



# **MEDIA PLURALISM IN ARMENIA: PECULIARITIES OF REPORTING "OTHERS' SPEECH"**

*THE RESULTS OF MONITORING  
OF 10 TV COMPANIES AND ONLINE MEDIA OUTLETS IN ARMENIA*

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“Region” research center



European Endowment for Democracy (EED)

# **Media Pluralism in Armenia: Peculiarities of Reporting “Others’ Speech”**

## **(The results of monitoring of 10 TV companies and online media outlets in Armenia)**

It is commonly held that the losses incurred in the 2020 Karabakh war specifically led to the further polarization of the media in Armenia and the outlets started to explicitly affiliate with adversary political forces, promoting their claims. The representatives of institutional Parliamentary forces (governmental and oppositional), too, express such a generalized perspective. They point at the realities in the media outlets supporting their adversaries unilaterally and upon expediency, in order to indicate their manipulative style.

It is common knowledge that some of the media, operating in Armenia, are actually either led by the members of various political forces or by those in the warm circle. But there are no grounds to make such unequivocal claims about some media outlets, representing a segment in the media field. In formal terms, when even the media outlets, demonstrating their vivid political preferences, refrain from explicit declarations as to their political orientation, it is still problematic to categorize the media outlet as pro-governmental or oppositional.

However, there is an objective and general indicator as to the polarization of the media – pluralism. It can be manifest in separate media outlets, as well as in the media sector, as a whole. Pluralism is ensured, first and foremost, through the inclusion of “others’ speech” in the media outlet, namely, whose statements and opinions, apart from those of the media outlet’s representatives, are circulated in the media outlet and how intensively such external views are presented when covering publicly significant processes (by the way, including the ones that take place in other countries, too).

We initiated this study to determine:

- Whether there is any pluralism in the two most consumed segments of the Armenian media sector, namely TV and online media outlets,
- How it is manifest and on what matters,
- Whether the prolific “others’ speech” on the media platform is indicative of pluralism in that media outlet and, vice versa, the smaller amount of “others’ speech” is automatically an indicator of lack of pluralism in the media.

In order to answer these questions, we studied the TV programmes and publications of 5 TV companies in Armenia (Public TV, 5 TV Channel, Kentron TV, Yerkir Media TV, Free News TV) and 5 online media outlets (1in.am, Freenews.am , Hraparak.am, Factor.am, Civilnet.am) for one month (April 10 – May 10, 2022).

## Methodology Guide

### Selection of Media Outlets

All the media outlets were selected after two key criteria:

- Online media outlets and TV companies that have various links with the pro-governmental and oppositional political forces or demonstrate a certain kind of predisposition/preference for them,
- Online media outlets that, apart from articles, circulate a large volume of video materials bringing them to the audience in the format of a series of programmes, livestream reports, and newscasts.

### Selection of programmes/materials

- **In case of online media outlets**, we studied all the materials on the socio-political topics of the day, regardless of the formats of their circulation (only texts, only/also video), regardless of their genre (reports from the “scene”, on-set interviews and

discussions, thematic surveys in various circles and so on). Materials that contain not only the speech of the authors, but include quotes of “others’ speech”. We categorized the materials republished in online media outlets, as “others’ speech” imported from the social media.

- **In case of TV companies**, we selected the prime time daily newscasts for our research (with the inclusion of reportages), as well as shows of the socio-political interview/discussion format where the “others’ speech” on the socio-political developments and events in Armenia, other countries and regions was presented/quoted.

### Calculation principle

- We divided the materials into two groups – **reportages and on-set materials**. In the conditional group of **On-set materials** we included all the materials/broadcasts of interview/discussion genre, regardless of whether it was shot on the set of the editorial office or in the office of the interviewee, whether the material was shown to the audience as a live broadcast or just a transcribed text. The conditional group of **reportage materials** included all materials that were not of interview genre, but contained “others’ speech”, including reportages with the news of the day with elements of an interview (short Q&As). Thus, for example, all the interviews by 1.am were considered as on-set materials, part of which were presented as only text, the other part – as online broadcasts, and the third part came in the form of a conversation on the set of the editorial office. We considered on-set materials a number of interviews by Yerkir Media TV which the reporters from the TV company shot during the street protest actions of the oppositional forces, inviting various figures onto their open-air set.
- **In case of TV newscasts**, we only considered stories on socio-political topics per piece, leaving sports and weather forecast bits out. In case of programmes of interview/discussion format, we considered the whole piece as one, after the principle of “one broadcast – one material”.

- When studying **the production of online media**, we classified the materials after the same principle: all text and individual interviews in the video format were considered as on-set materials, in the remaining cases the materials were considered reportages. Republished posts from social media were grouped here, too, seen as the “others’ speech,” authored by various figures and specialists.
- We measured the intensity of circulating an individual figure’s, specialist’s or other countries representatives’ opinions in one material after the principle of “one material, one concrete name”. For example, if the opinions of 2 different figures, representing the same political force were mentioned in one piece, we counted it as 2 presentations of a certain political force.
- The intensity of the topics was measured coming from the number of references made by “others”. For example, if the same topic was commented on by the representatives of 2 different political and other groups, we counted this as 2.

## **Volume and Ways of Presenting “Others’ Speech”**

How many opinions by other persons were circulated in online media outlets and by TV channels? How are they mainly presented to the audiences?

**The main peculiarity, pertinent to these questions, is that all studied media outlets are broadly circulating the opinions and the speech of “others” both in reportages (soundbites, brief Q&As) and in the materials of standalone on-set interviews/debates. Generally speaking, there is quite an abundance of soundbites or full broadcasts of “others’ speech” in the Armenian media. However, the shares of visibility this or that political and social circles get in reportages and on-set materials varies:**

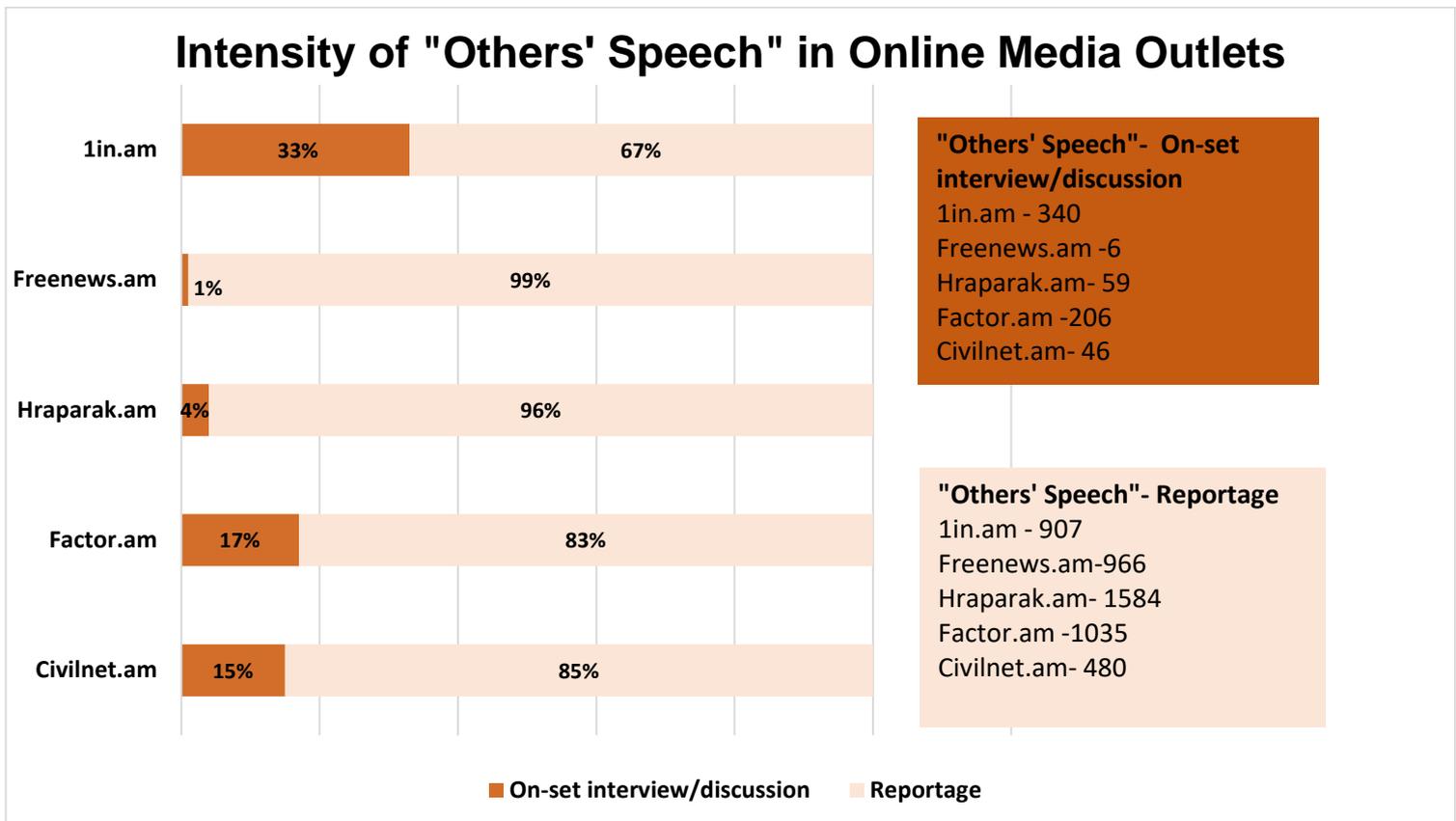
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Thus, there are online media outlets that intensively and on a daily basis apply the practice of on-set interviews. This is actively practiced by 1in.am, Factor.am, and Civilnet.am. The on-set interviews/discussions constituted 33%, 17%, 15% shares of monthly publications, containing “others’ speech” respectively. The vast majority of on-set materials with these media outlets came in the format of videos.

340 different figures spoke in 323 interviews, organized by 1in.am in a month, and their speech constituted 27% of the whole volume of “others’ speech”, published by this media outlet. This is the highest number among all the other online media outlets. The other mass media outlet that worked quite actively with the interviews/discussion format is Factor.am, which had 206 guests speaking in 167 programmes of the mentioned kind (constituting 17% of the whole volume of circulated “others’ speech”).

Large volumes of others’ speech were identified in Freenews.am and Hraparak.am, too. However, in this case it was circulated mainly through materials of reportage genre (Freenews.am - 99%, Hraparak.am - 96%).

See the figure below, also Appendix, Table 1.



All 5 TV companies have broadcasts of the on-set interview/discussion format. Public TV organized the largest number of interviews with invited figures and specialists during the reporting month through 6 show series of this genre. "Interview with Petros Ghazaryan", "Interview with Astghik Sargsyan", "News interview", "Open Platform", "Different Opinions with Anna Danielyan", "Public Discussion" TV programmes aired the speeches of 110 guests.

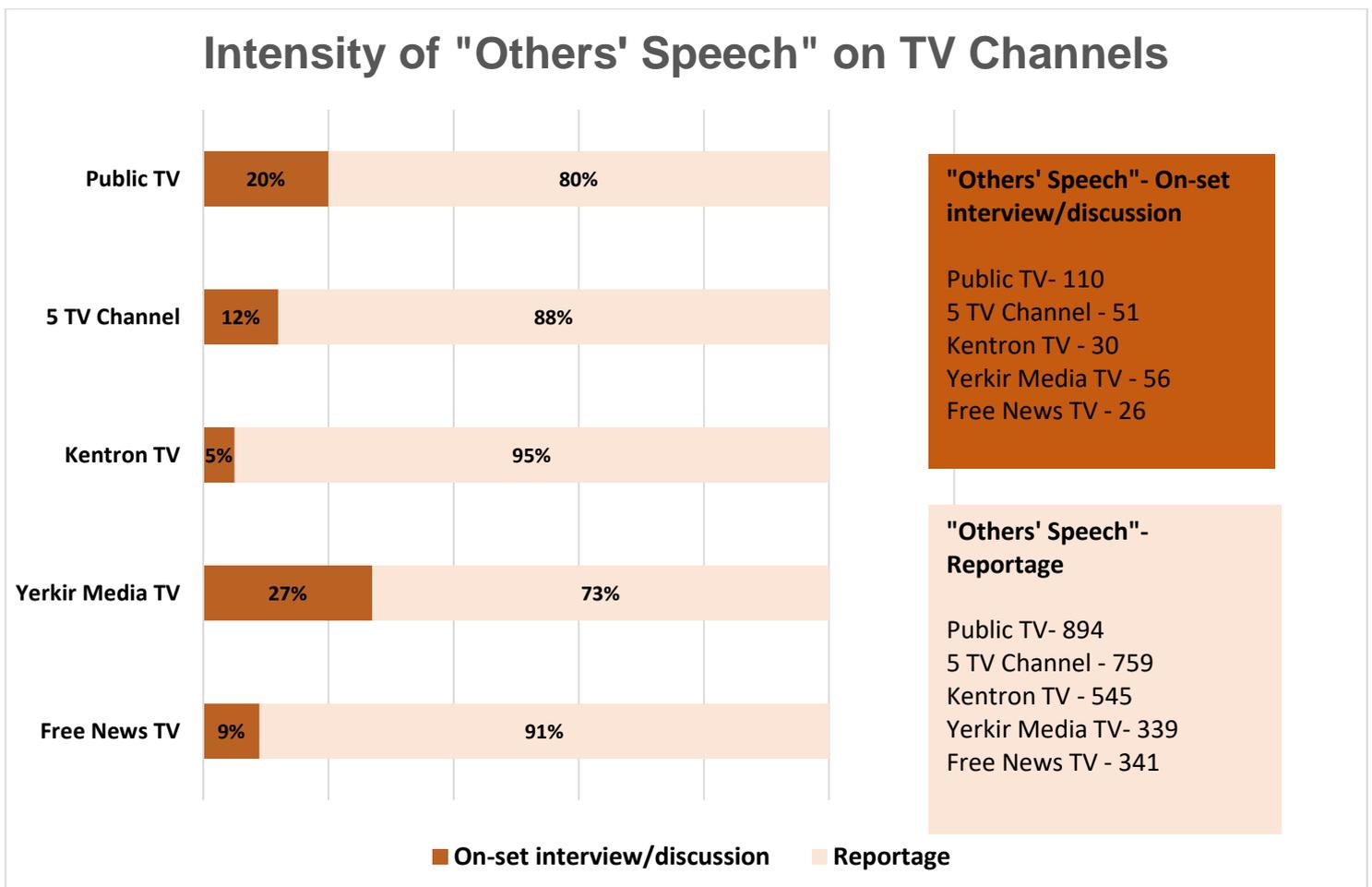
Yerkir Media TV comes second under this criterion since it broadcast interviews with 56 guests in its "Yerkir's Guestroom" and "Yerkir Today" newscasts of the above-stated format.

5 TV Channel, within its 4 broadcast series of the same format ("Interview", "Diary", "Face to Face", "Synthesis"), organized 51 interviews.

Kentron TV had the smallest number of on-set interviews/discussions with three TV shows of the respective genre ("Press Center", "30 Minutes with Mikael Melkumyan", "Without Stereotypes") hosting 30 guests, followed by Free News TV (mainly with its "Free Talk" broadcast) with only 26 interviews.

The others' speech on the air of Kentron TV and Free News TV was predominantly broadcast through materials of TV reports within newscasts.

See the figure below, as well as Appendix, Table 2.



## Whose Speech Was Circulated and How?

The first and unequivocal answer to this question is that the political fragmentation of the media is manifest, first and foremost, in materials of the interview/discussion genre, thus, demonstrating the outlet's signature of presenting the positions held by concrete specialists, specific political forces as well as the representatives of other social groups through the outlet's platform. Even though the circulation of the "others' speech" in the reportage materials is mainly dictated by the imperative and developments of the day, TV reports on media outlets with vividly expressed political preferences contain significantly larger volumes of concrete political teams' speech than other outlets. However, there are also media outlets the platforms of which hardly manifest any such gaps.

From this perspective, it is necessary to speak of pluralism that is manifest not in one separate, but simultaneously in all 10 monitored media outlets. By the way, the length of name lists for the authors of the others' speech, does not automatically testify to opposing opinions, but is rather indicative of the intensive campaign in favor of a concrete position.

Within the framework of our previous research on the use of social media content in online media we discovered that the media selected the statuses and comments of different users on the social media and circulated them on its own platforms, mainly guided by political expediency. In simple terms, the statuses authored by the social media user that consider the government's actions right, as a rule, get republished in pro-governmental media outlets, and on the contrary, the statuses of social media users that have a different approach to the same action by the government and hold a completely different perspective, criticizing it, get published in the oppositional media.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See "The Peculiarities of Using Social Networking Posts by the Online Media in Armenia – 2022", pp. 9-12, <https://www.regioncenter.info/en/media-metrics/1872>.

The same principle covers the materials, authored by the outlet itself.

In both pro-governmental, and oppositional media outlets the political preferences are manifest not only in the materials of the interview genre (when in order to comment on this or that topic the representatives of a specific force, specialists and representatives of other groups holding aligned opinions are invited onto the set), but also in the reportages on the events and developments of the day (when, for example, in the material on the same event, incident or happening the pro-governmental media outlet makes a reference or quotes the speech of government representatives, whereas an oppositional media outlet publishes the speeches of the representatives of the opposition), regardless of the fact that the list of persons who voiced official information in the reportages and the authors of the “others’ speech” (the political forces, social and professional groups, non-political agencies/business companies, ordinary citizens and others) was long in all monitored media outlets.

**Here is a more detailed picture of the data:**

**1in.am** - In the materials published in 1in.am the speech of the representatives of 18 different political forces was generally circulated. However, the speech of the representatives of the ruling Civil Contract Party was most frequently quoted/published. And the opinions of the representatives of the Parliamentary oppositional factions – Armenia and With Honor – were brought to the audience mainly (that is to say, partially) by means of the reportage broadcast by this channel.

In 1in.am interviews, those who spoke most frequently were the representatives of the ruling Civil Contract Party (18), the representatives of the Diaspora (39) and Artsakh (24). The members of the oppositional Armenia and With Honor factions were interviewed by this media outlet just once during one month.

The only non-ruling political force, the members of which, as compared with all other oppositional forces, had the largest number of interviews on this media outlet, were those from For the Republic Party (10 interviews). The other extra-Parliamentary oppositional forces were interviewed from 1 to 6 times.

**Freenews.am** published the speech of the representatives of 11 different parties, with the vast majority of the materials published in reportages. If we leave aside the speech of the

representatives of State structures, which were circulated on this platform most frequently, the representatives of the ruling Civil Contract Party came second, as they spoke significantly more times than all the political forces in the reportages on this platform (14% of the “others’ speech”). Freenews.am published the speech of the representatives of the remaining 10 oppositional political forces (including the two oppositional Parliamentary factions) ten times less frequently.

**Hraparak.am** - The picture is just the opposite on Hraparak.am. The speech of a total of 21 different political forces was published here. However, the speech of the representatives of Armenia Faction was circulated most frequently in both reportages and on-set interviews. The representatives of this oppositional block had 12 interviews on Hraparak.am. The representatives of the remaining political forces were interviewed once each.

**Factor.am** - In the materials of Factor.am the gap between the speech of figures, representing forces with different political views, is comparatively smaller. The opinions of a total of 19 different political forces were published here. Even though on **Factor.am**, too, the highest number of interviews/discussions were with the representatives of the ruling Civil Contract Party (28 interviews), the interviews with the representatives of the institutional opposition - Armenia Faction (9 interviews) and With Honor Faction (4), too, were comparatively more in number. There are 15 more parties the representatives of which were invited 1 – 4 times to participate in an interview/discussion on the platform of this media outlet.

**Civilnet.am** - In the on-set and reportage materials on Civilnet.am, the speech of the representatives of 7 political forces were quoted or voiced. Even though this list of political forces is shorter than that of the forces who spoke on other online media outlets, the representatives of no political force had a significantly larger number of interviews on the set. However, in the reportages the speech of the Civil Contract Party was quoted more frequently within the daily newscast.

**Public TV** - In the broadcast series on Public TV, the speech of 16 different political forces was voiced. The opinions of the ruling Civil Contract Party members were presented most frequently. By the way, ¼ (25%) were included in programmes of individual interview/discussions format. The opinions of the representatives of 2 oppositional parliamentary forces were more frequently contained in reportages than in programmes after

the format of individual interviews. The vast majority of the representatives of all other forces, invited to participate in the on-set interviews/discussions on Public TV were the political forces that did not join the street protest action undertaken by Armenia and With Honor factions that lasted for over a month. Namely, these were Bright Armenia Party, For the Republic, Hanrapetutyun, Country to Live, Fair Armenia, Armenian National Congress, Citizen's Decision, the Christian-Democratic Party of Armenia and other parties.

**5 TV Channel** – This TV Channel broadcast the opinions of the representatives of 10 different political forces in which the speech of the representatives of 2 parliamentary oppositional forces – Armenia (23% of all quotes/statements) and With Honor (14% of all quotes/statements) factions were broadcast in reportages and on-set interviews/discussions most frequently. Among the other political forces invited to on-set interviews were Zartonk, 5165, Citizen's Decision parties with one representative from each. The speech of the ruling Civil Contract Party's representatives was broadcast only in reportages.

**Kentron TV** - The speech of the representatives of 10 political forces was published by Kentron TV, the vast majority of which came as reportages within the daily newscast. In broadcast series after the interview/discussions format With Honor Faction and Bright Armenia Party spoke three times, and Armenia Faction, the Reformists' Party, the Armenian Constructive Party, Country to Live Party spoke once.

**Yerkir Media TV** - 8 different political forces spoke on Yerkir Media TV. With a major gap from the rest, the audience of this TV company heard the speech of the Armenia Faction members from among the street protest organizers more frequently than that of others. This was the case with both reportages, and interview genre programmes (38% of all statements/quotes), followed by the speech of With Honor Faction representatives (4% of all statements/quotes). The speech of the ruling Civil Contract Party representatives constituted only 1%, including exclusively in reportages. The significant majority of guests to the interview format were members of the ARF party that are part of Armenia Faction.

**Free News TV** - 6 political forces spoke on Free News TV, moreover, out of these 6, the TV company presented the speech of the ruling Civil Contract Party members to its audience most frequently (23% of all statements/quotes). Apart from this force, the representatives of the Christian-Democratic and Hanrapetutyun parties were invited for an interview within the "Free Talk" programme. The remaining 3 parties had their representatives speak in reportages, within the general daily newscast context.

**The second peculiarity is that political preferences are expressed both in online media and on TV channels also with regard to the representatives of different social groups. In fact, just as in case of social media, clashes of opinions in the Armenian media happen across the content published by different media outlets, rather than on the same outlet's platform.**

Thus,

Without any exceptions all 10 media outlets gave ordinary citizens a platform to express themselves. However, the pro-governmental media quoted those citizens who expressed criticism against the opposition, and vice versa, the oppositional media quoted citizens who used labelling statements in the address of the authorities.

Frequently, TV programmes of debate genre would turn into unilateral discussions, and they did not become a platform for clashing ideas, since the participants speaking on the set of the debate did not hold any polarized views.

The same figure, expert, NGO representative, analyst and so on might be invited multiply to debate TV shows of the same TV company on similar or even the same topics within one month. This practice is manifest in a number of TV companies (Public TV, Free News TV, Yerkir Media TV) and in a number of online media outlets. Thus, we identified 18 experts and analysts who were interviewed on 1in.am's set 3 – 6 times within 1 month. Examples of the kind were fewer on Factor.am (7 experts were invited onto the set of this media outlet to express an opinion 2 – 3 times, even though this time they were mainly programmes of different formats – individual interviews and discussions, also with the participation of other specialists). There were fewer such manifestations in other online media outlets.

**See Appendix, Tables 3, 4, 5, 6.**

### **The third peculiarity is that**

- Regardless of the topics or the geography of the processes described (whether they took place in Armenia, Artsakh, or in other countries), all monitored media outlets mainly circulated the statements made by Armenia's representatives.
- In online media, the statements made by Artsakh and Diaspora representatives were circulated more frequently than in TV channels' reportages and interview genre programmes. The speech of Artsakh and Diaspora representatives was predominantly circulated in interview format shows.
- The speech of the representatives of other countries was circulated mainly in the reportage materials across all monitored media outlets as daily news, with reference to foreign news sources.

**The fourth peculiarity is that the volumes of the speech by the representatives of other countries, Artsakh and the Diaspora significantly varied in various media outlets.**

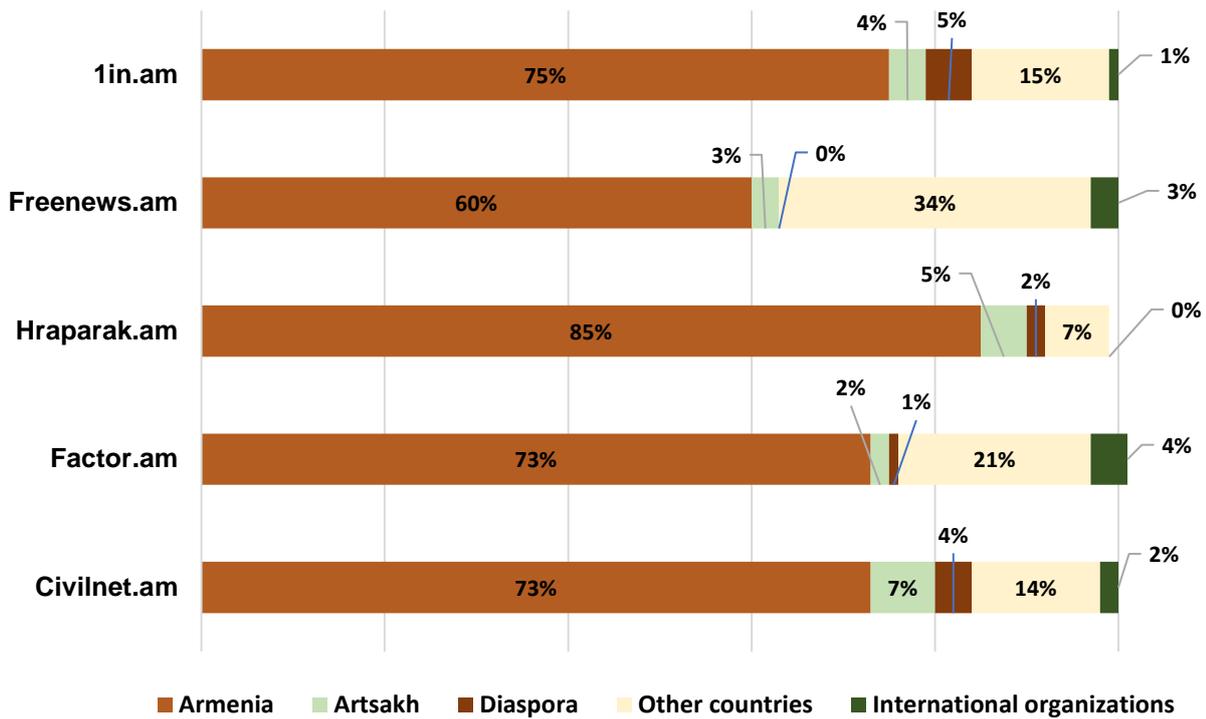
Thus, for example, 1in.am published almost as many opinions by the representatives of the Diaspora, as Civilnet.am that produces significantly fewer materials during the day (5% and 4% respectively). The opinions of Artsakh representatives constituted a maximum of 7% of the "others' speech" (Civilnet.am).

Freenews.am (34%) and Factor.am (21%) circulated the statements of the representatives of other countries in their reportages more frequently than the other monitored media outlets.

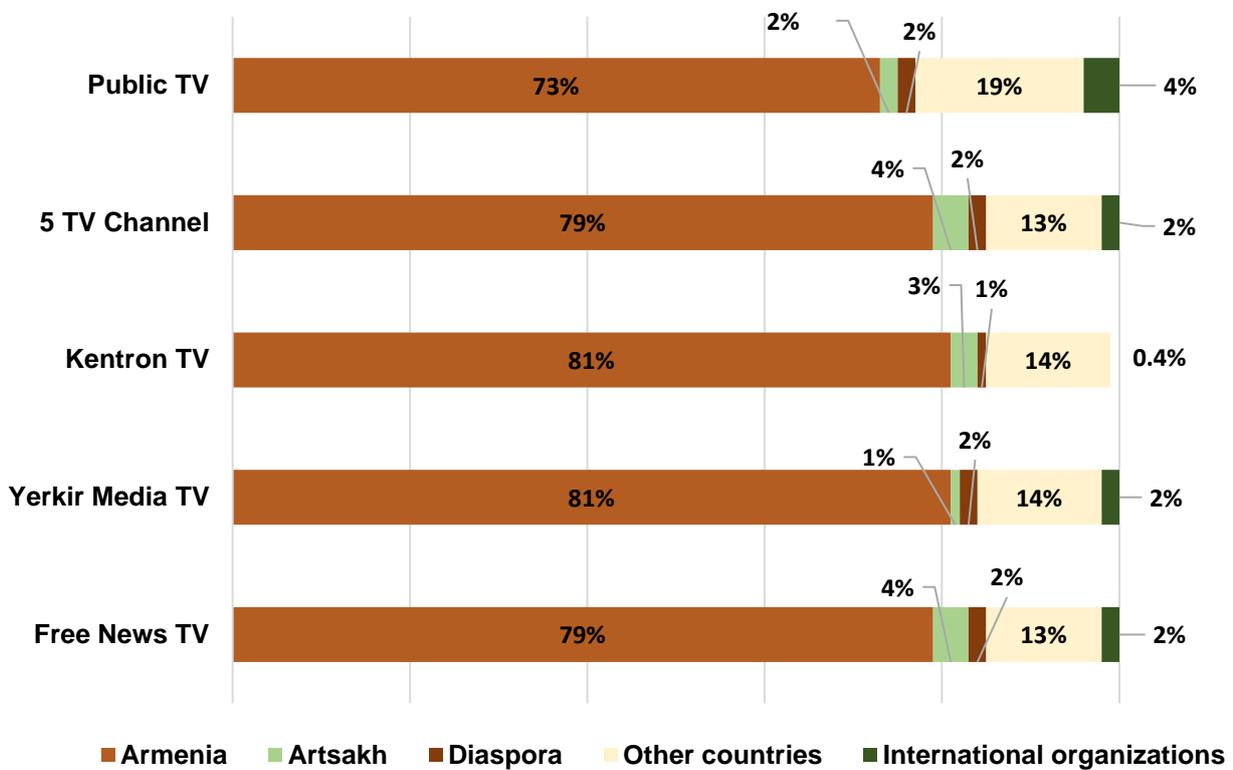
The statements of the representatives of the Diaspora, Artsakh, other countries and international organizations were circulated almost proportionally on the TV channels, and as is the case with online media outlets, the vast majority of those statements were contained in reportages.

**See the figures below.**

### Whose Speech Was Circulated in Online Media?



### Whose Speech Was Circulated on TV Channels?



## What Was the “Others’ Speech” about?

**The first peculiarity consisted in the fact that due to the processes and events taking place during the one month of research, the media mainly focused on the Karabakh conflict/security/army and domestic issues. The media addressed the most important processes and events taking place in other countries mainly through daily newscast, rather than separate interview-discussions. The number of special interviews dedicated to other countries on individual media outlets would not change the general picture anyway.**

The one month of this research can be called, on the one hand, a period of diplomatic meetings, as well as a stage of another domestic escalation, which was manifest by the protest actions of the opposition, firstly, at the Parliament, followed by street protests and clashes between the demonstrators and law-enforcement bodies.

Thus, in the foreign policy domain, on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Armenian – Russian interstate relations the leaders of both countries made a joint statement in Moscow (on April 19), declaring a broad scope of cooperation, also in the context of the regulation of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations. The RA Minister of Foreign Affairs paid a visit to the USA (2 - 6.05), the second meeting between the RA and Azerbaijani leaders, through EU mediation was expected to take place in Brussels (on May 22). All these meetings were perceived with obvious tension and not only by the oppositional forces, especially after the speech made by Pashinyan at the Parliament (on April 13), when he declared about the international community’s urge to lower the status bar in the Karabakh issue and the promised support by the international community in that case. In fact, the street protests of the opposition erupted right after these statements.

During the reporting month the Russian-Ukrainian war was still underway, and Presidential elections took place in France.

Given these circumstances, it was expected that the context of the Karabakh conflict and the relevant topics raised within the opposition’s protests would be at the core of the interviews/discussions, organized by all monitored media outlets.

However, these two topics were presented with different degrees of intensity and interconnectedness in various media outlets.

Thus, the interviews on 1in.am, Freenews.am, Factor.am, Civilnet.am were more about the Karabakh conflict rather than the street actions of the opposition.

These two issues were seen as interrelated when brought up in Hraparak.am's interviews.

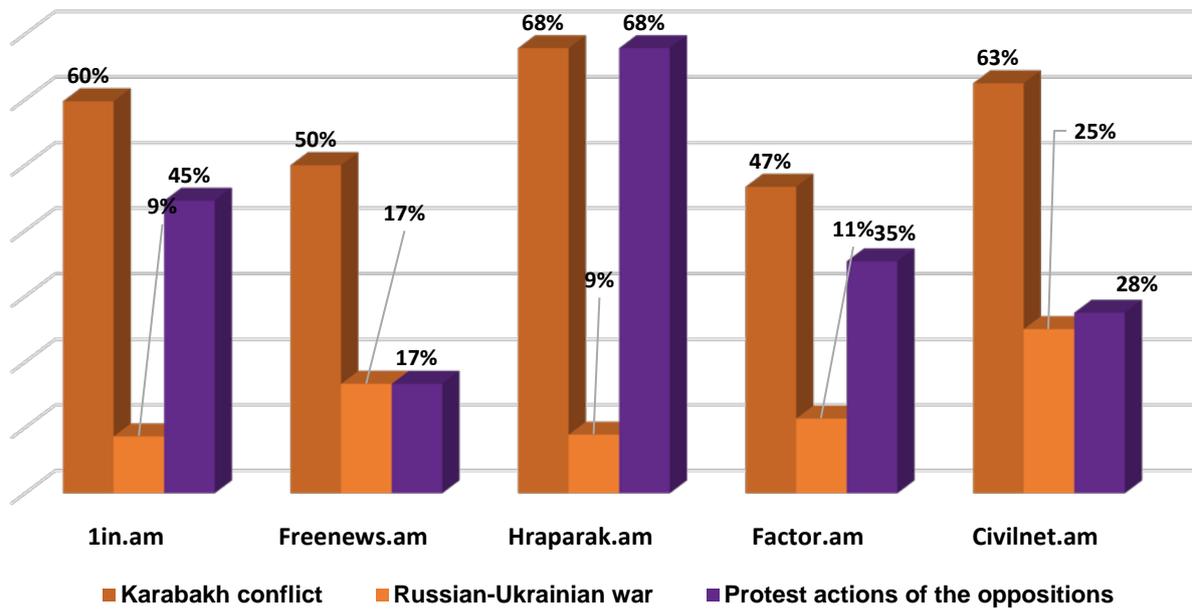
The topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war was discussed less frequently than the above-mentioned issues across all online media outlets. And on Freenews.am it was brought up as many times as the topics of the opposition protests.

The picture is a little different in the case of TV channels.

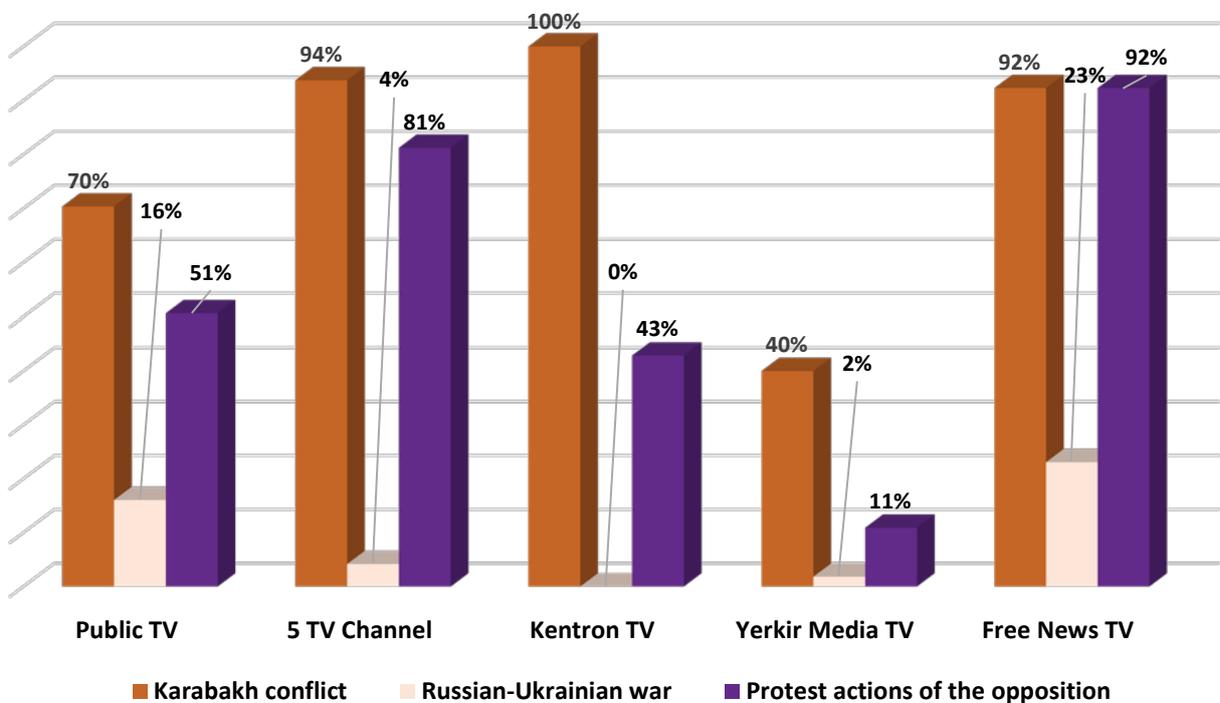
In the interviews and shows of the discussion genre on the oppositional 5 TV and Yerkir Media TV channels and the pro-governmental Free News TV as many/or almost as many references were made to the protests of the opposition as to the post-war situation and routine post-war matters in the context of the Karabakh conflict. The possible impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war was addressed most frequently in the interviews/discussions on Public TV and Free News TV.

**See the figures below.**

### Shares of the Topics of Karabakh Conflict, the Protests of the Opposition and Russian-Ukrainian War in Online Media Outlets' Interviews

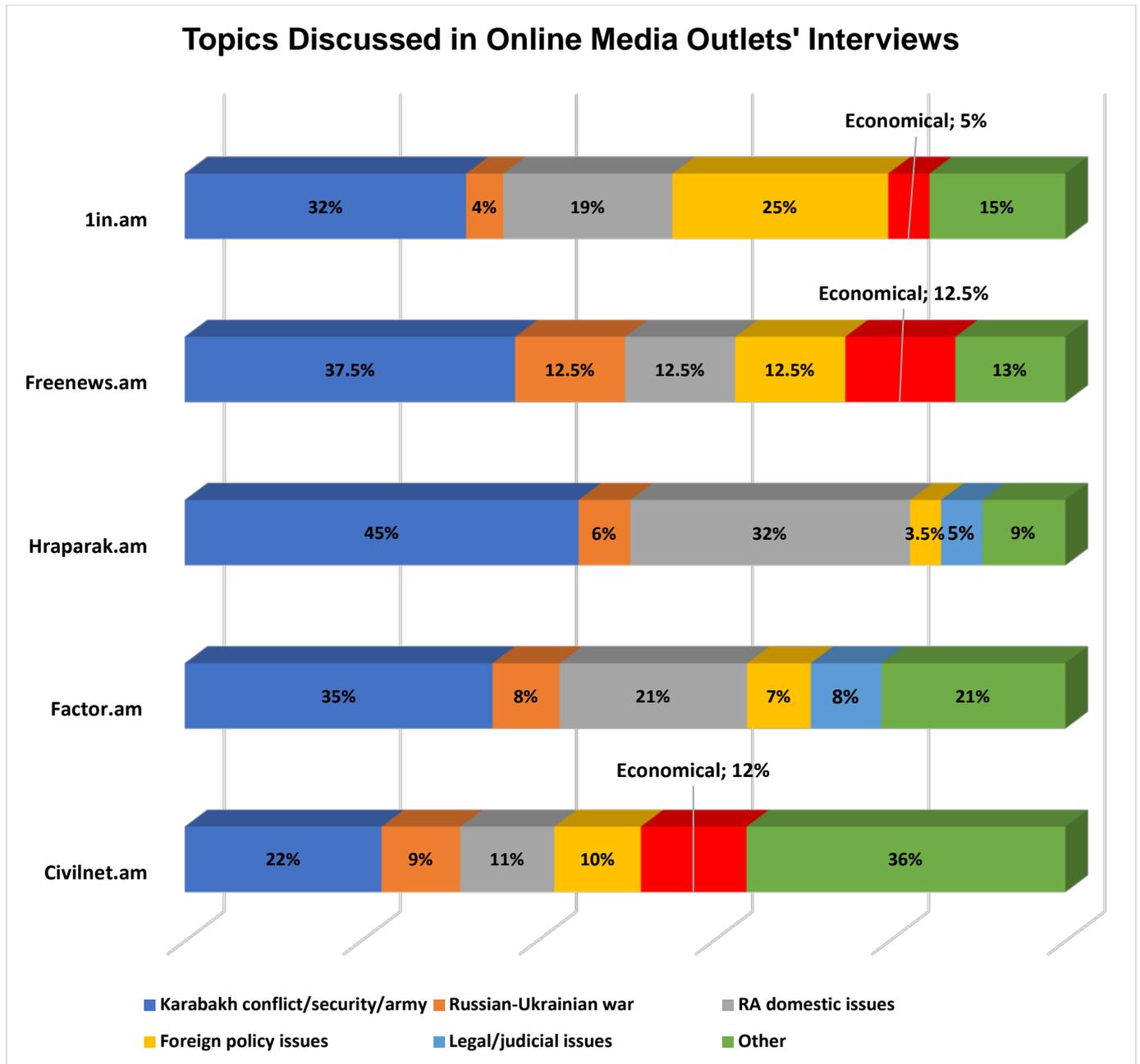


### Shares of the Topics of Karabakh Conflict, the Protests of the Opposition, and the Russian-Ukrainian War in TV Interviews

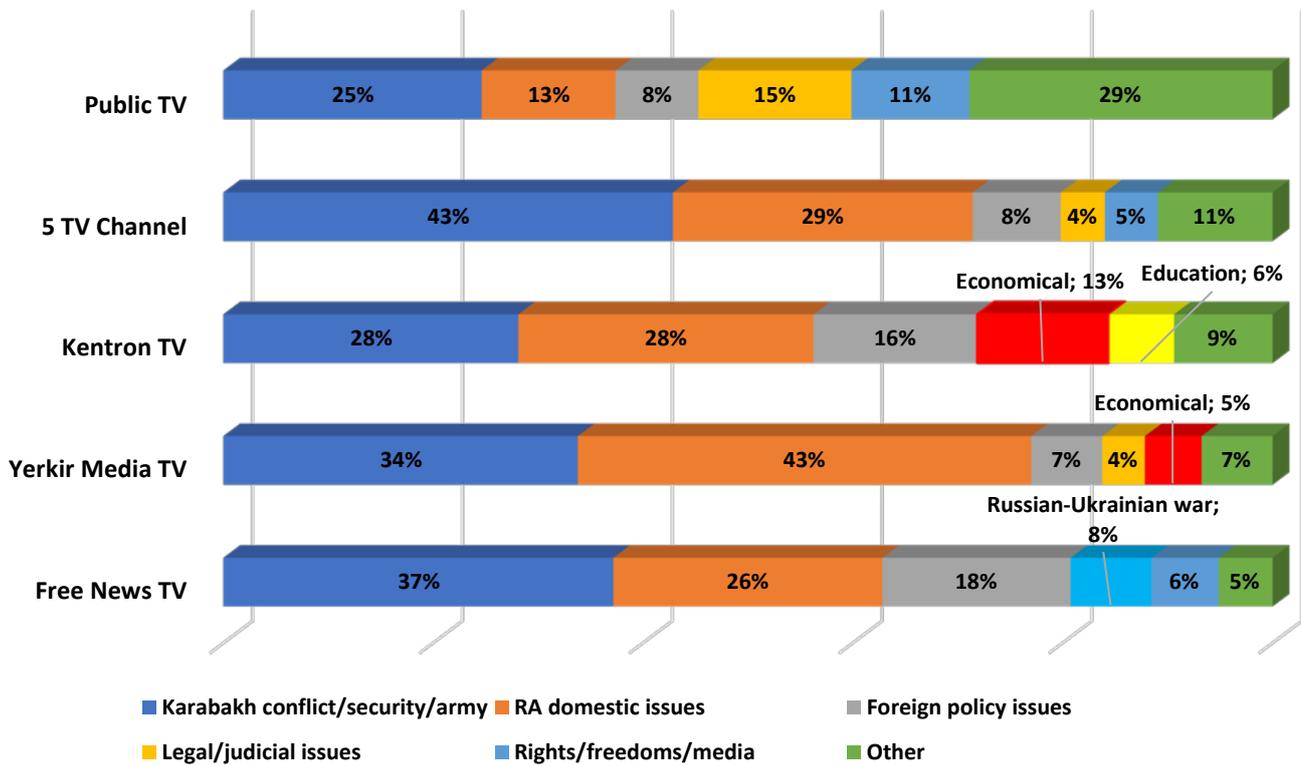


There were other topics and issues, too, which, regardless of the intensity of coverage of the above-stated issues, were discussed during the interviews/discussions on the monitored media outlets (economic issues, issues related to the legal/judicial system, Russian-Ukrainian war, migration, social issues, life in post-war Artsakh and so on).

See the figures below, as well as Appendix, Tables 7,8.



### Topics Discussed in TV Channels' Interviews



The second peculiarity is that in interviews it was Armenia’s representatives that spoke about the significant events taking place in other countries. The specialists from other countries did not frequently feature in interviews on the Armenian media. The representatives of the Diaspora were also invited to comment on the processes, taking place in other countries. However, these were rare cases. The interviews with the representatives of the Diaspora were mainly on topics related to the Diaspora, namely the preservation of the Armenian identity, education and other issues.

Thus, out of all 10 media outlets only 1in.am manifest its sustainable signature in the organization of interviews with the representatives of other countries on matters of public significance. It was mainly manifest in the case of interviews with analysts and other specialists from Russia. Thus, in the course of one month 15 interviews were organized with the representatives of Russia on 1in.am the majority of whom commented on the current issues of Karabakh and the Armenian-Azerbaijani post-war processes.

Either no interviews were organized on this topic with the representatives of these countries on the remaining media outlets or there were only 1 (Civilnet.am), 2 (Factor.am) on-set interviews. Armenian TV channels, including Public TV, focused on two issues in their interviews, namely on commentaries about the Karabakh conflict and the protests of the opposition with the participation of Armenian guests.

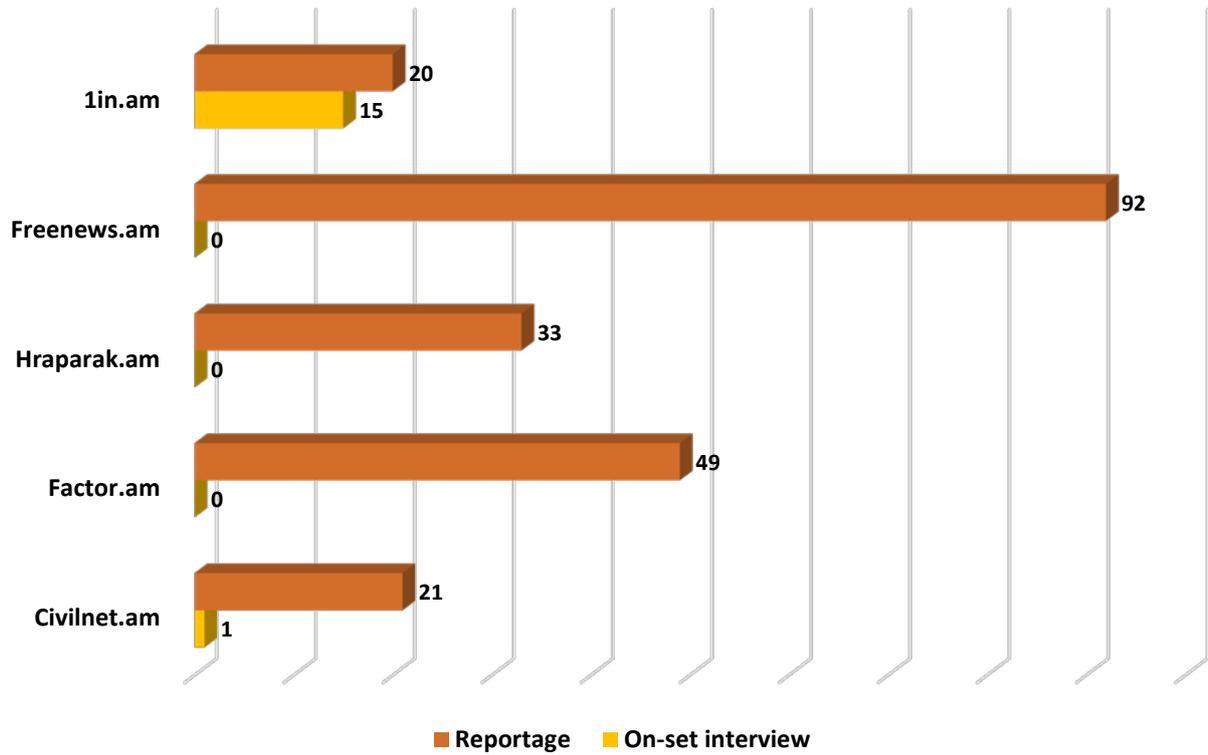
The topic of the **Russian-Ukrainian war** was covered on all TV channels mostly in reportage materials, with statements voiced by different parties.

Very few interviews were organized on the topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war with the representatives of those very countries. The topic of the war on all media outlets was mainly addressed within reportages, in the context of daily newscast, with soundbites from the statements made by the representatives of the countries involved in this war. Among the guests invited to interviews on the topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war there were mainly representatives of Armenia, who spoke about the possible impacts of various scenarios of the war outcome on Armenian and Artsakh (with regard to the post-war status quo in Artsakh, economic and political situation and so on).

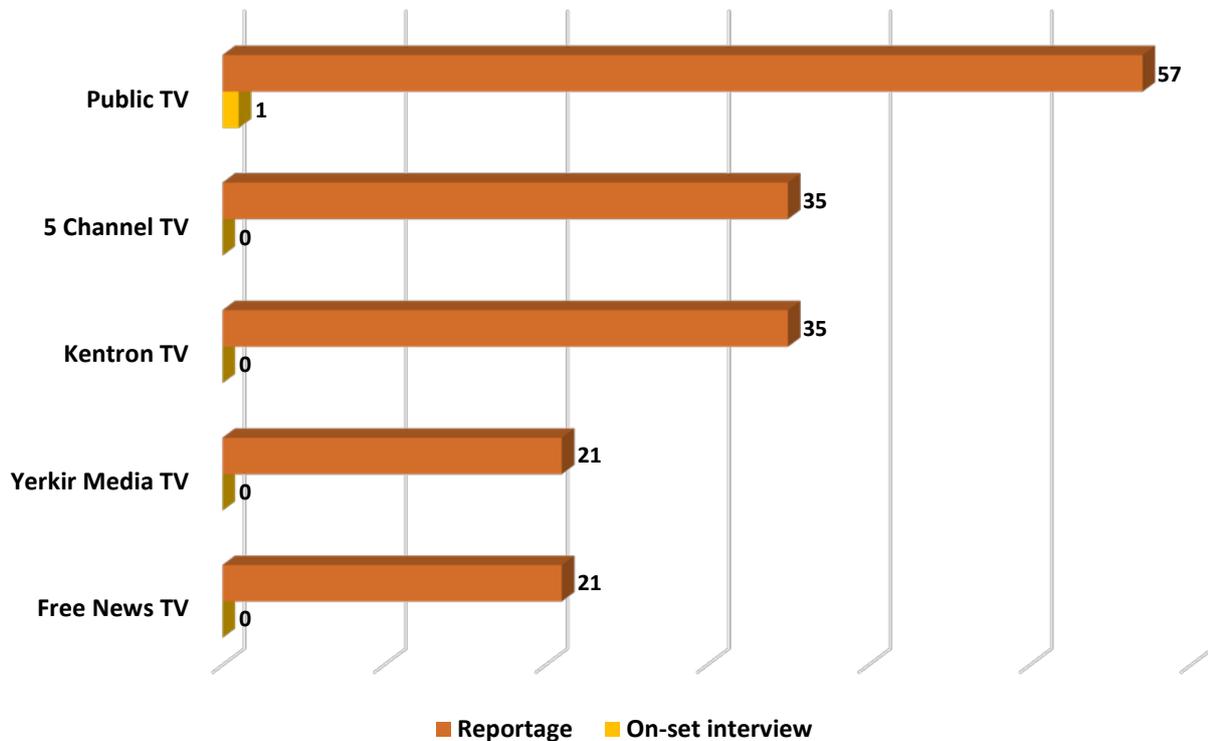
It is also noteworthy that in relation to the events and processes taking place in various countries, the Armenian media would more frequently request the opinions of Diaspora representative, residing in those countries, than to analysts and official political circles.

For example, there were interviews with the Armenian residents of Ukraine on the matters of Russian-Ukrainian war, there were interviews with Armenians in France on the occasion of the Presidential elections in France.

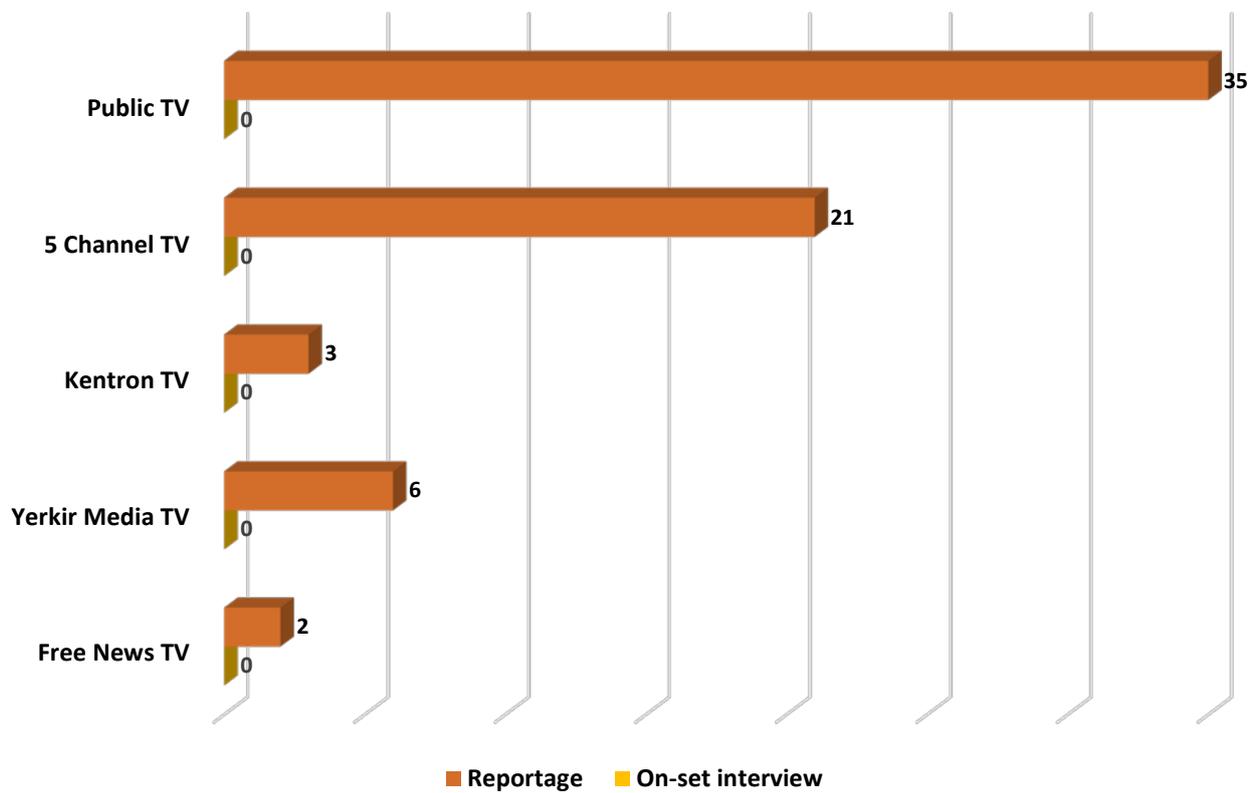
### Number of Russia's Representatives, Expressing Opinion in Online Media



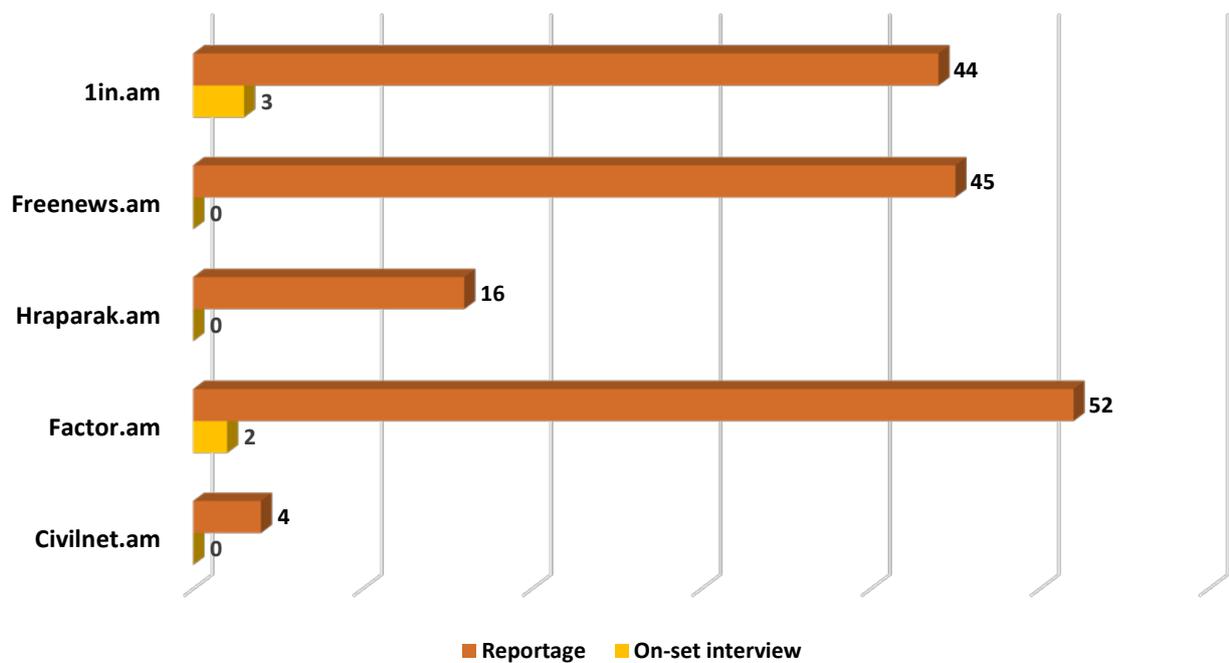
### Number of Russia's Representatives, Expressing Opinion on TV



### Number of Ukraine's Representatives, Expressing Opinion on TV



### Number of Ukraine's Representatives, Expressing Opinion in Online Media



## APPENDIX

**Table 1. Number, Type of the Researched Materials, Intensity of “Others’ Speech” in the Online Media (10.04 - 10.05, 2022)**

Online media outlet	Number of the researched materials	Material type				Others’ speech	Including			
		On-set interview/discussion		Reportage			In media outlet’s on-set interview		In media outlet’s reportage	
<b>1in.am</b>	976	323	33%	653	67%	1247	340	27%	907	73%
<b>Freenews.am</b>	895	6	1%	889	99%	972	6	1%	966	99%
<b>Hraparak.am</b>	1279	56	4%	1223	96%	1643	59	4%	1584	96%
<b>Factor.am</b>	984	167	17%	817	83%	1241	206	17%	1035	83%
<b>Civilnet.am</b>	271	40	15%	231	85%	526	46	9%	480	91%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4405</b>	<b>592</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>3813</b>	<b>87%</b>	<b>5629</b>	<b>657</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>4972</b>	<b>88%</b>

**Table 2. Number, Type of the Researched Materials, Intensity of “Others’ Speech” on the TV Channels (10.04-10.05, 2022)**

TV channels/ programmes	Number of broadcasts	Number of materials	Material type				Others’ speech				
			On-set interview/discus sion		Reportage		In media outlet’s on-set interview		In media outlet’s reportage		Total
<b>Public TV</b>											
News	27	317	0	0%	317	100%	0	0%	894	100%	894
Interview with Petros Ghazaryan	20	20	20	100%	0	0%	21	100%	0	0%	21
Interview with Astghik Sargsyan	18	18	18	100%	0	0%	18	100%	0	0%	18
News Interview	10	10	10	100%	0	0%	10	100%	0	0%	10
Different Opinions with Anna Danielyan	13	13	13	100%	0	0%	26	100%	0	0%	26
Open Platform	15	15	15	100%	0	0%	15	100%	0	0%	15
Public Discussion	5	5	5	100%	0	0%	20	100%	0	0%	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>894</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>1004</b>
<b>5 TV Channel</b>											
Haylur	31	362	1	0%	361	100%	1	0%	759	100%	760
Face to Face	3	3	3	100%	0	0%	6	100%	0	0%	6
Diary	20	20	20	100%	0	0%	20	100%	0	0%	20
Interview	22	22	22	100%	0	0%	22	100%	0	0%	22
Synthesis	2	2	2	100%	0	0%	2	100%	0	0%	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>409</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>759</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>810</b>
<b>Kentron TV</b>											
Epicenter	28	189	0	0%	189	100%	0	0%	545	100%	545
30 Minutes with Mikael Melkumyan	4	4	4	100%	0	0%	11	100%	0	0%	11
Without Stereotypes	3	3	3	100%	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	3
Press Center	4	4	4	100%	0	0%	16	100%	0	0%	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>545</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>575</b>
<b>Yerkir Media TV</b>											
Yerkir Today	31	149	4	3%	145	97%	5	5%	339	95%	355
Yerkir's Guestroom	31	51	51	100%	0	0%	51	100%	0	0%	51
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>406</b>
<b>Free News TV</b>											
Free News	31	277	4	1%	273	99%	4	1%	341	99%	345
Free Talk	22	22	22	100%	0	0%	22	100%	0	0%	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>93%</b>	<b>367</b>

**Table 3. Who Spoke in the Online Media Outlets**

Media outlet	Armenia		Artsakh		Diaspora		Other countries		International organizations		Total	
1in.am	935	75%	54	4%	57	5%	190	15%	11	1%	1247	100%
Freenews.am	579	60%	30	3%	1	0%	331	34%	31	3%	972	100%
Hraparak.am	1398	85%	89	5%	27	2%	122	7%	7	0%	1643	100%
Factor.am	901	73%	26	2%	10	1%	260	21%	44	4%	1241	100%
Civilnet.am	384	73%	37	7%	21	4%	76	14%	8	2%	526	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4198</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>978</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>5629</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 4. Who Spoke on the TV Channels**

Public TV / Who spoke	News	Interview with Petros Ghazaryan	Interview with Astghik Sargsyan	News Interview	Different Opinions with Anna Danielyan	Open Platform	Public Discussion	Total
Armenia	632	21	16	5	26	12	20	<b>732</b>
	71%	100%	89%	50%	100%	80%	100%	<b>73%</b>
Artsakh	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>23</b>
	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	<b>2%</b>
Diaspora	10	0	1	4	0	2	0	<b>17</b>
	1%	0%	6%	40%	0%	13%	0%	<b>2%</b>
Other countries	191	0	1	0	0	1	0	<b>193</b>
	21%	0%	6%	0%	0%	7%	0%	<b>19%</b>
International organization	38	0	0	1	0	0	0	<b>39</b>
	4%	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%	<b>4%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>894</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1004</b>
	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

5 TV Channel/ Who spoke	Haylur	Face to Face	Diary	Interview	Synthesis	Total
Armenia	592	6	19	22	2	641
	78%	100%	100%	96%	100%	79%
Artsakh	35	0	0	0	0	35
	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%
Diaspora	13	0	0	1	0	14
	2%	0%	0%	4%	0%	2%
Other countries	106	0	0	0	0	106
	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%
International organization	14	0	0	0	0	14
	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Total	<b>760</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>810</b>
	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Kentron TV / Who spoke	Epicenter	Press Center	30 Minutes with Mikael Melkumyan	Without Stereotypes	Total
Armenia	443	16	11	2	472
	81%	100%	100%	67%	82%
Artsakh	16	0	0	1	17
	3%	0%	0%	33%	3%
Diaspora	4	0	0	0	4
	1%	0%	0%	0%	0.6%
Other countries	80	0	0	0	80
	15%	0%	0%	0%	14%
International organization	2	0	0	0	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.3%
Total	<b>545</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>575</b>
	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Yerkir Media TV/ Who spoke</b>	<b>Yerkir Today</b>	<b>Yerkir's Guestroom</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Armenia</b>	279	49	328
	79%	96%	81%
<b>Artsakh</b>	5	1	6
	1%	2%	1%
<b>Diaspora</b>	8	1	9
	2%	2%	2%
<b>Other countries</b>	56	0	56
	16%	0%	14%
<b>International organization</b>	7	0	7
	2%	0%	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>406</b>
	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Free News TV/ Who spoke</b>	<b>Free News</b>	<b>Free Talk</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Armenia</b>	271	21	292
	78.6%	95.5%	79%
<b>Artsakh</b>	13	0	13
	3.8%	0.0%	4%
<b>Diaspora</b>	5	1	6
	1.4%	4.5%	2%
<b>Other countries</b>	47	0	47
	13.6%	0.0%	13%
<b>International organization</b>	9	0	9
	2.6%	0.0%	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>345</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>367</b>
	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 5. Who Spoke from Armenia in the Online Media**

<b>1in.am</b>		
<b>Who spoke</b>		
Expert/NGO representative	231	25%
Civil Contract Party	161	17%
Armenia Faction	107	11%
Citizen	92	10%
State structure	69	7%
Non-state agency/company	47	5%
With Honor Faction	46	5%
Local Government	32	3%
RA Prime Minister	31	3%
Cultural figure	25	3%
For the Republic Party	17	2%
Individual public/political figure	14	2%
RA Ombudsman	13	1%
Armenian Constructive Party	8	1%
Christian-Democratic Party	8	1%
5165 Party	5	1%
Fair Armenia Party	4	0,4%
Sovereign Armenia Party	3	0,3%
Hanrapetutyun Party	3	0,3%
Prosperous Armenia Party	3	0,3%
Church	3	0,3%
Conservative Party	3	0,3%
Armenian National Congress Party	2	0,2%
Journalist	2	0,2%
National Democratic Pole Party	1	0,1%
Country to Live Party	1	0,1%
Citizen's Decision Party	1	0,1%
Democratic Party of Armenia	1	0,1%
Family member of a famous person	1	0,1%
Armenian Communist Party	1	0,1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>935</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Freeneas.am</b>		
<b>Who spoke</b>		
State structure	163	28%
Civil Contract Party	142	25%
RA Prime Minister	72	12%
Citizen	41	7%
Local Government	37	6%
Expert/NGO representative	26	5%
Non-state agency/company	23	4%
Cultural figure	20	4%
Armenia Faction	13	2%
With Honor Faction	11	2%
Church	7	1%
RA Ombudsman	6	1%
Family member of a famous person	4	1%
Journalist	4	1%
Individual public/political figure	2	0.3%
For the Republic Party	1	0.2%
Hanrapetutyun Party	1	0.2%
Bright Armenia Party	1	0.2%
Prosperous Armenia Party	1	0.2%
Armenian National Congress Party	1	0.2%
Citizen's Decision Party	1	0.2%
5165 Party	1	0.2%
Power of Homeland Party	1	0.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Hraparak.am</b>		
<b>Who spoke</b>		
Armenia Faction	280	20%
Citizen	263	19%
Expert/NGO representative	221	16%
With Honor Faction	207	14%
Individual public/political figure	64	5%
State structure	62	4%
Civil Contract Party	48	3%
Cultural figure	45	3%
Non-state agency/company	38	3%
5165 Party	28	2%

Local Government	25	2%
RA Prime Minister	22	2%
Prosperous Armenia Party	16	1%
Family member of a famous person	10	0,7%
Journalist	10	0,7%
Armenian National Congress Party	9	0,6%
Church	9	0,6%
Zartonk Party	8	0,6%
RA Ombudsman	7	0,5%
Bright Armenia Party	5	0,4%
Democratic Party of Armenia	5	0,4%
Country to Live Party	4	0,3%
Alliance Party	2	0,1%
Union for National Self-Determination Party	1	0,1%
National Democratic Pole Party	1	0,1%
The Apricot Country Party	1	0,1%
National Security Party	1	0,1%
Freedom Party	1	0,1%
Armenian Constructive Party	1	0,1%
Democratic Alternative Party	1	0,1%
United Armenia Party	1	0,1%
Power of Homeland Party	1	0,1%
Revival Party	1	0,1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1398</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Factor.am</b>		
<b>Who spoke</b>		
Expert/NGO representative	177	20%
Civil Contract Party	147	16%
State structure	140	15%
Non-state agency/company	92	10%
Armenia Faction	81	9%
RA Prime Minister	67	7%
Citizen	55	6%
Local Government	41	5%
With Honor Faction	23	3%
RA Ombudsman	15	1,7%
Individual public/political figure	13	1,4%
Cultural figure	11	1,2%

For the Republic Party	4	0,4%
National Democratic Pole Party	4	0,4%
Armenian Constructive Party	3	0,3%
Armenian National Congress Party	3	0,3%
Journalist	3	0,3%
Bright Armenia Party	3	0,3%
Church	3	0,3%
5165 Party	3	0,3%
European Party of Armenia	2	0,2%
Sovereign Armenia Party	2	0,2%
Fair Armenia Party	2	0,2%
Christian-Democratic Party	1	0,1%
Citizen's Decision Party	1	0,1%
Conservative Party	1	0,1%
Hanrapetutyun Party	1	0,1%
Democratic Party of Armenia	1	0,1%
Prosperous Armenia Party	1	0,1%
Country to Live Party	1	0,1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>901</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Civilnet.am</b>		
<b>Who spoke</b>		
Citizen	111	29%
Expert/NGO representative	46	12%
State structure	45	12%
RA Prime Minister	37	9%
Civil Contract Party	29	7%
Non-state agency/company	25	6%
Armenia Faction	30	8%
Local Government	16	4%
With Honor Faction	22	6%
Journalist	9	2%
RA Ombudsman	4	1%
Individual public/political figure	4	1%
5165 Party	3	0,8%
Hanrapetutyun Party	1	0,3%
Armenian National Congress Party	1	0,3%
Sovereign Armenia Party	1	0,3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 6. Who Spoke from Armenia on the TV Channels**

Public TV Who spoke	News		Interview with Petros Ghazaryan		Interview with Astghik Sargsyan		News Interview		Different Opinions with Anna Danielyan		Open Platform		Public Discussion		Total	
State structure	151	24%	2	10%	1	6%	2	40%	1	4%	4	33%	0	0%	161	22%
Expert/NGO representative	104	16%	1	5%	3	19%	1	20%	10	38%	1	8%	12	60%	132	18%
Non-state agency/company	117	18%	1	5%	2	13%	2	40%	0	0%	3	25%	2	10%	127	17%
Citizen	83	13%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	83	11%
Civil Contract Party	49	8%	6	29%	6	38%	0	0%	1	4%	3	25%	0	0%	65	9%
RA Prime Minister	34	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	34	5%
Local Government	33	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	33	5%
Armenia Faction	20	3%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	21	3%
With Honor Faction	9	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	12%	0	0%	0	0%	12	2%
RA Ombudsman	8	1%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	9	1%
Cultural figure	6	1%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	8%	1	5%	9	1%
RA President	9	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	9	1%
Bright Armenia Party	2	0%	2	10%	1	6%	0	0%	2	8%	0	0%	1	5%	8	1%
Individual public/political figure	2	0%	2	10%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	5	1%
Hanrapetutyun Party	1	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	3	0.4%
Country to Live Party	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	1	5%	3	0.4%
For the Republic Party	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.2%
Fair Armenia Party	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.2%
Democratic Alternative Party	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	1	5%	2	0.2%
Church	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.2%
Representative of a national minority	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.2%
Armenian National Congress Party	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%
Citizen's Decision Part	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%	1	0.1%

5165 Party	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%
Armenian Constructive Party	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%
Christian-Democratic Party	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.2%
Democratic Consolidation Party	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%
European Party of Armenia	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%	1	0.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>732</b>	<b>100%</b>

5 CV Channel													
Who spoke	Haylur		Face to Face		Interview		Diary		Synthesis		Total		
Citizen	187	32%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	188	29%	
Armenia Faction	141	24%	0	0%	3	14%	4	20%	0	0%	148	23%	
Expert/NGO representative	60	10%	3	50%	12	45%	13	65%	1	50%	89	14%	
With Honor Faction	52	9%	1	17%	3	14%	1	5%	0	0%	57	9%	
Civil Contract Party	38	6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	38	6%	
State structure	32	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	32	5%	
RA Prime Minister	15	3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	15	2%	
Cultural figure	12	2%	0	0%	1	5%	1	5%	1	50%	15	2%	
Non-state agency/company	9	2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	9	1%	
Zartonk Party	7	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	7	1%	
5165 Party	6	1%	1	17%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	7	1%	
Individual public/political figure	5	1%	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	6	1%	
Journalist	5	1%	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	6	1%	
RA Ombudsman	3	1%	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	4	1%	
Church	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	1%	
Local Government	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	1%	
Family member of a celebrity	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	0.4%	
Bright Armenia Party	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.3%	
Reformists Party	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.3%	
RA President	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.3%	
Prosperous Armenia Party	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%	
Citizen's Decision Party	0	0%	1	17%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%	
Armenian Communist Party	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.1%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>591</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>641</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Kentron TV Who spoke	Epicenter		30Minutes with Mikael Melkumyan		Press Center		Without Stereotypes		Total	
Citizen	143	32%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%	144	30%
Expert/NGO representative	79	18%	5	45%	5	31%	2	50%	91	19%
Non-state agency/company	36	8%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%	38	8%
State structure	30	7%	0	0%	2	12%	0	0%	32	7%
Civil Contract Party	27	6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	27	6%
Cultural figure	25	6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	25	5%
Armenia Faction	23	5%	1	9%	0	0%	0	0%	24	5%
Prosperous Armenia Party	24	5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	24	5%
RA Prime Minister	19	4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	19	4%
With Honor Faction	12	3%	1	9%	2	12%	0	0%	15	3%
Local Government	11	2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	11	2%
Church	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	1%
5165 Party	3	1%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%	4	1%
Bright Armenia Party	0	0%	1	9%	2	12%	0	0%	3	0.6%
Individual public/political figure	0	0%	2	18%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.4%
RA Ombudsman	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.4%
Representative of a national minority	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.4%
Sovereign Armenia Party	1	0.2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.2%
Reformists' Party	0	0%	1	9%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.2%
Armenian Constructive Party	0	0%	0	0%	1	6%	0	0%	1	0.2%
Country to Live Party					1	6%			1	0.2%
Family member of a famous person	1	0.2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>100%</b>

<b>Yerkir Media TV</b>	<b>Yerkir Today</b>		<b>Yerkir's Guestroom</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Who spoke</b>						
Armenia Faction	114	41%	22	46%	133	38%
Expert/NGO representative	57	19%	1	25%	69	20%
Citizen	19	6%	8	16%	26	7%
State structure	15	5%	0	0%	15	4%
Local Government	13	4%	0	0%	13	4%
With Honor Faction	14	5%	1	0%	13	4%
RA Prime Minister	10	3%	0	0%	10	3%
Non-state agency/company	9	3%	0	0%	9	3%
Country to Live Party	5	2%	2	4%	7	2%
5165 Party	4	1%	2	4%	6	2%
Cultural Figure	5	2%	1	0%	5	1%
Prosperous Armenia Party	4	1%	0	0%	4	1%
Individual public/political figure	3	1%	1	2%	4	1%
Civil Contract Party	3	1%	0	0%	3	1%
RA Ombudsman	2	1%	0	0%	2	1%
Zartonk Party	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Democratic Party of Armenia	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Family member of a famous person	0	0%	1	2%	1	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>279</b>	<b>93%</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>328</b>	<b>94%</b>

<b>Free News TV</b>						
<b>Who spoke</b>	<b>Free News</b>		<b>Free Talk</b>		<b>Total</b>	
State structure	86	100%	0	0%	86	29%
Civil Contract Party	56	85%	10	48%	66	23%
RA Prime Minister	31	100%	0	0%	31	11%
Expert/NGO representative	21	75%	7	33%	28	10%
Non-state agency/company	26	100%	0	0%	26	9%
Local Government	14	100%	0	0%	14	5%
Citizen	8	100%	0	0%	8	3%
Cultural figure	7	100%	0	0%	7	2%
Armenia Faction	9	100%	0	0%	9	3%
Bright Armenia Party	4	100%	0	0%	4	1%
Christian-Democratic Party	0	0%	2	9%	2	0.6%
Individual public/political figure	1	50%	1	5%	2	0.6%
RA Ombudsman	2	100%	0	0%	2	0.6%
Church	2	100%	0	0%	2	0.6%
RA President	2	100%	0	0%	2	0.6%
With Honor Faction	1	100%	0	0%	1	0.3%
Hanrapetutyun Party	0	0%	1	5%	1	0.3%
Family member of a famous person	1	100%	0	0%	1	0.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>271</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>292</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 7. Topics Discussed in the Online Media Outlets' On-Set Interviews**

Media outlet	Topic																
	Karabakh conflict/security/army	Life in Artsakh	Russian-Ukrainian war	RA domestic issues	Foreign policy	Legal/judicial issues	Rights/freedoms/media	Economical issues	Social issues	Diaspora	Healthcare	Migration	Education/science	Church	Culture	Other	Total
1in.am	211	12	28	127	162	20	16	31	0	20	0	3	16	4	5	6	661
	32%	2%	4%	19 %	24%	3%	2%	5%	0%	3%	0%	0.4%	2%	0.6%	0.7%	1%	100%
Freeneews.am	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
	37%	0%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	0%	0%	12.5 %	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	12.5%	100%
Hraparak.am	38	0	5	27	3	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	85
	45%	0%	6%	31 %	4%	5%	4%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	100%
Factor.am	87	0	19	53	18	20	7	4	4	0	7	0	9	0	5	16	249
	35%	0%	7.6%	21 %	7%	8%	3%	1.6%	1.6%	0%	3%	0%	4%	0%	2%	6%	100%
Civilnet.am	25	1	10	12	11	5	8	14	4	4	4	0	10	1	2	1	112
	22%	1%	9%	11 %	10%	4%	7%	12%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%	0%	9%	1%	2%	1%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1115</b>
	<b>33%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>20 %</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 8. Topics Discussed in the TV Channels' On-Set Interviews**

Media Outlet	Topic																
	Karabakh conflict/security/army	Life in Artsakh	Russian-Ukrainian war	RA domestic issues	Foreign policy	Legal/judicial issues	Rights/freedoms/media	Economical issues	Social issues	Diaspora	Healthcare	Migration	Education/science	Church	Culture	Other	Total
Public TV	81	3	13	42	26	48	37	24	12	10	6	2	13	1	6	5	329
	25%	1%	4%	13%	8%	15%	11%	7%	4%	3%	2%	1%	4%	0%	2%	2%	100%
5 TV Channel	51	0	2	34	10	5	6	1	1	1		3	2	1	1	1	119
	43%	0%	2%	29%	8%	4%	5%	1%	1%	1%	0%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	100%
Kentron TV	10	1	0	11	5	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	36
	28%	3%	0%	30%	14%	0%	3%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	3%	0%	100%
Yerkir Media TV	25	2	1	32	5	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	74
	34%	3%	1%	43%	7%	4%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	100%
Free News TV	29	0	6	20	14	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	78
	37%	0%	8%	26%	18%	0%	6%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>636</b>
	<b>31%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>