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POLITICAL INFORMATION IN BROADCASTING between opinion survey and monitoring

We have all had at least one time when we had to go along an unknown road. With no clear landmarks, such a journey produced in us a certain anxiety and discomfort: the unknown road seemed long, wearisome, and the imprecise, confusing or contradictory information about possible ways to reach the destination made us feel confused or even turn back.

The times in which we now live, marked by the passage from one social system to another, from one set of values to another, from one type of behavior to another, from one mentality to another also represent a sort of road. A social, political, economic, value road. Since we have started on this trip without a compass, we might get lost. The unknown threatens our existence, inhibits our will; therefore, we are searching with desperation for some landmarks to facilitate our existence and the journey. The landmarks under question are, I believe, the information. A well-informed person can find his or her way through the maze of the current society more easily, and his or her actions are more confident and more conscious.

What is our preference?

The great majority of Moldova's population find information about the world surrounding them in the mass media. The Barometer of Public Opinion (BPO) carried out between 26 October and 10 November 2004 by the Marketing and Polling Institute IMAS-Inc, Chisinau, commissioned by the Institute for Public Policies (IPP), confirms this fact. Thus, it has shown that television is by far the most important source of political information for the population, 81% preferring this medium (68.2% of them named it as a first option, while 12.8% as a second option), while radio received 47% (14.8% mentioned it as a first option, while 32.2% as a second option). These two media are followed distantly by newspapers, the family, friends, neighbors, work fellows, gossip, opinion polls and others. This hierarchy, according to BPO, has been typical in the last three years. Thus, between November 2001 and November 2004 seventy-one %, on average, of respondents watched TV daily, approximately 54% listened to the radio and only 12% read newspapers daily.

The majority of respondents, especially those from rural areas, have limited access to the media or a very narrow range of options. The most accessible local source of political information is still the Teleradio Moldova Company, which has been declared a public institution as of 8 August 2004 (it had been state-owned before this date). Consequently, people have no choice but to consume what they are served or find refuge in the entertainment segment of the media available to them.

What is the choice?

The national broadcaster (i.e. Teleradio-Moldova, which is the only company with national coverage) provides to TV viewers and radio listeners about 859 hours of monthly programming, of which TV Moldova 1 offers 319 hours, and Radio Moldova offers 540 hours. The social-political programming (newscasts and thematic programs) represent 218 hours or 25.39% (November 2004). This segment increased considerably after Teleradio Moldova was declared a public institution, according to monitoring data provided by CIVIS for the period June-November 2004.

Thus, while in June 2004, when the Company was formally a body owned by the state and the social-political programming on Moldova 1 represented 40.14 hours, in November it increased to 65.46 hours. At Radio Moldova programming hours were, respectively, 112.18 and 152.13 hours. Monitoring data also show the expansion of opinion-based social-political programming at the expense of news programming. While in June 2004 the latter stretched over 74.7% of the TV social-political programming and 87.46% of radio programming, in November these figures represented 62.9 and 78.2 percent respectively.

The public broadcaster focuses its attention on domestic social-political news, which, according to the CIVIS monitoring data, had in November 2004 63.2% as frequency and 76.8% as length of the programming on Moldova 1 and respectively 60% and 75.5% on Radio Moldova. This type of news includes social, political and economic information. There is a hierarchy to it at the national broadcaster. Thus, so-

cial news on Moldova 1 in November 2004 represented 39.5% as frequency and 43.6% as length, while on Radio Moldova these figures were, respectively, 30.9 and 37.4 % of the total of domestic social-political news. They are followed by domestic political news (between 20 and 23 % as frequency and length) and economic news (on average 10% on Moldova 1 and 13% on Radio Moldova). Other domestic events are reported on at a rate of 1.2 and 0.3 % as frequency and length. The Teleradio Moldova Company offers to its audience a good amount of news on foreign relations and international events. They cover on average 30% as frequency and length in the total amount of social-political news.

The national broadcaster gives preference to the following topics: Transnistria, education, culture, ceremonies and anniversaries, foreign socio-economic relations, government and parliament, diplomacy, agriculture, sports, healthcare and health insurance. These ten areas, with some variation, have been present on average in 40-50% of the news broadcast every month by Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. The most infrequent stories on Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova have been on local investments, civil society, domestic and foreign debt, public order, wages, agricultural production issues, exports, customs issues, product quality, housing and others (data for October and November).

The Teleradio Moldova audiences have been best informed on the activity of the authorities or their agents. Thus, in November 2004 Moldova 1 reported on the central and local authorities (president, his staff, government, prime minister, parliament, chair of parliament, justice, constitutional court, police, security, financial police, economic police, the army, local public administration) 46.8% of the time, while Radio Moldova 50.8%. In this way political agents appeared in November on Moldova 1 1975 times, which is a daily average of 32 mentions, and 3287 times on Radio Moldova (109 per day on average). Every day in November radio listeners and TV viewers could meet with political actors representing the power in newscasts aired on average 52.5 times.

The other political actors (parliamentary opposition and nonparliamentary parties) made 22 appearances on Moldova 1 and 56 appearances on Radio Moldova, or on average 0.7 times on TV and 1.8 times on Radio every day. The information consumers could see somewhat more frequently—2.5 times per day—the political actors outside of power. The Moldova 1 viewers had on average 10.9 occasions to see news on employers, trade unions, the church, civil society, busi-

nesses, the media, educational-scientific and healthcare institutions, while Radio Moldova listeners had 41.9 occasions of this type.

The Teleradio Moldova Company prefers to broadcast customary or ceremonial events. Their presence in newscasts has increased from about 70% in August to 85% in November (94% in October). Conflict and controversial situations have received the smallest coverage on Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova. Their share decreased from 30% in August to 15% in November (6% in October).

Both Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova usually cover events based on a single source of information. The public TV does so in 91 % of cases, and Radio Moldova in 81 % (in November 2004).

How do we respond and what expectations do we have?

Although the broadcast media are by far the most preferred by the public, they are granted various degrees of trust. By looking again at the 2004 BPO we can see that 58% of the respondents have the strongest confidence in TV, and only 13.2% in radio. The national broadcaster enjoys even less trust. Thus the national television is fully trusted by only 14.3% of viewers and somewhat trusted by 48.3%; while Radio Moldova respectively 12.7 and 44.1 percent. To the question, "Do you think that today in Moldova the mass media are free to report news and make commentaries without being censored (without any control over the content) by the state?", 48.2% answered negatively and only 26.6% said yes, the others not knowing what to answer (24%) or refusing to provide an answer (1.2%).

The discrepancy we can see between media preferences and the degree of people's trust in the media causes us to think that the substantial confidence the public still has in the broadcast political information—which is in fact a consequence of the traditional perception nourished for decades and according to which TV and radio messages are always true—may run dry if it continues to be presented in a partisan way. This feeling, which is a true asset of any broadcaster, must be protected by accurate, impartial and nonpartisan political information. For otherwise its dishonest and ruthless exploitation will lead to a negative reaction of the public to the media in general and broadcasting in particular. Such a behavior is absolutely not recommended and counterproductive for an evolving public institution, which I believe should take

on a social commitment to serve the citizen and protect his or her right to be informed in a balanced and unconstrained way. The public broadcaster should support the common citizen, who, according to BPO, is worried by poverty, increasing prices, unemployment, crime, corruption and other problems. People expect support in overcoming these social ills. Does the Moldovan public broadcaster offer it to them?

What does the monitoring show?

Although the data resulting from the news monitoring conducted between June and November show some positive changes in tune with the values of broadcasting, they are not able yet to demonstrate the commitment of Teleradio Moldova to the values of a public institution. The news agenda shows that Moldova 1 and Radio Moldova continue to report on daily life from the angle of the authorities and at the expense of the public interest. The reduction of the news content in the social-political programming has led to an information impoverishment among the Company's audience. This points to an attempt by the Company to avoid the uncomfortable issues in order to convey to the public a conflict-free reality, which we believe is as good as distorting it.

The priority given to the authorities in broadcasts, on the one hand, and the minimal coverage of other political and social actors reveals an editorial policy that takes away from the Company's credibility con-

cerning its vow to embrace the values of a public broadcaster. The neutral approach to news still fails to grant an impartial character to news programs at Teleradio Moldova, since reality is reported from only one point of view and one source. The diversification of sources and the coverage of conflicting or different viewpoints are conditions yet unfulfilled in the transformation of the Company into a public institution.

Choosing between guide and pseudoguide

Political information in broadcasting requires two actors: the news producer and the audience. Their positive interaction requires responsibility from both sides. The former will commit to presenting exhaustive, balanced and varied information. The latter will receive it and run it through his or her critical thinking. The news producer will try to record "the moment of history" as it is, resisting the temptation to polish or distort it. The public will persevere in its desire to be informed fully and honestly. The former will realize that its social call is to serve the citizen. The latter will realize that only those who are informed are also armed against nontruth.

When we take an unknown road, as the transition from nonfreedom to freedom is, we have to choose between a guide and a pseudoguide.

Constantin MARIN

The Transformation of the Teleradio Moldova Company: legal accidents and the actual situation

The transformation of Teleradio Moldova from a state-owned company into a public one should have taken place back in the 1990s. The failure to carry out this piece of reform back then has produced negative consequences today. Censorship crept back into Teleradio Moldova starting in 1994. After 2001 it became ever stronger.

In 2002 about 400 employees of the state-owned company Teleradio Moldova organized themselves into a strike committee to protest against the censorship introduced at the Company by the current authorities. In the wake of these protests, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) passed in April and September 2002 Resolutions

1280 and respectively 1303 on the functioning of democratic institutions in the Republic of Moldova, whereby PACE required Moldova to amend the law on broadcasting and pass a law that would change the status of the state Company Teleradio Moldova into an independent public body (the NPBI law).

Two draft laws on the Teleradio Moldova Company were proposed in Parliament: one was formulated by the Association of Electronic Press (APEL) and appraised by the Council of Europe, while the other draft was proposed by the President of Moldova. After debates and a positive first-reading vote on the draft endorsed by the Council of Europe, the Parliament (the majority Communist faction)

rejected this draft and voted in two successive readings the President's draft law. This draft had been criticized as it gave the authorities continuous control over the company, and hence no editorial independence could be assured under the circumstances. The passage of this law represents a negative precedent in the Republic of Moldova and has triggered discontent among journalists and the civil society; it has also been criticized by international organizations.

Thus, the public Company Teleradio Moldova was to be created based on a flawed law. Besides, contrary to this law, the people who were to create the new public broadcaster were also managers of the state-owned one (A. Efremov, I. Telescu).

The NPBI law has been amended twice. The first amendment of 13 March 2003 seemed to improve the law. The change concerned art. 13 which created the Council of Observers (CO), a body of 15. Before the amendment the political authorities appointed all CO members. After the amendment only 10 members could be appointed politically in a direct or indirect way, while the opposition and the civil society appointed 5.

At the same time, however, a provision was introduced in para. 4 of art. 13 whereby the CO "deliberated in the presence of at least two thirds of its members i.e. 10 people. Decisions shall be adopted by a majority of votes of the members present". Thus, under a situation of good "party discipline" the 10 CO members appointed by the authorities could pass any issue on Teleradio Moldova, while the other five members, appointed by the opposition and the civil society, could not prevent in any way such motions.

The second amendment, which was adopted on 13 November 2003, pushed the transformation of Teleradio Moldova farther away still from Council of Europe recommendations. The new procedure adopted by the authorities was not to reorganize the state company into a public one but rather to liquidate the state company and create a public one by hiring all the staff anew. This turned out to be the most awkward procedure of all the possible ways of transforming a state company into a public one. At the same time, the procedure chosen by the authorities was to comply with a series of legal requirements that allowed for a temporary parallel existence of the two companies and provided for a clear distinction between the two, including management structures and budgets; this was not observed in the process of transforming the state company into a public one.

The law passed in 2002 and the two amendments hijacked the purpose for which the transformation of

Teleradio Moldova had started. The last amendment of 13 November 2003 was criticized by the expert Karol Jakubowicz, deputy chair of the Council of Europe committee for the media. The Independent Journalism Center showed in its assessment of the documents the pitfalls of the situation if only people loyal to the authorities were hired and that that draft law left unlimited leeway to sack employees based on criteria other than those of professionalism.

The Company's journalists created an anti-censorship committee in broadcasting (successor to the strike committee); they were joined by journalists from other media, the civil society, international organizations working in the field of the mass media, and opposition political parties to express their concerns about the dubious and un-European way in which the transformation of the state company Teleradio Moldova had been conceived and carried out. In 2004 dozens of declarations have been issued regarding a worsening of the media situation in Moldova and especially the continuing trend of the authorities to preserve control over the state company, the hazard for journalists uncomfortable to the authorities to be fired from the Company and the process of the Company's transformation into an independent public body. Such declarations were issued every week during the so-called period of competition for vacancies at the public Company.

In spite of all the warnings issued by journalists and the civil society, nothing has changed. On 27 July 2004 journalists started non-stop protests against abuses by the Teleradio Moldova management as well as against the way in which Teleradio Moldova was being transformed.

During the protests the journalists were supported by the civil society, other media outlets, etc. In the following weeks and months international media organizations became involved too: Article 19, Reporters sans Frontieres, International Federation of Journalists, South-East European Media Organization (SEEMO). The majority of these stances speak to the necessity of redoing the transformation of Teleradio Moldova in a transparent manner.

The heads of diplomatic missions of the USA, EU, Council of Europe and OSCE signed a joint declaration on 1 October 2004 saying that "the process of transformation of Teleradio Moldova into a public company has not taken place in compliance with the March requirements of the OSCE Mission to Moldova and of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, supported by President Voronin's initiative of July 5 regarding 'Guarantees

for democratic processes and freedom of the mass media", that "the monitoring of Teleradio Moldova in recent months has revealed considerable shortcomings", that "a public broadcaster can and must play a key role in preparing the ground for free and fair elections" and that "preferences for certain viewpoints or the absence of such preferences in programs broadcast by Teleradio Moldova will be one of the factors taken into consideration in assessing whether the parliamentary elections have been free and fair."

Thus, one should consider the following: in Moldova there is a need that Teleradio Moldova be transformed into a public company; this has not been done on time, and the degree of censorship has increased. Protests have started on these grounds. As a result of the protests the Council of Europe has recommended a legal package to solve the problem. The

national laws adopted to this end turned out not to comply with European recommendations. The legislative amendments, especially the last one, have only worsened the situation. The law has been applied in a flawed way. Protests have started again. International media organizations have drawn the authorities' attention to the violations committed and the need to change the transformation process. Foreign diplomatic missions have pointed to the fact that such a development of events could affect the free and fair nature of upcoming parliamentary elections.

The problem is more than visible both from the point of view of legislation and the actual situation. However, nothing is changing in the issue around Teleradio Moldova, and the government is not stepping away from its 2002 line imbedded into the NPBI. Let's see where this line takes us.

Dorin CHIRTOACĂ

The testimony of a rejected journalist

I have spent twenty years of my work as a journalist (which I couldn't really call a "career") at Radio Moldova. I went to the State Committee for Broadcasting (this is what it used to be called before 1994) in December 1981, immediately after graduating from the Faculty of Journalism, and was hired for the Music Department of the National Radio. I worked there as a beginner for three years; after this period I decided to leave the Radio. I worked for two years at *Tinerimea Moldovei* (Moldova's Youth), which I also left in 1986, but this time not of my own will. In 1987 I went back to the Radio to stay there for 17 more years and was fired in the racket that you have probably all heard. All these years I have worked at the Youth Department and continued freelancing for newspapers and magazines, and after 1995 I worked additional jobs for newspapers *Mesagerul* (1995-97), *Flux* (1998-2000), *Jurnal de Chisinau* (2000-2001), *Gazeta Romaneasca* (2001-2002).

Except for minor problems, I was generally allowed to work "double jobs", even though my print articles didn't quite agree with the official line of the National Radio. Even when things had gone completely bad at the Radio, after the departure of the nonconformist news journalists Luminita

Dumbraveanu, Vera Tabacaru, Raisa Belicov, and Emilia Ghetu when more and more criticism could be heard from many quarters as to the decreasing quality of the radio programs, I kept my position that one didn't have the right to complain about censorship as long as one didn't put on air what was proper, and that everything hinged on one's journalistic courage. I was being told that the Youth Department was not quite "visible" and this is why I was not standing in the way. But the first signal of warning arrived in July 2002, when I was made to choose between the Radio and *Gazeta Romaneasca* ("We can't put up with your name in the editorial staff of the paper. Make up your mind!"). I chose the Radio, and my choice was not linked to the newspaper closing down the same week.

After that, until the zealous *politikturnik* Ilie Telescu came to head the Radio, I put on air everything I felt should go on air, in observation of professional ethics, without censoring myself and without asking permission from "the crown" to air a subject. When Telescu came in, however, the situation at the Radio went completely bad. The last great crackdown on the undesired started. I was criticized for all sorts of trifles; I was continuously conveyed messages

through petty bosses to stop “waving the shovel at airplanes”, that is to stop trying to fight the “system” on my own as I was “not going to change it anyway”. I didn’t listen. After a monitoring exercise applied to the youth programs, a pretext was found to take me away from the microphone—see, I was too old (44 at the time)!

However, I took seriously the competition for the future staff of the public broadcaster. As it is a competition, compete we shall! I decided to start from the very top, but the position of the Radio director was not “available”. So I applied for the position of coordinator (with four editors reporting to it) for the entire literary-artistic segment of the future public radio. I was told that my application had to include my motivation for this job and a proposed show (the idea probably was that this position would not only coordinate but also host some shows). All right, I thought, but if I failed what would I do, since the following competition overlapped with this one? Nobody could give an answer to this sort of question (and probably nobody knew the answer, except for the supreme Master Mind).

I tried to unravel this administrative bundle. I had to tear away the participation criteria and conditions from the secretary of the panel, Tabunscic, the director of the Radio, Batog, and their secretaries, but none of them would provide a clear, complete and timely answer—not to speak about their office duty to make such information public—so that the applicants didn’t even know the conditions. So I applied for two positions simultaneously— in addition to the position of coordinator, I also applied for a weekly half-hour culture program.

For the first position the interview took an hour, which felt like a detailed examination. Andon, chair of the panel, asked me (probably having in mind the specific character of the future show) what I thought of the expression “The writer is the engineer of the human soul”. I told him this was a worn-out slogan from the *proletkultism* period, but which can be used successfully in any propaganda campaign if polished and reworded properly. But my “coolest” answer was to Batog’s question concerning the situations when the broadcaster, according to its by-laws, didn’t have to grant the right to reply. As he was thinking that he was about to fail me as a pupil who didn’t do her homework, the director even stood up from his chair. I had read all the documents developed by Telescu, so I reproduced word for word all the appropriate provisions, and Batog, as he was trying to sit back, fell beside the chair. Of the five applicants for this position, the winner was comrade Elena Habasescu-

Matievschi (65), a zealous promoter of the “integrated history of Moldova” and of an aggressive rural Moldovenism.

A few days later, I showed up for the second interview being as sure of my strength as the first time. I explained my project, I was asked all sorts of “gen. ed.” questions and provocations. The above-mentioned comrade, although nowhere in the by-laws was there mention concerning the presence of the newly-hired “assistants”, put on an air of panelist in her capacity of a boss. With her Moscow-bred accent in Romanian she wanted an explanation of the repertory differences between the National Theater in Chisinau and the one in Balti.

So I failed again. When you miss twice a very important thing, what do you do, dear readers, do you try again? I thought I should go all the way, just to see how many times they would fail me. But there was nothing else to apply for, while the “errand boy” positions weren’t appealing to me, not even for the exercise they promised. All I could choose for the third time was a position in the News Department. I didn’t waste time on projects, which nobody read anyway, and just filed an application reading as follows: “I am applying for the position of style-editor at the News Department. I have the qualifications and experience required. Moreover, this is my third and last attempt to catch a position at Radio Moldova.”

Metempsychosis with desirable charming princes

This time I was being examined by two newly-hired directors of the News Department—Sandu Satnic and Rodica Rusu. The latter asked me about my *editing speed*. The arrogance of Telescu’s attendant boggled my mind. She could have at least told me the units in which one measures editing speed. An obscure test followed, with examples of bad style, pronunciations of foreign names, spelling out of abbreviations, writing a news story. The presenters also had to take pronunciation tests. That’s why probably the Radio now is full of new lisps, as if there weren’t enough among those hired outside of all competition. Many shows that have not been put up for competition continue their “bland existence” from their previous life—a sort of metempsychosis of the State Company now reincarnated into a public one, populated by the same charming princes, of course the desirable ones.

The irony is that the third time I was hired. Although there was only one vacancy, I still had to share it with Rodica Graur, who died within a month, may she rest in peace.

I know it's useless to argue with people who don't admit any arguments, not even the unshakable ones, when their task is to carry out a political order. But I would like, nevertheless, to inform you of at least one fragment of my interest letter for the first competition. This is the same text as the one I had submitted to the panel. It would be fair if the person who was hired for the position made public her plea which got her the position.

"Argument

"So why culture radio then? I believe I am in a position to compare, after having visited most of the democratic press of Moldova. Radio gives one an incomparably larger audience, which is also very uneven. This requires, on the one hand, additional effort, while on the other hand it motivates very much the author—he/she knows that he/she doesn't work for a hypothetical owner but rather for every individual taxpayer, to whom he/she is accountable.

"The area I am applying for is familiar to me; I am acquainted with the literary and arts personalities of Moldova. I have written for various media on a wide range of literary and artistic subjects—from sophisticated interviews (which differ from "dictaphone" ones), to stories, art reviews (theater, visual arts, literature, music, etc.) to short news. It is my luck and privilege to have grown professionally amid the so-called artists of the '80s, with whom I have worked all my professional life.

"I have also known many major personalities of our culture—Alexandru Cozmescu, Paul Mihnea, Mihai Grecu, Ion and Petre Aldea Teodorovici, Andrei Sarbu and others; I have seen them in their homes, I've made with them many radio and print stories. Not to mention the personalities between the Prut and Nistru—Vasile Vasilache, Vladimir Besleaga, Mihai Cimpoi—with whom I have worked often and who, I believe, are obscured by the shadow of other, less worthy subjects.

"My professional principles will be based on the historic truth (which coincides with the literary and artistic one); on timely, accurate, balanced and professional information; on elegance and freshness of language; on cultural aspects (by means of a review of literary magazines from Moldova, Romania and other countries, at least once a month).

"In the radio segment I would like to coordinate I will include shows to reflect objectively the literary life of Moldova. To this end, round-table discussions should be organized to debate the evolution of our literature, prose, poetry, drama, the phenomenon of being a beginner, the condition—so controversial—of being a writer, with invited literary critics, writers, poets, playwrights from all generations and "camps". Literary criticism programs should go beyond the bounds of a gang in order to represent as accurately

as possible all the critical angles existing in Moldova. The rich inter-war literature should be approached in various forms—commemorations, a series of Romanian poetry read by the authors themselves or great actors, as well as readings from well-known novels in order to promote true values.

"The listener of a public radio station has the right to request from the authors of the world-literature segment updated information on the publishing news across the world. When the authors are not up to the task, outside specialists should be approached, so as to reflect as fully as possible the literary process in the world.

"Theater actors, directors, and theater events require professional reviews meant for the long term, with all the angles required by theater life. The same should be done in the case of other arts. I have enough ideas for every compartment within the air segment I am referring to. But since a precise program format doesn't exist yet, I can make specific suggestions for every show. I would gladly host one of them, either on literature, theater, visual arts, in parallel with "Models" (the project I suggested for the first competition), in case I am accepted for this position. This is the first time I am attempting a self-promotion, since I have never been promoted by others for as long as I have worked in this institution."

P.S. I am fully aware of the subjective nature of these lines. Yes, I have reduced to my own case the presentation of a general issue of great importance. But this is my testimony; this is the choice I am taking on. I would also like to answer to Ilie Telescu in this way for his many reproaches concerning my allegedly groundless protests, since *I have been accepted*. No, Mr. Telescu, the professional and ethical humiliation to which you have subjected us during the competition and the repressive measures you have thrown at our legitimate and justified discontentment made me reject the alms you have thrown to me in the end by taking me away from the microphone. I couldn't remain at the Radio only to give a nice sound to the stupidities forged within the Radio (or arriving from Moldpres) based on a single, obscure source. Reduced to silence next to, as you say, the "900 good, qualified, etc." but not free fellow workers; I couldn't stand it there.

P.P.S. I can't help mentioning an absolutely fantastic character—the secret police guy who was playing the role of the psychologist, always present at all panel sessions, recording on an (old) tape recorder everything that applicants said. Even the blatant presence of the political police didn't matter. My point is this: the person who gave us the journalism tests was no one else but this freshly retired secret service colonel.

Rodica MAHU

“Publicists” vs. their trade

The difficult transition of the last decade and a half has brought along changes in all the walks of life, including journalism. The style of journalism has changed, as has the way in which subjects are approached. The subjects themselves have changed, too, as now they are defined by other realities, and, not at all surprisingly if we take into account the massive penetration of youth into society's news structure, the journalists' age has also changed. Journalism in Moldova has become “younger”.

After many years devoted to the profession, part of the “old time” journalists either migrated to other fields offering more existential advantages, or failed to keep up with the new requirements and the profession's faster step. The media market also adjusted itself to the new social challenges, now offering different types of publications, radio stations, television and news agencies. The new media structures have grown around a core of two or three experienced journalists, the rest of the team being composed of beginners or even students finishing university. Naturally, the new media employers prefer younger people, and this is not always based on their preference for “fresh angles” on things but rather on pragmatic reasons, such as the possibility to pay lower wages than the older ones would require; besides, there is also the comfort of being able to wield one's influence and even manipulate beginners. (Just an aside: the thing about higher pay for more experienced journalists is in fact quite relative.)

The vacancies in media outlets existing after 1990 have also been occupied mainly by youth, who have been coming out of universities and even journalism courses in excessive numbers. As a consequence, the pool of journalists in Moldova has changed its composition significantly in the wake of the youth flood. Media products are now put out by a substantial contribution of young journalists, at least in terms of quantity.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of this changed ratio between “veterans” and beginners for Moldovan journalism on the one hand and for media consumers on the other hand?

A healthy part of the media stories have been marked recently by a different manner of interpreting and conveying facts, which is based on the customs of Western journalism. Doubtless, the precision of expression, the accuracy of facts and figures (especially their adequate use), the rule of the two sources, avoiding adjectives in reporting on certain situations and

other forms of accurate journalism are becoming an increasingly stronger trend and even a professional practice of young journalists when they can afford applying it. (We will not refer here to the practice in the subservient press, where there are no concerns of this kind.)

By and large, the positive changes one can notice in the profile of the Moldovan media are due to the young journalists, who are most often not “corrupted” by their own model and a better training in journalism and who turn out to be more responsive to the training programs offered by various media organizations, such as the Independent Journalism Center, where they are trying to tune into Western journalism. How they manage to apply in their daily work the precepts they learn is up to every individual journalist and is certainly linked to their “spark of talent”. Besides, theory and practice don't always go together.

We can't deny to the young journalists a certain audacity in their journalistic discourse, as they try to approach subjects that the powers-that-be don't like, sometimes with life-threatening repercussions (the case of journalist Alina Anghel). Certain requirements to which journalistic investigations, stories, and analyses are subject are compensated by the acuity of the topic and by the ethical probity that such authors demonstrate.

However, the few examples of this kind ought not to be generalized; the aspiration to becoming singular and valiant in one's profession (oftentimes confirmed by how our younger colleagues practice their trade) often borders on superficiality, fragmentation and childishness in approaching certain subjects. A trend appears whereby kilometers of paper are used to write what can be accommodated in several paragraphs, or when materials are lifted from the Internet without any reference to the original authors (this has become almost the norm in our newspapers, especially in culture and entertainment sections).

Various cultural, geographic and other types of “accidents” happen too, which the reader becomes witness to. The audience can't read without embarrassment such expressions such as “*composer Evgheni Muravinski*” (Mravinski) or “*We can state that Maria Cebotari is the greatest personality...*” (the superlative is used in a somewhat arbitrary way).

Self-sufficiency and the relaxed attitude to writing can hardly be called encouragements for great deeds; they are rather risks of becoming limited in development that the journalist runs. The risk becomes even

stronger in the context of a socio-cultural space possessing information and mentality stereotypes, which are unfortunately not at all equivalent to major standards. This is a threat for those who are not aware of it and let themselves be carried by the mediocrity of the general flow. I am surprised by the natural demeanor of some journalists who, although they have worked only a few years in journalism, call each other “publicist” (during a known radio show, for example), especially those who are notorious for their bad writing. Everybody is thrown into this category—those who have built for themselves a reputable name after years of work in the field, as well as those who have enrolled recently into the media community and who are feeling their way through the profession’s maze. Especially given the fact that some of the younger ones are into open, aggressive and scruples-free hired work in favor of the media serving the power, easily giving up their professional honor. So maybe it’s the right moment to mention that there is a difference between the activity of a publicist and practicing alleged journalism. We wouldn’t be so meticulous as to this situation if this wasn’t about the credibility of the profession of journalism. We shouldn’t ignore those who read, listen to and watch media outputs, as they are the final targets of the journalistic effort.

As I was saying, Moldovan journalism has become younger, and hence a lowering in the age of the audience is implied too. The reader, listener and viewer with a certain level of training and cultural notions doesn’t have much to consume in our market. And this is not to blame the youth for the sins of the media, especially since their stories cannot be bundled and laughed at all together; each of the young journalists has his or her own professional identity in the great collective. Moreover, many young voices are heard by their peers and the audience due to their perseverance, talent, good professional training, ambition to state things clearly, and especially for taking the reader’s side, as a true journalist ought to do.

But this is not the point. There is a gap in our press that needs to be filled with a more elevated media product to close the deficit of high-class journalism, felt so acutely by the category of consumers I was mentioning above. The more demanding reader needs more than just facts, data and figures put down on paper according to all the rules of journalism and in compliance with the so-much-talked-about principles of balance, objectivity, impartiality, etc. All these are good and nice things sometimes attempted in our journalism, but even so a gap is felt—perhaps in the cour-

age to tackle the crux of issues, perhaps the lack of a little elegance and taste in writing, or the missing culture of expressing some truths. Or perhaps a more fine language is missing, which could trigger in people’s minds the full color of ideas, or perhaps what we lack is the escape from the platitude of the specific and the courage to see beyond what the common eye sees.

To be sure, we don’t have an established tradition of elite journalism; the passage through this geographic space of many models of culture, society, democracy or pseudo democracy hasn’t permitted the evolution and polishing of some journalistic and writing norms. Probably this difficult mission has fallen on our contemporaries. But in the current atmosphere, which is not propitious for high-class journalism, when it is the commercial, sensational or just mediocre journalism that rules and dictates its type of “journalistic establishment”, it is not easy to reject compromises, to break away from such fakeness and take the road of the true needs of society and the individual.

The precarious business situation of newspapers, their dependence on various funders that have group, party or other selfish interests, oftentimes nips in the bud any journalistic idealism, that is, any other editorial concept than the one wanted by the guy with the money, and journalism thus comes to serve individuals rather than society. In the independent national publications, which can be counted on the fingers of one hand, all the people writing for them—from the most famous and talented ones to the beginners with uncertain potential—have to face a tough objective under the circumstances of Moldova: keep the paper running. And in such a case, of course, only one rationale can prevail—as wide an audience as possible, which in turn dictates its own editorial policies that are, alas, far from journalistic elitism.

Since the audience is the king of the media market, then the press is the agent educating its preferences—for kitsch and low culture along with those linked to immediate vital and social needs. It is nobody else but the media that injects the consumer’s daily dose of drug composed of an arbitrary mix of political speculation, economic blackmail, society gossip, apocalyptic forecasts, esoteric mishmashes, extraterrestrial hypotheses and just tastelessness to tickle the readers’ primary instincts. Therefore in the audience-publication relationship there has to be a principal mediator—quality journalism—which would give a positive push to both directions of this interdependent link. There would be certainly only gains as a result of such mediation. This is one of the few certainties that we have.

Neli HARABARA

The new gamblers

We have been shocked and surprised by the metamorphosis that has afflicted some of our peers; first being fiery critics of the Communists, after February 2001 they have rented out their quill to them. We were ready to believe that the young people arriving recently in journalism, who were free of any "old sins", couldn't but understand where the truth was.

Old profiteers and their young satellites

So it seemed, until February 2001. All the new names making it in the Moldovan media back then represented young people with democratic visions, while the vast majority of journalism students polled back then said they wanted to work for democratic and independent publications.

But all through these years of Communist government we had to discover that the veteran profiteers had young satellites around them. Many of the journalism graduates of the last five years have shown an amazing availability to any political option, and for them journalism seemed to be nothing more than a combination of "mind game" and business, with no moral consequences.

The events around the transformation of the state Teleradio Moldova Company into a public one and the protests linked to it have illustrated very eloquently this state of affairs. It was to be expected that not all journalists from the company would show solidarity with the protesters, but it was very surprising to discover that almost nobody from the young journalists hired by the Company participated in the protests. Although they did understand that that was a movement against authoritarian practices and censorship, many of those youth read it as a simple labor conflict between the administration and some journalists who were unhappy because they had been fired.

The management of the TV station suddenly discovered that besides the old, mediocre staff it was also supported by the youth. In fact, the management "troika" at the Company reflects this friendship of generations: the Company's director, who is 50, is joined by a director of the radio station, just under 60, and the TV director of 30.

Some of these youth have shown not only loyalty to the new management and, implicitly, to the Communist government in general, but also true subservi-

ence; so they started moving up the ladder in a spectacular way, as was the case of a simple reporter who became chief of the news department.

Another beginner, too, managed to jump up from being a regular editor to the main editorialist of the governmental newspaper. He managed to walk the ten-year path of a journalist like Staras in just a few months. I saw him for the first time when *Democratia* was putting its team together. He and one of his older colleagues, who is now managing editor at a literary magazine, were supposed to be the "heavy weight" members of the social-liberal oriented *Democratia* staff. In the two or three months while he worked for this publication, the youth in question was negotiating with a number of editors at the same time (Val Butnaru has written that he approached *Jurnal de Chisinau*, too) and finally landed at the governmental paper, and our understanding is that he didn't do it because he is madly in love with the Communists.

What is happening at the journalism faculty

In 2003 I taught journalism to a group of 13 students at the journalism faculty of ULIM. I realized that political divisions started in school. This was not the case for all the students, as five or six of those thirteen represented an anonymous mass with no opinions and clear viewpoints and who didn't even see their future in journalism as they had gone to school for the sake of a diploma.

The other seven, however, had clear political sympathies. One of them, who was a so-so student, liked the Popular Christian Democratic Party and always had the same point of view, and even if he couldn't back it up he thought his own persuasion was enough. A young lady, who never expressed her point of view when we discussed the political realities of the country, was a mediocre student but was at the same time a classical rote-learner with a talent for toadying. She didn't have friends, she was always alone and later I learned from her peers that she liked the Communists. Another student, who was the worst in the group, skipped the most classes, and politics and journalism interested him a lot less than business and girls.

Finally, the core of the group, composed of five students, who were also a "gang", were the best stu-

dents, had their own point of view and were able to listen to others. Although their votes tended to oscillate between Urechean, Rosca and Serebrian, they also criticized all of them. "The Communists are primitive and authoritarian", they were saying, "Urechean is corrupt, Rosca hasn't changed his discourse at all, Serebrian is too intellectual. We don't have a true national leader".

They had an opinion on their future profession too. They were aware of the state of affairs in Moldovan journalism, i.e. who works for whom and who moved over into the Communist camp. They read and liked democratic journalists and wanted to work with them, but they thought it was very difficult to find a good place at a good newspaper because the good places were full and nobody was going to give up his or her position. They had done their internships at various media outlets and they were feeling bitter about the experience. "We were errand boys", they told me, "nobody trusted us with a good show, all we were supposed to do was to serve them". I told them it was natural to do menial work when you land in a news room for the first time after school; we had all gone through it. If they had shown they were good, I believe they would have received more serious assignments, or maybe even have been hired by a serious newsroom because good journalists are needed everywhere. But they preferred thinking they were discriminated against because of their age.

As they made no connection between the attitude of experienced journalists and their level of writing, I had to remind them of the various assignments they had had, of how we had visited theaters and museums to learn writing about culture; I had told them what such a review was supposed to be like and promised to them to publish their best reviews in *Jurnal de Chisinau*. None of their works even approached the level of a publishable review. Their texts were full of grammatical mistakes, childish expressions and stereotypes picked from bad journalists. Maybe I should be more indulgent in this assessment, but I know of good examples too. I have read in *Timpul* several stories by a 15-year-old, Corina Ajder, who surprised me by the maturity of her thinking and very good command of the Romanian language. None of my third-year students were able to write anywhere close to what that high-school student had written.

Of course, in time, some of them may become good journalists and realize how much they are overestimating their skills now; for now, though, they are able only to blame others and pose as victims with a

masochistic ease. For they not only fail to assess their skills fairly, they are also very impatient to make it in life. Given all the temptations of today, they crave financial independence; this is why they don't focus on one goal but try out various solutions. When they learned that the easiest way to make money is from foreign grants given to the civil society, three of them set up an NGO. They haven't received any grant in one year of work.

One of them came to me one day to ask for advice. An acquaintance of his parents knew the editor-in-chief at *Moldova Suverana*, who was ready to give him a column on the first page. My student hastened to convince me that he was a staunch anti-communist, and the editor-in-chief had assured him that the column would have nothing to do with politics, but if he ever had to betray his principles he would abandon the column first thing. I told him he wouldn't be allowed to write what he wanted and how he wanted it, and if he wanted to feel it on his own skin, he could certainly do it by way of an educational experience. He never published, and this is not because editor Berlinschi edited him out. He just never wrote anything, always thinking about "another chance".

I don't want to generalize this short teaching experience I've had, but I think this is a typical situation illustrating how young journalists of today see themselves in the profession. Very few of them land at good papers, and this is not because "there are no free places", but just because they are not competitive. Under the circumstances, the media subservient to the government, which are always short of staff, are ready to open their arms to such youth and offer to them first-page columns or hour-and-a-half morning shows on the National TV.

Journalism the Moldovan way

Does the fact that we are perpetuating the phenomenon of corrupt journalists to the present day, after fourteen years of independence, speak only to subjective and moral reasons, without more profound and general ones?

Everywhere in the world journalism is a business, and when a Westerner says it, he is thinking of an honest business. When a journalist lies or distorts reality, he doesn't only mislead or behave irresponsibly, according to Westerners, but he also defies the rules of honest business. Hence, his standing and that of his publication come under threat, which means not only the loss of trust but also of revenues.

So, the merchandise traded by the journalist is truth, and what totalitarianism managed to do was to turn nontruth into merchandise. After 1989, along with democratization and the appearance of market rules, journalism too had to learn to function by other principles. In the countries where transition has gone through a more or less natural trajectory and reached a market economy close to the Western one, journalism too has approached European standards. In other countries, however, such as Moldova, where transition has not managed in fifteen years to go beyond the so-called "wild capitalism", journalists also have had to conform to the reality.

Another factor which has prevented the appearance of a free and independent press has been the fact that in Moldova the state has continued to have a monopoly on the process of democratization and transition to a market economy. It is the state that set free "wild capitalism". Moldovan business appeared and developed not according to market rules but to the degree of influence with the state. Those who have managed to get for themselves preferential conditions in taxation, customs dues, credits, etc. didn't have to worry about an honest business. This is why business in Moldova is dependent on the state and is a "leech business" almost in its entirety.

Those who have accumulated, with the help of the state, millions in the last fifteen years had no interest in helping a free, strong market emerge because such a market would be in opposition to the state and thus make it stronger, while corrupt business needs a weak state. And since business didn't want strong, alternative media, such media never appeared. The existence of some independent papers is not a merit of business circles, as it would have been natural and as it happens everywhere in the world, but of the will and ambition of some journalists and opinion leaders. These publications are not crushed by the authorities only because they don't shake the state's solid monopoly.

The Communists have brought back to life the main principle of Soviet journalism where nontruth and manipulation have become merchandise in great demand. Voronin mimics a strengthening of the state not to make it serve the citizens but to make it subservient to other economic clans than those that had exploited

it before him. The latter are being punished today because they failed to help strong, alternative media appear.

Paradoxically, in spite of the major role played by the state-owned media, and especially by the national TV, in keeping the authorities in power, the job of a "state" journalist has always been poorly paid because the state, as a monopoly holder of information, has dictated the prices for the "merchandise" sold by journalists. The government didn't want to spend money on equipping the television and paying better salaries to its servants because the intellectual level of the audience addressed by the television is so low that it could be deceived cheaply. The state television is an effective and cheap election and political tool.

Journalists start receiving some decent money perhaps only around elections, but then they stop being journalists and turn into propagandists.

In any case, we are far from all our neighbors in terms of political and media pluralism as well as in the pay journalists receive. In Ukraine, Russia and Romania the increasingly stronger, and independent from the state, business has become aware of the importance of strong opposition media. This is why these countries have seen the appearance of many independent media outlets, which have fostered competition and thus increased the value of journalistic work. In Moldova, however, where a good journalist can make 100-200 euros per month it seems that salaries of 1000-1500 euros are unreal, but it is this much that journalists make in Ukraine and Romania. A journalist from Ukraine told me that a TV show at one of the independent Kiev stations can earn you between 3000 and 10,000 euros. I was astonished to learn that Leonid Parfionov, the author of the banned show *Namedni*, had a monthly salary of 80 thousand dollars.

To be sure, the Communists today are more generous with the journalists serving them. The incomes they have in state media are oftentimes higher than those in independent media. I don't want to say it, but the media asking me to write for free most often are the ones run by the Chisinau municipality. There have been cases when I was paid for a story published in the municipality magazine eight months later.

I don't think the Communists treat their authors in the same way.

Constantin CHEIANU

Business reporting that serves civic responsibility

With resignation, obedience, curiosity or indignation—this is how we follow the quakes in the civil society or national economy, writing off most of them to transition. The feedback today between the product offered by the mass media and the audience takes place at a much higher level than a decade ago. The multifaceted media reporting of social-political and economic processes showed to the reader a more complex range of interests, and the reader required reporting on such issues. In this context a number of journalists appeared, who study profoundly only certain issues, applying their professional potential with dedication and good faith. Business reporting has become very popular with readers, as there is a strong link between the living standard and the resolution of existing difficulties. The need to become informed represents society's humble attempt to participate in the definition of economic processes in such a way as to reach a per capita GDP of as decent a level as possible.

To be sure, journalists have to face an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, they have to think about the readers trained in a planned economy characteristic of the Soviet space, and on the other hand they have to think about the people who have some knowledge of the market economy. Thus, the business publications target a middle segment of information consumers, which is in fact not so easy to do. This is a state of affairs—similar to the one of the period of entrenched primitive Moldovenism—which appeared when some editors supported an extremely simplified language, accessible to the most uneducated reader. But the mass media, just like literature or the arts, have the capacity to educate their audiences, educate in them the need to make an indispensable self-educating effort.

Their business character makes stories more difficult to comprehend; therefore, journalists are encouraged to adopt an informative, analytical, coherent and accessible style. The Moldovan press, in its attempt to provide such a product to the public, could be divided by topics approached (production, services, finances and banking, etc.), by destination (specialist and average reader), degree of complexity of the story (trade magazine, a business column in a general-interest publication, tangential business issues in stories of other types), and genre (news, commentary, review, interview, etc.).

Journalists are going increasingly deeper into economic issues, oftentimes with a competence comparable to the specialists'. Business-publication journal-

ists show a keener knowledge and proceed to deep investigations. However, stories are not always accurate. As a rule, there is a difference of competence between journalists from specialized publications and journalists from general ones, as well as of degree of responsibility concerning accuracy. As a result, oftentimes readers have to see misleading pseudoanalyses which affect negatively the quality of the information as a whole. Even though every publication has a distinct image, the information market can be looked at both by segments as well as in its entirety. Therefore the journalist's personal risk of making a mistake produces consequences for the entire press. Thus, last year, as a response to the National Bank's decision to increase the compulsory reserves, newspapers were filled with allegedly informing analyses showing an inevitable decrease in the future of the amount of credits in the economy. Such conclusions created confusion among nonspecialist readers, who are many as we know. It would be enough to ask some experts in the field or at least to consult a textbook on banking to find out that the crediting process would not be affected in any way. Official data on the development of the crediting sector published later on confirmed this fact.

Such situations show gaps in the training of journalists or point to their conscious penchant for superficiality in order to gain sensationalism. Although it is a frequent method used across the world, such a way of attracting readers is not at all justified. The initial effect can be striking, but in the long run this strategy can turn the reader off.

As a whole, the Moldovan press offers to readers a quite full and truthful picture of the national economy. The stories give preference to what the Government does in the field, with varying styles depending on the paper. Thus, *Moldova Suverana* appears as a first source, which publishes speeches by officials. In this case the reader makes up his mind based on his own experiences and knowledge. The other publications, however, given their lack of space and a different audience they target, discuss or suggest ready attitudes, thus showing their preference for a certain idea. On the one hand, this is a way to attract new readers, and on the other hand to keep the ones sharing similar views. This is true, for example, of the critical commentaries published recently by some publications to the "hole of about one billion lei in revenues" that appeared in the state budget this year (*Timpul*, "The government deprives society of one billion lei every year", 29.10.2004; *Kishiniovskii obozrevatel*, "Exchange rate

for inflation", 11.11.2004). The coverage of such issues from various points of view gives society the illusion that it can form its own ideas on them, even though different publications choose to treat the same issue in different ways. The multifaceted approach to issues is the objective of any periodical, but one which is not always reached. As a whole, however, the information market seems to be able to achieve the goals set separately by each of its members.

Another subject reported repeatedly in the press concerns the government's cooperation with international organizations. Such stories are usually informational or analytical and are presented usually in the form of news or press conferences, interviews with officials and independent experts, or commentaries without much depth in interpretation. Asking for official opinions in such cases seems to be an optimal solution for public information, so as to avoid inaccurate conclusions or reporting. Thus, press conferences given by foreign experts contain assessments of key issues of the national economy, shedding light on many subjects disputed in the area. For instance, the declarations of the last IMF mission to Chisinau mentioned the positive trends in Moldova's economy (a 7% growth, etc.) as well as their negative components (the growth being based mostly on domestic consumption, etc.). A view from outside, based on world experience and related to statements by local experts stimulates analysis at various levels—both among professionals as well as among less knowledgeable readers. Also, the foreign aid offered to Moldova by other countries is another topic interesting reporters. Taking into account the destination of such contributions (which the population sees as helping improve living conditions while business people see as improving the business environment), this topic is of high interest to a quite large circle of readers (*Capitala*, "City transportation: problems and the future", 9.10.2004).

The topics taken up by journalists cover various segments of the economy, such as the energy sector and the oil market (*Timpul*, "Union Fenosa is held in check by the Cuciurgan Power Plant", "The oil market seems to stabilize", 12.11.2004; *Capitala*, "How much longer will oil prices increase?", 23.10.2004). Explanatory stories are welcome, as are the more theoretical ones aiming to educate (*Timpul*, "Luxury tax: pros and cons", 12.11.2004; *Komsomolskaia pravda*, "Buying apartments by mortgage?", 6.10.2004). Unfortunately, there are few stories of this kind. They are highly useful to readers in a transition economy, where there is still little experience. Their educational role in the

establishment of socio-economic links between the state and its citizens is not to be underestimated.

The area of finances and banking is given much attention by the media, given this sector's role of a decisive link between various segments of the economy. Some newspapers target informed readers and publish in full official data on, for example, financial deposits and credits or the general financial situation of the banking sector. Others present analyses of the market trends, target readers of varying levels of training and educating them to find their way in the complex economic processes (*Flux*, the money section, 27.10.2004).

Sometimes journalists adopt unjustified positions of bias, distorting the accuracy and objectivity of the story. Thus, in summer the media published stories about the trends in the currency exchange with references to press releases from the National Bank. "Since massive NBM purchases of foreign currency on the domestic market could lead to an increase in the amount of cash and thus to inflation, the NBM uses with care the tools of monetary and currency policies to diminish the excessive supply of foreign currency...", a press release read. Further down, the steps taken by the NBM were presented. On purpose or due to a mistake, one journalist ended his commentary like this: "The NBM declared that massive purchases of foreign currency on the domestic market would lead to higher inflation". Such irresponsible statements may trigger negative consequences (such as an increase in inflation provoked by expectations of inflation). The influence of the mass media has to be considered with a high degree of caution.

The majority of Moldovan periodicals, regardless of whether they publish in Russian or Romanian, run stories on successful business people. Such stories have a double purpose—to inform the public on various businesses and encourage business initiatives in society. In a similar manner, there are stories about businesses, with details about their work, difficulties and performance. Such stories paint a general picture of the business development in the national economy (*Jurnal de Chisinau*, "The local cement manufacturer—choked by imports", 2.07.2004; "The insurance market of Moldova—a potential of one million clients", 19.11.2004).

The regularity of economic interpretations in the press is an important condition to attract and educate readers, since business stories become increasingly more popular. Hence the need for journalists to take on a keen civic responsibility, given the impact they can have on the public.

Rodica TELEUCA

A critical look at the news photography in Moldova

We are going through a dead time for news photography. In Moldova (it couldn't be otherwise, could it?), as well as in the entire world, statistics reveal a crisis in photojournalism, which is one of the most effective news instruments of modern times. We perceive the local decline as one happening in a more general context, although there are reasons and premises suggesting one or more strictly local causes.

Now we will show a couple of local archetypes by which press photography is approached. One of them, which represents the viewpoint of the shift manager (unless it is the big boss himself) or the managing editor (or at least what has remained of this function, omnipotent in the older times), is nothing but a simple exercise of hierarchy. That is, the boss disposes and the subaltern (in our case this is the photo reporter) executes his will. Traditionally, the superior wants nothing but "a picture for one of the many stories" in the current issue. From anywhere. Usually pictures are fished out of the huge drawer of the newsroom to match a certain article. Happy is the columnist whose story ends up being illustrated by an "old bomb" that is completely off the point. How much effort is being expended in order NOT to send the photo reporter out into the field to bring back a picture matching the subject of the column!

The second archetype refers rather to the photo reporter's professional conduct. Since all Romanians are born poets, certainly all photo reporters are born photo artists. The strong smell of laurel leaf doesn't let people do their journalist's job, in all honesty, that is to inform truthfully and professionally. And it is not only Lady Muse provoking all the bad things. See, it is again them, the muses big and small, who oftentimes fog the minds of the writing journalists (news, stories, interviews, etc.) so that they are no longer able to contain their "black sheep" within the bounds of sheer information. We believe that the confusion reigning in the Moldovan press photography is just a continuation of the methodological errors of local journalism. But we shouldn't make the two trades come to grips with each other. How could I become angry with my colleague from the news department only because he has a penchant for tropes at the expense of facts. Haven't I published on a page with stories about the current state of agriculture a photograph with a beautiful girl holding a handsome basket of grapes on her delicate shoulder clad in national dress taken out from the warehouses of propaganda? Or is the "study", showing a beggar "in office", for the eco-

nomics page better? I don't know whether it is appropriate to make here a pretentious list of the errors and gaffes ever made by photojournalists. But what I must say is that while I was working on this article I didn't see a SINGLE photograph that would fit the description of a news picture. I'll try to explain. A news picture must meet certain requirements of ethics and professionalism. I'll list some of them, with the understanding that if a photograph fails to meet at least one, then it is not a news picture.

Quality

By analogy with writing, quality in news photography means general technical requirements (focus, color balance, gray tones, contrast) as well as those which are specific to the given genre and newspaper. So, no picture will be laid out if it doesn't match the width of the column, and shapes other than rectangular will not be abused. The text wrap doesn't lead anywhere but to confusion with election pieces. The restriction is especially valid for periodicals. The penchant for optical distortions also falls under quality, such as excessive cropping or distorted perspective.

Ethics

As this is a "matter of shame", it would be a pity to gallop through the numerous ethical considerations valid throughout the world. By an extreme simplification, we shall consider ethical that conduct of the photo reporter which can span two poles: the professional duty to inform and the right of the person to the inviolability of one's dwelling and privacy, i.e. the right of a person to be left alone. Regardless of whether this is a beggar at some street corner or some VIP. For the sake of explicitness, I will give a few examples. One is the pictures made of children without the parents' consent; another one is the pictures of helpless old people who are not aware they are being photographed or can't oppose this public humiliation. Why should a newspaper run pictures of old people eating their soup at a soup kitchen? Is the editor-in-chief sure that he will not become old one day and the competing paparazzis will not expose him with the noodles in his beard? Not to mention the faces of the hundreds of children recruited by our brave photo reporters to illustrate stories about the mistreatment to which

they are being subject. Naked, famished, untidy and humiliated, they will grow up, become smarter, sue the publication or maybe take to smashing windows and cameras, God forbid!

Truthfulness

This one is about truth, seriousness and respect for the readers who have paid money for information; call it what you will, but truth in news photography doesn't need a lawyer, a notary or other advocates to prove its truthfulness. One can see clearly anyway that the picture of the mayor, who is being charged with corruption in December, was taken at a City Council meeting in summer, and the picture of a Communist leader, who spoke at the recent party congress, published in an opposition paper, was made a year ago in Parliament. How can we defend the truthfulness of newspaper stories when they are illustrated by pictures picked without looking from the drawer or the Internet. The Transnistrian conflict, and its multiple and controversial aspects, is continually illustrated by Igor Smirnov's picture. The guy is not ugly, to be sure, but still: the question of the Cobasna weapons, the Romanian-language schools, alleged arrangements with the Chisinau mayor, the Russian Duma's position on Transnistria, the railroad conflict, the release of senator Ilie Ilascu, etc.—all illustrated with Smirnov's face.

Research

Photojournalism textbooks strongly recommend: all news photographs shall be supported by captions. This piece of text requires both the eternal WHAT, WHERE, WHEN the action takes place, WHO are the actors (the eternal left-to-right) and WHO took the picture, or at least the source. Have a look at our newspapers and you will not find, unless by accident and in a truncated manner, this information about the origin of the pictures.

Manipulation

This one has two targets: the picture on the page and the public opinion. Manipulated pictures no longer amuse the readers. Nevertheless, especially during elections, the photo guys gear up with the ideological weapon called Photoshop and perform exercises of Medieval image exorcism. They should at least identify the doctoring with a "T" or an explicit text to this effect. Normally no photographs ought to be changed electronically or by scissors

out of sheer respect for the reader. Penalties imposed by the Ethics Committee of the Journalists' Union would be quite normal under the circumstances. Or maybe the subjects of the pictures will wake up one day and challenge us in court.

As a conclusion

We, the photo journalists, come from a past that promoted fake journalistic virtues. Ask in the library for collections of old newspapers or even for the prestigious trade magazine *Sovetskoe Foto* (Soviet Photography). You will get the impression of an endless propaganda series on the same subject: what a wonderful life. It might have been, who knows, but the photographs are deceitful. Pity for so much wasted power of expression, a pestilence continuing to the present day: form without content or content without form. Now that the contemporary civilization has given press photography new tools (digital photography, editing software) it is necessary to train photo reporters, picture editors and all those fascinated by the glass eye, that is, if we want to be recognized internationally as part of the guild. But if we don't, then we don't have to.

Nicolae POJOGA



The girl with grapes. This image of a Moldovan girl will haunt us for times to come, accompanied either by a shepherd boy and his sheep (another delusion) or by the high officials in white overalls among cows or swine. The picture you see here contains several of the qualities I mentioned above. I would like to point to a visible manipulation: grapes against the background of spring agricultural works; there goes truthfulness. I used the strip to block out the unethical part. The author is unknown.

Current issues in the mass media of Moldova

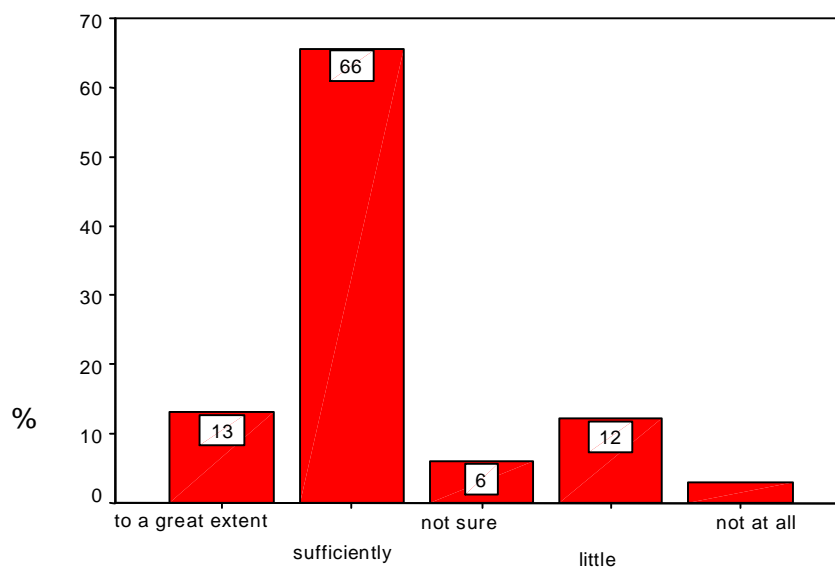
The Information, Training and Social Analysis Center of Moldova "Captes"

Research methodology

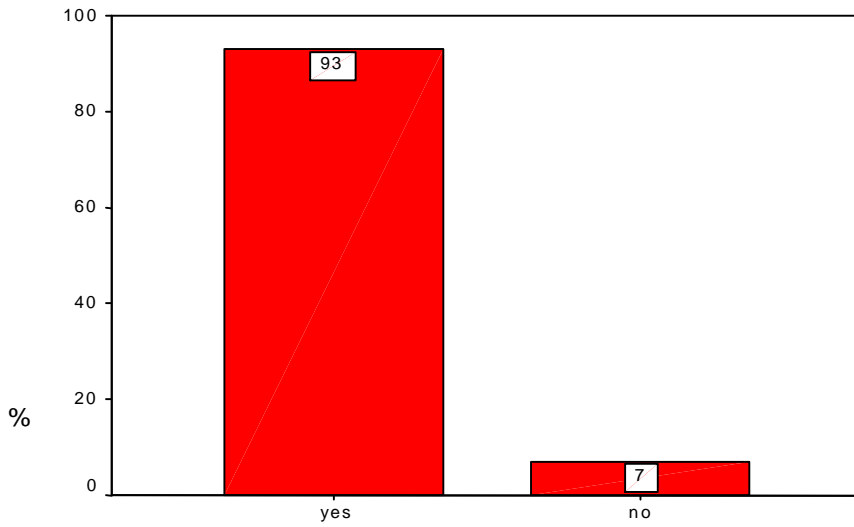
- The methodology used:
 - During the survey performed by the sociological service of the "CAPTES" Center, the following have been applied: the probabilistic and the random methods to select interviewees based on a list of media outlets provided by the Independent Journalism Center; the representativity of the initial sampling method; the anonymous interviewing of the selected journalists; the accuracy of the process of interviewing and of the data input into the data base, as well as the degree of coincidence of the questionnaire results.
- Sample size: 110 persons.
- Sample: stratified, probabilistic, in two stages.
- Stratification criteria:
 - i. 11 districts.
 - ii. 2 types of urban communities (municipalities, small towns).
- Randomization stages:
 - i. *Community*: Communities have been selected randomly.
 - ii. Chisinau – 102, Balti – 5, districts– 13.
 - iii. *The mass media outlets (newspapers, magazines, TV/ Radio stations)* have been selected randomly. Every person included in the *Mass Media Guide 2001/2002* has had an equal chance of entering the sample.
 - iv. *The subjects*: Interviewees have been selected from among media managers and media staffs of the selected outlets.
- Representativity:
 - i. The sample is representative of the media outlets of Moldova, including Transnistria.
 - ii. The sample has included every tenth person from the estimated total number of journalists working in Moldova.
 - iii. The maximal sampling error is $\pm 3\%$.
- The period of data collection:
 - i. 1-6 December 2004. Interviews have been conducted in the respondents' offices (and by e-mail) by the "CAPTES" operators.
 - ii. Data have been collected in Romanian and Russian (as requested).

A. Media ethics and legislation

1. To what extent are you familiar with the documents concerning journalistic ethics and the freedom of expression, adopted by Moldovan and international professional organizations? (*The 1999 Ethics Code, adopted by UJM, other documents adopted by international organizations*)



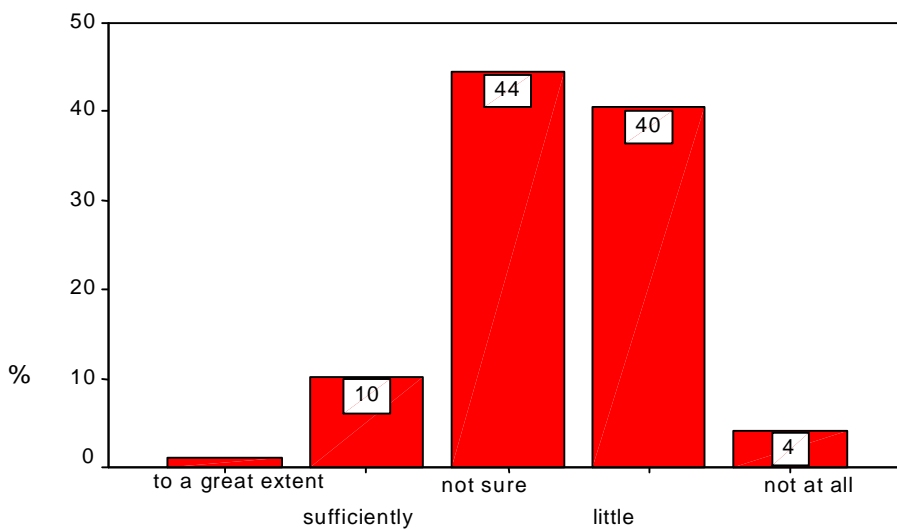
2. Do you have access to these documents?



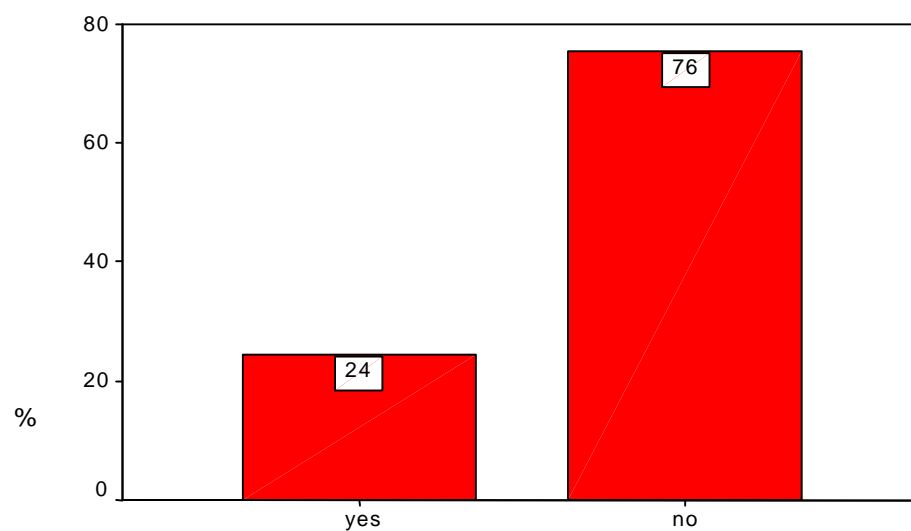
3. What are your usual sources of information on this? (open ended)

Source	Internet	media NGOs	Legislation	Newspapers	TV, Radio	Conferences, seminars	Other	Total
Answers	48	32	23	19	11	9	13	155

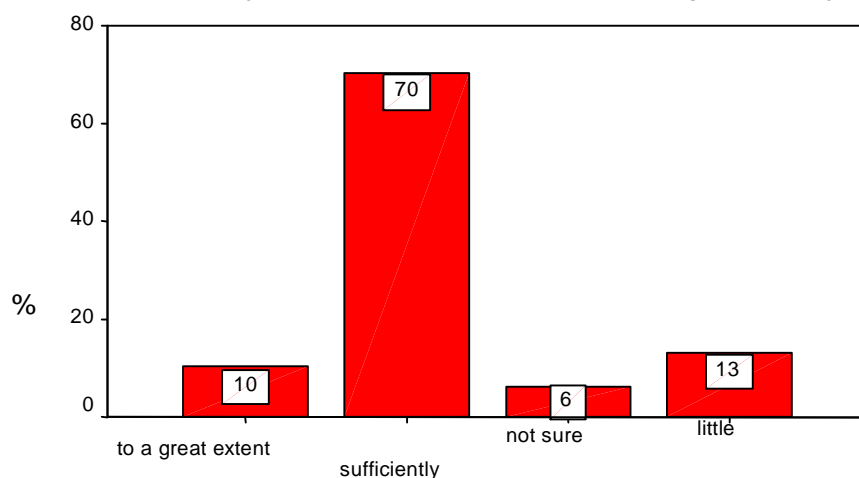
4. To what extent do journalists in Moldova observe the Code of Professional Ethics adopted in 1999 ?



5. Have you had to suffer consequences for not observing ethical provisions?



6. To what extent are you familiar with the laws concerning the activity of the media in Moldova?



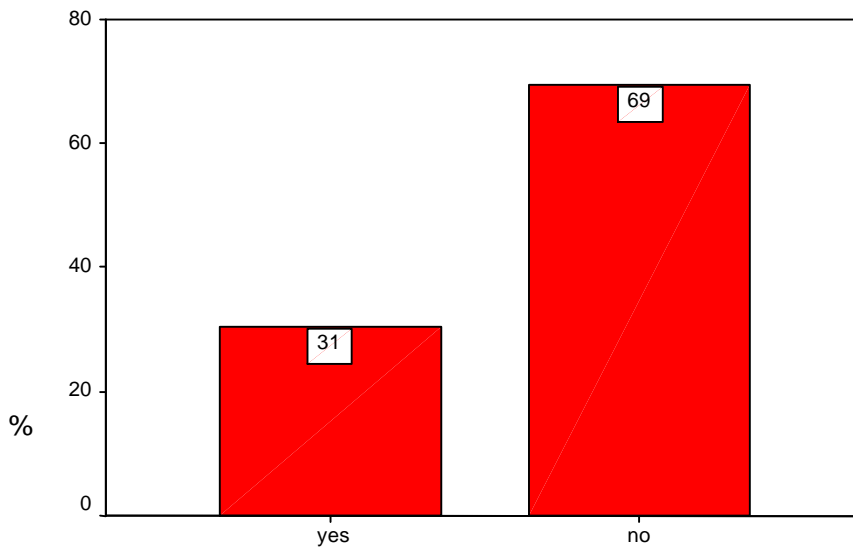
7. Which principles of the Ethics Code do you think are violated most frequently? (open ended)

#	Name	Answers
1.	Impartiality	37
2.	Balance	13
3.	The practice of libel and defamation	7
4.	The rule of two sources	7
5.	Access to information	6
6.	Anonymous sources	4
7.	Political neutrality	3
8.	Other	22
	Total	99

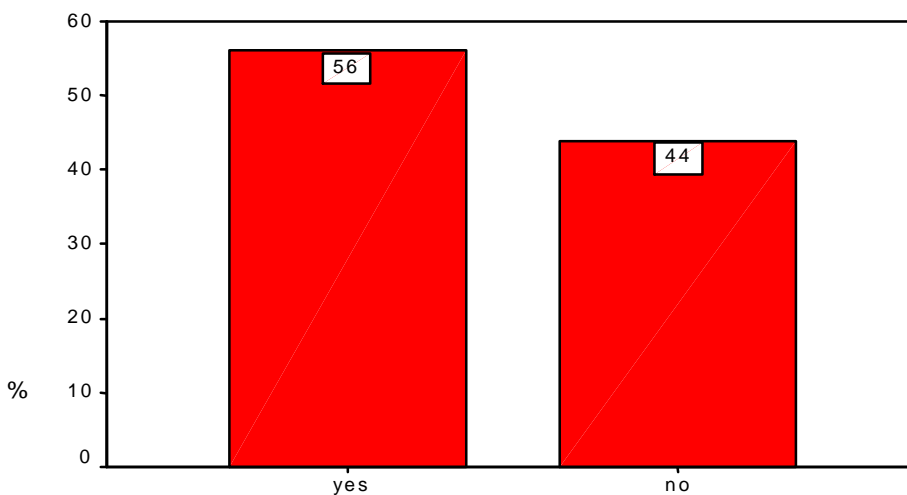
8. Which do you think are the vulnerable spots in the current media legislation? (open ended)

#	Name	Answers
1.	No ceiling for compensations that may be awarded for moral damages	18
2.	Access to information	11
3.	Ambiguity of the laws	6
4.	Protection of journalists	6
5.	Barriers in registering media outlets	5
6.	Other	27
	Total	73

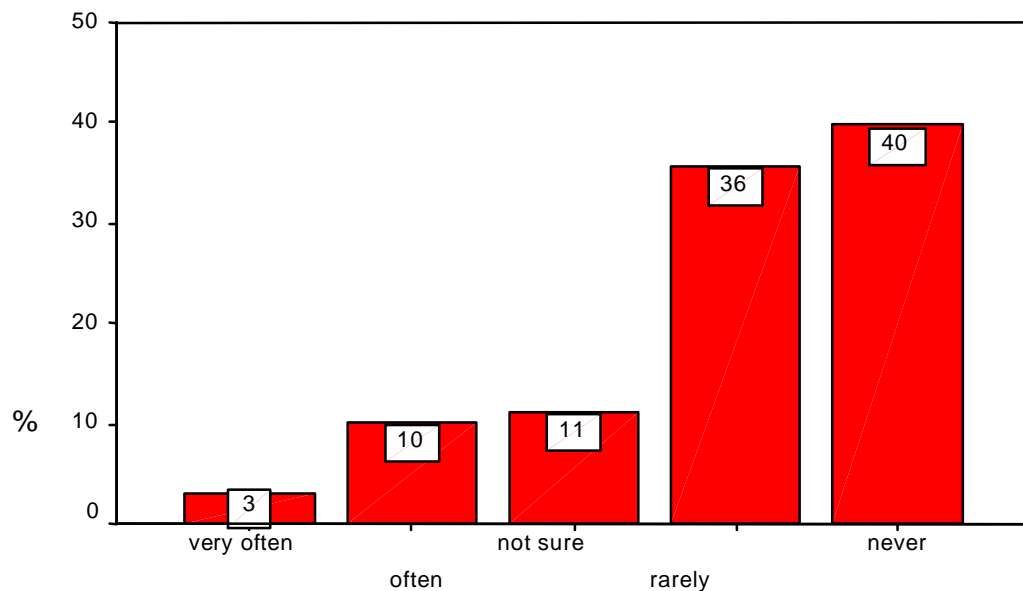
9. Do you agree with the fact that the new Civil Code doesn't provide for a ceiling when moral damages are awarded?



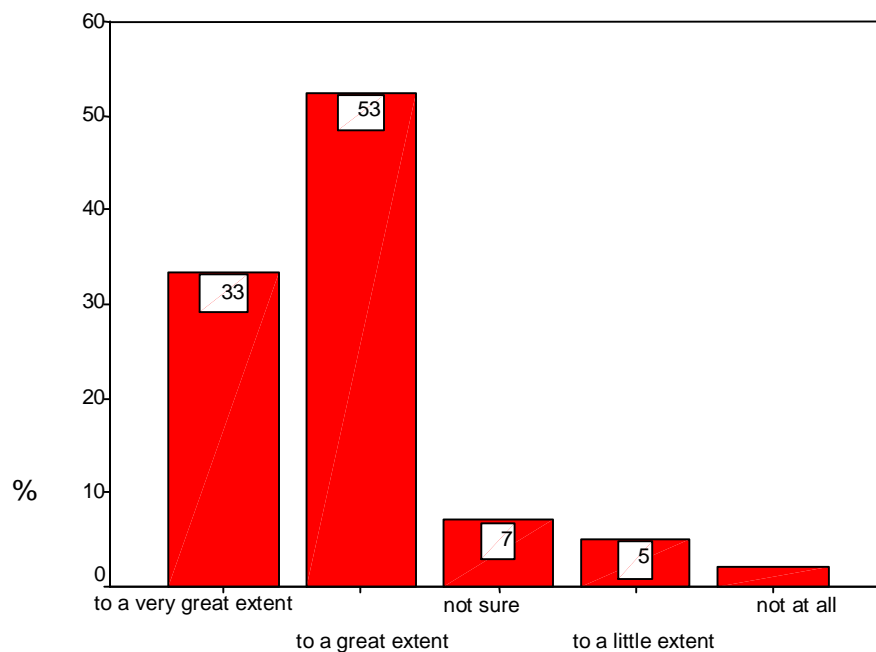
10. Do you agree with the revocation from the current legislation of the following provision: "The prompt publication of apologies or retractions before a court ruling is issued represents enough ground for a diminution of the damages or exoneration from paying damages"?



11. How often do you accept tasks that are incompatible with your professional principles?



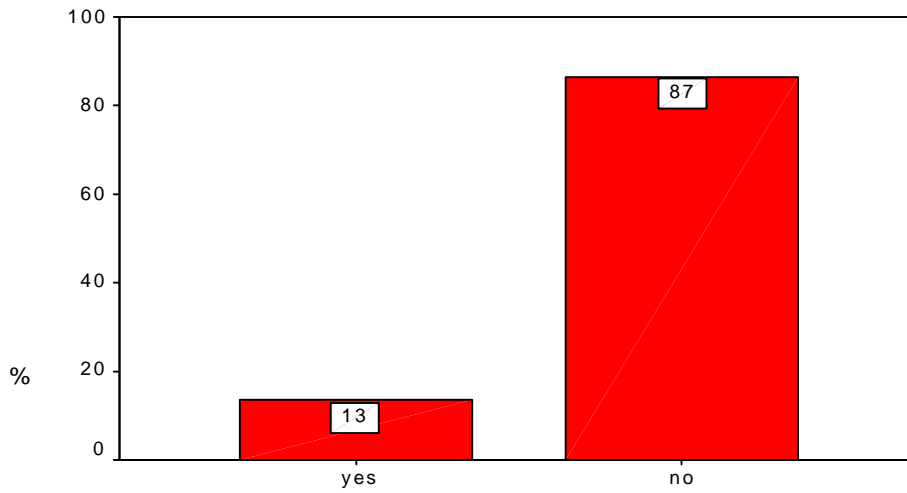
12. To what extent do you think journalists in Moldova are into political partisanship?



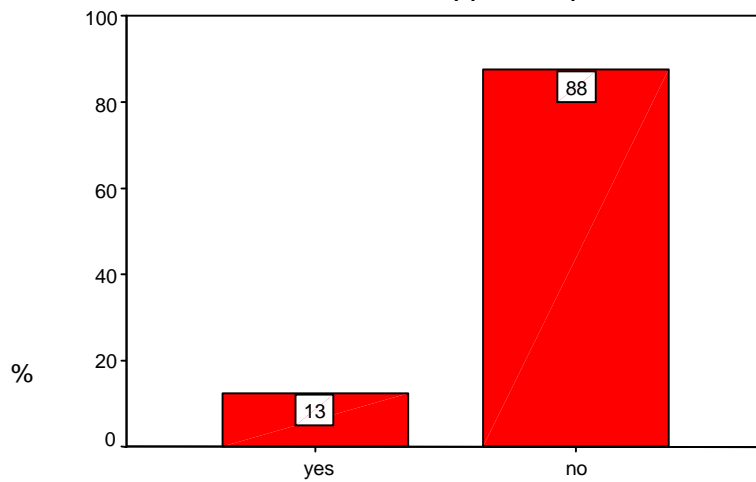
13. What do you think is the usual reason for political partisanship? (open ended)

Name	Money	Dependence on the state	Lack of professional dignity	Other	Total
Answers	69	6	4	8	87

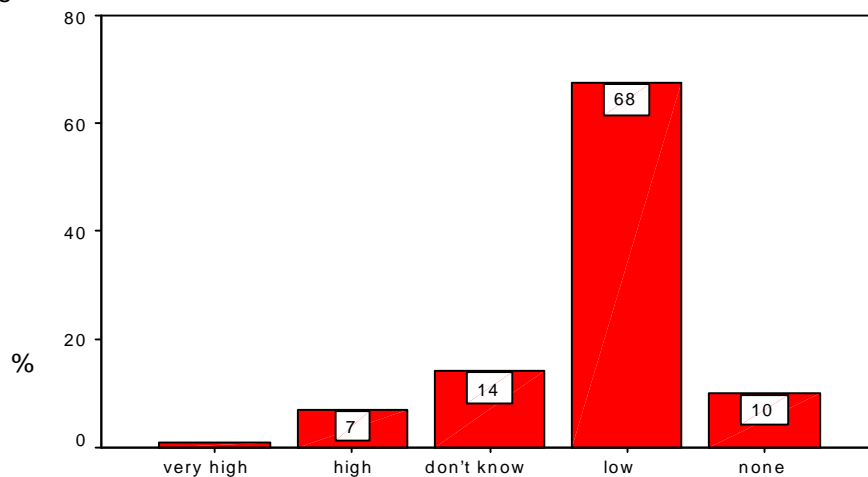
14. Is Art. 34 (2) of the Constitution applied in practice, which provides: “public authorities are under the obligation, within their authority, to provide to citizens accurate information on public affairs and personal issues”?



15. Is the Access to Information Law applied in practice?



16. How do you rate the degree of access journalists have to public information held by officials or public figures?

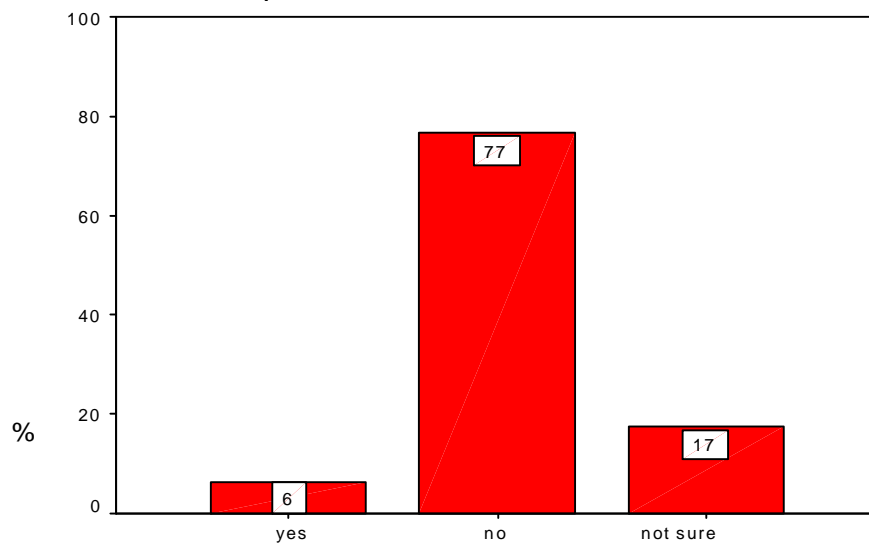


17. What public institutions prevent to a higher extent the access to information by citizens and journalists? (open ended)

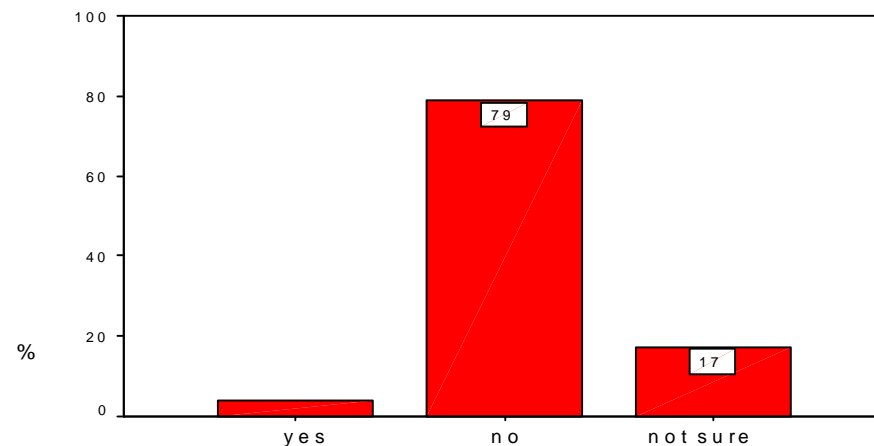
#	Name	Answers
1.	Government	42
2.	President's office	34
3.	Parliament	23
4.	Ministries (especially law enforcement)	21
5.	Local Public Authorities	18
6.	Police	12
7.	Courts of law	11
8.	Prosecutor's office	9
9.	Information and Security Service	5
10.	Other	17
	Total	192

B. The quality of media output

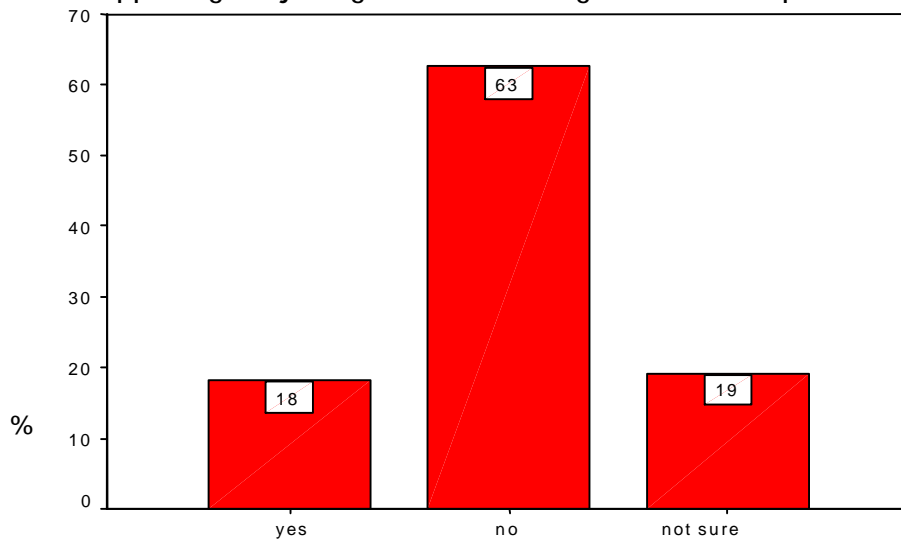
1. Do you think there have been positive changes in the editorial policy at Teleradio Moldova after its transformation into a public institution?



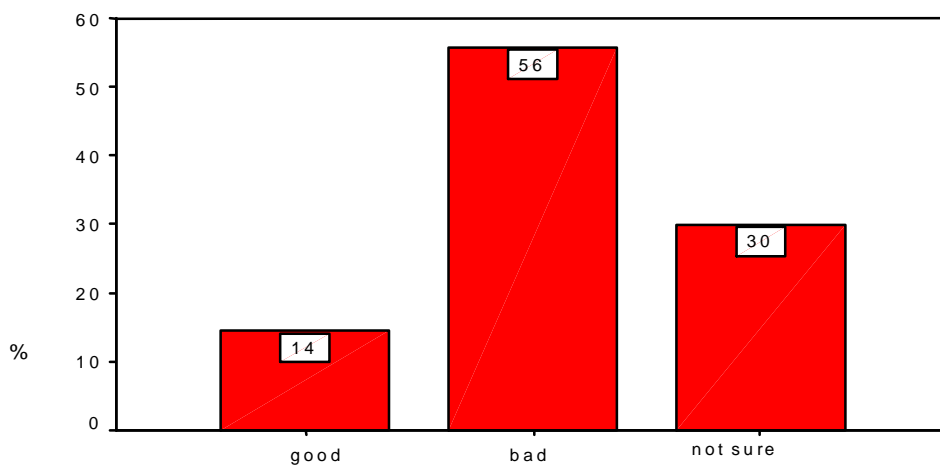
2. Do you think that today the public broadcaster Teleradio Moldova observes in its programming the principles of multiple opinions, objectivity and balance?



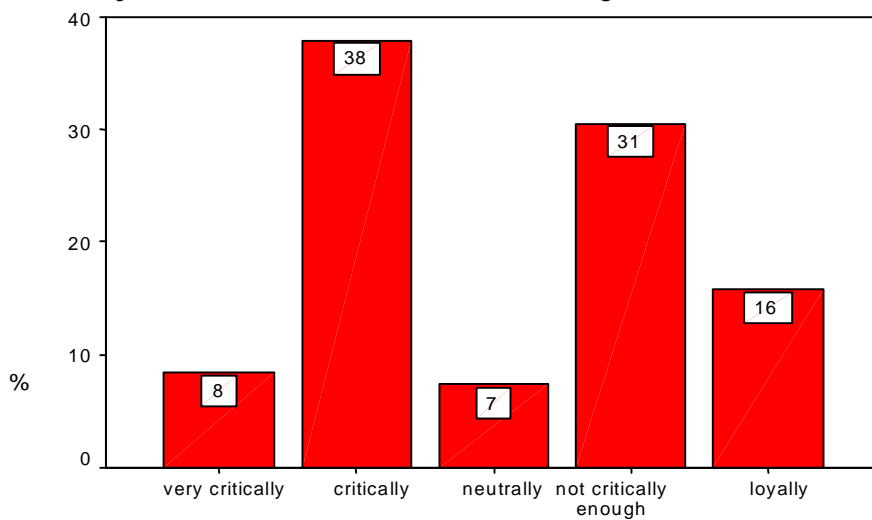
3. Does supporting or rejecting candidates during elections correspond to an ethical behavior?



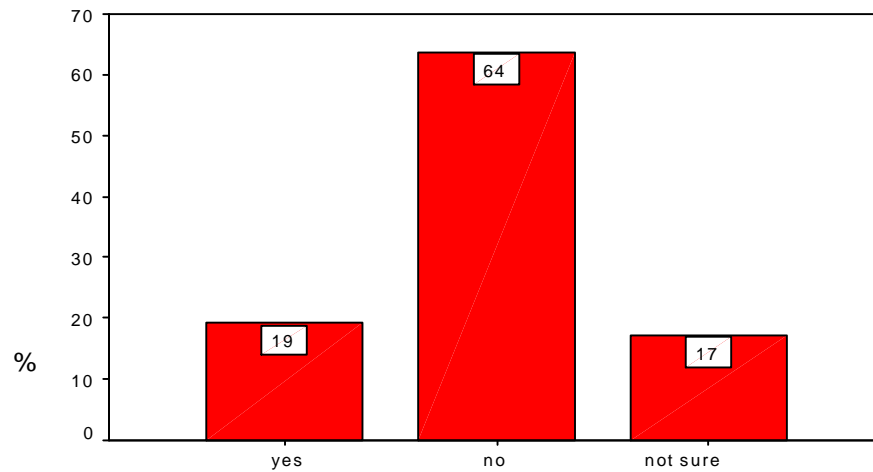
4. Do you think it good or bad when some publications adopt a clear ideological stance in covering events?



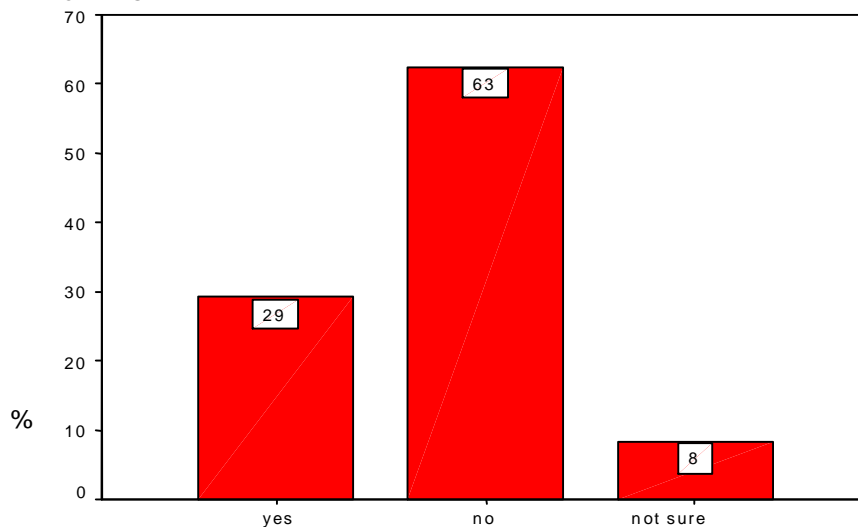
5. How do you think the media covered the current government:



6. Do you have to face political censorship in the outlet where you work?



7. Do you agree that there should be state-owned press?



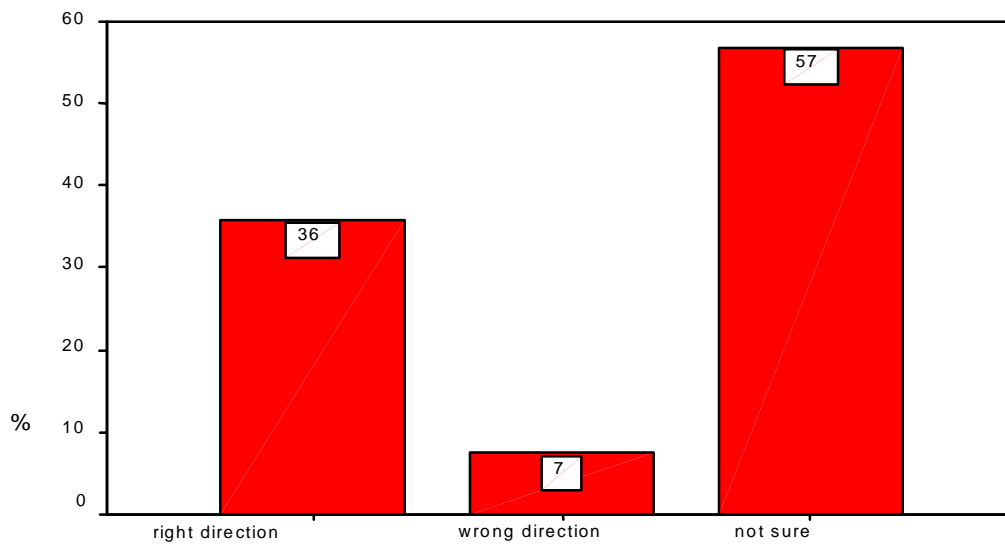
8. What are the most important issues that journalism in Moldova faces today?

#	Name	Answers
1.	Economic pressure	82
2.	Quality of information	39
3.	Ethics and standards	27
4.	Credibility / trust by audience	23
5.	Competition	5
6.	Other	9
	Total	185

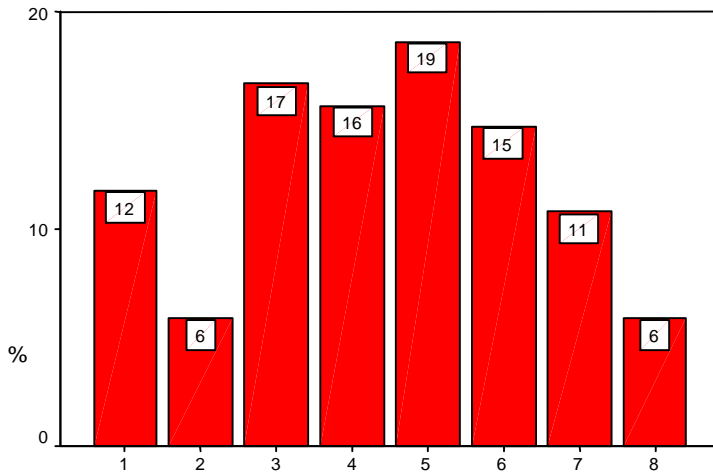
9. What are the current achievements of journalism in Moldova?

#	Name	Answers
1.	Covering specific topics	44
2.	Watchdog role	37
3.	Timeliness	20
4.	Professionalism	16
5.	Other	12
	Total	129

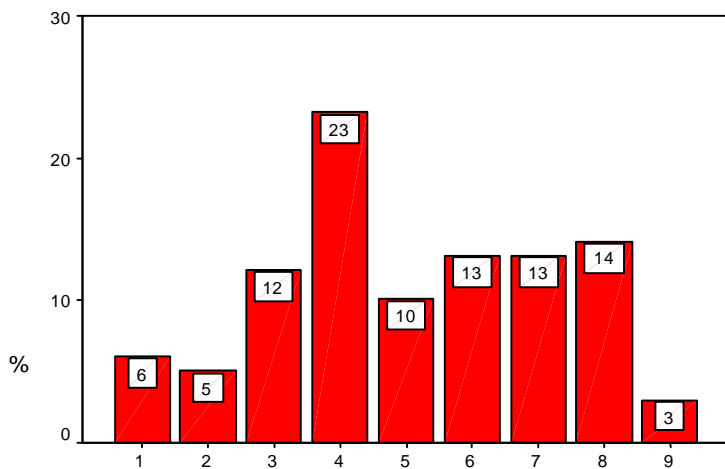
10. Do you think journalism is developing in the right or in the wrong direction?



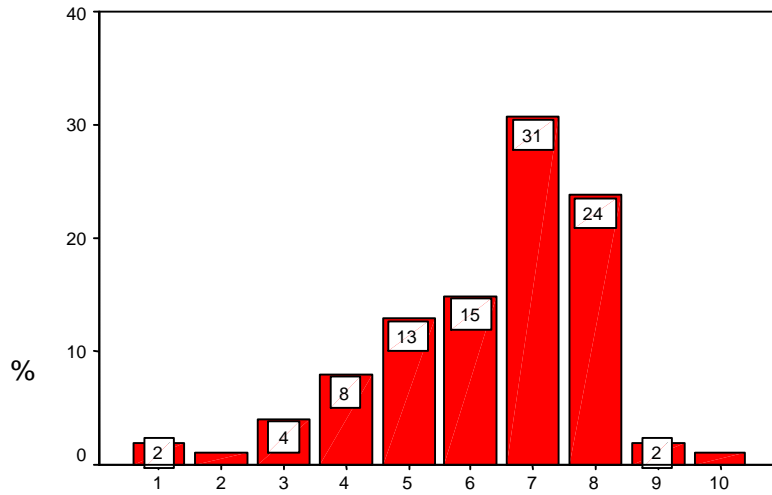
11. How would you grade (on a scale from 1 to 10):
a - TV news in Moldova?



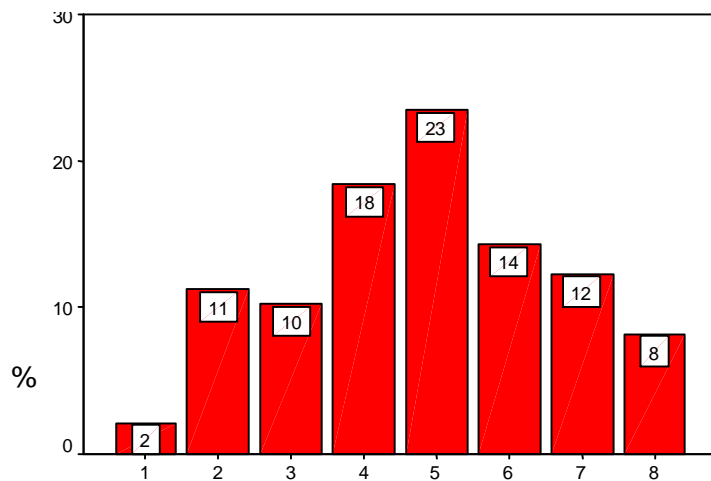
b - Radio news in general? (on a scale from 1 to 10)



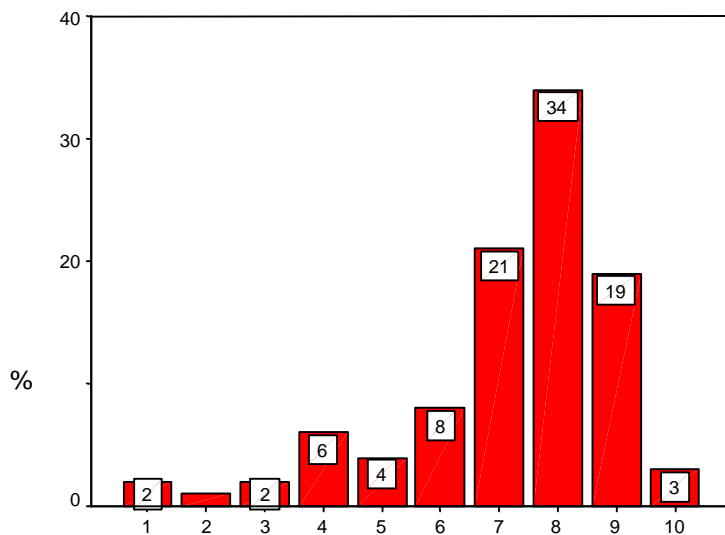
12. How would you grade the main national newspapers? (on a scale from 1 to 10)



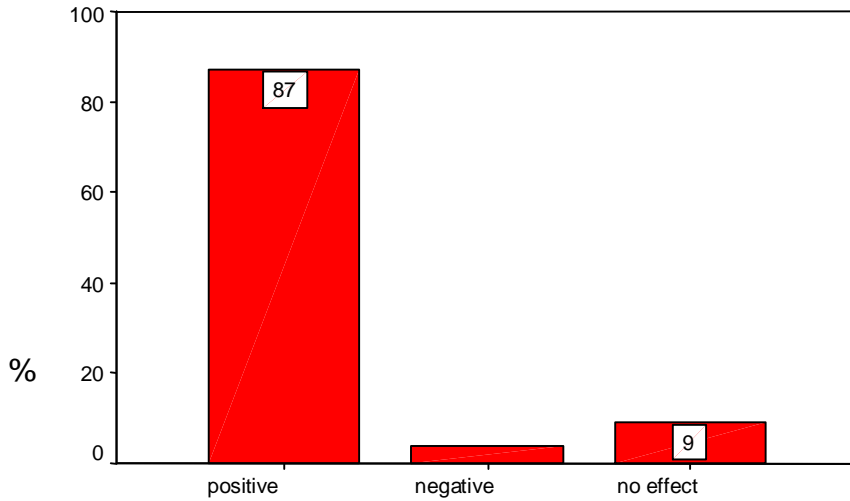
13. How would you grade cable TV? (on a scale from 1 to 10)



14. How would you grade the coverage of your own publication, radio station, TV station?



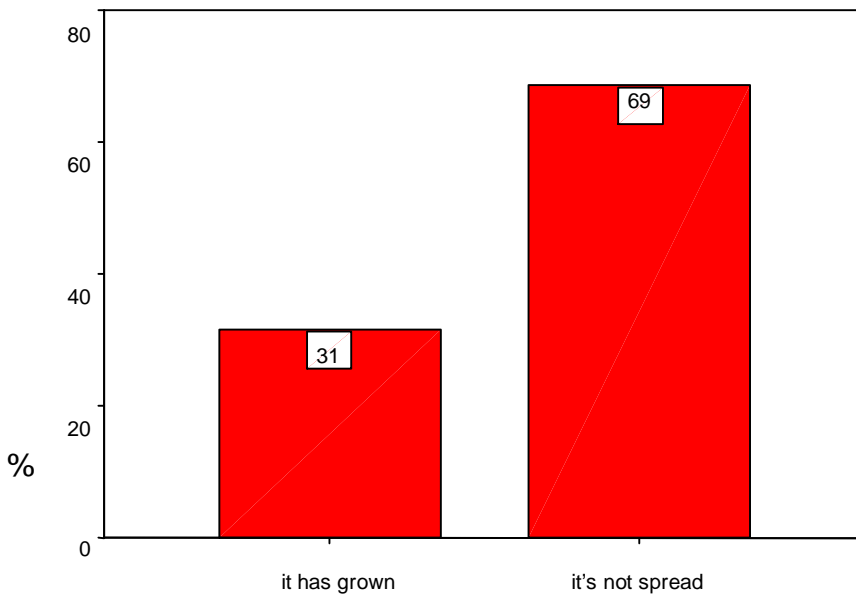
15. Do you think the emergence of the Internet has had a positive, negative or no effect on journalism?



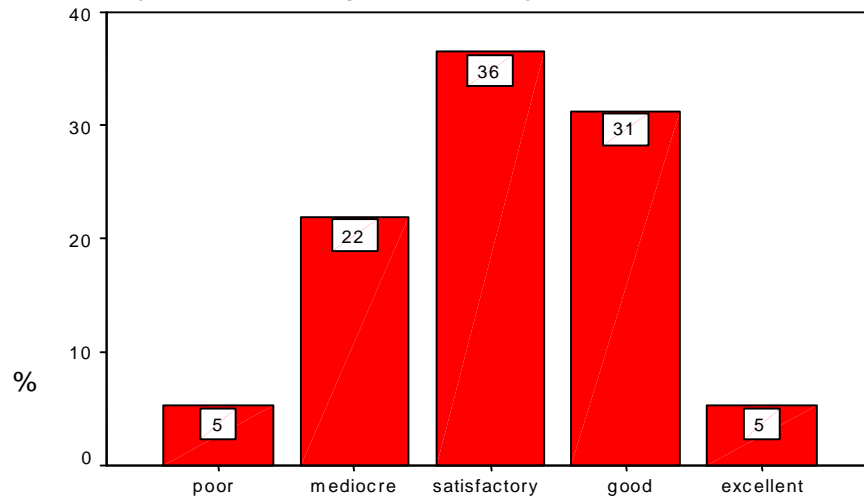
16. If the influence has been good or bad, how do you think this shows? (open ended)

Name	Answers
Multiple sources	56
Timeliness	32
Access to information	23
Plagiarism	4
Other	16
Total	131

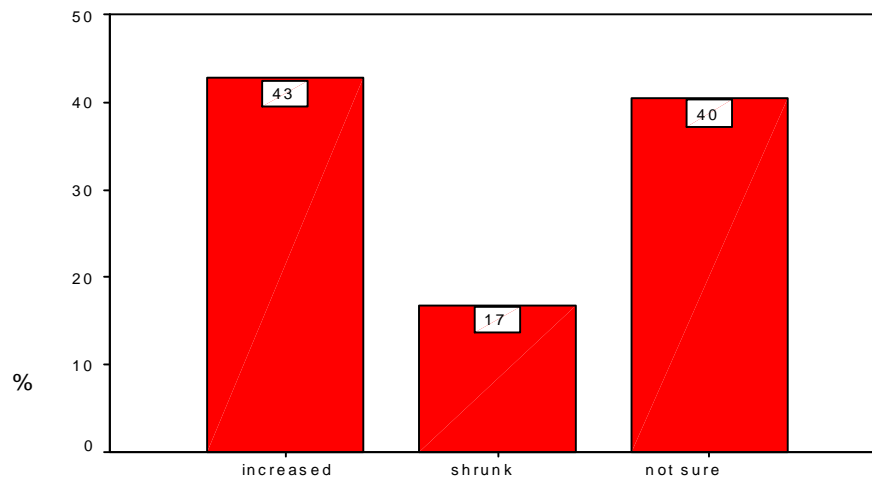
17. Which of the statements below, concerning plagiarism, are closer to truth?



18. How do you see the management side of your own outlet?

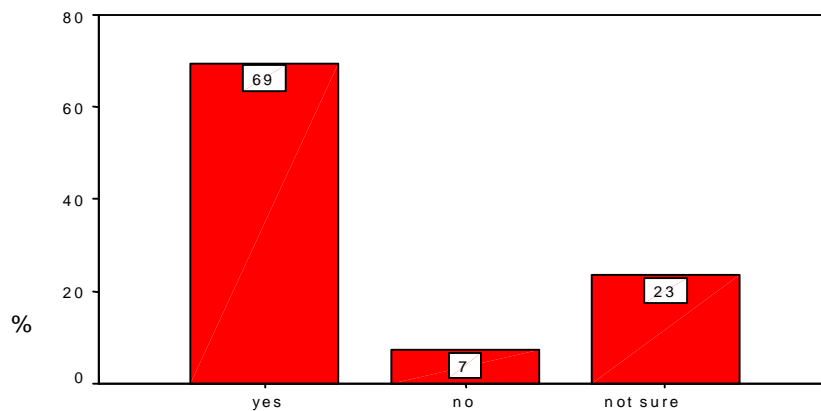


19. Has the news department at your outlet increased or shrunk as compared to last year?



C. The work conditions of journalists

1. Do you think that the initiative of the current government, by which publications have to re-register, threatens the independent press?



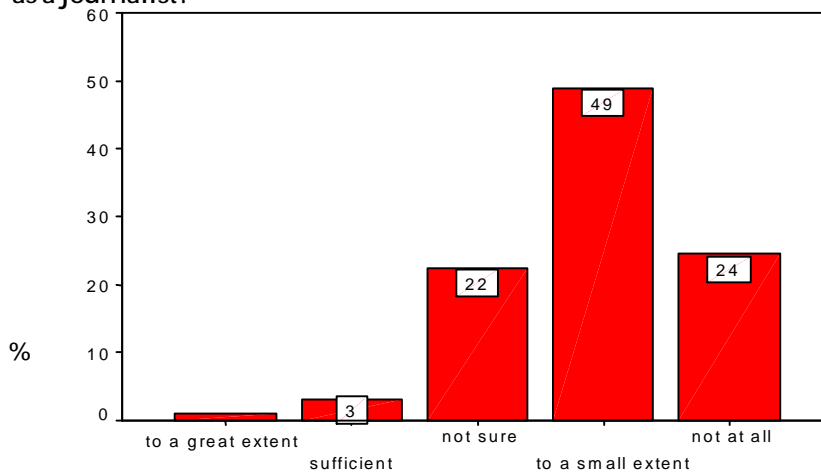
2. If yes, what are the threats? (open ended)

#	Name	Answers
1.	Closure	30
2.	Intimidation	25
3.	Control	8
4.	Additional expenses	4
5.	Other	7
	Total	74

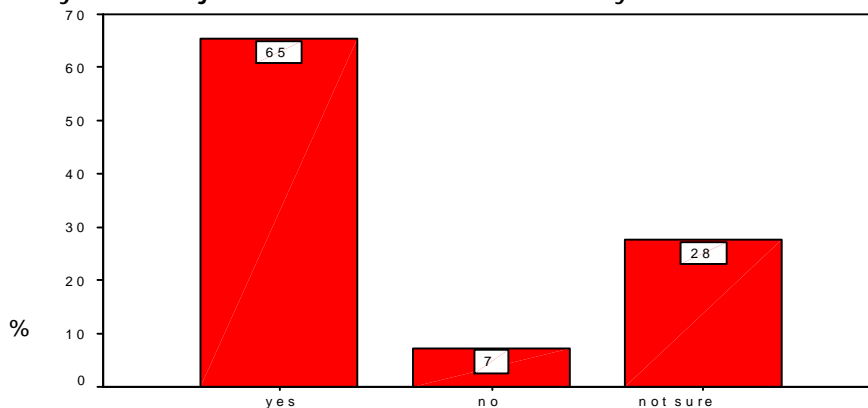
3. What is your highest expectation of the professional organizations of journalists in terms of encouraging your work? (open ended)

#	Name	Answers
1.	Solidarity	19
2.	Training	13
3.	Support	10
4.	Legal assistance	9
5.	Activity	8
6.	Competitions with prizes	7
7.	Balance	4
8.	Nothing	12
9.	Other	6
	Total	88

4. To what extent do you think you are protected against persecution, threats or pressure exercised on you as a journalist?



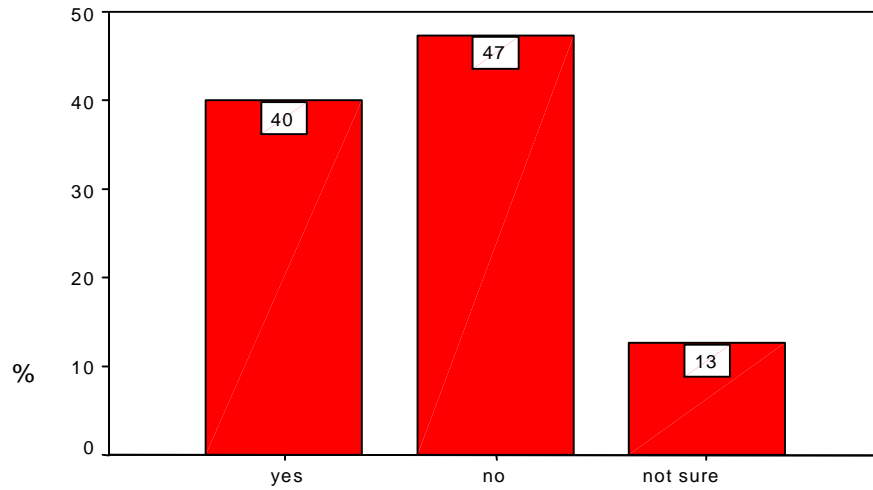
5. Do you think a journalists' trade union is necessary?



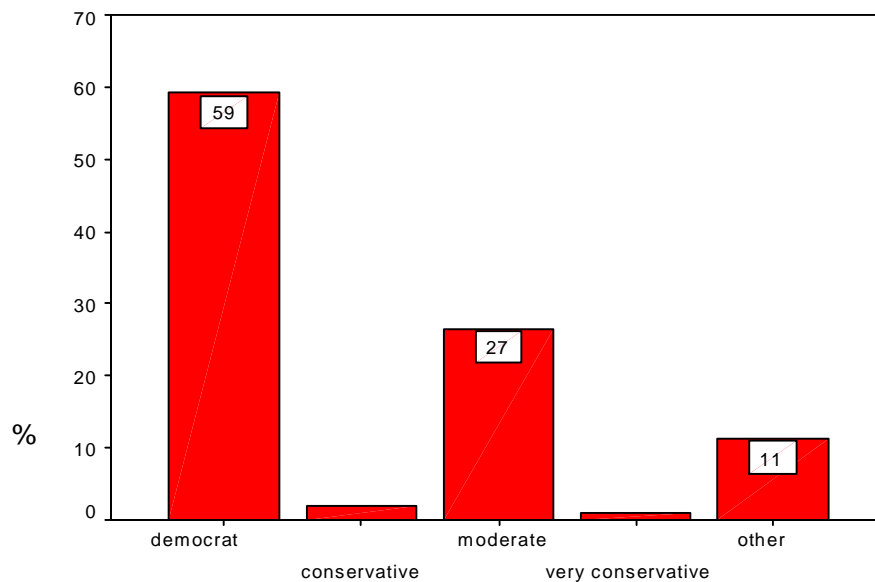
6. If yes, what should be the membership fee? (open ended)

#	Name	Answers
1.	Up to 2% (of the minimal salary)	27
2.	Up to 5% (of the minimal salary)	4
3.	Up to 10% (of the minimal salary)	1
4.	Up to 50 lei per year	5
5.	Up to 240 lei per year	3
6.	Other	6
	Total	46

7. Have you ever been encouraged by your editor to write a story that the owner or the advertiser wanted?



8. Finally, a question about your own views and values. Are you:



Familiarity with, and the audiences of, the mass media in Moldova*

Research methodology

The general research method applied in this survey has been based on interviews on the day-after recall. The essence of the method is that respondents are asked during a face-to-face home interview to remember the TV stations they watched, radio stations they listened to, and the publications they read the day before.

The objective of this survey has been to record the audiences of TV stations, radio stations, dailies, weeklies, and monthlies in Moldova. Both nation-wide as well as local and regional media have been measured.

The population of the survey has been the inhabitants of Moldova aged 14 and above (2,859,582 people). The sample is representative for this population. Interviews have been conducted in the course of 14 days (13-26 October 2004). Thus, the audience that has been recorded covers two full weeks (13-19 October and 20-26 October).

In the first stage a probabilistic, multi-layered sample has been designed. The stratification criteria have been the following:

- geographic area.
- residence (urban/rural), size of urban communities (4 types), type of rural community (commune center/member village)
- The sizes of urban and rural layers have been calculated proportionally to the number of the population in accordance with the data supplied by the Statistics Department of Moldova.

Within the adjusted layers, communities (69) have been selected randomly by using a table with random numbers.

For every community a number of sampling points have been set, so that the maximal number of interviews made in a sampling point be 8. The families to be interviewed have been selected by the random-path method with a statistical step.

In order to allow for comparisons among different days of the week, all the daily samples must have the same size and the same socio-demographic structure. Therefore, we have used share sampling. That is, the total number of interviews to be conducted in every community has been divided in the second stage by days and shares. The shares have been designed according to the following features: sex, age, urban/rural residence.

The daily sample has been designed for 87 people. As the survey has been conducted in the course of two weeks, every day of the week matches a sample of 174 people. The entire sample size has been 1225 people. The table below shows the thresholds of sampling errors for each of the subsamples used:

	Sample size:	Margin of error:
One day:	174	±7.4%
Working days (Monday-Friday):	870	±3.4%
Weekend days (Saturday-Sunday):	355	±5.2%
Total sample:	1225	±2.8%

Consumption habits

What source of information do you prefer? *Two answers maximum*

Base: 1225 respondents – total sample

	First mention	Second mention	Total
Radio	22.1%	34.9%	57.1%
TV	62.9%	19.6%	82.5%
Printed press	3.5%	12.5%	16.0%
Internet	2.4%	1.8%	4.2%
Neighbors, relatives, friends	5.3%	10.3%	15.6%
None	1.9%	3.3%	5.2%
Don't know / no answer	1.9%	2.4%	4.2%

*The full version of the survey can be found on the IJC Web site at <http://ijc.iatp.md>

A. TELEVISION

Familiarity with TV stations

I would like you to tell me what TV stations available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only the name and even if you've never watched them?

Base: 1225 respondents – total sample

%	First mention	Other spontaneous	Assisted	Total
TV Moldova	38.2	42.9	16.8	97.9
ORT	33.8	50.7	12.0	96.5
Romania 1	4.4	55.1	32.5	92.0
Russia (RTR)	1.5	31.5	42.6	75.6
PRO TV	3.3	18.5	38.5	60.3
NTV	2.2	19.9	37.4	59.5
Muz TV	0.5	13.1	35.7	49.3
NIT	1.1	14.6	31.8	47.5
Euro Sport	0.2	10.8	35.8	46.8
REN TV	0.9	12.6	33.0	46.5
Discovery	0.7	12.1	32.1	44.9
TV 1+1	1.7	12.8	28.9	43.4
Acasa	0.5	6.6	30.5	37.6
Nashe Kino	0.2	6.4	30.5	37.1
MTV	1.2	5.7	24.5	31.4
PMR	0.5	6.8	23.7	31.0
TV 26	0.1	4.1	26.1	30.3
Euronews	-	4.7	25.1	29.8
Inter TV	0.1	8.1	21.0	29.2
TVC 21	0.2	5.2	23.5	28.9
TV Balti	0.8	11.3	15.9	28.0
Euro TV	0.8	5.0	21.8	27.6
TV 5 Europe	0.1	2.1	23.3	25.5
Prima TV	0.1	2.0	20.2	22.3
RTVi	0.1	1.5	16.5	18.1
TV Rif	-	1.3	16.0	17.3
MCM	-	2.0	14.7	16.7
TNT	0.3	5.0		
Ucraina TV	0.2	3.3		
ICTV	0.1	3.1		
Flor TV	0.2	2.1		
Novyi Kanal	0.1	2.2		
TV 3	0.2	1.7		
SOR TV	0.1	1.8		
Romania 2	0.1	1.7		
ALMAZ	0.1	1.7		
CTC	0.2	1.6		
STV	0.2	1.4		
TV 1000	0.1	1.3		
ATOMIC	0.1	1.1		
Other (under 1% each)	1.8	15.9		
Don't know	2.8			
No answer	0.2			

TV audience

DAILY REACH

This indicator measures the proportion (or the absolute number) of the people who have watched at least 8 minutes of one TV channel in the course of one day.

a) Daily Reach (%)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
ORT	51.1	42.0	43.8	40.1	38.7	42.0	45.8	43.1	43.9	43.4
TVM	19.5	25.9	20.1	18.6	21.5	26.1	25.1	21.1	25.6	22.4
TVR	6.9	9.8	5.9	7.0	8.8	8.0	4.5	7.8	6.2	7.3
TV 1+1	5.2	3.4	5.9	2.9	3.3	2.8	5.6	4.4	4.2	4.3
NTV	3.4	2.3	4.7	2.3	3.9	2.8	2.8	3.3	2.8	3.3
PRO TV	5.7	4.6	1.2	1.7	7.2	0.6	1.7	4.0	1.1	3.2
RTR	2.3	1.7	3.0	2.9	2.2	8.5	1.7	2.4	5.1	3.2
REN TV	3.4	2.9	0.6	1.7	2.8	3.4	1.7	2.3	2.5	2.4
NIT	1.1	2.9	0.6	3.5	5.5	1.7	1.1	2.6	1.4	2.3
MUZ TV	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.3	1.1	1.1	2.8	2.2	2.0	2.1
TNT	2.9	2.3	0.0	2.9	1.7	1.7	1.1	2.1	1.7	2.0
Other channels	14.9	14.4	10.1	9.3	12.2	14.8	12.3	12.1	13.5	12.5
All channels	70.5	64.8	62.2	58.8	63.2	70.5	66.8	64.0	68.7	65.3

*daily average

b) Daily Reach (thousand people)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	Working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
ORT	1435.7	1177.6	1229.1	1126.0	1085.5	1180.2	1285.9	1209.9	1233.5	1219.0
TVM	548.5	725.9	564.7	522.2	604.8	733.6	705.7	593.6	719.5	630.1
TVR	193.6	274.2	166.1	195.8	248.1	223.3	125.4	219.4	174.0	206.2
TV 1+1	145.2	96.8	166.1	81.6	93.0	79.7	156.8	122.6	118.6	121.4
NTV	96.8	64.5	132.9	65.3	108.6	79.7	78.4	93.6	79.1	91.7
PRO TV	161.3	129.1	33.2	49.0	201.6	15.9	47.0	112.9	31.6	89.4
RTR	64.5	48.4	83.0	81.6	62.0	239.2	47.0	67.8	142.3	89.4
REN TV	96.8	80.7	16.6	49.0	77.5	95.7	47.0	64.5	71.2	66.4
NIT	32.3	80.7	16.6	97.9	155.1	47.8	31.4	74.2	39.5	64.2
MUZ TV	64.5	64.5	66.4	65.3	31.0	31.9	78.4	61.3	55.3	59.6
TNT	80.7	64.5	0.0	81.6	46.5	47.8	31.4	58.1	47.4	55.0
Other channels	419.4	403.3	282.4	261.1	341.2	414.7	345.0	338.8	379.5	350.6
All channels	1984.2	1822.9	1743.9	1648.3	1767.9	1977.6	1881.7	1793.8	1929.3	1833.1

*daily average

B. RADIO

Familiarity with radio stations

I would like you to tell me what radio stations available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only the name and even if you've never listened to them?

%	First mention	Other spontaneous	Assisted	Total
Radio Moldova	32.9	25.5	32.0	90.4
Russkoe Radio	13.4	34.1	30.6	78.1

%	First mention	Other spontaneous	Assisted	Total
HIT FM	14.9	23.2	32.6	70.7
Antena C	8.8	17.1	38.4	64.3
The Little Samaritan	1.4	8.2	47.7	57.3
Radio Romania Actualitati	1.5	16.9	38.0	56.4
Radio Maiak	1.4	13.2	40.8	55.4
Radio Free Europe	0.1	4.4	39.2	43.7
Avto Radio	0.8	8.6	29.6	39.0
Radio FM	3.6	10.2	24.2	38.0
Dinamit FM	2.3	12.3	23.2	37.8
Evropa Plus	1.2	6.9	28.0	36.1
Nashe radio	0.9	6.4	26.7	34.0
Radio Shanson	0.9	6.3	23.0	30.2
Radio Nova	0.3	4.4	24.1	28.8
Kiss FM	2.9	7.1	16.7	26.7
Radio 7 na 7 kholmakh	0.2	4.8	20.6	25.6
Radio PRO FM	0.3	2.7	18.6	21.6
Radio Europa FM	0.1	2.1	18.8	21.0
Vocea Basarabiei	-	0.6	18.7	19.3
Maximum	-	1.0	15.5	16.5
Sanatatea	1.2	2.2		
Inter FM	0.2	2.9		
Radio Iasi	0.4	2.7		
Retro FM	1.9	-		
Other	2.0	7.6		
DK/NA	8.8	10.4		

Radio audiences

Radio audiences by days

DAILY REACH

This indicator measures the proportion (or the absolute number) of the people who have listened to, at least 8 minutes, one radio channel in the course of one day.

a) Daily Reach (%)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Radio Moldova	13.2	15.5	14.2	18.6	18.8	15.9	14.5	16.1	15.2	15.8
Russkoe Radio	9.8	12.1	10.7	6.4	8.3	8.5	14.0	9.3	11.3	9.9
HIT FM	6.3	8.0	7.7	6.4	3.3	9.1	5.0	6.4	7.0	6.5
Antena C	1.1	4.6	2.4	1.2	4.4	2.8	4.5	2.8	3.7	3.0
Dinamit FM	1.1	5.2	1.8	4.1	2.2	2.8	1.7	2.9	2.0	2.6
Sanatatea	1.1	1.1	1.2	5.2	2.8	2.3	2.8	2.3	2.8	2.4
Kiss FM	1.7	3.4	1.8	2.3	1.7	2.3	1.7	2.1	2.0	2.0
Radio Romania Actualitati	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.7	1.1	6.3	2.2	0.9	4.2	1.9
Avto Radio	0.0	2.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.7	3.4	1.1	2.5	1.6
The Little Samaritan	1.1	0.6	0.6	1.2	2.2	2.3	1.1	1.1	1.4	1.3
Radio Maiak	2.3	1.7	1.8	1.7	0.6	0.0	0.6	1.6	0.3	1.2
Radio FM	2.3	1.1	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.6	1.1	0.3	0.9

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Radio Shanson	0.6	0.6	0.6	2.3	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.7
Evropa Plus	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.7	0.0	1.1	0.8	0.6	0.7
Nashe radio	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.1	0.5	0.6	0.5
Other channels	8.0	6.9	7.7	4.1	4.4	5.1	4.5	6.2	4.8	5.8
All channels	40.8	49.4	42.0	42.4	39.8	42.6	47.5	42.9	44.8	43.4

*daily average

b) Daily Reach (thousand people)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Radio Moldova	371.0	435.6	398.6	522.2	527.3	446.6	407.7	451.7	427.0	444.5
Russkoe Radio	274.2	338.8	299.0	179.5	232.6	239.2	392.0	261.3	316.3	277.3
HIT FM	177.4	225.8	215.9	179.5	93.0	255.2	141.1	180.7	197.7	183.3
Antena C	32.3	129.1	66.4	32.6	124.1	79.7	125.4	77.4	102.8	84.8
Dinamit FM	32.3	145.2	49.8	114.2	62.0	79.7	47.0	80.7	55.3	73.3
Sanatatea	32.3	32.3	33.2	146.9	77.5	63.8	78.4	64.5	79.1	66.4
Kiss FM	48.4	96.8	49.8	65.3	46.5	63.8	47.0	58.1	55.3	57.3
Radio Romania Actualitati	16.1	16.1	16.6	49.0	31.0	175.4	62.7	25.8	118.6	52.7
Avto Radio	0.0	64.5	33.2	32.6	31.0	47.8	94.1	32.3	71.2	43.5
The Little Samaritan	32.3	16.1	16.6	32.6	62.0	63.8	31.4	32.3	39.5	36.7
Radio Maiak	64.5	48.4	49.8	49.0	15.5	0.0	15.7	45.2	7.9	34.4
Radio FM	64.5	32.3	16.6	16.3	31.0	0.0	15.7	32.3	7.9	25.2
Radio Shanson	16.1	16.1	16.6	65.3	0.0	15.9	15.7	22.6	15.8	20.6
Evropa Plus	16.1	0.0	0.0	49.0	46.5	0.0	31.4	22.6	15.8	20.6
Nashe radio	16.1	0.0	16.6	0.0	31.0	0.0	31.4	12.9	15.8	13.7
Other channels	225.8	193.6	215.9	114.2	124.1	143.5	125.4	174.2	134.4	162.7
All channels	1145.4	1387.3	1179.2	1191.3	1116.6	1196.1	1332.9	1203.4	1257.2	1219.0

*daily average

C. PRINT

Familiarity with the printed press

1. Dailies

I would like you to tell me what dailies (newspapers coming out several times a week) available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only the name and even if you've never read them?

Base: 1225 respondents – total sample

%	First mention	Other spontaneous	Assisted	Total
Komsomolskaia pravda	25.0	18.0	40.8	83.8
Makler	13.9	19.9	40.6	74.4
Flux	14.4	15.0	32.8	62.2
Nezavisimaia Moldova	2.1	11.8	46.0	59.9
Moldova Suverana	5.1	10.9	41.7	57.7
Jurnal de Chisinau	3.3	5.8	30.0	39.1
Sport Curier	1.5	2.4	24.2	28.1
Moldavskie vedomosti	0.2	3.1	21.4	24.7
Capitala	0.2	2.0	21.1	23.3
Jurnalul National	0.1	1.5		
Other (under 1% each)	0.7	1.5		
DK/NA	33.9			

2. Weeklies

I would like you to tell me what weeklies (publications coming out one time per week) available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only the name and even if you've never read them.

Base: 1225 respondents – total sample

%	First mention	Other spontaneous	Assisted	Total
Argumenty i Fakty	16.9	16.9	41.1	74.9
Saptamana	23.7	16.8	28.0	68.5
Timpul	6.5	10.5	31.5	48.5
Literatura si Arta	1.0	8.5	36.0	45.5
Tineretul Moldovei	0.2	7.3	27.6	35.1
Ekonomicheskoe obozrenie	0.7	4.7	22.7	28.1
Kishinyovskii obozrevateli	0.5	3.2	18.1	21.8
Democratia	0.1	3.0	16.3	19.4
Delovaia Gazeta	-	3.0	16.1	19.1
Novoie vremea	0.9	2.7	12.4	16.0
Vocea Poporului	-	1.1	13.8	14.9
Capital	-	1.1	13.6	14.7
Sens	0.3	3.0	10.6	13.9
Fermierul	0.4	3.4	10.1	13.9
Glasul Natiunii	0.1	1.4	11.8	13.3
Accente	-	0.8	10.8	11.6
Spros i predlozhenie	2.3	2.1	6.3	10.7
Cuvantul	1.3	2.6	6.5	10.4
Business Info	0.1	2.3	7.4	9.8
Unghiul	3.1	1.3	3.6	8.0
Novaia Gazeta	-	0.5	6.2	6.7
Est Curier	0.1	0.8	4.6	5.5
Accent provincial	0.5	0.4	4.1	5.0
Observatorul de Nord	0.4	1.2	3.4	5.0
Ora locala	1.0	0.9	3.1	5.0
Cuvantul Liber	-	0.5	4.4	4.9
Ecoul Nostru	-	0.1	4.6	4.7
Glia Drochiana	0.2	0.4	1.8	2.4
Gazeta de Vest	0.3	-	1.7	2.0
Straseneanca	0.3	0.5	1.0	1.8
Antenna	2.2	1.8		
Shans	0.8	1.7		
Comunist	0.9	1.4		
Golos Balti	-	1.8		
Other (under 1% each)	5.1	12.9		
DK/NA	30.1	13.4		

3. Monthlies

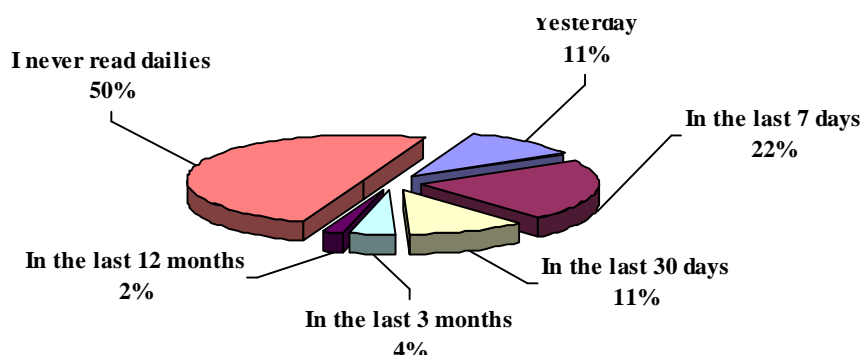
I would like you to tell me what monthlies (publications coming out one or two times per month) available in Moldova have you heard about, even if only the name and even if you've never read them?

Base: 1225 respondents – total sample

%	First mention	Other spontaneous	Assisted	Total
Alunelul	5.3	6.2	23.4	34.9
Tainele Sanatatii	4.7	4.4	16.5	25.6
Noi	2.7	4.4	15.5	22.6
Vash domashnii doktor	2.5	2.6	15.6	20.7
Contabilitate si audit	1.5	1.3	12.9	15.7
Limba romana	1.1	1.8	12.2	15.1
Moldova si Lumea	1.9	2.8	10.3	15.0
Basarabia	0.8	1.6	10.0	12.4
Capitala magazin	0.5	1.3	5.1	6.9
Sud-Est	-	0.2	5.3	5.5
Contrafort	0.1	0.8	4.2	5.1
Other (under 1% each)	9.2	7.4		
DK/NA	70.3	9.0		

1. Dailies

Besides today, when have you last read or leafed through a daily?



The audience of the printed press

3.1. The audience of dailies

REACH

This indicator measures the proportion (or the absolute number) of people who have read/leafed through at least one daily in the course of a day.

a) Reach (%)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Komsomolskaia pravda	4.0	4.6	3.0	2.9	6.1	4.5	5.0	4.3	4.5	4.3
Flux	3.4	4.6	2.4	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.3
Makler	4.0	2.3	1.2	3.5	3.9	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.8	2.9
Jurnal de Chisinau	2.9	2.3	1.8	1.2	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.0	1.9

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Nezavisimaia Moldova	0.0	1.7	1.2	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.7
Moldova Suverana	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.7	0.0	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.6
Sport Curier	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Moldavskie vedomosti	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Capitala	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All dailies	7.5	12.6	7.1	9.9	13.3	10.2	12.8	10.1	11.5	10.5

*daily average

b) Reach (thousand people)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Komsomolskaia pravda	112.9	129.1	83.0	81.6	170.6	127.6	141.1	119.4	126.5	121.4
Flux	96.8	129.1	66.4	97.9	93.0	95.7	94.1	93.6	94.9	93.9
Makler	112.9	64.5	33.2	97.9	108.6	79.7	78.4	83.9	79.1	82.5
Jurnal de Chisinau	80.7	64.5	49.8	32.6	46.5	47.8	47.0	51.6	55.3	52.7
Nezavisimaia Moldova	0.0	48.4	33.2	0.0	62.0	0.0	0.0	25.8	0.0	18.3
Moldova Suverana	0.0	16.1	16.6	16.3	46.5	0.0	15.7	19.4	7.9	16.0
Sport Curier	0.0	16.1	0.0	16.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	4.6
Moldavskie vedomosti	0.0	16.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	2.3
Capitala	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
All dailies	209.7	354.9	199.3	277.4	372.2	287.1	360.7	283.9	324.2	295.6

*daily average

3.2. The audience of weeklies

3.2.1. REACH

This indicator measures the proportion (or the absolute number) of people who have read/leafed through at least one weekly in the course of a day.

a) Reach (%)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Saptamana	10.3	12.1	10.1	7.6	9.9	9.1	8.4	10.1	9.0	9.8
Argumenty i Fakty	9.8	5.2	5.3	5.8	5.0	3.4	5.6	6.2	4.5	5.7
Timpul	1.7	5.2	3.0	2.9	2.8	2.8	6.1	3.0	4.5	3.4
Unghiul	2.9	2.3	1.2	1.7	2.2	1.7	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.9
Literatura si Arta	0.6	1.7	4.1	0.6	1.1	2.3	1.1	1.6	1.7	1.6
Spros i predlozhenie	0.6	2.3	2.4	0.0	0.6	2.3	1.1	1.1	1.7	1.4
Novoie vremea	1.1	0.6	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.7	1.1	0.8	1.4	1.0
Business Info	0.6	0.0	0.6	1.2	1.7	2.3	0.6	0.8	1.4	1.0
Cuvantul	1.1	0.0	0.6	2.3	1.1	1.1	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.0
Ekonomicheskoie obozrenie	0.0	0.6	1.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.6	0.8	0.7
Ora locala	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.7	0.8	0.7
Democratia	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.7	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.5
Straseneanca	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.6	1.1	0.2	0.8	0.5
Accente	0.0	1.1	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.4

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Fermierul	1.1	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.4
Sens	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3
Glasul Natiunii	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3
Vocea Poporului	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.3
Est Curier	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.3
Tineretul Moldovei	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Delovaia Gazeta	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Kishinyovskii obozrevateli	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Accent provincial	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Cuvantul Liber	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.2
Ecoul Nostru	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1
Observatorul de Nord	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.1
Glia Drochiana	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Gazeta de Vest	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1
Other weekly	4.6	9.8	7.7	13.4	8.3	11.4	10.1	8.7	11.0	9.4
All weeklies	27.6	28.7	29.0	29.7	27.6	28.4	34.1	28.5	31.3	29.3

*daily average

b) Reach (thousand people)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Saptamana	290.4	338.8	282.4	212.2	279.1	255.2	235.2	283.9	253.0	275.0
Argumenty i Fakty	274.2	145.2	149.5	163.2	139.6	95.7	156.8	174.2	126.5	160.4
Timpul	48.4	145.2	83.0	81.6	77.5	79.7	172.5	83.9	126.5	96.2
Unghiul	80.7	64.5	33.2	49.0	62.0	47.8	62.7	54.8	47.4	52.7
Literatura si Arta	16.1	48.4	116.3	16.3	31.0	63.8	31.4	45.2	47.4	45.8
Spros i predlozhenie	16.1	64.5	66.4	0.0	15.5	63.8	31.4	32.3	47.4	39.0
Novoie vremea	32.3	16.1	0.0	0.0	62.0	47.8	31.4	22.6	39.5	27.5
Business Info	16.1	0.0	16.6	32.6	46.5	63.8	15.7	22.6	39.5	27.5
Cuvantul	32.3	0.0	16.6	65.3	31.0	31.9	15.7	29.0	23.7	27.5
Ora locala	32.3	16.1	16.6	16.3	0.0	0.0	47.0	19.4	23.7	20.6
Ekonomicheskoe obozrenie	0.0	16.1	33.2	32.6	0.0	0.0	47.0	16.1	23.7	18.3
Democratia	0.0	0.0	33.2	49.0	15.5	15.9	0.0	16.1	7.9	13.7
Straseneanca	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.0	15.9	31.4	6.5	23.7	13.7
Accente	0.0	32.3	16.6	0.0	15.5	0.0	0.0	16.1	0.0	11.5
Fermierul	32.3	16.1	0.0	16.3	15.5	0.0	0.0	16.1	0.0	11.5

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Sens	0.0	32.3	0.0	0.0	15.5	0.0	15.7	9.7	7.9	9.2
Glasul Natiunii	0.0	16.1	0.0	16.3	15.5	15.9	0.0	9.7	7.9	9.2
Vocea Poporului	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.3	15.5	31.9	0.0	6.5	15.8	9.2
Est Curier	0.0	0.0	0.0	32.6	0.0	15.9	15.7	6.5	15.8	9.2
Cuvantul Liber	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.0	31.9	0.0	6.5	15.8	6.9
Tineretul Moldovei	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.3	15.5	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	4.6
Delovaia Gazeta	0.0	16.1	0.0	0.0	15.5	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	4.6
Kishinyovskii obozrevateli	0.0	0.0	16.6	0.0	15.5	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	4.6
Accent provincial	32.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	4.6
Ecoul Nostru	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.9	0.0	0.0	7.9	2.3
Observatorul de Nord	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.7	0.0	7.9	2.3
Glia Drochiana	0.0	0.0	16.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0	2.3
Gazeta de Vest	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.9	0.0	0.0	7.9	2.3
Other weekly	129.1	274.2	215.9	375.3	232.6	319.0	282.3	245.2	308.4	263.5
All weeklies	774.3	806.6	813.8	832.3	775.4	797.4	956.5	800.1	877.7	822.6

3.3. The audience of monthlies

3.3.1. REACH

This indicator measures the proportion (or the absolute number) of people who have read/leafed through at least one monthly in the course of a day.

a) Reach (%)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Alunelul	3.4	1.1	3.0	3.5	5.0	4.0	2.8	3.2	3.4	3.3
Tainele Sanatatii	2.3	2.9	3.0	4.7	3.3	3.4	2.2	3.2	3.1	3.2
Noi	1.7	1.7	3.0	3.5	2.8	1.7	1.1	2.4	1.4	2.1
Contabilitate si audit	1.7	0.6	2.4	1.2	0.6	0.0	4.5	1.4	2.3	1.6
Vash domashnii doktor	1.1	0.6	4.7	1.2	1.7	0.6	1.7	1.7	1.1	1.6
Basarabia	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.2	1.1	0.5
Moldova si Lumea	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.4
Limba romana	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3
Capitala magazin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.8	0.2
Sud-Est	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Contrafort	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other publications	5.2	6.9	4.7	6.4	6.6	4.5	7.3	6.0	5.9	6.0
All publications	12.1	11.5	16.0	15.1	12.2	11.4	18.4	13.3	15.2	13.9

*daily average

b) Reach (thousand people)

	Mo	Tue	We	Thu	Fri	Sa	Su	working day*	Week end*	Mo-Su*
Alunelul	96.8	32.3	83.0	97.9	139.6	111.6	78.4	90.3	94.9	91.7
Tainele Sanatatii	64.5	80.7	83.0	130.6	93.0	95.7	62.7	90.3	87.0	89.4
Noi	48.4	48.4	83.0	97.9	77.5	47.8	31.4	67.8	39.5	59.6
Contabilitate si audit	48.4	16.1	66.4	32.6	15.5	0.0	125.4	38.7	63.3	45.8
Vash domashnii doktor	32.3	16.1	132.9	32.6	46.5	15.9	47.0	48.4	31.6	43.5
Basarabia	16.1	16.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	62.7	6.5	31.6	13.7
Moldova si Lumea	0.0	16.1	16.6	16.3	15.5	31.9	0.0	9.7	15.8	11.5
Limba romana	0.0	16.1	16.6	16.3	31.0	0.0	0.0	12.9	0.0	9.2
Capitala magazin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	47.0	0.0	23.7	6.9
Sud-Est	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Contrafort	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other publications	145.2	193.6	132.9	179.5	186.1	127.6	203.9	167.8	166.0	167.3
All publications	338.8	322.6	448.4	424.3	341.2	319.0	517.5	374.3	427.0	389.5

*daily average

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