

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ASIA

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**A Comparison of print media coverage of the Presidential 2011 Elections in
Kyrgyz and Russian Languages**

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ABSTRACT

The role of the media in the coverage of political events, especially in presidential elections is often accepted as a fact however as the world changes, the media changes. But the newspapers are still deeply needed.

This research is about coming presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan on October 30, 2011. It is concentrated on the research of Kyrgyz and Russian press. It is based on content analysis of the Kyrgyz and Russian political – oriented newspapers.

As well as the monitoring and analysis of local print media coverage of the elections, the paper contains the in-depth interviews of editors-in-chief of some of these newspapers.

The findings present that Russian newspapers keep neutrality in lightening the presidential elections, while Kyrgyz newspapers prefer sensationalism. Why does it happen? Why Russian and Kyrgyz language covering of the elections are different?

This study aims to contribute to the development of media, especially print media coverage of the most important events happening in the country, that is – presidential elections.

INTRODUCTION



Figure 1. Map of Kyrgyzstan's location

(Note. From: <http://www.wikipedia.com>)

Kyrgyzstan is a post-Soviet republic located in Central Asia, bordering with Kazakhstan, China, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The population of Kyrgyzstan is 4.832.000 and comprises more than 80 nationalities. (OSCE, 2002) It declared its independence from the USSR in 1991. Since then independent Kyrgyzstan has been pursuing democratic values and principles.

At the same time and at the same line with other post-communist states, Kyrgyzstan experienced transition from Soviet totalitarianism to democracy, from planned economy to market economy and from old-communist internationalism to nation state formation. Kyrgyzstan did not have any prior experience with democracy that is why the new political perspective that was opened up for Kyrgyzstan was evaluated to be a chance of developing as a sovereign state, with a system based on democratic principles and values.

The role of the press and media at all in pursuing democracy is big. Television and newspapers fulfill certain goals, such as raising public awareness about some things, encouraging interest in international affairs or stimulating community activism. Pippa Norris

points out in her book “A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Societies”, (2000) that “During election campaigns, many believe that the news media has a particular responsibility to strengthen democracy, through political coverage that should educate the public about the major issues, inform citizens about the contenders for office, and mobilize people to turnout”.

Print media (press) is the industry associated with the printing and distribution of news through newspapers and magazines. (Note. From: [http://www. Businessdictionary.com](http://www.Businessdictionary.com)).

Basically, print media is based on paper written work. Newspapers as the main examples of print media are still very important in covering many issues despite of the new media.

Kyrgyzstan is a multinational country. “The legacy of the 70 years of Soviet influence has created a highly educated, highly literate population. In a nation of 4.7 million people there is almost 100 percent literacy (99 percent males, 96 percent females).” (Richard Benfield, 2001) Kyrgyz language is an official language and Russian is a state language. The press in Kyrgyzstan is multilingual, printed mainly in Russian and Kyrgyz, as well as in Uzbek (in the South), English (in the capital) and some others.

It seems that the print media of Kyrgyzstan is growing and developing incomparably faster than in other Central Asian countries. According to the Union of Journalists, there are 380 newspapers and magazines in the country which employ more than three thousand journalists. All the spectrum of media is present in Kyrgyzstan, ranging from business newspapers to yellow ones. “There are two nation-wide newspapers in Kyrgyzstan, “Kyrgyz Tuusy” and “Slovo Kyrgyzstana” with a rather small circulation (5 to 6 thousand copies on weekdays and up to 20 thousand copies on Saturdays). There are also 30 national, 10 regional, 11 city and 48 districts newspapers.” (Hamidov, “Print media in Kyrgyzstan”) There is a choice for everyone, the youth, women, professionals, political parties and

institutions. There are a lot of private newspapers with a stable tendency towards the growth of their popularity.

The Press Freedom Index is a worldwide rating that is finds out the range of Freedom in every country. According to the International organization “Reporters without borders” Kyrgyzstan made better the situation with the Freedom of Speech in the country moving from 159 to 108 in the worldwide rating comparing to the 2010. (Institute of Media Policy, 2011)

The variety of the press is viewed as an important condition for the development of democracy, freedom of speech and information. As Hamidov in his article “Print Media in Kyrgyzstan” says:

In Kyrgyzstan the press justifies its role as a fourth power. It is practically the only powerful means of forming the public opinion – a reality well understood by the authorities and different political parties’ movements and business people. The Kyrgyzstan press plays its role of the ‘watchdog of the society’ as it is the case elsewhere in the democratic world. A special role in this process belongs to the independent press, which is informally divided into the centrist, moderate, oppositional and yellow.

After the getting an independence Kyrgyzstan struggled many difficult problems. In October, 1991 Askar Akaev was an elected president of the new independent Republic by direct ballot, receiving 95% of the votes cast. Political instability appeared in 2005 when Kyrgyz citizens were disappointed with the results of the elections to Jogorku Kenesh (Kyrgyz Parliament). In those who were selected to the Parliament were the names of the closest people to Askar Akaev, including his daughter and son. As a result of the “Tulip Revolution” the power was given to the opposition leader at the time: Kurmanbek Bakiev. However, he didn’t remain in the power long. His elections to the presidency in 2005 were clean and enough democratic. The crisis of Bakiev’s government started at the end of 2009, due to several reasons. For

example: during the winter of 2009-2010 Kyrgyzstan suffered from rolling blackouts and electricity cutoffs occurring regularly while energy prices rose. Bakiev's team was another negative aspect that rose frustration among population. All these and many other negative features affected on the 2010 Presidential elections. People were disappointed that Bakiev collected enough votes and will be a president of Kyrgyzstan to a second time. This led to large protests throughout the country. On April 6, 2010 in the morning, the first protests against Bakiev's corrupted regime started.

After the April revolution new power has occurred in Kyrgyzstan at the head with Roza Otunbaeva. New form of ruling was also set up. Liberal ruling under the Roza Otunbaeva was publicly adopted in 2010. Still that time Kyrgyzstan is a Parliamentary Republic. The Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic decided on 30 June 2011 that presidential elections would be held on 30 October 2011. These will be the first presidential elections to be held under a new constitution and a new electoral law. The president is elected for a six-term year and the same person cannot be elected president twice. That is why the print media coverage of these elections is also important.

This paper aims to provide a theoretical backed up response to the question, why Kyrgyz and Russian language newspapers are different in terms of Presidential elections coverage.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

This study is important for several reasons. In 21st century a lot of new kinds of media have been occurred. The same as the amount of Internet users is also increased. The role of new media is widely discussed. More people tend to consider new media as a main source of information.

Then, what about the old media? For example, newspapers? How widely newspapers are used today? Does the information in newspapers contain reliable information? The answers for these questions will give a more or less understanding of the newspaper's role in nowadays. The role of newspapers in covering the presidential elections is very important. Kyrgyz language and Russian language newspapers are different in covering it. Why does it happen? Do the readers of Kyrgyz language newspapers react or vote differently then Russian language ones? If yes, then the information given by the newspapers is somehow converted before its publication. Or especially some newspapers give one-side information in their own or in the purposes of certain candidates.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Recognizing the importance of the news coverage of Kyrgyz and Russian languages newspapers of Presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan, this paper aims to find out:

What are the main characteristics of the Kyrgyz and Russian language newspapers in covering of the presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Presidential elections are the most important election in every country. President is someone who is representing the whole country to the world. An “Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 case study” article is a good example for this study. This paper proposes an “issue of ownership” theory of voting and campaigning to explain how voter preferences are exaggerated by campaigns. It also raises theories of framing and priming to explain the electorate’s response. Content analysis of news reports is the main tool of research of this paper. This article took as an example presidential elections between 1960 and 1992. “Candidates do have distinctive patterns of problem emphases in their campaigns; election outcomes do follow the problem concerns of voters; the individual vote is significantly influenced by these problem concerns above and beyond the effects of the standard predictors.” (Petrocik, 1996)

The significance of the mass media in contemporary campaigns is growing day by day. Electoral research found out this through media content and public opinion; examining the flow of information from newspapers to the voters and evaluating the press’s role in electoral politics. From the information that comes from the media, as well as other sources, public forms its images of the candidates and its voting choices. “Perception of the information is shaped as much by an individual's political views as by the objective content. Despite the mixed messages, we find that a newspaper's editorial content is significantly related to candidate preferences.” (Russell, Beck, Huckfeldt, 1998)

The method of electing the head of the state in a parliamentary system is a critical constitutional matter. People argue that a direct presidential election strengthens democratic system. Since Kyrgyzstan is a parliamentary country this research paper is more or less relevant to thesis work. This article considers electoral turnouts in a global sample of

parliamentary democracies with a head of state from 1945 to 2006 and finds that direct presidential elections decrease turnout in parliamentary elections by about 7 percentage points. (Tavits, 2009)

A study examined newsmagazines visual coverage of the 1988 election to determine if patterns of difference in the visual presentation of candidates existed. A content analysis examined all the visuals (photographs and illustrations) of the presidential candidates printed in three national weekly newsmagazines. George Bush's campaign photos were larger than those of Michael Dukakis. Simply saying Bush received better page position because he appeared more cheerful in his visuals. (Moriarty and Popovich, 1989)

This paper estimates the influence of newspaper certifications on voting behavior in presidential elections. The analysis focuses on the impact of the newspaper endorsements in the 1964 presidential election - the recent example where considerable number of newspapers endorsed the Democratic candidate. From this result it is argued that newspaper endorsements use an important influence on the outcomes of presidential elections. (Erikson, 1976)

Framing Theory

Framing theory is one of the mass communication theories that examine how mass media affects public opinion and attitude in certain way. It is based on the notion that mass media can frame particular issues and portray them to public in a certain way, which can be advantageous for someone. There is a plenty of definitions of framing and here are some of them.

Gitlin (1980, p. 7) defines frame as ‘persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse.’ (de Vresse, 2005)

Entman (1989) says that ‘framing involves selection and salience.’ Which means to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and /or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1989)

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) refer to frames as ‘interpretative packages’ that give meaning to an issue. At the core of this package is a ‘central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue’ (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989: 3, italics in original). (de Vresse, 2005)

Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman in their paper “Framing Theory” say that the major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. (Chong and Druckman, 2007)

Another explanation of framing theory is presented by Scheufele and Tewksbury in their work “Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models”. This one is more specific and refers exactly to the mass media.

Framing theory is based on the assumption that the way an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. (Scheufele, Tewksbury, 2007)

Scheufele and Tewksbury also defined that framing theory has origins in both psychology and sociology.

Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), in their work on psychological origins examined how different presentations of essentially identical decision-making scenarios influence people's choices and their evaluation of the various options presented to them. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007)

Goffman (1974) and others defined the sociological foundations of framing theory. They assumed that individuals cannot understand the world fully and constantly struggle to interpret their life experiences and to make sense of the world around them. Goffman argued that in order to efficiently process new information, individuals therefore apply interpretive schemas or "primary frameworks" (Goffman, 1974, p. 24) to classify information and interpret it meaningfully. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007)

Claes H. de Vreese is an Associate Professor and Post-doctoral research Fellow in the Amsterdam School of Communications Research ASCoR at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. In his work "News Framing: Theory and typology" he divided the process of framing into two components: frame-building and frame-setting. Frame building, in its turn, refers to the factors internal and external to journalism, which are equally important.

Factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Factors external to journalism of the frame-building process take place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978) and social movements (e.g. Cooper, 2002; Snow & Benford, 1992). (de Vreese, 2005)

The second component, frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions. (de Vreese, 2005) It is important to emphasize here that frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events.

De Vreese writes about the consequences of framing as well.

He says that the consequences of framing can be conceived on the individual and the societal level. (de Vreese, 2005) It is obvious that on the individual level the consequence may alter the attitudes of the person about an issue. However, more important is the consequence on the societal level, as it involves larger audience and, therefore, can cause much more significant changes in a life of society and the country in general.

On the societal level, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions. (de Vresse, 2005)

Continuing on the process of framing, de Vresse wrote that frames can appear as both independent variables and dependent variables. The studies of media frames as the dependant variable examine the outcome of the production process including organizational pressures, journalistic routines, and elite discourse. When media frames are studied as independent variable, the antecedents of audience interpretations are considered.

The process of framing is perfectly shown in the illustration provided by de Vresse in his paper.

Frame-building

Frame-setting



Figure 2. An integrated process model of framing

He says that it is necessary to link the features of the production of news with the content, i.e. frame-building, and/or content with studies of uses and effects, i.e. frame-setting. The previous design can be useful for the researches on framing to prove that frames are actually used in news reports, which is quite difficult.

The theoretical background presented the mass communications theory - Framing is used to investigate the printcoverage of the Presidential elections 2011. Thus, the hypothesis of the research supposes that newspapers formed public's opinion in a certain way and somehow affected on the decisions of voters.

All the literature review above supports the idea that media (mostly print media) coverage of the presidential elections is very important. Detailed investigation of the articles in newspapers will help to find the answer for the research question of the paper.

RESEARCH METHODS

According to the topic of the paper, the qualitative research method is appropriate; therefore it includes content analysis and in-depth interviews.

The theoretical background of the thesis is based on the Framing theory. The role of print media in covering the Presidential elections 2011 was evaluated through the prism of framing to identify whether the press influenced the decision of voters.

Ten different newspapers were included for content analysis. Five of them are in Russian language and other five is in Kyrgyz. Kyrgyz language newspapers are: “Achyk Sayasat”, “Aikin Sayasat”, “Alibi”, “Fabula”, “De-Facto”. Russian language newspapers are: Evening Bishkek”, “Delo №...”, “MSN”, “Argumenty I Fakty”, “Moskovskii Komsomolec”.

There were not any problems in choosing Kyrgyz language newspapers, because we have a plenty of them. These chosen newspapers are more or less politicized and probability that they will cover presidential elections is very high. Choosing Russian language newspapers was little bit harder. First, we do not have a lot of Russian language newspapers. Second, the probability of covering was not as high as Kyrgyz ones. Most of these newspapers are publishing once in a week and have pretty large circulation.

Time period was set up: from September 26 till the November 26. It will be exactly two months period. This study is covering not only the presidential elections date, which is October 30, but also the election’s campaign will be researched. Moreover, the time after the elections will also be taken into consideration.

It is important that articles should be not less than 500 words. All PR looked articles also will be omitted and wouldn’t be taken into consideration for analysis. Such restrictions are set up to fully researching with intent to come up with a real results and answers.

“Evening Bishkek”, a Russian language newspaper, is published since January 1, 1974. It covers different spheres as economics, politics, society, culture, sport, and news desk and is considered as one of the leading newspapers in Kyrgyzstan, and it has the largest run in the region of the Central Asia – 700.000 issues daily and 7,2 million copies annually. The editor in chief is Aleksandr Kuzmin. May 1995, “Evening Bishkek” was awarded by the international prize of EU and USA “For the development of democracy and civic society in Kyrgyzstan.” In 2001, “Evening Bishkek” was given a certificate of “#1 newspaper in Kyrgyzstan of 2001,” nby choice of organizational committee “Jyldyn Tandoosu” – “The choice of the year in Kyrgyzstan.” The owner of the newspaper is a media magnate – Aleksandr Kim (Evening Bishkek, 2006)

“Delo №...” is one of the leading newspapers in Kyrgyzstan. It is publishing for 20 years. The first issue was published on March 7, 1991. Newspaper was established by journalists Viktor Zapolski and Svetlana Krasilnikova in December, 1990. They are for 20 years the permanent heads. “Delo №...” is a republican newspaper, distributed throughout the country, and only at retail. It is published once a week (on Wednesdays) with volume of 24 pages. For this newspaper there is no taboo subjects, but there are reasonable limits to what is permitted, established by the journalistic team and its management, as well – the principled position that can keep up to date.

“MSN” is a social and political newspaper. It is published once a week (on Fridays) with volume of 24 pages. Editor in chief is Djanaliev T.N. It covers different spheres as economics, politics, society, culture, sport, criminal, education and beauty. The owner of this newspaper is media magnate, Aleksandr Kim (private sources)

“Argumenty I Fakty” is a Russian newspaper, published since 1978. It is published once a week. Editor on chief is Vladislav Salagaev. LLC “Argumenty I Fakty v Kyrgyzstane” is a co-founder of “Argumenty I Fakty”

“MK Asia” is a Russian newspaper, which is published once a week. Editor in chief in Kyrgyzstan is Ulukbek Babakulov. It covers different spheres as economics, politics, society, culture, and sport, criminal. This newspaper is spread in 60 regions of Russia and also in USA, Canada, Australia, Germany, Spain, Egypt, Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Greece, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

“Alibi” is a Kyrgyz language newspaper; however, sometimes it publishes articles in Russian language as well. The main editor of daily issues is Gulniza Moldokulova, and, a politician, Azimbek Beknazarov is considered as the owner of the newspaper. The run of the “Alibi” is 7.000 issues; however, since December 28, 2010 the run has decreased by 1.300 issues. (Gezitter, 2011)

“Achyk Sayasat” is a Kyrgyz language newspaper, which is published once a week. It is societal, political and legal newspaper. Editor in chief is Nazgul Mamytova. (Presskg, 2011)

“Fabula” is a Kyrgyz language newspaper, which is published once a week. The run of the “Fabula” is 6.300 issues. Editor in chief is Ernis Balbakov. It covers mostly about the politics and society related issues.

“De-Facto” is a Kyrgyz language newspaper, which is published once a week (on Thursdays). It is a social and political newspaper. Editor in chief is Cholpon Orozobekova. The run of the “De-Facto” is 8,700 issues. This is a 24 page long newspaper with different kind of information in it.

“Aikyn Sayasat” is a Kyrgyz language newspaper, which is published once a week. It is a 16 page long social and political newspaper. Editor in chief is Kunbolot Momokonov. It covers all issue, start from political news and ending with entertainment things such as anecdotes and crosswords.

The analysis during the monitoring examines the characters of the articles, were they based on the facts or were they based more on “gossips”, were they objective.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

In order to define the way the print media covered the Presidential Elections, ten different newspapers have been monitored for the period of September 26, 2011 till November 26, 2011. More than 400 materials were published, where the candidates for the post of the President of Kyrgyz Republic were mentioned. Among them 240 news, 80 notes, 52 interviews, 12 messages, 22 polls, 4 programs of the candidates.

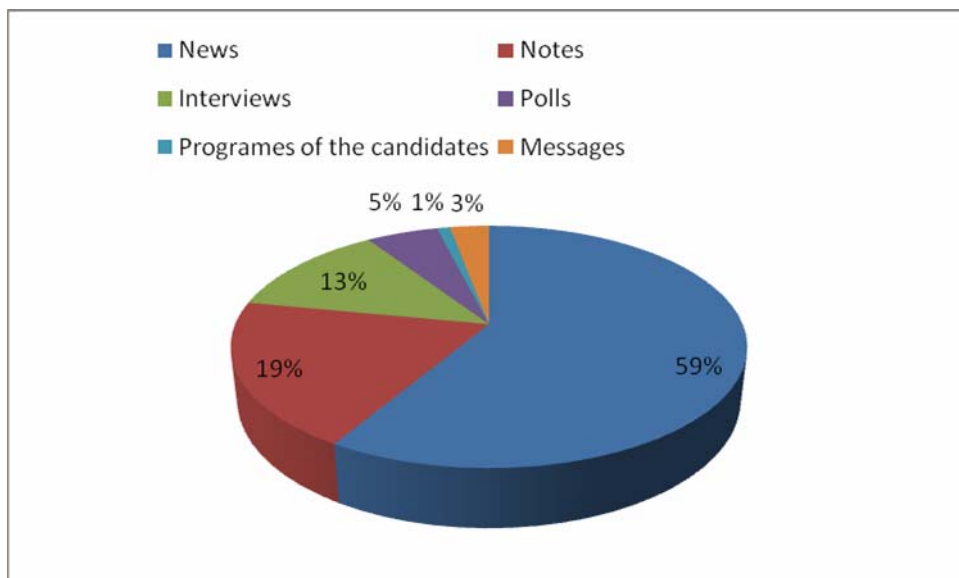


Figure 3.

At this time period candidates for the Presidency were mention almost 1500 times.

Table 1: The Quantitative data on the mentions of the candidates

#	Name of the candidates	Number of times
1.	Almazbek Atambaev	320
2.	Adahan Madumarov	250
3.	Kamchybek Tashiev	170
4.	Omurbek Suvanaliev	189
5.	Akylbek Japarov	95
6.	Kubatbek Baibolov	90
7.	Marat Sultanov	76
8.	Anarbek Kalmatov	67
9.	Kubanychbek Isabekov	50
10.	Roman Omorov	43
11.	Shamshybek Medetbekov	38
12.	Marat Imankulov	36
13.	Temirbek Asanbekov	31
14.	Arstanbek Abdyldaev	24
15.	Ishak Masaliev	21

Among all the articles both in Kyrgyz and Russian languages most positive mentions were about the Almazbek Atambaev – 190 times, then about Kubatbek Baibolov – 36 times, and Kamchybek Tashiev – 30 times. In the negative tone more than others have been mentioned Adahan Madumarov – 115 times, Almazbek Atambaev – 50 times and Kamchybek Tashiev – 48 times. Almazbek Atambaev also was mentioned in neutral tone – 125 times, Adahan Madumarov – 87 times, and Kamchybek Tashiev 70 times.

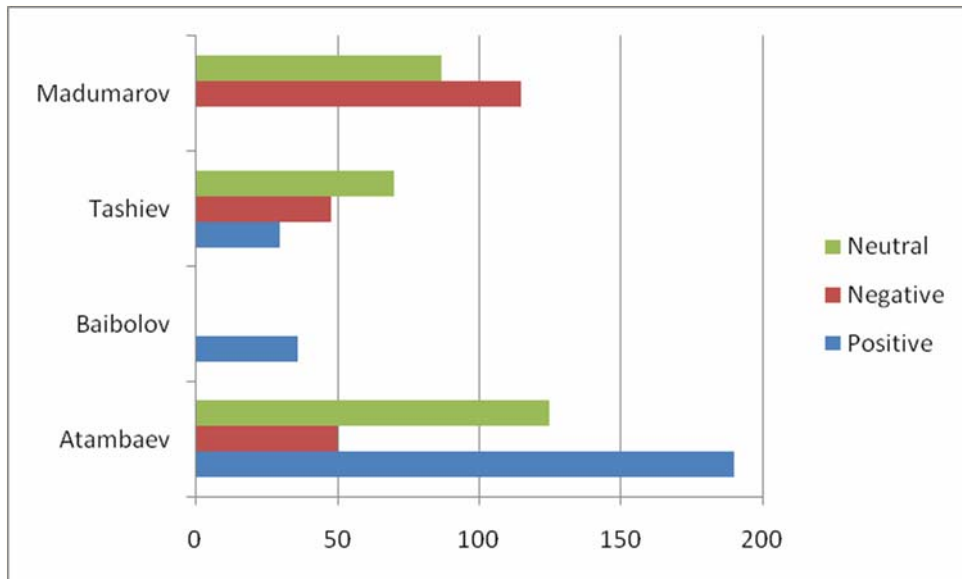


Figure 4.

Among the 400 materials 258 (64%) worn by a particular source, there was no source in 107 (27%) materials, and 35 (9%) of them were based on “hearsay”.

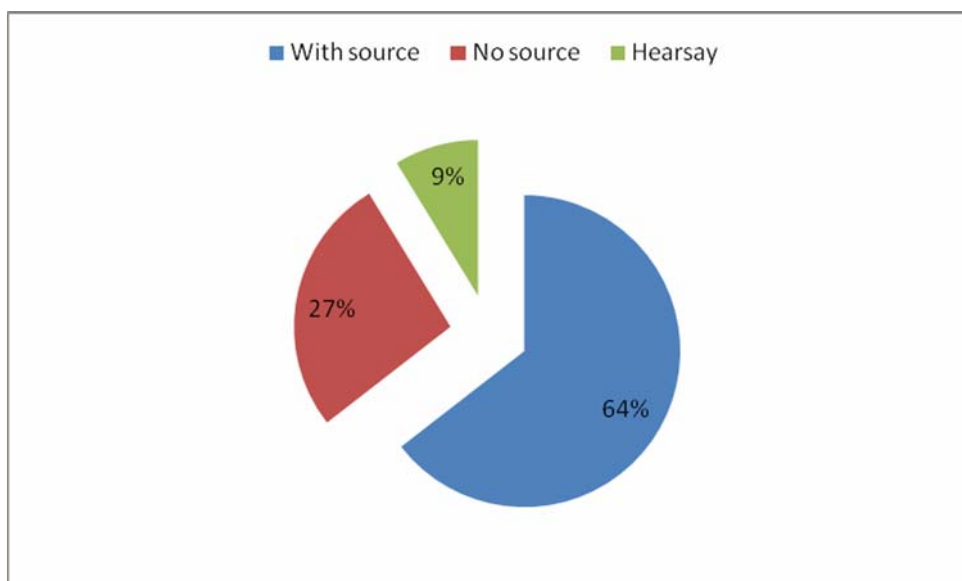


Figure 5.

In order to prove these numbers there should be given concrete examples.

Newspaper “Achyk Sayasat” in the October 28 issue “Madumarov is going to be shot?”: “According to the information what we got, Adahan Madumarov may get shot”.

Newspaper “Fabula” in the October 4 issue “Who takes what position?”: “Marat Sultanov coveted the post of prime minister and is currently trading at about with Almazbek Atambaev...”

Newspaper “MK Asia” in the October 25 issue “Look at the Kalmatov”, published by referring to the newspaper “Asman Press”: “It is said, that he was cool mocked. But Kalmatov did not notice anything. *Poor guy decided that deceived the people. Rumor has it that stood guard next to him and the musicians just spit.*”

At this time period 145 materials paid from the election fund of candidates were published in the newspapers “Fabula”, “Evening Bishkek”, “MSN”, “De Facto”, “Alibi”, “Achyk Sayasat”, “Aikin Sayasat”.

“Delo№” was not accredited by the Central Commission for Elections and Referendums, but they can publish articles that could be interpreted as propaganda in favor of one candidate or another. Newspaper “MK Asia” did not published paid materials during this period.

The newspapers "Aikin Sayasat", "Argumenty i Fakty", "Delo№», "Evening Bishkek", "MKAsia», «De-Facto", "Alibi", "Fabula", "Achyk Sayasat" were published 102 materials, lobbying, or indirectly, opting in favor of one candidate or another, but not paid out of their election fund. Most of these materials have been published regarding Atambaev, 51 (47%) materials.

During this period, in the frequency of publications about the presidential candidates were leading newspapers such “Fabula”, “De facto”, Evening Bishkek”, Alibi”, Aikin Saysat”.

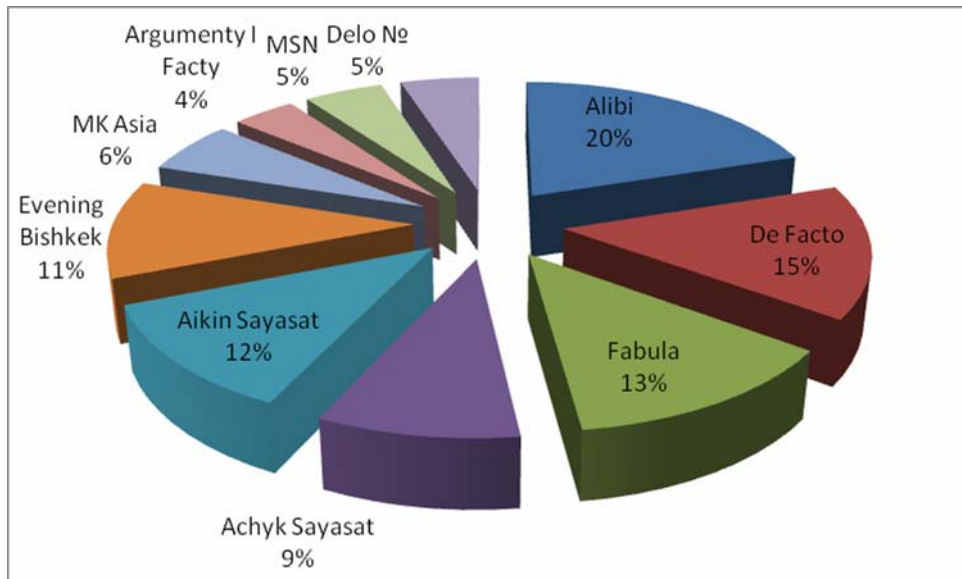


Figure 6.

Analysis of the Newspapers

“Evening Bishkek”

The run of the newspaper is 700.000 issues daily and 7.2 million copies annually (Evening Bishkek, 2006)

At the time period from September 26 till November 26 “Evening Bishkek” published 50 materials, where the presidential candidates were mentioned. Almazbek Atambaev - 25 times, Kubatbek Baibolov - 6 times, Adahan Madumarov - 5 times, Omurbek Suvanaliev - 3 , Kamchybek Tashiev - 3 times, Anarbek Kalmatov - 1 times, Tursunbai Bakir uulu - 1 times, Akylbek Japarov - 2 times, Akbaraly Aitikeev - 1 times.

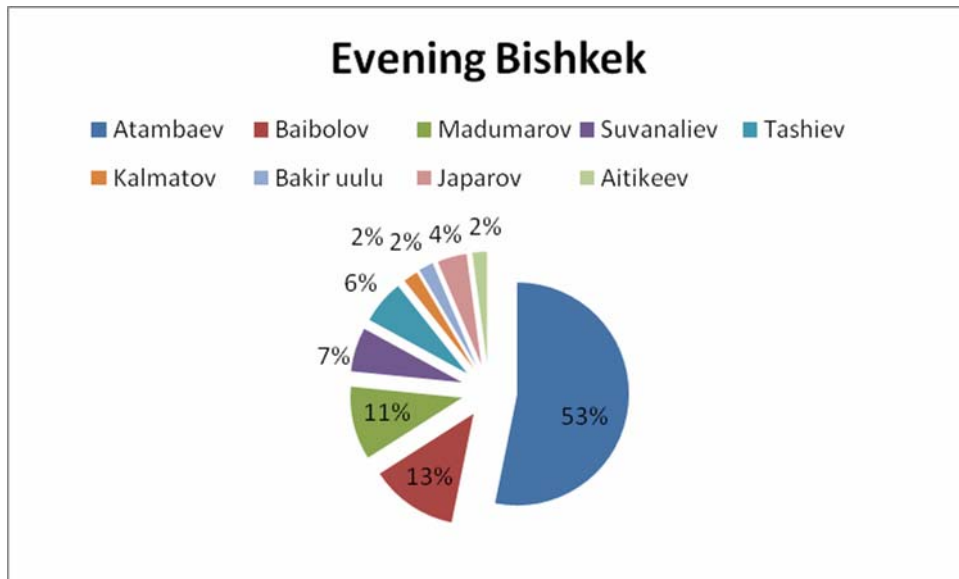


Figure 7.

The most positive mentions were about the Kubatbek Baibolov and Almazbek Atambaev. Totally, this newspaper had published only those materials which were paid from the fund of the candidates. Only ones they have published a hidden agitation about the Atambaev in the issue from October 14 – “Two views of the two meetings”

“It is clear that the visit to Moscow of Atamabev is unofficial. And, according to law, the talking of Putin with Naryshkin can be considered only as a meeting of an old acquaintances.”

Politician opinion on it : “In my opinion, Russia now is determining the leader, who os associated with future plans for bilateral cooperation. And, of course, Atambaev is one of those politicians.”

“MSN”

The run of the newspaper is 7.000 issues. It is published once a week (on Fridays) with volume of 24 pages.

“MSN” has published 18 materials with the mentions of the candidates: Almazbek Atambaev – 15 times, Adahan Madumarov – 2 times, Kubatbek Baibolov – 2 times, Akylbek Japarov – 1 time, Tursunbai Bakir uulu – 1 time, Ananrbek Kalamatov – 1 time, Akbaraly Aitikeev –1 time, Kamchybek Tashiev – 3 times.

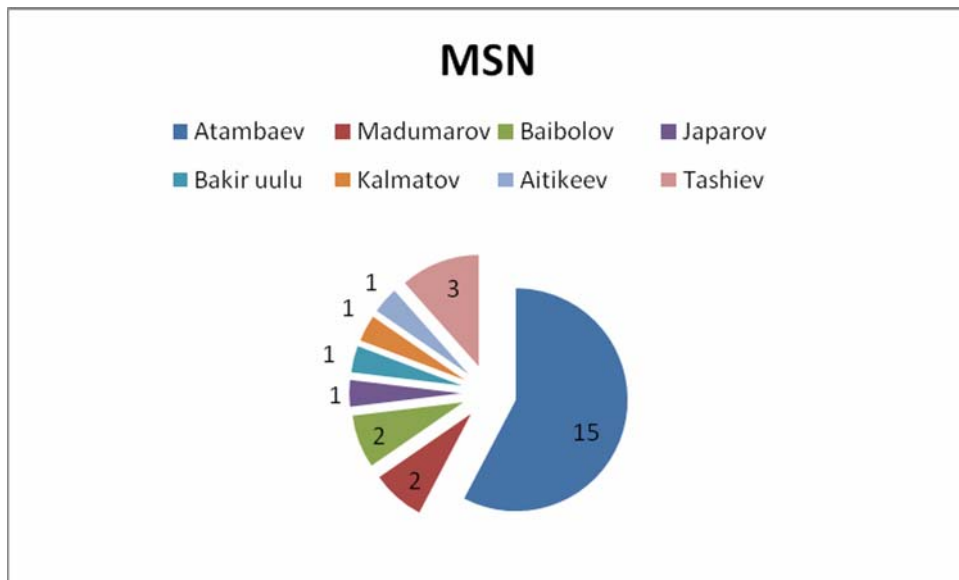


Figure 8.

This newspaper mostly published articles about the candidate Almazbek Atambaev in positive or negative tones.

“MK Asia”

This is a Russian newspaper, which is published once a week. The run is 15.000 issues.

“MK Asia” has published 32 materials with the mentions of the candidates: Almazbek Atambaev – 18 times, Adahan Madumarov – 15 times, Kubatbek Baibolov – 8 times, Akylbek Japarov – 3 time, Tursunbai Bakir uulu – 2 time, Anarbek Kalamatov – 2 time, Akbaraly Aitikeev –2 time, Kamchybek Tashiev – 8 times, Roman Omorov – 4 times, Marat Imankulov – 2 times, Arstanbek Abdyldaev – 2 times, Ishak Masaliev – 1 time, Temirbek Asanbekov – 2 times, Jumabek Toktogaziev – 2 times, Shamshybek Medetbekov – 1 time.

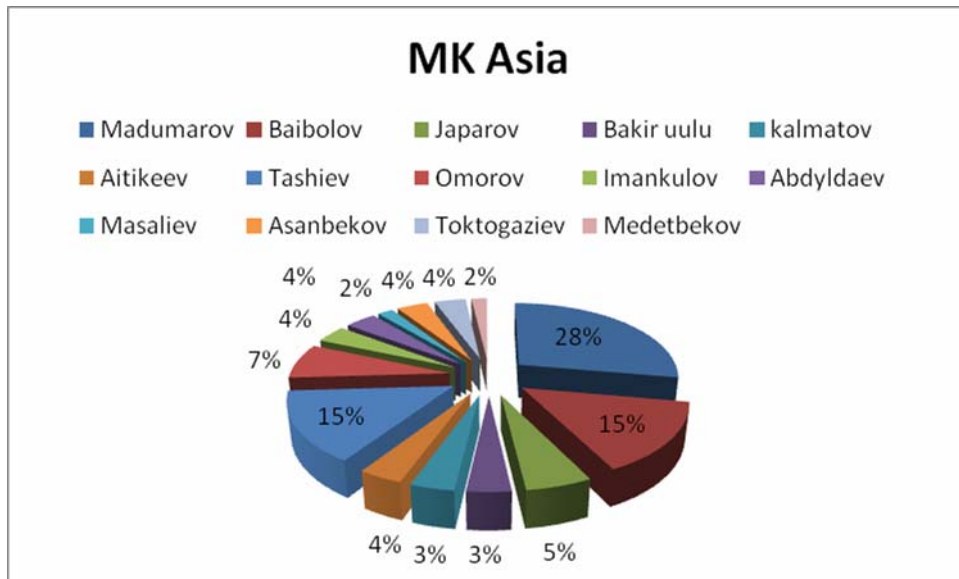


Figure 9.

This newspaper has published mostly positive materials about the Kubatbek Baibolov, Almazbek Atambaev and Adahan Madumarov. At the same time Madumarov and Atambaev also were mentioned a lot in a negative tone. In the issue October 18 – “Kubatbek Baibolov:”The authorities want to avoid the responsibility”

“The candidacy of Kubatbek Baibolov is classified as the most “stable” and the most interesting to people.”

The newspaper in issue October 4 published an article that can compromise the candidate of Atambaev – “Drugs for the presidency”

The journalists writes: “It is also about the drug-related guide law enforcement and customs authorities of the Kyrgyz Republic and the interest of the Prime Minister Atambaev in maintaining the drug diversion schemes in Russia – a country which he calls a “strategic partner” and best friend.”

“Delo №”

This newspaper is published once a week (on Wednesdays) with volume of 24 pages. The run is 21.000 issues.

At this time period “Delo №” has published 20 materials, where the candidates were mentioned: Almazbek Atambaev – 16 times, Adahan Madumarov- 7 times, Kamchybek Tashiev -5 times, Omurbek Suvanaliev – 4 times, Shamshybek Medetbekov – 1 time, Kubatbek Baibolov – 1 time, Akylbek Japarov – 1 time, Kubanychbek Isabekov – 2 times.

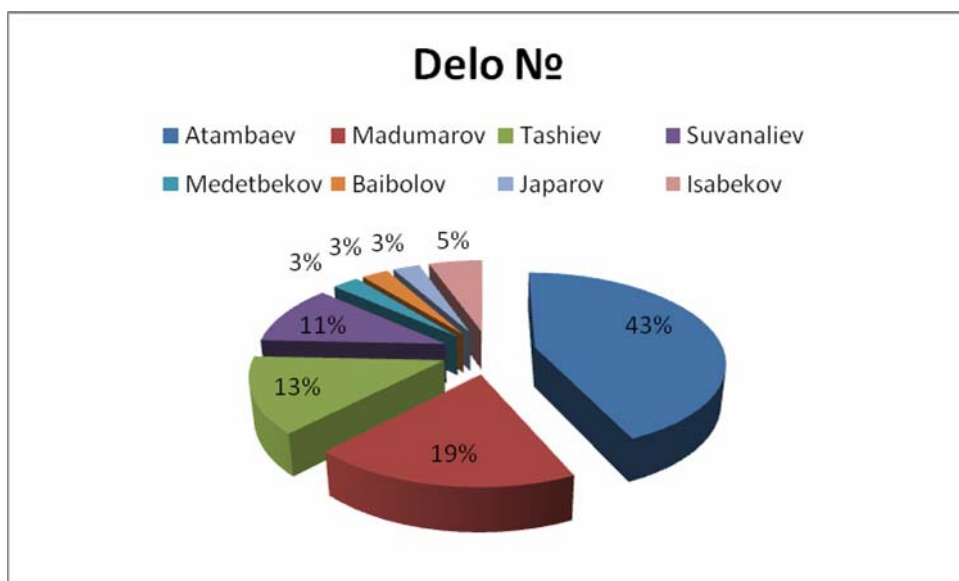


Figure 10.

Atamabev and Suvanaliev were mentioned in a positive tone more than others. In a negative tone were mentioned the candidates of Madumarov and Atambaev.

In the October 26 issue – “You cannot erase the words from the history as you cannot from the songs”

“And since memorable 1992 our close relationship with Suvanaliev is continue. Over the 20 years we have never been ashamed of him. All the things he doing is sincere and well-intentioned.”

“Alibi”

The run of the “Alibi” is 7.000 issues. At this time period “Alibi” ahs published 56 materials with the mentions of the candidates: Atambaev – 20 times, Madumarov 15 times, Tashiev – 12 times, Japarov – 4 times, Baibolov – 3 times, Imankulov – 3 times, Imankulov – 3 times, Isabekov – 2 times, Kalmatov-2 times, Suvanaliev – 3 times, Omorov – 1 time, Medetbekov – 2 times.

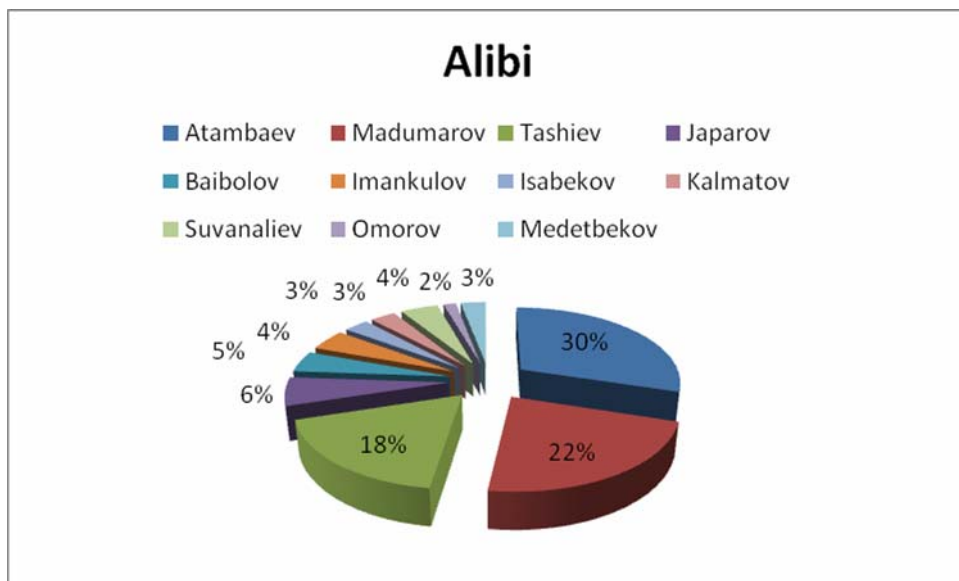


Figure 11.

In this newspaper there are a lot of negative materials about the A. Madumarov. There are totally no negative materials about the A. Atambaev.

In the issue of October 14 “Is there a chance of being a second tour in the elections?”

“If there will be a second tour in the elections which candidates will participate? T. Akerov:

So, there is all chance for the candidate Atmabaev to win”

“De Facto”

The run of the “De-Facto” is 8,700 issues. This is a 24 page long newspaper.

At this time period this newspaper has published 69 materials: Atambaev – 23, Madumarov – 26 times, Tashiev – 17 times, Baibolov – 10 times, Isabekov – 4 times, Suvanaliev – 3 times, Japarov- 2 times, Bakir uulu – 2 times, Imankulov – 3 times, Sultanov – 3 times, Asanbekov – 1 time, Omorov – 1 time, Masaliev – 2 times, Medetbekov – 2 times, Osmonov – 2 times, Abdyldaev – 1 time, Karimov –1 time, Kalmatov – 2 times, Toktogaziev – 1 time, Aitikeev – 1 time, Kolubaev – 1 time.

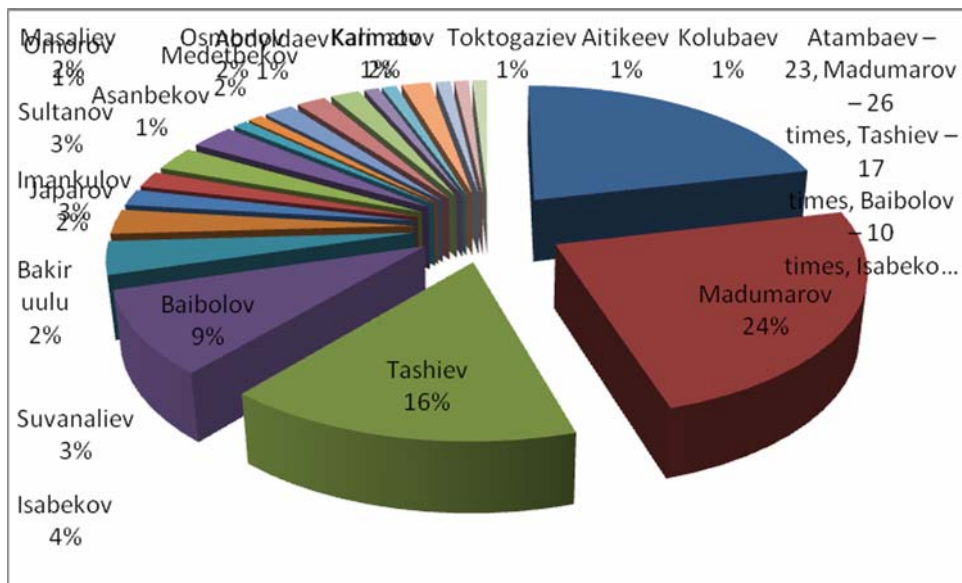


Figure 12.

In this time period there were published only positive materials about the Atambaev. And most negative materials were about the Madumarov. The materials are mainly to make a link between Madumarov and the family of Kurmanbek Bakiev, about the financing of Mdumarov’s campaigns by Bakiev’s family and the dishonesty of Madumarov.

The list of negative materials about the A. Madumarov:

Dear A. Madumarov, what did you make for the Kyrgyzstan?

Why Madumarov is sitting in the headquarters of Bakiev?

Is there a really Bakiev standing behind the A. Amdumarov?

Is Madumarov “burning” himself?

“Achyk Sayasat”

This newspaper is published once a week. The run is 2.400 issues. At this time period there were published 30 materials: Atambaev – 10 times, Isabekov – 8 times, Madumarov – 7 times, Tashiev – 7 times, Suvanaliev – 4 times, Bakir uulu – 3 times



Figure 13.

In this newspaper there were hidden agitating materials of Atambaev. Madumarov has shown mostly in negative tone. There was not any positive materials about the Madumarov.

In the October 7 issue “Who burned whose headquarters?” the author is negatively responding about the Madumarov.

“It will be nicer if he will show his courage and take on all these prevocational things. But we will not see that...”

“Fabula”

The run of the “Fabula” is 6.300 issues. It is published once a week.

During this time period “Fabula” has published 96 materials where the candidates were mentioned: Atambaev – 55 times, Madumarov – 33 times, Tashiev -20 times, Suvanaliev – 14 times, Japarov – 8 times, Asanbekov – 4 times, Baibolov – 9 times, Sultanov – 5 times, Masaliev – 4 times, Bakir uulu – 3 times, Abdyldaev – 3 times, Aitikeev – 2 times, Kalamatov – 1 time, Imankulov – 2 times, Karimov – 1 time, Dyikanov – 1 time.

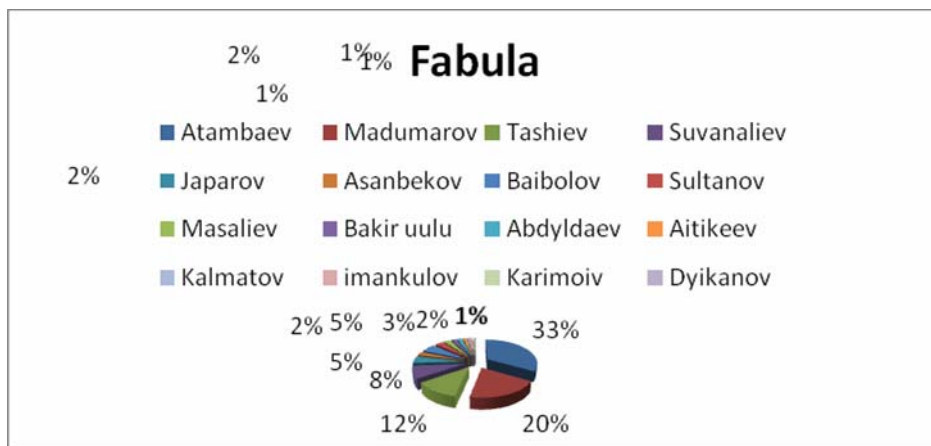


Figure 14.

During the monitoring “Fabula” has published most of the materials on the candidates. Most positive materials were about the Atambaev and did not publish any negative thing about him.

Interviews

In order to find the answers for the findings in content analysis nine in-depth interviews were taken from the different people. All the interviews are presented here; to view the whole texts of the interview see the appendixes.

The reasons of differences in covering the elections by Kyrgyz and Russian Language newspapers

Azamat Imanaliev, the editor-in-chief of Akipress press agency, shared his opinion regarding the reasons of differences between Kyrgyz and Russian language newspapers in covering the presidential elections. According to Imanaliev, such situation with Kyrgyz language newspapers has developed because of the success of “Asaba” newspaper, published by Melis Eshimkanov. “Asaba” published the rumors, which were popular among the readers. Imanaliev also added that many mass media outlets are owned by different politicians, so that they fulfill the requirements of their owners, printing dirt rumors about their opponents.

Elena Voronina, an independent media expert, columnist of information agency “Chalkan.kg”, stated that each newspaper has its own understanding of editorial policy that covers the principles of journalism during an election. Even if the journalists were trying to cover in balance, they still have slipped some piece of propaganda. So their readers, the voters made their conclusions about the candidates, based on these materials. The lack of standards among the journalists during the election coverage – a measure of the culture of the journalists in general. Russian newspapers also not always meet the standards of the international journalism. However, they at least tried to move away from the propaganda; they have a clear understanding where the information is, where the promotion is and where is the advertisement. Kyrgyz newspapers are still led by its consumer.

Sultan Jumagulov, an executive director of “Azattyk”, also shares the opinion that such a differences is connected with a Kyrgyz people history. Kyrgyz people from the history are orally talking ones. “Manas” epos can be a good example of it. That is why Kyrgyz journalism still somehow based on it and writes mostly “gossip materials”. This is one side of the problem. There is another side – economic. During the elections many journalists want to make money. And for this money they are ready to drag through the mire the opponents. The salaries of journalists are very little, that is why they have to do this sometimes. He also

added that he believes Kyrgyz language newspapers will improve in the future. The society is changing, so the newspapers will also change. If not, the rate of these newspapers will go down and finally, it may lead to newspapers finish.

Atyr Abdrahmatova, an editorial advisor of OTRK, said that a demand creates supply. That demand what people do have for the Russian language newspapers, produces such products.

And, the demand to Kyrgyz language newspapers, respectively crates the same results.

Unfortunately, our society is accustomed to argue, based on hearsay. Even if we take our politicians as an example, it is clear that they also use “rumor” type speeches. So, the press writes as well as talking our society, as our politicians talking. In this respect I don’t have any claims towards journalists. People want this jaundice, respectively; they are receiving such news. Moreover, *Abdyrahmatova* thinks that in the Kyrgyz language newspapers there is no competition. And, everything is already clear that these newspapers are owned by certain politicians; so, there is no content and no quality. It is even difficult to call them a newspapers, they are more a newsletters, and hence the one-sidedness in the presentation of the information. A Russian language newspapers have to compete, because we have a little number of consumers and Russian language newspapers have to fight for them.

The ideas to improve Kyrgyz language newspapers

Elena Voronina, media expert, said that we need to teach these journalists. How to teach? We can just take their articles and on vivid examples show their mistakes. If these journalists will refuse and say that they are right, they have a ranking and their own readers; here we have to work with editors of these newspapers. *Voronina* also added that she don not like the layouts of Kyrgyz newspapers. They are trying to attract the attention of the readers by its color diversity and certain “oriental apricots”, which is never accepted in newspapers.

Ulugbek Babakulov, Editor of the newspaper “MK Asia”, thinks that nothing will change if we will teach journalists. In his opinion we never have to forget who pays the money. In this case, we need to educate the owners of these newspapers. But do they need it. Of course, no. I would not call Kyrgyz language newspapers a newspapers in the full sense, they are more combat flyers. For example, the “Fabula” is a combat flyer of SDPK. Babakulov stated that we can teach editors too, but they are appointed by the owners again. There is just need to ban politicians and parties to fund the newspapers. But it is impossible, again.

Bermet Malikova, a columnist for the main editor of the newspaper “Evening Bishek”, said that here the problem of lack of good journalists. The Kyrgyz language newspapers do not have enough journalists, trained by international standards and able to write according to the principle of international journalism. Malikove added that it is also important for the reporters to have a wide range of contacts in many areas. Unfortunately, young people who just come after the university, they do not have such experience; that is why they have to do what the others say. It is very important for the journalist before coming to newspapers, work in the news service in agencies, radio, television, and dial his own contacts during this time.

What should be covered during the presidential elections?

Nurgul Abdykerimova, Executive director of Public Association “Center for Information law”, noted that during the election time journalists have to follow normal ethical standards – they are a balance and correctness of the facts. Also they do not have to forget about the human norms. Abdykerimova said that there is no need to sling mud at one candidate in favor of another. We had a lot of such facts in the Presidential elections 2011.

According to Bolotbek Tashtanaliev, an editor of the newspaper “Alibi”, every good journalist have to work with non forgetting about the laws. Elections should be covered

within the law. As Tashtanaliev said, their newspaper is independent and not a member to any political party.

Sultan Jumagulov, executive director of “Azattyk” noted that journalist during the elections have to have a neutral and objective tone. But at the same time there have to be some sensation or intrigue in the news. Sensations can be found in everything: in the speeches of the candidates, in their logos and programs. However, our Kyrgyz journalists are not doing it. They are simple write about the external factors only. This is good or that is bad.

Atyr Abdrahmatova, an editorial advisor of OTRK, thinks that for voters and reporters it is important how a candidate looks at the time when he leads his campaign. But then the mechanisms of implementation of his or her plans and programs are not tracked. I noticed more in the Russian press and the internet that they are somehow trying to analyze and try to show that a particular action can not be performed. People of the media are the people that shape people's opinions. It would be nice if journalists learn how to cover the election from the perspective of policy ideas, and voters would have to get used to it.

Improvement of the Press freedom Index

Azamat Imanaliev, editor-in-chief of the AKI press, stated with confidence that the situation of freedom of speech in Kyrgyzstan has improved several times since the events of April 7, 2010. I am glad that the situation 2 years later continues to improve, that is; do not have the pressure that was before the April events. This situation was, and after March 24, 2005, but then almost all the free press in the country was depressed and was controlled by Bakiyev's entourage.

At this time the press is free, but not completely. Media close to opposition politicians continued to criticize the power structure, but they act at the bidding of

those same politicians. The authorities continue to use national media to their advantage. But it is worth noting that even the main channel of the country - OTRK – changed for the better.

Elena Voronina, media expert, believes that the freedom of speech is improved in Kyrgyzstan comparing to 2010. There appeared an investigative journalism. Whereas previously only a few publications dealing with this genre, but now any modern edition wants to put a rating on the fact that he has a strong journalistic investigation. The political issue - it is now fashionable, active. For example, the agency Chalkan.kg decided to cultivate the politics today. They say politics - a dirty business, but each of us engaged in it. We decided to present the policy at a very affordable, simple and understandable language, so that every citizen understood the essence of the news. The politics should be cultivated on the language of average person. The main character in any news publication should be a simple citizen, not a politician, not a deputy. Through the prism of the common citizen, we look at the politics. Therefore, the politics now does not cause such revulsion, as before.

DISCUSSIONS

Content analysis of ten newspapers in Kyrgyz and Russian languages showed that in both were mistakes and violations. However, the range of the mistakes is different.

Almost all monitored newspapers, a week before the election campaign started published materials of the presidential candidates in a positive or negative tone. Newspapers “Fabula”, “De-Fakto”, “Alibi”, “Achyk Sasat” in violation of the law, published a propaganda materials a week before the official announcement of the start of campaign. Materials in more than half of the observed newspapers accompanied by the comments of the author about the candidates. These comments accompanied with expressive words, and are based either on their own value judgments of authors or hearsays.

Information about the programs of candidates took a small part of the paid promotional materials of all candidates. Most of the promotional materials, paid for from the election fund of candidates, were in the form of interviews, reports, articles, comments, etc., in which published information about the candidate, a portrait of the candidate, the interview on a matter or his opinion.

Almost in all of the analyzed print media candidate of Almazbek Atambaev was leading in a number of mentions as a whole, and the number of positive references.

Newspapers “Fabula», «De-Facto”, “Alibi” showed kind of “loyalty” towards the candidate of Almazbek Atambaev by posting about him the largest number of promotional materials, not paid from the election fund. At the same time, these newspapers did not publish any critic material of the candidate Atambaev.

On the other hand, during the period newspapers "Delo №» and «Achyk Sayasat" positively "isolated" Suvanaliev from other candidates. In these papers there were not critical materials of the candidate O.Suvaliev.

Newspapers, "MSN", "MK ASIA", "Argumenty I fakty", "Evening Bishkek", as a whole did not show "loyalty" to any candidate during the Presidential Elections 2011.

Among the all candidates in the negative tone mostly were mentioned Adahan Madumarov Madumarov, then Almazbek Atambaev Atambaev and Kamchybek Tashiev.

In the newspapers "Fabula", "Aikin Sayasat", "De-Facto», «Alibi« were published a series of negative materials against the candidate Adahan Madumarov that could compromise him in the eyes of the voters.

According to the interviews, almost all media experts and some editors of the newspapers agreed that there are differences between the Russian and Kyrgyz language newspapers. It is noted that Kyrgyz language newspapers did not meet the standards of international journalism and writes the news on hearsays. Russian language newspaper are more ethical and at least trying to keep the rules while covering the Presidential Elections.

As it turned out from the interviews, this differentiates between two languages newspapers exist for a long time. Kyrgyz journalists come from the universities and immediately start to do whatever the others say. They are working in a certain frame of which they can not cross. Among the Russian journalists it preserved some professionals who meet the international standards and really writes the news based on the facts.

The interviews showed that the editors of Kyrgyz newspapers do not accept that they are biased in covering the any elections. They argued that they are independent and it is not correct to compare them with the Russian language newspapers when both of them are issued

in one Kyrgyzstan. Editors themselves blamed media experts, thinking that they are not professionals in journalism and say some really stupid things.

All the Interviewers have the same opinion about the improvement of covering the news during the presidential elections. All of them argued that the news should be balanced, based on the facts and have a neutral and objective tone. Of course, everything should be within the law.

Certainly, all the interviewers showed their interest in improving the freedom of speech in Kyrgyzstan and also it was said that comparing to 2010 Kyrgyzstan has a better results according to the Press Freedom Index.

CONCLUSION

The Presidential Elections is a very important event in the live of every state. The choosing the most suitable candidate is largely depend on the Mass Media. Mass Media is a tool with help of what the candidates could be heard. Therefore the role of the journalists, and partially the newspapers journalists are big.

Based on the data gathered in the process of the research, several conclusions can be made.

Print media, that are newspapers both in Kyrgyz and Russian language, published the materials mostly in negative tone during the election time. They published not objective, unverified information often based on the hearsays.

Even if the editors said in the interviews that their newspaper was writing the material within the law, on the practice is not so ideal. Many violations of the law were notices.

Thus, concluded that all the information materials should be neutral, impartial and does not violate the equality of candidates, while the campaign - are in themselves calls to cast a vote for one or another candidate, disseminate information to the predominance of information about someone, and express a preference for a particular candidate.

The ownership of these newspapers is also very important. Who pays the money will call the tune. Research find out that often times these newspapers are belongs to particular politicians or political parties. That is why the content of the newspapers are very weak.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the study was to determine the differences in coverage of the Presidential Elections by Kyrgyz and Russian language newspapers. After finding out their mistakes it is necessary to introduce professional ethics and standards policies to the politics of the country. Information policy in the country is absent. Without the creation and implementation of this policy can not be further development of the media.

This promotion of professional and ethical rules and standards must begin with a media management.

It is necessary to strengthen the work with the faculty of journalism at universities.

It will be efficient to create a tutorial on ethics of journalism for the universities in Kyrgyz language.

It will be good to make better a job of promoting professional and ethical norms and standards in the environment of current and future journalists.

It is necessary to carry out the action "We demand high-quality media"(the name is conditional), which would have spurred the media to respect the norms and standards of international journalism.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A (In-depth interview of Azamat Imanaliev, Editor-in-chief of AKIpress press agency)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По вашему, с чем это связано?**

На мой сугубо субъективный взгляд, ситуация с кыргызскоязычными газетами сложилась из-за успеха в 90-х газеты «Асаба», издаваемой Мелисом Эшимкановым. В газете публиковались слухи, которые были очень популярны среди читателей. К тому же многие СМИ принадлежат разным политическим силам, поэтому они выполняют требования своих владельцев, печатая компромат и слухи об оппонентах.

- 2) Почему в освещении этих двух СМИ такая огромная разница?**

К сожалению, я не отслеживал кыргызскоязычные СМИ во время выборов, поэтому не могу сказать о разнице.

- 3) Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?**

Стоит отметить, что не все кыргызскоязычные СМИ некачественные. Например, кыргызские службы Радио «Свобода», Би Би Си, «Пятого канала» и другие работают профессионально.

- 4) Какие недостатки вы видите в освещении президентских выборов в целом? Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?**

Что именно и как освещать — я не знаю, так как каждые выборы уникальны и нельзя стопроцентно копировать метод, использованный на предыдущих выборах. Много зависит от того, кто участвует (альтернативные ли выборы, насколько сильны кандидаты), какая политическая ситуация в данное время. По идее, СМИ должны давать всем кандидатам одинаковые условия, но как показывает практика, каждое СМИ ведет свою политику, основанную на предпочтении и на объеме рекламы. В Кыргызстане большая часть СМИ

принадлежит разным политическим силам, и от этого зависит характер освещения того или иного кандидата.

- 5) Индекс свободы прессы показывает, что Кыргызстан улучшился в освещении новостей за 2010 год (с 159 места поднялся на 108). Относится ли это к политическому освещению новостей в целом? Есть ли улучшения тут?**

Можно сказать с уверенностью, что ситуация со свободой слова в Кыргызстане улучшилась в разы после событий 7 апреля 2010 года. Радует, что ситуация спустя 2 года продолжает улучшаться, то есть нет того давления, которое было до апрельских событий. Подобная ситуация была и после 24 марта 2005 года, но затем практически вся свободная пресса в стране была подавлена и стала подконтрольной окружению Бакиева.

В данное время пресса свободна, но не полностью. СМИ, близкие оппозиционным политикам, продолжают критиковать властные структуры, но действуют они по указке тех же политиков. Власти продолжают использовать центральные СМИ в своих целях. Но стоит отметить, что даже самый главный телеканал страны — ОТРК — изменился в лучшую сторону. На телеканале в различных телепередачах абсолютно свободно и без цензуры принимают участие представители оппозиции, чего не могло быть во время правления Акаева или «позднего Бакиева». В выпусках новостей ОТРК и «Пятого канала» (второго по значимости телеканала в стране) дают сбалансированную информацию о политической ситуации.

Appendix B (In-depth interview of Elena Voronina, an independent media expert, columnist of information agency “Chalkan.kg”)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По вашему, с чем это связано?**

Даже если не проводить такой анализ углубленный, какой ты проделала, я тоже имела такое же представление о кыргызскоязычной прессе. Отвечая на твой вопрос, могу сказать, что, действительно, в русскоязычных изданиях баланс соблюдался, то есть никто на ту или иную сторону не вставал. В то же время, в кыргызскоязычной прессе есть такие издания, которые как-то соответствуют международным стандартам, то есть не все газеты пишут одностороннюю информацию. Твои процентные соотношения в кыргызскоязычной прессе показывают, что те или иные газеты не пытаются соответствовать нормам журналистики. В каждой редакции есть свое понимание редакционной политики, принципы работы журналистов во время выборов. Даже если журналисты пытались освещать сбалансировано, у них проскальзывал элемент пропаганды. И поэтому их читатели, избиратели делали свои выводы о кандидатах, основываясь на этих материалах. Отсутствие стандартов у журналистов во время освещения выборов – это показатель культуры журналистов в целом. В русскоязычной прессе также, даже в тех изданиях, которые ты анализировала есть материалы, которые не соответствуют нормам международной журналистики. Но они, хотя бы пытались уходить от пропаганды, четко понимали где информация, где пропаганда, где реклама. Кыргызскоязычная пресса все равно идет на поводу у своего потребителя, а потребитель может ограничиваться какими-то географическими рамками. Та же газета «Фабула», например, больше ориентирована на жителей жил. массивов. А как известно, это выходцы их регионов. В этом случае, журналист начинает соответствовать их уровню, чего он не должен никогда делать, и превращается в пропагандиста, что мы явно видим в кыргызскоязычной прессе. В русскоязычной тоже есть свои шероховатости, но намного меньше, потому что там еще остались профессиональные кадры, которые понимают, что такое журналистика.

2) Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?

Нужно обучать этих самых журналистов. Сегодня в кыргызскоязычной прессе сформировался некий сегмент, который всячески отрицает стандарты журналистики. Вот это SOS. Это некий сигнал, который говорит, что надо искать пути к диалогу к этим журналистам. Для этого нужно брать сразу их статьи, и на ярких примерах показывать, что вот так или так нельзя писать. Если они в ответ будут говорить нам это не надо, у нас есть рейтинг, у нас есть свой читатель, то тут нужно уже работу вести с редакторами газет. Отсутствие редакционной политики – это номер два проблема. А первая проблема – это низкий уровень образования. Сегодня не каждая масс медиа может похвастаться, что у них есть такой документ под названием «редакционная политика». В этом документе должны быть описаны все права и обязанности журналиста, а также как он должен освещать выборы. Если у издания нетакого документа это минус, значит это «желтая пресса», т.е. пресса, которая не образованная, не качественная и не современная. На тренинги, устраиваемые специально для обучения журналистов, кыргызскоязычные журналисты не приходят. Почему? Потому что у них нету редакционной политики, значит редакторы этих газет не заинтересованы в этом. Если даже посмотреть на верстку кыргызскоязычных газет, мы видим их аляпистость; они пытаются привлечь внимание читателей своей пестротой, некий «восточный кураг», который в газете никак неприемлем.

3) Индекс свободы прессы показывает, что Кыргызстан улучшился в освещении новостей за 2010 год (с 159 места поднялся на 108). Относится ли это к политическому освещению новостей в целом? Есть ли улучшения тут?

Да, мы стали немного отличаться в политическом освещении. Появились журналистские расследования. Если раньше всего несколько изданий занималось этим жанром, то сегодня любое современное издание хочет поставить себе рейтинг на том, что у него сильное журналистское расследование. Политическая тема – она сегодня модна, активна. Например, ИА Chalkan.kg сегодня решило культивировать. Говорят, политика – грязное дело, но каждый из нас занимается этой политикой. Мы решили преподнести

политику на очень доступном, простом и понятном языке для того, чтобы каждый гражданин понимал суть новостей. Политика должна быть окультуривана на языке обычного человека. Главным героем новостей у любого издания должен стоять обычный человек, не политик, не депутат. Через призму обычного гражданина мы смотрим на политику. И поэтому, политика сегодня не вызывает такого отвращения, как раньше.

4) Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?

В любой предвыборной компании важен гражданин. Масс медиа это не инструмент агитации или пропаганды. Нужно избавляться от этого клише, когда редакция или журналисты во время выборов рассчитывают подзаработать. Ну здесь очень много зависит еще от культуры самого журналиста, если он первоклассный журналист он должен понимать, что он и без этих «шабашек» может заработать. Но сегодня картина такова, что большинство журналистов и редакции бедные. И они считают, что период выборов – хорошее время для заработка. И тогда они забывают о предназначении журналиста. Я надеюсь, что придет время и мы будем относиться к выборам, как к рядовому явлению. Журналистам нужно научиться ставить себя на место рядового гражданина и тогда они поймут, что и как нужно лучше освещать.

Appendix C (Interview of Sultan Jumagulov, executive director of “Azattyk”)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По вашему, с чем это связано?**

Биринчиден, бул салтка байланыштуу. Журналистика элдин салтына байланыштуу болот. Орус журналистикасы көп кылым мурда калпталган. Ал дүйнөлүк журналистикага жакын. Ошол жактан тажрыйба, үлгү алат. Ошого алар ушакка баянган, эчтеке менен тастыкталбаган материалдарды жарыялабайт. Кыргыз журналистикасы кеч калптанды. Кыргыз эли ооз эки сүйлөмөгө жакын эл. Буну Манастан деле көрүп жатабыз. Ошол салт азыр кыргыз журналистикасында көрүнүп жатат. 90 жылдары элдик журналистика пайда болгон Советтик журналистиканын ордуна. Ошонун башатында биз турганбыз. Чиновниктерди согуп, иш менеби, ишсиз элеби, аны эл окуй баштаган. Ошондон бери 20 жыю өтүп калды, бирок ал салт башка гезиттерге жайылып, анан бул негизги жанр болуп калды. Өзгөрүш керек, дүйнөлүк журналистиканын стандарттарына өтүш керек. Көп тараптуу жазып, бир нормаларга төп келтирип жазган гезиттер жок эмес, бирок алар аз эледа. Шайлоо убагында сачатчылар өздөрү гезиттерге заказ кылмайы бар. Кыргыз гезитинде иштегендер аябай аз айлык алышат. Экономикалык жагы аябай начар. Айла жок бир бизнесмендердин, саясатчылардын заказдардын аткарышат. Керек болсо “Аны же муну жамандап койчу, 100\$ беребиз” дегендерди көрүп, угуп жүрөбүз. Шайлоо маалында, редакторлор, ключевой журналисттер акча таап алышат. Гезиттерди да саясатчылар өздөрү бөлүп алышат анан аны курал катары пайдаланышат. Азыр көп гезиттердин үстүнө сот иштери жүрүп жатат. Адамдар өздөрүнүн ар-намысын сактап калыш үчүн аларды миллиондогон акчага сотко берип жатышат. Бир чети туура, эмнеге дегенде журналисттер макала жазганда, мыйзамдын астында, моралдык жактан да жоопкерчилик сезиш керек. Кыргызстанга азыр жаңы типтеги басмалардын үлгүсү жетпей жатат. “Азаттык”, “Би-Би-Си” окшогон, эл аралык стандарттарды карманып иштеген гезит болсо жакшы болот эле. “Жаңы Агым”, “Де Факто” аракет кылып жатышат, бирок баарибир деле эски менталитет көрүнүп жататта. Бирөөнү соккусу келсе, кыргыз гезити аябай согот. Бирөөнү мактаса, жөн эле Кудайдын жанына алпарып макташат. Бирок бул өзгөрүлөт албетте, айла жок өзгөрүлөт, анткени коом өзгөрүлүп жатат. Өзгөрүлгүсү келбесе тираждары түшө берет, гезиттер жабыла берет. Азыр мына көп гезиттер жабылып, эптеп эле чыгып атат.

- 2) Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?**

Журналисттерди окутса да болот. Мисалы, эл аралык компанияларда эмнеге журналисттери күчтүү, эмнеге дегенде алар тынбай тренингтерди өткөрүшөт, окутушат. Мен директор болуп турсамда, мени тынбай Прагага же башка жактарга тренинге жөнөтүп турушат, улам формада кармап. Журналисттер окуну бүтүп эле, дипломдордун чөнтөкөө салып алып эле жүрө беришет, тренингтерден өтпөй. Бул бир жагы. Экинчи жагы, экономикалык жагы. Эгерде жакшы айлык төлөнүп, эч кимди сокпой, нормаларга туш келген макалаларды жаз дешсе, жазышат эледа.

3) Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?

Мисалы, биз деле «Азаттык» шайлоо учурда жазып жаттык. Биринчи орунда чагылдыруу нейтралдуу жана объективдүү тондо болушу зарыл. Бирок баарибир бир интрига, сенсациялык материал да болушу керек. Сенсациялар көп эле жерден табылат: кандидаттардын сүйлөгөн сөздөрүнөн, алардын ураандары канчалык терең.

Толтура кызык нерселерди таап чыкса болот. А биздин кыргыз журналистика тышкы нерселер жөнүндө эле жаза беришет да. Жөн эле булл жаман же ал жакшы деп эле алып жаттышат да.

Ушул биздиназыркыкүндөэңнегизгткатаачылыгыбыз.

Appendix D (In-depth interview of Ulugbek Babakulov, Editor of the newspaper “МК Asia”)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По вашему, с чем это связано?**

Кыргызскоязычные газеты, в отличии от русскоязычных в определенной мере или даже в полной мере принадлежат определенным лицам. Поэтому подсчитывать сколько русскоязычная или кыргызскоязычная газеты про того или иного кандидата написала- неверно. Та же «Фабула» всегда будет писать положительно про Атамбаева и негативно про Ташиева и Мадумарова. Поэтому тут говорить об объективности сложно, тут зависит кто владелец и кто им платит. В отличии от них, русскоязычные издания работают , в первую очередь, на себя. И все тут зависит от степени моральной деградированности редактора. Если у редактора цель-нагрести побольше денег и свалить, то ему все равно кого пиарить.

Газетой «МК Азия» владею я сам, и учредитель я и организация я.

- 2) Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?**

Ну вот мы обучаем, обучаем этих журналистов, а толку-то? Вопрос заключается в другом. Все зависит от того, кто платит деньги. В таком случае обучать нужно владельцев газет. А нужно ли это владельцам газет? Конечно, нет. Я бы не стал называть кыргызскоязычные газеты в полном смысле газетами, это боевые листки. Боевой листок определенного кандидата или же партии. Вот «Фабула» - это боевой листок СДПК. Ну редакторов тоже можно обучать. Но их кто назначает, их назначают сами же владельцы. Здесь просто надо политикам и партиям запретить финансировать газеты и все. Но это невозможно опять же.

- 3) Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?**

Во время выборов все освещают одно и то же. Во-первых, освещают весь негатив или же стараются найти что-нибудь негативное в зависимости от своей направленности. В идеале нужно писать всю правду, всю критику про обеих сторон. Этому придерживается и наша газета. Мы критиковали и оппозицию и про-власть.

Appendix E (In-depth interview of Bermet Malikova, columnist for the main editor of “Evening Bishkek”)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По вашему, с чем это связано?**

Во-первых, нужно исходить из того, кто хозяин этого издания. Как правило, это кыргызскоязычные – это частные газеты и они относятся к определенным политическим группам. А русскоязычные газеты они более независимы, хотя тоже частные. Может традиция так сложилась, что эта независимость с одной стороны экономическая, а с другой стороны независимость от влияния политических групп. Среди кыргызских сейчас появились газеты, которые более или менее независимы, это «Де Факто». Все остальные газеты – это явно выраженные зависимые газеты.

- 2) Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?**

Тут проблема кадров на лицо. В кыргызскоязычных газетах не хватает журналистов, обученных по международным стандартам, умеющих писать по принципам международной журналистики. А также, журналистам очень важно иметь контакты с людьми во всех сферах, широкий круг контактов – это немаловажный фактор. К сожалению, молодые люди, которые приходят сразу после университета, у них нет такого опыта, и они могут делать только то, что им скажут. Тут очень важно, чтобы журналист прежде чем прийти в газету, отработал в новостных службах, в агентствах, на радио, на телевидении, и набирать за это время контакты. У нас в кыргызских изданиях коллективы небольшие и очень трудно быть специалистом в одной области: один-два человека могут специализироваться, а остальные пишут обо всем, да ни о чем.

- 3) Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?**

Пресса отличается от телевидения тем, что на ТВ можно проводить дебаты, где сталкиваются интересы. В газете это сложнее, потому что мы все-таки ограничены законом. Во время агитации мы имеем право публиковать только материалы, оплаченные из фонда кандидатов. Не только наша газет, но и многие во время выборов пытаются дать как можно больше площади для рекламы кандидатов. Все-таки реклама- это часть дохода. Поэтому здесь единственное это держать нейтральную позицию. Наша газета всегда придерживалась такой позиции и отказывала некоторым кандидатам в каких-то материалах. Мы понимаем, что выборы – это временное мероприятие, а репутация – она больше стоит.

4) Существует ли в вашей газете редакционная политика?

У нас есть договор, просто трудовой договор , где расписаны обязанности журналиста. Журналист должен нести ответственность за информацию, которую он дает в публикацию. Он должен понимать, что если он даст неправдивую информацию, могут быть судебные иски. У нас нет каких-то ограничений писать то или это, но в каждом из нас есть внутренние здравомыслие и некий цензор, мы понимаем, что есть определенные этические нормы, которые нужно соблюдать.

Appendix F (In-depth interview of Atyr Abdyrahmatova, Editorial Advisor of OTRK, ombudsman)

- 1) **Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По-вашему, с чем это связано?**

Мне кажется, не как медиа эксперту, а как юристу и наблюдателю за выборами, что спрос порождает предложение. Тот спрос, что есть к русскоязычной прессе, он и порождает такие продукты. А тот спрос, который есть к кыргызскоязычной прессе, соответственно такие же результаты. К сожалению, пока наше общество привыкло рассуждать, основываясь на слухах. Даже если взять наших политиков, по ним видно, что им также легче апеллировать слухами. И поэтому пресса пишет также, как разговаривает общество, как разговаривает наши политики. В этом плане у меня к самим журналистам мало претензий. Люди сами хотят этой вот желтухи, соответственно и такие вот новости получают. Но вот когда пишется аналитика, журналисты ни в коем случае не должны основываться на слухах. Во время выборов людей интересует «кровь», интриги, поэтому они так и пишут. На последних вот выборах, президентских были явно видны выдуманные и негативные вещи. Русскоязычная пресса - это уже совсем другое. Во-первых, ее читатели – в основном это жители города. У каждого издания уже есть свои ниша читателей и им важно их сохранить. В кыргызскоязычной прессе нету понятия как конкуренция, в отличии от русскоязычной. И все уже давно ясно, что кыргызскоязычные газеты принадлежат определенным политикам, поэтому там нет никакого контента, там нет никакого качества. Их даже газетами назвать сложно, это больше информационные бюллетени, отсюда и их однобокость в подаче информации. А русскоязычным газетам приходится конкурировать, потому что у нас русскоязычных потребителей информации мало и газетам приходится бороться за них.

- 2) **Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?**

Обучать журналистов, однозначно надо, но за 20 лет столько вложено проектов обучающих, но проблемы остаются те же самые. В этом плане мы переобучены,

и не применяем эти знания и навыки на практике. Для многих тренинги – это отсидеть на них, попить кофе-брейки и убежать. Есть такие категории людей, которые не понимают важность этих тренингов. Не знаю пока, что еще мы должны предпринять, но на данный момент невосприимчив наш народ к знаниям. Мне не нравится, что молодые журналисты, которые приходят работать в эти газеты, они сразу же начинают работать в этом определенных «рамках». Среди кыргызскоязычной прессы нужно сделать модным быть точным, объективным.

3) **Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?**

Нам, избирателям, да и журналистам важно, как кандидат выглядит на тот момент, когда он ведет свою агитацию. Но вот механизмы реализации его планов и программ не проговариваются, не отслеживаются. Я замечала больше в русскоязычной прессе и интернете, что они как-то пытались проанализировать и пытались показать, что то или иное действие невозможно выполнить. Люди средств массовых информаций это те люди, которые формируют мнения людей. Было бы здорово, если бы журналисты научились освещать выборы в ракурсе программных идей, то и избирателям пришлось бы к этому привыкать.

Appendix G (in-depth Interview of Bolotbek Tashtanaliev, editor of the newspaper “Alibi”)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По вашему, с чем это связано?**

Бул эми сенин жеке изилдөөң. Мен, гезитте көптөн бери иштеген адам катары, андай ойлобойм. Орус тилдүү, кыргыз тилдүү гезиттер деп негизи бөлбөш керекта. Ошол эле орус тилдүү, ошол эле кыргыз тилдүү гезит Кыргызстанда чыгып жатат, туурабы? Өзү орус гезиттерде деле бир жактылуук бар, албетте. Эми мен алар жөнүндө айтпай эле коёун, бул алардын жеке иши. Бирок иен сен айткан пикирге кошулбайм. Кыргыз Республикасынын шайлоо жөнүндө мыйзамы бар. Ошол шайлоо жүрүп жатканда, бир ай калганда, талапкерлер редакцияларга келип, мыйзам чегинде акча төлөөп, өз макалаларын жайгаштыра алат. Бизге тиги же бул кандидат жөнүндө бир тараптуулук кылып жазганга мыйзам жол бербейт. А Бих мыйзамдын алдында жооп беребизда. Бизде, журналисттерде бир кызыкчылыгыбыз жок, сөзсүз бул талапкерди жакташ керек, а тигини жамандаш керек денег. Кимиси президент болуп келет, же келбей калабы, эч кандай кызыкчылыгы жок.

- 2) Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?**

Шайлоого байланыштуу биз бир гана нерсени чагылдырышыбыз керекта, бул шайлоо тынч жана мыйзам чегинде өтөт деген нерсени айтышыбыз керек. Бир тарапта турган дагы болбойт. Биздин везит, журналисттерибиз эч бир партияга кирбейт, эч бир партияна мүчө эмеспиз. Биз тиги же булл партиянын кылычын чаппайбыз.

- 3) Было сказано другими медиа экспертами, что у журналистам мало платят, поэтому во время выборов они пытаются «подзаработать», пропниарив того или иного кандидата. Что вы думаете по этому поводу?**

Мен ошол меда эксперттер жөнүндө айтат элемда. Бизде медиа эксперттер көп, саясий жактан дагы, өздөрү болсо журналистика жактан кылдай түшүнүгү жокта. Бүттүгү тиги же бунун кызыкчылыгын чапкандарда. Алардын сүйлөгөн сөздөрүн угуп туруп эле, а бул тигинин жагын жактап жатат, ал акча төлөгөн дейсинда. Журналисттер эмес. Ошол медиа эксперттер өздөрү сатылган. Алар эч кандай тиешеси жок гранттарды алат, анан ошонун эсебине жашар жатышатда. Журналисттердин айлыгы аз деген маселеге кайрылсам, азыркы күндө бардыгынын эле айлыгы аз. Кимдики көп экен? Мугалимдердин же врачтардын айлыгы көппү? Биздин мамлекеттен жеп-ичип жаткан жерибиз жокта. Биз, маңдай-тээрибиз мене таап, үй-бүлөөбүздү багып келе жатабыз. Анан жанакындай пикир дайыма биздин жинибизди келтирет.

Appendix H (In-depth interview of Nurgul Abdykerimova, Executive director of Public Association “Center for Information law”)

- 1) Мой контент анализ газет показал, что кыргызскоязычная пресса, действительно, пишет материалы больше основываясь на слухах, нежели чем на фактах. Почему у меня получились такие результаты? По-вашему, с чем это связано?**

Я не могу сейчас сказать, почему такая разница у кыргызскоязычной и русскоязычной прессы в освещении выборов. Это ответственность самих журналистов перед своими читателями. Вообще, по нашим наблюдениям, во время выборов 2011 все печатные издания писали в негативном тоне о всех кандидатах. Наши журналисты не всегда соблюдают этические нормы журналистов. В Кыргызстане принят в 2007 году этический кодекс журналистов. В 2009 году были внесены дополнения и изменения на Республиканском съезде журналистов. К сожалению, не все журналисты соблюдают этот кодекс и порой поддаются эмоциям.

Наблюдается очень большая утечка кадров. Мы обучаем и подготавливаем журналистов и такие более или менее профессиональные журналисты затем уезжают из страны. На их место приходят молодые и неопытные журналисты, и тогда получается то, что получается, что мы видим на полосах газет. Мы сейчас ходим в каждую кыргызскоязычную редакцию и обсуждаем их проблемы.

- 2) Что нужно делать, чтобы развивать кыргызскую прессу? Какие конкретные предложения вы можете предложить?**

С декабря прошлого года мы побывали в 8 редакциях газет, это «Алиби», «Фабула», «Аят», «Жаны Агым», «Де Факто», «Кыргыз Туусу», «Ачык Саясат». Наши эксперты уже отмечают, что идет снижение в освещении межэтнических проблем. Журналисты соглашаются и прислушиваются к нам. Мы призваны для того, чтобы им помогать, рекомендовать и совместно вырабатывать какие-то мероприятия для улучшения их

работы. На данный момент мы ходим к ним и устраиваем мастер-классы. При этих работах мы выявили две основные проблемы. Первая – это искусство проведения интервьюирования и аналитика. Аналитика у нас отсутствует. Сейчас мы работаем по решению этих двух проблем.

3) С какими экспертами вы сотрудничаете?

Мы работаем с очень грамотными экспертами, журналистами. Султан Жумагулов является экспертом для кыргызскоязычной среды и к его рекомендациям очень прислушиваются. Скоро мы планируем выезжать в регионы и проводить такие же работы с редакциями тех газет.

4) Что именно и как нужно освещать в президентских выборах?

Должны обязательно соблюдаться обычные этические нормы, это баланс, достоверность фактов, сбалансированность. А также не забывать о человеческих нормах. Не нужно обливать грязью одного кандидата в пользу другого. В прошлом году в президентских выборах таких фактов было очень много.