The status of media and the role of social media in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan







The status of media and the role of social media in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan This research was designed and developed within the framework of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting «Giving Voice, Driving Change – from the Borderland to the Steppes - Cluster III: Central Asia" Project with the financial support of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Author: Dr. Elira Turdubaeva, Associate Professor of Journalism and Mass Communications Department at AUCA.

Contributors:

Dr. Galiya Ibrayeva, Associate Professor of Journalism Faculty, Al Farabi Kazakh National University

Lola Olimova, Program Manager/Editor of IWPR Tajikistan

Nargis Kosimova, Associate Professor of the Department of International Journalism and Mass Communication, Faculty of International Journalism, Uzbek State University of World Languages

Editors: Meerim Shamudinova, IWPR CA Program Manager, Jamilya Aitakunova, IWPR Kyrgyzstan Program Coordinator.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and IWPR, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Norwegian MFA.

IWPR - is an international media development organization that supports local reporters, citizen journalists and civil society activists in three dozen countries in conflict, crisis and transition around the world. IWPR has been operating in Central Asia since 1999 with the regional head office in Bishkek.

©All rights reserved by IWPR copyright. Material may be copied, downloaded and printed for private study, research and teaching purposes, or for use in non-commercial products or services, provided that appropriate acknowledgement of IWPR as the source and copyright holder is given.

Table of Contents

Abstract	
Research questions	
Methodology	
Kazakhstan	
Kyrgyzstan	
Tajikistan	
Uzbekistan	
Comparative Analysis	
Recommendations	48
References	

Abstract



The aim of this study is to analyze the capacity of the media to clearly and simply explain, inform, engage and inspire local communities (specifically on human rights issues, conflict prevention, migration, accountability and corruption) through traditional and new media, the level of professional standards of journalists (traditional and new media) and the media development perspectives in 3/5 year in four Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan).

This study also analyze the level of interaction between media, young policy experts, civil society organizations and government in the Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan: strength and weaknesses, civil society, media and experts' policy impact on the country level, government credibility on the a) media; b) civil society (NGOs); c) experts' expertise and policy researchers.

The data was collected through online survey questionnaire on Survey Monkey and faceto-face in-depth interviews with journalists in four countries. Collected quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS24 and qualitative data was analyzed through discourse analysis.

Research questions

RQ1: What is the capacity of the media to clearly and simply explain, inform, engage and inspire local communities (specifically on human rights issues, conflict prevention, migration, accountability and corruption) through traditional and new media in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?

RQ2: What is the level of collaboration between media, young policy experts, civil society organizations and government on key issues in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan?

RQ3: What is the interaction between media, young policy experts, civil society organizations and government: strength and weaknesses, civil society, media and experts' policy impact on the country level, government credibility on the a) media; b) civil society (NGOs); c) experts' expertise and policy researchers in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?

RQ4: What is the level of professional standards of journalists in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?

RQ5: What is the impact of new media as a source for objective and accurate information for citizens in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?

RQ6: What are the media development perspectives in 3/5 year in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?

Methodology

This study uses both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The data was collected through online survey questionnaire on Survey Monkey and face-to-face in-depth interviews with journalists in four countries. Collected quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS24 and qualitative data was analyzed through discourse analysis.

The inquiry draws on a survey of journalists conducted in February-March 2018. All in all, **251** journalists were surveyed who work in major mainstream media outlets (to include TV, radio, print and online) in four countries. In Kazakhstan **79**, in Kyrgyzstan **43**, in Tajikistan **43** and in Uzbekistan **86** journalists were surveyed. We conducted face-to-face survey interviews with total **35** journalists in four countries using snowball sampling method. In Kazakhstan **9**, in Kyrgyzstan **6**, in Tajikistan **10** and in Uzbekistan **10**. Face-to-face in-depth interviews were also conducted with **6** experts in Central Asia.

KAZAKHSTAN



Which media do you work at?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Online news website	20	25,3	25,3	25,3
	TV	19	24,1	24,1	49,4
	Newspaper	17	21,5	21,5	70,9
	News agency	13	16,5	16,5	87,3
	Radio	6	7,6	7,6	94,9
	Magazine	2	2,5	2,5	97,5
	Other	2	2,5	2,5	100,0
	Total	79	100,0	100,0	

More than quarter (35,3%) of respondents work in online news websites, about quarter (24,1%) work in TV and more than one fifth (21,5%) work in newspapers and 16.5% work

in news agencies. About half of respondents (49,4%) work in private media and more than quarter (27,8%) work for governmental media.

Which media do you work at?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Private	39	49,4	49,4	49,4
	Governmental	22	27,8	27,8	77,2
	International	14	17,7	17,7	94,9
	Other	4	5,1	5,1	100,0
	Total	79	100,0	100,0	

Which social networks do you use?



Media in Kazakhstan use social networking sites actively, majority of respondents indicated that their media have account on Facebook followed by Twitter and Instagram. Journalists in Kazakhstan also use social networking sites actively. They most popular social networking site among journalists in Kazakhstan is Facebook followed by Twitter and Instagram.

From which sources do you get information for your reports?



According to results of in-depth interviews, most journalists in Kazakhstan get information and ideas for their news reports from government agencies, press services of state bodies and press conferences. They also get information and ideas from social networks such as Facebook and Twitter but they doubt this information and do not see these sources as reliable information source.

Journalists in Kazakhstan state that there are two options for them in choosing topics to write about, first topics that they can write about and the topics that are not desirable.

In Kazakhstani media the choice of topics do mostly by editorial board. They mostly cover visits of political leaders, internal policy and changes that occur in power structures and state bodies. Press releases are still the major information source for journalists' news reports in the country followed by websites. News conferences are the third most popular source of information for news reports of journalists in Kazakhstan followed by people. Among social networking sites Facebook is the most frequently used source of information for journalists' news reports in Kazakhstan.

Where do journalists get information and ideas for their news reports?

There are many sources from which we can extract data. They are information of government agencies, press conferences and social networks. If I watch international news, I prefer proven sources. But mostly I watch the news feed via Twitter and Facebook. When we search for information through the social networks we are faced with unveri ed data, in this case through social network is not worth taking information. You can just take the idea and double-check. If the information is published on someone's page it is not necessary to believe. It is best to take what is said and double-check if the information is of interest to you.

Where do journalists get information and ideas for their news reports?

The founder of the «Evening Almaty» is the Akimiat of the city, in connection with which, rst of all, the state order is executed and the content is formed, according to the media plan developed in its framework. The sources of information are press services of state bodies, private organizations, other media, as well as personal contacts of journalists, which allow creating an exclusive.

Where and how do you check given information?



As for the fact checking methods, most journalists in Kazakhstan check given information from press releases followed by websites and news conferences. We also asked journalists about their motivations for choosing the profession of a journalist, to which they answered that "Opportunity to help people in their daily routine", "Diverse and lively work", "Chance to influence on public a airs", "Chance to meet different people" and "Get a stable job" are the main have motivations that made them to become a journalist.

How do editorial boards decide on the choice of topics for the news?

Maybe there is something in the priority or there maybe it depends that your tasks have certain. It seems to me that it depends on the direction.

Our direction is mostly political, economical and social.

At us in a priority the internal policy well here all as to an internal policy that occurs in power structures any changes. All that happens between the state structures is different changes, all this in priority. Just now we write a lot about possible scenarios of power in Kazakhstan, we consider this topic very important.

How do editorial boards decide on the choice of topics for the news?

As usual, collectively on the meetings, we quickly discuss everything. But I only deal with cultural topics. Usually I protect them, as I can.

The main five motivations that made them become journalists in Kazakhstan



During the survey we asked journalists about their opinion regarding the effectiveness of their coverage of the issues related to human rights, corruption and ecology. Journalists think that their media is effectively covering the issues of "Human rights" and "Ecology".

However in-depth interviews revealed that media in Kazakhstan do not cover effectively human rights and corruption issues because they face obstacles in covering these problems and they believe that the influence of journalism in Kazakhstan is not as strong as they wished it was. Journalists have covered environmental issues in Kazakhstan, for instance, "mountain resort Kok Zhailau", but they do not know whether the protection of the environmental issue is effective.

According to most of the in-depth interview respondents' opinion there is not enough investigative journalism in Kazakhstan and most media do not conduct journalistic investigations, because journalism in Kazakhstan is a pro-governmental journalism.

It definitely does not influence, but why? The influence of journalism is weak. At any time the material can be removed.

Now, journalism pro-government or... There are some more or less web sites where you can read normal materials. Most newspapers have a low rating. We do not have public journalism. Now all the journalism is in the social networks. Well, sometimes it allows 31 channel or ZonaKZ. Many publications even Ratel (now closed), and 365 Info often fall into the «yellow» press.

Collaboration of media in Kazakhstan with:



In-depth interview results showed that in Kazakhstan most news in media are state news and journalists cover the topics if they are related to state bodies. Kazakhstani journalists separate NGOs from civil sector; they think that NGOs are not civil sector. Most media in Kazakhstan rarely cooperate with NGOs. However, the communication of NGOs is more active online, which brings to positive results. For instance, the protection of children who have been subject to violence or providing medical support to sick children.

This is, first, at the discretion of the editor-in-chief. Secondly, this is the internal policy of each media. Third is something that will be event on a national scale.

Journalists in Kazakhstan believe that the media coverage influences MORE:

Journalists in Kazakhstan believe that the media coverage influences LESS



In-depth interview results showed that journalists in Kazakhstan think that their influence on decision-making process and changes in the legislation is limited.

Unfortunately, we do not influence since we do not write on this topic. But I believe that with appropriate funding you can send journalists on business trips so that they cover the topics of ecology, or life in the countryside, and all this in a multimedia format. There are «shots», there are people, only money and a little knowledge are needed in the analysis and collection of this kind of information. We can write storytelling about life of the NGO if this will be interesting for people. Why not? An expert from CA states that the cooperation between media and state bodies are not sufficient and that there is the mechanism of cooperation and trust for each other is still developing.

Unfortunately, the cooperation of state bodies and the media is not at the level that should be. First of all, there is no mechanism of cooperation and trust for each other. In the post-Soviet space, the attitude to the media has old shades. State bodies have different ways of referring to the media. There are people who are positive, because they are informed and can say something about their industry. In any case, according to the Law on Mass Media of RK, they must provide an answer within a three-day period, but now they want to extend this term.

The MOST important functions for journalists in Kazakhstan:

LESS important functions for journalists in Kazakhstan:



In-depth interview respondents think that the journalist's role in solving social, economic and political problems in the country is not on a proper level, because of criminal prosecution of journalists for their publications. They believe that journalists in Kazakhstan do not have enough power and their influence is decreasing.

They invite you to a press conference, make a loud statement, and in fact, something completely different happens, and often enough, and not always possible to check, that is, the fact checking does not always work until you come, so you come back empty. And sometimes you can pull out the news. Once I went to one court, promised something, but nothing happened. Suddenly, an arguing took place in the courthouse. People were unhappy. Well, the journalists wrote about this incident. According to in-depth interview respondents' views, now there are not enough independent newspapers and TV channels in Kazakhstan and the space of activity of so called "independent" media is extremely limited and continues to decline because state financing of media and media law do not allow media to publish critical materials. According to respondents, there is self-censorship in Kazakhstani media and journalists are working on state orders therefore they fulfill the order of state interests first. They think that they can write on any topic they want, however such materials are not always published. Journalists in Kazakhstan evaluate the work of Private online news service, News broadcast by private media and Mass media as a whole as good and the work of State news service of the press and Broadcast news by state media as satisfactory.

The main barriers and threats for high quality journalism in Kazakhstan



Journalists in Kazakhstan think that they would never approve the following in their work:

 "Do not protect the confidentiality of the source"
 M=2,46; SD=0,72

 "Publication of information with unchecked content"
 M=2,60; SD=0,72

 "Publication of information with unchecked content"
 M=2,56; SD=0,73

 "Getting money from sources"
 M=2,50; SD=0,73

 "Use personal documents, such as letters and photos without permission"
 M=2,50; SD=0,73

 "Put pressure on unwitting informants to get information"
 M=2,50; SD=0,73

 According to an expert from Kazakhstan, the independent media in their country is limited:

In my opinion, in Kazakhstan the space of activity of «independent» mass media is limited and continues to decline. If we can talk about independent media here at all, there are facts of independent media such as independent "Uralskaya nedelya", number of Kazakh media such as "Zhas Alash", "DAT", online media Kamshy.kz, Massaget.kz, Abai.kz, which raise serious issues. For example, it was their courageous position that helped raise public opinion in defense of a divided family from China.

The main factors determining this development are:

- through system of state order;

- the formation of a legal framework in which mass media lose the opportunity to publish critical materials (accusations of libel, incitement of various forms of social discord, unfair trials).

In general, to what extent are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in your country?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	32	40,5	41,0	41,0
	Optimistic	27	34,2	34,6	75,6
	Pessimistic	11	13,9	14,1	89,7
	Very pessimistic	3	7,6	3,8	97,4
	Very optimistic	2	2,5	2,6	100,0
	Total	78	98,7	100,0	
Missing	System	1	1,3		
Total		79	100,0		

Almost half of journalists are neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in Kazakhstan. More than one third of journalists are optimistic about the future of quality journalism in Kazakhstan.

The new law On Mass Media introduced a huge number of amendments, which strongly influence the journalist. This and the criminal prosecution ... The influence of journalists decreases, we cease to be the power. Now the journalist is in the service of the government. Previously, if a journalist is a «dog of democracy», now his opinion is not always important. The law on the media does not always allow you to collect information. Everywhere secrets, commercial, family, so... well... Personal position? Or on the embrasure? I do not want to climb the embrasure, not at that age... I'm looking for options so that people know the truth. Networks have become the main sources of information and have caused a wave of public outrage. Or do you remember how the society reacted to the boorish behavior of the manager of restaurant in Kok-Tobe? It was also an example of an unjust social division of society! Also the network and the former journalist of the commercial channel (KTK) brought this issue to its logical conclusion. The restaurant manager was fired. It is very important!

Or the bold position of a journalist on Facebook pages where he tried to protect the ecological situation in Almaty from the proposed construction of a mountain resort in the «Kok Zhailau» tract.

In your opinion, what will happen to your media in the next 3-5 years?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Becomes a multimedia	33	41,8	41,8	41,8
Will go to online content	21	26,6	26,6	68,4
Without changes	16	20,3	20,3	88,6
Other	4	7,6	5,1	93,7
Will cease to be popular	2	2,5	2,5	98,7
Will be closed	1	1,3	1,3	100,0
Total	79	100,0	100,0	

Regarding the future of media in the next 3-5 years, journalists think that media in Kazakhstan will become a multimedia and will go to online content.

We are working on state orders, therefore, first of all, we fulfill the order of state interests, and we leave ours for later. Sometimes you complain that you are not doing the most important job. In principle, you can write on any topic. Only such material will come out or not, the big question.

What measures does your media take to adapt to the new trends?



Experts from CA think that there is a transition of independent journalism to Internet, social media.

In the main, there is a transition of independent journalism to the Internet, social networks and online media. Sometimes social media form the agenda for state media. The main part of their audience consists more of youth and middle-aged professionals. Since the print media is regulated more by the state; the more the online media sector is developing.

KYRGYZSTAN



Which media do you work at?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Online news websites	17	39,5	40,5	40,5
Newspaper	10	23,3	23,8	64,3
News agency	5	11,6	11,9	76,2
TV	5	11,6	11,9	88,1
Magazine	2	4,7	4,8	92,9
Other	2	4,7	4,8	97,6
Radio	1	2,3	2,4	100,0
Total	42	97,7	100,0	
Missing System	1	2,3		
Total	43	100,0		

More than one third (39,5%) of respondents work in online news websites, about quarter (23,8%) work in newspapers and 11.6% work on TV and another 11.6% work in magazines.

Majority of respondents (65,1%) work in private media and more than quarter (25,6%) work for governmental media.

Which media do you work at?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Privat	e 28	65,1	65,1	65,1
Governmenta	al 11	25,6	25,6	90,7
Internationa	al 4	9,3	9,3	100,0
Tota	al 43	100,0	100,0	

Which social networks do you use?



Media in Kyrgyzstan use social networking sites actively, majority of respondents indicated that their media have account on Facebook followed by Twitter and Instagram. Journalists in Kyrgyzstan also use social networking sites actively. They most popular social networking site among journalists in Kyrgyzstan is Facebook followed by Twitter and Instagram.

From which sources do you get information for your reports?



According to the results of in-depth interviews, journalists in Kyrgyzstan mostly get information and ideas for their news or reports from Internet, from their colleagues, from social media, from other media, from state agencies, from NGOs and international organizations, from experts and researchers, from eyewitnesses of events and from friends and acquaintances.

The editorial decision on the choice of news topics is made collectively where each journalist offers topics for news reporting to the editor. The choice of the news topics is also made according to the preferences of media outlets' audiences. Media outlets give preference to the news topics that is of greatest interest to their audiences. Press releases are still the major information source for journalists' news reports in the country followed by websites. News conferences are the third most popular source of information for news reports of journalists in Kyrgyzstan followed by people as source of information for journalists. Among social networking sites Facebook is the most frequently used source of information for journalists' news reports in Kyrgyzstan.

Of course these are social networks, newspapers. I prefer to buy a couple of our local newspapers this New Faces, sometimes I read Arguments and Facts, Evening Bishkek, because you need to know how journalism develops there. The third source of information is, of course, my colleagues journalists, and a large circle of my friends from NGOs and international organizations, as well as my personal environment.

As a rule I receive information for my articles from the news. Social media sites all contribute to getting inspiration. As a journalist, I consume media content every second. Accordingly, very many ideas in my head appear, already reading the news, reading many materials, there are more questions than answers. In addition, very much by profession I communicate with experts and various researchers. As a rule, experts hold a very large array of data on a particular problem.



As for the fact checking methods, survey results revealed that most journalists in Kyrgyzstan check given information from people followed by publications in the media and Internet.

We spend every morning a meeting with the editor-in-chief. And everyone offers his own topic, about which he wants to write. The editor either agrees or makes his own adjustments. If the topic is not interesting, the editor, arguing, explains that you should not write about it. Every journalist has his own direction and according to this direction we write accordingly. But in most cases we go to events every day and write about it either in full or in small news.

Probably according to the preferences of our audience. Of course, we will give preference to the material that is of greatest interest to our target audience. This should also be spelled out in the editorial policy.

The main five motivations that made them become journalists in Kyrgyzstan



We also asked journalists about their motivations for choosing the profession of a journalist, to which they answered that the "Opportunity to help people in their daily routine", "An amount of money you can earn", "The pleasure of writing", "Get a stable job" and "Involve people in power to responsibility" are the main five motivations that made them to become a journalist. A few years ago, journalists were paid not so high in Kyrgyzstan and they were complaining of low wages, the results of our study reveals that journalism is becoming a highly paid profession in the country.

However the results of in-depth interviews showed that journalists mostly cover human rights and corruption issues rather than environmental problems because ecological NGO movement in Kyrgyzstan is less developed and they prefer to work with social networks more than with the media. Journalists think that their coverage of these issues mobilizes people to make pressure on government to solve these issues.

According to results of in-depth interviews, most journalists in Kyrgyzstan do not conduct journalistic investigations. Journalists stated that unfortunately not all editors understand the importance of journalistic investigations and do not support them. Also NGOs do not want to collaborate with journalists on conducting journalistic investigations because most of them are already disappointed in journalists that they had covered their problems superficially. During the survey we asked journalists about their opinion regarding the effectiveness of their coverage of the issues related to human rights, corruption and ecology. Journalists think that their media is effectively covering the issues of "Human rights" and "Ecology. Every media in Kyrgyzstan somehow covers the topic of corruption, ecology and human rights. These topics are very relevant topics. Therefore, every day, some media, including our agency, highlights these problems. If these power structures are based on their information about the detention of a person suspected of bribery, we accordingly write about it. It is not possible to determine any effectiveness, because absolutely all media write about it almost every day. I cannot say that this or that agency covers this issue inefficiently.

Environmental problems we raise quite rarely, if only this topic in the mainstream. In the priority we have the topic of corruption and human rights. We try to cover the topic of corruption; it is always interesting for us. A lot of coverage of topics related to people with disabilities. This topic is in our top - in a week two or three materials are exactly there.

Collaboration of media in Kyrgyzstan with:

The results of in-depth interviews revealed that journalists in Kyrgyzstan have a certain circle of experts who are competent in specific fields, they prefer to interview former employees, lawyers who are neutral and well-trained and professional. Respondents say that every journalist have a database of different experts who have something to say about certain topic. They also observe these experts and track their activities because they need to be sure that they are not changing their positions quite often as it affects the reputation of the media outlet. Usually the editorial staff already has a formed pool of certain experts in different fields. However, journalists can go beyond this pool and chose their own experts. In choosing political experts journalists tend to prefer not radical experts. Regarding the collaboration with government, journalists stated that the state representatives willingly agree to give interview.

According to in-depth interview results, generally journalists in Kyrgyzstan cooperate with civil society organizations and activists frequently. They are open for collaboration with NGOs and civil society organizations by attending their events, publishing news articles on their activities, interviewing them for specific reportages as experts and specialists and also treating them as a source of information. Respondents stated that the quality of video and photo content provided by NGOs are not always the best that is why they are not appropriate for digital storytelling format which is preferred nowadays.



Journalists think that state-owned media creates the image of NGOs as foreign agents and other media creates an idealized image of NGOs that they are honest. Journalists think that NGOs in Kyrgyzstan are too politicized and radical and do not have neutral position. Journalists stated that they would like NGOs to be independent, impartial organizations that care about their beneficiaries and not about political issues.

According to in-depth interview results, journalists in Kyrgyzstan think that the main problem of NGOs in collaborating with journalists is a lack of trust. Journalists do not trust NGOs because their leaders are radical, not impartial, politicized and biased and pursue their own personal goals, which will damage the reputation of the media which cooperates with them. We cooperate with NGOs on an ongoing basis, as they work on the topics that we have in our priority: human rights, the protection of the rights of children and women. And we often appeal to them. Sometimes they also address and write to us, they offer topics. We are in touch with them, and we know what they are doing. And if something interesting happens, then we know it. Basically there are three or four NGOs in the field that everyone knows. These are those well-known NGOs that have established a bridge with the media, and for them this is not a problem.

Turning back, we see that today media cooperation with NGOs has become more mutual. Each side both journalists and NGOs, saw the advantages in mutually beneficial cooperation, because NGO sector has a lot of information reasons and this should be interesting for the public. Journalists are always in search of very interesting information. If the information that the NGO possesses falls under the interests of our target audience, then of course our publication will publish and work with this material, as well as further build relations with this NGO sector.

Journalists in Kyrgyzstan believe that the media coverage influences MORE:

Journalists in Kyrgyzstan believe that the media coverage influences LESS:



However results from in-depth interviews reveal that journalists think that it is not possible to determine effectiveness of their coverage and media has not worked out measures of effectiveness of their coverage yet. Journalists also think that the interest in the topic of human rights by readers is not as high.

Effective coverage of the topic, in my opinion, is when it turns out to attract people's attention, to show from an unusual angle. So that has to evoke viewers' feelings, emotions, to disrupt the viewer. Many cases, when actions were taken, after the plot came out, that is, there is a reaction. For example, we told the situation of a child who did not have a wheelchair, and his mother wore it in his arms. A few days later, representatives of the Ministry of Social Development provided the child with a wheelchair. Sometimes responsible authorized bodies contact us to contact them, but not always. In some cases they do not contact us. We can, therefore, even do not know. Especially we do not follow the results, we learn about it by accident.

We, journalists, with our publications, help to solve some problem. If we talk about social problems, we help people who are very hard at something (poverty, health care). Publications of journalists writing to analysts on political topics also play a role in solving political problems. Politicians, when reading our material, draw their conclusions.

Sometimes journalistic work becomes a catalyst for solving many social problems on the ground.



In-depth interviews results show that journalists think that they reveal truth and try to tell truth which some people try to hide. However, they think that journalists in the country have no real power to change something. It is people who can influence the state of the problem and solve it. Journalists' main responsibility is to inform people about these problems so that they can demand from government the solvation of these problems.

I think it's positive, because the role of the media is to inform your audience in a timely manner, and raising important media issues contribute to the fact that people, though indirectly, take part in solving the problem by creating information pressure on the perpetrators of these problems.

Firstly, we must always remember the principle of «do no harm.» Any journalist should understand that today you left this settlement where violence occurred, and the victim of violence remains there. Therefore, it is important that your publication does not in any way harm your hero, and also work with him and beyond. Journalists in Kyrgyzstan evaluate the work of Private online news service, News broadcast by private media and Mass media as a whole as good and the work of Broadcast news by state media, State news service of the press as bad. In-depth interviews revealed that TV journalism in Kyrgyzstan is in crisis due to lack of trust to public broadcasting TV Channel because of state censorship on it and closing of several independent TV Channels. There is no TV Journalism investigations that have impact on solving problems.

Today in the media space of Kyrgyzstan, if we take television, as I work in this field, there are not enough media outlets that make good, high-quality, professional content. Especially at the moment, when the state channel has dropped its positions, due to censorship, due to the lack of good specialists, due to the fact that some channels were closed. Today, Kyrgyzstan's television is experiencing a big crisis. The media field is undergoing transformation and a turning point. Now there are practically no good TV products. This applies to all areas, especially analysts. Now there are no analytical materials at all. And there are no materials that could be cited as an example of good journalistic work.

This is due to the current political situation, and once again with the fact that the media field is undergoing a great transformation - several channels are closed, new channels are being opened. In addition, recently there was a transit of power. There is no stable pattern of opposition, power. It depends on political realities and resources - and we have poor resources.

The main barriers and threats for high quality journalism in Kyrgyzstan



Journalists in Kyrgyzstan think that they would never approve the following in their work:



In general, to what extent are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in your country?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Optimistic	21	48,8	50,0	50,0
	Pessimistic	12	27,9	28,6	78,6
	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	8	18,6	19,0	97,6
	Very optimistic	1	2,3	2,4	100,0
	Total	42	97,7	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,3		
Total		43	100,0		

Less than half of journalists are optimistic about the future of quality journalism in Kyrgyzstan. About one third of journalists are pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in Kyrgyzstan.

Regarding the future of media in the next 3-5 years, more than half of journalists believe that media in Kyrgyzstan will become a multimedia, about one third of journalists think that media in Kyrgyzstan will go to online content.

In your opinion, what will happen to your media in the next 3-5 years?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Will go to online con- tent		30,2	30,2	30,2
Becomes a multimedia	13	30,2	30,2	60,5
Will be closed	7	16,3	16,3	76,7
Without changes	7	16,3	16,3	93,0
Will cease to be popular	3	7,0	7,0	100,0
Total	43	100,0	100,0	

What measures does your media take to adapt to the new trends?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Becomes a multimedia	22	51,2	51,2	51,2
Increases the rep- resentation in social networks	15	34,9	34,9	86,0
Developing mobile applications	5	11,6	11,6	97,7
Other	1	2,3	2,3	100,0
Total	43	100,0	100,0	

The survey questions also asked journalists about the measures their media is taking in order to adapt to new trends. More than one third of journalists indicated that their media is increasing the representation in social networks to adapt to new trends.

TAJIKISTAN



agencies

15%

ΤV

12,5%

websites

12,5%



newspapers

40%

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Priv	ate 15	37,5	37,5	37,5
Governmer	ntal 12	30,0	30,0	67,5
Internatio	nal 11	27,5	27,5	95,0
Otl	ner 2	5,0	5,0	100,0
Tc	otal 40	100,0	100,0	

Almost 40% of respondents work in private media and about one third (30%) work for governmental media.

Which social networks do you use?



Media in Tajikistan use social networking sites actively, majority of respondents indicated that their media have account on Facebook followed by Twitter, YouTube and Odnoklassniki.ru. Journalists in Tajikistan also use social networking

sites actively. They most popular social networking site among journalists in Tajikistan is Facebook followed by YouTube, Odnoklassniki.ru, Twitter and Instagram.

From which sources do you get information for your reports?



Press releases are still the major information source for journalists' news reports in the country followed by websites. News conferences are the third most popular source of information for news reports of journalists in Tajikistan followed by people as source of information for journalists. Among social networking sites Facebook is the most frequently used source of information for journalists' news reports in Tajikistan. According to in-depth interview results, journalists get information mostly from state agencies, government bodies, official sources, government representatives, and official websites. They also get information from people, friends, colleagues, from Internet resources. Mostly Editorial Board of media choses the topics which should be covered by media. They do selection of topics according to relevance to their society and importance for their community. From government sources, from society, while researching sources, in the process of studying some topics and naturally from the Internet.

The source of information or ideas for can be as friends, acquaintances, passers-by on the street, officials: government representatives, law enforcement agencies, Internet resources.

Where and how do you check given information?





publications in the media



As for the fact checking methods, most journalists in Tajikistan check given information from people followed by publications in the media and Internet.

There are several portraits of our readers in the editorial office. When we offer topics, the criteria is, then - how much news is interesting to our reader, and for which category it is interesting.

The most important factor for coverage of this or that news is its relevance to the society. Naturally, this for our editorial staff is also a decisive factor in the choice of information.

We cannot choose news on the principle of «good news», «bad news». That is, there is no difference in the fact that the news is criticized by someone, or on the contrary, puts out someone's activity in a positive light. The very fact that it is news is important to us.

The main five motivations that made them become journalists in Tajikistan



We also asked journalists about their motivations for choosing the profession of a journalist, to which they answered that "To fight injustice", "My talent in journalism", "Chance to meet different people", "Work for freedom and democracy" and "Involve people in power to responsibility" are the main five motivations that made them to become a journalist. A few years ago, journalists were paid not so high in Tajikistan and they were complaining of low wages, the results of our study reveals that journalism is becoming a highly paid profession in the country.

During the survey we asked journalists about their opinion regarding the effectiveness of their coverage of the issues related to human rights, corruption and ecology. Journalists think that their media is effectively covering the issues of "Ecology" and "Human rights".

In-depth interviews revealed that journalists are trying to cover these issues; however it is not happening properly and effectively because currently the situation in country is not suitable for conducting journalistic investigations because of political moment. Most journalists think that conducting journalistic investigations is expensive, time-consuming and it is difficult to publish them in media. That is why they do not conduct journalistic investigations in Tajikistan. The ones who conduct journalistic investigations have published them mostly in foreign online news websites such as Fergana.ru and Cabar.asia.

We are trying to effectively cover, not to the extent that, of course, we would like, but ... If possible, we try to cover up. Now the situation is not the best, so you have to be reinsured. Some things can not be illuminated at all. Because of the information vacuum, which is due to corruption. Because of political moments ...

«We want to try experimenting with a hidden camera for a long time, but we do not have a» roof to protect us after the airing of the materials. Environmental issues we also affect, after the passage of a series of trainings, we learned to give new information (infographics, Google maps, cards). We are developing a project to create video cards for human rights, we are waiting for the approval of the state body.

Collaboration of media in Tajikistan with:



Concerning the collaboration of media with experts, government, NGOs and other civil society organizations, respondents believe that their media is collaborating with "Experienced experts", "National government bodies", "Local government bodies", "Regional public authorities" and "Civil Activists". In-depth interview results showed that most journalists do not collaborate with civil society organizations. They state that it is difficult for them to get NGOs to talk in media because they refrain from communicating with journalists. They say that NGOs are not interested in collaboration with media. Journalists think that NGOs are not willing to give interviews to them. Also there are few experts in the environmental issues and economic issues. Local experts are not specialized in a specific field but try to be experts in every field.

Today it becomes difficult for us to find an opportunity to talk with NGO representatives. They prefer to refrain from communicating with the media. For example, I work as a journalist in Kulyab, and when I want to interview or ask to be an expert of an NGO, they refuse. I can not say anything about other regions, but we have such a situation. They are not interested in cooperation, although it would seem they need to be interested in our cooperation, which should cover their activities.

For the moment we are very closely cooperating. We once a month on the air talk with experts on various topics. Sometimes they cover their activities through our radio, or we invite them to our radio as a guest on the air and talk about migration, about divorce and other topics that concern our fellow citizens.

Journalists in Tajikistan believe that the media coverage influences MORE:

Journalists in Tajikistan believe that the media coverage influences LESS:



In-depth interview results showed that respondents think that journalists in Tajikistan have no role in solving social, economic and political problems in the country because state do not react to their publications and does not answer their questions. They think that the media have lost their role in society and journalists refrain from covering serious topics and stay on the sideline. Journalists tend to blame NGOs for not understanding the importance of collaboration with media. They think that NGOs are simply working out the money that they receive for the implementation of projects and buying media for media coverage of their activities. Quite difficult to assess. Sometimes when the question is solved, those who addressed us do not come and provide feedback, of course, no. In the case of officials, when it comes to the Office of the President, or, for example, the City Hall, the answer certainly comes.

More than two thousand people looked at my uranium materials after pouring into YouTube. Despite the fact that the administration of the region has changed, the reclamation of one of the large object will continue this year.

Naturally. Earlier, as I said before, we have programs that are broadcast live with the participation of experts from different sectors, such as officials from government structures or persons related to a particular topic, and during the course of the program, students can call our editorial office and ask questions or tell us about your problems. The guests of our program gave them advice or, if this question concerned them directly, they promised to solve it. Our listeners then called us or came to our office and told us that the problem had indeed found its solution. We now had ether in which, with the help of an expert, we talked about what to do if your child does not have a birth certificate yet or if you lost a birth certificate for your child, what are the first steps to which authority you can apply, etc.

The MOST important functions for journalists in Tajikistan:

LESS important functions for journalists in Tajikistan:



For the past years the media has lost its role in society, but if we try, we can regain our status. Today, it's not a secret for anyone that journalists refrain from covering serious topics while staying on the sidelines."

Unlike in previous years, the situation has changed. Previously, the words of the journalist could be said to be decisive. I do not know how in other regions, but in the Sogd region today it is slightly less, since we have few qualified journalists, mostly young people who need to learn more. They are not yet fully versed in the genres of journalism, and there can be no question of solutions to any other problems. In order that journalists can solve some problems, first of all, they should be aware of what they are going to cover themselves. They must think what they are doing, why and what it will ultimately result in. Awareness of whether they can solve the problem with their material or, on the contrary, aggravate it, does not prevent our journalist from doing it. However, nevertheless, we have journalists who cover the problem and bring the case to a decision. I can say that in the percentage ratio for today 40 to 60. In 40 percent of cases the role of the journalist in solving problems is important.

The main barriers and threats for high quality journalism in Tajikistan

Journalists in Tajikistan evaluate the work of "News broadcast by private media", "Private news service" and Private online news service as good and the work of Broadcast news by state media, State news service of the press and State service of online news as bad.



Journalists in Tajikistan think that they would never approve the following in their work:

 "Publication of information with unchecked content"
 M=2,92; SD=0,26

 "Bublication of information with unchecked content"
 M=2,85; SD=0,42

 "Getting money from sources"
 M=2,75; SD=0,43

 "Use personal documents, such as letters and photos without permission"
 M=2,75; SD=0,43

 "Put pressure on unwitting informants to get information"
 M=2,75; SD=0,43

 "Do not protect the confidentiality of the source"
 M=2,84; SD=0,65

In general, to what extent are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in your country?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	19	55	47,5	47,5
	Pessimistic	10	25,0	25,0	72,5
	Optimistic	6	15,0	15,0	87,5
	Very optimistic	1	2,5	2,5	97,5
	Very pessimistic	1	2,5	2,5	100,0
	Total	40	100,0	100,0	

Almost half of journalists are neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in Tajikistan, quarter are pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in Tajikistan. Few journalists are optimistic about the future of quality journalism in their country.

Because of our toothlessness, we lost positions, once journalists were a force. After all, 8 years ago, we could influence some processes. Unfortunately, now issues are solved by publications on Facebook, but no one submits an application, does not try to protect their rights. Yes, often this does not work, but the authority of scandalous media also needs to be earned, so that next time, it's better not to bargain with you. And the moment with the arrest of Khairullo Mirsaidov: the question also ceased, because we all forgot about it safely.

In your opinion, what will happen to your media in the next 3-5 years?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Without changes	14	35,0	41,2	41,2
	Will go to online content	16	40,0		
	Becomes a multimedia	11	27,5	32,4	73,5
	Will cease to be popular	6	15,0	17,6	91,2
	Other	3	7,5	8,8	100,0
	Total	34	85,0	100,0	
Missing	System	6	15,0		
Total		40	100,0		

Regarding the future of media in the next 3-5 years, about half of journalists believe that media in Tajikistan will go to online content in the next 3-5 years, more than one third of journalists believe that media in Tajikistan will not change in the next 3-5 years.

What measures does your media take to adapt to the new trends?



The survey questions also asked journalists about the measures their media is taking in order to adapt to new trends. Journalists indicated that their media is becoming a multimedia to adapt to new trends, increasing the representation in social networks to adapt to new trends.
UZBEKISTAN



Overall, 86 journalists participated in survey in Uzbekistan.



online news

websites

12,5%



Which media do you work at?

(∏.

newspapers

40%

news

agencies

15%

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Other	8	9,3	9,3	9,3
	Radio	5	5,8	5,8	15,1
	Online newspaper	20	23,3	23,3	38,4
	TV	14	16,3	16,3	54,7
	Magazine	7	8,1	8,1	62,8
	Newspaper	18	20,9	20,9	83,7
	News agency	14	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	86	100,0	100,0	

Which media do you work at?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Other	2	3,5	2,3	3,5
International	6	7,0	7,0	10,5
Private	42	48,8	48,8	59,3
Governmental	32	40,7	37,2	96,5
Total	86	100,0	100,0	62,8

Which social networks do you use?



Media in Uzbekistan use social networking sites actively, majority of respondents indicated that their media have account on Facebook followed by Instagram and Twitter. Journalists in Uz-

bekistan also use social networking sites actively. They most popular social networking site among journalists in Uzbekistan is Facebook followed by Instagram and Twitter.

From which sources do you get information for your reports?



Press releases are still the major information source for journalists' news reports in the country followed by websites. People are the third most popular source of information for news reports of journalists in Uzbekistan. Among social networking sites Facebook is the most frequently used source of information for journalists' news reports in Uzbekistan. According to results of in-depth interviews, journalists in Uzbekistan get information and ideas for their news reports mainly from state bodies, government agencies, employees of Khokimiyat, information services of republican and local state bodies. They also get information from civil society institutions, people and Internet. Mostly editorial boards decide the topics to be covered by media. From organizations, enterprises, government agencies and civil society institutions. Ideas for future articles often appear after viewing media publications, social networks and receiving information from press services.

I follow the implementation of reforms conducted in our country. Today, much attention is paid to the environmental situation in the country. Therefore, I follow all the new resolutions of our President in this field. Also I work with Navoi regional department of ecology and environmental protection. I constantly follow the information on the Internet and participate in events held by the Khokimiyat of Navoi region. I follow all the events on the Internet, as well as through other media.

Where and how do you check given information?







As for the fact checking methods, most journalists in Uzbekistan check given information from people followed by Internet and publications in the media.

Our staff is small. The newspaper is issued in 2011. We decide on the choice of journalistic materials, at the general meeting, which takes place every Monday. The topic of journalistic material is selected from existing problems and current events in the region and in the city. Navoi region is an industrial zone and therefore the issue of ecological situation here is very acute. Unresolved problems remain with the emissions of the Nitrogen Plant, the Mining Metallurgical Combine. According to statistics, the incidence among the population in 2017 increased due to the deterioration of the ecological situation in the city of Navoi and in the regions. Therefore, when choosing a topic for newspapers, we proceed from the relevance of news and existing problems. Journalistic materials are prepared jointly with specialists, as well as on citizens' appeals to the «helpline» of the Navoi regional department of the State Committee for Ecology of Uzbekistan.

The main five motivations that made them become journalists in Uzbekistan



During the survey we asked journalists about their opinion regarding the effectiveness of their coverage of the issues related to human rights, corruption and ecology. Journalists think that their media is effectively covering the issues of "Human rights" and "Ecology". *In-depth interviews revealed that most journalists in Uzbekistan do* not conduct journalistic investigations. Journalists in Uzbekistan mostly investigate environmental issues. Journalists in Uzbekistan do not conduct journalistic investigations because of a lack of journalistic potential (staff) and they produce very little analytical materials.

Yes, we conducted investigative journalism on an environmental theme."

Our newspaper addresses these issues very often and we as far as possible raise the problems of corruption, environmental problems and often the problem of the right of people with disabilities.

Collaboration of media in Uzbekistan with:

Concerning the collaboration of media with experts, government, NGOs and other civil society organizations, respondents believe that their media is collaborating with "Experienced experts", "National government bodies", "Narrowly specialized experts", "Young experts" and "Associations".

In-depth interview results showed that journalists in Uzbekistan stated that their cooperate with NGOs are not very good, because not all NGOs are active. Journalists wait for being invited to their events by NGOs and when NGOs initiate the cooperation first. Mostly editorial office decides to choose an expert or an NGO for an interview. Some journalists ask NANNOUZ (National Association of Non-Governmental Non-profit Organizations of Uzbekistan) to suggest them an expert or NGO for their interviews.

Collaboration of media in Uzbekistan with:



Cooperation with NGOs is average. Since in the Namangan region many NGOs are not active. Mostly we cover the activities of those NGOs that are active. In addition, the activities of public institutions, foundations, associations, unions, federations are widely covered. Sports federations are well covered.

We do not have very good cooperation with the civil sector. Because not all NGOs are active. We mainly cover the activities of active NGOs, they themselves take the initiative in this.

Journalists in Uzbekistan believe that the media coverage influences MORE:

Journalists in Uzbekistan believe that the media coverage influences LESS:



In-depth interview results showed that journalists in Uzbekistan think that the media coverage of these issues does little to help solve them and mostly do not always influence the solution of these problems because the status of a journalist in Uzbekistan is very low. Journalists in Uzbekistan think that the role of a journalist in solving social, economic and political problems is not high because all critical materials do not always get reaction by state and in regional media critical materials are never published. Journalists think that the public's trust in media in Uzbekistan has been lost. They also believe that now there are not enough journalists in Uzbekistan who investigates economic and social issues.

Coverage of these problems does little to help solve them, because today the status of a journalist has fallen.

Publications do not always influence the solution of these problems. Given the fact that Denov is one of the areas of the Surkhandarya region, all published materials affect the solution of these problems, only within the district.

The coverage of these problems forms public opinion. Each article serves to ensure the protection of the environment, the formation of ecological consciousness and ecological culture of the population.

An expert from CA thinks that the effective way is to publish experts' opinions and recommendations in online platforms and create public resonance on them then state officials will listen to them.

The only way that today is the most realistic for independent analysts is the publication of their products in independent media and online publications. Moreover, social networks and Internet publications are becoming increasingly important - thanks to a large audience, attention to the community, opportunities for greater resonance, both as for public and as for official structures.

Long-term series of publications in independent media. That is not a single publication, but a whole campaign, which has been going on for several years. Dozens, hundreds of articles. It has an effect. President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, about a year ago, cursing local media for lack of initiative, said that he gets more information from the articles on the site of Ozodlik, than from them. That is, unlike Islam Karimov, who did not understand the Internet and did not use it, Shavkat Mirziyoyev with a computer «on you» and reads independent publications.

The MOST important functions for journalists in Uzbekistan:



It all depends on the journalists themselves. If they are not corrupt, objectively cover all events and problems of society; raise topical issues, then the public's confidence in them increases. Unfortunately, in the last 20 years this trust has been lost and today it is difficult, but it is gradually restored.

The role and place of journalists in society is great. Now, there are not enough journalists in the country who investigate economic and social issues. Most journalists rely on politics, culture and sport. Therefore, I want to note that the state should urge journalists to investigate economic and social issues.

The main barriers and threats for high quality journalism in Uzbekistan

Journalists in Uzbekistan evaluate the work of Private online news service, News broadcast by private media, Private news service as good and the work of State news service of the press, Broadcast news by state media, and State service of online news as bad.



Journalists in Uzbekistan think that they would never approve the following in their work:



An expert from Uzbekistan states that there is some positive change in media freedom in Uzbekistan as state has expressed its political will that the press should be free on September 2016.

After Shavkat Mirziyoyev came to power, a year and a half ago, after the death of Islam Karimov, the degree of media freedom, in my opinion, increased by 2-3 times. The laws that regulate the activities of the media remain the same, there have been no changes, but Mirziyoyev ordered not to interfere with the work of journalists (or did not dispose of it and somehow made it clear that he was for greater media freedom). And journalists began to write more boldly, even in the national news agency UGA, the odious mouthpiece of the former regime, articles of critical content began to appear - never before in the few decades of its existence. In social networks in general, complete freedom of speech reigns. A year and a half ago this was not the case - the special services monitored and social networks, and the authors of too critical statements were summoned for interrogation to the police and intimidated by the initiation of a criminal case (I know of several such cases). Now this is no longer. However, the process is under way in the case of «political scientist Usman Haknazarov» - under this pseudonym wrote a journalist Bobomurod Abdullayev, but here, most likely, it will be a leak of information from the environment of the late President Islam Karimov (Abdullayev wrote articles based on these leaks). Officially, the accusation against him and other defendants passing through this case has not yet been filed, apparently, it will happen in the coming days.

Expert from Uzbekistan states that now the pressure on Internet news websites are less however still the websites of Ozodlik and Fergana are still blocked in their country.

In Uzbekistan, pressure is now less. There is a category of local media under government control, there is also a certain revival there: some discussions, analytical materials and critical information began to appear. A very big barrier exists between government and independent media like Ozodlik and Fergana. Their sites in Uzbekistan are still blocked. Other media outlets that write badly about Uzbekistan will immediately block in Uzbekistan. Expert says that discussions on social media platforms are becoming more critical and open.

Very much. Since 2015, a website for discussing draft laws has been launched, even at the legislative level it is reinforced that without evaluation and discussion the draft law can not be passed on to the legislative chamber of Uzbekistan. Since 2016, the online virtual reception of the president has been launched. Now this is one of the most effective and popular channels for solving problems. Also in groups on Facebook people actively comment and write. More and more people are connecting to the channels of the Telegrams in order to be aware of what is happening. Internet media are an accessible and effective method of obtaining information.

In general, to what extent are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in your country?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very pessimistic	5	10,8	5,8	5,8
	Pessimistic	6	12,5	7,0	12,8
	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	20	23,3	23,3	36,0
	Optimistic	38	44,2	44,2	80,2
	Very optimistic	8	9,3	9,3	89,5
	Total	86	100,0	100,0	83,7
	News agency	14	16,3	16,3	100,0
	Total	86	100,0	100,0	

Almost half of journalists are optimistic about the future of quality journalism in Uzbekistan. About quarter of journalists are neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the future of quality journalism in Uzbekistan.

To democratize and liberalize journalism in the country, it is necessary to reform regional newspapers, appoint young cadres as editors-in-chief to change the current situation, and introduce information and communication technologies into local media. In addition, it is necessary to certify journalists and editors-in-chief in local media.

The number of analytical and critical articles should be increased. It is necessary to raise the role and status of a journalist in society. And also urgently to solve personnel questions in the sphere of journalism, as in the regional media young staff is not enough. The role of regional print media should be strengthened, attention paid to the state level on their problems, especially on the improvement of the material and technical base and the provision of personnel. In addition, at present, the country is carrying out a large-scale work to eradicate problems that have been in societies from the inside for many years. This is corruption, infringement of human rights, economic and social problems. Thanks to the policy of our President, all this is gradually being resolved and I very much hope that the role of the journalist will grow more and more.

In your opinion, what will happen to your media in the next 3-5 years?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Other	3	3,5	3,5	3,5
	Becomes a multimedia	27	31,4	31,4	34,9
	Will cease to be popular	2	6,4	2,3	37,2
	Without changes	11	12,8	12,8	50,0
	Will be closed	2	6,3	2,3	52,3
	Will go to online content	34	39,5	39,5	91,9
	Total	86	100,0	100,0	

Regarding the future of media in the next 3-5 years, more than one third of journalists think that media in Uzbekistan will go to online content in the next 3-5 years. About one third of journalists believe that media in Uzbekistan will become a multimedia.

What measures does your media take to adapt to the new trends?



The survey questions also asked journalists about the measures their media is taking in order to adapt to new trends. More than half of journalists (55,8%) answered that their media is becoming a multimedia to adapt to new trends. More than one third of journalists (36%) indicated that their media is increasing the representation in social networks to adapt to new trends.

However expert from Uzbekistan is still skeptical about positive changes in country because these changes are not institutionalized but based on the personal good will of the President and it may be minimized and the situation will return to its previous state.

Returning to media freedom, I want to note that all the changes now happening for the better are not irreversible, since they are based not on institutional changes, but on the personal good will of the incumbent president Shavkat Mirziyoyev. That is, in a short time, all these changes can be minimized and the situation will return to its previous state.

Expert from Uzbekistan states that Telegram is becoming increasingly popular among youth in uzbekistan where they can create thematic pages and these thematic pages gradually replace the field of officially registered censored media.

This is a very important source of public opinion formation. According to statistics, the majority of Uzbeks are registered in the social network «Odnoklassniki», in second place by the number of users - the network «VKontakte», the third - «Facebook». The number of users using instant messengers - Telegrams and others - is growing. There they create thematic pages, etc. These thematic pages gradually replace the field of officially registered censored media, and in order to attract readers the latter has to make more efforts, the competition for the attention of the audience necessary for the development of freedom of speech takes place.

The influence of social networks is growing, because if not through local television programs, where it continues with information, some problems or make critical assessments, and social networks provide such opportunities. Russian applications like Vkontakte or classmates were very popular at one time, but now Facebook is growing in popularity and to some extent Twitter. We see some groups being created for discussion, people in the country somehow became less afraid to speak out. This, of course, affects the work of the media, and even the government notices this discussion. They do not recognize this openly and do not quote, but influence is always felt. The trend now more to openness has emerged, but it is in its infancy. For example, in Tajikistan there is a reverse process. In Uzbekistan, we can expect further steps towards liberalization.

Comparative Analysis



	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan
Major information sources for news reports	Press releases Websites News conferences People	Press releases Websites News conferences People	Press releases Websites News conferences People	Press releases Websites People Facebook
Where do you check given infor- mation?	Press releases Websites News conferences	People Publications in the media Internet	People Publications in the media Internet	People Internet Publica- tions in the media
Motivations to choose journalism	"Opportunity to help people in their daily routine", "Diverse and lively work", "Chance to influence on public affairs", "Chance to meet different peo- ple" "Get a stable job"	"Opportunity to help people in their daily routine", "An amount of money you can earn", "The pleasure of writing", "Get a stable job" "Involve people in power to responsi- bility"	"To fight injustice", "My talent in jour- nalism", "Chance to meet different people", "Work for freedom and de- mocracy" "Involve people in power to responsibility"	"Diverse and lively work", "Opportunity to help people in their daily routine", "Chance to influ- ence on public affairs", "Chance to meet different peo- ple" "The pleasure of writing"
Journalists collab- orate with	"Experienced experts", "Nation- al government bodies", "Regional public authorities", "Local government bodies" "Narrowly specialized ex- perts".	"Experienced experts", "National government bod- ies", "Young experts", "Regional public authorities" "Lo- cal government bodies".	"Experienced experts", "National government bod- ies", "Local government bodies", "Regional public authorities" "Civil Activists"	"Experienced experts", "National government bod- ies", "Narrowly spe- cialized experts", "Young experts" "Associations"
Media coverage influences more	"Resolving social issues at the com- munity level", "Re- solving social issues at the family level" "Activities of public organizations and activists"	"Resolving social issues at the com- munity level", "Activities of public organizations and activists", "Resolving social issues at the family level", "Polit- ical decision-mak- ing" "Resolution of social issues at the country level"	"Resolving social issues at the com- munity level", "Re- solving social issues at the family level", "Resolution of social issues at the coun- try level" "Political decision-making".	"Resolving social issues at the com- munity level", "Re- solving social issues at the family level", "Activities of public organizations and activists" "Resolu- tion of social issues at the country level"
Media coverage influences less	"Changes in legisla- tion".	"Changes in legisla- tion".	"Changes in legisla- tion" "Activities of public organizations and activists"	"Changes in leg- islation" "Political decision-making"

Most important media functions	"To advocate for social change", "Encourage toler- ance and cultural diversity", "Give people the opportunity to ex- press their views", "Report things as they are" "Provide news that attracts a large audience"	"Encourage toler- ance and cultural diversity", "Influence on public opinion", "Provide news that attracts a large audience", "Report things as they are" "To advocate for social change".	"Give people the opportunity to ex- press their views", "Influence on public opinion", "Provide news that attracts a large audience", "Report things as they are" "Encour- age tolerance and cultural diversity"	"Give people the opportunity to ex- press their views", "Report things as they are", "Influence on public opinion", "Provide news that attracts a large audience" "Support national development".
Least important media functions	"Transfer of a positive image of political leadership", "Be the opponent of the government", "Support for public policy" "Business monitoring and verification"	"Be the opponent of the govern- ment", "Transfer of a positive image of political leadership", "Business monitor- ing and verification", "Monitoring and critical study of civil society, such as churches, NGOs, etc" "Providing rec- reation and enter- tainment"	"Be the opponent of the government", "Be an outsider" "Providing recrea- tion and entertain- ment" "Transfer of a positive image of political leadership" "Tell stories about the world"	"Be the opponent of the government", "Be an outsider", "Set the political agenda", "Support for public policy", "Providing recrea- tion and entertain- ment", "Transfer of a positive image of political leadership" "Motivate people to participate in politi- cal activities"
Main barriers to journalism	"Insufficient finan- cial resources", "State intervention in the media", "In- sufficient vocational training", "Censor- ship" "Insufficient vocational training"	"Insufficient finan- cial resources", "Weak professional ethics", "Insufficient vocational training", "Market-oriented journalism", "Qual- ity of journalistic education"	"Insufficient voca- tional training", "Self-censorship", "Insufficient finan- cial resources", "Weak professional ethics" "State intervention in the media"	"Insufficient vo- cational training", "Insufficient finan- cial resources" "Self-censorship", "Weak professional ethics" "State intervention in the media"
Journalists would never approve of	"Do not protect the confidentiality of the source", "Pub- lication of infor- mation with un- checked content", "Getting money from sources", "Use personal docu- ments, such as letters and photos without permission" "Put pressure on unwitting inform- ants to get informa- tion".	"Publication of information with unchecked con- tent", "Put pressure on unwitting inform- ants to get infor- mation", "Getting money from sourc- es", "Use personal documents, such as letters and photos without permission" "Do not protect the confidentiality of the source".	"Publication of information with unchecked con- tent", "Getting money from sources", "Use personal docu- ments, such as letters and photos without permission" "Put pressure on unwitting inform- ants to get infor- mation" "Do not protect the con- fidentiality of the source".	"Do not protect the confidentiality of the source", "Pub- lication of infor- mation with un- checked content", "Put pressure on unwitting inform- ants to get informa- tion", "Getting money from sources", "Use personal docu- ments, such as letters and photos without permission"

	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Uzbekistan
What do you think about the future of journalism in your country?	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	Optimistic	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic	Optimistic
Are you interested in politics?	Interested	Very interested	Not very interested	Very interested

Journalists of all four countries indicated that the major information sources for news reports are press releases, websites, news conferences and people. Only journalists in Uzbekistan indicated that Facebook is one of the major information sources.

As for fact checking, journalists of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan check given information from people, publications in the media and Internet while journalists in Kazakhstan check given information from press releases, websites and news conferences.

Journalists' motivations to choose journalism differ in all four countries. Journalists in Tajikistan indicated *"To fight injustice"* is the most important motivation for choosing journalism. Journalists in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan indicated *"Chance to influence on public affairs"* as one of the motivations to choose journalism. Journalists in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan indicated that *"Involve people in power to responsibility"* was one of the motivations to choose journalism. *"Work for freedom and democracy"* was one the motivations for choosing journalism for journalists in Uzbekistan.

Journalists in all four countries collaborate with "Experienced experts", "National government bodies", "Regional public authorities", "Local government bodies". Journalists in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan collaborate with "Young experts", journalists in Tajikistan indicated that they collaborate with "Civil activists". Journalists in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan indicated that they collaborate with "Narrowly specialized experts".

For the question "Media coverage influences more" all journalists in four countries indicated that media coverage influences more *"Resolving social issues at the community level" and "Resolving social issues at the family level"*. Journalists in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan indicated that media coverage influences more *"Political decision-making"*. Except for Tajikistan journalists in all three countries indicated that media coverage influences more *"Activities of public organizations and activists"*.

Journalists in all four countries answered that media coverage influences less the "Changes in legislation". Journalists in Uzbekistan indicated that media coverage influences less "Political decision-making" and journalists in Tajikistan indicated that media coverage influences less "Activities of public organizations and activists".

Most important media functions differ in all four countries. *"Encourage tolerance and cultural diversity"* is one the most important media functions in all three countries except for Tajikistan. *"To advocate for social change"* is one of the most important media functions in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan while *"Support national development"* is one of the most important media functions in Uzbekistan.

"Be the opponent of the government" is the least important function in all four countries. In Uzbekistan journalists indicated that *"Motivate people to participate in political activities"* and *"Set the political agenda"* are one the least important media functions. Journalists in Tajikistan indicated that *"Tell stories about the world"* is one the least important media functions.

To the question "What are the main barriers to journalism?" journalists of all four countries answered "Insufficient financial resources" and "Insufficient vocational training".

"State intervention in the media" is one of the main barriers to journalism in all three countries except for Kyrgyzstan. *"Weak professional ethics"* is one of the main barriers to journalism in all three countries except for Kazakhstan. Journalists in Kazakhstan indicated that *"Censorship"* was one of the main barriers to journalism in their country. *"Self-censorship"* is one the main barriers to journalism in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Journalists in all three countries are *"Neither optimistic nor pessimistic"* about the future of journalism in their countries except for Kyrgyzstan. Journalists in Kyrgyzstan are *"Optimistic"* about the future of journalism in their country.

Journalists in all three countries except for Tajikistan are interested in politics, journalists in Tajikistan answered that they are not interested in politics.



These recommendations are given to media of all four countries as they are important for the development of media in all four countries.

- It is necessary to create stronger communications between NGOs and the media;
- to foster cooperation and trust between the civil society and the media;
- to act as a watchdog by exposing corruption and help to promote good governance and accountability by providing accurate, balanced and timely information that is of interest and relevance to the public;
- to carry out monitoring and advocacy work within state structures;
- give voice to powerless groups and put pressure on public authorities;
- to contribute to public engagement;
- to diversify the sources of information for news reports;
- to conduct vocational trainings for journalists on investigative journalism, data journalism, fact checking;
- to develop editorial policy and to follow it;
- to use new media technologies and to teach journalists how to use them
- to use social networking sites in order to reach wider audiences;
- to do audience analysis and use gathered data to plan the media content and to improve the quality of the media content;
- to follow journalistic ethics and international standards;
- to protect journalists from physical attacks and censorship from government and other constituents;
- to develop investigative journalistic reporting;
- to collaborate with various experts (narrowly specialized, young, international, foreign, local, regional);
- to collaborate with civil society organizations to get various data and information from them and to launch new media programs with them;
- to provide more freedom to journalists in choosing news topics and in reporting them;
- to decrease self-censorship of journalists by taking measures about their security;
- to report on foreign news;
- to cover regional news about other Central Asian countries by providing reporters on ground.

References



Allison, Olivia. (2006). "Selective Enforcement and Irresponsibility: Central Asia's Shrinking Space for Independent Media," Central Asian Survey, 25(1-2): 93-114.

Androunas, E. (1993) Soviet Media in Transition: Structural and Economic Alternatives, Praeger

Barber, B. R., Mattson, K., and Peterson, J. (1997). The state of 'electronically enhanced' democracy': A survey of the Internet.New Brunswick, NJ: Walt Whitman Center.

Becker, Jonathan. (2004). "Lessons from Russia: A Neo-Authoritarian Media System,"

European Journal of Communication, 19(2): 139-163.

Bunce and Wolchik (2009) Democratizing Elections in Postcommunist Central and Eastern Europe:

Echoes of 1989?, Paper presented at the Conference on 1989: Twenty Years After, the University of California at Irvine, November, 2009

Benn, D. W. (1996) The Russian media in post-Soviet conditions, Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 48, No.3, 1996 (pp.471-479)

Brian McNair (2000) Journalism and Democracy: An Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere, Psychology Press, 2000

Brown, (1996) The Gorbachev Factor Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press

de Smaele (2007) Mass media and the information climate in Russia, Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 59, 2007 - Issue 8: Symposium on the Post-Soviet Media, (pp. 1299-1313)

Diamond, L. (1992). Introduction: Civil society and the struggle for democracy. In L. Diamond (Ed.), The democratic revolution: Struggles for freedom and pluralism in the developing world (pp. 1-27). New York: Freedom House

Foster, (1996) Restitution of Expropriated Property: Post-Soviet Lessons for Cuba

Freedman, E., & Shafer, R., ed. (2011) After the Czars and Commissars: Journalism in Authoritarian Post-Soviet Central Asia, Michigan State University Press, USA.

Gehlbach (2010), Reflections on Putin and the Media, Post-Soviet Affairs, Volume 26, - Issue 1 (pp.77-87)

Gross, Peter, and Timothy Kenny. (2008). "The Long Journey Ahead: Journalism

Education in Central Asia," Problems of Post-Communism, 55(6): 54-60.

Hachten and Scotton (2007) New Media for a New China, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007

Junisbai (2010) A Tale of Two Kazakhstans: Sources of Political Cleavage and Conflict in the Post-Soviet Period, Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 62, 2010 - Issue 2, (pp.235-269)

Junisbai (2014) The Determinants of Economic System Legitimacy in Kazakhstan, Europe-Asia Studies Volume 66, 2014, Issue 8, (pp. 1234-1252)

Junisbai B, et. al., (2015) Mass Media Consumption in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan: The View from Below (pp. 233-256), Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization

Volume 23, Number 3, Summer 2015

Kulikova and Perlmutter (2007) Blogging Down the Dictator? The Kyrgyz Revolution and Samizdat Websites, International Communication Gazette, Vol 69, Issue 1, pp. 29 - 50

Loś M., (1995) Lustration and truth claims: unfinished revolutions in Central Europe, Law & Social Inquiry, 1995

Matveeva, A. (2009). 'Legitimising Central Asian Authoritarianism: Political Manipulation and

Symbolic Power', Europe-Asia Studies, 61(7): 1095-121.

McGlinchey and Johnson (2007) Aiding the Internet in Central Asia, Democratization, Volume 14, 2007, Issue-2, (pp.273-288)

Oates (2007) The neo-Soviet model of the media, Europe-Asia Studies , Volume 59, 2007 - Issue 8: Symposium on the Post-Soviet Media (pp. 1279-1297)

Ryabinskaya (2014) Журналисты защищают интересы своих собственников, 23.07.2014 15:10 http://www.radiopolsha.pl/6/140/Artykul/177003

Rogerson, K. (1997) The Role of Media in Transitions from Authoritarian Political Systems: Russia and Poland Since the Fall of Communism, East European Quarterly; Boulder Vol. 31, Iss. 3, (Fall 1997)

Ro'i, (2000) Islam and the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000

Sajo, (1995) Constitutional Adjudication in Light of Discourse Theory, Vol. 81, No. 2, 1995 Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie / Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy

Sarah Kendzior (2010) A Reporter Without Borders, Problems of Post-Communism, 57:1, 40-50

Shafer, Richard, and Eric Freedman. (2009). "Press Constraints as Obstacles to

Establishing Civil Societies in Central Asia: Developing a New Model of Analysis,"

Journalism Studies, 10(6): 851-869.

Tussupova, Dinara. 2010. "Mass Media and Ethnic Relations in Kazakhstan," Problems of Post-Communism, 57(6): 32-45.

White and McAllister (2014), Did Russia (Nearly) have a Facebook Revolution in 2011? Social Media's Challenge to Authoritarianism, Politics, Vol 34, Issue 1, pp. 72 - 84

Wilkinson and Jetpysbayeva (2012) "From Blogging Central Asia to Citizen Media: A Practitioners' Perspective on the Evolution of the new Eurasia Blog Project," Europe-Asia Studies, 64(8): 1395-1414.

Wilson, C. C. II, & Gutiérrez, F. F. (1995). Race, multiculturalism, and the media: From mass to class communication (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Yablokov (2014), Pussy Riot as agent provocateur: conspiracy theories and the media construction of nation in Putin's Russia, The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity Volume 42, 2014 - Issue 4 Special Section: Pussy Riot, Nationalities Papers (pp.622-636)

Zha, Wei and David D. Perlmutter (2008), Blogs as stealth dissent? Eighteen touch dog newspaper' and the tactics, ambiguity and limits of the Internet resistance in China, In International Media Communication in a Global Age, ed. By T. Johnston, W. Wanta, and G. Golan, New York, Routledge.

Allison, Olivia. (2006). "Selective Enforcement and Irresponsibility: Central Asia's

Shrinking Space for Independent Media," Central Asian Survey, 25(1-2): 93-114.

Androunas, E. (1993) Soviet Media in Transition: Structural and Economic Alternatives, Praeger

Barber, B. R., Mattson, K., and Peterson, J. (1997). The state of 'electronically enhanced

democracy': A survey of the Internet.New Brunswick, NJ: Walt Whitman Center.

Becker, Jonathan. (2004). "Lessons from Russia: A Neo-Authoritarian Media System,"

European Journal of Communication, 19(2): 139-163.

Bunce and Wolchik (2009) Democratizing Elections in Postcommunist Central and Eastern Europe: Echoes of 1989?, Paper presented at the Conference on 1989: Twenty Years After, the University of

California at Irvine, November, 2009

Benn, D. W. (1996) The Russian media in post-Soviet conditions, Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 48, No.3, 1996 (pp.471-479)

Brian McNair (2000) Journalism and Democracy: An Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere, Psychology Press, 2000

Brown, (1996) The Gorbachev Factor Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press de Smaele (2007) Mass media and the information climate in Russia, Europe-Asia Studies,

Volume 59, 2007 - Issue 8: Symposium on the Post-Soviet Media, (pp. 1299-1313)

Diamond, L. (1992). Introduction: Civil society and the struggle for democracy. In L. Diamond

(Ed.), The democratic revolution: Struggles for freedom and pluralism in the developing world (pp.

1-27). New York: Freedom House

Foster, (1996) Restitution of Expropriated Property: Post-Soviet Lessons for Cuba

Freedman, E., & Shafer, R., ed. (2011) After the Czars and Commissars: Journalism in Authoritarian

Post-Soviet Central Asia, Michigan State University Press, USA.

Gehlbach (2010), Reflections on Putin and the Media, Post-Soviet Affairs, Volume 26, - Issue 1 (pp.77-87)

Gross, Peter, and Timothy Kenny. (2008). "The Long Journey Ahead: Journalism

Education in Central Asia," Problems of Post-Communism, 55(6): 54-60.

Hachten and Scotton (2007) New Media for a New China, Wiley-Blackwell, 2007

Junisbai (2010) A Tale of Two Kazakhstans: Sources of Political Cleavage and Conflict in the Post-

Soviet Period, Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 62, 2010 - Issue 2, (pp.235-269)

Junisbai (2014) The Determinants of Economic System Legitimacy in Kazakhstan, Europe-Asia Studies Volume 66, 2014, Issue 8, (pp. 1234-1252)

Junisbai B, et. al., (2015) Mass Media Consumption in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan: The View from Below (pp. 233-256), Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization Volume 23, Number 3, Summer 2015

Kulikova and Perlmutter (2007) Blogging Down the Dictator? The Kyrgyz Revolution and Samizdat Websites, International Communication Gazette, Vol 69, Issue 1, pp. 29 - 50

Loś M., (1995) Lustration and truth claims: unfinished revolutions in Central Europe, Law & amp; Social

Inquiry, 1995

Matveeva, A. (2009). 'Legitimising Central Asian Authoritarianism: Political Manipulation and Symbolic Power', Europe-Asia Studies, 61(7): 1095-121.

McGlinchey and Johnson (2007) Aiding the Internet in Central Asia, Democratization, Volume 14, 2007, Issue-2, (pp.273-288)

Oates (2007) The neo-Soviet model of the media, Europe-Asia Studies , Volume 59, 2007 - Issue 8: Symposium on the Post-Soviet Media (pp. 1279-1297)

Ryabinskaya (2014) Журналисты защищают интересы своих собственников, 23.07.2014 15:10

http://www.radiopolsha.pl/6/140/Artykul/177003

Rogerson, K. (1997) The Role of Media in Transitions from Authoritarian Political Systems: Russia and Poland Since the Fall of Communism, East European Quarterly; Boulder Vol. 31, Iss. 3, (Fall 1997)

Ro'i, (2000) Islam and the Soviet Union: From the Second World War to Gorbachev. New York:

Columbia University Press, 2000

Sajo, (1995) Constitutional Adjudication in Light of Discourse Theory, Vol. 81, No. 2, 1995 Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie / Archives for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy Sarah Kendzior (2010) A Reporter Without Borders, Problems of Post-Communism, 57:1, 40-50 Shafer, Richard, and Eric Freedman. (2009). "Press Constraints as Obstacles to Establishing Civil Societies in Central Asia: Developing a New Model of Analysis," Journalism Studies, 10(6): 851-869.

Tussupova, Dinara. 2010. "Mass Media and Ethnic Relations in Kazakhstan," Problems of Post-Communism, 57(6): 32-45.

White and McAllister (2014), Did Russia (Nearly) have a Facebook Revolution in 2011? Social Media's Challenge to Authoritarianism, Politics, Vol 34, Issue 1, pp. 72 - 84 Wilkinson and Jetpysbayeva (2012) "From Blogging Central Asia to Citizen Media: A Practitioners' Perspective on the Evolution of the new Eurasia Blog Project," Europe-Asia Studies, 64(8): 1395-1414.

Wilson, C. C. II, & amp; Gutiérrez, F. F. (1995). Race, multiculturalism, and the media: From mass to class communication (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Yablokov (2014), Pussy Riot as agent provocateur: conspiracy theories and the media construction of nation in Putin's Russia, The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity Volume 42, 2014 - Issue 4 Special Section: Pussy Riot, Nationalities Papers (pp.622-636)

Zha, Wei and David D. Perlmutter (2008), Blogs as stealth dissent? Eighteen touch dog newspaper' and the tactics, ambiguity and limits of the Internet resistance in China, In International Media Communication in a Global Age, ed. By T. Johnston, W. Wanta, and G. Golan, New York, Routledge

IWPR Central Asia

www.cabar.asia www.iwpr.net

