

Presidential and Parliamentary elections 2019 Ukraine

Media Monitoring Methodology

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“A lie can travel half way around the world while the truth is putting on its shoes.”

Mark Twain

“I worry that we're not getting enough of the news that we need to make informed judgments as citizens.”

Walter Cronkite

I GENERAL INFORMATION

Introduction

The intention of this document is to help the Ukrainian Civil Society to enhance their existing media monitoring capacity to observe how Ukrainian media cover the upcoming presidential and parliamentary elections in 2019. This document will give the respective media-monitoring organizations more effective tools for evaluating issues related to media coverage.

This document is intended for use by civil society organizations, particularly, by coalition of CSOs including the Commission on Journalism Ethics (CJE), Human Rights Platform, Ukrainian Media and Communications Institute, StopFake and other CSOs and professional media organizations that will cooperate with the Council of Europe prior to the presidential and parliamentary elections in Ukraine. A team of fifteen Ukrainian media monitors and analysts will conduct quantitative and qualitative analysis of the media coverage three months prior to each elections and issue seven media monitoring reports to inform the public about the level of political diversity in Ukrainian media coverage of the elections. The main goal of this monitoring is:

- to provide the media, the political contestants, the international community and the citizens with benchmarks to judge the fairness of the election process.
- to support the civil society in conducting professional monitoring of the media coverage of elections and to assess the coverage against the Council of Europe and other international standards for the media coverage of elections;
- to reduce the negative effect of disinformation and propaganda on the election process; to help establishing a sustainable and effective cooperation and coordination among national stakeholders to prevent and tackle violations in media coverage of elections;
- to contribute to a more fair and impartial media coverage of elections.

The project results will help in advocating for important changes and improvements of the media coverage of the next elections.

Legal framework and political context for the 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections

Political context

The political scene in Ukraine has changed a lot since the 2014 early parliamentary and presidential elections, conducted after the 2014 Revolution of Dignity and occupation of the Crimean Peninsula. At the beginning of 2018, the political forces that had received the majority of seats in the Parliament enabling them to form the ruling majority after massive protests, lost voters' support. The level of

political parties' support could be seen from the analysis of opinion polls conducted by the Razumkov Centre¹:

HOW HAS THE PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS PARTIES CHANGED:



In 2018, the same dynamics have been noticed. The opinion polls provide the following results (among parties which reached the 5% electoral threshold)²:

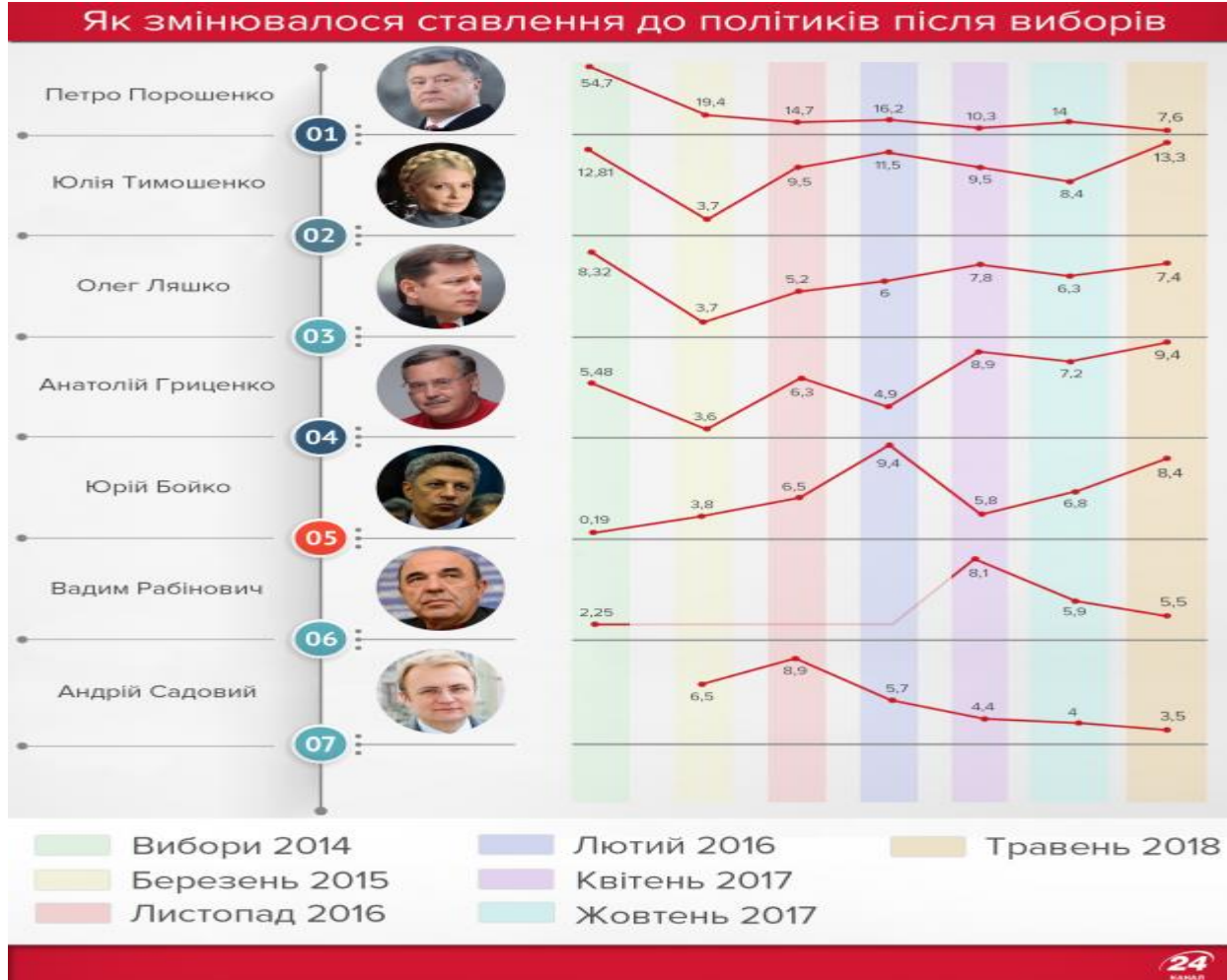
«Motherland» (12,6 percent) and party «Civic position» (10,7 percent), party «Opposition bloc» (8,5 percent), political party «For Life» (8,1 percent), Oleg Liashko Radical Party (7,9 percent), Petro Poroshenko Bloc «Solidarity» (7,8 percent). Samopomich party and the recently registered “People’s servant” party most likely reach the electoral threshold and get 5,1 and 5,0 percent respectively.

The following are the ratings of potential candidates to the post of the President of Ukraine³:

¹ «Infographics: how ratings of politicians and parties have changed in Ukraine»
<http://razumkov.org.ua/statti-ta-interviu/yak-zminiuvalsia-reitynhy-politykiv-i-partii-v-ukraini-pislia-vyboriv-infohrafika>

² «Electoral ratings: May 2018»
http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/2018_travenj_rejtyngy.pdf

HOW HAS THE PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD POLITICIANS CHANGED:



The potential candidates from among the ruling coalition, including the incumbent president, have an average of 3% to 14% voters' support and go hand in hand in the margins of error. The Opposition Bloc and its satellites received comparable voters' support.

When asked to express their preferences for a new leader, the respondents identified three such leaders: Sviatoslav Vakarchuk (7 percent), Volodymyr Zelenskyi (6,6 percent) and Yevgen Murayev (6 percent). While these potential candidates have not yet confirmed their willingness to participate in the presidential election, they have already gained the public support as potential candidates.⁴

The situation is also characterized by a large number of voters who are determined to participate in elections but have not decided yet who to vote for. As of May 2018, the percentage of those voters was 14.6 percent (difficult to answer) with regard to the presidential election which amounts to 24.3

³ «Infographics: how ratings of politicians and parties have changed in Ukraine»
<http://razumkov.org.ua/statti-ta-interviu/yak-zminiuvalsia-reitynhy-politykiv-i-partii-v-ukraini-pislia-vyboriv-infohrafika>

⁴ «Electoral ratings: May 2018»
http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/2018_travenj_reityngy.pdf

per cent - if combined with 9.7 percent support given to a category in the survey called "other politicians". Regarding the parliamentary elections, the percentage was 13.3 (undecided) and 6.3 respectively (voting for others), amounting to - 19.6 if combined.⁵

The parliamentary elections will most likely be held in a mixed electoral system, which will also affect the final result in the context of the general "party results". Certain political forces may not nominate candidates at the national level but will compete in the single-mandate constituencies. Also, it is unknown which faction's self-nominated candidates will join.

The elections will probably take place in the context of ongoing criminal proceedings initiated against representatives of opposition parties, some individuals who held senior government positions during 2014-2017, and criminal proceedings initiated due to crimes committed during the Revolution of Dignity.

The occupation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the hostilities in the eastern part of Ukraine and, in fact, and the ongoing hybrid war against Ukraine (in the media field as well) will likely affect the electoral mood and voting during the election processes in 2019. In these conditions, the number of initiatives coming from the authorities, which may result in restrictions on freedom of expression, increases. Some of these initiatives receive critical feedback from non-governmental human rights organizations, in particular, the initiative on the massive ban of websites without proper procedural safeguards. Additionally, heated discussions are under way in the Parliament regarding proposals to close pro-Russian content channels without any judicial proceedings. At the same time, one should note that the issue of the use of special mechanisms and / or instruments for combating propaganda, dissemination of deliberately false information and other manipulations in the information realm have not yet been developed at the legislative level. Election legislation does not cover such issues either.

Generally, the social and political situation in the country is marked by public disorientation and uncertainty of a large number of voters. This situation comes from the demand for new politicians and new quality of politics but at the same time there appears to be lack of initiatives and individuals who could fulfil this demand. Ratings of politicians and parties show unpredictability of the results for both presidential and parliamentary election campaigns. The authorities may also be affected by information provocations and manipulations. This would impose more burden on media and journalists, as well as put serious challenge to non-governmental organizations in identifying and preventing such situations.

Legislative framework on media coverage and pre-election campaigning

The main legislation on organization and conduct of parliamentary and presidential elections includes the Law of Ukraine "On Elections of People's Deputies of Ukraine" (No. 4061-VI as of November 17, 2011 with amendments and supplements) and the Law of Ukraine "On Elections of the President of Ukraine" (No. 474-XIV as of March 5, 1999 with amendments and supplements) respectively.

In general, the legislation regulating electoral process is dispersed and consists of many laws and by-laws. Particularly, these are the Constitution of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine "On the State Register

⁵ «Вибірчі рейтинги: травень-2018»
http://razumkov.org.ua/uploads/socio/2018_travenj_rejtyngy.pdf

of Voters", the Law of Ukraine "On the Central Election Commission", the Code of Administrative Proceedings of Ukraine, the Criminal Code of Ukraine, the Code of Administrative Offenses of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine "On Advertising", the resolutions of the Central Election Commission etc. Media sphere are governed by specific provisions of the relevant sections of the election laws, but also by the general provisions of the Laws of Ukraine "On Information", "On Television and Radio Broadcasting", "On Printed Mass Media (Press) in Ukraine", "On Information Agencies", "On the Procedure for Covering the Activities of Public Authorities and Local Authorities in Ukraine by the Mass Media".

Despite the longstanding recommendations of the European Commission for Democracy through Law (the Venice Commission) of the Council of Europe and the OSCE/ODIHR, harmonization of electoral legislation was not carried out as of mid 2018. 4 370 amendments were submitted before the second reading of the Draft Electoral Code of Ukraine (Bill No. 3112-1) having been voted in the first reading in November 2017 and supported by a minimum required number of votes in the Parliament. Taking into account that less than a year is left before the official start of the presidential campaign and of the parliamentary election process, in case of adoption of this bill by the Parliament, it will unlikely be applied to the electoral processes of 2019. Possible option being discussed in the Parliament is to support the bill in the second and third readings and adopt it with suspending its validity by 2020/2021.

The current legal framework on elections is generally adequate for the conduct of democratic elections.⁶ However, certain parts need to be improved to ensure that they are fully in line with international commitments and international standards. Along with enforcement mechanisms to ensure gender balance in the elected office, rules on public awareness raising and pre-election campaigning require significant changes.

The main objective of electoral legislation in part of information support and campaigning is to establish a fair balance of interests among candidates (parties), mass media, voters and to enable every voter to make an informed and conscious choice. The current legislation in this area is structured the same way as it was introduced by Ukraine's electoral law adopted in 2009 (drafted in 2007), namely, the regulation is divided into two parts based on the subject - "Information Support of Elections" and "Pre-election campaigning" (chapters XV, XVI).

Thus, it is based on the "heritage" of those years and only some of its parts attempt to meet contemporary challenges. Both administrative and judiciary practice over the last nine years has revealed certain shortcomings which need new systemic approaches in regulation in order to be removed. Presently, there is still a dual approach used to define "political advertising" and "pre-election campaigning", which leads to confusion regarding the rules governing pre-election campaigning (electoral law and law on advertising). These rules particularly do not take into account those significant social and political changes happened since after 2014 and the current political context in the country: ongoing hostilities and the hybrid war containing a powerful information component (manipulation, provocation, disinformation), the occupation of part of the territory etc. Disputable and controversial issues which are on the agenda today include restriction/prohibition of campaigning in mass media and through means of outdoor advertising (reducing the cost of election campaigns), clear division of campaigning and information support, clarity of "rules of the game" for mass media and accountability for their violation. Concerning accountability issues, one should

⁶ Final Report of the OSCE/ODHIR Election observation mission
<https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine/132556?download=true>

mention that administrative offenses as regards campaigning in the Code on Administrative Offenses of Ukraine do not imply significant sanctions. The regulator with imperfect powers during elections is present only for broadcasters. The differentiation between campaigning and information support at the legislative level was done through the elaboration of all possible forms of campaigning. Having too broad definition of "campaigning" and too narrow definition of "information support", one is puzzled with too complicated legal structure for application. All in all, it serves as a pre-condition for self-censorship, misuse by mass media and candidates, and a low level of observance of the standards on media coverage of elections.

However, Ukrainian lawmakers made certain amendments to the criminal legislation in the area of electoral crimes during 2014 – 2016. Particularly, the amendments were made as regards accountability for violations of procedures for political party financing, pre-election campaigning, campaigning during all-Ukrainian or local referenda⁷, more enhanced sanctions have been foreseen and more detailed elements of crime have been introduced for vote buying⁸ for illegal usage of ballots and to prevent multiple voting in a referendum.⁹



International human rights treaties, declarations and court cases have created a number of standards by which we can measure the environment in which the media operate during elections. There are several fundamental principles that, if promoted and respected, enhance the right to seek, receive and impart information.¹⁰

There are three main principles governing the media coverage of elections:

- **The rights of voters:** voters have the right to be informed about political alternatives and candidates' platforms to have the possibility to make an informed choice.
- **The rights of contestants:** candidates and parties have the right to communicate their platforms and their views. For this, they have a right to have an unimpeded access to the media on a non-discriminatory basis to inform the electorate about their policies and opinions on matters of public interest.
- **The right of the media:** the media have the freedom to inform the public about election

⁷ Article 159-1 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine

⁸ Article 160 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine

⁹ Article 158-1 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine

¹⁰ These are summarized at ACE Electoral Knowledge Network. "International Law on Media and Elections", 3rd ed., 2012, Available at: <http://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/me/mea/mea01> Accessed 21 November 2017

campaign and express their opinions on issues of public interest. They also cover all relevant election-related issues, and play an active role in informing voters and by offering them a diverse range of views, which include those of journalists and political analysts free to criticize politicians for their platforms or their performances. On the other hand they have the duty to inform voters in a correct, accurate, transparent, and balanced manner.

Equal treatment and equal access

The Law of Ukraine on Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine (hereinafter referred as the parliamentary elections law) provides that both state and private media should cover the campaign by providing equal conditions to candidates and political parties.¹¹ The Law of Ukraine "On the Elections of the President of Ukraine" (hereinafter referred as the presidential election law) guarantees "equal and impartial treatment by mass media with respect to the candidates for the President of Ukraine."¹² Moreover, the presidential law provides equal conditions for candidates to the post of President of Ukraine to access mass media.¹³

Unbiased and objective coverage

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that "voters shall be provided with the opportunity for access to diverse, objective and unbiased information necessary for making deliberate, informed and free choices."¹⁴ The parliamentary elections law provides that "mass media shall report on preparations for and conduct of elections in an unbiased manner".¹⁵ Also, the same law provides that "voters shall be provided with the opportunity for access to diverse, objective and unbiased information necessary for making deliberate, informed and free choices."¹⁶ The parliamentary elections law further stipulates that "media should disseminate information in accordance with the facts avoiding distortion of the information" and that "they should try to receive information about the election related events from two and more sources prioritizing the primary sources."¹⁷ Moreover, media should provide a balanced coverage for comments made by all parties and MP candidates on election-related events¹⁸ and independently determine the amount of air time dedicated to the

¹¹ Article 3.5 of the Law "On Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine" stipulates that contestants should be ensured "equal and unbiased treatment by mass media".

¹² Article 5.3 of the Law "On the Elections of the President of Ukraine"

¹³ Article 11.6 of the Law "On the Elections of the President of Ukraine"

¹⁴ Article 63.1 of the Law "On Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine"

¹⁵ Article 13.4 of the Law "On Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine"

¹⁶ Article 63 of the Law "On Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine"

¹⁷ Article 66.2 of the Law "On Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine" stipulates that Information agencies and mass media shall disseminate information on the course of the election process and on related events on the basis of principles of providing credible, complete, accurate, and objective information in an unbiased way." Information agencies and mass media that disseminate information about election related events might not allow silencing the information that is necessary for the society and that is related to these events if they were aware of such information at the moment of dissemination. Information agencies and mass media shall disseminate information about the election in accordance with the facts avoiding distortion of the information. Mass media and information agencies shall try to receive information about the election related events from two and more sources prioritizing the primary sources.

¹⁸ Article 66.3. of the Law "On Elections of the People's Deputies of Ukraine" provides that "mass media and information agencies shall provide a balanced coverage for comments made by all parties and MP candidates on election-related events."

coverage of facts and events related to the election process, without expressing special attitude to certain subjects of the election process or give them any privileges.¹⁹

The presidential election law provides that the mass media shall be obliged to cover the election process in an objective manner. Their representatives shall be guaranteed unrestricted access to all public election related events and to sessions of election commissions and to the polling stations on the day of elections and on the day of repeat voting. Respected officials defined in this law are obliged, within the limits of their powers and competence, to provide representatives of the mass media with the necessary information regarding the preparation and conduct of the elections.²⁰

The presidential election law stipulates that the pre-election campaign in the mass media shall be conducted in the form of public debates, discussions, “round tables”, press-conferences, interviews, speeches, political advertisements, TV-portraits, video-movies and other publications and notices about the candidate to the post of President of Ukraine and the party that nominated the candidate, as well as other forms which do not contradict the Constitution of Ukraine and laws of Ukraine.²¹

The public broadcast media have obligations to serve all the people, as they are funded by all taxpayers’ money. The Law of Ukraine “On Public Television and Radio Broadcasting” stipulates that the public broadcast media have to provide access to all political contestants to their broadcasts and strive to offer impartial and fair coverage of all political players participating in the elections.²² Article 4 of this law further provides that the main objectives of the National Public Television and Radio Company of Ukraine (hereinafter NPTRCU) shall include the following: 1) providing information about major public events in Ukraine and abroad in an unbiased, complete, prompt, and impartial manner.

¹⁹ Article 66.4 of the Law “On Elections of the People’s Deputies of Ukraine” provides TV and radio organizations shall independently determine the amount of air time dedicated to the coverage of facts and events related to the election process. In the said materials, TV and radio organizations may not express special attitude to certain subjects of the election process or give them any privileges.

²⁰ Article 13.4 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

²¹ Article 60.2 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

²² The Law On Public Television and Radio Broadcasting of Ukraine stipulates that NPTRCU shall be based upon the following principles:

- 1) providing comprehensive, unbiased and balanced coverage of important public events inside and outside Ukraine ;
- 2) abiding by social norms, traditions and culture of the Ukrainian people; spreading family values and strengthening the role of a traditional family in development of the Ukrainian society;
- 3) setting priority of public interest over commercial or political interests;
- 4) ensuring clear separation of facts from comments and judgments;
- 5) ensuring free expression of views, opinions, and beliefs;
- 6) ensuring managerial and operational independence from government agencies, local governments, their officials and officers, political parties, businesses, institutions, organizations, and individuals;
- 7) fostering public participation in management and programming decisions;
- 8) prohibiting any discrimination on any grounds;
- 9) ensuring transparency and openness in its operations.

Media regulation during elections

The most important aspect of any media regulations during elections is to find the right balance between respect for editorial independence and the need for certain rules to guarantee fairness by the media. During elections, it is important that the body which is in charge of overseeing the media coverage of elections is independent and trusted. This body should have experience, sufficient resources, knowledge, know-how, and mandate to oversee that rules are respected. It should act promptly upon contestants' complaints or whenever it records a violation (regardless of whether it received a complaint) and properly investigate alleged violations. Consequently, it should impose effective remedies when violations take place.²³

It should be clear which body deals with complaints from candidates and political parties about unfair or unlawful coverage. As stated above, these procedures should be timely, clear, and accessible to give the complainants a prompt and effective remedy. It is important that the sanctions imposed by the regulator are commensurate with the gravity of the offence committed by the media outlet.

The National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council (hereinafter NTRBC) is the primary regulatory body for the electronic media with resources and mandate to oversee the electronic media during elections, but lacking competencies to provide effective remedies or impose sanctions when media-related violations occur. According to the parliamentary and presidential election law, the implementing body for the election period with regard to some specific media issues, such as the allocation of free-of-charge airtime and space to candidates, is the CEC, which referred the media related complaints to the courts in the previous elections.

National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council

Status

The National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council supervises the compliance with the laws in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting and exercises the regulatory powers provided for by these laws.²⁴

Rights and obligations

The supervisory powers of the NTRBC are provided by Article 13 of the Law of Ukraine "National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine" and include the monitoring of licensees' compliance with broadcasting practices prescribed by law during election campaigns and

²³ The Venice Commission's Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters in its chapter 3.6 (an effective system of appeal) states the following: *It is imperative that appeal proceedings be as brief as possible. Two pitfalls must be avoided: first, that appeal proceedings retard the electoral process, and second, that, due to their lack of suspensive effect, decisions on appeals – other than those concerning the voting in the elections and the results – are taken after the elections have been held. Finally, decisions on the results of elections must also not take too long, especially where the political climate is tense. This means both that the time limits for appeals must be very short and that the appeal body must make its ruling as quickly as possible. Time limits must, however, be long enough to make an appeal possible and for the commission to give its ruling. A time limit of three to five days (both for lodging appeals and making rulings) seems reasonable.*

²⁴ Article 1 of the Law "On the National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine"

referendums. According to Part 7 of Article 11 of the Law of Ukraine “On the National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine”, a representative of the National Council shall monitor the licensees’ compliance with broadcast practices prescribed by law during election campaigns and referendums, reporting to the Central Election Commission (CEC), relevant territorial election commissions, and the National Council on violations.

Article 16 of the Law of Ukraine “National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine” defines the authority of the NTRBC and obliges it to publish a report on television and radio broadcasting organizations’ compliance with the procedure for broadcasting during election campaigns and referenda as established by the legislation after holding elections and referenda. Moreover, Article 21 of the Law of Ukraine “National Television and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine” stipulates that the NTRBC shall impose sanctions on violators of television and radio broadcasting.

The role during electoral process

Article 255 of the Code of Ukraine on Administrative Offenses stipulates that the authorized officers of the NTRBC, its representatives in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Kyiv and Sevastopol, shall draw up reports on administrative offenses (Article 212-9 in the aspect of violations in campaigning procedure, in campaigning during the preparation and conduct of a referendum, in the manner of participation in the information support of elections using electronic media). Article 70 of the Law of Ukraine “On Television and Radio” empowers the NTRBC to monitor the observance and enforcement of electoral legislation by broadcasters and providers of software services. The NTRBC maintains that their capacity to control the broadcast media conduct during elections is limited to issuing warnings, which it does by notifying broadcasting companies and the CEC about detected violations.²⁵

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that if a court establishes, while hearing an election dispute, that a mass media organization has violated the requirements of this law more than once or has violated them once, but grossly, the court shall pass a decision to temporarily (till the end of the election process) suspend the license or impose a temporary ban on the publication of the periodical.²⁶

The parliamentary elections law provided that the NTRBC shall, by its decision, stop the broadcasting in the territory of Ukraine, in particular by telecommunication operators, of foreign television channels whose activities violate the legal provision prohibiting citizens of foreign countries and persons without citizenship from conducting election campaigning through journalistic activities, or whose programs contain appeals to terminate the independence of Ukraine, change its constitutional order by violence, infringe upon the sovereignty or territorial integrity of the state, undermine its security, illegally seize state power; advocate war and violence; incite inter-ethnic, racial, national, or religious hostility; or encroach on human rights and freedoms or on the health of the population.²⁷

²⁵ For more information, see the OSCE/ODIHR final report on Early Presidential Election 2014 at: <https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/ukraine/120549?download=true>

²⁶ Article 74.11 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

²⁷ Article 74.12 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

The Central Election Commission

The Central Election Commission (CEC) is the main body responsible for administering the elections. The parliamentary elections law stipulates that “the Central Election Commission shall, no later than one hundred twenty days prior to the day of voting, make public on its official website information pertaining to the general information support for the respective election.”²⁸

Article 19 of the Law on the Central Election Commission gives the CEC the power “to control the procedure of receipt, recording and use of funds of the campaign funds of political parties in accordance with the procedure and within the limits established by law”. Also, the same law stipulates that the CEC takes decisions on compensation to political parties for expenditures connected with financing the pre-election campaign during the conduct of elections of people’s deputies of Ukraine, in accordance with the law.

The parliamentary elections law provides that “the Central Election Commission shall approve the procedures for providing air time and printed space at the expense of the funds of the State Budget of Ukraine allocated for support for election campaigning in accordance with this Law to parties that have registered MP candidates in the nationwide election district and to MP candidates.”²⁹

The presidential election law defines the competencies of the Central Election Commission and stipulates that the CEC should “resolve, according to this and other laws of Ukraine, issues related to the use of mass media in the pre-election campaign.”³⁰

II MEDIA MONITORING – STRUCTURE AND MEANS

Monitoring media during elections

The global media landscape has changed dramatically in the last few years, particularly given the expanding Internet media and rapidly growing role of social media, in particular during election campaigns. This technological and social shift is changing the impact of media on the whole democratic decision-making process, notably on the election period. At the same time, there are many challenges related to the traditional media and their role during elections. In a *Joint Statement on the Media and Elections*, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, along with the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the ACHPR Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, noted that in many countries the incumbent government benefits from disproportionate and excessively positive media coverage, including because of its control over the media, public and private, or because of its close relationship with the media. Moreover, they expressed their concern about threats to free and open media coverage during elections, including from threats, physical

²⁸ Article 64.2 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

²⁹ Article 71.4 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

³⁰ Article 25.9 of the Law “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

attacks and unduly limiting legal restrictions on freedom of expression. They also highlighted the important role played in many countries during elections by publicly-owned media, and particularly public service broadcasters, which provide election coverage in accordance with an obligation of balance and impartiality in news, current affairs and other types of programming.³¹

Furthermore, in the latest compilation of the Venice Commission opinions and reports focusing on the role of media during elections, it is written that “in addition to reporting on the performance of the incumbent government, the media can educate voters on how to exercise their rights, report on campaign developments, provide a platform for the candidates to debate one another and communicate their message to the electorate, and also monitor the vote count and report the results to the public. Candidates should have the right of reply to statements or reports in the media, which were inaccurate or offensive, and to be able to exercise that right during the election campaign.”³²

The role of mass media in providing access for political contestants to communicate their messages and in presenting news about political parties, political leaders and matters of political importance is vital to the integrity of the electoral process as most voters nowadays gain essential information about politics through different types of media.³³ A free and fair election process requires the media to treat all the contestants objectively and to strive to provide timely, correct and unbiased reports about all key political and election developments.³⁴

Council of Europe has addressed the issue of media and elections in various standard-setting instruments, including [Recommendation No. R \(99\) 15](#) of the Committee of Ministers to member states on measures concerning media coverage of election campaigns; [Recommendation CM/Rec\(2007\)15](#) of the Committee of Ministers to member states on measures concerning media coverage of election campaigns; and practical guidelines like the [Code of good practice in electoral matters](#) elaborated by the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) or the [Guidelines on Media Analysis During Election Observation Missions](#) issued jointly by the Venice Commission and OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR).

Nowadays, the broadcast and online media are the key instruments influencing and shaping political, and social realities, with the nationwide media playing a key role in all types of elections, as they serve as a primary source of information. The regional or local media also play an important role, both in parliamentary and local elections.³⁵

³¹ UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the ACHPR (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, "Joint Statement on the Media and Elections" 15 May 2009, <http://www.osce.org/fom/37188?download=true>.

³² The Compilation of Venice Commission Opinions and Reports Focusing on the Role of Media during Elections, Strasbourg, 4 July 2018, available at: [http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-PI\(2018\)006-e](http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-PI(2018)006-e)

³³ Norris, Robert and Merloe, Patrick. “*Media Monitoring to Promote Democratic Elections*”, 2002, pp.11, Available at: https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/1420_elect_media_02_1-31_0.pdf

³⁴ Kuzel Rasto, OSCE Kosovo, Media Reporting and Conduct During the Electoral Process, 2017

³⁵ Ibid

During elections, media should report on various phases of the electoral process, starting from the candidate and voter registration and finishing with reporting the final results. Various types of media are under different obligations when it comes to election-focused reporting but in general, the international norms and standards foresee that media give equitable access to election contestants so that they can convey their messages to voters and provide the electorate with ample information based on which it would be possible to make a well-informed choice on election day.³⁶

Media regulators and other relevant bodies are obliged to oversee how the media report on contestants and identify any manipulations or biases, based on their analyses. The systematic media monitoring assists media regulators in identification of violations in taking prompt corrective action. During elections, the results of such analysis demonstrate how the media behave and keep the public and contestants aware of relevant issues. When shortcomings are identified, corrective action should be taken to improve media coverage or protect media rights and freedoms.³⁷

Academics, election observers, non-governmental organizations, market researchers, media regulators and the media themselves can conduct monitoring of the media during elections. The monitoring by different actors can be done to research their own profile (when done by the media themselves), to see how the media cover important issues, too see if the coverage is legal and to see if coverage is ethical and fair.

Media monitoring conducted by civil society organizations

Good decision-making depends on people having reliable and accurate facts put in a meaningful context. Given the recent global developments in the media, people are overwhelmed with quantity of information but often skeptical of its quality. Fewer journalists and media consumers separate the important information from the false diversions, and fewer still seem ready to pursue the truth.³⁸

Media monitoring is an effective tool to hold those who are supposed to be the controllers to account. The main goal of media monitoring conducted by a non-governmental organization is to provide feedback to media audiences and to initiate discussion about the quality of media reporting and the importance of real watchdog type of reporting and investigative journalism. The recent years saw dramatic changes in the way media and other sources of information operate during elections with the quality of information, which is necessary for people to make qualified choices at the ballot box, not always being the main objective. Therefore, monitoring of the media by citizens to observe and question its compliance with those standards is an important part of election observation and should contribute to overall media literacy and awareness. Further, media monitoring reports provide the media, the political contestants and the citizens with benchmarks to judge the fairness of the whole election process. The basic question citizens should impose by conducting a media monitoring exercise is whether information available through the media is adequate for voters to make an intelligent and well-informed choice at the ballot box.

The monitoring process consists of recording, timing and coding, analysis and reporting.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Media Monitoring, www.memo98.sk, accessed on 10 August 2018

Chart 1 shows monitors conducting quantitative and qualitative analysis of the media coverage in Ukraine



Chart 2 shows various stages and components of a media-monitoring project



Media monitoring project plan

Each media-monitoring project consists of several important stages as follows:

- ✓ Developing a clear project goal
- ✓ Determining the type of monitoring
- ✓ Sampling & unit of analysis
- ✓ Deciding which subjects to monitor
- ✓ Deciding which programmes to monitor
- ✓ Specifying quantitative analysis and concrete variables
- ✓ Specifying qualitative analysis
- ✓ Data entering & analysis
- ✓ Interpretation of the data

In addition, it is also important to pay attention to a few other details, such as developing a project timeline and deciding on the number of monitors/analysts.

Developing a clear project goal

It is important to develop a clear project goal and to know what are the key objectives why we conduct a media-monitoring project during elections. In addition to the main goals stated in the introduction, here are some additional objectives

Objectives

- ✓ To provide the voters with accurate information on whether mass media enables them fair and balanced picture of the campaign; and alert them of the need to question their sources of information prior to elections
- ✓ To raise public awareness and encourage journalists, editors and media outlet owners to observe the standards of balanced reporting in the broadcast and print media focusing on specific important political issues.
- ✓ To motivate citizens so they learn how to view and accept information. For many citizens, this could be a unique opportunity to better understand what should be the actual role of the media in a democratic and free society.
- ✓ To advocate for positive changes to the media laws so that public media become independent and reporting is balanced
- ✓ To document and raise public awareness about all cases of administrative restrictions, intimidation and harassment of the media exercised from the side of state administration or a political party

Type of monitoring

It is important to determine the type of monitoring which will be conducted based on the type of elections taking place as well as other important factors (financial and human resources, monitoring period, number of reports etc.)

Sampling & unit of analysis

Criteria for selection of the media to be monitored

- Ownership – State or privately owned
- Impact
- Other sources of information available

While it is generally possible to monitor the entire 24-hour period of media broadcasts, for the purpose of analysing the election coverage of the media, it is enough to focus on selected segments of the media coverage (broadcasts or specific sections of web sites). When it comes to broadcast media, the efforts should primarily focus on all the programmes aired during the prime time, the time when the largest audience usually view or listen the broadcasts (for instance six hours of evening broadcasts from 18.00 until 00.00). Of course, important political programmes or special election

programmes could also be recorded and analysed if aired outside of the generally perceived prime time.³⁹

For this monitoring project, we took into consideration the audience research conducted by the Kantar TNS (December 2017) as well as another research implemented by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology ordered by the Detector Media according to which the main sources of information on the news and affairs in Ukraine and the world are the national TV channels (85,7%), Ukrainian Internet media (27%), social networks (23,5%), friends (17,9%), national newspapers (8,1%), local TV (6,4%).⁴⁰ As such, it is proposed to focus on:

Prime time news programmes on 10 national television channels:

UA:Pershyi, 1+1, Inter, TV Ukraina, ICTV, STB, Noviy kanal, 112, Pryamy, 5th channel

Talk shows/ Debates

“Puls” (112), “Echo Ukrainy” (Pryamy), “Svoboda slova” (ICTV), “Pravo na vladu” (1+1), “Politklub Vitalija Portnikova” (Espresso TV), “Ukrainskij format” (NewsOne), “Narod Proty” (ZIK), Debates (UA: :Pershyi)

Eight online media

obozrevatel.com, segodna.ua, strana.ua, korrespondent.net, pravda.com.ua, gordonua.com, hromadske.ua, nv.ua

Social media

Facebook pages of candidates and political parties (10 top candidates/political parties’ accounts)

Facebook pages of the monitored media (20 TV and online media accounts)

Facebook pages of opinion makers (10 accounts)

Unit of Analysis

When using quantitative monitoring, it is necessary to set the *unit of analysis*. This refers to the different blocks of broadcast time that is monitored, measured and assigned various codes. The unit of analysis is determined according to what sort of monitoring is being conducted. For example, for advertising, the unit of analysis is each advertisement. For monitoring of media coverage of elections, it is the actual time and space given to each monitored subject (either as a reference or in the form of direct coverage).

³⁹ Media Monitoring Indicators – described by Richard Carver (Oxford Brookes University/Oxford Media Research) and Marek Mracka (MEMO 98) in *Monitoring Moldovan Broadcasters: Methods and Techniques*.

⁴⁰ For more information, see also the Detector Media at: <https://detector.media/infospace/article/136076/2018-03-28-ukrainsi-divlyatsya-tb-ne-doviryayut-ne-perevirayut-ale-prodovzhuyut-divitisya-doslidzhennya-detektora-media-ta-kmis/>

Unit of Content

The unit of analysis is monitored in relation with the *unit of context*, depending on what is being monitored. The unit of context for advertising is both the *hour* and the *day* (or 24 hours) since there are legal obligations about the proportion of advertising that can be broadcast within each hour and in the course of a day. For the news item, the unit of context can be the whole news program - as it is also important to determine the order in which different items are broadcast (as some politicians/political parties could always be covered at the beginning of the news whereas others always at the end – see also the positioning of news items in the qualitative analysis). In addition, the unit of context can also be the news programs in a longer period (two weeks) – to determine if a story is balanced over a period of time (e.g. if it is reported over a longer period).

Deciding which subjects to monitor

For the purpose of monitoring the level of political diversity in election-related reporting, it is important to include the following subjects: President, Government, Local government, Registered contestants, Parliamentary parties, Relevant non-parliamentary parties, Central Election Commission and Others.

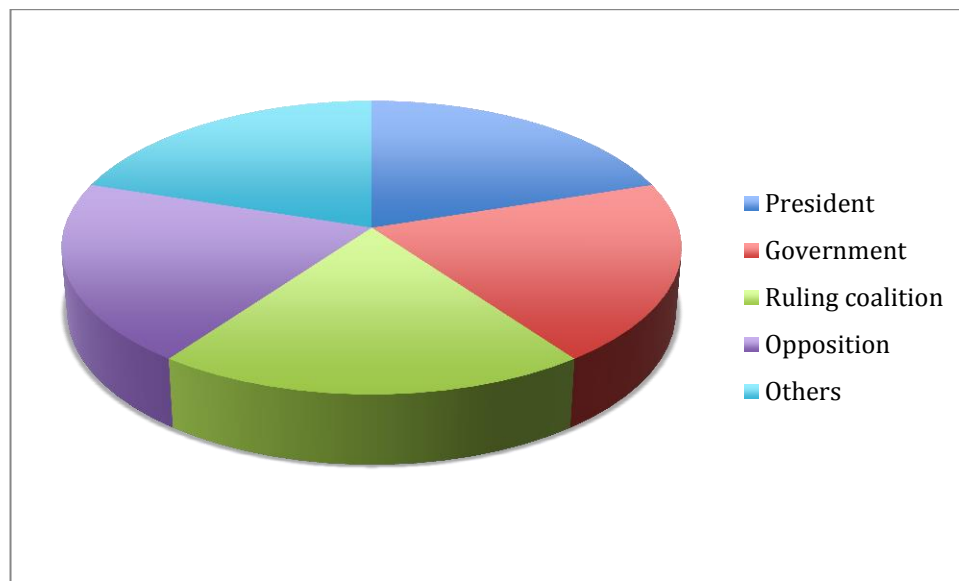


Chart 3 shows which monitored subjects are included in analyzing the political diversity of the media coverage

More detailed information on the monitored subjects can be found in the guidelines for monitors in the annex

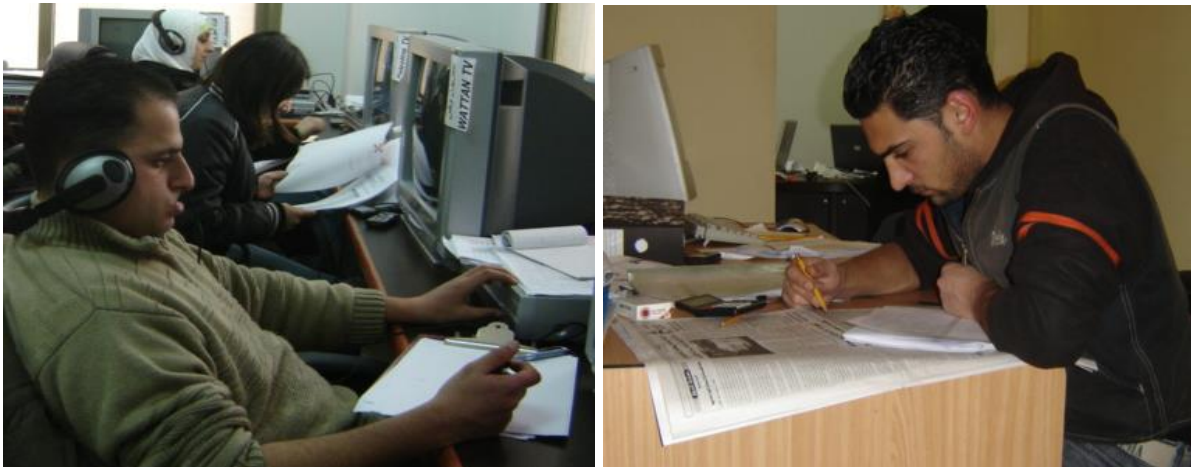
Deciding which programmes to monitor

The focus of this monitoring will be on news programmes and current affairs programmes (such as political talk shows and debates).

Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis focuses on the amount of time allocated to selected political subjects and the tone of the coverage in which these subjects were portrayed – positive, neutral and negative. The monitoring also focuses on thematic and geographical structure of the news, evaluating the thematic and geographical diversity by measuring the actual time devoted to different topics and focusing on the geographical area from where the news is broadcast. In addition, the monitoring focused on what were the top stories in the monitoring period.

It is the behaviour of media outlets that was being assessed, not the monitored subjects. Positive and negative ratings refer to whether or not the viewer/reader was offered a positive or negative impression of the subject or topic. Monitors give an evaluation mark to all subjects, in addition to time and reference, to provide information on how the subject is portrayed by each media outlet. The evaluation mark is thus attached to all monitored subjects to determine whether the subject was presented in a positive, negative, or neutral light. It is important for monitors to consider the actual evaluation (judgement) on the monitored subject and also the context of the story or item.



Charts 3 & 4 shows analysts conducting pre-election media monitoring in the 2006 general election in Palestine

Length of the coverage

To monitor the broadcast media (television and radio), monitors use stopwatches (or use any available measuring application on a computer) to measure the actual “direct appearance time” of previously selected subjects. They also separately record each instance where a subject is mentioned indirectly (e.g. by a news presenter or by someone else) as a “reference”. For example, when subject A speaks about subject B, it is important to record both the time allocated to subject A to speak (direct time) and the time given to subject B (indirect time). The evaluation of the data is based on the total time (both direct and indirect) allocated to different monitored subjects in the monitored period.

For the online media, monitors measure the space dedicated to relevant subjects - in pixels using a page ruler (an add-on in Google chrome) As for the indirect references in the online media, monitors record them as “remarks”.



Chart 7 shows analysts analysing the impact of Russian propaganda

Tone of the coverage

Quantitative analysis also evaluates whether the information about selected monitored subjects is positive, negative, or neutral in its content. Positive and negative ratings refer to whether or not a viewer is offered a positive or negative impression of the subject or topic. These data are recorded for all stories and presented graphically to illustrate differences between outlets and differences over time (see below).

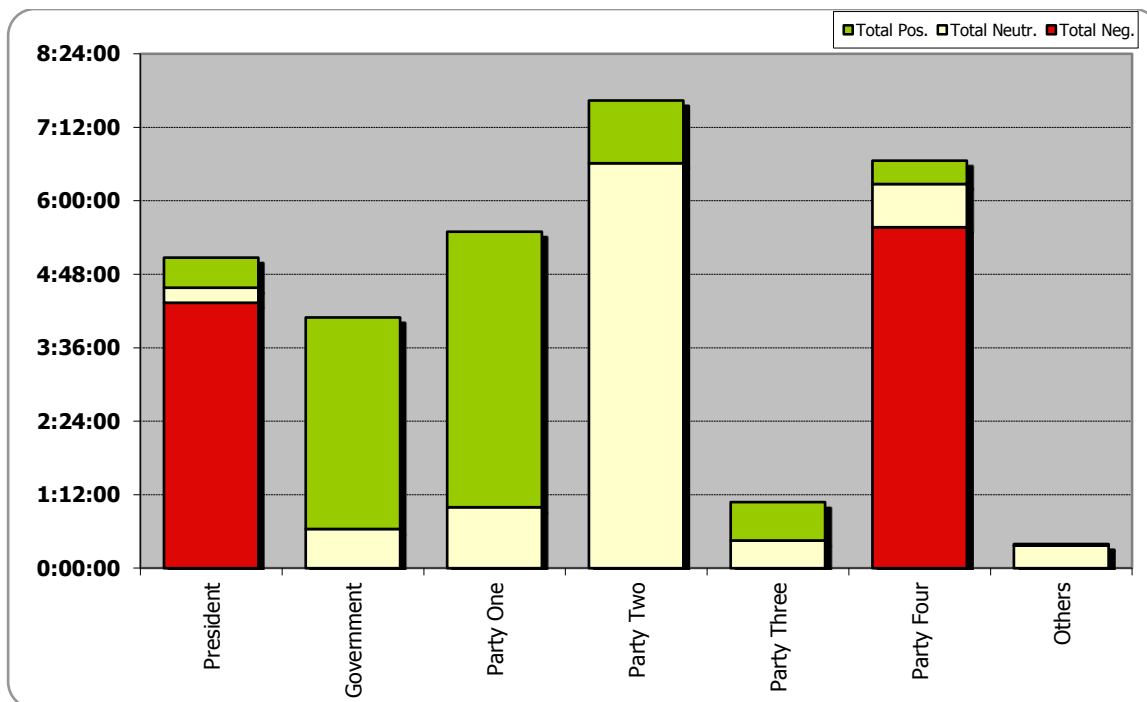


Chart 8 shows a sample of the graphical presentation of the media monitoring results

Positive and negative evaluation refers to whether or not a viewer is offered a positive or negative impression of the subject or topic.

It is important to keep in mind that it is the behavior of media outlets that is being assessed, not the monitored subjects.

Examples of positive evaluation of the selected subject would be: *subject A* is a very popular member of the parliament; people like *subject A*; s/he is a respected politician. Examples of negative evaluation would be: *subject B* is a political loser; s/he is not an honest politician. If there is no positive or negative evaluation, the message is rated as neutral, for example when the report says: *subject C* is a candidate in the upcoming elections.

For the tone evaluation, a monitor considers the context in which the information is reported (this entails the background of the story, how it is reported by a journalist or a news presenter, intonation of his/her voice, background music, pictures, happy or angry crowd, people applauding or shouting derogatory words etc.). The second parameter to consider while doing the tone evaluation is the content – is the reported information positive, neutral or negative in connection with the monitored subject. For example, the fact that *subject A* negotiated an agreement according to which the country will receive financial aid, or the fact that the unemployment rate in the country will be reduced due to a new law proposed by the *subject A* (member of parliament) is perceived by the majority of society as a rather positive development. On the other hand, inherently negative stories could feature for instance: *subject B*, a minister whose car injured a pedestrian because it did not respect the speed limits. The fact that: *subject C* participated at parliament session is neutral.

Combination of the Tone		Content		
		Positive	Neutral	Negative
Context	Positive	+		
	Neutral		0	
	Negative			-

Chart 9 shows a table to determine the tone of the coverage



Charts 10, 11, 12 & 13 show examples of positive coverage during local elections in Georgia 2010

As such, monitors consider how the story is reported (context) and the actual content of the story – does it shed positive, negative or neutral light on the monitored subject. When both content and context are positive, the final evaluation of the monitor will be positive, when they are both negative, it will be negative.

It is a bit more challenging to determine the overall tone if there is difference in content and context. For example, the context of the story is neutral – a factual report on the fact that *subject A* was detained in connection with a traffic accident. The content is negative as the mere fact that someone is detained is negative. In such a situation, the monitors have to determine what is the determining factor (the content or context).

By comparison, the media report that the incumbent president met with a president of another country and signed an agreement thanks to which there will be a big financial investment coming to the country in the next three years. The context of the story is again neutral. The content of the information is positive for the president as the information on achievements, progress, improvements, successes always have positive connotation. Here again, monitors have to determine what is the final evaluation – in the first example, the overall evaluation will most likely be negative, whereas in the second example, it will be positive.

It is important that monitors think how an article or TV/Radio program influences an average voter and do not speculate how it affects specific party supporters – they should use common sense.

It is important to remember that there is no expectation that the news should be neutral.

Media should not be afraid to present the reality as it is and to present people's emotions, positive or critical/negative viewpoints. Neutrality should not be seen as an ultimate goal as people are not interested to watch superficial and sterile news. In so doing, media should present all sides of the story with a comparable time and manner of presentation to avoid any preference or bias.⁴¹

The mere existence of positive or negative ratings attributed to monitored subjects do not yet indicate bias – providing that the respective media outlets treats all monitored subjects in a similar manner. If however, there is a visible longer-term tendency to always report on some subjects in a positive manner and to criticize others, this could indicate bias. For example, looking at the Chart 2, *party 1* received overwhelmingly positive and neutral coverage, whereas *party 4* received mainly negative coverage.

⁴¹ Kuzel, Rasto and Godarsky, Ivan, *Final Narrative Report*, Council of Europe, Georgia 2012, <https://rm.coe.int/168048ba65>

Summary

To summarize, the tone of the coverage is positive if the way the message is presented and the nature of the message are both positive, similarly if the both factors are negative, the tone is negative. The neutral tone is the result of both factors being neutral. If the way the message is presented and the context of the message do not match, monitors have to determine the tone according to what is the prevailing factor (so it could be either the content of the story or context).

The evaluation mark is thus attached to all monitored subjects to determine whether the subject was presented in positive, negative, or neutral light. The description of the five-level evaluation scale is as follows: Grade 1 and 2 mean that a certain monitored subject was presented in a very positive (1) or positive (2) light respectively; in both instances the news coverage is favorable. Grade 3 is a “neutral mark”, with the coverage being solely factual, without positive or negative connotations. Grades 4 or 5 signify that a subject was presented in a negative or very negative light respectively. Such coverage has negative connotations, accusations or one-sided criticism of a subject portrayed in an item or story. It is always important to consider the actual evaluation (judgment) on the monitored subject and also the context of the story or item.

To eliminate any elements of subjectivity present in qualitative analysis, there should be frequent checks on how individual monitors analyze the media by a monitoring coordinator. Where there is a difference of opinion over the evaluation of a particular item, the whole monitoring team (or a team leader) evaluates the item before making a final decision on its “tone.” Ultimately, there could be a very few occasions when there will be a difference in the tone evaluation – between positive and neutral and negative and neutral – but such differences present only a few seconds of the coverage which is statistically irrelevant in the monitoring period of not less than two weeks.

Media Monitoring Indicators

Indicators in media monitoring (as in all social science research) have to meet two important criteria. They must be both *reliable*⁴² and *valid*⁴³.

The common indicators that are generally used in the monitoring methodology described here are the sources of information identified in broadcasts, the topics that are covered and, of course, the time allocated to different topics and speakers. If we want to do a more complex evaluation, we need to

⁴² *Reliability* means that indicators should be consistently identified by any trained monitor. As such, assigning each code would always produce the same result regardless of who is doing the monitoring. This is achieved first by selecting indicators that are objectively verifiable – they are not the result of subjective opinions or preference on the part of a monitor. Time-related indicators are clearly objective, as are pre-determined lists of codes that identify different topics or different types of people who appear in the broadcast. Consistency is achieved by a systematic and thorough training and practice.

⁴³ *Validity* means that the selected indicators actually show what they are intended to show. Indicators must be selected for a clear purpose and not interpreted to show more than they actually indicate. For example, counting the number of times women are cited as sources does not necessarily indicate that the media have a gender bias? If women’s voices are under-reported there are several possible explanations for this. It might be media bias, but it may equally be that institutions of government, political parties and businesses do not choose women to represent them.

add other indicators. Statistical analysis of these indicators is not especially complex. The monitoring data gathered during a monitoring exercise are *descriptive* rather than *inferential*. This means that analysis only addresses the actual broadcasts that have been monitored and does not attempt to predict the characteristics of other broadcasts that have not been monitored (by techniques such as *regression analysis*⁴⁴).

The main analytic techniques used in the media monitoring methodology are *aggregation* and *cross-tabulation*. Aggregation simply consists of adding up (and comparing) data such as the amount of direct and indirect broadcast time afforded to politicians or other monitored subjects. Cross-tabulation or crossing variables, which is easily carried out even with the basic spread sheet software, compares the distribution of frequency of a variable with another variable, to check their degree of association. This could indicate, for example, if a politician was more quoted by one television than by another. A more complex analysis could show the association between the topics reported by the media and the sources that they use. The possibilities for crossing variables are extensive.⁴⁵



Chart 14 & 15 & 16: Media monitors conduct quantitative and qualitative analysis of television in Montenegro

⁴⁴ Regression analysis is a way of mathematically sorting out which of those variables does indeed have an impact. It answers the questions: Which factors matter most? Which can we ignore? How do those factors interact with each other? And, perhaps most importantly, how certain are we about all of these factors?

⁴⁵ Media Monitoring Indicators – described by Richard Carver (Oxford Brookes University/Oxford Media Research) and Marek Mracka (MEMO 98) in *Monitoring n Broadcasters: Methods and Techniques*

Qualitative analysis

Qualitative media monitoring is used to assess the performance of media against measures, such as ethical or professional standards, that cannot be easily quantified. These standards include but are not limited to balance, accuracy, timely, choice of issues, omission of information, advantage of incumbency, positioning of items, inflammatory language, etc. These data are then reported separately and integrated in the comments and conclusions of the narrative reports. For instance, while the quantitative assessment can define whether the political advertising has been broadcast within the legally permissible limits (in terms of its length or within a prescribed broadcast segment), it cannot determine if a particular advertisement included inflammatory language or hate speech.

Unlike the quantitative monitoring which follows a set of clear criteria, qualitative monitoring is more “subjective” as it depends on the opinion of an individual monitor. At the same time, however, even qualitative monitoring is anchored in legal or ethical standards – so it is simply not an expression of what the monitor does, or does not, like. As such, it is possible to conduct qualitative monitoring in a consistent and scientific manner.

For example, it is useful to conduct qualitative monitoring when we are interested to evaluate the overall quality of media reporting. In such case, we would focus on the content of stories and on important aspects of the information presented by monitored media, such as its quality and variety. We would assess the overall quality of reporting provided by each TV channel, based on its overall informational value.

Other relevant issues that should be included into qualitative are as follows:

- *Is there any relevant information missing? Media often avoid the problem of how to cover politically sensitive stories by simply not covering them at all. Omission of information is one of the most effective manipulation techniques.*
- *Choice of issues - Does the selection of news items favor the agenda of one party or another, even if there is no explicit bias?*
- *Similar style of coverage. Are campaign events of different candidates reported in similar way /for example, do they all receive actuality footage or direct quotation) or do only some of them?*
- *The incumbent factor - Are the activities of incumbent officeholders who are also candidates properly reported – or are the two roles confused to the incumbents’ advantage?*
- *Positioning of items - Are items about the opposition placed alongside other unfavorable stories /e.g. foreign accounts of political violence/ to create an unfavorable impression?*
- *Prioritizing - Are some candidates always reported ahead of others in the running order of bulletins?*
- *Inflammatory language - Are inflammatory language or actual incidents of violence reported in an accurate, sober and balanced manner, with all sides quoted? Or is media reporting itself inflammatory and unbalanced, with the danger that it could lead to further violence?*
- *Manipulative use of film, picture and sound - camera angles, distance of the camera from the candidates, light, quality of the sound, use of footage which does not correspondent with the content of the story or which provide negative or positive tone to the story.*

A key component of the monitoring methodology developed here is that it is a qualitative approach to monitoring the content of the media.

Data entering & analysis

For each day's coverage, monitors complete a monitoring form (see annex for a TV and print/online media forms). This form should be reviewed by a data enterer who will enter the data into a special monitoring programme (database).

The methodologies described above could be used in conjunction with a widely available spread sheet or database software (such as Microsoft Excel or Access), with a more sophisticated analysis carried out through a specialized statistical package, if required. The last phase of working with data is data processing – computer data processing and storage has several advantages:

- Possibility to store data in PC
- Flexibility and simple data manipulation, e.g. specific data selection and evaluation
- Graphic abilities and its direct use in presentations

Since the monitoring forms consist of a relatively small number of different data types and the data can be easily organized according to the given criteria, Microsoft Excel (in combination with the whole Microsoft Office package) is suitable for processing the results of monitoring process. The data that is acquired during the monitoring consist of subject/affiliation, time (direct, indirect and total), evaluation, item start, item end, topic and its time.

For this project, media monitors will use a monitoring form designed in Microsoft Excel. It contains five different sheets:

- *Codes*
- *Topics*
- *Political*
- *Media effects*
- *Media effects explanation*

In the *Codes* sheets, monitors could find different codes (acronyms) used for topics, hot stories, media effects (in the upper part of the sheet) and subjects & names in the part down.

SUBJECTS		NAMES
PRES	President	
GOV	Government ministers and deputy ministers	Volodymyr Groysman Prime Minister (PM)
LGOV	Mayors and Heads of Local Administration	Stepan Kubiv First PM, Minister of economic development and
CEC	Central Election Commission	Ivanna Klymush-Tsintsade Vice PM on European and Euro-Atlantic integration
BPP	The Petro Poroshenko Bloc "Solidarity"	Volodymyr Kistion Vice PM
NF	People's Front (also translated as Narodnyi Front)	Vlacheslav Kyrylenko Vice PM
OB	Opposition Bloc	Pavlo Rozenko Vice PM
SM	Union "Self Reliance" or "Self Help" («Самонавія») (rowspan="2")	Gennadiy Zubyko Vice PM, Minister of regional development,
SD	Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko	Oleksandr Syvonenko Minister
BAT	The All-Ukrainian Union "Fatherland" or Batkivshchyna	Ostap Semerak Minister of ecology and natural resources
VP	Група "Нагірня" "Відновлення"	Vadym Chernysh Minister of temporary occupied territories and IDPs
VN	Група "Воля народу"	Arsen Avakov Minister of Interior
RS	Movement of New Forces "Rukh Novykh Syl"	Igor Nasalyk Minister of energy and coal industry
CS	The Party of Christian Socialists	Pavlo Klimkin Minister for Foreign Affairs
SDP	Social Democratic Party	Yuriy Stets Minister of Informational Policy
SP	Socialist Party of Ukraine	Yevgen Nyshchuk Minister of Culture
RP	Radical Party of Oleh Lyashko	Volodymyr Omelyan Minister of infrastructure
NC	National Corps	Igor Zhdanov Minister of Youth and Sport
5.10	5.10 Party	Stepan Poltorak Minister of Defense
OPZ	Opposition Platform — For Life	Liliya Grynevych Minister of Education and Science
CP	Civil Position	Uliana Suprun Acting Minister of Healthcare
SPR	Justice Party / Spravedlyvist	Andriy Reva Minister of Social Policy
RUUKH	Narodnyi Rukh Ukrainy	Oksana Markarova Minister of Finance
OS	Osonova party	Pavlo Petrenko Minister of Justice
SV	Svoboda party	Iryna Friz Minister of veterans' issues
NC	Narodnyi control	Maksym Martyniuk Acting Minister of Agrarian Policy
NASHI	Nashi (political party)	Maksym Neflodov First Deputy Minister Ministry of economic
SOC	Socialists ("Socialists")	Yuriy Brovchenko Deputy Minister
PS	Right Sector (Pravyy Sektor)	Mykhailo Titarchuk Deputy Minister
POP	Power of the People	Oleksiy Perevezentsev State Secretary of the Ministry
EP	European Party	Vyacheslav Negoda First Deputy Minister Ministry of regional
RK	Ridna Kraina	Eduard Krugliak Deputy Minister
UDAR	UDAR	Taras Tokarskiy Deputy Minister
UKROP	UKROP	Leo Partshaladze Deputy Minister
AP	Agrarian Party	Viktor Vakarchuk Deputy Minister Ministry of ecology and natural
SN	Servant of People (Sluga Naroda)	Vasyi Poluiko Deputy Minister
SPM	Socialist Party of Oleksandr Moroz	Mykola Kuzio Deputy Minister
WIFO	Warriors of Joined Forces Operation	Yusuf Kurkchi First Deputy Minister
		Ministry of temporary occupied territories and IDPs

CANDIDATES				Vadym Troyan	Deputy Minister
Balashov Hennadii	5.10 Party	5.10		Tetyana Kovalchuk	Deputy Minister
Bezsmertnyi Roman	Independent	INDEP		Sergiy Goncharov	Deputy Minister
Bogomolets Olha	Independent	INDEP		Oleksii Tkachuk	State Secretary of the Ministry
Bohoslovska Inna	Independent	INDEP		Tetyana Maksymets	First Deputy Minister Ministry of energy and coal
Boiko Yurii	Independent	INDEP		Anatoliy Korzun	Deputy Minister
Bondar Viktor	the Vidrodzhennia Party	VP		Mykhailo Blyzniuk	Deputy Minister
Danyliuk Oleksandr	Independent	INDEP		Yuliya Pidkomorna	Deputy Minister
Derevianko Yurii	The Volia (Will) Party	VOLII		Nataliya Boiko	Deputy Minister
Dobrodomov Dmytro	Narodny Kontrol (People's Control Movement)	NC		Maksym Nemchyiov	State Secretary of the Ministry
Haber Mykola	Independent	INDEP		Olena Zerkal	First Deputy Minister Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Hnap Dmytro	the People's Power Party	POP		Sergiy Kyrylytsia	Deputy Minister
Hrytsenko Anatolii	Hromadska Pozytsiia (Civil Position) Party	CP		Vasyl Bodnar	Deputy Minister
Kaplin Serhii	Social Democratic Party	SDP		Andriy Zayats'	State Secretary of the Ministry
Karmazin Yurii	Independent	INDEP		Emine Dzharparova	First Deputy Minister Ministry of Informational
Kornatskyi Arkadii	Independent	INDEP		Dmytro Zolotukhin	Deputy Minister
Koshulynskyi Ruslan	the Svoboda party	SV		Artem Bidenko	State Secretary of the Ministry
Kryvenko Viktor	Narodniy Rukh Ukrainy	RUKH		Svitlana Fomenko	First Deputy Minister Ministry of Culture
Kryvonos Serhii		WJO		Yuriy Rybachuk	Deputy Minister
Kuprui Vitalii	Independent	INDEP		Tamara Mazur	Deputy Minister
Kyya Illia	the Socialist Party of Ukraine	SP		Rostyslav Karandzieiev	State Secretary of the Ministry
Liashko Oleh	the Radical Party of Oleh Liashko	RP		Yuriy Lavreniuk	Deputy Minister Ministry of infrastructure
Lytynenko Yuliia	Independent	INDEP		Viktor Dovgan'	Deputy Minister
Moroz Oleksandr	the Socialist Party of Oleksandr Moroz	SPM		Andriy Galushchak	State Secretary of the Ministry
Muraiev Yevhenii	Nashi (Ours) Party	NASHI		Igor Gotsul	First Deputy Minister Ministry of Youth and Sport
Nalyvaichenko Valentyn	Justice Party/ Spavedlivost social and political movement	SPR		Mykola Danevych	Deputy Minister
Nasirov Roman	Independent	INDEP		Oleksandr Yarema	Deputy Minister
Nosenko Serhii	Independent	INDEP		Yaroslav Voitovich	Deputy Minister
Novak Andrii	Patriot	PA		Mykola Movchan	Deputy Minister
Petrov Volodymyr	Independent	INDEP		Oleg Nemchinov	State Secretary of the Ministry
Poroshenko Petro	The Petro Poroshenko Bloc "Solidarity"/Indep	BPP/INDEP	Pres	Ivan Rusanak	First Deputy Minister Ministry of Defense
Ryhovanov Ruslan	Independent	INDEP		Igor Pavlovskyy	Deputy Minister
Sadovyi Andrii	Ob'ednannya «Samopomich»Party»	SM		Oleg Shevchuk	Deputy Minister
Shevchenko Ihor	Independent	INDEP		Anatoliy Petrenko	Deputy Minister
Shevchenko Oleksandr	UKROP Party	UKROP		Oleksandr Dublian	State Secretary of the Ministry
Skotsyk Vitalii	Independent	INDEP		Pavlo Khobzei	First Deputy Minister Ministry of Education and
Smeshko Ihor	Independent	INDEP		Yuriy Rashkevych	Deputy Minister
Solovioiv Oleksandr	Rozumna Syl'a	RS		Maksym Strihak	Deputy Minister
Taruta Serhii	the Osnova party	OS		Roman Greba	Deputy Minister
Tymoshenko Yuliia	Batkivshchyna Party	BAT		Vadym Karandiiv	Deputy Minister
Tymoshenko Yurii	Independent	INDEP		Svitlana Danylenko	Deputy Minister
Vashchenko Oleksandr	Independent	INDEP		Pavlo Polianskyi	State Secretary of the Ministry
Vikul Oleksandr	Opposition Bloc - the Party of Peace and Development	OB		Pavlo Kovtoniuk	Deputy Minister Ministry of Healthcare
Zelenskyi Volodymyr	Sluga Naroda (the People's Servant Party)	SN		Oleksandr Linchevskyi	Deputy Minister
Zhuravlyov Vasyi	the Stability Party	STAB		Roman Ilyk	Deputy Minister
				Olga Stefaniyshyna	Deputy Minister
				Artem Yanchuk	State Secretary of the Ministry
				Olga Krentovska	First Deputy Minister Ministry of Social Policy
				Nataliya Fedorovych	Deputy Minister
				Mykola Shambir	Deputy Minister
				Oleksandra Churkina	Deputy Minister
				Larysa Popova	Deputy Minister
				Viktor Ivankevych	State Secretary of the Ministry
				Andriy Gradii'	Deputy Minister Ministry of Finance
				Yuriy Geletiy	Deputy Minister
				Yuriy Dzhygryr	Deputy Minister
				Sergiy Verlanov	Deputy Minister
				Vasyl Shkurakov	Deputy Minister
				Yuriy Butsa	Government Commissioner on management of state

In the *Topic* sheet, the monitors are entering information related to the topics they monitor in the programme and/or article. The fill out the day, month, year (when the programme was broadcast or article published – not the day when they monitor), # of report (relevant only for the broadcast media), topics, hot story, total time of the whole news item (in minutes and seconds – for the online media, there is a section SPACE which can be counted either in pixels, number of characters or number of words) and additional comments.

[illegible]

In the *Political* sheet, monitors are to enter the date, month, year, name (name and surname of the subject), subject, H (hours), M (minutes) and S (seconds) (for online media, there is a section SPACE which can be counted either in pixels, number of characters or number of words), tone (tone of the coverage about the subject), Dir./Ind (direct and indirect time – depending if the subject spoke directly or s/he was spoken about – relevant only for broadcast media).

MEDIA EFFECTS	WHAT DOES IT MEAN
RELEVANCE	(information should be relevant) As a qualitative feature, it defines mostly social phenomena that deserve our attention, in our case important phenomena from the political point of view
EXACTNESS	(facts should correspond to reality) This is one of the most if not the most important quality criterion of the journalistic work. It means that a report should contain exclusively facts corresponding to reality. Respecting public's right to full and objective information on facts and events is a journalist's first duty. Journalists and editors must take measures to check reliability of all the reports, video- and audio materials, which came from public, freelancers, press-cutting service and other sources.
CLARITY	(information should be clear) It ranks among important criteria, since the less are the news understandable; the more effort is needed to figure them out. This fact adds to deepening of the isolation of the less educated groups from the public life. From the point of view of general understanding of a report, the content analysis is important as well as logical progression of events (first causes and then effects)
MATTER-OF-FACT	(separating comments & facts) This requirement is fulfilled if journalists do not put personal comments or evaluations into the presented information. Specific journalistic genres – commentaries (audiovisual and press media) and editorials (press) are specifically designed to express personal opinions. It is obvious that they should be written in line with the rules of correctness. Facts, thoughts and assumptions have to be clearly separated from each other. Spreading information which contains biased or groundless accusations is inadmissible.
TIMELY	This is an important parameter of evaluation especially in the audiovisual media. Generally, the more relevant information is made public, the sooner the public can react to it.
BALANCE	When presenting information about political subjects, representatives, facts, respecting this criterion comes to the fore. To disclose that somebody broke this rule is not always easy, especially in controversial situations when certain opinions are suppressed in favor of others inconspicuously, yet with a particular effect. Under balance, we understand equal representation of political alternatives in the scope of a specific report. Opponents' viewpoints including those who have become objects of a journalist's criticism must be presented in a balanced way. Independent experts' estimations must be presented in a balanced way, as well.
SOURCING (Transparency, Credibility)	(sources of information) A journalistic principle requires that the presentation of even partially controversial or problematic information should be supported by the source of information, supporting the reliability of the information. Often, however, a report includes more sources that support one view over another. This technique can also be seen when a reporter uses such 'anonymous' or unnamed 'expert' sources, remote sources with questionable credibility or secondary sources
VARIETY	(variety of sources of info) This requirement for the media means presenting to the public the widest possible scope of information.

OMMISION OF INFORMATION	Were there any important news items of the day not reported? (IF IT WAS REPORTED IN OTHER MEDIA, PLEASE SAY WHERE) Compared to other media sources and information available, were any significant political reports not included in this broadcast? Were any political figures or parties excluded from this broadcast? Over time, does this indicate a pattern by this media outlet? Did the media outlet appear to make an effort to include different points of views and information?
HATE SPEECH	It is, outside the law, speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes such as gender, ethnic origin, religion, race, disability, or sexual orientation. In law, hate speech is any speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display which is forbidden because it may incite violence or prejudicial action against a protected individual or group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected individual or group. The law may identify a protected individual or a protected group by certain characteristics.
DISINFORMATION	Disinformation is intentionally false or inaccurate information that is spread deliberately. It is an act of deception and false statements to convince someone of untruth. Disinformation should not be confused with misinformation, information that is unintentionally false.
VISUAL MANIPULATION (manipulative use of fotage, pictures, sound)	Do the video images, photos, or graphics used in this report present the subject fairly and relevant to the subject of the report. Do the images presented appear to accurately reflect the facts of the situation? Is a monitored subject shown with better camera angles or among admirers, and another shown in a negative context? Please also pay attention to graphics that may be used to create a favorable or negative attention.
Hidden advertising (jeansa)	Information and analytical materials must be distinctively separated from advertising by particular headings.
Editorial correction of materials	Editorial correction of material including pictures, texts, headlines, video and script accordance, etc. should not distort the content of the material. A journalist must notify the audience of rehearsed or reconstructed news.
Public opinion polls	Selectively quoted sociological research which distorts the content is not admissible. Public opinion polls cannot be fabricated to find out a result defined in advance.
Correction	A journalist must do everything possible to correct any published information if it turned out to be untrue.
Presumption of innocence	Court procedures coverage must be impartial. A journalist cannot call a person criminal before a conformable court verdict is announced.
Plagiarims	Plagiarism is incompatible with the status of a journalist.
Non-discrimination	No one can be discriminated because of gender, language, race, religion or ethnic, social origin or political preferences. This information can be pointed out only if it is a necessary part of the material. A journalist should avoid offensive words and foul language, hints or comments about person's physical disabilities or diseases.
Principle of the superiority of receivers' interests	Serving the interests of the government or owners, not the society, is a breach of the ethics code.
Protection of minors	A journalist has to be especially careful covering issues connected to children. A journalist and editor must have valid reasons to cover the private life of minors and permission from his (her) parents or guardians. It is inadmissible to uncover the names of minors (or other features of recognition), who became participants of events, connected to crime or violence.

Frequent and periodical **inspections of the database** are an essential part of the media monitoring methodology in order to avoid systematic or accidental errors.

Chart 17: Sample page from a media-monitoring database

1	Source	Import date	Day	Month	Year	# of Article	Web section	Article Name	tmp0	Topic	Accuracy
2	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	1	Politics	States called to	as explains	F.Sy	x
3	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	2	Politics	personal plan on	Affaires presented	Do.Reintegration	x
4	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	3	Politics	Commission plans	state re-atisation	J	x
5	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	4	Politics	work on	as reads	J	x
6	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	5	Politics	Savchenko refuse to	planning of the	J	x
7	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	6	Politics	who is performing	ongoing	J	x
8	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	7	Politics	problematic issues	on the High Anti-	OK	x
9	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	8	Politics	Russia Klykh	Russia to the 20	F.Klykh	x
10	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	9	Politics	portraits of Trump,	as explains	O	x
11	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	10	Society	law on children	as explains	O	x
12	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	11	Society	counter-sanctions	to impose its	B	x
13	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	16	4	2018	12	Society	the Scythian mound	damaged	C	x
14	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	13	Society	glimpse into	release of the event	C	na
15	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	14	Society	accidentally	from US National	EN	m
16	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	15	Society	and rappers:	winners in	C	x
17	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	16	Politics	light on how Kremlin	Ukrinform article.	K.Elections	x
18	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	17	Politics	commented on	Oblast	Do.Reintegration	x
19	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	18	Politics	rewarding himself	write of press	CO	x
20	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	19	Politics	about bad attitude	correspondent	O	x
21	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	20	Politics	gathered leaders of	Liga.net undisclosed	P	na
22	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	21	Politics	Kateryna continues	Ukrinform interview	CO	x
23	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	22	Politics	anyone but	10 main theses from	P	x
24	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	23	Politics	polygraph test	advocate Oleg	J	x
25	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	24	Politics	why he is hesitant to	extract of	CO	x
26	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	17	4	2018	25	Politics	Parliament calls to	primarily based on a	F.Ru	x
27	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	26	Politics	partnership	enhanced	D	x
28	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	27	Politics	cooperation	law enforcement	F.FBI	x
29	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	28	Politics	submitted his appeal	correspondent	R	x
30	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	29	Politics	fighting against	correspondent	CU	x
31	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	30	Politics	not comply with	based on a twitt	CU	x
32	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	31	Politics	publishes footage of	Lutch for the first	D	x
33	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	32	Politics	supported the	Committee on Legal	EL	x
34	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	33	politics	doubled the quota	new decree, the	MI	x
35	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	34	politics	to bring the media	Vremya" published	M	x
36	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	35	politics	in the search of	in identification and	CU	x
37	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	36	Politics	possible risk of	the conflict zone in	CU	x
38	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	18	4	2018	37	Society	with BA degree shall	service does not	AR	x
39	1st week Liga_UA_Entry-form_EED_16.04_22.04.xls	01/07/18 23:05	19	4	2018	38	Society	liberated from	from the Ukrainian	Do.history	x

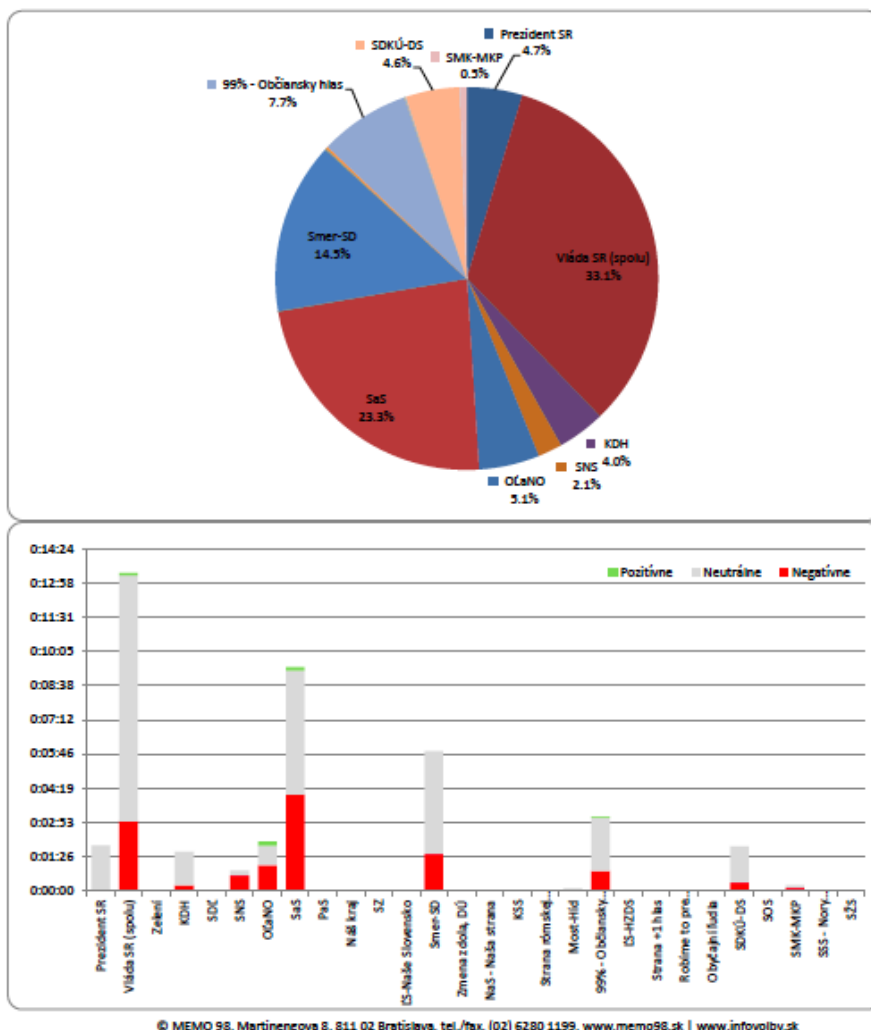
Chart 18 shows a sample of media monitoring results transformed into charts showing the coverage of monitoring subjects during the Slovak parliamentary elections in 2012. The pie chart shows the total percentage of airtime allocated to monitored subjects in the defined period. The bar chart shows the total number of hours and minutes of positive (green), neutral (white) and negative (red) airtime devoted to monitored subjects by Markiza TV in the defined period.

PREZENTÁCIA POLITICKÝCH SUBJEKTOV

(20. február 2012 - 4. marec 2012)

MEMO 98
CONTINUING MEDIA MONITORING

Markíza



Media monitoring activities will be conducted by a team of 15 monitors, who should be well trained in the procedures and techniques of media monitoring. The necessary equipment the media monitoring team requires for their daily tasks include equipment for recording the media broadcasts (alternatively, it is possible to purchase an access to a web site which keeps an archive of media broadcasts), and equipment allowing the viewing, coding and input into computers of all information received from the monitoring activities. In addition, there should be capacity to store information, both the recorded broadcasts and the data gathered.

When the level of political diversity in the election reporting is assessed, it is a good practice to analyse a minimum period of two weeks before identifying any tendencies and trends and before drawing any conclusions on whether or not a particular media outlet is fair and balanced.

Interpretation of the data

It is important that people experienced with media monitoring do the data analysis, create tables and charts and write monitoring reports. This is why there will be three local experts from the Commission on Journalists' Ethics and partner NGOs who will take part in this stage of the project, participating in drafting the reports and doing the presentations of the results. Importantly, one international and one local experts engaged by the Council of Europe will oversee and provide their expert support throughout the whole process, where necessary, making sure that the presented data and results are credible and that the monitoring is done according to international standards and good practices.

Reporting and publishing the results

There will be a total of **7 reports** (5 interim and two final reports) published in the framework of this project. The first interim reports will cover the first month of monitoring, revealing the initial tendencies and trends. The second interim reports will cover the entire campaign period and will be published shortly before election days. The final reports will be published within one month after elections and will include the final media monitoring results, a more detailed analysis and concrete examples of violations as well as of exemplary coverage and most importantly, recommendations on improvements.

Project timeline



Taking into consideration the project goal, financial and human resources, it is important to develop a project timeline, including the precise dates of when the monitoring will commence, when the reports will be published, what is the end date of the monitoring etc. For this project, it is proposed that the monitoring will commence **3 months** prior to each election (presidential and parliamentary) and finish on the day of elections (including monitoring of the silence period and election day reporting). Below is a preliminary calendar which will be finalised once all the important details are known.

Presidential election (31 March 2019)

14 January 2019 – the commencement of the monitoring

18 February 2019 – 1st interim report (monitoring period – 14 January – 3 February)

28 March 2019 – 2nd interim report (monitoring period 4 February – 17 March)

31 March 2019 – Election Day (presidential election)
18 April 2019 – 3rd interim report (in case of runoff – 1 – 14 April)
June 2019 – final report

Parliamentary elections (assumed date 27 October 2019)

1 August 2019 – the commencement of the monitoring
5 September 2019 – 1st interim report (cut of date for the data submission 1 September 2019)
24 October 2019 – 2nd interim report (cut of data for the data submission 20 October 2019)
27 October 2019 – Election Day (parliamentary elections)
November 2019 – final report



Chart 19 showing a project calendar covering the entire monitoring period, elections in Palestine 2006.

It is important to stick to the agreed calendar and do not have any delays in monitoring – it is the best way to monitor the media the very next day you record (in case of news programmes) or on the same day (online media)

Deciding on the number of monitors/analysts

The number of monitors is determined in connection with the amount of media to be monitored as well as how detailed the analysis of the media should be. If we include a number of different variables and choose a bigger media sample (include bigger time segments or number of programmes to monitor), we would need to hire a higher number of monitors or they will have to spend more time on the analysis. It is thus important to clearly understand the goal of the monitoring and select the number of relevant variables not to overload the work of monitors and at the same time have sufficient data available for the analysis.

It is recommended to hire between 8 to 15 media monitors for this project, with each monitor covering one TV and one online media outlet and with monitors who will pay more attention to gender-related aspects and social media. In addition, a data enterer should also be hired to take care of the technical side of the data entering process as well as the creation of the monitoring results (in the form of table and charts).

III MONITORING ISSUES

Advantage of Incumbency



Chart 20 shows using advantage of incumbency during elections in Azerbaijan

When reporting on the activities and achievements of the incumbents, it is always important to present the full picture and background. Taking the example of the opening of the road, it would be important to find out the details of this construction, how much money was spent, if the project was

completed on time, including the views of independent experts as well as people affected by this construction. Such analytical coverage eliminates the advantage of incumbency and makes it even more difficult for the incumbents to defend their decisions and policies. The important thing is the fact that even if the incumbents get more coverage than their opponents, this coverage should not be all positive, in support of their policies and activities, but rather balanced, including an independent assessment of the policies and activities.⁴⁶ As such, no privileged treatment should be given to public institutions by the media during election campaigns. At the same time, the government is the main policy maker and it is thus legitimate to cover its activities to keep the public informed. Having an institutional role implies a larger degree of attention from the media because of the media's duty to cover the activities of the government that may include official events, meetings and policies implemented.

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that "official reports during the election campaign on actions taken by MP candidates holding positions in state executive bodies, state bodies of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, or local self-government bodies, in connection with performance of their official (service) duties provided for by the Constitution of Ukraine or the Laws of Ukraine, shall not be deemed to be election campaigning if these reports are produced in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the Law on the Procedure for Media Coverage of the Activities of State Executive Bodies and Bodies of Local Self-Government in Ukraine. Such official reports must not contain any comments of a campaigning nature, video or audio recordings, or photographic illustrations of the activities of the aforementioned persons as MP candidates."⁴⁷ The law also provides that "participation in election campaigning should be *inter alia* prohibited for executive bodies, state bodies of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and bodies of local self-government, law enforcement agencies and courts, as well as public servants and officials of the bodies during their working hours, unless the public servant or official is an MP candidate."⁴⁸ The presidential election laws defines such official notices during the election process in its article 58.3.

Moreover, there is a special law which regulates the media coverage of activities of government bodies and local self-government bodies in Ukraine.⁴⁹ By this law, the media have some rights as well as obligation when it comes to the coverage of state officials. More specifically, they have a right to cover all aspects of activities of government bodies and local self-government bodies which have to provide complete information about their activities through respective information services of government bodies and local self-government bodies, ensure free access for journalists to such information, except for the cases provided for in the Law of Ukraine "On State Secret", avoid any pressure on them and any interference in their operations. Mass media may carry out their own investigations and analysis of activities of government bodies and local self-government bodies, their officers, evaluate and comment.⁵⁰ Articles 10 and 11 of the law regulate the coverage of the president

⁴⁶ Ibid (pp.9).

⁴⁷ Article 68.4 of the "Law on Elections of People's Deputies".

⁴⁸ Article 74 of the "Law on Elections of People's Deputies"

⁴⁹ The law "On the Procedure for Mass Media Coverage of Activities of Government Bodies and Local Self-Government Bodies in Ukraine"

⁵⁰ Article 2 of The law "On the Procedure for Mass Media Coverage of Activities of Government Bodies and Local Self-Government Bodies in Ukraine"

and the government ministers stipulating what activities by them are mandatory for the audio-visual media to cover.

Monitoring news programmes



News programs provide information that should reflect a variety of views, be relevant, fresh, accurate, balanced, and factual. The media should come up with a fair and equitable mechanism to determine the proportion of election news coverage allocated to election contestants. They should receive news coverage commensurate with their importance in the election and the extent of their electoral support. The parliamentary and presidential election laws provide general provisions on equal treatment of contestants but importantly, it should be within the editorial decision of each media outlet to determine the specific election formats and models based on which they will distribute airtime to contestants.⁵¹ For example, the amount of news coverage devoted to the competing parties is strictly controlled in the United Kingdom (UK) as BBC takes measures to ensure parity among the competing parties.⁵² In a number of Council of Europe member States, broadcast media are often criticised for not providing comprehensive and analytical coverage of the campaign, contestants and their platforms which would enable the electorate to make a more qualified choice at the ballot box.

The time given to political parties or candidates is only a basic indicator of fairness of the media coverage given to political figures. When contestants are presented with an opportunity to speak directly to the camera and microphone (*direct speech*), it is more for the viewers or listeners, in contrast with reproduced segments of broadcasts presenting actors indirectly (when someone else speaks about them). However, it is the editors or journalists who select segments of the *direct speech* that appear in the news programs, not the political actors.⁵³ The time given to actors cross-tabulated with the tone of the coverage and with the direct speech provide by far more accurate picture of the approach the media have taken in their coverage of relevant actors.

As the election day gets closer, it will be more important to ensure that there is balance within a shorter period, since there will be less time available for candidates to respond to their political opponents.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Kužel, Rasťo. *Media reporting and conduct during the electoral process*, OSCE mission in Kosovo, 2017.

⁵² BBC Election Guidelines 2016, “Guidance on Coverage of Parties and Candidates”, pp.17-31, <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/pdfs/2016ElectionGuidelines.pdf>.

⁵³ Kužel, Rasťo and Chekmyshev, Oleksandr. “Media Monitoring Methodology”, October 2015, pp. 5 Available at: http://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/regionalvoices/downloads/Media-monitoring-methodology_Ukraine_FINAL_161115.pdf Accessed 3 Oct. 2017.

⁵⁴ Ibid (pp.6)

The presidential election law prohibits inclusion of pre-election campaign materials of presidential candidates or political advertisements in TV and radio news programs. Political advertisements must be separated from other materials and specified as such.⁵⁵ It shall be prohibited to interrupt broadcasts of pre-election programs of candidates to the post of President of Ukraine or the parties that nominated them with advertisement for goods, works, services and other announcements.

The key questions to be answered when monitoring the news programmes include:

- *Was there any bias in quantity of time allocated to actors and entities?*
- *Were political actors given a fair amount of time, reflecting the scope of activities? Is there much more coverage of one party than another? Can this be justified by news values?*
- *Was there any bias in quality?*
- *Does the tone of coverage favour one party over another?*
- *Have you noticed any biased coverage against female candidates?*

Coverage of political contestants and other relevant entities

In general, there is no need to overexpose small parties – in particular, if this is done at the expense of more relevant parties. Significant minor parties should also receive some coverage during the campaign, for example at the time of their manifesto launch.

As for the coverage of political contestants and other relevant entities, the *unit of analysis* is the time that is devoted to each contestant or entity (counted in seconds). In addition to calculating how much time relevant entities receive in the media, it is important to understand how the time is used. Equal time does not automatically mean equal coverage. The tone of the coverage and how the actor or entity is portrayed is important information complementing the data on time allocation. The *sequence of time* related with *relevant political actor* is coded according to the following variables: the total *direct-indirect time*, and the *tone of the coverage* (positive, neutral, negative). Within a programme, which is the unit of context, there are numerous units of analysis related to various political actors or entities. The units of analyses are recorded and coded separately with selected variables.

Quantitative analysis cannot address all relevant issues of election coverage. The following is a selection of the most important issues that need to be monitored and evaluated qualitatively:⁵⁶

Is there any relevant information missing? (Media often avoid the problem of how to cover politically sensitive stories by simply not covering them at all. It is also important to look at how or whether gender issues are covered.)

⁵⁵ Article 64.10 of the “Law on Elections of the President of Ukraine” as well as Article 74.17 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”.

⁵⁶ These questions are drawn from the Oxford Media Research by Richard Carver, *Guidelines for media monitoring in the Moldovan elections*, 2005.

Choice of issues (Does the selection of news items favour the agenda of one party or another, even if there is no explicit bias? Does the coverage favour male candidates over female candidates and vice versa?)

Similar style of coverage (Are campaign events of different candidates reported in similar ways /for example, do they all receive actuality footage or direct quotation) or do only some of them?

The incumbent factor (Are the activities of incumbent officeholders who are also candidates properly reported – or are the two roles confused to the incumbents' advantage?)

Positioning items (Are items about the opposition placed alongside other unfavourable stories /e.g foreign accounts of political violence/ to create an unfavourable impression?)

Priority (Are some candidates always reported ahead of others in the running order of bulletins?)

Inflammatory language (Are inflammatory language or actual incidents of violence reported in an accurate, sober and balanced manner, with all sides quoted? Or is media reporting itself inflammatory and unbalanced, with the danger that it could lead to further violence?)

Manipulative use of film, picture and sound (camera angles, distance of the camera from the candidates, light, quality of the sound, use of footage which does not correspond with the content of the story or which provide negative or positive tone to the story)

Advantage of the incumbent (Are incumbent officials, if running in the elections, campaigning within their official functions? Is government involved in media campaign linked in some way with elections?)

Public Opinion Polls

While reporting the results of opinion polls, the media should provide the public with sufficient information to make a judgment on the value of the polls. The essential requirements for publishing of the results of public opinion polls include the name of the organisation that commissioned the poll, the name and methodology employed by the pollster, the sample and margin of error and the date the poll was conducted. The essential question is to find out who commissioned the poll. It is also important to find out how many people were interviewed? There has to be a certain number of respondents to make the sample statistically relevant. We also need to know how respondents were chosen? It goes without saying that a reputable pollster always publishes the sampling method. A proper sample will reflect the variety of geographical or population groups in that area. We also need to know precisely when was the poll conducted as people's views change, particularly during an election campaign. It is common for professional pollsters to include the sampling error as no poll

can predict the result with total accuracy. Finally, it is also important to know the precise questions asked as well as the order in which they were asked.⁵⁷

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that “when making public the results of public opinion poll related to the election of MPs, mass media shall indicate the person or entity that commissioned the poll, the full name of the organization that conducted the poll, the time when the poll was conducted, the territory covered by the poll, the size and method of sampling, the polling method, the exact wording of the questions, and the possible statistical error.”⁵⁸

The presidential election laws stipulates that “mass media of all forms of ownership, which operate on the territory of Ukraine, shall be prohibited from disseminating information about the results of public opinion polls concerning the candidates to the post of President of Ukraine during the last two days prior to the day of elections or the day of repeat voting.”⁵⁹

The reporting of public opinions polls are monitored in the framework of the qualitative analysis and here are the questions included in the monitoring form.

- *Who conducted the poll? (Are they reputable and independent? If the organization that carried out the poll is not independent of all political parties, then its findings may be biased. It is important to know who commissioned the poll – was it a political party, a media organization or some other body?)*
- *How many people were interviewed? (The size of the sample is obviously important. If it is too small then the result is less likely to be accurate. But if the sample is well selected, a relatively small number may still yield important results.)*
- *How were they chosen? (A reputable pollster will publish the sampling method. It should go without saying, but who you choose is going to determine the result. If the poll is conducted by telephone it only reflects the views of telephone users. If it is conducted on a street corner in Chisinau, it will only reflect the views of that city’s residents. A proper sample will reflect the variety of geographical or population groups in the country.)*
- *Are the published results based upon the answers of all those interviewed? (An easy way of fiddling poll results is to leave out the answers that you do not like. That is unprofessional, for both a pollster and a journalist.)*
- *When was the poll conducted? (People’s views change, especially during an election campaign. A poll that is a month old may not be a reliable guide to how people will vote tomorrow.)*
- *What is the sampling error? (This means simply, how far out are the poll results likely to be? No poll can predict the result with total accuracy, but a professional one should get within a few percentage points.)*

⁵⁷ ACE Electoral Knowledge Network. “International Law on Media and Elections”, 3rd ed., 2012, section *Question to ask about Public Opinion Polling*. Available at: <http://aceproject.org/main/english/me/med06a01.htm>
Accessed 2 October 2018

⁵⁸ Article 71. 10 of the “Law on Elections of the People’s Deputies”

⁵⁹ Article 64.13 of the Law on Elections of the President of Ukraine”

- *What questions were asked – and how were they worded? In what order were they asked? (The article or broadcast should reflect exactly what the questions were, to avoid the danger of “interpreting” the results in the most politically convenient way.*⁶⁰

Debates and talk shows



Televised debates provide the best forum for exchanges of views and the most attractive format for viewers. As a supplement to news, these programs offer commentary, debate, or an opportunity for competing interests to present their opinions directly to viewers and listeners.⁶¹ However, the decision on how such fairness should be achieved, for instance, deciding the format, the number of participants, and the length,⁶² is normally decided by the broadcasting organisation itself.⁶³

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that “TV and radio organizations shall have a right to create and to broadcast live the programs inviting MP candidates, their proxies, parties participating in the election process, their authorized representatives in the form of election debates or

⁶⁰ Media Monitoring Indicators – described by Richard Carver (Oxford Brookes University/Oxford Media Research) and Marek Mracka (MEMO 98) in *Monitoring Moldovan Broadcasters: Methods and Techniques*

⁶¹ Kužel, Rašo. *Media reporting and conduct during the electoral process*, (pp.4) OSCE mission in Kosovo, 2017

⁶² In the 2007, the European Court for Human Rights considered a case of *Partija “Jaunie Demokrāti” and Partija “Mūsu Zeme” v. Latvia*. In this case, two Latvian political parties made an application to the Court under Article 3 of Protocol No. 1, complaining about Latvia's public service broadcaster, Latvijas Televīzija. The parties pointed out that the broadcaster had only invited to take part in television debates those parties which were already represented in parliament or which had the support of 4% of the electorate according to the opinion polls, while other parties had only been offered free air time in off-peak viewing slots. However, the Court held that Article 3 of Protocol No. 1 did not guarantee the right of a political party to airtime on radio or television in the run-up to elections. The Court did admit that “problems” could arise in “exceptional circumstances” – for example, if in an election period a political party was refused airtime when other parties were not. However, the Court held that no such special circumstances had been established.

⁶³ Council of Europe, Committee of Ministers, “Explanatory Memorandum to Recommendation No. R (99) 15 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on measures concerning media coverage of election campaigns”, Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 9 September 1999 at the 678th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies, section *News and Current Affairs Programmes*, Available at: [https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?p=&Ref=ExpRec\(99\)15&Language=lanEnglish&Ver=original&direct=true](https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?p=&Ref=ExpRec(99)15&Language=lanEnglish&Ver=original&direct=true)

discussions.⁶⁴ Such programs shall be arranged in a series of programs with a similar format aimed at ensuring observation of the principle of equal conditions and equal access. A TV and radio organization that intends to broadcast such programs shall publish the respective proposal stating the program format, the period during which consent for participation in the program should be submitted, and the cost of participation in the respective program.” The presidential election law provides a very detailed description on the procedure and terms for conducting TV debates in its article 62.

Talk shows are also attractive for viewers as they diverse ideas and provide good opportunity for voters to receive more information about candidates. It is however important to establish some rules for talk shows too as if left totally uncontrolled, they can mislead, misrepresent and misinform many viewers. As such, it is important that candidates are treated in the fair manner when it comes to designing formats of talk shows during elections.⁶⁵

When organising a debate or talk show, it is important to find the right balance between respect for editorial independence and the need for certain rules when organizing debates. While publicly funded broadcasters usually need to follow more strictly the equality provisions (providing an opportunity to participate in the debates for all contestants), private broadcasters should be editorially free to determine the format of debate.

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that “TV and radio organizations shall have a right to create and to broadcast live the programs inviting MP candidates, their proxies, parties participating in the election process, their authorized representatives in the form of election debates or discussions. Such programs shall be arranged in a series of programs with a similar format aimed at ensuring observation of the principle of equal conditions and equal access. A TV and radio organization that intends to broadcast such programs shall publish the respective proposal stating the program format, the period during which consent for participation in the program should be submitted, and the cost of participation in the respective program.”⁶⁶

The format of the program (series of programs) includes: the procedure for selection of participants of the program involving two or more candidates or parties – upon the participant’s consent, by drawing lots, etc.; the duration of the program and the amount of air time given to each participant for speaking; the presence of other invitees in the studio during the program (experts, journalists, audience in the studio etc.), their role and the process for selection or identification; the rules of procedure and the rules of conduct for program participants; the topic for discussion or the procedure for its identification; the terms of presentation of other information during the program (results of public opinion surveys, interactive voting, statistic data, educational and reference information, concert performances, etc); other terms and conditions of the program production.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Article 66.5 of the “Law on the Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁶⁵ UN/EU Long Term Observation Mission Final Report, 2000-2001 General Elections in Guyana, Talk Shows, pp.4, <http://memo98.sk/www/uploads/media/guyana.pdf>.

⁶⁶ Article 66.5 of the “Law on the Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁶⁷ Article 66.5 of the “Law on the Elections of People’s Deputies”

The cost of participation in the program shall be the same for all subjects of the election process and determined taking into consideration the amount of air time given to each program participant as well as the price of the air time unit determined as provided for in Part 6 Article 71 of this Law.

The amount of air time given to the program participants for participation in the discussion or for answers to the questions shall be determined using the same rules.⁶⁸

Unlike with the news programmes, it is not necessary to monitor this type of programmes quantitatively. The rationale is that while the news programmes fully reflect the editorial position of the respective media outlet (with the editor-in-chief having a final say on what is included), with the debates, the outlet only provides a platform for discussion. While as mentioned above, there are important aspects that are decided by the outlet (such as the debate format, number of participants, topics of discussion, etc.), they could be assessed qualitatively.

While the *time* indicator would tell us how was the total time devoted for the debate distributed among different candidates, we would not be in a position to draw comprehensive conclusions based on this information. The reason for this is that it is up to a candidate or political party to determine particular strategy for the debate participation. For example, it is legitimate for a candidate not to participate in a debate or choose to avoid responding to some questions. This however goes beyond the scope of a media monitoring exercise the main goal of which is to assess the fairness and objectivity of media outlets. Moreover, some candidates are better debaters than their opponents which could also be reflected in the total amount of “debate” time.

As such, it is sufficient to use qualitative indicators to assess electoral debates or talk shows. The qualitative indicators should take into consideration the following criteria:

- *The role of a moderator/talk show host*
 - *Overall preparedness of the moderator/host and knowledge of the topics*
 - *Ability to ask questions*
 - *Ability to stay on important issues and do not let respondents to get away with general responses*
 - *Ability to stay impartial (not asking probing questions to some candidates while asking “loaded” questions to others)*
- *Debate/talk show format*
 - *Presence of other invitees in the studio during the program (experts, journalists, audience in the studio, and others)*
 - *Rules of procedure and rules of conduct for program participants*
 - *Topic for discussion or the procedure for its identification;*
 - *Terms of presentation of other information during the program (results of public opinion surveys, interactive voting, statistic data, educational and reference information, concert performances);*
 - *Other terms and conditions of the program production*
- *Criteria of selection of participants*
 - *What criteria are used to choose debate participants?*

The questions are included in the monitoring form be filled out by monitors who conduct qualitative analysis of the debates and talk shows.

Political advertising



There are two main issues when it comes to defining the notion of political advertising. The first one is the notion of direct access as this airtime or space is considered to be a direct form of communication between contestants and voters, with the media only providing the access but not playing any other role. This form of access can be either free-of-charge or paid for, depending on the specific arrangements by law in each country.

Free-of-charge advertising during elections

It is a practice in many societies for the public service broadcast media to offer, at no cost, free airtime for political candidates or parties to communicate their messages to the electorate. It is considered to be a direct form of communication between politicians and voters, without any intermediary role by the media. One of the main advantages of giving free airtime is to allow smaller parties or minor candidates to have an opportunity to deliver their electoral messages, as they otherwise do not get a significant coverage by the media.⁶⁹ Contrary to the paid time, which is sometimes not affordable by small parties or minor candidates, the lack of finances should not be an obstacle to access the airways.

Parties and candidates shall be provided with direct access in the public media free of charge. No registered parties and candidates shall be excluded from receiving free airtime. The amount of time allotted has to be enough to allow candidates to effectively communicate and illustrate their platforms to the public. The allocation of time can be on an equal basis or on a proportional basis according to the specific context in which the elections are taking place. When the number of contesting parties is limited, strict equality may be applicable. For presidential elections, referenda and for first democratic elections, the criteria of strict equality better fits the need to provide all contestants with a level playing field.

⁶⁹

Handbook on Media Monitoring for Election Observation Missions, OSCE/ODIHR 2012, section Free airtime/space, pp. 31, Available at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/92057?download=true> Accessed on 3 October 2017

When the number of contesting parties and candidates is high, a proportional formula may be adopted. The criteria to define proportions can be based on a number of criteria: votes obtained by parties in the same kind of past elections, the number of seats in parliament, a threshold based on the number of candidacies filed in a minimum of constituencies. Direct access should be broadcast/published when it is likely to reach the widest audience. In addition, direct access has to be disseminated on a non-discriminatory basis; therefore it is not acceptable to broadcast the direct access of some candidates only late at night or early in the morning while other candidates' slots are broadcast during prime time period. Whatever system is adopted, the criteria on which the time is allotted to the different contestants shall be clearly specified, transparent and justifiable. Formula shall be objective, clear and not subject to misinterpretation.

The parliamentary election law provides that “the Central Election Commission shall approve the procedures for providing air time and printed space at the expense of the funds of the State Budget of Ukraine allocated for support for election campaigning in accordance with this Law to parties that have registered MP candidates in the nationwide election district and to MP candidates (Article 71.4 Parliamentary election law).⁷⁰

Furthermore, the parliamentary elections law stipulates that “television and radio broadcasting entities shall provide each party that is an electoral subject with air time for election campaigning at the expense and within the limits of the funds of the State Budget of Ukraine allocated for the preparation and holding of the election, totaling no less than 60 minutes on a nationwide television channel and 60 minutes on a nationwide radio channel, and also 20 minutes for each one on the regional television channels and 20 minutes for each one on the regional radio channels in each of the regions. MP candidates registered in a single-member district shall each be provided with 20 minutes on the respective regional television channels and 20 minutes on the regional radio channels. The above time shall be provided to a party on each of the aforementioned channels in two equal parts of the total allocated time.”⁷¹

The parliamentary elections laws stipulates the sequence in which the parties that are subjects of election process will be provided with air time on the nationwide radio and television within the framework of the schedule mentioned in Part 5 of this Article shall be determined not later than fifty-three days before the election day by means of lot drawing conducted by the Central Election Commission, with the participation of the parties' representatives in the Central Election Commission or authorized representatives of the parties.⁷² The sequence in which the parties that are subjects of election process and the MP candidates registered in a single-mandate district will be provided with air time on state-owned or municipal regional radio and television within the framework of the schedule mentioned in Part 5 of this Article shall be determined not later than fifty-three days before the election day by means of lot drawing conducted by the respective district election commissions identified by a decision of the Central Election Commission in each Ukrainian region, with the participation of respective representatives of the parties, MP candidates or proxies of MP candidates registered in single-mandate districts.⁷³

⁷⁰ Article 71.4 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁷¹ Article 72.4 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁷² Article 72.6 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁷³ Article 72.6 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

The presidential election law stipulates that “TV and radio organizations shall provide the candidate to the post of President of Ukraine registered by the Central Election Commission general time for his or her pre-election campaign purposes at the expense of funds allocated from the State Budget of Ukraine for the preparation and conduct of the elections, of no less than 30 minutes on a nationwide TV channel and 30 minutes on a nationwide radio channel. This time shall be provided to the candidate on each of the aforementioned channels in two equal shares of the general time.”⁷⁴ Moreover, “it shall be prohibited 20 minutes before and after TV and radio broadcasts of a pre-election campaign-related program of a respective candidate to the post of President of Ukraine to comment in any form or evaluate the content of pre-election campaign program or to give any information on this candidate or party.”⁷⁵ Also, “the distribution of air time, with an indication of the pre-election campaign TV and radio programs, and the specific date and time they are aired, shall be made by the respective National Television Broadcasting Company and National Radio Broadcasting Company based on the results of lots drawn by the Central Election Commission with the participation of the candidates to the post of President of Ukraine, their proxies or authorized representatives of the candidates.”⁷⁶

The time given to contestants is the key variable when monitoring free-of-charge campaign spots, and addresses of candidates. In these spots, candidates are expected to be getting the same or comparable amounts of time and the programs with various candidates have to be broadcast at a similar time of day (depending on the system according to which the free airtime is distributed).

Paid political advertisement

In addition to the allocation of free time and space, paid political advertisement constitutes another opportunity for all political parties or candidates to disseminate their messages through the media. While voters undoubtedly need as much information about contestants as possible to make an informed choice, paid advertising may give an unfair advantage to those parties or candidates who could afford to purchase more amounts of airtime.⁷⁷ Therefore, not all societies accept this practice.

When the media accept paid political advertising, it is a necessary general principle that all paid political advertising in all forms of media should be recognisable as such. This is a minimum principle that includes an obligation to inform the public of the political nature of the advertising as well as the option to request the identification of the party ordering the advertising. In the previous elections in Ukraine, there was sometimes an unclear delineation of election-related reporting and paid political advertising when media did not properly label paid political advertisements. There have been instances when media accepted money during election campaigns and in return featured certain politicians more prominently in their news reporting of the campaign. These are corrupt practices which are clearly unacceptable (see also paid-for coverage).⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Article 61.4 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

⁷⁵ Article 61.5 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

⁷⁶ Article 61.6 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

⁷⁷ European Commission for Democracy through Law, Compilation of Venice Commission opinions and reports concerning media and elections, adopted up to and including the Venice Commission’s 106 the Plenary Session, 11-12 March 2016, pp. 11, Available at: [http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-PI\(2016\)006-e](http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-PI(2016)006-e)

⁷⁸ Ibid (pp.33)

To decide on the content of these messages should be at the discretion of the contestants. If a particular candidate communicates a message that is not in line with the legal boundaries, the legal liability should be on the shoulders of a contestant, not on the media. Broadcasters should not pre-screen the spots and cases of their interruptions, or indications regarding an attempt to censor them should be closely monitored. The parliamentary elections law stipulates that “mass media shall not be liable for the contents of election campaigning materials that were placed in accordance with agreements with customers, except in cases specified by this law and if the media organization was positively aware of the existence of a relevant court judgment.”⁷⁹

The parliamentary elections law also provides that election campaigning through mass media of all forms of ownership should be paid for out of the electoral funds of parties and MP candidates in single-mandate election districts shall be conducted on conditions of equal pay for a unit of airtime or printed space.⁸⁰ The same law provides that each mass media organization shall set the price per a unit of printed space or air time to be used for election campaigning at the expense of electoral funds no later than one hundred days prior to the day of voting; the price shall not exceed the average price charged for commercial advertising (advertising which is disseminated with the purpose of generating profit) for the last three quarters of the year preceding the year of the MP election. At the same time, mass media shall be entitled to calculate separate rates per unit of printed space or airtime for business days and days off and holidays as well as for periods of airtime or printed space types with different potential audience size.⁸¹

The parliamentary elections law rules that the prices per unit of printed space and airtime for conducting election campaigning shall not be changed during the election process. A mass media outlet shall not be allowed to grant discounts or introduce extra charges to parties that have registered MP candidates in the nationwide election district or to MP candidates in single-mandate districts. Election campaigning in mass media of all forms of ownership carried out at the expense of resources of electoral funds of parties, MP candidates in single-mandate districts shall be allowed only after the printed space or airtime was paid from the respective electoral fund accounts.⁸²

The parliamentary elections law also provides that no later than ninety days prior to the day of voting, television and radio broadcasting entities of all forms of ownership shall publish in the printed mass media their rates per one minute (second) of airtime. Television and radio broadcasting entities broadcasting on the nationwide channels shall publish such rates in the newspapers *Holos Ukrainy* and *Uriadovyi Courier*, while regional and local television and radio broadcasting entities shall publish their rates in the respective regional and local state-owned or municipal printed mass media.⁸³ The presidential election law stipulates these rules in its article 61.

The parliamentary elections law also stipulates that “it shall be prohibited to include election campaigning materials of parties, including political advertisements, in informational television and

⁷⁹ Article 74. 20 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁸⁰ Article 71. 5 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁸¹ Article 71. 6 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁸² Article 71. 8 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁸³ Article 72.1 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

radio programs (news reports). Election campaign materials shall be separated from other broadcasts and identified as such.”⁸⁴

The presidential election law provides that “during electoral process, only the candidate for President of Ukraine can be the contractors of political advertisement which are broadcast by TV broadcasting organizations and that is funded from the electoral fund of candidates for the post of President of Ukraine. In the course of demonstration of political advertisement that is funded from the electoral fund of a candidate for President of Ukraine, there have to indicate surname, name and patronymic of the contractor in the form of text message which should not exceed 15 % of the screen size and be done in a contrasting colour to the background and to be perceptible of the viewer.”⁸⁵

Paid-for coverage

Paid-for coverage is a long-term problem of the Ukrainian media environment, dating back to 2004. This practice is also known by other names, such as media bribery, envelope journalism, paid-for stories, paid-for positive news coverage, or simply by local term *jeansa*. It should be mentioned that this practice is different to the practice of media bias or political marketing. Unlike direct advertising, paid-for coverage is shown as normal news, with money received by journalists or editors going directly into their jeans pockets (that is the reason for the name *jeansa*).

Given the low professional standards, complicated economic conditions for the Ukrainian media market and low profitability of media business in the post-economic crisis, media managers and journalists are keener to accept short-term profits and forget about long-term strategies. Moreover, it is very difficult for editors and journalists to find well-paid jobs and thus they are ready to accept under-the-table money (which also allows them to evade paying taxes). As such, *jeansa* has become widespread practice, generally not seen as a negative phenomenon anymore. Unsurprisingly, there is a lack of true media market as it has been undermined by the availability of political money. Interests of owners and not that of viewers and readers determine the editorial policy of media. During election campaigns, contestants’ appearance in the news and current affairs programs is determined not based on newsworthiness, but thanks to paid materials which are adapted to the reporting style of channels and are almost indistinguishable from regular news items.

While it will be impossible for the media monitoring unit to find the actual evidence that a candidate paid a journalist or a media outlet to receive positive coverage (like in many other areas of corruption), it will be possible for monitors and analysts to track down suspicious content which will clearly stand out from the rest of the news items. The qualitative monitoring of paid-for coverage will be included in the monitoring form and monitors will be asked to comment on the coverage where there is a clear tendency to portray a particular candidate or party in a positive light or in case there is a smear campaign against a particular candidate.

Social advertising or institutional advertising

Publicizing some public services promoted by the government ministries or agencies should be avoided during election campaign to avoid any controversy regarding their value (public information

⁸⁴ Article 74. 17 of the “Law on Elections of the People’s Deputies”

⁸⁵ Article 61.8 of the “Law on Elections of the President of Ukraine”

or hidden propaganda). If broadcast is allowed these kinds of social ads should not be considered in principle campaign advertising unless they clearly promote a particular party or candidate, in which case they can be classified as a misuse of administrative resources and as such they can be subject to sanctions and complaints as set forth by relevant laws and regulations.

The parliamentary elections law provides that “the legislation on social advertising shall be applicable to the distribution of information materials related to the general information support for the election.”⁸⁶

Voter education

Voter education plays a very important part in educating people on what they need to know in order to exercise their right to vote. They provide information on voters’ rights and obligations in the electoral process and explain the importance of voting. In some countries voter education is an integral part of broader civic education programs. It is important that voter education programs are designed in a way to involve the major media outlets in publicizing important information, particularly publicly funded broadcasters.

The presidential election law defines the competencies of the Central Election Commission and stipulates that the CEC should “ensure the production and broadcasting on national TV and Radio of information programs giving clarifications to voters about the principles and procedure of conducting elections, their role in the life of the society and the state, the voting procedures, the rights and obligations of voters, and the mechanisms for control over compliance with the legislation regarding the elections of the President of Ukraine; resolve, according to this and other laws of Ukraine, issues related to the use of mass media in the pre-election campaign.”⁸⁷

Things which will be included in the monitoring form are:

- *Voter education programmes should be objective, impartial and balanced – they should not be used to promote any political party or candidate*
- *Voter education programmes should be informative and useful in explaining changes in the electoral system (if any) so people know how to vote*
- *A good voter education program informs voters about their rights, how to exercise them and the way the electoral system works.*
- *Voter education programmes should warn of negative aspects of elections, such as vote buying or any other potential malpractices that happened in the previous elections and could be repeated.*
- *Voter education should provide sufficient information so that voters can participate knowledgeably. In a neutral way, programs should explain when, where and how to register and vote; the identity documents that must be presented; and how to mark a ballot so that it is valid and will be counted.*

⁸⁶ Article 64.3 of the “Law on Elections of the People’s Deputies”

⁸⁷ Article 25.8 of the Law “On the Elections of the President of Ukraine”

Election blackout

The so-called “day of reflection” means prohibition on the dissemination of partisan electoral messages on the day preceding voting as well as on election day itself. It was previously argued that voters should have time to ‘digest’ all the information received during the campaign and take a decision on their vote without pressures. However, same as with the ban on reporting the results of public opinion polls, it is questionable if it is not better to leave this area unregulated by law, leaving it up to the self-regulatory practices by the media. Moreover, given the global reach of Internet, it is also questionable how this provision can be implemented and which regulatory body is best placed to oversee the implementation.

The election campaign finishes 24 hours before election day – as such, there should not be any coverage of political contestants in which there are calls in their favour or against them. The monitoring of defined subjects will finish 24 hours before election day and during this period (the day before elections and the day of elections, there is a different kind of monitoring focusing on possible breaches of election blackout. Unlike during the campaign period when the main focus is on prime time (18.00 – 24.00), during this two-day period, all programmes should be recorded for 24 hours. Monitors will focus on the news and special election programmes to:

- *Write down each potential breach of the election blackout (any of candidates or parties mentioned during the blackout period)*
- *In case there is a breach, it is important to write down the name of the media outlet, name of programme, date, time, name of contestant, measure the time and explain the essence of the violation*
- *Election day coverage usually includes segments showing various candidates voting – this is OK as long as they are shown. In case they are interviews, they should not use the opportunity for campaigning for or against a candidate.*

According to article 70.2 of the parliamentary elections law, election campaigning shall cease at 24:00 on the last Friday before the day of voting, with election campaigning on the eve of the day of voting and on the day of voting being prohibited. During the same period of time, it shall be prohibited to hold mass events (meetings, rallies, marches, demonstrations, picketing) on behalf of a party that has registered MP candidates in the nationwide election district, or on behalf of the MP candidates; to distribute campaign materials; or to make public announcements about support by a party or an MP candidate for concerts, performances, sport competitions, demonstration of films or television programs, or other public events.⁸⁸

The presidential election law prohibits publishing of the results of exit polls on the day of elections during the entire voting process.

⁸⁸ Article 70.2 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

Gender

Media have an irreplaceable role in education to civic rights, in pushing through the idea of tolerance, in overcoming and suppressing discrimination, as well as in the struggle against stereotypes.⁸⁹ The equal participation of women and men in political and electoral processes is necessary for the effective functioning of a democratic society.

To establish whether there was media bias towards candidates from the gender perspective, information indicating how much time each gender received in the media must be crosschecked with the number of registered male and female candidates. However, relevant information could be gathered by cross-tabulating the gender, time, the tone of the coverage and the direct speech variables.

Systematic stereotyping often draws attention away from the merit-based competencies of women candidates and the issues and values they stand for. Furthermore, there is a need to distinguish between private and public media. It is incumbent upon publicly funded media to introduce policies and additional measures to provide women candidates with adequate coverage. It is good practice for public media to have policies on and measures of coverage of women candidates and women's political participation issues. Similarly obliging private media to undertake such measures voluntarily can also make a positive difference.

The issues to focus on in the monitoring include under-representation, insufficient media coverage, and the prevalence of stereotypical information are all cited as obstacles to the equal enjoyment of freedom of expression. The monitoring will include quantitative and qualitative analysis of the coverage focusing on how media portray gender-related topics.

The quantitative analysis will focus on the time, tone and topics in the framework of which the female candidates will be covered.

The qualitative analysis will focus on the following aspects:

- *To assess whether men and women are provided an equal playing field in terms of access to and coverage in and by the media (not possible only with quantitative analysis)*
- *One of the most consistent—and persistent—findings to emerge from studies is that women candidates receive more attention to appearance, personality, and family compared to men.*
- *Are women's candidacies portrayed in a stereotypical ways.*

⁸⁹ MEMO 98's web site, section Minorities, at <http://memo98.sk/articles/minorities>. Accessed on 23 November 2017.

- *The extent to which the media direct political coverage towards women and issues that may be of particular concern to women.*
- *To what extent are voter-education efforts are directed at women and whether the types of coverage devoted to women or the use of stereotypes may be obstacles to the advancement of women in the political process.*
- *Are gender equality issues discussed (eg. social issues, gender based violence, women's participation in economic life, etc.) or are the discussions only focused on finance, defense, etc. that are traditionally considered male domain? Related to that: who speaks about what theme: is it only men talking about the conflict, corruption, etc. and women are asked about social policies and education?*
- *Are any media tackling gender stereotypes, cultivating public acceptance of women as a normal feature of political life and presenting women in a manner that promotes public confidence in their capacity as political leaders (with a special focus on NPTRCU).*
- *Is there a bias in the information presented by the media outlets that favours/disfavours certain candidates or themes (eg. gender equality)?*
- *Placement of the story (eg. ten seconds in the main headlines vs. ten seconds at the end of the news in the fun section)*
- *Gender stereotypes: are these being reinforced/challenged/neutral (eg. women are presented as victims or sexual objects, associated with their domestic roles, putting emphasis on what the women wear or on their physical characteristics)*
- *Instances in which women are portrayed in a manner that depicts their traditional roles as wives and mothers;*
- *Instances where the language, labels, or visuals used tend to diminish the stature or trivialize the accomplishments of women;*
- *The number of articles that focus on issues of particular concern to women, and whether they are news items or addressed in a feature section targeted at women.*
- *Do women candidates have equal access to the media on a non-discriminatory basis?*
- *Do any discrepancies in amount of coverage result from media choices or political-party choices?*
- *Is any political advertising directed specifically at women voters?*
- *Are any voter-education or get-out-the-vote efforts targeted specifically at women?*

Online media, social media and Internet

Determining the social media sample

Facebook pages of candidates and political parties (10 top candidates/parties)

Facebook pages of the monitored media (20 TV and online)

Facebook pages of opinion makers (10 opinion makers)

It is possible to use socialbakers.com to determine the popularity.

Quantitative criteria

- Collecting basic data (number of followers, likes), which would give us certain outline of their social media presence/popularity
- To what extent do parties and candidates use of social media (campaign strategy)
- Approaching voters with voter information messages
- Are political parties using Facebook groups and/or any other social media platforms to expand their reach and/or to spread their message to voters.
- Creating specific hash tags for elections
- Interaction with Voters

Following actual posts

- Count the number of posts throughout a certain period
- Focus on what political parties or politicians refer to in their posts – list of topics and how many comments what post generates
- Analyze official posts from a tone perspective (or even to analyze tonality of the comments. here again you can go to various levels - either all comments or only top ones - like most 5-10 shared)
- To measure a space does not make sense; it is perfectly enough to count by simple numbers (1 post, 1 comment).
- Inflammatory language (hate speech)
- Disinformation & propaganda, determining if there are bots and trolls – general efforts to divert the discussion on specific issues & topics
- Focusing on and debunking fake news,
- Focusing on paid political advertising via social media
- Focusing on campaign financing

Monitoring Disinformation and Propaganda

The events in the last few years also showed that we live in the world where fake news and disinformation are becoming frequent and omnipresent and people don't know whom to trust. The right to freedom of expression applies "regardless of frontiers" and jamming of signals from a broadcaster based in another jurisdiction, or the withdrawal of rebroadcasting rights in relation to that broadcaster's programmes, is legitimate only where the content disseminated by that broadcaster has been held by a court of law or another independent, authoritative and impartial oversight body to be

in serious and persistent breach of a legitimate restriction on content (i.e. one that meets the conditions of paragraph 1(a)) and other means of addressing the problem, including by contacting the relevant authorities of the host State, have proven to be demonstrably ineffective.⁹⁰

In 2017, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, along with the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the ACHPR Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, issued a joint declaration on freedom of expression and “fake news”, disinformation and propaganda. In the statement, they took note of the growing prevalence of disinformation and propaganda in legacy and social media, fuelled by both States and non-State actors, and the various harms to which they may be a contributing factor or primary cause. They expressed concern that disinformation and propaganda are often designed and implemented so as to mislead a population, as well as to interfere with the public’s right to know and the right of individuals to seek and receive, as well as to impart, information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, protected under international legal guarantees of the rights to freedom of expression and to hold opinions. Moreover, the signatories of the declaration emphasised that some forms of disinformation and propaganda may harm individual reputations and privacy, or incite to violence, discrimination or hostility against identifiable groups in society.⁹¹

According to the 2018 annual report by the Council of Europe’s Secretary General, “the most “successful” problematic content is that which plays on people’s emotions and encourages feelings of superiority, anger or fear. This is also the type of content that is most liked and shared, often without actually having been read or understood. Images are particularly powerful. As they are processed by the brain much faster than text, they are less likely to be questioned through critical reasoning. However, technical means for identifying fabricated images lag behind those for analysing text.” The report also focuses on fact-checking and debunking of false information, which, according to the report, “often come too late or do not reach the intended audience because the item is not liked and shared. There is an urgent need to understand the most effective formats for sparking curiosity and scepticism among audiences about the information they consume and the sources of that information. The collapse of local journalism is viewed as an important reason why mis- and disinformation have taken hold, as these grow much faster among marginalised communities who do not feel represented in the mainstream media.”⁹²

⁹⁰ The United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organisation of American States (OAS) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, “Joint declaration on freedom of expression and “fake news”, disinformation and propaganda”, 3 March 2017, <http://www.osce.org/fom/302796>.

⁹¹ The United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) Representative on Freedom of the Media, the Organisation of American States (OAS) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, “Joint declaration on freedom of expression and “fake news”, disinformation and propaganda”, 3 March 2017, <http://www.osce.org/fom/302796>.

⁹² The State of Democracy, Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Role of Institutions & Threats to Institutions, the report by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, 2018, available at: <https://rm.coe.int/state-of-democracy-human-rights-and-the-rule-of-law-role-of-institutio/168086c0c5>

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that it shall be prohibited to spread deliberately false or libelous information about a party that is an electoral subject or about an MP candidate if its false or libelous nature has been established by a court.⁹³ The same law also provides that “parties that are electoral subjects and MP candidates shall have the right to address a media organization that has made public information which the party or the candidate considers to be false, demanding that their response be published. The media organization that made public the respective material shall, no later than three days after receiving the demand for response, but no later than on the last day prior to the day of voting, provide the party or the MP candidate affected by the disseminated false information with an opportunity to make public a response, by providing the same amount of air time, respectively, on television or radio, or by publishing in the printed mass medium the material provided by the party or MP candidate, which must be printed in the same font and be placed in the column “Response” in the same place of the periodical and be at least as large as the report being refuted. The response shall contain reference to the publication in the printed mass medium or to the program on television or radio and to the information being refuted. The response shall not contain any direct appeals to vote or not vote for particular parties or MP candidates. The response shall be made public without any appendices, commentaries, or abridgments, at the expense of mass media. No response to a response shall be provided.”⁹⁴

The presidential election law provides that “it shall be prohibited to spread deliberately false information about a candidate to the post of President of Ukraine. Mass medium that published information which the candidate to the post of President of Ukraine considers obviously incorrect, must, within three days after the day such materials have been made public, but no later than two days prior to the day of the elections, give the candidate or party, about whom the incorrect information was disseminated, upon their request, a possibility to refute such materials by giving them the same air time on TV or radio accordingly, or by publishing in the print mass medium material provided by the candidate or party that must be printed in the same font and be placed under the heading “Refutation” at the same place in the column and of a volume not less than the volume of the announcement being refuted. The refutation must contain a reference to the respective publication in the printed mass medium or broadcast on the TV or Radio and a reference to the facts being refuted. The refutation must be made public without amendments, commentaries or abbreviations, and should be done at the expense of the respective mass media outlet.”⁹⁵

Monitoring of narratives (messages)

One possible approach to monitoring disinformation and propaganda in coverage is by monitoring selected narratives which can be used to spread disinformation. This method identifies a series of selected “narratives” – deliberately expressed views – on a particular issue and counts the frequency with which they appear in broadcast programmes. The advantage of this approach is that it renders quantifiable various qualitative expressions contained within the broadcast. Monitoring of narratives would generally be used to determine if media spread narratives and if so, in what way. Do they promote them or do they mention them but provide important context.

⁹³ Article 74.10 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁹⁴ Article 74.13 of the “Law on Elections of People’s Deputies”

⁹⁵ Article 64.5 of the “Law on Elections of the President of Ukraine”

Monitoring of narratives (messages) or propositions could be used to research broadcasters' coverage of certain geopolitical positions promoted by different countries. A series of narratives could be developed (best done by studying earlier coverage). Some examples would be the following:

Narratives	
Narrative 1:	Moral degeneracy/Decline in social values
Example Message:	<i>Western liberalism has led to an erosion of traditional social values (e.g. LGBTQ rights)</i>
Sample Key words :	["Christian" OR "Christianity" OR "Christian Values" OR "Traditional values" OR "Morality"]
sample associated words	["Decline" OR "Disruption" OR "Crisis"] { "Family" OR "Marriage" OR "Divorce" OR "Gay" OR "Paedophilia" OR "Euthanasia" OR "Abuse" }
Narrative 2:	Migration is destroying our/European culture
Example Message:	<i>Muslim migrants aren't respecting the Christian values our societies are based upon</i>
Sample Key words :	["Migration" OR "Migrants" OR "Immigrants" OR "Refugees" OR "Asylum"] ["Muslim" OR "Islam" OR "Christian" OR "Mosque" OR "Church"] { "Multiculturalism" OR "European Culture" OR "European Tradition" OR "European Values" }
sample associated words	
Narrative 3:	Religion-based values are incompatible with liberal democracy
Example Message:	<i>Christian are betraying the liberal values of Europe by holding illiberal views and supporting illiberal cause</i>
Sample Key words :	["Christianity" OR "Christian" OR "Christian Values" OR "Traditional Values"] ["Democracy" OR "Liberal" OR "Liberalism" OR "Illiberal" OR "Conservatism"] ["Incompatible" OR "Irreconcilable" OR "Contrary"]
sample associated words	{ "Far Right" OR "Extremists" OR "Theocracy" }
Narrative 4:	Western subjugation of Central and Eastern Europe (emotional/psychological)
Example Message:	<i>Quality of chocolate in Eastern Europe is because of the taste they prefer</i>
Sample Key words :	["EU" OR "European Union" OR "Brussels" OR "West" OR "Western"] ["Inferior" OR "Inferiority" OR "Junior" OR "Bullying" OR "Subjugation"]
sample associated words	{ "Chocolate" OR "Food" }

These narratives can be grouped into more general topics. Monitors analyse also “tonality” of the narratives, or in other words if the narratives are presented in a positive, negative or neutral way in the monitored media.

The actual monitoring process is conducted as follows. Monitors focus only on items (either news items, or all broadcast items) that explicitly mention the narratives. They then monitor all statements made to determine if they correspond to any of the narratives. The frequency of the appearance of these narratives can then be quantified. The intention is to monitor output over a given period in order to determine, first, how much coverage the monitored issue receives and, second, how far it promoted or denounced by the monitored media.

A similar method would be to identify certain *keywords* that are commonly used in conjunction with the subject matter. As with monitoring of narratives, monitors simply identify the items that refer to the chosen narratives and count the frequency of appearance of the predetermined keywords.

The list of internal and external narratives in the framework of the 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections is included in the media monitoring form

Monitoring inflammatory speech, xenophobia, racism, hate speech and defamation

International standards on “hate speech” stipulate that media should refuse all open expressions of intolerance and consider thoughtfully if publication of such expressions is not conducive to defamation and ridicule based on sex, race, colour, language, faith and religion, affiliation with national or ethnic minority or ethnic group, social difference, political or other opinion.⁹⁶ The need to counteract such forms of expression is even more urgent in situations of tension and in times of war and other forms of armed conflict. The governments and public institutions at the national, regional and local levels, as well as officials, have a special responsibility to refrain from statements, in particular to the media, which may be understood as hate speech, or as speech likely to produce the effect of legitimising, spreading or promoting racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of discrimination or hatred based on intolerance. Such statements should be prohibited and publicly disavowed whenever they occur.

It is important to make a clear distinction between a media outlet that would transmit racist comments, reflecting its editorial position and an outlet that would transmit such comments made by others for the sake of reporting. It is also important to take into consideration whether such comments were reported in an inflammatory way, whether balancing views were also reported and other elements of context that would make it clear whether these views were being presented in a positive or negative light.⁹⁷ The media reporting on election-related matters should be exempted from liability for disseminating unlawful statements made directly by parties or candidates – whether in the context of live broadcasting or advertising – unless the statements have been ruled unlawful by a court or the statements constitute direct incitement to violence and the media outlet had an opportunity to prevent their dissemination.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ The Council of Europe recommendation (97) 20 on “hate speech” calls on media in the member states to refuse all open or furtive expressions of intolerance and will consider thoughtfully if publication of such expressions is not conducive to defamation and ridicule based on sex, race, color, language, faith and religion, affiliation with national or ethnic minority or ethnic group, social difference, political or other opinion. The Vienna Declaration (9 October 1993) highlighted grave concern about the resurgence of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism and the development of a climate of intolerance, and contained an undertaking to combat all ideologies, policies and practices constituting an incitement to racial hatred, violence and discrimination, as well as any action or language likely to strengthen fears and tensions between groups from different racial, ethnic, national, religious or social backgrounds.

⁹⁷ In the *Jersild* case, the European Court of Human Rights found in favor of a Danish journalist who had interviewed members of a far-right group expressing racist views, because the purpose of his program had been to document and expose the opinions of the group, not to promote them.

⁹⁸ UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the ACHPR (African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, “Joint Statement on the Media and Elections” 15 May 2009, <http://www.osce.org/fom/37188?download=true>.

When covering criticisms of individuals (even criticisms that might be argued to harm their honour or dignity) the important thing to consider is whether the broadcaster was acting as a responsible reporter or simply expressing its own opinion. The international standards provide that the media should not be held legally liable for accurately reporting the statements of others – even if those statements themselves are held to be unlawful.⁹⁹ However, it should be illegal for the media to discriminate, on the basis of political opinion or other recognised grounds, in the allocation of and charging for paid political advertisements, where these are permitted by law.¹⁰⁰ Another aspect to take into consideration is the identity of the individual who is being criticised. The European Court of Human Rights has made it clear that the scope of defamation is far narrower when the individual, whose reputation may be affected, is a public representative or a politician more generally. The assumption is that the needs of political debate and accountability mean that vigorous expression of opinions should not be restricted.¹⁰¹

There are several provisions in Ukrainian law that establish limits to the right to freedom of expression (including the rights of broadcasters). These provisions are included in several international documents and have also been addressed in considerable jurisprudence in the European Court of Human Rights. As such, there is no simple procedure for developing indicators whereby media monitors can reliably code a broadcast for breaching these standards. In particular, it is important to note that there may be different liability for the individual who makes statements that incite hatred or harm the honour or dignity of another person and for the broadcaster that transmits these statements.

When monitoring hate speech, we need to make sure that all monitors have a good understanding what constitutes hate speech so that they can identify broadcasts that might constitute “hate speech” or defamation, in order that the broadcast can be subject to further review.

The parliamentary elections law stipulates that it shall be prohibited to disseminate in any form any materials containing appeals to terminate the independence of Ukraine, change its constitutional order by violence, infringe upon the sovereignty or territorial integrity of the state, undermine its security, illegally seize state power; advocating war and violence; inciting inter-ethnic, racial, national, or religious hostility; or encroaching on human rights and freedoms or on the health of the population.¹⁰²

In the monitoring form, apart from mentioning the description in the Ukrainian legislation, the following definition will be included:

⁹⁹ This is the position advocated by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Freedom of Expression and Opinion and has been adopted by, among others, the Spanish Constitutional Court.

¹⁰⁰ UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, the OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and the ACHPR (African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights) Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information, “Joint Statement on the Media and Elections” 15 May 2009, <http://www.osce.org/fom/37188?download=true>.

¹⁰¹ Kužel, Rast’o. *Media reporting and conduct during the electoral process*, (pp.4) OSCE mission in Kosovo, 2017

¹⁰² Article 74 of the Law on Elections of People’s Deputies

It is, outside the law, speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes such as gender, ethnic origin, religion, race, disability, or sexual orientation. In law, hate speech is any speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display which is forbidden because it may incite violence or prejudicial action against a protected individual or group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected individual or group. The law may identify a protected individual or a protected group by certain characteristics.

IV PRESENTATION OF MONITORING RESULTS

Data interpretation

The interpretation of numeric data needs to be done carefully, taking into account not only what statistical tables show but also possible reasons for the values reported in those tables. As such, it is always important to explain the main trends in the media monitoring and support each of them with one or more concrete examples. The media analyst needs to describe a phenomenon, in this case media performance, but he or she also needs to be able to explain it. There is no general model for interpreting data. What follows are some simple indications that can improve the reading of data and make it easier to analyze it.

Reporting

The following are some suggestions for the monitoring reports. In general, there are two different report formats used in the current project - interim (preliminary) and final reports. Interim reports are published in the course of the campaign and the idea is to share the preliminary media monitoring findings and trends to highlight problems and advocate for their solutions. By pointing out the problems and making them public, we put pressure on the media & journalists to rectify them. At the same time, the results are shared with media regulators, political contestants and the media in the hope to increase the pressure and advocate for positive changes.

The interim report provides basic description of the main trends and supports them with one or two best examples to make them clear. Also, during the press conference to announce the findings, the monitoring data are presented in the form of charts (it is important to choose only the most important findings not to overkill with presented information so people would lose interest & attention).

The final report is divided in several parts, including the introduction, statistical methods used, results of the monitoring and the conclusion and recommendation. The report should include more concrete examples highlighting the trends – both negative and positive (it is important to praise the media that make a serious attempt to do a good job. The report can also include citations, appendices, references (bibliography), or reviews.

As for the introduction, it is important to explain the purpose of writing the report, the methods used for collating data, an overview of the analysis, and finally the results. It is important to write it in a way that is interesting for a reader. The reader should be tempted to know what lies inside. As for the methodology used, it is important to properly explain all the calculations and methods used for collecting and analyzing the data.

As for the actual monitoring results, we should give a good insight about the media performance; explain the background and context so it is understandable to everyone. The reports should be designed in a way to convey the most important information first. We can always highlight the technical details later in the body of the report. Good monitoring reports make the most important information easy to find so that busy readers, many of whom will not have time to read a report in full, can identify what they need to know without searching for it.

Moreover, we have to be careful in the way we use the monitoring terms and jargon as we need to make sure most readers can understand, regardless of their knowledge of monitoring and data analysis methods.

It is good to use the tables, charts and graphics that help illustrate the results of our data analysis, and write text references that explain the important findings. When writing text references, we should be sure to highlight what is important about each table and graphic and not to only simply report our data. As such, the charts should be as self-explanatory as possible. In addition, we should position tables and other graphics close to the text that references them.

As for the conclusion, it is important to properly conclude the analysis and suggest ways and methods of improvement. As such, we should include recommendations, which should be linked to the problems we identified in the text of the report. The idea is to set a goal and recommend ways of achieving that goal. A thorough analysis will form the basis of this conclusion and the suggested changes. We can prove a point, if the data is complete, correct, and clear.

In addition to organizing press conferences, it is important to use Internet and social media to circulate the monitoring findings, including preparing short video interviews that would focus on interpretation of the monitoring findings.

CONCLUSION

This document intends to provide a methodology to address common issues that may be addressed by the pre-election monitoring. It is however important to mention that the exact design of each media monitoring activity is dependent upon the research question that is to be answered. In the above-mentioned examples, there was intention to provide some tools that would inter alia allow monitors to determine if there is balance and fairness in broadcasters' coverage of election campaigns and if broadcasters exercise balance in their coverage of contentious political and other issues.

In addition, the basic monitoring method will allow measurement of time allocated to advertising, the proportion of local content, proportion of broadcasts in the national language, and other basic quantitative legal requirements.

Annex 1. A guideline for monitors how to conduct monitoring.

Deciding which subjects to monitor

The list of subjects should be defined prior to the launch of the monitoring activity. Relevant entities are only such subjects that could be clearly identified as particular political subjects or groupings. Sometimes certain political terms (for instance opposition or authorities), which are commonly used in the political communication, are being frequently used in the media. However, their inclusion into the list of relevant subjects should happen when these terms are not being used vaguely, but they represent concrete political forces recognized as such in the society.

List of monitored subjects:

- President
- Government
- Local government
- Registered candidates
- Parliamentary parties
- Relevant non-parliamentary parties
- Central Election Commission
- Others

When it comes to monitoring of the government, it is important to have a list of ministers and deputy ministers and circulate it to all monitors. In case the incumbents (president and government ministers) are seeking reelection, it is important to include both the time these subjects receive as state officials as well as the time they get as candidates.

List of monitored topics:

- Agriculture*
- Army/military*
- Business, economy*
- Culture*
- Catastrophies, incidents, accidents*
- Charity*
- Corruption*
- Crime*
- Civil society*
- Donbas (DNR, LNR areas)*
- Energy*
- Elections*
- Education, science*
- Environment*
- Foreign Affairs (no relevance to Ukraine)*
- Foreign Affairs (related to Ukraine - e.g. if President of Ukraine meets President of France in France)*
- Health care*

Industry
Judiciary
Joined Forces Operation (formerly ATO)
Crimea
Media
Minorities
Politics
Russian aggression in Ukraine
Religion
Social issues (Unemployment, Poverty and Social Inequality)
Sport
Transport, infrastructure
Technology
Others

The monitoring can follow several aspects, in particular orientation of the channel's programming – what programme types are relevant for the monitoring

Programme types:

- News
- Current affairs (Political talk shows, debates, interviews),
- Documentaries (related to politics & elections)
- Free and paid political advertising
- Entertaining (political satire, talk shows)

Deciding which programmes to monitor

A more specific list of monitored programmes will be specified, but in general, the monitoring will focus on prime time news and current affairs, election-focused debates and talk shows.

Specifying quantitative analysis and concrete variables

Media monitoring methodologies are conventionally divided into those that are quantitative and those that are qualitative. Quantitative media monitoring – known in academic terms as *content analysis* – identifies numeric measures or indicators that can be counted and analysed. Qualitative media monitoring is used to assess the performance of media against measures, such as ethical or professional standards, that cannot readily be quantified.¹⁰³

Quantitative monitoring identifies *indicators* that can determine whether or not monitored media comply with their legal obligations and professional standards. For example, the requirement that broadcasters respect political pluralism can be measured by counting the amount of air time or space

¹⁰³ See, for example, Klaus Bruhn Jensen (ed), *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research*, London 2002.

given to different political entities (political parties, government and president) as well as the tone in which they are portrayed.

Qualitative monitoring addresses aspects of the broadcast output that cannot be measured quantitatively. Qualitative monitoring may be open to the criticism that it is “subjective” – that it depends upon the opinion of the individual monitor – yet this is not entirely fair. Qualitative monitoring is anchored in certain legal or ethical standards and properly trained monitors should be able to arrive at the same conclusions when it comes to assessing whether or not these legal and ethical standards are violated or not. It cannot simply be an expression of what the monitor does, or does not, like. This methodology gives a detailed description of how qualitative monitoring can be conducted in a consistent and scientific manner.

The quantitative component of the monitoring consists of a content analysis of a representative sample of media outlets, focusing on compliance with standards that are themselves quantitative, such as the amount of time or space, the tone of the coverage, and the amount of direct or indirect time. Media monitors measure the total amount of time and space devoted to monitored “subjects” (political parties, government, president etc.) as well as to selected monitored topics – e.g. political, economic & social issues, corruption, unemployment, health care etc. In so doing, we can determine whether or not broadcasters are complying with certain legal obligations, such as the requirement that broadcasters respect diversity in reporting. It is important to remember, however, that in determining the compliance to diversity in political or social reporting, it is important to assess a longer period (ideally more than a week). The chart below shows the basic *monitored entities* which are included when assessing the level of political pluralism in the media coverage.

The five-grade scale

The five-grade scale is designed to provide monitors with a larger scale of choice they are to make in evaluating the presentation of political entities. Balanced news coverage means that a media outlet attempts to cover events in a balanced, fair and objective manner by offering time or space to all subjects in the framework of an item to present their views. Such a news item is purely informative and does not contain any one-sided evaluating standpoints or criticism.

In general, we can speak about three different types of monitoring to be considered. First of all, there is monitoring of quantitative legal obligations, such as those related to advertising and local content. The main purpose of monitoring here is to determine whether or not the broadcaster is in compliance with the respective legal obligations stipulating how much time can be allocated to advertising.

The second category includes monitoring of legal provisions that are inherently unquantifiable. A good example of this are the articles of the legislation relating to “hate speech” and defamation. These are very important, but at the same time potentially subject to a complex legal argument. The monitoring process can do no more than identify broadcast items that *might* be in breach of these provisions.

The third category includes issues where monitoring will help the monitored media themselves to understand how well they are fulfilling their legal obligations and professional standards. In this

monitoring, the function of methodology is to identify those *indicators* that make it possible to determine, for example, whether a broadcaster is fulfilling obligations to observe political diversity.

Qualitative analysis

For this particular qualitative analysis, we would ask our monitors to evaluate the following criteria:

ACCURACY

No deceptive handling of facts. Journalists cannot always guarantee ‘truth’, but getting the facts right is the cardinal principle of journalism. We should always strive for accuracy, give all the relevant facts we have and ensure that they have been checked. When we cannot corroborate information we should say so.

IMPARTIALITY (FAIRNESS)

Most stories have at least two sides. While there is no obligation to present every side in every piece, stories should be balanced and add context. Objectivity is not always possible, and may not always be desirable (in the face for example of brutality or inhumanity), but impartial reporting builds trust and confidence.

RELEVANCE (information should be relevant)

As a qualitative feature, it defines mostly social phenomena that deserve our attention, in our case important phenomena from the political point of view.

EXACTNESS (facts should correspond to reality)

This is one of the most if not the most important quality criterion of the journalistic work. It means that a report should contain exclusively facts corresponding to reality. Respecting public's right to full and objective information on facts and events is a journalist's first duty. Journalists and editors must take measures to check reliability of all the reports, video- and audio materials, which came from public, freelancers, press-cutting service and other sources.

CLARITY (information should be clear)

It ranks among important criteria, since the less are the news understandable; the more effort is needed to figure them out. This fact adds to deepening of the isolation of the less educated groups from the public life. From the point of view of general understanding of a report, the content analysis is important as well as logical progression of events (first causes and then effects)

MATTER-OF-FACT (separating comments & facts)

This requirement is fulfilled if journalists do not put personal comments or evaluations into the presented information. Specific journalistic genres – commentaries (audio-visual and press media) and editorials (press) are specifically designed to express personal opinions. It is obvious that they

should be written in line with the rules of correctness. Facts, thoughts and assumptions have to be clearly separated from each other. Spreading information which contains biased or groundless accusations is inadmissible.

TIMELY

This is an important parameter of evaluation especially in the audio-visual media. Generally, the more relevant information is made public, the sooner the public can react to it.

BALANCE

When presenting information about political subjects, representatives, facts, respecting this criterion comes to the fore. To disclose that somebody broke this rule is not always easy, especially in controversial situations when certain opinions are suppressed in favor of others inconspicuously, yet with a particular effect. Under balance, we understand equal representation of political alternatives in the scope of a specific report. Opponents' viewpoints including those who have become objects of a journalist's criticism must be presented in a balanced way. Independent experts' estimations must be presented in a balanced way, as well.

SOURCING (Transparency, Credibility)(sources of information)

A journalistic principle requires that the presentation of even partially controversial or problematic information should be supported by the source of information, supporting the reliability of the information. Often, however, a report includes more sources that support one view over another. This technique can also be seen when a reporter uses such 'anonymous' or unnamed 'expert' sources, remote sources with questionable credibility or secondary sources.

VARIETY (variety of sources of info)

This requirement for the media means presenting to the public the widest possible scope of information.

OMMISSION OF INFORMATION

Were there any important news items of the day not reported? (if it was reported in other media, pls say where)

Compared to other media sources and information available, were any significant political reports not included in this broadcast? Were any political figures or parties excluded from this broadcast? Over time, does this indicate a pattern by this media outlet? Did the media outlet appear to make an effort to include different points of views and information?

HATE SPEECH

It is, outside the law, speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes such as gender, ethnic origin, religion, race, disability, or sexual orientation. In law, hate speech is any speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display which is forbidden because it may incite violence or

prejudicial action against a protected individual or group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected individual or group. The law may identify a protected individual or a protected group by certain characteristics.

DISINFORMATION

Disinformation is intentionally false or inaccurate information that is spread deliberately. It is an act of deception and false statements to convince someone of untruth. Disinformation should not be confused with misinformation, information that is unintentionally false.

VISUAL MANIPULATION (manipulative use of footage, pictures, sound)

Do the video images, photos, or graphics used in this report present the subject fairly and relevant to the subject of the report. Do the images presented appear to accurately reflect the facts of the situation? Is a monitored subject shown with better camera angles or among admirers, and another shown in a negative context? Please also pay attention to graphics that may be used to create favourable or negative attention, including possible stereotyping based on gender.

HIDDEN ADVERTISING

Information and analytical materials must be distinctively separated from advertising by particular headings.

EDITORIAL CORRECTION OF MATERIALS

Editorial correction of material including pictures, texts, headlines, video and script accordance, etc. should not distort the content of the material. A journalist must notify the audience of rehearsed or reconstructed news.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS

Selectively quoted sociological research which distorts the content is not admissible. Public opinion polls cannot be fabricated to find out a result defined in advance

CORRECTION

A journalist must do everything possible to correct any published information if it turned out to be untrue.

PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE

Court procedures coverage must be impartial. A journalist cannot call a person criminal before a conformable court verdict is announced.

PLAGIARISM is incompatible with the status of a journalist.

NON-DISCRIMINATION

No one can be discriminated because of gender, language, race, religion or ethnic, social origin or political preferences. This information can be pointed out only if it is a necessary part of the material. A journalist should avoid offensive words and foul language, hints or comments about person's physical disabilities or diseases.

SUPERIORITY OF RECEIVERS' INTERESTS

Serving the interests of the government or owners, not the society, is a breach of the ethics code.

PROTECTION OF MINORS

A journalist has to be especially careful covering issues connected to children. A journalist and editor must have valid reasons to cover the private life of minors and permission from his (her) parents or guardians. It is inadmissible to uncover the names of minors (or other features of recognition), who became participants of events, connected to crime or violence.

How should media report on incumbents and other state officials during elections?

Members of the government in some countries try to disguise election campaign activities or propaganda within the framework of their institutional activities or public information campaigns. As such, it is possible to observe ministers inaugurating buildings, giving speeches to students, organising meetings or launching a new program to give extra social benefits to teachers or other public employees to obtain additional coverage by the media. The distinction between these two kinds of activities is not always simple to trace, even for the independent media. "The root of the problem of 'incumbent's advantage' is that there is usually no clear and natural distinction between the actions which a president, government minister or legislator takes in the natural course of carrying out his or her official duties and the action s/he takes to be re-elected."¹⁰⁴

Government members should act in the interest of the whole public, but, on the other hand, they represent a political party. This dual identity is particularly problematic because of two rights, namely the right of equal opportunities to access for candidates (a right that has to be balanced with the freedom and obligation of the media to cover government activities) and the right to equal treatment of candidates. News related to the incumbent government may sometimes be framed in a positive light because of the kind of events covered (for example, official meetings, international summits, etc.).¹⁰⁵ The media should make an editorial decision on the relevance and newsworthiness of such events. It is clear that it would be difficult to ignore a visit of a foreign dignitary but even then it is important to strike a balance by covering not only the official part of the visit and meetings with the incumbents but by speaking with the opposition and getting their point of view.

¹⁰⁴ Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael. *Mass Media and Elections*, 1999,
http://www.democracy.ru/english/library/international/eng_1999-10.html.

¹⁰⁵ Kužel, Rast'o. *Media reporting and conduct during the electoral process*, (pp.9) OSCE mission in Kosovo, 2017.

It is advisable for media to reasonably limit presentation of officials during the period prior the elections, especially if state officials (such as the prime minister) are taking part in the elections. The coverage of state officials' activities shall be based on the newsworthiness of topic in which a politician is involved, not on a pure fact that a top official is involved. The news program shall try to avoid automatic coverage of top officials, as the television is a PUBLIC, not a state broadcaster. If it is decided that the coverage of an official is newsworthy, then the public broadcasters should do its best to provide necessary background to all such storied, including independent and/or opposing views to those of the government.

Monitoring news programmes

It is obvious that balance between competing parties or candidates may not be reflected in a single news bulletin (this may be the case, for example, if one party is launching its party programme or holding a major campaign event when it is obvious that it would receive more airtime or space on that particular day than its competitors). However, to achieve the balance, media should over a longer period provide a fair reflection of all parties and candidates (for example in covering their party programmes or major campaign events).

When covering any controversial issue, notably of a political nature, all sides involved should be given a chance to present their position, including when someone refuses to comment. In case of such refusal, it should be included in the item so the public is properly informed. It is also important to provide sufficient contextual and background information, particularly if the issue is complex. Media should avoid limiting the coverage of such controversial topics by purely presenting opinions of sides involved ("He Said, She Said" type of reporting) without proper contextual information. Importantly, it is always important to consider balancing expert/analytical views, if possible.¹⁰⁶

It is vital for media's credibility to assure that all personnel (editors, producers, journalists, news program & talk-show anchors and hosts) are perceived as professional and impartial while carrying out their journalistic duties. Adherence to this requirement is extremely important when preparing the news (news structure, composition, topics, editing, visual, audio aspects of concrete news items; selection of guests & topics & questions in talk-shows) and also in the way news is presented (communication with respondents, guests, how questions are formulated, toned, how deep journalist goes with additional inquiries, whether a viewer can perceive, feel, hear and see that journalist is really involved, issue-driven or whether journalist is biased in some way and leaning towards or distancing against certain views. The basic principle of ethical thinking about journalism consists in necessity to differentiate between news and opinions. It is vital to ensure that the two forms of journalism are not mixed together. A piece of news is information about facts and data, whereas an opinion implies thoughts, ideas faith or attitudes on the part of the companies running the media, editors or journalists.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Kuzel, Rasto and Godarsky, Ivan, *Final Narrative Report*, Council of Europe, Georgia 2012, <https://rm.coe.int/168048ba65>

¹⁰⁷ Resolution 1003 on Ethic of Journalism – Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

Specific variables used in the monitoring of coverage of political actors and relevant entities

Name (of subjects & relevant entities): Depending on the type of elections and scale of monitoring, we include surname and given name of any relevant person (contestant in elections, government ministers, president, or a member of the Parliament), or a person who is identified as someone who belongs to a political party, government or other relevant entity of the political or election-related nature. The name is indicated whenever a particular relevant person is presented.

Affiliation (subject & entities): The unit of analysis is determined by the presence of a relevant entity or subject in the media broadcast. In the elections, the political contestants (parties, candidates) participating in the elections are the most obvious relevant entities. The list of relevant entities also include other entities, like parties which are not running in the elections but play a significant role in the political environment, government, president (as institutional position) or other relevant subjects.

The list of entities should be defined prior to the launch of the monitoring activity. Relevant entities are only such entities that could be clearly identified as particular political entities or groupings. Sometimes certain political terms (for instance *opposition* or *authorities*), which are commonly used in the political communication, are being frequently used in the media. However, their inclusion into the list of relevant entities should happen when these terms are not being used vaguely, but they represent concrete political forces recognized as such in the society.

Direct/Indirect time: The relevant amount of the time is measured and given to an actor as *Direct* if an actor speaks directly to the camera and microphone (direct speech) and we can hear his/her voice. In all other cases of coverage of a relevant actor, the relevant portion of time is coded as *Indirect*. The actor could be presented *indirectly* by a media representative or any other person. In the cases when a political actor is shown, featured in the text, on the picture, etc., the time is assigned as indirect.

If the relevant political actor A is referring to another relevant political actor C, the time in which actor A is talking is measured and assigned to him as direct, while the time given to presentation of actor C is also captured and assigned to C as indirect.

Time: Amount of time given to a particular person or political entity. It is measured in seconds, using as precise a measuring system as possible to achieve the most accurate results. If the relevant actor or entity is just mentioned, this should be included and the actor or entity should be recorded in the data sheet and allocated one second.

Tone: While the assessment of tone of the coverage of political actor appears more subjective in comparison with measuring how much time the actor was allocated, the training of the media monitors and clear definition of the system of assessment of the tone eliminates potential subjectivism. In general, the tone of the coverage is coded as positive, negative or neutral, using the grading scale from 1 to 5.

Gender: When a particular person is presented he or she is assigned a gender code, male or female. If gender is non-existent, it is assigned code as unidentified.

Total item time: Amount of time given to a news item – it is measured when we focus on topics or we want to determine the actual share of election-related information of the whole item

For *parliamentary elections*, the political parties running in the elections, the candidates but also the government are the main *relevant entities* the media coverage of which is being monitored. Other bodies such as president (or electoral management body) are also included in the list of relevant entities.

In *presidential election*, the monitoring project focuses on coverage of presidential candidates. If the incumbent president is running as a candidate, it is important to capture his/her coverage as both incumbent official and candidate. It still may be useful to capture coverage of other relevant political subjects because of their direct or indirect participation in the contest.

Example of how to monitor a news story

Background of the story: It is the last few days of the campaign for parliamentary elections. Political party ANO, a domestic political party running in the elections, is holding a campaign rally in Kyiv, which is attended by the leader of the political party ANO, Mr Babka, as well as by the chairman of the popular political party KDM from the neighbouring country, Mr Borko. KDM party is not registered in the country where the elections are taking place, and the KDM leader came as guest of ANO to pledge his support to ANO party in the upcoming elections.

Presenter: *Party ANO has finished its campaign activities today. Mr Babka the ANO party chairman attended the final rally in the capital. Mr Borko, chairman of the political party KDM also participated in the event.*

Image and voice of Mr Babka: *Dear supporters, I am confident of the absolute victory in these elections.*

Image and voice of Mr Borko: I came here as a friend of this country and I came to tell you just one thing. I have known Mr Babka for years and I know he always says the truth, and if he says he will win, he will for sure win.

In any story, the media monitors have to capture all appearances of the relevant actors or entities. In this story, the relevant actor is Mr Babka and the relevant entity is party ANO. Party KDM is not registered in the country where election is taking place, and neither KDM party, nor Mr Borisov representing this party is included in the list of relevant actors and entities.

The presenter's first sentence (Party ANO has finished its campaign activities today.) lasting 5 seconds is featuring ANO party. The time during which the presenter is pronouncing this sentence will be measured and attributed to ANO party. The presenter's second sentence (Mr Babka the ANO party chairman attended the final rally in the capital.) lasting 6 seconds is featuring relevant actor Mr Babka representing ANO party. The time during which the presenter is pronouncing this sentence will be measured and attributed to ANO party and Mr Babka. He is presented in an indirect way. The tone of the coverage is neutral; the gender is indicated as Male. The presenter's third sentence (Mr Borisov, chairman of the political party KDM also participated in the event.) lasting 7 seconds is

featuring Mr Borisov representing KDM party. The time of the sentence is not measured as Mr Borisov and KDM are not relevant actors/entities. The sentence of Mr Babka lasting 8 seconds (Dear supporters, I am confident of the absolute victory in these elections.) is measured and attributed to Mr Babka.

From the two sentences pronounced by Mr Borisov, this first one (I came here as a friend of this country and I came to tell you just one thing.) is omitted as Mr Borisov, not a relevant actor, is talking about himself only. The second sentence (I have known Mr Babka for years and I know he always says the truth, and if he says he will win, he will for sure win.) lasting 12 seconds is measured, and as Mr Borisov is talking about relevant actor Mr Babka, the information is entered into the data sheet as follows:

This whole news story is thus entered into the data sheet in the following way:

Channel:	Date:	Program:	Start of Program:	Name of Monitor:
First national	1.5.2018	News	20.00	Dumitru
Person	Affiliation	Total time	Direct	Tone
	ANO	5s	Indirect	Neutral
M.Babka	ANO	6s	Indirect	Neutral
M. Babka	ANO	8s	Direct	Positive
M. Babka	ANO	12s	Indirect	Positive

Annex 2. Charts/Templates/Pro-forma to be filled in by monitors in the course of monitoring activities

[Charts/Templates/Pro-forma can be requested from the CoE Secretariat at kyiv@coe.int]