political actors and political communication and to the media and media professional reporting.

While the analysis of political parties and their leaders is focused on determining the dominant harmful narratives, rhetorical strategies and techniques, the media monitoring provides an answer as to whether the media adhere to professional and ethical standards for accurate, fair and impartial information or, whether they unquestioningly follow the agenda dictated by political actors. The six-month summary reflects how the political actors and the media behave in the public discourse, what and how they communicate to the public, how they treat the public, before continuing at the same pace in the following period.

The research was conducted within the project Use Facts: Fact-Based Journalism for Raising Awareness and Countering Disinformation in the Media Space in North Macedonia supported by the British Embassy Skopje.
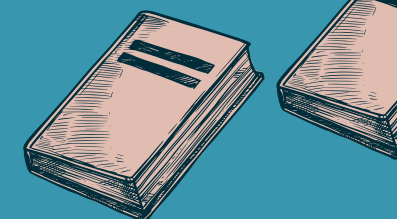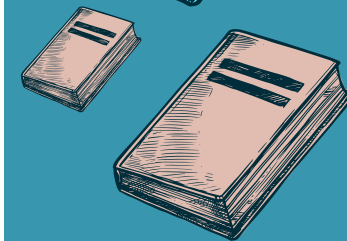
Prominent social developments during the monitoring period

Among the main events from the beginning of the monitoring, which served as a fertile breeding ground for the harmful narratives, we single out the following significant social developments: delay in the printing of textbooks for pupils in third and sixth grades in primary education, disclosure of the case with the abuse of medicines at the University Clinic for Oncology and Radiology in Skopje. The theme of the last two months of 2023 was the preparation for the formation of the caretaker government, the publication of the European Commission's report on Macedonia, the selection of judges in the Court of Appeal. From the beginning of 2024 until the end of February 2024 and the end of the six-month summary discussed in this report, the election of the members of the caretaker government and the caretaker prime minister dominated the developments in the country.

Political entities and media that are the subject of the analysis

The political parties whose official websites and official Facebook pages/profiles were monitored and analysed are: Alliance for Albanians, Alternativa, VMRO-DPMNE, Democratic Movement, Democratic Union for Integration (DUI), Levica, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), New Social Democratic Party (NSDP), Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM), Socialist Party of Macedonia (SPM), i.e. their official websites. Moreover, the official Facebook pages/profiles of the political party leaders were also monitored: Arben Taravari, Afrim Gashi, Ali Ahmeti, Izet Medjiti, Hristijan Mickoski, Dimitar Apasiev, Monika Zajkova, Goran Misovski, Ljupcho Dimovski as well as Dimitar Kovachevski.

The sample of ministers' official Facebook pages/profiles covers the government composition from 1 September to 28 January, as well as members of the caretaker government from 28 January to 29 February. They are: Dimitar Kovachevski, President of the Government, Talat Djaferi, President of the Government, Artan Grubi, First Deputy of the President of the Government and Minister of Political System and Relations between Communities, Bojan Marichikj, Deputy of the President of the Government in charge of European Affairs, Slavica Grkovska, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of good governance policies, Oliver Spasovski, Minister of Interior, Panche Toshkovski, Minister of Interior, Kreshnik Bekteši, Minister of Economy, Risto Penov, Minister of Local Self-Government, Bujar Osmani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fatmir Besimi, Minister of Finance, Blagoj Bochvarski, Minister of Transport and Communications, Ljupcho Nikolovski, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management, Slavjanka Petrovska, Minister of Defence, Jeton Shaqiri, Minister of Education and Science, Jovanka Trenchevska, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Gjoko Velkovski, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Bisera Kostadinovska-Stojchevska, Minister of Culture, Kaja Shukova, Minister of Environment and Physical Planning, Azir Aliu, Minister of Information Society and Administration, Fatmir Medjiti, Minister of Health, Krenar Loga, Minister of Justice.
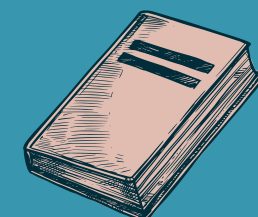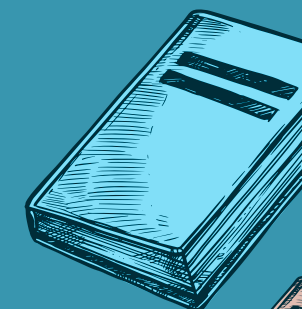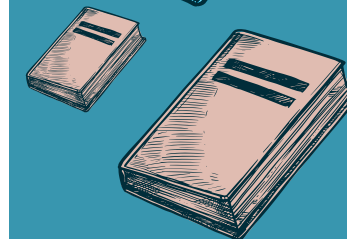
The monitoring of media reporting includes monitoring and analysis of media reporting on the narratives of political entities on: (1) press releases (central, main news) on a total of 9 TV stations: MTV 1 (public, MTV 2 (public, in Albanian), Alfa TV (private), Kanal 5 (private), Sitel TV (private), TV 24 (private), Telma (private), Alsat M (private, in Albanian), TV 21 (private, in Albanian); and (2) informative online media: Vecher.mk, Lokalno, Nezavisen, Sloboden Pechat, A1on.mk, MKD.mk, Republika, Kurir, Almakos, Tetova Sot, Nova TV.

The subject of analysis by the TV stations are all the articles the central news in which the political parties (with two or more MPs in the current parliamentary structure), the leaders of these political parties, the Prime Minister of the RNM Government, the deputies of the prime minister and the ministers in the RNM government (when they speak or are mentioned in the role of representatives of a political party).
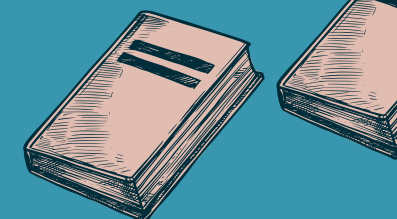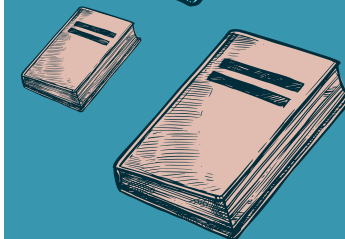
SUMMARY

HARMFUL NARRATIVES OF POLITICAL ACTORS

Analysis period: September 2023-February 2024
Monitored days: 91 days

» **Political parties had a total of 2,142 posts, 797 of which (or percentage of harmfulness: 37%) contained harmful narratives, mainly in November and December. VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM and Levica are the parties with the highest number of posts with harmful narratives.**

» **Political leaders had a total of 294 posts, of which 87 posts (or 29.6%) contained harmful narratives, mostly in February. The president of the Levica, Dimitar Apasiev, has the largest number of posts with harmful narratives, a total of 50.**

HARMFULNESS

HOW OFTEN is it present?

In 797 posts from political parties there are 2573 harmful narratives, which means the intensity of harmfulness is 3, or, on average, 3 harmful narratives per post. Two Albanian parties have the news items with the greatest intensity of harmfulness: Alternativa and Democratic Movement.

The analysis of 87 posts by political leaders identified the presence of a total of 294 harmful narratives. Most of them appear in December (62), and from total of 294 harmful narratives of the political leaders, most of them are from Dimitar Apasiev (160 in 6 months).

WHAT IS IT LIKE?

By frequency, two harmful narratives stand out among the political parties and leaders: *Undermining trust in the institutions and Biased selection*. Furthermore, *Character attacks, Fomenting divisions* and *Populism* occur with a nearly equal frequency.

HOW IS IT SPREAD?

The most common forms through which harmful narratives are spread are: press releases (50% of posts) and press conferences (21%).The posts of political leaders with a harmful narrative are mostly reactions, followed by press releases, and there are often reels and other types of audio-visual content.

WHAT/to what does it refer to?

Two-thirds of all posts with a harmful narrative of political parties and over 80% of posts by political leaders are about domestic politics. However, topics such as the economy, crime and health occur with a certain dynamic in the communication of political parties with the public.

HARMFUL NARRATIVES ON TV

Analysis period: September 2023-February 2024
Monitored days: 46 days

» **A total of 484 news items with harmful narratives were identified. The lowest number was in October (66), and the highest number in January (96). TV Alfa has the largest number of news items with harmful narratives 182, and TV 24 Vesti is the TV with the lowest number (15 news items).**

HARMFULNESS

HOW OFTEN does it occur?

The analysis of the content of 484 news items confirmed the presence of 879 harmful narratives, the highest number of them in January. The general intensity of harmfulness is 1.8: on average, television stations broadcast almost two harmful narratives per one article.

WHAT IS IT LIKE?

The three most common harmful narratives in mainstream TV news coverage are: Undermining Trust in Institutions, Biased Selection, and Personal Attacks/Demonization. Furthermore, according to frequency, Disinformation follows, as well as Fomenting divisions and Populism.

HOW IS IT SPREAD?

The most common genre of harmful news item is the report or analytical-report article.

WHO IS SPREADING IT?

¾ of the indicators of harmful narratives were produced solely by the political actors featured in the news items, while the remaining ¼ of harmful narratives were produced either only by the journalist or by both – the political actor and the journalist at the same time. TV Alfa is a typical example where the journalist also occurs as a co-creator of indicators of harmful narrative.

The most common attitude of the journalist to the harmful narrative stemming from the political entity is to highlight it clearly, but broadcast the harmful narrative without any intervention, and this is the case with all TV stations. However, there are stations like TV Telma and especially TV Sitel which, quite often, broadcast it without taking sides, as there are stations, like Alfa, which broadcast it with approval or condemnation.

WHAT/to what does it refer to?

Domestic politics is usually the main topic of the news items with a harmful narrative, but there are also a number of articles on the economy, justice and health.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM STANDARDS:

» The news items containing harmful narratives are dominated by one-sided reporting. Next are the news items in which two stakeholders are shown, and the rarest are those news items with sources from multiple parties. And here it must be emphasized that TV Alfa contributes the most to this aspect ratio of the sources. Most other television stations use sources from two sides in their news items.

» Regarding the number of sources in the news items: news items in which only one source is presented dominate, followed by those with 3 or more sources, and those with 2 sources are the rarest. It must be emphasized that TV Alfa contributes the most to this ratio in the number of sources (which has the most news with harmful narratives). Most other television stations use 3 or more sources in their news items.

» The sources in television news items are usually accurate.
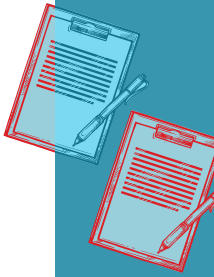
HARMFUL NARRATIVES IN ONLINE MEDIA

» **A total of 1,236 posts with harmful narratives were recorded. The lowest number were identified in October, and the highest in January. There are big differences in the number of published articles: the online media outlets with the highest number of published news items is Republika - 265 articles, and the online media outlet with the fewest published news items is Nova TV - 32 news items.**

HARMFULNESS

HOW OFTEN does it occur?

In 1236 news items, the presence of 2631 harmful narratives was confirmed. Most of them in Kurir.

The general intensity of harm is 2.1: online media on average broadcast two harmful narratives per one report. Kurir does so with highest intensity (3.6), while Almakos and Lokalno have the lowest intensity of harmfulness (1.5).

WHAT IS IT LIKE?

The top three most frequently mentioned harmful narratives are *Undermining trust in institutions, Biased selection*, and *Character Attacks*. Furthermore, in terms of frequency, they are also followed by: *Disinformation, Fomenting divisions* and *Populism*.

HOW IS IT SPREAD?

The forms through which the harmful narrative is broadcasted, viewed generally at the level of all 11 analysed online media outlets, are either **broadcast press releases of political parties** or **broadcast speeches of politicians**.

WHO IS SPREADING IT?

Over 80% of the indicators of harmful narratives were produced only by the political actor, 6% of the indicators were produced only by the journalist, 12% were produced by both. Only at Vecher.mk, 50% of the indicators for a harmful narrative are produced by both the journalist and the political actor, while Tetova sot records the highest participation of the journalist (20%) as the producer of the (indicator of) the harmful narrative.
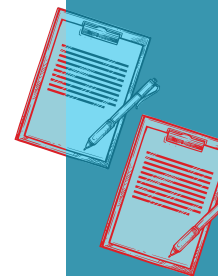
The most common attitude of the journalist towards the harmful narrative stemming from the political actor is that they broadcast the harmful narrative without any intervention and this is the case with 63% of the harmful narratives; in 22% of the cases when a harmful narrative is broadcast, the journalist clearly highlights it, but does not take a position, and even in 14% of the cases, the journalist **even approves** the present harmful narrative in the report.

WHAT/to what does it refer to? Domestic politics dominates as the main topic of articles with a harmful narrative with 64.4%, while the topics of crime, corruption and economy have a share of about 5⬚7%.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM STANDARDS

» Regarding the sides of the sources in the articles, those articles with sources from only one side dominate by far (90%); followed by those news items with sources from two sides (6 %) and finally the news items with sources from 3 or more sides (4 %).

» Consequently, in terms of the number of sources in the news items, those articles with one source dominate by far (87%); followed by those news items with two sources (6.5 %) and those news items with three or more sources (6.5 %).

» Sources in online media news items are mostly (in 85% of cases) accurate.

SUMMARIZED SHORT COMPARISONS

Analysed entity	News items/posts with harmful narrative/s
Political parties	797
Leaders of political parties	87
TV stations	484
Online media	1236

Analysed entity	Total number of broadcast harmful narratives
Political parties	2573
Leaders of political parties	294
TV stations	879
Online media	2631

Analysed entity	Scale of harmfulness
Political parties	3 (three harmful narratives in a post)
Leaders of political parties	4 (four harmful narratives in a post)
TV stations	1.8 (almost two harmful narratives attached)
Online media	2.1 (two harmful narratives in a post)

Analysed entity	The most common harmful narratives
Political parties	*Undermining trust in the institutions* and *Biased selection.* *Character attacks/demonization Fomenting divisions* and *Populism* are almost with the same frequency.
Leaders of political parties	*Undermining trust in the institutions* and *Biased selection.* *Character attacks/demonization Fomenting divisions* and *Populism* are almost with the same frequency.
TV stations	*Undermining trust in institutions, Biased selection, Character attacks*
Online media	*Undermining trust in institutions, Biased selection, Character attacks*

Analysed entity	Undermining trust in institutions, Biased selection, Character attacks
Political parties	Undermining trust in institutions, Biased selection, Character attacks
Leaders of political parties	Domestic politics – over 80%
TV stations	Domestic politics – 60.1%
Online media	Domestic politics – 64.4%

POLITICAL ACTORS

The subject of monitoring and analysis are the 10 political parties and their leaders. These parties were monitored in parallel on their official websites and Facebook profiles. Leaders of political parties were monitored on their Facebook profiles.

The Facebook profiles of the Prime Minister, the deputy prime ministers and the ministers in the Government were monitored, and starting from the end of January, with the formation of the Caretaker Government for conducting the elections, also the monitoring of the Facebook profiles of the Caretaker Prime Minister Talat Djaferi and the new ministers – the Minister of Interior, Panche Toshkovski, as well as the Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Gjoko Velkovski.

Monitoring was performed on every third and fourth consecutive day. In total, in the period between September 2023 and February 2024, the monitoring of the official pages of political actors included 91 days.

Frequency of posts by political actors (political parties and their leaders) with harmful narratives

POLITICAL PARTIES

In the period between September 2023 and February 2024, a total of 797 posts with harmful stories, narratives, and 535 posts on Facebook profiles were recorded[1] .
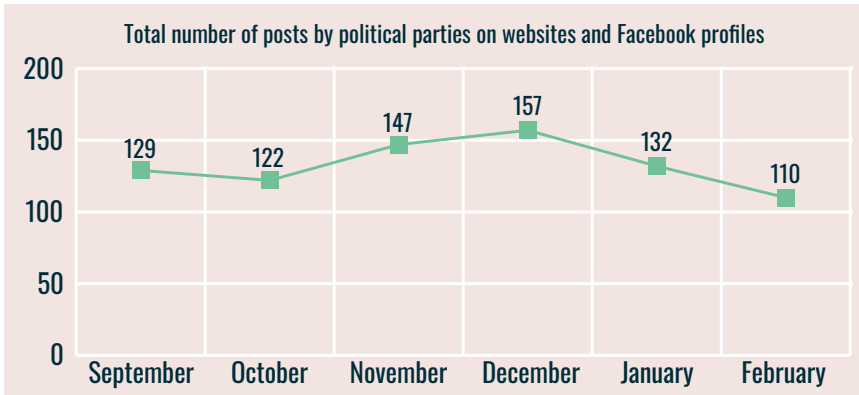
Figure No. 1 Total number of posts by political parties
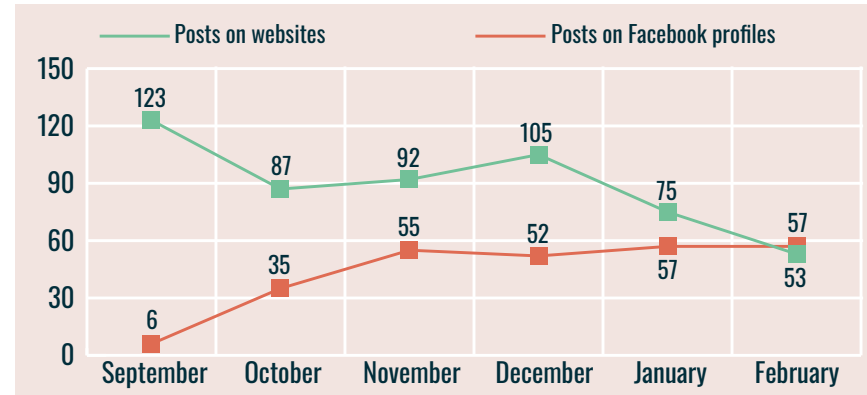
Figure no. 2 Total number of posts by political parties on their websites and Facebook profiles

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1   In order to avoid double analysis of quantitative data, in the case when political actors share the same posts both on the Internet and on their Facebook pages, one communication channel was used in the monitoring, i.e. the content was analysed either from the posts on the Internet or on the Facebook pages..

POLITICAL LEADERS

In the period between September 2023 and February 2024, the content published on the Facebook profiles of political leaders was monitored and analysed for 91 days. A total of 87 posts with harmful narratives were recorded, the highest number of them in February.

Total number of Facebook posts by political leaders
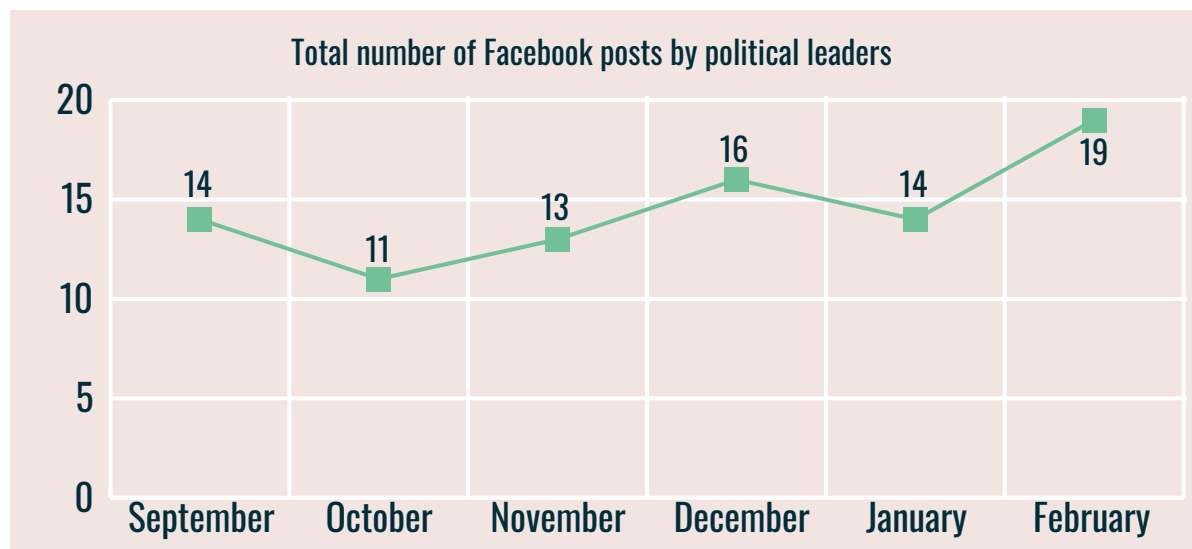
Figure 3. Total number of posts by political leaders on their FB profiles

ANALYSIS OF THE HARMFULNESS OF POSTS

Three aspects of the harmfulness analysis are presented below:

1. The first aspect is the **frequency of harmful narratives**, which is the total number of posts with harmful narratives

2. The second aspect is the **percentage of harmfulness**, which is the percentage of posts with a harmful narrative from the total number of posts of the political entity (for example, if during the day the political entity has 10 posts, 7 of which contain a harmful narrative, the percentage of harmfulness of that political entity is 70%)

3. The third aspect is the **scale of harmful narratives**, which is the number of harmful narratives in one post (for example, if during the day the political entity has one post in which three harmful narratives are broadcast, then this means that the intensity of harmfulness is 3).

POLITICAL PARTIES

There are 2573 harmful narratives in 797 posts by political parties (1674 harmful narratives were recorded on the parties' websites, and 899 on their Facebook profiles). They are most numerous in November and particularly in December.

Total number of harmful narrative in posts by political parties

	September	October	November	December	January	February
	374	428	478	536	393	364
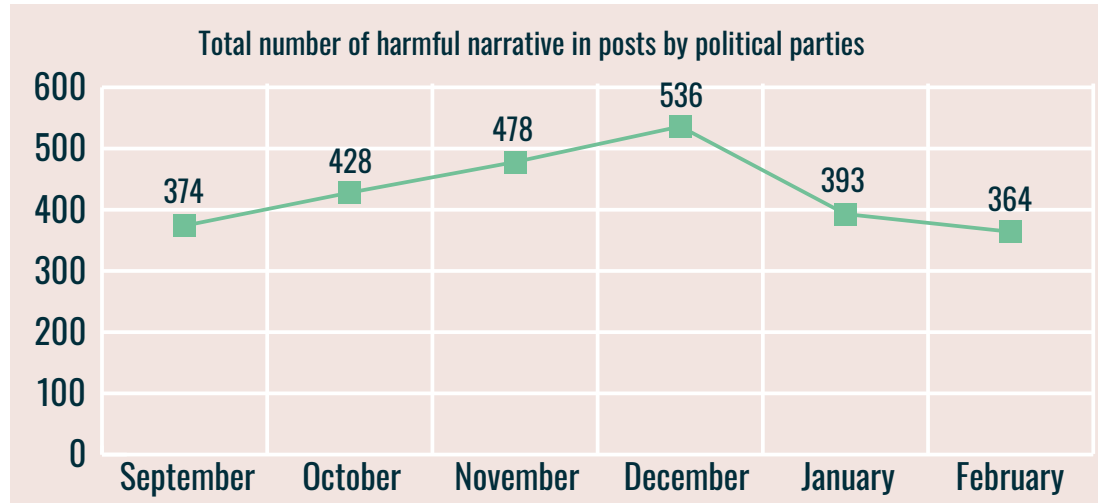
Figure no. 4. Number of times political parties have conveyed harmful narratives by month

If the percentage of harmfulness is analysed by month, the trend of movement of that percentage is as follows:

Percentage of news items with harmful narratives from the total number of news items

	September	October	November	December	January	February
	43,4%	51%	42,6%	32,8%	38,7%	25,2%
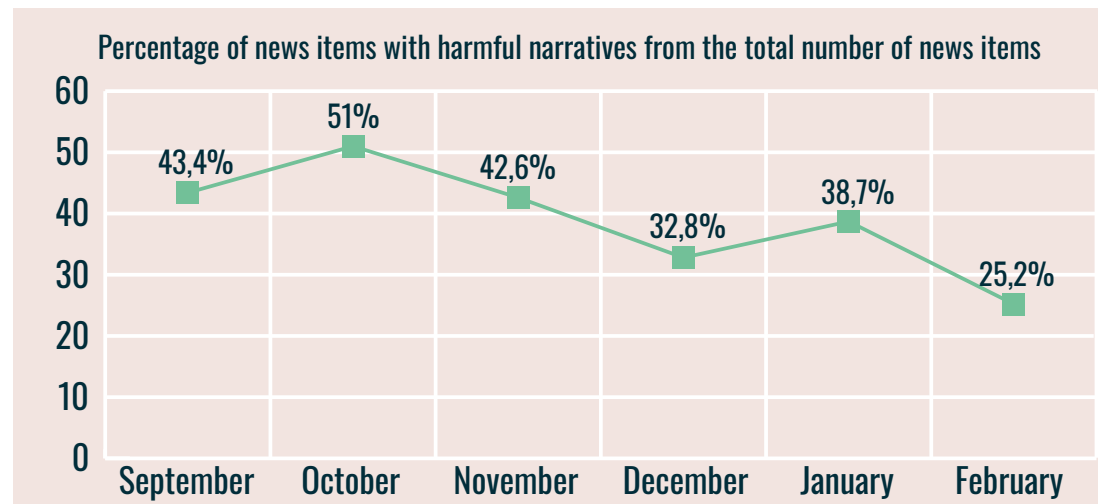
Figure No. 5. Harmfulness percentage by months

The percentage of harmfulness, seen by month, ranges from almost 25.2% (in February) to 51% (in October). Taken together over six months, **more than a third (37.1%) of all posts by all political parties on their websites and Facebook profiles have a harmful narrative/s.**

Regarding the intensity of harmfulness in the posts, it can be said that it is relatively consistent throughout the period and results in an average of three (3) harmful narratives per post.

Intensity of harmfulness by months

September	October	November	December	January	February
2,9	3,5	3,6	3,4	3	3,3
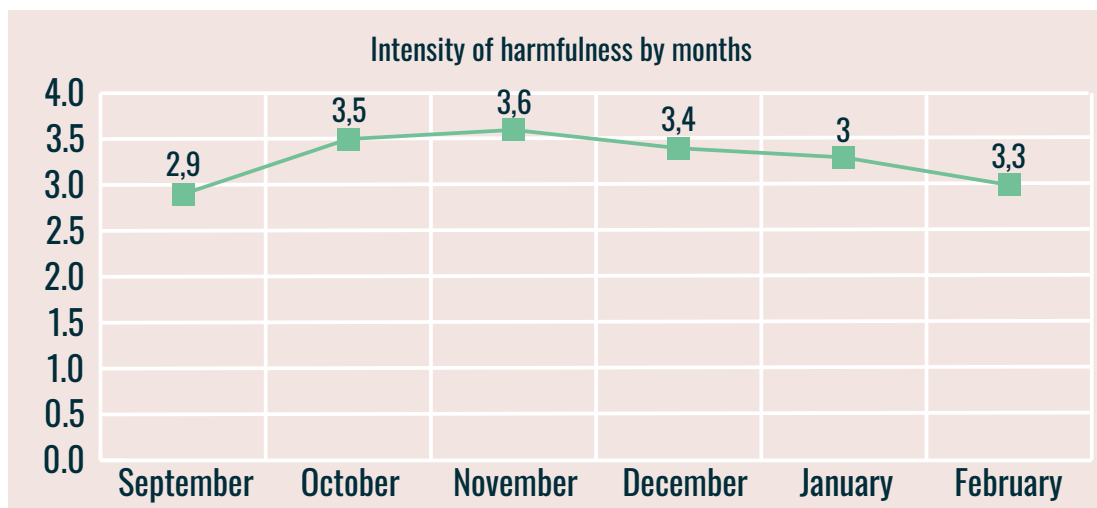
Figure no. 6 Intensity of harmfulness by months

POLITICAL LEADERS

The analysis of the 87 posts by political leaders identified the presence of a total of 294 harmful narratives. Once again, most of them in December.

Total number of harmful narratives in posts by political leaders

September	October	November	December	January	February
42	46	46	62	40	58
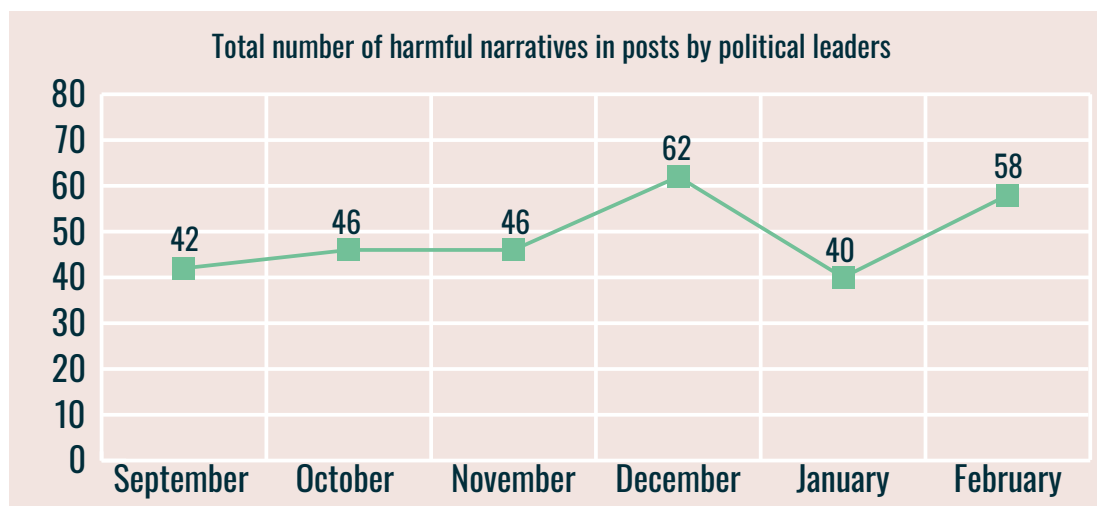
Figure no. 7 Frequency of harmful narratives of political leaders by month

If the percentage of harmfulness is analysed by month, the trend of movement of that percentage is as follows:

Percentage of posts with a harmful narrative from the total posts of political leaders by month
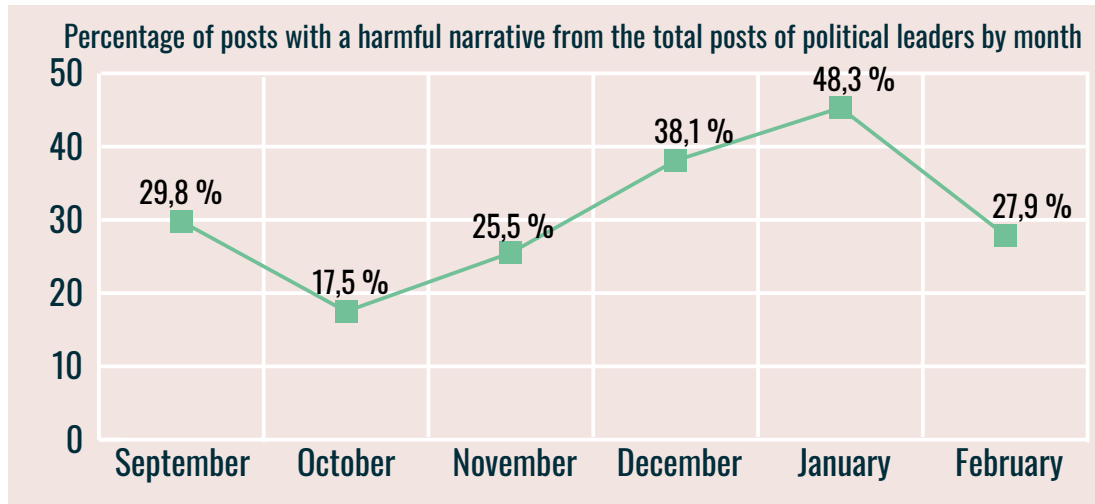
Figure no. 8 Percentage of posts with a harmful narrative from the total posts of political leaders by month

The percentage of harmfulness, seen by month, ranges from 17.5% (in October) to 48.3% (in January). Taken in an aggregate form over six months, it is 31.2% for all political leaders, **or one or more harmful narratives were identified in nearly a third of political leaders' Facebook posts.**

Analysis of the intensity of harmfulness of political leaders by month shows that intensity ranges from three to almost five harmful narratives in/per post.

Intensity of harmfulness by months
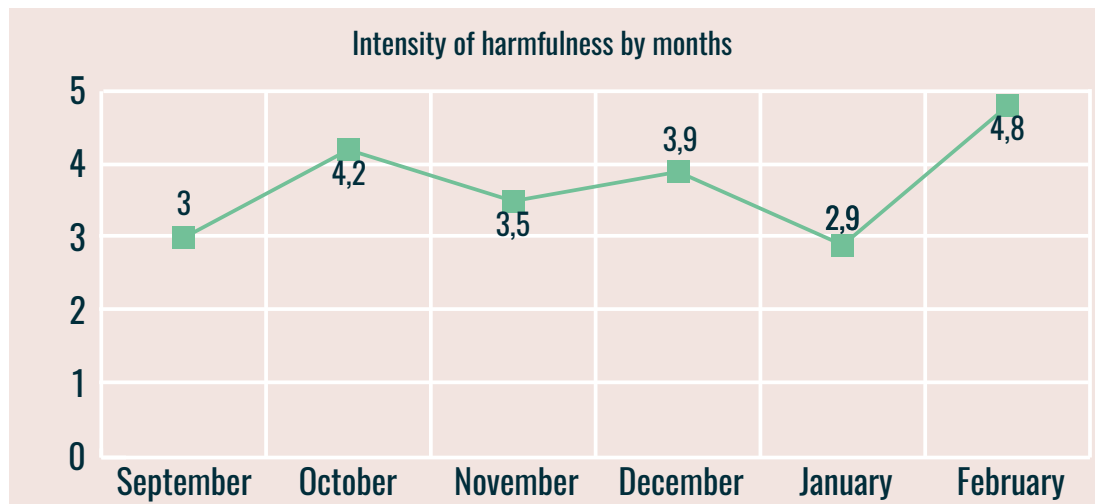
Figure no. 9 Intensity of harmfulness by months

Types of harmful narratives

POLITICAL PARTIES

Speaking of all political parties, two most commonly used harmful narratives stand out: *Undermining trust in the institutions* and *Biased selection*. Furthermore, *Character Attacks/Demonization, Fomenting Divisions, Populism* are with almost the same frequency.
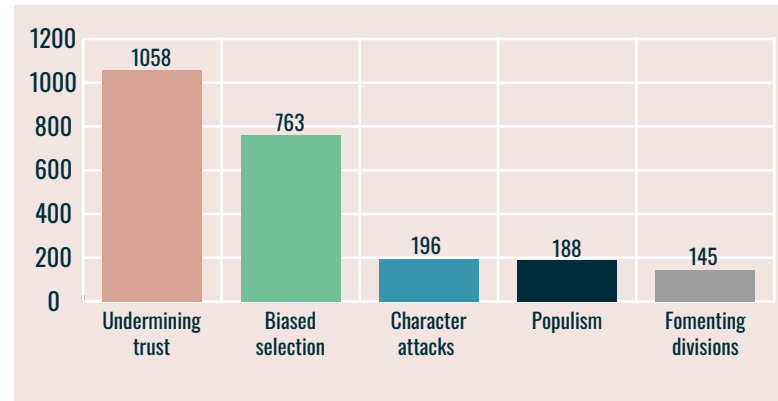
Figure no. 10 Frequency of different types of harmful narratives broadcast by political parties

POLITICAL LEADERS

With political leaders, the situation is almost identical: two harmful narratives stand out according to frequency: *Undermining trust in institutions and Biased selection* followed by *Character attacks* and *Populism*.
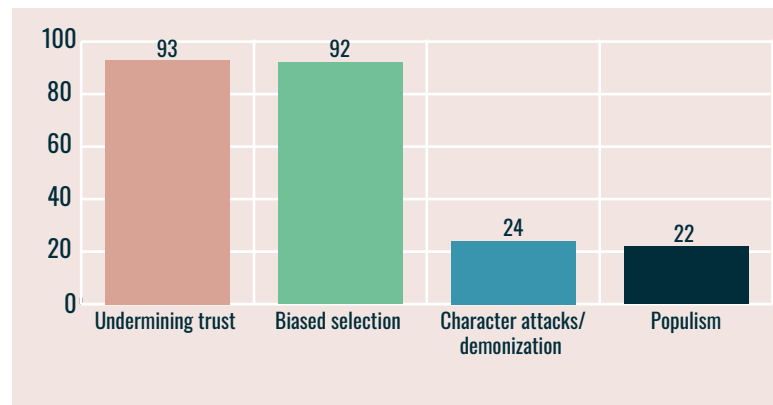
Figure no. 11 Frequency of different types of harmful narratives broadcast by political leaders

Type of posts by political actors

POLITICAL PARTIES

The analysis of the forms through which harmful narratives were spread shows that two types dominate: broadcast posts from political parties (50%) and press conferences from political parties (21%).

Press release – 53 %
Press conference – 21 %
Reaction – 8 %
Interview – 5 %
Speech – 5 %
Statement – 4 %
Other – 4 %
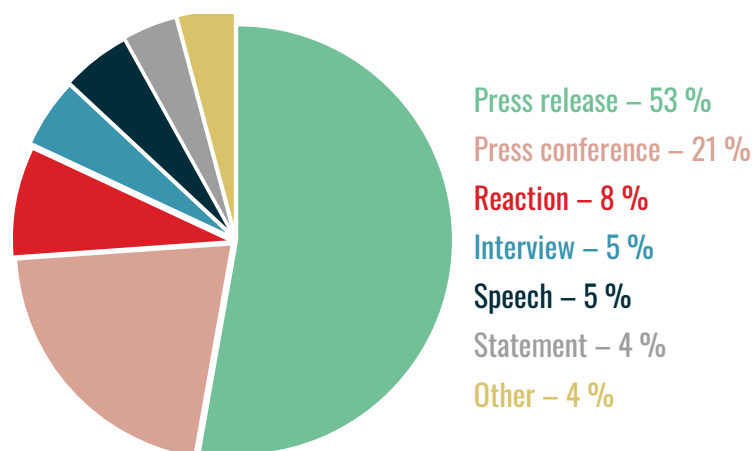
Figure no. 12 Types of posts with a harmful narrative of political parties

POLITICAL LEADERS

The posts of political leaders with a harmful narrative were usually reactions, followed by press releases. There are also 14% other, and these are mostly reels and other types of audio-visual content, usually published on social networks.

Reaction – 42 %
Press release – 15 %
Other – 14 %
Speech – 10 %
Interview – 9 %
Statement – 6 %
Press conference – 4 %
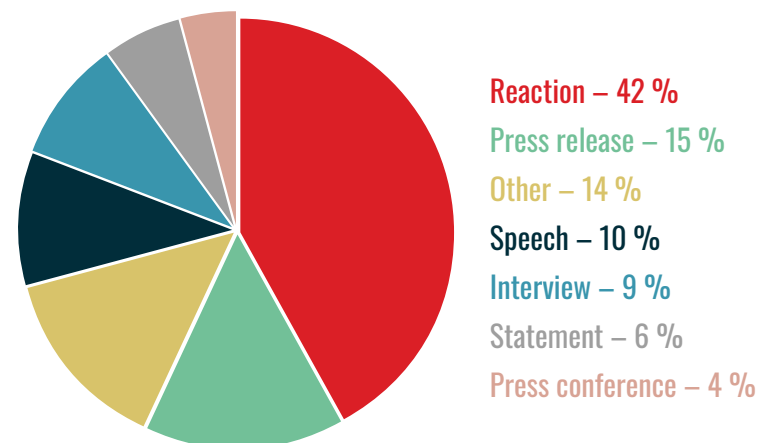
Figure No. 13 Type of post with a harmful narrative of political leaders

Topics in the posts with harmful narratives

POLITICAL PARTIES

Two-thirds of all posts with a harmful narrative of political parties are on the topic of domestic politics. However, the topics such as economy, crime and health occur with lesser frequency in the communication of political parties with the public.

POLITICAL LEADERS

Among political leaders, the percentage of posts with harmful narratives on the subject of domestic politics is over 80%. From the topics of domestic politics, the changes of The Criminal Code, the case with the Oncology Clinic, Macedonian-Bulgarian relations vis-à-vis the proposed constitutional

amendments and EU-integrations, the Law on Games of Chance, the Law on Amnesty, the new Rules of Procedure in the Assembly, the observance of the Day of the Albanian Flag, the double murder the 14-year-old Vanja Gjorchevska and the 74-year-old Panče Zhezhovski, the EU Summit - Western Balkans, the change of personal documents and travel documents with the new constitutional name of the state, criticism of REK Bitola, the formation of the Caretaker Government and the candidates for the president of the state, the incident in M-NAV, the Council of the EU and the country's progress report, as well as the situation in local government, education, the economy and inflation, corruption, especially in the judiciary, were frequently discussed.

The posts with harmful narratives on all other topics were incidental.

How political entities present themselves

POLITICAL PARTIES

In 342 out of a total of 797 (43 %) posts with harmful narratives of political parties on their websites and FB profiles, the parties had no particular intention to present themselves in any light, except, presumably, only to criticize their political opponents. In the remaining 57% of the posts, they presented themselves as follows:
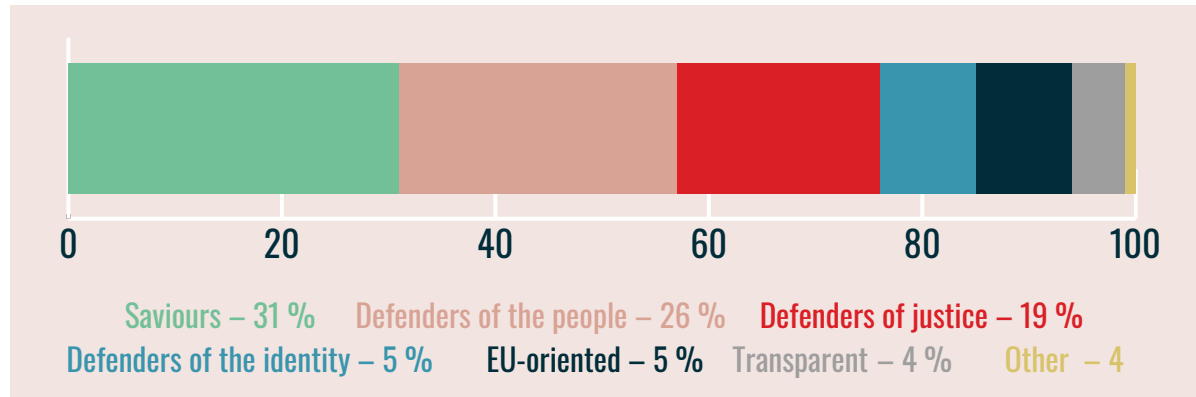
Figure No. 14 Self-representation of political parties in posts with harmful narratives

In their communication with the citizens, the parties usually send the message that the people need someone to save them, so in their posts they present themselves as the saviours. Apart from being saviours, parties are often portrayed as the ones who defend the people, as well as being in the role of defenders of justice in the country.

POLITICAL LEADERS

In 39% of the posts, the political leaders had no particular intention to present themselves, and in the remaining 61% they presented themselves in the following way:
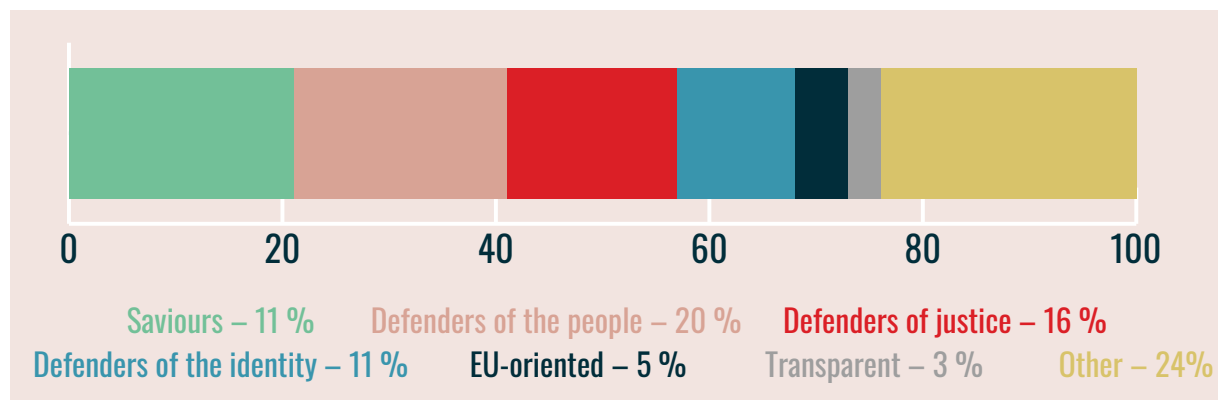
Figure No. 15 Self-representation of political leaders in posts with a harmful narrative

Saviours – 11 %   Defenders of the people – 20 %   Defenders of justice – 16 %
Defenders of the identity – 11 %   EU-oriented – 5 %   Transparent – 3 %   Other – 24%

Similar to the parties whose leaders they are, they portray themselves most of the time as saviours and defenders of the people.

INDIVIDUAL PROFILES OF THE POLITICAL ENTITIES

POLITICAL PARTIES

Out of a total of 797 posts by the political parties that they published on their own website and Facebook profile, 732 or 92% were from the three parties: VM-RO-DPMNE (311 posts), SDSM (228 posts) and Levica (193 posts). They are followed by **Alternativa (34)** and **Democratic Movement (17)** with significantly fewer posts containing harmful narratives in 6 months. Hence, these five parties will be presented separately.

TOTAL NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON THE WEBSITE AND FACEBOOK PROFILE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
311 posts, (282 analysed on their website and 29 on their Facebook profile).

Month	Value
September	55
October	59
November	41
December	61
January	52
February	43
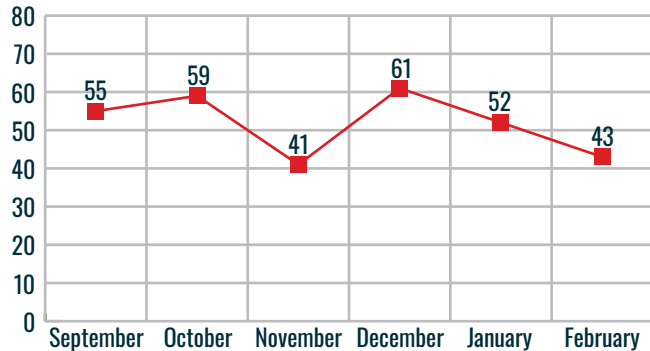
Average percentage of harmfulness: 35% of posts contain a harmful narrative.

Average intensity of harmfulness: 3.6 harmful narratives per post

THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

VMRO-DPMNE broadcast harmful narratives 1108 times in 311 posts in 6 months

- 530 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
- 254 times — Biased selection
- 110 times — Character Attacks/Demonization
- 105 times — Populism
- 109 times — 9 more harmful narratives

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Most frequent topics in posts with a harmful narrative
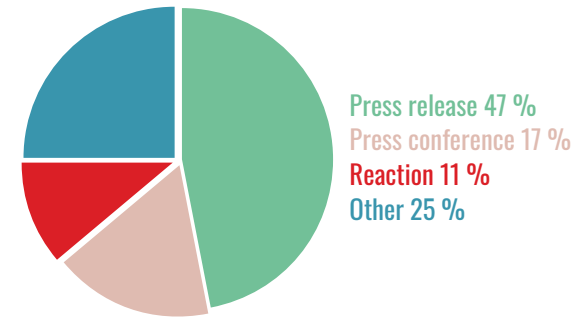
- 42 % domestic politics
- 13 % economy
- 11 % health
- 16,4 % for crime and corruption
- 3 % foreign policy
- 3 % judiciary
- 15 % other topics

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

- Press release 47 %
- Press conference 17 %
- Reaction 11 %
- Other 25 %

Who, how and what do they address in their posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!

- 55 TIMES — Dimitar Kovachevski
- 149 TIMES — GOVERNMENT/AUTHORITIES
- 53 TIMES — SDSM
- 40 TIMES — Oliver Spasovski and the MoI
- 22 TIMES — DUI

Actors change them as

1. GOVERNMENT/AUTHORITIES – 'criminal authority', 'DUI and SDSM government'
2. Dimitar Kovachevski – called 'deserter', 'Tache',
3. SDSM – called 'SDS', 'anti-people's party'

How does the party present itself in its posts?
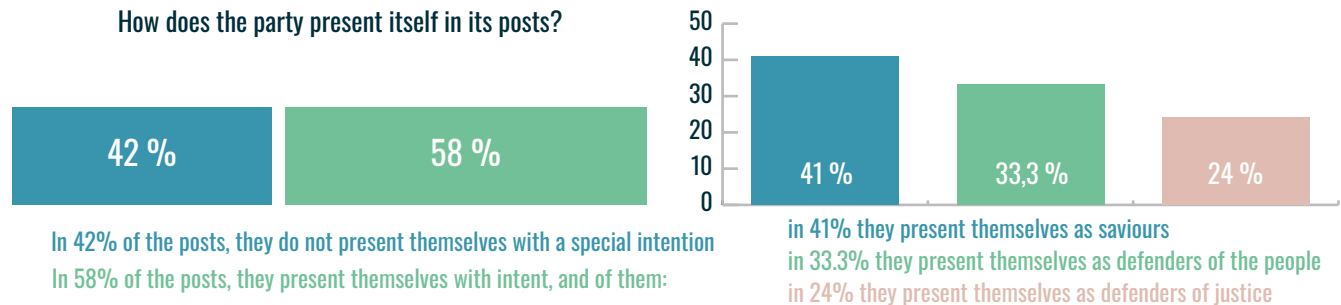
- 42 %
- 58 %

In 42% of the posts, they do not present themselves with a special intention
In 58% of the posts, they present themselves with intent, and of them:

- 41 %
- 33,3 %
- 24 %

in 41% they present themselves as saviours
in 33.3% they present themselves as defenders of the people
in 24% they present themselves as defenders of justice

SDSM-SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION OF MACEDONIA

TOTAL NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON THE WEBSITE AND FACEBOOK PROFILE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months: 228 posts,
171 analysed on their website
and 57 on their Facebook profile.

Month	Value
September	47
October	23
November	58
December	48
January	27
February	25
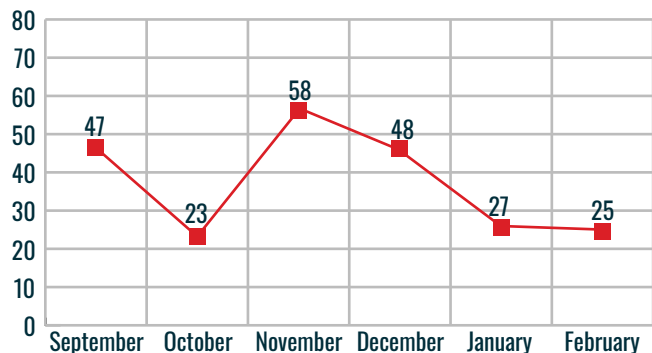
**Average percentage of harmfulness:
31% of posts contain a harmful narrative**

**Average intensity of harmfulness:
2.3 harmful narratives per post**

THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months, in 288 posts,
SDSM broadcast harmful narratives 516 times

Narrative	Count
Biased selection	197 пати
Undermining trust in the institutions	188 пати
Fomenting divisions	46 пати
Character attacks/demonization	39 пати
Populism	30 пати

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

100 % Domestic politics

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

Press release 44 %
Press conference 23 %
Statement 10 %
Other 13 %

Who, how and what do they address in their posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!

55 TIMES Hristijan Mickoski

138 TIMES VMRO-DPMNE

53 TIMES Local government (mayors) of VMRO-DPMNE

40 TIMES Levica
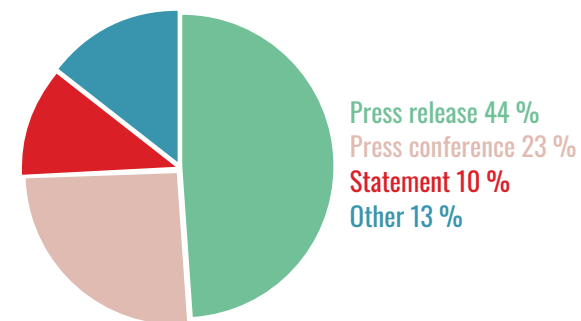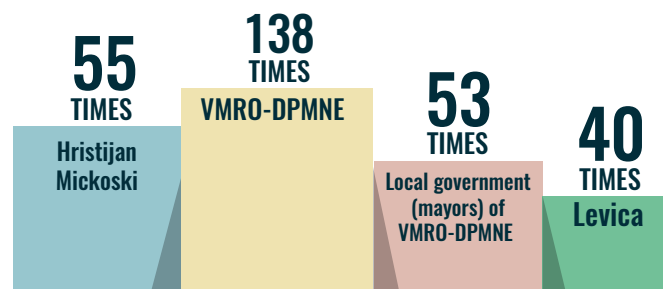
The actors name them as

1. VMRO-DPMNE – called 'DPMNE', 'anti-Western', 'anti-democratic party', 'anti-EU camp', 'obstacle for EU integration'
2. Hristijan Mickoski – called 'little Gruevski' and 'a pale copy of Gruevski'
3. Local government (mayors) of VMRO-DPMNE
4. Levica – 'pro-Russian anti-democratic party'

How does the party present itself in its posts?
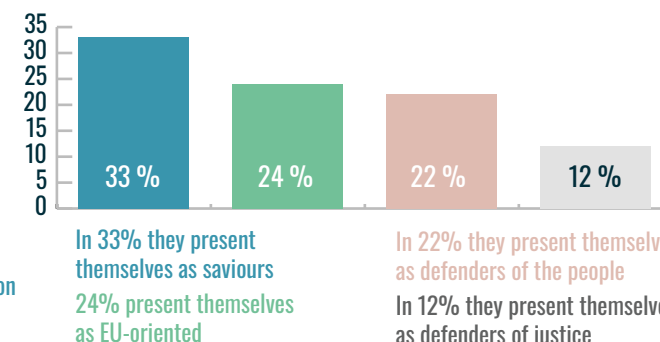
52 %   48 %

In 52% of the posts, they present themselves without any particular intention
In 48% of the posts, they present themselves with intent, and of them:

33 %   24 %   22 %   12 %

In 33% they present themselves as saviours
24% present themselves as EU-oriented
In 22% they present themselves as defenders of the people
In 12% they present themselves as defenders of justice

TOTAL NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON THE WEBSITE AND FACEBOOK PROFILE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
193 posts (75 analysed on their website and 118 on their Facebook profile).

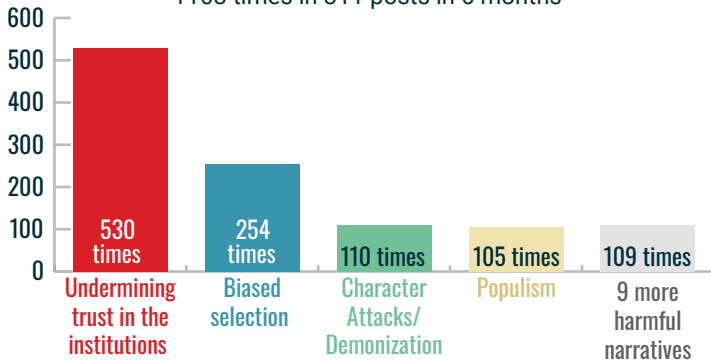| Month	Value
септември	26
октомври	30
ноември	39
декември	32
јануари	38
февруари	28
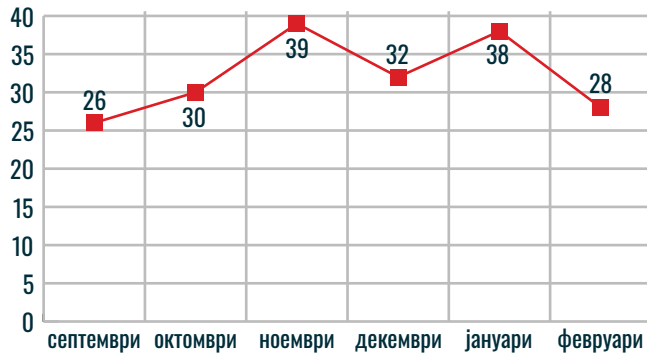
**Average percentage of harmfulness:
53% of posts contain a harmful narrative.**

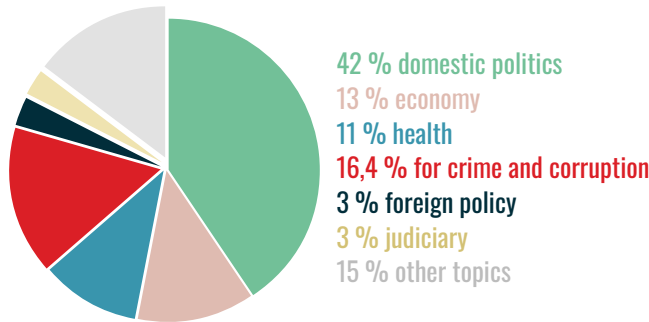**Average intensity of harmfulness:
3.6 harmful narratives per post.**

THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months, in 193 posts,
Levica broadcast harmful narratives 704 times

Narrative	Times
Undermining trust in the institutions	277 пати
Biased selection	223 пати
Fomenting divisions	66 пати
Populism	39 пати
Character attacks/demonization	33 пати

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

64 % – Domestic politics
8 % – Economy
5 % – Foreign policy
4 % – Healthcare
19 % – Other

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

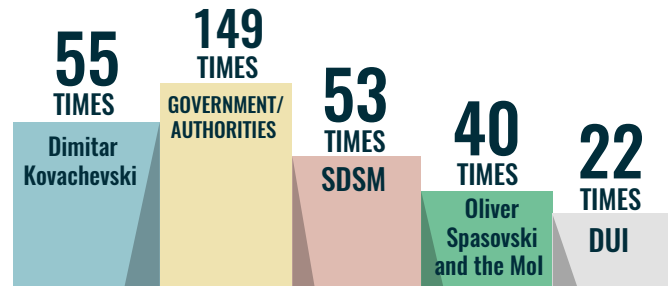Press release – 52 %
Reaction – 12 %
Speech – 12 %
Interview – 11 %
Remaining other types of posts - 14%

Who, how and what do they address in their posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!
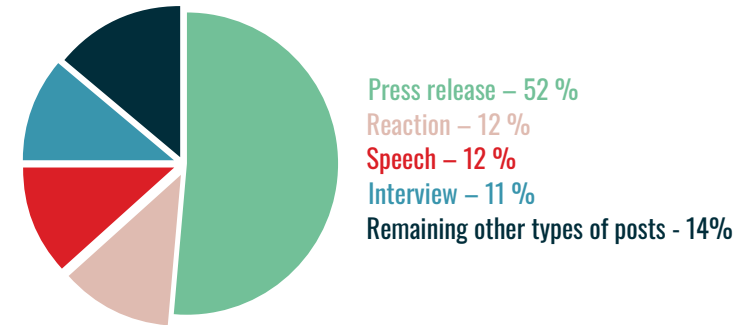
Actor	Times
AUTHORITY/GOVERNMENT	43 TIMES
SDSM	45 TIMES
VMRO-DPMNE	33 TIMES
DUI	23 TIMES
VMRO-DPMNE AND SDSM	12 TIMES

The actors name them as

1. SDSM - called 'SDS', 'quisling party', 'the fifth estate-SDS', 'government of the SDS and DUI combo'
2. AUTHORITY/GOVERNMENT - 'corrupt government', 'unpopular and treacherous government', 'greedy people', 'anti-Macedonian government'
3. VMRO-DPMNE – called 'DPMNE', 'fake opposition', 'vmroid elite'
4. DUI – called 'Uncles', 'secessionists', 'irredentists' and 'national chauvinists', 'bandits', 'balists' (anti-communts)
5. VMRO-DPMNE AND SDSM – 'smuggling coalition', 'criminal axis', 'hybrid regime'

How does the party present itself in its posts?

66

127

In 66 posts, they do not present themselves with a special intention
In 127 posts, they present themselves with intent, and from them:

35 %

25 %

20 %
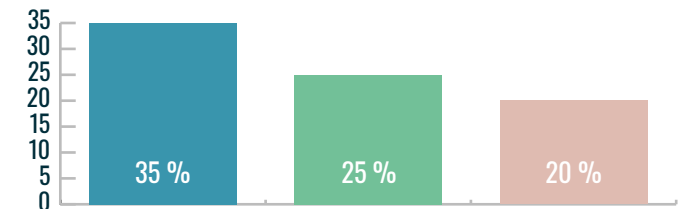
in 35% they present themselves as saviours
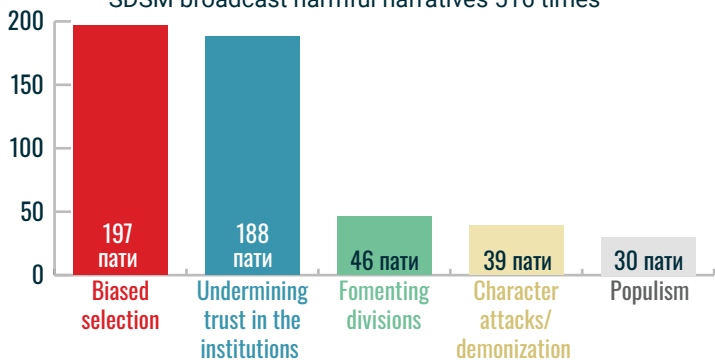25% as defenders of the people
in 20 % identity defenders

TOTAL NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON THE WEBSITE AND FACEBOOK PROFILE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
34 posts, just on their Facebook profile.
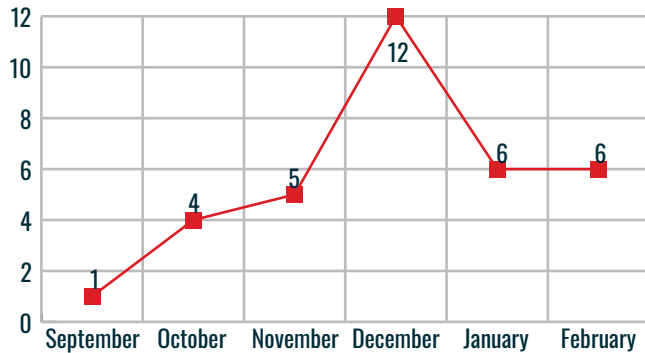
The average percentage of harmfulness: 39% of posts contain a harmful narrative

Average score of harmfulness: 4 harmful narratives per post

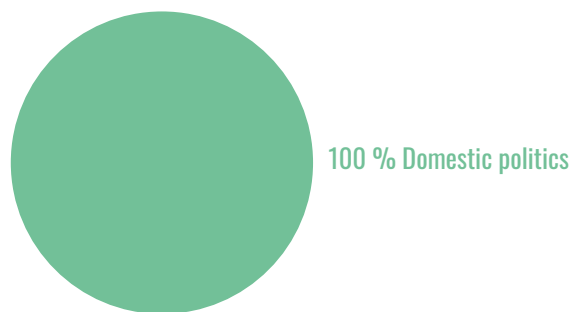## THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months in 34 posts, Alternativa has conveyed harmful narratives 135 times

52 TIMES	39 TIMES	10 TIMES	30 TIMES	30 TIMES
Biased selection	Undermining trust in the institutions	Character attacks/ demonization	Populism	Disinformation

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

68 % – Domestic politics
21 % – Corruption
21 % – Crime

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

Press conference – 48 %
Press release – 7 %
Other - 20 %
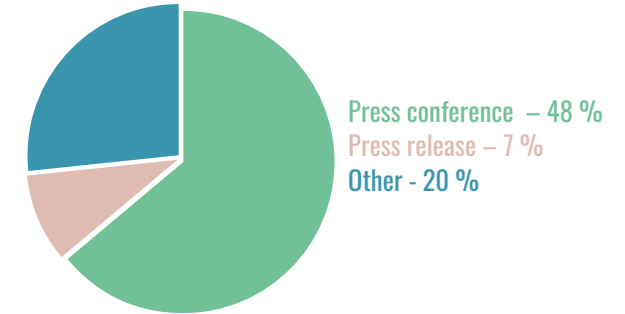
Who, how and what do they address in their posts with a harmful narrative?

For all, without exception, negative

7 TIMES Artan Grubi
21 TIMES DUI
5 TIMES Ali Ahmeti
4 TIMES SDSM
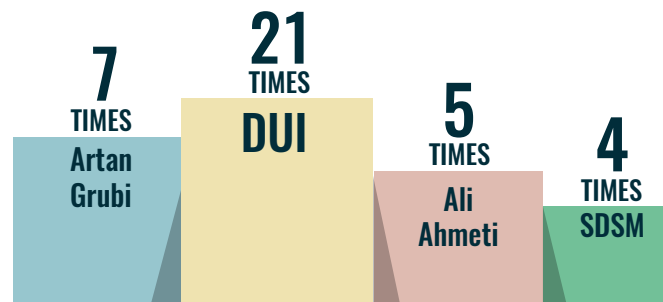
The actors name them as

1. DUI - 'anti-Albanian' and 'anti-European', 'corrupt puppets', 'DUI - the vassal of SDSM', 'business octopus'
2. Artan Grubi – 'head of a propaganda cauldron with 10 portals', 'criminal', 'head of the DUI criminal structure'
3. Ali Ahmeti – 'TC Soravia – Ali Ahmeti'

How do they present themselves?

47 %   53 %

In 47% of the posts, they present themselves without any particular intention
In 53% of the posts, they present themselves with intent, and of them:

57 %   27 %   27 %
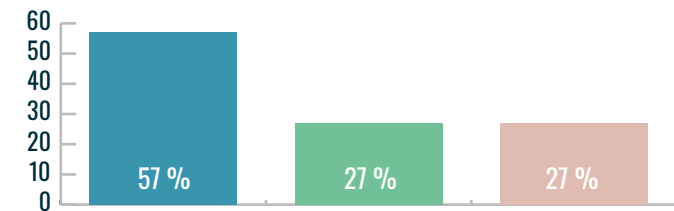
In 57% they present themselves as defenders of justice
In 27% they present themselves as defenders of the people
In 57% they present themselves as defenders of justice

TOTAL NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON THE WEBSITE AND FACEBOOK PROFILE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
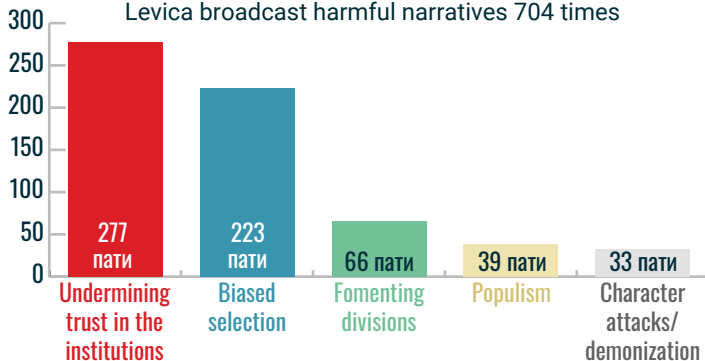17 posts, only on the Facebook profile of the party
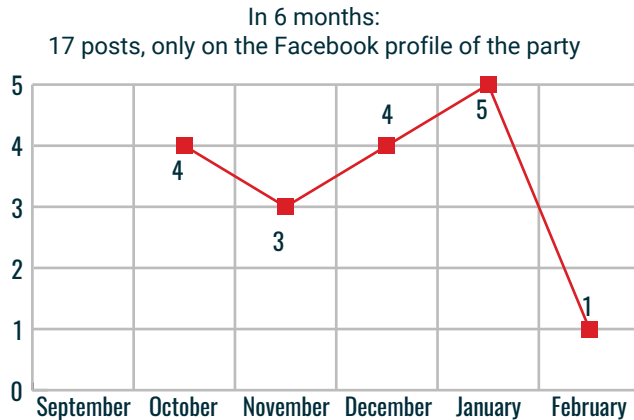
The average percentage of harmfulness: 57% of posts contain a harmful narrative

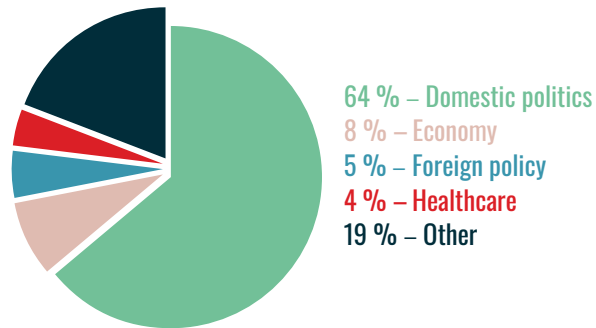**Average score of harmfulness: 4.8 harmful narratives per post**

THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

DD broadcast harmful narratives 77 times in 17 posts in 6 months

- 33 TIMES – Biased selection
- 24 TIMES – Undermining trust in the institutions
- 8 TIMES – Disinformation
- 5 TIMES – Populism

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

- 64,7 % – domestic politics
- 11,8 % – healthcare
- 26,3 % – economy, economy, education, social policy and culture

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

- Press conference – 59 %
- Press release – 17,6 %
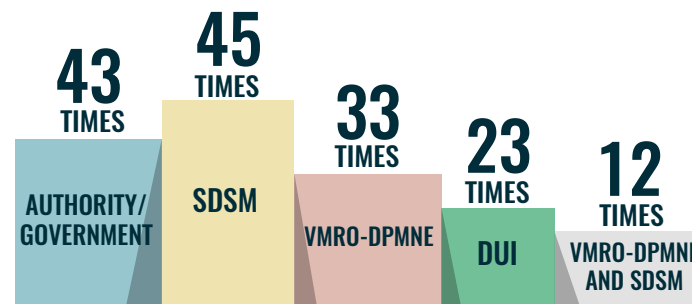- Other - 23,4 %

Who, how and what do they address in their posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!

7 TIMES DUI

10 TIMES GOVERNMENT
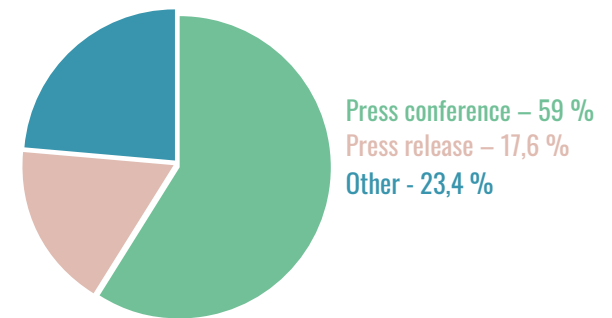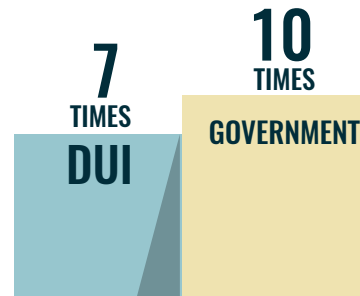
The actors name them as

1. GOVERNMENT – 'criminal government on the run', 'illegitimate and corrupt government', 'incompetent government'
2. DUI – cartel party', 'evil octopus', 'vassal of SDSM', 'corrupt puppets', 'European', 'integrative' and 'co-existing demagogues',

How do they present themselves?

18 % | 82 %

In 18% of the posts, they are presented without any particular intention
In 82% of the posts, they present themselves with intent, and that of them:
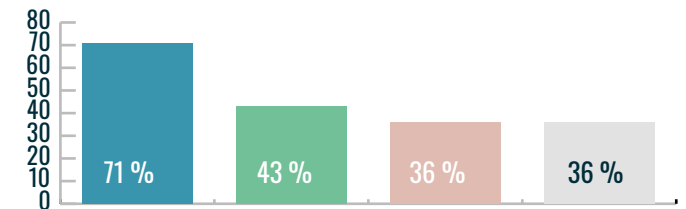
- 71 % – In 71% they present themselves as defenders of justice
- 43 % – In 43% they present themselves as saviours
- 36 % – In 36%, they present themselves as defenders of the people
- 36 % – 36% present themselves as EU-oriented

INDIVIDUAL PROFILES OF THE POLITICAL ENTITIES

POLITICAL LEADERS

Out of a total of 87 posts by political leaders that they posted on their own Facebook profile, 78 or 90% are of the three leaders: Dimitar Apasiev (50 posts), Mickoski (17 posts) and **Izet Medjiti (11 posts).** They are followed by Afrim Gashi with two posts, and with one such post each are Arben Taravari and Ali Ahmeti. Hence, these three individually mentioned political leaders will be shown separately.
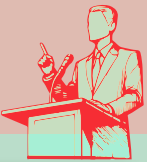
NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
50 posts with a harmful narrative on his Facebook profile.

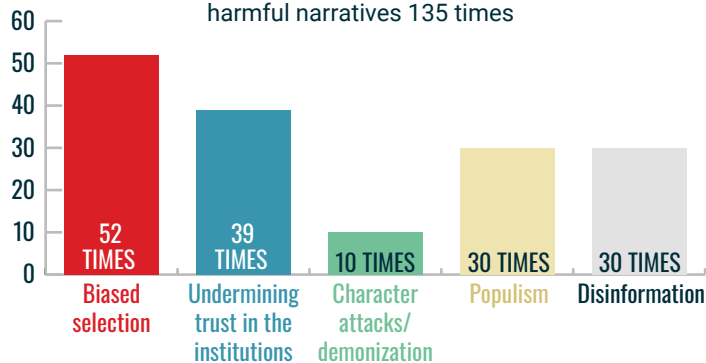(Line graph showing: September – 12, October – 2, November – 7, December – 11, January – 8, February – 10)
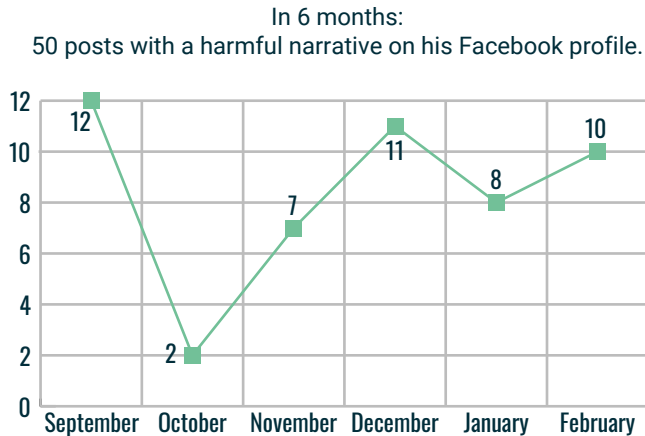
Average percentage of harmfulness: 32% of posts have a harmful narrative

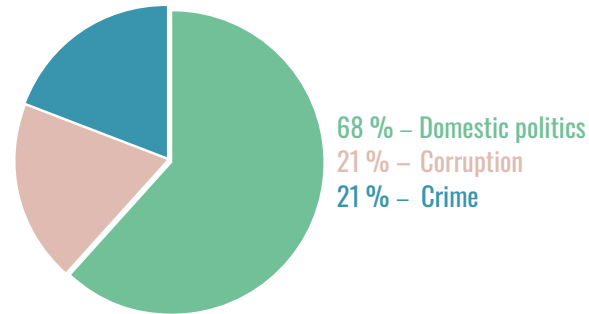**Average score of harmfulness: 3.2 harmful narratives per post.**

THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

D. In six months, Apasiev broadcast harmful narratives 160 times in 50 posts

(Bar chart:
Biased selection – 58 TIMES
Undermining trust in the institutions – 49 TIMES
Character attacks/demonization – 19 TIMES
Fomenting divisions – 9 TIMES)

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

Press release – 16 %
Reaction – 64 %
Interview – 12 %
Speech – 6 %
Press conference – 2 %

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

84 % – domestic politics
8 % – corruption
8 % – of economy, health, crime, foreign policy

Who is he most often talking about in posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!

9 TIMES SDSM
9 TIMES VMRO DPMNE
5 TIMES DUI
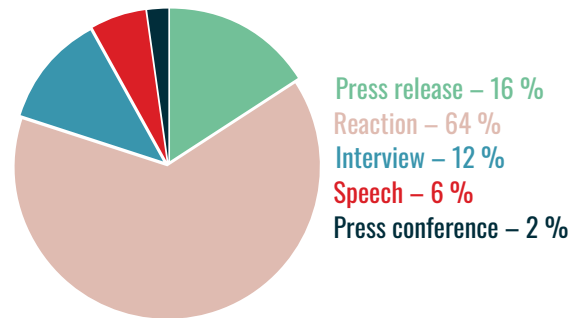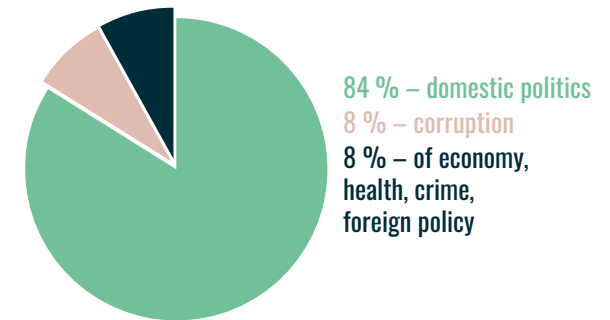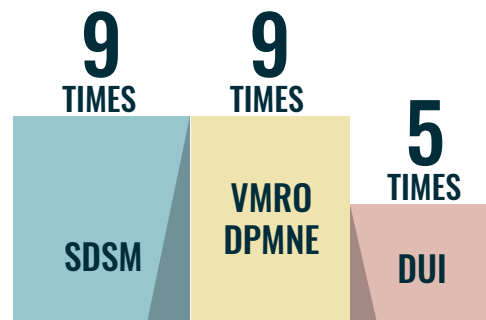
The actors name them as

1. VMRO-DPMNE - 'DPMNE'
2. SDSM – SDS, 'anti-people government', 'quisling government'
3. DUI – 'UCK', 'terrorists', 'balists (anti-communists)', 'bandits'

How does the political actor present himself in his posts?

54 %   46 %

In 54% of the posts, he does not represent himself with a special intention
In 46% of the posts he represents himself with intention, and of them:

52 %   43 %   22 %
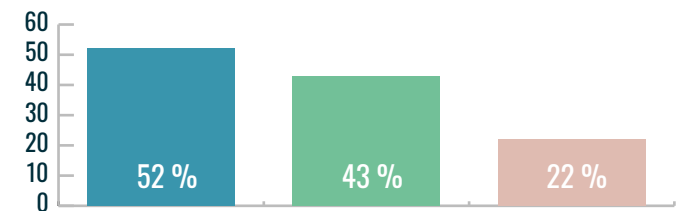
in 52% he presents himself as an identity defender
in 43% he presents himself as the defender of the people and
in 22% he presents himself as the saviour
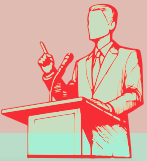
NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
17 posts with a harmful narrative on his Facebook profile.
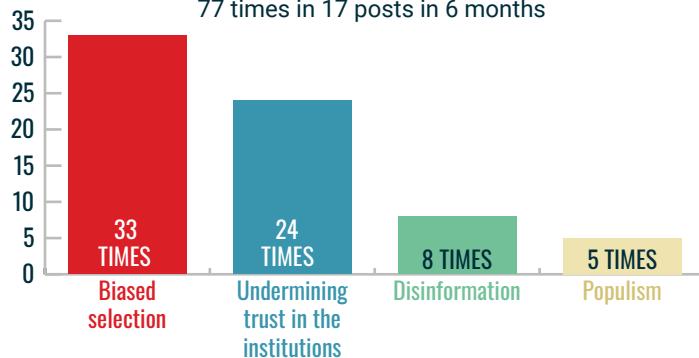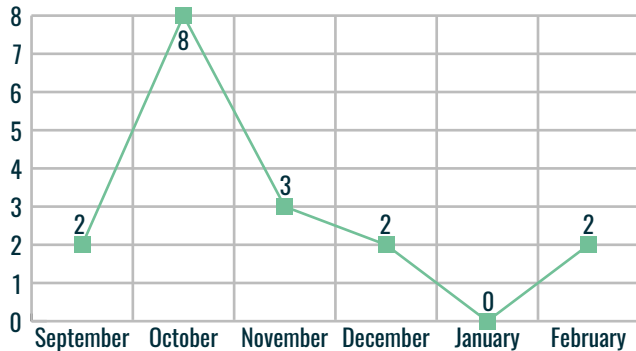

**Average percentage of harmfulness:
18% of posts have a harmful narrative**

**Average score of harmfulness:
2.9 harmful narratives per post**

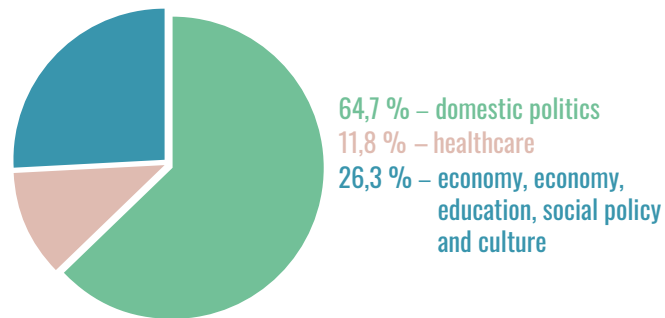## THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

H. Over 6 months, in 17 posts,
Mickoski broadcast harmful narratives 49 times
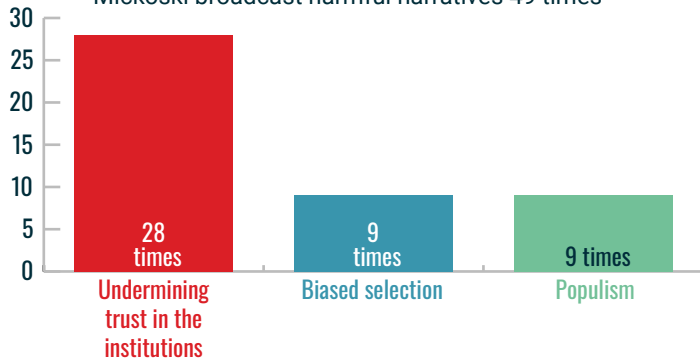
- Undermining trust in the institutions — 28 times
- Biased selection — 9 times
- Populism — 9 times

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

Statement – 29 %
Other - 29% (except audio-visual materials, i.e. videos posted on Facebook by VMRO are posts, press conferences, statements)
Speech – 17 %
Reaction –12 %
Other - 13%

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

76% is domestic politics
24 % is Other

Who is he most often talking about in posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!

4 TIMES Citizens
8 TIMES GOVERNMENT
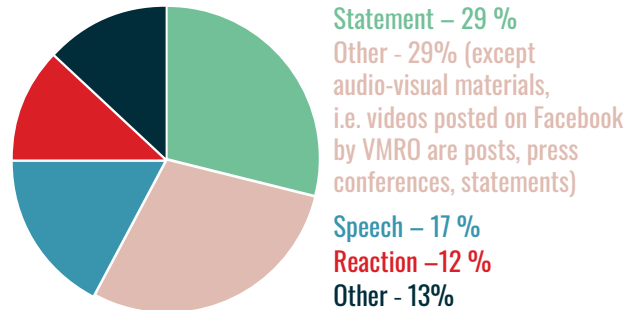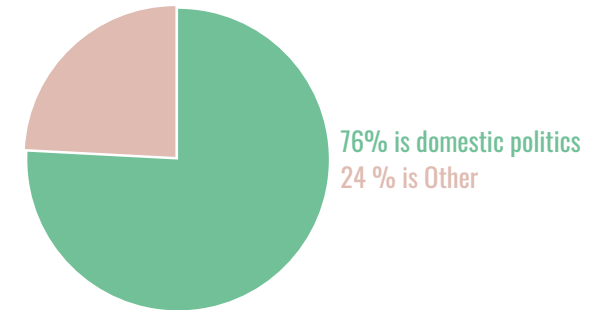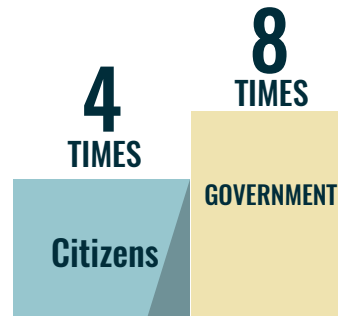
The actors name them as

1. GOVERNMENT – "criminal government", "evil lies", "DUI-SDSM government"
2. Citizens - "the people", "farmers on their knees", "united", "concerned", (citizens)

How do they present themselves?
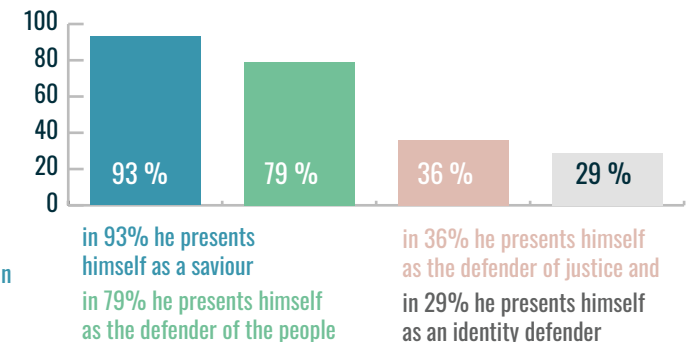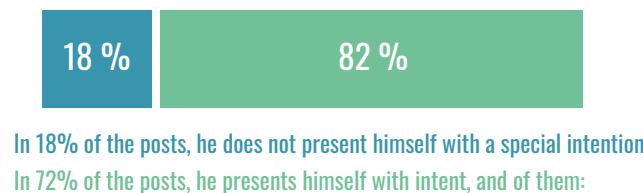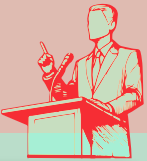
18 %   82 %

In 18% of the posts, he does not present himself with a special intention
In 72% of the posts, he presents himself with intent, and of them:

93 %   79 %   36 %   29 %

in 93% he presents himself as a saviour
in 79% he presents himself as the defender of the people
in 36% he presents himself as the defender of justice and
in 29% he presents himself as an identity defender

NUMBER OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE OVER THE MONTHS

In 6 months:
11 posts with a harmful narrative on his Facebook profile.
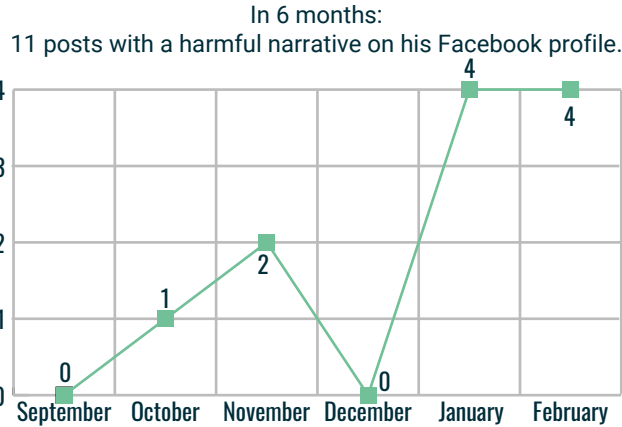
**Average percentage of harmfulness:
44% of posts have a harmful narrative**

**Average score of harmfulness:
4.5 harmful narratives per post**

THE MOST COMMON HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months, in 11 posts,
I. Medjiti broadcast harmful narratives 51 times
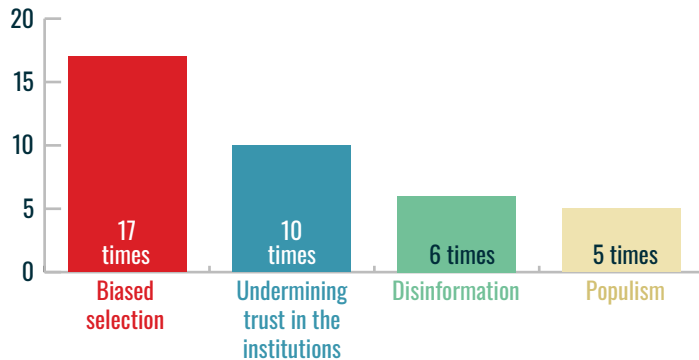
- Biased selection — 17 times
- Undermining trust in the institutions — 10 times
- Disinformation — 6 times
- Populism — 5 times

TYPES OF POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Types of posts with a harmful narrative

Press conference – 18%
Other - 45% (Facebook statuses)
The remaining other types of posts – 19 %
Press release - 18%

Top topics in posts with a harmful narrative

64% - domestic politics
18% - other topics

Who is he most often talking about in posts with a harmful narrative?

Negative attitudes towards everyone, without exceptions!

3 TIMES Talat Djaferi
3 TIMES Government
5 TIMES DUI
3 TIMES Artan Grubi
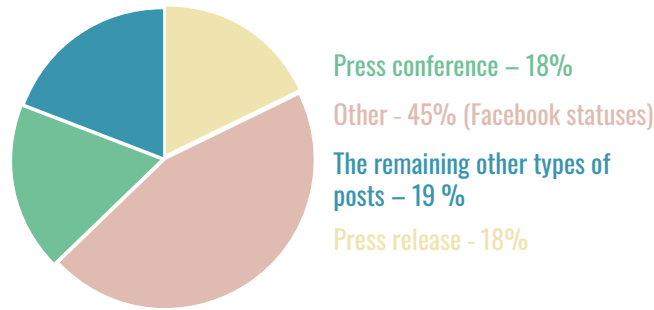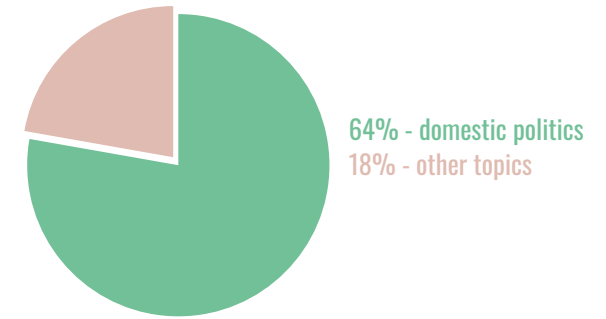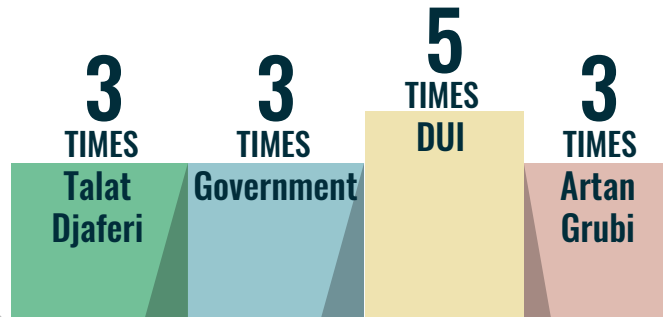
The actors name them as

1. DUI - 'Sicilian clan', "DUI – casino party', 'Ahmeti-followers'
2. Government - 'government in decline, 'criminal authorities', 'an obsolete caste in decline'
3. Talat Djaferi - 'dictator with a caretaking mandate', 'Prime Minister Carnival'
4. Artan Grubi - 'manager of the Casino in Every Alley/House Project', the Grubi coalition in the business with casinos and games of fortune'
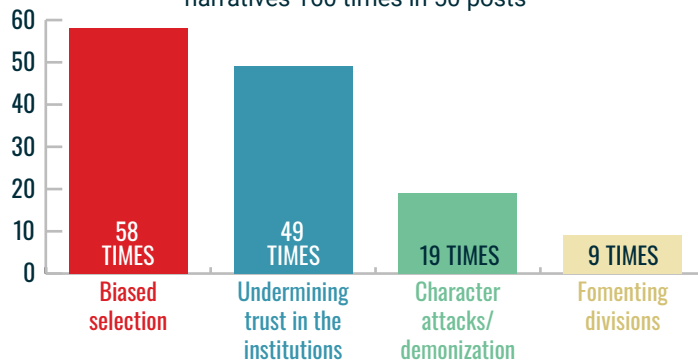
How does the political actor present himself in his posts?

9 %   91 %

70 %   50 %   30 %   20 %

In 9% of posts with no particular intention

In 91% of the posts, he self-represents with an intention, and that of them, such as:

Saviour - in 70% of the posts
Defender of the people – in 20% of the posts
Defender of justice - in 50% of the posts
EU oriented – in 30% of posts
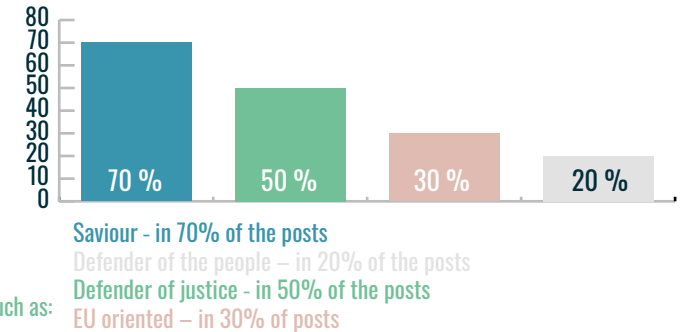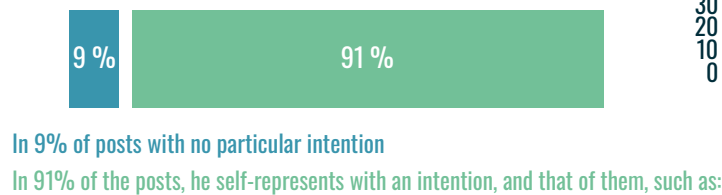
Similarities and differences between political entities in relation to harmful narratives

Comparison of the number of posts with harmful narratives

POLITICAL PARTIES

In the period from September 2023 by February 2024, a total of 797 posts with harmful narratives were recorded (535 posts on party websites, 262 on their Facebook profiles). The difference in the number of posts with harmful narratives between political parties is large.
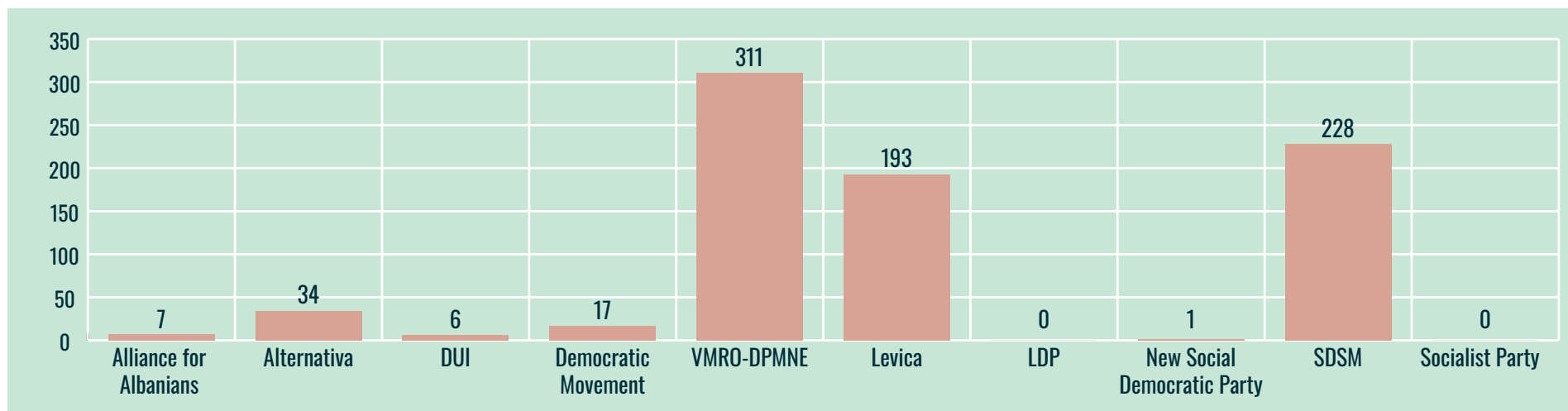
Figure No. 16 Number of posts with a harmful narrative by political party

As can be seen, there are political parties that did not have any posts with a harmful narrative on their websites and Facebook profiles at all. Such are the LDP and the Socialist Party. Then there are political parties that have relatively few posts on their websites and Facebook profiles, such as DUI and Alliance of Albanians. The political parties Alternativa and Democratic Movement publish moderately. With over 100 posts with harmful narratives, there are three parties - VMRO-DPMNE with 311 posts, SDSM with 228 posts and Levica with 193 posts containing a harmful narrative.

POLITICAL LEADERS

In the same period of monitoring and analysis, a total of 87 posts with harmful narratives were identified among political leaders, with only one political actor standing out: Dimitar Apasiev.
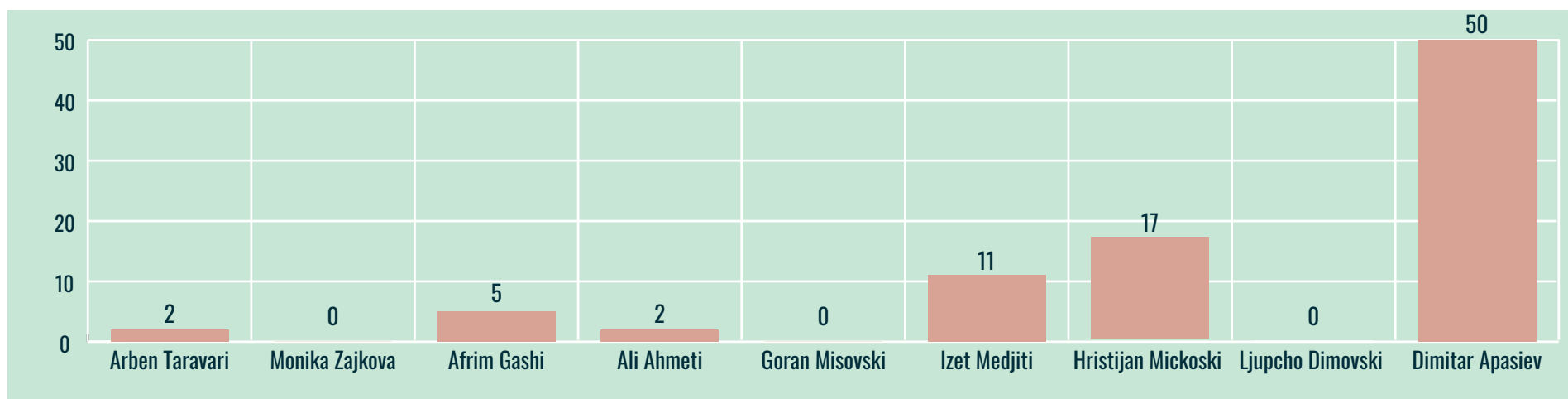
Figure No. 17 Number of posts with harmful narrative by leader

The monitoring in the past six-month period identified that the leaders of smaller political parties such as Monika Zajkova (LDP), Goran Misovski (NSDP) and Ljupco Dimovski (SPM) had not produced any posts containing harmful narratives. Smaller political parties generally have passive communication with the public on the channels that are subject to monitoring, in contrast to large political parties. They have less presence in the public space and less frequent posts on social media and on the Internet about various topics of public interest. Politicians who publish a relatively small amount of information with harmful narratives are Arben Taravari, Ali Ahmeti and Afrim Gashi.

Comparison by number of harmful narratives

POLITICAL PARTIES

Number of harmful narratives

Party	Value
DUI	9
Alliance for Albanians	13
Democratic Movement	77
Alternativa	135
SDSM	523
Levica	704
VMRO-DPMNE	1108
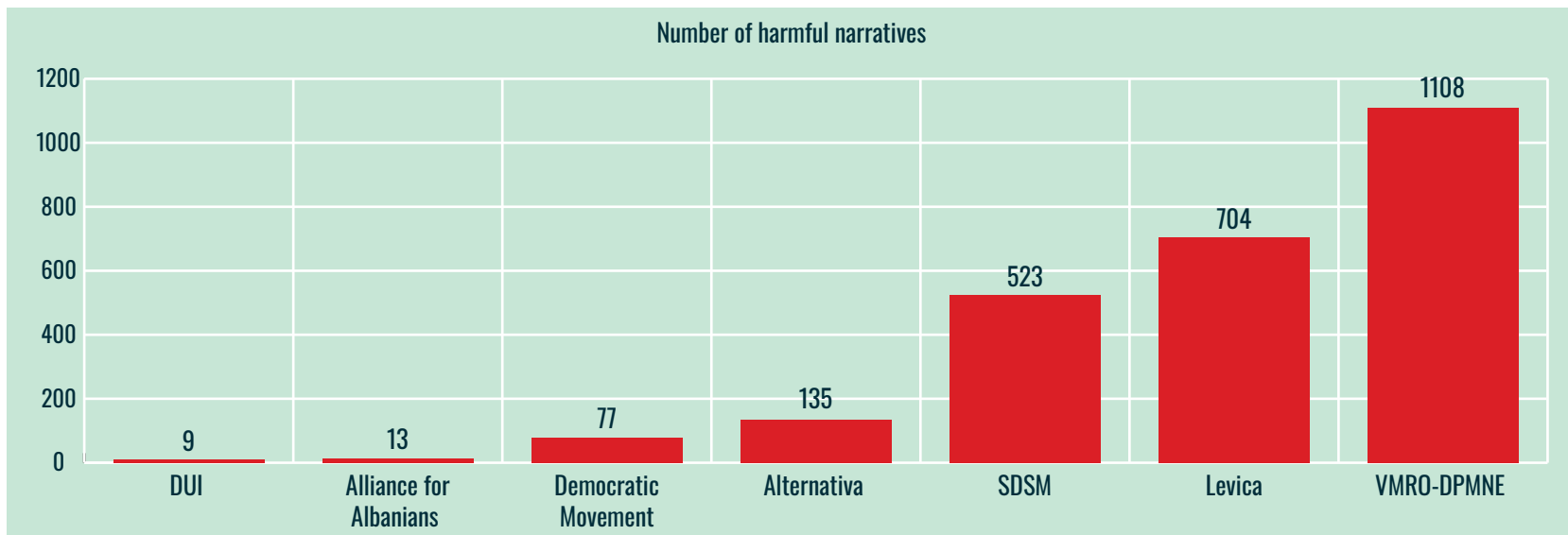
Figure No. 18 How many times have they broadcast harmful narratives, comparison according to a political party

POLITICAL LEADERS

Number of harmful narratives

Leader	Value
Arben Taravari	3
Ali Ahmeti	3
Afrim Gashi	25
Izet Medjiti	50
Hristijan Mickoski	52
Dimitar Apasiev	160
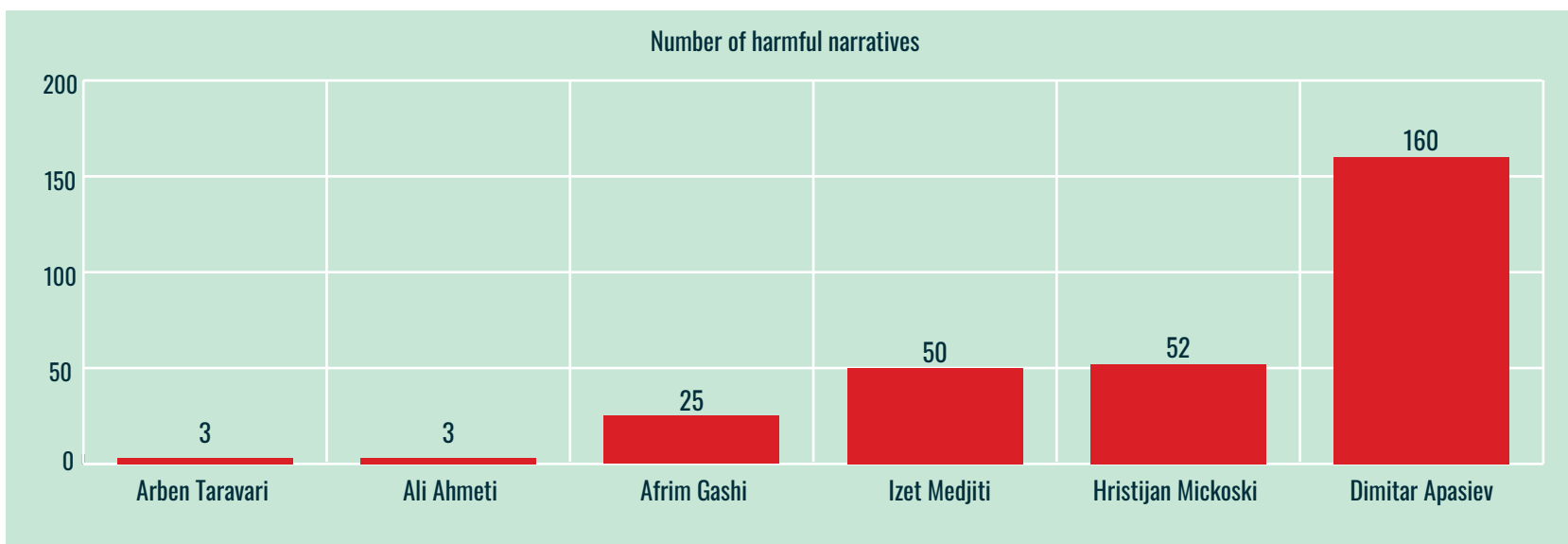
Figure No. 19 How many times have harmful narratives been broadcast, comparison by leader of the political party

Comparison in terms of the percentage of harmfulness

POLITICAL PARTIES
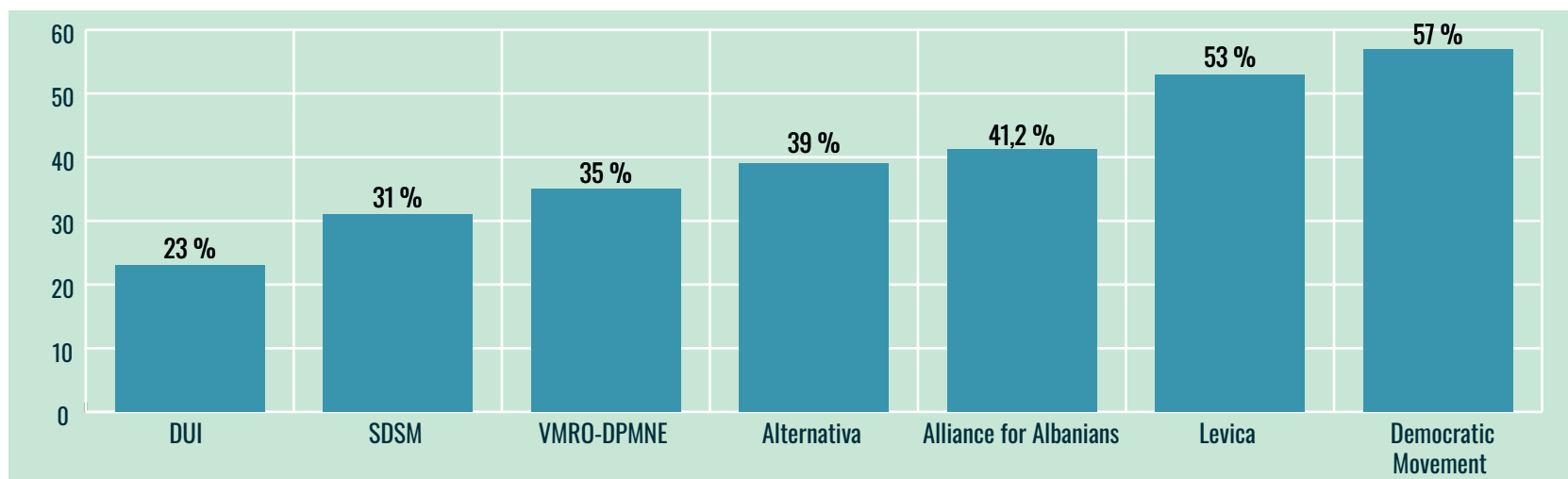
Figure No. 20 Percentage of harmfulness among political parties

Values shown: DUI 23 %, SDSM 31 %, VMRO-DPMNE 35 %, Alternativa 39 %, Alliance for Albanians 41,2 %, Levica 53 %, Democratic Movement 57 %
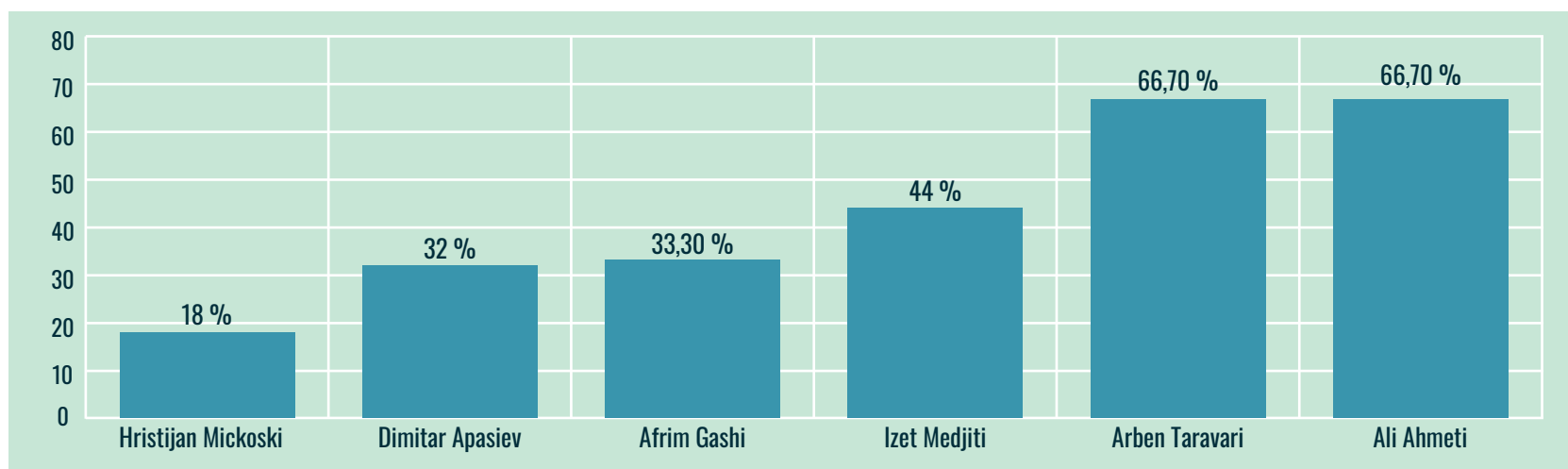
POLITICAL LEADERS

Figure No. 21 Percentage of harmfulness among leaders of political parties

Values shown: Hristijan Mickoski 18 %, Dimitar Apasiev 32 %, Afrim Gashi 33,30 %, Izet Medjiti 44 %, Arben Taravari 66,70 %, Ali Ahmeti 66,70 %

Regarding the percentage of harmfulness, it can be said that among Macedonian politicians this percentage is significantly lower, which would mean that Albanian political leaders publish much fewer posts, less often, but the percentage of posts with harmful narratives is much higher.

Comparison in terms of intensity of harmfulness

POLITICAL PARTIES
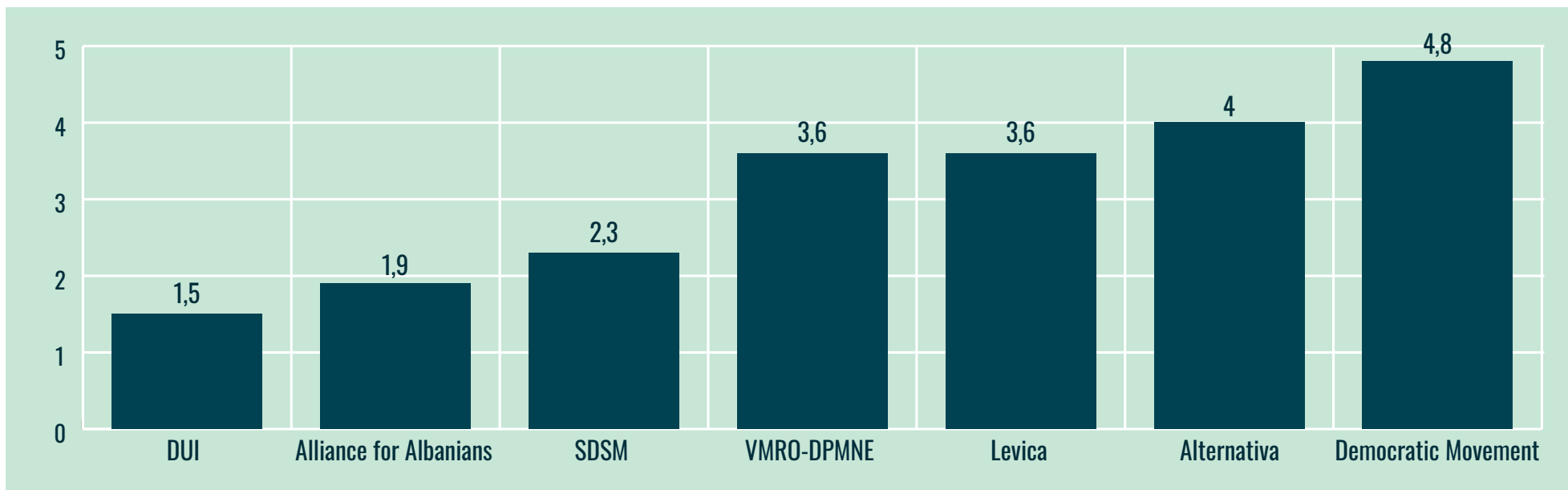
Figure No. 22 Score of harmfulness among political parties

The analysis of the score of harm showed that two political parties of Albanians are at the beginning, with the least intensity of harm, such as DUI and Alliance for Albanians, and two are at the end of the continuum, with the highest intensity of harm: Alternativa and Democratic Movement. The three Macedonian parties, which had the largest number of posts with a harmful narrative, are in the middle of this continuum. The situation with the score of harmfulness among political leaders is identical.
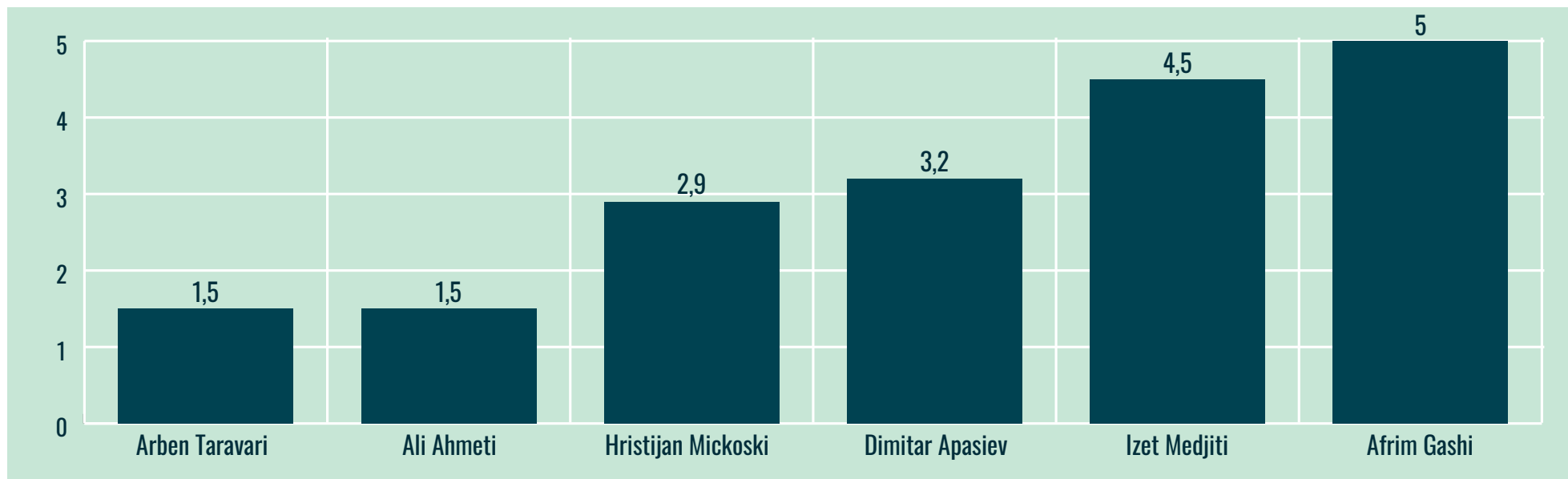
Figure No. 23 Score of harmfulness among political party leaders

Comparison by dominant harmful narratives

The analysis of the most frequently present harmful narratives in the posts of political parties and their leaders showed that: 1) **there are no differences between the parties and leaders in terms of** which harmful narratives they use, and 2) that there are **two groups of harmful narratives**.

In the first group, there were two harmful narratives that were identified among all the political entities, including both political parties and political leaders, among the first two most frequently present narratives: *Undermining trust in institutions and the media* and *Biased selection*. These two narratives are a constant.

In the second group there were three harmful narratives, which alternately occupy the third, fourth and fifth places: *Character attacks, Populism* and *Fomenting divisions*. Even *Disinformation* as a harmful narrative sporadically occur in this second group.

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT

In this section, the subject of monitoring and analysis are the Facebook profiles of 20 political actors, members of the Government (Prime Minister, deputy prime ministers and ministers). The posts in which these political entities abuse their office for partisan purposes and/or generate harmful narratives were analysed in detail. **Prime Minister, deputy prime ministers and ministers:** Dimitar Kovachevski, President of the Government of RNM, Artan Grubi, First Deputy of the President of the Government and Minister of Political System and Inter-Community Relations, Fatmir Bitiqi, Deputy of the President of the Government in charge of Economic Issues, Coordination of Economic Departments and Investments, Bojan Marichikj, Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of European Affairs, Slavica Grkovska, Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Good Governance Policies, Oliver Spasovski, Minister of Interior, Kreshnik Bekteshi, Minister of Economy, Risto Penov, Minister of Local Self-Government, Bujar Osmani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fatmir Besimi, Minister of Finance, Blagoj Bochvarski, Minister of Transport and Communications, Ljupcho Nikolovski, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management, Slavjanka Petrovska, Minister of Defence, Jeton Shaqiri, Minister of Education and Science , Jovanka Trenchevska, Minister of Labour and Social Policy, Bisera Kostadinovska Stojchevska, Minister of Culture, Kaja Shukova, Minister of Environment and Phyiscal Planning, Azir Aliu, Minister of Information Society and Administration, Krenar Loga, Minister of Justice, Fatmir Medjiti, Minister of Health.

Starting from January 28, 2024, the monitoring included the new members of the Caretaker Government in charge of conducting the elections, that is, the profiles of the new Prime Minister Talat Djaferi, the Minister of Interior Panche Toshkovski and the Minister of Labour and Social Policy Gjoko Velkovski.

Frequency of posts by members of the Government with harmful narratives

In the research period between September 2023 and February 2024, the content published by the above-mentioned 20 members of the Government on their Facebook profiles was monitored and analysed for 91 days. A total of 26 news items with harmful narratives and a total of 54 harmful narratives were identified. By month, the trend is as follows:
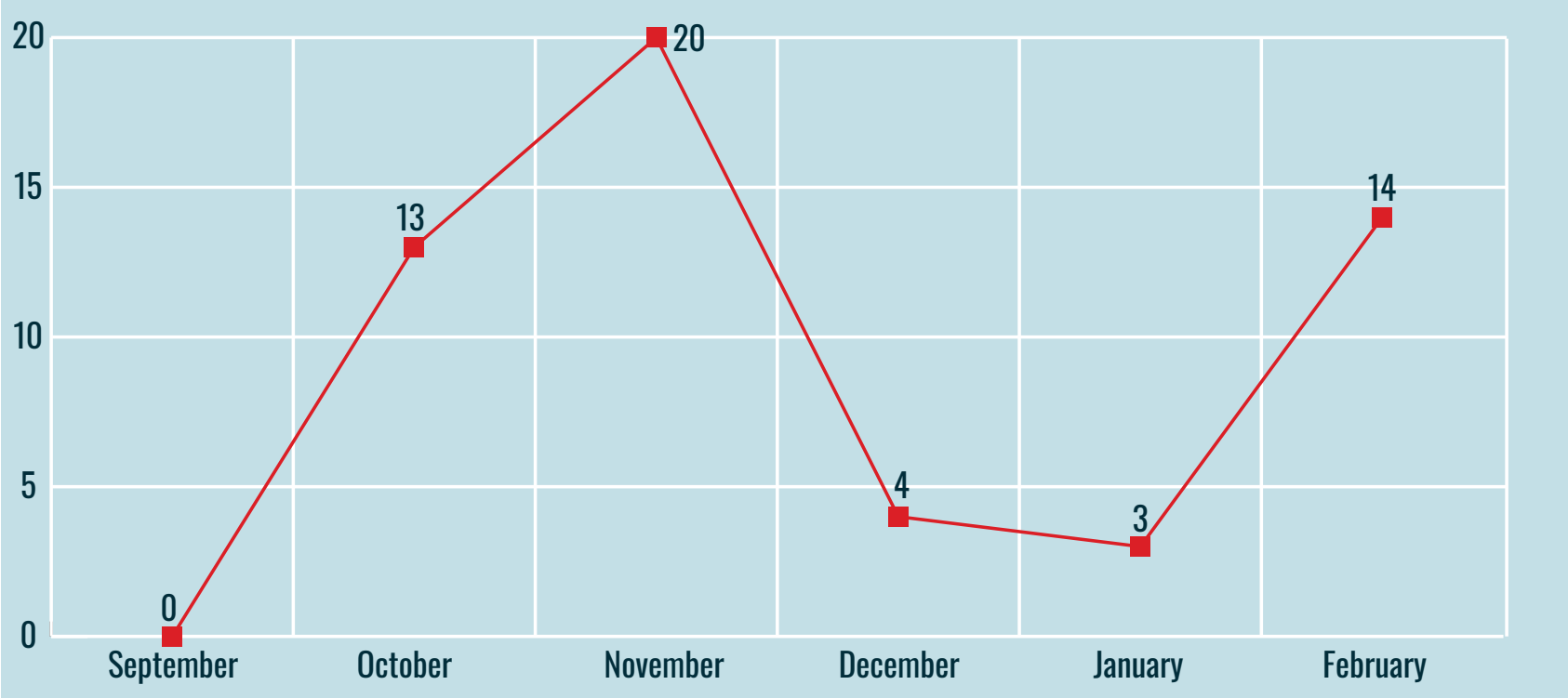
Figure No. 24 Number of posts with harmful narrative by months

September is the month when not a single post with a harmful narrative was recorded, and November is the month with the highest number-a total of 11. As expected, the curve for the total number of harmful narratives also follows the line for the total number of posts. October is the only month stands out as distinct in the sense that harmful narratives occurred 13 times in as few as 3 posts, meaning that there were four narratives present in each post.

Posts with harmful narratives

Government official	Posts
Jeton Shaqiri	1
Jovanka Trenchevska	1
Dimitar Kovachevski	2
Kreshnik Bekteshi	3
Ljupcho Nikolovski	4
Artan Grubi	5
Bisera Kostadinovska - Stojcevska	5
Krenar Loga	6
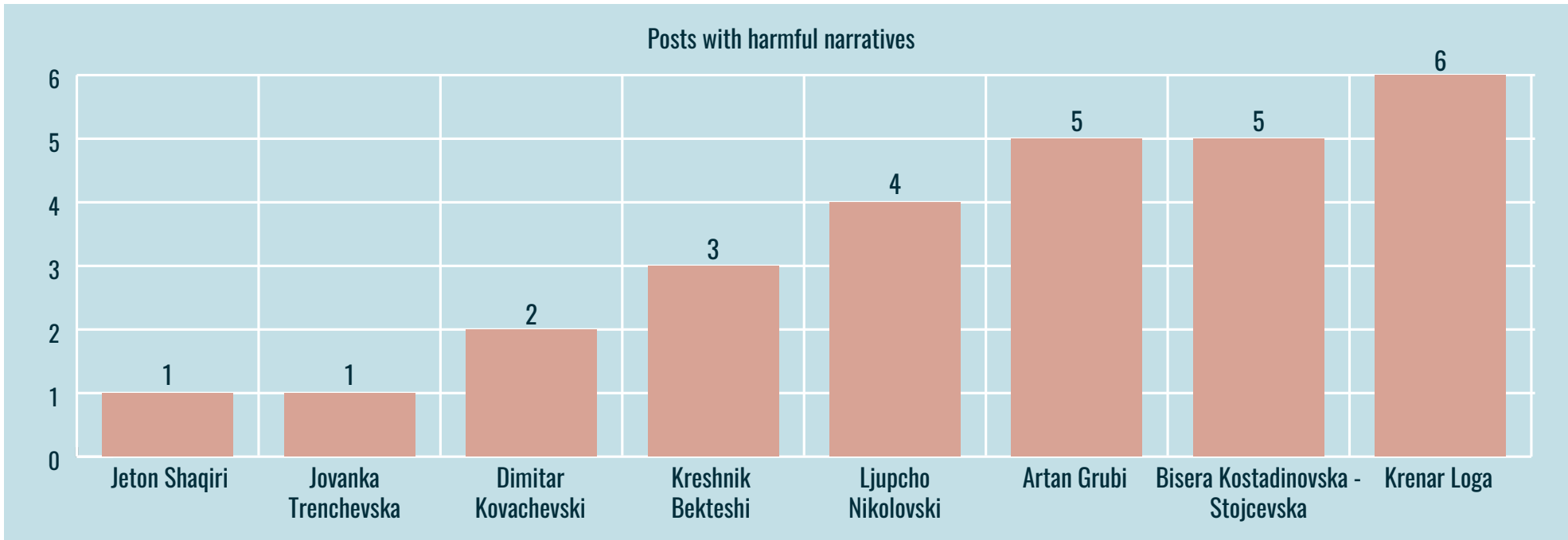
Figure No. 25 How many posts with a harmful narrative each government official has?

Jeton Shaqiri and Jovanka Trenchevska are members of the Government with one post each with a harmful narrative, Dimitar Kovachevski with two posts, and Krenar Loga with the most, six posts with harmful narratives. Members of the Government without a single post with a harmful narrative are: Fatmir Medjiti, Azir Aliu, Kaya Shukova, Slavjanka Petrovska, Blagoj Bochvarski, Fatmir Besimi, Bujar Osmani, Risto Penov, Oliver Spasovski, Slavica Grkovska, Bojan Maricic and Fatmir Bitiqi.

Regarding the types of harmful narratives that occur in the posts of government members, the analysis showed that they most often use biased selection through claims of corruption, non-transparency/non-accountability, unprofessionalism, abuse of office of political opponents without any serious attempt to substantiate those claims. Both, with every member of the government in particular and seen in general, this is the most common harmful narrative. With a somewhat lower frequency, but still present, the undermining of trust in institutions and in the media, fomenting divisions, and populism are also present.

Type of harmful narratives

Malinformation	Foreign influence	Ethnocentrism	Disinformation	Spreading panic, fear and insecurity	Populism	Fomenting divisions	Undermining trust	Biased selection
1	1	1	3	3	5	6	7	27
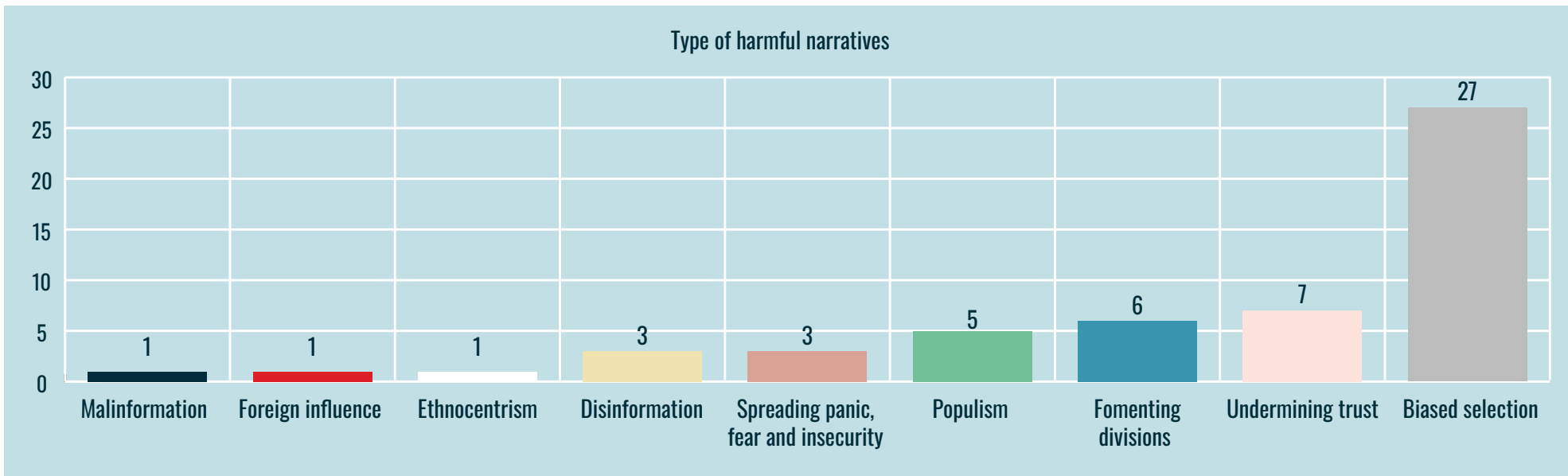
Figure No. 26 Harmful narratives and how many times have they been broadcast by members of the government

As for the main topic in the posts, the analysis showed that in 80% of the posts with harmful narratives of the members of the Government, the main topic is domestic politics.

In terms of the way they present themselves, in the posts attacking their political representatives government members often present themselves and emphasize the fact that they are European-oriented and are defenders of the national identity.

Regarding the form in which the harmful narrative is broadcast, the data showed that the harmful narratives produced by government members are mostly in the broadcast interviews, speeches and reactions published on their Facebook profiles.

Given that the monitoring also monitors the communication of the members of the Government, specific cases have been noted when government ministers abuse the official channel of the institution they manage, without using harmful narratives. The practice of using one Facebook profile for communicating official government information, but also for the activities of the political parties from which they come, is often recorded among some government officials. On the same profile, one can note activities that an official had as part of the Government, and also by using official government data to illustrate the party's contribution, often conflating the party with the Government, that is, the state.

TV STATIONS

Frequency of broadcasts on TV stations with harmful narratives

In this past six-month period, the central news editions of 9 television stations (MTV 1, MTV 2, Kanal 5, Sitel, Telma, Alsat M, Alfa, TV 21 and TV 24 Vesti) were monitored and analysed for 46 days. A total of 484 news items with harmful narratives were recorded. The lowest number was in October (66), and the highest in January (96).

Total number of news by TV stations
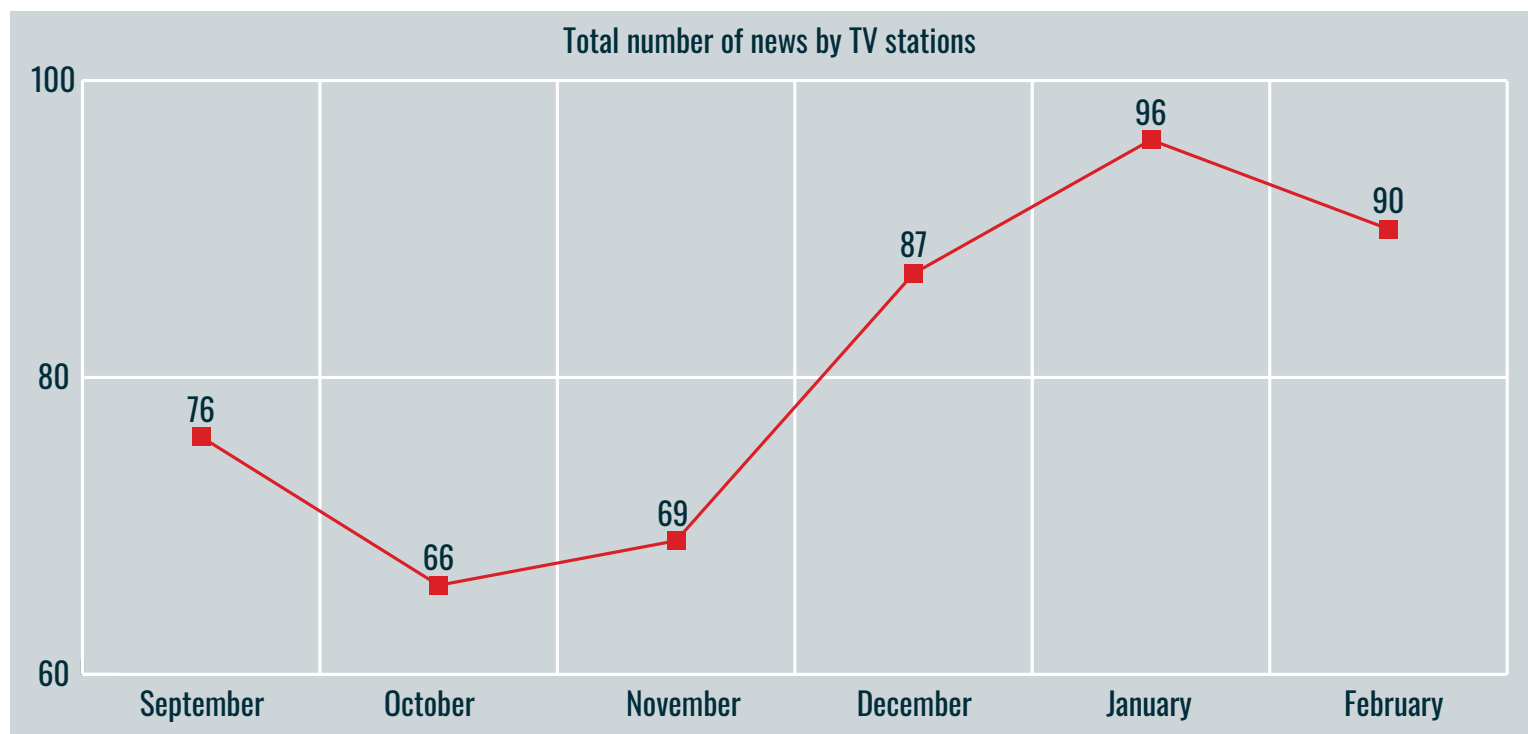
Figure No. 27 Number of news items with harmful narrative by month

Frequency of harmful narratives and intensity of harm

The analysis of the content of 484 news items confirmed the presence of 879 harmful narratives, the highest number in January (163), and the lowest in September (122).
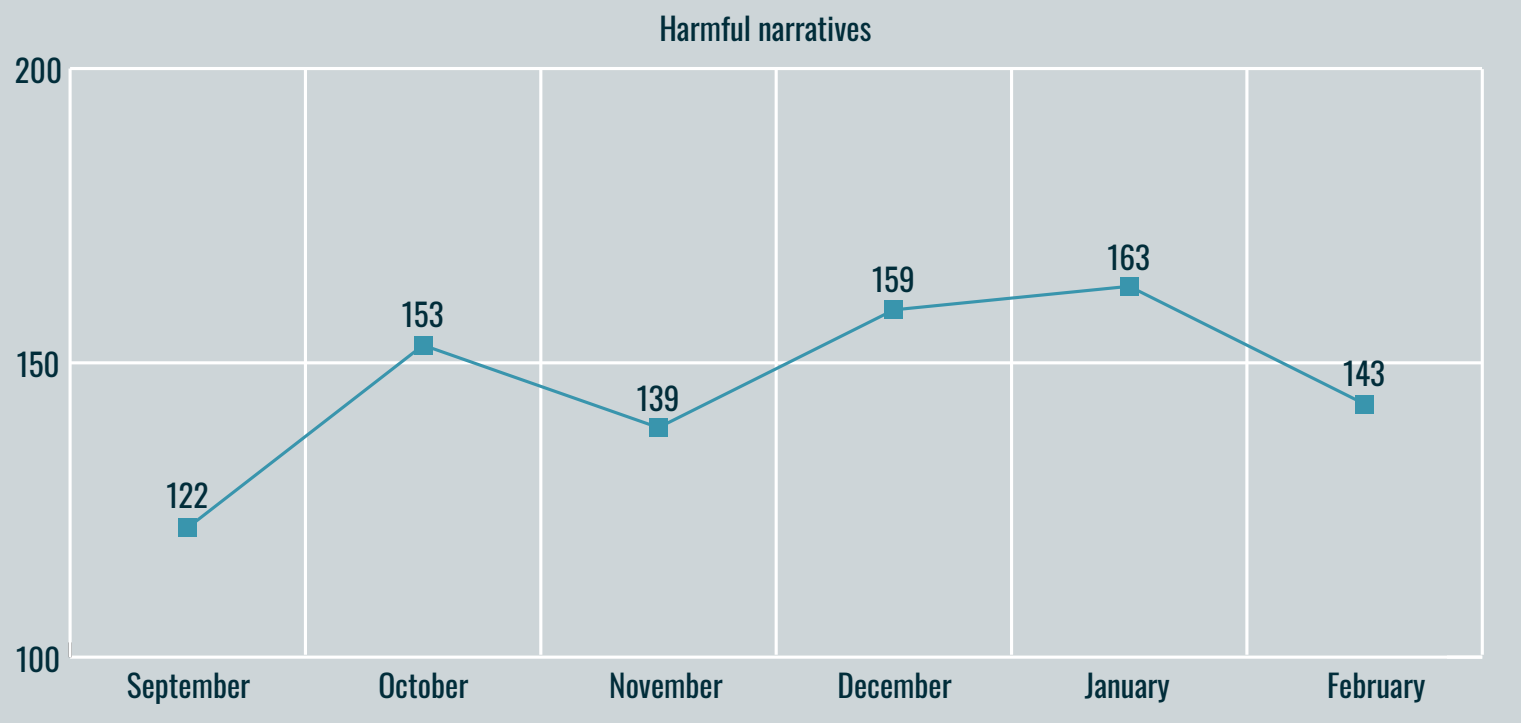
Figure No. 28 How many times per month were harmful narratives broadcast?

A general intensity of harmfulness was also calculated, which represents the number of harmful narratives present in one article. It is 1.8 for all analysed TV stations. This means that television stations on average broadcast almost two harmful narratives per article.

Types of harmful narratives

Out of total16 harmful narratives that were the focus of the research, the analysis showed that 14 were used, some very often and some less often. The harmful narratives *Conspiracy Theories* and *Sexism* were the only ones that were not used by any TV station. The top three most frequently used harmful narratives in mainstream TV news coverage were:

I: **Undermining trust in institutions** (319 times or 36% of the total number of harmful narratives refer to undermining trust in institutions)

II: **Biased selection** (225 times or 26% of the total number of harmful narratives means biased selection)

III: **Character attacks/demonization** (121 times or 14% of the total number of harmful narratives mean character attacks/demonization)

These three harmful narratives identified in mainstream news outlets overlap with the same three most commonly used by political actors.

Furthermore, according to the frequency, disinformation follows, accounting for 7% of the narratives, as well as fomenting division and populism accounting for 5% of all recorded harmful narratives on TV stations for the analysed six-month period. The other harmful narratives occur very rarely.

Who "produces the harmful narratives" and how journalists respond to the harmful narratives of political actors

75 % Only the political entity	13 % Only the journalist	12 % Both

0   20   40   60   80   100
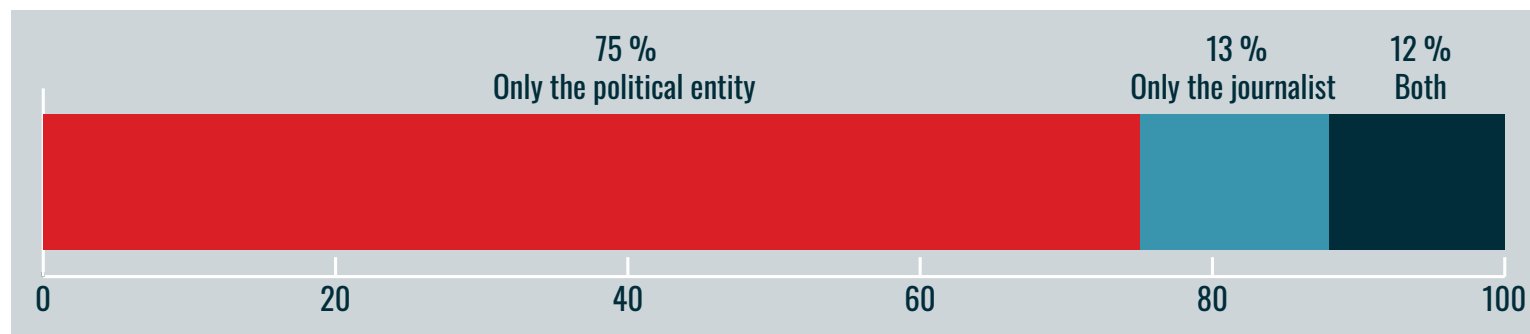
Generally speaking, 75% of the harmful narratives were produced only by the political actors featured in the articles, 13% of the harmful narratives were produced by the journalist, and 12% were produced by both: both the journalist and the political entity featured in the news item.

In the context of the attitude of the journalists in the TV stations towards the political actors who produce the harmful narrative, it can be said that in 65% of the cases when the political actor produces a harmful narrative, the journalist broadcasts it without any intervention, in 17% of the cases the journalist clearly points it out, but does not take a side, in 15% the journalist passes on the harmful narrative of the political subject with approval and in 3% of the cases the journalist acts with condemnation and/or criticism towards the harmful narrative of the political actor.

65,4 – Journalist broadcasts it without intervention
16,9 – Journalist clearly underlines it, but does not take side
14,9 – Journalist broadcasts it with approval
2,8 – Journalist broadcasts it with a condemnation/criticism
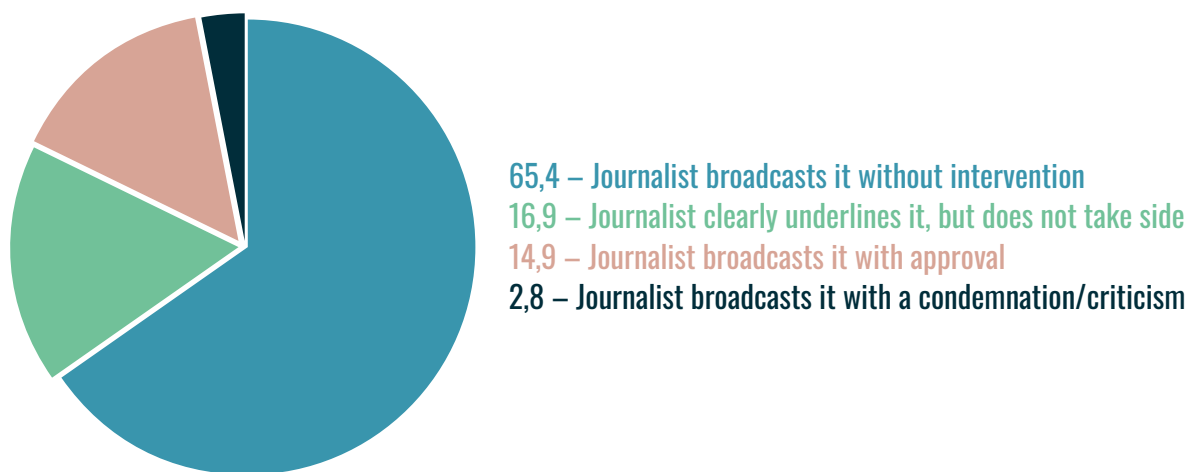
Figure No. 29 What is the attitude of the journalist when broadcasting the harmful narrative?

What is the harmful narrative 'packaged' in?

The most common genre of harmful articles is the report (32.4% of articles) or the analytical-report article (30%).

Main theme in news items with harmful narratives

Usually, the main topic in the articles with a harmful narrative is domestic politics, but there are also a certain number of articles where the main topic is in the field of economy, justice and health.

Sources

The sources in the television news items are mostly (constantly throughout the months) accurate.

Regarding the pages shown in the news items, the most are those with one-sided information (51%), followed by those with 2 sides (there are 25.45%), and finally there are news items that include more than one page - 23.6% news items. TV Alfa, the television station with the largest number of news items with harmful narratives contributes the most to this ratio[1].

Regarding the number of sources in the news items, the tendency is the same: those with one source dominate (almost 43% of the total number of news items), followed by those with 3 or more sources (31.6%), and the rarest are those with 2 sources (22 %). Slightly over 3% of the news items have no source. Here too, like in the case with the political parties, the television station that has the largest number of news items contributes the most to this ratio. By the way, most other television stations use 3 or more sources in their reports.

51 % – One-sided
25,4 % – Two sides
23,6 % – Multiple sides
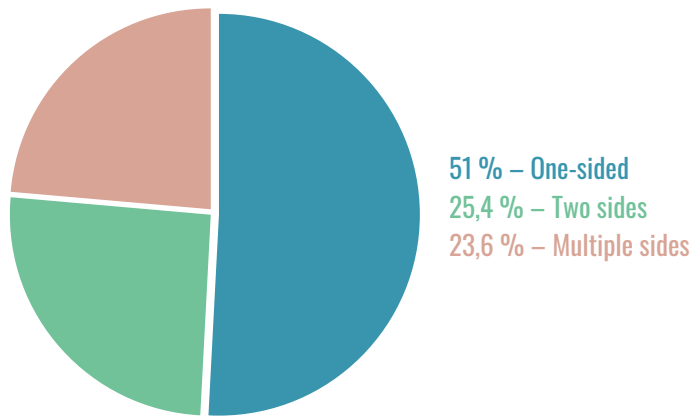
Figure No. 30 Sides in reporting

42,9 % - One source
31,6 % - Three and more sources
22,1 % - Two sources
3,4 % - No source
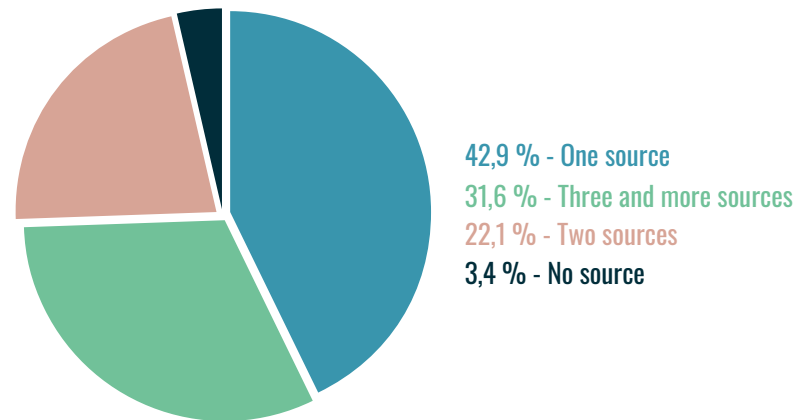
Figure No. 31 Number of sources in news items

On the following pages there are individual profiles of the television stations, showing information on the number of published news items with harmful narratives, the type, frequency and intensity of the harmful narratives, the instigators of the harmful narrative and what the attitude of the journalist is towards the harmful narrative by the political actor. Dominant themes, most common genres and sources (number, type and side of sources) will also be shown.

....

[2]   TV Alfa has a total of 182 news items with a harmful narrative in this six-month period, which is almost 38% of the total number of news items with harmful narratives among all nine monitored TV stations. If TV Alfa is excluded, the situation with the number of sides shown in the news items, as well as the number of sources, changes: without the news items from TV Alfa, news items in which one side is shown are 39.5%, news items in which two sides are shown are 29.5% and news items in which more than one page is shown are 31%.

INDIVIDUAL TV STATION PROFILES
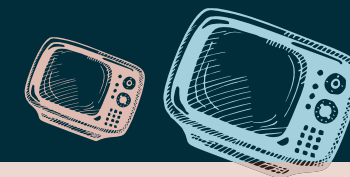
MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN HARMFUL NARRATIVE NEWS ITEMS

53,7 % | 17 % | 9,8 % | 19,5 %
0 — 100

Domestic politics - in 53.7 %
Crime - in 17 %
Judiciary - in 9.8 %
Other topics - in 19.5 %
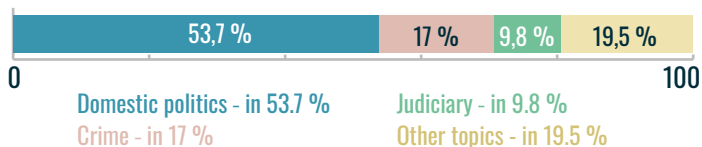
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES PUBLISHED

In 6 months: 41 news items
November and December with the highest frequency (half of the total number)
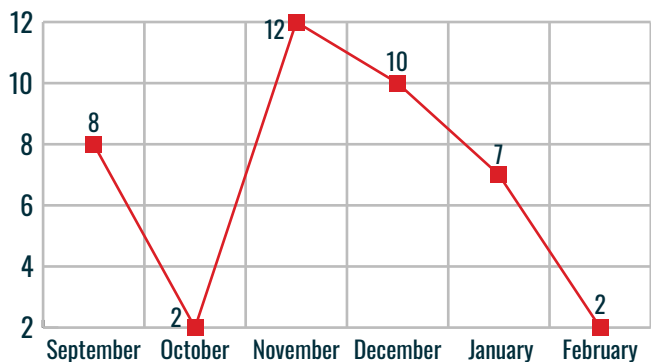
Chart values: September 8, October 2, November 12, December 10, January 7, February 2

Score of harmfulness: 1.5 harmful narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Dimitar Kovachevski — 9 NEWS ITEMS
- VMRO DPMNE — 11 NEWS ITEMS
- SDSM — 11 NEWS ITEMS
- Hristijan Mickoski — 8 NEWS ITEMS
- Talat Djaferi — 5 NEWS ITEMS
- DUI — 5 NEWS ITEMS
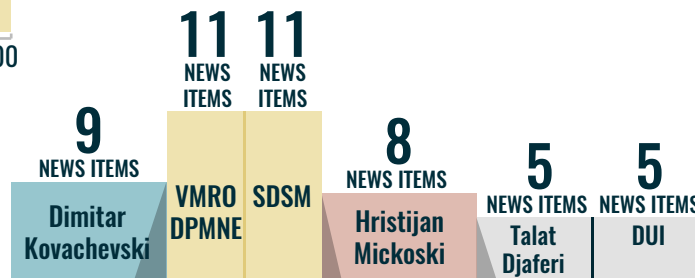
NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

MTV 1 in 6 months, in 41 reports, broadcast harmful narratives 61 times

- Undermining trust in the institutions — 27 times
- Biased selection — 19 times
- Character attacks and/or demonization — 7 times
- Populism — 5 times
- Fomenting divisions — 3 times

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
- One-sided – in 39.4%
- Multiple sides – in 33.3%
- Two sides – in 27.3%

Number of sources
- Three or more sources – in 39.4%
- With one source – in 33.3%
- With two sources - in 27.3%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

- Analytical-reporting news item – in 39%
- News/news with a statement – in 22%
- Report – in 25%
- Other genres in 14%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Only the political actor – 88.9%
- The two - 9.2%
- Only the journalist – 1.9%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 98%
The journalist clearly points it out, but does not take sides - 2%

In six months, 41 news items with a harmful narrative were recorded on MTV 1. In them, the trust in the institutions is unfoundedly undermined, there are character attacks and biased selection towards political opponents.

Almost 90% of the harmful narratives are generated only by the political actors, and the journalist mainly conveys them without any intervention.

Harmful narratives are mainly about domestic politics, but harmful narratives are also created when talking about crime and justice. Genre-based, they are usually packaged in an analytical-reportage news item, a report and news item/news item with a statement.

The news items of MTV 1 are dominated by multi-sided information (two sides - 27.3 % and more parties - 33.3 %). Two or more sources are consulted in two thirds of the news items.

The harmful narratives broadcast on MTV 1 are mostly about the biggest political parties (VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM and DUI) and their leaders.

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

| 64,1 % | 13,2 % | 7,5 % | 15,2 % |

0 — 100

Domestic politics in 64.1%
Economics in 13.2%
Foreign policy in 7.5%
Other topics in 15.2%
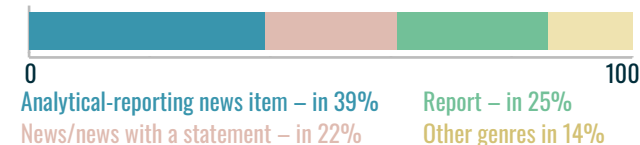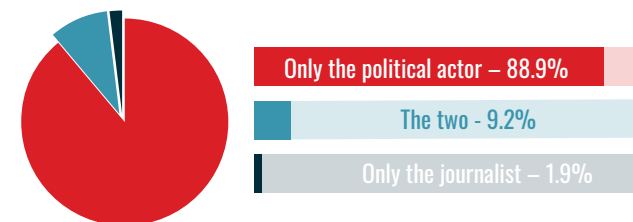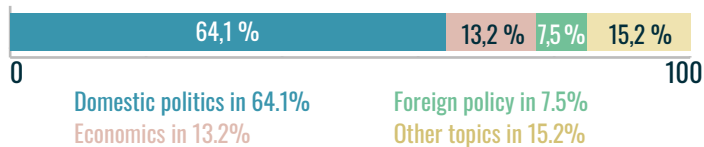
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 53 news items,
highest number of news items (17) in December
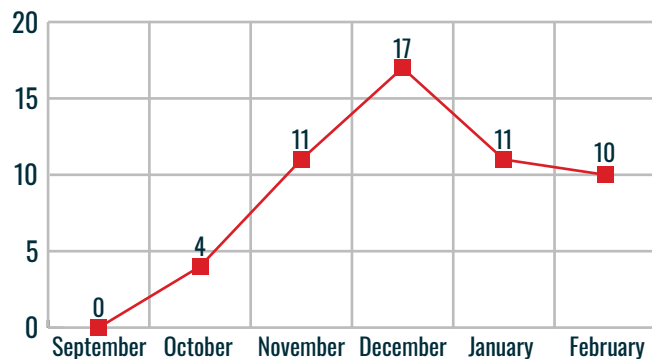
September 0
October 4
November 11
December 17
January 11
February 10

Score of harmfulness: 1.6 harm narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

10 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
19 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
8 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski
5 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
5 NEWS ITEMS — Government
4 NEWS ITEMS — Ali Ahmeti

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

MTV 2 in six months, in 53 news items,
broadcast harmful narratives 84 times

22 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
22 times — Biased selection
12 times — Disinformation
9 times — Character attacks and/or demonization
6 times — Populism
6 times — Fomenting divisions

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides

Multiple sides – in 35.8%
Two sides – in 35.8%
One-sided – in 28.3%

Number of sources

With three or more sources – in 49.1%
With two sources - in 32%
With one source – in 18.9%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Report – in 86.8%
Interview – in 5.7%
News/news with a statement – in 7.5%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 94.1%
Only the journalist – 4.4%
The two - 1.5%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR
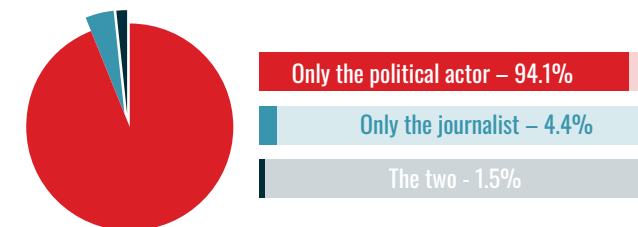
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 100%

In 6 months, 53 news items with a harmful narrative were recorded on MTV 2, which unfoundedly undermine trust in the institutions, biasedly select and attack the person, but also spread disinformation.

Over 90% of the harmful narratives are generated only by political actors, and the journalist broadcasts them without any intervention.

Most often, harmful narratives are about domestic politics, and much less often about economics and foreign policy. The most common genre of harmful narratives is the report, while news and interview are less common.

In the news items of MTV 2, multi-faceted information dominates. In about one third (28.3%) of the news items, only one side is shown. In more than three quarters (81.1%) of the news items, several sources were consulted.

The harmful narratives broadcast on MTV 2 are mostly about VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM and their leaders.
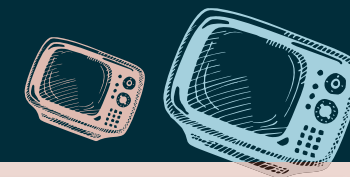
HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON KANAL 5

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

58 %	9,7 %	9,7 %	9,7 %	12,9 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics in 58 %
Foreign policy in 9.7 %
Economy in 9.7 %
Crime in 9.7 %
Other topics in 12.9 %
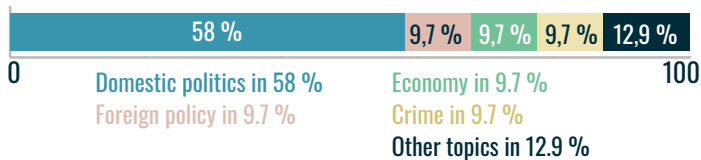
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 31 news items
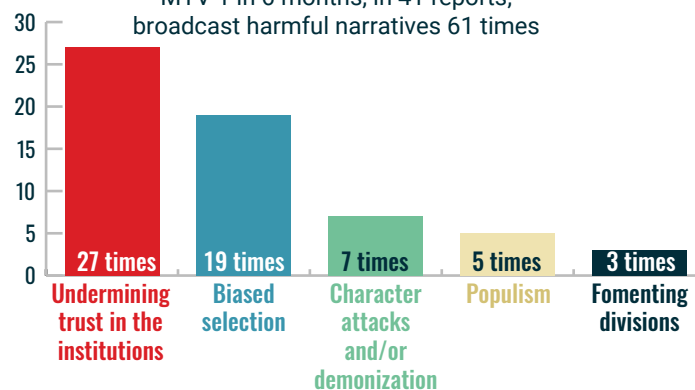There are the least news items in September and October, and the most in January
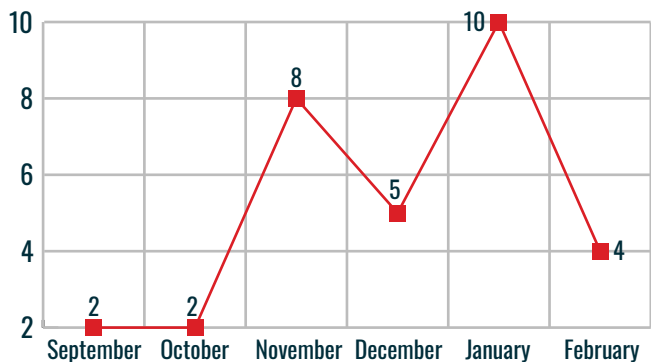
Score of harmfulness: 2.4 harmful narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW ANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

5 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
12 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski
4 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Kanal 5 in six months, in 31 reports, broadcast harmful narratives 74 times

- Undermining trust in the institutions — 24 times
- Biased selection — 12 times
- Fomenting divisions — 10 times
- Disinformation — 8 times
- Character attacks and/or demonization — 8 times

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
- Multiple sides – in 45.2%
- One-sided – in 38.7%
- Two sides – in 16.1%

Number of sources
- With three or more sources – in 45.2%
- With one source - in 38.7%
- With two sources – in 16, 1%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

- Report – in 51.6%
- Broadcast speech of a politician – in 29%
- Other (other) genres – in 19.4%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Only the political actor – 88.3%
- The two - 11.7%
- Only the journalist – none

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR

- The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 95%
- The journalist approves – 5%
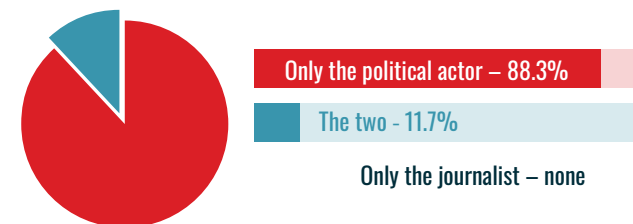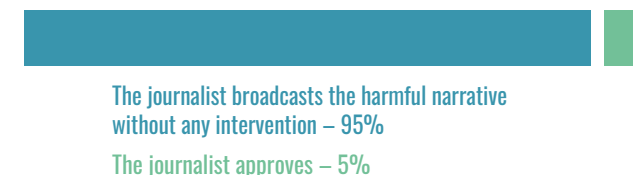
In 6 months, 31 reports with a harmful narrative were recorded on Kanal 5, which unfoundedly undermine trust in the institutions, make biased selections, but also incite divisions, attack the person and spread disinformation.

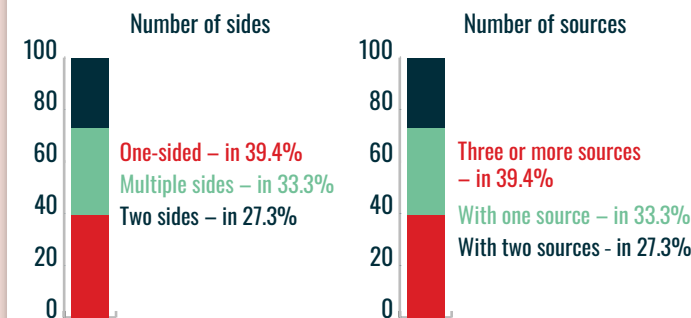Nearly 90% of the harmful narratives are generated only by the political actor, and the journalist mainly broadcasts them without any intervention, but in a small number (5%) of cases broadcasts them with approval.

The most common topic of harmful narratives is domestic politics, but foreign policy, the economy, and crime are also among the more common topics. Two genres occur most often-half of the news items are in the form of a report, while in almost 30% the speech of a politician is broadcast.

Relatively multi-sided information is provided in the news items of Kanal 5, although the number of news items in which one-sided information is provided is not small (38.7%). Two or more sources are consulted in almost two-thirds of the news items, and only one source is in one-third of the news items.

Harmful narratives broadcast on Kanal 5 usually refer to different actors, but more often than other actors, they are about Prime Minister Dimitar Kovachevski, and then also about the leader of VMRO-DPMNE.

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

55,1 %	14,3 %	10,2 %	8,2 %	12,2 %

0   100

Domestic politics in 55.1%
Foreign policy in 14.3%
Judiciary in 10.2%
Economy in 8.2%
Other topics in a total of 12.2%
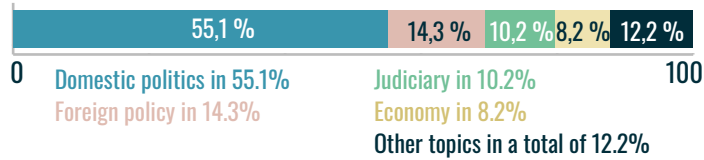
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 49 news items,
the fewest news items are in November, while in the
other five months they are relatively evenly represented

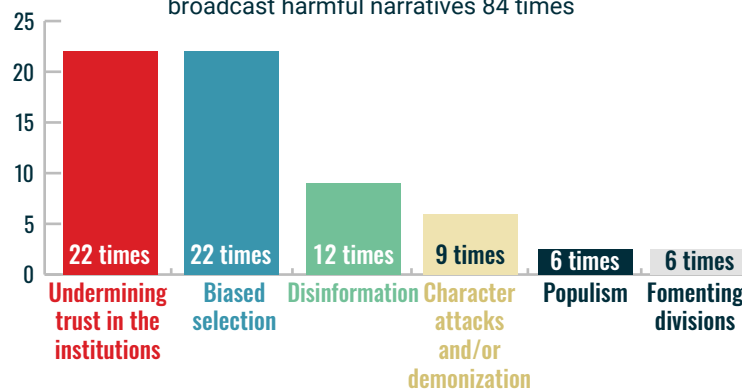September: 8, October: 8, November: 4, December: 10, January: 10, February: 9
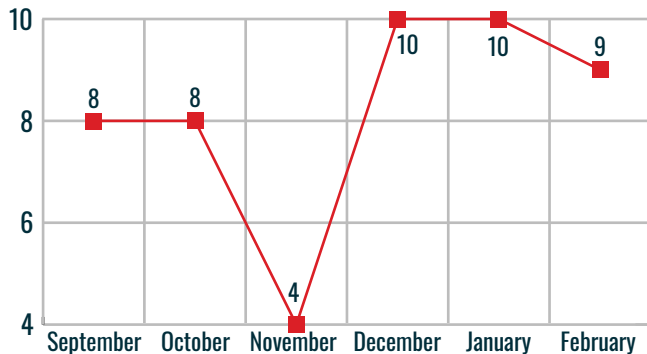
Score of harmfulness: 2.1 harmful narratives per news item

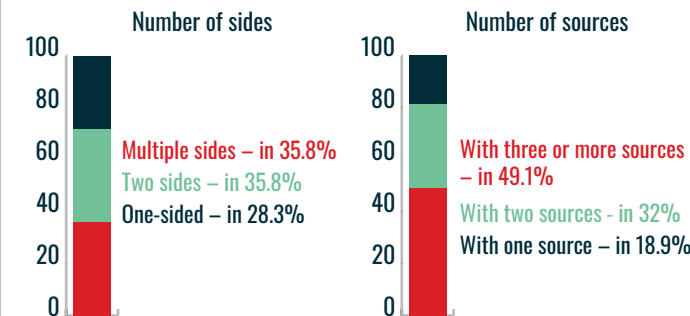## WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

10 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski
14 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
14 NEWS ITEMS — Government
7 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
5 NEWS ITEMS — Opposition

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months, in 49 articles,
Sitel broadcast harmful narratives 102 times

42 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
34 times — Biased selection
9 times — Disinformation
8 times — Character attacks and/or demonization

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND PREVALENCE OF SIDES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVEA

Number of sides

One-sided – in 39%
Two sides – in 36.6%
Multiple pages – in 24.4%

Number of sources

With one source – in 36.6%
With three or more sources – in 36.6%
With two sources - in 26.8%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0   100

Analytical-reporting news item – in 51%
Report – in 14.3%
News/news with statement – in 10.2%
Broadcast speech of a politician – in 10.2%
Other genres – in 14.3%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 65.7%
The two - 20.9%
Only the journalist – 18.4%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR

The journalist clearly points it out, but does not take sides - 43.1%
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 39.7%
The journalist approves – 15.5%
The journalist condemns – 1.7%

In the course of the six months, 49 news items with a harmful narrative were identified as aired by TV Sitel, that unfoundedly undermine trust in the institutions, have biased selection, but also spread disinformation, as well as character attacks on political opponents.

Almost two-thirds of the harmful narratives are generated by the political actor alone. About a fifth of them are produced by the journalist alone and a same amount are co-created. At the same time, the journalist mainly broadcasts them without any intervention and clearly without the journalist taking sides, but a relatively significant number (15.5%) of the harmful narratives are broadcast by the journalist with approval.

Harmful narratives are mainly on topics of domestic politics, and a little less often on topics such as foreign policy, justice and economy. Genre-wise, half of the news items are analytical-reportage news items, followed by a report, news or broadcast speech of a politician.

In about 60% of the news items, several stakeholders are represented, and in more than one third the reporting is one-sided. Similarly, the most common are news items in which two or more sources are consulted.

The harmful narratives broadcast to Sitel mostly refer to the government, VMRO-DPMNE, as well as the prime minister and the leader of VMRO-DPMNE.

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

46,9 %	21,9 %	12,4 %	9,4 %	9,4 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics in 46.9%
Health in 21.9%
Judiciary in 12.4%
Foreign policy in 9.4%
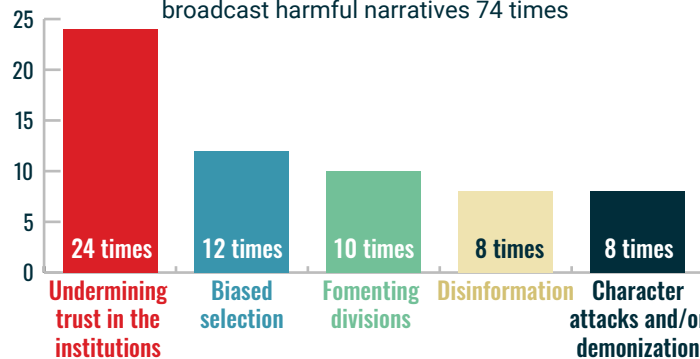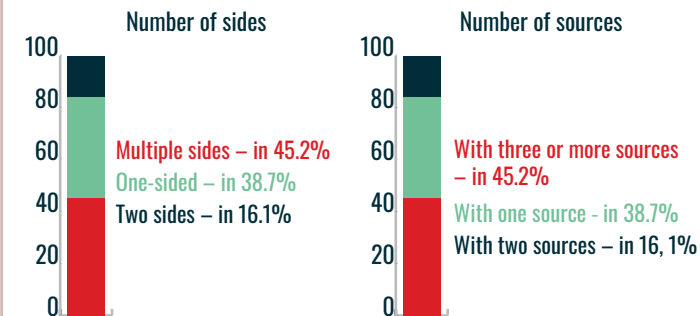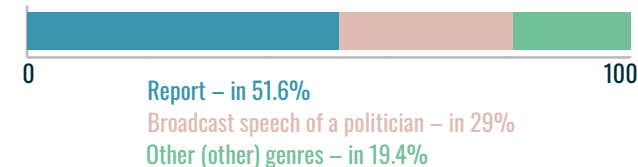Other topics in 9.4%
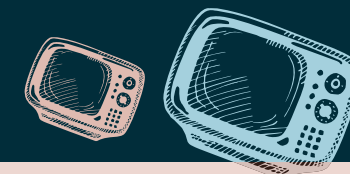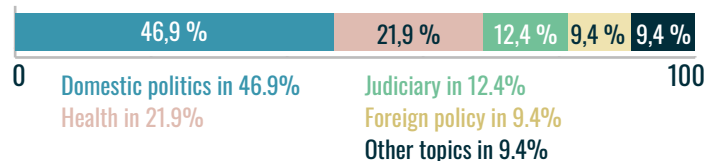
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months: 32 news items
There are the most news items in September,
in the other months it is in the same number

Month	Value
September	11
October	5
November	4
December	4
January	4
February	4
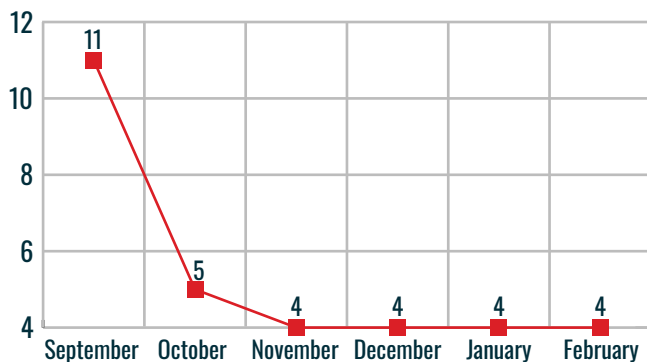
Score of harmfulness: 2.5 harm narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

7 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO-DPMNE
4 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
4 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski
4 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
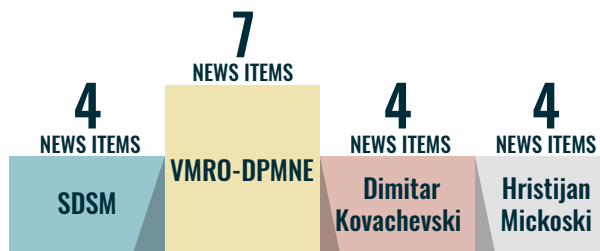
NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months, in 32 articles, Telma broadcast harmful
narratives 80 times

Type	Times
Undermining trust in the institutions	21 times
Biased selection	18 times
Disinformation	9 times
Character attacks and/or demonization	9 times

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

### NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
Two sides – in 52.4%
One-sided – in 23.8%
Multiple sides – in 23.8%

Number of sources
With three or more sources – in 47.6%
With two sources - in 42.9%
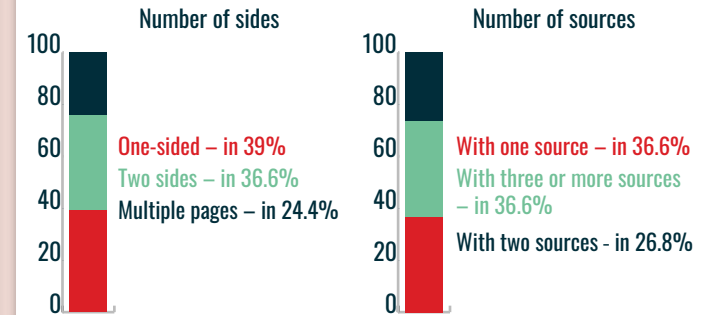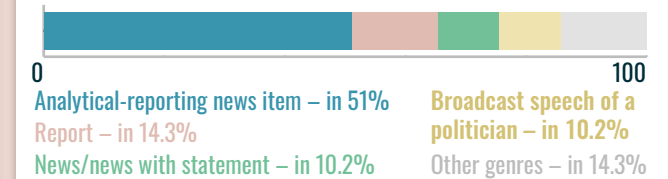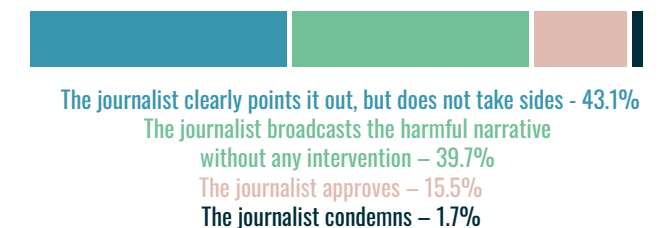With one source – in 9.5%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Report – in 62.5%
Analytical-reporting news item – in 15.6%
News/news with a statement – in 12.5%
Other genres – in 9.4%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 98.2%
The two - 1.8%
Just the reporter – none

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 65.5% of the harmful narratives
The journalist clearly points it out, but does not take sides - 30.9%
The journalist condemns it – 3.6%

Over the six months of monitoring a total of 32 news items with a harmful narrative were identified as broadcast on Telma TV. Most of the time, trust in the institutions is unfoundedly undermined in them, biased selection is made, but disinformation is also spread, as well as character attacks of political opponents.

Almost all (98.2%) of the harmful narratives are generated only by political actors. The journalist mainly conveys these narratives without intervention and without taking sides, but in a small number of cases (3.6%) the journalist reports them with condemnation and/or criticism.

Almost half of the articles with a harmful narrative are about domestic politics, but also about health, judiciary and foreign policy. For the most part, the genre of the news items is report and analytical-reportage article, and less (12.5%) is news.

In three quarters of the news items, the journalist provides information from multiple sources and in over 80% of the news items, two or more sources are consulted.

The harmful narratives broadcast by Telma mostly refer to the two largest political parties (SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE) and their leaders.

HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON ALSAT M

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

61,1 % | 8,3 % | 8,3 % | 5,6 % | 16,7 %

0 — 100

- Domestic politics in 61.1%
- Judiciary in 8.3%
- Education in 8.3%
- Health in 5.6%
- Other topics in 16.7%
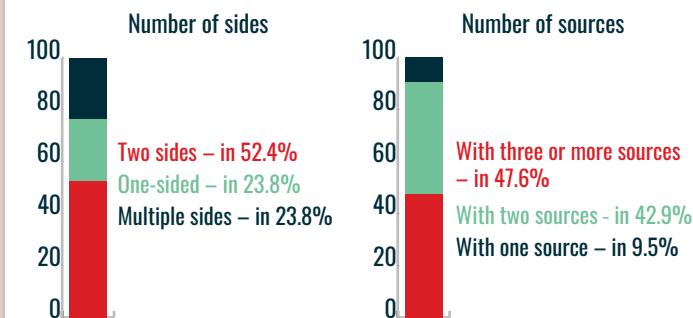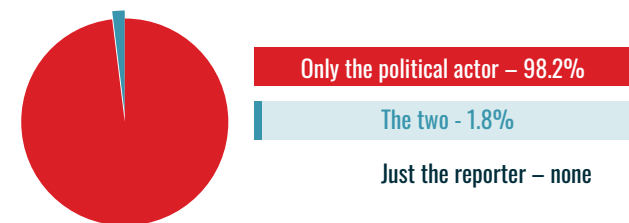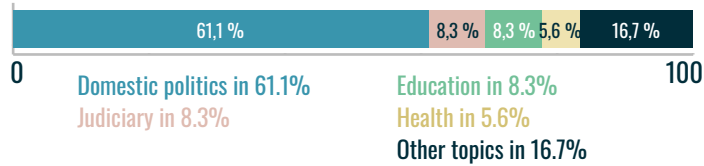
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 36 news items
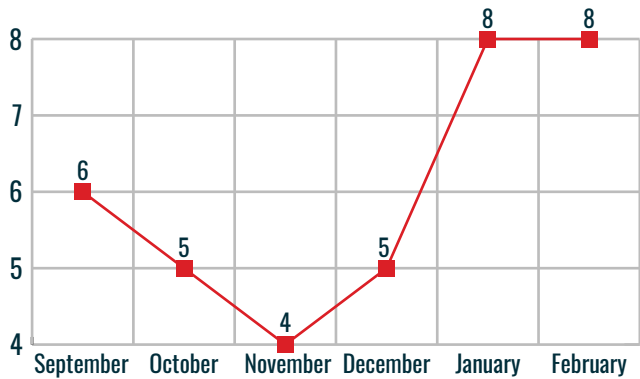
Values: September 6, October 5, November 4, December 5, January 8, February 8

Score of harmfulness: 1.6 harmful narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- 13 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
- 17 NEWS ITEMS — Authorities
- 11 NEWS ITEMS — DUI

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months, Alsat M broadcast harmful narratives 58 times in 36 articles
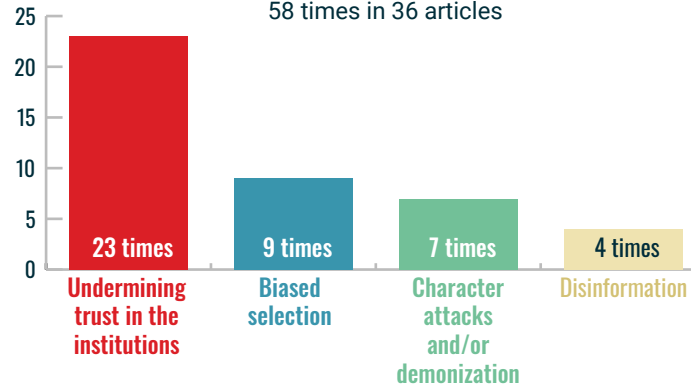
- 23 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
- 9 times — Biased selection
- 7 times — Character attacks and/or demonization
- 4 times — Disinformation

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF SIDES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides:
- One-sided – in 76.7%
- Two sides – in 20%
- Multiple sides – in 3.3%

Number of sources:
- With one source – in 73.3%
- With two sources - in 16.7%
- With three or more sources – in 10%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

- Report – in 36.1%
- Interview – in 25%
- Broadcast post – in 13.9%
- Broadcast speech of a politician – in 11.1%
- Other genres – in 13.9%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Only the political actor – 90.7%
- The two - 5.6%
- Only the journalist – 3.7%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR
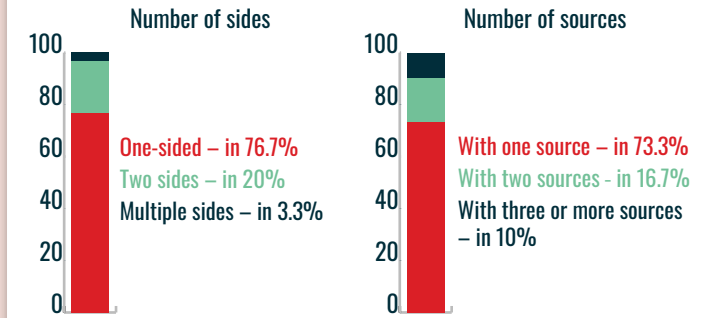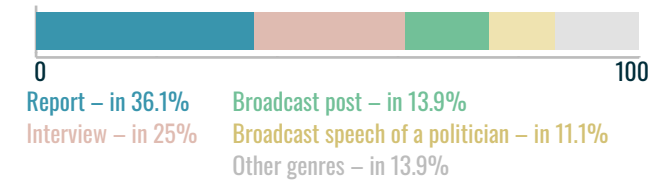
- The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 92.3%
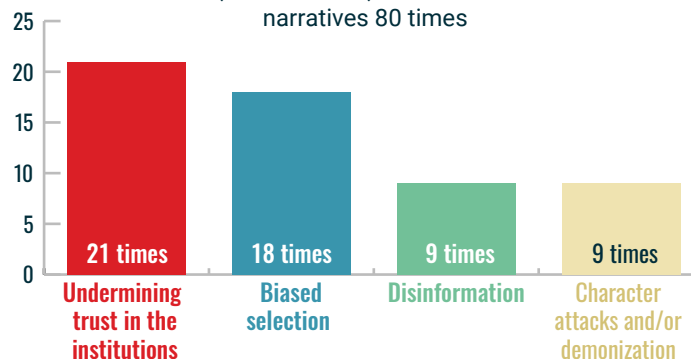- The journalist approves – 7.7%
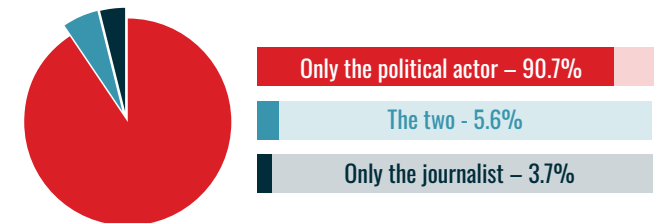
During the six months, 36 news items with a harmful narrative were recorded as broadcast by Alsat M. In them, trust in the institutions is often unfoundedly undermined, there are character attacks on political opponents, there is biased selection and spreading disinformation.

Most of the harmful narratives are produced by political actors. At the same time, the television mainly broadcasts them without any intervention, but 8% of the harmful narratives of the political actors are broadcast by the journalist with approval.

In the news items with harmful narratives, the topics that appear most often are related to domestic politics, and then to justice, education and health. More than half of the news items are in the form of a report and an interview, and then in the form of a broadcast post and a broadcast speech of a politician.

In most of the news items (76.6%), one-sidedness in the information can be noted. Also, for the most part (73.3%) during the preparation of the news items, information is obtained from only one source.

Harmful narratives broadcast on Alsat M mostly refer to the government, Hristijan Mickoski and DUI.

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

60,4 %	11 %	5,5 %	17,6 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics in 60.4%
Economy in 11%
Crime in 5.5%
Health in 5.5%
Other topics in 17.6%
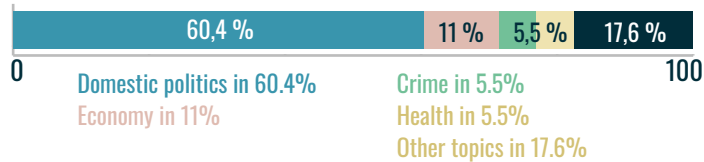
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 182 news items
The lowest number in November and December, highest in February
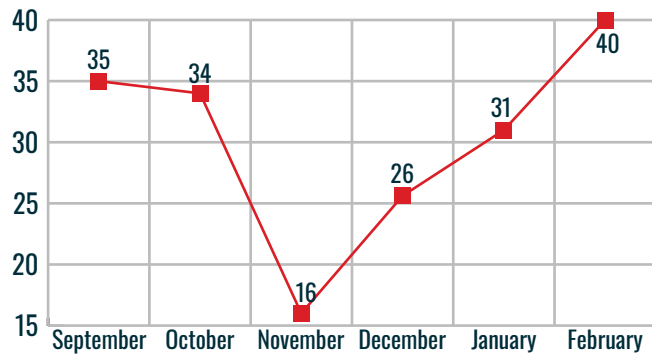
Score of harmfulness: 1.8 harmful narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

36 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski
48 NEWS ITEMS — The Government
27 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
12 NEWS ITEMS — DUI
11 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
11 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
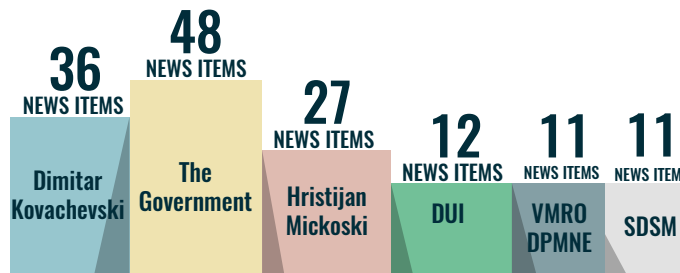
NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Alfa in six months, in 182 news items, broadcast harmful narratives 327 times

134 times	92 times	53 times	13 times
Undermining trust in the institutions	Biased selection	Character attacks and/or demonization	Populism

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF SIDES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVEA

Source pages
One-sided – in 73.7%
Two sides – in 17.3%
Multiple sides – in 9%

Number of sources
With one source – in 60.6%
With two sources - in 17 %
With three or more sources – in 12.9%
The source is not indicated - in 9.5%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Analytical-reporting news item – in 54.9%
Broadcast speech of a politician – in 17.6%
Broadcast post – in 6.6%
Analysis/commentary – in 6%
Other genres – in 14.9%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 50%
Only the journalist – 28.6%
The two - 21.4%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR

The journalist approves – 37.4%
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 29.5%
The journalist clearly points it out, but does not take sides - 25.8%
The journalist condemns and/or criticizes him – 7.4%

During the six months of monitoring, 182 news items with a harmful narrative were recorded as aired by Alfa, which unfoundedly undermine trust in the institutions, have biased selection, and character attacks on political opponents.

Only at TV Alfa, 50% of the harmful narratives are created either by the journalist (28.6%), or co-created by the journalist and the political actor (21.4%), while the remaining 50% are by the politicians. In doing so, the journalist in most cases approves the indicator of the harmful narrative produced by the political actor and only then broadcasts it without any intervention and clearly without taking sides. A smaller number (7.4%) of the harmful narratives convey condemnation and/or criticism.
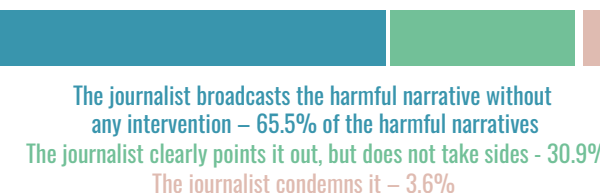
One-sided information dominates (in 73.7% of the news items, only one side is shown). Similarly, most often (60.6%) only one source is consulted in the news items. Three or more sources were consulted in 12.9% of the news items. Alfa is the only television that does not have sources listed in almost 10% of the 'harmful' news items.

The topics that appear most often in the disputed news items are related to domestic politics, and less often to the economy, crime and health. Half of the news items are analytical-reporting news items, followed by the genres shared post or broadcast speech of a politician, and only 6% are analysis/commentary.

Alfa's harmful narratives mostly refer to the government, VMRO-DPMNE, as well as the prime minister and the leader of VMRO-DPMNE.

MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

77,8 %   6,7 %   15,5 %

0   100

Domestic politics in 77.8%   Other topics in 15.5%
Economics in 6.7%
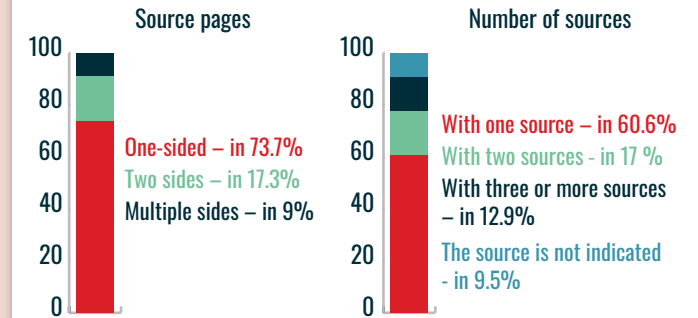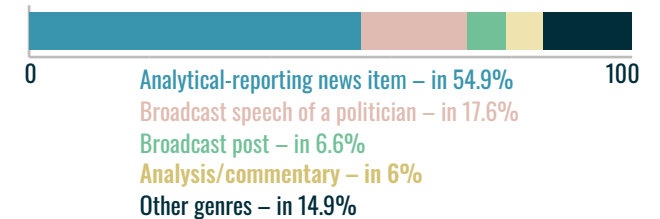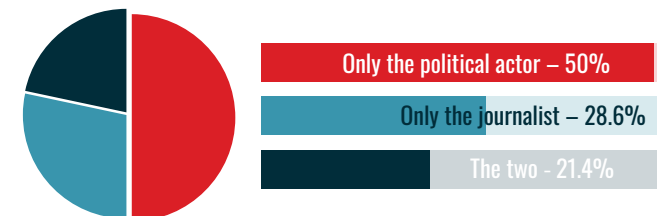
NUMBER OF PUBLISHED NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 45 news items
The fewest news items were in September,
and the most in November and February
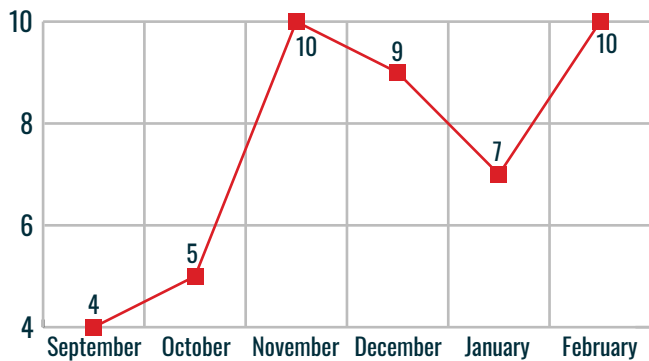
10 — 10

9 — 9

8

7 — 7

6

5 — 5

4 — 4

September October November December January February

Score of harmfulness: 1.6 harm narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

9
NEWS ITEMS

9
NEWS ITEMS

VMRO DPMNE

Dimitar Kovachevski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

TV 21 in six months, in 45 news items,
broadcast harmful narratives 70 times
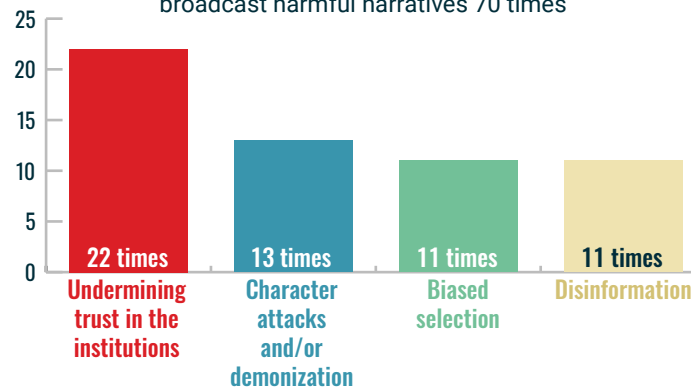
25

20

15

10

5

0

22 times
Undermining trust in the institutions

13 times
Character attacks and/or demonization

11 times
Biased selection

11 times
Disinformation

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides

100
80
60
40
20
0

Multiple sides – in 41.5%
Two sides – in 19.5%
One-sided – in 39%

Number of sources

100
80
60
40
20
0

With three or more sources – in 58.5%
With one source – in 29.3%
With two sources - in 12.2%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0   100

Report – in 75.6%
News/news with statement – in 24.4%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor - 100%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative
without any intervention – 96.4%
The journalist clearly points it out, but does not take sides - 3.6%
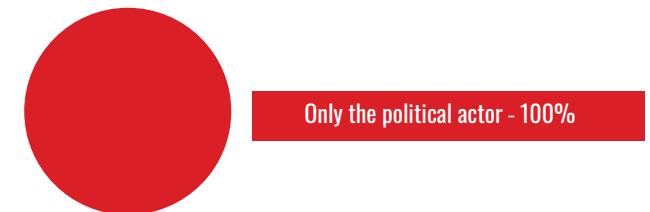
A total of 45 news items with harmful narratives were recorded on TV 21 in the six months. In them, trust in the institutions is unfoundedly undermined, there are character attacks on political opponents and biased selection is made, but disinformation is also spread.

All harmful narratives are generated only by political actors, and the journalist broadcasts them without any intervention and without taking sides.

The dominant themes in the harmful narratives are domestic politics and much less frequently, the economy. The dominant genre (75%) is the report, which news items account for one quarter.

In more than half of the news items, the information is multifaceted. Similarly, in about 70% of the news items, two or more sources are consulted.

The harmful narratives broadcast on TV 21 mostly refer to Dimitar Kovachevski and VMRO-DPMNE.

HARMFUL NARRATIVE ON TV 24 VESTI

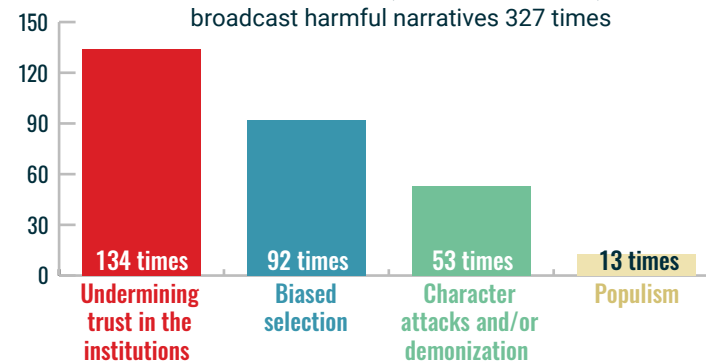## MOST COMMON MAIN THEMES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

80 %   13,3 %   6,7 %

0   100

Domestic politics in 80%   Other topics in 6,7 %
Justice in 13.3%
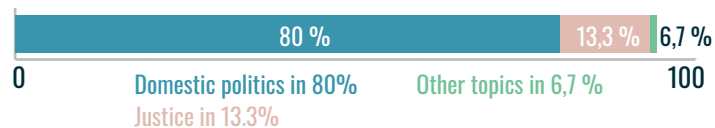
NUMBER OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 15 news items
In November, there is not a single article with a harmful narrative,
and there are the most (8) in January
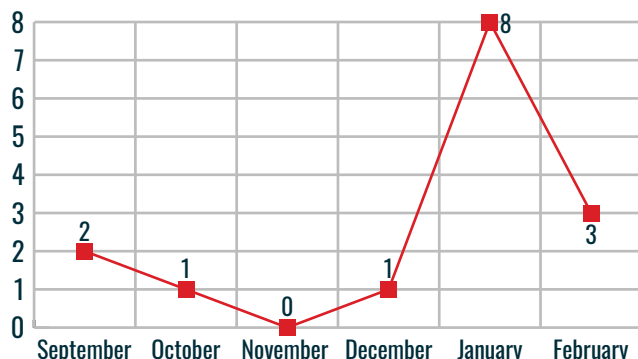
Score of harmfulness: 1.5 harm narrative per news item

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

4 NEWS ITEMS

3 NEWS ITEMS   Hristijan Mickoski

2 NEWS ITEMS

SDSM   Dimitar Kovachevski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

TV 24 Vesti in six months, in 15 news items,
broadcast harmful narratives 23 times
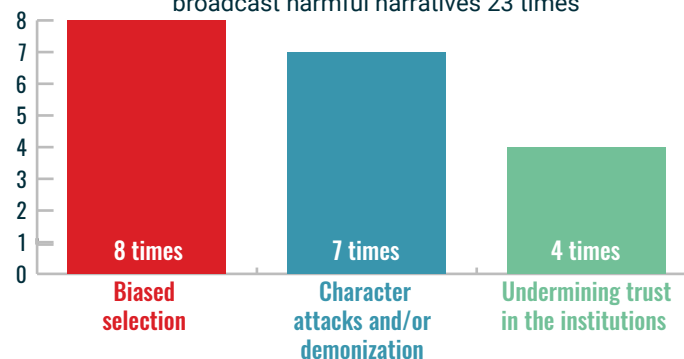
8 times — Biased selection
7 times — Character attacks and/or demonization
4 times — Undermining trust in the institutions

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

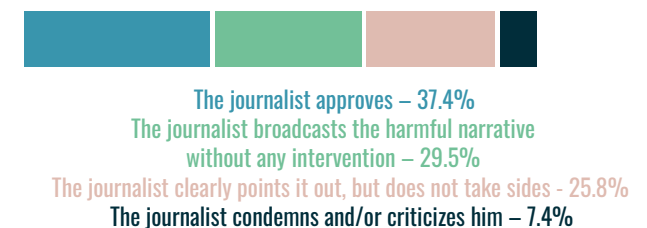### NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF SIDES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides

Multiple sides – in 38.4%
Two sides – in 30.8%
One-sided – in 30.8%

Number of sources

With three or more sources – in 46.1%
With one source – in 30.8%
With two sources – in 23.1%

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0   80

Report – in 33.3%   Broadcast speech of a politician – in 13.3%
Analysis/commentary – in 20%   Interview – in 13.3%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 95.8%

Only the journalist – 4.2%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE OF THE POLITICAL ACTOR
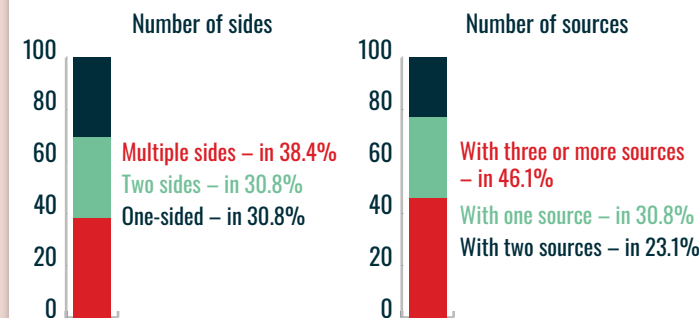
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 43.5%
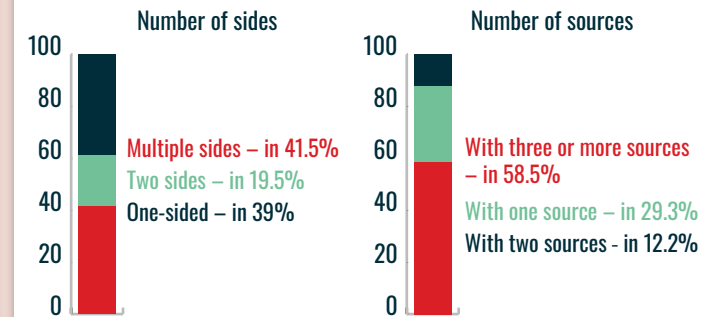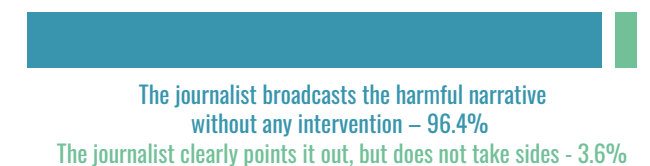The journalist clearly points it out, but does not take sides - 39.1%
The journalist approves – 17.4%
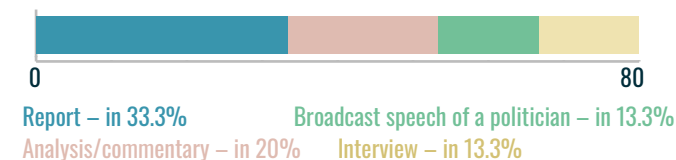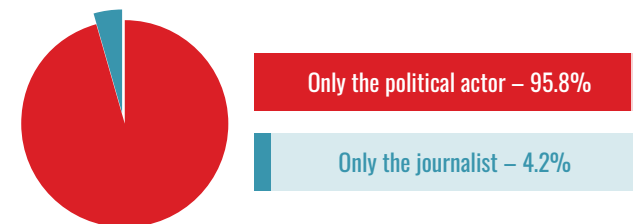
Over the six months, TV 24 Vesti was found to have aired 15 news items with a harmful narrative in which there was unfounded biased selection, but also character attacks on political opponents and undermined trust in the institutions.

Almost all of the harmful narratives are produced only by political actors, but also 4% of them by the journalist. At the same time, the television mainly broadcasts them without any intervention and clearly without the journalist taking sides. However, in a relatively significant number (17.4%) of cases, the journalist reports them with approval.

As the main topic in the articles with a harmful narrative, domestic politics appears in 80% of the articles, followed much less frequently (13%) by the judiciary. Genre-wise, in half of the news items the genre is a report, then an analysis/comment, and then a broadcast speech of a politician or an interview.

The news items generally feature multiple sides, but in a third of the news items, one-sided reporting is noted. Similarly, two or more sources are consulted in the majority (around 70%) of the news items.

The harmful narratives broadcast on TV 24 Vesti mostly refer to Hristijan Mickoski, SDSM and Dimitar Kovachevski.

Comparison by number of news items for 6 months

Number of news items with harmful narrative

TV Station	Number
MTV1	41
MTV2	53
Kanal 5	31
Sitel	49
Telma	32
Alsat M	36
Alfa	182
TV21	45
TV 24	15
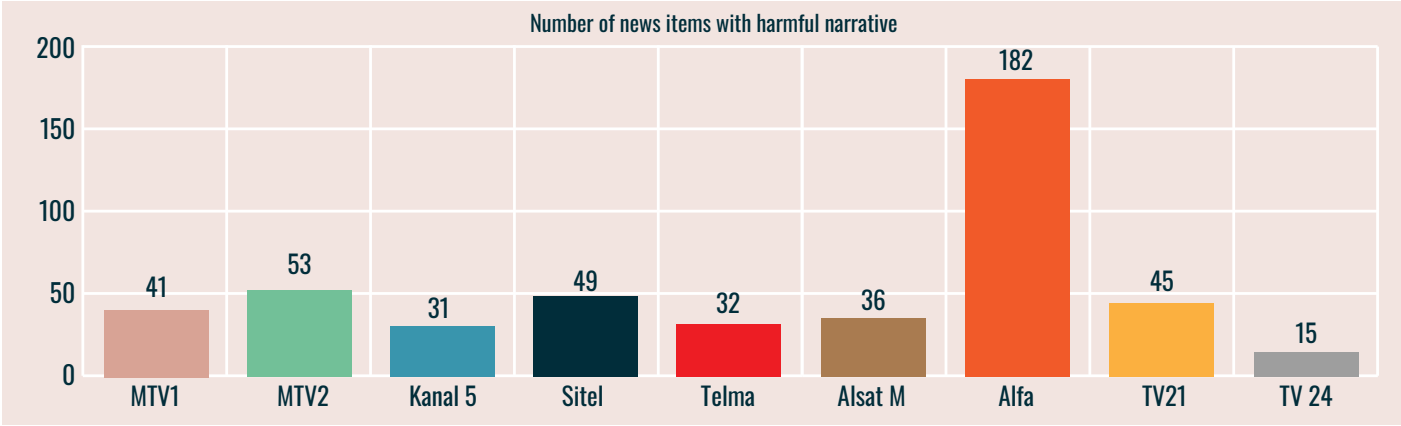
Figure No. 32 Number of news items with harmful narrative by TV station

As it can be seen from the chart, the largest number of television stations published between 36 and 53 items with harmful narratives. Two televisions stand out▢TV 24 Vesti is the only television that published only 15 news items with harmful narratives, while TV Alfa published almost four times more than MTV 2 and 12 times more than TV 24 Vesti.

Comparisons by intensity of harmfulness of the news item

Score of harmfulness

TV Station	Score
Telma	2,5
Kanal 5	2,4
Sitel	2,1
Alfa	1,8
Alsat M	1,6
MTV 2	1,6
TV 21	1,6
TV 24	1,5
MTV 1	1,5
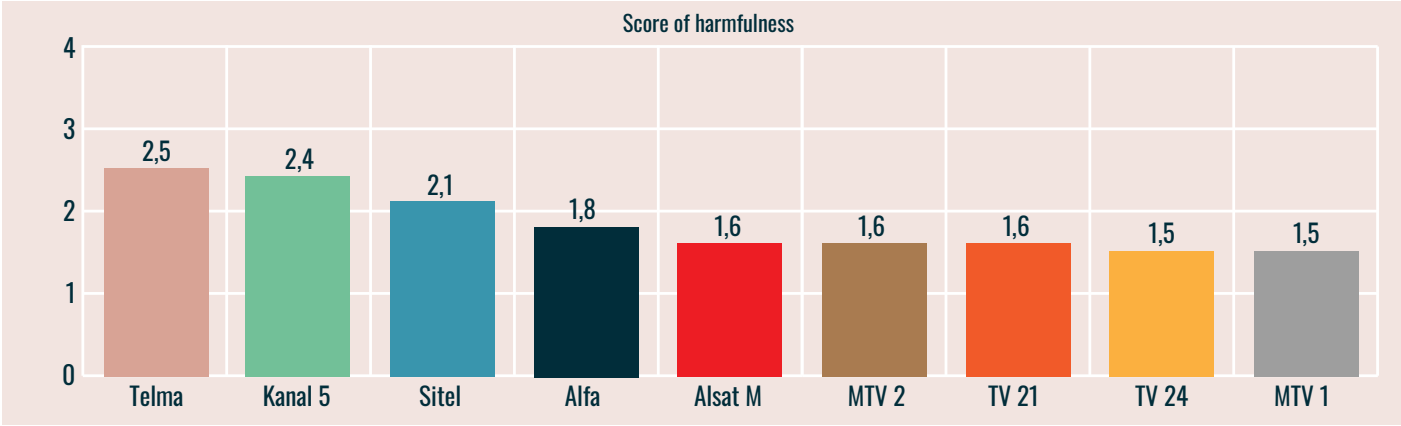
Figure No. 33 Score of harmfulness by TV station

According to the score of harmfulness, MTV 1 and TV 24 Vesti are the lowest, which means that the analysed articles, on average, contain 1.5 harmful narratives in one article, while Telma has the highest, with an average of 2.5 harmful narratives featured per article.

Comparisons by type of harmful narratives

The figure below shows the most common harmful narratives that each of the television stations reported and how many times they broadcast each of those narratives.
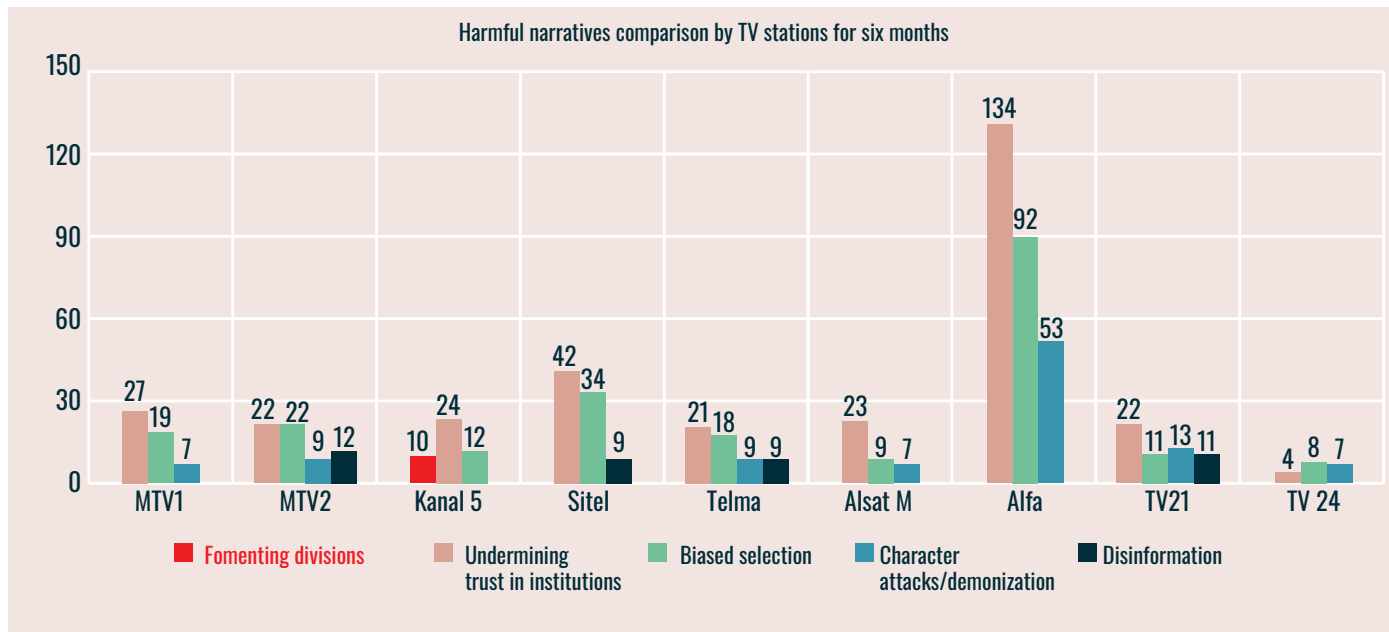
Figure No. 34 Most commonly broadcast harmful narratives by TV station

For all TV stations, the number of times the three most common harmful narratives were broadcast is presented. As can be seen, almost every TV station is dominated by the *undermining of trust in the institutions*, and next to this harmful narrative are the narratives of *biased selection* and *character attacks/demonization*. At Kanal 5, the first 3 most frequent harmful narratives were *fomenting divisions*, while *disinformation occurred in four TV stations*.

Comparison in terms of who is producing the narrative

Who is producing the harmful narrative in the news item comparison by TV station

TV Station	Journalist	Politician	Both
MTV1	2 %	89 %	9 %
MTV2	4 %	94 %	2 %
Kanal 5	0 %	88 %	12 %
Sitel	13 %	66 %	21 %
Telma	0 %	98 %	2 %
Alsat M	4 %	90 %	6 %
Alfa	29 %	50 %	21 %
TV 21	0 %	100 %	0 %
TV 24	4 %	96 %	0 %

■ Journalist ■ Politician ■ Both
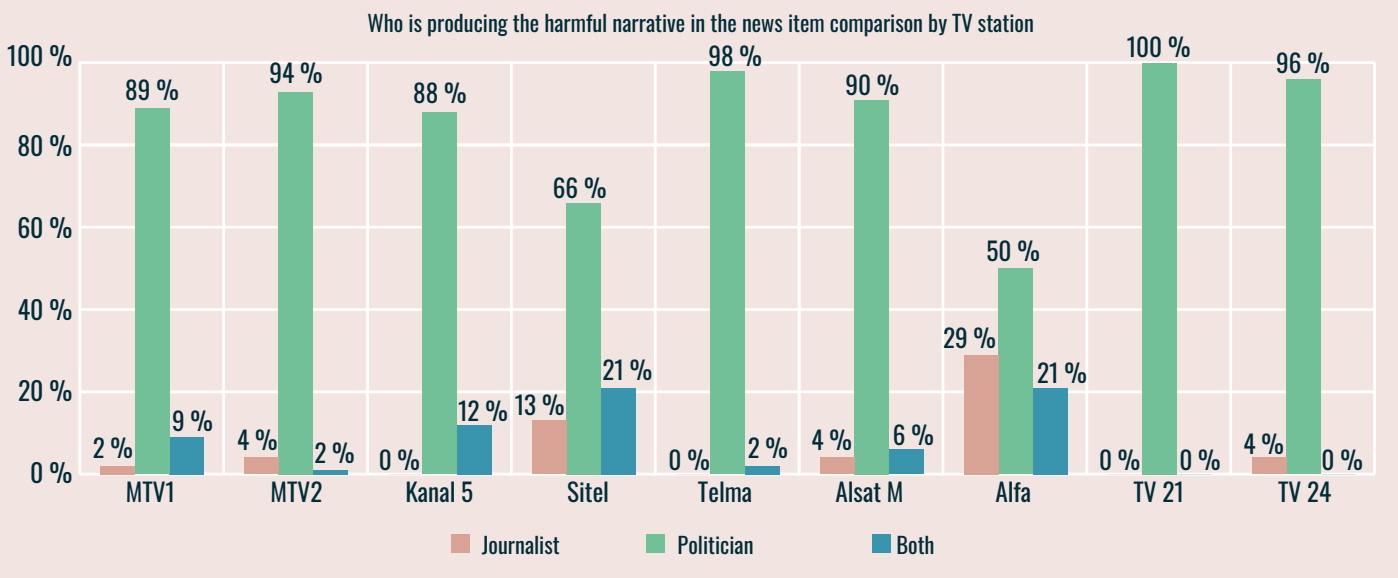
Figure No. 35 Who is producing the harmful narrative in the news item comparison by TV station

Although the harmful narratives are predominantly generated by political actors, there are still TV stations such as Alfa and Sitel where the journalist also appears as a co-creator.

Comparisons between TV stations on the journalist's attitude towards the harmful narrative of the political entity

How does the journalist broadcast the harmful narrative

TV station	No intervention	Does not take a view	Condemnation	Approval
MTV1	98%	2%		
MTV2	100%			
Канал 5	95%			5%
Sitel	38%	43%	2%	16%
Telma	65%	31%	4%	
Alsat M	92%			8%
Alfa	39%	26%	7%	30%
TV 21	96%	4%		
TV 24	43%	39%		17%
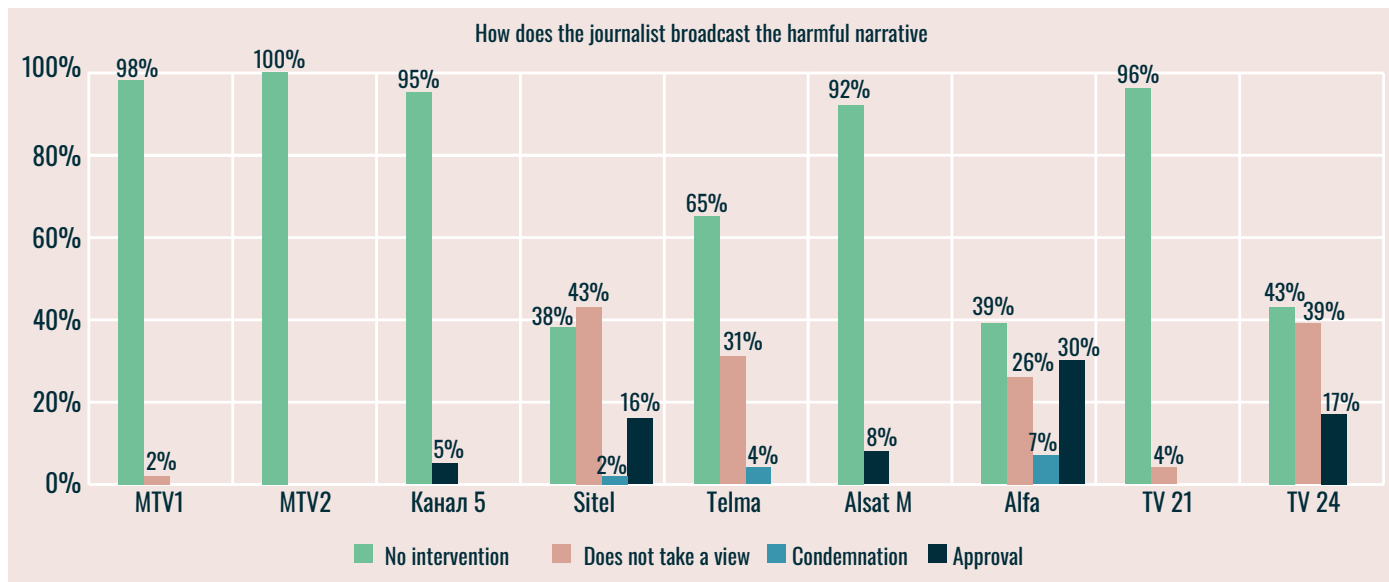
Figure No. 36 What is the journalist's attitude when reporting the harmful narrative

The data shows that the most common attitude of the journalist towards the harmful narrative is that they broadcast the harmful narrative without any intervention and this is the case with all TV stations. However, there are also TVs that, quite often, clearly highlight the harmful narrative without taking sides or broadcast it with approval.

ONLINE MEDIA

Frequency of online media news items with harmful narratives

In the period between September 2023 and February 2024, 11 informative online media outlets were monitored. In total 46 days of monitoring, 1236 news items with harmful narratives were recorded. The lowest number was in October (154), and the highest in January (240).

Total number of posts with a harmful narrative by online media outlet
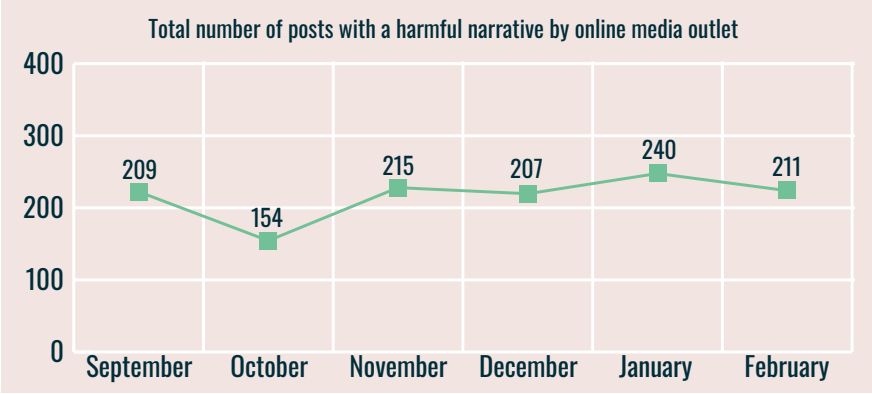
Figure No. 37 Total number of posts with a harmful narrative by online media outlet

Frequency of harmful narratives and score of harmfulness

Content analysis of 1236 articles published by 11 online media confirmed the presence of 2631 harmful narratives. Although the presence of harmful narratives in the six-month analysed period is relatively evenly distributed by month, two specific moments can still be noted - in November there is the highest presence (575), and in February the lowest (330), almost twice (1.7 times) lower compared to November.

Number of broadcast harmful narratives by month
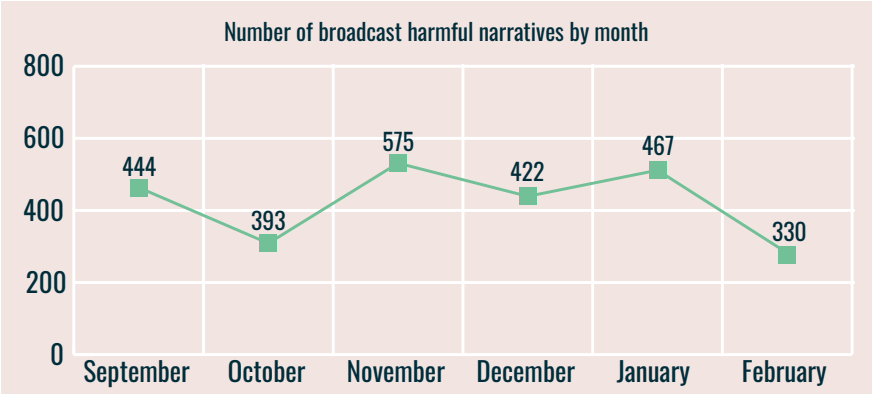
Figure No. 38 Number of broadcast harmful narratives by month

The score of harmfulness was also calculated, which represents the number of harmful narratives present in one news item (post). The greater the number of narratives present, the higher the score of harmfulness. It is 2.1 for all analysed online media. This means that online media outlets publish an average of two harmful narratives per post/news item.

If we analyse again by months, the trend of the movement of the intensity of harmfulness, i.e. the ratio between published articles and the presence of a harmful narrative in them, a gradual decrease in the intensity of harm is recorded from December to February, so that the level from November 2023 to February 2024 is reduced by an average of one narrative.
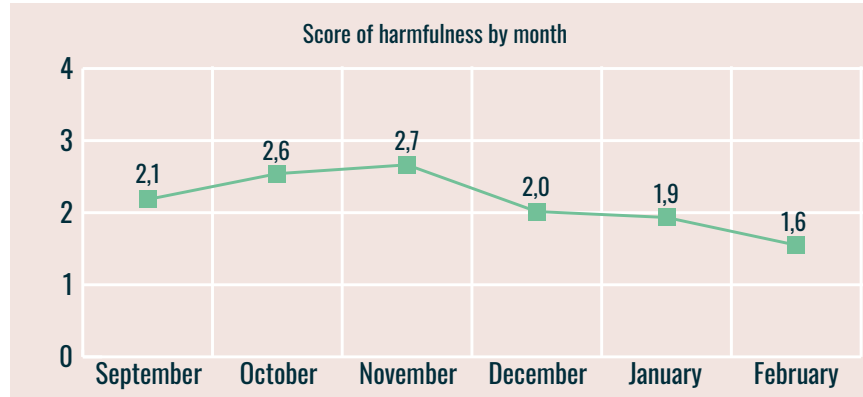
Figure No. 39 Score of harmfulness by month

Types of harmful narratives

The top three most commonly reported harmful narratives during the six-month period are:

➔ Undermining trust in institutions

➔ Biased selection

➔ Character attacks

Furthermore, in terms of frequency, they are also followed by: *Disinformation, Fomenting divisions* and *Populism*.

Who produces the harmful narratives and how journalists respond to the harmful narratives by political actors

In over 80% of the harmful narratives, they are produced by the political actor, in 12% they are produced by both, while the journalist produces them in only 6% of the cases.

82 % Politician

12 % Both
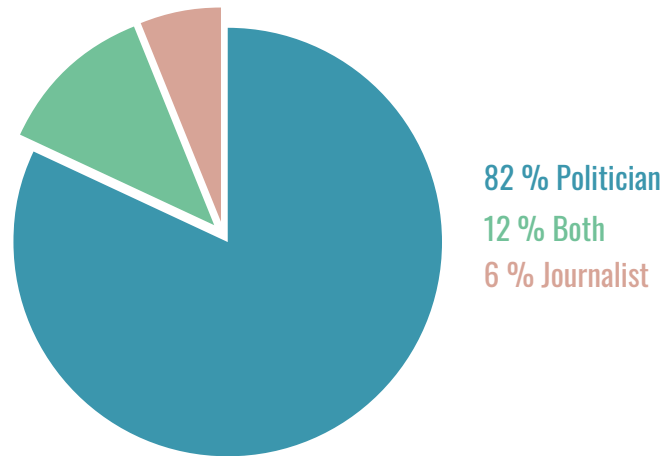
6 % Journalist

Figure No. 40 Who produces the harmful narrative?

In cases where the harmful narrative is produced either by the political actor or by both, most of the time, i.e. in 63% of the reports, the journalist only broadcasts it without intervening during the reporting (behaves as if the media is a bulletin board where political actor communicates their harmful narrative), and in as many as 14% of the articles they approve the harmful narrative occurring in the article.

63 % No intervention

22 % Does not take a view

1 % Condemnation

14 % Approval
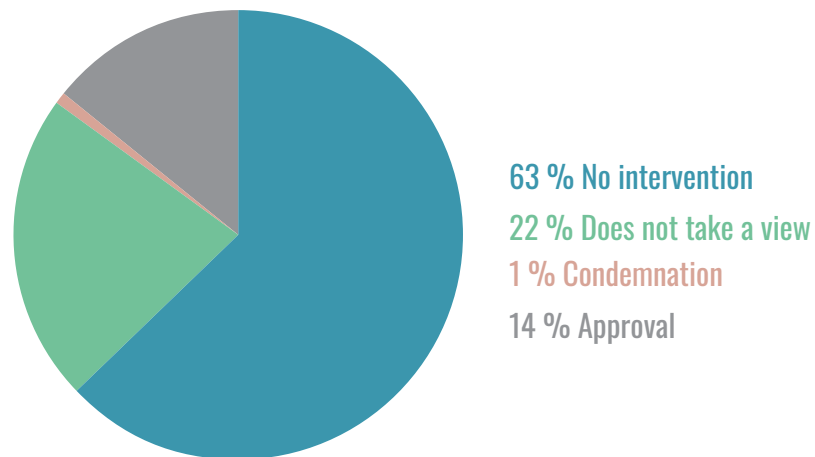
Figure No. 41 What is the attitude of the journalist when conveying the harmful narrative?

What is the most commonly used genre of news items with harmful narrative?

If we analyse which types of genres are most often chosen to broadcast the harmful narrative, generally at the level of all 11 analysed online media, it is noted that in over 63% it is either broadcasting a press-release by political parties or a speech broadcast by a politician. The other journalistic genres that convey a more complete picture, elaboration of the topic from several sides for unbiased and objective information, are represented in a very small number, so the impression remains that the online media that were the subject of monitoring represent another platform for political actors and parties to spread their harmful narratives.

34 % Press release
29 % Speech by a politician
12 % Other
3 % Interview
1 % Comment
1 % Analysis/comment
1 % Analytical report
11 % Report
8 % News
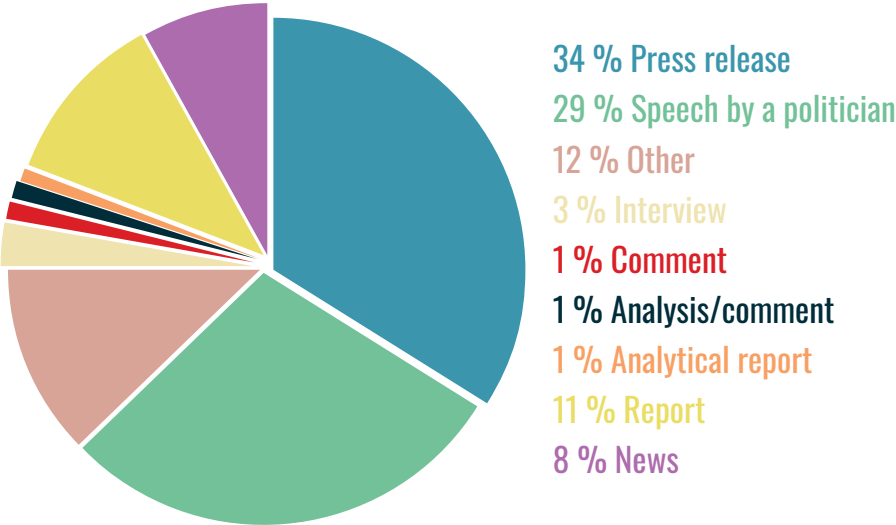
Figure No. 42 What genres are most commonly used in posts with a harmful narrative?

Main theme in news items with harmful narratives

Similar to the TV stations, at the level of all 11 online media, domestic politics dominates as the main topic of the articles with a harmful narrative with 64.4%, while the topics of crime, corruption and economy have a share of about 5-7%.

Sources

The sources in the articles/posts of the analysed online media are mostly precise, on average in 85% of the cases. This is primarily due to the fact that press releases or politicians' speeches predominate.

What significantly deviates from professional journalistic reporting, which implies objectivity, impartiality and taking care to provide balanced information so that the public can make good decisions, is the tendency of 90% of the posts to only show one side.

90 % One-sided
6 % Two sides
4 % Three and more sides

87 % One source
6 % Two sources
6 % Three and more sources
1 % No sources
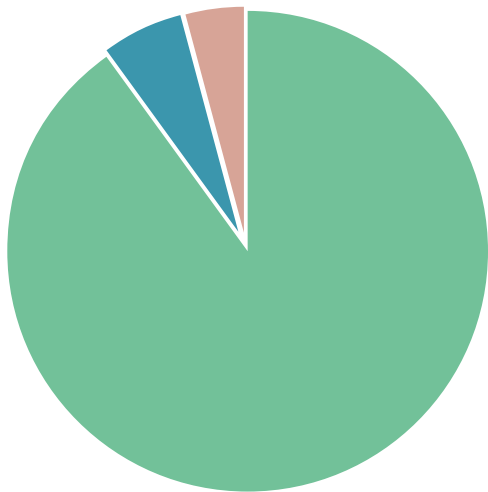
Figure No. 43 Featured sides in online media posts
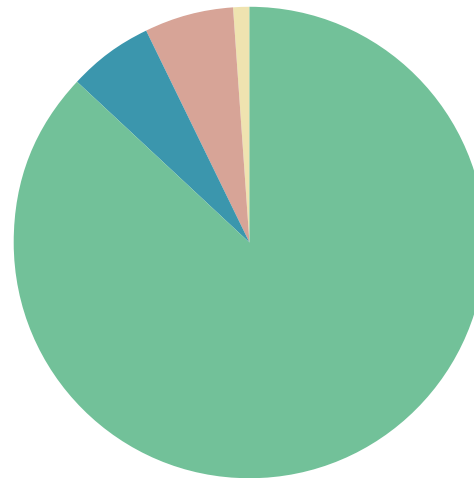
Figure No. 44 Number of sources in online media posts

In terms of how many sources are consulted (the number of sources) in the news items/posts, those news items in which only one source is consulted dominate (87%), followed by those with two sources (6%) and those with three or more (6 %). In 1% of the news items/posts, there is no source cited.

INDIVIDUAL ONLINE MEDIA PROFILES
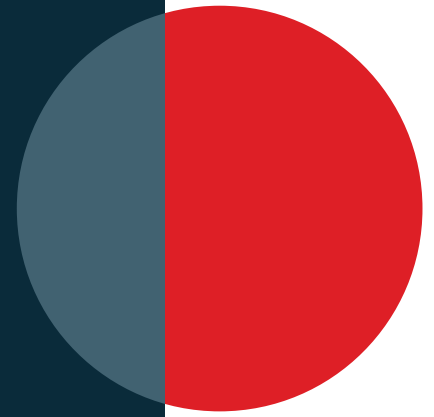
MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

73% | 7% | 20%

0   100

Domestic politics – 73%   Other topics – 20%
Foreign policy – 7%
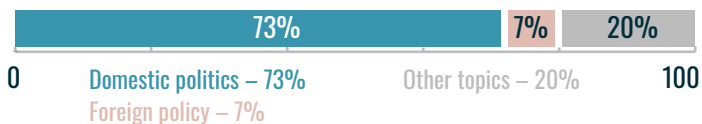
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 74 news items/posts,
least (9) in December and most (20) in February
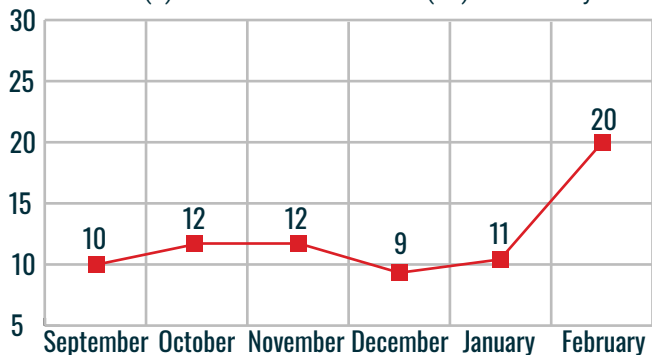
September 10
October 12
November 12
December 9
January 11
February 20

Score of harmfulness:
1.6 Harmful narrative per news item/post

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

17 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
17 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
12 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Over six months, in 74 news items/posts,
Tetova Sot broadcasted harmful narratives 120 times
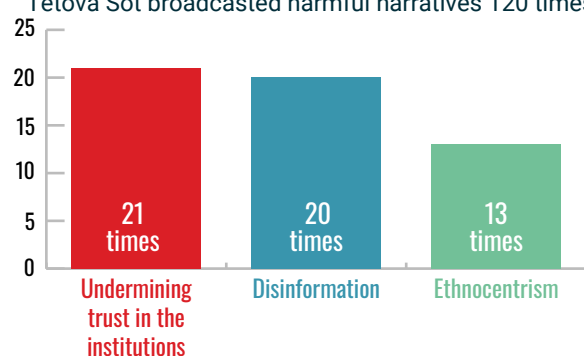
- 21 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
- 20 times — Disinformation
- 13 times — Ethnocentrism

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SIDES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
- One-sided – in 86%
- Two sides – in 11%
- Multiple sides – in 3%

Number of sources
- With one source – in 78%
- With two sources – in 11%
- With three or more sources – in 11%

GENRE OF THE ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0   100

- Broadcast press release – in 25%
- Broadcast speech – in 30%
- Report – in 27%
- Other genres – in 18%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Only the political actor - 72%
- Only the journalist – 21%
- Both - 7%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

- The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention - 92%
- The journalist broadcasts it with approval - 8%
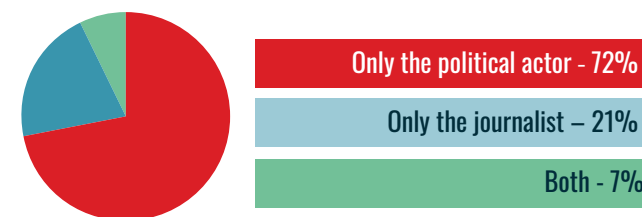
In the course of six months, 74 posts with a harmful narrative were recorded on Tetova Sot, which ufoundedly undermine trust in the institutions, disinform and encourage ethnocentrism.

Thematically, the largest number of harmful narratives are related to domestic politics, and less often to foreign policy, judiciary, education and health.

Harmful narratives broadcast by Tetova Sot mostly refer to SDSM, VMRO-DPMNE and the leader of VMRO-DPMNE.

The most common genre forms are broadcast speech, then report and broadcast press release.

Most of the harmful narratives are produced by political actors, but almost a third is also produced by journalists. In most cases, the journalist broadcasts them without any intervention, and in a small number, they approve the indicator of the harmful narrative produced by the political actor.

In the news items, information is usually given from one side. Similarly, most often only one source was consulted in articles with a harmful narrative. There are precise sources in 94% of the news items.

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES
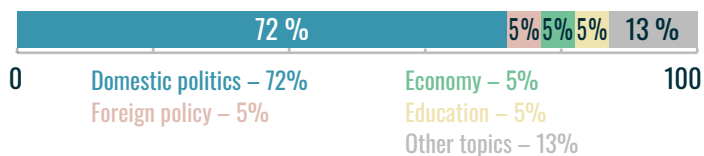
72 % | 5% | 5% | 5% | 13 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 72%
Foreign policy – 5%
Economy – 5%
Education – 5%
Other topics – 13%
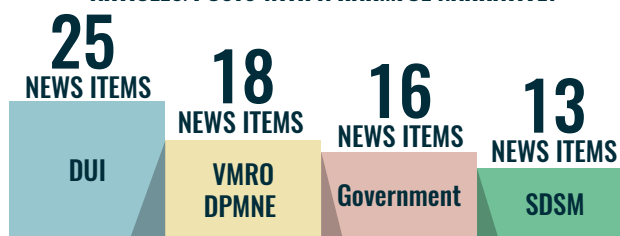
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 98 news items/posts
The least (4) posts are in October,
and the most (23) in February
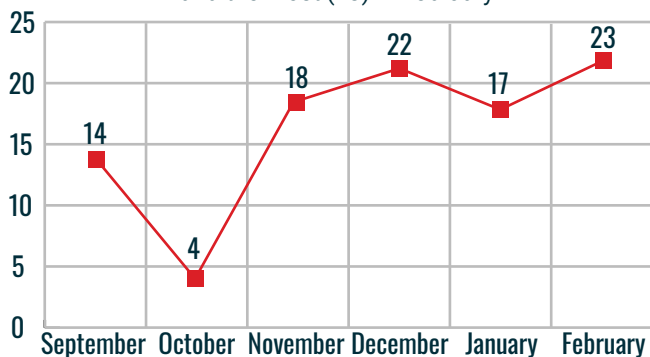
Data points: September 14, October 4, November 18, December 22, January 17, February 23

Score of harmfulness:
1.5 Harmful Narrative per News item/Post

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

25 NEWS ITEMS — DUI
18 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
16 NEWS ITEMS — Government
13 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

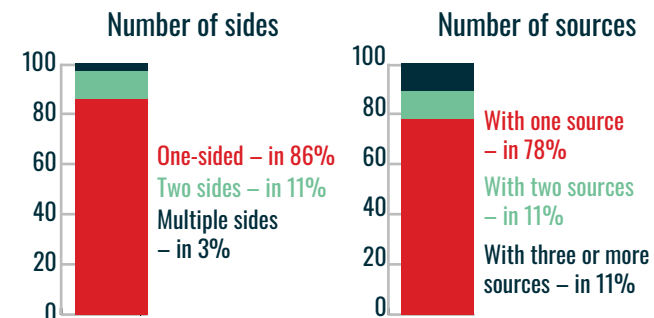In six months, in 98 posts, Almakos
broadcast harmful narratives 148 times
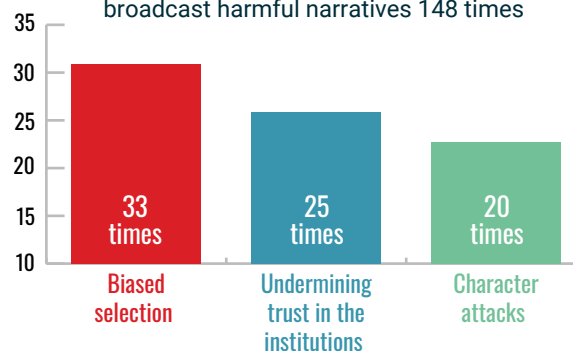
33 times — Biased selection
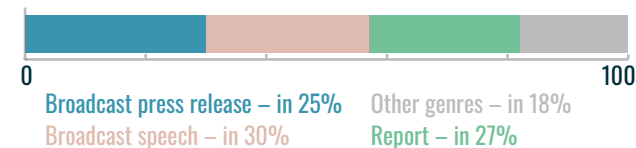25 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
20 times — Character attacks

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SIDES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One-sided – in 87%
Two sides – in 7%
Multiple sides – in 6%

Number of sources
With one source – in 82%
With two sources – in 10%
With three or more sources – in 8%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Report – in 55%
Broadcast post – in 25%
News – in 13%
Other genres – in 7%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 97%
Both of them – 2%
Only the journalist – 1%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE
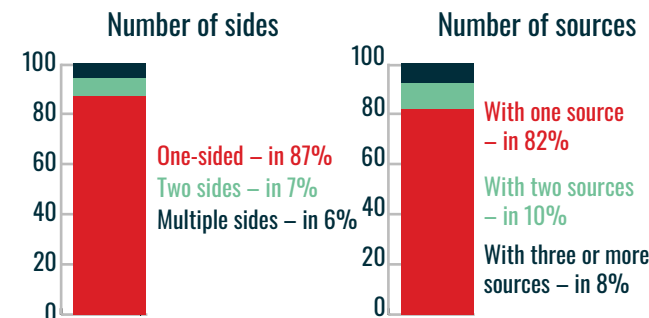
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 99%
The journalist conveys it clearly, without taking sides - 1%

In the six months, 98 posts with a harmful narrative were recorded at Almakos, which featured biased selection, unfoundedly undermining the trust in the institutions, and character attacks on political opponents.

Most often, the harmful narratives are related to topics of domestic politics, and less often to foreign policy, economy and education.

The harmful narratives broadcast on Almakos mostly refer to DUI, then VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM and the Government.

The most common genre used is the report, and one quarter are presented as a broadcast press release.

Political actors are the ones who create the harmful narratives, and very few news items are co-created with the journalist. At the same time, the journalist broadcasts them in almost all the reports without any intervention.

News items usually provide one-sided information. In over 80% of the news items, only one source was consulted. Sources are precise in almost all of the posts.

...први во Македонија

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

| 55 % | 8,4 % | 7,6 % | 29 % |

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 55%
Corruption – 8.4%
Economy – 7.6%
Other topics – 29%
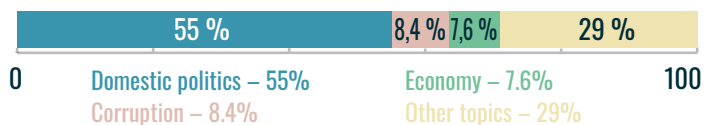
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 131 news items/posts
Lowest number of posts in September (17) and February (18),
and highest in October (26) and December (26)

September 17, October 26, November 23, December 26, January 21, February 18
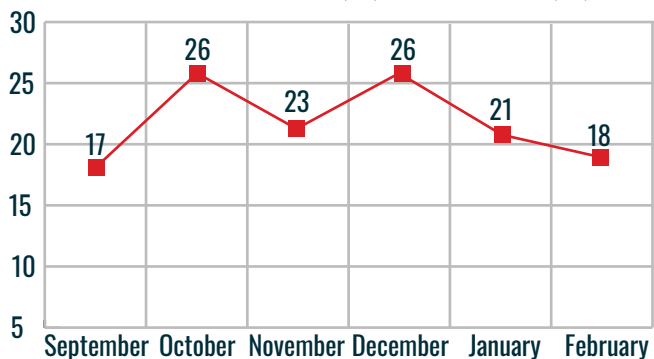
Score of harmfulness:
2.8 Harmful narratives per news item/post

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

28 NEWS ITEMS — DUI
21 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
13 NEWS ITEMS — Government
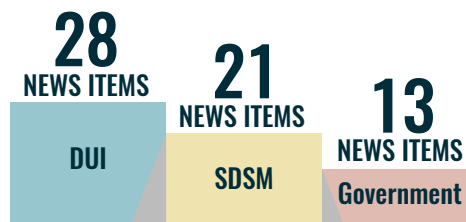
NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Over six months Vecher.mk, broadcast harmful narratives 371 times in 131 posts
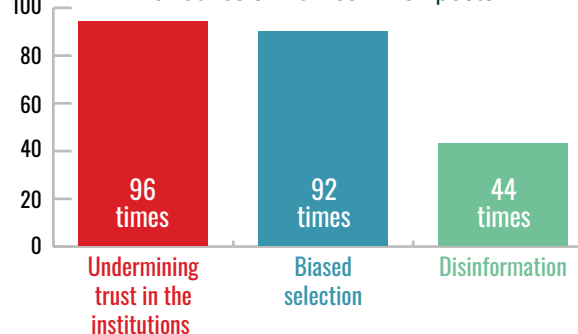
- 96 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
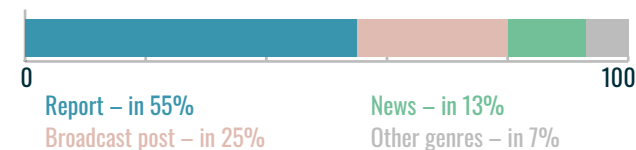- 92 times — Biased selection
- 44 times — Disinformation

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF SIDES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
- One-sided – in 95%
- Two sides – in 4%
- Multiple sides – in 1%

Number of sources
- With one source – in 98%
- With three or more sources – in 1%
- There are no sources – in 1%
- With two sources – /

GENRE OF THE ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

- Broadcast post – in 44%
- Broadcast speech – in 40%
- Interview – in 8%
- Other genres – in 8%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Both of them – 50%
- Only the political actor – 40%
- Only the journalist – 10%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

- The journalist broadcasts it with approval – 87%
- The journalist broadcasts it clearly without taking sides – 7%
- The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 6%

In the six months of monitoring of Vecher.mk, 131 posts with harmful narratives were recorded, which unfoundedly undermine the trust in the institutions, make biased selections and spread disinformation.

Half of the harmful narratives are related to the topic of domestic politics, and in smaller numbers they are related to corruption, economy, health, judiciary and crime.

The harmful narratives identified in Vecher usually refer to DUI during the entire monitoring period, followed by SDSM and the Government.

In over 80% of posts, a shared press-release and broadcast speech are the genres used.

Half of the harmful narratives are created by the politician and the journalist together, while slightly less only by the political actor. The journalist usually conveys them with approval.

In almost all posts, the reporting is one-sided and only one source is consulted. Sources are precise in just over half of the posts.

HARMFUL NARRATIVES OF KURIR

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

| 56 % | 13 % | 7 % | 14 % |

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 56%
Economy – 13%
Crime – 7%
Other topics – 14%
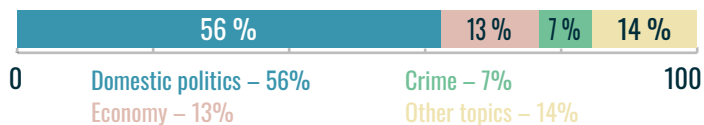
NUMBER OF PUBLISHED NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 171 news items/posts
Least posts in October (2), and the most in February (39).

Month	Value
September	19
October	2
November	41
December	33
January	37
February	39

Score of harmfulness:
3.6 harmful narratives per news item/post

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

65 NEWS ITEMS — Government

34 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE

18 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months, in 171 posts,
Kurir broadcast harmful narratives 609 times

Category	Times
Undermining trust in the institutions	143 times
Biased selection	89 times
Disinformation	66 times

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF PARTIES IN NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One-sided – in 95%
Multiple sides – in 4%
Two sides – in 1%

Number of sources
With one source – in 94%
With two sources – in 2%
With three or more sources – in 4%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Broadcast post – in 41%
Broadcast speech – in 22%
Other genre – in 37%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor - 90%
Only the journalist - 6%
Both of them - 4%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention - 98%
The journalist broadcasts it with approval - 2%

In six months, 171 posts with harmful narrative were identified as posted by Kurir. In these posts with a harmful narrative, trust in the institutions is unfoundedly undermined, biased selection is made and disinformation is spread.

In addition to harmful narratives on the topic of domestic politics, there are also harmful narratives on the topics of economy, health, justice and crime.

The harmful narratives shared by Kurir mainly refer to the Government, VMRO-DPMNE and the leader of this party.

Over 60% of the posts are in the form of broadcast posts and broadcast speech.

The largest number of indicators of harmful narratives are generated by the politician. At the same time, the journalist usually broadcasts them without any intervention.

In almost all posts the presentation is one-sided and for almost all posts only one source is consulted. Sources are accurate in just over half of the posts.

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

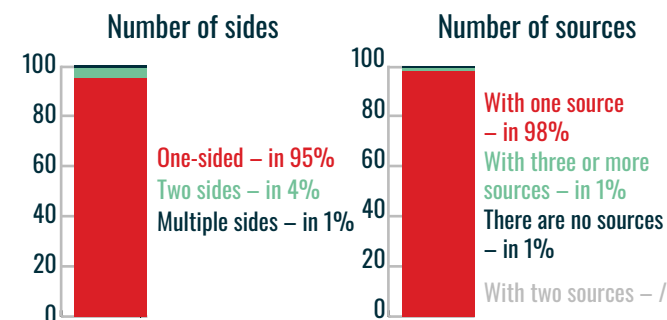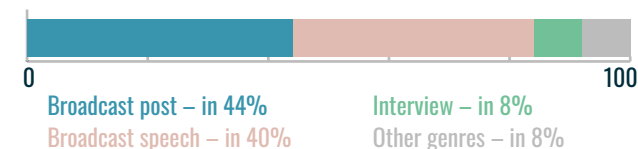58 % | 11 % | 10 % | 7 % | 4 %

0 ————————————————— 100

Domestic politics – 58%
Economy – 11%
Corruption – 10%
Healthcare – 7%
Other topics – 4%

NUMBER OF PUBLISHED NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 265 news items/posts with a harmful narrative
The least (30) in February, and the most (59) in September
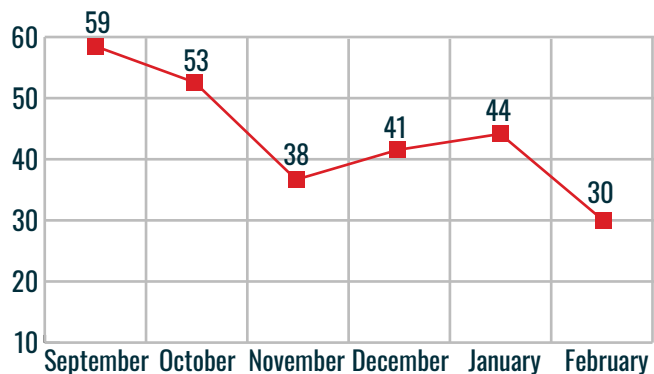
59 — September
53 — October
38 — November
41 — December
44 — January
30 — February

**Score of harmfulness:
1.6 Harmful narrative per news item/post**

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

73 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
69 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
50 NEWS ITEMS — Government
43 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
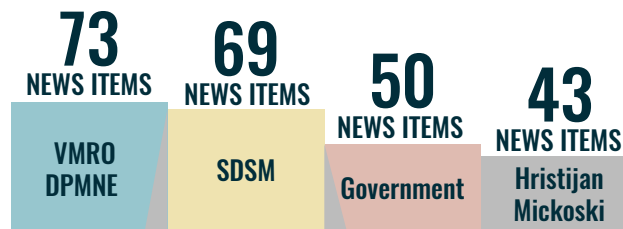
NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In six months, in 265 posts, Republika broadcast harmful narratives 436 times

143 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
74 times — Character attacks
45 times — Populism
41 times — Disinformation

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE PARTIES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/PUBLICATIONS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One-sided – in 96%
Two sides – in 4%
Multiple sides – /

Number of sources
With one source – in 91%
With two sources – in 4%
With three or more sources – in 1%
There are no cited sources – in 4%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 ————————————————— 100

Broadcast post – 32%
Broadcast speech of a politician – 28%
News or news with a statement – in 9%
Other genre – in 31%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 71%
The two of them – 22%
Only the journalist – 7%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 41%
The journalist broadcasts it clearly without taking sides – 37%
The journalist broadcasts it with approval – 22%

Over the six months, 265 posts were recorded in Republika which unfoundedly undermine trust in the institutions, use character attack or spread populism.

The harmful narratives refer to many topics, but mainly deal with domestic politics (more than half of the news items with a harmful narrative), and much fewer of them were about the economy, corruption and health.

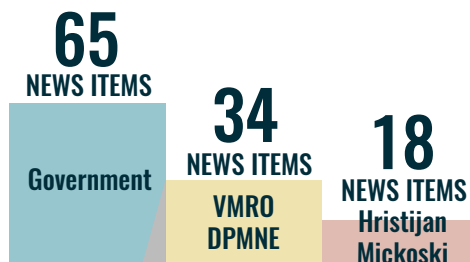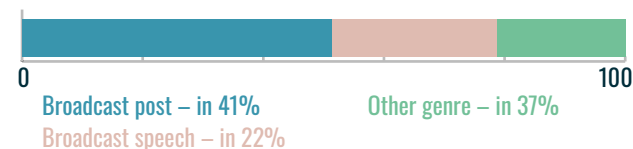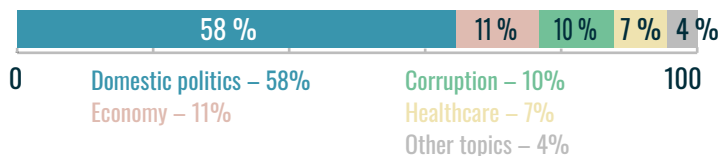The harmful narratives broadcast by Republika mostly refer to VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM, the Government and the leader of VMRO-DPMNE.

The most common genres are broadcast press release and broadcast speech.

Almost all harmful narratives are created by the politician, followed by co-created by both the politician and the journalist. At the same time, the journalists usually convey them without any intervention or clearly, but without taking sides, but in slightly more than a fifth of the posts, they also convey them with approval.

In almost all posts, only one side is shown and only one source is cited. In 4% of the posts there is no cited source. The sources are precise in the majority of posts.

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

83 %   13 %   4 %

0   100

Domestic politics – 83%   Other topics – 4%
Foreign policy – 13%
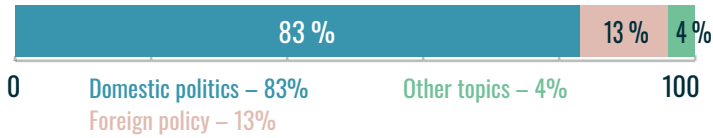
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 32 posts/posts with a harmful narrative
There are fewest posts (2) in September,
and highest number (9) in January

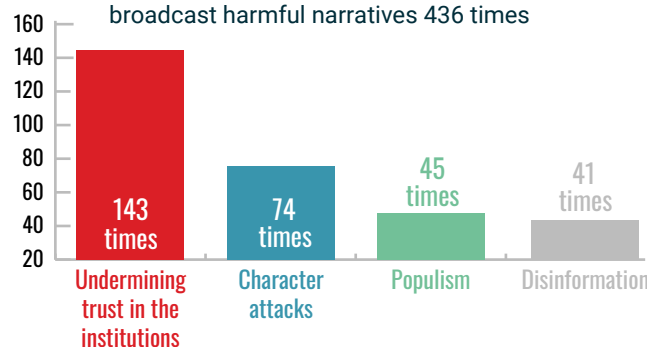| Month	Value
September	2
October	5
November	8
December	3
January	9
February	5

Score of harmfulness:
2.7 Harmful narratives per news item/post

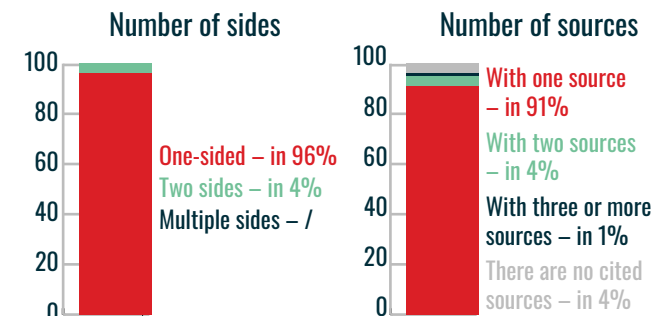## WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

17 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE

9 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM

4 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Over the course of six months, Nova,
spread harmful narratives 85 times in 32 posts

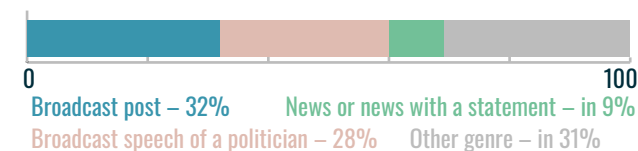| Type	Times
Biased selection	20 times
Character attacks	12 times
Fomenting divisions	9 times
Undermining trust in the institutions	9 times

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

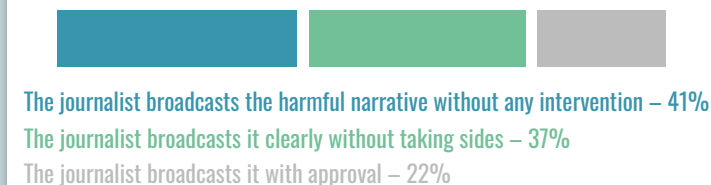### NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SIDES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One-sided – in 96%
Multiple sides – in 4%
Two sides - /

Number of sources
With one source – in 80%
With two sources – in 7%
With three or more sources – in 3%
There are no cited sources – in 10%

GENRE OF THE ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0   100

Broadcast post – in 30%   Broadcast speech of a politician – in 17%
Report – in 23%   Other genres – in 30%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 93%
Only the journalist – 5%
Both of them – 2%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE
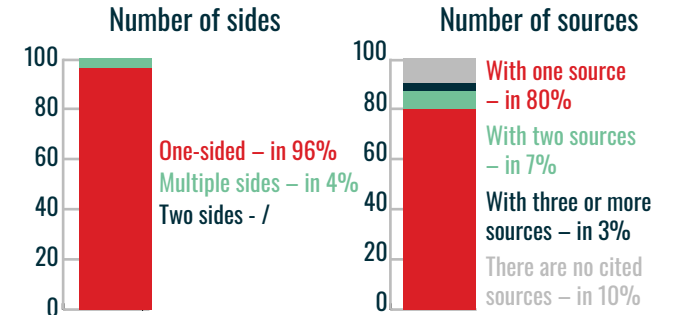
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 55%
The journalist conveys the harmful narrative without taking sides – 45%

In six months, 32 posts are recorded at Nova TV in which biased selection is made, there are character attacks on the political actors, divisions are encouraged and trust in the institutions is undermined.

The harmful narratives are mainly related to domestic politics.

Harmful narratives broadcast on Nova TV mostly refer to VMRO-DPMNE and SDSM. Almost all of the harmful narratives are created by the politician, very few are produced by the journalist. The journalist usually broadcasts them without any intervention or clearly, but without taking sides.

Almost half of the posts, by genre, are in the form of broadcast post and broadcast speech, and a quarter are in the form of report.

In almost all posts, only one side is shown and only one source is cited. In 10% of the posts there is no source indicated. Sources are precise in most posts.
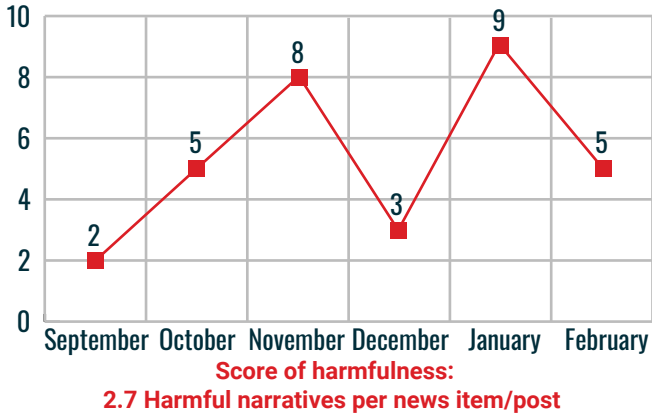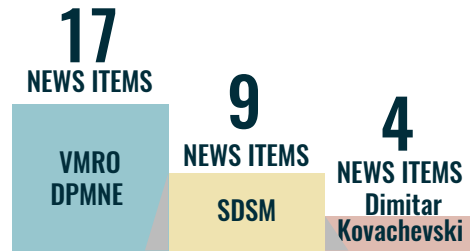
MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

69 %	10 %	7 %	14 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 69%
Corruption – 10%
Crime – 7%
Other topics – 14%

NUMBER OF PUBLISHED NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 101 news items/posts
There are the fewest posts (7) in October,
and in the other months it is relatively even (17-20).

Values by month:
- September – 20
- October – 7
- November – 18
- December – 19
- January – 20
- February – 17

Score of harmfulness:
1.5 Harmful narrative per news item/

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT IN HOW MANY NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

41 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
23 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
18 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
16 NEWS ITEMS — DUI
13 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Lokalno, in 6 months, in 101 posts,
they broadcast harmful narratives 148 times

- 38 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
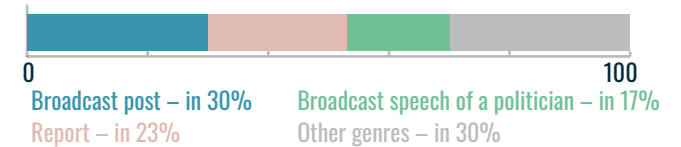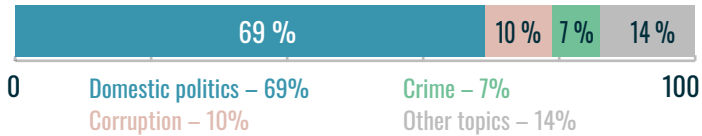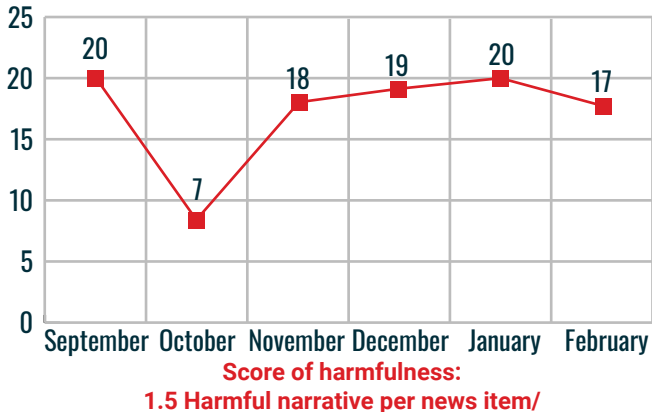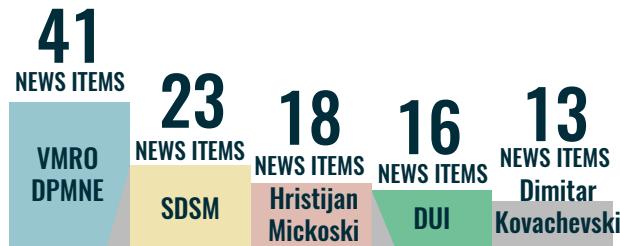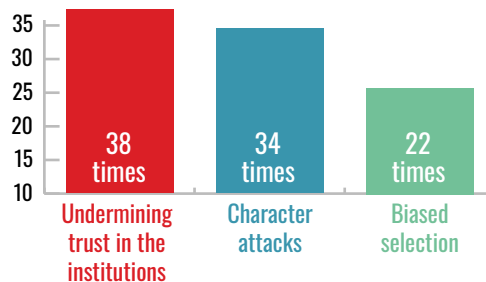- 34 times — Character attacks
- 22 times — Biased selection

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF SIDES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
- One-sided – in 74%
- Two sides – in 21%
- Multiple sides – in 5%

Number of sides
- With one source – in 75%
- With two sources – in 19%
- With three or more sources – in 6%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

- Broadcast post – in 38%
- Broadcast speech – n 20%
- News – in 20%
- Another genre – in 22 %

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Only the political actor – 91%
- Only the journalist – 1%
- Both – 8%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

- The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 62%
- The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without taking sides – 34%
- The journalist broadcasts it with approval – 4%

In six months, 32 posts with a harmful narrative on Lokalno have been tracked and analysed. In them, trust in the institutions is often undermined, there are character attacks on the political actor and biased selection.

The topics of posts with harmful narratives are related to domestic politics, corruption and crime, and much less often they are related to foreign policy, health, economy, then education, social policy and judiciary.

The harmful narratives reported on Lokalno mostly refer to VMRO-DPMNE, then to SDSM, Hristijan Mickoski, DUI and Dimitar Kovachevski.

Over half of the posts are in the form of broadcast press release and broadcast speech, and one fifth are in the form of news. Among the genres, interview and report appear less frequently.

Almost all of the indicators of harmful narratives are produced by the politician. At the same time, the journalist usually broadcasts them without any intervention or clearly, but without taking sides, and in 4% of the posts they approve them.

In most of the posts, information is provided unilaterally and most of the time only one source is consulted. Sources are accurate in most posts.

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

82 % | 6 % | 18 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 82% Other topics – 18%
Economy – 6%
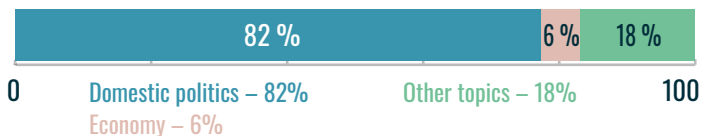
NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 90 news items/posts
The least (10) posts are in October,
and the most (25) in January,
in the other months it is relatively even.
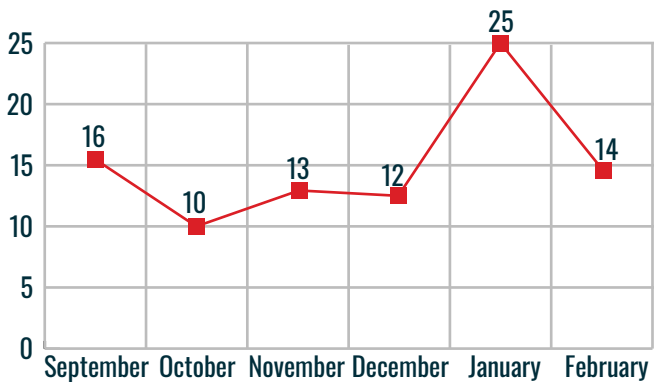
Chart values: September 16, October 10, November 13, December 12, January 25, February 14

Score of harmfulness:
2, 3 harmful narratives per news item/post

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

18 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski
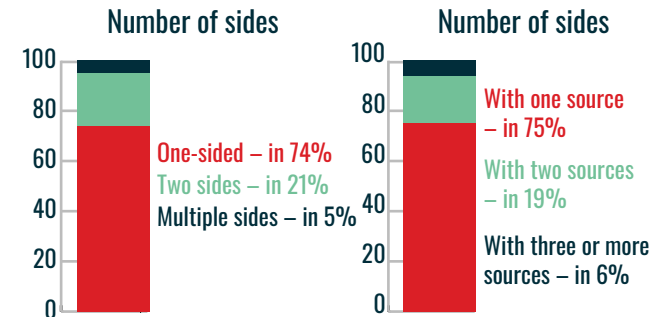**14** NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
13 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Nezavisen in six months, in 90 posts,
broadcast harmful narratives 203 times

- 38 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
- 37 times — Biased selection
- 21 times — Character attacks

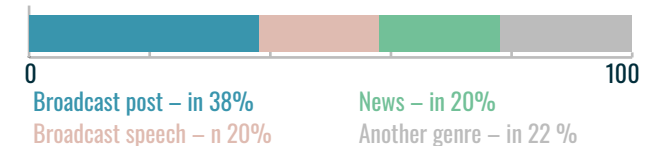## PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE PARTIES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

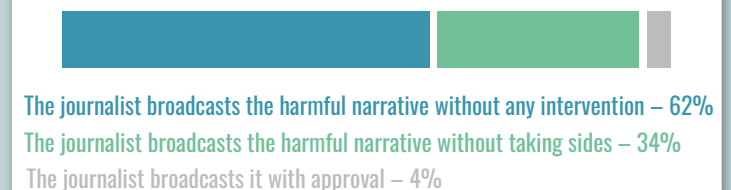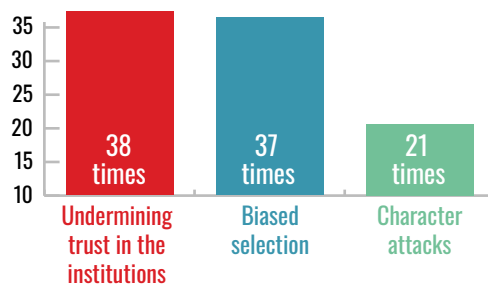**Number of sides**
One sided – in 76%
Multiple sides – in 13%
Two sides – in 11 %

Number of sources
With one source – in 72%
With three or more sources – in 16%
With two sources – in 10%
No source indicated – in 2%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Broadcast speech of a politician – in 38% Broadcast post – in 11%
Report – in 18% Analytical-reporting news item – in 11%
Other genres – in 22%

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

- Only the political actor – 80%
- Only the journalist – 12%
- Both – 8%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 79%
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without taking sides – 11%
The journalist broadcasts with approval – 10%

In six months, 90 posts with a harmful narrative on Nezavisen were recorded and analysed. In them, trust in institutions is often undermined, there are character attacks and biased selection.

The topics of the posts with harmful narratives are mostly related to domestic politics and in a smaller number are related to the topic of economy, and much less often are related to foreign policy, judiciary, education and health.

Harmful narratives broadcast by Nezavisen mostly refer to Dimitar Kovachevski, VMRO-DPMNE and Hristijan Mickoski.

Most often, in terms of genre, the posts are in the form of a broadcast speech of a politician, then a report, and in 11% they are in the form of a broadcast press release. The analytical-reporting news item is present in 11% of the posts.

Four fifths of the harmful narratives are produced by the politician, and a small number are produced by the journalist. At the same time, the journalist usually conveys them without any intervention and clearly, but without taking sides. However, in 10% of the posts, they approve them.

For the most part, information is one-sided by consulting only one source. In 2% of the posts no sources are indicated. Sources are accurate in most posts.

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

74 %   9 %   6 %   11 %

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 74%   Judiciary – 6%
Crime – 9%   Other topics – 11%
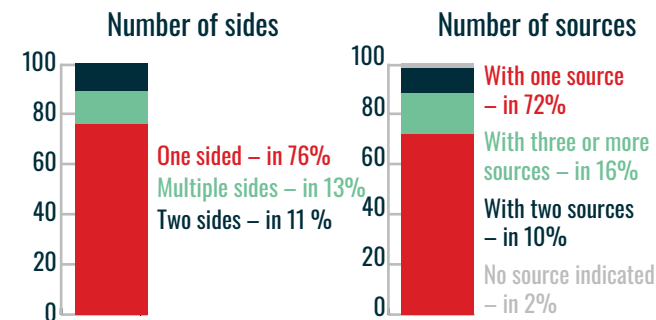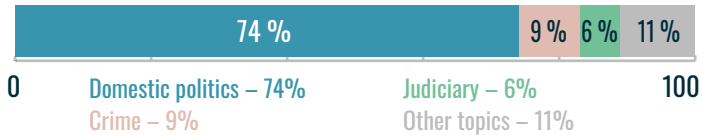
NUMBER OF NEWS POSTS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 70 news items/posts
The least (2) posts are in February,
and the most (21) in November

20 — September
9 — October
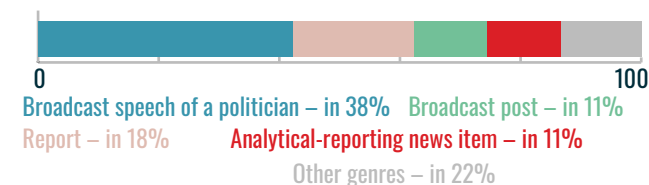21 — November
6 — December
12 — January
2 — February

Harm intensity:
2.2 harmful narratives per news item/post

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY ARTICLES/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

13 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski

12 NEWS ITEMS — Dimitar Kovachevski

8 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

Sloboden Pechat in 6 months, in 70 publications,
broadcast harmful narratives 156 times

37 times — Undermining trust in the institutions
16 times — Populism
15 times — Character attack

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE PARTIES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/PUBLICATIONS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One sided – in 82%
Multiple sides – in 10%
Two sides – in 8 %

Number of sources
With one source – in 76%
With three or more sources – in 14%
With two sources – in 10%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Broadcast speech of a politician – in 42%   News – in 16%
Report – in 16 %   Broadcast press release – in 10%   Interview – in 14%
Analytical-reporting article - 2 %
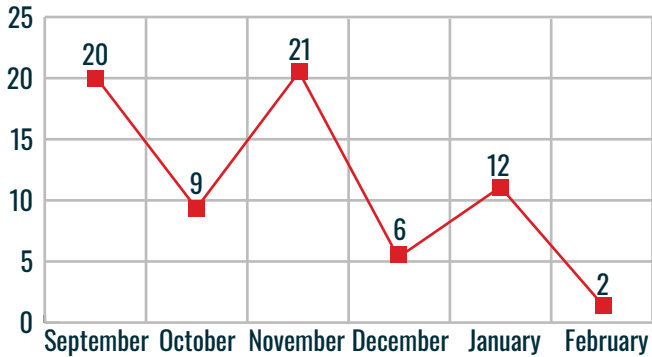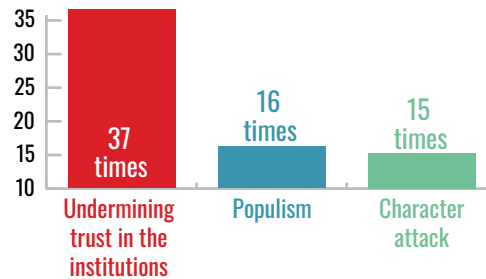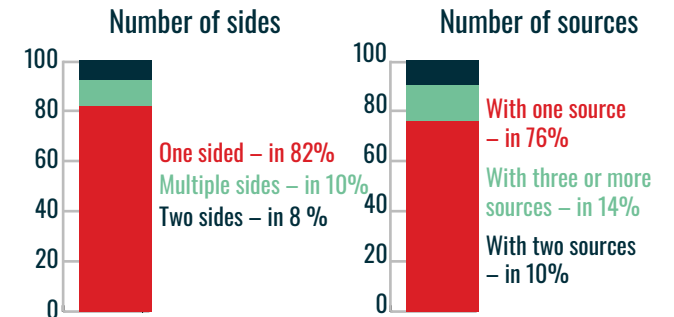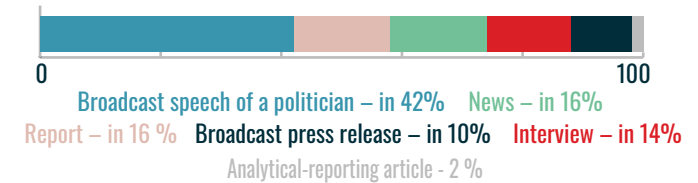
WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 100%

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without taking sides – 53%
The journalist conveys the harmful narrative without any intervention – 47%

Over the course of six months, 70 posts with a harmful narrative on the Sloboden Pechat were monitored and analysed. They usually undermine trust in institutions, spread populism and use character attack of the political actor.

In the harmful narratives, topics related to domestic politics are most often found, and to a lesser extent, they are on the topic of crime and judiciary. They are rarely related to education, health, economy and foreign policy.

Harmful narratives reported on Sloboden Pechat mostly refer to Hristijan Mickoski, Dimitar Kovachevski and VMRO-DPMNE.
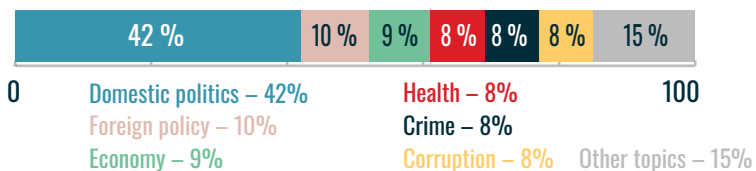
Broadcast speech of a politician is the most frequently used genre, followed by report, news, interview, broadcast post.

All harmful narratives are produced by the politician, and the journalist usually conveys them without any intervention or clearly, but without taking sides.

In most of the posts, only one side is shown and only one source is cited. Sources are accurate in 64% of posts.
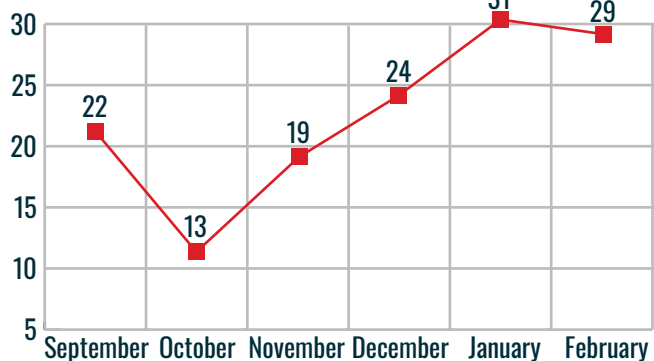
MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

| 42 % | 10 % | 9 % | 8 % | 8 % | 8 % | 15 % |

0 — 100

Domestic politics – 42%
Foreign policy – 10%
Economy – 9%

Health – 8%
Crime – 8%
Corruption – 8%   Other topics – 15%

NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 138 news items/posts
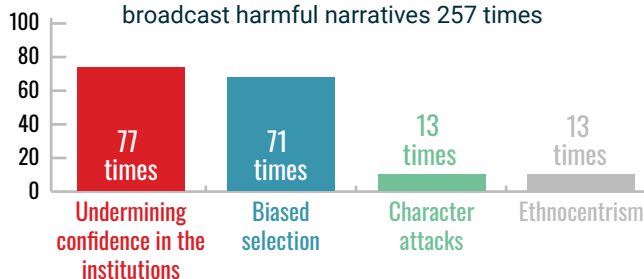The least (13) posts are in October,
and the most (31) in January

Score of harmfulness:
1.9 Harmful narrative per news item/post

(Line chart: September 22, October 13, November 19, December 24, January 31, February 29)

WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

27 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
19 NEWS ITEMS — Levica
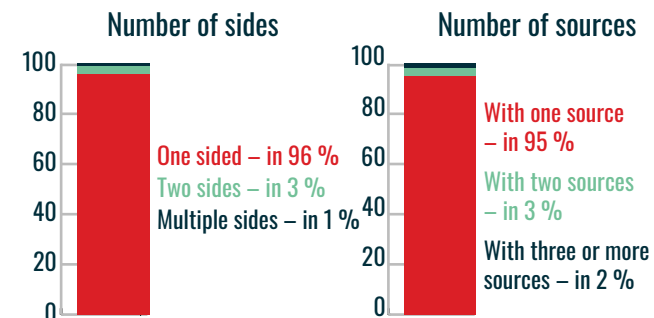**18** NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
12 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

A1on.mk in six months, in 138 posts,
broadcast harmful narratives 257 times

(Bar chart)
- 77 times — Undermining confidence in the institutions
- 71 times — Biased selection
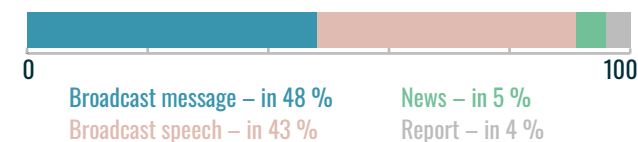- 13 times — Character attacks
- 13 times — Ethnocentrism

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE PARTIES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One sided – in 96 %
Two sides – in 3 %
Multiple sides – in 1 %

Number of sources
With one source – in 95 %
With two sources – in 3 %
With three or more sources – in 2 %

GENRE OF NEWS ITEMS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0 — 100

Broadcast message – in 48 %
Broadcast speech – in 43 %

News – in 5 %
Report – in 4 %

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

(Pie chart)
Only the political actor – 98 %
Only the journalist – 2 %

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without taking sides – 79 %
The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative without any intervention – 21%

In six months, 138 posts with a harmful narrative on A1On.mk were monitored and analysed. In them, trust in the institutions is often undermined, biased selection is made, there are character attacks on the political actor, and at the same time, ethnocentrism is spreading.

The topics of the posts with harmful narratives are: mostly domestic politics and in a smaller number on the topic of economy, and much less often they are related to foreign policy, justice, education and health.

The harmful narratives broadcast on A1ON.mk mostly refer to VMRO-DPMNE, Levica, Hristijan Mickoski and SDSM.

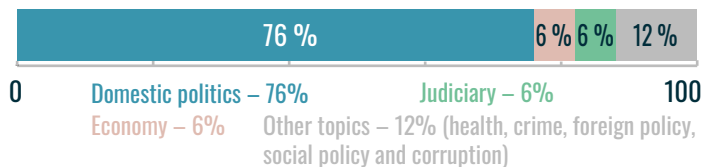Most often, the posts are in the form of a broadcast speech of a politician and a broadcast post, and in a very small percentage, news and a report.

Almost all harmful narratives are created by the politician. The journalist usually broadcasts them without any intervention or clearly, but without taking sides.

Posts inform one-sidedly for the most part and consult only one source. Sources are accurate in almost all posts.
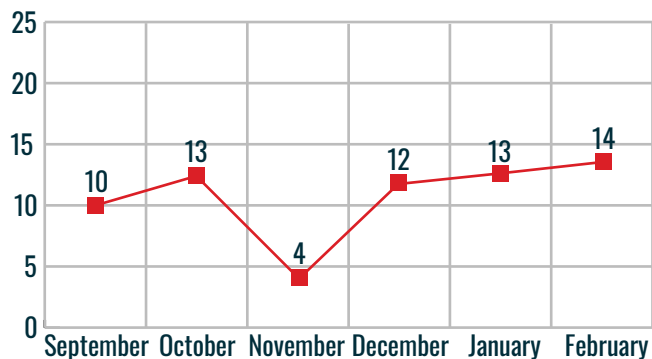
HARMFUL NARRATIVES OF MKD.MK

MOST COMMON TOPICS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

76 %	6 %	6 %	12 %

0   100

Domestic politics – 76%   Judiciary – 6%
Economy – 6%   Other topics – 12% (health, crime, foreign policy, social policy and corruption)

NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVES

In 6 months: 66 news items/posts
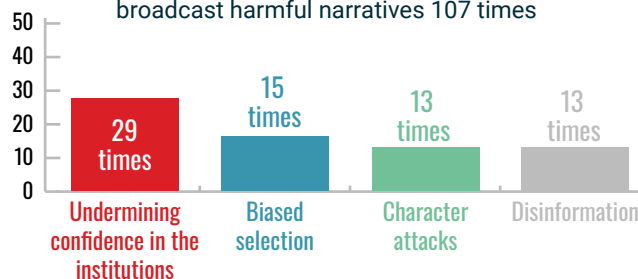The least (4) posts are in November,
and the most (14) in February

Month	Value
September	10
October	13
November	4
December	12
January	13
February	14

Score of harmfulness:
1.6 Harmful narrative per news item/post

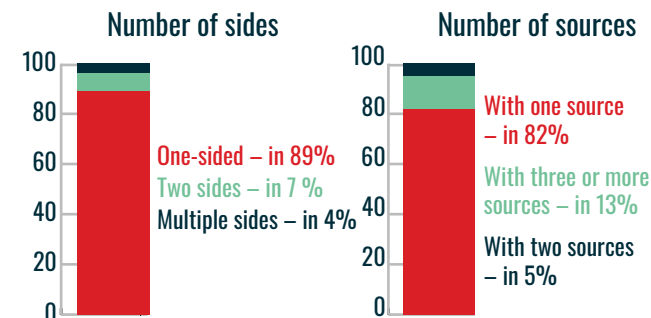## WHO IS MOST OFTEN TALKED ABOUT AND IN HOW MANY NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE THERE ARE?

21 NEWS ITEMS — VMRO DPMNE
13 NEWS ITEMS — SDSM
11 NEWS ITEMS — Hristijan Mickoski
10 NEWS ITEMS — DUI
10 NEWS ITEMS — Government

NUMBER AND TYPE OF MOST COMMONLY BROADCAST HARMFUL NARRATIVES

MKD.mk in six months, in 66 posts,
broadcast harmful narratives 107 times

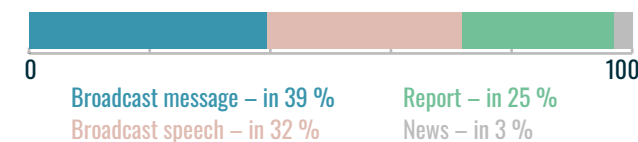| Type	Times
Undermining confidence in the institutions	29 times
Biased selection	15 times
Character attacks	13 times
Disinformation	13 times

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTIC STANDARDS

NUMBER OF SOURCES AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SIDES IN THE NEWS ITEMS/PUBLICATIONS WITH HARMFUL NARRATIVE

Number of sides
One-sided – in 89%
Two sides – in 7 %
Multiple sides – in 4%

Number of sources
With one source – in 82%
With three or more sources – in 13%
With two sources – in 5%

GENRE OF THE NEWS ITEMS/POSTS WITH A HARMFUL NARRATIVE

0   100

Broadcast message – in 39 %   Report – in 25 %
Broadcast speech – in 32 %   News – in 3 %

WHO PRODUCES THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE?

Only the political actor – 99 %
Both – 1 %

THE JOURNALIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HARMFUL NARRATIVE

The journalist broadcasts the harmful narrative
without any intervention – 100%

In six months, 66 posts with a harmful narrative on MKD.mk were monitored and analysed. In them, trust in the institutions is often undermined, biased selection is made, there are character attacks on the political actor and disinformation is spread.

The topics of the posts with harmful narratives are: mostly domestic politics and to a lesser extent economy and judiciary, and much less often they are related to health, crime, foreign policy, social policy and corruption.

The harmful narratives broadcast on MKD.mk mostly refer to VMRO-DPMNE, SDSM, Hristijan Mickoski, the Government and DUI.

Most often, the posts are in the form of a broadcast speech of a politician, then a report, and in 11% they are in the form of a broadcast press release.

All harmful narratives are produced by the politician. The journalist always broadcasts them without any intervention.

In most of the posts, only one side is presented and only one source is indicated, then several sides and three or more sources, and in a small number of posts, two sides are shown and two sources are indicated. Sources are accurate in all posts.

Similarities and differences among online media regarding harmful narratives

Number of news items for six months

Of the 11 monitored online media, the largest number of news items /posts with harmful narratives during the six months were found at: Republika (265 articles), Kurir (171), A1on.mk (138) and Vecher.mk (131). Nova TV has the least (32 posts). The difference between the online media with the fewest published articles with a harmful narrative (Nova TV – 32 articles) and the online media with the most published articles with a harmful narrative (Republika – 265 articles) amounts to 233 articles.
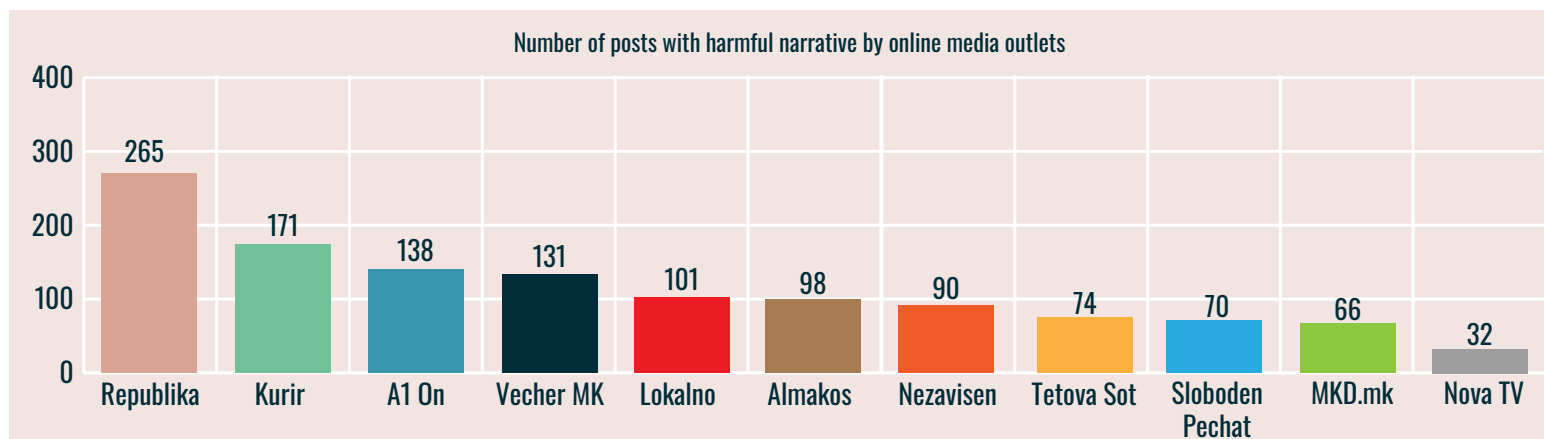

Number of posts with harmful narrative by online media outlets

	Republika	Kurir	A1 On	Vecher MK	Lokalno	Almakos	Nezavisen	Tetova Sot	Sloboden Pechat	MKD.mk	Nova TV
	265	171	138	131	101	98	90	74	70	66	32

Figure No. 45 Number of posts with harmful narrative by online media outlets

Number of Harmful Narratives in News items in Six Months

1. Online media with an extremely high number of harmful narratives present in the articles (over 600 harmful narratives) - Kurir (609)

2. Online media with **a very high number of harmful narratives** present in the news items (301-450 harmful narratives) – Vecher.mk (371) and Republika (436)

3. Online media with **a very high number of harmful** narratives present (201 – 300 harmful narratives) – Nezavisen (203) and A1on.mk (257)

4. Online media with **a relatively high number of harmful** narratives present in the news items (101 – 200 harmful narratives) – MKD.mk (107), Lokalno (148) and Almakos (148) and Sloboden Pechat (156)

5. Online media with **a relatively moderate number of harmful narratives** present in the news items (up to 100 harmful narratives) – Nova TV (85)

How many times have harmful narratives been broadcast, comparison by online media outlet

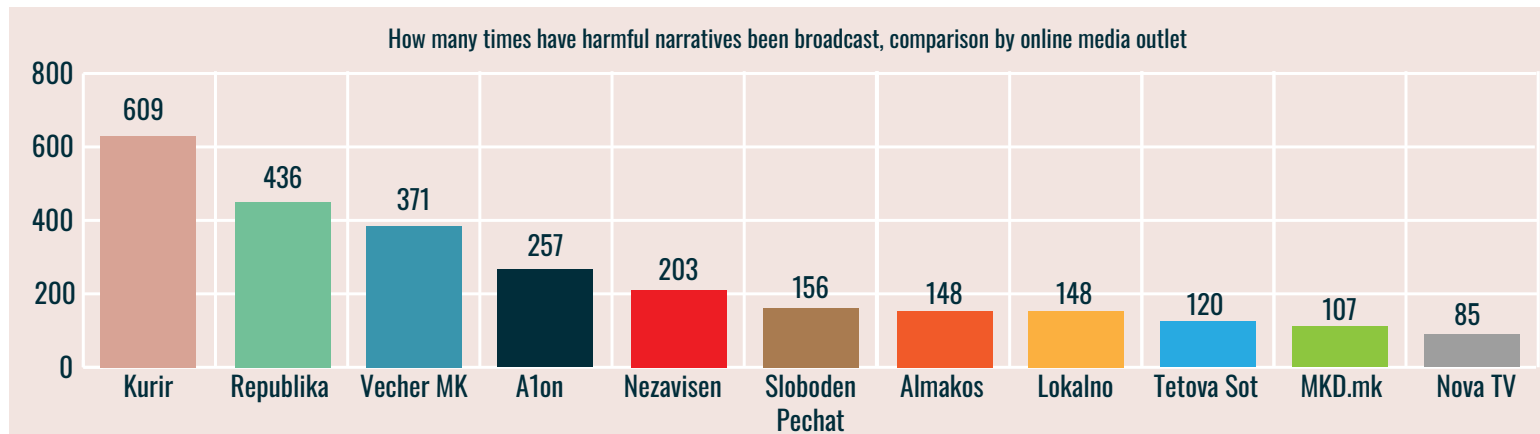|	
Kurir	609
Republika	436
Vecher MK	371
A1on	257
Nezavisen	203
Sloboden Pechat	156
Almakos	148
Lokalno	148
Tetova Sot	120
MKD.mk	107
Nova TV	85

Figure No. 46 How many times have harmful narratives been broadcast, comparison by online media outlet

Comparisons by score of harmfulness

If one delves deeper and considers how many harmful narratives an article published by an online media outlet contains, the situation changes again. The difference between the online media outlet with the lowest score of harmfulness (Almakos and Lokalno - 1.5) and the online media outlet with the highest score (Kurir - 3.6) is 2.1. Thus, according to the intensity of the harmful narratives, 3 categories of online media outlets can be distinguished according to the intensity of the harmful narratives:

1. Online media with **extremely high score of harmfulness** (over 3) – Kurir (3.6). About 4 harmful narratives are present in this media in one news item

2. Online media with **a very high score of harmfulness** (2.6-3) – Nova TV (2.7) and Vecher mk (2.8). On average, 3 harmful narratives are present in one news item of this media

3. Online media with a **relatively high score of harmfulness** (1.5-2.5) – Almakos (1.5), Lokalno (1.5), Tetova Sot (1.6), MKD.mk (1.6), Republika (1.6), A1on.mk (1.9), Sloboden Pechat (2,2) and Nezavisen (2,3). These media have 2 harmful narratives in one news item
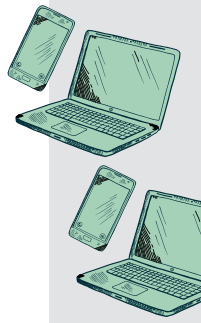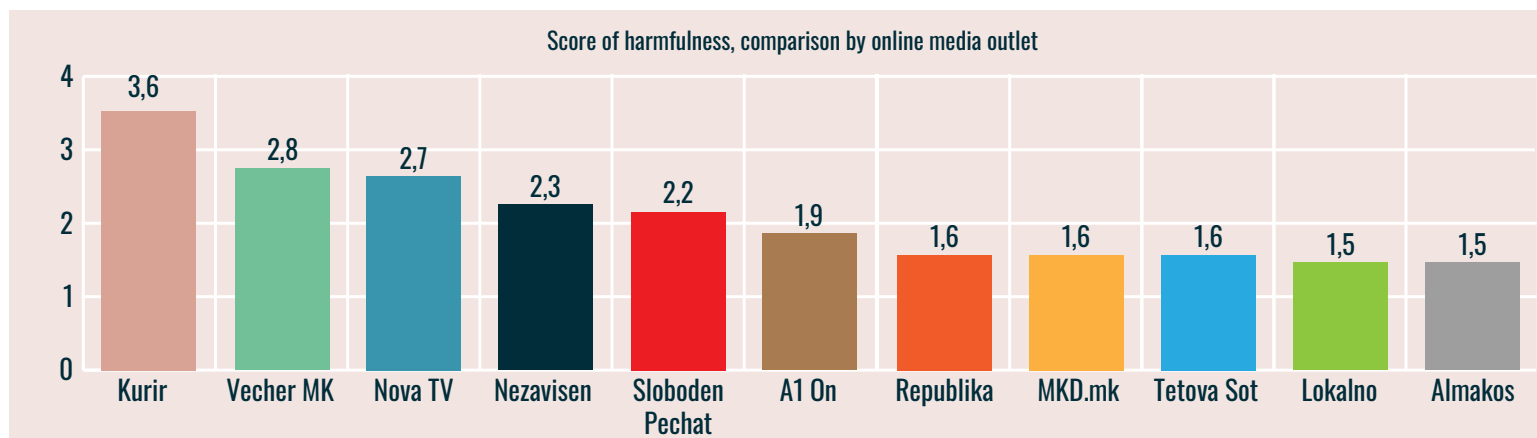
Figure No. 47 Score of harmfulness, comparison by online media outlet

Comparisons by Type of Harmful Narratives

Three harmful narratives are recorded as the most frequently present narratives in all 11 online media outlets:

➔ Harmful narrative **Undermining trust in institutions**

➔ Harmful narrative **Biased selection** and

➔ Harmful narrative **Character attacks**

In 9 of the 11 online media, the first place, that is, the most frequently present harmful narrative is **Undermining trust in institutions**. Only at Almakos and Nova TV is the harmful narrative **Biased Selection** in the first place, while at Almakos the **Undermining of Trust** is in the second place, while at Nova TV, it is not present at all in the first three most frequently present.

The harmful narrative **Biased selection** as the second most frequently present harmful narrative occurs in the following five online media: A1on.mk, MKD.mk, Nezavisen, Kurir and Vecher mk.

The next harmful narrative that occurs second in presence, apart from **Biased Selection**, is **Character attacks** at Republika, Nova TV and Lokalno.

This narrative - Character attacks as the third most often present appears again at Alamkos, Nezavisen, Sloboden pechat, A1on.mk and MKD.mk.

Disinformation is present in Tetova Sot, as the second most frequently present, at Vecher mk and MKD.mk as the third most frequent harmful narrative. Among other online media, it is not among the top three most frequently present harmful narratives.

Harmful narratives **Ethnocentrism** and **Populism** appear as third in presence only in 1-2 online media.
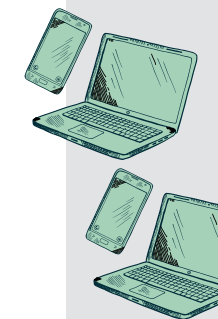
Comparison in terms of who is producing the narrative

The most common producer of the harmful narrative without exception, among all 11 online media, is the political actor (percentages range between 40%and 100%). Only at Vecher mk, in 50% of the articles, the harmful narrative is produced by both the journalist and the political actor, while Tetova sot records the highest participation of the journalist (20%) as the producer of the harmful narrative. Both at Vecher mk (10%) and at Nezavisen (12%), the journalist appears as a producer of the harmful narrative. In the remaining 8 online media outlets, the journalist is a producer in 1%7 % of news items.

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