

CADGAT

Central Asia Data Gathering and Analysis Team

**Print media in Central Asia**

Central Asia Regional Data Review

No. 13   
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In 2009, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and the OSCE Academy established the Central Asia Data-Gathering and Analysis Team (CADGAT). The purpose of CADGAT is to produce new cross-regional data on Central Asia that can be freely used by researchers, journalists, NGOs and government employees inside and outside the region. The project is managed by Kristin Fjaestad and Indra Overland at NUPI. Comments and questions can be sent to: cadgat@nupi.no. The datasets can be found at: <http://osce-academy.net/en/research/cadgat/>

The following datasets have been published previously:

1. Hydroelectric dams and conflict in Central Asia

2. Narcotics trade and related issues in Central Asia

3. Language use and language policy in Central Asia

4. The transport sector in Central Asia

5. Road transportation in Central Asia

6. Gender and politics in Central Asia

7. Political relations in Central Asia

8. Trade policies and major export items in Central Asia

9. Intra-regional trade in Central Asia

10. Trade barriers and tariffs in Central Asia

11. Holidays in Central Asia. Part I: Laws and official holidays

12. Holidays in Central Asia. Part II: Professional and working holidays

13. Print media in Kazakhstan

CADGAT has also produced a database on ‘Elites in Central Asia‘, which can be found at the same website.

**Data collection and outline of report**

Data collection for the CADGAT media reports was carried out in August–December 2013, so the figures presented here reflect the situation at that point in time. This report is intended as an overview that can be updated later. Sources of information are listed in footnotes, with access dates.

**Background of report**

The development of the media in the Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan since independence varies significantly. CADGAT reports 13, 14 and 15 examine developments in the media within three spheres: print media, TV and radio. The data show significant across-time variation within and among the countries, with greatest differences in the ratio between broadcasting/publication in the national languages, and in Russian and other languages.

CADGAT researchers collected data in the fall of 2013, of which some was updated as of June 2015 with regard to certain processes (TV digitalization). The data were collected by individual researchers in each of the five countries. Variation in terms of data availability and quality across the countries should be noted. We have presented the sources and methods used in footnotes. However, much information is not publicly available, so personal assessments of the researchers and their network have occasionally been used. This is specifically noted in each case.

**Key findings**

* There are considerable differences in how much print media is available in each country; in Turkmenistan, there is roughly only one print media outlet per 116 000 citizens; in Uzbekistan, one per 30 000; Kyrgyzstan, one per 33 000; Tajikistan, one per 22 500; and at the far end of the range, Kazakhstan, with one print media outlet per 9 000 citizens.
* However, the amount of print media available does not correspond with rankings on the World Press Freedom Index, where both Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have consistently fared better than Kazakhstan over the past decade. Turkmenistan has ranked lowest, follow by Uzbekistan.
* There is also great variation as to the language of publication: at the one end of the spectrum is Turkmenistan, with 95% of the print media published in the national language, in contrast to Kazakhstan, with only 25%. The figures for Kyrgyzstan are 60%; Tajikistan, 79%; and Uzbekistan, 86%. This echoes the proportion of print media published in Russian: Turkmenistan lowest, with 4.5%; Kazakhstan highest, with 40%.
* In Turkmenistan, the top three print media are state-owned; in Kyrgyzstan, they are private. In the other three countries there is a mixture as regard ownership.

## 1. Media Freedom

**Table 1. World Press Freedom Index Rankings, 2003–2015**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **World Press Freedom Index** | **Kazakhstan** | **Kyrgyzstan** | **Tajikistan** | **Turkmenistan** | **Uzbekistan** |
| **2015** | #160 | #88 | #116 | #178 | #166 |
| **2014[[1]](#footnote-1)** | #161 | #97 | #115 | #178 | #166 |
| **2013[[2]](#footnote-2)** | #160 | #106 | #123 | #177 | #164 |
| **2011–2012[[3]](#footnote-3)** | #154 | #108/109 | #123/124 | #177 | #157 |
| **2010[[4]](#footnote-4)** | #162 | #159 | #115 | #176 | #163 |
| **2007[[5]](#footnote-5)** | #125 | #110 | #115 | #167 | #160 |
| **2003[[6]](#footnote-6)** | #138 | #104 | #113/114 (tie) | #158 | #154 |

**2. Key print media statistics (2013)**

**Table 2.1. Print media statistics, overview**[[7]](#footnote-7)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **KAZ[[8]](#footnote-8)** | **KYR[[9]](#footnote-9)** | **TAJ[[10]](#footnote-10)** | **TURK** | **UZB[[11]](#footnote-11)** |
| **Total no. of print media** | 1860 | 174 | 364 | 45 | 999 |
| **No. of state print media** | 500 | 57 | 89 | 44 | 565 |
| **No. of print media with private funding** | 1360 | 117 | 195/80[[12]](#footnote-12) | 1 | 427 |
| **No. with international funding/support[[13]](#footnote-13)** | N/A | 3 | 26 | 1 | 1 |
| **No. of print media issued in national language** | 466 | 104 | 289 | 43 | 863 |
| **No. issued in Russian** | 743 | 74 | 55 | 2 | 100 |
| **No. issued in Russian and national language** | 472 |  | 20[[14]](#footnote-14) | 1 | 29 |
| **Other languages (Russian, Kazakh and other)** | 179 |  | 215 | 39 | 429 |
| **No. issued with national coverage** | N/A | 5 | 149 | 6 | 394 |
| **No. issued with only regional coverage** | N/A | 169 | 35-40[[15]](#footnote-15) | 0[[16]](#footnote-16) | 15 |
| **No. of foreign print media available** |  | 43[[17]](#footnote-17) | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| **Daily** | N/A | 6 | 180/2[[18]](#footnote-18) | 9 | 176 |
| **Weekly/ Twice weekly** | N/A | 115 | 127 | 13/2 | 84 |
| **Monthly** | N/A | 49 | 15 | 7/2 | 40 |
| **Quarterly** | N/A | 4 | 39 | 9 | 54 |
| **Yearly** | N/A | 0 | 43/12[[19]](#footnote-19) | 0 | 15 |
| **No. with Internet edition** |  | 86[[20]](#footnote-20) |  | 1 |  |

**Table 2.2. Thematic focus of print media (2013), percentages[[21]](#footnote-21)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Year** | **Information** | **Socio-political** | **Scientific** | **Adver-tising** | **Children’s, youth, women’s, religious, sport, etc.** |
| **KAZ (2010)[[22]](#footnote-22)** | 32 | 36 | 27 | 5 | N/A |
| **KYR** | N/A | 75 | 10 | 15 | 10 |
| **TAJ** | 30 | 20 | 5 | 20[[23]](#footnote-23) | 25 |
| **TURK** | 55.6 | 17.8 | 11.1 | 4.4 | 11.1 |
| **UZB** | 20 | 18 | 10 | 10 | 42 |

**3. Top ten print media in Central Asia**

**Table 3.1. Kazakhstan: top ten print media*[[24]](#footnote-24)***

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Name** | **State  or private** | **Circulation** | **Language of publication** | **Online version?** | **Uses social media as a channel for news?** | **Ownership/source of financing** |
| **1** | *Egemen Kazakhstan* | State | Daily 200 600, weekly ca. 1 003 000 | Kazakh | Yes | Vkontakte, facebook.com | As per the Law on State Social Order |
| **2** | *Kazakhstanskaya pravda* | State | Daily 110 447; weekly ca. 550 000 | Russian | Yes | twitter, facebook.com | As per the Law on State Social Order |
| **3** | *Karavan* | Private | Weekly 220 000 | Russian | Yes | twitter | Private |
| **4** | *Aykyn* | State | Daily newspaper, weekly 202,585 | Kazakh | yes | facebook.com  twitter | Nur Media LLP |
| **5** | *Liter* | State | Daily newspaper; weekly 160,500 | Kazakh | Yes | facebook.com  twitter, Vkontakte | Hur Media LLP |
| **6** | *Zhas Alash* | Private | Weekly 140,000 | Kazakh | Yes |  | Private |
| **7** | *Vremya* | Private | Weekly 133,260 | Russian | Yes | facebook.com  twitter, Vkontakte | As per the Law on State Social Order |
| **8** | *Express K* | Private | Weekly 125,410 | Russian | yes |  | Private but reflects pro-governmental opinion |
| **9** | *Argumenty I fakty* | Private | 89 100 | Russian | Yes |  | Private |
| **10** | *Antenna* | Private | 80 000 | Russian |  |  |  |

**Methodology**

There are no reliable data on circulation, and obtaining actual circulation figures for newspapers is very difficult, which complicates the task of mapping recent trends. The table provided here may well have omitted some media outlets. Information on media outlets existing in Kazakhstan was collected through the website [www.cabmarket.kz](http://www.cabmarket.kz). Although circulation figures given on that website may be outdated or truncated, at least it can give a general picture.

**Current situation**

Research conducted by Taylor Nelson Sofres Central Asia in 2011 clearly shows that large circulation numbers do not necessarily mean high popularity among readers, which confirms the situation when opposition or critical newspapers are fully excluded from the national media: of the ten print media with highest circulation, three are owned by the government, two are part of the ruling party’s media conglomerate Nur Media LLP. Others, although listed as private, are controlled by current or former political elites loyal to the ruling powers. Media ownership in Kazakhstan is non-transparent, making it impossible to say with certainty which media outlet belongs to whom.

**Table 3.2. Kyrgyzstan : top ten print media**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Name** | **State or private** | **Circulation** | **Language of publication** | **Online [[25]](#footnote-25)version? (yes/no)** | **Uses social media as a channel for news?** | **Ownership/source of financing** |
| **#1** | *Super info* | Private | 102 000 | Kyrgyz | Yes | Yes | Private funding |
| **#2** | *Vecherniy Bishkek* | Private | Monday – Thursday: 20 000 Friday**:  60 000** | Russian | Yes | Yes | Private funding |
| **#3** | *Piramida Plus* | Private | 30 000 | Russian | No | No | Private funding |
| **#4** | *SlovoKyrgyzstana* | State | 20 000 | Russian | Yes | No | Government |
| **#5** | *Kyrgyz Tuusu* | State | 20 000 | Kyrgyz | Yes | No | Government |
| **#6** | *Delo #* | Private | 15 800 | Russian | Yes | No | Private funding |
| **#7** | *Komsomolskaya Pravda - Kyrgyzstan* | Private | 15 000 | Russian | Yes | Yes | Private funding |
| **#8** | *Ai Danek* | Private | 13 000 | Russian/Kyrgyz | No | No | Private funding |
| **#9** | *Erkin Too* | State | 10 000 | Kyrgyz | Yes | No | Government |
| **#10** | *Moya stolica novosti (MSN)* | Private | 8 000 | Russian | Yes | No | Private funding |

**Table 3.3. Uzbekistan: top ten print media[[26]](#footnote-26)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Name** | **State or private** | **Circulation** | **Language of publication** | **Online version? (yes/no)** | **Uses social media as a channel for news?** | **Ownership/ source of finances** |
|
| **#1** | *Darakchi* | Private | 200 000 | Uzbek | Yes | Yes | Printing house ‘Darakchi’ |
| **#2** | *Halq suzi* | State | 130 000 | Uzbek | Yes | No | Parliament and Cab. of Ministers |
| **#3** | *Marifat* | State | 69 000 | Uzbek | Yes | No | Min. of Education |
| **#4** | *Darakchi* | Private | 66 000 | Russian | Yes | Yes | Printing house ‘Darakchi’ |
| **#5** | *Sogdiana* | Private | 60 000 | Uzbek | Yes | Yes | Printing house ‘Darakchi’ |
| **#6** | *Tasvir* | Private | 40 000 | Russian | Yes | Yes | Printing house ‘Tasvir’ |
| **#7** | *Argmenty i facti* | Private | 35 000 | Russian | Yes | Yes | Printing house ‘Tasvir’ |
| **#8** | *Narodnoe Slovo* | State | 32,000 | Russian | Yes | No | Parliament and Cab. of Ministers |
| **#9** | *Tasvir* | Private | 25 000 | Uzbek | Yes | Yes | Printing house Tasvir |
| **#10** | *Mahalla* | State | 22 000 | Uzbek | Yes | No | Public fund ‘Makhalla’ |

**Table 3.4. Tajikistan: top ten print media**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Name** | **State or private** | **Circulation** | **Language of publication** | **Online version?** | **Uses social media as a channel for news?** | **Ownership/source of finances** |
| #1 | *Minbari Halq* | State | 48 000 | Tajik | Yes | No | People’s Democratic Party (ruling party) |
| #2 | *Jumhuriyat* | State | 41 000 | Tajik | Yes | Yes | State-owned |
| #3 | *Oila* | Private | 15 000 | Tajik | No | No | Private |
| #4 | *Asia-Plus* | Private | 14 000 | Russian | Yes | Yes | Private |
| #5 | *Charkhi Gardun* | Private | 6 500 | Tajik | Yes | Yes | Private |
| #6 | *Faraj* | Private | 6 000 | Tajik | Yes | No | Private |
| #7 | *Nigoh* | Private | 5 000 | Tajik | Yes | No | Private |
| #8 | *СССР (USSR)* | Private | 5 000 | Tajik | Yes | No | Private |
| #9 | *Haqiqati Sughd* | State | 4 500 | Tajik | Yes | No | Regional government |
| #10 | *Diyori Tursunzoda* | State | 4 000 | Tajik | No | No | District government |

**Table 3.5. Turkmenistan: top ten print media**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Name** | **State or private** | **Circulation** | **Language of publication** | **Online version? (yes/no)** | **Usesocial media as a channel for news?** | **Ownership/source of financing** |
|
| **#1** | *Turkmen dili* | State | 125 033 | Turkmen | no | no | Institute of Language and Literature of Academy of Sciences |
| **#2** | *Adalat* | State | 106 479 | Turkmen | no | no | Ministry of Justice of Turkmenistan |
| **#3** | *Mugallymlar gazeta* | State | 101 181 | Turkmen | no | no | Ministry of Education of Turkmenistan |
| **#4** | *Zenan kalby.* | State | 95 268 | Turkmen | no | no | Union of women of Turkmenistan |
| **#5** | *Neytralnyi Turkmenistan* | State | 45 066 | Russian | yes | no | Turkmenistan Cabinet of ministers |
| **#6** | *Turkmenistan* | State | 43784 | Turkmen | no | no | Turkmenistan Cabinet of ministers |
| **#7** | *Turkmen Gundogary* | State | 46140 | Turkmen | no | no | Administration (local government) of Lebap region |
| **#8** | *Mary-Shahu-Jahan* | State | 39984 | Turkmen | no | no | Administration of Mary region |
| **#9** | *Dashogus habarlary* | State | 38839 | Turkmen | no | no | Administration of Dashoguz region |
| **#10** | *Ahal Durmushy* | State | 38079 | Turkmen | no | no | Administration of Ahal region |

## 4. Development of print-media language over time

**Table 4.1. Number of print media according to language. Kazakhstan[[27]](#footnote-27)**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Kazakh** | **Russian** | **Kazakh and Russian** | **Other** |
| **2007** | 469 | 856 | 879 | 28[[28]](#footnote-28) |
| **2013** | 466 | 743 | 472 | 179[[29]](#footnote-29) |

* Unfortunately, official sources do not provide information on the development of print-media language since 1991, but Russian print media clearly dominate in the market.
* Statistics generally do not differentiate between the language in print and in electronic media.
* For example, according to statistics, as of 1 July 2011 there were 2722 registered outlets and news agencies: 1649 newspapers, 827 magazines, 233 electronic mass-media (50 TV companies, 43 radio companies, 134 cable broadcasting companies), and 13 news agencies. Of these, 532 were in Kazakh, 913 in Russian, 930 in Russian/ Kazakh and 347 in Kazakh/Russian/ other languages.[[30]](#footnote-30)

**Table 4.2 Number of print media according to language. Kyrgyzstan[[31]](#footnote-31)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **National** | **Russian** | **English** | **Uzbek** | **Tajik** | **Turk** | **Dungan** |
| **1991** | 36 | 18 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **1995** | 47 | 25 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| **2000** | 64 | 46 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| **2005** | 96 | 63 | 4 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| **2010** | 102 | 72 | 5 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| **2013** | 104 | 74 | 5 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 1 |

**Table 4.3. Number of print media according to language. Tajikistan**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **National** | **Russian** | **English** | **Uzbek** | **Kyrgyz, Tajik** |
| **1991** | 145 | 119 | 0 | 26 | 1 |
| **1995** | 162 | 103 | 0 | 22 | 1 |
| **2000** | 180 | 62 | 0 | 15 | 1 |
| **2005** | 207 | 58 | 0 | 13 | 1 |
| **2010** | 228 | 60 | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| **2013[[32]](#footnote-32)** | 289 | 55 | 0 |  | 2 |

Note: The number of print media in Tajikistan has increased substantially since 1991. However, this has been accompanied by a steep fall in circulation, due mainly to (i) weak distribution system with substantial delays in delivery; (ii) weakened purchasing power among the population; (iii) elimination or significant reduction of state subsidies, and (iv) poor news coverage/analysis of national and regional developments in the print media. Many articles and news coverages are published without siting authors and/or sources, and the share of local news and analyses is less than 25%.[[33]](#footnote-33)

**Table 4.4. Number of print media according to language. Turkmenistan**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Nation-al** | **Other** | **Russ.** | **Engl.** | **Turk-ish[[34]](#footnote-34)** | **Kazakh** | **Uzb.** | **Turkmen/ Engl/Russ** | **Turkm/ Russ.** |
| **1991** | 74[[35]](#footnote-35) | 25[[36]](#footnote-36) | n/a | 0 | 0 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| **1995** | 34[[37]](#footnote-37) | 18[[38]](#footnote-38) | 7 | n/a | 1[[39]](#footnote-39) | 1 | 1 | n/a | n/a |
| **2000[[40]](#footnote-40)** | 33[[41]](#footnote-41) | 10[[42]](#footnote-42) | n/a | n/a | n/a | 0 | 0 | n/a | n/a |
| **2005** | 42[[43]](#footnote-43) | 3[[44]](#footnote-44) | n/a | n/a | 1 | 0 | 0 | n/a | n/a |
| **2010[[45]](#footnote-45)** | 46[[46]](#footnote-46) | 3[[47]](#footnote-47) | 3[[48]](#footnote-48) | n/a | 0 | 0 | 0 | n/a | n/a |
| **2011[[49]](#footnote-49)** | 49[[50]](#footnote-50) | 4 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | n/a | n/a |
| **2013[[51]](#footnote-51)** | 45 |  | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 3 |

**Table 4.5. Number of print media according to language. Uzbekistan**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **National** | **Russian** | **English** | **Other non-local languages (German, French, etc.)** | **Languages of national minorities (Kazakh, Tajik, etc)** |
| **1991** | 35 | 60 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| **1995** | 50 | 45 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| **2000** | 65 | 31 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| **2005** | 75 | 22 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **2010[[52]](#footnote-52)** | 87 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| **2013** | 87 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

1. Reporters Without Borders. 2015 World Press Freedom Index. Available at <http://rsf.org/index2014/data/index2014_en.pdf>. Accessed 18 May 2015. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Reporters Without Borders. 2013 World Press Freedom Index. Available at <<http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html>>. Accessed 13 August 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Reporters Without Borders. 2011/2012 World Press Freedom Index. Available at < <http://en.rsf.org/spip.php?page=classement&id_rubrique=1043>>. Accessed 13 August 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Reporters Without Borders. 2010 World Press Freedom Index. Available at < <http://en.rsf.org/spip.php?page=classement&id_rubrique=1034>>. Accessed 13 August 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Reporters Without Borders. 2007 World Press Freedom Index. Available at < <http://en.rsf.org/spip.php?page=classement&id_rubrique=34>>. Accessed 13 August 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Reporters Without Borders. 2003 World Press Freedom Index. Available at < <http://en.rsf.org/spip.php?page=classement&id_rubrique=551>>. Accessed 13 August 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Ministry of Culture and Information, *Mass Media in Kazakhstan as of 15 March 2013.* See http://www.mki.gov.kz/rus/komitety/komitet\_informacii\_arxivov/upravlenie\_pechatnyh\_smi/statistika\_otrasli/ (accessed 10 October 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Whereas in 1990 only 10 publications were distributed across the entire country, by the end of 1991, there were already 97 media outlets, and as of the end of 1994 their number had increased to 313. (Information from the Ministry of Culture and Information, October 2013.) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Total number of printed media 939 newspapers and 266 magazines. Most of them are not functional, and their circulation is less than 1000. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Data from Press Department, Ministry of Culture. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Uzbekistan Agency on Press and Information, ‘Состояние и динамика развития СМИ, издательств и полиграфических предприятий Узбекистана».   
    ( 01.07.2013г.),’<http://www.api.uz/ru/content/statistics/>, last visited 11.10.2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Mixed funding with substantial grants/subsidies from national or local governments. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Not necessarily 100% financed. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Uzbek (18); one district-level newspaper in Kyrgyz (*Sary Kol*) and one newspaper in Tajik and Kyrgyz languages (*Payomi Jirgatol*). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Primarily Russian-languagenewspapers and magazines. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. The only available magazines are crossword puzzle magazines. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Not registered in Kyrgyzstan, exported newspapers. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Twice a week. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Functioning, with regular updates and recent information. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. There are two independent websites with all Kyrgyz language newspapers: [www.gezitter.org](http://www.gezitter.org) www.presskg.com [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Author’s estimates. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Adil Soz, ‘Monitoring of Violations of Freedom of Speech in Kazakhstan in 2010, p.6, http://www.adilsoz.kz/book\_pdf/m2010.pdf (accessed 5 October 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Figures given here are *actual* average percentages of advertisement in state-run and private print media. On average, state-run media get less advertisement (about 10%) while private media usually gets more (about 30%). These figures are below the limit set by the government (25% for government and 40% for private print media). There are some exceptions: *Asia Plus* that has about 45% of advertisements; *Reklamnaya Gazeta* which is 90% advertisements, and *CCCP (USSR),* which doesn’t have advertisements at all. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. The private print media usually have a lower circulation and outreach. For example, three oppositional newspapers have circulation no more than 30 000 copies per week (*Tribuna*, 22800; *Obschestvennay posiziya*, 30600; *Svoboda slova*, 25197). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. There are websites with Kyrgyz-language newspaper archives: [www.gezitter.org](http://www.gezitter.org) and [www.presskg.com](http://www.presskg.com). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. ## Data from the media companies’ websites and [www.12news.uz](http://www.12news.uz), ‘Тираж главной газеты Узбекистана достиг рекордной отметки за последние 15 лет’, <http://www.12news.uz/news/2013/01/tirazh-glavnoj-gazety-uzbekistana-dos/>.

    [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazakh is the state language in Kazakhstan. Russian language is recognized as a language of interethnic communication. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Adil Soz, ‘Monitoring of Violations of Freedom of Speech in Kazakhstan in 2007, http://www.adilsoz.kz/book\_pdf/monitoring\_2007.pdf, accessed 5 October 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Ministry of Culture and Information, Mass Media in Kazakhstan as of 15 March 2013 http://www.mki.gov.kz/rus/komitety/komitet\_informacii\_arxivov/upravlenie\_pechatnyh\_smi/statistika\_otrasli [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Adil Soz, ‘Monitoring of Violations of Freedom of Speech in Kazakhstan in 2011, p.246, http://www.adilsoz.kz/book\_pdf/38.pdf (accessed 5 October 2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Estimates provided by several media experts (from non-profit organizations). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Press Dep., Ministry of Culture of Tajikistan. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. <http://zerkalo.tj/public/userfiles/pdf%20/Report%20EF%20-%205.pdf>. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. <http://www.memo.ru/hr/politpr/turk/pressa.htm> (accessed 8.10.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *Statistical Yearbook of Turkmenistan* 1991–1996, Ashgabat: 57 newspapers,17 magazines [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Ibid. 13 newspapers,12 magazines [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. *Statistical Yearbook of Turkmenistan* 1991–1996, Ashgabat: 20 newspapers,14 magazines [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Ibid, 9 newspapers,9 magazines [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Zaman-Turkmenistan’ newspaper, <http://www.zamantm.com/tm/mainAction.action> (accessed 29.09.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. *Statistical Yearbook of Turkmenistan,* 2012, |Ashgabat [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. 10 magazines,23 newspapers, source: ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. 9 magazines,1 newspaper, source: ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. *Statistical Yearbook of Turkmenistan* 2000–2005, Ashgabat, 23 newpapers,19 magazines [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Ibid., 1 newspaper,2 magazines [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. *Statistical Yearbook of Turkmenistan*, 2012, Ashgabat [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. 22 magazines, 24 newspapers, source: ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. *Statistical Yearbook* notes only ‘other languages’, without further information [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. 2 magazines, 1 newspaper, source: author’s notes [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. *Statistical Yearbook of Turkmenistan,* 2012, Ashgabat [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. 24 magazines, 25 newspapers, source: ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. regnum.ru, 16 марта 2012 № 52353  <http://polpred.com/?ns=1&cnt=160&sector=15&sortby=date&page=2> it was written 24 national and local newspapers and 15 magazines for 2012, the same in [www.irex.org/system/files/EE\_MSI\_09\_casia\_Turkmenistan\_0.pdf](http://www.irex.org/system/files/EE_MSI_09_casia_Turkmenistan_0.pdf) (accessed 3.10.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Data from the Uzbekistan Agency on Press and Information. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)