



YAŞAR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

MASTER IN ART THESIS

**ANALYSING THE PROTESTS AND THE MASS MEDIA
THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE ELECTORAL
SYSTEM IN MOLDOVA IN 2009**

SANDA POSTICA

THESIS ADVISOR: ASSIST. PROF. (PHD) GİZEM KIZILTUNALI

COMMUNICATION

PRESENTATION DATE: SEPTEMBER 2021

BORNOVA / İZMİR
SEPTEMBER 2021

ABSTRACT

ANALYSING THE PROTESTS AND THE MASS MEDIA THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN MOLDOVA IN 2009

Postica, Sanda

Master, Communication Programme

Advisor: Assist. Prof. (PhD) Gizem KIZILTUNALI

September 2021

This thesis assesses the impact of Moldovan media in the ways it presented the protests that were sparked by the parliamentary election, which took place in April 2009 in Moldova. Building on the study "Electoral Context 2009" conducted by ADEPT with the support of the OSCE Mission to the Republic of Moldova, and its basic findings regarding the Moldovan media, (Failure of impartial reflection of election, favoring the ruling party, manipulating the images of the government), the thesis examines the mainstream Moldovan TV channels from the aforementioned perspectives. Engaging with the qualitative method of interpretivist approach and grounded theory, it critically conducts an analysis in order to show how the media channels during the election period of April 2009 in Moldova conducted the news reports and how these news reports had not favored the political parties from the Republic of Moldova.

keywords: protests, mass media, electoral system, political parties, torture, censorship, Moldovan revolution, journalism

ÖZ

2009 YILINDA MOLDOVA'DA SEÇİM SİSTEMİ PRİZMASI ÜZERİNDEN PROTESTO VE KİTLE MEDYALARININ ANALİZİ

Postica, Sanda

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İletişim

Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gizem Kızıltunalı

Eylül 2021

Bu tez, Moldova medyasının, Nisan 2009'da Moldova'da gerçekleşen parlamento seçimlerinin yol açtığı protestoları sunma biçimlerindeki etkisini değerlendirmektedir. AGİT Moldova Cumhuriyeti Misyonu'nun desteğiyle ADEPT tarafından yürütülen "Seçim Ortamı 2009" çalışmasına ve Moldova medyasına ilişkin temel bulgularına dayanarak, (Seçimin tarafsız yansıtılmaması, iktidar partisini kayırma, hükümetin görüntüleri manipüle etme) tez, ana akım Moldova TV kanallarını yukarıda belirtilen perspektiflerden incelemektedir. Niteliksel yorumlamacı yaklaşım yöntemiyle hareket ederek, Moldova'da Nisan 2009 seçim döneminde medya kanallarının haberleri nasıl yansıttığını ve bu haberlerin Cumhuriyet'teki siyasi partilerin aleyhine olduğunu göstermek adına eleştirel bir analiz yürütür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: protesto, kitle iletişim araçları, seçim sistemi, siyasi partiler, işkence, sansür, Moldova devrimi, gazetecilik

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Gizem Kiziltunali for her guidance and patience during this study.

I would like to express my infinite love to my parents who support me, take care of me and love me unconditionally.

Sanda Postica

İzmir, 2021



TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “ANALYSING THE PROTESTS AND THE MASS MEDIA THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM IN MOLDOVA IN 2009” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Sanda Postica
September, 2021



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ÖZ.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TEXT OF OATH.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF DIAGRAMS.....	x
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
METHODOLOGY	7
The methodological basis of scientific research	7
Impartiality/objectivity.....	11
Equity and balance of causes (sources)/pluralism of opinions	11
Language and video images used.....	12
CHAPTER 2 THE 2009 MOLDOVAN PROTESTS	15
2.1 Key works and evaluations of the Moldovan protests of 2009.....	15
2.2 The development of events and situations.....	16
2.3 Mass custody, use of violence, bullying and oppression of residents	19
2.4 A general overview of the dubious cases and other events	21
2.5 Custodial situations and care of people in custody.....	24
2.6 The case of Gabriel Stati and Aurel Marinescu.....	25
2.7 The case of Sergiu Mocanu	26
2.8 The case of Anatol Mătăsararu	27
2.9 The case of Jonathan Netanyahu	27
2.10 The case of Valeriu Boboc	28
2.11 Civil society actions.....	29
CHAPTER 3 THE DYNAMIC AND EVOLUTIONARY STRUCTURE OF THE MOLDOVAN MEDIA AND ITS ELECTORAL SYSTEM.....	32
3.1 General information.....	32

3.2 General characteristics of the media in the Republic of Moldova after the declaration of independence of the country	34
3.3 Electoral System of the Republic of Moldova - dynamic evolution and situation	41
CHAPTER 4 THE MEDIA DURING THE PROTESTS	48
4.1 The media in the electoral campaigns for the parliamentary elections of April 5 and July 29, 2009	48
4.2 Political power/influence in media during the elections of April 2009	52
4.3 The case of the journalists	57
CHAPTER 5 AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY ON THE TV CHANNELS OF MOLDOVA DURING THE 2009 PROTESTS	60
5.1 The phenomenon of manipulation of public opinion in the media in the context of the 2009 election year	60
5.2 Media as a factor in the manipulation of public opinion	63
5.3 General data	66
5.3.1 Moldova 1	66
5.3.2 Prime TV	71
5.3.3 NIT	72
5.3.4 N4	74
5.3.5 EU TV	78
5.3.6 Pro TV	79
5.3.7 TV7	80
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH	82
REFERENCES	86
LEGISLATIVE AND NORMATIVE ACTS	93

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Vladimir Turcan ordering the flag of the EU and Romania to be hoisted on the besieged buildings.....	18
Figure 2. Representatives of the force structures initiated mass and random detention of humans, applying the physical force.....	19
Figure 3. Armed and well-equipped law enforcement collaborators using physical force against non-violent people.....	20
Figure 4. Images that put specific people in an unfortunate light.....	68
Figure 5. The picture reflected the protests of April 6 and 7.....	69
Figures 6, 7. The building of the Presidency splashed with eggs, which took place on April 7.....	70
Figure 8. The leader of the LDPM, Vlad Filat, who calls the protesters to walk from the front of the Presidency to the Great National Assembly Square.....	71
Figure 9. Leaders of various parties (Mihai Ghimpu, Dumitru Diacov, Anatol Petrencu, Vitalia Pavlicenco, Valeriu Matei).....	74
Figure 10. Sequence of the attacks of the presidency building.....	76
Figure 11. Image from GNAS where Vladimir Filat declared that he was going to have a meeting with Dorin Chirtoaca and Serafim Urechean in order to debate and examine the action plan.....	76
Figure 12. The image of two harmed policemen.....	77
Figure 13. The devastation of the headquarters (Presidential and Parliamentary buildings).....	77
Figure 14. Vladimir Filat with the megaphone in his hand after which the journalist declared that the opposition gathered in the GNAS up to 5 thousand demonstrators.....	78

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The average percentage of how many people watch the following TV Channels.....	13
--	----



LIST OF DIAGRAMS

<u>Diagram 1.</u> A survey conducted in 2010 by the "Access-Info" Center among 253 journalists from 83 editorial collectives (Rosca, 2010).....	40
<u>Diagram 2.</u> To the question: "To what extent do you consider that the media in the Republic of Moldova stimulates the democratization process" (Gribincea, 2007).....	41
<u>Diagram 3.</u> Families material conditions during the protests from April, 2009 (Negru, 2009).....	53
<u>Diagram 4.</u> Popularity ratings on the political scene in Moldova in 2009 (Călugăreanu, 2009).....	55
<u>Diagram 5.</u> Opinion ratings on the political parties in Moldova in 2009 (Călugăreanu, 2009).....	56
<u>Diagram 6.</u> If another Sunday had been held parliamentary elections, the structure of the electoral preferences expressed would have been the following (Cațer, 2009)	57

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS:

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
AEI	Alliance for European Integration
ACC	Audiovisual Coordinating Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
CPRM	Communist Party of Republic of Moldova
LP	Liberal Party
DPM	Democrat Party of Moldova
LDPM	Liberal Democrat Party of Moldova
CDPP	Christian Democratic People's Party
OMA	Our Moldova Alliance
CEC	Central Electoral Commission
CIJ	Center for Independent Journalism
BCC	Broadcasting Coordinating Council
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
ODIHR	Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
FPA	Free Press Association
CO	Council of Observers
RPBI	Regional Public Broadcasting Institution
ULC	Union of Labor Collectives
UCC	Unified Control Commission
RCTV	Rehabilitation Center of Torture Victims
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights

- PGO Prosecutors General Office
- EAM European Action Movement
- PAM People's Action Movement
- IPA Independent Press Association



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In political science, a revolution is a fundamental and relatively sudden change in political power and political organization which occurs when the population revolts against the government, typically due to perceived oppression (political, social, economic) or political incompetence. (Bullock & Trombley, 1999) In April 2009, Moldova, a former Soviet republic located between Romania and Ukraine, gained short-lived attention for the post-election street riots that was called the "Youth Revolution". While the Moldovan uprisings did not lead to an immediate change of government, they marked the beginning of the end for a generation of Moldovan ruling elites, raised in the Soviet system. (Ursu, 2009)

Communication and information have a great importance in reflecting political processes and in creating public opinion and guiding the society towards democracy. The special role of the media in this process is to inform the public about essential events in the community, so that they can make decisions by being well informed. This aspect becomes crucial in conflict situations and crisis, with the media being among the main actors that can participate to resolving them.

In an open, free society, it is very important that public opinion, either individually or in representative groups has the necessary information in order to be able to understand, react and influence the development and implementation of the relevant guidelines for the future projection of the destinies of a national community. Between the members of a society and the public opinion it is necessary to have a free flow of information, realized through formal and informal exchanges, through a continuous, open dialogue, but also based on trust. From any country, the citizen will need accurate and timely information. In this segment of the media, there are different interest groups that present an event, a fact, news from different angles and reflect it to the public.

How the media cover conflicts depends on a number of factors, including their relation with certain implications of the conflict, but also the degree of independence of the media from those who hold the power. (Foucault, 1978) Further, the investigation of the problems of involvement and, implicitly, bi-directional political influence of the media

with its social-political usages, determines the quality of the preparation of society for making meaningful, adequate decisions. (Foucault, 1982)

Among the main risks that may occur are the manipulation of journalists and the media by the authorities, and limited access to information, which make proper coverage difficult. (Stefanescu, 2001) Also, as long as journalists and media have their own interests and views, they may join the conflict by approving a partisan editorial policy, sustaining one part or the other and also limiting information regarding some parties. (Stefanescu, 2001)

Mass Media refers to the technology that is used to communicate to a large group, or groups of people in a short time frame. (Pavlik & McIntosh, 2004) The issue of the media situation, protest events and their consequences in the Republic of Moldova in the 2009 election year is a theme that attracted the attention of researchers in the field in the Republic of Moldova both at that time and today. This thesis will address the role of the media in the revolutionary period of April 2009, in the Republic of Moldova, as well as the youth protests that took place in Moldova in 2009. These protests were important for exercising the freedom of expression. However, at the time mainstream media was under the control of government.

The situation of mass media in the Republic of Moldova has changed many times based on the political fluctuations in the country. The interference of politics with mass media often proves to be a beneficial factor, providing the means of mass information and the necessary sources for survival. Further, it also sets the necessary standards for a good functioning (this factor is valid, especially in the case of public broadcasting). However, the often obscure and clandestine way in which political factors try to influence the mass media institutions and the lack of transparency that surrounds this field, often provokes legitimate reproaches.

The legislation of the Republic of Moldova respects the international standards in the field of regulation and functioning of the media. (Luca, 2006) At the same time, the general situation of the public and private media does not correspond to all the criteria for the full

assurance of the rights and freedoms of expression, constant concerns in this regard being expressed both internally as well as externally. (Luca, 2006)

In 2009, two parliamentary elections and four presidential elections aroused the interest and active involvement of the citizens in the political life in Moldova. In the 2009 elections, the press corrupted itself and sacrificed its vocation as a mediator/supervisor of the elections, and as a lawyer for the voters. (Rosca, 2010)

We can conventionally divide the mass media situation after the CPRM came to power in 2001. In the first period, we can talk about the serious decline of the local media. Media's attitude and its power as the "guard dog of society" during the last year's election campaigns, as well as during the events of April 2009 have been questioned. These dysfunctions were about the free exercise of the right to express and inform, independence and freedom of the press towards any political influence, towards censorship and self-censorship.

In the second period, after the coming to power of the Alliance for European Integration (AEI), there is a certain solution to the problems of the press, and the pressures on it decrease. Under these conditions, the press exponents take advantage of the favorable moments and request the new government to demonstrate its devotion to European norms in the field of mass media, of freedom of expression to strengthen the democratic process initiated in Moldova. (Lungu, 2010)

Various scholars have reported on various aspects of the 2009 Moldovan revolution. Some have studied the technology and new media dimensions of the protests. (Lysenko & Desouza, 2012; Mungiu-Pippidi & Munteanu, 2009) Lohmeier and Barzescu (2011), on the other hand, have explored the journalistic activities of the Moldovan protests. Elena Gnedina, George Dura (2009) and Liliana Vitu (2010) have looked at the sociopolitical features of the 2009 revolution. Further, Potocki (2009) and Vitu (2010) also analyzed the sociopolitical elements of the events. A significant number of scholars have addressed the political prospects of the Moldovan protests. (Renner, 2010; Iglesias 2013; Şenyuva 2010) Delaney (2009) and Vitu (2010) have also addressed the economic and sociological attributes of the revolution.

This thesis focuses on the first period and examines the dysfunctions that took place in the Moldovan media. National and international reports have signaled serious deviations from the legal norms of the public broadcasting service, and the ACC, which is the guarantor of the public interest and is responsible for coordinating the audiovisual activity, exercised its authority as a too little influential organ. (Pîrțac, 2007) Based on the general reports of some international missions, as well as the specialized monitoring reports of the civil society organizations, "an inappropriate behavior of the public media" was observed in the 2009 election. (Lungu, 2010)

To illustrate, the study "Electoral Context 2009" was conducted by ADEPT with the support of the OSCE Mission to the Republic of Moldova and focused on the electoral framework and context in the Republic of Moldova in parliamentary elections. It analyzed the involvement of public and local media in the election campaign. What follows highlights three pivotal features of the findings of the aforementioned study:

1. Failure of impartial and balanced reflection of election.
2. The interpretation of some of their statements by news presenters favored the ruling party to the detriment of other electoral contestants and the attestation of the cases when the public mass media did not inform objectively and equidistantly.
3. Recording the cases when the public broadcasters did not fully serve the public interest, polished the image of the government and denigrated the counter-candidates.

Building on the findings of the report, in this thesis, I analyze specific Moldovan TV channels' news content and its presentation in three dimensions:

- Impartiality and objectivity.
- Equity and balance of causes (sources)/Pluralism of opinions.
- Language and video images used.

Adhering to the research paradigm of interpretivism, the study will evaluate on the particular media outlets from the perspectives of the aforementioned 3 criteria.

The aim and objective of the thesis is to clarify the importance and role of the Moldovan media in publicizing the electoral process of 2009, as well as the protests resulting from the announcement of the election results. Firstly, the thesis will analyze the general

situation of the media in the Republic of Moldova after the declaration of independence. Secondly, it will examine the evolution of the electoral system from April 2009 in the Republic of Moldova under the influence of the media and the youth protests.

There exists a gap in academia regarding the strong truth about the organization of the "Youth Revolution" of April 2009 in the Republic of Moldova. This gap triggered me to write this thesis in order to explain that those events were organized and were prepared in advance.

The contribution of this research to academic knowledge is represented by the gap which I try to fill regarding the reality of the April 2009 events. Regarding the fact that Moldova at that period was an extremely communist ruled country, such an unorganized protest without a leader was an extreme case to be examined. People who live in such a society needs a clearly defined purpose, a well-organized plan and a leader. In other words, this cannot be a spontaneous protest carried out by a communist nation.

The research methodology includes interpretive method and grounded theory.

The following explains briefly the structure of the thesis.

Chapter I - "The 2009 Moldovan Protests" highlights the development of events and situations, as well as the safety of the person during protest actions from April 2009. It also describes mass custody, use of violence, bullying and oppression of residents. From this chapter aren't excluded also the custodial situations and care of people in custody, as well as the violent cases of some individuals (the case of Gabriel Stati and Aurel Marinescu, Sergiu Mocanu, Anatol Mătășaru, Jonathan Netanyahu, Valeriu Boboc). Chapter II - "The dynamic and evolutionary structure of the Moldovan media and its electoral system", addresses the general considerations on the evolution of the media after the proclamation of independence. Another topic approached in this chapter is the one referring to the electoral system of the Republic of Moldova, its evolution in dynamics. In Chapter III - "The Media during the Protests", a media research was conducted on the media coverage of the 2009 parliamentary elections. Another important fact described in this chapter was the participation of political parties and political power/influence in media during the elections. Chapter IV - "An interpretive study on the TV Channels of Moldova during the 2009 Protests", analyzes the phenomenon of manipulation of public

opinion by the media institutions in the Republic of Moldova in the context of the election year 2009, also the position of the media institutions on the parliamentary elections of 2009 and the interpretive study on the TV Channels of Moldova during that period. In Chapter V - "Conclusions and future research" the results of the investigation are presented and the perspectives of the research are determined.



METHODOLOGY

The methodological basis of scientific research

The research methodology includes interpretive method and grounded theory. The term "interpretive method" is often used loosely and synonymously with "qualitative method", although the two concepts are quite different. (Susman, 1978) Interpretive methodology is a research paradigm that is based on the assumption that social reality is not singular or objective, but is rather shaped by human experiences and social contexts, and is therefore best studied within its socio-historic context by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants. (Susman, 1978) Because interpretive researchers view social reality as being embedded within and impossible to abstract from their social settings, they "interpret" the reality through a "sense-making" process rather than a hypothesis testing process. This is in contrast to the positivist or functionalist paradigm that assumes that the reality is relatively independent of the context, can be abstracted from their contexts, and studied in a decomposable functional manner using objective techniques such as standardized measures. (Evered, 1978) Whether a researcher should pursue interpretive or positivist methodology depends on paradigmatic considerations about the nature of the phenomenon under consideration and the best way to study it. (Bluebond-Langer, 1996)

Interpretive method has several unique advantages. First, it is well-suited for exploring hidden reasons behind complex, interrelated, or multifaceted social processes, such as inter-firm relationships or inter-office politics, where quantitative evidence may be biased, inaccurate, or otherwise difficult to obtain. (Lincoln, 1985) Second, it is often helpful for theory construction in areas with no or insufficient a priori theory. (Giorgi, 2003) Third, it is also appropriate for studying context-specific, unique, or idiosyncratic events or processes. (Guba, 1985) Fourth, interpretive methodology can also help uncover interesting and relevant research questions and issues for follow-up research. (Fisher, Strauss, 1978)

Interpretive theory was developed and popularized by Prussian founding figure of the field Max Weber. This theoretical approach and the research methods that go with it is rooted in the German word *verstehen*, which means "to understand," in particular to

have a meaningful understanding of something. (Weber, 1978) To practice interpretive theory is to attempt to understand social phenomena from the standpoint of those involved in it. It is, so to speak, to attempt to walk in someone else's shoes and see the world as they see it. Interpretive theory is, thus, focused on understanding the meaning that those studied give to their beliefs, values, actions, behaviors, and social relationships with people and institutions. Georg Simmel, a contemporary of Weber, is also recognized as a major developer of interpretive theory. (Weber, 1978)

Some political scientists regard interpretive theory as useful for limited areas of their discipline; for example, the study of values and ideologies. Finally, hostile political scientists reject interpretive approaches as inappropriate, or as superseded by a positive, scientific alternative. Interpretive theorists should allow that objective data could provide useful guides to research and reinforce some conclusions. (Bevir, 2000) They also need to respond to the specific criticisms raised by political scientists. Two criticisms are prominent and important: first, interpretive theories do not adequately account for material reality; and second, they provide no basis for criticizing social life. Different species of interpretive theory rebuff such criticisms differently. Neither criticism can be accepted as it stands. (Bevir, 1996)

This approach to producing theory and research encourages sociologists to view those studied as thinking and feeling subjects as opposed to objects of scientific research. Weber (1978), developed interpretive theory because he saw a deficiency in the positivistic sociology pioneered by French founding figure Émile Durkheim. Durkheim (1895) worked to make sociology be seen as a science by centering empirical, quantitative data as its practice. However, Weber and Simmel recognized that the positivistic approach is not able to capture all social phenomena, nor is it able to fully explain why all social phenomena occur or what is important to understand about them. (Ringer, 1997) This approach focuses on objects (data) whereas interpretive sociologists focus on subjects (people). (Ringer, 1997)

To sum up, interpretive theory encompasses many approaches opposed to the positivism that provides the basis for so much political science. It takes seriously the role of ideas and meanings in individual lives and social practices. Most interpretive theorists argue the meaningful nature of human life makes the model of natural science

inappropriate to political studies. Some insist the human sciences must understand the objects they study rather than seek explanations for them (Winch 1958). Others insist the human sciences are explanatory but distinguish the narrative form of explanation from the strictly causal form found in most natural science.

There is a constant dispute concerning the nature of grounded theory, and an examination of many studies claiming to follow grounded theory indicates a wide range of approaches. In 1967 Glaser and Strauss's ‘‘The Discovery of Grounded Theory; Strategies for Qualitative Research’’ was published and represented a breakthrough in qualitative research; it offered methodological consensus and systematic strategies for qualitative research practice. (Clarke, 2005) The defining characteristics of grounded theory include: simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis, construction of analytic codes and categories from data (not from preconceived logical hypotheses), use of the constant comparative method/analysis that involves making comparisons during all steps of the analysis, developing theory during each step of data collection and analysis, memo-writing to elaborate categories, theoretical sampling aiming toward theory construction (not representativeness), and conducting a literature review after performing the analysis and developing theory. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) When developing a theory, identification of a core category is central for the integration of other categories into a conceptual framework or theory grounded in the data. Most grounded theories are substantive theories because they address delimited problems in specific substantive areas. (Glaser, 1978)

Another feature that is significant to highlight is that the problem that is focused on in grounded theory is called the main concern; the solution to this main concern is hence the core category. (Clarke, 2005) These are the foundations of Glaserian grounded theory, sometimes also called classic grounded theory. (Clarke, 2005)

About 20 years later Strauss (1987) moved grounded theory toward verification and, together with Corbin as a co-author, this direction was furthered. Strauss and Corbin's (1990) version of grounded theory also favors new technical procedures rather than emphasizing comparative methods. This direction in grounded theory is sometimes called Straussarian grounded theory.

Grounded theory provides qualitative researchers with guidelines for collecting and analyzing data. (Hallberg, 2006) Although there are “probably as many versions of grounded theory as there were grounded theorists” (Dey, 1999), all of the versions have the following aspects in common (Charmaz, 2006):

1. Coding (labeling and categorizing) from collected data instead of relying on theories not grounded in data.
2. Social processes are discovered in the data.
3. Abstract categories are constructed inductively.
4. Categories are refined using theoretical sampling.
5. The gap between coding and writing is bridged with analytical memos.
6. Categories are integrated into a theoretical framework.

Another explanation of grounded theory is given by Lehmann (2001), who describes this process as a spiral that starts by collecting ‘slices of data’ in a substantive area of enquiry, which are then codified and categorized in a continuous process that moves toward saturation and results in the theoretical densification of concepts represented by a substantive theory. (Scahtzman, 1991)

These outlined characteristics provide the reader a clue and a knowledge that grounded theory methodology is being used, and not just qualitative analysis. Grounded theory methodology is about research questions, data collection, analysis and generating theory; it is not solely data analysis.

In Moldova during the electoral process from April 2009, the news bulletins and broadcasts of 7 television stations, in peak viewing time (19.00-23.00), as well as the materials of 7 newspapers both nationally and regionally, were monitored. (Popa, 2009) In this context, the materials that involved the subject of the protests and their consequences were analyzed. The materials were evaluated based on the principles below. The thesis uses three main principles: impartiality/objectivity, equity and balance of causes (sources)/pluralism of opinions, language and video images used. The principle of impartiality/objectivity is chosen in order to show how the media channels during the election period of April 2009 in Moldova conducted the news reports and how these news reports had not to favor the political parties from the Republic of Moldova. The thesis uses also the principle of equity and balance of causes in order to emphasize the journalistic

interests concerning the trustworthiness of the press. This principle shows how the media provided access to a multitude of different opinions, which helped the public to generate their own views on what happened at that time. Another principle used in this thesis is the principle of language and video images. It highlights the media's social responsibility in communicating the truth of the events in words and pictures.

Impartiality/objectivity

Journalist professionalism requires objectivity, impartiality and independence and journalistic objectivity requires a clear distinction between opinion and fact, both in choosing the angle of approach and in the details provided. (Ștefănescu, 2007) According to the Code of Ethics, the presentation, description and narrative must be impartial and journalists must refrain from any hint or comment on those that make up the subject of the news report. (Ștefănescu, 2007) News reports must not favor certain parties / groups / individuals over others. The presence of discriminatory elements in the reports and news is a primary indicator that reality is being presented from the standpoint of the journalist. The way a report is concluded, the ranking of news, auxiliary comments may make the public believe that the pattern of an event is the one presented by the respective channel. The filtering of news and a minimum of background and contextual information are other signs that the interests of certain actors are being defended, but not those of the general public. (Ștefănescu, 2007)

Equity and balance of causes (sources)/pluralism of opinions

Fairness and pluralism of opinions underline journalistic concerns regarding social responsibility, professional performance and credibility of the press. (Fico & Sofin, 1994) In cases where certain views are given more attention than others, they become prominent and thus affect the public perception of events. To be fair and balanced, material must present all parties concerned, especially when it comes to controversial subjects, and treat equally all the parties to the dispute (Fico et. al., 2007). The media must also ensure public access to a throng of diverse opinions and points of views, which would help the audience to shape their own ideas and conclusions on what happened. According to journalistic

standards, news must come from real and precisely verified sources. The information should only be circulated if it is accepted by 2 autonomous sources. (Fico, 2007)

Language and video images used

The social responsibility of the journalist primarily presupposes the communication of truth through words and images. The ethics and decency of journalists are interrogated most of the time when the images used perform aspects that do not coincide with the real world. Also when the images are rigged, as well as when certain news stories are adorned with images that are not linked to the text, with. (Foucault, 1975) Liable journalism involves not just the truthful presentation of evidences, but also the use of honest and modest discourse. Exaggerations and licentious language used, like defamatory language or classification of individuals or organizations so that certain parts emerge in a gloomy light, denote non-compliance with professional and ethical norms. The journalist is obliged to categorically bypass offensive expressions, withstand brutality, the language of confrontation and hatred, as well as to refuse any discrimination against one subject or another. (Foucault, 1975)

Regarding the images and video images that are attached in the thesis, they were published during the electoral period of the Republic of Moldova in 2009. To be more specific, in this work I chose the images and videos that represent the actions and events of the protest days from the capital of Moldova, Chisinau. The images and video images selected for this thesis were the ones from April 6-7, 2009. I chose that period because those days describe and reproduce through the selected images and video images the events that happened during the protests.

Media selection criteria:

- Audience and impact (local, national and regional). Argument: It is acknowledged that there exists a direct link between the numbers of the public and the impact of the media on public mind. The impact of a specific message on certain segments of community is stronger when more people expose themselves to this message (see Table 1). (Media-M, 2018)

Table 1: The average percentage of how many people watch the following TV Channels

TV Channels	Watch at least once a week	Watch news only from independent sources
Moldova 1	45%	50%
Prime TV	55%	38%
NIT	20%	21%
EU TV	23%	25%
PROTV	27%	30%
TV7	6%	7%
N4	6%	7%

List of monitored posts (media programs):

Moldova 1 (M1) – public administration, nationwide coverage, transmitted in Romanian and Russian;

Prime TV – private post, nationwide coverage, transmitted in Romanian;

NIT – private post, quasi-national coverage, transmitted in Romanian and Russian;

EU TV – private post, quasi-national coverage, transmitted in Romanian;

PROTV – private post, local coverage, transmitted in Romanian;

TV7 – private post, local coverage, transmitted in Romanian and Russian;

N4 – private post, local coverage, transmitted in Romanian.

Talking about the mainstream TV channels that are highlighted and analysed in the thesis, they related and described the information and news stories from the protest period in the Republic of Moldova, between April 6-10, 2009. That period was chosen because, it represented the way in which media stations reflected the protest events. Those episodes were monitored by the Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ), the Association of the Independent Press (AIP), the Electronic Press Association (ELPA), as well as by the Election Observation Mission OSCE / ODIHR and the "Teleradio-Moldova" Company, which monitored its own programs.

The attitude of the TV media channels in the country during the protests of April 2009 did not reflect the events in all aspects, or the undisguised sympathy for one of the conflicting parties. The report on the monitoring of media behavior between April 6 and 10, conducted by CIJ, shows that all three stations with national and quasi-national coverage (Moldova 1, Prime TV and NIT) and one with regional coverage (N 4) incorrectly treated the conflicting parties. They promoted the positive image of the central public administration and the CPRM, on the one hand, and the negative image of the leaders of the three opposition parties - LP, LDPM and OMA, on the other hand.

The research includes interviews and reports provided by the media platforms. It excludes face-to-face interviews and also reports and criminal investigations against the police officers who captured and tortured the victims during the events of April 2009 in the Republic of Moldova.

There exist two major limitations in this thesis that could be addressed in future research. Since the big event was done in 2009, I couldn't make face-to-face interviews with people, questionnaires and surveys, this point represents one of the limitations of my research. Another strong element as a limitation is the financial one. Due to the fact that I couldn't go to Moldova, I wasn't able to reach tools that would enable me to gather empirical evidence such as USBs, first hand captures of protests posters and graffiti.

In order to achieve the purpose of the thesis, the following research questions were formulated:

- What was the role of the media during the protests from April, 2009?
- What were the constituent elements of the process of political influence on the public opinion carried out by the media in the Republic of Moldova?
- What was the role of the media involvement in the electoral campaigns for the parliamentary elections from April 5 and July 29, 2009?
- What was the level of media coverage of media policy and politicization in the context of the manifestation of the potential of the media in order to exert influence on consumers of information?
- How was the manipulation of public opinion through the media in the context of the electoral year, 2009 analyzed?

CHAPTER 2

THE 2009 MOLDOVAN PROTESTS

2.1 Key works and evaluations of the Moldovan protests of 2009

As mentioned in the methodology, various scholars have emphasized various aspects of the Moldovan protests. Before moving on to a detailed analysis of the 2009 Moldovan events, I would like to introduce a few of them so as to provide a general framework of others' thoughts on the critical events.

Jessica Delaney (2009) highlights in her study "Election crisis in Moldova, implications at home and abroad" the aspect of the April's 2009 electoral crisis which deteriorated the quality of the political governance of the society. She specified that the election campaign was the dirtiest in Moldova's history. This describes the fact that the broadcasts on public TV leaned heavily in favor of the CPM, the police and the Office of the Prosecutor General detained opposition activists, harassed journalists and allegedly covered up attacks on peaceful protesters. Delaney (2009) also mentioned in her work the external impact between Romania and Moldova during the revolution period.

Liliana Vitu (2010) also wrote an article in which she makes debates on the events which happened in Moldova in April, 2009. In her work she highlights a series of political and economic reforms also the political crisis which began with the government that came to power in 2001. In her study, Vitu described the national democratic governance, as well as the electoral process events, how the society reacted at that time and of course how the media influenced the society. Here she specified the fact how the political parties exerted political and financial pressure on journalists. Other important facts discussed in Vitu's work, were the aspect of the corruption during the electoral process from April 2009, as well as the conflicts of interest, transparency and the code of conduct.

Another scholars which elaborated a work concerning the Moldova's revolution, are Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Igor Munteanu. They described the concept of so called "Twitter Revolution", because on the day the protests started the events were spread rapidly via Twitter and other online networking services. The official media carried no coverage, but accounts, pictures and video of the rally were appearing in real time on Twitter and YouTube. The authors also described "Moldova's Twitter Revolution" as

being a “color revolution”, because it was based on keeping the media and the opposition under control. It was also specified that the Moldovan case from April 2009, underlined the lesson that democratization couldn’t make progress in strongly unfavorable external environments.

In his study, Martin Renner (2010) talks about the problems Moldova faced during the electoral process from April 2009. He specified that Moldova was caught somewhere between democratic changes and political as well as economic chaos. In his work he analyzed the events of the April 2009 through the prism of the background of its ambition to gain an EU accession perspective.

In their turn, Elena Gnedina and George Dura (2009) analyzed in their article the consequences of the post-electoral impasse in which Moldova found itself after the parliamentary elections from April, 2009. They also talked about the implication of the EU during the electoral process and the protests events, specifying that the EU offered to Moldova an agreement in order to implement democratic reforms.

V. Lysenko and K. Desouza (2012) analyzed in their study “Moldova’s internet revolution: Analyzing the role of technologies in various phases of the confrontation” the fundamental impacts that information and communication technologies have had on the outcomes of contentious political confrontations. In this study, Lysenko and Desouza (2012) described the role played by ICTs in Moldova’s Revolution of April 2009. To be more specific, they identified what, why, and how technologies were used during diverse phases of the uprising.

Christine Lohmeier and Catalina Barzescu (2011) highlighted in their study the issue of trust in the news media in relation to the conflict reporting concept of Peace Journalism (PJ). They described and analyzed the method, the critical discourse analysis and expert interviews from the protest events from April, 2009.

2.2 The development of events and situations

On April 5, 2009 parliamentary elections were held in Moldova. The campaign and elections were conducted in an extremely tense atmosphere, in a context in which, in recent years, the authorities, represented in the legislative and executive by a single political party (Communists Party), ignored many social problems. A big part of the

citizens expected that the election would produce political change by democratic and nonviolent means. Numerous irregularities reported by national and international observers clearly compromised the election process, and the results of the poll disappointed a large proportion of citizens who thought that the elections had been rigged and had not met democratic conditions and standards.

In the sign of protest, a bunch of teenagers initiated a quiet protest movement to voice their position, opinion and dispute with these outcomes. Hence, on the day of April 6, 2009, in the center of the capital of the Republic of Moldova, a huge amount of inhabitants protested in a tranquil way, asking the electoral bodies not to endorse the voting outcomes. (Negru, 2009) On the next day, the protest actions, kept going in a quiet mode in the Great National Assembly Square, but in front of the edifices of the Presidency and Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, a different team of teens caused actions of savagery and violence, which ended up harming some people (comprising policemen), torching, destruction and plundering the 2 buildings of the country. (Negură, 2009)

On April 7 the police largely displayed strange, inappropriate and irresponsible behavior for such cases. (Info-Prim Neo, 2009) Having been dispatched behind the parliament building, by the indifference and incompetence of their leaders, the police gave the impression of allowing (or sometimes encouraging) acts of aggression. There were enough security forces to resist a violent group of 200-300 people; they were well equipped and could have stopped violent actions, vandalism and the looting of state institutions. (Boțan, 2009) This impression is reinforced by the fact that law enforcement agents did not even intervene against groups of people who had already entered the premises of the parliament or presidential administration. In fact, quite to the contrary, in video images (see Figure 1) publicized later, Vladimir Turcan, one of the leaders of the ruling party (and later chairman of a Parliamentary committee tasked with elucidating the events of April 7) was caught ordering the flag of the EU and Romania to be hoisted on the besieged buildings. (Vulcan, 2009)



Figure 1. Vladimir Turcan ordering the flag of the EU and Romania to be hoisted on the besieged buildings.

All of the facts occurred in broad daylight, the picture managing to surprise state and global public mind. In a few hours, as night fell, the authorities mercilessly interfered against the calm contestants in the capital's Square, lots of people being struck, mistreated and detained. (Safonov, 2009) The first signals appeared about the application of torment by security forces agencies, but from the beginning, the state authorities, representatives of diverse competent institutions and of different rank, in the absence of examining the position and verifying the facts, rejected similar behavior. (Safonov, 2009) Later, the functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA) and other high-ranking civil servants vindicated the interference by the necessity to recover social order and peace, and the violent acts claimed by the "mental state" of police collaborators. (Petrușevskaia, 2009)

Initially, during the demonstrations, quiet protesters were subjected to serious hazards from the point of view of individual safety. The government institutions did not create terms for the tranquil implementation of protest actions despite the fact that it was known that a great number of citizens would participate. The governing bodies did not apply the required and authorized measures in order to impede similar operations.

High ranking officials from the force structures, and more precisely, the Ministry of the Interior and the Prosecutor General Office calmly followed the assault of that violent and savage bunch of young protesters on the force bodies and state institutions, which in parallel, also endangered people in the vicinity. (Lazur, 2009) Besides, during

the violent actions and among the people who have already freely penetrated the seats of the destroyed Parliament and Presidency, minors were also noted. (Lazur, 2009)

It is evident that there exist diverse claims that explain or criminalize (denounce) the behavior of the jurisdiction. (Topal, 2008) Nevertheless, it continues to exist a lot of debates and questions or question marks, regarding the behavior of the government and law enforcement, to which a board of investigation/research of the events, motifs and results of events in the post-election period will have to respond. With the determination of the facts, the government is compelled to implement penalties against all persons guilty for the events after the day of April 6, 2009, no matter the role or seat he/she held or still holds.

2.3 Mass custody, use of violence, bullying and oppression of residents

After the deficient conduct of the government and the inactive behavior of the police on April 7, on the same day in the middle of the night, beneath the excuse of rebuilding the law and order, representatives of the force structures initiated mass and random detention of humans, applying the physical force (see Figure 2). (Urusciuc, 2009) Breathtaking images were broadcast on the internet networks and by autonomous TV stations. It can certainly be affirmed that the community was not ready and did not anticipate a "crusade" like that from the force structures.



Figure 2. Representatives of the force structures initiated mass and random detention of humans, applying the physical force.

Public mind was neutralized by the lenient conduct of law enforcement throughout the daytime, precisely for the fact that it did not apply force at the time of the violence provoked by the protesters during the day. This fact has shown that the government chose to evade interference in order to defend peaceful teenage protesters and not admit victims. The value or the cost for this "motion" was the lowest (the prejudice to the icon of law enforcement and certain property losses, which was somehow admissible).

In reality, however, things were different. Cameras caught images (see Figure 3) of armed and well-equipped law enforcement collaborators using physical force against non-violent people. (Puckett, 2009)



Figure 3. Armed and well-equipped law enforcement collaborators using physical force against non-violent people.

The arrests continued the next day, when young people were selectively attacked by many groups in plain clothes in broad daylight, in the center of the city, under the eyes of calm and indifferent uniformed police officers. (Butnaru, 2010) One may suppose that the perpetrators were also from the police, but the authorities did not publicize any details about this on that day or later. According to the victims, (Vulcan, 2009) force was used and ill treatment applied both at the time of their detention and transportation, and during their stay in police custody. Moreover, the authorities immediately launched a wide campaign to intimidate students. Force bodies visited student dormitories and abused many people, arrested several youths and scared the residents of the dorms. (azi.md, 2009) The government also exerted pressure on students and parents via the management of educational institutions, threatening that criminal law would be applied if they participated in protests. (Iaşenco, 2010) There were reports that students, including small children, were forced to sign statements that they wouldn't attend the protests. (DECA-press, 2009)

All of these actions created a state of alert, fear and uncertainty among parents, teachers, students and pupils. Many young people absconded in fear of being arrested or mistreated. (DECA-press, 2009) Some representatives of the local authorities also said they had been forced to sign statements condemning the protests in Chisinau, under threats of dismissal if they refused. (DECA-press, 2009)

Some sources (Moldova 1, Prime TV) spoke about possible victims as early as on the night of April 7 to 8, but the authorities denied potential victims and refused to admit the use of force, torture and persecution of peaceful protesters. (Lazur, 2009) Later, however, such cases occurred, and the best known is that of Valeriu Boboc, whose relatives insisted and demonstrated -by ordering exhumation and having an international expert conduct a forensic examination- that Valeriu's death did not occur after being poisoned with an unknown substance (as the authorities originally claimed) but resulted from received blows. (Mediafax, 2009)

Various different situations of mortality, supposedly identical to the Valeriu Boboc's case for multiple motifs were not investigated and discussed. The press reflected another three situations of mortality under dubious conditions (the cases of Ion Țâbuleac, Maxim Caniscev, Eugen Țapu), which the thesis will discuss in the following pages.

2.4 A general overview of the dubious cases and other events

The family and relatives of Eugen Țapu declared that there were traces of violence and brutality on his corpse. (Harding, 2009) The Prosecutor General Office stated that on the day of "April 15th on the industrial floor of a block of Albisoara street, the body of the citizen of the Republic of Moldova, Eugen Țapu, has been detected, smothered with shoelaces" and "his death had happened for the past 2-3 weeks". (Caolson, 2009)

The body of Ion Țâbuleac was dumped on April 7 in the late evening, after the movements from the heart of the capital, in the backyard of the Emergency Hospital in Chisinau. (Mark, 2009) He had fractured ribs, profound injuries to his temples and a fractured leg. (Mark, 2009) The testifiers claimed that the breathless corpse of the 22 years old Ion Țâbuleac, was hurled from a white car, the Niva brand, appertaining to the police. (Mark, 2009)

Maxim Caniscev, a 20-year-old young man, was found breathless on the day of April 19, in the lake Ghidighici in the countryside. The family declared that the judicial doctors determined that Maxim's death occurred on April 8, the boy being found with a traumatized spine, where he had a large blood stain. (Popa, 2009)

According to the information collected by civil society, 666 persons have become victims of the postelection events in Moldova (604 males, 62 female). Thirty-eight percent of them were detained on April 7, 2009, another 39% on April 8. (Lungu, 2009) Approximately 100 persons were underage. Only 5% were detained in the proximity of the parliament and presidential buildings (28% were detained in the central square, 17% at home, 11% at school, 3% near the Chisinau mayor's office, and 36% in other places: in streets, bus stations, etc.). (Lungu, 2009)

Arrests continued after the hearings conducted on 11-12 April 2009 (17%), as did the persecution of peaceful protesters, even after repressive measures such as arrests were officially stopped (as announced by the PGO following President Voronin's announced decision to grant "amnesty" to the participants in protests). (Info-Prim Neo, 2009)

The people were detected based on different situations. One of these was when the individual was detected by the registration number of his/her private vehicle. The individual was asked to come in May at the commissariat for a different excuse, but when she/he reached the cops office, she/he was mistreated in the attendance of another individual, being blamed of the instability of the social-political position in the country. (Nyman-Metcalf, 2011) At the same time, pressures were exerted to file statements against persons in preventive detention. Considering the fact that there was no proof or cause for the person's detainment, he was let go, but immediately he was accosted by the traffic police, who drew up a report on disobeying and swearing police collaborators. Hence, she/he was sideways sentenced (method of sanctioning uncomfortable people) with public arrest for a period of 3 days. (Nyman-Metcalf, 2011)

The Rehabilitation Center of Torture Victims "Memoria" (RCTV) subsequently offered medical care to 76 people who were bodily and psychologically maltreated by the police in the course of arrest. (Pîrțac, 2010) From those people, 9 were teens between 15 and 18 years old, 44 persons represented the youth, with the age between 19 and 25 years old, and 23 young people were over 25 years old. (Bitlan, 2009) 60 persons of the injured

party investigated and supported (helped) by RCTV "Memoria" suffered craniocerebral injuries (traumas) established by the neuroscientist, and 3 other inmates had humerus fracture, critical pleurisy, nose and rib break. (Bitlan, 2009)

Most victims were detained in the street by police officers or people in plainclothes. Upon apprehension, groups of 2 to 6 policemen or people in civilian clothes simultaneously hit the victims. (Cațer, 2009) Also, inside the detention centers, the so-called "corridor of death" was practiced, which consisted of strikes with fists, feet, sticks, clubs and even gun handles to the head, ribs, neck, temples, while the persons were handcuffed and could not defend themselves. (Cațer, 2009) There are reported statements in which some young people say they hit their heads against a car or a wall. (Cațer, 2009)

Psychological torture was also used by representatives of the law enforcement. Thus, threats of imprisonment, rape, physical disability and death (against victims or their relatives) have become means of collecting data, of forcing detainees to denounce other participants, or to confess "guilt". (Corobceanu, 2009) Other forms of psychological torture reported by victims were: restrictions of communication with the outside world, lack of access to information, misinformation, cross-examinations, limiting the means to fulfill vital needs, prohibiting or limiting contacts with family and friends, humiliation, verbal sexual harassment, forced undressing, forced signing of testimonies, sleep deprivation, etc. (Nicholson, 2009)

The vast majority of the sufferers (citizens) declared they were not fed during 3 days and did not receive the help and care of the doctor, despite the fact that they announced of having a lot of pain and medical issues. (Călugăreanu, 2009) On the contrary, a number of victims confirmed they were mistreated once more at the moment they requested an attorney, doctor or water and food. (Călugăreanu, 2009)

Being interviewed by the evaluation method of the trauma, "the Harvard" by the physicians from the RCTV "Memoria", the injured party invoked strikes and bruises over the whole body, the use of torture in custody, harsh bodily damages, sexual assault and shame (dishonor), annihilation and seizure of personal goods, kidnapping, imposed isolation, requiring the betrayal of a family component or a mate, associate, with the exposure to the hazard of decease or serious injuries. (Zavatin, 2009) Various victims experienced scenes of torture and violence, haphazardly applied to tranquil persons. It was

specifically these situations that were invoked by the sufferers as sore, cruel or terrifying events. Some sufferers of torment, heartless and brutal therapies, declared they lost awareness in the moments the police started to beat and torture them. (Mihăescu, 2009)

Nineteen children who participated in the demonstrations on April 7 ended up in police custody. (Rîbca, 2009) Their relatives, colleagues and friends referred to the Ombudsman for children's rights on the fate of another 10 children. (Info-Prim Neo, 2009) The head of the Center for Human Rights believes that minors arrested after the April 7 protests were put under pressure because after that they seemed to be tense and frustrated. They were afraid of the situation they had reached. (Info-Prim Neo, 2009)

A different moment that raises many question marks about the governing bodies and allows certain interpretations, was the existence of particular vehicles, ready for transporting people which were stationed close to the government headquarters. Several vehicles had double license plates. The ones in the front were national registration numbers of the Republic of Moldova, and the ones in the back were registration numbers issued by the governing bodies of Tiraspol. (Neagu, 2011) The drivers failed to explain the situation to the journalists who found and recorded the case. The authorities of the Republic of Moldova had frequently stated that these license plates are unlawful and are to be prohibited on the territory of Moldova and outside. Under these conditions, the fact of their use by constitutional regime, in particular under such conditions and situations, is inexplicable.

Numerous citizens faced impediments at the customs, and various other foreign persons were unreasonably and illegally banned from entering the Republic of Moldova, including journalists. (Ursu, 2009) In addition, in conformity with the agents of civil society, the open movement of teenagers between the period of 6 and 12 April was limited, with multiple cases of preventing teens from circulating to Chisinau. (Negru, 2009)

2.5 Custodial situations and care of people in custody

Lots of people who were mistreated, arrested and retained by the police regarding the occurrences from April 7 declared the medical crew from RCTV "Memoria" that the shame and demeaning of humanitarian honor and pride was the most awful feeling experienced by them over the period of custody. (Pîrțac, 2009) Given the restricted access

of civilian society to police stations, on the day of April 11, 2009 a band of victims, lately moved from police stations to Penitentiary no.13 from Chisinau, was able to be interviewed. Most of them bore traces of brutality and affirmed they were glad that they ceased being in pre-trial detention. (Bunduchi, 2009) They described the processes and manners of torment applied by the cops. (Vasilica, 2009) Besides that, there is no clarification for the necessity for similar "campaigns" and the reason for their actions and results, there is no doubt that the mass arrest and confinement of individuals causes misuses and breach of norms, judicial principles and fundamental human rights and liberties.

Once lots of persons have been arrested and processes, principles, norms and basic rights have been violated, it is obvious that the power bodies have not been able to cope even with the conditions of confinement. The victims reported that they were kept in spaces without airing and normal light, each 20 persons in 12sqm or 25 victims in 8sqm. (Dorogan, 2009) Certain prisoners declared that they were kept in the carports of police stations, in the trunks of vehicles, in metallic cages with bars. (Darie, 2009)

Within the period of imprisonment, the victims were not given water, food products, rest, and admission to examination and medical services, sanitation equipment. (Bargan, 2009) The cops have broadly and regularly used abuses against people in detention.

Lawyer Lilia Prodan stated, on the day of April 16, 2009 at the panel discussion "Democracy in danger, Man's Rights in the Republic of Moldova", that 3 young females were submitted to mortifying procedures, being stripped by force in the presence of 8 male cops. (Rusanovschi, 2011) Besides, during the audience of persons arrested in Penitentiary no.13, lately moved from the police stations, various victims assumed that rape (assault) cases took place in the police station and communicated this fact to the representatives of the NPM and civilian society, who visited them on April 11, 2009. (Rusanovschi, 2011)

2.6 The case of Gabriel Stati and Aurel Marinescu

Gabriel Stati is the son of one of the most prosperous businessmen in Moldova. Prior to the April events, there had been allegations in the media that president Vladimir Voronin and his entourage and family were "trying to seize control" of the Stati family businesses. (INFOTAG, 2009) As these two men were suspected of financing and

organizing violent protests, Ukraine decided to extradite Moldovan citizens Gabriel Stati and Aurel Marinescu to the Moldovan law enforcement bodies. (Gotisan, 2009) After their arrest, the ASCOM Company announced total suspension of activities in Moldova "until a democratic regime is established". (azi.md, 2009)

In conformity with the statement of Lawyer Vitalie Nagacevski, "the detention and subsequent extradition of Gabriel Stati and Aurel Marinescu did not take place on the basis of law, but at the level of political understanding, which is unacceptable in a state that claims to be based on law". (Lozinski, 2009, p. 9) In the deportation demand, Moldovans invoked that Stati and Marinescu were blamed for violating governmental authority (state power), which can be classified as a political crime. (Costin, 2009) In compliance with the European Convention on deportation and the mutual Moldovan-Ukrainian agreement regarding the judicial assistance in penal proceedings, deportation for the execution of political offenses is banned. (Țîra, 2011) At the time of the detention Stati and Marinescu requested political asylum, but it was denied. (Costin, 2009) On June 18 Stati was arrested at home and on July 8 he was also set free from domicile detention. (Costin, 2009)

2.7 The case of Sergiu Mocanu

Sergiu Mocanu, head of a political group was detained in the street on April 8, 2009, being accused of planning public unrest and usurping force in the nation. (Pulbere, 2009) Lawyer Ion Dron argued that the file was false, given the fact that the prosecution part did not submit proofs that would have proved his participation in arranging the violent protests from April 7, 2009. (Benea, 2009) No detention is permitted in any state around the planet for lack of proofs.

From 10 to 30 April, the district attorney did not lead any examinations and cases, and did not present proofs to the judge, at the trial, that would demonstrate Mocanu's culpability. (Lupan, 2010) However, at the tribunal audience, on the day of April 30, the court's judge approved and agreed to the procurator's demand to expand the detention for 30 days more and refused the attorney's solicitation to modify the detention assessment from arrest in isolation to domicile detention. (Lupan, 2010) "I have the impression that in Moldova the resonance cases are judged by special judges. Although I asked for the

recusal of the judge, we were denied that right," declared Dron. (Lupan, 2010) Sergiu Mocanu has been under domicile detention since the day of June 11. (Negru, 2009) On the 31st of July, he was set free from domicile detention. (Negru, 2009)

2.8 The case of Anatol Mătăsar

Anatol Mătăsar is familiar to the Moldovan society as a strong warrior across the misuses in the Moldovan law arrangement by organizing original protest movements. He was detained from his house on April 8. The detention, as in different same situations, was carried out with major procedural infractions, by plainclothes people, who did not waver to recourse to violence. (Avadani, 2009) Anatol Mătăsar was submitted to cruel and humiliating processes, being gravely defeated by cops collaborators, probably as a token of anger and vengeance for the past protest actions, to which he subjected critics of the prosecutor's bodies and the MIA. (Mocanu, 2009) His family (spouse and 4-year-old child) did not feel secure and at that time, they applied and requested refuge from any country willing to guarantee and secure their individual honesty and morality. (Mocanu, 2009)

The request was submitted to the ECHR, which shortly asked the law enforcement to answer why Anatol Mătăsar was detained and abused, and why he was not offered medical services. (Avadani, 2009) "We are mostly outraged that he was forced to disclose passwords to his e-mail addresses or to admit that he was paid by certain people to protest", affirmed the lawyer, Victor Panțaru. (Vasilică, 2009) Anatol Mătăsar was set free from detention on the 5th august 2009. (Avadani, 2009)

2.9 The case of Jonathan Netanyahu

A foreign citizen detained regarding the episodes and occurrences from April 7, 2009, was the priest Jonathan Jerusalem Netanyahu, a resident of both USA and Romania states. He was accused of the arrangement of mass disorder and endeavor to usurp and violate the governmental authorities. (Costin, 2009) The priest was arrested during the day of April 10, and declared: "I was beaten by the police. They tried to make me be a scapegoat for being born in Romania. I'm innocent". (Costin, 2009) Netanyahu was set free from jail on the 11th of July, 2009. (Costin, 2009)

2.10 The case of Valeriu Boboc

Valeriu Boboc, a young man of 23 years, died in police custody on April 8, 2009. The police claim that the young man died because of smoke poisoning, but according to his parents and witnesses, his body showed serious signs of torture, broken ribs, and deep wounds on his head and forehead. (Jereghi, 2009) The family (he was married and had a child of 18 months) didn't know the exact cause of his death, but believed that the young man died after being severely beaten by the police. (Călugăreanu, 2009) The official version turned out to be that he had been intoxicated with smoke during the protest rally on April 7. (Călugăreanu, 2009) Valeriu Boboc died on April 8, but relatives learned about it only on April 10. (Lungu, 2010) The authorities and law enforcement officials denied any information connected to the death of the victim. (Bitlan, 2009) Using the pro-government media (including public radio and TV), the authorities tried to exculpate the law enforcement bodies. (Bitlan, 2009)

From the first day, Valeriu's relatives said they would insist on an independent international forensic examination, showing no confidence in the conclusions of state experts and structures. (Corghencea, 2011) Thus, in late May, the PGO requested the assistance of the European Union to identify a forensic expert from the EU to participate in conducting a new investigation, including the exhuming of the corpse of Boboc. (Moscovici, 2009) On June 4, the Boboc family lawyers said they had heard a witness who reported that on the night of 7 to 8 April, after midnight, at about 1.00 a.m. (Moscovici, 2009) Valeriu Boboc and other young people were standing peacefully near the Arch of Triumph on the Square of the Great National Assembly. According to the testimony, the young people were surrounded by police and government security who were armed, wore masks and special equipment. (Munteanu, 2009) "The police began to shoot, shouting at the young people to lie down. Then they were kicked, and hit with rubber sticks, and gun handles. The boys were covered in blood". (Gotisan, 2009) The witness was later called, sought and blackmailed by unknown individuals. (Negură, 2009) To protect him the lawyers sought help from the European Court. "We have a law on witness protection, but witnesses must seek protection from the MIA". (Ursu, 2009)

On June 15, 2009, the corpse of Valeriu Boboc was exhumed and examined by a forensic doctor from London, but the results of his expertise were not reported directly to

the family or its lawyers. In fact, the lawyers repeatedly asked for the report, and the prosecutors used various pretexts not to provide it. (Călugăreanu, 2009) Finally, on July 2, 2009, the first results were publicized during a news conference held by the CPRM. The lawyers learned about the report findings not from the prosecutors but from a news conference held by Vladimir Turcan and Grigori Petrenco. They commented on the expert report from a CPRM standpoint, and behind them was the symbol of the party. (Ursu, 2009) A medical investigation effectuated by the London doctor showed and demonstrated that Valeriu Boboc passed away due to the kicks he had obtained. (Bitlan, 2009) A little while later, the General Procurator stated that the bodies of the prosecutor's office were examining the case to find out the person guilty of the tragedy. Until October 2009, the outcomes of the examination, information regarding the suspension from function or firing of persons under prosecution, were not announced. (Lungu, 2010)

On September 30, 2009, the Justice Ministry announced that the new Government was seeking to remove the seven pending applications to the ECHR by persons accused of involvement in organizing the violent protests of April 7. (Nicholson, 2009) In this regard, Justice Minister Alexandru Tanase said that, if a settlement was reached, the Government would sign a unilateral declaration recognizing all the violations committed against the people who complained to the ECHR. (Jereghi, 2009)

2.11 Civil society actions

The civil society became actively involved in defending the rights of peaceful protestors and those detained by the law enforcement. In conditions in which transparency was lacking, and in an atmosphere of mass terror, NGO representatives were able to enhance their efforts to halt the authorities' abuses and the manipulation of public opinion. (Avadani, 2009) Already on the morning of April 8, 11 organizations managed to sign a joint statement condemning the violent actions of vandalism, which took place on April 7, and stating that "the power of speech and peaceful will is invincible on the path of building a genuine democracy. The true democracy is aimed at changing society, but not by force or violence. Violence leads to fear, violation of others' rights, and undermines the free development of a society". (Gotisan, 2009)

On April 8, 2009 the situation became dramatic, when numerous cases of mistreatment and detention of peaceful protesters were recorded, while the pro-government media with national coverage continued to misinform and manipulate public opinion by selecting and distorting messages. (Vasilica, 2009) Civil society stepped up its efforts to make the authorities stop the mass abuses. On April 9 human rights organizations expressed their concern regarding the terms and conditions of the detention of people suspected of having actively participated in the violent actions that took place on 6 and 7 April 2009. (Vasilica, 2009)

At the same time, many representatives of the non-profit sector expressed concerns regarding the worsening social and political situation following the elections of April 5, 2009, and feared that the exaggerated and twisted interpretations of these events may serve as a justification for decisions and actions that would further polarize the society. (azi.md, 2009) They demanded a comprehensive, transparent investigation -with international participation- of the causes that led to the outbreak of vandalism. The signatories demanded that authorities abandon virulent language, create a framework for political dialogue to overcome the situation. (Lupan, 2010) They also demanded to ensure the observance of laws, publish lists of those arrested and ensure their rights, rule out political persecution, ensure the right to free movement, freedom of opinion and expression. (Lupan, 2010) Human rights organizations in Moldova, the Crisis Group and many individual lawyers began collecting information on the actual number of victims of the events of April 7, their treatment, conditions, and the respective consequences for the persons detained, abused, and held in the custody of the authorities. (Călugăreanu, 2009) The information was collected directly from victims, their defendants, relatives and NGOs, on the basis of a questionnaire comprised of 12 questions. (Călugăreanu, 2009) On April 11, 2009, representatives of NGOs and members of the NPA visited prison no. 13 in Chisinau, (under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice) where they interviewed the first 40 victims of the April 7 events. However, the MIA failed to observe the law, denying access to police premises between 7 and 13 April 2009. (azi.md, 2009)

The Chisinau City Hall played an important role in monitoring the situation, documenting cases and raising public awareness of the crisis. General Mayor Dorin Chirtoaca got actively involved and demanded from the municipal law enforcement

(which by law was actually subordinate to him) information and explanations on the illegalities committed by the security forces. The City Hall published regularly updated lists and photos of victims of torture and ill treatment. (unimedia.md, 2009)



CHAPTER 3

THE DYNAMIC AND EVOLUTIONARY STRUCTURE OF THE MOLDOVAN MEDIA AND ITS ELECTORAL SYSTEM

3.1 General information

The normal functioning of the contemporary society is inconceivable without the media, without collective information, having an extraordinary power to disseminate the messages. Hundreds of millions of people who have never met and never seen each other, participate in the same show simultaneously and share the same reactions and emotions, come in contact with the same information and opinions. The media is an expression forged by American sociologists in the 1950s. (Blanchard, 1998) As a generic term, it signifies any means of mass communication, which at the same time means an intermediary to convey messages to a person, groups of people, a crowd in the sense of the heterogeneous human mass, according to a pre-established pattern of communication. (Blanchard, 1998) A variety of definitions have been provided to the concept of mass media:

- Medieval service (mediator) between the first degree events and populations. (Smith, 2011)
- The instantaneous relationship with any point in time or space within an open cultural system. (Manohar, 2011)
- Mass communication is the practice and product that offers entertainment and information to an audience of unknown people. (O'Sullivan, et. al., 1983)
- "Media" refers simultaneously to several different things: the set of messages created with the help of these techniques; a certain technique, in a way of using this technique. (Fourie, 2008)

In Dictionnaire des Mudias (1998), the authors distinguish three types of media channels:

- a. Autonomous media channel (books, newspapers, posters, commercials and advertisements). The ratio of message and support is one of form and content. The

phenomenon of decoding is instantaneous and accessible (directly) provided that the respective linguistic code is mastered.

- b. Broadcast media (radio, television).
- c. Communication media (telephony, telefax, internet, telex, telegraphy, e-mail).
Due to this communication gets direct, dialogued, between people or groups of people separated by long distances.

Further, the role of media has been defined in various ways: The media - deals with the fact that the majority of the public is informed about reality, and public opinion is a judgment or a reaction of appreciation related to reality. The media has a double position: it exercises neutral educational action and it has a persuasive resource that can influence the behavior of individuals depending on their political or economic interests. (Engwal, 1981)

In addition to the above definition, Coman (2007) explains that: "The media has become, today, a gravitational center in relation to which it positions all the other segments of society: the economic, political, ideological, cultural, technological, social system". Mass media are all means of mass information and is a two-word expression, the first term "mass" is an attribute of the second term "media".

The expression "mass-media" was launched in the studies of specialties in American literature being taken from other states. In European literature in general and in France in particular the expression "mass communication" is used. (Campbell, 2015) In Moldova, both the term media and the terms media and mass communication are used. (Lungu, 2010)

As seen from the provided evaluations, the interpretations of the role of the mass media in society, converge in the recognition of the fundamental mission that they have in the socialization of the audience, in the formation of public opinion and in the integration of society. Livolsi (1998) explains that, characteristic of all countries, the constant interest given to the development of mass media can be explained, at least, by several reasons. Firstly, the evolution of the mass media is one of the central, relevant and visible aspects of the transition to the democratization of society. Secondly, Livolsi (1998) enumerates other reasons: the conditions under which the functioning of the system takes

place, the character of the dominant tendencies in the mass media activity and their ability to positively influence the socio-political atmosphere in society. He explains these reasons as being an indispensable thermometer for understanding and estimating the degree of realization of the transformation processes and perspectives of advancing society on the path of innovative reforms. (Livolsi, 1998) The media situation has always been an indispensable indicator of any democratic development: when it shows a manifest vulnerability and fails to involve the population in the participatory process, democracy is late in asserting itself. It is precisely the mass media that has the task of valuing and extending the deep meanings of democracy.

3.2 General characteristics of the media in the Republic of Moldova after the declaration of independence of the country

I argue that, it is opportune to highlight two aspects of the problems concerning the functioning of the media in the current conditions in Moldova. Firstly, the real state and perspective of the transformation of the media system and its components, determined by the socio-political changes produced in society during the last ten or twelve years. Secondly, the impact of the media factor on the process of transforming the Moldovan society. Taken as a whole, both mentioned aspects reveal the important place that belongs to the mass media in the contemporary Moldovan society and their profound significance as a support for the democratic development of society. If the mass media in the republic have maintained their confidence in the population by the results of a large and representative opinion poll in which 53% of the population declared "much and very much trust in the mass media", (Barometer of Public Opinion, 2001) - such an attitude on the part of the citizens and the potential of the mass media to serve the interests of society are the most important premises of the development of the mass media (Barometer of Public Opinion, 2001, p. 16).

Presenting the general characteristics of the mass media in the Republic of Moldova after the declaration of the country's independence, I'm going to talk about the strict boundaries in communication policy. The primitive and total propaganda was concluded, the ideological censorship was removed, the fundamental rights of citizen as freedom of speech and press and the access to information were declared and enshrined

by law, and also the state control over the media was suspended. (The decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan R.S.S. on ratification of the Union Law, R.S.S. "Regarding the press and other mass media since 1 October 1990") A large part of them was included in the process of supporting the reforms. In other words, the post-communist space, of which the Republic of Moldova is a part, has entered a process of transition from a closed society to an open society. (Moraru, 2001)

The approach of the Moldovan media was limited to the general evolution of social consciousness during the transition period, demonstrating a real effort to strengthen it.

Based on these considerations, the media acquires new contours, creating a specific relational framework with the political sphere. Tămaş (1993) explains the mass media in terms of necessity and behavior, of their impact on receptors. Thus, in the author's view, the media have a special importance in exercising the political processes and the governmental activity of the society, due to the possibilities offered for informing and influencing the millions of citizens, acting on their conscience.

A number of political scientists are trying to go beyond the narrow limits of the phrase "means of mass communication", which, in their view, carries semantic content of mediation and appreciates the media as an active element of the political process in a democratic society.

It is important to further highlight some functional aspects of the media in its relations with politics:

- The media organizes debates on the margins of political discourses, proposes variants and explanations of political and ideological doctrines and theories, contributes to the scientific anticipation of the development of society and, thus, resumes the cycle of reproduction of interests. This role is extremely accentuated during the electoral campaigns; (Habermas, 1989)
- The mass media interpretation of needs, necessities and interests of group gives the possibility of a public delimitation of these interests of the general and national-state ones, dissociating, at the same time, the interests of a non-representative group from a political point of view, on the one hand, and those of the subjects of political activities, elites, political and state leaders, on the other hand; (Graber, 1993)

- Awareness of the role of political interests, knowledge (and conscious or subconscious use) of the mechanisms of their promotion in society give the media the opportunity to play a decisive role in shaping the political consciousness of the masses, in the formation / deformation of the mentality of the citizen, in the shaping and support of the public opinion; (Gans, 1979)
- Mass media reflection of the political interests of the group, in continuous change and transformation, allows the analysis and explanation of the multiple processes and political events that have or can take place in a spatial-temporal context. (Nelson, 2011)

Thus, the mass media also appear as an instrument of political legitimacy of actors, included in the political field, (Pop, 2001) and as a subject of the political process, and as a platform for public political debates, which would facilitate the formation of "public opinion" and would transmit this opinion back to where it started. (Esanu, 2002) Pop (2001), in his turn, comes with a statement of essence: "Mass media is the one that decides the importance of public problems, the one which will determine how to interpret the phenomena and the one which will select those problems that will become later, the sources of electoral interest".

Mass media, the fourth largest power in the state, characterizes the middle of the political system in Post-Soviet Moldova. In the synergistic vision, media is the most important power in a free state, because it forms public opinion, the orderly parameter of the democratic political system. According to political scientists Esanu and Stepanov, since 1988, the republican press, influenced by socio-political polarizations, was divided into two groups with different attitudes towards the country's leadership: first one - the opposition group: "Literatura si Arta", "Țara", "Glasul națiunii", "Făclia", "Tinerimea Moldovei"; second one - the collaboration group: "Moldova suverană", "Viața satului", "Молодежь Молдавии", "Советская Молдавия", "Cuvîntul" si "Politica"; after 1991 - "Независимая Молдова", "Patria tînără", "Деловая газета", "Curierul de seară", "Momentul", "Săptămîna", "Moldovanul". Television was in the hands of the ruling device, and, first of all, in the hands of president of the state. This situation proves us once again that not only the system had a chaotic functionality, but also that its environment

was not adequate for the development of an efficient democratic system. In fact, this problem has been present for many years, when the press has been controlled by several political currents and interested factors which make the political system of the Republic of Moldova to be quasi-open in terms of the communication sources of social information.

According to political scientist Moraru, the problem of the media is estimated as "...one of the most astonishing consequences of the transition processes facing the invasion of politics in the daily life of ordinary citizens from ex-soviet states". (Moraru, 2000) Namely, the media and the right of expression have contributed in an increased way to the dispersion of sources of information of the origin of the totalitarian system. However, given the fact that political consciousness is formed over a long period of time, even the media, which has become increasingly dependent on certain interests, is not in a position to remove the social entropy that has emerged from the information dispersion. In this respect, it could be said that the media in the Republic of Moldova has become an instrument for influencing public opinion for a short period of time, but not an instrument for shaping political consciousness and culture.

The media in the Republic of Moldova has a broad legal framework, set out in several legislative acts, adopted in recent years, which is not inferior to the one in which it exercises the right to express and inform the media in other countries. (Stepanov, 2002) The legal framework of the media activity is formed by the provisions of the Fundamental Law of the country: The Press Law, the Audiovisual Law, the Law on Access to Information, the Civil Code, and the Criminal Code. (Solomon, 2002) Also in this context we must mention the adoption by the parliamentary majority of the Law on the public institution of audiovisual "Teleradio-Moldova" and of the Law on the local public institution of audiovisual.

The information in accordance with the Law of the Press is accentuated, although since its adoption in 1994 it has known more amendments, it has been obsolete for a long time. The Audiovisual Law is imperfect, and the Law on Access to Information, although corresponding to the requirements of a democratic society in the future, is extremely difficult to implement in practice. The situation is complicated at the moment when the main role belongs to the "Teleradio-Moldova" Company, which is imperfect from the point of view of a real public audiovisual institution.

The new criminal and civil codes, which came into force in the summer of 2006, also cause the journalists to worry about the danger that threatens the freedom of the media. These codes retain many restrictive provisions, such as the article on slander in the Penal Code, which punishes with imprisonment for up to 5 years. (London: ARTICLE 19, June 2006) The article, as noted by many experts in the field, can be used as an effective means of intimidating the press and can seriously undermine democracy and freedom of expression. The moral damage caused by the injury to the honor and dignity of a person causes concern and the elimination from the Civil Code. (Oberschlick, 1991) This provision, journalists claim, will lead unconditionally not only to the intimidation of the press and its bankruptcy, but it will also have a negative impact on freedom of expression in general and will intensify self-censorship. (Orwell, 1972)

From the moment of the entry into force of the above-mentioned codes, the Canadian Businessman B. Birştein, suing the "Flux" Press Group, claimed in court for damages in the amount of approximately US \$ 35,000 for the loss of his honor and dignity. He claimed to obtain an extremely fabulous sum from the editorial office of the "Timpul" newspaper, a commercial unit, which claimed that his honor and dignity had been violated. Other publications, which have been challenged in court, were liable to pay astronomical sums for their "sins". (Petcu, 2002)

This is largely due to the fact that in 2008 the Republic of Moldova won second place in the CIS in the chapter on "Freedom of the Press", according to a survey conducted by the International Organization "Freedom House" taking into account three criteria: (Petcu, 2002)

- ❖ the legislative environment in which the press operated;
- ❖ the level of influence of the press on society;
- ❖ the degree of economic pressure on the press.

Each index was marked with a certain number of points: the lower the total amount of points, the higher the level of freedom. In the CIS space, the first place in terms of press freedom was held by Georgia with 54 points, followed by our country, marked with 59 points, on the third place is Armenia with 65 points. (Kellner, 2001)

In this context, we would add that "the Republic of Moldova, along with Ukraine and Russia, was included in a report published by the Committee for the Defense of

Journalists based in New York, through the countries that gave up on the continuation of the processes of liberalization and democratization". It also derailed by a state control system on the main means of mass media. (Monitorizarea programelor Radio Moldova și TV Moldova 1, 2004)

Thus, the decision taken by the Audiovisual Coordinating Council (ACC) was sharpened, according to which the economic agents, which wanted to open new television stations, regardless of the locality in which they operated, received licenses only if they would agree to retransmit the programs of the national station Moldova 1.

An unusual case is the dismissal of the director of the news department of the state agency "Moldpres", which a few days before the first round of local elections on May 25, 2003 publicly accused the press service of the presidency of the exercise of pressure on the institution to which it represents. (Menaker, 2007) One of the cases in this regard was the suspension in February 2003 of the broadcasting licenses of the municipal stations "Antena C" and "Euro TV Chisinau". (Whitehouse, 2007)

In connection with this, in a press conference, the representative of the General Secretary of the Council of Europe in Chisinau, V.Philipov stated: "The decision of the Coordinating Council regarding the suspension of the broadcasting licenses of "Antena C" and "Euro TV-Chisinau" is an asymmetric and disproportionate one and we consider that the only solution would be to remedy the situation". (Morse, 2006)

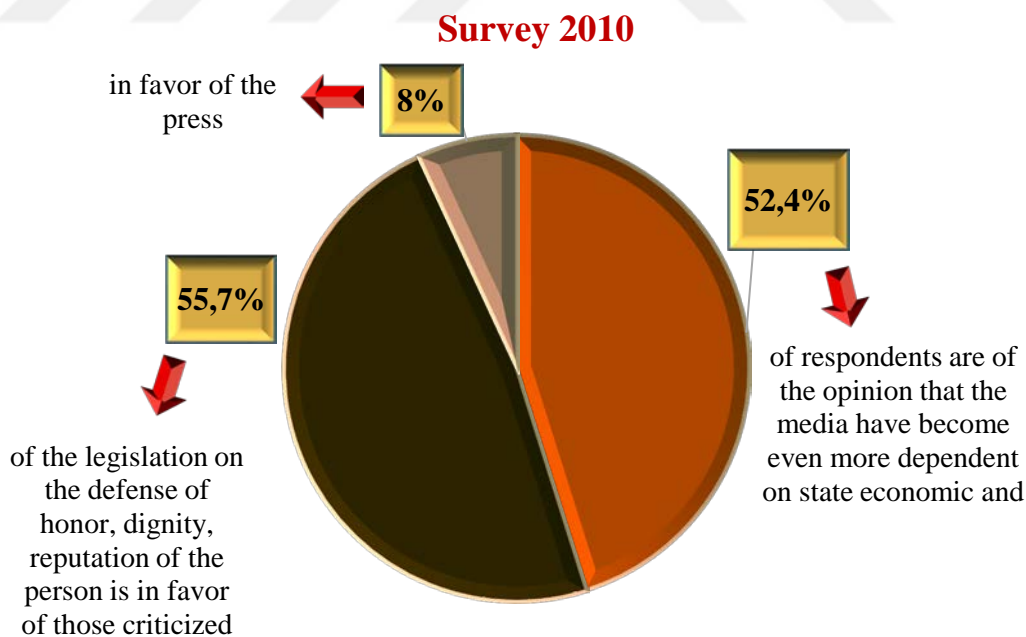
Former President of Moldova, Vladimir Voronin, speaking in an interview about the role of opposition parties in solving internal and international problems, stressed: "The opposition avoids dialogue and working with us. We understand in a different way the meaning of the word "dialogue" ". (Rosca, 2010) Dialogue means the advancement of documents and ideas, of proposals, of projects, of laws, but not of ultimatums. Dialogue means work, but not clutter and intrigue, and responding to accusations of violating the country's media freedom, country's president stressed that all these accusations are a bluff, an attempt of manipulation. (Rosca, 2010)

Opposition media outlets outnumber newspapers close to power several times. Practically, there is no state television. On public television, on Sunday, at the most convenient time in the evening, it is aired "Opposition Time". (Luca, 2006) Of course, some would like this show to last 24 hours, but it cannot serve as a good reason to accuse

the power. The lack of firmness and intransigence will be made visible in all the media in Moldova: independence, state, party. What is detrimental is the fact that many independent publications indulge themselves in the misery that politicians produce.

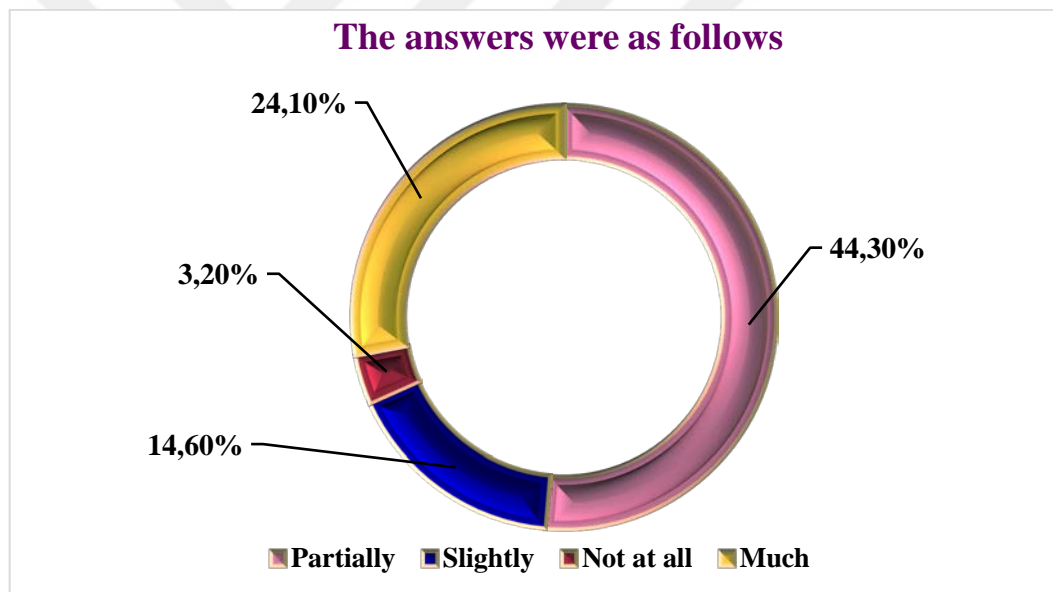
A survey conducted in 2010 by the "Access-Info" Center among 253 journalists from 83 editorial collectives found that the vast majority of our power structures and institutions "are shrouded in secrecy" and they restrict journalists' access to information, only a few are a little more transparent. (Rosca, 2010) According to the results of the same survey, 52.4 percent of respondents are of the opinion that the media have become even more dependent on state economic and political structures, and the legislation on the defense of honor, dignity, reputation of the person is in favor of those criticized - 55.7 percent, while in favor of the press - 8 percent. (Rosca, 2010)

Diagram 1. A survey conducted in 2010 by the "Access-Info" Center among 253 journalists from 83 editorial collectives (Rosca, 2010)



It should be mentioned that the triumphant entry of the press into the public space and then the "fixation" of the public space in the media universe, led to the creation of an actor specialized in the formation of public opinion - the journalist. But journalists were very reserved when asked for certain assessments of their own activity. To the question: "To what extent do you consider that the media in the Republic of Moldova stimulates the democratization process", the answers were as follows: partially - 44.3 percent, slightly - 14.6 percent, not at all - 3.2 percent, much - 24.1 percent. (Gribincea, 2007)

Diagram 2. To the question: "To what extent do you consider that the media in the Republic of Moldova stimulates the democratization process" (Gribincea, 2007)



3.3 Electoral System of the Republic of Moldova - dynamic evolution and situation

Democracy cannot be built without free elections. Elections are a "sine qua non" condition of democratic governance. (Rose, 1983) Elections represent the central procedure of representation in modern democracies, and our generation has made substantial progress in knowing how to get voters to make decisions. (Goodin, Klingemann, 2005) Elections have prevailed in the constitutional history of the world as

activities to which the social and political effervescence in society is specific, competitions in which the best ones win. (Popa, 1999)

The influence of the electoral system on the stability of political systems is not very obvious. In fact, stability depends more on certain functioning rules of the parliamentary system. It is important that the majority of the electoral systems correspond to democratic regimes that are based on confrontation, while the systems of proportional representation correspond better to the democratic regimes that are based on cooperation. The notion of electoral system presupposes the procedures used for the depiction of people's representatives in the central and local power bodies. (Tamaş, 1996) Electoral system can also be interpreted as a way of allocating the mandates disputed in elections depending on the results of the ballots.

In another context, we will point out that some authors are of the opinion that the electoral system determines, "on the one hand, the conditions that individuals must meet in order to be voters, and, on the other hand, the conditions under which individuals and / or parties may participate in the electoral competition". (Blondel, 1990) Some researchers understand by the electoral system the totality of the real social relations, which appear in the process of organizing and carrying out the elections, as well as the reciprocal relations that are established between voters and deputies. (Arian, Shamir, 1983)

Other analysts such as Forest (2009) and Ware (2015), in defining the electoral system, emphasize the rules of law, which, in their opinion, are a guarantor and a determining factor in the choice of persons in charge in accordance with democratic principles. In this regard, the soviet author Zinoviev (1995) emphasizes that the electoral system presents a set of legal norms, which consolidate the principles on which elections are conducted. It also consolidates the right of citizens to elect and be elected, which establish the responsibility of deputies and other persons with elective functions for their activity in front of the voters, which determines the way of organizing and conducting the elections and regulates the relations that appear in the process of forming the organs of state power, the birth of the reciprocal relations between the voters and the deputies. (ЗИНОВЬЕВ, 1995)

A similar position is held by Anatoly Rîbakov, who states that the electoral system means regulated social relations related to the elections of public authorities and represents the way of voting. (Rîbakov, 1992)

This system is regulated both by legal law and by non-legal acts and norms, corporate norms of public associations participating in elections (statutes and other documents of political parties), customs and traditions, norms of political morality, ethics, etc. (Arian, 1980)

Electoral system, as a factor in structuring the political system of government, is particularly important. (Manea, 1996) Not infrequently, the connection between democracy and the functioning electoral system is made.

Speaking further about the specifics of the electoral system in the Republic of Moldova, we will mention that all democratic electoral systems set limits for the right to vote. The principles of citizens' realization of the rights to vote and to be elected in the representative public authorities and in the local self-administration bodies are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and in the Electoral Code. Thus, the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova (art. 38) provides that in the Republic of Moldova elections of any level take place by universal, equal, direct, secret and freely expressed suffrage. (Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, adopted on July 29, 1994)

In turn, the Electoral Code (art. 2, "Principles of participation in elections") enshrines that the citizen of the Republic of Moldova participates in elections by universal, equal, direct, secret and free vote.

So, according to the universality of electoral law, any citizen of the Republic of Moldova who has reached the age of 18 has the right to choose, to participate in electoral procedures in accordance with applicable law, and upon reaching the age provided by the Electoral Code - to be elected in the elective bodies.

By virtue of this principle, no discrimination based on sex, race, nationality, language, religion, national or social origin, position held, wealth, place of residence, political aspirations, membership of certain political parties and any other situation is permitted.

In accordance with the provisions of the Electoral Code of the Republic of Moldova (art. 8) the elections take place on a single day, Sunday or on any other day

indicated in the act of establishing the elections, on the entire territory of the respective country or locality.

In the campaign for the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova, the procedure for appointing electoral contestants begins immediately after the announcement of the election date and ends 30 days before the election day. The right to nominate candidates have:

- a) parties and other socio-political organizations registered, in the established manner, until the date of the elections is established, in accordance with their statutes (regulations) and with the legislation in force; (Corobceanu, 2009)
- b) the electoral blocs formed on the basis of the decisions adopted according to the statutes (regulations) of the parties and other socio-political organizations that constituted them, which are duly registered by the Central Electoral Commission - at the parliamentary and general local elections or by constituency electoral councils - in the case of new elections, within 15 days from the date of the establishment of the electoral blocs, and if they were constituted before the beginning of the electoral period, - within 15 days from the beginning of this period; (Vulcan, 2009)
- c) citizens of the Republic of Moldova who submit their own candidacy (independent candidates). (DEPT: Asociația pentru Democrație Participativă, 2009)

In order to be registered as independent candidates, persons wishing to run must submit to the CEC a subscription list with the signatures of 2,000-2,500 citizens with the right to vote. Each voter can sign only one subscription list in each particular election case. The electoral barrier for independent candidates of 3%, set in March 2000, was an exaggerated one, because it was too well known from the practice of previous elections that the latter barely exceeded the limit of one percent and that usually no thresholds were set for independents, as provided in the 1993 law. (Moșneaga & Rusnac, 2001)

The Electoral Code imposes (art. 13) certain restrictions regarding the persons who do not have the right to be elected, namely: the military with term service, the incapable

persons by final decision of the court, the persons sentenced to deprivation of liberty. It is easy to ban or block the access of individuals or groups to the electoral process.

In the Republic of Moldova there is no law that would provide for the financing of political parties. The Electoral Code (art. 36) stipulates that it is forbidden to finance in any form the electoral campaigns of the candidates for elections and of the electoral contestants by other states. And Article (37) stipulates that electoral contestants have the right to receive interest-free loans from the state. The amount of the credit is established by the Central Electoral Commission.

Next, the thesis will mention that during the period of independence of the Republic of Moldova, out of the six electoral campaigns for the election of the Parliament (1994, 1998, 2001, 2005 and 2009), two campaigns were anticipated (1994 and 2001), being carried out approximately one year before the expiration of the mandate of the respective legislative body. All elections were held on the basis of the same absolutely proportional electoral system.

Due to the Transnistrian issue, the Parliament was forced to opt for the establishment of a single national constituency, eventually accepting the full electoral system (one country - one constituency). In this way, the challenges related to the impossibility of opening polling stations on the territory of Transnistria were answered, citizens domiciled there were given the opportunity to vote in polling stations open especially on the right bank of the Dniester. Although there were multiple violations of electoral law, they were not considered to be able to have a significant impact on the final results. (Solomon, 2002)

In the Republic of Moldova, the formula developed by the Belgian Professor Victor d'Hondt was used to transform the votes into mandates. It was an equivalent representation of the highest mean method, but after a different procedure. The allocation of places was done in two stages. In the first stage, the number of votes of all political parties that have accumulated 4% of the valid votes cast as a whole in the country were divided continuously, separately for each party, at the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, ... until 101, i.e. to the number of disputed mandates. (Gallagher, 1991)

In the second stage, all the numbers obtained were arranged in descending order. According to this series, the mandates were assigned in descending order. (Tănasă, 2000)

The principle of proportionality on which the elections in the Republic of Moldova were based presupposed that the groups with an equal numerical composition would have had the same number of representatives in the electoral body.

As a consequence, a certain group of voters, who supported a list of candidates in proportional elections whose numerical composition was proportional to the electorate, was to be represented in the electoral body by a similar proportional part of the representatives. There was no mathematical possibility to fully realize the principle of proportionality, because the numerical composition of the electoral bodies was always smaller than the blanket of voters. The d'Hondt method is the most accepted in modern democracies. The difference is the numerical composition of the legislative body of each country: in the Republic of Moldova there are 101 deputies. (Benoit, 2000)

In the context of electoral reform, the politicians and researchers in the Republic of Moldova have understood that in order to improve the registration and activity of political parties, it was necessary to reform the electoral system. Thus, on March 3, 1999, the Decree on the promulgation of the Law on modification and supplementing the Electoral Code was signed. (Law on modification the Electoral Code no. 268-XV, February 4, 1999) This provision referred to the administrative-territorial reform carried out at that time (replacement of the word "district", with "county"). Members of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party of the Republic of Moldova (NPCDP) disapproved the current proportional system of Parliament formation, when the selection of candidates to be included in the ballots took place in the corridors of political parties, and the voter was offered lists that were practically depersonalized by the hundreds of names that contained them. That system, which benefited only the political elites, had to be at least complemented by the majority system. (Călugăreanu, 2009)

In the Republic of Moldova, the supporters of the electoral system reform and of the modifications regarding the conduct of the elections further proposed amendments to the Electoral Code. Thus, at the initiative of President V. Voronin, on September 21, 2000, the Law on modification and supplementing of the Electoral Code was adopted. (Law on modification of the Electoral Code no. 1227-XIV, September 21, 2000) The provisions of the law in question included the introduction of a new notion of early elections and raising the electoral threshold from 4% to 6% for a political party. The nomination of candidates

for elections was to be made only within the parties registered two years before the given elections. The last provision was not considered constitutional and was not implemented. (Spătaru, 2009)

In conclusion, the thesis will mention that although during its existence as an independent state, the Republic of Moldova undertook substantial efforts to improve the electoral system, it failed to capitalize the various corollary socio-political opportunities for the democratic development of the country, so that governmental stability was reproduced through civic and economic dynamism in favor and for the benefit of the entire population. Unfortunately, this relational discontinuity resulted in a state of stagnation or even political regression and made extremely important an open, fair and honest administration of the expected parliamentary elections for the country's stability, its growing capacity to democratize and integrate successfully in European regional processes.

CHAPTER 4

THE MEDIA DURING THE PROTESTS

4.1 The media in the electoral campaigns for the parliamentary elections of April 5 and July 29, 2009

By electoral campaign we mean the period of activity that takes place in order to determine the voters to express their votes for the election of one or another electoral contestant and which begins, for each electoral contestant, on the date of its registration by the Central Electoral Commission or by the constituency electoral council and ends on the date of exclusion of the electoral contestant from the elections or on the voting day. (Gribincea & Pîrțac, 2007)

In general, the election campaign involves two activities:

- 1) propagation and promotion of values, conceptions, ideas, qualities, capacities, merits; (Pîrțac, 2007)
- 2) attacking opponents. (Gribincea, 2007)

Both have the same goal - to attract the votes of the electorate, but achieved through different methods and means. If propaganda influences voters by offering ideas, doctrines, people, then anti-propaganda does so by fighting the ideas and doctrines of electoral contestants, by criticizing and / or defaming political parties and leaders.

Political parties are an important player in the election campaign, but they are not the sole means. In elections of all levels, the participation of individual citizens (independent candidates) is also allowed. The correlation between these two actors of the electoral campaign depends on the type of elections. (Pîrțac, 2007) In the parliamentary elections, the role of independent candidates is minor, but it increases considerably in the case of local elections and less in the case of presidential elections, especially after the change made in the election of the President of the Republic of Moldova. (Gribincea, 2007)

The participation of political parties in elections is conditioned by their legal status. If a political party is registered with the Ministry of Justice, ie. it is legally active, then it can become an electoral competitor (the registration criteria are practically reduced to a

single requirement - the number of members). (Cenușa, 2007) This status is granted at the request of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC). (Cenușa, 2007)

Thus, once registered, the electoral contestants have the right to start the agitation. The media is an important means of promoting the electoral product in the campaign. An important peculiarity of the situation of the political parties in the Republic of Moldova is the fact that here the relations with the press matter less and the client relations between the mass media and the political parties are defining. PR is "replaced by the tendency to control media institutions (including the public or governmental ones)." (Tanasă, 2001)

In the election campaign, political parties present themselves as a mechanism for winning votes. (Seiler, 1999) In line with recent trends in the evolution of the party institute in contemporary democracies, some changes or even modifications have taken place in this regard as well. The importance of political consultants (specialists in political technologies) cannot be overlooked. The complexity of the electoral campaign, the tough competition, the image, the rating, the sometimes shaky credibility of the political parties make indispensable, the presence in the electoral staff of the specialists in the field of realization of electoral and political technologies.

ACC, in accordance with the provisions of the national legislation, elaborated and placed on the site the project of the Concept of reflection of the electoral campaign for the 2009 parliamentary elections in the audiovisual institutions of the Republic of Moldova, which it approved by Decision no.3 of 28.01.2009. Some non-governmental media organizations and opposition political parties have drawn attention to several provisions of the project, which could embarrass audiovisual institutions in reflecting the election campaign. For example, the Electronic Press Association ELPA developed and presented to the ACC in due course a series of proposals and recommendations for improving the project, some of which were accepted, but not likely to substantially rectify the content of the document. (Corobceanu, 2009) Thus, the provision that in the electoral campaign, which ELPA considered inappropriate and liable to limit the public access to the information about the electoral contestants, remained intact and only the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) omitted it. It should be noted that in previous election campaigns, the OSCE mission had also made a recommendation in this regard. (Vulcan, 2009)

ACC did not hold a public debate on the project, which would have increased the chances of improving the quality of the document. And only during the national conference "Media Actions for Electoral Education" held on January 29, 2009 in Chisinau, the day after the adoption of the Concept by the ACC, the possibility of debating the content of the document appeared. (Bitlan, 2009) It is true that insufficient time has been allocated, including to formulate and present to the CEC all the proposals, until it, based on the ACC Concept, adopts (in the meeting of 02.02.2009) the Regulation on the coverage of the electoral campaign from April 5, 2009 in the mass media in the Republic of Moldova. Consequently, the document that was to serve the central purpose of ensuring the correct, impartial information of citizens on electoral offers, which was to detail and concretize exact rules of the game in the election campaign, largely copies the existing provisions in national legislation. Moreover, for the first time, neither the concept nor the regulation provide free airtime offered by public broadcasters for the presentation of electoral contestants' platforms.

The 2009 parliamentary elections were the first since the adoption of the Audiovisual Code, which, in art. 7 (3) stipulated: "In order to encourage and facilitate the pluralistic expression of currents of opinion, broadcasters have the obligation (our italics - n.r.) to reflect electoral campaigns in a truthful, impartial and balanced way." (Călugăreanu, 2009) The avoidance of some important private broadcasters from the reflection of the previous electoral campaigns had always raised concerns from everyone, except for authorities. In the absence of the will of the authorities, not even a sharp provision in the Audiovisual Code could change the situation. The fact was that the broadcasters, regardless of classification, used terrestrial frequencies that were part of the national heritage, and elections were a major event for the destiny of a democracy. (Roșca, 2003) In addition, the use in the election campaign of frequencies to agitate in favor of one competitor and to the detriment of another is similar to an act of corruption.

The CEC regulations left intact another provision from the ACC Concept, according to which in the debate shows the electoral contestants or their representatives freely express their opinions. At the same time, it is forbidden:

- endangering the constitutional order, the public order, the safety of persons and the material goods. (Cenușa, 2007)

- the exposition of some statements that can harm the human dignity and the honor of the electoral competitor. (Cenușa, 2007) The notions included in the phrases "constitutional order" (Imtiaz, 2002), "public order" (Rausch, 2006), "security of material goods" (Kleine, 1995), "prejudice to human dignity and honor" (Kamir, 2015) are so interpretable that they can create major difficulties for any moderator of electoral debates.

In accordance with the provisions of the Electoral Code, CEC ensures the signing of parties, other socio-political organizations and the media representatives of a Code of Conduct. (Coman, 2007) The action must be initiated until the beginning of the electoral campaign, although the Code of Conduct can be signed by political parties and media institutions, as well as in the electoral campaign. In this context, on January 23, 2009, the CEC organized the signing of the Code of Conduct, regarding the progress and reflection of the electoral campaign at the 2009 parliamentary elections. It should be noted that the document was signed by 13 parties and 15 media institutions immediately after its presentation at the CEC. (Gribincea, 2009) From the content of the Code, the signatories agreed that they will respect: a) the rights, freedoms and dignity of other signatories to the election campaign and to the electors; b) freedom of the press, including the right to monitor allegations; c) the rights and freedoms of the accredited observers. (Munteanu, 2009)

The access of the media to the electoral events organized by the electoral competitors was conditioned by the "color" of the editorial policy of the editorial offices. (Lungu, 2010) In electoral campaigns journalists who did not compliment the CPRM, faced obstacles in the realization of the reports from the electoral meetings of the CPRM and the official meetings. (Lungu, 2010)

The press reported numerous cases of restricting the access of journalists not politically affiliated to the electoral events of the CPRM, of discriminatory treatment, as well as numerous cases of intimidation of journalists. On February 20, the bodyguard of the president forbade a post-TV team TV 7 from Chisinau to film the meeting of doctors from most districts, which was attended by the head of state. (Gotisan, 2009) On February 25, three police officers appeared on "Albasat" TV in Nisporeni. Not having a search warrant, they requested accounting documents and dismantled the computers, and subsequently filed a criminal case against the station's administration. (Gotisan, 2009)

Oleg Brega, operator at "Jurnal TV", was attacked on March 10 by agents of the security service in the lobby of the Opera and Ballet Theater in Chisinau, where a meeting of the workers of the company "Moldova-Gaz" took place (about 1000 people), with the participation of the Prime Minister Zinaida Greceanii. (Istratii, 2009) On March 27, the editor of the Russian-language weekly "SP" in Balti, Slava Perunov, was violently attacked at an electoral rally, held with the participation of the head of state, Vladimir Voronin, in the presence of local officials. (Istratii, 2009) On July 9, officers from the prime minister's bodyguards delayed the access of a team of journalists from the "TV-Prim" station in the city of Glodeni to a meeting of officials from the district, attended by Zinaida Greceanii. (CIJ, 2010) On July 14, two journalists from the opposition newspaper "Moldavskie vedomosti" were forcibly removed from the bodyguard officers and the local police from the Palace of Culture in the city of Donduseni, where an electoral meeting took place with the participation of the Prime Minister Zinaida Greceanii. (CIJ, 2010)

On July 17, the personal guard of Prime Minister Zinaida Greceanii banned the access of three journalists from Singerei to a public meeting, to which the mayors and representatives of the economic agents from the district were summoned. (CIJ, 2010)

A case of aggression was committed by the opposing camp - on March 23, during a protest action organized in the center of the capital, a member of LDPM attacked a group of journalists from the Multimedia Agency "Omega". (Gotisan, 2009)

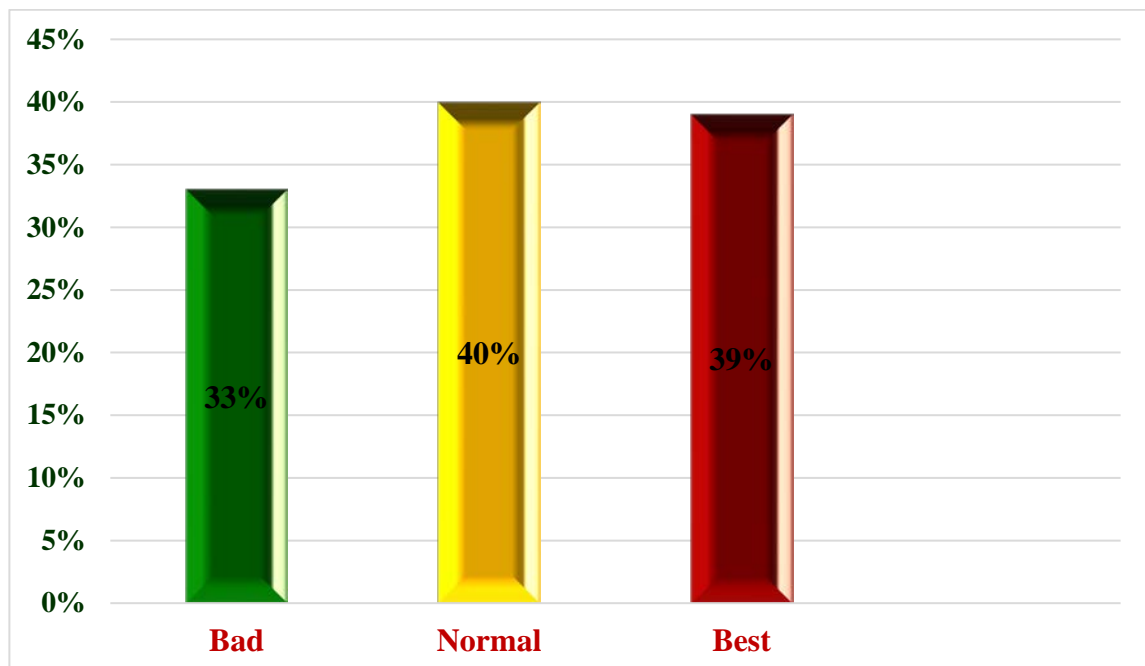
4.2 Political power/influence in media during the elections of April 2009

In the immediate run-up to the 2009 elections, the political scene in the Republic of Moldova was reconfiguring itself, being marked by a real rating storm. 56% of population openly opposed the organization of an early election. (Negură, 2009) According to the respondents, the country needed to be governed, and the elections distracted attention from the problems that needed to be solved urgently. This was in the conditions in which about 33% qualified the material condition of the family as a bad one. (Negură, 2009) If early elections were held, it appeared that approximately the same ratio would be maintained between the votes held by the Communist Party of Moldova (CPRM) and the parties forming the Alliance for European Integration (AEI): 33%, respectively 35%. (Negură, 2009) In case of a referendum on the modification of the Constitution, 3

out of 4 people would vote for the direct election of the President of the Republic of Moldova. These were the main findings of the national survey "State of mind and predictable trends for the Republic of Moldova", presented on December 2, 2009, at IDIS "Viitorul".

The survey was conducted by the Center for Sociological Research and Marketing "CBS-AXA", in partnership with IDIS "Viitorul", on a sample of 1085 people, from 67 localities, aged 18 and over. Data were collected in the period November 2 - 11, 2009. The sample was representative for the adult population of the Republic of Moldova, with a maximum error of + 3%. The vast majority of the population was dissatisfied with the life they lead today. The state of mind of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova was prone to negative and very negative opinions and the sum of these negative characteristics exceeded 62%. About 33% of respondents rated their family's material condition as bad, compared to 40%, who considered their individual situation to be normal. (Negru, 2009) From the perspective of political sympathies, those most concerned at this time about the material situation of families were people who sympathized CPRM (39%). (Negru, 2009)

Diagram 3. Families material conditions during the protests from April, 2009 (Negru, 2009)

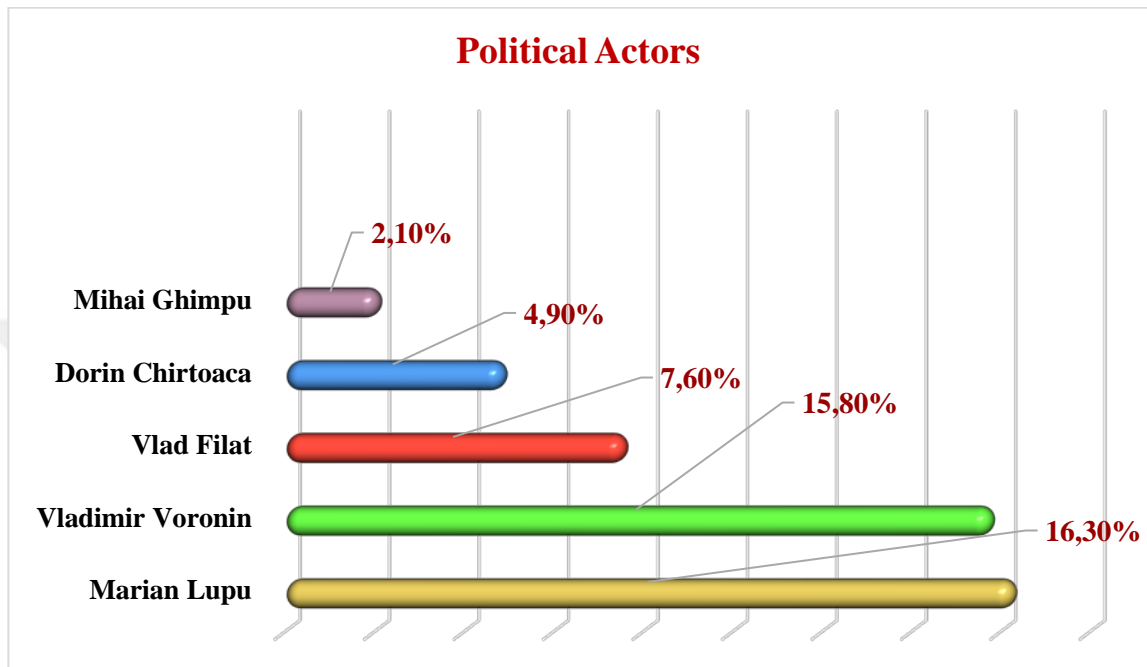


Every third Moldovan prefers to live in the European Union. However, 8% of the population would like to live in a renewed USSR, regardless of its name. (Boțan, 2009) The survey showed an increase in 2009 in the interest in living in the common group of CIS states (from 4 to 7%), probably as a result of the media coverage of the CIS Summit and the visibility of CIS leaders gathered in the capital of Moldova. (Boțan, 2009)

Attitude towards the capacity of the Alliance for European Integration (AEI) to face these social and political challenges in the ratio of 50/50. 13% of respondents said they could not comment on this issue yet. (Negură, 2009) The interest to political life separated the respondents into two main categories: the category of those interested in political life, and which formed a pre-determined electorate led by the Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (LDPM) and Liberal Party (LP), but also the category of those who were less interested in the political course, which is oriented towards the CPRM and Democratic Party of Moldova (DPM). (Negru, 2009) Respondents of Russian nationality were the most interested in the evolution of political life (44%). (Negură, 2009)

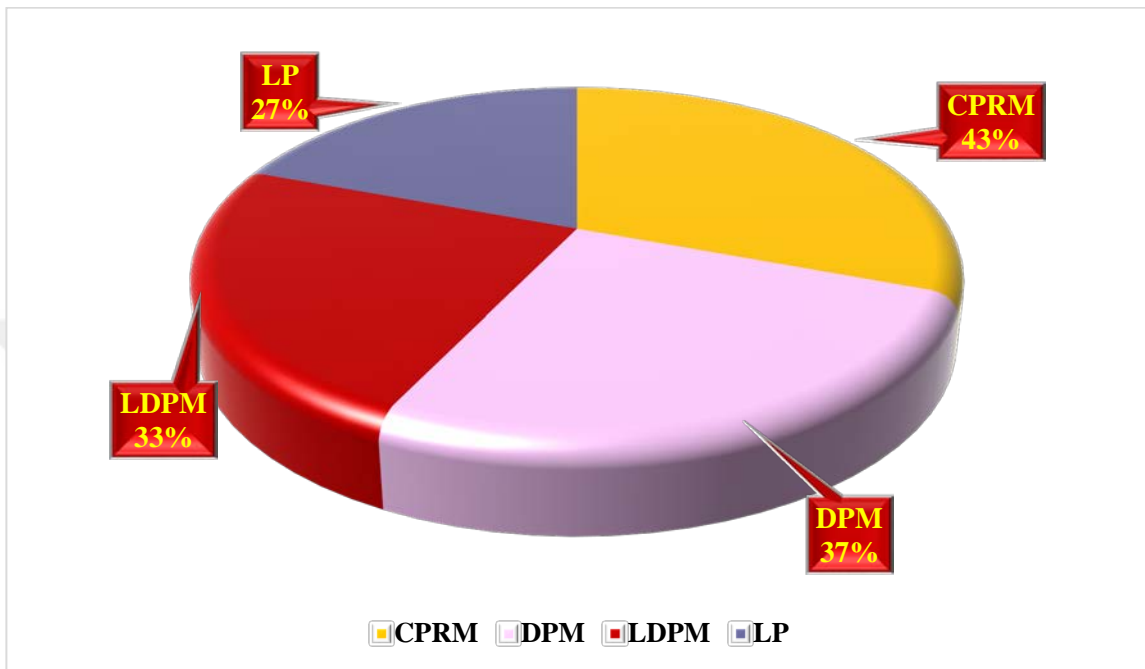
The survey attested a real storm of popularity ratings on the political scene in Moldova. Thus, the holder of the first place in the top of the trust was M. Lupu, who met about 16.3%, surpassing the ex-president V. Voronin, quoted by 15.8%. (Călugăreanu, 2009) Voronin is followed by Prime Minister V. Filat (7.6%), Mayor Dorin Chirtoaca (4.9%) and Parliamentary Speaker M. Ghimpu (2.1%) (Călugăreanu, 2009). "We note a constant growth of Marian Lupu, a segmented growth of Vlad Filat, and a significant decrease of Vladimir Voronin and Dorin Chirtoaca". However, the causes of this decrease are different. D. Chirtoaca's rating is probably affected by the phenomenon of protests from the period of September - October, especially by the electorate in Chisinau, while Vladimir Voronin is, at this moment "the net loser of his previous positions", sustained the director of IDIS "Viitorul", Igor Munteanu. (Ursu, 2009)

Diagram 4. Popularity ratings on the political scene in Moldova in 2009 (Călugăreanu, 2009)



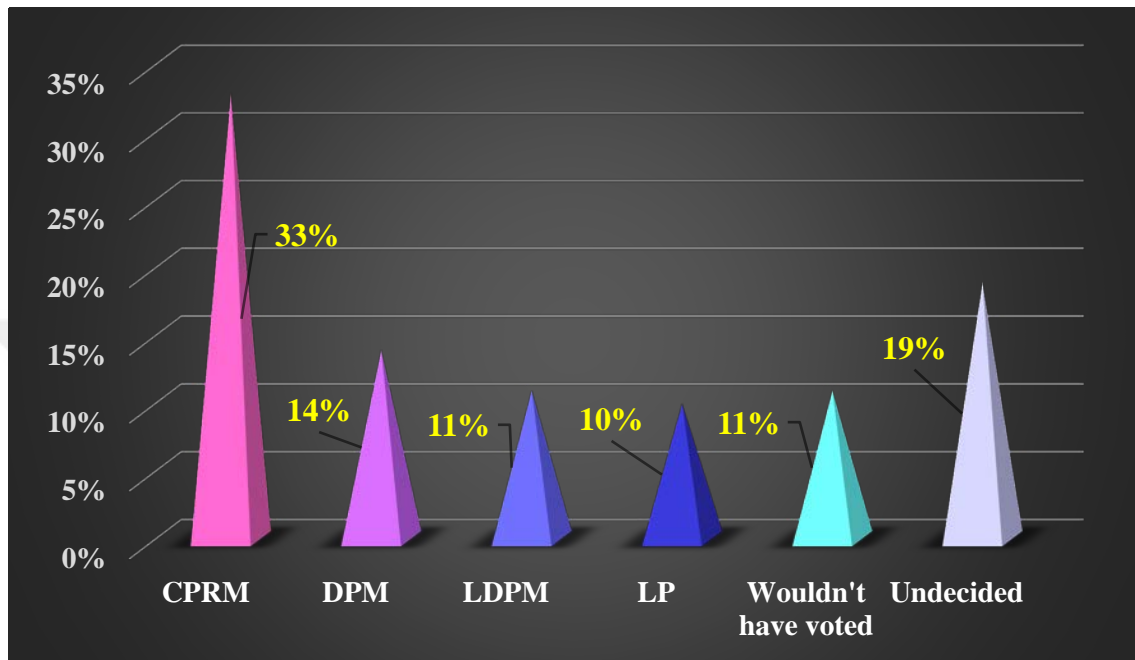
The opinions expressed by the respondents showed that CPRM remained to be the party with the highest rating - about 43%, followed by DPM - 37%, LDPM - 33%, LP - 27%. (Călugăreanu, 2009) It was noted that a quarter of DPM sympathizers had full confidence in the CPRM. Most respondents openly opposed early elections. 56% disapproved the initiative of an early parliamentary election - especially people over the age of 60 (72%). Instead, those in the capital of the Republic of Moldova were tempted to agree with the idea of early elections (56%). (Negură, 2009)

Diagram 5. Opinion ratings on the political parties in Moldova in 2009 (Călugăreanu, 2009)



If another Sunday had been held parliamentary elections, the structure of the electoral preferences expressed would have been: CPRM - 33%, DPM - 14%, LDPM - 11%, LP - 10%, about 11% would not have voted in general, and, 19% would have been undecided. (Cațer, 2009) In case of a referendum on the modification of the Constitution, 74% of the questioned persons would have opted for the direct election of the President. (Munteanu, 2009)

Diagram 6. If another Sunday had been held parliamentary elections, the structure of the electoral preferences expressed would have been the following (Cațer, 2009)



In conclusion, the thesis will mention that the results of the surveys predispose to meditations and conclusions, sometimes not too optimistic. Appreciating that the political discourse in the media should lead to the formation of a public opinion suitable to "disrupt" the state, (Dobrescu, 2001) establishing between power and the press relations of friendship and constructive adversity.

Commonly, the relationship between power and media can only be that of adversity, (Coman, 2000), because press, by definition is meant to irritate the power and create it a state of permanent discomfort. A discomfort that would make the political discourse in the media not only heard, but also understood by the power and public.

4.3 THE CASE OF THE JOURNALISTS

Self-regulation and ethical principles and standards are basic conditions that the media must satisfy to be able to perform their role of a watchdog in transition societies. (Bertrand, 2001) Various specialists consider self-regulation as a significant tool for establishing media independence, as well as encouraging the highest professional

standards and evolving social responsibility and professionalism of media. In comparison with the democracies of Western states, where self-regulation represents an entrenched practice, in the Republic of Moldova it is at a very early phase (stage) of evolution.

With rare exceptions, in Moldova there are no media outlets that may be considered objective and impartial when covering conflict issues, and partisanship is a common practice among Moldovan journalists. According to a study by the Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ), 81.8% of respondents (media professionals) believe that Moldovan journalists are to a large extent partisan at the expense of the principles of free and professional journalism. The survey reveals that 17% of journalists are unfamiliar with the Code of professional ethics, and just half of them (52%) do not accept the idea that a journalist can be biased (CIJ, 2003). Another study of the CIJ shows that some media managers confuse the Code of ethics with another instrument - the Labor Code, stating that they resort to the latter when faced with ethical dilemmas. (CIJ, 2008)

The code of professional ethics of journalists from the Republic of Moldova, which consists of provisions on veracity, balance, fairness in reflection is intended for all media institutions (state media, private or public, written and audiovisual media). The Code of Conduct for broadcasters is also one of the self-regulation mechanisms authorized by the Broadcasting Coordinating Council (BCC). The Central Electoral Commission's Rules in turn, concern the reflection of electoral campaigns, but also the actions of media monitoring accomplished by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as the analysis of media experts circulated in specialized newspapers and press.

While the media remains at the top of institutions trusted by the public (IPP, 2008), an important fact for journalists is to comprehend the influence of self-regulation in the mass-media and must lead themselves in conformity with ethical principles and standards. Often journalists are the first and last to decide what sources to interview and what information to include in a material, so they need to defend the standards of fair and balanced coverage. It is important for journalists to recognize that citizens are entitled to accurate information without being influenced by public authorities or the private sector. (Frost, 2000) Only by meticulously reflecting the views and movements of all parties the media is able to contribute to the demolition of stereotypes and also support and help the community.

Journalists in Moldova were also attacked in the course of the period of unlawful mass detentions. Cameraman, Oleg Brega was attacked while taping footage around the government headquarters, his device being broken and stolen. (Darie, 2011) Another situation of mistreats against journalists, Rodica Mahu from "Jurnal De Chisinau" was unlawfully arrested by the law enforcement. (Bunduchi, 2009) TVR journalist Doru Dendiu's authorization was removed, and he was obliged to abandon the territory of the Republic of Moldova. (Marin, 2009) Petru Terguta, from the Antena 3 channel went away from Moldova beneath the OSCE escort guard, after receiving telephone threats telling he would be detained. (Dorogan, 2009) When there were dangers for the protection of their reporters, "NewsIn" bureau and "Radio Romania News" withdrew their reporters (journalists) from Moldova. (Marin, 2009)

According to the victims, (Vasilica, 2009) in some regions of the country, independent newspapers were not sold – they were removed from press kiosks and then sent back to Chisinau. (Vasilica, 2009) The public broadcaster "Teleradio-Moldova" limited and manipulated information thus, restricting citizens' access to it. (azi.md, 2009) Events were not reported objectively and there were no public discussions or debates on the actual situation in the country. (Monitor Media, 2009) The events were interpreted solely from the standpoint of the ruling party. News portals were largely blocked, and there were reported cases of the Internet being down. (The OSCE Representative for media freedom, Miklos Haraszti, made an appeal to the authorities on 14 April to allow foreign media to report freely from Moldova)

CHAPTER 5

AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY ON THE TV CHANNELS OF MOLDOVA DURING THE 2009 PROTESTS

5.1 The phenomenon of manipulation of public opinion in the media in the context of the 2009 election year

The spread of social media and media in general leads to the manipulation of public opinion. Moldova is still in a stage of transition, "a period of searching and finding answers to multiple interpretations before the daily processes of social life". (Moraru, 2000) To the question "How does the media influence the political conscience of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova?", included in a survey conducted on Internet, most of the answers were more than pessimistic. (Tănasă, 2000)

Thus, some citizens considered that the truth is too deeply buried by the politicians and the leadership of the country and not even the media can contribute to its disclosure. (Tănasă, 2000) In the Republic of Moldova there was a long-standing obvious manipulation in the Soviet period when access to the media was limited to the "Teleradio-Moldova" Company and the Moldova 1 television station. The government directly manipulated public opinion referring to the communist system by presenting it in the best light.

Nowadays we can talk about an improvement by the fact that a relatively large part of the population has access to information. Yet, taking into account that a large part of the socially vulnerable population has limited access and older people especially those in the village have access only to the two mentioned channels, we can deduce that the manipulation is constantly manifested in the current society. This inequality to information highlights the notion of the "digital divide".

The general trust in the media oscillates in the Republic of Moldova at about 52-55%, this remaining relatively constant during the last years. (Institutul de Politici Publice, 2009) The media will have a considerable impact on public opinion in the electoral period and if the electoral process is not reflected in a balanced and impartial manner, citizens will be deprived of the possibility of a conscious, informed vote. In this vein, the electoral process cannot be considered completely free and correct. The

legislation of the Republic of Moldova respects the international standards in the field of regulation and functioning of the media. (Luca, 2006) At the same time, the general situation of the public and private media does not correspond to all the criteria for the full assurance of the rights and freedoms of expression, constant concerns in this regard being expressed both internally as well as externally. (Luca, 2006) This thesis mainly draws in this concern.

In the 2009 election campaign, in addition to the basic laws in the field of mass media (Press Law and the Audiovisual Code), the corresponding provisions of the Electoral Code and the regulations regarding the reflection of the electoral campaign on the parliamentary elections have been applied. (Hotăririle CEC nr. 2043 din 02.02.2009 și nr.2641 din 23.06. 2009)

For the parliamentary elections of April 5 and July 29, the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) approved the Regulation on the broadcast of the electoral campaign in the media in the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, the broadcasters who decided to engage in the reflection of the electoral campaigns elaborated their own internal regulations, which were approved by the Audiovisual Coordinating Council (ACC). (Bogaci, 2009)

The way in which media reflected the electoral campaigns was monitored by the Center for Independent Journalism (CIJ), the Association of the Independent Press (AIP), the Electronic Press Association (ELPA), as well as by the Election Observation Mission OSCE / ODIHR and the "Teleradio-Moldova" Company, which monitored its own programs. (Negură, 2009) Also, a report on how the media reflects the parliamentary election campaign of July 29 was published by the "Broadcast Media Monitoring" Mission, funded by the Council of Europe. (Raport final 6-29 iulie, 2009)

All the monitoring reports found the high interest of the media for the two parliamentary elections, however, not in all cases this fact determined the correct, objective and equidistant reflection of the electoral events. (Spătaru, 2009) The broadcasts carried out by the "Teleradio-Moldova" Company during the electoral campaigns were the object of a detailed analysis from all national and international monitors. Its status as a public audiovisual institution, which has the pre-eminent role of responding to the public's information needs regarding public affairs, was a decisive factor in carrying out

a more rigorous monitoring in respect of the observance of legal and ethical norms in the field.

Most broadcasters with national or regional coverage have their intention to reflect on electoral campaigns. The campaign for parliamentary elections on April 5 was reflected on 31 TV stations, 25 radio stations, and the one for early parliamentary elections was broadcasted on 29 TV stations and 28 radio stations. (Lungu, 2010)

The media failed to be a guide for voters in view of an informed choice. In general, the lack of sufficient and correct information on the electoral competitors was deduced from the following:

- the organized electoral debates of some mass media were not in a way the average consumer obtains sufficient information for the analysis of the electoral offers; (Spătaru, 2009)
- the number of materials that constitute electoral education was very small both in the written press, as well as in audiovisual; (Spătaru, 2009)
- interviews, reports, files were very rare or not present in broadcasters' programs; a series of broadcasters practiced attachment and propaganda journalism; the coverage area of independent broadcasters was limited. (Spătaru, 2009)

Thus, in the 2009 election, there was an inadequate behavior of the public media, as well as the passivity or inefficient reaction of the authorities invested with responsibilities in the field. The general reports of some international missions, as well as the reports of the specialized monitoring of the civil society organizations contained findings referring to:

- The failure of impartial and balanced reflection of elections, failure of the ACC to properly supervise and apply legal requirements regarding impartial reflection in the media. (Lungu, 2010)
- Increased emission volume granted to representatives of the Government, Parliament and Presidency in the news programs of some television stations, through which also Moldova 1, the interpretation of some of these statements by the news presenters favored the governing party to the detriment of other electoral competitors. (Decizia CCA nr.28 din 24.03.2009)

- Distorted presentation of information by public media agencies. (Lungu, 2010)
- Attestation of cases when the public media did not inform objectively and equidistantly, the means of mass information financed partially or totally from the public budget promoted the governing party. (Costin, 2012)
- Recording the cases when the public broadcasters did not fully serve the public interest, polished the image of the government and denigrated the counter-candidates. (Report on monitoring the implementation of the Audiovisual Code, 2009)
- Observing the tendency of the selective approach from the public broadcaster Moldova 1 of the principle of using two and more sources in conflicting news. (Final Monitoring Report, 2009)

5.2 Media as a factor in the manipulation of public opinion

A controversial and unresolved issue by legislation was the country's president, prime minister and parliamentary president, who did not resign from public office during the campaign. Lack of regulations to make a clear distinction between events in which these people participate as high-ranking state officials allowed a discriminatory treatment in favor of the CPRM, on the list of which the three dignitaries ran, in relation to their electoral opponents. This issue was also addressed to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Resolution 1666 (2009) on the Functioning of Democratic Institutions in the Republic of Moldova and by the Election Observation Mission OSCE / ODIHR, which noted that the public broadcaster had "blurred the difference in the reflection of the constitutional obligations of the service of high-ranking officials and their campaign activities". (OSCE / ODIHR, 2009)

The public broadcaster has been criticized for its position in election campaigns and especially during the April protests. Resolution APCE 1666 (2009) on the functioning of democratic institutions in the Republic of Moldova pointed out that "Teleradio-Moldova" did not offer enough space for the opposition to broadcast its electoral messages and programs. In May 2009, the European Parliament condemned the public broadcaster's propaganda and blocking of the opposition's access. Immediately after the April protests, the President of the European Parliament's delegation for relations with the Republic of

Moldova criticized "Teleradio-Moldova" for not reflecting on the events of April 6. (Ursu, 2009)

A report by CIJ on the coverage of April 2009 events by national broadcasters stated that the public television station Moldova 1 did not serve the interests of the public. (Pîrțac, 2016) It also did not provide complex and impartial information that would have helped viewers to form an opinion on what is happening in Chisinau and other parts of the republic. By manipulating images and text, it presented events only from the perspective of public authorities. (Pîrțac, 2016)

Regarding the behavior of the public broadcaster in the campaign for early parliamentary elections, "Broadcasting media monitoring" pointed out that "Teleradio-Moldova" did not offer equal treatment to all electoral competitors, repeatedly criticizing the opposition and praising the CPRM. (Lungu, 2010)

After the early parliamentary elections, the management of the "Teleradio-Moldova" Company issued a series of statements accusing the President of the Parliament, AEI, the chairman of the parliamentary commission for the media, the chairman of the ACC for the exercise of pressure and interference in the editorial policy of the public service broadcaster. (Brusa, 2016) These statements were a reaction to the criticism and insistent statements of the respective officials regarding the need for an urgent reform of the public service broadcasting.

The attitude of the media institutions in the country during the protests of April 2009 did not reflect the events in all aspects, or the undisguised sympathy for one of the conflicting parties. (Nicholson, 2009) The report (CIJ, 2009) on the monitoring of media behavior between April 6 and 10, conducted by CIJ, shows that all three stations with national and quasi-national coverage (Moldova 1, Prime TV and NIT) and one with regional coverage (N 4) incorrectly treated the conflicting parties. They promoted the positive image of the central public administration and the CPRM, on the one hand, and the negative image of the leaders of the three opposition parties - LP, LDPM and OMA, on the other hand. (Nicholson, 2009)

These TV stations used a series of misinformation tactics: selective news presentation, unobjective information about the motives and how the events unfolded, one-sided citation and ignorance of alternative sources, manipulation of text and images.

(Munteanu, 2009) The language of broadcasters was not conducive to tolerance and calm, the qualifiers used by communist dignitaries in official statements, ostentatiously quoted, - "putsch", "unconstitutional overthrow", "*coup d'etat*", "devastating actions of the opposition", "predators and putschists" - did nothing but increase concern and tension in society. (Darie, 2010)

Most stations cited Vladimir Voronin's appeal containing serious accusations: "opposition leaders have chosen the path of serious crime", "led the coup", their goal is "to destroy the statehood of Moldova". Some stations have provocatively repeated these accusations even after the cessation of violent protests. (Ghid mass-media din Republica Moldova, 2009)

It is clear that on April 6-10, 2009, the authorities had the interest to prevent honest journalists from disseminating a "different" information, different from the one conveyed by them. The most violations of journalists' rights occurred especially those days. Through brutal and disproportionate actions, journalists were prevented from exercising their profession. Not only local journalists but also foreign ones suffered. During the mentioned period, the central authorities and law enforcement forces made maximum efforts to misinform the public in Moldova and abroad. There have been cases of assault, abusive detention and abduction of journalists, illegal search of domicile, abusive eviction, banning access to the country and many other cases which have been reported by national and international monitors. (Brusa, 2016)

The solution to the problem lies in reforming the entire system and can begin with the liberalization of the press, through our direct involvement in finding out the truth. From a personal point of view, it is good to educate that critical spirit, which concludes from the verification of several sources. The prudence of accepting and verifying information is also to be educated in school. Another solution is to improve the economic situation with aid, subsidies, investments from the state.

In conclusion, the media is a factor in the manipulation of public opinion that is difficult to regulate in a vicious society. The manipulation itself is very subtle but has a major negative impact. It's up to us to develop gradually, to raise the level of education in schools, to organize development programs with reference to the need for information and

selection of information because only the weak and uninformed ones fall prey to manipulation.

5.3 General data

The results of the monitoring attest two distinct paths: one part of the media mirrored the events from a single point of view, the perspective of the influenced and political leaders. The other part presented the protests in a balanced and correct manner. In addition, certain stations did not mirror the protests from the period of April 6, and others, did not broadcast news bulletins on April 7 and 8.

Most of the mass media did not take into account the standard of equidistant and equitable consideration, presenting the audience unbalanced and biased information. Most of the time, the materials were founded on only one source. The sources were not varied, with journalists preferring to draw inspiration from press conferences rather than show journalistic creativity and ambition. Most of the posts analyzed overused the images recorded at the brutal protests, which were reproduced constantly, usually excluding any comment or opinion. To exemplify the results of the protests several stations used those images in newscast with a different topic.

The monitored posts/stations did not have sufficient broadcasts, in which to suggest the community an evaluation of the events and the causes of their occurrence, to submit key information, or to debate and analyze the sequel of the protests.

Therefore, it can be stated that in the reflection of the violent protests of April 2009, the monitored media institutions did not sufficiently apply the self-regulation mechanism. The media did not correctly and equidistant notify the public and did not offer various points of view. The following study aims to illustrate the media from the points of impartiality/objectivity, equity and balance of causes (sources)/pluralism of opinions, language and video images used.

5.3.1 Moldova 1

Impartiality and objectivity. On April 6, when amicable protests began in Chisinau, public broadcaster Moldova 1 did not add in its newsletters any news about the events in the Great National Assembly Square (GNAS). The channel rigorously picked

the topics on the public agenda for the newsletters. In total, during the monitoring period, Moldova 1 disseminated 78 news appropriate to the present research which mainly concerned the remarkable government meeting chaired by President Vladimir Voronin. (Lungu, 2010) This news also referred to the reaction of international bodies and Western foreign ministry who rejected the violent and brutal actions in Chisinau, as well as to the number of victims/injured, the feelings and reaction of society/residents who convicted the violence and demanded that opposition leaders be held accountable for the damage to the state by harming and destroying the two headquarters. The station also broadcast the appeal of President Voronin where political leaders (Vladimir Filat, Serafim Urechean and Mihai Ghimpu), were instantly accused of using the term "coup". (Călugăreanu, 2009) The post also announced President Voronin's accusations against Romania, which according to the head of state, would be behind, "*coup d'état*", about the dismissal of the Romanian Ambassador and the establishment of the visa regime for Romanian citizens. It was also mentioned the arrest in Odessa of businessman Gabriel Stati, who had been charged by Vladimir Voronin and Iurie Rosca, leader of the Christian Democratic Popular Party (CDPP), about the arrangement of violent protests. (Călugăreanu, 2009)

The events and declarations of multiple non-governmental organizations (NGOs) regarding repressions, cases of violations of human rights and freedom of expression, which followed after the protest actions, and the hazard of the establishment of dictatorship, were rejected by Moldova 1. (Lungu, 2010) The public post only reflected the events/statements that convicted the violence and defended the movements of the central authorities. (Lungu, 2010)

The news from Moldova 1 station, have been placed in a way that participates to the maintenance of a confident image of the central government and the president Vladimir Voronin, and the formation of adverse stereotypes with regard to the leaders of the opposition (those interested only in power, who instigate the population to protests). A conclusive evidence of the partiality of that station represents the original introduction of the information and the exclusion of specific context details from the news. As an example of this can serve the newsletter "Mesager" of April 7, which began with the news regarding the destruction by thousands of young protesters of the edifices of Parliament and Presidency. (Negru, 2009) The causes that prompted young people to take to the

streets were not exposed either in this news or in the further ones. Information relating the causes of the protests was indirectly specified in other news when Vladimir Voronin together with other representatives of the CPRM, tried to deny ballot rigging.

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. The vast majority of the news from Moldova 1 station primarily proposed the opinions of the Central Public Administration and its allies. As a rule, journalists did not stipulate whether they attempted to find out the perspectives of the parties concerned in the disputes. In this way, just 3 news, out of the total number of 14 materials that contained direct or indirect accusations against particular people, showed the opinion of all opponents. (Pîrțac, 2009) In the alternative material subsequently circulated, where the opposition was charged of inciting violence and "*coup d'état*", it was not quoted directly or indirectly.

Language and video images used. On Moldova 1 station were posted materials comprising indecent, precise language. As an example was the news about the aggression of the cameraman from Moldova 1 channel by one of the teen protesters. The aggressor used lewd vocabulary, but it wasn't that brutal, quite the opposite, the frame was repeated 2 consecutive times, to intensify the impact. (Brusa, 2009) This episode was frequented countless times in the bulletins during the monitored period.

There have also been various situations where images (see Figure 4) have been fixed in such a way as to show distorted information that puts specific people in an unfortunate light. (Brusa, 2009)



Figure 4. Images that put specific people in an unfortunate light.

Thus, on April 9, Moldova 1 station spread the image (see Figure 5) during the protests under the heading "no comment", with the mention that the events took place on April 7.



Figure 5. The picture reflected the protests of April 6 and 7.

The picture that appeared on the screen reflected the protests of April 6 and 7, the capable viewer realized that this is an assembly. (Brusa, 2009) The succeeding images (see Figures 6, 7) depict the building of the Presidency splashed with eggs, which took place on April 7.



Figures 6, 7. The building of the Presidency splashed with eggs, which took place on April 7.

The fact that the film was mounted is also confirmed by the dress of Chiril Lucinschi, which was distinct both on day one and day two. The pictures showing leaders in the foreground were the result of violent and brutal sequences. The message sent to an unsuspecting viewer in this case would be that Filat and Lucinschi are satisfied that the

headquarters of the Presidency is being assaulted and, implicitly, that they are the authors of the disaster.

In the April 7 News Bulletin, Moldova 1 station featured an image (see Figure 8) filmed during violent conflicts between young protesters and law enforcement agencies. In these also appears the leader of the LDPM, Vlad Filat, who calls the protesters to walk from the front of the Presidency to the Great National Assembly Square. A first impression left by this sequence is that Vlad Filat urges and instigates teenagers to violence. (Ursu, 2009)



Figure 8. The leader of the LDPM, Vlad Filat, who calls the protesters to walk from the front of the Presidency to the Great National Assembly Square.

In the course of the monitoring period Moldova 1 station didn't have any broadcast show in which topics connected to the occurrences of April 7 and their results were discussed.

5.3.2 Prime TV

Impartiality and objectivity. On April 6, the next national TV station, which retransmits a large part of the news and programs of the Russian channel Pervyi Kanal, did not circulate any news regarding the protests in the center of Chisinau. Also on April 7 and 8 Prime TV station did not present news bulletins. (Lungu, 2010) On the next day, the station recommenced its activity, communicating some news about the actions that

happened after the protests. (Lungu, 2010) Altogether, during the reporting period, Prime TV channel transmitted 6 short news stories, which draw attention on President Voronin's accusations against the opposition, the reaction of the international community to the condition in the Republic of Moldova. The news also involved the telephone discussion of the presidents of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova, in which Dmitry Medvedev congratulated Voronin for the proper reaction to events, elimination of the consequences/results of protests, the status of people injured in the course of violence.

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. Prime TV channel did not take into account the principle of pluralism of opinion, presenting information to the public mainly from just one angle. Thereby, most of the materials were inspired by one or more sources, which presented identical position on the events of April 6 and 7 specifically the position of the Central Public Administration.

In the course of the reporting period, Prime TV station did not circulate any show that would have dealt with topics regarding the events of April 6 and 7, which is why the principle of **language and video images** is not characterized.

5.3.3 NIT

Impartiality and objectivity. The station with national coverage, NIT has extensively reflected the episodes of the post-election period in both news and broadcasts. The news which are added in the NIT bulletins provided the events from the position of the central authorities, and the opposition was incriminated for organizing the protests. (Ștefănescu, 2009) All in all, during the reporting period NIT put on the post 47 news. (Ștefănescu, 2009) The subjects discussed by this station broadly repeated those broadcast by Moldova 1, the emphasis being on accusations of attempted *coup d'état* against opposition leaders, conviction of violence by foreign countries, as well as by residents of different cities of the country, and the detention of Gabriel Stati. (Ștefănescu, 2009)

Like the national broadcaster, NIT has shown discrimination against opposition, contemplating reality through the prism of the Central Public Administration, sometimes journalists. That post transmitted the equal subjects as Moldova 1, with the difference that often the facts weren't divided from the opinion. The declarations and comments of the journalist were left to be seen as a personal viewpoint towards specific circumstances.

Hence, News no. 5 of the April 8 bulletin begins with "Society is shocked by the devastating actions of the opposition", (Lungu, 2010) the statement belonging to the journalist; in news no.9 and no.10, which refers to the rallies condemning protestants in Taraclia and Edinet, the information is not separated from the opinion, the presenter stating that the leaders instigated acts of vandalism. When informing about the condition of the victims, the presenter states, in an accusatory tone, that police are admitted to the hospital "but also the protesters who did the disaster" (April 8, News no.12), by intonation expressing her personal attitude to protesters. (Lungu, 2010)

NIT station presented a huge number of news (22 out of 47), in which the three leaders of the parties that had access to Parliament appeared in a negative light, being presented as "destroyers of statehood" (nit.md, 2009), organizers of the "criminal riot" (nit.md, 2009), "criminals" (nit.md, 2009), "instigators of vandalism" (nit.md, 2009), "initiators of debauchery" (nit.md, 2009), "scumbags", "morons". (nit.md, 2009)

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. The 47 news transmitted by NIT quoted 75 sources, including 23 agents of state administration, 23 agents of civil society and inhabitants who condemned the actions, and in 8 cases were the journalists who reflected on the events on the spot. (Negru, 2009) Opposition leaders had the right to speak only once, in the news of April 7, from the press conference held by the leaders of LP, LDPM, OMA together with Marian Lupu, DPM.

Language and video images used. NIT did not respect the presumption of innocence in many news reports, the information being introduced as a fait accompli (accomplished fact). Hence, in the news bulletins journalists from this television station stated such statements as "hundreds of young people guided by the opposition" (nit.md, 2009), "actions are the result of the actions of the opposition" (nit.md, 2009), "leaders instigated acts of vandalism" (nit.md, 2009), "those who masterminded barbarism fled the country". (nit.md, 2009)

As examples of administration of images and sound can serve a news from the April 7 newsletter, where opposite the background of the picture (see Figure 9) of protesters on the panel show up leaders of various parties (Mihai Ghimpu, Dumitru Diacov, Anatol Petrencu, Vitalia Pavlicenco, Valeriu Matei). The image is focused for a few seconds on common frames, followed by their faces highlighting in the spotlight,

joined by militant music. Besides, in the episodes amid violent young protesters appears multiple times Vladimir Filat with the megaphone in the hands.



Figure 9. Leaders of various parties (Mihai Ghimpu, Dumitru Diacov, Anatol Petrencu, Vitalia Pavlicenco, Valeriu Matei).

5.3.4 N4

Impartiality and objectivity. On the 6th of April N4 station neglected the theme of the protests yet in the following days it reflected extensively the topic. In total, from 7 to 9 April inclusive, the station broadcast 27 materials. (Unimedia.md, 2009) The method was similar to that used by Moldova 1, NIT and Prime TV stations. In addition to the news about the declarations and movements of the authorities, as well as internal and external responses condemning the violence, N4 channel circulated several news through which it tried to blame some opposition leaders, specifically Chiril Lucinschi for the effects of the protests.

N4 program possessed a lot of disputable material, in which the reality wasn't divided from the ideas, and journalists tagged, accused, expressed their personal opinion. Thus, on April 7, the "Obiectiv" bulletin began with a news story in which the journalist said: "Due to the fact that they lost the parliamentary elections on Sunday, Serafim Urechean, leader of the "Our Moldova Alliance", Vladimir Filat, the head of the Liberal Democratic Party, Chiril Lucinschi, one of the heads of the Democratic Party, tried to arrange a *coup d'état*". (Unimedia.md, 2009) On April 8 news no. 4 of the bulletin, began with the statement "The movements of the diplomats who refused to admit their defeat are demanded", further information is presented from rallies in several localities, during which the organization of violence and vandalism actions is attributed to the opposition.

(n4.md, 2009) "The protests organized by Vladimir Filat, Petru Lucinschi and his son, Serafim Urechean, Dorin Chirtoaca, Chiril Lucinschi, with the involvement of the so-called non-governmental organizations have left more than 200 victims, most of them from the law enforcement agencies", (n4.md, 2009) said the journalist from N4 channel.

Also, the questions requested by journalists in the "vox populi" (voice of the people) surveys were inequitable and directed to the defamation of specific people. Thus, on April 7, N4 introduced the mini interviews on the street. At the first question, passers-by expressed their views on the violent protests, after which they laid out their indignant opinions about Petru Lucinschi. People said he "didn't pay the pensions," (Lungu, 2010) was "implied in the business of aircrafts," (Lungu, 2010) stating at the end that they want peace and stability and that, "the communists together with Voronin are the best and have made good roads". (Lungu, 2010) The post also showed tendentiousness in the promotional material at the end of the bulletin, named "Lies. Shocking Declarations. Complaints". (Negru, 2009) It focused predominantly on mutual accusations of heads of opposition parties.

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. The 27 news stories from N4 channel were created based on 42 sources. (n4.md, 2009) 15 of them denoted the views and ideas of ordinary people. (n4.md, 2009) Opposition heads were cited directly in the news of the common press conference, but also indirectly cited in other news. They rejected their participation in the protests from the period of 6 and 7 April. (Negru, 2009) Of the 15 arguable materials, only 5 presented the views of the parties. (Negru, 2009) N4 channel was the only station that cited unidentified sources in the material that included allegations against opposition leaders and their parties. (Negru, 2009)

Language and video images used. At N4 channel were also recorded situations of image manipulation. Thus, on April 7, the "Obiectiv" bulletin began with images (see Figure 10) relating to the sequences of the attacks of the presidency building, succeeded by images (see Figure 11) from Great National Assembly Square (GNAS) where Vladimir Filat declared that he was going to have a meeting with Dorin Chirtoaca and Serafim Urechean in order to debate and examine the action plan. (Bitlan, 2009)



Figure 10. Sequence of the attacks of the presidency building.



Figure 11. Image from GNAS where Vladimir Filat declared that he was going to have a meeting with Dorin Chirtoaca and Serafim Urechean in order to debate and examine the action plan.

The journalist announced: "because they lost the parliamentary elections on Sunday, Vladimir Filat, who leads the Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova, Serafim Urechean, head of the "Our Moldova Alliance", and Chiril Lucinschi, one of the leaders of the Democratic Party, are trying to organize a "*coup d'état*". (Bitlan, 2009) In the April 9 bulletin of N4 channel, under the heading "No comment" (Bitlan, 2009), the image of

two harmed policemen and the devastation of the headquarters (Presidential and Parliamentary buildings) was broadcasted. (see Figures 12, 13)



Figure 12. The image of two harmed policemen.



Figure 13. The devastation of the headquarters (Presidential and Parliamentary buildings).

The N4 news bulletin of April 8 began with the declaration of the journalist without being assigned to any source, "Society is shocked by the devastating actions of the opposition in the center of the capital. The consequences are staggering, and people believe that the reconstruction of the country's main buildings will cost a lot". (Mediafax,

2009) Images accompanied by militant music followed, against the background of the crowd appears Vladimir Filat, with the megaphone in his hand, after which the journalist declared that the opposition gathered in the GNAS up to 5 thousand demonstrators (see Figure 14). President of Moldova, Vladimir Vororin characterized these actions as a coup d'état and gave his word to the community to protect the country from predators and rioters. (Mediafax, 2009) Mini interviews were interspersed, incompetently executed, the questions asked being tendentious.



Figure 14. Vladimir Filat with the megaphone in his hand after which the journalist declared that the opposition gathered in the GNAS up to 5 thousand demonstrators.

5.3.5 EU TV

Impartiality and objectivity. On April 6, EU TV channel broadcast a short news story about the protest organized during the day by various hundreds of pupils and students in front of the capital's City Hall, against the rigging of the ballots. The next day, EU TV station did not present newscasts. On April 8, the station recommenced the transmission, the reflection of the events being at a certain extent, different from that recorded at Prime TV, Moldova 1, N4 and NIT. (Radu, 2010) In total, EU TV put on the post 27 news relevant to the present survey. (Radu, 2010) In addition to the news about the events themselves and their effects (consequences), as well as the insertion of the visa regime for Romania, the outward reaction to the violent acts in Chisinau, their conviction by civil society, the impair to the state, the state in which the victims are, at EU TV channel there was also talked about the situation of journalists from Moldova, the "hunt" of Romanian

journalists and also the capture of Gabriel Stati. EU TV reported as well the accusations of the head of CDPP against the opposition and against the Russian Federation, which, according to Iurie Rosca, was behind the violent actions.

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. EU TV channel gave the public more ideas and opinions about the effects of April 6 and 7, 2009, the sources being more diversified than those cited on the others channels (N4, Prime TV, Moldova 1 and NIT). (Moscovici, 2009) In total, EU TV established 27 news stories on 49 sources, involving the heads of political parties. (Moscovici, 2009) The principle of source balance was not respected in the news regarding the indictment of the opposition by the President of Moldova, Vladimir Voronin, the allegations of involvement in the *coup d'état* against Romania and equivalent charges against Gabriel Stati. (Monitor.md, 2009)

During the Reporting Period, EU TV channel did not broadcast any images from the protest events of April 6 and 7, 2009. The way language was used wasn't highlighted by Eu TV, which is why the principle of **language and video images** is not characterized.

5.3.6 Pro TV

Impartiality and objectivity. The vast majority of the news generated by Pro TV's local coverage channel was unbiased, introducing the events objectively, both from the angle of the authorities and from the perspective of the protesters and opposition leaders. In the news, Pro TV channel reported on the protests themselves. The news also contained the views and ideas of the protesters and submitted the position and movements of President Voronin. (Avadani, 2009) The decision of the Moldovan government to expel the Romanian ambassador and the introduction of the visa regime were reflected. Pro TV showed the position of several leaders of political parties to the protests, without ignoring external and internal reactions in diverse localities of the Republic. The TV station also emphasized the violation of human rights (the detention of young people instantly on the street by plainclothes people, the restriction of access of foreign journalists, mistreats in opposition to Moldovan journalists). (Avadani, 2009)

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. The news stories transmitted by Pro TV channel were inspired by 180 sources. (protv.md, 2009) In the majority of situations, the post provided the position of all parties, giving the floor to the

leaders of the opposition (LDPM, LP, DP, OMA, European Action Movement (EAM), SDP) 44 times, while representatives of the central public administration, incorporating law enforcement bodies, and CPRM were cited 33 times. (protv.md, 2009) Examples: the post also announced Bucharest's reaction to repeated accusations from President Voronin. In the news on the incriminations brought to Gabriel Stati by Vladimir Voronin and Iurie Rosca, journalists noted that Stati has not commented on these allegations, and on April 10 the station broadcast a declaration signed by Anatol Stati fighting the accusations. (Lupan, 2010) Also, the news about the allegations carried by the president to the opposition leaders were rational with the reaction of those concerned, and when the LDPM and the LP incriminated the CPRM of standing behind the protests, the opinion of the CPRM was also presented. (Lupan, 2010)

During the Reporting Period, Pro TV channel did not broadcast any images from the protest events of April 6 and 7, 2009. The way language was used wasn't reported by Pro TV, which is why the principle of language and video images is not characterized.

5.3.7 TV7

Impartiality and objectivity. TV7 presented a number of 34 news stories enclosing meticulous and circumstantial details about the protests and their consequences. (Pulbere, 2009) The details were fairly exposed, both from the perspective of the authorities and the opposition side. The same as Pro TV channel, TV7 declared on the principal events in the media, the declarations on the incidents after the election and the allegations made by the opposition leaders opposing the governing party. (Pulbere, 2009) TV7 channel broadcast news, wherein common people have voiced their views and ideas on the protests, the news concerning the charges brought by the LP to Communists, LP affirming that the CPRM was responsible for the violent protests. (Pulbere, 2009)

Equity and balance of causes (sources). Pluralism of opinions. TV7 station had a number of 34 news stories, predicated on 76 sources. (Pulbere, 2009) Along with Pro TV, they are the only stations to which the opposition leaders had wide access, who were cited in common with the representatives of the Central Public Administration and the CPRM. TV7 cited in approximately equal numbers the representatives of the administration (16 times), common residents (19), opposition party heads (LP, LDPM,

SDP, EAM, OMA (19)). TV7 did not confine itself to publicizing official declarations or accusations against particular political players, largely respecting the right of reply. (Lozinschi, 2009)

In the course of the reporting period, TV7 channel did not present shows that would have discussed topics regarding the protests of April 6 and 7, which is why the principle of language and video images are not addressed.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

At the current stage, public opinion is extremely influenced by the media, regardless of how democratic a society is. The political influence of the media results from its ability to convey and argue the messages of the participants in the government. This way, media can generate the power of obtaining consent or disagreement of the public towards the activities of the politics. Through the political influence that the press holds on the recipients of information, political and social abuses can be censored. As a result, the management of such influential power can awaken the consciousness of people, thus, avoid the destabilization in society.

In the Republic of Moldova, the phenomenon of political censorship has for some time come to the attention of media specialists as a very active one and with a lot of support from various economic or political structures. The situation of the press worsened considerably in the first half of 2009. In the Republic of Moldova, until recently, the system of government was extremely involved in the preoccupations and activities of the press, to the detriment of the freedom of expression and the role that the press should play in contemporary society.

The findings of the thesis go hand in hand with Jessica Delaney's (2009) ideas on the manipulation of TV channels during the events from April 2009. Both in her study as in the thesis, the media reflecting the violent protests of April 6th and 7th showed that the majority of the monitored TV stations broke the ethical principles of reflecting news content. Further, the national and quasi-national coverage stations Prime TV, Moldova 1, and NIT and the regional coverage station, N4 treated incorrectly the parties included in the dispute, advocating for the Central Public Administration and the CPRM, on the one hand, and contrasting against the heads of the three opposition parties (LDPM, OMA, LP), on the other hand. Also, the police and the Office of the Prosecutor General detained opposition activists, harassed journalists and allegedly covered up attacks on peaceful protesters.

In line with Liliana Vitu's (2010) conclusions from her study "Moldova: Nations in Transit, Freedom House", the thesis also concluded that the political parties exerted political and financial pressure on journalists. In both Vitu's (2010) study and the thesis it

was described the national democratic governance, as well as the electoral process events, how the society reacted at that time and of course how the media influenced the society. There is also a difference between Vitu's study and the thesis. The author described and analyzed the aspect of corruption during the electoral process from April 2009, fact which wasn't developed in the thesis. In comparison to Vitu's ideas about the aspect of corruption, I described the family's material conditions during the protests from April, 2009.

A difference was made between the thesis and Mungiu-Pippidi and Igor Munteanu's (2009) study "Moldova's Twitter Revolution". The scholars described the concept of so called "Twitter Revolution", because on the day the protests started the events were spread rapidly via Twitter and other online networking services. The thesis put its major accent on the official media TV channels which broadcasted news shows, pictures and videos of the rally from the electoral process and the protest events from April 2009 in the Republic of Moldova.

Elena Gnedina and George Dura (2009) and V. Lysenko and K. Desouza (2012) described in their studies the fundamental impacts that information and communication technologies have had on the outcomes of contentious political confrontations and on the democracy of the society, and the consequences of the post-electoral impasse in which Moldova found itself after the parliamentary elections from April, 2009. Similar to what these authors said, in this thesis I also mentioned the fact that the democracy was devastated by the conventional media channels.

N4, NIT, Moldova 1 and Prime TV stations, transmitted the news shows in the way they wished, reported non-objective on events, did not respect the principle of source balance, wangled the images and texts, and providing the public with partial, unfair information from the viewpoints of the Central Public Authorities. Additionally, public TV channel Moldova 1, did not assist and provide compound and unbiased information that would have encouraged observers to create an opinion on the events in Chisinau and other localities of the Republic.

An equivalent idea was made both in the thesis and in Christine Lohmeier and Catalina Barzescu's (2011) study regarding the issue of trust in the news media in relation to the conflict reporting concept of Peace Journalism (PJ). Alike Lohmeier and Barzescu

(2011), I have mainly examined how the journalists exercised their activity in difficult and dangerous conditions for life and degraded from the point of view of their role in society, becoming the target of many attacks. The split between the media institutions that were on the barricades and those that were used as "projectile" has deepened.

Another different point was made between the thesis and Martin Renner's (2010) study. In his findings, he analyzed the events of the April 2009 through the prism of the background of Moldova's ambition to gain an EU accession perspective. But a similar idea was found between Renner's work and the thesis, and this idea is that Moldova was caught somewhere between democratic changes and political as well as economic chaos.

Building on the findings of the report, in this thesis, I analyzed specific Moldovan TV channels' news content and its presentation in three dimensions: Impartiality and objectivity; Equity and balance of causes (sources)/Pluralism of opinions; Language and video images used.

The study described how the violent actions took place in April 2009, how EU TV and Prime TV channels did not communicate newsflash and therefore denied the public of data, confining its ingress to multinational information. Here, the thesis highlighted some media outlets which presented the events of the campaign selectively, depending on the political beliefs of the publishers, which demonstrated serious ethical issues and political partisanship. Cases of harassment of politically unrelated media were also reported.

The first aspect of the thesis highlighted the development of events and situations, as well as the safety of the person during protest actions from April 2009. It also described mass custody, use of violence, bullying and oppression of residents. Further, the general considerations on the evolution of the media after the proclamation of independence was explained. Here another topic approached was the one referring to the electoral system of the Republic of Moldova, its evolution in dynamics. The phenomenon of manipulation of public opinion by the media institutions in the Republic of Moldova in the context of the election year 2009, also the position of the media institutions on the parliamentary elections of 2009 and the interpretive study on the TV Channels of Moldova during that period, were one of the most important pillars of the thesis.

Based on the examination and evaluation of the process of political influence of the mass media in the electoral year 2009 from the perspective of media models such as the Moldovan one, some recommendations for the future research were formulated.

As for methodology, discourse analysis could be used in this thesis in order to study the news content in details. In the news bulletins, while reflecting the activities of the Government during the electoral campaign, the TV stations could also present the visions of the opposition. The mechanisms for applying the provisions of the electoral law could be clarified in order to make clear the sanctions for violating the norms referring to the reflection of the elections. It could also be interesting to find the way how to mobilize and train the journalists, editors, publishers from the Republic of Moldova in various activities, seminars, trainings, with the participation of experts from countries with old democratic traditions, in view of the knowledge, assimilation and application of the new methodology of approach and exposition of political events and media.

Also, taking into account the fact that press, and in particular television largely form the audience's discernment of disputes, so as not to incite society to abhorrence and division, journalists have to competently reflect these topics, namely:

- honestly informing about violent protests and their effects;
- identifying the issues that caused the agitation;
- equitably reflecting all political teams connected with the conflict;
- presenting a retrospective of the conflict, with the use of different sources;
- putting forward all resolutions to regulate the conflict.

REFERENCES

- Arian, A. (1980). *The Elections in Israel 1977*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press.
- Arian, A., & Shamir, M. (1983). The Primarily Political Functions of the Left Right Continuum. *Comparative Politics*, 15(1), 139-158. <https://doi.org/10.2307/421673>
- Avadani, I. (2009). Peisajul Mass-Media: *Stop și de la capăt*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.
- Bitlan, I. (2009). *Jurnaliști bătuți și copii dispăruți*. Moldova: Vocea Basarabiei.
- Blondel, J. (1990). *Comparative Government: An Introduction*. London: Philip Allan.
- Boțan, I. (2009). *Votul cetățenilor Republicii Moldova din regiunea transnistreană*. Moldova: ADEPT.
- Bullock, A., & Trombley, S. (1999). *The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*. London: Harper Collins.
- Bunduchi, I. (2009). *Footprint of Financial Crisis in the Media*. Moldova country report coordonat de Open Society Institute. Accesibil la: http://www.soros.org/initiatives/media/articles_publications/publications/financial-crisis-media-20091201/moldova-20091201.pdf
- Butler, D. (1983). *Electoral Systems and Their Political Consequences*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Călugăreanu, V. (2009). *Represalii la Chișinău*. Chișinău: Deutsche Welle.
- Caolson, R. (2009). *Chișinău Unrest Exposes Moldova's Fault Lines*. Retrieved December 1, 2020, from https://www.rferl.org/a/Chisinau_Unrest_Exposes_Moldovas_Fault_Lines/1605757.html

- Cațer, V. (5 aprilie 2009). *Rezultatele exit poll-ului sau Love's Labour's Lost*.
<https://moldova.europalibera.org/author/valeriu-ca%C8%9Ber/urmi/p10>
- Cenușa, D. (2007). *Planuri de Acțiuni Republica Moldova, Uniunea Europeană Raportul Analitic de Politici Publice*. ISBN 978-9975-80-091-4, Chișinău Bons Offices.
- Cenușa, D. (2009). *Revoltele de la Chișinău nu sunt tocmai portocalii*. Moldova: Adevărul.
- Coman, M. (2000). *Introducere în sistemul mass-media*. București: Polirom.
- Coman, M. (2007). *Introducere în sistemul mass-media*. Iasi: Polirom.
- Corobceanu, S. (2009). *Oameni ai nimănui*. Chișinău: Jurnal.
- Costin, D. (2009). Justiția versus mass-media. *Monitorizarea cauzelor privind apărarea onoarei, demnității și reputației profesionale intentate împotriva mass-media în perioada 2005–2009*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.
- Danero Iglesias, J. (2013). Against the Nation-Moldovan political discourse after the 2009 'revolution'. In I. D. I., Stojanovic, N. & Weinblum, S. (Ed.). *New Nation-States and National Minorities: A Comparative Perspective* (pp. 39-54). New York: ECPR Press.
- Delaney, J. (2009). *Election crisis in Moldova Implications at home and abroad*, 15(6), 1-2. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13567880903275116>
- Dobrescu, P. (2001). *Mass-media și societate*. București: SNSPA.
- Dura, G. & Gnedina, E. (2009). *Moldova's 'wannabe democracy' is worth rescuing*, 185. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1395678>
- Enache, I. (2002). *Auto-reglementările profesionale ale jurnaliștilor ca suport al credibilității mass media în raport cu publicul și autoritățile statului*. În *Mass Media în Republica Moldova*. Accesibil la:

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/uploads/7abfc67f-e722-403a-8b43-fc3a3aa2a2cb/mapping-digital-media-moldova-romanian-20120927.pdf>

Engwal, L. (1981). *Newspapers as Organisations*, Westmead.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01944368208976189>

Esanu, C., & Stepanov, G. (2002). *Reflecții asupra activității politico-informaționale a presei*. Chisinau: USM.

Fico, F., & Sofin, S. (2007). *Fairness and defamation in the reporting of local issues*.

Fico, F., Ku, L., & Sofin, S. (1994). *Fairness, balance of newspaper coverage of U.S. in Gulf War*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/073953299401500104>

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777-795.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/448181>

Goodin, R. E., & Klingemann, H. D. (2005) *Manual de știință politică*. Iași: Polirom.

Gotisan, V. (2009). Tirajul presei scrise din Republica Moldova. *Mecanisme de reglementare și monitorizare*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.

Gribincea, V., & Pîrțac, O. (2007). *Mass-media și campania electorală*. Ghid juridic pentru alegerile locale generale din anul 2007. Chișinău.

Kellner, D. (2001). *Cultura media, politica și ideologie*. De la Reagan la Rambo. Moldova: Institutul European.

Livolsi, M., & Volli, U. (1998). *La comunicazione politica tra prima e seconda repubblica*. Milano: Uilm.

Lohmeier, C., & Barzescu, C. (2011). Reporting Anti-communist Protests in Moldova: *An Investigation of Peace Journalism's Potential to Generate Trust*, 20(3-4), 34-53.
<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=242903>

- Lozinschi, R. (2009). *Concentrarea mass-media în Republica Moldova*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.
- Luca, V., & Bogaci, V. (2006). *CCA o autoritate publică autonomă în Mass Media în Moldova*. Chișinău: Buletin analitic.
- Lungu, D. (2009). *New Media, EJC Media Landscapes*. Moldova.
- Lungu, D. (2010). *Introduction, EJC Media Landscapes*. Moldova.
- Lysenko, V., & Desouza, K. (2012). Moldova's internet revolution: Analyzing the role of technologies in various phases of the confrontation. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 79, 341-361.
- Manea, I. (1996). *America electorală*. Cluj Napoca: Ed. Dacia.
- Mark, J. (2009). *EU's Solana urges calm in Moldova*. Moldova: Reuters.
- Mihăescu, M. (2009). *Procuratura a deschis dosare pe numele a trei lideri ai opozitiei*. România: Hotnews.
- Moraru, V. (2000). *Tendențele dezvoltării mass media într-o societate în tranziție*. Chisinău: USM.
- Moraru, V. (2001). *Mass-media vs Politica*. Monografie. Chișinău: USM.
- Moșneaga, V., & Rusnac, Gh. (2001). *Alegerile parlamentare în Republica Moldova*. Probleme de analiză politică. Chișinău: USM.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, A., & Munteanu, I. (2009). Moldova's "Twitter Revolution". *Journal of Democracy* 20(3), 136-142. [doi:10.1353/jod.0.0102](https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0102).
- Munteanu, G. (2009). *Patria-Rodina s-a retras din cursa electorală în favoarea AMN*. Moldova: Jurnal de Chișinău.

- Neagu, A. (2011). *Republica Moldova, condamnată în premieră să îi plătească despăgubiri unui tânăr batut de politisti la protestele din aprilie 2009*. Moldova: Hotnews.
- Negru, N. (2008). *Moldovenii nu se lasă manipulați de sondaje*. Moldova: Unimedia.
- Nicholson, E. (2009). *Critică raportul OSCE referitor la alegerile din Republica Moldova*. Moldova: Cotidianul.
- Nyman-Metcalf, K. (2011). *Comments on the Draft Audiovisual Code of the Republic of Moldova*. Organizația pentru Securitate și Cooperare în Europa (OSCE). Accesibil la: <https://www.osce.org/fom/18830>
- O'Sullivan, T., Hartley, J., Saunders, D., & Fiske, J. (1983). *Key Concepts in Communication*, 131. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016344378400600408>
- Pavlik, J. V., & McIntosh, S. (2004). *Covering media. A new introduction to mass communication*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Petcu, M. (2002). *Sociologia mass-media*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia.
- Pîrțac, O. (2010). *The Law on Freedom of Speech: appearance and impact*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.
- Pop, D. (2001). *Mass-media și democrația*. Iași: Polirom.
- Popa, D. T. (2009). *Deontologia profesiei de ziarist*. București: Ed. Norma.
- Popa, V. (1999). *Drept parlamentar*. Chișinău: ULIM.
- Potocki, R. (2009). *Moldova: Change Anyone Really Can Believe in?*, 5(12), 6. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=168816>
- Renner, M. (2010). *Moldova at the Crossroads – Political Struggle in 2009 and EU-Perspectives*, 16(2), 28-43. <https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=19609>

- Rîbca, E. (2009). Consiliul de Presă. *Oportunități și pericole*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.
- Rosca, A. (2010). *Puterea politică și ordinea socială: interacțiune și echilibru dinamic*. Chișinău: Revista de filozofie.
- Rusanovschi, S. (2011). *Aspecte instituționale și de reglementare a finanțării Mass-media în Republica Moldova*. Moldova: IDIS Viitorul.
- Seiler, D. L. (1999). *Partidele politice din Europa*. Iași: Institutul European.
- Solomon, C. (2002). *Aspecte ale vieții politice în Republica Moldova*. Monografie. Chișinău: USM.
- Spătaru, I. (2009). *CEC de la Chișinău spune că nu va iniția procedura de renumărare a voturilor din 5 aprilie*. Chișinău: RFI.
- Ștefănescu, S. (2001). *Riscurile comunicării mediatice în timpul conflictelor*. România: ISAR. <http://www.racai.ro/RISC1/SimonaStefanescu.pdf>
- Stepanov, G. (2002). *Aspecte ale conceptului teoretic privind independența mass-media*. Chișinău: USM.
- Susman, E. J. (1978). *Visual and verbal attributes of television and selective attention in preschool children*. *Developmental Psychology*, 14(5), 565–566. <https://content.apa.org/record/1979-23217-001>
- Șenyuva, O. (2010). *Parliamentary elections in Moldova, April and July 2009*, 29, 171-195.
- Tănasă, R. (2000). *Sistemul electoral al Republicii Moldova și repercusiunile sale asupra sistemului partidist, Pluripartidismul în Moldova*. Chișinău: CAPTES, USM, ISPRI.
- Tanasă, R. (2001). *Efectele mass-mediei asupra comportamentului electoral*. Mass-media în societățile în tranziție: realități și perspective. Chișinău: CAPTES.

- Tănase, C. (2011). *Valorile și principiile bloggerului Igor Dodon*. Moldova: În Ziarul Timpul.
- Ursu, V. (2009). *Autoritățile comuniste pun protestele pe seama României*. Moldova.
- Vasilică, V. (2008). *Plagiatul în presă: furt protejat de lege și de tradiție*. Moldova: Revista Mass-Media.
- Vitu, L. (2010). Moldova: *Nations in Transit, Freedom House*, 361-378.
<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4d53f0241d.pdf>
- Vulcan, V. (2009). *Informatii contradictorii de la negocierile Guvern-Opozitie*. Moldova: Hotnews.
- Зиновьев, А. А. (1995). *Русский Эксперимент*. Москва: Наш дом.
- Зиновьев, А. В. (1955). *Гарантия свободы и выборов представительных органов власти в России*. Москва.

LEGISLATIVE AND NORMATIVE ACTS

Constituția Republicii Moldova, adoptată la 29 iulie 1994, a intrat în vigoare la 27 august

1994 Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova. - 1994. - Nr.1, art 38.

Contextul electoral 2009. Studiu asupra cadrului și contextului electoral din Republica

Moldova în alegerile parlamentare. <http://www.e-democracy.md/files/contextul-electoral-2009.pdf>

Decizia CCA nr.28 din 24.03.2009 cu privire la reflectarea în instituțiile audiovizuale a campaniei electorale pentru alegerile parlamentare.

Decizia CCA nr.28 din 24.03.2009 cu privire la reflectarea în instituțiile audiovizuale a campaniei electorale pentru alegerile parlamentare.

Hotărîrea Parlamentului Republicii Moldova privind asigurarea editării Monitorului Oficial (MO) al Republicii Moldova din 6 iunie 1994.

Hotărîrea Prezidiului Parlamentului Republicii Moldova privind instituirea cotidianului "Nezavisimaia Moldova" din 2 septembrie 1991.

Hotărîrea Sovietului Suprem al R.S.S. Moldovenești despre ratificarea Legii Uniunii R.S.S. "Cu privire la presă și la celelalte mijloace de informare în masă din 1 octombrie 1990".

Hotărîrile CEC nr. 2043 din 02.02.2009 și nr.2641 din 23.06. 2009.

Legea audiovizualului din 3 octombrie 1995.

Legea cu privire la activitatea editorială din 20 aprilie 2000 - MO, nr. 70-72/511 din 22 iunie 2000.

Legea cu privire la instituția publică națională a audiovizualului Compania "Teleradio-Moldova" din 26 iulie 2002. - MO, nr. 117-119/972 din 15 august 2002.

Legea cu privire la publicitate din 27 iunie 1997.

Legea pentru modificarea Codului Electoral nr. 1227-XIV, 21 septembrie 2000. Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova, nr. 130-132, 2000, art. 9-21, pp.2-64.

Legea presei din 26 octombrie 1994.

Legea privind accesul la informație din 11 mai 2000. - MO, nr. 88-90/664 din 28 iulie 2000.

Legea privind drepturile de autor și drepturile conexe din 23 noiembrie 1994. - MO, nr. 13/124 din 2 martie 1995.

Legea privind modificarea Codului Electoral nr. 268-XV, 4 februarie 1999. Monitorul oficial al Republicii Moldova, nr. 22-23, 1999, art. 93, pp.2-84.

Mass Media și legislația. *Analize, opinii, propuneri*. Centru Acces Info, Chișinău, 2003.

Raport final 6-29 iulie 2009, Misiunea "Broadcast Media Monitoring", proiect finanțat de Consiliul European, pag. 7.

Republica Moldova, ianuarie 2001. Barometrul de opinie publică /Sondaj de opinie realizat de CSOP la solicitarea Institutului de Politici Publice. – Chișinău, 2001.

Republica Moldova. Alegeri Parlamentare, 25 februarie 2001. Raportul final OSCE/BIDDO. https://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2001/04/%201446_ro.pdf

Respectarea prevederilor Codului audiovizualului de către Consiliul de Observatori al IPNA Compania "Teleradio-Moldova" in cadrul campaniei electorale pentru alegerile parlamentare anticipate din 29 iulie 2009, Asociația Presei Electronice. http://www.apel.md/public/upload/md_CO_IPNA_Studiu_030909.pdf

Rezultatele alegerilor din 2011. Moldova Suverană, 16 martie 2005, nr 43 (20680).