

SABIEDRISKĀS POLITIKAS CENTRS PROVIDUS



## Analysis of possible cases of hidden Advertising in media prior to 2005 Municipal elections.

Riga, May 12, 2005

The project was implemented with financial support from the European Union. The Public Policy Center "Providus" is solely responsible for the contents of the report, and it does not in any way reflect an opinion of the European Union.



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## Abbreviations used in report

WP – Work Party  
Homeland – Politically Patriotic Union “Homeland”  
NC – New Center  
NE – New Era  
CP – Conservative Party  
LW – Latvia Way  
LL – Light of Latgale  
LK – Latvia Kalve  
LP – Liepaja Party  
LFP – Latvian First Party  
LSDWP – Latvian Social Democratic Union  
LSP – Latvian Socialist Party  
LGP – Latvian Green Party  
LFU – Latvian Farmers Union  
LV – For Latvia and Ventspils  
PAFHRUL– Political Association For Human Rights in a United Latvia  
FF/LNIM– For Fatherland and Freedom/Latvian National Independence Movement  
PP – People’s Party  
NUP – National Union Party  
GFU – Green and Farmers Union  
LP – Liepaja Party  
FOL – For Our Latvia  
LNDP – Latvian National Democratic Party  
FZ – Future of Zilupe  
OH – Our Home  
RCC – Riga City Council  
CEC – Central Election Committee

## **Information about the project**

### **Relevance of hidden Advertising and party finances**

The project "Openness about finances in the 2005 Municipal elections" carried out an independent registry on finances spent during the pre-election campaign by political parties. According to the amendment in legislation on political party financing that came into effect on March 2004 political parties are allowed to spend not more than LVL 0,20 for one voter during the pre-election campaign. This means that the amount of political party expenditures is limited and that none of the political parties were allowed to spend more than LVL 182, 000 for this pre-election campaign. In order to consider if the parties observed the set expenditure limitations, an independent accounting of party expenditures as well as a calculation of the real expenses of the parties was done within the framework of the project

However, these numbers only help to tell us about the party resources that are declared and spent officially. The experience of previous elections demonstrates that a part of party financial resources is spent for paying for direct publicity or so called hidden advertising.

Hidden advertising is a very effective pre-election campaign tool, since it is presented as daily information by media – TV, radio or the printed press. Mass media holds a high trust index in society. Hidden Advertising is not recognizable by a voter as politician's wish to gain a better image or to tarnish other party's reputation by monetary means, but rather seen as a work of independent journalism, therefore they believe this message. As demonstrated by this report, it is obvious that some parties are eager to use hidden advertisement, because the hidden Advertising allows to bypass pre-election campaign finance limitations, and allows for creation of effective and positive publicity.

This means that it is impossible to construct a complete picture on pre-election campaign finances by analyzing exclusively official political party accounts and by accounting the official marked political party advertisements in the media. Therefore this project also deals with the issues of possible hidden advertisement, with an aim to identify cases in the media that create a semblance on the flow of illegal finances. At the same time, the authors of the project are aware that the methodology of the project will not allow for calculations on the scale of finances spent on hidden advertisement, but rather to identify cases when, according to the criteria of this methodology, signs of hidden Advertising can be distinguished.

### **Aims of the project**

The specific aim of the project is to analyze and account for the cases of possible hidden Advertising in the media. A long-term aim of the project is to improve the way the pre-elections period is depicted in the media e.g. to render the pre-election depiction more professional and of higher quality. This report is prepared to reach the specific aim of the project and to invest in securing the long-term goal. This report does not claim to provide a broad party depiction analysis and it is not based on a broad analysis of media contents before the 2005 Municipal elections, which would allow us to consider the trends of political sympathies, antipathies or stable values of the media. Therefore, the project conclusions are mainly geared towards the cases that have negative connotations and tendencies in party depiction. The report does not analyze the media work in the pre-election period in general, and does not characterize the positive cases of campaign

depiction, which have a tendency to become more widespread, but rather do partially note positive examples.

## **Project methodology**

### *Legislation framework*

Currently there is no such legislation that would define hidden political advertisement, however current Radio and Television legislation states that "hidden Advertising is such a depiction of goods, services, goods manufacturers or service providers, trademarks or activities with the purpose of advertising, that by its substance can mislead the audience. Such a depiction is considered intentional, especially if there is a payment or some other compensation received." This legislation implies that hidden Advertising (1) misleads the audience; (2) that placing such Advertising is considered a result of a conscious act. In relation to this definition there is a problem that the provided description of the hidden Advertising may only be applied for radio organizations, and only for providing commercial services.

Radio and Television legislation also sets certain criteria on the specifics of the information provided to the audience:

- 1) News reports should be objective and the news should be depicted in a neutral manner (paragraph 3, section 3 of the legislation);
- 2) Public radio organizations provide varied and well-balanced programs for all types of social groups, which consist of informative, educational and entertaining broadcasts;
- 3) Public radio organizations provide freedom of information and expression, objectivity and variety of programs. (Paragraph 5, part 2);
- 4) Radio organizations secure that facts and events in the broadcasts should be depicted in an honest, objective and versatile manner, according to the generally accepted principles of journalism and ethics;
- 5) Commentary should be separated from the news, furthermore the author of the commentary must be named (paragraph 17, part 2).

### *Definitions and approach*

From the perspective of the project, the hidden Advertising is an Advertising of a political party, deputy candidate, party title, belief or logo, or the type of activity, without clearly marking the material and presenting it as a daily programming of a newspaper/radio/TV with an aim of enhancing or diminishing the popularity of a political force. The word "advertising" from the perspective of the project, means paid or otherwise compensated public report on a point of view or other issues of a political party, party association or a deputy candidate, or the demonstration of the name of a deputy candidate, title or logo of this political party, or political party association, with an aim of enhancing or diminishing their popularity.

Within the framework of the project it is impossible to establish the fact of a specific fact of monetary or another types of compensation, therefore the project authors analyzed specific articles in the printed press and reports on TV and the radio, according to the standards established in the project.

The project did not analyze newspaper commentaries and letters from readers, which are clearly separated from the news material and are used to express the opinion of the editorial staff, other authors or readers. Such an approach is based on a belief that newspapers may have their political opinions and sympathies, which are expressed in a separate column.

The criteria set by the project correspond to the viewpoint of the project authors on a definition on what is quality journalism.

It is:

1. Publication of information which is honest and tested
2. Broad, objective and unaltered presentation of facts
3. Clarity and straightforwardness of the material
4. Critical attitude towards the sources of information
5. News that is clearly separated from the commentaries

For media material analysis the following criteria were used:

I.	Appearance of a party or a deputy candidate logo, pictures or symbols that are not connected with the specific report or article.
II.	Appearance or mentioning of a party or a deputy candidate without an obvious reason and which does not correspond the interests and needs of the media audience. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Pseudo-events. An event created by media or PR that does not have a real socio-political importance, which is created in order to obtain publicity for a deputy candidate or a party in media. (Including events in the personal life of a deputy candidate.)</li> <li>2. Appearance that is not relevant to the event depicted.</li> <li>3. A deputy candidate is used as the main/only commentator of an event. (It is not explained why exactly this deputy candidate is considered the best commentator of the event)</li> </ol>
III.	Repeated publication or running of a report or article with the appearance of the deputy candidate. (Inclusive of the time that is not allocated in the programming or a program where the contents are not clearly defined. This applies only to TV and radio.)
IV.	Opinions of the involved party/parties are missing or there has not been an attempt to clarify the opinions of the involved party or a deputy candidate, or the opinions expressed by a party or a deputy candidate are missing. It is not explained in the report that there has been an attempt to clarify the opinion of any of the involved parties, but it has not been successful.
V.	Similar opinions are selected, opinions and balanced quotations from deputy candidate or a party are missing, or the opinions expressed by deputy candidates are selected to enhance or diminish the popularity of a party or a deputy candidate. Inclusive of articles or reports that were created "In cooperation with..."
VI.	A journalist without asking specific questions lets the deputy candidate to express his/her opinion freely and to choose the theme and direction of the discussion, or a journalist is asking a similar type of questions in order to enhance the positive characteristics of the personality of the deputy candidate.
VII.	An open invitation is expressed by the journalist to vote "for" or "against" the candidate list or a deputy candidate (report that is not identified as a commentary)
VIII.	Identification "paid political advertisement" appears only at the end of the report or article and is proportionally significantly smaller or unnoticeable than the usual titles or print. Including cases when the article or the information provided about the party or deputy candidate is found in the traditional columns that are not relevant to the depiction of political processes.

The authors of the project realize that in this report there are possibly included reports that were not paid for or otherwise compensated, but still corresponded to the criteria of recognition of hidden political Advertising due to following reasons:

1. Unprofessionalism, lack of time and knowledge

Even though it is sometimes stressed that there do not and can not exist unified standards of professional journalism, researchers Ilze Šulmane and Sergejs Kruks realize that "the analysis of

the code of journalism in various countries proves that common basic principles of work exist even in countries with different political traditions and circumstances".<sup>1</sup> However, it must be considered that in a practical situation these standards may not be observed, because there may be shortcomings in the education of media representatives, or because the work of a journalist takes place in a constant lack of time and because of other similar problems.

## 2. Pressure or influence

The authors of the project realize that the media material may contain the signs of hidden advertising, because it has been created as a result of a request by a media owner or editor to enhance or diminish the popularity of a political power or a candidate.

## 3. "Affiliation with a party"

The authors of the project also realize that the hidden Advertising material may result from an influence or sympathetic attitude towards a political party or from a wish to express a personal support for a specific political power. Such an "affiliation with a party" breaches the principles of professional journalism and according to the opinion of the project authors, is not acceptable in media material that is not a commentary.

Since it is not possible to establish a specific fact of payment or compensation by analyzing media material, and because the media material may correspond to the criteria of hidden Advertising due to unprofessionalism, pressure or "party affiliation", in the course of the project **possible cases of hidden Advertising** are discussed, by expressing an assumption that the material may be created resulting from a deal, but without the assumption of the validity of this claim.

## Prior experience

Non-governmental organizations have previously been involved in two projects that have analyzed the possible cases of hidden Advertising – prior to the 2001 Municipal elections and prior to the 8th Saeima parliamentary elections. (Soros Foundation of Latvia and Transparency International "Delna")

Already prior to the 2002 8th Saeima elections, the project enhanced the media representative involvement component, by introducing them to the aims and tasks of the project early on. Prior to the 2002 Municipal elections the amount of accounted possible cases of hidden Advertising in the project significantly diminished. The media became more honest towards its audience by identifying the paid material accordingly and refrained from placing hidden advertisement.

III. Taking into consideration the prior experience of project monitoring, the following activities took place:

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<sup>1</sup> Audit of democracy. Ilze Šulmane and Sergejs Kruks "Media in democratic society" Chapter 9. , research project in preparation stage

1. A team of twelve consultants worked for the project, involving political scientists and media experts;
2. The project methodology was sent to all the media which were monitored with an appeal to express commentary;
3. A team of journalists worked for the project. It met three times and reviewed most of the selected material;
4. Before the publication of the report, the information on the material included in the report was sent to editors. In several cases the comments provided by the editors were very important in order to understand the context of the creation of the material.

## **Course of the project**

### *Selection of the material*

Two weeks prior to the 2005 Municipal elections the project analyzed the media to establish the cases of so-called hidden advertisement. An analysis of the printed press was done from January 1, 2005 till March 12, - 70 days before the elections and on the day of Municipal elections – March 12. Radio organizations were analyzed from January 24, 2005 till the day of elections. A different approach was applied to these media groups because the analysis of printed press material is comparatively simple, because the work is done with copies of the actual material. Monitoring of radio organizations require a wider scope of technical means, therefore the time from January 1 till January 24 was spent applying the existing means to the needs of the project by the project authors.

Seven national TV channels, 7 regional TV channels, 8 radio stations, 82 different printed press issues, including 40 regional newspapers (see in attachment on media list) were analyzed within the scope of the project.

Possible cases of hidden Advertising in radio organizations were selected by a marketing research group TNS/BMF. Afterwards they were analyzed by a project team that made decisions about which materials should be included in the report.

Concerning the printed press, TNS/BMF selected regional and national printed press materials, which were analyzed by 13 students. 7 students analyzed the Russian press, and 6 the Latvian press. Each of the work groups had a work group supervisor, who examined the selected material and evaluated its compliance to the criteria of hidden advertisement.

### *Involvement of journalists*

During the course of the project there was an active journalist working group. All the media outlets analyzed were invited to delegate their representatives to this working group. The delegation was received from 34 different media representatives. The journalist working group met three times during the course of the project: February 18, March 4, and April 1.

Commentaries from the journalist working group with prior consent from the working group are included in this report.

The authors of the project sent information to the media representatives on May 3 with a request to provide commentary on the selected cases. Till May 9, there were 17 replies received, which if possible were taken into consideration and depicted in this report. In several cases exactly the commentary provided by the media was what determined if the material would be included in this report. A compilation of the comments received is found in the 2nd appendix to this report.

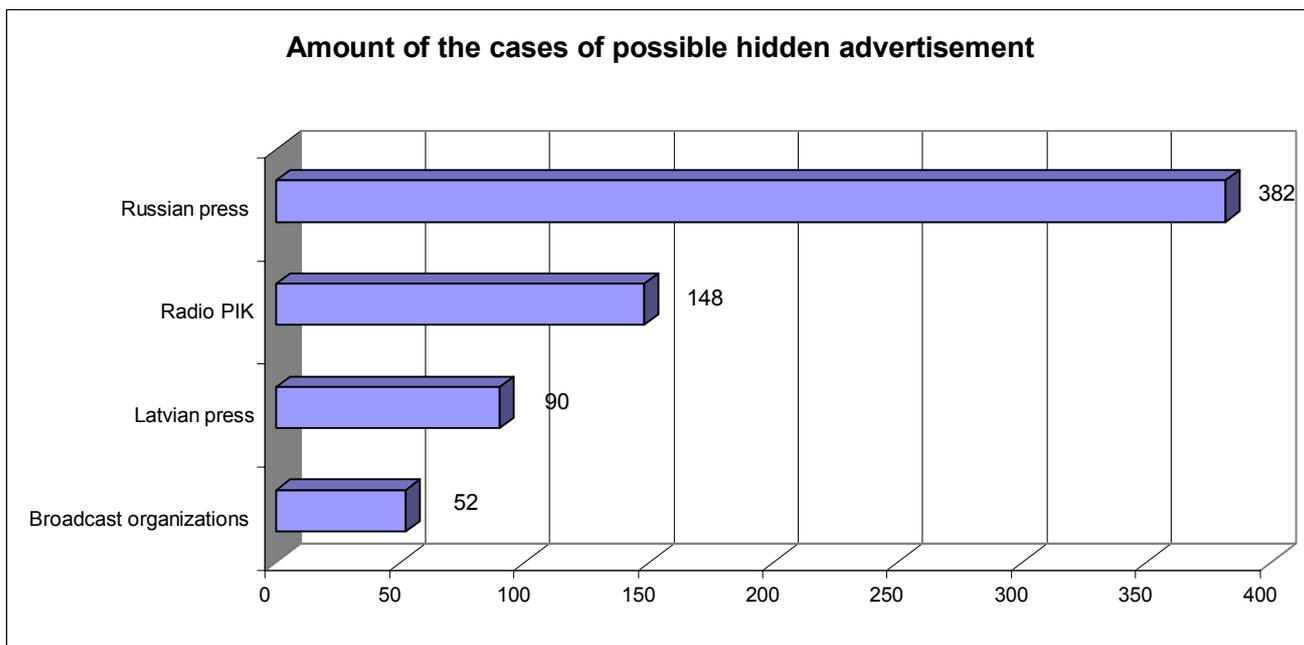
## **Summary of the main conclusions of the project**

### **Summary of possible cases of hidden Advertising by media groups**

In the media analysis of the project "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances" there were established 672 cases of possible hidden Advertising placed in 53 different media on 25 political parties. In the course of the project it was concluded that the cases of possible hidden Advertising accounted for in this project, are the type of activity of several media sources and several parties, not a general phenomenon that would characterize all the media analyzed. During the course of the project in half of the analyzed media possible hidden Advertising was not established (108 media analyzed, possible cases of hidden Advertising accounted for in 53 media), and most of the established cases are exceptions, not a regular phenomenon.

Compiling the cases of possible hidden Advertising by media groups, the following media groups must be marked – radio organizations, Latvian language printed press, Russian language printed press and radio PIK. Radio PIK must be distinguished separately, because by adding it to any other groups the amount of cases of possible hidden Advertising would be deceptive, because radio PIK is an exceptional and unprecedented case.

TABLE 1. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN VARIOUS MEDIA GROUPS



Source: Project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

The highest amount of possible hidden advertising cases was selected in the Russian printed press. In the analysis of hidden Advertising in the printed press done in 2001 it was concluded that about 62% of all the cases of hidden Advertising appear in the Russian printed press <sup>2</sup>.

If we do not take into consideration the large number of cases of possible hidden Advertising in radio PIK, currently this proportion is 73%. This indicates that Latvian media has significantly improved the quality of political party coverage prior to elections, whereas the Russian printed press has done it much less.

A significant element in reduction of the amount of hidden Advertising is more active involvement of National Radio and Television Council (NRTC) in monitoring of the radio organizations prior to elections. However, it must be acknowledged that neither NRTC warnings, nor shutdown for three days stopped radio PIK to broadcast possible hidden Advertising and open agitation for the political party "Homeland" exactly on the day of the elections.

In the course of the project it was concluded that the pre-election party depiction demonstrates positive tendencies in some particular Russian newspapers as well, however there are several popular daily newspapers, where such positive changes are not observed.

Media performance during the pre-election period directly depicts the split informational space of Latvian society. Russian and Latvian media work according to different principles. In the Latvian media there is a growing tendency to adapt their work to the standards of Western journalism, whereas the Russian media, observe these standards much less. Furthermore, Russian media do place possible hidden Advertising on so called "leftist" parties – PAFHRUL, New Center, National Unity Party, as well as LSDWP, and LFP.

<sup>2</sup> Nellija Ločmele, "Monitoring of hidden Advertising in press" Riga, 2001// [http://www.politika.lv/polit\\_real/files/lv/monit-press1.pdf](http://www.politika.lv/polit_real/files/lv/monit-press1.pdf)

Among the Russian newspapers "Vesti Segodna" stands out with 158 cases of possible hidden advertisements, which has placed a little less than a half of all possible hidden Advertising publications in Russian press. The second is newspaper "Chas" with 91 publications, but the third regional newspaper "Million". These articles favored PAFHRUL, NUP and New Center. Out of a total analyzed 25 Russian printed press issues 86% of all the cases of possible hidden Advertising were concentrated in 6 newspapers. This means that most of the Russian language newspapers during the pre-election time were observing neutrality, analyzed parties in an objective manner and separated commentaries from news. Most of the cases of possible hidden Advertising were in the largest Russian language daily newspapers<sup>3</sup>.

Pertaining to the radio organizations, the lion's share – 148 possible cases of hidden Advertising were established in Radio PIK, which during the pre-election period used almost 100% of its broadcast time to popularize the party "Homeland". In comparison with other radio organizations Radio PIK is an unprecedented case, massive hidden Advertising of one party in this radio organization was recognized already prior to the 2002 elections<sup>4</sup>, therefore the authors of the project believe that it is necessary to achieve the shutdown of this radio organization until the 2006 Saeima parliamentary elections.

In accordance with the paragraph 40 of the Radio and Television Legislation, according to a request made by NRTC the court of law stops operation of radio organization, (1) if it has breached administrative regulations after it has received and administrative fine for violating this regulation twice within one year (2) if the radio organization has allowed for significant violations of Radio and Television legislation or significant departure from the general programming concept after NRTC has issued a warning or has stopped its activity for a time. NRTC for Radio PIK:(1) imposed a fine (2) stopped its activity for three days; (3) stopped activity for 7 days. After the penalty, Radio PIK did not stop broadcasting hidden Advertising for "Homeland". On the contrary radio organization carried out a well-prepared and purposeful pre-election campaign, which culminated on the day of elections.

Because Radio PIK immediately appealed the decrees by NRTC to stop the activity in the district administrative court of law, currently these decrees are not legally valid. If the court will decide that the NRTC decree for stopping the activities for a certain time period was justified, and the decrees will be enforced, then the NRTC is considering the next sanction for administrative breaches or significant violations from general programming concept to apply to the court a request to stop the work of this radio organization.

Source: Beata Galzone, NRTC legal consultant

In comparison with radio PIK, the number of cases of possible hidden Advertising in other radio organizations is insignificant. The second place takes Ventspils TV with 13 cases, where a special advantage in commenting events of the city life is given to Ventspils Mayor A. Lembergs. Third is Christian radio, which provided positive publicity for the Latvian First Party and fourth place is "TV Miljons"(TV Million"), which popularized various parties.

<sup>3</sup> The most popular daily newspapers in Russian: Vesti Segodna, Čas, Biznes&Baltija, Telegraf. TNS/BMF www.bmf.lv

<sup>4</sup>Soros Foundation – Latvia and Society for openness "Delna", Analysis of cases of possible hidden Advertising in media before the 8<sup>th</sup> parliamentary elections //http://www.politika.lv/index.php?id=104832&lang=lv

Two significant trends were recognized during analysis of radio organizations, which were not considered cases of possible hidden Advertising in all cases. The program "Rīgas ziņas" ("Riga News") provided especially positive publicity for the LSDWP. During the pre-election period officials from LSDWP were mentioned in "Rīgas Ziņas" 91 times or in 63% of all the cases. Furthermore, there were 8 cases of possible hidden Advertising of LSDWP identified in "Rīgas ziņas". This event illustrates the use of administrative i.e. Municipal resources, to popularize a party in power.

At the same time the project analyzed TV5 show "Par ko balsot?" ("For whom to vote?") and concluded that even though the discussions appeared to create the appearance of an uninfluenced battle of opinions, they provided a significant chance to obtain positive publicity for two parties – LFP and LSDWP. For these elections the TV show "Par ko balsot?" filled the gap of no debates in radio, by offering an original solution and interesting examination of various problems of Riga inhabitants. As proved by a questionnaire (see below), which was carried out during the course of the project, 28% of voters believe the information on political parties they obtain from media and 12,7% of voters get it exactly from the media debates. Therefore, the party wish to participate in these debates is understandable as claimed by several parties<sup>5</sup>, even though it must be paid for. Hopefully until the next Parliamentary elections, the Saeima will pass a law on pre-election campaigning were the current norm of government financing for the organization of debates <sup>6</sup> and the likelihood of participation in TV debates will thus be diversified. In the third media group – the Latvian printed press - the most (26) cases of possible hidden Advertising were identified in the newspaper "Rīgas Balss" (The Voice of Riga"), which in these publications informed about LSDWP – the ruling party of the Riga City Council by previous arrangement. The possible reason for this may be financial ties between the newspaper and the City Council, but "Rīgas Balss" did possibly publish hidden Advertising for LSDWP in the news by depicting pseudo-events, and in the column "Riga City Council Informs". The newspapers "Vakara Ziņas" ("Evening News") and "Latvijas Avīze" ("Newspaper of Latvia") follow. "Latvijas Avīze" created a column "Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party for Latvia", which was marked as a column created by a request from LSDWP, and left the readers without a clear answer if this material is or is not a party advertisement. The total amount of possible hidden Advertising in other newspapers was comparatively small.

Further in the course of the project a detailed description of specific cases is provided and the reasons for their inclusion in the project are described. A broad description of general tendencies in Russian printed press is found in the report, but the Latvian printed press is analyzed in a more fragmented way, by examining each case separately. This is due to the fact that the amount of cases in the Russian printed press was very large, and it was relatively easy to set apart general tendencies, while in the Latvian press, the selected material must be considered as separate cases that are worth analyzing specifically.

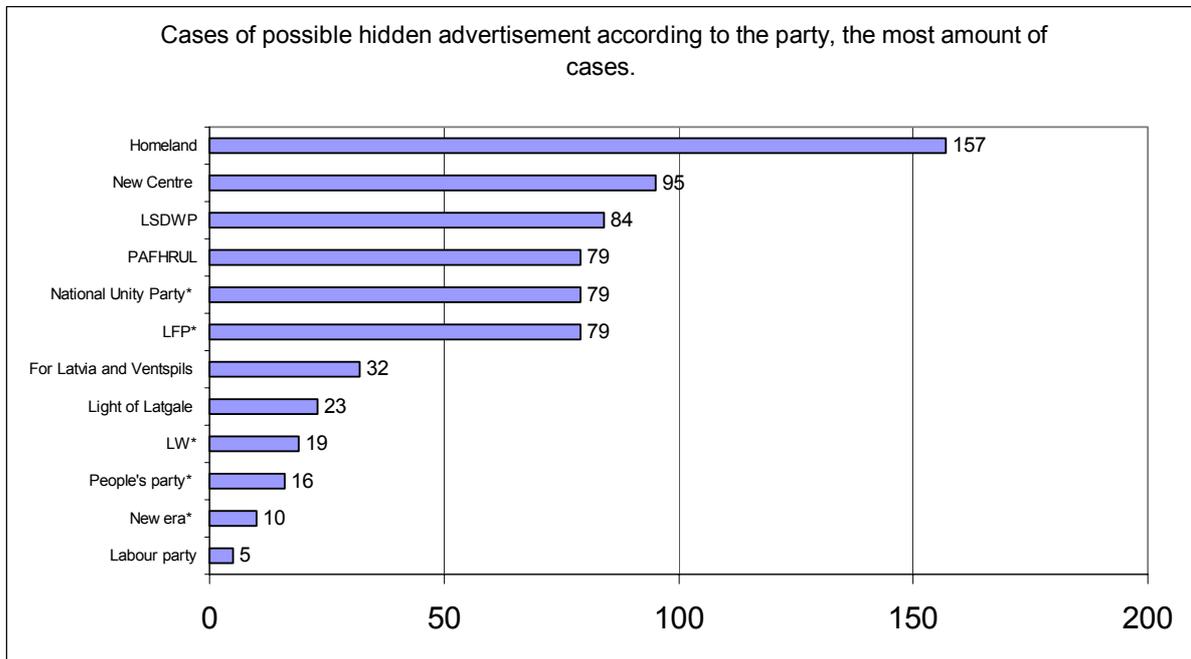
### **Illustration of the parties in the material of possible hidden advertising**

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<sup>5</sup> Party "Latvijas Kalve", which allegedly was not allowed to participate. February, 2005

<sup>6</sup> The legislative draft "Pre-election campaigning law" states: "[...] budget law reserves a subsidy for public broadcast organizations and (NRTC) creation of pre-election debate programs. LTV annual budget reserves resources for the funding of 35 hours of the broadcast time during the period of pre-election campaigning. [...] LR annual budget reserves resources for funding of 20 hours of broadcast time during the pre-election campaigning period. NRTC subsidized paid pre-election time prior to Parliamentary elections is 35 hours, but prior to Euro parliament and Municipal elections – 25 hours." Paragraph 19, item 1.

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF CASES OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN ADVERTISING FOR DIFFERENT PARTIES



Source: Project "Openly about 2005 Municipal election finances"

\*Inclusive of anti Advertising – LC – 7; TP –6; JL –2; LPP – 4; LG – 2; TSP –1

The most cases of possible hidden Advertising are placed for the party "Homeland", which was ensured with such publicity by Radio PIK. In the second place is the party New Center, which received notable publicity by Russian national newspapers and regional Daugavpils newspaper "Million". The third place takes LSDWP, which received publicity by the Russian printed press, radio organizations as well as by the Latvian printed press. The fourth place takes PAFHRUL, which received a significant positive publicity, both in newspaper "Vesti Segodna" and in newspaper "Chas". In the fifth place by the cases of possible hidden Advertising is National Unity party, which placed possible hidden advertisements in the both above-mentioned newspapers. Additionally, for Latvian First Party there are 79 positive reports, mostly in the Russian printed press. These entire 6 parties comprise 84% of all the possible hidden Advertising cases in the reports.

### *"Homeland" – a party of the owner of Radio PIK*

Radio PIK is owned by a manufacturing company "Pikal un Partneri" Ltd, and its official representative currently is Jelena Zhuravlova. However, until December 29, 2004, the president of "Pikal un Partneri" was Juris Zhuravlovs, who from May 25, 2004 is a co-chairman of the politically patriotic association "Homeland". Simultaneously, Juris Zhuravlovs is also a chairman of a United Social Democratic Welfare Party (USDWP) since year 2004. Prior to 2002 Parliamentary elections Radio PIK was used to promote USDWP, but before 2005 Municipal elections – for promoting unprecedented "Homeland". In total Radio PIK advertised "Homeland" in possibly hidden and open way 148 times.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> [www.lursoft.lv](http://www.lursoft.lv), "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

## *Favorites of the Russian printed press*

### ***PAFHRUL***

By taking a look at party depiction in Russian newspapers in general, one may note a possibly differentiated work with the media by each party. In regards to PAFHRUL, a policy of editorial support popular in the newspapers was a little enhanced. For example, the newspaper "Chas" stood out among others with several direct invitations to vote for PAFHRUL. Additionally the newspaper published defined "Thesis" about the elections, which invited people not only to cast their vote and thus take upon themselves control about their future, but also to vote for three specific parties – PAFHRUL, NUP, and NC, and to convince all their relatives, friends and acquaintances to vote alike. In the newspaper "Komersant Baltic Daily" also the most advertised party was association PAFHRUL, on whose party list as a deputy candidate for Riga City Council was editor in chief of the newspaper Jurijs Aleksejevs.

By looking at "Vesti Segodna" depiction of pre-election campaign from a perspective of a periodic timeline, seems that January and February was a time for NUP, PAFHRUL, LFP, and NC, furthermore, each of these parties used different themes to promote themselves. NUP used history, Latvian foreign policy and relations with Russia as their theme, PAFHRUL used educational reform, problems of Russian speaking population and human rights, LFP – integration and religion, NC – the economic life of Riga. During these two months the commentary on the events and conflicts was mostly one-sided (4th and 5th criteria). Shortly before the elections the deputy candidates were offered to express their opinions on themes of their choice. Journalists simply recorded their opinions, and these articles were presented with a comment "recorded by a journalist... (first and last name)". During this time, the journalists refrained from the commentary and the deputy candidates were depicted as experts in certain fields. Finally, exactly before the elections "Vesti Segodna" published invitations to vote without marking them as political advertisement.

### ***New Center***

By analyzing publicity of the New Center party which was founded shortly prior to the elections, one must wonder why this party deserved so much attention from the Russian newspapers in such a short time period, especially taking into consideration that in their electoral list there were so many new and unknown names in politics. This gross difference in the approach and especially the fact that the New Center party in terms of placed Advertising is ahead of the long-term favorite of the Russian printed press PAFHRUL, makes one believe that the NC had seriously worked on expanding their electoral campaign by lobbying the newspapers or agreeing on placing hidden advertisement. This argument is supported by the fact that this party received a lot of attention outside of Riga, namely Daugavpils newspaper "Million" published 26 possible hidden Advertising articles praising NC. Furthermore, one must recall that shortly before the elections there were "Vesti Segodna" posters placed in Riga, on which the front of the party Sergejs Dolgopolovs was advertised, yet it is not clear who had paid for it. If we look at NC strategies in a wider context in relation to buying of the votes in Rēzekne and Jurmala, then the placement of possible hidden Advertising in the case of NC seems believable. Similar impression of management is seen in the possible hidden Advertising in the Russian printed press created by NUP, LFP and LSDWP.

### *National Unity Party*

National Unity Party in the cases of possible hidden Advertising usually used the knowledge of foreign policy and history of the party's front Jānis Jurkāns, by commentating various related questions. Additionally, prior to the elections party representatives were active in organizing meetings with students and schoolchildren thus gaining publicity in the field of educational reform.

The plan of merging of a NUP with NC gained a lot of attention from the newspapers, which was possibly a swift fiction for additional publicity. NUP also gained publicity in cases of possible hidden Advertising by the 8th of March (International women's day) greetings. Additional publicity with regards to Jurmala town council activities was provided to NUP by the fact that its candidate D. Urbanovičs was used as one of the few commentators of Jurmala life.

NUP used all the most typical methods that characterize the cases of possible hidden Advertising in the Russian press.

### *Direct and indirect use of administrative resources in the case of LSDWP*

One of the strongest weapons in the hands of LSDWP was its power in Riga city council. It let the party to enhance its popularity both by financial means of Riga City Council, and by publications in the media about the issues that were more or less related to the work of the Municipal. In "Rīgas ziņas" ("Riga news") LSDWP officials were mentioned 63% or in 91 cases, whereas the rest 9 parties only in 56 cases (37%). Furthermore, most often LSDWP officials and especially G. Bojārs in "Rīgas ziņas" were commentating trivial events that do not have direct impact on the daily life of inhabitants of Riga, such as arguments among officials.

Some newspapers placed "pseudo-reports" of the work done by Riga City Council. Usually in these "reports" information was presented from one perspective, deputy candidates used these newspapers to express their opinions. For example, an interview with G. Bojārs, "Lets take a seat before the road", in "Rīgas Balss" ("Voice of Riga") was prepared by the department of public relations of Riga City Council. LSDWP was also included in the list of the officials most mentioned in the newspaper "Vakara ziņas" ("Evening News"). In Russian newspapers LSDWP appears in possible cases of hidden Advertising both in connection with its activities in Riga City Council as well as it is given a chance to congratulate the readers on various holidays. It must be added that LSDWP prepared a misleading Advertising that was placed before the popular evening news program "Panorama" and it left an impression that the news started with the information that G. Bojārs is the most popular candidate for the Mayor. Part of LSDWP strategy could also be participation in the show "For whom to vote?" created by TV 5, where it had a possibility to gain a positive publicity.

### *Use of public relations in the case of LFP*

LFP proved that by using skillful public relations strategies it was possible to find the way in the media, which possibly was careful not to place possible hidden advertisement. Mostly this was accomplished by creating various "pseudo-events". For example, Latvian radio 4 reported that the Mayor of Jurmala J. Hlevickis presented the Department of Naturalization with an album, but radio SWH+ reported that the Mayor of Jurmala had invited the Minister of Transportation to inspect the damage done by the storm.

The second strategy used by the LFP seems to be approaching of certain social groups, for example Christians.

At the beginning of the pre-election time, the LFP candidate for the post of Riga Mayor Juris Lujāns during numerous debates on "Christian radio" discussed the idea of the nation from the perspective of the Bible. LTV 7 broadcasted an interview with a LFP candidate A. Berezovskis, with an underlying theme of "Gypsy true love". In Russian newspapers the candidates from LFP appeared in relation to the issues of integration. Part of the LFP strategy could also be participation in the TV5 show "For whom to vote?" where it was possible to gain a positive publicity.

In conclusion it may be added that certain parties – "Homeland", LSDWP, NC, and LFP possibly did include hidden Advertising in their pre-election strategy. On what scale did they succeed in placing hidden advertisements, most likely depended on professionalism and high standards of journalist ethics of each publishing or an organization. According to the above-mentioned information, it is obvious that there were more cases of placed possible hidden Advertising in the Russian printed press, because most likely it had more often agreed to place such a material.

### **Impact of possible hidden Advertising on the election outcome**

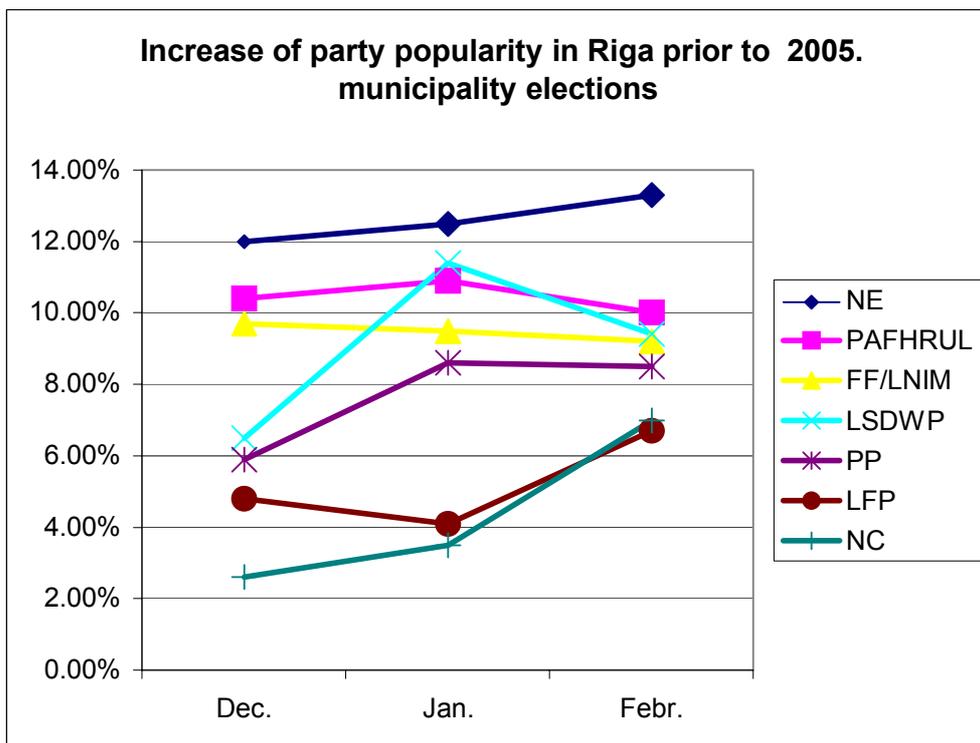
As witnessed in table 3, in Riga prior to Parliamentary elections a significant rise in popularity was experienced by LSDWP (2,9%), People's party (2,6%) and New Center (4,4%), and also partly LFP (1,9%). This rise considering LSDWP, PP and NC is not directly linked to placement of paid political advertisement, because the popularity of all three parties rose already in January, when none of them had begun active advertising. However, LFP started active advertising already in January<sup>8</sup>.

The rise of popularity for LSDWP and NC was most likely enhanced by positive publicity in media. The popularity of PP possible rose due to the successful way its power position was used by party's public relations experts, however further research would be necessary to support this claim. In a similar way, "Homeland" propaganda in Radio PIK was influential as well, which allowed this usually unpopular party to obtain 8 places in polls for Riga City Council.

TABLE 3. PARTY POPULARITY IN RIGA

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<sup>8</sup> Data from the project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"



Source: SKDS, www.skds.lv

In order to realize what factors determined the voter choice in favor of a political party in 2005 Municipal elections, on April 2005 by the commission of this project a poll was carried out by "Facts of Latvia". As seen in the poll results (table 4), an important factor was the information provided by the media (28%), party programs (21,4%) and party member appearance in media or debates (12,7%).

TABLE 4. SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR THE CREATION OF VOTER OPINION

<b>What information sources influenced your opinion in choosing for which party to vote in the Municipal elections in March, 2005</b>	
Information provided by media	28%
Party programs	21,40%
Appearance of party members in media and in debates	12,70%
Political advertisement	8,10%
Do not know/No answer	7,30%
Specific individuals	5,30%
Events organized by the parties	5%
Previous activity of the party – promised and delivered	3,30%
Individual choice (information and experience)	2,50%
Consultations with friends, family and acquaintances	2,50%
Personal connection with politicians	2,20%
Previous participation in political party	1%

Source: Facts of Latvia, April 2005

The results of this poll indicate on a very important trend – by choosing for which party to vote in the elections, the voters largely depend on the information provided by the media. By reducing the amount of paid advertisement, the information provided by the media became even more important and most likely its importance will rise in the future. As mentioned earlier, popularity raise of the parties NC, LSDWP, and “Homeland” prior to 2005 Municipal elections was most likely influenced by the fact that several media sources supported these parties with positive publicity in a form of hidden advertisement. This concludes that the influence of possible hidden Advertising on the popularity of certain parties prior to 2005 Municipal elections was significant.

TABLE 5. ELECTION RESULTS IN RIGA

Party	Votes %	Places
NE	17,9	13
PAFHRUL	13,6%	9
PP	11,8%	8
HOMELAND	11,5%	8
LSDWP	9,5%	7
FF/LNIM	8,5%	6
New Center	7,1%	5
LFP	5,7%	4

Source: Central election committee, [www.cvk.lv](http://www.cvk.lv)

## Possible cases of hidden Advertising in radio organizations

### Profile of common tendencies

The most cases of possible hidden Advertising in radio organizations were selected according to the fifth criteria regarding homogenous opinions about a party or a deputy candidate, lack of integrated opinions, and selecting opinions to enhance the popularity of a deputy candidate or a party. However, it must be noted that the most amount of such cases were in Radio PIK, where the broadcast time was used 148 times to popularize the party “Homeland”. If we do not take into account the case of Radio PIK, then most of the material (26) was selected according to the criteria 2.4, where a deputy candidate is an only commentator of the event. Preparation of such a material is characteristic to the media, which have a particular business, or possibly friendly ties with a specific Municipal. (For example, “Rīgas ziņas” – a program sponsored by Riga City Council; Ventspils TV considers the Mayor of Ventspils A. Lembergs the most interesting commentator of the events in Ventspils Municipal; and Christian beliefs ensure the deputy candidate from LFP publicity on Christian radio.)

In such cases, the material is prepared on the basis of the opinion expressed by one official or a deputy candidate. There is no interviewing of other parties involved, nor the inhabitants on which the decrees of Municipal will apply to. The next most frequent case is coverage of a dubious quality event in the media, which provide for an appearance of a deputy candidate. A case of “Rīgas ziņas” must be noted, where trivial events or arguments by the officials are reflected paid for by Riga City Council.

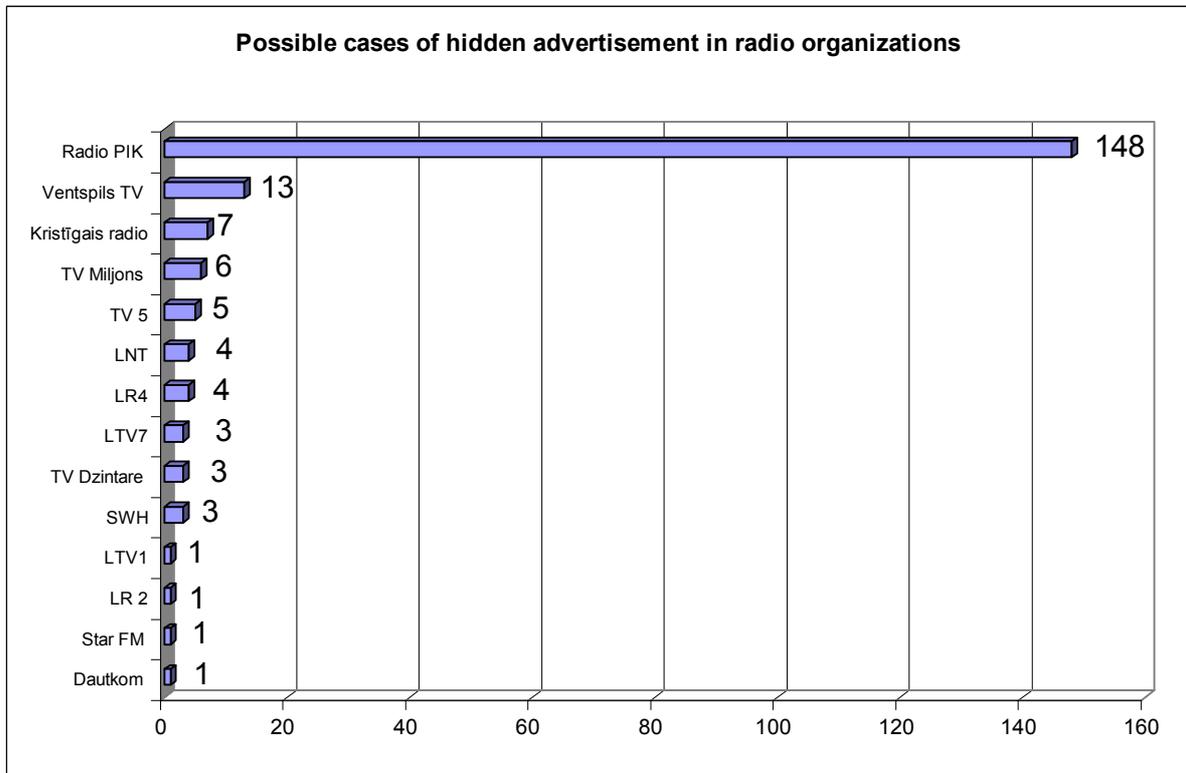
TABLE 6. ESTABLISHED CASES OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN RADIO ORGANIZATIONS ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA

	Total	1	2			3	4	5	6	7	8
			1.	2.	3.						
<b>Latvia radio</b>											
LR-2	1		1								
LR-4	4		2					2			
<b>LTV</b>											
LTV1	1										
LTV7	3				2			1			
<b>Radio PIK</b>	148						148				
<b>Christian radio</b>	7				7						
<b>SWH</b>	3		1					2			
<b>Star FM</b>	1				1						
<b>LNT</b>	4		3				1				
<b>TV 5</b>	5		3		1		1				
<b>Ventspils TV</b>	13				13						
<b>TV Miljons</b>	6		1				4				
<b>Dzintare</b>	3				1		2				
<b>Dautkom</b>	1				1						
	<b>200</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>

Source: Project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

In the first place according to the amount of possible cases of hidden Advertising is Radio PIK, which was mentioned earlier.

TABLE 7. THE NUMBER OF POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN RADIO ORGANIZATIONS.



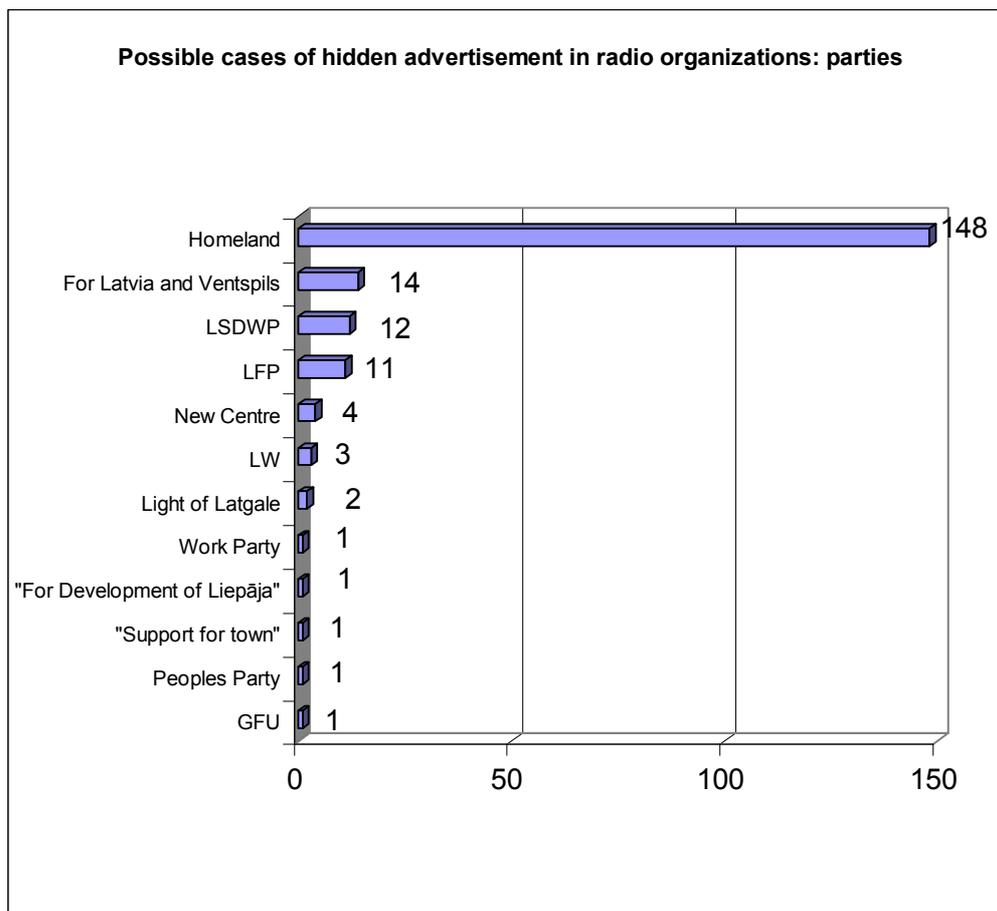
Source: Project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

The second is Ventspils TV, which used the Mayor of Ventspils A. Lembergs as an only commentator of an event in 13 cases (total cases including reruns 43). In the third place is Christian radio, which broadcast 7 debates within a month and a half (total including reruns 14 times) with a participation of Juris Lujāns, a representative from Latvian First Party. In the fourth place according to the number of cases of possible hidden Advertising is TV Miljons, which placed possible hidden Advertising on various parties. In fifth and sixth places are LNT and TV5 with the reports of "Rīgas ziņas".

The rest of the cases illustrated in the table are considered separate events for placement of which there are probably no reasons of powerful and systematic financial pressure or media control.

In radio organizations the most cases of placing possible hidden Advertising are for "Homeland"(148 cases), in the second place is party "For Latvia and Ventspils", (14 cases), the third LSDWP (12 cases) and the fourth LFP (11).

TABLE 8. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN RADIO ORGANIZATIONS: PARTIES



Source: Project "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

## Public TV and radio

In public radio and TV number cases of possible hidden Advertising is small, these cases are considered separate events and do not demonstrate specific trends. The authors of the project believe that the cases of a party appearance in the broadcast space most likely must be viewed as a problem in journalistic quality control. Both Latvian radio and LTV broadcast program during the pre-election period indicated that editorial boards were carefully monitoring the compliance to the high standards of journalist ethics.

### *Radio*

#### **LR-2**

On January 28 in "Rīgas ziņas" there was a report that a representative from LSDWP G. Bojārs delivered a letter from Riga City Council employee trade union to (Minister of Regional Development and Municipal Affairs) M. Kučinskis. The contents of the letter and the attitude by the Riga City Council employees in regards to the bonus payments were exposed in the news. In this project this is considered "pseudo-event", where extra publicity is gained for the deputy candidate, because the delivery of the letter as such does not alter anything in the daily life of

inhabitants of Riga. The news did not explore further and did not provide any explanations on the widely debated "issue on bonuses", furthermore it is not clear why the head of the Riga City Council must present an employee letter because as the chairman of the City Council he represents the employer, not the employee (voter) side.

#### *Latvia radio 4*

3 cases of possible hidden advertising were identified in Latvia radio 4:

- 1) On February 5 there was information on the news that the Mayor of Jurmala J. Hlevickis on the anniversary of the Department of Naturalization of Jurmala gave a photo album for the pictures of the newly naturalized citizens. This is considered a "pseudo-event", which does not have a value of the news, because the information about this gift only enhances the popularity of the Mayor of Jurmala.
- 2) On February 8, in the informative program "Musically Informative Morning Program" LSDWP Mayor G. Bojārs, talks for almost 3 minutes without an interruption, he expands on the many opportunities which the new Development plan will ensure for the inhabitants of Riga. The head of the Development committee A. Ameriks overtakes the remaining 4 minutes from G. Bojārs, by beginning his talk about the shortcomings of the Development plan, but continues with contemplation on different issues. Selected by criteria 6, journalist does not interfere in the speech.
- 3) On February 22, in the "Musically Informative Morning Program" there was a report on the campaign organized by publishing house "Jumava" where one may exchange an old book for a new one. This campaign was widely commented not only by the deputy candidate of the New Center and the owner of "Jumava" J. Visockis, but also by the NC head S. Dolgopolovs, who had an opportunity to broadly express his opinions on literature and explain his reading habits. "Pseudo-event" was used for the deputy candidate to gain publicity. This "event" was also used to depict NC in the Russian printed press.

On February 8 [...] there was a report on presentation of Riga development plan. Opinions of Riga Mayor G. Bojars and the head of Riga City Council Development Committee A. Ameriks were voiced, because exactly these gentlemen were competent in amendments in the plan, which was developed after public debates.

On February 22, 2005 [...] told about opening the Book exchange club. Taking into consideration the book prices of the present moment, it seemed important enough to inform about the opportunity to exchange books. There were several opinions voiced in the report [...] including that of S. Dolgopolovs, because he turned out to be the only one among those present, who had attended similar type of events during the Soviet era and could comment their meaning.

Ilona Madesova, Latvia Radio – 4, Doma square, director

#### *Television stations*

##### ***LTV 1***

In the week of February 7 till February 11, LTV 1 placed a misleading Advertising by LSDWP before the news report "Panorāma". At the beginning of it appeared a picture of a clock, like the one that always appears before "Panorāma", on it was an identification that it is paid by LSDWP, after that the "news" started about how popular various candidates for Riga City Council Mayor position are, by indicating that G. Bojārs is in the first place among them. This Advertising was misleading – it implied that the news report "Panorāma" had started and that its first news was the information about the popularity of different candidates for the Mayor. National Radio and

Television Council considered that this was a misleading Advertising and sent LTV 1 a control protocol, which lead LTV to stop the broadcast of this advertisement.<sup>9</sup> The authors of the project consider this Advertising misleading as well, and it does not relate to any of the criteria set by the project.

In accordance with the legislation *On pre-election campaigning before Municipal elections* before the above-mentioned pre-election campaign a 3 second long announcement was created stating that this pre-election promotion was paid for by LSDWP, and that it was broadcast in an advertising sequence, which was marked in the beginning and at the end as "Paid pre-election promotion"

Jānis Holšteins, LTV director general

### **LTV7**

Latvian Television in its 7 channel broadcast 3 reports that by its contents was advertising material, but was not marked accordingly. This way on January 30 in a program "Window of the TV shop. Entrepreneurs speak out" Mayor of Jaunjelgava J.Krūmiņš (voters union "Support for the Town") is the only one who talks about the events in Jaunjelgava (criteria 2.2). Even though it is noted at the beginning of the report that LTV 7 has traveled to find out how the inhabitants of Jaunjelgava are doing, there are no other commentators.

During the journalist work group, the editor of "Talsu vēstis" Andris Strēlis got in touch with A. Lācarus and found out that the payment was made for the report, however it was not made clear in the specific report.  
JWG, Riga, 18.02.2005.

In the same program on LTV7 on February 18, there was an interview with a gypsy national, and a candidate for LFP A. Berezovskis, who told about gypsy life, by choosing a main theme a gypsy true love (rakovaja ljuvoj). (criteria 6, journalist leads the discussion so that the deputy candidate is shown the positive light).

Even though LTV carefully monitored the reports and TV "shopping windows" in its programs by controlling and preventing the cases of placement of hidden political advertisement. In total there were suspicions of placement of hidden political Advertising in more than 20 cases. In relation to which the producers of these programs were reprimanded and in several cases they were fined.  
Jānis Holšteins, LTV director general

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<sup>9</sup> Decree issued by NRTC, February 17, 2005

## Commercial radio organizations

### Radio

Possible hidden Advertising in commercial radio organizations demonstrate an interesting trend – some of them have a very few cases of possible hidden Advertising and they are considered as separate incidents. However, one of them – Radio PIK is used as propaganda “machine” by one party. In much smaller scale, but organized and systematic was hidden advertising for the candidate for the Mayor from LFP on Christian radio.

### Radio PIK

Radio PIK is owned by a manufacturing company “Pikal un Partneri”, and its official representative currently is Jelena Zuravlova. However, till December 29, 2004 president of “Pikal un Partneri” was Juris Žuravlovs, who since May 25, 2004 is the co-chairman of the politically patriotic association “Homeland”. Simultaneously, since the year 2004, Juris Žuravlovs is also a chairman of the United Social Democratic Welfare Party (USDWP). Prior to 2002 Parliamentary elections Radio PIK was used to campaign for USDWP, but prior to 2005 Municipal elections to promote the unprecedented “Homeland”

Source: [www.lursoft.lv](http://www.lursoft.lv); Project “Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances”

The representatives of Radio PIK or patriotic association “Homeland” have been mentioned or visited in the studio 148 times, which is 82% of the cases from all the above-mentioned officials and politicians. Most part of the Radio PIK programs are classified as possible hidden Advertising according to the criteria set by this project. This especially applies to the programs “*Radio Tjorki*” and “*Naroshno nepridumajesh*”, which are directly broadcast debates, with the participation of the guests from the studio. However, the authors of the project have observed that all of the radio PIK broadcast program starting from January 24 till March 12 can be considered an Advertising for “Homeland”. Such a conclusion was made by analyzing following sections of the radio program: referring to the parties or deputy candidates in programs, calls by the audience, news, visiting of the candidate in the studio, mention in the press reviews.

TABLE 9. CASES OF PUBLICITY OF PARTIES OR DEPUTY CANDIDATES IN RADIO PIK PROGRAMMING.

	Reference in the program	Calls by the audience	Refer to in the news/classified ads	Candidate is visiting in studio	Review of the printed press	Total	%
<b>Homeland/LSP</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>82</b>
LSDWP*	1	0	6	0	1	8	4
LFP**	1	3	1	0	1	6	3
NUP***	0	0	2	4	0	6	3
PAFHRUL	1	1	3	0	0	5	3
PP	0	0	4	0	0	4	2
New Era	0	1	3	0	0	4	2

GFU	0	0	2	0	0	2	1
Work party	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
LW	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
SDS	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

\* neutral – 7 cases.; negative – 1 case

\*\* positive – 3 cases; negative – 2 cases; neutral – 1 case.

\*\*\* positive depiction

The most typical examples of publicity for a party or a deputy candidate in Radio PIK:

- Candidate visits in the studio expressing their opinions and commenting on different events (entering the EU, protests of Russian schoolchildren, legionnaire walks, sociological questionnaires), activities of other parties in campaign for "Homeland". The most frequent visits to the studio are by Normunds Grostiņš (8 times), Sergejs Žuravļovs (8 times) and Jānis Misa (6 times).
- Open campaigning on the Election Day by inviting the voters to "take over" the electoral precincts and to vote for "Homeland", but not for PAFHRUL, and by praising the callers that are campaigning for "Homeland". Moreover, on the day of the elections Juris Žuravļovs was in the studio all day.
- Reference in the news, by using "pseudo-events", using party deputy candidates as only commentators of an event, advertising of the events organized by the party.

In a discussion about Radio PIK programs, PIK representative in the journalist work group, G. Kononenko said: " during the time period of 18:00 – 19:00 in the program, the Advertising for "Dzimtene" is broadcast [...] 90 % of the cases the journalist can not choose the topic [...] Žuravļovs owns PIK, he acts the way he likes, invites who he likes".

Continuing about the wish of J. Žuravļovs to use PIK broadcast time to promote "Homeland" and LSP, G. Kononenko said: "Žuravļovs said, if he will be let in Latvia Radio, then all the other political players will be let in PIK, but since "Homeland" was not let in LR, all the others were not let in PIK".

Source: Notes by the Journalist work group/ Riga, February 18 and April 1

"We really try to exclude from the broadcast space the cases of hidden advertising in accordance with the information that we receive from your center, by participating in seminars, we explain to our employees the signs of hidden advertisement."

Source: Answer by financial director Jūlija Bukovska to the letter by SPC Providus regarding the listed cases of possible hidden advertisement.

### *Latvian Christian Radio*

In a time period of January 21 till March 12 LFP candidate for Mayor Juris Lujāns participated in the Christian radio program "Aktuāla diskusija" ("Current debate") in total of 7 times during the period observed, furthermore each of the debates had one rerun. The theme of the debate was " State as an institution from a perspective of the Bible, and our conceptions about it". In addition to Juris Lujāns, other popular persons visited the studio – director of the State Department of Human Rights Olafs Brūveris, vice-chancellor of Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church Rolands Eimanis and others. Only once (11.02) another LFP deputy candidate – Iveta Berkolde were visiting along with J. Lujāns. Because J. Lujāns is not a

minister, his many visits in the studio and expression of his viewpoint about current topics of the Christian world, may only be explained by his Christian faith, which is still not strong enough argument to support the choice of exactly J. Lujāns among all the other Christian politicians.

It is significant that discussions with Juris Lujāns were started exactly on the day the deputy candidate lists were submitted, and stopped after elections. Furthermore, it must be added that other participants in the debates changed, but participation of J. Lujāns remained constant. J. Lujāns in the most part of the debates was dominating or at least played one of the leading parts, and the leader of the program used to thank him for his participation. It must be added, that the authors of the project received a phone call from a listener to the Christian radio and complained that participation of J. Lujāns in otherwise trustworthy radio program was not acceptable for her and that it was connected with the wish of the media to advertise him in a hidden way<sup>10</sup>.

Due to these reasons the above-mentioned 7 cases are considered possible hidden Advertising for LFP deputy candidate Juris Lujāns.

TABLE 10. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN LATVIAN CHRISTIAN RADIO.

Nr	Date	Name of the program	Party	Deputy candidate	Description
1.	21.01.	Current debates (CD)	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS	President of LCR TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with chairman of LFP JURIS LUJĀNS. Theme "State as an institution from a perspective of the Bible, and our conceptions about it."
2.	22.01	CD	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS	Rerun
3.	28.01.	CD	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS	LCR president TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with vice-chancellor of Latvian Ev.luth Church Luther Academy ROLANDS EIMANIS and LFP chairman JURIS LUJĀNS. The theme is "State as an institution from a perspective of the Bible, and our conceptions about it."
4.	29.01	CD	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS	Rerun
5.	4.02	CD	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS	LCR president TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with the chairman of the State Department of Human Rights OLAFS BRŪVERIS and LFP chairman JURIS LUJĀNS. Theme - "State as an institution from a perspective of the Bible and our conceptions about it."
6.	5.02	CD	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS	Rerun
7.	11.02.	CD	LFP	JURIS LUJĀNS, IVETA BERKOLDE	LCR president TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with the chairman of LFP JURIS LUJĀNS and Latvian Ev. Luth. Church Deaconate center board member (LFP candidate for Municipal elections) IVETA BERKOLDE. This time about state and church relations in the field of social welfare.
8.	12.02	CD	LPP	JURIS LUJĀNS, IVETA BERKOLDE	Rerun
9.	18.02.	CD	LPP	JURIS LUJĀNS	LCR president TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with LFP chairman JURIS LUJĀNS, acting director of Latvian Ev. Luth. Church, head of education commission HELĒNA ANDERSONE, methodologist of University of Latvia Department of Theology LAIMA GEIKINA. This time the theme is relations of state and church in the field of education.
10.	19.02	CD	LPP	JURIS LUJĀNS	Rerun
11.	25.02	CD	LPP, TB/LNNK	JURIS LUJĀNS, JURIS GRIĶIS	LCR president TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with LFP chairman JURIS LUJĀNS, director of the company "Perfekta Consulting" ARMANDS ĀBELĪTIS and the deputy of Jurmala city council, deputy acting director JURIS GRIĶIS. The topic is Christian responsibility in the state and

<sup>10</sup> A call from a listener of the Christian Radio 23.03.2005

					society.
12.	26.02	CD	LPP, TB/LNNK	JURIS LUJĀNS, JURIS GRIĶIS	Rerun
13.	4.03	CD	LPP, TB/LNNK	JURIS LUJĀNS	LCR president TĀLIVALDIS TĀLBERGS talks with the chairman of LFP JURIS LUJĀNS, minister of St. Anna Church Jānis Bitāns and the minister of Riga Pentacost Church "Dzīvības Avots" MODRIS OZOLINKĒVIČS. The theme again personal responsibility of a Christian in the state and society.
14.	05.03	CD	LPP/ TB/LNNK	JURIS LUJĀNS	Rerun

Source: Project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

### **Radio SWH**

3 cases of possible hidden Advertising were selected in Radio SWH

- 1) Green and Farmers Union Riga City Council deputy and deputy candidate Māris Niklass was visiting in radio SWH program "Ar dziesmu par dzīvi" ("With a song about life"). He told in a detailed manner about the roots of his last name, remembered the time on the barricades and analyzed the characteristics of those born in his zodiac sign. Both the leader of the show and the guest thanked the sponsor of the show, a company "Akvedukts" and at the end of the program the leader of the show A. Mielavs wished M. Niklass good luck and to be elected (criteria 6, journalist is asking uniform type of questions to let the candidate appear in a positive light.)
- 2) Radio SWH+ in the news program (11.02) places information about the fact that the Minister of Transportation A. Šlesers by the invitation of the Mayor of Jurmala will travel to Jurmala to evaluate the damage done by the storm. This should be considered a "pseudo-event", which lacks political currency. This information only provides the officials with an opportunity to receive publicity in media (2.1 "pseudo-event").
- 3) On February 5 in the program "7 naglas" on radio SWH an interview with the candidate from Latvia's Way Aivars Vētra was broadcast. The journalist in the studio lets A. Vētra to express himself freely, by not asking specific questions. Furthermore, on the background of the journalist A. Vētra seems intelligent, proper and controlled in his actions and expressions. (Criteria 6, journalist is asking uniform type of questions to let the candidate appear in a positive light.)

### **Star FM**

In the news report on March 8, there was information that the Mayor of Ventspils Aivars Lembergs has congratulated all the women employed in Ventspils City Council by giving each woman a rose. Radio representatives had explained that this information was a part of a wider coverage on celebration of the 8th of March (International Women's Day) in the Baltic countries. In this case the deputy candidate was used as an only commentator of the "event" (criteria 2.3).

### **Commercial television stations**

#### **National television**

In National commercial television stations the established cases of possible hidden Advertising are small, and most of these cases were identified in so called "Rīgas Ziņas" ("Riga news"). The editorial independence of "Rīgas Ziņas" from its sponsor Riga City Council was doubted several

times. Even though the amount of possible hidden Advertising is small, two important trends that are worth paying attention to were identified in the course of the project:

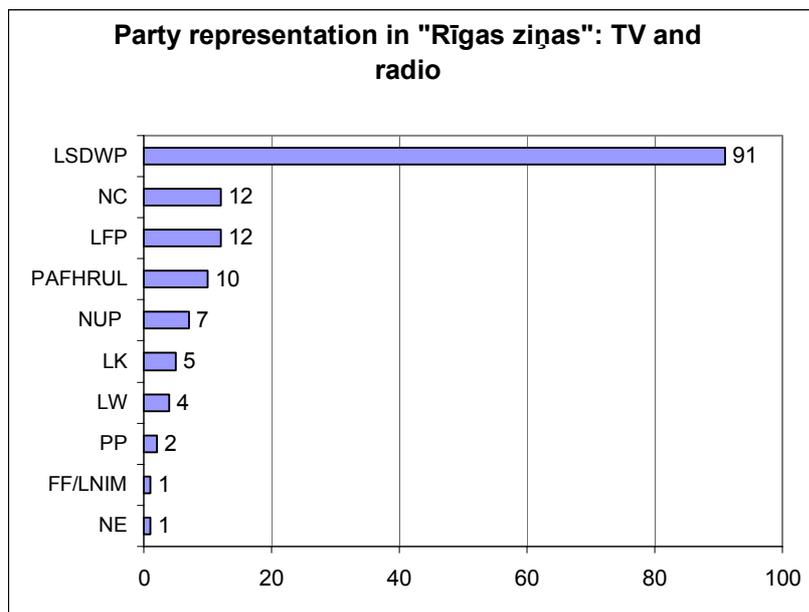
- 1) "Rīgas Ziņas" paid for by Riga City Council in several radio organizations were used for advertising of LSDWP. This is considered use of administrative resources.
- 2) TV 5 debates – show "For whom to vote?" ("Par ko balsot?") possibly was created to establish positive publicity for LFP and LSDWP.

## "Rīgas ziņas" ("Riga news")

### Common trends

In the period of the report from January 24 till the day of the elections on March 12, 2005 145 broadcasts of "Rīgas ziņas" were accounted for. They were placed in following broadcast organizations – LNT, TV5, Skonto, LR-2, STAR FM, SWH+, SWH. In these news LSDWP was a dominating party (91 cases), all together comprising 63% of all the cases. Even though the body of previous Riga City Council was varied<sup>11</sup>, a significant advantage in terms of gaining positive publicity and reflection of Riga City Council activities in the news attained exactly the Mayor's party LSDWP.

TABLE 11. PARTY REPRESENTATION IN "RIGAS ZIŅAS"



<sup>11</sup> 13 parties were elected - LSDSP, LDP, PCTVL, TP, LZS, LZP, LP, KP, KDS, JKP, DP, LC, TB/LNNK – of which a part of the deputies changed parties, therefore few players changed

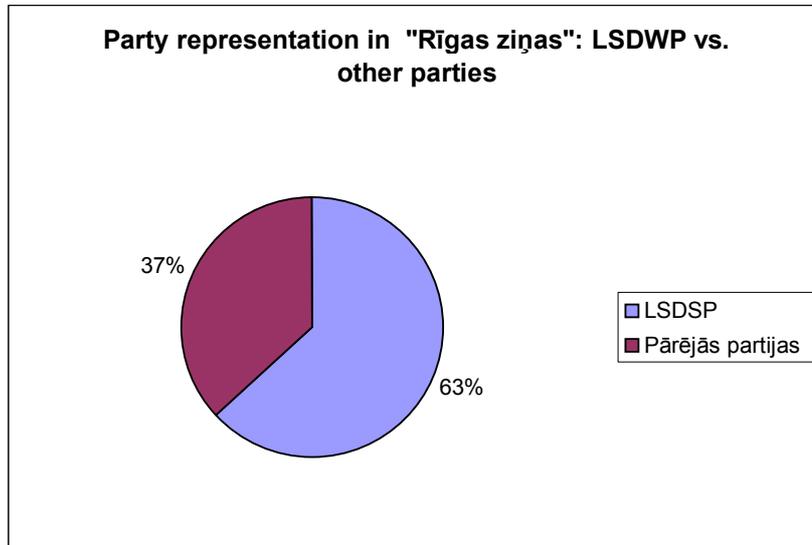
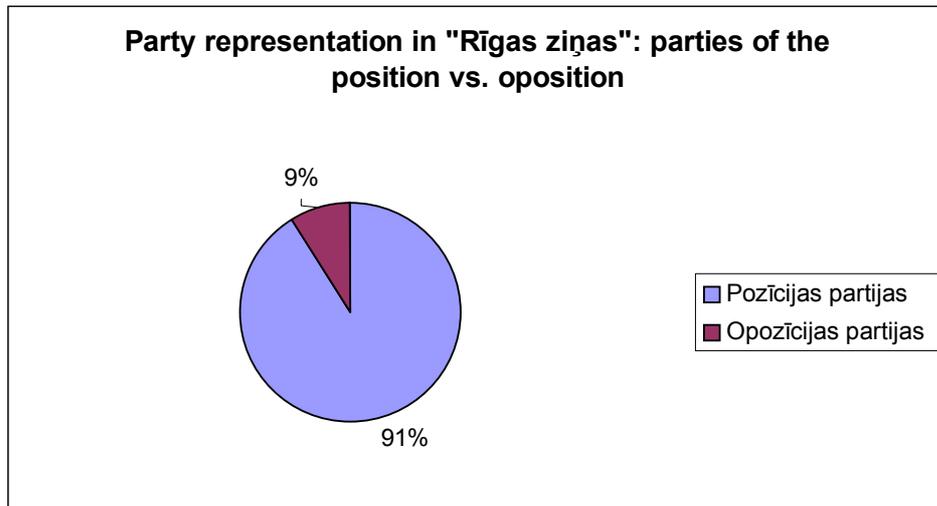


TABLE 12. "RIGAS ZIŅAS" LSDWP VERSUS OTHER PARTIES

Source: Project *"Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"*

Not all of these cases are considered possible hidden advertising, however these numbers indicate that exactly LSDWP had preference to enhance its popularity within the framework of Riga City Council funding. In comparison, the parties or the deputies in opposition are referred to in "Rīgas ziņas" only 9% of the cases even though the real proportion of the position versus opposition in Riga City Council was approximately 35:25<sup>12</sup>.

TABLE 13. "RIGAS ZIŅAS": POSITION VS. OPOSITION



Source: "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

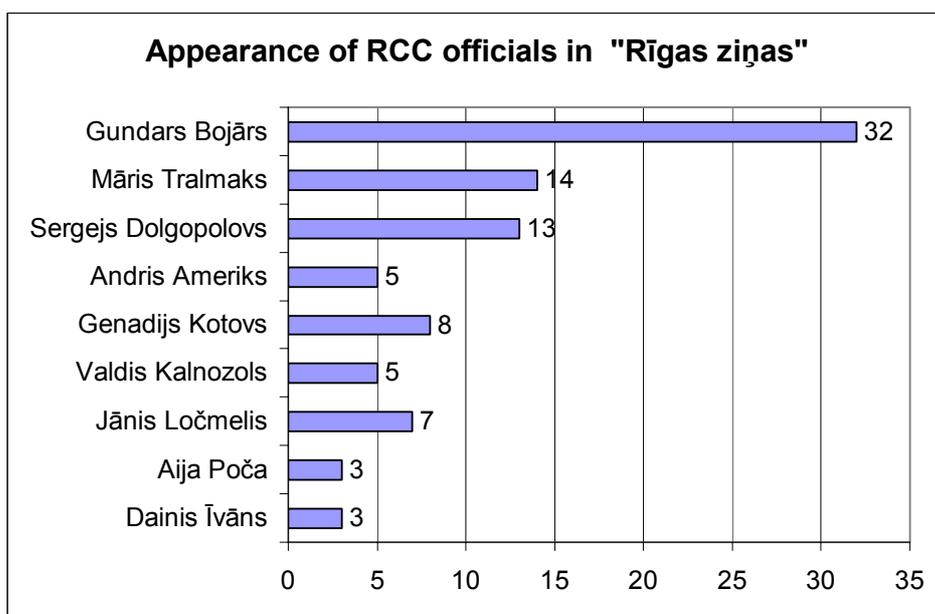
Of all the officials referred to the most often, the first place takes a candidate from LSDWP – Gundars Bojārs (32), the second is also a candidate from LSDWP Māris Tralmaks (14), the third is former Vice-Mayor Sergejs Dolgopolovs (13) from the party New Centre.

It is understandable that the Mayor of Riga comments on and analyzes important, conceptual and relevant issues for the development of the city, however it was concluded in the analysis, that many of the events commented by G. Bojārs were so called "pseudo-events" or often

<sup>12</sup> Nobody in Riga City Council could provide precise information on the amount of the deputies in previous Council, because it is not established in an official documentation.

trivial pseudo-events that allow an official to appear in respective media. For example, opening of a helicopter landing field in Gaiļezers, information about the most popular RCC officials, with G. Bojārs leading the list, organizing of the last press conference for G. Bojārs, opening of the building in Dreilīņi.

TABLE 14. APPEARANCE OF RCC OFFICIALS IN "RĪGAS ZIŅAS"



Source: Project "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

### "Rīgas ziņas": possible hidden Advertising

In total there were 9 possible cases of possible hidden Advertising established in "Rīgas ziņas" during the monitoring of the radio organizations.

Even though "Rīgas ziņas" were placed in 5 radio stations, the case of possible hidden Advertising was established only once on Latvia radio – 2, which was mentioned earlier. Considering television stations, cases of possible hidden Advertising were established both in Latvian Independent Television (LNT), and in TV 5.

TABLE 15. CHARACTERISTICS OF "RĪGAS ZIŅAS"

Nr	Date	Broadcast organization	Program	Party	DC	Commentary	Criteria
1.	08.02	LNT	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs	G.Bojārs informs that RCC has decided not to pass important resolutions because of the tension of approaching elections, the only commentator is G. Bojārs. "Pseudo - event" without a sociopolitical urgency.	2.1
2.	10.02	LNT	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	S. Grīnberga	A report about the request of the Minister M. Kučinskis to the RCC to specify the paid bonus list. The only commentator is S. Grīnberga, which points out to possible pre-election activities by PP, by trying to tarnish the reputation of a political adversary.	4
3.	15.02	TV5	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs; S.	In the story G. Bojārs expresses his determination to sue M. Kučinskis. The	2.1; 2.3

					Grīnberga	only persons interviewed represent LSDWP. Uniform opinions are selected, the opinion of other party is not clarified, "pseudo-event" because the proceedings were not started.	
4.	15.02	LNT	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs; S. Grīnberga	In the story G. Bojārs expresses his determination to sue M. Kučinskis. The only persons interviewed represent LSDWP. Uniform opinions are selected, the opinion of other party is not clarified, "pseudo-event" because the proceedings were not started.	2.1.; 2.3
5.	01.02	TV5	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs	Story about preparation for the hockey championships in Latvia. Only commentator is G. Bojārs.	2.3
6.	03.03	TV5	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs	Story about the mistake in newspaper "Diena" where G. Bojārs is presented as a candidate from PAFHRUL. The only commentator is G.Bojārs. "Pseudo-event", viewpoints of both involved parties are not included.	2.1.
7.	08.03	TV5	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs	Story about the intention of G. Bojārs to approach the prosecutor general J. Maizītis to examine the information on possible prosecution that may be started against G. Bojārs. "Pseudo-event"	2.1
8.	08.03.	LNT	"Rīgas ziņas"	LSDWP	G. Bojārs	Story about the intention of G. Bojārs to approach the prosecutor general J. Maizītis to examine the information on possible prosecution that may be started against G. Bojārs. "Pseudo-event"	2.1.

Source: "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

### Issues about sponsoring "Rīgas ziņas"

As it is stated in Radio and Television Law paragraph 25, part 2 " a sponsor is not allowed to influence the contents of the sponsored program or broadcast and the time of the broadcast, thus limiting the editorial independence of the broadcast organization"<sup>13</sup>. Paragraph 26, part 2 of the same law states that "It is forbidden to sponsor news (except local theme news) reports and socially current programs and reports." Despite of these regulations Riga City Council made direct payments to several broadcast organizations for the placement of "Rīgas ziņas" and according to the reports by media representatives, directly defined the contents of the news.

TABLE 16. EXPENSES OF "RĪGAS ZIŅAS"

Media	Total (LVL) <sup>14</sup>
LNT	4999
Latvia radio	236 a month
Star FM Ltd	718 a month
Star FM Ltd	518 a month
Star FM Ltd	718 a month
TV Riga	5000 ??
Radio Skonto Ltd	5283,84
NJA Ltd - "Rīgas ziņas" in Russian lang. TV 5	2500
IE Marks OB – Gorod, TV 5	3962,83

<sup>13</sup> Radio and Television Legislation, LR Saeima, August, 24, 1995

<sup>14</sup> Information published in the newspaper "Diena" until the publishing of the report additional information from Riga City Council was not received.

Latgales druka Ltd – newspaper “Rīgas Vēstis”	27 281,64
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Source: Gunta Sloga, “Aksenoks considers to terminated contracts on RCC programs”// Diena – 14.04.2005 – page 1

Several media representatives had stressed that they had not offended against the law considering “Rīgas ziņas” because there exists an editorial independence regarding the program. This contradicts what the director of the news service at Radio SWH I. Galēja had said.

Radio SWH news service director Iveta Galēja:  
 ““Rīgas ziņas” are created by Riga City Council, the program exists already for 3 years. The contents of the news are not adjusted by the media.”

Source: Journalist work group meeting, Riga, 18.02.2005.

The issue if “Rīgas ziņas” can be considered as local theme news, which, according to the legislation can be sponsored, is debatable as well. They inform about the daily life of the residents of the largest Municipal where there is concentrated 26% of all the population of Latvia<sup>15</sup>.

## TV 5

Alongside with the already mentioned cases in “Rīgas ziņas”, TV 5 used a representative from LSDWP G. Bojārs as an only commentator on the visit of the Russian ambassador to the Occupation museum on January 30 and about the fact of the occupation. G. Bojārs was in the studio for almost an hour, he expressed his thoughts about the occupation freely and answered to the phone calls made by the audience. By letting G. Bojārs to visit in the studio, the broadcast organization provided an opportunity for him to reflect his personality in a way that is likeable both for liberally inclined Latvians as well as for the Russian viewers. (Criteria 6, journalist asks uniform questions in order to allow the deputy candidate to appear in a positive light).

## TV 5 Show “Par ko balsot?” (“For whom to vote?”)

Television channel TV 5 on February 14 started a new project – a reality game show “For whom to vote?”. An aim of the game show was defined as a promotion of the viewer activity in the pre-election period. The basic idea of the game show was to confront viewpoints of the representatives from various political parties, to update social problems and to involve the audience in the game. In each game there were two current issues brought forward for which the party representatives tried to find a solution<sup>16</sup>.

The authors of the project received information and complaints from several parties that the show was created to enhance the popularity of two political parties – LFP and LSDWP, and that the political parties were asked for payment for the participation in the show. Party representatives were concerned that the debates were created by cooperation of the public relations experts from LFP and LSDWP in order to ensure the positive reflection of the political

<sup>15</sup> The population of Latvia is 2 321 300, but of Riga – 815 900, t.i. 26%

<sup>16</sup> TV Diena “For who to vote”, February 17, 2005

parties<sup>17</sup>. Furthermore, after the participation in two debates, FF/LNIM decided to withdraw from the show, because it started to question the honesty of the debates<sup>18</sup>.

The representatives of the TV 5 explained that the production of the debate show TV 5 was entrusted to the producer group T-Fabrika, and the payment for participation was not required, and that the parties that were "favored" by the viewers were invited to participate. Creators of the show had stressed that "For whom to vote?" was not really debates, but a show that needs to secure "high ratings"<sup>19</sup>.

It was not within the capacity of this project to find out if the information about the show being paid for is true. If it was, then one may only regret that the political parties had agreed to participate in these debates and to pay for them, instead of informing the legal institutions.

An author of the project also received phone calls from the viewers of TV 5 who expressed an opinion that after seeing several debates an impression is made that these debates are staged<sup>20</sup>.

To provide their contribution to the discussion, the authors of the project decided to analyze the debates created by TV 5 according to following criteria:

1. The frequency of the participation in the debates by a political party
2. Parties that have won in the debates according to the telephone survey data, that is winners of the debates;
3. Parties which won in the studio vote;
4. The speech of the winner at the end of the show;
5. The length of appearance in the broadcast time by political party representatives and supporters.

TABLE 17. "FOR WHOM TO VOTE?" ANALYSIS

	Frequency of participation	Times of winning in telephone surveys	Wins in the studio	Speech	Length of appearance
LFP	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2 hr. 4 min</b>
LSDWP	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2 hr. 1 min</b>
PP	10	3	0	3	1 hr. 33 min
NC	9	3	3	3	1 hr. 23 min
NE	8	0	2	0	1 hr. 13 min
GFU	3	0	0	0	47 min
FF/LNIM	2	0	0	0	19 min
LW	1	1	0	1	15 min

Such an analysis demonstrates that a considerable priority to gain positive publicity was provided exactly for LFP and LSDWP. Peoples party also participated in the show considerably frequently – only one less time then LSDWP and LFP, however its deputy candidates and supporters were demonstrated for half an hour less and never won. Both parties participated in the debates most often, their representatives and supporters were demonstrated most often, but the difference

<sup>17</sup> For example, a telephone conversation with the representative of "Latvijas Kalve" who referred to a similar experience by another party. February, 2005

<sup>18</sup> Article in NRA("Independent Morning Newspaper") "Making a show from politics" Agnese Margēviča, February 23, 2005

<sup>19</sup> The same

<sup>20</sup> Telephone conversation in March, 2005

from participation by other parties is so overwhelming that it disconcerts the notion of a balanced presence. In the telephone surveys, which were crucial in selecting winners of each debate, the LSDWP and LFP were leading as well. This provided the representatives of these parties for extra privilege to appear in the broadcast and to address the viewers. By analyzing these debates in the overview of the whole pre-election campaign and considering that LSDWP and LFP have been parties about which there is a lot of possible hidden advertising material, a belief that the debates were created in order to enhance the popularity of these two parties, may be justified.

Short examples that indicate that the show "For whom to vote?" may not be simply a game, but a staged show:

First, it must be taken into consideration that during the cast of studio votes, the guests placed their vote in an envelope thus imitating the process of voting during elections, however when the envelopes were open, the host of the show M.Ozoliņš already knew which voter's envelope was opened. All the guests of the show understood that their vote will not be anonymous, and they will have to clearly define why they have selected a certain candidate.

In relation to the way of voting there is an example when in the show on February 22 (a game among NC and PP) the host of the show M. Ozoliņš asked the studio guest Guntis, who lives in a welfare facility about the vote: "Have you marked it correctly [...] why for Mr.Pilsums?". Following the question there was a long silence, after which the guest answered: "It was automatic. Did not have enough time.". After discussing the choice of the second guest, the first guest Guntis, tried to support his choice one more time: "These were not real elections, but when the real elections come, my thoughts may change. It will depend on both parties if they will listen to me. This is just a joke. On march 12, when the elections will be I can choose one from both parties [...]. I can change my thoughts." To this the host M. Ozoliņš who had tried earlier to stop the sudden urge of the guest to express himself with a squeeze of his shoulder, answered: " There is no need to threaten!"

Secondly, by watching the show there is an impression that at least one of the parties participating is informed about the themes and particular issues that will be solved during the show.

For example in the show on February 16 (game among LSDWP and PP) the first theme was – landlord bullies tenants, the second theme – the queue for the apartments is moving backwards. LSDWP in this case was represented by J. Karpovičs, who new quite specifically (or was well prepared) the problems of the first guest. When talking about the attitude of the landlords against the tenants J. Karpovičs said: "These events are very common in the city of Riga, and almost every third day I have to deal with the actions of the landlords. [...] I deal not only with their house [...]. I have met with the representative of the owners [*conversation is about the landlord of the first guest*] [...] during the meeting he is always very kind, says Mr. Karpovičs I will give you a large, good apartment and a lot of money – but nothing is happening! [...] This same owner also owns a building on Dzirnavu iela 82 [...]."

### ***Regional television***

The amount of identified cases of possible hidden Advertising is small in regional television stations as well. Several television stations, for example, Rēzekne television was honest in regards to its viewers and the programs with participation by the parties were marked as paid Advertising

<sup>21</sup>. However, the regional television stations were also used for possible hidden Advertising of certain political parties.

## Ventspils TV

In the time period of January 24 until March 12 in the program by Ventspils TV "Ventspils ziņas" ("Ventspils news") there were 13 news reports broadcast with the Mayor of Ventspils Aivars Lembergs as the only commentator (for more detailed description see in the table below). A. Lembergs in this news report commented on various events in Ventspils – a plan to open a skiing track, entering a contract with National theatre, renovation of Ventspils cultural center, a visit by the Minister of Regional Development and Municipalities Māris Kučinskis. Furthermore, all the news was repeated several times, therefore altogether the Mayor of Ventspils A. Lembergs commented on the current events in the city life 43 times.

Even though it is certainly important for the society to know what is the standpoint of the officials on current events in the city life, however such a reflection of the official in local TV without a doubt guarantees positive publicity because it:

1. Makes an impression that most part of the events in the city takes place under the care of exactly this official;
2. Allows for the official to create a persona proficient in many fields;
3. The viewer does not find out the viewpoint of other parties involved, nor a critical or opposing opinion, i.e. an image of perfection of this official is created.

Due to these causes the identified 13 cases where the Mayor of Ventspils is used as an only commentator, are considered cases of possible hidden advertisement. This conclusion is supported by the fact that several of the news had reruns.

During the journalist work group debate organized by the project, the host of the Ventspils TV A. Mirvis explained the frequent participation of A. Lembergs in the news reports:

"Ventspils TV very often uses Mr. Lembergs Monday press briefings. Once in two months there is a live report with participation of Mr. Lembergs. Mr. Lembergs is the only one who knows how to speak in an interesting manner, furthermore the rest of the deputies are from the same party (For Latvia and Ventspils). [...] Mr. Lembergs is the most interesting speaker [...] Mr. Lembergs does not even have a press secretary. If we use other commentators the viewers call and complain."

Source: Notes from journalist work group, 04.03.2005.

[...] I believe that the material you have indicated does not demonstrate signs of hidden political advertising. At the same time I am ready to acknowledge that our staff has allowed for some professional mistakes and shortcomings, which, however have not mislead the viewers and do not demonstrate our political engagement.

A. Mirvis, A board member of Ventspils TV

<sup>21</sup> 14.02.2005. Direct translation from the TV station "For who to vote in Rēzekne?"

TABLE 18. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN POLITICAL ADVERTISING IN VENTSPILS TV

Nr	Date	Broadcast times	Length	Title	Party	Deputy candidate	Theme	Criteria
1.	07.02	4	2 min	Ventspils news	L&V	A. Lembergs	In the report about a newly created skiing track in Ventspils and about the plans for its improvement that will take place until year 2009, the only commentator is Mr. Lembergs. A. Lembergs tries to draw the skiing mountain according to the project. The news material was created by the review A. Lembergs provided to the press. <i>(such press briefings take place every Monday).</i>	2.3.
2.	08.02	4	2 min	Ventspils news (Russian lang.)	L&V	A. Lembergs	In the story about the new skiing track in Ventspils the only commentator is A. Lembergs	2.3.
3.	10.02	3	1 min	Ventspils news	L&V	A. Lembergs	The story about the contract of cooperation between Ventspils City Council and Latvian National theatre. The journalist provides background information about the cooperation of the City Council with the theatre, and it is supported by the commentary of A.Lembergs about the experience of the last year and the plans for this year.	2.3.
4.	11.02	1	2 min	Ventspils news (Russian lang.)	L&V	A. Lembergs	In the story about the tender announced by the Ventspils City Council on the renovation of the Cultural center, the only commentator is A. Lembergs. In the format of a free conversation A. Lembergs tells about the current problems and necessary improvements.	2.3.
5.	11.02	1	1 min	Ventspils news (Russian lang.)	L&V	A. Lembergs	In the story about the tender announced by the Ventspils City Council on the renovation of the Cultural center, the only commentator is A. Lembergs.	2.3.
6.	11.02	6	1 min	Ventspils news (Russian lang.)	L&V	A. Lembergs	The information in the story is similar to the story on 10.02 about the cooperation contract with the Latvian National Theatre (described earlier), the main difference is that the commentary of A. Lembergs is not used to support the news material. In this story A. Lembergs is the main informant, presenter of the news.	2.3.
7.	14.02	4	2 min	News for Ventspils	L&V	A.Lembergs	Story about the visit of M. Kučinskis to Ventspils, A. Lembergs is the only commentator of the event. A. Lembergs tells about the good rapport with M. Kučinskis, and reports on the main issues discussed. It is not clear from this report what will be the results of the meeting, and what good it will do for the inhabitants of Ventspils. The only thing that is clear is that A. Lembergs and M. Kučinskis talked about important issues for the Municipal and that A. Lembergs is an excellent mediator of the discussions and a competent Mayor.	2.3.
8.	15.02	3	2 min	News for Ventspils (Russian lang.)	L&V	A.Lembergs	The story is similar to the one broadcast on 14.02 about the visit of M. Kučinskis to Ventspils, where A. Lembergs was an only commentator. (see the description above)	2.3.
9.	24.02	1	2 min	Ventspils news	L&V	A.Lembergs	In the story about the drinking water iron removal project closure the only commentator is A. Lembergs. These news are important for the inhabitants of Ventspils. A. Lembergs tells about the already accomplished and the future project plans. The main problem is that A. Lembergs is the only commentator, who reveals that the project on drinking water iron removal was started already in 1989 and will continue till 2009. Therefore, it seems that A. Lembergs already since 1989 is the only or at least the main person that cares for the drinking water iron removal project. The report was created according to the material supplied to the press by A. Lembergs.	2.3.
10.	24.02	7	3 min	Ventspils news	L&V	A.Lembergs	In the story about Latvian forests in Ventspils vicinity the only commentator is A. Lembergs, who indicates on his personal initiative for the proposal to hand over Latvian State forests in the vicinity to the Municipal. The report was created according to the material supplied to the press by A. Lembergs.	
11.	25.02	1	2 min	Ventspils news (Russian lang.)	L&V	A.Lembergs	In the story about presenting medals to the veterans of WW II the only commentator is A. Lembergs. The story leads to the idea that the prizes for the WW II veterans are presented after the personal initiative of A. Lembergs, because he expresses his personal attitude about the importance of taking care of the remembrance places and tidy them up until the celebration of the May 9 – the Victory Day. The report was created according to the material supplied to the press by A. Lembergs	

12	25.02	7	3 min	Ventspils news (Russian lang.)	L&V	A.Lembergs	Story similar to the one described above, where A. Lembergs is the only commentator, except that here the chairman of the City Council does not indicate on his personal initiative.	
13	08.03	1	1 min	News for Ventspils	L&V	A. Lembergs	Story about the contract between the City Council and theatres. Journalists tell the story which is supported by a short commentary by A. Lembergs. The meeting of A. Lembergs and G. Dambergis and the signing of the contract is depicted. By looking at it in a broader perspective, this report stands out in a positive way with a more variety visual imaging.	

Source: "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

Positive example in the work of Ventspils TV:

On March 10 Ventspils TV broadcasted a news report about the meeting of Ventspils Mayor with the Municipal police in order to monitor honest procedures of the elections in Ventspils and to avoid possible provocations by "Delna". This story was also based on the information provided by A. Lembergs Monday press briefings, however it was presented in a significantly different light than all the other stories accounted for earlier. In this story that was broadcast two days prior to the elections, the news were presented in a versatile manner, the opinion of both parties involved was reflected – both by A. Lembergs and P. Timofejevs (researcher from the Transparency International "Delna", reporting by the telephone). It is obvious from the report that in comparison to the other stories the journalist had invested more work in creation of the report, therefore the way of presenting the news was more interesting to the viewer and altogether the result is evaluated as positive.

The authors of the project hope that in the future the Ventspils TV journalists will reflect the information obtained in the press briefings in a more versatile way, and will depict the opinion of other involved parties as well.

## TV Million (TV Miljons)

6 cases of possible hidden Advertising are selected in TV Million, and they were created about various parties.

TABLE 19. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN TV MILLION

Nr	Date	Name of the program	Party	Deputy candidate	Commentary	Criteria
1.	23.01.	My Latgale ("Mana Latgale")	LL		Coordinator of the party "Light of Latgale" Lilija Jankovskaja commentates on submitting the LL party list. LL has submitted the party list first. There is a broad commentary praising this fact. The chairman of Daugavpils election committee comments that LL party list is well prepared.	5 selected uniform opinions to enhance the popularity of the deputy candidate.
2.	04.02	News (rerun as well)	NC	J. Silovs. O. Cibe	Visiting of retirees and representatives from the club of disabled in Daugavpils "City Center" are broadly commentated by deputy candidates because the visit takes place because of them. "Pseudo-event" to allow for the appearance of deputy candidates.	2.1.
3.	04.02	Live report from the studio	NC	J. Silovs, J. Vladimirov	Meetings with the representatives of NC in the studio. In between the discussions there are street	5 selected uniform opinions to

				s, G. Nēmcovs	interviews where only positive attitude is expressed about the party.	enhance the popularity of the party
4.	06.02.	V.I.P.	DP	O. Pastejeva	Interview with O. Pastejeva – she provides a detailed description about her business, language skills and travels.	6, journalist asks uniform questions
5.	06.02	Light of Latgale on Air (Ēterā "Latgales Gaisma")	LL		Reflection of the schoolchildren competition organized by LL. The winning traveled to Europe. It is mentioned that the trip was paid for by R. Eigims. LL coordinator comments on both the trip and the closing event that was organized for the schoolchildren.	5, uniform opinions about the party are selected
6.	11.02.	With the view on the town ("Ar skatu uz pilsētu")	LW	R. Strode	Interview with R. Strode, where she talks about the accomplishments in the town. It is not indicated that the show is paid for.	6., journalist does not interfere, allows to choose the direction of the discussion

Source: "Openly about 2005 Municipal elections"

[On 23.01. report] Who handed in the lists, this is why the reply by the LL representative was demonstrated – the interview was not objective.  
 [On 04.02. news report] We admit that due to the lack of proficiency of the journalist the event was reflected in an unprofessional and improper manner.  
 [On 04.02. live coverage from the studio] – opinion by the inhabitants.  
 [On 06.02 report V.I.P.] Party affiliation is not mentioned, there is no talk about the politics.  
 [On 06.02. report "Light of Latgale on air"] At the end of the show there was an indication that a party is paying for the report.  
 [On report "With the view on the town"] Already for three years there is a weekly report with a participation of the Mayor. There is no mention of the political views of the Mayor, nor political affiliation, but the problems of the city.

Grigorijs Nēmcovs, Newspaper "Million" and TV Million (TV Miljons)

## TV Dzintare

TV Dzintare has accounted for 3 cases of possible hidden advertisement; they all are connected with the popularization of the party "For Development of Liepāja".

- 1) On January 26 in the report about the development of the sports infrastructure the only commentator is the deputy of Liepāja City Council Ā. Ozoliņš. He provides a broad account on the accomplished and the issues for the future, there are no other opinions presented in the report, therefore it seems that Ā.Ozoliņš is the only one competent in the issues of the sports infrastructure in Liepāja (criteria 2.3 deputy candidate is the only commentator).
- 2) Other two reports – broadcasted on February 2 and February 9 popularize party "For Development of Liepāja", introduces with the deputy candidates on the election list by demonstrating their pictures or allowing them to express themselves freely (criteria 5, opinions selected in order to enhance popularity of a party).

"I have already expressed my opinion in the explanation to the NRTC by stressing that this type of unfounded conclusions I consider censorship and intervention in the editorial work of the broadcast organization.

Simona Laiviece, TV "Dzintare" director

## Dautkom TV

One case of possible hidden Advertising was established in Dautkom TV as well. It was a coverage broadcasted in the news report on March 10, where the chair of Daugavpils City Council R. Strode was the only one who commented on the visit of the Minister of Transportation A.Šlesers to Daugavpils. It must be acknowledged that within the framework of the project DautkomTV was monitored only starting with March 3, 2005.

## Possible hidden Advertising cases in the Russian printed press

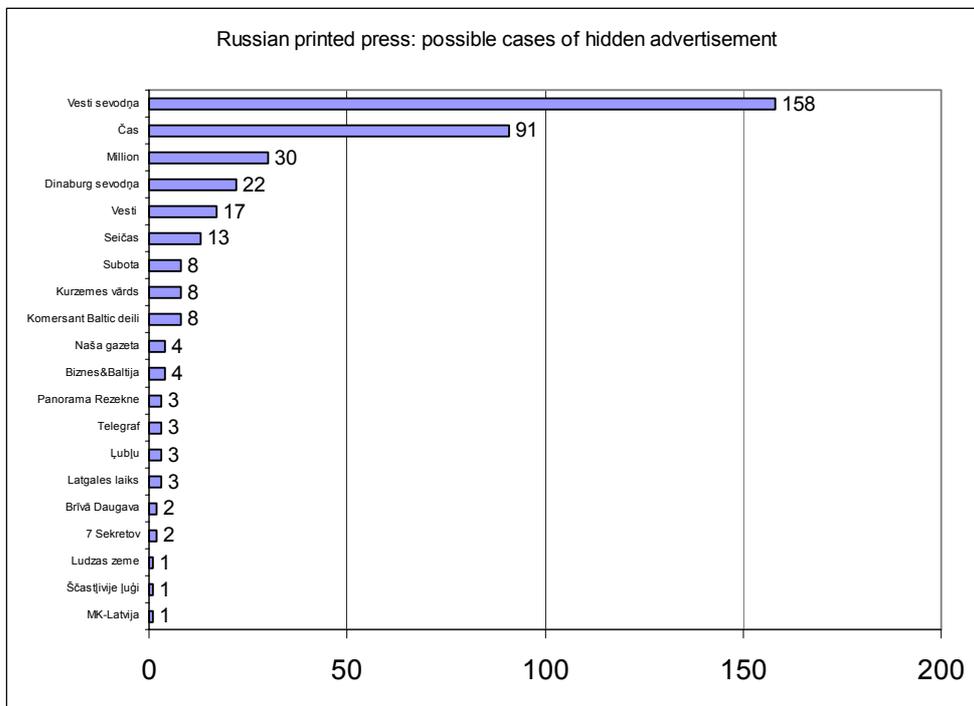
In the course of the project, content of 25 Russian printed press publications was analyzed during the period of ten weeks prior to Municipal elections starting from January 1 until March 12. In total more than 1000 articles got in the scope of research, out of them 487 articles were selected as cases of possible hidden advertisement. Of these 105 articles, which were marked as paid Advertising were not subjected to further analysis, however, the authors of the project identified deficiencies in this identification.

Daily newspaper „Vesti Segodna” with 158 articles takes leader position concerning the number of possible hidden Advertising articles. Then follows newspaper “Chas” with 91 articles, which exceeds almost half of the articles selected from „Vesti Segodna”. Next after leading Russian national newspapers is Daugavpils newspaper „Million” with 30 articles and after that another Daugavpils newspaper „Dinaburg Segodna” (*“Dinaburg of today”*) with 22 articles.

In reply to your letter **we repeatedly turn your attention** to the fact that in the newspaper “Million” there is highlighted reference mark under all articles touching politicians, political parties indicating which party pays for this article.  
Grigorijs Nemcovs, Newspaper “Million” and TV Miljons

Among weekly publications significantly stands out newspaper “Vesti” published by Fenster – an issue related to the newspaper “Vesti Segodna” (17 articles). This connection in some respect explains this high index due to the fact that a lot of the material of possible hidden advertisement, which appeared in a weekly newspaper, is similar to the material in the daily newspaper. This is why the most often registered advertising technique – pseudonym – is similar to “Vesti Segodna”. Concerning other weekly publications number of selected articles is considerably smaller: „Subbota” (*„Saturday”*) - 8, “Lublu” (*“I love”*) - 3, “7 Sekretov” (*“7 secrets”*) - 2 and “MK-Latvija” (*CM – Latvia*) -1.

TABLE 20. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN THE RUSSIAN PRINTED PRESS

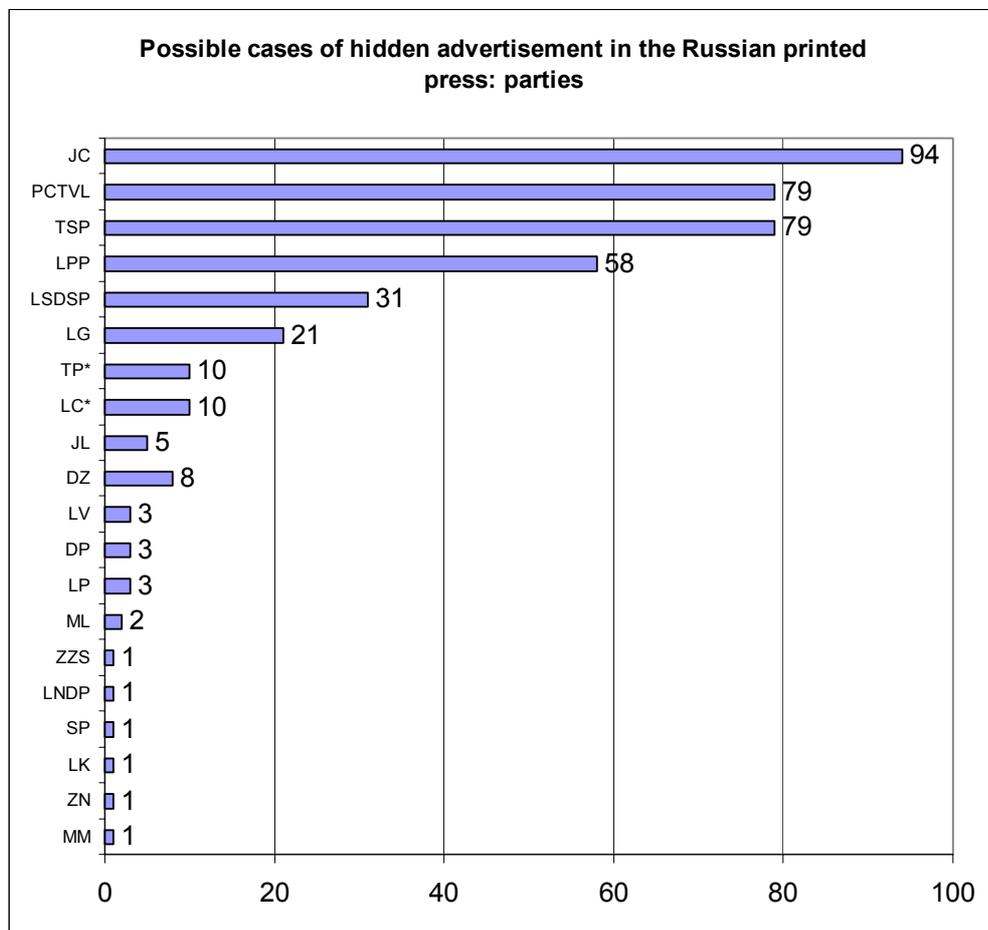


Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

Speaking about parties, the highest rate of possible hidden Advertising has New Center (94 cases), PAFHRUL and National Unity Party (79 cases for both). Fourth place regarding possible

hidden Advertising cases in the Russian printed press takes LFP with 58 cases, fifth place – LSDWP (31).

TABLE 21. POSSIBLE CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN THE RUSSIAN PRINTED PRESS: PARTIES



Source: "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

\*- including anti-Advertising LW- 7, PP – 6, LFP – 4, NE – 2; LL – 2, NUP - 1

Articles with hidden Advertising the most often were selected in relation to the reflection of pseudo-events (according to the criteria 2.1), i.e., interpretation of events without current socio-political relevance therefore this information is considered without a value. An aim of reflecting such „events“ is to provide publicity for the party or a deputy candidate. Pseudo-event on average is reflected in each third selected article and in total this technique was used 169 times.

TABLE 22. DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF HIDDEN ADVERTISMENT ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA\*

	Number of articles in total	Distribution of cases of hidden Advertising according to the criteria									
		1.	2.1.	2.2.	2.3.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.2.
<b>Vesti segodņa</b>	158	9	92	4	34	6	8	23	22	1	27
<b>Čas</b>	91	3	30		17	11	10	22	11	7	10
<b>Million</b>	30		13		1	3	2	17	5		3
<b>Dinaburg segodņa</b>	22	1	4		1	1	4	10	2		5
<b>Vesti</b>	17	1	10		2	1	1	1	1		5
<b>Seičas</b>	13		2			1		7	4	1	0
<b>Kurzemes vārds</b>	8		5				1	1	2		0
<b>Subota</b>	8		2		3				2		3
<b>Komersant Baltic Daily</b>	8	1	2					4	2		0
<b>Naša gazeta</b>	4	1					1	2			
<b>Biznes&amp;Baltija</b>	4	1	1	1			1				1
<b>Panorama Rezekne</b>	3	2			1			1			
<b>Telegraf</b>	3	1	1								
<b>Ļubju</b>	3	1	2					1			
<b>Latgales laiks</b>	3		1					2	1		
<b>Brīvā Daugava</b>	2		1								1
<b>7 Skretov</b>	2		1						1		2
<b>Ludzas zeme</b>	1		1						1		
<b>Ščastļivije Juģi</b>	1				1						
<b>MK-Latvija</b>	1		1								
	382	21	169	5	60	23	28	91	54	9	57

\* One article can be selected according several criteria

Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

In respect to the popularity this criteria was followed by criteria 5: „ Similar opinions are selected, opinions and balanced quotations from deputy candidate or a party are missing, or the opinions expressed by deputy candidates are selected to enhance or diminish the popularity of a party or a deputy candidate.” According to this criteria the articles were selected where journalist uses information uncritically, relies on what has been told by deputy candidate without verifying this information and without comparing received information. The most often such type of articles appeared in newspapers “Vesti Segodna” and “Chas”, which during the pre-election period supported association PAFHRUL extensively, as well as events organized by it in relation to educational reform etc. “Million” is the newspaper where the third highest number of such cases has been established; moreover – in this newspaper exactly this criteria dominates, 17 articles out of 30 analyzed in total were selected exactly according to this criteria. Unlike national newspapers in the case of “Million” the party advertised was New Center.

Articles selected according to the criteria 2.3, namely, those where deputy candidate is used as the only or main commentator of some event take third place and they form 11 % from the total number of articles. In the case of “Vesti Segodna” in 34 articles (or 22% - second largest group for this newspaper) National Unity Party was mainly provided an opportunity to speak out and comment on some event. Articles corresponding this criteria were selected where Jānis Jurkāns (NUP) comments on foreign policy issues, historical events discussed in the society, distribution of power in the country and the possible results of Riga City Council elections. Additionally newspaper “Chas” offered one-sided opportunity to speak out and express their attitude for deputy candidates in 17 cases out of 91 (19% from the total number) and in this case mainly to members of association PAFHRUL. It is interesting that in regional and weekly publications this criteria is almost not met.

## Description of general tendencies

### *Pseudo-events*

Articles selected in this category are created based on the events of doubtful importance, sometimes without an event at all, and cases when deputy candidates were simply provided an opportunity to speak out without any obvious reason. In terms of the project, a pseudo-event is an event generated by media or PR without current socio-political meaning, and which is created with an aim for a deputy candidate or a party to obtain publicity through media. This research demonstrates that during the pre-election period newspapers with their presence and positive reflection considerably supported events (protestations, campaigns, visits) and pseudo-events (introduction with the candidates, preparation for an event, internal meetings of parties) generated by parties. It is interesting to note in that, in the period of the election day coming closer, the newspapers themselves got involved in generation of pseudo-events – through organizing their own campaigns and competitions for the readers, in this way increasing popularity of the parties and their representatives.

The most creative party in generating pseudo-events turned out to be PAFHRUL which, for example, divided its list of Riga City Council deputies into several divisions and from time to time presented them. In such a way a list of candidates was presented separately in education, business and culture. For example articles: in "Chas" - "PAFHRUL presents "school" list, Vadims Radionovs, January 19; "Chas" - "PAFHRUL pulls forward towards city council", Vadims Radionovs, January 25; "Chas" - "PAFHRUL presented "culture list", Sergejs Ignatovs, February 14. The publishing of different lists was widely reflected in the newspapers.

Another PAFHRUL campaign, which gained considerable positive publicity in the Russian printed press, was its resolution to provide information on the elections in Russian language „in the place of CEC”, which from the one hand was very important resolution and significant information for voters. However, taking into account:

1. The way information was presented „PAFHRUL will work instead of CEC”,
2. Form (explanations were supplemented with information about PAFHRUL, their contact information was provided),
3. Options: such information could be published by the newspaper itself, and then attraction of the political association was not necessary;

Nevertheless, the authors of the project evaluated this campaign as a technique for gaining publicity, i.e., pseudo-event. Other example of PAFHRUL campaigns is organizing surveys in schools about the educational reform and publishing data from researches of related themes. Frequent meetings with schoolchildren, students and teachers in educational establishments started just before the elections. Their main subject was to express the position of the party in relation to the educational reform (New Center, NUP).

Another significant example of a pseudo-event was New Center and NUP considerations on merging, which were broadly discussed in the Russian printed press shortly before the submission of the election lists was started. Outside of the fact that the cooperation of the parties was only at a level of possible merging and in fact nothing happened at all, both "Vesti Segodna" and "Chas" reported extensively on this issue even before each party had had internal discussions about this subject. For example, before consolidation: "Chas", "Jurkans + Dolgopolovs = victory in Riga?" Irina Osinska, January 13; "Chas", "The Left has to cooperate", Vadims Radionovs, January 17;

and when negative decision was made regarding the merging: "Vesti Segodna", "Jurkans will go his own way", E.Eldarovs, January 18. It must be noted that all the articles related to this subject were not selected except the ones that had no direct connection to an event – such as a congress of the party etc.

Being keen with pseudo-events also explains why the column „Akcija” (*“Campaign”*) became more popular among the regular ones which reflected, for example, protestation event organized by the “Homeland” (“Vesti Segodna”, "Firework in Mukusalas street", March 09), event of book exchange organized by Sergejs Dolgopolovs and book store “Jumava”, (“Vesti”, "Once book is read – share it with others!” Aleksejs Arkadjevs, March 3 – 9) etc.

In addition to that both national and regional newspapers extensively used celebrations of the Russian community – February 23, March 8 and *Maslenica* – as the reason for politicians from Russian parties to appear and to address their electorate. One interesting example can be mentioned here: In “Vesti Segodna” article "And politicians have a drink for beautiful ladies!" Abiks Elkins, March 8, where author makes it possible for representatives of such parties: Juris Hlevickis, (LFP), Janis Jurkans, (NUP), Gundars Bojars, (LSDWP) un Maksims Margolins (PAFHRUL) to congratulate readers on March 8 (International Women’s Day). It should be noted that exactly these parties are the most advertised in the Russian printed press and all above-mentioned politicians are deputy candidates, which participate in these elections.

### *Paid advertisement*

During the pre-election period of more than two months 105 paid publications were accounted in the Russian printed press, which were marked accordingly (see Table 1). However, in the most cases marking was done with deficiencies. From one side it indicates on some problem, but at the same time this demonstrates significant progress and a positive trend in general – the increase in the number of open advertisements. But there are still improvements possible in marking paid advertisements. Usually marking was included at the end of an article followed the author’s name using the same print as the main text and sometimes smaller print. Such notes at the end of the articles consistently appeared in the newspaper “Dinaburg Segodna”. Other newspapers tried to highlight paid articles more and markings „article is paid by... party” positioned in a separate field under article. In this way this note was more perceivable. For example, newspaper “Million” used both ways of marking – the notation „material is paid by...” was included at the end of article itself, or it was positioned in a separate field covering the width of the whole column. But newspaper “Novaja Gazeta” (*“The new newspaper”*) with 4 articles selected in total, which all corresponded to criteria 8.1, consistently put this notation at the end of the articles and in print that was smaller than the main text and in particular cases - even in Latvian language.

Newspaper “Telegraf” (*“Telegraph”*) may be mentioned as an example. In the issue of March 11 an Advertising was published, paid by the New Centre, it was marked accordingly in a separate field below the article in the width of the whole column. However, the text of the marking was in a smaller print and made its perceptibility worse. Newspapers “Chas” and “Vesti Segodna” in marking paid political advertisement, which there were few (19 and 3 articles respectively), used quite a misleading way of marking. It was indicated at the end of an article, or if it was article by an author after the name of the journalist, “Publishing of the material is eligible as political advertisement” or “Eligible as political advertisement”. Namely it was not stated exactly that it is paid a Advertising and who has paid for it.

## *Columns*

In the analyzed Russian printed press only in rare cases the Western traditions of journalism were observed when comments are not only separated from the opinions, but are also marked accordingly. If the first can be explained with literary or journalistic tradition of the Russian printed press then the second would result from it. However, considering the principles on which this research is based and the criteria for the analysis, it is important to discern the opinions from the facts. Therefore, the traditional columns where the opinions are expressed were not subjected to this research analysis, such as column "Faksimile" ("*Facsimile*") in the newspaper "Chas", where articles by Leonids Fedosejevs and Ksenija Zagorovska were published. However, other articles, which were clearly defined as comments, were analyzed.

This is the reason why the article "Parties submit the lists", in the newspaper „Seichas“, (Igor Amelka, 27.01) where the author's comment was far from the neutral, was included in the table of problematic articles. In the newspapers "Vesti segodna" and "Chas" commentary articles often appeared in columns: "Krik dusi" ("*Cry from the soul*"), "Pozicija" ("*Position*"), "Mnenije" ("*Opinion*"), etc. Authors of these articles often were deputy candidates. Nevertheless, the Russian printed press is familiar with the traditional reporting style, but before the elections it was used with an aim to increase the popularity of the parties. In newspaper "Vesti", in the column "Reportaza" ("*Reportage*") an article was published: "The most tasty products can be found in marketplace!" (Danils Kremenskis, 03.03-09.03) about Sergejs Dolgopolovs' shopping in Riga Central market.

The most variety of columns was observed in the newspaper "Vesti Segodna" where articles about deputy candidates appeared in the columns under the titles that had positive connotation, which may influence readers' attitude towards a politician. Such columns were "Profesionalizm" ("*Professionalism*") and "Lider" ("*Leader*") which put their content in especially positive light. Column "Aktualno" ("*Current*") was used in the pre-election campaign with an aim to influence the reader, possibly, with an aim to change priorities in his/her order of the day (here appeared Alfreds Rubiks and J.Ustonova).

Additionally, column "Jurmala" during the research period was used exclusively for the pre-election campaign. The Mayor of Jurmala Juris Hlevickis (LFP) and city ex-Mayor Dainis Urbanovics (NUP) were the only persons who commented on the issued related to Jurmala, which were selected by the editorial staff of the newspaper as considerable for publishing.

Few common trends of various newspapers were obvious in the use of the columns with an aim to influence readers. For example, "Vesti Segodna", and "Chas" published a dispute among two persons in columns „Disput" ("*Dispute*") and "Dialogi" ("*Dialogs*") even though both involved persons represented one party and their dispute developed not as a dialogue with a variety of opinions expressed, but rather as a monologue of one party (cases with NC and NUP).

Characteristic for leading newspapers was also use of a format that resembles commentary in columns "Pozicija", "Priziv" ("*Call*") ("Vesti Segodna"), "Polemika" ("*Polemics*") and "Tribuna" ("*Tribune*") ("Chas"). There articles were published where deputy candidates simply spoke out about anything. In such cases use of column headlines seemed as endeavor to legitimate comments of deputy candidates.

Finally the newspapers created new columns with aim to create a positive publicity for some politician, for example, newspaper "Subbota" in its column "Idem v kabinet" ("Let's go to the Office") published an extensive and visually enhanced article about G.Bojārs, LSDWP: "Kluc s pravom peredaci" ("Key which can be passed on"), Ludmila Vevere, 11-17.03. In a similar column "Lubimije vesi" ("The most favorite things") in newspaper "Vesti segodna" an article was published about J.Ustonova, NUP.

To summarize the research it can be established that on the one hand columns were used in order to emphasize the content of an article, and on the other hand, just the opposite, they were used as a justification for otherwise ungrounded reflection of a deputy candidate. In the newspaper "Vesti segodna", column „Sports" (*"Sport"*), Baskin and Zelonij: "City Council must be of assistance to sport", Jekaterina Pevneva, 04.03. deputy candidate Mihails Kameneckis; newspaper "Subbota", column "Ekologija" (*"Ecology"*), "Tidy up your planet", Mila Litt, 11-17.03., deputy Valdis Kalnozols.

Party New Centre, which was reflected in a positive light most often in the newspapers analyzed, was characterized with another type of reflection. In two newspapers there were summaries published, which by the content were direct Advertising of the party, but were created in a form of the news and presented as daily work of journalism. Thus in newspaper "Million" in the publication of March 8 the whole page was dedicated to NC and it was published under the column "Prazdniki i budni s "Jaunais centrs"" (*"Celebrations and working days with "New Era"*). Similar use of the NC title in the creation of the column was also identified in the newspaper "Vesti segodna", which published an article on March 5 "Teachers were rendered support" under the column "Novosti "Jaunais centrs"" (*"News "New Center"*), which allowed for the appearance of Sergejs Dolgopolovs.

### *„Strategies" of the newspapers*

As indicated in the methodology description provided in the introduction, published letters from the readers were not analyzed within the framework of the project, as it was assumed a legitimate way for the readers to express their opinion. In this case the letters from the readers are mentioned only to describe common trends, they are not described and identified as the cases of possible hidden advertisement. All the publications indicated were selected according to the criteria 8.2 as unified themes about the fact that the contents of traditional columns were adjusted in order to provide positive publicity for the party.

Already in the very beginning of the research in two regional newspapers "Dinaburg Segodnja" and "Million" (both are published in Daugavpils) there was identified a considerable number of short articles written by the readers of the newspapers, where local politicians were mentioned. In general this trend remained valid throughout the period of two months. In the newspaper "Dinaburg Segodna" columns "Duma narodnaja" (*"People's council"*) and "Cas pik" (*"Peak hour"*) were devoted for the reader comments. Almost without an exception in all the published letters from the readers and in the articles by an author, there was always a praise for Rihards Eigims or his opponents were criticized<sup>22</sup>.

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Representative of the newspaper "Seychas" ( <i>"Now"</i> ) I. Ameļka: "Retirees of the party Light of Latgale write such letters and opinions. "Dinaburg Segodna" is Eigima's newspaper." Working group of journalists, March 4, 2005
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Thus, for example, there were 6 short articles published in the column "Cas pik" on February 2. Among them there were also letters from the readers, 3 out of them praise R.Eigims, other do not touch the subject of politics at all. The newspaper "Dinaburg segodna" even published few letters – articles by its readers. On January 6 an article titled „To be in one party next to Eigims" by T. Zaharcuka's was published followed by another article by this reader on March 3.

Similar trend was observed in the newspaper "Million", it also used letters from the readers with an aim to promote their favorites. The letters from the readers mainly praise party New Center, besides they were positioned next to the positive news-type articles about this party. That created an impression that an aim of these publications was to supplement one another and on the whole to leave a positive impression on the reader. For example, an article "Airport has to be" was published on March 10 in the newspaper, where the future of Daugavpils airport was discussed and the representative from the New Center Daugavpils division Jevgenijs Vladimirovs was reflected in a positive context. Three letters from the readers appeared in the same column next to this article, which reflected NC, its leaders and members in a very positive light.

### *Newspapers and reflection of the parties*

In the Russian printed press, the highest rate of possible hidden Advertising prior to 2005 Municipal elections had the newly formed party New Center (94 cases), despite the fact that in the leading newspapers in Riga "Vesti segodna" and "Chas" appearance of PAFHRULL and National Unity Party was identified the most, for each 79 cases were established. Such a high number of NC mentioning cases can be explained with an aggressive advertising campaign for this party in Daugavpils where the newspaper "Million" was chosen as a campaign platform. In fourth place is LFP with 58 cases, and in fifth place – LSDWP with 31 cases.

Newspaper "**Vesti Segodna**" possibly in a hidden way advertised mainly five parties: NUP (43 cases with positive appearance which in the process of the research were classified as possible hidden advertisement), PAFHRUL (38 cases), NC (31 cases), LFP (26 cases) and LSDWP (18 cases). If other parties and political forces appeared then it was mainly in the context of news or they were casually mentioned. Exception is "Homeland" – 5 positive articles were dedicated to it. It is interesting to compare that in addition to unpaid Advertising these six political organizations published paid Advertising articles in "Vesti Segodna"(visual advertisements were not considered).

TABLE 23. CONNECTION OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN AND PAID ADVERTISEMENT

<b>Title of party/alliance</b>	<b>Possible hidden advertisement</b>	<b>Paid advertisement</b>
National Unity Party	43	4
PAFHRUL	38	2
New Center	31	0
Latvian First Party	26	0
LSDWP	18	0
Homeland	5	13

Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

This comparison demonstrates sympathies of the newspaper editorial staff. Taking into account how often other parties were supported without the need to place this support in a form of paid advertisement, obviously "Homeland" had not earned such a support. This allows for an

assumption that belonging to the left wing of the political parties was not enough to earn editorial sympathies.

Looking at the pre-election campaign depiction by „Vesti Segodna” from a chronological perspective, it may be noted that January and February was the time for NUP, PAFHRUL, LFP and NC, besides each of these parties used their own topics to promote themselves. NUP used history, foreign policy of Latvia and relations with Russia as the main topic; PAFHRUL – educational reform, issues of Russian speaking population, human rights; LFP – integration, religion; NC – economic life of Riga. Mostly one-sided commentary of the events and conflicts was used during these two months (criteria 4 and 5). In March association “Homeland” and LSDWP actively engaged in advertising themselves as well. Shortly before the elections the deputy candidates were provided an opportunity to express their opinions on themes of their choice. Journalists simply wrote down the comments provided by the deputy candidates, and these articles were marked as – „written down by a reporter ... (name, surname)”. During this month journalists refrained from comments and deputy candidates were reflected as experts in a respective field. Finally, just before the elections „Vesti Segodna” published invitations to vote by the deputy candidates, without marking them as political advertisement.

In newspaper “Chas” the most articles of possible hidden Advertising were published on PAFHRUL (appeared in 33 articles), NUP (in 26 articles), NC (in 20 articles) and LFP (in 16 articles). This newspaper was distinguished among others with its several publications of open calls to vote for a certain party (criteria 7). These calls appeared few days before the elections. Additionally, this newspaper published „Thesis” on elections defined by editorial staff, which encouraged not just to vote and in that way to take control for the future, but to vote for three specific parties – PAFHRUL, NUP and NC, as well as to assure relatives, friends and acquaintances to vote for the same.

In the newspaper „**Komersant Baltic Daily**” (*“Baltic Businessman Daily”*) total of 8 articles of possible hidden Advertising were selected. The most advertised party in these articles was political association PAFHRUL. Editor in chief of this newspaper Jurijs Aleksejevs was on the list for Riga City Council elections from PAFHRUL, and he was mentioned in all three articles. Parties NC, NUP, LFP, PAFHRUL and For Latvia and Ventspils each appeared once in the articles. Appearance of the party For Latvia and Ventspils demonstrates the trend, which was noted for several times but selected only once: pictures with the front of the party and Mayor of Ventspils city Aivars Lembergs appeared in the articles about Ventspils and its enterprises even if A.Lembergs himself was not interviewed or mentioned in the articles.

Newspapers “**Bizness & Baltija**” (*“Business & Baltics”*) and “**Telegraf**” demonstrated their insight about the principles of Western journalism and during the pre-election period practically did not publish articles, which would correspond to the criteria of hidden Advertising as established by the project. There were few rare examples: the newspaper „Bizness & Baltija” on January 13 published results of a pre-election survey and instead of choosing neutral heading for the article chose „Inhabitants of Riga choose PAFHRUL”. In other cases the articles published in the newspaper supplementary issues were brought to the attention of the project.

**Inhabitants of Riga choose PAFHRUL, 13.01.** – Material was published in the column “Коротко” (“*Shortly*”) where the newspaper publishes information received from the agencies BNS and LETA exclusively, reference to them is provided.

**Andris Ravins: “Preconditions for producers must be established”, 28.01.** – It was Jelgava city “Vestnik” (“*Herald*”) where the story was told about the firms operating in Jelgava. Such form is used very often and traditionally “Vestnik” starts with an interview given by the Mayor of this or another city. He is not paid for this because we prepare material on city development.

**Forever young, 04.02.** – A survey where popular persons – q politician, an entrepreneur etc, took part. Such a format is used very often with an aim to comment on some event, problem etc. This time the issue was St.Valentine’s day. S.Dolgopolovs is a popular politician among the Russian audience and that is the reason journalists addressed him to provide commentary. There is no hidden Advertising in this article.

**Gundars Bojārs, “Era of collapse is behind”, 25.02.**

**“Transportation for the public”, 07.03.**

Both materials are paid for by the Latvian Social Democratic Union. In the second article (at the very end) there is a reference to that, in the first – due to technical reasons during desk topping process it disappeared, but it is found in an electronic version of the newspaper ([www.bb.lv](http://www.bb.lv)).

Weekly publication „**Vesti**” despite for its link with the daily newspaper “Vesti Segodna” demonstrates different division of the priorities. Here the opportunity to appear the most often is provided to the New Center led by S.Dolgopolovs – 8 times, LFP (4), PAFHRUL (3) and NUP (2 times). Mainly ungrounded appearance was observed, appearance without obvious reason or reflection of pseudo-events. Second characteristic feature was matching the columns to justify the reflection of the deputy candidate.

In the weekly newspaper „**Subbota**” 8 publications were selected. Descriptions of pseudo-events dominated in the newspaper, as well as articles, which appear in daily or especially created columns, and usually are pseudo-events by the substance. Second problem with this newspaper was its indiscriminate attitude towards the interviews. Problematic reflection of the parties: two articles for parties New Center and LSDWP, one for NUP, LFP, Labor Party and Latvia Kalve.

Women’s weekly magazine „**Lublu**” got in our scope with three articles. Two out of three selected articles were devoted to NUP deputy candidate Aleksandrs Mirskis. In the third case J. Hleveckis (LFP) appeared in the context of PR event created by him.

In „**7 sekretov**” 2 articles were selected, where representatives of two parties – NUP and PAFHRUL appeared. In the first case there was one extensive interview with J.Aleksejevs who is a candidate in PAFHRUL list. Material was selected according to the criteria 6 as an interview controlled by the person interviewed instead of the reporter. The second case was an article where J.Ustinova from NUP talks about the development of the city and it is published in the column “Obscestvo” (“*Society*”).

In the publication “**MK-Latvija**” only one article was selected about S.Dolgopolovs “We have an excellent team”, which was obviously linked with the coming elections.

The newspaper “**Million**” is a leader among the regional newspapers in relation to the possible hidden advertisement. Among all of the articles analyzed, it takes 3rd place following „Vesti Segodna” and „Cas”. In total 30 articles of possible hidden Advertising were selected, which provided an opportunity for the representatives of the parties to appear. It is interesting to note that the New Center obviously used this Daugavpils newspaper as its main tool in its pre-election campaign in Daugavpils. 26 articles positively reflected NC deputy candidates and in the four other articles they were allowed „to be reflected” by three other political powers: Light of Latgale,

Latvia's Way and Labor Party. In many cases NC used *supplementing tactics* in order to create a positive impression. The main article was supplemented with the smaller ones – pseudo news, letters from the readers etc., which on the whole created impression of a strong party presence.

The newspaper **"Dinaburg Segodna"** has the most interesting statistics – this newspaper sets two records simultaneously. On the one hand selected articles of the possible hidden Advertising in this newspaper reflect just one party – Light of Latgale, and on the other hand – most of anti-advertisements appear in this newspaper. The subject of these anti-advertisements is three parties, two of them were position parties of Daugavpils City Council and their representatives held top positions in Daugavpils City Council, namely, Latvia's Way (Chairman of the City Council Rita Strode) and People's Party (Executive director of the Council Andris Upītis). The third party who was reprimanded by the editorial staff of „Dinaburg Segodna” was Latvian First Party. This is party was reflected in a negative light both because of its representative Vladislavs Driskne and in connection with the party policy in general.

TABLE 24. ANTI-ADVERTISING IN RUSSIAN PRINTED PRESS

Anti-Advertising cases							Total number of anti-Advertising	
LW	PP	LFP	FF/LNIM	NE	LL	NUP		
	1		1	2			4	<b>Vesti segodņa</b>
	1		1				2	<b>Čas</b>
6	3	3					12	<b>Dinaburg segodņa</b>
							2	<b>Seičas</b>
1	1	1				1	4	<b>Naša gazeta</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>24</b>	

Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

In the newspaper **"Seičas"** 13 articles were selected as possible hidden advertisement. In this case it is difficult to speak about special sympathies by editorial staff because in 11 positive articles five different parties were reflected and in two articles there was an anti-Advertising for the Light of Latgale.

In the newspaper **"Kurzemes vārds"** (*"Word of Kurzeme"*) in total 8 articles of possible hidden Advertising were selected. 5 (more than half) out of them were marked according to the criteria 2.1 (appearance without obvious reason). Two selected articles were interviews, and this fact requires further explanations. Unlike many other newspapers „Kurzemes vārds” for reflection of pre-election activities introduced special logo for a column „Year 1905 is yet to come”. Interviews with local deputy candidates by Sarmite Pelcmane and Edgars Lusens were published in this column. Most of these materials did not get to the final report as they were published in the column for the elections. Positive interview style can be explained with the lack of professionalism. However interviews published on January 31 proved that the journalists of this newspaper, if necessary know how to make strong and critical debates by constructing „complicated” questions. Therefore doubts arise regarding the honesty of these journalists: whether the interview made on an average in a positive light, also hides commissioned articles.

**"Naša Gazeta"** although to a lesser extent but alike "Dinaburg Segodna" was notable with its anti-Advertising of the present political power in Daugavpils – all the selected four articles, which in substance were not commentaries but rather news not only criticized but also showed in negative context representatives of four parties who are in power in city. Simultaneously with the anti-Advertising in one of the articles R.Eigjims of the Light of Latgale is reflected in a positive light.

Openly speaking we do not assume your selected articles as a hidden Advertising because the law "On printed press and other mass media" does not prescribe concept of hidden Advertising but „Radio and Television law" cannot be referred to the activity of the newspapers.

Olegs Guskins, "Nasa gazeta", Editor in chief.

In the newspaper **"Panorama Rezekne"** (*"Panorama of Rezekne"*) 3 articles corresponded to the features of possible hidden advertisement. In one of them NUP is in foreground, in two other articles – party For Our Latvia is mentioned, without distinguishing individual members of the party.

In the newspaper **"Latgales laiks"** (*"Time of Latgale"*) in total three articles were selected where an opportunity to appear and to express opinions was provided to the representatives of three parties – People's Party, Light of Latgale and Labor Party.

**„Brīva Daugava"** (*"Free Daugava"*) demonstrated content almost free from hidden advertisement, however published two articles, which popularized LFP in a daily column.

The newspaper **"Ludzas Zeme"** (*"Land of Ludza"*) on January 4 published an interview with Jelena Mitroschenko from the party Future of Zilupe together with two paid articles. This is the only time when this party appeared in printed press.

One of „the most exemplary" cases is the newspaper **"Novaja Gazeta"**: during the course of the project only paid articles were selected due to the imperfections in their design.

The magazine **„Scastrivije ludi"** (*"Happy people"*) in February issue published an article „Cool woman" by Gunta Kārklīņa about Ilze Jurkāne who indisputably is a great personality and worth of readers attention. However, if this publication is a result of a personal initiative by the editorial staff, then it is obvious that it was ignored that I. Jurkāne is a wife of Jānis Jurkāns - NUP front and a candidate from NUP list in Riga. Her appearance in the magazine contributed to the creation of the positive image of her husband.

TABLE 25. REFLECTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN PUBLICATIONS OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN ADVERTISING

		JC	PCTVL	TSP	LPP	LSDSP	LG	DZ	TP	JL	LV	DP	LP	LC	ML	ZZS	LNDP	SP	LK	ZN	MM
<b>Vesti segodņa</b>	<b>164</b>	31	38	43	26	18	0	5		1	1						1				
<b>Čas</b>	<b>107</b>	20	33	26	16	6	1	1		2								1			1
<b>Million</b>	<b>30</b>	26					2					1		1							
<b>Dinaburg segodņa</b>	<b>14</b>						14														
<b>Vesti</b>	<b>17</b>	8	3	2	4																
<b>Seičas</b>	<b>11</b>	3		0	2	0		2	3					1							
<b>Kurzemes vārds</b>	<b>8</b>	2		1	1	2						1							1		
<b>Subota</b>	<b>8</b>	1	3	1	1	1					1										
<b>Komersant Baltic Daily</b>	<b>8</b>				1	3							3	1							
<b>Naša gazeta</b>	<b>4</b>	1	1	0		1										1					
<b>Biznes&amp;Baltija</b>	<b>3</b>			1											2						
<b>Panorama Rezekne</b>	<b>3</b>			2	1																

<b>Telegraf</b>	<b>3</b>						1		1			1								
<b>Ļubju</b>	<b>2</b>	1									1									
<b>Latgales laiks</b>	<b>2</b>		1	1																
<b>Brīvā Daugava</b>	<b>2</b>				2															
<b>7 Skretov</b>	<b>1</b>			1	0															
<b>Ludzas zeme</b>	<b>1</b>	1																		
<b>Ščastļivije Juģi</b>	<b>1</b>						1													
<b>MK-Latvija</b>	<b>1</b>																			1
	<b>0</b>																			
		<b>94</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

## Cases of possible hidden Advertising in the Latvian printed press

### Description of general tendencies

Majority of the articles in the Latvian printed press were selected according to the criteria 5, i.e., selection of uniform opinions, lack of balanced opinions with an aim to enhance or diminish the popularity of some party. Most (6) of such articles were selected in "Rīgas Balss" which in these publications provided an opportunity to various officials of Riga City Council to speak out in unspecific way. Similarly, Mayor of Ventspils, Aivars Lembergs form the party For Latvia and Ventspils, gained publicity in „Ventas balss”. Eighteen cases refer to the criteria 2.1 – illustration of pseudo-events with aim to provide an opportunity for the deputy candidate or a party to appear. Majority of such articles were identified in "NRA" and the most typical example is a publication on a speculation that LFP might form its own fraction in the Riga City Council. Representatives by LFP commented this information by explaining that they have not even considered such an option. Criteria 6 was popular in the Latvian printed press. According to this criteria publications were identified where the reporter provided an opportunity for the deputy candidate to speak out freely and to choose direction of the dispute with an aim to reflect positive features of his/her personality or activity. Majority of such publications were in „Rīgas Balss” but also once in magazines „Ieva” and „Sieviete” („Woman”).

TABLE 26. CASES OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN LATVIAN PRINTED PRESS, ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA

	Total number of articles	Division of cases of possible hidden Advertising according to the criteria									
		1.	2.1.	2.2.	2.3.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
<b>Diena</b>	1							1			
<b>Latvijas Avīze</b>	13		1					4			8
<b>Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze*</b>	10	2	3					2			
<b>Rīgas Balss</b>	26		8		7			6	4		1
<b>Vakara Ziņas*</b>	14										
<b>Kurzemes Vārds</b>	3							2	1		
<b>Liesma</b>	1								1		
<b>Ogres ziņas</b>	1				1						
<b>Ogres Vēstis</b>	4		1					3			3
<b>Rīgas Apmēģa Avīze</b>	1							1			
<b>Tukuma Ziņotājs</b>	1								1		
<b>Ventas Balss</b>	9		1		1			4	2		1
<b>Zemgales Ziņas</b>	1							1			
<b>Vietējā Latgales Avīze</b>	1				1			1			
<b>Ieva</b>	1								1		
<b>Nedēļa</b>	1		1								
<b>Rīgas laiks</b>	1	1									
<b>Sieviete</b>	1								1		
	<b>90</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>13</b>

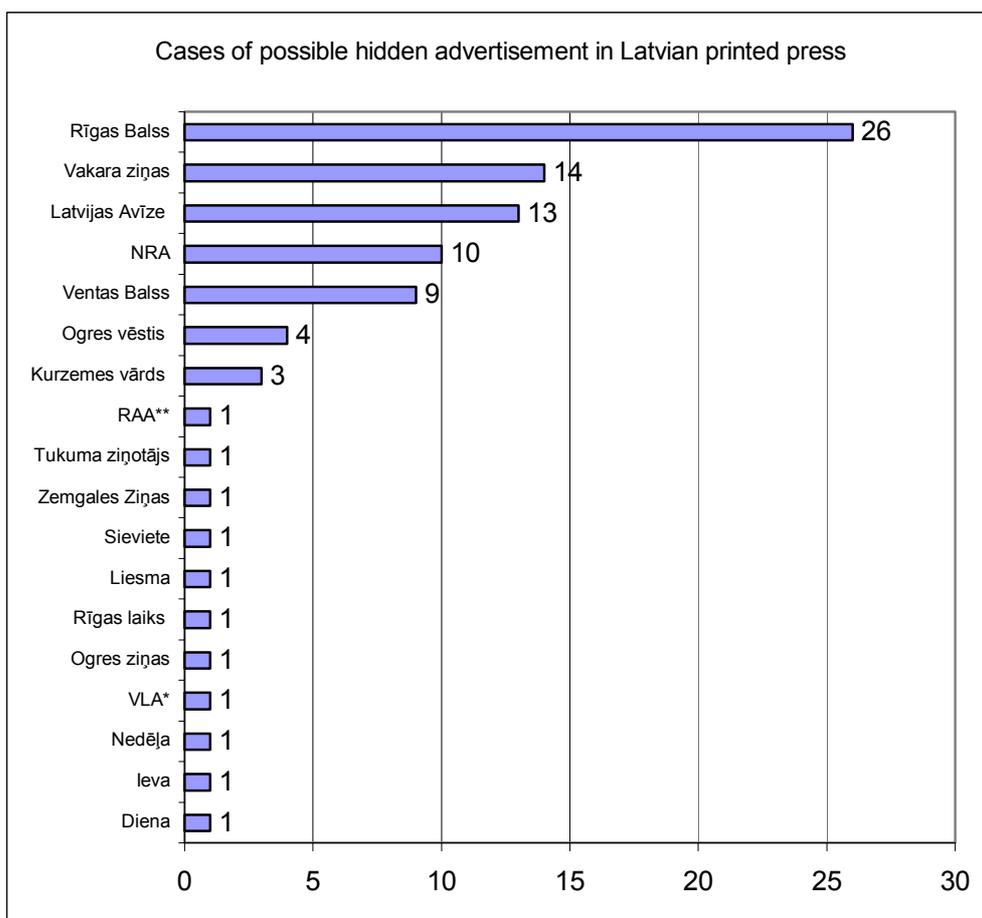
Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

\*NRA – in relation to 3 articles specific criteria is not applied, VZ – specific criteria is not applied

90 publications were selected according to the criteria set by the project, i.e., as possible hidden advertisement. In total during the time period selected, the analysis of 60 issues was carried out, of which in 42 issues there the cases of hidden Advertising were not identified.

Overall the authors of the project have come to the conclusion that the reflection of political parties during the pre-election period was balanced and neutral. In the course of introducing voters with the representatives from the political parties, several regional newspapers successfully reflected their differences and competence both by creating special columns and by asking questions to the deputy candidates.

TABLE 27. CASES OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN THE LATVIAN PRINTED PRESS



Source: "Openness about the 2005 Municipal election finances"

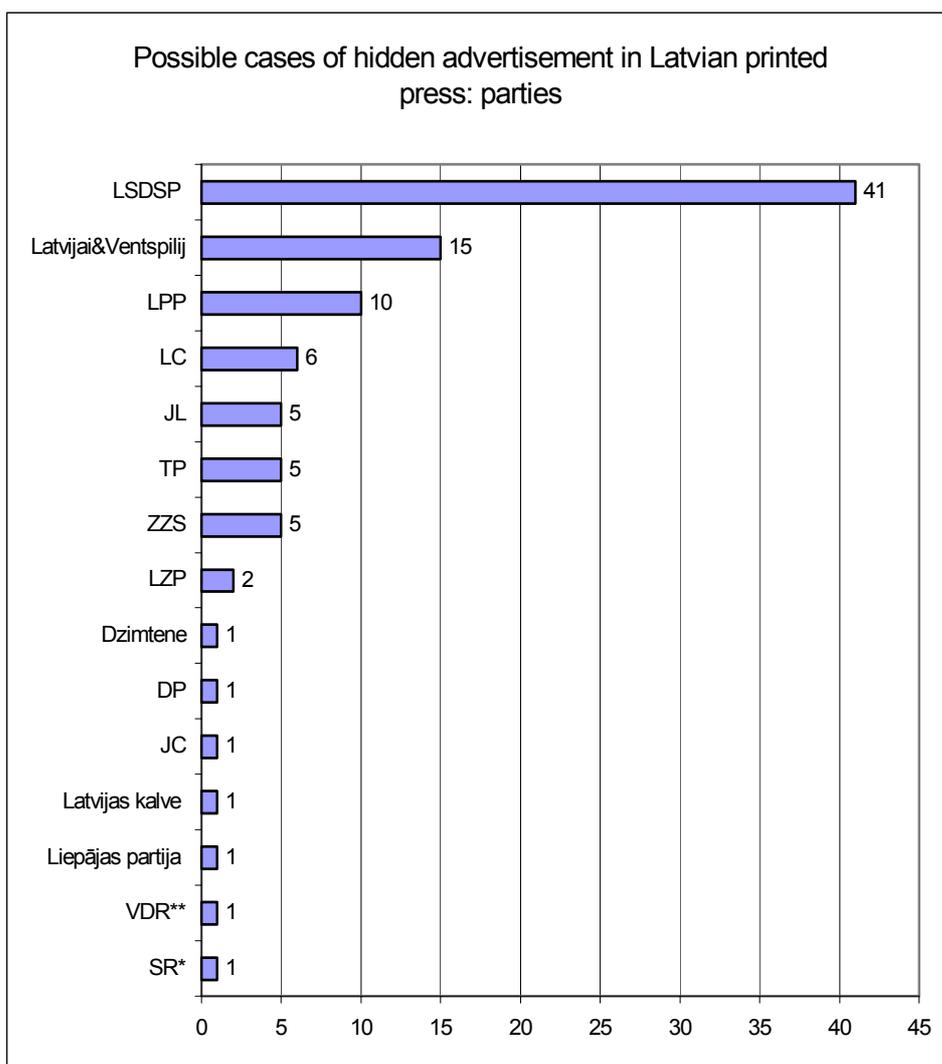
\*"Vietējā Latgales avīze" („Local newspaper of Latgale")

\*\* „Rīgas Apriņķa avīze" („Riga County newspaper")

Most cases of possible hidden Advertising (26) were identified in „Rīgas Balss", „Vakara Zinas" is as the second, but the third was „Latvijas Avīze" with 13 cases of possible hidden advertisement, but „Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze" is in fourth place with 10 cases, but regional newspaper „Ventas Balss" is in fifth place in respect of the published articles containing possible hidden advertisement.

By analyzing cases of the possible hidden Advertising according to the parties it is obvious that the majority of articles were published about LSDWP (41), in the second place in relation to the cases of possible hidden Advertising is party For Latvia and Ventspils (15) and in the third – Latvian First Party with 10 cases.

TABLE 28. CASES OF POSSIBLE HIDDEN ADVERTISING IN THE LATVIAN PRINTED PRESS: PARTIES



Source: "Openness about 2005 Municipal election finances"

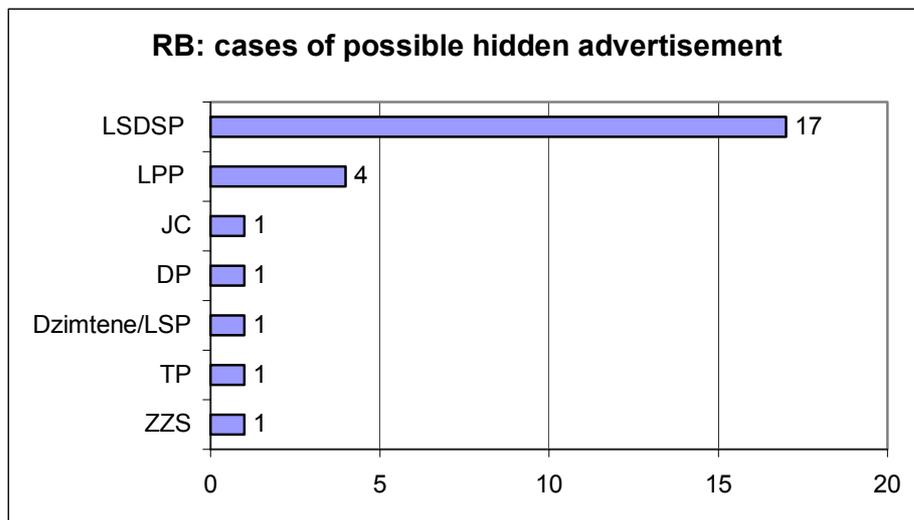
### National printed press

Out of Latvian national newspapers cases of possible hidden Advertising were selected in 5 newspapers – "Rīgas Balss", "Vakara ziņas", "Latvijas Avīze", "Neatkarīgā Rīta avīze" (NRA) and "Diena". The most characteristic cases of possible hidden Advertising in "Rīgas Balss" was Advertising of LSDWP officials by adopting both existing columns – "Problēma" (*"Problem"*), "Kultūra" (*"Culture"*), "Ziņas" (*"News"*) and by creating new ones – "Rīgas dome informē" (*"Riga City Council informs"*), "Rīgas brīvostas vēstis" (*"News from Riga free port"*). In these articles the LSDWP officials most often either comment and describe the issues they do not have a direct

connection with, or talk about his/her work from a one-sided perspective, in a manner prospective rather than current politicians would. "RB" published an interview with G.Bojārs, which had no author indicated, and under which it was noted that it was prepared by the Department of Public Relations of the Riga City Council. These publications considerably stand out against the good quality and interesting discussions, which this newspaper prepared for the Mayor candidates. Such unequal reflection of the parties within the framework of one newspaper lessens readers' trust in the newspaper and in such a way lowers influence and significance of successful publications.

Additionally, the newspaper "Latvijas avīze" created various columns, trying to justify participation by the LSDWP officials. The most absurd of them was „LSDWP – for Latvia”. Under this column there was a note that it was prepared „by the commission of LSDWP”. Marking of the article in such a way is too unspecified in order for the reader to understand that it is an Advertising of the LSDWP. „Lauku Avīze” for Advertising of LSDWP officials also used column "Rīgas ostas vēstis" („News from Riga port”). This material created an impression that the newspapers in a strange way try to justify disproportionate portraying of LSDWP officials. "NRA" created a special frame in order to highlight few parties and prepared articles about pseudo-events. The newspaper "Vakara ziņas" was not analyzed according to the criteria established in this project as it cannot be subjected to analysis of good quality journalism, but the attention was attracted to the comparatively high number of reference to the LSDWP officials. In the newspaper "Diena" one article was selected corresponding to the criteria – where there was a lack of balance of quotations about the party New Era.

*„Rīgas Balss”*



## *Reflection of LSDWP officials*

### **Various columns**

On January 11 in a column „Problēma” an article „Rent ceiling will soon move away”<sup>23</sup> was published which portrayed the problems with rent control. The article discussed the decision of the Parliament to set new standards for rent control. Commentator of this article representing the tenants was a City Council deputy Dainis Īvāns, who described the lawlessness of the landlords and the difficulties related to the purchase of a new apartment. Photograph with D.Īvāns was also added to the article. Photographs of other commentators did not appear. This reflection of a deputy candidate corresponds to the criteria 2.3 regarding the use of a deputy candidate as a main commentator of the event.

On January 13 in the column “Kultūra” an article was published „Rulers of Riga culture life meet for the hundredth time”<sup>24</sup>. This corresponds with the definition of pseudo-events – it is an event generated by the media or a PR expert with aim to provide possibility for a specific official to gain popularity. Besides in the article Diāna Čivle positively described the work of the Department of Culture. Visually the article was designed with the photograph of D. Īvāns and the content of the article did not have a direct relation. Therefore this article was selected according to the criteria 1 regarding the appearance of a deputy candidate who has no relation with an event reflected.

On January 26 in the column “Ziņas” “Rigas balss” published information on the campaign organized by the newspaper<sup>25</sup>. It contained summarized information on the most neglected staircases in Riga dwelling houses. Photograph depicting the Riga City Council deputy Karpovičs (LSDWP) receiving a „black folder” with information on neglected staircases from the “RB” editor in chief was added to the article. Material created an impression that “RB” had organized this campaign with an aim to create additional publicity for the Committee of Housing and Public Utilities of the Riga City Council (material was selected according to the criteria 2.1). It should be reminded that D. Īvāns was reflected in the context of the neglected staircases (see above publication of January 11).

On January 26 in column „Sports” an interview „Dimension of sports in Riga”<sup>26</sup> was published with G. Jirgensons – a chairman of Education, Youth and Sports Committee and a LSDWP candidate. He was asked questions, which provided him with an opportunity to positively reflect his activity. The questions were general, unspecified and G. Jirgensons could choose the direction of the discussion. For example, the question „has there been done substantial health research of Riga schoolchildren?” to which G.Jirgensons answered: „It is regularly assessed by experts of Education, Youth and Sports department [..]”. An interview was selected according to the criteria 6, i.e., journalist asks uniform questions, providing an opportunity for the deputy candidate to choose the direction of the discussion.

On January 27 in the column “Ziņas” “Rigas balss” published a letter from D.Īvāns addressed to the Parliamentary<sup>27</sup> deputies, criticizing monetary policy of the Bank of Latvia, which is the basis for inflation and price increase. Publishing of such an opinion expressed by a deputy candidate in

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<sup>23</sup> Jānis Āboltniņš, "Rent ceiling soon will take off"// Rigas Balss – 11.01.2005 – page 11

<sup>24</sup> Dace Judina, " Rulers of Riga culture life meets hundredth time " // Rigas Balss, 13.01.2005 – 20.lpp

<sup>25</sup> Antra Gabre, "Part of money for repairs of staircases is found"// Rigas Balss - 26.01.2005 – page 4

<sup>26</sup> Māris Stalidzāns, "Dimension of sport in Riga", Rigas Balss - 26.01.2005 – page 19

<sup>27</sup> Dainis Īvāns, "Central bank played roulette on money, their bet was people of Latvia. "Vēstule simtam"// Rigas Balss - 27.01.2005 – page 4

the news page creates an impression that the candidate is particularly promoted, especially because no other opinions regarding this issue were expressed. It should be added that D.Īvāns discussed a similar issue in „Vakara Ziņas” publication „Īvāns: return the million!”

On February 16 in the column „Ziņas” information was published that the chairman of the Riga City Council G.Bojārs plans to sue the Minister of Regional Development and Municipal Affairs M. Kučinskis on the subject of „moral harm” which was done by the request to publish the pay roll of the City Council employees. It can be assessed as pseudo-event as it describes only possible future act. Besides, Bojārs is quoted – „If I will win elections maybe I will forget the wrong”<sup>28</sup>. It should be added that the information published on page 3 was announced in the title page of newspaper. Additionally, the photograph was published with G.Bojārs seen in the foreground. This information corresponds to the criteria 2.1 regarding an event created by the media or PR, which has no current political meaning.

### **Rigas dome informē (*Riga City Council informs*)**

Starting from January 19, 13 publications in the newspaper were selected with possible hidden advertisement, which were published in the column “Rigas dome informē”. In these publications coalition officials from the Riga City Council were reflected in various ways – LSDWP 10 times, LP, LFP and NC – each once. For example, in this column on February 23 the manager of Information and Public Relations Department of the Riga City Council and a LSDWP deputy candidate S. Grīnberga informed that she had decided to take unpaid vacation in order to „completely exclude basis for various speculations and suspicions and not to provide an opportunity [...] to spread biased statements during the pre-election time”<sup>29</sup>. Similarly G.Bojārs used the column on March 4 and explained his position in relation to the mistake assumed by the newspaper „Diena” when it published information that G.Bojārs participated with 1st number in the list of the political association PAFHRUL<sup>30</sup>. But deputy G. Jirgenšons on February 16 published an „open letter” in the column, where he criticized the government regarding the wish to privatize building of the kindergarten in Mežaparks<sup>31</sup>. This material was selected according to the criteria 2.1 as a pseudo-event, which provided for additional publicity for the deputy candidate.

Finally on March 9 “RB” published an „interview” with G.Bojārs „Gundars Bojārs: let’s sit down before the road”<sup>32</sup>. It was created in the format of questions and answers, for example, „What brings you the most satisfaction from the accomplished work during these four years?”. At the end of the interview the author was not identified, instead it was marked „Department of information and public relations of Riga City Council”. In a similar way on March 2 there was published an „interview” „With the view in future”<sup>33</sup>. Here LFP candidate A. Ameriks expresses his opinion on conservation and development plan of Riga historical center. Both interviews were prepared by the „Riga City Council Department of information and public relations” and were included in the report according to the criteria 6 regarding the option for the deputy candidate to speak out freely and to choose the direction of the discussion.

These materials create suspicions that the column was paid for by the Riga City Council, however the readers cannot be clear about it. At the same time the possible financing from the Riga City

<sup>28</sup> Janis Aboltins, „Bojars will sue minister”// Rigas Balss - 16.02.2005 – page 3

<sup>29</sup> „Announcement by Sandra Grinberga, head of Riga Council Department of information and public relations”// Rigas Balss - 23.02.2005 – page 13

<sup>30</sup> Gundars Bojars: „Newspaper “Diena” shall take full responsibility for published lie”// Rigas Balss – 04.03.2005 – page 9

<sup>31</sup> Guntars Jirgenšons, „Government desires building of kindergarten in Mežaparks”// Rigas Balss - 16.02.2005 – page 8

<sup>32</sup> „Gundars Bojars: “Let’s sit down before the road!””// Rigas Balss – 09.03.2005 – page 6

<sup>33</sup> „With the view in future”// Rigas Balss - 02.03.2005 – page 9

Council provides an opportunity for the coalition deputies (the most often to the deputies of LSDWP represented by the chairman of the Riga City Council) in a positive light by highlighting their positive deeds and the positive personal traits. Each of the publications mentioned correspond to at least one criteria of the identification of the hidden advertisement.

### **Rīgas ostas vēstis/Brīvostas ziņas (*News from Riga port/ News from Free port*)**

On February 3 an article „Gundars Bojārs: Ferry traffic must be developed”<sup>34</sup> was published where G. Bojārs and A. Ameriks are the only commentators who evaluate the activities of the Riga passenger port during the last two years. Both officials emphasize accomplishments in providing passenger traffic and tourist attraction. Article is supplemented with the photographs of G.Bojārs and A. Ameriks. There are no critical comments in the article. The article provides positive publicity both for G.Bojārs and A. Ameriks and it is selected according to the criteria 2.3, where a deputy candidate is used as the only commentator of the event, in this case an opportunity to assess the previous promises by LSDWP to provide more efficient ferry traffic is not used.

On March 10, two days prior to the Municipal elections, an interview was published „Gundars Bojārs: Riga port must become the main gate between European Union and East”<sup>35</sup>. The journalist formulates general questions, which provide G.Bojārs with an opportunity to express his view on the development of the Riga port. In this way he pleases Riga inhabitants, entrepreneurs, cargo and passenger operators. Because of the complementary questions G. Bojārs was portrayed more like a politician to be who offers his vision on the development of the port and the city, rather than an official who already has been in power for four years and who must carry on the responsibility for the accomplished. Interview was selected according to the criteria 6: a journalist without formulating critical questions lets the candidate to speak out freely and to choose the direction of the discussion. The interview was supplemented with the photograph of G. Bojārs and L. Loginovs, the manager of the Riga Free port. It should be added that an identical photograph was used in the article of a similar content, which was published in „Latvijas Avīze” on the same day.

On March 10 an article „Development of Riga port is linked with the construction of new wharfs and terminals near the sea”<sup>36</sup> was published where as the main commentator (next to L. Loginovs, manager of the Riga Free port) about the plans for port modernization and the city development was selected a candidate from the LFP list A. Ameriks. He is also a chairman of the City Development Committee at RCC. Officials informed about the future plans and the possible tendencies of positive development without giving reference to the information regarding the already accomplished or specific implementation of the terms and costs for the future plans. Material is selected according to the criteria 2.3: the deputy candidate is chosen as the main commentator of the issue, besides a demonstrative photograph with a candidate portrayed was published in the article. Similar photograph also appears in an article with similar contents in „Latvijas Avīze” on the same day. This fact can be considered as a proof of organized publicity.

“Rīgas ostas vēstis” or “Brīvostas ziņas” were brought to attention by the fact that the material of February 3 was prepared by Dainis Druva. Both above-mentioned materials published on March

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<sup>34</sup> Dainis Druva, "Gundars Bojārs: "Ferry traffic must be developed""// Rigas Balss – 03.02.2005- page 18

<sup>35</sup> Daina Druva, "Gundars Bojārs: Riga port must become main gate between European Union and East""// Rigas Balss, - 10.03.2005 – page 6

<sup>36</sup> Daina Druva, "Development of Riga port is linked with construction of new wharfs and termināls near the sea""// Rigas Balss - 10.03.2005 – page 7

10, were prepared by Daina Druva. Possibly a journalist had chosen to slightly adjust his pseudonym for the sake of variety.

### **"Portretu galerija" ("Gallery of portraits")**

During the examined period "RB" published 3 articles in this column – about the GFU Mayor candidate Andris Bērziņš, LFP Mayor candidate Juris Lujāns and LW Mayor candidate Andris Bērziņš. Two articles have been selected as corresponding to the criteria of possible hidden Advertising – „Andris Bērziņš: I am neither bought, nor sold”<sup>37</sup>, also ““Riga Mayor” of the Ministers’ Party”<sup>38</sup>. These articles differ from the portrayal of LW Mayor candidate A. Bērziņš, because they are positively oriented, there are very few evaluations and they contain self-description of candidates. In the case of A. Bērziņš (GFU) the only critical feature about the candidate is analyzed by the reporters of the newspaper, but in the case of J.Lujāns an opportunity to answer the questions was provided to the candidate himself. Materials are selected according to the criteria 5 regarding selection of uniform opinions with an aim to increase the popularity of a candidate.

Example of a positive pre-election reflection:

During the time period from February 18 till March 9 the newspaper „Rigas Balss” prepared four discussions „Test No.... Riga does or bluffers?” with Riga city Mayor candidates from 8 parties. In the discussions the Mayor candidates were confronted with former promises, asked to explain pre-election programs of the parties, asked to comment passed decisions and to precisely define their position concerning various issues. Discussions were prepared in intensive and attractive manner and it was genuinely interesting information for voters who wished to know better the candidates for the city Mayor.

### **Supplementary issue "Jurmala"**

On January 13 in the column „News” an article was published: „PP counts on two places in the City Council”<sup>39</sup>. The main information in this article was intended to be the hopes of the PP to obtain two places in the Jurmala City Council and that the list of deputy candidates included several popular persons in the city. The article was based on the information provided by the PP candidate – Jurmala deputy Mayor Alise Landsberga who talked about the accomplishments of the party deputies and also explained the principles by which this list was developed. This type of publication was not prepared on any other party candidating in Jurmala. This article was selected according to the criteria 2.1 – pseudo-event.

On March 11 one day before the elections a paid interview with the candidate of Homeland and Latvian Socialist Party candidate Jānis Misa: “Devil’s dozen and “pontoon”<sup>40</sup> was published. This article extensively covered the contribution of J. Misa in the development of “Daugava” sports complex. On the left side of the interview there was a note added: “Paid political advertisement. The payment is provided from the administrative sources of Daugava sports complex”. This note

<sup>37</sup> Arnis Kluinis, “Andris Berzins: “I am neither bought, nor sold”// Rigas Balss - 07.01.2005 – page 10

<sup>38</sup> Guna Karklina, ““Riga Mayor” from Priest’s Party”// Rigas Balss - 21.01.2005 – page 18

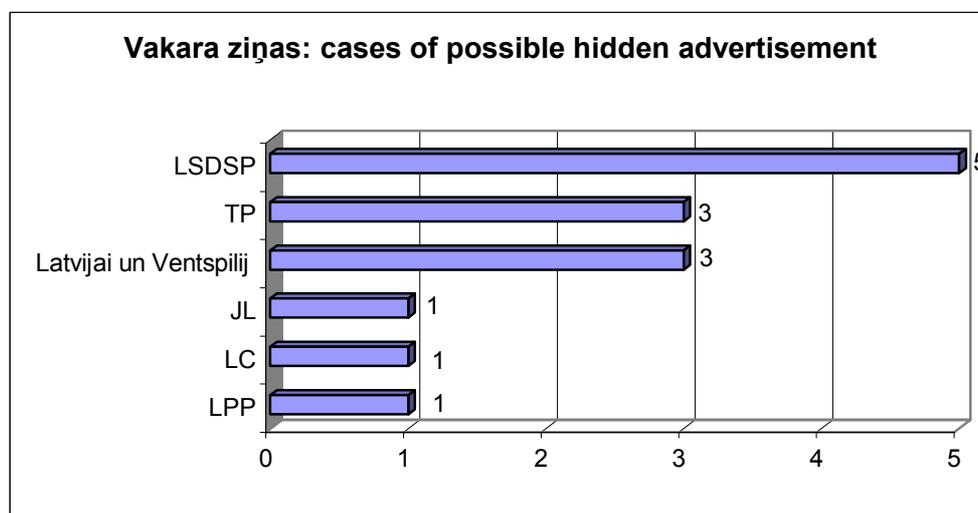
<sup>39</sup> Atis Rozentals, ““The Orange ones” Oranžie” count on two place in council”// Rigas Balss – 13.01.2005 – page 16

<sup>40</sup> Eduards Jangailis, “Devil’s dozen” and “pontoon”// Rigas Balss - 11.03.2005 – page 23

was written in a print three times smaller than in the main material. The article was selected according to the criteria 8 regarding marking of paid Advertising which is poorly visible.

Most of the publications generally have no relation neither to hidden, nor open advertisement. City newspaper simply does its job – writes about the city events [...] Should we change this structure during the election time and offer information vacuum to the readers? Traditionally when we criticize the officials of the City Council we do not restrict the opportunity for them to express their opinion.  
Iveta Mediņa, Rigas balss, editor in chief.

*Vakara ziņas*



Vakara ziņas is an evening newspaper, which is created according to the traditions and pattern of so called „yellow printed press”, this is the reason it is impossible to analyze particular publications according to the project criteria, i.e., good quality journalism criteria. Moreover, the newspaper does not mislead reader with the material it provides. It is not presented in the form of a good quality daily newspaper therefore it is clear to everyone that the portrayal of the politicians in the newspaper is based on scandals, rumors and „spicy” details of private life. Therefore this analysis describes only the trends of „Vakara ziņas” in portrayal of the political parties according to the frequency of appearance of the parties and politicians, which could promote the identification of a respective party, or a politician. The most often – almost 5 times during the period analyzed LSDWP deputy candidates were mentioned in „Vakara ziņas”.

Jānis Dinēvičs<sup>41</sup> and G. Bojārs<sup>42</sup> appeared in the supplementary sheet “Topā” („On top”) where they tried on strange costumes. Additionally in the same column J.Lujāns (LFP) and U. Grava (NE) appeared as well. Judging subjectively their portrayal was not visually as attractive as for example fitting G. Bojārs in a model’s costume. In „Vakara ziņas” on February 8 G. Bojārs appeared in a

<sup>41</sup> "Extremely paned."TOPĀ" model - Jānis Dinevičs"// Vakara Ziņas - 26.01.2005 – page 12

<sup>42</sup> "Democracy code. "TOPĀ" model- Gundars Bojārs"// Vakara Ziņas - 05.01.2005 – page 12

connection with his new hair cut which was compared with E. Repše' new hair cut<sup>43</sup>. Hair cuts of two these officials were discussed in the article, which was laid out over a whole page, and it was supplemented with the photographs of both.

Another LSDWP candidate D. Ivāns on January 25 appeared as a celebrity who once was caught riding the public transportation without a ticket<sup>44</sup>, but on January 27 D. Ivāns appears as a resident of Latvia who is not provided for sufficiently and who is angry with the Bank of Latvia because of the significant inflation<sup>45</sup>. It should be noted that in a similar way D. Ivāns was portrayed in "RB" where he told about his problems related to repaying his loan. Also „Rīgas Balss” published an „open letter” where he turned against the Bank of Latvia. (See in the section about „Rīgas Balss”)

PP gained publicity in the newspaper by the portrayal of Agnis Kalnkaziņš when in January 20 article there was a word play on the subject of „horns” in relation to the officials’ „falling in disgrace”<sup>46</sup> (Kalnkaziņš in Latvian means “little mountain goat”). In the second publication A. Kalnkaziņš was used as commentator of intention to inform parents on children’s school results<sup>47</sup>. But on February 18 „Vakara ziņas” reported extensively about A. Ārgalis farewell from the Parliament after resigning from his deputy seat<sup>48</sup>. There was a large photograph with A. Ārgalis, where he is seen in almost full length, and also a photograph with champagne bottle with the name and picture of A. Ārgalis on it.

The front of the party „For Latvia and Ventspils” A. Lembergs appeared in „Vakara ziņas” as well. On February 21 in the column „Reportāža” there was presented a „randomly” met chairman of the Ventspils City Council purchasing patties to treat the students of Ventspils University. Newspaper tells that “[A. Lemberg’ s] act evoked [...] pleased murmurs in the auditorium”.<sup>49</sup> But on January 7 in the column of the newspaper “privātās ziņas” („private news”) appeared a report that this year has been a successful hunting season for A. Lembergs.<sup>50</sup>

On February 7 an interview called „The parliamentary deputy will administer the theater of Liepaja” was published in the newspaper. This interview reflected LW deputy Guntis Dambergs<sup>51</sup>. During the interview complementary questions and the questions with an indication to the answer desired were formulated, for example „Even though already for a long time you have not worked in Liepaja, it still is your home – your family is here. Wasn’t it the main precondition when you accepted the new position?” Such a complementary interview differed from the regular way of presenting the politicians.

In contrast to the discussed above, it should be mentioned that on January 17 „Vakara ziņas” published an article „Social services send greetings from Bojārs”<sup>52</sup> which informs that the Christmas greeting cards sent to low income residents, who are recipients for the benefit payments from RCC, created an appearance that these benefits were allocated personally by G.

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<sup>43</sup> Una Griskevica, "They are emotional beings and they wanted some changes. Repše's and Bojars' haircut show" // Vakara Ziņas - 08.02.2005 – page 2

<sup>44</sup> Una Griskevica, "Celebrities without ticket" // Vakara Ziņas - 25.01.2005. – page 4

<sup>45</sup> Maris Pukitis, "Ivans: return the million!" // Vakara Ziņas - 27.01.2005 – pages 1, 3

<sup>46</sup> Anda Leiskalne, "Lasmanis fell because of horns. Who showed horns to Kalnkazins?" // Vakara Ziņas – 20.01.2005 – page 3

<sup>47</sup> U. Griskeviča, "Short messages concerning children's school results – for or against?" // Vakara Ziņas - 19.02.2005 – page 3

<sup>48</sup> Anda Leiskalne, "Argalis threatens to dig up streets around Parliament" // vakara Ziņas – 18.02.2005 – pages 6,7

<sup>49</sup> Oskars Laksevics, "Lembergs treats students" // Vakara Ziņas - 21.02.2005 – page 2

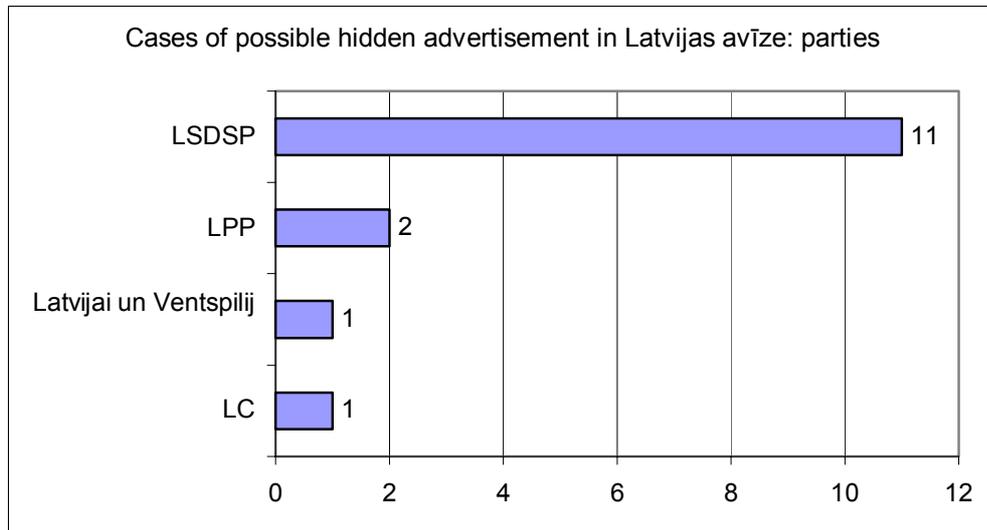
<sup>50</sup> "Successful hunting season for Lembergs" // Vakara Ziņas - 08.02.2005 – page 5

<sup>51</sup> Ija Erta, "Deputy of Parliament will administer theater of Liepaja" // Vakara Ziņas -7.02.2005 – page 7

<sup>52</sup> Anda Leiskalne, "Social services send greetings from Bojars" // Vakara Ziņas – 17.01.2005 – page 7

Bojārs. Sending out greeting cards overloaded Riga City Council Social services and they had to work extra hours. This article is not a possible hidden Advertising but it is mentioned with an aim to indicate that „Vakara ziņas” in its presentment of officials may also be critical.

*“Latvijas avīze”*



On January 31 and March 10 newspaper issues in a column “Rīgas ostas vēstis” broad informative material was published about the activities of the Riga passenger and trade port, which were commented by Gundars Bojārs (LSDWP) and Andris Ameriks (LFP).<sup>53</sup> Both officials described extensively the development of both ports, as well as future plans, additionally they indicating that there is not sufficient support provided by the state. Controversial issues, which had appeared on political agenda in relation to the Riga port were not discussed in the publications. The reflection of the officials was uniform and positive. Demonstrative photographs of the officials supplemented the article. Similar publication was also published in „Rīgas balss”.

In the column „Latvijas ziņas” (*„Latvia news”*) there was published a theme in „Riga news” where an opinion of the LSDWP deputy candidate D.Īvāns on the construction of pulp processing factory is published. Placing such a material in the news column is confusing, especially taking into account that it was marked: „Material was commissioned by the Riga City Council and compiled by the advertising department of „Latvijas avīze””<sup>54</sup>. Therefore it can be assumed that this is an advertising material that has not been marked accordingly, and additionally commissioned by the Riga City Council.

Council deputy and a deputy candidate from LW, manager of “The Latvia Railways” project administration department Aija Poča, gained positive publicity in „Latvijas Avīze” supplementary section “Latvia Railway for Latvia”.<sup>55</sup> In an interview, which was published on the title page, A. Poča highlighted her contribution in securing of the future financing from the EU for railway

<sup>53</sup> Diana Jevdokimova, “From Riga to Europe – in ships”// Latvijas Avīze – 31.01.2005. – pages 18,19

<sup>54</sup> “Daugava at the death shadow of pulp threats”// Latvijas Avīze - 06.01.2005. – page 7

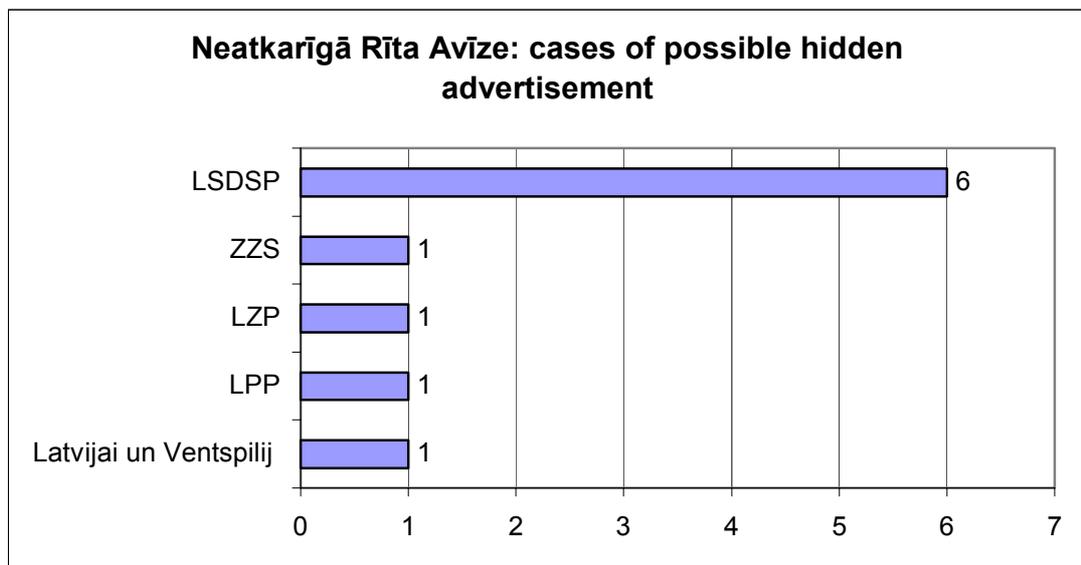
<sup>55</sup> Andrejs Kaufmans, “Hand on future pulse”// Latvijas Avīze/ Latvijas Dzelzsceļš Latvijai -09.03.2005 – page 11

modernization. However, she did not specify within the framework of which projects and when this financing will be received.

***LSDSP – Latvijai (LSDWP – For Latvia)***

During the time period from January 8 till March 5 „Latvijas Avīze” introduced a special column “Latvijas Sociāldemokrātiskā Strādnieku partija – Latvijai” („Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party – for Latvia”) where the articles covering the whole page were published and which reminded of the LSDWP advertisements according to their form and contents. During the respective time period 8 pages and 23 articles were accounted for. The articles were selected according to the criteria 8 assuming that the note „Publishing of materials is commissioned by LSDWP” which was published below the column does not provide a complete information whether these articles were prepared by the editorial staff or if they are Advertising articles.

*“Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze”*



***Pseudo-events***

During the time period analyzed „Neatkarīgā rīta avīze” published 3 articles, which correspond to the features of a „pseudo-event”. Two articles were published about the LSDWP. First „LSDWP promises not to give away Riga”<sup>56</sup> was published on January 17 in the column “Aktualitāte” (“Current information”). The article presented a general meeting of the Riga division of the party during which the candidate for the Mayor was nominated and other candidates of the party list were „arranged in alphabetic order”. The article lists few from the nominated candidates and illustrates the debates. More striking pattern of a pseudo-event found in an article published on March 9 : “Materials are prepared to slander the Mayor” which is based on information that „behind the scenes of the Riga City Council there are gossips that the prosecution will be started against the Riga Mayor [...]”<sup>57</sup>. This publication according to its content corresponds to the cases of possible hidden Advertising broadcast in LNT and TV5 in the format of „Riga news”.

<sup>56</sup> Sandris Vanzovics, “LSDWP promises not to give away Riga”// NRA - 17.01.2005 – page 3

<sup>57</sup> Sandris Vanzovics, “Preparing materials to compromise Mayor’s reputation”// NRA - 09.03.2005 – 5.lpp

Pseudo-event was also presented on January 12 in the column „Rīgā” („In Riga”) where there was a story about a possible formation of LFP fraction in the Riga City Council. Although the reporter states that the LFP could form its own fraction, a representative from the party A. Ameriks doubts on usefulness of such an idea and says „We have not thought about it, yet”<sup>58</sup>.

### *Special accentuation of several parties*

„Neatkarīgā rīta avīze” had favored the parties LSDWP<sup>59</sup>, GFU<sup>60</sup> and LGP<sup>61</sup> when the information on various political parties lists and on the pre-election activities was published in a specially created frame. In comparison the information about PP, NE, FF/LNIM and LFP lists was published in one article and was not accentuated. There was a separate material published on LFP, but it is not included in this account. Besides the information on LSDWP and LGP was published in a column “Aktualitāte”(“Current event”).

The accounts of two Mayors (Ventspils Mayor A. Lembergs (FLV) and Rēzekne Mayor J. Začests (LSDWP) on the work accomplished and the future plans were also published in a special frame and accentuated. In a case of A. Lembergs the journalist prepared an overview of his future plans and the disapproval of the reprimands expressed by the political competitors. But in the article about J. Začests the journalist informs about the good deeds by Rezekne city Mayor. It must be added that in the articles concerning elections in other municipalities city Mayors either were not interviewed or their opinions were not accentuated and published in a special frame. Materials are selected according to the criteria 5 due to uniform selection of opinions, which in are additionally accentuated in the columns of the newspaper.

Positive representation of the parties during the pre-election period:

From February 1 of 2005 „Neatkarīgā rīta avīze” started a survey for Riga city Mayor candidates regarding various issues important for Riga. In total 8 different questions were asked – about prices of tickets in public transportation, construction of bridges and tunnels, social benefits, building of apartments etc. Representatives of 10 different parties answered to these questions, photographs of Mayor candidates were added to the answers. In such a way readers who followed the information provided by the newspaper had an opportunity to obtain valuable information on the opinions by different parties regarding the development of Riga.

Two cases must be mentioned separately which were selected according to the criteria 1. i.e., appearance of the deputy candidate who has no relation to the event presented. In both cases LSDWP deputy candidate, Riga city Mayor Gundars Bojārs is presented. In the first case there is an article about the moment of memorial for the victims of South Asia tsunami, a photograph with Bojārs is attached and Bojārs’ message about the way Thailand looks like the time when this article is written.<sup>62</sup> As this article is about V. Kulesovs’ (entrepreneur from Latvia who suffered in tsunami) return to Latvia, his experience and the state of health, then Bojārs’ photograph and his message has no relation to event presented. Second article in this category was published on

<sup>58</sup> Sandris Vanzovics, "Latvian First Party will not form fraction in Council"// NRA - 12.01.2005 – page 5

<sup>59</sup> Sandris Vanzovics, "LSDWP arranges candidates in line"// NRA - 24.01.2005. – page 3

<sup>60</sup> Sandris Vanzovics, "Green farmers bid on Andris Berzins"// NRA - 21.01.2005. – page 5

<sup>61</sup> Sandris Vanzovics, "Green party does not change management before switch points"// NRA - 14.02.2005 – page 3

<sup>62</sup> Evija Cera, Aija Lulle, "Today is moment of silience in memory of cunami victims"// NRA - 05.01.2005 – page 4

March 4 „Deputy, promise me something!“<sup>63</sup>. It summarizes the stories written by the participants for the competition for youth on the subject of “what promises have the deputy candidates of different municipalities made” organized by the paper. Although promises of the Riga City Council deputy candidates do not appear in the article, the article is supplemented with a large photograph with G. Bojārs.

Your research project strongly indicates on an intention – to uptake financing from the EU funds at any price. If only this wish would be grounded with methodology of respective quality ... Unfortunately in this case it is not so, this is why I assume that this specific endeavor is only unsuccessful experiment and the people involved in it were unaware what exactly they are looking for.  
Armands Puče, “Neatkarīgā rīta avīze”, editor in chief

„Diena”

On February 21 the newspaper “Diena” published an article “White horse – also in Ogre”. When analyzing lists of the deputy candidates in Ogre this article provided positive publicity for the party New Era.<sup>64</sup> Both heading and subheading „The curtain is opened. NE with openness and honesty hopes to rock the usual quartet of power” creates positive impression of NE, besides subheading „NE – on white horse” links heading with the party NE. The article begins with rather detailed description of Juris Tribockis – the leader of NE Ogre list and outlines polemics on awarding and taking away of Ogre honorary citizen title. The article presents also other parties, but it comes to a conclusion with paragraphs devoted to NE, which look more closely at the polemics on award of honorary citizen title and quotations of NE candidates who are criticizing the work of present City Council. Article comes to a conclusion with a reference from the editor in chief of „Ogres Ziņas” that „ people have too short of a memory in order to judge parties by their works as NE would like it to be”. This material as a case of possible hidden Advertising corresponds to the criteria 5 because of the selected uniform opinions and the lack of quotation balance – only one representative from another party was quoted, who additionally spoke about the NE prospects in the elections – E. Bartkevičs (for „Ogres novads”<sup>65</sup> Ogre County).

I do not agree that this article contains hidden Advertising because:

1. All the important opinions are represented in the article;
2. When describing the opinions of the main political players and outlining programs, the proportion of amount is observed;
3. Visual presentation of the article is balanced and proper;
4. The headline does not express positive attitude towards any of the parties as it implies irony and it is clear when reading the article;
5. [...] turned out that hidden Advertising is seen in the lead. However, the author’s explanation seems justified that in the lead he included the most current issues, the most striking event at the moment, which describes precisely the opponents in the elections.

Besides, this article lacks the most important feature of a hidden Advertising – it is not hidden advertisement. It has not been commissioned.

“Diena” Sarmīte Elerte, editor in chief

<sup>63</sup> “What it is that our potential future represent of people think about. Deputy, promise me something!”// NRA - 04.03.2005 – 6.lpp

<sup>64</sup> Guntis Bojārs, “White horse – also in Ogre”// Diena - 21.02.2005. – page 3

## Regional newspapers

Majority of the newspapers have tried to find interesting format to reflect the pre-election activities and to let the readers be introduced with the lists and the candidates for the elections. The most common format of the introduction with the candidates was political discussions organized by the newspaper (for example, in „Latvijas Avīze”, „Auseklis”, „Druva”, „Neatkarīgās Tukuma ziņas” („*Independent News of Tukums*”), „Kurzemnieks” („*Inhabitant of Courland*”), „Talsu vēstis” („*News of Talsi*”). Participants were invited from respective candidate list in Municipal.

Second most common introduction form was questions to the deputy candidates set by the newspapers– all questioned deputy candidates received the same questions and provided their answer – material of such form provided an opportunity to the readers / voters to get acquainted with his/her potential deputy, as well as to compare candidates. The most clear candidate answers to the questions formulated by the newspaper were reflected in “Bauskas Dzīve” („*Life of Bauska*”), “Staburags” and “Ziemeļlatvija” („*Nordic Latvia*”).

In the material published in „Ziemeļlatvija” deputy candidates from different municipalities provided answers to four questions prepared by the journalists concerning evaluation of present situation, future plans, attraction of young people and specific tasks to be accomplished. Questions and answers were structured in a table and that made the material clear and perceptible.

Also “Bauskas Dzīve” formulated four identical questions to the deputy candidates of different municipalities concerning present problems, tasks to be accomplished, attraction of young people and what is positive in each Municipal. Questions and answers were provided in the table. In a different way from “Ziemeļlatvija” photographs of the candidates were added to the columns of the answers. That made material more interesting and created to more personal conception on the interviewed candidates for the reader.

Similarly also in the newspaper “Staburags” three questions were formulated to the deputy candidates of different municipalities on evaluation of existing situation, promises and future visions. Questions and answers were not provided in a table format, but they were offered in a form of a portrait of each candidate in clearly separated squares including a short descriptive introduction on the election list and the election list with all the candidates. Photograph of the candidate interviewed was attached to the information. Questions and answers were well demonstrated. Presentation form was attractive and memorable (slightly reminded political advertisement), however in order to compare different candidates the reader must be a bit more observant than in both previously described cases.

Also materials prepared by the newspapers “Saldus Zeme” (“*Land of Saldus*”) and “Vaduguns” can be assessed as successful form of introducing readers with the candidates.

“Saldus Zeme” surveyed deputy candidates from different municipalities and asked to explain election programs of respective municipalities, their implementation possibilities and also asked all the candidates the same question on the tasks to be accomplished in coming years if the candidate gets elected. Photographs of the interviewed candidates were also published in the newspaper.

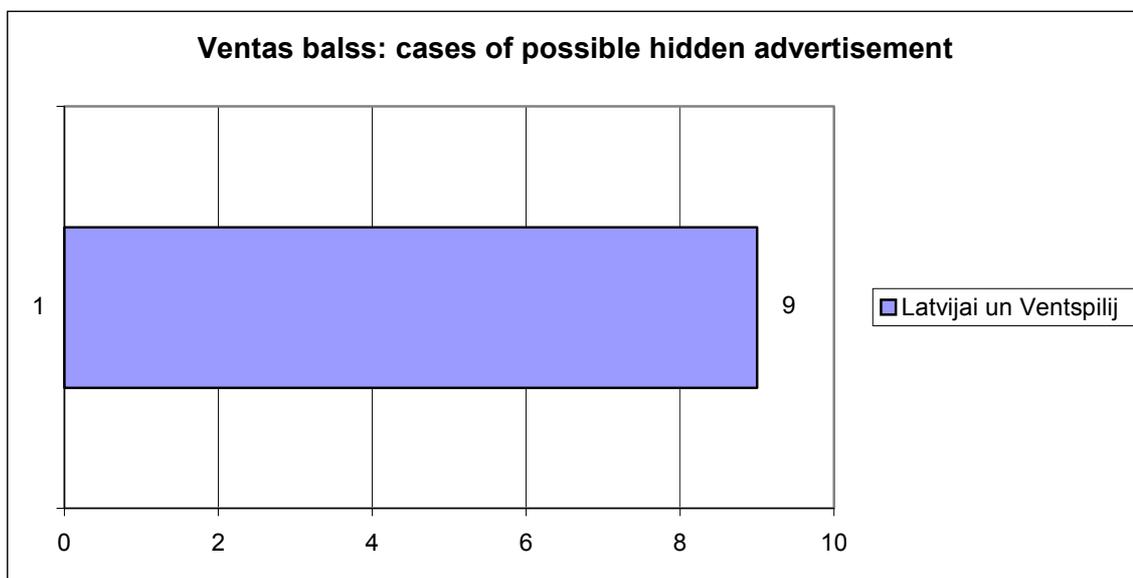
“Vaduguns” provides an overview in the table format on the candidate list of Balvi city council, and promises of the leading officials provided four year ago and a current view in relation to the previously promised.

Such reflection of the candidates accentuate the election programs and promises, demonstrate to the voters the significance for their evaluations, as well as make candidates to carry responsibility for their words.

The participation of the newspaper “Talsu Vēstis” can also be positively evaluated in regards to providing information to the voters about the opinions of Municipal chairpersons by presenting them with the questions submitted by the readers which were rather strong and based on specific facts.

In total 16 cases of possible hidden Advertising material were selected in the regional newspapers. Most of them – in newspaper „Ventas balss” which in fact served as a speaker of positive publicity for one deputy candidate – Ventspils city Mayor Aivars Lembergs. During the whole examined period „Ventas balss” did not publish any critical material on the work of Ventspils City Council. Other selected articles can be regarded as individual cases without systematic nature and which are more related to the cases on that resemble unprofessionalism – selection of uniform opinions, deputy candidates used as the only commentators of the event or as in the case with „Ogres vēstis” – due to „technical” reasons paid Advertising without marking.

*„Ventas Balss”*



***Information by the Chairman of Ventspils City Council Aivars Lembergs***

During the time period from February 1 till March 9 the newspaper published three „articles” titled „Information by the Chairman of Ventspils City Council Aivars Lembergs”. In these articles the chairman of Ventspils City Council speaks freely not only about what accomplished in Ventspils and the future plans, but also discusses events and issues related with his name. The Mayor expresses personal attitude towards the pre-election activities and his opponents. For example, on February 1 this column writes: „With full responsibility I want to say that world famous writers including Nobel prize winners will write their literary works in Ventspils [...]. Inhabitants of Liepaja take this fact with an awful jealousy”<sup>65</sup>. But on February 9 A. Lembergs broadly comments inclusion of senior students in the lists of deputy candidates. Although the author of the article is not indicated, there is question in highlighted print as if asked to A. Lembergs concerning young people candidating in the elections and the Ventspils city Mayor answers: “[...] Whole civilization has developed in evolution. Man’s life also is evolution. After one year man turns two years old, but he does not turn twenty years old[...]. For a man to turn twenty eight years old about ten more years he must live on and not just merely exist”. His message to the inhabitants of Ventspils A. Lembergs concludes with words: “Some testify that they are formally in 12th grade but actually

<sup>65</sup> “Information by chairman of Ventspils City Council Aivars Lembergs”// Ventas Balss - 01.02.2005. – page 2

they are in 8th grade if judged by their level of social development<sup>66</sup>. In the issue of March 9 there is an "information" published that A. Lembergs has ordered the municipal police to reinforce security of electoral districts because "activists from *"Delna"* can invade in some district and for example steal the ballot-box"<sup>67</sup>. In this article A. Lembergs also explains issues related to Ainars Gulbis' debt to him. In such a way newspaper provides the city Mayor with an opportunity to provide his explanations on any issue without confronting them to the opinions by other parties.

One day before the elections the newspaper published the answers by the employees of Ventspils City Council and Municipal institutions to various critical „statements" provided about Ventspils in different media, for example, in Latvia Radio, Ventspils television, LTV.<sup>68</sup> Few "statements" were provided in a free form, for some authors were not mentioned, others were provided by the representatives from the party New Era. In such a way the newspaper tried to create the appearance of an interview or a free discussion. However, as opponents were quoted instead of an presented with an organized dispute, then newspaper in fact privileges the employees of the Municipal to describe their activities. All previously mentioned materials are included in analysis according to the criteria 5 regarding uniform opinions, which are selected with an aim to promote or lessen popularity of a party of a deputy candidate.

On March 4 and 5 the newspaper published extensive interviews with Aivars Lembergs. "Ventspils is not passing away, Ventspils is developing". In these interviews A. Lembergs expressed his view on the City Council activities in various fields, especially highlighting his personal contribution. For example, "We plan to place several cows of impressive size in Ventspils.[..] These will be outdoor objects, typical only for Ventspils and many will want to come here just to take pictures with them"<sup>69</sup>. These interviews were selected according to the criteria 6, i.e., journalist provides with an opportunity for a deputy candidate to speak out without hindrance.

Finally a day before the elections the newspaper published a material, which according to the content and form resembles political advertisement.<sup>70</sup> It concisely describes the work of the deputy candidates of the party „For Latvia and Ventspils". Additionally there were photographs added. Material is selected according to the criteria 8 because obvious Advertising article has not been marked as such.

### *„Vietējā Latgales avīze"*

The newspaper on January 7 published an article "Chairman of Rēzekne City Council meets with the journalists". The main point of this article was the press conference where the chairman of the City Council informed journalists on accomplished during the last year.<sup>71</sup> The article summarizes the information provided by the chairman on his good deeds. The only project, which has not been accomplished, has been delayed by the state thanks to its weak legislation. There are no other opinions expressed in the article. The article is selected according to the criteria 2.3 regarding the deputy candidate who appears as the only commentator of the event, as well as according to the criteria 5 regarding the selection of uniform opinions.

	<p>As our journalist in Rēzekne started to work only in November of last year then I provided an opportunity for Rēzekne city Municipal to write for themselves. Writer was the head of the public relations department Skaidrite Baltace. Ināra Zeļča, "Vietējā Latgales avīze", editor in chief</p>	<p>page 2 page 3 e-election time"// Ventas Balss – 005. - 5.lpp</p>
<p><sup>66</sup> "Information by chairman of</p>		
<p><sup>67</sup> "Information by chairman of</p>		
<p><sup>68</sup> "Experts from City Council re 11.03.205. – page 3</p>		
<p><sup>69</sup> Gundega Mertena, "Ventspils</p>		
<p><sup>70</sup> "Vote for list "For Latvia and Ventspils" on Municipal elections of March 12"// Ventas Balss – 11.03.2005 – pages 4, 5</p>		
<p><sup>71</sup> "Chairman of Rēzekne Citu Council meets with journalists"// Vietējā Latgales Avīze - 07.01.2005 – page 4</p>		

## *„Ogres Ziņas”*

On January 8 „Ogres Ziņas” in the column “Tā dzīvojam” (*„So we are living”*) published an article “Triāls’ care for the large family”.<sup>72</sup>

Positive is the newspaper’s wish to take an interest how a family, that once experienced difficulties, is managing now. However, it is obvious that among other eager to help there is especially highlighted an enterprise „Triāls” and its manager Ludvigs Tribockis who is a deputy candidate from New Era candidate list. The headline of the article, the highlighted introduction, and the fact that present situation of the family is being described by the representative of the enterprise indicates to this. If this is an altruistic assistance rendered by the enterprise to the family then “Ogre ziņas” has done “bad favor” to the enterprise, because this article creates an impression that the assistance has been rendered because of the publicity reasons. The article is selected according to the criteria 2.3 regarding the deputy candidate used as a main commentator of an event.

This is in no case hidden Advertising because on January 8 it could not be thought that the owner of "Triāls" Ludvigs Tribockis will be a candidate in Municipal elections [...]. Since the existence of "Ogres Ziņas" every year we have paid attention to this family who suffered in fire and all these years one company - "Triāls" has unselfishly helped them. And it makes no difference whether the elections are approaching or not.  
Inta Stīpniece, Ogres ziņas, editor.

## *„Ogres vēstis”*

In the newspaper four articles were selected as the material of possible hidden advertisement. Three out of those articles were published on the title page. The article ““Latvia Way” in Ogre – with renewed strength for modern city” presents decisions passed in the LW meeting.<sup>73</sup> The article in substance reminds Advertising because it is created by the comments of the LW members on themselves and their future visions. Besides at the end of the article the residents of Ogre area are asked to provide their proposals. For this purpose a telephone number is indicated.

The article “People’s Party – our ones!” is prepared as an opinion expressed by Ogre’s young people on PP which has helped them to make their dream come true – to build a skateboard park in Ogre. In the article young people are quoted: “we believe in the tasks put forth by the People’s Party [...], we do not doubt that these people might run out of energy down or to abuse their power or that they would lose interest to work in the favor of people”<sup>74</sup>. In the first page of the newspaper there was an article published: “Pēteris Dimants: “100 new working positions”, which

<sup>72</sup> Līga Treznovska, ““Triāls” care for big family”// Ogres Ziņas - 08.01.2005 – page 12

<sup>73</sup> Kristīne Zaķe, ““Latvia Way” in Ogre – with renewed strength for modern city”// Ogres Vēstis 08.01.2005. – page 1

<sup>74</sup> “People’s Party – our ones!”// Ogres Vēstis - 08.03.2005 - page 1

is an Advertising article prepared by the candidate himself which emphasizes his contribution to the business development and in creation of new working positions.<sup>75</sup> If we assume the mentioned publications as articles then they correspond to the criteria 5 regarding the selection of uniform opinions. But if they can be regarded as Advertising it is not respectively marked and corresponds criteria 8.

Finally – the fourth article – published on March 11: "Open air parties in Ogre province – with the support of the Latvian Green Party" describes entertainment options provided by the Green Party for elderly people and presents provided and handed out the during event. The article concludes with the promise that "the Green Party will do its utmost to render the support for those who need it the most"<sup>76</sup>. This material is selected according to the criteria 2.1 as a pseudo-event.

Three materials [...] of possible hidden Advertising accounted in your research are the most real pre-election political advertisement, which is officially paid for. Due to technical reasons there are no notes indicating that it is paid political advertisement.

Jānis Mozulis, SIA "District newspaper "OGRES VĒSTIS"" Ltd. Director / member of the board, newspaper "Ogres Vestis" deputy editor

### *"Liesma"*

On January 15 in column "Sestdienas viesis" (*"Guest of Saturday"*) there was an interview published with the chairman of the city council Guntis Gladkins.<sup>77</sup> Although in the beginning of the interview it is presented that G. Gladkins has many plans and for their implementation there are "five to ten years are still needed", generally the interview reflects G. Gladkins as a person who does not realize personal interests when carrying out his duties in the city council. He is an entrepreneur, enjoys sports and fishing. There is also a story about G. Gladkins childhood and youth in the article. This interview does not provide information for the reader so that he/she can evaluate G. Gladkins as a chairman of the city council. It only creates a positive impression of his personality. None other interview with any other county chairman was published in this column during the period examined. An interview is selected according to the criteria 6 – journalist constructs uniform questions with aim to highlight positive features of the personality of the deputy.

### *"Zemgales ziņas"*

The newspaper on January 20 in the column "Ziņas" published a comment by NE deputy candidate Andris Ķipurs: "Good quality and accessible health care – step by step".<sup>78</sup> In this comment A. Ķipurs who is an executive director of "Jelgava hospital" ltd. expresses an opinion about the way Jelgava hospital is managed, what services it cannot provide and how it should cooperate with other health care institutions. The commentary also contains an opinion on health care issues in general. If this comment would be published in the column of comments or letters then the questions would not arise. However, its position in the news section is obvious. In order

<sup>75</sup> "Pēteris Dimants: "110 new working places""// Ogres vēstis – 05.03.2005. – page 1

<sup>76</sup> Ogres Vēstis "Open air parties in Ogre province – with support of Latvian Green Party" 05.03.2005. – page 1

<sup>77</sup> Valentīna Brūniņa, "Leader"// Liesma - 15.01.2005 – page 3

<sup>78</sup> " Good quality and accessible health care – step by step " // Zemgales Ziņas - 20.01.2005 – page 3

for this material to be of news value it would be necessary for it to be supplemented with the opinions of the mentioned parties. The article corresponds criteria 5 regarding the lack of opinion balance.

### *"Tukuma Ziņotājs"*

On January 26 in the column "Engures ikdiena" (*"Everyday of Engure"*) there was published a :*"Discussion with the chairman of Engure county council Andris Kalnozols"*. There were general questions asked in the interview, which provided an opportunity for the interviewee to choose direction of the discussion, for example: "Four years have passed since the previous elections. What is your opinion – was it a short or a long time period?", "Please tell [...] what has been accomplished during those four years?", "Your opinion on public policy in Engure county?". Besides a commentary by the author A.Strautiņa is added to the interview: "Thank you for conversation – may you, Andris, be succeed – as in the Municipal elections, so as [...] in carrying on carrying on the work begun in promoting the development and welfare of Engure County!"<sup>79</sup>. Interview is selected according to the criteria 6 – journalist puts homogeneous questions with an aim to highlight positive features of the personality of the deputy candidate.

### *"Rīgas Apriņķa avīze"*

"Rīgas apriņķa avīze" on January 22 published a summary of the discussion "For successful cooperation in the future"<sup>80</sup> where an event organized by the newspaper was attended by Sigulda residents and officials – chairman of the City Council Tālis Puķītis, managing director Uģis Mitrēvičs, deputy chairman of the Council Jānis Zilvers and the head of Sigulda county administration Laimonis Likops (candidates from LW and GFU). Even though the formal reason of the event was meeting with "Rīgas apriņķa avīze" editorial staff, the article mostly reflected plans and promises of the officials in a positive light. The article also reflected the questions placed by the attendants of the event, however their names were not mentioned. This creates an impression that the questions might also be made up, besides the questions were retold and not directly written down. Tālis Puķītis answers to all of the questions and that promotes his positive image. The article is selected according to the criteria 5 – "uniform opinions selected, lack of opinions and balance of quotations on deputy candidate or party".

This was not our only meeting with the readers; it was followed by other meetings. [...]. With an aim to learn more about the problems of the residents and to make the meeting more productive through the newspaper with the help of Advertising we also invited officials of Sigulda council, managers of public organizations and others who had interest (anyone who had interest!). And as the evening progressed there was rather intense debate developing. Headline of the article "To successful cooperation in the future" can be regarded to cooperation of "Rīgas apriņķa avīze" with the readers.  
Sanita Stroda, "Rīgas apriņķa avīze", editor in chief

### *"Kurzemes Vārds"*

Three articles were selected in the newspaper – two of them were published in a supplementary sections of joint venture „Liepājas metalurģis” (*"Metallurgist of Liepaja"*), one in the newspaper –

<sup>79</sup> A. Strautina, "Dispute with chairman of Engure parish Andris Kalnozols"// Tukuma Ziņotājs - 26.01.2005. – page 4

<sup>80</sup> Inese Pliena, "For successful cooperation in future"// Rīgas Apriņķa avīze - 22.01.2005. – page 4

column "Vēl nāks piektais gads!". In this column interviews with different deputy candidates were published and in few of them questions were not strong and critical, but complementary for the interviewee. However, an interview with the LW deputy candidate Guntis Dambergs "'Latvia's Way" makes the way for the young ones"<sup>81</sup> is particularly positive both for LW and the candidates.

In the interview candidate describes the list of LW and describes himself modestly – his decision was to conclude the list because he has been away from Liepāja for a long time and first he needs to prove his knowledge about the city needs. Questions such as "What is the average age in the list of your candidates?"<sup>82</sup> intensify the youthful character of LW. Interview is selected according to the criteria 6 – journalist puts uniform questions with aim to highlight positive features of a deputy candidate and a party.

In supplementary section of joint venture „Liepājas metalurģs” on March 1 two articles were published – „I have taken a political decision” and „The city is not burdened with debt commitments, there are no obstacles for development”. In the first article there was published an intensively and persistently expressed wish by the Minister of Transportation Ainārs Šlesers for LFP to cooperate with Liepāja. For example, A. Šlesers has been quoted: „Latvian First Party wants to cooperate with this region. [...] We wish that the present power of LFP in the Parliament would be realized in such a way that also Liepāja would get something real from it”<sup>83</sup>. Besides A. Šlesers says: "I have become the Minister of Transportation – first minister who does not depend on favor from Ventspils. And I have taken a political decision to support Liepāja [...]". These expressions of A. Šlesers are abstracted in the newspaper and they are not confronted with other opinions, nobody comments them. Photograph of A.Šlesers is attached to the article.

Similarly in the same supplementary section opinions by chairman of the City Council and candidate Uldis Sesks are published, without confrontation neither with facts nor other opinions<sup>84</sup>. Both articles are selected according to the criteria 5 because of the selection of uniform opinions on some party or a deputy candidate.

### *"Open letters" by Ventspils Mayor A. Lembergs*

The authors of the project would like to accentuate publishing of Ventspils Mayor Aivars Lembergs „open letters” in different newspapers as a special phenomenon. None other official did earn similar attention from the part of newspapers during the pre-election campaign. These letters were analyzed separately because they were assessed as a special case when a deputy candidate by sending two letters to editorial staff of different newspapers gained significant publicity. Letters by A.Lembergs were published 5 times during short time period. Publishing of these letters actually proves that the activities of one Municipal leader who looks for additional publicity can get broadly reflected in media. Few of these publications are regarded as hidden Advertising and are included in surveys of respective newspapers.

Title of newspaper	Date	Headline	Column	Explanation
Latvijas avīze	02.03	"Lembergs takes	Redakcijas	Can be regarded as possible

<sup>81</sup> Sarmite Pelcmāne, "'Latvia Way" makes way for the young ones"// Kurzemes Vārds - 27.01.2005 – pages 7

<sup>82</sup> Sarmite Pelcmāne, "'Latvia Way" makes way for the young ones"// Kurzemes Vārds - 27.01.2005 – page 7

<sup>83</sup> Andra Griezīte, "I have taken political decision" // Tērauds Latvijas Metāls – 01.03.2005 - page 1

<sup>84</sup> Rūta Grīšle, "City is not burdened with debt commitments, there are no obstacle for development"// Kurzemes Vārds - 01.03.2005 – page 1

		on political and magical responsibility". Open letter to the society of Latvia.	viesis (Guest of editorial board)	hidden Advertising because it does not correspond to the substance of the column.
Vakara ziņas	02.03	"Lembergs takes on political and magical responsibility". Open letter for society of Latvia.	Page 3, the column is not especially distinguished. Theme "Open letter to the society of Latvia"	Publishing of the letter in VZ is not understandable because such presentation of official's opinion is not typical for the format of VZ. Letter is supplemented with a photograph of A. Lembergs.
Ventas Balss	02.03.	"Lembergs takes on political and magical responsibility".	Page 3, column is not especially distinguished. Theme "Open letter to the society of Latvia"	Letter can be regarded as a hidden Advertising because it was published on the page where there are other materials of news value. In this way special significance is provided to an opinion of exactly this official.
Diena	07.03	"I do not endanger democracy, but you do"	"Komentāri un viedokļi" („Comments and opinions)	Material cannot be regarded as a hidden Advertising because it is published in the column where traditionally various opinions are reflected. Besides the note from the editorial staff is added to the material which supports why to the contrary of initial decision not to publish articles by deputy candidates letter it still published.
Ventas Balss	09.03.	"I do not endanger democracy, but you do"	Page 5, column is not especially distinguished, theme "Open letter"	Letter can be regarded as a hidden Advertising because it is published on the page where other materials are of news value and in such a way special significance is given to exactly this official.

## Magazines

Both weekly and monthly magazines are especially favored for possible hidden advertisers due to following reasons:

1. They are published more seldom therefore the readers return to them repeatedly;
2. Interviews published in the magazines due to their format are favorable for detailed descriptions to enhance the characteristics of the personality;
3. Hidden Advertising published in the magazine is less visible it fits better in the whole context of the magazine and therefore it is more influential.

Generally observing the performance of the magazines it must be noted that the majority of them were honest to their audience and respectively marked those publications, which were paid by the parties.

## "Ieva"

The only material selected in this magazine was an interview with the Ventspils City Council Mayor Aivars Lembergs "Money is not everything", which was published three days prior to the elections – on March 9. This complementary and positive interview shortly before the elections provided positive publicity and an opportunity for A. Lembergs to justify the critique previously provided in other media. Large size photographs with A. Lembergs' family and him in his youth were attached to the article. Journalist constructs easy and general questions which often remind of commentaries, for example, "it is said that your political influence and say is disappearing ...", also "well, there is a lot you are blamed for".<sup>85</sup>

Although in the beginning of the interview there is an explanation that the interview with A. Lembergs is published in order to accentuate politically neutral position of a publishing house "Santa" (in magazine "Klubs" there was an interview published with an opponent of A. Lembergs - Olafs Berķis), the authors of the project received several complaints from long term readers of the magazine that the magazine has let down their trust by publishing interview with A. Lembergs<sup>86</sup>.

Inga Gorbunova (magazine "Ieva" editor in chief) "In relation to the material published in „Ieva” „Money is not everything” unfortunately I can only say that the material was prepared and published in pursuance of the order issued by the managers - owner and publisher of „Ieva” – „Publishing house magazine Santa.”

I. Gorbunova, "Ieva", editor in chief

## "Nedēļa"

The magazine in January 6 issue had chosen a person of the week - Andris Bērziņš and supports this choice by the fact that A. Bērziņš is approved in the list of the GFU with the first number. However, A. Bērziņš has indicated that he has not given final consent yet. That does not stop „Nedēļa” from preparing a positive portrait of A. Bērziņš. His political neutrality is accentuated, discussions with the GFU about running for the elections and the reasons why the GFU invited A. Bērziņš in their list are reflected. The potential candidate is described as the first banker known in Latvia, who has decided to get involved in politics and "his contacts and experience in financial issues would be useful for any party"<sup>87</sup>.

## "Rīgas laiks"

In the magazine "Rīgas laiks" material from February issue, page 79 is selected.<sup>88</sup> Under the headline „Latvian literary anecdotes" a large photograph with smiling D.Īvāns and president Vaira Vīķe – Freiberga is published. None of the anecdotes published below mention neither D.Īvāns nor Vaira Vīķe – Freiberga. Besides neither are authors who traditionally are personages of this

<sup>85</sup> Renāte Priede "Money is not everything"// Ieva - 09.03.2005. – pages from 10-13

<sup>86</sup> For example, yearly reader of "Ieva" from Talsi, 12.03.2005.

<sup>87</sup> "Banker will stand as candidate for chair of Riga Mayor"// Nedēļa - 06.01.2005. - page 8

<sup>88</sup> "Latvian literary anecdotes"// Rīgas laiks – February of 2005

column. It must be added that in none of the previous issues anecdotes were supplemented with photographs and being in a photograph in the magazine together with the popular president brings positive publicity for D. Īvāns. To compare publications on Juris Lujāns may be mentioned, which often were supplemented with photographs, where he can be seen together with the president<sup>89</sup>. These publications were marked as paid for. Materials published by "Rīgas laiks" are selected according to the criteria 1 which describes publication of the photograph with a deputy candidate having no relation with the given article.

### *"Sieviete"*

In the February issue of the magazine in the column "Sievietes vīrietis" (*"Woman's man"*) an interview with the chairman of the Development committee of the Riga City Council A. Ameriks titled: "From absolute practice to absolute imagination and illusions" was published. This interview provided with an opportunity for A. Ameriks to appear in a positive light – as a very busy and active employee of the Municipal ("Life here is in full swing: people come here with their troubles, proposals and interests"<sup>90</sup>), as good and understanding manager ("we speak [...] so that the resident of Rīga is actually heard"<sup>91</sup>), as a book collector ("It can be said to children – see, this is how a really good quality book should look like"), as unselfish employee ("this is why I have name, private place which should be, but first of all is work") and as a responsible politician who is also ready to lose ("if it is taken as a private property then sooner or later there will be a failure." In addition to that the interview is concluded with the question "Is there anything that you would like to say? That you would like to answer?". The interview is selected according to the criteria 6 - journalist constructs uniform questions with aim to highlight positive features of the personality of the deputy candidate.

Andris Ameriks was interviewed not as a politician but as a man, a father and a husband. As a person with his own opinions on certain issues – history, literature, life philosophy, hobbies. The readers of our magazine are introduced with the persons mainly in the form of an interview so that afterwards they could freely make conclusions themselves. Evija Kukuvasa, "Sieviete", editor in chief

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<sup>89</sup> For example "Juris Lujans does not want to live just for himself"// Privātā dzīve – 08.03.2005

<sup>90</sup> Liene Ulbina, "From absolute practice to absolute phantasm and illusions"// Sieviete – February, 2005 – pages from 10-13

<sup>91</sup> The same place

## Appendix No. 1. Analyzed media

### 7 national TV channels:

Latvian Television channel 1 (LTV1), Latvian Television channel 7 (LTV7), Latvian Independent Television (LNT), TV5 Riga (TV5), TV3, 3+, First Baltic Channel (PBK)

### 8 regional TV channels:

Dautkom TV, TV Company of Kuldīga, Ogre TV, Rēzekne TV, TV Dzintare, TV Miljons, Ventspils TV, Valmiera TV

### 8 radio stations:

Latvian Radio 1 (LR1), Latvian Radio 2 (LR2), Latvian Radio 4 – Dom's square (LR4), Radio SWH (SWH), Radio SWH+ (SWH+), Skonto, Star FM, Radio PIK.

### 85 printed press publications and their supplementary issues (including 40 regional):

#### Newspapers

1	Diena
2	Dienas Bizness
3	Biznes & Baltija (Russian lang.)
4	Latvijas Avīze
5	NRA
6	Rīgas Balss
7	<i>Vakara Ziņas</i>
8	Subbota (Russian lang.)
9	Chas (Russian lang.)
10	Vesti (Russian lang.)
11	Vesti Segodņa (Russian lang.)
12	Televīzijas Programma
13	7 Sekretov (Russian lang.)
14	Telegraf (Russian lang.)
15	MK-Latvija (Russian lang.)
16	Komersant Baltic Daily (Russian lang.)
17	Latvijas Vēstnesis

#### Supplementary issues

Sestdiena	Izklaide
Mājas Viesis	
Māja	Atpūta.TV Mēs
Teleprogramma (Russian lang.)	
TV Programma (Russian lang.)	

#### Magazines

1	Rīgas Laiks
2	Santa
3	Klubs
4	Veselība
5	Sieviete
6	Mūsmājas
7	Lilit (Russian lang.)
8	Ieva
9	Una
10	Їubļu (Russian lang.)
11	Privātā Dzīve
12	Kapitāls
13	Dārza Pasaule
14	Pastaiga
15	Rīgas Viļņi Laimīgā Programma
16	Patron (Russian lang.)
17	Eva (Russian lang.)
18	Cosmopolitan
19	Nedēļa

20	Impulss
21	FHM
22	Copes Lietas
23	Mērķis
24	Apelsīns
25	Māja & Dārzs
26	Ščastļivije Luģi (Russian lang.)
27	ŽZL (Russian lang.)
28	Latvijas Pasta žurnāls

**Regional newspapers**

		<b><u>Area</u></b>
1	Alūksnes Ziņas	Alūksne
2	Auseklis	Limbaži
3	Bauskas Dzīve	Bauska
4	Brīvā Daugava	Jēkabpils
5	Brīvā Daugava (Russian lang.)	Jēkabpils
6	Dinaburg Segodnja (Russian lang.)	Daugavpils
7	Druva	Cēsis
8	Dzirkstele	Gulbene
9	Ezerzeme	Krāslava
10	Vietējā Latgales Avīze	Rēzekne, Daugavpils, Krāslava, Ludza, Preiļi
11	Kursas Laiks	Liepāja
12	Kurzemes Vārds	Liepāja
13	Kurzemes Vārds (Russian lang.)	Liepāja
14	Kurzemnieks	Kuldīga
15	Latgales Laiks	Daugavpils
16	Latgales Laiks (Russian lang.)	Daugavpils
17	Liesma	Valmiera
18	Ludzas Zeme (Russian lang.)	Ludza
19	Malienas Ziņas	Alūksne
20	Million (Russian lang.)	Daugavpils
21	Naša Gazeta (Russian lang.)	Daugavpils
22	Neatkarīgās Tukuma Ziņas	Tukums
23	Novadnieks	Preiļi
24	Novaja Gazeta (Russian lang.)	Jelgava
25	Ogres Vēstis	Ogre
26	Ogres Ziņas	Ogre
27	Panorama Rezekne (Russian lang.)	Rēzekne
28	Rēzeknes Vēstis	Rēzekne
29	Rīgas Apriņķa Avīze	Rīgas raj.
30	Saldus Zeme	Saldus
31	Seichas (Russian lang.)	Daugavpils
32	Staburags	Aizkraukle
33	Stars	Madona
34	Talsu Vēstis	Talsi
35	Tukuma Ziņotājs	Tukums
36	Vaduguns	Balvi
37	Ventas Balss	Ventspils
38	Zemgale	Dobeles

39  
40

Zemgales Ziņas  
Ziemeļlatvija

Jelgava  
Valka

## Appendix No. 2. Commentary by editors

The media	Commentator	Comment
Ogres Vēstis	Jānis Mozulis, SIA "District newspaper "OGRES VĒSTIS"" Ltd. Director / member of the board, newspaper "Ogres Vestis" deputy editor	<p>Three materials [...] of possible hidden Advertising accounted for in your research are real pre-election political advertisements, which are officially paid for. Due to technical reasons there are no notes included indicating that it is a paid political advertisement. However, the way it is presented, the presence of the logo and other attributes in our opinion clearly indicate to the reader that it IS a political advertisement. We believe that the note with an indication that it is paid for and who has paid for it, and how much and maybe in which currency is of no relevance to the readers when they make their choice.</p> <p>Publication by Kristīne Zaķe "Latvia's Way" in Ogre – with renewed strength for a modern city" according to our concept and methodology is neither a hidden nor open political Advertising and because of this it definitely is also not paid for. It is the information for the readers on the news of political life in Ogre district (in this case – on the change of a chairman of LW Ogre division). Similarly we have also informed about activities and problems of the foundation of political organization „For Ogre county” (<i>“Ogres novadam”</i>), about the meeting of a party „New Era” Ogre division and the delegation of the participants to NE convention, about the Minister of Finance O.Spurdziņš, delegated by PP visit in Ogre etc.</p> <p>Surely, considering the opinion of hypermodern journalism these were not sterile, photographic messages but also included elements of reportage, with short quotations by participants of the events – so that the reader could understand what is it that everyone ate, eats and will eat...</p>
Ogres Ziņas	Inta Stīpniece (editor)	<p>This is in no case hidden Advertising because on January 8 it could not come to anybody's mind that the owner of "Triāls" Ludvigs Tribockis will be a candidate for the Municipal elections. At that time there were rumors that Tribockis might get involved in some party. He denied it and said that if he will get involved in the politics then just from a position of a supporter. Until that date meeting of "New Era" Ogre division had not taken place yet, where journalists could start noticing the coincidences – for example, that Tribockis participated in this meeting.</p> <p>Secondly, since the existence of "Ogres Ziņas" every year we have paid attention to this family who suffered in fire and all these years one company - "Triāls" has unselfishly helped them. And here it is not significant whether the elections are coming or not. This company once a year visits the family with presents, items necessary for school, but last time it contributed to the family 1,000 Lats, which was an extremely important support for them.</p>
Rīgas Aprīņķa Avīze	Sanita Stroda (editor in chief)	<p>The article you have mentioned [...] is a report on the meeting of "Rīgas aprīņķa avīze" editorial staff with the residents of Sigulda county. As of January of this year we have started broad marketing and advertising activities for our newspaper and promotion of the newspaper among the residents is one of our activities. The meeting was attended by approximately 100 Sigulda county residents. An objective of the meeting was to inform about the planned changes in the newspaper (increase in the number of pages, full color separation, 60 anniversary of "Rīgas aprīņķa avīze" coming up this summer, creation of the feedback with the readers etc.) In order to learn more about the important issues of the residents and to make the meeting more productive, by placing Advertising in the newspaper, we also invited officials of the Sigulda town council, managers of public organizations and others who had interest (anyone who had interest!). And as the evening progressed the debates became rather intense. The headline of the article "For</p>

		<p>successful cooperation in the future" can be regarded to as the cooperation of "Rīgas aprīņķa avīze" with its readers.</p> <p>This was not our only meeting with the readers, there were other meetings after that as well. [...].</p>
Vietējā Latgales avīze	Ināra Zeļča (editor)	<p>[...]editorial board of the newspaper decided to provide [an opportunity] for all the town municipalities of Latgale to account for the accomplished one time free of charge. [<i>a list of published materials follows</i>]</p> <p>A remark about Rēzekne. As our journalist in Rēzekne had started to work only in November of the last year then I provided an opportunity for the Rēzekne city Municipal to write for themselves. The story was written by the head of the public relations department Skaidrite Baltace.</p>
Naša Gazeta	Oļegs Gušķins (editor)	<p>Openly speaking we do not assume your selected articles as hidden Advertising because the law "On printed press and other mass media" does not prescribe concept of hidden Advertising but „Radio and Television law" cannot be referred to the activity of the newspapers. Also we would like to inform that one of your indicated articles – "New Era stands for sport" was paid advertisement. Because we do not know the criteria according which you have selected the articles and regarded them as hidden advertisement.</p>
Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze	Armands Puče (editor in chief)	<p>Your research project strongly indicates on a wish – to uptake financing from the EU funds at any price. If only this wish would be grounded with respective quality methodology... Unfortunately in this case it is not so, this is why I assume that this specific endeavor is only an unsuccessful experiment and people involved in it were unaware of what exactly they were looking for.</p> <p>Conclusion: I suggest taking out a patent for this research module because it can serve as a basis for other similar cases when there is a wish to fool EU funds. Obviously the bureaucracy of the European Union easily falls for it, only it is a pity that it serves as basis to further misinform the society of Latvia.</p>
Rīgas Balss	Iveta Mediņa (editor in chief)	<p>Most of the publications generally have no relation neither to hidden, nor open advertisement. The city newspaper simply does its job – writes about the city events [...]</p> <p>I, being an editor, cannot accept any reprimands about the fact that we have reflected, for example, events in the Riga City Council. Should we change this structure during the election time and offer information vacuum to the readers? No, "Rīgas Balss" definitely will not do that. I will note that traditionally when we criticize officials of the City Council we do not prohibit for them to express their opinion. "Rīgas Balss" cannot turn into a barking dog just because some non-governmental organization with a conception (or without it) prepares the "dark top lists" of hidden advertisements. But more specific explanation about all this will be found in an official reply. I hope that it will bring more clarity. Thank you once again for showing your will to listen to the opinion of the journalists.</p>
Bizness& Baltija	Aleksejs Ščerbakovs (editor in chief)	<p><b>Inhabitants of Riga choose PAFHRUL, 13.01.</b> – Material was published in the column "Korotko" ("<i>Shortly</i>"), where there is only information published supplied by the agencies BNS and LETA, reference to them is provided.</p> <p><b>Andris Ravins: "Preconditions for producers must be established", 28.01.</b> – It was Jelgava city "Vestnik" ("<i>Herald</i>") where the story was told about the firms operating in Jelgava.</p>

		<p>Such a form is used very often and traditionally "Vestnik" starts with an interview provided by the Mayor of this or another city. Mayors do not get paid for this because we prepare the material on the city development.</p> <p><b>"For ever young," 04.02.</b> – Survey where popular persons – politician, entrepreneur etc, participated. Such a form is used very often with an objective to comment some event, issue etc. This time the issue was about St.Valentine's day. S.Dolgopolovs is a popular politician among the Russian audience and this is why the journalists addressed him for the comment. There is no hidden Advertising in this article.</p> <p><b>Gundars Bojārs, "Era of collapse is behind", 25.02.</b></p> <p><b>"Transportation for the public", 07.03.</b></p> <p>Both materials were paid for by the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party. In the second article (at the very end) there was a reference to that, in the first – due to technical reasons during the desk topping process it disappeared, but it is found in an electronic version of the newspaper (<a href="http://www.bb.lv">www.bb.lv</a>).</p>
Žurnāls "Ieva"	Inga Gorbunova (editor in chief)	<p>Inga Gorbunova (magazine "Ieva" editor in chief) "In relation to the material published in „Ieva” „Money is not everything” unfortunately I can only say that the material was prepared and published in pursuance of the order issued by the managers - owner and publisher of „Ieva” – „Publishing house magazine Santa.” Why publishers have taken such decision is explained in the introduction of the publication [...].</p> <p>I think that more detailed answer you will certainly receive from the owner and the editor in chief Santa Dansberga – Anča or the chairman of the board Ivars Zariņš of the Publishing house "SIA Magazine "Santa"".</p>
Žurnāls "Sieviete"	Evija Kukuvasa (editor in chief)	<p>I would like to comment on the material published in the magazine "Sieviete" February issue:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- This publication was the main interview of the magazine, which is planned for every month. We choose the persons for the interview considering current events. In this way we inform our audience about the individuals involved in current events and that provides the feeling of presence for the readers.</li> <li>- Individuals chosen for an interview represent different positions or occupations with an objective to introduce the readers with the people around us from several perspectives and in a more varied way. Besides, the interviews do not emphasize the main point of identification for a certain person but through the interview we provide to the readers information about other social roles of this person in an objective and honest way of providing information. More about the interview in February - Andris Ameriks was interviewed not as a politician but as a man, a father and a husband. As a person with his own opinions on certain issues – history, literature, life philosophy, hobbies.</li> </ul> <p>Readers of our magazine were introduced with the persons mainly in the form of interview so that afterwards they could freely make conclusions themselves. We have provided clarity and unambiguity of the material, which is based on question – answer format.</p> <p>As you know, the work of a journalist for periodical issues is bit different from the daily issues, which publish current information</p>

		<p>on recent events. Their information source sometimes can provide inadequate information. In these cases direct responsibility by a journalist concerning the facts mentioned in the publication would be necessary.</p> <p>The interviews we have published are based on an individual, on the answers provided by him/her. There is only one information source – just this person. Answers published in the interview are confirmed with the person interviewed to ensure that the distortion and misstatement of facts would not be linked with the activities of our journalist.</p> <p>Comment expressed by a journalist is clearly separated from the text of the interview – both in the lead, and in the conclusion. The interview is direct, without addition of the comments or opinions by a journalist.</p>
TV Dzintare	Simona Laiveniece (managing director)	<p>About the receiving of your electronic mail regarding the possible hidden Advertising in “TV Dzintare” it should be reminded that I have already expressed my opinion in an explanation provided to the NRTC. There I emphasized that I consider such ungrounded conclusions a censorship and intervention in the work of broadcast editorial staff.</p> <p>We have expressed our opinion at your working group meeting.</p>
Newspaper “Million” and TV Miljons	Grigorijs Nemcovs („Latgale reklāma” Ltd., Member of the Board)	<p>Dear ladies and gentlemen! In answering to your letter <b><u>we repeatedly turn your attention</u></b> to the fact that in the newspaper „Miljons” under all the articles, which mention politicians and political parties there is a specifically enhanced indication about which party has paid for the article.</p> <p>[About the broadcast of 23.01.] Handing out lists, this is why there was an answer broadcast by the representative of LL – the interview was objective.</p> <p>[About the news broadcast of 04.02.] We admit that because of the incompetence the journalist reflected the event incorrectly and unprofessionally.</p> <p>[About the live broadcast of 04.02. from the studio] – opinion of the residents.</p> <p>[About the broadcast V.I.P. of 06.02] Affiliation to any of the parties is not mentioned. Politics is not talked about.</p> <p>[About the broadcast “Light of Latgale on air” of 06.02.] At the end of the broadcast there was a reference indicating which party paid for this broadcast.</p> <p>[About the broadcast “With the view on the town”] Already for 3 years it is a weekly broadcast with the participation of the City Mayor. Political affiliation and position of the Mayor is not mentioned in the broadcast, but rather the important issues in city life.</p>
Ventspils TV	Aleksandrs Mirvis (Member of Board)	<p>[...] I cannot agree that these TV reports contain features of possible hidden Advertising because the sound bites included in these reports in my opinion cannot be called comments (they do not contain opinion, attitude and evaluation, only facts announced by an official who is responsible for the area being discussed in the TV report). Our journalists verified all the facts provided the by officials and they were correct. Ventspils television regularly uses an opportunity to obtain information concerning the daily life of the residents of Ventspils from</p>

		<p>respective officials from the city Municipal and city enterprises. In the situation with the restricted materially – technical base of the local television, use of sound bites acquired during regular press conferences and briefings organized by respective structures of the municipalities is a good opportunity to provide competent, timely information on various issues to the residents of Ventspils.</p> <p>In relation to the reports [14.02. and 15.02.2005] I have to agree that the fact that in the report there is no sound bite of the Minister of Regional Development and Municipal Affairs Māris Kučinskis seems illogical. However, in this case the issue may be a technical type of mistake by an author of the material instead of hidden Advertising (due to the intense agenda of the Minister's visit and the busy shooting schedule of Ventspils television film groups on the day of the visit, the authors of the material did not know how to obtain respective interview).</p> <p>[...] I consider that the materials you have mentioned do not contain features of possible hidden advertisement. And at the same time I am ready to admit that our editorial staff has permitted few professional mistakes and deficiencies. However, they have not mislead the TV audience and do not demonstrate our political engagement.</p>
LTV	Jānis Holšteins (Director General)	<p>LTV carefully followed its broadcasted programs and TV shop displays, by controlling and preventing cases of placement of hidden political advertisement. In total there were more than 20 cases there were suspicions of the hidden political advertisement. Concerning that producers of these programs and the TV shop displays were reprovved and in several cases fines were applied. All the cases pointed out in your letter [speaking about LTV 7 programs] were identified [<i>overview of content of program and submitter of program is given</i>]. Letters were sent to all the creators of the TV shop displays informing that according to the legislation <i>On regulations of the pre-election campaign of the state non-profit company "Latvian Television" during the pre-election period prior to 2005 Municipal elections</i>, persons who are registered as deputy candidates cannot participate in TV programs, except for the cases when such participation is necessary in order to provide content of full value. Producer of the program must approve such programs with a responsible editor for the contents of the respective channel. Because such an approval was not received, it can be regarded as a breach of contractual liabilities.</p> <p>In relation to the <b>pre-election campaign</b> of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party (LSDWP) we explain the following. Accordingly to the law <i>On pre-election campaign prior to the Municipal elections</i> prior to the aforementioned pre-election campaign, a 3 second long announcement was broadcast which stated that the campaign was commissioned by the LSDWP. Also it was broadcast in an Advertising section which was marked in the beginning and at the end: "Paid pre-election campaign". The radio and television law prohibits using images and voice material of such persons who regularly host news programs or programs about socially current issues. The law does not prescribe</p>

		<p>advertising format or the length of the broadcast. Because the respective pre-election campaign was hosted by an actress, then the norms prescribed by the Radio and television law were not violated and it cannot be assumed that the form of the Advertising or the time of the broadcast was misleading to the audience. It was clearly indicated that it was a paid pre-election campaign; as well as it was indicated who was paying for it.</p>
LR – 4 Doma laukums	Ilona Madesova (director)	<p>On February 8, 2005 [...] the report was broadcast on the presentation of Riga development plan. The opinions by the Riga Mayor G. Bojārs and the head of Riga City Council Development committee were broadcast because exactly these gentlemen were competent for commenting changes in the plan after the public discussion was held.</p> <p>On February 22, 2005 [...] the subject was opening of the Book exchange club. Taking into account the current book prices the idea of a book exchange seemed important enough. Various opinions were broadcast in the material [...] Including the opinion by S.Dolgopolovs because out of all the participants, he turned to be the only one who had attended events of a similar club in the Soviet times and thus he was able comment their relevance. The director of the Latvian Radio news service J.Rozenbergs can provide the commentary about the material of J. Hlevickis. J. Rozenbergs already provided his comments to the NRTC.</p>
Radio PIK	Jūlija Bukovska (director of finances)	<p>I carefully listened to the recording of the Informative program "Radio Tjorki" from February 1, 2005 from 12:11 p.m. till 12:54 p.m. and I did not recognize the fact of hidden advertisement. Subject of the program was integration of the society. During the program discussion progressed according to the calls received from the audience during the live broadcast. Hosts of the program themselves did not name any specific party.</p> <p>"Alfred Petrovič..." without naming specific surname was mentioned only in the context of the debate noting the members of the communist party (in Soviet times) and adding that currently the former members of the communist party belong to other parties and assume different posts for a long time, except of "Alfred Petrovič" who has not changed his opinions. The title of the association "Homeland" appeared in the program just in the context of the debate. The host of the program commented a call received from the listener. It was the listener, who started the debate about the association "Homeland".</p> <p>The title association "D" (for "Dzimtene" – "Homeland")(with a comments that the DJ cannot advertise any specific party) was broadcasted only because we really try to exclude cases of hidden Advertising in accordance with the information that we receive from your centre. We participate in seminars and explain to our employees the features of hidden advertisements. That is exactly how it happened in this specific case as well. The host of the program could not discontinue the debate on air and because of the suspicions that it may be a case of hidden Advertising he said "association "D"". That could be any party or association depending on the interests or the questions formulated by the radio listeners.</p> <p>On February 18, 2005 the host of this program Grigorijs Konoņenko will take part in the discussion. Perhaps he will be</p>

		able to answer the questions of the debate in a more appropriate way.
Diena	Sarmīte Ēlerte, editor in chief	<p>Thanks for your offer to comment the article of G. Bojārs! I do not agree that this article contains hidden Advertising because:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. All the important opinions are represented in the article;</li> <li>2. When describing opinions of the main political players and outlining programs, the proportion of amount is observed;</li> <li>3. Visual presentation of the article is balanced and proper;</li> <li>4. The headline does not express positive attitude towards any of the parties as it implies irony and it is clear when reading the article;</li> <li>5. [...] turned out that hidden Advertising is seen in the lead. However the author's explanation seems justified that in the lead he included the most current issues, the most striking event at the moment, which describes precisely the opponents in the elections.</li> </ol> <p>Besides, this article lacks the most important feature of a hidden Advertising – it is not hidden advertisement. It has not been commissioned.</p> <p>"Diena" Sarmīte Elerte, editor in chief</p>