





# FINAL REPORT UNDER THE RESUTS OF MONITORING OF REPRESENTING OF THE PRESIDENTCIAL ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN OF 2014 IN NATIONAL AND REGIONAL MASS MEDIA

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## FINAL REPORT UNDER THE RESULTS OF MEDIA MONITORING OF REPRESENTING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF 2014 IN NATIONAL AND REGIONAL MASS MEDIA

The period: May, 1 – May 25, 2014.

Media monitoring has being implemented from May 1, 2014.

#### **Monitoring sample:**

National TV: 13 TV programs on 8 channels:

National print media: 6 newspapers.

National Internet media: 4.

Radio: 6 program on 4 radio stations.

Regional TV: 46 TV channels.

Regional print media: 55 newspapers (+2 Crimean newspapers in review report)

Regional Internet media: 47 (+2 Crimean online media in review report).

Total: 54 TV channels, 4 radio stations, 61 newspapers and 51 Internet-sites.

#### The main conclusions:

The coverage of election campaign in mass media at its beginning was quite sluggish being accompanied by informational dominance of events related to the Crimean autonomy and southeastern regions of the country, namely the Crimea annexation, the activity of pro-Russian separatists and reaction of the Ukrainian authorities to it. However in May the agitation intensified significantly.

The journalists have to cover the elections of 2014 in terms of unprecedented information war with Russia and the brutal anti-Ukrainian propaganda which uses the instruments like both traditional TV channels and trolling by the bots in social and new media as well as the leaflets (which were widespread mainly in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions). In particular the separatists capture the local TV studio or broadcasting transmitters, switch the Ukrainian television channels, turn the Russian channels instead them (Pervyi kanal, Rossiya 24, Russia Today, NTV, RTR-Planeta) or begin their own "broadcasting" inviting the local population to join in their councils, to take up the arms, to help also with money and not to go to the electoral districts on May 25. The leaflets contain also the similar appeals.

The events in the East influenced on the election coverage, pushing the campaign themes in the background. Upon that the candidates represented not so much the summaries of their programs as expressed their attitudes and proposals to solve the crisis. In general the news items about the events in the East took at least one third of all news content.

Nevertheless in general the elections of 2014 have more democratic and balanced character in the media mirror predominantly with neutral presentation and simultaneously minimum negative or clear positive coverage in comparison with all previous presidential and parliamentary campaigns.

Such candidates as Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko are represented most actively. These candidates are represented quite equally in direct and indirect speeches. The experts have not traced any clear preferences to any candidates who could be represented systematically in the first news items or on the front pages of mass media.

Taking into account the above-mentioned specific circumstances of this election campaign the leading mass media, namely the national television channels try to provide the voters with much more straightforward information necessary for conscious choice than it was in 2010 and 2012 due to involvement of the broad range of experts whom they invite to their programs. These experts explain in details the special features of electoral campaign in the context of the events in the country and the international reaction to them. Also these experts represent less information about the differences between the candidates and their recipes on the country's reforming; and much less they analyze the very content

of election programs. The range of experts' and politicians' opinions in the media is quite pluralistic, though sometimes it provides more opportunities for widespreading of separatists' views.

It should be noted that throughout the 2014 electoral campaign the Ukrainian voters are able to watch the fully-featured debates between the candidates, particularly at the independent platform, which was created by the national public broadcaster together with public activists.

The Regulations of "National Debates" stipulate that three candidates for the post of the President of Ukraine at one time will participate in one "National Debates". The duration of "National Debates" is 90 minutes of continuous running time. The duration of "National debates" in the second round is 100 minutes. The moderator of the Debates monitors (by means of appropriates technical tools) the compliance of candidates' speeches time, questions and answers determined by the Regulations. The moderator presents the candidates for the post of the President of Ukraine, gives them the floor for presentations, questions and answers. According to the Regulations the candidates for the post of the President of Ukraine should follow the next regulations during "National Debates": comply with the order of the Debates established by law and these regulations; comply ethical standards of behavior, not discourage expressions degrading the honor and dignity of other candidate-participant of Debates; follow requirements of the moderator of "National Debates" according to the regulations of speeches, questions and answers. The Debate audience in studio consists of representatives of the universities communities, public opinion leader, journalists.

So in spite of the fact that the Law on Public Broadcasting was adopted by the Parliament already in the course of the electoral process on April 17, 2014 and on May 13, 2014 the Acting President of Ukraine signed this Law, the emergence of public broadcasters had a positive impact on the character of the campaign, particularly on providing the public with information necessary for conscious choice and also equal access of the candidates to the media.

Another positive finding is that unlike of previous election campaigns, in 2014 the leading national channels do not also have the list of taboo and prohibited experts or politicians. In this sense the editorial policy of channels has become more pluralistic, independent and neutral.

Simultaneously the TV channels still show the certain preferences for certain candidates though not so openly and brutally as it was in 2010 or 2012. This is caused by the fact that some candidates have direct or indirect connections to one or another television channel or its owner.

Simultaneously the TV channels demonstrated yet, though not so openly and brutally as it had been in 2010 or 2012, the certain preferences to one or another candidate. It was caused by the fact that some candidates were of direct or indirect relevance to one or another channel or its owner. Accordingly such channels as 1+1, 5 kanal, TVi provided some preferences to Petro Poroshenko.

Although Pershyi Natsionalnyi and STB provided Mykhailo Dobkin with greater amount of information in neutral tone, but simultaneously these channels actively criticized this candidate.

The television channel Inter demonstrated the certain balance. But it related only to the figure indexes because in its news content the experts traced the regular use of false neutrality technique directed against Yulia Tymoshenko.

The most balanced channels were ICTV and TRK Ukraina – the first channel balanced the ether time of two major candidates (Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko), and the second channel balanced the ether time of three candidates (Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Mykhailo Dobkin).

The most critical to the candidates were the following channels: TVi channel (Serhiy Tihipko, Yulia Tymoshenko), Inter (Mykhailo Dobkin), 1 +1 (Yulia Tymoshenko, Mykhailo Dobkin) and 5 kanal (Petro Symonenko).

As to the channel Pershyi Natsionalnyi, except the obvious positive fact of the debates, in the news content of the channel the information related to the activities of Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchynov and other officials dominated over the information about the elections and the candidates representing.

The experts have traced the examples of manipulations and use of media effects significantly less in comparison with the previous campaigns. The most abuse is a great number of news messages with the features of pre-paid materials. One of specifics is small, unimportant news topic with senseless comments. Thereat "jeans" materials are generally adapted to the style of the channels being almost

indistinguishable from the regular news items. Herewith the materials which had the features of "jeans" were traced almost on the major channels. The exceptions were Pershyi Natsionalnyi as there was not practically information about the candidates - only a few references; and also STB where throughout the electoral campaign there was a maximum 2-3 political reviews. Instead in the most news items there was no information about the candidates. As to the certain politicians the most "jeans" materials were presented about Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko.

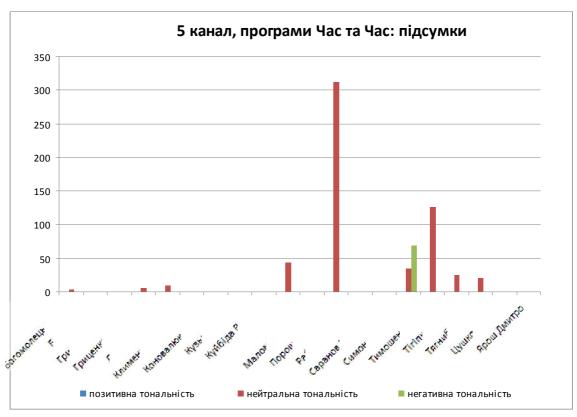
In comparison with the previous campaigns the current election campaign is the least dirty in terms of "black PR". Most actively it is used by the supporters of Tymoshenko against Poroshenko (Russian business, business in the Crimea) and by some politicians (like Taras Chornovil) against Yulia Tymoshenko (the agent of Kremlin). In general during the electoral campaign there were 2-3 news itmes (on Inter and 1+1) which can be considered as ones that were directed against Yulia Tymoshenko.

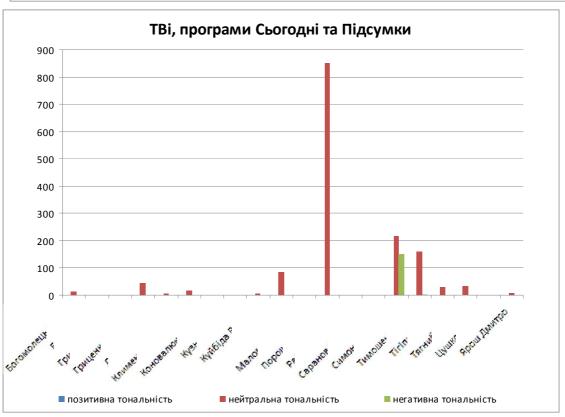
In the course of media monitoring along with the candidates for presidency, the experts monitored the activities of the acting President Oleksandr Turchynov, the Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and the government. The preliminary conclusion: the use of administrative resources in favor to certain candidates is not traced.

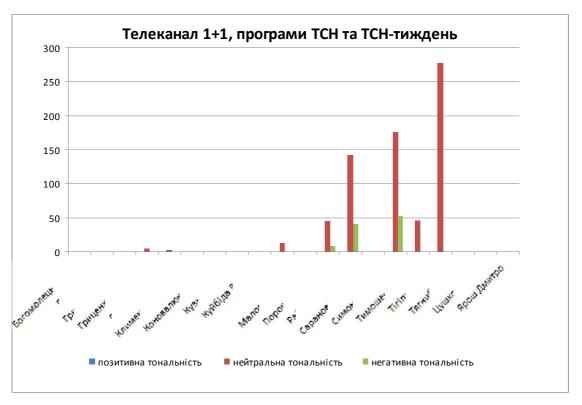
The mentions that as if Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk as the party members can help Yulia Tymoshenko took place only in the materials with the signs of media effects and in the from of syncs of political experts. However it was only hypothetical assumptions. Instead none example of direct or indirect expression of support for any candidate, and namely Yulia Tymoshenko, in direct or indirect speech of Oleksandr Turchynov, Arseniy Yatsenuk or the members of the government were not traced.

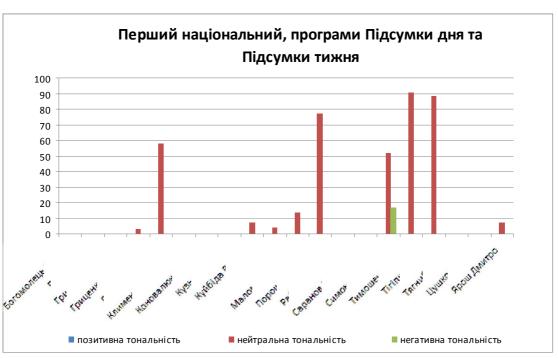
MAIN TRENDS IN REPRESENTING OF ALL CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENCY (FOR THE PERIOD: MAY 12-25, 2014)

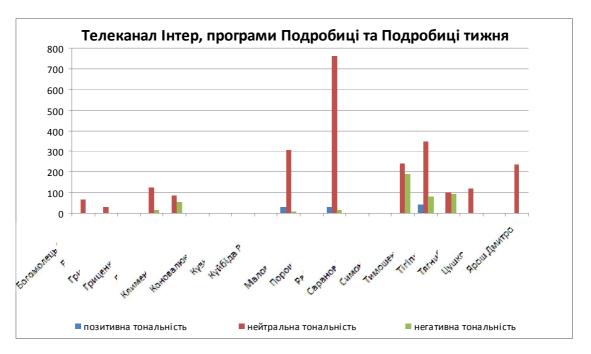


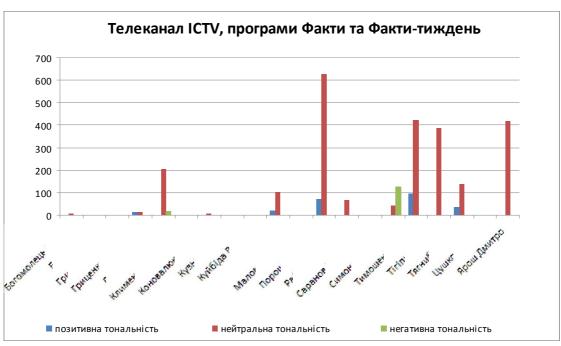














#### NATIONAL MASS MEDIA

#### The main trends in mass media of different types

#### NATIONAL TELEVISION MEDIA

In whole the election campaign took place sluggishly. It activated only in early May. The topic of the pre-term presidential elections of 2014 was not override on the television channels. It was substituted by more resonant social and political events: in particular, the tense situation in the east; takeover of public buildings, police departments and facilities of the Security Service of Ukraine by the armed pro-Russian rebels; conducting of counter-terrorism operations in Donetsk and Luhansk regions. The most news items have been started, in particular, by these news along all election campaign.

The information about the candidates is represented in relatively balanced manner within the certain groups.

Media effects or manipulations of public opinion does not have a massive character. They are but it is rather the exception than the rule.

#### Did the candidates have access to mass media?

In general the most candidates had access to mass media. The top rated candidates who made the opinion polls data were presented on the television channels.

**The first group.** The position of the top rated candidates is represented most actively: Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

**The second group.** The candidates who are represented less, but still actively: Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhailo Dobkin.

**The third group.** The position of these candidates is represented less actively, the messages appear occasionally: Petro Symonenko, Yuri Boyko, Oleh Lyashko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Olga Bohomolets, Valeriy Konovalyuk, Renat Kuzmin, Dmytro Yarosh.

**The fourth group.** These candidates are paid the least attention being mentioned quite rarely on the television media: Mykola Malomuzh, Vasyl Tsushko, Volodymyr Saranov, Oleksandr Klymenko, Vasyl Kuibida, Andriy Hrynenko, Vadym Rabinovych.

#### Did mass media provide enough information about the candidates?

Partially. The position of the candidates on the current events in the country is presented actively. However their election platforms are represented blurry being not accented.

The most television news used the limited set of journalistic techniques and genres in coverage of the election campaign:

- the information cutting with the thesis of statements of the different candidates (the most channels used this technique):
- the candidates were invited to the studio: as a rule this was an mini interview, conversation which took 10 minutes at most. The most of the ether time it was a discussion about the actual events of the day, not the candidate's program;
  - the full-scale political interviews: there were a few ones with the top rated candidates.

### Did the television channels provide the presidential candidates with opportunity to have a speech?

80% of the news items which dealt with the position of the candidates contained their direct speeches.

#### Disadvantages of the television campaign

The biggest violations in coverage of the election campaign are "jeans" which are the news items with the features of paid materials. These materials do not differ practically from normal information by duration or by style.

#### **Manipulations**

Manipulations do not have absolute manner. Simultaneously mass media use the media techniques: fostering likes and dislikes, creating the right impression due to a sequence of news items, assumption, irony.

No channel supported a single candidate. But in some cases we can talk about certain preferences:

TVi has preferences to Petro Poroshenko.

TRK "Ukraine" does not have the obvious preferences to one candidate. However it represents more information about Mykhailo Dobkin and Yulia Tymoshenko.

5 kanal represents the electoral campaign less. At the finish of the electoral campaign it is traced the light support of Petro Poroshenko.

Inter fosters the antipathy to Yulia Tymoshenko. The obvious preferences are not traced.

STB covers the election topics very little. The preferences are not traced.

ICTV represents the elections news actively. The obvious preferences are not traced.

Pershyi natsionalnyi does not practically provide the information about the candidates. The preferences are not traced. Simultaneously the position of the Government and the Acting President are represented very actively. Within the week in the news items practically all ministries may be mentioned.

1 +1 has preferences to Petro Poroshenko. In the past two weeks it fosters the antipathy to Yulia Tymoshenko.

#### Representing of the government activities

TV channels provide much information about the top persons of the state (Arseniy Yatsenuk - 26.1%, Oleksandr Turchinov - 22.6%), but it is motivated by the situation in the country, only within the official duties. The government officials appear in the news reasonably.

In the given presidential campaign the administrative resources is not available and is not used. It is impossible for several reasons. The tense situation in the eastern Ukraine does not allow to say about the success of the Government as such efforts would look ridiculous in terms of actual civil war.

The authorities do not use the administrative resources in favor of one candidate. In the recent weeks, on the contrary, the channels used criticism of the Government for fostering the negative attitudes towards Yulia Tymoshenko (the Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov, the Interior Minister Arsen Avakov, the Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk are the members of Yulia Tymoshenko's party and her political partners).

The Government activities on television are not associated with the presidential candidates.

The current Cabinet of Ministers was formed after the events of Maidan. It includes the representatives of "Batkivschyna" Party (the leader of this party is Yulia Tymoshenko), the party

"Svoboda" (whose leader is Oleh Tyahnybok) and the representatives of Maidan (who are not the representatives of political parties).

There was a lot of news about the Government. The members of the Cabinet of Ministers appeared in the news items quite reasonably.

The information about Arseniy Yatsenuk related to his official visits abroad, the negotiations with the European and American politicians, granting of the IMF credit for Ukraine as well as the domestic policy such as the discussion on amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine, the power decentralization, solution to crisis in the eastern regions of Ukraine. The criticism of the Prime Minister was performed mainly on the part of opposition politicians.

Oleksandr Turchinov was represented mainly as the Acting President: the television channels represented his appeal to the Ukrainian people on the events in the eastern regions of Ukraine, conduct of the antiterrorist operation. In May Oleksandr Turchynov appeared often as the Speaker. In particular, the negative information dealt to the initiative of the representative of Party of Regions and the Communists to dismiss Oleksandr Turchynov.

Due to the events in the country the television channels cover actively the activities of the Interior Minister Arsen Avakov and the Defense Minister Mykhailo Koval.

The information on the Minister of Fuel and Energy concerned mainly the themes of price of the Russian gas.

The information on the Foreign Minister Andriy Deschytsya related to the international meetings and negotiations on solution of the Ukrainian crisis.

The position of the Justice Minister Pavlo Petrenko was highlighted in terms of the amendments to the Constitution, legality of conduct of pseudo-referendums, the status of the regions in Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts.

The information on the Economy Minister Pavlo Sheremet was related to the granting of the IMF credit for Ukraine, a sharp rise of the dollar rate.

Approximately 70% of the information about the Government is neutral and in whole positive.

### According to 10-point scale the electoral campaign can be assessed by 7 points. Positives:

- no channel supported only one candidate
- representing of the candidates was sufficiently balanced
- important public information was not concealed
- administrative resources were not used

#### **Negatives:**

- "jeans"
- in the last two weeks of the campaign it was traced the black PR
- lack of creativity and the limited genre palette in coverage of the campaign
- use of media effects for fostering of sympathies and dislikes to the candidates
- lack of analysis of the candidates' platforms

### HOW THE CANDIDATES WERE REPRESENTED IN THE NATIONAL TELEVISION MEDIA

Petro POROSHENKO - 16.7 % of the total amount of election information on the top rated candidates

The TV channels Inter and TVi represented the position of Petro Poroshenko most actively. The channels STB and Pershyi Natsionalnyi – most passively. There was few negative information about this candidate.

#### Yulia TYMOSHENKO - 14.6%

The TV channels Inter, TRK "Ukraine" and ICTV represented the position of Yulia Tymoshenko most actively. The channels STB and Pershyi Natsionalnyi – most passively. The most amount of negative information - on Inter, TVi and 1+1.

#### Mykhailo DOBKIN - 9.8 %

The TV channel TRK "Ukraine" represented the position of Mykhailo Dobkin most actively: almost 40% of all information about the candidates on the television. Only this channel represented positive information about this candidate. The most amount of negative information- on Inter.

#### Serhiy TIHIPKO - 6.2%

The TV channel TRK "Ukraine" and ICTV represented the position of this candidate most actively. 5 kanal – most passively. TVi and Inter represented the most amount of negative information about this candidate. None TV channels represented the information in positive tone about this candidate.

#### Petro SYMONENKO - 4%

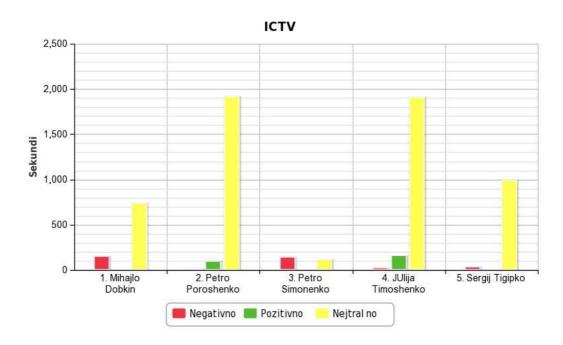
TRK "Ukraine" represents the most amount of information about this candidate. The least amount of information – by Pershyi Natsionalnyi. The most amount of negative information was represented by Inter. TRK "Ukraine" highlighted a minor amount of positive information about Petro Symonenko.

### TRENDS OF HIGHLIGHTING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ON THE TELEVISION CHANNELS

### ICTV, the program "Fakty"/"Facts" and "Fakty tyzhnya z Oksanoyu Sokolovoyu"/"Facts of week with Oksana Sokolova"

The program "Fakty"/"Facts" highlights the elections actively. The most amount of information was devoted to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko. Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhailo Dobkin take the second place. The least information was devoted to Petro Symonenko. The frank preferences were not traced on the given channel.

The information with negative tone is represented only in the final program "Fakty tyzhnya z Oksanoyu Sokolovoyu"/"Facts of week with Oksana Sokolova". The news items contain irony, one can trace the use of manipulative techniques, including hypothesis, media effects "mind reading", assumptions and incorrect comparisons.



### Inter, the program "Podrobytsi"/"Details" and "Podrobytsi tyzhnya"/"Details of the week"

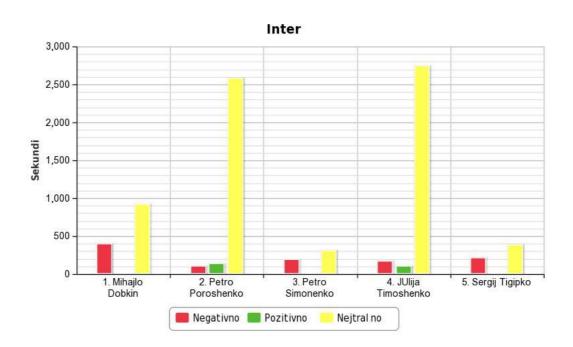
The undisputed leaders of ether: Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. Half as much information about Mykhailo Dobkin.

Inter keeps "formal balance" in coverage of the major candidates. On the one hand, it represents a lot of information about Yulia Tymoshenko and on the other hand, it fosters consistently the negative attitude to this candidate

Regarding to Petro Poroshenko the information is shot with more positive messages. Throughout the monitoring period Petro Poroshenko was a guest of its studio 4 times. Within the last week of election campaign this channel began the bloc of news items only with the information about this candidate.

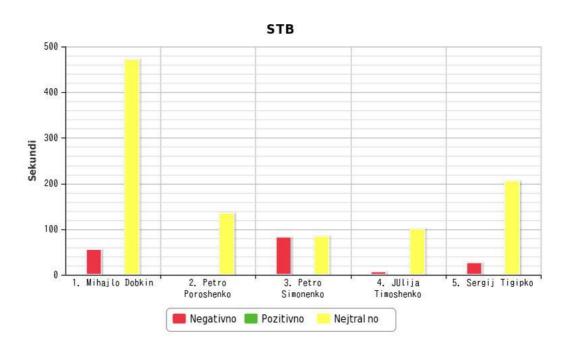
Inter represents frankly its negative attitude towards Mykhailo Dobkin from the Party of Regions. It provides the most amount of negative information about this candidate. In the news itmes this channels used the rude manipulation techniques: value judgments, excessive representing of unimportant details, sequence of scenes, media effect "mind reading", acute assessment and irony.

Many news itmes were related to lustration of the power which caused the negative information about the activities of government officials.



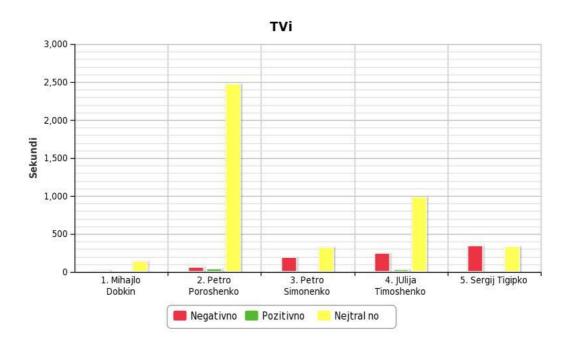
#### STB, the program "Vikna-novyny"/"Windows-news"

There are practically none election news. In the last week of the campaign, the most news reports were related to organization of the elections. There is not enough information related to the the candidates' activities. On this channel it is not traced either the obvious preferences.



#### TVi, the program "Syohodni"/"Today"

The channel has its preferences towards Petro Poroshenko. The information about this candidate is represented almost in each news cast - 26 % of election information falls on this candidate (Yulia Tymoshenko receives 12.6 %). The information about Petro Poroshenko is highlighted only in neutral tone and without any manipulations. The information about Yulia Tymoshenko contains both value judgments and manipulative techniques.



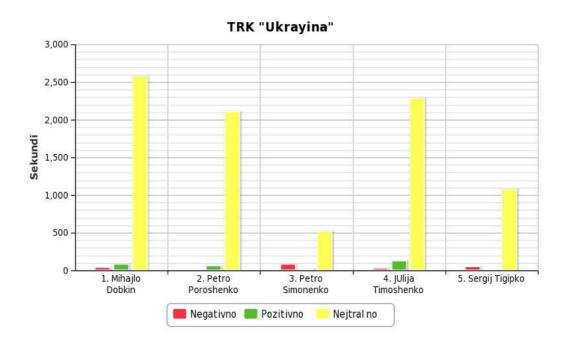
### TRC "Ukraine", the programs "Podii"/"Events" and "Podii tyzhnya"/"Events of the Week".

The channel highlights actively the elections. The information about the candidates is represented mainly without any emotional connotation, in a quite balanced way:

Mykhailo Dobkin - 20.2 %, Yulia Tymoshenko - 18.2%, Petro Poroshenko - 16.1 %.

The most information was covered about Mykhailo Dobkin, he was a guest of the studio 4 times. TRC "Ukraine" does not show obvious sympathies or antipathies to the candidates. However some forms of information representing testify that the channel is still more <u>favorably disposed</u> to Mykhailo Dobkin and less - to Yulia Tymoshenko.

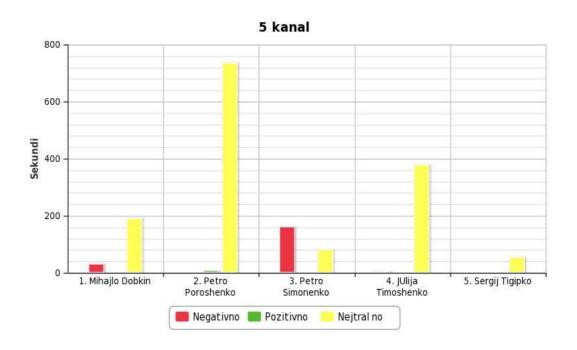
In three programs beginning from May 1 "Podii"/"Events" represented the quiz of the presidential candidates. In each issue it was represented the position of three politicians. The same 5 questions were asked to them: What your first act will be at the post of President? What decisions will you take within the first 100 days? What minimum wage should be? What relations should be with Russia? Who will be in your team?



### 5 kanal, the program "Chas novyn"/" Time of News" and "Chas. Pidsumky tyzhnya"/"Time. Summary of the Week"

The information about the presidential candidates is represented much less than in other TV news which are equal for ether time. There were the newscasts that did not contain any mention of the candidates.

The position of Petro Poroshenko was represented most actively - 12.8%, most passively – the position of Serhiy Tihipko 0.9%.

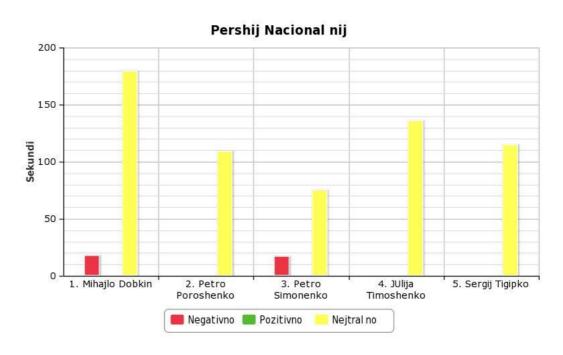


#### Pershyi natsionalnyi, the program "Pidsumky dnya"

The position of the Prime-Minister was represented most actively – almost in twice more than the position of the Acting President (Arseniy Yatsenuk – 54,1%, Oleksandr Turchinov– 30,5%). The information that is contained in the direct speech of the top officials has sometimes the positive tone – they report about their activities in positive way. The information is related mainly to the initiatives of the Government.

The materials about the elections are related mainly to the voting procedure in the eastern regions and the occupied Crimea, the rules of filling of documents in change of voting place.

The news items about the candidates are represented rarely and according to amount of information - in a balanced way. There were no preferences to one or another candidate.

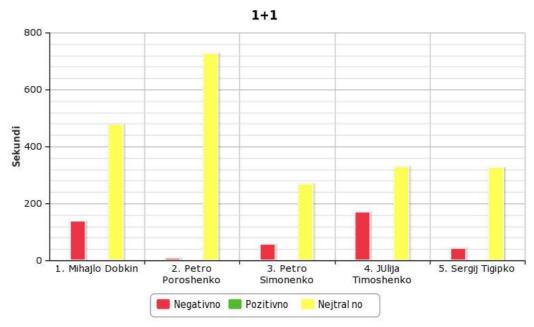


#### 1+1, "TSN" and "TSN-tyzhden"/"TSN-week"

The certain preference to Petro Poroshenko are traced on the channel. In the news items the journalists stress on the thesis "Poroshenko - President".

Almost the same amount of information was devoted to Mykhailo Dobkin, but one fourth of this information was represented in negative tone.

Yulia Tymoshenko takes the third place, but almost one third of this information is represented in negative tone. In May the channel uses "black PR" against Yulia Tymoshenko. It uses value judgments, hypothesis and rhetorical questions.



#### NATIONAL PRINT MEDIA

The media monitoring included an analysis of 6 national print media:

- "Vesti"
- "Hazeta po-ukrainski"
- "Dzerkalo tyzhnya.Ukraina"
- "Kommentarii"
- "Segodnya"
- "Fakty i kommentarii"

The purpose of research: to search out if the newspapers provided complete, qualitative, unbiased and balanced information about the candidates for presidency to make a conscious choice by the voters throughout the presidential elections of 2014. As well as whether the candidates have equal access in the printed media to represent their platforms.

**The objects of monitoring** are the activity of the candidates for presidency who have the highest rating under the recent exit polls and also ones who represents the main rating political parties:

- Mykhailo Dobkin, the Party of Regions candidate
- Petro Poroshenko, the self-nominated candidate
- Yulia Tymoshenko, the leader of "Batkivschyna" party
- Serhiy Tihipko, the self-nominated candidate (ex-member of Party of regions
- Petro Symonenko, the leader of Communist Party.

The other candidates were monitored only by qualitative content analysis. The quantitative representing was not taken into account due to low ratings and interest of the reader to almost unknown candidates.

Moreover the activities of the Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov and Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk were monitored in order to trace the possible agitational activities in favor of Yulia Tymoshenko (use of administrative resources).

In the monitoring research the information differed by three tones: neutral, positive and negative. **The tone of information (emotional connotation)** reflects the impression which the newspapers effect to the readers. The tone of information is determined by collective evaluation of the content and the form of coverage of the information ie the indirect assessment of the candidate (sequence of representing, layout features, graphic design, style, tone of messages).

#### MAIN TRENDS

The recent presidential election campaign in mass media differed qualitatively from the earlier campaigns, primarily by its fragmentation and dependence on the rapid events in the country. If the start of the campaign and the candidates' nomination were overshadowed by the events in the Crimea, its upcoming course was pushed to the sidelines by the separatist movement in the Donbas regions, conduct of the antiterrorist operation and the tragic consequences of riots (massive loss of life in Odessa and Mariupol during the May holidays), and also the referendum in Donbass. Accordingly the press focused more attention on socio-significant events and the election topics were often covered in the light of the situation in the east of the country and in the Crimea.

The feature of the campaign was nomination of a significant amount of technical candidates who were unknown to the society. All candidates can be divided into **4 groups**:

- 1. **The top rated candidates** under the results of exit polls (Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko).
- 2. **The popular second-tier candidates** (Mykhaylo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Oleh Lyashko, Olha Bohomolets, Anatolyi Hrytsenko, DmytroYarosh).
- 3. **The known but unpopular candidates** (Yuri Boiko, Valeriy Konovalyuk, Vadym Rabinovych).
- 4. **Unknown candidates** (Mykola Malomuzh, Vasyl Tsushko, Volodymyr Saranov, Oleksandr Klymenko, Vasyl Kuibida, Andriy Hrynenko).

In whole **all candidates had access to print media**. After their final registrations the papers highlighted the information more or less about all candidates. However, the intensity of representing was determined also by the intensity of conducting of the campaign in whole.

Yulia Tymoshenko had the information superiority (32.8%), often due to "jeans". Serhiy Tihipko (19.5%) and Petro Poroshenko (19.3%) were represented much less. The largest amount of negative information was devoted to Yulia Tymoshenko, twice more than to Petro Poroshenko. And vice versa – it was represented the positive information almost in twice more about Petro Poroshenko than about Yulia Tymoshenko. Serhiy Tihipko was represented mainly neutrally. Much less attention was paid to Mykhailo Dobkin (7.7%).

Throughout the election campaign the group of unknown candidates did not make the coverage opportunities for being represented and did not require the attention of media. Their activities were covered only within their official platforms which were analyzed by some editions.

Within all these groups one can state that **the candidates were represented in balanced manner.** More information was represented about the top rated candidates, less information was represented about the less rated candidates but relatively equally within its subgroups. In this case the editorial staffs were directed by the public demand for information. The low rated candidates who were interested for the readers (Olha Bohomolets, Dmytro Yarosh, Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Oleh Tyahnybok) had access to the press media being represented in interviews and investigative reportings.

Most newspapers provided enough information about the candidates so the citizens of Ukraine could make well-informed choices. The candidates' positions were covered mainly in the light of critical events in Donbas and related to solutions of the situation. There was lack of information related to representing of the candidates' platforms and the prospects of development. But such papers as

"Segodnya", "Hazeta po-ukrainski", "Kommentarii") analyzed the programs of the candidates and published also the interviews with the candidates, where it was paid attention to the development prospects of the country and the vision of the candidate. However, in general it can be said that there was lack of qualitative information campaign and discussion on the part of the very candidates. Preferably the discussion was conducted in terms of the expert comments on the candidates.

#### The papers used a diverse set of genres and modes of highlighting:

- 1. «mini-dossiers» for the candidates (the summarized statement of officially known facts about the candidates).
  - 2. Interviews and comments (both on the current events and more informative and deep ones).
  - 3. Journalistic analysis (the programs of candidates).
  - 4. Experts' comments (about the candidates, their prospects and potentials for presidency).
- 5. Playful forms of analysis of the candidates which are interest for the readers (characteristics of psychologists, predictions of astrologers, numerologists, fortune-tellers).

#### Positive moments of the campaign:

- 1. the daily newspapers represented the positions and informed the readers mainly about all candidates.
- 2. the weekly newspapers conducted the professional analysis of the electoral campaign and the activities of the authorities in the format which the daily newspapers could not manage to do.
- 3. creative approach towards the topics and coverage of the campaign.
- 4. important public information was not concealed.
- 5. administrative resources were not used.

#### **Negative moments of the campaign:**

"Jeans" – the materials with the pre-paid features. Such materials differ slightly by the style from the editorial content. You can recognize them because they are published in other newspapers. This becomes more obvious because some newspapers ("Segodnya") labels such materials by specific headings indicated in the masthead as advertising materials, but for the reader it is not obvious. Repetition of such material in other newspapers gives grounds to consider them as paid materials. Most "jeans" was represented by Yulia Tymoshenko, less – by Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Poroshenko.

**Manipulations.** In general the manipulations did not have a total character in the most papers, except for the newspaper "Vesti", which represented mainly all political materials in manipulative manner. The main manipulative techniques were fostering the negative image of one candidate and the positive image of another candidate, irony, manipulation by photos and false neutrality.

#### Sympathy and antipathy are divided as follows:

- "Vesti" antipathy to Petro Poroshenko. Sometimes it represented neutral not-guilty attitude towards Yulia Tymoshenko.
- "Hazeta po-ukrainski" showed the certain sympathy towards Petro Poroshenko (but simultaneously it used the criticism) and tangible antipathy to Yulia Tymoshenko
  - "Dzerkalo tyzhnya" showed none preferences.
  - "Kommentarii" showed none preferences.
- "Segodnya" showed its sympathy to Mykhailo Dobkin, antipathy to Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko.
  - "Fakty i komentarii" showed the certain sympathy to Mykhailo Dobkin.

#### The main trends of the election campaign in the newspapers:

- 1. "Segodnya" and "Kommentarii" represented the most qualitative information about the elections. The papers analyzed not only the potentials of the candidates, but their electoral platforms, personalities and <u>life</u> histories.
  - 2. "Segodnya" is the only newspaper that has conducted the qualitative education of voters.
  - 3. "Dzerkalo tyzhnya" as an analytical edition ignored practically the topic of presidential elections.

- 4. it was traced the use of "jeans" by all rating candidates for presidency. Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko became the leaders in absolute figures.
  - 5. "Fakty i komentarii" became the leader in representing of "jeans" materials.
  - 6. "Vesti" became the most manipulative newspaper.

Analysis of representing of the government activities showed in the current campaign the absence of use of administrative resources by the officials for the election campaign. The Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov, the Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and the Ministers of the Cabinet appeared frequently in the media, but always within the limits of their official duties. Oleksandr Turchynov was represented in the press as the Acting President (his statements on the ATO and settlement of the situation in the east of the country) and as the Speaker (the reports on the work of the Verkhovna Rada). His appearance was quite motivated because he expressed the official position of the current Government on the current situation. Except a lot of informational materials there was a significant share of criticism to his address.

The Government was covered mainly due to the visits of Arseniy Yatsenuk abroad and the negotiations with the western politicians about settlement of the situation and financial assistance to Ukraine, the gas issues and at the finish of the electoral campaign – due to conduct of the round-tables of conciliation.

In spite of a significant amount of neutral informational messages it was traced the active criticism to the address of the Prime-Minister and the Government for the governmental anti-crisis program and the certain appointments. In general, the press represented often the critics or analysis of the very Government activities in whole (mainly on economic issues). The press distinguished occasionally the activities of the ministers. It summarized rather the activities of the Government represented by Arseniy Yatsenuk.

According to 10-point scale the electoral campaign in the press can be assessed by 8 points.

### MAIN TRENDS IN HIGHLIGHTING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN BY NATIONAL PRINT MEDIA

"Vesti" paid relatively little attention to the electoral process. The paper was focused mainly on stirring up negativity about the situation in the country, generating the catastrophic forecasts and promoting the idea of the elections disrupting. Such materials were accompanied often by intimidation effect. The basic idea was that the security during the elections would not be guaranteed with high possibility of terroristic attacks. It was supported by the relevant experts' comments and their own value judgments. The newspaper generated itself the similar ideas and simultaneously it denied them. The journalists did it in manipulative manner, citing to unnamed sources, through such manipulations as "unsubstantiated allegations", "presence effect", "voice of the people" (often via the comments of unnamed witnesses and social networks). The materials with accents on illegitimacy of the elections were placed next to the chronicles of ATO in the East and the photographs of destruction that created the negative emotional effect.

A notable criticism of the authorities was traced namely towards Oleksandr Turchynov. Even the neutral information about his statements was often accompanied by ironic and negative emotional remarks by the journalists.

As for the elections the newspaper published the rating profiles of all the candidates, it analyzed their chances for winning, the possible pros and cons of their policies if they won. Overall such analysis reflected the subjective opinions of the authors as there was practically no references to the experts. The conclusions and remarks had often manipulative nature (manipulative techniques such as: **affirmation**, **repetition of information**, **statement of fact**, **fake compliment**).

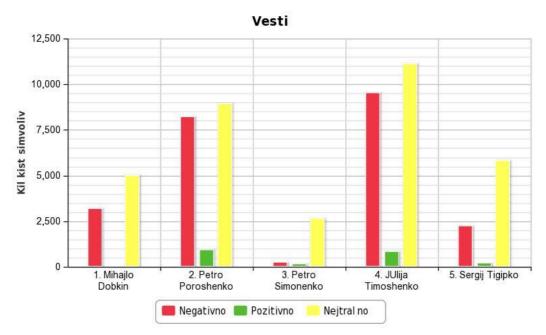
"Poroshenko has already ensured the support of Vytaliy Klitschko who withdrew from the election in his favor, and therefore he can count on the votes of a significant part of the supporters of the Maidan. In addition, he was also openly supported by one of the largest financial and political groups in the country - the group of Boyko-Firtash-Lyovochkin (TV channel "Inter", gas business, chemical industry). Also the EU and the U.S. are very favorably to this candidate (one of the reasons of supporting of

Poroshenko by the oligarch Firtash is called his desire to be rehabilitated before the West)"- the manipulation of "repeat information", "fake compliment" ("Vesti", 04/07/14)

"Moreover she (Tymoshenko - exp.) is responsible for everything that happens in the country (as the Prim-Minister and the Acting President were the members of "Batkivschyna"), but simultaneously she has quite limited impact on the Government" - manipulation "statement" ("Vesti", 04/07/14).

It should be mentioned also the representing of the materials related to the estates of such politicians as Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Yulia Tymoshenko, the apartments of Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchynov, Olha Bohomolets. The coverage of materials was usually manipulative ("false neutrality") – behind the neutral description there was ironic intonation and emphasis on the negative effects and unconfirmed facts.

In the recent weeks the paper focused on the topics of ATO and disruption (or falsification) of the elections. On the eve of the elections the separate topic was the freezing of the newspaper business by the tax police. The newspaper highlighted the event hourly providing for it a few pages. The rare materials about potential changes in political policy after the win of one or another candidate, about the composition of their campaign offices, as well as internet trolling on the elections did not practically change the informational pattern of the newspapers at this time.



"Hazeta po-ukrainski" covered quite actively the campaign in comparison with other newspapers. In spite the newspaper paid also much attention to reportage from the east of the country and the Crimea, it mentioned all rating candidates for presidency, representing their dossiers and reports from the congresses of main political forces. In general one can say that the paper provided information as simple as possible and accessible to the reader, though not without accents.

The informational preference was given to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko. Often this was due to the publication of apparently hidden advertising texts. They had other style, being possibly edited. But frankly positive or negative acute passages, the lack of atmosphere which is specific for this newspaper as well as repetition of similar items with the same experts' commentaries in the other newspaper such as "Fakty i komentarii" and "Segodnya" give the reason to consider them to be "jeans". However, it should be noted that in contrast to the published "jeans" the newspaper tried to create always a balance. It collected the comments of its own experts who expressed the different opinions than in the advertising texts or it printed the author materials in the genre *Opinions*.

In some editorial materials one could trace the preferences of the newspaper. The newspaper was sympathetic to Petro Poroshenko, though sometimes it placed negative comments about this candidate, and it had some antipathy to Yulia Tymoshenko. This was traced clearly in the information material

related to the highest rated candidates, where even the joke about Petro Poroshenko represented him in positive light as the winner and the information was covered mainly in neutral tone:

"Joke .

Recently Poroshenko met Turchynov in camouflage and asked him not to wear out the uniform of the Commander-In-Chief".

Instead of this Yulia Tymoshenko was represented <u>conversely</u> by manipulative way in negative light – by the joke and also by the reference to an informal source of information about her wealth (all other candidates were evaluated by the officially known data):

"Yulia Tymoshenko, 53 years. Wealth: \$ 11 billion according to the former President Viktor Yushchenko ...

Anecdote

Yulia Tymoshenko stated that she wanted to return the Crimea. To which Putin replied: "You have already returned the Crimea to us. Return more to us the South East" (04/04/2014)



Throughout the election campaign "Dzerkalo tyzhnya" ignored essentially the electoral process, with the exception of single references. Only in the last issue before the election it was published the responses of presidential candidates to a questionnaire compiled by the newspaper. It was the candidates for presidency who had agreed to answer these questions (Olha Bohomolets, Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Dmytro Yarosh). All candidates were provided with the same amount of newspaper space and the length of their responses in terms of the questionnaire which was equally limited to each candidate. The questionnaire put sharp questions to be addressed in different spheres of life of the country. The variants of the answers were designed so that the reader could easily understand the position of one or another candidate to make an informed choice.

However, it should be noted that being analytical edition and taking opinion-makers niche, such a low level of attention to the presidential election looks at least strange for this newspaper.

Instead the newspaper was mainly busy with criticism of the Government of Arseniy Yatsenuk, his anti-crisis measures, appointments and separatism topics. A special theme of the edition was the mood in the South and East of Ukraine, as well as the major events in these regions.

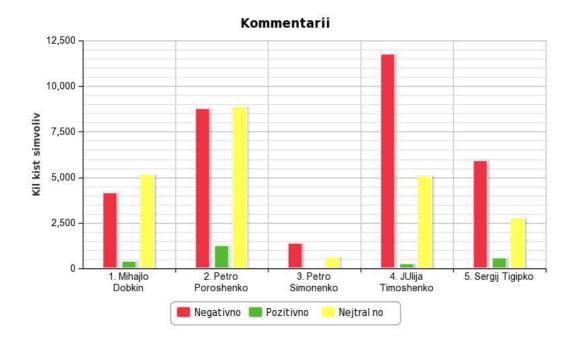


"Kommentarii" covered quite actively the topic of the elections. In spite of some ironic style the information was represented about all candidates of this campaign (21 nominees). It conducted the neutral analysis of the announced platforms of all candidates aimed at definition of their basic positions and occasional criticism. It should be noted the efforts of the paper to develop the other part of the candidates' programs. So in the special section "About what the candidates were silent" the newspaper conducted the analyzed of the gaps and deficiencies in the nominees programs, lacunae in their positions, omissions or outright lies. This material was toned mainly in negative tone and related to all candidates, with minor exceptions of positive and neutral comments. The edition used often quite strict assessments and value judgements. Although it can be justified by its weekly format which represents itself precisely as the analytical edition of its own face, targeted at the thoughtful reader.

Another special theme of the newspaper was the detailed analysis of alignment of political forces and their rearrangement in the south-eastern regions through the prism of their support and prospects of the leading presidential candidates - Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhailo Dobkin. The newspaper analyzed the facts in neutral tone and generated the version of the events after the election. The special attention was paid to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko, namely to the strategies of their election campaigns, their ratings and prospects for victory. Overall the weekly was quite objective in its analysis.

However it used the manipulation techniques, namely on the top page with the heading "Tymoshenko will be saved by "protyvsihy"/"those voters who will vote against all candidates" that created the impression that Yulia Tymoshenko was on the verge of defeat. Also the newspaper manipulated by the photo, where Yulia Tymoshenko was represented in extremely close-up with all shortcomings visible on her face, generally this photo caused the unpleasant impression to the reader.

Although in general it should be noted that the weekly provided the voters with full picture of the campaign contradictions and the opportunities to assess consciously the risks of coming to the power of one or another candidate.



"Segodnya" covered the election campaign actively, quite completely and in a varied way. We can say that this newspaper went to the elections coverage in the most professional way. The newspaper analyzed the candidates' programs, and also it developed the issues towards the technical candidates and their potential support of the major rating candidates for presidency. The information was represented about all rated candidates in the context of nomination and announcement of the declarations.

This was the only newspaper which in fact paid much attention to the voters' education: the information which was represented related to the election procedures, how to change the address of one's voting. On the day of silence the newspaper adhered the required limitations, however it appealed to the elections issue in the most useful key for the voters – it summed up everything one needed for voting procedures (what to bring with oneself the voting station, how to substitute the ballot if it is damaged, what is prohibited on the voting station etc.)

The newspaper came up to highlighting the election campaign quite creatively *using a variety of genres*. The paper represented "mini-dossier" for each candidate: information about the beginning of political career, major milestones, aphorisms of the candidates, pros and cons as well as the generalized opinion of the people about them. Also the newspaper represented the author's project, namely the analysis by a potential voter of the candidates and also an analysis of possible future appointments (which was accompanied by the expert comments). The newspaper was not also afraid of publishing the playful forms of analysis of the candidates for which there was demand among the readers – the forecasts of astrologers, diviners and psychological portraits sociotypes. Also the newspaper published a series of major interviews with the candidates in the framework of a common project with TRC "Ukraine". It represented the dialogues with Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Dmytro Yarosh, Mykhailo Dobkin.

Within the whole month the newspaper paid the most attention in the editorial materials to Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko and Mykhailo Dobkin as the main competitors. In this aspect the newspaper analyzed mainly their prospects to a second round.

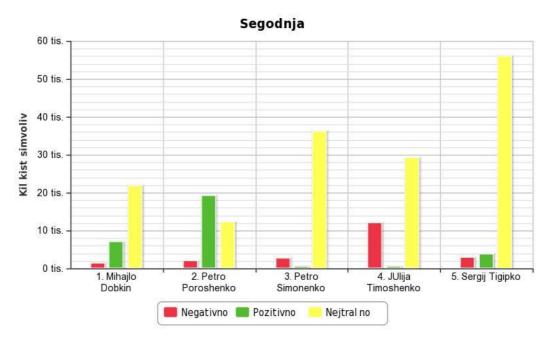
In spite of quite objective assessment of the most candidates the newspaper fostered the negative image of Yulia Tymoshenko and the positive image of Mykhailo Dobkin. Thus the newspaper did not forget to mention about the conviction of Yulia Tymoshenko when it was analyzing the candidates' programs, often smiling at her and stressing at the negative moments.

"However Yulia Tymoshenko is concerned about the reform of the penitentiary system (she wants to reduce the number of prisoners) and intends to organize a total control of food and water provision (the Ukrainians should not buy bad goods)" ("Segodnya", 11.04.14)

Instead Mykhailo Dobkin was supported by this newspaper. Highlighting the presentation of this candidate's platfrom, the author stressed all time at the positive aspects:

"The place is happy and the presidential campaign office will be here", - one of the representatives of Party of Regions explained to us. The event started without delay, exactly at noon ... the presentation extended a little less than an hour and the various competent politicians from the team of the candidate represented their spheres of policy in their directions" ("Segodnya", 04.08.14).

In the newspaper except the editorial content there was much hidden political advertising of Serhiy Tihipko, Petro Poroshenko, Petro Symonenko, significantly less – of Mykhailo Dobkin (the columns under which it was printed, were indicated as advertising in the output, but it was not obvious to the reader).

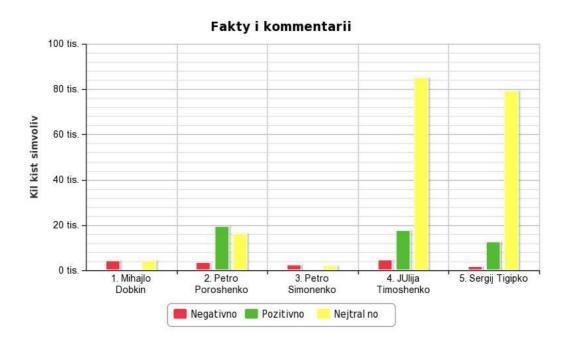


At first sight "Fakty i kommentarii" covered the election campaign quite actively in comparison with other papers. However the bulk of the materials related to the election were the hidden advertising ("jeans") of Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Poroshenko. They were not marked as advertisements, but they were easily recognized by repetition in other print media, specifical style and columns "Point of view" or "Specially for Fakty". This was especially noticeable on the background of the editorial materials which differed by the style and attitude from pathos to "jeans" - they were with irony and objective criticisms. Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko became the absolute leaders in use of "jeans". Much less it was traced the use of "jeans" by Petro Poroshenko. These materials were often duplicated in the newspapers "Hazeta po-ukrainski" and "Segodnya".

In general the newspaper is neutral and usually it is difficult to determine its editorial position. However the position of the newspaper towards the situation related to beating of Mykhailo Dobkin and Oleh Tsaryov was interesting and *unique in the entire election campaign*. The newspaper showed significant aversion to the candidates of Party of Regions. The journalists told about the earlier negative behavior of Mykhailo Dobkin, representing the facts and his statements, using the direct value judgments against him and even to some extent justifying the attackers:

"But do not forget the third law of Newton: "The power of action is always equal to the strength of reaction". After all the very supporters of Party of Regions in the south-eastern part of the country began to attack the peaceful supporters of Maidan (and do it until now), in the result of which many protesters were seriously injured, and some were killed. It will just suffice to mention "Oplot" which was brought up by Mykhailo Dobkin and his copartner Hennadiy Kernes! Its leader Yevheniy Zhylin promised to destroy Maidan in pieces and was not ashamed telling how his fighters had cut off the ears of "banderovtets".

And yet we are not like they are, and that is why we should act strictly according to the law which has been long crying out for the battered in fights candidates for presidency" ("Fakty i kommentarii", 4/16/14).



#### NATIONAL INTERNET-SITES

#### **Main conclusions**

In the course of the brief electoral campaign the leading online media covered firstly much actively the events in the Crimea and in the eastern and the southern regions of the country than the very political race. It should be noted that the most part of the candidates' statements was associated with this informational background: the visits of the candidates in the eastern regions; their promises to return the Crimea; the proposals aimed at settlement of the situation in the east; the counterterrorism operations and their consequences.

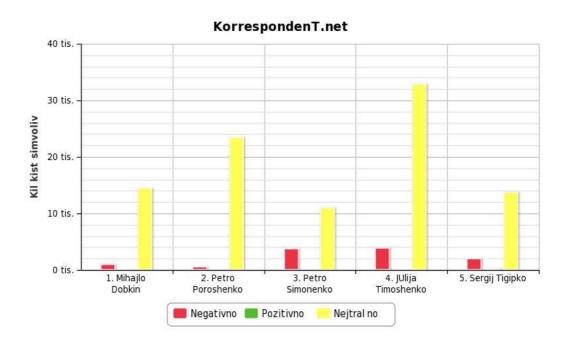
At the moment of the official start of the election campaign, the Central Election Commission registered 23 candidates to the post of the President of Ukraine, who had the highest ratings according to the exit polls (Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko); the candidates with less rating, but who were popular among the voters (Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Oleh Lyashko, Mykhailo Dobkin, Oleh Tyahnybok, Olha Bohomolets, Petro Symonenko); the known and not very popular candidates (Yuri Boiko, Valeriy Konovalyuk, Dmytro Yarosh, Vadym Rabinovych), and also the almost unknown candidates (Mykola Malomuzh, Vasyl Tsushko, Volodymyr Saranov, Oleksandr Klymenko, Vasyl Kuybida, Andriy Hrynenko).

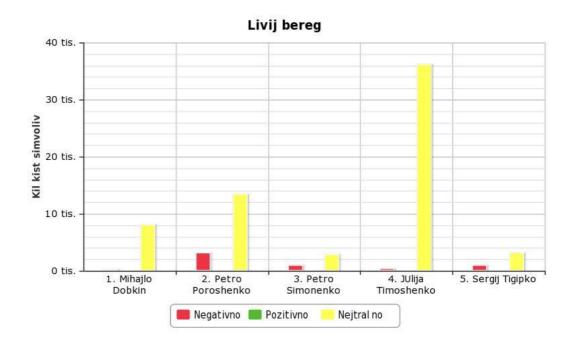
In general it may be noted that throughout the election campaign the candidates had access to the new media - internet editions in more or less amount that represented the information about all candidates. Of course the most information was highlighted mainly about the most rating candidates. Other candidates were mentioned quite more passively, mainly in the materials related to the exit polls. None online media paid attention on the electoral platforms of the candidates. In general the web-sites represented the positions of the candidates related to the current events. Not all online media which were included into the monitoring sample covered equally the preparation to the electoral process – the web-site "Ukrainska Pravda" and "KorespondenT.net" represented in most balanced manner the materials

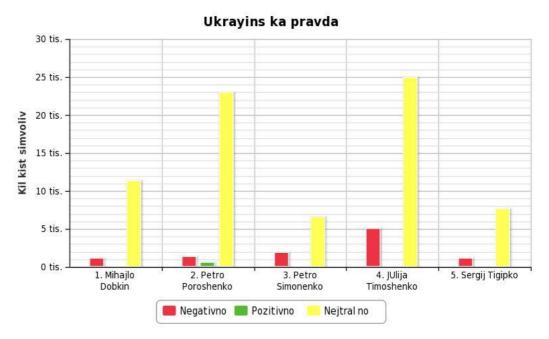
related to the elections and the web-site "Tsenzor.net" showed obviously its preferences to Yulia Tymoshenko.

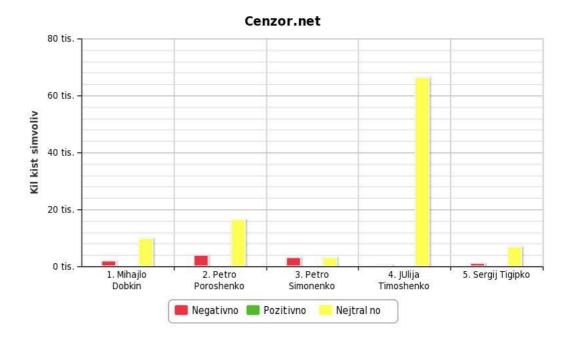
The experts of monitoring did not trace the use of administrative resource. It is likely because of the tragic events in the country when it was inappropriate to assign the positive news. The representatives of "Batkivschyna" as the members of the Government did not associate their activities with Yulia Tymoshenko as inability to resolve the tension in the country would rather serve as anti-PR for her. The activities of the Government were represented mainly as fulfillment of their duties: the news about the Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov was caused by the fact that he expressed the position of the current Government; the Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk was associated with the news about economic situation of the country; a lot of reports related to the actions of the Minister of Defense and the Interior Ministry Mykhailo Koval and Arsen Avakov were connected with the events in the east. In general the information about the Government was represented in neutral tone. The negative information about the representatives of the Government appeared often from the part of the candidates for presidency.

### According to 10-point scale the electoral campaign in the national Internet media can be assessed by 7 points.









#### NATIONAL RADIO STATIONS

#### **Main conclusions**

In radio broadcasting it was mainly talked about the preparations for the elections, but it was ignored the need for coverage of the candidates' activities. UR1 and Radio "Vesti" represented the candidates only occasionally (though on national radio it was given the opportunity to all candidates to represent themselves for 15 minutes out of the news ether time).

The radio stations "Holos stolytsi" and "Era FM" became the ones which devoted more attention to the candidates. They tried to avoid the negative tone and even in neutral tone they talked about the candidates less than in positive tone.

The radio station "Vesti" used oftener manipulation techniques in highlighting of the Government activity and the Acting President of Ukraine, while "Era FM" ignored one of the top candidates Petro Poroshenko representing its preference to Serhiy Tihipko, Oleh Lyashko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

#### Main topics:

- the situation in the East of the country, conduct of counter-terrorism operation and "separatism" actions
- the Russian-Ukrainian political conflict, the problems of the Crimea and the reaction of international community.
- the highlighting of preparation to the elections was represented actively in the radio broadcasting only within the last week before the elections

#### Main trends

Only within the last week before the elections it was devoted more attention to the problems of the East of Ukraine in the context of preparation to the up-coming elections.

The government officials were mentioned only in the context of their official duties. The activities of *Oleksandr Turchinov* and *Arseniy Yatsenuk* were represented most actively.

None of the radio stations did not represent the balanced information about the candidates for presidency. And the radio station "Era FM" used the news items which had the features of paid materials.

#### Representing activity

The radio media paid more attention to the activities of the Government and Oleksandr Turchinov as the Acting President of Ukraine. Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchivon were represented in all tones, but Oleksandr Turchinov was highlighted mainly in neutral tone, and Arseniy Yatsenyuk – mainly in positive tone.

The candidates for presidency were represented not actively. On the radio stations "Vesti", UR1 the candidates were mentioned rarely. But it is worthy to note that UR1 represented to the contrary the information about the candidates but out of the news programs. The radio station "Era FM" represented the campaign of the candidates a little more actively, and on the radio station "Holos stolytsi" it was talked about the candidates even as long as on May 25.

All radio broadcasters mentioned only Petro Symonenko in all tones (although the negative tone dominated). Serhiy Tihipko and Yulia Tymoshenko were represented mainly in positive tone. Petro Poroshenko was highlighted in neutral tone in twice more than in positive tone and only due to the radio programs from May 25 when it was announced the results of exit-polls and the positive indexes substantially raised. Mykhailo Dopkin was represented the least and the negative information about this candidate dominated.

#### Media effects and manipulations

The radio stations "Vesti" and "Era FM" used the most amounts of media manipulations and effects, such as: suppression of information, substitution of notes, value judgments, repeat of information, irony, creating the negative aspect through a sequence of news items.

The radio station "Era FM" used the most manipulations, namely some news items had the features of hidden advertising such as: the comments of Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Lyashko, Serhiy Tihipko and Oleh Tyahnybok (each comment took 30 sec.) were represented without any proper coverage opportunity. Furthermore the information about the mentioned candidates was highlighted only in positive tone.

#### **Speakers**

The position of the Government was usually represented by Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk, and also A.Deschytsya, O.Sych, P.Petrenko.

### UR1, Information-analytical program, 19.05-19.30 (the radio program is broadcasted only in weekdays)

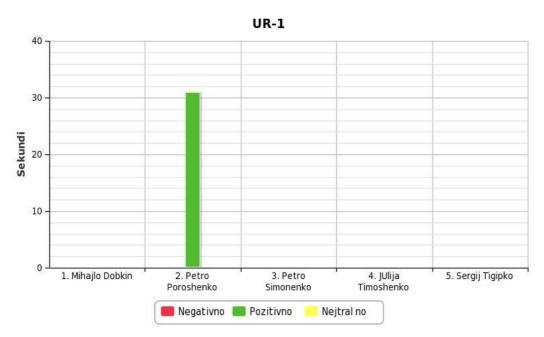
Throughout the monitoring period the national radio highlighted actively the events in the East, preparation to the elections and the activity of the Government. It is traced the positive coverage of the Government's activities. Thus in the news items from May 13 it was talked about the meeting of Arseniy Yatsenuk with the representatives of the European Commission in Brussel. In the news item it was represented not only the positive results of this meeting, but it was noted: "By the way they arrived to Belgium by the econom-class". Also in positive context the activity of the Prime-Minister was represented related to maintenance of the victims during the gas burst in Mykolaiv.

At that there was only two news items about the candidates: on May 13 – about Petro Symonenko (in the context of conflict in the Parliament) relatively in negative tone; on May 22 – where the Ukrainian intellectuals appealed to support Petro Poroshenko and to conduct the single ballot (at that the news representing was neutral).

The radio station represented the information about the candidates not in the news casts but in the other form: all candidates for presidency had 15 minutes to represent their election platforms after the news items. Usually such campaigning was represented once a day after the news issue.

Moreover between the sport news and weather broadcasts at the end of the news issue it was regularly represented the political advertising. Firstly in this bloc it was represented actively Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and Oleh Tyahnybok, but within the last week before the up-coming elections the

representing of Olha Bohomolets and Oleh Lyashko was added. Also within this last week before the elections it was covered daily the social advertising where the voters were appealed to come for voting. So one can note that it was only once when in the news cast on UR1 it was represented the information in favor of one candidate, but the coverage was neutral. Also the manipulation techniques in coverage of election campaign were not used.



### The radio "Vesti", "Vecherniye novosti", 18.00-19.00 (the radio program is broadcasted only in weekdays)

The radio stations did not showed any preferences to any candidates but they fostered actively the negative image of the Acting President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchinov. Namely in the news release which was represented twice at the beginning of the newscast on May 15, it was reported: "The final stage or endless circle. Oleksandr Turchinov says that the anti-terrorism operation will be finished when the rebels will lay down arms and release the hostages". At that the very news item was represented in neutral tone. On May 22 in the ether the news presenter represented the value judgments: "About the course of, so called, antiterrorism operation you will learn in the information summary on the radio "Vesti"". On May 13 it was represented a number of news items which were targeted at fostering of negative image. Namely the news item were related to the order of Oleksandr Turchinov to develop the scheme of reimbursement to the state of the costs which had been stolen through the corrupt schemes, was begun by the words: "Ukraine wants to reimburse the enterprises of the former officials". Then the comments of O.Yefremov, the representative of Party of Regions was represented in negative tone; of V.Schvets, the member of "Batkivschvna" in positive tone. Then the informational summary gave the information about nationalization with the examples of the Western Europe and simultaneously it concealed the experience of the USSR, which was rather closer to the radio audience. Then it was the critical comment of O. Savchenko, when the presenter said: "It is clear. Does it mean that you see here the danger of corruption or fight with persona non grata?". In all news items there was the theme of nationalization.

Although Arseniy Yatsenuk received more positive information, but it is traced the negative attitude towards him. Namely the fostering of antipathy through the comment of A.Blinova (the thoughts gathered in social networks and related to monitoring of the financial legality of the newspaper "Vesti", the ether from May 22): "Today Arseniy Yatsenuk is fourty. The best present for him was given by the Head of Tax Administration when it freezed the work of oppositional newspaper. Did we want such democracy and freedom of speech? Personally I did not".

Oleh Lyashko and Mykhailo Dobkin were mentioned in the negative aspect in the radio story "Vesti" (on May 15, 2014). In the story about the most creative and strange political advertising

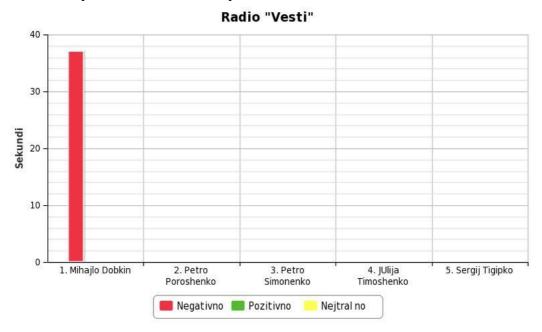
campaigns of the pre-term presidential elections in Ukraine, the deputes of the Kyiv City Council and the Kyiv City Mayor it was said the following information about Mykhailo Dobkin:

"The billboards cause often the negative reaction among the people. For example, in the capital the political advertising of Party of Region to the post of President of Ukraine is often painted and written by the unrepeatable words, and sometimes it is just broken, - then the author mentions the political campaign of Mykhailo Dobkin in the previous years, namely its quite famous incident. - By the word this very candidate recorded his speech to the voters throughout the election campaign of 2005. Later this film footage appeared in Internet and gathered the thousands of visits". Here it was the citation. After the description of the political campaign of Mykhailo Dobkin, the author began reporting about Oleh Lyashko: "Non-traditional approach to political advertising was demonstrated by Oleh Lyashko else on the parliamentary electoral campaign. The future deputy recorded the videos with cows, dogs and eggs". Then it was represented the part of spiel.

There were also the neutral information about the candidates: about Oleh Tyahnybok in the news item related to his initiative to prohibit CPU, namely when this candidate put the law on the Communist Party; about Dmytro Yarosh who said in the program of S.Shuster that he would leave open the possibility to unite Pravyi Sektor and Svoboda.

"Vesti" used different manipulation techniques, among of which the fostering of negative attitude to Yulia Tymoshenko was represented most actively.

It is worthy to note that the news issue on the radio "Vesti" is the longest one, but in spite of it the attention to the candidates was quite low, they were mentioned in order to entertain the audience or in the context of certain events. Along with it this media covered the activity of the Government quite critically and not always in a constructive way.



#### "Holos stolytsi", news 20.00-21.00 (each 15 minutes).

According to the format the news are represented briefly as the informational summaries, thereat the advantage is given to social and economical themes.

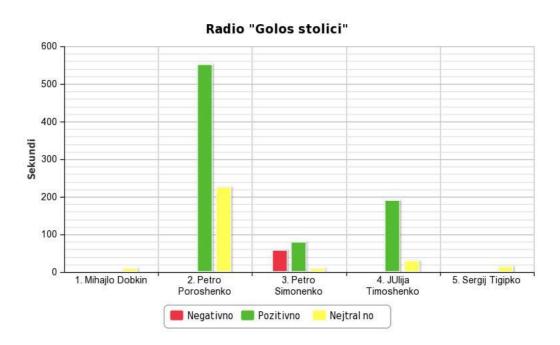
Most actively Petro Poroshenko was represented -41% of all amount of ether time, but these figures were received due to the ether on May 25 when it was announced the results of exit-polls. Before this Oleh Lyashko was the leader in the amount of ether attention and positive representing -30 %.

The information about Petro Symonenko was covered in all tones (9 %), but the negative tone dominated. It is worthy also to note that he was the only candidate about of whom it was represented the information in negative tone.

Only once it was represented the direct speech of the candidate (on May 25) where Petro Poroshenko stated that all exit-polls had confirmed that it would be single ballot and the country had the new president, on which the presenter reacted quite emotionally: "Stone the crows! Petro Oleksiyovych

has announced. We are still waiting for the official data from the Central Election Commission (laughing)".

It was not traced any media manipulations. The media avoid making any evaluations and negative coverage of the candidates' activity.



#### "Era FM", Information Program, "Vikhy tyzhnya", 19.00-19.30

In informational summaries of "Era FM" the most attention was devoted to the candidates (if we compare with other radio stations). At the same time this radio station gave the obvious preferences to the certain candidates and used most actively manipulation techniques.

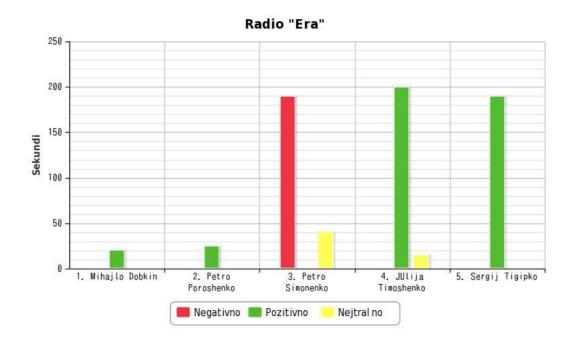
The work of the Government was represented in details. Almost in each program Oleksandr Turchinov as the Acting President was mentioned in positive and negative tones, rarely – in neutral tone. The activity of Arseniy Yatsenuk was represented less, but mainly in positive tone.

The candidates were mainly highlighted in the context of the events in which they had taken place. Serhiy Tihipko, Oleh Lyashko and Petro Symonenko received the equal amount of ether time from general amount of time devoted to the candidates - 23 % for each candidate. But there was substantial difference in tones: Serhiy Tihipko was covered mainly in positive tone, but there was also neutral information; and Petro Symonenko was covered only in negative tone. Yulia Tymoshenko received less time – 13%. However it is worthy to note that her thought about the mentioned issues were represented in details, also it was given her direct speech.

On this background we can trace the ignorance of one of the top candidates – Petro Poroshenko. Only 3 % of ether time was devoted to this candidate, although in positive tone. Mykhailo Dobkin received approximately the same amount of ether time.

Manipulations were used mainly due to repeat of information but without any bright value judgments, irony or fostering antipathy and sympathy.

However in some news items it was traced the hidden advertising, namely: the comments of Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Lyashko, Serhiy Tihipko (which took 30 sec.) were represented without any proper newsworthy information. Moreover the information about the mentioned candidates was highlighted only in positive tone.



#### **REGIONAL MASS MEDIA**

#### REGIONAL REPORT FROM "HOT SPOTS

#### THE CRIMEA

#### Main conclusions

Throughout the monitoring period the topic of early presidential elections in Ukraine in the Crimean media was not mainly covered. The candidates were not available in sufficient quantity for making an informed choice. Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk were represented not much as the executors of official duties, not agitators. Turchynov and Yatsenyuk were represented as the speakers against illegal annexation of the Crimea and announced the official position of Ukraine on the peninsula.

In general the main attention of mass media was focused on the new political reality of the peninsula. Thus there are conflicting definitions: the fact that some media refer to the occupation of the Ukraine, while others declare "reunion of the Crimea to Russia". Assuming the Crimean media relay often the messages of pro-Russian propaganda and disinformation about the events on the mainland Ukraine. Among mass media it was widely discussed the fact of prohibition of the leader of the Crimean Tatars People Mustafa Dzhemilev to the Crimea and this year's anniversary of the Crimean Tatars' deportation.

It should be noted that after the Crimean annexation the information space has undergone tangible changes. So, instead of Ukrainian channels the Russian channels started broadcasting, a number of online portals and print editions stopped their work.

#### TV Media

From the time of the occupation of the Crimea the Ukrainian TV channels stopped their broadcasting, instead of the Ukrainian television channels the Russian TV began broadcasting. The local "state" channel relays often pro-Russian promotional messages and misinformation about the events on the mainland of Ukraine. In general on the Crimean television it was represented actively the activities of the separatist government, mostly in positive tone. The topic of the presidential elections in Ukraine was

virtually absent. Somewhere in the news releases of TV channel of the Crimea it was showed the news items about the actions of Oleksandr Turchinov which related to the Crimean topics. In this case Turchynov acted as executor of duties, not agitator.

Information about the candidates is practically absent.

The leading speakers were the representatives of the Russian and Crimean new government.

#### **Print Media**

Throughout the election campaign in the Crimean print media, the electoral subject was barely covered. It is noteworthy that the only peninsula Ukrainian edition "Krymska svitlytsya" which has the ethnic Ukrainians and potential voters among its readers, represented the theme of presidential elections in Ukraine singly. The only monitored publications in the print media were the materials "Ukraine is preparing for presidential elections" in the newspaper "Holos Kryma"; the articles "More than a third for Poroshenko" and "On May 25 - the most important and most complex elections" in the newspaper "Krymska svitlytsya".

It was once when it was represented the list of the candidates for presidency supplied in the form of ratings under the results of exit polls.

It was once when it was represented the information about the candidates in neutral tone. The mention about Petro Poroshenko can be consided to be of positive tone.

Among the leading speakers – the representatives of the occupation regime. The candidates for presidency did not act mainly as the speakers.

Information about the candidates was not represented on the front pages.

In terms of ignoring of the elections topic and the lack of information about the candidates in the Crimean press, the publication of the data of sociological research may have the manipulative character.

#### **Internet-sites**

Throuout the election campaign the Crimean Internet-site posted around 50 publications which touched the elections issues.

In general the Crimean websites covered actively the activities of the separatist government. In the certain part of online resources this information was represented in positive tone, the theme of the presidential elections in Ukraine was not represented. The media that tend to neutral coverage or to coverage of the new government in negative tone, published sometimes the materials on the election issues, which, however, was negligible with respect to the total content.

Preferably the publications on electoral issues were related mainly not to the candidates, but to the whole electoral process. In particular, the internet stie KHA and "Krym.Realiyi" covered the topical issues for the Crimean voters on how to vote not under the place of registration, and also they represented small data messages about some candidates.

Overall for the mentioned period about 50 publications related to the election issues appeared on the Crimean online sites.

In the Crimean online sites the theme of elections was not mainly represented. For those sites that posted rarely the materials on the elections, the share of the electoral content from the total amount of news for the reporting period amounted about 0.1%.

The publications devoted to the candidates were represented in the form of small data messages in neutral tone.

Throughout this period the most speakers were mainly the representatives of the occupation regime, often – the representatives of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatars. The candidates for presidency became the following speakers as Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Lyashko.

Petro Poroshenko is a leader among the candidates the information of whom was represented in trace amount. The other candidates for presidency such as Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Lyashko were not almost mentioned.

It was not traced any manipulation in the monitored media.

# DONETSK REGION

#### **Main conclusions**

The main trend of the election activities in mass media, traced throughout the election campaign can be described as follows: in the conditions that are close to the fighting, the journalists paid very little attention to the election. As a result the presidential candidates as well as the top officials were represented in mass media of Donetsk region mainly basing on the actual information events. It is impossible to say about equal presence in the information space in this case, as the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko, for example, came often to the region, and the candidate Petro Symonenko – did not.

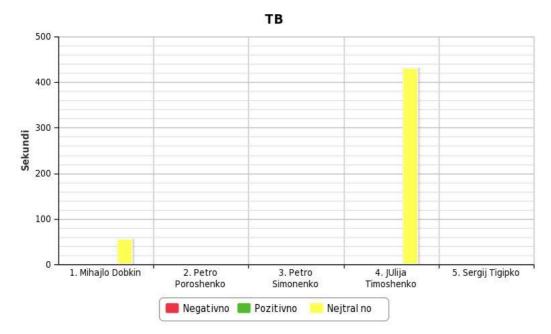
The most of mass media paid most attention to the top officials of Ukraine – the Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenuk and the Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada Oleksandr Turchynov. It should be noted here that these two officials were represented only as officials who performed their duties. One serious case of manipulation by the readers was fixed in the newspaper "Donetski novyny" where almost each issue of this paper published the article about Yulia Tymoshenko. These articles had the features of paid materials and worked on improving her image. In the same newspaper it was traced the material that could be considered to work against the candidate for presidency Petro Poroshenko.

#### TV Media

Donetsk television has been involved very slowly into the process of coverage of the election campaign. Both channels paid a lot of attention to highlighting the work of the first persons of the state, but not in terms of elections to be held, but as the officials who performed their duties. The speeches of separatists led the election content to zero: the armed men seized the Donetsk Oblast State TV and Radio Company ("27 kanal") and stopped its broadcasting. In May on the frequencies of "27 kanal" it was broadcasted the channel of so-called "People's Republic of Donetsk". Thus, 66% of airtime with large sync was given to Arseniy Yatsenuk as the Prime-Minister. Oleksandr Turchinov received 20% - also as the official who performed his duties. Yulia Tymoshenko took the third place. Formally the news items about her had the coverage opportunity as this candidate came to this region to seek solutions to social and economic crisis. However, the effectiveness of her actions and publicity give the suggestions to think that "27 kanal" provided her with too much air time. The news itmes about Tymoshenko were devoted to her performances at the press-conferences, her statements and promises. They were accompanied by the detailed syncs.

The situation with the TRC "Donbass" developed in a similar way: this channel in its news block had to pay objectively its major attention to the events that were occured in the regions. Thus 62% of airtime was given to Arseniy Yatsenuk as Prime-Minister. The Speaker Oleksandr Turchynov received much less time (7%). Yulia Tymoshenko was ahead of him as she visited often the Donetsk region to resolve the situation. However, basing on the failures of Tymoshenko's attempts, one can assume that the channels provided this candidate with not adequately amount of airtime for highlighting of her intentions.

In early May the TV channel "Donbass" refused actually to cover the election campaign. The reason was the armed men who went to the editor and promised to monitor closely the editorial policy. At the time when the city is completely controlled by the armed people who claim that in the region there would be no elections, the channel had many difficulties to cover the candidates. Thus, the TV channel "Donbass" represented the news item in the news block from May 8, where the MP Mykola Levchenko gongratulated the veterans. About 15 seconds he tald to the veterans that the presidential candidate of Party of Regions Mykhailo Dobkin was unable to come to them because he did not feel himself in safe. On behalf of Dobkin Levchenko congratulated the veterans on Victory Day.



#### **Print Media**

From all types of mass media the press paid most attention to preparation of the elections. The leader in this respect was the newspaper "Donetsk novyny". So the newspaper devoted to Yulia Tymoshenko the most information in positive and in neutral tone; at the first week of monitoring period the paper represented the material about this candidate. The large article "Tymoshenko announces the war to oligarchs" had the features of paid materials. In the article there was a lot of compliments to the candidate: "Yulia Tymoshenko has direct algorithm there ...", "The Ukrainian experts consider that the promises of Tymoshenko will be fulfiled ...", "There is the team and the instruments". The next weeks showed the permanent love of "Donetski novyny" to Yulia Tymoshenko which could be traced in each issue. Thus, 10 the newspaper "Donetski novyny" represented much information to Yulia Tymoshenko. Although the tone of the material could be described as neutral, it can be assumed that the material about Tymoshenko had the signs of paid material. Thus, the article, which was like a report on the debates on the studio of Savik Schuster, distinguished Yulia Tymoshenko by its heading among other four candidates ("Anti-corruption recipe of Lady Yu").

The article was illustrated with a photo of this candidate. The material contained often such "objective" characteristics as "prescription of anti-corruption bloc of Lady Yu is simple, but efficient". In total the content dedicated to Tymoshenko is in 4 times more than to other three candidates put together (Poroshenko, Dobkin, Tigipko). It is significant that in one issue of this paper two articles were devoted to this politician roughly equal in terms of amount. The coverage opportunity for both these materials was the visit of Yulia Tymoshenko to Donetsk and her attempt to negotiate with the separatists, who with arms seized the building of the regional council. Formally these two articles were written in neutral tone, but in the article "Yulia Tymoshenko: "We should conduct the open dialogue with the people in Donbass" this presidential candidate was shown as the skilled negotiator who was able to find a way out of the crisis. "Compromise is possible" was the keynote of this publication. Its author Mykola Poliakov is not a full-time journalist of "Donetski novyny". So one can suppose that this article has the features of paid material. This visit of Tymoshenko to Donetsk was shown more critically by the other staff journalist of this paper, with the element of irony. The article was called "Show of Yulia Tymoshenko in Donetsk". It was said in it "The candidate for presidency Yulia Tymoshenko has decided to save the country. That is why she visited Donetsk several times, had some talks and showed her high heeled shoes". Both articles were accompanied by the photos of this candidate.

Even in the last week before the elections, "Donetski novyny" lobbied actively the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko: the newspaper published once two articles about her. The first one entitled as "Yulia Tymoshenko gives the green light for small and medium enterprise" was considered as those one that had

positive tone. It was accompanied by photos of the candidate. The second article ("Tymoshenko about the rural areas, land and own priorities") had formally neutral character, but it contained value judgments close to positive.

It should be emphasized that the most publications about Tymoshenko belongs to Mykola Poliakov, the unknown "journalist" in Donetsk. Moreover the certain articles wre signed by the name of vasyl Poyalkov.

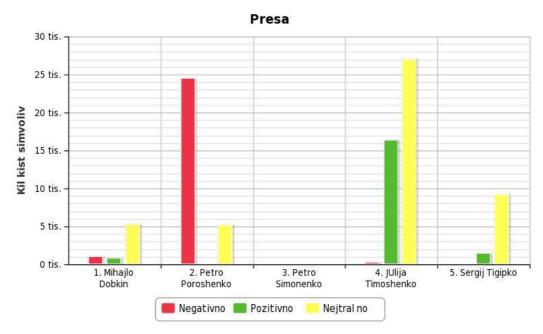
Serhiy Tihipko received also the frank "jeans" support on the pages of this newspaper. The article titled as "The contradictory Congress of Party of Regions" described about the nomination from the Party of Regions of the candidate for presidency. Tigipko was called "the highest-rating candidate" and in its background Mykhailo Dobkin received a slight dose of criticism. By the way, the same material was published also in other several Ukrainian newspapers.

This is not the only example of materials about Tigipko that had the features of paid materials. Through a series of such articles this candidate came the second place after Tymoshenko both in neutral and positive content.

But Petro Poroshenko is the leader of negativity - almost 100% of negative content was devoted to this candidate. The articles in neutral tone, after all, played also against this candidate. To discredit this candidate it was used the method of "use others" – the newspaper reprinted the analytical publications from other newspapers or online publications, in which there was the criticism of Petro Poroshenko and his team. Thus it was reprinted from "Ukrainska pravda" the article by Serhiy Leshchenko "Poroshenko - Klitschko. Vienna under the auspices of the Alliance of Firtash", which in terms of the election campaign can be considered fully to be as publications with negative tone towards Poroshenko. Thus once the newspaper reprinted an article from "Dzerkalo tyzhnya". The article analyzes also the alliance Klitschko - Poroshenko – Firtash. In general we can say about the neutral attitude to Poroshenko, but some evaluation of the candidate's activity are closer to negative.

The whole front page was given to the publication "Who leads Poroshenko into the elections" in the newspaper from May 15 which was reprinted traditionally from the Internet. In general, the neutral materials contribute to a negative image of the candidate: associated with Firtash, depends on the U.S., his team has a lot of people who have stained themselves.

As for "Municipalna hazeta" then this paper can be considered an example of unrealized possibilities. The first month of monitoring showed that sympathy of the paper belonged wholly to Mykhailo Dobkin - about 80 % of whole newspaper space was devoted tho this candidate". Poroshenko and Timoshenko received much less attention, and often in negative tone. However "Municipalna hazeta" failed to maintain this trend, as in May it refused almost from representing the elections campaign. The reason was that in fact the chief editor of this paper supported the separatists and even hold the press secretary of the so-called government of People's Republic of Donetsk.

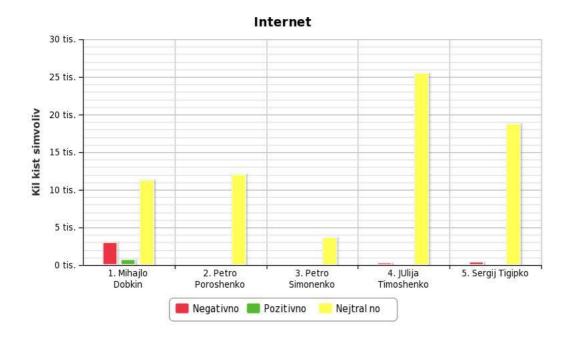


#### **Internet-sites**

The Internet sites of the region covered the election campaign most objectively. However, like all other media much of their content was given to the news of the region, where the separatists performed. The Speaker Oleksandr Turchinov and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk were mentioned in connection with the events in the region. The presidential candidates appeared in the internet sites mainly with the real coverage opportunity. But there are exceptions, as all online media have their own leaders and outsiders.

On the site KID the Speaker Turchinov took the first palce in neutral tone. Yulia Tymoshenko took the second place. It should be noted that the number of mentions towards this candidate are justified, as Tymoshenko often came to the region and created the coverage opportunity. But Mykhailo Dobkin became suddenly the third "neutral" candidate, the only candidate who received a small amount of positive content. The site KID considered Mykhailo Dobkin to be a strong player in the elections. And the people's deputies Mykola Levchenko and Boris Kolesnikov were the speakers of positive image of Myikhailo Dobkin.

"Novosti Donbassa" represented the nominees of the candidate Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko quite equally, in neutral tone. Mykhailo Dobkin received mush negative coverage. The site mentioned about his weak support by Party of Regions and the low rating. He is the only candidate with negative representing. All the rest were represented just in neutral tone. In the first place there was Yulia Tymoshenko. She created a lot of coverage opportunities due to herr frequent visits to Donetsk region . "Novosti Donbassa" paid suddenly a lot of attention to Serhiy Tihipko. This presidential candidate received more than 11 thousand of signs through an anonymous interview, which had the features of paid materials. This candidate won the second place for the amount of printed signs. Then the top state officials Yatsenuk and Turchynov took 3 and 4 places. In general, it may be noted that in most cases, the site followed the coverage opportunity and did not promote the interests of one or another candidate.



## **LUHANSK REGION**

#### Main conclusions

We may consider as the principal tendencies firstly Yulia Tymoshenko's significant activity in printed media, secondly Serhiy Tihipko's active campaign on the portal «ShidInfo», thirdly discreditable campaign of the newspaper «XXI vek» against Petro Poroshenko, which has substantially influenced the audience's thoughts against the background of the absence of positive articles about the candidate and his program. We should also notice the constantly great number of Oleksandr Turchynov's published statements. In general the active start of the majority of candidates was traced at the beginning of campaign but within the last weeks the activity was gradually decreased almost till zero. Of course the events in Luhansk region, about which every candidate takes his own stand, have become the essential topic. Petro Poroshenko and Mykhaylo Dobkin have paid little attention to this topic. In fact they have been ignored by Petro Symonenko.

Thereby, we can make the conclusion that all the candidates weren't be presented in sufficient quantity for making the deliberate choice. The disproportionate number of mentions about the candidates and the influence peculiarity of the regional elites' interests deform the ideas about political reality in the country. There is too much of one-sided information about top rated candidates, the criticism is almost absent. In general the candidates have had the equal media access, no manifestation of thoughts pluralism absence is traced. It's difficult to determine the priority of the presentation in Internet publications. As for printed media Mykhaylo Dobkin appeared several times on the first pages. The articles about Yulia Tymoshenko in different succession were creating the feeling of the candidate's active presence in electoral campaign.

Throughout the campaign the candidates appeared on the local TV one time each. The item with the participation of Petro Symonenko became the maximum sync -1min. 20 sec. The item with the participation of Serhiy Tihipko was the minimum sync -15 sec. At the same time Yulia Tymoshenko Ta Petro Poroshenko have one item each within all the weeks, the sync duration is respectively 55 sec. and 30 sec.

Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk have never acted as canvassers. From other side there were a lot of publications as for Oleksandr Turchynov' statements and fewer as for Arseniy Yatsenuk's and other government employees' ones. The same situation is on TV. The majority of Oleksandr Turchynov's statements concerned the events in Luhansk and Donetsk regions, commentaries as for antiterrorist operation. The calls to solve the conflict peacefully were said by Arseniy Yatsenuk and

Oleksandr Turchynov. Arseniy Yatsenuk has paid much attention to the preparedness of the authority to have the dialogue with the eastern part of the country, to make concessions for the decentralization of the country and the accordance of the regions to solve their local questions and to master the budget.

Last week didn't become the peak of the candidates'activity which, as noted above, significantly decreased. The stable activity was supported by Serhiy Tihipko on the portal "Skhid-Info" and with the help of the article in size of single band in the newspaper "XXI vek". TV channel LOT in the news issue increased the number of news with the participation of Arseniy Yatsenuk's and government officials' statements. On the other hand in the online editions the quantity of publications with the information about Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk was lower than in the previous ones.

#### TV Media

The coverage of the candidates' activities at the local TV did not almost happen. The general tendency was statements of Oleksandr Turchynov, Arseniy Yatsenuk and some officials in the review of national news on TV channel LOT almost without syncs. Throughout the all time of monitoring on the both channels there were items about the visit of Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko in Lugansk. Serhiy Tihipko who visited the building of Security Service of Ukraine was also marked by a short item marked Tihipko. Last Sunday before the elections day didn't become active for the presidential candidates. Only the channel LOT gave a relatively large amount of news as a result of statements and actions of Arseniy Yatsenuk and other officials in a positive tonality without criticism.

# % of candidates and political process parties - separately by channels.

LOT – 358/23 – 6,4% IRTA – 462/5 – 1,08%

# Tonality (separately by channels).

LOT -22(95,6%) – positively; 1(4,4%) - neutrally; IRTA -5(100%) – positively;

## **Speakers**

Arseniy Yatsenuk Oleksandr Turchynov Serhiy Tihipko YuliaTymoshenko Petro Poroshenko Petro Symonenko

#### **Syncs**

The item about Yulia Tymoshenko's visit and the talks with separatists lasted 2 minutes 10 seconds. The sync lasted 55 seconds.

The item about Petro Poroshenko's visit lasted 1 minute 50 seconds. The sync approximately lasted 30 seconds.

The item about the propositions of the state development from Petro Symonenko lasted 1 minute 50 seconds. The sync of Petro Symonenko lasted 1 minute 20 seconds.

The sync of Yulia Tymoshenko was 2 times more than that of Petro Poroshenko.

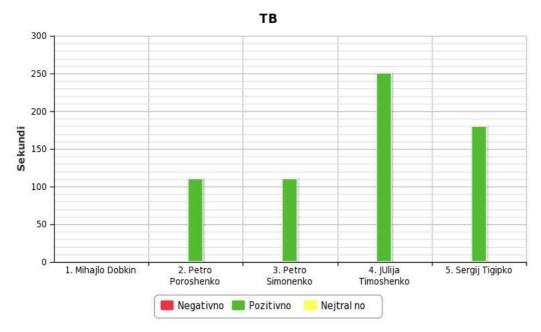
The sync of Petro Symonenko was 3 times more than that of Petro Poroshenko.

#### Representation priority

The items about Yulia Tymoshenko's visit was fiven the first, after it there was the item about Petro Poroshenko's visit.

The item about Petro Symonenko on LOT was given At the end of the news isuue.

# Manipulations and mediaeffects description were not fixed



#### **Print Media**

Consistently published two articles about Yulia Tymoshenko in volume ½ size band in almost every issue of "21 vek" the reduction of which openly supported the Party of Regions and the Russian vector were the main tendency throughout the monitoring. The main topics were statements about the fight with corruption and statements regarding events in eastern Ukraine in Luhansk region. In general Julia Tymoshenko has become an absolute leader in the number of publications in the printed media. We should also highlight the constant presence of Mykhaylo Dobkin in the newspaper "21 vek" with the significant activity at the beginning of the campaign, with a gradual decrease in activity. Throughout the entire monitoring period the newspaper "21 vek" led an active campaign to discredit Petro Poroshenko almost in every issue publishing the articles in size of one band revealing the negative aspects of Petro Poroshenko's activity and relationships. The other investigated candidates rarely appeared or were absent. Throughout the penultimate week "21 vek" firstly published Oleksandr Turchynov's statement. Within the last week before the elections day Serhiy Tihipko was marked by the publication of one band volume in the newspaper "21vek". Yulia Tymoshenko limited herself by one article, but she retained the priority of publication over the other candidates.

# % of candidates and political process parties - separately by newspapers.

"21 vek" 410/33 – 8% Nasha hazeta 528/6 – 1,13%

# Tonality (separately by newspapers).

"21 vek" - positively by 91% (30); negatively by 9%(3) Nash hazeta – positively by 84%(5); negatively by 16 %(1)

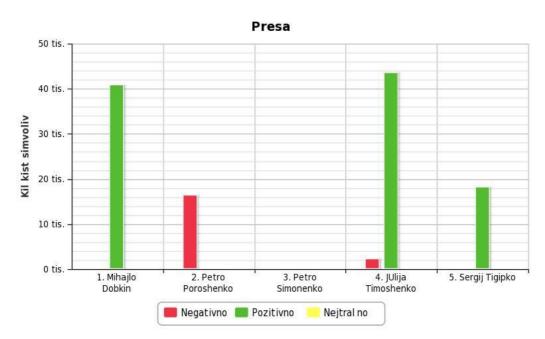
## **Speakers**

Yulia Tymoshenko Yuriy Lutsenko Mykhaylo Dobkin Oleksandr Vilkul Arseniy Yatsenuk SerhiyTihipko

# Representation priority

On the first pages there are publications about Mykhaylo Dobkin.

Manipulations and mediaeffects description were not fixed.



#### **Internet-sites**

The active media campaign of Serhiy Tihipko on the internet portal "SkhidInfo" the headquarters of whom published 5-7 articles a week about the activities of the candidate became one of the major trends. This trend continued over the last six weeks. Throughout the whole period of monitoring there were steadily many publications about Oleksandr Turchinov's statements and slightly smaller publications about Arseniy Yatsenuk. Throughout two penultimate weeks Serhiy Tigipko and Oleksandr Turchinov were main "newsmakers". The trend continued within the last week before the elections, the activity as for Oleksandr Turchynov's and Arseniy Yatsenuk's statemennts significantly decreased.

Within the first weeks there was a significant activity of the candidates including Yulia Tymoshenko on arrival of whom the number of articles on the portal "SkhidInfo" increased. This activity decreased to almost zero throughout the last three weeks. So it was with Petro Poroshenko who was losing much in number of publications to his main competitors, Petro Poroshenko's media campaign was almost absent. There weren't mentions about Mykhaylo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko.

#### % of candidates and political process parties

"Vostochnyi variant" 1418/43 – 3,03%

"Komentari" 1662/70 – 4,2 %

"SkhidInfo" 1208/95 - 7,86%

#### Tonality (separately by sites).

"Vostochnyi variant" 31 (72%) – positively; 8 (18,6%) – neutrally; 4 (9,4%) – negatively.

"Komentari" 48 (69%) – positively; 17 (24%) – neutrally; 5 (7%) – negatively.

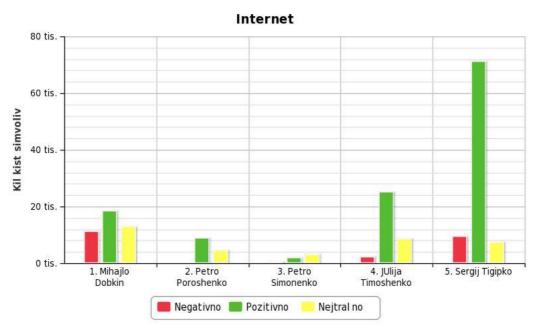
"SkhidInfo" 82 (86,3%) – positively; 9 (9,5%) – neutrally; 4 (4,2%) – negatively.

#### **Speakers**

Vitaliy Klytschko Arseniy Yatsenuk Mykhaylo Dobkin Yulia Tymoshenko Serhiy Tihipko Oleksandr Tuchynov Oleksandr Vilkul Petro Symonenko Pavlo Petrenko Vadym Karasyov Vitaliy Kovalchuk Volodymyr Fesenko

# Manipulations and mediaeffects description

Not fixed



## VINNYTSYA REGION

#### TV Media

To analyze the equality of voters' access to the information about the presidential candidates and the possibility to draw an objective assessment two channels were selected: the state one – OSTRC "Vintera" and the independent (communist) – TRC "Vinnychyna". However, since the seventh of May the channel "Vinnychyna" was not aired, so instead of it for monitoring the municipal channel "VITA" was selected, its signal covers the entire region and includes the events from the all region life.

Throughout the electoral campaign for a few exceptions the news programs of all television channels have a clear tendency to evade their own editorial analysis of the electoral situation and election contestants. The elective topics in television is mainly given at the moments of news topics on occasions: items from the press conferences by the representatives of the Committee of Voters in Ukraine, OPORA civil network, media experts in the sphere of fight with hidden publicity in the media, the chiefs of headquarters of the presidential candidates with various problems that appeared during the pre-election period, that is created information topics.

All the pre-election period the television channels showed a stable content and context: the first news sitems of the public channel demonstrated the state leaders, mostly the Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenuk, less acting as President Oleksandr Turchynov, much attention was paid to the Deputy Prime Minister (the mayor of Vinnitsya) Volodymyr Groysman and the region - Regional Council

Administration Chairman Anatoliy Oliynyk and Chairman of the Regional Council Sergiy Svytko. In addition to items from important meetings in the region they demonstrated the epopee of loud discussions, statements and arguments regarding the candidates for 32 physician seats released in regional hospitals. For the first two officers they noticed the longest syncs: from 40 to 120 seconds.

But they have never been shown as agitators for a certain candidate.

The main news topics of TV makers are military conflict with Russia; separatist attacks in eastern Ukraine; economic crisis and discussing the ways to overcome it; subject of refugees (as Vinnytsya region is the fourth by the number of residents who had fled from the occupied territory of the Crimea); military reserve training; formation of electoral districts and polling stations; adverse publicity campaign. Sometimes they referred to the presidential candidates, usually the same Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

The channels differ in content. If the public one "Vintera" in the first news items they demonstrated the heads of state with statements about various initiatives and comments on the state of the military conflict with Russia; also they mentioned the regional leaders - just the demonstration of important meetings and appointments. The independent chennel "Vinnychyna" in the first items there were news from military fields of the east of the country; a greater diversity of names of presidential candidates. TV studio that belonged to the children of the main communist of Ukraine Petro Symonenko, showed the party leaders in both the public and regional scales, and not only in Vinnytsya region, with statements, facts, their evidentiary basis and numerical calculations of the authority failures.

TRC "Vinnychyna" didn't silence the fact of "offences" by the people (throwing eggs, flour, pouring brilliant green) of the presidential candidates who so faithfully served to the Party of Regions – Oleg Tsaryov, Mykhaylo Dobkin and Serhiy Tihipko.

So, three months ago, having headed for the full and truthful coverage of Ukrainian events, the channel was left without funding, and one of its owners Andriy Symonenko said his general manager "sold himself to the Nazis". However, it is in this channel that the greatest potential for quality work took place.

Municipal "VITA" as for the concept of building the first news items, informing viewers about the presidential candidates also succeeds the state television studio: the most is about Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, but sometimes it makes mention of all the rating, defined like that by the sociologists, presidential candidates. Herewith Serhiy Tihipko is especially notable.

Thus as we mentioned above, in most cases, the channels openly ignore the independent analysis of the presidential candidates in news blocks. Occasionally they show items of any news topics created by the headquarters or the candidates themselves. Basically, it refers to Petro Poroshenko or Yulia Tymoshenko. However, Petro Poroshenko's syncs are ten times longer than those of Yulia Tymoshenko. Sometimes in the news Yulia Tymoshenko is without syncs at all. The longest Petro Poroshenko's sync was in the news of the state "Vintera" - 120 seconds.

For example, the state television channel showed the opening of a new dairy canning complex and the new season of one of European largest fountains and all that belongs to Petro Poroshenko. This news took half of the news item.

It is clear that the electoral campaign was quite modest, it wasn't generally notable for the furious activity of the candidates, as it was in previous years, but this does not free journalists from their duty to work fully with the information about the candidates for the main post of the country.

It seems that having got freedom the channels that could not previously exist without the list of topics that may be discussed, now they do not know what to do with it. Usually the question why in the news there is only Petro Poroshenko and sometimes Yulia Tymoshenko has the following answer: no other candidates came in the region and we aren't national but regional broadcasting company. The remark that we are choosing the president of Ukraine, and not the regional Governor is followed by showing status, rights and duties of the broadcasting company. From this approach the professional level of creative teams suffers too. Obviously, although it paradoxically sounds, not following the civilized framework generally accepted in the world, TV reporters drive themselves into a kind of highly restrictive professional framework.

So the main media effects and manipulations include ignoring the information about a considerable amount of the rating, according to sociologists, certain participants in the election race; selective guidance of facts. The systematic demonstration of the heads of state and regions draws the following picture: behind the major scenes, not visibly in the frame remained those who were not called, but associated by voters with the certain names of presidential candidates.

The interpretation occurs in a favorable light for the sympathizer of the channel. For the last two weeks on TV channels has been using one of the fundamental mechanisms of manipulation has been using – suggestion that is the attempt to convince others in specific judgments without self-evident logical reasons. This concerns the items about the searches in the office of the Regional Council Administration Deputy Chairman and the leader of the regional organization "Batkivshchina" Lyudmyla Shcherbakivska and, consequently, in the office of this party. Since the charge of Petro Poroshenko's headquarters in adverse publivity of Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters is at stake, this delicate situation would be covered the most carefully and critically as for the both participants in the election process. However, the both channels "VITA" and "Vintera" only demonstrated the irony and the attempt to convince the audience of the actions rightness of Petro Poroshenko's headquarters (statement to the policy) with the help of police officials's comments without any analysis and doubts in logicality that the searches of a mine drew attention to the newspapers.

Thus we can say that there is the nurturing of the preferences by channels, the creation of a positive context for one-two presidential candidates with the help of the transmission of important events and facts as for the other participants in the compaign.

The dissemination of one-sided information isn't only explained by journalists' failures, although the above mentioned principles of information representation at the controlled channels, as they say, have eaten into "flesh and blood" of our TV men so much that, perhaps, we can assume that for many of them these principles seem to be the only possible ones. The drift can be only under pressure from the public and Maydan activists.

However, the habit to work like that can partly be justified by the turbulent times in which we live.

# Part of election content from general one

TRC «Vintera» - 10%
TRC «Vinnychyna» - 15%
TC «VITA» - 10 %

# **Tendencies of political processes coverage:**

**TRC "Vintera".** The issue lasts 30 minutes, the final program does 40 minutes. The political information regarding presidential elections, took no significant part of all items.

On average there are 10 % of news, the first items are devoted to the initiative of the Government and directly their leader Arseniy Yatsenuk and the discharge of their obligations by the acting President and Parliament Speaker Oleksandr Turchynov. In particular, it was said that the Prime Minister was sure as for Ukraine's readiness to repel Russian aggressors. The TV channel didn't pass over the macrofinancial assistance of the European Union and the Arseniy Yatsenuk's visit to Brussels on this occasion. It was also said about the perspective and the need to discuss the law under which the central government should delegate the local authorities. Besides the Prime Minister the law was commented by the Deputy Prime Minister of Regional Development Volodymyr Groysman. The information about the preparation of Ukrainian military reserve was presented in the item where the main commentator was Oleksandr Turchynov, in general, "Vintera" gives a lot of space and time to this topic.

Throughout two thirds of the news issue time of the last week the TV channel showed Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk's visit to Vinnytsya, his presentation of vouchers for flats to the servicemen who returned from combat operations in the East where they stood up for Ukraine against Russian aggressors and the meeting of the Government organized here.

As for elections topics, in most cases, the channel gives the reports items about organizational moments of the elections and comments of people in the streets of the region as for the situation with the

elections and the military provocation of Russia. Actually the analisis about the presidential candidates, work of active central and local governments sounds from ordinary citizens.

Most of the election topics items concerned the press conferences of Georgiy Zabolotniy, chairman of election headquarters of the presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko in Vinnitsya region as for the application of the adverse publicity against the presidential candidate.

Also the news items there were references about one of the rating presidential candidates Petro Poroshenko as a sponsor of the new dairy canning factory and the opening of the new fontain season, the creation of which was also initiated and funded by Petro Poroshenko.

And the apogee around Petro Poroshenko figure became the item about the searches in the office of the Regional State Administration Governor and the leader of the regional organization "Batkivshchyna" Lyudmila Shcherbakivska and, naturally, in the office of the above said party, where supposedly the newspapers "incriminating" Petro Poroshenko were found.

# TRC «Vinnychyna». The news program issue lasts 20 minutes.

TV channel has always been quite politicized defending the interests and the position of the Communist Party. Unlike other channels, the burning topics were often discussed here if they didn't touch the interests of the owners. From the end of February the political news was presented in a much more balanced manner, that's why the owners stopped financing the TV Company and the journalists worked for three months without paying until the channel stopped going in the air at all.

As for elections topics, in addition to the items from the theme press conference, the channel mentioned the other presidential candidates and those identified by sociologists as rating ones, and those considered by the editors as popular ones, at least in Vinnitsya region. In particular, they are Oleg Tyagnibok and Oleg Lyashko. The channel didn't avoid the scandalous situations around the presidential candidates from the number of Communists' companions. For example, the item about the Nestor Shufrych's speech in Verkhovna Rada to protect the presidential candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin, who was coldly greeted by voters in the East and South of the country.

They talked about Petro Poroshenko on the air as one who will create around him tight elections campaign and as one of the richest people in the country.

Actually the elections topics were generally demonstrated in the first news items. The channel ironically described the efforts of political advertising and the psychological effects of political engeneers to influence the choice of the Ukrainian people. These statements are supported by surveys of ordinary Vinnitsya citizens in the streets, most of which pay attention to political advertising, but they made their choice without it.

In general, the news gives more social problems, national ones, including Russian aggression, the channel devoted considerable attention to the situation in the territory of the East of the country occupied by the separatists.

Also, they paid the special attention to the readiness of Vinnitsya region to struggle if it's necessary against the aggression, as there is Transdniestria here near this region. Moreover, from time to time there is information about the arest of people with guns in the Vinnitsya region.

They talked about the authrity forces only in the framework of the Government, Verkhovna Rada, acting President Oleksandr Turchynov's statements as for military pressure from Russia. The information state leaders is mostly given in a neutral tone.

Besides avoiding some elections topics, TV channel journalists traditionally express the estimations statements. Sometimes they used manipulation "labels sticking" as for some of the current governmental initiatives, as skepticism about the new government correspondence to modern requirements. However, the news is given in the most interesting way from these three channels.

#### TC «VITA»

The news issue lasts 25 minutes. The channel is a body of Vinnytsya City Council. However, the team aim to position themselves as independent and objective. It is a success in some way until it doesn't come to the fundamental points for the direct founder. So now, for the mayor of Vinnitsya Volodymyr Groysman who became the vice-primier by Petro Poroshenko's quota is important that the channel should

fully demonstrate the most attractive aspect of his work as a candidate for the president of Ukraine. They paid attention to the other candidates as well, but it was tiny. Well, maybe a little more attention was paid to the favourite at Vinnitsya region elections of last years Yulia Tymoshenko.

In particular, the attention was paid to the worsening of the conflict between Petro Poroshenko's and Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters, but from the part of Petro Poroshenko's headquarter the flash-mob of local councils depities against the adverse publicity took place.

Also Tv men don't let out from the sight the government initiatives to meet the needs of the Ukrainian army, replenishing the state treasury through the sale of vehicles from the Cabinet of Ministers garage what will give the possibility to receive 20 million grn.

At the local level the channel monitors the elections of 32 chief physicians of regional hospitals.

A lot of time in the news issues is given to the speeches and the initiatives the acting mayor of Vinnitsya and the vice Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman.

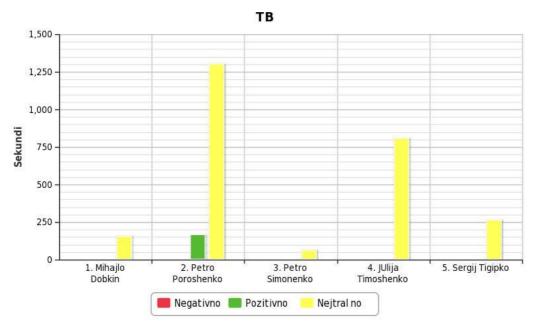
So the omission of some news and topics was peculiar for this channel in order to preserve the information leadership of one candidate.

#### **Topics**

- 1. Military aggression of Russia
- 2. Campaigning war in Vinnitsya
- 3. Expanding the power of regions
- 4. Lustration of authorities
- 5. Expanding the cooperation in Euroregion "Dniester"
- 6. Election Security
- 7. Problems of Crimean refugees
- 8. Search in the the office of the party "Batkivshchyna"
- 9. Fate of international projects in Vinnytsya region
- 10. Future formation of local self-defense units
- 11. Restarting the management team of regional hospitals
- 12. Prospects of the Commuist party

# **Principal speakers**

- 1. Arseniy Yatsenuk Prime Minister
- 2.Oleksandr Turchynov acting President and Speaker of Verkhovna Rada
- 3. Vitaliy Yarema First Vice Prime Minister
- 4. Volodymyr Groysman vice Prime Minister of Regional Development
- 5. Lyudmyla Denysova Minister of Social Policy
- 6. Pavlo Petrenko Minister of Justice
- 7. Petro Poroshenko the presidential candidate
- 8. Grygoriy Zabolotniy people's deputy, chairman of the Petro Poroshenko's election headquarters in Vinnytsya region
- 9. Yulia Tymoshenko presidential candidate in Ukraine
- 10. Serhiy Tihipko presidential candidate in Ukraine
- 11.Oksana Kaletnyk deputy of Verkhovna Rada
- 12. Anatoliy Oleynyk Chairman of Regional State Administration
- 13. Serhiy Svytko Head of Vinnytsya Regional Council
- 14. Ludmila Shcherbakivska Chairman of regional department of the party "Batkivshchyna"



## **Print Media**

For the analysis municipal newspaper "Vinnychyna" and the independent newspaper "Vinnytsya rialiyi" are taken.

Long before the start of the campaign the journalists of printed media made the predictions and the assumptions about thr hypothetical campaign participants and their possible ratings.

For the most part, the newspapers gave brief descriptions about all the main players in this elections campaign identifying the regional and nationwide leaders and also those who really wanted to be the President and those who just were warming up before the next parliamentary elections. That was the thought of the newspaper "Vinnytsya rialiyi" in the article "Two persons really want to be the president – pre-elections war has started on three fronts" pushing the readers to the conclusion that the other candidates don't have the chance to become the president. The author thinks that these two persons are Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

After all, at the start the newspapermen determined that they would be the favorites of the campaign in Vinnitsya region. But now there were a lot of mentions about the presidential candidates who are not included in the top five according to social scientists Oleh Tyahnybok and Oleh Lyashko.

The printed media also prepared a brief description of all of the presidential candidates, making the editorial focus on those program points that may be of interest for voters.

The special attention was paid to the development of the relationship between the main favorites Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. "Vinnytsya rialiyi" spoke in more ironic context about Yulia Tymoshenko than Petro Poroshenko. For example, by telling in an ironic context that within three days of the first weeks of Yuliya Tymoshenko's campaign managed to get at Petro Poroshenko two times. Julia Tymoshenko says that the voters should not vote for the oligarchs. The journalists hint at a possibly hot but brief elections campaign.

However, the edition did not mention that the head of Petro Poroshenko's election headquarters Kovalthuk threw the first to Tymoshenko to withdraw her candidacy from the elections campaign in favor of the former.

The municipal edition "Vinnychyna" by contrast within the first two weeks from the start of the campaign showed a greater for Yulia Tymoshenko.

The tendencies of the presidential topic couverage in printed editions have not changed. The newspapers mention the other presidential candidates determining their rating among Vinnytsya voters, but the most attention is paid to Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. The both newspapers carefully monitor the movements, the changes of tracks, the new initiatives of the presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko. One of the main messages of Vinnytsya newspapers of the first weeks of the elections

campaign were that Yulia Tymoshenko's elections headquarters would henceforth be called "Rukh oporu".

The tendencies of the elections topic couverage of the second part of the printed editions reporting period aim at analyzing the behavior of the presidential candidates who were distinguished by the odious behavior, or against whom the adverse publicity started to work. From this point of view they give the information about the statement of Petro Poroshenko's headquarters as for the adverse publicity against him.

In general the propaganda war in Vinnytsya didn't set aside from the first to the last day of the close attention of printed media. The materials were sent for the behavior analysis of two favourites Petro Poroshenko's and Yulia Tymoshenko's elections campaign. In most cases, the newspapers ironically noted that such behavior of both headquarters isn't worthy.

The newspapers observed the information items that the presidential candidates and the Government created.

There is an interesting touch of the presidential campaign in other regional media: Oleh Lyashko and Yulia Tymoshenko had the most of PR in regional newspapers. In district ones Serhiy Tihipko was actively promoted, he was opposed to the non-rating candidate in Vinnytsya Mykhaylo Dobkin. So they organized the propaganda for the new form that is the name of the old Party of Regions led by Serhiy Tihipko.

Also the press actively writes about military aggression of Russia against Ukraine and risks directly to the Vinnytsya region from the neighborhood region of Transnistria where the 14th Russian Army is situated. There is the information about the threat of one of the main actors of the separatist East born in Vinnytsya region so-called "Abver" to get to Vinnytsya region and to "protect" the family from the banderivets and deal shortly with the Petro Poroshenko's TV channel the "5th channel" and the "1+1". Usually on the front pages of the publications there were photos and information of the military topic.

The editions also gave a lot of information about the initiatives of the government and Verkhvna Rada noting that the last one finally began to adopt reform laws. Yes, the newspaper "Vinnytsya Rialiyi" traced the parallel between the initiative Vinnytsya Right sector as fir the statetments to examine the activities of local State Executive Service, as if the system of income from the sale of confiscated property was vuilt on it and the statements of the government head Arseniy Yatsenuk about the intentions to change the system of selling confiscated things in Ukraine.

One of the important topics of the last weeks was that of the prospects for the Communist Party of Ukraine to leave the political arena of the state forever and of the nearly resonant investigations of the origin of the family Kaletnik's fortune and the case which was opened by the Attorney General's Office against the former Parliament Speaker Igor Kaletnik for pulling dictatorial laws in the Parliament. As for the Communist Party leader who had withdrawn his candacy from the election campaign the week before the elections, Petro Simonenko was given in a negative tonality.

In general throughout this period the newspapers tried to be neutral with respect to the ranking campaign contestants.

However, sometimes the both editions use the evaluation judgments, as well as ironic statements to create a negative context.

For example, "Real" sometimes uses such type of manipulation as the use of stereotypes and the "spiral of silence". If during the first week of the elections campaign Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko in these editions were given in a neutral tonality, the last two weeks Yulia Tymoshenko was rather negative than neutral.

The newspaper "Vinnychyna" sometimes uses such type of manipulation as "statements", these attacks concerned Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko: some statements were given without proofs instead of arguments discussions by limiting the pluralism of thoughts and by presenting only one which was advantageous for the particular part.

# **Topics**

- 1. Military aggression of Russia against Ukraine
- 2. Transnistria as a real threat to Vinnytsya region
- 3. Assistance to Crimean refugees
- 4. The Verkhovna Rada adopts reform laws
- 5. Denationalization of media
- 6. Boycott of Russian goods in Vinnytsya has acquired a mass character
- 7. Yulia Tymoshenko's elections headquarters "Ruh Oporu"
- 8. Adverse publicity of the campaign period
- 9. Are Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko opponents or enemies?
- 10. Conflict of Vinnytsya Maydan representatives with city hall of the regional center
- 11. Reform of local authorities
- 12. Opening of the case against the former Speaker Igor Kaletnik by Attorney General's Office
- 13. Vinnytsya citizens in hostage in Slavyansk
- 14. "Abver" threatens Vinnytsya region and Petro Poroshenko

#### Main speakers

- 1. Oleksandr Turchynov acting President and Speaker of Verkhovna Rada
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenuk Prime Minister
- 3. Vitaliy Yarema First Vice Prime Minister
- 4. Volodymyr Groysman vice Prime Minister of Regional Development
- 5. Lyudmyla Denysova Minister of Social Policy
- 6. Petro Poroshenko the presidential candidate
- 7. Yulia Tymoshenko presidential candidate in Ukraine
- 8. Oleh Tyahnibok presidential candidate in Ukraine
- 9. Grygoriy Zabolotniy people's deputy, chairman of the Petro Poroshenko's election headquarters in Vinnytsya region
- 10. Anatoliy Oleynyk Chairman of Regional State Administration
- 11. Ludmila Shcherbakivska Chairman of regional department of the party "Batkivshchyna"
- 12. Vadym Karasyov political scientist

# Part of election content from general one:

"Vinnychyna" - 25%

"Realiyi" - 35%

"Vinnychyna" is on the verge of the transition from newspapers authority to the objective balanced edition. After all, such editions have long been waiting for the privatization. Thus, unlike the previous election periods the regional edition started the campaign from publishing interesting common description of the tendences seen in the nomination of the candidates for the presidency. For the most part, the authors relied on the materials of capital and local political scientists.

Most of place in the monitoring period was given to the materials about Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. They were the main favorites of the elections campaign in Vinnytsya region. However, during the first week of the campaign the newspaper showed its sympathy for Yulia Tymoshenko. In the first three issues of the elections campaign start the materials about her were presented in a positive tonality and in two and a half times larger volume than about Petro Poroshenko in a neutral tonality.

Then the information about the favorites of the campaign was in a balanced volume. And in the last two issues of the newspaper a lot of attention was again paid to Yulia Tymoshenko's initiatives giving a positive tonality to these actions. For example, there was the article about Ukrainian Congress of village, town and city mayors and local councillors.

The newspaper also made quite a serious and critical analysis of the conflict situation between Petro Poroshenko's and Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters. In the author's opinion the special disgrace was the searches in Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters. The material was called "Vinnytsya police was

searching propaganda literature instead of explosives". The both headquarters of the elections campaign favorites got beans. Despite the war of compromising the material about Yulia Tymoshenko in a neutral tonality was given a half times larger in volume than about Petro Poroshenko.

The newspaper also makes the analysis of the decisions adopted by the Verkhovna Rada. The reform laws that the Parliment began to approve were called by the edition a conceived and necessary process of the development of Ukraine.

The newspaper constantly writes about the military aggression of Russia, its consequences and keeps control of the fate of refugees from the Crimea, who Vinnytsya received. The edition didn't ignore how the Vinnytsta citizens, because of their capabilities, resisted the actions of the Kremlin against Ukraine. In this context, it was said that the boycott of Russian goods in Vinnytsya became widespread.

In the last two issues the edition observed the information items without having the analysis of the actions and society reactions on some odious presidential candidates.

The newspaper regularly writes about the work of the regional government.

"Rialiyi" as opposed to the newspaper "Vinnychyna" gave more positive tonality to Petro Poroshenko. As for Yulia Tymoshenko, the first two issues of the reporting period the journalists created a sort of ironic subtext of her claims and demands. The edition also reported that Yulia Tymoshenko's elections headquarters were renamed in "Ruh oporu" and this information was accompanied by Yulia Tymoshenko's words that it was no time to make PR actions, we should fight against the Russian intervention. However the newspapermen hint using one of the methods of manipulation "statement" that the statements are PR actions. The topic of the election of Yulia Tymoshenko was also continued in the analysis of the leader step of the regional organization "Batkivshchyna" Lyudmila Shcherbakivsky who has just filled the deputy governor position.

The newspaper also paid attention to the investigation of the question whose henchman was the governer of the region and why he was given a special place in Petro Poroshenko's orbit.

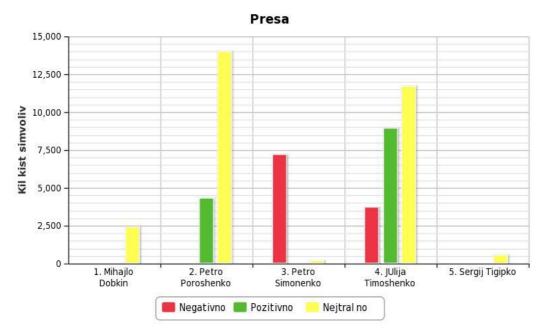
The edition didn't evade the original battle between the headquarters of two rating presidential candidates Yulia Tymoshenko anf Petro Poroshenko defined by local political scientists.

In contrast to the other more or less replicable printed editions of the region "Real" gave the characteristic of most presidential candidates and recalled absolutely all candidates for the presidency in a brief assessment.

All the candidates were presented in a neutral tonality. Among the other well-known presidential candidates, Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhaylo Dobkin were most mentioned.

The edition observes the Communist Party movements. In this context, a number of materials were about how the representatives of Petro Symonenko's party behaved as for TV channel "Vinnychyna" having stopped funding his activity through the people's position that the channel took under pressure from Vinnytsya Maydan. The special place was also given to the topic of the case opened by the Attorney General against the former Deputy Speaker Igor Kaletnik; in the latest issue of the edition there was the information about Oleksandr Turchynov's statement about a possible ban of the Communist Party activity. Naturally the information about Petro Symonenko as presidential candidate was given in a negative tonality.

The newspaper analyzes the actions and the initiatives of the active regional and central authorities. It also controls the deployment of the events in the east where the ongoing military aggression of Russia and the possible threats of the Vinnytsya region from Transnistria were taking place. The edition often observed the separatist activities of the so-called "Abver" born in Vinnytsya region. In particular, recently the edition journalists have been writing about his atatements: the threats of coming to the small home in Vinnytsya and protecting the family from banderovtsy and dealing with Petro Poroshenko's TV channel "5th channel" and "1+1".



#### **Internet-sites**

For monitoring the Internet edition "Vynnytsa.info" was chosen, on one hand, it fosters the sympathy for the presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko and, on another hand, it is one of the most read Internet resources in the region. So during the battle for Vynnytsya that Petro Poroshenko used to consider as his region, it was not easy for the site to keep a balance of interests. And within the last two weeks of monitoring, the same objectivity has been pushed to the margins.

In general, since the beginning of the reporting period, the Internet resource as well as the printed media tried to give an objective description of the rating elections contestants defined by sociologists. However, most attention is paid to two main players in the elections board of Vinnytsya region – Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

Since the early days of the elections campaign the Internet resource pointed out that the elections campaign in Vinnytsya started from the adverse publicity. Then they talked about the leaflets against Yulia Tymoshenko that the unknown people hung offering in the case of her visit in Vinnytsya to throw the presidential candidate with eggs. Then the reporters had to keep track of speeches and statements of Petro Poroshenko's headquarters representatives about the use of rhe adverse publicity against him.

Throughout the monitoring period the Internet resource as well as the printed media reported in detail about the visit to Vinnytsya region within the electoral campaign of the presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko.

As the site that was monitored fosters the sympathy for Petro Poroshenko, in addition to the neutral tonality the negative information about Yulia Tymoshenko as a major competitor of Petro Poroshenko sometimes appeared.

In the analysis of the election programs within the last two weeks the first five presidential candidates in the raiting list formed by sociologists have been presented with their own assessment of five major points of the elections programs. The information was given in a neutral tonality. But again, the most of place was given to Petro Poroshenko. In general, Petro Poroshenko was mentioned most often in any cases: as for certain acts or certain statements.

The Internet edition didn't pass over the military confrontation with Russia. The undeclared war with Russia took place on the first Iternet pages, in fact, as in newspapers and on television.

The economic characteristic of the social field, the military industry were also considered during the war with Russia and through Arseniy Yatsenuk's and Oleksandr Turchynov's activity.

In general, the internet resource tried to balance the interests throughout the period. However, the last two weeks the information regarding Yulia Tymoshenko was mostly given in a negative tonality, here the manipulation "sticking labels" was used. For example, in the comparative material about three

presidential candidates Serhiy Tigipko, Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko the first two were presented in a neutral tonality and Yulia Tymoshenko is in negative one, the negative tonality was even fixed in the title: "Fourth reactor" of Ukrainian policy". The Internet resource paid the readers' special attention to the presidential candidate Oleh Lyashko who gathered in Vinnytsya twice more people than Yuliya Tymoshenko.

The latest incident was the scandal surrounding the searches in Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters were given as a proven fact of the unknown guilt, all this was accompanied by another statement – request of the head of Petro Poroshenko's headquarters in Vinnytsya to Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters Tymoshenko to stop "pour dirt on Petro Poroshenko". The flesh-mob in Vinnytsya Yevromaydan was given as a continuing response to the wars between Petro Poroshenko's and Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters. Until recently the Internet also watched attentively OPORA message as for the situation in the region and the probable favorites and outsiders of the campaign, this pattern varied with the approach of the elections.

Sometimes there is the manipulation reception "half-truth" when it was talked about finding the perpetrators of the certain situation, among them there was Yulia Tymoshenko.

# **Principal subjects**

- 1. Military conflict with Russia
- 2. Scare: are there separatists in Vinnytsya region?
- 3. Podolski soldiers are dying in the east of Ukraine
- 4. Information Wars between Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko
- 5. Present parliament does not suit the people of Ukraine
- 6. Favorites of presidential campaign in Vinnytsya region
- 7. Case of Attorney General's Office against Igor Kaletnik
- 8. Has his interest Vinnytsya people's deputy Volodymyr Prodyvus of amber "showdown" in Rivne region?
- 9. Visit to the region of the presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko
- 10. Oleh Tyahnybok in Vinnytsya region
- 11. The Cabinet initiates empowerment of local authorities
- 12. Analysis of the candidates for president.
- 13. How does the world react to Russian aggression towards Ukraine?
- 14. Chief of Regional Branch of "Batkivshchyna" was appointed as Deputy Governor.
- 15. Attorney General's Office begins to return illegally captured land on the banks of the Southern Bug
- 16. Petro Poroshenko opened in Vinnytsya the largest in Europe dairy canning factory
- 17. Oleh Lyashko in Vinnytsy region is growing very fast
- 18. Oksana Kaletnyk left the Communist Party faction in the Verkhovna Rada

## **Speakers**

- 1. Oleksandr Turchynov acting President, speaker
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenuk Prime Minister of Ukraine
- 3. Vitaliy Klytschko leader of the party "Udar"
- 4. Oleh Tyahnybok presidential candidate in Ukraine
- 5. Petro Poroshenko presidential candidate
- 6. Yulia Tymoshenko presidential candidate
- 7. Serhiy Tihipko presidential candidate
- 8. Mykhaylo Dobkin presidential candidate
- 9. Mykola Tomenko Deputy of the Verkhovna Rada
- 10. Yuriy Lutsenko leader of the "Third Republic"
- 11. Grygoriy Zabolotnyi people's deputy, chairman of Petro Poroshenko's election headquarters in Vinnytsya region

# 12. Oksana Kaletnyk - deputy of the Parliament

# Part of the elections content from the general one during this week was:

1. Vinnytsa. info – 50%

# **Tendences of political process coverage by Internet editions**

**Vynnytsa.info** tried to equally focus on the major players in the presidential elections, however, a significant advantage was on the side of Petro Poroshenko. And two-thirds of materials about Petro oroshenko were presented in a positive tone. The second place for frequent references was given to Yulia Tymoshenko. Although much attention has been paid to Yulia Tymoshenko's visit to Vinnytsya region, however, along with the materials in a neutral tonality there was enough information in a negative tonality.

For example, Yulia Tymoshenko was demonstrated in a negative tonality in the reprinted material from the site "Ukrayinska Prvda" about the possible agreements between the leader of the "Batkivshchyna" and the former President Viktor Yanukovych, about the agreement made between them on the political cooperation for 20 years.

The site fosters sympathy for Petro Poroshenko, therefore, the information about this candidate is given three times more in a positive tonality than about the white-heart leaders. This is a fundamental point as Throughout the last elections campaigns the region gave support to Yulia Tymoshenko's political power with one of the greatest results in the country.

The attack concerns the regional leaders of "Batkivshchyna", for example, hinting that taking the propositions by the regional organization "Batkivshchyna" leader as for post employment the site tries to manipulate readers' consciousness, claiming without proofs and looking up to the idea of self-serving motives of the team leader of "Batkivshchyna". It terminates such associations by the conclusion – a evaluation judgment that Yulia Tymoshenko's headquarters regional leader agreed to the said post with an eye to the future, in the event that the elections would be disrupted, the position will be. It is also a statement without proofs. Because, as you know, the structures of regional administrations face serious reorganizations.

Regarding Petro Poroshenko any steps and statements of the leader defined by social scientists are under scrutiny in the presidential campaign.

In particular, the site wrote that while Petro Poroshenko was in Zhytomyr, he told that new rules should be immediately implemented for the business. After the attempt on life of Kharkiv mayor Gennadiy Kernes, Petro Poroshenko proposed the creation of the inter-ministerial investigation commission to detect the crime and to punish the terrorists.

After the bloody massacre in Odessa Petro Poroshenko gave their blood for the victims.

And about the flash-mob against the adverse piblicity that Vinnytsya deputies organised the site wrote defenitely and soncretely: "The deputies of all levels dressed up the shirts "Stop! Chornukha" against the newspaper where the ugly things about Petro Poroshenko were said".

Some times the site mentioned the initiatives of Petro Poroshenko's son Oleksiy that he as Vinnytsya Regional Council deputy passed a set of uniform to military recruits; and, on behalf of his father Petro Poroshenko's fund he awarded Winter Olympics 2014 biathlon champion Julia Jym with car keys. This is the propaganda case where the son is in reply for the father.

The material that the Government counted how economical to hold elections in one round became the sort of a call to vote for a single candidate in the first round.

The site pays attention to the new but popular political organizations around which the passions run high. This category may include the material - the reprint of "Ukrayinska Pravda": some topical issues to the Right sector the answers to which have not satisfied the authors of the material.

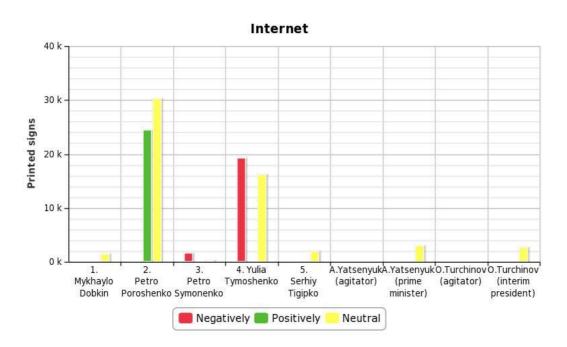
The site tracks the steps of the deputy family Kaletnik as between Poroshenko and Kaletnik there is a long confrontation that is especially manifested in the pre-election period in the Parliament in 2012. Thus, the information about opening the case by the Procurator-General against Kaletnik – Jr. and his

response to the prosecutor's office the website had the ironic reaction: "Kaletnik proves to Attorney General that "dictatorial laws" were pushed by him under the regulations".

The site doesn't pass over Oksana Kaletnyk's going out of the Communist Party, saying about this movement in the article "Oksana Kaletnyk decided to bury Petro Symonenko" and her controversial statements about financing the Crimeans "Communist Oksana Kaletnyk wants to finance the occupation authorities of Crimea from the Ukrainian budget".

The edition also monitors the government's initiatives including the Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk, vice Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman and acting President Oleksandr Turchynov.

To create a negative context, in this case against Yulia Tymoshenko the authors of the materials used evoluation judgments, statements without proofs and emotional attacks.



## **VOLYN REGION**

#### TV Media

Throughout the first half of the reporting period the local TV broadcasting companies proved passive in highlighting the activities of the presidential candidates. However, they enhanced their activity in May when the presidential candidates visited Volyn region to meet the potential electorate. Then any TV spots related to the politicians at the local level were mainly of neutral, informative nature, except for the political advertising that was a standalone block.

Generally, TV coverage of the presidential run-off at the local level was quite passive.

The major concern throughout the entire period of monitoring were the events of local importance, appointments of personnel in Volyn, situation in the East of Ukraine – performance of an anti-terroristic operation, relations with EU countries, Ukraine's prospects of receiving international loans.

# Commentary on maximum and minimum indices—by channels.

The bulk information on Volyn TV is dedicated to Arseniy Yatsenuk, Chairman of Ukraine's Government, – 44 %, nearly twice as less information on the presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko – 24,6 %, yet less information was referred to the presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko – 16, 08% and interim President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov – just 15,3 %.

Meanwhile, there were no references on local TV to any other presidential candidates that are subject to monitoring.

#### **VODTRK**

• The State Television Broadcasting Company of Volyn focused on the activities of Arseniy Yatsenuk, Chairman of Ukraine's Government –67%, followed by interim President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov – 19%, Petro Poroshenko coming the third–10,5 % and Yulia Tymoshenko the forth of 3,4 % TV content.

TV and Radio Broadcast Company Avers

• 61,2% content was referred to Yulia Tymoshenko, less than twice- to Petro Poroshenko (26 %), followed by Oleksandr Turchynov (8,8 %) and Arseniy Yatsenuk (4,2 %).

#### **Tonality (by channels)**

In case of VODTRK the most positive tonality was marked in the spots on activity of Arseniy Yatsenuk, followed by Petro Poroshenko, the second, and Oleksandr Turchynov, the least number of spots of positive tonality was dedicated to Yulia Tymoshenko. No other information is available on any other candidates.

In terms of neutral tonality the majority of TV spots were dedicated to Arseniy Yatsenuk while Yulia Tymoshenko here was the least.

Instead, TV and Radio Broadcast Company Avers made the most frequent positive and neutral references to Yulia Tymoshenko and twice as less to Petro Poroshenko. The references to Arseniy Yatsenuk were minor.

# **Speakers**

- Arseniy Yatsenuk;
- Oleksandr Turchynov;
- Yulia Tymoshenko;
- Petro Poroshenko;
- Oleh Tyahnybok;
- Arsen Avakov;
- representatives of the local power.

## **Priorities in presentation**

(leaders of prime pieces)

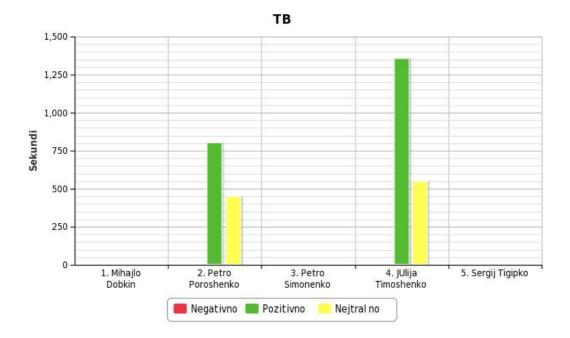
Throughout the entire monitoring period there were no priorities in presenting any specific candidates in the block of news. VODTRK provided coverage of all the stories depending on their importance for the general public – any issue would traditionally start with the political news followed by the news of education, arts. In the end of any issue the section 'Openness of the Power' would present the general public of Volyn the records on the activities of the Government, the President.

TV and Radio Broadcast Company Avers give their preferences to Yulia Tymoshenko's TV references.

## Manipulations and media effects

Throughout the entire reporting period, TV and Radio Broadcast Company used hidden political advertising in favor of Yulia Tymoshenko. There were no other violations, the information was presented in a balanced and unbiased manner.

No manipulations were spotted with VODTRK.



#### **Print Media**

Coverage of elections in the pages of Volyn press was provided far not in an active manner throughout the entire monitoring period - there were no materials for the present coverage except for standalone articles. Such a tendency was stable up till middle of May, as of the second half of the month and especially within the two latter weeks before the elections the local press turned to be more active in highlighting the activities of the presidential candidates.

The local mass media focused mostly on the leaders of ratings – Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

#### Commentary on maximum and minimum indices

The press in Volyn dedicated the major content to Yulia Tymoshenko (44,6 %), followed by Petro Poroshenko (24,4 %), Serhiy Tihipko(14,8 %), Oleksandr Turchynov (9,9 %), Arseniy Yatsenuk (4,6%), Mykhaylo Dobkin (1,7 %). No references to Petro Poroshenko.

# Visnyk + K

50% coverage of elections in the newspaper Visnyk + K is dedicated to Yulia Tymoshenko (51%), followed by Petro Poroshenko (twice as less - 21,1%), Serhiy Tihipko (8,8% much less materials), interim Ukraine's President Oleksandr Turchynov (3%) and Mykhaylo Dobkin (0,6%).

#### Volyn - nova

The leader by number of references in the newspaper Volyn – nova is Petro Poroshenko (28,2 %) followed by Serhiy Tihipko (21,5 %), Yulia Tymoshenko (20,2 %), Oleksandr Turchynov (17,8 %), Arseniy Yatsenuk (9,8 %) and Mykhaylo Dobkin (2,7 %).

#### **Tonality (by newspapers)**

## Visnyk + K

The leader by volume of positive content is Yulia Tymoshenko while Petro Poroshenko was ranked 5 grades lower by the same index (no positive references of other candidates);

Neutral tonality was most frequently marked in the content on Yulia Tymoshenko, less references to Mykhaylo Dobkin (no references generally to Petro Symonenko);

The most negative content was marked in relation to Petro Poroshenko, twice as less in case of Yulia Tymoshenko and Oleksandr Turchynov is the last to close the rating (no references to other candidates and those in power).

#### Volyn - nova

The most positive content was produced in relation to Petro Poroshenko while the least positive content was associated with Arseniy Yatsenuk (no references to Symonenko and Dobkin);

In neutral tonality the most frequent references were marked in respect of Oleksandr Turchynov, the least frequent references to Serhiy Tihipko (no references to Symonenko and Dobkin)

The most negative content was related to Petro Poroshenko, the least negative content was associated with Serhiy Tihipko (no references to Symonenko).

# **Speakers**

- Yulia Tymoshenko;
- Petro Poroshenko;
- Oleh Tyahnybok;
- Anatoliy Hrytsenko;
- Serhiy Tihipko;
- authorized representatives of Ukraine's presidential candidates;
- representatives of local authorities (Chairman of Oblast Council Valentyn Viter, Chairman of Oblast State Administration Hryhoriy Pustovit, City Mayor of Lutsk Mykola Romanyuk,);

# **Priorities in presentation**

(front page features)

Priorities in representation in the pages of the local press were given to the presidential candidates Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko and Serhiy Tihipko within the latter two weeks.

# Manipulations and media effects

Throughout the monitoring period there were a number of cases when manipulative technologies were applied. The most frequent cases of their occurrence are the materials on Yulia Tymoshenko while within the latter two weeks before the elections – the ones that are associated with Serhiy Tihipko.

The predominant majority of TV spots might be ranked as political advertising but the corresponding marking is missing in numerous cases.

Some articles were built on the contrast of the two leaders – for instance, Tymoshenko vs. Dobkin, or Tymoshenko and Poroshenko (most frequently). Tymoshenko is highligted in the most positive light while their opponents were subject to acute criticism.

It involves the articles below: 'Recepies of Anticorruption Package of Lady Yu', 'Separatism Be Stopped By Strong Power Exclusively', 'No Prospects for Crimean Scenario in Donbass', 'Yulia Tymoshenko: 'Each Ukrainian's Aid Needed At Present' and many others.

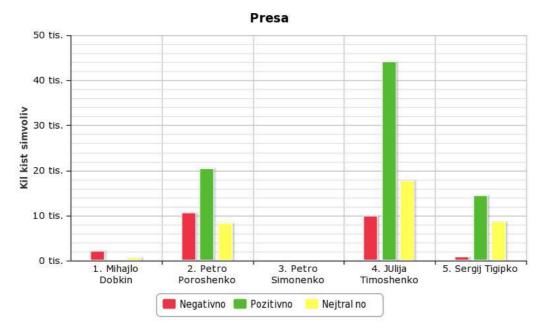
In addition to hidden political advertising there were recordings of other methods of manipulations – author's final statements, labeling (specifically, this is related to Yulia Tymoshenko that is known as 'Gas Princess' and Petro Poroshenko - 'chocolate king', 'dear friend', 'excavator handler in Bankova') statements, repetitions of information, pushing the reader on the part of an author of a publication to the conclusion required (Visnyk + K published the articles with the headings as follows: 'Electing President. Advice to Ukrainian' where there is a call to elect a decent president, Yulia Tymoshenko specifically. In another article 'Yulia Tymoshenko: I stand high chance to win' the focus is concentrated on criticism against Petro Poroshenko, the article would end with the wording as follows: 'I do not understand why some people in the West believe that Poroshenko is a democratic person. This is a huge error' - Tymoshenko would claim. Besides, some facts would frequently repeat, specifically, there is a focus on the relations of Petro Poroshenko with the oligarchs, in two articles there is a statement confirming that the Ukrainian will have to make their choice between the 'oligarchic system and the democratic society').

Quite often in different editions the articles would duplicate, only the names and the text partially would change. Specifically, within the latter week those were the articles below: 'Yulia Tymoshenko: it is required to entrust the entrepreneurs with the right of a legal initiative' and 'President's priorities of Tymoshenko'; Another block was related to Serhiy Tihipko—an article similar by content: 'It is easy to lay the fire of conflict but it is hard to put it out'.

Plugola was actively promoted in the both editions, this was related to highlighting the activities of Oleh Tyahnybok (in the end of the article there is a summary: 'We might be confident that if Tyahnybok becomes Ukraine's President – they will not abstate their principles that they advocate') and Petro Poroshenko (stressed was the statement regarding election of the President by way of the first voting that is a prerequisite of peace in Ukraine).

Analysis of the article 'Tymoshenko against oligarchs – as bees against honey' is the footing for the assumptions that they were ordered by the contestant's HQ. The article features the association of Tymoshenko's career with her support by oligarchs, namely: 'this is nothing much than the policy of double standards – it was sort of publicity to fulminate against them while, in fact, they build up strategic partnership with the oligarchs'.

The manipulation methods for 2014 presidential elections are not rare being actively applied in printed mass media.



#### **Internet-sites**

In contrast to television and press the Internet editions of Volyn provided a more active coverage of the election campaign.

The number of materials would grow the closer it would be to the day of elections, the majority of materials were published within the latter week before the elections and on the day of votes. The references to the candidates were mainly indirect being of informative nature. Concentration on specific candidates grew only because of their arrival to Volyn. The articles where the activities of the presidential candidates were highlighted in negative tonality were mainly reprinted from other editions.

The issues of local importance found the broadest coverages- personnel appointment in Volyn, the events in the city and oblast. High percentage against the general volume of information was related to development of events in Kyiv and the East of Ukraine.

Commentary on maximum and minimum indices – by web-sites

The most active throughout the monitoring period were the records of the activity performed by Petro Poroshenko (32, 2 %), Yulia Tymoshenko (24,6 %). Petro Symonenko won the least coverage (4 %).

# Volyn post

The main content was dedicated to Petro Poroshenko (34,2 %,) Yulia Tymoshenko (17,3 %), Oleksandr Turchynov (14,3 %), Arseniy Yatsenuk (13,7 %), Mykhaylo Dobkin (11 %), Serhiy Tihipko (6,4 %) and Petro Symonenko (2,9 %).

# Volyn novyny (Volyn news)

Volyn novyny focused on coverage of the activities performed by Yulia Tymoshenko (35,3 %), Petro Poroshenko (29 %), Serhiy Tihipko(10,7 %), Oleksandr Turchynov (8,4 %), Mykhaylo Dobkin (7,6 %), Petro Symonenko (5,6 %), Arseniy Yatsenuk (3,2 %).

#### **Tonality (by web-sites)**

#### Volyn post

The majority of materials that are presented in a positive tonality were associated with Petro Poroshenko, 20 times less materials were recorded in respect of Yulia Tymoshenko.

There were no other positive references of other candidates.

The majority of negative references are related to Yulia Tymoshenko while Serhiy Tihipko's references were minor.

The leader after the number of neutral references are Petro Poroshenko, Petro Symonenko was presented in the most neutral tonality.

# Volyn novyny (Volyn news)

The leader after the number of positive references was Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko was three times less referenced. No positive references of other candidates.

Yulia Tymoshenko was most frequently mentioned in neutral tonality while Arseniy Yatsenuyk here was the last.

Yulia Tymoshenko was presented in the most negative tonality while Petro Symonenko would round out the rating.

## **Speakers**

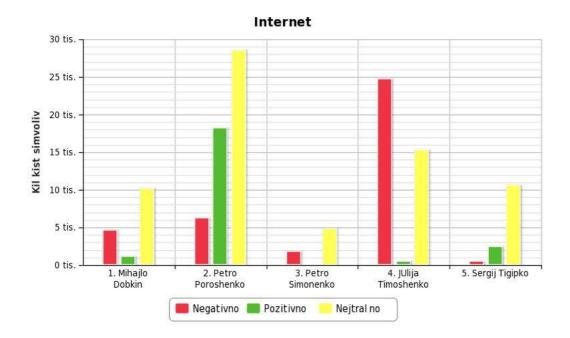
- Petro Poroshenko;
- Yulia Tymoshenko;
- Serhiy Tihipko;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk;
- Olha Bohomolets:
- Oleh Tyahnybok;
- the representatives of oblast and city power.

## Manipulations and media effects

Throughout the monitoring period there were some cases of using manipulation technologies, publication of materials on order without any marking, conflict of content and headings. However, those were a few, there was no active application of manipulation methods.

Standalone materials were to discredit the presidential candidates (it goes about the relations of Poroshenko with the members of the Party of Regions that prove joint plans of Yulia Tymoshenko and Viktor Yanukoych regarding power allocation). However, the present information was reprinted from other web-sites and was filed without any changes.

The materials on elections were mainly of informative nature.



## **DNIPROPETROVSK REGION**

#### TV Media

Throughout the election period the monitoring was performed in the news issues of two TV channels of Dnipropetrovsk – DODTRK (state 51 channel) and 11 channel (de-facto ownership of Victor Pinchuk). Meanwhile TV channels observed media legislation with the exception of solely one feature on visit to Dnipropetrovshchyna by the candidate from the Party of Regions Mykhaylo Dobkin that was aired in the news of 11 TV channel. DODTRK TV channel filed the present information though in the form of 30 second text by TV anchorman without any references to the status of Dobkin ('Mykhaylo Dobkin visited Dnipropetrovshchyna. He was here and there...') without any solid feature as such.

Additionally to the issues of news by way of TV break-ups and markings of 'Elections of President-2014', 'Political Agitation' there were the features on presidential candidates Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Petro Symonenko, Olha Bohomolets, Mykhailo Dobkin (the latter made two visits and the second time 11 TV channel presented a feature in the TV break-ups in addition to the news issue.

## Presentation in absolute indices and by tonality

Throughout the entire period of monitoring 51 TV channel (DODTRK) aired the below in the news:

- address of Oleksandr Turchynov to the citizens of the Eastern regions of the country of 98 seconds in neutral tonality;
- feature on visit to Dnipropetrovshchyna of Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuyk of 253 seconds in positive tonality;
- story (de-facto link without any feature) on visit of Mykhaylo Dobkin to the oblast of 30 seconds.

#### 11 TV Channel:

- feature on visit to Dnipropetrovshchyna of Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuyk of 125 seconds in neutral tonality;
- feature on visit of Mykhaylo Dobkin to the oblast of 220 seconds in neutral tonality.

# % candidates and participants of political process

# 51 TV Channel (DODTRK):

- Arseniy Yatsenuyk (commitments) 66,4%;
- Oleksandr Turchynov– 25,7%;
- Mykhaylo Dobkin– 7,9%.

#### 11 TV Channel

- Mykhaylo Dobkin 63,8%;
- Arseniy Yatsenuyk (commitments) 36,2%

#### **Speakers**

Arseniy Yatsenuyk, Ihor Kolomoysky, Vitaliy Yarema, Arsen Avakov, Lyudmyla Denysova (all the speakers attended the meeting chaired by Mr. Yatsenyuk), Oleksandr Turchynov, Mykhaylo Dobkin, Oleksandr Vilkul (feature on Dobkin).

## **Syncs**

De-facto sync – 78 seconds- Oleksandr Turchynov- address to the citizens of the Eastern regions.

The syncs of 105 seconds were introduced to the coverage of DODTRK channel on arrival of Yatsenyuk but the present time was divided for 5 people (Arseniy Yatsenuyk, Ihor Kolomoysky, Vitaliy Yarema, Arsen Avakov, Lyudmyla Denysova).

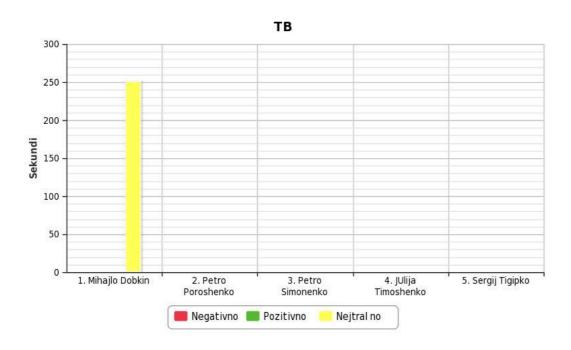
The syncs of 65 seconds were introduced to the coverage of 11 channel on Dobkin but during the present time the two people were talking - Dobkin and Vilkul.

# **Priorities of presentation**

The coverage on arrival of Yatsenyuk were the first in the issues of news on the both channels, address of Turchynov on DODTRK channel also opened the issue of the news, the coverage on Dobkin was nearly issued end of the program.

## Manipulations and media effects

No application of manipulations and media effects was tracked.



## **Print Media**

The monitoring of materials posted in two newspapers of Dnipropetrovshchyna was conducted in Visti Prydniprovya (Prydniprovya News) and Litsa (The Faces).

The founder of the Visti Prydniprovya newspaper is the oblast state administration of Dnipropetrovsk. Litsa newspaper is a private and most popular among the readers of the region that has always been in opposition to the power of Yanukovych, that performs periodical reprints from interneteditons such as Ukrainian pravda, Censor.net etc. The both editions have the highest circulation in Dnipropetrovsk region.

Throughout the monitoring period one might stress the priorities in presentation of Yulia Tymoshenko (traditionally 2 materials for a piece) and Serhiy Tihipko (1 material for a piece), Petro Poroshenko (not always at positive tonality but more often as opposed to 'good Tymoshenko') in the Visti Prydniprovya. There were the articles on Mykhaylo Dobkin, Olha Bohomolets, Oleh Tyahnybok but they are marked as 'Political advertising', 'Political agitation' that explains why they were ignored in the course of the survey. The agitation models of Rinat Kuzminov marked as political agitation were issued.

The materials on performance of official commitments by interim Ukraine's President, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchynov and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuyk are filed practically in each issue but they are relayed to direct functions of these officials.

Litsa newspaper presented the agitation materials on Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Olha Bohomolets but all of them are promo dotted with the corresponding advertising marking and not taken into account in connection herewith but are described in our reports. Due to this the materials on Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk exclusively were subject to monitoring.

## Presentation in absolute indices and by tonality

Throughout the period of monitoring of presidential campaign – 2014 Visti Prydniprovya newspaper published 36 materials on candidates and participants of political process for 138421 characters. Please find the statistics below:

- Coverage of Yulia Tymoshenko was presented in 15 articles, total number of characters: 67568 characters where 13 materials for 59719 characters were of positive tonality; one material for 4681 characters of neutral tonality and one article for 3168 characters of negative tonality;
- Serhiy Tihipko 7 articles for 25103 characters where 6 materials for 22132 characters of positive tonality and one for 2971 characters of negative tonality;
- Petro Porosenko 6 articles for 32194 characters where 4 materials for characters of negative tonality, 2 materials for 8233 characters of positive tonality;
- Coverage on performance of official commitments by Oleksandr Turchynov was presented in 5 materials for 7853 characters where 4 materials amount to 1977 characters of neutral tonality and one material (interview) for 5876 printed characters of positive tonality;
- 2 articles on performance of official powers by Arseniy Yatsenyuk for 981 characters of neutral tonality;
- 1 material on Mykhaylo Dobkin of negative tonality for 4722 characters (the article on 'good' Tymoshenko was presented in contrast to other candidates).

As has been informed, Litsa newspaper placed the agitation materials with the corresponding labels that explains why the below alone is highlighted:

- 1 material on Oleksandr Turchynov for 1628 characters of neutral tonality;
- 1 material on Arseniv Yatsenvuk for 785 characters of positive tonality.

# % candidates and participants of political process

Throughout the monitoring period the candidates and the participants of the political process in the Visti Prydniprovya newspaper were represented as percentage breakdown below:

- Yulia Tymoshenko– 48,8%;
- Petro Poroshenko 23,3% (twice as less as Tymoshenko);

- Serhiy Tihipko -18,1% (nearly three times as less as Tymoshenko);
- Oleksandr Turchynov– 5,7%;
- Mykhaylo Dobkin– 3,4%;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) 0,7%.

As regards to Litsa newspaper it is necessary to mark only the below:

- Oleksandr Turchynov (commitments) 67,5%;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) 32,5%.

In case of the both newspapers that were subject to monitoring total percentage breakdown shall be as follows:

- Yulia Tymoshenko– 48%;
- Petro Poroshenko 22,9% (twice as less as Tymoshenko)
- Serhiy Tihipko 17,8% (2, 5 times as less as Tymoshenko)
- Oleksandr Turchynov 6,7%;
- Mykhaylo Dobkin -3,4%;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) 1,3%.

# **Priorities in presentation**

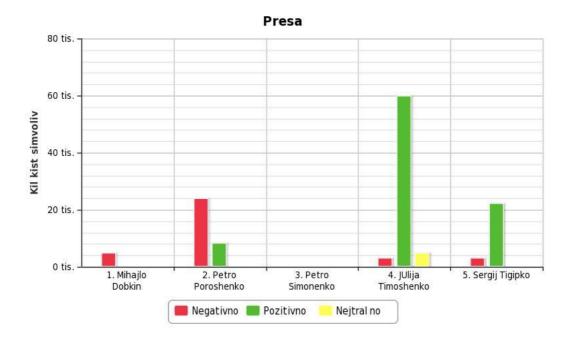
In Visti Prydniprovya newspaper the front-page materials are posted on the officials of Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk followed by those of Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko.

Litsa newspaper presented the notification on Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk on the front pages as well while the materials on presidential pre-election agitation – mainly on the third page.

# Manipulations and media effects

Media manipulations and media effects were mostly applied in the articles on Yulia Tymoshenko. Specifically, the manipulation based on concentration on the personality of candidate that is to be known as a charismatic leader, manipulative impact by way of appeal to emotions and sympathy, manipulative impact on memory of the audience, manipulation through gossips (specifically against Petro Poroshenko), 'shift of emphasis', manipulation based on the mechanism of 'halo' effect.

Coverage in far not all the materials implied that Tymoshenko was a presidential candidate, she was referenced as an 'ex-Prime Minister', 'politician'.



#### **Internet-sites**

We performed monitoring of two internet-sites of Dnipropetrovsk- 'Most-Dnepr' and 'Dniprograd'.

'Most-Dnepr' web-site has always been friendly to ex-governor (2010-2012), ex-Prime Minister of Ukraine (2012-2014) that is today a member of political council of Party of regions, manager of Oblast organization of Dnipropetrovsk office of the Party of Regions Oleksandr Vilkul.

Dniprograd web-site was opposite to the power of Yanukovych, the editorials followed the journalism ethics and file the information in an unbiased manner.

Throughout the monitoring period the specifics of their work were defined as follows:

- Most-Dnepr filed the majority of the records on presidential candidate from the Party of Regions Mykhaylo Dobkin while there were frequent references to Oleksandr Vilkul. In May nearly all the records on Dobkin were published without participation of Vilkul that leads campaign of Dobkin at regional level.

Recently Petro Poroshenko increased their presentation in the pages of the present web-site while Throughout May 12-18, 2014, the present candidate was the first for the monitoring period ahead of Dobkin by number of pieces notwithstanding that the both candidates arrived to the oblasts for a one-week visits. The present situation repeated during the period of May 19-25 though the information on Poroshenko was published twice as more, specifically, by the volume of the records filed, particularly, by characters, Dobkin remained at the level of Petro Poroshenko.

Last week before the elections there were more and more postings on Serhiy Tihipko, most probably, because of their visit to Dnipropetrovshchyna.

Yulia Tymoshenko was actually not presented.

The notice on performance of official powers by interim Ukraine's President, Chairman of Ukraine's Government Oleksandr Turchynov and Prime Minister were filed in the mode of an information agency, their presentation was far not minor.

- Dniprograd as before worked mainly after the classical standards of journalism but with a certain preference towards Petro Poroshenko. With time the present tendency was only strengthened.

What is notable is that a few coverages on Mykhaylo Dobkin, presidential candidate from the Party of Regions, were received, the coverages on Yulia Tymoshenko were even less and mostly of negative tonality while the coverages on Serhiy Tihipko were not actively presented.

Throughout the entire period there was no information on Petro Poroshenko.

The records on performance of official powers by interim Ukraine's President, Chairman of Ukraine's Government Oleksandr Turchynov and Prime Minister were filed in a considerably low number than that to the Most-Dnepr.

In total, the participants of the election process had sufficient access to internet-editions and the possibility to be presented.

# Presentations in absolute indices and by tonality

Throughout the entire monitoring period Most-Dnepr web-site in total filed 170 records by personalities that were interesting to us for 221055 characters. Please find the statistics below:

- Mykhaylo Dobkin– 74 records for 121706 characters where 68 records were filed in the statistics of 113656 characters of neutral tonality; 6 records for 8050 of positive tonality;
- Oleksandr Turchynov (commitments) 35 records for 34762 characters where 33 records of 33385 characters of neutral tonality, 2 records of 1377 characters of positive tonality;
- Petro Poroshenko was represented with 23 pieces for 28665 characters where 18 pieces of 20291 were of neutral tonality; 4 pieces for 6325 characters of positive tonality, 1 piece for 2049 characters of negative tonality;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) -15 pieces for 10059 characters where 12 pieces for 7752 characters of neutral tonality; 3 pieces for 2307 characters of positive tonality;
- Serhiy Tihipko 10 pieces for 11598 characters of neutral tonality and 1 piece for 1250 characters of positive tonality;
- Petro Symonenko 7 pieces for 8460 characters. Neutral tonality exclusively;
- Yuliya Tymoshenko 6 pieces for 5805 characters where 4 pieces for 3018 characters of neutral tonality, 1 piece for 1404 characters of negative tonality and 1 piece for 1383 characters of negative tonality.

Throughout the monitoring period Dniprograd web-site posted 67 pieces for 93117 characters. Please find the statistics in more detail below:

- References of Petro Poroshenko in 48 pieces for 70621 characters where 26 pieces for 31324 characters of neutral tonality while 22 pieces for 39297 characters were of positive tonality;
- Yulia Tymoshenko -10 pieces for 11322 characters where 7 pieces for 8715 characters of negative tonality; 2 pieces for 2552 characters of neutral tonality and 1 piece (the reference to the candidate was only made in the heading) for 55 characters of positive tonality;
- 3 pieces on Mykhaylo Dobkin for 4182 characters where 2 pieces for 2583 characters were of negative tonality and 1 piece for 1599 characters was of neutral tonality;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) 3 pieces for 2030 characters, all of neutral tonality;
- 2 pieces for 3273 characters of neutral tonality Oleksandr Turchynov (commitments);
- Serhiy Tihipko only one notice throughout the entire time of monitoring. 1689 characters of neutral tonality.

# % candidates and participants of political process (separately by each web-site and general picture for the entire monitoring period)

Throughout the monitoring period the presentation of candidates in percentage breakdown is provided on Most-Dnepr web-site as follows:

- Mykhaylo Dobkin– 55,1%;
- Oleksandr Turchynov (commitments) 15,7%;
- Petro Poroshenko– 13% (4 times less as Dobkin);
- Serhiy Tihipko- 5,2% (10,5 times less than Dobkin, 2,5 times less than Poroshenko);
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) 4,6%;
- Petro Symonenko -3.8%;
- Yuliya Tymoshenko– 2,6% (21 times less than Dobkin, 5 times less than Petro Poroshenko).

Throughout the entire period of monitoring Dniprograd web-site filed the pieces on candidates and the participants of political process after percentage breakdown below:

- Petro Poroshenko 75,8%;
- Yulia Tymoshenko 12,2% (6 times less than Petro Poroshenko);
- Mykhaylo Dobkin -4,5% (nearly 17 times less than Poroshenko, nearly 3 times less than Tymoshenko)
- Oleksandr Turchynov (commitments) 3,5%;
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) 2,2%;
- Serhiy Tihipko 1,8% (42 times less than Petro Poroshenko, 6,5 times less than Yulia Tymoshenko, 2,5 times less than Mykhailo Dobkin).

The general picture for the entire period of monitoring after the two web-sites of Dnipropetrovsk is presented as follows:

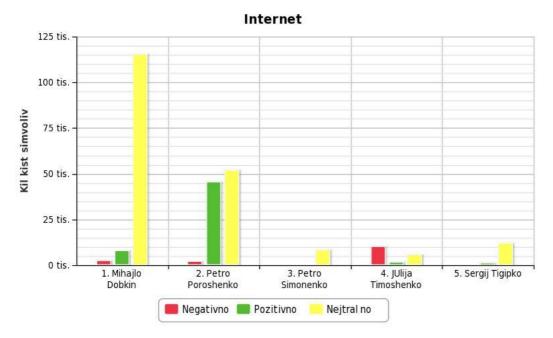
- Mykhaylo Dobkin– 40,1%;
- Petro Poroshenko- 31,6% (1,2 times less than Mykhailo Dobkin);
- Oleksandr Turchynov (commitments) 12,1%;
- Yulia Tymoshenko 5,5% (7 times less than Dobkin and nearly six times less than Petro Poroshenko);
- Serhiy Tihipko -4,2% ( 9,5 times less than Dobkin, 7,5 times less than Petro Poroshenko);
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk (commitments) –3,8%;
- Petro Symonenko -2.7%.

# Manipulations and media effects

It is notable that Most-Dnepr web-site by posting the information on the presidential candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin did not refer to them as the 'presidential candidate' but rather as an 'ex-governor of Kharkiv oblast, or 'one of leaders of the Party of Regions', or a 'politician'.

Besides, the manipulations based on concentration on the personality of candidate (much information was filed with the view to dominant representation in the information field, specifically, in respect of Dobkin and Poroshenko), significant symbols (Big Victory, peace as the main value etc), manipulation through gossips (the meeting of Poroshenko and Firtash in Vienna, periodic hints at unconventional victory of Poroshenko with the references to the random resources, declaration of Tymoshenko with the salaries that are not realistic while in custody), presenting the idea of one of the candidates only.

Dniprograd web-site did not post the records on Tymoshenko, Tihipko and Symonenko that is also might be ranked as manipulation.



#### ZHYTOMYR REGION

#### **Main conclusions**

Coverage of the pre-election campaign monitored was not active among mass media (total 107 recorded cases). No specific forms and innovative media causes for activity of pre-election camps of the presidential candidates. Throughout the monitoring process were spotted. The dominant forms were traditional information materials of an open advertising content (or anti-advertising content alternatively). Practically missing materials of hidden agitation, all the agitation is of open positive or negative nature.

The most active participants in pre-election campaign are Internet mass media (79% of all the cases) that are actually involved by all the pre-election camps studied (very active camps of candidates that are not target audience for monitoring). The activity in the regional television was considerably low (13% recorded materials) and practically passive response on the part of the regional press (8% recorded materials). However, press-materials and Internet mass media campaign was performed in a 'dirty' manner with open agitation materials and 'black PR' (specifically directly before the elections).

Practically all the candidates had relatively equal access to mass media. High activity is inherent for the candidates that are not subject to monitoring (quite frequently such an activity was even higher than that of the candidates that are subject to monitoring, specifically, Oleh Lyashko and Olha Bohomolets).

Among the candidates presented the most active coverages (frequently with the view to dominance over other candidates) were marked in case of Petro Poroshenko (26% materials), Yulia Tymoshenko (17% materials) and Serhiy Tihipko (14% materials). Meanwhile, if the information on Petro Poroshenko is systematically posted in mass media, the election camps of Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko were remarkable due to periodic 'information bursts' (occasionally 2 -3 days in a row) that explains why sometimes the political sections of resources were generally dedicated to a specific candidate from the three candidates indicated (specifically this is inherent to internet-resources 'Rupor Zhytomyra' and 'Zhytomyr.info'.

Conflict of headings and real content of articles and features was the major manipulation in the mass media monitored. Besides, the major manipulations might also incorporate imitation of mass support, field support and future victory of the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko (the highest number of recorded manipulations). However, manipulations and media effects were inherent to the work of all the election camps of the candidates monitored.

Meanwhile the current activities of state leaders and local political events have become dominant in their presentation by the regional mass media: activity of interim Ukraine's President Oleksandr

Turchynov and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk, in total, amounted to 38% of recorded materials (of neutral, positive and negative assessment). No recordings of their coverages as of agitators were tracked.

## TV Media

Throughout the monitoring period there were 14 coverages of the political process for total volume of 13098 seconds air time. Top active coverages were provided for current functional activity of those in power (Oleksandr Turchynov as interim President and Arseniy Yatsenyuk as Prime Minister), candidates Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and all the candidates that are not the target audience for monitoring.

# % candidates and participants of political process

Throughout the monitoring periodin 14 recorded cases the participants of political process were presented in the regional television and their presentation was arranged as follows:

At the regional television level the most active coverages were done on the activity of those in power, positive and neutral characteristics and activities of the presidential candidates Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko (all the information of positive nature). In TV commercials all the candidates were presented.

# **Tonality**

ZHODTRK: neutral and positive to the candidates monitored.

Soyuz TV: neutral and positive to the candidates monitored.

In the cases recorded the both channels of regional television broadcast company provided positive coverage of the activities of candidates of Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko and the representatives of the current power.

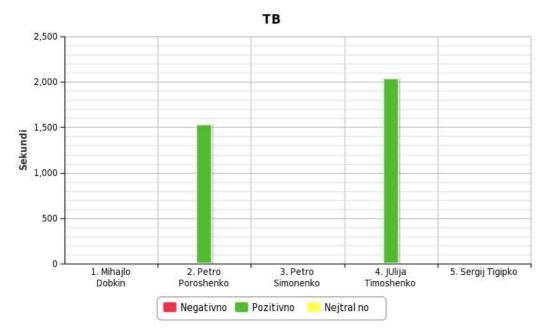
Key speakers of the candidates monitored (except for direct live stream) also involve V. Franzuts (chairman of oblast council 'Batkivshchyna' Party)- speaker of Yulia Tymoshenko ) and H. Zubko (People's deputy – speaker of Petro Poroshenko ).

Throuhout the reporting period there were the syncs of interim Ukraine's President O. Turchynov, Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko . Among the presidential candidate the sync of Petro Poroshenko is twice as large as that of Yulia Tymoshenko .

#### **Priorities in presentation**

Oleksandr Turchynov was presented as interim Ukraine's President while Arseniy Yatsenyuk was presented as Prime Minister. Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko were not declared as the presidential candidates in the target facilities monitored.

Among majo manipulations that were fixed in the reporting period there is a conflict of headings (pre-announcements) of the features of their real content and advertising content of the features.



#### **Print Media**

The pre-election campaign was not practically covered in the regional press. Generally there were recordings of 9 coverages of pre-election campaign of total volume of 39199 characters (newspaper spreads were entirely dedicated to elections). The dominant was the political activity of local nature, the activity of Oleksandr Turchynov as interim Ukraine's President, Arseniy Yatsenyuk as Prime Minister, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and the presidential candidates not declared in the target facilities monitored.

#### % candidates and participants of political process

Throughout the monitoring period there were recordings of 7 coverages of participants of the political process in the regional press, their presentation was organized as below (ratings, by dominance in presentation):

In the monitoring period the most active coverages were dedicated to the activity of the current power (in neutral and negative contexts) and the activity of the presidential candidates Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko (all positive character).

## **Tonality**

20 minutes: neutral and positive to the candidates monitored.

Echo: negative in respect of current power.

Zhytomyrshchyna: neutral to the power.

Zhytomyrshchyna Newspaper (official newsletter of oblast council) dedicates their articles exclusively to the local issues without disclosing any candidate of the political process. Only once there was a broad piece on HR policy of interim Ukraine's President O. Turchynov.

20 Khvylyn Newspaper highlights the activity of the current power (in neutral light) and the activity of the presidential candidates Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko (positive nature).

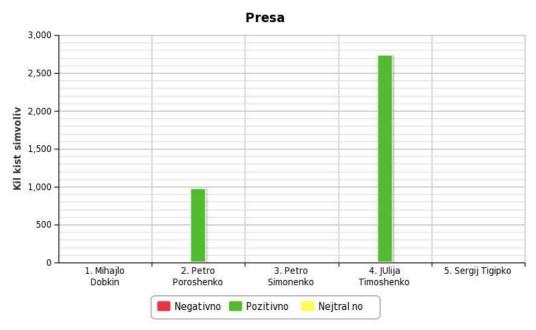
Echo Newspaper provides coverage of the political process in negative light up through the current power, The presidential candidates that are being monitored are not subject to the present newspaper.

Key speakers of the presidential candidates monitored in press (except for their direct live stream) also involve V. Frantsuz (chairman of oblast council ('Batkivshchyna' Party) - Yulia Tymoshenko speaker).

### **Priorities in presentation:**

There were presentations of Oleksandr Turchynov as interim Ukraine's President, Arseniy Yatsenyuk as Prime Minister while Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko as well as the presidential candidates were not declared in the target facilities monitored.

Key manipulations for the reporting period incorporate conflict of headings to real content of articles.



#### **Internet-sites**

In contrast to other types of mass media in Internet network of the Zhytomyr oblast the preelectoin activity was the highest. Among top coverages one might name regional and local events and personalities, activity of the representatives of those in power. The information on candidates is of open advertising nature. Leaders by coverages are Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. 84 spots of 115923 characters.

### % candidates and participants of political process

Throughout the monitoring period by highlighting the participants of political process in the regional Internet- mass media their presentation was scheduled as follows:

The most active coverages were dedicated to the presidential candidates Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko (all the information is mainly of positive tonality).

Tonality of the resources monitored represented below

Therefore, the most popular in the region resource Zhytomyr.info (45% of recorded materials) highlighted in neutral light the activity of Oleksandr Turchynov as interim Ukraine's President, in positive and negative light that by Petro Poroshenko, those of Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhailo Dobkin in negative light. Practically all the materials were of open promo or discrediting nature.

Rupor Zhytomyra (39% of all the entirety of materials) provided coverages of the activities of the current power in neutral light. The fact that the present resource provided simultaneously negative and positive materials on the presidential candidates Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and Mykhailo Dobkin are interesting for monitoring.

1st Zhytomyr portal (12% of all the entirety of materials) highlighted in neutral and negative light the activity of the present power, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko.

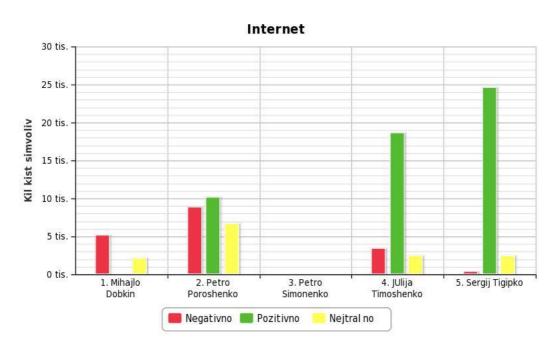
Reporter Zhytomyra (4% of all the entirety of materials) highlighted in negative light the activity of the present power, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko. Generally the activity of the present resource has significantly decreased.

To sum it up, the resources of Zhytomyr.info and Rupor Zhytomyra were active in highlighting pre-election process (84% pre-election internet-materials).

Key speakers of candidates monitored (except for their direct live stream) involve V. Frantsuz (chairman of oblast council 'Batkivshchyna' Party)- Yulia Tymoshenko 's speaker), Ya. Dolhikh (deputy chairman of Oblast State Administration – from Serhiy Tihipko), people's deputies Vitaliy Klichko and H. Zubko (Petro Poroshenko).

# **Priorities in presentation**

There were presentations of Oleksandr Turchynov as interim Ukraine's President, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Mykhailo Dobkin, Serhiy Tihipko and the presidential candidates were not declared in the target facilities monitored. Key manipulations in the reporting period imply the conflict of headings and real content and open promo nature of the present materials.



### ZAKARPATTYA REGION

## **Main conclusions**

The election campaign in Zakarpattya media (in all mass media) started very sluggishly. Only from in May it was started more active campaigning. Moreover if before online media were more active throughout the elections, this time the information about the election race was minimal here as well. However it should be noted that the headquarters of Yulia Tymoshenko promoted its candidate beginning from March, posting the lengthy materials, but only in one newspaper "RIO". Petro Poroshenko as the main opponent of Yulia Tymoshenko was begun being promoted by the local forces (as the campaign office was formed in the region of Viktor Baloha and Yedynyi Tsentr, and they have their media portal TV "M-Studio" and the Internet site Mukachevo.net). Already in May the most of mass media "began to live in a new way" because Petro Poroshenko visited the oblast. In general we can say that the media did not have any preconceptions about the candidates and submit the information about anyone who pays. In one newspaper one can see Petro Poroshenko, and Mykhailo Dobkin, and Yulia Tymoshenko, and others. Simultaneously both positive and negative information is represented on the nebouring pages (especially

in the newspaper "RIO"). Maybe the exceptions are the media resources which belong to Yedynyi Tsentr and Viktor Baloha or those which are close to them. It may be also represented other candidates, but the tone of these materials is different, mainly negative (such as about Yulia Tymoshenko). At the beginning of May the media intensified their activities. The least amount of "jeans" about the candidates was represented in the Internet resources. But on the other hand they have no unbiased information or news about the activities of the candidates.

It is worth to state an interesting trend in one of the newspapers like "Zakarpatska pravda". This paper that belongs to the local Party of Region promoted Perto Poroshenko (by the style – the pre-paid materials in the center), while it represented its main candidate Mykhailo Dobkin not too actively. In May the information about Mykhailo Dobkin was absent on the front pages of this newspaper.

Most actively in mass media throughout this period the activities of two candidates — Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko were highlighted. But Yulia Tymoshenko was the leader in the press and Petro Poroshenko was the leader on the television channels. The information about Yulia Tymoshenko was represented almost equally both in negative and in positive tone. In May Serhiy Tihipko was represented also in mass media. The maximally big news items about Petro Poroshenko related to his visits to Zakarpattya. Yulia Tymoshenko was mentioned minimally (in negative tone) in the context of the statements about this candidate by Viktor Baloha.

The activities of the current government Turchynov-Yatsenuk was highlighted quite actively. But only as part of their official duties and not as agitators. Preferably in neutral, slightly less in negative tone. "Duet" appeared more on TV and in the Internet; the print media did not give much attention to the Acting Prime Minister and President.

It should be noted that 80 % of the materials about the candidates is the work of central campaign offices both in newspapers and TV, internet. The various approaches to preparation of such materials are sued: opinions and judgments of the famous people (T.Chornovil, Y.Lutsenko, D. Pavlychko, V.Baloha, etc.), on the other hand it is submitted pseudo journalistic investigations with reference to known and unknown Internet sources etc.

The most information in all types of media (in general) was given to Petro Poroshenko, a shade less -to Yulia Tymoshenko, the third place – Serhiy Tihipko, twice less than to Serhiy Tihipko - Mykhailo Dobkin.

Petro Poroshenko was highlighted mainly in positive tone, Yulia Tymoshenko - a shade less, and Mykhailo Dobkin was least represented in positive tone.

Yulia Tymoshenko was mostly represented in negative tone; simultaneously Serhiy Tihipko received the least negative informtion.

### TV Media

The Zakarpattya TV in the context of coverage of the candidates was not too active. Almost all month the enewscasts consisted of stories which cover the local issues, including the appointment of the heads of RSA, a conflicts of the activists with the chief policeman of the region, regional problems and holidays, Easter and other current events. Although both channels paid still attention to the registration of candidates, the news itmes on the television related to the comments of political scientists and sociologists. Each TV had a focus on very different candidates: if M-studios used the plot representing the highest chances of Petro Poroshenko, simultaneously on the regional TV "Tysa-1" it was devoted most information to Serhiy Tihipko in a positive context, isolating him from all other candidates.

In May the TV channels activated. Firstly, the candidates began arriving to the region by themselves. In particular, in early May M-Studio provided Petro Poroshenko with all its ether time (the owner of this channel headed the campaign office of this candidate in this region) and ZOSTRC which represented the lengthy stories about the visits of this candidate in this region.

The television space activated in prime time, the advertising appeared from the various members of the election race: Oleh Tyahnybok, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko. Moreover video movies of Yuri Lutsenko were broadcasted (two shows before and after the news) (on ZODTRC "Tysa-1"). As to TRC "M-Studio" here Petro Poroshenko was actively promoted, in negative tone – Yulia Tymoshenko.

In particular, the stories about Petro Poroshenko on ZODTRC were chronologically in three times larger (the video series of his meetings in Uzhgorod, Mukachevo, Khust) than the stories about the activities of Yulia Tymoshenko, which were also daily broadcasted in the news.

As for "M-Studio", here we are talking only about Petro Poroshenko in positive tone, at least for Yulia Tymoshenko in negative tone (through the vision of Viktor Baloha and his quotes). Also on "M-Studio" the activities of Turchynov-Yatsenuk were covered largely in negative tone also in the light of vision of V.Baloha. Petro Poroshenko became the undisputed leader in the election TV broadcasting on "M-Studio"

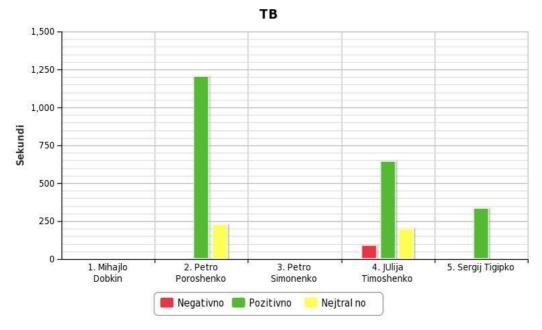
Generally throughout this period the activity of Petro Porshenko was covered most actively in positive tone, the least – the activity of Serhiy Tihipko, almost the same amount of time was devoted in negative tone to Yulia Tymoshenko, Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchynov. The news items of neutral tone concerned often Arseniy Yatsenyuk, the least – Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko (almost the same amount of seconds).

## **Priority of coverage**

- 1. Petro Poroshenko
- 2. Oleksandr Turchinov Arseniy Yatsenyuk
- 3. Yulia Tymoshenko
- 4. Serhiy Tihipko

On TV it was used less manipulations or techniques. The subjects - or sequence of events under the candidates participation or the characteristics of the candidates from other famous people in the region (such as V.Baloha on "M-Studio").

Monitoring report of the press



### **Print Media**

The Carpathian newspapers were not active in terms of placement of campaign materials about the candidates and even the mentions of them. Most materials of various candidates were placed by the Transcarpathian newspapers in the last two days. However except Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko as the top candidates who were often represented, at the end of the period of the election campaign other candidates were added: Mykhailo Dobkin and Serhiy Tigipko. It is worth to note an interesting trend in the newspaper "Zakarpatska pravda" that belongs to the local PR and which promoted Petro Poroshenko (stylistically the paid materials were palced from the center), while its main candidate

Mykhailo Dobkin was represented in this paper not quite actively. In May Mykhailo Dobkin was not highlighted in this newspaper at all.

Already since May, the texts about Petro Poroshenko were represented more frequently, the candidate visited the Transcarpathian region on May 1 and his arrival was actively highlighted. In May Yulia Tymoshenko continued also the attack on the print media. In the results it was represented the most amount of "jeans" of different "caliber". Although the publications on the activities of Yulia Tymoshenko were large in size, but they were represented in the single newspaper "RIO" (several ones in the same newspaper issue).

It should be noted that 90 % of the information, which was related to the candidates was prepared by the central campaign offices with further placement in local media. The pseudonyms under the articles, use of manipulation techniques, reference to little-known sources on the internet, completely different (than in the particular newspaper) style of publications are the indicators of such materials. In other newspapers it was used the famous people as the speakers who talked about the various candidates in different keys. For example, the interview with T.Chornovil from which one could see the benefits of Petro Poroshenko and the shortcomings of Yulia Tymoshenko. Namely the campaign office of Yulia Tymoshenko was also very active, regularly it gave lengthy articles where Yulia Tymoshenko commented the certain topical issues in Ukraine and gave the recipes to solve them.

In May the situation changed a little as to the local authorship, as some candidates arrived with their campaign tours and the local journalists wrote about them.

**The newspaper "RIO"** covered most actively the activities of Yulia Tymoshenko, 80 - in positive tone, the rest in negative tone. Moreover the paper placed in the same issue the "jeans" both "for" and "against" Yulia Tymoshenko. Petro Poroshenko was mentioned least in positive tone in this newspaper. In neutral tone the information was represented about Petro Poroshenko, least - about Mykhailo Dobkin. In May there were lengthy newspaper publications about Petro Poroshenko and his relations with Firtash and Putin etc.

The newspaper "Novyny Zakarpattya" as one of the most printed newspapers, represented minimum information about the candidates and the political advertising throughout this election campaign. Some weeks were the exceptions when it covered the activities of Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Oleksandr Turchynov. Petro Poroshenko was represented mainly in positive tone, less information was about Turchinov. Yulia Tymoshenko was represented only in negative tone. The neutral publications related only to Serhiy Tihipko.

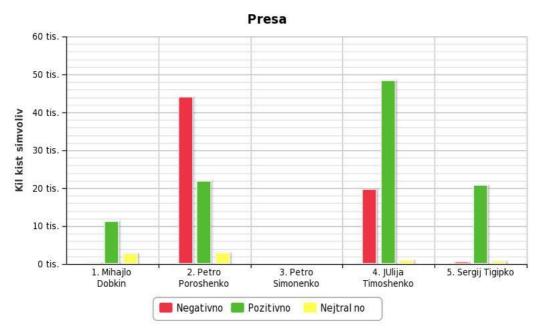
Newspaper "Zakarpatska pravda" covered most actively the activities of Dobkin and almost in equal amount. However, the most newspaper areas in neutral tone was devoted to Dobkin and Poroshenko was covered simultaneously both in negative and in positive tone. In the latest issue of the newspaper an entire column was given to Dobkin. Interestingly, the newspaper, which is owned by the local PR and theoretically it should promote Dobkin, represented practically most of the positive information to Poroshenko and placed the paid articles about this candidate. The other candidates were not represented in positive manner (except Dobkin and Poroshenko), Tymoshenko was highlighted in negative manner, and Tihipko was represented in a few lines in neutral tone.

Overall during this period the print media covered mostly in positive tone the activity of Tymoshenko, 4 times more than of Poroshenko, who was also praised a lot; Dobkin was represented in positive least. The most negative information was devoted to Yulia Tymoshenko (a bit less - to Poroshenko), least - to Dobkin. The most information in neutral tone was devoted to Dobkin and Poroshenko (almost the same area), least - to Tihipko.

On the front pages of papers:

- 1. Yulia Tymoshenko
- 2. Petro Poroshenko
- 3. Serhiy Tihipko
- 4. Mikhailo Dobkin
- 5. Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchinov were represented exclusively in the context of their official duties

As for manipulations, the agitation materials contained often the views or positions of famous media persons as to the candidates; in "jeans" materials it was used the value judgments that determined the further direction of the text already in the early papers. Also it was placed the journalistic investigations from the unknown Internet sites (it concerned both Poroshenko and Tymoshenko).



#### Internet-sites

The internet sites of Zakarpattya region were not active throughout this election campaign, it was traced a little of paid materials and information. At the beginning the information about the candidates was few. The exception - Poroshenko on the sites which are close to V. Baloha and EC (Mukachevo.net and Zakarpattya.online), but even here there were few figures. Overall, in the Transcarpathian Internet Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko (since May), Arseniy Yatsenyuk – Oleksandr Turchynov (in the context of official duties) were represented. The situation was similar to the TV: Poroshenko was covered mostly in positive tone, Tymoshenko – in negative tone, the power in neutral tone and through the comments of V. Baloha – in negative tone.

From the beginning of May the Internet media compensated the previous shortcoming as to informing about the activities of candidates and represented in several times more information about the election process in comparison with the previous periods. The leader was Petro Poroshenko due to his visit to the Transcarpathian region. This candidate was represented in several times more than the others candidates, preferably in neutral or positive tones.

Also the activities of Serhiy Tihipko and Yulia Tymoshenko were covered (almost in the same amount), although Tymoshenko figured in negative tone.

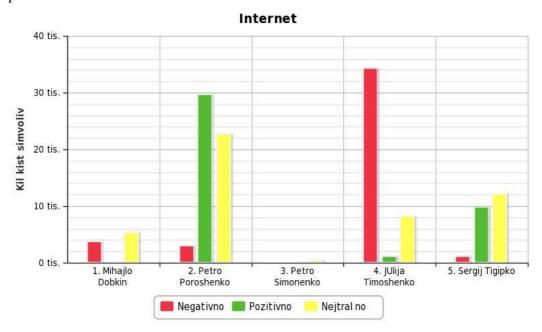
**Site Zaholovok.com.ua** Serhiy Tihipko was represented most actively, more in positive tone, less in neutral tone. Dobkin and Poroshenko were represented almost equally in neutral tone, the first in the context of his comments on Kernes, the second - in the context of his speeches in Transcarpathia.

The activities of Tymoshenko was covered least on the web-site. Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk were represented in neutral tone.

**Site Mukachevo.net** promoted maximally Petro Poroshenko, giving information on all meetings with voters, the press conference, including many photos and videos. The information was mainly in positive and neutral tone. The other candidates, information about whom was represented on the site are Tymoshenko (only negative tone), and Yatsenyuk-Turchynov (both in negative and positive tones).

**Site Zakarpattya.online** represented mostly the information about Poroshenko: in positive and neutral tone. Also, adding the photos and videos, the interview with Firtash where he speaks approvingly of the candidate. Turchinov and Yatsenuk were highlighted least in neutral tone. Tymoshenko was

highlighted in the most negative tone (used the expressions of Firtash, traditionally Baloha), least in negative tone the information was represented to Dobkin in the context of damage of his billboards in Transcarpathia.



### ZAPORIZHZHYA REGION

#### **Main conclusions**

If one does not take into account the commercial materials, mass media have written and shown the key trends of the elections very little. None of the monitored editions represented the materials of large format devoted to the election campaign. The only exception of monitoring period was the top material in "Subota plus" (in two pages) dedicated to the local representatives of candidates and the heads of regional campaign offices.

The political forces did not create newsworthy information that could be the subject of free media coverage, such as protests, resonant and bright visits of their own candidates, PR solutions of local campaign offices.

By inertia that has remained since the local elections of 2010 and the parliamentary elections of 2012 the Zaporizhzhya media take into account only the conflicting part of electoral process, the use of administrative resources throughout the campaign, persecution of the opposition and the candidates who are disloyal elements for the government etc.

This year the similar incidents were almost absent, but journalists were not able to tune in to positive coverage of the electoral process, in terms of extrapolation of the candidate programs on regional issues, attempts on conduct of the debates between the speakers of candidates' campaign offices. The lack of such an approach, even its buds is caused by the presence of the topic which is more relevant, simple and expected by the users – the coverage of conflicts in the neighboring regions and their local echo.

Basing on the monitoring analysis we can conclude that almost all candidates were equally ignored by Zaporizhzhya media. It should be also noted that the local organisation of Pravyi Sector received far more attention than any other candidates monitored in the segment of author materials and not paid materials and that holds now the protests on the local topics such as housing and public utilities, retirement of mayor, corruption. In the commercial materials it is openly traced the <u>stereotypeness</u> of the articles without adaptation to local circumstances and problemstics. The only exception of this trend is (sometimes) the paid materials from the local party "Batkivschyna".

In comparison with the parliamentery elections of 2012 it should be noted the significantly lower amount of black PR. Now it looks like "exchange" of distantly negative quasi-analytical articles between Poroshenko, Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. As a comparison, one

and a half years ago, the candidates for people's deputies, who were in opposition to Party of Regions, were represented in the paid materials openly using manipulative techniques and suspecting these candidates of raiding and corruption.

Zaporiszhzhya press retains the tradition of use of "hidden" advertising column for denoting of paid materials. The column "Political advertising" is traced relatively rarely, instead it the columns "Politarena", "Press-fakt"/"Press-fact", "Politychna dumka"/"Political opinion" concrete" are used etc.

Practically in all monitored media one can find the certain media effects. In the paid non-marked materials it was used such media effects as contradiction, exaggeration and association. However the amount of thes violations is significantly reduced in comparison with the parliamentary elections. Also sarcasm and irony are often used in journalistic materials (Subbota plus, MiG) and manipulations by the headings (Subbota plus).

It should be noted that in the monitored news items and news programs Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk were almost never connected with Yulia Tymoshenko as her "VIP-support". In the state media there were no figures that Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk were in the same team with Yulia Tymoshenko or someone from the other candidates.

### TV Media

Throughout the election campaign on the rating TV channels of Zaporizhzhya such as TV-5 (owned by JSC "Zaporizhstal") and ZSTRC (the state TV channel ) it was traced almost no political advertising.

The candidates for president of Ukraine were not represented in the proper amount. Thus in such program as "Novyny"/"News" any channels did not inform about the visits of the candidates to the region, it was represented only only in the paid news items.

Because of the events in Ukraine Oleksandr Turchinov (the official duties) and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (the official duties) had the priority in media representing. The TV channels highlighted mostly the information related to their certain duties without giving any comprehensive analysis. In general they spoke about the situation in the country, but they did not criticize or lobby any of the candidates. The activities of local and regional authorities were highlighted without much tone. On TV-5 it was traced the news items which covered the activities of the JSC "Zaporizhstal" to the owner of which the channel belongs. Also one week it was represented advertising on the activity of Party of Regions among of which Yevheniy Balytskyi was shown, but he did not agitate for any candidate.

#### Main trends

The proportion of the overall representing of the candidates for the monitoring period on the television channel "ZODTRC":

- 1. Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) 34.3%
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) 62.5%
- 3. Yulia Tymoshenko 3.2%

The proportion of the overall representing of the candidates for the monitoring period on the television channel TV5:

- 1. Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) 45%
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) 54.5%

### **Tonality**

For the monitoring period the largest amount of positive information in the newscasts on the television channel "TV-5" was devoted to Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) and Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties). Yulia Tymoshenko was shown without sync only in one neutral newsitem. The information about other candidates was not traced.

The maximum amount of information in neutral tone was devoted to Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties).

In newscasts of the television channels "ZODTRC" the maximum amount of information in positive tone was devoted to Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

The neutral information was shown also about Arseniy Yatsenuk; about Oleksandr Turchynov by one half.

### Speakers and syncs

The main speakers of the telvison space of Zaporiszhzhya region for the monitoring period were:

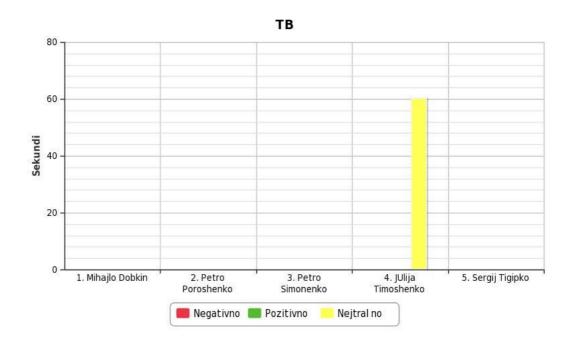
- 1. Oleksandr Turchynov the Acting President of Ukraine;
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenyuk -the Prime Minister of Ukraine;

# **Priority of representing**

Because of the acute events in Ukraine and the priority of information coverage about the national security, Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) and Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) had the priority of representing among the monitoring subjects.

# **Description of manipulations**

Throughout the monitoring period the obvious manipulations were not traced. But taking into account the fact that the priority of representing was given to the current government, but not the presidential candidates, the pursuation, cultivation, and confidence became the basic techniques of manipulation.



#### **Print Media**

Throughout the election campaign the private newspapers (MiG, Subbota plus) placed the paid materials on the their pages without any proper marking. The authors of these newspapers did not cover directly the course of the presidential elections; accept highlighting of the conflict situations relted to

agitation of Party of Regions, namely beating of their agitators, massive damage of the billboards of Mykhailo Dobkin etc. Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk were covered just as the officials without any political connotations and any association with Yulia Tymoshenko.

The state newspaper "Zaporizka Pravda" highlighted the course of preparation of the electoral districts as well as much more actively than the private newspapers did the activities of Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk as the officials in neutral tone.

Petro Poroshenko - 1690 signs of negative, 2450 signs of neutral and 317 signs of positive information Yulia Tymoshenko - 3700 signs of negative, 1050 signs of neutral and 640 signs of positive information Serhiy Tihipko - 1280 signs of negative, 2450 signs of neutral and 317 signs of positive information Mykhailo Dobkin - 6978 signs of negative, 1691 signs of neutral and 584 signs of positive information Petro Symonenko - 1910 signs of negative, 421 signs of neutral and 56 signs of positive information Oleksandr Turchinov (represented as the Acting President and the Speaker - ie only the functions without any connotation for criticism or support of any candidate) - 58 signs of negative, 572 signs of neutral and 0 signs of positive information

Oleksandr Turchinov (represented in those cases where there is direct or indirect support or criticism of any candidate) - 0 signs of negative, 150 signs of neutral and 0 signs of positive information Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the Government (how Arseniy Yatsenyuk and other officials are represented in performing of their duties without any connotation for criticism or support of any candidate) - 8521 signs of negative, 5921 signs of neutral and 1617 positive information.

Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the Government (there is direct or indirect support or criticism of a candidate) - 0 signs of negative, 0 signs of neutral and 0 and positive information.

#### **Tonality**

The state newspaper "Zaporizka Pravda" was neutral to all cnadidates. The newspapers "Subbota plus" and MiG were neutral and negative to Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko, neutral – to Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko

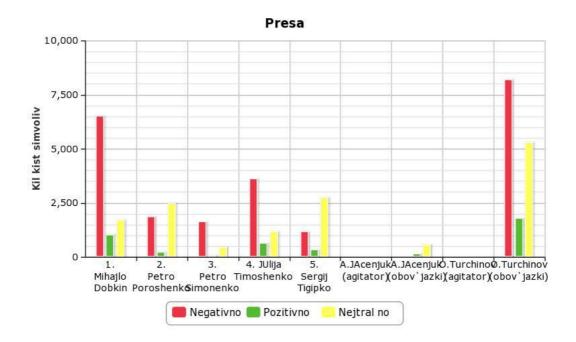
## **Speakers**

Oleksandr Starukh (the head of the local region organization and the campaign office of Yulia Tymoshenko), Eduard Huhnin and Vadym Kryvohatko (the representative of Petro Poroshenko), Serhiy Kaltsev (the representative of Mykhailo Dobkin), Andriy Hamov (the representative of Serhiy Tihipko). Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchinov as the government officials.

On the front pages there are other themes, the officials were not personally represented.

#### **Description manipulations and media effects**

The lack of clear marking, "hidden-promotional" materials. Sarcasm, irony and satire.



#### Internet-sites

Throughout the electoral campaign, the local Internet web-sites highlighted the electoral campaign exclusively in the news aspect, focusing on the conflict situations: beating of PR agitators, massive damage of the billboards of Mykhailo Dobkin, burning of the tents of Petro Poroshenko, participation of the people's deputies of PR and CPU in "Eggs' weekend" and their general involvement to separatist activities etc.

The activity of Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk was covered only just as the officials, without any political connotation and any association with Yulia Tymoshenko.

Petro Poroshenko - 6915 signs of negative, 2450 signs of neutral and 317 signs of positive information Yulia Tymoshenko - 4680 signs of negative negative, 452 signs of neutral and 1579 signs of positive information

Serhiy Tihipko - 954 signs of negative, 385 signs of neutral and 82 signs of positive information Mykhailo Dobkin - 5812 signs of negative, 2105 signs of neutral and 210 signs of positive information Petro Symonenko - 1884 signs of negative, 3181 signs of neutral and 0 signs of positive information Oleksandr Turchinov (represented as the Acting President and the Speaker - ie only the functions without any connotation for criticism or support of any candidate) – 0 signs of negative, 1620 signs of neutral and 0 signs of positive information

Oleksandr Turchinov (represented in those cases where there is direct or indirect support or criticism of any candidate) -0 signs of negative, 0 signs of neutral and 0 of positive information

Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the Government (how Arseniy Yatsenyuk and other officials are represented in performing of their duties without any connotation for criticism or support of any candidate) – 9831 signs of negative, 6063 signs of neutral and 920 signs of positive information

Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the Government (there is direct or indirect support or criticism of a candidate) -0 signs of negative, 0 signs of neutral and 0 signs of positive information

#### **Tonality**

061 - neutral and negative to the communists. "Zaporizhzhya.Komentari" is neutral to all 4.

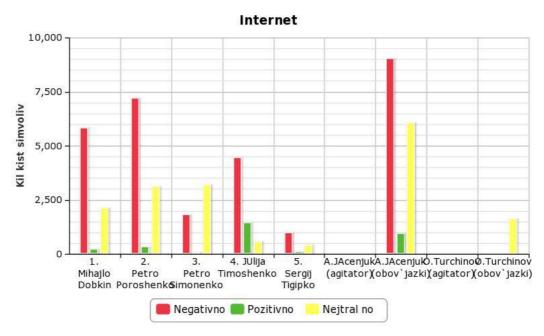
**Speakers** - Eduard Huhnin and Vadym Kryvohatko (the representative of Petro Poroshenko), Serhiy Kaltsev (the representative of Mykhailo Dobkin), Andriy Hamov (the representative of Serhiy Tihipko), Oleksandr Zubchevskyi (the representative of Petro Symonenko)

Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchinov were represented as the government officials.

### **Priority of representing**

Priority of representing - once on "Zaporizhzhya.Komentari" the top news highlighted about Petro Poroshenko, twice – about Yulia Tymoshenko in the news about the activities of their campaign offices **Description manipulations and media effects** 

The accusation by association, attraction to "negative backgrounds" and negative relevant references in the news.



## IVANO-FRANKIVSK REGION

### TV Media

Throughout the electoral campaign the topic of the presidential race did not occupy the central place in the news of television channels of Ivano-Frankivsk region. Due to the severe socio-political situation in the eastern regions of Ukraine and tension around the north-eastern borders of the state the issues of national security and state integrity came out at forefront of the news items. The topic of presidential race was not highlighted by the regional TV reporters as actively as it had been traced previously in peacetime.

The candidates for president of Ukraine were not represented in proper amount. Only those candidates who visited this city and region had mostly access to the televison space of Ivano-Frankivsk. The other candidates for president of Ukraine were not mentioned by the journalists at all.

Due to the acute events in Ukraine and the priority in providing of information related to the national security, Oleksandr Turchinov (the official duties) and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (the official duties) had the priority in being represented among the subjects of monitoring. Mostly the television channels covered information related to their certain orders without any comprehensive analysis.

Throughout the period of monitoring of the local television news it was traced the use of techniques of manipulation by public opinion after broadcasting of telelvision news program "24 kanal of Ivano-Frankivsk". The so-called technique of "separate section" was used by this television channel after the news items when in the ether time it continued broadcasting the political commentaries under the section "Events".

Yulia Tymoshenko used the maximal amount of syncs in the news item of television chanels "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" on May 3, 2014 during her visit to Ivano-Frankivsk region. Also the channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" gave the possibility for sync both for Petro Poroshenko, but in in less amount.

#### Main trends

For the monitoring period in the newscasts on the OTV "Halychchyna" the following proportion of the overall candidates' representing was formed:

- 1. Oleksand Turchynov (official duties) 51,4 %
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) 28 %
- 3. Petro Poroshenko 15,3 %
- 4. Petro Symonenko -5.3 %.

Other subjects of monitoring in the ether of OTV "Halychchyna" were not represented.

Throughout monitoring in the newscasts on the channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" the following proportion of the overall candidates' representing was formed:

- 1. Petro Poroshenko 77,9 %
- 2. Yulia Tymoshenko 16,2 %
- 3. Mykhailo Dobkin 2,9 %
- 4. Oleksand Turchynov (official duties) 2,3 %
- 5. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) -0.7%

Other subjects of monitoring in the ether of television channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" were not represented.

# **Tonality**

For the monitoring period the largest amount of positive information in the newscasts of OTV "Halychchyna" was devoted to Petro Poroshenko, somewhat less to Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties). The information in positive tone about other subjects of monitoring was not traced.

On the OTV "Halychchyna" the maximum amount of information in neutral tone was devoted to Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties), less than half to Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties). Petro Poroshenko was represented minimally in neutral tone. All other subjects of monitoring on OTV "Halychchyna" were not represented in neutral tone.

As to negative representing, this type of information on OTV "Halychchyna" was sounded just about Petro Symonenko.

In the newscasts of the television channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" the maximum amount of information in positive tone was represented about Petro Poroshenko, more than half less - about Yulia Tymoshenko. The minimum amount of positive information was also devoted to Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties). The information in positive tone about other subjects of monitoring was not traced on the television channels "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk"

Throughout this period the maximum amount of neutral information the television channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" represented to Petro Poroshenko, minimal amount of neutral information to Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties). Other subjects in neutral tone were not represented.

In the negative tone of the presentation channel television channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" not covered any of the subjects of our observations.

In negative tone the channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" did not cover any of monitoring subjects.

### **Speakers and Sync**

Throughout the monitoring period the main speakers of television space of Ivano-Frankivsk region were:

- 1. Oleksandr Turchynov the Acting President of Ukraine;
- 2. Arseniy Yatsenyuk the Prime Minister of Ukraine;
- 3. Yulia Tymoshenko;
- 4. Petro Poroshenko;
- 5. Yuri Lutsenko;

- 6. Anatoliy Matviyenko the head of the regional campaign office the candidate for presidency Petro Poroshenko;
- 7. Mykhailo Dovbenko the head of the regional campaign office the candidate for presidency Petro Poroshenko;
- 8. Dmytro Romanyuk the public leader of Ivano-Frankivsk;
- 9. Ivan Marunyak the head of the regional organization of NGO "OPORA".

For the monitoring period Yulia Tymoshenko used the maximum amount of syncs (direct speech) in the newscast on the channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" on May 3, 2014 during her visit to Ivano-Frankivsk region. Also the TV channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" provided Petro Poroshenko with syncs (direct speech), but in less amount.

### **Priority of representing**

Due to acute events in Ukraine and provide information on priority national security priority representation among the subjects used the same monitoring Alexander Turchinov (responsibilities) and Yatsenyuk (responsibilities). Among the direct candidates to the post of president of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko had the priority in representing.

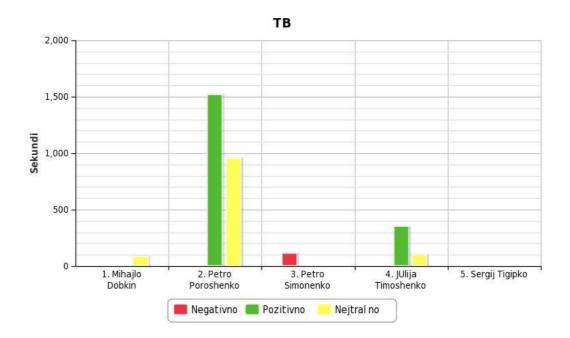
## **Description of manipulations**

Throughout the monitoring period the use of direct techniques of manipulation by public opinion was traced in the newscast on the television channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk". The so-called techniques of "separate section" is used by the television channel after the newscastswhen in the ether it continues broadcasting the information of political character under the section "Podii"/"Events". Once the television channel used this technique for the favor of Petro Poroshenko as a subject of our monitoring.

Also the television channel "24 kanal Ivano-Frankivsk" in its newscasts dated from May 3, 2014 broadcasted the series of newstimes about the visit of the presidential candidates. The newsitems about these events were accentuated on positive representing of the politicians, they were provided with considerable amount of ether time by the direct speech.

After the newscast broadcasted on May 5, 2014 the television channel highlighted the newsitem about about the visit of Pero Poroshenko to the Carpathian region (since this visit it had passed 3 days), in which the candidate was represented as "undisputed leader of the presidential race".

Other techniques of manipulation by the opinion of the audience were not traced for the monitoring period.



#### **Print Media**

The monitoring of print media in Ivano-Frankivsk region throughout the presidential campaign confirms the high-presence level of electoral information in the newspapers. Among all the other media it was the newspapers "Halychchyna" and "Reporter" which became the niche for information coverage of the election race of the leading candidates for president of Ukraine being the main and the most accessible information area for the Ivano-Frankivsk' voters. The inhabitants of Ivano-Frankivsk region had the opportunity to obtain the largest amount of political information from the newspapers "Halychchyna" and "Reporter".

Despite the large amount of electoral information for this period the candidates for president of Ukraine did not have equal access to be represented in the local newspapers. The most journalists highlighted information on two main candidates - Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko. A percentage of total amount of information related to other candidates is too small.

Thus for the monitoring period the maximum amount of information in print media was represented about Yulia Tymoshenko, who took the first place in the overall newspapers' representing (64.6%). Petro Poroshenko took the second place (26.9%) of the total amount of information coverage. The following were Serhiy Tihipko - 3.2%, Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) - 1.9%, Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties) - 1.4%, Mykhailo Dobkin - 1.2%, Arseniy Yatsenyuk (as agitator) - 0.4%, Petro Symonenko - 0.3% and Oleksandr Turchinov (as agitator) - 0.1%.

The opinions pluralism had also large disbalance. The rhetoric of both the candidates and journalists was focused primarily on one ideological direction and had almost no proposals for alternative views

Among the monitoring objects Yulia Tymoshenko was the leader of media representing for the given period. While Yulia Tymoshenko obtained the maximum amount of information, the journalists mentioned Petro Poroshenko in the messages of less amount.

The most popular manipulation used by these two newspapers was so-called "jeans". The newspapers printed a large amount of clearly paid materials that were not the products of its own journalists but of the unknown authors, the information about of whom was given nowhere. Also on the pages of these

newspapers it was published often the reprinted materials from other sources, mostly from online websites. These reports were published or in the separate section, or they were outlined that testified about their promotional nature. However it was not clear for the everyman, because the information about advertising was printed in the bottom of the last page of the newspaper in the size  $N_2$  6-8.

Both newspapers presented very little information about the work of Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk. Basically it was the information in the context of their official duties and only in one of the latest issues of the newspaper "Halychchyna" it was mentioned the political biography of Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

#### Main trends

Throughout the monitoring period on the pages of the socio-political newspaper of Ivano-Frankivsk "Halychchyna" it was formed the following proportion of general representing of the candidates:

- 1. Yulia Tymoshenko 65,5%
- 2. Petro Poroshenko 25.6%
- 3. Serhiy Tihipko 2.5%
- 4. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) 2.2%
- 5. Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) 2%
- 6. Mykhailo Dobkin 1.4%
- 7. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) 0.6%
- 8. Oleksandr Turchynov (agitator) 0.2%
- 9. Petro Symonenko 0.1%.

On the pages of the regional weekly "Reporter" for the given period it was formed the following proportion of the general representing of the candidates:

- 1. Yulia Tymoshenko 62,5%
- 2. Petro Poroshenko 29.7%
- 3. Serhiy Tihipko 4.8%
- 4. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) 1.5%
- 5. Mykhailo Dobkin 0.8%
- 6. Petro Symonenko 0.8%
- 7. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) 0%
- 8. Oleksandr Turchynov (agitator) 0%.
- 9. Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) 0%

#### **Tonality**

Throughout the monitoring period Yulia Tymoshenko was represented in the most positive tone by the newspaper "Halychchyna". It is the most figure not only in comparison with other figures of the candidates' representing in positive tone, but also with their representing in negative and neutral tones. In comparison with Yulia Tymoshenko Petro Poroshenko received the minimal rate of positive tone. All other candidates for president of Ukraine and the subjects of monitoring were not represented in positive tone.

<u>In contradistinction from</u> positive tone of coverage, the most information in neutral tone was devoted to Petro Poroshenko in the pages of the newspaper "Halychchyna". Yulia Tymoshenko was highlighted approximately half less than Petro Poroshenko in positive tone. All other subjects except Petro Symonenko were also represented in neutral tone under sequence of amount decreasing – Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties), Serhiy Tihipko, Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties), Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator), Mykhailo Dopkin.

As for negative tone of coverage here Yulia Tymoshenko was covered most critically by the journalists for the given period. Less information in negative tone was given about Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Oleksandr Turchinov as the Acting President of Ukraine.

Simultaneously the journalists of the newspaper "Halychchyna" did not highlight Petro Symonenko and Arseniy Yatsenyuk in negative tone.

On the pages of the newspaper "Reporter" Yulia Tymoshenko received the largest amount of positive information, Petro Poroshenko received less than half and the minimum rate of positive information was given to Serhiy Tihipko. Other subjects of monitoring were not represented positively.

The largest amount of neutral information was represented about Petro Poroshenko, some less about Yulia Tymoshenko. The minimal figures of neutral coverage of the newspaper "Reporter" were given to Serhiy Tihipko and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties). Other subjects of monitoring were not represented neutrally.

As for negative coverage, the newspaper "Reporter" represented the most amount of critical information about Yulia Tymoshenko, less than half about Petro Poroshenko. Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko received minimal figures of information in negative tone.

# **Speakers**

In the newspapers "Halychchyna" and "Reporter" for the monitoring period the main speakers in giving their opinions on the candidates to president of Ukraine were:

# The politicians:

- · Yulia Tymoshenko;
- · Petro Poroshenko;
- · Yuri Lutsenko;
- · Anatoliy Hrytsenko;
- · Oleksandr Turchynov;
- · Arseniy Yatsenyuk;
- · Vitaliy Klychko;
- · Taras Chornovil;
- Anatoliy Matviyenko the head of campaign office of Petro Poroshenko in Ivano-Frankivsk region;
- Yuri Hrymchak the head of campaign office of Petro Poroshenko in Donetsk region;

### the olitical analysts:

- · Volodymyr Fesenko;
- · Vadym Karasyov;
- · Mustafa Nayem;
- · Viktor Shlinchak;
- · Oleksiy Haran;
- · Serhiy Tarana;
- · Viktor Nebozhenko:
- Kostyantyn Matviyenko the co-organisator of Srategical Consulting Corporation "Hardaryka";
- · Vitaliy Bala the director of Situations Modeling Agencies;
- Vitaliy Pereviznyk the head of NGO "Public Institute of Analytics";
- · Ruslan Kotsaba public leader.

#### the voters:

- · Vasyl Prokopiv the head of the village Nyzhniv (for Yulia Tymoshenko);
- Hanna Nahirna the inhabitant of the village Nyzhniv (for Yulia Tymoshenko).

### **Priority of representing**

Among the subjects of monitoring Yulia Tymoshenko dominated in information representing by the journalists for the given period. While Yulia Tymoshenko was given the most amount of information, Petro Poroshenko was mentioned by the journalists in the materials of less volumes.

### **Description of manipulations**

Unfortunately after all those changes that have taken place in the recent period in our country and the society, even today we have to admit the humiliating actions of journalists and the editors of the print media of Ivano-Frankivsk in order to influence on public opinion. As in the previous election campaigns, the media continue using the obviously paid techniques of manipulation.

Among the print media of Ivano-Frankivsk the social and political newspaper "Halychchyna" uses often the manipulative techniques. Since the beginning of our monitoring this paper which has communal ownership highlights the most political advertising information. On the pages of the newspaper the bulk of materials is not the product of newspaper's reporters and it is reprinted from other resources, mostly from online editions. A significant amount of this reprinting on the pages of the newspaper is represented much later than its originals on the webpages.

Throughout the monitoring it is traced the trend of impact of Yulia Tymoshenko as the candidate for president of Ukraine on the given newspaper. Thus for the monitoring period on the pages of "Halychchyna" a great number of articles of significant amount (each one amounted more than 3 thousand of printed signs) with positive coverage of the candidate's activity and the eloquent headings:

- 1. "Yulia Tymoshenko has finally returned";
- 2. "What is the difference between Poroshenko and Tymoshenko";
- 3. "The peasant bloc is for Yulia";
- 4. "The former government professed the ideology of golden loaves Yulia Tymoshenko";
- 5. "Tymoshenko has promised not to allow the Crimean scenario in the East";
- 6. "How to stop an aggressor: the recipes from Yulia Tymoshenko";
- 7. "Ready for a battle: bailout recipe of Yulia Tymoshenko";
- 8. "Tymoshenko unites the Ukrainians to fight for integrity of the country";
- 9. "Tymoshenko in Donetsk: compromise between the Ukrainians is possible";
- 10. "How to resolve bloodless the conflict in the East";
- 11. "In Shuster-Live Tymoshenko expressed her opinion on the competitors in elections, the parliament and Moscow";
- 12. "How to resolve bloodless the conflict in the East";
- 13. "In Shuster-Live Tymoshenko expressed her opinion on the competitors in elections, the parliament and Moscow";
- 14. "Yulia Tymoshenko: the new authorities must make the Ukrainian politics moral";
- 15. "Yulia Tymoshenko: the oligarchs have been destroying my reputation over 15 years";
- 16. "The leader of "Batkivschyna" challenges Petro Poroshenko to a political duel";
- 17. "Yulia Tymoshenko: the Ukrainians will shoot down the Putin's regime";
- 18. "Tymoshenko has introduced the concept of power decentralization";
- 19. "Tymoshenko about the village, land and her priorities".

These articles are accompanied by the photograph of the candidate for the size  $13 \times 9$  cm They are based on the principle of consistent coverage of the positive activities of Yulia Tymoshenko and the exclusive correctness of nly her actions that is strengthened by the comments of famous political scientists of Ukraine. Also in these articles whole paragraphs of information are allocated about the negative activities of Petro Poroshenko who is the main opponent of Yulia Tymoshenko. These materials are printed or in the separate sections, or they are marked that shows their promotional character. However it is not obvious for the everyman, because information about advertising is printed in the bottom of the last page of the newspaper by the size  $N_2$  6-8.

Another important element of manipulation that the newspaper "Halychchyna" uses is publishing of these articles on behalf of the authors, who are not known in Ivano-Frankivsk region and Internet does not contain about them any data. From this one can assume that the given names of the authors are not genuine.

The so-called phenomenon as "jeans" famous among the experts continues to occupy the place on the pages of the regional weekly "Reporter". In this issues of the newspaper for the analogue of the "Halychchyna" it was represented a large number of paid materials in favor of one or another candidate.

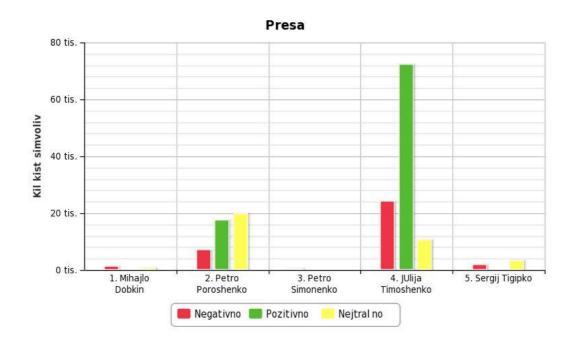
In its issue it was used the so-called technique as "separate section" in the article "Poroshenko has a plan" in the column "Elections". This article called Petro Poroshenko "the leader of the election campaign for the President of Ukraine". On the next page of the newspaper there was the article "The President may be chosen in one tour" which played also in favor of Petro Poroshenko. This article presented the results of the "first sociology" (it was not specified the organization which had hold this poll) which was in favor of Petro Poroshenko, and the main point of the message is focused on the need for the presidential race in the first round, so as for the state the second round would be too costly. But already on the pages of the newspaper "Reporter" the article was posted "Tymoshenko: illusion that everything is decided in the Parliament, - the severe error that is returned by the revolutions" and "The Ukrainians are uniting to protect the homeland". Both articles contain a significant amount of information in positive tone about the activities and initiatives of Yulia Tymoshenko.

Often the newspaper "Reporter" under the column "Outside perspective" represented several articles about the same events but from the opposite points of views.

A striking example is the issue on May 1, 2014. Along with one another on the fourth and fifth pages of the edition it was posted the the articles "The debates in Schuster: the candidates talk about the East" and "There was no remorse - there will be not return". Obviously the first article is the paid material of the campign office of Yulia Tymoshenko, because its main idea concerns the sincerity and openness of Yulia Tymoshenko, while it criticizes "too busy" Petro Poroshenko who "...is afraid to stand in front of the people during the second consecutive program ...". The author of the article represents the view of Yulia Tymoshenko to resolve the crisis of the eastern regions of Ukraine. However the article on the next page of the newspaper "Reporter" is its distorting reflection. The author took as the basis the time of the mentioned political talk-show when the candidates whe were present on this program were proposed to repent of their mistakes. The author criticizes sharply Yulia Tymoshenko for her duplicity and falsehood.

In the newspaper from May 8, 2014 it is contained the material which have the similar character for favor of the main candidates for presidency. Among these articles there are the materials with the significant titles – "Yulia Tymoshenko: "Our task is to prevent the oligarchs to power", "Win of Poroshenko is a victory over Putin".

So we have to conclude that it is traced the relatively "dirty" election rhetoric of Ivano-Frankivsk press media, which provide scholastic information of heterogeneous nature revealing one and the same phenomenon depending on the customer's material.



### KIROVOGRAD REGION

#### Main conclusions

The presidential campaign of 2014 on the territory of Kirovograd region was radically different from all above previous campaigns, firstly by the lack of clear lines of support by the regional authorities of one of the candidates. It testifies sometimes some confusion of mass media of the central region, especially it concerns television and press media (the nice exception is the weekly "Ukraine-Center" which covered most actively both course of election campaign and presented quite critically the analysis of content of the candidates' platforms towards the significant aspects of life of the country and solution of the most pressing issues of the today).

Internet resources of the region, which were the subject of monitoring were involved more actively into political process. The start of the race as a whole was not actually covered by the media in the region, but the catalysts for its activization became the appointment of the former Governor S. Larin as the head of election campaign of Serhiy Tihipko, who arrived in the territory of the region with his assistant (O. Shatalov, who ran beforehand to the Parliament from Party of Regions), who had to head the regional campaign office of this candidate.

The resonance connected with this appointment was widely highlighted as the significant amount of the famous representatives from Party of Regions in the region announced about their withdrawal from this political structure due to the neglect of their opinions on nomination of Mykhailo Dobkin as the official candidate from Party of Regions, sometimes supported Serhiy Tihipko as an alternative to the party nominees. However with the change of management of the campaign office of Serhiy Tihipko and withdrawal of S. Larin from this candidate the active process of support faded away, making it largely do with "Jeans" in the highest-rated regional media.

The leading positions in media content then Petro Poroshenko took place, the local campaign office of whom appeared often in press-conferences and different events, especially related to the arrival to Kirovohrad region of the frontrunner. By the way along with Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) (24 seconds), in fact being the only speaker and who had the direct speech o the channel of the Kirovohrad Oblast State TV and Radion Company (25 seconds) (Oleh Tyahnibok and Oleh Lyashko who also had syncs on this channel and also visited Kirovograd, were not the objects of monitoring).

The interesting thing is the coverage of the election campaign of Yulia Tymoshenko who had in all media the advantage of negative tone, though she did not visit the Kirovograd region. This is obviously due to the ridiculous work of her empaign office, primarily the local one related to conduct of manipulative polls and announcement by the activists of "Opora" of "temnyky" which were distributed among the agitators of this political party with a clear focus on negative aspects of her main opponent Petro Poroshenko related to his political activities and the use of "black PR" against this candidate. The local authorities which were mainly formed by the representatives from "Batkivschyna" furthered this situation, when they united their forces with the former representatives of Party of Region going to the conspiracy with this political force and isolating actually by the raider way and later actually removing from the power of the Kirovograd Mayor. Breaking all procedural rules, raising the fares in public transport without a proper discussion with the public and taking other very high-profile and irrelevant decisions, the City Council discredited itself completely in the eyes of the Kirovohrad citizens which could not affect the ratings of their candidate Yulia Tymoshenko.

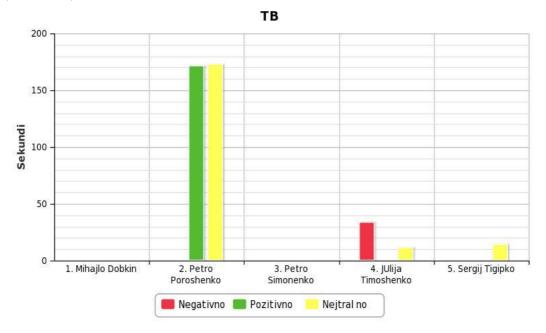
In all mass media the representing of A. Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov occurred only in the context of the their official duties, mostly in atmosphere of formality and neutrality, although some negative tone was also traced due to the lack of the clear and consistent positions on the appropriate actions in the Crimea, and later in the eastern and southern parts of Ukraine. Sometimes the mentioned objects of monitoring were associated with the representatives of political power of Yulia Tymoshenko and therefore the negative tone was extrapolated to the candidate of "Batkivschyna" and vice versa.

#### TV Media

The Kirovograd TV channels did not practically cover the presidential campaign, because throughout the monitoring period it was devoted only 488 seconds to this topic, the bulk part of this onformation was devoted to Poroshenko (344 seconds, where 171 seconds - in positive tone, 173 seconds - in neutral tone).

In general the news program of the Kirovohrad regional state broadcasting company "Den za dnem" represented all information about the monitored objects exceptionally in positive- neutral tone, but the representing of candidates in percentage terms could demonstrate the significant disparity in coverage of these candidates, however the coverage oppurtunites given by their campaign offices had not been either created: Petro Poroshenko - 70.5 % ( 344 seconds ), Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) - 14.1 % (69 seconds), Serhiy Tihipko - 2.9 % (14 seconds), Yulia Tymoshenko - 9.2 % ( 45 seconds), Oleksandr Turchynov - (official duties) - 3.3 % (16 seconds).

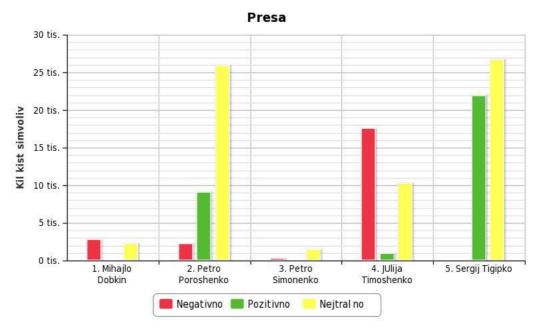
The channel TTV did not cover any events associated with the course of the presidential campaign. Throughout the whole period of monitoring only once it was shown the speech of the activist of Kirovograd Maidan in negative tone in the context of the tragic events of the country in the Crimea and in the eastern and southern parts of Ukraine (Yulia Tymoshenko and Oleksandr Turchinov), but this fact is hardly appropriated to be classified as manipulative technique. Overall, the news casts of this TV program "Aktseny Dnya" devoted to coverage of the presidential campaign "even as long as" 42 seconds with the following percentage: Yulia Tymoshenko - 81 % (34 seconds), Oleksandr Turchynov - (official duties) - 19 % (8 seconds).



#### **Print Media**

The monitoring of Kirovohrad print media are represented by two newspapers: the newspaper "Kirovohradska Pravda" and the weekly "Ukraina-center". "Kirovohradska Pravda" represented quite in detached manner the covered of the presidential campaign, factually it represented the selective and unsystematic highlighting of its course in the territory of the region (for example - the factual absence of the material related to the visit of Petro Poroshenko to Kirovohrad except for the official notification about this event). However, the presence of jeans related to the other candidate demonstrates clearly the percentage comparison of the candidates' coverage on the pages of this edition: Tigipko - 80.4 % (11293 signs - positive tone, 6799 –neutral tone), Yulia Tymoshenko - 8.1 % (1684 –negative tone, 142 –neutral tone), Mykhailo Dobkin - 4.3 % (753 – negative tone, 224 - neutral tone) Poroshenko - 3.4 % (768 - neutral), Oleksandr Turchynov - (Acting) - 3.3 % (749 – neutral tone), P. Symonenko - 0.4 % (83 - neutral tone).

The weekly "Ukraina-center" was more active in this respect, which represented most actively both the race course and came up quite critically to analysis of the content of its programs as to the significant aspects of country's life and solution of the most actual issues of nowdays. However, this paper placed also "jeans", primarily it concerned the negative politics of Yulia Tymoshenko and the uniquely paid materials of Petro Poroshenko and Serhiy Tihipko (jeans was actually the whole content of this latter candidate). Petro Poroshenko and Mykhailo Dobkin were mentioned also in negative context The total percentage in signs are the following: Poroshenko - 35.6 % (25165 signs - neutral tone, 9036 – positive tone, 2263 - negative tone), Tigipko - 29.8 % (10633 – positive tone, 19893 - neutral tone) (it was Tigipko and Poroshenko who were the main quoted speakers at this stage, the materials about them appeared often on the front pages), Yulia Tymoshenko - 26,2 % (15821 – negative tone, 10126 – neutral tone, 879 – positive tone) Mykhailo Dobkin - 4.0% (2008 – negative tone, 2039 - neutral tone) Arseniy Yatsenyuk - (official duties) - 2.9% (2542 - neutral tone, 396 - negative tone), Petro Symonenko - 1.6% (1384 – neutral tone, 257 – negative tone). An interesting fact in this context is the complete absence of references to Oleksandr Turchinov.



#### **Internet-sites**

The online media of Kirovohrad region covered most actively the presidential campaigns compared to as the other media in the region did. The noteworthy events that took place within the region, possible violations and fraud related to the upcoming elections were quite consistently covered. In general, it should be noted that the information was represented mainly according to the impact of actions of the campaign offices of different political parties.

The troubling events in the eastern and southern parts of Ukraine, the course of anti-terrorism operations and only sometimes - the start of presidential campaign became the main news of the month.

Yulia Tymoshenko received most negative information related to conduct of manipulative polls and announcement by the activists of "Opora" of "temnyky" which were distributed among the agitators of this political party with a clear focus on negative aspects of her main opponent Petro Poroshenko related to his political activities and the use of "black PR" against this candidate; Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Oleksandr Turchinov received also negative coverage.

Neutral tone prevails for the most presidential candidates and officials, as most publications actually limited by representing the official information on the course of the nomination and registration of the candidates.

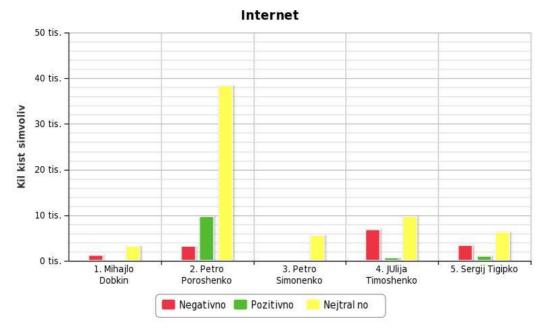
The most positively the activities of Petro Poroshenko was highlighted due to active participation of the local campaign office (in comparison with others candidates represented in the region) and the visit

of this candidate of the regional center, and sporadically – Serhiy Tihipko for the reasons outlined above, but before the finish of the presidential campaign there not the similar materials.

The online resource "Novyny Kirovohradschyny" represented most neutral information which covered the whole course of the campaign in the region. The percentages of candidates' representing is the following: Poroshenko - 43.4 % (4842 signs - neutral tone, 450 – positive tone), Tigipko - 14.9 % (1243 – negative tone, 587 - neutral tone) (as in the press media Poroshenko and Tigipko are the most quoted speakers), Oleksandr Turchynov - (duties) - 17.7% (2177 – neutral tone) , such large amount of representing is due official information on the changes in the regional government in the context of of ficial duties of O. Turchynov), Mykhailo Dobkin - 10.9 % (520 – negative tone, 815 - neutral tone), P. Symonenko - 7% (860 – neutral tone), Yulia Tymoshenko - 6.2 % (757 - neutral tone).

The website "Ves Kirovograd" covered in a similar way the course of election campaign, but the prevalence of materials about Petro Poroshenko over other candidates was even more noticeable (maybe it is because one of the owners of this web-resource is a very active member of the regional campaign office of this candidate) that may indicate the certain biaseness of its editorial policy: Poroshenko - 53.2 % (16285 signs - neutral tone, 3367 - positive tone), (Poroshenko is the only speaker), Oleksandr Turchynov - (duties) - 16.7 % (5449 – neutral tone, 719 – negative tone), Tymoshenko - 10,1 % (1830 - neutral tone, 1879 – negative tone), Tigipko - 7.6 % (1340 – negative tone, 1456 - neutral tone), Mykhailo Dobkin - 4.5% (651 – negative tone, 998 - neutral tone), P. Symonenko - 6.4% (2359 - neutral tone) Arseniy Yatsenyuk - (duties) - 1.5% (562 - neutral tone).

The website "Hrechka" covered most critically the course of the campaign and its most active participants, although the negative tone about Tymoshenko prevails in percentage terms: Poroshenko - 43.5 % (17113 signs - neutral tone, 5842 – positive tone, 3050 - negative tone), (Poroshenko is also the only speaker), Yulia Timoshenko - 21.1 % (7151 - neutral tone, 4830 - negative, 629 – positive tone), Oleksandr Turchynov - (duties) - 11.7 % (6325 – neutral tone, 652 – negative tone) , Tigipko - 10.1 % (689 – negative tone, 4287 - neutral tone, 1055 – positive tone), Mykhailo Dobkin - 2.4 % (1417 - neutral tone), P. Symonenko - 3.7% (2209 - neutral tone) Arseniy Yatsenyuk - (duties) - 7.6 % (4562 - neutral tone).



#### LVIV REGION

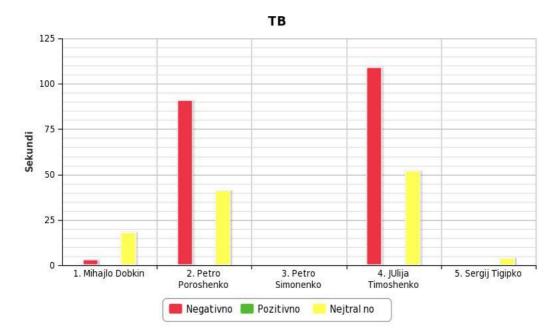
#### **Main conclusions**

The trends in news coverage in Lviv media space on the course of the campaign were remained in May. Information about the candidates was not published on the front pages of the newspapers and did not take up most of the air time on TV. The information messages about the elections were represented mostly in neutral tone being a small part of all media content. The central theme of informational messages was the situation in the East and South of the country, which was set out in the form of the news comments regarding to the political events. That's why the representatives of the current government – the Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov and Prime Minister A. Yatsenuk appeared often in the headlines; mainly this information concerned the performance of their official duties and was given in neutral tone.

As for the candidates for presidency, the reports about thm were published in the media in the presence of information events (removal of the nominee, visit to Lviv, meeting with journalists, meeting with voters or unusual situations etc.). However, throughout the monitoring period one could trace certain preferences of some media to certain candidates (Halinfo published the comments of Anatoliy Hrytsenko regarding the certain events and a few interviews with this candidate within one month, Zahidnet covered too often and thoroughly the activities of the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko, the amount of news about her exceeded often in several times the amount of news about her competitors).

### TV Media

The information about the presidential candidates in the air was represented generally in neutral tone. The peculiarity of the Lviv regional TV was that a large proportion of the information space was devoted to the problems of local importance. Thus, the TRC Lviv highlighted actively the weekdays of the officials of the Lviv Regional Council, including its Chairman - P.Kolodiy and ZIK – the shortcomings of the local economy. The special feature of Lviv television was the fact that immediately afterward the newscasts the stories labeled as political advertising were broadcasted. Within the last week on the channel ZIK there were the reports of an overall plan of the campaign and voting day (for example, a story about voting in other place of registration, as well as the Crimean voting). Also in the last week there were the stories about the impact of campaigns on the public, the comments and socionics about each candidate, at that it was shown the excerpts from speeches, as well as violations of campaigning, voter bribery, obstruction of candidates (!O. Tyagnibok – "gifted three hundred sets of uniforms to local guard forces of Rivne Region", Olha Bohomolets – "gifted an icon for the local monastery", Poroshenko – "the dissemination of information in social networks on recharge in the case of repost of his campaign).

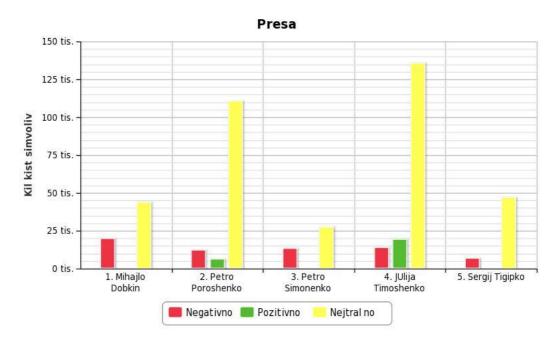


#### Print media

On the pages of Lviv newspaper the readers saw the news about the presidential candidates, Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko (among other references there were the reports about Mykhailo Dobkin, Serhiy Tihipko, P.Simonenko) wre the most covered candidates. In recent days the trends in coverage of the presidential campaign survived. For example, in the newspaper "Vysokyi zamok" the main amount of this newspaper content was devoted to the coverage of the events in the east and south of the country, and the messages about the elections (1-2 per a day) were supplemented by a great interview with the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko. In general the tone of information messages was neutral, except such an interview with Tymoshenko which had apparently positive tone.

In the last election campaign week the newspaper "Express" focused the attention of the readers not on the presidential candidates, but on still more actual news – the events in the East. Mostly the neutral tone of the messages dominated.

The features of the content of the print newspapers of Lviv in May is that by the end of the month the election were not the topic issue, more actively they covered the events in "hot spots" of the country, the news about the candidates mainly in the form of the comments regarding the events in the East.



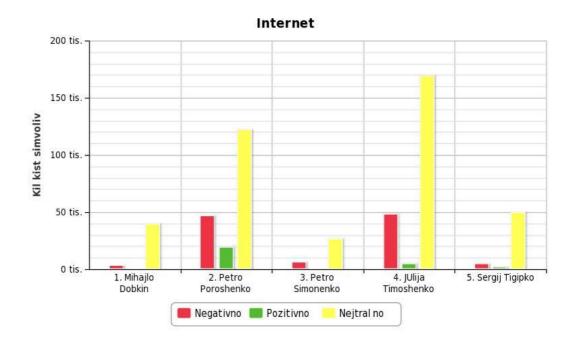
#### Internet media

In May in the online media of Lviv *Halinfo* and *Zahidnet* the information on the electoral process took a relatively small portion of the content. Most media attention was focused on the events which took place in the south-eastern regions of the country (the appearance of the names of Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and the Aacting President President Oleksandr Turchinov in the context of the performance of their official duties). The speech had mostly neutral tone.

Regarding the coverage of the election campaign, besides information about the presidential candidates, the online editions monitor also the activities of the CEC, published the comments and reports of observers, including the OSCE observers.

In the news of *Zahid.net* in the last days of the election campaign Poroshenko and Tymoshenko were often mentioned as the candidates. The tone of the message was neutral. However many of the news in the last sentence talked about how nice it would be to hold the elections in one round, because it would save the costs. The sociological research was also represented in this light ("Petro Poroshekno is a leader of presidential race, there is no point to waste time and extra money). At the same time the news were formed in positive tone about Yulia Tymoshenko (the candidate was most often represented in Zahidnet) – the quotes from the interview, the trip to the East, the actions and statements regarding the separatists (each news contained the photo, the phrases with the direct speech is mainly used). Other candidates were mentioned only in the context of social research.

In the recent in Halinfo days the news about the campaign were represented with some modifications: Anatoliy Hrytsenko was still "actively praised" (eg , interviews with Yu.Mostova - 6426 signs) , but other candidtes such as Olha Bohomolets, Oleh Lyashko and Dmytro Yarosh appeared. In last week the priority of representing of Petro Poroshenko and Vitaliy Klitschko was caused likely by their visits to the city on May 22. One should note also the following points: "jeans" in the materials of Olha Bohomolets (2710 signs); Oleh Lyashko, Dmytro Yarosh (4673) and Anatoliy Hrytsenko (there's even an article about jeans, which takes Yulai Timoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko as the top leaders of "jeans").



### MYKOLAIV REGION

### **Main conclusions**

Internet sites are the most powerful channel which highlights the information about the candidates for the posts of president and the ruling authorities, there is a little less information in printed media and very little on television.

The first information which was covering the presidential candidates appeared in online journals and printed media from the Batkivshchina party and the Party of Regions congresses, the information about the last one was provided in negative tones because of the nomination of Mykhaylo Dobkin who at that time was under house arrest and then was excluded from Serhiy Tihipko's party. The coverage of the information about the presidential candidate from the Batkivshchina party, namely Yulia Tymoshenko was given in a positive or neutral tone in printed and online media. The press also provided information in a positive tone regarding Arseniy Yatsenyuk's (agitator) comments who approved the candidacy of Yulia Tymoshenko. More information about Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) was not given either on TV or in printed or online media. Oleksandr Turchynov as agitator was not observed in any source of information.

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Tymoshenko. More information about Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) was not given either on TV or in printed or online media. Oleksandr Turchynov as agitator was not observed in any source of information.

At the regional television most of the information was about the authorities Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk (generally 63%). But the information was also given about the candidate Yulia Tymoshenko (25%) due to her visit to Mykolaiv and the press conference at which she expressed herself negatively on the activities of Petro Poroshenko (12 %). Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Petro Symonenko and Mykhaylo Dobkin weren't in the air.

TK "MART" covered Petro Symonenko's press conference (28%) several times, but in general the outright information was provided about the government officials Arseniy Yatsenyuk (35%) and Oleksandr Turchynov (about 16%). The information about Serhiy Tihipko made 6% and about Petro Poroshenko 4%. There was nothing about Mykhaylo Dobkin.

As for the press, no newspaper has mentioned Petro Symonenko. Instead, the newspapers did not provide the information about Petro Symonenko, except all those materials that were mostly ordered and have almost no marking as political advertising. In each issue of the newspaper "Vecherniy Nilolayev" there was a publication about Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. After Petro Poroshenko's visit to Mykolaiv on May 12, 2014 in all the newspapers on the whole pages (in the middle of the edition) the publications about him appeared. "Ridne Prybuzhzhya" didn't write about Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhaylo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko. As priority the information about Oleksandr Turchynov, Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko was given.

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The Internet publication "Mykola.net" almost at the same manner represented the information about Oleksandr Turchynov (22 %), Yulia Tymoshenko (21%), Arseniy Yatsenyuk (23%) and Petro Poroshenko (24%). About Oleksandr Turchynov they wrote mostly neutrally, about Yulia Tymoshenko more negatively and positively about Petro Poroshenko. Mykhaylo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko were presented at the level of 4%, Serhiy Tihipko had less than 1% of representation.

Almost 42 % of the information on Internet site "Novosti-N" was given to Oleksandr Turchynov (obligations), mainly in a neutral and positive tone as the main information were news about events in the eastern part. Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) had about 30% of representation, while Yulia Tymoshenko had 11%. Petro Poroshenko (7%), Mykhaylo Dobkin (5%), Serhiy Tihipko (3%) were less represented. Petro Symonenko had less than 1 %.

The maximum synch is represented by Arseniy Yatsenyuk (3369 seconds) 46%, Petro Symonenko (1806 sec.) 24% and Oleksandr Turchynov (1196 sec.) about 16%, Yulia Tymoshenko (534 sec) and Serhiy Tihipko (496 seconds) 7% each. Petro Poroshenko and Mykhaylo Dobkin did not have syncs.

Conclusion: The priority of representation was given to the authorities Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk. Not all the presidential candidates have equal representation in the media in general, very little information is given about Mykhaylo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko. More representation Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko had.

### TV media

In general, the television is not very active in covering the activities of the presidential candidates. More information was available about the activities of the authorities representatives Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk as for the events taking place in the east, a round table which took place in Mykolayiv and Arseniy Yatsenyuk's visit, but they also highlighted the visit of several presidential candidates to Mykolayiv namely Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. There were not given any information about the presidential candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin.

### % of candidates and political process parties - separately by channels

### OSTRC TC "Nilolayev"

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (the Prime Minister) 3484 (neutrally – 762, positively – 2722, negatively – 0) 49%

Yulia Tymoshenko 1778 (neutrally – 0, positively – 1250, negatively – 0) 25%

Oleksandr Turchynov (obligations) 1009 (neutrally – 725, positively – 284, negatively – 0) 14%

Petro Poroshenko 848 (neutrally – 0, positively – 744, negatively – 74) 12%

Mykhaylo Dobkin and Serhiy Tihipko are not represented.

# TK "MART"

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) 2837 (neutrally – 767, positively - 1308, negatively – 762) 35%

Petro Symonenko 2423 (neutrally – 746, positively – 1677, negatively – 0) 29%

Oleksandr Turchynov (obligations) 1328 (neutrally – 896, positively – 432, negatively – 0) 16%

Yulia Tymoshenko 696 (neutrally – 332, positively – 232, negatively – 132) 11%

Serhiy Tihipko 496 (neutrally – 0, positively – 496, negatively – 0) 6%

Petro Poroshenko 330 (neutrally – 0, positively – 239, negatively – 91) 4%

Mykhaylo Dobkin is not represented.

## **Tonality**

# OSTRC TC "Nilolayev"

In a neutral tonality the information mainly represents Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk, Arseniy Yatsenyk is given in the most positive manner (it was during the visit to Mykolayiv), Arseniy Yatsenyk also had the maximum negative index in connexion with his negative couverage by Petro Symonenko in the interview.

### TK "MART"

They covered in a maximum neutral tonality Oleksandr Turchynov (responsibilities), the information about Petro Symonenko was positively presented, the negative tonality was about Arseniy Yatsenuk's activities (responsibilities).

#### **Speakers**

The key speakers at TK are Oleksandr Turchynov, Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko. There were Yulia Tymoshenko's negative comments about Petro Poroshenko in her interview during the visit to Mykolayiv.

There wasn't information about the candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin.

#### **Sycnes**

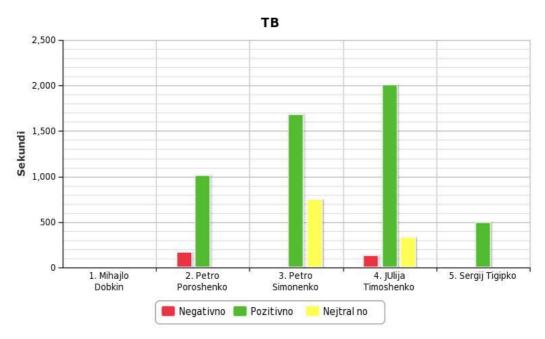
Petro Symonenko had three times more syncs than Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. Oleksandr Turchynov had the sync twice smaller than Arseniy Yatsenuk. Arseniy Yatsenyuk had the sync 15 times more than Serhiy Tihipko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

### **Priority representation**

The representativeness of the authorities representatives Oleksandr Tuchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk was the largest.

### Manipulations and mediaeffects description

In almost all the press conferences that took place during the visit of Yulia Tymoshenko there was criticism and negativity as for Petro Poroshenko's actions.



#### Print media

At the beginning they covered the parties' congresses and the representation of the presidential candidates. It was in this period that there were some articles where Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) positively commented the choice from the party "Batkivshchyna" which Yulia Tymoshenko was. Later, he was covered only as a government representative.

The situation in the east, the ways to solve it, the visions of the presidential candidates and the actions of the acting government were the main topic for later couverage in articles.

# % of candidates and political process parties - separately by newspapers

## "Vecherniy Nilolayev"

Yulia Tymoshenko 85812 (neutrally – 176, positively – 71116, negatively – 14520) 43%

Petro Poroshenko 45697 (neutrally – 1485, positively – 28476, negatively – 13036) 23%

Sergey Tihipko 38904 (neutrally – 0, positively – 30342, negatively – 8562) 19%

Mykhaylo Dobkin 14376 (neutrally – 208, positively – 1438, negatively – 12730) 7%

Oleksandr Turchynov (obligations) 7463 (neutrally – 3502, positively – 2890, negatively – 1071) 4%

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) 4901 (neutrally – 0, positively – 3163, negatively – 1738) 2%

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) 4344 (neutrally -0, positively -4344, negatively -0) 2%

No information about Petro Symonenko.

#### "Ridne Prybuzhzhya"

Yulia Tymoshenko 20712 (neutrally – 0, positively – 20712, negatively – 0) 29%

Petro Poroshenko 21141 (neutrally – 267, positively – 20559, negatively – 315) 29%

Oleksandr Turchynov (obligations) 19181 (neutrally – 770, positively – 18411, negatively – 0) 27%

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) 8399 (neutrally – 2096, positively – 18411, negatively – 0) 12%

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (agitator) 2467 (neutrally – 0, positively – 2467, negatively – 0) 3%

No information about Mykhaylo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko, Serhiy Tihipko.

## Tonality (separately by newspapers).

<u>"Vecherniy Nilolayev"</u> in a neutral tonality the information about Oleksandr Turchynov (obligations) is maximally represented, Serhiy Tihipko's activities are positively highlighted, Yulia Tymoshenko's negative indicator is the largest. In a neutral tonality the information about Yulia Tymoshenko is minimally presented, the positive information is minimal about Mykhaylo Dobkin, with a minimal index Oleksandr Turchynov's activities are negatively presented.

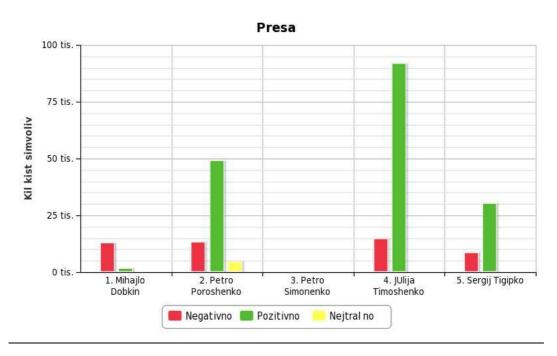
<u>"Ridne Prybuzhzhya"</u> in a neutral tonality Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) is maximally presented and Petro Poroshenko is minimally presented. Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko are positively covered with the highest index, Arseniy Yatsenuk (agitator) is minimally covered. The negative information is only given about Petro Poroshenko.

## **Speakers**

The key speakers are Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Oleksandr Turchynov (responsibilities), Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations), Petro Poroshenko, Mykhaylo Dobkin. Absolutely no information about Petro Symonenko.

# Manipulations and mediaeffects description

Unfortunately, not all the articles that are placed about the candidates are marked as political advertising. Almost all the information that is placed about the presidential candidates is ordered.



#### Internet-sites

The main events that are highlighted on this site are events in the east (anti-terrorist operation, new appointments in Mykolayiv region and the prevention of possible provocations). The arrival of Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko to Mykholayiv. The arrival of the Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk to Mykholayiv and the round table organization.

### % of candidates and political process parties - separately by internet sites

#### Mykola.net

Petro Poroshenko 20573 (neutrally – 5818, positively – 11861, negatively – 2894) 24%

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) 19679 (neutrally – 15173, positively – 2685, negatively – 1821) 23%

Yulia Tymoshenko 18129 (neutrally – 570, positively – 7014, negatively – 10545) 21%

Mykhaylo Dobkin 3640 (neutrally – 1806, positively – 0, negatively – 1834) 5%

Petro Symonenko 3092 (neutrally – 987, positively – 2105, negatively – 0) 4%

Serhiy Tihipko 1058 (neutrally – 5818, positively – 11861, negatively – 2894) 1%

#### Novosti-N

Oleksandr Turchunov (obligations) 102093 (neutrally – 51313, positively – 43760, negatively – 7020) 42%

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (obligations) 72316 (neutrally – 24052, positively – 45513, negatively – 2721) 31%

Yulia Tymoshenko 25548 (neutrally - 4914, positively - 16391, negatively - 4243) 11%

Petro Poroshenko 17247 (neutrally – 4724, positively – 5072, negatively – 7451) 7%

Mykhaylo Dobkin 11319 (neutrally – 2120, positively – 3378, negatively – 5821) 4%

Serhiy Tihipko 7816 (neutrally – 3575, positively – 4241, negatively – 0) 3%

Petro Symonenko 4984 (neutrally – 809, positively – 0, negatively – 4175) 2%

# Tonality (separately by sites).

## Mykola.net

Yarseniy Yatsenyuk's (obligations) activities are neutrally highlighted in a maximal volume, Yulia Tymoshenko's activities are neutrally represented in a minimum volume. The information about Petro Poroshenko is positively given in a maximal volume, the information about Petro Symonenko is positively represented in a minimal volume. Mykhaylo Dobkin, Serhiy Tigipko and Oleksandr Turchinov are not highlighted as positive at all. Yuliya Tymoshenko is negatively covered in a maximal volume, the negative information about Arseniy Yatsenyuk is highlighted in a minimal volume.

#### Novosti-N

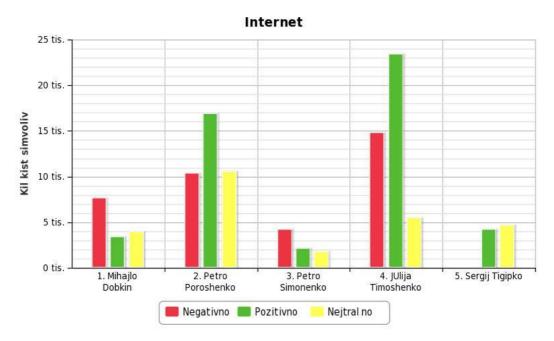
Oleksandr Turchynov's (obligations) activities are neutrally highlighted in a maximal volume, Petro Symonenko's activities are neutrally represented in a minimum volume. The information about Arseniy Yatsenyuk is positively given in maximal volume, the information about Nykhaylo Dobkin is positively represented in a minimal volume. Petro Symonenko is not highlighted as positive at all. Oleksandr Turchunov is negatively covered in a maximal volume, the negative information about Arseniy Yatsenyuk is highlighted in a minimal volume. Serhiy Tihipko is not highlighted as negative at all.

#### **Speakers**

Yhe major speakers are the officials namely Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchynov as acting. There wasn't information about them as materials agitators in the Internet. The information about Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko was given because they had a visit to Mykolayiv. Less information was represented about SerhiyTihipko, Petro Symonenko and Mykhaylo Dobkin.

# Manipulation and mediaeffects description

During the press conference which took place on the occasion of Yulia Tymoshenko's visit to Mykolayiv she gave very negative comments about the activities of only one candidate Petro Poroshenko.



## **ODESA REGION**

#### **Main conclusions**

The Odessa mass media represented quite passively the eleciton campaign in comparison with the previous campaings. The monitored media gave their preferences to 2-3 candidates for presidency. The television channels did not almost cover the presidential campaign; the web-sites represented the activity of the candidates in the form of news. Only the newspapers highlighted the campaign representing quite large articles which could be consider as the agitation materials. But the materials did not always contain the mark "political advertising" or "electoral agitation". The state televison and oblast newspaper did not represent the information in the newscasts and on their pages that could be considered as agitation. The monitored information related to the activities of Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Turchinov. There was traced none materials where Olekdandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk were represented as agitators.

Other newspapers posted the informtion on their pages about the candidates giving the advantages to Serhiy Tihipko, Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

Within the last week before the elections the situation did not change. There were the same candidates in the same mass media. However Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Oleksandr Tuchinov were not mentioned at all on the TV and in other media.

In comparison with the previous report the figures of some candidates some changed, the distance of one from another candidate reduced but the general trends in their representing and eveluation were not changed substantially.

Under the result of monitoring one can conclude that we can not say about the equal representing of the chadidates for presidency:

Media attention was divided as follows:

- *OSTRC* the coverage of regional and national officials. Even during the visits of the candidates to the region there was none reportage or even a small news item.
- *TRC HLAS* there were the news itmes about Oleksandr Turchynov as the Speaker of Verkhovna Rada and Mykhailo Dobkin. But within the last month the channel showed its media support to one candidate Serhiy Tihipko.
- Odeski visti here there is the situation like on OSTRC.
- *Chornomorski novyny* represented the materials about Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. At that the amount of information about Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko was equal. Serhiy Tihipko received much less information.

- *Vechirnya Odessa* the priority of representing was given to Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko (only the positive materials), much less official materials about Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov. The least information was given to Petro Poroshenko and exclusively in negative tone.
- *Dumska.net* gave its preferences to Petro Poroshenko (Oleksandr Honcharenko (Party of Regions) as the owner of this web-site was the chief of the campaign office). Then more or less equally Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko. Yulia Tymoshenko received the negative evaluation.
- *TrassaE95* the most amount of materials was devoted to Serhiy Tigipko, almost equal attention was paid to Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties), then Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko took place.

Among the candidates who were not monitored but were represented in Odessa media were the former nominee Nataliya Korolevska and Oleh Tsaryov, and also the candidates for presidency Anatoliy Hrytsenko, Oleh Lyashko, Oleh Tyahnybok. At the end of week the newspapers represented Olha Bogomolets and V.Tsuschko.

#### TV Media

#### The main trends on television channels

The news items were devoted to the representatives of the Government and their official duties and also to such candidates as Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhailo Dopkin.

The general percentage of TV ether time:

Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) – 40,3% Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties) – 33,5% Serhiy Tihipko – 24,8% Mykhailo Dobkin – 1,4%

# % candidates and subjects of political process - on each channel.

OSTRC (Oblast State TV and Radio Company) Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) – 71% Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties) – 29% HLAS Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties) – 49% Serhiy Tihipko – 43,6% Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) – 4,4% Mykhailo Dobkin – 3%

## Tonality (for each channel).

OSTRC (Oblast State TV and Radio Company)
Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) – neutral tone
Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties) – neutral tone
HLAS
Oleksandr Turchinov (official duties) – neutral tone
Serhiy Tihipko – positive tone
Arseniy Yatsenyuk (official duties) – neutral tone
Mykhailo Dobkin – neutral tone

#### **Speakers**

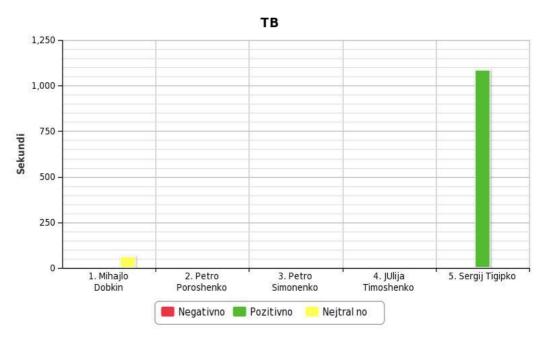
As a rule the candidates became the speakers themselves, sometimes the presenters gave the introduction to the news item.

### **Syncs**

Because of minimal number of the candidates and TV channels, it is difficult to determine who has the minimal or maximal sync. If you do not take into account Mykhailo Dobkin with his greeting movies for 60 seconds, Serhiy Tihipko remains. Others fulfilled their official duties.

# Priority of representing (who are in the first news items).

All candidates were represented at the beginning of the newscast, usually it was the block of national or local "hot" news.



#### **Print Media**

## The principal trends in the press.

"Vechirnya Odesa" paid the most attention to the election - 72.8 %. In second place – "Chornomorski novyny" - 21.6 %. And the official newspaper of official power - 5.6%

### % of candidates and political players – separately for each papers.

Odeski visti – Oleksandr Turchynov (official duties) - 100%

Chornomorski novyny

Poroshenko - 36.8%

Tymoshenko - 36.8%

Tihipko - 18.8%

Yatsenyuk - 7.6%

Vechirnya Odesa

Tymoshenko - 40.7%

Tihipko - 35.7%

Yatsenyuk (official duties) - 15.3%

Poroshenko - 5.3%

Turchinov (official duties) - 2.6%

Dobkin - 0.4 %

### **Tonality (separately for each newspaper)**

Odeski visti

Turchinov (official duties) - neutral

Chornomorski novyny

Poroshenko - positive

Tymoshenko - a positive
Tigipko - positive
Yatsenyuk - neutral
Vechirnya Odesa
Tymoshenko - positive
Tigipko - positive
Yatsenyuk (official duties) - neutral
Poroshenko - negative
Turchinov (official duties) - neutral
Dobkin - negative

### **Speakers**

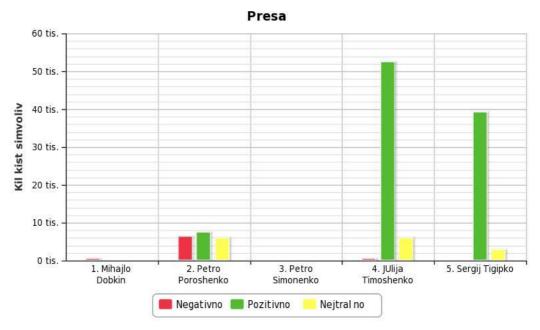
The candidates were the speakers themselves.

## Priority of representing (who is on the front pages - without numbers).

On the first pages the official information was represented, the materials about the candidates were placed inside the newspapers.

# Description of manipulations and media effects.

The most of the materials talked about the activities of candidates and their positions. The materials did not directly encourage for voting for a particular candidate.



#### **Internet-sites**

### The principal trends on internet sites.

Dumska - 63% TrassaE95 - 37%

# % of candidates and political players – separately for each web-site.

#### Dumska

Poroshenko - 60.8% Tymoshenko - 13.6% Tihipko - 13.5% Turchinov - 5% **Dobkin - 4.1%** 

Yatsenyuk - 3%

## TrassaE95

Tihipko - 49.8%

Turchinov - 15.4%

Yatsenyuk - 13.5%

Poroshenko - 12.3%

Tymoshenko - 9%

## Tonality (separately for each web-site).

### Dumska

Poroshenko - positive

Tymoshenko - negative

Tihipko - neutral

Turchinov – neutral

Dobkin - negative

Yatsenyuk - neutral

## TrassaE95

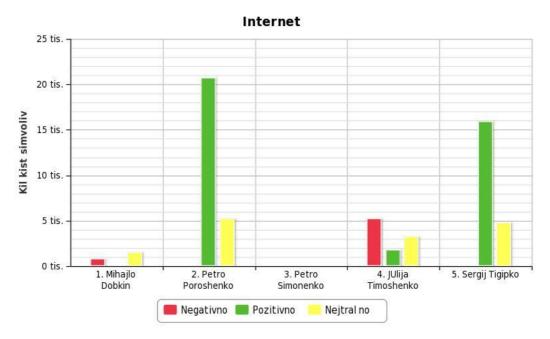
Tihipko - positive

Turchinov - neutral

Yatsenyuk - positive

Poroshenko - neutral

Tymoshenko - positive



## **POLTAVA REGION**

### TV Media

The main conclusion after monitoring TV this time is that TV practically used no media effects and media manipulations.

At the beginning of the election campaign Poltava TV companies were more than passive. TV channels neither gave TV spots on the topics researched nor advertised the presidential candidates directly.

The channels briefly informed about the Central election commission's registration of the presidential candidates (without further analysis but in a narration format).

Subsequently, the channels were talking about the appointment of heads of district state administrations by Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov (without further analysis but in a narration format).

Even in May the period when the presidential candidates or their election office team started visiting the region, ODTRK 'Ltava' broadcast the information in the news blocks and advertised the candidates at the end of the news programs; the ads were sounded by a newscaster as 'Political agitation'.

20-30 minute live programs with the candidates in the evening prime-time were broadcast on the regional TV channel as 'Political agitation'.

In general, for the first time in election campaigns, ODTRK 'Ltava' (maybe, because of a new director) neither aired hidden agitation, nor organized live programs with candidates (if they were not marked as 'Political agitation').

This time TV-channel 'Vizyt' (Kremenchuk) also broadcast less political ads; however, it did not mark a TV spot on Poroshenko's visit as 'Political agitation'.

It should be noted that TV-channels gave a lot of useful information on the nationwide events, thereby, focusing a viewer's opinions on protecting the country and its unity.

I think all candidates had an equal access to TV-channels, pluralism of thoughts was in place, however, not all candidates were aired because of ignoring the region (no paid visits to the region).

Therefore, the most attention was paid by channels to candidates who were newsmakers. For instance, opening headquarters of candidates, statements and opinions of former regional leaders on the candidates.

Throughout the reporting period, no agitation by Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Acting President and Verkhovna Rada speaker Oleksandr Turchinov was recorded on TV.

### Comment on maximal and minimal tone rates.

The most materials aired in a positive and neutral tone were devoted to Petro Poroshenko (960 sec. and 1614 sec., respectively).

The most materials aired in a negative tone were devoted to Yulia Tymoshenko (75 sec).

## The overall representation is the following:

- Petro Poroshenko 47.5%
- Yulia Tymoshenko 24,3%
- Oleksandr Turchynov 14.7%
- Serhiy Tihipko 9.1%
- Petro Symonenko 2.1%
- Arseniy Yatsenyuk 1.4%
- Mykhailo Dobkin 0.9%

## **Speakers**

- 1. Petro Poroshenko
- 2. Yulia Tymoshenko
- 3. Mykhailo Dobkin
- 4. SerhiyTihipko
- 5. Petro Symonenko
- 6. Arseniy Yatsenyuk
- 7. Oleksandr Turchynov
- 8. Oleh Lyashko
- 9. Anatoliv Hrytsenko
- 10. Oleksanr Udovichenko (former governor)
- 11. Andriy Baranov (former governor deputy)
- 12. Petro Vorona (head of the regional council)

### Sync

Examples when Petro Poroshenko's aired sync was several times more than the one of Yulia Tymoshenko were not recorded. All news events were covered properly. Syncs in the news stories marked as 'Political agitation' were not measured, however, it is possible to state that they were nearly equal.

## **Priority in presentation**

No priority in presentation on TV-channels was observed because the candidates visited the region on different days. As for 'Political agitation' many candidates, except Yulia Tymoshenko, participated in ODTRK 'Ltaval' live programs while their staying in the region.

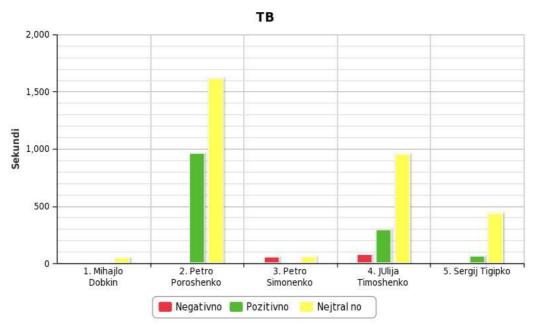
## Manipulations and media effects

In general, no media effects or manipulations on ODTRK 'Ltava' and private TV-company 'Vizyt' were observed.

'Ltava' marked all ads and showed them after news blocks.

However, it is worth noting that 'Ltava' paid TV spots were aired after a bumper, as for 'Vizyt' company ads were given in general news block with no 'advertising' marks.

During the last days before the election there were TV live programs where no appeal to vote for any candidate was heard.



### **Print Media**

Throughout the election campaign newspapers of Poltava region were active in covering the news on election races, major election process trends, however, not all candidates were represented on the pages of media monitored (only candidates with high ratings could be read).

The greatest attention to the election process news was paid by 'Kremenchuk Telegraf' that regularly gave short news on the election campaign. This very print media prepared analytical materials and placed no unmarked political ad.

Other media were not active in publishing information on the candidates enough for making a conscious choice.

'Zorya of Poltavshchyna' municipal newspaper also paid attention to covering election process news, however, the most analytics or materials were published as ads. It is worth noting that if 'Telegraph' newspaper published an ad on the candidates' visit it wrote its own information message about the event. 'Zorya of Poltavshchyna' marked political ads with 'a hand holding a pen' icon and as 'Election 2014' column. The newspaper background inform that 'a hand holding a pen' icon and the columns 'Opinion', 'Position', 'Action', 'Politics', 'Problem' and 'Election 2014' and others to be considered as ads.

It should be noted that the reader who does not read the newspaper background may not notice the ads.

However, 'Vechirnya Poltava' newspaper was far from marking political ads, nearly all agitation materials were not marked properly. They contained mainly positive messages about Yulia Tymoshenko. Throughout the monitoring period no agitations by Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Acting President and the Verkhovna Rada speaker Oleksandr Turchinov were recorded.

#### Comment on maximal and minimal tone index.

Presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko was mostly covered in a negative tone - 3355 symbols. Rather negative messages were written to address of Petro Poroshenko - 1906 symbols.

Yulia Tymoshenko was also a leader on positive materials - 14028 symbols, Petro Poroshenko - 6370 symbols.

The most neutral materials were published about Yulia Tymoshenko - 11761 symbols, Petro Poroshenko - 7111 symbols.

## **Speakers**

ad.

- 1. Petro Poroshenko
- 2. Yulia Tymoshenko
- 3. Serhiy Tihipko
- 4. Oleksandr Turchynov
- 5. Oleh Lyashko
- 6. Anatoliy Hrytsenko
- 7. Oleksandr Udovichenko (former governor)
- 8. Andriy Baranov (former governor deputy)
- 9. Petro Vorona (head of the regional council)

## Manipulations and media effects

'Kremenchuk Telegraf' newspaper was fast in preparing analytics but the media is not favourable to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Symonenko. No media manipulations were observed.

'Zorya of Poltavshchyna' marked political ads with 'a hand holding a pen' icon and as 'Election 2014' column. The newspaper background inform that 'a hand holding a pen' icon, and the columns 'Opinion', 'Position', 'Action', 'Politics', 'Problem' and 'Election 2014' and others to be considered as ads.

The newspaper regularly covered the activity of Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenyuk. It is noteworthy that the reader who does not read the newspaper background may not notice the

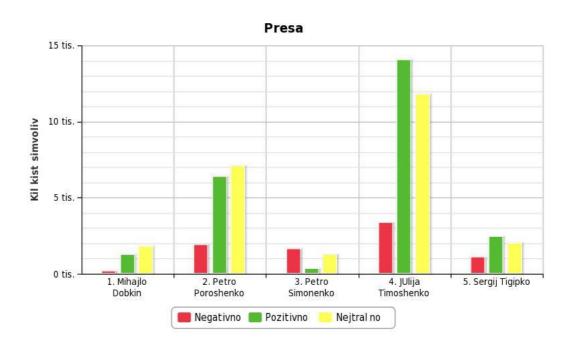
However, nearly all 'Vechirnya Poltava' newspaper publications were not marked properly.

The media placed an article 'Presidential positions to start' where the candidates were informed in brief, however, the most part of the material was devoted to candidate Yulia Tymoshenko. The material said that all candidates started on general democratic platform but it was understandably explained why Yulia Tymoshenko was the best there. The article is also attached by a photo of Yulia Tymoshenko. The material is not marked as 'Ad'.

Similarly, the media placed an unmarked article about Oleh Lyashko, although the same material was published as 'Ad' in 'Zorya of Poltavshchyna' newspaper.

The similar positive materials about Yulia Tymoshenko or Petro Poroshenko (or the contrary) were being published in the media for the whole election period.

It is worth noting that all newspapers used briefings initiated by either former governor of Poltava region, Oleksandr Udovichenko, or former governor deputy, Andriy Baranov, where they supported a particular candidate.



### **Internet-sites**

Throughout the election campaign period internet websites of Poltava region were active in covering news on the election race. However, except 'Telegraph', they were far from representing all candidates enough for making a fully informed choice.

In comparison with the previous election campaigns 'Novyny of Poltavshchyna' municipal news agency published much less agitation materials and supported no pro-government candidates (as was observed earlier). At the same time news materials and agitation articles were no distinguished.

The site regularly covered activities of Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk concerning events in the region, and placed a video material on Arseniy Yatsenyuk 's appartment.

At the beginning of the election campaign 'Poltavshchyna' news agency did not mark political ads either. However, later on it started marking them with a 'P' letter. The media background inform that 'Materials marked with P' are published as ads.

It should be noted that agitation materials to marked as ''Political ad or Political agitation'. 'Poltavshchyna' and 'Telegraph' mainly covered the nationwide elections and provided them with analytics.

'Telegraph' editorial office placed no agitation materials. However, its enmity to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Symonenko. At the end of the election period the website stopped monitoring election race track and publishing political results of an election week.

It should be noted that the website provided on-line broadcast of all press-conferences and meetings between the candidates and locals of Kremenchuk. This practice was used for the candidates who paid visits to Kremenchuk.

All websites used briefings initiated by either former governor of Poltava region, Oleksandr Udovichenko, or former governor deputy, Andriy Baranov, where they supported a particular candidate. Throughout the monitoring period no agitation by Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Acting President and the Verkhovna Rada speaker Oleksandr Turchinov was recorded.

### Comment on maximal and minimal tone idex.

The most materials in a positive and neutral tone were devoted to Petro Poroshenko (13406 and 19290 symbols, respectively).

The negative materials number on Yulia Tymoshenko was equal 5437 symbols.

### **Speakers**

1. Petro Poroshenko

- 2. Yulia Tymoshenko
- 3. Serhiy Tihipko
- 4. Oleksandr Turchynov
- 5. Oleh Lyashko
- 6. Anatoliy Hrytsenko
- 7. Oleksandr Udovichenko (former governor)
- 8. Andriy Baranov (former governor deputy)
- 9. Petro Vorona (head of the regional council)

## Description of manipulations and media effects

The use of manipulative technologies was not recorded. Later on, 'Poltavshchyna' posted unmarked Communist Party's press-release on Petro Symonenko's activity. By Easter this very website placed Yulia Tymoshenko's congratulation with Easter, the greetings had no marks. Congratulations from other candidates were absent.

'Poltavshchyna' website started marking ads. The publications were attached with 'Materials marked with P are published as ads'.

At the same time agitation materials should be clearly marked as 'Political Ad or Political agitation'.

In comparison with the previous election campaigns 'Novyny of Poltavshchyna' municipal news agency published much less agitation materials and supported no pro-government candidates (as was observed earlier). At the same time news materials and agitation articles were no distinguished.

The site regularly covered activities of Oleksandr Turchinov and A.Yatsenuk concerning events in the region, and placed a video material on Arseniy Yatsenyuk 's appartment.

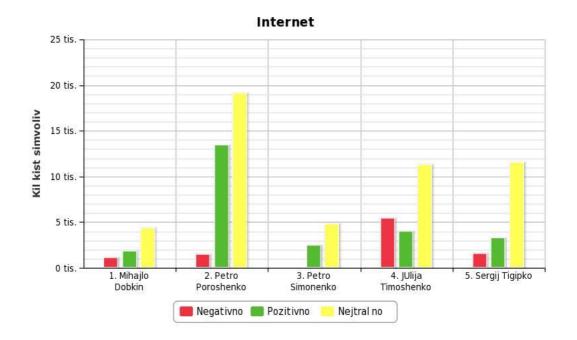
'Telegraph' editorial office placed no agitation materials. However, one can say about its hostility to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Symonenko. For example, the article 'Candidates for the President are sharing their plans on fighting against terrorists in the East of Ukraine' contains ideas of all candidates, but Yulia Tymoshenko's opinion was counterbalanced by separatists' statements. In fact, ideas of all candidates could be criticized.

It should be noted that the website provided on-line broadcast of all press-conferences and meetings between the candidates and locals of Kremenchuk. This practice was used for the candidates who paid visits to Kremenchuk.

'Poltavshchyna' and 'Telegraf' actively covered the nationwide election process news and provided them with analytics.

All websites used briefings initiated by either former governor of Poltava region, Oleksandr Udovichenko, or former governor deputy, Andriy Baranov, where they supported a particular candidate.

Throughout the monitoring period no agitation by Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Acting President and the Verkhovna Rada speaker Oleksandr Turchynov was recorded.



### RIVNE REGION

#### **Main conclusions**

In the period from the election campaign launched and until its end Rivne media were not characterized by active involvement in coverage of the election campaign of candidates for president. There are only two Rivne private newspapers that gave considerable space for presidential candidates' materials to publish. However, most of these materials can be referred to so called 'jeans', i.e. the ones financed by a presidential candidate's headquarters. 'Jeans' materials in the newspapers are proved by the fact they do not contain materials marked as 'Election agitation' practically. Other words there are lots of materials telling about a candidate's good sides but there are no marks to help a voter to understand that this information is paid for. Marked-materials about Olha Bohomolets, published within the last week of the campaign, are exceptions here.

'Jeans' is the greatest problem technology to manipulate. Because of huge number of 'jeans' materials it is hard to talk about candidates' equal access to mass media or pluralism, indeed. The access was provided with money; most of opinions, facts and comments were presented by candidates' representatives for money, thus, all this does not reflect real picture and practically gives, making it more difficult for voters to make a fully informed choice. The largest number of materials, including 'jeans', was devoted to candidate Yulia Tymoshenko, just a little less - to Petro Poroshenko. Because of the bulk of materials about Yulia Tymoshenko or Petro Poroshenko, probably, all other candidates were much less represented in mass media.

Another trend could be observed in Rivne television. It showed candidates if they visited the region only. However, there was a tendency to place a huge amount of news stories telling about activities of the central authorities, the government, in particular. Sometimes this news was shown as 'News of Rivne' local information block ('Rivne 1' TV-private channel) or 'Official news' block (RODTRK state mass media). The news on the government's activity formed the largest number of materials to be monitored.

It is nearly impossible to compare priority level in a candidate's representation on Rivne TV or analyse volumes of syncs because there were no news stories with citations (or syncs given) of two or more candidates for the president at the same time.

Being often mentioned in Rivne mass media Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov were shown in the context of performing their duties, rather than agitators

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for any candidate. It proves that administrative resources while covering the election process in Rivne media were not used.

Rivne Internet resources wrote little about the presidential candidates. In most cases they mentioned candidates during their visits, however, overall number of such materials is negligible. Most of the materials on the monitoring subjects inform about performing the duties by government officials or Acting President. Naturally, tone of the materials is neutral.

Apart from 'jeans' no other manipulations or media effects in Rivne media were used.

### TV Media

The evening news on channel 'Rivne 1' ('News of Rivne') and RODTRK ('Day and 'Official News') were chosen as objects to monitor. Throughout the period of the election campaign Rivne TV paid little attention to the presidential candidates. Mostly the materials were devoted to the activity of the Arseniy Yatsenyuk's government and members of his cabinet, and sometimes the work of Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov. Periodically, TV spots marked as 'jeans' were shown during or after news programs. Information about the candidates appeared, in particular, when they visited the region in framework of their pre-election tour. Some presidential candidates were practically ignored by Rivne TV because the candidates' representatives were not active in the region, and the candidates were hardly to see there. A relatively large amount of materials about Petro Symonenko was provided, primarily, due to a number of 'jeans' spots.

81.9% of materials monitored are TV spots on performing duties by governors and Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk, 8,3% - Acting President of Ukraine Oleksandr Turchinov, 5.4% - Petro Symonenko, 2.3% - Yulia Tymoshenko, 1.4% - Petro Poroshenko, 0.6% - Mykhailo Dobkin and 0.1% - Serhiy Tihipko.

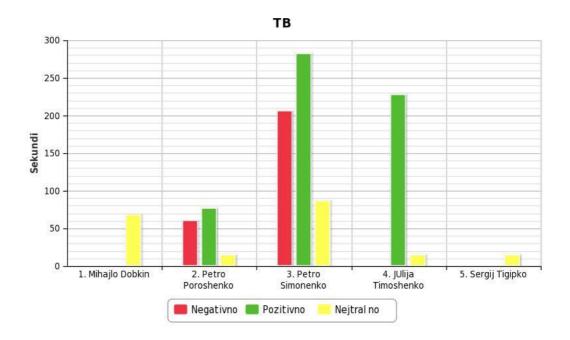
The monitoring subjects on 'Rivne 1' were represented little and unbalanced. The most information was devoted to the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk's activity, the dominance can be observed in materials in all tones. Positive tones were found in materials devoted to Petro Symonenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, other candidates were ignored. Negative tone prevailed in TV spots telling about governors; materials on Petro Symonenko and Petro Poroshenko were less negatively coloured. Other candidates were not mentioned completely. Neutral tone materials, particularly, informed about performing duties by the governors; there was no mention about the leader of the Communist Party.

RODTRK news programs actively covered activity of the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk, mostly, in a positive or neutral tone. The government officials were mentioned in TV spots more often than presidential candidates. Positive tone coloured spots represented Petro Poroshenko and Y. Tymoshenko, neutral – the government, Acting President and Petro Symonenko, negative - Petro Symonenko only. Other candidates were not mentioned.

Main speakers are Oleksandr Turchinov, Arseniy Yatsenuk, V.Hroysman, V.Yarema, O.Sych and Petro Symonenko.

Syncs of the mentioned-above speakers were usually represented in TV spots where different subjects were not presented; that is why priority and quantitative dominance of any candidate are unreasonably to determine.

Manipulations or media effects use was not fixed. The only TV spots to mention here are 'jeans' materials about Petro Symonenko.



#### **Print Media**

Newspapers 'Visti of Rivne region' (media of the regional council and administration) and two most wide-spread private newspapers 'Rivne vechirne' and 'Rivne express' were chosen as objects to monitor. If 'Visti of Rivne region' journalists practically ignored the campaign, the two other media were characterized by the bulk of election content materials. However, most of them are 'jeans' materials. In these materials, having all 'jeans' characteristics, information is represented either completely unbalanced, or positively coloured as for the 'client'; or explicit or implicit criticism of the opponent contained. It is worth noting an interesting fact that materials about leaders of the race marked as 'Election agitation' were absent in popular Rivne newspapers. Materials about Olha Bohomolets and Anatoliy Hrytsenko (not all) were the only having 'Election agitation' mark.

The representation share of political forces in Rivne newspapers monitored is the following: Yulia Tymoshenko - 47%, Petro Poroshenko - 26.9%, information on performing official duties by the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk - 17.7%, Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov - 2.9%, Serhiy Tihipko - 2.5%, Mykhailo Dobkin - 2.4%, Petro Symonenko - 0.6%.

'Visti of Rivne region' newspaper is characterized by the least number of materials about the presidential candidates. At the same time, activity of the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk was more often mentioned in the media of the Rivne regional state authorities; materials about Mykhailo Dobkin were the least in number. The government of Arseniy Yatsenuk (performance of his official duties) and Yulia Tymoshenko (as a candidate for the president) had positive tone, mostly; other monitoring subjects were practically absent. Materials about government officials were represented in negative tone. The central government materials were neutrally, Serhiy Tihipko got the most coverage, Mykhailo Dobkin – the least.

'Rivne vechirne' and 'Rivne express' newspapers, working in the same editorial office, have the similar picture on the candidates' representation.

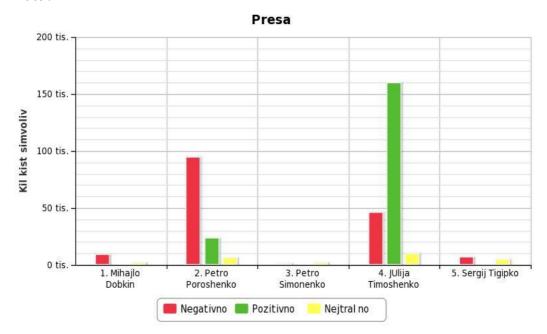
'RV' published the bulk of positive materials about Yulia Tymoshenko and ignored (except Petro Poroshenko) the other candidates. The most materials in negative tone were covered about Petro Poroshenko, the least - Petro Symonenko. The most number of materials in neutral tone was about the government, the least - Petro Symonenko.

'Rivne Express' is characterized by the bulk of positive materials about Yulia Tymoshenko and absence of publications about Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko. Neutral tone was mostly represented in materials on performing duties by the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk , and the least materials in neutral tone were devoted to Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko. The largest number of materials about Petro Poroshenko was in a negative tone, and there were no such materials about Petro Symonenko.

The main speakers are as follows: Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchinov, Yulia Tymoshenko, Nataliya Korolevska, Petro Poroshenko, V.Yarema, O.Sych, Vitaliy Klychko, Yuri Lutsenko and a number of political scientists, sociologists and other experts.

The front pages of Rivne newspapers had no materials about the presidential candidates, no priority in representing any candidate was observed.

The main manipulative techniques used in Rivne press is 'jeans'. 'Do not fool us' article, published in 'Rivne express', can be referred to an example of manipulation because the material 'reveals' supposedly Jewish origin of Petro Poroshenko. The article focuses on the fact that the candidate is ashamed of his roots. The same articles were written about Vitaliy Klychko in 2012 and Arseniy Yatsenuk in 2009.



## **Internet-sites**

'4 vlada' and 'Vse' websites did not produce many materials about the presidential candidates but the all published articles were mostly balanced. The main newsworthy events were situation in the East of the country, the government and candidates' visits to Rivne region. Most of the materials were informative and neutral. There were several analytical materials on the organization presentation, the electoral process and analysis of election programs. These materials were nearly quantitatively equal on each candidate.

The representation share of political forces on Rivne Internet portals is as follows: performance of duties by the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk - 30.2%, Petro Poroshenko - 22.4%, Yulia Tymoshenko - 22,3%, performance of duties by Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov - 11.7%, Serhiy Tihipko - 5.8%, Mykhailo Dobkin - 5.7%, Petro Symonenko - 2.0%.

'4 vlada' portal is critical that is why a tone of the most articles is neutral or negative. Negative tone prevailed in materials about Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko (including blogs), the least of negative materials was written about Petro Symonenko. Slight positive tone was seen in the materials about the government of Arseniy Yatsenuk, Serhiy Tihipko, Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko; Mykhailo Dobkin was mentioned the least. '4 vlada' portal devoted its most neutral materials to performance of duties by government officials, as well as Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko; the least was written about Serhiy Tihipko.

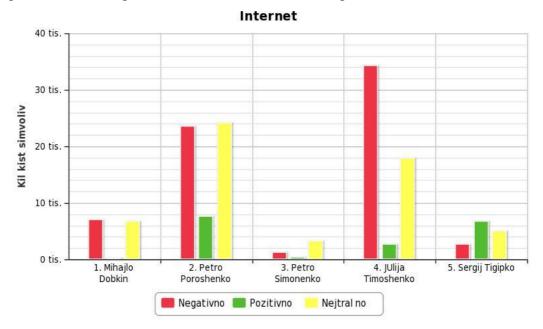
The bulk of neutral tone materials about activity of the government and less materials about Petro Symonenko could be observed on 'Vse' website. Positive tone materials were most written about Petro Poroshenko (good chances for victory) and Serhiy Tihipko (local representatives of the 'Party of Regions' supported him instead of Mykhailo Dobkin), negative tone could be observed in the materials about

Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko. Materials with a negative tone mainly concerned criticism of Interior Minister A.Avakov's activity, as well as candidates Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko; the least materials in this tone were written about Serhiy Tihipko. Petro Symonenko was the only candidate mentioned little.

The main speakers are the following: Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchinov, Arsen Avakov and Yulia Tymoshenko.

Priority in any candidate's representation was not observed.

Manipulation technologies and media effects were not reported.



## **SUMY REGION**

#### TV Media

No money paid to mass media is supposed right tactics chosen by candidates in the presidential election campaign 2014. They understood that paying money to mass media cannot ensure the best results. Sometimes the candidates gave some materials prepared by their offices. Mass media took and published them. Mostly these materials had no 'ad' marks. Unfortunately, to my mind, regional media rating will drop lower than it was. At the same time journalists have lost the chance to improve their professional skills and demonstrate themselves as professionals.

All Sumy region mass media waited for the campaign to earn money by publishing materials about candidates. The latter had no desire to invest in regional media realizing that the effectiveness of this investment is close to zero. Attention of voters was focused on the nationwide TV.

There was no own journalistic material in the mass media. Perhaps it can be explained by the fact that the candidates paid few visits to Sumy region. Even if they did visit (Serhiy Tihipko, for instance) the only thing they gave for the media - 1-2 abstracts for informational messages and electoral headquarters workpiece. That is why there are no reasons to talk about pluralism, equality or priority. A person who pays has a right to order 'the music'. Foreign observers also say that it seems that there will be no elections in Sumy region. All the media's attention is paid to local elections.

The greatest attention was paid to the frontrunners Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. Regarding Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchinov the state media ('Sumshchyna' and CODTRK) did not mention them practically. Exceptions were made in case of writing about staff rotations in the region. The candidates began visiting the region before two weeks of the elections only. Meetings with people were organized by Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

The only case when local TV broadcast something not referred to 'electoral headquarters workpiece' was Yulia Tymoshenko's interview shown on May, 21 on TRK 'Vidikon' after her meeting with voters from Konotop, Romy and Sumy.

### TV Media

Regional television activeness was too low. For a long period of time TRC 'Vidikon' has been absent in the air because of the problems in relationships with the channel owner. The information produced was dominated by 'jeans'. SDTRC was rather passive. The reporting period was characterized by few events. It explains the figures.

## Main topics

The only information material prepared by TV was connected with a conflict while forming an electoral headquarters of Petro Poroshenko (potential A.Derkach's appointment as the head of headquarters). The information is negative in tone.

'Vidikon' showed the electoral headquarters workpiece of Serhiy Tihipko: - Either up or down. Yulia Tymoshenko addresses the 'northern neighbor' on violation of the Geneva agreements. Exception from sad 'rules' is Yulia Tymoshenko's interview shown on May, 21 on TRK 'Vidikon' after her meeting with voters from Konotop, Romy and Sumy.

## **Trends in election coverage**

Silence was practically observed in the air. All the attention was paid to election of the mayor of Sumy.

Totally, information about Petro Poroshenko was equal 541 sec. (38% of the overall information), Yulia Tymoshenko - 392 sec. (10 %), Serhiy Tihipko 256 sec. (7 %). An interview with Yulia Tymoshenko 'Towards the end' which surpassed the airtime for the previous period - 2700 sec. (69%).

### Tone

Information in positive tone prevailed.

SODTRC produced negative tone information (Petro Poroshenko) 161 sec, positive - 15 sec, neutral - 566 sec.

Totally, 'Vidikon' produced positive tone materials (3041 sec) and neutral materials (301 sec).

## **Speakers**

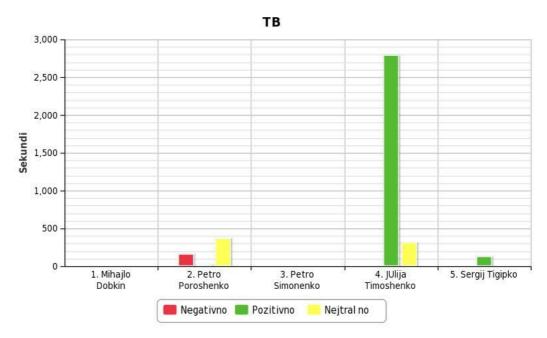
Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchynov.

## **Priority in representation**

It is hardly to talk about priorities in terms of providing 'ordered' materials. The information regarding the election was represented in the final TV spots.

## Manipulation and media effects

'Jeans'



### **Print Media**

The bulk of 'jeans' materials. Sumy region was visited by Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko. Silence in the press prevails. Throughout the monitoring period one scenario could be observed - reprinting electoral headquarters workpiece. The election campaign was 'hidden' in 'Economy', 'Kitchen of power' columns.

Close to the election race end (last week), after favourites determined, one could see materials about Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. Each of them was given equal number of positive and negative materials.

### Main topics

'Dankor': Tihipko: The state must support national producers. Photo 83 sq.cm.

'Sumskoy headquarters of Petro Poroshenko: None is forgotten'. Electoral committee of the candidate organized guarding the Glory Memorial. Information on activities of the party 'UDAR' follows.

'Fires of ambitions of Yulia Tymoshenko' is a completely negative electoral headquarters workpiece against Yulia Tymoshenko.

Yulia Tymoshenko is against oligarchs.

Petro Poroshenko: Building a new country (election agitation).

Why did Firtash slander Poroshenko ('Kitchen of power').

'Panorama':

Tihipko proposed developing machine-building (visit to 'Ukrrosmetall', Sumy), photo of the meeting with the team covered 40% of the page. It is said about 'lessons of Odessa' and importance 'to negotiate whenever'. Materials are attached with photos that sometimes covered up to 40% of the space.

Tymoshenko: West undervalues real danger caused by Russia. Photo is 94 sq.cm.

Yulia Tymoshenko: 'Putin is the greatest danger for any peaceful country' is a completely positive material about Yulia Tymoshenko, the most part of the article contains direct speech of Yulia Tymoshenko.

'Elections take masks off' is a completely negative material about Yulia Tymoshenko.

Tihipko helped the East to express themselves.

Yulia Tymoshenko gave a formula to save Ukrainian village.

Petro Poroshenko: 'Bring order back to Ukraine'.

Taras Chornovil: Tymoshenko is associated with the Kremlin. Everyone understands it.

We are dealing with two crazy people, one of them sits in Moscow, another one (she) is in Kyiv. 'Sumshchyna':

Let's see who is going. About familiar faces seen among the presidential candidates.

## **Trends in election coverage**

No own material was written by the media, except scanty information on the list of candidates published in 'Sumshchyna'.

Totally, information about Mykhailo Dobkin was equal 0.8%, Petro Poroshenko - 20.5%, Yulia Tymoshenko - 52.2%, Serhiy Tihipko - 16,7%, Arseniy Yatsenuk - 1.4%, Oleksandr Turchinov - 8.1%.

### **Tone**

Positive tone -102,633 symbols.

Neutral tone -5638 symbols.

Negative tone - 33720 symbols.

Among them are 3714 characters of neutral tone materials ('Sumshchyna').

'Dankor': neutral – 0, negative - 8471 symbols, positive - 20602 symbols.

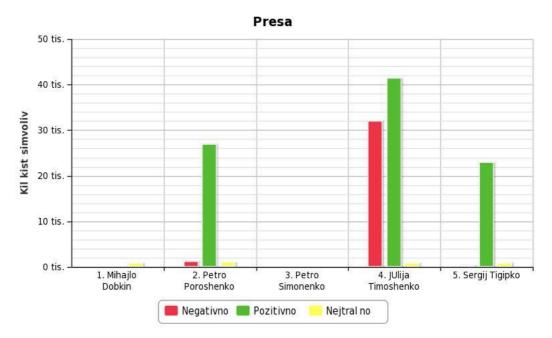
'Panorama': neutral - 2593 symbols, negative - 25249 symbols, positive - 82 031 symbols.

## **Speakers**

Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko

### Manipulation and media effects

'Jeans' and absence of own materials.



#### **Internet-sites**

'XPRESS', actively worked throughout previous election campaigns, was rather passive this year. Obviously, having got no money pouring from the race contestants, the media 'exploded' at the end of the campaign and started writing material in negative tone, mainly, about Petro Poroshenko. However, this is the only regional media providing its own materials. Thus, it showed a good example for positive changes in trend to follow by other media Sumy region, didn't it?

Materials about Mykhailo Dobkin covered little more than 2%, Petro Poroshenko – 98%.

## Main topics

Petro Poroshenko's headquaters in Sumy region dissociates from Andriy Derkach and 'Party of Regions' representatives.

Another three Ukrainian presidential candidates named heads of their headquarters in Sumy region.

Candidate Poroshenko deceives voters again.

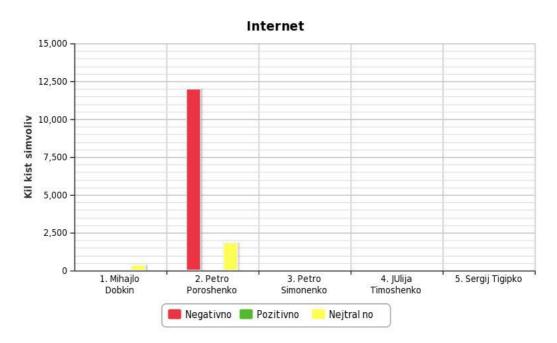
On the dark side of the moon. Part Three, Petro Poroshenko.

## Online trends in covering political parties' activity

The only source of information that throughout the whole monitoring period managed to produce own critical material on the subject. It was like a 'capper' (his author and owner is O.Hvozdik). We see the owner's anger to Petro Poroshenko whom they considered as a main potential 'sponsor'.

# Manipulation and media effects

None was traced.



## **TERNOPIL REGION**

### **Main conclusions**

Media did not give up publishing 'jeans' and unmarked political ads although its number decreased a lot. However, they do not have own analytical materials on elections and produces few educational messages, actually. Moreover, practice of editorial staff to publish most materials paid by the candidates' headquarters (except materials informing about candidates' visits to the region) is still popular. It seems that the editors do not want their readers to get 'unbiased' and balanced information about all candidates. We can also conclude that the media were focused on placing materials only about the candidates whom local population could take. They were Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Lyashko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Anatoliy Hrytsenko. As for the others to be monitored there were brief mentions in materials telling about the headquarters' members, district election committees and so on. However, no mentioned-above media has publications about the candidates written on 'only positive' or 'only negative' principle. Therefore, we can conclude that pluralism really exists, but there is a dangerous phenomenon when, for example, negative tone dominates over positive or neutral position of a media. Within the week prior to the election media produced more educational materials, on television, in

particular; they informed on the way to change voting place, trainings for observers and voters via Internet and so on. On the election day, TV and Internet websites actively covered the campaign with no violating rules established by the law. Results of the exit polls were delivered after the election.

All local media wrote about Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchinov in the context of performing their official duties. Their attempts to agitate for any candidate were not identified.

### TV Media

In comparison with previous election campaigns local TV news programs showed much less TV spots on the candidates. There were much less hidden or unmarked political ads (especially on the state TV-channel because a private one did not abuse them throughout previous elections). As a rule individual programs and rubrics were used for that.

Local or central government representatives were not observed as open agitators for any candidate. Within the last week TV broadcast more educational TV spots (even several spots in a news program) telling about launching special Internet website, information from voters' register body, voting at home, the district election committee activity etc. To some extent a TV spot about Ternopil young activists' action to increase youth involvement in the presidential election was also referred to an educational one.

# % of candidates and political process players

Throughout the whole period news programs on either state or private TV-channels mainly broadcast four candidates, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko and Oleh Tyahnybok (about 20% of the total number of candidates). Another four candidates, Oleh Lyashko, Petro Symonenko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Serhiy Tihipko, were either mentioned very briefly in spots, or due to newsworthy event (for example, when billboards with Mykhailo Dobkin in Ternopil were spoiled with paint), or given as a scrolling text. Within the last week spots on the monitoring candidates and other candidates were absent.

### Tone

Both public and private channels were neutral.

### **Speakers**

Yulia Tymoshenko, representatives of Petro Poroshenko's headquarters and his confidant, Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov as government officials, Oleh Tyahnybok, Anatoliy Hrytsenko.

## **Syncs**

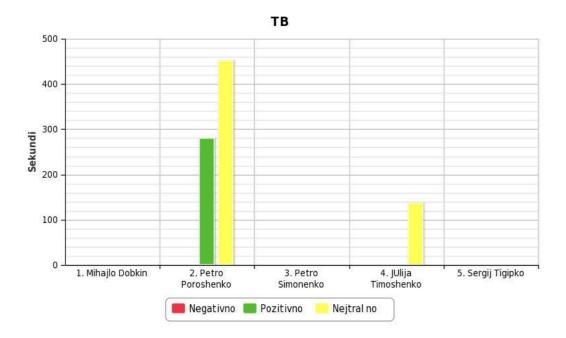
The state TV spots on visits of Poroshenko to the region lasted for 50 seconds, Tymoshenko - 30 seconds. Private TV news programs showed no such spots. The information about the events was given in 'Factory of events' rubric.

# **Priority in representation**

Neither state channels nor private ones started their news programs with spots about candidates. In most cases the first news in the state channel news program concerned central or local government but they had no relations with the election process itself.

### Manipulations and media effects

A peculiar manipulation can be considered a 'Factory of events' program (TV-4 channel), the program is regularly broadcast throughout the election campaign and after the news program, mainly. Because of no explanations or marks (neither by a scrolling text nor in any other way) a TV-viewer is hard to understand that he is watching political ad.



### **Print Media**

Both private and public newspapers published unmarked materials about candidates and 'jeans', although the latter was significantly less in number than in previous election campaigns. The state newspaper practically used no column designed for political ads. The private newspaper marked handful of articles about the candidates. Moreover, publications, their placement and illustrations clearly showed to which of candidate the editorial staff (or the owner) was more or less favourable. The newspapers practically have no own analytical materials on the election: they were full of either reports about candidates' visits to the region, or 'ordered' materials, or reprints from the nationwide press. At the same time the private newspaper had no educational information for voters, indeed. As for the state press there was little educational information published.

### % of candidates and political process players

'Nova Ternopil newspaper', private one, always represented only about 20% of candidates (5 of 21). Thus, two of them, Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, who are the monitoring subjects, and another three are A.Hrytsenko, Oleh Lyashko and Oleh Tyahnybok. There were several publications about Nataliya (even after her removal from the election). The following candidates, Petro Symonenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin, Olha Bohomolets and Dmytro Yarosh, were briefly mentioned (in a few lines or while delivering the rating list). The similar situation was observed in 'Svoboda' state newspaper. In the pre-election week the situation did not change. Publications were not marked.

#### **Tone**

Private 'Nova Ternopil newspaper' published mostly negative materials about Yulia Tymoshenko, mainly positive or neutral about Petro Poroshenko (just a few negative messages). 'Svoboda' state newspaper published much more neutral materials about Yulia Tymoshenko, however, she is a leader on number of negative messages anyway.

### **Speakers**

Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko.

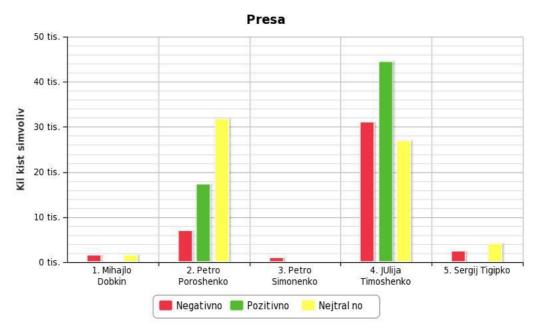
### **Priority in representation**

The state newspaper tried not to place large texts about candidates on the front page; photo previews about their visits or congratulations with the holidays were the only exceptions. The private

newspaper gave its front page to Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko and Oleh Lyashko.

## Manipulations and media effects

Media effects can be seen in the picture featuring a text about Petro Poroshenko's winning ranking and his photo collage with triumphantly hands raised, and the photo of Yulia Tymoshenko miserably pulling face beside. Media effect was used in heading 'Tymoshenko earned even while staying in prison' (information message about her declaration submitted). Manipulations were used in introducing numbers of ratings and poll results that were unknown to be brought from (source, place and period). 'Nova Ternopil newspaper' published completely neutral information on Tymoshenko's declaration under deliberately negative heading 'Tymoshenko earned even while staying in prison' that distorts the main point of the article. A large anonymous material about Petro Poroshenko, published in 'Nova Ternopil newspaper', contained several unaddressed references to sociological research results. The article also drew a parallel between Petro Poroshenko and Vitaliy Klychko, obviously, to get support of the famous sportsman's fans.



## **Internet-sites**

ZZ ('Za Zbruchem') web-site, object of monitor, did not have more than 5% materials on election process among overall number of published articles. It is rather low rate taking into consideration high level activity of the web-site shown in the parliamentary elections. Negative tone materials against Yulia Tymoshenko are observed. The publications mainly concern two candidates, Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko. Number of mentions about other candidate is scanty. Within the pre-election week the site greatly increased the amount of materials on elections, placed lots of educational material and information on election preparation process.

### % of candidates and political process players

ZZ presented 52% of all candidates (11 of 21). Thus, there were information messages about all monitoring candidates, as well as Oleh Tyahnybok, 'Pravy Sektor' party (with no their leader Dmytro Yarosh mentioned), 'Svoboda', Anatoliy Hrytsenko and Oleh Lyashko.

### Tone

ZZ negative materials about Yulia Tymoshenko 5 times dominate over positive ones, Petro Poroshenko was equally represented in different tones; others were written in a neutral tone. As for

'Pravy Sektor' party it was said about its intentions in local initiatives. No word was said about its leader, D.Yarosh.

## **Speakers**

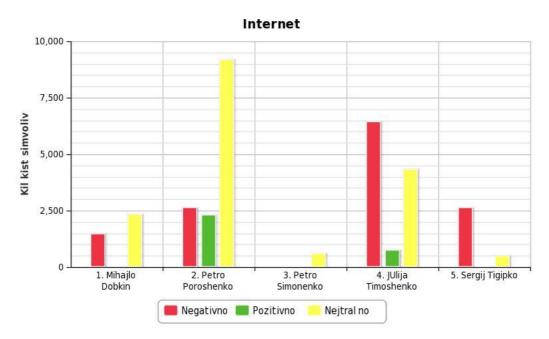
Oleh Lyashko, Petro Poroshenko.

## **Priority in representation**

Yulia Tymoshenko

## Manipulations and media effects

The cases were observed in photos and headings only. If one intended to make completely neutral information about a candidate as negative he chooses negative photos. As for the headings they often distorted the main point of the information message. For a few days 'Za Zbruchem' web-site main page ('Important for a day' column) contained critical information about Acting Head of the Administration of the President, Serhiy Pashynskyi, entitled 'While separatists were attacking Tymoshenko's favour was entertaining in Yanukovych's style'.



### KHARKIV REGION

### **Main conclusions**

The main trend of the election campaign in Kharkiv region was minimum quantity of materials on the election subject, it can be stated that the number was much less than throughout previous election campaign to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

Thus Kharkiv Regional Broadcasting and many online resources were trying to avoid all mentions of the presidential candidates and their activity, statements etc. (such mood may be explained by two reasons - absence of administrative pressure on the media and lack of financial pouring from the candidates).

The only TV-program 'Kharkovskie izvestia' ('7 channel') remained faithful to its propaganda approach on news coverage by giving outright preference and support to presidential candidate Mykhailo Dobkin. Within the election last week but one Mykhailo Dobkin's place in the news spots was replaced

by Petro Poroshenko whose promotion started to increase greatly. In the pre-election week Mykhailo Dobkin returned in the news TV spots where he was mentioned before the 'silence say',

Regarding Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchinov, they were solely represented as officials performing their duties. No agitation attempt from their sides was fixed. However, this is not a merit of media, most likely it can be explained by position of these politicians who did not allow themselves to campaign for or against any candidate.

#### TV Media

'Independent news service 'Kharkovskie izvestia' is a TV-project actually controlled by the mayor of Kharkiv, Hennadiy Kernes, the news is broadcast on '7 channel' owned by Kernes as well. The objectivity of news is rather relative. Therefore, it is no wonder that throughout the report period Mykhailo Dobkin, Henadiy Kernes' friend and close associate, was the only among players of presidential race who was represented on TV. On May, 14-18 a 'newsmaker №1' there was Petro Poroshenko.

Kharkiv Regional State TV and Radio Company (KODTRK) and its channel OTB were always a 'mouthpiece' of the party, ruling party, mainly. Great number of parties (candidates) may explain the fact that the news program directions abstain from promoting any of candidates (parties) and focus, mainly, on activity of the Acting President and the head of government and government officials.

In fact, on number of TV-news 'Kharkovskie izvestia' provided the first place to Mykhailo Dobkin and the second one to Petro Poroshenko who fell behind greatly (both candidates were represented in positive and neutral tones). On OTB TV-channel presidential candidates were not represented at all, Mykhailo Dobkin was the only one mentioned several times (he was mentioned in the context of releasing from house arrest and attempted murder at Hennadiy Kernes).

# % of candidates and political process players (on TV-channels).

'Kharkovskie izvestia': Mykhailo Dobkin - 81.86% Petro Poroshenko - 14.74% Petro Symonenko - 1.52% Yulia Tymoshenko - 1.88% Serhiy Tihipko - 0%.

OTB:

-

### **Tone**

As it was mentioned above 'Kharkovskie izvesti' materials about Mykhailo Dobkin were mostly represented in a positive tone (2160 sec) and neutral sometimes (1012 sec). The same trend was in covering activity of a new 'favorite', Petro Poroshenko: 481 sec. of positive material and 90 sec. of neutral ones.

### **Speakers**

Among presidential candidates '7 channel' mostly showed Mykhailo Dobkin; Petro Poroshenko was the only to be represented on May,14-18. Moreover, mayor H.Kernes, the chairman of regional council S.Chernov and other Kharkiv officials were mentioned.

OTB broadcast Oleksandr Turchinov, Arseniy Yatsenuk and officials while their visit to Kharkiv (there were few of them). Governor Baluta was mentioned very seldom.

#### **Syncs**

'Kharkovskie izvestia':

08/04/2014 syncs of Mykhailo Dobkin and his opponents' critics (including former colleagues on 'Party of Regions'), broadcast in 'Kharkovskie izvestia' program, overall lasted 153 sec, it is worth noting that Mykhailo Dobkin's opponents were given no word to say.

'Kharkovskie izvestia': 10/05/2014, syncs of Dobkin in 'Mikhail Dobkin: 'Our main parades of victory are ahead of us' material lasted 186 seconds.

However, 14/05/2014 a sync of Petro Poroshenko in 'Petro Poroshenko: metro to be built' material lasted 95 seconds.

The longest OTB sync was devoted to Oleksandr Turchinov's speech in 25.04.2014 program that lasted 125 seconds.

## **Priority in representation**

Among presidential candidates '7 channel' mostly showed Mykhailo Dobkin; Petro Poroshenko was the only to be presented on May,14-18. Moreover, mayor Hennadiy Kernes, the chairman of regional council S.Chernov and other Kharkiv officials were mentioned.

OTB: Oleksandr Turchinov, Arseniy Yatsenuk and the officials visiting Kharkiv within a month.

## Manipulations and media effects

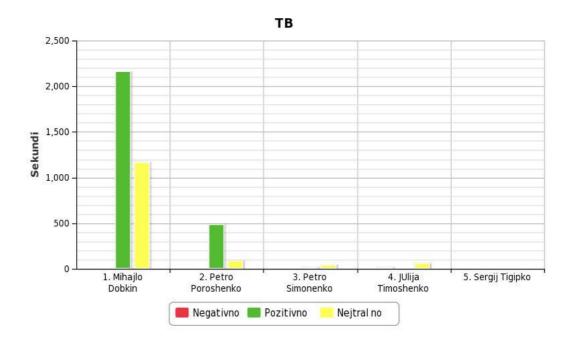
Constant domination of Mykhailo Dobkin and long-term absence of any other candidates were observed on '7 channel'. At the same time 'Kharkovskie izvestia' tried to use any cause to broadcast Mykhailo Dobkin in the air and did all its best to turn the ex-governor of Kharkiv region into a politician of the regional level, at least. One could often hear Mykhailo Dobkin was named as 'the former head of Slobozhanshchyna'.

However, on May, 15 there were three spots about Petro Poroshenko:

- A member of parliament Poroshenko is paying visit to Kharkov;
- Petro Poroshenko presented a book 'Whom to be' from 'Live in a new way' series;
- Get the country out of a crisis by restoring trust. Petro Poroshenko.

It is worth noting that Petro Poroshenko's visits to Kharkiv were represented as visits of the MP rather than a presidential candidate.

No manipulations were recorded on OTB.



#### **Print Media**

The general trends of the report period include covering events of social and political life of the region, namely, staff appointments for the regional state administration and district administrations. Much attention was paid to the confrontation at Freedom Square in Kharkiv, takeover of the regional administration building and subsequent confrontation between Maidan and Antymaidan fans. Information on anti-terrorist operation and its conduct was also represented.

The following subjects were also written about: on-site Cabinet of Minister's meeting in Kharkiv, Victory Day celebrations, investigation into the attempted murder at mayor H.Kernes, the session of Kharkiv regional council, signing the Memorandum for peace and harmony to solve the crisis in the country, the round table of national unity held in Kharkiv. All these events were newsworthy events for the regional newspapers.

The Head of Kharkiv Regional Council S.Chernov was a speaker in 'Slobidsky kraj' newspaper on the subjects of the power decentralization, local government reform and subsequent formation of local budgets for the whole period of time.

Regarding representation of candidates in press one should say that there was ample information for making a fully informed choice. There was no any information on the candidates' election programs and plans to get the country out of the crisis, practically.

Obviously, the candidates had an equal access to the press but Yulia Tymoshenko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov were mostly represented. By the way, regional leader Mykhailo Dobkin's appearance was recently reduced, especially within a pre-election week.

Controversial materials or materials showing pluralism on election subject are not enough.

For the whole period of time 'Vechirniy Kharkov' represented Yulia Tymoshenko mostly (47%), Mykhailo Dobkin (19%), Tihipko (17%), Poroshenko (8%), Turchynov (5%), Yatsenuk (4%), Symonenko (0%). The tone of the coverage is mainly neutral. If Poroshenko and Tihipko were represented in positive tone, Yulia Tymoshenko's activity was negatively evaluated.

Throughout the report period leadership in 'Slobidskiy kraj' newspaper was given to Petro Poroshenko (22%), Mykhailo Dobkin (20%), Yulia Tymoshenko (18%), Arseniy Yatsenuk (15%), Serhiy Tihipko (14%), Oleksandr Turchinov (8% of the total amount of material monitoring), Petro Symonenko (3%). The general tone is mainly neutral and sometimes positive.

The newspaper 'Vremya' gave preferences to Oleksandr Turchinov (45%) by publishing materials in a neutral or positive tone. The second position was taken by head of the government, Arseniy Yatsenuk (24%). The tone is mainly neutra, or positive sometimes. Having 14% Mykhailo Dobkin was represented

to readers in neutral or positive tones. Share of Poroshenko, Tymoshenko and Tihipko are lower and equal to 12%, 4% and 1% respectively. Symonenko was not mentioned at all.

Occasionally Acting President Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk delivered speech on their behalf. Mykhailo Dobkin's speaker was served both by the candidate himself, and such party colleagues as O.Vilkul, S.Chernov. Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko spoke on their behalf in 'ordered' articles. Other candidates are mentioned in the context of the electoral process.

No favourites can be seen on front pages of newspapers. Sometimes the topic on the title page has nothing to do with the presidential election. Number of electoral educational materials increased within the last week.

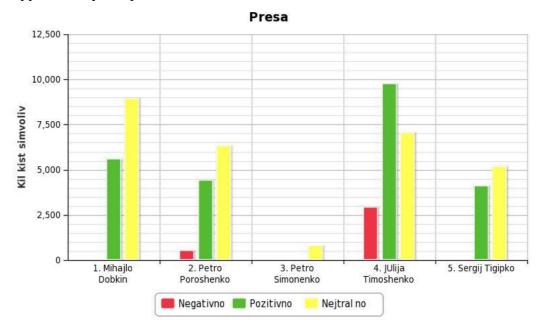
We offer the most typical titles of materials published on front pages of newspapers:

'Vechirniy Kharkov' – 'Voting and staying at home', 'How does a ballot paper look like?', 'We are ready for the elections. Don't be afraid of provocations';

'Slobidskyi kraj' - 'Two weeks before the election: Who is fighting for the votes of Kharkiv region?', 'What can break the election?', 'Voting with no queues. What time is it recommended to to go voiting?', 'Week before the election. Ukraine was divided into zones of risk';

'Vremya' - 'A new presidential ratings is published'.

Speaking about prohibited media manipulations ('jeans') one can mention an article 'Ukraine must enter TOP-20' published in 'Vecherniy Kharkov' and 'Vremya' newspapers ('ordered' material in favour of candidate Mykhailo Dobkin), articles 'Tymoshenko believes in her ability to negotiate in the East of Ukraine' 'Ukraine is the right of sovereignty' published in 'Vecherniy Kharkov' newspaper ('jeans' in support of Yulia Tymoshenko), an article 'Five Steps to peace. How to calm the South-East of Ukraine' to support Serhiy Tihipko.



### **Internet-sites**

'MediaPort' website, being chosen as an object to monitor in Kharkiv region, is characterized by balanced informational editorial policy. Information on politicians and presidential candidates is usually represented in an objective and unbiased way.

## % of candidates and political process players

Among all presidential candidates a little more attention was paid to Mykhailo Dobkin that can be explained by the fact that he is a famous politician, former governor of Kharkiv region. Moreover, Throughout the monitoring period, particularly in the first half of May there were newsworthy events about him (releasing Dobkin from house arrest, attempted murder at Kernes, etc.). Poroshenko, Symonenko, Tymoshenko and Tihipko were seldom mentioned, Prime Minister Yatsenuk and Acting

President Turchynov were represented much more often (in the context of performing their official duties).

Information share on the presidential candidates is the following:

- Mykhailo Dobkin 40.56%
- Petro Poroshenko 19.88%
- Petro Symonenko 15.11%
- Yulia Tymoshenko 10.14%
- Serhiy Tihipko 14.31 %.

#### **Tone**

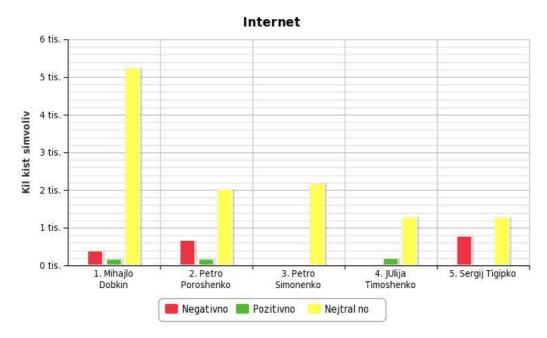
It is mainly neutral. Turchynov and Yatsenuk got also some positive materials. There were absolutely few fragments having a negative tone in materials about Tihipko, Poroshenko and Dobkin.

### **Speakers**

Most active speakers were Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk.

## Manipulations and media effects

Manipulations were not fixed.



### KHERSON REGION

## Main conclusions

In general, all the candidates had an equal access to the media, the priority in the presence of each candidate wasn't observed.

Most attention was devoted by Kherson press to Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko and Serhiy Tihipko.

Most of media effects were fixed in the press. The main trend in the coverage of this year campaign on television was that local political news had gradually returned to the local television screens. Although for some candidates (Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko) the exception was made: news about them appeared on local television channels regardless of Kherson topics. By this manner Petro Symonenko's parliamentary activity and Serhiy Tihipko's election trip to the regional centers of the country were largely covered.

The greatest attention was devoted by the informational and analytical programs of Kherson television to the following candidates for the presidential post Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhaylo Dobkin and Petro Poroshenko.

The state television "Skifiya" has given the significant amount of broadcast to the coverage of Arseniy Yatsenuk's and Oleksandr Turchynov's activity. For the entire monitoring period we haven't fixed any cases of the agitation from their part.

The online editions publish three types of materials: they inform about all the events related to the electoral process, publish their own comments and ordered printed materials.

Today the leader in presentation on Internet resources pages is Serhiy Tihipko.

Kherson sites do not pay much attention to the activities of the state leaders Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk, but the information about them is mainly in positive or neutral evaluations. Usually this information says about them as public officials, their participation in elections are hardly mentioned.

#### TV Media

The main trend in the coverage of this year campaign is that the local television screens are slowly returning news about political life. It primarily concerns the Kherson regional state broadcasting company. And, naturally, volume and emotional context depend on the activity of the candidates or their supporters and emotional decoration of their activities. By the end of the period under study another trend had become apparent: the volume of items about the candidates for President of Ukraine Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko does not depend on the stay of these candidates in Kherson region or the relation of news about them with Kherson realities. The volume of items about the other candidates, on the contrary, depends on the relation of the information about their activities with our region.

Traditionally, the state television focuses on the coverage of the heads of state and the central governments. Herewith the direct speech of our leaders is widely available.

The main topics were the Russian aggression, the realization of anti-terrorist operations and the solution of economic problems.

Nearer to the election, most of information has become devoted to the coverage of the preparations and the organization of elections and campaigning for early elections of Kherson Mayor which will take place simultaneously with the presidential elections.

### Ration of information volume about candidates

The largest volume of information (25%) is devoted to the coverage of the Government of Ukraine activity and Arseniy Yatsenuk's work. The information about the presidential candidate Serhiy Tihipko takes the second place in volume of information (22%). The third place belongs to the information covering the participation in the elections presidential of the candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin (16 %). The fourth place belongs to the items about the presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko (13%). Next the information about Petro Symonenko is coming. The last place is for news items about the presidential candidates Yulia Tymoshenko and Oleksandr Turchynov.

We have analyzed the coverage of the campaign and the authorities activities by two channels – state television company "Skifiya" and private company VTV+. The private TV channel VTV+ had 45 % of all the news items dealing with the subject of monitoring. 47% of them are related to the coverage of the presidential candidate Serhiy Tihipko. The second place belongs to the information about Petro Symonenko (20 %), followed by Petro Poroshenko (19%) and others.

At the state television channel "Skifiya" the situation is radically different. 46 % of information volume in the news items of the topics that have been studied is devoted to the work of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and Arseniy Yatsenuk. The second place belongs to the information about the presidential candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin (23%). The third place is for the information volume about the presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko (9%).

## Tonality of materials about the candidates

The largest information volume presented in a positive context is devoted to the presidential candidate Sergiy Tihipko (40%). The second place belongs to the information about Petro Poroshenko (22%). The third place is for the information about Petro Symonenko (14%).

The largest information volume in a neutral context includes belongs to the information about Arseniy Yatsenuk working (64%).

The largest information volume in a negative context concerns the presidential candidate Mykhaylo Dobkin (89%), but we should note that negatively decorated items occupy in volume the least amount of time (13%). Respectively, neutral items make 49% and the items that give information in a positive context make 38%.

On TV channel "Skifiya" most of the information was presented in a neutral context (60%). And almost all of it dealt with the coverage of the Cabinet of Ministers and Arseniy Yatsenuk.

In a positive context information makes 19 % and in the negative context it makes 21%.

In a positive context, most information was dedicated to Petro Poroshenko (33%), followed by covering Arseniy Yatsenuk's work (20%), the third is Mykhaylo Dobkin, the fourth is Yulia Tymoshenko.

On the private channel VTV+ the largest information volume in a positive context is given about Serhiy Tihipko (50%). In the second place is Petro Poroshenko (19 %), the third is for Petro Symonenko (17%). By the way, the absolute majority of information materials are presented in a positive manner (90 %). Respectively, in a neutral manner there are 7%, in negative one there are 3%. In a negative context they only mentioned Petro Symonenko. In neutral one they did Mykhaylo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko.

## Information about the government

The items about government's activities focused on the actual events that took place in the country. TV men used a lot of direct speech of state leaders trying to let viewers to make themselves the idea of what was spoken by the central government representatives. It concerned the economic crisis, the defence strengthening, the coverage of the international community's response to Russian aggression etc.

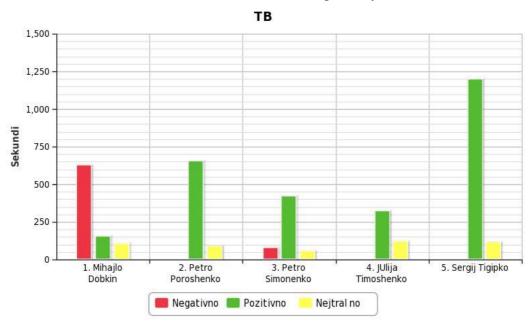
This month the speakers are Arseniy Yatsenuk, Petro Symonenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Oleksandr Turchynov, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko.

## Representation priority

There is no representation priority. Usually news about the presidential candidates is not in the first items.

## Manipulative materials and media effects

The item about Petro Symonenko's work in Verkhovna Rada where the speeches of the people's deputy of Ukraine are alternated with the words about the chaos that occurred in the country. The combination of two opposing realities emphasized the positive context of Petro Symonenko's speeches. Herewith this item didn't concern some news event and was repeatedly showed on television.



### **Print Media**

For the monitoring period the most attention is devoted by Kherson press to Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko.

At the time of the arrival of Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko in Kherson the information volume about these candidates increased in the media

In general, all the candidates have an equal access to the media, the priority in the representation of one or another candidate wasn't observed.

Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko were placed on the first, second and third places in information volume. However, the information volume about Yulia Tymoshenko was approximately 2 times more than that of Serhiy Tihipko and 1.5 times more than that of Petro Poroshenko.

Throughout this period they used the media effects "last word", "statement of fact", "support of the material by a headline inappropriate to the content", creation of the "associations by the humiliation, the replacement of names or sticking the labels".

The little information volume was given to Arseniy Yatsenuk as the prime minister and Oleksandr Turchynov as the acting President of Ukraine. The information wasn't there about Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk as party representatives.

## % of candidates and political process parties separately in newspapers.

In the newspaper "**Hryvna**" the information volume given about Yulia Tymoshenko was equal to 69003 (~43%) symbols, about Petro Poroshenko 32687 (~20%) symbols, about Serhiy Tihipko 41467 (~26,4%), about Mykhaylo Dobkin 16483 (~10%), about Petro Symonenko 754 (~0,4,3%) symbols.

In the newspaper "Novyi den" the information volume given about Yulia Tymoshenko was equal to 68787 (~36,8%) symbols, about Petro Poroshenko 73315 (~39,3%) symbols, about Serhiy Tihipko 40748 (~21,8%), about Mykhaylo Dobkin 3823 (~2,2%) symbols.

In the newspaper "Naddnipryanska pravda plus" the information volume given about Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko was in a neutral tonality in the article of 456 symbols, about M. Добкін there were 1548 symbols.

## **Tonality (separately in newspapers)**

In the newspaper "Hryvna" Yulia Tymoshenko had the maximal *positive* index of the tonality 57012 symbols, Petro Poroshenko had 20274 symbols, Serhiy Tihipko had 37139 symbols.

In the newspaper "Hryvna" Petro Poroshenko had the maximal *negative* index of the tonality 11717 symbols, Yulia Tymoshenko had 10724 symbols, Mykhaylo Dobkin had 8166 symbols.

In the newspaper "Novyi den" Yulia Tymoshenko had the maximal *positive* index of the tonality 59330 symbols, Petro Poroshenko had 36890 symbols, Serhiy Tihipko had 37330 symbols.

In the newspaper "Novyi den" Yulia Tymoshenko had the maximal *negaive* index of the tonality 8456 symbols, Petro Poroshenko had 36317 symbols.

In the newspaper "Naddnipryanska pravda plus" there were articles in a neutral tonality about Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko of 456 symbols, about M. Добкін there were 1548 symbols.

## **Representation priority**

The priority on the first columns of newspapers within the last two weeks in the newspaper «Novyi den» was given to Petro Poroshenko.

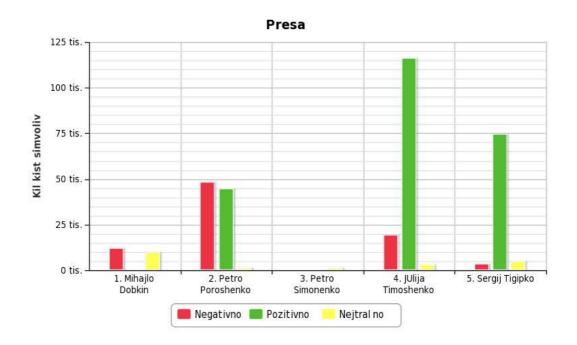
# Manipulation and media effects description

The methods of *the support of the material by a headline inappropriate to the content statement of fact, "last word"* are used, at first sight, in neutral articles about Petro Poroshenko, where the desired is given out as real. The headline of the article is "Petro Poroshenko and Darth Vader are going to struggle for the presidential chair", herewith in the article the information about most of presidential candidates is given.

"Electronic portal Ukraine-Elestions launched the preliminary vote devoted to this elections as far back as December 9, 2012. As candidates they selected the most popular political figures and leaders of political parties present in most modern presidential public opinion polls, as well as those who at that moment anyway announced their presidential ambitions. In the top five (by falling) there was Petro Poroshenko, Oleh Lyashko, Volodymir Klytschko, Oleh Tyahnibok, Yulia Tymoshenko closes this group leaders".

"According to the non-governmental analytical Razumkov Center data published in March, by the national survey results Petro Poroshenko, Volodymyr Klytschko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Mykhaylo Dobkin were the leaders". "Respectively, the presidency will be struggled by Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Symonenko, Serhiy Tihipko, shocking Oleh Lyashko and universal scale character Darth Vader who got the popular fame and love for only a few days" (these are final paragraphs of the big article).

The methods of the **associations creation by the way of the humiliation, the change of names and sticking labels**: "The Ukrainian presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko" sounds unconvincing today. People don't trust her. Political and foreign partners are doubting in her capacities and adequacy. The leading political strategists of Ukraine don't want to work with her. But Tymoshenko isn't upset and continues to step on the gas, once again stating that she and only she knows the key to success".



### **Internet-sites**

The coverage of the current presidential campaign in Kherson Internet can be considered rather moderate. And the fact is not in the editor's reluctance to write about the candidates or high fees for posting information about them. Just the candidates and their headquarters in the region created a few interesting news topics or neglected placing ordered materials online.

The monitoring shows that all the presidential candidates had a chance to appear on the pages of Internet newspapers if the adequate news topics were created. That is everybody had an access to the resources. Online newspapers tried to inform about all the events related to the electoral process: they announced candidates' visits, informed about the campaign activities and events, published comments about significant events. This differed information on sites from press materials which mainly had not informative but propaganda nature and were ordered by the candidates.

But the campaign from the elections of Kherson mayor which took place simultaneously with the presidential elections, was covered more actively by Internet journalists who described events and placed expressions and estimations of the candidates.

- Although it should be noted that on the sites there were clearly ordered materials, for example almost daily on the site "Khersonskiye vesti" they published the articles about Serhiy Tihipko in a openly positive tonality, large in volume, with detailed comments of the politician. There are also such materials about the other politicians, but their volume is much smaller, and they are usually related to the politicians' visits in the region.

- Along with ordered materials Internet journalists often published their own comments with various estimates. The positive and neutral evaluation prevailed, but there were also negative evaluations which Mykhailo Dobkin often received. Perhaps it is related to the independent journalists' attitude to the politician;
- The leader of the presence on the pages of Internet resources was Serhiy Tihipko who openly ordered his materials, the presence of the other candidates was much smaller, they did not pay much attention to the Internet, but we repeat if the interesting news topic was created, each candidate could get on the front pages of Internet publications. It's enough to give the example of Mykhaylo Dobkin who did not clearly order most of his material, but regularly appeared on web pages, though often in a negative tonality.
- If we talk about specific sites, the leader in information volume about the candidates is "Kherson online" which published everything about everyone, without missing any information topics. The second place is for "Khersonskiye vesti", but there the ordered materials often appeared. The edition "Khersonsty" published much fewer campaign materials. Typically these large articles appeared after the candidates' visits in the region.
- Kherson sites didn't pay much attention to the activity of the state heads Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk, but the information about them is mainly given in positive or neutral evaluations, that is with a few amount of negative information. Usually this information concerns their activity as public officials as for their participation in elections they are hardly mentioned. So 16 materials and reports about the activities of the central government leaders were fixed in volume of 7501 symbols: 3503 symbols in a neutral tonality, 2362 in positive one and 1636 in negative one.

#### Information volume ratio about the candidates

The leader in general information volume is Serhiy Tihipko – 65 392 symbols (38.1 %) followed by Petro Poroshenko – 52 923 symbols (30.8 %), Mykhaylo Dobkin – 23 149 symbols (13.5 %), Yulia Tymoshenko – 23404 symbols (13.6 %), Petro Symonenko – 6597 symbols (3.8 %).

The leader of the Communist Party is a striking confirmation of the above said words. He didn't place his materials, they wrote about him in view of political events, for example his request for withdrawal of his candidacy from the elections. The same can be said about Mychaylo Dobkin. The incident in Kherson airport caused a great outcry among bloggers.

On the site "Kherson online" there are 66 materials about the candidates and the government in volume 84362 symbols; on the site "Khersonskiye vesty" there are 42 materials in volume 56955 symbols; on the site "Khersonsti" there are 14 materials in volume 31257 symbols.

On the site «Kherson online» about Serhiy Tihipko there are 19549 symbols (23.5%), about Petro Poroshenko 31299 symbols (37.6%), about Yulia Tymoshenko 14206 (17.1%), about Mykhaylo Dobkin 14102 (16.9%), about Petro Symonenko 3899 (4.6%).

On the site «Khersonskiye vesti» about Serhiy Tihipko there are 37631 symbols (61.4%), about Petro Poroshenko 8089 symbols (13.2%), about Yulia Tymoshenko 7576 (12.3%), about Mykhaylo Dobkin 7661 (12.5%), about Petro Symonenko 254 (0.5%).

On the site «Khersonsti» about Serhiy Tihipko there are 11312 symbols (37.2%), about Petro Poroshenko 13598 symbols (44.7%), about Yulia Tymoshenko 1622 (5.3%), about Mykhaylo Dobkin 1386 (4.5%), about Petro Symonenko 2444 (8.05%).

## **Tonality of materials about the candidates**

Serhiy Tihipko is mainly presented in a positive tonality – 50849 symbols, and 486 symbols in neutral one, Petro Poroshenko has 14337 symbols in a positive tone, 17550 in a neutral one and only 2929 symbols in a negative tonality; but Mykhaylo Dobkin has much more negative information – 12203 symbols, he is a leader by this indicator. In addition he has 16019 symbols of neutral information, Yulia Tymoshenko has 7684 symbols of neutral information, 7154 in a positive tonality and 5620 symbols in negative one; Petro Symonenko has 1495 symbols in a neutral tonality and 419 in negative one.

### Information about the government

In May 16 materials and reports about the activities of the central government leaders were fixed in volume of 7501 symbols: 3503 symbols in a neutral tonality, 2362 in positive one and 1636 in negative one.

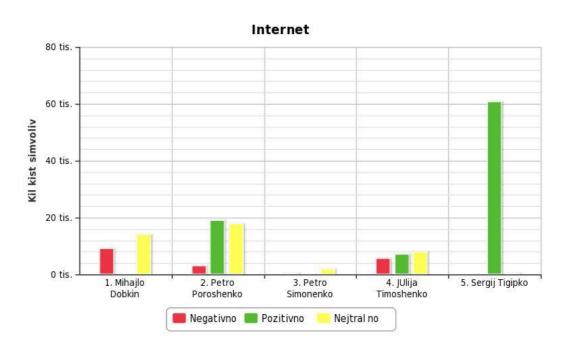
The most active speaker is Serhiy Tihipko. Practically in each material цитуються speeches, thoughts, comments about him are given. The total direct speahch volume is 15370 symbols. Yulia Tymoshenko has 3747 symbols, Mykhayil Dobkin 1767 symbols, Petro Poroshenko – 1534 symbols.

In the Internet manipulation and media effects are very rarely used. This depends on the specific materials which are posted on them. In the vast majority these are information messages, image articles, reports and interviews. We only took 3 materials to outright manipulation in May.

1. The best pre-election recipe "to believe everybody but not to trust anybody" about the candidates Mykhaylo Dobkin and Yulia Tymoshenko is placed on the site "Kherson online".

By using in principle a neutral tonality, the author uses some manipulative techniques. For example Mykhaylo Dobkin is called Gennadiy Kernes's "pal" and gives a unworthy description of the last one. Or he describs Yulia Tymoshenko's clothes with ambiguous allusions and comparisons. So the author tries to recreate his critical attitude to the both candidates and incline the readers in the negative perception of the politicians.

- 2. The article "Did Kherson "regioners" trust Dobkin on humor day?" about Mykhaylo Dobkin was placed on the site "Khersonsty". The material is in principle written in a neutral tonanity, but the linkage to Fool's Day of Mykhaylo Dobkin's statement about his confidence in victory Throughout the elections appears as a hidden attempt to mock at him, to show his chances as ridiculous.
- 3. The article "Tihipko and Poroshenko: whose program is better?". Site "Khersonskiye vesti". It is a clearly ordered material of the candidate Serhiy Tihipko. With a total neutral tonality of the estimates the manipulative techniques are used in it. Firstly Serhiy Tihipko is positioned as the only candidate equal to Petro Poroshenko with whom they are the most influential politicians, what is already called a manipulation. Secondly, the key provisions of the candidates' programs written in a more or less neutral tonality are compared in this article. However, the information is represented so that the reader has the impression about Serhiy Tihipko's more socially oriented position. These theses have to bring more sympathy of the readers to the Party of Regions representative.



## KHMELNYTSKYI REGION

### **Main conclusions**

The campaign is characterized by practically complete absence of information on the majority of the candidates in local media, regional TV-news programs did not contain information on election programs both of all candidates, and of the race leaders. The information on some presidential candidates in local TV-channels was given to locals in rubrics as ads, such materials were prepared in case of candidates' visits to the region for their meeting with voters. At the same time, those few cases (a candidate's visit to the region) were briefly represented by regional TV - they informed about districts and institutions attended without commenting the way the meeting was held, the problems raised, his promises in case of winning the election, number of the meeting participants, and attitude of people to the candidate. In all cases none of the following candidates who visited the region and met with voters, Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, Anatoloy Hrytsenko, Oleh Lyashko spoke on local television or radio. Since the election process launched voters heard nothing about other candidates in the regional TV news programs. This feature differs the presidential election race in 2014 from all previous ones.

It is hard to explain the situation for sure, however, one of the reasons for this is impact on managers and staff of television companies exerted by public organizations calling themselves as self-defense group and pretending to play a role of the lustration committee. In particular, representatives of the group demanded the General Director of Khmelnytskyi broadcasting company 'Podillya-Center' of submitting an application for discharge. '33 channel' private television was thrown with Molotov cocktails by unknown people and the directors got a threatening warning saying that if they show spots that, to self-defense group representatives' mind, are harmful (no explanations to what or to whom) they and their families will get problems. Appropriate statements were submitted by the company managers to law enforcement agencies.

There is no sense to talk about absence of equal candidates' access to the media.

It seems that the candidates did not try to appear on local TV, that is why it is not necessary to analyse opinion pluralism or priority in a candidate's representation on the regional TV-channels.

Regarding the press the only newspaper publishing regular election content materials was 'Podilski visti', the body owned by the regional council and regional administration (the most regional wide-spread newspaper issued on Tuesdays and Thursdays).

Among private press weekly 'Vsim' was regularly monitored. Unlike previous electoral processes, election content publications were not often to see, for the monitoring report period there was one material in the last issue for May; all the articles were about a candidate A.Hrytsenko.

The press published some analytical materials of local political scientists on the following candidates: Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, A.Hrytsenko, Serhiy Tihipko, and Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko (a passing mention).

'Podilski visit' contained regular (with few exceptions) publications about: Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and less about Petro Poroshenko. However, to our mind, the situation can be explained by improper work of a candidate's headquarter, preparing articles for local media rather than unequal candidates' access in distributing publications. For the whole monitoring period it seemed that an article of the same content was sent to regional newspapers of all, or nearly all, regions of Ukraine.

Another feature this year's presidential race was characterized by is absence of electoral content articles published on front pages of newspapers. These articles were published in the columns 'Politics', 'Point of view', 'Election 2014', 'Actual news' with no priority - one more feature of this year's election.

### TV Media

Khmelnytskyi State TV and Radio Company 'Podillya-Center' ('Podilska panorama') and '33 channel' ('News' program) were regularly monitored on covering the election campaign throughout the whole election campaign period.

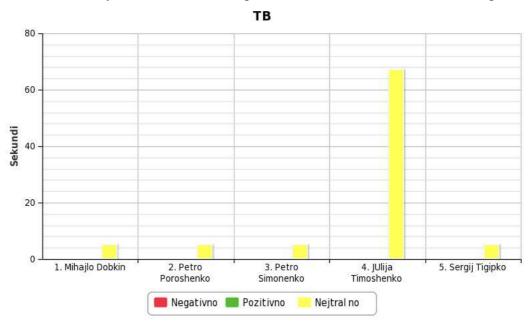
In comparison with previous elections there were few spots on the quality of information services given to voters and election process players' equal access to the media. At the beginning of the election campaign agitation for candidates was more passive than active. Even after visiting the region by candidates for President of Ukraine local TV information programs showed nothing about the candidates' staying in Khmelnytskyi region. Perhaps, the reason for that is an attempt of television managers to represent all information about candidates as advertisements. To some extent, it may be caused by activity of self-defense groups on establishing so-called lustration committees in Khmelnytskyi and Khmelnytskyi region. For example, they demanded the General Director of Khmelnytskyi broadcasting company 'Podillya-Center' of submitting an application for discharge. '33 channel' private television was thrown with Molotov cocktails by unknown people and the directors were threatened so that the latter had to address law enforcement agencies.

Throughout the whole monitoring period there were a few spots with election content.

'News' program ('33 channel' private TV) showed a big TV spot (68 sec.) about a visit to Khmelnytskyi paid by presidential candidate Yulia Tymoshenko, leader of 'Batkivshchyna' party. The program delivered direct speech of Yulia Tymoshenko, her speech at local Maidan and the Academy of Border Troops of Ukraine. The information on the candidate's presence had a neutral tone.

'Podilska panorama' program (Khmelnytskyi state TV and Radio company 'Podyllya-Center') showed two TV spots about the Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenuk (178 sec. and 34 sec.) where the head of the government spoke on economics rather than elections. The TV spots contained direct speech of the Prime Minister. The information delivered had a neutral tone. In general, all election content materials in information programs were represented in general and had no connections with any particular candidate, in particular:

- international observers staying in Khmelnytskyi region;
- bodies responsible for material maintenance of election commissions;
- political parties;
- judiciary representatives accompanying the electoral process;
- necessity for voters to verify correctness of their personal data recorded in the State Register of Voters.



This year's election campaign is characterized by nearly complete, or complete in some cases, absence of information on a significant part of the candidates in local press. Another feature is that 'Podilski visti', owned by regional council and regional state administration (the most regional wide-spread newspaper issued on Tuesdays and Thursdays) is practically the only newspaper having regular election content publications.

Unlike previous election processes the private press (weekly 'Vsim' was monitored) published a few election content materials for the report period - one material issued within a pre-election week. Their share is equal 0.5% of the total space of election content materials published in 'Podilski visti'.

Among all candidates there were printed publications on Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Tyahnybok, A.Hrytsenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko. If other candidates were written about they were missing mentions. 'Podilski visti' had regular (with few exceptions) publications about candidates: Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and less often about Petro Poroshenko.

Thus, for the whole election period the largest area of publications was given to Serhiy Tihipko and Yulia Tymoshenko, 39% and 37%, respectively. Publications about Petro Poroshenko were equal 12.7%, Mykhailo Dobkin - 1%, Petro Symonenko - 0.3%, and 10% - Oleksandr Turchinov as Acting President of Ukraine.

Publications about Serhiy Tihipko are extremely in a positive tone (neutral and negative articles are equal only 6%) containing direct speech of the candidate; 'Podilski visti' is the only newspaper publishing materials about Serhiy Tihipko.

Publications about Yulia Tymoshenko are mainly positive (67.4%), the rest materials are represented in a neutral and negative tone and placed in similar newspaper space.

Positive publications space for Petro Poroshenko is equal 63% and negative - 36,5% of a total number of materials about the candidate. Articles in a neutral tone are equal 0.5%.

### 'Vsim'

Weekly 'Vsim' had no election content materials practically, two candidates, Petro Poroshenko (67%, 90% of them are represented in a positive tone, 10% - neutral) and Yulia Tymoshenko (33%, half of them were represented in a neutral tone, another half - negative) were published on nearly equal area.

## 'Podilski visti'

Thus nearly all election content materials throughout the report period were published in 'Podilski visit' newspaper. The candidate distribution on publication area as follows: Serhiy Tihipko - 41%, Yulia Tymoshenko - 37,3%, Petro Poroshenko - 10%, Mykhailo Dobkin - 1%, Petro Symonenko - 0.5% and Oleksandr Turchinov as Acting President - 10.5%.

The publication tone is the following:

- Serhiy Tihipko solely positive tone. Neutral and negative tone materials are equal 6% overall (3% each);
- Yulia Tymoshenko positive materials are 2.5 times more than negative and neutral ones (the latter publications are equal in quantity);
- Petro Poroshenko positive and negative publications that are equal in quantity. Little predominance of positive materials;
- M.Dobkin and Petro Symonenko negative passing mentions.

Publications about candidate Yulia Tymoshenko are characterized by the bulk of materials with citations from her speeches, i.e. obligatory use of direct speech.

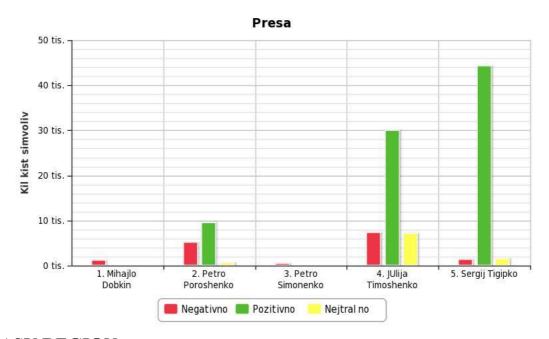
Publications about Serhiy Tihipko also contained a great number of direct speech, however, they were represented in lengthy interviews with the candidate.

Each publication about Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko was attached with the candidate photo.

No electoral content article was published on front pages of newspapers. These articles were published in the columns 'Politics', 'Point of view', 'Election 2014', 'Actual news' (starting from the second page) with no priority - one more feature of this year's election.

Specific manipulations were not observed. But throughout the monitoring period it seemed that the candidates' headquarters sent the same article to all regional newspapers of Ukraine. The conclusion is also explained by the fact that no publication is related to the regional problems.

While analysing the text published in the latest issue of 'Podilski visti' under 'Tymoshenko believes that peace in the East of Ukraine establishs a dialogue' there was a mistake noticed. Reading the text 'The building of Mariupol city council has been already released. It was done by voluntary groups who responded to the call of the Interior Ministry and started working directed by law enforcement bodies'. There was a bad mistake because 'directed by' was not translated into Ukrainian in a right way (over-literal rendering from a Russian phrase) and it gave a reason to state that the article originally was written in Russian for another article rather than for 'Podilski visti'. The other reasons can be negligence while translating in the editorial office or improper translation sent to the newspaper office.



## CHERKASY REGION

### Main conclusions

Activity of Cherkasy regional media in covering the presidential election campaign was gradually growing. At the same time some media (ODTRK 'Ros' and newspaper 'Cherkaskyi kraj') dissociated themselves from covering the race and focused on technical aspects of elections, in fact (election commission formation, their staff rotation, general level of preparation for the elections).

The most balanced and neutral information on the monitoring subjects was represented on 'ProCherk' website.

Throughout the whole monitoring period the bulk of 'jeans' was observed in 'Aktsent' newspaper - its every issue contained a minimum of two articles having signs of political ads and placing with no necessary marks; the number of unmarked materials was growing closer to the election date.

Ylia Tymoshenko became an absolute leader on the number of unmarked ads published in 'Aktsent', therefore, Yulia Tymoshenko got the most positive materials in her support. Petro Poroshenko got the most negative tone mentions, primarily, contained in unmarked political ads provided by other candidates. 'Vechirni Cherkasy' newspaper pages, just like 'Aktsent', were full of the same articles on themes, messages and structure; in most cases it marked materials as ads by defining some newspaper columns as advertisements in the way that is not obvious to the reader.

TK VIKKA was more active in broadcasting information on the local elections process in the news blocks. Having no adequate newsworthy event and reference to the local context the TV-channel broadcast positive TV spots, political ads, indeed, about Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko, and extremely positive material about Petro Poroshenko's visit to Cherkasy. Although, generally speaking, the TV-channel produces neutral tone messages during the monitoring period.

Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov were more or less represented in all media, they were mostly mentioned in ODTRK 'Ros' news programs while informing about the situation in the country and anti-terrorism operation process in the East of Ukraine. All media represented them neutrally, with the least exceptions. Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov were not used by the media as agitators.

Media effects were mainly used in the newspaper materials referred to ads but published with no mark (newspaper 'Aktsent'. On the last day before so-called 'silence day'). Online media 'ProCherk' manipulated a heading stating that there will be one-round elections. The most wide-spread manipulation methods were overgeneralization, label pin, information repeat, statements, anonymous authority, a statement of fact, estimates forming a tone, contrast principle, metaphors, using headlines for toning etc.

### TV Media

Throughout the monitoring period activity of TV-channels in covering the presidential elections in Ukraine was low because much more attention was paid to local elections in Cherkasy (election of the Mayor and the city council).

ODTRK 'Ros' did not cover election topic in the context of the monitoring subjects. The TV-channel paid attention to the problem of separatism and economic and political situation in the country by starting news programs with a brief overview of the situation in the country. In such reviews the activity of Oleksandr Turchinov and Arseniy Yatsenuk was briefly reported in a neutral tone. Also, the most TV news blocks of the channel were devoted to the activity of the Head of Cherkasy Regional State Administration, Y.Tkachenko. The channel gave no information on Petro Poroshenko's arrival in Cherkasy that was apparently a real newsworthy event in fact.

TK VIKKA paid more attention to the electoral process, including local elections, and, conversely, less attention to covering activity of Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchinov. The channel gave mostly neutral information, the most mentioned subject in the news program was Petro Poroshenko (references to him were broadcast by the former head of Cherkasy, S.Odarych, who has an impact on the channel) and activity of the candidate's headquarters. The channel showed unmarked political ads for three times (Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko), covered positively Petro Poroshenko's visit to Cherkasy. The channel negative tone materials were about Yulia Tymoshenko.

## % of candidates and political process players

#### **ODTRK 'Ros'**

The largest number of mentions in the news blocks was about Oleksandr Turchinov as an official (62% of the total content), Arseniy Yatsenuk as an official (34%). Among other candidates for the President of Ukraine, the monitoring subjects, whom the channel mentioned once is Petro Symonenko being represented in the context of covering an initiative to forbid the Communist Party activity.

#### TK VIKKA

Petro Poroshenko got the largest number of mentions in the news blocks (61% of all content), Serhiy Tihipko (18%) and Yulia Tymoshenko (11%). Throughout the monitoring period there were no mentions in the news blocks about Mykhailo Dobkin, Arseniy Yatsenuk as an official, and Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov as agitators.

## Tone (on channels)

#### **ODTRK 'Ros'**

100% of mentions about the monitoring subjects had a neutral tone.

#### TK VIKKA

57% of channel mentions about the monitoring subjects had a neutral tone, 37% - positive and 6% - negative.

In terms of neutral information Petro Poroshenko is a leader; he also topped positive material rating leaving behind Serhiy Tihipko at the end of the monitoring period. Significant contribution in the bulk of positively coloured information about this very candidate was made by a big TV spot on Petro Poroshenko's visit to Cherkasy (the spot was broadcast on May, 21). Positive tone messages about Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko contained in the news story having signs of political ad and being marked improperly.

Yulia Tymoshenko was the only subject who received bad tone messages to her address, primarily, because of negative coverage of events related with her arrival at Kholodnyi Yar during celebrating the anniversary of the Kholodnyi Yar Republic.

## **Speakers**

#### **ODTRK 'Ros'**

Main speakers – the Head of Cherkasy Regional State Administration Y.Tkachenko, Ooleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk as officials.

# TK VIKKA

The main speaker of the channel was S.Odarych, former Mayor of Cherkasy, candidate for the mayor in local elections who have an impact on the TV-channel and has repeatedly stressed on his cooperation with Petro Poroshenko.

### **Syncs**

# **ODTRK 'Ros'**

There were few syncs, Oleksandr Turchynov and Arseniy Yatsenuk had nearly equal quantity of syncs.

#### TK VIKKA

There were few sync, there were syncs of Serhiy Tihipko, Petro Symonenko, Petro Poroshenko and Oleksandr Turchynov; equal on size syncs of Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko were represented in unmarked political ads.

# Priority presentation ODTRK 'Ros'

Oleksandr Turchynov was represented in the first TV spot news block while delivering a brief review on the situation in the country, the Head of Cherkasy Regional State Administration Y.Tkachenko was mentioned mainly in local news.

#### TK VIKKA

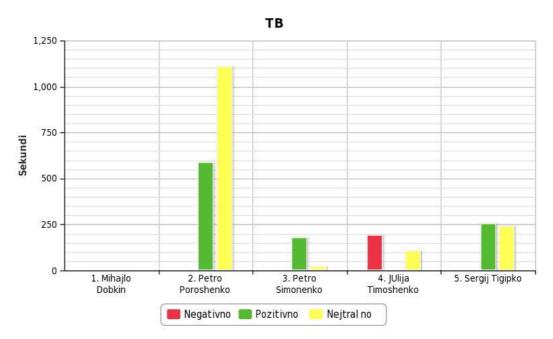
Petro Poroshenko was given priority in the first TV spot news block.

## Manipulations and media effects

While informing about results of sociological research that shows Cherkasy natives' great favour to Petro Poroshenko (as presidential candidate) and S.Odarych (candidate for the mayor) TK VIKKA used a technique of information repeat: the first time the results, discussed with O.Odarych, were reported in the news program.

14.04. Yulia Tymoshenko's activity covered her visit to Kholodnyi Yar and ignorance of the meeting with voters, was slightly negative represented in a TV spot dedicated to celebrations in Kholodnyi Yar'. The negative tone of this material was strengthened by the next spot titled as 'Mass political pilgrimage to historical regions disturbs local historians' where participation of politicians in such events was called as a political PR.

25.04 based on 'Ukrainska pravda' article the news block informed about a collusion between Yulia Tymoshenko and V.Yanukovych found in Mezhyhirya. Being neutral as a whole the spot was commented by the head of Cherkasy regional organization 'Batkivshchyna' A.Bondarenko, however, because of **affirmative titration** (the spot was titrated as 'Political marriage') the comments of 'Batkivshchyna' representative looked as a denial of the true fact. Thus, the spot is perceived as negative.



#### **Print Media**

Press was active in covering the presidential election and local elections. Thus, municipal newspaper 'Cherkaskyi kraj' paid attention to the purely technical aspects of the election campaign (e.g., election commission formation, its staff rotation), 'Vechirni Cherkasy' and 'Aktsent' were active in informing about the monitoring subjects. 66% of mentions about the monitoring subjects in the press are positively coloured, mainly, due to regular publishing unmarked political ads in 'Aktsent' newspaper. In terms of positive tone material, provided by 'jeans', Yulia Tymoshenko became a leader, and her opponent Petro Poroshenko (his name was mainly mentioned in unmarked political ads of other candidates) topped negative material rating.

# % of candidates and political process players on papers

# Cherkaskyi kraj'

The press produced few materials on the presidential race.

Petro Poroshenko was mostly represented - 41% (that was achieved due to a rather one large article 'The Afghans are angry with statements of ex-mayor on their involvement in Poroshenko's team), Arseniy Yatsenuk as an official got 36% of total number of materials. There were no representations of Petro Symonenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko as candidates, and Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov as agitators.

## 'Vechirni Cherkasy'

The media placed nearly 9 times more materials on the presidential election with mentions about the monitoring subjects than 'Cherkaskyi kraj'.

90% of materials were placed by the newspaper as political advertisement marked only by defining certain rubrics as advertising materials in the newspaper background; such notes are not obvious to a reader.

Among unmarked materials to be monitored Petro Poroshenko was represented mostly (56%) and Yulia Tymoshenko (39%). There were no representations of Mykhailo Dobkin, Serhiy Tihipko, Petro Symonenko, Arseniy Yatsenuk as official and agitator, and Oleksandr Turchynov as agitator.

#### 'Aktsent'

Because of regural placement of unmarked political ads the media published 11 times more materials on the subject of the presidential race with mentions about the monitoring subjects than 'Vechirni Cherkasy'.

Yulia Tymoshenko became a leader on the material number (49%), Petro Poroshenko (26%), Serhiy Tihipko (15%). Petro Symonenko as a candidate, Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov as agitators were no represented.

#### **Tone (on newspapers)**

#### 'Cherkaskyi kraj'

The media delivered solely neutral information about the monitoring subjects. The only positive material placed was about Olha Bohomolets who is not the monitoring subject.

# 'Vechirni Cherkasy'

Information about the monitoring subjects was mostly positive (52.7%) or neutral (45.5%).

In fact, positive tone information was divided between Yulia Tymoshenko (53.9%) and Petro Poroshenko (46.1%).

Yulia Tymoshenko was the only who was negatively represented.

#### 'Aktsent'

On the objects monitored the media was the most unbalanced.

60% of the content with mentions about the monitoring subjects was positive, 25% - negative, and only 15% - neutral.

The absolute leader in terms of positively colored materials is Yulia Tymoshenko (66 % of all positive publications), Serhiy Tihipko (24%) and Petro Poroshenko (9%).

The absolute leader in terms of negative tone materials is Petro Poroshenko (62%), Yulia Tymoshenko (30%) and Mykhailo Dobkin (4%).

High rates of positive and negative content tone about on Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Poroshenko are related with placing messages to support or criticize a personality or activity as a candidate in the articles referred to unmarked political ads. For example, much of the criticism of Petro Poroshenko was methodically placed in 'jeans' of Yulia Tymoshenko; articles in support of Oleh Tyahnybok usually criticized the most rated candidates, thereby, representing the candidate in a positive tone on this background.

#### **Speakers**

## 'Cherkaskyi kraj'

Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchynov.

## 'Vechirni Cherkasy'

Yulia Tymoshenko, local politicians and officials, representatives of electoral headquarters of Petro Poroshenko.

#### 'Aktsent'

Yulia Tymoshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, local politicians and officials - representatives of electoral headquarters of Petro Poroshenko.

#### Priority in presentation (placed on front pages, without figures)

#### 'Cherkaskyi kraj'

Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchynov.

# 'Vechirni Cherksay', 'Aktsent'

Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko.

# Manipulations and media effects

# 'Cherkaskyi kraj', 'Vechirni Cherksay'

System media effect use was not found.

#### 'Aktsent'

The media greatly used the following media effects in unmarked ads transforming positive materials into agitation material: overgeneralization, label pin, information repeat, statements, anonymous authority, a statement of fact, estimates forming a tone, contrast principle, metaphors, using headlines for toning etc.

For example, the newspaper issue published an article 'Yulia Tymoshenko has finally returned'. The unmarked as 'political campaign' article represents Yulia Tymoshenko as democratic candidate who has the strong support of known people and associates, as a person who has changed, who is able to negotiate with Russia. In fact, the article proclaims basic thesis of Yulia Tymoshenko's election program: bringing Crimea back, break of the system, final victory over Yanukovych's regime, corruption prevention etc. In representing the material the following media effects are used:

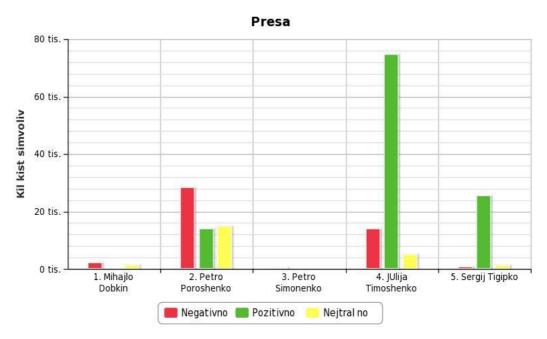
- The most wide-spread manipulation methods were, label pin, information repeat, statements, anonymous authority, a statement of fact, estimates forming a tone, contrast principle, metaphors, using headlines for toning etc.
- overgeneralization ('the majority of voters has no doubt who is the favorite of the campaign ...')
- comments taking into account formats of Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko's first congresses one makes a conclusion on their personal characteristics because a hidden contrast between openness and behind-the-scenes is in focus ('For now Poroshenko avoids large public events, his registration as a candidate was quite modest all this once again prove business style of his behavior. Meanwhile, the leader of 'Batkivshchyna' held an open congress at St.Sophia's Square and demonstrated openness to the society').

Another example was brought from an article titled 'Enemy of corruption: Tymoshenko is promoting a package of anti-corruption reforms'. A positive tone of the unmarked as 'political ad' article is achieved by author's good assessments of Tymoshenko's ability to fight against corruption and her interim achievements ('the plan is effective and very specific', 'knowing the determination of Lady Yu, political scientists have no doubt that she will be able to succeed', 'Tymoshenko can boast of some victories in this field').

One more example is 'Aktsent' newspaper article titled 'Bread instead of war'. The unmarked as 'political ad' article positions Serhiy Tihipko as 'the only candidate for president who calls to develop economics', gives thesis of his election program, offers valuation conclusions of the author ('Tihipko rightly states that nobody will give money to our county...'), the article finishes with figurative phrase making the message more emotional – 'People need bread rather than war'.

The next article to consider is the one published in the issue entitled 'All-Ukrainian Union 'Solidarnist' of Petro Poroshenko will make Cherkasy government to live in a new way'. The material followed presentation of the electoral list in Cherkasy City Council, it has lots of author's positive valuations, and the candidate's slogan itself put in the title provides the material with a positive tone.

An example of media effects creating a negative tone on the monitoring subjects observed in 'Election-2014': choose between political technological myths and the concept of Ukraine's development' published in the newspaper on May, 7. The material pinned negative labels on many candidates and Oleh Tyahnybok, in contrast, is represented by an author in a positive tone.



#### **Internet-sites**

Within May 'ProCherk' online media was less active in covering the presidential elections in Ukraine than throughout local elections in Cherkasy coverage.

The most represented subjects in news programs were Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, compared with television and press Serhiy Tihipko was less mentioned online.

The online news portal turned out to be the most neutral because 90% of all mentions about the monitoring subjects were characterized by this very tone.

Media effects are not wide-spread; it is worth stressing on creation of a specific tone of messages by using titles and irony. It should be noted that on the last day before the 'silence day' the site has posted

words of Yuri Lutsenko focusing on the one-round elections titled with affirmative headline: 'Petro Poroshenko becomes the president in the first round of elections'.

# % of candidates and political process players

On number of mentions Petro Poroshenko is a leader (56%), Yulia Tymoshenko (28%) and Oleksandr Turchinov as official (10%).

Candidates Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko were little represented in Internet news-blocks.

#### **Tone**

89% of all mentions about the monitoring subjects had a neutral tone.

41% negative materials were given to Oleksandr Turchynov as official's, the rate was caused by uncontested criticism sent to Turchynov's address by presidential candidate Anatoliy Hrytsenko.

Negative mentions were addressed to Petro Poroshenko, Petro Symonenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. Materials in a negative tone are mainly reposted publications with no additional comments (from such nationwide resources as 'Insider', 'UP', local site 'Pro golovne') or personal blogs of politicians.

The site has much less positive materials, there were few publications about Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

# **Speakers**

Local politicians are the main speakers; the site regularly placed posts taken from social networks pages of MPs Mykola Tomenko who at the end of the monitoring period announced about his withdrawal from 'Batkivshchyna' party and support of Petro Poroshenko, I.Herashchenko and Anatoliy Hrytsenko.

#### **Priority in presentation**

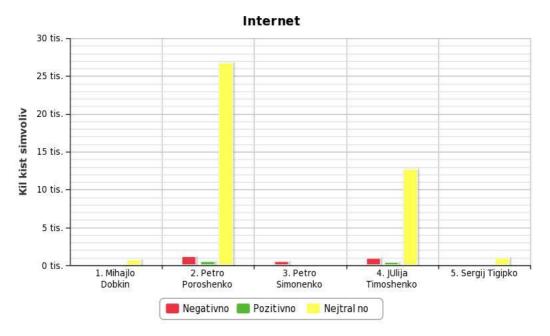
Local politicians and representatives of local headquarters of political parties, mostly.

## Description of manipulations and media effects

Media effects were not wide-spread; one can observe creation of a specific tone of messages by using titles and irony.

Among neutral materials there is an article published 04.03.2014 'Former Party of regions deputies are standing in a queue to Poroshenko's headquarters that are not opened yet, MP' that was actually reposted from Cherkasy city council deputy V.Mamalyha's blog. The article contains negative assessments of a new head of Cherkasy Regional State Administration Y.Tkachenko in the context of his attempt to use administrative resources for Petro Poroshenko's victory, and accusations of 'penetration' into the ranks of the election headquarters of the Party of Regions' candidate, 'There is no doubt that 'Tkachenko will provide a triumphal victory of Poroshenko', 'Third, it is not a secret that 'hardly alive' Party of Regions was fully privatized by Dobkin and Kernes and his colleagues from Donetsk. Our 'regionals' were abandoned and useless. Therefore, former functionaries, minor and major leaders of the former ruling party with CVs and proposals to cooperate are standing in a line to Poroshenko's headquarters that are not opened yet. They are even ready to vote, not mentioning about desire to build a power structure in local councils with Poroshenko. That is why these very 'regionals' in Cherkasy regional council will soon become members of another pro-government faction as well'. There were neither Tkachenko's comments nor Poroshenko electoral headquarters representatives' reaction, and the heading enhances a negative tone of the whole material.

May, 23 the website posted an article entitled 'Petro Poroshenko becomes the president in the first round of elections'; having manipulated the headline represented Yuri Lutsenko's words said at the press-conference in Cherksay as a fact.



#### CHERNIVTSI REGION

#### TV Media

Chernivtsi TV companies did not pay much interest and activity in the coverage of the presidential campaign. More attention was paid to covering events held in the country and the region, personnel rotation, officials' lustration, work of public activists, the elections of the mayor.

Some topics were aimed at giving the audience information on preparations for the elections, for instance, election stations formation, voters' lists, election law. Actually, the persons of presidential candidates were seldom mentioned in the news blocks.

Coverage of Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov was in great focus of the state broadcasting company, names of officials on TRK 'Chernivtsi' were mentioned twice as little. It is also worth noting that there were not recorded cases of misusing administrative resources, or these officials' campaigning for any candidate.

TV channels did not provide sufficient amount of information about the candidates for president; Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko were never mentioned throughout the monitoring period.

News stories on the presidential candidates were not shown in the first TV spots, they were usually broadcast closer to the end of the news block and followed local and national events news.

The state TV and Radio company covered only real newsworthy events regarding visits of politicians to Chernivtsi and the region; it gave no information on the presidential candidates' programs and activity. TRK 'Chernivtsi' showed 'jeans' spots about Yulia Tymoshenko and Oleh Lyashko where the politicians were positioned as 'saviors of the state'. The main speaker is Yulia Tymoshenko.

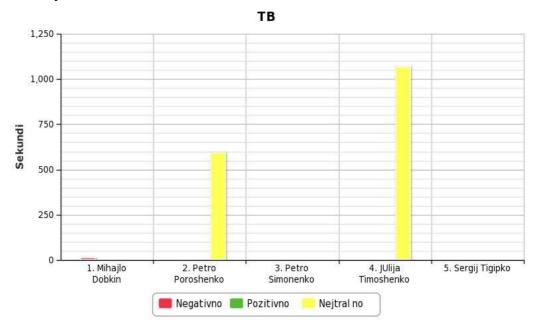
CHDTRK was the most active in a neutral tone covering work of officials such as Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov. Among the candidates Petro Poroshenko (information on the politician's visit to Chernivtsi politics, speaker is Petro Poroshenko) and Yulia Tymoshenko (information on the politician's visit to Chernivtsi politics, speaker is Yulia Tymoshenko) were mentioned.

It should be noted that Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov were represented as officials rather than agitators: TV-channels informed about decrees, appointments, addresses, positions on important public events .

TRK 'Chernivtsi' informed about the activity of Yulia Tymoshenko in a neutral tone, mostly; Petro Poroshenko got nearly a third of mentions. Moreover, the channel paid little neutral attention to the coverage of officials' activity (Arseniy Yatsenuk, Oleksandr Turchynov), Mykhailo Dobkin was mentioned once only.

The main speaker throughout the monitoring period was Yulia Tymoshenko, the news block regularly broadcast 'jeans' spots covering the candidate's election campaign; no spots had relations with specific newsworthy events in Chernivtsi and the region. Only Yulia Tymoshenko's visits to Chernivtsi and Storozhynets within pre-election week can be considered as real newsworthy events. The second place was taken by Petro Poroshenko and the head of headquarters V.Kulish. The spots were based on real newsworthy events such as the politician's visit to Chernivtsi, the press-conference of the electoral headquarters head.

TRK 'Chernivtsi' viewers got no information message about presidential candidates Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko.



#### **Print Media**

The presidential elections in Ukraine were not a priority topic in the newspapers of Bukovyna. The newspapers covered the events in the region and the country; watched personnel appointment and challenges of lustration of leaders at various levels; informed about activity of regional NGOs, work of authorities and local governments; paid attention to candidates for the mayor. The press paid to the presidential election a little more attention than TV companies and Internet resources. Readers were briefly reported about fortunes of presidential candidates, election programs, experts' opinions on the electoral process. This information was mainly absent on the front pages. The most part of election content information concerned the law, work of electoral commissions, voters' lists. There was few own materials prepared. Journalists reposted materials of their Kyiv colleagues and placed 'jeans' with no 'Advertising' or 'Agitation' marks. Among the presidential candidates Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko were mostly mentions. Information about Mykhailo Dobkin, Serhiy Tihipko and Petro Symonenko was minimal.

In general, the information in the press about programs and activities of the most presidential candidates was ample for making a fully informed choice.

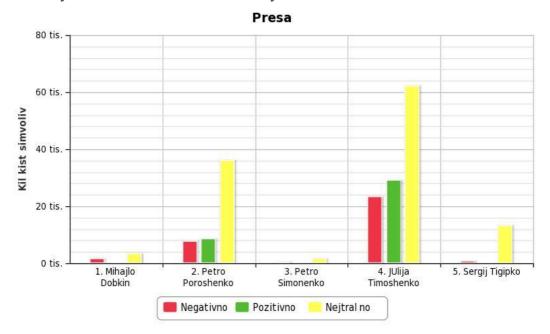
'Pohlyad' newspaper gave readers the most neutral information about Petro Poroshenko's acvivity, Yulia Tymoshenko – twice a little, Serhiy Tihipko – three times a little, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko – 9-10 times less. Petro Poroshenko was the only candidate represented in a positive tone. Negative materials were mostly written about Yulia Tymoshenko; negative mentions about Petro Poroshenko are 10 times less. Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko were also mentioned in a negative tone. 'Black PR' and 'label pin' against all candidates were actively used in 'jeans'.

The newspaper 'Molodyi Bukovynets' mainly published neutral information on the activity of Yulia Tymoshenko (on neutral message number Yulia Tymoshenko is a leader). Petro Poroshenko's activity was covered twice as little; Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko, Serhiy Tihipko were little mentioned. Yulia Tymoshenko is also a leader on a positive tone information number; number of positive

materials about Petro Poroshenko was 6 times less; other candidates were not mentioned in a positive tone. Petro Poroshenko was mostly written in a negative tone, number of negative materials about Yulia Tymoshenko is twice as little.

Media distributed a number of 'ordered' materials about Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko, they were not marked as advertising or agitation.

Different methods of manipulation were used: mainly, 'label pin' such as 'oligarchs' for Petro Poroshenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin, and 'national leader, savior of the state' for Yulia Tymoshenko. A method of indirect criticism through direct criticism of environment' at all levels, from regional to the nationwide, was mostly used against Petro Poroshenko. Moreover, 'ordered' materials of Petro Poroshenko used 'alternative absence' technique so that readers were made to conclude that Petro Poroshenko's victory in the first round is the best way out for Ukrainians.



#### **Internet-sites**

'BukInfo' and 'Buknews' websites did not choose the presidential election as a priority topic. More attention was paid to the events in the state and the region, Chernivtsi city mayor elections, the activities of NGOs. One could observe lots of materials reposted from other sources, local journalists did not attempt to analyse the candidates for president independently; in most cases they responded to specific newsworthy events (visits of politicians to the city and the region, statements of NGOs and activists, addresses at press-conferences and electoral headquarters). Articles being considered as 'jeans' published in neither 'Advertising ' nor 'Agitation' columns existed as well.

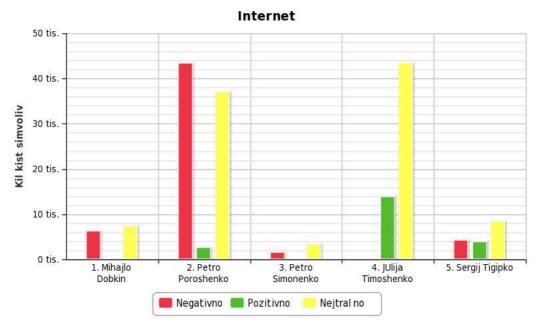
Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov were covered as officials: media informed about decrees, appointments, addresses, positions on important social events. Agitation of the politicians and misuse of administrative resources were not recorded.

'BukInfo' wrote the most information about Petro Poroshenko's activities (neutral and negative tone), Petro Symonenko was represented in the least materials. Moreover, activities of Prime-Minister Arseniy Yatsenuk and Acting President Oleksandr Turchynov were largely covered. Serhiy Tihipko was mentioned in a positive tone messages the most, Yulia Tymoshenko – the least here. As for the number of messages in a negative tone Petro Poroshenko turned to be a leader (methods of indirect criticism of the candidate through direct criticism of the environment and 'label pin' (oligarch) were mainly used), Mykhailo Dobkin was represented in negative materials the least.

Internet resource 'Buknews' paid its most attention to covering positions of Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko. Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko were seldom mentioned, mainly, in a negative tone. Neutral messages were often written about Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro

Poroshenko; Mykhailo obkin and Serhiy Tihipko were mentioned the least. Positive publications were more typical for Yulia Tymoshenko, Petro Poroshenko got positive messages four times less. On the number of negative information Petro Poroshenko is an absolute leader (methods of indirect criticism through direct criticism of the environment', 'detail blowing up', 'mind reading' methods were largely applied), other candidates were on average mentioned in a negative tone five times less. Yulia Tymoshenko got no mention in a negative tone.

For creating a positive image for Yulia Tymoshenko such methods as appeals, addresses, distribution of information on meetings of NGOs who support the candidate were mainly used; the materials were often based on building opposite images (positive image went to Yulia Tymoshenko and negative – to Petrp Poroshenko). For example, one of the headings 'People's Council of Chernivtsi regional council does not want to deal with a sullied billionaire that is why it supported Tymoshenko'. No 'Advertising' or 'Agitation' marks were used.



## **CHERNIHIV REGION**

#### Main conclusions

Throughout the electoral campaign it was traced the following trends:

- the monitored media did not practically use "jeans" and hidden electoral agitation;
- almost all political advertising, news about the presidential candidates and the articles were marked as "political advertising", "image", "position" and so on;
- providing of the voters with information about the electoral campaign was minimal, and in some media it was absent;
- within the last days before the elections, the media used significally more manipulations than for the entire period of monitoring.

# Media manipulations

- highlighting on TV of the provocative statements from the representatives of one of the candidates, in the results of which the opponents were forced to justify the appeal to the courts and several coverage opportunities were "donated";
- use of informtaion material from the Internet media to create negative publicity, which becomes the basis for TV news item:
- ironic articles where the candidates are not run down (even without mentioning the names), the material has neutral tone of coverage, and however it is clear that the author writes with irony;

- appearance in the news item of the photo of well-known candidate, on which the camera focuses while shooting the news item;
- creation of confrontation between two candidates Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko in coverage oportunities:
- publication and announcement of sociological research as the method of impact on the readers and the TV audience, especially in the last days before the elections. Moreover the results of not all candidates but only the most "top" candidates;
- in the last two weeks the state print media placed "analytical" articles where Petro Poroshenko was covered in negative tone and Yuliya Tymoshenko in positive tone.

#### TV media

OSTRC "Siver-tsentr" and the private TV channel "Dytynets".

OSTRC "Siver-tsentr" did not represent the election campaign. For the monitoring period this did not represent any news item where the candidate for presidency was shown.

As regard to the regional TV, it was difficult to understand from the news that there were the presidential elections in the country. For the monitoring period OSTRC "Siver-tsentr" did not represent any news item, which contained the information related to the presidential candidates. The only case when it was mentioned the presidential candidate Yuliya Tymoshenko whose photo was indirectly demonstrated in the news item related to the creation of Rukh Oporu and attendance of the people's deputy V.Dubil (the head of regional campaign office of Yuliya Tymoshenko) on the formal occasions conducted by the Chernihiv authorities. Any other information about the visits of the candidates was represented out of the news programs.

The most part of the either time of the OSTRC "Siver-tsentr" was devoted to highlighting of Arseniy Yatsenuk and Oleksandr Turchynov. Each news item was begun by the news related to the activity of the Acting President and Prime-Minister, and then the news about the events in the region and the city followed.

The TV channel did not mention any candidates for presidency in any tone.

The TV channel "Dytynets" informed the voters more actively about the elections using different newsworthy information. Almost all candidates for presidentcy were mentioned in the news item related to announcement of the results of sociological studies. Also the opposition with the representatives of Yulia Tymoshenko was started because of the statement of one of Petro Poroshenko's representatives.

Announcement of the document about appointments in the district campaign offices of Yulia Tymoshenko became the following newsworthy information which created the negative information about this candidate for presidency. Among these new appointments were the representatives of the regional heads and administrative resources.

It should be noted that when Yuliya Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko were often represented in the same news items of this channel.

"Detinets" informing voters about candidates' visits. So were posted news about Tihipko, A.Grytsenko and Petro Poroshenko. Scenes virtually all the same size and neutral content. Also candidates channel broadcast programs under the heading "The election campaign." The feature of the channel is that news out 18 times a day, every hour.

"Dytynets" informed the voters about the visits of the candidates. Thus it was highlighted the news about Serhiy Tihipko, Anatoliy Hrytsenko and Petro Poroshenko. All news items were similar by the content and duration. The special feature of the channel is that its news are broadcasted 18 times per a day, each hour.

In the last week of monitoring the TV channel "Dytynets" paid more attention to Petro Poroshenko in positive tone and to Yulia Tymoshenko in negative tone. Thus on May 23 the channel broadcasted the film about Petro Poroshenko where his activity was highlighted in positive tone. As to the negative information about Yulia Tymoshenko, in the news items it was broadcasted (without any

marks) the address of the peoples' deputy V.Antroshenko who was the factual owner of the TV channel "Dytynets" in which he criticized the activity of the regional "Batkivschyna" and Yulia Tymoshenko in partilular. And on May 24 in the news itmes it was represented the information about violation of the legislation from the part of Yulia Tymoshenko which was revealed by the observers and journalists. It was about the personal letters from Yulia Tymoshenko which were addressed to the retirees in the day of silence and which was violation of the legislation.

Except Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko it was also represented Serhiy Tihipko during announcement of the results of sociological researches which was conducted by Polissya Foundation of International and Regional Researches ordered by "Dytynets". Petro Symonenko and Mykhailo Dobkin were not mentioned by this channel.

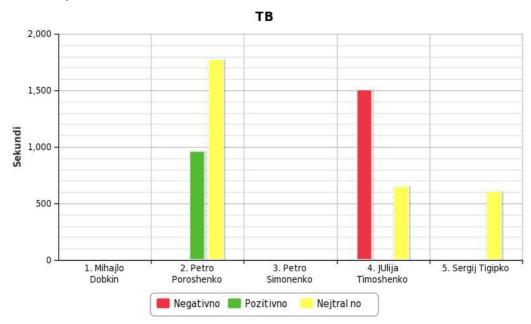
So we can state that "Dytynets" highlighted the electoral campaign more actively than OSTRC "Siver-tsentr" did.

On the TV channel "Dytynets" Petro Poroshenko received the most amount of information 48,8%, the Yulia Tymoshenko received the second place — 39,1%, and Serhiy Tihipko received the third place — 11,1.

Petro Poroshenko received the largest sync in the section "Direct speech".

In neutral tone Petro Poroshenko received the most information, Yulia Tymoshenko received less information in neutral tone, and Serhiy Tihipko received the third place accordingly.

In positive tone the information was represented only about Petro Poroshenko. In negative tone the information was represented about Yulia Tymoshenko. Petro Symonenko and Mykhailo Dobkin were not mentioned at all by the channel.



#### Print media

The monitored print media such as the communal newspaper "Desnyanska Pravda" and the private paper "Sem dney" highlighted also quite passively the electoral campaign. The newspapers tried to avoid using "jean" and the newspaper "Sem dney" almost managed to do it. It informed or about several candidates in one material or it placed the article under the heading "Position".

Yulia Tymoshenko received the most amount of information – 33,9%, Petro Poroshenko –30% and Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko received 5,8% each.

Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko were represented mostly in neutral tone.

In positive tone Yulia Tymoshenko was highlighted mostly.

And there was no information in negative tone about any other candidates.

The newspaper represented Serhiy Tihipko, Petro Symonenko and Mykhailo Dobkin in equal amount and in neutral tone.

The communal newspaper "Desnyanska pravda" informed actively about the activities of the candidates which was caused firstly by the official statements of the CEC and secondly, by the journalists' materials which highlighted the course of electoral process, announcement of the results of sociological researches and other newsworthy information. It is interesting to note that "Desnyanska pravda" published the article where the candidate for presidency Yulia Tymoshenko was represented in negative tone. In the issue from May 15 Petro Poroshenko received also negative information. This article was built as the opposition of Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko. The similar material was posted by the newspaper "Desnyanska pravda" in the eve of the elections. In the article the author compared Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, paying a special attention to refusal of Petro Poroshenko to participate in the debates with the leader of "Batlivschyna". This material was marked as "Separate Political Opinion".

"Desnyanska pravda" highlighted also in negative tone Petro Symonenko updating with the letter of Oleksandr Turchynov to the Law Minister where there was confirmation of the anti-Ukrainian activites of CPU and its leader Petro Symonenko. The heading "To smoke out the Communists" on the front page of this paper gave importance to this article.

And the last articles which touched the election campaign were represented by "Desnyanska pravda" in neutral tone.

It is necessary to note that it was traced the use of "jeans" and administrative resources by this newspaper. One article represented the activities of Yulia Tymoshenko about of whom the head of regional campaign office Dubil V. told at the official meeting. It is interesting to note that the lines which touched the activities of the leader of "Batkivschyna" were marked by other font and the article told about the success and achievements of this candidate.

The second material informed about the meeting of the councils' representatives of different levels initiated by Yulia Tymoshenko where the Head of Chernihiv Oblast Council informed about this candidate and her activity.

Yulia Tymoshenko received the most amount of information 27%; Petro Poroshenko -22,1%, Serhiy Tihipko -16,3% accordingly.

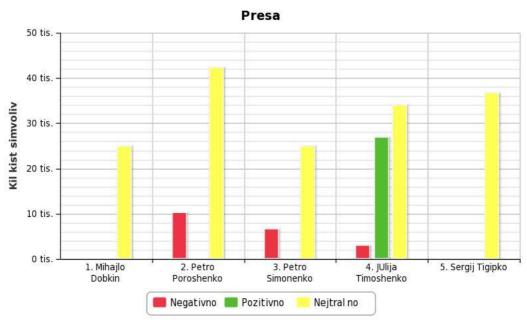
Petro Poroshenko was represented mostly in the neutral tone, Yulia Tymoshenko and Serhiy Tihipko received less information in neutral tone.

In positive tone the newspaper highlighted mostly Yulia Tymoshenko.

In negative tone the newspaper represented mostly petro Poroshenko and Petro Symonenko.

Mykhailo Dobkin was mentioned only in neutral tone.

In spite of a few amount of the materials devoted to the election campaign, one can say that the print media informed on ocassions about the elections course.



#### **Internet-sites**

For the monitoring period the Internet-sites paid their attention to all five candidates for presidency. The most information was devoted to the leaders of the electoral campaign – Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

It is interesting that these two candidates were often mentioned together, especially in the site "PIK". So the conflict between two campaign offices of these candidates became the newsworthy information when the head of the campaign office of Yulia Tymoshenko supported the candidate for presidency Petro Poroshenko. Then the articles about legal actions and brutal techniques appeared. And at the end of month in Chernihiv the leaflet against Petro Poroshenko appeared and even though the representatives of the campaign office of Petro Poroshenko did not call the name, the Internet-site addressed to the campaign office of Yulia Tymoshenko for explanation of this agitation product.

The Intenet-sites informed about the visits of the candidates in the headings "Image" or in neutral tone with light irony. So Petro Poroshenko was represented by the site "Vysokyi val" as "Candidate №1" or "He".

Other candidates were mentioned oftener in the materials related to the results of exit polls, general information on the registration of athorized representatives etc.

In the last weeks the information of "Opora" appeared on the monitored Intenet-sites which fixed the violations of the electoral campaign. Yulia Tymoshenko and Petro Poroshenko were mentioned most often in this information.

The Internet-site "PIK" posted most amount of materials related to the election issues. Least amount of information was represented by the Intenet-site "Vysokyi val".

"PIK" devoted most attention to Petro Poroshenko and Yulia Tymoshenko.

"Vysokyi val" devoted most attention to Yulia Tymoshenko where the part of the news about this candidate was posted under the section "Image".

According to the amount of materials posted on the Intenet-site "Podii i komentari" Yulia Tymoshenko became the leader -29,5%, Petro Poroshenko became the second -23,4%, Serhiy Tihipko became the third -16,3%.

In the neutral tone the Internet-site mentioned mostly about Yulia Tymoshenko. Petro Poroshenko took the second place. Other three candidates such as Serhiy Tihipko, Mykhailo Dobkin and Petro Symonenko took accordingly the third, the fourth and the fifth palces.

In negative tone the Internet-site informed only about Yulia Tymoshenko. In positive tone the Internet-site "PiK: podii i komentarii" did not mention any candidate.

According to the amount of materials posted on the Internet-site "Vysokyi val" Yulia Tymoshenko became the leader—44,4%, Petro Poroshenko took the second place -29,6%.

In neutral tone this Internet-site represented mostly Petro Poroshenko. The second place was taken by Yulia Tymoshenko. Other three candidates such as Mykhailo Dobkin, Petro Symonenko and Serhiy Tihipko took accordingly the third, the fourth and the fifth palces.

In positive tone the Internet-site "Vysokyi val" represented only Yulia Tymoshenko where the amount of positive materials was almost equal to amount of neutral materials.

This Internet-site did not highlight the candidates in negative tone.

The Internet-site "Vysokyi val" covered actively by on-line broadcasting of the visit of Yulia Tymoshenko to Chernihiv and Pryluky.

So inference should be drwn that the Internet-sites represented more objective and unbiased information for the voters. Though the use of manipulation techniques and "directed' news enabled to impact on the choice of the audience.

