



YEREVAN PRESS CLUB

**ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING  
(1998-2000)**

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**THE TWO-YEAR**, 1998-2000, monitoring of leading Armenian media was administered by Yerevan Press Club in frames of "Media in Transition" project, supported by the European Initiative for Democracy and the Protection of Human Rights.

The aim of the monitoring was to determine through the analysis of quantitative data obtained:

- how much the scope of the thematic content and the attention the print and broadcast media pay to it reflect the vital issues and correspond to the demands of the audience;
- the level of attention of media to political figures and groups, as well as the level of the influence of political figures and groups on the given media.

The value of this monitoring effort was in the fact that for the first time since Armenia had gained independence the Armenian media were studied permanently during two consequent years and not occasionally, at the times of political campaigns. The list of the media monitored changed respectively to their degree of influence and popularity, to the appearance of new media and withdrawal of old ones.

Upon the research results interim reports were prepared bi-monthly, while annual reports were made in the beginning of each following year. The reports presented the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the monitoring subjects. All the reports were issued in "Yerevan Press Club" Newsletter, published in a print version since September 1996 till May 2000 in three languages (in Armenian, English and Russian). Besides, the monitoring findings were widely discussed by the journalistic community during press conferences, round tables, seminars, trainings and other events, were covered by Armenian and foreign media, became a basis for a number of researches in journalism. Graduate and undergraduate students became frequent users of the monitoring data. Armenian state and political figures were also quite interested in their rating indices and sought to rectify their relations with media accordingly.

Below is the compilation of the two-year YPC research results. The full version of the monitoring findings, including the tables with quantitative data, can be found at Yerevan Press Club.

**1998**

**ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**May 1 - June 30, 1998**

**HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN**

**Synopsis:**

*"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun." Volume: 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,500. Price - 75 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.*

In May-June "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" has devoted most of the newspaper space to culture/history - (17.17% of the total volume), to advertising/announcements (13.21%) and economy (12.62%). In fact, half of the space devoted to economy is covered by Government and Central Bank reports, etc. 10.14% is devoted to foreign news. These are primarily materials from other sources; 66.65% is about Turkey, and up to 100% - about Georgia and Iran.

Among political figures most frequently mentioned are; RA President Robert Kocharian - 234 references (9 of them positive, 3 - negative), Armen Darbinian - 150 (2 positive), National Assembly Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian - 113 (1 negative). Following the three leading figures are; Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian and President of Mountainous Karabagh Arkadiy Ghoukassian. Most of the references to political figures are characteristically neutral. Such neutrality is an indication of the fact that this official publication is not as actively used as a tool for political struggle as it was before.

Most newspaper space for reflection of their views has been provided to Armen Darbinian (5,517 square/centimetres), Robert Kocharian (4,602 s/c), Khossrov Haroutiunian (2,551 s/c), Arkadiy Ghoukassian (2,067 s/c), leader of the "All-Armenian Movement" party Vano Siradeghian (1,662 s/c).

As a rule, "HH" constantly provides special reports from the National Assembly. However, the content of such materials is hardly in unison with the image of an official paper. Along with the problems discussed in the Parliament, they often include backstage information, as well. At times it is difficult to distinguish which part of the report is primary and which one is secondary.

**RESPUBLICA ARMENIA**

**Synopsis:**

*"Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Standard volume: 4/A2 pp. Once a week the daily is issued in 8 or 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period.*

The leading theme in the paper is surely, economy - 15.14%. Besides, economy is discussed broadly, one could tell that in contrast with other papers, there are journalists specialised on the beat in RA.

Next in volume is advertising/announcements - 13.06%. It must be stated here, that "RA" is the only paper (among publications monitored) where advertising is often placed next to the logo; "Armsberbank is 75-years-old" has appeared 13 times in the most prestigious spot. An obvious case of hidden political advertising is registered in the May 28 issue, on the candidacy of Levon Gharibian, deputy to the National Assembly running for district #3. The article "Play to Win" ("RA", #108, June 11, 1998) looked a little strange on the background of a series of critical articles in the same paper on intrigues in the gambling business. It stated that TV-Loto was a fair play, that "people believe" in it and "enjoy playing."

Articles on foreign news were on the third place (11.4%), and culture/history was on the fourth (10.99%). The rest of the themes were in the range from 0.05% (Christianity) to 4.89% (National Assembly/legislation.)

In all the above mentioned themes editorial material is prevalent, with the exception of foreign news and Christianity covered mainly through other sources (naturally, this doesn't refer to advertising, which does not have such a subdivision).

Among political figures most frequently mentioned in "RA" are; Robert Kocharian (199 references), Armen Darbinian (108), Khossrov Haroutiunian (81) and Vardan Oskanian (76). Their positions and views have gained most of the daily's space; Robert Kocharian - 5,275 s/c, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 2,488 s/c, Armen Darbinian - 2,412 s/c, Vardan Oskanian - 2,282 s/c.

The rest of the political and public figures lag far behind the leading four. President of Mountainous Karabagh Arkadiy Ghoukassian - 22 references, RA President's Advisor, Chairman of Human Rights Committee under the President Parour Hayrikian - 19, RA Minister of Industry and Trade Garnik Nanagoulian, and ex-President Levon Ter-Petrosian - 17, each.

References are mainly neutral. Only three have received negative coverage; there were two negative references to the leader of "Democratic Motherland" party Edward Yegorian, and one for RA Presidential Advisor Vahan Hovannissian, and one for ex-Prime Minister Hrant Bagratian. In a positive context there is one reference each for Robert Kocharian, Vahan Hovannissian, Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan, Chairman of the newly formed National Party Karen Demirchian, ex-candidate for RA Presidency Artashes Geghamian, businessman Khachatour Soukiassian, and twice - for the new Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian.

"Coefficient of useful action" of the information provided by "RA" to the reader, is significantly reduced because of mistakes and inconsistencies. As a result, redress and rebuttals are nothing scarce on the pages of "RA." There were 10 of them in two months, in fact, six of them were on editorial materials. This means that "RA" journalists correct their mistakes more often, than are "compelled once again to apologise for the flaws of news agencies" ("RA," #98, May 28, 1998.) In one case correction was made next to the logo! ("RA," #79, May 1, 1998.) But most of the mistakes are left uncorrected, and these are quite different in nature: toponymical (there is no such region in Armenia as Tashir); political (constant confusion of EC, i.e. the European Union with the CE, i.e. the Council of

Europe); historical (Turkey will celebrate not the 75th anniversary of the Ottoman Empire, but the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty)...

There is distortion of last names, rank and office, names, etc. Minister of Transportation and ex-Customs Director are the most ill-fated in this sense: Double spelling of Zakharian-Zakarian, and Makarian-Markarian are encountered in materials placed side by side. RA Permanent Representative to the UN Movsess Abelian has become "RA Permanent Representative in New-York."

Foreigners are the most susceptible: Georgian Minister of Transportation is Mehrab Adeyashvili (also Adiashvili) on the second page, but on the fourth page he has already become Nodariadeishvili. In fact, the second piece tells us about the forthcoming meetings of the Minister with the RA President and Prime-Minister, while the report on the first page tells about the same meetings as already past events.

Repetition of identical information in "RA" is a wide spread shortcoming. Thus, on establishing diplomatic relations between Armenia and Cote-d'Ivoire, one might read both in May 15 and May 16 issues; on violations of excise-duty marking on cigarettes in the May 16 and 19 issues. In May 27 issue the RA official delegation headed by Garnik Nanagoulian, Minister of Industry and Trade, was going to participate at the international conference in Istanbul, which in the first-page version was to be held on May 27-29, while according to the second page - on May 26-29. In the first case the organiser was the US Agency of Development and Trade, in the second - International Agency for Trade Development.

It is impossible to overlook the daily's image. With the next Chief Editor on the post since May the banner of the paper has changed for the sixth time in less than eight years. More specifically, it was changed on May 5, before the new Chief Editor, but since May 15 the new leadership recovered the old version. Meanwhile, it is widely known that frequent changes in the appearance of a publication do not contribute to its popularity.

## **AZG**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period.*

It must be stated that despite the independent status of the paper, all its founders are influential figures of Ramkavar Azatakan Party, which naturally, affects the positions taken by the paper.

"Azg" is the only publication where the social theme takes up most of the space (16.95%), followed by foreign news - 14.32% (in fact, if with most of the other papers Russia is in the first place, here Turkey is the leading country - 2.12%), culture/history - 13.88% (among historic material articles on genocide are prevalent). More than any other publication "Azg" covers the theme of Diaspora. This tendency becomes even more obvious, if we take into consideration that in pieces dedicated to culture representatives of Diaspora get the lion's share.

Among political figures most frequently referred to are Robert Kocharian - 190 (of which 14 positive, 1 negative), Armen Darbinian - 79 (9 positive, 1 negative), Vardan Oskanian - 67 (6 positive, 1 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 47 (1 positive and 7 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 34 (2 positive), Catholicos of All-Armenians Garegin I - 25 (4 positive.)

According to space devoted to politicians' ideas and positions, again Robert Kocharian is ahead of the others (3,226 s/c), followed by Vardan Oskanian (2,501 s/c), Chairman of the Constitutional Court Gagik Haroutiunian (1,204 s/c). A significant portion of newspaper space is devoted to the opinions taken by the new RA government, though this seems to be the effect of public activeness on the part of Ministers (frequently holding press-conferences and briefings), rather than the daily's special interest in them.

## **YERKIR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) of Armenia. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 100 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Despite its party affiliation, issue-attention in "Yerkir" is on economy (13.40%), almost twice as much as to internal policy (7.09%). Foreign news are on the second place (13.05%), culture/history - on the third (12.49%). In general, thematic distribution in "Yerkir" is non-traditional for Dashnak party press: Artsakh, the Diaspora, social problems are far from being the leading themes. Editorial material is prevalent in all sections (least of all - in foreign news).

Robert Kocharian (171), Armen Darbinian (59), Vardan Oskanian (38), Levon Ter-Petrossian (36), Khossrov Haroutiunian (35) - are the leaders in the number of reference. The daily is quite frank in his sympathies and antipathies: Kocharian has received 22 positive references (with 3 negative) and Ter-Petrossian - 15 negative (with 0 positive).

According to the volume provided for opinions, Kocharian - 2,154 s/c and Presidential Advisor, one of the leaders of Dashnaksoutiun Vahan Hovannissian - 2,038 s/c, have left the other politicians far behind.

## **ARAVOT**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot." Volume: 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,600 to 4,000. Price -100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.*

The larger part of newspaper space was devoted to foreign news (12.38%), internal policy (10.66%), then to advertising/announcements (8.63%), culture/history (8.34%), sports (7.16%), incidents/entertaining material (6.36%). Practically, on all topics thematic material provided by the editorial staff is prevalent, with the exception of foreign news.

Among political figures the ones most often mentioned are; Robert Kocharian - 255 (of which 13 positive, 9 negative), Armen Darbinian - 104 (3 positive, 1 negative), Levon Ter-

Petrosian - 90 (11 negative), Parour Hayrikian - 80 (5 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 78 (6 negative), Vano Siradeghian - 60 (1 positive and 1 negative). As it seems, references are mostly neutral. However, regarding "Aravot" it must be noted that the term "neutral" is quite conditional, for the publication has a style of irony, and even the neutral references often have negative colouring.

The largest paper space for expressing his views and opinions is provided to Igor Mouradian (4,176 s/c). However, he has figured in "Aravot" more as an author than a politician. Then comes Robert Kocharian (2,213s/c), followed by Vano Siradeghian (1,071 s/c). In terms of interest shown for the former leaders of the country (ex-President Levon Ter-Petrosian and the ex-Mayor of Yerevan Vano Siradeghian), "Aravot" is second only to "Haik" - the official organ of the former leading party.

There are many distortions of names and inaccuracies in "Aravot," mostly in sports pieces. Errors with foreign diplomats accredited in Armenia are most striking. Thus, John Mitchener, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the UK in one of the articles was named temporary "Charge d'affaires," and Iranian Ambassador Hamid-Reza Nikkar Isfahani - "Nikkar Is Vahani."

## **HAYOTS ASHKHAR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume: 8/A2 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.*

The publication was founded as the unofficial organ of then banned party Dashnaktsoutiun. With the resumption of ARF(D) legal activities and its official publication ("Yerkir"), "Hayots Ashkhar" tries to look as an independent daily without giving up its political orientation.

Foreign news is the central theme in the newspaper (12.92%), mostly through publications on Russia (5.22%). In fact, the bulk of articles on Russia is comprised of criminal events, placed on p. 8. Sports are on the second place in "Hayots Ashkhar" (12.41%), the third and fourth places are internal policy (8.95%) and culture/history (8.38%). In all sections, with the exception of foreign policy, foreign news and Artsakh, editorial materials are prevalent.

In terms of references the traditional four figures are the leaders: Robert Kocharian (142), Armen Darbinian (50), Khossrov Haroutiunian (40) and Vardan Oskanian (38).

The President is way ahead of the others in provided space to express his views - 3,274 s/c. Next in the line, just as in many other publications, are politicians most frequently having held press-conferences and interviews during the monitoring period, and no political tendencies are discerned here. At the same time, in contrast with the Dashnak official publication ("Yerkir"), "Hayots Ashkhar" rarely mentions Vahan Hovhannissian and is frugal in providing space for his opinions.

## **GOLOS ARMENII**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued three times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume: 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 26 issues published for the monitoring period.*

"Golos Armenii" is one of extreme opposition papers, has a clear-cut niche, and is characterised by critical position in its articles about the authorities.

For all the differences in assessments of the situation in the country, quantitative monitoring of "Golos Armenii" and "Respublica Armenii" has revealed certain similarities of thematic interest in the two Russian papers. Just as in "RA," in "GA" also the first four places are dedicated to foreign news (21.77%), economy (13.22%), advertising/announcements (10.20%) and culture/history (7.91%).

In "GA" foreign news is presented mainly through reviews and commentaries. Countries of relatively higher interest for Armenia are covered more frequently than in "RA." Thus, Russia got 4.50% of coverage, Turkey - 2.19%, Azerbaijan - 1.71%, Georgia - 1.36% and Iran - 1.21%.

An interesting digest from Russian papers - "Familiar Faces in Media Assessment" about well-known state and political figures of Russia ("GA", #47, May 5, 1998) inevitably calls for comparison with the article "What's an Advertised Image, if the 'Product' is an Armenian Presidency Candidate" ("GA," #59, June 2, 1998.) To draw lessons for the future, it might be useful to return to the past presidential elections. Just as to speak about political advertising. However, the authors - politologist Karen Khandamir and Lia Avetissian, President of ARA advertising agency, are engaged either in reiterating what is already commonly known, or in innuendoes. Thus, characterisation of "the most odious candidate" Ashot Bleyan ran as follows: "...'Devised' by Bleyan 'the new way' is known from ancient times as the way of Judas from Iscariot (the latter, in fact, hanged himself). Nevertheless, 2,000 people have voted for him. As the newest joke runs, 'at least we know now the number of real traitors in Armenia'." Ohan Zenian's article "Return" ("GA," #67, June 20, 1998) on the first page is way off the limits of decency. It is about Armen Sargsian, ex-Prime-Minister, former (and recurrently appointed - ed.) RA Ambassador to the UK.

Categorical evaluations of political figures by "GA" was revealed in calculations of references, as well. In this paper negative context is more prevalent than in other publications. The more popular four: Robert Kocharian (115 references, of which 3 positive and 1 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian (67 references, of which 29 negative), Armen Darbinian (34, of which 2 negative) and Vardan Oskanian (28 references, all neutral). There is one reference less for Khossrov Haroutiunian (27, of which 2 negative). 9 times (out of 23) Vano Siradeghian was mentioned in a negative context, 8 (out of 17) - the leader of "Freedom" party Hrant Bagratian, and 5 (out of 13) - former NA Speaker Babken Ararktsian. All of them, including the ex-President, have undergone harsh criticism for wrongdoings in the past. From one issue to the next "GA" calls to "take the ex-President and his team" to the courts "for crimes committed by Ter-Petrossian's regime" (a definition most frequently used), for the "genocide inflicted on their own nation."

Extensive pieces by Igor Mouradian have made him in "GA" (just as in "Aravot") the leader in the paradigm "volume devoted to the views of a figure" (1,610 s/c). And in this case too, it would be better to consider him an author for "GA," rather than a political figure. Then comes Minister of Defence of Mountainous Karabagh Samvel Babayan (798 s/c).

## HAIK

### Synopsis:

*"Haik" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - All-Armenian Movement. Volume: 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 150 drams. 8 issues published for the monitoring period.*

This is the only newspaper among the monitored publications, where most of the space is dedicated to advertising/announcements - 14.54% (which is not characteristic for a party paper). 13.79% is apportioned to internal policy, 9.47% - to culture/history, 7.31% - to incidents/entertainment material, and 6.98% to sports (the last two figures are also not characteristic for a party paper). But then, economy, legal issues and education/science received even less attention than any other publication analysed.

Robert Kocharian was mentioned more often than other political figures - 78 (of which 1 positive), followed by Levon Ter-Petrossian - 29 (2 positive), Armen Darbinian - 28, Vano Siradeghian 18 (2 positive). Analysing these figures we have to state once again the unusual prevalence of neutral references for a party paper.

Instead, according to the next paradigm (space apportioned for politician's views) "Haik" puts everything in its place. The list is headed by the leader of the founding party Vano Siradeghian - 1,237 s/c, followed by the head of the AAM Parliamentary fraction - Babken Ararktsian - 410 s/c, and another active member of the party Hovannes Igitian - 383 s/c. Robert Kocharian scored the fourth, with ex-President and non-official leader of AAM Levon Ter-Petrossian immediately following him.

## IRAVOUNK

### Synopsis:

*"Iravounk" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Volume: 8/A3 pp. In June four issues of the weekly were published with a four-paged ads insert. Claimed circulation - 18,000 to 20,000. Price - 60-80 drams. 11 issues published for the monitoring period.*

As expected of party press, "Iravounk" weekly has devoted much of its attention to internal policy - 21.04%. It seems, its popularity and relatively high circulation is attracting advertisers; advertisements/announcements take up 19.84% of newspaper space (more than in other publications monitored). "Iravounk" relies on its editorial material more than any other newspaper. Having in mind that the circle of authors is not quite large, this fact cannot be assessed as something positive.

Among political figures mentioned more frequently than the others are; Robert Kocharian - 82 references (2 of them positive, 1 - negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 59 (12 negative), Vano Siradeghian - 35 (2 negative). The results of monitoring allow to conclude that "Iravounk" was extremely critical of the former authorities, and is on the qui vive towards the new one.

Thanks to an interactive interview organized by the weekly, Minister of Education and Science Levon Mkrtchian, has received the most newspaper space to express his views (1,673 s/c). In general, public or political figures being interviewed by "Iravounk" in May-

June have received more coverage in this paradigm, and no political disposition is discerned here.

Twice during the monitoring period a special additional issue of "Iravounk" ("Questions and Answers"), was published, where public and political figures replied to the readers' questions. This is something new in Armenian journalism. Another characteristics of the weekly is the heading "Comrade Panjouni," elaborating the national tradition for political satire.

## **AYZHM**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayzhm" - weekly. Founded in 1996. Founder - National-Democratic Union. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 60 drams. 8 issues published for the monitoring period.*

"Ayzhm" seems to be the most politicised publication. It has devoted 43.84% of its coverage to internal policy. Economy has got 17.81%, rights/law and order/defence/security - 11.85%. The whole coverage of foreign news (1.66%) is on Azerbaijan.

Among political figures Robert Kocharian - 43 (1 of them positive, 5 - negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 21 (11 negative), Armen Darbinian - 13 (2 negative), Vano Siradeghian - 10 (6 negative), Minister of Defence Vazgen Sargsian - 8 (2 negative) are the leaders, and only following them is the leader of NDU Vazgen Manoukian -7 (but with 3 - more than any others - positive references.)

Positions taken by one of the NDU leaders David Vardanian (now heading the Supervision Services under the President) has received most of newspaper space - 756 s/c. Following him are Minister of Agriculture Vladimir Movsissian (738 s/c), Vazgen Manoukian (537 s/c) and Edward Yegorian (450 s/c). According to this paradigm "Ayzhm" is in strong contrast with the other publications. Positions of Robert Kocharian have received a mere 11 s/c of space, and those of Levon Ter-Petrossian, Vano Siradeghian, Vazgen Sargsian were not even considered in "Ayzhm." However, for a weekly with only eight issues for the monitoring period it is early to make conclusions, for just one interview or a single report on a press-conference might radically change the picture.

## **LRABER**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lraber" - newscasts of National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired thrice a day, twice on Saturdays. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00. There were 52 newscasts for the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 1,668 minutes. Length of narration - 1,646 minutes and 1 second. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 21 minutes 59 seconds. Composition of the layout is traditional; official information, foreign and local political news, economy, followed by the section for cultural, social and educational information (the

sequence of themes in this section is casual). And at the end - sports, advertising/announcements and weather forecast.

Though, as a rule, the lead-in phrase is "The following 30 minutes - on the most significant events of the day," few newscasts last exactly half an hour. During May-June, 1998 the maximum duration of one given newscast was 38 minutes, and the minimum - 25 minutes.

Most of the airtime was allotted to economy (15.89%), culture/history (13.77%), advertising/announcements (13.46%) and foreign policy (11.48%). The least time was allocated to foreign news; for instance, 0.08% to Georgia and 0.02% to the USA.

According to the time provided for political and public figures, in contrast with other newscasts, "Lraber" frequently refers to and reflects their positions. According to the number of references, first in the line is Armen Darbinian, second - Robert Kocharian, and third - Khossrov Haroutiunian and Vardan Oskanian. By volume of airtime reflecting their views the first three places are after the Prime-Minister, the President and the NA Speaker.

All references are neutral, except one positive reference to the Minister of Internal Affairs and National Security Serge Sargsian, in a report prepared for "Lraber" by the press-service of the MIA and NS. There were no negative references in the address of any of the 120 leading political figures included in the list for the monitoring period.

One characteristic feature of "Lraber" are the lengthy stories (from 4 to 5 minutes in average). On May 13 "Lraber" aired a story on discussions in the Parliament of the government program. The report (11 minutes 2 seconds) also included a segment of questions/answers to the government, which could be easily cut-out. Firstly, only one of the questions and its answer was 1 minute 36 seconds long. Secondly, the evening newscast of the same day included the whole block of questions of the NA deputies to the government.

The issue of resolving the Karabagh conflict was covered exclusively in the light of RA leadership's meetings with foreign delegations. No special report was devoted to the government crisis in Karabagh, broadly discussed in Armenian press. Information on the appointment of the new Prime-Minister in Mountainous Karabagh was broadcast with a two-days' delay (on June 15), though "Lraber" had two evening broadcasts (at 17.00 and 20.00) on the day Karabagh leadership held a press-conference and officially declared about overcoming the crisis (May 13, 13.00).

Social, economic and other problems were covered in a general declarative form (for example, on water-supply for the residents in summer-time, or on measures against illegal constructions). With a few exceptions, the raised problems didn't have an addressee.

## **AYB-FEH**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayb-Feh" - newscasts of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The object of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 52 newscasts for the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 715 minutes. Length of narration - 640 minutes and 1 second. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 74 minutes and 59 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 18 minutes and the minimum length - 10 minutes.

According to their volume the three main themes were: rights/law and order/defence/security - 21.42%, culture/history - 13.89% and foreign policy - 9.30%.

According to the number of references the picture is quite similar with other newscasts, but for one positive reference (for President Robert Kocharian and Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian) and one negative (for the Governor of Ararat region Hovik Abrahamian and Minister of Internal Affairs and National Security Serge Sargsian), each.

Characteristic trends of the newscast are dynamism and absence of studio recording ("Ayb-Feh" consists exclusively of reports by special correspondents; there are no reader-stories, all news are accompanied with videotaped material). The layout is free. Any material might be in the lead-all; be it a court proceeding, or a report from an exhibit. Maximum length of an item is 3 minutes 50 seconds, the average duration not exceeding 2 minutes. Each story is closed with a flash aired in two versions (full-length - 4 seconds, and partial - 2 seconds). Information on various meetings and sessions is usually coloured by the correspondent's attitude for the events.

The newscast is mainly constructed on events; initiative to find stories is hardly practised. At the same time, agility allows "Ayb-Feh" to report events overlooked by other newscasts; such as student festivals, school competitions, problems of boarding-schools for blind children, etc.

## **KIRAKNORYA LRABER**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Kiraknorya Lraber" - analytical newscasts of National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays at 20.00. There were 8 newscasts for the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 273 minutes. Length of narration - 249 minutes and 39 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 23 minutes and 21 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast - 37 minutes and the minimum length - 21 minutes.

Most of the airtime is allotted to the activities of the RA National Assembly and legislature (17.66%), foreign policy (14.80%) and economy (12.77%). Then come social (11.81%) and legal issues (8.63%), Artsakh (6.26%, mainly the problem of conflict resolution around Karabagh) and health/ecology (6.09%). Least attention was paid to Diaspora.

According to the number of references the leaders are; Robert Kocharian (16), Vardan Oskanian (9), Chairman of the NA Permanent Committee on Governance and Legal Issues Artour Baghdassarian (6), and Khossrov Haroutiunian (5). All references to these and other figures (only 20 were cited out of the 120) were neutral.

The characteristic trend of the newscast is arrangement of the past week's events in their chronological order. Analysis of the situation, and the more so, their modelling for the future was brought to a minimum; conclusions like "time will show" prevailed. Specifically,

debates in the Parliament around legislation on the elections were covered in that same mode.

Thematic stories of 4-6 minutes in duration were characteristic of the newscast. However, on May 10 a story on the official visit of the RA NA delegation headed by Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian to Georgia was aired (17 min. 32 sec.) The report was provided by the press-service of the National Assembly. Another lengthy item (11 min. 37 sec.) was broadcast on June 28; it told about the various aspects of life in the city of Jermouk. It closed with the phrase; "Despite everything, the Jermouk resident still survives."

"Kiraknorya Lraber" was not always up to the level in timeliness for a newscast, though it is the only Sunday broadcast of the National Television. Thus, the June 28 broadcast failed to air Prime-Minister Armen Darbinian's visit to Armavir region. Materials on the visit were broadcast only on the next day's "Lraber."

## **KIRAKI**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Kiraki" - analytical newscasts of "A1+" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 8 newscasts for the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 104 minutes. Length of narration - 97 minutes and 36 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 6 minutes and 24 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast - 14 minutes and the minimum length - 12 minutes.

Studio design has changed several times. During the June 28 broadcast, the anchor was sitting on a swirling chair with the background of a window with shutters. The anchor's involuntary swinging was not quite fit for such newscast standards.

By thematic volume in "Kiraki" the first was NA/legislation (26.42%), then local (22.35%) and foreign (14.81%) policy.

According to the number of references the leaders are Robert Kocharian (12), Khossrov Haroutiunian (6), Vardan Oskanian (6) and Vano Siradeghian (5). All references, with the exception of two (one positive to Mayor of Yerevan and one negative to the Chairman of the Central Election Commission Khachatour Bezirjian) were neutral.

Characteristic feature of the newscast - broader analysis of the events of the past week in comparison with "Kiraknorya Lraber", with elements of modelling for the future. Some conclusions and assumptions are offered as the anchor's personal opinion, which features "Kiraki" as an authorship newscast.

Most of the airtime goes for the anchor's speech. One or two stories are borrowed from "Ayb-Feh" of the past week, often without any changes. This results in discrepancies. Thus, during June 21 broadcast of "Kiraki" an "Ayb-Feh" story from June 19 was used, which narrated about the session of "Orinats Yerkir" party. The lead-in ran; "Today a session of 'Orinats Yerkir' was convened..."

## **STORAKET**

## **Synopsis:**

*"Storaket" - weekly newscasts of "Internews" Armenia. Aired on Sundays through 13 independent TV stations. There were 8 newscasts for the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 177 minutes. Length of narration - 162 minutes and 15 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 14 minutes and 45 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast - 26 minutes and the minimum length - 20 minutes.

Studio design, the opening title and flashes (3 types of flashes) have not changed. "Storaket" has one permanent anchor. The program consists of materials from the regional independent TV stations.

Characteristic feature - minimal volume of political information, usually aired at the beginning of the broadcast in the form of short messages worthy of attention, according to "Storaket." Maximum length of these reviews - 2 minutes. The rest of the time is allotted to stories and features on the life in the regions, historic essays, etc. Thematic layout of the newscast is as follows: most of the airtime is provided to society (mentality, individuals, mundane situations, etc.) - 21.97%. Then come culture/history (19.27%) and economy (12.33%). In "Storaket" more than in any other newscast the Armenian Apostolic Church is covered (3.17%).

Political and government representatives are mentioned rarely. Their views and positions are reflected even more scarcely. Only Robert Kocharian's (30 sec.) and Armen Darbinian's (6 sec.) opinions out of the 120 listed people were aired in 8 "Storaket" newscasts.

## **LOURER**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lourer" - newscasts of National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times weekly (Monday through Friday) and aired 10 times daily, 8 times on Saturdays, and 6 times on Sundays. The object of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.00. There were 61 broadcasts for the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 831 minutes. Length of narration - 754 minutes and 40 seconds. The volume of technical and other intermissions - 76 minutes and 20 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast - 20 minutes and the minimum length - 9 minutes. Anchors are all from National Radio (with the exception of a few broadcasts, all the others were aired in couples).

In thematic volume economy is in the first place (23.26%) followed by culture/history (11.83%) and foreign policy (11.57%).

Among the four leading figures according to the number of references are: Robert Kocharian (66), Armen Darbinian (52), Khossrov Haroutiunian (23), Vardan Oskanian (21). No negative references. In the course of two months there was only one positive reference to the RA President. All the four in the same order are leading according to the airtime provided for their opinions; 10 min. 10 sec., 7 min. 3 sec., 5 min. 54 sec. and 4 min. 55 sec., respectively.

"Lourer" layout is similar to that of "Lraber." In fact, "Lourer" often repeats the same day's "Lraber" in the selection of its materials. However, attribution to the source of information in "Lourer" is done more often, than in "Lraber." The overwhelming majority of information is anchor's narrative. There are one or two stories in each broadcast not read by the anchor, at the most. Such material is usually provided after standard announcements, like "our special correspondent's report." This is aired even in cases, when the following story is not a report. Majority of non-studio recordings are poor in quality, as a result of which it is sometimes impossible to understand what is said.

## **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**July 1 - August 31, 1998**

**THE SECOND BIMONTHLY PERIOD** of monitoring of the leading Armenian media has confirmed their tendency to avoid the bias towards politicians. This positive tendency particularly reveals itself in the state media, which, in the overwhelming majority of cases, mentions the politicians' names in a neutral way.

The nature and the scales of covering the current topics proves that the Armenian media (whether it's good or bad) gets deviated from the main stream of the world journalism. Besides, the influence of the specific Russian information field is still quite powerful in Armenia. The print and electronic media in Moscow often dictate the style and the structure of the news to their Armenian congeners.

It looks as if the "iron curtain" was not raised, but simply turned invisible. And the readers/spectators/listeners on this side are interested (or they have been convinced they are interested) in one thing, and those on the other side are interested in something else.

The story of Clinton and Lewinski, remaining the news No.1 in the West, hardly touched the pages of our newspapers and was hardly covered by the electronic media. Thus, the main newscast of the National Television of Armenia dedicated just one story to the case.

Instead, practically all the media covered the entry exams in the universities. The media and the journalists have been covering this ordinary event for years as if it was the most important fact of the internal policy.

The murder of Henrik Khachatrian, the RA Chief Prosecutor, certainly, became the main summer event in Armenia. Unfortunately, even that did not make the journalists start their own investigation. The media, as a rule, represented either the official reports, or the conclusions and the versions, based on the well-known facts. It's possible to name only a few journalistic works crossing the borders of the standard coverage. In particular, the interview which "Golos Armenii" has had with the widow of Aram Karapetian, who, according to the official version, has shot both the Chief Prosecutor and himself. Also, the vox-pop on the versions of the murder, carried out in the streets of Yerevan and shown by "A1+" TV station.

It is hard to explain the lack of interest of the media towards the newly-accepted Civil Code, taking into note the fact that the acceptance signified an important stage in the judicial-legal reform. Not considering the reports and the interview, covering the organizational and the protocol part of the activities of the Commission on Changes in the

RA Constitution, it may be stated that no interest was shown to the contents of the planned amendments as well.

Meantime, the matters of selling the cognac factory and inviting the President of RA to visit Baku, on the contrary, were discussed in the most unexpected aspects. The highly specific problems were lost in the political-historical-psychological husk.

The wide coverage of the governmental programme "Summer-98" for the children from socially underprivileged families, carried out by the official media (first of all the electronic ones), highly reminds the propagandistic campaigns of the Soviet times. It has shown that the new cabinet takes great care of its image in the eyes of people. The more frequent appearance of the Prime Minister on the air and in the pages of the newspapers can be explained with the same reasons. As a result, remaining in the second place (after the President), if we take into consideration the frequency of the references in the media, Armen Darbinian noticeably increased the gap between himself and the Speaker of the Parliament who was in the third place.

In general, the monitoring group analyzed the media rating of 83 politicians, instead of 120 in May-June. Here the picture is quite clear: as soon as the 100 days of the President Kocharian were over, the negative references of him and his team became more frequent, and the number of the positive ones, accordingly, decreased. All the leading authorities of the country have got a negative "balance" now.

Similar to the first two months of the monitoring, the RA Ambassadors in the foreign countries and the heads of the regional administrations of Armenia were seldom mentioned. Obviously, the media are not much interested in the activities of our diplomatic representatives, as well as in the provincial life. In other words, Yerevan is still considered to be the centre of the Universe for Armenian media.

The figures of the four-month observations allow us to come to certain conclusions concerning the character of our leading media outlets. "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" has craving for cultural themes. "Azg" tries to maintain the format that could be interesting for every Armenian rather than only for the inhabitants of the Ararat valley. "Aravot" is obsessed by "fried journalistic dishes". "Iravounk" knows the secret of high circulation (for Armenia, of course) and successfully works with advertising. "Hayots Ashkhar" is quite enthusiastic about sports and Russian criminal chronicles... It seems to be OK - each one obtains a face and a niche. Only the nature of the publications is too obviously formed by the personal qualities and the interests of the editors and employees. Targeting the audience remains a secondary task. That is, the nature of a newspaper fundamentally changes with replacing one or two employees.

In a word, the time to talk of strong traditions hasn't come yet.

## **HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun." Volume: 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,500. Price - 75 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period. 20 of them had a volume of 4/A2 pp.*

In July-August the three leading themes in “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” were advertising/announcements (15.86%), economy (12.93%) and culture/history (12.95%). Hereinafter the foreign news (10.67%) and the internal policy (7.05%) come. In contrast with the previous bimonthly period, the volume of advertising/announcements was increased by 20% and the materials on internal policy were increased by 40%. The volume of the publications on culture/history was reduced by 40%, though, in this aspect, “HH” remains a leader amongst all the examined outlets.

More than one-third of the materials on foreign news are dedicated to Russia. Following it are, according to the volume of coverage, other countries/world news, Western Europe, the USA, other countries of NIS (excluding Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia), Georgia, Central and Eastern Europe/Mongolia, Azerbaijan and Turkey.

As it could be expected from an official media outlet, “HH” publishes the official reports of the state structures more than any other newspaper; and foreign news are basically covered by the materials of news agencies. Quite often “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” gives both the official information and editorial material on one and the same event, in one and the same issue.

The most active journalists of the daily cover almost all the subjects, so the materials on special beats look superficial.

Among the figures most frequently mentioned in “HH” are the RA President Robert Kocharian (225 references, including 2 positive ones, 1 negative), the Prime Minister Armen Darbinian (121, including 1 positive, 1 negative). The others fall behind - the National Assembly Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian - 58 (including 1 positive), the Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian - 39 (all of them neutral). The murdered Chief Prosecutor Henrik Khachatryan (38 references) appeared to be between Vardan Oskanian and Edward Sandoyan (35 references), the Minister of Finances and Economy, traditionally mentioned quite often.

Robert Kocharian got the most space for expressing his opinions - 3,335.67 s/c. He is followed (based on references as well) by Armen Darbinian (2,551.69 s/c) and Khossrov Haroutiunian (2,034.09 s/c). As a whole, in comparison with the previous two months, the space dedicated to the opinions of the politicians, has decreased. It may be explained by the fact that the months had been passive in political aspect. It’s interesting that the Catholicos of All Armenians Garegin I following the three leaders (based on the volume of the opinions), has obtained his space in the newspaper (1,120.30 s/c) basically during the period of his stay abroad.

Similar to the majority of the Armenian press, “HH” rather actively covered the matter of appropriateness of Robert Kocharian’s trip to Baku, to an international conference within the framework of the TRACECA programme. However, most publications on this subject were taken from other sources - Radio “Liberty”, the Russian newspapers “Pravda”, “Nezavisimaya Gazeta”, “Izvestya” and others. In general, one of the characteristic features of “HH” are the full reprints from the Russian periodicals, particularly on the internal problems of Russia.

## **REPUBLICA ARMENIA**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Respublica Armenia” - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of “RA.” Standard volume: 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation -5,000. Price - 80 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Similar to the preceding period of monitoring, the theme of economy maintained its leading position in the pages of “Respublica Armenia”. 14.57% of the total volume of the publication was dedicated to it. This time, the editorials prevailed, too.

Economy is followed by the publications on foreign news - 13.96%. Moreover, the share of the editorials vastly increased in this section. Most of them consist of the analysis and comments on Kosovo conflict. Also series of publications named “Yugoslavian epic” (“RA”, ## 154-158, August, 1998) were dedicated to the conflict in the Balkans. Russia has occupied the most newspaper space amongst foreign countries - 5.02% of the whole space; in particular the crisis in this country and its possible consequences in Armenia. Here also the editorials prevail; as a rule they are published under the column “Russia is in a crisis: economic and political”. Meantime, another sensational event of August, widely discussed in the world media - the outcome of Clinton-Lewinski scandal - was hardly covered in the pages of the daily.

Advertising/announcements is following the three leading themes - 12.54%. The other subjects fall behind from the above-named. Although the space dedicated to culture/history was reduced in comparison with May-June, it continues to be on the fourth place - 7.81%. At the same time, the internal policy coverage was much wider - 6.17%. The column “The 100 days of the President” analyzed the external and internal policy of the country for the previous three months starting from the day of the presidential elections; the viewpoint of Robert Kocharian was stated in details. At the same time, passive, “eventual” journalism continues to prevail in the daily. For example, the coverage of the newly activated life of the political parties (the Parliamentary elections are not far off), as a rule, is limited by the interpretation of what the political leaders said during the press-conferences. And the discussion of the Main Law was expressed through small news pieces concerning the sessions of the Commission on Changes in the RA Constitution. At the same time, the official visits of the state leaders to the regions are covered in details; and “RA” thinks that the visits “ceased to be like glossy promotions”. In general, “RA” dedicates a fair part of its space to the cabinet’s work. A new column appeared (sometimes a subtitle) “Across the line of one decision”.

The volume of the materials on foreign policy has increased - 5.09%. Though, unlike most media, the invitation of Robert Kocharian to Baku was not widely discussed in the pages of “RA”.

The increase of the volume of the materials on rights/ law and order/defense/security (4.52%) is connected also with the murder of Henrik Khachatryan, the Chief Prosecutor. The daily did not bring forth its own versions, publishing, basically, the reports of the Prosecutor’s office of RA.

The rates of education/science (2.75%) practically did not change. The entry exams of the universities were covered through the prism of the meeting of the President and the Prime Minister with the heads of the subject commissions, the press-conference and the interview of the Minister of Education and Sciences, through the visits of the state officials to the institutions of higher education, as well as through the publication of photos with short texts.

The parliamentary vacation has greatly decreased the number of the materials dedicated to the National Assembly /legislation - 1.36%.

From 83 state, political and public figures, the RA President Robert Kocharian (208) and the Prime Minister Armen Darbinian (117) have the most references. They got the most space for expressing their opinion: Armen Darbinian - 2,918.91 s/c, Robert Kocharian - 2,650.08 s/c. Though, in comparison with the previous period of monitoring, the space dedicated for reflecting the viewpoint of Kocharian is reduced almost twice. The Speaker of the National Assembly Khossrov Haroutiunian has got 49 references and 1,408.76 s/c, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian - 46 references and 1,540.46 s/c. Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan, having been mentioned 21 times, has got 1,959.3 s/c - mainly due to one interview (*July 29*). The space dedicated to the expression of the opinions of the Minister of Education and Sciences Levon Mkrtchian was increased more than twice (1,235.5 s/c and 11 references), and the space dedicated to Aram Sargsian, the Adviser of the RA President on foreign policy, was increased almost 25 times (1,103.56 s/c and 18 references). The ex-President Levon Ter-Petrosian, mentioned 27 times, got 169.74 s/c, and the Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian - 482.91 s/c (25 references). Henrik Khachatryan's references were less by one (24 and 113.30 s/c). Parour Hayrikian, the Adviser of the RA President, the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on Changes in the RA Constitution, was mentioned 17 times, having obtained just 655.56 s/c. Arsen Gasparian, the Press-Secretary of the RA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, set up a unique record, having mentioned just 7 times, but getting 990.79 s/c of the newspaper space.

The character of the references of all the 83 figures, as a rule, is neutral. Five figures are mentioned in a negative context: twice - the ex-prime-minister of RA Hrant Bagratian, once - Khossrov Haroutiunian, Vahram Avanesian, the Minister of Economic and Structure Reforms, Shahen Karamanoukian, the head of the cabinet's staff, the Minister on Operative Management, and Vano Siradeghian, the Chairman of the Armenian Pan-National Movement. Henrik Khachatryan was mentioned in a positive context three times and Armen Darbinian - just once.

## **AZG**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Azg” - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder – Council of Founders. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Foreign news are in the first place in “Azg” (16.56%), culture/history is in the second place (12.01%), economy is in the third place (9.98%). Following them are health/ecology (7.09%), internal policy (5.70%), Diaspora (5.55%), rights/ law and order/defense/security (4.94%) and advertising/announcements (4.73%).

Robert Kocharian (170, 3 of them positive, 3 - negative), Armen Darbinian (68, including 1 positive), the ex-President Levon Ter-Petrosian (45, including 4 negative) have got the most references.

Robert Kocharian has the most space dedicated to his statements and opinions - 3,000.65 (having twice as smaller volume in comparison with “Hayastani Hanrapetutian”, “Azg” has dedicated almost as much space to the President). Following Kocharian are Edward

Sandoyan, the Minister of Finances and Economy (1,414.10 s/c) and the Chief of the Department of Information and Publications under RA Government Haroutiun Karapetian - 1,326.29 s/c (the latter obtained the space due to an interview that had occupied almost the fifth part of the whole space of the issue of August 19).

“Azg” covers the problems of the press both in the above-mentioned interview and in two dozens of other materials. In general, the frequency of the publications on this subject is typical for the newspaper.

The variety of topics is another characteristic feature of “Azg.” The daily writes about the Diaspora, the genocide (this subject is reflected in 23 articles), the neighbour countries - Iran and Turkey - more often than the others. And what’s more, it publishes both editorial materials and reports from other sources. The subject of religion in “Azg” is covered more often, than in any other of the investigated newspapers - 2.97% (including the materials on sects - 0.69%).

Also, we should pay attention to the frequency of covering the subjects, intriguing the public - selling the cognac factory (20 times), the crisis in Russia (18 times). “Azg” covered the scandal around the US President Bill Clinton more than the other media (5 times).

Cartoons are rather frequently used in the daily.

## **YERKIR**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Yerkir” - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsoutiun) of Armenia. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

The most space was dedicated to foreign news (15.19%), economy (11.57%) and culture/history (11.26%). 9.81% was dedicated to internal policy, and the publications on the Supreme Session of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsoutiun) have formed the essential part of it.

The matters of privatization and, in particular, the sale of the cognac factory prevail in the materials on economy. Most publications on education/science are dedicated to the entry exams.

At the same time, little attention is paid to the discussion on the amendments to the Constitution, the passing of the new Civil Code, the murder of the Chief Prosecutor. “Yerkir” covered the scandal around the US President only once.

“Yerkir”, as well as “Azg”, covers the matters of religion (2.33%) and, in particular, the activities of the sects in Armenia (0.35%).

Robert Kocharian (193, including 1 positive), Armen Darbinian (80), Khossrov Haroutiunian and Levon Ter-Petrossian (37 each) were mentioned more often than the other politicians. Moreover, the latter had 8 negative references. But Vano Siradeghian, the leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement, has the “highest percentage” of negative references (7 from 18).

Robert Kocharian (3,322.79 s/c - almost as much as in “Hayastani Hanrapetutian”) and the Adviser of the President, the leader of Dashnaksoutian in Armenia Vahan Hovannissian (2,418.69 s/c) had the most newspaper space, based upon their opinions and statements. Following them are Armen Darbinian (2,111.95 s/c), the leader of the “Constitutional Rights” Union Hrant Khachatrian (1,420.43 s/c), the Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian (1,032.60 s/c), Khossrov Haroutiunian (928.54 s/c) and the Minister of Education and Sciences Levon Mkrtchian (923.75 s/c).

The materials on all the subjects, except foreign news, Armenian Apostolic Church and region, are almost always editorials.

The distinguishing advantage of the daily is that it covers the social-economic problems of the Armenian provinces more or less regularly.

## **ARAVOT**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Aravot” - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of “Aravot.” Volume: 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000 to 5,500. Price -100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

As in the previous two months, foreign news (12.34% of the newspaper space) remains the leading theme of “Aravot” in July-August as well. This topic is followed by advertising/announcements (10.81%), internal policy (10.74%), economy (10.33%).

The volume of the materials on religious subjects has undergone the most changes: in comparison with the preceding bimonthly period, it has increased 2.7 times.

Like many other newspapers, “Aravot” practically ignored the passing of the new Civil Code. The process of working out amendments to the RA Constitution got modest coverage from the part of “Aravot” as well. “Aravot” focused its attention on the matters of double citizenship and the authorization of the President. And the reports on the activities of the corresponding Commission under the President provoke a conclusion that the main task of the daily is to show the absurdity of the situation. “Aravot” even published the satirical version of the constitution in the issue of July 31.

It was rather ridiculous that the newspaper paid enormous attention to different opinions about the discussion whether the RA President should go to Baku or not, and, if not, whether the Prime Minister should go there. And the attitude of the newspaper itself towards the “hullabaloo” on this question was ironical: “The problem of the 20th century: to go or not to go?” (*“Aravot”, # 157, August 18, 1998*).

The situation was the same concerning the entry exams. “Aravot” published reports on this ordinary event in the life of the country almost every day, and in the issue of July 30, in the article “Armenia: from the university to the university”, it has expressed its bewilderment concerning the enormous attention to the admission campaign.

Amongst the politicians, Robert Kocharian has the most references (374, including 3 positive, 15 negative), following him is - Armen Darbinian (135, including 5 negative). The representatives of the former authorities, in the aspect of evaluation, are favored more by the daily: ex-President Levon Ter-Petrosian (92 references, including 1 positive, 2

negative), ex-Mayor of the capital Vano Siradeghian (86 - 2 positive, 5 negative). Robert Kocharian again has the most space dedicated to his opinions (2,402.83 s/c). However, the space dedicated to him is less than in the newspapers “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun”, “Azg”, “Yerkir”, though the total newspaper space of the last two ones is less than the total space of “Aravot”. Therefore, we can make a conclusion that the attitude of “Aravot” towards the opinions and the statements of political leaders is a bit scornful.

The characteristic feature of the daily is to provide the politicians, having suffered from the earlier public criticism, with some space “for justification”. “Aravot” often refers to its own former publications; however, it doesn’t ever remind their contents, and it does not allow the reader to go deeply into the essence of problem.

The tendency to represent unedited verbal speeches in the pages of the newspaper has become stronger. Occasionally, they keep the slang, the non-Armenian expressions and the verbal constructions; sometimes it turns out to be a full nonsense. This trick may be justified in rare cases, but “Aravot” has made it a style.

The errors in the newspaper are rather frequent. For instance, the Minister of Social Security Gagik Yeghanyan was named “head of the Tax inspection” (“Aravot”, #132, July 14, 1998); the former RA Ambassador to France Vahan Papazian was named “former Ambassador of France to Armenia” (“Aravot”, #133, July 15, 1998); Vardan Khachatrian was promoted by the newspaper from the position of the deputy up to “the Chairman of the financial-credit, budget and economy Commission of NA” (“Aravot”, #139, July 23, 1998); the newly created political party of Karen Demirchian was named “Popular” in one case, and “Democratic” in another (“Aravot”, #139, July 23, 1998).

## HAYOTS ASHKHAR

### Synopsis:

*“Hayots Ashkhar” - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 80 drams. 35 issues published during the monitoring period. The volume of one of the issues was 16/A3 pp.*

Foreign news is in the first place in the newspaper, based on the space it occupies - 16.40%. Sport is in the second place - 13.03%. Internal policy is in the third place (12.03%). They are followed by rights/law and order/defense/security (8.99%) and economy (8.42%).

Robert Kocharian (123, including 5 positive, one negative), Armen Darbinian (41), Henrik Khachatrian (26, including one positive) and Levon Ter-Petrosian (24, including 4 negative) have got the most references.

Robert Kocharian has the most space dedicated to his statements and opinions (1,722.45 s/c). He is followed by the leader of the “Constitutional Rights” Union Hrant Khachatrian (1,533.75 s/c), the Minister of Education and Sciences Levon Mkrtchian (1,309 s/c), the Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian (1,205.55 s/c).

We can state for sure that in July-August, the newspaper was most interested in the entry exams. About 20 big and small publications, photos, lists have practically made “Hayots Ashkhar” “the chronicler” of the admission campaign.

As before, the information on Russia occupies plenty of space in the newspaper (7.40%), and, as before, “the presence of Russia “ is expressed mainly through the criminal chronicles, published on the 8th page.

The illustrative materials in the daily not always accord with the contents of the publications and the issues as a whole. The cartoons, as a rule, are appropriate, but there are also collages and abstract photos with more abstract texts such as “well, what kind of text can we use not to spoil the picture?!...” - and it looked even more ridiculous in the first page (“Hayots Ashkhar”, #126, July 7, 1998).

“Hayots Ashkhar” is fond of using traditional and modern street slang.

## GOLOS ARMENII

### Synopsis:

*“Golos Armenii” - newspaper (issued three times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume: 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 26 issues published during the monitoring period.*

As in the last period of monitoring, the biggest part of the space in “GA” was dedicated to foreign news topics -25.89%. Mostly, they were obtained from other sources. News from Russia were in the first place in this section -7.51%, though here, too, other sources of information prevailed. Thus, crisis in Russia was covered by means of the reports of the news agencies and the digest of the Russian periodicals. Clinton-Lewinski court topic was observed by “GA” more often as compared to another Russian-language newspaper “Respublica Armenia” - though it was done in the form of small news pieces from other sources.

The editorial articles on the topic of internal policy still remain as first-column publications - 13.36%. As compared with the preceding period, their share increased almost twice (pushing economy to the third place - 8.73%, and the fourth place was granted to advertising/announcements - 8.65%), and criticizing the authorities has become sharper. The waiting attitude of the paper towards the authorities was interrupted by the Yerevan cognac factory sale. “Cognac affair” changed its character from economical to internal political. Although privatization problems are widely discussed in the newspaper, as well as in the aspect of this “shady dealing” (a definition used quite often). “...The society is anxious that other industrial objects will be sold for next to nothing.” (“GA”, #75, July 9, 1998). The same way, the sale of the “museum in the open air” - the hotel “Armenia”, is sharply criticized. Recently, Dashnaksoutiun party has had some unfavorable references. The party “on the one hand ... is against the present privatization, and on the other, continues working side by side with the authorities that consider selling everything the previous authorities failed to sell.” (“GA”, #74, July 7, 1998). “Judging by the fact that Dashnaksoutiun hasn’t called back its ministers who, on behalf of the people, impudently presented the cognac factory to the French, we can say that their attitude towards such piracy is more than loyal.” (“GA”, #80, July 21, 1998).

Legal issues, especially court cases, are also the permanent topics of “Golos Armenii”. The rights/law and order/ defense/security theme had 5.32% share. In contrast to “RA”, this newspaper hasn’t issued news reports on the work of the Commission on Changes in the RA Constitution. Instead, expert reviews on the reformation of the Main Law were published. The staff of the Cassation Court was also acutely criticized because “the 8

members of its staff of 13 participated in political cases” of the recent years, (“GA”, #87, August 6, 1998). Attitude of “GA” in the case of the Chief Prosecutor Henrik Khachatryan can be explained in the following way: Chief Prosecutor was the “victim of the authorities indecision”, and “the present non-punishment” of the previous authorities “serves as a basis for the future crimes”.

As compared to the internal one, foreign policy had only the rate of 1.20%. This also includes a current topic “whether the RA President should go to the TRACECA conference in Baku”, which was rather briefly reviewed in “GA”.

Health/ecology topic was discussed more widely this time (3.37%), mainly at the expense of the critical publications on the policy of the authorities in the field of health.

The space dedicated to education/science also increased - 2.14%. However, accepting the fact that the entry exams will turn into “an important exam for the authorities, too” (“GA”, #83, July 28, 1998), the newspaper abided by a style of reporting different from the other papers: it reviewed not the process of the exams, but the results of them “in one of the ‘hot points’ - Gyumri town” (“GA”, #94, August 22, 1998).

Holiday period in the Parliament affected the rate of the National Assembly/legislation topic (1.03%).

Along with this, in contrast to the preceding monitoring, religion topic had much more space and higher percentage of the editorial materials. Thus, Armenian Apostolic Church gained 1.53% (mainly at the expense of the reports on the conflicts around the elections of the Armenian Apostolic Church Patriarch in Turkey and the court case on the jewellery given by Ferjulian family to the Church). The sects/alternative trends, never reviewed before, this time had the rate of 0.96% (the article “Aggression” about religious sects in the three August issues, published in connection with the refusal to register the “Jehovah Witnesses Society” sect - “GA”, ##86-88).

The negative references of the officials are used in “GA” more often than in other media. Robert Kocharian appears to be the indubitable leader among those - 120. It must be noted that, if for the last two months the President was negatively mentioned only once, having three positive references, now the rate is 9 negative and 0 positive references. The second in this list is the ex-President Levon Ter-Petrossian, mentioned 79 times, of which 26 times - negatively. On the third line is Vano Siradeghian: mentioned 41 times, of which 15 times - negatively. Following them are: Armen Darbinian (mentioned 38 times, 3 times - negatively), Henrik Khachatryan (mentioned 30 times, once - negatively), Hrant Bagratian (mentioned 27 times, 12 times - negatively). Only 3 officials from 83 were once mentioned in a positive aspect: Souren Abrahamian (13 references in general), the Popular Party leader Karen Demirchian (8 references in general) and the ex-leader of the Custom Department Michael Makarian (2 references in general).

Based on the space dedicated to his viewpoints, Souren Abrahamian is a leader - 953.96 s/c. He is followed by Robert Kocharian - 662.04 s/c, the head of the Supervision Department under the President David Vardanian - 365.20 s/c, and the Adviser of the President Vahan Hovannissian - 323.16 s/c. As for the Mayor of Yerevan and the head of the Supervision Department, the space, with some exceptions, is obtained at the expense of just one interview.

### **Synopsis:**

*“Haik” - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume: 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 150 drams. 5 issues published during the monitoring period. The volume of one of the issues was 24/A3 pp.*

“Haik” dedicated the most of its space to internal policy (26.25%), as a political party newspaper should do. Then the society (10.44%), incidents/entertainment (8.73%) and foreign news (7.31%) follow. The volume of advertising/announcements was quite reduced in comparison with the previous two months - 1.67% against 14.54%. Though the reduction is not so indisputable. A whole series of editorial articles - “Almost according to Paronian” (“Haik”, #53, July, 1998), “How can ‘queenburger’ be translated into Armenian?” (“Haik”, #54, July, 1998), on the cafe “Pizza Hut” (“Haik”, #55, July, 1998) and the cafe “Tesilk” (“Haik”, #56, August, 1998), on the beer pub (“Haik”, #57, August, 1998) - make impressions of hidden advertising.

Robert Kocharian and Armen Darbinian here as well have the most references - 60 and 21 correspondingly. “Haik” is more enthusiastic about neutral references than the other political party newspapers.

The leader of Armenian Pan-National Movement Vano Siradeghian has got the most space dedicated to the opinions of the politicians (446.85 s/c). He is followed by Robert Kocharian (301.65 s/c).

### **IRAVOUNK**

#### **Synopsis:**

*“Iravounk” - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - “Constitutional Rights” Union. Volume: 12/A3 pp. A special issue, “Iravounk. Questions and Answers”, was published twice a month (volume: 8/A3 pp.) Claimed circulation - 17,000 to 18,000. Price - 60-80 drams. 14 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Advertising/announcements moved from second place (in May-June) to first - 32.88%. The reason to a big extent became an advertising enclosure that was added to the newspaper. The internal policy comes next - 14.36%, which is followed by the economy - 14.03%.

As before, the majority of materials in “Iravounk” are editorials. Publications from other sources are more than the editorial ones only in two topics - economy and foreign news.

Most frequently referenced public figures were Robert Kocharian (99, including 1 positive and 1 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian (62, including 12 negative), Vano Siradeghian (46, including 8 negative).

Just as it was in the previous two-month period, the space, provided for opinions and statements, does not say a lot. Each time those politicians who gave to the newspaper big interviews get the most space of it. Thus, Souren Abrahamian obtained 1,463.50 s/c, Vano Siradeghian - 1,200.70 s/c, and the Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs Roland Sharoyan - 813.80 s/c.

### **AYZHM**

## Synopsis:

*“Ayzhm” - weekly. Founded in 1996. Founder - National-Democratic Union. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 60 drams. 5 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Due to the tradition, “Ayzhm” concentrated on the internal policy (23.93%). The following topics came next: economy (16.85%) and rights/law and order/defense/security (15.55%).

Besides the articles, covering the section of incidents/entertainment, society and foreign news, all the publications are editorial materials.

The most frequently referenced public figures were Robert Kocharian (34 references, including one negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian (11, including 2 negative), Armen Darbinian (9, including one negative), Vano Siradeghian (8, including 3 negative). So, the group of four leaders consists of politicians, who are strongly opposed by the National-Democratic Union. That means the majority of articles in the newspaper have a critical character.

But then, in the space, provided for opinions, the two leaders of National-Democratic Union - Vazgen Manoukian (953 s/c) and David Vardanian (738 s/c) appear the most.

## LRABER / LOURER

### Synopsis:

*“Lraber” - newscast of National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired thrice a day, twice on Saturdays. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00. The programme was broadcast till August 1 (included). There were 28 newscasts during the monitoring period (July 1 – August 1).*

The total volume of actual airtime - 789 minutes. Length of narration - 596 minutes and 29 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 192 minutes and 31 seconds. The maximum duration of one given newscast is 32 minutes, and the minimal length - 23 minutes.

The studio composition, the bumps and background did not change. The composition of the layout is traditional (*YPC Newsletter, #5 (20), 1998*).

Most of the airtime is allotted to internal policy (21.19%), advertising/announcements (18.63%). Other themes come with quite lower percentage: economy (8.28%), culture/history (7.87%), social issues (7.27%).

The most frequently referenced public figures were the Prime Minister Armen Darbinian (74 times), the President Robert Kocharian (50), the Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian (21). Other politicians are mentioned no more than 10 times. All references are neutral.

Though in the scale of opinions reflected in the programme they appear in a bit different order: Robert Kocharian (15 minutes and 30 seconds), Armen Darbinian (10 minutes and 20 seconds), the NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian (6 minutes and 54 seconds). They are followed by the Adviser of President Vahan Hovannissian (4 minutes 26 seconds), ex-Prosecutor Henrik Khachatryan (3 minutes and 50 seconds), and the Chairman of the

Commission on Changes in the RA Constitution, the leader of “Self-Determination” Union Parour Hayrikian (3 minutes and 9 seconds).

As before, the programme included mostly long stories. The longest stories were dedicated to the preliminary analysis of 100 days of presidency of Kocharian (the vox pop of six politicians - in the newscast of July 20, it was 7 minutes and 3 seconds long) and the story covering the press conference of the RA President (in the newscast of July 22, it was 5 minutes and 31 seconds long, where the parts from the very press conference took 3 minutes and 53 seconds, though it was almost fully broadcast the same day on NTA).

*Starting from August 3, the news programme “Lourer” of “Nork” television company was broadcast on NTA too, temporarily substituting “Lraber”. To be accurate, during the period when “Lourer” was broadcast on two channels it was prepared by the staff of NTA and “Nork” jointly.*

### **Synopsis:**

*Starting from August 3, the “Lourer” news programme of “Nork” TV company was broadcast on NTA six times a week: Monday-Friday thrice a day, on Saturday - twice a day. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts at 20.00. There were 25 of them during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 669 minutes. Length of narration - 613 minutes and 8 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 55 minutes and 52 seconds. The maximal duration of one given newscast was 36 minutes, the minimal length - 18 minutes. Studio decorations, background, bumps (one kind) did not change.

The majority of time was devoted to economy (16.95%), advertising/announcements (12.28%), rights/law and order/ defense/security (8.91%). Other topics come without much lower percentage of coverage: internal policy (8.80%), education/science (8.40%), culture/history (8.29%).

36 politicians were mentioned. Leaders in the amount of times being mentioned were Armen Darbinian (54), Robert Kocharian (45), Vardan Oskanian (17), Parour Hayrikian (14). All references (except 2 negative and 6 positive) are neutral. Though in the scale of the opinions reflected in the programme they appear in a bit different order: Armen Darbinian (15 minutes and 9 seconds), Robert Kocharian (11 minutes and 5 seconds), the Advisers of President Aram Sargsian (9 minutes and 7 seconds), and Parour Hayrikian (7 minutes 56 seconds). They are followed by the Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian (5 minutes and 36 seconds), the Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan (5 minutes and 23 seconds) and Khossrov Haroutiunian (5 minutes and 20 seconds).

The composition of layout was insignificantly changed in the second half of August. In the first half of the monitoring period the newscasts were corresponding to the structure of “Lraber”, while in the second half the programmes started with the more significant stories, according to the opinions of editors: the only information about the public confession of the US President about his “mistakes of youth”, or the story about the unprecedented economy crisis in Russia in the last few years. The last mentioned topic was covered almost every day. That resulted in having a relatively big volume, comparing to other programmes, of stories about Russia (3.02%).

Taking into account the fact that in the second half of August the programme was broadcast without bumps, the volume of technical and feature intermissions could be considered unacceptable. The programme was aired with frequent technical mistakes: another story was showed instead of the announced one, the broadcasting stopped for a while (the pause was filled with a bump), the cuts were done slowly, and so on.

## **AYB-FEH**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Ayb-Feh” - newscast of “A1+” TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The object of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 685 minutes. Length of narration - 638 minutes. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 46 minutes and 3 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 16 minutes, and the minimum length - 10 minutes.

In the period of two months there were two kinds of studio backgrounds used. Bumps did not change.

According to their volume, the three main themes were: economy (16.79%), rights/law and order/defense/security (14.51%), culture/history (11.90%). The following three themes came next: internal policy (10.27%), social issues (8.79%), education/science (8.46%). Other themes were covered significantly less.

Leaders in the amount of time being referenced: Robert Kocharian (77), Armen Darbinian (40), Khossrov Haroutiunian (19), Vahan Hovannissian (18). The two positive references to the Minister of Agriculture Vladimir Movsessian formed the largest number of “non-indifferent” referrals. The total number of that kind of referrals was 11 (5 positive and 6 negative). The leaders, on the scale of the amount of time their opinions were reflected in the programme, were Robert Kocharian (7 minutes and 50 seconds), Parouir Hayrikian (5 minutes and 4 seconds), Vahan Hovannissian (3 minutes and 23 seconds).

Starting from the second half of July until the end of monitoring period the dominant theme was the theme of entry exams. That topic was covered almost every day. There were newscasts containing 2-3 stories about examinations. Among the events not covered in any other programme but “Ayb-Feh”, we can mention the action of hunger strike of a few women in front of the residency of the RA President. The stories covering that event were broadcast on each day of hunger strike.

## **KIRAKNORYA LRABER / TESADASHT**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Kiraknorya Lraber” - analytical newscast of National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays at 20.00. There were 5 newscasts during the monitoring period (July 1 - August 2).*

The total volume of actual airtime was 137 minutes. Length of narration - 130 minutes and 33 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 6 minutes and 27

seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 30 minutes, and the minimum length - 26 minutes.

The most of the airtime was allotted to economy (25.16%), internal policy (24.37%), and social issues (11.14%). The airtime allotted to other themes was significantly less.

According to the amount of times being referenced, the leaders are Robert Kocharian (19), Armen Darbinian (6), Vahan Hovannissian (3). There were no negative references. The number of positive references was 4 (3 positive references to Kocharian and one to the leader of Communist Party Sergey Badalian). The leaders, on the scale of the amount of times their opinions were reflected in the programme, were Robert Kocharian (7 minutes and 51 seconds), the Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian (4 minutes), the Minister of Industry and Trade Garnik Nanagoulian (3 minutes and 18 seconds). They are followed by Armen Darbinian (2 minutes and 27 seconds) and Vahan Hovannissian (1 minutes and 40 seconds).

Though the programme is claimed to be analytical, it maintained its character of a news digest. The principle of enumerating the events of last week prevailed in the programme. The press conference of the President was mentioned again though it was covered in a few newscasts of "Lraber" of last week (the newscast of July 26). The problem of entry exams was covered in an unprecedented story by its length - 10 minutes and 10 seconds (the same day newscast).

*Starting from August 9 "Kiraknorya Lraber" was replaced by "Tesadasht" programme.*

### **Synopsis:**

*"Tesadasht" - analytical newscast of "Mir" international TV company, aired on Sunday. There were 4 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The volume of actual airtime was 97 minutes. Length of narration - 87 minutes and 57 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 9 minutes and 3 seconds. The maximum duration of one given newscast - 28 minutes, the minimum length - 21 minutes. The studio composition, background, bumps did not change. The anchor of programme did not change. Headlines of different length without narration were used in the programme. The composition layout was not standard. The order in which the stories appear in the programme depended on their importance, according to the opinion of programme authors.

According to the volume of coverage, the following themes were leading: economy (10.52%) and foreign news (Turkey - 9.39%, Russia - 7.93%, Azerbaijan - 7.80%). The theme of internal policy came next - 7.45%. Though "Tesadasht" and "Storaket" programmes have different characters, the scale of the amount of time dedicated to the opinions of politicians or their names referenced in the stories are similar in those two programmes. Only the names of 7 politicians were referenced in the programme: Armen Darbinian and Vardan Oskanian (4 times each), Robert Kocharian, Shahen Karamanoukian, the Catholicos Garegin I, Henrik Khachatryan, the President of National Academy of Sciences Fadey Sargsian (1 time each). In the scale of the amount of time the opinions of politicians were reflected in the programme, the leading figures belong to Henrik Khachatryan (1 minute and 16 seconds) and Vardan Oskanian (55 seconds). They are followed by Fadey Sargsian (9 seconds) and Armen Darbinian (7 seconds). The opinions of other politicians were not reflected.

“Tesadasht” showed more attention to countries of NIS and Turkey than any other newscasts and analytical programmes. The shots on the above-mentioned topics from other programmes of “Mir” TV company were used in most of those stories. The newscast of August 30 can be considered to be done in two languages (Armenian/Russian), because they used long fragments from “Vmeste” programme of “Mir” TV company.

## **KIRAKI**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Kiraki” - analytical newscast of “A1+” TV company. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 9 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 132 minutes. Length of narration was 125 minutes and 53 seconds. The volume of feature and technical intermissions - 6 minutes and 7 seconds. The maximum duration of one given newscast was 18 minutes, the minimum length - 13 minutes. The studio composition of programme changed a few times. The studio background, bumps did not change.

The significant part of the overall volume was covered by internal policy (53.16%), which was followed by foreign policy, with a quite lower percentage (16.20%), National Assembly/legislation (7.70%).

Leaders in the amount of references were Robert Kocharian (34), Parouir Hayrikian (12), Khossrov Haroutiunian (9), Armen Darbinian (8). All references were neutral (except one negative reference of Robert Kocharian). Leaders in volume of their opinions reflected in the programme were Parouir Hayrikian (2 minutes and 34 seconds), Vahan Hovannissian (2 minutes and 16 seconds) and Khossrov Haroutiunian (1 minute and 52 seconds).

The studio speech of the anchor took the biggest part of newscast. All other stories were fragments from the last week reports of the programme “Ayb-Feh”. No more than 3 stories of “Ayb-Feh” programme were used in each newscast.

“Kiraki” examined most of the problems from internal and external political angle: privatization of “Armenia” hotel, the Bastille Day, assignment of Ashot Zalinian to the post of Deputy Chief of Information and Publications Department. It is not always justified. “What does that step mean?” - the anchor asks concerning that assignment and gives some possible versions from political angle (*newscast of July 19*).

But then, some other themes, that took leading positions in other media, were eliminated: the murder of the Chief Prosecutor was covered only once during the whole month of August. The crisis in Russia was not covered at all.

## **STORAKET**

### **Synopsis:**

*“Storaket” - weekly newscast of Internews Armenia. Aired on Sundays through 13 independent TV stations. There were 5 newscasts and one enclosure during the monitoring period. Since August 9 the programme was on vacation.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 110 minutes. Length of narration - 105 minutes and 39 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 4 minutes and 21 seconds. Studio composition, background, bumps (3 different kinds of bumps) did not change. "Storaket" has one permanent anchor. The programme consists of stories from regional independent TV companies. The maximum duration of one given newscast was 24 minutes, the minimum length - 18 minutes. On August 9 the enclosure of the programme (12 minutes long) about the servants of Garegin I - the couple of Fishkian, was broadcast.

The composition layout did not change: the short headlines of political events of the passed week came first, then all the other stories. The order in which the stories appear in the programme depended on their logical interconnection, which allowed to compare different aspects of one or another problem in different regions of Armenia. According to the volume, the leading themes were: the social issues (22.29%), the society (15.88%), the Armenian Apostolic Church (13.29%), the economy (12.46%). Other themes were covered significantly less. Only 7 public figures were referenced out of 83 possible. Leaders in that aspect were Robert Kocharian (7) and Garegin I (3). The other 5 names were referenced once each. All references were neutral. The opinions of 3 public figures were reflected: of Garegin I (1 minute and 25 seconds), the Adviser of President Aram Sargsian (12 seconds), and Robert Kocharian (5 seconds). The principle of the programme is to be as close to specific people as possible.

## **LOURER (NRA)**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lourer" - newscast of National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast 5 times a week (Monday - Friday) and aired 10 times a day, 8 times on Saturdays and 6 times on Sundays. The object of monitoring were newscasts at 21.00. There were 62 of them during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 742 minutes. Length of narration - 636 minutes and 48 seconds. The volume of technical and other intermissions - 105 minutes and 12 seconds. The maximum duration of one given newscast was 18 minutes, and the minimum length was 8 minutes. The anchors were the commentators of National Radio of Armenia (except a few newscasts, that were led by two anchors). The composition layout did not change.

According to the volume of coverage, the leading theme was economy (24.98%), which was followed by education/science (8.58%), foreign policy (8.30%), advertising/announcements (7.26%), internal policy (7.23%). The theme of sport (6.83%) was ahead of the themes like social issues (6.53%), rights/law and order/defense/ security (6.02%). The reason was the following: besides the special sports casts on Tuesdays (with the average length of 5 minutes), the sports events were covered in a number of other newscasts.

Leaders in the number of times being referenced were: Robert Kocharian (77), Armen Darbinian (55), Khossrov Haroutiunian (16), Vardan Oskanian and Souren Abrahamian (13 times each). All references were neutral. In the scale of the amount of time their opinions were reflected in the programme, the leaders were: Robert Kocharian (15 minutes and 20 seconds), Khossrov Haroutiunian (6 minutes and 43 seconds) and Armen

Darbinian (5 minutes and 22 seconds). Roland Sharoyan (2 minutes and 30 seconds) and Aram Sargsian (2 minutes and 29 seconds) were significantly behind.

As compared to other programmes, the big part of stories in "Lourer" are from other sources. The biggest part came from official press releases and "Armenpress" news agency. There were a few programmes for the monitoring period that consisted completely of stories from other sources. Unlike "Lraber" and "Lourer" (NTA), "Lourer" (NRA) more frequently refers to the sources of information.

The volume of themes, that were in the centre of public attention, was quite lower in radio "Lourer" than in monitored TV programmes. But then, the prohibition on using one-door buses as the means of public transport was actively covered in the second half of July. The story that examined different aspects of that problem was aired on July 25. The mentioned story was repeated on July 26 without pre-informing. "Lourer" used a few references from different institutions. That kind of material is hardly perceived by audience due to two reasons: first, because it is presented without any commentary or factual illustration, and secondly, because it is too long. For example, the reference from the Department of Information and Publications about the privatization and the activities of publishing houses, took 2 minutes and 42 seconds (the newscast of August 3), or the reference from the State Statistics Department about agriculture was 1 minute and 13 seconds long (newscast of August 16). All that time was devoted to numbers, percentages, etc.

The traditional weather cast was missed couple of times. Once it happened because the staff of the programme "did not succeed in contacting the RA Hydro-meteorological Centre". That was the quote from the newscast of August 22.

## **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**September 1 - October 31, 1998**

**THE RESULTS OF MONITORING** in September-October indicate that most of leading Armenian media was almost unanimous in selection of themes for its coverage.

One of such themes was impeachment of the RA President, because of his refusal to call a special session of the Parliament on the issue of privatisation of the cognac factory. A lawmaking initiative for removing some enterprises, including the cognac factory, from the list of privatisation objects, is also linked directly to this theme. Yet, media's approaches to this problem vary significantly. "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenia" dailies viewed the discussions of these problems as the beginning of the election campaign and as kind of speculations on the part of some politicians with the purpose of self-advertising. "Haik" weekly defended the position reflected in the declaration of the "Respublica" parliamentary faction (that is, supported the statement that President violated the Constitution). "Aravot" daily accepted a close position, while maintaining, at the same time, its characteristic ironical tone. The other media tried to present the problem in information mode (electronic media) or to reflect various opinions (print media). "Yerkir" daily touched the issue least of all.

The debates on the new Electoral Code were also widely covered. Notably, the official media appeared to be less analytical than party press or independent media. Pluralistic approaches to the Code were most fully reflected in "Azg" and "Yerkir" dailies.

Virtually all publications have paid attention to the economic crisis in Russia. Although, in fact, "Haik" addressed the problem only once, and "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" was significantly behind other daily publications. Apart from "Tesadasht", other observed electronic media news programmes have restricted themselves to the news materials. The newspapers "Respublica Armenia", "Azg", "Aravot", and "Iravouk" made attempts of independent analyses and drew parallels with the situation in Armenia. In the meantime, the latter did not agree with representatives of the government who insisted that the Russian crisis would not affect Armenia significantly.

The TRACECA programme and participation of Armenian delegation in Baku conference were also covered by all of media, though quite very differently. "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" focused on the official aspects, "Respublica Armenia" and NTA and NRA newscasts provided detailed coverage concentrating on the economic aspects of the theme, "Azg" provided diversified coverage. "Haik" and "Aravot" reported about the activities of Armenian authorities in this field in critical and ironical manner. "Yerkir" and "Hayots Ashkhar" paid less attention to the theme than others.

The problem of relations between the state and media was also in the centre of attention. The main occasions were the conflicts between the RA National Assembly and the employees of the National Television of Armenia and "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" who objected to the dismissal of the "HH" Editor-in-Chief. Monitored media were mainly trying to show professional solidarity but, in general, could not avoid subjective attacks against some journalists or journalist groups.

The September hullabaloo around the figure of Presidential Spokeswoman Gassia Apkarian promoted the theme of her appointment and further work to the rank of most important events of public and political life. As a result, in some of the media Apkarian surpassed her boss, RA President Robert Kocharian both by the frequency of reference and the space dedicated to publicising her statements. The media split into two blocks: "Yerkir", "Aravot", "Hayots Ashkhar", and "Golos Armenii" were trying to hurt the Spokeswoman as painfully as possible and to discredit her. Interestingly, newspapers of different political orientation have found a "common language" in this. Others did not get involved in this campaign either out of ethical or other considerations, yet were presenting Apkarian's activities in detail. Needed to mention that the attacks against her stopped and the attention of press on her appreciably diminished as soon as Gassia Apkarian left the post of Presidential Spokeswoman maintaining still the duties of Presidential Advisor.

The monitored media can be separated in two groups also by the frequency of referring to political figures and the airtime and space dedicated to them. The first group is traditional. These are "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Respublica Armenia", "Haylour" TV programme, and "Lourer" radio programme, which paid a special attention to the President, Prime Minister, and the RA NA Speaker. Other newspapers and programmes more or less stepped aside from these three traditional politicians, who are in the centre of attention.

Notably, for many months, two newspapers - "Aravot" and "Iravouk", which can hardly be reckoned to the same political block, regularly devoted quite some of their space to elucidate the opinions and viewpoints of the leader of Armenian Pan-National Movement

Vano Siradeghian. Through these publications the latter speaks about virtually all main problems that excite the Armenian society.

The phenomenon of ex-President Levon Ter-Petrosian is also worth mentioning. He consistently avoids contacts with the press and public though remains one of the most frequently referred figures.

The number of indicative (positive and, especially, negative) references of political figures, in general, has increased in September-October. The monitoring group has forecast that with approaching parliamentary elections and aggravation of political struggle, this phenomenon will persist. Meanwhile, indicative references appear in press and in air mainly through quotes or references of this or that politician. The journalists themselves, except for "Golos Armenii", refrain from direct negative or positive statements.

## HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN

### Synopsis:

*"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Volume: 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,500. Price - 75 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period. 6 of them had the volume of 4/A2 pages, and one issue - of 6/A2 pp.*

"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" was consistent in its thematic preferences in the September-October period. It dedicated the most of its space to advertising/announcements - 17.02%, culture/history - 13.42%, foreign news - 11.63%, and economy - 10.58%. Compared with the past two months, only economy and foreign news have switched the places.

During our past reports the monitoring group pointed out that thematic space allocation in the Armenian media is often a reflection of personal journalistic preferences of the editors and employees. Editor-in-Chief and part of editorial (creative) staff of "HH" changed in mid-October. Yet, probably, the trend of the daily could not change significantly in just half a month. Perhaps, the picture will change in the results of November-December period.

As an official newspaper, "HH" often uses quite large amount of information from the official sources, especially the materials provided by various press services which, as a rule, it publishes in full.

For a newspaper, which doesn't have foreign correspondents, it is quite natural that 82.56% of materials about foreign news are received from other sources. Yet, a similar figure in the sphere of Armenia's foreign policy (72.11% of materials are from other sources) is harder to explain.

Most frequently referenced political figures still were RA President Robert Kocharian - 256 (including 1 positive, 3 negative), Prime Minister Armen Darbinian - 154 (including 4 positive), and NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian - 121 (including 1 negative). Since the beginning of autumn session of the National Assembly references to Haroutiunian have become more frequent, and his lag from Darbinian reduced (during the past two-month period their respective figures were 58 and 121). Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian was mentioned 49 times (all references neutral).

The same four officials were also leading in terms of the space dedicated to publication of their opinions: Armen Darbinian - 4,411.70 square centimetres, Robert Kocharian - 3,920.74 s/c, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 3,046.29 s/c, Vardan Oskanian - 2,481.44 s/c.

"HH" presented the hot themes of September-October - possible impeachment of the RA President for alleged violation of the Constitution (according to several politicians), and the demands of removing several enterprises from the privatisation lists - mainly from the position, that these were political games on the eve of parliamentary elections.

The daily addressed in detail the relations between the state and media. Before the dismissal of the Editor-in-Chief mostly problematic issues of the topic had been addressed. Later, after October 15th, "HH" became involved in exchange of insults between the supporters of the former and new editors.

## REPUBLICA ARMENIA

### Synopsis:

*"Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder -Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA". Standard volume: 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.*

The trend to increase in the volume of foreign news has pushed this theme to the first place - 13.61% of total volume of the publication. Notably, editorial materials prevail in all sections of the topic, except for activities of international organisations. As earlier, Russia was covered most thoroughly - 4.67%. Analysis and comments on constantly changing economic and political situation were present in practically every issue. Financial crisis, which resulted in collapse of treasury bonds, served as a reason for discussing the situation on the Armenian stock market. Increase of attention to Azerbaijan (2.44%) is, first of all, related to presidential elections and the oil theme, which was touched upon in five September issues of "RA".

Economy, which traditionally was of first priority in "RA", has now moved to the second place (11.53%). During the four months of monitoring the volume of advertising/announcements (10.60%) continued to decrease, from second/third place in May-August, to the fourth. Culture/history - 10.83% (International Jazz Festival, which was held in Armenia by the end of October, was presented especially well) has now occupied the third place. At the same time, the share of editorial materials has increased significantly: they prevail in practically all themes with the exception of foreign policy, incidents/entertainment, and of international organisations as mentioned above.

Coverage of VIII parliament session that started in mid-September and passed on quite impetuously restored the index of the National Assembly/legislation (4.14%) to practically the same level, as in May-June. In its first September issue "RA" characterised this session as the beginning of "pre-election struggle of parties", and as a way to use it "for self-advertising by some MPs" ("RA", #164, September 1, 1998).

In September-October the daily referred to the theme of media (2.36%) many times. An extensive interview with Gassia Apkarian, who then was just appointed as Presidential Spokeswoman, touched upon the role of press in the society. A new heading, "Press Club", published discussions of brothers of the quill on the problems of the Armenian media, widely covered the Days of Press of Russia, CIS, and Baltic countries that was held in Armenia at the end of September, and reprinted articles in which the journalists

who visited Armenia and shared their impressions about the visit. Yet, "RA" refrained from comments on the relations between the state and press, an important theme of the period.

Another key topic - regional co-operation (3.68%) - was also widely covered in the pages of "RA". Along with the materials of a special correspondent of the newspaper, accompanying the Prime Minister in his visit to the International conference on the TRACECA, the daily published Armen Darbinian's speech at Baku summit, materials about the Silk Way, and the analyses of the advantages and disadvantages of Armenia's participation in the programme, etc.

In terms of references and the space dedicated for opinions and statements the same four people are leading as during the previous periods of monitoring. Robert Kocharian was mentioned 198 times, and received 4,262.58 s/c of space; Armen Darbinian was mentioned 113 times but space, devoted for reflecting his opinion (1,934.23 s/c) was less than for Khossrov Haroutiunian - 2,404.05 s/c with 76 references. At the end of leading group comes Vardan Oskanian with 43 references and 1,551.34 s/c.

Only five politicians were mentioned positively: Darbinian (3), and Kocharian, Haroutiunian, the Catholicos of All Armenians Garegin I, and ex-Prime Minister Hrant Bagratian (by 1 each). Negative references were also made about five politicians: Hrant Bagratian and Chairman of Parliament Commission for Foreign Relations Hovhannes Igitian (by 1 each); the leader of the "Democratic Motherland" party Edward Yegorian and Robert Kocharian (by 2 each); and ex-President Levon Ter-Petrossian (3). Notably, it was the first time during the whole monitoring period that both the President and Ex-President were mentioned in a negative context. Thus, Levon Ter-Petrossian was criticised for the rule of the country during his presidency. Negative statements about Robert Kocharian were made by representatives of opposition.

## AZG

### Synopsis:

*"Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

As in the past two-month period, the daily provided most of its space to foreign news - 16.21%, followed by sports - 12.12% and culture/history - 11.94%. Traditionally, "Azg" provided more attention, than other monitored publications, to the problems of media - 3.65%.

Most frequently referenced political figure is Robert Kocharian - 168 (5 positive, and 13 negative). Next comes Armen Darbinian - 76 (1 positive, 3 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian and Vardan Oskanian - by 32 (3 negative references of Haroutiunian, all neutral of Oskanian). Of 28 references of Levon Ter-Petrossian, 6 are negative. The Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian was referenced 25 times, of which 3 positive and 4 negative.

In terms of space provided for opinion, the Secretary of Presidential Political Council, leader of the "Constitutional Rights" Union Hrant Khachatrian is ahead of others (1,940.50 s/c). Next comes Presidential Advisor Gassia Apkarian (1,780.25 s/c) followed by President Kocharian himself (1,769.30 s/c). Clearly, the newspaper paid a special attention

to the opinions expressed in the presidential residence, where press conferences and briefings were rather frequent in the monitoring period.

The newspaper thoroughly covered the issues of special concern for the Armenian society in September-October: debates around impeachment of the President, elimination of some objects from the privatisation list, TRACECA programme, relations between the state and media, drafts of the Electoral Code. Notably, "Azg" usually tries to provide its space to different positions.

For the first time, the newspaper provided so much space to Russia (3.30%) in the foreign news section. This is related to coverage of the economy crisis, and its influence on the situation in Armenia.

## **YERKIR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsoutiun) of Armenia. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 100 drams. Since October 6 price went down to 50 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

As earlier, this daily also allocated most space for foreign news (21.50%). This percentage has even further increased from 15.19% in July-August. Next come culture/history (12.28%), and internal policy (9.56%).

As in the case with "Azg", here the volume of materials on Russia has also increased (4.42%). But, in contrast with the "Azg", there were practically no parallels between the Russian economic crisis and the situation in Armenia.

Traditionally, "Yerkir" allotted more attention to education/science (5.41%) than the others of the monitored print media. At the same time, in contrast with the majority of Armenian press, which was discussing the problems of media extensively in September-October, the newspaper appeared aside of this theme. Moreover, the volume of materials, dedicated to media, reduced from 3.16% to 1.61% compared with the past two-month period.

Robert Kocharian was referenced most frequently - 153 times (including 1 positive, 5 negative references). Next come Armen Darbinian - 83 (including 1 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 50 (including 1 positive, 3 negative), Vardan Oskanian - 36 (including 1 negative, 1 positive), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 30 (including 1 positive, 11 negative).

In terms of the space devoted for views and opinions, Vardan Oskanian (1,890.10 s/c), Robert Kocharian (1,594.55 s/c), Presidential Advisor Vahan Hovannissian (1,566.00 s/c), and Armen Darbinian (1,381.50 s/c) were ahead of others.

## **ARAVOT**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Volume: 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Foreign news took the leading place (13.28%) in the newspaper in September-October. Next come internal policy - 9.97%, advertising/announcements - 8.64%, economy - 8.46%, culture/history - 8.33%.

"Aravot" was quite stable in distributing its space by themes, and changes in this were insignificant compared with the previous monitoring periods.

Most frequently referred political figures, Robert Kocharian was still leading - 310 (including 1 positive, 11 negative). Next come Armen Darbinian - 134 (including 1 negative), and Levon Ter-Petrossian - 94 (including 1 positive, 6 negative).

In general, "Aravot" is very restrained on positive references: the leader of Popular Party Karen Demirchian and Minister of Defence of Mountainous Karabagh Samvel Babayan received more than the others (by 2 positive references).

The situation changed fundamentally in terms of the space provided for opinions and views of certain politicians. Leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement Vano Siradeghian moved from the 7th place (1,101.08 s/c) in July-August to the 1st (1,763.71 s/c). He is followed by the leader of National-Democratic Union Vazgen Manoukian (1,616.59 s/c) and Hovhannes Igition (1,365.00 s/c) who had received 3 and 50 times more space as compared with the previous period.

"Aravot" paid adequate attention to the whole spectrum of themes that excited most of the Armenian media. At the same time, the daily was using non-standard methods, undisguised irony, and allowed elements of subjective individual approaches on the part of authors. Say, responding to the fact that only representatives of the official media accompanied Prime Minister at the TRACECA conference, "Aravot" published a material named "A Supposed Reporting about Prime Minister Armen Darbinian's Visit to Baku" ("Aravot", #172, September 8, 1998).

In the meantime, the newspaper conducted consistent and detailed analyses of the problem of Armenia's economic isolation in light of the Baku conference, as well as the impact of Russian economic crisis on Armenia.

"Aravot" was setting the pitch in discrediting campaign of former Presidential Spokeswoman Gassia Apkarian, selecting her poor knowledge of Armenian as its main target. After her third briefing the newspaper said, "... it will never be editing the statements of Press Secretary again. Perhaps, this will divulge to Mrs. Gassia the shortcomings of her statements in terms of both their meaning and wording" ("Aravot", #173, September 9, 1998).

## **HAYOTS ASHKHAR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 80 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.*

There were no significant changes in distribution of the newspaper space by themes as compared with the previous period. On the first place is the foreign news - 18.09%, followed by internal policy - 13.35%, and sports - 12.04%.

There were also no surprises in the table of references of political figures. The leaders are Robert Kocharian - 142 (including 2 positive, 9 negative), Armen Darbinian - 51 (including 3 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 32 (including 2 negative), Levon Ter-Petrosian - 30 (including 8 negative).

Yet, the situation changed significantly in terms of the space provided to opinions and statements. First comes the leader of Communist Party Sergey Badalian (1,774.50 s/c) followed by Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan (1,582.25 s/c) and Robert Kocharian (1,578.50 s/c), at the time Minister of Energy Gagik Martirosian (1,578.00 s/c), Minister of Justice David Haroutiunian (1,566.50 s/c), Chairman of Constitutional Court Gagik Haroutiunian (1,528.50 s/c), and Vahan Hovannissian (1,490.50 s/c).

None of the more-or-less important problems during the monitoring period did escape the attention of the newspaper. Yet, its attention was spread unevenly. Particularly, Armenia's participation in the TRACECA programme was presented rather poorly.

## GOLOS ARMENII

### **Synopsis:**

*"Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued three times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume: 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 26 issues published for the monitoring period.*

Foreign news has maintained the leading position in "Golos Armenii" - 27.48%. The rest of the newspaper space was distributed in the following way: internal policy - 9.63%, economy - 8.50%, and culture/history - 7.29%. The volume of advertising/announcements, which comes next, continued to decrease and now reached 6.93%.

Russia is still the first priority topic in the foreign news section - 7.53%. Along with frequent reprints and digests of Russian press, the newspaper also dedicated its own editorial materials to the situation in Russia, where it was particularly raising the question of how it could affect Armenians, living in this country. The crisis was viewed not only in the economic aspect: "Economic disaster has played a detonator role for many processes, though primarily for not critical (that is, changing authorities), but rather geopolitical and, perhaps, ideological." ("GA", #100, September 5, 1998). Presenting the figure of Russia's new Prime Minister to the readers, the newspaper stressed that Yevgeni Primakov did never feel any special sympathies to our country and, according to some sources, had reservations in regard with Robert Kocharian. Therefore, an interesting collision was possible in Transcaucasia: "Russian Prime Minister does not like the President of a country, which is Russia's only strategic partner, but has very good relations with Shevardnadze and Aliev, whose countries are confronting Russia in virtually everything..." ("GA", #103, September 12, 1998). "GA" was often drawing parallels between the interior situation in Armenia and Russia including two sensational murders - of Russian General Lev Rokhlin and the RA Chief Prosecutor Henrik Khachatryan ("GA", #113, October 8, 1998).

Compared with the last four months of monitoring, the newspaper provided more coverage of the political events in the neighbouring countries: Azerbaijan (3.05%) and Georgia (2.06%). Particularly, it wrote about the situation with presidential elections in Azerbaijan, and about the events in Djavahk. The difference between the previous periods is that this

time editorial materials on Georgia prevail. The share of editorial materials on Azerbaijan is also higher than those received from other sources.

Armenia's internal policy is still in the centre of attention of "GA", and President Robert Kocharian is the main object of critical publications of the newspaper. The President is, first of all, criticised for privatisation policy. Meanwhile, according to "GA", failure of the initiative of opposition MPs to revise the list of privatisation objects came as no surprise, since "those who started to call themselves opposition after 1996, and after February 1998, are not the opposition, they just pretend to be such... Therefore, this was not about the national values, but rather a chance to fight for power by manipulating with them". ("GA", #114, October 10, 1998).

According to the newspaper, the Parliament, which resumed its activities after summer holidays (in general, 3.32% of space was allocated to National Assembly/legislation), "... started to work towards smoothing its own activities" ("GA", #122, October 29, 1998). The elections are approaching and, considering that a day of work of the National Assembly costs the taxpayers approximately 2.6 million drams, one can say that we are financing the election campaign, which already started, believes "Golos Armenii" ("GA", #122, October 29, 1998).

Returning to the theme of relations between state and media from time to time and dwelling on the issue of distribution of the 80 million drams allocated for the Armenian media, the newspaper would remind how important the state support to media is, especially to the independent media, for the development of democratic society. Yet, this problem has not been resolved so far, and only the official media are receiving state subsidy. And they are paid "for qualified hiding of information about life of the state". Dissatisfaction of the National Assembly by the state media - NTA and "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" daily, is due to the fact that "they tiptoe to the government's tune today, which the Parliament doesn't like" ("GA", #116, October 15, 1998). Both "HH" and NTA (particularly, its leaders) were criticised by "GA".

"Golos" was somehow sceptical about Armenia's participation in Baku conference and in the TRACECA programme.

Regarding the number and character of references to political figures, the figures for Robert Kocharian remained the same as in July-August (120 references). Yet, the number of negative references sharply increased (24). The President is followed by Levon Ter-Petrossian who has 60 references, 25 of which negative. Armen Darbinian and Vano Siradeghian have switched their places this time: 34 references (including 3 negative) and 24 (including 9 negative) respectively.

In general, of 84 political figures, 8 were mentioned in positive context, 20 - in negative.

In terms of the space provided for opinions and statements the leaders are Edward Sandoyan - 870.75 s/c, Vardan Oskanian - 450.59 s/c, and Chairman of the NA Social Issues, Health, and Ecology Commission Gegham Gharibjanian - 411.30 s/c (the latter is a result of an interview to the newspaper).

## **HAIK**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Haik" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume: 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 150 drams. 9 issues published for the monitoring period.*

Like in the last two-month period, the weekly has paid most attention to the internal policy - 18.67%. Next come incidents/entertainment - 11.22%, culture/history - 9.79%, and foreign news - 9.66%.

Of political figures most frequently referenced is Robert Kocharian - 117 (including 1 positive, 14 negative). If previously, among the party affiliated papers, "Haik" had been least biased in references, its attitude somehow changed in September-October, at least in regard with the President. After Robert Kocharian come Armen Darbinian - 42 (including 5 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 35 (including 2 positive), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 24 (including 4 negative). There were only 7 positive references in the newspaper in two months, of which Levon Ter-Petrossian and Vano Siradeghian received 2 each, and the leader of the "Respublica" parliamentary faction Babken Ararktsian, Robert Kocharian, and Vardan Oskanian received one reference each. Yet, if the last two have also had negative references, the other three, representing former authorities, have only had positive indicative references.

In terms of the space provided for opinions and statements the leaders are Vazgen Manoukian (952.20 s/c), Sergey Badalian (667.80 s/c), and Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs Roland Sharoyan (612.50 s/c). Once again it is worth mentioning that these figures collected in two months tell little about weekly newspapers, since due to small total volume of newspapers, one interview or news conference with a political figure alone may change the picture significantly.

## **IRAVOUNK**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Iravounk" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Volume: 12/A3 pp. A special issue "Iravounk. Questions and Answers" was published twice a month (volume of 8/A3 pp.) Claimed circulation - 18,000. Price - 60-80 drams. 13 issues published for the monitoring period.*

In September-October too, the weekly was attracting advertisers, and its advertising/announcements section was still leading - 28.97%. Next come internal policy - 18.67%, economy - 10.91%, and culture/history - 9.63%.

Traditionally, "Iravounk" mainly manages with its own editorial materials, and only uses a small share (3-16%) of materials from other sources in sections culture/history, Artsakh (Mountainous Karabagh), region, incidents/entertainment, and foreign news.

Most frequently referenced political figures are Robert Kocharian - 105 (including 2 positive, 3 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 60 (including 15 negative), Armen Darbinian - 52 (including 1 negative), Vano Siradeghian - 34 (including 1 positive, 1 negative). The leading group remained the same as during the previous two months, just the positions of Darbinian and Siradeghian switched.

In terms of the space provided for opinions and statements Vano Siradeghian was ahead of others - 1,545.19 s/c. Next comes the leader of the founder party of "Iravounk" Hrant Khachatrian - 1,536.00 s/c and Presidential Advisor Gassia Apkarian - 1,471.29 s/c.

"Iravouk" paid attention to practically all important problems of the monitoring period and became one of those few publications, which not only reported about economic crisis in Russia, but also tried to concretely analyse its possible influence on the economy and political situation in Armenia.

## **AYZHM**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayzhm" - weekly. Founded in 1996. Founder - National-Democratic Union. Volume: 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 60 drams. 7 issues published for the monitoring period.*

Upon the results of first six months of monitoring "Ayzhm" is still the most politicised publication. Internal policy always received most of the newspaper space: 21.59% in September-October. Next come rights/law and order/defence/security - 14.34%, social issues - 8.55%, economy - 8.23%, society - 8.10%. The volume of advertising/announcements sharply increased - 5.22% (0.97% and 0.57% in the past two-month periods). "Ayzhm" never turned to the theme of education/science in September-October.

Most frequently referenced political figures are Robert Kocharian - 29 (including 4 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 22 (including 5 negative), Armen Darbinian - 11 (including 3 negative). In general, there were either neutral or negative references in "Ayzhm" in four months (July-October), and none in the positive context.

In terms of the space allocated for opinions and statements, the absolute leader is head of the founder party of "Ayzhm" Vazgen Manoukian - 2,823.71 s/c. Leader of the "XXI Century" party David Shahnazarian and President's new Spokesman Vahe Gabrielian, coming next, received almost 23 times less space.

Following "Iravouk", "Ayzhm" also offered the readers interesting examples of political satire - in the "Dorian Gray's Corner" heading.

## **LOURER (NTA) / HAYLOUR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lourer" - newscast of the "Nork" TV company. From August 3 to September 19th was also broadcast on the National Television of Armenia six times a week (Monday- Friday thrice a day, on Saturday - twice a day). Thus, "Lourer" fit in the niche of daily newscast of the NTA. The object of monitoring was the broadcasts aired at 20.00. There were 17 newscasts for the monitoring period (September 1-19).*

The total volume of actual airtime was 537 minutes. Length of narration was 463 minutes and 59 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 73 minutes and 1 second. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 39 minutes, and the minimum length - 22 min. The studio composition, the bumps and background has not changed. The composition of the layout is traditional.

Most of the airtime was allotted to advertising/announcements - 19.07% (weather forecasts also belong to this section), economy - 10.92%, internal policy - 7.25%. The next group of three includes foreign news - 6.98%, foreign policy - 6.91%, and culture/history - 6.80%.

Most frequently referenced public figure were Robert Kocharian - 38 (including 3 positive, 1 negative), Armen Darbinian - 22 (all neutral), and Khossrov Haroutiunian - 15 (all neutral).

In terms of the time provided for opinions and statements the leaders were Robert Kocharian (8 minutes and 6 seconds), Khossrov Haroutiunian (5 minutes and 46 seconds), and Vardan Oskanian (5 minutes and 7 seconds). Next come Vahan Hovannissian (4 minutes and 36 seconds) and Armen Darbinian (3 minutes and 37 seconds).

Comparing the "Lourer" newscast with the last period of monitoring, the number of extra long materials significantly decreased in September (before it had been replaced with the "Haylour" news programme). Two lengthy materials (newscasts of September 14 - 4 minutes and 5 seconds and September 17 - 6 minutes and 29 seconds) were dedicated to VIII session of National Assembly. The material about the visit of governmental delegation, headed by Armen Darbinian, to Lebanon was 7 minutes and 2 seconds long.

*Since September 21 the new daily newscast - "Haylour" has replaced "Lourer" on the National Television.*

### **Synopsis:**

*"Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday- Friday thrice a day, on Saturday - twice a day). The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00. There were 36 newscasts during the monitoring period (September 21- October 31).*

The total volume of actual airtime was 1,074 minutes. Length of narration was 1,051 minutes and 7 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 22 min. and 53 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 37 minutes and the minimum length - 26 minutes. Studio design, the background and bumps (one kind) have not changed.

Most of the airtime was allotted to advertising/announcements - 19.51%, economy - 13.02%, culture/history - 9.28%.

Most frequently referenced public figure were Robert Kocharian - 98 (including 1 positive, 1 negative) and Armen Darbinian - 52 (all neutral). All other political figures are far behind. Vardan Oskanian, coming next, was mentioned 14 times. The leader in positive references is Presidential Spokesman Vahe Gabrielian (3), and in negative - Khossrov Haroutiunian (3).

In terms of the time provided for opinions and statements the leader was Robert Kocharian (23 minutes and 21 seconds - maximal index, compared with all monitored programmes in the past and current periods of monitoring). Next come Armen Darbinian - 7 minutes and 31 seconds, Presidential Advisor Vahan Hovannissian - 4 minutes and 25 seconds, Vazgen Manoukian, and at that time Minister of Energy Gagik Martirosian - by 3 minutes and 7 seconds. Kocharian's index was much higher than others' because along with the regular official coverage of the President's meetings and his statements, his speech at the UN General Assembly in New York (8 minutes and 21 seconds long) was aired almost in full in the September 25th newscasts.

In general, lengthy materials are not usual for "Haylour", and the example above is rather an exception. As a rule, the newscasts of "Haylour" are composed based on the principle of official subordination. The anchor first announces almost every material, often with play

on words. Another characteristic feature of the programme is inclusion of materials, prepared by independent regional TV companies ("Vanadzor-Interkap", "Shant", "Kyavar", etc.), enriching the programme and extending its geography.

## **AYB-FEH**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 48 newscasts during the monitoring period. Since October 7 through October 11 "A1+" broadcast was suspended due to technical problems.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 632 minutes. Length of narration was 595 minutes and 25 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 36 minutes and 35 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 17 minutes, and the minimum length - 9 minutes. Two kinds of backgrounds were used during the two months; the bumps have not changed.

The leading by length of allotted airtime themes are rights/law and order/defence/security - 12.35%, culture/history - 11.19%, economy - 10.51%.

Most frequently referenced public figure were Robert Kocharian - 76, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 33, Armen Darbinian - 20, and Presidential Advisor Parour Hayrikian - 18. Robert Kocharian had the highest number of both positive and negative references - 5 and 8, respectively.

In terms of the time provided for opinions and statements the leaders were Gassia Apkarian (4 minutes and 14 seconds), Robert Kocharian (3 minutes and 35 seconds), and Sergey Badalian (2 minutes and 30 seconds).

Issues of rights/law and order/defence/security are traditionally in the centre of attention of "Ayb-Feh". The reports from courthouses provided with the reporters' comments were the main mode of presentation on the topic. Consistency in addressing the problem is a characteristic feature of "Ayb-Feh" (court trials are presented regularly and in their dynamic development). During the monitoring period it presented materials on the cases of relations beyond the regulations in the army that were under investigation of judiciary bodies - something, that dropped out of the other news programmes' scope. The crisis in Russia was presented by "Ayb-Feh" through the prism of its possible consequences on the economy of Armenia.

## **TESADASHT/ORAKARG**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Tesadasht" - analytical newscast of the "Mir" International TV company, aired on Sundays. There were 3 newscasts during the monitoring period (September 1-20).*

The total volume of actual airtime was 78 minutes. Length of narration was 76 minutes and 14 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 1 minute and 46 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 27 minutes, and the minimum length - 25 minutes.

Most airtime allocation was for the foreign news - 19.58% (11.76% were dedicated to Russia), culture/history - 15.04%, foreign policy - 14.82%, media - 12.15%.

Most frequently referenced public figures were Armen Darbinian - 3, Robert Kocharian, Vardan Oskanian, and Khossrov Haroutiunian - by 2. All references were neutral.

The opinions and statements of three political figures were presented: Chairman of the Mountainous Karabagh Parliament Oleg Yesayan (5 minutes and 35 seconds), Armen Darbinian (3 minutes and 28 seconds), and Khossrov Haroutiunian (3 minutes and 26 seconds). Because of very few programmes observed during the monitoring period (only 3), all the above-presented figures cannot tell much.

*Since September 21 the "Orakarg" programme replaced "Tesadasht".*

### **Synopsis:**

*"Orakarg" - analytical newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays at 20.00. There were 5 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 163 minutes. Length of narration was 158 minutes and 13 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 4 minutes and 47 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 35 minutes, and the minimum length - 30 minutes. Studio design, the background and bumps (one kind) did not changed during the monitoring period. The programme had one permanent anchor.

Most airtime allocation was to foreign policy - 17.06%, foreign news - 14.85% (most of the volume were materials about Western Europe - 9.28%), and National Assembly/legislation - 14.07%.

Most frequently referenced public figure was Robert Kocharian - 18. Next come Vardan Oskanian - 6 and Khossrov Haroutiunian - 4. Only Robert Kocharian was mentioned positively, twice. The highest number of negative references had Khossrov Haroutiunian and Chairman of Parliament Commission for Foreign Relations Hovhannes Igitian, by 2 each.

In terms of the time provided for opinions and statements the leaders were Spokesman of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Arsen Gasparian (8 minutes and 10 seconds), Khossrov Haroutiunian (6 minutes and 55 seconds), and Vice Speaker of the National Assembly Albert Bazeyan (5 minutes and 16 seconds).

Newscasts were composed of headings that meant to become permanent: "The Guest of Studio", "A Detached View" (held on telephone by Hrayr Tamrazian, the Editor of the Armenian Service of the Radio Liberty), "Armenia - End of Century", "ABC of Europe", "Animated Shooting".

Compared to the other newscasts of the NTA, "Orakarg" is distinguished for being analytical. One reason for this is participation of journalists working in print media. The task of timely reporting on the work of the President and his cabinet, the government, National Assembly, was resolved through live airing "from the spot" - a method, which is typical for daily newscast rather than for a weekly programme.

### **Synopsis:**

*"Kiraki" - analytical newscast of "A1+" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 8 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 103 minutes. Length of narration - 98 minutes and 9 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 4 minutes and 51 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 18 minutes, and the minimum length was 13 minutes. Studio design of the programme changed several times, the background was changed, bumps were not.

The highest volume was allocated for the National Assembly/legislation (35.28%). Next come internal policy (24.55%) and foreign policy (11.42%).

Most often referenced public figures were Robert Kocharian - 28, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 14, Armen Darbinian - 9, and Gassia Apkarian - 8. In September-October "Kiraki" has had the highest number of indicative references during the six months of monitoring. In positive context, most frequently was mentioned Albert Bazeyan (3), in negative - Robert Kocharian and Khossrov Haroutiunian (by 7).

In terms of the time provided for opinions and statements, the leaders were Robert Kocharian (1 minute and 59 seconds), Sergey Badalian (1 minute and 58 seconds), and Vazgen Manoukian (1 minute and 12 seconds).

A significant part of newscasts are studio speeches of the anchor. All other materials were fragments of the "Ayb-Feh" reports in the course of the passed week (no more than three in every newscasts).

"Kiraki" covered in detail the activities of National Assembly. All newscasts, except for two, were dedicating several materials to the Parliament. For example, the newscasts of September 20, October 4 and 18 were almost fully dedicated to the National Assembly.

Such issues as the approaching parliamentary elections, discussion of the Electoral Code, analysis of the process of privatisation, and other problems were covered clearly from the anchor's personal stand. Say, in the newscasts of September 13, the anchor twice made the statement that "there is no doubt that the President has violated the Constitution of Armenia" by ignoring the demand of a group of MPs to call an extraordinary session of National Assembly. Often commenting on questions raised by this or that public figure, the anchor would respond himself as if the person had been interviewed.

## **STORAKET**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Storaket" - weekly newscast of Internews Armenia. Aired on Sundays through 13 independent TV stations. There were 8 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 141 minutes. Length of narration was 137 minutes and 19 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions was 3 minutes and 41 seconds. Studio design, the background and bumps (3 kinds) did not changed. The programme used written announcements of the themes. "Storaket" has one permanent anchor. The programme consists of stories from regional independent TV companies. Maximum duration of one newscast was 24 minutes, minimal - 19 minutes.

The principle of composition layout was the same: short headlines of the political events of the week would be announced in the first place (the issue from September 6 also announced the political events, which took place during the vacation of "Storaket" - on August 9-31), then the other stories would come.

The themes, leading by volume, were: economy (16.05%), society (15.88%), and health/ecology (15.19%).

According to the volume of coverage of the opinions and statements of political figures, "Storaket" was behind the other monitored programmes. The leaders were Robert Kocharian - 4 references and Armen Darbinian - 2. Another four political figures were mentioned by one time. All references were neutral, except for one - the Governor of the Armavir region Albert Heroyan was mentioned in a positive context. The opinions of two political figures were reflected: of Robert Kocharian and Gassia Apkarian (by 10 seconds). Internal and foreign policy were only covered by means of short announcements.

As before, "Storaket" concentrated its attention on presenting the life in regions. Materials about the earthquake zone were aired more frequently, than in the past monitoring periods.

## **LOURER (NRA)**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lourer" - newscast of National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 10 times a day. 8 times on Saturdays, and 6 times on Sundays. The objects of monitoring were the broadcasts aired at 21.00. There were 60 of theme during the monitoring period. On September 21 a live programme was aired from the Opera Theatre Square where celebrations of the Armenian Independence Day were held instead of the regular newscast of 21.00.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 665 minutes. Length of narration - 604 minutes and 55 seconds. The volume of technical and other intermissions - 60 minutes and 5 seconds. Maximum duration of one given newscast was 20 minutes, and the minimum length - 10 minutes. In September-October "Lourer" was aired with changed background. The anchors were the commentators of NRA (with few exceptions there usually were two anchors in each programme). The composition layout was traditional.

According to the volume of coverage the leading topics was economy (18.49%). Coming next culture/history (15.06%), and sports (8.38%) switched the places as compared with the previous monitoring period.

Traditionally most often referenced political figures were occupied by Robert Kocharian - 71, Armen Darbinian - 36, and Khossrov Haroutiunian - 29. Most of the references are neutral. The highest number of positive references has had Vahe Gabrielian (2), negative - Khossrov Haroutiunian (4).

In terms of the time provided for opinions and statements, the first were Robert Kocharian (13 minutes and 25 seconds), Khossrov Haroutiunian (5 minutes and 44 seconds), and Armen Darbinian (4 minutes and 40 seconds).

"Lourer" addressed virtually all topics of public concern.

## ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

November 1 - December 31, 1998

**IN NOVEMBER-DECEMBER** the leading Armenian media have displayed complete unanimity in frequency of reference to political figures. RA President Robert Kocharian has been mentioned most frequently everywhere. However, by space/airtime devoted to expressed opinions the country leader takes the first place only in "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun," "Aravot" dailies, newscast "Haylour" of the National Television and the analytical newscast "Kiraki" of "A1+" TV station. In some other media Kocharian doesn't even fall in the group of the first three. Though not quite "flattering" for the President, this is amended by extensive references in the press to what his Press-Secretary Vahe Gabrielian has said, presumably voicing positions and viewpoints taken by the President. In fact, in some media he has surpassed his boss by space/airtime, and even came to be the first in "Iravouk."

Monitoring group's predictions that as Parliamentary elections neared, polarisation of evaluations will grow and the number of positive and negative references will increase, has not been quite justified, yet. After an intense upheaval of polarised evaluations in September-October, it has remained almost the same during the following two months. This might be interpreted as a lull before the storm.

As the last sociological polls have indicated, the Armenian media consumer is most of all interested in foreign news. Judging by the volume allocated to various themes, it is foreign news that takes precedence in most of the YPC monitored publications and newscasts. In this case, it might be rendered as adequate approach of the media to public demand. In addition to that, our observations show that by placement and layout (not the volume) different aspects of internal policy make the bulk of the coverage in most of the Armenian media. And the leading journalistic corps were directed towards this end.

The researched Armenian media have more or less proportionally covered the main themes of November-December, both local and foreign; debates on the 1999 State Budget, increased tariffs on utility services and related social problems, discussion of the Electoral Code, new approaches for the regulation of the Karabagh conflict, exacerbation of the situation in Iraq, political evaluation of the former leadership, the forthcoming summit of the Republican Party. Because of its specifics, TV newscast "Storaket" made an exception. Also, faithful to their traditional trends, papers "Iravouk," "Ayzhm," TV newscasts "Ayb-Feh" and "Kiraki" mostly emphasised the internal problems of RA.

### HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN

#### Synopsis:

*"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,500. Price - 75 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period. One of them - in 4/A2 pp.*

In November-December, 1998 "HH" has significantly changed its thematic preferences. For the first time during the whole monitoring period (since May, 1998), economy emerged as the prevailing theme - 17.56% of print volume (during the previous two months -

10.58%). Culture/history (14.71%), advertising/announcements (13.96%) and foreign news (11.41%) come next. The other thematic groups fall way back from these four leading themes.

Though the rate of stories on foreign news has remained almost the same as in the previous phase of monitoring, serious changes have taken place within the group. Interest towards Russia, Turkey and Iran has decreased about 1.5 times, and towards Azerbaijan 1.9 times. Instead, the rate of materials on Georgia and on activities of international organisations has grown. Editorial materials on foreign news has notably grown; 17.44% - during the previous two months, and 47.70% - in November-December.

References to Armenian political figures in "HH" are traditional for this official publication. RA President Robert Kocharian - 183, Prime Minister Armen Darbinian -101, NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian - 60. Most of the references are neutral.

The same politicians are leading by newspaper space allocated to their opinions; Kocharian - 5,573.37 square centimetres, Haroutiunian - 4,141.83 s/c and Armen Darbinian - 3,800.27 s/c.

## RESPUBLICA ARMENIA

### Synopsis:

*"Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA". Standard volume- 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80-150 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period, seven of which - in 8/A2 pp., and one - in 16/A3 pp.*

In November-December the economic theme again became prevailing in "Respublica Armenia" (13.55% of the overall volume.) This time culture/history and foreign news shared the second place, getting 13.05% each. Next come advertising/announcements (9.39%). Among foreign countries Russia is still in the centre of attention (3.93%). "RA" has maintained a tendency to increase editorial articles. Materials from other sources this time were mostly used only in one section - incidents/entertainment.

In terms of more references, the leading set of three is still the same; Robert Kocharian - 230, Armen Darbinian - 116, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 64 and Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian - 53. But in comparison with the previous stages of monitoring the total number of polarised references (primarily - positive) has grown. Of 19 positive characterisations 5 were in reference with the incumbent President, two each - with Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian and the first President Levon Ter-Petrossian, one each - for the representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers, the Mayor of Yerevan Souren Abrahamian, and the leader of the Popular Party Karen Demirchian. Of the 86 politicians under research only Ter-Petrossian has been mentioned in a negative context (4 times).

For the first time in eight months of monitoring changes have taken place in the volume of newspaper space devoted to opinions of the leaders: Kossrov Haroutiunian (4,390.04 s/c), Vardan Oskanian (2,646.40 s/c), Presidential Advisor Aram Sargsian (2,634.70 s/c) and only then President Robert Kocharian (2,562.29 s/c). Armen Darbinian traditionally among the leading four, this time has tallied only the fifth (1,921.84 s/c). Following after him Head of the Department of Information and Publications Haroutiun Karapetian has received almost four times more space during the last two months of 1998 than during the previous six months (in May-October - 467.25 s/c, in November-December - 1,868.30 s/c).

## AZG

### Synopsis:

*"Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 39 issues published during the monitored period.*

"Azg" has traditionally paid more attention to foreign news - 16.83%. Culture/history is in the second place -13.04%, economy - 12.38%, sports have moved from the second place of the previous two months to the fourth place (11.80%). The volume of advertisements/ announcements has grown - 10.42%. Instead, another traditionally "Azg" theme - the Diaspora - has received relatively little attention (3.25%).

Robert Kocharian (128) and Armen Darbinian (69) are leading by frequency of reference. And in fact, they have a negative balance of qualitative (positive/negative) references.

In paper space allocated to the viewpoints of politicians Vardan Oskanian is the leader, with 2,068.25 s/c, then the Presidential Press-Secretary Vahe Gabrielian - 1,869.50 s/c, Armen Darbinian - 1,752.50 s/c, Robert Kocharian - 1,532.75 s/c, the ex-Minister of Industry and Trade Garnik Nanagoulian - 1,342.75 s/c, the Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan - 1,342.50 s/c.

## YERKIR

### Synopsis:

*"Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsoutiun) of Armenia. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 50 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period. One of them in 16/A3 pp.*

Foreign news is again (with the exception of the first - May-June phase of monitoring) the leading theme in "Yerkir" - 20.40%. Materials on Georgia and the problems of Armenians in Javakhk have appeared here quite frequently. This is followed by culture/history - 15.14%, economy - 11.53% and internal policy - 10.21%

In terms of frequency of reference the leaders are: Robert Kocharian - 163 (two of which are negative), Armen Darbinian - 73, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 35 (including 1 positive), Presidential Advisor Vahan Hovannissian - 33, Vardan Oskanian - 32. Levon Ter-Petrossian has received the most number of negative references - 5. "Yerkir" has paid much attention to the regions of Armenia, and consequently, it often mentions the governors. And as a rule, most of these references are negative. 3 out of 4 references about Pavlik Asatrian, former Governor of Tavush, are negative; 2 out of 3 about Governor of Shirak Ararat Gomtsian, 1 out of 2 about Governor of Vayots Dzor Pandoukht Manoukian. An exception of the trend is Governor of Kotayk Samvel Stepanian, where 1 of the 2 references is positive.

According to print volume allocated to the viewpoints of politicians two Dashnaktsoutiun representatives are the leaders; Vahan Hovannissian - 1,850.99 s/c and Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Issues Roland Sharoyan - 1,720.75 s/c.

## ARAVOT

### Synopsis:

*"Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 100 drams. 39 issues published during the monitoring period.*

The leading four issues are the same as in the previous two months; foreign news - 12.77%, economy - 10.74%, internal policy - 10.72%, advertisements/ announcements - 8.45%, with the only difference, that the latter three have exchanged places. In general, "Aravot" is very stable in thematic distribution of newspaper space.

Among politicians Robert Kocharian was the most frequently mentioned - 217. Then come Armen Darbinian - 122 and Levon Ter-Petrosian - 84. All of the leaders have a negative balance of reference.

Significant changes have occurred in the table of newspaper space devoted to opinions in comparison with the previous two months. Robert Kocharian has moved from the fourteenth to the first place - 1,587.80 s/c, Edward Yegorian, the leader of the "Democratic Motherland" Party and Parliamentary fraction "Motherland," has moved from the sixth to the second place - 1,376.55 s/c. And leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement Vano Siradeghian is on the third place - 1,289.64 s/c.

## **HAYOTS ASHKHAR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 100 drams. 41 issues published during the monitoring period, one of them - in 16/A3 pp.*

Foreign news remains to be in the first place here - 15.65%. Then come internal policy - 13.93%, sports - 11.76% and economy - 10.17%. About half of the volume on foreign news was devoted to Russia - 7.27%.

Robert Kocharian is the leader in references - 123 (two negative references among them). With a large gap after him follow: Armen Darbinian - 54 (including 2 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 38 (including 3 negative), Levon Ter-Petrosian - 34 (including 8 negative). Only Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian and Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Issues Roland Sharoyan have received positive references (one each.)

Most of the newspaper space is devoted to the viewpoints of the Minister of Education and Science Levon Mkrtychian, - 2,475.00 s/c, the National Democratic Union leader Vazgen Manoukian - 1,806.75 s/c and President Robert Kocharian - 1,800.50 s/c.

## **GOLOS ARMENII**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 24 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Just as in July-October, most extensively covered were; foreign news - 20.28% (always with Russia in the lead - 4.94%), internal policy - 10.46% and economy - 10.00%. An increased volume of advertisements/announcements in comparison with the previous two months has moved this item to the fourth place (8.36%).

In terms of references, "GA" has most often mentioned the ex- and the incumbent Presidents. Just as in the past six months of monitoring they are the leaders both in references generally, and in negative references, in particular. Robert Kocharian was mentioned 102 times, of which 12 - negative. Levon Ter-Petrosian was mentioned 54 times, 21 of which - negative. They are followed by Armen Darbinian (34 references with 4 negative) and Vazgen Sargsian (27 with one positive and two negative.)

In terms of space provided for opinions, these are the Mountainous Karabagh President Arkadiy Ghoukassian (788.17 s/c), the NDU leader Vazgen Manoukian (621.20 s/c), the Head of the RA Revision Services under the President David Vardanian (596.65 s/c) and Prime Minister Armen Darbinian (536.70 s/c).

## **HAIK**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Haik" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 150 drams, on December 30 - 149 drams. 9 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Just as in the previous two months, internal policy is the leading theme - 17.44%, culture/history is on the second (12.53%), incidents/entertainment (11.99%) - on the third and foreign news (9.90%) - on the fourth place. Among politicians most frequently mentioned were; Robert Kocharian - 95 (including 2 negative), Levon Ter-Petrosian - 31 (including 1 positive), Armen Darbinian - 26. In fact, the ex-President is the only one mentioned in a positive context.

By space provided to the viewpoints of politicians, the leaders are; Chairman of the Armenian Pan-National Movement Board Vano Siradeghian - 1,059.70 s/c, then Social Security Minister Gagik Yeghanyan - 779.00 s/c and Levon Ter-Petrosian - 516.25 s/c.

## **IRAVOUNK**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Volume - 12/A3 pp., or 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 18,000. Price - 60-80 drams. 16 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Among political publications "Iravounk" is still the most unique of its kind. Advertisements/announcements are here in the first place (21.31 %), though its volume has decreased since July-August (32.88%) and September-October (28.97%). This is followed by internal policy - 17.14%, economy - 13.41%, culture/ history - 10.73%. It is noteworthy that the volume of coverage on social issues has increased by 2.5 times compared with the previous two months.

"Iravounk" is faithful to a tradition of using primarily editorial materials. In November-December most of the materials used from other sources were observed in the Diaspora section - 34.44%.

Among politicians the ex- and incumbent Presidents are the most frequently mentioned: Robert Kocharian - 119 (including two negative), Levon Ter-Petrosian - 55 (including 10 negative) and Armen Darbinian comes third - 53 (including one negative). Were the

caricatures and satirical miniatures under the heading "Comrade Panjouni's Corner" taken into account for qualitative evaluation, the number of negative references would have grown considerably. However, satirical materials not containing direct or contextual allusions in the address of this or that politician were assessed as neutral.

By volume dedicated to the viewpoints of politicians the leaders are; Vahe Gabrielian - 1,307.25 s/c, the leader of the "Constitutional Rights" Union Hrant Khachatryan - 982.40 s/c and Vano Siradeghian - 854.10 s/c.

## **AYZHM**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayzhm" - weekly. Founded in 1996. Founder - National-Democratic Union. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 60 drams. 8 issues published during the monitoring period.*

This paper is invariably the most politicised one. In November-December the section of internal policy in the overall newspaper volume formed 37.06%. Culture/history is on the second place - 13.55% (it is the first time that this section has received so much attention in "Ayzhm"). The paper can also be called "the most atheistic." No article on church/religion was published during the monitoring period. During the previous two months too, attention towards church/ religion was insignificant.

In references the leader in "Ayzhm" is Robert Kocharian - 41. Then follow Levon Ter-Petrossian - 22, and Vazgen Sargsian - 17. Vazgen Manoukian, the leader of the paper's Founder-Party, and Prime Minister Armen Darbinian have been mentioned 14 times each, but if all the references to Vazgen Manoukian were neutral, then two of the references to Armen Darbinian were negative.

Manoukian has surpassed everybody by paper space devoted to opinions - 2,909.55 s/c. With a large gap he is followed by the second person in the Party - David Vardanian (918.00 s/c).

## **HAYLOUR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday-Friday - thrice a day, on Saturdays - twice). The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of the actual airtime was 1,608 minutes. Length of narration - 1,506 min. 41 seconds. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 101 min. 19 sec. Maximum duration of one given newscast - 40 min. Minimal duration - 22 min. Studio design, background and bumps (one kind) have not changed.

Most of the airtime is devoted to advertisements/announcements - 19.47%, economy - 14.99%, foreign news - 10.57%.

In terms of references the leaders are; Robert Kocharian - 91, Armen Darbinian - 72, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 30. Robert Kocharian has got the largest number of positive references (3), and Levon Ter-Petrossian - the largest number of negative references (2).

In time provided for the expressed opinion of statesmen, Robert Kocharian got 13 min. 40 sec., Vahe Gabrielian - 10 min. 50 sec., and Armen Darbinian - 9 min. 44 sec.

## **AYB-FEH**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 640 min. Length of narration - 599 min. 51 sec. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 40 min. 9 sec. Maximum duration of one given newscast - 17 min., minimum duration - 8 min. The same background was used during the two-months' period and the bumps were unchanged.

By volume the first three themes were: economy - 17.15%, National Assembly/legislation - 12.88%, internal policy - 11.61%.

A characteristic feature of this newscast still remains special interest for legislation, and particularly - legal suits. At the end of 1998 a new heading appeared called "News from the Regions" which has not yet affected the total volume of news on regional life.

By number of references the same trio is still at the top: Robert Kocharian - 49, Armen Darbinian - 26, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 25. Only four have been mentioned in a positive aspect. In fact, Robert Kocharian scores best - 5.

By time provided for political viewpoints the table is headed by Armen Darbinian - 4 min. 43 sec., Vazgen Manoukian - 4 min. 30 sec., Vahe Gabrielian - 4 min. 12 sec.

## **ORAKARG**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Orakarg" - analytical newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays. The first two newscasts were aired at 20.00, all the following newscasts - at 21.00. There were 9 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 318 min. Length of narration - 308 min. 39 sec. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 9 min. 21 sec. Maximum length of one given newscast - 50 min., minimum duration - 25 min. Studio design, background and bumps (one kind) remained unchanged, with the same permanent anchor.

Thematic priority in comparison with the previous period of monitoring has changed. Foreign news is leading - 23.12% (mostly covering Russia - 6.75% and the USA - 4.74%). Advertisements/announcements (11.17%) and internal policy (10.53%) score second and third.

By frequency of reference Robert Kocharian - 25, Armen Darbinian - 15, and Vardan Oskanian - 8, are the leaders. Other politicians have been mentioned not more than five times. The overwhelming majority of references is neutral. Five positive references to Armen Darbinian, Karen Demirchian, Presidential Advisor Gassia Apkarian, Levon Ter-Petrossian and Robert Kocharian (one each), and a total of eight negative references to

Edward Yegorian (3), Vano Siradeghian (2), the leader of "XXI Century" Party David Shakhnazarian (2) and Levon Ter-Petrossian (1) made an exception.

In airtime devoted to political opinion Armen Darbinian has surpassed the others (8 min. 50 sec.) Next come Vahe Gabrielian (6 min. 40 sec.) and Robert Kocharian (6 min. 8 sec.)

## **KIRAKI**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Kiraki" - analytical newscast of "A1+" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 9 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 136 min. Length of narration - 130 min. 32 sec. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 5 min. 28 sec. Maximum length of one given newscast - 16 min., minimum duration - 13 min. Studio design was changed several times. The backgrounds were the same as in the previous monitoring phase with new bumps (two kinds), and the same permanent anchor. The last newscast on December 27 had a translation in sign-language.

Just as in September-October the first two places were devoted to the National Assembly/legislation (42.03%) and internal policy (27.83%). Economy tallied third (10.30%).

By number of references Robert Kocharian - 35, leader of the "Self-Determination" Union Parour Hayrikian - 16 and Armen Darbinian - 11, took the lead. Most often Kocharian was mentioned in a negative context - 7, and Vano Siradeghian and Parour Hayrikian in a positive context - 3 each.

By airtime provided for political opinion the leaders are; Robert Kocharian (3 min. 8 sec.), Armen Darbinian (1 min. 40 sec.), David Vardanian (1 min. 36 sec.) and Parour Hayrikian (1 min. 18 sec.)

## **STORAKET**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Storaket" - weekly newscast of Internews Armenia. Aired on Sundays on 13 independent TV stations. There were 9 newscasts during the monitoring period.*

The total volume of actual airtime was 208 min. Length of narration - 204 min. 32 sec. The volume of technical and feature intermissions - 3 min. 28 sec. Maximum length of one given newscast - 30 min., minimum duration - 21 min. The studio design, background and bumps (3 kinds) haven't changed. Written announcements were used in the newscast. The programme has one permanent anchor. It is constructed of materials from regional independent TV companies.

The leading themes in volume were; social issues - 28.00%, health/ecology - 20.32%, society - 13.09%, media - 11.32% and culture/history - 11.03%.

In comparison with the other surveyed programmes, references to politicians are traditionally rare in "Storaket," and little time is devoted to the expression of their viewpoints. Of the list of 86 political figures only four were mentioned, and even then each

was mentioned just once; Robert Kocharian, Levon Ter-Petrossian, Armen Darbinian, Ararat Gomtsian. All the references were neutral. Five seconds were provided for Armen Darbinian's opinion and four - to Robert Kocharian.

Starting from its hundredth broadcast on November 8 "Storaket" became thematic. Eight of its thematic broadcasts were called "Fourth Estate," "Winter Problems," "Refugees," "Healthcare Problems," "Disaster Zone," "International Day of Children's Communication," "Ecology," "How are You Doing, Armenia?"

## **LOURER**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lourer" - newscast of National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday-Friday) and aired 10 times a day; eight times on Saturdays and six times on Sundays. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 23.00. There were 50 newscasts during the monitoring period. (There were no 23.00 newscasts on December 7 and 31).*

The total volume of actual airtime was 914 min. Length of narration - 789 min. 50 sec. The volume of technical and other intermissions - 124 min. 10 sec. Maximum length of one given newscast - 23 min., minimum duration - 10 min.. The background was the same as during the previous phase of monitoring. There were two NRA anchors. The layout composition was traditional.

Economy is the thematic leader in volume (24.19%), National Assembly/legislation is the second (14.45%), and social issues - the third (7.56%).

By frequency of reference Robert Kocharian and Armen Darbinian shared the first place (62 each), then come Khossrov Haroutiunian (36) and Vice-Speaker of the Parliament Albert Bazeyan (22).

In airtime provided for political opinion Khossrov Haroutiunian -19 min. 41 sec., Robert Kocharian -14 min. 43 sec., and Edward Sandoyan - 9 min. 50 sec., are the leaders.

## **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**May 1 - December 31, 1998**

**EIGHT MONTHS** of monitoring of the leading Armenian media allows to detect some thematic preferences, according to which they could be conditionally divided into two groups - "traditional" and "non-traditional." The first group includes such media, where four main thematic sections are prevailing; foreign news, economy, culture/history and internal policy. These sections might be arranged in different order by their volume (rate in the total paper space/airtime), but the difference is not significant. In turn, the order in which these sections are arranged in each given case quite clearly depends on the predilections of a given media outlet's leader and the journalistic staff. Among the analysed media "Hayastani Hanrapetutian," "Respublica Armenia," "Azg," "Yerkir" and "Aravot" might be considered "traditional."

The rest of the monitored media are considered "non-traditional" for various reasons. Thus, "Hayots Ashkhar" looks "non-traditional," because of the large rate of materials on

sports, "Golos Armenii" - at the expense of domineering foreign news, "Haik" - for special attention to incidents/entertainment, "Ayzhm" for inclination towards internal policy, NTA newscast "Haylour" (and its predecessors) by prevailing culture/history, etc. (*Below see reports on each individual medium.*)

"Iravouk" weekly could also have been considered a "traditional" publication, if it did not have an unusually large rate of advertising/announcements (26.10%) for a party paper. In fact, attitudes for ads is another criterion to differentiate media. One group considers it an important requisite to reach prosperity and judging by the results, quite successfully seeks ways to attract advertisers. This group, besides "Iravouk" includes "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun," "Respublica Armenia," news programme "Haylour" (and its preceding newscasts). The rest either do not pay much attention to ads, or are not effective enough in their efforts to lure advertisers. "Azg" and "Golos Armenii" take an intermediate position between the two groups.

**MEDIA OUTLETS** chosen for monitoring were also considered in the light of their political propensities. In particular, an attempt was made to disclose their attitudes towards three conditional, but quite significant political groups:

**First, "current administration"** - as political figures symbolising this group RA President Robert Kocharian, Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian and Internal Affairs and National Security Minister Serge Sargsian were chosen, i.e. the main actors in the "velvet revolution" of 1998;

**Second, "previous administration"** - symbolised by the former President Levon Ter-Petrossian and the leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement (APM - #1 party in 1988-1998) Vano Siradeghian;

**Third, "nostalgic politicians"** - those whose success is mainly anchored on the nostalgic feeling of a significant part of the population for the "good-old" soviet times (leaders of the Popular Party Karen Demirchian and of the Communist Party - Sergey Badalian.)

Frequency of reference (and the balance of qualitative references,) as well as paper space/airtime provided to these political figures to express their viewpoints and positions, were taken as criteria to determine media preferences. With that, it had to be kept in mind, that no matter whose side did the media take, it would naturally pay more attention to the leaders of the country, and first of all - the President (especially with his openness to the media.) In other words, Robert Kocharian's leadership in almost all of the media should be taken with some reservation.

Data for specific papers and electronic media are provided below. In the preface, though, let's try to group them by their political preferences and propensities.

The first group of media unequivocally support the current administration. These quite predictably are "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun," "Respublica Armenia," the National Television of Armenia and the National Radio of Armenia. In fact, both the papers and to a lesser extent NRA, preferred the "nostalgic" politicians rather, than the former administration, but NTA attitude for the two provisional groups was equal.

The second group of media have their own party affiliations, but still favour the current administration among the three groups under observation. These are "Azg," "Hayots Ashkhar" and "Yerkir." But if "Azg" doesn't make preferences between the previous

administration and the "nostalgic" politicians, then the two other papers are sharply critical of the former and neutral towards the "nostalgic" politicians.

The third group includes opposition media (irrespective of party affiliation or absence of such). These are "Golos Armenii," "Haik" and "Ayzhm." The common trend for these papers is intolerance towards the current administration. In all other characteristics they are quite diverse. "Haik" naturally supports the former (APM) leaders, "Ayzhm" and "Golos Armenii" are more critical of the former administration, than the current powers. However, the first paper has its own Party agenda (National-Democratic Union), whereas the second - does not. Finally, all the three papers have a zero attitude for the "nostalgic" politicians, and that is another common trend for them.

By some tendencies that have appeared lately in "A1+" TV programmes - "P.S." and "Kiraki," the station could also be ranked as opposition, with a slant for the previous administration. However, absence of similar features in the main newscast "Ayb-Feh" makes us think that in the above mentioned shows it is not the overall position taken by "A1+" in general, but personal sympathies and preferences of the author-anchors.

The rest of the monitored media have clearly marked individual characteristics and cannot be grouped according to their political dispositions. Comments on these are provided in special sections of this report.

## **HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun." Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,500. Price - 75 drams. 174 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 27 - in 4/A2 pp., and one - in 6/A2 pp.*

The example of Parliamentary "HH" is a strong proof of the monitoring group's preliminary assumptions that with the Armenian media thematic distribution of paper space depends not as much on the paper's character, as on the Chief Editor's and the leading journalistic staff's creative preferences. Thus, when the previous Chief Editor was in office, the leading theme used to be culture/history (not counting advertising/announcements), while during the present Editor economy has become just as consistent.

According to the eight months' summary results, the leading four themes present the following picture; advertising/announcements - 14.86% of the total space, culture/history - 14.67%, economy - 13.48% and foreign news - 11.71%.

As an official publication "HH" quite predictably has paid attention to this or that political figure during eight months of monitoring. By the number of references the leaders are: RA President Robert Kocharian - 898 (including 12 positive and seven negative), Prime Minister Armen Darbinian - 526 (including eight positive and one negative), NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian - 352 (including one positive and two negative). It must be stated that the negative references to Kh.Haroutiunian were made during the previous Editor-in-Chief, for which she was fired upon the Speaker's edict.

During the last two months (November-December) the number of qualitative references in "HH" has decreased considerably; just four positive and three negative references - and even those only in citation.

The table of paper space provided for political figures' opinions was just as predictable. It is lead by the same group of Kocharian -17,431.49 s/c, Darbinian - 16,280.92 s/c and Kh.Haroutiunian - 11,773.56 s/c.

Excessive attention for Kocharian signifies a predisposition for the current administration in "HH," though the former leaders weren't left out either. In particular, leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement Vano Siradeghian has surpassed power ministers Vazgen Sargsian and Serge Sargsian symbolising the current administration by paper space devoted to expressed opinions - 2,257.75 s/c, scoring more square centimetres than those two together. Characteristically, Vano Siradeghian got the lion's share also during the previous Chief Editor - 1,662.30 s/c only in May-June. Instead, attention to "nostalgic" politicians has decreased both in references and paper space provided for their expressed opinions. In fact, Karen Demirchian (40) and Sergey Badalian (27) have been mentioned exclusively in a neutral context.

## RESPUBLICA ARMENIA

### Synopsis:

*"Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA". Standard volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80-150 drams. 170 issues published during the monitoring period, two of which - in 8/A3 pp., seven - in 8/A2 pp. and five - in 16/A3 pp.*

In the course of eight months of monitoring thematic priorities in "Respublica Armenia" were stable and haven't shown much change. The following themes fell in the group of the main four, moving up and down within the group; foreign news - for May-December - 14.32%, where Russia was always the leader - 3.91%, economy - 13.70%, advertising/announcements - 11.33%, the volume of which has constantly decreased, and culture/history - 10.76%.

"Respublica Armenia" is stable not only in its thematic priorities, but also in another analysed criteria: number of references to state, political and public figures. The first four places were invariably devoted to Robert Kocharian - 835, Armen Darbinian - 454, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 270, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian - 218. The same politicians have the largest paper space for the expression of their opinions. Kocharian - 14,749.77 s/c, Kh.Haroutiunian - 10,690.85 s/c, Darbinian - 9,187.12 s/c and Oskanian - 8,020.07 s/c. The rest of the politicians lag far behind in both parameters.

Qualitative evaluations primarily appear in citation of others' opinions. Author's special care can be detected only in materials devoted to the activities of Robert Kocharian and Armen Darbinian. The President and the Prime Minister are the leaders in positive references (seven and five, respectively.) As stated previously in our September-October report, the only two negative references to Robert Kocharian were uttered by the opposition representatives. In general, "RA" was predictably sympathetic towards the current administration.

The paper doesn't make its own evaluation of the previous administration. However, ex-President Levon Ter-Petrossian, who has made absolutely no public statements after his resignation, has scored fifth in the rating list of references (98,) and first in negative characterisations (seven), with two positive references and 199.89 s/c of paper space. Thus, qualitative references to the two Presidents are identical to the point of polarity. Former Internal Affairs Minister Vano Siradeghian, just like his successor Serge Sargsian,

is mentioned only once in qualitative reference, but if Sargsian is mentioned in a positive context, then Siradeghian - in a negative, though the latter surpasses S.Sargsian both in number of references (43) and in space (1,233.73 s/c). The publication doesn't stand out in "nostalgic" preferences, either. Former CP First Secretary of Soviet Armenia and current leader of the Popular Party Karen Demirchian has got only 47 references, current leader of the communists Sergey Badalian - 40. However, if Demirchian has got two positive references, then, despite its informative character, the paper's tone is still somewhat ironic, while covering Badalian's activities. The different rate of their public prominence has also affected the space provided for their expressed opinions; Karen Demirchian has received six times less paper space, than Sergey Badalian (275.16 s/c and 1,651.10 s/c, respectively.)

## **AZG**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500-4,000. Price - 100 drams. 169 issues published during the monitoring period.*

In the course of the whole eight months "Azg" has shown stability in thematic preferences. Final data of this period indicate, that foreign news - 16.84%, culture/history - 12.70%, sports - 12.33% and economy - 10.51% are the leading themes here.

Robert Kocharian has been mentioned 656 times (including 23 positive and 20 negative references), Armen Darbinian - 291 (including 10 positive and five negative), Vardan Oskanian - 161 (including seven positive and one negative), ex-President Levon Ter-Petrossian - 149 (including one positive and 23 negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 117 (including two positive and four negative). Following the dynamics of negative references to the former and current Presidents is quite interesting. More than half of his negative references (13) Robert Kocharian has received in September-October. Whereas, the negatives for Levon Ter-Petrossian have been evenly distributed in the two-months' phases of monitoring (7,4,6,6.)

By space dedicated to expressed opinions the leading group looks as follows: Kocharian - 9,528.70 s/c, Oskanian - 6,697.54 s/c, Darbinian - 5,220.01 s/c, Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan - 4,754.35 s/c, and leader of the "Constitutional Rights" Union Hrant Khachatryan - 3,192.30 s/c.

Representatives of the current administration got the lions share of attention in "Azg," followed by the symbols of the former administration (in fact, the former President appeared the leader in number of references - 149, and Armenian Pan-National Movement leader Vano Siradeghian was given ample space to express his opinions - 2,569.50 s/c), and the "nostalgic" politicians come third. True, in qualitative balance of references the latter look a little better than the previous administration.

## **YERKIR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsoutiun) of Armenia. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 100 drams from May 1 to October 5, and 50 drams since October 6. 172 issues published during the monitoring period. One of them in 16/A3 pp.*

Foreign news -18.78%, culture/history - 12.78% (the first two themes, as you see, are the same as in "Azg"), economy - 11.00%, internal policy - 9.19% have got the most extensive coverage in "Yerkir" during eight months of monitoring.

The leading group of five in "Yerkir" is nothing uncommon: Robert Kocharian - 679 (with 24 positive and nine negative), Armen Darbinian - 295 (with two negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 157 (with two positive and six negative), Vardan Oskanian - 141 (including one positive and three negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 122 (including two positive and 39 negative).

The largest space for expressed opinion has been provided for Kocharian - 8,020.34 s/c, RA Presidential Adviser Vahan Hovannissian - 7,874.03 s/c, Darbinian - 5,764.00 s/c, and Oskanian - 4,349.40 s/c.

Leadership of the current administration representatives in "Yerkir" (especially President Kocharian) both in issue attention and in predisposition, is unequivocal. But in terms of politicians symbolising the previous administration, as well as "nostalgic" feelings for the "good-old" soviet times, the picture is not as clear. In number of references Ter-Petrossian (122) and Vano Siradeghian (61) are far ahead of Karen Demirchian (31) and Sergey Badalian (24), but by absolute paper space for expressed opinions the latter are somewhat ahead - 1,532.16 s/c against 1,367.80 s/c. In such a paradigm, as the balance of qualitative references the "nostalgic" leadership has been presented in a much better light than the former leaders in "Yerkir" (-2 against -54).

## ARAVOT

### Synopsis:

*"Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot." Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,600-6,000. Price - 100 drams. 170 issues published during the monitoring period.*

According to eight months' results, foreign news has been above competition - 13.69%. This item has been leading even after the four two-months' phases of monitoring. It is followed by internal policy - 10.52% and economy 9.41%.

Robert Kocharian is far ahead in number of references - 1,156 (including 19 positive and 39 negative). Armen Darbinian has been mentioned almost twice as less - 535 (including three positive and eight negative.) Levon Ter-Petrossian has scored next - 360 (including three positive and 24 negative).

Interestingly, the best balance of qualitative references in "Aravot" has been observed with the two Defence ministers - Vazgen Sargsian (Armenia) and Samvel Babayan (Mountainous Karabagh).

In paper space provided for opinions, again Kocharian is the leader - 6,902.04 s/c, but in this paradigm he has a serious contender - Vano Siradeghian (5,225.60 s/c.) Leader of "Self-Determination" Union Parour Hayrikian comes third - 3,963.89 s/c.

Representatives of the current administration surpass the formers significantly in number of references, but in paper space provided for opinion their privilege is not as salient.

The paper has not pampered the "nostalgic" politicians with attention, instead, the balance of qualitative references with them is much more favourable (-1).

## **HAYOTS ASHKHAR**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 80-100 drams. 163 issues published during the monitoring period, three of them - in 16/A3 pp.*

Thematic distribution of space in "Hayots Ashkhar" has undergone considerable change in the course of eight months of monitoring. Thus, the rate of materials devoted to internal policy has constantly grown from one two-months' phase to another. It was 8.95% in May-June, 12.03% in July-August, 13.35% in September-October and 13.93% in November-December. However, at the end of eight months, just as after the first phase, this section has remained in the third place - 11.96%, after foreign news - 15.95%, (in fact, almost half of the materials are on Russia) and sports - 12.18%.

In eight months of monitoring Robert Kocharian has been mentioned more often than the others - 530 (including 17 positive and 15 negative). Following him with a large gap are Armen Darbinian - 196 (including one positive and eight negative), Khossrov Haroutiunian - 132 (including one positive and eight negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 116 (including two positive and 28 negative).

By papers space for expressed opinions again Kocharian is the leader (8,375.62 s/c), Vardan Oskanian comes second (5,777.36 s/c), Edward Sandoyan - third (4,991.51 s/c), Kh.Haroutiunian - fourth (4,695.25 s/c), Minister of Education and Science Levon Mkrtchian - fifth (4,402.00 s/c), and Hrant Khachatrian - sixth (4,200.75s/c.)

With all their differences, the two publications of Dashnaksoutiun party have demonstrated similar attitudes towards the main political groups. Just as in "Yerkir," "Hayots Ashkhar" too, clearly favours and pays more attention to the current administration and first of all - the President. By number of references the former powers are the second and the "nostalgic" ones - the third, whereas by paper space for opinions the latter two have exchanged places. The balance of qualitative references in "Hayots Ashkhar" is more favourable for the "nostalgic" politicians, than the "symbols" of the previous APM administration (-1 against -39).

## **GOLOS ARMENII**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 102 issues published during the monitoring period.*

Foreign news is issue #1 in "Golos Armenii," and has consistently covered a quarter of the total volume in the mean. According to the eight months' results, 24.72% of paper space was devoted to this theme. Next come internal policy - 10.26% and economy - 10.11%.

World news (received mainly through other sources) is usually placed on the third page. At times, important international events appear on the first page and even next to the flag. In this section Russia gets more attention than the other countries - 6.14%.

In eight months of monitoring Robert Kocharian was mentioned most often - 457 (including three positive and 46 negative). Open criticism of Kocharian started to appear after the sales of the Yerevan Cognac factory, and the number of negative references has grown abruptly. Coming after him Levon Ter-Petrosian has 260 references, but the largest number of negative characterisations - 101. By the total number of references Armen Darbinian - 140 and Vano Siradeghian - 110, come third and fourth. The above mentioned politicians were always in the group of the leading four during all phases of monitoring. In general, "GA" is critical of both the current and the former administrations, devoting to them almost equal attention, though its attitude towards "the former" is worse.

"GA" is more patient with the "nostalgic" politicians, but less attentive towards them. Though there are only two direct positive references (among 44) in the address of Karen Demirchian, their overall tone is courteous. Whereas, in relation with the activities of the communists' leader Sergey Badalian the paper is somewhat sceptical (Badalian has only 23 references, with one positive and two negative). In the course of the eight months, the largest paper space has been dedicated to the opinions of Robert Kocharian (1,727.37 s/c), Minister of Finances and Economy Edward Sandoyan (1,475.67 s/c), Vardan Oskanian (1,354.97 s/c) and Armen Darbinian (1,174.13 s/c.)

## **HAIK**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Haik" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price -150 drams, on December 30 - 149 drams. 31 issues published during the monitoring period, one of them in 24/A3 pp.*

As expected, this party publication has dedicated more attention to internal political issues. According to eight months' results, this section has formed 18.61% of overall paper space. With a large gap this is followed by incidents/entertainment - 10.13% (a high rate for a political paper), culture/history - 10.10% and foreign news - 9.29%.

By number of references the leaders are; Robert Kocharian - 350 (including two positive and 16 negative), Armen Darbinian - 117 (including five negative), Levon Ter-Petrosian - 106 (including five positive), Parour Hayrikian - 63 (including five negative). 60 times each were mentioned Vano Siradeghian (including four positive) and Khossrov Haroutiunian (including five negative).

In paper space for expressed opinions APM leader Vano Siradeghian had no rivals - 3,017.60 s/c. Almost thrice as little space was allocated to NDU leader Vazgen Manoukian - 1,001.56 s/c, head of the Parliamentary fraction "Republic" Babken Ararktsian - 971.75 s/c and Robert Kocharian - 904.65 s/c.

Just in one parameter - number of references - the President and his administration were ahead of the former authorities. Opinions and viewpoints of the former (APM) leaders of the country cover most of the paper space in "Haik," which is expectable. And predilections of the paper (expressed in a positive balance of qualitative references) is also for the former administration. In relation with the "nostalgic" politicians, "Haik's" position is generally neutral, but with lesser attention, than for the first two groups.

## **IRAVOUNK**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Claimed circulation - 18,000-20,000. Price - 60-80 drams. 54 issues published during the monitoring period, 30 of which in 12/A3 pp. and 24 - in 8/A3 pp.*

Only after the first phases of two-months' monitoring did internal policy appear in the first place here. Following the next three phases advertising/announcements took precedence. In fact, in July-August this section covered a record-breaking range (32.88%) of space. And according to the results of eight months too, this section remained the leader - 26.10%. Next come internal policy - 17.49%, economy - 12.37% and culture/history - 10.20%.

Among politicians, just as in all other media, most references were made about Robert Kocharian - 405 (including five positive and seven negative.) He is followed by Levon Ter-Petrossian - 236 (including 49 negative,) Armen Darbinian - 170 (including two negative,) Vano Siradeghian - 148 (including one positive and 12 negative).

Instead, by paper space devoted to positions and viewpoints Vano Siradeghian is the leader - 3,951.29 s/c. He has surpassed even the leader of the founding Party of "Iravounk" - Hrant Khachatryan, who scored second - 3,855.38 s/c. The next places are occupied by Minister of Social Security Gagik Yeganyan - 2,089.20 s/c and NA Vice-Speaker Albert Bazeyan - 2,050.94 s/c.

For politicians symbolising the current administration, "Iravounk" has shown reticent expectancy in May-December of 1998 (the balance of qualitative references is close to zero) and attention towards them is moderate. In relation with the former administration, the paper holds to a sharply negative stance, at the same time displaying active interest in their, and in particular, Vano Siradeghian's positions. "Nostalgic" leaders - Karen Demirchian and Sergey Badalian, haven't got much of attention in the paper, and the attitude for the latter is neutral.

## **AYZHM**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayzhm" - weekly. Founded in 1996. Founder - National-Democratic Union. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000-4,000. Price - 60 drams. 28 issues published during the monitoring period.*

"Ayzhm" has maintained its reputation of the most politicised publication throughout eight months of monitoring. Internal policy here is 32.79%. Much less has been devoted to the economy - 11.45%, with rights/law and order/defence/security - 11.21% - coming after. Besides, "Ayzhm" is characterised with the least thematic diversity. At some phases of monitoring whole thematic sections were simply not addressed at all.

The circle of politicians, whose activities were covered by the paper also seemed to be quite restricted. For instance, leader of the Communist Party Sergey Badalian was mentioned only once. He and other prominent political figures like Serge Sargsian, Karen Demirchian, Vano Siradeghian have empty rows in space provided for expressed opinions' section.

The incumbent and the former Presidents were most often mentioned in the paper. Robert Kocharian - 147 (including one positive and 12 negative), Levon Ter-Petrossian - 76 (including 21 negative).

By space provided for expressed opinion the absolute advantage is after NDU leaders Vazgen Manoukian - 7,223.16 s/c and David Vardanian - 2,412.00 s/c.

Judging by the balance of qualitative references, the paper is extremely critical of the current and former administrations (a little more critical of the latter). Attitudes in "Ayzhm" for the "nostalgic" politicians might be characterised as indifferent; attention towards them in the paper is minimal.

## **HAYLOUR / LRABER / LOURER (NTA)**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lraber" and "Haylour" - daily newscasts of the National Television of Armenia. "Lourer" - daily newscast of TV "Nork." The latter was used to fill the airtime gap that appeared after disruption of the first and beginning of the second trademark NTA daily newscasts. Broadcast five times a week (Monday-Friday) and were aired thrice a day, on Saturdays - twice a day. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00. There were 210 newscasts during the monitoring period. Length of narration was 5,877 min. 25 sec.*

By volume of aired materials the group of the first three issues includes; culture/history (27.27%), advertising/announcements (13.82%), economy (11.37%). Such combination of the leading three themes was encountered at different phases of monitoring in "Lraber," "Lourer," and "Haylour." With a large gap follows internal policy (6.55%.) In general, NTA daily broadcasts were characterised by comprehensive coverage of a broad range of themes.

In references to political leaders NTA was also marked with inclusiveness. Robert Kocharian was mentioned 397 times, Armen Darbinian - 379, Vardan Oskanian - 115. Data on references to power ministers Vazgen Sargsian - 26 (all neutral) and Serge Sargsian - 15 (including two positive and one negative) were also high in comparison with other audio-visual programmes, with the exception of NRA "Lourer."

The highest indicator in positive references belongs to Kocharian - 8. Khossrov Haroutiunian has been mentioned in a negative context more than the others - 4. But negative references both in this and other cases were uttered in citation, whereas the positive ones were uttered by the NTA correspondents.

In airtime provided for expressed opinions indicators for Kocharian (87 min. 49 sec.) and Darbinian (64 min. 40 sec.) were also the highest.

Representatives of the current administration enjoyed unequivocal attention and sympathy in NTA daily broadcasts. The former administration and the "nostalgic" politicians were overlooked and were treated almost equally.

## **AYB-FEH**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 205 newscasts during the monitoring period. Length of narration - 2,474 min. 14 sec.*

By volume of materials the group of the first three themes includes rights/law and order/defence/security (15.65%), economy (12.42%) and culture/history (11.86%.) An

unvarying interest for law and order issues is one of the main characteristic trends of "Ayb-Feh."

It is important to note that a special programme covering foreign news - "Ayb-Feh +" has not been monitored. Therefore, foreign news couldn't have appeared in the group of the leading three in "Ayb-Feh" and it has scored only 2% of the airtime.

In number of references the team of leaders is the same; Robert Kocharian - 237, Armen Darbinian - 107, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 103. Parour Hayrikian following the usual trio lags far behind - 49.

Kocharian surpasses all the others both in positive (12) and negative (10) references. The total number of positive references in "Ayb-Feh" is the largest among the monitored programmes. The number of negative references here is second only to the corresponding indicator of another "A1+" programme - "Kiraki." In other words, this channel has more propensity for evaluation than others being monitored.

Opinions and viewpoints of Kocharian have received the largest airtime here - 18 min. 6 sec., but this indicator is relatively low compared with the news programmes of other channels.

The current administration has enjoyed highest attention here, too. The former leaders have appeared more prominently, than the "nostalgic" politicians. In terms of dispositions (balance of qualitative references) all the three political groups have received equal treatment.

## **ORAKARG / KIRAKNORYA LRABER / TESADASHT**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Kiraknorya Lraber" and "Orakarg" - weekly analytical newscast of the National Television of Armenia. "Tesadasht" - weekly programme of "Mir" International TV company. The latter was used to fill the airtime gap, that appeared after disruption of the first and beginning of the second weekly trademark newscasts of the NTA. Until November 8 including, the programmes were being aired on Sundays at 20.00. The rest of the programmes were being aired at 21.00. The number of all the NTA weekly newscasts was 34. Length of narration was 1,011 min. 15 sec.*

In total volume of themes the group of the first six included; foreign news -17.02%, foreign policy - 11.02%, economy - 10.86%, internal policy - 9.65%, NA/legislation - 8.68%, and Artsakh - 6.82%.

Both the daily and the weekly newscasts of NTA are characterised by extended coverage of a broad range of themes.

An overwhelmingly large volume of eight months' materials on foreign news has been accumulated first of all at the expense of "Tesadasht" and "Orakarg" newscasts. (In fact, the latter has paid special attention to Western Europe and USA, whereas formerly the accent was placed on Russia and the CIS.) Their predecessor - "Kiraknorya Lraber" secured almost all of the 2.82% of health/ecology, and most of education/science (2.34%).

6.82% of materials on Karabagh (Artsakh) represent analysis of or information on the regulation of the conflict. An interview with the MKR Parliamentary Speaker Oleg Yessayan on the activities of the legislature in Artsakh made an exception.

In comparison with the daily newscasts of NTA, where the so called "requisite protocol" takes a large share of the programme and attention to representatives of higher ranks of power is domineering, the weekly newscasts are characterised by great flexibility. However, proportionally indicators on the number of references and airtime provided for opinions of the leadership is quite similar in both.

Robert Kocharian was mentioned 81 times (including six positive and one negative) and has received 223 min. 13 sec. of airtime, Armen Darbinian - 31 times (including one positive), with 14 min. 52 sec. of airtime, Vardan Oskanian - 29, with 12 min. and 58 sec., Khossrov Haroutiunian - 14 (including two negative), with 18 min. and 33 sec.

Attention and sympathies of NTA weekly newscasts towards political groups in general are the same as those of the daily newscasts.

## **KIRAKI**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Kiraki" - weekly analytical newscast of "A1+" TV. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 34 newscasts during the monitoring period. Length of narration - 451 min. 37 sec.*

The group of the first three themes with largest volume included internal policy - 33.11%, NA/legislation - 27.61%, and foreign policy - 11.26%. These themes generally received special attention. Moreover, social issues and economy were introduced in "Kiraki" in two main aspects - national and international. Thus, the problem of social security, job placement, discussions of social fairness were observed in terms of current administration's fulfilment of its pre-election promises. Economic issues, particularly related to privatisation, were considered before and after the current administration's inauguration. The programme has never turned to such themes, as education/science, Diaspora, sports, incidents/entertainment. "Kiraki" doesn't air advertising/announcements.

In terms of references the leaders were the same; Robert Kocharian - 109, Khossrov Haroutiunian - 35, Armen Darbinian - 32. In fact, they are also the leaders in negative references; Kocharian - 15, Haroutiunian - seven, Darbinian - six. Only the President has positive references (two). In fact, qualitative references were most often made by the anchor and the script authors.

By time provided for expression of viewpoints the leaders were; Kocharian (seven minutes 38 sec.), Parour Hayrikian (four minutes 25 seconds), Darbinian (three minutes 11 seconds). In fact, leader of "Self-Determination" Union Hayrikian has appeared in the group of the first three through frequent citation of his words and positions during the last month of monitoring (December 1998.)

As seen, attitudes for the current administration in "Kiraki" are generally unfavourable. Judging by the balance of qualitative references, the programme was more friendly towards the former administration, specifically - some of its representatives. Thus, Vano Siradeghian appeared to be one of those, who received the most number of positive references (three). The same indicators witness favourable disposition also for the "nostalgic" politicians. However, the latter were mentioned less frequently.

## **STORAKET**

## **Synopsis:**

*"Storaket" - weekly newscast of Internews Armenia. Aired on Sundays on 13 independent TV stations. There were 30 newscasts during the monitoring period. Length of narration - 609 min. 45 sec.*

By total volume of themes social issues (18.07%), society (16.56%), health/ecology (12.70%), culture/history (12.14%), economy (10.83%) are the leaders.

It is characteristic of "Storaket" to air stories on religious issues quite frequently (6.80%) - the highest rate among all the monitored media.

In such a disposition of airtime naturally, politicians are not mentioned as often. Nevertheless, here too, Robert Kocharian has received the highest indicator - 16. In expression of viewpoints Catholicos of All-Armenians Garegin I has scored first with 1 min. 25 sec.

Considering specifics of the programme it is useless to speak about the programme's attitudes and sympathies for political figures.

## **LOURER (NRA)**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday to Friday) and aired 10 times a day; eight times on Saturdays and six times on Sundays. Till October 31 including, the objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.00. Starting from November 1 to December 31 these were broadcasts aired at 23.00. There were 233 newscasts during the monitoring period. Length of narration - 2,786 min. 13 sec.*

In the course of eight months by volume of materials economy has been leading with a large gap - 22.91%, followed by foreign policy - 7.86%, culture/history - 7.56%, NA/legislation - 7.31% and social issues - 7.25%.

A characteristic trend of "Lourer" is that in stories about Artsakh the newscast discusses not only the issue of conflict resolution, but also different aspects of life in the self-declared republic. In fact, sources of information were not always mentioned.

In number of references Robert Kocharian - 276, Armen Darbinian - 205, and Khossrov Haroutiunian - 104 were the leaders. The other politicians lagged far behind.

By airtime provided to express their viewpoints the situation looked as follows; the largest volume was provided to Robert Kocharian - 53 min. 38 sec. Kh.Haroutiunian - 38 min. 2 sec., and Darbinian - 22 min. 47 sec.

Representatives of the current administration enjoyed most intensive attention in "Lourer." "Nostalgic" politicians were far behind them, but still a little ahead of representatives of the previous administration.

## **MONITORING OF "TALK-SHOW" PROGRAMMES**

**May 1 - December 31, 1998**

## "P.S."

### Synopsis:

*"P.S." - programme of "A1+" TV. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) at 22.10. 129 broadcasts were aired during the monitoring period (May 1-December 31). In August the programme was on a recess, some of the planned broadcasts were cancelled because of disruption of the "A1+" transmitter, negligence of the invited guests who failed to appear, or sickness of the anchor.*

"P.S." is a live programme of "A1+" TV. The guest answers the questions of both the anchor and the phone calls of the viewers. The November 30 interview with President Robert Kocharian made an exception, for it was construed only of the anchor's questions and President Kocharian's recorded answers during his interview given to three Armenian TV companies. The programme has only one permanent anchor and an established structure; the anchor presents the guest and the range of problems to be discussed. This is followed by teletyped information about the guest.

According to eight months' monitoring results, by registered participants and themes of discussion, "P.S." can be identified as a politicised talk-show.

Only a few of the broadcasts were not politicised. One of them was devoted to Eurasia Foundation as an international organisation, financing various projects: the conversation was about principles of choosing local grantee organisations. In two broadcasts priests dwelt on the role of the church in the society. Health problems were discussed in four broadcasts (including one with the newly appointed Health Minister Gagik Stamboltsian.) The role and the place of the "fourth estate" was considered in five "P.S." shows. Just as much meetings with foreign Armenians were dedicated to the actual problems of the Diaspora. The situation with culture in Armenia was discussed with nine representatives of the sphere (twice with the RA Minister of Culture, Sports and Youth Issues, among them).

The theme of conversation in the rest of the broadcasts was politics (internal and foreign). Various aspects of the issue were discussed in conversations with 21 representatives of the executive branch, 32 RA Parliamentary deputies, five representatives of the law-and-order and legal systems, and 41 representatives of political parties in Armenia. Some of the guests appeared in the talk show several times. Thus, leader of the National Democratic Party "Century XXI" David Shahnazarian participated in three broadcasts. Twice the conversation was about actual internal and foreign policy problems, and once - the government's proposed programme on economic development. Ramkavar Azatakan Party (liberal-democratic) leader Vigen Khachatrian commented on his Party's positions after the Presidential elections. In another case - on accusations made at a rally by Dashnaktsoutiun about several politicians, of which Khachatrian was one. Secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Gagik Tadevossian (participant in two shows) spoke about his Party's positions on the regulation of the Karabagh problem, and in another - on the public rating of communists.

Frequency of inviting representatives of specific political forces to the studio is also quite interesting. "P.S." has perpetually declared about its willingness to provide equal opportunities for political and public groups to express their ideas. However, cases when the invited guests refused to participate in the show (leaders of Dashnaktsoutiun, Ramkavar Azatakan, etc.) did not allow to determine fully the extent to which this principle was maintained by "P.S." Whatever the case, the resulting picture was as follows: From May 1 through December 31 "P.S." guests included two representatives of the Christian Democratic Union, twice - the leader of "Haykandoukht" Party, thrice - leaders of the

Communist Party, six times each - ARF(D) and NDU and seven times - APM leaders. Other party leaders were not hosted more than once.

## **THURSDAY**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Thursday" - programme of the National Television of Armenia. Aired once a week on Thursdays, generally at 21.30. There were 33 broadcasts during the monitoring period.*

In most cases it was a live programme. Several broadcasts consisted of two parts. "Thursday" has a permanent anchor (except once).

In terms of themes and the choice of guests "Thursday" might be called a non-politicised talk-show. Thus, during the monitoring period there were seven representatives of the executive branch, one NA deputy (David Shahnazarian), two leaders of political parties, one representative of the cultural field - Chief Conductor and Artistic Director of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Armenia Loris Chignavorian (twice), one foreign ambassador (Exclusive and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the US in Armenia Peter Tomsen,) six Diaspora representatives, four deans of private colleges in Armenia, and 13 businessmen (twice - leaders of Tradesmen's Association of Armenia).

The issues aired were not related to any specific event: "Thursday" does not go by the fresh track. Thus, in conversations with party representatives, internal situation after Presidential and before Parliamentary elections in the country was discussed with David Shahnazarian, and the role and the extent of responsibility of Dashnaksoutiun for the developments in Armenia - with the ARF(D) Board member Grant Margarian. Only dialogues with Foreign Affairs Minister Vardan Oskanian and Presidential Advisor Aram Sargsian were immediate reactions to actual events; in the first case - the situation with the Russian Federation and Javakhk was the subject of discussion, and in the second - recognition of the 1915 Genocide by the French Parliament.

## **PRESS CLUB**

### **Synopsis:**

*"Press Club" - programme of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast once a week, on Tuesdays, mostly at 21.00. There were 13 broadcasts during the monitoring period (the last one - on July 28, 1998.)*

All "Press Club" shows were record-broadcasts. Hosted media leaders (mainly print media) discussed actual political issues. Taking turns, media leaders most frequently participating in the show, led the programmes themselves. With the exception of two broadcasts on the Armenian Diaspora media and the problems of independent television in Armenia (with the participation of foreign Armenian journalists and representatives of TV companies), the circle of participants at the "Press Club" shows remained quite stable; Vigen Sargsian of "Ayzhm" - nine times, Hakob Avedikian of "Azg" - eight, Haik Baboukhanian of "Iravounk" and Aghvan Vardanian of "Yerevan" news centre - seven each, Tigran Hayrapetian (politologist) - six, Mikayel Hayrapetian of "Yerkrapah" weekly - five, Mesrop Haroutiunian of news agency "Armenpress" - four, Aram Abrahamian of "Aravot," Tigran Hakopian of "Haik," Stepan Danielian of "Shirjan" weekly, and Vahram

Martirossian of "AR" TV - twice each. Another eight journalists have participated in the programme once each.

The "Press Club" proved to be an extremely politicised show. Any conversation on any subject turned into an evaluation of the political situation. Even in shows devoted to cultural problems the participants were unable to evade political evaluations.

In general, the programme was characterised by the actuality of the issues discussed. These included all momentous problems of political life in Armenia; the new government's economic programme discussed by the NA of RA; privatisation of the Yerevan Cognac factory, political credit earned after the first 100 days in office by President Robert Kocharian, etc.

## 1999

### ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

January 1 - February 28, 1999

**SINCE LAST YEAR** some changes have occurred in the list of media analysed by the monitoring group. "Ayzhm" weekly, publication of which was suspended, and TV show "Storaket" have been excluded from the list. Instead "Oragir" and "Novoye Vremya" newspapers, as well as the main newscasts of TV "AR" have been added. With the upcoming Parliamentary elections the group of monitors has been concentrated on sympathies and preferences of the media for political figures, paying less attention to thematic analysis.

Traditionally, the most frequently mentioned political figure in Armenia was Robert Kocharian; his name appeared on newspaper pages and in the air almost twice as often as coming second Armenian Pan-National Movement (APM) leader Vano Siradeghian (in fact, the latter has just as swaying an advantage over the others in the number of negative references.) In addition, by newspaper space/airtime devoted to expression of political opinions, Kocharian's indicators are not as impressive this time. Among all monitored media only in daily newscast "Courier" of TV "AR" did the President take the first place in this indicator.

Media attention towards politicians depended on specific events this time, and first of all - on the General Prosecutor's appeal to strip Vano Siradeghian of immunity as a Parliamentary deputy. The events around this incident pushed Vano Siradeghian forward to the second place by references (he has surpassed "always second" Prime Minister Armen Darbinian), and General Prosecutor Aghvan Hovsepian who was previously overlooked in the media, soared to the fourth place. The Prosecutor was extensively cited in the leading media and in January-February got the most paper volume/airtime in "Azg," newscast Haylour" and Radio programme "Lourer." Discussions around Vano Siradeghian also heightened interest towards the ex-President raising him to the fifth place. (It was during his term at the highest state office, that the events incriminating the ex-Mayor and ex-Internal Affairs Minister took place.)

In relation with Siradeghian, the media were strictly divided into three groups; those who unequivocally, or at least in general defended Siradeghian, those who accused him, and those who were trying to take a neutral position. Naturally, weekly "Haik" stood up for the APM leader; out of eight qualitative references seven were positive and only one - negative. Though the balance of qualitative references to Siradeghian in "Aravot" and "Oragir" was negative, they still mentioned Siradeghian in a positive context, respectively nine and four times. Considering the general and extremely unfavourable tone, in which the press referred to this politician, the provided data witness that these papers are rather for the APM leader than against him.

"Golos Armenii," "Yerkir" "Hayots Ashkhar, "Azg," "Respublica Armenia," "Novoye Vremya" and "Iravounk" are unequivocally against or generally accuse Siradeghian. The last one, in addition, displayed a traditionally keen interest for Siradeghian. In number of references he has preceded all the other politicians here.

The rest of the media, judging by balance of qualitative references, were marked by self-restrained attitude.

Other incidents having largely affected the Armenian politicians' rating in the media were the Summit of the Republican Party of Armenia and the assassination of Deputy-Minister of Internal Affairs and National Security Artsroun Margarian. Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian's speech at the Summit pushed him to an overall sixth place in references. And publications in relation with the assassination drew the IA and NS Minister Serge Sargsian to the eighth place. Both the power ministers appeared on a higher level in the list than the Foreign Affairs Minister, and V.Sargsian surpassed also NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian. During the previous stages of monitoring Kh.Haroutiunian and V.Oskanian were always in the centre of attention in the press and occupied a higher row than the power ministers.

In five papers the leaders of founding organisations got the most paper space for expressed positions: NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian - in "Respublica Armenia," NA Vice-Speaker Albert Bazeyan - in "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun," Dashnaktsoutiun leader Vahan Hovannissian - in "Yerkir," leader of the "Constitutional Rights" Union Hrant Khachatryan - in "Iravounk" and President of "Century XXI" Association Arkadiy Vardanian - in "Novoye Vremya." But if the first four are active in political life of Armenia, then Vardanian has received thrice as much space in "NV", than coming second Health Minister Haik Nikoghossian through his journalistic activeness; he had voluminous articles published in the paper.

Similarly, because of his analytical articles in the press one of the initiators of the Karabagh Movement in 1988 Igor Mouradian also became popular. Having remained in the shade for the last couple of years, he still got the first place in paper space in "Golos Armenii" and second - in "Aravot."

## HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN

**Synopsis:** "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,500. Price - 75 drams. The issue for January 1 was free. 38 issues published during the monitoring period.

## RESPUBLICA ARMENIA

**Synopsis:** "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA". Standard volume- 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100-150 drams. 37 issues published during the monitoring period, one of which - in 8/A3 pp., two - in 8/A2 pp. and 16/A3 pp., respectively.

## AZG

**Synopsis:** "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 35 issues published during the monitoring period.

## YERKIR

**Synopsis:** "Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) of Armenia. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 50 drams. 35 issues published during the monitoring period.

## ARAVOT

**Synopsis:** "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 100 drams. 35 issues published during the monitoring period.

## HAYOTS ASHKHAR

**Synopsis:** "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Circulation - not reported. Price - 100 drams. 35 issues published during the monitoring period, 15 of them in 8/A3 pp. and 20 - in 16/A3 pp.

## ORAGIR

**Synopsis:** "Oragir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1998. Founder and publisher - private owner. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 100 drams. 35 issues published during the monitoring period.

## GOLOS ARMENII

**Synopsis:** "Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period.

## NOVOYE VREMYA

**Synopsis:** "Novoye Vremya" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1992. Founder - "Century XXI" Association. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period. Nine of them in 6/A2 pp., eight - in 4/A2 pp. (the insert "Elite paper" not considered), and three - in 8/A2 pp.

## IRAVOUNK

**Synopsis:** "Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Claimed circulation - 16,000-18,000. Price - 60-90 drams. 14 issues published during the monitoring period, of which seven in 12/A3 pp. and seven - in 8/A3 pp.

## HAIK

**Synopsis:** "Haik" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price -140 drams. 7 issues published during the monitoring period.

## HAYLOUR

**Synopsis:** "Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. January 2-12 broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday - thrice a day, on Saturdays - twice). Since January 13 broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday - five times a day, and on Saturdays - four times). The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00. There were 49 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## AYB-FEH

**Synopsis:** "Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 47 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## COURIER

**Synopsis:** "Courier" - newscast of TV station "AR". Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired 4 times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 23.30. There were 48 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## ORAKARG

**Synopsis:** "Orakarg" - analytical newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays at 21.00. There were 9 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## KIRAKI

**Synopsis:** "Kiraki" - analytical newscast of TV station "A1+". Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 8 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## SEVEN STONES

**Synopsis:** "Seven Stones" - analytical newscast of TV station "AR". Aired on Sundays at 22.30. There were 8 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## LOURER

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 10 times a day; eight times on Saturdays and six times on Sundays. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 23.00. There were 42 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**March 1 - April 30, 1999**

**THE NUMBERS** witnessing the leading Armenian media's attention towards political figures in March-April of 1999 is interesting firstly in the light of the upcoming Parliamentary elections. The tables brought below show the credit load of the Armenian politicians with which they enter the final phase of the election campaign (partially indicated by the frequency of reference in the media.)

Again, though not in the election campaign, President Kocharian is still above competition by frequency of reference. In a course of the whole year Kocharian has been the leader in all the bi-monthly monitoring results (May 1998 - April 1999) and such continuity is explained not only by the highest executive position that he has, but also by his extremely active political role. Thus, in March-April Kocharian managed to visit Vatican and Italy, leave Armenia on the Genocide Commemoration Day to participate at the 50th anniversary of NATO, consented to meet the Azerbaijani President through the mediation of the US President... All these events were extensively covered by journalists.

However, apparently negative balance of qualitative (positive and negative) references in the light of the Parliamentary elections largely accounts for the fact, that none of the parties striving to win seats in the National Assembly declared of its unequivocal support for the President. No one wants to be identified with a risky political factor.

Another high ranking state figure not participating in the elections has indicators which are even worse. Positive references to Armen Darbinian - the Prime-Minister - conform only 0.65% of the total, and the negatives - 8.50% (13 times more!) And it is not surprising, that with few exceptions, the parties running for elections not only failed to support him, but were extremely critical of the Government.

Among politicians included in the party lists for elections media has more frequently mentioned Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian ("Unity" block,) who comes third after the President and the Prime-Minister. Then follow the leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement (APM) Vano Siradeghian (fifth) and the leader of the Popular Party of Armenia Karen Demirchian - also from the "Unity" block (seventh.) However, in predilections and sympathies "Unity" is undoubtedly in advantage; both Sargsian and Demirchian enjoy a positive balance of references. Whereas, Siradeghian's balance is extremely negative (13 positive and 128 negative.) And, considering the fact, that whether it wants it or not, ex-President Levon Ter-Petrossian's spirit still floats over the APM with quite similar indicators as Vano Siradeghian (601 references with 14 positive and 126 negative,) the privilege of "Unity" over the former leading Party looks even more convincing on the media-background. With such a negative balance the frequency of references to APM leaders can hardly be considered an indication of their possible success in the elections.

Judging by frequency of reference, the National-Democratic Union seems to be favoured by the media; Arshak Sadoyan - out of 357 references 11 positive and nine negative and Vazgen Manoukian (out of 294 references four positive and one negative.) The "SDU+" block is the next in rank; the leader of Self-Determination Union Parour Hayrikian has 289 references, with five positive and seven negative. The leader of "Democratic Motherland" Party Edward Yegorian has been mentioned as frequently - 270, but his balance of qualitative references is much worse (two positive and 39 negative.) In this sense number one in the election list of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) Vahan Hovannissian looks somewhat better (of 263 references one positive and eight negative.) Among leaders participating in the elections by majoritarian system Hovannissian is followed by number one in the Communists' list - Sergey Badalian (237 references with two positive and four negative. Then come "Law and Unity" block leaders Hrant Khachatrian (of 185 references eight positive and no negative) and Artashes Geghamian (of 158 references nine positive and two negative.) Artour Baghdassarian, number one of "Orinats Yerkir" Party, has squeezed in between them, with 171 references, of which two are positive and one negative. The remaining figures in party lists enjoying relative attention of the media were Co-Chairs of Ramkavar Azatakan Party Republican Board of Armenia (RAPA) Rouben Mirzakhanian (of 92 references one positive and zero negative,) and Haroutiun Karapetian (of 51 references zero positive and two negative.)

There is regular consistency in regards with different types of media; as the elections neared, the print media have become more open in their predilection for sponsoring them politicians and political forces, but the TV and Radio broadcasts on the contrary, have been markedly balanced and neutral.

"Haylour" and "Orakarg" (National Television of Armenia,) "Ayb-Feh" and "Kiraki" ("A1+" TV station,) "Courier" and "Seven Stones" ("AR" TV) and "Lourer" (National Radio of Armenia) have allowed a minimum number of qualitative references in March-April. During the last two months in the weekly analytical newscast "Orakarg" there have been no qualitative references at all! True, the same "Orakarg" has paid special attention to the RA President. Kocharian was not only mentioned more often than the others, but was also provided with incomparably larger volume of airtime for his positions and opinions (889 sec.) In fact, second after the President in volume (295 sec.) is his Press-Secretary Vahe Gabrielian, naturally expressing the country leader's opinions, as well.

In any case, the electronic media do not show obvious predisposition for a specific candidate, in contrast with the print media. As stated above, the latter clearly display their preferences both in abundance of qualitative references and in the way paper space is provided for expressed positions and viewpoints of politicians. As expected, "Oragir" has provided most paper space to "New Way" Party leader Ashot Bleyan. In "Iravouk" number one in "Law and Unity" block Artashes Geghamian is the leader, and number two in the list Hrant Khachatrian is third by paper space. In publications established by the National Assembly - "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenia" - most paper space is devoted to NA Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian. In pro-Dashnak papers "Yerkir" and "Hayots Ashkhar" ARF(D) leader Vahan Hovannissian has taken respectively, the first and second places in paper space. (Interestingly, in both the papers right after Vahan Hovannissian comes Vazgen Manoukian, leader of the National-Democratic Union.) In the weekly "Haik" (APM) despite his absence from the country for the last two months, leader of the Party Vano Siradeghian has scored second, and Ara Sahakian - representative of the intra-party opposition - has scored third by paper space.

"Azg" has provided most paper space to Rouben Mirzakhanian - Co-Chairman of the RAPA. However, in contrast with "Haik," this pro-Ramkavar daily is not condescending towards the "dissident" in the family. The second Co-Chairman Haroutiun Karapetian has received minimum attention. It leads to the conclusion that the compromise between the two wings of the RAPA is simply a tribute to the pre-election requirements and not a true reconciliation, at least for the time being.

In "Novoye Vremya," just as during the previous two months, Arkadiy Vardanian - leader of the founding organisation, is still above competition by paper space. Though he has not been nominated as a candidate, in this case it is the tendency that is important; the papers faithfully conform with the role of mouthpieces of certain politicians or political forces.

Based on the results of monitoring in March-April, an exception of the rule was "Zhamanak." Having in mind its special ties with the Republican Party, it was expectable that it would provide the most space to the informal leader of the Party - Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian. However, Sargsian has scored only eighth in this indicator, yielding the upper rows to politicians having no relation with the RP.

"Aravot" and "Golos Armenii" stand apart among the others. The unprecedented large volume of paper space devoted to Igor Mouradian's own analytical articles could have meant, that these publications were sympathetic to the political alliances favoured by Mouradian (Union of Socialist Forces, National Security Party, "National Initiative: Russia-Belorussia-Armenia," "Union of the Socialist Forces and Intellectuals" block. However, otherwise, it is hard to suspect "Aravot" and "Golos Armenii" in political predilections, therefore, most probably their interest in Mouradian is as an author rather, than a politician.

## HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN

**Synopsis:** "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,500-6,500. Price - 75 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period.

## RESPUBLICA ARMENIA

**Synopsis:** "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Standard volume- 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100-150 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period, 2 of which - in 8/A2 pp. and one - in 16/A3 pp.

## AZG

**Synopsis:** "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one had an insert not considered.

## YERKIR

**Synopsis:** "Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) of Armenia. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 50 drams. 41 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **ARAVOT**

**Synopsis:** "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **HAYOTS ASHKHAR**

**Synopsis:** "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500-3,500. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **ORAGIR**

**Synopsis:** "Oragir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1998. Founder and publisher - private owner. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **ZHAMANAK**

**Synopsis:** "Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1998. Founder and publisher - Council of Founders. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 1,500. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **GOLOS ARMENII**

**Synopsis:** "Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 26 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **NOVOYE VREMYA**

**Synopsis:** "Novoye Vremya" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1992. Founder - Independent International Association "Century XXI." Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 25 issues published during the monitoring period: 12 of them in 6/A2 pp., 7 - in 4/A2 pp. (the insert "Elite paper" not considered), and 6 - in 8/A2 pp.

### **IRAVOUNK**

**Synopsis:** "Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Claimed circulation - 17,000-19,000. The April 30 issue had a circulation of 50,000. Price - 60-90 drams. 18 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one in 16/A3 pp., 8 - in 12/A3 pp. and 9 - in 8/A3 pp.

### **HAIK**

**Synopsis:** "Haik" - weekly. Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Circulation - not reported. Price -140 drams. 9 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **HAYLOUR**

**Synopsis:** "Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday - five times a day, on Saturdays - four times). From March 1 to April 17 the objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 20.00, starting from April 19 - those broadcast at 21.00. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **AYB-FEH**

**Synopsis:** "Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 50 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **COURIER**

**Synopsis:** "Courier" - newscast of "AR" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired four times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 23.30. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **ORAKARG**

**Synopsis:** "Orakarg" - analytical newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays at 21.00. There were 8 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **KIRAKI**

**Synopsis:** "Kiraki" - analytical newscast of "A1+" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 7 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **SEVEN STONES**

**Synopsis:** "Seven Stones" - analytical newscast of "AR" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 22.30. There were 8 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **LOURER**

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. March 1-14 broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 13 times a day; nine times on Saturdays and eight times on Sundays. Starting March 15 - five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 16 times a day; 11 times on Saturdays and eight times on Sundays. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 23.00. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**May 1-29, 1999**

**THE MAY PHASE OF MONITORING** was naturally focused on the election campaign. Despite the fact, that new and promising TV companies appeared in the media market before elections, the list of the analysed media remained the same. The YPC monitoring group considered it essential to observe the TV channels' coverage of the elections in comparison with their prior activities, therefore it decided upon one state - the National Television of Armenia (NTA) and two private channels - "A1+" and "AR." These can already be considered permanent sources of information in Armenia. The papers were analysed in full scale (excluded were only materials in the state press, the publication of which was mandatory in accordance with the requirements of the Election Code and the Central Election Commission). Out of each analysed channel one daily newscast, one weekly analytical programme, as well as programmes we have conditionally called "talk-shows" were selected. The talk-show programmes chosen on NTA were "Today," "Faces," "Politics Since Daybreak;" on "A1+" - "P.S.;" on "AR" - "Trajectory," "Either...or;" "Tomar," "Asparez." And as usual, one daily newscast was monitored on the National Radio of Armenia (NRA.)

Since the European Institute for the Media conducted a general monitoring of the Armenian media in May, the results of which will be published later, the YPC constructed its research not just on the sum total, but on the principle of indicators. Thus, during the May phase of monitoring the number and character of references, as well as the volume provided to 87 politicians for their expressed opinions were calculated. This time the group of indicator-politicians consisted of 63 people included in the first triplet of party lists, as well as 24 other most active political figures (by frequency of reference in previous stages of monitoring.) The indicators of the first set of three are important, because these politicians are included in the ballots and are peculiar shop-windows for their parties/blocs involved in elections. In the meantime, not all of the leading Armenian politicians were naturally included in the upper rows of party lists and not all of them participated in the elections, but their indicators were still somewhat interesting.

Despite the special public interest for deputy candidates, President Robert Kocharian got its "monthly average" of references (about a thousand), and appeared on the first place, as usual. The balance of qualitative references (nine positive and 51 negative) also corresponds to his average indicators of the last few months. The tables below show Kocharian is the leader in references in most of the individual media outlets, as well. It is only in "Iravounk" and "Zhamanak" newspapers and in "Seven Stones" ("AR") programme, that he has forsaken the first place; in "Iravounk"- in favour of Vano Siradeghian, leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement (APM,) and in "Zhamanak" and "Seven Stones" - in favour of Defence Minister Vazgen Sargsian. It is the latter two after the President, that have scored the highest summary results in all media outlets in the same order as mentioned above.

In paper space/airtime dedicated to opinions, Kocharian's privilege is not as obvious as in the previous case. He is the leader only in the newscasts of NTA, NRA and "AR," as well as in "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun," "Respublica Armenia," "Azg," and "Hayots Ashkhar" dailies.

In March-April as the elections neared, there was an obvious increase in the rate of qualitative references. However, despite the expectations of the monitoring group, in May this tendency made a U-turn and the rate of positive/negative results decreased, i.e. there was less evaluation and more information. Not surprisingly, the Armenian media didn't get serious reprimands from candidates and observers during the period of elections.

But some other tendencies observed during previous phases of monitoring were still apparent in May. The researched electronic media, especially their news programs, practically refrained from displaying their predilections. A diversity in attention for politicians is first of all determined by public interest for them. The number of qualitative references is minimal, and in the NTA daily analytical newscast "Orakarg" qualitative references, just as in March-April, were not registered at all.

The printed press, on the contrary, didn't try to hide their predisposition, and with a small exception, led an open campaign for specific political forces.

"Aravot," "Golos Armenii," "Novoye Vremya" made an exception. The monitoring results did not disclose their unequivocal bias for this or that political force in the elections. Nevertheless, just as in March-April all the three papers have their obvious leaders in space for opinions. In "Aravot" and "GA" it is one of the Karabagh Movement leaders of the 80's Igor Mouradian, and in "Novoye Vremya" - President of "XXI Century" Association Arkadiy Vardanian. Both appeared in the lead at the expense of their articles and did not participate in the elections directly. (It must be re-stated that Vardanian is also the founder organisations' leader of "NV.")

Political predilections of the other publications were more or less obvious. Just as in the previous phase of monitoring, "Azg" eagerly provided space to Rouben Mirzakhanian, Chair of Republican Board of Armenian Ramkavar Azatakan Party (RAPA.) He is just a little behind President Kocharian in this paradigm. Then "Yerkir" and "Hayots Ashkhar" were in favour of Dashnakstoutiun's [ARF(D)] leader Vahan Hovannissian, who is on the first and the second places, respectively. In "Iravouk" the first two places are after Haik Baboukhanian and Hrant Khachatrian - the leaders of the "Constitutional Rights" Union ("Rights and Unity" bloc.) In "Haik" Vano Siradeghian is above competition and in "Oragir" - the leader of the "New Way" party Ashot Bleyan.

In comparison with the previous phase of monitoring, "Zhamanak" has abruptly changed its behaviour. If previously summary results did not tell anything of its disposition, in May all of a sudden it displayed itself as a purely party paper; in all paradigms the first two candidates of the "Unity" bloc Karen Demirchian and Vazgen Sargsian were unequivocally privileged.

Parliamentary publications "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenia" also changed their behaviour, but in the opposite direction. Speaker of the RA National Assembly Khossrov Haroutiunian who had the most paper space during the previous phase of monitoring, this time was not pampered with attention. By references he appeared to be the fifth both in "HH" and "RA," and in paper space, correspondingly - the third and fourth. In fact, in those "papers of his jurisdiction" Kh.Haroutiunian was beaten not only by the President and the Prime-Minister, who were naturally uninvolved in the elections, but also by deputy candidates Vazgen Sargsian (in "HH") and third in the National Democratic Union (NDU) list David Vardanian (in "RA".) In general, there was an obvious shift in "HH" towards the "Unity" bloc: the first triplet of the "Unity" received 3,217.37 s/c for their opinions; more than three times than Dashnakstoutiun, scoring second. In principle, "RA" policy can be generally qualified as "pro-government." But since the government, according to some politicians, is fragmented into several poles, and "RA" has obviously no propensity for any of them, it is hard to identify its orientation. It is also hard to tell to what extent the loss of "HH" and "RA" tribunes has predetermined Kh.Haroutiunian's failure in the elections.

In general, dependence of election results from the use of the media by candidates and parties is a rather interesting theme in itself. Some summary indicators of the leading three candidates in party lists give ample food for thought, if not all the answers in relation with this issue.

Thus, in paper space for opinions provided by all the analysed print media the leaders are; the "Unity" - 10,050.26 s/c, ARF(D) - 7,939.56 s/c, "Rights and Unity" - 7,732.99 s/c, RAPA - 6,704.53 s/c, NDU - 6,294.16 s/c, the Communist Party of Armenia (CPA) - 6, 214.06 s/c. In airtime provided by newscasts of the analysed electronic media the leaders are; the "Unity" - 2,003 sec., "Liberty" party - 1,156 sec., CPA - 1,132 sec., "NSU+" bloc - 1,111 sec., ARF(D) - 909 sec.

In references the "Unity" is again unsurpassed - 1,007 (including 60 positive and 35 negative), then come APM - 762 (with nine positive and 84 negative,) "Rights and Unity" - 367 (including 20 positive and 16 negative,) the NDU - 288 (including 10 positive and one negative,) the ARF(D) - 249 (including four positive and nine negative.)

It would have been quite risky to explain the sweeping victory of the "Unity" in the elections by its leadership in the media, just as to explain the success or failure of the other parties/blocs. After all, the relationship could have been the other way round; journalists "hunting" for politicians most popular among the voters. But most probably these factors are mutually interdependent. On the one hand, the media have tried to satisfy the electorate's interests for the new powerful bloc, on the other hand, keeping the "Unity" in the scope of their attention, they have inspired the idea, that no other winner in the elections was possible.

**WHILE OBSERVING** the results on the talk-show programmes, the link between electoral success and media attention seems even more obvious. Let us provide the frequency at which this or that party leaders appeared in talk-shows of the three analysed channels. "Unity" and ARF(D) - 14 times each, NDU - seven, the CPA and "Rights and Unity" - five each. As we see, the list of the leaders is quite familiar; all of these five parties have passed the 5% margin. The "Powerful Motherland" party, which didn't pass the 5% barrier, had also five appearances. However, all its appearances were on channel "AR," whereas the above mentioned parties had used all the three channels. Out of all the parties having passed the margin only "Orinats Yerkir" has failed to appear in the list. Its representatives have appeared in "P.S." (A1+) and "Trajectory" ("AR") only once, and never on NTA. However, "Orinats Yerkir," it seems, has fully compensated the gap, utilising channel "Ayg," headed by this Party's Deputy Chairman. (As a new company, "Ayg" was not included in the research list.)

Four parties/blocs the representatives of which did not appear on any of the talk-show programmes in question (the Democratic Party of Armenia, the "Union of Communist and Socialist Parties" bloc, "Liberty" and party "Arakeloutiun") did not get many votes.

The selection of talk-show participants in each of the three channels also seems to be interesting. NTA has involved 14 parties/blocs participating in the elections by proportional system, and "AR" and "A1+" have hosted 12 each. In fact, eight of them are identical (besides the five leading parties/blocs mentioned, these are the RAPA, the "Motherland" bloc and the "NSU+.") Among the various programmes "P.S." has secured most comprehensive representation - 12 parties (in a total of 20 shows.) In "Today" of NTA eight party/bloc representatives were hosted (in 15 shows.) In talk-shows of NTA the representatives of "Unity" and ARF(D) participated more than the others - four times each,

appearing, in fact, in all the three TV programmes ("Today," "Faces," "Politics Since Daybreak.") In "AR" also representatives of these two parties/blocs were the most frequent guests; ARF(D) - nine times, "Unity" - eight. In fact, ARF(D) was present in all the four talk-shows ("Trajectory," "Either...or," "Tomar," "Asparez,") whereas "Unity" was presented in only two - "Trajectory" and "Asparez." Representatives of "Powerful Motherland" also have appeared in all four talk-shows (five times.) In three of them (once each time) it was the same NDU representative - Avetik Ishkhanian. In "P.S." of "A1+" representatives of the "Union of Socialist Forces and Intellectuals" bloc appeared more frequently than the others (three times,) those of "Motherland," "Unity" and NDU - twice each.

## HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN

**Synopsis:** "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 75 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period.

## RESPUBLICA ARMENIA

**Synopsis:** "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Standard volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100-150 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period, 3 of which - in 8/A2 pp.

## AZG

**Synopsis:** "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period.

## YERKIR

**Synopsis:** "Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) of Armenia. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 1,800-2,000. The issue on May 28 published in 5,000 copies. Price - 50 drams. 19 issues published during the monitoring period. One of which in 16/A3 pp.

## ARAVOT

**Synopsis:** "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 100 drams. 21 issues published during the monitoring period.

## HAYOTS ASHKHAR

**Synopsis:** "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period.

## ORAGIR

**Synopsis:** "Oragir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1998. Founder and publisher - private owner. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Circulation not reported. Price - 100 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period.

### ZHAMANAK

**Synopsis:** "Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1998. Founder and publisher - Council of Founders. Standard volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 1,500. Price - 100 drams. 20 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 9 in 8/A3 pp.

### GOLOS ARMENII

**Synopsis:** "Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Standard volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 13 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 7 in 6/A2 pp.

### NOVOYE VREMYA

**Synopsis:** "Novoye Vremya" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1992. Founder - Independent International Association "Century XXI." Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 13 issues published during the monitoring period: 4 of them in 6/A2 pp., 4 - in 4/A2 pp. (the insert "Elite paper" not considered), and 5 - in 8/A2 pp.

### IRAVOUNK

**Synopsis:** "Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Claimed circulation - 50,000. Price - 60-90 drams. 8 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 4 in 12/A3 pp. and 4 - in 8/A3 pp.

### HAIK

**Synopsis:** "Haik" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - Armenian Pan-National Movement. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Circulation not reported. Price - 90 drams. 11 issues published during the monitoring period.

### HAYLOUR

**Synopsis:** "Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) five times daily, on Saturdays - four times. Objects of monitoring were the broadcasts aired at 21.00. There were 25 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### AYB-FEH

**Synopsis:** "Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. Objects of monitoring were the broadcasts aired at 21.45. There were 25 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### COURIER

**Synopsis:** "Courier" - newscast of "AR" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired four times daily. The objects of monitoring were broadcasts aired at 23.30. There were 25 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **ORAKARG**

**Synopsis:** "Orakarg" - analytical newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Aired on Sundays at 21.00. There were 4 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **KIRAKI**

**Synopsis:** "Kiraki" - analytical newscast of "A1+" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 21.45. There were 4 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **SEVEN STONES**

**Synopsis:** "Seven Stones" - analytical newscast of "AR" TV station. Aired on Sundays at 22.30. There were 4 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **LOURER**

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 16 times a day; 11 times on Saturdays and eight times on Sundays. Objects of monitoring were the broadcasts aired at 23.00. There were 23 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**July 1 - August 31, 1999**

**THIS TWO-MONTH MONITORING** period is interesting for the Armenian media, first of all, due to political processes concerning Parliamentary elections in May followed by substantial redistribution of power. While June might be considered as a transitional month in bringing the power structures in line with the electoral results, in July-August post-electoral tendencies, including those in the media coverage, became quite evident.

In this stage the YPC monitoring team researched the degree of attention to politicians and political groups given by ten newspapers, one radio and six TV channels. Sample of electronic media monitoring included the key daily newscasts shaping the political image of a channel.

The first recorded tendency is that the RA President Robert Kocharian has got a strong rival in number of media references as well as paper space/airtime provided for expression of opinions/viewpoints. That is the new RA Prime-Minister Vazgen Sargsian. Meanwhile, viewing the mass media as the mirror of public opinion, we can point out that the Prime-Minister enjoys a certain public confidence. This can be inferred from positive balance of coded references (37 positive and 4 negative).

It is interesting to recall that in the first months following the Presidential elections, Robert Kocharian also held a positive balance. For instance, in May-June, 1998 the correlation of positive and negative references to the President was 78-26 respectively. However, later

on all problems the country faced had been naturally associated with the head of the state and the balance changed sharply for the worse: July-August, 1998 - 20-32; September-October, 1998 - 18-96; November-December, 1998 - 19-37; January - February, 1999 - 36-142; March-April, 1999 - 48-137; May, 1999 - 9-51. The next few months will show to what extent these metamorphoses may affect Vazgen Sargsian.

By the way, it seems the long run of unfavourable references to Kocharian had been broken and, first for the last time, he got positive balance in July-August, 1999 (14-10). Since there are no signs that the situation has improved and problems' burden lessened in the country, the following can be inferred. The society (by means of the mass media) puts the responsibility for hard times not only on the President and, respectively, pins its hopes for the best not only on him now. No wonder that the traditional portion of post-electoral public optimism is mainly addressed to Vazgen Sargsian. He holds the most favourable balance of coded references and surpasses the new National Assembly Speaker Karen Demirchian who headed the winning-block list in elections-99 (14 positive and 2 negative).

The foregoing conclusions could pretend to be true if our assumption, that the Armenian media is the mirror of public opinion, was unquestionable. However, since there are reasonable doubts on this issue, the conclusions drawn are also relatively true. The alternative comments on data are given below in the part devoted to the political orientation of the print media.

The print media are stressed because TV and radio channels, at least their newscasts, hardly show any political preferences. This can be inferred from the minimum number of coded references recorded in electronic media monitoring. Here "Ayb-Feh" ("A1+" TV channel), "Herald" ("Culture" TV channel) and "Lourer" (National Radio of Armenia) newscasts are the record-holders in favourable expressions. In "Ayb-Feh" Ashot Bleyan, the "New Way" party leader (he is under arrest and inquest now), in "Herald" and "Lourer" Archbishop Garegin Nersissian, Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church Ararat Diocese, were referred to three times in each programme and in positive context only.

We can contend, generally, that the Armenian broadcasters' news programmes are oriented not to political preferences, but the topicality of a theme, fact, public importance of a person mentioned (or given the floor). No wonder that in the newscasts of all seven channels the President and the Prime-Minister share, taking turns, the first two places in terms of references as well as airtime given for expression of opinions/viewpoints. Meanwhile, NA Speaker takes the third place in terms of references on five (of seven) channels. And only in "Courier" ("AR" TV channel) and "Haylour" (National Television of Armenia) newscasts he moved to the fourth and fifth places, respectively. In "Courier" NA Speaker let move ahead Edward Ghazarian, the Minister of Education and Science (which is quite natural in terms of media's traditional interest in higher schools' entrance examinations), and in "Haylour" Demirchian is surpassed by two "very important" Ministers - Vardan Oskanian (Foreign Affairs) and Vagharshak Haroutiunian (Defence).

In print media we see the opposite tendency. The press is distinctly divided in terms of political preferences. While during elections there were several political camps and each paper supported its party or block, in the first months after elections partisan ends moved into the background. In this stage the interests "had merged" and the leading press split into two main camps: the camp of those more or less loyal to today's power-holders and opposition one (supporters of the former power-holders, namely, the Armenian Pan-National Movement (APM) and political parties and groups close to it). Among monitored papers, "Hayastani Hanrapetutian," "Respublica Armenia," "Azg," "Yerkir," "Hayots

Ashkhar" side with the first camp. Meanwhile, "Aravot" and "Haikakan Zhamanak" (actual successor of "Oragir") support the second one. It would seem such a division revealed nothing new considering what political forces stay behind these papers. However, there are interesting features within each camp.

Considering quantitative data of monitoring, "Respublica Armenia," distributing its attention among politicians, is oriented, first of all, by their official position in power structures. Here the President and the Prime-Minister, regardless of whoever they are, lead in terms of references as well as space provided for expression of opinions/viewpoints. Before elections those were Kocharian and Armen Darbinian, afterwards the latter was replaced by the new Prime-Minister. However, the other official paper - "Hayastani Hanrapetutian" - pays much attention to the personal factor and avoids the egalitarian approach to high rank officials. In this paper Vazgen Sargsian not only leads in terms of references, but also has a gross advantage over running-up Robert Kocharian in terms of space (almost three times) and is beyond comparison considering coded references' balance (9 positive and 0 negative). "Azg," "Hayots Ashkhar" and "Yerkir" continue giving much prominence to the President. Although Vazgen Sargsian's political influence had substantially grown after the elections and his rating in these papers was improved, the Prime-Minister is still surpassed by Kocharian.

The opposition feature of "Haikakan Zhamanak" and "Aravot" is as evident as peculiar (only here the Ex-President Levon Ter-Petrossian and the leader of APM Vano Siradeghian hold positive or zero balance in terms of references and paper space is often given to the former power-holders' viewpoints). Favouring the Ex-President over the Incumbent, they have quite positive attitude toward the today's Prime-Minister (considering the character of references). However, unlike "Haikakan Zhamanak," "Aravot," holding certain stand, tries to devote its pages to the wide range of political views. In this paper the politicians, who express willingness to write articles, receive the largest space. Hence, in former phases of monitoring Igor Mouradian, one of the initiators of Karabagh movement in the 80s, was in the lead more than once. And in July-August Ashot Bleyan gained the first place sending stories from the isolation ward. Meanwhile, these two politicians have expressed themselves as antipodes for the last more than ten years.

The aggravation of political competition between two camps might be one more explanation of the sharp improvement in the balance of coded references to Kocharian. The polarisation of stands had led to situation when the main target of criticism by the first camp's media became the "formers" and the attitude toward the incumbent President got more sparing. In his turn, Vazgen Sargsian holds a positive balance in the media of both camps because the opposition camp, probably, avoids to consider him a direct adversary preferring to attack the President and his closest supporters.

"Golos Armenii," "Novoye Vremya" and "Iravounk" papers belong to a special group. It is hard to attribute them to one of the above-mentioned camps. The common feature of these papers is that criticising today's RA authorities, they show even more dissatisfaction by the APM leadership (suffice it to compare coded references' balance). At the same time, each paper has its own peculiarities. "Golos Armenii" leads traditionally in terms of coded references (mainly negative ones). In July-August the paper expressed unprecedented severity toward Levon Ter-Petrossian - 25 negative references (more than half of total) and not a positive one. Vano Siradeghian continues to hold distinctly negative balance (1 positive and 15 negative). Besides, of monitored papers and broadcasting channels, "Golos Armenii" devotes uppermost attention to Karabagh's politicians. The President of Mountainous Karabagh Arkadiy Ghoukassian, the Prime-Minister

Anoushavan Danielian (the new political figure who burst, actively and with a good balance of coded references, into the team of Armenian media's main characters) and Commander-in-Chief Samvel Babayan have found place among twenty most frequently referred to. "Novoye Vremya" is critical toward the President (0 positive, 2 negative references), but is relatively loyal to the Prime-Minister (4 positive, 1 negative) and the NA Speaker (2 positive, 1 negative). By the way, first for "Novoye Vremya" monitoring period, its founder Arkadiy Vardanian had not been active as an author and lost the lead in terms of space provided to opinions/viewpoints. Being a party paper, "Iravounk" is the most neutral in this group in terms of coded references and stays closer, than the two others, to the camp of "loyal" papers.

On the whole, as the monitoring summary table indicates, in this stage the former RA power-holders (APM) are losing the information battle.

### **HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN**

**Synopsis:** "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 75 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **RESPUBLICA ARMENIA**

**Synopsis:** "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100 drams. 39 issues published during the monitoring period.

### **AZG**

**Synopsis:** "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 32 issues published during the monitoring period. On August 1-17 the paper was not issued.

### **YERKIR**

**Synopsis:** "Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsoutiun) of Armenia. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 50 drams. 33 issues published during the monitoring period. On August 1-17 the paper was not issued.

### **ARAVOT**

**Synopsis:** "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Standard volume - 16/A3 pp. The volume of issue on July 31 was 20/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 100 drams. 37 issues published during the monitoring period. On August 20-30 the paper was not issued.

### **HAYOTS ASHKHAR**

**Synopsis:** "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 29 issues published during the monitoring period. From July 25 to August 16 the paper was not issued.

### HAIKAKAN ZHAMANAK

**Synopsis:** "Haikakan Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founders - "Democratic Motherland" party and "Intellectual Armenia" social-political organisation. Paper had been suspended since March 30, 1998 and resumed on July 13, 1999. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 100 drams. 31 issues published during the monitoring period. On August 15-23 the paper was not issued.

### GOLOS ARMENII

**Synopsis:** "Golos Armenii" -newspaper (issued thrice a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Standard volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price -100 drams. 27 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 9 in 6/A2 pp.

### NOVOYE VREMYA

**Synopsis:** "Novoye Vremya" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1992. Founder - Independent International Association " XXI Century." Standard volume - 8/A2 pp (the insert "Elite paper" not considered). Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 19 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one in 6/A2 pp. and one - in 4/A2 pp. On July 4-19 the paper was not issued.

### IRAVOUNK

**Synopsis:** "Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Rights" Union. Claimed circulation - 10,000-18,000. Price - 60-90 drams. 18 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 3 in 16/A3 pp., 6 - in 12/A3 pp. and 9 - in 8/A3 pp.

### HAYLOUR

**Synopsis:** "Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) three times daily, on Saturdays - four times. The broadcasts aired at 21.00 were the objects of monitoring. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### AYB-FEH

**Synopsis:** "Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The broadcasts aired at 21.45 were the objects of monitoring. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### COURIER

**Synopsis:** "Courier" - newscast of "AR" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired four times daily. The broadcasts aired at 23.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **HOUR**

**Synopsis:** "Hour" - newscast of "Armenia" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired four times daily. The broadcasts aired at 19.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **NEWS**

**Synopsis:** "News" - newscast of "Ayg" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired five times daily. The broadcasts aired at 22.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **HERALD**

**Synopsis:** "Herald" - newscast of "Culture" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired two times daily. The broadcasts aired at 20.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## **LOURER**

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 16 times daily; 11 times on Saturdays and eight times on Sundays. The broadcasts aired at 23.00 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

# **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**September 1 - October 31, 1999**

**THE YPC MONITORING GROUP** kept on exploring the leading Armenian media in September-October. The subject of the survey was the consideration of different media given to the Armenian politicians and political parties. 10 newspapers in all as well as newscasts of 6 TV channels and 1 radio channel were monitored.

The results of monitoring back up the following idea that is repeated in Armenia nearly by everybody: in the period before the act of terrorism in the Parliament on October 27 there was slackening in the political field of the country. To a considerable extent, this feeling passed to the media. Discussing the issue of the greatest popularity and disposition of the politicians the Armenian media turned out to be as close to unanimity as never before.

The tables of references of the politicians are rather monotonous for the overwhelming majority of the media. It makes possible to draw some imaginary Armenian media outlet that might reflect the following. Robert Kocharian, the President of the country, and Vazgen Sargsian, the murdered Prime Minister, are inconvertible leaders. The distance between the first and second places is insignificant. Karen Demirchian, the murdered Chairman of the National Assembly, is not so much far from them. This indicates that the highest leaders of the state found favour with actually all the leading media.

At the same time, the nature of references (positive/negative) says that the attitude towards Kocharian is less favourable than to Sargsian and Demirchian. On the other hand,

there was no all-out criticism to the President; it was usual for the most previous periods. Beginning from May 1998, just for the third time, Kocharian had a two-month period when there was a positive balance of coded references.

In September-October Vardan Oskanian, the Foreign Affairs Minister, takes fourth position by the number of references. He differs from the first threesome by nearly full lack of coded references.

Such arrangement of the leading statesmen looks quite predictable. Each of them displayed activity in the sphere he manages. The President took part in many meetings, including the historic summit with the Azerbaijani leader Heidar Aliev (with no mediator) at the borderline of Nakhijevan, as well as in trips and protocol proceedings. The Prime Minister carried on intensive negotiations on economic items, budget ones in that number. The Chairman of the Parliament easily and actively entered into his role of the legislative body's head. (It should be mentioned here that the essential part of the references of the three leaders falls on the period after the tragedy of October 27.) The Foreign Affairs Minister was in the limelight in connection with the preparation for the Istanbul OSCE summit.

Right after the foursome two political persons that symbolize the former Armenian authorities are arranged in the table of references, such as: Levon Ter-Petrossian, the Ex-President, and Vano Siradeghian, Chairman of the Armenian Pan-National Movement's Council. The distinctly negative attitude towards them is preserved in many media: they are more often mentioned in a critical context and have the least favourable balance of coded references.

On the paper space/airtime given by the media to the politicians for expression of their opinions/viewpoints, Robert Kocharian and Vazgen Sargsian are again beyond comparison; but unlike the table of references the main Armenian media are not so unanimous for the indicator given. Everyone's positions fluctuate but those of the President's and Prime Minister's. This is true for Karen Demirchian, too: probably because he was reluctant to make public speeches and statements.

The picture introduced is not only summary but also typical, it is repeated with some departures almost in all the media.

It is interesting to pay attention also to some differences and peculiarities of the coverage of the leading Armenian politicians' activities in various media.

Vazgen Sargsian left Robert Kocharian behind by the references only in the "Iravounk" newspaper. Karen Demirchian gave up third place by the references in 5 of 17 media monitored: in the "Golos Armenii" newspaper - for Levon Ter-Petrossian, in the "Azg" newspaper and information programmes "Hour" ("Armenia" TV company), "News" ("Ayg") and "Herald" ("Culture") - for Vardan Oskanian. The three leaders - Kocharian, Sargsian and Demirchian - have the negative balance of coded references only in the "Golos Armenii" newspaper. The President has the negative balance in "Iravounk" and "Haikakan Zhamanak", too. The politicians symbolizing the former authorities are in the same good books of the "Aravot" daily as their successors (proceeding from the balance of coded references); they are even more liked by the "Haikakan Zhamanak" daily.

According to the paper space for reflection of opinions/viewpoints, leaders in four newspapers are the politicians who deserved the leadership not due to being quoted or to

their speeches and statements given by journalists, but due to the articles of their own. Those are: Igor Mouradian, one of the initiators of the Karabagh Movement in the 80s, - in "Hayots Ashkhar" and "Golos Armenii"; Arkadiy Vardanian, the president of the "XXI Century" Association, - in "Novoye Vremya"; Ashot Bleyan, the leader of the "New Way" Party, - in "Aravot". "Respublica Armenia" devotes more time than the others to the negotiations on the Karabagh settlement, so it is not by chance that two Foreign Affairs Ministers - Naira Melkounian, Mountainous Karabagh, and Vardan Oskanian, Republic of Armenia, come after the President and Prime Minister according to the paper space for reflection of opinions/viewpoints

On the whole, the print media being monitored may be divided into 5 relative groups. "Yerkir", "Hayots Ashkhar" and "Azg" are still supporters of the present authorities and critics of the former power. It is natural the official "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenii" also support the present authorities but avoid criticizing the former power. "Novoye Vremya" is mainly neutral towards "the present" and negative towards "the former". "Iravouk" and "Golos Armenii" are critical with respect to both "the former" (to more extent) and "the present" (to less extent); "Iravouk" being more restrained. "Aravot" and "Haikakan Zhamanak" preserve, on the whole, their liking for "the former" but "Aravot" strives for maximum neutrality, and the latter shows an overt preference for "the former" to "the present".

The newscasts of the TV and radio channels preserve the tradition to be oriented towards the topicality of the covered events but not towards their own political sympathy. This tradition has developed lately. As the natural result, there is more unanimity in this sphere than in the print media both about the number of references and about the distribution of the airtime. There are only 3 negative references in all the 7 programmes that have been monitored, and the positive assessment is given to only the three highest leaders of the country (the President, the murdered Prime Minister and the Parliament's Speaker) as well as the other politicians who became the victims of the act of terrorism, including the period of reading out the obituaries.

## HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN

**Synopsis:** "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 75 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one in 4/A2 pp. and one - in 12/A2 pp.

## RESPUBLICA ARMENIA

**Synopsis:** "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia. Co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 22 in 4/A2 pp. and 22 - in 8/A3 pp. "Svobodnaya Grouziya" supplement of September 30, 1999, and "Apogee" Saturday supplement are not considered.

## AZG

**Synopsis:** "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one in 12/A3 pp. and one - in 16/A3 pp.

### YERKIR

**Synopsis:** "Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) of Armenia. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 50 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period.

### ARAVOT

**Synopsis:** "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Claimed circulation - 5,000-6,000. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 20 in 8/A3 pp. and 23 - in 16/A3 pp.

### HAYOTS ASHKHAR

**Synopsis:** "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Volume - 16/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period.

### HAIKAKAN ZHAMANAK

**Synopsis:** "Haikakan Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founders - "Democratic Motherland" Party and "Intellectual Armenia" social-political organization. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 100 drams. 38 issues published during the monitoring period.

### GOLOS ARMENII

**Synopsis:** "Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Standard volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 26 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 9 in 6/A2 pp.

### NOVOYE VREMYA

**Synopsis:** "Novoye Vremya" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1992. Founder - Independent International Association "XXI Century." Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. (the insert "Elite Paper" not considered). Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 25 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one in 6/A2 pp.

### IRAVOUNK

**Synopsis:** "Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - "Constitutional Right" Union. Claimed circulation - 10,000-17,000. Price - 60-90 drams. 17 issues published during the monitoring period, of which one in 16/A3 pp., 8 - in 12/A3 pp. and 8 - in 8/A3 pp.

### HAYLOUR

**Synopsis:** "Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) three times daily. The broadcasts aired at 21.00 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

#### **AYB-FEH**

**Synopsis:** "Ayb-Feh" - newscast of "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired nine times daily. The broadcasts aired at 01.45 were the objects of monitoring. There 52 were newscasts during the monitoring period.

#### **COURIER**

**Synopsis:** "Courier" - newscast of "AR" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired four times daily. The broadcasts aired at 23.30 were the objects of monitoring. There 52 were newscasts during the monitoring period.

#### **HOUR**

**Synopsis:** "Hour" - newscast of "Armenia" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired four times daily. The broadcasts aired at 21.30 were the objects of monitoring. In the monitoring period due to technical reasons there were monitored 48 newscasts of 51.

#### **NEWS**

**Synopsis:** "News" - newscast of "Ayg" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired five times daily. The broadcasts aired at 22.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

#### **HERALD**

**Synopsis:** "Herald" - newscast of "Culture" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) and aired two times daily. The broadcasts aired at 20.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

#### **LOURER**

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) and aired 16 times daily. On Saturdays - 11 times and on Sundays - 8 times. The broadcasts aired at 23.00 were the objects of monitoring. There were 50 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING**

**AFTER OCTOBER 27**

**November 1 - December 31, 1999**

**THE MONITORING** of the Armenian media in November-December 1999 was rather interesting first of all from the point of view how much the attention of the press to the leading politicians was redistributed after the October 27 act of terrorism and demise of the avowed leaders of the state.

The general picture did not change a lot: Prime-Minister Aram Sargsian and Chairman of the National Assembly Armen Khachatrian took approximately the same leading positions in the monitoring tables as Vazgen Sargsian and Karen Demirchian, their predecessors, who became the victims of the terrorists. Like during the previous two-month periods, the politicians personifying the former authorities such as the leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement Vano Siradeghian and the RA First President Levon Ter-Petrosian are most often mentioned negatively. The RA Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian is one of the permanent leaders by references. Unlike his neighbours in the top of the table, he has the least quantity of the coded references (positive/negative).

However, some particular changes took place in the results of the November-December monitoring. The conventional opinion was that the RA President Robert Kocharian's position was slackened and that he does not have serious political support. In spite of that, he not only held but also strengthened the leadership in the number of references in the media. The total balance of the coded references for Kocharian is positive. It is a rare moment in the results of the previous monitoring periods. Extremely opposite attitude of various media outlets towards the President was clearly exercised in the keen political situation of the end of the year. His information support turned out to be, first, the "Respublica Armenia" daily (the coded references balance is 17 positive against 2 negative) and the "Hayots Ashkhar" daily (13-3) as well as the National Television, the "Haylour" newscast being surveyed (5-0). The main information weapon against the President is still the "Haikakan Zhamanak" daily (the coded references balance is 1-14). The "A1+" introduced Kocharian in the least favourable manner among the TV channels: 0-3 in the "Ayb-Feh" newscast.

Aram Sargsian fell behind the President far more than his brother and predecessor at the office of the Government leader did. True, the present Prime-Minister does have advantage to Kocharian in the coded references cumulative balance, like Vazgen Sargsian. The attitude of various media to A. Sargsian is more even than to the President. The Prime-Minister had the neutral or minimum negative balance in 8 of the 18 monitored media in November-December. He had a frugal positive balance in the rest 10 ones including the "Haikakan Zhamanak" and "Aravot" dailies, which traditionally are considered oppositions.

Armen Khachatrian, the new Speaker of the Parliament, does not look so winning in the media as Karen Demirchian, his predecessor. He yields a lot to the President and the Prime-Minister both in the total number and in the references balance (4-6). Though the same political party and the same Parliament faction nominated Khachatrian and Demirchian for the post of the legislative power's head, their political authority and the attitude of the media towards them differ essentially.

**IF TALKING** relatively, the majority of the monitored newspapers exercised a pure "party" approach to the space given to the politicians in November-December. It means that as a rule the politicians or the representatives of the political forces which interests are protected by those newspapers actively used their tribune. In "Aravot" Vigen Khachatrian and David Shahnazarian, the heads of the liberal parties extremely opposing to President Kocharian, left everyone far behind; "Yerkir" gave the largest paper space to the leader of

Dashnaktsoutiun Vahan Hovannissian (in another pro-Dashnak daily "Hayots Ashkhar" he took third place by this indicator); "Noratert" and "Novoye Vremya" - to the President of the "XXI Century" Association Arkadiy Vardanian who is sponsoring the papers mentioned; "Irvounk" - to Artashes Geghamian and Hrant Khachatryan, the leaders of the "Right and Unity" Parliament faction; in "Azg" Rouben Mirzakhanian, the leader of the Armenia Ramkavar Azatakan Party which is the founder of the newspaper, took third place by the space given, and this is significant since this politician was not active in the monitored period. (The Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian used in the best manner the tribune of "Azg" that traditionally regards with favour to him.)

It is necessary to mention here that Vigen Khachatryan, David Shahnazarian and Arkadiy Vardanian collected their centimetres mainly by means of their own articles. In all other given examples the politicians were interviewed and quoted, or their viewpoints and opinions were re-presented in some other form. By the way, in "Hayots Ashkhar" the leader by the given space was also a politician who often publishes articles of his own in it - Igor Mouradian.

The "triumvirate" of the country leaders: President, Prime-Minister and NA Chairman got the tribune of the "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenia" official dailies most often of all. Only "Haikakan Zhamanak" and "Golos Armenii" of other surveyed newspapers did not show their "party" partialities in this respect, i.e. in the space given to viewpoints/opinions. However, another indicator - coded references - frankly testifies to their sympathies (anti-presidential bias of the former and customary abhorrence to the former power of the latter).

Such a picture is a display of the sharp aggravation of the internal political struggle after October 27 and of single-minded use of the media in the struggle. Each party under the present situation endeavours to mobilize its resources of information and propaganda as much as possible.

It was often mentioned in the previous monitoring reports that undisguised political partialities are far less characteristic of the TV and radio newscasts than of the print media. Like the official press, the electronic outlets gave the most airtime for their opinions/viewpoints to those who, according to post, is the most active on the political scene, i.e. Robert Kocharian, Aram Sargsian and Armen Khachatryan.

The only exception was the "Lourer" newscast of the "Prometheus" channel - the air leader here became Andranik Margarian, the head of the "Unity" Parliament faction. However, even in this case it would be incorrect to consider it a "party" approach since actually all the media devote their attention to the politician mentioned.

## **HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN**

**Synopsis:** "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia, co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 6,000. Price - 75 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 1 in 10/A2 pp.

## **RESPUBLICA ARMENIA**

**Synopsis:** "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia, co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100 drams. 43 issues published during the monitoring period. The Saturday "Apogee" supplement and the bank supplement of December 4, 1999, are not considered.

### AZG

**Synopsis:** "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 40 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 1 in 16/A3 pp.

### YERKIR

**Synopsis:** "Yerkir" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Supreme Body of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaksoutiun) of Armenia. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 100 drams. 36 issues published during the monitoring period.

### ARAVOT

**Synopsis:** "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100 drams. 40 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 5 in 16/A3 pp.

### HAYOTS ASHKHAR

**Synopsis:** "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 42 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 30 in 8/A3 pp. and 12 - in 16/A3 pp.

### HAIKAKAN ZHAMANAK

**Synopsis:** "Haikakan Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founders - "Democratic Motherland" Party and the "Intellectual Armenia" social-political organisation. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 100 drams. 39 issues published during the monitoring period.

### NORATERT

**Synopsis:** "Noratert" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1999. Founder - "Noratert" Co. Ltd. Claimed circulation - 5,575. Price - 100 drams. 44 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 36 in 16/A3 pp. and 8 - in 24/A3 pp.

### GOLOS ARMENII

**Synopsis:** "Golos Armenii" - newspaper (issued thrice a week.) Founded in 1991. Founder - editorial staff. Standard volume - 4/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,230. Price - 100 drams. 25 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 8 in 6/A2 pp.

### NOVOYE VREMYA

**Synopsis:** "Novoye Vremya" - newspaper (issued thrice a week). Founded in 1992. Founder - the "XXI Century" Independent International Association. Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. (the insert "Elite Paper" not considered). Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 80 drams. 24 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 1 in 6/A2 pp.

### **IRAVOUNK**

**Synopsis:** "Iravounk" - newspaper (issued twice a week). Founded in 1989. Founder - the "Constitutional Right" Union. Claimed circulation - 10,000-17,000. Price - 60-90 drams. 17 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 8 in 8/A3 pp. and 9 - in 12/A3 pp.

### **HAYLOUR**

**Synopsis:** "Haylour" - newscast of the National Television of Armenia. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) three times daily in the period of November 1 - December 18. Since December 20 - five times a week (Monday through Friday) five times daily, on Saturdays - four times. The broadcasts aired at 21.00 were the objects of monitoring. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **AYB-FEH**

**Synopsis:** "Ayb-Feh" - newscast of the "A1+" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) nine times daily. The broadcasts aired at 01.45 were the objects of monitoring. There were 50 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **COURIER**

**Synopsis:** "Courier" - newscast of the "AR" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) four times daily. The broadcasts aired at 23.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **HOURL**

**Synopsis:** "Hour" - newscast of the "Armenia" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) before December 26 four times daily. The broadcasts aired at 19.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 48 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **NEWS**

**Synopsis:** "News" - newscast of the "Ayg" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) before November 30 five times daily. The broadcasts aired at 22.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 29 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### **LOURER (PROMETHEUS)**

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the "Prometheus" TV station. Broadcast six times a week (Monday through Saturday) two times daily. The broadcasts aired at 20.30 were the objects of monitoring. There were 53 newscasts during the monitoring period.

## LOURER (NRA)

**Synopsis:** "Lourer" - newscast of the National Radio of Armenia. Broadcast five times a week (Monday through Friday) 16 times daily. On Saturdays - 11 times, and on Sundays - 8 times. The broadcasts aired at 23.00 were the objects of monitoring. There were 52 newscasts during the monitoring period.

### TOTALS OF THE YEAR

**January 1 - December 31, 1999**

**WHILE** studying the concluding 1999 monitoring tables it should be taken into consideration that there are the indicators of only those politicians who took their place on the list of the persons having been watched during all the 12 months. Particularly, the tables do not include the indicators of Vazgen Sargsian, Karen Demirchian and other leading Armenian politicians who lost their lives on October 27.

The main characters of the tables, without the former Prime-Minister and former Speaker, are the present RA President Robert Kocharian, the leader of Armenian Pan-National Movement Vano Siradeghian and the RA First President Levon Ter-Petrossian, Kocharian obtaining a great advantage for the year to the other monitored persons by the number of references.

There is no doubt that Kocharian is the leader in the number of positive references. However, this leadership fills little optimism since it is provided due to the total number of references non-comparable with other politicians (193 positive of 10,749). The President has the negative balance of coded references as well as the eight politicians lining up directly after him in the table by this showing.

Generally, the media exercised rather critical attitude towards the leading Armenian politicians. Only a third (11 of 33) of the persons included into the cumulative table have the positive balance. The Ex-Mayor of Yerevan and Ex-Minister of Internal Affairs Souren Abrahamian has the most favourable balance (+23), and Vano Siradeghian has the most unfavourable balance (-575). Again, these hardly comparable figures testify to the fact that the negative context in the political information is more obvious. The media outlets got most critical towards the politicians who symbolize the former authorities-to Siradeghian and Ter-Petrossian. They had nearly fourfold less references all in all but left Kocharian far behind by the negative ones. The proportion of positive and negative references of the latter is approximately 1:2, Siradeghian and Ter-Petrossian having the proportion 1:13!

It is interesting that Ashot Bleyan, the leader of the "New Way" Party, being under trial got the most partial assessment on the part of the media: 159 of his 668 references are coded ones. Taking eighteenth place in the total references table, he holds the third position by the positive ones (44) and the fifth position by the negative ones (115).

It was mentioned several times that the assessment to the detriment of the informing process, and tough orientation to certain political forces are characteristic of, first of all, the print media. They have much more coded references than the electronic ones. The latter exhibit a tendency to more impartiality. Their approach to the coverage of events and politicians' activities is carried on in accordance to their public importance. In addition, separate two-month monitoring periods give almost no reason to get suspicious of any sort

of sympathies or antipathies about broadcasting news programmes, but one can also see the signs of political prejudiced attitude in the year's total. Short descriptions of some media outlets are given below from this point of view.

In the "Haylour" newscast (NTA) Robert Kocharian has the most favourable coded references balance (10-4) of all the electronic media.

The President has a highly negative balance (2-16) in "Ayb-Feh" ("A1+" TV channel). Ashot Bleyan, a permanent opponent of Kocharian's, has a positive balance instead (6-0).

In "Courier" ("AR" TV channel) the President has a zero balance (8-8), and there are more coded references at this channel on the whole than at the others.

The "Respublica Armenia" newspaper is directed to those who holds office at power at present. Its partiality is exercised just towards the position but not to the person. The newspaper is extremely critical to the representatives of the former authorities of APNM.

Another official daily, "Hayastani Hanrapetutian", exercises more restraint (balance 11-10) to the President than the "RA" (balance 42-8). At the same time, it is less belligerent towards the former authorities.

"Yerkir" is different from the other media by its extremely negative attitude towards the former authorities. Strange as it is, this pure Party newspaper turned out to be the least politicized of all the periodicals being monitored in 1999: it referred to the leading politicians least of all.

"Azg" is another rooted Party daily (though it has changed its status by now), and it is the second least politicized newspaper after "Yerkir". It is one more surprise.

"Hayots Ashkhar" is the most belligerent critic for the former authorities (Siradeghian's coded references balance is 3-101, Ter-Petrossian's is 3-84), and it supports the present President (30-17).

"Haikakan Zhamanak"/"Oragir" is the antipode for "Hayots Ashkhar". It carries on a consequent anti-Kocharian campaign (President's coded references balance is 7-114), which also covers the people close to the President. Besides, it exercises sympathy to the former power. Taking into consideration the thematic context in which the names of Siradeghian and Ter-Petrossian are mentioned (the trial, statements of the witnesses for the prosecution, etc.), these politicians' balance (9-19 and 4-20 respectively) does not look that bad. Ashot Bleyan, another opponent of Kocharian's, is in good books of "Haikakan Zhamanak"/"Oragir" (15-2).

The "Aravot" daily is rather close to "Haikakan Zhamanak"/"Oragir" in its political partialities: Kocharian - 17-62, Siradeghian - 17-35, Ter-Petrossian - 11-28, Bleyan - 17-4.

"Golos Armenii", "Novoye Vremya" and "Iravounk" exercised criticism to the leading figures of the Armenian politics, particularly to the persons symbolizing the former authorities, each of the periodicals having its characteristic peculiarities. For instance, "GA" noticeably surpassed the other two ones in the number of the coded references. The "Iravounk" marked the following persons out of the political elite, exercising an obviously positive attitude to them: Hrant Khachatrian, the leader of the "Constitutional Right" Union (the newspaper's party-founder), Samvel Babayan, the former Defence Minister of the

Mountainous Karabagh (the coded references balance of both is 10-0), as well as Artashes Geghamian (9-2), Khachatrian's partner by the "Right and Unity" Parliament faction.

is beyond comparison in the paper space and the airtime volume given by all the monitored media on the whole for expressing viewpoints/opinions. It is interesting that Igor Mouradian who is not considered an active politician is among the leaders taking the fourth position by the cumulative paper space given. He achieved it due to his being an active publicist and his frequent articles at pages of different periodicals.

"Aravot" displayed its great interest in having politicians as contributors. The politicians who published articles of their own in the newspaper occupy the first four places by the paper space given for expressing their opinions/viewpoints. They are: Igor Mouradian who was one of "Aravot"'s most active contributors in the first half of the year, he left the others highly far behind; the next is Ashot Bleyan who relayed his materials to the newspaper from the investigative confinement in the middle of the year; the others are Vigen Khachatrian and David Shahnazarian who became active contributors of "Aravot" at the end of 1999.

Igor Mouradian is the leader in this indicator in "Golos Armenii", too. He takes the third position by the space in "Hayots Ashkhar" which he preferred to "Aravot" since the second half of the year.

By this indicator the leader in one more newspaper, "Haikakan Zhamanak"/"Oragir", is a politician-author. This is Ashot Bleyan.

A number of newspapers exercised an evident "party" approach by the year's total, too. Vahan Hovannissian, the leader of Dashnaksoutiun, got the most space in the two dailies that were issued under the aegis of the Party: in "Yerkir" and "Hayots Ashkhar". In "Irvounk" Hrant Khachatrian and Artashes Geghamian are beyond comparison by this indicator. The leader by space in the "Haik" newspaper, the organ of APNM (issued up to the end of May) was Vano Siradeghian.

"Azg" exercises stable partiality. The President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs have been its favourites for a long time. According to the year's total, Kocharian and Oskanian are the leaders both in the number of references and the paper space given for the opinions/viewpoints. Besides, they both have the positive balance of coded references.

The similar set of the politicians who got the most paper space in the "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenia" official dailies in 1999 is as follows: Robert Kocharian, the NA Ex-Speaker Khossrov Haroutiunian, Vardan Oskanian, the former Prime-Minister Armen Darbinian and the President of Mountainous Karabagh Arkadiy Ghoukassian. In both newspapers, Kocharian has a great advantage to those who follow him.

The state TV and radio channels have approximately the same sets of the leaders as the official papers. The most essential thing that differs "Haylour" (National Television) from "Lourer" (National Radio) is the leader's advantage to those who follow him by the airtime volume. Robert Kocharian (9,902 sec.) is more than 7,000 sec. far from the second position in "Haylour", but the advantage of the President (4,965 sec.) to the person who follows him in "Lourer" is less than 2,500 sec.

If talking about the "party" component in the TV newscasts by the year's total, it was exercised in "Lourer"/"Herald" of the "Prometheus"/"Culture" station (monitored in the period of July 1 - December 31) and in "News" of the "Ayg" TV station (monitored in the period of July 1 - November 29). The former gives its tribune to the representatives of the Republican Party highly readily, the latter - to the "Orinats Yerkir" Party. Particularly, the leader of the Republican Party and the "Unity" Parliament faction Andranik Margarian took second place (after Robert Kocharian) by the airtime at "Prometheus"/"Culture". The fourth place at "Ayg" is taken by the leader of "Orinats Yerkir" Artour Baghdassarian (after Robert Kocharian, Vardan Oskanian and Armen Khachatryan). There were no sufficient grounds for conclusions like these by the total of one two-month period, but the half of the year is quite a considerable period.

Finally, the "Courier" ("AR" channel) and "Ayb-Feh" ("A1+" channel) newscasts exercised unanimity, which is difficult to explain. The three leaders in the given airtime volume turned out to be the same persons: Robert Kocharian, Parour Hayrikian, the leader of the "Self-Determination" Union, and Vazgen Manoukian, the leader of the National Democratic Union. Not the coincidence in general is surprising in this case, but the coincidence of such just not so natural combinations.

## 2000

### ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

January 1 - March 31, 2000

**AT THE PRESENT STAGE**, the Yerevan Press Club monitoring group surveyed the priority of the topics in the leading media outlets of Armenia. With that end in view they counted the number of publications about one subject or another placed at the first page (for the newspapers of the A2 format) and at the first three pages (for the newspapers of the A3 format).

Restriction of the surveyed space to the first pages is conditioned by the experience of the previous stages. While defining the thematic predilections of the Armenian newspapers (for the whole volume) in May-December 1998, the monitoring group came to the conclusion that the inner pages of the newspapers were often filled with incidental and nonessential materials. So, their consideration in the process of finding out the thematic policy leads to the distortion of the entire picture. Besides, readers are not attentive enough to these pages. This fact conditions the decrease of their significance and monitoring interest towards them. As for the last pages, their contents - sports, entertainment, etc., - are to a little extent revealing to define the character of the periodical. Proceeding from this, the subject of the current survey was narrowed.

Certainly, the selecting approach is fraught with its errors. However, the implementation of various monitoring methods and further comparison of their results enables researches to have as objective picture as possible. Besides the number of publications on different issues, the group also fixed the vocabulary of the headlines, and this permits to find out priorities of the media when they cover the events and problems.

**ACCORDING TO** the results of the monitoring, the main topic of January - March in the Armenian dailies was the internal political situation. It is a natural phenomenon taking into consideration the troubles in the struggle for the power and spheres of influence in the first quarter of the year. Only the two officials - the "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" and "Respublica Armenia" - did not stimulate an interest in this struggle and preferred to keep the "ostrich" attitude of the country leaders who have been stating till the last moment (i.e. till the next resignation): there is no serious problem among the leaders... The most frequent topics for the first pages of both "HH" and "RA" were publications about "the cooperation of Armenia with other countries in the economic sphere". The bias of the officials to see everything through rose-coloured spectacles and speak about the achievements when there is no trace of them was demonstrated here, too.

Synopsis: "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia, co-founder - editorial staff of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Standard volume - 8/A2 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. The January 30, 2000 issue had a circulation of 5,500. Price - 100 drams. 59 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 1 - in 10/A2 pp.

Synopsis: "Respublica Armenia" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1990. Founder - Supreme Council of the Republic of Armenia, co-founder - journalistic staff of "RA." Claimed circulation - 3,000. Price - 100 drams. 52 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 22 - in 8/A3 pp., 6 - in 12/A3 pp., 23 - in 4/A2 pp., and 1 - in 6/A2 pp.

"Aravot" (91 publications of general nature on internal political topic at the first three pages), "Hayots Ashkhar" (70) and "Haikakan Zhamanak" (69) affirmed the image of the most politicized periodicals. Besides, "Aravot" and "Haikakan Zhamanak" have respectively 83 and 80 articles about the activities of the political parties ("Hayots Ashkhar" has only 17), but here we should take into consideration the fact the first two newspapers traditionally publish small articles at the first pages, and due to this the total quantity of publications is more.

Synopsis: "Aravot" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1994. Founder - editorial council of "Aravot". Standard volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 5,000. Price - 100 drams. 59 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 3 - in 16/A3 pp.

Synopsis: "Hayots Ashkhar" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founder - private owner. Claimed circulation - 3,500. Price - 100 drams. 59 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 44 - in 8/A3 pp., and 15 - in 16/A3 pp.

Synopsis: "Haikakan Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1997. Founders - "Democratic Motherland" Party and the "Intellectual Armenia" social-political organisation. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 2,500. Price - 100 drams. 58 issues published during the monitoring period.

The most frequently covered events in most surveyed newspapers were criminal investigations and famous trials. "Aravot": about the cases of Vano Siradeghian, the leader of the Armenian Pan-National Movement (accused of organizing murders and attempts), -

58 publications; about the act of terrorism in the Parliament on October 27, 1999 - 50; about the case of Ashot Bleyan, the leader of the "New Way" Party (accused of financial machinations), - 20. "Haikakan Zhamanak": about the "October 27" case - 50; about Bleyan - 38; about Siradeghian - 26. "Hayots Ashkhar": about Siradeghian - 44; about the "October 27" case - 41, about the case of Armen Ter-Sahakian and the others (accused of the political murders and attempts connected with the case of Siradeghian) - 11. "Noratert": about the "October 27" case - 37, about Siradeghian -18; about Ter-Sahakian - 12. "Azg": about the "October 27" case - 26; about Siradeghian - 23; about Bleyan and Ter-Sahakian - 5 each. "Zhamanak": about the "October 27" case - 24; about Siradeghian - 17; about Bleyan - 5. "Respublica Armenia": about the "October 27" case - 28; about Siradeghian - 15; about Ter-Sahakian - 8.

Synopsis: "Azg" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1991. Founder - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 4,000. Price - 100 drams. 59 issues published during the monitoring period.

Synopsis: "Zhamanak" - daily (issued five times a week.) Founded in 1998. Founder and publisher - Council of Founders. Volume - 8/A3 pp. Claimed circulation - 1,500. Price - 100 drams. 59 issues published during the monitoring period.

Synopsis: "Noratert" - daily (issued five times a week). Founded in 1999. Founder - "Noratert" Co. Ltd. Claimed circulation - 2,550. Price -100 drams. 59 issues published during the monitoring period, of which 48 - in 16/A3 pp. and 11 - in 24/A3 pp.

As regards to these data, "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" differs essentially from other monitored periodicals: "HH" published no material on the famous cases at the first page, except that of "October 27" (14 publications). Even such burning issues of the day for the beginning of 2000 as the amendments to the RA Constitution about reduction of the President's power or cardinal institutional transformations within the Cabinet yielded the leadership to the investigations and trials.

"Political and criminal" trend of the publications is stable as regards Mountainous Karabagh, too. A bit more than a week of covering the attempt on the MKR President Arkadiy Ghoukassian's life on March 22 was enough for this issue to be leading in 3 of 8 monitored media outlets leaving the problem of the Karabagh settlement far behind. Though the latter has been focused by the Armenian press for more than last ten years and, naturally, during all the three months of this monitoring stage. Moreover, in two dailies ("Aravot" and "Noratert") the problems of the conflict appeared even at the third position after the inner political clashes in the MKR (the latter took first place in "Aravot" - 75).

Economic problems essentially yield to politics in the Armenian media. Only a few articles were dedicated to the problems of corruption, which is recognized now as almost the main barrier for the country's development. Other social and economic problems were paid a little bit more attention to. Only "Zhamanak" more or less regularly covered the problems of the industry and agriculture.

Foreign political priorities of the Armenian dailies in the first quarter of the current year turned out to be unexpected to some extent. The most intent attention was paid to the Armenian-Russian relations, and it was understandable and natural bearing in mind the

political traditions of our country ("Haikakan Zhamanak" has 23 publications - most of all, "Hayots Ashkhar" - least of all, 12). On the contrary, the rare coverage of the problem of Armenia's membership in the Council of Europe can hardly be explained. "Respublica Armenia" wrote about the topic mentioned at the first page most frequently - 12 publications, while "Azg" - most seldom, 1, though the latter, in spite of this indicator, generally pays much attention to and displays prominently articles on foreign policy and international issues. "Azg" may be the only daily in Armenia that regularly covers the most important events in foreign countries and Armenian Diaspora at the first pages.

Of countries Russia is mentioned by the Armenian newspapers at the first pages most often, the Chechen issue being prevailing in the first quarter of the current year leaving the pre-election race and the Russian Federation Presidential election itself far behind by the cumulative number of publications. The ratio of articles about these topics is quite expressive in "Azg" (38 and 5), in "Hayots Ashkhar" (26 and 5), and "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" (19 and 0). At the same time, in some newspapers ("Zhamanak", "Respublica Armenia", "Haikakan Zhamanak", "Aravot", "Noratert") the presidential campaign left the Chechen War a little behind.

The other country that arouses interest of the Armenian periodicals - by the cumulative indicator in all the monitored newspapers - is Turkey. The USA and the three neighbours of Armenia - Azerbaijan, Iran and Georgia, approximately equally follow it.

**THE** words the newspapers use in their headlines to some extent characterize their attitude towards the issue covered. The words derived from "Armenia" and the abbreviation "RA" are most common at the first page headlines of "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun". Robert Kocharian, President of Armenia, was in different variations mentioned in the headlines more often than in any other newspaper - 55 times, Aram Sargsian, RA Prime Minister, - 22, Armen Khachatrian, Chairman of the RA National Assembly, - 13. (Here and further only those cases are registered which clearly identify the concrete person with his position, e. g. Robert Kocharian or RA President, Aram Sargsian or Prime Minister but not just "President" or "Prime Minister"). In "Respublica Armenia" the words derived from "Armenia" are also of the most frequent use, the second position is occupied by the words with the roots "Karabagh" or "Artsakh", the third - with the root "Parliament". The three leaders of the country have coded references in the headlines having the following frequencies: President - 14, Speaker - 5, Prime Minister - 3. We may state that "HH" and "RA" use the style that is traditional and characteristic for the official media. Correspondingly, the accents are such in the first page materials.

"Azg" longs for making the headlines very informative and adequate to the content of publications. Not by chance, the frequency of using one significant word or another are correlated here with the number of materials in which these words are the key ones and define the issue. For instance, the Armenian Apostolic Church and its head are mentioned in the headlines 21 times, and the number of publications about this subject is 16; the word "genocide" is used 24 times in the headlines but the number of publications is 48. As compared with other dailies here is a very high extent of correlation.

The differences between the headlines in "Azg" and "Haikakan Zhamanak" are especially significant. In the latter the words used more often express the attitude towards the publication than reflect the content. There are many auxiliary words that mean something abstract.

In the headlines of "Noratert" the most popular words are those derived from "Karabagh" and "Artsakh" (73 times), President of the MKR Arkadiy Ghoukassian is mentioned 17 times, the former Commander-in-Chief of the MKR Army Samvel Babayan - 5 times which testifies to the stressed interest of the newspaper to the Karabagh problems.

In the other monitored newspapers the concrete specificity of the use of words in the headlines can be exposed only as a result of more thorough analysis.

As for the three leaders of Armenia, the intensity of their references in the headlines of the non-officials is essentially different. Prime Minister left President behind in "Noratert" (21 and 12 times), Speaker being mentioned in the headlines only 6 times. President is the incontrovertible leader in "Azg" (29) leaving Prime Minister far behind (4). The picture is similar in "Haikakan Zhamanak": President - 23, Prime Minister - 2. "Hayots Ashkhar" mentions the first persons not so often: President - 9 times, Prime Minister - 3. "Aravot" (President - 7) and "Zhamanak" (President - 7) does it even more seldom.