

Project Report

Quality of Armenian Print and TV media

**Report on second round of coding (October 2005)
Final report**

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Executive Summary

The research project 'Monitoring the Quality of Journalistic Reporting' is conducted in a joint effort by the Caucasus Media Institute (CMI), Yerevan/Armenia, and the Institute of Applied Media Studies (IAM), Winterthur/Switzerland. It aims at contributing to improve monitoring and evaluation of media landscapes and media support programmes, a need that was generally expressed by many practitioners and donors in this field. The project will develop a tool to measure the quality of journalistic reporting as objectively as possible and by comparatively simple means. To elaborate such a tool we have used quantitative content analysis, applying a basic, commonly agreed quality criteria catalogue for journalistic reporting, and have assessed a sample of Armenian print and TV media. This report contains the results of the analysis of the sample from October 2005.

Results regarding Armenian media

First of all it has to be noted that various quality indicators were assessed. They have not yet been integrated into one quality index. It needs further elaboration of this tool before being able to do so. Thus, our results are mainly a sound and objective description of the status quo regarding various quality aspects. This data cannot tell us the reasons or causes why e.g. a specific quality indicator is at that measured level. These explanations can only be given by the journalists or the media themselves. Therefore our first aim is to feedback this data to the media community in Armenia in order to provide them with facts to discuss media quality.

Regarding the topics in the Armenian media, quite a surprising result was found: All media hardly cover the main social/economic problems of Armenia and its people (migration, education, health, and environment). They rather cover topics of 'high politics', which might be caused by a strong elite-orientation. This finding is more or less valid for all print and TV media. Additionally it became clear that all media hardly consider people from the general public as an important actor in their coverage, and use them even less uses as sources of information.

In general, the picture of reporting quality in Armenia's media is not black and white, it is diverse: The Armenian newspapers and TV media who were part of this sample score high in some specific quality aspects and low in others – and show considerable differences between them. This means that each media has its specific quality aspects to improve. This demonstrates that the data about the quality indicators should not be seen as a judgement of the absolute quality of a newspaper. It should much more be interpreted as a starting point for discussions about quality improvements: Which quality element is to tackle first? What kind of resources, time or energy do we need to improve? Therefore it is worth the effort for everybody involved in Armenian media to read the results in detail.

Nevertheless, some media are leading in more quality aspects than others. For example the weekly *Iravunk* has a high score in many quality aspects, followed by *Azg* and *Golos*. However, all these media have specific shortcomings in some quality aspects as well. Among the TV stations *Shant* is in many aspects a little better than *H1*, but not always.

Results regarding the elaboration of a tool

Due to this research exercise in Armenia we have now found some quality variables that are both comparatively easy to code and seem to produce very appropriate indicators for describing the quality of journalistic reporting. It seems additionally appealing that many of these quality indicators can be easily integrated in journalists' training. The following elements or indicators point at various aspects of quality in reporting and will be further elaborated:

The **number of different sources** in reporting is a very promising indicator for good reporting. Our analysis confirms that a higher number of sources generally leads to more comprehensiveness in reporting and to the integration of a wider range of viewpoints. It is especially worth analysing the number of sources separately for different topic groups to see whether some media have different habits of using more sources for delicate topics. The assessment of the **transparency of sources** completes the indicator of number of sources.

Assessing the different **topics of the news and their shares of coverage** in various media gives clarity about what has been published. This generally serves as a starting point for discussions in the media community or with the people about the relevance of the published topics.

There are various elements in our tool to assess whether media generally **prefer specific actors**, for example those which belong to the media's own political preference group. We can thus measure whether some media are more biased than others. Additionally we can see whether some actors are used more as sources than others. This issue tells even more about preferences.

We have also developed an indicator ('depth of reporting') that assesses the **completeness of an article**. It states whether an article achieves different levels of providing information (just the pure facts or facts plus reasons, facts plus background, or facts plus future consequences). This analysis shows huge differences between the media.

We have been also encouraged to further elaborate our **assessment of perspectives**, as we aim at finding an indicator to better identify the very kind of coverage of the topics. Every topic can generally be written from various perspectives, e.g the perspective of the ordinary people, the perspective of the political struggle around it or just the factual description. This indicator tells us whether articles provide a diversity of perspectives or focus too much on just one perspective. The **number of different viewpoints** presented in an article is a separate indicator to measure whether the media offer different viewpoints or different actors in relation to a problem.

We will be further working on **opinion indicators**. Currently we have found indicators to show how the journalist presents his or her opinion in articles. We have seen that many print media products are not declaring their opinion openly. Some are just stating it, some are even hiding it.

In the assessment of the **TV news pictures** we have found different indicators that show what places and which activities the pictures show, thus detecting whether they are well illustrating the text of the news. Additionally the 'direct speech rate' tells us which actors are preferred by the picture part of the TV news by presenting them more often with direct speech than other actors.

1. Introduction

The monitoring of both media projects and media landscapes has up to now been mainly done on the base of personal judgements of experts or media people. As the sector matures it seems necessary to improve monitoring and evaluation. Therefore the Institute of Applied Media Studies (IAM), Winterthur/Switzerland and the Caucasus Media Institute (CMI), Yerevan/Armenia have started a research project on how to measure the quality of media as objectively – or better say as systematically as possible, and by comparatively simple means. The final objective is to develop a tool to monitor the quality of journalistic reporting.

In this exercise two print media samples and a TV news sample of Armenia were assessed. One print media analysis was done in May 2005. This led to major changes in the coding process. This report presents the results of the assessment of a second print media sample and a TV news sample of October 2005.

2. Objectives and methodology

2.1 Objectives

Under the overall goal of elaborating a tool to monitor the quality of journalistic reporting, the current research in Armenia has two objectives:

- a) to describe and assess the actual status quo of journalistic reporting in Armenia
- b) to draw lessons for the creation of a media quality tool

This report focuses mainly on the results in Armenia, the quality tool will be described in more detail in another report.

2.2 Methodology

Elaboration of quality criteria

The first step of this research project was to define media quality. It was decided to focus only on the quality of journalistic reporting. It was then necessary to elaborate quality criteria (categories) that later can be – objectively – assessed in journalistic products such as newspaper articles and TV news.

To elaborate quality criteria two approaches were used: From Western-oriented media and democracy theory (R. Dahl, McQuail), four very basic – and cross-culturally valid - basic functions of media¹ were distilled:

- Information
- Orientation
- Providing a forum for debate
- Scrutiny

For each of these basic functions a set of criteria or categories can be formulated which tells us whether the respective function is supported. For example one can state that a high diversity of sources in an article will make the information more comprehensive and thus strengthens quality of reporting. One may also state that articles with a high diversity of different viewpoints support the orientation function as it gives the reader some choices to make up his or her mind. Table B1 in Annex provides a complete overview of these categories, from which some were used in this analysis².

¹ There are other functions of media, like ‘entertainment’, ‘socialisation’, ‘making an economic profit’, that were not included in this research.

² Based on experiences from a similar content analysis in May 2005 we learned that we cannot produce results on ‘accuracy and truth’, nor on ‘language difficulty’ as they resulted to be too dependent on subjective judgements. So these quality criteria were excluded from this analysis. They could be investigated in a separate project on special topics, but not on a general analysis.

The second approach to define quality criteria was to take into consideration the Armenian context. In discussions between IAM and CMI as well as with parts of the media community some priorities were selected for the quality catalogue: For example, it was stated that internal pluralism is preferred to external pluralism – which leads to the requirement that journalists should provide different viewpoints and perspectives in almost every article. As the print media have lost a lot of their readers in the last ten years, it was also said that media quality means covering the ‘relevant’ topics of Armenia and taking more the perspective of ‘ordinary people’, not just the elite. Transparency of facts and opinion was also highlighted as a quality indicator.

Content analysis

On this base it was decided that content analysis is the appropriate method to assess media quality. The difficulty is to translate the quality criteria (see table B1 annex) into ‘variables’ (e.g. number of sources, perspectives of article) which can be measured objectively.

This needed finetuning of the above-mentioned quality criteria into various ‘questions’ posed to each article, and which could be ‘answered’ by the researchers assessing these articles. The main categories and variables of our content analysis are summarized in table A1.

Table A1: Coding program – texts of print media and TV news

Category	Variables
Technical aspects	Length of article/news Photos Form Author
Topics	single topic in each article (chosen from list), perspective of article geographical reference in article timeliness of article comprehensiveness of article (depth)
Actors	number and type for up to 3 actors political affiliation gender
Sources	number and type for up to 3 sources transparency of sources direct speech of source
Journalists’ opinion	occurrence of opinion way of expressing opinion favorability of opinion
Viewpoints	number of different viewpoints

It is important to point out that content analysis investigates only textual information, in this case the content of news articles and programs. It does not measure the situation under which the news were produced, or what the effects of the news will be. Assumptions about such questions may only be derived from the interpretation of findings gathered in content analysis.

Coding

The identification of how these variables are manifested in a text is called ‘coding’, because the different potential ‘values’ of a variable (e.g. 0, 1, or 2 sources) are expressed in ‘number codes’. These codes are entered into Excel sheets. For each article, a total of 70 questions had to be answered, meaning that the description of each article was done with 70 different variables. The ‘coding’ of articles and TV news was done by a team of seven coders from Caucasus Media Institute (CMI) and graduates from Yerevan State University.

Data assesment

The data gained by the coding process were assessed by statistical analysis at IAM with the help of the SPSS programme.

2.3 Sample

Print

Six print media of Armenia were chosen covering deliberately a wide political spectrum and comprising different publication rhythms:

- Hayastani Hanrapetutiun (daily)
- Azg (daily)
- Aravot (daily)
- Golos Armenii (three times a week)
- Chorrord Ishkhanutiun (two times a week)
- Iravunk (weekly, sometimes two times a week)

All editions of these newspapers, published in the last week of October 2005 (25th to 29th) were incorporated. Table A2 shows the complete sample with publication dates.

Table A2: Sample October 2005 – Armenian print media

Number of articles in each publication date, N = absolute number of articles per medium in the sample

Publication\medium	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total N
25.10.2005	22	44	40	54	18	26	
26.10.2005	41	40	44	-	-	-	
27.10.2005	38	30	42	57	-	-	
28.10.2005	41	36	37	-	13	23	
29.10.2005	48	27	59	76	-	-	
N	190	177	222	187	31	49	856

HH = Hayastani Hanrapetutiun; **AZ** = Azg; **AV** = Aravot; **GL** = Golos Armenii; **CD** = Chorrord Ishkhanutiun; **IV** = Iravunk

Selection of articles

From these newspapers all articles were included except:

- Advertisements
- Games, crosswords, jokes, horoscopes
- Art (poems, lyrics, novels, etc.)
- Pure sports (sport results, sports events or sports celebrities)
- Weather forecasts
- Information for subscribers
- Letters to the editor (in contrast to Open Letters which are analyzed as normal articles)
- Supplements
- TV programs

Television

In the same week (October 24th to 30th 2005) the main evening news casts of a state and a private TV station were assessed. The stations were:

- H1
- Shant

Table A3: TV news – Armenia

Number of news in each news cast

date\broadcaster	H1	Shant	total % of N
24.10.2005	25	11	36
25.10.2005	17	10	27
26.10.2005	19	10	29
27.10.2005	19	12	31
28.10.2005	22	9	31
29.10.2005	19	5	24
30.10.2005	6	6	12
total %	100%	100%	100%
N	127	63	190

3. Results

3.1 Technical aspects of newspapers

Various technical aspects of the print media and TV news were assessed. They are interesting both to know as such, e.g. the patterns of different media in article size preferences and use of photographs, and as potential determining factors for quality indicators.

3.1.1 Article and news size

Print

Armenian print media have developed a specific formal style. Table B1 shows that from the dailies

- Aravot and Golos Armenii (65.3% and 56.1%) are using much more short articles (< 100 cm²) than all others, less medium-sized articles (100 to 400 cm²) and hardly any long ones (> 400 cm²).
- Azg uses article sizes the other way round, having less short and more medium articles (61.0%).
- Hayastani Hanrapetutiu is similar to Azg, with the difference of having much more long articles (20.0%) in its issues than Azg, almost as much as the weeklies.

With a share of 25% of all articles, both weeklies publish more long articles than the dailies. Furthermore, Iravunk presents almost an equal amount of short and medium-length articles, whereas Chorrord Ishkhanutiu focuses on medium-sized ones.

Table A4: Article size – Armenian print media

Percentage of articles in each medium

N = absolute number of articles per medium

Publication\medium	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
Short articles	29.5%	31.6%	65.3%	56.1%	29.0%	40.8%	45.7%
Medium articles	50.5%	61.0%	27.5%	28.9%	45.2%	34.7%	40.9%
Long articles	20.0%	7.3%	7.2%	15.0%	25.8%	24.5%	13.4%
total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	190	177	222	187	31	49	856

TV

The average news cast in H1 (128 seconds) is shorter than in Shant (144 sec). Thus, H1 has more short news, Shant has more medium-length contributions. Both have almost the same share of long contributions.

Table A5: Length of news story – TV Armenia

Percentage of different news lengths in each medium

	H1	Shant	Total
< 90 sec	45.7%	12.7%	34.7%
91-180 sec	33.1%	63.5%	43.2%
> 180 sec	21.3%	23.8%	22.1%
total	100%	100%	100
N	127	63	190

Openers

Print

Openers are hardly used in Armenian print media (3.3% of all articles in the sample are ‘opened’ on page 1). Weeklies do it more (around 9%), some dailies never (Azg).

TV

Openers are a common feature of TV news. Almost a quarter (24.3%) of all news are ‘opened’ at the beginning of the news programme. This percentage is exactly the same with H1 and Shant. The rule is that topics of ‘high politics’ (see table A11; 50%) are much more highlighted by openers than other stories, for example economics (15.2%). Issues of ‘social development’ are hardly ever ‘opened’.

3.1.2 Photos/graphics

Print

On average almost a third of the articles (32.5%) are accompanied by at least one photograph. Hayastani Hanrapetutian has the most with about 49% of their articles and Aravot the least (20.5%). Usually one photo is published in an article. In rare cases (on average: 3.0% of articles) two photos or more are published.

Regarding photo size the average photo is 71 cm², the majority (68.1%) of photos being of a medium size (between 31 and 150 cm²), with almost no differences between the newspapers.

The use of graphics is still not common at all. Only 4.5 % of all articles publish an illustrating graphic to the text. Only Chorrord Ishkhanutian does it a little more (12.9%) than the others, Hayastani Hanrapetutian almost never.

TV

In TV the pictures play a dominant role. Therefore there is a separate part on the pictures (chapter 5).

3.1.3 Form

Print

Regarding the form of articles this sample only distinguishes forms that can be discerned visually, i.e without reading the text. These are ‘interviews’ (questions and answers marked as such), ‘comments’ (frame around the text or different font/style), ‘readers questions’ and ‘all other articles’.

The analysis reveals that the weeklies use interviews (15.4% and 24.5%) much more than dailies (around 2 to 3%). The same is valid for comments. This doesn’t mean that the weeklies are providing more opinion than the dailies (this is assessed in chapter ‘opinion’ of the main text) but the weeklies publish more articles which are obviously recognizable as comments.

Table A6: Form - Armenian print media

Percentage of different journalistic forms, N = absolute number of articles per medium

Publication\medium	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
Interview	1.1%	3.6%	2.2%	3.8%	15.4%	24.5%	4.3
Comment	0.5%	2.2%	1.1%	4.6%	30.8%	22.4%	3.9%
Readers question	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
All other articles	98.4%	94.2%	96.7%	90.0%	53.8%	53.1%	91.6%
total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N*	190	137	182	130	13	49	701

HH = Hayastani Hanrapetutium; AZ = Azg; AV = Aravot; GL = Golos Armenii; CD = Chorrord Ishkhanutium; IV = Iravunk [*data of one coder was excluded from this analysis, due to coding bias]

TV

In TV the form of ‘presenter reading the news’ (H1 more than Shant) and ‘correspondent films’ are the dominating forms. Shant additionally presents more press conferences and more coverage from other media (broadcasting other media’s reports). Comment is almost unknown in both news programs.

Table A7: Presentation forms TV

Percentage of different forms

	H1	Shant	Total
Presenters news	37.3%	22.2%	32.3%
Presenter’s news with pictures	0.8%	4.8%	2.1%
Film with correspondent	3.2%	1.6%	2.6%
Film without correspondent	44.4%	33.3%	40.7%
Interview <u>with</u> interviewee visible	0.8%	3.2%	1.6%
Interview <u>without</u> interviewee v.	4.0%	4.8%	4.2%
Comment	0.0%	3.2%	1.1%
Press conference	3.2%	12.7%	6.3%
Media coverage	6.3%	12.7%	8.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	127	63	190

3.1.4 Declaration of author

Print

Regarding the ‘open’ declaration of the author of an article, Armenian print media know different styles: Aravot (39.4%) and Chorrord Ishkhanutium (48.4%) publish a large part of their articles without declaring an author, making it impossible for the reader to know who is responsible for the article. In contrast, Azg leaves the author unclear only in 10% of its articles.

The authors of articles differ considerably: Azg and Iravunk are mainly publishing the journalist that has written the article by name or by initials. Only Hayastani Hanrapetutium (12.6%) and Golos Armenii (13.4%) declaring news agencies or press releases as origins of articles (Hayastani Hanrapetutium: 15.8%, average: 3.9%), or quote other media (Golos Armenii: 19.8%, average: 5.8%) whereas all others hardly mention these ‘authors’. It cannot

not be said whether other print media do not use press releases or news agencies or just deny publishing this openly.

3.1.5 Timeliness and other time dimensions

To report on recent developments and events in time is one main feature of news reporting. However, often information needs to be put into context and larger time frames to give news more meaning and adding to orientation. Therefore the points of time in the articles and TV news were assessed.

Actual time context

Print

This screening demonstrates that the Armenian print media have very different styles in mentioning the timeliness in their news articles. In many articles of the weekly newspapers (Iravunk: 63.2%; Chorrord Ishkhanutiun: 58.1%), as well as in Golos Armenii (44.6%) the most recent point of time remained unclear or it was not given at all. For the other dailies this figure was lower, circulating around 30%.

Table A8: Timeliness print media – intransparency

Percentage of articles with most recent point of time mentioned as

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Total
None/undefinable	31.0%	40.2%	27.7%	44.6%	58.1%	63.2%	38.3%
N	190	174	222	184	31	49	852

Assessing the remaining cases, it is demonstrated that the dailies refer to very recent events mainly of ‘yesterday’ which is the most recent point in time a newspaper can have at publication date. Hayastani Hanrapetutiun achieves a ‘yesterday’ rate of 82.4%, the next one being Aravot with 64.7%. The weekly newspapers achieve only a rate of around 40% which is quite natural as they cover the news within the whole of last week.

Table A9: Timeliness print media – most recent point of time

Percentage of articles referring to different geographical locations

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Total
yesterday	82.4%	59.6%	64.7%	26.5%	46.2%	44.4%	59.5%
last week	10.7%	29.8%	17.3%	42.2%	23.1%	55.6%	24.4%
Last month	1.5%	2.9%	3.8%	5.9%	7.7%	0.0%	3.4%
> last month	5.3%	7.7%	14.1%	25.5%	23.1%	0.0%	12.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N*	131	104	156	102	13	18	524

* excluding none/undefinable

Television

In TV the lack of transparency concerning time is high with H1 (36.3%) and much lower with Shant (19.0%). Eliminating the unclear cases both broadcasters show a very similar structure: 88.1% of the news, i.e. much more as in print, refer to ‘today’ as the most recent point of time and only 8.1% to a time point within last week, with hardly any differences between the two

broadcasters. Very rarely are the references of elder points of time. This proves that also in Armenia, TV news is dominated by recent news.

Reference to former time (Time backwards)

Print

News usually also makes a references to former points of time. We have assessed several time spans up to historical dimensions. It can be seen as a contribution to comprehensiveness when in one article references to different points of time in the past are made.

The data show that Azg does perform well in mentioning many time points in the past (32% making references to 3 or more points in former times). Iravunk's and Gobs Armenii's numbers are also fairly high (28% and 22%). Chorrord Ishkhanutiun (although being a weekly) Hayastani Hanrapetutiun and Aravot score very low (7%; 3%). This pattern remains even in the case when only medium-length articles are analyzed.

Table A10: Time points backwards

Percentage of articles referring to different backwards time points

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Total
0 time points	34.2%	18.1%	40.5%	29.9%	45.2%	30.6%	31.8%
1 time points	44.2%	29.9%	42.3%	35.5%	38.7%	28.6%	37.7%
2 time points	12.1%	22.0%	14.4%	20.9%	6.5%	18.4%	16.8%
3 and more	9.5%	30.2%	2.7%	13.4%	9.7%	22.4%	13.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N*	131	104	156	102	13	18	524

* excluding none/undefinable

TV

TV news makes much less references to former points in time. Only in 4.2% of TV news references to 3 former points in time are made. 50% make no reference to any former point in time. This seems typical of the current style of news reporting in TV, mainly focussing on the most recent news. Thus, it gives less context to the news.

Future points of time

References to future points of time are made in the print media in 48% of articles, with slight differences among newspapers. In TV 65.3% of the news make statement regarding future with no differences between H1 and Shant.

3.2 Topics

The coders identified the main topic of each article out of a list of 35 given topics, including the topic ‘others’ which was chosen in case the list did not provide a suitable topic. The data provides us with an overview of what topics were mainly covered this week. For further analysis and for detecting differences and commonalities between the newspapers we summarized single topics to topic groups (like for example grouping ‘infrastructure’, ‘industry, business’, ‘finances’ and ‘agriculture’ to the topic group ‘economics’)

Print – General findings

From our data we can see that some major ‘burning’ issues of Armenia (as stated by civil society, conferences) are hardly covered by the press and that important issues concerning the social development of Armenia, mostly relevant to ordinary people, are only covered to a small extent. At least it needs to be discussed whether this amount meets the needs of the Armenian audience. Additionally we see that newspapers of this sample show specific topic preferences. Table A4 (next page) shows to what extent single topics are covered in Armenian media as well as to what extent topic groups are reported on.

Neglecting burning issues

First of all we see that some single topics, namely ‘migration’ (0.2%), and ‘regional integration of South Caucasus’ (1.2%) is almost completely neglected by the Armenian print media and do not show major differences between various print media. [Those issues were already neglected in the May 2005 sample (print I)]

Small coverage of social development issues

Comparing topic groups it can be observed that the issues of social development of the country that directly touch people’s life (education, health, environment, social problems etc.) are covered by roughly 10% of all articles. In comparison to that the share of ‘high politics’ (elections, constitutional reform political reform, pure politics) seems rather high (29%). Also the reporting about the ‘news breaking’ events of the day, like crime, demonstrations, legal cases etc. (11.2%) is rather extensive. Economics counts for 12.4% and culture for 9.9% of all articles.

Remark

As researchers from outside trying to find reasons for this pattern mentioned above we assume that it might have to do with an attitude of Armenian print media to publish mainly what journalists can get and grasp easily. This is the day’s events and the political business that produce news almost by themselves (press releases, statements etc.). Covering issues of ‘social development’ or the underlying causes of some problems need more effort and resources (time, energy, money) by journalits as well as by media. We will later provide further support to this thesis, but finally the media themselves have to decide whether this makes sense or whether other factors are more determining.

Table A11: Topics in Armenian media – print and TV

Percentage of different topics (number of articles) and different topic groups

	Print – In % of n° articles	TV – In % of news
Group		
Single topic		
High politics	29.0%	29.5%
Karabakh	1.5%	1.1%
Constitutional reform	9.3%	12.6%
Political Reform	2.5%	2.1%
Elections	4.7%	4.7%
Regional integration South Caucasus	1.1%	1.6%
International integration	2.7%	3.7%
Pure politics	5.6%	2.1%
National security	1.4%	1.1%
Migration, refugees	0.2%	0.5%
History	3.5%	5.3%
Armenian genocide	2.7%	2.6%
Other history	0.8%	2.6%
War	2.7%	1.1%
War	2.6%	0.5%
Civil war	0.1%	0.5%
Foreign affairs	6.9%	8.9%
Pure foreign affairs	5.5%	4.2%
Conflict peace talks	1.4%	4.7%
Social development issues	9.9%	9.5%
Education	2.3%	2.1%
Health	3.9%	5.3%
Environment	1.1%	1.1%
Social problems	1.3%	0.5%
Media	1.4%	0.5%
Crime + events	11.2%	13.2%
Riots/demonstrations	0.8%	3.7%
Ordinary crime	5.6%	4.7%
Legal cases	4.0%	3.7%
Corruption/Organized crime	0.8%	1.1%
Economics	12.4%	12.1%
Infrastructure	4.7%	4.7%
Industry, business	3.2%	2.1%
Finances	3.2%	4.2%
Agriculture	1.1%	0.5%
Rest of economics	0.4%	0.5%
Culture	9.7%	4.2%
Culture	9.7%	4.2%
Religion	1.2%	1.1%
Religion	1.2%	1.1%
Science	1.1%	
Science	1.1%	
Sports	4.6%	2.1%
Sports	4.6%	2.1%
Others	5.3%	11.6%
	5.3%	11.6%
Miscellaneous	2.7%	1.6%
Sum	100%	100%
Sum	100%	100%
N = 865 articles		

Newspaper profiles

From the topics analysis we can also detect some specific preferences of different print media titles.

Political print media

Hayastani Hanrapetutium, Aravot, Chorrord Ishkhanutium and Iravunk are the ‘political print media’: the two dailies dedicate around 35% of their articles to ‘high politics’, the two weeklies even more than 40%.

The opposite is Azg that dedicates less than 10% to ‘high politics’. Instead it has considerably more coverage of culture, sports and others, showing the largest diversity of topics.

Crime and events

Aravot reports the most (18.0%) on crime and events like demonstrations or legal cases. Other newspapers cover these issues with only around 9–10%, with the exception of Hayastani Hanrapetutium (only 5%).

Remark

This pattern might be caused by different reasons that cannot be derived from content analysis: Aravot might have an inclination to sell more copies by putting crime on the title (boulevardization), whereas Hayastani Hanrapetutium might be inclined to omit ‘bad news’ happening in Armenia.

Social development issues

There are only two print media with a little more coverage of social development: Azg (12.4%) and Iravunk (12.2%) are slightly better than the rest of the print media (around 9%) but the difference is not really considerable.

Culture and Science

Azg and Aravot are reporting much more on culture (around 15%) than other print media, while Hayastani Hanrapetutium is the only one reporting substantially about science.

Television

Surprisingly the topics of the TV news (texts) are quite similar to those of the print media (table A10). ‘High politics’ plays with 29.5% of all news the same role as on average with the print media. There are hardly any differences between H1 and Shant. Events and crime is the next largest topic (13.2%), and shows almost the same share as in print, but Shant covers this (17.5%) a little more than H1 (11.0%). Also economics (12.1%) achieves the same share as in print and is also equally treated by the news broadcasters. Not surprisingly, the social development issues are only covered by 9.5% of the news, with Shant (7.9%) even less than H1 (10.2%). The only difference in topic coverage is the higher coverage of foreign affairs by Shant and the complete negligence for covering culture.

Remark

This outstanding concurrence in topics coverage between TV and print is worth an intensive discussion. It can be assumed that the ‘burning issues’ of Armenia do not ‘produce’ enough news value on their own and it would thus require a deliberate extra effort by the journalists, or it can be suggested that editors and ‘politicians behind the stage’ do hinder reporting about that.

Table A12: Topic preferences in Armenian print media

Percentage of different topic groups

N = absolute number of articles per medium

Topics covered	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
High politics	36.8%	9.6%	35.1%	26.2%	45.2%	40.8%	29.0%
History	2.6	7.3	1.4	4.8	0.0	0.0	3.5%
War	2.6	4.5	1.8	2.1	6.5	0.0	2.7%
Foreign affairs*	8.9	3.4	5.4	12.3	0.0	2.0	6.9%
Social development issues	8.9	12.4	8.6	9.6	9.7	12.2	9.9%
Crime and events	5.3	12.4	18.0	8.6	9.7	10.2	11.2%
Economics	14.7	13.0	6.8	14.4	12.9	18.4	12.4%
Culture	6.8	14.1	14.9	4.3	6.5	4.1	9.7%
Religion	0.5	1.1	0.5	3.2	0.0	0.0	1.2%
Science	3.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.1%
Sports	2.1	9.6	2.7	6.4	0.0	0.0	4.6%
Others	3.2	7.3	2.7	6.4	9.7	10.2	5.3%
Miscellaneous	3.7	5.1	2.3	0.5	0.0	2.0	2.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	190	177	222	187	31	49	856

Table A13: Topic preferences in Armenian TV

Percentage of different topic groups

	HI	Shant	Total % of N
High politics	29.9%	28.6%	29.5%
History	5.5%	4.8%	5.3%
War	1.6%	0.0%	1.1%
Foreign affairs	7.1%	12.7%	8.9%
Social development issues	10.2%	7.9%	9.5%
Crime and events	11.0%	17.5%	13.2%
Economics	11.8%	12.7%	12.1%
Culture	6.3%	0.0%	4.2%
Religion	1.6%	0.0%	1.1%
Sports	2.4%	1.6%	2.1%
Other	12.6%	14.3%	13.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	127	63	190

3.3 Geographical reference

The geographical reference was assessed because some Armenian media experts think that Armenian print media fail to treat the stories relevant to an Armenian audience by neglecting the regions and by reporting too much on foreign affairs and not on domestic problems. Thus, this category shall give additional information to assess the relevance of print media's reporting.

3.3.1 Domestic/foreign orientation

Print – General findings

Generally the print media report in

- ? 49.1% of the articles on purely Armenian issues
- ? 22.8% on issues of Armenia in its relations to a foreign country
- ? 22.2% on issues only taking place in a foreign country, and
- ? 4.7% of issues related to Armenia, Karabakh and foreign countries

On the base of this general picture

- ? Three print media are more oriented towards domestic issues: Aravot, Chorrord Ishkhanutiun and Iravunk.
- ? Two are less domestic and much more focused on foreign countries: Azg and Golos Armenii

Table A14: Geographical references in Armenian print media

Percentage of articles referring to different geographical locations

Geographical orientation	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Total
Domestic	48.4%	32.8%	66.5%	33.3%	64.5%	81.6%	49.1%
Armenia + foreign country	24.2%	26.6%	14.9%	29.0%	22.6%	16.3%	22.8%
Foreign country only	23.2%	32.8%	13.1%	29.0%	12.9%	2.0%	22.2%
Karabakh + others	3.2%	3.9%	3.7%	8.6%	0.0%	0.0%	4.7%
No geographical reference	1.1%	4.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	190	177	221	186	31	49	854

According topic groups

There are some interesting variations in this domestic/foreign pattern according to topic groups: On 'social development issues' Hayastani Hanrapetutiun reports these topics much more from foreign countries (35.3%) than the other newspapers (from 0 to 18%). A similar trend can be seen for 'crime and events': Aravot reports on these topics mainly from a domestic perspective (77.5%), whereas Hayastani Hanrapetutiun and Azg do it the other way round: For them crime and other disturbing events happen mainly in foreign countries (70.0%, 50.0%). (See table B3 in annex)

Television

For TV the figures are quite similar. Armenian TV news dedicates almost half (46.6%) of their news to domestic issues and 29.1% to purely foreign issues. 18.5% are dedicated to the relations between Armenia and other countries. As in print, the Karabakh question plays a limited role (4.7%). Shant has less reporting on domestic issues (5%-points less than average) and more from foreign countries (5%-points more than average; Table B4, Annex).

3.3.2 Regions in Armenia

The regional coverage inside Armenia is surprisingly similar among print and TV: the regions are neglected, Yerevan takes up some 18% and Armenia as a whole about two thirds.

Table A15: Regional coverage – print and TV

Percentage of number of articles with different geographical reference in Armenia

Geographical reference	Ø Print	Ø TV
Yerevan	18.3%	18.4%
Marzis	14.8%	13.3%
Armenia whole	66.9%	68.4%
Total	100%	100%
N	432	98

Print

In print only Azg and Aravot have a considerable higher share of articles (25.9% and 19.7%) oriented towards the marzis. Also Yerevan is mainly highlighted by Aravot (32.7%). The reference to the whole nation is especially enforced by Hayastani Hanrapetutiu and the weeklies Chorrord Ishkhanutiu and Iravunk.

TV

In TV the state/public service broadcaster H1 does a little more reporting on the regions (15.5%) and on Yerevan (19.7%) than its private competitor Shant. This might be seen as characteristic for a ‘public service’ broadcaster.

3.3.3 What foreign countries?

Print

The South Caucasus and the other neighbour countries Turkey and Iran (15.5% + 6.7% + 4.3% = 26.5%) play in sum the same role as Europe (25.2%). The USA (13.3) and Russia (10.2) are mentioned, the CIS is completely neglected. It seems quite interesting that for the print media close neighbors and former alliance countries do not draw more attention of the media than the distant USA.

TV

However, the South Caucasus and the other neighbours Turkey and Iran play a much larger role (43%) in TV. On the other hand Europe, the USA and the rest of the world have a slightly smaller weight. Surprisingly, Shant ranks Turkey and Iran much higher than H1 that gives high priority to the USA. Nevertheless, Russia and the CIS are also almost neglected by both broadcasters.

Table A16: Foreign countries – print and TV

Country	Ø Print	Ø TV
South Caucasus	15.5%	24.7%
Turkey	6.7%	10.3%
Iran	4.3%	8.2%
Russia	10.2%	5.2%
CIS	2.4%	5.2%
Europe	25.2%	15.5%
USA	13.3%	15.5%
Rest of world	22.4%	15.5%
Total	100%	100%
	420	97

3.4 Actors

Due to the ‘political’ and ‘elite orientation’ of most media in Armenia it is assumed that specific actors are preferred in the media. Therefore it was investigated which actors play a role in print media articles and the TV news. The articles were coded according to a list of 25 (incl. ‘others’) actors which were later summarized in different actor groups. Table A14 gives the data of this assessment:

Table A17: Actors and actorgroups – print and TV

Percentages of articles/TV news with single actors and actorgroups mentioned

Actors and actorgroups	Print - % of all 3 actors mentioned*	TV - % of all 3 actors mentioned
Political actors	24.7%	27.2%
President	3.0	3.5
Central Authorities	10.6	12.3
Parliament	4.6	3.7
Political party	5.3	6.7
Military	1.2	1.0
Local administration	6.9%	5.4%
Local administrations	3.6	1.7
Judiciary	2.0	1.0
police	1.4	2.7
Economic actors	6.5%	5.2%
Entrepreneurs, business people	2.0	1.3
International entrepreneurs	3.6	2.5
Employees	0.9	1.3
Civil society	3.6%	1.9%
National NGOs	1.9	1.3
International NGOs	1.8	0.6
International actors	21.1%	30.1%
Intergovernmental organisation	4.5	6.4
Foreign political bodies	14.7	20.6
Foreign country as nation	2.0	3.1
Professionals	17.8%	11.2%
Culture	7.6	5.0
Churches	1.4	0.6
Media	3.3	1.9
Science/education/university	5.5	3.7
Diaspora	1.5%	1.2%
Diaspora	1.5	1.2
General public	10.5%	9.8%
General public	8.1	8.9
Armenia as nation	2.4	1.0
Author	0.8%	0.2%
Author	0.8	0.2
Other	6.5%	7.9%
Others	6.5	7.9
	N = 849 articles, 2332 responses	N = 190 news, 519 responses

* excluding articles with less than 3 actors

3.4.1 What actors?

Contrary to some expectations the president has ‘only’ a share of 3% among all actors of the print media articles³. Therefore there seems to be no exaggerated emphasis on the president in media coverage. It also seems reasonable that the rest of the central authorities get some 21%.

Print – General findings

It is evident from this actors list that the choice of news actors reflects mostly the overall topic orientation of the different newspapers: political newspapers like Hayastani Hanrapetutium, Chorrord Ishkhanutium and Iravunk have a higher percentage of mentioning the president, the central authorities of Armenia [Hayastani Hanrapetutium (23.4%) and Iravunk (18.4)] and the parliament. Pecularity is that Iravunk also has a remarkably high score in mentioning political parties, which might be explained by the simple fact that it belongs to a party. This is done less by Hayastani Hanrapetutium and Chorrord Ishkhanutium. Foreign political bodies are more mentioned as actors by Golos Armenii (21.4%) and Azg (17.5%), given their external geographic orientation (see table A10) and the low consideration of these actors by Aravot and Iravunk, both media concentrating on domestic affairs. The larger amount of cultural actors in Azg und Aravot just confirms their preference for culture.

However, there are also some features which are hard to explain by topic orientation. All print media hardly ever mention employees as actors, at least in comparison to entrepreneurs and other business people. The occurrence of the general public as an actor differs widely. It is mentioned very rarely by Chorrord Ishkhanutium (1.1%) and Hayastani Hanrapetutium (4.1%), whereas Aravot (11.7%) and Azg (10.0%) include it in a considerable amount into their actors.

Television

There is again a high rate of concurrence between print and TV. The most significant difference between TV and print is the fact that TV mentions the political actors (among them the president) a bit more than print (27.2% vs. 24.1% in print) and considerably more international actors (30.1% vs. 21.1% in print). These two actor groups are dominating the TV news. Both broadcasters are quite similar in this point, Shant mentions even more international actors due to their larger reporting on foreign news.

3.4.2 Number of actors

A higher number of actors could be a first indicator whether stories are more comprehensive than others. Nevertheless the number of actors is mainly correlated to the article size. Calculating the number of actors while only analyzing medium-length articles, it is revealed that Hayastani Hanrapetutium scores very low (59.4%) in ‘4 actors and more’ while the other dailies (around 80%) are considerably higher and the weeklies even more so.

Table A18: Number of Actors – print (only medium articles)

Percentage of number of actors in medium-length articles, according to newspapers

No. actors	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
Up to 3 actors	40.6%	17.6%	18.0%	22.2%	7.1%	11.8%	24.0%
4 and more actors	59.4%	82.4%	82.0%	77.8%	92.9%	88.2%	76.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	96	108	61	54	14	17	350

³ Assessment based on number of responses (3 actors per article)

In **high politics** and in **‘social development issues’** Azg includes an even higher number of actors than the weeklies, indicating that they do comprehensive reporting in these topics.

Television

In TV the number of actors is significantly higher with Shant news. It has 77.8% in the ‘4 or more actors’ category, while H1 has only 59.0%. This is not due to differences in length of the stories. Shant has also more actors in short and medium stories.

3.4.3 Political affiliation – not balanced

The political affiliation of the actors in Armenian print media was assessed to see whether specific actors were preferred. This was done under the reservation that the party affiliation was sometimes not known to our coders.

In most articles the Armenian party affiliation of the actors is not relevant (57.4%; all foreign reporting, most of economy, culture etc.) or was unknown (22.1%). Nevertheless when party affiliation matters, the Armenian print media mention actors with a coalition affiliation (44.3%) twice as much as actors affiliated to the opposition (20.9%) Other parties than coalition or opposition are hardly mentioned at all (5.8%). But there is still a considerable amount (29.0%) of independent actors mentioned in the articles.

Table A19: Political affiliation of actors

Percentage of number of actors 1-3 in all articles, according to newspapers

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
Coalition	57.3%	38.2%	36.4%	45.7%	46.4%	38.7%	44.3%
Opposition	12.1%	18.2%	27.9%	24.3%	21.4%	21.0%	20.9%
Other parties	2.4%	10.9%	7.9%	1.4%	7.1%	8.1%	5.8%
Independent	28.2%	32.7%	27.9%	28.6%	25.0%	32.3%	29.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =313 cases	124	55	140	70	28	62	479

* excluding ‘not relevant’ and ‘unknown’

From table A19 we can see that the preference for coalition actors is surprisingly equal between the newspapers (average advantage rate for coalition: 20%-points). It is significantly larger only with Hayastani Hanrapetutiun, with an advantage rate of 45%-points. Other parties are mostly mentioned by Iravunk and Azg (10.9%), which both mention actors from all sides. It is interesting to note that Iravunk as a newspaper belonging to a party does not prefer the ‘owner’ as one might have expected.

Television

The actors in TV have almost the same rate as the ones in print media, with 61.5% in ‘party affiliation in Armenia is not relevant’, and another 17% with ‘party affiliation not known’. For those with relevant party affiliation there is a clear pattern: H1 prefers the coalition by mentioning actors of the coalition twice as much as opposition actors (40.5% vs. 20.2%), while Shant mentions them in almost equal shares (37.2% vs. 32%). H1 has more independent actors.

3.5 Sources

3.5.1 Sources numbers

To use a high diversity of different sources is one of the main requirements to journalists, ensuring veracity, pluralism and comprehensive information. Thus the number of sources is supposed to be an important indicator for high quality journalistic reporting.

General findings

Comparing the whole sample we see that Aravot (17.4%) and Chorrord Ishkhanutiun (19.4%) have a considerable share of articles where **no source** is explicitly mentioned. Other media have considerably less of that kind. Assessing the diversity of the number of sources used, we see that Iravunk (36.7% of ‘three and more sources’) has the best distribution, followed by Hayastani Hanrapetutiun (31.6%), Golos Armenii 30.1%, Aravot with 28.3% and Azg 25.4%.

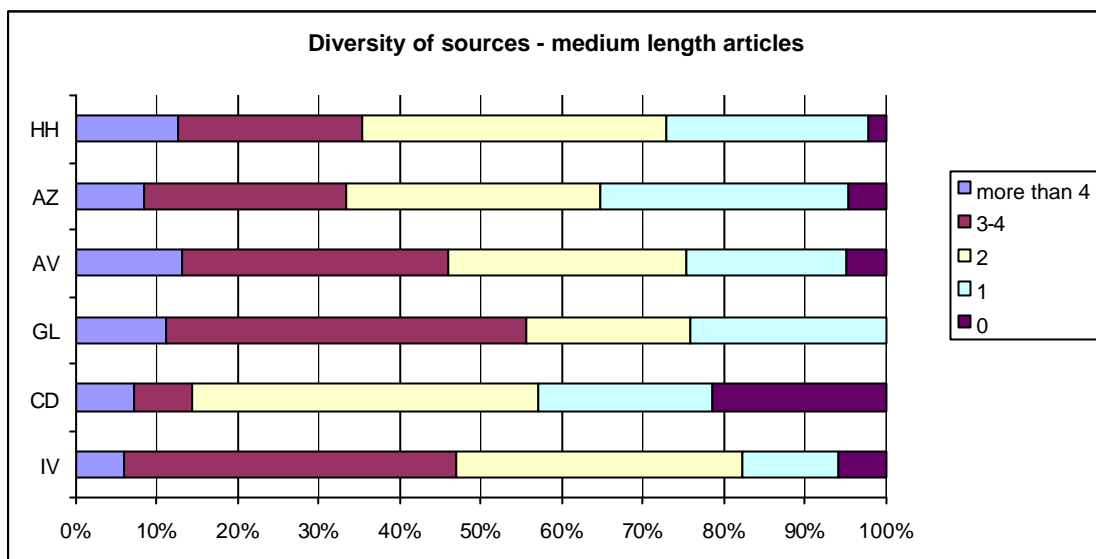
Table A20: Number of Sources – print media

Percentage of number of sources in all articles, according to newspapers

No. sources	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
0 sources	5.3%	7.3%	17.4%	8.6%	19.4%	4.1%	10.0%
1 source	27.9%	41.2%	34.2%	30.1%	45.2%	36.7%	33.9%
2 sources	35.3%	26.0%	20.1%	31.2%	19.4%	22.4%	27.2%
3 – 4 sources	16.3%	18.6%	20.5%	22.6%	3.2%	30.6%	19.6%
5 or more sources	15.3%	6.8%	7.8%	7.5%	12.9%	6.1%	9.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	190	177	219	186	31	49	855

* 1 missing

As the number of sources is strongly correlated with article size (big articles have a much higher share of articles with 3 and more sources than small articles, and a little higher share than medium-length articles, see table B10 in Annex) we have calculated the number of sources in medium articles only. Now Golos Armenii even has a larger share of articles with 3 and more sources (55.5%) than Iravunk (47.1%) and Aravot (45.9%). This can be seen by observing the bars in Graph ‘diversity of sources’ on next page.



However, there are a lot of differences between different media especially when we look at different topic groups. In ‘**high politics**’ Azg has a much larger share of articles with 3 and more sources (47.1%), whereas Hayastani Hanrapetutium with only 24.3% has less than on their own average. This means that Hayastani Hanrapetutium reduces the number of sources in high politics, Azg increases them.

The same phenomenon can be observed with ‘social development issues’ In this topic group again Hayastani Hanrapetutium reduces its sources performance: in ‘2 sources’ it scores only 11.8%, in ‘3 and more sources’ 29.4%, whereas Azg has 36.4% in ‘2 sources’ and 31.8% in ‘3 and more’. Aravot scores also high in the ‘3 or more sources’ category (55.6%), with Iravunk being the best, but with low case numbers.

Hayastani Hanrapetutium behaves differently in **economics**. In this topic it enlarges the number of sources and scores 39.3% in ‘3 and more sources’ with 39.3%, whereas Azg has only 17.3% here.

Remark

The reduction of sources by Hayastani Hanrapetutium in high politics has hardly anything to do with article size as high politics has the same size structure as economics in which topic Hayastani Hanrapetutium is increasing sources number. Thus, it looks like a deliberate choice not to use many sources in high politics.

Television

In TV Shant has a higher share in ‘3 and more sources’ (57.1%) in comparison to H1 (41.0%).

Table A21: number of sources – TV

Number of sources in TV news

	H1	Shant	Total
0 sources	9.4%	4.8%	7.9%
1 source	27.6%	19.0%	24.7%
2 sources	22.0%	19.0%	21.1%
3-4 sources	26.0%	34.9%	28.9%
> 5 sources	15.0%	22.2%	17.4%
N	127	63	190

3.5.2 Transparency of sources

To make sources transparent to the readers is another important requirement aiming at enabling the reader/viewer to assess the quality of the source and to form his or her opinion about the provided information. We have asked the coders to assess whether the average reader could identify the source, i.e. not just a name is given (in case the person is not a celebre person known to the average reader) but position or function of that source in an organization.

Generally our analysis demonstrates that Azg and Golos Armenii have a very high source transparency (95%) whereas Chorrord Ishkhanutiun, Hayastani Hanrapetutiun and Aravot oscilate around 90%. Iravunk has only 78% transparency. However, in 5% of its articles it says the source had to be kept secret.

Table A22: Transparency of Sources - Print

All articles (sources 1– 3)

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total
identified	91.4%	94.7%	90.2%	98.5%	90.2%	78.1%	92.5%
Not identified.	7.7%	4.6%	9.0%	1.5%	9.8%	16.7%	6.6%
To be kept secret	0.8%	0.7%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	5.2%	0.9%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N							764

*85 cases had no sources], 1484 responses (= sources 1,2,and 3)

TV

Transparency of sources is not as good as in print, but still high: 89.4% of all sources mentioned were clearly identified, 9.5% were not identified, and in 4 cases, sources were explicitly kept secret (1.1%). There are very little differences between H1 and Shant, a little better to Shant's side.

3.5.3 Comparing actors and sources

Comparing the shares of actors with the share of the extent they are used also as sources should reveal preferences for specific actors.

We have gained two major insights: The existing preferences in actors are strengthened when looking if they are also used as sources: The 'political print media' (Hayastani Hanrapetutiun, Chorrord Ishkhanutiun and Iravunk, see typology in 3.2, p15) mention political actors more than others and use them more as sources. So do other newspapers in topics they prefer (e.g. Azg and Aravot in culture, Aravot in crime and events) This seems to be quite natural in journalistic routine. Nevertheless, there are a few important factors that only become evident when comparing groups of actors and sources:

Political actors are used slightly more as sources as they are mentioned as actors. The group of professionals enjoys the biggest increase in use as sources, which is mainly due to the fact that other media are used as sources and to lesser extent scientists (see table B6 in Annex). The biggest decrease of an actor group as type of source is the general public. People from the general public are included as actors (around 10%) but hardly ever used or quoted as a source of information (3.3%). Their lowest use as a source is with Hayastani Hanrapetutiun (0.8%),

but the decrease is even bigger for the newspapers which mention the general public more as an actor.

Remark

There is apparently a big reluctance by journalists to use ordinary people as sources or it requires too much effort to get use them as / make them a source. Maybe it is a combination of these two reasons.

TV

In TV we see the same pattern. Political actors are used a little more as sources (30.1% vs. 27.2% as actors) and the general public loses in use as a source (5.6% as source vs. 9.8% as actor) There are hardly any differences in types of sources between the two broadcasters.

3.5.4 Context of sources

We have also assessed in which context a source was speaking, mainly to discover some details about the reporting style of journalists and how the use different access channels to information. We wanted to know how much journalists are relying on

- ? Press conferences
- ? Press material
- ? Events
- ? Own inquiry
- ? Written documents

However there are serious reservations to make, as we are inclined to draw conclusions from what the media actually make transparent about the context in which a source provided information. And the attitude of publishing their own work seems to be quite different among Armenian print media: Chorrord Ishkhanutiun (48.8%) and Iravunk (34.1%) leave it to a very large extent unclear in which context a source is speaking. This can be interpreted as a lack of transparency. Other print media do this only in around 20% of the articles.

If we look at what has been stated (excluding the ‘unknown’ from further analysis) we see that Armenian print media rely much less on press conferences (all around 11%) than previously expected. The largest source context is events that are covered, followed by own inquiry/interview, quotes from news agencies or other media and written documents. Press releases (2.9 %) hardly seem to play a role.

Table A23: Source context – print and TV

All articles and TV news- without ‘unknown’ source context

Context	Print	TV
Press conference/press event	11.3%	13.8%
Press release	2.9%	0.3
Event	30.9%	45.5%
Inquiry/interview	18.3%	20.9%
Written document	15.8%	7.7%
Quote from news agency, media	16.8%	5.4%
Eye witness	2.4%	5.4%
Other	1.6%	1.0%
Total	100.0%	100%
N = responses	1187	297

*print: 664 cases

Two striking differences: Reporting from events is hardly done by the weeklies (19.0 and 21.7%), but very much by Hayastani Hanrapetutian (48.4%) that apparently refers mainly to visits, official speeches, openings, meetings or any other kind of ‘event’. An even bigger difference we can see in **own inquiry/interview**. Doing own efforts and conducting own inquiry is mainly used by Aravot (28.4%) and Iravunk (45.0%), whereas Hayastani Hanrapetutian (9.8%) scores very low in this aspect.

Remark

Generally, doing own inquiries is a sign of trying to discover new topics, perspectives, more information, compared to an attitude of ‘waiting for the news to arrive’, confirmed by only covering press conferences and other events. The last also requires fewer resources. It needs further investigation in the media organisations to get more clarity about this point.

TV

Also in TV the context remains unclear in 23.7% of all news. Excluding the unknown we observe that TV concentrates more than print on events (45.5% vs. 30.9% in print), but almost equally uses own inquiry (20.9% vs. 18% in print) and press conferences (13.8% vs. 11.3% in print; table annex). Shant uses events (50.5%) and press conferences (16.8%) even more than H1.

3.5.5 Direct speech?

Sources that were given the chance to be quoted in direct speech gain in relevance as they get higher attention compared to sources only quoted indirectly or paraphrased. Our analysis of these points tells us that political and economic sources are quoted with a high rate (51% and 53%) in direct speech. Others are quoted much less (international sources: 37%, diaspora: 33%, general public: 34%).

There is no evidence that some newspapers prefer the political actors even more by giving them more opportunities for direct speech.

Remark

It needs to be clarified whether this is a deliberate choice or journalistic routine as it is easier to get direct quotes from national politicians and economic actors (press conferences) than from international sources or from the general public. For international sources the reason might be the foreign language. Thus, actors are usually not directly quoted but translated.

TV

It looks like political actors are more quoted in direct speech in TV. However the case numbers might be too low as the differences between types of sources are not very strong.

4. Special quality indicators

Beyond the pure counting of actors and sources, we have introduced some special questions into the research, which allow us to analyze the articles more deeply and to create new indicators for quality of journalistic reporting. As we will see, these indicators reflect also the journalist's working process.

4.1 Depth levels – completeness indicator

Some media observers in Armenia think that the news media only report on a limited scope, describing just the narrow facts of the day, but neglecting reasons and causes, omitting comprehensive information on background or future consequences.

Therefore our content analysis investigated whether each article provides answers to the following issues or questions:

? **What** has happened? What is the problem?

? **Why** did it happen? (causes of the problem)

? Does the article provide **background** information (beyond the pure facts of the event)

? Does it give an outlook on **consequences**?

Thus, we have four different potential depth levels of an article. Regarding quality we assume that the more depth levels are covered by an article the more comprehensive it is. Screening all articles renders the following picture:

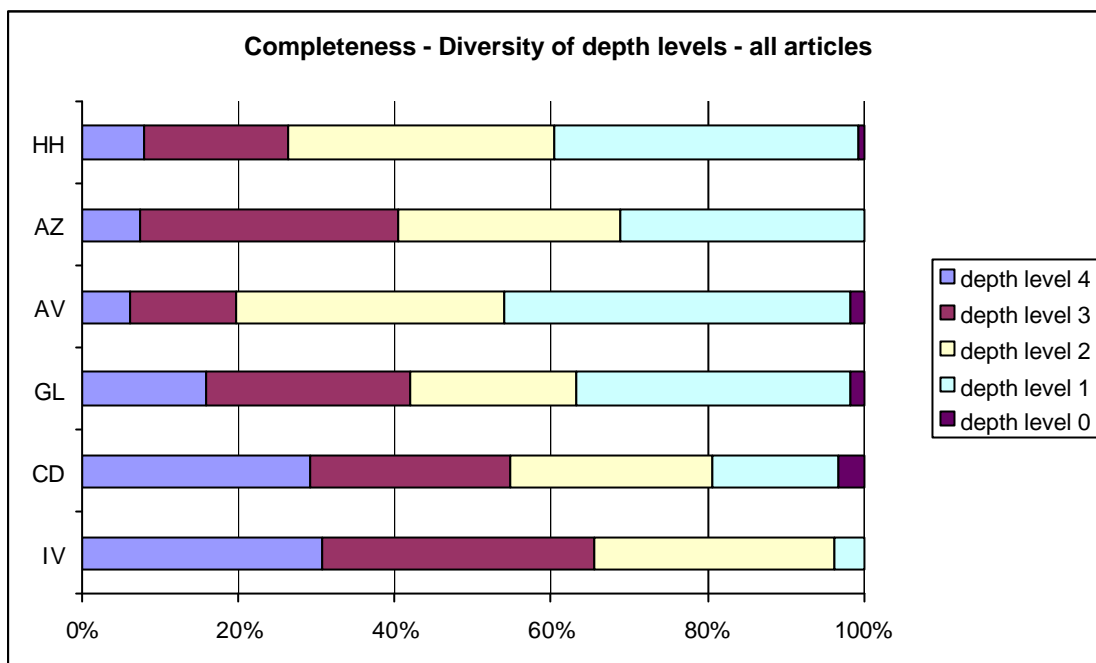
Table A24: Diversity of depth levels – print media Armenia

Percentage of sum of depth levels in articles*

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Total
0 depth levels	0.7%	0.0%	1.7%	1.8%	3.2%	0.0%	1.2%
1 depth levels	38.8%	31.3%	44.4%	35.1%	16.1%	3.8%	36.2%
2 depth levels	34.2%	28.4%	34.3%	21.1%	25.8%	30.8%	31.3%
3 depth levels	18.4%	32.8%	13.5%	26.3%	25.8%	34.6%	20.7%
4 depth levels	7.9%	7.5%	6.2%	15.8%	29.0%	30.8%	10.6%
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	151	67	178	57	31	26	511

*Only 510 articles entered (data of two coders excluded due to coding problems)

The graph next page better illustrates this result. The blue bar indicates the best score (= depth level 4, all-embracing). It is quite clear that Chorrord Ishkhanutiun and Iravunk, appearing twice a week or weekly, score best (29.0% and 30.8%) in this level, whereas the dailies achieve this result to a far lesser extent (6.2% to 15.8%). However, the differences become even more clear when one looks into the sum of the blue and the purple-red bar (modest completeness, level 3). Then Iravunk and Chorrord Ishkhanutiun strengthen their position, followed by Azg and Golos Armenii holding the third place with almost the same score, and Aravot and Hayastani Hanrapetutiun clearly falling behind.



It is evident that the comprehensiveness of an article is correlated to the article size. Smaller articles provide less depth than medium articles or long ones. However, the correlation is not completely determining as our analysis shows: Small articles also provide a considerable amount of depth level 2 (31.6%) and even level 3 (13.6%). When analyzing only medium-length articles the differences remain stable: Iravunk has the lead together with Golos Armenii, followed by Chorrord Ishkhanutiun, and then comes Azg. (Details in table B7 and B8 in Annex).

The first level of depth ('what?') it almost always fulfilled. Armenian print media do provide a factual report what has happened, without any significant differences between them. However on the next levels we see some differences:

- ? The why level (average: 38.3%) is highly fulfilled by Iravunk (73%) and Chorrord Ishkhanutiun (54%) but very rarely by Hayastani Hanrapetutiun (23.7%). Azg and Golos Armenii are best among the dailies.
- ? Background information is more rarely given, on average only in 28.2% of the articles. Also in that Iravunk and Chorrord Ishkhanutiun are high performers (48.8 and 50.0%). Aravot is even weaker on background (18.1%)
- ? Consequences are better covered, with an average of 39.4%. Now Hayastani Hanrapetutiun has a better performance (48.7%).

Remark

It seems interesting that consequences are more mentioned than background, assuming that consequences can only be really understood when background information has been given.

Thus, the weeklies are generally better in higher depth levels than the dailies. This is part of their reasoning. Among the dailies Azg and Golos Armenii are high performers on reasons and background.

Television

In TV the score in achieving full comprehensiveness (17.9%) is higher than on print average (10.6%), but much lower than the best performers in print (Iravunk: 30.8%). The same is true for 3 depth levels.

Table A25: Depth levels – TV in Armenia

Percentage of sums of different depth levels per news

	H1	Shant	Total
0 depth levels	3.9%	0%	2.6%
1 depth levels	26.8%	19.0%	24.2%
2 depth levels	24.4%	30.2%	26.3%
3 depth levels	26.8%	33.3%	28.9%
4 depth levels	18.1%	17.5%	17.9%
Total	100%	100%	100%
N	127	63	

Also in TV the depth level ‘What happened?’ is answered in most news stories (96.3%, no differences between H1 and Shant). 44.2% of the news give some information on the reasons of an event (‘Why?’) and only 40.7% provide background information. These are higher scores as the print average, but also lower than the best print media. 54.5% of the TV news speak also about consequences.

This is surprising, since it is generally assumed that due to their nature, TV news is usually more superficial in their depth of coverage than printed media.

4.2 Perspective

We have also introduced questions to analyze the perspective of coverage. This was mainly due to the hypothesis that Armenian print media only report about ‘politics’ and the ‘political struggle’ inside the elite, thus neglecting the concerns of ordinary people. Each article was additionally checked for the perspectives it includes. Additionally it was promising to analyze perspectives by different topics in order to better know how different topics are described.

Three perspectives of each article were assessed:

- ? Description of event/problem
- ? Political struggle around the issue
- ? Daily life perspective (how does it touch the life of ordinary people?)

A perspective was regarded as ‘included’ when more than 33% of the text had that perspective.

This assessment was done under the assumption that these perspectives are neither ‘good’ or ‘bad’ on their own, but that a mixture and combination of these perspectives seems to be more conducive for attracting readers as well as adding to comprehensiveness, thus strengthening quality. The second assumption is that the perspectives change with the topics: in ‘high politics’ the political struggle among politicians and members of parliament is an essential part of the reporting, on the other hand, in areas like health and education, the daily perspective should play a major role.

Print – General findings

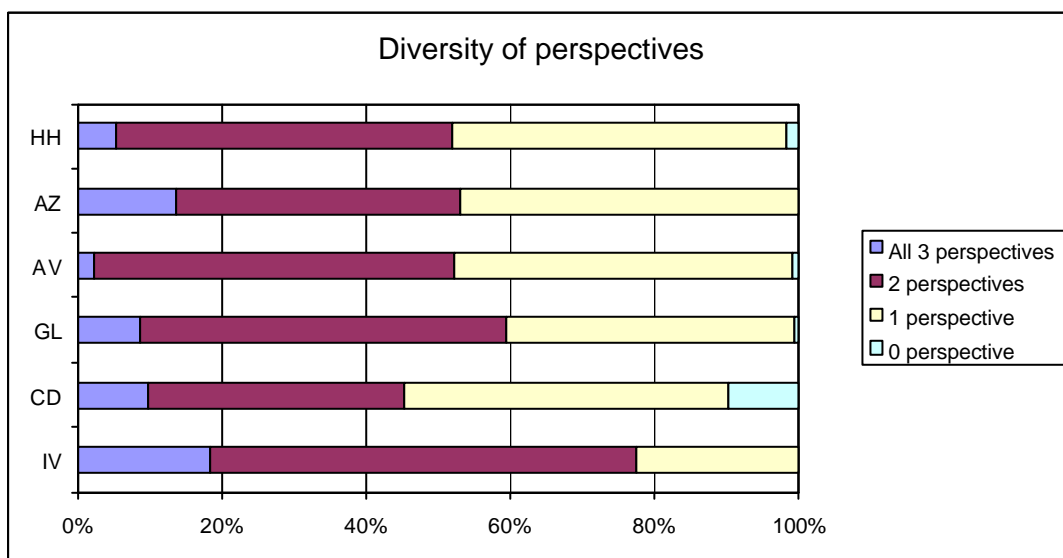
In very rare cases articles score zero perspectives (for example sarcastic essays), all other have at least one perspective, usually the ‘description or content’ perspective. Beyond that we see very interesting differences between the newspapers regarding the extent of their diversity of perspectives.

Iravunk by far includes the highest number of perspectives in its reporting: 18.4% of their articles do include all three perspectives. The second place has Golos Armenii performing well on ‘2 and 3 perspectives’. (Better visible in graph when looking at the sum of blue and purple bar). Azg is performing generally worse. Despite having more articles with 3 perspectives, it has less with 2 perspectives. Aravot has a high number of articles with 2 perspectives, but carries less articles with 3 perspectives.

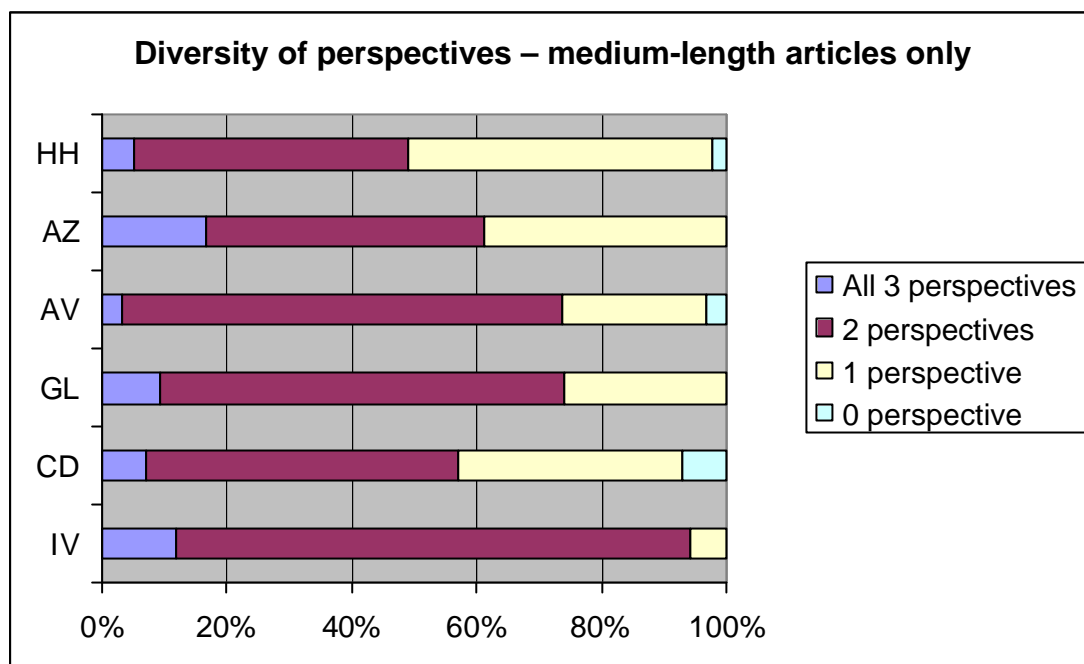
Table A26: Diversity of perspectives – print media in Armenia

Percentage of articles with 0, 1, 2 or 3 perspectives

Perspectives	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
0 perspective	1.6%	0.0%	0.9%	0.5%	9.7%	0.0%	1.1%
1 perspective	46.3%	46.9%	46.8%	40.1%	45.2%	22.4%	43%
2 perspectives	46.8%	39.5%	50.0%	50.8%	35.5%	59.2%	47%
3 perspectives	5.3%	13.6%	2.3%	8.6%	9.7%	18.4%	7%
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	190	177	222	187	31	49	856



It is evident that the performance in ‘diversity of perspectives’ correlates with article size. By assessing only medium-length articles we see that Iravunk keeps its outstanding performance (94% of articles with 2 and 3 perspectives) followed by Golos Armenii and Aravot (both 74% in 2 and 3 perspectives) with Golos Armenii higher on articles with 3 perspectives.



However there are additional differences between newspapers according to topic.

Different topics

In **social development issues** all print media put more emphasis on the daily life perspective (average: 69.4%) avoiding the political struggle perspective (9.4%), except Golos Armenii. This shows that once the print media cover social development issues, the daily life perspective is usually well taken care of. However, the problem of overall low coverage of these issues remains.

In **high politics** the perspectives taken are quite different between newspapers. Azg, Chorrord Ishkhanutiun and Iravunk include the political struggle perspective in almost all their high politics articles (85–95%) whereas Aravot (23%) and Hayastani Hanrapetutiun (only 40%) refrain from that.

The daily life perspective in high politics is mainly neglected (21–35%) by the ‘political papers’ (= Hayastani Hanrapetutiun, Chorrord Ishkhanutiun and Iravunk). However, the others dedicate 45–48% of their articles to the perspective of ordinary people. This seems rather appropriate. In this regard Azg shows a good performance as in high politics it is considering mostly both, the struggle and the daily life perspective, whereas all others miss one or the other perspective.

In **economics** the political struggle is on average below 20%, and the daily perspective is around 45%. Aravot publishes more of that (73%) which is a hint that economics touch people’s life and can be reported on more than just a matter of dry figures.

Television

TV news is performing better than the average of print media in diversity of perspectives. 11.6% of all news covers all three perspectives. There are not many differences between H1 and Shant.

Table A27: Diversity of perspectives – TV in Armenia

Perspectives	H1	Shant	Total
0 perspective	2.3%	0.0%	1.4%
1 perspective	34.9%	28.8%	32.6%
2 perspectives	52.3%	57.7%	54.3%
3 perspectives	10.5%	13.5%	11.6%
total	100	100	100
N	86	52	138

*data of one coder excluded due coding problems

4.3 Viewpoints

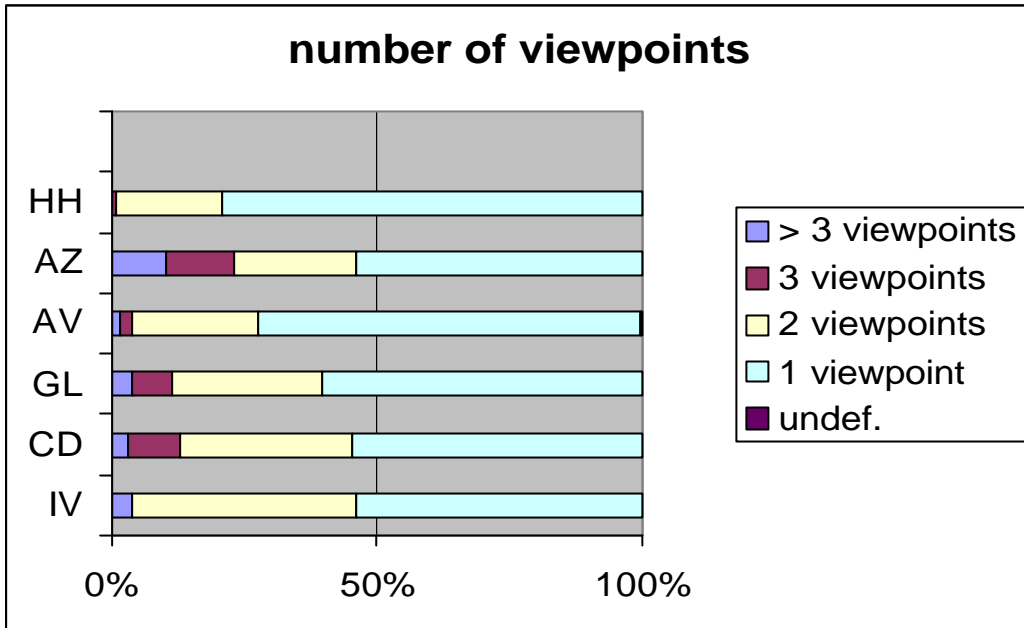
From the theoretical as well as the practical approach of this research, quality of journalistic reporting consists mainly of presenting a large diversity of viewpoints to relevant topics to the readers and viewers. A viewpoint is mainly the position how an actor looks at a specific issue or problem. To all issues there are usually more than just the two ‘extreme’ (either pro or contra) viewpoints as an issue can be viewed from different perspectives, contingent upon the issue we are talking about.

Our research investigated how many different viewpoints were presented in each article or news contribution.

Print

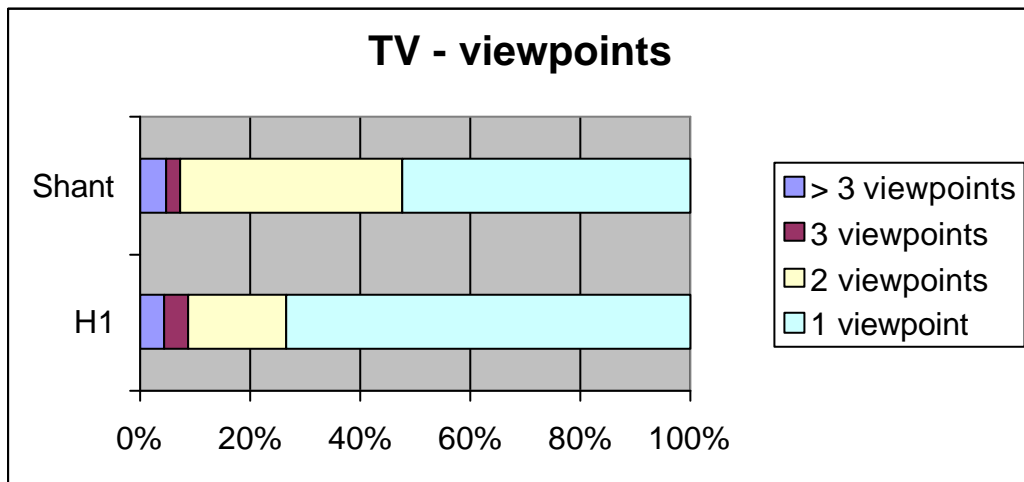
The results⁴ show that Azg scores best in providing ‘three’ and ‘more than three’ viewpoints (dark blue and red bar). The least in diversity of viewpoints is Hayastani Hanrapetutiun, as can be seen in the graph (biggest yellow and light blue bars). Considering the categories ‘two or more viewpoints’ Azg and Irvunk are the best performers (% of yellow bar)

⁴ Data from two coders excluded due to coding problems.



TV

TV news score the structure of number of viewpoints is very much the same as in print average. However, Shant has a much higher share than H1 (40.5% vs. 17.6%) in news providing ‘two viewpoints’. Thus, by being equal in the categories ‘3 and more viewpoints’ Shant achieves the same score as the leading print media and is the broadcaster with the best diversity of viewpoints. This can be seen as a major difference to H1.



4.4 Journalistic Opinion

The opinion of the journalist as the author of a story is a specific viewpoint. Some media experts discuss whether journalists should refrain from telling their opinion (except in commentaries) to ensure neutrality and objectiveness. Others, including our research, state that all kind of articles can contain journalists' opinion, but that it needs to be clear to the reader/viewer that a statement in the article carries the journalist's opinion. The main point is that opinion should be transparent and clearly declared.

Print – General findings

Armenian print media demonstrate three different styles in publishing opinion:

- **Strong opinion publishers** are Chrorrd (strongest) and Iravunk: Chrorrd Ishkhanutium has 67.7% of its articles containing some opinion and Iravunk has 49.0% of that kind.
- **Modest opinion publishers** are Azg and Golos Armenii with 27.1% and 22.2% of their articles containing opinion.
- **Light opinion publishers** are Hayastani Hanrapetutium and Aravot with only 14.4 and 14.0% 'opinion' articles. (average is 22.6%)

The 'strong opinion publishers' also tend to provide articles where a larger part of the text is dedicated to opinion than the 'modest' and the 'light opinion publishers'. (See table A28)

Table A28: Share of opinion – print media

Percentage of share of opinion in all articles

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
Facts only	85.6%	72.9%	86.0%	77.8%	32.3%	51.0%	77.4%
Some opinion/more facts	9.0%	19.8%	8.6%	11.4%	19.4%	30.6%	13.3%
Mixed opinion/facts	3.7%	4.0%	2.3%	7.0%	9.7%	8.2%	4.6%
More opinion/some facts	1.6%	2.3%	2.3%	2.2%	19.4%	10.2%	3.2%
Only opinion	0.0%	1.1%	0.9%	1.6%	19.4%	0.0%	1.5%
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	188	177	221	185	31	49	851

Transparency of opinion

To know whether the journalists' opinion has been made transparent we ask the coders to assess whether the opinion was hidden (using expressions to include opinion without openly declaring it), made in a direct statement or declared clearly as 'the journalists' own opinion'.

Table A29: Hiding journalists' opinion

Percentage of hiding opinion in 'opinion containing articles'

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø	N
hiding	35.7%	26.3%	53.7%	35.7%	19.0%	15.4%	35.3%	136

(Data of one coder excluded from analysis due to coding problems)

Table A30: Open declaration of opinion

Percentage of open declaration in 'opinion containing articles'

	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø	N
open	28.6%	31.6%	15.8%	39.3%	28.6%	0.0%	24.8%	133

(Data of one coder excluded from analysis due to coding problems)

It can be seen that the lowest scores in 'hiding' are with Iravunk, with 15.4%, Chorrord Ishkhanutium with 19.0% and Azg (26.3%).

On the other side, Iravunk doesn't declare its opinion openly. It just makes statements. The best (highest) scores in 'open declaration' have Golos Armenii (39.3%), Azg (31.6%) and Hayastani Hanrapetutium (28.6%). Taking both indicators together Aravot scores lowest (high in hiding, low in open). This means that Aravot is least clear in making it transparent to the reader whether a statement is a fact or an opinion of the journalist.

Remark

It needs further discussion among Armenia's media whether the style of 'open declaration' needs much more emphasis in Armenia, in order to improve the readers' formation of opinion.

Political favorability of opinion

We have also assessed the political favorability of journalists' opinion mainly to see whether in political comments one side is in advantage to the others or whether the reader gets a balanced view.

Political and unpolitical comments

Considering all commentary text passages in newspapers it can be seen that print media show a considerable variance in whether they have political comments or not. Large parts of the opinion articles of Golos Armenii (92.7%), Azg (84.4%) and Hayastani Hanrapetutium (70.4) are not in reference to coalition or opposition. This is completely the opposite to Chorrord Ishkhanutium (having only 18% of unpolitical opinion) and Iravunk and Aravot (only 43.5% and 47.6% of unpolitical opinion articles).

Favorability

Assessing the political opinion articles, we find that

- ? Hayastani Hanrapetutium is mainly pro coalition (18.5%) and additionally partly balanced (11.1%)
- ? Azg is not favoring one side only, and additionally provides balanced opinion articles.
- ? Aravot is more in favor of the opposition (26.2%) but has also pro-coalition (9.5%) and balanced comments
- ? Golos Armenii is only pro-coalition in its political commentary (7.3%).
- ? Chorrord Ishkhanutium is completely pro-opposition (77.3%)
- ? Iravunk is also completely pro-opposition (39.1%), but completed by a few 'balanced' opinion pieces (13.0%).

Table A31: Favourability of opinion – print media

Percentage of opinion containing articles and tendency of opinion

favourability	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
Pro coalition	18.5%	4.4%	9.5%	7.3%	0.0%	0.0%	7.0
Pro opposition	0.0%	4.4%	26.2%	0.0%	77.3%	39.1%	19.5
Balanced	11.1%	2.2%	9.5%	0.0%	0.0%	13.0%	5.5
Nihilistic	0.0%	4.4%	7.1%	0.0%	4.5%	4.3%	3.5
Not in reference to coal. / opp.	70.4%	84.4%	47.6%	92.7%	18.2%	43.5%	64.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	27	45	42	41	22	23	200

Summarizing one can detect three types of commentary styles:

- **Comprehensive:** Azg and Aravot try to present a comprehensive opinion picture.
- **Moderate:** Whereas the others are either sided to coalition (Hayastani Hanrapetutium, Golos Armenii) or opposition (Chorrord Ishkhanutium extremely, Iravunk) but still at least with some consideration of balanced opinion.
- **Extreme:** Outstanding is Chorrord Ishkhanutium with only pro opposition articles or articles with a ‘nihilistic opinion’.

TV

Armenian TV contains slightly less opinion (19.9% vs. 22.6% on average in print) than print with almost no differences between H1 and Shant. Almost all ‘opinion’ news in TV contain only a small portion of opinion, those with a higher portion of opinion are very rare. Thus the sample for further analysis of comments is very small.

The declaration of opinion is less clear than in print: 52.6% of TV news containing opinion hide the opinion, only 13.2% declare it openly. This is a low score compared to print. Shant with 21.4% open declaration is slightly better, H1 with 8.3% very low. A similar share (65.8%) of the opinion is not related to coalition-opposition. The few ‘political’ opinions are clearly divided: all 9 opinion articles of H1 are pro coalition, the 4 Shant contributions are balanced with all sides (one pro coalition, one pro opposition, two balanced).

5. Pictures of TV news

Additionally to the texts of the TV news the pictures were assessed in an extra part of the analysis. This was done to discover mainly whether

- there are technical peculiarities in the pictures
- the picture topics are different from the text topics (picture text gap)
- the choice of actors in the pictures is different from the choice of actors in the text

5.1 Technical aspects of pictures

Number of scenes

The pictures of each TV news consists of different scenes. Each scene is additionally divided into various cuts (different camera perspectives in the same scene). In this research, the smallest units to be analyzed were scenes. Cuts were not given special attention. The number of scenes varies considerably in Armenia's TV news.

Table TV1: Number of scenes – TV Armenia

Percentage of different scene numbers

	H1	Shant	Total
1 scene	7.1%	4.8%	6.3%
2 – 3 scenes	36.2%	22.2%	31.6%
4 – 6 scenes	24.4%	42.9%	30.5%
> 6 scenes	32.3%	30.2%	31.6%
total	100%	100%	100%
N	127	63	190

Although H1 and Shant have almost the same amount of 'more than 6 scenes', they differ in the next dimension of '4 to 6 scenes' of which Shant has relatively more (42.9%). Additionally it can be said that the longer the news story the more scenes it contains.

Frequency of scenes' changes

News films often switch between different scenes. We assessed how many scene changes took place. The ratio between the number of scenes and the number of scene changes indicates the switching rate. The analysis of scene changes showed us that the longer the news story, the higher the number of changes (50% of short news had hardly any changes, only 5% of short news showed very many scene changes)

Longer news stories have more scenes in absolute terms, but additionally also have more scene changes. H1 and Shant show the same patterns regarding the scene change ratio.

Standing pictures

In total there were 15% of news contributions using standing pictures, in most cases (20 news out of 28) they used only few standing pictures.

Use of Archives

Sometimes TV news use pictures from the archive, indicating 'archive' at the bottom of the pictures. In this sample archive pictures were used in 4.5 % of news, with hardly any difference between Shant and H1.

5.2 Topics of pictures

What topics are shown?

Pictures and text in TV news should correspond to each other. Many times they do not, a fact that will obstruct the correct reception of the text information. We have therefore assessed which topic the viewer sees in the TV news pictures (up to 3 scenes). The selection of picture topics were the same as for texts, added by the special picture topic ‘people talking and side activities’ and ‘interview’. It can be seen that ‘people talking’ and ‘interview’ count for 60% of all picture topics, meaning that the picture topic is not very specific. The specific topics like economics, social development are rarely visible or detectable in the pictures. They play a very limited role, whereas ‘other’ (street life, accidents, and memorials) or pictures from ‘events and crime’ are broadcasted more often.

Table TV2: Picture topics – TV Armenia

Share of picture topic in all scenes

	% responses
People talking and side activities	42.0%
Interview	18.7%
Other	11.0%
Events and crime	9.8%
Economic	5.7%
Social development (education, health)	5.3%
Election/military	4.1%
Culture	1.6%
Religion	0.7%
Science/research	0.5%
War	0.5%
Sports	0.2%
	100%
N = 507 responses	

Remark

From this list it can be clearly derived that the pictures seem to be mainly selected by how easy they are to get (people talking), and not by how well they might illustrate the news.

Regarding differences between broadcasters it is remarkable that Shant uses even more pictures of ‘people talking’ (49.4%) than H1 (37.8%) and ‘crime and events’ (12.5% vs. 6.8%). H1 uses more pictures of interviews (21.6% vs. 13.8% with Shant)

Text/picture gap

To enhance understanding of information, the pictures should illustrate the text. Therefore we have assessed for up to three scenes whether the picture topic concurs with the text topic of the TV news. When pictures and text are never identical or do not concur, the viewer gets distracted and is less likely to grasp the meaning of the textual content.

Table TV3: Identity of picture topic and text topic

Number of identity cases

	H1	Shant	Total
Never identical	35.4%	12.7%	27.9%
One scene identical	33.1%	34.9%	33.7%
Two scenes identical	19.7%	30.2%	23.2%
Three scenes identical	11.8%	22.2%	15.3%
N	127	63	190

We see large differences between H1 and Shant which are statistically significant. In more than a third (35.4%) of its news H1 doesn't treat the text topic in its pictures at all. For Shant this is only valid in 12.7% of its news. In contrast, Shant treats the text topic in 22.2% of its news in all three scenes and in 30.2% in two scenes. The scores for H1 are considerably lower. Thus, H1 has more problems in presenting adequate pictures to the topics.

We also see that H1 has difficulties to find adequate pictures in high politics (text/picture gap: 44.7% vs. 5.6% with Shant), foreign affairs and development issues. In contrast to that, Shant demonstrates that one can achieve much better matches of pictures and text.

Table TV4: Discrepancy of picture topic and text topic according to topics

Share of pictures never identical to topics

Topic group	H1		Shant	
	Not identical	N total in topic	Not identical	N total in topic
High politics	44.7%	38	5.6%	18
History	28.6%	7	0.0%	3
Foreign affairs	55.6%	9	12.5%	8
Development issues	46.2%	13	0.0%	5
Crime and events	21.4%	14	18.2	11
Economics	33.3%	15	25.0%	8
Culture	0.0%	8		
Sports	33.3%	3	0.0%	1
...	
		127		63

5.3 Places of pictures

Place of scenery

This result is reinforced by the analysis of the places that the pictures show. Most pictures of the up to three scenes screened show state or public buildings or generally urban scenes (18.3; 14.0 and 16.9 %). Next, pictures from conferences and offices are widely used (14.0) and from press conferences itself. Rural scenery is only shown in 3.7% of all scenes screened. It seems that the cameramen just go to the places that are convenient, i.e. inside Yerevan, to film public and state building, or simply street life.

Table TV5: Picture places – TV Armenia

Share of picture places of all three scenes

	% responses
State building	18.3%
Urban scene	16.9%
Other, undefinable	16.7%
Conference office	14.0%
Public building, place	14.0%
Press conference	9.8%
Rural scene	3.7%
Studio	3.2%
Industrial sites	2.1%
school	1.1%
Hospital	0.2%
N = 437 responses	100%

Remark

Again, it is to assume that it is not bad will to always show the same pictures of state buildings and Yerevan city life, but that the sheer lack of resources that prevents the professionals to look for better pictures.

Geographical reference

This dominance of ‘urban life’ and ‘public places’ picture selection is further strengthened by the assessment of the geographical reference of the pictures. Excluding undefinable cases (7.4% of all) 46.9% of the scenes refer to Yerevan, 9.6% to other cities in Armenia and only 3.9% to villages or regions in Armenia. The rest of 39.6% of the scenes refer to foreign countries. It is remarkable that Shant uses even more Yerevan pictures (50.4%) and less other cities (5.0) and villages (2.2%).

Table TV6: Geographical reference of pictures – TV Armenia

Share of geographical reference of pictures of all three scenes

Geographical ref.	HI	Shant	Total
Yerevan	44.9%	50.4%	46.9
Other cities in armenia	12.1%	5.0%	9.6
Villages, regions in Arm.	4.9%	2.2%	3.9
Foreign country	38.1%	42.4%	39.6
	100%	100%	100%
N = 174 news, 386 responses			

5.4 Pictures Actors

Presentation of Actors

If an actor is shown in the pictures he or she is automatically highlighted. It is interesting to know whether and how some actors might get higher preferences. Therefore up to three scenes of news were analyzed for actors in the pictures.

First of all it is to mention that the president was shown in pictures slightly more often than he is mentioned in text (+ 2% points). This applies slightly more to H1. Surprisingly, at first sight the general public plays an important role as picture actor as table TV7 demonstrates. Additionally, the selection of picture actors looks quite similar in the programs of both broadcasters. However, H1 give a little more weight to the general public, and Shant uses much more pictures of international actors (22.4%) than H1 (13.6%).

Table TV7: Picture actors – TV Armenia

Percentage of picture actors (scenes 1-3), % of responses

	H1	Shant	Total
Political actors	31.3%	29.9%	30.8%
General public	19.3%	15.6%	17.9%
International actors	13.6%	22.4%	16.9%
Professionals	13.2%	11.6%	12.6%
Local administration	6.6%	4.8%	5.9%
Other	5.8%	5.4%	5.6%
Economic actors	4.1%	7.5%	5.4%
Civil society organisation	2.5%	1.4%	2.1%
Diaspora	2.5%	0.0%	1.5%
Author	1.2%	1.4%	1.3%
	100%	100%	100%
N = 390 responses	243	147	390

Comparison of picture actors and text actors

The ‘true’ increase in attention by pictures is measured against actors’ mentioning in the text.

Table TV8: Comparison text and picture actors – TV Armenia

Percentage of text actors and picture actors, % of responses

Actors	Text TV	Pictures TV
International actors	30.1%	16.9%
Political actors Armenia	27.2%	30.8%
Professionals	11.2%	12.6%
Person from general public	9.8%	17.9%
Other	7.9%	5.6%
Local administration	5.4%	5.9%
Economic actors	5.2%	5.4%
Civil society organisation	1.9%	2.1%
Diaspora	1.2%	1.5%
Author	0.2%	1.3%
	100%	100%

Thus, we see that the political actors of Armenia modestly gain in pictures (27.2% to 30.8%), as well as the professionals (11.2 to 12.6%). The biggest winner is the general, public which is much more represented in pictures (17.9%) than in text (9.8%).

Remark

It can be said that the general public is neglected by text and compensated by pictures.

Are text actors also picture actors?

Usually one would expect that following professional standards, the text actors of the news are shown in the pictures. This standard is mostly met: We found out that in only 13.2% of the news the text actors were never shown in one of the three scenes in pictures.

Table TV9: Text actors shown in pictures? – TV Armenia

Percentage of text actors and picture actors, % of responses

Text actor in pictures:	HI	Shant	Total
Never identical	13.4%	12.7%	13.2%
One scene identical	34.6%	30.2%	33.2%
Two scenes	36.2%	33.3%	35.3%
Three scenes	15.7%	23.8%	18.4%
	100%	100%	100%
N	127	63	190

Preferences for actor groups: Speaking rates

When a picture actor is shown speaking in the pictures he or she is obviously highlighted in comparison to those actors not shown speaking. This preference was assessed in two steps: We wanted to know whether an actor is speaking at all in the pictures.

Then we liked to know how an actor is speaking in the pictures, knowing that giving him or her chance to speak in direct speech will further increase his relevance in a news program.

Therefore we asked whether the picture actors are

- ? visibly speaking (general speaking rate)
- ? shown speaking audibly in direct speech to the TV audience (speaking in direct speech)

First of all the president does not have the highest speaking rate (see table in Annex), as might have been expected considering the voices that attribute a dominant role to the president in news. When analysing actor groups (same groups as in texts) we see some patterns much clearer:

Table TV10: Speaking rates of actor groups – TV Armenia

Percentage of picture actor groups speaking*, % of responses

	Scene 1	N	Scene 2	N	Scene 3	N	Total 3 scenes
Political actors	73.6%	53	95.3%	43	66.7%	24	80.0%
Local admin	75.0%	12	42.9%	7	...*	3	
Economic actor	50.0%	8	57.1%	7	...*	6	47.6%
Civil society	...*	3	...*	4		1	
International actor	85.2%	27	84.6%	26	76.9%	13	83.0%
professionals	65.0%	20	88.9%	18	63.6%	11	73.4%
Diaspora		2		2		2	
General public	26.7%	30	23.8%	21	15.8%	19	22.8%
Author	...*	3	...	1		1	
Other	...	8	10		4	
N		166		139		84	

*We have analyzed the actor groups with more than eight cases, otherwise the case numbers are too low to yield meaningful results.

The political actors of Armenia and international actors are mostly presented speaking to the audience. Also the professionals of Armenia score high in this analysis. In a medium position are the economic actors (47.6%) and the lowest speaking rate is counted for the general public

with a speaking rate of only 22.8%. In these speaking rates there are hardly any differences between the broadcasters.

Remark

The general public is highlighted by pictures, but it is not shown as saying something, as speaking to the audience. This finding needs discussion about the reasons. Does it have to do with a lack of credibility attributed to the Armenian audience?

It is obvious that picture actors who are allowed to speak in direct speech to the audience are more highlighted than others having their speeches paraphrased or are even muted.

Table TV11: Rate of direct speech of actor groups – TV Armenia

Percentage of picture actor groups speaking in direct speech*, % of responses

	Scene 1	N	Scene 2	N	Scene 3	N	
Political actors	50.9%	53	79.1	43	68.2%	22	64.4%
Local admin	50.0%	12	42.9%	7		3	...*
Economic actor	25.0%	8	71.4%	7		5	45.0%
Civil society	100.0%	3	50.0%	4		1	...*
International actor	33.3%	27	40.0%	25	30.8	13	35.3%
Professionals	40.0%	20	58.8%	17	54.5	11	50.0%
Diaspora		2		2		2	...*
General public	16.7%	30	26.3%	19	17.6	17	19.7%
Author		3		1		1	...*
Other		8		10	15.8%	4	...*
N		166		135		79	

*We have analyzed the actor groups with more than eight cases, otherwise the case numbers are too low to yield meaningful results.

Summarizing all three scenes we now see extremely clear that the political actors of Armenia are very much preferred in the pictures as actors which speak in direct speech. The middle position is taken by the professionals of Armenia and the economic sector that in 50.0% and 45.0% of the cases are allowed to speak in direct speech in the pictures.

The group with the lowest score is the general public reaches only 19.7% of the scenes where it is presented speaking directly. The international actors are also reduced from a high score of showing them speaking to a score of only 35.5% speaking directly. However, this might be due to language reasons.

The differences between the two broadcasters are low: Shant neglects the general public even more (only 15.6%) and treats political actors equally important (65.1% direct speech rate).

Main conclusion and remark

The analysis of the pictures enhances the need for discussion we have already seen in the text of the news and the print media. The question is whether this negligence of the general public and issues of social development is a matter of lack of resources, lack of professional energy and skills, a result of a different understanding of the media's or journalist's role, or a result of political pressure and self-censorship.

5.5 Violence

The violence rate in the pictures is not to excessively big. In 88.9% of the news there was no violence shown in the pictures, 9.5% of the stories showed violence in one scene, 1.6% in two scenes. There is no difference between the two broadcasters.

6. Concluding remarks

From these different and varying results we can for now draw the following conclusions:

First of all it needs to be considered that this analysis is not a final assessment of the quality of Armenian media. It is a description of the levels of various quality aspects. Therefore it serves foremost as a sound base for discussions among Armenian media and media people, about the reasons for this level of quality, about the needs and chances to improve certain kind of quality aspects.

Secondly it has to be said that there is no black and white picture of the quality of reporting in Armenia's media, there is no single media which always scores higher in all quality indicators. The picture is rather diverse when we look at different quality aspects. However, some media are better in more quality aspects than others. But even those like Iravunk, Azg or Golos have serious shortcomings in different quality aspects.

With this analysis we have gained a clear picture of Armenia's media regarding their current status of reporting and their technical style. .

'Technical' status quo

The description of the more formal aspects delivers a picture of the status quo in Armenia's media:

- Their different styles regarding the length of articles: some have many long articles
- Their use of photos: generally scarce
- Their use of graphics: hardly existing
- Their geographic orientation: some are purely domestic, some are outside-oriented (especially in politically delicate topics)
- Their preferences for particular foreign regions: the immediate neighbours play the same role as 'distant' Europe, while almost neglecting CIS countries

Preferences in reporting topics and actors

From the results we see that generally Armenian print and TV report very much on 'high politics'. Issues and topics which have to do with the daily concerns of ordinary people (education, health, environment, poverty and migration) are only reported by roughly 10%. This might have to do with the scarcity of resources in editorial offices. These issues that some experts and observers see as the 'burning issues' of Armenia are difficult to cover, it requires the journalists to leave their desks, to find a good story and to invest time and money in reporting. It seems easier to just visit a press conference.

Regarding the actors, mentioned in Armenia's print and TV media the figures show that there are 'political' newspapers reporting naturally more about political actors. Interesting to see, however, and contrary to the expectations of some experts, the president of Armenia was not overly highlighted in the press or in the TV news. But it is to mention that people from the general public do play a minor role in the media – and even less so as sources of information. This seems to be a clear sign for the elite orientation of the media. Some experts have seen that as the major shortcoming of Armenia's media and a reason why they do not gain more circulation.

Political affiliation plays a role in some cases: The government paper and the public service broadcaster H1 highlight actors of their own political affiliation (coalition) more than average. Others mention actors from both sides in a more balanced way. Even Iravunk, tied to a political party, does not prefer the party. However, we see a specific preference of all media

for political and economic actors. This can be seen by looking at sources. Political actors are much more quoted in direct speech than other actors.

Comparing actors and sources did reveal that in Armenian media no actor group was given excessive importance by using it as sources more than it was mentioned as actors. However, there is a big decrease in using the general public as a source. This raises the question whether the media have a reluctance to use ordinary people as sources, or if they do this deliberately, due to a lack of trust or lack of resources, as it needs time and energy to get the voices of the people.

Tentatively we have also seen some differences in working style. It looks like too many journalists hardly make own inquiries to get new information. Most of them seem to wait for the source to speak by itself, e.g. on press conferences, meetings, openings or speeches. This would concur with former findings that journalists are hardly going out to find new stories or making efforts to complete their stories, e.g. by new sources of information.

General quality indicators

From these data we were able to identify some general quality indicators.

Number of sources

The number of sources varies considerably between the different media. A higher number of sources is a clear sign of good reporting. It shows that media base their reporting on more sources and also try to enlarge their reporting scope to give more actors a voice. There are interesting differences regarding the transparency and identification of sources. There is a considerably high level of identification of the sources in Armenia, but there are also – still too much? – cases in which sources are not identified at all, even leaving aside those cases where it was said that the source was to be kept secret.

It is interesting to see that some media have considerably less sources in specific topics than in others. This gives raise to speculations whether they deliberately decrease the scope of reporting in these topics in contrast to others that enlarge their number of sources and thus scope of reporting, for example Azg in high politics.

Depth levels

Based on the belief that from a reader's point of view articles should provide different levels of information, such as

- Description of what happened
- Reasons for event/issue/problem
- Background to event/issue/problem
- Future consequences from event/issue/problem

we see that the Armenian newspapers do not equally serve the need for completeness and show huge differences in the number of levels.

Reflecting the conjecture that Armenian only describe the facts or only reflect the political struggle around issues and hardly ever take the perspective of the ordinary people we have also assessed for all articles the perspectives under which an article has been written. Perspective means the focus of the article or of its different parts: It is for example possible to write about public transport in Armenia under different perspectives: the factual information about some new regulations, or the new regulations and how the Parliamentarians are struggling among each other, or the new regulations and what this means for ordinary people.

We find it reasonable that articles should provide at least two perspectives to be balanced. From our analysis we see large differences between the media. Many times there is only one perspective. However, two and three are also present, which demonstrates that ‘better’ reporting in this regard is possible in Armenia and needed. With a higher number of perspectives articles might be better understandable and attract more interest by the audience. The perspectives should be seen contingent upon the topic selected.

The balance of angles and opinions in articles is described by the number of different viewpoints, comprising the opinion of the actors in articles plus – when present – journalists’ opinion. We see surprisingly clear differences that demonstrate for example that Azg aims at providing a certain diversity of viewpoints, but Hayastani Hanrapetutian doesn’t.

Transparency of opinion

Regarding transparency, our quality catalogue requires to openly declare journalist opinions, mainly due to respect for the reader and the formation of independent opinion. The assessment shows that Armenian media know ‘strong’ and ‘light opinion providers’, but that some are hiding their opinion, while others just state it. There are only few cases, where the opinion is openly declared.

The political favorability of opinion published shows remarkable differences. Some media are balanced, publishing both pro-government and pro-opposition opinion and even balanced ones, while other media do only publish what pleases the owner, in this case the government. However, Iravunk does behave a little more balanced, not favouring its party only.

Appropriateness of pictures

The picture part of the TV news reveals two striking findings:

Firstly, most of the pictures are the same. The places the pictures show are mainly in towns, are public places and buildings in Yerevan. The topics of the pictures are not illustrating enough the text topic but show in more than half of the scenes just people talking, going to cars, leaving offices and people interviewed. There seems to be a huge difficulty – due to whatever reasons – to get pictures that illustrate the topic adequately. This becomes even more visible in the text-picture gap. H1 broadcasts pictures that are not sufficiently matching with the text, as text topic and picture topic are many times never identical. Shant is better in this regard.

The second striking finding is that the pictures of TV news show many people from the general public (much more than in text), but that this changes considerably when it comes to speaking. The speaking rate is highly biased. Political actors are preferred, especially when looking at their rate of ‘speaking in direct speech’ which makes their dominance even greater, whereas the general public does hardly ever speak directly to the audience. Thus, there is a great concurrence between TV and print in neglecting the general public. Again it is to ask whether this is due to deliberate choices, or just a habit, due to different role models (elite-orientation vs. service-orientation), or lack of resources.

Thus, our analysis provides a lot of sound data stating the status quo of quality in reporting. This gives a lot of incentives to discuss specific issues and quality aspects, and demonstrates that there is room and opportunity for improvement in quality of reporting. The following Table A32 gives an overview of the results for different indicators and thus enables a first rough comparison.

Criteria		Hayastani Hanrapet.	Azg	Aravot	Golos Armenii	Chorrord Ishkhanut.	Iravunk	H1	Shant
Topics	Topic groups								
	Social development	∅	higher	∅	∅	∅	higher	Bit higher	low
	High politics	high	Very low	high	∅	Very high	Very high	high	high
	Crime and events	Very Low	∅	Very high	Low	Low	∅	average	high
	culture	low	High	high				High	low
	Science	high	-	-	Low	-	-	-	-
	Economics	High	∅	Very low	High	∅	Very high	∅	∅
Geographic	Domestic?	∅	Very low	high	Very low	high	Very high		lower
	Foreign?	∅	Very high	Very low	high	Very low	zero		more
	Marzis?		High	high				High	low
Actors									
	Preferences	Political actors Arm.	International + cultural	Political + cultural	International	Political actors Arm.	Political actors Arm.	Political actors Arm.	Political actors Arm.
	General public?	Very low	Very high	Very high	∅	Very low	∅	High	high
	No. of actors? (> 4)	low	High	High	∅	Very high	Very high	low	Very high
	Political affiliation (bias 20%p to coalit.)	High bias	∅	Low bias	∅	∅	Low bias	High bias	Very low bias

Criteria		Hayastani Hanrapet.	Azg	Aravot	Golos Armenii	Chorrord Ishkhanut.	Iravunk	H1	Shant
Sources	Not any source	Very low	Low	Very high	low	Very high	Very low		
	Number of sources (medium art. only)	∅	∅	high	Very high	Very low	high	high	Very high
	same in high politics	Very low	Very high						
	same in social dev.	low	High	High			Very high		
	same in economics	High	low						
	Transparency	High	Very high	High	Very high	High	low	High	high
	Context?	Clear	∅	clear	∅	Very unclear	Very unclear		
	Own inquiry?	Very low	low	high	∅	low	Very high	∅	∅
Depth/Completeness									
	No. of depth levels	Low	High	Very low	High	Very high	Very high	High	high
	same only medium		High		Very high	High	Very high		
	Why level?	Low	high		high	high	Very high		
	Background level	low	high	Very low	modest	Very high	Very high		
Perspective	No. of perspectives (2+3)	∅	∅	∅	high	low	Very high	High	high
	Same medium article	low	∅	high	high	∅	Very high		

Criteria		Hayastani Hanrapet.	Azg	Aravot	Golos Armenii	Chorrord Ishkhanut.	Iravunk	H1	Shant
Viewpoints	No. of viewpoints	Very low	Very high	low	high	High	Very high	Very low	high
Opinion									
	Share of opinion	Light	Modest	Light	Modest	Very strong	strong	Light	Light
Transparency									
	Hiding?	high	low	Very high	High	Very low	Very low	Very high	Very high
	Open?	∅	High	Very low	Very high	∅	Very low	Very low	low
Political Favorability									
	Share of political opinion?	Low	Very low	high	Very low	Very high	high	Low	Low
	Political direction	Pro coal. + balanced	Balanced	Pro-opp + balanced	Pro-coal.	Pure pro-opposition	Pro-opp. + balanced	Pro coal.	balanced
	=	= modest	Comprehens.	Compreh.	modest	Extreme	modest	extreme	modest

6. Annex

Methodology

Table B1: Summary of Quality Criteria

<i>Mass Media Functions</i>	<i>Quality Criteria = Categories</i>
Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Truthfulness and accuracy • Comprehensiveness of information • Diversity of topics • Relevance of topics • Diversity of actors in stories • Diversity of sources • Comprehensibility of language and text structure
Orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of background information and analysis • Presence of reasons, causes beyond factual information • Diversity of viewpoints • Presence of journalistic opinion • Balance of journalistic opinion • Clear separation of fact and opinion (transparency)
Forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of viewpoints • Diversity of sources • Balance of opinion
Scrutiny	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence and balance of critical viewpoints • Own journalistic inquiry

Table B2: Points of time backwards - TV news Armenia

Sum of time points backwards per article

	H1	Shant	Total
0 points of time	51.2%	47.6%	50.0%
1 point of time	27.6%	36.5%	30.5%
2 points of time	16.5%	12.7%	15.3%
3 points of time	4.7%	3.2%	4.2%
N	127	63	190

Table B3: Geographical reference according to topics

% of articles

No. actors		HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
Social dev. Issues - N		17	22	19	18	3	6	85
Thereof:	domestic only	47.1%	40.9	84.2	55.6	n.a.	n.a.	
	Foreign only	35.3%	18.2%	10.5%	16.7	n.a.	n.a.	
Crime and events - N		10	22	40	16	3	5	96
Thereof:	Domestic	30.0%	36.4%	77.5%		n.a.	n.a.	
	foreign	70.0%	50.0%	12.5%		n.a.	n.a.	

Table B4: Geographical reference - TV news

Share of news with geographical reference

	H1	Shant	Total
Armenia only	49.2%	41.3	46.6
Foreign country only	26.2	34.9	29.1
Armenia + foreign country	18.3	19.0	18.5
Armenia + Karabakh and foreign country	4.0	3.2	3.7
Karabakh only	0.8	0.0	0.5
Karabakh and foreign country	0.0	1.6	0.5
Armenia + Karabakh	0.0	0.0	0.0
No geographic ref.	1.6	0.0	1.1
N	126	63	189

Table B5: Number of Actors – print media

Percentage of number of actors in all articles, according to newspapers

No. actors	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	Ø
up to 3 actors	42.6	29.4	48.4	36.4	22.6	32.7	38.7
4 and more actors	57.4	70.6	51.6	63.6	77.4	67.3	61.3
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	190	177	221	187	31	49	855

* 1 missing

Table B6: Comparison of actor and source types

Actors and actorgroups	% of all three actors mentioned *	All three sources
Political actors	24.7	25.5
President	3.0	2.4
Central Authorities	10.6	11.7
Parliament	4.6	5.1
Political party	5.3	5.7
Military	1.2	0.5
Local administration	6.9	5.7
Local administrations	3.6	2.8
Judiciary	2.0	1.6
police	1.4	1.3
Economic actors	6.5	4.1
Entrepreneurs, business people	2.0	1.2
International entrepreneurs	3.6	2.2
Employees	0.9	0.6
Civil society	3.6	3.9
National NGOs	1.9	2.2
International NGOs	1.8	1.6
International actors	21.1	17.6
Intergovernmental organisation	4.5	4.2
Foreign political bodies	14.7	12.9
Foreign country as nation	2.0	0.5
Professionals	17.8	24.9
Culture	7.6	7.5
Churches	1.4	1.7
Media	3.3	8.9
Science/education/university	5.5	6.8
Diaspora	1.5	0.6
Diaspora	1.5	0.6
General public	10.5	3.3
General public	8.1	3.2
Armenia as nation	2.4	0.1
Author	0.8	3.7
Author	0.8	3.7
Other	6.5	2.8
Others	6.5	3.0
Public document		7.9
	N = 849 articles, 2332 responses	

* excluding cases with less than 3 actors

Table B7: Diversity of depth levels - print media - only medium-length articles

Percentage of different journalistic forms, N = absolute number of articles per medium

Publication\medium	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
1 depth level	38.0%	14.6%	30.8%	10.0%	21.4%	12.5%	27.9%
2 depth levels	38.0%	34.1%	40.4%	10.0%	14.3%	12.5%	33.8%
3 depth levels	19.0%	41.5%	17.3%	50.0%	35.7%	37.5%	26.5%
4 depth levels	5.1%	9.8%	11.5%	30.0%	28.6%	37.5%	11.8%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	79	41	52	10	14	8	204

Data of two coders excluded due to coding problems

Table B8: Details of depth levels

depth	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
What?	98.7%	98.5%	97.8%	96.5%	93.5%	100%	97.8%
N	151	67	178	57	31	26	510

depth	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
Why?	23.7%	44.8%	37.3%	47.4%	54.8%	73.1%	38.2%
N	152	67	177	57	31	26	510

depth	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
Background?	23.7%	40.3%	18.1%	36.8%	48.4%	50.0%	28.2%
N	152	67	177	57	31	26	510

depth	HH	AZ	AV	GL	CD	IV	total % of N
Consequences?	48.7%	32.8%	25.4%	38.6%	64.5%	69.2%	39.4%
N	152	67	177	57	31	26	510

Table B9: Speaking rate of single actors – TV Armenia

	Scene 1	N	Scene 2	N	Scene 3	N
President	76.9%	13		2		2
Central authorities	63.2%	19	95.5%	22	72.7%	11
parliament	70.0%	10	100%	4	100%	5
Political party	90.0%	10	92.3%	13	50%	4
Business people	75.0%	4		1		2
Intergov. Org.	87.5%	8	77.8%	9		2
Foreign pol. bodies	84.2%	19	88.2%	17	72.7%	11
culture	55.6%	9	90.9%	11		
General public	26.7%	30	25.0%	20	15.8%	19

Table B10: Correlation between number of sources and article size

Print

	Small articles	Medium articles	Big articles	total % of N
0 sources	17.0%	4.0%	4.4%	10.0%
1 source	47.2%	24.9%	16.7%	33.9%
2 sources	24.5%	31.7%	22.8%	27.2%
3-4 sources	9.5%	28.9%	25.4%	19.6%
5 and more sources	1.8%	10.6%	30.7%	9.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	388	350	114	852