

Результаты социологических опросов

Prospects of Conflict Resolution in the South Caucasus

Findings of Sociological Surveys









International Center on Conflict and Negotiation



This Publication Has been Supported by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation



Regional Project

South Caucasus Network for Civil Accord

Supported by the European Commission, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

Prospects of Conflict Resolution in the South Caucasus

Findings of Sociological Surveys 2001

Tbilisi 2002

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The Project Team Express their Sincere Gratitude to the Georgian Office of Friendich Ebert Foundation for financing this publication

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Rasim Musabekov (Azerbaijan), Gevork Posgisyan (Armenia), George Nizharadze (Georgia) – The Analysis of the Findings of Opinion Poll in the Three South-Caucasus Countries

Rakhmil Schulman (Azerbaijan), Karine Akobjanyan (Armenia), Rusudan Mshvidobadze (Georgia) – Content Analysis of the Mass Media in the Three Countries of the South Caucasus

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From the Editor

The Caucasus is a region of tradition, which nowadays makes front page news not only by its protracted so-called "frozen" conflicts and frightening instability but no less so by the prospects of transnational and regional projects, such as Baku-

Tbilisi-Jeyhan oil and gas pipelines or TRACECA. The Caucasus region is divided into the Northern Caucasus populated by peoples representing the republics and 'oblasts' in Russian Federation's southern part, and South Caucasus.

South Caucasus is a relatively new term in geography, including political geography that has replaced the old Russo-centric concept of Zakavkazye or Trans-Caucasus inherited from the times when the entire region was part of the USSR, and earlier the Russian Empire. Regaining their national statehood, the three South-Caucasus countries – Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia – strive to overcome the legacy of totalitarian Soviet system, peacefully "defreeze" the conflicts and build modern democratic communities.

The idea of the project "South Caucasus Network for Civil Accord" was conceived a few years ago, and started to implement since summer of 2001 jointly by nine partner non-governmental organisations in the three South-Caucasus countries with support from the Tacis Democracy Programme of the European Commission, Friedrich Ebert and Friedrich Naumann Foundations. The European partner and the grant administrator is the British East-West Centre.

The project has been scheduled for two calendar years, includes a number of activities, such as thematic meetings and conferences, web pages and online bulletins, TV films and talk shows, sociological surveys, opinion polls and content analysis of the media. All the project works are clustered into three Modules. The present publication has been made with support from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and represents the findings of the Phase One works done in Module 2. Although this is part of the general project scheme, the results have also independent value, in so far as they will not be thematically repeated at any other stage of the project. If the present survey emphasizes the unsolved conflicts topic, the next Phase publication will focus on the human rights situation in subregion of the South Caucasus. As a generalised result of the Module 2 works, it should become possible to measure a Mutual Perception Index of Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians.

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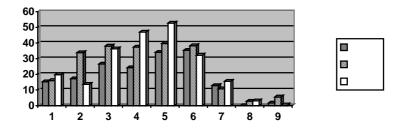
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3	26,6	38,1	36,3
4	24,3	37,4	47,0
5	34,1	39,7	52,7
6	35,4	38,3	32,3
7	12,9	10,8	15,6
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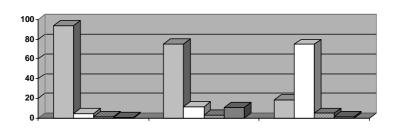
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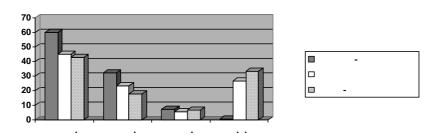


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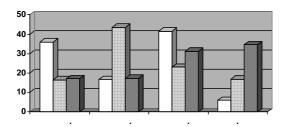
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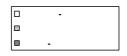
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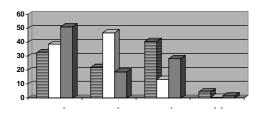
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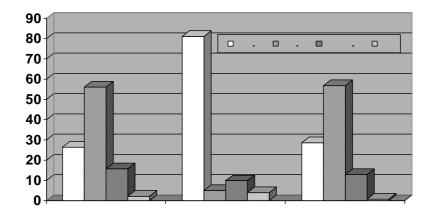
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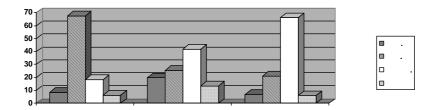


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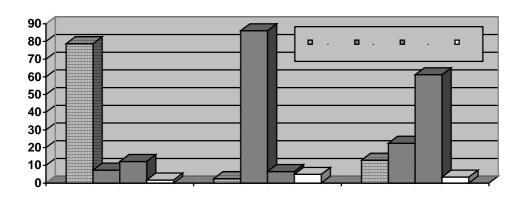
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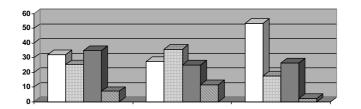
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•	67,7	25,3	21,1
•	18,2	41,8	66,3
	6,1	13,2	5,8



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	7,3	86,1	22,5
•	12,2	6,5	61,2
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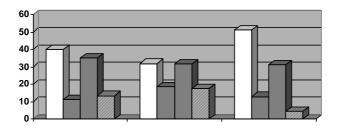


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34,8	25,1	26,6
7,2	11,7	2,5





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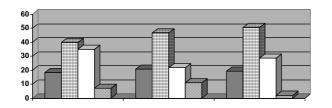
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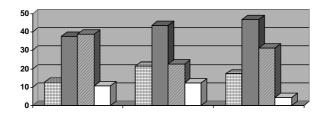
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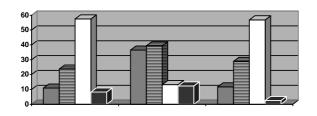
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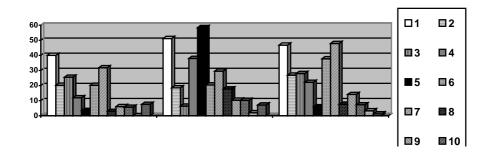
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3	25,5	6,4	28,0
4	11,9	38,0	22,1
5	3,5	58,4	6,0
6	20,2	20,4	37,8
7	31,8	29,6	47,9
8	2,9	17,8	7,7

9	6,1	10,3	14,1
10	5,6	10,2	7,3
11	0	2,0	3,3
12	7.6	7,1	1,3



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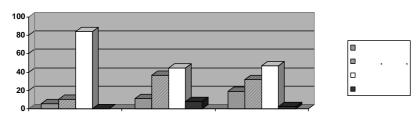
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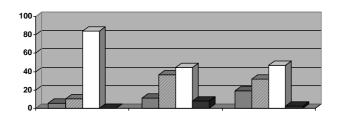


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	35,6	40,8	48,0
	10,7	26,2	28,7
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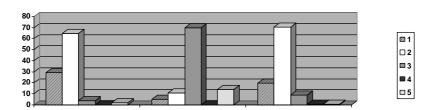
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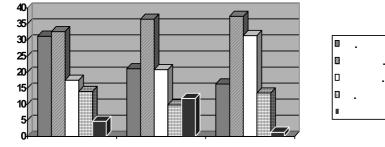
1	29,5	5,0	19,6
2	64,6	10,9	70,3
3	4,1	69,6	9,0
4	0	0,3	0,5
5	1,8	14,2	0,5



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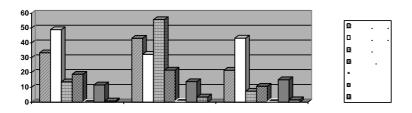
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	31,2	21,1	16,3
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	33,3	43,1	21,5
	48,9	32,3	43,2
•	13,7	55,7	7,4
•	18,8	21,6	10,7
	0	0,6	0,4
	11,6	13,8	15,1
	0,8	3,5	1,6



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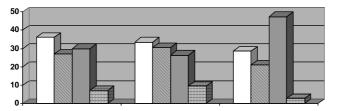
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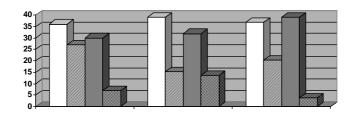
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36,1	33,5	28,7
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7,0	9,5	2,8



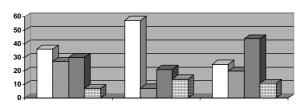


•	36,1	39,2	36,8
	27,1	15,2	20,3
	30,0	31,9	39,2
	7,0	13,7	3,7





36,1	57,4	25,0
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7.0	14,0	11,0





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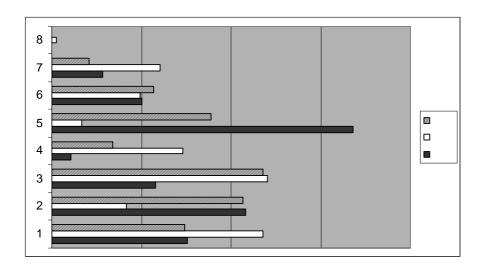
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	1	2	3	4
1. ;	16,0	13,3	15,2	16,5
2. ;	12,7	33,1	25,6	15,2
3. ;	4,0	11,9	20,2	24,0
4.	0,3	0,9	4,3	8,7
5. ;	61,8	21,9	9,6	3,6
6. ;	3,8	14,2	13,3	16,4
7.	1,1	4,5	11,7	15,3
8.	0,2	0,1	0,0	0,2

	1	2	3	4
1.	39,1	14,8	13,0	9,2
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2.	5,1	9,8	10,8	12,3
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3.	30,1	25,5	15,4	12,5
;				
4.	9,1	16,6	20,5	18,5
;				
5.	1,6	2,6	5,2	8,7
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6.	2,7	12,3	17,1	16,1
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7.	7,4	14,6	14,2	18,8
;				
8.	1,2	0,1	0,1	0,2

	1	2	3	4
1.	14,8%	15,2%	14,5%	14,8%
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2.	25,9%	21,5%	15,6%	14,4%
;				
3.	26,1%	25,2%	21,2%	13,0%
;				
4.	2,4%	5,6%	12,1%	17,4%
;				
5.	18,5%	15,2%	19,2%	19,8%
;				
6.	9,1%	13,6%	11,4%	13,4%
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7.	2,8%	3.7%	5,9%	7,3%
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8.	0.1%	0	0,1%	0



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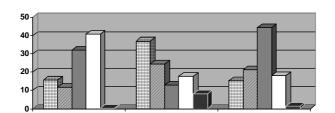
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15,7	36,9	15,1
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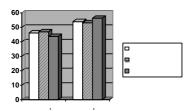
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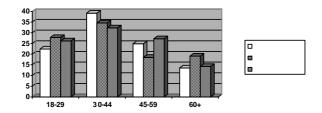
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	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1. Муж.	46,9%	46.1%	43.7%
2. Жен.	53,1%	53.9%	56.3%

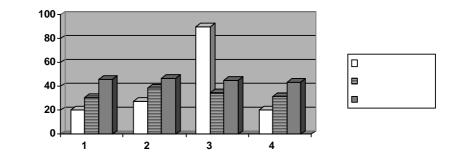


	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1. 18-29 лет	27,8%	22.4%	26.2%
2. 30 - 44 лет	34,6%	39.2%	32.3%
3. 45 – 59 лет	18,5%	24.9%	27.2%
4. 60 и более	19,1%	13.5%	14.2%



(45-59).

	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1.Начальное	7,9%	3.7%	1.8%
2.Среднее	47,1%	42.5%	20.9%
3.Среднее	21,7%	22.8%	23.2%
специальное			
4.Высшее и	23,3%	31%	54.0%
неоконченное			
высшее			



Азербайджан Армения Грузия 1.Рабочий 4.2% 6,7% 7.8% 2.Служаший 14,5% 17.1% 24.6% 3.Интеллигенция 3,1% 12.7% 10.2% 4.Учащийся 6,9% 3.2% 8.9% 5.Домохозяйка 12,8% 21.7% 16.9% 6.Пенсионер 17,5% 12.8% 8.8% 7.Бизнесмен/Пред 2.9% 3.8% 2,4% принематель 1.3% 8. Военнослужащий 1,1% 1.5% 9.Крестьянин 14,0% 1.3% 4.2% 10.Безработный 20% 16.9% 21,0%

Национальность

	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1.Армянин	99,2%	0%	4.9%
2.Азербайджанец	0%	91,9%	2,2%
3.Грузин	0%	0%	89,2%
4.Русский	0,1%	3,6%	1,1%
5.Курд/Езид	0,6%	0%	0%
6.Другое	0,1%	4,5%	2,6%

Данные выборки по национальному составу свидетельствуют о том, что во всех трех республиках возросла доля представителей основной национальности.

Относите к числу беженцев или вынужденных переселенцев?

	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1.Беженец	1,7%	3.2%	1.3%
2.Вынужденный	0,2%	3.6%	2.7%
переселенец			

3.Не отношусь 98,1% 93.2% 97

Семейный :

	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1.Женат/замужем	66,7%	74.1%	67.5%
2.Разведен(а)	2,5%	2%	3.6%
3.Вдовец/вдова	9,4%	8.7%	4.7%
4.Не женат/ не	21,4%	15.2%	24.2%
замужем			

Среднемесячный доход на душу в семье:

	Армения	Азербайджан	Грузия
1.Меньше 50\$	79,1%	92.4%	83.5%
2.От 50 - 100\$	2,1%	6.1%	12.4%
3.От 100 - 3000\$	0,3%	0.6%	2.5%
4.Больше 300\$	0,1%	0.2%	0.3%
5.Не знаю	18,4%	0.7%	1.1%

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«	70	60 %	30 %	10,0%	24,0	
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« »	117	52,3 %	32,4 %	15,3%	32,0	
«525- »	247	58,3%	35,6%	6,1%.	47,5	
« »	66	51 %	35 %	14 %	34,5	
« »	85	61 %	31 %	8 %	37,5	
« »	71	35 %	39 %	26 %	29,0	
« »	38	48 %	36 %	16 %	11,2	

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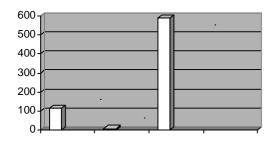
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5. «	»	19	0	94
6. «	»	0	0	19
7. «	»	12	8	71
8. «	»	0	0	24
		114	10	587



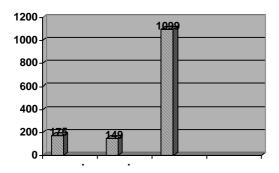
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1. « »	0	7	130
2. « »	0	6	94
3. « »	6	58	274
4. « »	81	3	278
5. « »	73	0	148
6. « »	0	6	24
7. « »	9	66	106
8. « »	6	3	45
	175	149	1099



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	17	0	49
	1	0	25
-2	5	0	25
	23	0	99

	44	9	171
	4	0	44
-2	6	7	36
	54	16	251

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Sociological Survey

Autumn, 2001

It seems that the major current problem for the South-Caucasian states, impeding their development, is persisting and unsolved conflicts in the region. It has been already more than ten years now that refugees rove in Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. For a long time now the politicians have been debating and the military rattling the sabre in these countries without any successful attempts to solve conflict. Who is to blame for what has happened in the region? How to stimulate the settlement of the problem? What impedes the achievement of compromise? What does the population in the three countries think? To answer these and other questions on conflict transformation in the region, the leading sociological organizations of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia conducted a survey in the framework of the project "South Caucasus Network for Civil Accord" supported by the European Commission.

1. Methodology

The present sociological survey was conducted during eight days (23-30 October 2001) in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, simultaneously. The survey used an agreed methodology and covered 1000 respondents in the populated areas of the named countries.

The national sample was calculated in correspondence with the share of adult population (individuals above 18) in the country. The sampling of respondents on site followed the road sampling principle, the "face to face" interviewing method. The final selection of respondents in a household was carried out according to the Kish method. The interview was conducted by qualified interviewers using a preliminarily elaborated questionnaire.

The interviewers' work was controlled through repeated visits to 15% of respondents.

After data collection the questionnaires' quality was checked and closed questions were coded. For data capture and processing SPSS for Windows 10.0 was utilized. Data capture files and questionnaires have been preserved.

Find below interview results and the analysis of information received.

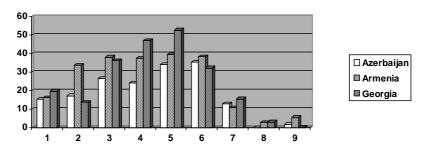
2. Data analysis

1. What, in your opinion, are the causes of the conflicts in the South Caucasus?

(Select at most 3 versions)

- 1. Ethnic incompatibility
- 2. Religious incompatibility
- 3. Historical heritage of the soviet past
- 4. Social and economic difficulties
- 5. Local political forces use conflict in their struggle for power
- 6. Interest of competitive world and regional powers
- 7. Local population is not able to ensure peaceful, civilized co-existence.
- 8. Other reason
- 9. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
1	15,3	16,1	19,8
2	17,3	33,9	13,7
3	26,6	38,1	36,3
4	24,3	37,4	47,0
5	34,1	39,7	52,7
6	35,4	38,3	32,3
7	12,9	10,8	15,6
8	0	2,9	3,1
9	1,8	5,6	0,5



We expected response 6 "Interest of competitive world and regional powers" (with a reference to Russia) to be prevailing in Georgia, since it is most

frequently indicated by people, in general, and also during interviews. However, our expectations were not met. We think that the distribution of responses with Georgian respondents was affected by current political developments, their coverage by the Mass Media and the existent social and economic situation. In course of interviewing military actions unexpectedly started in Abkhazia. It is worth noting that this time the Abkhaz were opposed by Georgian guerrillas and the Chechen military formations, who were the allies of the Abkhaz during the main conflict. The events received an equivocal evaluation: one part of politicians and reporters interpreted them as an adventure provoked by the Government for the purpose of retaining power and drawing the population's attention away from social and economic difficulties. The other part gave a positive assessment of the event interpreting it as a successful demonstration of power and a breakthrough in the frozen conflict. It was difficult to get an accurate picture of the events based on the information of the Georgian and Russian Mass-Media. It seems that such an ambiguity and mutual accusations of different political groupings were triggered by the focus of public awareness on the major conflict. In particular, "The use of conflict by local political forces in their struggle for power" was most frequently named as a reason of the Georgia-Abkhazia conflict. This motive does not often appear in common discussions of the conflict. The same applies to the reason ranking second by frequency (Social and economic difficulties). However, we believe that here we also deal with the transfer of the most topical current problem to the past.

#6 is the most frequent response with the Azeri sample (Interest of competitive world and regional powers). Response #5 (the use of conflict by local political forces in their struggle for power) is encountered less frequently. Compared to Georgian and Armenian respondents, the Azeri more rarely gave response 4 (Social and economic difficulties).

Armenian respondents selected the following four responses with almost the same frequency. These are «Local political forces use conflict in their struggle for power", «Interest of competitive world and regional power", "Historical heritage of the soviet past" and "Social and economic difficulties". Religious incompatibility was encountered a bit less frequently.

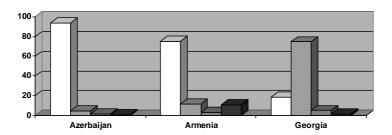
Thus, judging by total results, along with the social and economic difficulties, respondents of all the three countries most frequently regard the interest of foreign powers and the struggle of local political forces for power as the reasons of conflict. We think that this reflects a feature characteristic of the post-soviet societies (irrespective of how realistic the named reason is), which could be related to the psychological heritage of the soviet past. This is a tendency to look for the cause of failures and difficulties among external factors (this trend is called the "locus of control" is psychology). In our case these are hostile countries and bad politicians. The following question might arise: As for the politicians, they are ours. But what the external forces have to do with it? The thing is that public

awareness does not perceive governments and politicians as the part of society elected by that society for its own purposes (another piece of the psychological heritage of the soviet past). They are rather perceived as "others", i.e. an out-group responsible for taking care of people but failing to do so because of its almost inherent viciousness. All this is of course determined by the deficit of civic awareness and forms the corresponding behavioral stereotypes also among the political elite

2. Which conflict in the South Caucasus is the most difficult to solve?

- 1. Nagorni Karabakh
- 2. Abkhazian
- South Ossetian
- 4. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
1	94,0	74,9	18,4
2	4,6	11,5	74,8
3	1,4	2,9	5,1
4	0,6	10,7	1,7

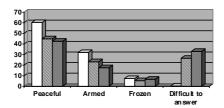


It is not surprising that each party considers its own conflict most difficult for solution. However, this is most clearly revealed in the case of Azerbaijan. It is interesting to note that in the expert interview conducted in 1999, most Georgian experts named the Karabakh conflict as the most difficult one. It is obvious that mass interview gives us a different picture. For Georgian public opinion the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict is naturally much more painful and is much more frequently covered by the Georgian Mass Media than the Karabakh conflict, which determined the given results. The picture is different in Armenia and Azerbaijan. With all the respondents the South Ossetian Conflict raises least concerns, and this is true not only for Azeri and Armenian respondents, but also for Georgians.

3. What is the future of the conflicts in the South Caucasus?

Azerbaijan

	Achievement of a peaceful settlement in the near future	Recommencement of armed clashes	Freezing of the events at the stage "neither peace, nor war"	Difficult to answer
Nagorni Karabakh	60,2	32,0	7,4	0,3
Abkhazian	44,9	23,2	5,3	26,5
South Ossetian	42,6	17,6	6,7	33,1



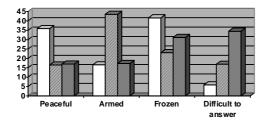
□ Nagorni-Karabakh

Abkhazian

South Ossetian

Armenia

	Achievement of a	Recommencement	Freezing of the	Difficult to
	peaceful	of armed clashes	e vents at the	answer
	settlement in the		stage "neither	
	near future		peace, nor war"	
Nagorni Karabakh	35,9	16,6	41,6	5,9
Abkhazian	16,5	43,5	23,1	16,9
South Ossetian	17,0	17,3	31,2	34,5

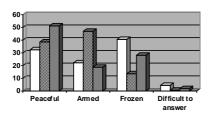


□ Nagorni Karabakh Abkhazian

South Ossetian

Georgia

	Achievement of a	Recommencement	Freezing of the	Difficult to
	peaceful	of armed clashes	events at the	answer
	settlement in the		stage "neither	
	near future		pe ace nor war"	
Nagomi Karabakh	32,5	22,2	40,6	4,5
Abkhazian	38,6	47,0	13,6	0,7
South Ossetian	51,2	18,7	28,2	1,9





The response "Peaceful settlement in the near future" has been most frequently recorded with the Azeri respondents in respect to all the conflicts except for the South Ossetian conflict. In relation to the latter conflict their responses are somewhat lower than those of Georgians. However, the share of such responses is still high. And this happens in the context of unexpected re-commencement of military actions in Abkhazia. The Azeri group also shows the highest percentage of the response "Re-commencement of armed clashes" in relation to the Karabakh conflict. One gets an impression that the Azeri public wants the conflict to be solved as soon as possible; it wants to see at least some solution of the conflict. Therefore, the percentage of the response "neither peace, nor war" is very low with this group, differently from the Armenians where the given response prevails. As for the opinions related to the Abkhazian conflict, we could suggest that for the Azeri public awareness it is similar to the Karabakh conflict. The same applies to the Georgian group's responses (find below).

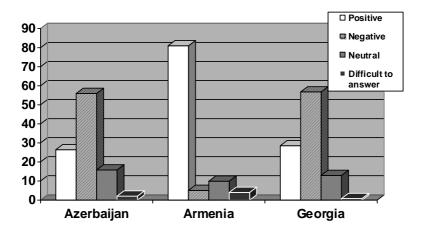
Abkhazian events clearly affected the responses of the Armenian and Georgian respondents. Here, the following has to be emphasized: comparative data show that the Armenian public opinion follows the Abkhazian conflict more attentively, than the Azeri public. This is evidenced by the difference in the number of those respondents who found it difficult to answer the question. It seems that the difference is caused by the existence of the Armenian diaspora in Abkhazia. No difference has been reveled in case of the South Ossetian conflict. The share of zero response is very high both in Armenian and Azrei groups, which points to its insignificance in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and may be even in Georgia. A

high percentage of the response "Recommencement of armed clashes" could be caused by the current events, i.e. could be stemming from the current state of affairs. Responses to other questions as well as a quite high percentage of the response "Achievement of a peaceful settlement in the near future" point to the fact that military attitude does not, at least, prevail in Georgia's public awareness. We could also add that despite the existence of the so-called "hawks", the Georgian Mass Media is basically for a peaceful solution of the conflict. Relatively high frequency of the response "Freezing the events at the stage of neither war nor conflict" with the Georgian sample should be determined by the fact that the Georgian public's perception of the Karabakh conflict is somewhat similar to the vision of the conflict in Abkhazia.

4. Assess the role of the below named powers in the solution of the conflicts in the South Caucasus:

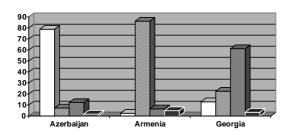
Russia:

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	26,4	81,0	28,5
Negative	56,0	5,1	56,8
Neutral	15,8	9,9	12,9
Difficult to	2,1	4,0	0,8
answer			



Turkey:

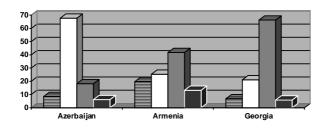
	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	78,8	2,5	12,9
Negative	7,3	86,1	22,5
Neutral	12,2	6,5	61,2
Difficult to answer	1,7	4,9	3,4



☐ Positive ☐ Negative ☐ Neutral ☐ Difficult to answer

Iran:

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	8,5	19,7	6,8
Negative	67,7	25,3	21,1
Neutral	18,2	41,8	66,3
Difficult to answer	6,1	13,2	5,8

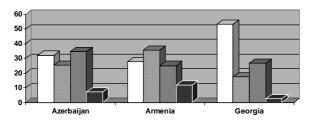




US:

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	32,1	27,5	53,3
Negative	25,4	35,7	17,6

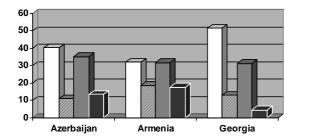
Neutral	34,8	25,1	26,6
Difficult to	7,2	11,7	2,5
answer			

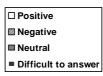




EU:

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	40,2	32,0	51,3
Negative	11,1	18,7	12,9
Neutral	35,0	31,7	31,3
Difficult to	13,4	17,6	4,5
answer			





The responses received reflect the prevailing official position as well as the position of the Mass Media regarding different countries and unions and, on the whole, coincide with the results of the survey conducted in the three states in 1999 (in print). Georgia and Azerbaijan assess Russia's role most negatively (for many years Russia was presented in the Georgian public awareness and Mass Media as a basic, if not the only cause of the Abkhazian conflict and the reason for losing jurisdiction over Abkhazia). The same must apply to Azerbaijan. whereas the roles of the US and the European Union are evaluated most positively. Furthermore, the positive attitude towards the West is more salient in Georgia. The Armenian respondents ascribe the most positive role in the solution of the South Caucasus

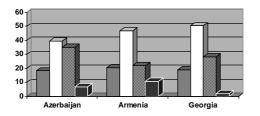
conflicts to Russia and hold a more reserved position in relation to the western countries and especially the US. The majority of Azeri respondents gives a positive evaluation to the role of Turkey, whereas the majority of Armenian respondents holds the contrary position, which also reflects the political opinion prevailing in the countries. Most Georgian respondents evaluate Turkey's role in a neutral way, which clearly reflects the attitude to Turkey dominating in Georgia. Here Turkey is perceived as a friendly country and an important partner in trade, but it is not regarded as a force having an impact on the political situation in the country or on the solution of conflict. Even less importance is ascribed in Georgia to Iran. The situation is different in Azerbaijan, where Iran's role is negatively evaluated by most respondents, which should be linked to Iran's unsuccessful mediation in case of the Karabakh conflict, resulting in the loss of Shushi by Azerbaijan. Armenian respondents are inclined to give a neutral evaluation of the role of Iran. Possibly, in spite of the established relations between Armenia and Iran, the latter is not very much associated with the conflict by Armenian population.

The structure of the questionnaire used does not allow to determine whether the role of this or that actor is assessed symmetrically (i.e. identically in relation to all the conflicts) or differently (for instance in case of the Karabakh and Abkhazian conflicts). We could, however, easily assume that respondents from different countries basically refer to the conflicts most important for their own country.

5. What is your assessment of the role of international organizations in the solution of the conflicts in the South Caucasus?

UN:

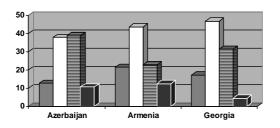
	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive and effective	18,3	20,6	19,2
Positive but not adequately effective	39,6	46,7	50,5
Ineffective	35,0	21,8	28,4
Difficult to answer	7,0	10,9	1,9



- Positive and effective
- □ Positive but not adequately effective
- ☐ Ineffective
- Difficult to answer

OSCE

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive and effective	12,6	21,4	17,3
Positive but not	37,8	43,6	46,9
adequately effective			
Ineffective	38,8	22,7	31,4
Difficult to answer	10,6	12,3	4,3

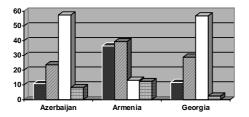




- ☐ Positive but not adequately effective
- **■** Ineffective
- Difficult to answer

CIS:

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive and effective	10,9	36,5	11,7
Postive but not	23,7	39,4	28,9
adequately effective			
Ineffective	57,5	13,2	56,9
Difficult to answer	8,2	12,3	2,5



■ Positive and effective

© Postive but not adequately effective

Ineffective

Difficult to answer

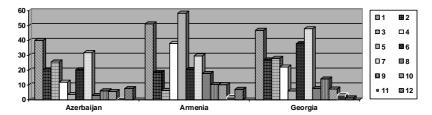
The most negative attitude towards the efforts of international organizations aimed at conflict resolution is observed in Azerbaijan, but even here somewhat moderate positive attitude prevails in relation to the UN and the OSCE. However, the role of the CIS was negatively evaluated by most of the respondents. Almost the same picture was observed in Georgia, even though the share of positive evaluation is higher in this case. The international organizations' role and especially the role of the CIS is most positively evaluated by Armenian respondents.

6. Which, in your opinion, are the mechanisms, preventing new conflicts and ensuring the resolution of the existing conflicts in the South Caucasus? (Select at most 5 versions)

- 1. Conclusion of a special Security and Co-operation Agreement in the Caucasus
- 2. Integration of the South Caucasus states into a confederation
- 3. The South Caucasus states simultaneously join the NATO
- 4. The South Caucasus states join the Russia-Byelorussia Union
- 5. Conflict territories are given the status of independent formations
- 6. Peace makers enter the conflict zones under the auspices of the OSCE
- 7. Reinforcement of peace achievement through the financial assistance provided by developed western powers and international organisations
- 8. Announcement of a ten-year moratorium for the claims related to a change of the status of this or that territory
- 9. Establishment of the position of the OSCE Special Commissioner for the ethnic minorities' rights in the Caucasus
- 10. Transfer of conflict territories for their temporary management to an international administration operating under the auspices of the OSCE
- 11. Other
- 12. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
1	40,0	51,2	46,8

2	20,2	18,5	26,9
3	25,5	6,4	28,0
4	11,9	38,0	22,1
5	3,5	58,4	6,0
6	20,2	20,4	37,8
7	31,8	29,6	47,9
8	2,9	17,8	7,7
9	6,1	10,3	14,1
10	5,6	10,2	7,3
11	0	2,0	3,3
12	7,6	7,1	1,3



An unanimous support of the conclusion of a security and co-operation agreement for the Caucasian region, recorded in all the three groups was quite unexpected from ordinary citizens. The draft of such a document has been actually elaborated and the political circles are aware of this. Nevertheless, judging by responses to other questions we could easily assume that most respondents are not aware of its existence. May be a frequent selection of such a response was determined by the words "security" and "co-operation" bearing a positive connotation.

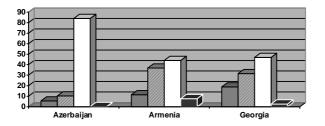
The frequency of the selection of other responses once again pointed to a relative similarity of public opinion in Georgia and Azerbaijan. Differently from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia perceive themselves as losers in the conflict and therefore do not accept the ascription of the status of independent states to the conflict territories, whereas most Armenian respondents find it very desirable. Differently from the two other countries, Armenia strongly supports joining the Rissia-Byelorussia Union. At the same time, simultaneous membership of the NATO is more strongly supported in Georgian and Azerbaijan, than in Armenia.

A worrying trend was observed in the responses of Georgian interviewees: one has an impression that quite a large part of Georgian respondents does not expect to resolve conflict through one's own resources (responses 6 and 7).

7. Is it possible that the conflicting parties in the South Caucasus recommence co-operation without a peaceful settlement of conflict?

- 1. Yes
- 2. To a limited extent
- 3. No.
- 4. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Yes	5,5	11,4	18,8
To a limited extent	10,3	36,8	31,5
No	84,0	44,1	47,0
Difficult to answer	0,2	7,7	2,6





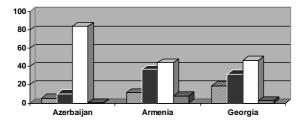
As expected, Armenia, who is happy about the de-facto political arrangement and does not find suitable the loss of economic links, is interested more than the other states in their restoration before conflict resolution takes place. The opinion prevailing in Azerbaijan is totally contrary. As for Georgian respondents, already in the mentioned 1999 survey conducted in the three countries, they showed quite a positive attitude towards integration in the South Caucasus. However, judging by other responses, if for Armenia the establishment of co-operation relations is a necessity (basically due to the geo-political situation and the economic blockade set up by Turkey and Azerbaijan), for Georgia it is only a desire, which is reflected in the responses to the given question. On the whole, there could be two interpretations to the responses received. In case the first two responses are combined, Georgia and Armenia show almost equal distribution of the positive and negative responses regarding co-operation before conflict resolution. However, if these responses are separately discussed, the majority rejects such a possibility. In Azerbaijan, a possible cooperation is always regarded as a result of conflict resolution.

8. Please, name the areas of potential conflict in the South Caucasus

1. Javakheti

- 2. Ajara
- 3. Zakatala and Borchalo
- 4. Azerbaijan Talish
- 5. Azerbaijan-Lezghin
- 6. Other
- 7. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Javakheti	35,6	40,8	48,0
Ajara	10,7	26,2	28,7
Zakatala and Borchalo	18,1	6,1	3,4
Azerbaijan and Talish	7,5	20,0	2,5
Azerbaijan and Lezghin	18,9	14,1	2,9
Other	0	0,4	7,5
Difficult to answer	10,2	0,4	7,0



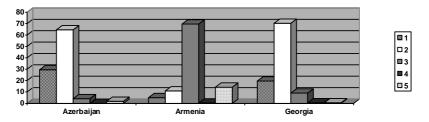


Responses to this question could not be compared directly, since, due to a relatively imprecise nature of the methodology used, Georgian respondents gave only one response, and Azeri and Armenian respondents – several responses. However, the responses showed quite a clear trend. A difficult situation in Javakheti, often discussed by the Mass Media, determined the answers of the interviewees from the three states, who named this region in Georgia as most dangerous in terms of the onset of conflict. Quite a high frequency of the response "Ajara" reflects the tension between the central government of Georgia and the Ajarian leader. The contrary evaluation of the Azerbaijan-Talish and Azerbaijan-Lezghin potential conflicts by Azeri and Armenian respondents seems to be quite interesting. There is another point also worth noting here: as a rule, the highest percentage of zero responses ("Difficult to answer") is observed with Armenian respondents, whereas the named question is exceptional in this respect.

9. What could be an optimal outcome of the efforts aimed at the resolution of the conflicts in the South Caucasus?

- 1. Restoration of the status quo existing before the conflict
- 2. Establishing a new type of relations between the conflicting parties implying the maintenance of the countries' territorial integrity
- 3. Recognition of the self-definition right, including the separation right
- 4. Other
- 5. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
1	29,5	5,0	19,6
2	64,6	10,9	70,3
3	4,1	69,6	9,0
4	0	0,3	0,5
5	1,8	14,2	0,5



Stemming from the situation in the South Caucasus, response distribution was quite predictable. Most of the Georgian and Azeri respondents consider the maintenance of the state's territorial integrity an indisputable condition. At the same time, according to another opinion, a new form of relations has to be established between the conflicting sides.

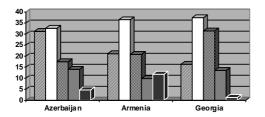
A different picture is observed in Armenia, where the majority of respondents considers the recognition of the self-identification right, including separation, as an optimal outcome of conflict resolution efforts.

Nevertheless, the data, as a whole, shows that the public in all the three countries does realize the impossibility of going back to the old patterns. It realizes that the formation of new relations is inevitable and is even ready to make some compromise. The most desirable stage in the development of mass awareness would be the realization of the opponent's "subjective reality" and the recognition of the opponent's right to have such a reality. Only after this the dialogue could be constructive, indeed. However, the conflict theory says that the recognition of the other side's right to have its own vision is something most difficult to achieve.

10. Assess the role of the local Mass Media in the resolution and prevention of conflicts in the South Caucasus.

- 1. On the whole positive
- 2. Rather positive than negative
- 3. Rather negative than negative
- 4. On the whole negative
- 5. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
On the whole positive	31,2	21,1	16,3
Rather positive than	32,6	36,5	37,4
negative			
Rather negative than	17,5	20,8	31,4
negative			
On the whole negative	14,0	9,8	13,5
Difficult to answer	4,7	11,8	1,3



☑ On the whole positive
☐ Rather positive than negative
☒ Rather negative than negative
☐ On the whole negative

Difficult to answer

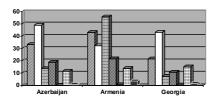
In general, positive evaluations prevail, especially in Azerbaijan. The percentage of positive evaluation is the lowest in Georgia, where responses were distributed almost along a regular curve.

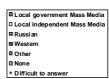
11. In your opinion, which sources of information provide the most reliable information on the nature of conflicts in the South Caucasus and the possibilities of their future resolution

- 1. Local government Mass Media
- 2. Local independent Mass Media
- 3. Russian Mass Media
- 4. Western Mass Media (including the radio station «Freedom» and the BBC)
- 5. Other
- 6. None
- 7. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Local government	33,3	43,1	21,5
Mass Media			

Local independent	48,9	32,3	43,2
Mass Media			
Russian	13,7	55,7	7,4
Western	18,8	21,6	10,7
Other	0	0,6	0,4
None	11,6	13,8	15,1
Difficult to answer	0,8	3,5	1,6





In this case we again encounter the same methodological imprecision as with question 8: Georgian respondents gave one answer, whereas Armenian and Azeri respondents gave several answers. Despite this, basic trends could be also observed in this particular case.

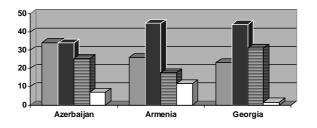
The major discrepancy was related to the Russian Mass Media, which, Armenian respondents find reliable differently from Azeri and Georgian respondents. Armenia also shows the highest percentage of trust in the local state Mass Media. The Azeri and Georgians have more trust in the local independent Mass Media. This showing has substantially increased compared to the data received 2 or 4 years ago. We assume that among the independent Mass Media, the leading role is ascribed to the independent TV company Rustavi 2, whose popularity Georgian public has demonstrated in practice: shortly after the survey, law enforcement bodies attempted to search illegally the TV company's office. This entailed a mass protest leading to a serious government crisis and the dismissal of all the ministers. (The ministers of the law enforcement bodies were dismissed in the first place).

12. How do you envisage the role of the organizations listed below in the resolution of the conflicts in the South Caucasus?

Political parties:

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	34,1	26,0	23,2
Negative	33,9	44,7	44,2
Neutral	25,4	17,6	31,2

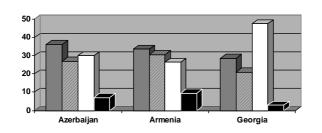
D: CC: 1		11.7	1 1
Difficult to answer	6,8	11,7	1,4





Religious organizations

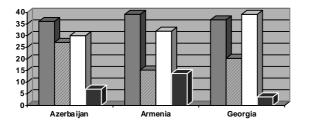
	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	36,1	33,5	28,7
Negative	27,1	30,6	21,0
Neutral	30,0	26,4	47,5
Difficult to answer	7,0	9,5	2,8





NGOs

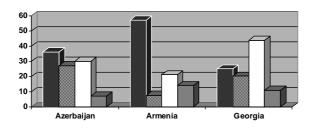
	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	36,1	39,2	36,8
Negative	27,1	15,2	20,3
Neutral	30,0	31,9	39,2
Difficult to answer	7,0	13,7	3,7





Diaspora

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Positive	36,1	57,4	25,0
Negative	27,1	7,4	20,1
Neutral	30,0	21,2	43,9
Difficult to answer	7,0	14,0	11,0





Out of the listed groups and organizations only the diaspora in Armenia rated above 50%, which reflects a real state of affairs. The diaspora plays an important role in the country's life, in its economy and internal and foreign policy.

Azeri respondents gave quite a homogenous evaluation of the named organizations. Georgians are more skeptical, especially in relation to political parties. Armenians express the same opinion in this respect. It seems that the political parties operating in Georgia and Armenia are getting less popular and are not perceived to be a positive force.

In addition to the above, the increased importance of NGOs in the public life of the three states is definitely observed. In Georgia, their role is considered

more important than that of the church, which rates quite high in the country. The responses received also reflected the insignificance of the Georgian diaspora (caused by its paucity) in Georgia's social life.

13. Which aspects of the conflicts in the South Caucasus require the most urgent solution? (Rank in terms of importance from 1 to 8)

Azerbaijan

	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4
1. Exchange of hostages and	16,0	13,3	15,2	16,5
the search for missing persons				
2. Refugee's return to their	12,7	33,1	25,6	15,2
home places;				
3.Ensuring security guarantees;	4,0	11,9	20,2	24,0
4.Restoration of an unhindered	0,3	0,9	4,3	8,7
transport communications;				
5.Liberation of occupied	61,8	21,9	9,6	3,6
territories;				
6.Mine clearing of the areas	3,8	14,2	13,3	16,4
adjacent to the border;				
7. Compensation of material	1,1	4,5	11,7	15,3
losses for the population and				
refugees;				
8. Other	0,2	0,1	0,0	0,2

Armenia

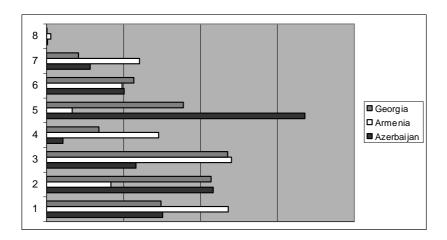
	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4
1. Exchange of hostages and	39,1	14,8	13,0	9,2
the search for missing persons				
2. Refugee's return to their	5,1	9,8	10,8	12,3
home places;				

3.Ensuring security guarantees;	30,1	25,5	15,4	12,5
4.Restoration of an unhindered	9,1	16,6	20,5	18,5
transport communications;				
5.Liberation of occupied	1,6	2,6	5,2	8,7
territories;				
6.Mine clearing of the areas	2,7	12,3	17,1	16,1
adjacent to the border;				
7.Compensation of material	7,4	14,6	14,2	18,8
losses for the population and				
refugees;				
8. Other	1,2	0,1	0,1	0,2

Georgia

	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4
1. Exchange of hostages and	14,8%	15,2%	14,5%	14,8%
the search for missing persons				
2. Refugee's return to their	25,9%	21,5%	15,6%	14,4%
home places;				
3.Ensuring security guarantees;	26,1%	25,2%	21,2%	13,0%
4.Restoration of an unhindered	2,4%	5,6%	12,1%	17,4%
transport communications;				
5.Liberation of occupied	18,5%	15,2%	19,2%	19,8%
territories;				
6.Mine clearing of the areas	9,1%	13,6%	11,4%	13,4%
adjacent to the border;				
7. Compensation of material	2,8%	3.7%	5,9%	7,3%
losses for the population and				
refugees;				
8. Other	0.1%	0	0,1%	0

Based on the data received, the weight of each problem was calculated by countries. Find results in the diagram below.

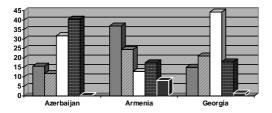


The responses show quite a different distribution. Azeri respondents were most unanimous in their belief that the liberation of occupied territories is the highest priority. For an understandable reason, the same problem received the lowest rating with Armenian respondents, who gave priority to the ensuring of security guarantees, exchange of hostages and the search for the missing persons. Quite a high rating of the "Restoration of transport communications" is also worth mentioning here. This could be a reflection of the difficulties related to the partial blockade of Armenia. In Georgia, the majority of respondents is most concerned about ensuring security guarantees (we should bear in mind that the survey coincided with the outbreak of military actions in Abkhazia) and the refugees' return. The liberation of occupied territories scored third in Georgia. It should be emphasized that the interviewees giving the mentioned response clearly meant Abkhazia and South Ossetia under "occupied territories", even though the named regions do not have such a status.

14. What is your position regarding the nearest prospects of conflict resolution in the South Caucasus and the possibility of recommencing regional cooperation?

- 1. Pessimistic
- 2. Moderately pessimistic
- 3. Moderately optimistic
- 4. Optimistic
- 5. Difficult to answer

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Georgia
Pessimistic	15,7	36,9	15,1
Moderately pessimistic	11,8	24,5	21,1
Moderately optimistic	31,8	12,9	44,3
Optimistic	40,5	17,5	18,0
Difficult to answer	0.2	8.2	1.5





According to several cross-cultural studies the showing of optimism is higher in Georgian population than in the countries living in almost the same social and economic conditions. Data analysis pointed to the existence of the so-called "optimistic fatalism" i.e. the belief in the solution of painful problems through external forces. At the same this does not at all imply "civic action". We think that in this case we deal with the manifestation of the mentioned phenomenon.

Azeri respondents showed even a higher degree of optimism. However, in the mentioned survey of 1999, this level was much lower than that of the Georgian respondents. It is not clear whether the currently manifested high level of optimism is caused by a situational determinant, (i.e. connected to some specific events in the social life) or a situational factor determined its weakening three years ago.

Armenian respondents showed more pessimistic disposition, just like in the case of the previous, above mentioned interview.

III. Conclusion

Looking at the results of the social survey in general, we make the following conclusion: the public opinion in the three countries of South Caucasus has different orientations. in Azerbaijan the most urgent problem is acceptable resolution of the Karabakh conflict, Armenia is more concerned about economic issues (developing foreign economic relations), while Georgia's problem is the interior social-economic situation.

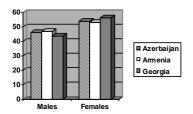
As for the conflicts, the attitude is not similar either. The main points of disagreement are the following: status of conflicting territories and the role of the external powers. Azerbaijan and Georgia consider themselves as the aggrieved

parties, and thus display the similar positions: persisting on restoring the territorial integrity, blaming Russia for the current state of things, and anchoring their hopes on West. The public opinion in Armenia is a mirror image: in favour of Russian orientation and the right of self-determination of the seceded territories.

IV. Sociological and demographic composition of the interviewees

Total number of interviewees constituted 1000 in each of the surveyed countries. The proportion of male and female respondents in the sample generally corresponds to the official statistical data.

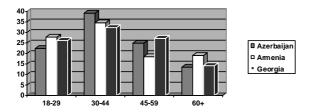
	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Georgia
1. Male	46,9%	46.1%	43.7%
2. Female	53,1%	53.9%	56.3%



As indicated by survey results, the share of males considerably decreased in all the three countries and especially in Georgia.

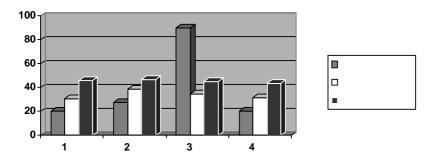
Age:

	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Georgia
1. 18-29	27,8%	22.4%	26.2%
2. 30 - 44	34,6%	39.2%	32.3%
3. 45 - 59	18,5%	24.9%	27.2%
4. 60 and above	19,1%	13.5%	14.2%



In Azerbaijan fewer young people were covered by the survey than in Armenia and Georgia. The Armenian sample included a smaller number of older people (45-59 years).

	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Georgia
1. Elementary	7,9%	3.7%	1.8%
2. High	47,1%	42.5%	20.9%
3. High special	21,7%	22.8%	23.2%
4. Higher and incomplete	23,3%	31%	54.0%
higher education			



In the Georgian sample the number of people with high education was almost twice as little (20,9%), and the share of people with higher education was too high (54%). According to the official information for the year 1999 (Georgian household survey, 1998-1999: Economic-statistical bulletin. Tbilisi, The State Statistics Department of Georgia, 2000, page 21), the share of people above 15 with higher and incomplete higher education constitutes 35,7%. However, according to all the available sociological surveys conducted in the last three years the named showing exceeds 50%. This could be related to a speedy growth of the number of private higher educational institutions and colleges providing low quality service.

Social composition of the interviewees:

	Armenia	Azerbaijan	Georgia
1.Labor	6,7%	7.8%	4.2%
2.Employee	14,5%	17.1%	24.6%
3.Inteligentsia	3,1%	12.7%	10.2%
4.Student	6,9%	3.2%	8.9%
5.Housewife	12,8%	21.7%	16.9%
6.Pensioner	17,5%	12.8%	8.8%
7.Buisenessman/Entrepreneur	2,4%	2.9%	3.8%
8.Military	1,1%	1.3%	1.5%
9.Farmer	14,0%	1.3%	4.2%
10.Unemployed	21,0%	20%	16.9%

Social composition of the interviewees points to a very small share of labor and farmers in the Georgian sample at the expense of a high share of other employees (24,6%). The share of farmers in the Azeri sample is even smaller (1,3%). In the Armenian sample the share of "inteligentsia" turned out to be most insignificant (3,1%).

Nationality

	Armenia Azerbaijan		Georgia
1.Armenian	99,2%	0%	4.9%
2.Àzeri	0%	91,9%	2,2%
3.Georgian	0%	0%	89,2%
4.Russian	0,1%	3,6%	1,1%
5.Kurd/lezid	0,6%	0%	0%
6.Other	0,1%	4,5%	2,6%

The analysis of the samples in terms of nationality points to the increased share of the national majority, which applies to all of the three samples.

Do you belong to the category of refugees or internally displaced persons?

	Armenia	Àzerbaijan	Georgia
1. Refugee	1,7%	3.2%	1.3%
2. IDP	0,2%	3.6%	2.7%
3. Other	98,1%	93.2%	97%

Marital status:

	Àrmenia	Àzerbaijan	Georgia
1. Married	66,7%	74.1%	67.5%
2. Divorced	2,5%	2%	3.6%
3. Widow/Widower	9,4%	8.7%	4.7%
4. Single	21,4%	15.2%	24.2%

Average monthly income per family member:

	Àrmenia	Àzerbaijan	Georgia
1. Less than 50\$	79,1%	92.4%	83.5%
2. From 50 to 100\$	2,1%	6.1%	12.4%
3. From 100 to 3000\$	0,3%	0.6%	2.5%
4. More than 300\$	0,1%	0.2%	0.3%
5. Do not know	18,4%	0.7%	1.1%

With a slight exception, the situation in terms of per capita income is almost identical in the three countries. The biggest share of the interviewed is composed of poor and needy people.

Content analysis

In addition to the survey, this investigation also conducted the content analysis of the conflict-related material covered by the Mass Media. According to the decision made at the conference preceding the survey and held through the internet by the three parties, each side would use its own methods to test different approaches at the first stage of the study and select an optimal method for the following stages. Content analysis included into the second stage, dedicated to human rights, was conducted using a common methodology.

1. Content analysis

The Azerbaijani Mass Media on the conflicts in the South Caucasus

The most popular 8 daily newspapers (according to the latest rating) were subjected to monitoring. These are The Khalg Gazeti and The Eni Azerbaijan, promoting the government position, the newspapers Azadlig and Eni Musavat expressing the opposition's position, and the independent newspapers Sharg, 525-Gazet, Mirror and Echo (the 2 latter newspapers are published in Russian). Among

TV and radio channels, for the purpose of analysis were selected State TV Channel Az TV-1 and the radio station Araz, and the independent channels "ANS" and "SPACE". The monitoring period was defined from 1 November to 22 December 2001. Content analysis was conducted by a group composed of 6 specialists and lead by analyst Rasim Musabekov.

The information material including the word <u>conflict</u> together with adjectives was defined as an analysis unit:

- Armenian Azeri, Karabakh;
- Azeri-Lezghin;
- Azeri-Talish;
- · Georgian-Abkhazian, Abkhaz;
- Georgian-Ossetian;
- Georgian-Armenian, Javakheti;
- Ajarian

Data on the number and nature of publications and broadcasts concerning the conflict in the South Caucasus are presented below in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1

		O/			
Newspaper	Amount	Infor-	Articles and	Interviews	Number
	of material	mation and	analytical	linerviews	of words
	materiai	comments	reviews		
Khalg gazeti	114	59 %	34 %	7,0 %	27,6 th.
Eni Azerbaidjan	70	60 %	30 %	10,0%	24,0 th.
Sharg	117	52,3 %	32,4 %	15,3%	32,0 th
525-gazet	247	58,3%	35,6%	6,1%.	47,5 th
Mirror	66	51 %	35 %	14 %	34,5 th.
	85	61 %	31 %	8 %	37,5 th.
Eni musavat	71	35 %	39 %	26 %	29,0 th
Azadlig	38	48 %	36 %	16 %	11,2 th

Table 2

TV /radio channel	Broadcast	Duration
Radio Araz	436 times	19 hours 36 minutes
Az TV-1	32 times	1 hour 22 minutes

ANS - TV	238 times	16 hours 26 minutes
SPACE – TV	134 times	5 hours 45 minutes

About 95% of newspaper publications, radio and TV programs concerned the Armenian-Azeri or the Karabakh conflict. Out of the other hot spots in the South Caucasus the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict was mentioned most often - 4 % (aggravation of the situation in the Kodori Gorge in September drew the Mass Media's attention). Georgian-Armenian relations in Javakheti, the Georgian-Ossetian conflict, and the Azeri-Lezghin tense relations were covered only few times by the local Mass Media.

The prevailing themes in the November publications were the concern about the OSCE Minsk group's activity, no progress in the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict, a tougher position of the Azeri and Armenian sides, and the evaluation of possible military actions. A discussion around folk diplomacy, highlighting both positive and negative positions, was also presented. The December material covered by the Mass Media could be characterized by expectations related to the prospects of the US presence in the South Caucasus and the possibility of Azeri-American military cooperation. The newspapers, radio and TV provided an extensive coverage of the US Defense Minister Donald Ramsfeld's_visit to the South Caucasus and the abolishment by the Congress of the notorious amendment 907, prohibiting, in the past, the provision of a direct state support by the US to Azerbaijan. All the mentioned events were presented in terms of their impact on the solution of the Karabakh conflict.

As for the position reflected in the information/analytical material of the Mass Media under investigation, the most radical position regarding the settlement of the Armenian-Azeri relations was held by the independent channel ANS-TV. (After each information program, 5 times a day, you can hear a call to start the sacred war "jikhad" against Armenian invaders.) ANS is also one the few channels broadcasting directly from Armenia (through the ANS reporter Alexandr Monvelian who speaks the Azeri language). From daily newspapers the opposition newspaper Eni Musavat and the independent newspapers Sharg and 525-gazet could be distinguished for their radical position. During the analysis period, the conflicts in the South Caucasus were least covered by the state TV channel Az V-1, and, surprisingly, the opposition newspaper Azadlig. Moreover, Az more or less conciliatory position in respect to the resolution of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict, whereas the position of the articles published in the Azadlig was absolutely contrary. The highly active Radio Araz focuses on the peaceful solution of the conflict and supports the state policy (above 60% of broadcast material). Out of the newspapers supporting the state's position, the most radical, confrontational attitude is demonstrated by the newspaper Eni Azerbaijan (54% of

published material). SPACE-TV and the independent Russian language newspapers Mirror and Echo express a more moderate, better balanced position.

Materials, directly implying the resumption of military actions for the liberation of the Azeri territories invaded by Armenians and promoting a violent solution of the Karabakh conflict range from 5% to 20% depending on the position of this or that source. Excessive concession, the readiness to accept the role of a defeated side and avoid, by any means, the resumption of military actions is observed only in case of 5% of publications and TV/radio programs. The largest share of material reveals frustration regarding the effectiveness of the efforts of the OSCE Minsk Groups acting as a mediator in the process of peaceful resolution, disbelief in the possibility that Armenians will peacefully leave the occupied territories and the suspicions about Armenians' hostile plans.

The information article "The cup has been filled up", tells about the meeting of the co-chairmen of the OSCE Minsk group with Sheikhulislam Gaji Alakhshukur Pashazade, who expressed his radical position regarding the inability to solve the Karabakh conflict for so many years. The Sheikh said: "The conflict has been lasting for 13 years now. The cup has been filled up. This cannot last forever. This should be taken into consideration by all the parties." ("Eni Musavat" 05.11). The Mass Media holding a reserved position and supporting the government, disseminated on November 9 the following information: the first deputy chairman of the ruling party "Eni Azerbaijan", the President's son Ilikham Aliev made a tough statement at the meeting with the Gianja members of the party. "If our lands are not liberated through peaceful means, we will liberate them using other measures"- he said. After him, the same idea was expressed by Ali Akhmedov, executive secretary of the party, and Ariph Ragimzad, first deputy to the Chairman of the Parliament.

The November visit of the co-chairmen of the Minsk group to Azerbaijan, could not change the skepticism of the Azeri public regarding a peaceful settlement of the Karabakh problem. This is supported by the survey results published on 11 November in Echo. The question in the virtual social survey was formulated as follows: "Do you find the OSCE Minsk group's activity, aimed at the resolution of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict, suitable?" 191 people participated in the survey. Responses showed the following distribution: 21 respondents (11%) - "Yes", 166 respondents (87%) - "No", 4 respondents (2%) - "Difficult to answer".

In his interview, Tophik Zulphugarov, the former Foreign Minister, gave an extremely interesting analysis of the situation observed during the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict ("Echo", November 11). He thinks that the situation could be described as follows: "...We cannot give Armenians what they want and what we are giving them, they do not want to take. The package

version implying the liberation of all our occupied territories and the restoration in the Nagorni Karabakh of the demographic situation existing at the beginning of conflict, is not realistic. This version, in the opinion of Armenians, could be only accomplished in case of its full elaboration and implementation, which means, that it is necessary to elaborate a whole set of political, economic and other laws, introduce changes into the Constitution, draft a large number of normative acts regulating all the spheres of interaction. All this, according to the most optimistic forecast takes 8-10 years. Given a strong mistrust and hostile position of the two states, even Taleiran would not be able to achieve such an objective. And when Armenians openly declare either joining Nagorni Karabakh or independence, any negotiations are bound to fail." The former Foreign Minister also shared his opinion about possible ways of peaceful resolution. The package version, promoted by Armenians, is unrealistic, but out of the 3 "stage by stage" versions two are realistic. However, Erevan impedes their implementation, since they want to press the Azeri side to comply with the Armenian proposal and hope to do so. Zulphugarov believes that these expectations gradually dissolve. When the situation is critical it is necessary to take a realistic move in the direction of a gradual resolution, since the only alternative is a large-scale war the world powers do not want to happen.

The majority of material rejects the possibility of co-operation between the conflicting parties before the liberation of the occupied Azeri territories. Officials, people supporting the government, politicians from the opposition, representatives of intelligentsia, average citizens and journalists themselves are unanimous in this respect. Azerbaijan Foreign Minister Viliat Guliev says: "Azerbaijan will not accept any proposal on economic co-operation with Armenia." Any talks about co-operation should be ruled out before conflict settlement" ("525 gazet"28.11). Nazim Imanov, a member of the opposition party: "No one in Azerbaijan will start co-operation with Armenia as long as the Azerbaijan territories are occupied, until Azeri citizens' rights are restored and international law norms become effective in the South Caucasus. Such is a principal position of the Azeri public" (525-gazet 5.12). The newspaper "Mirror" (November 3, article "Postal communication between Baku Armenians and Khankendi"), which informs the readers about the allocation of a large sum by European institutions for the mentioned project (reflected in the article's heading), is very suspicious about its implementation (in spite of the project's local character) in the context of the existing Armenian aggression. A different position (with numerous reservations) was only reflected in very few publications.

The folk diplomacy issue was directly related to the problem of possible co-operation. During the analysis period the named issue was extensively covered by different sources of information. Their majority either expressed a negative position or was for the limitation of such a practice before the liberation of the

Azeri lands. In the interview broadcast by ANS-TV (5 December), the veteran of the Karabakh war Iashar Abdulaev openly accused the Chairman of the Azeri National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Arza Abdulaeva of almost supporting Armenia in establishing co-operation with Azerbaijan. This could form an opinion in the international community that Azerbaijan would accept the loss of Karabakh. This idea transformed on the named channel into a consistent campaign. Representatives of the radical organization of Karabakh liberation (Chairman Akif Nagi and others) appearing in the Mass Media under analysis, were radically against folk diplomacy actions. Important members of the ruling party Eni Azerbaijan expressed their dissatisfaction with the named activity through the information sources supporting the state policy. The same opinion was expressed by government officials. National Security Minister Namik Abbasov says: "The talks about joint meetings are senseless before Armenia liberates the occupied territories. I, myself, rejected a number of meetings, thinking that we could not sit around the same table with the separatists." ("Eni Musavat" 04.11)

Only the newspaper "Echo" held a different position in relation to folk diplomacy. Its 11 November issue published an article ("A complicated reality of independence") of the Co-Chairman of the Azeri Social Democrats Zardush Alizade. The author speaks about the danger and counter-productivity inherent in aggressive separatism and militant nationalism and discusses a possible solution of the given difficult problems through overcoming mistrust and hostility, establishing a democratic dialogue and the strengthening of human rights. The discussion of supporters and opponents of folk diplomacy was held in the November 17 issue ("Say YES to folk diplomacy" by Eldar Zeinalov, Director of the Azeri Centre for the Protection of Human Rights and "About non-folk folk diplomacy" by politologist Ali Osmanov.). The latter refers to international examples showing the futility and even harmfulness of meetings between public representatives, since in the context of continuing occupation of our territories this creates an illusion that Azerbaijan could accept their loss and agree to defeatist peace. The discussion is finalized by the article of the Chairman of the Azeri Committee of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Arzu Abdullaeva - "The Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and folk diplomacy", published in the November 23 issue. Although, the newspaper showed a pluralistic and impartial position by placing the articles expressing difference in opinion, the proportion of 1 to 3 in favor of the supporters of folk diplomacy indirectly points to the position of the newspaper's editorial staff. The TV company SPASE also shows a moderately critical position regarding folk diplomacy.

The attitude towards the state policy regarding the Karabakh conflict was largely determined by the status of this or that source of information. Az V-1, supporting the state policy, radio station "Araz", the newspapers Eni Azerbaijan and Khalg give a purely positive picture of such a policy. A careful criticism shows

in infrequent speeches of the opposition and independent politicians. TV Channel SPASE manifests a balanced position. As for the opposition newspapers, the assessment of the government policy implemented in the named direction is totally contrary. The newspapers Eni Musavat and Azadlig frequently give its harsh criticism. The proportion of publication in the Mirror, Echo and 525-Gazet does not favor the government, either. For instance, in Sharg, the government policy in relation to the Karabakh conflict is assessed positively or basically positively only in 16 units of material, neutrally in 8 and negatively in 30. ANS TV Company's critical evaluation of the state policy regarding the Karabakh issue is almost identical to the opposition's view.

The policy of world and regional powers constituted a large share of the material presented by the Mass Media on the South Caucasian conflicts. In this respect, the position of friendly Turkey gets an absolutely positive evaluation. Critical comments are made regarding the US and European policy, but on the whole, positive evaluations and expectations prevail. The positive trend increased in relation to the suspension of the discriminative amendment 907 by the US Congress and Defense Minister Ramsfeld's visit to Baku. Vapha Guluzade, the former state advisor in the president's administration says - " I am sure that the operation of the American bases in Azerbaijan will become an important determinant of stability in the region. This will also increase the probability of a fair settlement of the Karabakh problem". ("America creates military bases in Azrebaijan", Eni Musavat, Novemeber 3). As for Russia and Iran, most Mass Media negatively evaluate the position of the given powers. Only officials and rarely analysts and intelligentsia talk about a possibly positive role of Russia and Iran. For instance, the newspaper Mirror as of November 14 published an extensive interview with the well known writer, participant of the I Congress of the Azeri of the World, Chinguiz Guseinov ("Azerbaijan is not ready for a military solution of the Karabakh problem"), which points to the importance of Moscow and its possible positive impact.

As already mentioned, during the analysis period, the Azeri Mass Media did not contain much material about other hot spots in the South Caucasus. One the whole, this material expresses an understanding attitude in relation to the official position of Tbilisi in respect to the Abkhazian and South Ossetian conflicts. Russia's policy, directed at the humiliation of Georgia, gets extremely negative comments. The article "Shevardnandze wants the Turkish army in Abkhazia" (Eni Musavat, November 10), positively emphasizes President Shvardnadze's words - "If the UN Security Council agrees to place the international forces in the zone of the Abkhazian conflict, we will ask the President of Turkey to consider Turkey's participation in peacemaking operations". In November-December, almost all the local sources of information at least once or twice covered the separatist schemes of Armenians in the Javakheti region of Georgia, and assessed the situation in the

region as highly explosive. Many publications and TV/radio speeches were dedicated to the deepening of the military-political co-operation between Ankara-Tbilisi-Baky to resist separatism and the destabilizing activity of Armenia and Russia in the South Caucasus.

2. Content Analysis

The Armenian Mass Media on the Conflicts in the South Caucasus

To analyze conflict related material covered by the Armenian Mass Media, 8 newspapers, 3 TV Channels and one radio station were selected according to their popularity in the second half of 2001. These are 5 newspapers published in Armenian (Aiastani Anrapetutiun, Aikakan Zhamanak, Aravot, Azg, Erkir), and 3 newspapers published in Russian (Respublika Armenia, Golos Armenii and Novoe Vremia).

TV Channels: R1 – public TV of Armenia, and independent channels – Prometevs, and A1+ broadcasting in Armenian, with the exception of special information programs broadcast in Russian and English.

The public radio of Armenia broadcasts in Armenian. It also transmits information programs in Russian, Georgian, Iezid, Kurdish, Azeri, English and French.

To analyze the conflict related issues covered by the newspapers, we selected all the texts irrespective of the newspaper genre (information, articles, analytical articles, interviews, advertisements, appeals, internet conferences, etc).

To analyze the conflict related issues covered by TV and the Armenian public radio, information, information-analytical, political, legal, and military materials and press reviews were selected.

The analysis period covered 2 months: from September 1 to October 31.

Total of the material analyzed:

newspaper texts - 650

minimal text – 24 units identified as words

maximal text – 3889 units identified as words

The texts were accompanied by illustrations (photographs, drawings, caricatures, computer graphics).

Broadcast over TV - 262

minimal TV program -10 minutes maximal TV program - 90 minutes

The programs were accompanied by photo and video material (also archival material)

Broadcast over radio - 249

minimal radio program - 10 minutes maximal radio program -60 minutes

On the whole, the Armenian Mass Media basically covered three topics: the Karabakh conflict, the genocide of Armenians in 1915, and the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict, which found its reflection in the themes of the following events:

- 10 years of Karabakh independence
- 10 years of Armenia's independence
- \bullet Celebration of the 1700 years of the adoption of Christianity by Armenia. Arrival of the Pope and Alexi II
- Arrival of Putin and Shevardnadze in Armenia
- Arrival of the President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Russel Johnson, Co-chairmen of the OSCE Minsk group Adrian Severin and Rudolph Perin, Speaker of the Great Britain Parliament K. Cocks, etc
- Internet conference with Kocharyan
- Visit of Krabakh NGOs to Baku
- Arrival of representatives of the Azeri and Turkish Mass Media in Armenia
- Karabakh delegation's visit to the capital of Russia
- Visit of the Armenian official delegation to Georgia
- The days of "The Russia's Armenian's Union" in Armenia and Artsakhe
- Armenian delegation's speech at the session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg
- \bullet Terrorist act in the US on September 11. Azerbaijan's links with Terrorist #1
- Antiterrorist declarations of Turkey and Azerbaijan made in relation to Nagorni Karabakh and Armenia
- Full abolishment of amendment 907 to the Act prohibiting the US's direct assistance to Azerbaijan in relation to the blockade of Nagorni Karabakh and Armenia
- The Armenian-Turkish Conciliation Commission
- Removal of Russian military bases from Javakheti

It has to be mentioned that the presentation of conflict related issue by the Armenian Mass Media had a neutral character. Official announcements and analytical articles were quite discreet and only in the articles made by reporters the coverage of facts was accompanied by some emotions (the events, linked to the abuse of the peaceful population in Armenian villages during the Georgian-Abkhazian opposition).

As for the Karabakh conflict, the official declarations of the Armenian Republic and the Nagorni Karabakh, basically implied a peaceful resolution of the conflict, whereas the official statements of Azeri authorities and Azeri NGOs were

very aggressive, sometimes even implying the readiness to start military operations.

The genocide of Armenians in 1915 was most radically evaluated by the newspaper Erkir, - an official printing body of the revolutionary party Dashnaktsiutun, in relation to the creation of a Turkish-Armenian commission (in their opinion illegal commission), financed by the US security services.

The genocide theme was covered in the information on the visit of the Pope to Erevan, the visits of President Putin and other officials.

The material contained a large number of digests, as well as the references to the Russian. Azeri and Turkish sources of information.

The category net included 128 categories, giving a comprehensive coverage of conflict related themes. These are agents of conflict, social-psychological sides of the conflict, third parties, aspects of conflict (causes, motives, etc), conflict development, conflict situations (tension, clashes), conflict relations, conflicting perception, conflict resolution ways (mediation and negotiations), etc. The top ten categories, included the following:

Newspaper articles TV programmes Radio programmes

1. Armenia	13 Nagorni Karabakh Republic	13 Nagorni Karabakh Republic
2 Azerbaijan	2 Azerbaijan	2 Armenia
3 Nagorni Karabakh	3 Armenia	3 Abkhazia
Republic		
4 Georgia	4 Abkhazia	4 Azerbaijan
5 Turkey	5 Amendment 907	5 Karabakh conflict
6 Karabakh conflict	6 Military operations	6 Genocide of Armenians
7 US	7 Georgia	7 Amendment 907
8 Council of Europe	8 Council of Europe	8 Georgia
9 Russia	9 Karabakh conflict	9 Council of Europe
10 Genocide of	10 Genocide of	10 Military operations
Armenians	Armenians	

3. Content Analysis

The Georgian Mass Media on the Conflicts in the South Caucasus

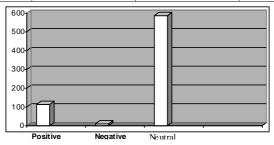
As already mentioned, materials in the Georgian press, radio and TV were analyzed in terms of the attitudes related to Armenia and Azerbaijan. The word was identified as an analysis unit. The key words – Azerbaijan, Armenia, their derivatives (for instance the Armenians, Azeri), and also the relative pronouns and proper names. The material was grouped into three categories depending on the evaluation given by the source of information and its position concerning the issues related to the key words – positive, negative or neutral (that is the presentation of individual facts without their evaluation).

8 newspapers, selected according to the latest rating, were analyzed (200 issues altogether). These were 5 daily newspapers (Rezonansi, Dilis Gazeti, Sakartvelos Respublika, Svobodnaya Gruzia, and Akhali Taoba), 1 weekly newspaper (Kviris Palitra); and Alia and Vecherni Tbilisi, issued 5 and 3 times a week, respectively. All the articles in the newspapers were subjected to analysis. According to their rating were also selected 3 TV channels (Channel I of the State TV, and two independent channels - Rustavi 2 and Channel 9) and 1 radio station - Sakartvelos radio. These were analyzed by information and analytical programs, and also the programs covering life in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Press

In the 8 newspapers, the key words "Azerbaijan" and its derivatives appeared 711 times during the relevant period.

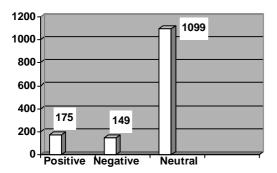
Newspaper	Positive	Negative	Neutral
1 Alia	0	0	50
2 Rezonansi	2	0	30
3 Dilis gazeti	7	0	161
4 Sakartvelos	74	2	138
Respublika			
5 Svobodnaia Gruzia	19	0	94
6 Kviris Palitra	0	0	19
7 Akhali Taoba	12	8	71
8 Vecherni Tbilisi	0	0	24
Total	114	10	587



The diagram shows the prevalence of neutral texts (description of an event) in case of Azerbaijan. Positive attitude substantially exceeds the negative. The key words and its derivatives most frequently appear in the state Georgian language newspapers. The key words most frequently appear in the negative context in the newspaper Akhali Taoba.

In the 8 newspapers, the key words "Armenia" and its derivatives appeared 1423 times during the relevant period.

Newspaper	Positive	Negative	Neutral
1 Alia	0	7	130
2 Rezonansi	0	6	94
3 Dilis gazeti	6	58	274
4 Sakartvelos Respublika	81	3	278
5 Svobodnaia Gruzia	73	0	148
6 Kviris Palitra	0	6	24
7 Akhali Taoba	9	66	106
8 Vecherni Tbilisi	6	3	45
Total	175	149	1099



Here also prevail neutral texts, even though the proportion of the frequency of appearance in positive and negative contexts is lower than in case of Azerbaijan. It should be also noted that "Armenia" and its derivatives are used twice as often as "Azerbaijan" with its corresponding derivatives. The key words are most frequently encountered in the government newspapers and the independent newspaper Dilis Gazeti. They most frequently appear in the positive context in the government newspapers and in the negative context in the newspapers Akhali Taoba and Dilis Gazeti.

TV Channels

On the 3 TV channels, the key words "Azerbaijan" and its derivatives appeared 122 times during the relevant period.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Channel I	17	0	49
Channel 9	1	0	25
Rustavi 2	5	0	25
Total	23	0	99

On the 3 TV channels, the key words "Armenia" and its derivatives appeared 319 times during the relevant period.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Channel I	44	9	171
Channel 9	4	0	44
Rustavi 2	6	7	36
Total	54	16	251

The key words basically appear in information programs and much less frequently in analytical programs.

<u> ¡Radio</u>

On the mentioned radio channel, the key words "Azerbaijan" and its derivatives appeared 47 times during the relevant period.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Sakartvelos radio	3	2	42

On the mentioned radio channel, the key words "Armenia" and its derivatives appeared 118 times during the relevant period.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Sakartvelos radio	7	3	108

The statistical tables show that there was little material to analyze. Could the data received suggest that the themes of Armenia and Azerbaijan do not bear for the Georgian Mass Media primary importance? This is true to a certain extent. At least, this is true for the analysis period. The key words would appear and reach a maximum number only when events in Georgia or outside Georgia were linked to Armenia or Azerbaijan. In the rest period, the Georgian Mass Media almost did

not cover the topic of our interest (that is the relationship of the neighbors in the region). This could be an indirect indication of a low significance of the named topic in Georgian reality. Of course, the absolute amount of the data received cannot lead to final conclusions, which requires the comparison of the received material with control data. This means that the data received during the research need to be compared with the already existing average data. In this case, the average data could be the frequency of the use of the key words by the Mass Media during a longer period. This would enable us to draw conclusions about the topicality of the theme under investigation (whether it is really less important or the relevant analysis period is exceptional for certain reasons). But the mentioned data were not available.

Thus, we think that the investigated theme was not very significant in course of the analysis. Further investigation has to show the dynamics of its significance. The same applies to the prevailing attitudes towards Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The tables with statistical data do not identify the events and problems in relation to which the Mass Media expressed an official, public or one's own position. Find below the list of events concerning Armenia and Azerbaijan and attracting the interest of the Georgian Mass Media.

Azerbaijan

- Meeting of the Georgian and Azeri leaders designated to the signature of a joint document on the gas pipeline
- Incident at the check point in Sadakhlo between the Georgian and Azeri citizens
- Ten years of Azerbaijan's independence
- Visit of the Azeri official delegation to Georgia

Armenia:

- The Georgian President's visit to Armenia
- Visit of the Armenian official delegation to Georgia
- The Armenian MP's speech at the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe
- The Pope's visit to Armenia
- Armenia's position regarding the removal of the Russian military bases from Samtskhe-Javakheti
- Extension of the power transmitting line from Armenia to Samtskhe-Javakheti
- Escalation of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict and the position of the Armenian population in Abkhazia

The Georgian Mass Media covered the theme of the integration of the South Caucasus states only in relation to the Georgian President's visit to the USA,

during which Shevardnadze talked about a joint fight against terrorism. The Mass Media positively evaluated the idea of integration. However, this theme was only covered by the state Mass Media, which means that the mentioned evaluation reflects an official position. Infrequent coverage of the integration topic by the Georgian Mass media shows that this theme is not a current priority in interstate relations. However, integration was always positively evaluated in those rare cases.

The positive evaluation was accompanied by information on the prospects of strengthening Armenian-Georgian and Azeri-Georgian bilateral relations. Also in this case, this kind of material is more frequently presented by the State Mass Media.

The tables indicate that the material related to Azerbaijan is more positively evaluated. Azerbaijan is perceived as a reliable strategic partner, a friendly country, etc. Azerbaijan's role (actual or potential) is also positively assessed in the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. The Azeri are mentioned in a negative context in the information on the incident at the check point in Sadakhlo (fight with the use of weapons) and the distribution of land plots in the Marneuli district which is densely populated with the people of the Azeri nationality. However, in the latter case, these are basically corrupt representatives of the local authorities that are accused of the violations taking place in course of land distribution.

Situation is somewhat different with the assessments related to Armenia. Firstly, the key words are used more frequently. This is not surprising if we consider the increase of the frequency of the key words during the events related to Armenia or Azerbaijan, and also the fact that the number of such events was much bigger in case of Armenia, as evidenced by the above list. Comparing to the Azeri material, the Armenian material was negative evaluation more frequently. Find below the events that received a negative evaluation:

- The Armenian MP's speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Accusing Georgia of the discrimination of the Armenian population in Samtskhe-Javakheti was considered unfair by the Georgian Mass Media.
- Position of the Armenians residing in Abkhazia during the escalation of the Abkhazian conflict "...The Armenian Bagramian division fights against Georgian guerrillas " (Rustavi-2)
- Negative evaluation by the Armenian side of a possible removal of the Russian bases. The Georgian Mass media interpreted this fact as Russia's attempt to use Armenia for its own ends. "Armenia is just a tool in Russia's hands. The Armenian side helps Russia to carry out its plans in the Caucasus." "Akhali Taoba", 14 October.

It should be mentioned that a negative evaluation of Armenia is more frequently encountered in the independent sources of information. In the government Press and TV and radio channels positive assessment prevails. (Find

the tables). This could be explained by the focus of the independent Mass Media on sensational material.

The Radio and TV use the key words much more rarely than the press. This is understandable if we bear in mind that the relationship between the South Caucasian States is not considered a topical issue and the interest in relation to it is only raised by individual events. In case of such events, newspapers are able to give more space to their coverage and analysis.

Notes

კონფლიქტებისა და მოლაპარაკებების საერთაშორისო კვლევითი ცენტრი

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