



MEDIA MONITORING

In the Campaign for 2019 Parliamentary Elections

*Report no. 2
25-31 January 2019*

(general conclusions)



This report is produced by the Independent Journalism Center (IJC) and the Association of Independent Press (API), under a media monitoring project, implemented with the financial support of National Endowment for Democracy (USA), Swedish Government, and the US Agency for International Development (USAID). The opinions expressed therein belong to the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the donors.

I. GENERAL DATA

1.1 Objective of the project: monitor and inform the public about media behavior in the pre-election period and during the campaign for the 2019 parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova.

1.2 Monitoring period: 9 January 2019 – 24 February 2019.

1.3 Criteria for selecting the media outlets to be monitored:

The media outlets were selected based on the following criteria: a) form of ownership; b) geography; c) broadcasting language; d) fame/audience. Thus, we are monitoring public and private media outlets, with national, quasi-national and regional coverage, in Romanian and in Russian.

1.4 Media outlets monitored:

Broadcast media

Moldova 1, GRT, Prime TV, Canal 2, Canal 3, Publika TV, Jurnal TV, NTV Moldova, Pro TV Chişinău, TV8, Accent TV, TV Centrală.

Online portals and print media

Agora.md, Aif.md, Deschide.md, Diez.md, Esp.md, Gagauzinfo.md, Jurnal de Chişinău (ziar), Kp.md, Moldova.org, Newsmaker.md, Noi.md, Realitatea.md, Sputnik.md, Timpul.md, Unimedia.info, Zdg.md

1.5 Subject-matter of monitoring

TV (18:00-22:00 interval)

- A. One newscast in Russian and one in Romanian;
- B. Programs (talk shows) with electoral character;
- C. Election debates.

Online portals and print media

The entire editorial content, without the publicity marked accordingly.

1.6. The team

The project is implemented within the Coalition for Free and Fair Elections by the Independent Journalism Center (TV monitoring) and the Association of Independent Press (online and print media monitoring).

1.7 Methodological framework

The data were collected and analyzed based on a monitoring methodology developed by Oxford Media Research Center for the monitoring projects of the international organization Article 19: Global Campaign for Free Expression. The methodology was updated at the end of 2018 and beginning of 2019 with the assistance of the experts of the Italian organization Osservatorio di Pavia.

This methodology's characteristics are as follows: use of indicators 1) *quantitative*, including type, duration, topic of coverage, news sources, frequency and duration of appearance of election candidates in news, and 2) *qualitative*, designed to evaluate the tone of coverage:

neutral, positive or negative, considering the attitude of the media outlet and/or journalist to each protagonist.

The monitoring focuses on two main components: assessment of *social pluralism* and of *political pluralism* in the media, which implies measuring the diversity of opinions and multitude of voices in the items with electoral content. We are monitoring all items with direct or indirect election content and all items in which representatives of parties or candidates appear, even though the items are not directly related to the elections. In addition, we are monitoring all items dealing with the work of the Government, Parliament and President's Office, as these protagonists play an important role in the public space.

Each item is subject to a content and context evaluation to determine the tonality of coverage. Tonality is assigned by assessing the presence 1) of the *explicit opinion*, expressed by the media to the protagonists, and 2) of the *framing*¹ of the events or subjects that may favor or disfavor the protagonists.

The item's positive content and/or context does not necessarily indicate the bias or partisanship of the media outlet broadcasting the news. Only if there is a trend of favoring or disfavoring certain subjects for a certain period can we speak about lack of balance.

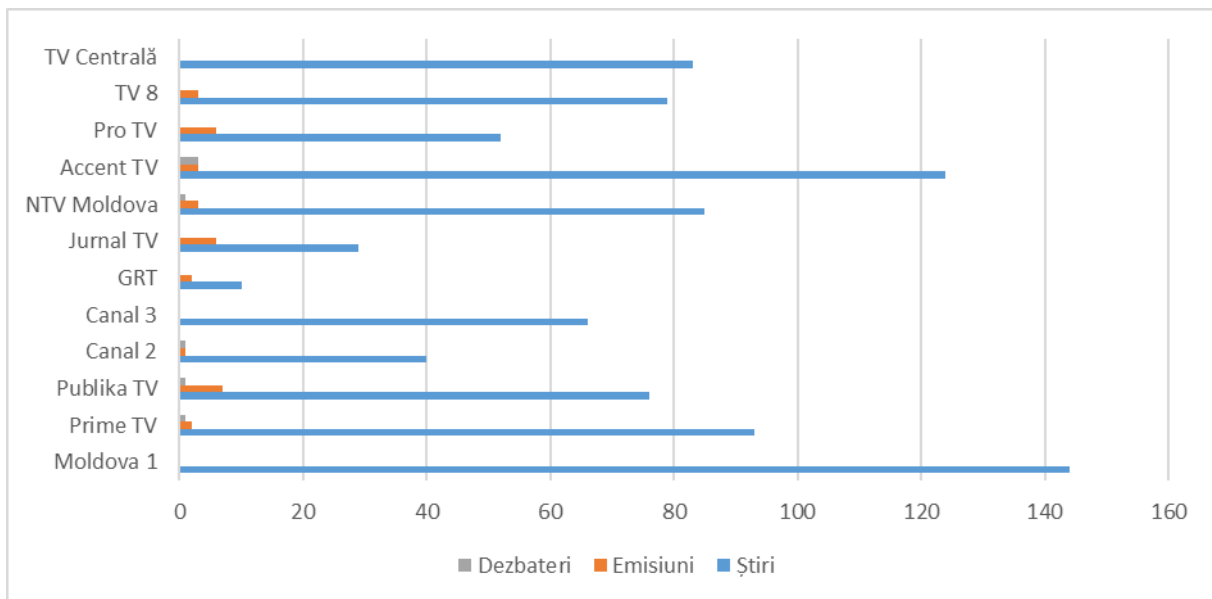
¹ Framing – selecting and highlighting certain sides of an event or subject and connecting them in such a way as to show a certain interpretation or solution <http://www.revistadesociologie.ro/pdf-uri/nr3-4-2011/07-N%20Corbu.pdf>

II. DATA ANALYSIS

2.1 Broadcast media

Frequency of coverage. In the first week of the election campaign (25-31 January 2019), the 12 TV stations monitored overall broadcast over one thousand items with direct and indirect electoral content, of which 996 news stories, 33 programs, and 14 debates. The total amount of the items was of about 72 hours, nearly 35.5 hours of which accounted for news, 26.5 hours – for opinion programs, and circa 10 hours – for debates.

Frequency of news stories, programs and debates, per TV station



Topical diversity. The subjects tackled by most media monitored most of the times concerned the election process – filing of signature lists and registration of candidates for the elections; the voting procedure inside and outside the country, etc. Another part of the items treated political subjects – activities with the involvement of the candidates and political parties, launching of candidates in the campaign within the national and uninominal constituencies, most of the times dealing with the allegations launched by some against the others. Items on social issues, foreign relations, the economic, health care, sports, culture, entertainment, and corruption areas followed at a great distance. They were mainly concerned in items with indirect electoral content – salary increases by the current governance, launching of disease prevention programs, President Dodon’s visit to Moscow etc. Items related to charity, the Transnistrian region, education, human rights, the Transnistrian problem, legal framework, minorities and European integration were tackled more rarely. The biggest diversity in terms of topics was found on the stations Jurnal TV (election, political, economic, corruption etc. processes), TV 8 (political, election process, integrity, human rights, social issues, corruption etc.), NTV Moldova and Accent TV (political, election process, foreign relations, social area).

Social pluralism. In documenting their items, besides the political players and the candidates, most of the stations used various social sources – the citizens, representatives of the Central Election Commission (CEC), of the civil society, local and foreign experts, representatives of

the Police/Army etc. The priority is held by sources from the citizens' category, which were found in news with Vox Populi elements, with citizens asked to express their opinions about certain social and political issues, as well as in campaign news, with citizens as supporters of certain candidates in uninominal constituencies.

The most diverse social sources were used in the items broadcast by TV8 (citizens, judges/lawyers, CEC, civil society, diplomats, civil servants) Jurnal TV (citizens, judges/lawyers, LPA, media, diplomats), Accent TV (citizens, experts, civil society, CEC, diplomats), Prime TV, Canal 3 and Publika TV (citizens, LPA, experts, state officials, police/army/, businesspeople).

Social sources and protagonists quoted or mentioned in news stories, programs and debates. 12 TV stations/Top 10

Sources and protagonists	Frequency
Citizens	651
Central Election Commission	131
Civil society – NGOs	78
Experts (foreign and local)	77
Police/army	57
Diplomats, foreign officials and observers	54
Media	52
Business	52
Judges, lawyers	52
Local Public Administration	43

Political pluralism. The items monitored in the first campaign week had party representatives and independent candidates as the main protagonists who either registered in the election campaign in national and uninominal constituencies or launched in the campaign. In addition, the representatives of the President's Office and especially President Dodon, next to Prime Minister Pavel Filip and other Government representatives who had not been relieved, made the subject-matter of many news stories as well as of programs on some stations monitored.

In terms of frequency and duration of screen appearances and direct interventions in news items, programs and debates, the most visible political players and candidates in the national constituency were the Democratic Party of Moldova (PDM), the Socialists Party of Moldova (PSRM), the Electoral Bloc ACUM, the Șor Political Party, and the Liberal Party (PL). Of the candidates registered in the elections in the uninominal constituencies, the most covered were Andrei Năstase (affiliated to the Bloc ACUM), Vladimir Plahotniuc (affiliated to PDM), Maia Sandu (affiliated to the Bloc ACUM), Vlad Bătrîncea (affiliated to PSRM) and Ilan Șor (affiliated to Șor Political Party).

The President and President's Office representatives appeared 179 times, with the duration of 13,511 sec. and direct interventions of 8,450 sec. Government representatives appeared 157 times, with the duration of 6,812 sec. and direct interventions of 6,124 sec. Parliament representatives appeared 31 times, for 3,032 sec. and 2,735 sec. of direct speech.

Frequency and duration of appearance in news items, programs and debates of political party representatives, candidates in the national constituency /12 TV stations /TOP 10

Protagonists	Candidate	Frequency	Duration of appearance, sec.	Duration of direct speech, sec
Democratic Party of Moldova	Yes	411	11027	7962
Socialists Party of Moldova	Yes	371	11723	6795
Electoral Bloc ACUM	Yes	364	9345	5649
Șor Political Party	Yes	162	2810	1493
Liberal Party	Yes	138	2564	1478
Communists Party of Moldova	Yes	97	703	60
Anti-Mafia People's Movement	Yes	67	1117	655
National Liberal Party	Yes	60	826	370
People's Will Political Party	Yes	55	1405	1102
Our Party	Yes	55	463	203

Frequency and duration of appearance in news items and programs of candidates in uninominal constituencies /12 TV stations /TOP 10

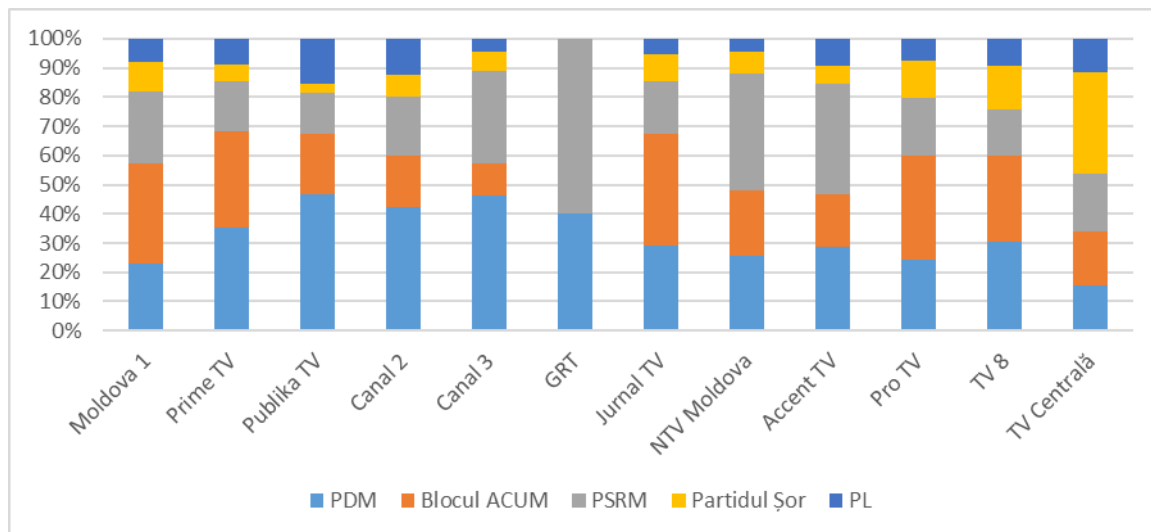
Protagonists	Political affiliation	Frequency	Volume of appearance, sec.	Duration of direct speech, sec
Năstase Andrei	Electoral Bloc ACUM	65	806	388
Plahotniuc Vladimir	Democratic Party of Moldova	53	2000	1058
Sandu Maia	Electoral Bloc ACUM	44	733	283
Bătrîncea Vlad	Socialists Party of Moldova	36	1639	1123
Șor Ilan	Șor Political Party	35	985	428
Munteanu Valeriu	Electoral Bloc ACUM	27	604	201
Greceanii Zinaida	Socialists Party of Moldova	24	794	414
Filip Pavel	Democratic Party of Moldova	19	528	347
Vieru Călin	Independent candidate	15	874	613
Roșca Vladimir	Socialists Party of Moldova	9	631	382

Frequency of appearance in debates of candidates in uninominal constituencies /12 TV stations/TOP 10

Protagonists	Political affiliation	Frequency	Volume of appearance, sec.	Duration of direct speech, sec
Bolea Vasile	Socialists Party of Moldova	2	1325	1325
Colun Grigore	Electoral Bloc ACUM	1	706	706
Lipskii Oleg	Socialists Party of Moldova	1	900	900
Rotaru Valentina	Democratic Party of Moldova	1	900	900
Bannicov Alexandr	Democratic Party of Moldova	1	855	855
Burgudji Serghei	Șor Political Party	1	900	900
Nedelea Veaceslav	Democratic Party of Moldova	1	480	480
Burduja Petru	Socialists Party of Moldova	1	480	480

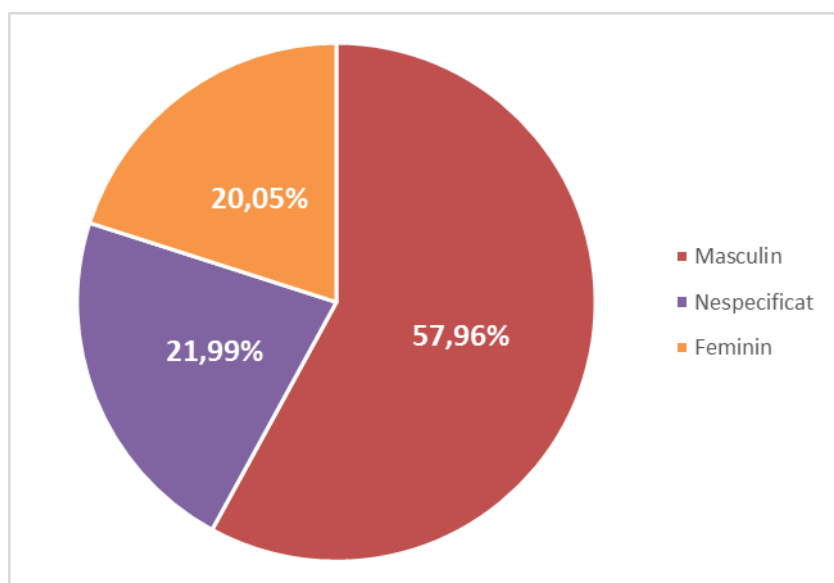
Stratulat Mihail	Democratic Party of Moldova	1	480	480
Cîrlig Mihail	Independent candidate	1	480	480

Frequency of coverage of political parties per TV station/National Constituency/TOP 5

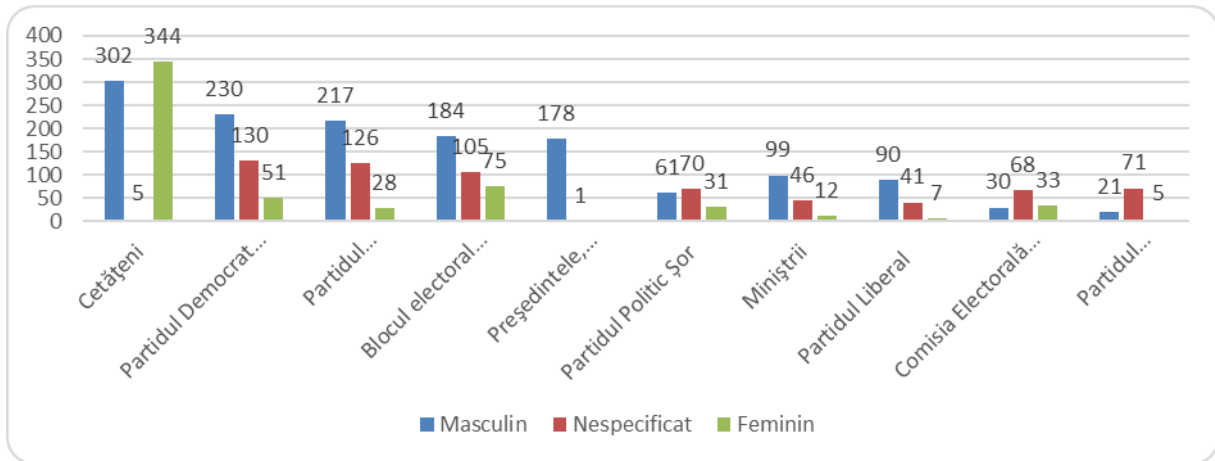


Gender balance. A large number of the items reviewed strongly lacked balance in terms of gender ratio, with most of the sources and protagonists quoted or mentioned by the 12 TV stations being males (58%) and female sources accounting for 20%. The only categories of sources/protagonists for which gender balance was secured was the citizens' category and the CEC, with more women than men quoted in the items with their presence. To note that the rate of female sources from the citizens category accounted for 38% of the total number of sources.

Rate of sources and protagonists from gender perspective

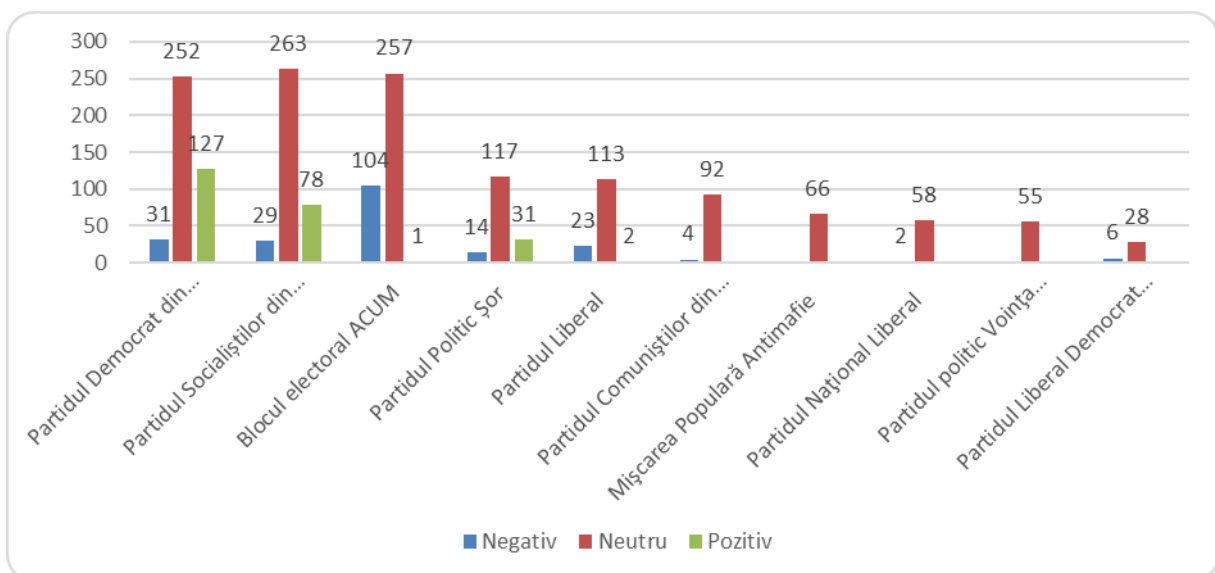


Most stations monitored used male sources when requesting opinions from civil society representatives, Government officials, LPA, experts etc. The share of women quoted/mentioned among the parties/candidates was low, with small exceptions. The best indicator for gender balance was registered on Jurnal TV – 33.3%, Canal 3 – 25%, Prime TV – 23.3%, and NTV – 22.75%.

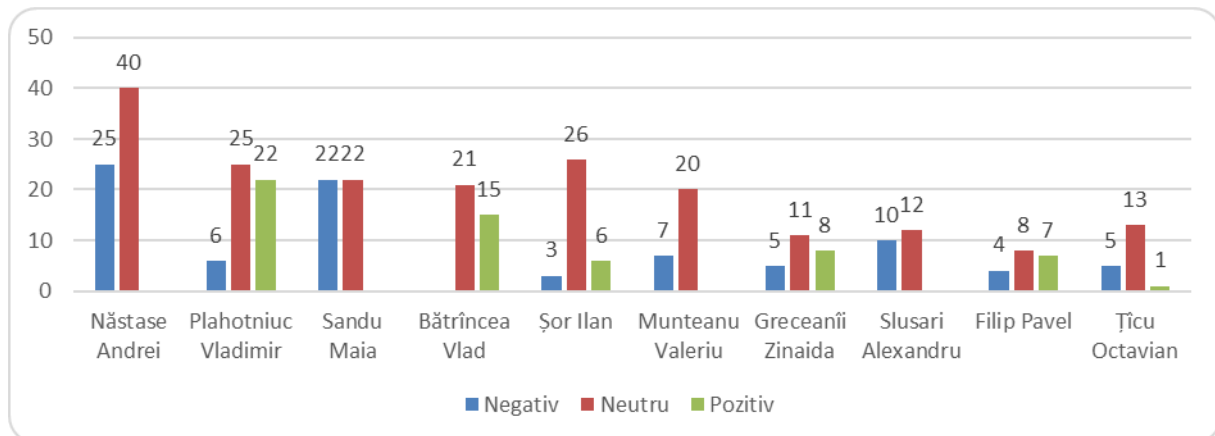


Tonality of coverage of candidates/General data, 12 TV stations. The PDM candidates in the national constituency were the ones to enjoy positive tonality most of the times, followed by PSRM and Șor Political Party. Similarly, the electoral players in uninominal constituencies affiliated to these parties were the protagonists of most items with positive tonality. In contrast, the Bloc ACUM appeared in negative tonality in most items, and so did the candidates in uninominal constituencies affiliated to this bloc. State institutions were covered rather on neutral and positive tonalities.

Tonality of coverage of candidates in news items, programs, debates/National Constituency, 12 TV stations



Tonality of coverage of candidates in news items, programs, debates/Uninominal Constituencies, 12 TV stations



Tonality of coverage of candidates per TV station

In the reporting period, the national public TV station **Moldova 1** offered space to many political players, candidates in the national constituency and in uninominal constituencies as well as to the main state institutions. The tonality of coverage was mostly neutral for most of them, except for the Cabinet of Ministers, towards whom four cases of positive tonality, favorable to the ruling party, were registered. Similarly, among the candidates in uninominal constituencies, Vladimir Plahotniuc, affiliated to PDM, was presented in four news items on positive tonality, and in four others – on neutral tonality (for more details, see Annex 1).

The public station **GRT** did not actively cover the election campaign, broadcasting few items relevant to this monitoring in the Russian language newscast, without displaying any tendencies of favoring or disfavoring certain political players.

The private stations with national coverage **Prime TV**, **Canal 2**, **Canal 3** and **Publika TV** had similar editorial policies, covering the election campaign in their news items and debates (on the topic of the national consultative referendum) as well as in programs in which subjects with indirect electoral content were discussed most of the times, with the participation of Government or PDM representatives. The PDM representatives and the candidates affiliated to this party as well as the Government representatives – Prime Minister and the ministers who had not been relieved – had access to these stations most of the times. The tonality of the coverage thereof was mainly positive and neutral, PDM being also favored by the presence of news on members of the Government. The representatives of the Electoral Bloc ACUM and the candidates in uninominal constituencies affiliated to this bloc were rather presented in images, mainly in items with negative connotation and with an insignificant duration of personal interventions.

NTV Moldova and **Accent TV** further massively granted air space both to PSRM representatives and the candidates in uninominal constituencies affiliated to this party, and to President Igor Dodon, the tonality of coverage being rather positive and neutral. PDM, the Bloc ACUM and Șor Party were covered neutrally and negatively.

The private stations **Pro TV**, **TV8** and **Jurnal TV** covered the work of many political players – parties, candidates in the national constituency and in uninominal constituencies,

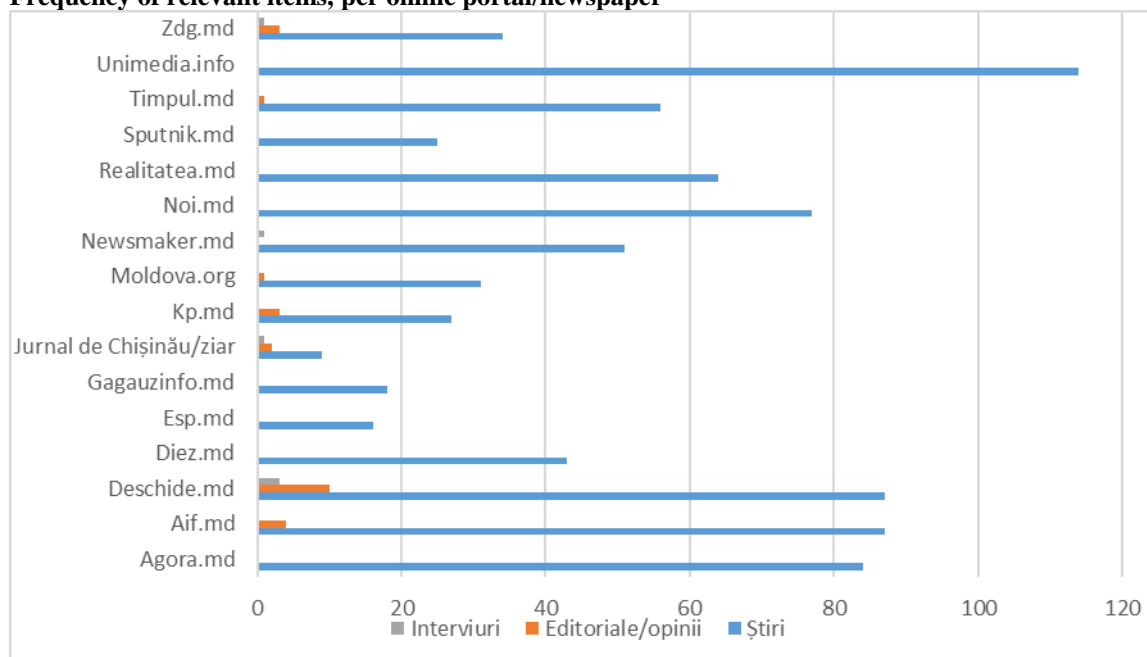
representatives of the President’s Office, Parliament and Government. In most cases, the tonality of coverage of political protagonists on these stations was neutral. In the vast majority of cases, the tonality of coverage of political protagonists in news on Pro TV, TV 8 and Jurnal TV was neutral. In the programs broadcast by Jurnal TV the tonality for the representatives of the Government, Parliament, PDM, and Șor Party was negative and neutral.

Televiziunea Centrală granted more space to Șor Political Party and the candidates affiliated to this party in uninominal constituencies for whom the tonality of coverage was rather positive and neutral.

2.2 ONLINE PORTALS AND PRINT MEDIA

Frequency of coverage. Between 25 and 31 January 2019, the 16 online portals and newspapers published in total 853 items with direct and indirect electoral content, including 823 news items, 24 editorials and other opinions, and 6 interviews that, in one way or another, concerned the campaign for the 2019 parliamentary elections. Some news items were accompanied by a video track. The total amount of items was 1,719,654 characters and 193,536 seconds or nearly 54 hours of video recordings. Most journalistic items relevant to this monitoring were published by the portals **Unimedia.info** (114) and **Deschide.md** (100). The most modest coverage of the campaign in this period was on the regional portals **Esp.md** (16) and **Gagauzinfo.md** (18 items). The newspaper *Jurnal de Chișinău* published 12 items relevant to this monitoring.

Frequency of relevant items, per online portal/newspaper



Topical diversity. Most media outlets monitored covered the most important campaign political events and published news on most candidates. The news referred to various candidates launching in the election campaign, their statements and the allegations of some against others, the replies of the ones concerned, the press releases of the candidates and their posts in the social media. To note that the items often lacked balance because they were based on information provided by one source. The unfolding of the election process as such and the work of CEC was also one of the most frequent topics. The media regularly published news

on CEC decisions, including on registering or rejecting candidates, examination of appeals filed by candidates, details on voting etc. Foreign relations and some social or economic issues were other topics tackled in electoral context.

Some portals showed a more creative approach in covering the election campaign. For instance, **Agora.md** published a test on the topic of election promises, entitled “Kolkhoz, Capital Punishment, or Fines for Spitting.” Several portals launched election debates with the candidates.

At the same time, some portals showed a selective approach in covering the campaign. The regional portals **Esp.md** (Bălți) and **Gagauzinfo.md** (Comrat) covered only the candidates from the respective regions, having also an obviously negative editorial approach to a certain candidate, on the one hand. The portals **Aif.md**, **Kp.md**, **Noi.md**, **Sputnik.md**, and **Timpul.md** screened the news depending on the political preferences, with completely omitting certain election events, on the other hand.

Social pluralism. In the report period, the online portals and newspapers monitored, in addition to the political players and candidates in the elections, used 969 sources and protagonists from other categories when documenting their items. Most often, this involved other media outlets, CEC representatives, citizens, foreign officials and observers, local and foreign experts etc. (*see the table*). **Newsmaker.md** and **Zdg.md** had sources from most various social areas in this period.

Social sources and protagonists quoted or mentioned in the items /16 media

Sources and protagonists	Frequency, no.
Media	203
Central Election Commission	158
Citizens	148
Diplomats, foreign officials and observers	79
Experts (foreign and local)	73
Initiative groups	67
Police/army	60
Judges, lawyers	60
Civil society – NGOs	53
Business	26
Government officials	22
Local Public Administration	17
Church	3

Political pluralism. The online portals and newspapers monitored overall had 1614 sources and protagonists from the political area, including candidate parties in the national election constituency, candidates in the uninominal constituencies or top representatives of the President’s Office, Parliament and Government. By frequency and duration of appearances (quotes/direct speech), the most visible candidates in the national constituency were PDM and the Socialists Party, followed by the Electoral Bloc ACUM, the Șor Party and the Communists Party. Some candidates (PDM, PSRM, the Electoral Bloc ACUM, and PL) also enjoyed relatively large space for direct speech. The PDM was the most visible one, in

various contexts, on 8 of the 16 media outlets monitored, PSRM – on 4, and the Electoral Bloc ACUM – on 3.

Frequency and duration of appearance of political party representatives, candidates in the national constituency /16 media /TOP 10

Sources and protagonists	Frequency, no.	Duration of appearance, characters	Duration of direct speech, characters
Democratic Party of Moldova	413	155579	43085
Socialists Party of Moldova	328	150176	43436
Electoral Bloc ACUM	252	126772	32163
Șor Political Party	136	60615	8764
Communists Party of Moldova	90	19328	8065
Liberal Party	74	32948	15868
Our Party	54	10215	0
Anti-Mafia People's Movement	35	12755	9806
People's Will Political Party	34	11952	2294
Democracy At Home Party	31	7185	0

The candidates registered for the elections in uninominal constituencies were referred to 426 times in total in the items published by the portals and newspapers monitored. By the frequency of their appearance, the total area and space offered for quotes/direct speech, the most covered were Pavel Filip, Vladimir Plahotniuc, Ilan Șor, Andrei Năstase, Maia Sandu and Valeriu Munteanu (*see the table; the candidates mentioned are included at least three times*).

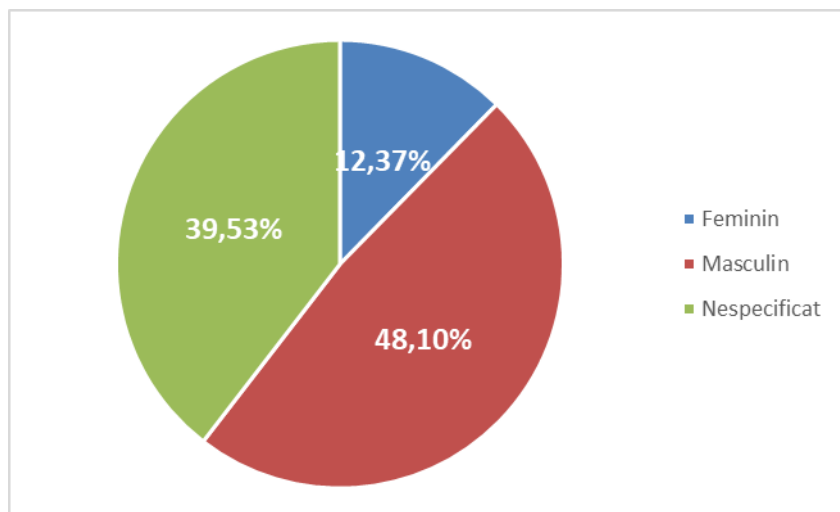
Frequency and duration of appearance of candidates in uninominal constituencies /16 media

Sources and protagonists	Frequency, no.	Duration of appearance, characters	Duration of direct speech, characters
Filip Pavel	32	30535	6988
Plahotniuc Vladimir	32	33684	7981
Șor Ilan	30	22324	7153
Năstase Andrei	29	18821	1120
Sandu Maia	25	22957	2117
Munteanu Valeriu	22	17485	3672
Țuțu Constantin	10	1218	0
Dudoglo Nicolai	10	10110	0
Țicu Octavian	9	5540	1001
Vieru Călin	9	8049	6122
Terguță Ion	9	9470	2317
Iordan Serghei	8	4768	0
Sîrbu Oleg	8	5586	611
Nastas Andrei	8	1926	0

Burduja Petru	7	9263	1261
Greceanii Zinaida	7	5312	1287
Plîngău Dinu	6	8155	2057
Bătrîncea Vlad	6	11412	2039
Apostolova Reghina	5	10408	1928
Bobeică Gheorghe	4	5190	4465
Pleşca Nae-Simion	4	5981	1056
Catraniuc Mihail	4	218	0
Ghileţchi Valeriu	4	6465	2953
Căpăţină Svetlana	4	240	0
Mitriuc Ghenadii	4	3113	470
Costin Vasile	4	211	0
Guzun Ludmila	3	381	0
Geamăna Valentina	3	274	0
Brega Oleg	3	4132	2242
Novac Grigore	3	3152	771
Roşca Vladimir	3	2183	103
Popşoi Mihail	3	1834	176
Perciun Dan	3	1736	1382
Slusari Alexandru	3	1459	345
Tauber Marina	3	3530	1471
Botgros Nicolae	3	2467	589

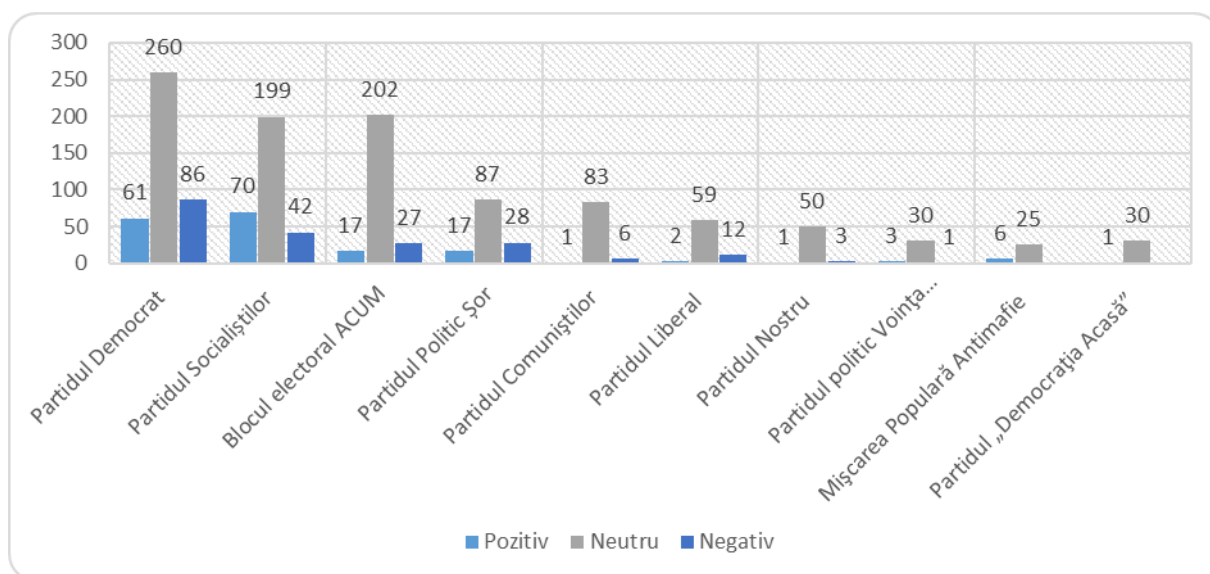
Of the first rank sources and protagonists of public structures, the Moldovan President Igor Dodon whom public perception associates with the Socialists Party and who often conveys messages that directly or indirectly favor this candidate, was the most quoted dignitary (146 times), also enjoying the biggest space of presentation and quoting/direct speech.

Gender balance. The lack of gender balance in sources and protagonists sharply increased compared to the previous monitoring period. In total, 48% of sources and protagonists were males and only 12.4% were females on the 16 online portals and newspapers monitored. Over one third of the items relevant to this monitoring did not specify the sex of the sources (*see graph*). The biggest ratio of men sources to women sources was found in this period in the newspaper *Jurnal de Chişinău* and on the portals **Zdg.md**, **Timpul.md** and **Agora.md** (on average, each fourth source identified was a female). The lowest men–women source ratio was found on the portals **Sputnik.md** and **Aif.md** (one female source to seven male sources).



Tonality of coverage of election candidates/ General data, 16 online portals and print media

The PDM, PSRM, and the Electoral Bloc ACUM in this period again were the most covered candidates in the national constituency, with neutral tonality in the vast majority of cases overall by the 16 online portals and newspapers monitored. They were followed, at a great distance, by the Șor Party, Communists Party, Liberal Party, and Our Party that also were presented mainly neutrally. Some media outlets monitored favored or disfavored editorially the candidates, presenting them in positive or negative tonality, as applicable.



Tonality of coverage of candidates in the elections per online portal or newspaper

The portal **Agora.md** further covered the election campaign in a balanced manner and on generally neutral tonality, without visible editorial preferences.

The portal **Aif.md** largely covered and mainly in a laudatory manner the activities of the Socialists Party and of President Igor Dodon, in relation to whom the tonality was positive nearly each time. At the same time, the other candidates were overlooked or criticized,

especially the Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, the Electoral Bloc ACUM, and Șor Party. Conflictual news was biased and lacked balance because it presented only one view.

The portal **Deschide.md** presented the Socialists Party and the Șor Party on editorially negative rather than neutral tonality. The Democratic Party and the Electoral Bloc ACUM appeared both neutrally and positively or negatively. Some news contained the journalists' own opinions, being thus biased.

The portal **Diez.md** covered the election campaign generally on neutral tonality; however, in the report period, it posted a few items on positive tonality towards the Șor Party and the relieved Mayor of Orhei.

The Bălți-based portal **Esp.md** limited itself to covering the unfolding of the campaign in Bălți, all its items published having neutral and unbiased editorial tonality.

The Comrat-based portal **Gagauzinfo.md** also covered the campaign only from a regional perspective; however, it made visible its negative tonality towards candidate Nicolai Dudoglo, registered as independent, being accused of affiliation to PDM. Dudoglo was ridiculed and accused of various infringements without being granted the right of reply. At the same time, the portal promoted the Socialists Party candidates.

The newspaper *Jurnal de Chișinău* presented the Socialists Party, the Șor Party, the Democratic Party and its leader Vladimir Plahotniuc on negative tonality, while the Electoral Bloc ACUM and its representatives were mainly presented positively or neutrally.

The portal **Kp.md** massively favored the Socialists Party and presented President Igor Dodon on mainly positive tonality. The Democratic Party was presented differently but rather neutrally and positively.

The portal **Moldova.org** maintained its balanced approach and generally neutral tonality in relation to the parties and candidates for the 2019 parliamentary elections.

The portal **Newsmaker.md** also had a fair behavior, the general tonality of its items being neutral, without editorial preferences.

As in the previous monitoring period, the portal **Noi.md** showed negative tonality towards Ilan Șor, displayed through the generally negative tonality of its items concerning this candidate and its party. At the same time, the portal editorially favored Igor Dodon through its frequent news presenting him in positive light.

In the report period, the portal **Realitatea.md** presented most candidates generally neutrally; however, the Democratic Party and Pavel Filip enjoyed the largest number of appearances in news and the most items that presented them in positive contexts.

In the report period, the portal **Sputnik.md** nearly avoided covering the election campaign, focusing on intensely and positively covering the visit of President Igor Dodon to Russia, and of his statements and comments made in the social media.

The portal **Timpul.md** visibly favored the Democratic Party and its leaders Vladimir Plahotniuc and Pavel Filip through the large number of laudatory stories. It also favored the Șor Party and its leader. At the same time, the portal presented the Electoral Bloc ACUM and its leaders Andrei Năstase and Maia Sandu most of the times on negative tonality.

In the report period, the portal **Unimedia.info** presented the candidates in different contexts, mainly neutrally.

The portal **Zdg.md** covered the campaign in a balanced manner, on generally neutral tonality.