

MEDIA MONITORING On Parliamentary Elections 2005

Monitoring Period 14 May-9 July 2005

Final Report

Tirana, 22 June 2005

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- During the first phase of media monitoring, while the law on the media had not yet been promulgated, some media outlets presented a unilateral reporting, visibly backing the views of a political party. This led to the conclusion that during the rest of the year, especially in the course of the electoral campaign, such skewed reporting could take place in full public view. That prompted continuous and permanent monitoring of the media and the right way of news reporting to the public by the civil society and other stakeholders of democracy. The first monitoring period, corresponding to the two weeks immediately prior to the electoral campaign, as well as the post-electoral period, is shown to be the least balanced period in almost all media outlets, in comparison with the period of the electoral campaign itself.
- 2. Following the publication of the first report, and at the start of the electoral campaign, some of the monitored media noticeably changed from an open reporting in favor of a political party to a balanced reporting.
- 3. Initially, an open supporter of the campaign led by the SP, the Albanian public television-TVSH, made visible attempts towards a more balanced reporting, changing its position in favor of the DP during the third monitoring phase. In the last phase of the campaign, it cut down on this support tending towards a more balanced reporting.
- 4. There have been instances where media outlets have demonstrated a continuous improvement and an increase in news reporting. Alsat TV is a good example of this.
- 5. It was gladly observed that the total reporting period in favor of the Government was continuously reduced. In contrast with other electronic media outlets, radio stations witnessed a higher coverage for the Government.
- 6. The total coverage time allocated to the DP was noticed to increase during the last week of the campaign in almost all media outlets.
- 7. The small parties were allotted a more reduced coverage than the big parties in almost all media outlets.
- 8. A few small parties, with some influence on the management and owners of newspapers, had coverage access in some newspapers, which was strikingly out of proportion with their importance in the Albanian political landscape.
- 9. The coverage of political women candidates was almost negligible in comparison with the men.
- 10. The monitored radio outlets, generally gave uncritical information, positively reporting on all political parties.

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INTRODUCTION

While democracy cannot rule in a country without holding genuine elections, the democratic process extends beyond the Election Day. The democratic governance requires an active and informed citizenry. Media is often referred to as the fourth power, which describes its essential role in society. The media is expected to act as a watchdog of events and decisions in a democracy in order to help the citizens be informed about what goes on. This role can be attained only when the media reporting pursues essential principles and practices.

Media monitoring is a tool that helps journalists to report in a more accurate and balanced way. In a nutshell, it should be regarded as a practice that will boost citizens' trust in the general media coverage. Wherever the media operates, it is useful to follow its work and further analyze its relationship with various bodies. Media monitoring is a discipline that contains analytical components. Its goal is to help the media to create a balanced coverage and to report professional mistakes. During the monitoring period, the task of the monitoring team is to collect data that reflect the true feelings of citizens who watch, hear and read a targeted media.

A few methodologies are employed nowadays. One of them has been undertaken by the European Institute for the Media, EIM. The goal of reports is to help the media, should the need arise, to take corrective measures in their reporting on various topics that the monitoring team observes. The following report is based on media monitoring just before the official electoral period that commenced on June 3rd, spanning the period from May 28th – June 10th, 2005.

Principles of good journalism

Essential principles have been widely accepted as elements of 'good governance', inter alia:

- Respecting the ethics of good journalism.
- Balanced reporting in proportion with the time / allocation and context of the information.
- Drawing distinctions between Government's officials and ruling party officials.
- Not using the Government as a promoting leverage for candidates and policies' alternatives.
- Avoiding allotting an excessive time to the Government's activities at the expense of other political stakeholders.
- Demonstrating impartiality in presenting different points of view.
- Focusing and questioning politicians about issues relevant to people.
- Not using language that would incite hatred.
- Acting in accordance with its role as public watchdog.

Unilateralism and unprofessional reporting is considered not to have any influence upon the decided voters. Given the fact that weak reporting skews perceptions, this may influence the undecided voters and this distortion of reality is the basis on which citizens make their decisions. Instead of forcing citizens to take decisions, the role of the media is to inform citizens on all-important events so they can make well-informed choices.

This reporting is balanced, precise, accurate and just. It offers the equal opportunity to all stakeholders to express their thoughts and opinions. The Government's important role is not to impede the media in the exercise of these functions and to help all the different media to offer the public the greatest number of sources of information.

METHODOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY

The media monitoring comprises qualitative and quantitative strands of analysis. Both principles are important in presenting a general media landscape in an electoral campaign.

Qualitative analysis

The major components in a qualitative research are made up of the context and reporting.

Context is defined as the placement in time and space of the information. For example, if political party A speaks positively about itself or negatively about another entity, a media is not viewed as unilateral for the mere fact of airing that piece of information. The importance lies if the media outlet, over a long period of time, aired the information positively or negatively regarding the concerned entities, selectively in order to have a definite effect.

Reporting reflects the extent to which events are reported with facts (X happened) compared with the quantity of editorial commentary or bias regarding these events. For example, words can be viewed as positive or negative. Also, the tone of the journalist during the news reporting may affect one's perception. Lastly, facial expression and body language (for TV journalists) affect the way the information is perceived.

Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis evaluates the time and the space in which a political party or a politician was spoken, was quoted or appeared on the screen.

Overall time/space means the estimated time that televisions and radios commit to reporting a particular political entity, or, the available space that newspapers devote to activities of political parties or of the Government.

Quotation refers to the time or space accorded to a journalist to re-tell the words of someone else.

Syncron (or **the written statement** for the print media): refers to the time or space that printed media accords to political parties to express their overall political opinions and represents a portion of their overall time. This category includes interviews and announcements directly made by political parties or other political entities.

Time of the object: is defined as the time when X speaks about politician Y, while politician Y constitutes the object of the statement. This includes instances when journalists mention political entities in their articles or when others speak about political entities.

¹ You will not come across analysis for this type of reporting in every cited graph. In the absence of major problems, they will not be presented.

Source: means the origin of information such as news agencies or other media outlets, various press releases, report and other statements / announcements.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Media monitoring was conducted by four organizations:

Albanian Coalition Against Corruption (ACAC)

ACAC was established in 2001 as a coalition of over 150 NGOs and individuals, whose common goal was the fight of the civil society against corruption, awareness raising about causes and consequences of corruption, and its transformation to advocacy work to undermine and combat corruption.

Institute for Surveys and Opinions (ISO)

The institute constitutes an independent body for survey research that offers services for public and private sector organizations. On a regular basis, ISO observes the viewership of the electronic media and readership of the print media. In addition to permanent staff, ISO employs 25 part-time experts and is equipped with a panel of nearly 4,000 people in 36 districts of Albania.

Institute for Development Research and Alternatives (IDRA)

IDRA Research is the research unit for social survey and marketing of the Institute for Development Research and Alternatives. It offers studies for private entities and institutions. Its network is composed of over 150 interviewers who cover all regions of Albania and Kosovo.

Center for Transparency and Free Information (CTFI)

The goal of the Center is to raise public awareness of a continual democratization of Albanian life as well as the enforcement of national policies in the fight against corruption. Some of the projects conducted by the Center include "Media and transparency" – May – December 2003.

Monitoring structure

The project is being implemented under the umbrella of ACAC. It is headed by the Steering Board composed of 6 persons. The Board defined the precise list of media that will be monitored within this project. The media outlets were selected on the basis of findings of a quick study on the media influence in Albania.

Electronic media (TV) monitoring was conducted by ISO. Electronic media (radio) monitoring was conducted by IDRA. Print media monitoring was conducted by CTFI.

23 monitors were involved in the project, in addition to three coordinators, a general coordinator and other staff such as technicians, finance officers, network managers. The staff was cautiously selected in order to avoid unilateralism and political participation. The monitors vary within the media monitoring groups in order to collect as much information as possible.

List of monitored media

TV channels: TVSH, TOP CHANNEL, KLAN, KOHA, TVA, VIZION +, NEWS 24, ALSAT, TEUTA, EGNATIA.

Radio stations: Radio Tirana, Top Albania Radio, Radio Rash, Radio +2

Newspapers: Gazeta Shqiptare; Panorama; Koha Jonë; Shekulli; Korrieri; Ballkan

Monitoring schedules

TV Channels: 15.00-24.00 Only news editions and electoral spots of political parties were monitored within this timeframe.

Radio stations: 07.00-10.00 and 15.00-18.00. Only news editions and electoral spots of political parties were monitored within this timeframe.

Newspapers: All political issues were monitored.

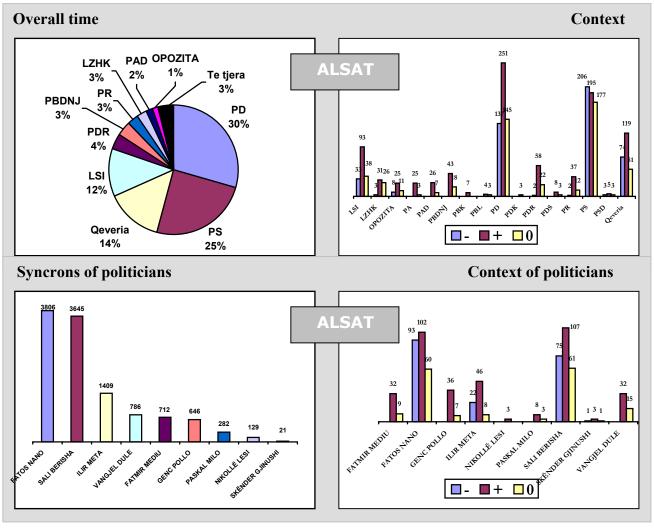
The overall goal of the project is to give a snapshot of the Albanian media during the pre-election campaign. This is the second report, which will be followed by two others, that will cover a two-month media monitoring, before, during and after the electoral campaign of July 3rd, 2005.

NDI (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs) enabled a consultancy with two experts from the Young Journalists Association of Montenegro, who assisted with monitoring training and the compilation of reports.

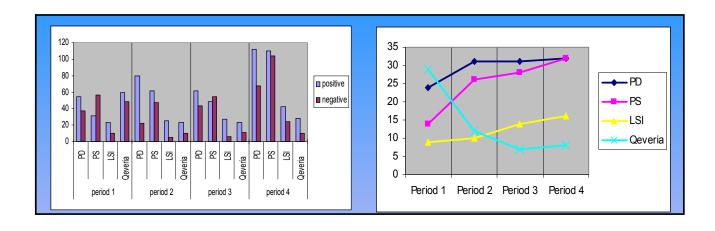
ELECTRONIC MEDIA - TVs

ALSAT 14 May – 01 July

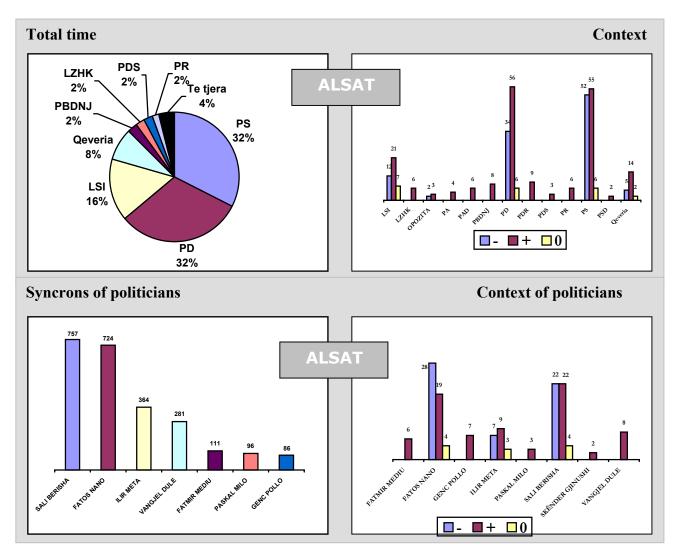
Based on the following analysis, Alsat TV has been reporting on a balanced way, with a slight inclination towards the DP. During this monitoring period, Alsat TV committed 30 % of its airing time to the DP in a mainly positive context, 25% of its airing time to the SP in an almost impartial context, 14% of its airing time to the Government in a positive context and 12% to (the Socialist Movement for Integration – LSI) in a rather positive context. This constitutes the biggest time committed to LSI in comparison with other TV outlets. As far as politicians are concerned, the difference in time between Fatos Nano and Sali Berisha is small, but the context of Sali Berisha is more positive than that of Fatos Nano.



Trends - Alsat marks a clear example of improvement in balanced reporting and parity of exposure time to all political parties. Although the first monitoring period was characterized by a trend to support the DP, this trend was reduced in the following monitoring periods. The overall time of the Government is marked by a drastic decrease, while LSI has witnessed a sensible increase of the overall time in the last monitoring period.



Alsat has mainly reported in a balanced way during this reporting period. However, a slight bias towards the DP is noted. In terms of the overall time, Alsat has been balanced. Positive tones characterize the coverage of parties and the Government, although the SP is reported in a balanced way. The SP and the DP have been allotted the same amount of time: 32% each. A considerable time is allotted to LSI, which comprises 16% of the total time in a positive context. In terms of politicians, Sali Berisha is ranked first with a balanced context, while Fatos Nano follows him in a rather negative context.



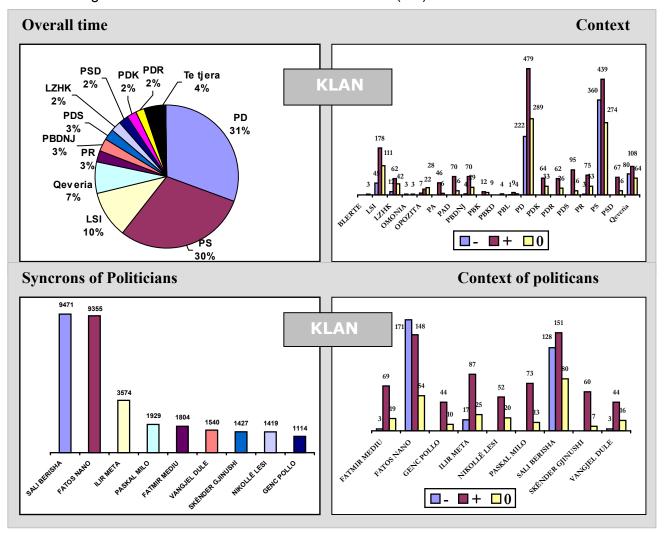
03 July - 09 July

During the post-electoral period, Alsat has maintained a total balance in the time allotted to different political parties, marking an increase in the time allotted for the two major parties by 6%. The main characteristic of this period is that the reporting context of the SP has become more positive than in previous monitoring periods.

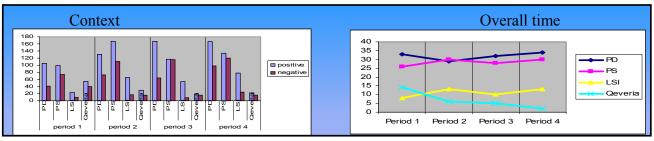
KLAN 14 May – 01 July

The results for Klan, based on the monitoring for this period, are that it has aired an almost balanced coverage, with a slight inclination towards the DP. The time allotted to the DP and SP is generally balanced, almost equal, but the reporting context of political parties marks a very slight difference with more positive tones in favor of the DP than the SP. Both leaders have been allotted the same time in syncron.

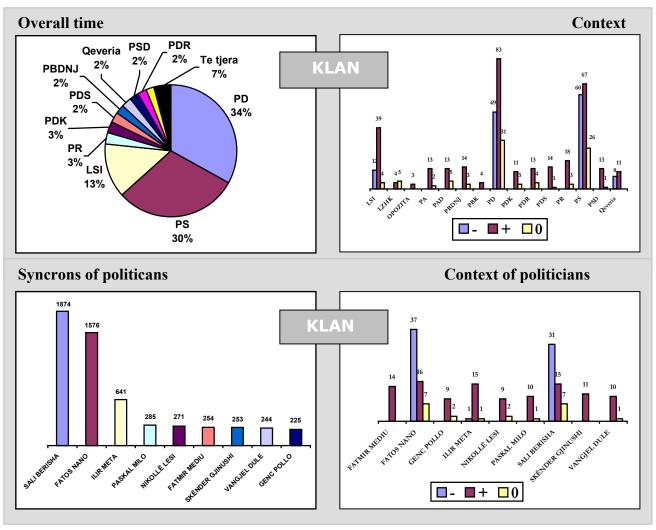
Additionally, LSI has been given a positive context and has taken up 10% of the time, resulting in more time allocation than the Government (7%).



Trends – Balanced coverage is the main characteristic of this media outlet (especially in the 2nd monitoring period), with a slight trend in favor of the DP (especially in the third monitoring period). There are no striking fluctuations of coverage and the Government makes up for less reporting time allocation in comparison with other TV channels. LSI accounts for a good proportion of coverage and its overall time and context was increased.



During this monitoring period, KLAN TV has mainly reported for the DP, SP and LSI, with a slight bias towards the DP. The overall time has been shared amongst the DP accounting for 34% thereof with a positive context, and the SP accounting for 30% thereof with a balanced context. LSI comprises 13% of the overall time and a rather positive context, while other parties comprise 1-3% of the time. In terms of politicians, Berisha and Nano share almost the same amount of time and are both reported negatively. On the contrary, Ilir Meta has been reported with mainly positive tones.

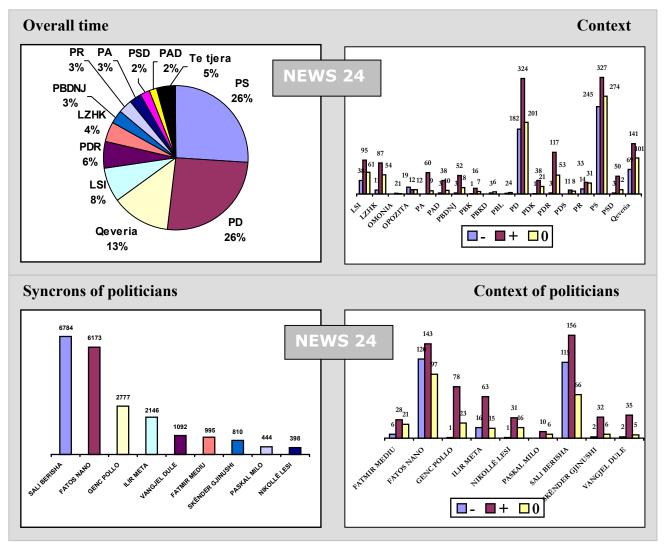


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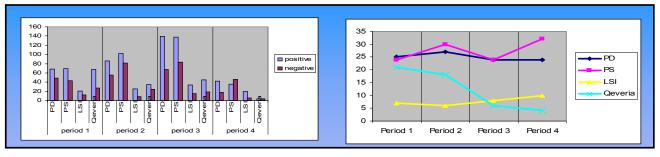
During the post-electoral period, KLAN further reported in support of the DP, marking an increase of its overall time with 36% with a mainly positive context, reducing the overall time of the SP to 18%, in a mainly negative context. Additionally, support to Berisha is noticeable, who spends most of the time during the syncron in a mainly positive context, as opposed to Nano who appears in a mainly negative context. However, LSI experiences a significant cut in its overall time.

NEWS 24 14 May – 01 July

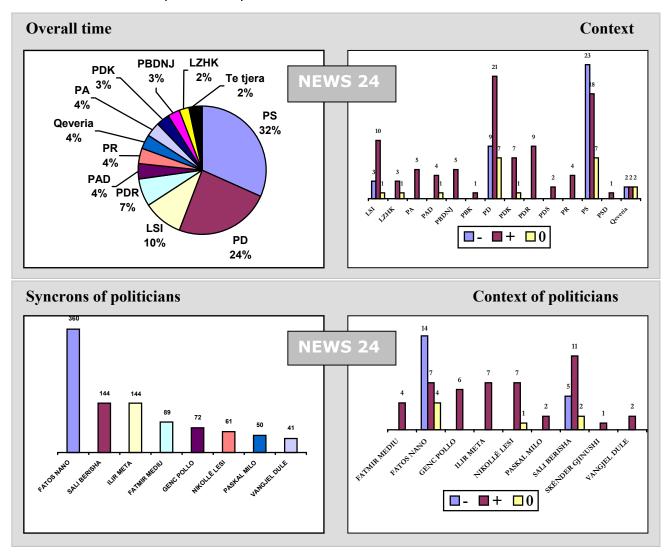
News 24 demonstrates a very good balance in terms of time allocation for both major parties, the DP and the SP, 26% each in rather positive contexts. The Government accounts for 13% of the time in a positive context, while LSI has 8% in a positive context. Sali Berisha takes up more syncron time allocation than Nano and their context is slightly positive.



Trends – A balanced coverage is noted, especially during the third monitoring phase. In the last monitoring phase, a slight bias towards the DP is seen. Although more time is allocated to the SP, its context is mainly negative, while the DP is reported with positive tones. The Government, as noticed in other TV channels, experiences a drop in its overall time from one period to another, while LSI witnessed a growth in the context and total time.



During this monitoring period, one week before the conduct of elections, News 24 reported with a slight bias towards the DP. Although it allocated more time to the SP (32%), the reporting context was rather negative. The DP takes up for 24% of the time in a positive context. LSI was allotted 10% thereof in a positive context. Fatos Nano takes up a larger proportion of syncron time, but in a negative context. The opposite applies to Berisha, who is reported with positive tones.

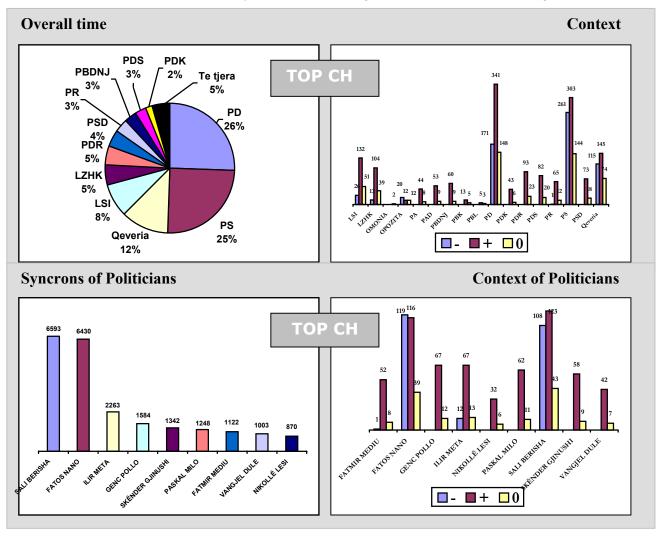


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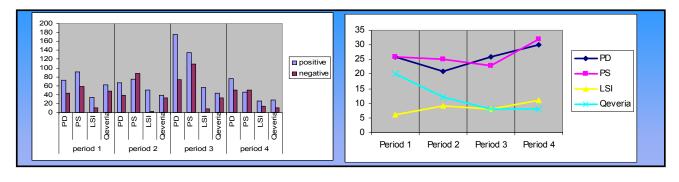
During the post-electoral period, News 24 has maintained almost the same balance, with the distinction that Ilir Meta fares best in terms of politicians' syncron time in a mainly positive context, while Sali Berisha is ranked the fifth in a mainly negative context.

TOP CHANNEL 14 May – 01 July

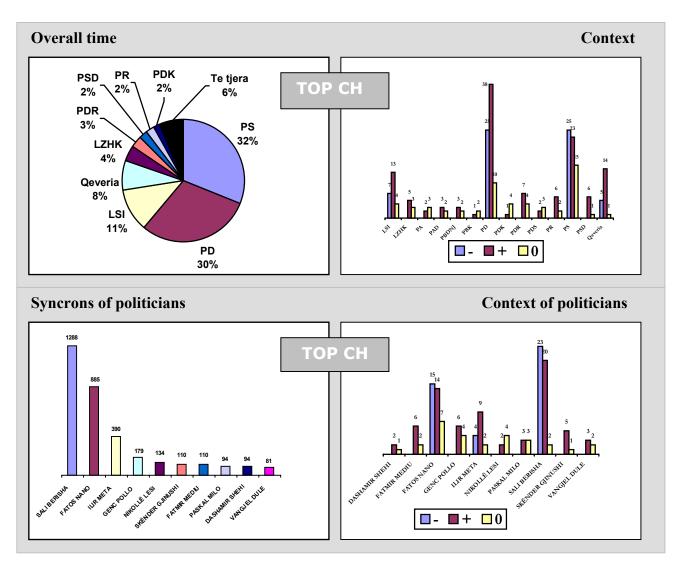
PD was granted 26 per cent of the time in a largely positive context. The SP was allocated 25 per cent of the time in a slightly positive context. The Government's coverage accounts for 12 per cent of the time in a positive context and LSI was granted 8 per cent in a largely positive context. On a general note, the syncron time for main politicians such as Nano and Berisha are almost the same and the context is balanced. Considering the difference in the context of the total time to political parties and the context of politicians, a primarily balanced coverage is noted in this monitoring period.



Trends – During the first monitoring period, Top Channel has demonstrated a very balanced reporting in time and context. In subsequent periods, fluctuations are noticed which favor the overall time for the SP and the context for the DP. The allocated time for the Government experienced a reduction, while LSI and other small parties witnessed a growth.



During this monitoring period, Top Channel has had a balanced coverage. PD has had coverage in a positive context, while the Government and the SP were granted more time. Whilst the Government is described positively, the SP is characterized negatively. SP was granted 32 per cent of the time, DP 30 per cent. LSI was characterized by a positive context in 11 per cent of the time. Sali Berisha is in the lead as the politician who was granted more time on TV, leaving Fatos Nano behind. The context for both of them was slightly negative.

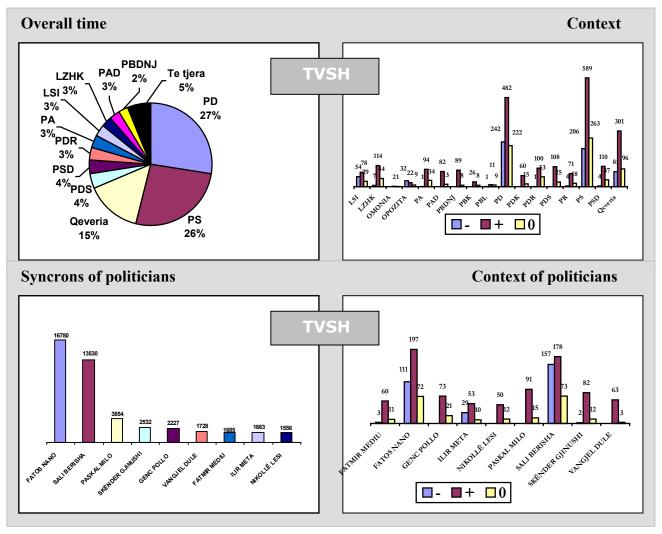


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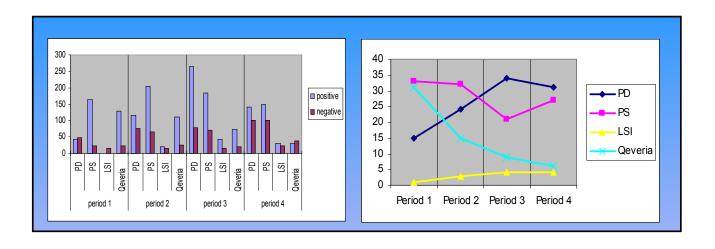
During the post-electoral period, Top Channel has shown slight bias towards the SP, resulting in a growth of 7 per cent of the total time, totaling 39 per cent against 32 per cent of DP's overall time.

TVSH 14 May – 01 July

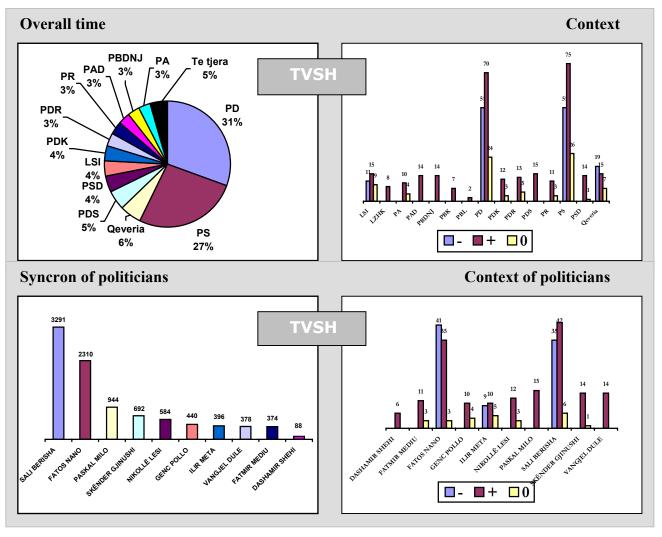
During this monitoring period, TVSH showed a slight tendency in favor of the Government and the SP. DP was granted 27 per cent of the time in positive context, followed by the SP with 26 per cent with a strikingly positive context and the Government 15 per cent, also with a strikingly positive context. TVSH has allotted more time to the Government in comparison with other TV channels and less time to LSI (3 per cent). In the chart of syncrons, it can be seen that Fatos Nano accounts for more time in a generally positive context, while Berisha is granted less time and in a less positive context than his rival, Nano.



Trends – The first monitoring period, before the start of the election campaign, showed a strong bias in favor of the SP / Government, both in overall time and context. Following the start of the campaign, when the electoral law came into force, and criticism was voiced by ACAC, the President of the Republic, etc., its coverage became more balanced. This change reversed the trend so that in the the third monitoring period, the bias was towards the opposition. In the last reporting period, a mitigation of support towards the DP and Sali Berisha was noted. LSI has had a relatively small coverage, although it increased, while the Government has experienced a continuous drop in coverage.



During this monitoring period, a balanced reporting of TVSH vis-à-vis political parties and the context was noticed. Considering that the DP and Sali Berisha were granted more time in a positive context than Fatos Nano, it can be concluded that TVSH has leaned slightly towards the right. TVSH allocated 31 per cent of the time in a positive context to the DP, and 27 per cent of the time to the SP in a positive context. The Government was granted 6 per cent of the time in a negative context. In terms of small parties, TVSH allocated its time equally to all of them. In a positive context, the politician that spoke most of the time on TVSH was Sali Berisha, followed by Fatos Nano in a negative context.

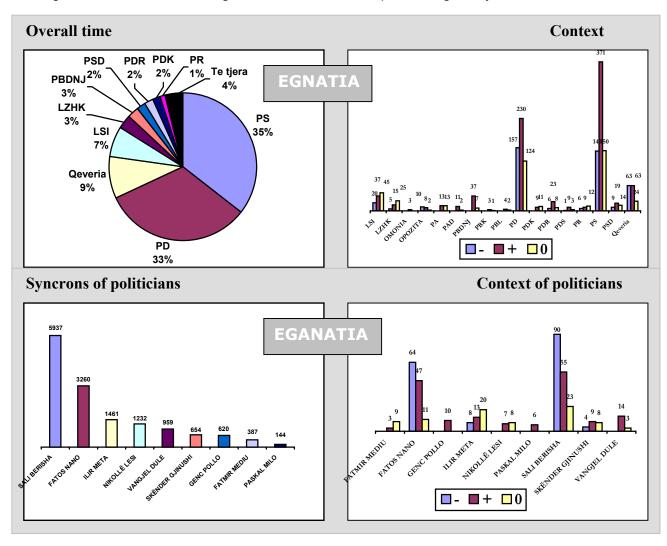


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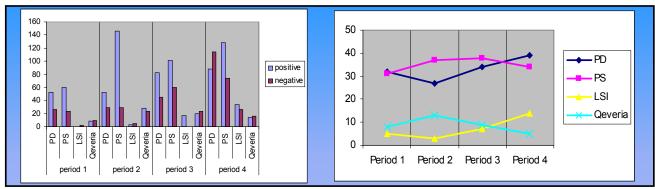
During the post-electoral campaign, TVSH increased the SP-allotted time by 10 per cent, resulting in a total of 37 per cent against 34 per cent of the DP. Meanwhile, a change of context for the SP from chiefly positive to negative was noticed. Additionally, the context for Berisha has changed from mainly positive in previous period to mostly negative.

EGNATIA 14 May – 01 July

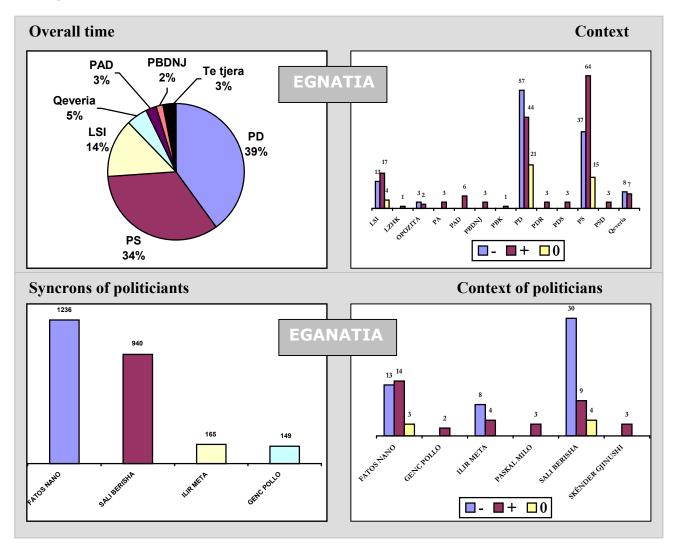
This TV Channel garnered support for the SP. ETV granted 35 per cent of the time to the SP in an overly positive context. 33 per cent of the time was allocated to the DP and 7 per cent to LSI in positive contexts. The Government accounts for 9 per cent of the time in a balanced context. Sali Berisha is allotted more time, but his context is rather more negative than Nano's, although the latter has been reported negatively.



Trends – In almost all the monitoring periods, Egnatia has aligned itself in support of the SP in overall time and context. This support is more visible in the second monitoring period. In the fourth period, there is support for the SP chiefly in context. Efforts towards balancing are noted during the third monitoring period.



During this monitoring period, Egnatia TV has principally reported negatively against the DP, and mostly positively for the SP. The DP was granted 39 per cent in chiefly negative contexts, while the SP accounts for 34 per cent of generally positive contexts. LSI was allocated 14 per cent and a positive context, while other smaller parties have not, on the whole, been covered on this TV channel. In the chart of syncrons, Fatos Nano has a slight advantage over Berisha, and while in context, Berisha has been reported with negative tones.

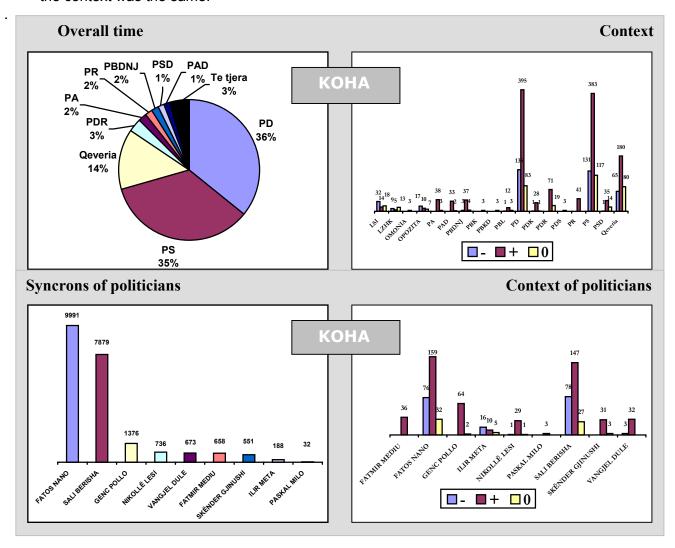


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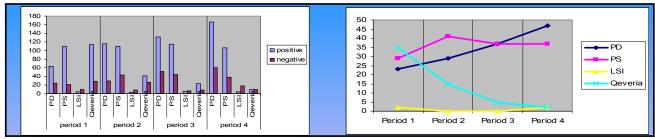
During the post-electoral period, a change of course was noted for Egnatia, noticeably supporting the DP with an overall time of 50 per cent (a growth of 11 per cent), against 35 per cent of the overall time of the SP. Also, positioned in second place in syncrons' time in a mostly negative context, Berisha jumped to the lead in a chiefly positive context.

KOHA TV 14 May – 01 July

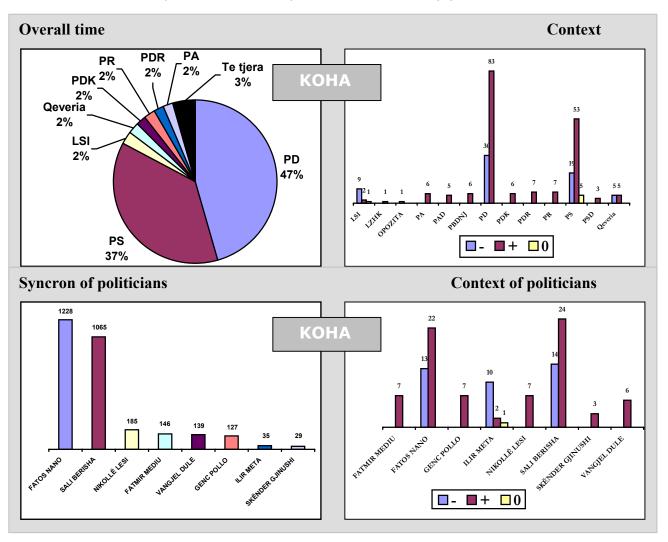
Although the overall time given to the two major parties was divided almost equally -- the DP (36 per cent) and the SP (35 per cent) – if we add to the SP's overall time that which was given to the Government in a positive context, a slight bias of this TV Channel towards the left was noted during this reporting period. The contexts are positive for almost all parties, except LSI, which has been negatively reported, with negligible time (less than 1 per cent). Fatos Nano has had more syncrons time than Berisha, although the context was the same.



Trends – During the first monitoring period, Koha TV showed clear support for the SP/Government. In subsequent monitoring periods, attempts towards a more balanced coverage were made, which were appearnt in the third monitoring period. The positive reporting context for almost all political parties was the most evident feature. The time allocated to the Government has dropped sharply. LSI has been almost invisible in this TV channel, which has largely supported the big parties.



Most of the time was devoted to the two major political parties, supporting the DP more in context and time than the SP. The DP accounted for 47 per cent of the overall time and the context of this party was very positive. The SP was granted 37 per cent of the time, enjoying a positive context as well. Other small parties such as LSI, PDK, PR, etc., were allocated 2 per cent of the time. Almost all parties enjoyed positive contexts, except for LSI which was given a negative context. Fatos Nano was the politician who covered most of the time in syncrons, followed by Sali Berisha. Both enjoyed positive contexts.



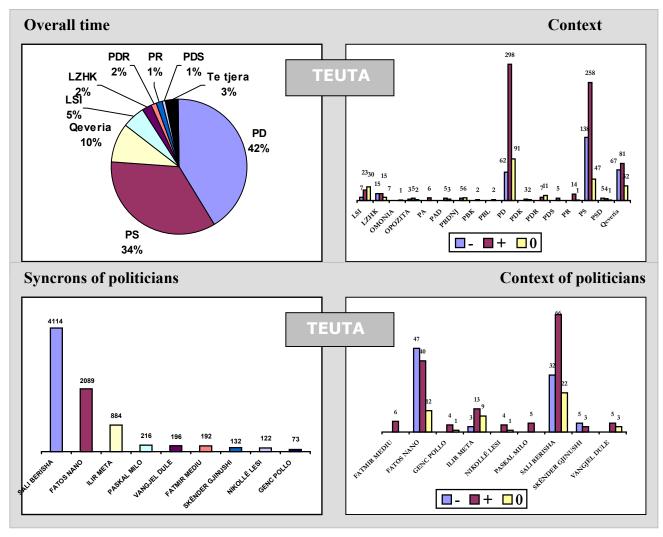
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During the post-electoral period, Koha TV experienced a change of course, reporting in support of the SP, distinctly reducing the time given to the DP by 16 per cent, in a largely negative context, contrasting with the first monitoring period which was chiefly positive. Moreover, compared with the pre-electoral period, Berisha featured in a generally negative context. In more concrete terms, the SP accounted for 35 per cent of the time in

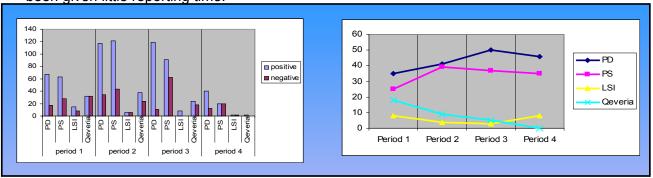
an almost positive context, while the DP was allocated 31 per cent of the time in a negative context. For the first time, LSI was allotted 8 per cent of the time in a positive context.

TEUTA 14 May – 01 July

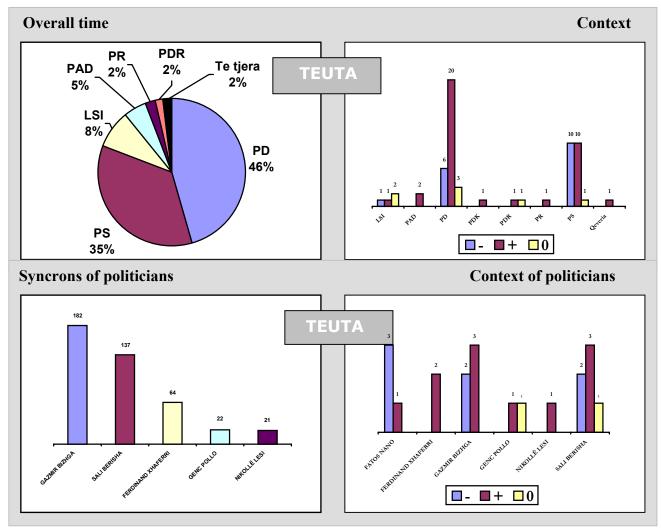
Results of performed monitoring show that Teuta TV gave more support to the DP than the SP. Teuta devoted more time to big parties than any other TV channel. Thus, DP was granted 42 per cent of the time in a chiefly positive context and the SP accounted for 34 per cent of the time in a positive context. The Government was allotted 10 per cent of the time in an almost balanced context. It must be highlighted that the DP has taken up more time in this TV channel than in others. Sali Berisha accounted for more syncron time and his context was positive vis-à-vis his rival Fatos Nano who was shown in a rather negative context.



Trends – In almost all monitoring periods, a clear tendency for coverage in support of the DP in terms of overall time and context was noted. This trend was more evident in the third monitoring period, but has been reduced in the last reporting period. There has almost always been little interest in the Governnment, while LSI and small parties have been given little reporting time.



During this monitoring period, a trend towards positive coverage of the DP was noticed. So, the DP accounted for 46 per cent of the overall time in a very positive context, while the SP was granted 35 per cent of the time in a balanced context. LSI was also allocated 8 per cent of the time in a balanced context. Gazmir Bizhga was given more syncron time than Sali Berisha, while the context of both of them was mostly positive. Fatos Nano's context was almost negative.

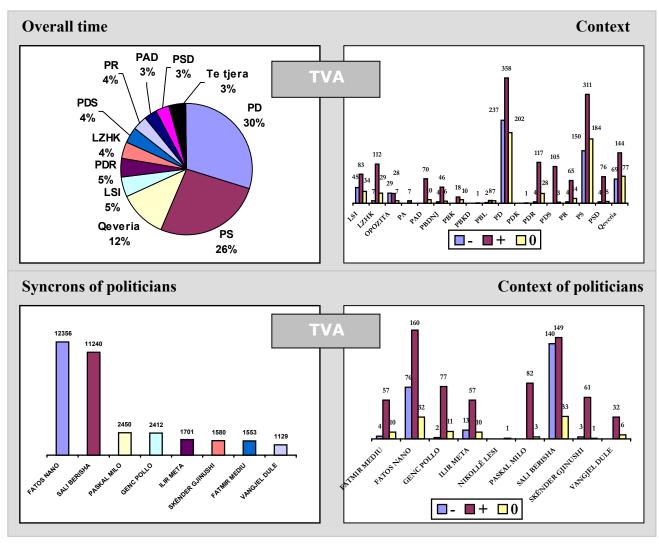


03 July - 09 July

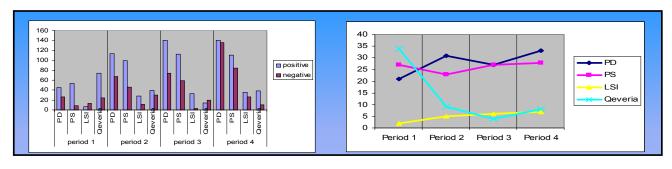
During post-electoral period, Teuta visibly increased its coverage in support of the DP, resulting in a growth by 19 per cent of its overall time, which is equivalent to 65 per cent, while the SP experienced a distinct drop in its overall time by 27 per cent, which is equivalent to 8 per cent of the overall time in a generally negative context.

TVA 14 May – 01 July

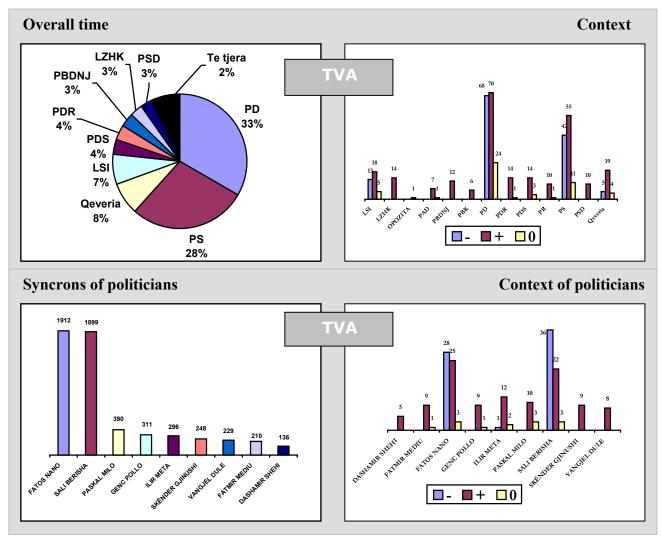
Given the overall time and context, the result during this monitoring period was that TVA slightly aligned itself with the SP / Government. The DP accounts for 30 per cent of the time with an overall positive context, SP enjoys 26 per cent and a positive context. The Government also enjoys a positive context with 12 per cent of the overall time and LSI is allotted 5 per cent of the time.



Trends – In the first period of monitoring, before the start of the electoral campagin, TVA demonstrated a visible coverage in support of the SP / Government. At the start of the election campagin, in the second monitoring period and later on, a change of attitude and balanced reporting took place. A sharp drop in the reporting curve on behalf of the Government was noticed, as was a slight increase of coverage for LSI and small parties. In the post-electoral period, a slight leaning towards the SP was noted.



During this monitoring period, one week before the elections, TVA has reported in an almost balanced manner, slightly leaning towards the SP / Government. The DP accounts for 33 per cent of the time, the SP for 28 per cent and the Government for 8 per cent. Considering the graph of contexts, it results that the SP enjoyed more positive tones than the DP, while the Government has almost always been marked by positive tones. In the graph of the politicians' context, the context of Berisha was more negative than that of Nano, while the syncron time allotted to both is almost the same.

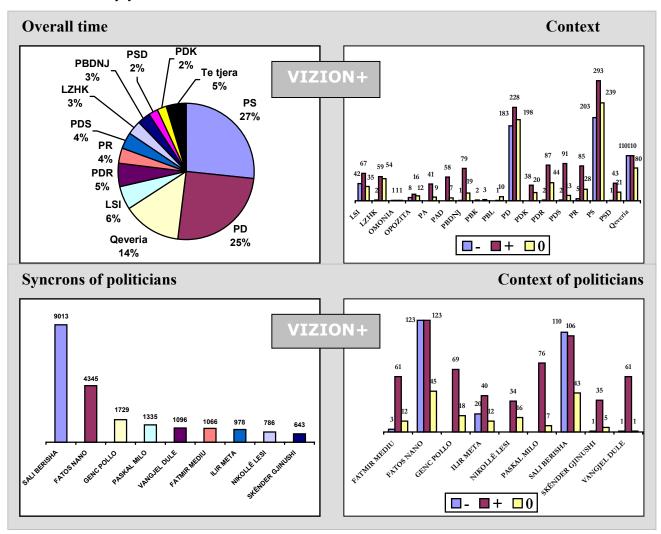


03 July - 09 July

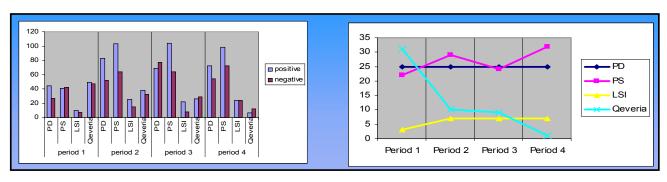
During the post-electoral period, TVA increased its support for the SP, which experienced a growth in the overall time by 7 per cent, while the DP witnessed a decline of the total time by 9 per cent and in a very negative context.

VIZION + 14 May – 01 July

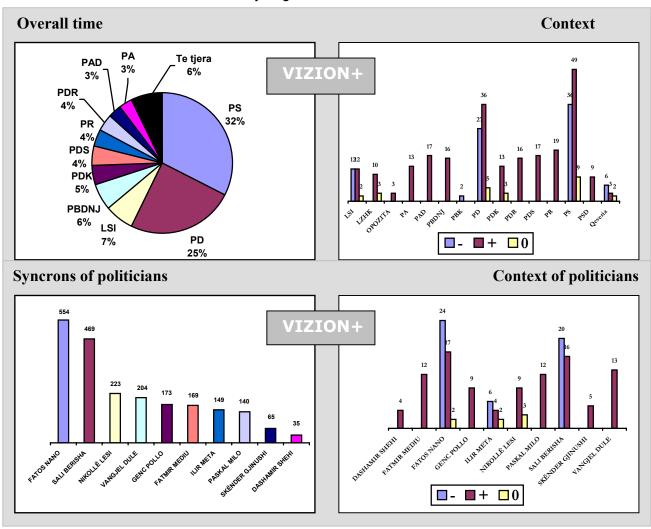
Considering the continuous monitoring until the Election Day, Vizion + is largely balanced with a slight leaning towards the SP. The SP accounted for 27 per cent of the overall time in a more positive context, while the DP was granted 25 per cent in a positive context. The Government made up 14 per cent of the time in a completely balanced context and LSI was allotted 6 per cent in a positive context. Sali Berisha is the politician with most syncrons, but his context is more negative than positive. Meanwhile Fatos Nano enjoyed less time in a balanced context.



Trends – Apart from the first phase before the election campaign, the rest of the coverage by Vizion + has been towards giving slightly more support to the SP in both the overall time and the context. Unchanged reporting of the DP in overall time is noted, and an increase in the time of SP, especially in the last monitoring period. The coverage for the Government has experienced a sharp decline.



During this monitoring period, Vizion + has supported the SP more than the DP. The SP makes up 32 per cent of the overall time with positive tones, while the DP accounts for 25 per cent of the time. LSI was granted 7 per cent in a balanced context. Fatos Nano has been allotted the largest portion of time leaving Sali Berisha behind. Even in this case, both of their contexts are mostly negative.

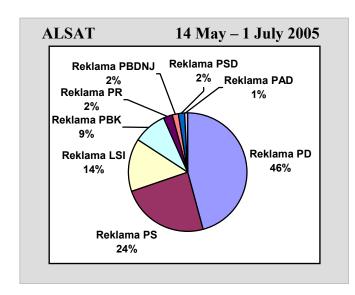


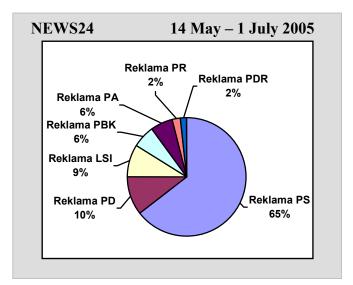
03 July - 09 July

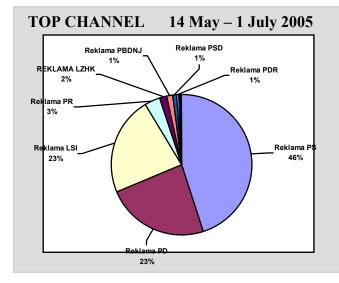
During the post-electoral campaign, a change of course was noted, giving a slight bias in favor of the DP, increasing its total time from 25 per cent in the preceding period to 38 per cent of the total time in a generally positive context.

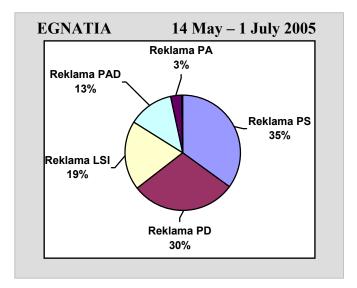
ELECTORAL SPOTS

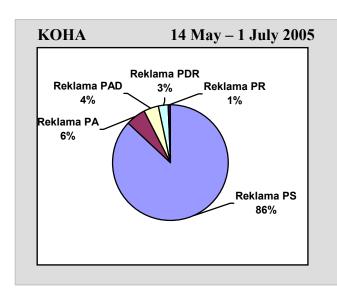
This section will cover data on the electoral spots of political parties broadcasted by electronic media – TV channels – every day from 3 p.m. – 12 a.m. spanning the period from 14 May – 1 July 2005. It should be underlined that this presentation does not represent the media's views on the political parties, since the political parties themselves decide on the number of spots to be aired on TV channels.

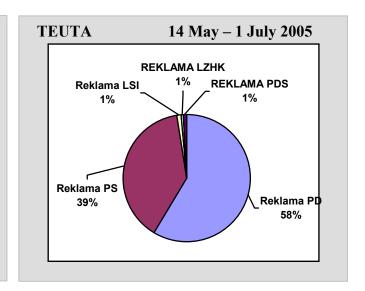


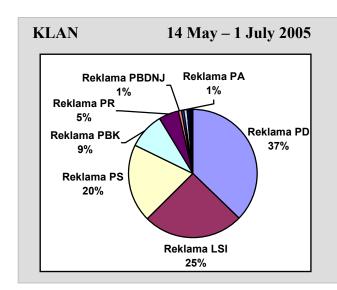


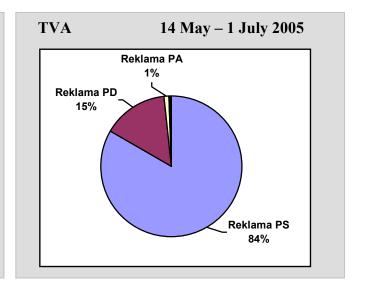


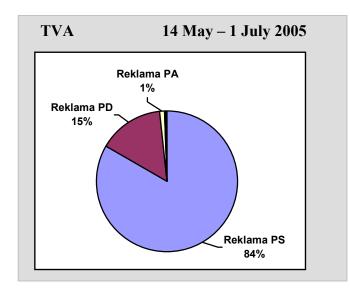








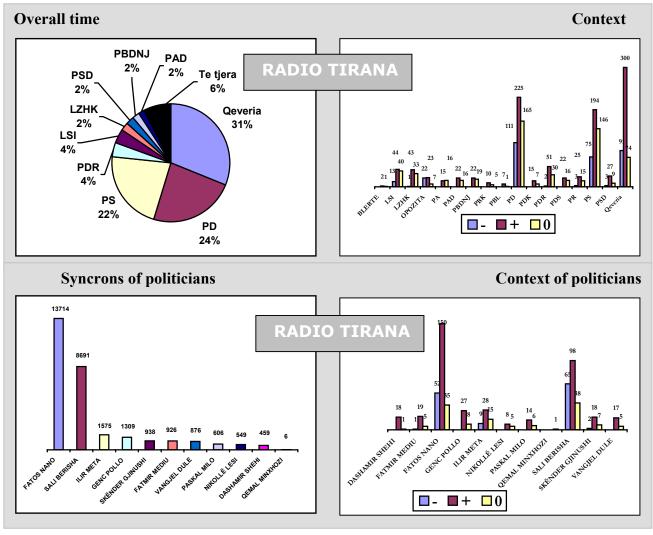




RADIO STATIONS

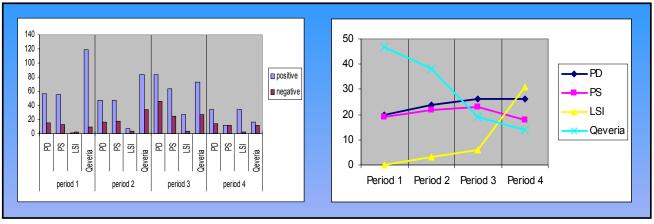
RADIO TIRANA 14 May - 01 July

The Government has been well covered with 31 per cent of the total time. Taken together, the Government and the SP account for two times more coverage than the DP, which accounts for 24 per cent of the coverage of political parties. It is noted that less coverage has been devoted to the LSI, which takes up 4 per cent of the overall time, as opposed to other radio stations. In general terms, this radio station has concentrated only on big parties (SP and DP) and the Government, which together account for 80 per cent of the overall time. The context for the Government is extremely positive. Fatos Nano has taken up 37 per cent more overall time than Sali Berisha. This is also backed up by syncron allotted time, where Fatos Nano has been on air approximately 32 per cent more than Sali Berisha. Also, the context on behalf of Fatos Nano is largely positive.

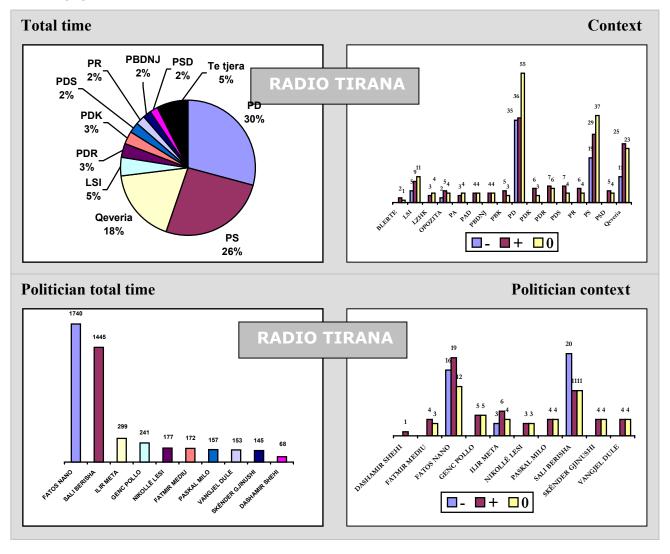


Trends – Considering the analysis of the time coverage, it is noticed that with the approach of elections, this station has attempted to reduce disparity between the main political parties, the DP and the SP, by reducing the time available to the Government. This may be regarded as a positive step, however, it could still be said that the reporting time for the Government should have been less. In terms of the context, it can be noted that the positive tones for the government have been reduced. In the last days of the

campaign, the LSI experienced a visibly positive development in terms of increased coverage.



One week before the elections, Radio Tirana kept up the trend noticed in the third monitoring phase towards a more balanced coverage of the political parties. The DP has taken up 30 per cent of the coverage, while the SP accounts for 26 per cent. However, the problems of the Government's coverage have persisted in this period, allotting the Government 18 per cent of its coverage time. In terms of context, there has been an attempt at balance, but the balance is not kept when it comes to the context of the information for the Government, which manifests positive trends. A balance can also be observed in the syncrons of the main politicians, where Fatos Nano and Sali Berisha have accounted for the same amount of time in the use of the microphone of Radio Tirana.



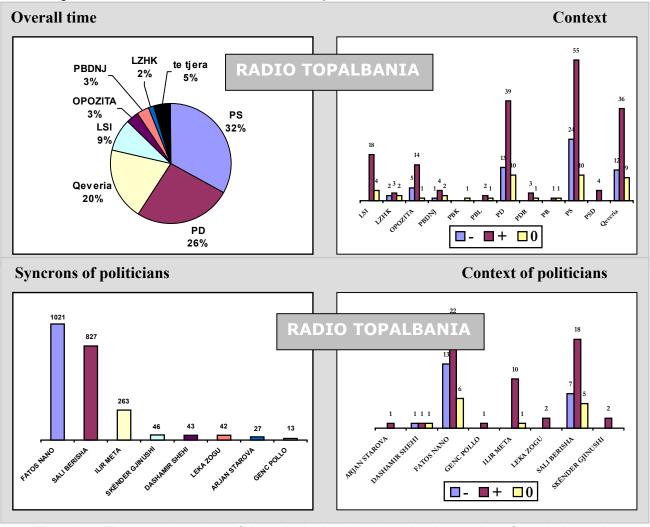
03 July - 09 July

This radio station continues to be an exception in terms of political parties' coverage, because, even after the elections, it still devoted a considerable time to

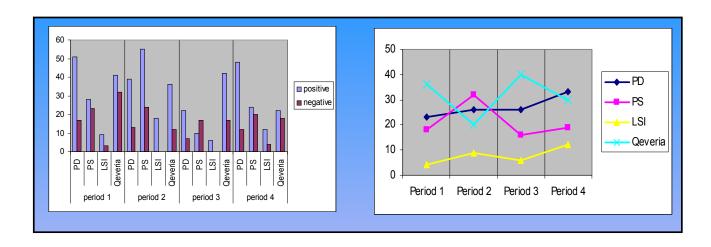
covering the activities of the Government. However, the post-electoral analysis cannot carry the same weight as the pre-electoral analysis. In this case, the coverage on behalf of the Government is more justifiable. The DP has taken up more time than the SP, while Fatos Nano continues to account for the most coverage on this radio station, but the context is almost the same as Sali Berisha, rendering both of them positive.

TOP ALBANIA RADIO 14 May – 01 July

During this time, 20 per cent of the time was allocated to the Government, 32 per cent to the SP and 26 per cent to the DP. Compared to the first monitoring period, there is a change of time allotted to the SP, a growth of 14 per cent. This resulted from a reduction of time granted to the Government, which experienced a drop of 16 per cent. In total, the time allotted to the SP / Government has not experienced any changes in comparison with the first period. The time allotted for the DP is at the same level. The context of information for the SP and DP is comparatively balanced, respectively accounting for 62 per cent and 63 per cent of syncrons with positive tones. It must be highlighted that both parties, Government inclusive, appear with positive tones. In terms of politicians, Nano has taken up 23 per cent more than Berisha, but in terms of context, both appear with positive tones. During this time, the station aired 9 electoral spots on behalf of the SP.



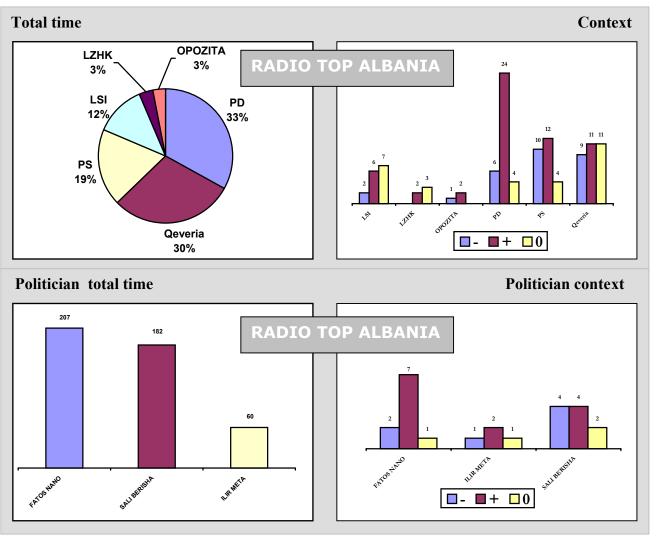
Trends – The reporting time of the principal political parties has striven for a balance in this station (with a drop in the SP time and a growth in the DP time). However, the problem of the coverage of the Government has persisted. Also, the time available to LSI has witnessed a growth from one period to another. In terms of the context, it is noticed that there is a decline of 'positivism' towards the SP in the last two periods prior to the Election Day.



During this time, there is a turnaround of coverage ratios for the political parties compared to previous periods. The DP comes first with 33 per cent of the coverage, while the coverage for the Government falls. However, Government's reporting has been considerable, accounting for 30 per cent of the time. What is noticed in this period is the focus of this station only on the major political parties. This is explained by the fact that the electoral campaign intensified largely through the main parties (SP and DP), forming coalitions with other, smaller ones, while the parties outside these coalitions, such as LSI and LZHK (League for the National Development) still got some coverage. LSI experienced a growth of 6 per cent in comparison with the previous period, totaling 12 per cent of the overall time.

Considering the context of information for the political parties, a change took place, where the context of information for the DP is visibly positive, while the information for the SP and the Government was balanced.

The overall time made available to the main politicians has been mostly balanced. The context of information for Fatos Nano featured positive tones, while the context for Sali Berisha was balanced.



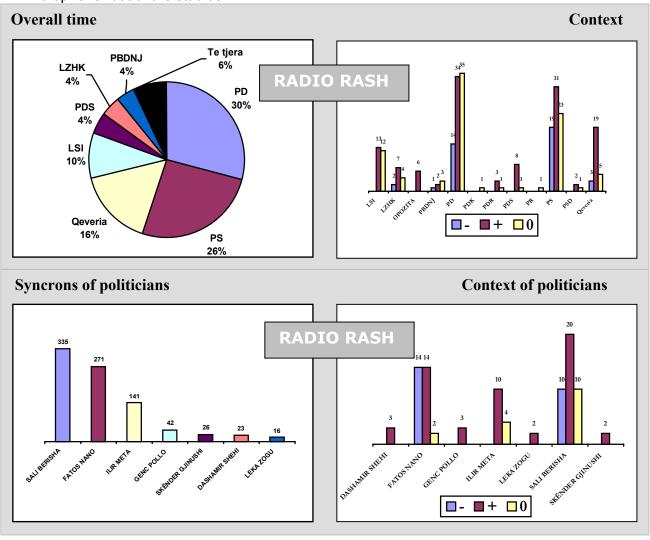
03 July - 09 July

The coverage of political parties has been balanced with the DP accounting for 30 per cent of the time, followed by the SP with 29 per cent and the LSI with 19 per cent. More time has been devoted to the LSI in this station than in any other station. Meanwhile, the context features negatively for the SP and more positively for the DP, containing a large number of impartial sequences for both parties.

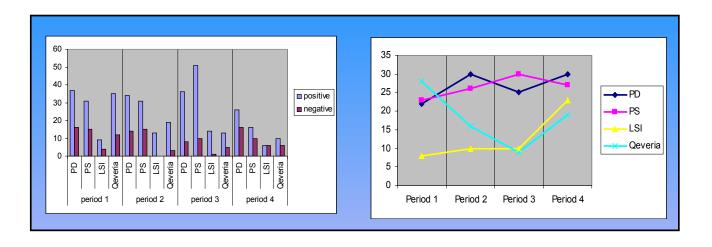
In terms of coverage of politicians, Ilir Meta fares best, followed by Fatos Nano and Sali Berisha, with an equal share of coverage. However, the context of information for Fatos Nano is mainly negative, while Sali Berisha and Ilir Meta feature rather positively.

RADIO RASH 14 May – 01 July

The overall time allotted to the DP has increased by 8 per cent, totaling 30 per cent. The time for the Government has experienced a drop from 28 per cent to 16 per cent. The SP still occupies 26 per cent of the overall time, but adding up the time for the Government, it is tantamount to 42 per cent of the overall time. The context for the SP and the DP is almost the same: chiefly positive, while the Government is noticeably referred to with largely positive tones (with 70 per cent of the time). Like the first monitoring period, the SP and the Government enjoy the same visible priority. The station continues not to have syncrons of various politicians of the Albanian political landscape, thus, not "taking the microphone" out of the studios.

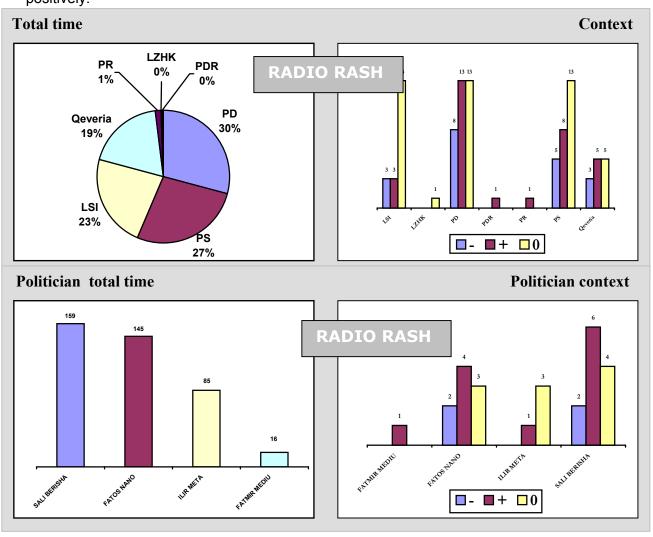


Trends – In terms of coverage for the major political parties, a uniformity over various monitoring periods has been maintained, generally appearing as balanced. Meanwhile, a fall in the coverage for the Government is seen in the first three monitoring periods, with an increase in the last period. A considerable growth in the LSI coverage was also noted during the last period prior to the Election Day. The context has been largely unchanged during the entire period.



In this period, there is a turnaround in coverage ratios compared with the previous period. The DP's coverage increased by 5 per cent totaling around 30 per cent of the overall time. The SP's coverage fell by 3 per cent, totaling around 27 per cent of the overall time. The most striking thing during this one-week period was the considerable coverage for the LSI, which witnessed a growth of 13 per cent compared with the previous period, totaling 23 per cent of the overall time.

The context has been mostly balanced, with both major political parties being featured positively.

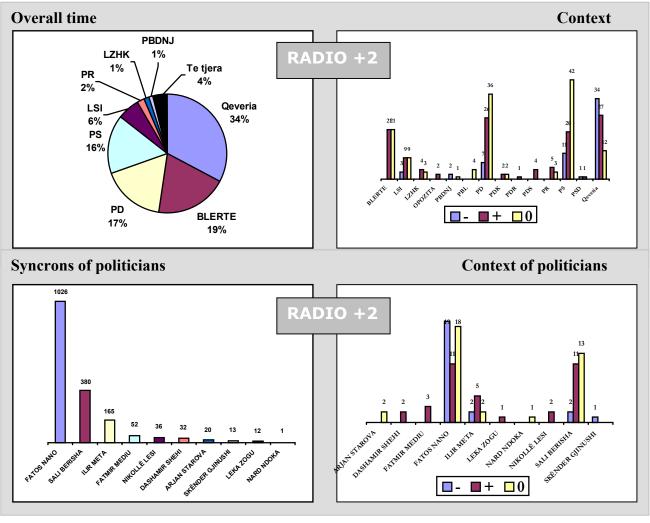


03 July - 09 July

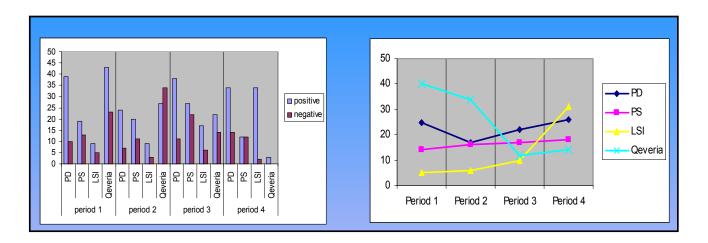
The same situation prevailed in this radio station in terms of coverage for the political parties. The DP featured more positively, the SP more negatively. Sali Berisha enjoyed an advantage in the coverage of principal politicians over Fatos Nano and with a positive context. The same amount of time has been allocated to Ilir Meta and Fatos Nano.

RADIO +2 14 May - 01 July

The Government's coverage fell by 6 per cent in comparison with the first period when the coverage accounted for 40 per cent. The time allotted to the DP was reduced to 17 per cent, marking a fall of 8 per cent compared with the first monitoring period. It should be emphasized that 19 per cent of the overall time was made available to the Albanian Green League. In the first monitoring period, this political party accounted for less than 1 per cent of the overall time. However, the quantity of positive and negative sequences on behalf of the Government appeared balanced. The Albanian Green League does not have any negative sequences in this station. In terms of overall time, Fatos Nano accounted for three times more than Sali Berisha. Considering the context, Fatos Nano gained the greater number of negative syncrons, while Sali Berisha appears to come into a more positive light.

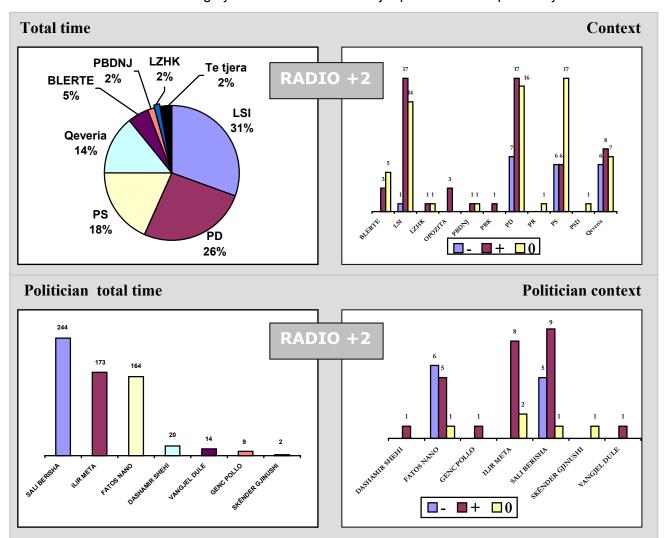


Trends – A sharp fall in coverage for the Government was noted in the last two monitoring periods while coverage for the DP and SP has been almost unchanged. A growth in coverage for the LSI was seen in the last period. In terms of context, a growth of negative sequences for the SP was noted, while 'positivism' for the DP remained unchanged. An apparent increase of positive sequences for the LSI was seen in the last period.



Even in this case, there is a turnaround of coverage ratios compared with the previous period. The DP saw an increase of 5 per cent accounting for 30 per cent of the overall time. The SP experienced a drop of 3 per cent, taking up around 27 per cent of the overall time. The striking thing about this station during this one-week period was its considerable coverage of the LSI, which increased by 13 per cent compared with previous periods, accounting for 23 per cent of the overall time.

The context has been largely balanced and both major parties feature positively.

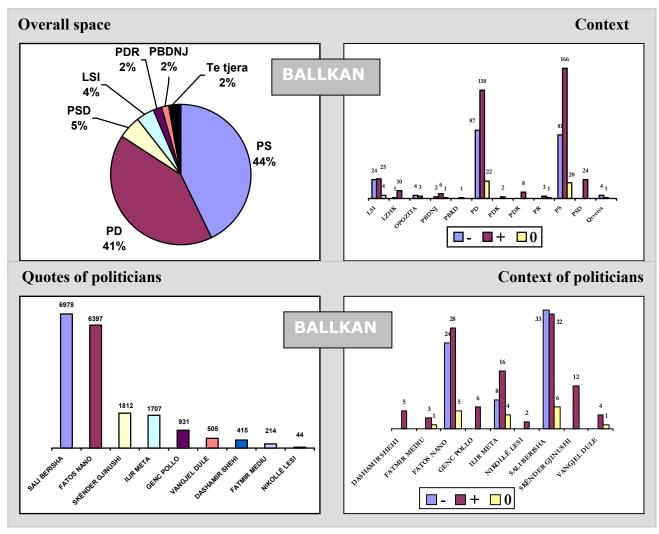


03 July - 09 JulyThe coverage of political parties has been balanced. In terms of the context, the situation was balanced for both major political parties. As far as coverage of politicians was concerned, Sali Berisha accounted for two times more coverage than Fatos Nano and also enjoyed a positive context as opposed to a negative context of the latter.

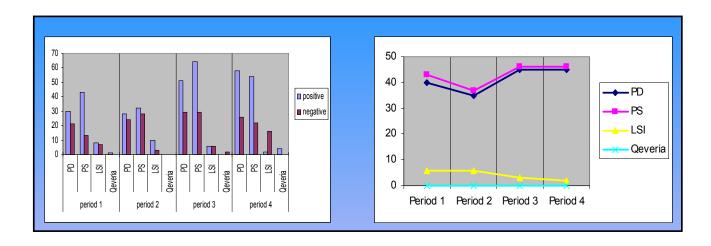
NEWSPAPERS

BALLKAN 14 May- 01 July

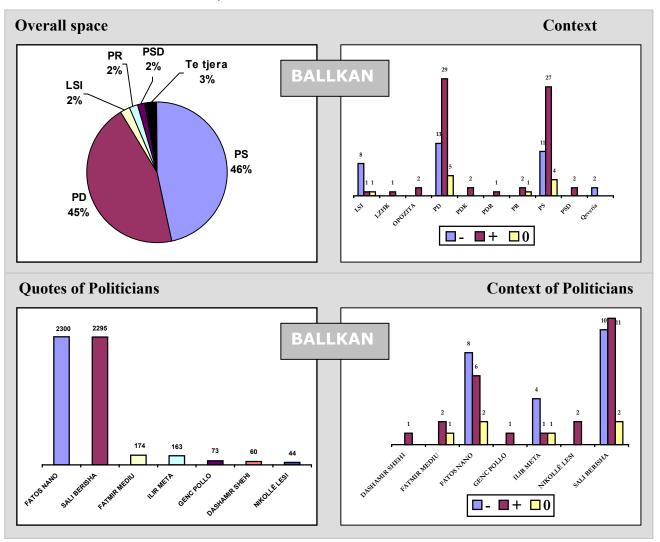
Almost the entire space of the newspaper, 85%, has been made available to the major political parties. The SP accounted for 44 per cent compared to 41 per cent for the DP. The context for both parties was balanced. Berisha occupied more space in a rather negative context, compared with Nano who occupied less space but in a largely positive context. The social democrats were placed third with 5 per cent. The Chairman of this party, Skënder Gjinushi was ranked third in terms of space made available to politicians, in a completely positive context. The Government took up less than 1 per cent, while the other small parties ranked as follows: the LSI with 4 per cent, the PDR (the New Democrat Party) with 2 per cent and the PBDNJ (Human Rights Union Party) with 2 per cent.



Trends – The newspaper has maintained the ratios of context for the two major political parties, in a progressively more balanced way from the first monitoring period, where the positive context focused on the SP, to the fourth monitoring phase where the context appeared largely balanced. Beginning with the first phase and moving towards the last one, space available to the DP and SP increased, and space for the LSI, reduced.



The newspaper appeared to be balanced for both major political parties in terms of space and context. The total space made available to the LSI has been shrinking, reaching 2 per cent in a mostly negative context. Nano and Berisha accounted for almost the same amount of space in a balanced context.

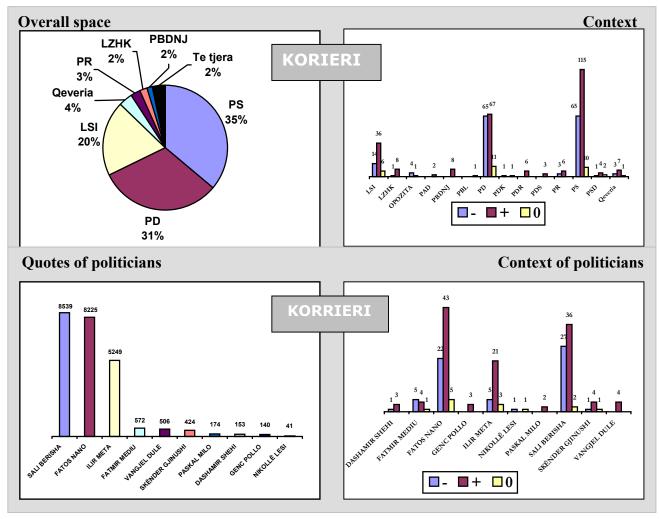


03 July - 09 July

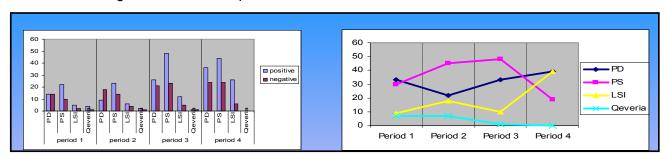
A balance in terms of space and context appeared for both major political parties, the SP and the DP. Berisha accounted for twice as much space as Nano, while the context in which he was placed was chiefly positive.

KORRIERI 14 May – 01 July

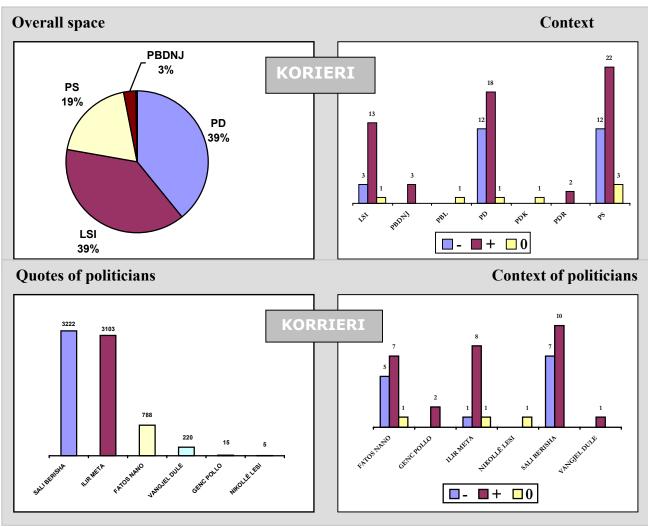
Most of the space, 35 per cent, was made available to the SP in a largely positive context, while the DP accounted for 31 per cent of the space in a balanced context. Nano and Berisha took up almost the same amount of space, but the chairman of SP enjoyed a stronger positive context than Berisha. Ilir Meta ranked third in terms of allotted space and the context was almost positive. LSI took up 20 per cent of the allocated space for the political parties in a generally positive context. The other small parties took up little space.



Trends – The context for both political parties has moved towards a balanced coverage in the fourth monitoring period. It went through changes in the second period where the SP featured in a more positive context compared with that of the DP. Meanwhile, the space allocated to the major political parties was reflected by the line graph below: the space available to the SP decreasing, and that for the DP, increasing. Also, the LSI witnessed a growth in the run-up to the elections.



The space available to the LSI increased to 39 per cent, equaling that of the DP, while the SP ranked third with 19 per cent of the space, equal to the space the LSI used to have in previous monitoring periods. All three parties have been portrayed in positive tones. Amidst politicians, Meta is ranked second immediately after Berisha, while Nano is placed third. The three of them have been reported in a balanced way in terms of context.

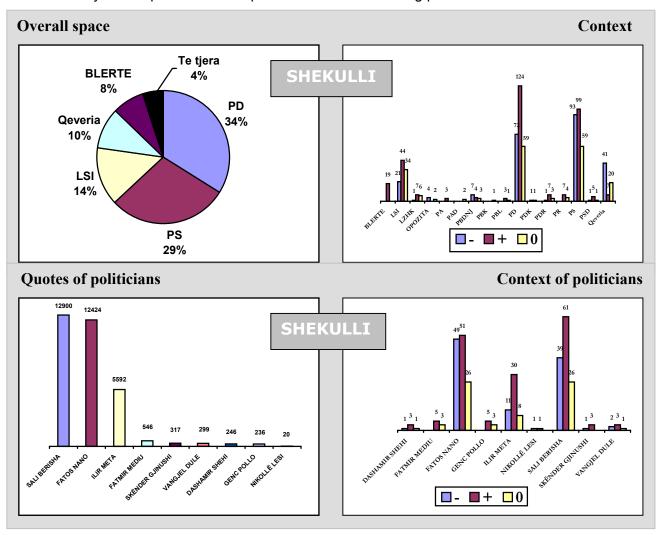


03 July - 09 July

The DP and Berisha accounted for more space than the SP and Nano. The context for both parties appeared balanced as was the context for both politicians, Nano and Berisha. The space available to the LSI and Meta was reduced.

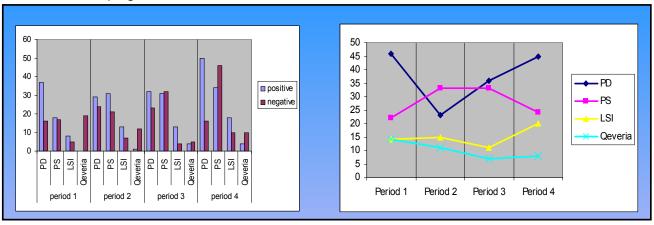
SHEKULLI 14 May – 01 July

It has reflected a slight bias in favor of the Democratic Party and the opposition in terms of space available to political parties. Coverage of the DP was done in a positive context. Amidst the main politicians, Sali Berisha and Fatos Nano share almost the same amount of available space, but the Chairman of the DP, Sali Berisha, has been reported in a more positive context. The Government accounted for 10 per cent of the overall space in a mainly negative context. The LSI was placed third with 14% of the space in a positive context. The fourth party that follows is the Green Party with 8 per cent in a completely positive context. The other parties, taken altogether, accounted for 4 per cent. This relatively small space has been preserved in all monitoring periods.

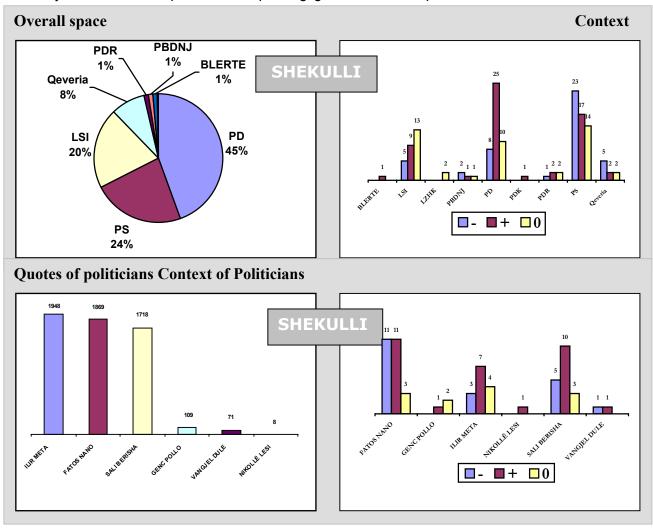


Trends – Apparent changes in this newspaper speak of growing support for the DP since the outset of the campaign. At the end of the electoral campaign, this newspaper manifested strong support for the DP and reduced the space available to the SP which was reported in a more negative context right in the middle of the electoral campaign.

This newspaper has distinctly increased the support for the LSI, notably in the last week of the campaign.



The space available to the DP increased, totaling 45 per cent in a principally positive context, while the space available to the SP decreased to 24 per cent in a balanced context. The same applied to the LSI, which accounted for 20 per cent of the space, while llir Meta fared best, leaving Nano and Berisha respectively in the second and third place. Coverage of Meta and Berisha was in a largely positive context, while that of Nano was in a balanced context. In the last week, there was a drop in the space available to the Green Party, while the small parties took up a negligible amount of space.

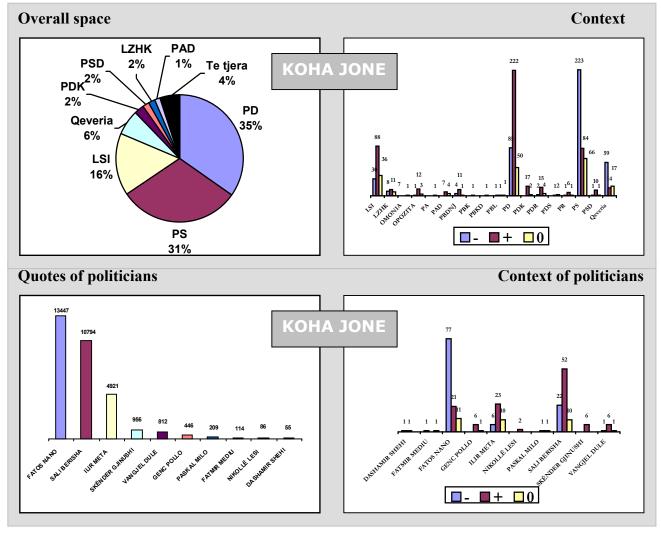


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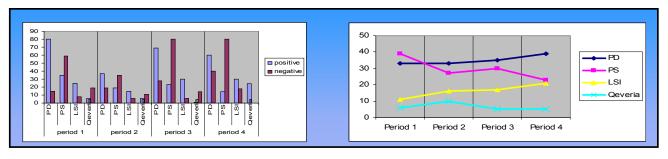
A balance of available space has been kept, while the context leans slightly positively towards Berisha and Nano. LSI comes third in a neutral context.

KOHA JONË 14 May – 01 July

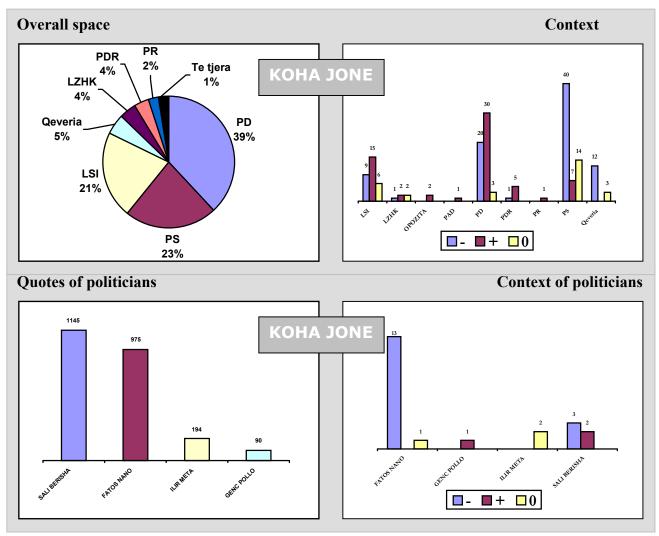
It has supported the DP during the monitoring periods and has been critical of the SP and the Government. The space allocated to the DP accounted for 35 per cent in a chiefly positive context, while that given to the SP accounted for 31 per cent in a mainly negative context. Fatos Nano took up more space than the other politicians but in negative contexts, while Berisha has been reported positively. The Government took up 6 per cent of the space in a negative context. The LSI took up 16 per cent and featured positively. In terms of politicians, Ilir Meta came third for the available space and featured positively. The other small parties, including PDK took up little space, not more than 2 per cent.



Trends – During the four monitoring periods, this newspaper increased its coverage in favor of the DP and decreased coverage of the SP. This trend was more striking in the last days of the electoral campaign. The space available to the LSI gradually increased. In terms of the context, it was positive for the DP and the LSI, while the SP was reported negatively.



The space available to the DP and the LSI increased, while that for the SP fell compared with previous monitoring periods. The support for the DP was preserved, as was criticism for the SP, while the LSI and Meta were impartially or positively featured. Nano and Berisha topped the list, but Nano has been reported entirely negatively.

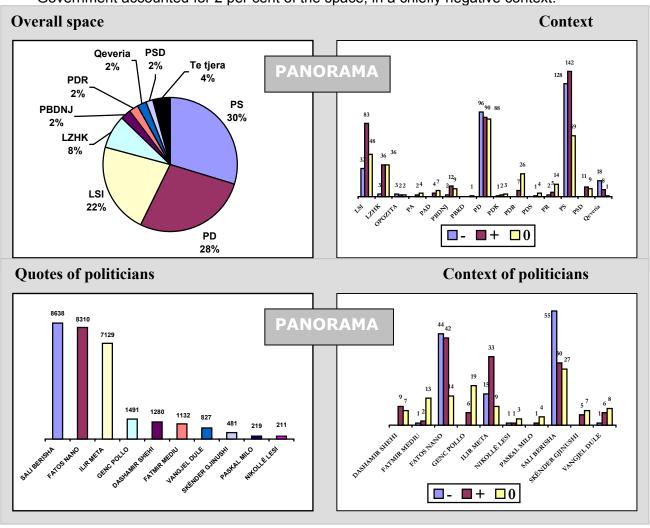


03 July - 09 July

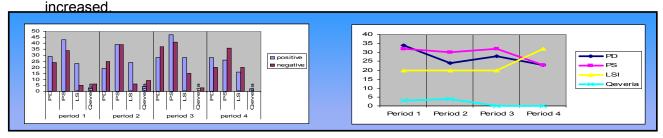
More space was made available to the DP and the context was fully positive. Meanwhile, Nano occupied more space than Berisha, but in a negative context. The space available to the LSI and Meta decreased.

PANORAMA 14 May – 01 July

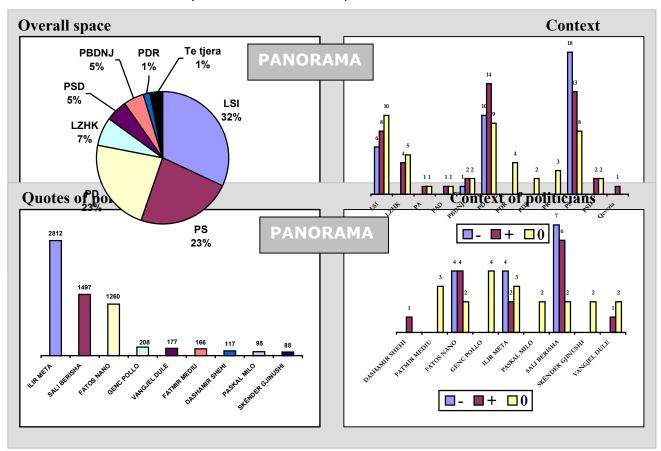
It has been primarily balanced between the two major parties – the SP and the DP – allocating equal space within a balanced context. The LSI comes third accounting for 22 per cent of the space, while the chairman of the LSI was placed third amongst the principal politicians. The LSI and Meta were reported largely positively. Nano and Berisha occupied the same amount of space. Nano has been covered in a balanced context, while Berisha slightly negatively. It allotted more space to small parties than other newspapers. LZHK (the League for National Development) occupied 8 per cent of the space, while PBDNJ (Human Rights Union Party), PDR (New Democrat Party), PSD (Social Democratic Party) 2 per cent each. As in the majority of the newspapers, the Government accounted for 2 per cent of the space, in a chiefly negative context.



Trends – A balanced reporting amongst the major political parties was generally maintained in the first monitoring periods. In the third period, there was an increase in a negative context for the DP, while in the fourth monitoring period, the opposite occurred; it increased positively. There was a slight reduction in space allocated to political parties from the first to the fourth monitoring period, while in the latter, space available to the LSI



The support for the LSI increased, topping the list in terms of space with 32 per cent, while the DP and SP were equally ranked with 23 per cent. Ilir Meta fared best, leaving Berisha and Nano respectively in the second and third place. The LSI was reported largely positively. In the last week, there was a negative context for the SP, but not that negative for Nano, while there was a positive context for the DP but not for Berisha. There was increased space available to small parties such as LZHK and PSD.

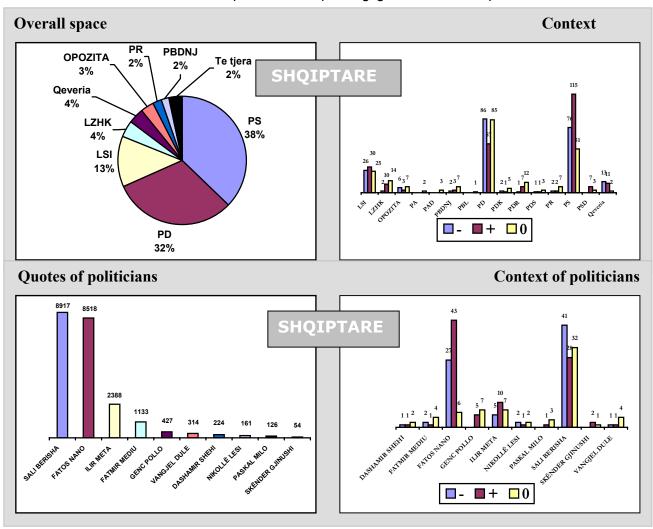


03 July - 09 July

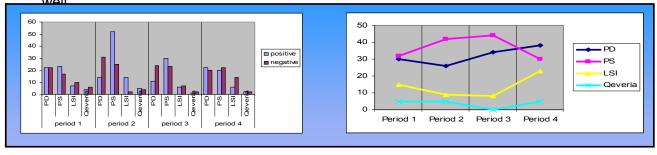
There is a balanced context, chiefly neutral, for both major political parties, but slightly negative for the SP, while there was more available space for the DP than for the SP. Berisha has taken up more space, principally in a positive context, while Nano was reported slightly negatively.

GAZETA SHQIPTARE 14 May – 01 July

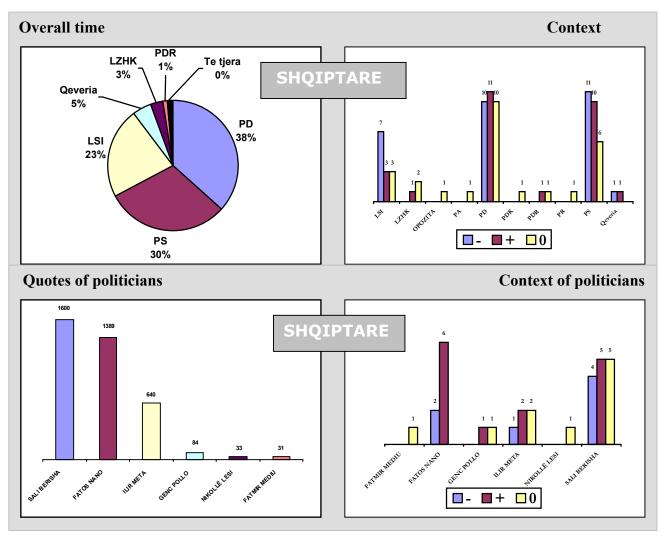
It primarily showed bias in favor of the SP in terms of allocated space, around 38 per cent, compared with the DP's, around 32 per cent. The context was mainly positive for the SP and chiefly negative for the DP. Berisha took up more space than Nano, but in a largely negative context, while the chairman of the SP was covered generally positively. The LSI comes third with 13 per cent, in a principally balanced context and its chairman, llir Meta, ranked third amidst politicians in terms of available space in a balanced context. The Government accounted for 4 per cent of the space in a principally positive context, while the other small parties took up a negligible amount of space.



Trends – From the second to the third monitoring period, there was an increase of positive context for the SP and negative context for the DP. In the fourth monitoring period, the context was slightly positive in favor of the SP. The space available to the DP decreased, until the fourth monitoring period, while that available for the SP increased. There was an increase in the space available to the LSI in the fourth reporting period as



More space was allocated to the DP in a chiefly balanced context, and less space to the SP but in a balanced context. The space available to the LSI increased drastically compared with other monitoring periods, to around 23 per cent, but in a largely negative context. Berisha continued to top the list in terms of the available space, but in a balanced context, while Nano ranked second, but in a positive context.



03 July - 09 July

The available space for the DP and the SP was balanced, while there was a slightly positive context in favor of the DP and slightly negative towards the SP. Berisha's available space was greater than Nano's. The context for both of them was balanced.

Political women candidates in the media during the electoral campaign

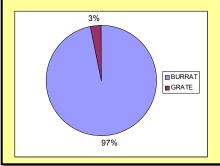
The graphs in this section represent the media coverage for various categories namely five male politicians compared with five female politicians on radio stations, TV channels and monitored print media. This method was used, because, if all men and women involved in politics were to be presented in these graphs, the result would be weighted by the great number of men in politics and so would not accurately reflect the impact of media coverage for women's opinions. Referring to the media coverage of female politicians compared to the media coverage of male politicians, a special method was drafted.

Looking at the time listings that TV channels have devoted to female politicians, a striking imbalance in the amounts of time allotted to men and women became apparent. The total time allocated by the media to the most outspoken female politicians, and the 5 male politicians, is shown in the above mentioned graph, where women accounted for 3 per cent, while men accounted for 97 per cent. If the first ten politicians are analyzed in terms of the overall time in syncrons or quotes, there hardly appears to be any women. This ratio appears to be 95 per cent to 5 per cent in favor of men in cases of radio stations, and 96 per cent to 4 per cent in cases of monitored media. It is disputed whether the media should be blamed for not having allocated sufficient time to female politicians or whether politics should claim part of the blame for not having given sufficient space to women.

TV CHANNELS

Men	Time
SALI BERISHA	160569
FATOS NANO	152162
ILIR META	33819
ALFRED MOISIU	32682
GENC POLLO	24908
Men	404140

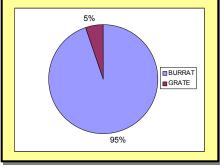
Women	Time
VALENTINA LESKAJ	3920
MIMI KODHELI	2776
NATASHA PACO	2517
JOZEFINA TOPALLI(ÇOBA)	1777
ERMELINDA MEKSI	1313
Women	12303



RADIO STATIONS

Time
19240
13125
7014
3448
3168
45995

Women	Time
BRIXHIDA KOKEDHIMA	1980
MIMI KODHELI	226
JOZEFINA TOPALLI(ÇOBA)	160
ERMELINDA MEKSI	147
RAIMONDA STEFA	46
Women	2559



NEWSPAPERS

Men	Time
FATOS NANO	57321
SALI BERISHA	56766
ILIR META	26986
EDI RAMA	7257
ALFRED MOISIU	5502
Men	153832

Women	Time
MAJLINDA KETA	1614
MIMI KODHELI	1407
JOZEFINA TOPALLI	1371
RAIMONDA STEFA	1277
MONIKA KRYEMADHI	1195
Women	6864

