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"TEAM" RESEARCH CENTER



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PROGRAM

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**MONITORING THE COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS 2008
BY BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA**

2008
Yerevan

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PREFACE

This book presents the findings of monitoring the Armenian broadcast media coverage of presidential elections 2008. The monitoring was implemented by Yerevan Press Club and “TEAM” Research Center with the support of the Open Society Institute Network Media Program and the OSI Assistance Foundation-Armenia. The study was administered in two stages: the first stage included the period of October-December 2007, i.e., ahead of the pre-election promotion, and the second covered the period stipulated by the legislation for the pre-election promotion of the RA presidential candidates (January 21 - February 17, 2008). This publication includes a final media monitoring report, as well as the reports and tables on interim stages.

The decision to start tracing media activities almost five months before the ballot day was due to the start of pre-election debate in Armenia long before the official election campaign. The picture was similar during the parliamentary elections of 2007. Both then and now the analysis of political situation in the country and the media activities showed that the main rivals, the strategy of a number of political forces and the nature of their interactions with the media were outlined longer before the launch of the legally regulated “pre-election promotion”. Respectively, only the study of the attention level of the mainstream broadcast media to the upcoming presidential elections over a lengthy period of time could yield an objective picture of the media and their role in the political processes, their attitudes to the candidates, most influential politicians.

The monitoring objects in October-November 2007 were the politicians that announced, in a certain form, their plans to run in presidential elections 2008 or the politicians who were considered to be potential candidates, as well as the leaders of parties who gained over 1% at the parliamentary elections of 2007, except those whose participation in elections was restricted by law.

In December 2007 the monitoring started on the 6th (the deadline for the official nomination of the RA presidential candidates) and continued till December 20. Besides the leaders of parties, who gained over 1% at elections to the RA National Assembly in 2007, the list of the politicians at focus was expanded in December to include 9 candidates nominated. It also included the RA President Robert Kocharian, to determine the level of attention of broadcast media to the incumbent in comparison with the nominated candidates. Along with this the list excluded the supposed candidates that decided not to run in elections.

The monitoring of the leading broadcast media resumed since January 21, 2008. The interruption of December 21, 2007 - January 20, 2008 was due to the New Year and Christmas festivities, when the programming policy of most media was predominantly entertaining, and the monitoring, accordingly, fails to yield a typical pictures of the coverage of political debate. The choice of the research resumption date was due to the launch of pre-election promotion, when the RA legislation poses particular requirements on broadcasters to ensure equitable conditions for the coverage of the election campaigns of all candidates. During the pre-election promotion (on January 21 - February 17, 2008) the list of monitoring objects was limited to nine politicians, registered by the Central Election Commission as RA presidency candidates.

At both stages the research subject were 8 broadcast media: the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia, “ALM”, “Armenia”, Second Armenian TV Channel, “Yerkir Media”, “Kentron”, “Shant”, Public Radio of Armenia.

The number of media studied was limited to the ones named above; it did not include other broadcasters as well as the print media for several reasons: firstly, due to the limited resource and the appropriateness of focus on those media that pay the greatest attention to political process in the country and have the broadest audience; secondly, due to the need to guarantee the high quality of research that calls for availability of sufficient number of competent monitors; thirdly - and most importantly - due to the obvious circumstance that broadcast media, using a public resource, the frequency, have a certain commitment to the public to have impartial reporting. The approach lies at the heart of international documents and the national legislation of Armenia.

It is also necessary to note that at both the first and the second stages similar methodology was applied, however, it reflected the specifics of each stage, conditioned by the differences in the legislative and normative regulation of media activities (*the methodology is described in detail in "General information on monitoring the coverage of presidential elections 2008 by broadcast media of Armenia"*). In the process of the study qualitative and quantitative monitoring methods were applied. The qualitative monitoring included the study of legislation and other official documents, related to the electoral process in Armenia, conversations with media heads, journalistic, political and public figures, as well as the analysis of their public statements regarding media activities. The qualitative monitoring included counts and measurements of TV and radio programs directly.

RA PRESIDENCY CANDIDATES AT ELECTIONS 2008

On February 19, 2008 nine candidates took part in the RA presidential elections.

On February 24, 2008 the RA Central Election Commission announced the final results of the voting at the RA presidential elections. The votes cast for the presidential candidates were distributed as follows (*in %*):

	RA Presidency Candidates	%
1.	Serge Sargsian (of Republican Party of Armenia)	52.82
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian (self-nomination)	21.52
3.	Artur Baghdasarian (of "Orinats Yerkir" party)	16.69
4.	Vahan Hovhannesian (of "Dashnaktsutiun" party)	6.18
5.	Vazgen Manukian (of National Democratic Union)	1.29
6.	Tigran Karapetian (of Popular Party)	0.60
7.	Artashes Geghamian (of "National Unity" party)	0.46
8.	Arman Melikian (self-nomination)	0.27
9.	Aram Harutiunian (of "National Accord" party)	0.18

GENERAL INFORMATION ON MONITORING THE COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2008 BY BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA

The monitoring of Armenian media coverage of presidential elections 2008 was administered by YPC and "TEAM" in two stages: **the first stage** covered the period of October-December, 2007 (ahead of pre-election promotion); **the second stage** - that of January 21 - February 17, 2008 (period of pre-election promotion).

The monitoring objectives were to determine and define through analysis of data obtained:

- the effectiveness of the legislative regulation of media during and ahead of elections;
- the level of attention of broadcast media of Armenia to presidential elections 2008;
- the adequacy of the broadcast media in informing the electorate about politicians, presidency candidates;
- the accessibility of the TV and radio air for the politicians, candidates to express views and opinions.

The monitoring covered **8 broadcast media**:

4 national TV companies - First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel;

3 TV companies of Yerevan - "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant";

1 national radio company - Public Radio of Armenia.

AT THE FIRST STAGE (OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 2007) the monitoring is implemented by "TEAM" Research Center with the support of Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Armenia and with the expert and resource assistance of Yerevan Press Club.

Monitoring group:

Project Director: Avet Demurian

Analyst: Boris Navasardian

Coordinator: Elina Poghosbekian

Monitors: Armineh Sukiasian, Seda Shiganian, Gohar Hovsepian, Astghik Hovhannisian, Milena Aydinian, Irina Hakobian, Elen Meliksetian, Alvard Nazarian.

Monitoring period: October 1 - November 30 and December 6-20, 2007.

Monitoring subject: all programs, aired at evening prime time (**since 18.00 till 24.00**) of the TV and radio channels mentioned above that contained references to politicians.

AT THE SECOND STAGE (JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 2008) the monitoring was implemented by Yerevan Press Club with the participation of "TEAM" Research Center and the financial support of the Open Society Institute Network Media Program.

Monitoring group:

Project Director and Analyst: Boris Navasardian

Coordinator: Elina Poghosbekian

Monitors: Armineh Sukiasian, Seda Shiganian, Gohar Hovsepian, Milena Aydinian, Irina Hakobian, Elen Meliksetian, Alvard Nazarian, Hasmik Sedrakian.

Monitoring period: January 21 - February 17, 2008

Monitoring subject: all programs, aired at the evening prime time (*since 17.00 till 24.00*) of the TV and radio channels mentioned above, containing references to the RA presidency candidates, as well as the airtime (*from 17.00 till 24.00*, for the Public Radio of Armenia - *from 13.30 till 24.00*), allocated for pre-election promotion (political advertising) of presidency candidates. The change of the airtime monitoring hours was due to the time of demonstration of the pre-election promotion materials of the candidates on TV channels. In particular, on the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia, in accordance with the resolution of the RA CEC of January 21, 2008, the pre-election promotion of candidates was broadcast starting from 17.15. In the case of Public Radio of Armenia the airtime allocated for the pre-election promotion was studied starting from 13.30, since, in accordance with the CEC resolution mentioned above, the broadcasting of pre-election promotion of candidates at PRA started at this time. As to the editorial coverage of PRA, it was studied at the interval of 17.00-24.00, similarly to other channels.

The monitoring methodology for the two stages is presented below.

GUIDELINES FOR MONITORING BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA AHEAD OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2008 (OCTOBER 1 - NOVEMBER 30, DECEMBER 6-20, 2007)

I. MONITORING METHODOLOGY

1. The main unit of the study is **TV, radio piece**.

A TV, radio piece is defined to be:

A unit of air, distinguished by subject, composition and design, i.e.:

- a. a separate story in the newscast;
- b. a separate communication, read by the program host;
- c. a part (section, story) of a program, dealing with various subjects/issues and distinguished by subject, composition and design (jingles, captions, etc.);
- d. announcements of stories are considered to be a part of the piece they refer to;
- e. program host text that introduces the TV, radio piece (report, etc.) is considered to be a part of this piece (report, etc.).

2. Monitors record the duration of the air studied (*18.00-24.00*) on a daily basis. The programs that started but did not end till 18.00 are not considered: the monitoring begins after the end of the program. The programs that started but did not end till 24.00 are studied in full, until their end.

All materials of the air studied are subdivided into two types:

1. **Editorial coverage;**
2. **Paid programs and advertising/announcements (political, commercial, social).**

Thus, depending on the nature of the material, its data are entered into the respective column - "Editorial coverage" or "Paid programs and advertising/announcements".

The methodology of studying both editorial and paid/promotional materials is identical and includes:

1. The count of the number and determination of the nature of references to politicians:

A. Monitors record and count **references** to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of the broadcast media studied (*from 18.00 till 24.00*).

B. Apart from recording the total number of references, the number of **positive (+)**, **negative (-)** and **neutral (0)** references to politicians is also counted. The connotational (positive, negative) references are understood to be those that are contained in pieces leaving an obviously positive or negative impression about the politician on the audience. When the tone is not that obvious, the reference is

recorded as neutral. All the doubts of the monitor are also interpreted in favor of neutral reference. Besides, if the piece informs that a certain individual/organization has publicly announced its support/non-support to a politician who intends to run in the presidential elections or already nominated, the reference to this politician is recorded as positive/negative, respectively.

In each TV, radio piece only one reference and only one connotation to each politician are recorded.

Any appearance of a politician in a TV shot that is not a part of the piece, where the politician is mentioned, is also considered to be a reference. If the appearance in the shot is a part of the piece where this politician is mentioned, it is not recorded as additional reference.

This category is measured *in units*.

2. Measuring the volume of materials about politicians:

A. The monitors record and measure *the volume of materials*, i.e., *the airtime* (in *seconds*), allocated to the politicians to express their views and opinions, as well as to the judgments, narrations about them made by other persons in editorial and paid coverage of the broadcast media studied (*since 18.00 till 24.00*).

The measurement of airtime, allocated to a politician to express views and opinions, as well as to judgments, narrations about him by other persons, is made by a following procedure:

- 1) if the TV, radio piece is fully dealing with a politician, all its airtime is recorded by monitors to his account.
- 2) if the politician is dealt with in a part of the piece, the monitors give the politician only the proportion of airtime that he was dealt with in.
- 3) if the piece, fully dealing with a politician, conventionally named X, quotes statements (other than about X) of another politician (conventionally named Y), or quotes judgments, narrations of other persons about Y (*with no comparison with X*), the airtime of this part of the material is given to both X and Y.
- 4) if the piece, fully dealing with politician X, quotes his statements regarding another politician, Y, or quotes the statements of Y about X, or quotes the judgments, narrations of other persons about Y *in comparison with X*, 50% of the airtime of this pieces is given by monitors to X and Y each, respectively.

B. Apart from recording the total airtime, allocated to a politician, the capacity in which he appears is studied. Thus, the airtime (in *seconds*) is differentiated and entered into an appropriate column - as allocated to a politician for the coverage of his:

- 1. Official and professional activities;**
- 2. Activities, not related directly to professional or official duties.**

3. Recording the participants of discussion programs:

By a separate list the monitors record participants of discussion programs (interview, "guest in studio", "talk show" genre) on the TV and radio channels studied, specifying the channel, the title of the program, the name(s)/position(s) of the invitees (*since 18.00 till 24.00*).

II. POLITICIANS INCLUDED INTO THE MONITORING LIST

In October-November 2007 the monitoring objects were 19 figures: politicians who announced their intention to run in presidential elections 2008 in a certain form, or politicians who were considered to be potential candidates, as well as leaders of parties who gained more than 1% of votes at the parliamentary elections of 2007, except those who could not run for presidency by law.

In December 2007 the monitoring objects were 17 figures: all nine candidates, nominated for presidency, leaders of parties who gained more than 1% of votes at the parliamentary elections of 2007 (except those who

could not run for presidency by law), as well as the RA President Robert Kocharian (to determine the level of attention the broadcast media paid to the incumbent versus the nominees).

Below are the lists of politicians at the focus of monitoring.

POLITICIANS ON THE MONITORING LIST IN OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 2007*

1.	Gurgen Arsenian
2.	Samvel Babayan
3.	Artur Baghdasarian
4.	Artashes Geghamian
5.	Victor Dallakian
6.	Stepan Demirchian
7.	Gagik Tsarukian
8.	Aram Karapetian
9.	Tigran Karapetian
10.	Paruir Hayrikian
11.	Aram Harutiunian
12.	Vahan Hovhannesian
13.	Raffi Hovannisian
14.	Vazgen Manukian
15.	Armen Rustamian
16.	Aram Z. Sargsian
17.	Serge Sargsian
18.	Levon Ter-Petrosian
19.	Vardan Oskanian

**The politicians are listed in Armenian alphabetic order*

POLITICIANS ON THE MONITORING LIST IN DECEMBER 2007*

1.	Gurgen Arsenian
2.	Samvel Babayan
3.	Artur Baghdasarian
4.	Artashes Geghamian
5.	Stepan Demirchian
6.	Gagik Tsarukian
7.	Aram Karapetian
8.	Tigran Karapetian
9.	Aram Harutiunian
10.	Vahan Hovhannesian
11.	Raffi Hovannisian
12.	Vazgen Manukian
13.	Arman Melikian
14.	Aram Z. Sargsian
15.	Serge Sargsian
16.	Levon Ter-Petrosian
17.	Robert Kocharian

**The politicians are listed in Armenian alphabetic order*

III. MONITORING PROCEDURE

a. Monitors count and record in coding tables all the necessary data on every TV, radio channel on daily basis.

b. The data received are summarized monthly and are presented to the coordinator for the periods of: **October 1-31; November 1-30; December 6-20**, i.e., respectively on **November 3, December 3 and December 23, 2007**.

c. All the data obtained for the period of monitoring are summarized.

GUIDELINES FOR MONITORING BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA DURING THE PRE-ELECTION PROMOTION PERIOD (JANUARY 21 - FEBRUARY 17, 2008)

I. MONITORING METHODOLOGY

1. The main unit of the study is **TV, radio piece**.

A TV, radio piece is defined to be:

A unit of air, distinguished by subject, composition and design, i.e.:

- a. a separate story in the newscast;
- b. a separate communication, read by the program host;
- c. a part (section, story) of a program, dealing with various subjects/issues and distinguished by subject, composition and design (jingles, captions, etc.);
- d. announcements of stories are considered to be a part of the piece they refer to;
- e. program host text that introduces the TV, radio piece (report, etc.) is considered to be a part of this piece (report, etc.).

2. Monitors record the duration of the air studied (**17.00-24.00**) on a daily basis. The programs that started but did not end till 17.00 are not considered: the monitoring begins after the end of the program. But if during this program, in the breaks, there are slots of political advertising, these slots are monitored. The programs that started but did not end till 24.00 are studied in full, until their end. But if during this program, in the breaks, there are slots of political advertising, only the slots that started before 24.00 are monitored.

All materials of the air studied are subdivided into two types:

1. **Editorial coverage;**
2. **Pre-election promotion (political advertising), allocated to presidential candidate.**

Thus, depending on the nature of the material, its data are entered into the respective column - "Editorial coverage" or "Political advertising".

3. The count of the number and determination of the nature of references to presidential candidates:

A. The monitors record and measure **the references** to presidential candidates in the editorial coverage of the broadcast media studied (**since 17.00 till 24.00**).

B. Apart from recording the total number of references, the number of **positive (+), negative (-)** and **neutral (0)** references to candidates is also counted. The connotational (positive, negative) references are understood to be those that are contained in pieces leaving an obviously positive or negative impression about the candidate on the audience. When the tone is not that obvious, the reference is recorded as neutral. All the doubts of the monitor are also interpreted in favor of neutral reference. Besides, if the piece informs that a certain individual/organization has publicly announced its support/non-support to a candidate, the reference to this politician is recorded as positive/negative, respectively.

If the piece features a representative of an election headquarters/a proxy of the candidate, and the piece specified this status, the reference/connotation is entered to the account of this candidate.

In each TV, radio piece only one reference and only one connotation to each candidate are recorded.

Any appearance of a candidate in a TV shot that is not a part of the piece, where the candidate is mentioned, is also considered to be a reference. If the appearance in the shot is a part of the piece where this candidate is mentioned, it is not recorded as additional reference.

This category is measured *in units*.

4. Measuring the volume of materials about candidates:

A. The monitors record and measure *the volume of materials*, i.e., *the airtime* (in *seconds*), allocated to the presidential candidates to express their views and opinions, as well as to the judgments, narrations about them made by other persons in editorial coverage of the broadcast media studied (*since 17.00 till 24.00*).

If the piece features a representative of an election headquarters/a proxy of the candidate, and this status is specified, the airtime allocated to him is entered to the account of this candidate.

The measurement of airtime, allocated to a candidate to express views and opinions, as well as to judgments, narrations about him by other persons, is made by a following procedure:

- 1) if the TV, radio piece is fully dealing with a candidate, all its airtime is recorded by monitors to his account.
- 2) if the candidate is dealt with in a part of the piece, the monitors give the candidate only the proportion of airtime that he was dealt with in.
- 3) if the piece, fully dealing with a candidate, conventionally named X, quotes statements (other than about X) of another candidate (conventionally named Y), or quotes judgments, narrations of other persons about Y (*with no comparison with X*), the airtime of this part of the material is given to both X and Y.
- 4) if the piece, fully dealing with candidate X, quotes his statements regarding another candidate, Y, or quotes the statements of Y about X, or quotes the judgments, narrations of other persons about Y *in comparison with X*, 50% of the airtime of this pieces is given by monitors to X and Y each, respectively.

B. Apart from recording the total airtime, allocated to a candidate, the capacity in which he appears is studied. Thus, the airtime (in *seconds*) is differentiated and entered into an appropriate column - as allocated to a candidate for the coverage of his:

1. *Official and professional activities;*
2. *Activities, not related directly to professional or official duties.*

5. Measurement of the volume of pre-election promotion (political advertising), allocated to presidential candidates in broadcast media:

Monitors record and measure the *volume* of the materials, i.e., *airtime* (in *seconds*), allocated to presidential candidate for pre-election promotion in broadcast media (*from 17.00 till 24.00*, for Public Radio - *from 13.30 till 24.00*) and marked on TV and radio channels as "pre-election promotion". The volumes of paid and free political advertising are measured separately.

The slot of political advertising that started but did not end till 17.00 is not subject to monitoring. The slot of political advertising that started but did not end till 24.00 is studied in full, till its end.

An exception is made only for the PTA First Channel and the Public Radio of Armenia, which, according to the resolution of the RA CEC of January 21, 2008, in case of a technical necessity, can shift the starting time of political advertising by 30 minutes. Hence, in such cases ***the political advertising slot on PTA First Channel and the Public Radio are monitored since 16.45 and 13.00, respectively.***

6. Recording the participants of discussion programs:

By a separate list the monitors record participants of discussion programs (interview, "guest in studio", "talk show" genre) on the TV and radio channels studied, specifying the channel, the title of the program, the name(s)/position(s) of the invitees (*since 17.00 till 24.00*). If the discussion program invitee is not the candidate himself, but a representative of his election headquarters/a proxy, and the program specifies this status, the program is entered as pertaining to the candidate in the list of discussion program participants.

II. POLITICIANS INCLUDED INTO THE MONITORING LIST

Monitoring objects were 9 politicians, registered with CEC to run in the elections of the RA President.

1.	Artur Baghdasarian
2.	Artashes Geghamian
3.	Tigran Karapetian
4.	Aram Harutiunian
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian
6.	Vazgen Manukian
7.	Arman Melikian
8.	Serge Sargsian
9.	Levon Ter-Petrosian

III. MONITORING PROCEDURE

a. Monitors count and record in coding tables all the necessary data on every TV, radio channel on daily basis.

b. The data received are summarized and are presented to the coordinator for the periods of: **January 21-30; January 31 - February 9; February 10-17**, i.e., on **February 2, February 12 and February 19, 2008, respectively.**

c. All the data obtained for the period of monitoring (**January 21 - February 17**) are summarized.

BRIEF BACKGROUND OF THE MEDIA STUDIED

PUBLIC TELEVISION OF ARMENIA (PTA): public TV company, founded in 2001. The governing body is the Council of Public TV and Radio Company. The object of the study was the PTA First Channel. The First Channel is on air 19.5 hours on the territory of Armenia and 24 hours in Yerevan daily.

"ALM": private TV company, founded in 2000 by "ALM-Holding" LLC. The TV company is on air 24 hours a day.

"ARMENIA": private TV company, founded in 1998 by Cafesjian Family Foundation and Sargsian Family Foundation. The TV company is on air 24 hours a day.

SECOND ARMENIAN TV CHANNEL (SECOND CHANNEL): private TV company, founded in 1998 by physical persons. The TV company is on air 18.5 hours a day.

"YERKIR MEDIA": private TV company, founded in 2004 by "Husaber" CJSC. The TV company is on air 24 hours a day.

"KENTRON": private TV company, founded in 2002 by "SHARM" CJSC. The TV company is on air 19 hours a day.

"SHANT": private TV company, founded in 1994 by "Shant" LLC. The TV company is on air 19 hours a day.

PUBLIC RADIO OF ARMENIA: public radio company, founded in 2001. The governing body is the Council of Public TV and Radio Company. The radio company is on air 24 hours a day.

REPORT ON MONITORING THE COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2008 BY BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA (OCTOBER 1 - NOVEMBER 30, DECEMBER 6-20 2007, JANUARY 21- FEBRUARY 17 2008)

SUMMING UP THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH, the monitoring group notes the following:

- the amendments, made to the electoral legislation in 2007, introduced greater clarity in the legal framework of media activities during elections;
- in terms of airtime distribution the 28-day period of pre-election promotion was characterized by a generally balanced coverage of the election campaigns of presidential candidates;
- the contestants did not encounter obstacles when placing their promotional materials in paid and free air of media studied;
- most of presidential candidates have repeatedly stated their satisfaction with the coverage of the election campaign by the broadcast media.

AT THE SAME TIME, this research has revealed a number of serious problems and shortcomings that have had certain influence on the pre-election situation and the course of elections. In certain cases the analysis of these problems enabled Yerevan Press Club and "TEAM" Research Center to come up with a number of recommendations:

1. The problem of legislative regulation of media activities during the period, preceding the elections, remains urgent. The definition of this period, previously causing serious misinterpretations, in November 2007 was removed from the RA Law "On Television and Radio", and only the period of "pre-election promotion" remained regulated. This period at the presidential elections 2008 lasted only 28 days (January 21 - February 17, 2008). Till that time the activities of broadcast channels, related to the upcoming elections, was not regulated in any way. Meanwhile, the pre-election struggle at both current and parliamentary elections of 2007 started long before the official, legally defined "pre-election promotion", yet the absence of any legal regulation brought about unequal conditions for potential candidates, which could not be adequately compensated for during 28 days of pre-election promotion. In October-December 2007 the monitoring group recorded a significant change in the nature and volume of the coverage of politicians viewed to be potential presidential candidates. Thus, the leader in terms of aggregate (on all 8 channels studied) airtime received 35 times more coverage than one of his future rivals at presidential elections.
2. A legislative gap remains in the body, regulating the broadcast media activities, having no specific legal mechanisms for regulating the activities of the Public TV and Radio Company. The amendments to the RA Constitution, made in 2005, defined that the National Commission on Television and Radio is the regulatory body for both private and public broadcasters. This clause was further reflected in the RA Law "On Television and Radio", yet no specific mechanisms were spelled out. As a result, the Public TV and Radio Company has actually turned out to be an institute, unaccountable to anyone, and this could not but tell on its coverage of the election campaign.
3. There are serious grounds to maintain that the Public TV and Radio Company violated the broadcasting legislation of Armenia. According to the RA Law "On Television and Radio", the PTRC programs "are prohibited from having a political stance prevail". This ban holds for the whole activities of the Public TV and Radio Company, and not only for the elections period. In the number of programs of the public broadcaster, and primarily, in the Sunday current affairs program "360 degrees" of the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia displayed obvious signs of political bias. As in October-December 2007 it, in particular, reflected the consistently negative attitude of the authors to the RA First President and candidate at the elections Levon Ter-Petrosian, this can be interpreted as a "prevalence of a political stance".

4. The PTRC management throughout the several months, preceding the elections, has repeatedly publicly demonstrated the negligence of the public opinion regarding the work of the company. This attitude was in particular manifest regarding the December 2007 statement of a number of leading professors of the Yerevan State University, well-known Armenian academics, who called on the TV companies of the country, including the Public Television of Armenia, “not to forget their commitment to the society and to put an end to the policy of information blockade of the public at large“. In February 2008 in response to the discontent with the activities of the Public Television during elections, expressed by the RA Human Rights Defender, not even a negligent but an insulting response from PTRC Council Chairman ensued. The reluctance to acknowledge any criticism from the public, expressed in a defying manner, is becoming traditional behavior line of the head of the company, contrary to its status and mission.

5. Despite the fact that the present monitoring does not give sufficient grounds to speak about obvious violations of legislation by private broadcast media, the coverage of the electoral campaign by them did not correspond to the commonly accepted international standards and the spirit of Article 11 of the RA Law “On Television and Radio” by a number of indicators. The Article 11 stipulates that “in the newscasts, aired by the TV or radio company, impartial and assessment-free information about the pre-election (preparatory for a referendum) promotion of candidates, parties, party blocs (participants in the referendum campaign) must be provided, the observance of fair and equal conditions must be ensured“. Meanwhile, the contrasting proportion of positive and negative references of some candidates (see *below, item 9*) to a certain extent was formed through the newscasts of public and private channels. The Recommendation R (99)15 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe notes: “(...) With due respect for the editorial independence of broadcasters, regulatory frameworks should also provide for the obligation to cover election campaigns in a fair, balanced and impartial manner in the overall programme services of broadcasters. Such an obligation should apply to both public service media and private broadcasters in their relevant transmission areas.” Meanwhile, not all the programs of the private TV channels monitored followed the principles, defined by the Recommendation. A most vivid example of this is the program “What Newspapers Write About” of “Kentron” TV channel. In this press review during January 21 - February 17 71 negative references to presidential candidate Levon Ter-Petrosian were recorded, and no positive, while the presidency candidate of the Republican Party of Armenia, the RA Prime Minister Sargsian was mentioned in the positive or neutral context. As it is noted in numerous researches of the Armenian media market, most print media in Armenia have open and diverse (often radical) political stance. In particular, in the course of the current election campaign the newspaper stances diverge dramatically, primarily as concerns the candidacies of the Prime Minister and the First President. In this regard the indicator of references to Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian, as quoted above, proves that when addressing the press coverage of these two politicians, the authors of “What Newspapers Write About” program display extreme bias.

6. It was also a violation of the common international standards to have elements of promotion of a candidate in programs that cannot be classed as either pre-election promotional materials or news and current affairs. Such elements were recorded in the broadcasting of a concert, devoted to the 16th anniversary of the Armenian army on the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia on January 28, 2008, as well as series, “Unhappy Happiness” (“Armenia” TV channel) and “Topsy-Turvers” (“Shant” TV company), both on February 13, 2008.

7. While there were numerous occasions when it was reasonable to expect a response from the structures, whose mission is to control the law compliance during election - in this case, the National Commission on Television and Radio and the Central Election Commission, these bodies confined themselves to written enquiries to respective media in some of the cases and were satisfied with the explanations received. Meanwhile, apart from the problems of partiality on private and public channels, as listed above, the monitoring group recorded a number of materials, aired as editorial, but having signs of advertisement of certain politicians, including the presidential candidates. Thus, on November 4, 2007 on the air of “ALM” TV “Ten Years of ‘Orinats Yerkir’” film was shown, dealing with the activities of “Orinats Yerkir” party and its leader Artur Baghdasarian. Shortly before that, on October 25, being the guest of “Stance” program, the leader of “Orinats Yerkir” and presidential candidate Artur Baghdasarian mentioned the film, asking the program host Tigran Karapetian to show it on its TV channel for payment, and received Karapetian’s consent. However, during the show of the film no marking was made to say this was paid air. In November 2007 “Kentron”, “ALM” and the Second Armenian TV Channel repeatedly

showed a film about the celebration of the 130th anniversary of “Ararat” Yerevan Brandy, Wine and Spirits Factory and the international judo tournament in Yerevan, contributing to the formation of the positive image of the company owner and the leader of “Prosperous Armenia” party Gagik Tsarukian. On the three mentioned TV channels in October-November 2007 the same reports featuring the same Gagik Tsarukian were aired. Questions arise as to the frequency of appearance of these materials on air and their show on three TV channels simultaneously. It would be reasonable to expect at least the study of these programs from the stand of their compliance with the law, which however did not occur. This is a sign of an insufficiently consistent attitude towards the media law observance in Armenia, which tells, in particular, also on the coverage of election campaigns.

8. The issue of the coverage of official activities of persons, running for presidency, remains underregulated in Armenia. As a consequence, the candidates of power, as a rule, gets an advantage. In particular, the candidate of the Republican Party of Armenia, Prime Minister Serge Sargsian in October-December 2007 had a great advantage over the rest of the candidates in terms of coverage volume and nature. The fact that about 80% of the aggregate airtime, allocated to him by the channels studied, are accounted for by his coverage in the capacity of the head of the Government cannot be considered a sufficient explanation. During this time Serge Sargsian as a Prime Minister (even not taking into account the airtime, allocated to him as a politician) received several times more attention than two other most covered representatives of the country leadership, the RA President Robert Kocharian and the RA Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian. This allows speaking about the use of administrative resource in an election campaign. The frequent and continuous appearances of Serge Sargsian on the air as an official have undisputedly influenced the voter.

9. With the relatively balanced attention of the broadcast channels studied to the candidates during the pre-election promotion, the monitoring group recorded the polarized - in terms of reference connotation - coverage of two candidates who ultimately became the main contesters for the presidential office. The greatest contrast in their coverage was observed in the period, preceding the pre-election promotion, in October-December 2007, when Serge Sargsian got 297 positive references and 28 negative references (with the rest being neutral), and Levon Ter-Petrosian - 20 positive references and 507 negative ones (the rest being neutral). In that period the monitoring group recorded an unprecedented large share of connotational references to the politicians. For example, in November 2007 79% of references to Levon Ter-Petrosian on the air of the Public Radio were negative and none were positive. During the pre-election promotion on the air of media studied the share of connotational references and the polarized coverage of the two main contestants reduced, even through the trend retained. Serge Sargsian during 28 days was positively mentioned 264 times and negatively - 60 times (overall, the connotational references account for 23.4% of the total number of references to this candidate on 8 channels), and Levon Ter-Petrosian - 22 times positively and 406 times negatively (34.7%). To a certain extent the big number of negative references to Ter-Petrosian is due to the criticism made to his address by other presidential candidates (156 out of 406). But even the remaining number of negative references is a convincing sign of skewed coverage of this candidate. Besides, the channels studied intentionally quoted those fragments of public statements of other candidates that contained criticism to the address of Levon Ter-Petrosian.

10. One of the reasons of extensive coverage of the officials, nominated to run in the elections, the significant share of connotational references and other deviations from the international standards is the lack of developed and transparent rules of media conduct during elections. The legislation cannot be so detailed as to guarantee maximally effective information flow to the voters during elections. Hence there is a need for professional self-regulation, the formation of codes of conduct, editorial policy of election coverage. Unfortunately, none of the channels studied had defined norms of professional conduct, and the development of such in the context of the general development of media self-regulation institutes in Armenia should be seen as an important task to be targeted in future.

11. Once again the unacceptability of a situation when a broadcast channel is owned by a person, who uses it in his direct political interest, in particular, running in elections as a candidate, was confirmed. Thus, a public resource, which is a frequency, is considered to be solely a tool for achieving personal political goals. This collision is observed in case of several Armenian TV channels, but the most obvious example is that of “ALM”, the owner of which is the leader of Popular Party and a candidate at presidential elections 2008 Tigran Karapetian. In October-December 2007 Tigran Karapetian received 78.4% of the whole airtime of “ALM”, allocated to politicians at focus of the monitoring. During the pre-

election campaign (January 21 - February 17, 2008) the activeness of Tigran Karapetian on the air of "ALM" has somewhat reduced (the law prohibits the candidates from hosting programs during that period), and as a "guest" and main character of TV pieces on his channel he was offered 49.8% of the total airtime, allocated to all presidential candidates. The solution of this problem is seen both in making the legal provisions on the matter more specific, as well as closer observance of the letter of the law in force and the licensing conditions.

12. Similar attitude of most of the channels studied towards the candidates (which was primarily manifest in the coverage of Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian) allowed the monitoring group to conclude there was a coordinated (or directed) policy. This coordination was shown both ahead of elections, and during the pre-election promotion. Thus, in October-November 2007 the coverage of Levon Ter-Petrosian was divided on all channels studied into three stages: the first - a more or less reticent coverage, the second - almost complete silence, the third - massive criticism. This simultaneous change of sentiment can hardly be incidental. Judging from the monitoring results, only "Yerkir Media" TV channel followed its own policy of covering the election campaign. It turned out to be the only one, where the candidate of the ruling party, Serge Sargsian, had no positive balance of connotational references, and the most positively covered candidate here was that of "Dashnaktsutiun" party, Vahan Hovhannesian (out of 28 days of pre-election promotion 34 positive references and not a single negative one were made). But "Yerkir Media" was rather an exception that confirms the rule. An attempt to partially disclose the mechanisms of getting "coordinated coverage" were made in the statement of a number of Armenian NGOs of October 19, 2007. The statement expressed concern over the fact that correspondents of broadcast media stopped attending the press-conferences at various press clubs, as well as regarding the concerning reports that heads of private TV companies were invited to various state agencies, where they were "persuaded" to neglect the public appearances of certain opposition politicians, not to invite them to studios, not to interview them and not to show them on the air. In particular, as the statement noted, the TV companies were "recommended" not to cover (either positively or negatively) the rally of a number of political forces to be held on October 26, 2007. On October 22 the statement of the founder of "GALA" TV company of Gyumri Vahan Khachatryan was also disseminated, prompted by the attempts of various power agencies to exert pressure on the TV company to the same effect. All this allows speaking about the components of hidden censorship that played a certain role both during the parliament elections of 2007 and presidential elections 2008 in Armenia.

13. In the present pre-election campaign the unreadiness of the candidates for open dialogue, discussions, media debate was displayed. Despite all attempts of broadcast media, no one managed to hold debates on the air between the candidates themselves. The programs of "guest in studio" genre were infrequent, too. Levon Ter-Petrosian declined the numerous invitations for an interview on the air; only in one such program ("Evropolis" on the PTA First Channel) did Serge Sargsian take part. The problem described can partly be attributed to the bias that some journalists show towards certain politicians, who, on their behalf, avoid aggressive interviews not to be presented in negative light. However, the main reason is still the closeness of certain candidates, the preference that they have for monologue communications with the voters.

14. On their part, most of the TV companies did not show interest in inviting independent experts, analysts, representatives of non-governmental organization, observing various aspects of electoral process to take part in discussions. This, similarly to the absence of debates, has certainly restricted the opportunities of the audience to have a better understanding of the situation, to make an informed choice. Here, too, certain coordinated (directed) policy of the TV channels can be observed, and here, again, "Yerkir Media" TV channel was an exception, having displayed interest in expert opinion and cooperation with civil society.

15. The awareness of the voters was also affected by the time, given for promotional materials, on public (according to the decision of the RA CEC of January 21, 2008, on the PTA First Channel this was since 17.15, on Public Radio - since 13.30) and the studied private channels (between 17.00 and 19.00). In other words, this was the time when most voters on weekdays were either at work/at school or on their way home.

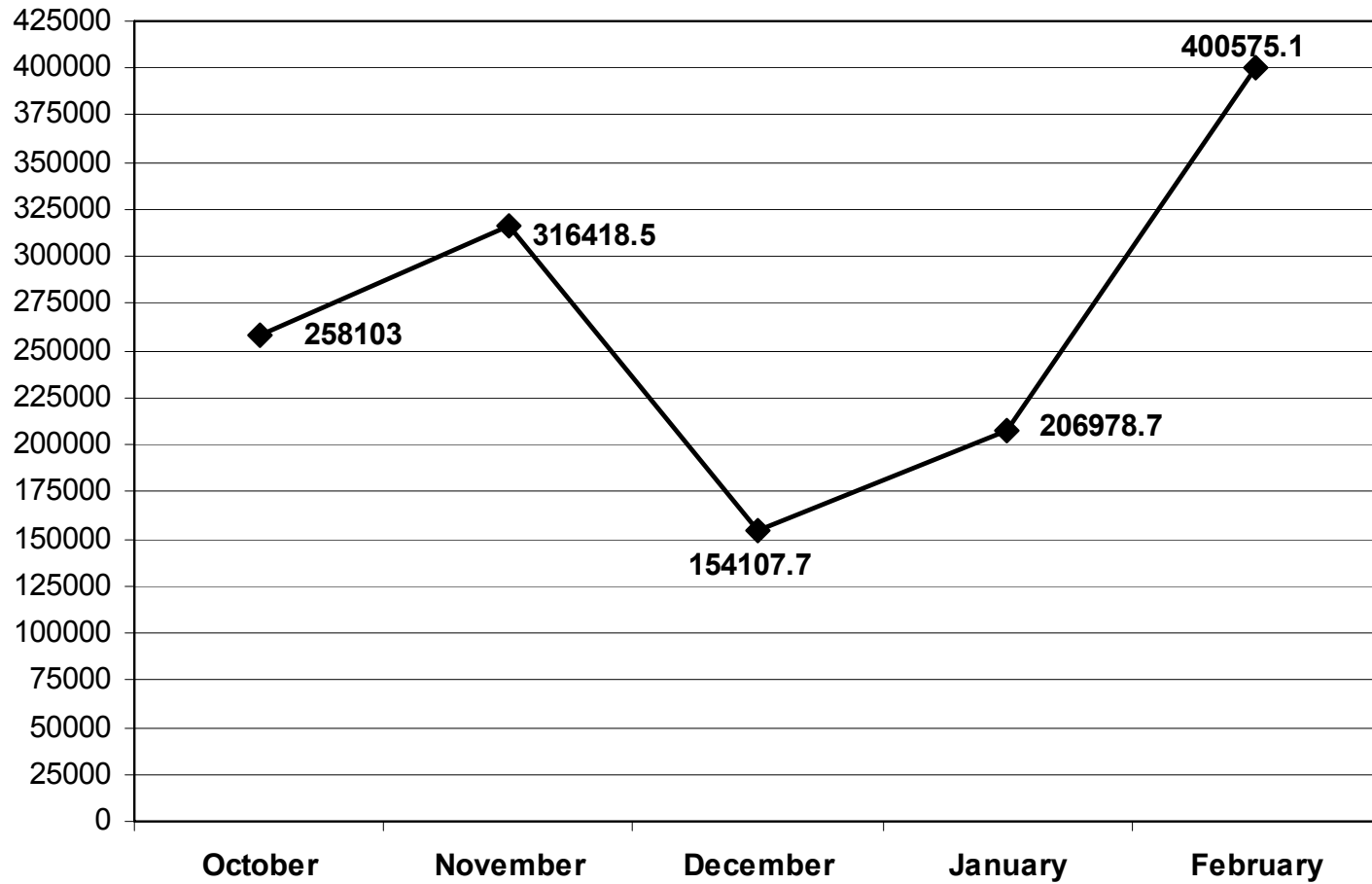
16. Similarly to all previous elections, the regional population of Armenia had much fewer information sources. In many parts of the country people have access only to two or three TV channels, and this situation was deteriorated by the fact that a number of local broadcasters limited their coverage of election processes significantly.

17. In the course of the current election campaign the representatives of Armenian authorities made an attempt to discredit the media monitoring, implemented by Yerevan Press Club and “TEAM” Research Center. Some high-ranked officials of Armenia in their conversations with international officials and journalists indirectly noted the “partiality” of the findings of our research. This was due to the attention of international organizations to the monitoring findings and the fears of authorities that the findings of the research can influence the assessment of the upcoming presidential elections by the observers. On December 26, 2007 YPC and “TEAM” made a statement, rejecting categorically any hints at their partiality and suggested that all parties in doubt make an open expert assessment of the monitoring implemented. However, as it turned out, apparently nobody doubted the objectivity of the monitoring, and therefore the remarks on the study were of manipulative nature.

CHARTS

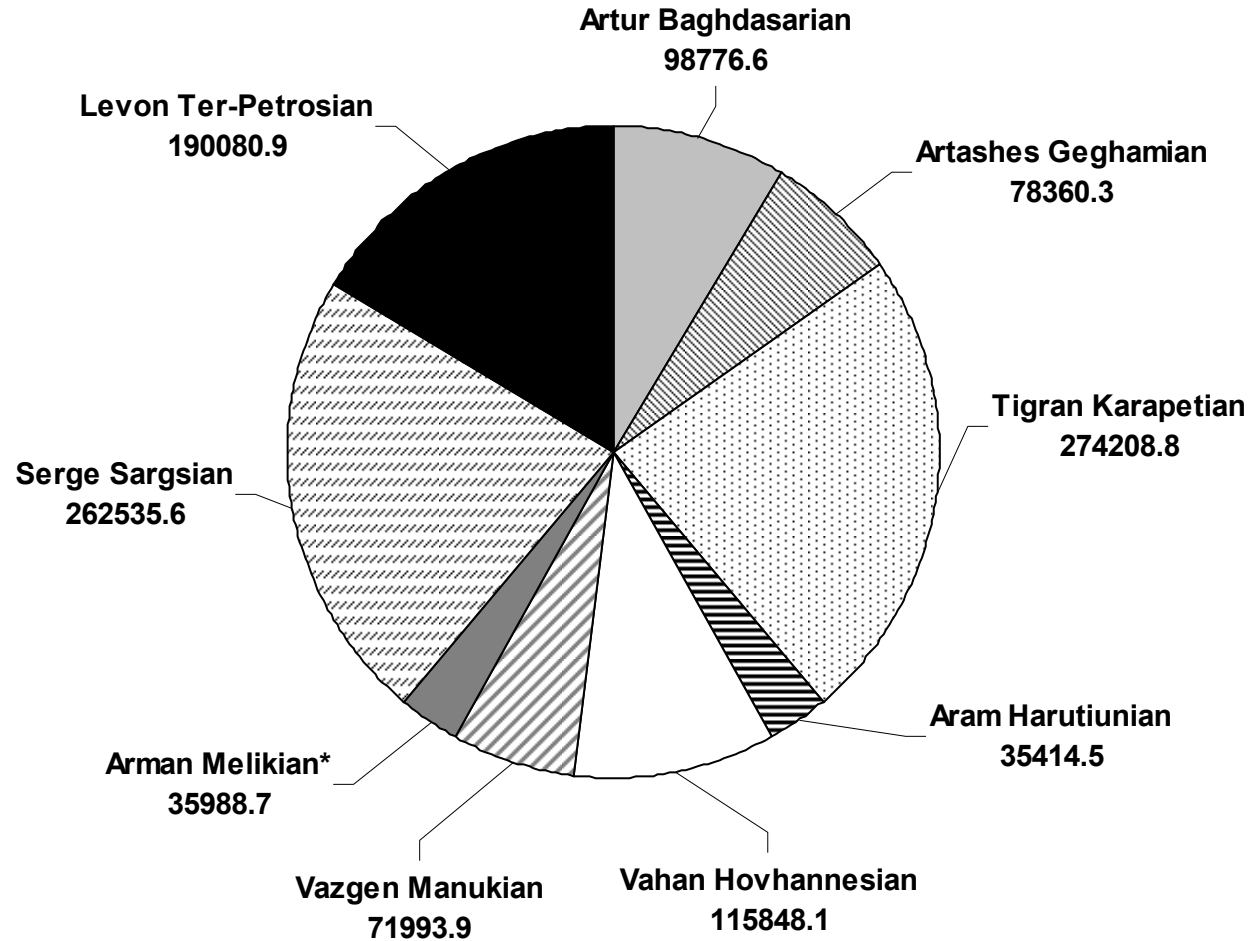
October 1- November 30, December 6-20, 2007, January 21- February 17, 2008

Total airtime (in sec.), allocated to politicians in the editorial coverage of 8 broadcast media studied during the whole monitoring period: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia



October 1- November 30, December 6-20, 2007, January 21- February 17, 2008

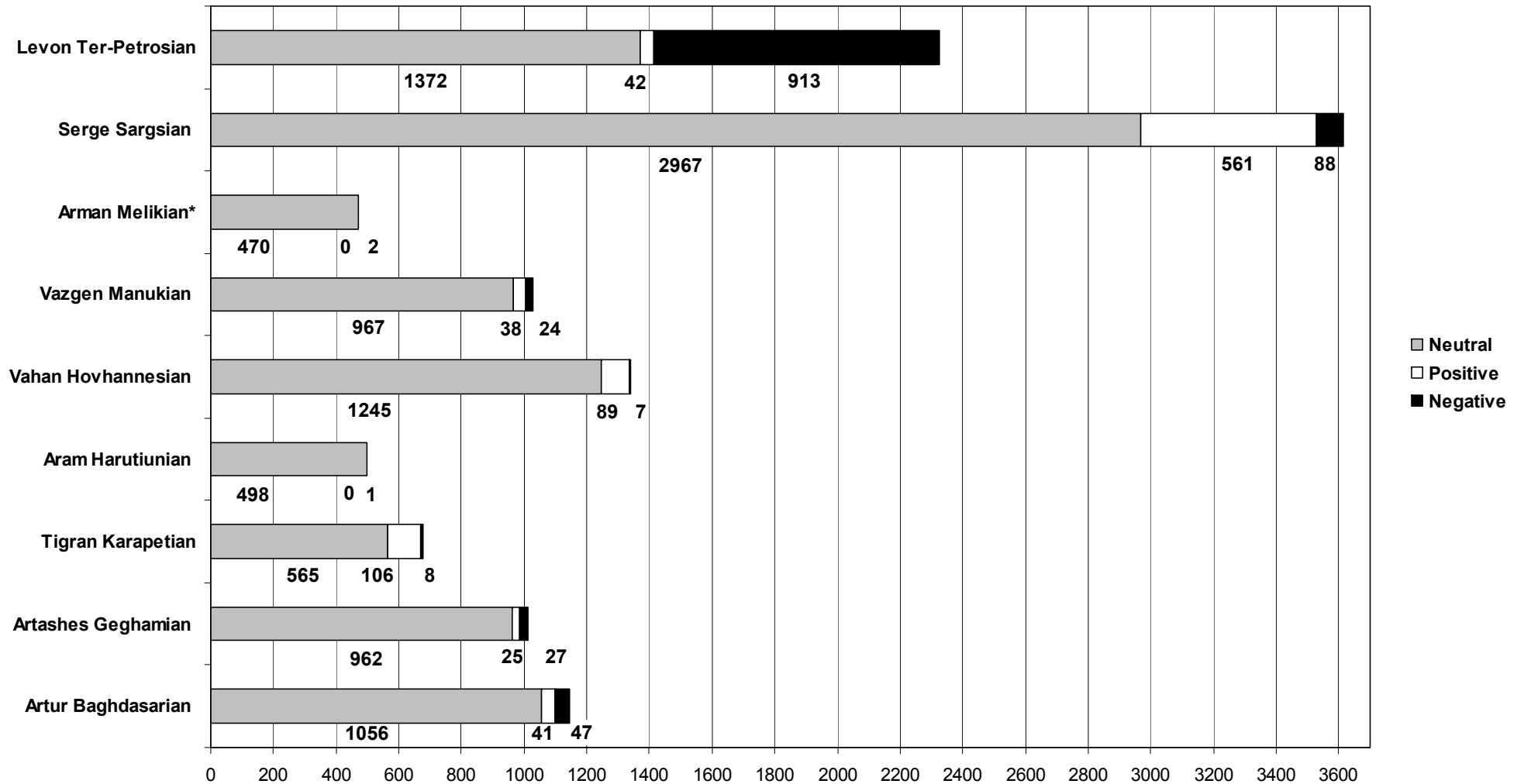
Airtime (in sec.), allocated to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of 8 broadcast media studied during the whole monitoring period:
PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia



*This politician was not a monitoring object in October-November 2007

October 1- November 30, December 6-20, 2007, January 21- February 17, 2008

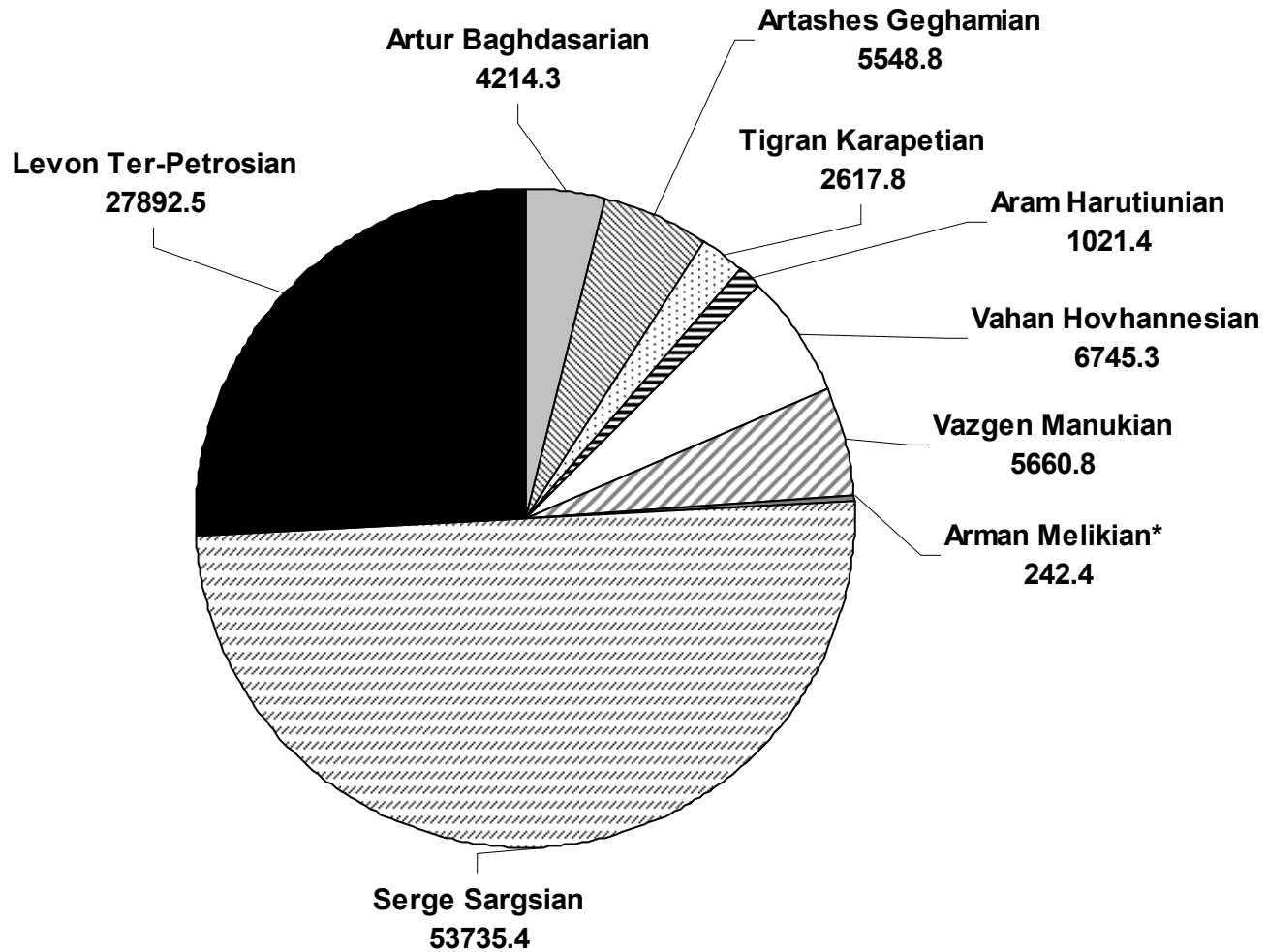
Number and nature of references (in units) to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of 8 broadcast media studied during the whole monitoring period: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia



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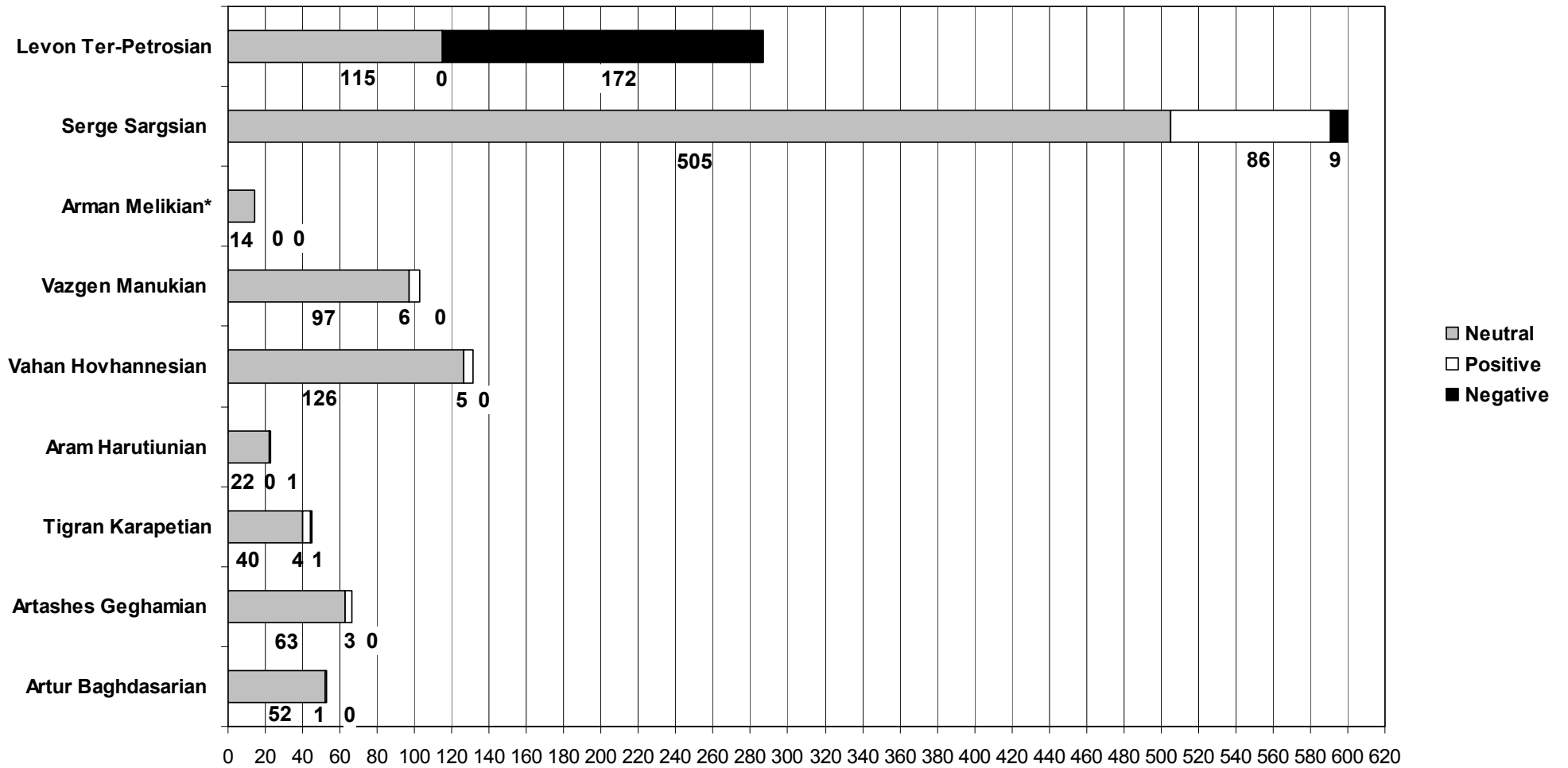
Airtime (in sec.), allocated to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of public broadcasters studied ahead of presidential elections: First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia and the Public Radio of Armenia



**This politician was not a monitoring object in October-November 2007*

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

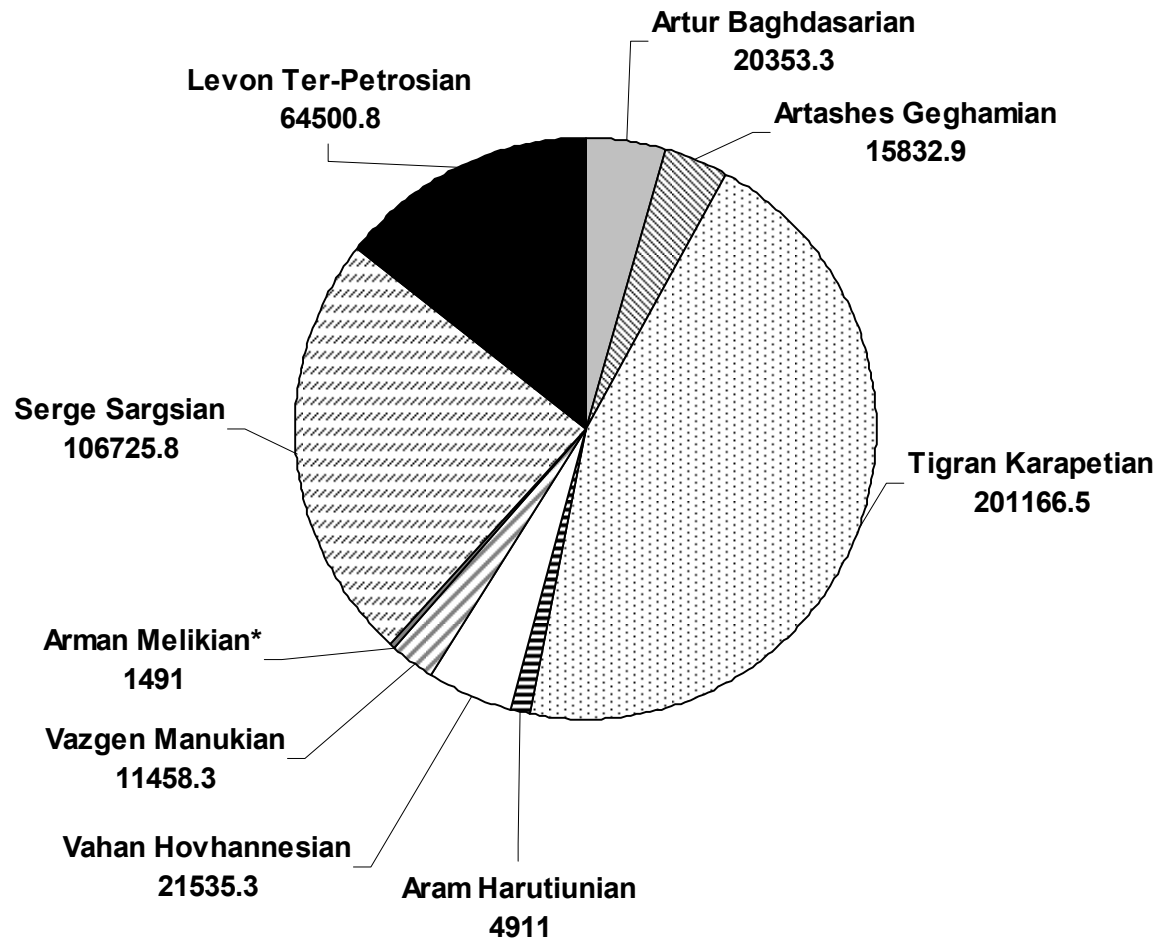
Number and nature of references (in units) to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of public broadcasters studied ahead of presidential elections: First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia and the Public Radio of Armenia



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October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

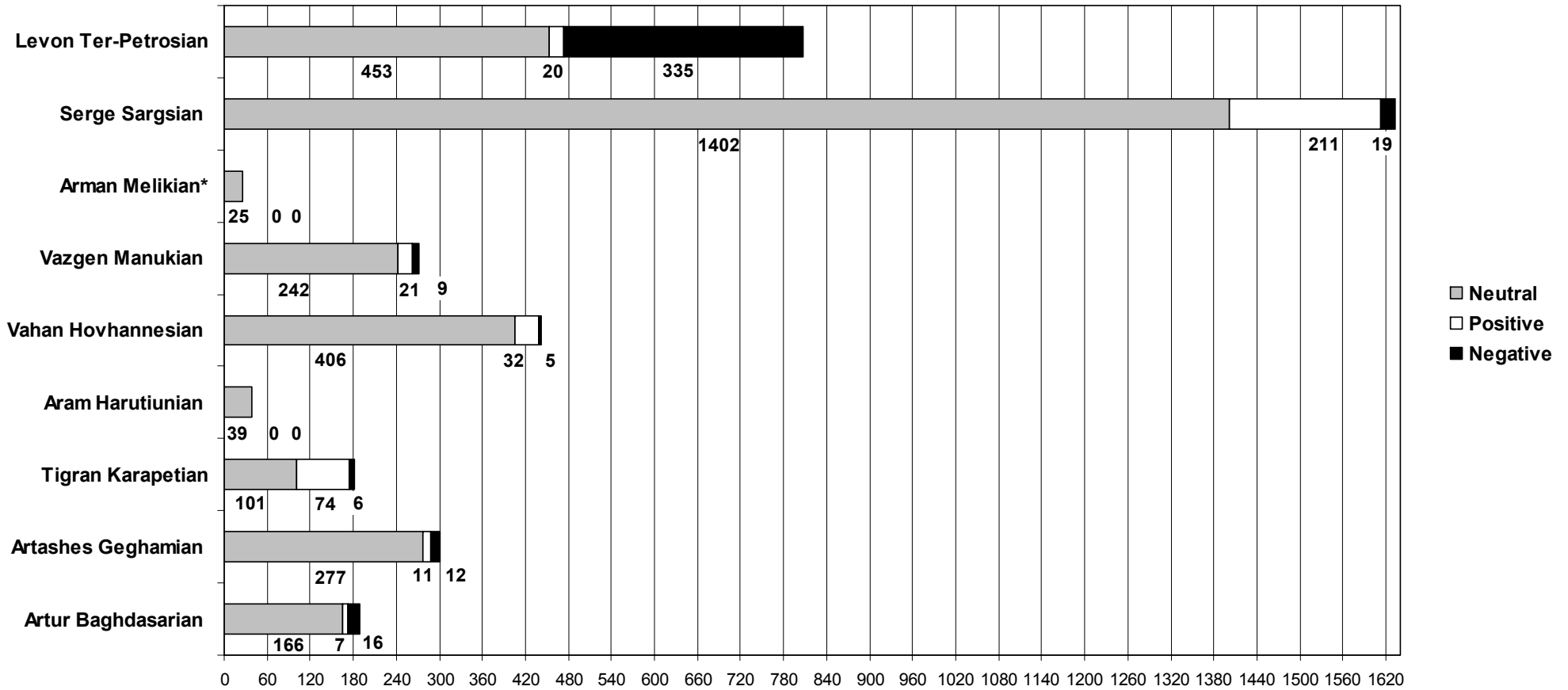
Airtime (in sec.), allocated to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of private broadcasters ahead of presidential elections: "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant"



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October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

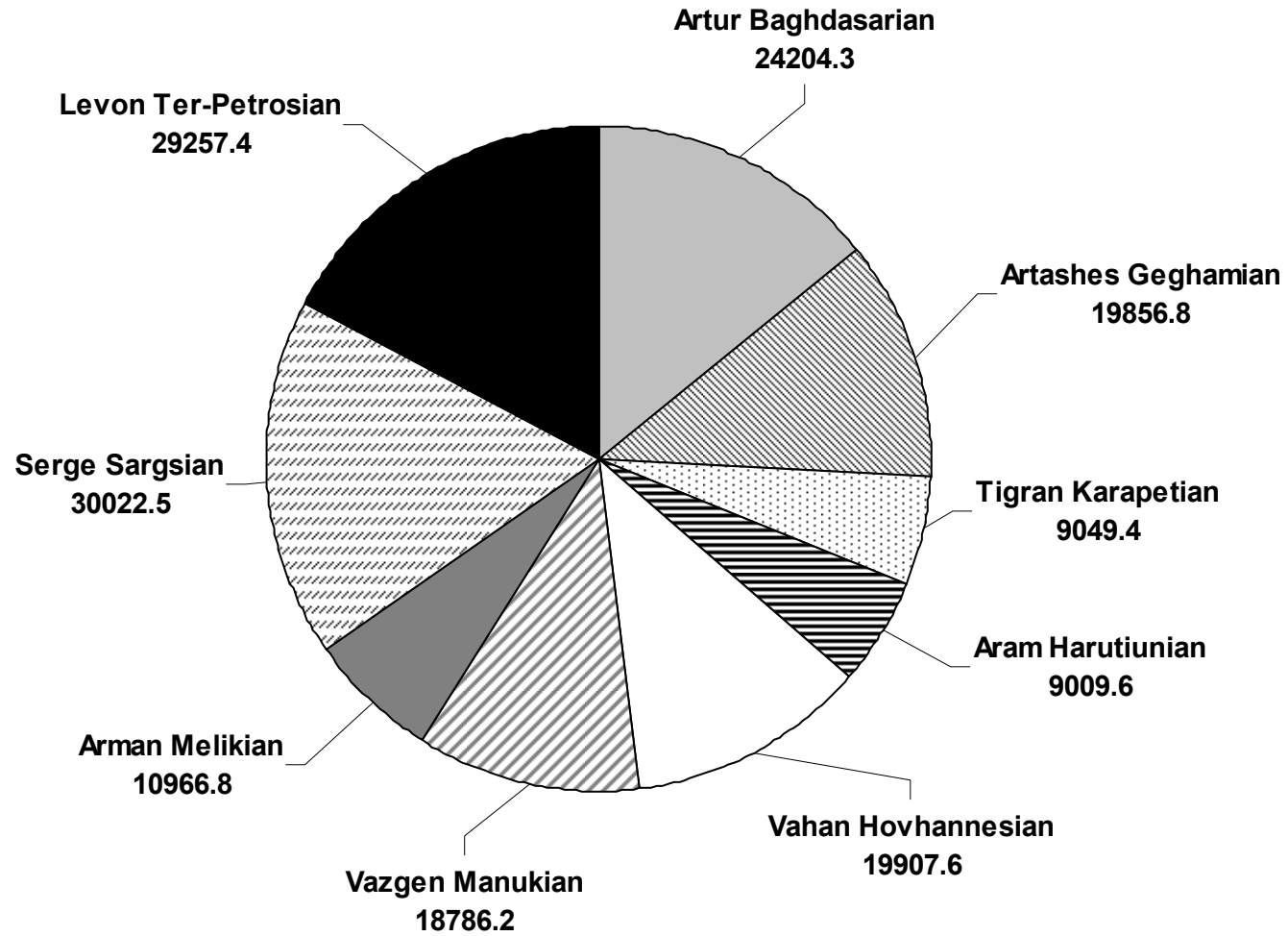
Number and nature of references (in units) to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of private broadcasters ahead of presidential elections: "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant"



*This politician was not a monitoring object in October-November 2007

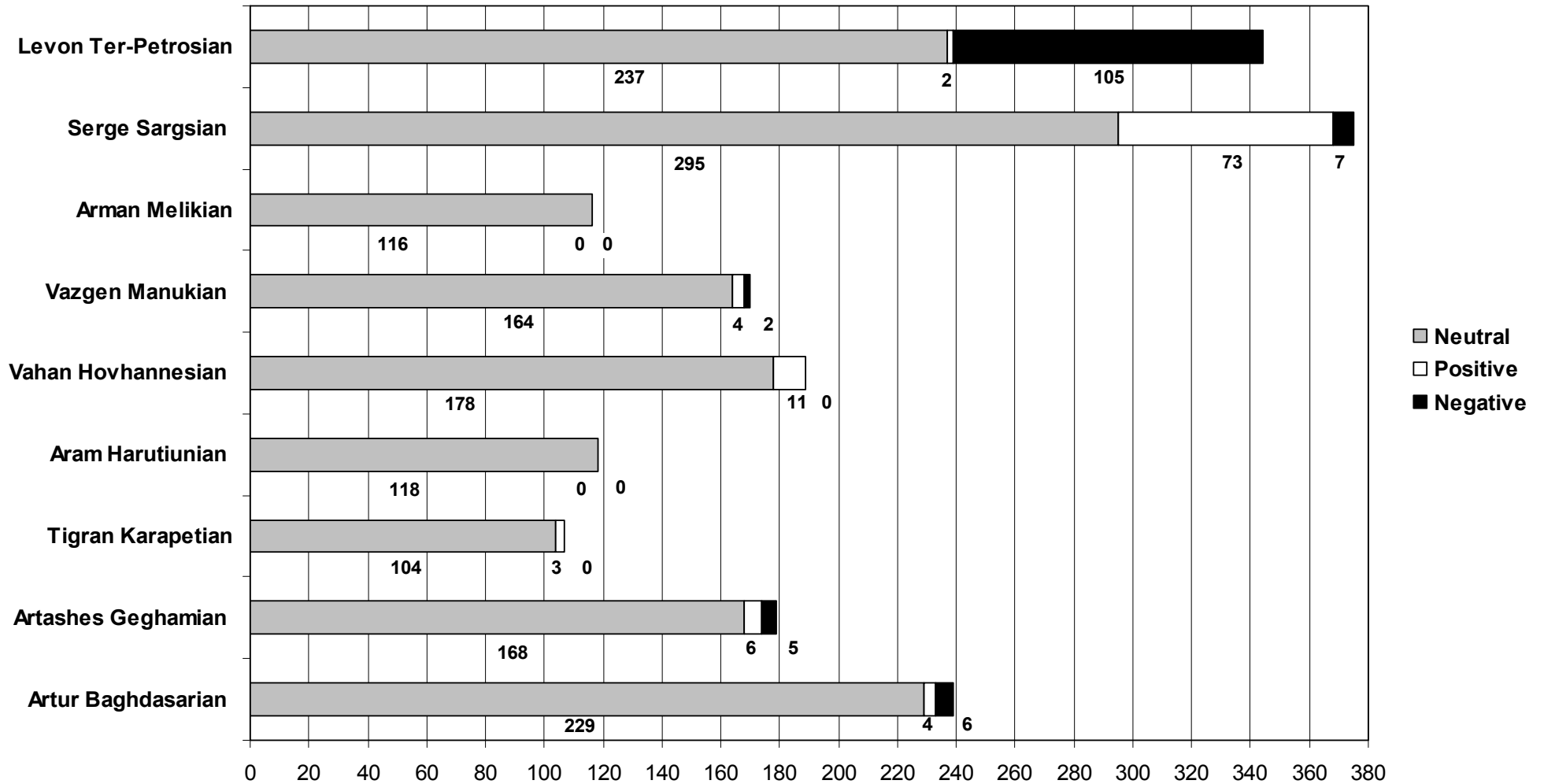
January 21 - February 17, 2008

Airtime (in sec.), allocated to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of public broadcasters studied during the pre-election promotion: First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia and the Public Radio of Armenia



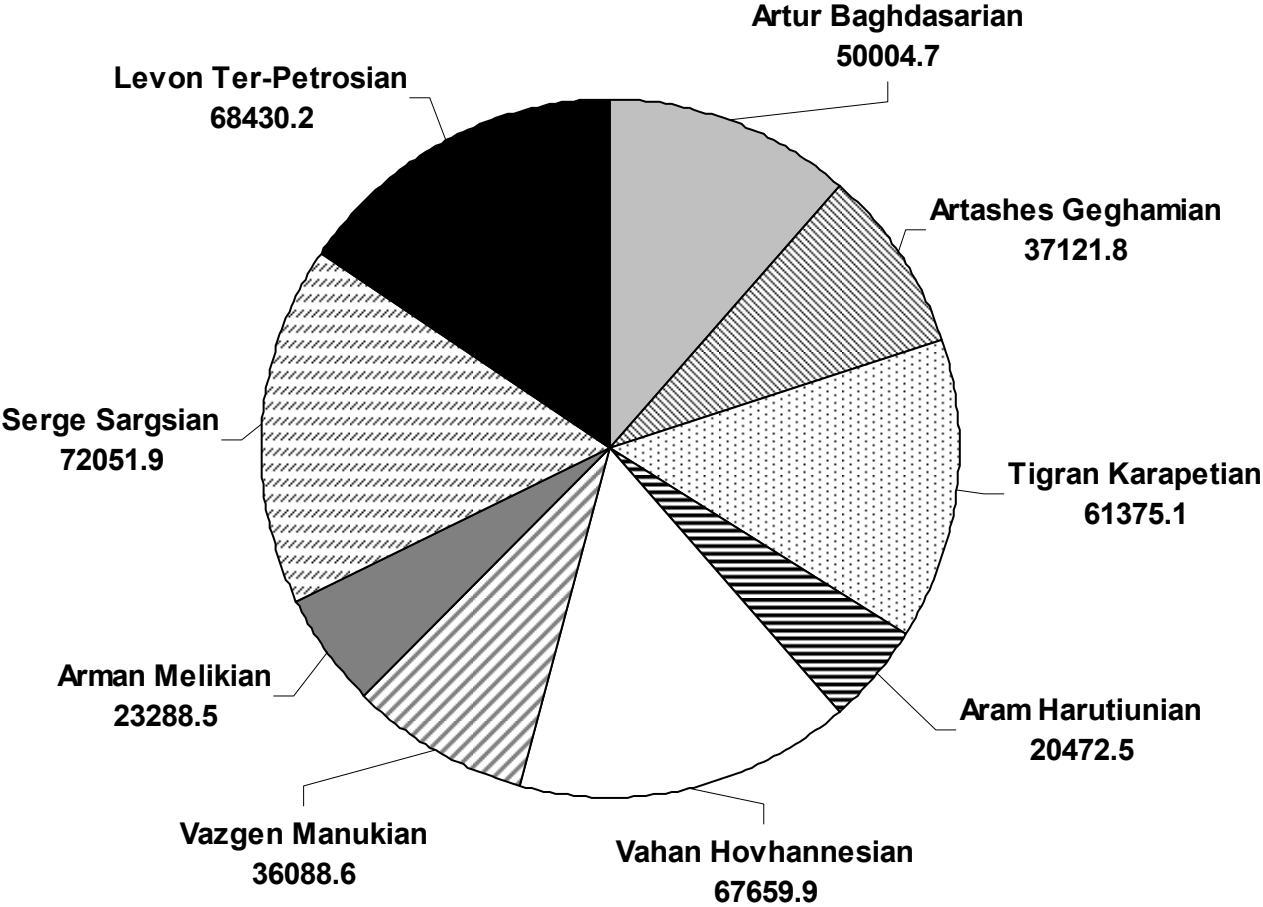
January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature of references (in units) to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of public broadcasters studied during the pre-election promotion: First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia and the Public Radio of Armenia



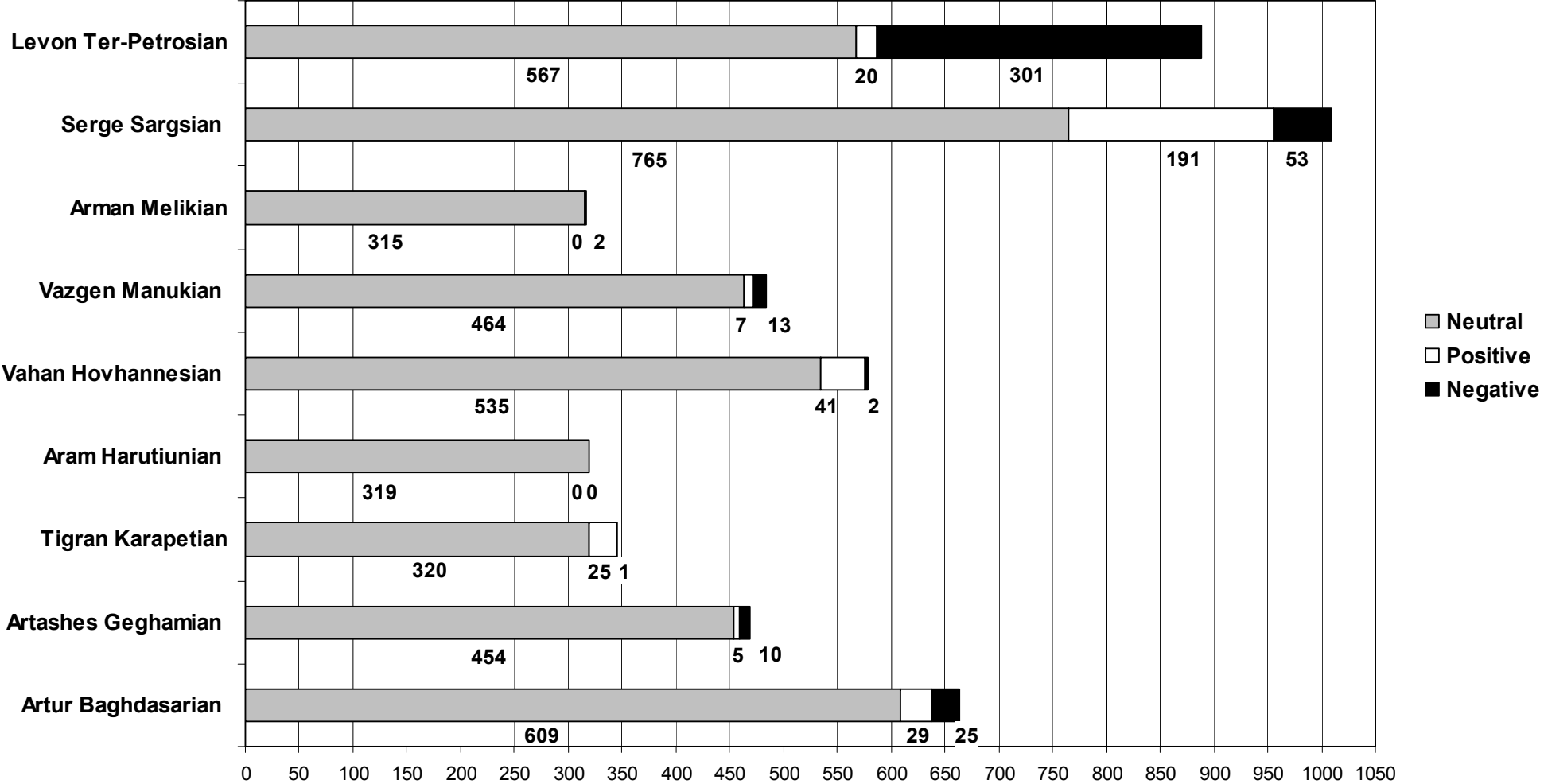
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January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature of references (in units) to nine RA presidency candidates in the editorial coverage of private broadcasters studied during the pre-election promotion: "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant"



INTERIM REPORT

ON MONITORING BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA AHEAD

OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2008

(OCTOBER 1-31, 2007)

DURING THE PERIOD that precedes the official pre-election promotion for the presidential elections of 2008 a number of trends that the monitoring group had recorded before the parliamentary elections of 2007 was manifest.

The most “politicized” (in terms of the attention paid to politics) of the channels studied was “ALM” again, it is followed, at a significant distance, by “Kentron” and “Yerkir Media”. This time these two are divided by the Second Armenian TV Channel, which is a little ahead of “Yerkir Media”. Of the two public broadcasters studied, similarly to spring 2007, the radio paid a bit more attention to the politics than television. It is interesting to compare this fact with the findings of the poll, administered in Armenia by the International Republican Institute (USA) in July 2007, according to which 99% of respondents named the television to be a source of political information, while only 46% thought radio to be one.

The least attention to political processes is still paid by “Armenia” TV channel. The airtime it allocated to politicians is 26 times less than that on “ALM”, is almost 11 times less than that on “Kentron” and twice less than that on “Shant” that has the second smallest figure.

THE ATTENTION of “ALM” to politicians is mostly concentrated on the owner of this TV company, the leader of the Popular Party Tigran Karapetian - he got over 82% of the airtime, allocated by this TV channels to politicians that were the object of the study. It is solely due to his own TV channel that accounts for 99.2% of the total airtime Tigran Karapetian received on 7 TV channels, his cumulative coverage was twice as much than that of the RA Prime Minister, the expected (as of October 2007) presidency candidate of Republican Party of Armenia Serge Sargsian. Of other broadcast channels apparent attention to one of the politicians was displayed by “Armenia”, “Shant” and Second Armenian TV Channel: at each of them over half of the airtime was accounted for by Serge Sargsian.

However, in case of Serge Sargsian it is important to note that the vast majority of coverage at all TV channels (91%) and on Public Radio (85%) was received by him as the Prime Minister, that is, in the line of his official/professional duty. In case of Tigran Karapetian it is extremely difficult to differentiate programs in which he acts as a journalist (i.e., within the present study this is interpreted as appearance in the line of official/professional duty), and those in which he appears as an invited politician. In both cases on “ALM” TV company his views, opinions, assessments of various aspects of politics and public life prevail.

Coming back to Serge Sargsian, it is important to note that his frequent and lengthy appearances on the air as an official are undoubtedly influencing the voters. The monitoring group thinks it appropriate to compare the figures of the Prime Minister with the cumulative airtime of another high-ranked official, whose activities in the line of duty are also a subject of much public interest and who is also an object of the present research - the RA Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian, who received over 4 times less attention from the TV channels than the Prime Minister in October. This gap allows supposing that the difference in the attention of the broadcasters is linked to the expected nomination of Serge Sargsian as a presidency candidate, in other words to his purely political activities, not related directly to his position.

The third place in terms of cumulative coverage is taken by the First President of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosian. On most of the channels studied this politician was the second, falling only behind Serge Sargsian and (on “Kentron”) the leader of “Prosperous Armenia” party Gagik Tsarukian, and on “Yerkir Media” – even the first. So, if the airtime indicators of “ALM” are excluded from the picture, it can be said that in October the attention of broadcast media was concentrated on two potential candidates for presidency - Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian. However, the content of the coverage is essentially different. If the Prime Minister on all the channels received much more positive than negative

references (56 versus 2), the First President - on the contrary (6 and 111, respectively). The share of negative references in their total number for Ter-Petrosian (389) is very high, almost one third. And overall, when describing the air in October one can state an extremely high share of connotational references to some politicians, in particular, Gagik Tsarukian (see below) and Tigran Karapetian (with an obvious prevalence of positive references in both cases).

The nature of media addresses to Ter-Petrosian in October went through three stages. In the first half of the months the broadcasters displayed interest to the fact that the First President is returning to politics and were more or less reticent in assessing him. The negative statements were also made in the comments of other politicians, and less so in the assessments of the journalists.

In the subsequent decade the interest of broadcast media to Ter-Petrosian decreased. It is at this very stage, October 19, that a number of Armenian NGOs made a statement of concern over that fact that the correspondents of broadcast media have stopped coming to press conferences at various press clubs, and also regarding the alarming reports about the heads of private TV companies being invited to various agencies and being “persuaded” to ignore the public appearances of some opposition representatives, not to have them in studios, not to interview and not to show on air. In particular, as the statement noted, the TV companies were “recommended” not to cover (either positively or negatively) the rally of several political forces, scheduled for October 26. And on October 22 the statement of the founder of “GALA” TV company of Gyumri Vahan Khachatrian was released – prompted by the attempts of various power structures to exert pressure on the TV company to the same effect.

Finally, the start of the third stage coincided with the day of the rally on October 26 where Ter-Petrosian made his first, practically pre-election, speech. From this point and till the end of the month the First President again found himself in the center of attention, but, as a rule, he was mentioned by the media studied, at this point including also the journalistic comment, in negative context. To compare: in the first half of October 15% of the negative references to Ter-Petrosian were made, while in the second - 85% (and their lion share was made during the last week, October 26-31).

The trend observed by the monitoring group was characteristic of all media studied in October. A certain exception was made here for “Armenia” TV channel, where the gap between the number of negative references to Ter-Petrosian in the first and second halves of October was not that obvious. This allows to conclude there an “invisible hand” (using the wording of the statement of NGOs mentioned above) present that regulates the content of the current affairs programs of the leading Armenian broadcasters.

The attention, allocated by the broadcasters studied to the leader of “Prosperous Armenia” party Gagik Tsarukian, is comparable to that of the three leaders of the Armenian political air. His significant advantage over other politicians that the study focused on and that held 5th rank and below, was ensured mostly by “Kentron” TV channel where Tsarukian received most of the coverage. The leader of “Prosperous Armenia” is also ahead of everyone else in terms of positive references. Over half of these references (and the cumulative airtime) was received by him on “Kentron”.

The leading five is concluded by the RA Minister of Foreign Affairs Vardan Oskanian whom the media have most probably ceased from viewing as a possible presidency candidate. The head of the foreign office appeared in the newscasts solely as an official. And all the 657 seconds of airtime where Oskanian has a different role are accounted for by the cartoon comedy show of the Second Armenian TV Channel “Another Voice”.

THE AGGREGATE findings of monitoring in October allow to easily single out those potential candidates and their most influential supporters that are seen to be opposition (Levon Ter-Petrosian, Artur Baghdasarian, Artashes Geghamian, Aram Karapetian, Raffi Hovannisian, Stepan Demirchian, Aram Z. Sargsian) from those who are to greater or smaller extent identified with the authorities (Serge Sargsian, Gagik Tsarukian, Vardan Oskanian, Armen Rustamian, Vahan Hovhannesian): the former ones have a negative balance of connotational references, the latter ones - positive.

A comparatively broad coverage of political spectrum (both in terms of references, airtime, and in terms of the invitees to “guest in studio” programs) is recorded on “Yerkir Media” and “Kentron” TV channels. The smallest coverage has been observed on “Armenia” and “Shant” TV channels, which is natural, taking into account the least attention that these TV channels pay to politics.

Speaking about the lack of diversity on the Armenian air, it is also important to note that a significant group of politicians from both progovernmental and opposition camps are closed for media. They often avoid interviews, refuse to answer the journalists' questions that raise issues uncomfortable for them. This "style" - at least, at this stage of pre-election race - is typical of, in particular, the governing group of "Prosperous Armenia" party, a member of the ruling coalition, and the First President Levon Ter-Petrosian. The communication with the public in the mode of monologue (at rallies, through promotional materials), the lack of discussions and dialogue are a sign of purely promotional, populist forms of waging political campaign that do not enable the voters to find answers to many of their questions, to make an informed choice.

IN OCTOBER the monitoring group recorded a number of advertising materials that were directly or indirectly contributing to the image of politicians monitored. Thus, "Yerkir Media" aired an announcement about an IT event, patronaged by the Prime Minister Serge Sargsian. On the same the meetings with voters of two presidency candidates from "Dashnaktsutiun" party, Vahan Hovhannesian and Amen Rustamian, were advertised. On "Kentron" and PTA First Channel repeatedly an advertisement was aired, dedicated to the 130th anniversary of "Ararat" Yerevan brandy and spirits factory. The main character in the advertisement was the enterprise owner Gagik Tsarukian.

The monitoring group also singles out the materials aired as editorial coverage but having certain signs of advertising. On "Kentron", "ALM" and the Second Armenian TV Channel the same program was repeatedly broadcast - telling about the problems the peasants have in marketing their grapes crops and the initiative of "Multi Group" concern and its head, Gagik Tsarukian, to purchase this grapes. The frequency of the program's appearance on the air and its broadcasting on three TV channels at the same time raise certain questions.

TABLES

October 1-31, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Tigran Karapetian	68	28	3	37	87627	55364	32263	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Serge Sargsian	794	56	2	736	52892.0	47592.6	5299.4	29	0	0	29	1827	1827	0
3.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	389	6	111	272	31427.9	0	31427.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Gagik Tsarukian	136	74	1	61	24960.7	4461.5	20499.2	42	42	0	0	4284	0	4284
5.	Vardan Oskanian	258	2	0	256	15771	15114	657	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Artur Baghdasarian	74	0	5	69	9908.4	131	9777.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Armen Rustamian	136	9	0	127	7151.6	2014	5137.6	10	10	0	0	282	0	282
8.	Paruir Hayrikian	74	4	0	70	6759.5	0	6759.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Vahan Hovhannesian	227	6	0	221	5899.1	2920.5	2978.6	10	10	0	0	282	0	282
10.	Artashes Geghamian	116	2	5	109	5645.9	0	5645.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Vazgen Manukian	119	0	1	118	2496.7	0	2496.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Aram Karapetian	65	0	4	61	2471.5	0	2471.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Aram Harutiunian	8	0	0	8	1386	0	1386	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Raffi Hovannisian	74	0	4	70	1240.6	252	988.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Stepan Demirchian	87	9	10	68	1064.6	0	1064.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Victor Dallakian	30	0	1	29	785.5	785.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Aram Z. Sargsian	36	0	4	32	309	0	309	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18.	Samvel Babayan	7	0	0	7	295	0	295	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19.	Gurgen Arsenian	2	0	1	1	11	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	2700	196	152	2352	258103	128635.1	129467.9	91	62	0	29	6675	1827	4848

October 1-31, 2007

Politicians invited to take part in discussion programs of the TV and radio channels studied

Politicians	PTA First Channel	ALM	Armenia	Second Armenian TV Channel	Yerkir Media	Kentron	Shant	Public Radio of Armenia	Total
Tigran Karapetian	0	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Artur Baghdasarian	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	4
Paruir Hayrikian	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4
Artashes Geghamian	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Armen Rustamian	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Aram Karapetian	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Aram Harutiunian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samvel Babayan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victor Dallakian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stepan Demirchian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gagik Tsarukian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vahan Hovhannesian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raffi Hovannisian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vazgen Manukian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aram Z. Sargsian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serge Sargsian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Levon Ter-Petrosian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vardan Oskanian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	17	0	0	5	5	0	0	30

INTERIM REPORT

ON MONITORING BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA AHEAD OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2008 (NOVEMBER 1-30, 2007)

IN NOVEMBER 2007 the picture obtained as a result of monitoring 7 TV and 1 radio channels mainly repeated that of October. A number of trends observed have become more intense though. As compared to October, in November in the editorial coverage the volume of materials dealing with the politicians at monitoring focus has increased by one fourth. This circumstance is a sign that the pre-election race gains pace.

The attention of broadcast media to two potential presidency candidates, currently described by journalists as the two poles of electoral race, has also significantly increased - the Prime Minister, the Chairman of Republican Party of Armenia Serge Sargsian and the First RA President Levon Ter-Petrosian. The coverage of the leader of "Prosperous Armenia" party Gagik Tsarukian was almost twice as intensive in November than in October. If one takes into account also the advertising time, allocated to Tsarukian, in November he was even ahead of Ter-Petrosian. Yet, the advantage of the "Prosperous Armenia" leader is ensured by three TV channels - "Kentron", "ALM" and the Second Armenian TV Channel.

It is also important to note that the coverage of Serge Sargsian and Gagik Tsarukian was made up of airtime, allocated to them as both acting politicians and in the line of their professional/official duties. Meanwhile, the whole airtime of Levon Ter-Petrosian was dealing with him purely as a politician. Yet, the nature and the content of most pieces in both categories that involve the leaders of the two parties of ruling coalition (Republican Party of Armenia and "Prosperous Armenia") form the audience's attitude towards them as politicians.

Besides, Sargsian and Tsarukian were mentioned, as a rule, in a positive or neutral context, while Ter-Petrosian - in negative. The negative coverage of the First RA President by TV and radio channels in November became even more emphasized. If in October the share of materials, where Ter-Petrosian appeared in the negative, made up around one third of the total number of references, in November this indicator came to about two thirds - 293 negative references out of 499. In other words, today we observe a new phenomenon for the Armenian air - even the neutral (to say nothing of positive) coverage of an Armenian politician is quantitatively behind the negative (196 neutral references and 10 positive ones). The novelty of such treatment by broadcast media is primarily in the fact it is displayed at such an early stage of pre-election collision.

The share of connotationally colored references is almost the same for Gagik Tsarukian (70 out of 119), yet, unlike Levon Ter-Petrosian, they all are positive. In the references to Serge Sargsian the neutral ones prevail; however, the proportion of positive and negative (162 and 14, respectively) supports the journalistic metaphor about the two poles of the current election campaign: the Prime Minister, according to the preferences of Armenia broadcasters, is a "plus", while the First President is a "minus"...

It is particularly concerning that the "polar" coverage of the two candidates that drew most media attention is unreservedly characteristic of the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia and the Public Radio of Armenia. In particular, the Public Radio, noted by the findings of the monitoring of the coverage of previous elections (in 2003 and 2007) to be the most balanced medium, currently cannot be called impartial. Out of 105 references made to Levon Ter-Petrosian on the November air of PRA 83 were negative, and none were positive, while out of 110 references to Serge Sargsian 21 were positive and none were negative. Interestingly, the metamorphosis in the work of Public Radio coincided in time with the refusal of its management to broadcast the programs of the Armenia Service of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

Against the background of what has been said above, the statement of a group of prominent professors of Yerevan State University, well-known Armenian scientists, released on December 3, 2007, looks quite natural. The academics called upon the TV companies of the country, including the Public Television of

Armenia, “not to forget their commitment to the society and to end the policy of information blockade of the public at large”.

An exception to the “general rule” described above is made by “Yerkir Media” TV channel, where the proportion of positive and negative references to Levon Ter-Petrosian and Serge Sargsian is more balanced (5-13 and 4-6, respectively), and in both cases the neutral references are a majority. On the air of “Yerkir Media” the biggest coverage was received by one of the two potential candidates for presidency from “Dashnaktsutiun” party Vahan Hovhannesian (he was further nominated by the party conference to be the presidency candidate); while the second candidate, Armen Rustamian, was among the most covered politicians (those that are targeted by the monitoring), taking the third place, between Levon Ter-Petrosian and Serge Sargsian. It is also important to note here that the significant part of the airtime of the two leaders of “Dashnaktsutiun”, and, primarily, of Vahan Hovhannesian, is accounted for by the intensive coverage of the conference of this party, held on November 30.

Unlike other politicians, Vahan Hovhannesian and Armen Rustamian were more often referred to by “Yerkir Media” in positive context (13 and 11 times respectively), and never - in the negative. This circumstance to a great extent was linked to the coverage of peculiar “primaries” - the street survey of public choice between the two candidates of “Dashnaktsutiun”, staged as elections and organized by this party. The positive references towards the two politicians mostly were heard in the interviews of the survey respondents. It is mostly due to the events named - “Dashnaktsutiun” party conference and “primaries” - that Vahan Hovhannesian significantly, as compared to October, improved his aggregate (the airtime of all 8 channels) indicators in November and went up to the fourth place among the presidency candidates monitored.

The first place in terms of aggregate airtime on TV and radio channels studied, similarly to October, was taken by the leader of Popular Party Tigran Karapetian. However, his leadership is ensured by one of the TV channels, “ALM”, that he owns. Over 95% of the aggregate airtime, allocated to Karapetian, is accounted for by “ALM”. If Tigran Karapetian received from “ALM” as much attention as he does in average from other broadcast channels, he would be not the first, but the thirteenth of the politicians, targeted by the monitoring, and the seventh of the nominated presidency candidates. In the case of the leader of the Popular Party it is also quite difficult to differentiate the programs where he appears as a journalist (recorded in this study as appearing in the line of official/professional duty), and those, in which he appears as a politician. In both cases on “ALM” TV channel his views, opinions, assessments of various public and political issues dominate.

THE PHENOMENON of Tigran Karapetian conditioned the leading position of “ALM” as the most “politicized” (in terms of the attention paid to the political life) of the broadcast channels studied. The TV channel devoted 75.9% of the whole airtime, allocated to 19 politicians at focus of this monitoring, to its owner. If “ALM” paid as much attention to Tigran Karapetian as all other channels studied in average, the leader in terms of being “politicized” would be “Kentron”. It is, however, noteworthy that “Kentron” has his own, even though not so obvious, “favorite” - Gagik Tsarukian that received 1.3 times more airtime on the TV channel than Levon Ter-Petrosian and Serge Sargsian together. Tsarukian accounts for 44.1% of the total airtime, allocated to 19 politicians studied by “Kentron”.

On four TV channels another one of the politicians at focus - Prime Minister Serge Sargsian - gained a high percentage: on “Armenia” - 76.9% (of the total airtime, allocated to all 19 politicians), on “Shant” - 48.9%, the PTA First Channel - 47.2% and the Second Armenian TV Channel - 40.8%. On these and all other channels, but for “Yerkir Media”, the number of positive references of the Prime Minister substantially exceeded the number of the negative ones: on the PTA First Channel - 26 and 2, “ALM” - 17 and 2, “Armenia” - 11 and 0, the Second Armenian TV Channel - 26 and 1, “Kentron” - 41 and 1, “Shant” - 16 and 2, the Public Radio - 21 and 0, respectively. These indicators show that these broadcast media extremely seldom quote critical opinion, comment of opposition politicians, other public figures regarding the presidency candidate of the ruling coalition.

Similarly to October, in November the least attention to the politicians at focus was paid by “Armenia”, out of 8 TV channels monitored (more than 14 times less airtime than “ALM”, and almost ten times less than “Kentron”). 88 out of roughly 114 minutes, allocated by “Armenia” to politicians at focus, were accounted for by Serge Sargsian, while the other 18 politicians received in average less than 1.5 minute each.

THE 19 POLITICIANS at the focus of monitoring were generally rare participants of “guest in studio” programs. An obvious exception here is constituted only by Tigran Karapetian, but out of 15 discussion programs in which he took part, 14 were aired by his own “ALM” channel. Each of the remaining 18 politicians took part, averagely, only in one program of this format in November. Yet, when speaking about the lack of communication between the future voters with the prominent politicians, it is necessary to note that a significant part of politicians from both the pro-governmental and the opposition camps are closed. They quite often avoid interviews; refuse answering the journalistic questions, raising the subjects that are uncomfortable for them.

WHILE THE RA LEGISLATION allows political advertising in media only during the official pre-election campaign (this time - from January 21 till February 17, 2008), in November, like in October 2007, the monitors recorded a number of advertising materials that made a direct or indirect contribution to the image of politicians at focus of the study. In particular, “Yerkir Media” aired the announcements of the “primaries” noted above, that had been organized by “Dashnaksutiun”, where positive references were made to Vahan Hovhannesian and Armen Rustamian. On “ALM” air announcements of the conference of the Popular Party and the pilgrimage to Dgher church in Aragatsotn region, organized by Tigran Karapetian, were made. “Kentron” and PTA First Channel continued the October show of the commercial, devoted to the 130th anniversary of “Ararat” Yerevan Brandy, Wine and Spirits Factory, in which the main character was the owner of the enterprise Gagik Tsarukian.

The monitoring group also notes the materials aired as editorial, but having certain sign of advertising. Thus, on November 4 on the air of “ALM” “Ten Years of ‘Orinats Yerkir’” film was shown, dealing with the activities of “Orinats Yerkir” party and its leader Artur Baghdasarian. Shortly before that, on October 25, being the guest of “Stance” program, Artur Baghdasarian mentioned the film, asking the program host Tigran Karapetian to show it on its TV channel for payment, and received Karapetian’s consent. However, during the show of the film no marking was made to say this was paid air. On “Kentron”, “ALM” and the Second Armenian TV Channel repeatedly showed a film about the celebration of the 130th anniversary of “Ararat” Yerevan Brandy, Wine and Spirits Factory and the international judo tournament in Yerevan, contributing to the formation of the positive image of Gagik Tsarukian. On the three mentioned TV channels the same report about the first expanded session of the Boards of Trustees of the Science Development Foundation of the RA National Science Academy was aired. The central figure in the report was the same Gagik Tsarukian, who appeared as science and education sponsor. Questions arise as to the frequency of appearance of these materials on air and their show on three TV channels simultaneously.

TABLES

November 1-30, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Tigran Karapetian	86	32	2	52	77066.5	43296	33770.5	52	0	0	52	1035	0	1035
2.	Serge Sargsian	944	162	14	768	64838.2	44805.5	20032.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	499	10	293	196	46468.4	0	46468.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Gagik Tsarukian	119	70	0	49	44352.5	8710	35642.5	46	46	0	0	4692	0	4692
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian	235	19	4	212	15642	2541	13101	30	30	0	0	600	0	600
6.	Vardan Oskanian	228	1	5	222	14706.5	14585.5	121	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Vazgen Manukian	162	23	5	134	9791.5	0	9791.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Artur Baghdasarian	77	6	8	63	8081.2	82	7999.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Armen Rustamian	132	14	3	115	7716	219	7497	30	30	0	0	600	0	600
10.	Artashes Geghamian	144	9	3	132	6812.8	0	6812.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Aram Karapetian	77	2	5	70	6660.6	0	6660.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Samvel Babayan	54	0	3	51	4205	0	4205	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Raffi Hovannisian	105	2	7	96	3091.3	452	2639.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Paruir Hayrikian	28	1	0	27	2591	0	2591	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Stepan Demirchian	94	3	11	80	2316	0	2316	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Aram Z. Sargsian	61	0	8	53	1787	0	1787	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Victor Dallakian	9	0	0	9	207	207	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18.	Aram Harutiunian	5	0	0	5	49	0	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19.	Gurgen Arsenian	3	0	0	3	36	0	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	3062	354	371	2337	316418.5	114898	201520.5	158	106	0	52	6927	0	6927

November 1-30, 2007

Politicians invited to take part in discussion programs of the TV and radio channels studied

Politicians	PTA First Channel	ALM	Armenia	Second Armenian TV Channel	Yerkir Media	Kentron	Shant	Public Radio of Armenia	Total
Tigran Karapetian	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	1	15
Vahan Hovhannesian	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	4
Artur Baghdasarian	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
Aram Karapetian	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3
Vazgen Manukian	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Armen Rustamian	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Artashes Geghamian	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Stepan Demirchian	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Paruir Hayrikian	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Aram Z. Sargsian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Vardan Oskanian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samvel Babayan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victor Dallakian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gagik Tsarukian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aram Harutiunian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raffi Hovannisian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serge Sargsian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Levon Ter-Petrosian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	14	0	1	5	4	3	4	35

INTERIM REPORT ON MONITORING BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA AHEAD OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS 2008 (DECEMBER 6-20, 2007)

IN DECEMBER 2007 the format of the monitoring has undergone certain changes. Firstly, the research covered the period not of December 1-15, 2007 (as planned at first) but started on December 6, the official deadline for nomination of presidency candidates, and went forth to cover five more days, i.e., December 20. In fact, in December the monitoring was administered on the days when the coverage was most typical, and was not conducted on December 1-5 (period of uncertainty of nominees) and on the days preceding the New Year and Christmas holidays (December 21-31), when the programming of the broadcasters is adjusted to reflect the festivities.

Secondly, as compared to October-November, the list of monitoring objects changed, too. The study object in December were all the nine candidates nominated for presidency, as well as, similarly to the previous monitoring months, the study targeted the leaders of parties who scored more than 1% at the parliamentary elections of 2007 (but for those who cannot run in elections by law). Besides, the December list of the politicians studied included the RA President Robert Kocharian so as to determine the degree of the broadcast media attention to the incumbent President in comparison with candidates nominated. The list excluded the potential candidates, who decided to refuse from running in elections.

Thus, on December 6-20 the monitoring object were 17 politicians. The methodology of the research however remained unchanged throughout the three months.

DURING THE 15 DECEMBER DAYS the distribution of attention to the politicians at focus of monitoring by 7 TV and 1 radio channels studied was about as intensive as during the previous stages. Similarly to October -November, in December three nominated candidates continued to remain the leaders in terms of aggregate (on all 8 channels studied) airtime - the RA Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Republican Party of Armenia Serge Sargsian (42,731 sec.), the leader of the Popular Party Tigran Karapetian (39,091 sec.) and the first RA President Levon Ter-Petrosian (14,497 sec.). The third place - between Karapetian and Ter-Petrosian - was taken by the incumbent President of Armenia Robert Kocharian (19,683 sec.), covered in the vast majority of cases as the head of state.

77.7% of the aggregate airtime of Serge Sargsian was his coverage as an official. As such, he had received much more attention than Robert Kocharian (33,185 and 19,062 sec., respectively). In December in the references to Sargsian, similarly to the previous monitoring months, the neutral connotation continued to prevail (403 references), yet the Prime Minister took the first line in the list of 17 politicians in terms of positive pieces (79 versus 12 negative ones).

In December on the Armenian air the negative references to the first RA President Levon Ter-Petrosian continue to dominate. In other words, during the last month of 2007 the unprecedented phenomenon, recorded in November, continued when the share of neutral editorial coverage of an Armenian politician quantitatively fell behind that of negative: 103 negative references to Levon Ter-Petrosian versus 100 neutral ones and 4 positive ones. At the same time the share of negative ones in the total number of references has somewhat gone down in December - 49.8% versus 58.7% - in November.

The leader of the Popular Party Tigran Karapetian, who took the first line in terms of aggregate airtime on the channels studied in October-November, was this time the second. However, in December, too, this volume of coverage was ensured solely by one of the TV channels - "ALM", owned by Tigran Karapetian himself: a bit more than 98% of the aggregate airtime he received, as well as all 18 positive references to the leader of the Popular Party, are accounted for by "ALM".

The broadcast media studied did not neglect in December the other six candidates, nominated for presidential elections, either. Their coverage was mostly neutral, and the TV and radio pieces primarily presented their stances, opinions as candidates, heads of parties. In terms of aggregate airtime the four

leaders were directly followed by five presidential candidates, leaders of parties that nominated them: Artashes Geghamian (“National Unity”), Vahan Hovhannesian (“Dashnaktsutiun”), Artur Baghdasarian (“Orinats Yerkir”), Vazgen Manukian (National Democratic Union) and Aram Harutiunian (“National Accord”), respectively. The ninth candidate, self-nominated Arman Melikian, received less aggregate coverage. Gagik Tsarukian, the leader of “Prosperous Armenia” party (member of ruling coalition), who has taken the line after him and before other candidates in the table, has received most of his aggregate airtime on “Kentron” TV channel. It is important to note here, however, that in December Gagik Tsarukian was only the fourth in terms of airtime, allocated to him by “Kentron”, while during the first months of the study his was the most covered of all politicians at focus on this channel.

“ALM”, SIMILARLY TO THE PREVIOUS MONTHS, is again the most “politicized” (in terms of attention paid to politicians) of the broadcast channels studied due to his owner. Tigran Karapetian received 70.1% of this channel's whole airtime, allocated to 17 politicians at focus in December. As compared to “ALM”, more than two and half times as little was the editorial coverage of the politicians at focus on the Second Armenian TV Channel, followed by the Public Radio of Armenia, “Kentron” and “Yerkir-Media” TV channels and the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia.

The least attention to the politicians at focus out of the 8 channels monitored was paid by “Armenia” and “Shant”. In terms of aggregate airtime the leading four on these TV channels were Serge Sargsian, Robert Kocharian, the Chairman of “National Unity” party Artashes Geghamian and Levon Ter-Petrosian. The Prime Minister and the incumbent RA President took the top lines on three other TV channels, too - the PTA First Channel, Second Armenian TV Channel and “Kentron”. Serge Sargsian and Robert Kocharian on these TV channels are followed by Levon Ter-Petrosian, and on Public Radio the first RA President was ahead of the incumbent head of state. Yet Ter-Petrosian's coverage on Public Radio was mostly negative (28 negative references of 44 or 63.6%). In terms of negative references to the first President Public Radio shared the leading position with “Kentron”, yet on the latter the share of the negativism is somewhat smaller (52.8% of the total number of references). These TV channels account for more than half of negative references to Ter-Petrosian, recorded under this research.

The picture on “Yerkir Media” is somewhat different from other channels. Here the greatest editorial coverage was received by Vahan Hovhannesian, the presidential candidate nominated by “Dashnaktsutiun”. He is followed by two other candidates, the leader of “National Accord” party Aram Harutiunian and the leader of National Democratic Union Vazgen Manukian. Against the background of generally balanced coverage of politicians at focus, in the reporting of “Yerkir Media” two politicians stand out, with almost equal number of references and a big proportion of connotationally colored: out of 24 references to Vahan Hovhannesian 10 are positive, and out 26 references to Levon Ter-Petrosian 12 are negative. At the same time, unlike other TV and radio channels studied in December, the coverage on “Yerkir Media” of both Serge Sargsian's and Robert Kocharian's activities was purely neutral.

THE 17 POLITICIANS at focus were generally rare participants of “guest in studio” programs. An obvious exception was made only by Tigran Karapetian, but all 9 discussion programs in which he took part, were aired by his own TV channel, “ALM”. Out of the remaining 16 politicians only five (all presidential candidates) took part in programs of this format in December. As noted already at the previous stages of monitoring, the insufficient representation of leading politicians on Armenian air, from both pro-governmental and opposition camps, in some cases is due to their closeness, reluctance to engage in dialogue with journalists, who raise issues, sensitive for them. On their behalf the TV channels themselves are not always active with regard to pre-election subject matter: in particular, almost never have representatives of public organizations, seeking to ensure democratic elections, become guests of discussion programs.

IN DECEMBER the advertising materials that directly or indirectly contribute to the image of the politicians were only recorded on “Yerkir Media” TV channel. On its air the several times the announcement about the festive session devoted to the 117th anniversary of “Dashnaktsutiun” party, where Vahan Hovhannesian was to speak, was broadcast.

It should also be noted that unlike October-November, on December air of the channels studied the monitoring group has not recorded pieces broadcast as editorial but having certain signs of advertising.

TABLES

December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Serge Sargsian	494	79	12	403	42731	33185	9546	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Tigran Karapetian	72	18	2	52	39090.8	20841	18249.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Robert Kocharian	378	14	5	359	19683	19062	621	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	207	4	103	100	14497	0	14497	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Artashes Geghamian	106	3	4	99	8923	0	8923	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Vahan Hovhannesian	112	12	1	99	6739.5	703	6036.5	8	0	0	8	272	0	272
7.	Artur Baghdasarian	91	2	3	86	6578	0	6578	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Vazgen Manukian	94	4	3	87	4830.9	0	4830.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Aram Harutiunian	49	0	1	48	4497.4	0	4497.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Gagik Tsarukian	43	8	0	35	2837	742	2095	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Arman Melikian	39	0	0	39	1733.4	0	1733.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Raffi Hovannisian	57	1	1	55	940.7	0	940.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Stepan Demirchian	33	1	7	25	532	0	532	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Aram Karapetian	16	0	2	14	444	0	444	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Samvel Babayan	4	0	0	4	33	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Aram Z. Sargsian	6	0	0	6	17	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1801	146	144	1511	154107.7	74533	79574.7	8	0	0	8	272	0	272

December 1-20, 2007

Politicians invited to take part in discussion programs of the TV and radio channels studied

Politicians	PTA First Channel	ALM	Armenia	Second Armenian TV Channel	Yerkir Media	Kentron	Shant	Public Radio of Armenia	Total
Tigran Karapetian	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Artur Baghdasarian	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Artashes Geghamian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Aram Harutiunian	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Arman Melikian	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Vazgen Manukian	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samvel Babayan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stepan Demirchian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gagik Tsarukian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aram Karapetian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vahan Hovhannesian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raffi Hovannisian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aram Z. Sargsian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Serge Sargsian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Levon Ter-Petrosian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Kocharian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	11	0	0	5	1	0	1	18

TABLES
OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 2007

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Tigran Karapetian	226	78	7	141	203784.3	119501	84283.3	52	0	0	52	1035	0	1035
2.	Serge Sargsian	2232	297	28	1907	160461.2	125583.1	34878.1	29	0	0	29	1827	1827	0
3.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	1095	20	507	568	92393.3	0	92393.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Gagik Tsarukian	298	152	1	145	72150.2	13913.5	58236.7	88	88	0	0	8976	0	8976
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian	574	37	5	532	28280.6	6164.5	22116.1	48	40	0	8	1154	0	1154
6.	Artur Baghdasarian	242	8	16	218	24567.6	213	24354.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Artashes Geghamian	366	14	12	340	21381.7	0	21381.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Robert Kocharian*	378	14	5	359	19683	19062	621	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Vazgen Manukian	375	27	9	339	17119.1	0	17119.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Aram Karapetian	158	2	11	145	9576.1	0	9576.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Aram Harutiunian	62	0	1	61	5932.4	0	5932.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Raffi Hovannisian	236	3	12	221	5272.6	704	4568.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Samvel Babayan	65	0	3	62	4533	0	4533	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Stepan Demirchian	214	13	28	173	3912.6	0	3912.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Aram Z. Sargsian	103	0	12	91	2113	0	2113	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Arman Melikian*	39	0	0	39	1733.4	0	1733.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	5	0	1	4	47	0	47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	6668	665	658	5345	672941.1	285141.1	387800	217	128	0	89	12992	1827	11165

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of PTA First Channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Serge Sargsian	330	49	2	279	29815.2	26104.6	3710.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	90	0	52	38	9316.3	0	9316.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Artashes Geghamian	23	2	0	21	3244.6	0	3244.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Vahan Hovhannesian	60	3	0	57	2744.1	529.5	2214.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Robert Kocharian*	55	4	0	51	2700	2700	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Artur Baghdasarian	19	1	0	18	2182.1	0	2182.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Aram Karapetian	12	1	1	10	1722	0	1722	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Vazgen Manukian	34	2	0	32	1085.6	0	1085.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Gagik Tsarukian	29	2	0	27	492.7	178.5	314.2	19	19	0	0	1938	0	1938
10.	Tigran Karapetian	16	2	0	14	450.4	5	445.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Raffi Hovannisian	20	0	0	20	340.4	31	309.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Samvel Babayan	11	0	0	11	292	0	292	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Stepan Demirchian	20	0	3	17	214.1	0	214.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Aram Harutiunian	3	0	0	3	133	0	133	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Aram Z. Sargsian	20	0	3	17	86	0	86	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Arman Melikian*	2	0	0	2	9	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	744	66	61	617	54827.5	29548.6	25278.9	19	19	0	0	1938	0	1938

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of “ALM” TV channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Tigran Karapetian	89	71	0	18	198667	119408	79259	52	0	0	52	1035	0	1035
2.	Serge Sargsian	228	36	6	186	14185	12029	2156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Gagik Tsarukian	26	19	0	7	12080	1605	10475	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Artur Baghdasarian	38	2	13	23	10607	0	10607	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	115	4	39	72	6957	0	6957	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Artashes Geghamian	32	5	3	24	4736	0	4736	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Vahan Hovhannesian	60	0	5	55	1496	425	1071	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Robert Kocharian*	33	0	2	31	1382	1382	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Vazgen Manukian	35	0	7	28	1320	0	1320	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Aram Karapetian	18	0	2	16	506	0	506	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Raffi Hovannisian	22	0	5	17	491	0	491	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Stepan Demirchian	16	0	6	10	275	0	275	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Samvel Babayan	7	0	3	4	230	0	230	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Aram Z. Sargsian	11	0	0	11	145	0	145	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Arman Melikian*	4	0	0	4	95	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Aram Harutiunian	5	0	0	5	71	0	71	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	2	0	0	2	44	0	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	741	137	91	513	253287	134849	118438	52	0	0	52	1035	0	1035

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of "Armenia" TV channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Serge Sargsian	157	18	0	139	12686	9575	3111	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	45	0	23	22	1513.5	0	1513.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Robert Kocharian*	24	0	0	24	798	792	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Artashes Geghamian	14	1	0	13	424	0	424	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian	15	0	0	15	423	274	149	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Vazgen Manukian	13	1	0	12	284.5	0	284.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Tigran Karapetian	11	0	1	10	278.7	0	278.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Gagik Tsarukian	10	2	1	7	169	27	142	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Samvel Babayan	2	0	0	2	130	0	130	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Artur Baghdasarian	16	0	0	16	53	0	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Raffi Hovannisian	9	0	0	9	44.3	4	40.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Stepan Demirchian	4	0	0	4	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Aram Harutiunian	2	0	0	2	3.7	0	3.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Arman Melikian*	1	0	0	1	3.7	0	3.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Gurgen Arsenian	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Aram Karapetian	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Aram Z. Sargsian	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	326	22	26	278	16824.4	10672	6152.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of Second Armenian TV Channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Serge Sargsian	485	41	3	441	39528	32593	6935	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	137	2	80	55	11933	0	11933	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Gagik Tsarukian	46	24	0	22	11584	1594	9990	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Robert Kocharian*	86	3	2	81	4793	4193	600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Artashes Geghamian	45	2	7	36	2778	0	2778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Vahan Hovhannesian	68	3	0	65	1598	926	672	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Artur Baghdasarian	14	0	0	14	1319	0	1319	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Raffi Hovannisian	27	0	6	21	1240	32	1208	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Stepan Demirchian	41	0	7	34	1151	0	1151	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Aram Karapetian	25	0	6	19	905	0	905	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Samvel Babayan	3	0	0	3	742	0	742	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Vazgen Manukian	20	6	0	14	725	0	725	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Tigran Karapetian	11	2	0	9	516	0	516	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Aram Z. Sargsian	8	0	0	8	23	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Aram Harutiunian	3	0	0	3	17	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Arman Melikian*	3	0	0	3	17	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1022	83	111	828	78869	39338	39531	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of "Yerkir Media" TV channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Vahan Hovhannesian	202	28	0	174	15561.3	1689	13872.3	48	40	0	8	1154	0	1154
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	139	9	36	94	11777.8	0	11777.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Serge Sargsian	201	6	7	188	8599.8	6166	2433.8	29	0	0	29	1827	1827	0
4.	Artur Baghdasarian	34	3	0	31	4767.8	0	4767.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Aram Harutiunian	17	0	0	17	4653.3	0	4653.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Vazgen Manukian	92	4	1	87	3167.8	0	3167.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Aram Karapetian	31	1	0	30	2703.5	0	2703.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Artashes Geghamian	78	2	1	75	2060.8	0	2060.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Robert Kocharian*	51	0	0	51	1572	1570	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Aram Z. Sargsian	21	0	0	21	1303	0	1303	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Arman Melikian*	5	0	0	5	1160.3	0	1160.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Raffi Hovannisian	41	3	0	38	658	36	622	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Tigran Karapetian	16	0	1	15	451.3	0	451.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Stepan Demirchian	42	0	3	39	448	0	448	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Gagik Tsarukian	24	1	0	23	354	241	113	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Samvel Babayan	4	0	0	4	145	0	145	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1000	57	49	894	59383.7	9702	49681.7	77	40	0	37	2981	1827	1154

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of “Kentron” TV channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Gagik Tsarukian	144	99	0	45	46259	9888	36371	69	69	0	0	7038	0	7038
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	310	2	136	172	28492	0	28492	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Serge Sargsian	297	80	1	216	17878	10487	7391	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Artashes Geghamian	100	0	0	100	4982	0	4982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Vazgen Manukian	96	7	1	88	4352	0	4352	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Robert Kocharian*	71	5	1	65	4249	4236	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Artur Baghdasarian	72	2	3	67	3435	188	3247	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Aram Karapetian	46	0	2	44	2332	0	2332	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Stepan Demirchian	78	13	7	58	1693	0	1693	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Vahan Hovhannesian	75	1	0	74	1365	401	964	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Tigran Karapetian	44	1	1	42	1087	0	1087	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Raffi Hovannisian	65	0	0	65	1072	178	894	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Samvel Babayan	18	0	0	18	1057	0	1057	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Aram Z. Sargsian	36	0	7	29	504	0	504	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Arman Melikian*	11	0	0	11	209	0	209	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Aram Harutiunian	10	0	0	10	156	0	156	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1473	210	159	1104	119122	25378	93744	69	69	0	0	7038	0	7038

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of “Shant” TV channel

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Serge Sargsian	264	30	2	232	13849	11562.5	2286.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	62	3	21	38	3827.5	0	3827.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Vazgen Manukian	16	3	0	13	1609	0	1609	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Robert Kocharian*	24	0	0	24	1180	1180	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian	23	0	0	23	1092	461	631	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Artashes Geghamian	31	1	1	29	852.1	0	852.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Gagik Tsarukian	7	1	0	6	315.5	217	98.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Raffi Hovannisian	17	0	0	17	201.1	0	201.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Artur Baghdasarian	15	0	0	15	171.5	0	171.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Tigran Karapetian	10	0	3	7	166.5	0	166.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Samvel Babayan	5	0	0	5	124	0	124	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Aram Karapetian	7	0	0	7	114.6	0	114.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Stepan Demirchian	6	0	0	6	26.5	0	26.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Aram Z. Sargsian	4	0	0	4	14	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Aram Harutiunian	2	0	0	2	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Arman Melikian*	1	0	0	1	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	494	38	27	429	23559.3	13420.5	10138.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

October 1 - November 30, December 6-20, 2007

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, allocated to politicians in editorial and paid coverage of Public Radio of Armenia

	Politicians	Editorial coverage							Paid programs and advertising/announcements						
		Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Number of references (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the politician (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the politician (sec.)	Coverage of the politician's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)
			+	-	0					+	-	0			
1.	Serge Sargsian	270	37	7	226	23920.2	17066	6854.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	197	0	120	77	18576.2	0	18576.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	Vazgen Manukian	69	4	0	65	4575.2	0	4575.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Vahan Hovhannesian	71	2	0	69	4001.2	1459	2542.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5.	Robert Kocharian*	34	2	0	32	3009	3009	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6.	Artashes Geghamian	43	1	0	42	2304.2	0	2304.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7.	Tigran Karapetian	29	2	1	26	2167.4	88	2079.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8.	Artur Baghdasarian	34	0	0	34	2032.2	25	2007.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9.	Samvel Babayan	15	0	0	15	1813	0	1813	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10.	Aram Karapetian	18	0	0	18	1293	0	1293	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	Raffi Hovannisian	35	0	1	34	1225.8	423	802.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12.	Gagik Tsarukian	12	4	0	8	896	163	733	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13.	Aram Harutiunian	20	0	1	19	888.4	0	888.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.	Arman Melikian*	12	0	0	12	233.4	0	233.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15.	Stepan Demirchian	7	0	2	5	95	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16.	Aram Z. Sargsian	2	0	2	0	38	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17.	Gurgen Arsenian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	868	52	134	682	67068.2	22233	44835.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* These politicians were the object of study only on December 6-20.

INTERIM REPORT
ON MONITORING THE BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA
DURING THE PRE-ELECTION PROMOTION
(JANUARY 21-30, 2008)

DURING THE PERIOD OF JANUARY 21-30, 2008 the attention of broadcasters to RA presidency candidates was distributed far more equally than during the previous stage of monitoring (October-December, 2007). The aggregate time allocated by all 8 channels studied to the candidate, supported by the ruling collation, turned out comparable to the coverage of other candidates. Prime Minister of Serge Sargsian received 29,442 sec., while the leader of "National Accord" party Aram Harutiunian who received the least attention was given 12,720 sec. In terms of the number of references, the huge gap between the politicians at focus recorded in October-December was not observed during the first 10 days of the official campaign, either: Serge Sargsian appeared in 425 materials, while Arman Melikian, referred to least of all - in 133.

Moreover, if the coverage of the Prime Minister in his official capacity is deduced from his total airtime, in terms of attention received from all TV channels, he will fall behind the candidate of "Dashnaksutiun" party Vahan Hovhannesian and will have only a slightly better figure than the candidate of Popular Party Tigran Karapetian.

On the First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia, the Public Radio of Armenia and the Second Armenian TV Channel the leader in terms of total airtime, allocated by these broadcasters to presidential candidates, was Serge Sargsian; on other three channels, "Armenia", "Shant" and "Yerkir Media" - Vahan Hovhannesian. On "Kentron" biggest attention was paid to RA First President Levon Ter-Petrosian (but this attention was mostly negative, as will be shown below). On "ALM" the leader, at a traditionally big distance from the other politicians at focus, is the owner of the TV channel Tigran Karapetian: the volume of his coverage more than 1.5 times exceeded the time allocated by "ALM" to all other presidency candidates. The dominance of the leader of Popular Party on "ALM" is preserved even though he, in accordance with the RA Electoral Code, stopped hosting author and discussion programs since January 21. At the same time, the candidate status allowed Tigran Karapetian to appear on the air of other channels much more frequently than before - for the first time throughout the monitoring his coverage on other seven channels exceeded the time he received on the air of "ALM".

IN FACT, the main problem of coverage of the current election campaign is not so much in the distribution of attention between the politicians, but rather in the big number of connotational references and the polarly opposite nature of coverage for two candidates, Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian. Out of 99 connotational references (on all 8 channels) of the Prime Minister 93 were positive and only 6 were negative, while the First President had 72 negative references and no positive.

Bias was present in the coverage of two public channels studied, too. On the First Channel of PTA the balance of connotational references of Serge Sargsian is 22 versus 0, respectively, while than of Levon Ter-Petrosian is 0 versus 11; on Public Radio this figure makes 7-0 and 0-6, respectively. The biggest number of positive references to the Prime Minister is made in reports on his election campaign.

Overall, the leaders in terms of positive coverage of Sargsian are the PTA First Channel and "Kentron" (that has balance of 24-3). "Kentron" was most prominent in the negative coverage of Ter-Petrosian, too (0-29). It should be noted, however, that 23 negative references to the First President were made by "What Newspapers Write About" program, reviewing the print press (quite partial, too, because, as numerous researches show, the newspaper market in Armenia is much more diverse and pluralistic than TV and radio air, i.e., a very targeted selection had to be made to get this number of negative references). The other 6 negative references to Ter-Petrosian on the air of "Kentron" were made by other politicians.

In general all the main trends of the period studied - a more equal attention distribution for all candidates than that in October-December, polarized treatment of Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian and the

relative impartiality towards all the remaining seven candidates - characterized the activities of seven broadcast media studied (while all these trends are displayed by "ALM" TV channel too, it retains its traditional specifics, as noted above). This gives ground to recall the hypothesis, defined at the previous stage of the monitoring, about the coordinated strategy of covering the current election campaign. This hypothesis makes an exception for only one TV channel studied, "Yerkir Media", where Serge Sargsian does not have a positive balance of connotational references (2-2), and the most positively covered is the candidate of "Dashnaktsutiun" Vahan Hovhannesian (7 positive and no negative reference). However, the other trends noted, the more equal distribution of attention between the candidates and the openly negative balance of covering Levon Ter-Petrosian, are characteristic for this channel, too.

It is of course necessary to note here that in quantitative terms the polarity of coverage of two candidates (Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian) in January was not as apparent as in October-December. If, as noted in previous reports, the share of negative references to Ter-Petrosian at the previous stage of the monitoring reached an unprecedented level of 50% of the total number of references, throughout the 10 days of January this figure comes to 26%. It is also important to note that the coverage of Ter-Petrosian in negative context consists mostly of public critical remarks to his address made by other candidates. In particular, the channels studied paid significant attention to the negative statements about the First President made by the candidate of "National Unity" party Artashes Geghamian.

THE MOST BALANCED (by two criteria - the distribution of airtime and the proportion of connotational references) was the coverage of this stage of election campaign on the Public Radio. Here, as well as on the Second Armenian TV Channel 7 of 9 candidates were covered solely in neutral context. The example of these media proves that out of the supposedly coordinated (or directed) policy, dealing, in this case, with Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian, the Armenian broadcasters are quite able to cover election campaigns in accordance with international standards.

Besides the two channels mentioned, a relatively balanced coverage was recorded on "Armenia" and "Shant" TV channels. The latter, though, having given during the 10 days studied comparable attention to 8 candidates (from 3,287 to 1,539 sec.), left only Tigran Karapetian out of focus (7 sec.).

Unlike the previous monitoring stage it would be wrong to range the media studied by the activeness of political process coverage, as these indicators were quite "dense". It can only be said that Public Radio (35,694 sec.) and "Kentron" TV channel (30,039 sec.) have gone somewhat ahead, as compared to the 24,335 sec. of the total airtime, allocated to all candidates by "Yerkir Media" that was ranked the third along this dimension.

THE INVOLVEMENT of the presidential candidates (and the official representatives of their election headquarters) in discussion programs of media studied remains not that frequent. Despite the official launch of the pre-election promotion, on 8 channels in 10 days candidates or their representatives took part in such programs 36 times (it should be noted here that the monitoring group did not take into account the interviews of candidates to the Public Radio, as they were broadcast before 17.00 - i.e., the time when the editorial coverage was not studied). The reason here, most probably, is not so much the reluctance of TV and radio companies to invite candidates, but rather the unreadiness of some politicians to engage in public dialogue. The rarest participants of "guest in studio" programs were Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian - two times for each, both times it was the level of their representatives - who prefer a monologue form of communicating with the voters. The most open on this stage of study were Tigran Karapetian (6 programs, including 2 on "ALM" TV channel), Vahan Hovhannesian, Vazgen Manukian and Arman Melikian (5 each). They are followed by Artur Baghdasarian and Aram Harutiunian (4 each), Artashes Geghamian (3). Similarly to the previous monitoring stage, the broadcast media were little interested in the opinion of the Armenian NGOs that observed the various aspects of the electoral process. In any case, their representatives never appeared as guests on the discussion programs studied. This may also be a component of a coordinated (or directed) policy.

AS TO THE PRE-ELECTION PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS per se, the political advertising, the monitoring does not give grounds to speak about any obstacles for them on the channels studied. All candidates are using the free air that they are entitled to on the First Channel of the Public Television. The paid airtime (on all channels studied) as of January 30 was used by six candidates, with the exception of Tigran Karapetian, Arman Melikian and Aram Harutiunian. Vazgen Manukian and Artashes

Geghamian placed their advertising only on the two public channels. Four candidates paid for the air of public and private broadcasters. The leader in terms of promotional materials is Vahan Hovhannesian (16,294 paid and free sec.), who used all seven TV channels, but displayed no interest to Public Radio. He is followed by Levon Ter-Petrosian (10,256 sec.), who was present on the advertising air on all 8 channels studied, and Artur Baghdasarian (8,632 sec.), who did not use the advertising air only on "Shant". Serge Sargsian was only the fourth by this indicator (8,155 sec.), who has not so far placed his advertisements on "Kentron" and "Yerkir Media" TV channels.

The most attractive for candidates out of media studied was the paid air of the First Channel of the Public Television, followed by "Armenia", "Shant", "ALM", "Yerkir Media", the Second Armenian TV Channel, "Kentron". The least attractive was the air of Public Radio.

TABLES

January 21-30, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Serge Sargsian	425	93	6	326	29441.8	4803	24638.8	5295	2860
2.	Vahan Hovhannesian	269	16	1	252	26993.2	43	26950.2	15334	960
3.	Tigran Karapetian	163	11	1	151	24605.6	34	24571.6	0	959
4.	Artur Baghdasarian	256	12	1	243	22044.8	0	22044.8	5992	2640
5.	Vazgen Manukian	218	2	0	216	21181.6	0	21181.6	199	2661
6.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	277	0	72	205	20454.7	0	20454.7	7436	2820
7.	Artashes Geghamian	214	7	3	204	18354.1	0	18354.1	1939	2880
8.	Arman Melikian	133	0	0	133	13351.2	0	13351.2	0	934
9.	Aram Harutiunian	153	0	0	153	12719.7	0	12719.7	0	1935
	Total	2108	141	84	1883	189146.7	4880	184266.7	36195	18649

January 21-30, 2008

Presidential candidates/their representatives invited to take part in discussion programs of the TV and radio channels studied

Presidency candidate	PTA First Channel	ALM	Armenia	Second Armenian TV Channel	Yerkir Media	Kentron	Shant	Public Radio of Armenia	Total
Tigran Karapetian	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	6
Vahan Hovhannesian	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	5
Vazgen Manukian	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	5
Arman Melikian	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	5
Artur Baghdasarian	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	4
Aram Harutiunian	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	4
Artashes Geghamian	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
Serge Sargsian	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Levon Ter-Petrosian	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	3	2	8	4	8	6	5	0	36

INTERIM REPORT

ON MONITORING THE BROADCAST MEDIA OF ARMENIA

DURING THE PRE-ELECTION PROMOTION

(JANUARY 31 - FEBRUARY 9, 2008)

AS COMPARED TO THE PREVIOUS TEN DAYS (January 21-30, 2008), during this study period (January 31 - February 9, 2008) the volume of editorial coverage of the election campaign has somewhat increased. This, however, occurred due to the coverage of the RA presidency candidates, distinctly enjoying the greatest media attention: these are the RA First President Levon Ter-Petrosian, the RA Prime Minister, candidate of the Republican Party of Armenia Serge Sargsian, candidate of "Orinats Yerkir" party Artur Baghdasarian, candidate of Popular Party Tigran Karapetian, candidate of "Dashnaktsutun" party Vahan Hovhannesian, candidate of "National Unity" party Artashes Geghamian and the candidate of National Democratic Union Vazgen Manukian. Self-nominated Arman Melikian and the candidate of "National Accord" party Aram Harutiunian are somewhat behind the leading seven. It should be noted, however, that Tigran Karapetian, following the tradition, received most of his coverage on "ALM" TV channel that he owns, and if he had received as much attention on "his own" air, as he did in average on seven other channels studied, he would have been rated the 8th, between Arman Melikian and Aram Harutiunian.

The gap between the candidates who received the most and the least aggregate (on all 8 media studied) coverage have somewhat increased, too: 37,016 sec. for Levon Ter-Petrosian and 8,725 sec. for Aram Harutiunian (the proportion here is more than 4 to 1, while during the previous decade the proportion between the most and the least covered candidates made less than 2.5 to 1).

The RA First President received most of the coverage on 8 channels studied during the 10 days presented in this report. He is followed by Serge Sargsian - 32,786 sec. (of these 9,451 sec. were the coverage of his activities as a Prime Minister). If the coverage of the official activities is excluded from the total airtime allocated to the candidates, in terms of aggregate airtime Serge Sargsian would fall behind three more candidates - Artur Baghdasarian (29,963 sec.), Tigran Karapetian (25,706 sec.) and Vahan Hovhannesian (25,601 sec.).

AT THE SAME TIME Levon Ter-Petrosian remains the undisputed leader in terms of connotational references (146), or, more specifically, in terms of negative references (143 versus 3 positive ones). The connotation references to Serge Sargsian are frequent, too (83 positive and 24 negative). These two candidates, similarly to all the previous monitoring stages (the monitoring of 8 broadcast media was administered also ahead of the election campaign, in October-December 2007), received polarized coverage. Of the remaining candidates the positive balance of connotational references is observed for Tigran Karapetian (8-0) and Vahan Hovhannesian (14-0), the negative one - for Artur Baghdasarian (11 positive and 16 negative) and Vazgen Manukian (4-8), neutral or almost neutral - for Artashes Geghamian (3-4), Arman Melikian (0-1) and Aram Harutiunian (0-0). At the same time all the positive references to Tigran Karapetian were recorded by the monitoring group on the air of "ALM", and 11 out of 14 positive references of Vahan Hovhannesian - on the air of "Yerkir-Media". In other words, a positive balance is held only by the candidates of "party of power" and/or owning (enjoying support) one of the leading TV companies. This circumstance signifies that the problem of unequal conditions in the editorial coverage of election campaigns remains quite urgent in Armenia.

TO A GREATER EXTENT the existing polarity of coverage of the two candidates (Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian) was displayed on "Kenton" TV channel. Sargsian here was mentioned 19 times in a positive and never in a negative context, and Ter-Petrosian, respectively, 0 and 44 times. 9 of the positive references to the Prime Minister and 30 of the negative references to the First President were made in "What Newspapers Write About" TV program. The picture of this press review practically repeated that of the previous 10 days. As it is noted in numerous researches of the Armenian media market, most print media in Armenia have open and diverse (often radical) political stance. In particular, in the course of the current election campaign the newspaper stances diverge dramatically, primarily as

concerns the candidacies of the Prime Minister and the First President. The indicator of references to Sargsian and Ter-Petrosian, as quoted above, proves that when addressing the press coverage of these two politicians, the authors of “What Newspaper Write About” program display extreme bias.

The First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia, similarly to the previous ten days, displayed the balance required by law only in distribution of the airtime, but not in the nature of candidate coverage (this concerns again Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian). During the 20 days of pre-election promotion studied the Prime Minister was referred to in positive context 32 times and in negative context - 3 times. The First President has 27 negative references and none - positive. The contrast on Public Radio of Armenia is a little milder: here Sargsian's balance of connotational references for 20 days is 14-0, while that of Ter-Petrosian is 0-16. In October-December 2007 the Public Radio was, on the contrary, more unbalanced. The special approach to the coverage of these two politicians on the Public Radio stands out also against the fact that the remaining candidates throughout the 20 days of pre-election promotion were mentioned solely in neutral context. On the First Channel of the Public Television, too, seven other candidates received few connotational references: throughout the ten days (January 31 - February 9, 2008) only 3% of the total number of their references had connotational coloring. For Ter-Petrosian this figure made 28%, and for Sargsian - 18.8%. The figures quoted show that the journalists of the Public TV and Radio Company have the skills of impartial reporting, but do not always use them.

Similarly to the previous monitoring stages, this trend of coverage of Serge Sargsian and Levon Ter-Petrosian that has probably become the main specialty of the current election campaign, was displayed in the work of all broadcast media studied, except for “Yerkir Media”, during the past ten days, too. On this TV channel both the Prime Minister and the First President have a negative balance of connotational references for the 10 days.

During the pre-election promotion another similarity in the news policy of the seven TV channels studied has been recorded: they all air reports about the pre-election events of Serge Sargsian one day after they had been held, while the rallies of the other candidates are covered, as a rule, on the same day. In this case, too, the coverage of the election campaign by “Yerkir Media” TV channel is somewhat out of the trend: here the events of Sargsian appear on the air quite irregularly, but are still broadcast the next day. Hence, the monitoring group is induced to reiterate its hypothesis about a coordinated (or directed) policy of covering election campaigns in Armenia by most of the leading broadcast media.

The Public Radio of Armenia (35,178 sec.) and “Kentron” (30,981 sec.), similarly to the preceding decade, paid the most attention to the election-related subjects. These are followed by “ALM” (30,276 sec.), “Yerkir Media” (26,802 sec.) and the Second Armenian TV Channel (26,581 sec.). The least attention to the elections was paid by “Shant” (21,310 sec.) and “Armenia” (20,113 sec.) TV channels.

SIMILARLY TO THE PREVIOUS TEN DAYS, the involvement of presidency candidates (and the representatives of their election headquarters) in the discussion programs of the media studied remained low. Despite the heat of the pre-election promotion, on eight channels during the ten days candidates or their representatives took part in such programs only 28 times, less than on January 21-30, 2008 (36 times). Here it should be noted that the monitoring group did not take into account the interviews of the candidates on the air of Public Radio as these were broadcast before 17.00, i.e., the time when the editorial coverage was not studied. As it follows from discussions of this issue with media representatives, the reason for this is not so much the reluctance of broadcasters to invite the candidates, but rather the unreadiness of some politicians to engage in public dialogue.

The rarest participants of “guest in studio” programs were Serge Sargsian (2 times in 20 days after the launch of the pre-election promotion) and Levon Ter-Petrosian (3 times) - or, rather, in all these cases, these were not they themselves, but their representatives. The greatest openness during the same period was displayed by Tigran Karapetian (11 programs, 5 of them being on “ALM” TV channel), Vahan Hovhannesian and Vazgen Manukian (9 each), Arman Melikian, Artur Baghdasarian and Artashes Geghamian (8 each), Aram Harutiunian (6). Similarly to the previous stages of monitoring, the broadcast media were little interested in the opinion of those Armenian NGOs, who observe various aspects of electoral process.

AS CONCERNS the pre-election promotional materials (political advertising), the monitoring gives no ground to speak about any obstruction for them on the channels studied. All candidates use the free air

they are entitled to the First Channel of the Public Television. By the results of the 20 days studied, the leader for the aggregate (on all 8 channels) volume of promotional materials is Vahan Hovhannesian (30,052 paid and free seconds), followed by Artur Baghdasarian (18,129 sec.) and Levon Ter-Petrosian (18,075 sec.). Serge Sargsian was only the fourth by this indicator (16,011 sec.). Three of the candidates listed (except Artur Baghdasarian) reduced the number of promotional materials during January 31 - February 9 as compared to the previous ten days (January 21-30).

The paid air of the First Channel of the Public Television was the most attractive for the candidates during the second decade, too. It is followed by "Armenia", "ALM", "Shant", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron". The least attractive of all was the air of the Public Radio.

TABLES

January 31 - February 9, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
+	-		0							
1.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	461	3	143	315	37016	0	37016	4291	3528
2.	Serge Sargsian	512	83	24	405	32786.2	9450.5	23335.7	4269	3587
3.	Artur Baghdasarian	371	11	16	344	29963.2	0	29963.2	5902	3595
4.	Tigran Karapetian	156	8	0	148	25722.2	16	25706.2	4003	1200
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian	276	14	0	262	25600.9	0	25600.9	10785	2973
6.	Artashes Geghamian	245	3	4	238	22393.7	0	22393.7	2418	3600
7.	Vazgen Manukian	228	4	8	216	19857	0	19857	0	3322
8.	Arman Melikian	173	0	1	172	13619.6	0	13619.6	0	1090
9.	Aram Harutiunian	152	0	0	152	8725.4	0	8725.4	27	2905
	Total	2574	126	196	2252	215684.2	9466.5	206217.7	31695	25800

January 31 - February 9, 2008

Presidential candidates/their representatives invited to take part in discussion programs of the TV and radio channels studied

Presidency candidate	PTA First Channel	ALM	Armenia	Second Armenian TV Channel	Yerkir Media	Kentron	Shant	Public Radio of Armenia	Total
Artashes Geghamian	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	5
Tigran Karapetian	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	5
Artur Baghdasarian	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4
Vahan Hovhannesian	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	4
Vazgen Manukian	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	4
Arman Melikian	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Aram Harutiunian	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Levon Ter-Petrosian	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Serge Sargsian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	3	5	2	6	5	5	0	28

TABLES
JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 2008

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by 8 broadcast media studied: PTA First Channel, "ALM", "Armenia", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Yerkir Media", "Kentron", "Shant", Public Radio of Armenia

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
+	-		0							
1.	Serge Sargsian	1384	264	60	1060	102074.4	17045	85029.4	18346	10754
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	1232	22	406	804	97687.6	0	97687.6	19856	10503
3.	Vahan Hovhannesian	767	52	2	713	87567.5	43	87524.5	31260	7710
4.	Artur Baghdasarian	902	33	31	838	74209	0	74209	18920	10417
5.	Tigran Karapetian	453	28	1	424	70424.5	50	70374.5	8900	3599
6.	Artashes Geghamian	648	11	15	622	56978.6	0	56978.6	11060	10800
7.	Vazgen Manukian	654	11	15	628	54874.8	0	54874.8	1104	9490
8.	Arman Melikian	433	0	2	431	34255.3	0	34255.3	0	3114
9.	Aram Harutiunian	437	0	0	437	29482.1	0	29482.1	118	7679
	Total	6910	421	532	5957	607553.8	17138	590415.8	109564	74066

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by PTA First Channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Serge Sargsian	206	49	3	154	12908.4	1918	10990.4	5681	3600
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	153	0	63	90	11134.8	0	11134.8	6293	3600
3.	Artur Baghdasarian	111	4	5	102	9654.7	0	9654.7	7014	3600
4.	Artashes Geghamian	96	6	5	85	8112.2	0	8112.2	7183	3600
5.	Vahan Hovhannesian	84	11	0	73	7484	0	7484	6910	3600
6.	Vazgen Manukian	79	4	2	73	7250.1	0	7250.1	1059	3475
7.	Aram Harutiunian	72	0	0	72	4930.9	0	4930.9	118	3519
8.	Arman Melikian	65	0	0	65	4821.1	0	4821.1	0	3114
9.	Tigran Karapetian	58	3	0	55	3992.3	0	3992.3	4071	3599
	Total	924	77	78	769	70288.5	1918	68370.5	38329	31707

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by “ALM” TV channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Tigran Karapetian	51	22	0	29	42268.1	50	42218.1	3240	0
2.	Serge Sargsian	133	25	12	96	11579.1	2108	9471.1	1559	0
3.	Vahan Hovhannesian	55	5	1	49	10353.6	0	10353.6	2983	0
4.	Artur Baghdasarian	71	13	10	48	9504.1	0	9504.1	3320	0
5.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	80	3	29	48	8739.1	0	8739.1	672	0
6.	Arman Melikian	26	0	2	24	1023.6	0	1023.6	0	0
7.	Artashes Geghamian	26	0	3	23	592.6	0	592.6	0	0
8.	Vazgen Manukian	24	2	3	19	587.6	0	587.6	0	0
9.	Aram Harutiunian	18	0	0	18	240.6	0	240.6	0	0
	Total	484	70	60	354	84888.4	2158	82730.4	11774	0

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by “Armenia” TV channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Serge Sargsian	92	25	3	64	10080	2219	7861	3350	0
2.	Vahan Hovhannesian	37	0	0	37	7576	0	7576	4400	0
3.	Artashes Geghamian	39	0	0	39	6032	0	6032	275	0
4.	Aram Harutiunian	30	0	0	30	5372	0	5372	0	0
5.	Vazgen Manukian	33	3	0	30	5314	0	5314	0	0
6.	Arman Melikian	28	0	0	28	5280	0	5280	0	0
7.	Tigran Karapetian	28	0	1	27	5081	0	5081	0	0
8.	Artur Baghdasarian	40	2	0	38	4433	0	4433	3258	0
9.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	61	2	20	39	4240	0	4240	3495	0
	Total	388	32	24	332	53408	2219	51189	14778	0

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by Second Armenian TV Channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Serge Sargsian	257	58	11	188	14864.1	3404	11460.1	4039	0
2.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	196	3	66	127	14211.6	0	14211.6	700	0
3.	Vazgen Manukian	110	0	5	105	6944.1	0	6944.1	0	0
4.	Artashes Geghamian	132	0	2	130	6870.9	0	6870.9	0	0
5.	Artur Baghdasarian	145	3	6	136	6673.4	0	6673.4	356	0
6.	Vahan Hovhannesian	101	0	0	101	5925.9	0	5925.9	3804	0
7.	Tigran Karapetian	114	3	0	111	5865.9	0	5865.9	1589	0
8.	Arman Melikian	94	0	0	94	4283.4	0	4283.4	0	0
9.	Aram Harutiunian	91	0	0	91	3697.9	0	3697.9	0	0
	Total	1240	67	90	1083	69337.2	3404	65933.2	10488	0

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by “Yerkir Media” TV channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Vahan Hovhannesian	217	34	0	183	29095.5	43	29052.5	4294	0
2.	Artur Baghdasarian	184	3	2	179	12020.5	0	12020.5	3118	0
3.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	181	7	57	117	8789.5	0	8789.5	1217	0
4.	Serge Sargsian	165	4	23	138	8072.5	994.5	7078	0	0
5.	Vazgen Manukian	144	2	2	140	7304	0	7304	0	0
6.	Artashes Geghamian	89	0	3	86	5563	0	5563	0	0
7.	Aram Harutiunian	106	0	0	106	5427	0	5427	0	0
8.	Arman Melikian	93	0	0	93	4604	0	4604	0	0
9.	Tigran Karapetian	92	0	0	92	4091.1	0	4091.1	0	0
	Total	1271	50	87	1134	84967.1	1037.5	83929.6	8629	0

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by "Kentron" TV channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	265	3	105	157	22085.7	0	22085.7	619	0
2.	Serge Sargsian	227	65	3	159	17438.3	2642.5	14795.8	0	0
3.	Artur Baghdasarian	139	1	5	133	10266.3	0	10266.3	1213	0
4.	Artashes Geghamian	102	3	1	98	8839.7	0	8839.7	0	0
5.	Vazgen Manukian	110	0	2	108	8452.7	0	8452.7	0	0
6.	Vahan Hovhannesian	103	0	1	102	7887.3	0	7887.3	4403	0
7.	Arman Melikian	60	0	0	60	4895.7	0	4895.7	0	0
8.	Tigran Karapetian	56	0	0	56	4035.7	0	4035.7	0	0
9.	Aram Harutiunian	51	0	0	51	1955.7	0	1955.7	0	0
	Total	1113	72	117	924	85857.1	2642.5	83214.6	6235	0

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by “Shant” TV channel

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	105	2	24	79	10364.3	0	10364.3	3384	0
2.	Serge Sargsian	135	14	1	120	10017.9	1757	8260.9	3717	0
3.	Artashes Geghamian	81	2	1	78	9223.6	0	9223.6	0	0
4.	Vazgen Manukian	63	0	1	62	7486.2	0	7486.2	0	0
5.	Artur Baghdasarian	84	7	2	75	7107.4	0	7107.4	641	0
6.	Vahan Hovhannesian	65	2	0	63	6821.6	0	6821.6	4466	0
7.	Aram Harutiunian	23	0	0	23	3779.3	0	3779.3	0	0
8.	Arman Melikian	16	0	0	16	3201.8	0	3201.8	0	0
9.	Tigran Karapetian	5	0	0	5	33.3	0	33.3	0	0
	Total	577	27	29	521	58035.4	1757	56278.4	12208	0

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Number and nature (positive, negative, neutral) of references, airtime, political advertising, allocated to presidential candidates by Public Radio of Armenia

	Presidency candidate	Editorial coverage						Political advertising of presidency candidate		
		Number of references to the candidate (units)	Connotation of references			Overall airtime allocated to the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of official and professional activities of the candidate (sec.)	Coverage of the candidate's activities that are not directly related to professional or official duties (sec.)	Paid (sec.)	Free (sec.)
			+	-	0					
1.	Levon Ter-Petrosian	191	2	42	147	18122.6	0	18122.6	3476	6903
2.	Serge Sargsian	169	24	4	141	17114.1	2002	15112.1	0	7154
3.	Artur Baghdasarian	128	0	1	127	14549.6	0	14549.6	0	6817
4.	Vahan Hovhannesian	105	0	0	105	12423.6	0	12423.6	0	4110
5.	Artashes Geghamian	83	0	0	83	11744.6	0	11744.6	3602	7200
6.	Vazgen Manukian	91	0	0	91	11536.1	0	11536.1	45	6015
7.	Arman Melikian	51	0	0	51	6145.7	0	6145.7	0	0
8.	Tigran Karapetian	49	0	0	49	5057.1	0	5057.1	0	0
9.	Aram Harutiunian	46	0	0	46	4078.7	0	4078.7	0	4160
	Total	913	26	47	840	100772.1	2002	98770.1	7123	42359

January 21 - February 17, 2008

Presidential candidates/their representatives invited to take part in discussion programs of the TV and radio channels studied

Presidency candidate	PTA First Channel	ALM	Armenia	Second Armenian TV Channel	Yerkir Media	Kentron	Shant	Public Radio of Armenia	Total
Tigran Karapetian	1	8	2	1	4	1	0	0	17
Vahan Hovhannesian	1	1	3	1	8	2	1	0	17
Vazgen Manukian	1	0	2	1	4	3	2	0	13
Artur Baghdasarian	1	1	1	0	6	2	1	0	12
Artashes Geghamian	1	0	2	1	2	3	3	0	12
Aram Harutiunian	1	0	2	1	4	0	2	0	10
Arman Melikian	1	0	2	1	2	2	2	0	10
Serge Sargsian	1	0	1	1	4	0	1	0	8
Levon Ter-Petrosian	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	6
Total	8	10	15	8	36	15	13	0	105