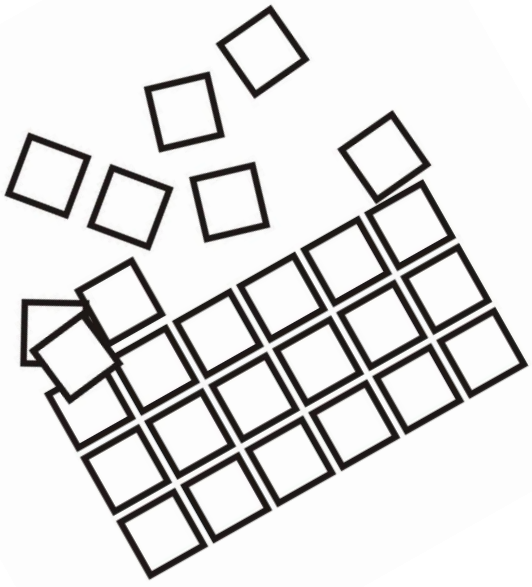
ARMENIAN-AZERBAIJANI RELATIONS IN MEDIA OF ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN



ARMENIAN-AZERBAIJANI RELATIONS IN MEDIA OF ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN

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The book presents the findings of monitoring 16 media in Armenia and Azerbaijan during three months in 2008-2009. The research is illustrative of the level of attention of media studied towards various aspects of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, including the influence that the protocols signed between Turkey and Armenia on October 10, 2009, had on them, the degree of accuracy of the information on these relations and on developments in the neighboring country, as well as the presence and the frequency of hatespeech elements in the newspaper and TV pieces.

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PREFACE

It is by no means an easy task to be consistently reading, reviewing, analyzing and categorizing thousands of newspapers articles, TV pieces, abundant in mutual reproaches, lies, hostility and often explicit hatred, moreover, towards the nations that we are part of - year in and year out. But we are positive that it is necessary. No matter how high-flown this may seem, it is necessary for our very nations, tired of war, constant losses, many years of confrontation, the tense expectation of a stab from behind. It is necessary for those, who sincerely wish for a problem resolution and peace in the region, and most importantly, it is necessary for us, the journalists who author such articles and TV pieces.

Before presenting the findings of the most recent research under the project “Unbiased Coverage of Armenian-Azerbaijani Relations in Media”, implemented by Eurasia Partnership Foundation with the support of UK Foreign Commonwealth Office and the involvement of “Yeni Nesil” Journalists Union (Azerbaijan) and Yerevan Press Club (Armenia), some ideas, observations and considerations will be shared. We hope that having viewed the reports you will wish to revisit them after some time, to confirm, to expand or to debate some of their conclusions.

Throughout the five years in a joint effort we have reviewed 396,817 pieces in Azerbaijani, Armenian and sometimes Turkish broadcast and print media, we have analyzed 32,049 articles and TV stories, dealing with regional relations, first of all, the Karabagh problem. During the three months of the present research in 2008-2009 our monitors have read and viewed 46,646 newspapers and TV pieces, have thoroughly studied 6,508 pieces dealing with the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in a certain form. We are quoting these numbers to show you: our conclusions are not incidental; they are based on plentiful material, the experience accumulated throughout five years, the comparative analysis of many indicators.

The last joint research comes to prove again the fact that the whole complex of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, built mostly on the basis of Karabagh issue, is one of the most broadly covered subjects in the media of both countries, if not the top one. Still, the journalists very rarely acknowledge their responsibility in the enhancement of existing alienations and, mildly put, mutual hostility between the people of the two counties. Or, while acknowledging it, they continue supporting and often encouraging politicians, academicians, public figures, providing them with the newspaper space and airtime to increase the confrontation. They play a significant role in keeping alive the old stereotypes and stimulating the new ones, they distort the reality, complicated as it is, thus impeding the mutual understanding and establishment of trust between the neighbor, rendering the advancement on the way of piece impossible. The research shows the toolbox of propaganda techniques and lexical means that media use, but also, as we hope, it will help to answer the question of “how the situation can be changed?” If it is possible. While a number of initiatives, including the current program of Eurasia Partnership Foundation shows that in case of responsible and consistent work certain positive achievements are quite realistic.

Very often in the pieces dealing with the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations mistakes are made, statements are published that cause the irritation, the aggression from the audience of the other country that can be easily rectified or avoided. In this regard such research, including the “cross monitoring” can be of much help. Indeed, it is not very difficult for a journalist to check the names and the titles of politicians on the web, to say “emotional speech” instead of a “hysterical speech”, to write “a grin” instead of “a vicious grin”. We

would have offered the leading media of Armenia and Azerbaijan to establish an ombudsman who, along with other responsibilities would attend to the language of the pieces dealing with the relations of these countries. Yet, aware of the economic difficulties that the media of the region face we understand such initiative is unrealistic. Still, the donors might think this idea over.

In the activities of media negative practice can be seen, which is difficult to eliminate yet possible - through additional effort. Conductance of continuous training courses; training in journalistic investigations in, say, who and how in reality violates the ceasefire on the borders, what happens with the historical monuments and the environments in certain areas. Establishment of new structures, symbolic “press councils” that would review appropriate complaints and would come up with recommendations for media of both countries could also positively influence the media climate.

And finally, there are negative stereotypes that were shaped under the influence of very complex processes, including history that media cannot give up under the present circumstances of relations between the countries and within societies. But even in that case journalists can be more delicate, more understanding towards the feelings of the other. Thus, the Azerbaijani journalists, particularly in the cases when the context remains intact, can, instead of the phrase “alleged genocide” use the expression “tragedy of 1915”, quite common for Turkish press. And their Armenian colleagues can write “Khojalu tragedy” instead of “questionable Khojalu”, “Khojalu legend”. This can also be fostered by the continuation of the dialogue between journalists, round table with the participation of media heads, politicians and historians. Several years ago “Yeni Nesil” and Yerevan Press Club even offered to produce a glossary of terms, recommended as a replacement for the most unacceptable cliches and stereotypes.

It is often said that “journalists do not initiate developments, they report on them”. It is true. Or at least, it should be true. But the way the development is reported by the journalist can condition its further evolution.

PART ONE

REPORT
ON MONITORING THE COVERAGE
OF ARMENIAN-AZERBAIJANI RELATIONS
IN THE MEDIA OF
ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN
(2008)

CHAPTER I.I.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Monitoring aimed at determining how much attention the media studied paid to various aspects of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, the accuracy of information on these relations and developments in neighboring countries, as well as the presence and the frequency of occurrence of such components in newspaper articles and TV programs that contribute to the formation of enemy image.

The monitoring was administered on September 15 - November 15, 2008. It covered 8 media from each Armenia and Azerbaijan - four TV channels and four newspapers. In **Azerbaijan** the research focused on the Public Television of Azerbaijan ("ITV"), Azerbaijani Television ("AzTV"), "ANS" and "Leader" TV companies, and "Azerbaijan", "Yeni Musavat", "Zerkalo" and "525-ci Gazet" newspapers. In **Armenia** the monitoring focused on Public Television of Armenia (PTA First Channel), "ALM", Second Armenian TV Channel and "Shant" TV, "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Azg", "Aravot" and "Golos Armenii" newspapers.

The monitoring object in broadcast media were the main issues of newscasts as well as current affairs and political discussion programs, aired by the TV channels above within the conditional prime time hours, 19.00-24.00 .The programs that had started but were not over before 19.00 were not considered, with the monitoring starting after the end of this program. The programs that started but were not over before 24.00, were studied in full, until the end.

The monitoring object in print media were newspaper publications in full, except weather forecasts, commercial and political advertising and classifieds, TV and radio program, schedules, "pure" photographs (out of publications and with not titles, headlines, captions), entertaining materials such as crosswords, tests, horoscopes, quizzes, etc. Newspaper supplements and inserts were not studied, either.

During the monitoring process all TV stories/newspaper articles that did refer to Azerbaijan/Armenia, Azerbaijanis/Armenians were studied. TV stories/newspaper articles, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, were distributed by five sections.

FOR AZERBAIJAN:

1.	**Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it**
2.	**Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context**
3.	**Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue**
4.	**Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)**
5.	**Developments in Armenia and/or related to it**

FOR ARMENIA:

1.	**Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it**
2.	**Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context**
3.	**Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue**
4.	**Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)**
5.	**Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it**

Section 4 included pieces that contained a description of Armenia/Azerbaijan as a state, their institutes, assessments of Armenians/Azerbaijanis as individual representatives of the nation, as well as all non-news pieces that narrated about economy, culture, sport, lifestyle, cuisine, traditions and other spheres of each country, its citizens, its relations with other countries, etc.

In the course of monitoring the quantity, volume (airtime/newspaper space) of references to the thematic sections in the pieces was recorded. Apart from monitoring of references to bilateral relations or to the neighbor country (Azerbaijan and Armenia, respectively), the monitors made a brief summary of each TV story/newspaper article, **fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject.** These summaries were further sent to project partners and were studied by them to determine the accuracy, the presence of negative stereotypes and cliches. Thus, a “cross-monitoring” was made, too.

CHAPTER I.II.

ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

MEDIA STUDIED AND THEIR BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

PUBLIC TELEVISION OF ARMENIA (PTA FIRST CHANNEL) is a part of the Public TV and Radio Company, founded in 2001. The managing body is the Council of Public TV and Radio Company. The daily duration of air of the First Channel is 19.5 hours on the territory of Armenia and 24 hours in Yerevan. The programs of the channel can also be received abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main newscast of PTA First Channel "Haylur" and "Sunday Haylur" current affairs program; "25 minutes" and "Banadzev" discussion programs. "Haylur" was aired six times a week, Monday to Saturday (the main issues of "Haylur at 21.00 were monitored), "Sunday Haylur" was aired once a week, on Sundays, at 21.00. "25 minutes" were aired 4 times a week, Monday to Thursday at 20.20. During the study period "Banadzev" was aired only once, on September 25, 22.30. Throughout the monitoring period on PTA First Channel a total of 1,232 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 212 materials were dealing with the monitoring subject: 92 - in full, 102 - in part, 18 - contained references to it.

"ALM" is a private TV company, founded in 2000 by "ALM-Holding" LLC. Daily duration of air is 24 hours. The research focused at: the main newscast "Day by Day"; "Zarkerak" current affairs program; "Price of the Question", "Stance", "Indeed" (in Russian language) and "Aytsekart" discussion programs. "Day by Day" was aired every day (the main issues of "Day by Day" at 20.00 were monitored). "Zarkerak" was aired daily (issues at 21.00 were monitored). "Price of the Question" and "Stance" were aired once a week at 21.20, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, respectively, "Indeed" - on Saturdays at 21.30, and "Aytsekart" - twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 22.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "ALM" a total of 2,131 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 268 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 144 - in full, 98 - in part, 26 - contained references to it.

SECOND ARMENIAN TV CHANNEL (SECOND CHANNEL) is a private TV company, founded in 1998 by "Second Armenian TV Channel" LLC. The daily duration of air is 18 hours. The research focused at: the main newscast of the Second Channel "Lraber" and "Fourth Studio" discussion program. "Lraber" was aired six times a week, Monday to Saturday (the main issues of "Lraber" at 23.00 were monitored). "Fourth Studio" was aired five times a week, Monday to Friday at 20.30. Throughout the monitoring period on the Second Channel a total of 1,208 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 140 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 52 - in full, 65 - partly, 23 - contained references to it.

"SHANT" is a private TV company, founded in 1994 by "Shant" LLC. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel can also be received abroad via satellite. The research focused at: the main newscast "Horizon" and "Supplement to 'Horizon'" current affairs program; "Prospect" discussion program. "Horizon" was aired six times a week, Monday to Saturday (the main issues of "Horizon" at 22.00 were monitored), "Supplement to 'Horizon'" - five times a week, Monday to Friday at 22.30. "Prospect" was aired five times a week, Monday to Friday at 22.35, and since September 22 - at 23.15. Throughout the monitoring period, on "Shant" a total of 710 pieces was studied. Of these, 116 were dealing with the monitoring subject: 59 - in full, 45 - partly, 12 - contained references to it.

"HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN" is a daily newspaper (five times a week, Tuesday-Saturday), founded in 1990 by "Hanrapetutiun" CJSC. The standard volume is 6/A2pp. The stated print run is 6,000 copies. During the monitoring period 45 issues were published. Of these, 14 issues had a volume of 8/A2 pp., and 1 - 4/A2 pp. Throughout the monitoring period in "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" a total of 1,578 pieces was studied. Of these, 221 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 110 - in full, 101 - in part, 10 - contained references to it.

"AZG" is a daily newspaper (five times a week, Tuesday-Saturday), founded in 2000 by "'Azg' Daily Newspaper" LLC. The standard volume is 8/A3 pp. The stated print run is 3,000 copies. During the monitoring period 45 issues were published. Of these, 2 issues had a volume of 12/A3 pp. Throughout the monitoring period a total of 2,041 pieces was studied in "Azg". Of these, 223 publications were dealing with the monitoring subject: 150 - in full, 58 - in part, 15 - contained references to it.

"ARAVOT" is a daily newspaper (five times a week, Tuesday-Saturday), founded in 1994 by "'Aravot' Daily Newspaper" LLC. The standard volume is 8/A3 pp. The stated print run is 4,249-5,032 copies. During the monitoring period 45 issues were published. Of these, 9 issues had volume of 16/A3pp, and 2 issues - 12/A3 pp. throughout the monitoring period a total of 1,844 pieces was studied in "Aravot". Of these, 223 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 149 - in full, 59 - in part, 15 - contained references to it.

"GOLOS ARMENII" is a Russian-language newspaper (three times a week, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday), founded in 1991 by "Golos" LLC. The standard volume is 8/A2pp. The stated print run is 3,345-3,500 copies. During the monitoring period 27 issues were published. Throughout the monitoring period a total of 1,504 pieces was studied in "Golos Armenii". Of these, 281 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 214 - in full, 52 - in part, 15 - contained references to it.

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS OF ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

Overall, it can be stated that the interest to the monitoring subject in Armenian media was quite high. During the two months of the study the TV channels and newspapers displayed about the same activeness: the former ones addressed the subject in 13.9% of the total number of pieces studied, with 6.6% dealing with it in full, and in the case of the latter ones they came up to 13.6% and 8.9%, respectively. Such attention was to be expected. During the first month of monitoring (September 15 - October 15, 2008) in Azerbaijan presidential election campaign was evolving, and the second month, October 16 - November 15, 2008 coincided with signing of Meindorf (Moscow) Declaration on Mountainous Karabagh by the Presidents of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia.

At the same time, the monitoring findings show that the second month, when Meindorf Declaration was signed, received much more TV pieces and newspaper articles on the subject that the first one, when the AR President was elected. This implies that Karabagh problem is of greater concern to Armenian public and media than other issues related to Azerbaijan. Any activation of the processes, directed to the conflict resolution, in this case it is signing of a Declaration, fosters interest to the subject. Notably, during such periods the amounts of coverage increase not only with regard to negotiations process, but also with regard to other developments involving the neighbor country.

A particular interest to Karabagh issue is confirmed also by the distribution of the materials studied by thematic sections. During the two months 74.5% of the total number of references to the subject, made by the TV channels, and 76.4% of the total number of references, made by newspapers were dealing with **"Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it".** The difference in this indicator between the two months is insignificant: 72.2% (September 15 - October 15) versus 75.9% (October 16 - November 15) on TV, and 74.7% versus 77.6% in print press, respectively. As it has been mentioned, this trend was not influenced by the fact that presidential elections were conducted in Azerbaijan at the end of the first month. Even this major event of domestic policy did not actually shift the focus of Armenian media: the stress on Karabagh issue was retained during the election campaign, too.

The similarity of the main quantitative indicators of broadcast and print media is an indirect sign that the different nature of these two mass communication channels almost does not affect the specifics of their attention to the subject. The newspapers by definition must be more inclined than the TV companies to summarizing coverage, to consistent and profound disclosure of the most concerning subjects, which is certainly the Karabagh issue for Armenia, even with no direct dependence on specific developments. This expectation is all the more justified, considering the fact that three of the four newspapers studied are published five times a week and one - three times a week, and hence they cannot compete with the numerous TV channels in terms of rapid news reporting. Yet, contrary to these reasonable expectations, in our case the print media turned out to be just as dependent on news as the broadcast media. This implies that the audience of Armenian media to a certain extent is deprived of thorough, comprehensive and consistent analysis and consideration of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations and Karabagh issue as a crucial part of these relations.

As to the thematic sections that are not directly related to Karabagh conflict, certain discrepancies in the attention paid to them by broadcast and print media.

The second theme, most frequently addressed by TV channels, was **"Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)"**, and the third - **"Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it"**: they received 9.9% and 8.3% of the total number of references, respectively. No significant differences of attention towards these thematic sections were recorded between the two months. This is an additional sign of the little interest displayed by Armenian media towards the presidential campaign in Azerbaijan. (However, a reason for such little interest could have been the lack of acute political struggle for the presidential office in the neighbor country.) 7.2% of references of the TV channels studied to the monitoring subject were made to **"Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context"**. Again, in percentages, the differences between the first and the second months of the monitoring were insignificant.

In the newspapers the second most frequently addressed subject was "Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context" (9.6% of the total number of references). This is followed by "Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)" and "Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it" (8.4% and 4.7%, respectively). It is true, though, that by the results of the first month only the second and the third of the thematic sections noted, in terms of frequency of reference, are reversed. To a certain extent, this can be caused by the fact that newspapers (jumping slightly ahead, this was mostly due to one of them, "Golos Armenii") were somewhat more active than the TV channels in covering the election campaign in Azerbaijan.

In both broadcast and print media **"Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue"** were the least frequently covered of the five thematic sections of the monitoring (0.1% and 0.8% of references, respectively). This section was an obvious outsider - 8 references only, half of which were made by "Golos Armenii". This was to be expected, since the contacts between the two countries have been reduced to minimum, both bilaterally and regionally, on international level.

In terms of volume distribution (airtime or newspaper space) between the thematic sections, the picture is somewhat different from that with frequency of reference. The obvious leader here is "Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it" (on television - 83.5% of the total airtime, allocated to the monitoring subject, in print media - 75.3% of the total newspaper space, allocated to the monitoring subject). The obvious outsider here was "Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue". The second most covered section on TV, both in terms of volume and frequency, was "Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)". This very theme was the second in terms of volume and the third in terms of frequency in newspapers, too. This signifies it is more substantially covered in print press than other sections: in newspapers every reference to it has the biggest newspaper space in average. (Tables, given in Appendix A., can also show other cases when a certain theme with biggest frequency of reference received less volume of coverage than others and vice versa).

Of TV channels most frequently and at greatest length the monitoring subject was addressed by **"ALM"**. This is due primarily to the existence of lengthy commenting programs on its air, hosted by "ALM" owner, in which he raises most different issues of public and political life of the country. It suffices to say that this TV channel accounts for 40.4% of the total number of TV pieces studied - much more than any other channel.

No addresses were made to the section "Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue" on "ALM" air, similarly to two other channels, with the exception of "Shant". The remaining four thematic sections had 12.6% of the total number of pieces studied at "ALM" (aggregate indicator for four TV channels makes 13.9%). In other words, the monitoring subject for "ALM" is not a greater priority than for other TV channels studied, yet due to the big number of current affairs and news programs as such it received more frequent coverage than on the air of others.

Apart from the section "Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it" that takes the top line for all Armenian media studied, "ALM" paid quite a lot of attention to sections "Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it" - 12.5% of the total number of references to the monitoring subject (versus 8.3% overall on the four TV channels), and "Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)" - 11.3% of the total number of references to the monitoring subject (versus 9.9% overall on the four TV channels). Yet "Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context" here received the least interest (2.7% versus 7.2% overall).

The First Channel of the Public Television of Armenia was the leader in terms of the number of pieces, dealing with the monitoring subject (17.2% of the total number of pieces of the channel studied). The PTA First Channel most frequently, in comparison with other TV channels studied, addressed the category "Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context" (13.7%). PTA is the only broadcaster in Armenia to have a fulltime correspondent in MK.

Second Armenian TV Channel, similarly to the PTA First Channel and “ALM”, did not address the thematic section “Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue”. It concentrated its attention on the main section for Armenian media, “Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it” (81.6% of all references to the monitoring subject), taking a leadership position along this dimension among all the TV channels studied. At the same time, the Second Channel was behind other TV channels both in terms of number of pieces, dealing with the monitoring subject (11.6% of the total number of pieces studied on the TV channel) and in terms of airtime, allocated to it.

"Shant" was somewhat behind the PTA First Channel in terms of activeness of the monitoring subject coverage (16.3% of the total number of channel’s pieces studied) and matches “ALM” in terms of relative frequency of addressing the section “Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)” (10.6% of all references to the monitoring subject). The attention to Azerbaijan and developments in the neighbouring country was manifest primarily in the traditional comment on regional issues - a part of newscasts on “Shant” TV company.

Among the newspapers the leader in terms of attention to the monitoring subject was **"Golos Armenii"** that has been active in covering regional subject matter over all the past years. “Golos Armenii” allocated most of the newspaper space to this subject - twice as much as the three other newspapers in average. This is particularly notable, since “Golos Armenii” is published fewer times a week, three times versus the five of other print media studied. In “Golos Armenii” the monitoring subject was addressed in 18.7% of the total number of pieces studied (the highest indicator not only among newspapers, but also all media studied). Besides, out of “Golos Armenii” pieces, dealing with the monitoring subject, over three quarters are dealing with it in full, and this, again, is the highest indicator among all media studied.

Distribution of attention of “Golos Armenii” among the thematic sections in general corresponded to the trends, common for media studied. At the same time, this newspaper is traditionally most critical towards the neighbour country and its stance on Armenian-Azerbaijani relations and Karabagh problem. “Golos Armenii” 199 times addressed the section “Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it”, 46 times - the section “Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)”, 30 times - the section “Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context”, 18 times - the section “Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it”.

The second in terms of newspapers space, allocated to the monitoring subject, was **"Azg"**. Here the share of references to section “Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context” was the greatest (12.8% of the total number of references to the subject). This indicator of “Azg” is comparable to the respective indicator of the PTA First Channel. At the same time, this newspaper was the only one of those studied that never addressed the section “Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue”.

"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" was the second of all print media studied in terms of frequency of addressing the monitoring subject: 14% of the total number of pieces studied. Yet, if one compares such indicator as the proportion of pieces fully and partly dealing with the subject, one can conclude that “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” was the least substantial in covering the subject of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. Out of 221 pieces, dealing with the

subject, only 110 (less than a half) were dealing with it in full, 101 were dealing with it in part and 10 pieces contained references to it. Yet the aggregate volume of all issues of “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” throughout the monitoring period was about 1.5 as much as that of every other newspaper.

"Aravot", while falling behind “Golos Armenii” in terms of absolute indicators towards the section “Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it” (189 references versus 199 in “Golos Armenii”), yet in relative terms the newspaper was the leader: 88.3% of all references to the monitoring subject were accounted for by those to “Karabagh conflict resolution…”. This is the highest percentage, describing the attention of the media studied to one of the thematic sections of the monitoring. The interest of “Aravot” towards this section was particularly manifest during the second month of the monitoring (since October 16 to November 15 135 references were recorded versus 54 during the previous month), which is to a certain extent due to Meindorf Declaration signing.

One of the indicators, showing the value placed by media themselves on the monitoring subject, was the placement of the appropriate materials on newspaper pages and the existence of TV announcements. In this regard, most attention to Armenian-Azerbaijani subject matter was paid by “Azg” newspaper: 46.6% of pieces, fully or partly dealing with the subject were either placed on the front page or started on it. This figure for “Golos Armenii” newspaper made 38.7%, for “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” - 28.9%, for “Aravot” - 24%. (However, here one should take into account the different formats of the newspaper pages: “Golos Armenii” and “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” have them twice as big, and hence, they have more opportunities for placing articles on front page.)

Among the TV channels the most frequent in announcing stories that fully or partly dealt with the monitoring subject, within the program was “Shant” - in 28.8%, “ALM” did so in 24%, PTA First Channel - 17.5%. The Second Armenian TV Channel such pieces were absent, since in 2008 the channel does not have announcements within the program at all.

No principal differences in the nature of covering the monitoring subject between the public and private broadcasters have been recorded by this research.

Following the presentation of findings of the quantitative monitoring of Armenian media materials, dealing with Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, it would be appropriate to also share certain observations on the content of the reporting.

The presidential election campaign in Azerbaijan in 2008 was little covered by Armenian media. Unlike the previous election campaigns in the neighbour country, this one did not become a pretext to more or less fully discuss different approaches to the future of bilateral relations, the Karabagh conflict resolution. A possible reason for that is the fact that in Azerbaijan itself the Karabagh issues was not a subject for acute pre-election tensions unlike the previous years, and the campaign overall went on without clashes. As a consequence, elections did not imply new developments in Karabagh issue.

The main part of Armenian media pieces on elections in Azerbaijan were dealing with domestic policy of the neighbour country. The most consistent in addressing this subject was "Golos Armenii" newspaper that featured a section "Azerbaijan: Election Chronicle" in September-October. The pieces under this section were mostly a digest of Azerbaijani media, with an accent on critical assessments from Azerbaijani politicians, local and foreign experts.

Along with reprints from Azerbaijani sources, “Golos Armenii” addressed the specific aspects of election campaign in its own pieces, too. Thus, in an interview with the head of a charity organization "Azat Haik" Ruben Mnatsakanian, he noted that the repeated appeals of their organization to Baku authorities to allow them to be present at elections in Azerbaijan as an observation mission (parliamentary of 2005, presidential in 2008) as well as to visit Baku to check the signals about the destruction of Christian cemetery in the city remained unanswered. “Our appeals are an expression of a good will, human rights protection that Azerbaijan keeps ignoring. We only want to show how evasive and obscure is the moral and political notion of democracy", the interviewee noted *(“Golos Armenii”, October 9, 2008)*.

Upon the end of elections the Armenian press presented its own analytical materials on the re-election of Ilham Aliyev. Here the Karabagh context was more visible than in the course of campaign. Again, "Golos Armenii" was the most active. In its publications the presidency of "Aliyev clan" was discussed. In particular, in the article on inauguration of Ilham Aliyev, the author speaks about power inheritance in Azerbaijan: “(...) Ilham Aliyev is the only President in former Soviet Union countries, who inherited power. And judging by the current situation in the country, one can hardly expect him to leave the presidential office in five years, since “heydarism” has been announced to be the state ideology (...) Even Azerbaijanis themselves acknowledge that the members of Aliyev family clan take the highest positions, that one can end up in prison for criticizing “daddy’s” ideology, as it is qualified as a threat to state ideology” *(“Golos Armenii,” October 28, 2008)*.

Of the 149 references made by the media studied to thematic section “Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state) only 3 throughout the monitoring period were dealing with **state institutes of Azerbaijan.** In two pieces, as noted above, the issue of power inheritance was discussed *(in “Golos Armenii”, October 23 and 28, 2008)*, and in one publication (*in “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun”, September 20, 2008)* along with the institute of ombudsman in Mountainous Karabagh the institute of Human Rights Defender in Azerbaijan was presented.

Throughout the monitoring period only 9 pieces were recorded in the thematic section **“Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue”**. Eight of them were published in newspapers and one reference was made on the air of “Shant” TV channel. Taking into account their scarcity, the detailed consideration of each of them seems reasonable (one of the pieces was described above, the interview with the head of “Azat Haik” in “Golos Armenii”).

In the piece of “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun”, dealing with Chisinau summit of Black Sea Economic Cooperation, considered the issue of relations between Armenian and Azerbaijani representatives in this structure *(“Hayastani Hanrapetutiun”, November 11, 2008).*

In “Aravot” newspaper “Peace to All” article was published, with a subheadline “Is the Dream of My Azerbaijani Online Peer, and, When Speaking about Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict, He Chooses Words Carefully”. The piece was dealing with the online communication of Armenians and Azerbaijanis who go beyond discussing the Karabagh conflict only. The author told with much liking about one of her most interesting online friends, a young Azerbaijani, with whom she discussed not only the “football diplomacy” between Armenia and Turkey, Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, but also poetry, Internet portals, human relations and so on. The young Azerbaijani hopes that the previous

neighbourly relations would be established between the two nations. This piece was the only of the studied, where an obviously positive reference to Azerbaijan or Azerbaijanis was recorded *("Aravot", November 13, 2008).*

In "Aravot", in the traditional section "World of Armenians" a news piece was placed: "Performance": "In Baku a performance was staged, glorifying the friendship of Azerbaijani and Armenian nations" (quoted literally and in full). The reader was to guess what it was all about and whether it was a joke or not. Apparently, the clue was in the date the issue was published, that coincided with the ballot in Azerbaijan, October 15.

In the same "Aravot" information was published on the upcoming discussions on "Armenia-Azerbaijan: Ways to Mutual Understanding" within the Second South Caucasus Film Festival, held on September 26-28, 2008, with a slogan "I am Human" *("Aravot", September 23, 2008).*

In discussion program "Prospect" *(September 18, 2008)* on "Shant" TV channel the head of archeological expedition, Doctor of history Hamlet Petrosian, telling about his findings in excavations in Tigranakert, Mountainous Karabagh, noted that "on (Azerbaijani) web-sites there is information that Armenians have always been nationalists. I would like to make another observation. During the excavations we often listened to Azerbaijani radio. Their programs often started with phrases: "our hostile neighbours", "a country, hostile to us". I have never heard them say simply "Armenians, Armenia".

"Golos Armenii" newspaper, in its article on the significance of Turkish President Abdullah Gul's visit to Yerevan, quotes the words of Armenian President Serzh Sargsian, telling an episode of Olympics of 2008, where he and Azerbaijani President were present. According to RA President, when the Azerbaijani fighter won the battle, he congratulated Ilham Aliyev and shook hands with him, and when the Armenian fighter won the battle immediately after that, Aliyev did the same *("Golos Armenii", September 16, 2008).*

In "Golos Armenii" with a headline of "Delusions of Neighbourly Relations are a Dangerous Idea" an interview with political scientist Armen Ayvazian was published, who said: "No matter how much we wanted, Ankara and Baku will not change their genocidal policy towards Armenia due to the obvious weakness of our state" *("Golos Armenii", September 27, 2008).*

In another publication "Golos Armenii" *(October 9, 2008)* quotes the Prime Minister of Armenia Tigran Sargsian from his interview to Azerbaijani Internet portal Day.az, noting that Armenia and Azerbaijan must concentrate their attention on the values that unite them and not the other way round. "Armenia, similarly to Azerbaijan, is committed to common European values and sees its future in the integration with the European Union. According to the New Neighborhood Policy of the EC, the European Union is recommended to build closer relations with the countries of South Caucasus, that is, with Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. An attempt should be made to see the common future in 20, 30 years. In that case we will find it easier to find mutually acceptable solutions. I think the process would intensify after elections in Azerbaijan. We believe in Azerbaijan's constructivism", Tigran Sargsian concluded.

As it has been noted, a broad response in Armenian media was given to **Meindorf Declaration**, signed in Moscow by the Presidents of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia. The numerous print publications and TV programs discussed the pluses and minuses of the document. In this context the discussion of Mountainous Karabagh participating in the

negotiations process as a party to the conflict got more active. In the pieces dealing with resolution prospects much attention was paid to the stances of various political forces of Armenia, representatives of Mountainous Karabagh, statements by the RA leadership, analysis by journalists and experts, announcements of mediators, Azerbaijani politicians and public figures, as well as official news. The essence of Madrid principles was discussed along with the need to fully and distinctly define them. Media also paid quite a lot of attention to the decision of the leader of Armenian National Congress Levon Ter-Petrosian and his supporters to stop antigovernment actions to allow the Armenian authorities escaping pressure in talks on Mountainous Karabagh. Media of various directions either positively assessed this step by the opposition, or condemned it.

The last conventional week of monitoring (November 6-15, 2008) was the densest in terms of media interest to the monitoring subject. Almost all pieces were dealing with Karabagh resolution. Overall, it should be noted that of the two events that supposedly should have been central during the monitoring period, the elections of President of Azerbaijan and Meindorf Declaration on Karabagh resolution, only the latter received comprehensive and interested coverage in Armenian media.

CHAPTER I.III.

AZERBAIJAN MEDIA MONITORING

MEDIA STUDIED AND THEIR BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

"AZTV" (Azerbaijan TV) is a former state TV company, founded in 1956. Since 2006 it became a CJSC, yet all shares are owned by the state. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Khabarlar" ("News") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 20.00 till 20.50); "Gunun Nabzi" ("Pulse of the Day", on Tuesday to Friday from 20.50 till 21.20) and "Hafta" ("A Week", on Sundays from 20.00 till 21.30) current affairs programs, as well as other political discussion programs broadcasting from 19.00 till 24.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "AzTV" a total of 1,961 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 153 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 65 - in full, 56 - in part, 32 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 46. This made 7.8% of all TV pieces studied.

"ANS" is the first private TV and radio company of the country, broadcasting since 1992. The daily duration of air is 19-21 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Khabarci" ("Messenger") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 21.00 till 22.00); "Hesabat" ("Report", on Sundays from 21.00 till 21.30) current affairs program, as well as other political discussion programs broadcasting from 19.00 till 24.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "ANS" a total of 1,525 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 264 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 189 - in full, 34 - in part, 41 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 78. This made 17.3% of all TV pieces studied.

"ITV" is the Public Television of Azerbaijan, broadcasting since 2005. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Jarci" ("Herald") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 20.00 till 20.45); "Yekun" ("Result", on Sundays from 22.00 till 23.00) current affairs program, as well as other political discussion programs broadcasting from 19.00 till 24.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "ITV" a total of 1,906 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 337 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 269 - in full, 52 - in part, 16 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 65. This made 17.7% of all TV pieces studied.

"LEADER" is a private TV and radio company, broadcasting since 1998. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Seda" ("Voice") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 19.00 till 19.30); "Seda +" ("Voice+", on Monday to Friday from 19.30 till 20.00) and "Seda Hafta" ("Voice-Week", on Sundays from 21.00 till 22.00) current affairs programs. Throughout the monitoring period on "Leader" a total of 1,527 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 224 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 160 - in full, 42 - in part, 22 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 43. This made 14.7% of all TV pieces studied.

"AZERBAIJAN" is an official daily newspaper (six times a week, except Monday). The organ of the parliament of Azerbaijan, founded in 1919. The standard volume is 8-16/A2

pp. The stated print run is 8,737 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on “Azerbaijan” a total of 2,136 pieces was studied. Of these, 227 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 90 - in full, 99 - in part, 38 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 20. This made 10.6% of all newspaper pieces studied.

“YENI MUSAVAT” is an opposition daily newspaper (seven times a week), founded in 1989 by the Chairman of “Musavat” party. The standard volume is 16/A3 pp. The stated print run is 11,000-11,650 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on “Yeni Musavat” a total of 5,199 pieces was studied. Of these, 392 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 243 - in full, 83 - in part, 66 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 62. This made 7.5% of all newspaper pieces studied.

“525-CI GAZET” is an independent daily newspaper (five times a week), founded in 1992 by “525” company. The standard volume is 8/A2 pp. (on Tuesday to Friday) with stated print run of 2,025 copies and 32/A3 pp. (on Saturdays) with stated print run of 3,525 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on “525-ci Gazet” a total of 2,653 pieces was studied. Of these, 230 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 164 - in full, 48 - in part, 18 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 80. This made 8.7% of all newspaper pieces studied.

“ZERKALO” is a Russian-language independent daily newspaper (five times a week), founded in 1990 by a group of journalists. The standard volume is 8/A2 pp. (on Tuesday to Friday) with stated print run of 5,000 copies and 48/A3 pp. (on Saturdays) with stated print run of 10,000 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on “Zerkalo” a total of 2,011 pieces was studied. Of these, 151 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 83 - in full, 25 - in part, 43 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 46. This made 7.5% of all newspaper pieces studied.

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS OF AZERBAIJAN MEDIA MONITORING

18,918 TV pieces/newspaper articles were studied during two months of research. 1,978 of them were dealing with the monitoring subject (10.5% of the total number of TV/newspaper pieces studied).

6,919 TV pieces with 978 (14.1%) dealing with the monitoring subject were recorded in main issues of newscasts as well as in current affairs program and political discussion programs of **four TV channels**. Pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, made 79,347 seconds, i.e., more than 22 hours of continuous broadcasting. However, this time was shared irregularly between channels. “ITV” - 7 hours 20 minutes (321 references), “ANS” - 6 hours 52 minutes (224 references), “Leader” - 5 hours 8 minutes (202 references), “AzTV” - 2 hours 43 minutes (123 references).

683 TV pieces (69.8%) were fully and 184 (18.8%) partly dealing with the monitoring subject, 111 (11.3%) contained references to it. Each fourth piece (26.8%) fully or partly concerning Armenia, Armenians or Armenian-Azerbaijani relations was announced.

Number of newspaper articles published during the same period in **four print media studied** made 11,999 with 1,000 (8.3%) pieces on monitoring subject. Volume of pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, made 161,765 square centimeters that is almost 162/A3 newspaper pages. Near third part of this volume accounts for “Yeni Musavat” newspaper - 52 pages (327 references), indicators of “525-ci Gazet” and

“Zerkalo” are approximately the same - 42.6 and 41.6 pages (213 and 110 references respectively). The official newspaper “Azerbaijan” allocated twice as less newspaper space to the issue than the opposition daily “Yeni Musavat” - 25.5 pages (189 references).

835 of all newspaper pieces were fully (58%) or partly (25.5%) dealing with the monitoring subject. The other 165 pieces (16.5%) contained references to it. Each fourth article (24.9%) was placed or started on the front page.

Before analyzing the **degree of interest of media towards different thematic sections,** it should be noted that overall Azerbaijan media displayed a high interest to the monitoring subject. It is common for national media. Nevertheless we should mention that a lot of developments before and during the monitoring period, intensified the attention of TV channels and newspapers towards the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, the process of the Karabagh problem settlement. Events in Georgia (five days war between Georgia and Russia) fluttered the whole region, brought the problem of prompt settlement of frozen conflicts up to date. Later in September-November 2008 presidential elections in Azerbaijan took place, President of Turkey visited Armenia for the first time, meeting of Foreign Ministers of three countries was held on the 63rd session of UN General Assembly, President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev met President of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan for the first time, two Presidents signed joint declaration for the first time, etc. This background was certainly reflected in quantitative indicators of research.

Monitors divided pieces of Azerbaijan media, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, to five thematic sections and recorded them separately, as noted in the Chapter “Background Information” of this Report.

Monitoring showed that the attention of Azerbaijan newspapers and TV channels, addressing the Armenian issue, was mainly focused on the **Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it.** 84% of 839 made by newspaper references to the monitoring subject were dealing with the problem of the Karabagh conflict settlement. This figure for TV channels made 89.5% from 870 references. Pieces of this thematic section consist primarily of the reports on official meetings, declarations of Presidents, politicians, diplomats, analytical speeches of experts and journalists.

One of the rare pieces with a positive attitude (during the monitoring only two pieces were observed) was accounted for this thematic section. It is an interview of popular Armenian actor Armen Jigarkhanyan to Internet site Day.az and a positive comment of a journalist on this interview published in “Yeni Musavat” newspaper (October 22, 2008).

The level of attention to the monitoring subject, allocated by all media studied, is somewhat equal. Official newspaper “Azerbaijan” more often than other print media addressed the problem of the Karabagh conflict (88.4% of all pieces dealing with the monitoring subject), while for the broadcast media, the national channel “AzTV” falls behind (84.6%) its colleagues in terms of this indicator.

An analysis of quantitative indicators confirms that Azerbaijan media covered **life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context** very rarely and displayed less interest to it, comparing to other thematic sections. It was to be expected, as for the Azerbaijani media the words “Mountainous Karabagh” and “conflict” are in fact synonyms, hence are more often referred to in the respective context. Moreover, media do not have direct sources of information in Mountainous Karabagh and do not seek to have one.

During two months 8 media made only 9 references to the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context. Thus, 6 newspaper pieces (0.7% of all references to the monitoring subject) and 3 TV pieces - 0.3% addressed the thematic section. 132 seconds and 417 square centimeters of newspaper volume were allocated to this thematic section. “ANS”, “ITV” as well as “Azerbaijan” and “Zerkalo” newspapers did not even address the abovementioned thematic section, “Leader” TV and “Yeni Musavat” newspaper had only one piece each, “AzTV” - two, and “525-ci Gazet” - five pieces dealing with this section.

What life aspects in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context were addressed by Azerbaijan print media? In average less than 70 square centimeters of newspaper space were allocated to each of the 6 pieces. This signifies that regarding this issue Azerbaijan print media display interest towards specific developments without any details. In brief communications on these developments the conflict is never mentioned, yet its “halitus” is always perceived. For example, “Yeni Musavat” newspaper (October 28, 2008) notes about the 6-day visit of representatives of executive power of Stavropol Kray to Mountainous Karabagh, where they will visit a Russian-speaking school to render humanitarian assistance, and will meet the Russian community of Karabagh. “525-ci Gazet” (September 24, 2008) says that one of the Russian banks makes money orders to Mountainous Karabagh. It implies that such an activity without the permission of Azerbaijan authorities is a support to separatism. By the way, the print media had first of all paid attention to this aspect of the issue (the same regards the broadcast media).

Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue are addressed in media 5.7 times as much than “Life in Mountainous Karabagh out of conflict context”. Nevertheless, the attention of newspaper and TV channels to this thematic section can be considered as low, respectively, 4.3% (in print media) and 1.7% (in broadcast media) of all references to the monitoring subject. Thus, in two months 51 references to the section were made by the media studied (15 by TV, 36 by newspapers).

The monitoring showed that the media studied refer to this thematic section with different frequency and in different time. This signifies that Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue are not only sustainable in fostering the interest of Azerbaijan media, and that there are no considerable developments in this sphere which could receive the attention by journalists. The only event which was addressed by 6 from 8 media studied is “ the 90th anniversary of liberation of Baku from Armenian Dashnaks and Bolsheviks”.

“ANS” is a leader in terms of attention to “Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue” (6 references in 2 months - 2.7% of all references to the monitoring subject), among the newspapers the leader was “Yeni Musavat” (19 references or 5.8%).

This is obviously conditioned by the fact that there are no Azerbaijani-Armenian relations in many spheres, moreover, Baku believes that they cannot be settled unless a political solution on the Karabagh conflict is reached. Yet the references to this subject are dealing with the meetings of sportsmen of two countries, the ecological situation in the region, the summits with participation of Azerbaijan and Armenian delegations, etc. Some of them say that water resources of Azerbaijan, in particular Araz river, are being constantly polluted by Armenians. One of such articles refers to the implementation of a joint project on monitoring of water resources in the South Caucasus.

At the same time it should be noted that pieces of this thematic section are mainly dealing with relations not between states but between Armenian and Azerbaijan people. For

example, “Yeni Musavat” newspaper (October 24 and 25) wrote about the joint work of Armenian and Azerbaijani authors. “Zerkalo” (October 8) published a piece on a new initiative of non-governmental organizations: “ Nine people each from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia will live in the “Camp of Art Figures”. The aim of this workshop is making a coalition of art figures and teachers in the South Caucasus, who will take part in programs of British Council in future.”

Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, and its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state) is one of the most substantial thematic sections of the monitoring. Pieces, making an image of a neighboring country and describing the characteristics of its nation and individual representatives, mostly refer to this section.

As it was to be expected, this thematic section took the second place in terms of references by Azerbaijan media. In September-November, 2008 media made 131 references (76 - in newspapers or 9.1% of all references to the monitoring subject, and 55 - on TV or 6.3%. The overall duration of abovementioned pieces was more than one hour, while the overall newspaper space was 14,920 square centimeters (a little less than 15/A3 pages).

81% pieces of this section were dealing with analyses of the situation in Armenia, its geopolitical situation, and description of state institutions. Many of the TV/newspaper pieces correspond in terms of structure: a journalist, guided by a fact or reference to an event, proceeds to the description of the situation. For example, after reporting that Yerevan acknowledges the territorial integrity of Georgia even after August developments of 2008, the author of the piece in “Yekun” program, told about the influence of this fact on Russian-Armenian intergovernmental relations (“ITV”, October 5, 2008). He proves that “this step by Armenia can be regarded as a response to increase gas prices by Russia”. Or, by informing that Russia has increased the gas prices by 40%, sold to Armenia (September 26, 2008), “Yeni Musavat” analyzes the possible changes in the Armenian economy in the next months.

Overall, it should be noted that the largest number of pieces regarding Armenia as a state consists of articles and TV pieces describing Armenian-Russian and Armenian-Georgian relations, or analyzing Armenian economy. There were pieces describing the deal of power in the Armenian parliament, co-relations of the authorities in the country.

All the other references -19% of pieces on the thematic section – were dealing with Armenians, as individual representatives of the nation and state, and contained assessments of national features and particularities.

“ITV” and “ANS” addressed the subject matter more frequently than other channels: 21 references (6.5% of all references to the monitoring subject) and 14 references (6.3%), respectively. “525-ci Gazet” and “Yeni Musavat” are distinguished among newspapers according this indicators with 28 references (13.1%) and 20 references (6.1%), respectively.

The only article with a positive attitude to this thematic section was an article in “Yeni Musavat” newspaper. Popular poet Ramiz Rovshan expressed his attitude towards an interview of a famous author and film script writer Rustam Ibrahimbekov and wrote on the favorable influence of many representatives of Armenian intellectuals on the cultural life of Baku, on the formation and preservation of its unique spiritual character.

Although there is a considerable number of pieces fully or partly dealing with “Armenia as a state and Armenians as individual representatives of a nation” in Azerbaijan media, the research revealed a low interest of newspapers and TV companies directly to **the developments in neighboring country and/or relating to it**. In comparison to the indicators of the last years, it is obvious that there are still very few media pieces on developments in Armenia, eventhough the direct sources of information (Internet sites, online publications, personal contacts, etc.) had been broadened.

During two months of research monitors marked only 34 references to this thematic section in Azerbaijan media. 16 newspaper pieces with total volume of 1,164 square centimeters were dealing with the developments in Armenia, i.e., 1.9% of all newspaper references to the monitoring subject. Moreover, 18 reports on specific developments in Armenia were covered by 4 TV channels with a total duration of 1,419 seconds, i.e., 2.1% of all TV references to the monitoring subject. All the pieces were in fact dealing with 3-4 events: change of leadership in the Armenian parliament, continuous meetings of opposition, visit of Russian President Dmitry Medvedev to Yerevan, Kurdish actions in Yerevan calling for “Freedom to Ojalan!”

The level of attention of different media to the developments in Armenia is very different, which is very difficult to explain. Based on the TV pieces, one can only presume that the more the media are independent, the more frequent they report on developments in the neighboring country. 7 of 18 pieces on monitoring subject were covered by “ANS”. Within two months, each of the other 3 TV channels addressed this subject matter only 3-4 times. However the distribution of articles, dealing with events in Armenia, among print media, disproves this assumption. During the monitoring official newspaper “Azerbaijan”, pro-governmental newspaper “525-ci Gazet” and independent newspaper “Zerkalo” published just one piece on developments in Armenia, yet oppositional “Yeni Musavat” published 13 articles during the same period. If “Azerbaijan” newspaper (September 20, 2008) displayed interest only towards the September rallies in Yerevan, the only report of “Zerkalo” (October 19, 2008) was dealing with the protest action by Kurds, while “525-ci Gazet” (September 17, 2008) paid attention to the resignation of Tigran Torosyan, Speaker of Armenian parliament, “Yeni Musvat” reported on the visit of Dmitry Medvedev to Yerevan, on airplane wreck, the arrest of oppositionists, decision of Armenian court on suit of the opposition, etc.

CHAPTER I.IV.
"CROSS MONITORING":
INACCURATE INFORMATION, CLICHES AND STEREOTYPES IN MEDIA OF ARMENIA
(Results of the Analysis Made by Azerbaijani Observer of the Armenian Media Summaries)

Armenian media pieces dealing with the monitoring subject consist of reports on trips of foreign representatives and international organizations to the region, on press-conferences of Presidents, Foreign Ministers, party leaders and political scientists, on presentations of books, films, festivals, of analytical articles/programs, short stories of events in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Karabagh, review of media of neighboring countries, refutations to different articles, interview, discussions. Both as Azerbaijan, Armenian media very rarely reflect real situation in neighboring country by means of "real" reports, reprints, etc. However, this is largely affected by the existing political developments.

Observers studied summaries to the above-mentioned pieces and recorded text units used with a certain frequency, and formed a negative image of neighboring country, nation or were negatively perceived by audience for any of several reasons. Such phrases, word-combinations, ideas do not contain any information as a rule; they are of evaluative character, can conceived in open form or in the implication. Foreign audience cannot understand or see the reasons of painful perception of these "lexical combinations", yet they evidently set negative background in public mind of two conflicting nations, hamper the dialogue, confidence and mutual understanding between them.

The text units, the use of which is unacceptable and set negative attitude of Azerbaijani audience, were singled out by observers, and were classified text in three categories: 1. inaccurate information; 2. cliches; 3. stereotypes.

INACCURATE INFORMATION

During the research observers recorded both - explicitly inaccurate facts, distorted quotations as well as opinions, that where based on specific facts and quotations, but misled the people.

The monitoring showed that "ALM" TV channel and "Golos Armenii" newspaper turned out to be the most inaccurate. In other Armenian media, inaccurate information on developments in Azerbaijan or facts, figures referring to them, was significantly fewer the other. Below one can see vivid examples recorded by observers:

- *"According to my data, about 1.5 mln refugees - Azerbaijan citizens, live in Armenia. From this point of view, elections in Azerbaijan can be considered as illegitimate" ("ALM", "Stance" program, October 16, 2008).* Official data of different sources on number of Azerbaijan refugees in Armenia is much less than the given figure.

- *"The claim of Rustam Ibrahimbekov, Chairman of Filmmakers' Union of Azerbaijan, that*

the elite of Azerbaijan society disappeared after Armenians left Azerbaijan. Rustam Ibrahimbekov said it in his interview to Russian "Pravda" newspaper" ("ALM", "Day by Day" program, October 31, 2008). In fact, Rustam Ibrahimbekov said in his interview the following: "Imagine a city with a population of one and a half million, the half of which, including Azerbaijanis, left for some reasons, instead two million people, unready for city life, arrived ."

- "Azerbaijan does not acknowledge our territorial integrity" ("ALM", "Stance", November 6, 2008); "Azerbaijan stated on readiness to join NATO. RF will never accept Azerbaijan decision under such circumstances" ("Aravot", November 12, 2008). Azerbaijan never declared on non-acknowledgement of territorial integrity of Armenia or being ready to join NATO.

There are a lot of mistakes in orthography or pronunciation of the names of authority representatives, analysts and journalists of Azerbaijan. For example, *"Gazar Ibrahim"* instead of Khazar Ibrahim (Press-Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan), "*Elkhar Shagi oglu*" instead of Elkhan Shahinoglu (analyst), *"Vugar Aidov*" instead of Vugar Aliyev (an official of AR President's Office). Such mistakes are serious violations of professional norms and are sensitively perceived by people to whom they refer (of course, if these articles are stored on Internet and become easy to access for audience of neighboring countries).

Pieces of Armenian media very often contain elements of so-called "information ". They can be found in a form of dissemination of false information, causing the rejection or accusations in propagandistic diversion by the other party. The borders of the "zone of informational confrontation" between Armenian and Azerbaijan journalists are in fact much broader than described in this part of the report. For example, the steady mutual accusations in violation of cease-fire also contain elements of information warfare. However, here we refer only to those text units which cannot be classified as cliches and stereotypes for insufficiency of repetition frequency; yet, inaccuracy or deliberate information distortion are evident. Below we can see examples from summaries to media pieces:

- "Azerbaijan was at least able to take under partial control well-known Russian news agency "Regnum" (...) "Regnum" Transcaucasian Editorial Bureau based in Yerevan also runs at the expense of the budget of strategic secret service of Azerbaijan" ("Golos Armenii", October 28, 2008).

- "The world crisis raised panic in stock exchanges and major banks, financial circles of Baku. Former Chairman of State Oil Company of Azerbaijan had foreseen the sad end of petrodollars. (...) President of Insurance Company "Embask" caused the panic of the clients, having said that private banks of the country have strictly limited programs of short-term and long-term loans that will negatively influence economy in whole". (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur" program, September 22, 2008)

USE OF CLICHES

The "cliches" in this research were understood to be ***the words and phrases***, ***always used in Armenian media in negative context and causing a negative response of Azerbaijani audience.***

The following words and phrases are the most common cliches, recorded in Armenian press and unacceptable from the Azerbaijan reader viewpoint:

- *"MKR" and "President of MKR".* Use of abbreviation "MKR" *("Mountainous Karabagh Republik" - **observer**)* is a stress on "independent statehood" of Mountainous Karabagh while it is not recognized even in Armenia and cause negative attitude in Azerbaijan.

- *"Artsakh".* When the matter concerns negotiations and meetings with the representatives of international organizations, this territory is called Mountainous Karabagh, in the majority of other cases Armenian media use the notion "Artsakh" instead of "Mountainous Karabagh" negatively perceived in Azerbaijan.

- *"Liberated territories", "7 liberated regions".* Likewise, Armenian press calls regions bordering with Mountainous Karabagh and passed under Armenian control in 1992-1993, while Azerbaijan calls them "occupied".

- *"Armenian and Karabagh people".* People at present living in Mountainous Karabagh are also Armenians. Negative perception of the cliche by Azerbaijan audience has 2 reasons: at first, the notion Karabagh is much broader and hundred thousands Azerbaijan citizens also consider themselves people of Karabagh, second, in this case a reverse stereotype that such an artificial division has far-reaching political objectives, works in Azerbaijan.

- *"Karabagh Tigranakert".* The connection of the cliche with the stereotype "Karabagh is ancient Armenian land and Azerbaijanis are arrivals" (*see "Stereotypes" Section)* is traced from its context. This word-combination is marked as cliche because according the summaries it is also constantly met in media pieces out of the context. For example, "Karabagh Tigranakert and Egyptian Pyramids" *(headline of an article in "Aravot" newspaper, September 19, 2008).*

- *"Azers, Azer refugees".* There is a pejorative, insulting implication when Azerbaijanis are called Azers: for example, "victory of Aliyev - is the victory of the "nation of Azers" *(Second Armenian TV Channel, "Lraber" program, October 16, 2008)*; "it is a serious mistake to name Azerbaijanis Azers. Russians called them Caucasian Tatars, and then they were renamed in Azerbaijanis and now Azers. They are the same Turks which helped to realize Genocide over Armenians in 1918" *(Second Armenian TV Channel, "Fourth Studio" program, October 29, 2008).*

Modification of Azerbaijan toponymies by Armenian media is extremely negatively perceived in Azerbaijan. For example, *"Kashatag"* (Lachin region is often named like this in Armenian media): "(...) Kashatag is not a liberated territory now, this notion remained in history, now this region is assigned by the MK Constitution" *(First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur" program, November 10, 2008); "Karvachar"* (Kelbajar region is often called in this way in Armenian media): "(...) on the future legal status of historically Armenian Karvachar, bordering with MKR (...)" *("Azg", October 8, 2008).*

USE OF STEREOTYPES

The "stereotype" was understood to be ***the thoughts, ideas that are repeated with certain frequency, yet take various verbal expressions, their connotations or direct meaning being always negative.*** Analyzing summaries to Armenian media pieces dealing with monitoring subject the observer marked the most frequent stereotypes. To

make it more understandable, those which are implicitly close, were classified and presented in one paragraph.

The most frequent Azerbaijan is described in Armenian media by means of such epithets as “martial”, “aggressive”. It hints at a stereotype that Armenian nation is against military settlement of the conflict while Azerbaijanis speak in support of it. For example, *“(...) aggressive policy of Azerbaijan that threatens renewal of military actions (...)” (“ALM”, “Day by Day” program, October 17, 2008).*

To this effect, a number of other stereotypes ensuring readers or TV audience that Azerbaijan is drastically arming is used : *“about speed of excessive militarization in Azerbaijan (...)”, “with cynical threats towards Armenian people and not hiding intentions to unleash aggression against them (...)” (“Golos Armenii”, September 30, 2008); “unrestrained arming of Azerbaijan and aggressive aspirations of Azerbaijan” (“Hayastani Hanrapetutiun”, September 26, 2008).*

The stereotype, used and repeated by many media, that Azerbaijan party breaks cease-fire also relates to this group: *“in 2008 during 9 months about 2600 cases of armistice violation (cease-fire) were recorded, it exceeds the figures of last years. Previous monitoring attempts failed because of the Azerbaijan party which did not provide security of observers” (“Shant”, “Horizon” program, September 30, 2008); “this year was a record for the number of violations of cease-fire by Azerbaijan party, (...) Azerbaijan party strengthens its fire force year by year” (“Golos Armenii”, October 2, 2008); “people (...) reach school under bombardment”, “bombardment is a part of everyday life here” (“Azg”, October 16, 2008, and November 4, 2008); “constant bombardments by Azerbaijan party do not let villagers to farm the land” (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, “25 minutes” program, November 4, 2008).*

Armenian media develops a stereotype that continuation of confrontation is harmful for Azerbaijan, Armenia should not be concerned about it. If there is a war, Azerbaijan will lose more territories, and if all means in negotiations are exhausted, Armenia will recognize the independence of Mountainous Karabagh; *“in case of threat towards Karabagh, military actions will not only move to the opponent territory but also continue within Azerbaijan, it is unambiguously possible owing to military talent of Armenian army revealed during fighting exercises” (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, “Haylur”, October 27, 2008, and other media); “if Azerbaijan unleashes war, (...) Armenian forces will be able to move so far that will be able to set a land frontier with RF” (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, “Haylur”, October 31, 2008, and other media); “acknowledgement of Karabagh independency should always be kept in reserve by our diplomats and we must regularly remind about it both the international community and especially Azerbaijan, yet this stand-by arm must be used at the right moment” (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, “Haylur”, October 1, 2008).*

A diversity of stereotypes is related to the issue of independence of Mountainous Karabagh. It is unambiguously stated that the right of nation for self-determination prevails not only over the principle of territorial integrity but also other international norms; by means of media it is inspired that independence of Mountainous Karabagh is a political fact and already a resolved fact. The most frequent stereotypes of the group are the following:

- Karabagh issue has been already settled, MK is an independent state: *“Karabagh issue is not solved only for Azerbaijan and ally Turkey” (“Shant”, “Horizon”, October 24, 2008,*

and other media); "MK is a valid state under international law" (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur", November 6, 2008).

- Karabagh status is out of discussion, we can only negotiate with Azerbaijan to make it recognize the self-determination of MK: *"issues of determination of state border between Mountainous Karabagh and Azerbaijan should be discussed with Azerbaijan. Here is the subject of negotiations" ("Golos Armenii", October 11, 2008); "the aim of continuous negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan is to reach independence by this way" (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur", September 28, 2008).*

- Mountainous Karabagh has no relation with the problem of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and was never a part of Azerbaijan: *"Armenia (...) is not against territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, but it does not relate to MK, as MK is a self-determined and a separate unit" ("ALM", "Stance", September 25, 2008, and other media); "some weeks ago professor Alexander Manasyan offered Brayza and any other an award of a million dollar, if one can bring just one legal document to prove that "Mountainous Karabagh is a part of Azerbaijan from legal point and by international laws" ("Golos Armenii", October 18, 2008).*

- The right of the nation for self-determination is the main international principle which can not be subordinated to other principles and is the only ground to settle the conflict: *"Armenia is ready to continue negotiation process on Karabagh settlement based on Madrid principles, i.e., on the base of the right of Karabagh people for self-determination" ("Shant", "Horizon", October 21, 2008); "the main issue in Karabagh problem is (...) the acknowledgement of the right on self-determination of MK people" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 29, 2008); "historically and logically legal principle of self-determination dominates over the principle of territorial integrity, otherwise the principle of self-determination is not necessary at all" (Golos Armenii", October 2, 2008).*

One the most frequent and steady stereotype is an allegation that Armenia is not in fact a party to a conflict, but a mediator with Azerbaijan and Mountainous Karabagh being parties to a conflict: *"Armenia must be just a mediator in the issue and not named as an aggressor. MK has its statehood" ("ALM", "Price of the Question", October 14, 2008); "the most important issue to settle the problem is to involve Karabagh as a party in negotiations" (repeated in many media); "there is no MK signature under Moscow Declaration, so this document has not legal force" (repeated in many media).*

Another stereotype to strengthen an idea on the inevitable acknowledgement of Karabagh independence says: if MK remains within Azerbaijan, all Armenians will become victims of the ethnic purges: *"if there is "a miracle" and Karabagh joins Azerbaijan, Armenians will be forced to leave it (...)", "Azerbaijan has already tried to do all the best to realize ethnic purges in MK" ("Azg", September 23, 2008, and October 2, 2008); "if liberated territories are yielded, nobody will remain in Artsakh and Sunik" ("Aravot", November 8, 2008); "Baku does not hide its hatred towards Armenians of Mountainous Karabagh making threats to deal with them after "restitution of occupied territories" ("Golos Armenii", October 30, 2008).*

This thesis is supported by another stereotype that Armenians have been already subjected to ethnic purges and repeated genocide by Azerbaijanis. Overall, Armenian media very often refer to the genocide issue. These references are more traditionally related to the events of 1915 in Turkey. However, there are a lot of pieces which allege on genocide made by Azerbaijanis over Armenians: *"(...) for ethnic purges implemented by*

Azerbaijan in Baku, Sumgait, Kirovabad and other places during 1988-1994 and for aggression over Karabagh (...)" ("Aravot", October 29, 2008); "we do not speak on Azerbaijan Armenians who suffered Genocide and Nakhchivan where people also suffered Genocide" (Second Armenian TV Channel, "Fourth Studio", October 29, 2008); "during 20th years-history of Karabagh conflict Armenian people suffered some violent acts falling under the international determination of Genocide. Mass crimes against Armenians in Sumgait, Baku, Kirovabad, massacre in Maraga (1992) - Armenian diplomats even do not try to use these incontestable arguments as acts of ethnic purges and Genocide. Events in Khojalu prove them to be crimes of Azerbaijan against its own citizens" ("Golos Armenii", September 16, 2008).

Content of the above stereotypes is related to the political-legal base of the Karabagh conflict. At the same time stereotypes concerning historical aspects of Karabagh conflict are also common. One of them says in brief, Karabagh is an ancient Armenian land, Azerbaijanis are arrivals on the territory: *"Mountainous Karabagh is a motherland for definite part of Armenians who lived there for ages, yet Azerbaijanis appeared there only in the 14-15th centuries" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 25, 2008); "OSCE MG, USA, etc., should pay attention to historical monuments of Mountainous Karabagh which date since the 5th century when Azerbaijanis lived in tribes" ("ALM", "Indeed", October 25, 2008); "during excavations of the city founded by Tigran the Great recordings in Armenian language were discovered. They prove existence of Armenian Christianity in Khachenaget valley. (...) The following announcement by Aliyev provoked the excavations: "Armenians in Karabagh are guests; they came here in the 19th century." During press-conference in Yerevan, head of expedition said that excavations and the discovered ruins prove that this territory has been historically regarded as a territory of Armenian ethnical culture" ("Shant", "Horizon", September 18, 2008).*

The subject of historical belonging of Mountainous Karabagh is an original "bridge" between one group of stereotypes regarding MK independence issue and another group used as an argument in the territorial dispute. If earlier Armenian media named off-boundary regions of Mountainous Karabagh controlled by Armenian forces as temporarily occupied "buffer zone", at present a stereotype claiming Karabagh to be a historical motherland of Armenians is also used: *"they are not occupied territories, they in fact form MKR together with the borders of autonomous region drawn during Soviet regime and any attempt to change borders means infringement of MKR Constitution" ("Golos Armenii", October 30, 2008); "Armenians gained large-scaled victory and liberated a small part of their historical motherland" ("Azg", October 11, 2008); "at the briefing in National Assembly head of parliamentary faction "Dashnaktsutiun" Vahan Hovhannisian said: "(...) We do not exchange Armenian territories for Armenian territories", when asked by "Aravot", how ARF "Dashnaktsutiun" treat an offer of "Heritage" party to solve the issue of liberated territories by the principle "land-for-land", for example, as exchange Aghdam for Shahumian" ("Aravot", November 15, 2008).*

The most frequently stereotype marked in the previous paragraph is a thesis that Armenia should not give Azerbaijan even a single inch: *"blood was shed and no one returns anything after all possible wars in the whole world" ("ALM", "Stance", October 9, 2008); "no one has and will ever return even a centimeter of a land, we would not let it" (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "25 Minutes", October 30, 2008); "none can give his enemy a motherland liberated with blood", "if we lose even a centimeter of territories, we will lose everything" ("Aravot", September 18, 2008, and October 25, 2008).*

There is a stereotype that Nakhchivan is also an original Armenian territory occupied by

Azerbaijan: *"Armenian territories - Artsakh and Nakhichevan (...) were annexed, occupied territories since 1991" ("Golos Armenii", October 9, 2008); "we do not speak (...) about Nakhichevan which was given to Soviet Azerbaijan where people suffered from Genocide" (Second Armenian TV Channel, "Fourth Studio", October 29, 2008).*

Stereotype that Armenia cannot make any concessions to Azerbaijan is often met in speeches and claims of politicians. Moreover it is displayed not only regarding such issues as MK independency, liberation of territories, but also on the occasion of possible return of refugees to native lands: *"what is unacceptable at all (...) is the return of Azerbaijan refugees to MK" ("ALM", "Stance", October 30, 2008).*

Armenian media often contain expressions of pejorative or abusive character for Azerbaijan. They serve for forming a stereotype that Azerbaijanis, as a nation, are worse than Armenians, they are vandals, barbarians, impudent, dishonorable, rough-mannered people: *"Azerbaijanis are more unbalanced and screwed-up", "in contrast to Azerbaijan President (...) our President does not make such allegations as he is a modest and honest man" ("Aravot", November 1, 2008, and November 13, 2008); "excessive impudence of our Azerbaijan vis-a-vis" (an article headed as "Azerbaijanis Became Impudent", "Golos Armenii", October 25, 2008); "Sheep brought Turk to Caucasus, Turk walked following wet-nurse like a lamb. Today when Turk is fed by an oil not by sheep, they try to erase evidences proving their previous nomadic life" (an author confirms his allegation with examples of an inroad on flock of sheep on village roads of Azerbaijan - **observer**) ("Golos Armenii", November 8, 2008); "when Azerbaijanis wandered in tribes" ("ALM", "Indeed", October 25, 2008).*

Many viewpoints of media strengthen a stereotype that Azerbaijan is an ancient Armenian enemy, Azerbaijanis are uncompromising Armenian enemies: *"in the state (Azerbaijan - **observer**) with official policy of aggressive anti-Armenism and in society where hatred towards Armenians is spread and strengthened, and the murder of Armenian is regarded as the highest (...) heroism", "Azerbaijan authorities calling for a new war and even jihad from time to time, not recognizing right of Mountainous Karabagh for existence, promising to raze to the ground Mountainous Karabagh and Armenia (...)" ("Golos Armenii", September 25, 2008, and October 4, 2008).*

Such images as "dictator, Kurdish Chieftain, Kurdish leader" repeated in the pieces of the First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Azg", "Aravot", "Golos Armenii" newspapers create a stereotype that leaders of Azerbaijan thinking not of the fate of the country but of strengthening the position of own clan, cannot take care about Armenians of Mountainous Karabagh: *"Turkey "dissuaded" Aliyev in vain. He would not dare to poke his nose in a lace, where his father named "national leader" came to grief. This is why he did not understand the meaning of the word "motherland". But of course, how a Kurd whose ancestors led a nomad's life in the north of Iraq could understand it?" ("Golos Armenii", November 11, 2008); "(...) yet Kurdish leader of Azerbaijan does not care for it ("islamization", "making zombie", "axe effect" of the country - **observer**), he is busy with strengthening the position of own clan and authority succession for his own family" ("Golos Armenii", October 16, 2008).*

Another stereotype is an allegation that Karabagh issue is not only an issue of Karabagh people but also of all Armenians and to lose in this issue means annihilate own people for the second time in the century: *"MK issue is not only issue of Karabagh people, but of all Armenians" ("Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", November 8, 2008); "Armenian Issue Is Not The Issue of The Territory, Compensation But Psychology of Our Nation" (headline of an article*

in "Azg" newspaper, September 18, 2008); "Armenia-MKR-Diaspora is a single organism we name Armenian World" ("Golos Armenii", October 9, 2008).

Another stereotype is related to Turkish activities in the settlement of regional conflicts in the South Caucasus. It serves for strengthening the opinion that Turkish participation in the process of settlement of Karabagh conflict is extremely counter-indicative, Azerbaijan and Turkey lead coordinated and purposeful policy on suffocation and extermination of Armenia: *"political process proposing arrangement of roles. Ankara is in the role of pigeon, Baku of hawk. It means, one part of Turks aims at Europe by peaceable means, another makes Europe hostage of Pan-Turkism" ("Golos Armenii", October 30, 2008); "here is an arrangement of roles: Turkey acts as benevolent, Azerbaijan - an aggressor" (Second Armenian TV Channel, "Fourth Studio", October 29, 2008).*

THUS, during two months of monitoring Azerbaijan observers analyzed summaries for 1,550 TV pieces/newspaper articles of 8 Armenian media: "Golos Armenii" - 266, "ALM" TV channel - 242, "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - 211, "Aravot" - 208, Second Armenian TV Channel - 117, "Shant" TV channel - 104, "Azg" - 208, First Channel of Public Television of Armenia - 194.

CHAPTER I.V.

"CROSS MONITORING":

INACCURATE INFORMATION, CLICHES AND STEREOTYPES IN MEDIA OF AZERBAIJAN

(Results of the Analysis Made by Armenian Observer of the Azerbaijani Media Summaries)

As noted in the Chapter "Background Information" of this Report, the research was to record both examples of inaccurate information and text units that can contribute to the formation of negative image of the neighbouring countries and its residents and/or causing a negative response, an insult of the other party. Initially these words and expressions can be absolutely neutral, yet their consistence use in certain connotation (in our case, purely negative) imparts negative meaning to it. The use of such "infected" text units, cliches and stereotypes, as a rule, does not add any new information, necessary for the audience, but rather sets a hostile, malignant background in the public mind that impedes the dialogue and mutual understanding.

A similar research had been administered in 2005, and then appropriate units of text were singled out. This allows today making a comparative analysis, assessing how persistent the "viruses" are. The determination of the latter ones in both cases was made by "cross" principle, i.e., the Armenian partner at that stage of the research analyzed the materials of Azerbaijani media and vice versa. Accordingly all examples in this section of the report are taken from Azerbaijani sources. One of the main conclusions is that the most common cliches and stereotypes have been firmly rooted in the media vocabulary and continue "successfully" performing their function of forming the enemy image.

The most typical example is the use of the word "separatists" in various combinations to denote Armenians of Mountainous Karabagh. The initially neutral and specific notion in the context of Armenian-Azerbaijan has long been "infected" a lot. For Azerbaijani audience its frequent use in the same context as words "extremist", "terrorist" and such, have resulted in transfer of meaning from these words to the word "separatist" with no much difference. The fact that with this word Armenians are labeled in stories about Mountainous Karabagh, whatever their theme is, the behavior and occupation of the characters are, make it normal that the whole population of Karabagh be seen as enemies and criminals ("terrorists", "extremists") that deserve a most severe punishment. On its behalf, the Armenian audience perceives every use of word "separatist", appropriate or inappropriate, as hostile to it.

For the purpose of the research, both in 2005 and this time the notions of "cliches" and "stereotypes" were conventionally differentiated. The "cliches" were understood to be the words and phrases, always used in negative context and/or causing a negative response: i.e., the same "Karabagh separatists" or "Khankendi". In particular, the use of the latter instead of "Stepanakert" is seen by the Armenian audience not only to be use of an alternative toponym, but rather through the prism of denying people their natural right to choose a name for the place of their very residence. Taking into account the vulnerability of the people who went through a tough war this refusal is equated to a threat of exile. In other words, the use of a certain proper noun that does not initially hold any negative

impulse, may still be perceived and in some cases may actually be a display of extreme hostility. Meanwhile, this problem could be solved by a simultaneous use of both options in Azerbaijani media publications on Mountainous Karabagh: Stepanakert (Khankendi).

The “stereotype” was understood to be the ideas, notions, descriptions and so on, that are repeated with certain frequency, yet take various verbal expressions, their connotations or direct meaning being always negative. Thus, for example, such phrases are “the conflict resolution can be sped up if sanctions are imposed on Armenia” and “until the aggressor is punished the conflict cannot be overcome” convey the same idea, even though it is expressed in different ways.

Below the assessments and conclusions of the Armenian partner regarding the materials of Azerbaijani media, published in press and on air during the monitoring period of September 15-November 15 2008 are presented. The assessments are made in terms of accuracy of information, presence of negative cliches and stereotypes.

INACCURATE INFORMATION

Most frequently during the monitoring period (also in every issues of “Jarci” newscast of the Public Television of Azerbaijan) on the air and in press it was repeatedly stated that 20% of the territories of Azerbaijan were occupied. In many cases these played the role not of informing, but of constant reminding. Hardly anyone in Azerbaijan mentions different figures - say, the 16.8%, as quoted in the report of the International Crisis Group.

The number of Azerbaijani refugees is traditionally exaggerated, too. If previously it was said there were “million” of refugees, now many people in Azerbaijan, including the AR President Ilham Aliyev, use the expression “more than a million of Azerbaijani refugees”.

It is quite common to have reports on Armenia contain inaccuracies of names and positions of some individuals, their activities are mispresented (such mistakes mostly are made by journalists themselves). Information of drug transit, bases of criminal and terrorist groups on the territory of Mountainous Karabagh is often disseminated with no factual substantiation. This information mostly comes from officials and from people who position themselves as belonging to expert community.

In the publications studied a biased interpretation of historical developments exists. Sources for that are equally journalists and representatives of various professions quoted in media. Thus, article titled “Old Tricks of Armenians” *(“Azerbaijan” newspaper, November 1, 2008)* the author, addressing history, writes that at various stages Azerbaijanis were evicted from the ancient Turkic land that was called Armenia. The negative role, played by Peter the Great in Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is noted.

Throughout the monitoring period in Azerbaijani media very often questionable information was used. Its truth and validity is either impossible or very difficult to check. The reports on shootings at the territory Azerbaijan from Armenians were particularly frequent. Such reports were made in the majority of issues of “Jarci” newscast of the Public Television of Azerbaijan as well as in the newscasts “Khabarci” of “ANS” TV channel and “Seda” newscast of “Leader” TV channel. In print media the subject was exploited to a lesser extent: such pieces were encountered in “Yeni Musavat”, “525-ci Gazet” and “Azerbaijan” newspapers. Sources for such communications were official institutions or military officials.

No attempts were made to double-check such communications with other sources throughout the research period. This implies that the reporting of border incidents is a monopoly of official sources, with the exception of a couple of resonant cases in the past that went out of centralized information control.

USE OF CLICHES

If the dissemination of inaccurate information through media can and should be avoided in all cases, raising the issue of eliminating negative cliches and stereotypes is unrealistic. At the same time, among them there are unavoidable ones along with such text units that can be evaded or at least limited in use.

The first category includes cliches in which the words ***"occupation", "occupied"*** are used in different variations, as well as their derivatives: ***"occupation"/"Armenian occupation", "Armenian occupants", "occupied territories/lands", "Armenia that occupied Azerbaijani lands", "occupation of Karabagh"***, etc. This is a most common cliche. Of course, the frequent use of such expressions does make its contribution in the formation of the image of an Armenian enemy. The Armenian readers, too, when coming across these cliches in Azerbaijani press sees them to be as a display of hostility. At the same time, the term “occupation” corresponds to the assessment of the existing realities from official Baku and Azerbaijani society. Moreover, this term in the context of Karabagh conflict can also be seen in the documents of certain international organizations and it is but natural that Azerbaijani media, journalists, use it when addressing the subject. Thus, one can only speak about the avoidance of these cliches in the cases when they are unnecessary for adequate coverage of the subject or the adequacy of their use is questionable. This applies primarily to such variations as “Armenian occupants” (unless applied to the military) and particularly “occupation of Karabagh” (taking into account the fact that Armenians were the majority of the MK population, they cannot see the territory they live on as “occupied”. Moreover, any realistic method of conflict resolution calls for a differentiation of status of MK within borders of Mountainous Karabagh Autonomous Region of the Soviet times and the surrounding areas).

An example of an inadequate use of cliche can be seen in particular in the report from a press conference held by Karabagh Coordination Council (*“Karabagh Flows Out of Hands!!!” piece in “Yeni Musavat” newspaper of November 8, 2008).* In it the head of “Karabagh Liberation” organization Akif Nagi accused Russia of a wish to dispatch troops in the region. He also stressed that Armenia occupied Azerbaijani territories, holds military exercise there, and violates the ceasefire. In the opinion of Nagi, no documents should be signed with the president of the country that continues such actions. It follows from the context of the report that here in the context of “occupation” no difference is made between the MK territory and the Azerbaijani districts outside Karabagh, controlled by Armenian forces. The inclusion of Russia in this context and communication of unreliable information about its plans in this context is inappropriate, too.

Another quite frequent cliche group includes accusing Armenia of aggression in a certain form: ***"aggression of Armenia"/"Armenian aggression", "Azerbaijan is a victim of aggression", "aggressive/invasive/expansionist policy of Armenia",*** etc. Again, these cliches cannot be completely eliminated as they do reflect the ideas, common for Azerbaijani society. At the same time, they are not always indispensable for a description of certain developments or realities. Reflecting the interpretation of the military confrontation of early 1990s from Baku’s viewpoint, they cause a strong rejection from

Armenian public. Thus, the restriction of the use of these cliches would have allowed to relieve the tension of hostility, without affecting the adequacy of coverage of respective subject matter (even from an Azerbaijani perspective) in media. It should be noted that during the monitoring period the cliches above appeared more often in the quotes from spokespersons than in the narration of journalists themselves.

The following cliches were also quite common: the use of the phrase ***"Armenian genocide"*** (in quotes), ***"invented/fictitious/alleged Armenian genocide".*** Notably, the phrase “alleged Armenian genocide” mostly occurred in the speeches of various figures and in reprints from Turkish media in Azerbaijani ones, whereas the phrase "invented/fictitious Armenian genocide” was most often used by Azerbaijani journalists themselves. It should be noted here that while this theme pertains rather to Armenian-Turkish discussions than those between Armenia and Azerbaijan, the treatment of the issue in Turkish media is much more delicate. Even when evading the “genocide” term itself, Turkish media seek to find a mutually acceptable replacement for it (“tragedy”, “tragic events”), while the Azerbaijani media deny the tragedy of the situation completely. This attitude, expressed in the cliches above, in the opinion of the Armenian participants of the project, is unacceptable for quality media. Irrespective of the ideas that journalists hold with regard to certain extent, they should take into account the feelings of people who grieve and mourn because of these events.

Other cliches came more rare yet still were quite steadily used. The pieces that refer to the “hot” phase of Karabagh conflict, Azerbaijani media use the phrase ***"genocide in Khojalu/Khojalu genocide"***, which is a reflection of a common trend to use the notion “genocide” in an arbitrary, broad manner, diluting the quite specific content of this legal term. At the same time in some cases Azerbaijani media did use the more appropriate expression “Tragedy in Khojalu/ Khojalu tragedy”.

While not too frequently, yet in almost every Azerbaijani medium studied cliches like ***"Armenian brutalities/Armenian barbarities"*** are used. Similar cliches ***"Armenian band/bandit groups, "Armenian terrorists"*** also appear in media regularly. These cliches cannot be classed as “inevitable”, their use adds nothing in terms of information value of the pieces or expansion of the notions used by media, yet they do stimulate hostility and tension in Armenian-Azerbaijani relations.

USE OF STEREOTYPES

In the media studied the most frequent stereotypes are to greater or lesser extent related to negotiations process. They can be united into thematic groups - say, a group of stereotypes, conveying a negative assessment of Armenia in negotiations process. They strengthen the perception that ***in the negotiations on conflict resolution the stance of Armenia is destructive, does not allow for real compromise, and the stance of Azerbaijan is constructive.*** This stereotype was mostly contained in the words of officials and other figures, not journalists, whose statements were quoted in media studied. This stereotype can hardly been eliminated completely, yet their frequent exploitation without due argumentation, the way it happens in Azerbaijani media, results in a one-sided understanding of the content of negotiations process. They cause negative response from Armenian audience, thus enhancing the mutual hostility and creating unfavorable general background for negotiations.

The use of this stereotype was recorded, in particular, in the piece of “Khabarlar” newscast on “AzTV” channel of October 8, 2008. In it the Head of Foreign Affairs Section of the AR

President's Office Novruz Mamedov says that sooner or later Armenia would have to take a constructive stance. The unresolved problem of MK increases the dangers for the region. The crisis, in which the countries of the region have found themselves, particularly, Armenia, comes to prove again that freezing of dangerous conflicts cannot have good consequences, and to overcome the situation, the aggressor country must agree to conflict resolution within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. However, no explanation is given as to what constructive steps can help Azerbaijan to bring the conflict resolution closer.

At the same time, the Azerbaijani media also disseminate a stereotype that ***Azerbaijan must make no compromise*.** It is recorded in particular in the piece "Two Different Attitudes to the Statements of I.Aliyev on MK" *("Yeni Musavat" newspaper, October 26, 2008).* The article quotes opinions of two political scientists with regard to the speech that President Ilham Aliyev made at the inauguration. Elhan Mehtiyev believes that since Ilham Aliyev came to power, the negotiations have taken a more dangerous direction: "During Heydar Aliyev's times the right to self-determination was never mentioned during the talks. Heydar Aliyev never allowed for such possibility. Ilham Aliyev, on the contrary, by agreeing to a referendum himself sets an opportunity for Karabagh to be independent from Azerbaijan in future". The other political scientist, Vafa Guluzadeh, on the contrary, supports the stance of Ilham Aliyev: "The President stressed it in his speech that he would never allow for compromise on MK issue. The policy of compromise was imposed on us, but thanks heaven, it did not succeed. Now the President with all due resolve announced that Azerbaijan would never allow violating its territorial integrity".

The other group of common stereotypes reflects the stance or the capacities of Azerbaijan in the negotiations. The most common is the traditional stereotype that ***Mountainous Karabagh is unconditional territory of Azerbaijan.*** The relatively recent stereotypes include the statements to the effect that ***the resolution of the conflict would become a consequence of increasing economic power of Azerbaijan that the conflict resolution is only possible on the basis of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan*** or ***the principle of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is fundamental in conflict resolution.*** This group of stereotype was also used predominantly by official and other figures, not journalists. They could be seen, in particular, in pieces with quite arbitrary interpretation of Meindorf Declaration essence. Frequent statements with one-sided argumentation or no argumentation at all result in the same effect - mutual hostility and unfavorable public setting for negotiations.

The stereotype that Mountainous Karabagh is unconditionally Azerbaijani territory is sometimes used in the pieces that are not directly relayed to the conflict. Thus, "Azerbaijan" newspaper of September 25, 2008 dedicated an article to the former speaker of Azerbaijani parliament Murtuz Aleskerov "The Famous Lawyer and Scholar". In it the author, when speaking about the merit of Aleskerov, stresses that he had analyzed and legally justified the status of Mountainous Karabagh and Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic as an indivisible part of Azerbaijan.

As noted above, stereotypes that present the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan as the only principle of conflict resolution are present, mostly, in quotations from officials. For example, in the publication "Appeal of Official Baku to European Union: E. Mamedyarov Asks EU to Increase its Efforts to Ensure Security in South Caucasus" *("525-ci Gazet", October 16, 2008)* quotes the statement of the AR Minister of Foreign Affaires saying that the frozen conflicts affect the security, the cooperation and the development of the whole region and that the resolution of MK conflict is only possible within the principle of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan.

Another widespread stereotype is ***Armenia unilaterally violates international norms/demands of international organizations.*** This stereotype is most often seen in quotations from officials. A piece in the newscast "Khabarlar" of "AzTV" channel of September 16, 2008 tells about the meeting of the deputies of the Azerbaijani parliament with the British MP Michael Hancock. During the meeting the Vice Speaker of Milli Mejlis Ziafyat Askerov accused Armenia of expansionist policy and said that since 1992 Armenian secret services committed about 40 terrorist attacks and that Armenia fails to comply with the resolution of the UN Security Council.

Quite frequently Azerbaijani media fostered a stereotype that ***before the start of the resolution process Armenia must fulfill certain preliminary conditions*.** It can be seen in particular, in the piece "Territorial Integrity of Azerbaijan Causes no Doubt in Other Countries. Armenia Will Have to Come to an Agreement over MK" (*"Zerkalo" newspaper, October 14, 2008).* The article quotes the speech of AR President Ilham Aliyev at an expanded session of the Government, to the effect that the policy of isolation of Armenia along all directions should continue. Armenia cannot participate in any projects, until occupied territories are free.

The same stereotype was recorded in a piece in the newscast "Hafta" of "AzTV" on November 10, 2008. The piece tells about the session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly planned in Spain on November 13, and notes that the session would discuss the situation in Georgia, Kosovo, Iraq, issues of energy security. According to the quote from Vice Speaker of Azerbaijani Parliament Ziafiat Askerov made in the article, a discussion of MK conflict resolution is also expected: "The issue of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is on the first place. Five resolutions of UN and CoE support the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. Armenian troops should be withdrawn from Azerbaijani territories with no preconditions".

The Azerbaijani media quite often publish pieces that stereotypically imply: ***Armenia is a dependent state/Armenia conducts the policy of Moscow.*** One of the most vivid examples was the piece in "Hesabat" newscast of "ANS" TV channel of October 5, 2008. It was dealing with the visit of Armenian President Serzh Sargsian in Georgia. The piece analyzed the policy of the head of the neighbouring state, and the following phrase was used "Sarkisian (herein the pronunciation/spelling of the author is kept - ***Ed. Note***) rushes from side to side, to Georgia, to Russia, to Turkey, to Azerbaijan, to Iran". The TV journalist advises the Armenian President to decide who he wants to join or to be independent, and notes that Armenia cannot be independent because of its weakness. Hinting at the hostility between Russia and Georgia the author of the piece asks a question: how should the visit of Sarkisian to Georgia be interpreted, as a suicide or a "new game"? Yet, he concludes, "two watermelons cannot be held in one arm". Sarkisian is dependent on Russia and will hardly ever be able to get away "from under the Russian heel". The analysis goes on using folklore, too: nobody will "throw stones at his master's garden". For Armenia to have its borders opened, it must liberate Azerbaijani territories, but this is a very lengthy process and "Sarkisian will most probably be soon called to the Kremlin and have his ears pulled".

This piece also hinted at a number of other stereotypes that were not used as often, as those above. In particular, this is a stereotypical statement that ***to have relations with Turkey established Armenia must fulfill certain requirements of Azerbaijan.***

The last stereotype is also contained in the piece of "Khabarci" newscast of "ANS" TV channel of October 28, 2008. This quotes the statements by the Turkish Ambassador in Azerbaijan Hulusi Kilic with regard to the statement of the Armenian President Serzh

Sargsian that Turkey should open the border. The Ambassador stresses that Turkey, as a UN Security Council member would make every effort to establish peace in the region, particularly for the solution of Karabagh conflict: "Why did we close the border in 1993? Because Armenia invaded Azerbaijani lands. The border has been closed for 15 years. To restore peace certain steps should be taken, Armenia must leave Azerbaijani territories. After this the discussion of border opening can start".

The group of not very common yet tending to be steady stereotypes that, too, contain an expectation of a punishment for Armenia or unilateral concessions on its behalf, are supplemented by the following allegations: ***the conflict resolution can be facilitated by sanctions against Armenia, to start resolution process Armenia must comply with pre-conditions.***

The first of the stereotypes mentioned has been recorded in the piece of "Khabarlar" newscast of "AzTV" of October 13, 2008. It was dealing with the expanded session of the Government, where the results of his work for nine months of 2008 were presented. The President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev stressed that the only unresolved problem for his country is Mountainous Karabagh: "Until our lands are occupied, policy of total isolation will be waged against Armenia. Until lands are liberated, the participation of Armenia in any projects cannot be considered. We shall do everything for the status quo to continue for them to understand the future that awaits them. Invasive policy cannot be of use to anyone".

Consistent instilment of insufficiently grounded expectations in the minds of the audience, related to sanctions against Armenia, also hinders the formation of favorable public background to overcome regional problems.

Along the same line with these stereotypes the following can be mentioned, too: ***the resolution of the conflict would become a consequence of the increasing economic power of Azerbaijan.*** This stereotype is contained among other in piece "Triumph of Territorial Integrity Principle" *("Azerbaijan" newspaper, September 23, 2008).* The article, with a reference to "Kommersant" newspaper, tells that Chisinau and "the separatist Transdniestria" with the assistance of the Russian President, would most apparently come to an agreement. The author notes that this can also happen in MK, and the agreement of the Armenians would be conditioned by the growing economic power of Azerbaijan.

Another example of using the same stereotype was recorded in the piece of "Seda" newscast of "Leader" TV Channel of October 4, 2008. It tells about the visit of AR President Ilham Aliyev to Guzanli village of Agdam region, during which the head of Azerbaijan noted that Armenia, having invaded the lands of Azerbaijan, cannot oppose the image and the increasing economic power of Azerbaijan. The official Armenia should give up its destructive policy and obey international norms. Besides, the piece used cliches "destructive policy of Armenia" and "Armenia that invaded the lands of Azerbaijan".

Another group of quite steady stereotypes is directed to discrediting Armenia as a state or Mountainous Karabagh. Thus, statements that ***Armenia unilaterally violates the demands of international organizations,*** that ***natural resources/historical and architectural monuments are being destroyed in Karabagh at invaded territories*** were present in every medium studied. Since these stereotypes, as a rule, are based on exaggerations, biased or simply untrue information, they instill in the minds of people notions that have little ground or validity.

An example of this is the piece “Armenians Sell Trees of Zangelan Abroad” *(“525-ci Gazet” of October 30, 2008, with a reference of “APA-Economics” news agency).* It says that by the information of AR Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, Zangelan region faces ecological terror: “Presently Armenians are cutting off valuable tree species, good for construction and furniture production, take the wood to Armenia and export it abroad. Drugs are produced; arsons are made at invaded territories”.

Another example is the piece in “Khabarci” newscast of “ANS” TV channel of October 9, 2008. It tells that in Geranboy region no irrigation is possible, which is damaging the crops. The author of the piece accuses Armenians of that, because in the water from Sarsang reservoir in MK, the content of ammonium salts is too high. The local population says that the soil is under a thick layer of silt, and one only has to hope for rain that may wash off this dirt.

The traditional stereotype, reinforcing the idea of ***Armenians being enemies,*** is also noteworthy. In this regard the piece in newscast “Seda” of “Leader” TV channel of October 16, 2008 does not even require comment. It tells that refugees and displaced persons, residing not far from the front line held festivities on the occasion of Ilham Aliyev being elected as a President. They believe that Aliyev should liberate the occupied territories. “We, refugees from Agdam, are happy for Aliyev’s election, and to spite the enemy in a few meters away we made a real festivity. Let them see we know how elect, we are a nation that knows how to elect a president”, one of the refugees said.

This stereotype can also be seen in the fragment from publication “We Lend Food, Manage Somehow” (*“Yeni Musavat” newspaper, October 6, 2008).* In it the life of Azerbaijani refugees of Mountainous Karabagh, living at a hostel in Baku is described. The author quotes an episode about a little boy pointing his toy gun at him and saying “I come from Karabagh. I shall be killing Armenians with this gun”. The publication is accompanies by a photograph of a child with the following text: “Fuad says that he will be killing Armenians”.

Next, the piece in “Jarci” newscast of the Public Television of Azerbaijan of November 1, 2008, is also noteworthy. It was dealing with the first night of a performance in Agdam Drama Theater, staging a novel of Gacay Kocarli of the same name, “The Wounded Mulberry Tree”. The performance addressed the military confrontation of early 1990s. As shown in the TV piece, actor Jafar Bayramov played an Armenian and “however hard it is to show the true face of Armenians”, the actor “did succeed in it at least a little”.

THUS, throughout the monitoring period in 8 Azerbaijani media summaries for 1,702 TV pieces/newspaper articles were studied, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject: on Public Television of Azerbaijan (“ITV”) - 321 piece, Azerbaijani Television (“AzTV”) - 121, “ANS” TV channel - 223, “Leader” TV channel - 202; in newspapers “Azerbaijan” - 189, “Yeni Musavat” - 326, “Zerkalo” - 108, “525-ci Gazet” - 212.

Overall, with approximately equal distribution of attention to the subject in broadcast media of Azerbaijan there is more negative communication (“infected” text units) than in print media. No such difference is recorded in Armenia, and considering the data for “Golos Armenii” newspaper, the print media even exceed the concentration of negative context about Azerbaijanis and Azerbaijan on TV air. The least “hostile” in Azerbaijan are “Zerkalo” newspaper and “AzTV” TV channel. The most “aggressive” are “ANS” TV channel and “Azerbaijan”, “Yeni Musavat” newspapers.

Appendix A.

TABLES WITH QUANTITATIVE DATA OF MONITORING MEDIA OF ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN (September 15 - November 15, 2008)

TABLE No. 1.1

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **Public Television of Armenia, "ALM", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Shant"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		5281
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		736
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	347
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	310
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	79
Announcement of the piece	Announced	122
	Not announced	535

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	521	69642.5
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	50	4592
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	1	608.5
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	69	5247.5
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	58	3269.5
	Total	***699***	***83360***

TABLE No. 1.2

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Azg", "Aravot", "Golos Armenii"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		6967
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		948
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	623
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	270
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	55
Location of the piece	On front page	311
	On other pages	582

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	725	117415.3
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	91	14652.9
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	8	1214.4
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	80	16339.2
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	45	6351.5
	Total	***949***	***155973.3***

TABLE No. 1.3

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **Public Television of Armenia**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		1232
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		212
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	92
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	102
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	18
Announcement of the piece	Announced	34
	Not announced	160

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	145	14495
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	28	2816.5
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	0	0
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	20	657.5
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	12	380
	Total	***205***	***18349***

TABLE No. 1.4

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **"ALM"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		2131
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		268
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	144
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	98
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	26
Announcement of the piece	Announced	58
	Not announced	184

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	188	34609
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	7	211
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	0	0
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	29	2872
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	32	1435
	Total	***256***	***39127***

TABLE No. 1.5

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **Second Armenian TV Channel**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		1208
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		140
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	52
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	65
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	23
Announcement of the piece	Announced	0
	Not announced	117

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	102	8925
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	9	443
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	0	0
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	8	383
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	6	506
	Total	***125***	***10257***

TABLE No. 1.6

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **"Shant"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		710
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		116
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	59
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	45
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	12
Announcement of the piece	Announced	30
	Not announced	74

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	86	11613.5
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	6	1121.5
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	1	608.5
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	12	1335
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	8	948.5
	Total	***113***	***15627***

TABLE No. 1.7

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1578
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		221
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	110
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	101
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	10
Location of the piece	On front page	61
	On other pages	150

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	170	23073.9
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	27	4192.2
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	1	143.3
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	14	1807.4
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	8	1053.1
	Total	***220***	***30269.9***

TABLE No. 1.8

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Azg"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		2041
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		223
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	150
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	58
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	15
Location of the piece	On front page	97
	On other pages	111

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	167	30282.1
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	28	3929.6
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	0	0
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	14	1617.8
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	9	1075.8
	Total	***218***	***36905.3***

TABLE No. 1.9

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Aravot"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1844
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		223
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	149
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	59
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	15
Location of the piece	On front page	50
	On other pages	158

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	189	24322.4
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	6	1405.3
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	3	215.7
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	6	570.3
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	10	804.5
	Total	***214***	***27318.2***

TABLE No. 1.10

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Golos Armenii"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1504
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		281
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	214
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	52
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	15
Location of the piece	On front page	103
	On other pages	163

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	199	39736.9
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	30	5125.8
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	4	855.4
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	46	12343.7
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	18	3418.1
	Total	***297***	***61479.9***

TABLE No. 1.1

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"AzTV", "ANS", "ITV", "Leader"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		6919
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		978
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	683
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	184
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	111
Announcement of the piece	Announced	232
	Not announced	635

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	779	73175
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	3	132
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	15	996
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	55	3625
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	18	1419
	Total	***870***	***79347***

TABLE No. 1.2

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Azerbaijan", "Yeni Musavat", "525-ji Gazet", "Zerkalo"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		11999
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		1000
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	580
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	255
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	165
Location of the piece	On front page	208
	On other pages	627

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	705	142244
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	6	417
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	36	3020
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	76	14920
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	16	1164
	Total	***839***	***161765***

TABLE No. 1.3

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"AzTV"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		1961
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		153
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	65
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	56
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	32
Announcement of the piece	Announced	46
	Not announced	75

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	104	8371
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	2	83
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	4	131
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	9	797
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	4	394
	Total	***123***	***9776***

TABLE No. 1.4

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"ANS"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		1525
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		264
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	189
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	34
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	41
Announcement of the piece	Announced	78
	Not announced	145

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	197	22177
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	6	619
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	14	1153
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	7	774
	Total	***224***	***24723***

TABLE No. 1.5

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"ITV"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		1906
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		337
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	269
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	52
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	16
Announcement of the piece	Announced	65
	Not announced	256

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	294	25146
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	2	73
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	21	1056
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	4	99
	Total	***321***	***26374***

TABLE No. 1.6

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"Leader"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		1527
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		224
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	160
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	42
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	22
Announcement of the piece	Announced	43
	Not announced	159

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	184	17481
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	1	49
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	3	173
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	11	619
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	3	152
	Total	***202***	***18474***

TABLE No. 1.7

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Azerbaijan"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		2136
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		227
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	90
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	99
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	38
Location of the piece	On front page	20
	On other pages	169

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	167	21270
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	8	716
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	13	3459
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	1	58
	Total	***189***	***25503***

TABLE No. 1.8

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Yeni Musavat"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		5199
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		392
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	243
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	83
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	66
Location of the piece	On front page	62
	On other pages	264

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	274	47303
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	1	72
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	19	1446
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	20	2134
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	13	1018
	Total	***327***	***51973***

TABLE No. 1.9

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"525-ji Gazet"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		2653
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		230
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	164
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	48
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	18
Location of the piece	On front page	80
	On other pages	132

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	174	37528
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	5	345
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	5	560
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	28	4157
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	1	54
	Total	***213***	***42644***

TABLE No. 1.10

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Zerkalo"**

Monitoring period **September 15 - November 15, 2008**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		2011
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		151
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	83
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	25
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	43
Location of the piece	On front page	46
	On other pages	62

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	90	36143
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	4	298
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	15	5170
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	1	34
	Total	***110***	***41645***

PART TWO

REPORT
ON MONITORING THE COVERAGE
OF ARMENIAN-AZERBAIJANI RELATIONS
IN THE MEDIA OF
ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN
(2009)

CHAPTER II.I.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

As noted in the Report for 2008, the first stage of monitoring was administered during two months, on September 15 - November 15, 2008. The second stage was administered on October 1-31, 2009. It had been initially planned to administer a two-month monitoring during the second stage, too, yet the drastic increase in the number of pieces dealing with the whole complex of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations from September 2009 gave such a huge bulk of data to analyze that it was decided to complete the research within a month.

The second stage of the monitoring covered the same 16 media of Azerbaijan and Armenia, 8 from each country as in 2008. The methodology used was mostly the same as described in 2008 report, the same thematic sections were identified.

FOR AZERBAIJAN:

1.	**Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it**
2.	**Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context**
3.	**Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue**
4.	**Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)**
5.	**Developments in Armenia and/or related to it**

FOR ARMENIA:

1.	**Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it**
2.	**Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context**
3.	**Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue**
4.	**Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)**
5.	**Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it**

Only one additional component appeared in the study: in October 2009 the monitors made a separate note of the following factor (dealing with the monitoring subject in full or partially) in the summaries of media stores: the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations (protocols on establishing diplomatic relations and border opening, as well as meetings and visits of state level, etc.) on the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. Besides, the attitude (positive, negative or neutral) of the authors/speakers in the piece towards the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on the problem covered in the newspaper/TV piece was identified. This change in methodology was reflected by the circumstance that in 2009 (and particularly after the protocols were published on September 1) the Armenian-Azerbaijani problems, including the Karabagh conflict resolution, in many pieces were considered through the prism of developing relations between Armenia and Turkey.

Following the same methodology as in 2008 *(see Chapters I.I and I.V of Part One of this Report),* a “cross monitoring” was administered, with researchers from Armenia and Azerbaijan analyzing the media materials from the neighbor countries, basing on the summaries, produced by the partner organization.

CHAPTER II.II.

ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

MEDIA STUDIED AND THEIR BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

PUBLIC TELEVISION OF ARMENIA (PTA FIRST CHANNEL) is a part of the Public TV and Radio Company, founded in 2001. The managing body is the Council of Public TV and Radio Company. The daily duration of air of the First Channel is 19 hours on the territory of Armenia and 24 hours in Yerevan. The programs of the channel can also be received abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main newscast of PTA First Channel "Haylur" and "Sunday Haylur" current affairs program; "Zruyts" and "Evropakan Banadzev" discussion programs. "Haylur" was aired six times a week, Monday to Saturday (the main issues of "Haylur at 21.00 were monitored), "Sunday Haylur" was aired once a week, on Sundays, at 21.00. "Zruyts" was aired once a week, on Thursdays at 23.00. Throughout the research period only one issue of "Evropakan Banadzev" was aired, on September 29, 20.00. Throughout the monitoring period on PTA First Channel a total of 630 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 154 materials were dealing with the monitoring subject: 51- in full, 97 - in part, 6 - contained references to it.

"ALM" is a private TV company, founded in 2000 by "ALM-Holding" LLC. Daily duration of air is 24 hours. The research focused at: the main newscast "Day by Day"; "Zarkerak" current affairs program; "Price of the Question", "Stance", "Indeed" (in Russian language) and "Aytsekart" discussion programs. "Day by Day" was aired every day (the main issues of "Day by Day" at 20.00 were monitored). "Zarkerak" was aired daily (issues at 21.00 were monitored). "Price of the Question" and "Stance" were aired once a week at 21.20, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, respectively, "Indeed" - on Saturdays at 21.30, and "Aytsekart" - twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 22.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "ALM" a total of 993 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 142 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 70 - in full, 69 - in part, 3 - contained references to it.

SECOND ARMENIAN TV CHANNEL (SECOND CHANNEL) is a private TV company, founded in 1998, founded by "Second Armenian TV Channel" LLC. The daily duration of air is 18 hours. The research focused at: the main newscast of the Second Channel "Lraber" and "Fourth Studio" discussion program. "Lraber" was aired six times a week, Monday to Saturday (the main issues of "Lraber" at 20.00 were monitored). "Fourth Studio" was aired five times a week, Monday to Friday at 20.30. Throughout the monitoring period on the Second Channel a total of 469 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 81 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 29 - in full, 50 - partly, 2 - contained references to it.

"SHANT" is a private TV company, founded in 1994 by "Shant" LLC. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel can also be received abroad via satellite. The research focused at: the main newscast "Horizon" and "Supplement to 'Horizon'" current affairs program; "Prospect" discussion program. "Horizon" was aired six times a week, Monday to Saturday (the main issues of "Horizon" at 22.00 were monitored), "Supplement to 'Horizon'" - five times a week, Monday to Friday at 22.30. "Prospect" was aired four times a week, Monday to Thursday at 23.15. Throughout the monitoring period, on "Shant" a total of 305 pieces was studied. Of these, 73 were dealing with the monitoring subject: 23 - in full, 50 - partly, no pure references to the subject were made.

"HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTIUN" is a daily newspaper (five times a week, Tuesday-Saturday), founded in 1990 by “Hanrapetutiun” CJSC. The standard volume is 6/A2pp. The stated print run is 6,000 copies. During the monitoring period 23 issues were published. Of these, 11 issues had a volume of 8/A2 pp. Throughout the monitoring period in “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” a total of 797 pieces was studied. Of these, 194 pieces was dealing with the monitoring subject: 73 - in full, 120 - in part, 1 - contained references to it.

"AZG" is a daily newspaper (five times a week, Tuesday-Saturday), founded in 2000 by “’Azg’ Daily Newspaper” LLC. The standard volume is 8/A3 pp. The stated print run is 3,000 copies. During the monitoring period 23 issues were published. Throughout the monitoring period a total of 831 pieces was studied in “Azg”. Of these, 209 publications were dealing with the monitoring subject: 87 - in full, 115 - in part, 7 - contained references to it.

"ARAVOT" is a daily newspaper (five times a week, Tuesday-Saturday), founded in 1994 by “’Aravot’ Daily Newspaper” LLC. The standard volume is 16/A3 pp. The stated print run is 2,776-3,013 copies. During the monitoring period 23 issues were published. Throughout the monitoring period a total of 1,423 pieces was studied in “Aravot”. Of these, 199 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 83 - in full, 107 - in part, 9 - contained references to it.

"GOLOS ARMENII" is a Russian-language newspaper (three times a week, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday), founded in 1991 by “Golos” LLC. The standard volume is 8/A2pp. The stated print run is 3,425 copies. During the monitoring period 14 issues were published. Throughout the monitoring period a total of 832 pieces were studied in “Golos Armenii”. Of these, 224 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 136 - in full, 84 - in part, 4 - contained references to it.

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS OF ARMENIAN MEDIA MONITORING

Quantitative findings of Armenian media monitoring in October 2009 are a sign of the increased interest towards Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. In 2008, during the two months of the research (September 15 - November 15) in 8 media studied 1,684 pieces were dealing with various aspects of the monitoring subject or contained references to it. They amounted to 13.9% of the total number of pieces studied on TV channels and to 13.6% - in newspapers. In the same media during only one month, October 2009, the number of such pieces came to 1,276 (18.8% of the total number of pieces studied on TV channels, and 21.3% - in newspapers). If in 2008 the number of TV pieces/ publications where the subject was purely mentioned was 134, in 2009 this figure was four times less - 32 references. In other words, in October 2009 media addressed the subject of the research not only more frequently but also in a more substantial manner.

Thus, a certain record during the first week of the monitoring (October 1-8, 2008) was made by “Golos Armenii” newspaper, published three times a week and having the most of the pieces fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject of all media studied (74). Overall, during the research month “Golos Armenii” had the most pieces dealing with the monitoring subject (224). Yet, this newspaper was more active than others in addressing the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in 2008, too. Overall, similarly to 2008, in October 2009 the broadcast and print media studied displayed about equal activeness.

As the analysis of monitoring findings showed, in 2008 the reason for enhanced interest to

the subject was primarily the activation in the negotiations process on Karabagh conflict resolution process and signing of Meindorf (Moscow) Declaration by Presidents of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia. Another, albeit a less significant development that attracted the interest of Armenian media to Azerbaijan and the relations with that country was the presidential election campaign in Azerbaijan. Both events coincided with the monitoring period. In October 2009 a development of comparable scale was signing of the protocols on normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey on October 10 that became, as the research showed *(see below)*, the main factor stimulating the media interest towards the research subject. The unrivaled frequency of meetings of Azerbaijani and Armenian Presidents in 2009 (6 overall, 2 of them happening in autumn) also conditioned this interest.

At the same time in 2008 the pieces on monitoring subject were more frequently announced by the TV channels studied and placed on front pages of newspapers than in 2009. The TV pieces announced in October 2009 made 12.1% of the total number of pieces dealing in full or partially with the research subject versus 18.6% the year before. In 2009 in newspapers appropriate publications were placed on front pages (or started on front pages) in 24.2% of cases, while in 2008 they amounted to 34.8%. This can only be explained by one circumstance: in autumn 2009 Armenian-Turkish relations became the main subject to be announced (placed on front page), moving the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations backstage.

Of the Armenian newspapers studied in both 2008 and 2009 the greatest importance to the subject was attached by “Azg” and “Golos Armenii”. Yet, “Azg” had quite a decline in this regard: if in October 2009 the front page featured 31.2% pieces, dealing with the monitoring subject, in 2008 the headline publications amounted to 46.6%. These features are more equal for “Golos Armenii”: 37.3% - in 2009 and 38.7% - in 2008. In October 2009 the biggest proportion of announced pieces of the studied broadcast media was made by the Second Armenian TV Channel - 17.7%. A bit behind was “Shant” TV channel (16.4%) that came the first in 2008 - 28.8%.

In 2009, similarly to 2008 the undisputed attention leader in broadcast and print media was **"Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it"** thematic section. Yet if during the two months of 2008 the problem of conflict resolution was dealt with in 74.5% of the total number of references to the monitoring subject by TV channels and 76.4% of references by newspapers, in 2009 these indicators have somewhat reduced: 56.2% for TV channels, 53.2% for newspapers. This is due to the fact that while in autumn 2009 the negotiations process grew more active (meetings of Presidents, of Foreign Ministers of the two countries, visits of OSCE Minsk Group co-chairmen to the region etc.), the media during this period focused on the process of normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations. The hot debates around signing Armenian-Turkish protocols, the establishment of diplomatic ties and opening the borders with Turkey were “accompanied” by Baku’s response to this process. The linkage to Karabagh issue held an important place in this response, yet it was not dominant.

The Armenian-Turkish dialogue resulted in increased media attention towards Azerbaijani-Turkish relations, too, that was most actively covered in the third week of the research (October 16-22, 2009), when the mere fact of protocols having been signed started to be considered. This consideration pushed Turkish and even more so - Azerbaijani public to step away from the usual, shallow stereotypes and to engage in detailed analysis of the relations between Ankara and Baku. This transformation was reflected on the pages and the air of Armenian media. Many stories here were reflective of the reaction of Azerbaijani

to the protocols singing in Zurich (discontent, indignation, disappointment, attempts to throw a sober glance at the state of affairs). Opinions of Azerbaijani officials were voiced, as well as those of public figures, experts as to how the rapprochement of Yerevan and Ankara would affect the “brotherly relations” of Azerbaijan and Turkey, whether it disrupts the principle of “two states - one nation”. The Armenian media, particularly the print ones, broadly informed the audience about protest actions in Baku, the so-called “war of flags” that started with a ban on Azerbaijani flags at the football match between Turkey and Armenia in Bursa on October 14, 2009, and continued with the removal of Turkish flags on Shehid Alley in Baku, the problems of Turkish businesses operating in Azerbaijan, the threats made by Azerbaijan to reconsider the prices on the energy resources either supplied to Turkey or transmitted via it. All this was presented by Armenian media also in the context of the strengthening Azerbaijani-Russian ties.

Thus the factor of Armenian-Turkish relations conditioned the growth, the increased interest to **"Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)"** thematic section that became the second most frequently addressed on both the TV channels (in 2008, this section, was the second) and in newspapers (it was ranked the third here in 2008). Besides, in 2008 the newspapers gave this section 8.4% of the total number of references to all thematic sections, while for TV channels this figure made 9.9%. In 2009 these indicators almost tripled in press (24%) and grew 2.5 times on TV air (24.6%).

At the same time, similarly to a year ago, in October 2009, out of 348 references made by media studied to "Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)" thematic section, irrespective of how related they were to Armenian-Turkish relations, only a few pieces were dealing with the state institutions of Azerbaijan. Thus, a publication in “Aravot” “Torture Is Widespread in Azerbaijan” *(October 8, 2009),* referring to Azerbaijani “Turan” news agency, was devoted to the report of “Against Torture” international organization, describing the situation in Azerbaijan in detail. The quoted document noted that torture and degrading treatment are common in Azerbaijan and applied, in particular, during interrogations. “Against Torture” organization stated its concern over the numerous deaths in the penitentiaries in Azerbaijan. It was also noted that penitentiaries of the country are within the mandate of Ministry of National Security, rather than Ministry of Justice. The report also said that arrests in Azerbaijan often occur with no justification, etc.

During the study period as compared to monitoring of 2008 the interest of Armenian media towards **"Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue"** increased dramatically. This thematic section was an outsider in 2008 yet a year later it became the third in terms of the number of references made by newspapers studied (11% of the total number of references) and the fourth - on the TV channels studied (7.7% of the total number of references). If in 2008 there were only 9 publications on this subject (8 were in newspapers and one reference to this section was recorded on the air of “Shant” TV channel), in 2009 there were 142 such pieces (103 - in newspapers and 39 - on TV channels). And while the contacts between the two countries are to this day minimized on bilateral basis as well as on regional, international scales, in October 2009 the Armenian media studied had more occasions to address this thematic section. These occasions mainly occurred in sports, in discussing the future of cultural monuments, ways of possible cooperation, information conflict, historical overviews, etc. *(see below).*

The thematic section of **"Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context"** was addressed in 2009 by TV channels in 8.3% of the total number of

references made, and by newspapers - in 10.7%. This section was the third in terms of the number of references made by TV channels (in 2008 it was the fourth) and the fourth - in newspapers (was the second in 2008). The nature of publications in this section in 2009 was little different from those in 2008. Relatively new was only the attention paid to the opinions of Karabagh Armenians to Armenian-Turkish protocols.

Finally, the section **"Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it"** was an outsider on the air and pages of media researched in 2009. This section was addressed by TV channels and newspapers in 3.2% and 1.2% of the total number of references, respectively (in 2008, these indicators were 8.3% and 4.7%, the third and the fourth places respectively). This is most probably due to the fact that pure news reporting was scarce. That is, the media of Armenia, when covering a certain development in Azerbaijan, did it, as a rule, at length, seeking to convey the essence of the issue, which allowed to class these pieces with appropriate thematic sections, primarily in the second most frequently addressed one - “Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)”.

As noted above, referring to Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, the Armenian media addressed various aspects of life. Yet quite often the coverage of these aspects, having no direct relation to the conflict, was largely affected by the profound political controversies between Yerevan and Baku. This trend in particular was largely manifest in the pieces on history, culture, sports. It was also displayed in 2008, and, judging from previous Armenia-Azerbaijani joint media research, it had been present long before that. Yet the frequency of such manifestations in October 2009 was a sign of the deterioration. And since in many cases the pieces of this kind were a response to a publication or a TV program in the neighbor country, one can speak about an activation in propaganda war that spreads out to cover new domains of public life.

The sports take particular place here. “Aravot” daily in its piece “Bayramov Makes Excuses” *(October 1, 2009)* wrote that the Azerbaijani wrestler Rovshan Bayramov, making excuses to his Azerbaijani fans, in an interview to “Azerisport” said that his defeat from the Armenian sportsman Roman Hamoyan is incidental, and he had four times defeated the wrestler before. Meanwhile, it is reported, “Regnum” news agency made a correction in the quote from Bayramov, noting the wrestler had defeated Hamoyan only three times...

Such publications leave an impression that Armenian and Azerbaijani sportsmen take part in international competitions not so much for their own victory but rather to defeat the neighbor country. This phenomenon found its symbolic expression in a statement by another Azerbaijani wrestler (unrelated to this monitoring) who announced in the press that it is better to take the 17th place in the competitions being ahead of an Armenian, than being second to him.

Certainly, the formation of such approaches to sports (and not only) is in many ways influenced by media coverage. This is signaled also by the headlines in October 2009 in Armenian newspapers regarding the Europe team chess championship: “Brilliant Victory Over Azerbaijan”, “Principal Victory Over Azerbaijanis”. The report with a pure informative headline “Armenian Teams Left with No Medals” says: “Notably, the only defeat of the Azerbaijani team was taken from Armenia”. The piece titled “Third Place with No Medals” tells in particular that the first place was taken by the men’s team of Azerbaijan, “whose only defeat came from Armenian chess players”.

The journalists themselves think about problems, associated with such coverage, much more seldom. The article of "Aravot" daily headlined "Football and Pseudo Patriotism" *(October 16, 2009)*, dealing with the football match between the teams of Armenia and Turkey in Bursa, the author, basing on the slogans of Armenian fans and players "Not a Single Step of Retreat!", "We Shall Be Playing for the Million of Our Compatriots!" note that their patriotism is displayed only during meetings of Turkey's and Azerbaijan's national teams...

A significant place in the publications and TV programs about the neighboring country is taken by accusations of destruction of cultural monuments, arguments about history, national roots and origins. In the report of "Arminfo" news agency, published in "Golos Armenii" with the headline of "History "Nationalization" in Azerbaijani Way" *(October 6, 2009)* noted: "Having ousted Armenians from the territory of Azerbaijan, the authorities of this country, suffering from explicit nationalism and "armenophobia" have recently become more active in appropriation of Christian Armenian historical and architectural monuments". "Declaring Armenians of Mountainous Karabagh to be Albanians is also a crude and awkward trick of Baku in its attempts to distort the history of Artsakh and to mislead the international community", the report summed up.

In the same newspaper *(October 8, 2009)* a piece was placed, telling that a book was published with the title of "The Fictitious History of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan and Armenia, Imagination and Facts". The author of the book Ruben Galchian noted in the interview that he was alarmed by the evident effort of Azerbaijan to use its academicians and prove that Armenians appeared in the region only 150 years ago and that Azerbaijanis are the true owners of the land and culture: "This (...) refers to a country that appeared on the world map in 1918. Unfortunately, our scientists and experts have done very little to counteract this large-scale lies, and we have almost no books published on this subject." The piece also mentioned a book, published in Azerbaijan with the title of "Monuments of Western Azerbaijan", showing a map of Armenia with the heading "Western Azerbaijan - Birthplace of Oguz Turks". In this regard Ruben Galchian stated his concern: "Unless we address the court with regard to this publication, we shall hold huge guilt to the generations to come (...). With the indismissible proofs of Jugha khachkars being destroyed at our hand, we took almost no steps and got "Monuments of Western Azerbaijan". Shall we persist in our silence?"

The problem of cultural heritage in the context of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations was raised through media on different levels, also on official one. "Haylur" newscast of PTA First Channel *(October 8, 2009)* broadcast the content of the speech made by the RA Foreign Affairs Minister Edward Nalbandian at the UNESCO 35th General Conference. The Minister spoke in particular about the fate of Armenian monuments outside Armenia, how they are being preserved in Iran, while in Azerbaijan the efforts to "get rid of" Armenian cultural legacy do not stop. Nalbandian stated his conviction that UNESCO can oppose the infringement of cultural rights and will thus make a contribution to the global intercultural dialogue and enhanced tolerance.

There are actually no spheres, covered by media that are unaffected by the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. The problem of "information warfare" with Azerbaijan in October 2009 was touched upon more seldom than in the same period of 2008. The article of "Aravot" Chief Editor, "Another Attempt*" (October 30, 2009),* was dealing with the meeting of the leading media of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia in Moscow: "From Azerbaijani side the heads of web sites Day.az, Trend, News.az, 1news.az were present, who took part in so-called "information warfare" in certain extent. This occupation, in our opinion, while

resembles journalism, is in reality quite different. Probably, in this regard it would have been worthwhile to involve our “war” participants”, the author writes. At the same time Aram Abrahamian noted: “In any case, when one looks at each other in the face, has dinner together and says toast, as we did last night, something changes in the atmosphere. It would certainly be very naïve to think that after the meeting Day.az, the Chief Editor of which was also in Moscow, would shut down the section “Jokes about Armenia’s Foreign Office”. Yet I do have a slight hope that these contacts would help us understand that either Armenian or Azerbaijani ethnicity does not give one such qualities that give natural advantage over each other. If we, when covering our political controversy, refer from making accusations to the whole nation that would be huge progress”.

The publication in “Azg” daily, “The Book Devotes to His Nation” *(October 10, 2009)* was dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the former First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia (1988-1990) Suren Harutiunian. It tells about the published autobiography of Harutiunian, “On Past and Present”. In particular, the approach of the former leader to the prospects of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. Suren Harutiunian believes that presently these relations are built not so much on rational but rather emotional basis: “In both Armenia and Azerbaijan unfortunately the destructive, hostile rhetoric prevails that does not direct public opinion towards compromise and overcoming controversies. In the present situation it is crucial for both parties to keep their cool and reserve (...) Unfortunately, both Baku and Yerevan spend huge effort within their countries to blacken the other side.”

Yet the pieces that call not to “overcome controversies” but to make an adequate response to propagandist aggression are more frequent. The article in “Golos Armenii” “My Tongue is My Enemy” *(October 8, 2009)* was dealing with the establishment of satellite ATV International TV channel in Azerbaijan, the air of which would be featuring news several times a day on several languages, also Armenian. “The massive dirty lies about Armenia and Artsakh would now penetrate the satellite air and would daily flow out of the TV set with actually no control and no means to counteract this because... Because while several Armenian TV channels on go on satellite, that is, are present on the global air, none of them, and this refers primarily to the Public Television - do not have programs in foreign languages, even the language of the “strategic ally”, the Russian. (...) This all was clear without ATV International channel, too. With the appearance of the new tool for Azerbaijani propaganda, the need for international broadcasting is becoming even more pressing”, the article says.

The communication “Armenia Has Resources for Information Warfare” of “Armenpress” news agency, published in “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” *(October 14, 2009)* continues the subject in a more “optimistic tone”. The Director of “Noravank” science and education center Gagik Harutiunian at his press-conference said that the information warfare is currently at the foreground of Armenian-Azerbaijani clash. In Harutiunian’s opinion, Armenia’s rival has a whole toolbox in this domain, while Armenia stated to display activeness in information warfare only over the past year, giving due response to Azerbaijan: “Our actions in information warfare are a part of state policy, owing to which we recently do not fall back Azerbaijan”, despite the fact that according to Gagik Harutiunian, Azerbaijan is being helped in its information war by Turkey - with resources, ideas and advice.

The confirmation of the fact that in Armenia since recently the priority is given to active information countermeasures with regard to accusations coming from Azerbaijan is also conveyed in publications regarding the autumn (2009) session of the Parliamentary

Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. The article in “Golos Armenii” headlined “Newton’s Law Finally Remembered” *(October 6, 2009)* told how the Armenian PACE delegation intends to report to European MPs “the already permanent provoking and intentionally libelous activities” of the Azerbaijani party. The Armenian MP Naira Zohrabian said in particular that she disseminated the book she had authored “Armenophobia”. Here the anti-Armenian statements of Azerbaijani officials are quoted with no comment. This books along with a DVD on Karabagh conflict with its coverage in international press, “where Azerbaijan is distinctly and clearly presented as an aggressor” was distributed by Naira Zohrabyan to PACE deputies in the very session hall, for which she received a warning from the Assembly leadership. Yet, this warning, according to the deputy, was adequately responded to by the head of the RA delegation David Harutiunian, who made reference to Newton’s First Law: the force of the action is equal to the force of the counteraction. Naturally, these actions of the Armenian delegation angered Azerbaijanis. Yet, in Zohrabian’s opinion, “even those PACE deputies that had a distinct pro-Azerbaijani stance, in particular Michael Hankock, came up to us and asked for additional materials”: “I think we managed to seriously change the climate by this action.” Naira Zohrabyan also informed the Armenian delegation in PACE initiated gathering of signatures and put into circulation a draft resolution, proposing to amend PACE Regulations ensuring protection from libel. The PACE deputies are immune, and some of them are actively misusing this immunity. As an example Zohrabian quoted the case of June (2009) session of PACE, when the member of Azerbaijani delegation Ganira Pashayeva in her speech did not only refer to an inexistent book of Armenian writer Zoriy Balayan, but also quoted fragments from it.

It should be noted that this episode of the PACE autumn session was broadly covered in other media, too. Thus, after the report “Aravot” daily made about the dissemination of “Armenophobia” book in Strasbourg, the editorial office received additional materials from the RA Human Rights Defender’s office. According to them, the Azerbaijani Human Rights Defender Elmira Suleymanova in one of her appearances announced Ramil Safarov, who had killed the Armenian officer Gurgen Margarian at NATO training course in Budapest in 2004 to be a hero.

Overall, the subject of European structures and initiatives in the single context with Armenian-Azerbaijani relations was recurrent during the study period. A typical aspect of this subject was touched upon in a piece by “Aravot” daily “Pouring Water on Azerbaijan’s Watermill” *(October 27, 2009)*. It tells about the parliamentary hearings on the report of the RA Ombudsman “On the Activities of the RA Human Rights Defender and the Violations of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 2008”. In the course of the hearings the Deputy Chairman of the RA National Assembly Standing Committee on Human Rights and Public Issues Rafik Petrosian noted that the report drew too gloomy a picture, and the achievements of the RA President, the Parliament and the executive are neglected. In Petrosian’s opinion, this unilateral approach damages the reputation of our state, ignites passion, pours water on Azerbaijani watermills who repeat the same things in PACE.

Another aspect is touched upon in the communication of the Public Affairs Departments of the RA National Assembly, published in “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” *(October 17, 2009)*. According to the piece, the Chairwoman of the RA NA Standing Committee on European Integration Naira Zohrabian received the Special Representative of the Council of Europe Secretary General Sylvia Zehe. At the meeting Zohrabian said she was planning to attend the discussion of a parliamentary format set-up within the involvement of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia and Belarus in Sweden, under EU Eastern Partnership program. The Armenian MP stated with regret that by its oral and written

statements Azerbaijan consistently refuses from any cooperation with Armenia under Eastern Partnership. In particular, during the discussion of joint border management due to the destructive stance of Azerbaijan the cooperation reduced to bilateral format Armenia-Georgia and Georgia-Azerbaijan. In the opinion of Zohrabyan, if Azerbaijan continues its policy, the cooperation would not have the future that is expected. It is important to find common issues to be discussed - environmental, regional, etc., that are to the common interest of the two countries, and this cooperation should be channeled towards this issues.

The pieces where Armenian-Azerbaijani relations are touched upon the in the context of neighbor countries are quite common too. In its article “Georgian Screws of Azerbaijani Propaganda Machine. Neighbors Walk Out Hand in Hand Against the Armenian-Turkish Rapprochement?” *(October 27, 2009)* “Azg” daily says, in particular, that some Azerbaijani media are persistently elaborating the issue of anti-Armenian sentiment in Georgia. An impression is created that Azerbaijani news agencies intend to replace secret services that are to spoil Armenian-Georgian relations that are bad as they are. In particular, the statement by the Head of the Caucasus Center of Strategic Research Mamuka Areshidze has been put into active circulation saying that ”Armenian border troops and various criminal gangs from Armenia occasionally kidnap Azeris, residing in the borderline regions of Georgia to use them as workforce”.

Certainly, the vast majority of pieces on “Armenian-Azerbaijani relations and neighbors” deal with the “Turkish factor”. *(Herein the “Turkish factor” is understood to be the linkage between Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations in the studied pieces - **Ed. Note).*** As noted above, the presence of this factor in the monitoring subject was studied separately. Out of 1,244 pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, the “Turkish factor” was present in 618 (49.7%). This is an additional confirmation of the supposition made above that the Armenian-Turkish dialogue to a large extent stimulated media attention to Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, too. The print media were more frequent than the broadcast ones in linking Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations (389 versus 229). Overall, the newspapers were more frequent in addressing the monitoring subject than the TV channels. In percentages the share of TV pieces where the “Turkish factor” was mentioned (52.2%) was somewhat greater than the newspaper publications (48.3%). The difference in the degree of consideration given to “Turkish factor” in separate media was in between 58.9% (“Shant” TV channel) and 39.4% (“Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” newspaper).

In 69 cases the opinion prevailed that the rapprochement of Yerevan and Ankara will contribute to the resolution of problems between Armenia and Azerbaijan, in 310 - that on the contrary, their influence is negative. In all 8 Armenian media studied the number of publications with a negative attitude outcounted those that gave positive assessment to the impact of the “Turkish factor”.

At the same time it is important to note that overall in broadcast media neutral assessments prevails as to the influence of Armenian-Turkish dialogue on Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, and in print media - negative ones. Both types of media had one non-typical case each. In “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” with 38 neutral assessments 33 negative ones were made (and 5 positive ones), while on “ALM” TV channel the picture was reverse, 39 negative ones and 14 neutral assessments, with 13 positive ones. This has a clearcut explanation: “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” is traditionally inclined to express official views on all issues, similarly to the most Armenian broadcast media. Of the 33 negative references made by “Hayastani Hanrapetutiun” to the “Turkish factor” 16 reflected

the attitude of Azerbaijani, 8 - of Turkish, 1 - of other foreign and only 8 - of Armenian sources. At the same time “ALM” is owned by the leader of Popular Party of Armenia Tigran Karapetian who is critical with regard to Armenian-Turkish protocols. Most of the negative reference by this channel (29 of 39) reflected the attitude of Armenian sources.

The most positive reflection was given to the “Turkish factor” on the Second Armenian TV Channel (6 positive, 11 negative and 26 neutral references). Two other TV channels also addressed this factor in a relatively positive aspect. “Shant” had 1 positive, 13 negative (of these 6 coming from Azerbaijan, 1 from Turkish and 6 from Armenian sources) versus 29 neutral references. The First Channel of Public Television of Armenia had 2 positive, 16 negative (of these, 5 came from Turksih, 4 from Azerbaijani, 2 from other foreign and 5 from Armenian sources) versus 26 neutral references.

Several examples are to be quoted from the pieces on monitoring subject that have “Turkish factor” present. One of them, with a reference to “Arminfo” news agency was published in “Golos Armenii” newspaper with a headline “Compensation” *(October 29, 2009)* and linked Armenian-Turkish relations with the problem of “information war”. It quoted the opinion of an expert in Turkish studies, the Director of Institute of Oriental Studies of the RA National Science Academy Ruben Safrastian to the effect that the information war Azerbaijan wages against Armenia is characterized by quite unusual and rare aggressiveness: “This is due to the circumstance that Azerbaijan is in fact an observer to the process occurring between Armenia and Turkey and cannot influence it in any way (...) It is trying to compensate in the news domain, displaying excessive aggressiveness.”

The piece in “Aravot” daily, “Serge Sargsian Expressed His Regret” *(October 13, 2009)* was devoted to the brief interview of the RA president at Zvartnots airport before flying to Moscow.
In particular, Sargsian commented on the statements by Turkish officials, who seek to link Armenian-Turkish relations to those between Armenia and Azerbaijan. In the opinion of the President, this is primarily done for the Azerbaijani audience. He stated his regret that Armenian public reads such statements in Azerbaijani media that do distort their essence.

In “Azg” piece *(October 20, 2009)* “Turkey Will No Longer Unreservedly Defend the Interests of Israel and Azerbaijan” quotes the interview of Turkish analyst Berill Dedeoghlu to Turkish “Zaman”. The interview in particular reflects his opinion on relations with Armenia and Syria. “In the situation that will appear after the opening of the Armenian - Turkish border, Syria may reconsider its policy towards Israel and Iran. On the other hand, the same can happen to Armenia, with regard to Azerbaijan. It is Azerbaijan and Iran that will change their policies, because evidently Turkey will no longer be able to unreservedly stand for political interests of Azerbaijan and Israel (...) We must be very attentive to following the development of relations between Turkey and Israel, Iraq and Syria, Iran and Israel, Russia and Georgia, as well as Armenia and Azerbaijan. The aggressive ones will find themselves “out of game”. It would be very wrong not to use the advantages and geopolitical transformation, presented by the time, to establish final peace and basis for development in the region”, the Turkish analyst said.

“CE: In the Format of Armenia-Turkey the MK Issue Should Not Be a Priority” - this is the interview of the acting Chairman of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe Ian Micallef *(“Azg”, October 20, 2009)*. It tells in particular about the possibility of cooperation of local authorities in the context of Armenian-Turkish protocols signed on October 10 in Zurich. An opinion is expressed that by welcoming a dialogue between Armenia and Turkey, CE would probably want to take the lead in initiating

progress in the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. Ian Micallef in particular says: “I was in Azerbaijan two weeks ago. I repeated the offers of Armenian delegation about the start of cooperation between national unions of local and regional communities. I added to this Armenian initiative the possibility of (...) Turkey taking part in it as the third party. In our opinion, this can work and become a basis for cooperation in the Caucasus. This also means that we would start work that would have elements of MK conflict resolution.” The question of journalist on what was the response of Azerbaijani representatives to this offer, Micallef said that they did not refuse it straight away, yet they did not accept it either, the “proposal is being discussed”.

In the discussion program “Fourth Studio” of the Second Armenian TV Channel *(October 23, 2009)* the “Dashnaktsutiun” Bureau member Armen Rustamian spoke, in particular, about Armenian-Turkish protocols. According to Rustamian, the Kars Treaty was very vulnerable, yet it would be better to have the rapprochement with Turkey occur within this Treaty, since by its term Igdir was not a part of Turkey, Nakhichevan was given to Azerbaijan’s protectorate, and not as a part of Unitarian state. As to the preconditions in the protocols, Armen Rustamian noted that Turkey is not thinking about how to act to help Azerbaijan have it its own way. And it will seek the Karabagh issue to be linked to this process. When the protocols come into force, comments would start, and Turkey would be more open in speaking about the mines in the protocols that we do not see or try to pretend that we do not see. Rustamian believes that the comments refer to terms, and there are no incidental terms in the protocols. The guest of the program recalled the statement by the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmed Davutoghlu that the protocols allow for Turkey to meditate or to influence the Karabagh issue, and he qualified this statement as true, since the protocols have an article regarding the recognition of territorial integrity of other countries and not to intervene. Turks will incessantly remind Azerbaijan being such other country, Rustamian believes.

CHAPTER II.III.

AZERBAIJAN MEDIA MONITORING

MEDIA STUDIED AND THEIR BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

"AZTV" (Azerbaijan TV) is a former state TV company, founded in 1956. Since 2006 it became a CJSC, yet all shares are owned by the state. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Khabarlar" ("News") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 20.00 till 20.50); "Gunun Nabzi" ("Pulse of the Day", on Tuesday to Friday from 20.50 till 21.20) and "Hafta" ("A week", on Sundays from 20.00 till 21.30) current affairs programs, as well as other political discussion programs broadcasting from 19.00 till 24.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "AzTV" a total of 805 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 96 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 56 - in full, 36 - in part, 4 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 10. This made 11.9% of all TV pieces studied.

"ANS" is the first private TV and radio company of the country, broadcasting since 1992. The daily duration of air is 19-21 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Khabarci" ("Messenger") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 21.00 till 22.00); "Hesabat" ("Report", on Sundays from 21.00 till 21.30) current affairs program, as well as other political discussion programs broadcasting from 19.00 till 24.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "ANS" a total of 709 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 183 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 152 - in full, 29 - in part, 2 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 56. This made 25.8% of all TV pieces studied.

"ITV" is the Public Television of Azerbaijan, broadcasting since 2005. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Jarci" ("Herald") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 20.00 till 20.45); "Yekun" ("Result", on Sundays from 20.00 till 21.00) current affairs program, as well as other political discussion programs broadcasting from 19.00 till 24.00. Throughout the monitoring period on "ITV" a total of 979 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 220 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 191 - in full, 28 - in part, 1 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 57. This made 22.5% of all TV pieces studied.

"LEADER" is a private TV and radio company, broadcasting since 1998. The daily duration of air is 24 hours. The programs of the channel are broadcasting on the whole territory of Azerbaijan and also abroad, via satellite. The research focused at: the main issues of "Seda" ("Voice") evening newscast (on Monday to Saturday from 19.00 till 19.30 or till 19.45); "Seda+" ("Voice+", on Monday to Friday from 19.30 till 19.50 or from 19.45 till 20.00) and "Seda Hafta" ("Voice-Week", on Sundays from 19.00 till 19.45 or till 20.00) current affairs programs. Throughout the monitoring period on "Leader" a total of 856 TV pieces was studied. Of these, 202 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 163 - in full, 27 - in part, 12 - contained references to it, the number of announced pieces was 72. This made 23.6% of all TV pieces studied.

"AZERBAIJAN" is an official daily newspaper (six times a week, except Monday). The organ of the parliament of Azerbaijan, founded in 1919. The standard volume is 8-16/A2 pp. The stated print run is 8,500 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on "Azerbaijan"

a total of 1,107 pieces was studied. Of these, 127 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 62 - in full, 61 - in part, 4 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 20. This made 11.5% of all newspaper pieces studied.

"YENI MUSAVAT" is an opposition daily newspaper (seven times a week), founded in 1989 by the Chairman of "Musavat" party. (In November 2009 the founder was changed, and is now the Chief Editor of the newspaper .) The standard volume is 16/A3 pp. The stated print run is 11,000-13,150 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on "Yeni Musavat" a total of 2,075 pieces was studied. Of these, 336 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 190 - in full, 133 - in part, 13 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 126. This made 16.2% of all newspaper pieces studied.

"525-CI GAZET" is an independent daily newspaper (five times a week), founded in 1992 by "525" company. The standard volume is 8/A2 pp. (on Tuesday to Friday) with stated print run of 2,025 copies and 32/A3 pp. (on Saturdays) with stated print run of 3,525 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on "525-ci Gazet" a total of 1,461 pieces was studied. Of these, 273 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 219 - in full, 41 - in part, 13 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 91. This made 18.7% of all newspaper pieces studied.

"ZERKALO" is a Russian-language independent daily newspaper (five times a week), founded in 1990 by a group of journalists. The standard volume is 8/A2 pp. (on Tuesday to Friday) with stated print run of 5,000 copies and 48/A3 pp. (on Saturdays) with stated print run of 10,000 copies. Throughout the monitoring period on "Zerkalo" a total of 1,208 pieces was studied. Of these, 133 pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject: 69 - in full, 54 - in part, 10 - contained references to it, the number of pieces placed or started on front page was 45. This made 11% of all newspaper pieces studied.

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS OF AZERBAIJAN MEDIA MONITORING

Total of 9,200 newspaper/TV pieces have been studied within one month of research. 1,570 of them were dealing with the monitoring subject (17.1% of the total number of TV/newspaper pieces studied). According to this indicator, frequency of references to the research issue increased approximately to 63% in October 2009 compared to the same period of 2008.

The considerable increase of media attention to the problem is demonstrated by other figures too: during two months of 2008 (September 15 - November 15) Azerbaijani-Armenian relations were reviewed in 1,978 pieces of media studied. However, only 1,702 of them were fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, the rest 276 (14 %) contained references to it. 1,511 of 1,570 pieces recorded by monitors within a month (October 2009) were fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, so the number of pieces containing references to the monitoring subject reduced to 59 (3.8%).

Announcement of TV pieces or placement of the articles on the front page of the newspapers also manifest the attention to the monitoring subject by media. During two months of 2008, 440 TV/newspaper pieces dealing with the monitoring subject were announced or placed/started on the front page. 477 of such pieces were recorded only within one month of 2009. In other words, if in September-November 2008 every fourth of such pieces were set out by newspapers and TV channels, in October 2009 it was every third.

It was noted in the report of 2008 that wide interest by the Azerbaijani media to the monitoring subject is traditional for the whole national media. Along with that growth of such interest is being observed throughout two last years. It is clear that this circumstance is connected with certain factors and developments of the region. At the same time, it is impossible not to notice that these factors become stable and developments - consistent. “Five days war” between Georgia and Russia in August of 2008 on the eve of the first monitoring actualized the problem of fast settlement of frozen conflicts. In autumn 2008 the first historical visit of Turkish President to Armenia became one of the most popular issues covered by media. A year later, during the second monitoring, media was already discussing the return visit and signing of protocols on normalization of relations between Turkey and Armenia. During the previous monitoring the media paid attention to the first official meeting of Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Serge Sargsyan, while during the further monitoring newspapers and TV channels were broadly covering the seventh meeting of the heads of the states.

Thus, a great number of pieces on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, particularly, dealing with the Karabagh conflict resolution cannot be presented just as a result of a background set by different “hot” developments. This states the increasing role of media in shaping public opinion on the research subject.

Within October of 2009 3,349 pieces with 701 referring to monitoring subject (20.9%) were recorded in main issues of newscasts, current affairs programs and political discussion programs of **four TV channels.** 22.5-25.8% of all pieces of “ITV”, “ANS” and “Leader” newscasts and current affairs programs were dealing with the monitoring subject. The overall index has reduced due to the figure of “AzTV” - 11.9%.

The volume of TV pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, made 99,977 seconds throughout the monitoring period. This time is allocated by the channels as follows: “Leader” - 34,618 seconds (199 references), “ITV” - 33,567 seconds (226 references), “ANS” - 24,333 seconds (190 references), “AzTV” - 7,459 seconds (99 references).

There were 562 pieces (80.2%) fully and 120 (17.1%) partly dealing with the monitoring subject. 19 pieces (2.7%) contained references to it.

28.6% of all pieces, fully or partly dealing with Armenia, Armenians or Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, were announced. Here two channels are distinguished - “Leader” announcing 37.9% of such pieces and “AzTV” with an index at least 2.5 times below the others (10.9%).

This data shows that with a less number of pieces fully or partly dealing with Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, during one month of 2009 national broadcast media allocated to the monitoring subject coverage 20,630 seconds more than during two months of 2008 in whole. If one compares the records of each month separately, the picture will become more clear:

Monitoring period	**Number of pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject (in units)**	**Coverage volume (sec.)**
September 15 - October 15, 2008	459	37,451
October 16 - November 15, 2008	408	41,896
October 1-31, 2009	682	99,977

In 2009 “ITV” gave its leadership in coverage time to “Leader” TV channel. This was conditioned by volume of analytical pieces aired on “Leader”; however “ITV” still holds the first place for the number of pieces dealing with Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. “AzTV” was the only channel whose records decreased in 2009 (7,459 seconds versus 9,776 seconds in 2008). “AzTV” was the only from 8 media studied which did not include any piece on the monitoring subject in its newscasts and current affairs programs within one monitoring day - October 23.

“AzTV” in general had the most restrained stance in covering the issue of Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict and all set of problems related to it. It is explained with a stricter attachment of the TV channel to the official stance of authorities. For example, during the whole first week of monitoring “AzTV” was silent while other TV companies were widely discussing the issue of influence of Armenian-Turkish relations on the Karabagh conflict resolution. “AzTV” broke the silence only after AR President Ilham Aliyev expressed his opinion on this matter (October 9).

The number of newspaper pieces published during October 2009 **in four print media studied** made 5,851. Of these, 869 (14.9%) pieces were dealing with the monitoring subject. Indicators of two newspapers are higher than this average level: 18.7% - “525-ci Gazet” and 16.2% - “Yeni Musavat”. “Azerbaijan” and “Zerkalo” referred to the monitoring subject accordingly in 11.5% and 11% of all the pieces studied.

Newspaper space, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, made 196,188 square centimeters that equals 196/A3 newspaper pages. More than third of this volume falls to the share of “Yeni Musavat” newspaper - 67,428 (396 references to the monitoring subject). The record of “525-ci Gazet” is a little less - 60,904 square centimeters (270 references). “Zerkalo” takes the third place, in terms of this indicator - 42,715 square centimeters (153 references). “Azerbaijan” official newspaper allocated fewer space to the coverage of this subject than other print media - 25,141 square centimeters (130 references).

540 newspaper pieces (62.1%) were fully and 289 (33.3%) partly dealing with the monitoring subject of all pieces studied. 40 pieces (4.6%) contained a reference to it.

Each third article, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, was placed or started on the front page. However, each newspaper, except “Azerbaijan” official newspaper, has a record above the average.

The same is true for TV channels: with less number of pieces dealing with Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, print media allocated to the coverage of the monitoring subject 34,423 square centimeters more within one month in 2009 in comparison with 2 months in 2008 as a whole. By comparison of monitoring results for each month taken separately the difference is felt more:

Monitoring period	**Number of pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject (in units)**	**Coverage volume (sq. cm)**
September 15 - October 15, 2008	409	73,804
October 16 - November 15, 2008	426	87,961
October 1-31, 2009	829	196,188

In 2009 “Yeni Musavat” newspaper preserved leadership in terms of number of pieces and newspaper space dealing with Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. “Zerkalo” and

“Azerbaijan” have approximately the same records as in 2008 with a difference that they reached these indicators not in two but in one month. “525-ci Gazet” was more active in covering the issue, having preserved the second position. In October 2009 it exceeded its records of September 15 - November 15, 2008 in 1.4 in terms of coverage volume and in almost in 1.8- terms of number of pieces.

According to the research methodology, all newspaper/TV pieces of Azerbaijan media, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject, were distributed by five sections:

- Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it;

- Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context;

- Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue;

- Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state);

- Developments in Armenia and/or related to it.

Attention of Azerbaijani newspapers and TV channels was focused on **the Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it.** 71% of 1,663 references of 8 media studied was dealing with this issue. This indicator is much higher on TV channels than on newspapers (75.6% of 714 references versus 67.4% of 949 references).

It should be noted that in newspapers the number of direct references to the Karabagh conflict resolution reduced in October of 2009 to 16.6% and in TV channels - to 13.9, in comparison with September-November 2008. This was conditioned by more than double growth of pieces on all other thematic sections in 2009, except the “Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context”.

Pieces dealing with Karabagh conflict resolution issue consist primarily of the reports on official meetings, statements of Presidents, politicians and diplomats, analytical appeals of experts and journalists. By the way, the overwhelming majority of pieces, where the influence of so-called “Turkish factor” on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations is discussed, refers exactly to this thematic section.

All media studied put the “Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it” thematic section on the first place, comparing to other sections. At the same time, there is a difference in coverage of some media. “Zerkalo”, “Yeni Musavat” newspapers (59.5% and 61.6%, accordingly) and “Leader” TV channel (66.3%) focused on it to a lesser extent, but official media like “Azerbaijan” newspaper (77.7%) and “AzTV” (84.8%) to a larger extent.

Life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context was covered in Azerbaijan media more rarely than in 2008, when there were 9 such references to this thematic section in two months. During October 2009, 4 such references were recorded in four Azerbaijani newspapers. There were no such kind of pieces on TV channels.

Articles on life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context were published on approximately 1,000 square centimeters of newspaper space. What did the newspapers write on this issue? A Czech journalist Petrushka Shustrova writes about Karabagh as

“once having autonomy in Azerbaijan” and the city life of present Mountainous Karabagh in “The Place where Grey Mountains End” article (“525-ci Gazet”, October 15, 2009). There is an interesting detail in the article: “When I was among Agdam’s ruins I got a message on my mobile. This message made an alleged impression that it was intended to mark sarcastically what I saw: “Welcome to Azerbaijan. If you want to reach Czech, dial +420.” An article “Pick of Surprise” (“Azerbaijan”, October 18, 2009), dealing with the creativity problems, narrates that songs on Mountainous Karabagh are still being composed, but the spirit of Jidir Duzu (the place near Shusha) is not felt. An article “Armenian President Arrived in Karabagh” (“Zerkalo”, October 22, 2009) narrates on the ceremony of granting apartment keys to servicemen in Hadrut region. Reportedly, RA President Serge Sargsyan who arrived to the ceremony was to visit Martuni region and later participate in a traditional working meeting in Khankendi (Stepanakert). The same day “Zerkalo” issued another story dealing with the annual report of the Committee of Council of Europe on prevention of inhuman and humiliating tortures. At the end of piece the importance of the visit of Committee members to Mountainous Karabagh is stressed in order to study the situation.

Even in these articles where Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict is not addressed directly, its “trace” and influence is however felt.

Yet **Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue** are referred to quite often. There were 111 references to this thematic section that makes 6.7% of all references to the monitoring subject throughout October 2009.

Newspapers wrote on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue 77 times (8.1%). “Yeni Musavat” (31 references) and “525-ci Gazet” (25) wrote about it more frequently, while “Zerkalo” (14) and “Azerbaijan” (7) more rarely.

TV channels showed less interest to this thematic section: during the monitoring 34 of such references (4.8%) were recorded,(half falling on the share of “Leader” TV channel followed by “ITV” (10), “ANS” (5) and “AzTV” (2)).

Thus, during one month of 2009 national media exceeded in twice the records on this thematic section from the ones of two months of 2008. Yet here quantitative data does not evidence serious qualitative changes. For example, it does not mention a special subject actualization or an extension of the scope of issues. A lot of media had many reports on European chess championship in Novi-Sad (Serbia) in October 2009 where women and men teams contended for the championship. Some pieces narrated on a visit of Armenian delegation to Baku to participate in the 21st session of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the countries-members of the Black Sea Economic Corporation Organization, on three-lateral meeting of Armenian, Azerbaijan and Georgian delegations in Luxemburg to discuss cooperation issues with EU, forthcoming meeting of MP’s in Moscow, etc. A fact of “secret trade relations” between Armenian and Azerbaijan businessmen also gained media attention. Newspapers wrote on the sale of Armenian tea, cognac and cigarettes in Baku stores, tried to find out how they appeared on Azerbaijan shopboards. Many newspapers reprinted information of “Lent.az” news agency about the operation of Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs in one of Moscow restaurants, where the Armenian and Azerbaijan citizens were arrested while sitting at the same card table. Other pieces were dealing with the confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan in historical, customs, ecological, cultural and information fields. Media wrote on Armenia’s distortion of historical and cultural heritage of Azerbaijan, on pollution of Araks river as a result of new energetic projects of neighboring country, attempt of transportation of low-quality Armenian goods across the border, on an Armenian citizen who destroyed the monument of Azerbaijanis and who fell

during liberation of Crimea from fascist invaders, on misinformation of Armenian media on so-called failed statements of Azerbaijan representatives in international events.

Regarding the Azerbaijani-Armenian relations in different spheres, first of all in economy, Azerbaijan media permanently advanced their opinion that they cannot and must not be settled until the political solution of Karabagh issue.

Pieces creating an image of neighboring country, describing its state institutes and Armenian national qualities referred to **"Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)"** thematic section. It takes the second place on the frequency of references to it made by Azerbaijan media. There were 280 of such references in 8 newspapers and TV channels that make 16.8% of total number of references throughout the monitoring period.

Here print media considerably pass ahead of TV channels.

This section was addressed in 172 pieces (18.1% of all references). "Yeni Musavat" addressed it more often (89 times), "Azerbaijan" rarely (14). "Zerkalo" and "525-ci Gazet" had similar records - 37 and 32 references, accordingly. However, "Zerkalo" (24.2%) left behind all media studied not in terms of reference quantity but that of frequency.

108 references to this section were recorded in four broadcast media during monitoring period. It makes 15.1% of all number of references. "Leader" demonstrated the greatest interest to the monitoring subject (45 references), AzTV - the least (9). "ANS" (29) and "ITV" (25) had similar records.

It is interesting to observe reference activity of separate media day by day.

The activity peak of three TV channels -"ANS", "ITV" and "Leader" was observed on October 7-17, 2009, the period when the issue of protocols signing between Armenia and Turkey was the most actual. Journalist and studio guests analyzed mainly Armenian foreign policy and Diaspora influence in the settlement of domestic issues. "AzTV" had a different background. Its activity peak was observed in the end of the month (October 25-31), when many issues were clarified and Azerbaijan Government finally determined its general position.

Newspapers referred to the issue differently, though in some extent they addressed the issue every day. The activity peak of "Zerkalo", as well as of the three TV channels was observed on October 7-17. "Azerbaijan" newspaper was similar to "AzTV". Throughout the whole month "Yeni Musavat" and "525-ci Gazet" covered this thematic section consistently.

The overwhelming majority - 89% of all pieces on this thematic section of all media studied was dealing with the description of Armenian state institutes and analysis of Armenian national policy. Armenian people and its representatives were described in 11% of pieces.

As it was said above, media highlighted the factors of Armenian foreign-policy, determining its deal, its relations with Turkey, US, Russia. Pieces with large volume were dealing with this aspect. For example, only on October 11, in Sunday evening "ITV" allocated 1,468 seconds to discussions of the problem, "ANS" - 1,149 seconds, "Leader" - 1,060 seconds. Then on October 13 "Zerkalo" allocated 893 square centimeters of newspaper space to it, "525-ci Gazet" - 787 square centimeters and "Yeni Musavat" - 527 square centimeters.

Figures above confirm the fact that the majority of the pieces in this thematic section was initiated by Armenian-Turkish protocols signed on October 10 in Zurich. Media expressed two positions. The first, Armenia was forced to sign the protocols, and in order to survive and develop it should normalize its relations with neighbors and open to the West. “ANS”, “ITV” and “Zerkalo” shared this position most of all. Second, we witness another ruse of Armenian policy that has set a trap for the whole Turkic world in order to split it; Turkey will all the same be deceived. “Yeni Musavat” sticked to this line very persistently.

The second aspect of this thematic section in terms of frequency of references is the relations of Armenia with Diaspora, the role of the latter in political life of the country. Media analyses the reasons of Diaspora’s protest against normalization of relations with Turkey under the circumstances provided for in protocols.

There were a lot of pieces about the intensification of problems inside Armenia, the coarse violations of human rights and crime growth, the decrease of GDP and national currency rate; on food crisis, famine, increase in poverty and unemployment, political crisis and growth of people’s discontent, demographic crisis and depopulation. Articles and plots of such content were frequent in “Yeni Musavat” and “Azerbaijan” newspapers and “AzTV”.

In fact, there were pieces in which people warmly recalled their peaceful life with Armenians (“525-ci Gazet”, October 28, 2009) or in which intended cooperation between Turkey and Armenia in cultural sphere and reconstruction of historical monuments was reported without comments (“Leader”, October 27, 2009).

Overall, we witness double increase of pieces on “Everything that relates to Armenia and Armenians” comparing data of October 2009 with the records of two-month monitoring of 2008 (280 references against 131). In 2008 81% of pieces on this thematic section were dealing with the analyses of situation in Armenia, its geopolitical situation, description of state institutes, and 19% narrated on Armenians as individual representatives of a nation and a state. In 2009 media focused on the analyze of political and economic situation in neighboring country, paying less attention to the description of national features and Armenian specifities (89% against 11%).

Leaders in terms of coverage of this thematic section also changed. “525-ci Gazet” and “ITV” referred to it more in 2008. In 2009 “Yeni Musavat” and “Leader” went considerably ahead of their “colleagues”. “AzTV” (9 references each in 2009 and 2008) and “Azerbaijan” (14 references in 2009 and 13 references in 2008) official media manifest a greater constancy.

At the same time, it should d be noted that though there were a lot of pieces dealing with “Everything that relates to Armenia and Armenians” thematic section in Azerbaijan media, newspapers and TV channels paid limited interest directly to the **developments in Armenia and/or related to it.** In October 2009 monitors marked 88 references (5.3% of all references to monitoring subject) to this thematic section: 56 - in newspapers and 32 - in TV channels. It is almost 2.5 times more than in 2008. However, as before it takes the penultimate position in terms of coverage activity, only passing ahead “Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context” thematic section.

Among print media Yeni Musavat” (32 references) paid the greatest attention to the developments in Armenia. In each third of other newspapers there were 7-9 of references to this thematic section in a month. Almost the half of TV pieces on the developments in Armenia was aired by the Public Television. “ANS” had 9 pieces, “Leader” - 5, “AzTV”- 4.

The main part of pieces of this thematic section also relates to Armenian-Turkish protocols. Allocating fewer space and time to the ceremony of document signature itself, media widely covered the concomitant developments of this event, such as rallies in Armenia, protest actions of Diaspora in France and New-York.

The second group of the "Developments in Armenia and/or related to it" thematic section in terms of quantity are the plots and articles on the visit of President Sargsyan to Turkey to watch the football game between national teams of two countries and his warm reception by President Gul.

Azerbaijani media also paid attention to: the murder of Armenian citizen in Moscow, the wounding of a villager of Dvin by an MP, unsuccessful attempt of Armenian Prime Minister to run a tractor at "Panarmenian EXPO-2009" exhibition, promotion of draft resolution on genocide in US Congress, protest action in Yerevan to protect Chief Editor of an opposition newspaper, and some cases of official statements of Turkish and Armenian politicians.

Tracing the daily density of references made by broadcast and print media to the thematic section, it is obvious that 27 of 32 references made by TV channels in October 2009 are accounted in the first part of the month, when the issue of signature of Armenian-Turkish protocols was topical. During the whole month newspapers steadily covered developments in Armenia or related to Armenia.

Having presented monitoring methodology it was mentioned that in the second stage of study attention was also paid to an additional factor (October 2009): **the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations (protocols on establishing diplomatic relations and border opening, as well as meetings and visits of state level, etc.) on the Armenian-Azerbaijani relations**. Besides, the attitude (positive, negative or neutral) of the authors/speakers in the piece towards the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on the problem covered in the newspaper/TV piece, was assessed.

The influence of so-called "Turkish factor" was addressed in 244 ***newspaper pieces*** in October 2009. This makes 29.4% of all pieces fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject of four print media studied. Such influence is assessed as negative in 134 articles (54.9%), as neutral in 94 (38.5%) and as positive only in 16 (6.6%).

115 pieces dealing with the problem were placed on the front page that made 47.1% of their total number. This figure is significantly above average in terms of all thematic sections.

While assessing the influence of signature and opportunities of ratification of protocols between Turkey and Armenia on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, newspapers primarily referred to the opinions of Azerbaijan (178 pieces) and Turkish (64 pieces) information sources. Quotations of opinions of Armenian politicians and experts were in 16 articles, and 14 pieces quoted statements of other foreign sources.

The position of Azerbaijan officials on the issue was reflected in 34 articles. 26 of them contained statements of the President of the country, Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, heads of departments of President's Office saying that Armenian-Turkish protocols will negatively influence the situation in the region and on the process of Karabagh issue resolution. In 8 pieces their statements were assessed as a neutral attitude. Azerbaijan leaders did not give any positive assessments of the issue.

In 41 pieces journalists and in one the editorial article not only provided the audience with information and introduced to the position of state figures and experts, but also clearly expressed their attitude towards the problem. In 31 cases (including editorial article) they affirmed that protocols on normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations would have an adverse influence on the resolution of Karabagh conflict, in 8 articles they expressed the opinion that this factor would not change anything in Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. In three pieces journalists expressed a hypothesis that after the signature of protocols and their ratification, situation in the region would improve, the Karabagh conflict resolution would accelerate.

Four TV channels addressed the influence of negotiations between Armenia and Turkey on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations in 183 pieces that make 26.8% of all pieces, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject. 73 pieces (39.9%) showed that the signature of protocols will adversely influence the Karabagh conflict resolution, consecutively on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. The role of this factor was assessed as neutral in 101 pieces (55.2%). 9 TV pieces (4.9%) expressed an opinion on positive influence of normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations on the situation in the region and the settlement of conflict issues.

Covering the problem TV channels as well as print media referred more to Azerbaijan (113 pieces) and Turkish (79) information sources. Position of Armenian state figures and experts on the issue was reflected in 16 pieces, while the one of representatives of other foreign states-in 7.

76 pieces dealing with the problem were announced. It makes 41.5% of total number and almost 13% above the average record in terms of all thematic sections.

Azerbaijan official position on the stated issue was reflected in 30 pieces. 22 plots narrated that President and heads of department of President's Office, Minister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs claimed on adverse influence of Armenian-Turkish protocols on the negotiation process between Armenia and Azerbaijan, considering it to complicate the Karabagh issue resolution. Their statements, assessed as neutral, were cited in 8 pieces. There was no positive attitude.

The attitude of journalists expressed in 12 pieces corresponds with the attitude of high-ranking politicians. In 11 pieces they criticized the fact of signature of protocols on normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey before the Karabagh conflict resolution, and only once a neutral attitude was expressed.

Thus, 207 pieces (48.5%) of 427 in 8 media assert that in case of ratification of the protocols signed between Armenia and Turkey by parliaments of two countries, they will influence ***negatively*** Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. Only one measure from the whole package envisaged in the protocols, is singled out – the opening of borders between Turkey and Armenia. Speaking on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, media constantly mean the negotiations of the Karabagh issue resolution.

What were the ***main arguments*** of those state figures, experts and journalists affirming that the signature of protocols between Armenia and Turkey would exacerbate the situation in the region? They consider:

- borders were closed in 1993 as a result of Armenian occupation of Azerbaijan territories, so their opening will contribute to the continuation of aggressor policy without any

preliminary circumstances and will lead to a more firm stance in negotiation process on MK conflict, will delay the issue settlement;

- opening of borders is like artificial respiration, like an economic “oxygen mask” for Armenia that will make Armenians less inclined to compromises in negotiation process;

- protocols pursue an aim to make Turkey weak and keep it away from regional processes, spoil relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan. Thus, opening of Armenian-Turkish border can lead to the tensity in the region including relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey;

- Turkey is made to open border by an outside force, it will strike a blow on Turkic unity, the interest is to leave Azerbaijan all alone who will finally concede during the negotiations on Karabagh conflict resolution.

It should be noted that some pieces (7 articles and plots) narrated on Armenian protests against signature of protocols, considering that they would lead to the strengthening of Turkish role in the region and settlement of Karabagh issue in favor of Azerbaijan.

Nevertheless there were also a lot of pieces - 195 (45.7%) which expressed an opinion that signature of protocols between Armenian and Turkey ***would not lead to essential changes*** in Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. According to information sources and used reasonings they can be divided into four categories:

- pieces quoting opinions of Azerbaijan leaders, politicians, experts and journalists, reasoning their position with the fact that Turkish party promises not to ratify protocols until the settlement of Karabagh conflict, and Azerbaijan believes in it;

- pieces reflecting the position of Turkish leaders, politicians, representatives of civil society asserting that Turkey will never take steps without taking into account Azerbaijan interests; processes of opening of Armenian-Turkish borders and settlement of Karabagh issue can be conducted only simultaneously;

- pieces quoting statements of Armenian state figures and politicians as well as foreign officials and analysts noting that normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations, border opening and settlement of Karabagh issue are two unrelated processes;

- pieces reflecting opinions of different sources assessing both negatively and positively the influence of normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations.

During the monitoring period 25 articles and TV plots (5.8%) it was stated or supposed unambiguously that despite all the concerns the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations without preconditions will also ***positively*** influence the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The majority of such statements was made by Turkish leaders as well as analysts and official representatives of other foreign states, mainly US and Russia. They argue their position by the fact that the signature of protocols and opening of borders will bring the countries of the region together, will serve to the establishment of confidence and stability atmosphere in South Caucasus and will thereby lead to the fast resolution of Karabagh issue, settlement of other conflicts as well as to the creation of long-lasting peace.

Judging by media pieces this opinion is shared by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Head of Foreign Ministry of the country Ahmet Davutoglu, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Tina Kaidanov, former US Secretary of State Colin Powell, Slovenia President Danilo Turk. Former Russian Prime Minister Evgeny Primakov supposes that signature of protocols will make the Armenians liberate quickly Azerbaijan lands in order Turkey to ratify these documents. Influential Turkish MP Mustafa Kabakci considers that actualization of the issue on normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations and opening of borders will put Karabagh issue on an agenda at an international level and enhance the negotiation process. Media also cite the statements of Armenian President Serge Sargsyan who does not exclude that improvement of relations with Turkey can create favorable conditions for the settlement of Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict.

Azerbaijan experts, some MP's and journalists who assess positively the influence of the process of normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey on the Karabagh conflict resolution, brought forward more specific arguments:

- as a result of normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations the dependence of Armenia on Russia will weaken, economic affection to Turkey will become stronger, Western vector in guidelines of Armenian foreign policy will increase and in its turn it will lead to convergence in positions with Azerbaijan;

- within the last 15 years the signature of protocols is the only step forward to settle Karabagh issue: liberation of 5 occupied Azerbaijan regions will be a result of this step;

- protocols will strengthen Turkish role in the region which will help Azerbaijan to solve the conflict with Armenia.

Newspaper ***"Yeni Musavat"*** (114) had the biggest number of pieces dealing with the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations. This influence is assessed as negative in 77 of them, 32 as neutral and 5 as positive. 50 pieces were placed on the front page. The overwhelming majority - 86 newspaper articles fall on the share of the second and the third week of October. The newspaper is characterized by an expressive negative attitude towards Armenian-Turkish protocols with more than third negative assessments (37.2%) of Armenian-Turkish protocols recorded in 8 media studied. "Yeni Musavat" is the only among all media studied which expressed its attitude in an editorial article. 30 of 53 pieces where journalists expressed their position on the issue are also accounted for "Yeni Musavat". 25 of them are negative.

"525-ci Gazet" takes the second position on the number of pieces regarding the monitoring subject - 81 articles. It manifested the negative influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations in 39 pieces, neutral in 34 and positive in 8. 40 of such articles were placed on the front page. An assessment of journalists is given in 2 articles with 1 negative and 1 positive.

"Zerkalo" addressed the subject of the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations in 33 pieces. Such influence is assessed as neutral in majority of articles (21 pieces) and negative in 10. There is a positive assessment in 2 pieces. 23 pieces were placed on the front page. During four weeks of monitoring the newspaper covered this issue steadily. Journalists expressed their attitude to the problem very often (7 pieces with 3 negative and 4 neutral assessments).

The smallest number of pieces on the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on

Azerbaijani-Armenian relations among media studied was recorded in ***"Azerbaijan"*** newspaper - 16 articles with 8 negative, 7 neutral and 1 positive assessments. 2 pieces were placed on the front page. The only positive attitude to Armenian-Turkish protocols was expressed by a group of deputies of Azerbaijan who visited Turkey, making a reference to the words of Prime Minister Erdogan. Journalists expressed their attitude in two articles: 1 negative and 1 neutral.

"ITV" is a leader in terms of pieces with such content among TV channels, with 63 pieces - 21 plots having negative, 38 - neutral and 4 - positive attitudes to the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. 24 pieces were announced. The majority of the pieces (61.9%) like on other channels were recorded in the second and third week of monitoring. However, the main part of neutral assessments (63.2%) was made in the second part of the month. Only in one plot the journalist stated his own position, affirming that the implementation of the protocols terms by Turkey and opening of borders with Armenia will influence negatively the Karabagh conflict resolution.

"Leader" TV channel expressed the biggest number of negative assessments on the issue of influence of Armenian Turkish negotiations on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations among all media studied. The channel broadcasted 52 pieces with 24 negative, 25 neutral and 3 positive assessments. 31 pieces were announced. The biggest number of negative and neutral assessments was recorded in the middle of the month, while the positive ones - at the end of October. Journalists of "Leader" demonstrated their direct attitude towards Armenian-Turkish protocols more often than journalists of other channels. They had 9 of 12 such pieces during a month (8 negative and 1 neutral assessments).

"ANS" aired 49 pieces on the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations during October 2009 with 22 negative, 25 neutral, 2 positive assessments. 19 pieces were announced. The main part of negative assessments was recorded during the second and third monitoring week, however all 7 pieces aired during the final forth week of October expressed only neutral attitude to the problem. In one plot the journalist of the channel expressed its negative opinion on the issue of opening of Armenian-Turkish borders.

Covering the problem of the influence of Armenian-Turkish negotiations on Azerbaijani-Armenian relations ***"AzTV"*** was cautious like in all other issues dealing with the monitoring subject. 19 pieces were recorded on the channel, with 6 - negative and 13 neutral attitudes to the problem. 2 pieces were announced. "AzTV" did not make any pieces related to Armenian-Turkish protocols in the first week of monitoring. The pieces of the second week were dealing with the statements of Azerbaijan President, the attitude of the AR Foreign Ministry and Turkish leaders to the issue. In the third week the attention of "AzTV" was totally concentrated on the trip of deputies of Azerbaijan parliament to Turkey, where they discussed the issue of opening of Armenian-Turkish border with Turkish officials, while at the end of the monitoring month - on the visit of Turkish MP's to Baku. It is the only media studied, where journalists did not express their own attitudes towards the issue.

Thus, summarizing monitoring results one can assert that Azerbaijan media accepted signature of protocols on normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations with hostility and found a threat for Karabagh conflict resolution in opening of borders between these countries. However, later, as the issue was clarified by Turkish politicians they "calmed down" and the number of pieces where protocols were assessed with a neutral position was increasing little by little.

CHAPTER II.IV.

"CROSS MONITORING":

INACCURATE INFORMATION, CLICHES AND STEREOTYPES IN MEDIA OF ARMENIA

(Results of the Analysis Made by Azerbaijani Observer of the Armenian Media Summaries)

The continuation of "cross monitoring" in 2009 allowed once again to study text units that can contribute to the formation of negative image of Azerbaijan and its residents, as well as words and expressions, that maybe do not have any negative implication but for some reasons can insult the self-esteem, sense of national dignity of residents of the neighboring country. Thus, there was an opportunity to compare results of last research with the ones of 2008, to give answers to some important issues: how durable the negative cliches and stereotypes turned out to be? Are there any new ones?

The research methodology was completely identical with the one described in First Part of this Report *(Chapter I.IV)*. There is no necessity to state it once again, however it should be noted that observers the marked text units, the use of which is unacceptable and cause negative attitude towards Azerbaijan audience were divided by the observers into three categories: 1. inaccurate information; 2. cliches; 3. stereotypes.

INACCURATE INFORMATION

The observer recorded both ***unambiguously inaccurate facts, perverted quotations as well as opinions based on such specific facts and quotations which misled the public.***

It should be noted that all media except for "Golos Armenii" newspaper had fewer actual errors than in 2008. It is conditioned by a simple circumstance that the number of pieces on events, dealing with the monitoring subject recorded in Armenian media studied, was 4 times less in October 2009 than within two months in 2008 (27 against 103).

In many cases pieces with inaccurate facts did not have references to the source. Yet the observer recorded cases when a pure reference was made, though there were no such events or facts in reality and it is very difficult to imagine that it could happen. Here are some examples: "ALM" TV channel reported in October 24, 2009 *"there was an incident of mass poisoning of 47 pupils of 3-8 classes of school # 48 in Azerbaijan town Sumgait. Children felt bad after they eat zwiebacks which they got from three men" (??? -* ***observer***). "Golos Armenii" in an article *"Battle Clashes in the North of Azerbaijan" (October 1, 2009)* wrote on *"frequent clashes on Russian-Azerbaijan border"* where situation was stable in fact. The same newspaper of October 29, 2009 referring to *"data of unofficial sources"* disseminated information that *"'SOCAR' company is a property of Ilham Aliyev. And he is a partner of Saakashvili".* Referring to the words of a priest, the newspaper explained that *"construction of mosque is not forbidden"* in Azerbaijan village of Georgia.

Media continues to have discrepancies in terms of figures which mainly refer to the number of refugees from Armenia and Azerbaijan who left their residences as a result of the conflict and war. Here quite different data are recorded: an article *"On Migration Roads" ("Golos Armenii", October 29, 2009)* wrote that *"360 thousands of refugees of Armenian nationality appeared in 1988-91 because of Azerbaijan actions".* "Day by Day" newscast *("ALM", October 5, 2009)* says that *"500 thousand Armenians were expelled during war".* Data *"spread by Azerbaijan"* on *"as if today 100 thousands Armenians live in the country"* are refuted in the same newscast. It should be noted that it is difficult to blame media in this mess and discrepancies. Official bodies and their representatives provide different data which in fact vary from those given in international documents. According to the data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the parliament and other sources, the number of Armenians living today in Azerbaijan outside Mountainous Karabagh is 20 to 50 thousands, yet nobody spoke in the country about 100 thousands of Armenians living in Azerbaijan.

The majority of examples referred by observer to the category "inaccurate information" is related not to facts but allegations of the very journalists and heroes of their pieces. In October 9, 2009 a scientist, Associate Professor of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Yerevan State University told in an interview to the "Aravot" newspaper *"that in Soviet years the population in Georgia, Azerbaijan and other countries was mixed, while there were no representatives of other ethnos in Armenia".* Hundred thousands of Azerbaijanis, living in Armenia during those years, find such an expression as an intended distortion of facts. An author of article *"Our Arguments Are Stronger" ("Aravot" newspaper, October 15, 2009)* notes that *"Artsakh, as a self-determined nation, was acknowledged an object of international law thanks to a cautious diplomatic trick"* however later this advantage was lost. One can suppose what the author means by this allegation, yet it is obvious that he misleads the reader.

A number of inaccurate information in Armenian media refers to the crime level in Azerbaijan, its involvement in international terrorism and drug business. On October 6 "ALM" TV channel alleged that *"in fact Azerbaijan is always referred to within a context of sensational crimes" ("Zarkerak" program),* on October 9 it said that *"there is a big laboratory in this country which produces drugs",* and *"Azerbaijan is not only the country where drugs are produced but is also a transit for the supply of Afghan and Iranian drugs to RF and Europe" ("Zarkerak").* On October 30 this TV channel said that *"the brother of Afghan President conveyed heroin to Europe across Azerbaijan"* and that *"the drug business of Afghan President goes through Azerbaijan, too" ("Zarkerak").* Yet "Golos Armenii" newspaper wrote in an article *"Bin Ladens Cooperate with Azerbaijan" (October 1, 2009)*: *"Members of Bin Laden's family visited Baku many times on a private plane during 1997-2001, Azerbaijan and Turkish authorities were aware of it."*

Both in 2008 and 2009 media made a lot of mistakes in orthography and spelling of the names of authority representatives, analysts, Azerbaijan journalists, names of positions, etc. "Azg" newspaper *("Another Invention of Azerbaijan", October 2, 2009)* presents Deputy of AR Foreign Minister Araz Azimov as *"special representative of Azerbaijan President at the contact line",* although there is no such kind of position. "Golos Armenii" *("$ 26 Thousands on Legitimization of Heydar Aliyev Junior", October 8, 2009)* confuses the writer Rustam Ibrahimbekov with his brother Maksud Ibrahimbekov, alleging that the latter *"is exposed to cruel criticism in Azerbaijani press very often".* In another case "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" newspaper *("Ahmet Davutoglu Will Visit Baku in Some Days (...)", October 14, 2009)* names the Ambassador of Azerbaijan to Turkey Zakir Hashimov *Chakir Hashimov*, while informing about his meeting with Turkish diplomat "Unal

Chepkoz". By the way, the latter's name is different - Unal Chevikoz, and "chepkoz" is translated from Turkish as "slanting".

In the report of 2008 it was mentioned that such mistakes are considered to be a serious violation of professional norms and are painfully perceived by the people whose names and positions are distorted.

It was also stressed that elements of so-called "information warfare" are often met in pieces of Armenian media. They can be found in a form of dissemination of false information, causing the rejection or accusations in propagandistic diversion by the other party. In October 2009 observers discovered more frequent use of such elements in newspaper/TV pieces comparing to 2008. Moreover, there are programs and newspaper articles fully dealing with "domestic and foreign "information warfare" *("Aravot", "Sometimes It Is Necessary to Answer", October 1, 2009),* with the research of "Anti-Armenian information system of Azerbaijan" *("Golos Armenii", "Car Is Working Without a Hitch", October 8, 2009)*, considering the methods of giving "serious counterstroke on the propagandist march of Azerbaijanis" *(First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur", October 5, 2009).*

The most dangerous thing of such trend is that deputies and journalists who like to inform people about their great victories in this "invisible battlefront" without thinking about the consequences, appear in the role of "commanders" of this "information warfare".

And finally, the monitoring showed that protocols signed in Zurich between Turkey and Armenia, the position of Azerbaijan on this issue served as another occasion for distortion of facts, developments and especially quotes of high-ranking politicians in media. Thus, for example, some statements which were not even told or their sense was distorted were ascribed to officials and diplomats both in Turkey and Azerbaijan. While covering the issue, almost all Armenian media reported that former Foreign Minister of Turkey Ali Babajan said: *"The reaction in Baku on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Yerevan and Ankara matters little to me. Moreover, within the last period Baku lost the role it could play in the region" (for example, "Shant" TV, "Horizon" newscast, October 10, 2009).* Some media especially *"Golos Armenii"* wrote that Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov *"named his Turkish colleague mentally ill: "I suspect that he (Ahmet Davutoglu) has mental problems", he said in his interview to Azerbaijan TV channel "Leader".* Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan called *"female deputies from Baku troops landing to Ankara (...) "dyed ladies", meaning prostitutes translating from flowery eastern language" ("Dyed Ladies Again in Ankara", "Golos Armenii", October 20, 2009).* AR President Ilham Aliyev *"publicly blamed Turkey that it prevents export of Azerbaijan fuel to Europe for the first time" ("Gas Jealousy. Azerbaijan Made an Ultimatum to Turkey", "Golos Armenii", October 22, 2009).* The crisis between Ankara and Baku was left ahead in October 2009, yet it had never burst into such undiplomatic and even hostile statements.

Sometimes misinformation used by local Armenian sources or reported by a host of one TV company, then appeared in other media. Thus, in October 21 *First Channel of Public Television of Armenia* reported in *"Haylur"* newscast that *"Baku started a demarche against Ankara. Turks are made to sell buildings and property purchased within years for pennies and return to Turkey"* which did not happen in reality and could not happen for such a short period of the crisis. The statements of the Director of "Noravank" Foundation Gagik Harutyunyan, made at a press-conference, about *"the changes in conditions of entry to Azerbaijan territory for Turk's'",* that supposedly proves *"a distrust atmosphere"* between

two countries, were picked up by the other media studied. In fact no changes in entry conditions to Azerbaijan by Turkish citizens were introduced in October.

One can find a lot of similar examples in pieces of Armenian newspapers and TV channels. On the whole, the observer recorded a great number of inaccurate information in "Golos Armenii" and "ALM" newspaper/TV pieces which corresponds to the monitoring results of 2008. "Aravot" newspaper demonstrates the highest level of accuracy in this issue.

USE OF CLICHES

The "cliches" were understood to be ***the words and phrases***, ***always used in Armenian media studied and causing a negative response of Azerbaijani audience.***

The most frequent cliches in pieces of Armenian media, dealing with the monitoring subject, of October 2009 coincided with those recorded in September-November 2008. First of all it is the word *"Artsakh"* and abbreviation *"MKR"*, as well as derivative word combinations as "Artsakh issue", "Artsakh war", "MKR authorities", etc. Azerbaijanis find an intention of the other party to stress the historical belonging of the territory to Armenians in the use of name "Artsakh" instead of Mountainous Karabagh, while the word-combination "Republic of Mountainous Karabagh" is considered as an infringement upon the integrity of their country.

Cliches *"liberated territories", "liberated regions"* are still being widely used by Armenian media and denote regions belonging to Mountainous Karabagh and taken under control by Armenians as a result of the war in 1992-1993. They are considered to be occupied in Azerbaijan. By the way, along with the above-said cliches *"allegedly occupied regions"* is very often met in pieces of October 2009, which was not observed before.

Cliche *"Armenian and Karabagh people"* was used in the newspaper/TV pieces of September-November 2008. Its negative perception by Azerbaijan audience was primarily related with the fact that hundred thousands of people of Azerbaijan nationality also consider themselves as people of Karabagh. At present this word combination is met in pieces very rarely. Instead other cliches were used more often: *"two Armenian states"* (implying Armenia and Mountainous Karabagh) and *"one nation, two states"*, which also provokes the adverse attitude of Azerbaijanis, as they imply the acknowledgement of independence of Mountainous Karabagh separated from Azerbaijan. Negative perception of the latter cliche is strengthened by the fact that it is a tracing of a thesis, put forward by Azerbaijan authorities in the first years of restoration of independence, describing the relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey for a long time.

Cliche "*Azers"* as before frequently used by Armenian media, causes an extremely negative attitude of Azerbaijan audience, distorting the name of the neighboring nation. Here Azerbaijanis see insulting, offensive implication and judging by the pieces of Armenian media, they have enough reasons for it: *"(...) Azers must understand it" ("Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Karabagh Cannot Be under the Authority of Azerbaijan No More", October 7, 2009); "Azers resorted to blackmail (...) according to their "native" methods" ("Aravot", "25 Years Later", October 21, 2009); "biologically cave-Azer (...)" ("Aravot", "Appearance of A Barbarian", October 27, 2009)*, etc.

Distortion or change of Azerbaijan toponyms by Armenian media is also adversely

perceived: *Shushi (instead of Shusha), Khojalu (instead of Khojali), Fizulu (instead of Fizuli), Kashatag (instead of Lachin).*

Observers noted some ***new cliches*** in Armenian media which were not stressed during previous monitoring:

- "Triple alliance Armenia-Artsakh-Diaspora" *(First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur" newscast, October 8, 10 and 11, 2009, "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "It Will Not Be Possible to Drive a Wedge in the Relations Between Armenia and Diaspora", October 9, 2009, etc.)*;

- "Propaganda machine of Azerbaijan", "Azerbaijani agitprop", "azerprop", "information aggression", "Azerbaijan hysteria" *(Second Armenian TV Channel, "Lraber" newscast, October 12, 2009, "Golos Armenii", "My Tongue Is My Enemy", October 8, 2009, "Who Has Territorial Claims", October 13, 2009, "Stirring Up Outcomes", October 22, 2009, "Shant", "Prospect", October 14, 2009, etc.).*

Armenian-Azerbaijan confrontation in information sphere has its own history. Its influence is perceived in many pieces studied both during previous and present monitoring. However in October 2009 this confrontation was more public, as it was mentioned in the Report. This circumstance resulted in an active use of similar cliches in Armenian media.

In the summaries of the pieces studied a lot of such epithets regarding all Azerbaijanis as "enemy", "gangsters", "murders", "barbarians" were used. They were cliches per se. However, merging such words in one group; they serve to the formation and strengthening of enemy image of Azerbaijani nation. At the same time, one should take into account that this image is formed by means of a larger store of lexical methods. Thus, the observer decided not to single out each word as a cliche, but to consider them in whole in the "Stereotypes" section of the Report.

USE OF STEREOTYPES

Monitoring of media pieces for October 2009 dealing with Azerbaijani-Armenian relations once again proves the logic that one can form stereotypes in public consciousness in a short period but erase them for very long, especially if no efforts are applied.

The "stereotype" in this research was understood to be ***the thoughts, ideas that are repeated with certain frequency, yet take various verbal expressions, their connotations or direct negative meaning.***

In 2009 media continued developing the overwhelming majority of stereotypes, found in pieces during research of 2008. Thus, epithets "hostile", "aggressive", "militarist", etc., are used in all 8 Armenian media regarding Azerbaijan. Thereby another stereotype comes up: Azerbaijan speaks for military settlement of Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict and rashly arms itself preparing for resume of military activity. The dissemination of information on constant one-way violation of cease-fire, incessant bombardment of peaceful residents of bordering Armenian regions serves to strengthen conceptions on the level "Azerbaijan aggression": *"during monitoring this year 3,394 violations of* cease-fire *by Azerbaijanis was recorded" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 4, 2009); "several times attempts of villagers to ranch and cultivate were stopped by shots from the other side of the border" ("Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Bordering Village Is Provided with Natural Gas", October 1, 2009).* Very

often the source of such information is the military department of the country.

Analyzing the summaries the observer came to a conclusion that the most numerous group of stereotypes can be conditionally named "Karabagh" as they all have one main aim: to form an idea in national consciousness about the historical belonging of Mountainous Karabagh to Armenians, the final and irrevocable independence of which is political fact since the end of XX century and is already a settled issue, now the task is to uphold this achievement.

A part of such pieces continues "to be on the side" of a stereotype that Karabagh is an ancient Armenian land, Azerbaijanis are newcomers on the territory and it has never been on Azerbaijan territory but was annexed by Turkey or Bolsheviks despite the will of local people. Here are vivid examples of the statements of media: *"researches in Mountainous Karabagh present incontestable evidences of it being original Armenian land" ("Golos Armenii", "Scientists Are Very Much Inspired by Support of MKR Government", October 1, 2009); "why do alien Azerbaijanis have to be hosts of these lands?" ("Aravot", "One Should Not Get into Turkish Trap", October 17, 2009), "Karabagh was never a part of Azerbaijan" ("Aravot", "What Question Do We Discuss – the future of Council of Europe or MKR?", October 3, 2009); "(...) there are a lot of publications on Mountainous Karabagh in 1918-1920 which testify that Turkey formed Azerbaijan, by destroying the legitimate government there" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 20, 2009); "being an Autonomous Republic of USSR, MK was just attached to Azerbaijan SSR" ("ALM", "Indeed", October 24, 2009).*

Another part of newspaper/TV pieces strengthen the stereotype that today Mountainous Karabagh is an established independent state ready for international acknowledgment: *"Mountainous Karabagh cannot get a lower status than today. Today Mountainous Karabagh is in fact an independent state" ("Shant", "Horizon", October 1, 2009); "With its state structure, security system and civil society MKR is ready for international acknowledgment" (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia, "Haylur", October 31, 2009).*

The third part of pieces forming this group founds a legal base to the thesis on "readiness to international acknowledgment". Here a stereotype on the right of nation to self-determination is the main international principle, which cannot be subordinated to others, and is the only base for conflict resolution: *"during years somebody tried to grade the importance of the idea of self-determination of nations as a secondary principle in the system of international law. I have to disappoint these advocates of double standards" ("Golos Armenii", "Armenia Against Double Standards", October 1, 2009); "these principles work on different planes, that is why Karabagh's right to self-determination cannot be considered as an infringement of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan" (Second Armenian TV Channel, "Fourth Studio", October 26, 2009).*

The stereotype that Azerbaijan has an unconstructive, inconsistent position in the negotiations on settlement of Karabagh issue and that leaders of the country constantly misinform the population about the allegedly reached agreements on it is still acute and widely used. This stereotype is used in pieces of all media and is supported by statements of officials and journalists' comments.

Considering the independence of Mountainous Karabagh as the only way of conflict resolution, another stereotype if MK will remain within Azerbaijan, all Armenians living there will be annihilated is established in the Armenian consciousness. Audience is said that the main aim of Azerbaijan *"is not to search possible ways of reconciliation but to*

annihilate all Armenian nation" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 5, 2009); one warns that *"otherwise, the security of MK people will be threatened" ("Aravot", "Being Political Figure Is Also a Fate", October 29, 2009).* This thesis is supported by another stereotype that Armenians have been repeatedly subjected to ethnic cleaning and genocide by Azerbaijanis: *"(...) Sumgait, Kirovabad, Baku, Maraga and other places where Azerbaijanis implemented acts of Armenian Genocide beginning from 1988" ("Golos Armenii", "Car Is Working Without a Hitch", October 8, 2009).*

Proceeding from the above-mentioned allegations, media discuss the position which Armenia should take up during the negotiations on Karabagh issue resolution. Newspapers and TV channels mainly cover a stereotype that the status of Karabagh is not subject for discussion, negotiations could be carried out with Azerbaijan only for the acknowledgement of MK independence: *"no (...) there is no other way of conflict settlement besides acknowledgement of Karabagh independence by Azerbaijan" (First Channel of Public Television of Armenia", "Zruyts", October 16, 2009); "MK issue can be settled only if we get what we are fighting for since 1988. MK cannot be a part of Azerbaijan either by any pressure or any settlement" ("Shant", "Horizon", October 8, 2009).* Another steady stereotype is an allegation that "without competent participation of MK" at negotiations "it is impossible to settle the issue ultimately" (for example, *"Azg", "Militant And Aggressive Policy of Azerbaijan Is one of the Main Reasons Preventing Settlement", October 7, 2009).* It should be noted that in October 2009 the observer allegation on the role of mediator of Armenia , often met in pieces of September-November, 2008, was absent in this stereotype. However, stereotype "not an inch" corresponding to the stereotype that the Armenian part should not cede to Azerbaijan, including the return of regions adjacent to administrative territory of Mountainous Karabagh is actively "working": *"there is one simple thing: if they want Karabagh, I will not give it, do you understand? They want the liberated territories I will not give them. (...) And at last we are the people who won in the war" ("Shant", "Prospect", October 20, 2009); "liberated territories are - Artsakh territories" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 22, 2009); "one should not make concessions in the Karabagh issue, Armenia is not a trade zone" ("Azg", "Armenia Is Not Trade Zone", October 10, 2009).*

Media covers a stereotype that Karabagh issue is not only a security issue for MK nation but also for Armenian life and unity of all Armenians: *"if we lose Artsakh we will turn over the last page of Armenia" ("Aravot", "Defended Peace of Academicians", October 1, 2009).* Active use of this stereotype in October 2009 is connected to the participation of Diaspora in discussions on the influence of Armenian-Turkish protocols on Karabagh issue resolution, and a number of meetings of Armenian President Serge Sargsyan with its representatives in different countries. During such meetings President said that *"there is no Armenian in the world who has another opinion on the issue (...) of MK",* considering it as a factor of unity of *"Armenia, Artsakh, Diaspora".* These words were many times repeated in media pieces during a month.

In October 2009 along with "Karabagh group" of stereotypes the observer recorded a lot of pieces with **the thoughts without direct relation to the issue, however negatively perceived by Azerbaijan audience.**

Stereotype that Nakhchivan is also original Armenian territory occupied by Azerbaijan is met more often in newspaper/TV pieces than during monitoring of 2008. Here one can see that it was partly influenced by the summit of Turkic States in Nakhchivan in October 2009: *"it is an ancient Armenian land which was passed to protectors of Azerbaijan SSR in Soviet times" ("ALM", "Indeed", "October 24, 2009); "Ilham Aliyev really believes in*

"Azerbaijani past" of Nakhchivan, moreover in the existence of monuments born by unknown "talent" ("Azg", "Nakhchivan is Motherland of Aliyev's Ancestors (...)", October 6, 2009).

Stereotype that ancient historical and architectural monuments made by Armenians are destroyed in Nakhchivan and Baku is also acute *("Golos Armenii", "'Nationalization' of History by 'Azerbaijanis'", October 6, 2009; "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Azerbaijan Conducts Policy of Destroy of Armenian Monuments", October 9, 2009, etc.).*

Armenian media published and broadcasted dozens of pieces, which were all directly serving to the formation of an enemy image of the Azerbaijan people, strengthening a stereotype that as a nation, they are all "barbarians", "aggressive", "crafty", "impudent", "false" people "without culture and roots": *"Azerbaijanis descend to different means and try to appropriate Persian, Armenian, Turkmenian culture" ("Shant", "Horizon", October 21, 2009); "aggression of Azerbaijan reached its culmination in the 21st century. Azerbaijanis commit cruel crimes unsparing even their natives" ("ALM, "Day by Day", October 19, 2009); "Azerbaijan (...) is an illegitimate stepson" ("Golos Armenii", "Turkish Relish to the Protocols Failed", October 13, 2009); "one of the main reasons of the slashing defeat of Azerbaijan in Artsakh War became the uncertainty of ethnic origin of Azerbaijanis" (Second Armenian TV Channel, "Lraber", October 19, 2009); "blood-thirsty face of Azerbaijan is still behind Caucasian Tatars" ("Azg", "Work of Sergey Yeremyants Is a Serious Contribution to Armenian History", October 8, 2009), etc.* Audience of Armenian media is constantly warned that "*Azerbaijan is not a simple opponent of Armenians, it is an unacceptable enemy" ("ALM", "Day by Day", October 5, 2009); "enemy does not sleep and wait when there will be a possibility to eat us" ("Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Motherland Is Longing for Her Sons (...)", October 16, 2009).*

Some pieces narrate on insidiousness of Azerbaijanis and allege that *"they shot their natives near Khojalu and ascribed this death to Armenians" ("Golos Armenii", "Machine Is Working Without a Hitch", October 8, 2009).* This tragedy is called "operation on cleaning of territories", "myth on 'genocide in Khojalu'", and it is noted that Azerbaijanis "trumpet all over the world on doubtful "khojalu" , inversely blaming Armenians in cruelty". Referring to last examples it can be noted about the formation of a stereotype by Armenian media that tragedy in Khojali is inspired and invented by Azerbaijanis to blacken Armenians is extremely negatively perceived by Azerbaijan audience.

In the report prepared based on pieces of media for September-November, 2008 it was noted that Turkish activity in the settlement of regional conflicts in the South Caucasus stimulated the creation of the following stereotype: Turkish participation in the process of Karabagh conflict resolution is contraindicative, Azerbaijan and Turkey lead coordinated purposeful policy on deterioration of Armenia. In October 2009 **a number of stereotypes concerning Azerbaijani-Armenian relations were influenced by processes around signature of protocols between Turkey and Armenia.** It was conditioned by the fact that Armenian media considered protocols from one side as an influence on the improvement of economic situation in the country, and from the other side - from the position of a threat made by Turkey to advance a condition to decline the claims on Mountainous Karabagh and requirements to recognize genocide in return of opening of borders. Giving a response to the critics of media, neutralizing fears of opposition and Diaspora *("we are against the acknowledgment of Genocide of Armenians and Karabagh issue to be implied in the protocols. They are the doubtful sections imposed by Turkey", "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Beirut and Rostov Comments", October 9, 2009),* and arguing with Turkish politicians *("process of normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations can be developed only under the*

circumstance of progress in the settlement of Karabagh conflict", "Shant", "Horizon", October 1, 2009), Armenian authorities proposed their own theses, which were grasped by media and formed vivid stereotypes that:

- Signed documents do not concern and cannot concern in no way the settlement of MK issue, which is an independent process;

- Armenia does not regard issues on territorial integrity and inviolability of borders in protocols, as a remind to any relation with MK;

- Statements of Turkish leaders to take into account the Azerbaijan interests while signing protocols have an aim to calm their "little brother" and are addressed only to the audience of the country.

These thoughts were reflected in media pieces, were repeated in different modes and initiated a number of newspaper/TV pieces, in which Azerbaijani part was shown as deceived, left by allies, *"frankly abandoned"* by Turkey as *"Haylur"* newscast of First Channel of Public Television of Armenia said (October 20, 2009).

At the end of the report it should be noted that here one can see only those cliches and stereotypes which were enough frequently met in pieces of Armenian media, therefore one can conclude about their wide spread in society. During a month of monitoring Azerbaijan observers analyzed summaries for 1,244 TV pieces/newspaper articles of 8 Armenian media: "Golos Armenii" - 220, "ALM" - 139, "Hayastani Hanrapetutiun" - 193, "Aravot" - 190, Second Armenian TV Channel - 79, "Shant" - 73, "Azg" - 202, First Channel of Public Television of Armenia - 148.

CHAPTER II.V.
"CROSS MONITORING":
INACCURATE INFORMATION, CLICHES AND STEREOTYPES IN MEDIA OF AZERBAIJAN
(Results of the Analysis Made by Armenian Observer of the Azerbaijani Media Summaries)

Similarly to the "cross-monitoring", implemented in September-November 2008, the research was to record both examples of inaccurate information, as well as text units that can contribute to the formation of negative image of the neighboring countries and its residents and/or causing a negative response, an insult of the other party. Moreover, as noted in Part One of this Report, initially these words and expressions can be absolutely neutral, yet their consistent use in certain connotation (in our case, purely negative) imparts negative meaning to it. The use of such "infected" text units, cliches and stereotypes, as a rule, does not add any new information, necessary for the audience, but rather sets a hostile, malignant background in the public mind that impedes the dialogue and mutual understanding.

For the purpose of the monitoring, the research partners conventionally differentiated the notions of "cliches" and "stereotypes". The "cliches" were understood to be the words and phrases, always used in negative context and/or causing a negative response. The "stereotype" was understood to be the ideas, notions, descriptions and so on, that are repeated with certain frequency, yet take various verbal expressions, their connotations or direct meaning being always negative *(see Chapter I.V of Part One of this Report).*

Below the assessments and conclusions of the Armenian partner regarding the studied pieces of Azerbaijani media, published in press and on air during the monitoring period of October 1-31, 2009 are presented. The assessments are made in terms of accuracy of information, presence of negative cliches and stereotypes.

INACCURATE INFORMATION

As the previous and present studies administered by the partners showed, throughout many years in Azerbaijani media, as well as in the statements of Azerbaijani representatives at variously international forums, a standard set of inaccurate information on the Mountainous Karabagh conflict and its consequences for this country is used. This primarily refers to statements that Armenia occupied 20% of the territory of Azerbaijan (for example, this is reported in every "Jarci" newscast and "Yekun" analytical program of "ITV" public service channel), as well as about 1 million of Azerbaijani refugees. While these exaggerated numbers are not confirmed by either statistics or research data (also those of international organizations) they continue to be used by both press and officials. And judging from the fact that in some cases the same figures are voiced by representatives of third countries, this exaggeration has played a certain propagandist role.

Another group of inaccurate information is made up by negative information about Mountainous Karabagh. This refers to the constantly published information in media that

MK produces and exports drugs (or serves a transition route for their transport), that rivers are polluted, tree's are cut, historical monuments are destroyed, etc., in MK. As an example, the following piece can be mentioned: in Greece the session of committees on environment, culture, etc. was held. At the event a delegation of MPs from Azerbaijan was present. MP Zh.Aliyeva told that "deputies called the attention of the participants to the fact that over the past three years Armenians have put to fire 100 hectares of land, destroyed the wildlife, toxic substances are being poured into rivers, and all this adversely affects the health of people. The participants were understanding towards our point", the MP stressed" *(a piece in "Khabarlar" newscast of "AzTV" channel of October 23, 2009)*.

The inaccuracy of such stories results in a situation when the audience gets the impression of special environmental issues in MK and adjacent areas, controlled by Armenian forces. Meanwhile, the purely consumerist attitude towards the environment is a common problem in the region, including Azerbaijan. Moreover, the environmental situation in Karabagh, as compared to the whole region remains relatively favorable.

The traditional subject for some Azerbaijani media is the reports on Armenian party violating the ceasefire. Such reports are published/aired 4-5 times a week (say, in the newscasts of "ITV", "Seda" newscast of "Leader" TV channel, "525-ci Gazet" daily, "Azerbaijan" newspaper). At the same time, other media studied almost never address this subject (e.g., "Zerkalo").

This questionable information as a rule comes from official Azerbaijani sources and do not get in future any confirmation from international observers. Yet this does not push the journalists to try and double-check such reports by themselves before disseminating it widely.

Mistakes in names, toponyms, organizations names are quite frequent. Thus, Arman Kirakosian (RA Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs) is named Aram Kirakosian ("Zerkalo"), an inexistent position of "leader of the Western wing of Dashnak party" ("ITV") is mentioned, etc.

USE OF CLICHES

A significant part of cliches recorded during the second stage of the monitoring came to the new report from 2008. In particular, this is the mostly frequently used group of cliches, denoting the territory of Mountainous Karabagh and adjacent areas: ***"occupied territories/lands", "invaded territories/lands", "Karabagh occupation"/"Armenian occupation", "occupationist/invasive/ expansionist policy of Armenia"*** *(See comment to the use of these cliches in Chapter I.V of Part One of this Report).*

Another frequent cliche group is the one denoting the role of Armenia at the hot stage of conflict: ***"aggression of Armenia"/ "aggressive policy of Armenia", "Armenian aggressors", Armenia is the aggressor", "Azerbaijan is the victim of aggression"*** *(See comment to the use of these cliches in Chapter I.V of Part One of this Report).*

As noted in the report of 2008, it is unrealistic to expect that Azerbaijani media would exclude these negative cliches from the vocabulary of Azerbaijani media. Yet it is quite reasonable to raise the question of avoiding their use where inappropriate. The same can be said about another common cliche group: ***"separatists/Armenian separatists/Karabagh separatists/separatist regime/source of separatism".***

Their presence on the pages of newspapers and on TV air of Azerbaijan is easy to explain. Yet in many cases they are inadequate to the context in which they are placed. One of the examples is the almost official brief communication: "OSCE MG co-chairmen, engaged in the conflict resolution, continue with their visits to the region. International mediators would visit Khankendi today to meet the leadership of the separatist regime" *(piece in "Seda" newscast of "Leader" TV channel of October 2, 2009)*. In none of the official documents is this name given to the receiving party in the visit. It is preferable to use most neutral definitions in pieces of such kind, such as, "the leadership of unrecognized (self-declared) republic", "de facto MK leadership"...

The piece quoted uses another stereotype, traditional for the past 20 years - ***"Khankendi"***, i.e., the name of MK capital, common for modern Azerbaijani media yet different from the one used by its residents and the one used during the pre-conflict Soviet period - "Stepanakert". In fact the city was renamed by Baku authorities without notice or heed given to the wishes of its residents. As noted in the monitoring report 2008, such unilateral actions cannot dispose the counterpart to be trusting and to engage in constructive dialogue. Meanwhile, this problem could be solved by a simultaneous use of both options in Azerbaijani media publications on Mountainous Karabagh: "Stepanakert (Khankendi)" or "Khankendi (Stepanakert)".

A set of other cliches is being repeated year after year, too: ***"genocide of Armenians"/ "Armenian genocide"/ the so-called "Armenian genocide"*** (in quote) or ***"fictitious/invented/made-up Armenian genocide"***. One of the examples of using this cliche group can be the piece "US Senate Received the Genocide Draft" in "Yeni Musavat" newspaper *(October 23, 2009)*. It notes that the member of the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Robert Menendez and Senator John Ensyne submitted to the Senate Resolution 252, calling for the recognition of the so-called "Armenian genocide". According to the communication of APA news agency with a reference to "Panarmenian.net", Menendez, while presenting the draft, said that peaceful future is only possible when lessons of the past are learned and the dark pages of history are revisited. The newspaper further notes that Menendez, having believed the Armenian lies, announced that one million and a half of Armenians have gone through hell. According to him, denying the tragic past of these people is an insult to them. Along with ***"genocide"/so-called "genocide"*** the cliche ***"Armenian lie***" is used.

Another cliche frequently used is ***"genocide in Khojalu/ Khojalu genocide".*** "The Turkish Government, always respectful to its flag, allowed insulting the Azerbaijani flag and even encouraged this. The raised Azerbaijani flag may not appeal to the person guilty of Khojali genocide S.Sarkisian, may it not?", in particular said the piece in "Khabarci" newscast of "ANS" TV channel on October 18, 2009.

Of the relatively frequently used ones two more cliche groups can be noted here: ***"the truth about Mountainous Karabagh"/ "truth/fair stance/fair cause of Azerbaijan",*** that are used in the context of Armenian ideas about the conflict being false and unfair; ***"brutalities of Armenians/Armenian brutalities/barbarities"/ "Armenian vandals"/ "Armenian fascists".***

As results from a similar monitoring in September-October 2008 are shown, as well as the earlier research, administered for nine months in 2005, all cliches noted above are of sustainable nature, they are used in Azerbaijani media discourse constantly for many years. *(See comments to them in Chapter I.V of Part One of this Report.)*

A relatively new cliche is ***"blockade of Nakhchivan"***. It is encountered in particular in the interview of Nakhchivan MP Eldar Ibragimov who proposed that the Nakhchivan TV be aired all over the country. The deputy reminds that through Armenia's fault the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic has found itself in an economic and political blockade, exacerbated by information blockade, of which Nakhchivan should be pulled out *("If There is a Will, There is a Way to Broadcast Nakchyvan Television All Over the Country" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 14, 2009).*

Another example: "Rector of Nakhchivan State University, MP Isa Gabibbeyli noted that the 9th summit of Turkic States in Nakhchivan would be a serious push towards the integration and rapprochement of these countries. The deputy stressed that summit was of great importance to convey it to global community the real state of affairs with regard to the blockade of Nakhchivan" *(piece "Nakchyvan Summit Disclosed Nakhchivan Realities" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 8, 2009)*.

In these publications the obvious fact that Azerbaijani-Armenian borders are closed primarily on Azerbaijan's initiative, which refuses to discuss cooperation in any domain, including transportation, until the Karabagh problem is resolved. The partial blockaded of Nakchyvan exclave under the circumstances is inevitable. The interpretation of the issue as in pieces above cannot but cause indignation in Armenia which is in partial isolation itself, upon the initiative of Azerbaijan.

USE OF STEREOTYPES

During the second stage of the research primarily in the first half of October 2009 when Armenia and Turkey were getting ready to sign protocols on the normalization of bilateral relations and immediately after their singing the frequent use of new stereotypes by Azerbaijani media was noted. These stereotypes stress the linkage between the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations and Karabagh conflict resolution.

During the previous research more general stereotypes were singled out to the effect that ***Armenia must meet certain preconditions of Azerbaijan to get the Karabagh conflict resolved and relations with Turkey normalized***. These stereotypes were repeated in 2009, too. "(...) As to the arrival of Armenian deputy minister, Akif Nagi is against all contacts with Armenia until the occupied territories of Azerbaijan are liberated" *("Mutual Reproaches Continue" piece in "Zerkalo" newspaper of October 21, 2009)*.

In October 2009 the renewed stereotype that ***Turkish-Armenian protocols will not be realized until the Karabagh conflict is resolved*** was used, too. According to this stereotype, the agreement on resolving Karabagh conflict is a pre-condition for Armenian-Turkish border opening and establishment of diplomatic relation between the two countries.

In article "Authorities Against Singing Turkish-Armenian Agreement" *("525-ci Gazet", October 1, 2009)*, the Head of Public and Political Department of the President's Office Ali Hasanov stated his point: "Any agreement, signed between Turkey and Armenia without taking into account the resolution of Karabagh problem runs contrary to the interests of Azerbaijan".

"As it is common knowledge, recently the negotiations process on Karabagh conflict has grown more active", MP Zahid Oruc said in an interview to "525-ci Gazet". "At first glance,

the improvement of processes in the region cannot bypass the Karabagh issue. That is, Armenian-Turkish relations without Karabagh cannot be resolved. Undoubtedly, in this case the reality and the prospect of liberating occupied territories of Azerbaijan are inevitable". *("Favorable Situation Created to Resolve Karabagh Issue" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 2, 2009)*.

Of even more frequent use was the more categorical stereotype that ***Turkish-Armenian protocols would not be realized until the territories adjacent to Mountainous Karabagh are liberated.*** It actually enforces that the precondition for the reconciliation of Armenia and Turkey is not purely progress in Karabagh conflict resolution, but also specific concessions from Armenian side.

The author of "Territories Can Be Returned This Week" piece in "Yeni Musavat" newspaper *(October 9, 2009)* writes that after a lengthy period of time the issue of the return of Azerbaijani territories is finally on the agenda of global community. It is noted that this week after the meeting of Armenian and Azerbaijani Presidents in Kishinev probability of five areas' return has appeared. The author stresses that at the first stage the Armenian forces are expected to be withdrawn from five districts with Azerbaijani refugees coming back to resettle. The status of MK will be determined at the next stage. As a proof of this point the announcement made by Turkish Prime Minister Erdoghan in Baku is quoted: "Until occupied territories of Azerbaijan are liberated, the Armenian-Turkish borders would not open".

"Touching upon the opening of borders between Turkey and Armenia, the President (Ilham Aliyev - ***observer***) stressed that "it is of no secret that Turkey closed the border because Kelbajar was occupied. This is why the border between Turkey and Armenia is closed. Naturally, it can only be opened in the case the reason is removed. This is our stance and the stance of Turkey that the leadership of this country reinstated many times" *("Khabarci" newscast of "ANS" TV channel of October 10, 2009)*.

For the Armenian audience these interpretations are unacceptable. Armenians believe that the country has more reason to expect compromise than demands from Turkey. And if Yerevan does not pose preconditions for rapprochement, moreover, Ankara should not do it, too. The involvement of Azerbaijan into the process, while most of people in Armenia think this country is impossible to come to consensus with and does feel nothing to Armenia and Armenians but for hostility, is solely negative in its effect. Any pressure of a third party on Karabagh resolution is also viewed rather painfully in Armenia, and it is supposed that mixing together the Armenian-Turkish relations and Karabagh issue damages both processes. The more frequently the issue of Azerbaijani territories is raised on the context of Armenian-Turkish protocols, the more negative is the stance of the Armenian society with regard to the document.

Another stereotype is encountered in Azerbaijani media, related to the process of normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations. It was expressed in an opinion that ***the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations damages the process of Karabagh resolution.***

In the publication of "Araz Azimov: "Opening of Borders Would Continue the Occupation by Armenians" *("525-ci Gazet", October 17, 2009)* the Deputy Minister (the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan Araz Azimov - ***observer***) stressed that the normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey before the withdrawal of Armenian troops from the territories of Azerbaijan would make a negative impact on the region. Azimov announced

that until all these lands, including Mountainous Karabagh, are not liberated, the official Baku will not consider the possibilities of economic cooperation with Armenia: “If Armenia is ready to recognize the territorial integrity of Turkey, we have a right to demand the same attitude towards all countries of the region, including Azerbaijan.”

Araz Azimov was one of the main “carriers” of this stereotype. "Opening of the borders and the subsequent treaty about economic cooperation between Turkey and Armenia, the investments by Ankara would contribute to the further occupation of Azerbaijani lands by Armenia. After that the stance of Armenia in the negotiations would become even tougher”, this was announced by the Deputy Minister Araz Azimov *(“Khabarci” newscast of “ANS” TV channel of October 21, 2009)*.

Notably, the approach in the Armenian media is to a certain extent reverse. In a number of pieces here it was mentioned that the rapprochement of Armenia and Turkey would result in the growth of importance of the latter in the region and would enable it influencing the Karabagh issue contrary to the interests of Armenians.

In the vast majority of cases the stereotypes of Azerbaijani media, stressing the linkage between the normalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey and the Karabagh conflict resolution were contained in the statements of officials, politicians and public figures of Azerbaijan and Turkey.

New impetus was given in the new situation to the stereotypes that were often used during the previous years: ***the resolution of the Karabagh conflict is only possible on the basis of the principle of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan*** or ***in the resolution of the conflict the principal of territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is the central one.*** Apparently, the frequent use of this stereotype in October 2009 was due to the activation of negotiations on Karabagh resolution, which, on its behalf, is related to the Turkish-Armenian rapprochement.

The article "In Govsani Residential Building for World War 2 Veterans, Karabagh War Handicapped and Shehid Families was Launched” *(“Azerbaijan” newspaper, October 16, 2009)* informed that President Ilham Aliyev took part in the ceremony and gave keys to the flats in person. In his speech the President said: “You showed real heroism, suffered losses. In the war for Karabagh your family members became shehids. Their memory will always live in our hearts. Today the problem is still unresolved, Yet our stance is principal: the problem must be solved within territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, the Armenian troops must leave all occupied territories, and our compatriots should come back to where they belong. No other position can be considered”.

“Negotiations on resolving MK conflict do not yield results. The stance of official Baku is unchanged: the Armenian armed forces must leave all our lands. The territorial integrity of Azerbaijan must be restored. Armenian and Azerbaijani community, upon the return of the latter, must coexist under the status of autonomy”, President Ilham Aliyev said during his visit to Moldova in an interview to the state TV channel of Azerbaijan” *(“Khabarci” newscast of “ANS” TV channel of October 2009)*.

Of the traditional stereotypes by Azerbaijani media, defined by the Armenian observer in the previous years, in 2009 the following persisted: ***Armenian is an enemy/Armenia is a hostile country.*** It occurred not as frequently as those above, but it can be characterized as sustainable over many years.

In an interview to “525-ci Gazet” *(October 16, 2009)* “Turkey Has Certain Influence in the World” Mili Meclis deputy, originally from Karabagh Tahir Rzaev states an opinion that the Armenian-Turkish protocols signed run contrary not only to the interests of Azerbaijan and Turkey, but the whole Turkic world. Thus the concerns of our nations are understood. If Turkey, yielding in to pressure, does open the borders, Rzaev believes, this will damage the Turkey’s image and will become a black page in the history of Turkic nations. The deputy announced that establishing friendly and economic relations with a historical enemy, with country that does not give up its territorial claims, the alleged genocide, would result in weakening of Turkey. One cannot be friends with a country that has drunk the blood of Turks, with an aggressor country until territories remain occupied. This step can be qualified as an insult to the Turkish nation. (In this publication many of the stereotypes above are used.)

Stating his attitude towards the last report of International Crisis Group and the announcement that the war in MK can start again, the Deputy Chairman of “Musavat” party Gabil Huseinli noted that the analysis of ICG is dubious. On the one hand this is certain psychological pressure to induce Azerbaijan make greater concessions before the negotiations. On the other hand it does reflect certain reality. Unless Azerbaijan does what Armenia wants, the forces behind the hostile country would push it to war *(the article “Military Situation Can Occur Through the Patrons of Armenia. Gabil Huseinli: “The Analysis of International Crisis Group is Dubious” in “Yeni Musavat” newspaper of October 9, 2009)*.

A certain expression of this stereotype is also contained in a piece of “Jarci” of “ITV” channel of October 10, 2009: “President of Armenia S. Sarkisian who will attend the football game Armenia-Turkey in Bursa, will be met by posters. As the head of the Turkish NGO “Fighting Back the Ungrounded Armenian Claims” H. Goksel said, “We do not want the Armenian President stepped on Turkish soil”. The action participants prepared slogans, saying “Assassin Sarkisian, do not step on our soil!”

In the process of research the following sustainable stereotypes were often encountered, too: ***Armenia is the only one violating international norms; international organizations should define requirements to it.***

Thus, the piece “Decision on Border Opening Caused Protest in Azerbaijan” *("525-ci Gazet", October 13, 2009)* informs that the Foreign Office of Azerbaijan made a statement with regard to Armenian-Turkish protocols being signed. The statement says: “In 1993 Turkey closed its border with Armenia to protest the occupation of Azerbaijani territories by Armenia. As a result of the aggression on Armenia’s part, 20% of Azerbaijani territories have been occupied, about 1 million of Azerbaijani citizens have been ousted from their lands, on occupied territories the cultural-historical legacy of Azerbaijan is being destroyed. Throughout this time a number of international organizations, including UN SC, UN GA, OSCE, PACE and others adopted resolutions, confirming and condemning the Armenian aggression. Yet Armenia ignores the demands of international organizations to withdraw troops from occupied territories.”

Other sustainable stereotypes are: ***in the conflict resolution the stance of Armenia is destructive, while that of Azerbaijan is constructive; Armenia is a dependent state; Armenia pursues the policy of Moscow; the conflict resolution can be fostered by sanctions against Armenia.***

The Co-Chairman of the Global Congress of Azerbaijanis, the Chairman of “Civil

Solidarity" party, Mili Meclis deputy Sabir Rustamkhanli made an address to the Chairman of Republican National Party Deniz Baykal and the Chairman of National Movement Party Devlet Bakhchali. The address notes that Turkey and Azerbaijan are going through a difficult period. With the assistance of Russia that is reluctant to lose its last fortress in South Caucasus, Armenia as a state was created on Turkic territory *("Co-Chairman of Global Congress of Azerbaijanis Addressed a Letter of Appreciation to Deniz Baykal and Devlet Bakhchali" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 23, 2009)*. Here the stereotype of ***the state of Armenia established on Turkic territories*** is used, too.

MP Fazail Agamali, Chairman of "Motherland" party, in his speech accused the West of double standards: "At the same time Armenia continues to enjoy the support of its patrons in the West and Russia. We receive no support. Hence I think it expedient that a session of OSCE Minsk Group be held as soon as possible to give a fair resolution to Karabagh conflict. Sanctions should be imposed on Armenia. Besides, trips of Azerbaijani MPs should be made to OSCE Minsk Group countries to convey the true state of affairs" *(the article "Oktay Asadov: "I Ask You Kindly Not to Revisit to Issues Regarding Turkey" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 28, 2009)*.

Another example of stereotype about Armenian state being established on Turkic territories can be quoted. In an exclusive interview to "Zerkalo" newspaper *(October 23, 2009)* with the headline "To Reduce Turkish Influence in Azerbaijan of Today" the well-known Russian political analyst Heidar Jemal says: "But for Frunze, but for the Red Army and the geopolitical aims of the Bolsheviks, who, while balancing between Ataturk and Armenian nationalists, solved the Armenian issue at the expense of Azerbaijani territories, believe me, Armenia would hardly be historically established. After all, the Irevan Khannery is the indivisible part of Azerbaijani lands".

The stereotype regarding ***natural resources, historical and architectural monuments being destroyed in Karabagh and adjacent regions*** persists.

A report in "Jarci" newscast *("ITV", October 12, 2009)* informs that a web-site of seven museums in Baku has been launched. At the event celebrating this occasion the Minister of Culture and Tourism Abulfaz Garayev said that at the session of Culture Ministers of OIC countries to be held tomorrow the issue of destruction of cultural and historical monuments of Azerbaijan at occupied territories will be discussed.

The following stereotypes were seldom encountered, yet they have a trend for sustainability: ***Armenia is posing claims to neighbor countries; every Azerbaijani must be ready to solve the MK issue with arms at hands; Karabagh conflict must be solved in a military way.***

Thus, article "Talaat Pasha Committee Wants a Protest Action in Baku" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 1, 2009 says: "Talaat Pasha Committee was created to fight Armenian libels on international scale. In the first decade of October the Committee plans a protest action again the intention of Erdoghan's government to open Armenian-Turkish border. The national policy of Turkey in the Caucasus calls not to open borders until Armenia stops its "genocide" libel, puts an end to its territorial claims to both Turkey and Azerbaijan."

The article "These Days "Novoe Vremya" Newspaper Celebrates its 10th Anniversary" in "525-ci Gazet" of October 6, 2009 informs that "NV" Chief Editor Shakir Gabiloghlu stressed the importance of the journalistic duty on returning the occupied territories: "If it is necessary, every journalist must take a gun and do everything in his power to return

occupied territories. Because the solution of Karabagh problem is the sacred duty of every Azerbaijani."

In a conversation with the correspondent of "525-ci Gazet" MP Vahid Ahmedov announced: "Until the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is resolved, the military budget of the country must continuously increase. (...) Whether we want it or not, the military option in resolving the conflict is unavoidable" *("Azerbaijan Must Be Ready for a Military Option at Any Point" piece, October 7, 2009)*.

Throughout the month (October 2009) in 8 studied Azerbaijani media 1-2 times a number of stereotypes were used that were previously used quite often. These are: ***until the conflict is resolved the MK population must be deprived of all human rights and be in absolute isolation; Mountainous Karabagh is unquestionably Azerbaijani territory; the conflict resolution would be the consequence of increasing economic power of Azerbaijan*** and some others. *(The comment to the stereotypes above, steadily used over the past years can be seen in Chapter I.V of Part One of this Report.)*

It should be noted that while unchanged, these stereotypes in 2009 were often presented in the same context as the new ones that are a consequence of Armenian-Turkish rapprochement. Many of the examples above confirm what has been said. They show that the most "productive" in using negative stereotypes on Armenia and Armenians was shown by "525-ci Gazet".

THUS, throughout the monitoring period in 8 Azerbaijani media summaries for 1,511 TV pieces/newspaper articles were studied, fully or partly dealing with the monitoring subject: on Public Television of Azerbaijan ("ITV") - 219 pieces, Azerbaijani Television ("AzTV") - 92, "ANS" TV channel - 181, "Leader" TV channel - 190; in newspapers -123 publications, "Yeni Musavat" - 323, "Zerkalo" - 123, "525-ci Gazet" - 260.

Appendix B.

TABLES WITH QUANTITATIVE DATA OF MONITORING MEDIA OF ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN (October 1-31, 2009)

TABLE No. 2.1

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **Public Television of Armenia, "ALM", Second Armenian TV Channel, "Shant"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		2397
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		450
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	173
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	266
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	11
Announcement of the piece	Announced	53
	Not announced	386

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	284	21941.5
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	42	2740
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	39	3040
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	124	8647.5
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	16	412
	Total	***505***	***36781***

TABLE No. 2.2

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun", "Azg", "Aravot", "Golos Armenii"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		3883
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		826
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	379
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	426
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	21
Location of the piece	On front page	195
	On other pages	610

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	497	51020.4
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	100	12259.3
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	103	10950.7
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	224	18484.7
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	11	688.1
	Total	***935***	***93403.2***

TABLE No. 2.3

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **Public Television of Armenia**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		630
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		154
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	51
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	97
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	6
Announcement of the piece	Announced	15
	Not announced	133

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	94	6052
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	23	1011
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	11	915
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	41	1799
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	4	66
	Total	***173***	***9843***

TABLE No. 2.4

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **"ALM"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		993
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		142
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	70
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	69
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	3
Announcement of the piece	Announced	12
	Not announced	127

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	87	7223
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	4	472
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	12	838
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	52	3728
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	9	224
	Total	***164***	***12485***

TABLE No. 2.5

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **Second Armenian TV Channel**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		469
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		81
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	29
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	50
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	2
Announcement of the piece	Announced	14
	Not announced	65

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	57	5117.5
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	7	775
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	7	242
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	15	1413.5
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	1	22
	Total	***87***	***7570***

TABLE No. 2.6

Country **Armenia**

TV channel name: **"Shant"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		305
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		73
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	23
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	50
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	0
Announcement of the piece	Announced	12
	Not announced	61

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	46	3549
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	8	482
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	9	1045
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	16	1707
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	2	100
	Total	***81***	***6883***

TABLE No. 2.7

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Hayastani Hanrapetutiun"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		797
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		194
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	73
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	120
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	1
Location of the piece	On front page	29
	On other pages	164

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	119	10841.3
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	33	6320.9
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	22	1386.5
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	52	3329.9
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	1	145.8
	Total	***227***	***22024.4***

TABLE No. 2.8

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Azg"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		831
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		209
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	87
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	115
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	7
Location of the piece	On front page	63
	On other pages	139

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	126	10242.6
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	23	1642.5
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	21	1454
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	70	4386.6
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	6	361.2
	Total	***246***	***18086.9***

TABLE No. 2.9

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Aravot"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1423
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		199
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	83
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	107
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	9
Location of the piece	On front page	21
	On other pages	169

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	130	13730.9
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	14	1074.6
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	28	3204.3
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	33	1510.8
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	2	24.9
	Total	***207***	***19545.5***

TABLE No. 2.10

Country **Armenia**

Newspaper name: **"Golos Armenii"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		832
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		224
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	136
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	84
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	4
Location of the piece	On front page	82
	On other pages	138

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Azerbaijani stance in it	122	16205.6
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	30	3221.3
3.	Armenian-Azerbaijani relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	32	4905.9
4.	Everything that relates to Azerbaijan (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Azerbaijanis (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	69	9257.4
5.	Developments in Azerbaijan and/or related to it	2	156.2
	Total	***255***	***33746.4***

TABLE No. 2.1

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"AzTV", "ANS", "ITV", "Leader"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		3349
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		701
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	562
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	120
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	19
Announcement of the piece	Announced	195
	Not announced	487

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	540	81454
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	34	2263
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	108	14273
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	32	1987
	Total	***714***	***99977***

TABLE No. 2.2

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Azerbaijan", "Yeni Musavat", "525-ji Gazet", "Zerkalo"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		5851
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		869
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	540
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	289
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	40
Location of the piece	On front page	282
	On other pages	547

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	640	141520
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	4	931
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	77	15300
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	172	21895
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	56	16542
	Total	***949***	***196188***

TABLE No. 2.3

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"AzTV"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		805
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		96
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	56
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	36
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	4
Announcement of the piece	Announced	10
	Not announced	82

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	84	6831
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	2	23
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	9	516
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	4	89
	Total	***99***	***7459***

TABLE No. 2.4

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"ANS"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		709
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		183
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	152
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	29
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	2
Announcement of the piece	Announced	56
	Not announced	125

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	147	19830
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	5	179
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	29	3929
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	9	395
	Total	***190***	***24333***

TABLE No. 2.5

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"ITV"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		979
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		220
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	191
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	28
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	1
Announcement of the piece	Announced	57
	Not announced	162

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	177	28313
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	10	349
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	25	3501
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	14	1404
	Total	***226***	***33567***

TABLE No. 2.6

Country **Azerbaijan**

TV channel name: **"Leader"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of TV pieces		856
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		202
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	163
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	27
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	12
Announcement of the piece	Announced	72
	Not announced	118

Thematic sections		**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Duration of references to thematic sections in pieces (sec.)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	132	26480
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	17	1712
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	45	6327
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	5	99
	Total	***199***	***34618***

TABLE No. 2.7

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Azerbaijan"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1107
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		127
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	62
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	61
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	4
Location of the piece	On front page	20
	On other pages	103

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	101	20416
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	1	210
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	7	1091
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	14	1440
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	7	1984
	Total	***130***	***25141***

TABLE No. 2.8

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Yeni Musavat"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		2075
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		336
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	190
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	133
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	13
Location of the piece	On front page	126
	On other pages	197

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	244	44811
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	0	0
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	31	3231
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	89	8012
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	32	11374
	Total	***396***	***67428***

TABLE No. 2.9

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"525-ji Gazet"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1461
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		273
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	219
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	41
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	13
Location of the piece	On front page	91
	On other pages	169

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	204	45380
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	1	668
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	25	7797
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	32	5633
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	8	1426
	Total	***270***	***60904***

TABLE No. 2.10

Country **Azerbaijan**

Newspaper name: **"Zerkalo"**

Monitoring period **October 1-31, 2009**

Content categories		**Total (in units)**
Total number of newspaper pieces		1208
Number of pieces dealing with the monitoring subject or containing references to it		133
Subject presence form	Pieces, fully dealing with the subject	69
	Pieces, partly dealing with the subject	54
	Pieces making a reference to the subject	10
Location of the piece	On front page	45
	On other pages	78

	Thematic sections	**Number of references to thematic sections in pieces (in units)**	**Newspaper space of references to thematic sections in pieces (sq. cm)**
1.	Karabagh conflict resolution issue, Armenian stance in it	91	30913
2.	Reporting on the life in Mountainous Karabagh out of the conflict context	2	53
3.	Azerbaijani-Armenian relations with no direct link to Karabagh issue	14	3181
4.	Everything that relates to Armenia (as a country, a state, its institutes) and Armenians (as individual representatives of a nation, of a state)	37	6810
5.	Developments in Armenia and/or related to it	9	1758
	Total	***153***	***42715***