

# **Online Media Monitoring in the Election Campaign for 2020 Presidential Elections**

Report no. 5  
25 – 31 October 2020

(general conclusions)



National Endowment *for* Democracy  
*Supporting freedom around the world*

The monitoring takes place within a project implemented by the Association of Independent Press (API) and funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (USA). The opinions expressed therein belong to the authors and do not necessarily reflect the point of view of the donor.

## I. GENERAL DATA

**1.1 Objective of the project:** monitor and inform the public about the editorial behaviour of (online) media in the pre-election period and during the campaign for the 2020 presidential elections in the Republic of Moldova.

**1.2 Monitoring period:** 15 September 2020 – 14 November 2020.

**1.3 Criteria for selecting the media outlets to be monitored:**

The portals were selected based on the following criteria: a) relevance; b) fame/audience; c) broadcasting language; d) geography. We are thus monitoring national portals and one regional portal, in Romanian and Russian, known and indicated as sources of information by different groups of consumers, with some present in the top positions of online audience measurement surveys.

**1.4 Portals monitored (in alphabetical order):**

Actualitati.md<sup>1</sup> (Russian), Agora.md<sup>2</sup> (Romanian), Aif.md<sup>3</sup> (Russian), Gagauzinfo.md<sup>4</sup> (Russian), Kp.md<sup>5</sup> (Russian), Newsmaker.md<sup>6</sup> (Russian language version), Noi.md<sup>7</sup> (Romanian language version), Realitatea.md<sup>8</sup> (Romanian), Sputnik.md<sup>9</sup> (Romanian), Timpul.md<sup>10</sup> (Romanian), Unimedia.info<sup>11</sup> (Romanian), Vedomosti.md<sup>12</sup> (Russian).

For Aif.md, Kp.md and Vedomosti.md, the editorial content of the portals is compared with the content of the newspapers *Argumentî i faktî Moldova*, *Komsomolskaia pravda v Moldove* and *Moldavskie vedomosti*, accordingly, published by the same companies, to identify eventual editorial differences.

**1.5 Subject-matter of monitoring**

The entire editorial content, without the publicity marked accordingly.

**1.6. The team**

The project is implemented by the Association of Independent Press (API) within the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections.

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<sup>1</sup> Founded by **Iuri Vitneanski**, PSRM member, currently vice praetor of Botanica district of Chişinău

<sup>2</sup> Founded by Interakt Media SRL (administrator – **Irina Ghelbur**)

<sup>3</sup> Electronic page of the newspaper *Argumentî i Faktî Moldova*, published by Exclusiv Media SRL, company founded by the MP from PSRM **Corneliu Furculiţă**

<sup>4</sup> Founded by Iusivmedia SRL (administrator – **Iulia Cîlcic**)

<sup>5</sup> Electronic page of the newspaper *Komsomolskaia Pravda v Moldove*, published by “Komsomoliskaya Pravda-Basarabia” SRL (administrator – **Serghei Ciuricov**), company’s founder – Exclusiv Media SRL, a company founded by the MP from PSRM **Corneliu Furculiţă**

<sup>6</sup> Founded by NEWSMAKER SRL, a company founded by **Vladimir Soloviov** (administrator – **Olga Cenuşa**)

<sup>7</sup> Founded by MLD Media SRL, a company with six shareholders, including companies of the businessman **Vasile Chirtoca**, PSRM councilor in Chişinău Municipal Council

<sup>8</sup> Founded by HB MEDIA SRL (administrator – **Dumitru Țira**)

<sup>9</sup> Branch of Sputnik International Press and Radio Agency, founded by the Russian state company Rossia Segodnea (Sputnik Moldova director – **Vladimir Novosadiuc**)

<sup>10</sup> Founded by the Periodical Publication *TIMPUL de dimineaţă*, founded by **Constantin Tănase** (administrator – **Silviu Tănase**)

<sup>11</sup> Founded by Miraza SRL (administrator – **Olesea Banari**)

<sup>12</sup> Electronic page of the newspaper *Moldavskie vedomosti*, founded by “Moldavskie vedomosti” SRL (administrator – **Victor Ciobu**)

### 1.7 Methodological framework

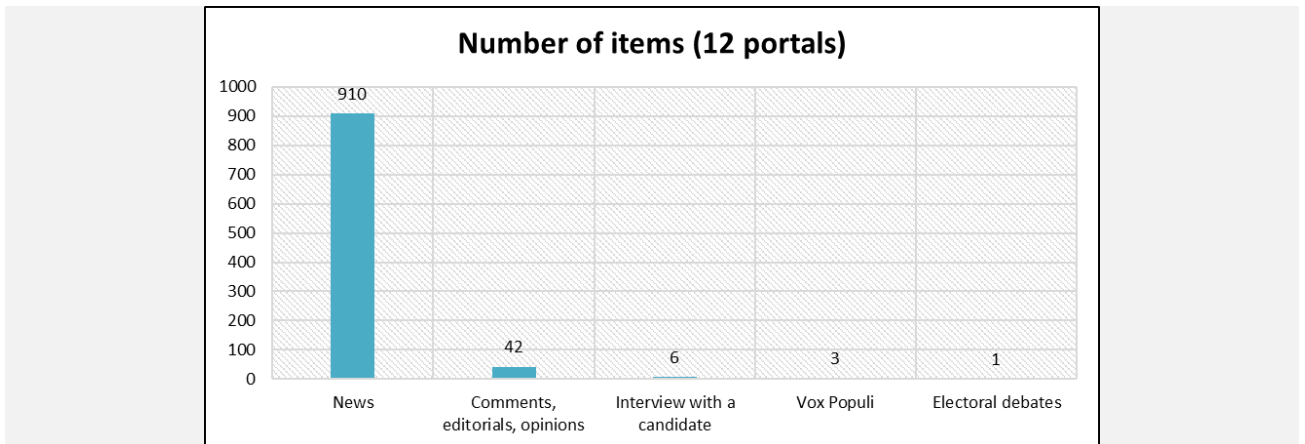
The monitoring is based on the methodology developed by Oxford Media Research Centre for the monitoring projects of the international organization Article 19: Global Campaign for Free Expression. The same methodology was used for monitoring media outlets in the election period and campaign for the 2016 presidential elections.

The methodology provides for measuring and review of the following indicators: 1) *quantitative*, including type, duration, topic of coverage, protagonists and news sources, frequency and duration of live appearance of election candidates, and 2) *qualitative*, establishing the context of presentation of the candidates in the media reports. Each news item or opinion is subject to a content and context evaluation, to determine if it favours or disfavors one or another election candidate. A positive or negative news content and/or context does not necessarily show bias or partisanship of the media outlet that airs the news. It is possible for the news to favour or disfavour one of the subjects and, yet, be professionally unbiased and correct. **When assessing the context, only the frequency of items that directly or indirectly favour or disfavour the election subjects is measured.**

## II. DATA ANALYSIS

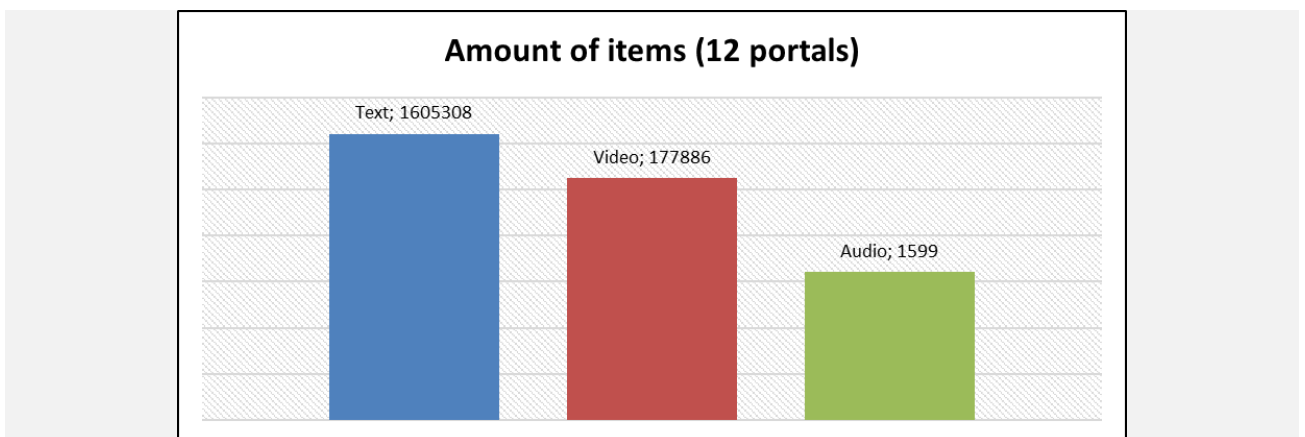
### 2.1 General trends

Between 25 and 31 October 2020, the twelve online media outlets monitored in total published 962 items that directly or indirectly targeted the campaign for presidential elections. Of them, most were news stories (910 or nearly 95%), with various level of complexity, which targeted the male/female candidates for the position of president, the political entities they represent, the CEC work, electoral actions, etc. Other 42 items, or over 4% of the total, were published in the form of comments, editorials, or other opinion stories, six items were interviews with a male/female candidate, three were Vox Populi polls, and one case were electoral debates.

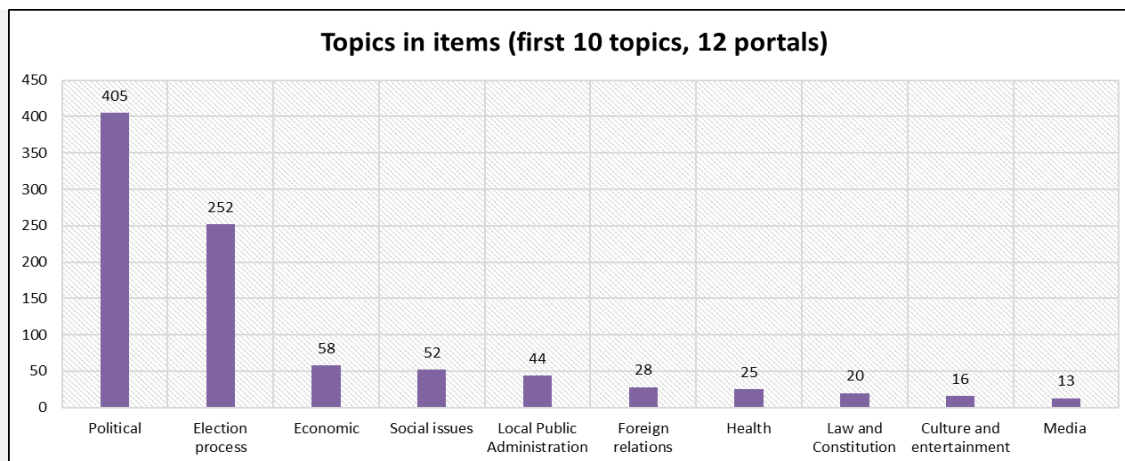


As in the previous reporting periods, **Noi.md** published the largest number of media products with political and election character (175), and **Gagauzinfo.md** – the lowest (12). At the same time, **Aif.md** had 117 relevant items; **Agora.md** – 109, **Actualitati.md** – 101; **Kp.md** – 95; **Sputnik.md** – 77; **Vedomosti.md** – 76; **Unimedia.info** – 75; **Newsmaker.md** – 57; **Realitatea.md** – 51; and **Timpul.md** – 17 items. At the same time, **Noi.md** published the most news stories with an election character (173); **Kp.md** – the most comments (15); and **Newsmaker.md** – the most interviews (4) as well as the only electoral debate published in this period.

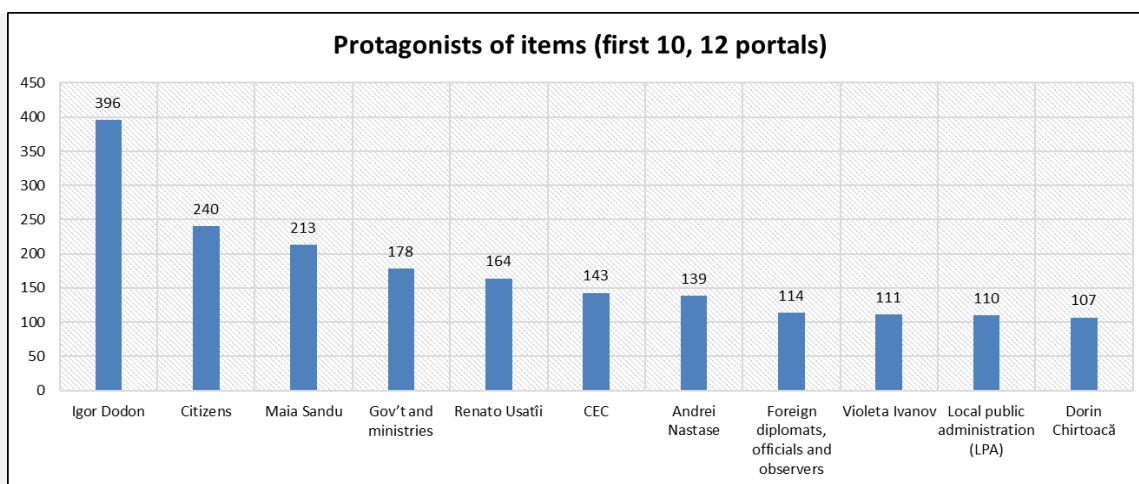
Most of the items were published in text format (in 960 cases). During the reference period, the number of media items accompanied by videos (148 items) or audios (7 cases) significantly increased, and in some cases, the multimedia elements were posted without text. The volume of the items monitored was thus quantified in characters (text) and seconds (video and audio), as follows:



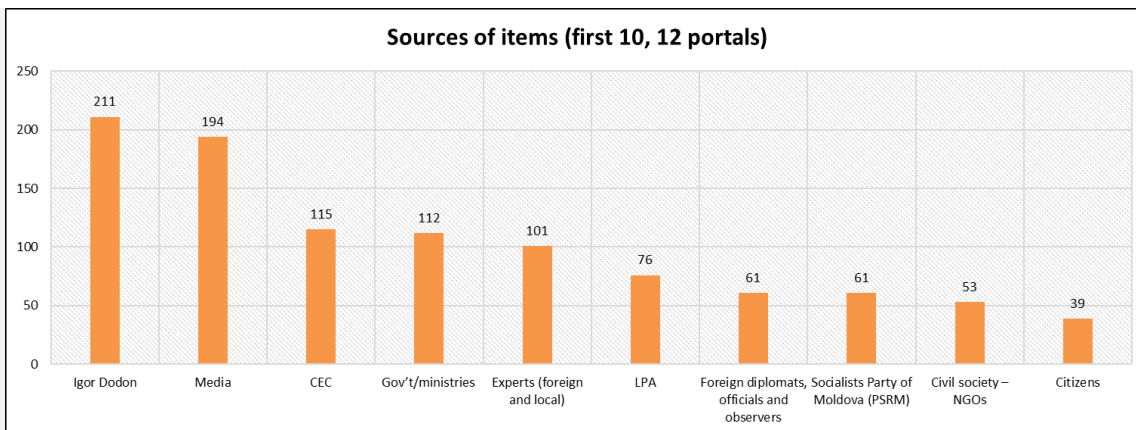
With reference to the topics addressed, most often (in over 42% of the total items) the texts published targeted the political area and the election process as a whole (in just over 26% of the items). To a much lesser extent, the online publications monitored referred to economic and social issues, the work of local public administration, foreign relations, health or culture in an election context.



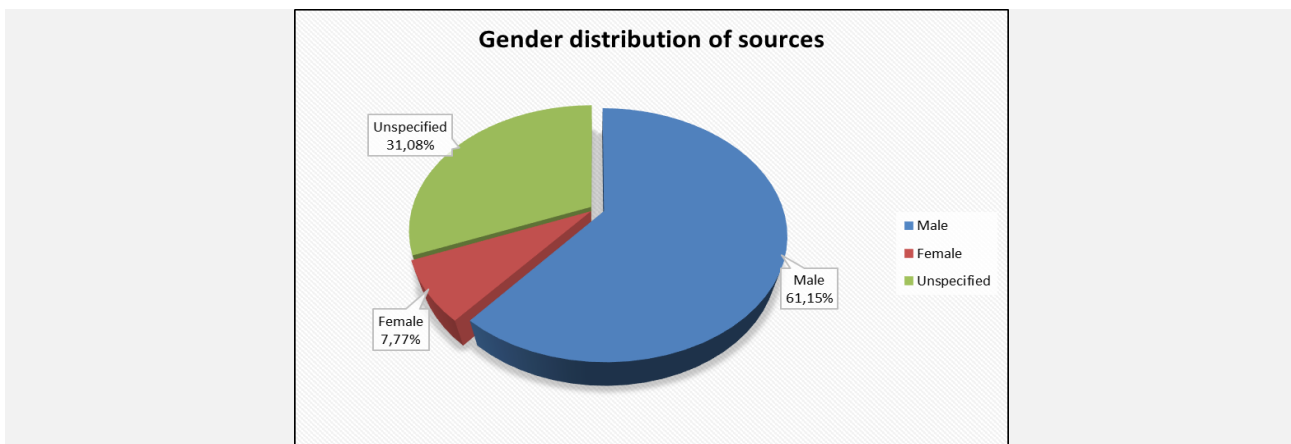
In addition, between 25 and 31 October, all six male candidates and the two female candidates registered in the race for the presidential elections appeared in the media reports as protagonists but still in different proportions. Hence, the independent candidate supported by the Socialists Party (PSRM) Igor Dodon, as in the previous periods, was often the protagonist in media products with an election character (396 cases), remaining the first among both the candidates and all categories of protagonists in general. Male/female citizens followed at a distance of 156 cases, with 240 appearances as protagonists, and the candidate of the Action and Solidarity Party (PAS) Maia Sandu was the protagonist almost half as often as Igor Dodon, with 213 appearances in this position. At the same time, the candidate of the Political Party "Our Party" (PN) Renato Usatîi was the protagonist 164 times, by 14 appearances less than the government male/female representatives, and 21 appearances more than the members of the Central Election Commission (CEC). The other male candidates and one female candidate were the protagonists as follows: the candidate of the Political Party "Platform of Justice and Truth" (PPDA), Andrei Nastase - 139 times; the candidate of the "Șor" Political Party Violeta Ivanov - 111 times; the candidate of the Liberal Party (PL) Dorin Chirtoacă - 107 times; that of the Political Party "National Unity Party" (PUN) Octavian Țicu - 99 times; and that of the Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova (PLDM) Tudor Deliu - 86 times. Igor Dodon thus appeared almost five times more often as a story protagonist than Tudor Deliu.



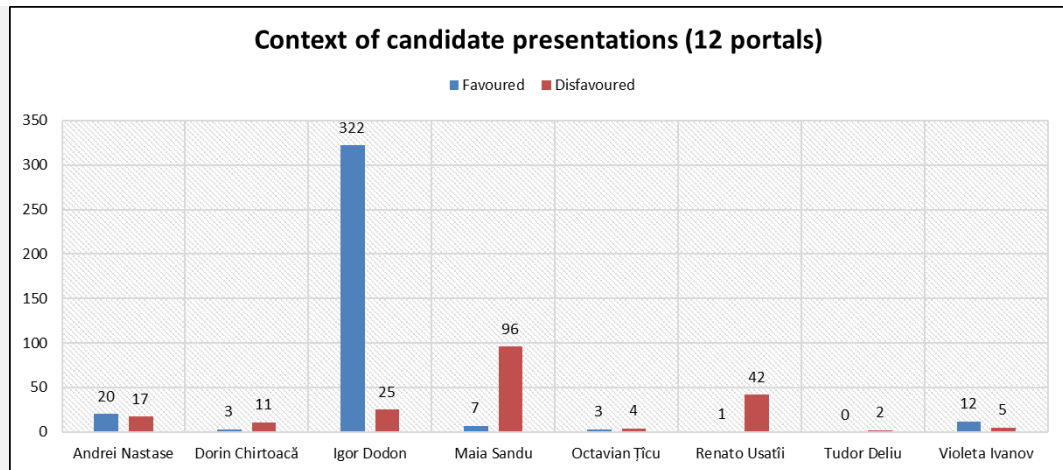
The twelve online publications quoted a total number of 1,274 sources. As in the previous reporting periods, most often in this capacity appeared the independent candidate supported by PSRM Igor Dodon (with 211 cases in which he was quoted), remaining the only candidate for president who was in the top ten most quoted sources by the media concerned. Other media sources followed, invoked as sources 194 times, the CEC male/female representatives, quoted 115 times, Government male/female officials with 112 such appearances, or male/female experts, quoted 101 times. More rarely appeared as sources the other male candidates and the two female candidates for the position of president, and namely: Andrei Năstase – 25 times; Renato Usatîi – 20 times; Maia Sandu – 15 times; Dorin Chirtoacă – 12 times; Octavian Țicu – 9 times; Violeta Ivanov – 8 times; and Tudor Deliu was never quoted as a source in the items published during the period monitored. Igor Dodon was thus quoted over 26 times more often than Violeta Ivanov.



Regarding the gender of the sources quoted, the media reports published between 25 and 31 October 2020 by the 12 online media outlets strongly lacked balance. Specifically, over 61% of the sources quoted were men and almost 8% were women, with over 31% other being unspecified.



Cumulatively, the candidate Igor Dodon had the highest visibility in the online media monitored, also having the most appearances in a positive context, which favoured him (322 cases). The same candidate appeared 25 times in rather unfavourable situations. On the other hand, the candidate Maia Sandu was further presented most often in negative contexts that rather disadvantaged her (96 cases), she also having seven rather favourable presentations. At the same time, the candidate Tudor Deliu never appeared in a context that favoured him, and the candidate Renato Usatîi was disadvantaged a substantial number of times (42). No male/female candidate for the position of president of the Republic of Moldova appeared exclusively in neutral contexts in the media stories published by the twelve online media outlets between 25 and 31 October 2020.



In conclusion, following the monitoring of the editorial behaviour of the twelve online media outlets between 25 and 31 October 2020, the following trends can be established:

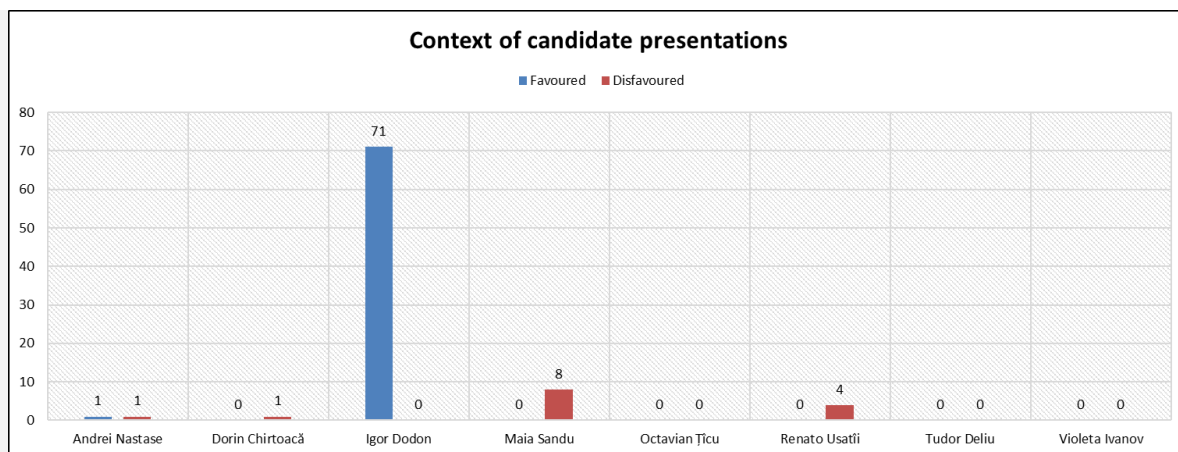
- **Actualitati.md**, **Aif.md** and **Kp.md** had a similar editorial behaviour in this reporting period as well, with accentuated elements of bias. The three publications favoured and clearly promoted the independent candidate supported by PSRM Igor Dodon and most often disadvantaged the PAS candidate Maia Sandu, followed by the candidate Renato Usatîi.
- **Noi.md**, **Vedomosti.md** and **Sputnik.md** further favoured Igor Dodon through the tone of coverage and presentation of the candidate in positive contexts. At the same time, Maia Sandu was most often disadvantaged in the stories of the three publications. Other candidates were also more disadvantaged (especially on **Vedomosti.md**), including Andrei Năstase, Dorin Chirtoacă, Renato Usatîi and Octavian Țicu. Some comments and other opinion articles published by **Vedomosti.md** had a pronounced discriminatory character, containing personal attacks and elements of hate speech in relation to Maia Sandu.
- **Gagauzinfo.md** further showed disinterest in the national election campaign and its news, in most cases, referred to the election process as a whole, with an emphasis on the organization of the elections in TAU Gagauz Yeri.
- **Unimedia.info** covered the election process and the activities of the male/female candidates, with Igor Dodon, Andrei Năstase as well as Violeta Ivanov appearing most often in favourable contexts. The last two appeared in stories with a clear advertising character, marked or unmarked accordingly, but posted in the general news flow.
- **Agora.md** and **Newsmaker.md** had a relatively balanced editorial policy, their stories being generally unbiased, and the male and female candidates for the position of president were presented most of the time in a neutral, as well as positive or negative, contexts, but without a clear tendency of favouring or disfavouring them. **Agora.md** ensured the most balance in terms of quantitative media coverage of the six male candidates and of the two female candidates.
- **Realitatea.md** covered all male candidates and the two female candidates for the position of president both neutrally and positively, or negatively. Candidate Igor Dodon appeared most of the time in an unfavourable context.
- **Timpul.md** paid little attention to the election campaign, completely neglecting the issues related to the election process. The only rather disadvantaged candidate was Igor Dodon, the rest appearing in neutral contexts. **Timpul.md** did not quote any woman as a source for the few items published during the reference period either.

## 2.2 Editorial behaviour of the publications



[Actualitati.md](http://Actualitati.md)

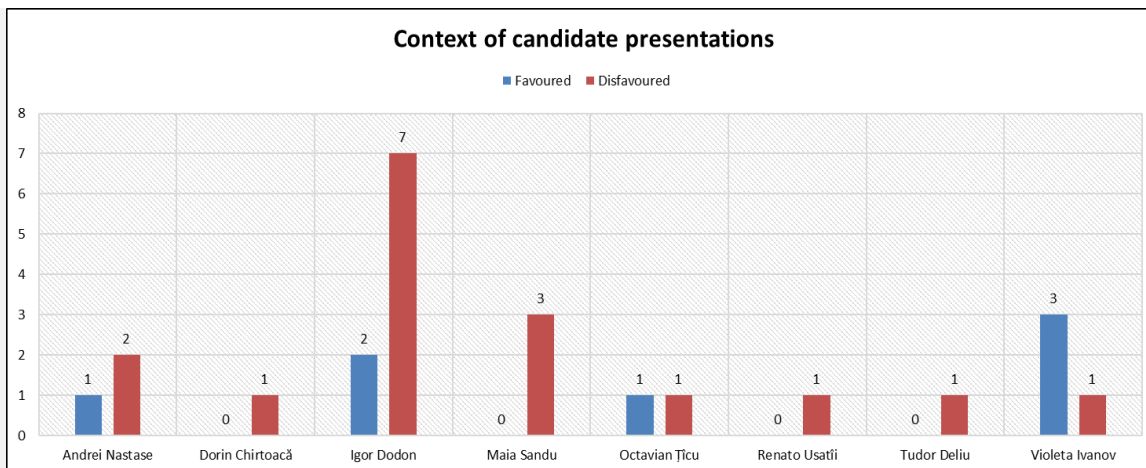
As in previous monitoring periods, most items on political and/or election issues published by **Actualitati.md** had a single source of information and a biased character, obviously and openly favouring the candidate Igor Dodon. He was covered only in positive contexts that favoured him (71 times). Two other candidates – Octavian Țicu and Tudor Deliu as well as the candidate Violeta Ivanov – appeared only in neutral contexts in the stories that concerned them. Maia Sandu, in her turn, was disadvantaged in more than half of the stories that concerned her (8 out of 15 in which she was the protagonist). Renato Usatîi was also covered four times in a rather negative context, and Dorin Chirtoacă had such an editorial treatment once. Andrei Năstase enjoyed a rather favourable context once, and had another, rather unfavourable one during this period. **Actualitati.md** continued to put in a negative light certain male/female candidates, especially Maia Sandu, but also Renato Usatîi, including through the opinions or statements of third parties about them, without granting the right of reply to the latter two.



[Agora.md](http://Agora.md)

Between 25 and 31 October 2020, **Agora.md** generally had a balanced editorial behaviour in its items with a direct or indirect election character. In most cases, the texts were unbiased in relation to their sources and the male/female protagonists, presenting them in a neutral manner. However, in some cases, the six male candidates and the two female candidates for the position of president appeared either in rather favourable or unfavourable contexts, due to the lack of a second source. Igor Dodon had the most negative appearances in a rather negative context (7 times) and Violeta Ivanov appeared most often in a rather favourable context (3 times). The other male candidates and a female candidate were also placed in a small number of cases either in positive contexts or in some that rather disadvantaged them, each time these being mentions/allegations from the other male/female candidates or third parties, without the opinion of those concerned being present in the stories. However, no clear tendency to favour or disfavour someone was found.

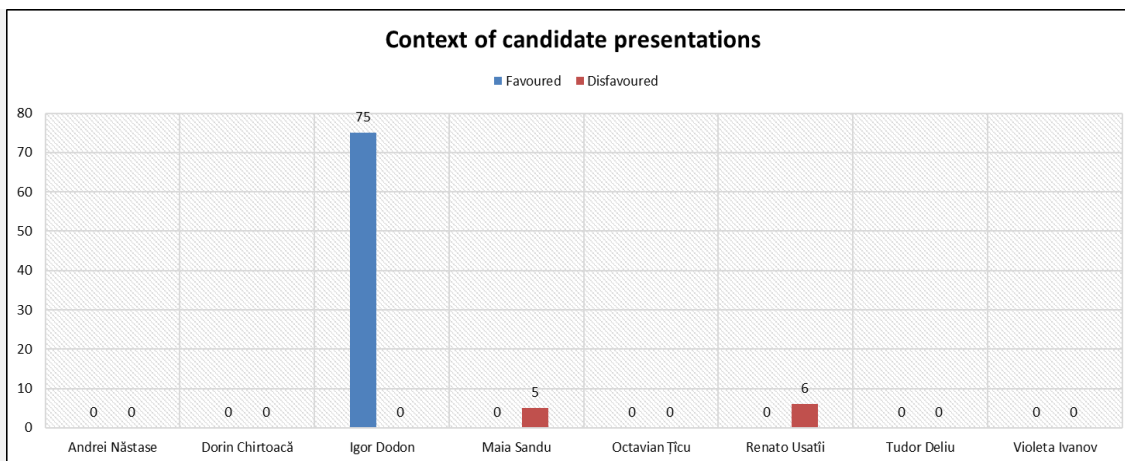




**АРГУМЕНТЫ  
И ФАКТЫ** В МОЛДОВЕ

[Aif.md](http://Aif.md)

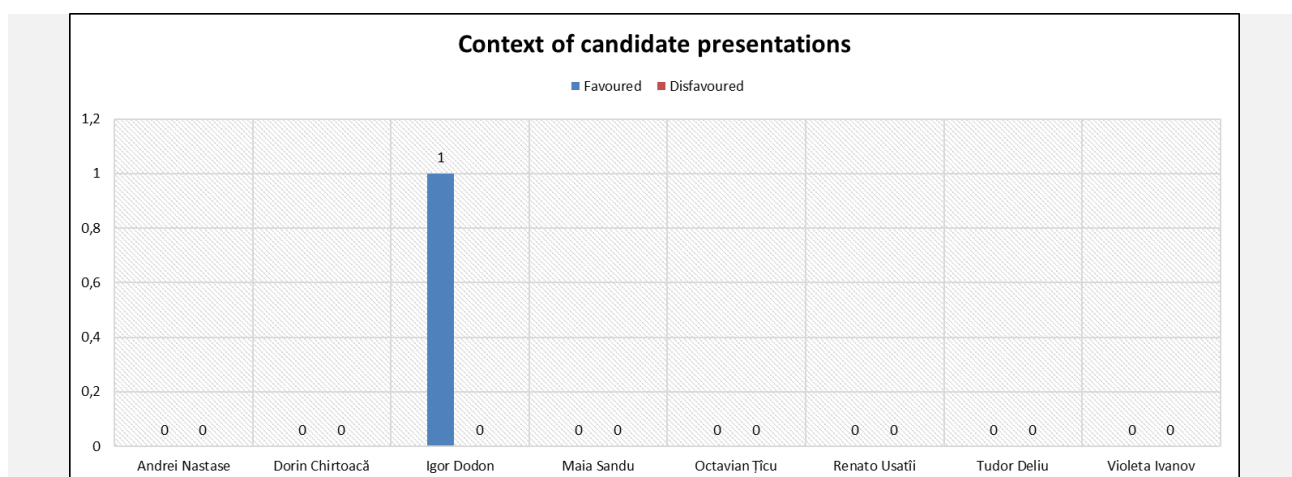
Between 25 and 31 October 2020, **Aif.md** further openly promoted Igor Dodon, both through the large number of news stories and information about his campaign activities, statements, meetings, etc., as well as in opposition/contrast with other male/female candidates. Igor Dodon was thus favoured 75 times in this publication's stories, including in all the stories in which he was the protagonist, as well as in a few in which he was indirectly favoured, and is the only candidate who appeared in a positive context in **Aif.md** items. Other four male candidates and one female candidate (Andrei Năstase, Dorin Chirtoacă, Octavian Țicu, Tudor Deliu and Violeta Ivanov) appeared in neutral contexts in the few stories that concerned them. On the other hand, Maia Sandu was disadvantaged in half of the items in which she was the protagonist (5 out of 10), and Renato Usatîi appeared most often in a negative context that disadvantaged him (6 cases out of 9).



**Gagauzinfo.MD**

[Gagauzinfo.md](http://Gagauzinfo.md)

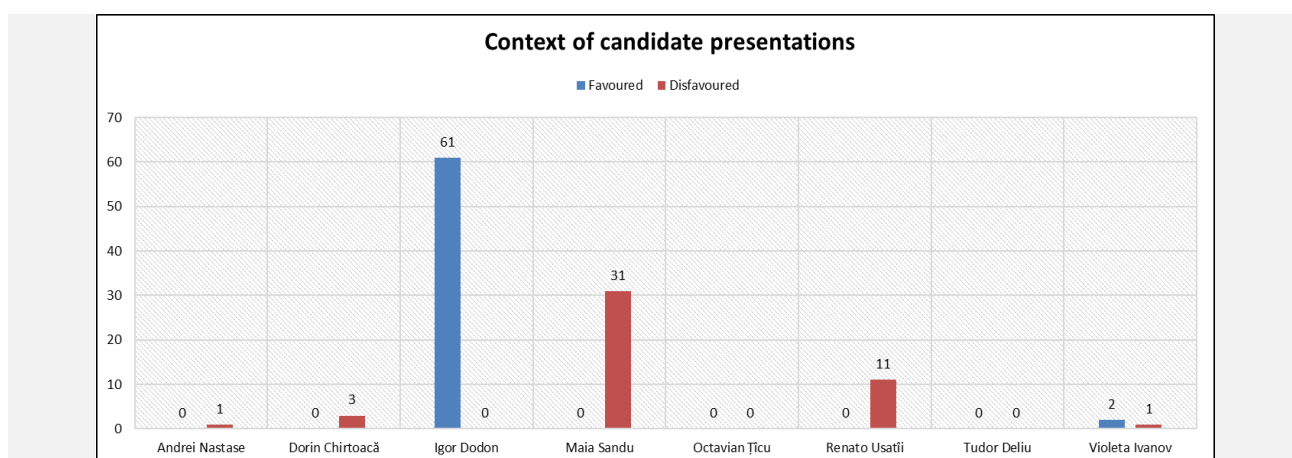
In the reference period, the publication **Gagauzinfo.md** ignored the electoral actions of all male candidates and of the two female candidates, except for Igor Dodon. He appeared once in a rather favourable context (of the two cases in which he was directly targeted in the stories).



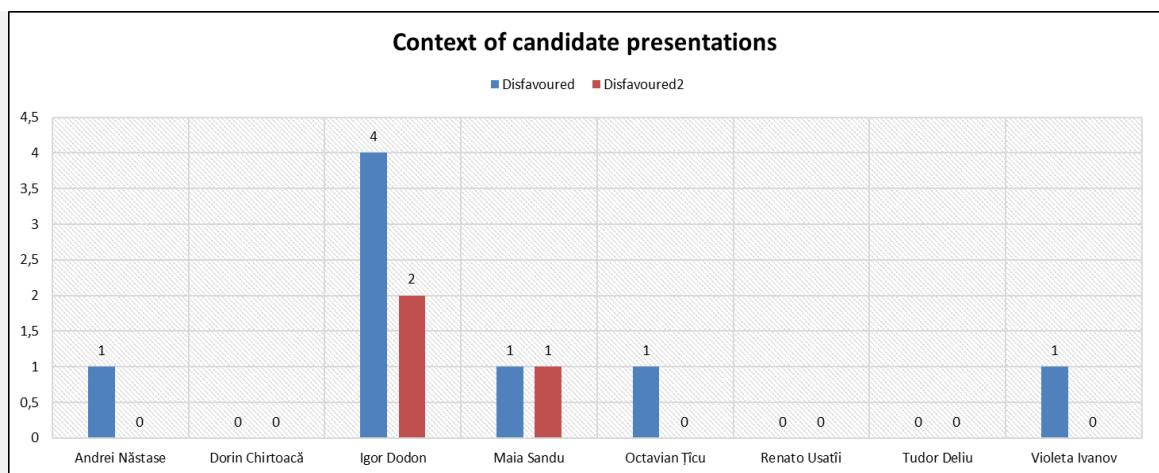
МОЛДОВА ▾

[Kp.md](http://kp.md)

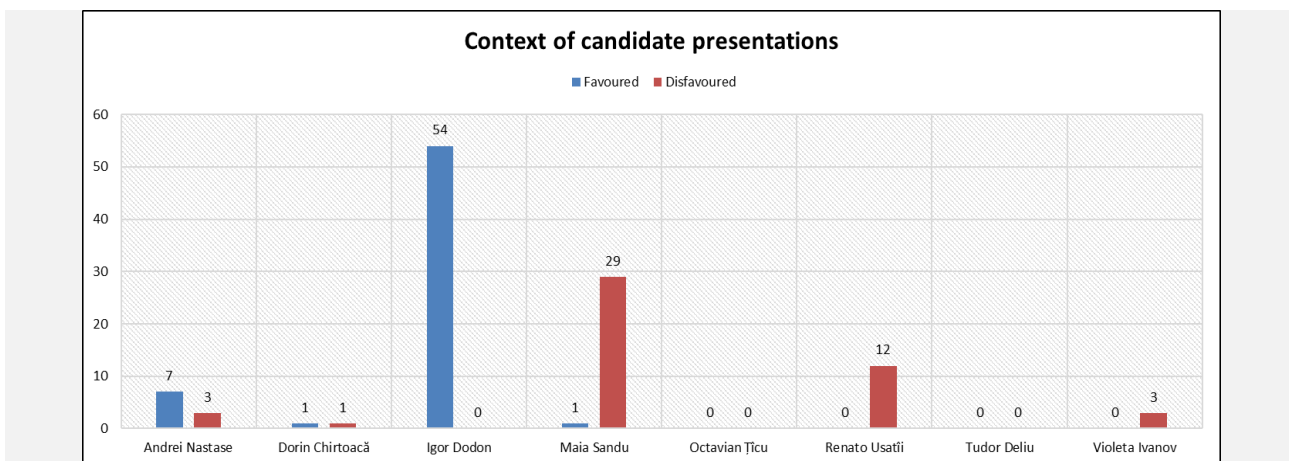
The publication **Kp.md** further strongly favoured Igor Dodon and disfavoured the other candidates, both in its news and especially in the comments of various authors, without providing the right of reply to those assaulted or ridiculed. Hence, the candidate Igor Dodon was during this period again the only one presented exclusively in a positive context, being favoured both directly in the stories in which he was the protagonist and indirectly (in total – 61 cases). The candidates Octavian Țicu and Tudor Deliu, in their turn, appeared only in neutral contexts during the period concerned. On the other hand, the candidate Maia Sandu appeared in rather unfavourable contexts in most of the items in which she was the protagonist (in 31 out of 34 cases), being thus most often subjected to such a treatment by the **Kp.md** newsroom. The candidate was followed in this regard by Renato Usatîi who had 11 placements in rather negative contexts (out of 20 cases in which he was the protagonist). The candidates Andrei Năstase and Dorin Chirtoacă appeared several times in the same context (once and, three times, accordingly). Finally yet importantly, the candidate Violeta Ivanov appeared once in a rather unfavourable context, and twice – in one that favoured her (those being items with a clear advertising character but unmarked accordingly).



From 25 to 31 October 2020, **Newsmaker.md** generally covered the candidates for the position of president of the Republic of Moldova in a balanced manner, most of the time presenting them in neutral contexts. Three candidates - Dorin Chirtoacă, Tudor Deliu and Renato Usatîi appeared only in a neutral context each time they were targeted. In their turn, Andrei Năstase, Octavian Țîcu and Violeta Ivanov were placed in an item each that rather disfavoured them. Finally yet importantly, Maia Sandu and Igor Dodon appeared in both rather favourable and rather unfavourable contexts due to the lack of a second source. However, no obvious tendency to promote someone positively or negatively was noted.

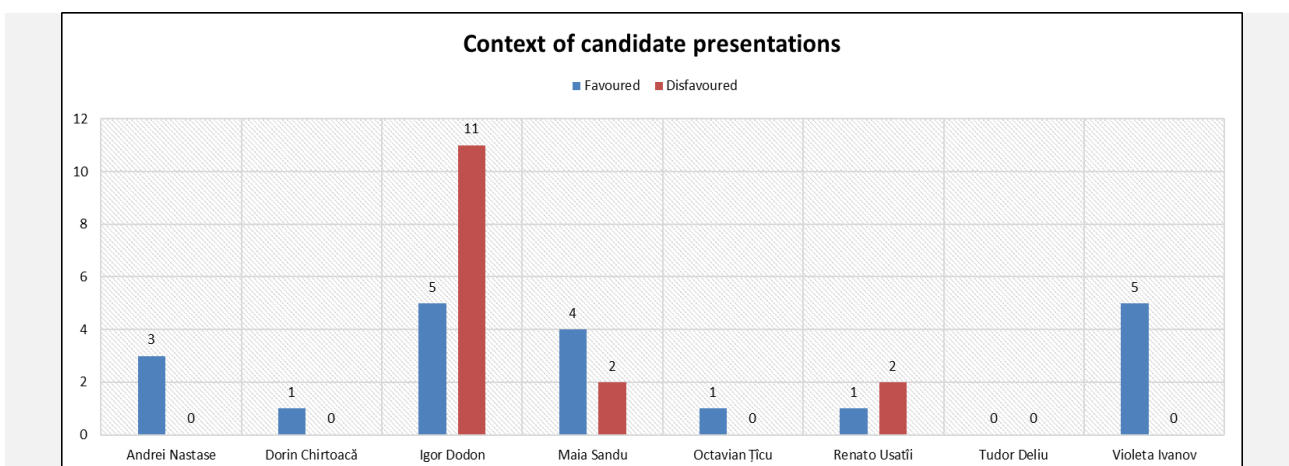


Between 25 and 31 October 2020, the online publication **Noi.md** clearly favoured the candidate Igor Dodon, both in its news and comments. The independent candidate supported by PSRM was placed 54 times only in a positive context, including in all cases in which he was the protagonist, as well as in other stories that indirectly concerned him. Igor Dodon was thus further the only candidate who appeared only in a favourable light. At the same time, the candidates Octavian Țîcu and Tudor Deliu are the only ones who were placed only in neutral contexts in the few items that concerned them. Maia Sandu, on the other hand, was substantially disadvantaged by the context in which she was placed (in 29 cases out of 33 in which she was the protagonist), she also appearing once in a positive context. Another candidate rather disadvantaged by **Noi.md** during this period was Renato Usatîi (in 12 cases out of 19 in which he was the protagonist) and the candidate Violeta Ivanov was placed in rather negative contexts in half of the cases in which she was protagonist (3 out of 6). Similarly, the candidates Dorin Chirtoacă and Andrei Năstase were both rather favoured and disadvantaged in **Noi.md** stories. In Andrei Năstase's case, his favouring was more obvious during this period, he appearing seven times in such contexts, ranking second after Igor Dodon.



[Realitatea.md](http://Realitatea.md)

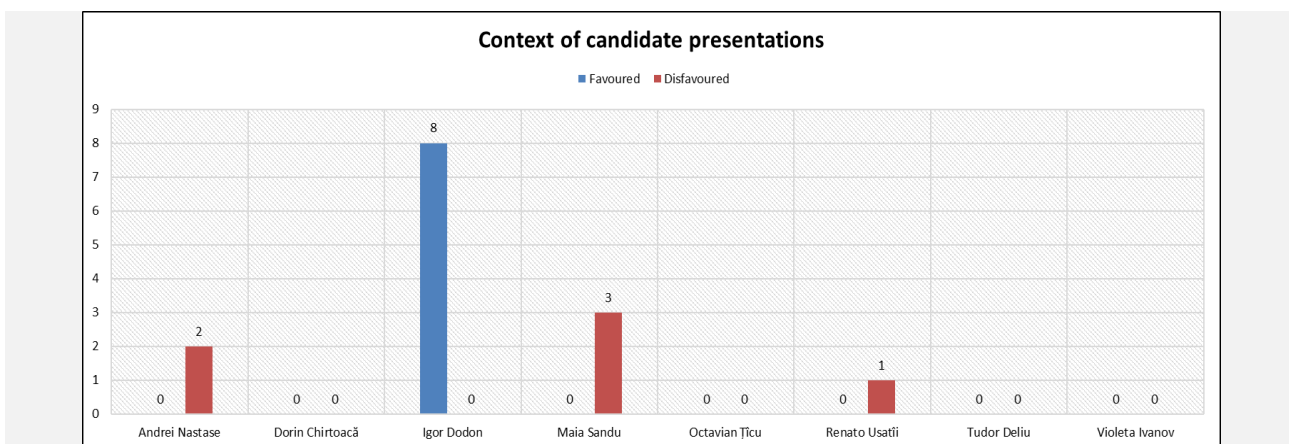
During the reporting period, the candidate Tudor Deliu appeared in a neutral context in the only item that concerned him directly. The other male candidates and the two female candidates, in addition to neutral contexts, were also placed in rather favourable and/or unfavourable situations. Hence, Andrei Năstase, Dorin Chirtoacă, Octavian Țicu and Violeta Ivanov appeared several times in rather positive contexts. Violeta Ivanov also appeared in unmarked electoral advertising. In their turn, Igor Dodon, Maia Sandu and Renato Usatîi were presented in a rather favourable as well as unfavourable manner. More specifically, Igor Dodon was rather disadvantaged in almost half of the cases in which he was the protagonist (11 out of 25) and five times appeared in a rather positive context, and Maia Sandu was rather favoured in half of the cases in which she was the protagonist (4 out of 8), also having two placements in rather unfavourable contexts.



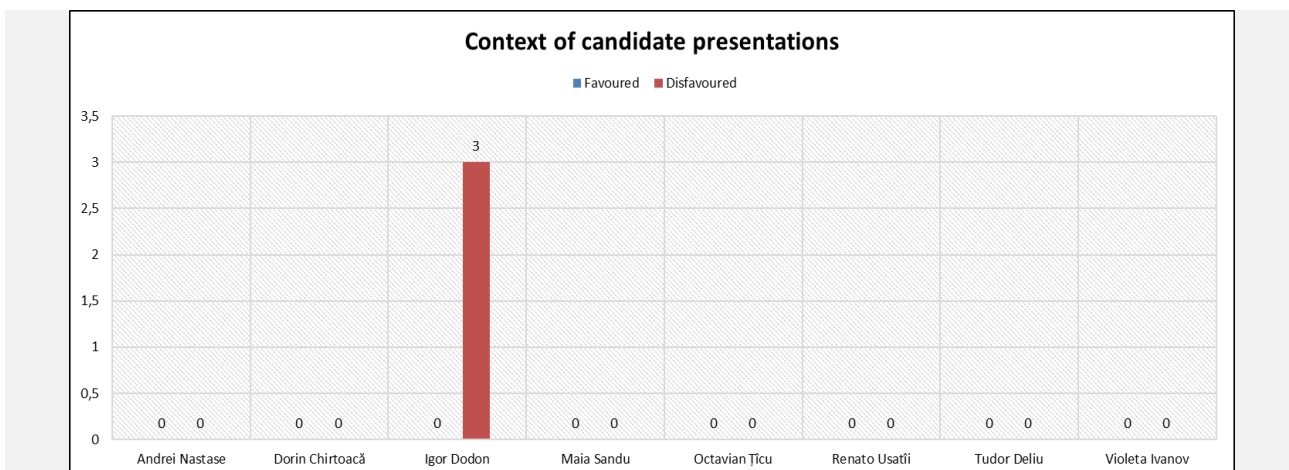
[Sputnik.md](http://Sputnik.md)

From 25 to 31 October 2020, the candidates Dorin Chirtoacă, Octavian Țicu, Tudor Deliu and Violeta Ivanov appeared in neutral contexts on **Sputnik.md**, without being favoured or

disadvantaged in the items that concerned them. At the same time, Renato Usatîi, Maia Sandu and Andrei Năstase, in addition to neutral media coverage, had several rather unfavourable placements (once, three time, and twice, accordingly), and Igor Dodon enjoyed an approach in rather favourable contexts in 8 cases.

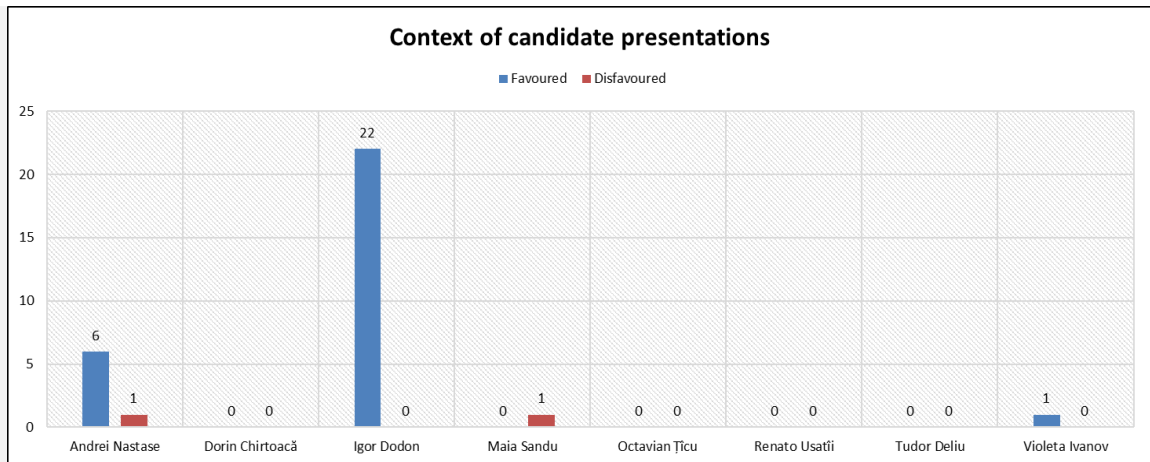


Between 25 and 31 October 2020, the candidates Dorin Chirtoacă, Octavian Țicu, Andrei Năstase, Tudor Deliu, Renato Usatîi, Violeta Ivanov and Maia Sandu were covered in neutral contexts in the few stories that concerned them. The only candidate that, in addition to the neutral context, appeared in a rather unfavourable one was Igor Dodon (in half of the cases in which he was the protagonist).



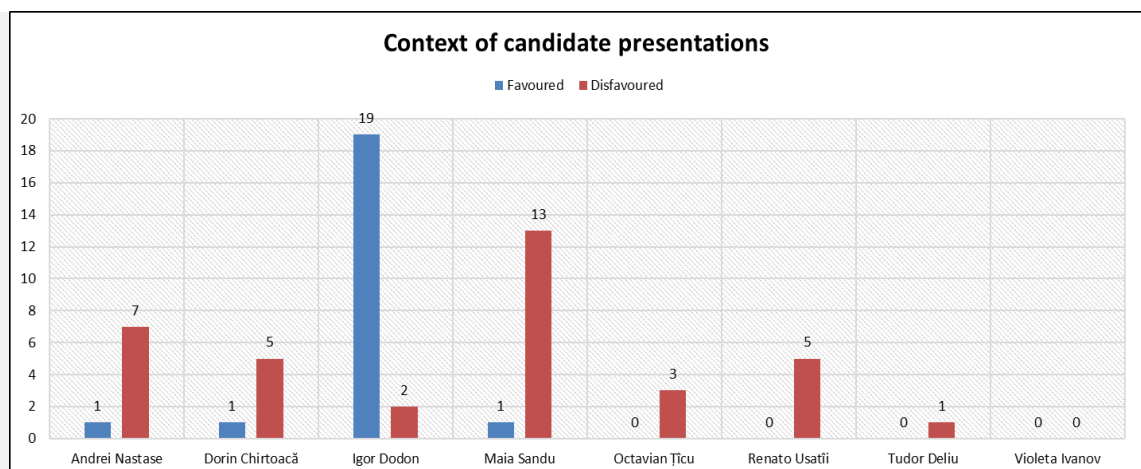
From 25 to 31 October 2020, the candidates Dorin Chirtoacă, Octavian Țicu, Renato Usatîi and Tudor Deliu were covered in neutral contexts, without being favoured or disadvantaged in the **Unimedia.info** stories that concerned them. At the same time, Maia Sandu was once placed in a rather unfavourable context and Violeta Ivanov – in a rather positive one. Igor Dodon, in his turn,

appeared most often (22 times out of 27 in which he was the protagonist) in situations that rather favoured him, and Andrei Năstase enjoyed favourable contexts six times and had a rather unfavourable one once. A number of stories with an obvious advertising character, marked or not as such, were posted in the news columns, and the reader could confuse them with actual media reports.



[Vedomosti.md](http://Vedomosti.md)

Between 25 and 31 October 2020, the candidate Violeta Ivanov was the only one who appeared only in a neutral context in the stories that concerned her on **Vedomosti.md**. Three other candidates – Renato Usatîi, Octavian Țicu and Tudor Deliu – were placed in unfavourable contexts, the latter two in half of the stories in which they were protagonists. Maia Sandu, although having an appearance in a rather positive context, was disadvantaged in most of the items (in 13 of the 18 cases in which she was the protagonist), both in news and especially in the analysts' comments. She was disadvantaged and discredited, including through biased statements, personal attacks, manipulation with data and figures, and discrimination with hate speech elements. Similarly, Andrei Năstase and Dorin Chirtoacă, although placed once in rather favourable contexts, were disadvantaged in most of the stories that concerned them. Igor Dodon, on the other hand, most often enjoyed a favourable attitude (19 times), but was also rather disadvantaged in two cases.



### **2.3. General conclusions:**

- In the period from 25 to 31 October 2020, the twelve online publications monitored covered the campaign for the presidential elections mainly through news but more rarely also published comments, Vox Populi polls, interview, and one electoral debate.
- **Noi.md** published the highest number of items relevant to the election context, and **Gagauzinfo.md** – the lowest number.
- Most of the items were published in text format but the number of media products accompanied by videos or audios also increased.
- Most relevant items referred to the political area and to the election process. Eight out of twelve outlets mainly approached politics and four gave preference to the election process. One publication completely ignored the topics that concerned the election process.
- All six male candidates and the two female candidates for the supreme position in the state appeared as protagonists of election stories.
- The independent candidate supported by PSRM Igor Dodon appeared most often as the protagonist, and the PLDM candidate Tudor Deliu appeared the least as such. Igor Dodon appeared nearly five times more often as the protagonist of items than Tudor Deliu.
- Five male candidates and the two female candidates appeared as sources of election items.
- Candidate Igor Dodon appeared the most often as a source.
- One candidate – Tudor Deliu, never appeared as a source of information. Igor Dodon was quoted over 26 times more often than Violeta Ivanov.
- The items published by all twelve media outlets monitored were strongly disproportionate in terms of gender, in favour of men. One publication never quoted a woman in the stories provided to the information consumer.
- Candidate Igor Dodon had the highest media visibility in the twelve publications.
- None of the candidate cumulatively appeared only in neutral contexts in the stories that concerned them.
- Candidate Igor Dodon was most often placed in positive contexts that favoured him.
- Candidate Maia Sandu was most often placed in negative contexts that disadvantaged her.

[Full report in Romanian](#)